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**University of Southampton, Faculty of
Humanities, School of Archaeology**

**DANCES OF LIFE AND DEATH:
INTERPRETATIONS OF EARLY MODERN
RELIGIOUS IDENTITY FROM RURAL PARISH
CHURCHES AND THEIR LANDSCAPES ALONG
THE HAMPSHIRE/SUSSEX BORDER 1500-
1800**

Volume 1 (Thesis) Volume 2 (Appendix)

By Judith Frances Jones MA, AGSM (20680791)

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for a Doctorate of Philosophy.
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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

Faculty of Humanities. Discipline: Archaeology

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DANCES OF LIFE AND DEATH: INTERPRETATIONS OF EARLY MODERN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY FROM RURAL PARISH CHURCHES AND THEIR LANDSCAPES ALONG THE HAMPSHIRE/SUSSEX BORDER 1500-1800

by Judith Frances Jones

This thesis enters a territory infrequently visited by English archaeologists – the early modern period. I have chosen a research area encompassing fifty neighbouring parish churches along the border of East Hampshire and West Sussex and studied what survives of their post-medieval material culture. Though these medieval churches have generally been altered in the 19th century many of them still retain material, architectural, landscape and documentary clues which reveal important aspects of their early modern condition and the religious experiences of their parishioners in life and death. A major aim has been to show that far from being stripped of imagery and cultural artefacts, other materials were introduced, designed to communicate new forms of Protestant ritual to parishioners who may frequently have been bewildered by the rapid religious changes of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Having described the area and visited its historical biography in Part One and in order to capture a sense of what it was like to participate in parish religion, I concentrate on four themes emanating from my studies of these churches: space, sensory experience, the performance of memory and gender. Thus Part Two deals with the spatial qualities of new architectural innovations and the effects of the reorganisation of church furniture and is followed by an account of the sensory experiences which religious participation evoked. These discussions centre on the lives of parishioners. Part Three turns to parishioners' encounters with death and their understandings of the ways in which the church and churchyard framed and enabled the performance of social memory. The final discussion chapter is a series of case studies centred on tombs commissioned by individual gentlewomen for their families and themselves and their nuanced interpretations of mortuary imagery.

A major element of this study lies in the way it develops contemporary methodological frameworks within early modern social archaeology. This allows a wider synthesis to be achieved using thematic regional approaches which run alongside the contextual exploration of the sample's locales over this long transitional period. My approach is also informed by theoretical issues emanating from a number of associated disciplines such as history, art history and anthropology. This is an unusual standpoint which aims to provide a particularly multilayered exploration of an area and time rich in archaeological material which builds on and develops current scholarly thinking in this particular realm of social archaeology.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the following work is my own and is not copied, plagiarised or borrowed from any other scholastic, popular, published, unpublished or online work, other than that quoted and referred to in the thesis and cited in the bibliography.

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Research conditions have been difficult – having to wait for sunny days in order to take the best photographs and then having to go out into the countryside and poke around and peer at old churches, and then being forced to visit country pubs for lunch, well, it's been tough. However even though it's a hard job, somebody has to do it....

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*At the still point of the turning world. Neither flesh nor fleshless;
Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is,
But neither arrest nor movement. And we do not call it fixity,
Where past and future are gathered. Neither movement from nor towards
Neither ascent nor decline. Except for the point, the still point,
There would be no dance, and there is only the dance.*

T.S Eliot, From 'Burnt Norton', No 1 of the *Four Quartets*

PART I BACKGROUND MATTERS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1:1 The origins of this study

On entering a rural parish church in England there is usually a surface near the door which holds parish literature and a visitors' book. Most of the entries in these books comment on the peacefulness of the interior and, in the older churches, the visitors often express their sense of an unchanging history, 'a still point' which they see crystallised within the structure. Alongside an undefined religious response, there is an equally undefined but powerful subtext to these comments which suggests that this is what the writers conceive the past was like, 'neither arrest nor movement'; that the 'medieval' qualities of the interior recreate the past actively into the present and that this impression is underpinned by the seeming permanence and stasis of the church's quietude. Where visitors have associations with the church in the past their memories are coloured by a sense of perpetuity. The church as the stage for baptisms, marriages, funerals is traditionally representative of the natural order of things where there are no conflicts, no concessions to disruptive change. Such memories are hazy, inchoate, some are approached at second-hand, and so what actually happened in the past is transformed into a recreation of the present. All is as it was and always will be under these fluid forms of the construction of memory. Under their spell the past becomes a safe, tranquil, personal and uncontested place and the church is its repository (*see Fig 1.1*).

However, the language of church architecture, its semiotics, makes a much more intricate statement. After all, its 21st -century atmosphere would have been utterly different at certain crisis points in the 16th or 17th centuries. Moreover the modern appearance of a small medieval parish

church, say one sited along the Hampshire/Sussex border, is highly misleading. Often its ancient walls are in fact only 150 years old or less and its interior is stripped of the furniture and fittings either pre-Reformation or early modern parishioners would have associated with their means of worship. Its spaces inside and out have been reconfigured and most of the paraphernalia which have made up the long-term composite of parish identity has been discarded. A church like this which is still a living building reflects modern concerns and understandings of what should constitute its religious form.

While churches changed more profoundly in the 19th century than in earlier periods usually associated with sudden architectural transition (Llewellyn 1991:121, 2000:4, Tarlow 2003:110, Rodwell 2005:23-25, Lindley 2007:240-241) this is not to say that previously they were static entities. As Eamon Duffy and Richard Marks have emphasised medieval churches had themselves been constantly added to, subtracted from or rebuilt since their original foundations (Duffy 1992, 2001, Marks 2004). Moreover, reinterpreting the modern spaces of a parish church implies that there is no 'still point of a turning world' when it comes to its analysis since what is at its centre is as changed and changeable as its encompassing shell. What then can be practically discovered from such buildings and why should they form a distinct category which can be used as a topic for doctoral research?

Some answers lie embedded in the above discussion; these ancient buildings help and have helped to form the *habitus* of both their users and visitors (Bourdieu 1977:159-197). They are productive of types of emotion and memory and fundamental to a cultural consciousness of ritual and sociality. Thus they are indices of the past events which have occurred in them. As Andrew Jones says of artworks and buildings of this sort

'They do not simply represent past events directly, rather past activities of production, construction and wear are transformed in physical form – they simply refer to the past. But how are these past events recalled? Not through a process of information retrieval but through a process of sensory experience, by inferring the presence of past events through the senses. The point here is that through the physicality or *perdurance* (physical persistence) of material culture, things act as a means of presencing past events to the senses. If we treat objects as indices of past action, then we come to realise that objects do not so much preserve distinct memories in fidelity; rather, they *evoke* remembrance' (Jones 2007: 24-5 citing Kwint M 1999:1-16, author's italics).

In this way parish churches as objects are both sensory embodiments and symbols of the past

whose materiality is intermeshed with an abstract or spiritual representation. Regardless of whether their visitors are themselves religious, these factors continually retain their power. Moreover as buildings which are largely still in use, performing a ritual function similar to that for which they were initially founded, churches have a dynamic which thrusts them out of the past and into the present. With parishioners and church officers especially this is demonstrated in a variety of emotional and ideological responses relating to the buildings and this personal relationship was undoubtedly felt by previous congregations. There is therefore the potential for the 'perdurance' of the emotive, affective connection from the past into the present of the church visitor or user. Evidently modern spiritual experience differs from past experience but here it may be possible to evaluate past-present sensory experiences through the materials of affective connection.

The configurations of church interiors register variations in degrees of conformity and dissent. Pamela Graves, whose influential work on medieval religious experience, *The Form and Fabric of Belief* (2000) was one element of inspiration for this thesis, concludes with a critique of the use of parish church interiors as focal points for the analysis of medieval vernacular religious understandings. She points out the dangers of concentrating these analyses on the liturgical orthodoxies prescribed by religious authority and evidenced by the material construction of the church interior. She continues

'However in order to prove that there is something else out there we need to focus our exploration on the ways in which everyday life informed religious predispositions, and on the possibility that the landscape outside the church building was actually far more significant as a religious environment than has been previously allowed' (Graves 2000:168).

While I agree that a parochial religious landscape profoundly incorporates the living experience of its users, I would also argue that the church interior is equally important. This is especially true of the post-medieval period wherever it is possible to see surviving internal structures being adapted as church-goers confronted new religious issues. Graves's argument (that with this kind of study one only finds the impedimenta of religious orthodoxy) needs expansion after the Reformation when both physical and documentary archives provide a multiplicity of contrasting and sometimes contesting religious viewpoints sited within the parish church. The external landscape holds many crucial strands of data but these are often restated in more complex fashions inside and a study of this kind aims to weave them together.

The choice of the parish church as a vehicle for examining post-medieval religious attitudes springs from its role as a long-term material entity which has seen complex changes while retaining core

aspects of its first function. It has therefore a functional coherence. The post-medieval period under review provides a wealth of material. The physical archive, ie the churches themselves, often offer fragmentary clues which, taken in concert with other proximate data, form larger skeins of information which lend themselves to historical and archaeological interpretation. They are set in landscapes which retain some of the older topographical relationships which obtained between parishioners, dwellings, fields and church. Within these topographies and the materiality of each church's archaeology, many elements of post-medieval religious sensory apprehension and memorial evocation demand analysis. The church is therefore an index not just for our perception of the formal dances afforded by regular liturgical performance but also for the vigorous jigs occasionally enacted by those post-medieval parishioners who utterly failed to see their church as a place of peace and tranquillity.

1.2 Research Questions

Since archaeology as a social science often presents fact-driven and interpretive approaches as being in conflict with each other, I have had to evaluate to what extent this study, based on a hermeneutic methodology, is suited to a strongly empirical treatment. Naturally much of my discussion is capable of empirical explanation – the Reformation created many material changes in line with changing state religious ideology and these can be used to map transitions which throw up 'facts' as evidence of the progress of this religious change (for this approach see Oakey 2003:58-72). However a hermeneutic approach often offers a series of hypotheses, and this more diffused questioning can be very effective in blurring the edges of 'facts' - in blunting a purely empirical objectivised approach. This can produce certain *types* of knowledge which spring from the application of this view to the research questions being asked. I will discuss these types of knowledge below but to frame their context, I will first explain my research aims and the questions they have thrown up. These initially started off as both vast and nebulous and were evidently going to take some years to answer. I then whittled them down to the following, more pertinent ones:

What does the architectural landscape of a sample of churches in a selected rural area reveal about the practice of parish congregations during the period 1500-1800? How did such congregations understand their churches and the agency of their ministers and other religious parish personnel? Would a difference in geographic and/or economic circumstances result in different religious attitudes and practices? How did parishioners view their lives and deaths within an imposed but changing Anglican cosmology?

These are all fairly unexceptionable archaeological questions, posed because, although much has

been written by different types of historians, it is a less fertile area in terms of archaeological research. Archaeologists generally prefer earlier church architecture over that of later periods, although, of course, there are important exceptions. A specific review of post-medieval vernacular religious experience which focussed on a sufficiently substantial parish sample seemed to me to be a vitally necessary addition to this field of knowledge. Its programme had the disadvantage however of being too all-encompassing and each question might have quite viably formed the backbone of a thesis such as this. Moreover as I embarked on my research another set of questions arose.

These secondary questions were less generalised. Quite evidently the 16th and 17th centuries were characterised by continual and extreme religious changes which impacted heavily on rural parishes (see MacCulloch 1990, 2003 and Marshall 2003 for overviews). The 17th-18th centuries moreover saw the development of Dissenting religious sects which continued to split rural congregations and disrupt the state systems which governed parochial conformity (Abbey and Overton (1896) 2008:407-518, Hill C 1972:378-384, Johnson 1996:104). It is also plain that contemporary authors, modern commentators and the material data show that vernacular religious understanding was indivisible from social and cultural understanding. Graves's point about the way in which 'everyday life informed religious predispositions' easily transfers from the medieval sensibility to the post-medieval (Graves 2000:168). The Reformation prompted a series of humanist changes in theological viewpoints but ontological change, especially in the minds of ordinary people, was more gradual (Tarlow 2003:108-121). The English post-medieval world operated around an understanding that God was implicated in the everyday event and people constantly thought and talked about the workings of religion. As Christopher Haigh declares, 'that is what men and women did: they often talked about religion because religion was unavoidable. Life, death and disaster were explained in religious terms' (Haigh 2007:5). In light of the pervasiveness of post-medieval religious consciousness and debate, I considered I would need to lift out certain elements which were susceptible to an archaeological approach. The questions thus became more concentrated:

How was parochial religious space managed to reflect cosmological belief and how was it altered to reflect changed belief? How were Protestant dogma materially encountered and performed and were differing levels of acceptance or resistance apparent? How did the liturgical, ritual and doctrinal performances of minister and congregation involve the senses? How did the memory of the dead shape mortuary materiality? How did changing belief impact on gender relations and was this materially visible?

These are more manageable and thematic questions. The themes needed some ordering but the

importance of one of the original primary questions – that which enquires into differences of religious belief across the geographical area – Hampshire and West Sussex, coastal or Downland regions – needed to be down-played. The visibility or invisibility of cross-border change or its appearance as an inland/coastal phenomenon is not dealt with in great depth in this thesis and is only briefly visited below and in Chapter 2.7. This is not to say that a comparative approach is impossible but that the scope of the thesis does not provide space for a lengthy investigation. Moreover both counties' religious identity shows a certain ideological homogeneity which is revealed during subsequent discussion (*see Map 1*). The area chosen is however perhaps made more valid by this homogeneity. It can be seen to be typically representative of numbers of similar regions in the South whose experience of post Reformation religious change shows great variability under its historical narrative of ostensible conformity (for more on the choice of region see Chapter 1.3 below).

I needed to document this variability by addressing interregional changes and similarities in architecture, church fabric and furniture and immediately a set of multi-layered instances of reform and transition started to be teased out of each building. Framed initially in the highly patterned systems of medieval architectural symbolism, each building developed (and is still developing) its own biography, moving through successive improvements or periods of neglect to emerge as a unique unit within a larger series. Most importantly, these buildings were continuously populated by parishioners whose ideas of their own religious identity were equally fluid – sometimes shaped by traditional concepts, sometimes by reformist ones, sometimes by sheer bloody-mindedness, but all liable to change in some degree through time.

Parochial diversity of belief opens up the question of agency – a topic which is central to our comprehension of how people negotiated their ways around their own mental religious landscapes. Here one can envisage, as Bruno Latour implies, that all things/people/ideas act upon each other in multi-stranded networks of activity and implication (Latour 2005). It is also possible to agree with Alfred Gell who suggests in his analysis of social agents that 'the immediate 'other' in a social relationship does not have to be another human being... Social agency can be exercised relative to 'things' and social agency can be exercised by 'things' (and also animals). The concept of social agency has to be formulated in a very permissive manner for empirical as well as theoretical reasons. It just happens to be patently the case that persons form what are evidently social relations with 'things' (Gell 1998:17-18).

I will discuss these viewpoints below but it is essential to consider from the outset the proposition that a church is in itself an agent and home to a set of agencies; more, that its landscape is part of

that agency. Thus those who were and are its denizens were and are in a dialectical relationship with it when it comes to understanding or creating their own cosmologies. In the past, liturgy and dogmatic instruction only formed part of their understanding. The church's components – its material make-up and sensory provisions – were equally important. As an awareness of the experiences afforded by ordinary attendance develops – movement through religious landscape, liturgical and homiletic participation or reception, social display and encounter etc - so one needs to assess the sensory conditions which mould its development. The process translates into a mental framework which enables the envelope of religious sensation to be apprehended and rendered intelligible. From this it is archaeologically feasible to reconstruct elements of what religious sensory experience was like. Moreover, I shall argue that after the Reformation, far from reverting to the state of a blank canvas with the removal of Catholic imagery, the church began to accrete other Protestant forms of representational sensory equipment designed to replace and reinterpret the overtly bodily aspects of religious experience that Catholicism had been at pains to foster. These forms were different and intended to appeal more strictly to a pure understanding of the Protestant 'Word' but nevertheless acted as spatial and sensory stimuli to bodily responses to the developing shape of the Anglican liturgy.

In order to address areas of agency and sensation I focus particularly on what kinds of space are created around and within a parish church and how these spaces are altered or retained in conformity with or in opposition to state religious directives. The material culture of the church, its fixtures, fittings, its mortuary *commemorabilia* need to be closely examined as they create, define and occupy such spaces and are intrinsic to the religious performance of those who have made them (Jones A 2007:44-46). Thus ecclesiastical space and its material boundaries form another constant theme. What is more, the nature of church furniture and its configurations also lends itself to cross-comparisons with other forms of performance space such as that of theatres. The arrangement and development of theatre space from the mid 16th century, while it does not run in parallel with the reorganisation of ritual interiors, has much in common in terms of staging, costume, dramatic rhetoric and the nature of the performance as a special and significant event.

The two types of buildings, church and theatre, concurrently developed specific architectural forms designed to frame liturgical or dramatic events in the most effective way. This ensured that elevated spaces (the pulpit or stage) became the foci of audience attention – locations where ritual performances or dramatic narratives were centred. A 16th-/17th century theatre such as the Globe used its staging, tiring house or stage gallery and its flanking musicians's boxes as the areas in which histrionic power was seated. Since audiences standing in the Pit or seated in tiers of circular

galleries were enjoined by these mechanisms to understand that their positions were controlled by the superior spaces occupied by narrative event, it can be argued that in the parish church the pulpit and its desk(s), being elevated, were the focus for the religious performance in much the same way (see Chapter 3.3).

Against these spatial analyses, church-users over the period have to be seen not just as individuals but also as rounded communities with well-defined hierarchies of power. An appreciation of social power is substantially dependent on the nature of gender relationships within early modern rural society. Since the medieval period formulated a system of religious gendered semiotics (see Graves 1989:297-322, Gilchrist 1994:63-71) it is important to assess the degree to which Reformation ideology altered or developed this symbolic language together with people's perception of their relative religious positions and performances. One needs therefore to ask to what extent the prevailing patriarchal model of society affected the early modern gendered religious body and how this expressed itself materially. These questions implicitly connect gender and spatial issues. The theme of gender relations is evidently integral to this enquiry especially as so much socio-religious adjustment was required within relatively sparsely populated rural communities over these three centuries.

Lastly it is necessary to remember that this is not just a study of how post-medieval people encountered religion in their lives but also, equally importantly, how the Anglican ritual was understood and employed when they died. In terms of church fittings, much of what Victorian ecclesiologists have allowed to survive inside the churches they largely rebuilt consists of memorial monuments. Inevitably these commemorate the upper crust of parish society: – gentry families, local magnates and the parsons who died at their posts, alongside those yeoman or artisanal families sufficiently prosperous to be buried inside rather than outside their church. Those buried outside are less visible – tidied away by the Victorians or, somehow more shamefully, by a Church of England policy made fashionable in the 1960s and 70s which cleared graveyards of their headstones and destroyed entire areas once devoted to social memory (see *Fig 1.2* and Petersfield and Stoughton GNos 19 and 44).

Setting such problems aside for the present, the development of memorial landscape is a central element of post-medieval ritualisation of death. Thus the surviving mortuary paraphernalia of the parish church are crucial items of material culture which reflect the commanding social hegemonies which strove side by side with religious ideological orthodoxies to impose themselves on the parochial conscious. Indeed, their study reveals ways in which, in addition to their representation of authoritarian agenda, social and gender hegemony and religious orthodoxy, these considerations

were sometimes circumvented or adapted. My research therefore lays considerable emphasis on the conceptualisation of ideas of death in the mind of the living parishioner and the ways in which death was memorialised and embodied in the fabric of the church by modes of burial and the mortuary materials used to perpetuate social memory. Thus the story centres around the religious identities of these congregations both while they were alive and after they had died.

1.3 Background to the choice of research area

This thesis focuses on the churches of the border regions of East Hampshire and West Sussex – an area with which I am well acquainted and which, as mentioned above, possessed a wide variety of confessional viewpoints including a strong contingent of influential Catholic families (*see Map 2*). I have chosen this region because in many ways its typicality and lack of strong cross-border contrasts act in its favour as a suitable study area. Its variety of types and sizes of both churches and parishes also strongly recommends it, although this variability today seems masked by the seemingly traditional quality of its parish buildings which are often characterised by architectural historians and gazetteer authors as being pleasant but unremarkable. In this respect it is fairly acknowledged that the churches of Hampshire and Sussex are less architecturally spectacular than others in the country. Simon Jenkins, the author of the popular church gazetteer *England's Thousand Best Churches*, is dismissive about Hampshire's medieval architecture and considers Sussex Downland churches to be mainly distinguished by their smallness and charm (Jenkins 1999: 237,682). Jenkins appears to take his tone from Nikolaus Pevsner and his collaborators, David Lloyd for Hampshire and Ian Nairn for West Sussex, writers of the even more famous architectural county gazetteers which make up the *Buildings of England* series (Pevsner and Nairn 1965; Pevsner and Lloyd 1967). Pevsner's analyses are often central to the ways visitors perceive the churches they visit as they provide an architectural synopsis. I am no exception since these guides, for all their idiosyncratic value-judgements, afford a particularly fine-grained snapshot of the churches, buildings and monuments of each county, parish or town. In fact, Pevsner's recordings often act as a cultural accolade for the building itself (although his occasional acerbities can also have the reverse effect).

Since these books have been so influential for so long, they have acquired a disproportionately over-arching authority. Pevsner and his co-writers could not spend extensive periods of study time investigating village buildings and their churches and as a result their assessments are accurate and learned but somewhat summary. Their comments give the impression that many of the Hampshire/Sussex border churches have either been damaged by 19th-century restoration or are so architecturally undistinguished that they fail to compare with the more spectacular clusters of

parish churches found in other counties such as Norfolk, Suffolk, Oxfordshire or Devon (Lethbridge 2000, Graves 2000, Lane and Walshaw 2007, Whiting 2010). These border churches therefore have not in themselves been made an object of research but feature generally in county guides such as those by Margaret Green, David Lloyd, Jo Draper, John Reger, Paul Coppin and John Allen (Green 1967, Lloyd 1974, Draper 1990, Reger 1996, Coppin 2005, Allen 2010-13) and, of course, the foundational Victoria County Histories, edited by Page for Hampshire (1908) and Salzman for Sussex (1953) This is unsurprising since they have few obvious unifying characteristics which draw them into an architectural group other than their proximity to a county border which, although fairly unchanged over time, is more a socio-historical rather than a geographical construct. Contrasts therefore lie in the geography of the South Downs and the lowland coastal regions (*see Map 3 and Chapter 2.3-4*).

Some local guides reflect this assessment and group churches because their parishes lie together in geographically coherent landscapes. Thus, for example, Paul Coppin's 2001 guide *101 Medieval Churches of West Sussex* devotes its chapters to church sets examined according to their localities and Margaret Green does much the same thing with *Hampshire Churches* (1978). This approach is quite logical, and indeed I have done it myself when putting together my own gazetteer (*see Appendix*). Other guide writers deal with their material alphabetically (Draper 1990, Allen 2010-13, Pevsner and Nairn/Lloyd 1965/67). However organised, writing a gazetteer for this area becomes problematic if one attempts to find structured architectural coherence across the sample. The variables are innumerable and a church's material development is contextually dependent on its history, its economic biography and especially on its populations of parishioners, patrons, donors or priests and the nature of their engagement with religion through the ages. Thus when contemplating such a collection of churches one is looking at religious practice and its material expression rather than creating an encyclopedia of architectural development. In contrast to a thesis which is discursive, a guide or gazetteer has a more straightforward descriptive purpose.

With a study such as this where practice is interpreted from the material record, the question of scale needs careful evaluation. The area covered by my sample of 50 churches consists of 14 miles N-S and 17 miles E-W, giving a total of 238 square miles (*see Map 4*). This makes available a broad range of architecture and a topography supporting contrasting demographic nucleation and dispersal. It enables a medium-scale approach incorporating a good cross section of different rural economies including some of the smaller market towns. Simultaneously it copes with variation in terms of parochial population and social structure in a region known for resistance to as well as acceptance of state religion. The area contains few churches which can be referred to as 'type sites'

– ie churches which exemplify core period features or architecture (for examples see Child 2007, Jenkins 1999, Rodwell 2005, Smith, Hutton and Cook 1976, Strong 2008 in addition to Pevsner's series, the Victoria County History and the NADFAS collection of church records). Many of these relatively under-scrutinised churches come without any baggage of preconceptions when it comes to analyses of their early modern circumstances. A medium scale sample avoids the limitations imposed by a narrowly contextual approach focusing on a handful of parishes. It likewise rejects the temptation to present a macrocosmic view for which greater depth of learning and more long-term research is required than can be achieved in the requisite PhD time-scale. It does however go some way in responding to Sarah Tarlow's encouragement to British historical archaeologists to push through the limits imposed by 'fine-grained studies of local and regional craft and manufacturing traditions' which preoccupied and 'parochialised' this branch of the discipline in the 1980-90s (Tarlow 1999b:267).

It has been necessary to ascribe time-frames to the churches studied: all have had to have either been built before or during the post-medieval period and to have retained some vestiges of pre-19th-century diagnostic material. Nineteenth-century ecclesiological restoration has been generally inimical to my research. My enquiries centre on the changes wrought on Catholic medieval buildings by Protestantism, and thus an ideological climate, as initiated by the Oxford Movement in the first half of the 19th century, has been, to say the least, unhelpful. Under the spell of Augustus Pugin, the Camden Society and ecclesiology, a resurgence of interest in all things medieval drove clergymen, patrons, scholars and architects to rebuild and often to reinvent medieval buildings (Hill R 2007:213-215, 256). Since parish churches were invariably their first target, restorers usually prefaced their activities by removing all evidence of the intervening post-medieval centuries (Webster in Cooper and Brown 2011:197-210). However, while most of the churches along the Hampshire/Sussex border have been extensively restored, there are few instances where Victorian attention has proved utterly destructive. Even where ecclesiologists made repeated attempts at re-modelling, one can still find clues which allow some archaeological evaluation of a church's shape and spatial layout during the post-medieval period. Indeed, one can see that the new ecclesiological language imposed on parish churches is an archaeological phenomenon of equal interest which would complement and further an early modern analysis especially as much crucially important groundwork has already been done by scholars such as Dell Upton, Sarah Tarlow and Harold Mytum (Upton 1986, Tarlow 1999a:183-198, 1999c, Mytum 1999:215-230, 2004).

Much of my background thinking has been multi-disciplinary. In addition to archaeology and

architecture the disciplines of history and art history are inherently implicated in the process of studying parish churches. Anthropological work on ritual practice, gender relations, the connections between domestic and religious space, rites of passage, mortuary rites and concepts of pollution and purification are also intrinsic to my themes. This multidisciplinary endeavour accordingly demands that these different disciplinary priorities and avenues of study need to be combined into a recognisable archaeological language of interpretation. Evidently I cannot pretend to any proper expertise in the above fields but without such assistance as has been provided by other forms of scholarship this work would, by concentrating entirely on the empirical data of the parish church, lose any claims to roundness.

1.4. Literature Review

Reading for any research subject involves a long and sometimes tortuous intellectual journey, primarily undertaken along a logical, planned route but sometimes more divergently as new texts are published, new directions appear or colleagues recommend new sources. The multidisciplinary which I have discussed above also leads a researcher into new academic fields which have to be subsumed into the scope of the research topic. Logically therefore it seemed necessary to start my literary journey by researching the state of the medieval church prior to the onset of the Reformation in the 1530s and 40s. As I have already indicated, one of the most influential texts I started with was Pamela Graves's *The Form and Fabric of Belief* (2000) which uses refined accounts of ecclesiastical and vernacular agency to assess the socio-religious attitudes of medieval populations attending the cathedrals and parishes churches of Norfolk and Devon. It has a similar scale to the work I was planning, a similar investigative element and, most importantly, it gives its reader a foundational grounding in spatial analysis - an attribute which assisted me in refining my own spatial viewpoints when I began my fieldwork.

Embarking on historical secondary sources, I encountered perhaps the most influential historical text on religion of the late 20th century, Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars – Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (1992), thereby unwittingly entering the territory of a long-running historical controversy which still bubbles on. Duffy's intensively-researched book has challenged many preconceptions concerning the religious history of 15th-16th century England, having had a profound impact on the study of pre- and post-Reformation religion by historians and archaeologists alike. It was written with an overarching purpose, designed to redefine the vitality and health of the pre-Reformation Catholic church in order to overturn the prevailing historical viewpoint that 'Protestantism was, if not necessarily true, then at least not obviously and ludicrously false, like Roman Catholicism. Believers and unbelievers were agreed that whatever the

true claims of Christianity, the Reformation was a vital stage in the cleansing of the English psyche from priestcraft, ignorance and superstition” (Duffy (1992) 2005:xiii). *The Stripping of the Altars* persuasively demonstrates the vigour of English Roman Catholicism well into the 17th century.

Since his book’s publication in 1992 Duffy has linked up with a number of other significant historians, such as John Bossy (1975), J J Scarisbrick (1984) and Christopher Haigh (1993) who were also challenging the ‘prevailing viewpoint’ which Duffy sought to overturn. In turn this re-evaluation of the vitality of the late medieval and Tudor Catholic church drew its own critics such as David Aers who accused Duffy of revisionism and of air-brushing incipient Protestantism in the form of the Lollard movement out of the picture (Aers 1994, Duffy 1992 (2005): xxi-xxv). The argument’s scale partially derives from the confessional antagonisms of each side. Duffy is a Catholic and his opponents are quite often Anglicans and although all are anxious not to thrust their own religious or non-religious positions to the fore, a reader may deduce that such personal ideological agendas still play an underlying role in modern historical scholarship. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that Duffy’s best known works (1992, 2001) are responsible for an important rebalancing of the thinking which surrounds the state of religious belief in the 16th century. That this has infused historical writing for over two decades shows the potency of the subject.

After this, it was necessary to read through and contrast the canon of mid-late 20th century historical texts which have dealt with the effects of the Protestant Reformation and its association with the transition of the medieval cosmology into that of the early modern. However some of the earlier books which feature in this canon appear now to be presented by academic teachers as needing considerable revision in the light of Duffy’s work. This applies most particularly to the Marxist tenor of Christopher Hill’s early work dealing with post Reformation change (*The Century of Revolution* 1961), on Protestantism (*Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England* 1964) and his classic work on radical Puritan sects (*The World Turned Upside Down* 1972). This critique also spreads over to several equally important works such as Keith Thomas’s account of the connection of magic with religion and the effect of Protestantism on it - *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), Keith Wrightson’s *English Society 1580-1680* (1982), and David Underdown’s analysis of the social origins and consequences of the English Revolution – *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (1985). A history student reading such books is encouraged to approach them with an awareness that some of what they contain may have been academically superseded (which is fair enough) or has become ideologically unfashionable (which is not) – (Matthew Johnson *pers comm*). Taking the latter part of this advice to heart handicaps a proper evaluation of the period since a great deal of what has been written subsequently has used the ground covered by this literature as a basic matrix from which to

develop new thinking (for examples see Cressy 1997, 2000, Johnson 1993, 1996, 2006, 2010, Houlbrooke 1998, Haigh 1993, 2007 etc). The implied suggestion that texts which emanated from the very different political academic climate of the 1960s-80s should be handled with conscious scepticism removes much of their impact and unwarrantably reduces their credibility. It is also notable that when archaeologists present collected editions on the period as they do in *The Archaeology of Reformation* (Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds) 2003) the vast majority of their texts cite Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars* but fail to include references to any of these earlier works.

In spite of the fact that the historical canon of Reformation and post-Reformation work that has appeared in the last few years now attempts to find a mid-path between Duffy's 'revisionism' and the 'post-revisionist' texts of Aers, Diarmaid MacCulloch etc (eg Aers 1994, MacCulloch 1990, 2004:188-204), it is still, according to Peter Marshall, mired in historiographical arguments which adhere to the religious complexions of its various exponents (Marshall 2009:564-586). The claims that Catholic or Anglican historians allow their confessional viewpoints to colour their texts is something which needs consideration as does Marshall's counter-balancing argument that those who write as agnostics are likely to lack religious empathy. He points out that religious commentators can 'retort that those who have never had a 'religious experience' may be less sensitised to the cultural meanings of the sources generated by such experiences and liable to miss some of the very things that made religion work for early modern people'. However, the actual recreation of early modern religious experience may only be vestigially achievable. Moreover from an anthropological viewpoint it is not necessarily desirable or possible to truly reproduce the experience of those under study. Achieving a depth of understanding of a culture may be preferable to submerging oneself in it and to attempt to do this in the case of past cultures is exceedingly problematic (Geertz 1973:201-213). I think therefore that what Marshall refers to as 'this brouhaha' is largely irrelevant as long as readers clearly understand the author's ideological position and apply their own caveats and critique (Marshall 2009:571-3). My reading throughout has been largely directed by the Geertzian hermeneutics which Ian Hodder has discussed so influentially (see below) rather than any attempt to recreate early modern religious experience empathically by means of personal faith (Hodder 1991:7-18). It is accordingly necessary to state at this point that I have approached my reading and research from the standpoint of a non-believer who is deeply interested in the belief systems of past cultures - a position I will expand on in due course.

Most usefully to an archaeologist, there has also been an outpouring of historical works from scholars who are concentrating more on the materiality of early modern religion. The fore-runner

of this approach is Margaret Aston (1988) whose work on post-Reformation iconoclasm was partly object-related. Others may have been influenced by art historians, many based at the University of Sussex, who have adopted a strong social stance, focussing their research on the social meanings of the art and architecture of the period rather than on such objects as artworks alone (eg, Lucy Gent 1990, 1995; Maurice Howard 1990, 2007; Nigel Llewellyn 1990, 1991, 2001; Nigel Lindley 1993, 2007 and Tara Hamling 2007, 2010). Foremost amongst these historians who include Ralph Houlbrooke (1998), Peter Marshall (2002), Steve Hindle (2004), Peter Sherlock (2008), Robert Whiting (2010) and Alexandra Walsham (2006), is David Cressy whose most holistic work on early modern religious life *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, religion and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (1997) dissects socio-religious practices and knits them firmly into the domestic and institutional materiality of the 16th-17th centuries. Of all his texts it is *Agnes Bowker's Cat – Travesties and Transgression in Tudor and Stuart England* (2000) which I have found most useful for this thesis. (It is also an example of the occasional divergence from the logical path which one comes across by happenstance). This book concentrates on small items or archival reportings which reveal transgressive events or resistance to the Protestant norm particularly from the perspective of ordinary people. These events can be fascinating in their strangeness and disclose striking differences between the post-medieval religious world and that of the modern day. My research's range does not always permit a refined approach to transgression but Cressy's book has been profoundly useful in my fourth and sixth chapters where I examine religious media which allowed for greater self-expression and the manipulation of material culture in order to present alternative social meanings.

Side by side with these historical texts I have expanded my knowledge of art historical material to improve my appreciation of those post-medieval religious artistic forms used to create memory and deliver social information. Many of the art historians mentioned above whose literature is concerned with religion and its social effects have developed their own strands of theoretical perception. Llewellyn, the foremost specialist in post-medieval tomb sculpture, has written extensively on the symbolism of the early modern body as it is represented by monumental effigies (discussed further below and explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6). Maurice Howard has formulated influential ideas on the ways in which Elizabethans projected their sense of identity by 'fashioning' their appearance to reflect their wealth and status (Llewellyn 1990: 218-240, 1991, 2000, Howard 1990: 198-217). Tara Hamling's recent book *Decorating the 'Godly' Household – Religious art in Post-Reformation Britain* (2010) explores the expansion of art and symbolism from the religious into the domestic habitat. Thus, as with Graves's work on medieval religious *habitus*, she enables us to perceive the material effects which Haigh's point about the pervasiveness of

post-Reformation religious consciousness makes through his archival reading (Haigh2007:5). This application of a historically informed material analysis is perhaps as close as any historian gets to an archaeological attitude and is extremely pertinent when it comes to comprehending the layers of meaning which images and objects embody.

In order to deepen my appreciation of religious identity as a cultural phenomenon I have needed to consider how anthropological works on ritual and religion underpin an archaeological view. Durkheim's definition of the social cohesiveness induced by religious systems which effectively allow societies to worship themselves has been worked over, extended and contested over the past century (Durkheim (1912) 2001:327-343 Evans- Pritchard 1937, Leach 1969, Geertz 1973). The significance of cultural rituals have been examined to include the reciprocity of the social and, by implication, religious contract (Mauss 1924), concepts of pollution and purification (Douglas 1966), the language of ritual and religious symbols (Levi-Strauss 1962, 1963, Geertz 1973), ritual practice and performance (Bell 1992, Turner 1967, 1982, Schechner 1988, 1993) and the socio-religious aspects of liminality and death (Van Gennep 1909, Turner 1967, Bloch 1971, Metcalfe and Huntingdon 1991, Rappaport 1999). These issues are crucial to analyses of religion as they provide a vocabulary and framework for thinking about one's own particular religious field which help to avoid ethnocentricity and invite cross-cultural comparison.

In Britain the anthropology of ritual and religion has been essential to the promulgation of archaeological prehistoric theorising (see for example Richard Bradley's *The Significance of Monuments* (1998), Mike Parker Pearson's *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (1999), Christopher Tilley's *Metaphor and Material Culture* (1999), Alisdair Whittle's *Archaeology of People: Dimensions of Neolithic Life* (2003) and Chris Fowler's *The Archaeology of Personhood* (2004)). Prehistory, lacking a textual dimension, invites past-present analogising and the anthropological theory which has been applied to prehistoric archaeology has resulted in a wealth of interpretation and conceptualisation. This has been extended into medieval archaeology enabling more developed ways of thinking about the major medieval themes of power, religion and gender. I have discussed Graves's work already, but Roberta Gilchrist, Matthew Johnson and Kate Giles have all added important re-appraisals of medieval material culture with the introduction of theoretically-informed social analyses (Gilchrist 1995, 1999, Johnson 1993, 1996, 2002, Giles 2007 etc). In the cases of Johnson (1996, 2006, 2010), Sarah Tarlow (1999 a, b and c, 2003) and Harold Mytum (1999, 2004) this work also covers the early modern period into the 20th century and a new body of research is emerging which owes many of its innovatory qualities to its authors' wide-ranging insights and depth of inter-disciplinary knowledge.

It is this particular field of social archaeology that offers most scope for my analyses. Apart from the research American archaeologists in the field of 17th-19th century studies such as Mark Leone and Dell Upton who have expanded and developed many of James Deetz's insights (Deetz 1984, Upton 1986 and Leone 2005), the bulk of the work done on post-Reformation religion is historical commentary. This concentrates heavily on the 'Long Reformation' – the 16th-17th centuries, leaving out much 18th century investigation. Much of this historical literature is meticulously researched but bound in with factional undercurrents which afford the reader a glimpse into the internal workings of a rarified academic club whose affiliates occupy their armchairs in segregated divisions within the same members' lounge. Those who are exploring the material evidence as well as the textual archive seem to me to have achieved the most exciting expositions. These are shared by a set of art historians whose work has evolved over the past 30 years into a formidable body of theoretically developed material which needs merging together with the archaeological perspective. Simultaneously the many 20th century anthropological explorations of religion, ritual and death must be included alongside other paths of thought to widen the focus of the scholarly exploration of the post-medieval centuries. .

1.5 Theoretical Issues

1.5.1 Theoretical methodology

There are two major thinkers, both anthropologists, who have substantially shaped the ways in which I have conducted the process, progress and conclusions of this thesis. The first is Clifford Geertz whose work on hermeneutics has informed an entire generation of post-processualist archaeologists (eg see Hodder 1991 (above), Sinclair in Thomas (ed) 2000:474-488). Geertz, influenced by the philosopher Gilbert Ryle, developed an ethnographic methodology which was based around 'thick description'. This term – thick description – crops up frequently in anthropological literature and is used to denote a depth of study, a 'plunging-into' a subject or culture which reveals, as one peels back the subject's layers, its complexity and polysemous qualities. Without this depth of study one can only perceive the 'thin' surface layer of a subject or culture. Without it the cultural nuances of an action which signal the action's true complexity are lost and the description becomes just a list of a few monotonal behavioural traits. Writing in the 1970s Geertz frankly used the term 'description' - a word which had previously been sidelined in favour of more Functionalist and Structuralist concepts of 'explanation'. As Anthony Sinclair observes

'People act in a certain way because of the association between meaning and actions.

Anthropological fieldwork, therefore, does not just involve the recording of physical actions, but attempts to understand the reasons people have for acting as they do.’
(Sinclair 2000:475)

Geertz also suggested that description went further than explanation since it allowed readers to make their own interpretations and use their own analysis of the subject matter in order to build on or critique it. It positions the recipient more reflexively alongside the thick describer and constructs a dialectic relationship between the two (Geertz 1973: 3-30, 412-453). This methodology can be applied very effectively to archaeological fieldwork such as mine where gaining a depth of familiarity with a site, its history and archive ensures that its description constantly accretes layers and invites reciprocity of information from all involved - from local historians, churchwardens and others connected with the churches themselves to fellow students, lecturers and scholars encountered at conferences. The descriptive process grows ever thicker since each site can also be understood through an increasingly widening and multidisciplinary literary knowledge of the subject.

My second major influence is Alfred Gell, whose specific area of expertise lies in the analysis of the anthropology of art. Gell’s ideas, anthologised in his last book *Art and Agency* (1998), are in many cases very complex but his most widely-discussed insight lies in his concept of the ‘art object’ as a social entity. Indeed, he enquires at length into what exactly constitutes an art object and his evaluation concludes that it is an object which possesses intrinsic social presence in the same way as Maori *taonga* (or sacred treasures) harbour *hau* which, like the Polynesian concept of *mana*, is a powerful spiritual force which inhabits both object and its human possessor. He expands this to cover objects which can clearly be seen to act as social agents – his examples extending to children’s dolls or family cars (Gell 1998: 16-19). He also discusses an additional form of agency, characterised as ‘captivation’ which describes a state of mind of inexpressible appreciation and fascination combined with an awareness of the incommensurability of sharing in its creative understanding which an observer feels when encountering a powerful art object (Gell 1998:68-72). In discussing his encounter with Vermeer’s picture, *The Lacemaker*, he says

‘Up to a point, I can be Vermeer, I can identify with his artistic procedure and see his picture, vicariously, as a product of my bodily engagement with the world... But once the point of incommensurability is reached, the point at which it is no longer possible to identify Vermeer’s agency with my own, then I am left suspended between two worlds : the world I ordinarily live in, in which objects have rational explanations and knowable origins, and the world adumbrated in the picture, which defeats explanation’ (Gell

1998:69).

My own attitude to what is apprehensible of the past is encapsulated by this insight. The past's apprehension therefore has to be a subjective experience which delves deeply but can never re-enact the subjectivity of past agency. I have used these twin elements of social agency and captivation to analyse much of the material culture which I describe in Chapters 3 -6 and I particularly employ these concepts in a case study which discusses the social agency of the Wriothesley tomb in St Peter's parish church, Titchfield, Hampshire in Chapter 5.5.2 (see GNo 13).

My study technique which involves repeated church and location analysis has been undertaken phenomenologically using Geertzian hermeneutics to identify the social stratigraphy of the material culture encountered. Although Gell is more frequently referred to by art historians and anthropologists (see Tanner and Osborne 2007, Hamling 2007:184), in this context he has proved invaluable archaeologically. Both Geertz and Gell's ideas are embedded in this work and inform the next theoretical sections which deal with my themes. This accordingly is the *type* of knowledge I have been seeking to explore.

1.5.2 Action and agency through liturgy

'..action dominates religious life for the very reason that society is its source' (Durkheim 2001(1912):313).

This thesis is constructed around the possibility of regarding material culture as active across time, although evidently the early modern things which confront us in the parish church have different values to those which were ascribed to them when they were new. This is not to say such objects - furniture, fittings and architecture - were not functional but they also formed spaces which determined movement, communication and socio-religious interaction and obtruded on personal consciousness so that the parishioner could use them as subjects for thinking and feeling. They represented different things to different sexes or age-sets, and, during the liturgical year, they were encountered in seasonal ways.

As Durkheim suggests, action is at the heart of most religious practice. The actions which make up a churchgoer's attendance at a service are all necessary for the ritual to take place. In the 16th-18th centuries it was not possible for a parishioner to sit at home and, at second-hand, watch 'Songs of Praise' on the television. The law decreed and piety, custom or the pressures of social conformity ensured that most members of a rural community would make the trip to their parish church and be seen to be present whenever liturgical events were scheduled (Hill 1961:75, Haigh 2007:5). Thus the nature of the parishioner's participation in the service and the parson's conducting of it

constituted a series of actions which were undertaken throughout the year in a repetitious and cyclical fashion.

Durkheim also proposes, with regard to religion as a whole, that the reiterated performance of liturgy is constructed in an idealised way in order to consolidate social normativity (Durkheim 2001 (1912):317-322). In this respect, the actions and performances demanded by the Prayer Book's services in the late 16th and early 17th centuries can be seen as socio-religious instructions designed to produce a series of national rituals structured in an idealised form (Harding 2003:386-7).

Leaving aside for the present the emergence of Dissenting sects, by the early 18th century Church of England services were framed in a way tending specifically towards social cohesiveness at the expense of religious enthusiasm (Coward 2003 (1980):457-461, Porter 1982: 170-1). The ideal aimed at throughout, was that of a well-adjusted, peaceable and conforming parish society in which all the members, including those deemed to be the lowest, understood and accepted their social roles (Thomas 2009:25-28). The tool shaping this ideal community was wielded by the ideal parish clergyman and consisted of his liturgical performance and ministry which created the framework for the successful spiritual functioning of that community. In turn his congregation performed their roles as conforming believers and obedient parishioners. Under these ideal conditions the parish was virtuous both morally and politically. The sociologist Erving Goffman notes that in order to achieve an idealised performance of this kind it is often necessary for an individual or group to represent themselves externally with the signs of their place as close to the centre of their desired ideal as possible, sometimes over-emphasising this position by means of a great deal of what he calls 'sign equipment' (Goffman 1959:45-6). Thus, people over-demonstrate their material culture in order to signal their ability to embed themselves in the ideal. In the case of early modern parish sign-equipment this might have included not only the paraphernalia and fabric of the church but the clothes everyone wore, their methods of arriving at and departing from church, who attended and who was left behind, where people sat, how they behaved and even what was visibly material of their socio-religious performances throughout the event including their knowledge of the liturgy.

Of course, not all members of a community entertained ideal concepts of worship, especially in 17th-18th century rural societies with substantial poor populations who neither had access to sign equipment nor much interest in religious performance, ideal or otherwise, but merely attended or absented themselves from church for socio-economic reasons. Other non-conformist parishioners, dissenters or recusants, had their own constructions of religious ideality (Cressy 1997:11-12, Haigh 2007). Moreover ideality remains exactly that and many of the religious documentary archives of post-medieval England - presentation and diocesan court records concentrating as they do on

transgressive events, burst with examples of religious discord, contention and animosity. This ideal was therefore a referent rather than an achievable reality (Underdown 1985:9).

The anthropologist Roy Rappaport sees liturgy as an ontological glue which, by its ability to re-present itself, acts to cohere disparate material, cognitive and linguistic social elements. Like Durkheim, he suggests that the liturgical element of religion is agglomerative; it 'mends the world' and cements the worshipper into a system shared with other people and groups at a universal level (Rappaport 1999:263). Indeed the tendency to see liturgy in this way – as a coherent somatic system of sounds, language, movement and symbolic representation with a commonly and universally understood enactive purpose - is tempting as it offers the prospect of viewing liturgy as a key determinative element of the religious paradigm which enables orthodoxies to develop. Discussing this, Graves gives a blow-by-blow account of how the medieval Sarum Use of the Catholic liturgy was devised as a bodily performance (Graves 2000:33-39). She describes how the celebration of the mass is reinforced somatically so that the bodily and material directionalism, the movement, gestures and position of the celebrants narrate/depict Christ's death and resurrection. The mass functions on visual, auditory and cognitive levels enabling the congregation to follow it and rendering Christ's Passion intelligible by these embodied symbolic actions. Having explained this, she then makes the following important point

'It is a further generalization, however, to assume that the significance of the mass allegory, the ideal, was equally understood by monastic and secular institutions. I will argue that different kinds of institution were intended to produce different kinds of subjectivity' (*ibid*).

In fact, in her conclusion she states that her text is aimed at showing how the ideal understanding of specific liturgy is profoundly contingent on the ability of its conductors to standardise, control and direct its performance (Graves 2000:166-7). Far from universally 'mending the world' or gluing disparate bits of it together, different liturgical emphases create composite responses including misapprehension or alternative interpretation which sometimes acts to fracture or re-align personal religious understanding. This point not only applies to medieval Catholic liturgy but even more cogently to post-Reformation Protestant rituals which were more variable since the Anglican establishment was generally less successful than the Catholic church in stamping out deviation. Moreover what is understood during a service may cause the ideal represented by the liturgy to mutate since understanding and its response is achieved on such a vast variety of cognitive, emotional and sensory levels. While one can regard the production of the Book of Common Prayer in its four different forms – 1549, 1552, 1559 and 1662 (Books LLC 2010:24) – as a standardised liturgical text, the ways in which the 1559 version was used until the Restoration depended on the

politico-religious position of monarch or state. Its use also reflected the religious temperature of the individual vicar, the degree of support he received from his bishop, his patrons and from his congregation's willingness or reluctance to conform (Underdown 1985: 88-99, Cressy 2000:2-4). By the mid 18th century pastoral attitudes to the liturgy were equally dependent on a clergyman's construction of his role though now rural religion where it conformed generally did so with less fuss wherever the white heat of popular religious engagement was moderating (Porter 1982:168-71, Hill C 1961:1-5). Over the period generally though, in spite of its creators' intentions, liturgical meaning as it was performed and received can be also seen to be reverberant, reactive and reflexive.

1.5.3 Protestant materiality and space

Until the Restoration, and in spite of the Church of England's non-Calvinist Episcopal structure, the form of Protestantism as expressed by the liturgy in the parish church had elements of Presbyterian ritual at its core. Many preachers emphasised the separation of the Elect from the Damned and the crucial centrality of the doctrine of Original Sin. Simultaneously they upheld the fundamental importance of the sacrament of the Eucharist and this often created chasms in interpretation and understanding of doctrine at both congregational and non-conformist levels (Hill 1972: 156-158, MacCulloch 2005:601-2, Haigh 2007:4-6, Thomas 2009; 226-235). The Arminian movement espoused by Archbishop Laud in the 1620s-30s promoted greater ritual ceremonial and the reinstatement of a more hegemonic attitude to the church. This helped to complicate, confuse and intensify the over-heating of the English politico-religious climate as it surged towards civil war (MacCulloch 2003: 511-523). Consequently the swings in religious ideology of the Tudor period were followed by a rapidly accelerating development of differing and contesting degrees of religious opinion from the grass roots upwards in the following century.

Many analyses of the constructions and effects of Protestantism discuss Max Weber's foundational essay *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930 (1992)). Weber's famous text identifies Protestantism, and Calvinism in particular, as a major factor in the development and spread of the capitalist political system across the West. He suggests that the combination of the empirical nature of Protestantism as a religion with its affective qualities as an ideology produced a particular socio-economic system and mentality.

Weber links Protestantism particularly with a doctrinal ideology based around the production and generation of money, an analysis which he derives from essential Calvinist ideas of predestination. These state that those who are predestined by God for automatic salvation are entitled to prosper and may immerse themselves in worldly commerce as a sign of their grace. However, although the

Elect may display their spiritual and worldly superiority, they are also constrained to live ascetically. These inherent contradictions are resolved by their use of their accumulated capital and prosperity as evidence of their state, so that their 'good works' are not contributive in the Lutheran sense to their salvation but proof of it (Weber 1930:98-128). Moreover the work which generates prosperity is bound into the Puritan life-way as a calling, a sign of the state of the Elect soul. Thus the individual, by constantly devoting him/herself to profitable work, shuns worldly pleasure and follows an ascetic path (Weber 1930:35-46, 114-128). It is this ideological pathway which historians, following Weber, have dubbed 'the Protestant ethic' (see Hill 1972:15).

If Weber's thesis that the increasing focus on individualism and the implementation of the Protestant work ethic produced early capitalistic political systems across Northern Europe is valid, can this be seen in the workings of the post-medieval southern English parish? Certainly at ground level there seems to be little evidence for any deliberative awareness of the adoption of a different frame of mind regarding the work practices of ordinary rural parishioners as the new rituals of the Church of England were absorbed. Agricultural work is seasonal, sporadic and can be economically frustrating, depending as it does on the unpredictability of the weather. Additionally the money economy was not as well developed in country areas where economic systems still involved non-monetary subsistence strategies such as waste-foraging and gleaning, and this remained the case from the Middle Ages up until the 18th century (Hindle: 2004: 22-48). Here the work ethic is really only visible through the documentary archive left by more radical congregational members such as the 17th century Jeake family of Rye or the Cawleys of Chichester (Fletcher 1975: 103-119, 260-1) and seems contingent on parochial religious power politics. Country economies were contextual and agriculture lived side by side with mining, iron-working, quarrying and other forms of production. Alternative ways of viewing the issues thrown up by rural living and working were inevitably attached to the kinds of work being done within the parish (Underdown 1985:1-8).

What was common to all these diverse parishes was the phenomenon of enclosure and it is here that the impact of capitalism can be seen on the rural parishioner (eg Porter 1982:208-213). While I have no intention of adding to the many texts devoted to enclosure as discussed by Matthew Johnson in his analysis of late medieval and early modern capitalism – *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Johnson 1996), his study foregrounds a critique of the essentialism which applies primary cause-and-effect mechanisms to explain its development (Johnson 1996:44-69). It is this way of thinking about historical process which leads one to discuss the subject by describing it as a 'phenomenon' as if it was autonomous and had an asocial purpose of its own. In contrast valuable insights are gleaned through applying Johnson's approach. His method is based on an analysis of enclosure at

its simplest level - the reorganisation of fields into discrete parcels belonging to fewer individuals as a replacement for the previous system of open fields and field strips. In other words he is concerned to *depict* this process by interrogating its effect on the people involved in such changes.

He assesses change not just in terms of a general awareness of territorial redistribution and the loss of common land but by landscape alteration, by the erection of new forms of boundary and the mental and emotional adjustments needed when encountering these things. He suggests reactions to this form of change were complex and ambiguous. It is this scrutiny of the effects of 'closure' – an increasing desire to control space, to segregate people into defined classes, to establish social perimeters - which shaped self-image and ordered society into a safe, hegemonic structure. This extends to ideas attaching to parish institutions such as the church where, for example, the 17th century influx of box pews and the social hierarchy represented by their tenancy clearly follows enclosing imperatives (Johnson 1996:197-209).

Perceptions of ecclesiastical spatial arrangements and their intertwined relationship with the politics of materiality which emerge from a study of enclosure provide a platform for this study. It is apparent here that the transformations which took place inside the church and which were tuned to adaptations in liturgical and ideological practice were mirrored by changes in the landscape across parishes as they were subjected to enclosure. Thus, those who witnessed the removal of the 15th century benches from the nave and transferred themselves to panelled box pews also walked, rode or drove to church through countryside which was increasingly hedged and fenced and where known landscape boundaries were being grubbed up or redefined and unfamiliar ones were being established. These were the physical and spatial expressions of the materiality of change.

1.5.4 Enclosure and the sensation of gender – the early modern religious body

The word enclosure summons up dual meanings: the first suggests a protected situation encircled by fences or boundaries and set aside as a privileged area. The second meaning evokes the concept of imprisonment and secrecy and is often attached to the sequestered life led by female devotees within a nunnery. Roberta Gilchrist theorises these meanings carefully in her analysis of female withdrawal in the Middle Ages in the conclusion to her text *Gender and Archaeology* (1999). Her estimation of the seclusion expected of the elite noblewoman's lifestyle sidesteps binary schematics or presentist value judgements. She suggests that seclusion was a mark of status, that the areas occupied by elite women were feminised but often shared by men, that female power could be as easily discharged from inside as outside. Powerful women could construct interiors to suit their own requirements, allowing them to create their own worlds (Gilchrist 1999:143-145).

Medieval gender inequality is not disregarded here but it is rendered more complex. However this analyses a very small sample of a population; the degree to which non-elite medieval women were either secluded or allowed to wield power is not discussed here. What emerges from Gilchrist's text is the odd equation (to a modern sensibility) of enclosed seclusion with privilege. This analysis is taken further by Wendy Wall whose view of early modern domestic issues calls into question the female powerlessness usually associated with enclosed domesticity and suggests the gender relationships of the household were far more intricate, confused and ambivalent than they are usually considered to be (Wall 2006:8-10).

The enclosing imperative Johnson sees in the introduction of box pews and the hire-fees the church charged reflects the ambiguity of this form of seclusion. The semiotics of seating furniture need to be disentangled since box pews had a hierarchy of value and status (see Marsh in Cooper and Brown 2012: 132-4, Chapter 3.3.3 and for a view of the way the hierarchies of church pews and landownership expressed themselves in practice see Richard Gough (1700) 1981 *A History of Myddle*). Questions of privacy and separation are implicit in these arrangements. There is a dichotomy between what kinds of bodies are recognisably visible. The respectable male religious body is 'honourably' visible through its size and its potential role as church officer while the female's is more secluded. In addition the woman is expected to be quiet, obedient and subservient to the male. The reasons for this difference need theorising.

Here I turn to some ontological deductions which Elizabeth Grosz has made in her book *Volatile Bodies* (1994) which relate to the power of the visual image and the development of bodily identity. Using Lacanian theories she describes the ways in which child self-perceptions are developed (Lacan (1977) 1990). Thus an infant first creates a mirror image of itself from its growing understanding of its body as separated and placed in a relationship with external materiality (Grosz 1994:39-46). Thereafter, as it grows into puberty, it needs to confront and eventually bypass its own mirror image by measuring itself against prominent interactive social visual projections which it does by developing a distinct body image.

'This body image is not an isolated image of the body but necessarily involves the relations between the body, the surrounding space, other objects and bodies, and the coordinates or axes of vertical and horizontal. In short it is a *postural* schema of the body. The body image is the condition of the subject's access to spatiality (including the spatiality of the built environment)' (Grosz 1994:85).

This implies that the body, as it matures, develops ever more sophisticated ideas of its

image which are mediated by its spatial, social and visual surroundings. Moreover if we take ideas of body mirror and image as representing successive primary stages of biography we can see how social space operates on a developing sense of human identity as what is visually understood is translated into cognitive behaviour. This differs from Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* which does not examine in detail the interior spatial pathways the nascent subject takes in order to absorb social knowledge of his/her environment (Bourdieu 1980). Christopher Gosden observes that Bourdieu's theorising is targeted towards identifying the relationship between body and mind by thinking more specifically about the body and bodily knowledge of the world (Gosden 1999). Thus I would add to Bourdieu's ideas of the un- or sub-conscious existential methodology of *habitus* Grosz's synthesis of the internal ontological pathways the developing body takes. While an appreciation of *habitus* as an inceptive mode of 'being in the world' is fairly general and is usually central to users of practice theory, the combination of sociological critiques and insights based around body and space which Grosz builds in her work adds another important dimension enabling practice theory to be directed towards gender analysis.

Grosz also discusses the phenomenology which affects these ideas and which assists my own research. In her review of Merleau-Ponty's works (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1963, 1968) she extrapolates his ideas on the ways in which the materiality of the body (the flesh) is implicated in experience. Experience by this definition is a product of body and mind and expresses a field of action which is made up of their inextricable conjunction. Experience therefore is a phenomenon as condign to the human condition as breathing and eating, and in his later work *The Visible and Invisible* (1968) Merleau-Ponty suggests that here the body and mind are completely interpenetrating. These approaches allow the analysis of elements of the religious experience of the parishioners under study, firstly by assessing how in the circumscribed space of a church each may have gradually put together a religious body image based on the messages those spaces were conveying. Secondly it affords an opportunity to examine to what extent a parishioner's 'fleshly' visibility or invisibility and her/his sensory experiences were part of the spatial and bodily understandings of each person's religious *habitus* (Grosz 1994:100 and see Chapter 4.5).

These analyses directly filter into an understanding of parochial gender relations and can be applied to the configurations of church furniture touched on earlier. Thus, for example, when looking about the church during a service, parishioners are led towards the contemplation of the male body. Where female funerary effigies are visible they evoke consideration of the female body in death. These elements I discuss in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6 but suffice it to say that they are semiotic mechanisms of social control. Such gendered perceptions will have been internalised from

the first moments of a child's introduction to parochial religious practice and be confirmed by constant repetition as it grows older.

Placed against the concept of the internalisation of the gender role are the philosophies of the performative gendered state proposed by Judith Butler. Butler's reframing of the modelling of the gendered body appears in her most celebrated book *Gender Trouble* (1990) and expresses her view that gender is not an innate sexual pre-existing bodily construct but is repetitively enacted into being by the expectations and requirements of normative heterosexual societies (Butler 1990:183-193). Her proposition concerning the performativity of gender has been widely taken up and critiqued by archaeologists since the materiality of performativity (the ways in which people physically repeat the actions which go to make up their gendered identity) is visible in the material record of the past (Meskell and Preucel 2004: 131, Schmidt 2000:221, Buchli 2000: 236, Joyce 2000:272, 2004:83-4, Perry and Joyce 2001:63-76, Gilchrist 1999:82, 2004: 148-9, Conkey 2000:291, Fowler 2004; 37-8, 44 Tilley 1999:102 etc). Butler's original contention that sexuality is constructed and manipulated by performance is developed in her more recent work *Undoing Gender* (2004) and draws on the idea of bodily malleability to describe a mode of 'becoming':

'As a consequence of being in the mode of becoming, and in always living with the constitutive possibility of becoming otherwise, the body is that which can occupy the norm in myriad ways, exceed the norm, rework the norm, and expose realities to which we thought we were confined as open to transformation. These corporeal realities are actively inhabited, and this 'activity' is not fully constrained by the norm. Sometimes the very conditions for conforming to the norm are the same as the conditions for resisting it' (Butler 2004:217).

This concept of alternative responses to the pressure exerted on the gendered body by the norm and the agency Butler ascribes to the body itself approaches Grosz's theories of sexual 'slipperiness'. In her conclusion to *Volatile Bodies* Grosz has arrived at an analysis of contemporary sexual difference by suggesting that on one level the female body is conceived of as a series of uncontrollable flows - corporeal forms of liquidity - which the male body has engendered and strives to contain. She also takes the view that sexual difference is part of existence without at any point ever achieving 'wholeness' since each body is capable of endless alterity (Grosz 1994:187-209). Grosz's flows and alterities have a strong relationship with Butler's ideas of becoming and her proposition that the norm is encountered by endless alternative modes of performance. Since early modern male attitudes were coloured by their anxieties over female bodily incontinence (Fletcher 1995:44-82) this brings us back to the practice of female bodily enclosure in the public

circumstances of church-going, discussed above. The necessity for women to be seen to perform their religion in public was rendered controllable as long as the public spaces they occupied were provided with mechanisms designed to restrain this dangerous incontinence. The performance of religion was not only gendered but sited within and around the body since the congregation was a collection of bodies united (theoretically) in acts of communal ritual. Bodily performance is therefore an intrinsic element of my analysis of religious identity and this, with its relationship to the construction and maintenance of memory, constitutes the final part of this theoretical passage.

1.5.5 Performing identity and memory

A church, like a theatre, revolves around staging and auditorium. Although godly Puritans would have been horrified to hear their churches described thus, there are many parallels to be drawn between the function and spatial layout of both types of building (see Chapter 4.5). However the church underpins its function as a religious arena with the more oblique one of replicating domestic space. Graves traces back the form of the developing medieval church to that of the hallhouse – the spatial architectural formula *par excellence* which dominated English house building from the early Middle Ages well into the 16th century (for accounts of the hallhouse template see Mercer 1975:8-33, 50-77, Harris 2006:31-59, Johnson 1993, 2010:42-112, Chatwin 1996:32-71, Roberts *et al* 2003:126-187). She analogises the church's chancel, nave and passageways as upper and lower hall ends, expanding this to cover the ways in which church/hall house space may have been construed:

‘In extending the domestic spatial metaphor further west, the laity might be seen to have reclaimed space for themselves. Instead of feeling external to the action, the spatial reference of the ... nave would place the laity firmly within the metaphorical household. With the provision of their own altars and seating arrangements, they could exercise their own domestic and work-related discipline within this spiritual ‘household’ space’ (Graves 2000:111-2).

Graves shows the active means whereby the non-elite congregation sited themselves inclusively within a medieval liturgical space. These theoretical parallels can be repeated within post-Reformation religious and domestic spaces (explored further in Chapter 3.3.3). Here the directional focus of the medieval house's hall with its high end, its elevated dais table illuminated by increased fenestration and its association with richly worked textiles or painted cloths is echoed in the construction of the parish church whose east end, even after the Reformation, can still be associated with elevation, light and the materiality of privilege (see Harris 2005:23-26, 52-53 and

Chapter 3.3.1). The performance of layered social identity in the regulated spaces of a domestic hall was mimetically reproduced in the performance of religious identity where the two spaces were seen as reflective of each other.

Returning to theatre space, one can perceive that ritual actors construct and bolster their spiritual identities by use of architectural sets and properties which all public spaces such as churches, theatres and even courthouses develop and this helps to create performance. Additionally the provision of a *mis-en-scene* can call forth its own performative materiality. In this respect the theoretical analyses of the art historian Nigel Llewellyn of the treatment and representation of the body during the performance of post-medieval modern mortuary ritual need discussion. Llewellyn's exploration of Tudor and Stuart funeral monuments (see Llewellyn 1991, 1993, 2000) suggests they were not only intended as elite memorials acting abstractly as images of power and dynastic dominance but also as coded messages used to communicate with those able to interpret them and to differentiate them from social inferiors (Llewellyn 2000:37). He considers that effigies in particular have a visceral impact regardless of their semiotics. Their intimate association with death was the seat of their power and this was conjoined to their social assertiveness, bringing death and power to the forefront of the viewer's consciousness and invoking visions of the closeness and authority of the dead by means of their sculptural materiality (Llewellyn 2000:36-59).

Effigies in the English tradition were depicted with their eyes open (Lindley 1993:80). This presentation of the effigy as awake Llewellyn considers to be an extension of a dichotomy whereby Tudor and Stuart mortuary representations could be interpreted as having both a 'Natural Body' and a 'Body Politic'. He expands Kantorowicz's ideas of medieval monarchy as outlined in his work *'The King's Two Bodies'* (Kantorowicz 1957) and applies them to a much larger section of post-medieval society: the aristocracy, the gentry and wealthy mercantile classes, who in the 16th - 18th centuries could afford to construct representational memorials (Llewellyn 1991:46-72). He suggests that in death the Natural body was transient, a mere husk to be shrugged off, whereas the 'Monumental Body' or the 'Body Politic' (ie the effigy or depiction) represented the public expression of the image fixed in his/her social state (see Chapters 5 and 6 for case studies).

The body in life and in death is a seat of performance. In the public arena of a church it also functions as part of the religious scenery and forms the material from which memory is constructed. In this way the perdurance of the memorial may commemorate bodily aspects of a patronal family which is still worshipping in the same church. At this point, as Andrew Jones says

‘Remembrance is a process distributed between people and objects, and the process of evocation indexed by objects allows people to remember’ (Jones A 2007:26).

Here he shows how a network of memory is put into operation which initiates a dialectic exchange between rememberer and memorial. Under these circumstances a church visitor - say, a knowledgeable local onlooker - might start to recall not only a distant memory of the patronal ancestors buried in the vault beneath, but also events associated with those ancestors, a nearer memory of their subsequent progeny and events associated with them, and an awareness of the present family and ideas, reactions and emotions connected with them (see also Buckham 1999:199). Recollections of the changing landscape and domestic situation of the family will be part of this memory plus associated memories of their appearance, ideologies, politics, affinities and religious tendencies. The agency of the memorial here elicits the performance of memorialisation within its own circumscribed space and point in time.

1.5.6 Conclusion

From this account of the theoretical influences which have shaped my work, my themes of space, agency, gender and the performance and creation of memory in life and death can be seen to be intensely interrelated and interconnected within the arena and across the landscape of the early modern rural parish church.

My aim in this section has been to demonstrate an accumulated process of thinking. A critic might justly say of this that they see little relationship between the functionalism of Durkheim which began this exercise and the contemporary theories of Nigel Llewellyn and Andrew Jones which conclude it. During this time I have visited a number of theoretical paradigms, sometimes seeming to espouse practice theory, at another asserting a phenomenological attitude, sometimes demonstrating a strong feminist standpoint, sometimes assuming multiple stances. This progression, like my choice of interdisciplinary reading matter, emerges from the dictates of the subject itself which demand multi-directional approaches. My central tenets throughout derive from my hermeneutical and agency-based theoretical methodology, but otherwise I avoid siting myself at the heart of any one theoretical programme but in amongst those ideas which can best be applied to my material. This is intended to provide as much flexibility as the narrative will stand and when applied to the early modern parish church and its parishioners it allows for a remarkably productive research strategy.

1.6. Thesis Structure

Having covered so much ground in the introduction, in the next chapter I turn to an exploration of the research area in terms of its geography, its landscape qualities and its history. I then evaluate the nature and structure of the parish and the socio-religious elements which it contains and which shape it. This sets up the next four chapters for a series of discussions of parochial materiality. These fall into two parts; Part Two in which Chapters 3 and 4 deal with early modern religious identity from the point of view of the experiences of the living. In Part Three the following two chapters consider the identity of the dead and the ways in which mortuary materiality preserved (or failed to preserve) their memory.

The four chapters are, in addition, centred on the themes I have been discussing theoretically. Chapter 3 considers spatial issues within the church as defined by its furniture and architecture. By assessing the agency of the different forms of changing materiality visible in my sample of churches, I assemble a series of accounts of ordinary activities – what parishioners encountered when going to church, how they knew where to stand or sit, what to do once they were actively engaged in ritual and what their surroundings told them of their roles as parishioners while they were alive. The chapter is thus an examination of their cognitive understandings. Chapter 4 however passes on to an exploration of what they understood and felt through their senses. It begins with an account of some of the visual elements regularly experienced by parishioners in church and passes on to the possibility that liturgical performance and the use of sound in particular enabled them to expand and even push through the borders of what was conventionally allowable. The chapter finishes with an analysis of what parishioners might also have smelt and felt under situations where liturgical requirements demanded cleanliness and propriety while at the same time church buildings were suffering badly from lack of upkeep. These analyses are fitted into local case studies which examine the sensory problems caused by inter-parochial confessional or social contention. The whole of Part Two is intended to discuss a range of material objects and architectural adaptations introduced into parish churches which, while conforming to Protestant dogma, also reinvested the ‘stripped’ church with representational and semiotic meaning.

In Part Three which deals with mortuary practice, Chapter 5 reviews the differences between early modern and current attitudes to death and then discusses in some depth the forms of mortuary monument and landscape which survive in the research area. Spatial and directional themes are revisited, but at the core of this passage is an examination of the construction and performance of social memory and the ways in which it was calibrated in terms of social class. The chapter concludes with a case study of a major Hampshire tomb which provides theoretical and empirical analyses of monumental agency, sensory apprehension and the ideology of memorial permanence.

The next chapter is dedicated to a specific theme which interrogates gendered memorial practice. During the previous chapter I often pass from the general to the specific, but here I organise the chapter as a series of individual case studies devoted to elite women who commissioned their own family tombs. From this set of portraits various generalities emerge concerning their manipulation of memorial convention which can be applied to a particularly feminine view of what death meant to the early modern gentlewoman.

Chapter 7 concludes with summaries of how these themes have illustrated the development of Protestant religious identity in the research area. It becomes clear that the organisation of architecture and furniture and the use of it as a template to construct religious space actively shaped the understanding of post-medieval religious reception. The sensory provisions of the Anglican church, far from being stripped away by the Reformation, were also devised and framed to mould parochial conformity. However, in many cases, the very individuality of conscience which the Reformation encouraged can be seen to have enabled individual parishioners to side-step or adapt the materiality of worship to suit divergent agendas. This story continues after their deaths, although it is clear that the materials of commemoration – mortuary memorials – were only available to a small section of parish society. Nevertheless it is possible to perceive mortuary performances as allowing a certain leeway in the presentation of personal memory and this can be plainly viewed in the ways women wished themselves and their families to be remembered. Finally the chapter assesses what could not be included in this study, what is left to do and what new research directions have been uncovered, before finishing with a handful of vignettes of some of the parishioners who have figured in this story. The background to this research has now been accounted for. It is now time to start to think about the region itself and to examine its early modern religious constituents.

CHAPTER 2 The parishes, the churches and their landscapes

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline the physical aspects of the parishes and churches which line the border of East Hampshire with West Sussex. For this it is first necessary to explain my selection methodology and its logistics and, in order to site these churches and parishes within their landscapes, I touch on the geography of the two counties which in turn elides into a landscape survey of the parishes concerned. Having described the constituents of the research area I consider its history during the three centuries covered by the early modern period. I then explore the nature of the parish as a religious unit, its function, organisation, personnel and social relevance.

2.2 Research area and parish sample

The area under research is a 50 parish cluster running north from the coast up the Hampshire-Sussex border to the northern side of the South Downs where, depending on parish size, it stretches from two to four parishes wide in each county, providing for a substantial block of Downland parishes (*see Map 3*). In order to study an equal number of coastal parishes it was necessary to expand the research sample outwards on both sides. This is because the Southdown ridge, stretching from Winchester in the west in a south easterly direction towards Beachy Head widens from north to south between Petersfield and Bedhampton. This leaves a narrow strip between Portsdown Hill, its southern scarp, and the sea which reduces the area of coastal plain available for parochial division. I therefore include parts of the peninsulas which enclose Portsmouth, Langstone and Chichester harbours as well as the parishes which occupy the islands and headlands forming the inner coastlines (*see Map 4*). This results in a slight imbalance between coastal/ Downland areas and also in terms of counties with 24 researched parishes in West Sussex and 26 in Hampshire. However with the Hampshire churches, four are relegated to the outer edge of the research perimeter and two are problematic. The churches of St James, Clanfield, St John, West Meon, Holy Trinity, Blendworth and Christchurch, Widley are complete rebuilds: Clanfield's church dates to 1875, West Meon to 1843-6 and Blendworth to 1851. Widley's medieval church, St Mary Magdalen, was demolished in the 1950s but had been replaced by a new church in a different location in 1874. All four were entirely fitted out in the 19th century although there is a fine 18th century Royal Arms at West Meon. St Andrew's, Farlington and St Peter and St Paul's, Wymering were also substantially rebuilt in the 19th century but their graveyards and landscape relationships are of interest, being part of the broad matrix of social data on which this research is based.

The same considerations apply in Sussex though there are no complete rebuilds. Here, St Mary's,

Funtington, the Church of the Assumption, East Wittering, and St Mary's, Compton are most profoundly reconfigured by 19th century restoration though the churches of St Mary and St Peter at New Fishbourne and St Nicholas, Mid-Lavant have had extensive work done on their medieval architecture, obliterating many of their post-medieval elements. St James's, Birdham, West Selsey, has also been reworked and its chancel rebuilt while St Pauls', Elsted, ruined in the 19th century, was recently restored. In Sussex the Victorian spirit of enterprise and cultural confidence has been translated into clearance and refurbishment rather than demolition as in Hampshire.

In addition to my sample I refer occasionally to other 'extra-mural' churches. Since these exist outside the study area but epitomise aspects of post-medieval church building and furniture I sometimes use them comparatively. In this category I put such famous churches as All Saints, Minstead in the New Forest with its private pews and galleries and St Mary's, Avington, Hants built in 1768 by the Marchioness of Caernarvon as her estate church which maintains its late 18th century form in pristine condition. I also employ a case study of 17th century altar furniture in St Mary's Northiam in East Sussex (see Chapter 4.2.4 *and Map 5*).

Both counties have a preponderance of rural parishes but I have chosen this region for its mixture of larger, medium and small-sized communities. I therefore include a handful of market town parishes: Havant, Fareham and Petersfield in Hampshire and Westbourne and Harting in West Sussex and I also examine a single city parish, St Thomas of Canterbury, in Portsmouth, Hampshire, which, until the mid-17th century, covered a sparsely populated township and shipyard conurbation (Draper 1990:135-7, Lloyd 1974:34-5). Portsmouth's growth into a busy urban centre accelerated thereafter as it became a premier port for the Royal Navy (Carpenter Turner 1963:54). As a result St Thomas's (nowadays a much expanded cathedral building) acquired a fine range of post-medieval furniture and fittings forming an important addition to this survey.

I have avoided Chichester in West Sussex since the city with its medieval cathedral and ten city parishes forms a study area in itself. This is not to say I ignore its central significance and the impact of its diocesan control over its surrounding parishes. Much of the archival data pertaining to episcopal or diaconal visitations and parochial presentations emerges from the surviving legal documents chronicling the Chichester ecclesiastical court assizes. This applies equally to the Hampshire parishes whose relationship with Winchester, their episcopal centre, was equally fundamental but here Winchester lies geographically outside the scope of this thesis.

2.3. The geology and geography of Hampshire and Sussex both then and now

Although the counties of Hampshire and Sussex can be individually characterised, they share two

geological formations stretching across both counties from east to west. These are defined by the English Heritage Joint Characterisation Area profiles as the ridges of the South Downs rising from Winchester in the west to Eastbourne in the east, and a long band of coastal plain running from the east coast of Southampton Water and finishing in Sussex just past Brighton where the Downs end at the cliffs at Beachy Head (English Heritage JCA 2010 *see Map 3*). The South Downs consist of the marine deposition of a chalk ridge sandwiching seams of flint. They are occasionally sliced across by river valleys such as the Adur, Cuckmere and Meon which carve them into a series of rounded hills and vales which make Downland upland configuration visually distinctive, an appearance shared by the North Downs which run east-west from Wiltshire crossing into the northern parts of Hampshire. The South Downs are still relatively unpopulated, only 8% being defined as urban as against the 45% of the coastal plain.

The coastal plain is flat, fertile farmland which in prehistory supported dense woodland but which, over time, was cleared for agriculture and is now intensively overbuilt. Its geology features areas of clay and gravel overlaid by loamy topsoils with patches of fertile brickearth and some malmstone. Since it is low-lying it has always been subject to flooding, erosion and accretion so that the line of the coast has moved considerably in the past (Allen and Gardiner 2000).

This area alone contains 4 coastal cities – Southampton and Portsmouth in Hampshire and Chichester and Brighton in Sussex. Between these stretch the intervening conurbations of Fareham, Havant, Bognor Regis, Littlehampton and Worthing in an almost continuous strip making the coastal plain this central southern region's most heavily populated area (*see Fig 2.1*). The western coastline is indented with islands, peninsulas and inlets which create the intensively -adapted harbours of Southampton and Portsmouth. The Isle of Wight shelters the southern limits of the New Forest in the west past Southampton Water, Portsmouth, Langstone and Chichester Harbours to Selsey in the east. This sea-reach is called the Solent – an Ice Age river which, as the climate warmed, expanded into the Channel to cut the Isle of Wight from the mainland. Its deepwater harbours have long been used for fishing, trading and ship-building. Eastwards the coast grows smoother though the river estuaries of the Arun and the Adur were once wider, allowing for inland harbours at Arundel and above Shoreham. Centuries of agricultural run-off, made heavier by increased cultivation of the thin soils of the Downs, has caused widespread silting so that their upper reaches are no longer easily navigable. Coastal foreshores were more marshy in the past allowing for the development of a distinct wetland ecology enabling marginal settlements to subsist off its characteristic flora and fauna – fishing, birding, wetland pasturing, shellfish collecting, reed-harvesting and salt-making (Allen and Gardiner 2000:3-7).

In North and East Sussex the Downland spine is backed by the Wealden uplands – the High and Low Wealds which incorporate a belt of greensand passing west from Folkestone in Kent to Dorking in Surrey and hooking south to cover Petersfield in Hampshire. The Low Weald is a clay vale occupying a dip between the Downs and the High Weald. This supported agriculture, fruit and hop-growing and the land rises towards the High Weald, a large sub-oval block of sandstone deeply incised with river vales. Both regions are still well-wooded having been densely forested until the Late Middle Ages and used for pig-fattening. Surviving coppicing is evidence of the Weald's major industry - iron extraction and smelting which was fuelled by the charcoal produced in these coppices. Iron ore was Sussex's primary industrial product, having been exploited from the pre-Roman period up until the late 17th century when cheaper foreign imports made its extraction uneconomic (Fletcher 1975: 17-20). The Wealden landscape, nowadays thought of as picturesquely rural, was therefore up until relatively recently highly industrial, providing a lucrative income for the great land-owning ironmaster families of Sussex.

Between the North and South Downs in Hampshire is a country of substantial farms and farmland which produce good grain on their clay soils. Like Sussex it was comprehensively wooded but the great forests of Bere, Pamber and Woolmer have been reduced to clumps surrounded by agricultural and urban development. Only the New Forest survives on the western edge of the county, a protected royal hunting preserve for centuries and presently protected as a National Park by the Department of the Environment. Here the soils are sandy and unsuited to sustainable agriculture. Thus this area consists of heath and scrub broken up by woodland suitable for foraging animals including the pony herds for which the forest is famous. Sandy soils also predominate in the north eastern part of the county where wooded heathland spreads into Surrey and Berkshire. The chalk clay of the North and South Downs is most widespread and thus the most characteristic soil found in Hampshire, having been used for wheat and large scale sheep grazing since medieval times.

2.4 Parish landscape surveys

2.4.1. The coastal parishes of Hampshire

(This section can be read in conjunction with the Appendix – the regional gazetteer – which amplifies parish and church information. These are cross-referenced using the gazetteer's parish numbers (GNos) which refer to the order in which the parishes are listed. Thus the parishes of coastal Hampshire run from the east at Warblington (GNo 1) to Titchfield in the west (GNo 13) in Part 1. For parish geographic relationships see Map 4).

Much of the landscape of the east coast of Hampshire shares the same geographic qualities of that on the Sussex side both within the inner harbours and along the Solent shores. The three harbours – Chichester, Langstone and Portsmouth are subdivisions of a composite basin contained within the bounds of the Selsey and Gosport headlands (*see Fig 2.1 above*). While the ancient deepwater channels to the east have largely silted up, the most westerly – between Fort Blockhouse at Gosport and the Point opposite - opens into the deepwater naval harbour at Old Portsmouth.

The East Hampshire coast starts at the border with West Sussex at Emsworth – now a fashionable sailing centre - once one of the area's most industrialised harbours with a main quay or hard, several tidal and freshwater mills, warehouses and shipyards. Up until the 19th century the yards supplied the Navy, maritime traders and the fishing fleet with small ships and boats. In addition Emsworth was a commercial dock for grain exports, coal imports and for fishing since its inlet at high water allowed ships of shallow draft to approach (Reger 1996:28-9). From Emsworth the foreshore runs west to Langstone Harbour, bordering saltmarsh pasture and arable fields and passing the hamlet and seaside church at Warblington. This was Emsworth's parish church up until 1840 (*see Chapter 5.3.2 and GNo 1 for discussion of St Thomas a Becket, Warblington*). A mile further on is Langstone, now a suburban outlier of the town of Havant (GNo 2), but its port and control point for the harbour itself (Rudkin 1978:19-20 *see Fig 2.2*). Havant was one of the major market towns along this coast, closely nucleated around its church of St Faith's with a cruciform street system deriving from its close ecclesiastical association with the Bishops of Winchester (Reger 1996:16). South of Langstone lies Hayling Island, the second largest island in the basin, originally accessed by boat or by a wadeway causeway, replaced by a bridge in 1840 (Page 1908:128-134). Hayling has two parishes, North and South Hayling, and due to its isolation in pre-modern times both churches still retain significant medieval features (GNos 3 and 4). The island was, until the beginning of the 18th century, substantially wooded. Its deforestation started when the eighth Duke of Norfolk (Hayling's major landowner) removed much of the island's timber in order to impale his new park at Arundel (Norfolk Archive Steer A301 B1/10-11, Longcroft 1857:308). Hayling lies parallel to Portsea Island and Langstone Harbour's westerly entrance into the Solent – Langstone Channel – flows between Fort Cumberland at Eastney and Sinah Common on Hayling.

Portsea's east coast forms Langstone Harbour's western side, stretching northwards into the Farlington Marshes, a projecting bank of wetlands and small islands. These foreshores are flanked to seaward by mudflats and on their inland sides by reedbeds or saltmarsh (Allen and Gardiner 2000:2-5). From Bedhampton and Farlington (GNos 5 and 6) the coast follows the northern edge of

Portsea Island and a channel divides the island at Anchorage and Hilsea from the mainland at Cosham. Prior to the 20th century these shores were inundated wetlands and a bridge joined the mainland on the south edge of Wymering to Hilsea. Much of this area has recently been reclaimed by landwaste as is Horsea, a smaller island, previously separated from both the mainland and Portsea in a northwest sea reach off Wymering (GNo 7).

The north, western and eastern coastline of Portsmouth Harbour has been radically altered over the past two centuries, its post-medieval character and shape being largely effaced except for the oldest part of the city which borders its High St and cathedral (GNo 8). This also applies to much of the mainland coast which lies in a narrow belt from Bedhampton to the east to Fareham in the west. Suburban development is traceable from the late 18th century, increasing in the 20th century when the slopes of Portsdown Hill were terraced with rows of residential streets, creating new suburban conurbations. In built-up zones such as Bedhampton, Farlington and Wymering the old spatial relationships between church, manor and parsonage are still visible (*see Maps 6 and 7*).

Another block of development occurs where the coast juts out into a blunt headland at Portchester. Along the bay at North Harbour large factory sites were built in the prosperous 1960s and this coast is now covered in commercial and industrial complexes spreading north into Portchester's parish (GNo 9). Portchester's centre grew up west of the medieval castle built within a Roman Saxon Shore Fort (*see Fig 2.3*). From the Roman period this was the premier haven until it began to silt and, during the 15th century was superseded by the development of Portsmouth's harbour (*see Cunliffe 1975-7, 1985, 1994*). Portchester Castle lost its social significance in the 17th century when it became a prisoner of war camp for foreign soldiers captured during the Dutch and French wars. Its village provided residential capacity for Army prison officers, evidenced in its 18th century architectural gentrification.

Like Emsworth, Fareham (GNo 10) retains elements of a working port with quays which lie to the west of an oval lagoon forming the north-western head of Portsmouth Harbour. The Town Quay sits astride the heavily silted millpond and creek of the River Cams which previously powered the town's chief water mill. Until the 18th century the port functioned as a commercial entrepot and shipyard, capable of supplying Charles I with a ship of 400 tons in 1636 (Page 1908:209-10). Brick-making, using the heavy clays of the parish, was for many centuries one of the town's main industries.

By the 18th century Fareham's prosperity was such that its High Street was lined by substantial merchant houses but the 20th century made strong inroads into its Georgian building stock and

expanded the town with straggling outskirts, especially to the southeast along the road to Gosport at the eastern tip of its peninsula. This road bypasses Rowner (GNo 11), a small inland parish, once a manorial holding of the Brune family but now intensively developed with residential and commercial building. This was another rural area studded with farmhouses, many of which have vanished under housing estates. Gosport's hamlet (GNo 12) was a fishing haven until the emergence of Portsmouth's dockyard in the 16th century. When its proximity to Portsmouth at the mouth of the harbour caused it to expand Gosport mushroomed into a closely nucleated and intensely populated town with both sea and land defences, becoming the central supply and victualling centre for the Royal Navy.

On the western side of the peninsula the parish of Titchfield (GNo13) covered a huge area, broken up in 1837 into 2 additional parishes. Titchfield itself still spreads over 4,826 acres. Its post-medieval extent included hamlets, villages and manors, many of which came under the lordship of the 16th century Earls of Southampton, whose chief country residence, Place Hall, on the outskirts of the town of Titchfield operated as their Hampshire power base (*see Fig 2.4*). The town was a flourishing port, being sited at a navigable point of the estuary of the Meon until in 1611 the 3rd Earl of Southampton built a sea wall shutting out the harbour in order to reclaim the saltmarsh around the estuary. In spite of his efforts to revive the town's economy, its prosperity declined when it lost its coastal connection.

The western flank of the Gosport headland as it runs past Lee-on-the-Solent to the mouth of the Hamble at Warsash is a different form of coastline to the inner reaches of the three harbour basins. Where the inland tides scour and redeposit river alluvium widely within the basin, the same tides and south-westerly currents have largely swept the Solent shores clean of indentations. They run in long smooth shingle beaches, backed by dunes, retained behind revetting seawalls and stretches of groynes. Their coastal landscapes are heathlike, windswept and relatively treeless, with fewer boat havens except for where the river mouths create estuarine conditions and allow protective mudflats to form. Shingle and sand beaches are a feature of the southern shores which are swept by the Solent channel and can be found on the south coasts of Southsea and Hayling Island.

2.4.2 The Downland Parishes of Hampshire (*see Gazetteer Nos 14-26, Part 2*)

The county boundary dividing Warblington (GNo 1) on the Hampshire side and Westbourne (GNo 27) in Sussex ascends through rising foothills at Aldsworth into the Downs. Above Warblington the chapelry of Idsworth (GNo 14) near Finchdean forms part of the parish of Chalton (GNo 15). Here the Downs rise steeply, their slopes being sheep pasture. Idsworth, placed in a thin southerly spur

has long been overseen by the rectors of Chalton but there is evidence that in the 13th century it was the more dominant church though this is not borne out by its size (Adams, Adams, Law and Butt 2009:2). In 1852 the manor house lying to the south was dismantled by its decamping gentry family when the London-Portsmouth railway was built in the immediate neighbourhood (Page 1908:107-10). The church, isolated on a low mound and sensitively restored in the early 20th century, some remaining manor outbuildings and a few dispersed farmsteads make up the chapelry (Lloyd 1974:118).

Northwards, Chalton village sits on a ridge amidst a complex of high Downs. It consists of a nexus of farms, cottages, a pub and a rectory lining a triangular green below the church, itself raised on a natural shelf in the Down behind it (*see Fig 2.5*). Chalton lacks a manor-house having been owned by non-resident landlords – the Earls of Worcester being its chief post-medieval owners (Page 1908:102-106). Idsworth and Chalton share the remote qualities of the some of the Sussex Downland parishes whose borders they adjoin. Like these, Chalton has remained under-populated for many centuries and its landscape of sheep-grazed Downland is only broken by the large modern plantations of the Forestry Commission.

To the west, the parishes of Blendworth, Catherington (GNo 16) and Clanfield (GNo 17) were in the 11th century included in the manor of Chalton –part of the Saxon magnate, Earl Godwin's vast estates. Blendworth's village was eclipsed from the 18th century on by the expansion of Horndean, its western neighbour so that now Blendworth is a handful of cottages clustered about its Victorian church. Horndean sits in a dip below Blendworth and grew populous during the 19th century when a brewery was established on its main road. Horndean and the southern conurbations of Cowplain and Waterlooville are 20th century residential developments which obliterated much of the woodland which previously spread across this area, destroying north eastern parts of the Forest of Bere which once occupied the upland plateaux behind Portsdown Hill (Page 1908: 94-5).

Catherington's parish is large, its eastern border adjoining Hambledon (GNo 23) and its northern Clanfield and East Meon (GNo 20). The village consists of ribbon development ascending Catherington Lane for a half mile from Catherington House in the south up to the church of All Saints at the brow of Catherington Down. During the Napoleonic Wars this parish saw an influx of services families – Catherington House being traditionally associated with Admiral Hood (British Listed Buildings). This is borne out by many churchyard gravestones and memorials in the church's Hyde chapel dedicated to naval and army officers. All Saints sits on a promontory with wide views overlooking Clanfield to the north, Windmill Hill to the northeast and the high escarpment of Portsdown to the south.

Clanfield (GNo 17) is a small parish tucked into the northeastern corner between Catherington and Chalton (*see Fig 2.6*). Placed in a rolling dip between the high Down ranges of Catherington and Chalton it is a parish of dispersed farmsteads chiefly nucleated at the small village of Clanfield. Although modern eastern development has joined it to the growing suburban mass of Horndean, previously it consisted of a handful of timber- framed cottages and farms clustered around its parish church of St James. This was completely rebuilt in 1875 – its only pre-Victorian survivals being its medieval bells and font. The London-Portsmouth road formed its eastern border offering access to larger Hampshire towns like Petersfield which were expanding during the 18th century.

Buriton (GNo 18), north of Clanfield and Chalton, overlies the highest range of Southdowns which include War Down and Butser Hill. It is a large parish, nowadays very heavily wooded with the modern plantations of the Queen Elizabeth Forest. The parish of Buriton predates Petersfield's and its village is extensive stretching around a central cross roads. It lies at the foot of the escarpment and its church, St Mary's, stands by the village pond at the southern end of the village. This location is another example of the close architectural triplet of manor house, parsonage and church (as the rectory faces the church and the manor house is immediately to the northwest).

Petersfield (GNo 19), a compact market town, is a smaller parish lying to the north in a lowland bowl encircled by the great southern Downland ridge which thrusts west to the Meons in an arc of high Downlands. Its combination of vale and upland includes low-lying pasture and much arable. The medieval market town was formed as a borough but stagnated in the 16th and 17th centuries (Page 1908:111-121). However by the 18th century its position as a road nexus and a stage in the London-Portsmouth coaching route revitalised the town as a number of coaching inns sprang up. Although technically a chapelry of Buriton until recently, Petersfield's church of St Peter grew into a substantial medieval building, eclipsing Buriton's in size.

The Meon group of parishes west of Buriton share the landscape of high Downland, though the village centres of East and West Meon and Meonstoke (GNos 20-22) also lie in the valley of the river Meon. The Downland countryside surrounding this has been designated an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and is now a prosperous rural area with an expanding modern population. The chalk-streams which feed the Meon have created a lush well-watered valley suitable for the establishment of mills, for cattle pasture and, from early modern times, for watercress beds. The largest of these parishes, East Meon, occupies the upper part of the Meon valley and contains the river's source whose stream flows through the village. The village was owned by the Bishops of Winchester and is sizeable with a range of post-medieval buildings dominated by All Saints, its church which sits above the village to the north (*see Fig 2.7*).

West Meon (GNo 21), a narrow wedge-shaped parish, hugs the western boundary of East Meon and the river flows through the south side of its village. As the Meon continues on to the southwest it is joined by new spring heads and streams filtering into a flight of managed ponds near Warnford. The village is clustered around a road network running between Petersfield, Alton and Winchester. Its building stock is similar to that of East Meon but to the east and south imparked estates have stocked the landscape with plantations and hanging woodland.

The parish of Meonstoke (GNo 22) sits at the base of West Meon, its east boundary abutting Hambledon and its north and west, Warnford and Corhampton. It is a smaller parish which on its eastern side includes Old Winchester Hill, crowned by tumuli and an Iron Age hill fort. To the west Meonstoke village is more dispersed than its companion villages, its houses being built along a network of roads ascending the eastern edge of the valley. The Meon winds southeast from Corhampton passing the church of St Andrew which sits on the river floodplain.

To the east is Hambledon parish (GNo 23) below East Meon with Catherington to the east. This is another large parish sited high in the Downs. The east-west road which connects Hambledon village to Clanfield runs through a tripartite crack in the Downs with Windmill Hill to the northeast, Cams Hill to the west and the long ridge of Broadhalfpenny Down to the south. As a result the village follows the valley roadways although there are minor platforms of development up around the church, itself carved out of the slope of Windmill Hill. Hambledon was historically possessed of a weekly market and two annual fair days (Page 1908: 239) and its economic significance is reflected by the size of its church.

To the south is what remains of the Forest of Bere which spreads into the parish of Southwick (GNo 24). This lies above Widley, Wymering and Portchester (GNos 7 and 9) – its southern borders being only two miles from the coast. Largely agricultural, it occupies the upland plateau behind Portsdown Hill. Southwick's village grew up beside a major 12th century Augustinian Priory which moved here from Portchester Castle after 1145 and was a rich and influential regional institution. After the Dissolution the manor, church and Priory were granted to John Whyte who remodelled the Priory buildings and rebuilt the church, becoming the parish's Lay Prior. The connection between Southwick's manorial lords/Lay Priors and the parish has subsequently been a very close one and the present estate owners still maintain this patronal relationship (Lloyd 1974:25-6, 116).

Boarhunt parish (GNo 25), west of Southwick, is a long thin parish sharing the same arable, pasture and woodland terrain. It was and still is very sparsely populated with dispersed farms and little nucleated settlement. Its manorial hub was centred on South Boarhunt whose church, St Nicholas,

sits on a terrace in the north slope of Portsdown Hill. St Nicholas's has Saxon origins and retains much pre-Victorian material culture. The road from Portsmouth to Winchester runs through the hamlet of North Boarhunt before arriving at Wickham, the last of this Downland group (GNo 26). A smaller parish, north of Fareham (GNo 10), it is closely associated with William of Wyckham, Bishop of Winchester and founder of Winchester College who was born in Wickham c1320. The parish lies on the Downland plateau northwest of the Portsdown ridge and the village is sited in the lower Meon valley. The river runs southwest through the village towards Titchfield, cutting the older part around the church from the high ground of the village centre. The newer centre to the west is focused on a broad market street lined by a wealth of post-medieval buildings (*see Fig 2.8*).

2.4.3 Coastal parishes of West Sussex (*see Gazetteer Nos 27-37, Part 3*)

The county border at Emsworth divides the Hampshire reaches of Langstone Harbour from the western Sussex side of Chichester Harbour at Thorney Island. The border is essentially an arbitrary construct since both harbours share the same geology and landscape. Inland, the border follows the River Ems north to Westbourne just inside Sussex and then curves northwest to skirt Stansted Forest, rising up to the Downs by Finchdean. The westernmost Sussex coastal parishes are Westbourne (GNo 27) to the north and West Thorney (GNo 28) to the south.

Westbourne's large parish was split up in the 19th century and previously included parts of the coast round Prinsted. To the north and west it was watered by tributary streams of the River Ems, once a larger waterway, which fed a southern line of millponds. The parish was dependent in part on its coastal resources but more on its rural hinterland comprising a series of farms and nucleated hamlets engaged in arable and livestock agriculture (Salzmann 1953: 126-132, Fleming 1992). The village developed as an economic focus during the Middle Ages with its weekly market and August fair (Salzmann 1953:126). The parish's demography is reflected in the size of its church, St John the Baptist's and its graveyard, constantly developed from the 13th through to the 19th century (Pevsner and Nairn 1995:365). Westbourne's well-populated parish contrasts markedly with the lesser seaside parishes of Chichester Harbour.

West Thorney was up until the 20th century a small island, southeast of Emsworth. Violent storms in the 14th century inundated the inner Solent coastlines, drowning low-lying areas including the southern farmlands of Thorney and Hayling Islands (Salzmann 1953:195, Rogers 2000:12) The earliest OS map of 1810 (Sheet 86, David and Charles ed.) shows its isolation, its chief buildings being the church, rectory and an inn. Its parishioners were a close-knit community, reliant on fishing and foreshore industries (*see Fig 2.9*) but also on agriculture, since Thorney's soil was well

suiting for corn-growing (Salzmann 1953:195-197). Its neighbour Chidham (GNo 29) lies on a parallel headland overlooking Thorney to the west and Bosham Hoe to the east and shares the dual marine/agricultural identity of its fellow parishes. The parish has no major centres of population but retains the tight church/ parsonage/ manor house relationship seen elsewhere over the border (see *Map 8* and Smith, Hutton and Cook 1976:39). In the Middle Ages it had strong connections with Bosham (see below) and was traditionally the birthplace of St Cuthman, a minor Sussex saint, who was venerated here as its church's pilgrim graffiti testify. Later its manors were held by the Bickley family and the parish lost much of its religious significance (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:186, Salzmann 1953:189).

To the north, Funtington (GNo 30) incorporates a scrap of coastline at the inlet of Cut Mill and rich inland arable rising to an east-west Downland ridge. Like Westbourne, it shares both coastal and Downland topographies and includes a few smaller hamlets which grew up around dispersed farmsteads before the Reformation. The village of Funtington is five miles from Chichester with direct road connections to Chichester, Havant and Westbourne. Funtington has several surviving post-medieval cottages lining this road, laid out as irregular strip development. From the 18th century the village expanded as incoming gentry and services families built grander dwellings so that the centre of Funtington is now a mixture of cottages interspersed with gentry houses.

East of Funtington's coastal toehold, Bosham parish (GNo 31) occupies a broad peninsula parallel to Chidham. Bosham is a widely researched coastal parish, its harbour having been a vital centre for cross-channel shipping in the 9th-11th centuries. Its significance as a site which saw the reintroduction of Christianity to Sussex and as the focus of the huge manorial estates of Cnut and later Earl Godwin and his son King Harold shows it was a major location of Anglo-Saxon power (Jenkins 1999:685-6, Langhorne 2005:2-3, Salzmann 1953:183).

Alongside the secular manor of Bosham a large ecclesiastical manor was controlled by a college of prebendal canons established in 1121. This arrangement ensured that five nearby chapelries, each served by a prebend, operated under the college's aegis (Langhorne 2006:3-4, Page 1973:109-112). This system held until the College's dissolution in 1548 when Bosham's parish was reorganised more conventionally. Holy Trinity, Bosham's church, is one of the most famous ecclesiastical sites in West Sussex having much surviving Saxon architecture (Jenkins 1999:685-6, Aldsworth, Tatton-Brown, Atherton and Worsnam 2006). The village sits to the north of a creek on the western side of the peninsula which is now silted and only suitable for light craft while its medieval housing stock has largely been replaced with vernacular buildings from the 17th-20th centuries. Its picturesque appearance as a prosperous sailing centre belies its long history as a working harbour (see *Fig 2.10*).

Bosham's neighbouring easterly parish was not included amongst the pre-Reformation prebendal chapelries which came under its jurisdiction. This is New Fishbourne (GNo 32), one of the smaller coastal parishes, consisting of the eastern half of its village closest to Chichester. The western half, Old Fishbourne, once part of Bosham, covers the eastern side of the Bosham peninsula though they are now amalgamated (Salzmann 1953:154). Fishbourne's village also includes an inlet at the mouth of the River Lavant where a freshwater mill and a tidal saltmill stood (*see Fig 2.11*). This is thought by some to have been a landing site for part of the Claudian expeditionary navy in AD 43 (Manley 2002:145-6) since the discovery in the 1960s of a late 1st century Roman Palace built close to the Creek (*see Cunliffe 1971 a and b*). Its church of St Peter and St Mary stands at some distance from the village to the east and was heavily altered in the 19th century (Blakeney n.d.: 1-2).

Appuldram's parish (GNo 33) is even smaller than Fishbourne's. Inland it abuts Donnington to the east and Birdham to the south, its western perimeter being the eastern shore of Fishbourne Creek. This is a sparsely inhabited parish with dispersed farms tied together by networks of footpaths. The remains of its medieval settlement cluster to the south of its church which, with two gentry houses, are all that remains of Appuldram's hamlet (*see OS Sheet 87 David and Charles 1810*). By the late Middle Ages the silting up of Fishbourne Creek was responsible for the transference of Appuldram's harbour to the port of Dell Quay a mile to the south (Ratcliffe 2008:11-13). Dell Quay and its southern anchorage, Horemouth, was one of Chichester's two port divisions responsible for the export of grain, salt, hides and wool and for the importation of wines, spirits and coal. Its significance as a commercial port with a warehouse complex overshadowed Appuldram, and though it too began to silt during the 17th century it has only recently lost its old maritime buildings.

Birdham (GNo 34), south of Appuldram, is a larger parish than its coastal neighbours but shares their landscape of flat salt marsh, foreshore and fields. Inland the Selsey peninsula undulates, studded with clumps of woodland belonging to dispersed farmsteads. Birdham's northern boundary contains a rife and pool which in the past was the site of a mill and salterns. This was Birdham's harbour and as Dell Quay grew difficult to access by ship this location became more important. The centre lies south of Birdham Pool and the road from Chichester to the Witterings passes to the east so that the village has developed along a triangular road system, its central focus being the church (Salzmann 1953:199-201). St James is a bigger medieval church than either Fishbourne's or Appledram's. It was heavily restored in 1882 when the chancel was demolished and completely rebuilt.

West Itchenor's church is dislocated from its social hub and its rectory, originally a 15th century hall house, is closer to the village (GNo 35). In the sample its parish is the smallest recorded at 546

acres. A branch of the Chichester-Wittering road forks west towards the village, passes the church and carries on to the harbour. This consists of a single street ending at a hard and slipways and its harbour faces a ferry jetty at the tip of Bosham Hoe across the headwaters of Fishbourne Channel. Itchenor has had a long association with ship-building from the 17th century. During the 18th century it built craft for the Royal Navy and was Chichester's main port of entry.

Approaching the peninsula's western tip at West Wittering (GNo 36) there is a deepwater pool in the Chichester Channel used over the centuries as a shipping lane. At the corner the submerged sands of East Head, a semi-circular spit, prevents the development of any other haven. On the southern shore landscapes are very different. The coast stretches from West and East Wittering (GNo 37) in a smooth, easterly curve to Selsey Bill, only cut by Pagham's inland pool, so that both parishes share a line of sandy or shingle beaches backed by dunes. Although now managed by shingle redeposition the strong southwesterly tidal current moves the beaches westwards so that the coast is constantly in a state of flux (*see Fig 2.12*).

Both parishes are dependent on agriculture. West Wittering, the larger parish, is ringed with farms, many of which existed in the post-medieval period. Its village with its sandy beaches is now a summer tourist resort, though previously its maritime activities concentrated more on fishing. In the Middle Ages the parish was a valued estate of the Bishops of Chichester who built a palatial summer manor house at Cakeham to the east of the village. The village surrounds the church on three sides, its south side facing the coast.

East Wittering includes the chapelry of Bracklesham, which it absorbed in the 16th century after much of Bracklesham was lost to the sea (Salzmann 1953:215). This parish has a shorter coastal border, with the parish of Earnley to the east and Birdham (GNo 34) to the north. Today its northern and central parts are mainly agricultural though this was also a grain-milling area. The hinterland is relatively treeless, probably the result of much tree-felling in the 19th century since up to this point many of the islands and peninsulas supported stands of deciduous woodland (*see Longcroft 1857, Rogers 2000 and Hayling GNos 2 and 3*).

2.4.4 The Downland parishes of West Sussex (*see GNos 38-50 in Part 4*)

The elevated topography of this part of the research area builds gradually from the northerly regions of Westbourne (GNo 27) in the west across the intermediary ones of inland Funtington, West Stoke and the Lavants (GNos 30, 41-3). A ridge of lower Downland gradually ascends from east to west, from the hamlets of Aldsworth and Woodmancote across to Hambrook in Chidham parish (GNo 29) where it turns northeast. This line of eastern parochial centres are sited on

Downland foothills, West Stoke's church of St Andrew being placed on Stoke Down with long views across Kingley Vale to the summit of Bow Hill and the Downs to the north (see Fig 2.13). Above Westbourne the valley of the Ems cuts this ridge, creating a meandering valley penetrating the higher Downland behind – a landscape of rounded hills, spurs and vales.

Racton's parish (GNo 38) is bisected by the Ems valley and the roadside church of St Peter stands in a depopulated hamlet west of the river. Opposite it the large manor house, Racton Place, owned by the influential Gunter family was pulled down in the 19th century together with its cottages and service buildings. Today this location is an empty field.

Racton's boundaries adjoin Stoughton parish (GNo 44) to the north and West Stoke (GNo 39) to the east. West Stoke is another tiny parish, now joined to Funtington, but previously independent. Its hamlet consists of ribbon development along a back lane leading to the Lavants – the village form most typical of this area. Its small parish church sits beside a large 17th-century manor house and an old vicarage, demolished in the 20th century, stood on the west side of the church. This is a profoundly agricultural parish with much sheep-pasture on its gradually rising Downland slopes.

East of West Stoke, the Lavant parishes share an intermediary landscape of low Downland. Mid Lavant (GNo 40) lies in a fold two miles north of Chichester, with its village set astride the main road, originally the Roman route from Chichester to Silchester which follows the Lavant valley up to north. Its village has some post-medieval housing stock and its heavily rebuilt church of St Nicholas sits in a dog-leg in the road. Mid Lavant fits into the southwest flank of East Lavant (GNo 41), a larger parish whose village centre is sited on higher ground surrounded by a ring of taller hills. The River Lavant forms the boundary between the parishes, and facing across it, the two Lavant churches of St Nicholas and St Mary are strangely close together.

A mile north of Mid-Lavant the road forks, the north-westerly Silchester route following a vale up to Chilgrove, once a chapelry of West Dean (GNo 42), which then climbs through the Marden parishes (GNos 45-48) to South Harting (GNo 49). The right hand branch of the Midhurst road carries on up the Lavant valley to Binderton, once a parish in its own right, but now churchless, and then to West Dean and Singleton (GNo 43). These latter parishes are split by the Lavant whose source can be traced to a spring east of Singleton village. Both villages are relatively low lying – West Dean having been nucleated to the east of the road as a result of its close association with and proximity to its manorial hub, West Dean House, the early modern great house belonging first to the Lewknors and later to the Peacheys, Earls of Selsey (Salzmann 1953:97-101). In the 18th-19th centuries a flint-built rectory, farm cottages and service buildings were added to a set of 17th-century ones and the

church. Thus the whole village is tightly packed between the road and the grounds of West Dean House.

The most northeasterly parish of the group is Singleton (GNo 43), a section of whose southwest boundary adjoins East Lavant. Singleton's parish centre, nowadays a compact nucleated village, lies in an angle where the Lavant valley bends east and continues towards East Dean. At the southern toes of both West Dean and Singleton, coming across from Hayes Down and the Trundle, are a long succession of rising eastern hills at whose heads a great northern scarp runs in an east-west alignment bringing the South Downs to an abrupt halt at a line of parishes starting at South Harting and Elsted (GNo 50 *and see Fig 2.14*). Singleton's church has Saxon elements, which together with those of the parish church of Stoughton (GNo 44), demonstrate the importance of these parishes as part of the great Godwin holdings in the 11th century.

West of West Dean lies Stoughton, a broad north-south aligned parish, its village and Saxon church built along a lane which leads up through East Marden (GNo 45) to join the Chichester-Harting road. Stoughton is partially nucleated around a green through which runs the Ems and has some surviving early modern housing stock, though its rectory was built in the first decades of the 19th century. The Saxon parish church of St Mary stands on elevated ground overlooking the green below it.

To the north the Mardens, East, North and Up Marden, are much smaller parishes which, together with their westerly companion of Compton, make up a closely knit group with small churches, two of which are nowadays extremely isolated. This whole collection of parishes west of Singleton are deeply set into the Sussex South Down rural landscape and are relatively unchanged by modernity. The medieval and early modern Earls of Arundel, later the Dukes of Norfolk, were major landowners in this area and from the mid-18th century the Dukes of Richmond owned wide estates around Goodwood and in the eastern parishes under study. There is therefore a tendency around here (see West Dean) towards the 'closed parish' system- a means whereby landowners consolidated their estates, especially by enclosure, in order to exert more control over their tenants – a system which sometimes led to depopulation and economic stagnation (Pryor 2010:470-1; for Hampshire see Southwick GNo24).

Regarding the Marden group, while two churches, St Peter's, East Marden (GNo 45 *see Fig 2.15*) and St Mary's, Compton (GNo 48) are built in vales on low rises enclosed by their village centres, the more remote churches of St Michael's and All Angels, Up Marden and St Mary's, North Marden are set on escarpment spurs overlooking Downland valleys . Both are remotely sited with few farms

or cottages in their vicinities. While Up Marden (GNo 46) was seriously depopulated in the 20th century, neither parish was ever demographically numerous and the lack of a large, socially-mixed congregation may account for St Michael's neglect which has paradoxically led to the excellent state of preservation of its material culture. This is sadly not mirrored at St Mary's at North Marden (GNo 47) which was stripped down by restoration in the 1880s (*see Fig 1.1*).

West Marden, technically part of the Marden group, lost its chapel in the 16th century (see Chapters 3.3.1 and 4.4) and was absorbed into Up Marden. Now larger than Up Marden's hamlet, its village lies west of Stoughton. From here the road leads through another vale bordered by hangar and managed woodland to Compton, a tightly nucleated village, and then to the largest settlement of this area at South Harting (GNo 49). Compton (GNo48) was the parochial centre for the Marden churches, as it is now, since the area's population is still sparse. This position is partly explained by the presence of the manorial great house of Littlegreen a mile north of Compton village. This belonged to the Peckham and Peckham Phipps families, an early modern gentry landowning dynasty. Here and in South Harting it is possible to see the effect of local elite families on parochial life and economic prosperity since their tenants and connections were tied into their socio-political and religious influence. Compton is tucked into a vale but the road passing through rises, climbing steeply to the heights of the Harting Downs, Harting Hill and Beacon Hill. At 242m this is the highest point of this long east/west cliff-like escarpment. The road passes the estate and mansion of Uppark built in 1685, another of the great gentry houses of this region.

South Harting (GNo 49) is a large village or small town whose commerce and yearly fairs, like those of Westbourne, made it a central local market. The largest parish in this group at 7,946 acres, it contains several smaller villages and hamlets. It also comprises areas of private parkland, enclosed from the late Middle Ages and territorially consolidated around the estates of local magnates whose families and their tombs are discussed at some length in Chapter 5.5.1 and in the Gazetteer. At Harting, St Gabriel and St Mary's church stands on a rise at the southern head of the village, overlooking its parishioners (*see Fig 2.16*). The parish's northern boundary is defined by the River Rother, its southern falls across the Downs past Uppark while its western boundary is the county border abutting the parishes of Buriton and Petersfield on the Hampshire side.

Two miles to the east past the village of East Harting is the last parish included in this group – that of Elsted (GNo50) whose village is built on a junction along the Harting-Midhurst road. Elsted is the most westerly of a row of narrow north/south-running parishes of similar size serviced by small parish churches. Although the main body of Elsted parish lies in the low agricultural valley of the River Rother its southern foot includes part of the great scarp to the east of Beacon Hill – it thus has

a wide range of landscape ecologies. Elsted's church of St Paul was abandoned in the late 19th century when its nave was crushed by a fallen tree but rebuilt in 1951 and recommissioned.

In this brief characterisation of the parishes which figure in this thesis I have concentrated mainly on their geographic and landscape qualities. Their individual historical backgrounds are dealt with in greater detail in the Gazetteer but what follows now is a more comprehensive overview of the history of Hampshire and West Sussex which will create the backdrop for the rest of this study.

2.5 The historical context of Hampshire and Sussex c1500-1800

2.5.1 Reformation and Dissolution in Hampshire and Sussex

Changes in the late medieval landscape born of pestilence, sudden social aggrandisement and the reorganisation of settlement and demesne, were accelerated in the 1530s with the Dissolution of the monasteries and the sale and redistribution of monastic property. Previously many of the major landlords in Hampshire and Sussex were the great prelates and monastic foundations. In Hampshire the Bishop of Winchester was master of vast diocesan estates (Carpenter Turner 1963:45 and see East Meon GNo 20). In my research region alone the Augustinian Priory at Southwick, the Premonstratensian Abbey at Titchfield, and a daughter house of the Abbey of Jumieges in Normandy on Hayling Island were important landowners (GNos 24, 13 and 4, Doubleday and Page 1973:164-8,181-6, 216-9, Lloyd 1974:22-3)). Although many of the great county families maintained their loyalty to the Catholic faith, this did not prevent them from taking advantage of church properties made available by the Dissolution. In Sussex the Fitzalan/Howards at Arundel, the Brownes at Midhurst, the Carylls at South Harting (GNo 49), the Comptons of Brambletye and the Lewkenors at Slinfold and West Dean (GNo 42) were among an elite group who occasionally conformed but who formed a base of Catholic dissent which was focussed on their properties to the north and east of Chichester (Fletcher 1975, Questier 2007). These families benefitted extensively from monastic sales as did many of Hampshire's newly ennobled families. The Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton, given the chance to buy Titchfield Abbey, quickly transformed it, turning the church's nave into their great hall (Draper 1990:189). The Paulets, Marquesses of Winchester, were granted Netley Abbey, its cloister becoming their mansion's inner courtyard (Carpenter Turner 1963: 52-3). Throughout the course of this century estates were extensively imparked as leading families rebuilt or extended their country seats. In Sussex Anthony Fletcher estimates that at least 25 families were involved in improvements between 1560 and 1640 and a string of between 70 -100 enclosed deer parks surrounding manor or gentry houses ran along the line of the South Downs including Parham, Danny and Wakehurst Place (Fletcher: 1975:27-29).

Enclosure was practised from the 15th century on and many inhabitants of both counties saw the open fields gradually split up and reconfigured at a comparatively early period (Carpenter Turner 1963:52).

Henry VIII's uneasy relationship with the French prompted coastal defences constructed at intervals along the south coast. The flat roofed Henrician castles at Hurst and Southsea in Hampshire and Camber in East Sussex were designed as gun platforms to discourage enemy warships from approaching (Lloyd 1974:55-6, Osborne 2011:54-59). This was evidently not a successful strategy – Henry was obliged to witness this himself from Southsea Castle as, during a French naval raid, he saw his own flagship, the *Mary Rose*, execute an unwise manoeuvre and sink with all hands (Osborne 2011:57). Nevertheless Tudor warships were increasingly built and docked at Portsmouth rather than Southampton. By the mid 17th century Portsmouth had established itself as a naval city in contradistinction to Southampton, which was already declining as a merchant port. In Sussex some of the Cinque Ports, for so long crucial to Sussex's fishing and trading economy, had seriously silted up. Today Winchelsea, Rye and Pevensey lie at some distance from the coasts they once served. With the exception of the lesser harbours of Hastings, Newhaven and Shoreham, Sussex was becoming a county of small coastal fishing villages.

The Reformation acted on the region in multiple and complex ways. Since many of the great families were resistant to religious change their estates formed patches of recusancy, where their dependants often shared their religion and were enmeshed in ties of obligation. Local Protestant clergy might themselves turn a blind eye to elite dissent or arrive at unspoken agreements. Moreover areas were by law set aside for Catholic burial within an Anglican churchyard (Cressy 2000:119). Certain parish clusters in my research sample, such as those to the north and east of Chichester and around Havant (GNo 2) in Hampshire were sympathetic to the old religion while radical Protestant views developed in the more urban areas (see Chapter 3.2). However some elite families such as the Catholic Carylls of Harting and the Wriothesleys of Titchfield established mortuary chapels for their tombs within or abutting their parish churches, thereby keeping their parochial associations alive (GNos 49 and 13, Fletcher 1975, Questier 2007 and see Chapter 5.5.1 and 5.5.2).

2.5.2 Revolution and Restoration

The Civil War polarised these hitherto somewhat ambivalent religious differences. Sussex, deeply conservative in the west, also had a strong radical movement, well supported by gentry families in the east, centred on Lewes (Fletcher 1975:61-75). Many of these families were landowning

ironmasters, inclined to a Puritan habit of thought which, when war broke out, caused many of them to declare for Parliament. Around Chichester the gentry were Royalist but the city had been controlled since the Middle Ages by a Parliamentary merchant oligarchy (MacDougall 2004: 62-73). This caused great tension and resulted in a Royalist coup in 1642 which was pushed further into East Sussex culminating in its defeat by a Parliamentarian army outside Lewes. Sir William Waller arrived, laid siege to Chichester and blasted his way through the East Gate, annihilating the extramural suburb of St Pancras (MacDougall 2004:62-9, Thomas-Stanford 1910 (2007)). Arundel was stormed by Waller in 1643 and intervening Royalist houses and strongholds along the coast such as the recusant Cottons' Warblington Castle were occupied by Parliamentary bands (Lloyd 1974:23 and see GNo1). In Hampshire much of Winchester and its environs stood for the King led by John Paulet from his great house at Basing (Osborne 2011: 63-8). Initially Portsmouth (GNo 8) was Royalist but quickly realigned itself. Southampton too supported Parliament and by 1644 the Battle of Cheriton finally achieved victory for the Parliamentary cause in Hampshire, although the countryside was widely impoverished from the constant military activity (Draper 1990:58). Winchester Castle was slighted, as were Farnham Castle and Wolvesey Palace. Basing House was razed to the ground (Carpenter Turner 1963:57-8).

After the Restoration, Charles II, whose escape to France was assisted by some of the local Royalist families, initially chose Winchester as his seat of government. His project included a Versailles-like palace begun in 1683 which was later subsumed into the Winchester barracks at the accession of George I (Carpenter Turner 1963:60, Osborne 2011:103). During the first years of Charles II's reign the vast majority of Parliamentarian clergy were removed from their posts and their places filled by those whom they themselves had displaced. The Church of England which had undergone so many ideological vicissitudes over the past decades was reconstructed in a heavily Arminian vein, reflecting the latent sympathy with Catholicism of the Stuart house (Coward 1994:292-4, Strong 2007:169). In Sussex, where hostilities had only affected the county seriously at the start of the Civil War, the Restoration led to the re-assumption by the landed gentry of both sides of their powerful magistracies and offices. Their unanimity in the protection of their own interests paved the way for the social and landowning hegemony which they applied to local government in the 18th century (Fletcher 1975:320-2).

By the turn of the 17th-18th centuries new forms of country house – double or triple piled and compactly built along Palladian lines were being created in both counties (Johnson 2010:160-173). In Hampshire Northington Grange, built by Robert Henley and Avington, one of the chief seats of the Marquess of Chandos remain as examples of a new and highly structured way of enacting

country life (Draper 1990:34-5). In Sussex Uppark, near Harting (GNo 49) embodies the architecture of parade with successive rooms leading from one apartment to another in a circle of formalised luxury (Girouard 1978: 143-5, Jackson-Stops and Pipkin 1985:26,28). At Petworth House, the great estate of the Dukes of Somerset, long enfilades of rooms lead in a hierarchy of access from public rooms accessible to ordinary visitors to the intimacy of the private rooms available only to the family's innermost circle. This highly stratified hierarchy of class and social worth was translated into 17th-18th century church furnishing (see discussions throughout Chapter 3).

Social structure after the Reformation underwent a period of elite fluidity where the upper classes gradually accepted newly aggrandised families benefitting from the redistribution of monastic property. This class also expanded during the latter part of James I's reign when attempts were made to counter failing royal finances with the sale of peerages and monopolies (Coward 1994:144-147). However, there were increasing distinctions shown between elite subclasses over the later period; the status of the lesser gentry family, dependent on its farmed demesne, being notably inferior to that of the great county families whose income was derived from estate rents (Coward 1994:45-50). As discussed above, early enclosures affected social structure, chopping land into individual parcels of ownership so that yeoman families might gradually acquire more land (and gentility) while some gentry families might fail. These changing gradations in the upper reaches of the social scale were relatively commonplace and closely tied in with the ideology of landownership. Ordinary parish society was also structured to reflect gradation, from prosperous yeomen through to the bane of the parish – outsiders or migrant incomers (Johnson 1996: 116-7). It is clear that, in spite of fluctuating social mobility, the concepts of strict hierarchy were crucial to contemporary ideas of rural class structure.

By the 18th century both counties exemplified the social developments current in British society. The industrial revolution which manifested itself so energetically in the Midlands and North expressed itself as strongly if less mechanistically here. By the middle of the 18th century, as Portsmouth became a primary naval base for Britain's colonial activities, more fortifications were established. Fort Cumberland on the eastern corner of Portsea Island is a mid-century brick-reveted star-shaped fort protecting the eastern reaches of the Solent and the entrance to Langstone Harbour (Osborne 2011:79-80). On the other side of Portsea the Dockyard developed into a massive complex with workshops, dry and wet docks, rope walks and naval store houses encircled by a strong ashlar-faced wall (Lloyd 1974:59-67). Ship-building was taking place all along the coast with sheds and hards at the smaller ports like Emsworth and Itchenor (Reger 1996:85-91 and GNo 35) and larger enterprises such as that at Bursledon on the Hamble estuary and Buckler's Hard on

the River Beaulieu which were capable of producing naval frigates and warships like the *Elephant* and the *Agamemnon*, ships of Nelson's fleet (Draper 1990:49-50).

The complexion of the countryside again changed as turnpike roads were introduced between 1750 and 1780. Previously the state of the roads, especially in Sussex, had been universally despised. The turnpike's introduction improved travel considerably. Defoe writing his travel memoirs in the 1720s described the pre-turnpike roads around Lewes as winding through the 'deepest, dirtiest but many ways the richest and most profitable country in all that part of England' (Defoe (1724-6) 1986: 144). The expense of travelling on turnpike roads was however not as generally welcomed. By the end of the century William Cobbett, whose *Rural Rides* included his travels through Sussex and Hampshire, inveighed against turnpikes which he saw as an extra tax on agriculture and country people (Cobbett (1830) 2001: 69, 87-8).

The towns and villages of the 18th century were now transformed as brick yards sprang up (Draper 1990: 33, for example see GNo 10, Fareham). Many town centres in both counties keep the appearance they acquired as timber-framed buildings were upgraded with regular brick facades or were knocked down and replaced with new cottages or gentry houses (Johnson 2010:160-4). Chichester, for example, much of which is medieval, gives the impression of a neat Georgian city since many of its houses were remodelled or rebuilt at this time (MacDougall 2004: 84-102). Thus by the end of the early modern period both counties – thought often to represent the rich, unchangingly rural and traditional qualities of English life – can be understood as having developed against a mobile and dynamic landscape. The churches and building stock of the region's rural parishes were also beginning to reflect these changes.

2.6 Parishes

2.6.1 The history of the parish and its church

The ways in which my regional sample can be archaeologically investigated are various but in order to contextualise both its geography and history I have chosen to use the building block of the parish. This is not only because this is a study of early modern parochial religion but also because the parish was the smallest land unit with which post-medieval people could freely identify themselves in terms of communal belonging. One needs therefore to ask what a parish consisted of and how it was structured. Most importantly one needs to know how this sense of belonging was created and fostered. To do this it will help firstly to explore the origins and development of the parish as a socio-religious construct.

A parish is an area of land attached to a church owing its origins in England to the late Anglo-Saxon

ecclesiastical systems of the early medieval era. Schofield and Steuer place the development of a recognisable parish system in English townships in the 10th-11th centuries and suggest that the Saxon practice of founding elite patronal chapels which later adopted a more collective parish role was the prevailing model for the countrywide network of parishes and their churches which was manifest by the 12th century (Schofield and Steuer in Graham-Campbell and Valor 2007:127,147). Lucy's work on the origins of cemetery burial in the Saxon period further suggests that since this establishment of churches and their burial grounds was associated with the Christianisation of the elite there was a concomitant shift in their mortuary placement to these sites from the boundary cemeteries of their pagan ancestors (Lucy 2000:183-4). Thus the physical distance between cemetery and settlement was reduced while the closeness of the chapel/patron relationship was gradually augmented by that of the more collective church/parish/parishioner one. This brought both the dead and living under the spiritual aegis of the sanctuary, forming the prototype for the spatial template of church and churchyard which we still observe today (Daniell 1997:109).

The Saxon network was generally more collegiate. Large churches were designated minsters and often contained a separate apartment designed to accommodate a group of priests, sometimes on the west end or at the east end crossing of the church as at Titchfield, South Boarhunt and Bosham or in a loft room over the nave as at Singleton (GNos 13, 25, 31 and 43). These parishes can occasionally still be detected since they are geographically the biggest (Hinton 1990:97). Titchfield for example, which still retains its Anglo-Saxon two-storied western porch, is sited at the centre of a vast parish. Priests based at minsters were expected to journey out to smaller chapelries within the parish to attend to the spiritual needs of outlying communities (Blair 2005:33-58).

The Norman Conquest brought a rationalisation of the system as the model of one single parish priest per parish church was increasingly formalised (Graves 2000:36). The secular priest had pastoral and confessional roles which differed in essence from those adopted by the enclosed religious orders whose activities devolved around prayer and meditation. The parish church was his workshop and the development of its architecture, its sacred furniture and decoration was focused on the chancel for which he was financially responsible and which constituted his operating room. The church's primary patron whose ancestors may have originally founded the church, might share chancel space or occupy his/her own attached private chapel which, increasingly throughout the Middle Ages, also served as mausolea. The laity was responsible for the nave and its beautification, and the addition of extra side altars or guild or chantry chapels was in their hands (Smith, Hutton and Cook 1976:68, Pounds 2000:47-48). From the 12th century the appearance of churchwardens as executive parish officers meant that the apparatus of parochial management which still holds

together today became visible. This managerial layer also ran alongside a proliferation of guilds and fraternities which became an increasingly popular element of religious life from the 14th century onwards (Giles 1999:87-102) These guilds, usually dedicated to a particular saint, set up side-chapels or altars endowed by gifts of land or fund-raising activities which, together with an influx of chantry chapels, meant that space within the body of the church grew increasingly complex and densely populated (again for English medieval church space see Graves 2000). Although more isolated parish churches still maintained simple one/two-celled forms, the burgeoning of parishioners' involvement led to considerable investment in their church which often resulted in architectural expansion.

The Henrician Reformation reworked the use of this space (discussed in Chapter 3.2). The basic medieval model of priest/patron = chancel and nave = congregation remained essentially unchanged, even though altars became communion tables and the liturgy moved into the centre of the church (Whiting 2010:21-31). From 1541 guild or fraternity altars were removed, their chapels either demolished or absorbed into the body of the church and their funds confiscated (Duffy 1992). Parish management was secularised but this still allowed for continuity in the roles of churchwarden and clerk which had already developed. As with much of the history of the long Reformation, the revolution which stripped the altars and removed the imagery and colour from the parish church sometimes masked different degrees of continuity whereby aspects of belief and practice remained relatively unchanged under a thin but opaque surface of social conformity.

2.6.2 The constitution of the parish

In this thesis, parishes are presented as individual socio-geographic units for the research sample. I use these extensively as case studies to exemplify the various points this text makes. However, parishes, although differentiated in terms of their landscape, architecture and inhabitants, are equally affected by their relationships with their neighbours. Thus, they need to be observed as rural composites which involve the potential for contention and opposition as well as social harmony and conformity. In addition, what I explore here are sets of people across time, all of whom are only abstractly contained within parish boundaries. The familial or social connections of rural communities have always transcended the geography of the parish with their ties and affinities stretching out pan-regionally and beyond. Consequently one needs to look at the extra-parochial connections as well as those more obvious internal ones.

Since parishes are legal as well as socio-religious entities, they are generally constituted from the same structured formats in terms of their materiality, organisation and the personnel who inhabit

and run them. Moreover each parish is focused on its church which acts as the centre and root of its existence. In the past this afforded the church an ideological significance which was even more considerable than that of the local manor house. To help it to function its council, the vestry, was an assembly of the entire parish regularly convened to make decisions. In practice, from the late Middle Ages, it was composed of reputable parishioners elected to administer it and to monitor parochial socio-religious conformity (Pounds 2000:192-3). Parish officers shared this latter duty with the minister whose primary concern lay in the spiritual well-being and conformity of his flock. Thus the nature of the parish and its organisation was two-fold in that the duties of the vestry were certainly directed at the moral policing of the community but were equally tied up with affairs relating to parish or glebe land, the collecting of parish taxes and the regulation of itinerants or incoming parishioners. After the passing of the Poor Laws of the late 16th century and 1601 this bore a direct relation to the vestry's other major preoccupation – the distribution of parish or poor relief (Hindle 2004:227-295, Wrightson 2000:216). Before I examine the vestry however it is necessary to outline the role of the parish parson.

2.6.3 The parish clergyman

At the top of the parochial executive, the early modern parish clergyman may possibly have taken exception to the idea that he was socially conjoined with the members of his parish vestry. After the Reformation and throughout the early part of the 17th century efforts were made to improve the parson's social position (Pounds 2000:172-3). A medieval priest could buy a title from those religious houses entitled to ordain him - a practice which persisted well into the 16th century (Duffy 2001:15). This was an honorific title expressed by prefixing 'Sir' or 'Dom' (inus) to his name. In Eamon Duffy's *Voices of Morebath*, Morebath's parish priest, from whose accounts his history springs, is always referred to as Sir Christopher Trychay (Duffy 2001). Likewise in several of my sample parishes archival sources record similar titles accorded to parish priests of the 16th century (eg. WSRO Par 133 Bishop's Transcripts). This status could be misleading since priests might vary wildly in their education or social background. Moreover, as Duffy notes, there was a sudden plunge in candidates for ordination on the accession of Elizabeth which meant that the gaps left by deprived parish priests could not be filled rapidly, while those still in place were, like Sir Christopher Trychay, getting old (Duffy 2001:174). However, as Marshall observes, 'the old priests did not live forever' and after the 1570-80s a second generation of Protestant ministers came forward, many being graduates of the new university colleges at Cambridge founded for this express purpose (Marshall 2003:147). Thereafter the Anglican Church sought to elevate the public perception of the clergy.

‘University education, rising social status and an extremely high incidence of intermarriage among clerical families, led to the emergence of a new clerical ‘caste’ and a clericalist insistence on the rights and dignity of the clergy...’ (Marshall 2003:148).

The logical consequence of this increased separation between a parson and his parishioners was the conscious identification of the clergy with the gentry classes and, by the 18th century, this more structured positioning had become natural subject matter for the social observations of such novelists as Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Oliver Goldsmith and Fanny Burney (see Goldsmith’s *Vicar of Wakefield* 1766). Moreover there always has been a distinction between the spiritual role of the parish priest as an appointed officer of the Established Church and the temporal, elected nature of the vestry and its officers. This drew a line between the parson as his flock’s spiritual supervisor and the vestry as that flock’s corporeal representatives (Smith P 2000). There has thus been a tendency to think of the two roles as being ideologically differentiated.

In the post-medieval period rural parish territory did not simply consist of parcels of land owned either by local landlords, leaseholders or held as common land but also might include glebe farmland, woodland and orchards, all of which were part of the parson’s living and designed to augment his stipend. A living’s properties also encompassed clerical buildings, such as rectories, vicarages, church houses, attached tithe barns and farm buildings plus any leases belonging to the benefice. The number of extra assets attached to a living was often dependant on property historically bequeathed to their churches by pre-Reformation parishioners. As with those local manor houses which possessed separate farmsteads, the glebe often manifested itself as a grange or church farm worked directly by the parson or his tenant. As a result each living’s value varied – some being worth considerably more than others. In parishes where the glebe was large, incumbents could play an important secular role alongside other substantial farming landlords. Others, conversely, being landless, were forced to rely on the (again variable) public perception of clerical ordination to maintain their social dignity, and their own private wealth, if any, to provide the material evidence of their station (Pounds 2000:214-219).

Pluralism was a commonplace method of extending clerical income. The receipt of supernumerary benefices was closely linked with patronage and a clergyman’s social connections. Nepotism and the workings of elite obligation were driving forces enabling clergymen to pile living upon living as a pluralist was permitted to place a subordinate vicar or curate in his extra livings at a reduced stipend while he selected the most prestigious for himself. He then received a percentage of the revenues and tithes of his other benefices (for an example of how pluralism functioned see Dearnley 2010: 191-201 and Chapter 4.3.1). Where neighbouring parishes were headed by a single

minister, one or more assistant curates took the outlying services on his behalf. A parson may therefore have had a team of lesser clergy.

Regarding a clergyman's exact social rank one must understand that each living and its glebelands were integral to the advowson which enabled its owner – the patron - to bestow it on the candidate of his choice when the benefice fell vacant. In most British parishes this advowson, or the right to appoint its clergyman, was expressed by a legal document in the possession of this patron who might be the manorial lord, the Crown, the diocesan bishop or even a member of the gentry or nobility resident elsewhere. The advowson was, in effect, a property and could be inherited, passed on or purchased.

By the late 17th century a parson may have had less direct contact with his vestry, leaving the parish accounts and expenditure to vestry members lower down the parochial pecking order. However while this was usual, it was not invariably so. For example, within my sample there is a case where one of the parish's churchwardens also doubled up as the minister's patron (WSRO 2265 EP54/1/23/8 and see Chapter 4.4) and it was not unheard of for members of the parson's family to act in the capacity of churchwarden.

2.6.4 Parish officers

The senior officers, the churchwardens – two per parish - were annually elected from the most respectable families of the district, yeomen or lesser gentry, and were expected to be literate, numerate and morally unexceptionable. Churchwardens were usually men, (although after 1672 women were occasionally included (Pickthall 2008)) whose duties included the administration of parish monies, valuables and property. They also levied and organised the collection of church rates, a kind of parish poll tax, gathered to cover parish expenses, for distribution to the parish poor and to indigent travellers. Church rates were a direct tax but parish income might also be derived from pew-rents, burials, the poor box and church ales, although the latter began to be abandoned after the turn of the 16th-17th centuries (Hutton 1994: 145-6, Pounds 2000:237-246). From the late 16th century the business of poor relief was an increasingly fraught element of parish government (see Chapter 4, Hindle 2004, Wrightson 2000:220). Churchwardens were also responsible for repairs to the nave, for care of the churchyard and with maintaining good order in the parish. Importantly, they had a biennial duty to present parish malefactors or recusants to the local ecclesiastical courts and to report disregard of parochial governance either to the courts or to diocesan representatives when visitations were made (Johnstone 1949:xxiv). Their function at the head of the vestry was essentially supervisory; although responsible for the details of such things as

taxation and repairs, they usually delegated their operation to others. While churchwardens were seen as members of the secular arm of the parish they might, in cases where incumbents were absent, lead prayer services and in benefices which lacked a parson over a protracted period of time they might be appointed by their local bishop as sequestrators, responsible for finding other clergymen to act as locums (see Stoughton GNo 44 for an instance of sequestration). As assistants, churchwardens might call on elected sidesmen - their deputies - whose duties were to operate during church services as ushers, as maintainers of propriety during church services and who were responsible for collections after the services (Pounds 2000:186-7).

Another vestry member was the parish clerk, usually appointed by minister and parish in agreement, who might serve perpetually if the parish found him satisfactory. In the Middle Ages the clerk was ordained in minor orders and assisted in the serving of mass and the sacraments. His duties involved the supervision of church music and thus he was an extra member of parochial clerical personnel. Since clerks often doubled up as school-masters they were required to be men of some education. Post-medieval clerks no longer needed ordination but were waged employees (www.londonparishclerk.co.uk). In spite of their lay status clerks still led congregational responses during the service, read the lesson and the epistle and directed the singing of psalms and canticles. They also kept the parish registers and acted as scribes to illiterate parishioners for letter-writing, will-making or probate valuations (Pounds 2000:187-90). In poorer parishes they might also act as sextons.

A parish with a full complement of vestry members would also appoint two other officers. Where means allowed, a sexton (or sacristan) was hired whose duties included ensuring the security of the church for which he held the church keys. He also oversaw the safekeeping of the church's valuables – its plate, altar furniture and vestments – which were usually locked away in the vestry or sacristy. In addition he kept an eye on the poor-box and the churchwarden's chest which contained the rates and account books. He was also the grave-digger, the chief bell ringer and was expected to keep both church and churchyard clean and tidy (Pounds 2000:190-2). Some of these duties he might share with the church verger, another medieval role secularised after the Reformation. The verger's primary duty was as usher for processional events such as Rogationtide perambulations also known as beating-of-the-bounds (see Hutton 1994:175-6). He was also responsible for the smooth running of the church liturgy, being expected to lay out the altar napery and vessels, the parson's vestments and the Eucharistic bread and wine.

Vestry members whose duties were not intrinsic to the church but vital to the parish were the tithingman (in some areas called the headborough or borsholder), the constable and the overseer

of the poor. Occasionally a parish elected a quester whose duty was to look into secular disputes such as those involving weights and measures. Like churchwardens and sidesmen these were annual positions allocated to reputable parishioners (Pounds 2000: 193-198). A tithingman was not only responsible for the parson's tithes but would collect the church rates once they had been set by the vestry. Since this might be an unpopular role which involved extracting money from families assessed as being sufficiently wealthy to be tithed and rated, it was necessary to share the job and its odium around. The constable had no more official authority than that accorded to him by the local manorial court and he also operated at the behest of local magistrates. However his immediate duty was to the parish and its controlling vestry and in this respect he was elected, sometimes vainly, to keep the peace (Pounds 2000:193-5).

The overseer-of-the-poor's duties were more proactive. Since there was always a substantial unrateable percentage of each parish population falling below the poverty line, it was necessary to estimate who was entitled to poor relief and who was not. The rates were finite and poor relief was the largest charge on the parish purse, so estimating who was to receive what was a task fraught with calculation. Recently there has been much historical scholarship devoted to the application of the poor laws by overseers and vestries in which decisions over who figured as the 'deserving' or respectable or 'undeserving' or profligate poor determined the granting or withholding of relief. The gulf which appeared between these two economically amorphous categories demonstrates that this balance was hard to achieve and often resulted in extreme want for the lowest, most marginal members of a parish and especially for vagrants or impoverished incomers (for more on parish mechanisms for dealing with poverty see Fletcher 1986: 183-87, Hindle 2004, Erickson 2004:200-212, Coward 2003: 62-66, Underdown 1985:33-43, Wrightson 2000:216-221).

2.6.5 Ordinary parishioners

The overseer-of-the-poor acted in conjunction with his vestry and as Keith Wrightson observes:

'To many of the (parish) officers who implemented the English poor laws their parishes were little commonwealths... As 'principall members' they attended to the needs of the settled poor ... Yet at the same time the experience of doing so enhanced their sense of social and moral distance from the poor, excited their prejudices, bureaucratised the extension of neighbourly charity and taught them how to estimate the relative utility of the poor as an economic resource. As for the poor themselves, the system extended to them certain entitlements. It cushioned the blows of life-cycle crises... Yet such rights as were accorded to them were conditional and gained at a cost. As John Walter has argued, if the

labouring poor had been largely delivered by 1650 from the threat of crises of subsistence, they had also become only too familiar with the realities of what was for many 'a crisis of dependency' (Wrightson 2000:220-1).

Wrightson's analysis fuels my argument that there was a perceptible tendency throughout the entire period towards an increased, formalised elaboration of social stratification at every level. The vestry's operations, especially in the larger and more populous parishes, were essentially sub-governmental. The concentration of much recent historical post-Reformation literature dealing with parochial interrelationships has focused predominantly on those existing between the minister and the parish in general (see Haigh 1993, Walsham 2006, Cressy 1997). Bearing in mind the multiple material, physical and social effects of parish governance on the welfare of those being governed it seems vital that these dominant vestry roles are also considered when it comes to an analysis of parochial religion. What remains least visible within rural relationships is the presence and agency of those parishioners who were unable to afford mortuary monuments, who had little to bequeath so consequently failed to leave wills or probate inventories, and who were insufficiently prosperous to feature as members of a parish vestry. With these parishioners only the dates of their births, marriages and deaths are recoverable from parish registers where they survive. Presentation records spotlight those parishioners who crossed the bounds of prescribed socio-religious behaviour and these flesh out the skeletal outlines of family biographies. Thus one can begin to estimate the effects on parishioners of such things as extra-marital child-bearing, being caught ploughing on the Sabbath or incurring the ultimate socio-religious negative sanction of excommunication. While it is true that presentation records only show the reverse side of the behavioural coin, one can perceive, by the number and nature of presentments per parish, the extent to which that parish was willing to conform to the rules of Anglican normativity and its parishioners' tolerance for or objection to dissent. The historical scholarship mentioned above shows that presentments were occasionally made against a minister (see Chapter 3.2) and that these complaints, taken to the extreme stage of the diocesan court, were evidence not only of the churchwardens' displeasure but reflect a parochial mood of disgruntlement. From the 17th century onwards there are also cases where clergymen presented their own churchwardens. In my research area, there are several cases which show that the relations between ministers and the different layers of their flock could be complex and problematic (see Chapter 4.4).

It must also be noted that the members of a vestry emerged from a community – often a small one – in which their personalities, family relationships, worldly affairs and probity were likely to be well known. Since the numbers of men able to take on the time-consuming role of vestry members was

limited, the executive often served alternately and might only be re-elected if they proved trustworthy. Mishandling of parish rates or property was a serious matter which reflected on their reputations and parish officers could be called to account. Thus the vestry was tied into the parish, and parochial well-being depended on churchwardens' efficiency and sense of responsibility. In cases where this was questioned or circumstances stretched a vestry's social or financial acumen a parish might be in trouble.

2.7 Summary

In the research region the fifty parishes dealt with could be seen to be an arbitrary if representative block for the two counties covered. As individual parishes they have idiosyncratic histories and topographies which will be explored in the following chapters but there are also elements they have in common which can be reviewed and contrasted in both their past and present forms.

While agriculture is still the most important economic element of the coastal and upland region studied here, along the coast the old maritime industries of trading, fishing and salt-making have largely vanished and the leisure industries of tourism and sailing have replaced them. This applies to both counties and their shared coastal economies largely reflect the same changes. It is mainly in relation to the two major cities of Chichester and Portsmouth that one can see different developments. The maritime commerce centred on Chichester and its West Selsey ports has practically evaporated, leaving private individuals to set up marinas or harbour leisure businesses which have little direct connection with the city's economy. Chichester in the 21st century is a prosperous commercial and residential centre. Portsmouth however continues to expand its maritime activities as a port and naval Dockyard, as a maritime heritage centre and ferry port. There is also a paradox concerning each city's architectural appearance as Chichester's medieval and early modern architecture has been conserved whereas there is little left of Portsmouth's, due to German bombing during the Second World War. However, historically, both cities acted as foci for their rural hinterlands. Chichester's importance as a diocesan capital has been a central element of parochial life throughout the period concerned whereas Portsmouth has operated as more of a commercial and market centre serving its sea-going economy.

What has disappeared in the recent past is a sense of the industry and commerce attached to the seaside ports – Fareham, Portchester, Langstone and Emsworth in Hampshire and Bosham, Fishbourne, Dell Quay and Itchenor in West Sussex. The loss of much vernacular early modern and 19th century maritime building – boatsheds, storehouses, chandleries, mills, slipways and jetties – has robbed their locations of an important aspect of their history. In addition the harbours, constantly populated in a network of sea-lanes by a wide variety of vessels and their seamen

formed another landscape now repopulated with different forms of craft.

The disappearance of coastal industries in Hampshire has not been limited to trading and fishing alone. Havant, for example was a centre for parchment-making and tanning, as was Titchfield. Titchfield, Gosport and, more famously, Fareham, had good brickearths which fuelled a long-lived brick and tile industry. Emsworth was a centre for shell fisheries and oysters in particular and most of the coastal towns and villages had established grain mills which allowed their ports to export wheat and flour. On the Sussex side salterns and saltmills were widespread from Chidham up to Itchenor. Although these were markedly in decline as salt became cheaper to import in the 19th century, a map of 1665 by Daniel de la Fabroliere (taken from Mansell's survey of 1625) shows large numbers of on and offshore salterns around the coasts of all three of the basin's harbours (BL Add MS 16371a). These activities were elements of a working landscape which has now vanished.

The destruction of post-medieval Downland agricultural architecture has been less severe. Vernacular building stock is preserved rather unevenly but is still found even in the more remote Downland areas, though it tends to be centred in the more prosperous nucleated villages such as are seen in the Meon Valley where renovated cottages and farms are highly sought after. Luckily, important architectural examples have been re-erected at the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum at Singleton to illustrate the domestic and working environments of the people of these regions (see Harris 2005). The examples of surviving and conserved Downland rural buildings present a clearer picture of post-medieval upland society than can be seen on the coast. Because of this the shepherding, stock-rearing, farming and forestry practices of the inland parishes are still visible, especially as they are still practised.

Analysing the demographic relationships of congregation and church size from the Middle Ages in the Downland groups is complicated by population migration from the country from the second half of the 19th century into the 20th. This created a vacuum which has not been compensated for, as it has on the coast, by the arrival of incomers. In established upland villages the population has remained stable or has been replenished but in the more isolated parishes such as the Sussex Marden group or the Chalton parishes in Hampshire, parochial housing stock has been seriously depleted. During the post-medieval period therefore it is necessary to view these areas not as possessing dense numbers of rural inhabitants but as working landscapes where clusters of farmers and farming tenants, agricultural workers and their families lived side by side with the rural craftsmen, the blacksmiths, coopers, wheelwrights, sawyers, millers, bakers and innkeepers who helped to provide the infrastructure of a parish. Where they had some proximity to their church and formed a parochial hub, villages were more likely to survive into the present, especially if there

were residential manor houses or farms close at hand providing employment. Often the loss of a dominant manor house has contributed to the desertion of a parish as at Racton in Sussex and Idsworth in Hampshire.

Traditionally scholars have made distinctions between 'closed' and 'open' parishes where, in the former, parishioners are bound into highly structured relationships with their landowning families as described above (Pryor 2010:470 and see section 2.4.4). Tenants in these parishes were more vulnerable since they might be expected to share a landlord's religious opinions. Economically they depended on him for such things as lease renewals and for favourable treatment if he decided to enclose his fields. Alternatively open parishes were often characterised by absentee landowners who employed bailiffs to farm their estates as demesne and who therefore had less personal control over their tenants' lives (Pounds 2000:499). In the research sample it is apparent that in Hampshire, Chalton, with its long history of absentee magnate landlords, was one such, as was Bosham in Sussex whose post-Dissolution manors were hereditarily owned by the Barons of Berkeley, whose chief seat was in Gloucestershire. Here, the lack of any close controlling relationship between a resident landlord and the parish community allowed for a much laxer attitude to local subsistence. Early 18th-century Bosham parishioners derived much of their sea-going income from smuggling operations run in conjunction with other coastal open-parish groups based in Itchenor, Emsworth and Langstone (Reger 1996:103-6). It is likely that these activities may not have been entirely eradicated by patronal control but might have been kept more within bounds had there been the kind of strong patronal intervention which the Duke of Richmond delivered later in the century in this area (Reger *ibid*).

Open parishes appear to have been more prevalent in the coastal border region than closed ones. In Hampshire its coastal town parishes provided the same forms of closed socio-political control through the appointment of influential residents to their parish vestries, but elsewhere, as for example in the Meon valley, the ownership of many large Downland parishes by the absentee bishops of Winchester ensured that agriculture and rural industry was less closely supervised. An exception is found at Southwick where the intimate ties binding its parishioners to their Lay Prior squires exemplified the closed parish phenomenon. Closed villages of this sort are found more frequently in Sussex Downland. Here the accumulation of manorial estates by such families as the Peckham-Phipps of Compton and the Lewknors of West Dean in the 17th/18th centuries created managed economic circumstances and practices especially where estate workers and tenants were settled in nucleated villages close to the great houses of their patronal families.

The grip which resident patronal families exerted on their parish communities is often mirrored by

the early modern treatment of the parish church in which both parties worshipped. This is most obviously seen through their tombs and monuments but patrons were additionally held responsible for repairs to the church and for its 'beautification'. Where this is visible, as at Southwick, Racton, West Dean and South Harting a church's continued improvement was often maintained for as long as the patronal family remained resident in the parish. In open parishes, however, especially along the Sussex coast, in decaying 17th-century churches such as those at West Thorney, Chidham, Funtington and Fishbourne, churchwardens had to be harried repeatedly by their Episcopal authorities into carrying out basic repairs (see Chapter 4.4).

From this survey it can be seen that both coastal and Downland communities and their economies were cross-border – sharing their upland or maritime landscapes and, whether arranged in open or closed parishes, engaged in similar social and sea or land-based work practices. There are perceptible differences however when it comes to their sizes and demographics. It is immediately noticeable that Hampshire supports larger parishes and more urbanised centres. Around its coastline such early modern towns/large villages as Havant, Portchester, Fareham, Gosport and Titchfield lie within a few miles of each other, most from the Middle Ages host to markets and/or fair days. Inland to the northwest the Hampshire Downland villages are similarly large and compactly nucleated. In Sussex the only comparable parish and village - South Harting - adjoins Buriton and Peterfield and shares their landscape and economy. Of the southern nucleated villages of Westbourne, Bosham and West Wittering, only Westbourne, close to the county border, seems to have acted as a long-term market nexus. Towards the end of the period inflated population size and the expansion of housing stock is more visible to the west and may partly be explained by the increasing significance of Portsmouth's naval facilities together with larger numbers of service personnel and their families coming to live close at hand (for more detailed account of Portsmouth and its Georgian expansion see Lloyd 174:39-51).

This brief survey and comparison of the sampled parishes sets the scene for a more detailed consideration of what constituted early modern religious life within these parishes and their churches. It is now necessary to turn from the general background of this thesis and outline the constituents of rural religious life across both counties. The following chapters are accordingly devoted to analyses of post-medieval constructions of religious identity derived from the surviving material of these parishes and their churches. After the Reformation church material was organised in definitive ways in order to reconstruct the cosmological understandings of parishioners confronted with imposed and unfamiliar religious change. To a large extent this was undertaken by the rearrangement of ritual space

PART II

CHAPTER 3 Living with religious change and stasis: spatial identities.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theme of space within and around the parish church and its landscape. It also interrogates the ways in which the configurations of space and place interacted with those experiencing them to define or affect their socio-religious behaviour. In the previous chapter I addressed the question of parish personnel – who were the actors who made up a community of parishioners? In doing this I reviewed the roles played by its executive and their relationships with ordinary parishioners. However, one also needs to contemplate the ways in which space and place shaped parishioners in their composite roles as congregational entities.

Congregations encountered the Reformation in different ways and in the south there seem to have been fewer generally hostile reactions to the introduction of the Protestant liturgy than in other areas such as the west and north (Haigh 1993, Duffy 2001). This is not to say that southerners merely accepted the new teachings without dissent, though one can speculate that many parishes may have responded with a certain amount of ideological inertia. In these cases the degrees of religious change may have been more muted. Notwithstanding this, Reformation religion *was* revolutionary and the following passages examine the mechanisms used to make a new cosmology acceptable.

3.2 Going to church

Post-Reformation England was a confusing and uncomfortable place in which to hold strict confessional religious views. After the ambivalence of Henry VIII's post-Dissolution commitment to religious reform, Edward VI's position and that of his advisers was oriented firmly towards Presbyterian modes of worship. On his death in 1551 his sister Mary orchestrated an equally emphatic Catholic counter-Reformation until her own death five years later. Elizabeth Tudor thus inherited a church which, if we include the initial stage of pre-Reformation Catholicism, had seen four differing bi-polar forms of religious ideology over a period of just over 25 years. Elizabeth's personal policies thereafter expressed restrained forms of tolerance in her relationships with her Puritan or Catholic courtiers insofar as she was reluctant to overtax the religious pressure put on her internal circle. Her national policies were, however, necessarily constrained by the politico-religious tendencies of her bishops and her problematic relationship with Catholic Europe (Pounds 2000:451-3. MacCulloch 2003:382-393). In 1559, under her aegis as Supreme Governor, by means

of the Act of Uniformity, the established Church of England reissued and adapted Cranmer's 1552 Book of Common Prayer for its statutory liturgical model – a religious blueprint incorporating elements of Presbyterian worship but which was also criticised by radical Protestants for retaining aspects of Catholic practice (Books LLC: 2010:29-30). However, over the forty years of Elizabeth's reign this liturgical programme, which prescribed compulsory church attendance in the form of Sunday services, the obligation for parishioners to receive communion thrice yearly, the observation of church festivals such as Christmas and Easter, the catechism and the usual range of passage rituals – baptisms, weddings, churching ceremonies and funerals – consolidated to form the backbone of religious parochial life (Haigh 2007:5-6, Coward 1994:84-5 and for a detailed analysis of post-Reformation rites of passage see Cressy 1993).

This simplified account of the religious upheavals which ordinary parishioners were faced with during the last three quarters of the 16th century outlines of the range of confessional alternatives congregations were expected to accept. More top-down religious changes were then imposed in even more traumatic circumstances in the 17th century (for an account of the long European Reformation see MacCulloch 2003, for an overview see Pounds 2000:462, for effects of the Civil War: Purkiss 2006). English Catholicism was only accepted as a non-subversive confessional alternative with the arrival of the Oxford Movement in the 1830s. After Elizabeth's accession therefore those who retained Catholic beliefs and practices were suspected of treason, labelled recusants, obliged to pay substantial fines and often had their property confiscated, while dissenting members of radical Protestant sects, such as the 17th-century Quakers and Baptists or the more short-lived Diggers, Levellers, Ranters etc were equally persecuted and as frequently jailed (see Questier 2006 for an account of Catholicism in Hampshire and Sussex and Hill 1972 for a key analysis of English Protestant radicalism).

In the research area, 16th- and 17th-century Protestant dissent is less visible except as an urban phenomenon. In Chichester the first construction of a Baptist chapel is recorded in 1671 in Eastgate Square while the Quakers established a meeting house nearby at the Hornet two years later (MacDougall 2004:76-77). In Portsmouth, after the accession of William and Mary in 1688, its Baptists, obliged from the 1640s to worship in secret, eventually erected a chapel in St Thomas's Street (Lloyd 1974:17). Along the coast and in the Downs, the physical evidence of Dissenters is manifested in the 18-19th centuries by the survival of small Methodist, Unitarian and Baptist chapels which survive in such places as Havant, Emsworth, Hayling Island and Bosham (GNos 2-4, 31).

As mentioned earlier, non-conformity in this region is more easily assessed with regard to

Catholicism where it was focused around major landowning families and their dependents. This point needs reiterating as, when early modern church-going is discussed, the behaviour and attitudes of both patrons and congregations can sometimes be seen to have impacted on the material and spatial arrangements of their church. While such pressure was effective in places, it is also vital to remember the capacity for independent religious thinking shown by the laity. There will always have been those, of whatever status, who made conscious emotional, intellectual or spiritual personal choices just as there were also those who voluntarily changed their beliefs over time. Equally it is likely that these private beliefs remained publicly unmemorialised. Accordingly, when assessing the temperature or complexion of belief in any one parish one may be only able to access certain documentary or physical clues since others are unmarked or unrecorded.

Bearing this history of ideological fluctuation in mind, it is time to review the agency of the liturgical round on the people and parishes of the Hampshire/Sussex border. Since regular worship was legally compulsory parishioners were bound to attend their own parish church rather than another of their choice. Thus it was reasonable for a parson to expect his church to be well-attended for at least one Sunday service every week. This was not always the case during harvest times or if fishermen were at sea. Working on the Sabbath was forbidden and those caught infringing Sabbatarian laws were presented to the diocesan courts. In the 1621 bills of presentment for West Itchenor (GNo 35) James Simpkin and Thomas Summers, his servant, were presented for their absence while at sea and in 1623 Robert Hogsflesh was presented 'for turning of pease in his field upon a Sabbath Day in harvest last past.' Trading likewise was prosecutable; in 1599 Humphrey Lancelot of Milton, Portsea, was presented for selling his catch on a Sunday (Johnstone 1949: Boxgrove Deanery 1621 Easter Bills and 1623 Michaelmas Bills WSRO 2265 EP/54/1/23/8, Haigh 2007: 86-7).

However, where attendance was regular, parishioners were expected to arrive, dressed decently and soberly, sometimes from considerable distance if the parish was large. They then took their allotted places in pews in the nave unless they were gentry and/or patrons, in which case they might own private pews which could be situated either in family chapels close to the chancel or within the body of the chancel itself. The morning service was conducted by the parson, sometimes assisted by his curate and invariably by the parish clerk. Services were similar in some ways to those still held in traditional modern churches. They involved specific prayers composed to celebrate aspects of the religious calendar, psalm-singing, bible readings or lessons, and, importantly, a sermon delivered by the minister - a peroration lasting an hour if not more. The whole experience took at least two hours to complete. The evening service was similar but shorter. From the mid-16th

to the mid-17th centuries when the Eucharist was celebrated it was received in the centre of the church about a communion table with the communicants standing or occasionally sitting around it. Archbishop Laud's ceremonialist interventions in the 1620-30s attempted to change this by ordering that Communion should be received in front of newly inserted altar rails with the Communion Table reinstated as an altar back in its medieval position under the chancel's east window (Cressy 2000:186-212 and see Chapter 4.2.4). Although this practice was abandoned under the Commonwealth, the reworked Restoration Prayer Book of 1662 adopted the Laudian format and the altar again became the church's focal point (Pounds 2000:462-3). The Sunday service of Matins was the event attended by the majority of a rural parish since travelling to and from church, especially in winter, was accomplished more easily in good daylight. A late service could seriously upset the congregation. At North Marden (GNo 47) in 1664 the parson himself was presented since his services were 'done unseasonably, and so late that people cannot conveniently come and return' (Johnstone 1949: xxviii also see below and Chapter 4.4 for more on Marden religious politics).

A parishioner was usually willing to invest considerable time and effort in church-going and in certain cases it is possible to see forms of accommodation instituted in the body of the church to enable the congregation to comport themselves with comfort and propriety. In North Hampshire, the 18th-century church of St Mary's, Avington, retains many of its original fittings including its box pews and above them, a row of wall pegs placed conveniently for male members of the congregation to hang their hats (*see Fig 3.1*). This ensured that hats, being valuable articles of apparel, were not carelessly strewn around the pew and the pegs also acted as a salutary reminder to parishioners to take them off. This may have been a necessary Establishment prompt during the 18th century for those whose religious attitudes were still permeated by the Puritan tradition of remaining covered during services. Moreover, the sight of rows of male hats hung over the pews might themselves have been read by parishioners as a serial exemplification of rank – the better, more fashionable hats being hung over the expensive pews at the front and progressing downwards in quality as the pews gave way to the benches of the poorer sort. These phenomena are rarities however in rural settings and it seems equally likely that the act of sitting for long periods in unheated churches often with children and dogs penned up within the confined, crowded space of a pew might have given rise to stress and discomfort (see MacCulloch 2003:520 on the propensity of English parishioners to bring dogs to church).

Familiarity with the church gained by constant repetitions of liturgical participation was enriched by its association with other village institutions. Where there was no school-house the church often

doubled up as one. A school might be held inside or where there was a good-sized porch equipped with side benches to accommodate the pupils (Hayman 2007:94-5) This was the case at St Mary's, South Hayling (GNo 3) where the south porch is a substantial 15th-century edifice (Soffe 1995:44-46). At South Harting (GNo 49), after the departure of the Caryll family in the 1760s, their now disused private chapel was transformed into a dame school (Salzmann 1953: 10-21 and see Chapter 5.5.1.).

Religious education was centred in the church where, from 1559, the catechism, as an article of the Book of Common Prayer, was introduced as its learning tool. The catechism's format is a question-and-answer dialectic whereby the catechumen derives his/her responses from their knowledge of the basic liturgical texts of the Protestant religion: the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Where these were orally taught, learning the catechism did not require literacy although it was necessary to commit both texts and responses to memory. The ability to answer catechistic questions correctly implied the catechumen understood the fundamental principles underpinning English Protestantism. Younger children and servants of parochial households usually attended a form of Sunday catechism school and were tested before they could participate in the Eucharist. However, as Christopher Haigh has pointed out, the narrower issues of predestination or justification by faith were not addressed in the catechism's official version. Peter Marshall, discussing this, has observed that after the last quarter of the 16th century this may well have helped to portray the Church of England as presenting both inclusive and traditional doctrines since its imprecision appeared to condone a certain broadness of dogmatic belief (Marshall 2003: 149-150). This process of religious learning constituted a major part of the religious *habitus* of the parochial adolescent and, as a prerequisite for entry into parish membership as a communicant, it was itself a minor rite of passage. In 1623 the East Marden churchwardens presented their vicar, Mr Heaton, claiming that 'Our minister doth not catechise the youth according to the article'. Since Mr Heaton had also failed to deliver a sermon for the past twelve months it is easy to see the importance accorded by parishioners to the liturgical constituents of religious practice and to a proper system of preparation for that practice (WSRO 2265 EP 54/1/23/8 Boxgrove Michaelmas Bills 1623).

In some ways the church functioned as a modern church hall. As discussed in Chapter 2.6.4 fundraising events such as church ales and village meetings were often convened in churches in the absence of other public buildings. In parishes where the parson was happy to conform to James I's and Charles I's Books of Sports which relaxed aspects of Sabbatarian observance, games, sports and even dancing might be held in churchyards. In 1623 in the parish of Yapton, West Sussex, just to the

east of the research area, a fiddler was presented for encouraging young people from neighbouring parishes to come and dance – a pastime which a local man John Waters defended, claiming that the Sabbath was abolished and therefore every weekday should be treated as the Sabbath (Haigh 2007:93).

Ronald Hutton has evaluated the relationship of the parish with sports, festivals and social rituals such as dancing, maypoles and church ales over the period of 1400- 1700. He suggests that during the late 16th-early 17th centuries there was considerable pressure from the promoters of strict Sabbatarianism to curtail such events and, after the Restoration, their survival into the 18th century was much reduced and less documented (Hutton 1994:153-262). However, the protracted nature of hostile Sabbatarian reactions suggest that there must have been some continuity of ludic useage from the Middle Ages when the church and its yard were regarded as both religious and secular spaces. It is clear though that the occupation of the interior of the church, particularly the nave with its fixed arrangements of box pews and benches, would itself be inimical to informal communal gatherings. Indeed the presence of furniture such as the pulpit, intensely associated with the authority of the minister in his role of religious pedagogue, may possibly have acted to restrict the discussion of the ordinary business connected to village entertainments or other frivolous matters.

Parish weaponry might be stored in a church to arm local militia in cases of national emergency such as the Armada, although collections of such weapons were often kept by the resident gentry family. Churches were also used as emergency buildings in times of war. During the Civil War the tower of St Thomas's, Portsea (GNo 8) was used by the King's forces as a lookout – a dangerous activity as it then became the target for Parliamentary artillery sited across the harbour at Gosport (Knowles, Brindley and Friars 2006:3). At South Harting, a centre of Royalist support, the church and the Caryll chapel were sacked by the Royalist troops quartered there (Llewellyn 2000:263 and see GNo 49), whereas it is traditionally believed that it was Waller's Parliamentary soldiers who, after ransacking Chichester cathedral in 1642, damaged the Catholic imagery in several Selsey churches including the Erneley tombs in St Peter and St Paul's, West Wittering (Done, Kennedy Cooke and Williams 2003 and GNo 36 see Chapter 6.2).

That churches survived this treatment is a testament to their solidity as structures. This aspect of a church building also accounts for its use as a repository for registers, records and parochial monies. Churchwardens' chests which can be found in a number of the area's churches usually had two locks and keys – one for each churchwarden - a security measure which required them both to be present in order to open the chest (Pounds 2000: 467-8). St Peter's, North Hayling (GNo 2) has a

very fine example of a 17th-century chest which possesses two hasped locks. St Nicholas's at Wickham (GNo 26) dates to the 18th century while Holy Trinity, Bosham (GNo 31) has a very rare medieval chest with a hidden compartment which was superseded by a 17th-century chest with five locks suggesting that Bosham parishioners, traditionally given to smuggling, were highly security conscious when it came to their own parochial valuables (*see Fig 3.2*).

Vestries frequently possessed a strong cupboard in which to lock up the plate and other valuables. In St John the Baptist's, Westbourne (GN 27 *see Fig 3.3*), a heavily reinforced 14th-century door remains between the chancel and the vestry which has two ancient stock locks (*see Fig 3.3*). This door still performs its function since it recently withstood thieves' attempts to break it down. In a community where securing precious items or important documents such as wills might be problematic, the existence of a parochial strong room was a useful resource.

The church was also a store for funeral apparatus such as the parish hearse and local family hatchments and for general parochial utensils such as ladders and fire-fighting equipment. Its churchyard, or more often, the area outside the gate, might also be the site of the village pillory or stocks. The proximity of the instruments of parochial punishment to the church would have connected the prosecution of civil law with that of church authority in the minds of those passing by *en route* to religious worship. Until recently a set of stocks was situated outside the lychgate of St Mary, South Hayling, and at South Harting its stocks and whipping post still stand outside the church gate. A roofed lychgate, designed to rest a coffin before the corpse's funeral entry into the church, had its own associations with the passage of the dead into the afterlife (Pounds 2000:420). To churchyard visitors, this combination of lych-gate and stocks therefore might have conveyed a sense of trepidation and an awareness of the imminent possibility of both worldly and divine retribution at this liminal crossing. Charles Pythian-Adams characterises the association of medieval churches positioned near town gates as representing 'sacred' transition sites where travellers experienced changes from a state of urban inwardness to rural outwardness (or vice versa). One can extend this interpretation to these locations too, though here we may be looking at transition in terms of concepts of spiritual safety within the church enclosure to corporeal danger outside (Pythian-Adams 1979:177 quoted in Pounds 2000:128).

Apart from its function as a cemetery, the rural churchyard itself was regarded as a parish resource. The historian of the parish, NJG Pounds, lists the many uses to which churchyards were put: as pedestrian thoroughfares, as playgrounds for local children, as encroaching sites for hayricks, gardens or farm service buildings and also, contentiously, as pasture for animals. Occasionally the minister himself might graze his own beasts or hire the yard out to others, though diocesan opinion

discouraged this and most parsons tried to exclude animals. Generally speaking, it was parishioners who were intent on pasturing their stock in this way. This often caused friction as the parson endeavoured to keep a grip on his territory by insisting on proper fencing and animal control. The greatest exception was taken to animals such as pigs and geese who were messy and churned up the ground (Pounds 2000:419-20 and see Chapter 4.4.).

Here one can see layered subtexts underlying what might otherwise be construed as the simple matter of church attendance since so much of its setting provided indices for the performance of memory (see Chapter 1.5.5 and Jones A 2007:26). Whether a parishioner was visiting or passing by their church, each encounter was mediated by their awareness of the innumerable religious and secular associations it evoked which they had experienced over time. Their conscious and unconscious religious attitudes would be informed by their catechistic training, by their participation, if any, as a pupil at a church school and also by their memories of the churchyard as a place for play and recreation. At the same time the yard, if it was a cemetery, was a place associated with the dead, with fear of the supernatural and of physical correction if the stocks stood nearby. The church itself evoked memories associated with service attendance and those special biographical occasions of marriage, baptism and death. Compounded with this was their familiarity with its function as a depository for storage and safe-keeping, together with their recollections of the church as a location for parish and vestry meetings and the decisions made there which coloured and enabled their lives or introduced change, disharmony or dissent. For a parishioner a church interior also depicted the social grading of their community; it was not just a question of viewing hats in a row but of knowing the exact placement of every congregational household and the hierarchical deference accorded to each. Since this was largely achieved by the church's architectural and spatial organisation, these arrangements afforded a semiotic map which made their parochial lives both affective and intelligible.

3.3 Being in church

3.3.1 Locating yourself: chancel arches and their dividing lines.

Since very few rural churches were built during the early modern period the vast majority of the churches examined here have a medieval foundation and template (Hayman 2007:74). The changes required by the logistics of Protestant worship are legible in the alterations made to those researched churches which have not been over-restored in the 19th century, and the majority of these retain the architectural skeletons of their medieval past. The most telling alteration centres on the treatment of the chancel arch, one of the major features of the church building. The arch

itself, usually constructed in stone, is sited at the junction of chancel and nave and acts as a support where the smaller space of the chancel butts onto the larger space of the nave. Its nature is functional since it is a vital element of the church's load-bearing armature and is also symbolic, being used in the Middle Ages to establish the crucial division between the sanctuary and nave. It framed the medieval rood screen and its loft accessed by a set of stairs usually fitted beside or within one of its piers. In the loft the sacred statuary of John the Baptist and the Virgin flanked a crucifix fixed centrally on the rood beam to look down on the congregation in the nave. These sculptures often stood in front of depictions of the Day of Judgement (called Dooms) painted on the gable wall above the chancel arch and the beam itself could also support an organ and musicians, acting as an upper gallery for the musical component of the liturgy and as staging for Passion plays (for more on gallery music see below and Chapter 4.3.2). Below the rood beam the elaborately painted rood screen was pierced with windows and a door allowing only partial views of the performance of the mass to the congregation outside in the nave (Smith, Hutton and Cook 1976:69, Pounds 2000: 457-8, Hayman 2007:113-4, Whiting 2010:3-5,)

The more radical exponents of Reformation Protestantism sought to do away with the spatial separation of clergy and laity and dispense with the gradations of sacred foci distributed around the church. Together with the obliteration of imagery, the removal of altars from the body of the church and the introduction of the communion table resulted in attempts to open up chancel space so as to merge it with nave space (Aston 1988:114-20). The results of these efforts were complicated by both Elizabeth's and James I's orders for churches to retain chancel screens as evidence that clerical/popular distinctions were still maintained (Aston 2003: 23-25). These were then used to support the sets of Royal Arms which displaced the Crucifixion statuary (Hayman 2007: 113-9). The roods themselves were removed by edict in 1548 under Edward VI and, if re-erected under Mary, removed again after Elizabeth's accession. At Westbourne, the wardens commissioned a new rood loft in 1535. Due to the dilatory qualities and financial inefficiency of the carpenter, Simon Whitehead, he was taken before the Chichester Court of Real and Personal Pleas in 1536 and enjoined to complete his work. However in 1547 testators in Westbourne were still leaving gifts of money towards 'the Holy Rood Loft making' which suggests that 12 years afterwards the loft remained unfinished. A year later and it would have had to be dismantled altogether (McCann 1993:124-5 and see GNo 27)).

At St Mary's, Buriton (GNo 18), an exact replica of its previous late 16th-century rood screen was installed in the 1960s. Its broadly pierced windows and doorless opening reveal a new approach to the screen as a marker of social difference rather than a barrier between the magical sanctity of the

chancel and the vernacular profanity of the nave (*see Fig 3.4*). At St Peter's, Racton (GNo 38), the church has no masonry arch and its wooden rood screen has been replaced by a chamfered tie beam which supports a carved cusped fretwork tympanum (Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 311-2, GNo 38 *and see Church Plan 1*). This backs a prominent oil panel of George II's Royal Coat of Arms which would place the installation of the whole in the second quarter of the 18th century. It is also possible that the tympanum may have been painted and/or gilded as a splendid backdrop for the arms. Flanking the Arms there are two latticed holes left in the latticework as if a pair of emblematic panels were previously fixed in them (*see Fig 3.5*). It is tempting to speculate that these were filled by the escutcheons of the Gunter family, patrons of the church from the 15th to the 18th centuries. If this were so the partitioning is a powerful expression in an otherwise small, architecturally simple church of the dominance ascribed to social position and political hierarchy during this period and the loss of the religious meaning attached to this division.

There is also evidence of some post-Reformation attempts to restrict the visual impact of the chancel, though in an area where there was considerable recusant pressure from local gentry the reasons for this may not be clear cut. St Mary's chancel, Portchester (GNo 9), was reduced by half by Thomas Cornwallis, governor of Portchester Castle in the 1590s as part of his programme of rationalisation designed to dismantle the defunct medieval priory buildings around the church and to rebuild one of the castle's inner accommodation ranges (Munby 1990:15-21 *and see Church Plan 2*). East Wittering's church (GNo 37) has had a stone rood screen base cut back to line up with the chancel arch responds – an alteration which was likely to have been an attempt to open up the church (Allen 2012). At St Peter and St Paul's, West Wittering (GNo 36), an 1802 print by Grimm shows that the 12th-century lancets in the chancel were partially blocked prior to the church's 1875 restoration. The blocking only left c 70-80cms at the top of their lights severely impairing the chancel's illumination. Although this argues that the focus of liturgical visibility was, in accordance with early Protestant dogma, brought further forward to the centre of the church this might have been done for practical reasons. Local historians suggest the building was prone to draughts from the prevailing south-westerly winds which caused the west door to be blocked in the 18th century (Done, Kennedy-Cooke and Williams 2003:7-8). This might imply that the blocking could have been a practical stratagem but its visual effect would undoubtedly have remained the same.

In St Michael and All Saints, Up Marden (GNo 46), one of the most arresting features of the church's architecture is a narrow chancel arch infilling which presents the appearance of a Saxon arch with a pointed apex springing from rough square imposts and square moulded piers (*see Fig. 3.6. and Church Plan 3*) This buttresses a much wider plain 13th century arch which was revealed in

1923. The infilling is a late 16th-century repair designed to support the failing arch (Salzmann 1953:110-3, Allen 2011). Since the stone-work and shape of the infill resembles Saxon work it is thought that this came from a chapel-of-ease in West Marden decommissioned at the end of the 16th century. The narrow width of this older buttressing arch increases the sense of separation between nave and chancel and reduces the congregation's sightlines beyond it. While it is possible that this was meant to transfer liturgical activity to the head of the nave, the presence of elite box pews in the chancel is a strong counter-suggestion implying that the alteration may have been funded by a conservative local patron who grasped the opportunity to emphasise patronal and congregational distinctions. The possibility that the latter explanation is a motivating force behind this post-medieval repairwork is further discussed in Chapter 4.4 (also see Bacon 1990).

Several of the churches and especially those in West Sussex have no medieval stone chancel arches and were, pre-Reformation, undoubtedly equipped with wooden screens and rood lofts. As I have shown at Racton, these were likely to have been removed post-1548 and either replaced with slighter screens as at Buriton or stripped out entirely. There are a number of one-celled churches, such as St Nicholas, West Thorney (GNo 28), St Peter and St Mary's, Fishbourne (GNo 32) or West Itchenor (GNo 35) where the division between nave and chancel is only marked by a more elaborately carved tie beam and sometimes by a sudden rise in the chancel floor level. However, one needs to be careful when analysing floor level change as many chancels were raised by Victorian architects and repaved (see Chapter 5.4.1 for discussion of church flooring).

In St Michael's Chalton (GNo 15) the chancel arch appears to have been entirely removed to be replaced by a wooden truss. It seems probable that the three bay chancel's floor was raised by a step to emphasise the division during the early modern period as the tread fabric is very worn and contains recycled medieval masonry. This is an unusual building since the chancel is only slightly narrower than the nave. Pevsner and Lloyd consider that it originally possessed a masonry arch especially as the tie beams which are now in place are heavy, unbraced and look formidably structural (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 161). The importance and size of the church itself during the medieval period would seem to confirm that it was unlikely to have had a wooden arch, especially as its much smaller chapel-of-ease at nearby Idsworth (GNo 14) still retains its masonry one. This suggests that, post-Reformation, a masonry arch was deliberately removed and the chancel opened out into the nave, possibly being equipped with the kind of open-work screen provided for its neighbouring parish of Buriton. There are indications that this could have been the work of its early 17th-century rector Richard Ball who may have had Puritan leanings but these are speculative and discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.4. If this is the case, All Saints, Catherington (GNo 16), may be

another candidate for the post-Reformation removal of a chancel arch though this is more problematic. As at St Michael's, All Saints is a substantial medieval church with added aisles which run up to the chancel and flank it. The body of All Saints is uniform throughout with no interior diminution of width or height between nave and chancel and only a slight demarcation of the two cells visible in the exterior roof ridge. Because of this and the homogeneous quality of the 14th-century roof, it is thought that no masonry arch existed. But although it seems likely that the church had a wooden chancel arch one cannot completely discount the possibility that a masonry arch was removed especially as, in spite of its venerable timbers, the roof over the aisles was altered during Victorian restoration – an older roof line on the interior side of the southwest tower clearly showing its earlier, lower configuration.

An uncontested example of a removed masonry chancel arch is found at St James-without-the-Priory- Gates in Southwick (GNo 24). This is the 13th-century parish church originally connected with the Augustinian Priory outside whose gates it stood but which post-Dissolution was part of the new estates of John Whyte. As mentioned, Whyte, in addition to assuming the patronage of the church, became its first Lay Prior – a combination of roles which allowed him to implement his architectural ambitions. During the 1560s Whyte remodelled the church. This had hitherto been a three-celled church with a stone chancel arch and a two-stage western tower. Whyte added arcading for a north aisle which ran east-west like a long gallery and culminated in a northeastern side chapel parallel with the chancel. He changed much of the fenestration to the two bay chancel and removed its stone arch, inserting a massive tie beam to replace it (*see Fig 3.7*). The presence of the previous arch and its rood loft is clear from its northern pier which was incorporated into the northern arcading with the entrance to its rood stairs blocked in, the pier being retained as it was load-bearing. This allowed for alterations to the nave and chancel ceilings which are coved and plastered. It is likely that Whyte put in a wooden screen but this would not have impacted much on the way in which he had orchestrated the opening up of the church. One might deduce from this that Whyte was carefully following the Protestant line by this remodelling. However, later generations of Whytes were aligned with a powerful Catholic faction headed in the late 16th century by the 2nd Earl of Southampton and Viscount Montague of Cowdray (Adams 2010: 171). The elder John Whyte, therefore, mindful of the religious vicissitudes of previous Tudor reigns, may have been trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. His monumental 1567 tomb which occupies the north-easternmost arcade archway between the chancel and the side chapel suggests a certain Protestant modesty insofar as it bears no religious imagery but at the same time is ideally placed to hold the sacrament as the base for an Easter Sepulchre in the case of another reversal to Catholicism.

In the studied parishes it is hard to trace an ideological trend towards a 'Protestantisation' of church space and yet what is visible of architectural change was evidently focussed on conformity and some reduction of religious emphasis on the chancel. Pounds suggests that the most profound post-Reformation consequence of this was that it became more difficult for church-goers to understand the *point* of the chancel, hence the emergence of the late 17th century auditory church as developed by Wren, Hawksmoor etc with its emphasis on religion-in-the-round (Smith, Hutton and Cook 1976:165-7, Aston 2003:23, Pounds 2000: 480-2). Once the mass's magic was dispelled the chancel became an addendum just as the priest became a religious didact rather than a spiritual conduit. Moreover if both preaching and communion depended on a closer spatial relationship of priest with congregation, the segregation demanded by the state not only lost its religious meaning but could only be maintained socially where the laity accepted the social superiority of their parson. A contradiction emerges from these ontological changes where the parishioner is allowed more physical closeness to the priest in the body of the church while at the same time the priest is de-housed because, during a service, he spends more time at his pulpit and desk than he does in the chancel. At the same time, in many churches, the local patron or elite families, seated in pews in the chancel during services may be understood to have usurped the parson's place. Thus, by the 18th century, popular constructions of the chancel may now have focussed on the ownership of this space not by the minister but by the squire.

It is clear that the changes in the physical positioning of all parties fashioned successive traditions which took hold quite rapidly and passed into performance. These themselves were dynamic – witness the changes of liturgical emphasis attached to Laudian innovations, their rebuttal and reintroduction. However, as the auditory form of the church developed, especially in the cities, late 17th- and 18th-century liturgical practice became more centred on the reiteration of the social messages embedded in clerical sermonising. These messages were distributed and reinforced by the spatial arrangement of pulpits, pews and galleries.

3.3.2 Understanding your role: pulpits

Since the parson spent a good hour or so sermonising during a service, his position vis-a-vis the nave was fixed within his pulpit and centred around his desk during the other liturgical passages.

A grand pulpit ideally possessed three tiers. On its ground floor sat the parish clerk in his own desk, monitoring and initiating the responses, leading the psalmody and occasionally reading the lessons. Above the clerk was the minister's desk from which he conducted the service until such time as he mounted the steps to the uppermost tier to deliver the sermon. In America Dell Upton has

recorded the Virginian habit, during the 17th and 18th centuries, of referring to this upper stage alone as the pulpit, the lower levels being characterised as desks. He also observes that the soaring arrangement of three tiers sometimes proved impracticable, whereupon the desks took up nearby pews at ground level (Upton 1986:133-4). Where early modern pulpits or replicas still survive in the research area this seems to have been a model replicated especially in the smaller churches.

The single decker 17th-century pulpit at St Hubert's, Idsworth, was resited slightly above the congregation towards the middle of the nave's south wall in 1912 by the church's restorer, Goodhart-Rendel, who largely restored St Hubert's in its early modern form, conserving some of its 17th- and 18th-century furniture, rebuilding the gallery and replastering the interior (Adams, Adams, Law and Ball 2009 see *Fig 3.8 and Church Plan 4*). His placement of the pulpit reflects Upton's Virginian observations which show this position was quite normal and that pulpits might be sited pragmatically (though not at the west end) in various appropriate spaces to command the congregation (Upton 1986:133-8 and for variant positions see Upton 1986 Fig 117). Richard Kiekhefer also points out that the siting of pulpits towards the middle of a north or south wall is another Reformation mechanism designed to reconfigure longitudinal church space by turning it into wide auditory space (Kiekhefer 2004:46-7). Idsworth's architectural alterations would exemplify this especially since the nave's south wall was rebuilt and extended in the 17th century, implying that extra space was needed on this side. In addition a 17th-century wall text has been uncovered to the side of the pulpit's present position which reads "Cry aloud, spare not, lift thy voice like a trumpet' (Isaiah 58.1). Its message of encouragement to the congregation as a biblical admonition on the part of a minister validates the siting of the pulpit (see Fig 4.1). Moreover the arrangement of the pulpit attached to the wall at the end of a large box pew would infer that the parson's desk and that of his clerk were elsewhere, possibly sited near the chancel arch, and that the minister needed to move back and forth during the service.

At St Peter's, Racton, the furniture is also restoration work designed to mesh with its post-medieval interior. Installed in 1933, it replicates previous fittings with 16th-century-style poppy-headed bench pews and a raised single decker pulpit sited on the south side at the head of the nave. Opposite is a two-sided box pew designed to house the minister's desk. On the pulpit's passage side there is an arrangement whereby a hinged board folds upwards to form a writing ledge at waist height – perhaps the residual remains of the clerk's desk. If these fittings mirror the post-medieval ones, and since it is likely that from the 16th to the 18th centuries the chancel held pews for the Gunter family, one can again appreciate the necessity for the vicar to move about from desk to pulpit during the course of the service, sometimes having to bypass a clerk who could

only be accommodated by means of this protruding make-shift flap.

Although there was evidently some leeway regarding the installation of pulpits from the 16th century onwards, they were advantageously placed at the head of the nave. The most favoured position was immediately to the right or left of the chancel arch facing the congregation as are the cut-down 17th-18th-century pulpits at East Meon and Meonstoke (GNos 20 and 22) which are sited on the northeast sides. Two surviving three-decker early modern pulpits at St James's, Southwick (see Fig 3.7) and St Nicholas', Boarhunt (GNo 25), sit in southeast corners. The height of the great pulpit in St Thomas of Canterbury's (GNo 8) at Portsea has been reduced and lost its desks but it was installed during a refit in 1693 to stand against the southern pier of the chancel arch overlooking the congregation in the nave and commanding its galleries (*see Fig 3.9 and see Church Plan 5*). In Ubsdell's print from the early 1800s this pulpit is shown well elevated above its lower desks and almost level with the gallery opposite. Below it, the minister's desk is a glorious affair draped in embroidered cloth edged with gilt fringing (Knowles, Brindley and Friars 2006:11). Sadly the church which might have provided the best evidence for this kind of pulpit furniture is Holy Trinity, Gosport (GNo 12), built in 1696 but unfortunately its fittings and galleries were completely remodelled by Blomfield in 1887.

In the south the most famous example of the three-decker pulpit is at All Saints at Minstead in the New Forest (*see Fig 3.10*). All Saints is frequently cited as a type-site as its authentic furniture and spatial layout exemplifies the appearance of an early modern church interior (eg see Green 1976:19-25, Draper 1990:117-8, Jenkins 2000:251). It has a long 18th-century transeptual southern extension, a three bay nave with two stepped galleries and two northern rooms designed and fitted out as private pews, one of which is equipped with a fireplace and drawing room furniture. Its chancel is extremely short and appears, at this period, almost to have been treated as an afterthought since it is only visible from certain parts of the church. All Saints' focus therefore is the pulpit which dominates the southeast corner between the southern extension and the nave and its galleries. The upper private pew looks directly onto the chancel and has an impeded view of the pulpit. The parson therefore addresses those of his congregation seated within sight of him and must otherwise peer round to address directly the gentry in this pew. This pattern of surveillance and engagement which largely excludes the gentry seated at the periphery of a minister's vision and rhetoric can also be seen at St Nicholas, Boarhunt, whose similarly placed triple-decker pew dominates the majority of the congregation collected in the nave and gallery but is angled away from the gentry box pew in the nave's northeastern corner (*see Church Plan 6*).

The clearest research example of this configuration operates at St James-without-the-Priory-Gates,

Southwick. As an independent Peculiar the church has retained much of its early modern furniture relatively intact with the exception of its nave's box pews, stripped out during the 1950s. Its desk fittings match the gentry box pews which survive in the chancel and are of white-painted 18th century wainscoting (see Fig 3.10). All sit on the early modern floor which continues at the same level from nave through to chancel and is only staged at the east end. The pulpit is triple-tiered with a ground level panelled box for the clerk which, most unusually, is aligned to face the chancel. The minister's desk above is reached by steps and an Elizabethan octagonal pulpit is set on the highest level. The effect is of a horizontal staged ascent with the parson moving from mid to upper level and back as occasion demands. The clerk's role as the congregational leader appears altered by the reversal of his seating arrangements and while it would be perfectly possible for him to have turned and faced the parishioners, his desk is placed inconveniently upstage. This led him to confront the gentry families seated in their boxes in the chancel while the minister, turned squarely towards the nave and gallery was unable to bring the gentry into his orbit without actually turning his back on the parish.

While it might be easy to exaggerate the degree to which a minister's pulpit position could be interpreted as panoptical the emergence and expression of such ideas in the late 18th century is worth consideration. Mark Leone has written convincingly of the panopticism which informed the design of much East Coast American Federal building in the late 18th and early 19th centuries which he suggests might be stretched to cover other American institutions such as libraries, schools, hospitals and churches as part of the development of American Republican sensibility (Leone 2005:97 citing Foucault (1991 (1977):135-69). While it seems impossible that the structure of a three-decker pulpit owes anything to American Republicanism its increasing height and prominence from the 16th into the 18th century certainly suggests an affective role in the elaboration of social strata. It also provided the means whereby changing perceptions of watchfulness could be used to sustain the socio-religious status quo. The increasing height of pulpits such as that of St Thomas of Canterbury, Portsea during these centuries may be reflective of a perceived need for socio-spatial elevation and, as suggested in Chapter 1.2, these areas of elevation also provided loci of power for the staging of liturgical performance (for extremely elevated pulpit examples found in early 17th century Northern European Protestant auditory churches see Halgren Kilde 2002:120-5).

As discussed above, in churches with raised pulpits and enclosing containers such as pews, these mechanisms clearly assisted in specifying the social and gendered roles which congregational members were expected to exemplify by defining the raised areas of power in which performance was seated and those lower more inferior ones in which response was located. However, at the

turn of the 16th/17th centuries, one can perceive parallels emerging between the potential for dissent in religious congregational performance (see Cressy 2000:138-213) and the desire to circumvent and escape aspects of structured audience roles in the theatrical drama of the time. In this respect Wendy Wall's analysis of such plays as John Day's *The Isle of Guls* (1606) and Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) show that while they act as parodies of contemporary elite and middle class audiences and their taste in dramatic narrative, they also demonstrate their audience's ability to intervene in what they see and to manipulate it to their own satisfaction (Wall 2006:161-3). *The Knight of the Burning Pestle's* plot famously centres on George and his wife Nell, two citizens sitting in the audience who so dislike the play which they are watching that they climb on stage and demand the plot is changed. The cast is then forced to include their apprentice Rafe who, egged on by George and Nell, then embarks on a series of clumsily improvised heroic adventures. By leaving the pit, the audience's domain, and invading the stage the citizens spatially challenge the model of power-distribution which 17th-century theatre architecture was designed to establish. This role-reversal is comedically parodied by Beaumont, but the possibility of its occurrence in a church where Dissenting or recusant parishioners might wish to eject a conformist minister would have been deeply troubling. An Anglican parson's attitude to his parishioners might thus have been affected by his continual need to monitor their attitudes to him.

Relating this back to Southwick's pulpit it appears here as though the effect of over-watching is more horizontal than vertical and this effect might have been overwhelmingly enhanced if the configuration of the gentry pews is also taken into account (see Fig 3.11). These, built at the same time as the pulpit and desks, were designed to accommodate the gentry from the Priory great house. Whyte's descendants, the Nortons and, in turn, their descendants, the Thistlethwaytes, sat segregated by gender, the men to the north in two banks of pews running east-west and the women to the south in a large box pew. As the latter pew is hidden behind the triple-decker it is only the male members of the squire's family who are visible from the nave (see Fig 3.11).

Moreover judging from the 18th-century positioning of the pews and desks it is evident that any chancel screen would, by this time, have been removed as there is no longer space for it. The congregation, therefore, looking east, would see Squire Norton or Thistlethwayte together with the male members of his household on their left while the vicar chaplain confronted them on the right. The clerk between, on the other hand, was ranked directionally with them and faced the chancel and the gentry, perhaps a reminder that he was 'of the people' rather than aligned with his social superiors or perhaps from respect to the Squire who was likewise his religious master as Lay Prior. This imperative may have outweighed his congregational duties as a leader of responses, unless he simply turned to face the parish periodically.

Such unusual spatial positioning is not found in any of the other sampled churches where the relationship of patrons, parsons and parishioners is less complicated. Yet this ascending horizontal bank of seating, from the squire's pew through to the pulpit, visibly cuts the nave off from the chancel with a row of male authority figures. Their liturgical furniture appeared as a set of linked containers, a kind of blocking arrangement designed to exhibit and frame the physicality of the existing socio-religious order, embodied by patron, clerk and minister. As discussed in Chapter 1.5.4, it is the human bodies here which are representative of these social cosmologies especially those whose bodies are 'honourably' visible. This is what is most clearly understood by those involved in a service; people pay attention to people, especially important ones, more frequently than to their furniture. However this furniture - pulpit, desks, gentry pews - is not only staging but also expresses the significance of its occupants even when they are absent.

In the small churches of my research sample, it seems likely that the vertical edifice of the triple decker pulpit proved so impractical that it was replaced with horizontal blocks of less loftily raised liturgical furniture. In the chapel-like space of St Peter's, Racton, the furniture of pulpit and minister's desk allowed the parish to glimpse their patrons, the Gunters, seated in pews in the chancel and here too the overall impression would be of a solid horizontal block of their social superiors imposing themselves between nave and altar. Above them the fretwork tympanum bearing the Royal Arms crowned these arrangements, endorsing the religious and social messages of the minister and legitimising the laws of precedence which had governed parish congregations since the Middle Ages.

3.3.3 Knowing your place: pews

The laws of social precedence filtered down the pewed nave until they reached the lowest points of honour at the west end of the church where free benches or forms were provided for the poorest sort, sometimes fitted into odd corners, crammed under a belfry tower or provided for children, servants or itinerants in a western gallery (Hayman 2007:147). Often enough, in a parish where the church was unable to accommodate a growing population the poorest, unable to pay pew-fees, had to stand or even to cease to attend as at Puddletown in Dorset (Machin 2011:176-179). The right to pew-seating therefore was a signifier of status for a family and material evidence of their parish membership. Not unnaturally, those who felt they were being edged out or demoted downwards were intensely upset.

Christopher Marsh's research opens up the possibility that what he calls 'pew rage' – public conflict between parishioners over pew-ownership – is directly related to repewing systems which

were being implemented during the early 17th century, often in accordance with Laudian instructions to regularise seating in a more uniform manner. As with many current scholars, he is careful not to over-emphasise the degree to which this anxiety disrupted parochial harmony since, being court records, presentments reveal interruptions to the norm rather more than they exemplify it. However, he suggests that with the many repewing schemes undertaken between the end of Elizabeth's reign and that of Charles I the reallocation of pews and the systems of precedence which they entailed caused more distress to those at the higher levels of parish society than to those at the lower. His reasons are various; churchwardens who were responsible for allocation might have their own agendas regarding who was seated where, religious disagreement might also prompt change and there were always cases where once reputable families had sunk lower in the social scale and others had risen. At any rate, anxieties over precedence seem to have been more visibly acute at an upper/middling parochial level where there was more socially at stake during this time of religious controversy (Marsh 2011:145-6)..Evidence for this does not clearly emerge from my parish sample but there is no doubt that early 17th-century repewing was quite widespread across the two counties.

St Hubert's, Idsworth, is the best example of pewing since it retains several of its original pews and the rest are replicas (*see Fig 3.8 and see Church Plan 4*) The replica bench pews – simple backed plank benches with scrolled finials - are copies of a 17th century original which stands in the nave's northwest corner. The benches provide just over half the seating and the head of the nave is taken up with authentic rectangular box pews flanking the central passage with internal bench seating, panelled sides and latched doors. As discussed, the third box on the south side is larger allowing the parson access to the pulpit. Though the chancel has been rearranged it appears likely that there were gentry pews stationed behind the chancel arch as space is very limited at St Hubert's and there is no room for a large rural congregation. Idsworth, as a chapel-of-ease, was without a cemetery and fell into decay during the latter part of the 19th century (*see Chapter 2.6.2 and GNo 14*). Before this, it appears to have catered for a regularly attending local population since its pews, as presently configured, allowed for a nave congregation of 50-70 with a gallery capacity of 20-30. If this was so, it suggests that perhaps a half to three quarters of its parishioners could afford pew fees and that nearly a third could lay claim to places in box pews. These are unusually large proportions but may reflect a small but regular attendance which nevertheless needed full accommodation during religious festivals. Idsworth's demography would seem to confirm this; the early modern inhabitants of the valley who included the gentry at Old Idsworth Manor, the farming families of the major local farms, Old Idsworth, Heberdens and South Holt Farm plus the occupants of the nearby hamlet of Finchdean would undoubtedly have worshipped here as the mother church

at Chalton was much further away. Thus, even without a full complement, a small chapel like this would have fielded a regular congregation of gentry, farming and artisan parishioners who, with their families, required the same forms of pew arrangement and orders of precedence found in the larger churches.

The box pews themselves here are of a similar kind to the gentry pew at Boarhunt (see below *and Church Plan 6*) but of varnished oak. It seems possible that these were an 18th-century replacement for earlier ones which may have been installed with the benches. This would suggest there were two phases to the installation of the pews – the first in line with the repewing initiatives of the first half of the 1600s and the second which saw the institution of the present box pews probably by the first half of the 18th century. Bearing in mind its medieval alterations, together with the widening of the south side of the church and its newly fitted 17th-century pulpit, the addition of new 18th-century ‘churchwarden’ windows, the plastering of the ceiling and the inscription of biblical texts the church’s early modern biography strongly contradicts Pevsner and Lloyd’s analysis of it as ‘a model of self-conscious restoration’ (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:306). Goodhart-Rendel’s restoration, in my opinion, if not in the tradition of archaeological conservation, has preserved a wide variety of architectural clues which demonstrate the ongoing use and vitality of this chapel right up until the 19th century.

The regional box pews which tend to survive are gentry pews. Southwick’s are painted white, panelled and upholstered. The men’s pew is of two staged tiers, the women’s with bench seating around its sides containing two sections for family and female attendants. This is in itself indicative of the ordering not only of genders but also of household status. At Boarhunt, a large, deal, gentry box pew occupies the northeastern corner of the nave. This is a late 18th–/early 19th-century construction with side bench seating and was intended to contain the entire local manorial family, the Henslowes. The chancel is divided off from the nave by its Saxon chancel arch which possesses the narrow arch span typical of the period and behind it the tiny chancel is taken up with the Henslowes’ 16th-century wall tomb and is too cramped to provide pew space. However it would be a mistake to assume that a narrow arch or limited space was always a deterrent to the insertion of box pews. At St Michael’s, Up Marden, where its buttressing chancel arch is similarly narrow, there are two 18th-century deal box pews sited in the small chancel’s western corners, well tucked out of sight of the minister and the rest of the parish in the nave. These are clearly gentry pews although they are more roughly-made than any others in the sample (see *Fig 3.12*). Such installations confirm the importance attached to an increasingly visible methodology of class division. Even more emphatically than in any of the other churches already considered these pews show that the

families who sat in them did not require a view of the minister, the service or their fellow parishioners. Their liturgical participation was a private matter which could only be monitored by their equals in the other pew.

Height was also an element of a box pew's character. For short women and children there were evidently difficulties attached to looking over the pew side though it is likely that there was no optimum average height. It is clear from Ubsdell's print of St Thomas's, Portsea, that the tops of the box pews were aligned with the tops of medieval pedestal bases in the nave which supported its 1693 piers. This raised them to the height of 51-55" ensuring that most people sitting inside were unable to see into neighbouring pews but would have a good view of the pulpit and desks. The pew heights at Idsworth are similar, as is the women's gentry pew at Southwick, though the men's pew is lower and stepped, while that at Boarhunt is 47" high. The highest come from St Mary's, Avington, where the box pews are closely packed and hard to see out of even when standing up (*see Fig 3.2 which was taken while standing inside a box pew*). There is accordingly a reiterated theme of privacy which crops up here – a form of privacy in which not being able to see and not being seen may be elements which are mutually complicit. A pew, and especially private pews such as those found at Minstead and at St Peter's, Parham in West Sussex (*see Fig 3.13*), retain echoes of the private rooms of domestic interiors which evoke the enclosing issues I have begun to consider in Chapter 1.5.3 and 1.5.4. As Matthew Johnson has shown, the house became increasingly identified as a realm specifically associated with women and women's occupations. He says

'Male political commentators drew explicit links between the woman's place inside the house, her inferior political position, and the need for women to avoid gossip... This message was enforced and disseminated through political pamphlets, which drew parallels between the understanding and control of women's bodies, household order and discipline and political order as a whole ' (Johnson 2010: 153).

Where women hired their own pews or shared pew space with their families one sees these parallels being extended to domestic and religious space. As I have shown, elite box pews afforded less visibility than ordinary ones so that women were more profoundly enclosed within them (Abbey and Overton (1896) 2008:529). This also, of course, applied to their menfolk but the gentleman's world was essentially a public one and he was frequently on view abroad on his daily business. Since his female relations shared his social pre-eminence, it can be inferred, as Roberta Gilchrist suggests, that female invisibility was a concomitant of status (Gilchrist 1999:143-5). Though the high-sided pew was not purely female territory, nevertheless, as a segregated elite space its furnishings reflected a certain domesticity and might include a fireplace, proper chairs and

soft furnishings as at Minstead and Parham (Abbey and Overton 2008: 529-30). Under these circumstances the withdrawn gentlewoman moved from her secular home to her religious one, a phenomenon which combines Gilchrist's observations on gendered enclosure with Graves's association of the medieval church with a domestic environment and moves them forward into the early modern period to suggest a subtextual female command of this space as discussed by Wall (Gilchrist 1999:143-5; Graves 2000: 111-2 and Wall 2002:7-8, also Chapters 1.5.4-5).

In a church the material depiction of women in life is minimal and, as discussed in Chapter 1.5. 5, is mainly present in the actual bodily form of the female parishioner who is only (dishonourably) visible at the lower levels of parish society. Gendered space was also defined by the retention of the medieval custom of segregated gendered seating, with women often placed in pews to the north of the church with their menfolk to the south (Marsh 2011:135). Up until the early 18th century in some churches blocks of women, sitting either in boxes or on benches, were allocated seats in phalanxes which may have conferred a sense of gendered community which mediated their attitudes to privacy but which also caused them to experience 'pew rage' if their places were challenged by members of their own sex (Marsh 2011: 145). From such pew seating plans as those of Richard Gough for his parish of Myddle, Shropshire, it is hard to see these sorts of division as surviving contemporary plans generally list male house-holders' names and their properties (see Gough (1701) 1981: 80-83). However, a seating plan of 1613 from St Nectan's, Hartland, Devon lists gender positions exactly. It shows blocks with women predominantly seated to the rear of the church although this system fractures towards the front where a few women have successfully claimed pew space amidst the foremost sets of males (see Kelly 2011:152-3). From this it appears that the 'creeping forward' of the eight women who managed to penetrate this far was due to their widowhood, rank and property-ownership as understood by their churchwardens.

Early bench pews are rather more commonplace within the region. The earliest are in St Peter's, N. Hayling, Hants., where two long settle benches with fleur de lys poppyhead finials, possibly dateable to the 15th century, are now used as choir stalls. Since these benches are heavy but moveable they may have initially represented high status late medieval seating which became less desirable and drifted further to the west in the nave when the church was more elaborately pewed after the Reformation. Hayling Island was isolated from the mainland until the mid-19th century and St Peter's retention of these very early benches no doubt reflects its less fashionably thorough modern restoration. Another 16th-century bench pew sits at the west end of St Mary's, Apuldram (GNo 33), though this is its sole example (Ratcliffe 1986). An important 17th-century bench pewing system survives at St Mary's, Singleton (GNo 43 and see Fig 3.14), and there is a similar block of

benches at Bosham (GNo 31 see Fig 3.2), whereas 16th-/17th-century benches were refitted and copied in St Peter and Paul's, West Wittering, in 1875. It is difficult in these cases to estimate the proportion of benches to box pews since the latter have been removed but certainly all are surviving examples of specially made bench sets. At West Wittering, the chancel has two choir stalls, one of them with Tudor misericordes (see *Church Plan 7*). These might reflect the church's connections with Cakeham manor, the summer residence of the Bishops of Chichester, or be part of the Victorian restoration – the 16th-century stall having perhaps been brought over from Cakeham or elsewhere. If this is original it may be an example of a gentry pew stall. This type of pew can be found at East Lavant, Fishbourne and Elsted (GNos 41, 32 and 50 and see *Fig 3.15*). These were settles with reading desks, sometimes partitioned and often elaborately carved and upholstered which lined the north and south chancel walls. Nowadays, such pews where they survive are used as choir stalls (see Chapter 5.5.1).

Bench pews were undoubtedly more prevalent than box pews, reflecting the proportion of those who could afford higher fees to the lower ones charged for benches. Like box pews, benches were capable of being claimed as customary seating by more than one family. Richard Gough's explanation of the system makes it plain:

'A Piew is a certain place in church incompassed with wainscot, or some other thing, for several persons to sitt in together. A seat, or kneeling (for in this case they are the same) in such a part of a Piew, as belongs to one families or person. And a Piew may belong whoaly to one family or it may belong to two or three familieys or more. The disposal of Seates in the body of the church does belong to the ordinary, and noe man can claim a right to the seate without prescription or some other good reason ... A piew or seat does not belong to a person or to land, butt to an house, therefore if a man remove from an house to dwell in another, hee shall not retaine the seat belonging to the first house' (Gough 1701/1981:77).

There is accordingly a contemporary perception of a pew as a material possession attached to a parochial location – a house; in other words, a thing owned by a thing, in which a human subject can only claim a temporary stake determined by their occupation of that location. This sense of the meaning and agency of a pew is interestingly contrasted with the congregational passion for position which Marsh and other historians have identified as being represented by the location of the pew itself. It is possible therefore to project a model whereby an early modern parishioner thought that the spatial and locational relevance of their seat was more important than the nature or quality of the seat itself. Under these circumstances the pew becomes more of an idea than a physical object.

3.3.4 The view from above: galleries

Since the development of English theatre building in the 16th century the most prestigious seating (discounting stage seating) has traditionally been the lower gallery – an area today called the Circle. Since it is possible to draw parallels between theatre and church space one might think that church galleries shared this prestige. However, early modern galleries, designed to provide extra seating for the poor, children or servants and to house musicians, were usually (though not exclusively) added to the church's west end and lacked the status of their theatrical equivalents. At Minstead for example the lower gallery housed the church band whereas the upper gallery provided seating for children from the local Poor School (Jenkins 2000:251 *see Fig 13.16*). However, west galleries were not the only form of religious upper space; by the late 17th century side galleries, often fixed above the nave's aisles were being constructed to take more socially reputable members of the congregation who wished to exhibit their status by using upper seating as personal pew space. This acted to further subdivide space, in effect privatising substantial parts of the nave's two storeys (Kiekhefer 2004: 37). Urban churches such as St Thomas's, Portsea, were prime examples of such architecture. Ubsdell's print depicts long side galleries running along the north and south walls of the refurbished nave. These have now been removed although their 18th-century dormer windows in the southern roof remain. Portsea's west gallery is now the location for the cathedral organ (*see Church Plan 5*).

In some places side galleries as private pews were used to memorialise the families who laid claim to them. Families erected wall tablets to their dead at gallery level or left charitable donations to the parish which were commemorated near their seats by means of painted wooden panels. Dormer windows were needed to make these visible. At St John the Baptist's, Westbourne, Grimm's 1782 print shows three dormers on the north side of its nave while a photograph of 1870 captures a similar arrangement on the south side (Fleming 1992:4 *and see Church Plan 8*). Holy Trinity, Gosport, was built in 1696 with galleries illuminated by dormers in the new architectural style of the auditory church. Similar features are traceable at St Peter's, Petersfield, where a gallery at the head of the north aisle formed the private pew of the Jolliffe family (*see GNo 19 and Fig 3.17*), and West Dean whose gallery dormers remain in situ (GNo 35). At Birdham (GNo 34) the timber framing for dormers over gallery and pulpit are preserved, though the features themselves have gone. At St Mary's, Stoughton (GNo 44), and St Thomas's, Bedhampton, corbels for joist supports remain as evidence of vanished west galleries and at Bedhampton church records confirm its removal in 1869 (*see GNo 5*). St Mary's, Portchester, also lost its west gallery during its 19th-century refit. In all, the sample has eight surviving or rebuilt west galleries at Portsea, Idsworth,

Southwick, Boarhunt, Wickham (GNo 26), West Itchenor (GNo 35), West Dean and Singleton (*see Fig 3.18*). However, from the material and documentary evidence a further fourteen churches can proveably be added to the group (Bedhampton, Portchester, Fareham (GNo 10), Gosport, Clanfield (GNo 17), Petersfield, Westbourne, Funtington (GNo 30), Birdham, Mid and East Lavant (GNos 40-41), Stoughton, Compton (GNo 48) and Harting) giving a ratio of over 2:5 for the proportion of non-galleried to galleried churches in the sample. Side galleries can only be securely ascribed to Portsea, Fareham, Petersfield, Westbourne and East Meon. Those western galleries which remain in place have often been refurbished to operate as organ lofts as at Portsea, West Dean, Wickham and Idsworth. Boarhunt's and Southwick's west galleries, although much repaired, retain their form and function as extra seating areas, Southwick's also being used as a bell-chamber.

Since the early modern occupants of western galleries were musicians and singers or were the least socially valued members of a parish two basic observations can be made. Firstly a sense of social separation is evidently more emphasised in those who are placed above and away from the majority of the congregation. There is some ambivalence here since west galleries endorsed spatial marginalisation, emphasising the low status of their occupants whereas the rarer side galleries were the province of the 'reputable'. But to consider west gallery inhabitants: as gallery seating consisted of rows of benches, those sitting on them were afforded views of the congregation below enclosed in a patterned series of boxes or lined up on benches. Although this may not have seemed strange at the time, the view from a gallery allowed the least influential members of the community to observe everything happening below especially as box pew sides masked misbehaviour such as talking or falling asleep. Moreover the concentration of families or groups of families in box-like enclosures would enable watchers to focus on the behaviour of these groups as units. Since what was invisible to the bulk of the congregation was seen by those above, what were considered to be private matters by accredited parishioners became public to the non-accredited. This rather reverses the panoptical ideology of social control I have been ascribing to triple-decker pulpits since here it might be supposed that people situated above the majority of a congregation and its clerical director were in a position to look down and criticise the behaviour of those whose social position kept them in place as underlings. However, as the art historian Shelley Hales has pointed out in an Imperial Roman context, where there were similar contradictions between the public and private domains

'The idea that levels of privacy and publicness are tied to the acquisition ... of self-identity and status is clearly demonstrated in Pompeii... The poorer members of Pompeian society were doomed to live their whole lives in public, eating at taverns, bathing in the town baths

and using the public latrines. The owners of the villas and rich *domus* bathed in private suites and ate their own *cena*. The ultimate dichotomy here seems to be that the very rich were able to withdraw into their own private worlds....The poor remained invisible and 'private' even when living in public.' (Hales 2003:133)

Such public invisibility can be seen working here too. Given the importance ascribed to defined post-medieval social structures, perhaps the critical capacities of the 'disreputable' neither mattered nor were much thought about. If, during the 18th century, poorer parishioners were being discouraged from attending church for lack of space, this suggests that their opinion was discounted and that whatever they saw remained unacknowledged. In fact, if theatrical parallels are revisited, one can interpret the west gallery as a form of the uppermost gallery in an 18th-century theatre, an area later termed 'the Gods'. This location - the most distant from the stage and which possessed the worst view of it - had the cheapest tickets and was notoriously the province of rowdies, clagues and pickpockets. On the other hand, in boxes in the Circle below sat the most prestigious theatre-goers - members of the Quality. In the theatre this dichotomy between the two sorts of gallery space was therefore clearly marked and is reflected in the socio-spatial differences between west and side galleries in a church. Those who were in a position to use their side gallery seating to promote and exhibit their status were often close to the level of the clergyman in his raised pulpit as at Portsea. It was to these, as well as the groundlings, that the parson directed his sermon. Amongst those crowded into a west gallery were the least notable parishioners, probably in receipt of parish relief and a drain on its resources. Their social participation may have been so peripheral that they had no watching brief.

3.4 Conclusion

The knowledge which the average parishioner possessed of their parish church and its environs worked on a series of different levels. Applying Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to a parishioner one can perceive the growing absorption of cognitive and emotive understanding which each accreted as they passed through the various stages of religious learning, locational familiarity and social training that I have been exploring in this chapter.

The spatial organisation of the church and the social geometry of its furniture and fittings were crucial signposts to those who were expected, adapting Anthony Giddens's phrase, 'to know how to go about the world' (Giddens 1984:1-37) People learnt from each other and from authority figures but they also learnt from the arrangements of ritual things how to confront, deal with and conform to the meaning of those things and rituals. At the same time early modern parishioners, for whom

religion was a vital element of their lives, were not simply yea-sayers. What they learnt might subsequently be rejected or adapted as religious ideas changed over the three centuries I am discussing here. However, the basic understanding of the patterns of parish religious space was meant to be available to all. This space was developed after the Reformation to establish those social lessons which the Church wished to instil in rural communities. Working with medieval buildings which were not fit for purpose involved considerable architectural reorganisation and the installation of new types of furniture which underpinned those lessons. Just as theatrical architecture developed modes of spatial control, so did the church's material reorganisation.

In the next chapter I examine the ways in which parishioners were conditioned by their sensual reactions to the material culture which surrounded them in their religious lives since the parishioner not only developed a cognitive understanding of their religious landscape and the spaces it afforded but also felt and sensed them. I now investigate the range of sensory materials the church and its setting offered which were designed to mould the emotional identity of its parishioners.

CHAPTER 4 The sensory religious experiences of living parishioners.

4.1 Introduction (Words: Total: 11,171 + quotes etc 1414)

In reviewing various church fittings and representations in order to evaluate their effects on parochial sensations, sensibilities and sensitivities the following sections focus on the development of the bodily knowledge and experience of the parishioner and relate largely to two sensory elements – sight and sound. These need to be discussed, bearing in mind the Reformation’s emphasis on the removal of visual imagery and its concentration on the importance of textual and verbal religious understanding. As I will show, in this respect the oral and auditory aspects of religious performance can be seen to have afforded the most scope for congregational participation and agency. I also consider what can be seen to have occurred and whether the churches in the research sample were completely stripped of sensory elements, as is often inferred by historians (eg Duffy 1993). This, I strongly suggest, was not the case. Lastly, to illustrate these findings, I present a composite case study based on archival evidence which shows how 17th-century parishioners actually reacted in a sensory fashion to their churches and how this was the result of their own conflicting confessional preferences.

Since, as discussed in Chapter 1.5.2, religious experience depends for its effect on its immediacy, one must consider the sensory effects which helped to create that immediacy. Underpinning this investigation is the theme of cultural substitution which looks at the ways in which parishioners may have re-presented religious change to themselves to resolve their emotional and sensory uncertainties. When reform prevented congregations from using the familiar visual Catholic symbols which informed their beliefs and behaviour, their ontological and emotional responses were necessarily forced to adapt. What therefore was removed and what replaced these things?

Margaret Aston’s discussion of late Henrician reforms quotes Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury’s episcopal injunctions for 1538;

‘That ye suffer no night watches in your churches or chapels, neither decking of images with gold, silver, clothes, lights or herbs; nor the people to kneel to them, nor worship them, nor offer candles, oats, cake-bread, cheese, wool, or any such things to them; but he shall instruct and teach them, how they ought and may use them: that is to say, only to behold, or look upon them, as one looketh upon a book...’ (Shaxton Visitation Articles and Injunctions ii: 57 cited in Aston 1988:232).

Shaxton’s injunctions predate Edwardian and Elizabethan legislation which removed images but it

enumerates the kinds of objects brought into play for the purpose of honouring saints and the kinds of bodily practice – dressing them up, kneeling to them, illuminating them, keeping nightly vigils – which were implicit in such worship. By the end of the century parishioners were required to adapt both their bodily and spiritual praxis in increasingly restrained ways like actors gradually deprived of props. The emphasis which was defined by such early luminaries as Erasmus, and which Shaxton placed on the reading of images as if they were text had, by this time, become a matter of establishment dogma. Where images were still retained in churches the ways in which they were regarded was substantially altered (Aston 1988:195-201). This may have been because the Humanist Protestant cosmos, stripped of Purgatory, was a more ambivalent place in which the living and the dead had greater parity. The pre-Reformation cosmos, driven by Purgatorial ‘deep time,’ stressed the permanent nature of the state of death at the expense of the temporary nature of the state of living (Lindley 2007:18-19). Now, for most parishioners, the Church no longer presented religious life just as a preparative stage towards the attainment of a good death. Thus, learning to worship without using such things as images, donatives of crops, food, textiles, candles or herbs may have represented the practical aspect, the physicality, of their readjusted ideas of what happened to a soul in the afterlife. Since parishioners no longer had access to their votive props, one also needs to ask to what extent did the Anglican Church substitute more oblique sensory objects which possessed or acquired their own symbolism as time went on?

4.2.1 Looking around: texts and paintings.

The interior of the early modern church was a repository for a series of signs, lists and imagery overtly intended to school its viewers, often in admonitory ways, into accepting those lessons of conformity and obedience considered mandatory by religious and state authority. After the Reformation church wall paintings were officially obliterated and texts taken from the Bible were inscribed over them in areas deemed appropriate. During the reign of Edward VI the Commandments began to be painted on cloths or boards and were set up over the rood beam in place of the imagery of the rood loft. Under Mary most boards and cloths were removed but Elizabeth’s long reign saw the transmutation of many Commandment tablets into painted wall text (Whiting 2010:131-3).

It is possible to interpret inscription as an intermediate stage where the medieval object/ image is reconfigured into a post-Reformation object/text which never completely leaves the medieval realm of painted visuality. The Protestant preference for textual over representational imagery did not take into account the imagistic quality of text painting- an important factor for illiterate parishioners for whom a block of text may have been seen as a powerful, mysterious pattern, set

well beyond their limited experience of education. In this respect Reformation practice added an extra layer of opacity to the religious understanding of ordinary parishioners since they were now required to learn Biblical history and dogma through speech and word alone. Moreover in this new world where speech and word were pre-eminent, the use of Latin as an element of religious discourse was still practiced – its use being reserved for the clergy and upper classes who received classical schooling (Tarlow 1999:97-99). Labouring under these disadvantages, parishioners may have begun to search for other more visual and sensory elements to back up the process of their religious development. They may also have come to realign the symbolic associations of text.

As discussed in Chapter 3.3.2, *St Hubert's, Idsworth (GNo 14)*, possesses a good example of wall text which quotes Isaiah 58.1 'Cry aloud, spare not, lift thy voice like a trumpet' set to the west of the pulpit. This injunction, contained in a cartouche, is clearly meant as a visual stimulant to Idsworth parishioners to respond to their minister's preaching (see *Fig 4.1*). However for those unable to read it, the sight of it placed close to his pedagogic position acted as an augmentation of his role. Thus they were drawn not only to accept the legitimacy of his teaching but also to understand that it was reinforced by the quasi-magical authority of writing. In districts where documentation - writs, statutes, injunctions, wills, probate inventories, registers etc – were taken as the material evidence of socio-religious and legal authority the act of inscribing text itself was likely to be an index of that authority. Text painted onto the interior fabric of the church shared this authority. It also echoed the medieval practice of visual illustration while simultaneously associating the community and its minister with the Protestant emphasis on the dominion of the Word.

In a similar position between the two eastern windows of the southern wall of the nave at *St Michael and All Angels, Up Marden (GNo 46)*, a fragment of wall painting appears to show 16th century heraldic strap work and a short illegible passage of text. This may have been commemorative wall painting surmounting a dismantled memorial (see below) but is more likely to be part of a decorative Biblical text placed in close proximity to an earlier pulpit. *St Michael's* possesses a number of medieval wall paintings, but its most interesting post-medieval example is a red and pink figured design painted on the chancel arch buttressing. This figure which is hard to decipher is a fragment of a design covering the west side of the newly inserted arch painted after its installation in the 1580s (see Chapter 3.3.1 and *Fig 4.2*). It is tempting to interpret the slightly monstrous quality of this fragment as part of a larger Doom. Moreover since the arch is an Elizabethan installation, its imagistic painting suggests that whoever installed it had strong Catholic tendencies which ignored later Tudor injunctions against such iconography (for further discussion

see Chapter 4.4).

Decorative painting was unusual but not unknown inside the parish church during the 16th century. Robert Whiting suggests that although text painting was predominant there are also examples of figurative painting. Moses and Aaron were often associated with Commandment paintings while other acceptable Reformation depictions included other Old Testament figures and representations of Time and Death (Whiting 2010: 122-126, 129-130). Nigel Llewellyn also points out that wall painting was applied to tomb surrounds in order to create the illusion that the monument was larger than it was in fact (Llewellyn 2000:139). Moreover the restoration of the painted ceiling and heraldic corbel bosses in the Brune side chapel at St Mary's, Rowner, reveals the brilliance of colour applied to aristocratic religious space which mirrors the decoration of the wealthy domestic Tudor interior (*Fig 4.3*). It is also likely that medieval ceiling painting may have escaped interior white-washing where its effect was purely decorative as at Hambledon (GNo 23). Tara Hamling suggests that there was more laxity in the embellishment of private side-chapels in which 'scenes of biblical history in private settings (were) acceptable' and discusses the occasional survival of nave ceiling painting and complex plasterwork which also depicted scenes from the Old Testament (Hamling 2010:52-60). After a fire in 1576 the chancel roof at St Mary and St Gabriel's, South Harting, needed replacement. The high quality of its new Tudor timber framed roof suggests that it was originally painted and gilded to befit such an important regional church (*see Fig 3 in GNo 49*). Ceiling plasterwork became commonplace in the latter half of the period as is seen at Racton (GNo 38) where its rafters' lath nail holes remain to prove its ceiling's early modern existence while at Idsworth, Goodhart-Rendel's restoration of the 17th-century chancel plaster ceiling replicates religious motifs set within medallions whose outlines would originally have been picked out in colour.

The occurrence of painted areas within a post-Reformation church, the prevalence of blocks of wall-text, the proximity of richly coloured private side chapels and ceilings and the inclusion of state-authorised forms of imagery suggest that what has been characterised as the sudden bleaching out of visual material by Protestant edict was only partial, episodic and may have happened in a variety of ways (Hamling 2010:38-65). Here, the initial stages of iconographic obliteration under Edward and the Elizabethan injunctions of 1559 were followed by a gradual accretion of subsequent imagery some of which was only semi-religious. As time passed, one form of iconography was exchanged for another. The imagery available for the post-Reformation parishioner to view was now transformed by new objects of ritual. These required different visual understandings and were intended to be sensed in different ways.

4.2.2 Inescapable viewing: Royal Arms

After Elizabeth's accession iconographic substitution is most visible in the outbreak of depictions of the Royal Arms which usually replaced rood loft statuary or were sited on the gabled tympanum of the chancel arch (Whiting 2010: 127). These might be painted on large panels or cloths with the dominant figures of the Lion and Unicorn supporting the Royal Arms. Placed so centrally, the Arms promoted the Reformation's political messages of kingly power and asserted the legitimacy of its systems of social stratification, ensuring both object and messages were unmissable. However, although Elizabeth had requested 'some comely ornament' to be fixed above the chancel screen, the Royal Arms were never legally compulsory (Pounds 2000:497). They were therefore a voluntary testament to a parish's loyalty although, as Pounds observes, they were not consistently popular. He suggests that they were frequently acquired and exhibited at crisis points during the 17th and 18th centuries – at the accession of the Stuarts, at the Restoration of Charles II, during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and on the arrival of the House of Hanover, while they disappeared almost completely during the Commonwealth (Pounds 2000:497-8).

Within my research area the earliest example of a Royal Arms is in St Mary's, Portchester (GN0 9 and see *Church Plan 2*). This dates to 1577 and its installation may have been overseen by Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Governor of Portchester Castle under both Elizabeth I and James I, who, as mentioned above, carried out extensive alterations to the church. Elizabeth I contributed to St Mary's repairs and her Royal Arms might reflect the parish's gratitude for this largesse. The Arms takes the form of a large lozenge-shaped hatchment and, from its unsophisticated artistry, may possibly have been the work of an itinerant painter (*Fig 4.4*). This is a prominent depiction currently placed on the nave's south wall but which would have been hung on the crossing gable to face the congregation. The imagery is unusual – the unicorn being displaced by a wyvern (a mythical dragonlike flying reptile). Royal Arms were in an experimental state during this period as the unicorn and wyvern/dragon seem to have been interchangeable; the wyvern/dragon representing the principality of Wales (Brooke-Little 1985:86-7). After James I's reign the armorial supporters are standardised and the unicorn becomes invariable. Portchester also possesses a second Royal Arms – a vast Baroque panel which commemorates Queen Ann's financial assistance in 1710 after a fire partially destroyed the church (see *GNo 9 Fig 3* and Munby 1990:20-2).

Several of the area's churches retain their Royal Arms, mostly dating from the late 17th-18th centuries. A year after its rebuilding in 1683 St Thomas's, Portsea (GNo 8), acquired one major set of Royal Arms in sculpted and gilded wood by the painter and carver Lewis Allen (Pardoes 1987:2) and another plaster armorial surmounting a wooden column to the north-west of the quire. Both

bear the arms of William III – the latter has the lion of Nassau in pretence ie represented as a small escutcheon at the centre of the badge. Ubsdell's print shows Allen's Arms placed over the chancel arch although they are now affixed to the west gallery balcony – a position to which such Arms were often relegated in the 19th century (Bradbrooke 1926: 388 and *see Church Plan 5*) The Arms at Meonstoke (GNo 22) dates to George I and incorporates the arms of Hanover, as does the Arms at West Thorney. Racton's is from the reign of George II. All are panels, painted in oils in rich or primary colours, over slatted boards which were less expensive than the sculptural ones found elsewhere. At the rebuilt St John's, West Meon (GNo 21), the only surviving remnant of the earlier church is its Royal Arms, deriving from the reign of Anne and characterised by her use of Elizabeth I's motto '*Semper eadem*' (ever the same) which memorialises John Shaft and Thomas Andrews, the churchwardens who set it up in 1712. This is a fine painted and gilded wood carving – a valuable sculptural item which suggests that the earlier medieval church and its parishioners were capable of expensive displays of loyalty and were perhaps growing anxious over the succession as their sick and ageing queen had not managed to produce a living heir. This suggestion is in line with Pounds' theory that Royal Arms were acquired at crisis points (Pounds 2000:497-8 and for an account of religious politics in the early 1700s see Coward 1994:457-466). If this was so, it would show that Arms were capable of multi-layered political meanings alongside their symbolic roles.

The Royal Arms at Holy Trinity, Gosport, is also an early Georgian painted and gilded relief but unusually displays its supporters as passant or walking. The relief panel which hangs in St Mary's, East Lavant, is more conventional. Its Baroque style suggests the arms of William III with the usual royal motto of '*Dieu et mon Droit*' - the arms dating to before the 1707 Union with Scotland (Steer 1976). An alternative dating to the early reign of Anne is given by John Allen (2013) although her motto is absent here (*see Figs 4.5 and 4.6*).

An interesting cast iron Royal Arms hangs over the south door at St Andrew's, West Stoke. This is 8" in length and is remarkably fragmentary. It shows no sign of having been painted but this may be because of its condition. As a result it can only be dated as belonging to the reign of one of the first three King Georges (Allen 2011). Its nature suggests that the churchwardens who commissioned it were unable or unwilling to expend much money on their expression of loyalty to the Crown. Pevsner and Nairn list a similar iron Royal Arms of George III in St Mary's, North Marden, which is no longer visible (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:268-9).

The difference in size, shape, and medium of Royal Arms is considerable. It is also apparent that, like memorials and furniture in general, there was a scale of value in terms of their size and construction which varied over time and from parish to parish. The painted panels were larger and

evidently designed to hang in a central position for consumption by their religious audience. Those discussed here (which includes a later panel at St Hubert's, Idsworth) have all been carefully restored and are highly eye-catching. The carved wooden examples at Portsea, East Lavant, Gosport and West Meon are grander and lavishly gilded. Portsea's is large but was placed at considerable height and it may be that the second plaster arms, being lower and more visible, was intended to reinforce the former's meaning. The other carvings are smaller and were probably positioned as crests over now vanished chancel screens. As screen-mountings they were impressive objects in their own right but lacked the dominant visual impact of a big, colourful panel set against the white ground of a chancel gable. Thus, the type of medium used and its dominance may not have been the measure of the loyalty of the parochial commissioners of the Royal Arms to the monarchy so much as it was a measure of their desire to impose a sense of that loyalty on other parishioners. Perhaps, as at West Meon, more subtle messages were also being conveyed.

The inferior quality of the later cast iron plaques suggests a different attitude to the possession of Royal Arms. Although not compulsory, Rosemary Pardoës observes that, during the 18th century, parishes were expected to display them and that those who failed to were subjected to official disapproval during their archdeacon's biannual visitations (Pardoës: 1987:1). The acquisition of small, cast-iron, badge-like examples resembling the fire-insurance insignia 18th-century householders exhibited on their houses may be a poor parish's grudging response to an archdeacon's instructions. The parishes with Arms of this kind— West Stoke and North Marden — were amongst the smallest, most isolated and least populated in my sample so it may be that neither could afford to employ a local craftsman. If these parishes were obliged to acquire a set of Arms, it would be likely that cheap, semi-mass-produced items such as those produced by John Howard and Son, Bedford Ironfounders, were their only option and were evidence of the lip-service paid by a reduced community responding to establishment criticism (Pardoës 1987: 2-3).

With the exception of the metal examples, the common factors of Royal Arms are their centrality and use of bright, sometimes garish colours, factors which undoubtedly caught and held the attention of congregations. Apart from their symbolic significance they added an element of richness to a church's interior and the heraldry which they displayed was picked up and elaborated by other coloured heraldic elements which might decorate roof or corbel bosses, escutcheon stops to hood mouldings or monuments and their fittings (*eg see Rowner escutcheon stops GNo 11 Fig 3*). But since, as I will discuss below, the language of heraldry was the preserve of the gentry, the Royal Arms was dissimilar to those of local notabilities in that it had universal application, being set up to command the loyalty of both patron and pauper. As its heraldic layout only changed slightly from

monarch to monarch its presence in so many churches established familiarity and may even have ensured that the average parishioner felt socially included by their understanding of it rather than excluded as with the private and largely incomprehensible heraldry of the great.

By the mid-18th century Anglicanism was increasingly seen to cater for the religious needs of the rural upper and middle classes. In parishes whose populations were expanding, the marginalised poor found themselves increasingly displaced (see Chapter 3.3.3) and, since their relationship with church or state was deteriorating, became increasingly attracted to dissenting sects (Porter 1991:174-5). Those who were still church-goers may well have reacted rather differently to the sight of Royal Arms in the churches they were beginning to abandon. However, for middling parishioners the Arms not only symbolically promoted political obedience as a social duty but it also may have been envisaged as an object of desire in itself; a beautification of their church, owned and provided by the community who had paid for it with their rates.

4.2.3 Seeing and believing : Decalogue tablets and altar suites

For those sitting in a church's nave, additional visual focuses were provided by the erection of Decalogue Tablets. Unlike the Royal Arms, panels inscribed with the Ten Commandments (the Decalogue) were a mandatory element of church equipment. Whiting quotes the official order of 1561 which instructed each parish church to introduce them 'to be not only read for edification, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer' (Whiting 2010:132). This echoes the Queen's use of the word 'comely' regarding the Royal Arms – the implication being that both should be well-made and visually pleasing. This reiterates the point I have made above, that there was a conscious attempt being made to substitute Catholic with Protestant imagery, albeit textual imagery. It is also telling that the tablets were designed to authenticate the church's interior as a place of religious performance, as if the instigators silently acknowledged that such visual signs reassured confused parishioners as to their building's continued function.

The Tablets' main purpose was to list the Commandments taken from the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy and to pinpoint the second commandment dealing with the sin of idolatry. To clarify this, Reformist scholars reorganised the Commandments' medieval layout which had incorporated the injunction against the making of graven images into the first commandment while extending the passage dealing with covetousness into two. The new listing made the lengthy prohibition of idolatry into a commandment of its own, thereby emphasising its importance and its relevance to the material changes visited on the visual fabric of the parish church (Aston 1988:371-3). By

isolating the sin of idolatry, Protestant church authorities placed the matter of visual, imagistic worship beyond the spiritual pale, suggesting that Catholicism had wilfully misinterpreted the substance of the first two commandments and the result – a church full of idolatrous statues and pictures – needed to be subjected to purification on a biblical level. Aston comments on the historical outcome of this reorganisation:

‘Anglicans harped for centuries on their rectification of this most egregious of Roman errors. They made sure that each generation of believers was schooled to know not only the text of the Decalogue, but also the reasons for its format. Those being catechised were taught the crime of the Catholic church in obliterating the second commandment’ (Aston 1988:383).

The Decalogue, and this aspect of it in particular, held special socio-political implications for many generations of ordinary parishioners undertaking the process of being catechised and the Decalogue’s exhibition in the church as inscribed tablets was accordingly a vital aspect of their religious experience. Furthermore, it was their degree of acceptance or rejection of what constituted an image, graven or otherwise, which fuelled moves to rescue and sequester ejected Catholic statuary but also prompted the various episodes of iconoclasm which erupted in Edward VI’s reign, at the beginning of Elizabeth’s and later, during the Commonwealth (Marshall 2003:78, 98,137-8 and see the treatment of the church cross at Catherington GNo 16); hence too the ambiguity which surrounded acceptable Protestant iconography and idolatrous and polluting Catholic imagery .

As noted above, Hamling characterises the depiction of Moses as Law-Giver, in connection with Decalogue tablets up until the latter half of the 17th century, as a representation of historical biblical personnel in a Protestant context. However the illustration of the tablets usually seems to have been of a more ornamental kind with sun-bursts, Tudor roses or decorative monograms used in the borders of the text (see Hamling 2010:44,54, Whiting 2010:133). In this way, tablets shared the legitimising nature of the blocks of painted texts but had the specific purpose of embodying core doctrine lying at the heart of the Protestant educational programme. Since they were compulsory it is likely that in poor parishes many were presented as painted cloths and have long since decayed. Where made from wood, the Decalogue was inscribed across two boards - usually the first to the fourth commandment on one, and the fifth to the tenth on the second. Quite often they were accompanied by further boards inscribed with the Lords’ Prayer and the Creed. These latter might sometimes be supplanted by other passages of biblical text, though variants on the Creed and Lords’ Prayer grew rarer towards the end of the period. This function, to display core

doctrine, meant that their most popular site was initially over the chancel screen to flank the Royal Arms, either as an element of the screen or affixed to the arch's tympanum. With the assertion of Laudian ceremonialism in the 1620s-30s they were moved and became a reredos at the back of the altar, now reinstated under the east window of the chancel. They thus provided a textual backdrop for the altar or communion table which, during the late 17th and 18th centuries became part of a suite of altar furniture which could be either inserted into rural parish churches or established in the new forms of auditory church being created (see Chapter 3 and Hayman 2007:74-6).

Unfortunately no intact altar suites survive in the research area, although Southwick still possesses many elements of an early 18th-century arrangement (discussed below). However, outside my sample, St Mary's, Northiam, in East Sussex provides an excellent example. As a church, St Mary's was extensively rebuilt during the 19th century, its eastern end being completely remodelled in 1837-47. In spite of this, its altar furniture is complete, dating to 1638 and presented by Thankful Frewen, a court cleric and son of John Frewen, St Mary's rector at the time. It consists of a raised altar platform of three steps with black and white diaper tiling edged by an arcaded altar rail with the altar backed by a framed reredos on which are painted the Tablets – the Decalogue, Creed and Lord's Prayer, all set into fine carved panelling which retains its original proportions. There is also a (replica) communion table in front of the altar placed sideways on as it would have been at this time (Green n.d.: 3 *and see Fig 4.7 1-3*). The altar suite is of a kind appearing in locations where Arminian influences were accepted (see Cressy 2000:186-212 for an account of radical resistance to Arminianism). In Northiam's case, the Frewens were an important local family who shared the East Sussex gentry tendency towards Protestantism and who built themselves an elegant and spacious gentry house next door to the church. Thankful Frewen evidently tuned his religious views to the Court's, as his altar's form demonstrates. Its design clearly shows the Laudian concern to separate and privilege clerical from lay space. The altar rail was interposed in order to oblige communicants to approach and kneel in close proximity to the altar while simultaneously underlining their exclusion from it and from the officiating priest. Because of this only those close to the altar would have been able to read the Tablets' text. This innovation could be interpreted as a means of inducing parishioners to conform to a less commensal attitude to communion since the withdrawal of the Decalogue from common view removed and distanced the focus of worship.

What is paradoxical here is the existence of the large communion table which according to Anthony Green, the church guide's author, was another element of the Frewen altar set (Green n.d.:3). This would usually have doubled up as the altar table (as in the case of Southwick, it still does). However, here a smaller altar table has been constructed to fit into the constricted space.

One is left wondering why Thankful included a large communion table when he provided his father's church with a new altar set. Speculating, it is feasible to see different religious ideologies at work here within the same family. John, father and rector, whose predilection for radical Protestantism moved him to give his children godly names such as Thankful, might have insisted that the post-Reformation tradition of table-side communion was catered for, while his son, closer to the court and its Arminian inclinations, wished to associate his family and parish with a more ceremonial mode of worship (for Frewen genealogy and biographies see Burke 1838: 655-664 and Allen 2013). What would have been less contentious, had this diversity of belief been the case, was the position of the Decalogue tablets which were at this time being substituted for crucifixes, altar pieces or other imagistic furnishings. Contemporary depictions of early modern chancels and communicants clearly show Decalogue panels employed in this way right through the 18th century (for a series of prints and woodcuts showing this phenomenon see Pounds 2000:481-4). However, as I have observed, their new positioning at the back of the altar prevented easy congregational access to them. More than this, siting them so distantly negated their ostensible purpose, since, having been established during the 16th century as a core dogmatic and educational aid for literate catechumens, this purpose became redundant when they were only legible by those who had already succeeded in being catechised. There is evidence that this contradiction was noticed and that some tablets in the latter part of the period and into the 19th century were rehung more centrally.

Within the research sample Decalogue tablets are quite scarce and most of those which survive are now relegated to other parts of their church. Racton still possesses a pair of 18th-century panels affixed to the east wall of its chancel but although its sanctuary retains its early modern shape its altar arrangements, like its pulpit and pews, have been partially modernised. Other late 18th-century Decalogue tablets hang above head-height in the nave's southwest corner at St Mary's Stoughton while two smaller tablets display the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in the corners of the church's southern transept (*see Fig 2 in GNo 44*). Two 19th-century sets are hung high up on the chancel arch gables at South Hayling, and West Wittering (GNos 4 and 36). In South Hayling's case there is evidence that an 18th-century altar set with reredos tablets was removed and discarded in 1920 suggesting that the new Decalogues were placed here in one of St Mary's many modern reorderings (Soffe 1995:22) This also happened at St Mary's, North Marden, where the 1879 architect Lacy Ridge fixed a set of neo-Gothic tablets across the west wall of the heavily restored church (*see Fig 4 in GNo 47*).

The final example of an early modern tablet and altar set are in St James-without-the-Priory- Gates

at Southwick. Here the Creed tablet, framed by a gilt moulded Baroque surround in a semi-Judaic style, is placed over the chancel arch (*see Fig 4.9*). The frame's upper moulding echoes the gilt capitals on the reredos of St James' altarpiece and though these items are dissimilar they appear to have been made in stylistic tune with each other. The 17th-century west gallery refurbished in the 18th century installation which included the gentry pews (Green 1976:127) is supported on barley-twist Solomonic columns which again reflect the Judaic Temple theme of the Creed tablet. It seems likely therefore that a series of altar furniture and fittings accreted here over the early modern period. Leaving aside John Whyte's 16th-century church rebuilding, the earliest piece of post-medieval furniture is the communion altar table. This is a dark oak, late Elizabethan joint table of grand proportions and manufacture with legs decorated with huge bulbous 'cup and cover' balusters identical to those found on the footposts of an Elizabethan architectural bed (*see Ade Boger 1961:205-6, Fastnedge 1962:19-21 and Jones J 2008:5-13 for Elizabethan architectural furniture*). Some of the original early 17th-century plate provided by the Nortons is kept on the altar as part of its accoutrements. The altar rails are from the third quarter of the 17th century, their balusters being twisted in a style deriving from Sussex or the Isle of Wight (Alcock and Hall 1994:4) and were therefore put in after the Restoration. The altar is backed by three sides of dark oak wainscoting with astragal hoods, similar to mid-late 17th-century auditory panelling. The panelling and altar rails may therefore represent a single installation. At this time the altar backing probably consisted of the Creed tablet plus its companion Decalogues.

In the early 18th century an unknown Italian artist was employed to create a new reredos consisting of a central painted panel framed on either side by two sets of squared fluted pilasters with Doric capitals rising to pediments on each side (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:604--5 *see Fig 4.10*). Two putti surmount this and above is a balustrade crest flanked by pedestals supporting urns. The central panel depicts seated putti bearing scrolls and above disembodied putti heads float upwards through fluffy clouds, borne aloft by wings sprouting from under their chins. These are identical to the winged cherubs found so often on headstone capitals and on Tudor and Stuart monumental tombs and symbolise the immortal soul, released from the body, flying up to heaven (Hayman 2007:165).

It is probable that with the painting of the altarpiece, the gallery and gentry pews were refitted and the pulpit and desks organised in their present configuration. The Creed panel, together with its fellow Decalogues, perhaps formed a matched set hung prominently in the chancel or nave until the 1950s when the nave's woodworm-infested box pews were removed. If they too were infected they might have been casualties of this programme, the Creed alone being regarded as

salvageable (*for illustrations of the Southwick furniture see Figs 3.7, 4.9 and 4.10*).

The gradual changes to Southwick's material culture were the work of its manorial lords, the Lay Priors, since the furniture and fittings described above are evidently a series of elite and expensive gifts over several generations. The Whytes and their descendants over the 250 years of Southwick's early modern history acted unilaterally in improving and glamorising a church they regarded as part of their feoff. In doing this they fitted the chancel out to high standards of comfort, employing a continental artist to paint an impressive altarpiece redolent of the Rococo decoration of the grand suites found in aristocratic houses at the turn of the 17th- 18th centuries (Girouard 1978:142-149, Thornton 1984:71-71). Moreover by placing their sophisticated vision of religious apotheosis at the maximum distance from the poorest parishioners, the Lay Priors were reinforcing the inexorability of the social order. Given the spatial arrangements of the gentry pews, desks and pulpit this grandeur was blocked off bodily from many of those in the nave who were only able to glimpse aspects of its increasingly extravagant layout. The potentially intimidating visual understandings fostered by this elite religious material culture would have evoked complex lay reactions, one of which may have been to reduce the number of communicants since they must have needed considerable social confidence to penetrate the ranks of gentry and approach the altar rails.

The effects of Decalogue tablets in conjunction with altar sets grew in complexity over the period. Designed originally as forms of creedal aide memoire and as visual underpinnings keyed into the new meanings attached to churches as ritual centres, by the 17th century they began to be placed and inscribed in tight association so that core belief and liturgy became as inextricable from each other as, pre-Reformation, mass and the religious image had been. As with text blocks and Royal Arms, this furniture did not just require one to believe in what one saw but it could operate on parochial emotions too. As Southwick demonstrates, those who were brave enough to enter the chancel and access the combination of altar/tablet /communion on a regular basis would be seen to participate in the social structures this combination was intended to endorse. Those who were too intimidated would be relegated to the parish periphery. Crucially the sensory effects of all the visual fittings discussed above worked in multiple ways according to their degree of visibility. For orthodox members of a congregation who were not on the periphery their presence signalled the validity of their beliefs and acted to beautify, colour and enrich an interior initially intended to be visually plain.

4.3 Hearing and performing

4.3.1 The Word and its sound: sounding boards

Since early modern religious attendance was intended to be a total experience, the visual signs of Anglican liturgical practice were reinforced and infused by other sensual influences in much the same way as secular practice involved the senses. The difference in the relationship between practice and experience in both fields was that what happened in church was crucial to the formation of a parishioner's cosmology and this cosmological understanding profoundly governed secular behaviour (Hamling 2010). The frames of cosmological reference however needed to be firmly set by those in charge since confessional diversity or ambiguity had such an enormous capacity for engendering inter and intra-parochial strife (Bell 1992:197-223) in an age when people navigated the courses of their lives using the tiller of religious belief (eg see Fletcher 1975,1995, MacCulloch 2005, Haigh 1993, 2007 Thomas 1971, Hill 1961, 1991 Walsham 2006, Questier 2006 etc for the continuing centrality of religious belief in early modern ontology). It was not only a question of what a congregation as a group saw of the texts, symbols and images that surrounded them during church attendance but also what they heard, said or sang since at this point text was turned into sound.

Notwithstanding the importance of the parson's liturgical performance in the religious development of his flock, it is possible to see that the position of the early modern parish clergyman might be ambivalent in terms of his own perception of his vocational duties. As noted in Chapter 2.6.3 pluralism had a distinct effect on pastoral care in spite of the systems of subsidiary curates or junior clergymen employed to look after minor parishes. Both pluralists and their appointees were always likely to feel obliged to their patrons, as gaining a living was often contingent on acquiring a powerful patron with advowsons to hand out. Even by the 18th century pluralism remained embedded in the practices of the Church of England. John Dearnley has observed that ' In the 18th century simony and nepotism was so frequently disapproved of in theory and so frequently accepted in fact, that contradictions between principle and practice seemed almost to go unnoticed' (Dearnley 2010:193-4).

Although many ministers were sincerely dedicated to the performance of their calling, by the end of the period their interpretation of that calling was increasingly secular (Abbey and Overton (1898) 2008:13-44, Porter 1991:172-4). The image of the sporting parson is epitomised by Thomas Sampson, vicar of Bosham and Itchenor (GNos 31 and 35) from 1771- 1800, who only visited his parishes during the shooting season when, equipped with his gun, he was rowed across Bosham creek for his afternoon service at Itchenor, blasting wild-fowl as he went (Joan Langhorne *pers comm*). Notwithstanding this vocational variability, parishioners were bound to accede to a minister in matters of religion and his voice was the instrument of his authority. It was therefore

essential that the parson should be audible. Whether or not this was always the case, the height of the pulpit gave him an acoustical advantage which could be magnified by a sounding board (Whiting 2010:186-7).

Sounding boards seldom survive, having often disappeared at the same time as the pulpit itself and are extremely rare in my sample. These were usually round or octagonal wooden canopies or testers, sometimes domed, made to reflect the size of the pulpit below. Erected above the pulpit, the whole formed an open box framing the priest in his own personal kiosk space. The board's purpose was acoustic, bouncing the preacher's voice off the tester to be projected forwards and outwards. Its appearance as a canopy retained echoes of medieval ceremonialism in that the great officers of the church had, pre-Reformation, been entitled to canopies of state (Woolgar 1999:78, Jones J 2008:5-13). A sounding board accordingly contributed to the dignity of the minister whose voice was amplified by it.

Ecclesiastical architecture has always presented certain aural problems since the chancel arch constitutes a major obstacle to the free passage of sound from one end of a church to another. In some churches the differences between chancel and nave acoustics are as marked as if they were independent rooms. There is thus a time lag between sound being produced in one space and arriving in the other. However, in the medieval Catholic liturgy the mass's words and music were carefully devised to occupy the spaces intended to contain their performance. Medieval church builders were well aware of this and sometimes devised complex reverberation chambers inside structural walls in which acoustic ceramic jars were placed (Webber 2007: 6-7). Pre-Reformation, this acoustical difference could also be bridged by the Rood loft which could act as a midway stage for priestly preaching and for musicians. After the Reformation, with the lofts' removal, the pulpit's position in the body of the nave ensured that the auditory element of the service was emphasised; an emphasis underscored by the effectiveness of the sounding board. However, the presence of a tester in a small church as can be seen at Idsworth might have proved to be superfluous (*see Fig 4.1*). A minister with a strong preaching voice, positioned right in the middle of his flock, could make a huge oral impression and Idsworth's congregation might well have been overawed by the sheer volume of sound. The other local example, the tester over the pulpit at St Thomas's, Portsea, is a replica from 1904 (*see Fig 3.9*). Ubsdell shows the original to have had a concave domed canopy crowning the vertical series of pulpit and desks discussed in Chapter 3.3.2. Here the sounding board was evidently not just intended to underline the status of the rector but was also a piece of necessary technology (Knowles, Brindley and Friars 2006:10-11).

The voice of the parson was the liturgy's dominant instrument and his use of it governed the depth

of his congregation's religious experience (Halgren Kilde 2008:113). What he said with it during sermonising may have caused differences of opinion within his flock but without it the service lost its form. This structure with its leading voices and episodes of choral interpolation constituted an oral and aural dramatic event shaping its actors and cemented into a tradition over time by its familiarity and repetition – a classic example of cultural performativity (see Butler 1996 and Arnold's discussion of Butler in 2002:130).

4.3.2 The community of music: Psalmody

'The (Chalk-Newton) band of instrumentalists and singers was one of the largest in the county; and, unlike the smaller and finer Mellstock string band, which eschewed all but the cat-gut, it included brass and reed-players at full Sunday services, and reached all across the west gallery. On this night there were two or three violins, two 'cellos, a tenor viol, double bass, hautboy, clarionets, serpent and seven singers.' Thomas Hardy 'The Grave by the Handpost' 1897.

The service required audience participation in the form of prayer, responses and music - usually metrical psalmody (defined below) - sung by the congregation and led by the clerk. Psalmody introduced a strong element of ritual performance, creating a reciprocal format shared between officiators and officiated-to. In terms of acoustics the increased construction of much sound-absorbing wooden furniture mediated the reverberatory quality of the church's stone fabric (Rasmussen 1957:23). In Northern Europe this resulted in the development of chorales and the emergence of the cantata, but English parish music was restricted to psalms, anthems and the seasonal inclusion of carols. Psalmody was a musical form designed, like Gregorian plainsong, to fit the liturgical space in which it was performed (Knighton and Fallows 1997: 302-3).

Late 16th-century English church music was a matter of concern to those of the 'godly' who condemned sensuality in sacred music and deplored laxer musical attitudes encouraged by ceremonialist tendencies. These oppositions could be seen in the retention of the tradition of sacred polyphony in English cathedrals while the simpler monodic tradition of psalmody developed in the parish church (Marshall 2003:138). Marshall and Cressy however emphasise the importance of middle ground opinions, in which more consensual views emerged which involved the replacement of Catholic festivals with Protestant substitutes. They cite the celebration of Elizabeth's accession and the defeat of the Gunpowder Plot as examples of a willingness by Protestants to re-engage with public festivity. Marshall notes that the shared quality of psalm-singing, disseminated by means of popular Psalmbooks, was an instance of these examples of transference. Here the agency and participation of the laity gave them, literally, a voice in the manifestation of their own Protestant identity (Marshall citing Cressy 1989 in 2003:164-5).

Many English communities of the 16th and 17th centuries were profoundly musical. The Elizabethan Renaissance is seen in part through the flowering of talented composers, many of whom worked for the court – William Byrd, John Bull, Thomas Morley, John Dowland, Orlando Gibbons etc (Milner in Robertson and Stevens 1963:188-198). The degree to which music was an integral element of humanist culture is visible in Shakespeare's songs and the many references to music in his plays – plays designed for consumption by a wide range of social classes (Jacobs 1972:83-6). For the English elite an important educational requirement was a familiarity with music and throughout the period both upper and middle classes were commonly taught to sing and play, private music gatherings being a regular feature of household entertainment.

The degree to which music-making was pervasive at a vernacular level is less obvious though the existence of waits (groups of local singers) and town bands appears to have been a constant phenomenon. Parish musicians whose instrumental range incorporated string, reed and brass instruments grew increasingly important as accompanists for liturgical music (Drage 2012:36, 39-40). This explains the continuing erection of and improvements made to musicians' galleries up until the mid-19th century. Thomas Hardy's fictional church bands – depicted as operating at the very end of my period – demonstrate how, by this time, instrumentalists and singers regarded themselves as an effective musical ensemble, sited in and owners of their own peculiar space.

Metrical psalms use monody – a single melodic line which is reminiscent of operatic recitative where the musical line reflects the spoken nature of the words. Psalms do not rhyme but are held together rhythmically by the metrical treatment of their prose. They lend themselves to harmony however; indeed, most psalmody, English and continental, was widely performed in this way (Milner in Robertson and Stevens 1963: 164-66). The psalm thus had a rich four-part harmonic texture with similar instrumental orchestration (Hutton and Cook 1976:123). Also, like recitative, its form was designed to emphasise word over music – a characteristic entirely in keeping with a 'godly' religious programme. William Harrison, the Elizabethan vicar of Radwinter, Essex, wrote a lengthy passage on the state of the church in his work *The Description of England* (1587). He emphasises the importance of this preoccupation with word over music even in the context of cathedral choirs:

'And thus do we spend the Sabbath day in good and godly exercises, all done in our vulgar tongue, that each one present may hear and understand the same, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a loud voice, saving that in the administration of Communion the choir singeth the answers, the Creed and sundry other things appointed, but in so plain, I say, and distinct manner that each one present may

understand what they sing, each word having but one note, though the whole harmony consist of many parts, and those very cunningly set by those skilful in that science' (Harrison ed. Edelen 1968:34).

Learning to sing psalms however may not have initially been easy and their institution was not always welcomed. In Fareham (GNo 10) William Wolgar was presented in 1583 for objecting to the introduction of metrical psalms (Haigh 2007: 206) though it is unclear if this was because he preferred Catholic liturgical music or because he found metrical music uncongenial. In spite of objections, psalmody caught on within a generation of the first publication of Sternhold and Hopkins's *Whole Book of Psalms* in 1562 (Jacobs 1972: 66-7).

In order to regulate musicians' tuning most churches would have possessed a pitch pipe for both voices and instruments – an example of which can be seen at St Mary's, East Lavant, together with some early 19th-century flutes belonging to members of the church's band. Singers often clustered around instrumentalists, taking their time from an appointed conductor. Although dominated by men, parish choirs started to include female members from 1700 onwards, reflecting the participation of both sexes as performers, not just in the cosmopolitan setting of the theatre and opera house but also in sacred contexts (Drage 2012:40). Galleries were often stepped in tiers with musicians to the fore and those in the sample which still exist or have been rebuilt have this layout with the exception of Singleton (*see Fig 3.18*). West Itchenor, another rebuild, is unstepped and narrow but being a small church it may not have needed extensive space for musicians. It is also noticeable that the galleries' musical tradition may have been quite hard-wired. As mentioned in 3.3.4, of the extant galleries, those at Portsea, Wickham, Idsworth, West Dean and West Itchenor were all used to site the later pipe organs which replaced church bands (*eg see Fig 3.8, Idsworth*). This suggests a long association of music with upper gallery space, stemming from the elevation of musicians in medieval rood lofts and the galleries of the great houses of the Middle Ages.

Music offered a crucial platform for parishioners to involve themselves sensually in the liturgy. Not only did the form of the service encourage them to sing and play musical instruments but they were empowered to ornament and enrich these elements of the service by singing part-harmonies. Over time psalmody provided an extensive but familiar repertoire and those who were natural musicians could become expert in its performance. Playing and especially singing, an activity which involved everyone, could be intensely satisfying, offering opportunities for self-expression and, through music, access to a heightened sense of spirituality while simultaneously endorsing a communal sense of endeavour. Thus, although a congregation was unlikely to be entirely composed of musical people, psalmody allowed parishioners of whatever status to play a part in a

ritual which was otherwise heavily admonitory. In this respect the musical element of the service may well have given its congregation in general a feeling of ritual 'ownership' since as an element of the liturgy it alone handed them a measure of power.

4.3.3 Marking time and ringing the changes: church bells.

Advice to ringers and to such/That delight in bells and love ye church/Beware of oaths and quarrelings/Take heed of clams (sic) and janglings/There is no music played or sung/Like unto bells if they are well rung/Do you keep silence and forebear/Of smoking of tobacco here/If you your bell doth overthrow/It is your 4d before you go/If you ring in hat or spurs/Besure you pay, make no demurs.

Buriton Ringing Rules, St Mary's Ringing Chamber (GNo18)

Another pervasive sound associated with the parish church was the sound of its bells. Possessing a bell or bells was a parochial essential, their tolling being used for many purposes (Hayman 2007:93). In the late 16th century bellringing was seen to smack of papism by stricter Protestants but, nonetheless, most parishes clung to their bells (Gittings 1984:134-5). Pre-Reformation bellringing had been a constant, endemic aural factor in people's lives. Churches owned both great and lesser bells, the latter consisting of 'lych, bedes, lady, sanctus, sacring, houseling and procession bells' (Whiting 2010:173). Curfew bells were also rung to remind parishioners to douse their fires at night (Hutton and Cook 1976:70). The great bells were used to summon people to mass, for festivals and saints' days, to toll for deaths and other rites of passage, to mark major political or social events such as the anniversaries of patrons' deaths, to sound the canonical hours and even to avert storms and bad weather. Their significance as quasi-magical objects was underlined by their baptism by the parish priest who hallowed each bell with salt, oil and holy water and appointed godparents for it, thereby including it in the religious community. Each bell was founded with a dedicatory inscription, often accompanied by a holy image, to its church's patron saint or to Jesus or the Virgin Mary. Thus the bell acquired a persona and a permanence since its metal's durability afforded it a longevity well beyond that of the human life-span. Because bells were so expensive, if one cracked it was often re-founded rather than discarded, in this way being reborn into the parish (Whiting 2010 :171-6).

The quasi-magical aspects of the bell's nature were discarded post-Reformation and the lesser bells and their purposes were widely jettisoned but the great bells remained (Aston quoting William Harrison 1988:329-30). Although opportunities for bellringing were reduced there remained a number of occasions when bells were required. The most common was the call to worship and long peals were rung for the Protestant festivals of Christmas and Easter and for the major political celebrations discussed above (Hutton 1994: 248-253). They also continued to be used to celebrate

rites and advertise deaths in spite of the efforts of some radical clergy to curtail the duration of their tolling (Marshall 2002:135).

As in medieval times, bells were often used to mark the hours of the day – a profoundly important function enabling a clockless community to regulate their lives. Although clocks and sundials were introduced in churches during the later part of the period (a new sundial was proudly attached to the south side of St Thomas's at Warblington (GNo 1 and see Fig 5.9) by its churchwardens, Thomas Smith and William Downor in 1781) these only registered time for those close at hand. The bell's sound ringing out the hours over the fields or shore provided an aural timetable for people engaged in their daily tasks, allowing them to plan and allocate time in more accurate segments. The sound of the bell thus provided a framework for practice.

During the 17th century with the development of larger bell stocks and the invention of the full bell wheel and its control mechanisms bellringing became an art-form in its own right. In churches with an abundance of bells teams of bellringers introduced change-ringing. Bells were tuned diatonically from the highest (the treble) to the lowest (the tenor) and were rung in succession, each by a single ringer. Ringing the changes involved sounding the ring of bells in successive permutations – an activity which tested the mathematical ability of the ringers and which became a matter of parochial competition. The ultimate goal was to achieve an entire peal: ie all the possible permutations a ring of bells was capable of. Thus, a six bell team needed 720 changes, while incrementally, an eight bell team would have to produce 40,320. Peals could take three hours or more and bellringers who had completed a particularly difficult peal sometimes had their success recorded on a peal board set up in the ringing chamber (Camp 2005). Such a peal board still hangs in the ringing chamber of St John the Baptist's west tower at Westbourne commemorating a six bell peal as its inscription reveals:

Was rung in this/ BELFRY BY/ Thos Suett, 1st Jno Pescot, 4th /Jno Newell, 2nd Jos Plat clk,
5th/ Thos Coats, 3rd Jno King Junr 6th /The Whole Peal of/ GRANSIER BOB,/ 720 changes in/
33 minutes being the/first Six Ringers/ of Westbourn that/ ever did it here/ Janry 17 –
1785.

Two of the names deriving from this panel are from well known local families – John Newell being an ancestor of a family of 20th-century Emsworth butchers and John King Junior, the tenor ringer, from another famous Emsworth family who were prominent shipbuilders (Reger 1996:91). Joseph Plat was evidently the Westbourne parish clerk and was part of a highly proficient team since they managed their peal in 33 minutes. Here the personnel of a bellringing team can be seen to be a

mixture of parishioners and minor church officers; elsewhere, together with the clerk, the sexton or verger may also have been a ringer (*see Fig 4.11 and Chapter 2.6.4*).

The existence of ringing teams depended on whether their churches could provide enough bells to make change-ringing feasible. Along the coast the churches at West Thorney (GNo 28), Chidham, Apuldram (GNo 33), Bedhampton, West Itchenor, East Wittering and Farlington (GNo 6) had bellcotes only designed to take one or two bells. These parishes were demographically sparse and parishes which were equally isolated in the Downs such as at North and East Marden, Boarhunt and Idsworth were similarly limited by their church's belfry architecture. Many parishes retain one or two medieval or 17th-century bells, 17th-century bells being quite commonplace across the region including several examples of bells by John Higden, a well-known bell founder from Reading, active in Hampshire between 1616 and 1652 (Beauchamp Walters 1912:17-20). Southwick, Fishbourne (GNo 32) and South Hayling churches retain 17th-century castings marked with Higden's initials. Regardless of the rest of the state of their church's fabric parishioners generally seem to have been willing to devote their rate money to the purchase of new bells. This widespread expenditure shows that bell ringing now lay more within the domain of the congregation rather than that of the clergy (Hutton and Cook 1976:123). The acquisition of bells continued with many larger churches expanding their rings well into the Georgian period.

Bells were heavy, needing strong bellstocks and architecture to carry their weight and contain the physical forces inherent in their swinging. Town churches with stout towers were amongst the best equipped. At Havant (GNo 2) the much restored 12th-century tower carries a ring of eight bells of which five were cast in the 18th century – bells 3, 4, 5 and the tenor dating to 1714 while bell 7 was hung in 1723 (Page 1908:122-7). Petersfield's bell tower holds another 8, half being 18th century castings, while at St Peter and St Paul's, Hambledon, there was a major recasting of earlier bells in 1749 to make up a ring of six. Fareham, whose brick tower was rebuilt in 1742, initially had a ring of six, augmented to eight in 1745 (Page 1908:111-121, 238-244, 209-216). The bell's role as an agent of political significance is shown by Fareham's last bell's inscription, a loyal response to the Young Pretender's rebellion of 1745:

*'In vain the rebls strive to gain renown
Over our Church, the laws, the King and Crowne,
In vain the bold ingratfull rebls aim
To overturn when you support the same.
Then may great George our King live for to see
The rebellious crew hang on the gallows tree.'*

Even in smaller churches however there are instances of repair made throughout the period in

order to reinforce bell towers and belfries. At East Lavant a southern bell tower, built substantially from brick and clunch was added by William Westbrooke in 1671, evidently designed to take more than the one bell it presently holds. In the 18th century All Saints, Catherington, was given a new brick-built upper tower stage for its six bells, allowing space for a ringing chamber below. The west tower at Chalton was patchily reinforced with brick at the same time, as it shows signs of having been close to collapsing. It has three bells, a medieval treble by the founder Roger Landon, the tenor being inscribed with the name of its 1674 churchwarden John Fleet. In Buriton, St Mary's west tower burnt down in 1714 and was rebuilt with three new bells by Richard Phelps of London hung in 1715 to make a ring of five. In the ringing chamber an 18th-century painted panel with bellringing regulations lists a set of fines and forfeits for infringements and bad behaviour (see above). Evidently bellringing acquired an etiquette as it developed, designed to restrain ebullient or rowdy behaviour. This enthusiasm for bells continued. At Clanfield, rebuilt in the late 19th century, Jones, the church's architect was concerned to rehouse its two medieval bells in a prominent belfry (see Fig 4.12).

Whether or not parishioners generally appreciated the amount of tolling they were subjected to, it seems incontrovertible that they were proud of their bells and prepared to undergo a steep increase in church rates in order to cope with the expense involved in acquiring new ones. From the frequency of churchwarden's names incorporated into a bell's inscription it can be seen that it was understood to be a parochial possession rather than a patronal gift and was therefore an object signalling inclusiveness. Moreover their use by groups of (inevitably) male bellringers ensured that they were increasingly seen to provide the opportunity for a type of secular performance. From a sensory point of view, as noise-makers, bells could be said to be the voice of the parish, marking the processes of religion and the imminence of its ritual, slicing time into manageable portions and periodically breaking out into loud and protracted cadences as their ringers tested their expertise in the achievement of a full peal. More than this, their ringing confirmed and marked parochial practice, so that both secular and religious events were inextricably tied to their sound. Most of all, the parochial rites of passage which were such important markers of parish life-ways could not be properly celebrated without the accompaniment of bellringing, an aural signifier of the way an individual fitted into his or her community.

4.4 A sense of religion: Sunday worship in the Marden parishes.

This final section brings together some of the sensory issues I have been discussing and treats them as an example of composite narrative. These West Sussex case studies are examples of how

parishioners' sensory capacities were challenged and in some cases stretched to the limit when religious ideality broke down (Goffman 1959:44-59). In Chapter 2.4 I briefly characterised the West Sussex Marden group as consisting of the small East, North and Up Marden parishes which cluster around the central 'master' parish of Compton. Archive material and research by the parish historian, Cynthia Bacon, provides a pool of information about these parishes from the late 16th to the end of the 17th century which helps to fill out aspects of religious sensory experience as yet undiscussed (Bacon 1990). As I have mentioned, this area to the north of Chichester was substantially populated by aristocratic and gentry families who retained their old beliefs, though often enough earning themselves the soubriquet of 'Church Papists' – Catholics who avoided fines for recusancy by periodically attending church and taking communion.

The Barwick family, themselves Church Papists, owned lands in West Marden and were the impropiators or lay collectors of the tithes of Up Marden, an income which doubled their tithes from Compton and North and East Marden where Richard Barwick was periodically and plurally rector and vicar from 1579 until 1619 (www.theclergydatabase.org.uk). It is probable that Up Marden's chancel arch buttressing together with its representational over-painting was carried out under Richard's incumbency and that although he was an ordained Anglican minister his confessional preferences were Catholic. His son Curtis, as Up Marden's patron, shared his views and was the beneficiary of the parish's impropiated tithes. Reading between the lines, it seems likely that the Barwick family were, for many years, able to dominate these parishes both socially and in terms of religion, especially as Roger Barwick (Richard's brother) was churchwarden for 1587 (WRSO Par 135/2/1 Registers). However, this situation degenerated in 1619 when Richard was deprived of his living. This may have been on account of his age since he died a year later or may have been an indication of diocesan or parish hostility but notwithstanding this, his successor Anthony Gray took over the rectory of Compton-cum-Up Marden at this time, to Curtis's disgust. By 1624 both Curtis and Roger, his own son had been presented with other recusants for failing to receive communion on several occasions and the following year a highly divisive row broke out between them and the vicar over the mending of Up Marden's church fence (WSRO EP/54/1/23/8 Boxgrove Deanery Presentations 1621-24) . Since neighbouring property owners were responsible for fencing their boundaries they were indicted for this during a lengthy presentational diatribe launched against them by Gray. At the heart of this was the condition of the church itself. Gray started his presentation to the Chichester Episcopal Court with a description of its state:

'I present Roger Barwick, impropietary of the parish of Upmarden, for suffering the chauncell there to be so farr gone to ruyne that unless speedy order be taken to compel

him to repayre the same it is likely in short tyme to fall downe. And is so undecently and beastly both in healing (roofing) kept that through the pigeons dung and other filth in the same the people are not able to endure the ill and noysome smell thereof when they come into the same, but are inforced to stop their noses or carry flowers in their hands to prevent the ill smell thereof...so that some of them leave the same to resort to other churches...'

He then continued with accusations of Barwick's neglect over the fence repairs and finished with the observation that he had heard Barwick say 'that it (the chancel) should fall to the ground before he would repayre the same... being a most uncharitable and unchristianlike speech for any man to use concerning the house of God'. Unsurprisingly, six months later Roger Barwick had been excommunicated. (WSRO 2265 EP 54/1/23/8 Boxgrove Deanery Presentations and Bishops Visitation 1625, Johnstone 1949: xxxii and Bacon 1990:13-16)

The quarrel demonstrates the depth of bad feeling which could exist between ministers and patrons but Gray's complaint also reveals the extremity to which Up Marden parishioners were driven by illegally forsaking their own church to worship elsewhere. While Gray centres his accusation on the state of the chancel it is easy to see that holes in its roof had allowed the rain in and pigeons to roost in the body of the church, fouling the pews and floor and presumably creating intolerably damp, smelly and pestilential conditions. Gray himself, deprived of Up Marden's tithes, was powerless to rectify matters since the parish was dependent on the Barwicks as repairing impropiators. To expect a congregation, dressed in their best clothes, to spend long Sunday hours amidst the filth, trying to stifle the noxious smells with handkerchieves or flowers, was evidently unreasonable, even from the point of view of their own vicar. Such experiences were deeply polluting. The sensory distress caused by their tactile and olfactory encounters with the surfaces and interior of St Michael's would have bitten deep (Geisbusch 2007:73-88). Up Marden's parishioners, faced with the state of their church and its broken fences which had probably allowed animals to rampage around the churchyard, were undoubtedly physically revolted by a place they had been taught to regard as the centre of their spiritual welfare (*for interior see Figs 3.7 and for exterior 4.13*).

The parlous state of churches and church buildings in this area was by no means limited to Up Marden alone. On the coast, St Mary's, Chidham, had a history of disrepair which culminated in 1636 with a works estimate entered in the Diocesan Church Inspection Book:

'The Church and Chancell want to be all new whited and beautified and adorned with

sentences of the Scriptures... There wants a new pulpitt cushion. The pavement of the Chauncell is sunck in many places. Also the Chauncell is unpaved in many places There wants a new Communion Table. The Steeple wants to be new boarded... The seates in the Chauncell are much ruinated. There is noe note indented of the Utensils of the Church. There wants a new Seate for the Minister. All the Southside of the Churchyard wants fencing with railes and poles The Steeple is like to fall down The North Isle of the Church wants to be better covered and the walls want plaistring in many places...' (WSRO EP Par 47/7/10)

This makes evident the constant need for maintenance – a need not always adequately met. It also pinpoints the problems of interior flooring where paving had decayed and the practice of burying local notables under the chancel had led to its surface becoming dangerously uneven – a phenomenon which can still be seen at Up Marden. From a sensory point of view this mortuary practice (however air-tight the coffins) must have periodically added to the olfactory hardships undergone by congregations.

During the 1620s at North Marden the churchwardens protested in vain as their parsonage gradually fell down whereas at East Marden, although church and parsonage fabric was in better repair, the relationship between parishioners and parson had problematic sensory undercurrents. Not only, as mentioned in Chapter 3.2, was the vicar, Mr Heaton, presented for failing to catechise, to deliver sermons and for being reluctant to take morning service but he appeared to pick and choose when to conduct festival services and, on those occasions, refused to wear his surplice. For traditional churchgoers the vicar's hood, cap and surplice were the outward signs of his calling. To appear without them was generally perceived as a statement of Puritan radicalism (Haigh 2007:30-2) or as a rejection of the necessary spiritual purification surplice-wearing still embodied (see Douglas 1966:61-3 for the persistence of ritual belief after the Reformation). This is more difficult to perceive in Heaton's case. A non-pluralist vicar, resident in the parsonage behind the church from 1607 until his death in 1626, he seems to have gradually withdrawn himself from his flock without any documented reason (WSRO 2265 EP 54/1/23/8 Presentation Bills 1621-4). Certainly from his churchwardens' many presentations he had seriously managed to offend his parishioners' sensibilities.

Like parishioners' clothing, the vicar's vestments had social as well as liturgical significance and the state of his surplice was of some importance. Thus surplice-washing was regularly itemised when churchwardens presented their accounts. East Marden's surviving accounts from 1659-1706 reveal constant female involvement in parish routine including their washing and mending of church

textiles and linen, the provision of such things eg '25th June 1659: Widow Taylor for ye Cusshyons and Tuffets and ye Cusshyon cloth: 12/8d' and the regular baking of communion bread (WSRO EP Par 133/8/1). Such acts of liturgical preparation involved sensory experience and contributed to the enactment of a total religious performance. East Marden's accounts provide the detail of this performance and are typical of their kind. From them we can trace a multiplicity of minor events and participations contributing to the religious life of the parish. Moreover such activities as surplice-washing and fence repair, minor though they were, could become major issues when the social contract between patron, parson and parishioner broke down.

4.5 Conclusion

Over the post-medieval period as churches developed their Protestant identity an expanding set of objects and practices were assembled which had distinctly sensory effects. Many had the imprimatur of establishment authority though some, such as bells, were initially subject to controversy. However, all were devised to underpin new Protestant dogma and although such things as Royal Arms, Decalogue tablets etc cannot be supposed to have replaced Catholic visual imagery, what they actually did, as generation succeeded generation, was to provide a corpus of objects infiltrating the congregational conscious. These constituted the physical backdrop of Protestant *habitus* and developed the individual construction of religious body image (Bourdieu 1977, Grosz 1994: 100). Thus, the lack of a viable Royal Arms, even in really isolated churches, meant that the 18th-century inhabitants of North Marden or West Stoke, however badly off, were unlikely to rebel against the idea of replacing such a thing. The Arms were, in such instances, examples of what a church interior was expected to contain, part of how its laity understood the look and feel of their church. The variant meanings such things acquired - their social and individual relevances and their occasional political messages - grew over time into background elements against which local people fabricated the more important fact of parochial religious membership.

When envisaging the impact of this material culture, it seems unlikely that many parishioners spent a great deal of time thinking about these things or contemplating their meanings. No doubt, as now, what they may actually have thought about were each other's living, moving bodies and this phenomenon needs to be included as a major element of what people consciously considered religious experience consisted of. Moreover, unless cleaned on a regular basis, things like Decalogue tablets and Royal Arms would become discoloured and dirty as candle smoke, grease and dust accreted on them and may have become less noticeable. But since they were periodically replaced with new versions it seems likely that people paid enough attention to them to make sure they were in reasonable condition. It would have been their absence which made a difference to

congregational perception.

In addition each object was part of a composite battery of equipment so that, for example, when Decalogue tablets began to be placed as altar-heads the meanings of both sets of equipment changed symbolically as a result of their association. But what was available to the parish was a composite assemblage of sensory objects whose individual meanings were subsumed in their total meaning. Anglican worship was thus a mixture of sensing, experience and performance set in an architectural shell which, post-Reformation, had to be substantially modified in order to make sense of its elements and render it identifiable as a new-fashioned centre of religion. In this way it operated like a theatre with the assumption of specialised costume, theatrical stages, galleries and stalls, with private boxes and hierarchies of seating, with the parson as lead actor and director, controlling the experience, while the congregation, part audience and part chorus, also joined in by playing minor roles as communicants or as the chief characters involved in baptisms, marriages or funerals. As an analogy one can only take comparison so far; quite evidently religious experiences have definitive differences to theatrical ones (Schechner 1993:622). My point here is not to state that developments in the church imitated those of the theatre or vice versa but that similar forms of enactment called upon similar spatial and architectural forms. When aspects of the *mis-en-scene* went missing or fell into disrepair as in the Mardens or at Chidham in the 17th century a church's ritual performance was severely and bodily inhibited.

In life, post-medieval parishioners had a complex, developing and mediating collection of objects, spaces and forms of architecture on which to hang their beliefs. As their lives drew to a close they turned to Protestant constructions of the after-life to help them to confront their deaths. In the next chapters I examine what these ideas were and how mortuary practices and material intervened to frame their concepts of each individual's place in the spectrum of parochial death and memory.

PART III

CHAPTER 5 Parochial religious identity: the impact of death.

5.1 Introduction – presencing death and memory

Sensory issues are, of course, intimately linked to the subject of death and these will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6. Firstly though, it is necessary to examine the nature of early modern death and its connection with memory through the elements of monumental placement and human passage around monuments both inside and outside the church. Here I am focusing on two concurrent themes. The first assesses early modern mortuary materiality, the spatial distribution of graves and the significance of their positioning. This enables an analysis of mortuary landscapes and contemporary early modern attitudes to death as demonstrated by examples of funeral furniture from the churches under study. The second theme appraises the mortuary mechanisms used to evoke memorialisation and assesses scales of value attached to types of memorial. Lastly I discuss how the mechanics of memorialisation function when applied to elite effigial tombs designed to ensure undying remembrance.

Since it is clear that death and memory are two distinct processes one needs first to discuss their relationship. In his book *Memory and Material Culture* (2007) Andrew Jones makes some useful observations on the subject of memory. Like Alfred Gell, he considers that social action inheres in the materiality of objects and that accordingly one can regard an object as an index of memory in which the object acts alongside the remembering subject as a reverberant 'ground' for the experience of memory (Gell 1998:16-19, Jones A 2007: 22). An object itself does not form the memory but is actively implicated in its formation in association with the remembering subject. Memory is a bodily experience, reinforced, qualified and reshaped by repeated performance, and essentially defined in terms of its ability to reconnect the rememberer with aspects of the past. Jones says that

'Objects index past experience and act as a form of 'material citation'; the past is simultaneously referenced and reiterated. Citations may then occur on a daily level through the repetition of daily activities, or they may occur over more extensive periods. The important point here is that objects reference the past precisely because of their sensual qualities. By reiterating past experience sensually, material citations not only refer to the past but are also directed at future experience' (Jones 2007:61-62).

The point of this quotation is presently centred on the close relationship between the objects

indexing memorial associations with those who repeatedly experience them. Thus, quite straightforwardly, I suggest that the repeated experience of mortuary objects by those who regularly encounter them will inevitably evoke memory of the dead people they commemorate. Even more, the act of walking past a location designed to evoke memory is in itself part of the memory process. These comments may seem obvious but need stating as the quality and durability of memory was, during this period, contingent on and reflective of the nature of the commemorative mortuary object. In connection with this, I also suggest that there was considerable calibration not only of the degrees of social and material memory but also of the social significance of death as it affected parish membership in its entirety. To preface these discussions a brief analysis of mortuary furniture will begin to outline early modern attitudes to death and the ways in which memory was cemented into them.

5.2 Embodiments of death: funeral furniture

There is no doubt that the presence of death was infinitely closer to members of early modern society than it is today where many modern western societies anaesthetise themselves from its physicality by distancing the living both psychologically and sensually from any close contact with the corpse itself (Parker Pearson 1999:40-41). Nowadays family members are usually only invited to view the corpse once it has been cosmeticised by a mortician to represent the deceased as being merely asleep (Metcalfe and Huntingdon 1991:25-27). The actual appearance of death and the processes of decay are considered repulsive and upsetting. However, in a post-medieval society where infant mortality rates were high and life expectancy low, death was a familiar visitor and for many people the anthropomorphised figure of death – the shrouded skeleton with scythe and hood - might have some reality. This belief in Death's physical personification evidenced itself in multiple ways for members of a society which not only commonly experienced the death of their consociates but also were acquainted with violent state-authorised death through executions and dismemberments (Graves 2008:9-12, Walsham 2006:74-83). Thus death, whether meted out corporally, experienced through childbirth, accident or irremediable disease was as potent and unpredictable a phenomenon as it had been in the Middle Ages (Houlbrooke 1998:5-27). And since the deaths of family, friends and neighbours were experienced with such immediacy and frequency the end-results of *post-mortem* decay were likely to be equally familiar. As an expression of this, iconic forms – skulls, skeletons, crossed long-bones, hourglasses, coffins, down-turned torches etc – were utilised as symbolic devices (Houlbrooke 1998:57-8) constituting a repertoire of repeated images appearing on mortuary furniture, in funeral portraiture and contemporary woodcuts (for examples see Llewellyn 1991:19-34).

The figurative existence of death was demonstrated extensively in mortuary sculpture on both elite and middling tombs and tomb-stones. Until the end of the 17th century the vast majority of ordinary people were buried in parish graveyards without permanent masonry gravemarkers. This is not to say poorer graves went unregistered but the markers consisted of simple mounds or painted or inscribed wooden boards, inevitably and quickly doomed to decay (Rodwell 2005:191). Matthew Johnson considers the gradual increase in the use of masonry grave-stones during the 18th century to be evidence for the increasing ability of the middling sort to use surplus income to assert their individuality and divorce themselves from the 'transient rites of passage involving the community' (Johnson 1996:205). This funerary transience was in no way mirrored by elite rites which could be astonishingly elaborate and protocol-ridden and culminate in the commissioning of a seriously expensive tomb (Gittings 1984: 86-101, 166-187, Howarth 1997:153-190, Llewellyn 2000:164). Moreover although funerary rites of passage might be transient for the poor, by the end of the 17th century the purchase of ledger grave slabs inside a church gave affluent people an opportunity to secure memorial permanence by registering their parochial position after death. In my research area various churches (eg Portsea, Portchester, Chalton, East Meon and Southwick in Hampshire (GNos 8, 9, 15, 20 and 24) and Westbourne, East Lavant, Singleton, Stoughton and Up Marden in West Sussex (GNos 27, 41, 43, 44 and 46) still retain floors with a wealth of 17th and 18th century ledgers (see for eg Fig 5.1 East Meon and Church Plans 3, 5 and 8).

At the top of the parochial ladder local aristocrats, gentry and richer clergy commissioned tombs or sculptural wall memorials. The Hampshire and West Sussex border region has several extant Tudor, Stuart and Georgian examples, many of which include embodiments of death ranging from grand effigial wall tombs such as the Uvedale tomb in St Nicholas's, Wickham (discussed in Chapter 6.3 see Figs 6.6-8) to simpler but death-centred wall plaques like that of the Bickley family in St Mary's, Chidham (see Fig 5.2).

The desire to depict effigies of the body's condition after death sometimes took the form of mortuary sculptures of the corpse in a state of decay. Such representations were called *transis* and were usually paired with another effigy showing the deceased in life. From the 15th century onwards, these were designed to remind the onlooker of the inescapability of death and to focus the mind on the inevitability of one's Purgatorial destination (Panofsky 1964:64). Despite the Reformation's anti-Purgatorial theological revolution, the *transi* still held a powerful grip on the imaginations of the 16th-17th century English. Nigel Llewellyn uses Robert Cecil's tomb in St Etheldreda's, Old Hatfield, Hertfordshire (c 1612), as an example of this type of monument. He argues that this form is designed to illustrate the dichotomy between the two types of body being

presented – that of the Natural body (the decaying *transi*) and that of the Political body (Cecil's recumbent figure on the tier above). Here both types of body are symbols of differentiated elite concepts of death which are visually connected and made coherent by their juxtaposition (see Chapter 1.5.5 and Llewellyn 1997:221-2). Although my research locality lacks any surviving *transis* many of the existing Hampshire and Sussex monuments use death imagery as a widely understood reference to this differential view of the body as 'reputation' and the body as an object of decay (for this and other uses of death imagery see below and Sherlock 2008:77-78). What clearly emerges is that early modern society had developed a much more multi-layered relationship with death which also involved this sense of physical familiarity considered above (Tarlow 1999a: 183-195).

The close physical embodiment of death is illustrated by early modern drama, especially that of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. The tragicomic genre arrived at its apotheosis via Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1582-89), Middleton's *Revenger's Tragedy* (1607) and Shakespeare's early tragedies such as *Hamlet* (1603) and *Macbeth* (1605) producing a dramatic canon in which the (usually violent) deaths of the protagonists were represented as a play's inevitable climax. The body-count at the end of a Ford or Webster tragedy is substantial, while at the close of *The Revenger's Tragedy* hardly anyone remains alive. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet* the only possible outcome of Claudius's usurpation of both Denmark and Hamlet's mother can be a stage littered with corpses. The admonitions of Hamlet's father and Banquo, both ghostly murder victims, may appear laughable to audiences removed from any detailed knowledge of death but to Jacobean audiences mortality was experienced more intensely. The co-existence of the disembodied dead with the living meant that one's departed associates were still potentially present and could transmit the consequences of evil-doing via the single entity of living mind and body (Gittings 1984:60).

Although it is unlikely that many of the sample's parishioners had much experience of the complexities of metropolitan drama they may have had occasional access to peripatetic groups of players with repertoires gleaned from the London stage (Underdown 1984:50-69, Hutton 1994:153-173). In addition rural sensitivity to the nuances of death was as finely honed as any urban sensibility through people's empirical knowledge of disease and dissolution. Combining this secular consciousness with most parishioners' overwhelmingly central religious approach to death inevitably accentuated the consequences of sin on the individual's journey into the afterlife. Thus the association of death and sin with God's providence and control of the supernatural would always have been a potent concern to many approaching death (Thomas 1971:102-3, Fletcher

1975:62-70).

If, as Clare Gittings claims, there was an early modern perceptual conflation of mind with body, it follows that both were conceived to be the source not only of the personality but also of a person's intentions and deeds (Gittings 1984:60). This conflation indicates considerable early modern insecurity over the role the dead played *post-mortem* especially during the earlier part of the period when, from time to time, the more puritan or 'godly' elements within the Church of England became dominant, while the rejected concept of Purgatory grew more and more irrelevant (Gilchrist 2003:399-400). Presbyterian dogma on predestination emphasised the belief that only a relatively small section of humanity was 'saved' and would be allowed into Heaven after the Day of Judgement. There is an argument which holds that these beliefs led to considerable ontological instability in congregations with less radical Protestant views (Haigh 2007:24-6, Walsham 2006:55-6). However for the upper classes, Peter Sherlock suggests, this insecurity was remedied by the substitution of secular imagery on mortuary monuments promoting the social reputation of the commemorate, thereby 'demonstrat(ing) that the dead merited a heavenly reward on account of their virtuous living' (Sherlock 2008:126-7) and implying that they were 'saved' both by their position and their deeds. This divergence of eschatological understanding drove people to believe in the efficacy of memorialisation in spite of the fact that most of them were buried without permanent material commemoration (Gilchrist 2003:410, Tarlow 1999:89). In light of this, one needs next to examine memorial agency by evaluating its methodology and analysing the degrees of remembrance which were attached to its materiality.

5.3 External mortuary monuments – directions

5.3.1 Measuring memory: the constitution of the graveyard

Pam Graves writes extensively on the directional symbolism which the Catholic mass imparted and which framed popular understandings of directional meaning during the Middle Ages. She notes that 'the north was associated with evil, darkness, the Jews, and the Crucifixion: whereas the south was associated with good, light, the apostles and the Resurrection' (Graves 1989:309). The east where the chancel and altar stood was priestly, directionally-privileged territory while to the west the nave was associated with the flawed and faulty congregation. Therefore burial to the south took precedence over burial to the north, just as women - the less valued sex - traditionally sat on the north side of the nave. Symbolic space therefore spread outwards from the altar and chancel to the parish itself and these concepts of directionality were still maintained post-Reformation. As Bourdieu has noted, ideas associated with this form of bodily understanding are

very difficult to eradicate since they form part of the topological *habitus* a subject develops from a very early age (Bourdieu 1992:271-283). In the same way as the church was, its churchyard continued to be a model of directional ontology.

Regarding the placement of the dead Mike Parker Pearson observes that their resting places have enormous socially symbolic and existential connotations since, as ancestors, the dead may still function as spiritual members of that society. Thus, the site of their remains may represent liminal spaces where encounters between the living and the dead are possible. He widens his argument to suggest that 'Placing the dead is one of the most visible activities through which human societies map out and express their relationships to ancestors, land and the living' (Parker Pearson 1999:141). These observations are especially cogent when one begins to analyse grave placement in the English parish graveyard. If, as I have posited, the dead had an active role in the cosmology of the early modern parishioner, their interment outside the church implied that they had some supernatural existential continuity there. Moreover, as Parker Pearson implies and as folk mythology confirms, the belief that the dead were able to walk on All Souls' night (November 1st/2nd) would also have fed into contemporary eschatological beliefs that the dead were to be resurrected on the Day of Judgement (Hutton 1994:45). Keith Thomas adds an extra layer of meaning by explaining the widespread understanding of this concept. He points out that, although this belief was less starkly articulated in the 18th century, it was however still emphasised by theologians who understood the dead body and soul to be in a dormant state which would be broken when awakened at the final trumpet (Thomas 2009:226-8, Llewellyn 1991:57).

Evidently, since body and soul were still conjoined after death, the dead were thought to be semi-mobile at certain times or seasons, such as All Souls. At such times a churchyard would have been a location to be shunned. Those who were either newly dead or who remained vivid in local memory were the agents of these fears. A graveyard therefore had an ambivalent relationship with its parish as a place of continuity and remembrance but also as a place to be avoided (Marshall 2002:255). It would have possessed vital significance in the minds of those who still remembered the dead, those who considered that they were still active and those who bore in mind that it too would be their final resting place. Its ground was numinous in a way that a modern cemetery is not, especially since it can be seen that early modern parochial understandings of its significance were pan-temporal – it universally encompassed past, present and future.

Having evaluated some of the layers making up this construct of the graveyard, I now need to consider how placement can be interpreted especially as the nature and remembrance of the dead caused such emotional ambivalence. Here I refer especially to the 16th-17th centuries when

gravestones were unavailable to the majority of the parish community. Remembering the dead might be an erratic phenomenon under these circumstances, dependent on family domiciliary or generational continuity or an individual's entry into parish mythology via his/her physical characteristics or performances. Holding a dominant place in community memory is a randomly selective process which is unquantifiable unless it has been documented over time. One must also consider long-term remembrance is challenged by the fact that a post-medieval graveyard is in constant movement with its repeated interments, its shifting pathways, the performance of passage around the church, and the differing layers of emotion and memory which succeeding burials create. Thus, for the parish as a whole, it becomes the ground itself which is most thoroughly imbued with memory rather than the individual grave marker. In this way the churchyard itself calibrates the degree of remembrance applied to it.

Turning to what survives, since churchyards were periodically subject to re-digging and most graves were only temporarily demarcated, those early modern graves which are still visible may survive quite randomly. It is also possible that plots have had masonry markers erected on them subsequently when the family wished to commemorate later individuals and were now able to afford stone. Surviving 18th century gravestone rows or clumps may indicate that their plots were on long leases. Possibly the families who erected them were influential parishioners insistent on continuity or their gravestones or tomb chests covered vaults which were still being filled up and so on. Thus, a graveyard which has been in use for many centuries can present a misleading appearance with crowded grave clusters separated from each other by seemingly empty spaces.

Generally speaking, in my research sample, the vast majority of graveyards which are less affected by Victorian reorganisation have groups of their most prominent early modern gravestones and chest tombs to the south. At Apuldram (GNo 33) the church path approaches the church from the south and is bordered with upstanding groups of 18th- and early 19th-century gravestones, the church's south porch being flanked by three early 19th-century chest tombs – the only examples surviving here - which act as gentry sentinels to the church's entrance (for discussion see below). Similar southern monuments and clusters are also visible at Chidham, West Itchenor (GNo 35), East Wittering (GNo 37), Funtington (GNo 30) and Up Marden in Sussex and in Hampshire at Havant (GNo 2), South Hayling (GNo 4), Bedhampton (GNo 5), Wymering (GNo 7), Rowner (GNo 11), Meonstoke (GNo 22) and Hambledon (GNo 23) (*see Fig 5.3 Funtington*). However burial on the south side of a graveyard as a place of honour is by no means dependent on paths of access. Assemblages of chest tombs standing away from current pathways (often laid out in their present form by Victorian improvers) are very frequently sited to the south, as are rows of family

tombstones which gradually built up, as can be seen in both Hayling graveyards, Havant and Funtington. These rows or clusters may indicate the existence of earlier pathways which have subsequently been abandoned when the churchyard expanded or the church's entrances changed.

In both counties it is evident that many northern or southern porches and their entrance doors have been shut up, as at Buriton (GNo 18), Rowner, Portchester, North Hayling and Southwick in Hampshire and Westbourne and Birdham (GNo 34) and West Stoke (GNo 39) in Sussex while some have been completely removed as at West Itchenor, Racton and West Wittering (GNo 36) in Sussex and Havant, Warblington (GNo 1), Boarhunt (GNo 25) and Wickham (GNo 26) in Hampshire. Since churchyard paths were crucial pre-Reformation processional routes these alterations derive from subsequent post-Reformation changes (for accounts of pre-Reformation processional routes see Duffy 1992:15-27).

5.3.2 Deathly landscapes: the agency of paths, boundaries and graves.

One can reconstruct some of these earlier pathways by reference to collections of 18th- and 19th-century prints of parish churches, such as those in the Sharpe collections in Lewes Record Office and other antiquarian illustrated monographs (eg Nibbs and Lower 1872). These depict graveyards which are barer, scantily treed and relatively unpopulated by gravestones. Presently a country graveyard is often a place enclosed by and planted with trees and shrubs and occupied by a field of gravestones - a vista which gives a misleading impression of antiquity. What is visible nowadays is the result of the changing mortuary sensibilities of both Victorian and 20th-century churchyard authorities with more romantic attitudes to the materiality of burial who also enforced varying degrees of landscaped sanitisation (Tarlow 1999a:192-4). However, returning to the topic of passage and access, these early modern images or 19th-century photographs provide clues as to how parishioners might have navigated themselves through their churchyards. Using the example of Appuldram with its drifts of gravestones lining the southern pathway and the tomb chests which end these groups by the southern porch one can see certain differences between Richard Nibbs's 1872 etching and modern photographs taken by the author (see *Figs 5.4 and 5.5 and Church Plan 9*). As with many prints, it may be that Nibbs's composition has been slightly rearranged to present the church's architecture more favourably, but regardless of this, it is obvious that the 19th-century graveyard area is much smaller - an oval mound enclosed by post and rail fencing. Nibbs sited himself to the southeast and centred his foreground on a sizeable gap in the fencing beside which sits a male figure. There is no discernible gate to the left where one would naturally be placed in order to accommodate the pathway from the south which currently exists. Although the tomb chests hold burials from the early 19th century, Nibbs makes no graphic reference to them or to the

earlier gravestones which occupy the west bank bordering the modern path. Access into the churchyard is shown to be along a path via the central gap which now underlies an area just in front of the tree shown to the right of the photograph. Nibbs's path, further to the east, would have approached much closer to Rymans, one of Apuldram's two gentry houses, whose garden backs on to this side of the churchyard. It would then pass through the gap, as Nibbs indicates, and wind westwards towards the south porch.

Apuldram was at its most populous during the Middle Ages with a small nucleated hub where three short lanes met up at the junction of the Fishbourne-Dell Quay road (Ratcliffe 1986:7-9). Immediately north of this junction Rymans, a rare 15th-century tower house played a manorial role up until the mid-17th century when another sizeable house, the Manor Farm, was built c 100 yards southwest of the church (see Pevsner and Nairn 1965:85-6 and Salzmänn 1953). These two fluctuated between being gentry houses and farm centres in the 17th and 18th centuries and were owned by different branches of the related Smith/Bartelot/Hamilton families. The Manor Farm undoubtedly owes its gentrified Georgian exterior to this period. Like the rest of the Selsey peninsula this area supported dispersed farms and cottages and Apuldram's post-Reformation parishioners came to church by footpaths across the fields and along the foreshore.

Pre-Reformation Apuldram was one of the prebendary chapelries of Bosham College with a non-resident canon prebend, probably employing a curate to hold its regular services. Certainly a curate – Thomas Young - appears in the records for the Protestation Returns (an oath of loyalty to church and state, see glossary) in 1641 (Sussex Record Society Vol V 2221). A small parsonage may still have been standing as it was in 1621 when the parish reported that its barn had fallen down (Easter Bills Boxgrove Deanery 1621 WSRO EP/1/23/8) though Ratcliffe, the church guide's author, states that the only church houses were built by incumbents in the 19th century and are now either demolished or private residences (Ratcliffe 1986: 15-6). There is thus no sign of an early modern vicarage unlike many of the other parish centres already discussed which formed the triangular nexus of church/manor house/vicarage (see *Maps 6-8*). Apuldram's church is most closely neighboured by its gentry houses but is also easily approached from the sea, only 150 yards distant. This suggests that fishing families whose cottages bordered the creek were better placed to visit the church than the agricultural workers and farmers who lived further inland. Its entry paths however may reflect the status of the two houses – Rymans having become a tenant farmhouse by the end of the period, whereas the Manor Farm (owned by Sir William Hamilton, husband to the famous Emma) was gentrified (see *GNo 33 Fig 4 for image of Rymans*). The east pathway convenient for Rymans may thus have been superseded by the southern, cutting through

directly from the Manor Farm and creating a more formalised approach through the churchyard from house to the church's south porch.

In landscape analyses, the authenticity of what appear to be ancient graveyard boundaries can be hard to assess, although collections of parish maps put together by local history societies are profoundly useful in this respect (for example see Jones D (ed) 2003b) and usually 19th or 20th-century extensions are well documented in church guides or graveyard directories. Early modern graveyard extensions may have been made periodically which were filled up subsequently by an influx of new interments but certain factors such as old walls, yews, well-established footpaths, lanes or roads and general topography assist here. Without archaeological evidence for pre-Reformation boundaries these landscape features are often the most useful analytical elements. St Thomas the Apostle's, Bedhampton, can be assessed in this way since the church and its graveyard are sited c 4 feet above the lane which lines its southern side indicating considerable longevity for this boundary. The eastern boundary, now edged by a car park created in 1969, is established by two massive yew trees of great age whose over-hangs represent its eastern extremity (Burrow and Rennie 1997 *see Fig 5.6 (1)*). The graveyard's northern perimeter is defined by an 18th-century wall, dividing it from the grounds of the Manor House (*see Map 6*). Its western side is more problematic since its few 18th-century graves are set immediately southwest and west of the church. Modern graves occupy the western limits which fall away downhill from the church, making it likely that a modern extension has been created and the earlier boundary stood close to the (now blocked) western door.

Several Downland churches are set on platform terraces carved from hillsides which rise more steeply behind them. In Sussex terraced churches and their graveyards exist at East Lavant (GNo 41), Stoughton, Compton (GNo 48) and South Harting (GNo 49) and in Hampshire at East Meon (GNo 20), Hambledon and Boarhunt. This last shows how the topography of the north side of Portsdown Hill dictates the size and extent of the graveyard, since the hillside has been deeply cut into and the church footings inserted in the platform between the Down and a further steep northern boundary slope. St Nicholas's graveyard has few remaining 18th-century gravestones and extends more to the east and west, although the flat terracing to the north is also populated. Where parishioners have been buried to the south their graves are sunk into the hillside and perhaps because of the awkward terrain few masonry markers remain (*see Fig 5.6 (2)*).

Yew trees are often seen to be diagnostic of an ancient church site, although they are notoriously hard to date accurately (Fleming and Wilkinson 1992). Warwick Rodwell suggests they were sometimes planted to mark churchyard boundaries, as can be seen at Bedhampton, and Mark Child

states that their planting increased post-Conquest, later medieval examples being used to shelter church porches from the climate (Rodwell 2005:163-4, Child 2007:225-7). St John the Baptist's in Westbourne has the most accurately dated yews in my research area, forming an avenue leading up to the church's north porch. Research by Lindsay Fleming in the 1960s links their planting to the church's renovation by the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel in the early 16th century (*see Fig 5.7*). Their positioning defines the northern edges of the graveyard while also protecting the new porch from the weather, incidentally sheltering parishioners from sun and rain as they arrived and departed. Peter Wilkinson, the reviser of Fleming's church guide, estimates that the rest of the graveyard is in its 18th-century configuration, being lined on the north, east and south by a contemporary wall with arched coping and to the west by a lane of 18th-/19th-century cottages and houses (Fleming and Wilkinson 1992).

The churchyard of St Thomas a Becket at Warblington offers an opportunity for a combined landscape analysis of placement, passage, boundary and yew tree. This church and graveyard are extremely well-known. Together with the surviving parts of a nearby Tudor great house, Warblington Castle, built in 1517 over an earlier medieval manor house, this location was the subject of considerable antiquarian and historical research in the 19th and 20th centuries (Butler 1817, Longcroft 1857, Page 1908:134-9, Norris and Minchin 1919, Reger 1967, 1996, Rudkin 1978, Pierce 2009). Warblington was imparked around its manor house in the late 15th century and its village population was moved a half mile northwest closer to the main Havant-Emsworth road. However a rectory and some domestic dwellings may have been retained near the church perhaps to service Warblington Castle, lining Church Path, a footpath still referred to as 'the High Street' which connected the church with the nearby village of Emsworth. Warblington's parish encompassed Emsworth, a more populous, nucleated fishing port, until 1840 when two parishes were created (Page 1908:134-9). The church's position, close to the sea and marooned amidst fields and foreshore saltmarsh, meant that large numbers of parishioners were obliged to attend it both from the new village and from Emsworth c 2 miles away (*see Map 9*). Both routes to the church were continuously in use throughout the period – Warblingtonians arriving and departing from the northwest along two surviving ancient lanes (Church Road and Pook Lane) and the Emsworthians mostly coming on foot over the coastal fields. The eastern and western graveyard paths are therefore likely to have been in position from the Middle Ages and though St Thomas's doors are no longer all operable (only the west door is currently in use) it seems likely that the paths serviced all three. Thus, until 1789 when a chapel-of-ease was built in Emsworth to relieve St Thomas's over-crowding, there would have been a sizeable congregation (Draper 1990:69-70). In the last half of the 18th century, the area grew popular with merchant and gentry families, as part

of Portsmouth's hinterland supplying the Dockyard with victuals, supplies and smaller ships and the richer naval officer families who were able to buy or build gentry houses also colonised the area (Carpenter Turner 1963:68-71). There would accordingly have been a stratum of the congregation who rode or were conveyed by carriage to church along the main road, turnpiked in the 18th century (Page 1908: 134-9).

The number of gravestones the churchyard contains reflects its frequent use from the early 18th century onwards showing that many Warblington parishioners could afford headstones and lease their burial plots for extended periods. This is one of the most remarkable churchyards in the region. It possesses two early 19th-century flint-built watchmen's huts at the SE and NW corners designed to deter grave robbers and its gravestones are varied and remarkable, mostly carved from limestone, often in family groups. In addition there are numbers of Catholics buried here whose stones are marked in relief with a crucifix (Morrisey 2003:13). Notable amongst the family groups are the Holloways. Various Holloway graves are sprinkled around but the major cluster is to the northwest in front of the church. This 18th-century complex, forming two rows, includes two Catholic gravestones for women suggesting that the Holloways were an Anglican family who married Catholic wives (*see Fig 5.8*). Immediately southwest of the church there is a row of 18th-century Todds most of whom are marked with crucifixes as Catholics. In addition to the usual 18th-century motifs – winged cherubs, books, hourglasses, death's heads, sunbursts etc - there are several graves which feature carvings of ships, indicating the connection of Warblington's parishioners with the sea.

The churchyard is most crowded to the south, southeast and west. Many of the burials occupying the north and northeast are 19th–20th century interments which may imply that these areas were used previously but their burials were less prestigious and were only ephemerally marked. The placement of the early modern gravestones respects the existing pathways from east and west which implies the paths are at least contemporary with the burials. At the church's southeast corner the eastern path splits – one branch following the route leading to the south door, once set in the nave's south wall. In one of the restorations of 1859 or 1893, this was blocked and the south path then continued round to the west front of the church (*see Fig 5.9*). The right-hand branch circles the church towards the 15th-century north porch. All are grassed and have made banked indentations in the ground, again suggesting some longevity. The main pathway from the gate up to the west door is paved with worn early modern flagstones. One can speculate that a further path may at one time have led from the 17th-century farmhouse which overlies the east range of the ruined Tudor mansion, through its farm buildings to the south, entering the graveyard in the

manner of other manorhouse/church nexuses in order to access the church by the north porch. The whole graveyard from the southeast to the northwest is bounded by an old wall edging Church Path's hollow lane and the terminus of Church Road – a rotunda to the west. The northern and north-eastern boundary is defined by the Castle farmyard and fields contemporary with the 17th-century farmhouse. Lastly the survival of a venerable yew tree of much greater girth than any from Westbourne's 16th-century avenue is a final element affecting the burial placement and pathway topography within this long-established perimeter. This stands southeast of the church and is circumnavigated by the path leading from Emsworth which is obliged to avoid the tree. This arrangement is again respected by the interments.

St Thomas's thus possessed several alternative routeways dictating the placement of the later period burial sites. In addition the individual routes can be seen to express their own social and hierarchical meanings, the eastern route being essentially a rural footpath while the lane approaching the west front of the church provided access for vehicular and horse traffic. In front of the church there is a sub-oval metalled rotunda used for car parking, now bordered by the modern cemetery to the southwest of the church and the farm buildings of Castle Farm to the north. This broad, wide space lies well below churchyard level, indicating its antiquity. It is most likely that this area was also used in the past to allow carriages or wagons to drive up and deposit members of the congregation. Those with greater social pretensions may well have preferred this cleaner, better metalled and more visible approach with its set-down area and its courtyard-like provisions which offered opportunities for socialising. This was enhanced by the western churchyard which retains its spaciousness and its old configuration, as is shown by the distribution of 18th-century graves which fully, if patchily, occupy the ground. These amenities confirmed the unequal social grading adhering to the easterly and westerly routes. Interestingly the higher status attached to the west route seems to have transferred to mortuary placement since the most favoured burial positions were not only south but west of the church. The Todds and Holloways managed in this way to secure privileged memorialisation by planting their dead in close proximity to the most reputable Anglican living parishioners when they attended church.

The practical purposes of a parish churchyard were closely intertwined with the ways in which its parishioners visited, passed through it and undertook those social activities connected to the performance of death rituals. Graves respected paths but paths might develop in different directions over time as new burial groups developed. Since it was necessary to hire graveyard ground for interment and there was considerable bodily superimposition as short leases ran out, a sense of mortuary impermanence was always attached to pauper burials or those considered

socially inferior (Child 2007:236). Therefore, as at Apuldram and Warblington, the churchyard ground itself was the chief site of memory and the paths which formed over time held meanings which not only related memorially to the graves they bypassed but could also be read by the living to calibrate the social condition of living and dead. Thus living performance and mortuary memorialisation combined to create a dynamically charged graveyard landscape.

5.4 Who lay where : internal mortuary monuments

*Here lie I by the chancel door,
Here I lie because I'm poor.
The further in, the more you'll pay,
Here lie I, as warm as they.*

(Early modern epitaph in St Edmund the Martyr's parish church, Kingsbridge, Devon)

It is crucial to remember, when entering a post-medieval parish church, that it is almost as much of a cemetery as the one which surrounds it externally. Thus the well-known epitaph quoted above and cited by Rodwell (Rodwell 2005:174) expresses something of the socio-politics of internal grave placement. Just as a sense of privilege adhered to certain directional locations outside the church, so those who were buried inside were socially defined by where they were placed under the floor and where their commemorative monuments were sited (Harding 2003:388-90). Parker Pearson's estimate of the importance of grave placement is equally relevant when it comes to the interment of parishioners inside the church. Internal burial was a privileged phenomenon which developed from elite mortuary practices during the Middle Ages (Daniell 1997:96-7). Just as pew placement was used to express social status, so burial in honoured spots within a church's chancel was restricted to the socially or religiously influential and this continued to be the case throughout the period. The social template which dictated position for both living and dead is encapsulated in the Elizabethan homily of obedience which Nigel Llewellyn quotes to demonstrate this politico-religious thinking:

'Every degree of people in their vocation, calling and office have appointed to them their duty and order: some are in high degree, some in low, some Kings and Princes, some inferiors and subjects... so that in all things is to be lauded and praised the goodly order of God; without the which no house, no city, no commonwealth, can continue and endure' (Llewellyn 2000:147 citing Hurstfield and Smith 1972:139).

This structure of graded hierarchy applied as unilaterally to the dead as it did to the living. And, as the rhyme suggests, privileged burial directionality inside the church was primarily a horizontal phenomenon running along the east-west axis. Thus, continuing from the Pre-Reformation model,

burial at the head of the chancel was regarded as the premier position usually reserved for dominant local gentryfolk and important clerical incumbents. Those less elevated but still influential parishioners could buy burial ground under the chancel paving, in the central aisle or choir or erect monuments in lower chancel locations while others, on a socially sliding scale of honour could be buried in those parts of the nave or side aisles which accorded with their station. In this respect the claims of the Kingsbridge individual interred by the chancel door are perhaps misleading: being buried by the chancel entry was, given this scale of privilege, a reasonably honourable position. The poor were rarely buried inside a church (Harding 2003:389-90 although for exceptions see Gilchrist 2003:404).

But to what extent did ideas of internal mortuary placement reflect general religious cosmologies, or were they determined by more secular ideologies? As discussed above, both Hampshire and West Sussex had parishes with established Catholic minorities (see Bossy 1975, Fletcher 1975, Questier 2006). These minorities were invariably headed by aristocratic or gentry families – amongst these the Wriothesleys, Uvedales (intermittently), Cottons and Henslowes were notable in Hampshire and the Poles, Brownes, Shelleys, Carylls, Lewknors and Erneleys in West Sussex . Since certain churches here contain their memorials (eg Titchfield GNo 13, Wickham, Warblington and South Boarhunt in Hampshire and Westbourne, South Harting, West Dean (GNo 42) and West Wittering in West Sussex) a case can be made for a degree of Catholic or High Church influence being brought to bear on parish clergymen where these families were socially dominant and may have had the right of presentation. Although friction could develop, as Alexandra Walsham points out, some Catholic gentry families were adept at blending in with their Protestant neighbours for the sake of upholding and participating in the communities of which they were leaders (Walsham 2006:208-9). As at 18th-century Warblington, non-gentry families such as the Holloways intermarried with Catholics which spread affinal ties out to pull in both sides of the confessional divide. To Catholics mortuary position was a prime religious concern but the situation between religious conformists and non-conformists was complex and, as I discuss below, from the mid-16th century, this led to the secularisation of the representational and epigraphical elements of mortuary memorialisation and more concentration on the social meanings of memorial placement. To elucidate this, in a survey of the types of memorials being produced and consumed I consider the ways in which mortuary representations were constructed to evoke memory, establish the permanence of reputation and cement early modern parish hierarchy into a seemingly irrefragable construct. While examining the material culture which makes up different mortuary *commemorabilia* the different degrees of remembrance which attached to spatial aspects of the churchyard become visible inside the church. These have their own secular meanings and

rationales.

5.4.1 The horizontal material of parish memory: floors and ledgers

The archaeology of church floors remains a rather neglected topic but one which is remarkably fruitful. As mentioned in Chapter 3.3.1, floors left intact by 19th-century restorers often reflect the innovating beliefs of successive incumbents through superimposed, heightened or lowered altar or chapel levels. They are also testaments to the social hierarchies of the early modern dead since they contain ledgers (internal grave slabs) which usually conform to the axes of hierarchy I have been discussing. Unfortunately surviving early modern floors are rare since Victorian restorers have frequently obliterated them with new flooring. Occasionally, as at Wickham, Fishbourne, Stoughton and West Wittering, restorers reused ledger slabs to repave less prominent areas of the church. Often displaced ledgers have been recycled as porch pavements, good examples being found at West Stoke and West Itchenor, though occasionally porch burial might be requested (Gilchrist 2003:405). In the above cases, movement is proved as there are 2 porch ledgers at West Stoke one of which reads '*Under the pew on the left hand Lye ye Remains of Peter LeGay Lord of ye Manor of West Stoke who departed this Life February 21 1690*'. This shows that LeGay's ledger was originally placed inside the church near a northern pew. Victorian tiling surrounds indicate that the other 1702 ledger to Elizabeth Doyly, possibly his daughter, was placed beside LeGay's during the same restoration (Eastwood: *undated*, Salzmann 1953:192 and see GNo 39 Fig 4 and Church Plan 10). At West Itchenor most of the floor of St Nicholas's church was probably relaid at the end of the 18th century (discussed below) and ledgers including an ancient trapezoidal grave slab with a priest's cross in relief have been used to re-floor the south porch. This medieval priest's slab would not originally have been crammed into the eastern corner of the porch, half-hidden by a bench where it is now. Its relaying, together with the other ledgers, is undoubtedly contemporary with the late post-medieval repaving.

It is evident that from the late 18th-20th century ledgers were regarded as transferrable pieces of flooring while occasionally gentry ledgers were removed and can still be found being curated in odd corners as at Buriton (see Chapter 5.3.1 and GNo 18). Thus one needs to bear in mind that a ledger may not be *in situ* and, again, that there may be a certain random quality to those which remain, dependent on such issues as the long term survival of important parochial families or pew or private chapel ownership etc. A good indication that a ledger is in its original position is its E-W axis. This means that the ledger is placed seemingly in reverse with its foot to the east – the same alignment as is used in a graveyard (Gilchrist 2003:404). The chancel aisles of St Thomas's, Portsea, have many *in situ* gentry ledgers from the 17th-18th centuries clustered close to the high altar. Here

there are, however, interesting departures from this practice, notably an example of a subsequent addition to an 18th-century ledger in the chancel's north aisle which has a secondary inscription carved at a right angle to face south on its upper eastern half as if this was a variant on the contemporary habit of 'crossing' lines of writing on a letter to save on paper *see Fig 5.10*). There was also a tendency to site ledgers close to favourite pew seats, as was the case originally with the LeGay ledger in West Stoke. These may remain even when the pew has been removed (Harding 2003:389).

Floors which remain intact clearly reveal patterns of precedence. At Up Marden several gentry ledgers are situated on the altar platform while others (lesser gentry or yeomen families) are demoted to the floor just in front of it (*see Fig 3.6 and Church Plan 3*). After the chancel, burial in the nave's central aisle was a favoured site as at East Lavant where there is a reorganised line of 18th-century ledgers to the Compton family. While much of the church was retiled during the 19th century, at Stoughton a longer central line of ledgers commemorating the Bayly family stretches from the chancel step to the west end, though these may have been relaid as the leading stone is now reversed with its head to the chancel. Here less prominent ledgers were lifted and used as hard paving to patch the southern transept's floor (*see GNo 44 for description*). At Fishbourne Victorian alterations created extra aisles for the 14th-century nave and resulted in a line of cut-down ledgers by the chancel arch paving a new north-south corridor (*see Fig 5.11*). Thus, continuing into the modern period, a strong sense of social grading was employed to determine whose ledgers were to be retained and which lifted, reused and even mutilated.

5.4.2 Monumental verticality: from signature floors to wall plaques

On a contemporary scale of prestige the ledger on its own was an intermediate memorial – not as good as a tomb or wall memorial but better than an external gravestone. A ledger was often the memorial of choice for prosperous yeoman families, for the commercial or professional classes and the farming gentry. It was also integral to the concept of a vertical axis of prestige since, at the other end, early modern wall plaques and tombs were sited to ensure their visibility above the heads of the congregation. A ledger's nature as a paviour which claimed parochial attention is therefore axial, and in connection with this it is worth outlining a concept concerning the establishment of late 18th-century flagstone floors, already touched on in my review of West Itchenor's porch (*see above*). I call these 'signature floors' but as my research sample has only provided 2 examples (*although see Fig 3.19*), I must emphasise that these observations are very tentative and need wider regional research before they can be confirmed or rejected.

The first example is at St Peter's, East Marden (also see GNo 45 and Church Plan 11). It becomes evident from an inspection of the church's floor that the nave's south cross passage, its central passage and both chancel platform stages were repaved in one episode in a regular, orderly way with large striated flagstones. I consider these belong to the late 18th century since if they had been laid simultaneously with the 19th-century chancel fittings its restorers would undoubtedly have retiled the floor to match the Arts and Crafts design imposed on the rest of the chancel. The pavements are deliberately striated with grooves running from top to bottom in serried rows (see Fig 5.12 and Church Plan 11). Around their edges there is a border of horizontal striations marking the edges of the passageway and the chancel steps. There is much surface wear to the central passage but the striation pattern is quite clear at the perimeters and on the upper, less frequented stage of the altar dais. Just as actors chalk the soles of new shoes before performances, these marks are presumably a mason's technique for reducing slippage.

The provision of a well-laid, regular and expensive pavement in this isolated church indicates a wealthy donor or set of patrons. Moreover there is only one ledger, worn in a similar way to the pavements, fitted in an *in situ* position at the east end of the nave's central passage. The ledger is inscribed to a Mrs Jane Tenet and it dates from the late 18th century. One is left asking various questions: why is this the only ledger? Was Jane involved in bequeathing funds for the floor and does her ledger, an integral part of the paving, confirm the floor's laying date as being contemporary with her death? Does it indicate a final interior burial after which it was decided that the church's new floor would be left intact? These questions lead one to speculate that, if the floor was provided by Jane or her family, the inclusion of her ledger in a noticeable position at the head of the central passage signals that the floor itself was part of the act of memory which her ledger evoked. Thus, whether the floor was donated by her or her family, her ledger acts as a signature, possibly of mortuary closure and as a statement of benevolence – after all, the congregation would henceforth benefit from a much superior, anti-slip floor surface. Moreover the mere possibility of slipping on newly-paved flagstone surfaces causes walkers to look down at their feet. If they then see a treated surface of this kind set in conjunction with a donor's ledger the striations themselves become implicit in the act of memory evoked by both floor and ledger.

This phenomenon is reproduced at St Nicholas's in West Itchenor but here the single signature ledger is even more dominating being large and centrally positioned to abut the chancel pavement right at the head of the nave's central passage (see Fig 5.13 and Church Plan 12). The flooring of the central passage and to the rear of the church reveals similar striated paving although without the edge banding used at East Marden, suggesting that incising flagging at this period was a

conventional methodology but that different workshops used different techniques. The ledger itself is dedicated to 'Anna, wife of Murdoch Mackenzie Esq (Lieut in the Royal Navy) Died October 31 1786 Aged 39 Years'.

If the MacKenzie family were instrumental in providing the new floor, again Anna's ledger may act as a signature. It is however an expensive form of memorial; a gravestone outside or a plaque inside the church would have been cheaper and more obviously visible. Moreover if one argues that ledger and floor are connected, the provision of a floor is an almost domestic improvement. A new floor is prestigious but fails to create the same effect as the gift of a new window or the purchase of some new church plate. Moreover, given the nature of gender relationships during the 18th century, the provision of a flagstone floor (of a type seen in farmhouse kitchens and dairies) could be conceived of as being within the province of femininity. Mrs MacKenzie, wife of a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, was perhaps not in the front rank of local gentry but important enough to be commemorated in this way and associated with a 'civilising' movement which ensured greater cleanliness and propriety for those fellow parishioners whom she had left behind in the world. Women, in particular, tutored to be mindful of their clothing and footwear and the increasing demands of 'polite' living, may have thankfully borne Anna MacKenzie in mind when they set out across the improved flooring of their parish church (Vickery 1998:13-14). The memorial quality of ledgers which, unlike outdoor graves, are often sited where they will be most frequently trodden on - in passages and aisles, near favoured pews and beside communion rails - is here narrowed down to a single ledger. By signing the floor Anna becomes its last claimant to this form of parish memory.

From the act of treading on memory I now turn to consider the impact of memorial visibility. Rising upwards from the floor, many churches' interior walls were studded with sculptural commemorative plaques. Again these suffer from attrition from 19th-century restoration as at North Marden where its extremely isolated 12th-century church was cleared of all its interior wall furniture (WSRO Par 134/12/1, Pevsner and Nairn 1965:268-9 and see GNo 47) as filled-in bolt holes on the walls on either side of the chancel reveal. As discussed in GNo 5, Bedhampton suffered an almost complete 19th-century internal restoration which included several 18th-century chancel wall plaques which were resited on the inside gable of the chancel arch, thereby rendering them invisible to anybody in the nave (Burrows and Rennie 1997:15). Thus, like ledgers, plaques may not always be *in situ*. However, as 'honourable' forms of *commemorabilia* they added to a church's importance, not only in regard to parish memory, but crucially in terms of social mystique since the early modern awareness of rank and social prestige attached itself to the church's body

just as it did to other forms of materiality. Moreover it was not always the case that local gentryfolk were bound to be buried in their own parish, instead they might choose to be buried in London or some alternative parish if they resided there periodically (Llewellyn 2000:60, Bryson 1990:146-147). So by choosing to be buried in a particular church and erecting a suitable memorial they conferred prestige on the church itself and enabled its parishioners to claim reflected fame from the elite qualities of those who had exerted that choice. By the 18th century, the colonising of a church's walls by sculptural tablets was a measure – again a form of calibration – of the popularity and respectability of the parish.

The occupation of wall space with memorials erected well above pew-height, often painted in bright, heraldic colours, added to the visual effectiveness of post-Reformation church interiors. In my sample the best example of *in situ* wall memorials survive in Southwick. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 and above in 5.2, because of its position as a Peculiar, St James and its furnishings was largely controlled by the Whytes and their descendants. Accordingly its memorials show few signs of rearrangement, although modern plaques were added more recently to the south side (see GNo 24). One exception to this is the presence near the ceiling in the southeastern chancel corner of a suite of panels bearing the early 17th-century Norton coat of arms (Page 1908:161-165 see Fig 5.14). One likely explanation for them is that they are the chest facade of a wall tomb erected to Sir Daniel Norton (d 1636) which was later dismantled and the heraldry retained. If however they are an *in situ* early modern insertion they are evidence of an alternative form of wall memorial rarely replicated in parish churches. Moreover, given the chancel's configuration, they would be very hard to see from the nave. Only the Southwick elite in their gentry box pews would be adequately placed to look at them, particularly those sitting in the northern Squire's pew. Since the Southwick ladies sat facing north, the panels would have attracted something of an elite male 'gaze' (Southwick church guide: Anon 1993:2).

The Southwick wall plaques and memorials are largely ranged along the north wall. One commemorates Edward Wynn, d 1748, a Norton estate servant, while another (see Fig 5.15 (1)) memorialises Richard Field, perhaps a family connection, whose pediment is capped with his bust. This is a scaled-down version of more exuberant but strongly classical 17th-/18th-century funerary sculpture found elsewhere, notably at Racton and Mid-Lavant which all demonstrate the later tendency towards memorial portraiture (see GNos 38 and 40 for descriptions). The plaques are set above male head height enabling them to be clearly seen but requiring parishioners to look upwards. They are also placed conspicuously in the north aisle added by John Whyte along the full length of the church. This aisle seems to have been designed like a long gallery insofar as it

provided space for portrait or epigraphic memorials of people who may have been closely associated with the great family.

Chancel plaque placement above head height was the favourite position, and in churches where there was great demand for commemorative wall space new-comers had to be fitted around those with pride of place or were squashed into awkward nooks. At Westbourne, the wealthy Barwell family, resident at Stansted Park in the late 18th century, took over the chancel's north wall forcing later commemoratees to be squeezed into the remaining space (see GNo 27 for account). In All Saints at Catherington, a welter of admirals and other service families from the 18th and 19th centuries jockey for position on the Hyde chapel's west wall, while at Up Marden Reverend Anthony Grey's successor, William Thomas (d 1691) had his memorial tablet fitted into the splay of one of the nave's south windows (see GNos 16 and 46).

Earlier post-medieval wall plaques possess their own complexities in terms of imagery and what they choose to reveal textually about their commemoratees. A 1739 example in St Faith's, Havant, is dedicated to Mary Blackman, wife of Wynn Blackman, whose coat of arms is sculpted at the base, closest to the viewer's eye-line. Her inscription merely records her name, her husband, his place of residence, her parentage and their place of residence. This is meant to combine with the memorial's sculptural imagery to provide the necessary information required and imparted. This is a transitional monument since it retains the 16th-17th century obsession with emphasising rank through the medium of heraldry (Sherlock 2008:113-4) while simultaneously its sculpture employs fashionable classical and Baroque elements, as Pevsner and Lloyd suggest (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:277 and see Fig 5.15.2). Many wall plaques from the earlier part of this period are designed to sit within these fashionable semiotic systems which employed the mortuary icons I have enumerated above. Images such as the deathsheds on the Bickley plaque at Chidham (see Figure 5.2) and the winged cherub at the base of Mary Blackman's memorial are commonplace and were widely understood mortuary symbols (Child 2007:237) During the 18th century this imagery gradually transmuted into classical depictions of urns and drooping female mourners (see Deetz 1977:86-124 for the foundational account of this process in New England).

At East Marden, though the Victorian restoration cleaned many earlier memorials away, three large, dominant wall plaques were left *in situ* in the chancel (see *Church Plan 11*). These were dedicated to four generations of the Battine family and their epitaphs provides outlines of their lives, significance and social connections during their residence at Battine House, situated just north of the village (for inscription texts and biographical details see GNo 45 and Fig 5.16). For over a century the Battines were East Marden's chief gentry family and their memorials occupy a

premier position flanking the chancel altar. All three wall tablets are similar in form and content, being designed simply to provide fields for lengthy inscriptions. The first two, dating 1770 and 1797 respectively, are from the same workshop and are signed G Moore, Havant. The third has slightly different lettering although it follows the same style. This comes from the Grist workshop in Midhurst and is dated 1812 with a later inscription for 1833. They commemorate different generations of the Battines whose life-spans ranged from 1683 to 1833. All are unornamented with their inscriptions heavily incised and inked in, although the second tablet to Willamina Battine is faded from being positioned close to a window. Paul Coppin considers that these may originally have been ledgers (Coppin 2005:38). I disagree – although the second tablet is damaged this seems due to the ravages of damp rather than wear and, unlike ledgers, all the plaques are equally unworn (*see Fig 5.16*). However Coppin's point is quite just; these are remarkably ledger-like stones and display a simplicity which is unlike the majority of other wall plaques erected at this period.

Their simplicity is due, I feel, to the emergence in this region of a new discursive movement which was shifting from biographical portraiture to text. Another similar late 18th-century memorial can be found nearby at St Mary's, Compton (*see GNo 48*). This plaque to Sarah Peckham-Phipps (d 1797) has a conventional late 18th-century pediment and urn but its lengthy inscription calls to mind the Battine memorial epitaphs (*see GNo 48 Fig 3*). On the east side of the north door at Chalton (GNo 15) another contemporary biographical plaque memorialises the Heberdens of Idsworth and shares the same vein of imageless inscription (*see GNo 15*). The Battine plaques are short biographies describing a series of life-events (childhood experiences, travel, marriages, family relationships, social position and connections) which would have been familiar to their living fellow parishioners after their deaths. They would additionally impress strangers with their claims to biographical permanence within the narratives of local memory. However, they also make the assumption that those viewers who matter are literate. Thus, although these memorials appear to be making statements which function by underscoring their desire for plainness and lack of pretension, those statements can only be understood by those who possess the rudiments of education. Additionally as ledger-like memorials which are actually plaques they emphasise the fact that they cannot be trodden on or touched but only read. In this way, like earlier plaques, they preserve an element of ranked social separation.

There is a phased process visible here where 16th-/17th-century elite mortuary epigraphy and imagery centre on accepted presentations of birth and status. During the middle period mortuary imagery grows more concerned with individual portraiture which then transforms into a desire for individual biographical detail framed within the classical structures so prevalently employed during

the 18th century. Ledgers and plaques also require viewers either to look down at their feet or to crick their necks by looking upwards (for an extensive analysis of above-head-height religious imagery see Hamling 2007:170-197). This latter phenomenon lends wall memorials something of the proto-panoptic quality I have discussed with regard to triple-decker pulpits. However for the full bodily experience of mortuary furniture there is nothing to equal an encounter with a monumental or effigial tomb.

5.5 Tomb dynamics

5.5.1: Tomb wars.

The presence of a large free-standing table or wall-tomb inside a church was an addition which not only beautified the church and improved its social reputation but which, if visible, added a strong visual focus. However, one must remember that these tombs were the property of the families who set them up, occasionally in their own mortuary chapels which, post-Reformation, were converted into private chapels and pews for their personal use during services (Llewellyn 2000:147). Meanwhile their dead continued to be buried below in family vaults, while the families worshipped privately, often hidden from view (Houlbrooke 1998:337-8, Roffey 2003:350).

Such seclusion could benefit Catholic families since it was possible to build private chapels attached to the parish church not only to house their dead but also to worship in a way which ostensibly conformed but which may have incorporated more covert Catholic practices (for an account of the ideology which lay behind this see Walsham 2006:199-202). This kind of chapel is still traceable as a ruin built on to the south side of St Mary and St Gabriel's chancel in South Harting. The church houses several wall tombs (analysed below and see GNo 29 *and Church Plan 13*), and incorporated this chapel built by the Catholic Caryll family in the early 17th century. Following the sale of the Caryll's Harting estates in 1757 and having then been used as a school room, it fell into disrepair, losing its roof in 1861 (Salzmann 1953:10-21, www.harting.org.uk 2010). Its ruins consist of its eastern footings and the remains of its south wall, faced in clunch, which supports the brick foundations of two early 17th-century Caryll wall tombs left exposed after the roof fell in. One of the effigies, that of Sir Richard Caryll (d 1616), was rescued in 1956 and now lies in the south transept in a very weather-beaten condition (*see Figs 5.17 and 5.18*). With other landowning families such as the Fords, Cowpers and Lewknors, the Carylls were a highly influential and powerful force in the region owning estates in Surrey and Sussex and being the manorial lords of West Harting where they resided at their great house, Harting Place, and later at Ladyholt. Here they worshipped in their own chapel since Sir Thomas is recorded in 1612 as keeping a Jesuit

chaplain (Questier 2006:55). However, from Questier's research, they appear to have been extremely adept at walking the tightrope between all-out recusancy and occasional conformity. They also held the advowson of South Harting church and preferred two of their own Protestant relatives to the rectory in the first half of the century. Questier suggests that their hands-on involvement in the socio-political fabric of the parish singled them out from other, less flexible local Catholic magnates who were, at this time, pursuing a policy of confessional separatism (Questier 2006:52). Certainly the annex-like siting of their chapel suggests that they were unwilling to give up their social eminence and restrict themselves solely to private worship at home.

The Carylls were not alone in constructing tombs in St Mary and St Gabriel at this time. Three other tombs, all mutilated, require consideration. The Ford tomb – a mid-late Elizabethan example with a hemispherical alcove hood remains *in situ* in the chancel. It has, however been badly damaged since much of its framing masonry and imagery is absent. On the back wall of the alcove are brass inscriptions to the Ford family of Uppark (Jackson- Stops and Pipkin 1985: 90-5, 131-5) from the late 17th century which list Elizabethan and Stuart Fords but only supply the date of the latest mentioned: Sir Edward Ford d 1670. The tomb may have been constructed for John Ford, Pronotary of the Court of Common Pleas, who died in 1583. This chancel tomb with its lost superstructure and paintwork was, most probably, built close to the Ford family pew (for further description and image see GNo 49 Fig 3).

The large four bay chancel (*see Fig 5.19*), now much more substantially fenestrated and tidily organised with Victorian choir stalls, was previously a complex, darker area with an expensive, painted new ceiling (*see Chapter 4.2.1*) and probably also housed tombs which are now placed at the end of the church's south transept. The Cowper tomb, commonly referred to as a single monument, is very obviously a combination of two different tombs which were removed from their original position and for unknown, perhaps space-saving reasons, were clumsily spliced together in this most unusual way (*see Fig 5.20*). The Cowpers, another influential gentry family resident at nearby Ditcham Park in Chalton parish (*see GNo 15*), evidently chose South Harting church to worship and be buried in. Their vault, monuments and pew were therefore likely to have occupied the chancel's north wall opposite the Fords. The upper tomb – that of the elder John, dressed in a senior magistrate's gown and kneeling at a prie dieu was undoubtedly one half of a panel which also included his wife. This would therefore have been a wall tomb, as is the one below which displays reclining figures of his son John and Margaret Cowper, his wife, supporting themselves on their elbows. This second tomb has lost its upper stages, its inscriptions, its descendant panel and all its heraldry – its only remaining element being the effigies. These have been repositioned on a

plinth faced by 3 black marble epigraphic plaques which recount the history of the family through to 1767 when the Cowpers transmuted into the Coles. Add-on inscriptions continue this history into the 19th century. The style of the podium and its panels is 18th century and both tombs were dismantled and moved in 1795 (Allen 2013). Both tombs are roughly contemporary, dating to the 1620s since John junior actually predeceased his father by two years in 1618, the lower tomb possibly being commissioned for herself and her husband by Margaret who survived both male Cowpers.

If, as I think, both tombs were first sited in the chancel, its appearance would have been distinctly different and much busier than it is today (*see Church Plan 13 for possible siting*). Since there were several ancient gentry families in Harting, during services the chancel would have housed a small crowd of patrons. Sitting amidst them, these two powerful neighbouring families, one of whom, the Fords, were also crypto-Catholics, would have confronted each other framed by the splendour, colour and height of their ancestral monuments. Meanwhile, the Carylls, backed by the authority of their appointed rector would, when they chose to, have worshipped in their own private chapel, also decked out with at least two major wall tombs. Since this period saw a rash of monumental tomb-building (Llewellyn 2000:6-10) the Fords' monument, possibly the earliest, may well have awakened a spirit of emulation in the Carylls and Cowpers who responded by erecting their own. Thus, regardless of the relations maintained by these families in life, in death they strove to outdo each other in a spate of conspicuous mortuary consumption. Meanwhile Harting's congregation, divorced from the chancel by the intervening tower crossing and chancel arch, would have been heavily reminded of their place by their distance from their betters and by what they could see of this unapproachable magnificence.

5.5.2 Unapproachable magnificence

As memorials of elite Tudor and Stuart culture, early modern tomb effigies speak in a top-down manner. They are fashioned to place their viewer in the subsidiary position of remembrancer or of the respectful and impressed observer. To emphasise this, effigies themselves usually recline upon a chest or table tomb on plinths at a height which prevents us from looking down on them. Moreover the emblems of their state, their heraldic achievements and the tablets which describe the social status of the deceased, in the same way as wall plaques, are usually placed above, forcing us to look up. These constituents are clearly intended to illustrate the social and political dominance of the people buried within and, importantly, of the family who caused the monument to be erected. There is also a gradation of this understanding. Their inscriptions are frequently written in Latin, the language of the educated male, and the heraldry

which is so central to their design is a similar socially restricted knowledge system.

As I have observed in previous chapters, for the post-Reformation congregation any new visual element in the body of the church had a substitutive function. In this way, increasing numbers of tombs provided strong focuses of colour and imagery alongside other official representations such as Royal Arms, so that the secular iconography which the church authorised for effigies and the dramatic representations of central social figures acted as a replacement for the structured religious certainties of pre-Reformation church imagery. Placed in the chancel, an aisle or a side chapel such tombs blatantly claimed for themselves a spectacular role which the less arresting chancel altar or communion table was unable to compete with. One might say that the decorative secularisation of tomb effigies reiterated the humanist concept that the upper classes had taken over from the saints.

The above is a largely phenomenological account of the tomb's material potency which can be expanded to include Gellian concepts of the object as social agent – ideas which I briefly touched on in Chapter 1.5.1. With Bruno Latour, Alfred Gell sees objects and art-objects in particular as active entities. We sustain a relationship with them mediated by what they do to us as much as by what we do to them. They *do* things rather than *mean* things, though, in my view, their meaning emerges from exactly what it is they do. Moreover this is not simple anthropomorphism: social agency entraps objects alongside the subjects who encounter them. In terms of art-objects, under these conditions this agency can be seen to be fluid and passes to and fro between people and things according to when and how the object is perceived as operating (Gell 1998:14-21, 220-232, Latour 2005:253-258). This analysis has particular relevance to Tudor and Stuart effigial tombs since what they present are types of object/subject-bodies. Further, the resulting osmotic agency which is awakened by the encounter of living body with effigy may be a process that can be tracked back from present into past experience. To explore this process I turn to the analysis of a major, undamaged and *in situ* effigial tomb.

After the Dissolution the Wriothesley Earls of Southampton acquired Titchfield's Premonstratensian Abbey and from it they fashioned their Hampshire great house, Titchfield Place (Draper 1990: 189 *see Fig 2.4*). With the estate came the advowson and patronage of St Peter's large parish church in the town's centre (GNo 13 *and see Church Plan 14*). Henry, the second earl, left money for the construction of two free-standing tombs for his parents and himself, to be erected in the former chantry chapel on the south side of St Peter's. These were later constructed as a single tomb made by the Fleming tomb mason Gerard or Gerhardt Johnson in 1594 (*see Fig 5.21*). It uses red white-veined and white red-veined marble and culminates in the three painted

alabaster effigies. The tomb is so enormous it occupies the centre of the chapel whose altar, although still functional, is entirely obscured by it (Roffey 2003:350). Holding subsidiary services in here would have been fraught with difficulties. It may also have been secluded from congregational view by a southern parclose but it is visible through an arch to anyone in the chancel.

For the modern viewer the tomb operates on several levels. Instantly its size asserts its spatial dominance of the chapel. Since this is a free-standing tomb your immediate instinct is to circumnavigate it. It thereby claims your attention and, because it is ornately sculpted and covered with detailed imagery, it takes time to inspect it; so secondly it demands your time. As you circle the tomb, it also exercises the Gellian quality of captivation. As a masterly piece of sculpture it commands awe and engagement but also a sense of defeat in that you yourself cannot enter into the minds of its workshop sculptors or of the Elizabethan mindset of the Wriothesleys whose outlook made such a memorial imperative. In this sense the tomb has captivated you since you are caught in an unfamiliar relationship with the empirical world - entrapped in an existential and historical cul de sac of semi-apprehension. This is a very powerful piece of sensory transmission. Then, going round, you notice the effigies are depicted with open eyes, as was the English mortuary custom (Lindley 1993:80, Sherlock 2008:44 *and see Fig 5.22*). This conveys the subliminal impression that they are awake – perhaps even aware of your scrutiny. You begin to wonder who is watching whom?

Returning to its spatial configuration - the tomb itself is of a size and height which allows the observer to approach quite closely but not too close. Moreover it has a plinth and obelisks at each corner which establish spatial boundaries – what is inside the tomb perimeter (Wriothesley space) and what outside (non-Wriothesley space). The reliefs of the Southampton heirs kneel in panelled frames on the tomb chest just inside the Wriothesley boundary. Above them father and grandfather flank the upper tier at the eye-height of a tall man. As you circle it is the Earls' bodily presence which is most impressive and immediate. The Countess reclines on the upper tier, only semi-visible - both elevated and constrained by her private position. The tomb is regulating proximity and controlling your relationship to it. It tells you how to behave and what to think and, by doing so in a series of constant repetitions, it suggests your living relationship with it is transitory, tangential, insignificant compared to its solidity, permanence and its quality of mnemonic gravitas. It puts you in your place.

So, is this an analysis which only applies to the present? Does the tomb as an agent do this to us because of our situation in time or was it always constructed to act on its onlooker in this way? Gell suggests that in the West it is the Protestant-Puritan ethic which has stripped away our response to

the 'power of images' but in this case we are contemplating a socially authorised set of Protestant images which present very visceral forms of bodily presence (Gell 1998:96-7). Our own bodies are looking at past bodies here or representations of bodies which are understood as dead but whose open eyes cause them to be viewed more ambivalently. The tomb's effects and communicative abilities are unlikely to have been interpreted by early modern viewers in a markedly different way. An exception lies in the captivation it exerts since contemporary visitors were closer in time and therefore more likely to participate in the outlook of its commissioners and creators. This would have been especially so since access to the Southampton chapel would have been restricted to elite visitors. However its ability to dominate both viewer and setting would have remained unchanged from the minute it was erected. To those ordinary parishioners who were prevented from seeing it, its enclosure and exclusivity may have increased its effect. It occupied a veiled and inaccessible space where monumental, mnemonic and social power was expressed in a way that lay outside their experience. Therefore to those privileged to see it, its material form, having been constructed to embody elite mortuary reputation, would be remembered as an epitome. For those excluded from viewing it, its tantalising and unapproachable proximity to their everyday religious performance may have made it impossible to ignore. Thus, whether visible or invisible, it demanded the attention of anyone entering the church in much the same way as it does now.

5.5.3 Memorial fragmentation

Evidently there are many other interpretations which can be applied to the Wriothesley tomb – I have avoided any review of its historical significance for example. What I have attempted to convey is an account of monumental agency, here seen to reside in a tomb's spatial and representational authority. Moreover the fact that this tomb (having been restored by English Heritage) is so intact and remains in its original position allows this form of analysis to be made. The factors which ensured its survival – its relative seclusion, its prestigious association with an aristocratic family resident in Titchfield until the mid-18th century, the difficulties attached to removing such a massive object – cannot be seen to have operated so well elsewhere, as South Harting demonstrates. Like Harting, many more of the tombs in my research sample only survive in modified forms. The two kneeling Lewknor brothers who dominate their tomb in St Mary's, West Dean (GNo 42), were badly scorched in a 1934 fire that destroyed much of the church and the recumbent effigy of their father. At Chidham (GNo 29) only an inscription and some heraldry fragments remain of Henry Bickley's 1570 tomb, while the late 17th-century effigial sculpture of Dame Mary May was exhumed in 1981 from a vault under St Nicholas's, Mid-Lavant (GNo 40) where she had been hidden in 1872 for space-saving reasons (though also perhaps because she is

depicted showing the scars of the smallpox which killed her) (Esdaile 1941: 129-132, Pevsner and Nairn 1965:260, Bayley 1969:1-5, Allen 2012 and see Chapter 7.3.2 and GNo 40 Fig 3).

At Racton three tombs to the Gunter family line the north wall of St Peter's (see Fig 5.23 and see Church Plan 1). The earliest (Gunter 1) is presently sited furthest to the west squashed into the lower chancel space and is an archaic Risen Christ canopied wall tomb commemorating John Gunter d 1557 (see Fig 5.24). From repair scars in its relief back panel and the old-fashioned costumes of its depicted donor family it appears as though this may have been recycled from an earlier tomb and given a new Renaissance canopy towards the end of Mary I's reign. It is also likely that it was originally intended to act as a stand for an Easter Sepulchre since its canopy lends itself to curtaining (Lindley 2007:186-7). As background to this supposition, this form of Risen Christ canopy tomb/Easter Sepulchre is by no means unusual in this area. An *in situ* Henrician wall tomb to the Sackville family in Westhampnett parish church has similar votaries flanking the Trinity as does one in Selsey's Old Church in Church Norton. Other significant examples are in St Peter and St Paul's, West Wittering where there are two canopied wall tombs of this period and type both commemorating William Erneley d c1545 (see Duffy 1992:448-477 and Chapter 6.2).

Against this hypothesis lies the incontrovertible fact that both the Erneley and Gunter tombs are in the wrong place for a sepulchre. However in the Erneley case, this can be resolved since West Wittering's church architect, William White, is recorded as moving them during the church's restoration in 1875. Originally the larger and earlier of the two tombs, (Erneley 1), was placed flush with the north wall and occupied space suitable for an Easter Sepulchre. The later tomb (Erneley 2) was added at right angles lining the north part of the east wall so that both acted as an L-shaped corner unit. White's restoration changed this arrangement and sited them side by side further to the west (Done, Kennedy-Cooke and Williams 2003, Pevsner and Nairn 1965:376-7 see Fig 6.1 and Church Plan 7). A similar, although less referenced, consideration governs the placement of Gunter 1 which may have first occupied the north side of Racton's altar where an early 17th-century wall tomb to George and Ursula Gunter (Gunter 2) now stands (see Fig 6.15). This is a primary position of honour for a gentry wall tomb of this kind, leading one to speculate that Gunter 1 had to be shuffled down the wall to allow its insertion. Subsequently, in order to add Gunter 3, a 1703 monument to Sir Charles Gunter Nicholls (see Fig 6.19), it was finally removed to its present site and Sir Charles's monument placed between the two earlier ones.

It can be seen that the project of ensuring permanent memorialisation was actually dependent on a series of random factors. Since tombs were personal property they required constant maintenance which was only likely to be carried out by the families to whom they belonged. A sad

footnote is attached to the church maintenance schedule of 1636 ordered by the Diocesan Inspector at Chidham (see Chapter 4.4). Here the long list of repairs includes the following item: 'The monument of Henry Bickley is decayed and defaced.' This was then crossed out, acknowledging this was not the churchwardens' responsibility (WSRO EP Par 47/7/10). Even though the Bickley family were still lords of Chidham manor 66 years later, it appears as though they were already indifferent to their ancestral tomb's condition, and indeed, to that of their parish church.

5.6 Conclusion

In the case of South Harting's monuments, as with the others I have reviewed, the material fabric of tombs was intended to be the ultimate evidence of their permanent place within social memory. However these tombs show themselves to be as vulnerable to the vagaries of time, fashion and neglect as other less solid physical markers. The overwhelming impression one gains from a study of tomb building is the fact that church space is always dynamic. The dead, however illustrious, are rarely allowed to be commemorated for all time in the ways they or their relatives intended. In addition monuments such as the Henslowe tomb at Boarhunt or John Whyte's at Southwick, which were designed to enable the continuance of the practices of the old religion by establishing their suitability as Easter Sepulchres, were also constructed to appear to conform to current religious orthodoxies (for more on the Whyte tomb see Hutchinson in Gaimster and Glichrist 2003:459-61). This intention however was thwarted not only by the reformation of the liturgy but by those who physically moved the tomb's site; in the case of the Gunters of Racton for example, possibly by other Gunters and with the Erneleys of West Wittering, several centuries later, by a Victorian architect. With the South Harting tombs their placement and curation seems to have been affected mainly by neglect, the weather and by the gradual disappearance of the families to whom they belonged. After all, no one else owned these tombs so there was no general or parochial urge to conserve them. Memory therefore has stuck to them only randomly, preserved in local folk tales or in the accounts of 19th-century antiquarians. The stories which adhered to the grand families who were buried within have become distorted, forgotten or need archival research.

I have been suggesting that there was a scale of value ascribed to differing mortuary furniture inside and outside the parish church which was available to those able to acquire it. Those outside this range, the poor and marginalised, had to use the cheapest materials – earth mounds, wooden posts and boards – to mark the sites where their friends and family lay buried and inevitably, as these things perished, so did the memory of their burial places. It was easier to attach the memory of one's forebears to a material marker and thus the potential for extending the memory of the

dead went hand in hand with the ability to acquire the physical furniture of death. Memory in this respect was a solid phenomenon. Inside the church I have described both the horizontality and verticality of degrees of honour; the first depending on spatial placement and the second on the bodily relationship of memorand to memorial. In this context it is worth making a point which touches on the accessibility of memory: that is, that while the dead outside required passage past and around their graves, inside the church people were anxious to be buried in areas like aisles and passageways where their ledgers, placed over their graves, would be trodden on and, in time, wear away. In addition it can be seen that later wall plaques which had to be fitted around earlier ones, were occasionally obliged to be set in areas with highly restricted visibility. In this way the logistics which shaped memory were as capable of fragmentation as the memorials themselves.

So far I have been discussing these logistics largely in terms of social status and the ability to achieve commemoration of those immediately concerned in parish death and burial. In the next chapter I embark on an exploration of the more covert, emotional meanings emanating from a series of wall tombs designed by and for women and their families. Regarding research into the materials of death, Sarah Tarlow has pointed out that modern onlookers respond emotionally to individually named and related deceased people (Tarlow 1999: 20). The next chapter expands this empathetic connection to include the emotional motivations visible in these tombs as expressed by four elite early modern women who developed their own views on how memory should be shaped.

CHAPTER 6 Shaping memory to fit the female world; four women and their tombs

6.1 Introduction

In her book *Bereavement and Commemoration* (1999) Tarlow critiques the continuing reluctance of many archaeologists to confront issues of emotion in their analyses especially when they are writing about death. Instead they concentrate heavily on 'the dynamics of power'. She says

'The problem with which we are confronted is not so much whether the consideration of 'emotion', 'sensuality' and 'experience' is viable in archaeology, but – since the invocation of such factors is inevitable – how archaeologists can go about the task of making such considerations.

It is not fair to the people of the past, of whom we speak, and whom we represent, to ignore or devalue what was necessarily central to their practices. To concentrate solely on how the consequences of action affected relations of power, when the action in question is the burial of a child, for example, is unnecessarily cynical and almost certainly unjust.'

(Tarlow 1999:31)

I concur with this view, although it seems needful to me to combine analyses of both social power and personal emotion in mortuary interpretations as, so frequently, they feed off each other. Accordingly this chapter is set around four tombs surviving in the research area, ostensibly commissioned by elite women to commemorate their husbands, themselves and their families, but also to convey personal expressions of emotion, intentionality and power. Questions of gendered agency are thus also implicit in my subject matter.

In studies of monuments and memorials there is an acknowledged recognition that it is generally the male persona that is being constructed for public and parochial commemoration and, indeed, this is usually the case (Howarth 1997:153-190, Llewellyn 2000, Lindley 2007, Sherlock 2008). But here I assess to what extent women, when requiring a tomb mason to produce plans or to construct the monument itself during their lifetimes, were able to act as the authors of statements which were not necessarily relevant to the male occupants of those monuments. These studies foreground female individuals acting independently, though within the parameters of early modern social expectation.

The case studies are structured chronologically so that their themes can be seen developing temporally. I am dealing particularly with the first centuries of the period since, though they follow certain conventional stylistic formulae, the earlier monuments of the Tudor and early Stuart

periods are at pains to represent their both men and women as social beings. The chapter as a whole is intended to present four detailed vignettes where what is visible of the mortuary intentions of these early modern gentlewomen comes into clearer focus against the background of the materiality of their church and parish.

6.2 Having the last word: the Erneley tombs, West Wittering, West Sussex

Amongst the earliest post-medieval tombs in the research sample the two Erneley tombs from SS Peter and Paul at West Wittering stand out as important examples of the transition from medieval to post-Reformation, proto-Renaissance mortuary expression (*see Church Plan 7*). In Chapter 5.5.3 I explored the process leading to their resiting and I will revisit this, but there are other aspects of the tombs needing consideration.

The Erneleys were the paramount Tudor gentry family in this area, resident at Cakeham Manor and closely associated with the neighbouring parish of Earnley from which they originally sprang (Cannadine, Chalus, Cust, Given-Wilson, Taylor, Morrill 1964-2013 (1509-1558)). In the previous chapter I discussed the Erneley tombs' inclusion amongst the group of early Tudor Risen Christ tombs which were popular in the vicinity of Chichester. However I have as yet to examine the research question underpinning this study which asks why, most unusually, there should be two tombs dedicated to the memory of the same individual – William Erneley – erected in the same church? The answer appears quite simple: Erneley 1, the larger tomb, was designed by William to memorialise his first wife Elizabeth Legg and himself after her death in 1536. The smaller tomb which stood at the northeast head of the chancel was erected by his second wife Bridget Spryng also for William who died in 1546 during Edward VI's reign and after the religious effects of the Reformation had begun to be felt. The L-shape they originally formed in the chancel corner presumably bordered a large ledger slab covering the Erneley vault below (*see Fig 6.1*). In spite of this, this arrangement of two conjoining tombs for one man is still an exceptional phenomenon.

The first tomb has been characterised as being entirely Gothic in idiom – its chest facade bears armorial shields within diaper trefoliated relief surrounds with saintly figures between the cartouches (Salzmann: 1953: 217-21). In the niche's back panel the Risen Christ emerges from his tomb flanked by two sleeping soldiers carrying Tudor pikes and halberds. To either side are winged figures, a demi-satyr on the left and a demi-angel on the right, supporting shields emblazoned with the family arms. Both are grotesque depictions foreshadowing the later Tudor preoccupation with semi-classical forms. Below them are roundels with the letters W E in relief. Apart from the winged figures, these motifs are in the Catholic tradition which freely employed religious imagery and are

redolent of the commemorative styles of the previous century (see Fig 6.2). On the chamfered edge of the chest slab is the inscription '*Of your charity pray... William... and Elizabeth hys wyf*' – a specifically Catholic invitation to the observer to employ his/her prayers to shorten the Erneleys' days in Purgatory. So while William is still alive, he is making provision for his own interment and inviting other living visitors to intercede for his soul – a conventional Catholic mortuary practice. The imagery on this tomb is mainly male, religious and heraldic. Of the saintly figures below, those depicted – Sts George, Barbara and Roche – are all popular late medieval saints linking the tomb firmly to a votary convention springing from a past era (Marks 2004).

The second tomb, rather smaller than the first, is more up to date insofar as it has elements of Renaissance imagery (see Fig 6.3). The shafts of the niche's arches have relief designs incorporating putti, geometric symbols and floral motifs while the fascia of the tomb chest below is edged with columns of putti supporting wicker baskets. Side by side the two tombs demonstrate a shift in visual conception and the second also depicts the donor's family. Its niche panel shows the Risen Christ with a radiate halo, in a loin cloth. He stands between William and his wife, both dressed similarly to the donors on Gunter 1, while his two sons kneel behind him, with a daughter ranged behind William's wife. Parts of the right side of this tomb and the single daughter (there should have been three) are badly mutilated, either during Civil War iconoclastic episodes or more probably during White's alterations. Both central donors have labels issuing from their mouths with damaged inscriptions in black lettering. William's says '*By crosse and passyon.*' The wife's is '*delyber us Lord Jh cryst*'. Under this the tomb chest's facade is distinguished by a rare piece of imagery at the centre of its portrayal of the Annuciation (see Fig 6.4). To the right the Virgin kneels at a desk while Gabriel appears on the left hand side. Above both, a crowned figure of God with outstretched hand emerges from a cloud. In the centre a three stemmed lily grows in a two handled pedestal vase, its central stem bearing the figure of Christ crucified. The panel is encrusted with symbolism – Christ's biography being framed from conception to death by its iconography, and the Trinity – God, Christ and the Holy Spirit (as embodied in both Gabriel and the nature of the immaculate conception) being represented alongside the Virgin Mary – the fourth crucially central pantheon figure.

The lily pot image is extremely rare and associated with elite monasticism. There is a similar panel over a main entrance in the Abbot's lodging at Rievaulx in Yorkshire and another from Fountains Abbey, both of which have survived the dissolution of their abbatial buildings. It must also be noted that the form of this tomb with its sacred iconography is as Catholic as the first Erneley monument. However, the labels issuing from the figures are not actually inviting the onlooker to

pray for the Erneley souls – perhaps the only nod the tomb makes towards any of the Henrician or Edwardian religious reforms.

Bridget has ordered the imagery on Erneley 2 to make several statements. As with Erneley 1, William's initials are displayed clearly in the niche cartouches firmly asserting William's primacy as chief commemorate. The figurative feminine imagery however is more ambivalent, as there is no surviving indication as to which wife is portrayed nor whether the supplicant children behind are the product of the first or second (or both) marriages. However, the History of Parliament for the House of Commons (1508-1558) publications show Bridget and William produced two sons and three daughters while he also had a son with his first wife Elizabeth (Swales 1982). It would appear William's original intentions were that he should be commemorated by his own memorial thereby closely associating himself with his first wife. Moreover, since the principals were most likely to have been interred together in a vault beneath it could be supposed that Bridget intended her tomb to double as her own memorial. In spite of this she later remarried, becoming Lady Bridget Hussey and died in 1557, being buried in Slinfold, Sussex (Malcolm-Davies 2013:4). Regardless of later events, Erneley 2 makes a strong familial statement - one, moreover, which employs more contemporary iconographic imagery than that of Erneley 1, constructed a bare nine years previously. Erneley 2 is therefore both stating and displaying its greater authenticity as a family monument. At the same time the Annunciation imagery on the chest tomb facade also cements it into an older Catholic iconographic tradition which uses elements of 15th century Marian cults to showcase the family's piety.

As Bridget was this tomb's commissioner, perhaps the ambivalence of the wife's identity is intentional and makes a form of negative statement. Since there is no real necessity for her to build a second tomb for her husband, her use of the donor reliefs suggests she is using them to celebrate wifely and family virtues rather than the individual wife. At the same time by including the imagery of the Annunciation Bridget is emphasising the centrality of the Virgin at the point at which, by means of insemination by the Holy Spirit, Mary conceives and becomes a mother. This might help to deflect criticism of her as the author of a superfluous tomb designed immodestly to promote her own memory rather than that of her spouse.

Erneley 2 generates further points. Spatially its original placement needs examination. As discussed, Erneley 1 was built in a conventional position undoubtedly to double up as an Easter Sepulchre at the eastern corner of the north wall (see Chapter 5.5.3 for other similarly placed tombs). Putting Erneley 2 to the west of this tomb would have placed it in a less honourable position, demoting a monument which was intended to 'cap' the first. It was therefore fitted above

Erneley 1 and turned at right angles in order to flank the altar, thereby achieving spatial priority and presenting itself in a subsidiary but altar-like form. Although the likely presence of a chancel screen would have impeded sightlines through into the chancel, the richly coloured second tomb's position facing observers in both chancel and nave ensured its visual dominance and symbolic importance.

The effect of the combined imagery on both tombs underlines William's position as chief commemorate. The use of the Risen Christ relief iconography emphasises his position as religious head of the family and the second panel carries him biographically forward, illustrating him socially as well as religiously. And, since William's memory is most unusually duplicated by these tombs, his bodily image, placed so visibly, also implies that this is his most authentic monument, especially as he is portrayed at Christ's right hand. At the same time one must bear in mind that the junction of the tombs at the NE chancel corner would have linked them together in a single construction. This is important as it mediates the effect of both tombs, binding them into each other. This, however, does not explain the second's creation especially as its reiteration of the Risen Christ imagery appears rather redundant.

In addition there is no escaping the more discreet, subliminal message the tombs deliver – that while they are overtly made for William they are, in effect, devised to commemorate his two wives. Bridget's addition suggests that she had her own agenda in expending so much money on this rare form of memorial. The precise positions of a first or second wife had no particularly clear cut status throughout the period but might be entirely contextual depending on such things as personal fondness, the gentility (or lack of it) of a wife's family or the size of her dowry (Erickson 1993:102-151, Wiesner 2000: 35-41, 71-8). Leaving uxorial feelings aside, socially, once she became a wife her fertility and ability to produce healthy children was as important a measure of her marital success as her ability to run a thrifty and well-organised household (see Gervase Markham (1615) 1986, Fletcher 1999:225-7). It is interesting to observe therefore that while Erneley 1 includes heraldry there are few armorial symbols on Erneley 2. Conversely, while Erneley 2 depicts three children, there are no references at all to children on Erneley 1. One of the functions of the depiction of children on tombs is as an indicator of the parents' generational success but it also provided clues to contemporary parishioners as to the wife's identity (Llewellyn 2000:275). The Wittering congregation would immediately have understood that most of the Erneley children shown kneeling behind their parents belonged to Bridget not Elizabeth. This underpins my previous point that Bridget was using maternal imagery in a way designed to deflect attention from the tomb's superfluity. Simultaneously the fact that she could, in the manner of the time, demonstrate

that the Erneley progeny needed to be portrayed might also help to obscure the fact that as the daughter of a wealthy merchant family from Lavenham she had no personal claim to arms (Malcolm-Davies 2013:4).

Bridget was evidently concerned to emphasise her significance as a progenitor. Even though she subsequently married again her links to Wittering remained strong as she brought Cakeham with her as part of her dowry. The monument she erected to William and herself had an overt religious function which unexceptionably focused on the importance of generation but was also a strong confessional statement. Moreover its imagery implied that the Erneleys had a modern courtly outlook (hence the fashionable Renaissance elements) but derived their roots from the past (the Catholic iconography). By making these statements Bridget's extension overwhelmed William's initial monument, rewriting the Erneleys as a more vital, socially dynamic family. It allowed her, however anonymously, to foreground herself as wife and mother and consigned Elizabeth to relative obscurity. Having so closely associated herself with the Erneley family as a dominant local social institution Bridget succeeded in memorialising herself both as ancestor and agent. Her tomb acts as a final and closing comment on this generation of the Erneleys and by commissioning and installing it, Bridget was having the last word.

6.3 Seizing hold of memory: Uvedale 2, Wickham, Hampshire

The Uvedale family had long been resident at Wickham and, during the late 16th-17th centuries they cemented their position in the county by their close connections with the Earls of Southampton and by intermarrying with several important local gentry families such as the Nortons of Southwick (GNo 24) and Tisted and the Brunings of Wymering (GNo 7, Page 1908: 165-70, 233-6). Their parish church at Wickham however bears little resemblance to the church the post-medieval Uvedales would have been familiar with since St Nicholas's has been severely reshaped by a south transept extension in the 18th century and by extensive rebuilding by its later Victorian restorers. Lloyd and Pevsner suggest there were two episodes of restoration between 1826 and 1877 and in Pevsner's words: 'it (the church) has lost all of its medieval interest, without gaining any positive Victorian character' (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:652).

As Wickham's chief early modern gentry family and the church's patrons, when not at court the Uvedales lived in their moated manor house, Place House, sited immediately to the south of the church (Page 1908:233-6). At the end of the 16th century they were fined for recusancy and much of their property was confiscated but by 1607 they had agreed to conform and their lands were restored on the usual condition that they attended church services as communicants. St Nicholas's

has two of their surviving monuments, the remnants of a tomb to a 16th-century William Uvedale and a large early 17th-century wall tomb to his son Sir William and his wife Mary. What is now left of Uvedale 1, once a sizeable monument dismantled in 1863, is merely its internal panel bearing an inscription to William Uvedale d 1569, three heraldic medallions and its cornice's armorial cartouche (see Fig 6.5). This was set against the south wall of a southern chapel running parallel to the chancel, originally the Uvedale's private chapel and mausoleum. Uvedale 2, a full-scale effigial wall monument, was sited against the chapel's west wall but has been reconstructed against the east wall of the southern transept (Retallack, Hulbert, Hirst et al 2006:13-14, 19-20). It is this later tomb I will be discussing (see Fig 6.6).

Uvedale 2 is of Derbyshire alabaster and dated 1615. It has been severely cleaned though traces of its paintwork and gilding are still visible. It is of a conventional form for a large effigial wall tomb being topped by a crest and scrollwork pediment bearing lion supporters and the Uvedale arms. Under this is a round-arched alcove at the base of which are tiered effigies of Sir William and Lady Mary in Jacobean dress and below them a plinth with the kneeling sculptures of their nine children in gendered ranks. This form is by no means uncommon in this area – a very similar monument, (possibly by the same mason) can be found at St Boniface's, Nursling, Hampshire (see Fig 6.6). The Hyde altar tomb in All Saints, Catherington (see Fig 3 in GNo 16), and, most probably, the original setting of the recumbent Cowper tomb in South Harting are all versions of this arrangement (see Fig 5.21). Like the Cowper monument, Uvedale 2 adopts the post-1610 fashion for depicting forward-facing, reclining figures (Sherlock 2008:44-45 (see Fig 6.7).

Uvedale 2's inscription is gendered; the references to Sir William being written in Latin and the verse, framed as if it was composed at Lady Mary's command, in English. These, in the words of the information plaque which accompanies them, are as follows

'A translation of the Latin inscription reads; To the memory of the most illustrious Knight William Uvedale who died on the 8th day of January 1615, aged 56.

Reader, you wish to know who is interred in this tomb: he is the flower of the Uvedales, and the glory of his house. You want the extent of his life: six and fifty Decembers. What children there were: thrice three, or who was his spouse: Mary renowned of Norton stock, whose piety will live on after her ashes in this tomb.

Beneath in contemporary English:

Thy virtues (worthy knight) neede not this tombe/Men's hearts and heaven afford them

fairer roome/Yet sith thy earthly part jointly deserved/Thy spouse would it therein should be preserved/ And wills, that as one bed still held you twaine/So might one grave at last your bones containe'

It seems clear from the verse that Lady Mary, who survived her husband, was responsible for commissioning and erecting the tomb, placing it at the back of the Uvedale chapel, presumably in association with the pews which, in line with the Uvedales' recent conformity, catered for her family and household. She therefore also authorised the inscription itself which underlines Sir William's gentlemanly repute and honour by its use of Latin but also establishes her own credentials by mentioning her powerful Norton antecedents and wifely piety.

The Uvedales' late 16th-century recusancy is a characteristic example of the religious alternations gentry families underwent post-Reformation (Marshall 2003:185). Sir William's father was himself recorded as a supporter of the Elizabethan Protestant establishment as was Mary Norton's father Richard – confessional preferences which their progeny deviated from (M.R.P and Hasler 1981). However, their subsequent conformity seems to have restored them to prosperity.

Regarding this generation of the Uvedale family, records show that at Sir William's death in 1615 his Wickham estates and manor went to his wife, Mary Norton, who survived him until at her death in 1634 they passed to their son William (Page 1908:233-6). She was evidently then interred below the monument she had commissioned which had been standing waiting for her for nearly 20 years. It is her longevity, in addition to the tomb's form and use of imagery, which testifies to the oblique ways in which a woman of standing ensured that her own memory would be as evocative that of her spouse.

Mary's effigial positioning is fraught with nuance (*see Fig 6.8*). As in the Nursling example, she lies on a lower level than her husband, technically in the socially inferior place. However, the way in which she has been presented is immediate and direct as she faces outwards to the viewer. Her body, in full Jacobean court dress, both seems and is larger than that of Sir William. His pose is disassociated, with his face raised upwards as if to heaven. Like the effigy of the Countess of Southampton at Titchfield (*see Chapter 5.5.2 and GNo 13*), his elevated siting renders him less approachable and harder to see. His wife's is therefore the main foregrounded effigy and she embraces a laurel-garlanded skull as a highly-charged and widely understood symbol. This conveys the unmistakable message that Death as victor is the ultimate end of the human journey, albeit, as I will discuss below, the wreath it wears complicates matters. The number of mortuary images on this tomb - such as figures of Death and Time, deaths heads, hourglasses, winged cherubs,

pomegranates, reversed scythes - is also highly unusual, reiterating the commissioner's desire to communicate the evanescence of the body (see Fig 6.9). Tarlow notes that 17th-century symbols such as these were known as 'vanities' and discusses the Orcadian evidence she has accumulated of them as not only symbolising earthly mortality but as direct references to the materiality of funerals (Tarlow 1999:69-73). These are found in Orkney on internal and external graves and include images of coffins, spades, death bells, skeletons, snuffed candles and hourglasses. Vanities such as these occur frequently in my research sample, usually on external graves. Here, on an elite tomb, the types of symbol avoid reference to funeral paraphernalia and incorporate classical motifs like the pomegranates – symbols of Hades and of resurrection. It is as though the vanities chosen by Mary for inclusion on her tomb were carefully selected to present Uvedale mortality in certain ways.

Regarding Mary's placement and her choice of mortality emblems, one might suppose these could be related to undocumented biographical reasons especially as her attachment to her husband is shown in the epitaph's last two lines '*And wills, that as one bed still held you twaine/ So might one grave at last your bones containe*'. This is a conventional expression but it often betokened a wife's profound grief at her husband's death, as do other references to sleep which invoke marital intimacy (eg see Fletcher 1995:177). That she continued as local matriarch, most unusually retaining control of the Uvedale manorial lands at Wickham, and failed to remarry suggests either that she was extremely attached to him and/or that, like many elite, wealthy widows of this period, she relished the increased independence of widowhood (Weisner 2000:90-1). A crucial factor lies in her emphasis on her social position and her Norton ancestry as a scion of a leading Hampshire gentry family whose chief estates were at Tisted to the north and at next-door Southwick (see references to Southwick (GNo 24) in Chapters 3-5). In this way Lady Mary's family connections bolstered her status and are shown in the fact that her kneeling daughters below her effigy are on the heraldic right hand. This states quite clearly to the knowledgeable observer that her ancestry was of greater social consequence than that of the Uvedales (*for the supplicant Uvedale children see Fig 6.17*). Thus, her position as an independent widow, leading landowner, social doyenne and highborn lady all contributed to the maintenance of her influence, enabling her to dictate the form and meaning of the memorial she commissioned.

It seems likely that the siting of these effigies on the back wall of the Uvedale chapel may also relate to her physical position during divine service while she was alive. In other words (as discussed in Chapter 5.4) she may have wanted to sit near her effigy while simultaneously wanting her tomb to be sited near her seat. This produces an interesting insight into an early 17th cent

female world-view – that by virtue of her dual connection with Sir William (as living widow but partner in death) she could assume aspects of his masculine authority and prolong it after his decease. This would partially explain her need to plaster the tomb with death symbols, thereby labelling it as being incorporated into her personal domain of life and death.

Her physical living presence during services side by side with her own effigial image has a bearing on Llewellyn's point about bodily and political monumental images insofar as those who witness this conjunction (her family, clergy, servants and those close enough to pew and monument to view it) are strongly reminded of her power over memory. This phenomenon would have been reproduced in other churches, as at West Wittering (see above), where male patrons had also established their own tombs *ante-mortem* but such acts could be understood as set within the patriarchal parameters of memorialisation and quite legitimate. Mary however established her own mortuary persona by borrowing that of her husband as incorporated in his effigy. Thus both effigies, side by side with Mary's living religious presence, would not only endorse her authority, but also, by extension, her reputation and social influence.

Such a visceral twin representation suggests considerable control over both past (her husband's decease and memorialisation) and future (her own highly organised and premonitory memorialisation). In this way, the laurel-wreath which crowns the skull which she is cradling implies that both are in fact her own. She has embraced her own mortality and won the laurels by confronting Death and facing it down. If such an interpretation stands, one can also speculate that the other mortuary images on the tomb set Death up as a recognisable trope, authored by English early modern mortuary culture but caught and pinned down by Mary. These symbols belong to the medieval tradition of the *memento mori* but exclude the vernacular vanity imagery centred on funeral paraphernalia, the sophistication of their selection being used to characterise the Uvedale/Nortons in death. Therefore the skull Mary is cradling can be read differently as part of her own personification which demands fresh eyes, fresh thoughts, alternative meanings and relationships. Under these circumstances it can be seen as an extremely early representation of female individuality and validly compared to John Donne's elaborate mortuary preparations and memorialisation at St Paul's, London (Gittings 1984:194-5, Jones J 2009). Mary may not have intended her tomb to be a monument designed to say more about herself than her husband. When she set it up her own intentions would perhaps have been coloured by her loss, her awareness of the closeness of death and her desire to perpetuate family honour in the manner of the time. However, as the years went on and her living body lost its vigour it is possible that constant association with her youthful effigy might have added depth to her own concept of

mortality, allowing her to think more about the laurels than the skull depicted in her grasp.

The kneeling supplicant children below might be considered amongst the usual adjuncts of this kind of tomb if it were not for their reversed positioning and the inclusion of William and Mary's eldest son John, who died in infancy, who appears at the tail end of the male ranks of children holding a skull (Retallack, Hulbert, Hirst et al 2006:19 and *see Fig 6.10*). Although the gender reversal is unusual, it is not excessively rare since another example can be found on the plinth entablature of the Hyde tomb at Catherington where Lady Hyde's status was superior to that of her husband. Generally speaking however, priority is given to the male children of a union and I will consider the significance of the Uvedale progeny below by comparing them to another series of supplicant children from West Stoke. More immediately it is worth evaluating the degree to which memorial semiotics and inscriptions play a role in revealing biographical details in a case, quite dissimilar to the Uvedale tomb, where monumental symbolism is largely lacking.

6.4 A case of false modesty; the Ball tomb, Chalton, Hampshire

In Chapter 3.3.1 I discussed the possibility that the chancel arch's removal at St Michael and All Angels at Chalton may have been done under the instructions of Richard Ball, the parish's early 17th-century parson. Another major early modern feature of this church is his wall tomb dated 1632, erected by his wife Elizabeth. Ball's incumbency as rector from 1613 (presented by the 4th Earl of Worcester) was complicated by counter-claims over the right of presentation by James I who attempted to substitute his own candidate. After some litigation Worcester triumphed and Richard managed to keep hold of his living for the next 19 years till his death (Page 1908:110).

On his wall tomb Richard is shown in the robes of a Batchelor of Divinity, kneeling at a fald stool under a flat-headed architrave in a rectangular alcove supported on either side by Corinthian columns (*see Figs 6.11 and 6.12*) Above the pediment stands his crest and his arms also appear in the entablature underneath. Below his niche is a black marble plaque bordered by a roll-moulded frame with a legend and verse inscribed in English (*see Fig 6.13*). This is a plain, single-figure memorial since Richard is the only marital partner represented, although it is possible that the niche's back wall was also painted, possibly with more heraldry, and the memorial was originally more intensely coloured.

The inscription reads: *'Unto the pious memory of Mr Richard Ball, Batchelor in Divinitie and late Pastor of this church, deceased, was this monument erected, at the sole expense of Elizabeth Ball, his sorrowful relict. Anno Domini 1632.*

Reader, blest is that preist which doth not preach/God's sacred love alone, But his flock

doth teach/ hys pious life. This reverend divine/That's here interr'd did both therefore doth shine/ in brightest glorious robes. In heavenly bliss/Amongst the blessed saints, which endless is/In almes to Poore, to God in prayer and praise/with sincere heart He wholly spent his days/ He liv'd, belov'd, a compleat age and then/He pay'd death's due, bewail'd of all good men/ Though dead, shal Death a period set to 's name/Not so. Heaven hath his soule, the World his fame.'

This is the only surviving monument from the 16th-17th centuries in the church and it occupies the prime position of honour northeast of the altar. This may possibly reflect a lack of immediate patronal residences in the locality. As mentioned in Chapter 5.5.1, the closest gentry family, the Cowpers of Ditcham Park, situated halfway between South Harting and Chalton, chose at this time to be buried in Sts Mary and Gabriel in South Harting. Thus one is left wondering if there was some doctrinal disagreement which led them to frequent a church which was more tolerant of its neighbouring Catholic gentry families. Whether this was so or not, during Ball's incumbency, Chalton's manorial overlord, the Earl of Worcester, engaged in various suits over disputed land with neighbouring landowners which may have made him personally unpopular in the area. Ball's position as his chosen appointee may have been complicated by his association with his litigious patron (Page 1908:102-10).

If Richard had managed to open up the church by removing the stone chancel arch, his monument would have been rather more visible to his congregation in the nave. This may have been an important consideration for his wife when she erected it. As it stands, Ball's monument appears to be complete and in situ but it lacks elaboration. It has none of the contemporary statuary sometimes associated with a pediment (obelisks, figures of the Cardinal Virtues, armorial supporters, strap or scrollwork decoration etc) nor does it have much in the way of visual symbolism as can be seen on the Wriothesley, Erneley and Uvedale tombs. It also lacks a lower tier where figures of the Balls' children would have been placed. The absence of these things is as telling as their presence would be.

This is the only clerical effigial monument in the research area and the points made in Chapter 2.6.3 on the social position of clergymen can be seen reflected here. This was an age in which the clergy were attempting to assert themselves as educated members of the gentry and Richard's Batchelor's gown and his heraldic credentials state very clearly that he is entitled to this status. His inscription prominently mentions his academic degree while the verse refers to him as a reverend divine – the sort of title accorded to a senior clergyman. In spite of his portrayal as a scholar and gentleman, his epitaph also holds clues suggesting that Richard may have held more radical views

than his fellow neighbouring ministers. In the verse, his preaching mission is equated with his exemplary life, his piety and generosity to the poor. His calling is that of 'pastor' rather than rector, a confessionally radical term. Moreover the reference to the 'blessed saints' in heaven reproduces Calvinist phraseology where this expression describes the predestined Elect who have already died (Underdown 1985:41-2, Finch 2003:442), suggesting that Ball is himself Elect and has now joined his brethren in death. In addition, the tomb's sobriety and its lack of superfluous ornament imply that this is a fitting memorial to a definitively Protestant parson. Both its form and its epigraphy therefore convey quite plainly what Ball's social status and doctrinal position was and therefore how his memory is being perpetuated.

The tomb's subtext says far more about its commissioner and 'sorrowful relict', Elizabeth, Richard's wife. As with Bridget Erneley's tomb, the Ball armorial is not quartered with any other heraldic device, which it would have been had Elizabeth been armigerous. Likewise there are no references to either partner's origins as there are with the Harting tombs, the Henslowe tomb in Boarhunt, the Hydes at Catherington, the Brunnes in Rowner or with Sir Thomas Cornwallis's at Portchester. Nor is there any reference to the couple's children, which strongly suggests they were childless. This inference is endorsed by Elizabeth's declaration that she was solely responsible for Richard's monument since she would undoubtedly have mentioned their children in the initial ascription. It is possible that the Balls had had children who died in childhood but again this is likely to have been symbolically referred to on the monument (see below).

Several explanations may account for the paucity of symbolism on this tomb. There was an ideology of plainness attached to a Protestant minister's memorialisation and an equally strong sense of social appropriateness – those who fraudulently exaggerated the deceased's status or made unfounded claims committed a damaging *faux pas* (Llewellyn 1991:104-8)). Added to this, it is probable that, unlike Mary Uvedale, Elizabeth Ball was less well provided for and that this kind of tomb was what she was able to afford. Her social condition would also have been affected by her obligation to move out of Chalton's rectory on the arrival of Richard's successor, George Tillingham. Her own representational invisibility may possibly additionally be related to the degree of shame accorded to her as a childless wife, a situation discussed above in which the responsibility for barrenness was more frequently ascribed to the wife as a daughter of Eve (Cressy 1997:16-28). Moreover, even in the 1630s, the status of minister's wife was still an ambiguous one. Clerical marriages were subject to some disapproval under Elizabeth I's regime and were only beginning to be regarded more tolerantly during the first half of the 17th century – thus, Elizabeth Ball may have thought it best to remain in the background (Parish 2000).

In spite of her self-restraint, Elizabeth evidently felt the need to commemorate Richard and to place his memorial so prominently in St Michael's chancel. She was also concerned to record her role as the monument's commissioner and was therefore the agent for its form. Dispossessed of her position as rector's wife and without any close family to support her, the erection of such a memorial would constitute a reminder to the parish of her husband's once central role in it and act as her own testament, albeit one that was representationally invisible. Since she evidently shared Richard's religious viewpoint she was careful to present him as a Protestant pastor which may, given the more High Church complexion of Chalton's neighbouring parishes, have been a subtextual politico-religious statement on her part. One can therefore consider the monument as an enactment of ostensible conformity which, through its simplicity and epigraphy, could also be understood as a marked ideological declaration. In this way, like Mary Uvedale, she could associate her own agency as the memorial's author with that of her depicted husband. Simultaneously, in accordance with true Protestant dogma, she exhibited her confessional self-discipline by using words rather than images to record her role in the perpetuation of her husband's memory. There is also an undertone of grievance in her inscription which leads one to wonder if she had relied on some financial support for the establishment of Richard's monument which had not been forthcoming. The single phrase 'at the sole expense of Elizabeth Ball' gives rise to the suspicion that there is an unmistakable element of veiled attention-seeking emanating from the commemorator of this monument rather than its commemoratee. With female propriety, she conceals herself behind her husband while at the same time, over his shoulder, she peers out at us, daring posterity to forget her place beside Richard.

6.5 A mother's statement; the Stoughton tomb, West Stoke, West Sussex

In St Andrew's church at West Stoke a wall tomb to two generations of the Stoughton family takes memorial precedence on the north wall to the east of its chancel's altar (*see Fig 6.14 and Church Plan 9*). The Stoughtons, gentry who had become Lords of the Manor in 1559, had estates elsewhere and after the death of her husband Adrian, Mary Stoughton was granted the manor as her widow's jointure and survived her husband by 21 years, living on in the manor house next door to the church. Her eldest son Thomas died childless in 1626 and after her own death Mary's estates passed to her one surviving daughter, one of her sons-in-law and the sons of Anne and Mary, her eldest daughters who had predeceased her (Salzmann 1955:192-5).

It is most likely that Mary herself was responsible for commissioning the monument which commemorates her and Adrian. This is a recently restored wall tomb, dated 1635, which reproduces many of the features of Gunter 2 at Racton, only 3 miles to the west (*see Fig 6.15*).

Adrian, who died in 1614, was buried beneath a flat-topped chest tomb and the memorial is built over this. Alternative commissioners for the wall tomb might have been her heirs Thomas Bowyer, Arthur Gunter, (the daughters' sons mentioned above), William Styant, husband to Mary's deceased daughter Sara and/or her living daughter Anne Jermyn.

To untangle this question of authorship it is necessary to understand the relationships between the Stoughtons and two of the other neighbouring gentry families – the Gunters and the Jermyns, both from Racton. Adrian, as a younger brother, had inherited the Stoughton Sussex estates and was a local MP for Chichester on several occasions. In the south, as a result of their political allies, relatives and Adrian's position as a JP Stoughton influence was considerable (JEM and Hasler 1981).

The Gunters however, by virtue of Sir George's knighthood and the seniority of their family, could lay claim to local social primacy and it was therefore a matter of good sense for both families to ally themselves through the marriage of their children Mary Stoughton and Arthur Gunter. Anne (the second daughter of that name) married another scion of a Racton gentry family, Peter Jermyn (or German), a minister and was the only daughter to survive her mother (Salzmann 1953:113-8, 192-5). It would have been fitting but not necessarily obligatory for Mary's heirs singly or in combination to have commissioned an expensive memorial. That they did so is made more unlikely by the fact that her male heirs were non-Stoughtons and may have had their own family agendas. Moreover Anne's position as a parson's wife may have discouraged her from memorialising anyone other than her husband as we have seen in the case of Elizabeth Ball. In addition local family rivalries may have played a part in the establishment of a Stoughton tomb by Mary herself. In 1624 the Gunters had erected theirs in Racton parish church to commemorate Sir George and Lady Ursula and it may be that Mary, their contemporary, determined that in this respect she and Adrian should not be outdone. This would be especially so as Adrian himself had requested and been buried under a remarkably plain and undistinguished tomb chest. Moreover the erection of a family tomb would socially elevate St Andrew's, otherwise a small, insignificant rural church, clearly marking it out as being under Stoughton patronage. This would matter as Racton was dignified by not one but two patronal tombs and in comparison with the ancient Gunter family this branch of the Stoughtons had only recently arrived in Sussex (JEM and Hasler 1984). As commissioner for her own tomb, Mary would be making the Stoughton ascendancy much more visible while simultaneously ensuring the depiction of herself as Adrian's partner and parish matriarch. These are the preoccupations of someone concerned to perpetuate the Stoughton name rather than of those who no longer possessed it. Other features demonstrated by the subject matter of the tomb itself add cogency to the choice of Mary as author of her own monument.

This type of wall or niche tomb is perhaps the most familiar early modern form found in English parish churches. Its base rests on wall brackets framing an inscription with a sculptural panel above displaying gendered rows of kneeling supplicant Stoughton children (see Fig 6.16). Above them their parents, Adrian and Mary, face each other in prayer over a fald stool. They are set in a Renaissance frame, bracketed between classical columns and each kneels under a round-headed arch with inset text – a kind of his and hers epigraphic biography. Above them, the pediment bears Adrian’s armorial crest set between smaller escutcheons repeating the Stoughton arms and tomb date -1635. There are several variants on the template of this tomb but the essential elements – the commemorated married partners facing each other, heraldic designs, inscription tablets and kneeling progeny - are its usual constituents. It is moreover a monument which exactly describes the status of the pair – Adrian is dressed in his magistrate’s robes, Mary in sombre but prosperous black gown and veil. It is composed in a conventional vein and Adrian’s peers would consider it quite appropriate for a justice and MP resident in the parish who possessed local estates and considerable regional influence.

Adrian’s text reads: *To the pious memory of Adrian Stoughton, of Westoake in ye county of Sussex, Esq, justice of the peace and quorum, descended from ye ancient family of ye Stoughtons of Stoughton House in ye countrie of Surry*

Let those alone set open/the floodgates of their eyes that have no hope/If true report but will instruct thine eare/Then ye can find no subject for a teare;/Death cannot wound him, only clos’d his eye/And made him dye to live, that liv’d to dye.’

Mary’s text reads: *Mary Stoughton, daughter of William Jordan of Whitbeigs, in ye countie of Wilts, Justice of the Peace and Receiver General to Queen Elizabeth, for ye Counties of Somerset and Dorset.*

She does not sleep, can she/That lives to Heaven, be counted dead to thee?/Her soule forsaken flesh may chance to lye/Rak’d up in dust: but Virtue cannot dye/ Tyr’d with ye world, she takes a soft repose/To wake with joy, when ye loud trumpet blowes.’

At the base of the memorial a final text says:

Who lived together in Holy wedlock 31 years/Happy parents of 16 children: Thomas, Adrian, Anne, Mary, Sara, Elizabeth, Anne, Elinor, the rest died young.

The above epigraphy is both unexceptional and unexceptionable. If, as Pevsner and Nairn suggest in their evaluation of this tomb, it consists merely of ‘stock carving’, the poetic sentiments share

this lack of distinction (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:375). However it is possible to unpick the undercurrents visible which are contained not only in the inscriptions but also in the sculpture.

Adrian's epitaph emphasises the antiquity of his lineage in Surrey and his role as magistrate. The former reference may also be directed as a reminder to local families, including the Gunters, that the Stoughtons also enjoyed genealogical longevity, albeit in another county. Mary's inscription, in the usual way, establishes her as a gentlewoman but by mentioning that her father was both justice and one of Elizabeth I's Receiver Generals suggests that her father's either supersedes or equals Adrian's judicial position. She is thus gently suggesting social superiority but does not do so too overtly. A simple restatement of her birth is achieved by quartering the escutcheons beside Adrian's crest with her own arms but she retains her married name, unlike Mary Uvedale who clung to her Norton ancestry.

The last inscription, describing the couple and their family, establishes both the length of the marriage and its procreative nature. Although by 1635 most of their many children were already dead, they had succeeded in producing grandchildren, ensuring, if not the survival of the name, at least the continuation of their blood. Thus like the Erneley tombs, the monument memorialised the significance of a generation of a family which was now changing irremediably. Mary had had a long life, probably dying in her late 60s or early 70s after 52 years as wife, widow and manorial governor and it is unlikely that she would be satisfied with the prospect of being quietly tucked away in Adrian's matter-of-fact chest tomb at her decease. It is hard not to see her hand guiding the memorial's construction, especially when one considers the tomb's one peculiarity – the depiction of the kneeling supplicant Stoughton children. This tier of children encapsulates Mary's true memorial statement – that of herself as mother.

As memorial convention dictates, the children are segregated by gender but unlike the vast majority of these figures which are often only depicted according to age and size, these –and especially the females - are dressed in various modes to reflect different stages of their lives and all are sited in different positions and at different angles. Although Mary and Adrian produced 16 children in total only 7 of them are shown here. In this case Mary may have combined her need to represent the Stoughtons appropriately in accordance with their social dignity with her desire that the maker should show her children as individuals, rather than as the stock weepers of this particular genre. In this version the children, particularly the daughters, are presented as heterogeneous – the mason has not attempted to make portraits but depicts them as differentiated adult gentlewomen. And since Mary has selected who is shown – those who survived into adulthood ie two of her sons and five of her daughters - it seems quite valid to interpret this

aspect of the tomb as a personal statement of her family feelings and relationships. Four of the daughters are bearing skulls but interestingly the sons do not, even though it is known that the eldest, Thomas, died before his mother while Adrian, his brother, is not reported as an inheritor of the Stoughton lands so may also have died early (Salzmann 1953:192-5).

Tomb specialists usually consider the skull convention in this context to symbolise pre-parental death (Finch in Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003:442-3) and if we accept this, the tomb is telling us that four of the adult daughters predeceased their long-lived mother Mary with the exception of her last daughter, Anne. So, in addition, by memorialising the dead daughters in miniature Mary is also establishing a minor form of their body politic and associating them with their parents' social prestige and honour as embodied in the tomb as a whole. She is manipulating part of the conventional iconography of the tomb to include a personal demonstration of motherhood – a mother furthermore who was anxious to characterise her female progeny. This characterisation is condensed in the figure of Anne Jermyn, the youngest and therefore placed at the end of the row. She wears the traditional garb of a country gentlewoman, namely a gown, mantle, cap and hat – garb moreover which would invariably have been worn to church (Payne 1965:332-6, 355-69). By depicting her in this way her role as minister's wife is alluded to. Moreover the three daughters to the front of the row are portrayed as matrons whereas the two at the back (Elizabeth and Elinor?) are sculpted without headgear of any kind as if they were young and unmarried. Unlike Thomas and Adrian who are shown more identically the daughters may be represented here at the ages at which they died. Strangely, there are only five daughters shown, although six are mentioned in the lower inscription.

We can contrast this by turning to the supplicant kneeling children on Uvedale 2 in Wickham (see *Fig 6.17*). Here the formula is largely repeated, although, as discussed, the daughters are placed in the heraldic position of honour. Here it is the sons that are differentiated. With the male Uvedales the tomb-mason has attempted a measure of portraiture. The three adult sons are depicted as gentlemen of consequence, the second being shown in dress armour and at the end the eldest infant John holds a skull to indicate his early death. The five daughters, kneeling in ranks, all face forwards dressed in ruffs, gowns, mantles and similar hairstyles without any attempt to indicate biographical details. It is possible that their paintwork distinguished one from another but this would have been a cosmetic aspect of their appearance. Here it seems as if Mary, following the conventions of the time, merely wished to make a heraldic point about her genealogy by siting them on the dexter side but required the tomb-maker to focus his craftsmanship on her sons and heirs by affording each some representational individuality. The inclusion of her dead first born son

as an infant is another indication of her personal maternal emotions. It is as if she is collectively displaying her daughters as Nortons whereas her sons individually take both her blood and that of the Uvedales forward into the future. Mary Stoughton, on the other hand, has reversed this preoccupation. The deaths of her childless male progeny may perhaps account for this and therefore it is through her daughters that her own blood is descending. This leaves a much sharper impression of the relationships existing between the daughters as children and sisters and their position directly below their mother on the sinister side connects their individuality with hers as author of the monument.

The configuration of this tomb gives full rein to its primary theme of the significance of family. By the end of her life it appears that of Mary's 16 children, all but Anne were dead. The act of bearing so many children and attempting, sometimes fruitlessly, to nurture them into adulthood was likely to have been Mary's chief preoccupation during much of her marriage and it may have been a matter of some sorrow that neither of her sons managed to produce Stoughton heirs. Her concern therefore as a mother was to commemorate those children who survived the death of their father and established their own lives and households alongside hers in her widowhood. Moreover, unlike Lady Mary who included an image of her deceased first born son, Mary Stoughton was focusing on her children as adults, not just as the continuers of her line but as the recipients and exemplars of her parenting. Thomas and Adrian take their place amongst the Stoughton progeny but it is the daughters who express through their numbers, their variety and their spatial positioning, their roles as supplicants for their parents' ascent to heaven. Since the tomb's paintwork has been so well restored in the modern day, it is evident that tomb-maker and painter attempted to establish the parental connection by elevating the children's eyes upwards. Whether deliberately or not, the painter succeeded in pointing up the dependent nature of their filial relationship since the central daughter, Mary Gunter, has raised her head and looks directly up, not towards heaven but to the image of her mother above her.

As Clifford Geertz suggests

'As a religious problem, the problem of suffering is, paradoxically, not how to avoid suffering but how to suffer, how to make of physical pain, personal loss... something bearable, supportable... For those able to embrace them, and for so long as they are able to embrace them, religious symbols provide a cosmic guarantee ...(and) give a precision to their feeling, a definition to their emotions which enable them morosely or joyfully, grimly or cavalierly, to endure it.' (Geertz 1973:104)

Perhaps, in this way, in order to make sense of her loss, Mary fashioned her adult children into symbols which helped her to make sense of her maternal suffering but which were also indicative of her maternal pride.

6.6 Conclusion

Having used these monuments to interpret individual feminine secular concerns, I would be reluctant to minimise the degree to which each of these women was genuinely concerned to demonstrate their religious belief. None of the tombs suggest their creators were in any way distanced from religion – Mary Norton’s inscription emphasises her piety, Bridget Erneley went out of her way to commission rare Catholic figurative subject matter, Mary Stoughton declares her expectation of resurrection, while Elizabeth Ball composed or commissioned a distinctive message of Protestant belief. All site themselves within the framework of local religion and seem thoroughly affected by the cultural complexities and depth of early modern religious experience.

Moreover my observations are not intended to reveal any of these commissioners as proto-feminists or as women whose desire was to break the mould of conventional early modern mortuary representation. Just as Pevsner and Nairn’s observations on these monuments in the ‘Buildings of England’ series find nothing extraordinary and simply comment on them as examples of good or bad tomb-sculpture, so their forms and symbols are firmly fixed within the template of 16th-/17th-century mortuary normality. Even to a modern onlooker with more egalitarian gender attitudes, each tomb’s configuration prioritises the male occupants and suggests that social memory is most closely attached to their effigial images. In this way their subtextual themes run through and underneath the major statements which the semiotics of Tudor and Stuart tombs were designed to convey. This language was contained in the basics I considered in Chapter 5.5.1-5 – the quality and size of the tomb, the prominence and status of its effigies, the tomb’s use or lack of symbolism and, most importantly, its validating heraldry which confirmed its occupants’ claim to memorialisation. The feminine themes I have discussed are, as a result, more tentative.

With the exception of the Ball tomb, the effigial figures present a measure of marital parity, albeit one governed by heraldic spatial regulation. In comparison with their later 17th- and 18th-century monumental equivalents the representation of female late Tudor and early Stuart commemorates is much more frequent and complementary (compare these with the 1724 Dummer tomb by Hawksmoor at St Mary’s, South Stoneham, Hants, or Gunter 3 at Racton *see Figs 6.18 and 6.19*). Illustrious women are thus more visible and their effigial presence constitutes the only authorised were visible congregational attitudes to the authority embodied in such elite female figures would

be maintained in the same way as they were embodied in their male partners' effigies.

The monuments of the earlier period are more formulaic than 18th-century tomb sculpture but they still allow for considerable elasticity of meaning within conventional bounds. It appears that most members of the gentry classes were able to use them not only to fix themselves in local social memory but also to regulate the *type* of memory by which they wished to be represented. It is also evident that women were as able to understand and convey these messages as their menfolk. And since, as I have discussed, late 16th- and 17th-century English society had such a close relationship with death, this ability to construct and shape memory through tomb-sculpture was highly significant both to tomb creators and the living communities they left behind. Women tomb commissioners, empowered in this way, acted on their own behalves to make statements about femininity and feminine concerns.

None of the women considered here was willing simply to join their husbands in their graves and fade namelessly into oblivion. Thus Bridget was determined to establish her own memory as a central survivor of her husband's generation of the Erneley dynasty to the extent that she commissioned a rare and visually prominent addition to an existing tomb. With Erneley 2 she was not just making her own religious position clear, she was also centring herself at the heart of the Erneley family as ancestor. Through this double monument the Selsey community was bound to remember William but also was signally reminded of Bridget's innovative connection to the family and locality. Lady Mary Uvedale went further – encamped in the Uvedale's family pew near her own memorial in St Nicholas's side chapel for so many years, her animate body exemplified the close association of living power with that of death. In this way she was able to impress her household and parish with the visual evidence of her control of mortality and demonstrate her mastery of the past and present; a mastery projected into the future through her mortuary foresight and her male heirs. Elizabeth Ball, seemingly acting in a diametrically oppositional way, succeeded in establishing her claims to memorialisation by means of a single epigraphic reference stressing her weakness as sole commemorator. At the same time her monument's constituents clearly demonstrated everything she felt necessary to say about Richard's status and doctrinal views. That these were also her own was exemplified by the existence and form of the memorial itself.

Lastly, Mary Stoughton developed the themes of motherhood often much more conventionally represented by the wall tombs of this period. By commissioning her tomb-maker to depict all her adult children and especially her daughters in such an individual fashion she was able to comment in some depth on the nature of motherhood and the loss of children. As a result she associated her

children, whose own memory would otherwise have been dispersed and overlooked, in the compendium of West Stoke's social memory.

These women were claiming a visible place alongside their husbands when it came to achieving some permanence in local and familial memory. To achieve this they instructed their tomb-masons to bend and manipulate the iconographic mechanisms which were available without causing the fabric of prescribed female behaviour to split. By doing this they made their tombs their agents – mouthpieces of meaning and narrative. The gentlewomen who lie buried below their memorials must be described as shadowy personalities whose characters cannot otherwise be recovered. But by regarding their tombs as intermediary actors one begins to approach the embodiment of their intentions.

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Background findings

This study addresses a set of themes designed to illustrate and interpret aspects of early modern religious identity visible within a regional sample of 50 churches and their parishes along the Hampshire/Sussex border. While I have been focusing specifically on certain themes – religious space, the senses, performance, memory and gender- I have also been able to visit some elements of the bigger research questions which I initially propounded. These were more wide-ranging questions which interrogated the ways in which parishioners viewed their own religious existence at a time when Protestantism itself was in the process of flux. In order to contextualise such questions and to demonstrate my conclusions, it has been necessary to spend some time on definitions of what constituted the early modern parish and the degree to which religion and religious performance was central to parochial ontological identity.

Since what survives materially is so variable, it has been necessary to concentrate on a restricted number of parish churches which remain reasonably untouched by 19th-century restoration, such as those at Portsea, Idsworth, Southwick, Boarhunt, Racton and Up Marden (GNos 8, 14, 24, 25, 38 and 46). In spite of this, the rest have provided many clues through aspects of their architecture, furniture, documentation or landscape which assisted in building a composite picture of early modern religious identity within the region. A church's relationship to this sense of identity is crucial since it was the focus for so many different types of ritual enactment and socio-religious performance (see Chapters 2.6.1-2 and 3.2). Those excommunicated from parish religion, like the church papist Roger Barwick of Up Marden, may have been indifferent to the ideological sanctions excommunication imposed but were more vulnerable to the loss of parish acceptance which accompanied a church ban. This was especially awkward in Barwick's case since he was Up Marden's lay impropiator and partially responsible for the spiritual welfare of the parish (see Pounds 2003:64-6, 296-8 and Chapter 4.4). Thus social normativity played a powerful role in determining how parochial spiritual life was enacted. However, at the same time individual parochial religious conformity could be tuned by its members to suit their own unique configurations of confessional preference.

Sadly, early modern parochial individuality is seldom reflected by the church and its landscape in the present since the rapidity of change in recent centuries has been so comprehensive. On the one hand, the degree to which post-medieval religious material survives seems to be dependent on multiple factors, many of which may be contextually specific to the locality. At Southwick, for example, we can trace the controlling hand of a single patronal family interested in maintaining the

constituents and fabric of a church they had largely rebuilt after the Reformation. At Racton and Idsworth on the other hand, interiors were preserved or replicated by early 20th-century architects who broke away from the previous century's dominant ecclesiological mindset.

Conversely, a compelling argument explaining material survival holds that with regard to house survival, isolation and parochial poverty is a motivating driver for continuity since a lack of money or patronal influence leads to the retention of earlier architecture and material culture (Currie 1988:1-9). This is less clear when it comes to the parish church since while this can be seen in the sensitive modern conservation of Up Marden's interior, its equally isolated neighbouring church at North Marden suffered stripping in the 1880s (see GNo 47). In Hampshire, while the remote churches at Boarhunt and North Hayling remain reasonably untouched, Bedhampton's, Farlington's and Wymering's (GNos 5-7) were extensively rebuilt and Clanfield's and West Meon's were knocked down (GNos 17 and 21). Parish churches are equally prone to random catastrophes as at West Dean (GNo 42) and Elsted (GNo 50). Tudor, Civil War and 18th-century iconoclasm has also entered the picture – though in the earlier centuries this was usually directed towards materials which retained Catholic texts or iconography as at West Wittering (GNo 36). Surviving objects therefore can be seen to be sporadically preserved due to a concatenation of factors.

Returning to Currie's proposition that new building follows money, wealth was unevenly dispersed across the area. For example in Sussex, early modern Westbourne with its road connections to larger towns and weekly market seems to have been more affluent than Stoughton or Singleton. Market facilities were evidently paramount. Thus from the Middle Ages, the Meon valley, benefitting from its proximity to Winchester's powerful diocese, saw the consolidation of a series of economically important villages whose churches, such as those at East Meon and Hambledon were constantly improved. In Sussex Downland, where nucleated villages were smaller and fewer, prosperity is less visible. This extends to the coastal parishes around the three harbours. Along Chichester Harbour where many coastal parishes have small churches such as West Thorney, Chidham and Apuldram (GNo 28, 29 and 33) which were restored but not enlarged, this may reflect small populations beginning to decline towards the 19th century as channels silted up. To the west in Hampshire, maritime industrial activity continued more vigorously and the towns of Langstone Harbour and the Gosport peninsula show economic growth through their continued expansion and investment in their churches. However here, larger urbanised churches do not necessarily follow Currie's formula. St Thomas's, Portsea, retains several important early modern features as do the churches in Titchfield and Harting. On the other hand Westbourne, Gosport and Fareham conform to it, being heavily restored and expanded from the late 18th century on. In this respect the only

deductions to be made regarding church size and early modern material survival are that change has been a constant but temporally unpredictable factor across the region and consequently, after the Reformation, it is not tied to any one universal major cause or event.

7.2 Thematic findings: the religious identity of the living

7.2.1 Space, enclosure and the discouragement of dissension

Throughout I have been concerned with the theory and praxis of space with special reference to the changes which reoriented spatial religious perception and sociality both inside and outside churches. My contention has been that those who actively conformed to parish religious normativity did so partly because of the ways in which religious space was configured to express the ideals of church and state. This was a recursive situation in which religious materiality and human religious morality both shaped and fed off each other (Underdown 1985:40-3).

The spatial problems which post-Reformation church leaders and their congregations encountered primarily centred on the form of the medieval churches which they inherited. A church's cellular design with its variant additional spaces had had over a thousand years of development which was intended to embody the various liturgical purposes, the materiality and cosmology of the Catholic faith (Graves 2000: 55). Its form entirely revolved around the Catholic liturgy and was not really suited to that of the Anglican Prayerbook – hence the efforts to move everything to the centre of the church. The fact that, in post-Reformation England, very few churches were rebuilt or even drastically re-shaped argues that perhaps this phenomenon was never fully problematised until much later in the 17th century. Accordingly the architectural realignments specified by Tudor Canon Law derived more from a make-and-mend attitude than an urge to reject the Catholic template and start again. Even where patrons rebuilt their churches, as at Southwick, their additions merely adapted their structures. In the research area the conservation or removal of chancel arches in churches only occasionally reflects a desire to conform to the Protestant imperative to open up churches. Regardless of which minister took down Chalton's substantial chancel arch, its removal can securely be attributed to a 'Protestantising' of the church. On the other hand, just down the road, Idsworth's chapel, a much humbler structure, retained its own smaller one. On both sides of the border the opening of the parish church seems to have been a matter for the individual parish, perhaps something even carried out by authority figures in the face of lay opposition.

One result of the bringing forward of the Communion table and the increasing provision of nave furniture was that nave space was occupied in a much more complex fashion. This gave church furniture greater spatial and material significance, expanding its social as well as its spiritual

agency. Since the emphasis on what happened in the nave was paramount, its new furnishings – pews, pulpit and galleries – were now essential elements of the liturgical *mis-en-scene*. Though I would never suggest that the institution of ranked pews was intended to democratise church space, the introduction of Laudian uniformity and its social implications allows us to form a picture of the concerns of ordinary pew occupants through the survival of pew plans and visitation and presentation records.

The increasing height of pulpits, the cladding of a church's upper walls with memorials and the addition of galleries expands this picture. Girouard's theory of the 'Axis of Honour', developed to show how the personal rooms of the great in country mansions became increasingly distanced from the ordinary visitor can be applied to the spatial arrangement of church furniture (Girouard 1986:142-6). Here I have used theatrical parallels to evaluate the modes of spatial definition which were accorded to the powerful places in which religious/dramatic performance were enacted so that raised locations became the focus for congregational or audience attention while these latter groups were pinned into positions as receptors by the furniture which bound them into place. Just as in the theatre the upper gallery (or Gods) was the least reputable location, being farthest away from the power-house of the stage, so the church's west gallery, also the furthest from chancel and pulpit, housed the least socially important members of the parish. Simultaneously, the occupants of a church's side galleries had as their social equivalents the elite occupants of the 18th-century theatre's first level gallery boxes.

The early modern theatre has been a useful comparator to the parish church in terms of its similarities in socio-spatial layout, its dialectic and its educational, spectacular and narrative qualities. In both types of building the unit of measurement for social evaluation was the human body. However, in the church the directional axes visibly determined the ways in which congregational bodies were allocated their places in relation to privileged socio-religious space. In this context I have argued that church space is not only populated and defined by its architecture and furniture but also by its inhabitants' physicality. The congregation was designed by liturgical practice and its spatial requirements to be an ideal structured entity, though by virtue of their individuality some members could theoretically devise their own boundaries and perimeters. At Southwick, for example, gentry, parson and clerk presented an intervening boundary between nave and chancel, replacing the materiality of the chancel screen with the authority of their own bodies. Conversely, where the poorest parishioners were packed into a west gallery, their over-watching abilities were disregarded since, lacking the privileged forms of enclosure and privacy attached to pew and side galleries, they became bodily irrelevant. Thus it was possible to create intra-parochial

social definitions by using parochial bodies as categorical representations. No wonder then that some parishioners may have furiously resented their churchwardens for transferring them, without their consent, from one category to another. This may have been especially so where small comforts – hassocks, cushions etc – had been introduced by pew-holders possibly in reflection of the grander upholstery and furnishings of private gentry pews. Here territoriality can be seen to be a major factor in the maintenance or disruption of social harmony. To the family who felt their social position was satisfactorily established by their religious spatial position, God and parish order in general appeared right and just. For those who had recently been demoted or who considered they deserved a better pew, the religious regulation of the parish might appear profoundly mishandled and wrong-headed (Marsh 2011:132-146).

At the same time there was an awareness, which Gough emphasises, that some pews were not necessarily at the disposition of the vestry but were associated with individual properties (Gough (1701) 1981:77-79). Such a pew was an extension of a house-place and its tenure was intrinsic to the tenure of a house. While this produced the interesting phenomenon of object owning object, it also helped to deepen a pew-holder's sense of territoriality. This sort of pew would have been viewed as the religious counterpart of its occupants' domestic habitat. For early modern women especially, whose property rights were inferior to men's, it was vital that this important property location remained uncontested (Eriksen 1993:21-45).

The equation of privilege with enclosure, developed from Gilchrist's thinking, is another element emerging from the institution of box pews (Gilchrist 1993:21-45). As a church accreted them, opportunities for visual privacy increased and, during the long episodes of liturgical sitting or kneeling, neighbours found themselves visually and physically cut off from each other. Since this form of enclosure was more complete than that of the bench pew and since box pews were more 'honourable' forms of seating, the box pew's privacy partook of the even more complete privacy of the private gentry pew or side-chapel. Again there seems to have been a seriated hierarchy of privilege belonging to social segregation and enclosure (for another foundational study of spatial social/gender segregation see Moore 1996). This inevitably has a bearing on early modern patriarchy which, as I have discussed in Chapters 1.5.4 and 3.3.3, was insistent on women's modesty, silence, subservience to men and physical confinement to the home (Wiesner 2000:213-5, Fletcher 1995:60-82, Johnson 1996:163-66). A woman's body, only occasionally visible during the service, was therefore 'decently' veiled by its pew sides – the box testifying to her respectability. In Elizabeth Grosz's terms, her lack of bodily containment, so conceptually dangerous to the male

psyche, was penned in by this physical and socio-religiously symbolic barricade (Grosz 1994:187-209)

Early modern women may not have construed their pew positions in terms of veiling and may have repudiated such ideas. Indeed, where they were satisfied with the status quo, many may have found their church's seating hierarchies ontologically reassuring. In a society where women were primarily understood by the institutions of marriage, family and social reputation, the evidence and security of their religious parochial place would help to validate their lives. The reassurance intended to be conveyed by such designs meant that it was vitally important for parish authorities to maintain them for the successful functioning of Anglican religion. But, since parochial mutuality was always balanced on the knife-edge of confessional agreement, social perception and emotional response, disagreements over seating and pew placement could erupt into major incidents which could only be resolved by applying the serious sanctions of presentment or even excommunication (Marsh 2011:131-147 and Machin 2011:171-182).

Mechanisms for the expression of individual parochial disagreement were largely lacking. Vestries may have tried to be flexible but they were constituted from socially reputable parishioners whose sympathies were likely to lie with the maintenance of the existing social order and who were constrained by their budget to divide parishioners into the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' (Hindle 2004:96-104). Individual parochial dissension was always an unpredictable factor so that for those in charge, devising methods for its prevention and suppression necessarily played a part in the ways in which church furniture was used. A parson's elevated position was not only symbolic of his authority but enabled him to assess parish attendance and liturgical conformity. A clerk could share this task and also analyse parochial enthusiasm (or lack of it) in his capacity as master of music and reader of the lessons. During a sermon it would be evident to whom the parson was addressing his sentiments. In churches such as Portsea, Hambledon, East Meon, Petersfield and Westbourne, the gentry in the pewed chancels, transepts or anterior side galleries behind the pulpit evidently did not require a face-to-face confrontation with their minister during sermons. Even in village churches such as Racton, Elsted, Bosham and Up Marden local gentry sat behind their parson's desk and in the latter two cases could hardly see him. Those in aisled side galleries were at 'sermon-height' - perhaps reflecting their social equality with the minister. All others in front of and below him were his target audience and while the servants, children or marginalised paupers in the west gallery were recipients of parish religion their social weight was negligible. It was those who paid rates and tithes who had a potentially dissenting voice and were thus those who needed to be impressed with the need to continue to do so without complaint.

7.2.2 The senses, performance, intentions and anomalies

Communication between priest and congregation depended, as it had pre-Reformation, on their mutual attention. The minister was God's spokesman and his voice his primary instrument. He was also the primary enactor of liturgical movement and thus his role, in theatrical terms, was a combination of sacred orator, master of ceremonies and leading man. The lay gaze was fixed on him as the main audiovisual focus while his was more diffused since he mentored his congregation as a social composite and his role demanded that he concentrate on performance. Thus his success depended on his individual mastery of this performance – a phenomenon which is hard to gauge archaeologically. More securely analysed are the ways in which religious parochial performativity can be seen to define religious experience. Here I refer to the regularity of parochial religious encounter which, like the construction of early modern gender roles, itself helped to frame not only the nature of the ritual but that of the participant's religious identity (Butler 1996, 2004:206).

In addition to spatial encounter it is evident that repeated sensory experiences of other aspects of the church's material culture assisted in shaping religious identity. Indeed, repeated experiences of attendance and its sensory history consolidated people's ritual expectations and helped to constitute performative memory. Thus, for a parishioner, the image of a Decalogue tablet might instantly index their performance of the catechism or certain bell peals call up the performance of a funeral or a wedding. Moreover the sensory materials of a post-Reformation church, especially its visual and auditory elements, were specifically condoned since they contributed to the common understanding of Anglican religion. Items such as Royal Arms and religious textual inscriptions were formal visual indices of the structures of church and state. Through a Royal Arms' relatively unchanging form its performative meaning could be assumed by a congregation to be a symbol of collective subjecthood, an umbrella sheltering the entire parish from high to low. The dialectic, oral aspects of the liturgy – congregational responses, prayers and singing – brought the parish together in ritual and, by opening the service out to include the whole community, helped to unite shared religious experience. Moreover the battery of equipment a church possessed actively supported the parishioner's idea of what a church should look and feel like.

However what sensory and performative structures were meant to do was not necessarily always what they may actually have done. Thus there were conflicting disparities between gaze focuses, specifically during the musical passages of the liturgy. Where the congregation were led in psalm-singing their musical director/conductor, the parish clerk, would be intended to be the focus of their gaze. However it is evident from current research that west gallery musicians themselves controlled orchestration, led their own singers and set their own tempos. If a clerk was musically

inept everyone might be obliged to turn their backs on priest and gentry to receive their musical prompts (Drage 2012, Pounds 2000:488-9). Moreover both psalmody and bell-ringing offered the opportunity for intense lay involvement. These activities allowed individuals to involve themselves both emotionally and spiritually in a way that was permissible but which allowed for autonomous expression.

Furthermore, religious understanding might fracture when visual clues were removed or rearranged. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the increasing association of Decalogue tablets with Laudian or Restoration altar-suites created serious catechumenical problems. The siting of Elizabethan Decalogue or Creed tablets over the chancel screen was designed to ensure that a view of the core texts of Protestant belief was available to everyone in the nave, literate or not. In this way the emphasis on the Biblical Word which the Reformation was determined to promote was made evident to all. However Laudian/Restoration sacred performance demanded the removal of the Word to the newly resacralised eastern end of the church. The Decalogue's resiting as the reredos of a railed-in altar table completely altered its function, obliging congregations to reassess both its meaning and their own relationship to the visual expressions of that core belief. This process removed the tablets' visual impact from the many (the congregation) to the few (those who were taking communion). It also disassociated the 'ownership' of core text from lay nave space to clerical chancel space, changing the tablets' function from visual prompt for catechistic understanding to a visual tool underpinning the religious authority of the parson and his newly established sacred territory. This created a clear sensory dislocation as at Racton and Northiam in East Sussex where visual perception is entirely changed by the imposition of a new, more distant focus (for transgressive reactions to these later innovations see Cressy 2000:186-212).

The ideality of normative religious performance could be shattered where a church failed to be maintained properly. As we have seen in the Marden parishes and at Chidham this dereliction was not unusual, often springing from problems connected with the ancient tradition of dividing upkeep responsibility for chancel and nave between clergyman/patron and lay parishioners. Especially during inclement weather, liturgical experience in a church suffering from neglect could become seriously unpleasant by aggravating the congregation's olfactory and tactile senses. As discussed in Chapter 4.4, where parishioners dressed in their best clothes were required to worship for some hours in a leaking, smelly, pigeon-infested building in the damp or freezing cold such factors were unlikely to contribute to the purely spiritual encounter a service was supposed to elicit. Here negative sensory issues could lead to profound parochial disaffection, especially where parishes were already divided by confessional contention as at Up Marden.

The importance of the senses to religion can often be seen through their temporal immediacy and the ways in which they drive emotional response. Whereas the visual equipment of the Reformation may not have actually been continually pleasurable, it is likely that because of their performance-based qualities the sonic/auditory elements of religious practice were more immediately engaging. That people responded well to religious sounds may have been because they were generally inclusive. Where change altered, privatised or excluded visual paraphernalia or the senses were offended by the neglect of their religious domain, parochial emotional and spiritual response was badly damaged.

7.3 The religious identity of the dead

7.3.1 Encountering death, its landscapes and materiality.

For my studies of mortuary placement I have used the same models of spatial analysis which I applied to living parishioners and, inside the churches, have also taken up and extended my initial work on gender which considered the ideological ramifications of the furniture of religious enclosure. To structure my analysis, I introduced the concept of measurement, using the yardstick of material permanence to evaluate degrees of social status within the context of the religious mortuary landscape. Memorial ephemerality or permanence therefore forms an important theme throughout the latter part of this thesis since degrees of social memory are inextricably attached to different kinds of memorial. I have also given some thought to the ways in which early modern people encountered and envisaged their deaths and tried to cope with new concepts of the after-life once the mediating bulwark of Purgatory had been removed.

As Sarah Tarlow has pointed out, Protestant mortuary doctrine deprived the departed soul of its petitioners and left it to plead its own individual merit before God (Tarlow 1999:86-7). The prayers and masses which living friends provided to shorten a soul's time in Purgatory lost their meaning once people were convinced of their inefficacy. This changed religious mortuary attitudes, so that ideas of death were now based on a deceased individual's encounter with his/her spiritual fate. Thus it is hardly surprising that anthropomorphic images of Death or its symbols figured increasingly on mortuary furniture well into the 18th century. Lady Mary Uvedale's tomb's extraordinary qualities lie in the number and types of mortuary images it displays rather than their nature. More Presbyterian constructions of death where the Elect soul automatically ascends to Heaven are infrequent in my research area. Even Elizabeth Ball's assumption that her husband Richard had taken his place amidst the 'blessed saints' of the Elect is associated with her evaluation of his life as being that of an exemplary Christian. Thus, as Tarlow and Llewellyn suggest, social

memory is used to fill the vacuum created by the loss of Purgatorial eschatology and its sensitivity to mediation (Tarlow 1999: 87-88 citing Llewellyn 1991:28).

Since death was evidenced as a figurative concept and its advent was much more frequent and familiar to post-medieval society than it is today, it acquired its own landscape which lay in and around the parish church. This territory provoked a confused emotional response in many people since the use of a graveyard might be associated with ordinary social activities (passage through, animal grazing, meeting places etc) but also had the ultimate and bleaker purpose of housing the dead. Gravestones, material representations of the dead, could potentially be envisaged as aspects of their bodily presence. Churchyard memorialisation therefore became more complex when masonry gravestones became affordable and popular from the late 17th century on. Those who were interred with ephemeral markers both before and after this time were dependent on their descendant generations' ability to remember them and their graves while the association of buried individual and stone marker ensured lengthier communal memorialisation. In churchyards more heavily seeded with gravestones, a directionality based on medieval values still operated. In the populous churchyards of Hambledon, Funtington, Havant, South Hayling, Wymering and Warblington their southern sides with the south's fortunate religious associations still hold the most elaborate gravestones and the chest tombs of the gentry. This calibration of social value also applies to churchyard pathways where older paths skirting the older interments give way to new ones. At Apuldram this value was evidently attached to the dominant neighbouring gentry houses and their variant social statuses over time. Here the eastern path from Rymans, the older manorial centre, gave way to a new western path leading directly to the newly gentrified Apuldram Manor. At Warblington there appeared to be more cachet attaching to the western approach which catered for the arrival and departure of vehicular and horse traffic at the expense of the ancient footpath which brought pedestrian parishioners from Emsworth across the fields.

This analysis is applicable to interior burial, which again followed the template of three-dimensional axes of honour. The differentiation of burial position can be seen clearly horizontally demonstrated in churches where ledger stones remain in situ. Like seating plans, the east-west axis was the primary mode of social distinction in which burial close to the altar end was, throughout the period, regarded as the best site. Medieval values, now less applicable to the religious lives of parishioners, seem to have been more atavistically adhered to when it came to burial. The institution of wall memorials and tombs followed the horizontal axis but also employed verticality in line with the erection of tiered pulpits and side galleries. Inside a church death was understood in the round since the dead (all in actuality below ground) could be seen memorialised in

practically every part of the church. There were also clear social demarcations between types of interior memorials which were defined by their size and content, costliness and accessibility. A wall tomb such as the Gunters or Stoughtons which was placed hard by an altar could be seen but was hard to approach. One such as the Uvedales which occupied the entire wall of a side chapel was even harder while at the top of the scale was the free-standing Wriothesley tomb which entirely dominated its private chapel space.

Monuments, intended to promote individual or family memory forever, were however subject to the vagaries of time, fashion and the neglect of subsequent generations. Memory was much more fragile than was ever envisaged during its creation and the dynamics of its landscape determined the nature and quality of its maintenance. So in South Harting the mighty Fords are now only associated with their decayed tomb through a series of small inadequate brass plaques. The Cowpers on the other hand are exhaustively documented by their late 18th-century epigraphy but have had two grand wall tombs squashed together and resited. Elsewhere most of the area's remaining tombs are fragmented or have lost aspects of their original composition.

The purposive qualities of memory are also dynamic in that different eras have different modes of remembrances. Thus, the topoi which governed Tudor, Stuart and Georgian memorial wall plaque texts with, for example, their decreasing emphasis on heraldry and their increasing concentration on individual achievement and biography, move from one eschatological paradigm to another, while we ourselves back-reference our reading of the same inscriptions by measuring them against our modern concepts of mortuary expectation. Comparing the Baroque framing of the early 18th-century memorials of Mary Blackman at Havant or Charles Gunter-Nicholls at Racton with the later and purely textual series of Battine wall plaques at East Marden, one can see exactly how this progression works, as the composite social structures of genealogical connection are gradually transmuted into narrower structures designed to characterise individual lives.

Ledgers are the best medium when assessing middle-class memorials. Although many have been removed or resited, those which remain in situ hold quantities of archaeological information especially as regards placement and emotional connection. Thus, where recorded or visible, ledgers set near pew seats show an intense affective relationship between pew-holder and her/his place within the community. The marking of this spot may also have been designed to awaken the deceased's ancestral memory in subsequent pew-holders. Those who sought burial under ledgers in the central passage or aisles would have known their lot was to be trodden on so that the act of walking over them could be considered part of their haptic function as memorials. The insertion of signature floors, although as yet insufficiently researched, would suggest that individual women

were the recipients of such commemorative innovations. Here it is possible that the association of 18th-century middle-class gentlewomen with the cleanliness and uniform non-slip surface which an expanse of well-cut flagstone flooring created inside the church may express the association of women with the improved material standards demanded by late Georgian polite society.

7.3.2 Tombs and gendered memory

Elite monuments throughout the entire period were primarily designed to express social position and this is the subject matter which is easiest to access and evaluate. At the same time it is possible to tease more nuanced, subtler information from them such as emotional motivations and this applies especially when monuments were commissioned by women for their menfolk, themselves and/or their families. As I have said, early modern constructions of femininity were heavily institutionalised by patriarchal ideology (Fletcher 1995: 60-98). A woman's actual character on memorialisation was usually concealed beneath an epigraphical topos designed solely to allocate to them the conventional feminine virtues of piety and self-effacement.

The Tudor and Stuart women whose tombs I have analysed in Chapter 6 did not attempt to depart from this formula and it is likely that they themselves understood and internalised the gender asymmetry of the period without complaint. Notwithstanding this, each was capable of wielding much social and economic power during their lives. Bridget Erneley, Mary Uvedale and Mary Stoughton were left with their own estates during their lifetimes, managing their fortunes, families and manorial dependents with unchallenged ability and foresight – tomb provision being one evidence of this. Elizabeth Ball, although perhaps not of the same social status, was nonetheless the wife of a parson with a sizeable parish and part of the gentry community living in and around Chalton. It is Elizabeth's testament which perhaps shows the most social dissatisfaction since, in some way connected with her erection of Richard's memorial, one senses that her parish or friends had failed her.

Mortuary gender interpretations do not simply spring from the depiction of male or female effigial bodies, they are also inherent in the components and treatment of otherwise formulaic subject matter. While tomb commissioners had no hand in a memorial's physical creation, they designed its form and appearance. One sees the individual hand of the commissioner both in the supernumerary details which have been supplied and the representational elements which he/she has selected. Thus, the combination of donor and Annunciation panels on Erneley 2 represent deliberate choices on Bridget's part which embody the various messages she wanted to deliver. The wealth of mortuary detail found on Uvedale 2 conveyed equally complex semiotic messages

understood through the inclusion of classical death-symbols alongside more conventional representations of Death and Time. Elizabeth Ball makes a strong negative statement by refusing to select any supernumerary detail whereas under the conventional depiction of the Stoughtons their seven kneeling children instantly oblige the viewer to focus on the daughters' notable differentiation. Whereas the Wriothesley monument is devised to socially annihilate its visitors, it is perhaps at this lesser level that tomb and observer can speak to each other. In the choices which reflected their commissioners' emotional preoccupations one can perceive the dialectic agency of the commissioner, of the monument and of its friend, the visitor.

Concluding my study of women's religious identity which, together with spatial analysis, has formed a continuous analytical theme, I finish with a short chronological overview of how changing attitudes to women affected their religious existence. From my research in Hampshire and Sussex I would suggest that there was a general reaction away from the portrayal of the female body inside churches immediately after the Reformation, except in areas like the Selsey peninsula where Catholicism was still a potent religious force. The numbers of Risen Christ and donor tombs found here is a strong indicator of parochial conservatism. Elsewhere the loss of female imagery may have been deliberate policy on the part of church leaders who were attempting to wean parishioners away from their attachment to the saints. This would have particularly included those who were devoted to the Marian Cults which may have had a big following in coastal Sussex.

This suppression was relaxed during the late 16th and early 17th century when women again were included as part of commemorative imagery on tombs and monuments. Thus, from the 25 whole or fragmentary tombs which occur in the area over the period, 14 strongly reference women, of which 11 are shown in effigy or relief and date between 1545-1681 (including the early Catholic tombs Gunter 1 and Erneley 1 and 2). It is arguable as to whether this reflects a more tolerant attitude to elite women in their relationships with their families and parishes; certainly their representation in churches is weighted with the symbolism of ideality. Moreover the imagery which emerges is specific so that female bodies, usually fitted into heraldic modes indicating wifely inferiority, are represented as entirely passive figures. This is not to say that women themselves, contemplating their deaths and those of their families were actually passive. As we have seen, the construction of memory was at this time visibly capable of female interpretation and manipulation.

The active prominence which many women achieved during the period of the Civil War (see for example Fraser 1984, Plowden 1998, Purkiss 2006) dissipated after the Restoration and it is this period, the late 17th/early 18th century which I most associate with the enclosure of the religious female body. Memorials from this time on begin increasingly to use the feminine image not as a

partner to the male's but, where they appear, as a subsidiary supporter or mourner often in an idealised classical form (though for an exception see Dame Mary May's tomb in Mid-Lavant, GNo 40). By the end of the 18th century this is a marked trait. The individuality which attaches to the biographical wall plaque rarely transfers to those solely dedicated to women and where women are described they conform to the topos of piety, virtue and resignation in the face of death which so characterises this later period (see Buriton, Petersfield and Compton, GNos 18, 19 and 48).

As discussed above, the four discussion chapters in Parts 2 and 3 have largely been dedicated to individual themes. However, it is evident that these themes have intercut each other in different ways in successive chapters. In Chapter 3, for example, it has been necessary to discuss gendered seating in the passage dedicated to the spatial positions of pews, whereas in Chapter 5 which deals with death the erection of highly coloured, decorated and sculpted tombs in a church can easily be seen to have had profoundly sensory effects on congregations and visitors alike. The themes have therefore been designed to complement and build on each other as the chapters have unfolded.

Recently I have been asked what connects the removal or retention of such things as a church's chancel arch as discussed in Chapter 3 with the representational decisions made by certain early modern gentlewomen when commissioning family tomb memorials in Chapter 6. How do such disparate events fit into a single process intended to describe the development of parochial religious identity? The answer, I think, lies in the interconnectivity of each chapter, each being designed to move from one aspect of identity to another. Thus, Chapter 3 deals with the kinds of spatial and bodily religious knowledge living parishioners acquired from childhood onwards while the next chapter delves behind their minds into the feelings and sensory experiences which the materiality of the parish church was capable of evoking. Having investigated these layered relationships, Chapter 5 is a meditation on how religious identity was framed in the light of new eschatological beliefs when parishioners died; in other words, how they were enabled to confront death. Chapter 6 follows this quite naturally as a set of examples which show exactly how these strategies could work and how they were capable of individual manipulation. In effect, it is a series of illustrations of different personal expressions of religious identity in life and death. The connections become obvious if one contemplates, for example, the possible removal of St Michael's chancel arch at Chalton by Richard Ball as part of his Protestant ministry and, if this was so, that the opening out of his church would have been an implied element of his pastoral biography when his wall tomb and its epigraphy was created by his wife after his death.

The four chapters together make the above points but also have added new challenges and

perspectives to current understandings of early modern religious identity. While I would not deny that English Protestantism sought to replace Catholic representational with textual imagery or that there was a new emphasis on the authority of the Biblical Word, I have been at some pains to indicate that, after the initial Edwardian and Elizabethan transformations, there was a measure of deliberate material substitution which reinvented the church interior rather than, as has often been suggested, utterly stripping it out. This used authorised visual and auditory aids which, together with the rearrangement of church furniture and space and the insertion of mortuary memorials, were instrumental in reinvesting the interior with new forms of ritual meaning. Moreover, throughout the period into the 18th century, the dressings inserted into these medieval buildings developed into an entirely new interior pattern, imitative of but distinctive from the 17th-century auditory church, and which generally reflected the ongoing adaptations of Anglican belief systems.

At the same time I have re-evaluated the nature of liturgical (and mortuary) performance as an important element of religious identity. Since I have suggested that each parishioner's body was a chief site of Protestant ritual performance and that this performance was governed by its spatial siting in the church, I have compared the nature of such performances with those experienced in the early modern theatre. In this respect I have recalibrated the relationships of certain raised sites (the pulpit or stage) by identifying them as the centres of performance and action while other more passive areas of ritual or dramatic reception were governed by spatial constraints (pew seating or pit/stalls) and distance (the different sorts of galleries) so that congregations or audiences were encouraged by the enclosed or distanced qualities of their position not to disrupt the event. However, at the same time, I have suggested that congregations or audiences were not always so passive. The transgressive nature of the inductive comedies of Beaumont, Day etc mirrors the deeper anxieties of Anglican clergymen that their liturgical delivery and their church's *mis-en-scene* might not be sufficient to keep their parishioners contained with their roles as passive receptors. In fact, the suggestion is made in Chapter 4 that participatory activities such as psalmody and bell-ringing were the most engaging elements of religious performance, a suggestion which implies that forms of sensory dialectic were as necessary to parochial Anglican rituals, as they were to early modern drama. The theatre's contribution to early modern constructions of death and the afterlife are also relevant to discussions of religious mortuary understandings. These become especially visible in the Jacobean tragedies discussed in Chapter 5, where sudden or violent endings are the precursors to the emergence of unquiet spirits and vengeful revenants. As both Tarlow and Gittings have suggested in different ways (Tarlow 2011: 179-186, Gittings 1984), early modern concepts of the paranormal qualities of the newly dead were

far more influential than they are presently and such beliefs centred on the corpse's final bodily location in church or churchyard. Here the manifestations of ghosts and spirits in late 16th-/early 17th-century tragedies were not intended simply to be dramatic devices but were real representations of socio-religious understandings of the ability of the dead to intervene in the lives of the living. My comparisons of church with theatre therefore, while not seeking to equate the functions of the two establishments, have produced a series of insights which have enabled contemporary dramatic activity to shine a light on Anglican ritual performance.

7.4 Summary, future research, narratives

Although I have been unable to cover all the material aspects of the churches and parishes within my research sample, nevertheless this thesis has explored a wide range of their early modern parishioners, objects, architectural configurations and landscapes found across the area. From this study narratives emerge which combine to produce a composite picture of the ways in which Hampshire and Sussex parishioners encountered the Anglican religion, how they shaped and were shaped by its spatial constituents, how their senses were involved in its bodily operations and how they used and responded to liturgical performance. It also shows how, when parishioners died, they managed to construct templates of memory which were based on very different Protestant eschatological concepts to those in which pre-Reformation generations had been schooled; how, around these new ways of understanding death, they produced mortuary landscapes both inside and outside their churches which operated in similar hierarchies of social calibration to those that surrounded them in life. Lastly, through the medium of space and materiality I have assembled narratives of gender difference which reflect the ways in which patriarchal religious authority intended to shape the lives and deaths of parochial women and how those women themselves, while acceding to these models, managed to side-step them by producing their own female narratives. Through the first two centuries under study many generations of parishioners were obliged to deal with a fast-paced series of confessional changes which altered their religious habitat. These created revolutions in sensory reception, sometimes removing sacred focuses, sometimes reinstating them, sometimes opening churches up, sometimes closing them down. It was only during the 18th century that liturgical change slowed and churches grew increasingly secular as the immediacy of religion lost some of its force. By the mid-18th century churches were often institutions where the concretisation of rural social structures began to alienate the rural poor and drive them towards non-conformity (Porter 1982:48-97).

In spite of this, throughout the period the parish church was a central nexus which touched parishioners in practically every aspect of their lives. It was the location for teaching and learning,

for the cosmological explanation and ontological framing of each parishioner's function and place in life and death, for sociality, for the communal and individual performance of ritual and of rites of passage and for the establishment and preservation of memory after death. In this respect as time went on it provided increasingly developed constructions of Protestant mortality and concepts of the afterlife which were designed to ease parishioners from the process of living to that of dying. At the same time it provided the arena for dissension and dispute. It was policed by its own community and the parish sanctions of presentation could even be applied to its ministers when they overstepped the line. Because of the tightness of its structure it could fracture if its own institutions – its buildings or services – were neglected or mishandled. Religious identity therefore was not uniform; it could differ profoundly from one parishioner to another, and to the most marginalised may have been entirely vestigial. Nonetheless its framework guided its disparate practitioners, allowing them to negotiate their own places within the vastly important community which constituted the parish.

Although so much ground has been covered, I am aware of how partial a review this has been. Certain objects have had to be ignored; for example in the churchyards of Southwick, Stoughton and Harting one can find external memorial wall plaques which are obviously still in situ and research into these would, I feel, be very rewarding. At the same time, given the richness of the collections of early 18th-century gravestones in such churchyards as Warblington, Wymering, Hambledon and Westbourne, it is regrettable that I have not been able to give some space to any graveyard studies. Inside the church, brasses, hatchments, suspended heraldic equipment, standards, textiles and altar plate are amongst the items which would extend the knowledge produced in this thesis, while a comparative study of ledgers might complement graveyard studies and add depth to the history of the area.

New work on the impact of 19th-century ecclesiological restoration is another potentially exciting direction to go in. This is especially so since Victorian documentation is plentiful and would undoubtedly illuminate the ways in which another generation of border parishioners dealt with the physical transformation of whole landscapes of performance and memory. Further research into these matters might possibly allow this material to be worked into a longer, more detailed publication. This would replicate this thesis's textual form as a medium-scale regional archaeological study. In this the thematic emphases would remain the same but its expansion might also allow for a geographical comparison between coast and Downland, another element which I have not investigated in depth.

To a large extent, of necessity because of documentary survival, the people who have appeared in

this work have been its elite members who rebuilt their churches and constructed their own private chapels, galleries, pews and tombs. Consequently their monuments have had the best chance of surviving into the present. As they emerge from my material, one can easily envisage the Gunter–Nicholl family in 1727 ensconced in Racton’s chancel in their private pew. Beside them their Tudor and Stuart monuments, ranged along the north wall of Racton church, are witness to their family’s long dominance of the parish. As they worship they are crowned by the fretwork tympanum of the chancel tie beam with their own arms flanking the colourful panel of the Royal Arms which they have recently installed to remind their people of the duties they owe to church and state, and also, perhaps more forcefully, to the Gunters.

Twenty years before this and twelve miles away over the border in Southwick, the Nortons are taking their places - women to the south, men to the north - in their newly refurbished and upholstered chancel pews in St James-without-the-Priory-Gates. After a while Sir Richard, the Lay Prior, loses interest in whatever the parson is saying concerning the evils of dissension since none of this applies to the Nortons anyway. Instead he gazes with particular satisfaction at his newly painted altar reredos with its gilding and Italianate imagery which reflects so well on the elegance of his taste. Then he frowns – perhaps it was not such a good idea to order the new desks so that the clerk is facing him rather than the parish. The psalm has struck up and the congregation are yet again, in a most unseemly and disrespectful way, all trying to shuffle round to get their cues from the village band. However he’s feeling too tired now to change it all around again. It will have to stay as it is for the present. And so it does.

These are eminent people who have stuck their heads above the historical parapet. What of other less illustrious parishioners? Imagine it is 1670 and at Idsworth the congregation sighs as their chaplain leaves his desk to enter the central pew and mount to his pulpit set in their midst. They brace themselves for his stentorian tones as he takes an old book of Homilies bristling with annotations, and begins his sermon. The nave resounds with his voice and the smallest children are hushed by their parents when they start to whimper. Some of the older members of his flock approve of his enthusiasm at a time when religion is growing rather gutless but the rest look up at the fading text written on the wall beside the pulpit’s sounding board and wince. How can their prayers or singing ever begin to compete with this bombardment of sound? Nevertheless afterwards, when it comes to the responses they dutifully obey Isaiah’s exhortation. While the children cry aloud, their seniors try to recall the sound of a trumpet and lift their voices accordingly.

And what of the women of these parishes? By 1634 Mary Stoughton is feeling her age and

contemplating her own mortality. She has been closeted with the tomb-maker all morning and has at last, with his assistance, devised a monument to herself and Adrian which will grace the church next door until, she trusts, the Day of Judgement. Her daughter Nan has just left too to return to her husband the rector and the house is quiet, the servants below in the hall or in the fields. In spite of the bright summer afternoon and without noise and bustle she feels alone and melancholy. She is beginning to forget things and her thoughts dwell more in the past than they used to. What will be left after she is dead? All her children have gone before her except little Nan. She pulls the mason's plan towards her and dislikes it now she has had time to think. The figures of herself and Adrian are good, much better than Ursula Gunter's figures over at Racton, but there is something wrong. The tomb is so stiff, there is no noise or bustle to it. Her mind drifts off into the past, visiting the times and spaces of her confinements, her children's faces, her daughters' faces, their characters, the bustle and noises of their marriages, the awful silences of their deaths. What more can be remembered of her but this? She pulls the parchment towards her and begins to reorder the panel with her kneeling children. It is overcrowded where the mason has tried to cram all sixteen in faceless serried ranks. So she selects which ones should be portrayed. The boys should kneel like this, with dear Mary facing them - or should that be her first Anne who died in childbirth? Not Sara though, she quarrelled badly with Sara. Perhaps little Ellie and Bess should go at the back and in the rear Nan, dressed for summer in her black steeple hat and gown as she was today when she came to say goodbye. She moves them around in her mind, arranging and rearranging as gradually her head falls forwards and she nods. In the house a door slams and she jerks awake. What did she mean to do? Ah yes, the children. She must call the mason back.

And in West Stoke church nearly four hundred years later, on another summer afternoon a postgraduate student from a south coast university stares in fascination at this tomb. She raises her eyes from the sculptured children to Mary Stoughton, kneeling mutely above them, and asks her 'What sort of person were you then? What did you believe?'

And Mary tells her.

Hayling Island. 4.00 pm 5th December 2012 (corrected July 2013).

ILLUSTRATIONS. All the following photographs were taken by the author except where otherwise mentioned.

CHAPTER 1



Fig 1.1 Tucked away down a footpath at the end of a rural lane, St Mary's church, North Marden, West Sussex offers a vision of unchanging tranquillity



Fig 1.2 The south sector of the churchyard at St Peter's, Petersfield, Hants. Here the gravestones were cleared to the sides in the mid-20th century. While they still remain visible, their distribution and spatial and family relationships have been lost.

CHAPTER 2 ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 2.1 View of Langstone Harbour from Portsdown Hill.



Fig 2.2 Hampshire foreshore. Langstone Quay and mills looking east towards Warblington.



Fig 2.3 The Hampshire coast. The medieval keep at Portchester Castle, Hampshire looking northwest from St Mary's churchyard. The Castle is edged to the south and east by the sea.



Fig 2.4 The ruins of the Gatehouse and South Wing of Place House at Titchfield, Hampshire, the Elizabethan Great House of the Earls of Southampton



Fig 2.5 Hampshire Downland villages. Framed by St Michael's lychgate, the Red Lion at Chalton, an early 15th century Wealden house, stands between the church and Windmill Hill.



Fig 2.6 Hampshire Downland. The view from Catherington Down north towards Windmill Hill. Clanfield's modern estates lie between in the intervening dip.



Fig 2.7 The Meon Valley, Hampshire, The Norman parish church of All Saints is terraced into the side of Park Hill and looks down on its village of East Meon.



Fig 2.8 Hampshire market towns. The medieval market square at Wickham. Its buildings range from 16th to 20th century houses, workshops, cottages and shops.



Fig 2.9 Sussex coastal churches. View to the east from West Thorney church over to the Chidham peninsula. St Nicholas's graveyard is bordered by the sea.



Fig 2.10 Sussex Harbours. The Quay at Bosham. Until recently this was a working fishing port but it is now a popular centre for sailing and maritime leisure activities.



Fig 2.11 The Sussex foreshore. Low water at Fishbourne Creek. This harbour, now silted up, was much deeper at the time of the Roman Invasion in 43 AD.



Fig 2.12 Beach at East Wittering. Where the Sussex coast faces the open sea the shores lack indentations and run in a line of shingle banks held in place by sea walls and breakwaters.



Fig 2.13 Sussex Downland . View from West Stoke church over to the northwest to Kingley Vale and Bow Hill. This Downland area is more gently undulating and more heavily wooded than Hampshire Downland.



Fig 2.13 Sussex Downland villages. View from St Mary's churchyard northeast to Chills Down. Set in a bowl surrounded by hills, Singleton is one of the few nucleated villages in the Downland area of Sussex studied here.



Fig 2.15 Sussex Downland hamlets. The thatched well at East Marden. This well is encircled by St Peter's church and a loose cluster of farms and cottages and was the hamlet's chief water source until the 1930s.



Fif 2.16 Sussex market towns. The church of St Mary and St Gabriel sits at the south end of the Street, Harting's main road. This is wide enough to house Harting's post-medieval market and is lined with a mixture of medieval, early modern and modern houses, inns and shops.

CHAPTER 3 ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 3.1 Box pews at St Mary's, Avington in North Hampshire, with a row of hat pegs above them on the far wall.



Fig 3.2 A 17th century churchwarden's chest at Holy Trinity, Bosham, Sussex which has 5 separate mortice locks requiring five keys or keyholders to open it. Behind it is a range of heavily restored 17th century bench pews, suggesting Bosham was repewed at that time.



Fig 3.3 St John the Baptist's, Westbourne in Sussex. A heavily reinforced 14th century vestry door equipped with two stout wrought iron stock locks.



Fig 3.4 The replica 16th century chancel screen at St Mary's Buriton, Hampshire is seen in silhouette which demonstrates its perforated qualities, enabling the congregation to see through into the chancel beyond.



Fig 3.5 The chancel tie-beam, fretted tympanum and Royal Arms panel in St Peter's, Racton, Sussex. On either side are irregular fretwork gaps possibly designed to hold further emblems.



Fig 3.6 St Michael's and all Angels, Up Marden, Sussex. Here an earlier chancel arch from a chapel in West Marden was used in the late 16th century to buttress a wider but failing 13th century arch.



Fig 3.7 The cut-away chancel arch at St James-without-the-Priory-Gates in Southwick, Hants. Here a massive timber tie beam was inserted between the chancel piers to support roof's weight. Below it are the pulpit and its two desks and the Squire's gentry pew.



Fig 3.8 The south side of the nave at St Hubert's, Idsworth, Hants showing its box pews, pulpit and sounding board and west gallery and pipe organ.



Fig 3.9. St Thomas of Canterbury, Portsea, Hants. Late 17th century raised pulpit, now reduced from three tiers and given a new sounding board but with its original staircase.



Fig 3.10 Triple decker pulpit in its original configuration and position to the right of the chancel arch at All Saints parish church, Minstead, Hants



Fig 3.11 The upholstered early 18th century gentry box pews at Southwick. The Squire's pew for the male members of his family is at the top of the picture while the ladies pew, divided into two compartments, is below behind the pulpit.



Fig 3.12 Inside the chancel at Up Marden. Here two gentry box pews occupy its western corners, out of sight of both the pulpit and the congregation in the nave.



Fig 3.13 Private gentry pew belonging to the manorial family at Parham House in St Peter's, Parham, Sussex, provided with private entry, fireplace and upholstered benches



Fig 3.14 It is likely that these 17th century bench pews in St Mary's, Singleton, Sussex have remained in situ since their installation. They imitate box pews, being organised with partitions as described by Richard Gough.



Fig 3.15 Restored 17th century gentry bench pews in the chancel at St Peter and St Mary's, Fishbourne, Sussex. These would have been equipped with matching desks and would probably have been fitted with cushions and hassocks



Fig 3.16 A two-tiered gallery at All Saints, Minstead, Hants. The lower stage and its projecting wing was designed for the church band and the upper gallery for children from the local Poor School.

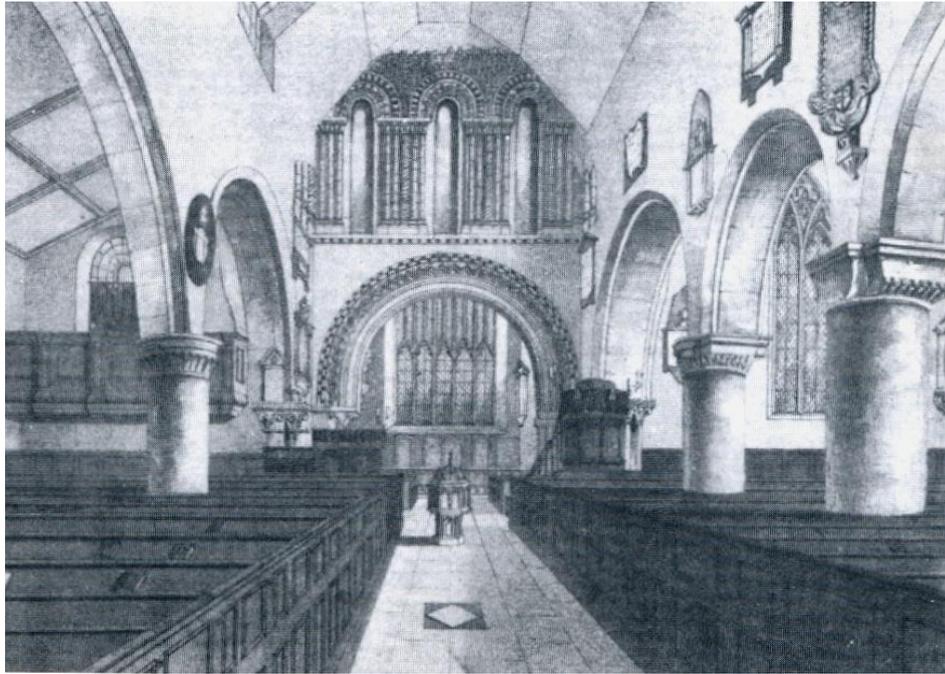


Fig 3.17 The interior of St Peter's, Petersfield, Hant, drawn c1850 before restoration. It shows the Jolliffe side pew below the window at the head of the north aisle, the dormer designed to illuminate the pulpit and a flagstone floor seemingly with a single diamond-shaped ledger in the centre aisle. If so this may have been another example of a signature floor (Chapter 5.4.2). Image is reproduced with the kind permission of St Peter's Parish Officers (see Leaton, Francombe and Kent 2007:6)



Fig 3.18. The tower gallery and staircase at St Mary's, Singleton, Sussex with an unusual cantilevered projection enclosing the timber post supporting the bell-chamber's ceiling.

CHAPTER 4 ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 4.1 Cartouche to the west of the pulpit at St Hubert's, Idsworth, Hants containing the text of Isaiah 58.1. The pulpit is 17th century, the sounding board 18th century.



Fig 4.2 Design painted on the 16th century buttress infill of the chancel arch inside the nave of St Michael's and All Angels, Up Marden, W Sussex. Although unclear, this appears to be representational and is not purely decorative. It is possible it is part of a Doom painting.



Fig 4.3 Restored painted ceiling in the Brune side chapel at St Mary's, Rowner, Hants. These vivid colours are typical of the mid-16th century palette and the ceiling may have been contemporary with the Brune tomb housed here which is dated 1557.



Fig 4.4 Lozenge shaped Royal Arms dated 1577 from St Mary's, Portchester. Here a dragon-headed wyvern replaces the more usual unicorn



1



2



3



4

Fig 4.5 Carved and painted Royal Arms from 1. St Thomas's, Portsea, Hants, 2, St John the Apostle's, West Meon, Hants. 3. St Mary's East Lavant, Sussex 4. Holy Trinity, Gosport, Hants.



1.



2

Fig 4.6 Painted panels of Royal Arms from 1. St Andrew's, Meonstoke Hants and 2. St Nicholas, West Thorney, Sussex.



Fig 4.7. Altar furniture set with Decalogue reredos, altar rails and communion table, St Mary's, Northiam, East Sussex. 1638.



Fig 4.8 St Peter's, Racton, Sussex has a restored version of a Laudian altar set with its Decalogue tablets set up on either side of the east window, flanking the altar.

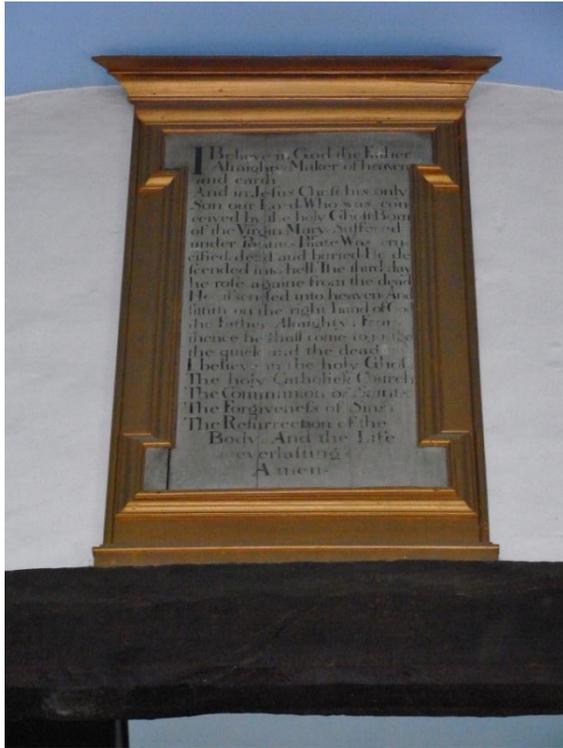


Fig 4.9 . Creed tablet placed above the chancel tie beam facing the congregation in the nave at St James-without-the-Priory-Gates, Southwick, Hants Fig 4.10.Southwick’s altar furniture, panelling, altar rails and painted reredos

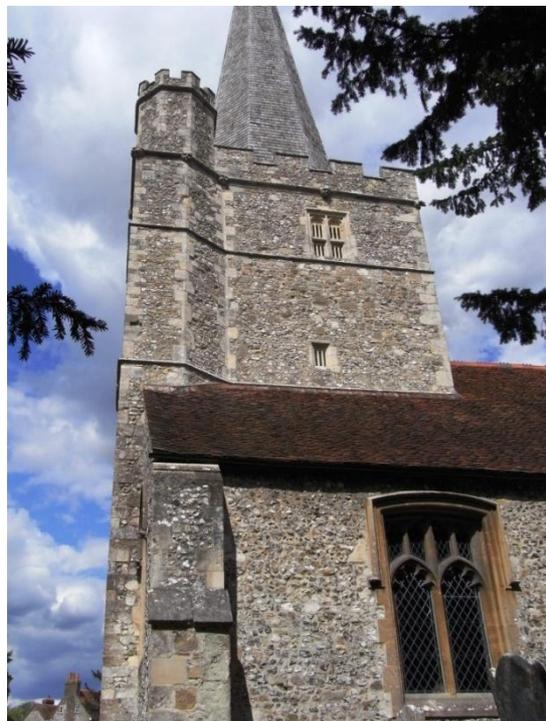


Fig 4.11 At St John the Baptist’s, Westbourne, Sussex the west tower has been heightened and repaired from the Middle Ages on and is still capable of taking a ring of six bells.



Fig 4.12 St James, Clanfield. The belfry in this completely rebuilt church is one of the most prominent aspects of its architecture, showing the continuing attachment of parishioners to their bells into the modern era.



Fig 4.13. The churchyard at Up Marden, Sussex. Nowadays bounded by a low wall to the east and hedges, in the 17th century the church was next door to a farmyard whose unrepaired fences and roaming animals were highly offensive to parishioners and rector alike.

CHAPTER 5 ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 5.1 The south chapel at All Saints, East Meon, Hants. Here practically every paviour is a ledger (or grave slab) which suggests either that these have been moved in here from the nave during restoration, or that this was a favoured burial place. As the ledgers are all in the correct alignment this latter case is more likely.



Fig 5.2. Henry and Margaret Bickley's wall plaque dated 1707, St Mary's, Chidham, Sussex. On either side of the armorial at the base are two prominent deaths heads.



Fig 5.3 The southern quadrant of St Mary's graveyard at Funtington, Sussex. This is the most heavily populated area with many 18th century chest tombs and family grave clusters.



Fig 5.4 Richard Nibbs's pre-1870 etching of St Mary's, Apuldram, Sussex after its 1845 restoration showing the limited extent of the graveyard and its easterly entrance.



Fig 5.5. Author's photograph of the same side of Apuldram churchyard, showing the degree to which it has been extended. The modern path is at the extreme left and the churchyard is now planted and enclosed by trees.



1.



2.

Fig 5.6. 1. St Thomas the Apostle, Bedhampton, Hants. Here the longevity of the churchyard is shown by its height above Bidbury Lane which borders its south side. 2. St Nicholas, South Boarhunt, Hants: only a few graves remain on the south side of the churchyard which is circumscribed by the steepness of the slope of Portsdown Hill. Both churches have ancient yews on their eastern sides.



Fig 5.7. The avenue of yews planted along the north path of the graveyard in St John the Baptist's, Westbourne, Sussex dated by Lindsay Fleming to c 1500.



Fig 5.8 St Thomas a Becket, Warblington, Hants from the west. 18th century flagstones make up the entrance path leading from the churchyard gate to the west door. The path leads from a setting-down hard standing suitable for carriages. Groups of gravestones, some marked with Catholic crucifix symbols, are set on either side.



Fig 5.9. The sunken grass path originally heading for the south door of St Thomas's. Here the burials respect its line. The church's middle gable and south wall has been altered during 19th century restoration to replace the south door with a window so that the path now follows round to the west door. An 18th century sundial is set up on the eastern gable.



Fig 5.10 North aisle of the chancel of St Thomas's Cathedral, Portsmouth, Hants, showing 18th century in situ ledger facing east, 'crossed' with a subsequent inscription (1800) to Frances Arnaud.



Fig 5.11. The recut and relaid ledgers which form a corridor between the choir and nave of St Peter and St Paul's, New Fishbourne, West Sussex. Their truncated inscriptions show they have been relaid from south to north.



Fig 5.12. Detail of the masonry striations on the paving slabs from St Peter's, East Marden, Sussex where vertical incisions are edged with bands of horizontal stripes.

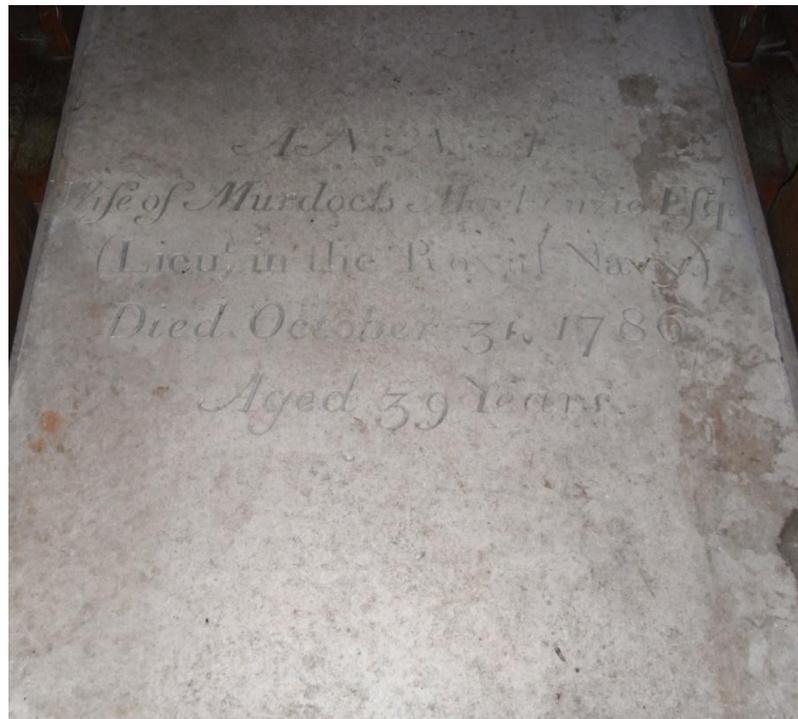


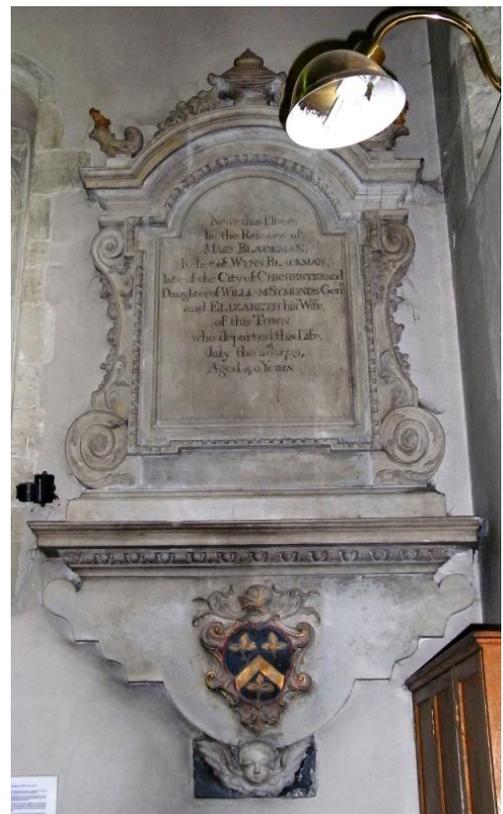
Fig 5.13. The signature ledger at the head of the central passage in St Nicholas's, West Itchenor, Sussex. This reads 'Anna, wife of Murdoch Mackenzie Esq (Lieut in the Royal Navy) Died October 31 1786 Aged 39 Years'.



Fig 5.14 Heraldic roundels bearing the Norton arms above the southeast window of the chancel in St James-without-the-Priory-Gate, Southwick.



1.



2.

Fig 5.16. 1. Memorial tablet to Richard Field d. 1754 on the north wall of Southwick church showing the classicising influences of the mid-18th century. 2. Mary Blackman's memorial at St Faith's, Havant, Hants dated 1739. Her baroque memorial still displays heraldic and mortuary images and some of this imagery retains its coloured paintwork.

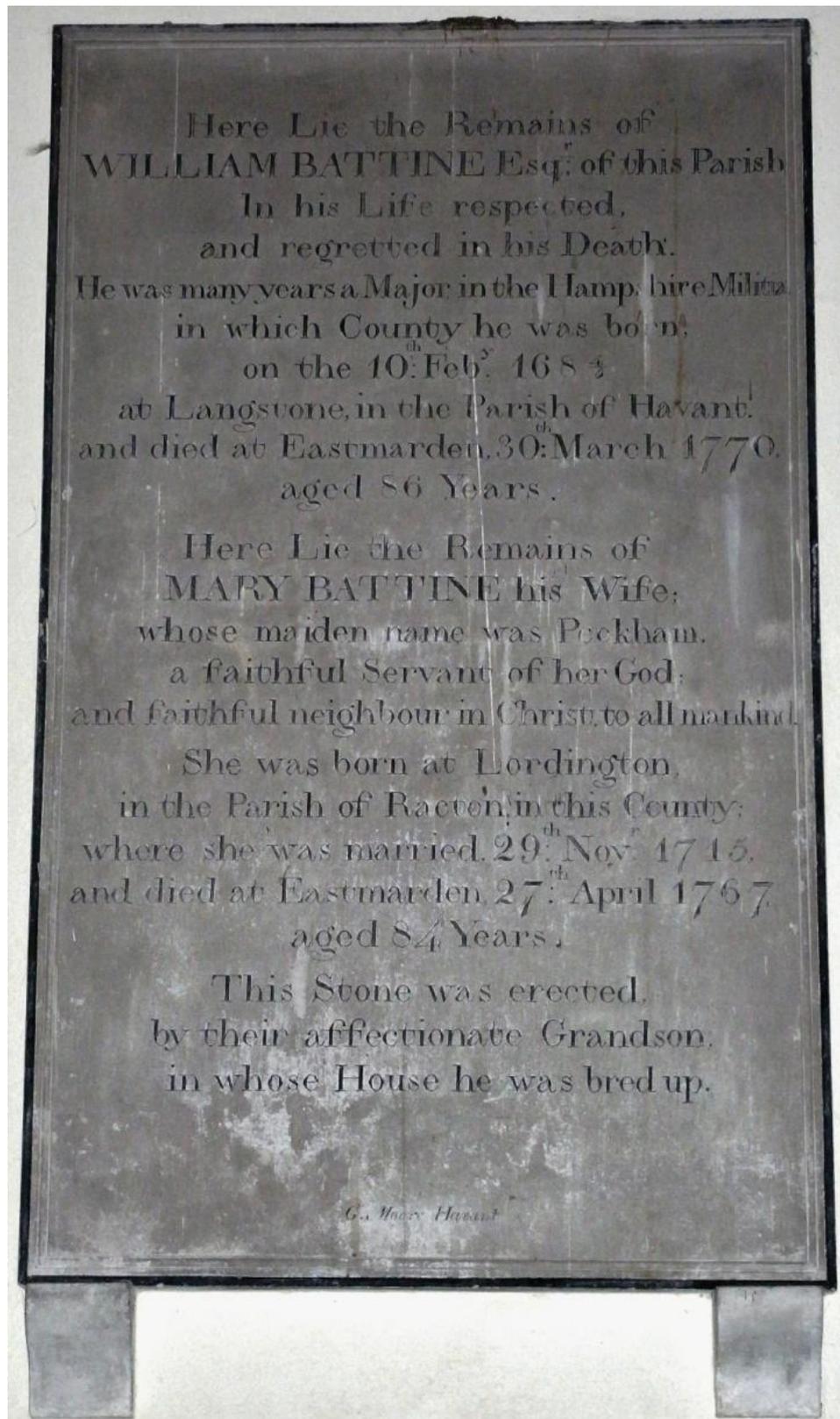


Fig 5.17. The first memorial plaque to William (d 1770) and Mary Battine (d 1767) in the chancel of St Peter's, East Marden, Sussex. It provides a potted biography of both without making any other visual statement.



Fig 5.18 The ruins of the Caryll Chapel which abut the south side of the chancel of St Mary and St Gabriel's church, South Harting, Sussex. On the chapel's south wall are the footings and brick substructure of two of the Caryll wall tombs.



Fig 5.19. Sir Richard Caryll's effigy (c 1616), rescued from the elements and now conserved at the end of the church's south transept.



Fig 5.20 View of St Mary and St Gabriel's chancel, South Harting, W Sussex from the west. The Ford tomb is to the right (for full image see GNo 49 Fig 3)



Fig 5.21 Harting church. The two Cowper tombs moved and spliced together in the late 18th century. John junior and his wife Margaret recline in front while John senior has been fitted into an alcove cut out of the south transept's south wall.



Fig 5.22 The Wriothesley Tomb, St Peter's parish church, Titchfield, Hants. 1594. View of north side showing the effigy of (from top) Jane, first Countess of Southampton, her son Henry, 2nd Earl and two of his children.



Fig 5.23 Detail of effigy of the 1st Earl and Countess. They are depicted with open eyes.



Fig 5.24 The north wall of the chancel of St Peter's, Racton, Sussex showing the positioning of the three Gunter tombs.



Fig 5.25 The earliest Gunter tomb memorialising John Gunter d 1557.

CHAPTER 6 ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 6.1 The Erneley tombs in the chancel of St Peter and St Paul's, West Wittering, Sussex. Erneley 1 (1536) in the foreground is larger than Erneley 2 (1545). In the 19th century the tombs were moved from their original corner L shape into their present positions.



Fig 6.2 Erneley 1. The Risen Christ flanked by sleeping soldiers is shown at the centre of the upper alcove with grotesque winged figures bearing the Erneley escutcheons to either side.



Fig 6.3 Erneley 2. Bridget Erneley's tomb. Here, in the upper niche panel, the Risen Christ stands between William and his sons and Bridget and a single daughter.



Fig 6.4 Detail of the chest panel of Erneley 2 showing the unusual lily pot Annunciation imagery



Fig 6.5 St Nicholas's church, Wickham, Hants. The remaining memorial panel and armorials are from William Uvedale's tomb d 1569 (Uvedale 1).

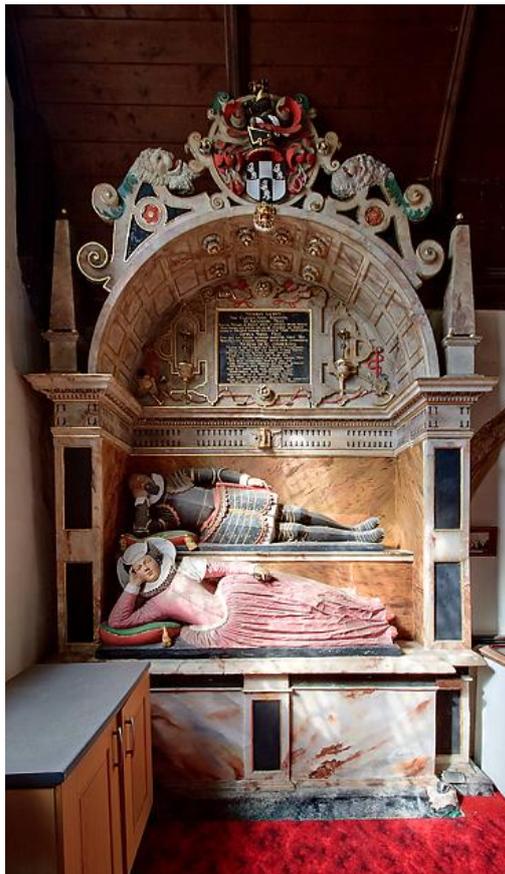


Fig 6.6 A similar tomb to Uvedale2. Sir Richard and Lady Mary Mill, St Boniface's church, Nursling, Hants (1613) (Photo copyright Mike Searle licensed for use under Creative Commons Licence).

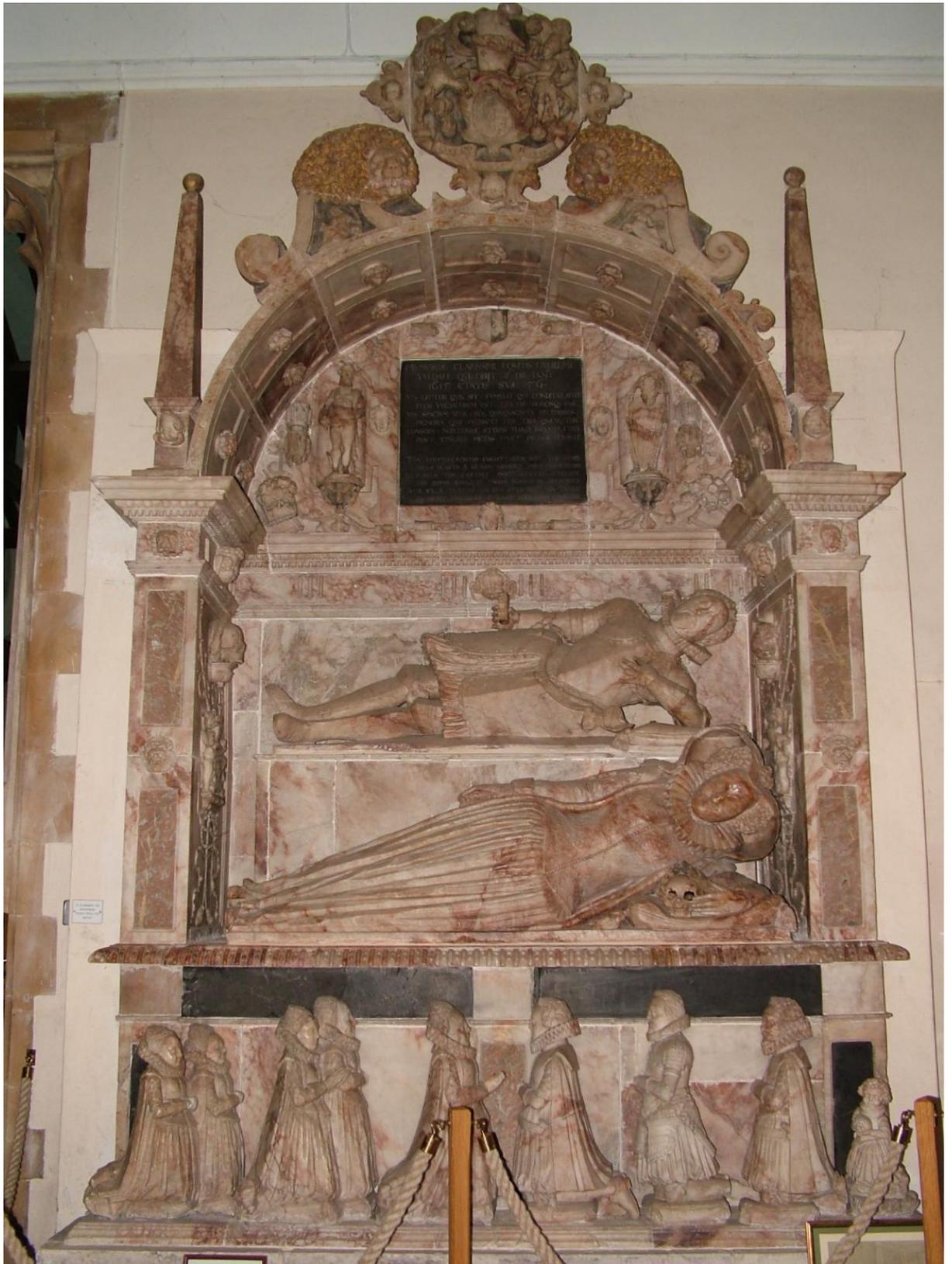


Fig 6.7 Tomb of Sir William and Lady Mary Uvedale, St Nicholas's church, Wickham, Hants 1615. This has been moved from the west wall of the Uvedale chapel to the east wall of the south transept (Photo by courtesy of Julian Jones).



Fig 6.8 The reclining effigies. Mary Uvedale's position is lower than William's but her figure is larger. He carries a prayer book and looks upwards to heaven, whereas she embraces a laurel-crowned skull and directly confronts the viewer.



Fig 6.9 The alcove panel is covered in mortuary symbols which include figures of Time and Death (damaged), winged cherubs, pomegranates, reversed scythes, deathsheds and dark lanterns.



Fig 6.10 The eldest Uvedale son John, bearing a skull to show that he died in infancy.



Fig 6.11 Richard Ball's wall tomb, St Michael's and all Angels, Chalton, Hants erected by his wife Elizabeth in 1632.



Fig 6.12 Detail of Richard Ball's kneeling effigy.



Fig 6.13 The epitaph and poem devised to commemorate Richard by Elizabeth.



Fig 6.14 The Stoughton wall tomb to Adrian and Mary at St Andrew's parish church, 1635, West Stoke, Sussex. Unlike many other tombs in the research sample this is complete and has been recently restored.



Fig 6.15 The Gunter wall tomb to Sir George and Lady Ursula Gunter at St Peter's, Racton, Sussex 1624. This tomb appears to have lost its lower tier and parts of its pediment.



Fig 6.16 Detail of Adrian and Mary's supplicant children from the Stoughton wall tomb.

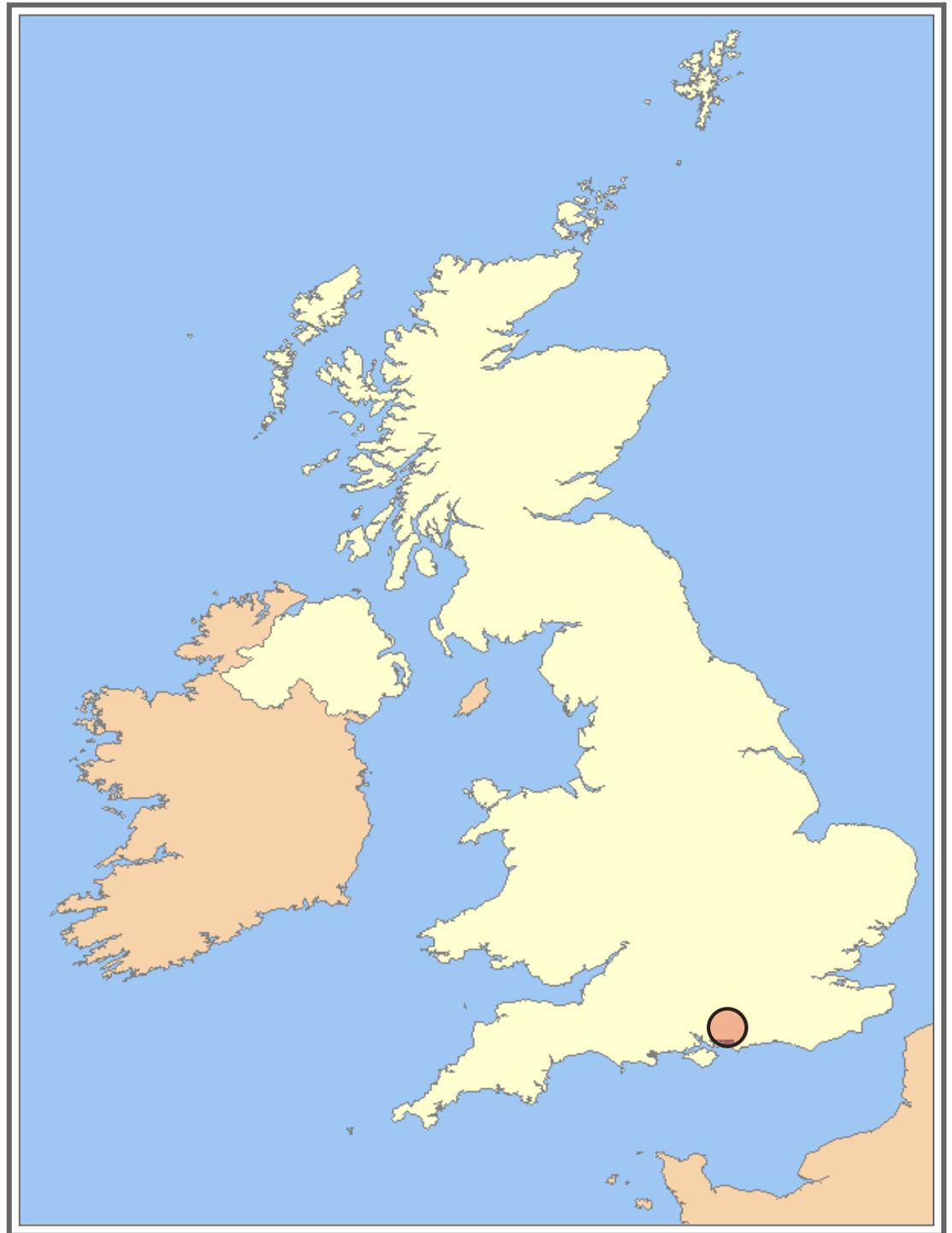


Fig 6.17 Detail of supplicant children from Uvedale 2, St Nicholas's, Wickham, Hants showing the female children on the honourable dexter side whereas the males are to the left.

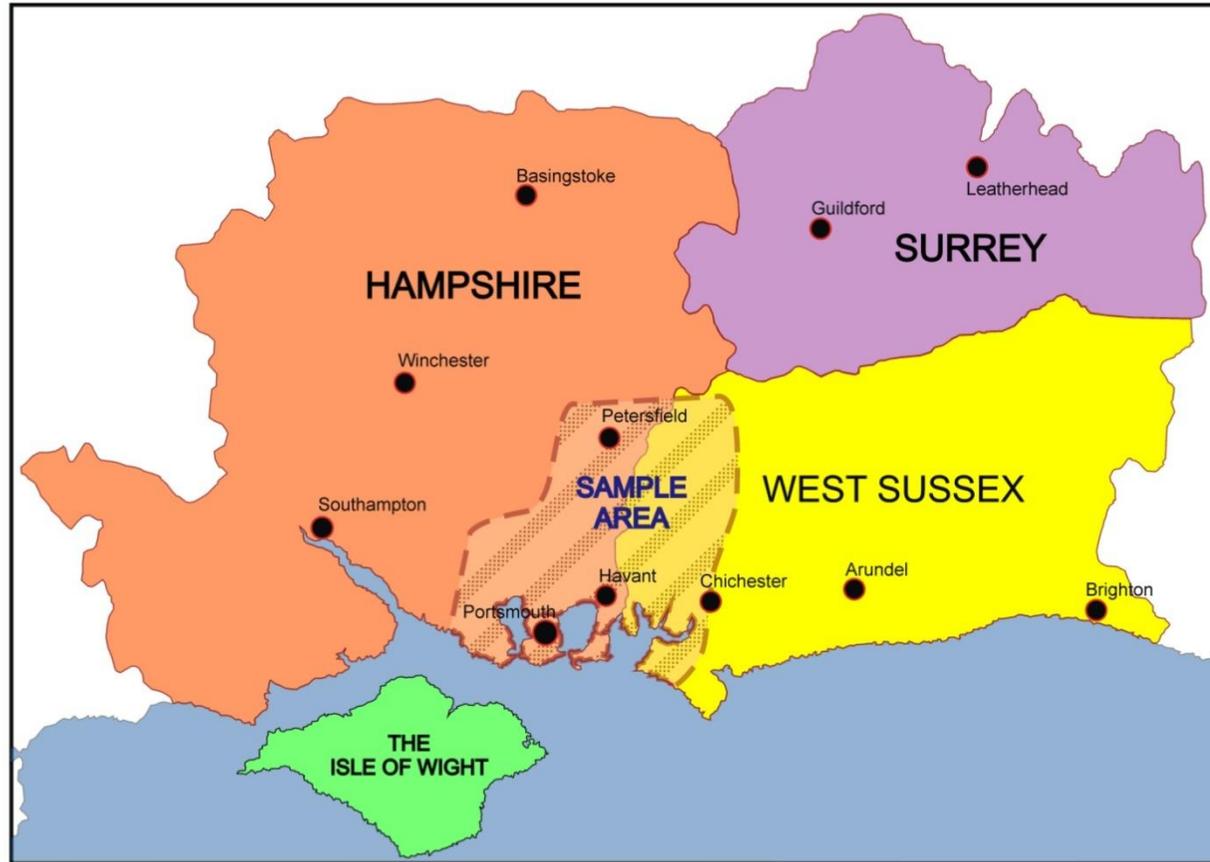


Fig 6.18 Detail of Edmund Dummer's wall memorial by Nicholas Hawksmoor 1724, at St Mary's, South Stoneham, Hants. His wife and family are referred to epigraphically here, rather than depicted sculpturally. Fig 6.19. This is replicated on Sir Charles Gunter-Nicholls' tomb in St Peter's, Racton, Sussex 1733 (Gunter 3) These are examples of the portraiture which grew increasingly fashionable in the early 1700s (see also Fig 5.16 (1)).

MAPS



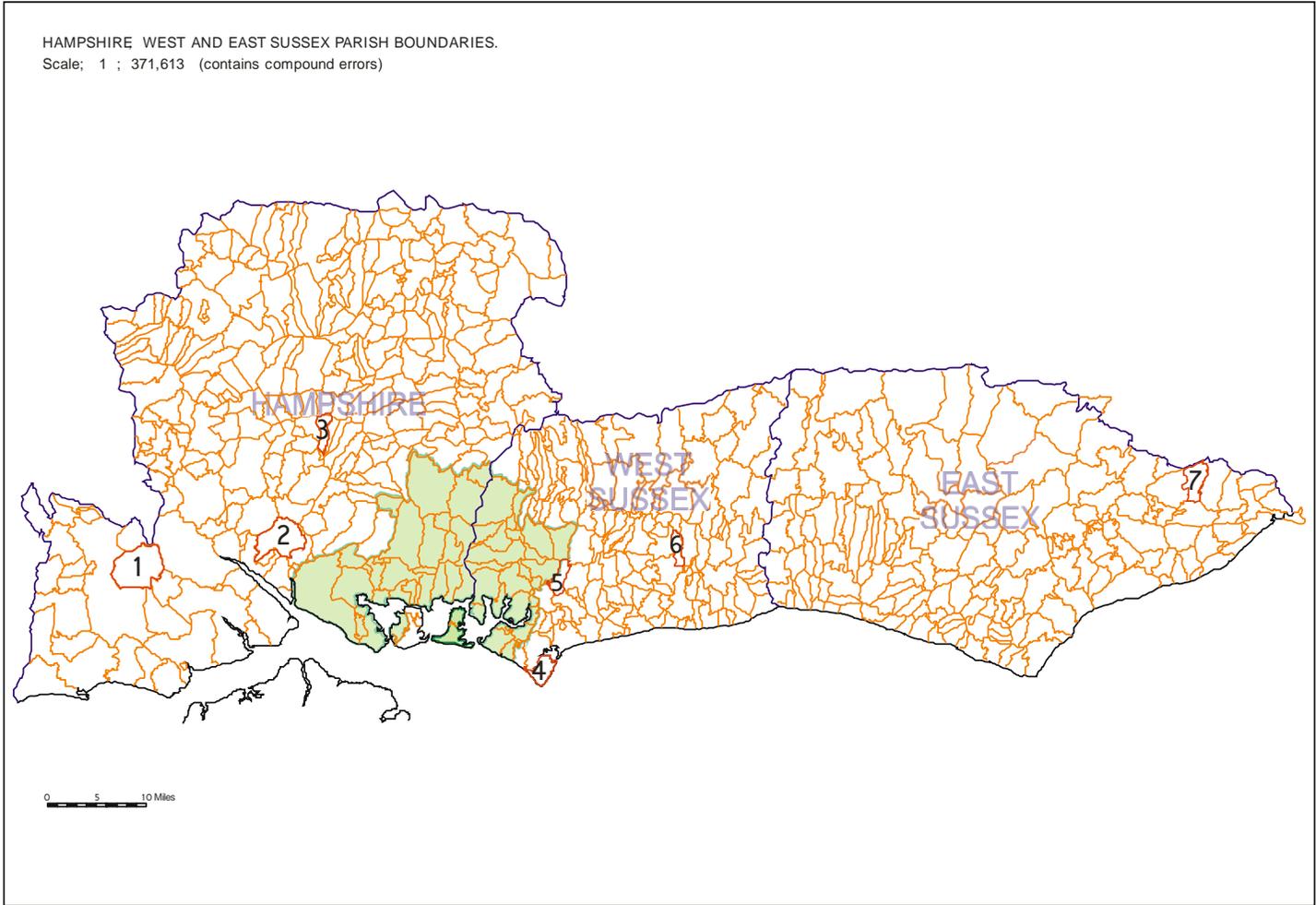
Map 1. Location map showing the area of England from which the research sample of parishes is taken.



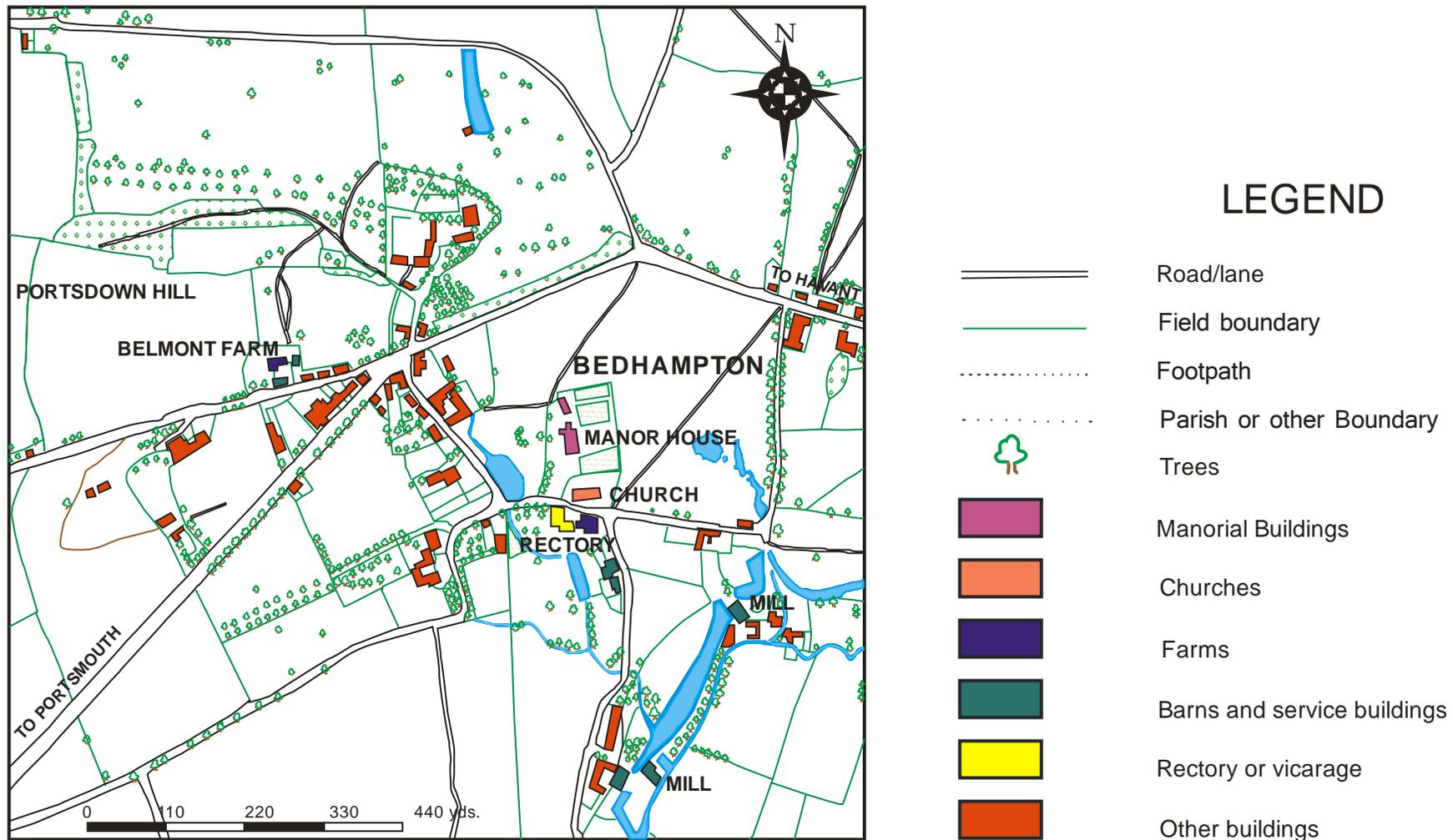
Map 2 Regional location map showing the research area across East Hampshire and West Sussex



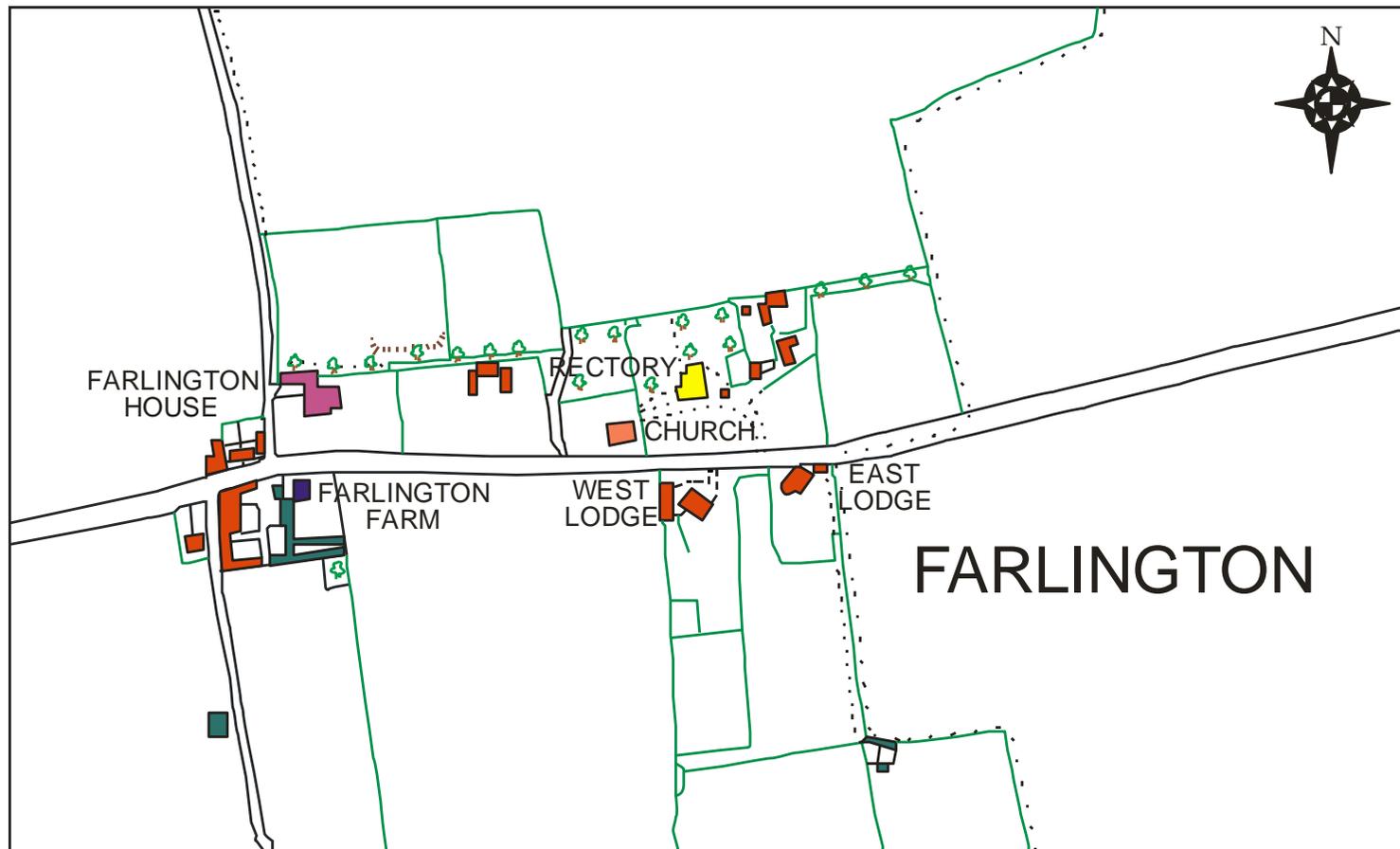
Map 3. Area map of coast and Downland (reproduced and adapted from Joint Characterisation Area Maps by kind permission of Natural England).



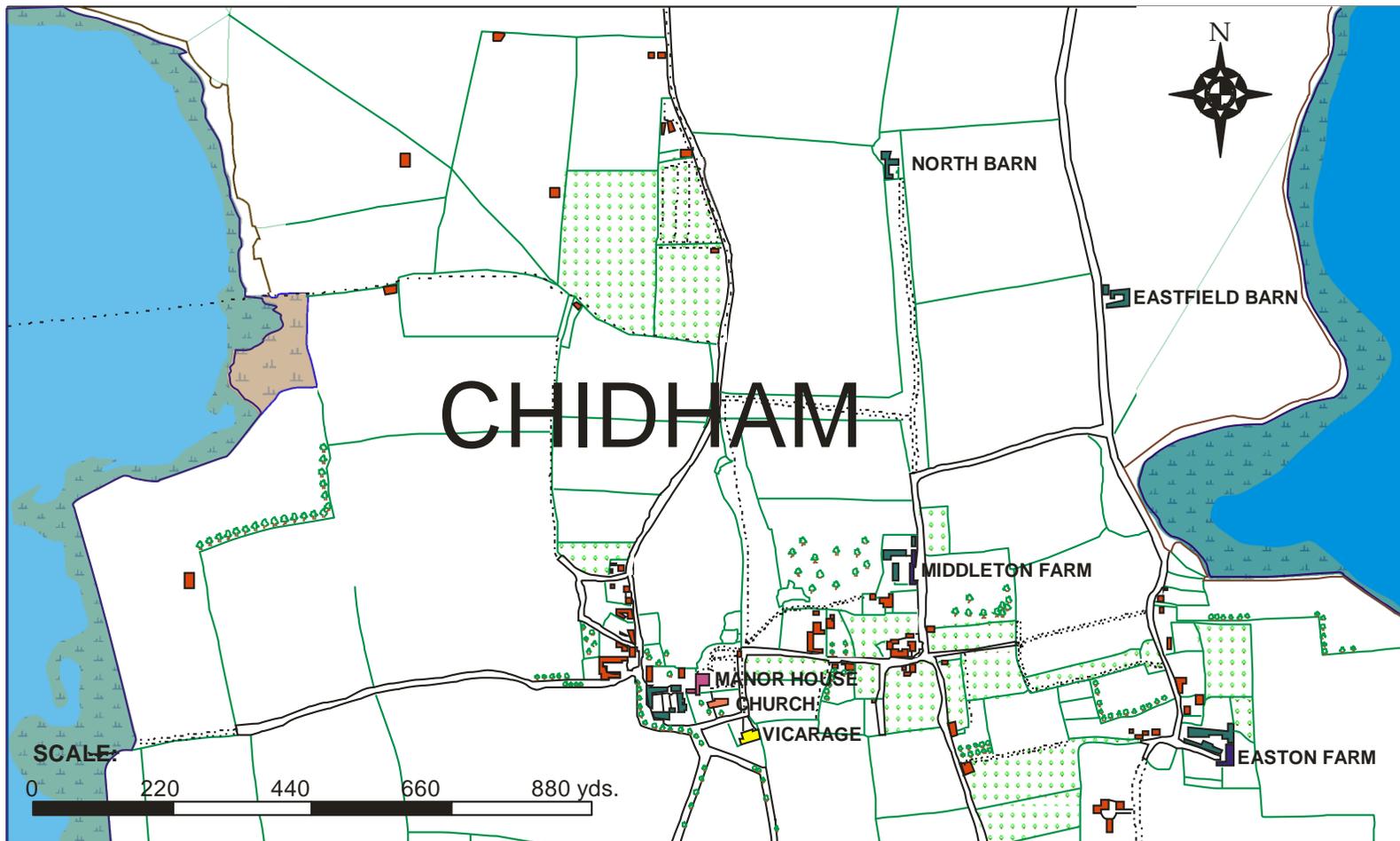
Map 5 Map of Hampshire, West and East Sussex showing outside parishes mentioned in the text: 1. Minstead, 2. South Stoneham, 3. Avington, 4. Selsey, 5. Westhampnett, 6. Parham, 7. Northiam.



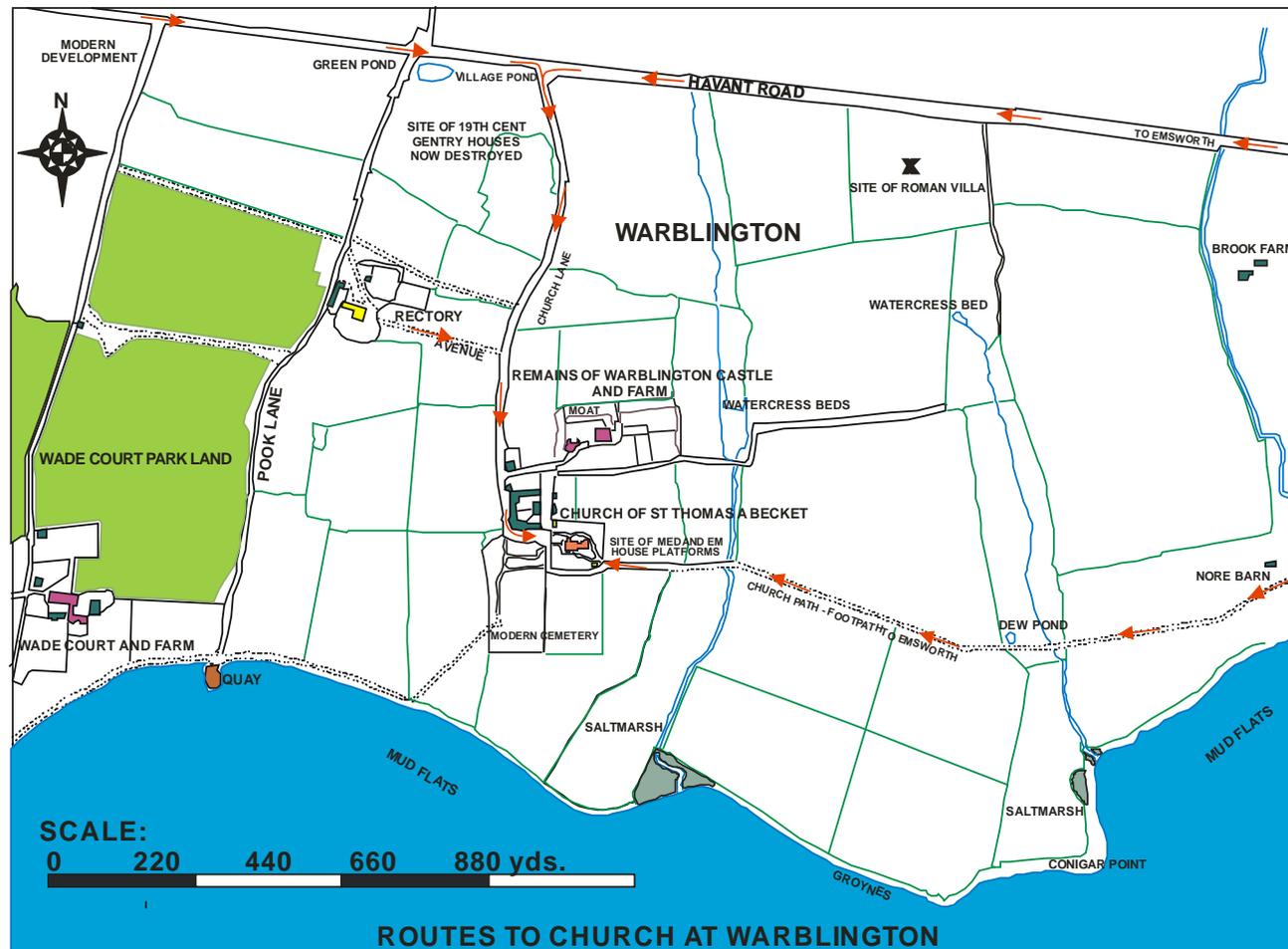
Map 6. Bedhampton's village landscape, Hampshire (1910) showing the tight spatial relationship of church/manor house/rectory which is still visible. The village not only supported farms but was semi-industrialised with mills, granaries and warehouses.



Map 7. Farlington's hamlet landscape, Hampshire (1910). Up until the 1930s Farlington retained its early modern landscape with its manor house (Farlington House) placed in conjunction with its Home Farm and the church and its rectory in close proximity. Its farmland was enclosed at a late date and aspects of its open field system still remain. Farlington House was demolished in the 1960s and the entire area is now intensely developed, obscuring these former relationships (for Key and Legend see above).



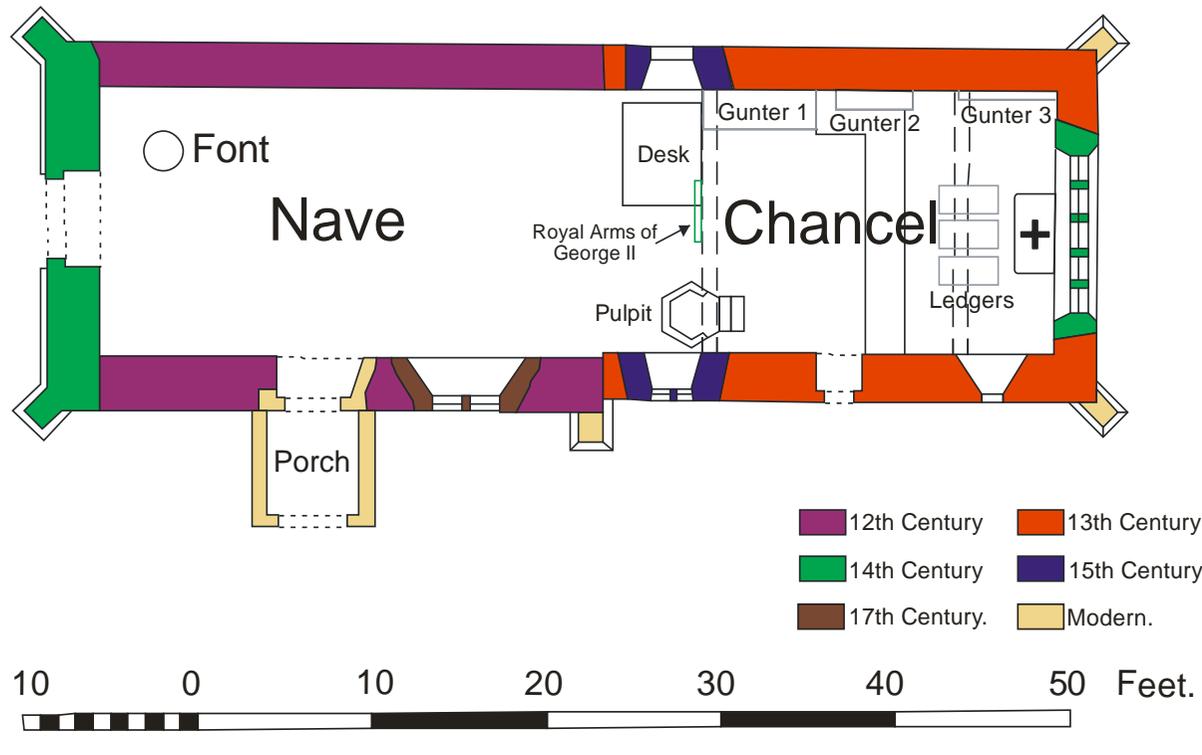
Map 8. Chidham's dispersed landscape, West Sussex (1910). The tripartite relationship of manor house with church and vicarage is again visible in Sussex. The map also shows the agricultural nature of the peninsula with its many farms and orchards. As at Farlington the manor was close to its own farmstead. The area was dotted with wells which were instrumental in ensuring soil fertility and improving the quality of its wheat.



Map 9. St Thomas a Becket, Warblington, Hampshire and its landscape showing its isolated position between Havant and Emsworth and the routes taken by parishioners attending church services. The footpath from Emsworth along the shore crosses the fields whereas the upper Havant Road was turnpiked in the 18th century. The village was moved to Green Pond in the 15th century when the whole area was imparked

CHURCH PLANS

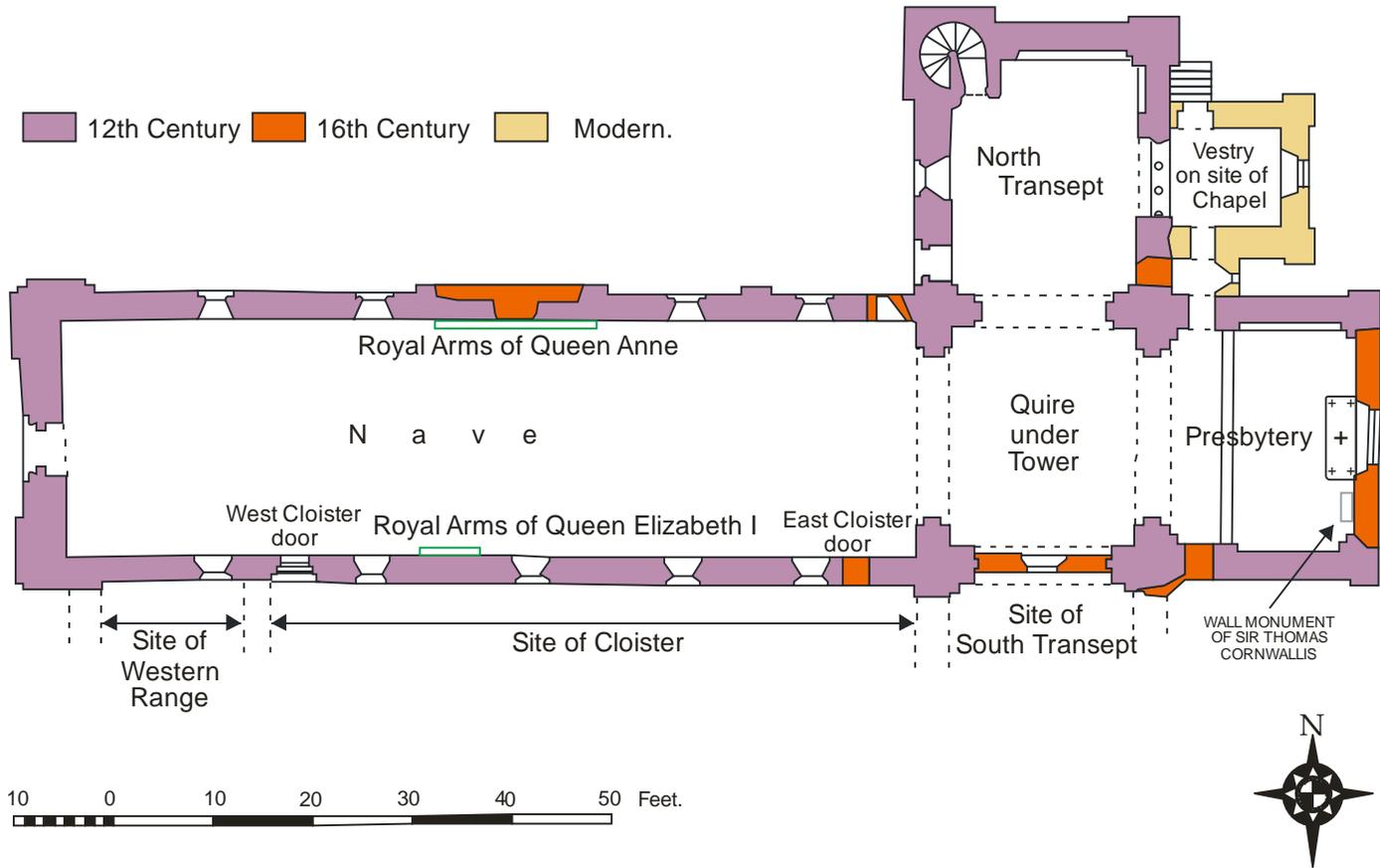
ST PETER'S, RACTON



Early	Late	Century
Grey	Black	Saxon
Black	Yellow	11th Century
Purple	Purple	12th Century
Light Orange	Orange	13th Century
Light Green	Green	14th Century
Light Blue	Dark Blue	15th Century
Light Orange	Orange	16th Century
Brown	Brown	17th Century
Light Grey	Light Grey	18th Century
Yellow	Yellow	Modern

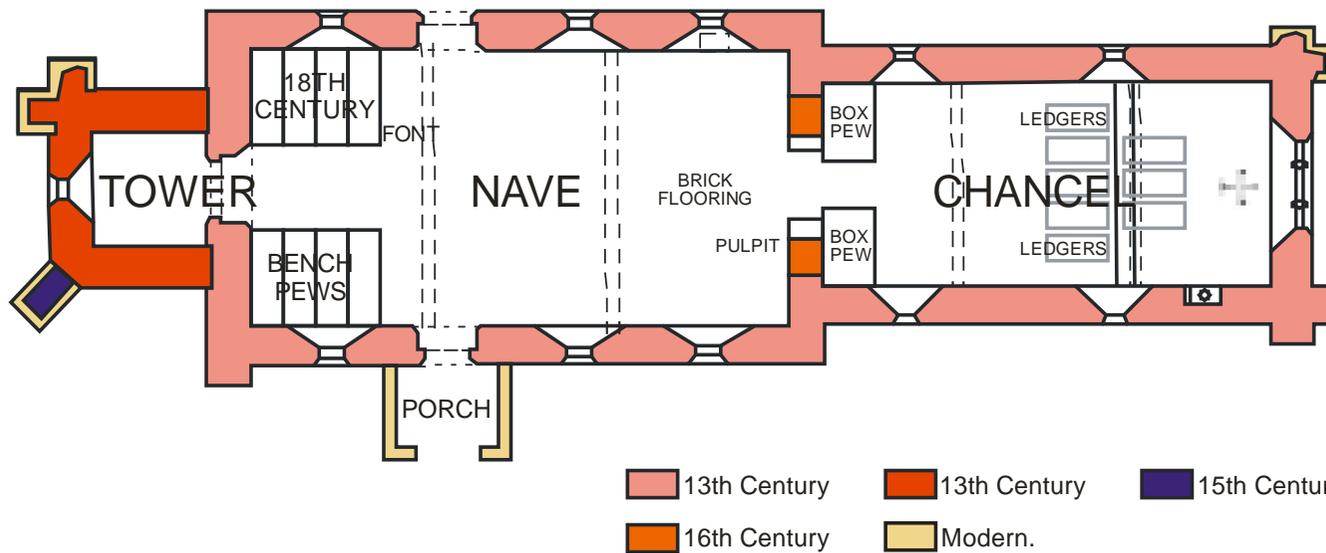
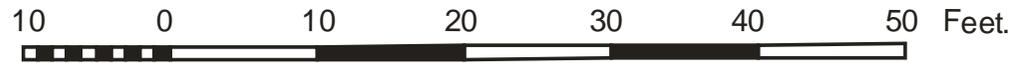
Church Plan 1 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

St Mary's, Portchester



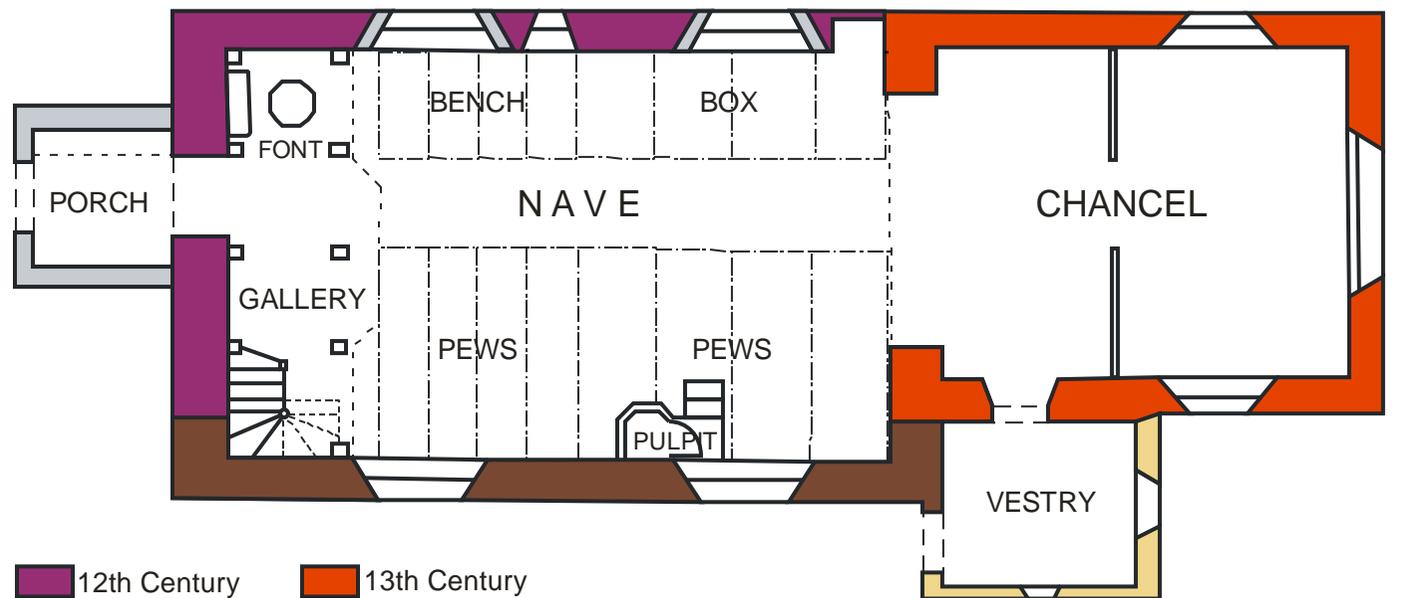
Church Plan 2 Adapted from 'The History of the County of Hampshire' Vol 3 (Archibald Constable and Co Ltd. 1908) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones)

CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, UPMARDEN.



Church Plan 3 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

ST HUBERT'S IDSWORTH

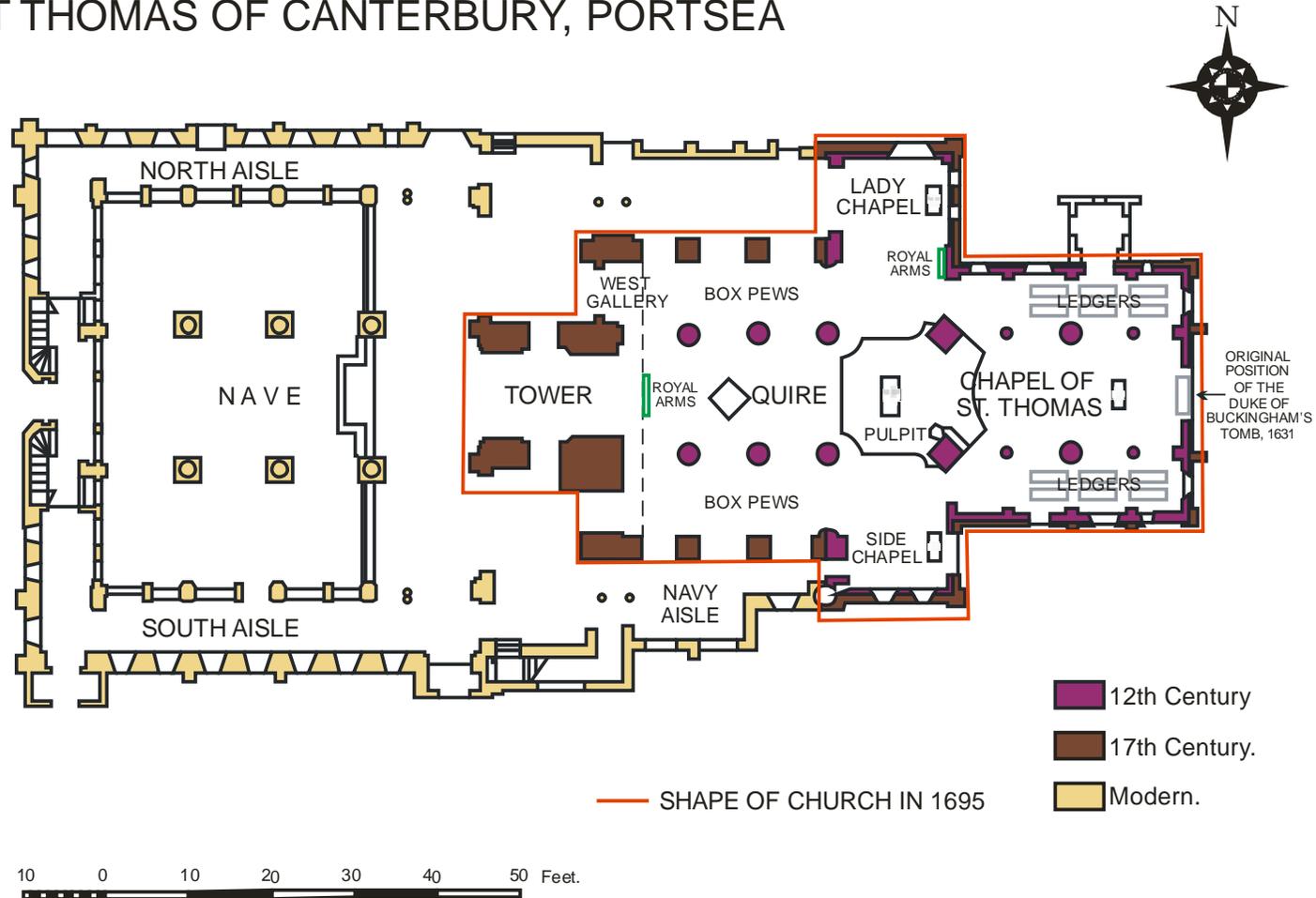


- 12th Century
- 13th Century
- 17th Century.
- 18th Century.
- Modern.



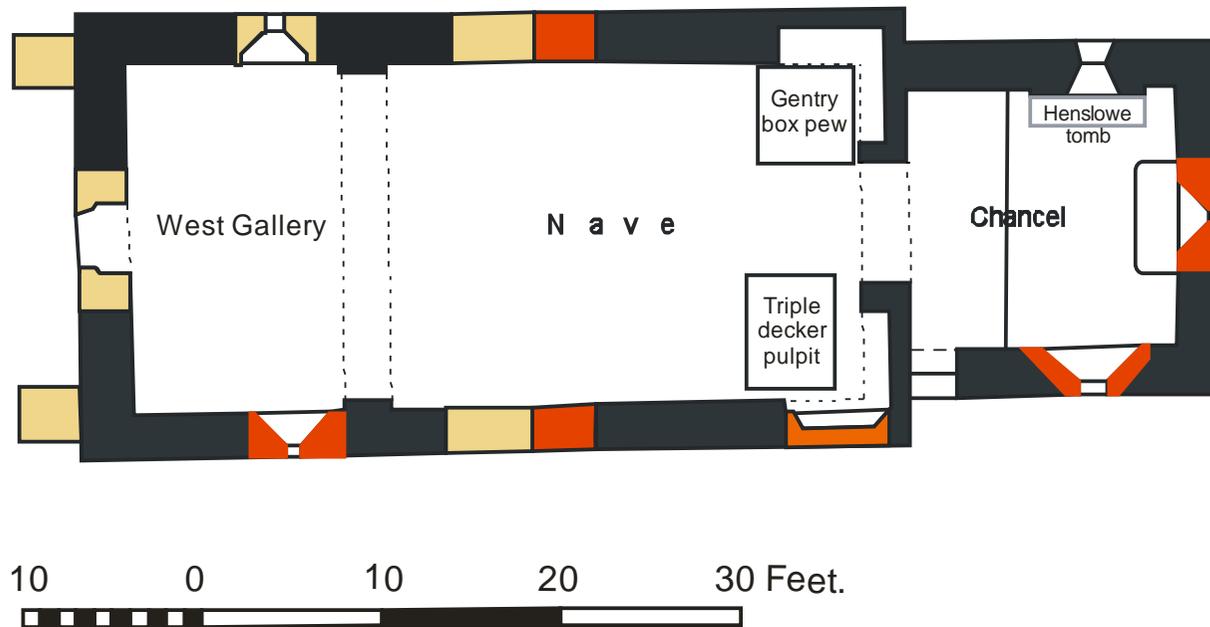
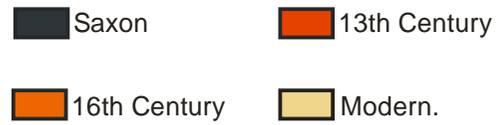
Church Plan 4 Reproduced and adapted with kind permission of Blendworth Parish Council by Judith and Julian Jones

ST THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, PORTSEA

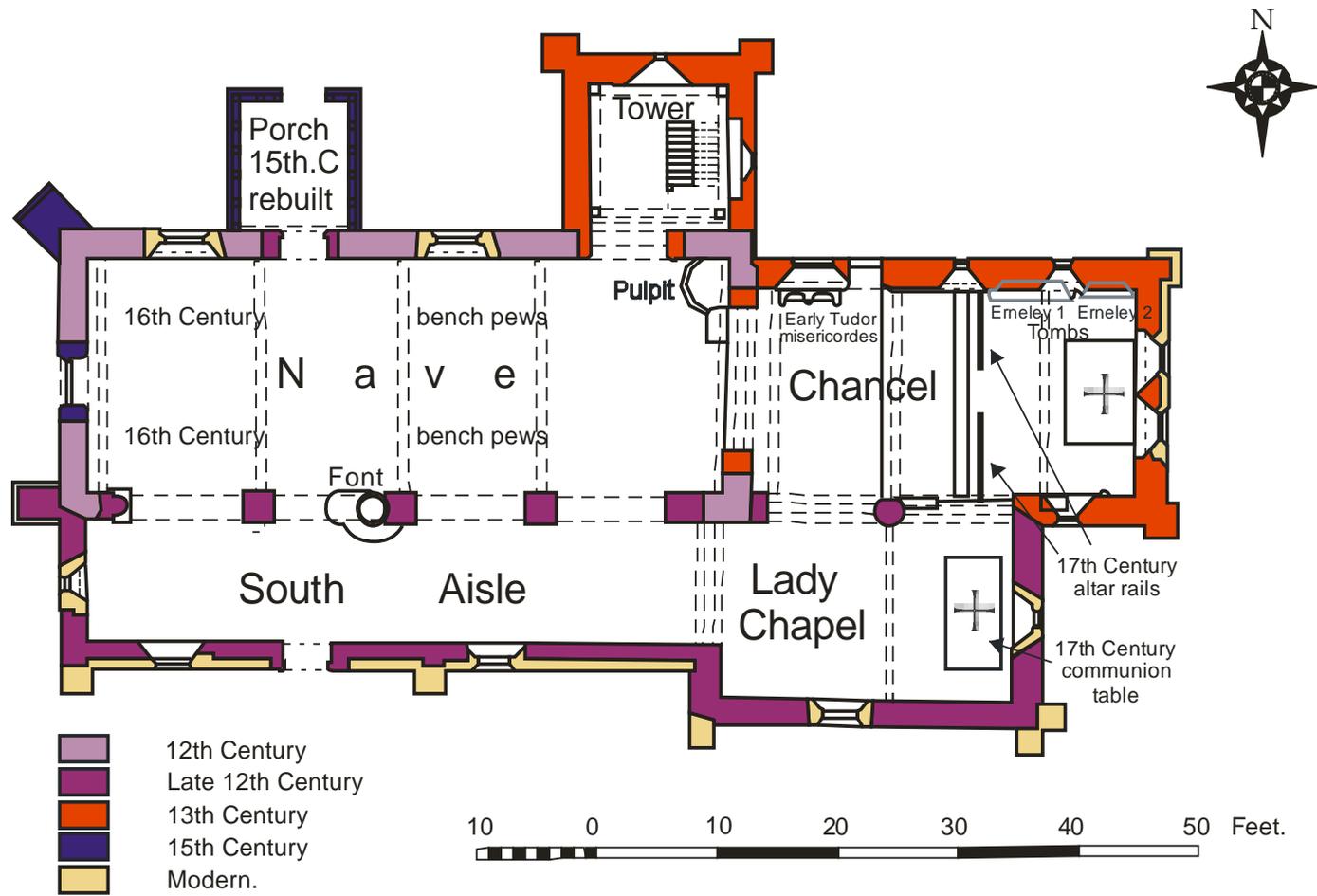


Church Plan 5 Reproduced and adapted with kind permission of the Portsmouth Cathedral authorities from 'Portsmouth Cathedral' 2006 by Knowles, Brindley, and Friars (RJL Smith and Associates Much Wenlock, Shropshire) by Judith and Julian Jones

ST NICHOLAS, SOUTH BOARHUNT



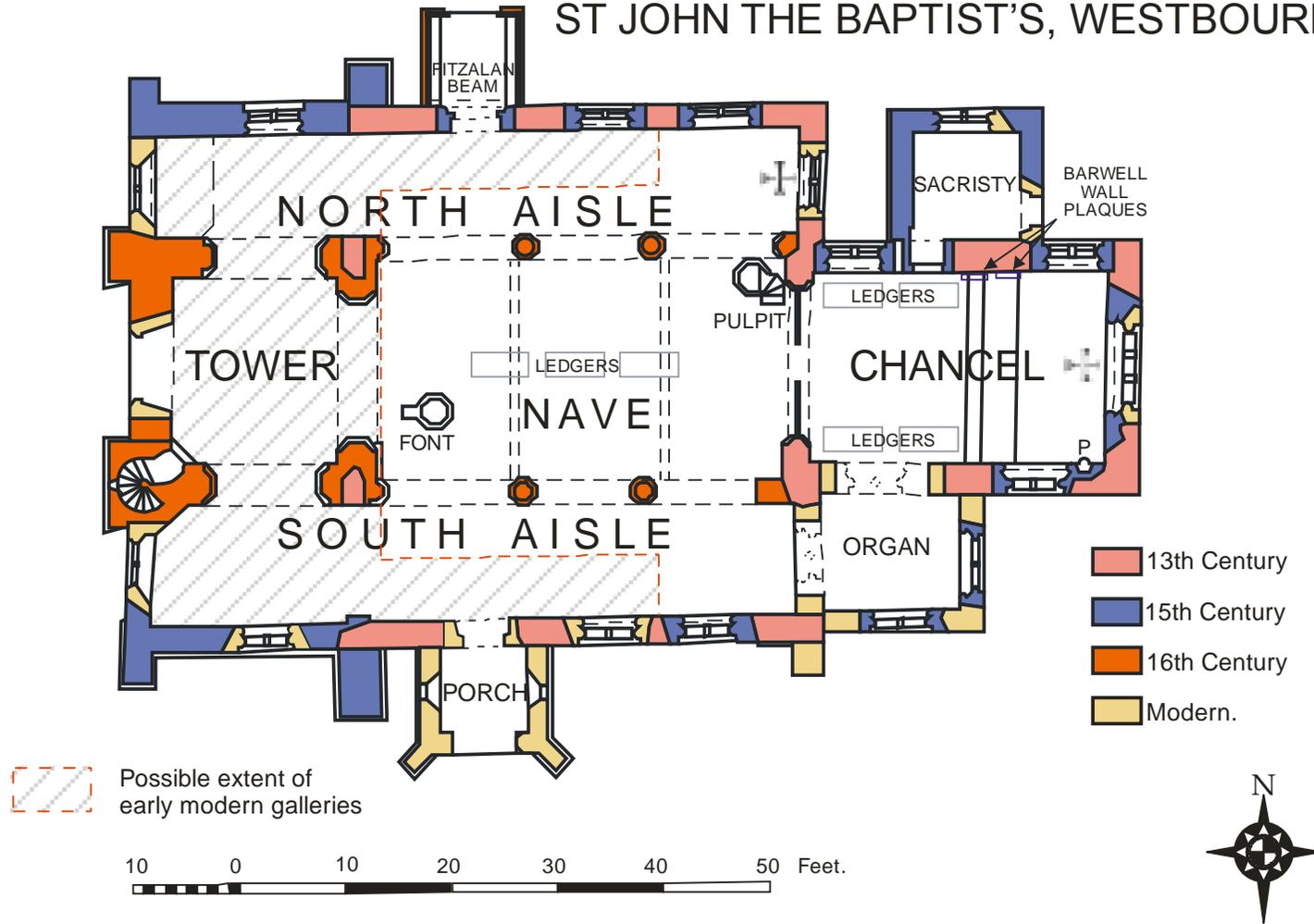
Church Plan 6 Adapted from 'The History of the County of Hampshire' Vol 3 (Archibald Constable and Co Ltd. 1908) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones



ST PETER AND ST PAUL, WEST WITTERING

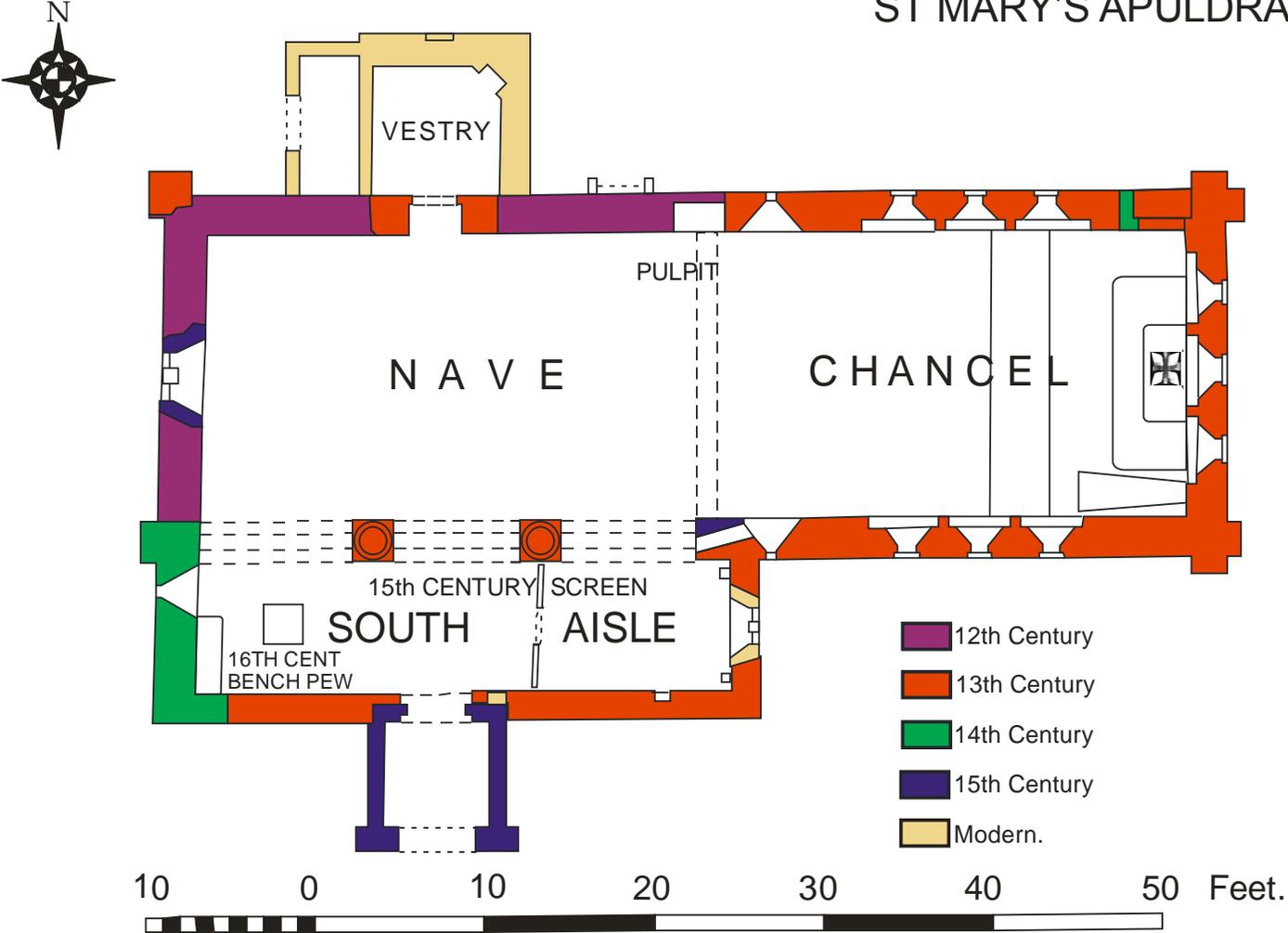
Church Plan 7 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST'S, WESTBOURNE

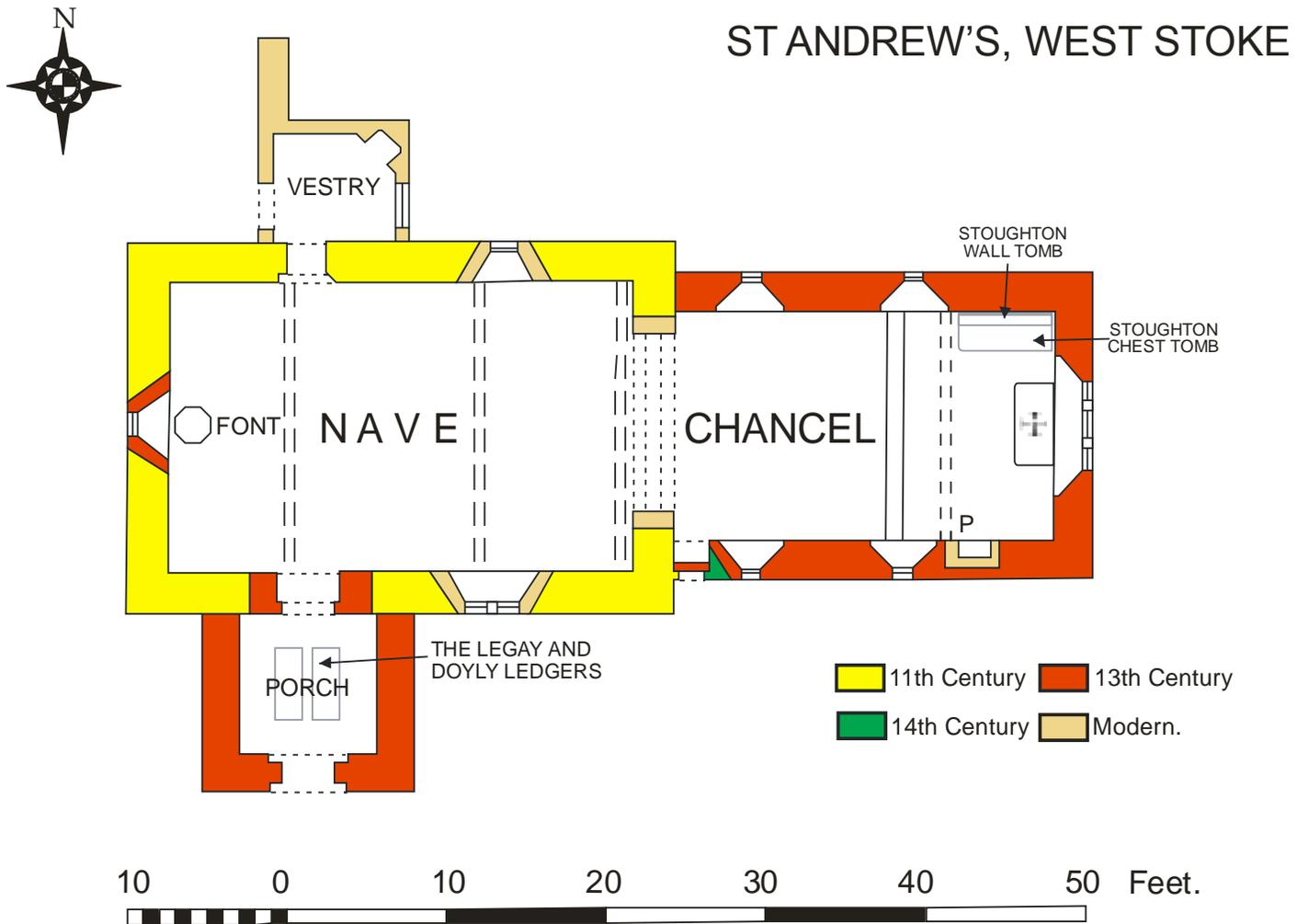


Church Plan 8 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

ST MARY'S APULDRAM

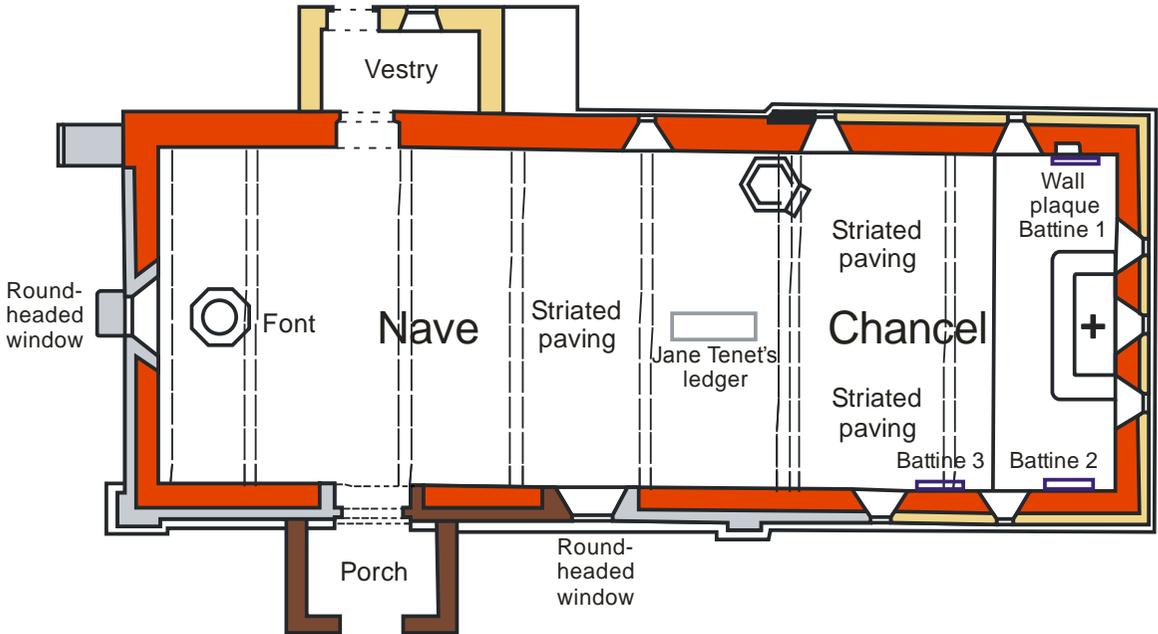


Church Plan 9 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

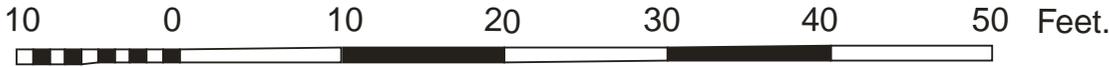


Church Plan 10 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

ST PETER'S, EAST MARDEN

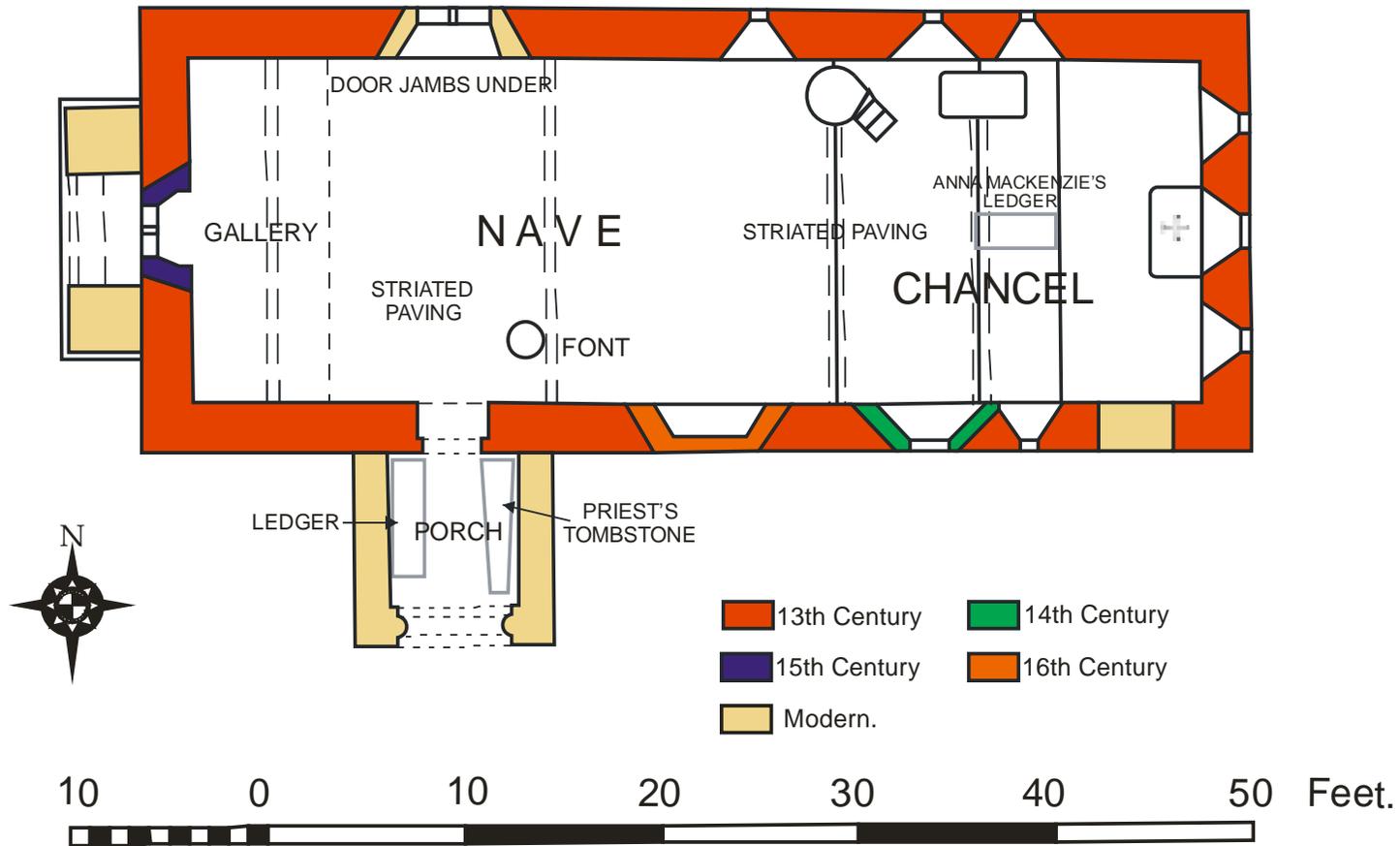


13th Century
 17th Century.
 18th Century.
 Modern.

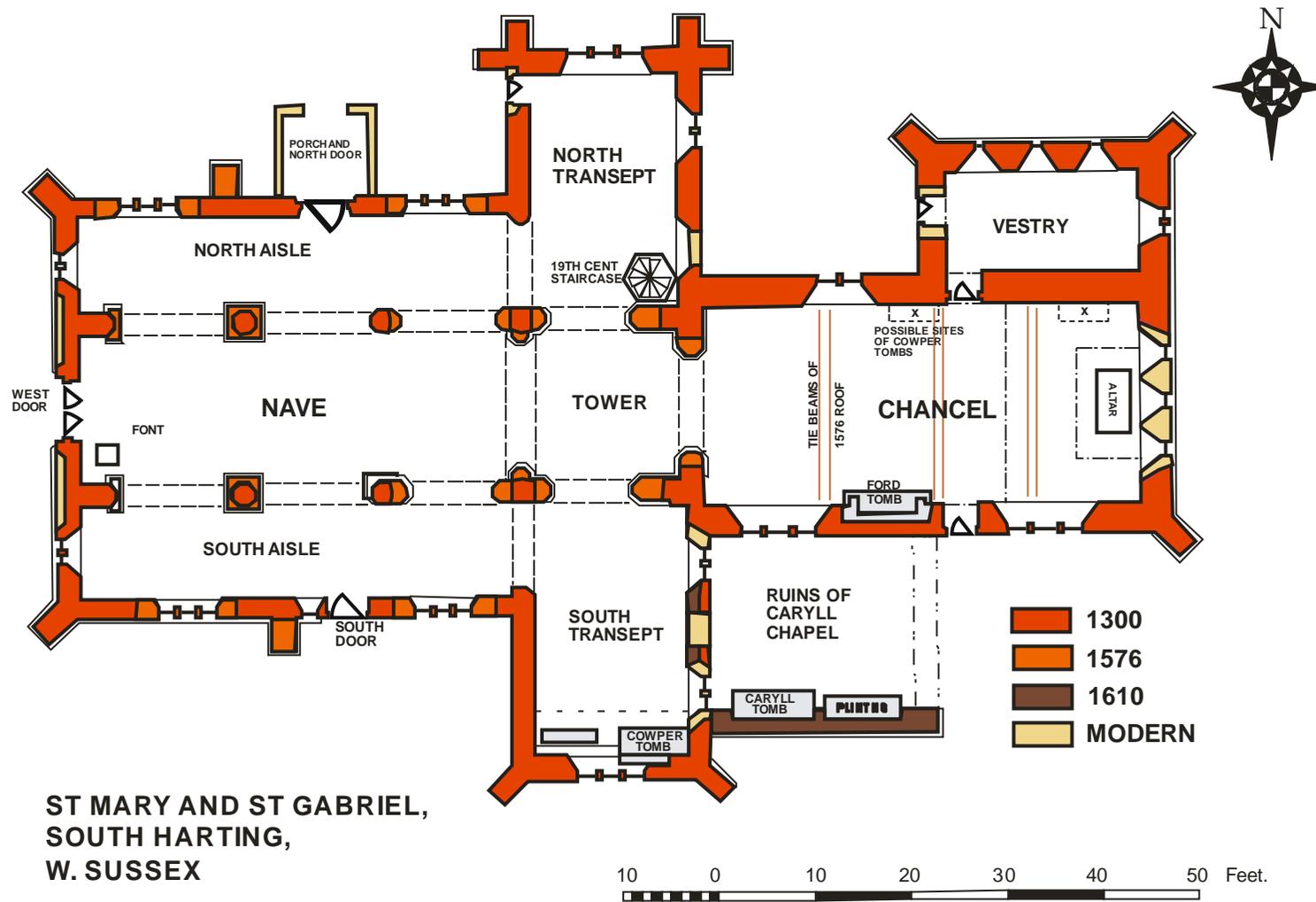


Church Plan 11 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

ST NICHOLAS'S, WEST ITCHENOR

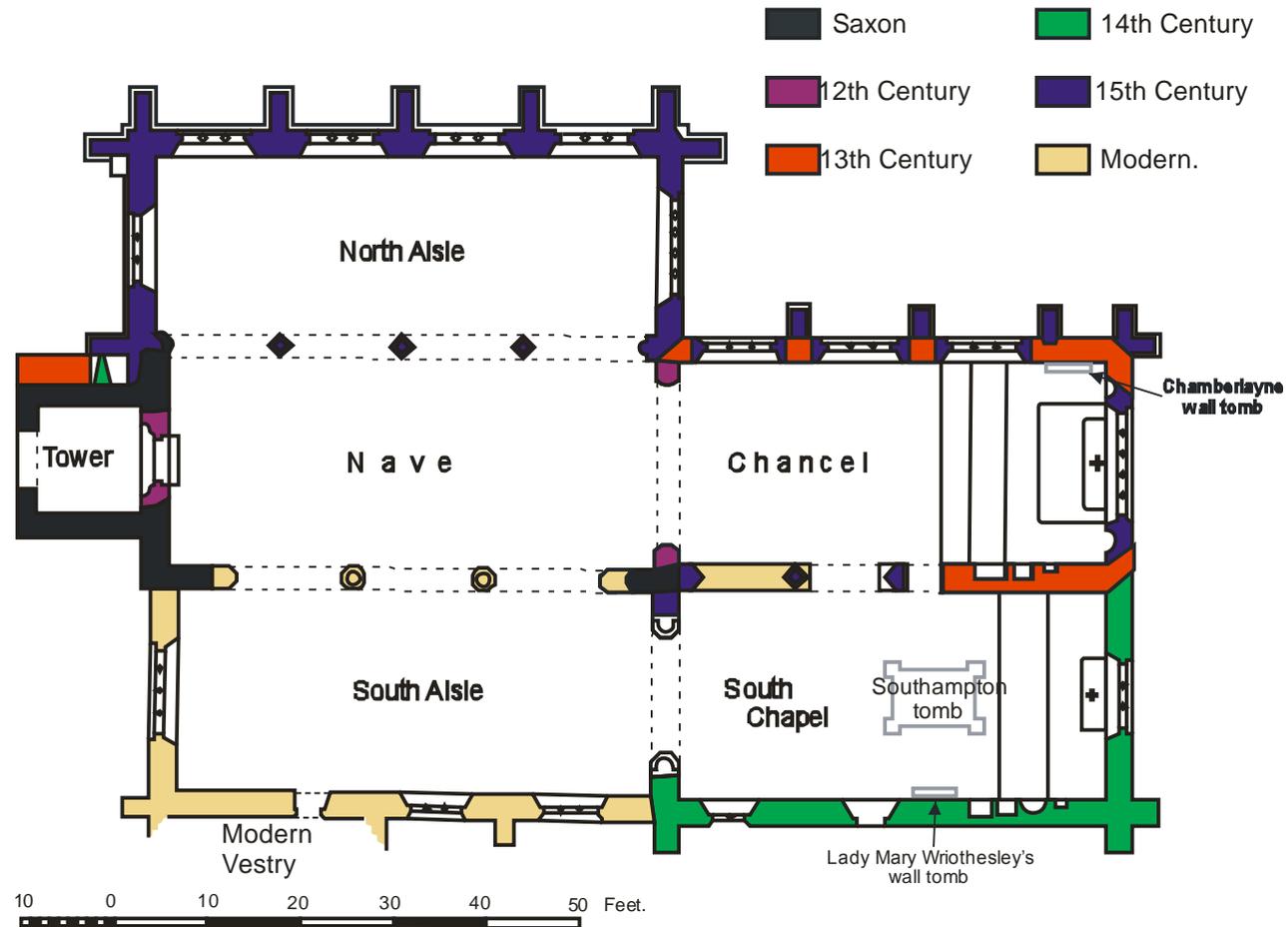


Church Plan 12 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.



Church Plan 13 Adapted from 'A History of the County of Sussex' Vol 4 (Oxford University Press 1953) by permission of the Executive Editor by Judith and Julian Jones.

ST PETER'S, TITCHFIELD



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GLOSSARY

Armiger, armigerous: arms-bearing (as in heraldic devices). The possession of a coat of arms defines its holder as a member of the gentry

Arminianism: (after the teachings of the Dutchman Jacobus Arminius 1560-1609) is a variety of Presbyterianism (see below). However in England the concept is also attached to the Protestant doctrines espoused by Charles I's Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573-1645) which sought to introduce more ceremony into the Protestant liturgy, to ensure uniformity of ecclesiastical dogma and to promote Episcopalianism. Since Laud was one of Charles' closest advisers and encouraged his beliefs in the Divine Right of Kings, he became increasingly unpopular in the 1620s and 30s, being seen as a proto-Catholic by many of his opponents. He was eventually executed having been found guilty of treason by Parliament in 1645.

Calvinism/Presbyterianism: John Calvin was one of the primary exponents of a more radical branch of Protestantism than Lutheranism and developed the doctrine of the Predestined Elect. His ideas were and are profoundly influential - the Presbyterian and Congregational churches still follow his teachings.

Clunch; A hard form of chalk used frequently in Sussex as building material. It does, however, wear down more rapidly than other stonework.

Confessional: as used in this thesis, confessional beliefs relate to individual religious belief.

Console: A form of corbel (see below) in the shape of a scroll, used to support a pediment or upper surface.

Corbel: A structural object which projects from a wall or building in order to support a brace or beam or other internal object. In churches corbels sometimes support ledges for votive statues and can be carved into sculptural shapes.

Diaconal: As of or appertaining to a Dean –specifically one of the local diocese's most senior clergy.

Diatonic: A seven note scale ending in the eighth note octave. This musical structure underpins most of the compositional methodology of Western musicians and composers.

Easter Sepulchre: Catholicism has an Easter tradition of constructing the Sepulchre in which Christ was laid before his resurrection in a location on the north wall of a church's chancel. In this structure the Host is kept until Easter Sunday. From the Middle Ages on the location of this ritual object has been highly prized as a burial location for elite individuals whose tombs could be used as suitable sites for the Sepulchre. It was believed that the proximity of their mortal remains to the Host would benefit their souls in Purgatory.

Eschatology: The study of beliefs concerning the end of the Christian world, including the Day of Judgement and the Apocalypse

Escutcheon: A coat of arms, conventionally in the shape of a shield.

Fald stool: Another name for this piece of religious devotional furniture is a *prie-dieu*. It is an object

designed to enable its private user to kneel and pray and is often shown on Tudor and Stuart wall tombs where the relief effigies of a husband and wife confront each other in prayer

Galleting: A building term used to describe the process of reinforcing mortar joints in stonework with small pieces of stone or flint.

Godly: A confessional description often applied by stricter Protestants to themselves. The appellation 'Puritan' was used in the late 16th and 17th centuries in more derogatory ways by traditional or conservative believers.

Griffin: A Royal mythical beast with the body of a lion and the head, beak and claws of an eagle.

Hangers/hanging woods: Often found in Downland environments; hangers or hanging woods cling to precipitous Downland slopes and are an important rural mechanism preventing soil erosion.

Hard: Used extensively along the southern and western coast, a hard is a quayside but also a 'hard standing' - an area of a harbour where boats can be moored or brought up and goods unloaded.

Hatchment: Until the 20th century deaths and funerals were often announced in churches by the production of a hatchment. This is a lozenge-shaped wooden panel with the deceased's coat of arms emblazoned which is hung up in the nave. These were often conserved by families and were either stored in their parish churches or kept by the local undertaker.

Hermeneutic: A method of evaluation by means of interpretation. Often used specifically for textual research, in archaeology hermeneutics is applied to material remains, as in this thesis.

Hood moulding: A projecting band over a door or window which acts as a hood. In the case of exterior hood mouldings they help to keep rainwater from penetrating the window's inner masonry.

Impropriation: A method devised after the Reformation whereby non-clerical individuals were able to collect the tithes of an impropriated parish as if he/she were the parson. However impropriation also carried with it an obligation to ensure the spiritual well-being of the impropriators' parishioners.

Laudianism: (see Arminianism)

Mis –en-scene: A French term meaning to 'set the scene' and usually applied to scenery. In this context it is used in connection with the architectural structure and paraphernalia of liturgical performance.

Monody: A single line of music as in a tune or melody but also applicable to recitative, chants and declamations.

Ontology: The science or study of being or existence. Used in this thesis to describe how early modern individuals and groups understood fundamental aspects of their existence and cosmology.

Operatic recitative: Developed from the Italian operatic forms of the early 17th century, sung recitative usually has a fairly tuneless monodic line fitted to the shape of the words being uttered. It is 'doing' music, designed to tell an audience what is going on or for conversations between operatic characters.

Parclose: usually made of wood, but sometimes also of stone, a parclose is a screen which, in a church closes off a private space like a chapel.

Poppyhead (popyhead): In a church screens and pew bench ends sometimes culminate in finials carved with *fleur de lys* capitals. These were thought to resemble the Pope's tiara or mitre and so were called poppyheads, now more often referred to as poppyheads.

Protestation Returns: In 1642 the entire (male) population of England was required to swear an oath protesting their loyalty to king and parliament, as a means of uncovering dissidents. These oaths were administered parish by parish by the local parson, recorded and preserved and thus they now act as a form of census.

Rectors/vicars: The differences in status between rectors and vicars originate from the quantity of tithes each received. Tithes, or a tenth of all goods produced or crops grown, were originally always in kind and were part of the stipend of a parish priest. However there were Greater and Lesser tithes and the rector was entitled to the Greater Tithes. In a parish which sustained two clergymen the rector's status was both ideologically but also materially higher since his tithe income was greater. Pluralist rectors employed vicars and split the tithes in exactly the same way.

Recusants: Catholic parishioners who openly declared their faith and were liable to fines as a result.

Reredos: A panel set up behind a religious structure, usually an altar. It is frequently painted, sculpted or inscribed with religious texts.

Rood –screen/stairs/loft: Medieval churches had wooden (sometimes masonry) screens dividing the chancel from the nave. These were pierced with windows and had a central door. They were topped with a structural beam running across the chancel arch which was wide enough to make a long thin platform called the rood loft used by the priest for preaching and for church musicians. This was accessed by rood stairs which usually were cut or fixed in to one side of the chancel arch. At the centre, facing the nave was a sculpture or painting of the Crucifixion, flanked by the Virgin on one side and John the Baptist on the other. After the Reformation these were generally removed.

Semiotics: The language of signs and symbols. It is used in archaeology and anthropology to interpret social systems from the signs and symbols used by those societies. In medieval and early modern England heraldry was a very powerful semiotic language.

Strapwork: A sculptural moulding or painting resembling a ribbon or strap used to decorate tombs, monuments, paintings etc. Strapwork decoration is very characteristic of late Tudor artworks.

Tympanum. The triangular gable end often found above a chancel arch or above an entrance. This can contain bas relief sculpture or, in the case of medieval churches, the tympanum above the chancel arch facing the nave was sometimes painted with a Doom or Day of Judgement

Yale: Another mythical Royal Beast. It is a kind of shaggy goat with enormous horns.

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APPENDIX Volume 2

GAZETTEER OF CHURCHES AND THEIR PARISHES AS STUDIED IN THE DOCTORAL THESIS *DANCES OF LIFE AND DEATH: INTERPRETATIONS OF EARLY MODERN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY FROM RURAL PARISHES CHURCHES AND THEIR LANDSCAPES ALONG THE HAMPSHIRE/SUSSEX BORDER 1500-1800.*

This gazetteer covers a sample of 50 parishes lying to either side of the Hampshire/West Sussex border and running from the coast to the northern edge of the Southdowns. It is divided into 4 sections which deal with coastal and Downland areas to either side of the border. Each has been given a GNo (or Gazetteer number) which reflects their order within each of the sections and can be used to cross-reference information on the parishes as and when they are mentioned in the thesis text, if the reader so desires.

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PART 1. COASTAL PARISHES IN HAMPSHIRE

1. CHURCH OF ST THOMAS A BECKET, CHURCH LANE, WARBLINGTON, HANTS

Parish of Warblington, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Figs 1 and 2: Views of St Thomas a Becket and its churchyard from the west and southwest.

St Thomas a Becket (ex St Mary's) lies close to the coast of Langstone Harbour and is a Saxon foundation developed and extended during the 12th-13th centuries. It has a large churchyard, flanked by a new cemetery to the south and west. The church nowadays represents the hub of a vanished village/hamlet which was moved northwest in the late 15th cent when the manor was imparked by the Duke of Warwick. To the north are the remains of a moated Tudor courtyard mansion, Warblington Castle, of which only a single gatehouse tower still stands. The present 17th cent farmhouse now covers the footprint of the Great Hall of the Inner Court's East range. This was predated by a manor house possibly of Saxon origins but the Castle's archaeology has only recently been investigated using geophysical methods and is not visible beneath the Castle's foundations. The Castle was built by Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury and then owned by the Catholic Cotton family who were Royalists. In 1644 it was taken by Parliamentary forces and then besieged and attacked by Royalists but whether it was completely destroyed or dismantled subsequently is open to question (Chapter 2.5.2). The relationship between the church and the Castle chapel has not been investigated although the guide suggests that Margaret Pole's chaplain John Helion/Helyer was also incumbent in the 1530s (for more on Margaret Pole see Hazel Pierce 2009)

The surrounding landscape is one of arable and pasture inland from coastal salt marsh and the Langstone channel which joins Langstone to Chichester Harbour. Nearby are Langstone's lading quays, now rather silted but which previously serviced a grain loading and distribution port. St

Thomas's was also the parish church for the adjacent harbour of Emsworth which only became an independent parish in 1856, though St Peter's, a small chapel-of-ease, was built in its Square in the late 18th century. Accordingly even though Emsworth was much larger than Warblington, its inhabitants were all obliged to attend St Thomas's, two miles distant, until recent times .

Architecture

Fabric: flint and rubble walls with Roman tile and brick admixed. Tiled roof recently renewed. Exterior originally plastered – some remaining on the nave's south side.

The chancel represents the original Saxon church, culminating at its W end with a stone built bell tower. The nave was tacked on and aisles constructed during the 12th-13th centuries. Since the chancel and tower remain uncurtailed the church appears very long especially as the tower was opened when the 3 bay nave was added. At the east ends of both aisles are chapel sites and there is a further chancel chapel with a squint to the north (now used as a choir robing room and vestry extension) which may have been a patronal chapel belonging to the owners of the Castle. The north porch is built from massive 15th century timbers but the south door was removed and blocked in the 19th century restorations (Chapter 5.3.1). The west door is a double 15th cent entrance. The church was restored extensively from the 19th cent onwards which resulted in the removal of anything dating from the early modern period with the exception of a brass and several surviving ledgers and wall plaques (see below).

Space and contents

The Victorian pew layout has destroyed previous indications of earlier pewage. Sight lines from the nave up to the chancel altar are surprisingly good from the corners but would have been obstructed by the existence of a rood/chancel screen. Gendered materials are only visible in terms of two badly damaged 13th century women's tombs, reputedly of two noble sisters who had inherited the manor (see Page). The size of the church, both in terms of the chancel and nave reflects the need for accommodation for a large congregation and the presence of patronal gentry. The tower, sited between nave and chancel, narrows the access between both cells and acts as a boundary space.

The major interior early modern elements inside the church are mortuary monuments. There is a small brass to the left of the chancel altar to Raffe Smalpage, d 1558, parson and chaplain to the first Wriothesley Earl of Southampton (see GNo 13 Titchfield). Beside it on the ground is the ledger stone of Richard Cotton who died late 17th cent (of the Castle and of Bedhampton) which has a lengthy inscription. This ledger has indents for missing brasses which disappeared post-

Restoration. Other ledgers in the nave may remain but are obscured by the Victorian platform flooring.

In the nave are several shield-shaped or oval 18th century wall plaques to local members of the lesser gentry. One is signed by John Morey, its mason. The Moreys or Moores (see GNo 45 East Marden) were builders as well as masons with workshops and property in Havant. These plaques have similarities to those in St Peters, North Hayling (GNo 3) and St Mary's, Chidham (GNo 28). One is to a member of the Palmer family who are also commemorated in the churchyard (see below). There were three 16th century bells, of which the single one remaining is inscribed SANCTA PALE ORA PRO NOBIS.

Regarding iconoclasm, it is not clear to whom or to what extent the various bits of damage this church and its contents has received can be attributed. Certainly the medieval effigy in the southern chapel has been heavily defaced by scores of initials and general graffiti, many of which look relatively modern.

Churchyard

This is one of the most remarkable churchyards in the region. It possesses two early 19th century flint-built watchmen's huts at the SE and NW corners designed to deter grave robbers. It also has a large number of 18th century headstones, carved from limestone, often in family groups. Like many coastal graves these are all extremely weather-beaten. In addition there are a number of Catholics buried here whose graves are marked with a crucifix. Notable amongst the family groups are the Holloways whose graves are sprinkled around with the major group to the north of the west entrance to the church. This makes up 2 rows of 18th century burials and there are 2 Catholic gravestones amongst them, suggesting they were an Anglican family who may have married Catholic wives.

Immediately southwest of the church is a row of 18th century Todds most of whom are marked as Catholics. In addition to the usual 18th century motifs – cherubs, books, hourglasses, death's heads, sunbursts etc there are several graves which feature ships, indicating the connection of Warblington's parishioners with the sea. The most notable of these is a gravestone to the south of the church's east wall. This forms one of a long row of headstones belonging to the Palmer family (see above) and it is a memorial to a young sailor William Palmer, shipwrecked in Dublin Harbour in 1759. This is headed by a depiction of a vessel upside down and sinking below the waves below a harbour bordered with houses, castle and quay (see Fig 4).

Another stone which features a ship carving is to *'William, son of John and Sarah Bean that lost*

his life by some powder taking fire in his majesty's ship Torbay in Portsmouth Harbour September the 27th 1758 Aged 20 years

Unhappy late impressed and forced was I/ from every Friend to Fight the enemy/ yet harder fate by Strange Explosion sent/ from fire to Water mark the dire event:/ Two elements conspire to set me free/ Lord from Life's Tempest rest my Soul with thee'.

The churchyard contains several yews, one of which, southeast of the church is thought to be over 1000 years old. The graveyard walls are 19th century brick and flint complete with gates and stiles. An 18th century sundial is fixed above the easternmost window gable to the south with an inscription 'Thos Smith, Wm Downor, Churchwardens 1781' (Chapter 4.3.3). Although there are later headstones, the graveyard is a demonstration of 18th century spatial use and memorialisation (see Chapters 5.3.2 and 7.3.1 for detailed discussion of its spatial organisation), a quality it shares with the graveyard at St John's the Baptist, Westbourne (GNo 26), both of which are excellent examples of late early modern mortuary landscapes (Chapter 7.3.1 and 7.4).

Sources: This church and environs have been intensively studied by 19th cent antiquarians (Butler 1817, Longcroft 1857 and Norris and Minchin 1919) and by modern local historians (Lloyd 1974, Reger 1967 and 1996, Rudkin 1978, Osborne 2011:51-4), NADFAS church records at www.nadfas.org.uk, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:639-41 and Page VCH 1908 Vol 3 pp 134-9. As yet unpublished is 'Gentle Housescapes' (Jones 2008 MA dissertation) which examines aspects of Warblington's early modern parochial centre. The church guide is by Pat Morrissey with contributions from Daphne Cooper (interior) and Jill Storer (churchyard). There is a complete index to the graveyard tombstones in Emsworth's and Havant's museums.



Fig 3 The interior of the church looking east to the chancel. Fig 4 Gravestone to William Palmer, drowned in Dublin Harbour

2. CHURCH OF ST FAITH'S , WEST ST, HAVANT, HANTS

Parish of Havant, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of St Faith's church and churchyard from the south.

Havant has a Roman foundation as demonstrated by archaeological evidence discovered below the church and near the waters of the Homewell which rise just to the southwest. This water proved highly suitable for parchment making and tanning - industries associated with Havant up to the 20th century. The town occupied a focal position as a market for an area comprising the neighbouring parishes of Warblington and Emsworth, Hayling, Bedhampton and Blendworth (Chapter 2.2. and GNos 1 and 3-5)

Havant's architecture has suffered badly since much of it was burnt down in an 18th century fire. Only South St has an early Tudor building (The Old House at Home) and South and East St have surviving 18th century gentry town houses and the Bear Hotel – a Georgian coaching inn. Langstone, a mile south towards Hayling, with its mills and industrial quayside was Havant's export outlet for grain and other merchandise until the 20th century.

The town is built on a crossroad plan with the church as its hub – the EW road axis follows the line of the Chichester-Portchester-Bitterne Roman road and the NS axis is aligned along a route leading from the Rowlands Castle potteries to the Langstone quays, a later Roman route (Pile 1986:2 quoting Soffe and Johnson 1974). Havant's status as a Liberty dates from Saxon times and was confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester in 1284, freeing the town from certain feudal dues (see Page). It was also a Peculiar (see Southwick GNo 23), richly endowed and a sought-after benefice.

St Faith's is large but was over-restored during the 19th century. In 1832 it was decided to pull

down the nave, reduce it and introduce more galleries. The loss of its function as a buttress led to the imminent collapse of the central tower so in 1874 the tower was dismantled and most of the church rebuilt in its original proportions using the same building material. Thus three quarters of the church is entirely reconstructed.

Architecture

Fabric: church of rubble and flint with tiled roof. The first stone phase of building was a 12th century cruciform with a single transept crossing under the tower. In the 13th century the chancel was rebuilt with sophisticated rib vaulting reminiscent of high monastic or cathedral building reflecting St Faith's importance during the Middle Ages.

The two bayed chancel has an original 14th century turret stairway ascending the tower behind the NE chancel arch respond which shows evidence for a rood loft staircase. In the 15th century the transept crossing was extended south, unusually doubling its width. In the N transept an early Tudor window in the N wall is probably a gift sponsored by an important local gentry family possibly inserted to illuminate associated monuments or altars. In the chancel the rib vaulting retains foliate bosses and and heavily mutilated corbel heads which are similar to the medieval sculpture in St Mary's, South Hayling (no 4). It seems likely that the damage visible here was the result of 16th-17th century iconoclasm since the chancel was subsequently ceiled – the ceiling being removed in the Victorian period. The chancel floor has been substantially raised in the restorations, reducing the height and proportions of the medieval side doors and obscuring any earlier mortuary evidence.

The size and unusual features of St Faith's – rib-vaulting and double transepts - establish an impression of its architectural and religious significance which had some continuity throughout the medieval- early modern period. However there is little early modern material culture now visible apart from some resited wall plaques discussed below.

Space and contents

Post-Reformation the four bay nave would have held a substantial population, especially if fitted out with west or side galleries. Sight lines are interpretatively reconstructable and show that the depth of this building probably required its ministers to conduct their services from a pulpit and desks sited in the crossing, the sight-lines being very poor otherwise. This was necessary if (as now) there was additional seating in the transepts which are completely blocked off from view of the chancel.

There is evidence of pre-Reformation chantry or guild chapels. The VCH suggests that Richard Dalyngrigge of Wade (west of Warblington) endowed a chantry in 1471 which fell into disuse when Roger Lewkenor, his heir, disputed its financial provision. Page also says that a stipendiary priest is recorded in the 1547 chantry returns for 'the ministrations of a brotherhood there founded 'of the devotion of the inhabitants' and endowed with land and money' (Page 1908:122-7) which indicates the existence of an early Tudor chapel dedicated to this brotherhood or guild.

Much of the church furniture is 19th century or modern, including all the altar furniture, altar rails, pulpit, pews and window glass. There has been a heavy mortality of monuments and tombs. The chancel especially has been cleaned of monuments, ledgers and plaques and the latter have probably been moved to the transepts. The only remaining example is a 14th century brass to Thomas Aylward (Rector 1397-1413 and chaplain to William of Wykeham see GNo 25). The west walls of the transepts now hold the remaining 18th century wall plaques. To the south there is a memorial to Isaac Moody, Lord of the Manor of Havant (d 1728) and his wife Rebecca (d 1726) and next to it another to a Moody relative, Selina Newland, wife to Bingham Newland d 1786 who died of a lingering consumption - 'A standing allegorical angel, garlanding an urn by P. M. van Gelder' (Pevsner 1967:277 see Fig 4) To the north is a late Baroque plaque with a coloured armorial at the base. It records 'Mary Blackman, Relict of Wynn Blackman, late of the City of Chichester and Daughter of William Symonds, Gent and Elizabeth his wife of this Town, who departed this life July the 20th 1759 Aged 40 years' (discussed in Chapter 5.4.2 and 7.3.1).

There are 8 bells, two of which are early modern castings.

Churchyard

The exterior of the church is misleading and at first glance looks ancient since it is substantially rebuilt from its original rubble and flint. The churchyard ground is between 66 and 100 cms higher than the church showing the longevity of its use. There is a mature yew NW of the church with modern mature cupressi. The burial ground is edged with c 50 year old beeches and walled in flint and brick.

The headstones are varied in style and there are some early ones. Amongst these are headstones marked with Catholic crucifixes including a group to SE of 18th century Bulbecks all decorated with winged cherub motifs. To the south there is a row of 18th century Mantles with death's head carvings similar to some in Warblington churchyard – probably from the Moore/Morey workshop (see Hawkins, Reger and Willett undated guide: 11 and see Chapter 5.3.1). Another couple which derive from the same workshop commemorate John Griggs senior and junior (d 1790?) and are

sited in the NW corner of the churchyard. These show skeletons emerging from coffins ie they are Resurrection stones and if they date to the 1790s are extremely old-fashioned designs for this period. There is also a flat 17th century ledger with an inscription running along its outer edge which might have been ejected from inside the church during the 19th century. The churchyard is well provided with early modern chest/table tombs but the graveyard furniture here is in general very weather-worn (Chapter 7.3.1).

Sources Green 1967: 124-9, Pile 1986, Soffe and Johnston 1976, Draper 1990: 90-1, Reger 1996:125-24, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 275-80, Page VCH 1908: 122-7. See Hawkins, Reger and Willett for the undated church guide and Havant Museum for more information on church and parish.

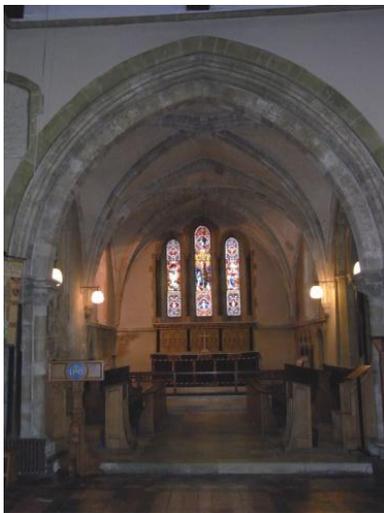


Fig 3 View of the chancel and its rib vaulting. Fig 4 Memorial plaque to Selina Newland d 1786 with mourning female angel and urn.

3. ST PETERS, NORTHNEY, HAYLING ISLAND, HANTS

Parish of North Hayling. Parish originally called Northwood, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. St Peter's church and churchyard viewed from the north.

St Peter's is sited about a half mile from the coast on NW side of island in the hamlet of Northney. Originally a wooded parish, now it is largely agricultural/residential with the church in the middle of a ribbon of cottages strung along the eastern back road. Many of these were agricultural labourers' houses or farmsteads, some dating from 16th century. This is one of the less developed areas on Hayling and retains something of its rural character. It is unlikely that it was ever more heavily inhabited and there are no larger gentry houses in this area. St Peter's was originally a chapel of St Mary's, South Hayling whose parish priest served both churches. Parishioners petitioned in the mid-15th century for burial rights which were granted. Unlike St Mary's, St Peter's seems to have escaped the worst ravages of Victorian ecclesiologists. It has been repaired rather than extensively rebuilt (Chapter 7.1).

Architecture:

Fabric: Flint and rubble masonry with tiled roof and shingled spirelet. It may have been extensively plastered as plaster still adheres to the exterior of the north chapel.

This is a small Norman church which initially occupied the nave. By 1250 the chancel had been built and a north chapel added, leading off the central crossing under the belltower. The aisled nave was expanded with late Romanesque arcades set on natural rock plinths (a Jumiegeian building practice, see GNo 4)) with Decorated stiff leaf capitals on the eastern pillar. The church has a central bell turret capped by a short wood-shingled spirelet – a fool's cap steeple. After the

Reformation the upper tower was boxed in and there is a stairway going up from the head of the south aisle (now a vestry) to the bell loft – possibly the site for the rood loft stairs. The chancel arch tympanum supports an archbrace-shaped barge board with 17th century mythical Royal beasts carved at the apices (a yale and griffin). A similarly carved barge board is set over the north porch of St John the Baptist's in Westbourne and its mythical animals are thought to be heraldic badges associated with the 15th-16th century Lumley, Earls of Arundel who also owned much of Hayling Island (Steer - see GNo. 27). There is a 16th century south porch, now not in use.

Space and contents

Internally the church appears spacious and the sight lines from the extreme corners of the nave provide a partial view of angles of the chancel. The north chapel which forms a small transeptual space is thought to have been used as a Lady Chapel and was unlikely to have been patronal as most of North Hayling's medieval and early modern manorial lords lived elsewhere. Pre-Reformation it may have also been a guild or chantry chapel of the sort discussed at St Faith's (No 2). The chapel, now rendered inaccessible by the insertion of an organ, contains a large niche or retable in its eastern wall presumably for a devotional Marian altar.

There are few indications of post-medieval seating since there is no sign of a gallery and most of the seating is modern. However there are three long bench pews between 2.76 and 1.64m long, thought variously to be 15th or 16th century with poppy head finials two of which have slots for the insertion of candles or rushlighting. These are very solid and heavy and may represent more rustic forms of bench pew seating than those found at Idsworth, Appuldram, West Wittering or Singleton (See GNos 14, 33, 36 and 43 and Chapter 3.3.3) Their survival suggests that the Hayling parishes were backwaters where early modern pewing systems needed to incorporate old furniture.

Although much of St Peter's material culture is Victorian or modern its altar rails are 17th century and are sited below the chancel arch suggesting that they have replaced an earlier chancel screen since there are more modern altar rails dividing chancel from sanctuary. There is a Jacobean polygonal oak font cover and a 16th-17th century churchwarden's chest with strapwork carving and two locks for double security (see Chapter 3). The roof timbers are largely ancient with painted central bosses suggesting they are medieval, but given the paintwork on the bargeboard's Royal beasts and the general conservatism of this area it is possible these may date to a Tudor or early Stuart re-roofing.

The floor is largely relaid with Victorian geometric tiles so that few ledgers are now visible. Exceptions commemorate the 18th century Monlas family, both the Reverend Matthew and his son John who were Hayling notables whose inscriptions are now very damaged but recorded in Longcroft's 'Hundred of Bosmere' (1857) and the Rogers family, farmers long resident in Northney. There are also two remaining wall plaques, one to late 18th century members of the Rogers family and one to the Bannisters who were Havant surgeons resident on Hayling.

Three medieval bells (c1350) are still used which up till recently were mounted on a medieval bell frame. Largest bell inscribed SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO NOBIS

Churchyard

This was recently enlarged to the west. Its oldest 18th century headstones are mainly to the south but also a few to the west (Chapter 5.3.1) Again the Rogers family are well represented (over 11), one of whose includes a wheatsheaf flanked by winged cherubs and another with a sun-burst crown. Wheatsheaf images reappear on gravestones in the churchyard at St Mary's, South Hayling (see GNo 4). There is also a notable headstone to John Whirtly/Whitely? 1727 with skull, bible and hourglass. Hayling's winds are salt laden and abrade the carving on the tombstones, rendering them even more difficult to decipher than those in other coastal churchyards.

There is one large ancient yew to the west of the north door and another mature yew east of it set closer to the road. A third stands next to the south porch.

Sources: Longcroft 1857, Green 1967:124-9, Lloyd 1974:13-4, Draper 1990:91-2, Reger 1996: 37-42, Rogers 2000, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 283-4, VCH Page 1908: 128-134 and material in Havant museum.



Fig 2 Interior of St Peter's looking east. Fig 3. Late 15th-16th century bench pew with restored poppy headed bench ends. An original finial has a hole drilled in it to take a candle.

4. ST MARY'S, CHURCH ROAD, HAYLING ISLAND, HANTS.

Parish of South Hayling (originally called Southwood), coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of St Mary's church and churchyard from the southeast.

St Mary's church is set in the middle of its parish, roughly a mile from the sea to its south, east and west. Now embedded in modern ribbon development it is bordered to the west by fields. This too was a more heavily wooded parish, much of the timber being removed in the 18th-19th centuries and, before the 20th century, was set in a pastoral and coppiced agricultural environment. A half-mile to the north is Hayling Manor and its farm, once the Priory Grange Farm.

Much of the island belonged to the Saxon Cathedral Priory of St Swithuns in Winchester who farmed the land through a monastic settlement and, after the Conquest, Hayling Priory was attached to the Norman Abbey of Jumieges (Chapter 2.5.1). At the beginning of the 15th century alien monasteries were dissolved and the Priory land was transferred to the ownership of the Priory of Sheen. After the Reformation these estates passed to the Earls of Arundel, later the Dukes of Norfolk.

There was a medieval and Tudor timber-framed rectory close to the churchyard which was pulled down in 1828 and another built further off (see an early 19th century print of this in Havant Museum, also Soffe 1995:52 and Longcroft 1857).

Architecture

Fabric: Binstead and Caen limestone, clunch and malmstone, some rubble and brick patching. Tiled roof and oak shingled spire.

St Mary's is a sizeable parish church and like St Peter's has a bell tower and steeple sited at the junction of the nave with the chancel which acts as a crossing with chapels at the head of the north and south aisles. It was built to cater for the Priory monks and for the parish and thus its large chancel would have served the Priory while the nave and its lay congregation was served by the parish priest. It was built over some years in the late 13th-early 14th centuries and is subdivided by arcades with a clerestory with quadrifoliated round windows occupying the spandrels between the arcade arches.

In addition to its size and architectural sophistication, it has a truly remarkable collection of medieval sculptures attached to moulding stops, corbels, etc and on the capitals, abaci and pier bases of the nave arcades. In comparison the architecture in the chancel is much plainer, presumably stripped out at a later date. This possibly Jumiegian sculpture is discussed at length by Pevsner, Lloyd and Soffe and has been compared to similar carvings in Havant (GNo 2), Chichester, Boxgrove Priory and some of the great Norman cathedrals and abbeys. Its broach spire above the central belfry tower is carpentered using an early form of notched lap joint which dates it to before 1300 showing that the church's architecture is remarkably temporally homogenous.

The whole fabric of the church has been extensively restored twice, firstly by Street in 1868 and then by Ridge in 1892 who saved the nave sculpture. Both restorations however stripped the church of its early modern fabric and in the 1970s the interior plaster was removed, darkening the church and destroying any chance of uncovering earlier wall painting.

Space and contents

The only indication of early modern work is a discarded finial from the top of the west wall gable dated 1569, showing some major Elizabethan roof repair work took place. There is also evidence from refashioned panelling (no longer on view) that a gentry box pew was sited in the northwest chancel corner and that an early modern wooden altar suite was removed during the restorations.

There is some unevenly distributed iconoclastic damage on the sculptures. Inside the church the representational statuary on the corbels and the hood mould stops seems to be more defaced to the west and less as one progresses towards the crossing and the chancel. Although some of the heads are entirely planed away others have merely lost their noses and the work on the capitals is untouched as if the iconoclasts on Hayling (of whatever period) were ambivalent when it came to obliterating the church's imagery. The carving on the pier bases shows signs of natural rather than deliberate attrition.

Sight lines are poor from the aisle extremities into the chancel but this is unsurprising given the church's original bipartite function. The crossing would have easily accommodated both desks and pulpit and provided space for a communion table during the immediate post-Reformation period. Evidence for a Laudian-type altar suite suggests that 17th-18th century congregations were expected to take communion in the chancel. All other furniture and fittings are either Victorian or modern. There is a set of Decalogue tablets hung above the chancel arch but these too are 19th century (Chapter 4.2.3).

There is little evidence for gendered spaces here although the medieval sculpted heads populate the nave and there are female heads: a corbel carving of a wimpled lady to the west, some on the pier bases and another of a queen twinned with a king on the arches either side of the easternmost arcade, thought possibly to be Henry III and Eleanor of Provence or Edward I and Eleanor of Castile (ie late 13th cent, Soffe 1995:35). That these sculptures remained at all after the Reformation is a strong indication that Hayling shared the confessional conservatism of the area. During the post-medieval period the medieval south porch doubled up as a school room (see Chapter 3.1). It has some unusual 16th century champfered moulding and various graffiti carvings including that of a ship on the inner eastern side of the entrance.

There were originally 4 bells supported on a rare 13th century bell frame which is still in place. Only one remains, cast by 1634 by John Higden in 1634 and inscribed IN*GOD*IS*MY*HOPE* 1634*IH*. The * marks represent in order: lozenge, groat, arcade, groat, arcade, bell, groat (Soffe 1995:28 and see Chapter 4.3.3).

The only early modern ledgers which remain are in the chancel and partially hidden by the supervening 19th century sanctuary dais. These are memorials to members of the Budd and Bone families, 18th century tenant farmers resident at the Manor Farm. All the chancel's wall plaques date to the 19th century.

Churchyard

Soffe notes that the churchyard was previously the site for the parish stocks and whipping post (Soffe 1995: 10 and see Chapter 3). The churchyard itself is extensive and has been added to recently to the south and west. The vast majority of burials are 19th and 20th century but there are some interesting late 18th century examples sited to the south and southeast of the church (Chapter 5.3.1 and 7.3.1). These include one depicting a ship, while there are two neighbouring headstones to the southeast which are carved with wheatsheaves and a plough, one of them headed by two winged cherubs, wheatsheaves, a plough, an hourglass and the upper half of a

skeleton lying in a coffin. Although St Peter's has a graveyard, there is a tradition that the northern parishioners are buried to the north of St Mary's with the southerners to the south.

The churchyard is very heavily planted with yews, one of great antiquity and there are 18 other younger and mature trees. An ancient right of way crosses the northern sector and continues into the fields to the west.

Sources: Green 1967:124-9, Lloyd 1974: 13-4 and 23, Draper 1990:92-3, Longcroft 1857, Reger 1996: 37-42, Rogers 2000 Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 281-5, VCH Page 1908:128-134. The extensively researched church guide is by Graham Soffe (1995).

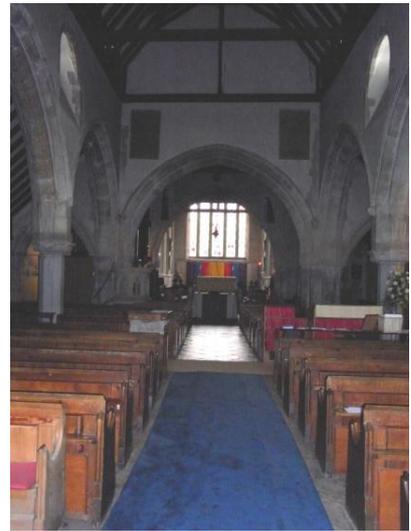


Fig 2 View of St Mary's from the west. Fig 3. Interior of the church looking east.

5. CHURCH OF ST THOMAS THE APOSTLE, BIDBURY LANE, BEDHAMPTON, HANTS.

Parish of Bedhampton, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of the south side of St Thomas's church and churchyard.

Bedhampton lies west of Havant with the small hamlet of Brockhampton intervening and includes a short length of marshy coastline. The parish nowadays is extensively built up to the southwest of Leigh Park, Havant's massive 1960s council estate. Modern ribbon development lines what was originally the Roman Chichester-Bitterne coast road and the parish has become so suburbanised that it together with Havant, Brockhampton and the western Belmont residential area at the foot of Portsdown Hill have all united into one long conurbation.

Old Bedhampton village surprisingly still maintains its nucleation which is centred around the church sandwiched between the old main road to the north and the new M27 which forms a new southern border and cuts off any direct access to the coast. Here there are fields bisected by the Portsmouth – Havant railway line, and the small village consists of an 18th century water mill with millpond and leet, a 19th century flour- processing warehouse, several early modern gentry houses including a rectory and, in a lane to the west of the church, the Old Manor House – whose central section retains its 16th century half timbering but which has been largely rebuilt in the 19th century. This is the manor house the Cotton family of Warblington retreated to when they gave up living at Warblington Castle in the mid 17th century (see GNo 1).

The church itself sits on a rise bordered by Bidbury Lane- the churchyard being c 1.5 m above the level of the road. It would have overlooked an early modern agricultural landscape with access to the sea and Langstone harbour at a short distance. Like Warblington, it was close enough to

Havant to share in a more urbanised way of life with direct access to Havant's markets (Chapter 7.1).

Architecture

Fabric: 19th century flint exterior with raised mortar pointing. Tiled roof. 19th century belfry.

Burrows, the author of the church guide, has very full notes on the extent and details of the 19th century restoration by the Reverend Edmund Daubeney which has completely transformed and, to a large extent, rebuilt this church (Chapter 2.2). In addition, recently a large parochial suite was added to the 19th century vestry on the north side of the building which obscures some of its external archaeology. Presently entrance is by a modern south porch or from the new suite in a door to the north east. Inside this was originally a through-floored, 12th century two celled building with a Norman round-headed chancel arch with dogtooth and lozenge moulding. Its north aisle and arcading were added in 1878.

With regard to the restoration of 1869 Burrows states it consisted of 'stripping the church bare of all fittings and furniture, roof, ceiling, floor and even window glass' (Burrows 1997:15). However research carried out in the 1990s has uncovered architects' reports, specifications and drawings which include much information concerning its state prior to the restoration episodes.

These show that a wooden bell tower and west gallery, box pews running the length of the church and a three decker pulpit with sounding board were lost. The original 14th century windows to the north wall were reallocated when the aisle was added and many wall plaques were resited to the east side of the chancel arch – rendering them only visible to those inside the chancel. Decalogue and Creed tablets were ejected which had hung beside the altar and above the chancel arch. The plaster ceiling was stripped out to reveal the original 13-14th century oak roof trusses though the chancel roof was completely rebuilt. If this interior is mentally reassembled one can conjure up the appearance of a small early modern country church such as that at Idsworth which retains its furnishings or those along the coast at Farlington and Wymering in Hampshire or in Sussex at West Itchenor or East Wittering which also may have contained such suites before Victorian restoration revolutionised their appearance and spatial organisation (see GNos 14, 6, 7, 35 and 37).

Space and contents

Spatial reconstruction can only be inferred from the documentary evidence. Sight lines from the main body of the nave would have been reasonably good, especially as there were no intervening

arcades. Bedhampton's population in the 17th and 18th centuries included several gentry families and probably a wide range of social classes so this may have been a well-attended and spatially crowded church because of the need for so many box pews. Sets of their 18th and 19th century wall plaques have been reset on the inner side of the chancel arch tympanum (see Chapter 5.4.2 for wall plaque discussion). Since the nave was originally narrow and well-fenestrated with plain early modern glass it is likely that the nave would have been quite light.

Archaeologically the only evidences of the west gallery are the stone corbels to the rear of the nave which carried its supporting tiebeam. Burrows notes that before demolition the gallery had been extended in 1783 and housed a string band of musicians and singers until, after 1840, a pipe organ was installed (Burrows 1997:13 and see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Regarding the Cottons, the church's patronal family it is surprising that there are no signs of late 17th/early 18th century family interments. As mentioned, Sir Richard Cotton was buried in Warblington (see GNo 1) but the Cottons were the chief gentry family resident in Bedhampton from c1655 on. It is probable that Sir Richard's ledger in Warblington covers a vault but if not there might well have been other memorials/ledgers at Bedhampton either removed by Daubeney or underlying the raised chancel flooring (Chapter 5.4.2).

Churchyard

The churchyard is rather more informative than the church. It has several 18th century headstones and two earlier ones presently sited against the external east wall of the church. One is plainly inscribed to Mark White, deceased May 12 1668 and beside it a slightly later one (partly illegible) to Elizabeth Liggins. There is also an early 18th century half-sized tombstone in the angle of the church near the south porch with a deeply carved death's head and crossed shinbone motif commemorating Frances Reade. Other southern headstones of the same date include three to the Millett family surmounted by death's heads edged by sunburst crowns. Two flanking stones have a surmounting crucifix and demonstrate the confessional mixture present in this area. The 18th century clusters have not been interfered with by 19th century reorganisation and thus the oldest areas of early modern burials lie to the south, south east and west of the church (Chapter 5.3.1). To the north the burials are largely modern and there seems to have been a more recent extension added to the west of the church. There is also an 18th century Gothic arched gateway in the red brick north wall of the church yard. This was the gate to the private path between the church and the manor house (see Chapter 5.3.2 for graveyard analysis).

There are 2 old yews at the southeast corner of the church and close to the road which borders the south side. These delineate the church boundaries to the east and southeast. Here the churchyard is retained by a brick revetment and by a modern flint wall to the east (Chapter 5.3.2).

Sources: Draper 1990:37, Lloyd 1974: 25.29.43-4, 105, 113, 120-2, Pevsner and Lloyd: 1967:98-100, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908:142-4. The church guide (1997) is by David Burrows compiled from research material collected by John Rennie, Revd Henry Pelham Stokes and Leslie Willett.



Fig 2 The interior of the church looking east showing the early Norman chancel arch. Fig 3. In the southern sector of the churchyard is a group of 18th century family tombstones to the Millett family with death's head and sunburst crown decoration – presumably all from the same workshop

6. CHURCH OF ST ANDREW, HAVANT ROAD, FARLINGTON, HANTS

Parish of Farlington, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 West end of St Andrew's church, Farlington.

The parish of Farlington adjoins Bedhampton to the east and the modern parish of Cosham to the west. It occupies the narrow coastal plain which during the early modern period consisted of open fields bordered extensively by the salt marshes of Langstone Harbour. The Farlington marshes are now a conservation wetland area for overwintering bird populations and an SSSI. The northern part of the parish covers the southern slopes and summit of the eastern end of the ridge of Portsdown Hill up to Purbrook and Stakes Hill. Its economy was largely agricultural but much salt production took place around the coast and Farlington was usefully situated between the growing economic centres of Havant and Portsmouth. It also lay along the main Chichester-Bitterne road. However its nucleus into the 19th century mainly consisted of a few farms and a tight tripartite arrangement of manor house, rectory and church. Farlington House, the manor house was demolished in the 20th century but the rectory, a spacious early 19th century building (now in private hands) still stands to the east of the church. Oddly, given its position, Farlington village failed to expand until after the Second World War when much residential development was undertaken on the Portsdown slopes behind the church. In the 19th century a military redoubt was constructed just to the north of the main road which was part of the Palmerstonian fortifications which crown Portsdown and cut across the Gosport peninsula. The fields which are still farmed in the southern part of the parish were examples of a medieval infield system and only enclosed in the 19th century.

The parish also had a number of villages which included Drayton to the west and Purbrook to the

north. These now have spread out to form another large suburbanised mass which is part of the huge Cosham/Wymering/Paulsgrove conurbation which forms Portsmouth's mainland annex. Most of Farlington's manorial lands were in the hands of the Pounds for much of the early modern period, a family with extensive estates and influence in the Portsea area who intermarried with a number of the local gentry families mentioned in this study. In the 17th century manorial lands to the north around Stakes were owned by members of the Gunter family, resident in Racton, West Sussex (see GNo 89 for more on this family and Chapters 3, 4 and 6).

Architecture

Fabric; flint with ashlar dressings. The restored interior has clunch walls dressed with Bath stone with marble shafts to the chancel arch and arcading piers.

This is another church which was almost completely re-fashioned during the 1870s (Chapters 2.2 and 7.1). The architect employed was George Street who also restored St Mary's, South Hayling (GNo 4) who dismantled much of the church, rebuilding the chancel, leaving a fraction of its nave architecture and keeping its proportions but adding a north aisle to it and replacing its bell turret (Chapter 4.3.3). As a result it has lost the vast majority of its medieval and early modern material culture and only retains a single 14th century west window, much repaired. Pevsner and Lloyd admire Street's reinterpretation of its 13th century architecture but unfortunately this is too complete to retain any information about its previous form. Unlike St Thomas's at Bedhampton, there are no architectural documents to provide clues as to its pre-restoration layout.

Space and contents

There is very little to be said about St Andrew's early modern spatial dispositions since its interior is so changed. Its sole post-medieval feature is a surviving wall plaque in a similar Baroque vein to that of Mary Blackman in St Faith's, Havant but without her armorial cartouche (see GNo 2). This is to Thomas Smith d 1742.

Churchyard

The churchyard was presumably used throughout the life of the earlier church but since part of Street's restoration seems to have been to lower its ground and re-landscape it, its interments date entirely from the 19th-21st centuries and, like the rest of the church, are undiagnostic. It has a number of trees and shrubs but these again are recent plantings.

Sources: This church and its parish does not figure largely in regional guides, consequently information about it is sparse. Green 1967: 125. Lloyd 1974: 116, 119-20, 126, Draper 1990: 147, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967; 466-7, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908:148-151.



Fig 2 Southeast corner of St Andrew's churchyard. Fig 3 Late 18th century rectory adjacent to the church. Also see Map7 showing the early modern spatial relationship of church/rectory/manor house.

NB. *I have omitted the parish of Widley which neighbours Farlington to the west and covers the middle section of Portsdown Hill. Its parish was small at 1,109 acres and its hub seems to have consisted of its church, St Mary Magdalene, a farmstead and a few cottages. For a short period in the 17th century its manorial holdings were part of those belonging to the Uvedale family (see GNo 25 and Chapter 6). St Mary Magdalene was completely restored in 1848, but a new church was built in a different location which resulted in the loss of the old one in the mid-20th century. Widley itself is now included in the suburban residential sprawl built across the slopes of Portsdown and its parish has been combined with the modern parish of Cosham.*

7. CHURCH OF ST PETER AND ST PAUL'S, MEDINA ROAD, OLD WYMERING, COSHAM

Parish of Wymering, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. Church of St Peter and St Paul's, Wymering seen from the northeast.

Wymering was originally the dominant parish but is now amalgamated with Widley into that of Cosham. During the 16th-17th centuries this area, both in its coastal reaches and up to Portsdown and beyond, was largely rural enjoying both a marine and agricultural environment with small farmsteads and hamlets representing the major population centres. Wymering was chief amongst these with its nexus standing close to its medieval church along the main Chichester- Bitterne road with a manor house and rectory in close association and several large farmhouses surrounding the church. At the southern end of the parish stood the ancient bridge crossing over to Hilsea on Portsea Island and thus Wymering also possessed a major road junction with its east-west axis crossed by the north-south road from Portsmouth to London. In the 18th century the region became popular with service and gentry families who built their residences outside the city in this convenient location. Cosham, built around the crossroad, expanded to include a number of coaching inns and a regular cattle market, becoming a subsidiary commercial centre to Portsmouth. At this point Wymering became more of a backwater and by the mid-20th century was subsumed into the residential and housing estate mass which now characterises this locality.

The old village has accordingly lost its early modern character but retains all three of its central buildings in their original spatial relationship. Unfortunately all have been widely altered in the intervening centuries, although Wymering manor house, much neglected, still retains parts of its original H shaped architecture and some of its interior fittings and timber framing (*see Fig 3*). It is largely a 16th century building which has had a somewhat chequered history and stands in a

much curtailed plot directly west of the church. The rectory, which has early modern elements, lies on the north side of the churchyard and was extended and altered in the 19th century when the Anglo-Catholic rector, Father Nugee, set up a religious Brother and Sisterhood who were quartered there and in the manor house (*see Fig 2*).

The medieval manorial lords were the Waytes – another gentry family with widespread local gentry connections who split the manor up in the late 16th century. The manor house passed into the hands of the Bruning family who were recusants and are said to have provided it with two priest's holes (for the Brunings' family connection to the Uvedales of Wickham (GNo 26) see Chapter 6.3).

The church is small and stands to the north of the road, its churchyard, like Bedhampton's and Havant's, being sited well above road level (see GNos 2 and 5).

Architecture

Fabric: Restored flint and rubble with flint facade. Tiled roofs and bell turret.

This is another of George Street's restorations done at the behest of Wymering's Anglo-Catholic rector, Father Nugee from 1860-1 (Chapter 2.2). It was a Norman church initially with 12th-13th century additions. Street's work here is not quite as thorough as his later re-building at Farlington as he merely restored the church's 12th and 13th century arcading and respected its medieval footprint. He did however strip away all of its early modern contents (Chapter 7.1). Moreover, while taking down the west tower to replace it with a smaller belfry he is likely to have taken out a west gallery at the same time (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Space and contents

Nothing really can be said of the church's early modern spatial organisation and no earlier memorials or artefacts remain for the purposes of discussion.

Churchyard

St Peter and St Paul's churchyard provides the main interest for early modernists. Here Street left the churchyard more or less untouched and there are quantities of early burials which would reward a detailed local history study (Chapter 7.4). Many of these are sited to the south of the church although the graveyard extends to the north which is bordered by the Old Rectory (Chapter 5.3.1 *and see Fig 2*).

What is most evident is the large number of mid-18th– early 19th century chest tombs which commemorate both service families and members of the prosperous middle classes (Chapter 7.3,1). These, more than the surrounding landscape which is now so changed, indicate the existence at this time of a wealth of semi-rural residential properties and estates which were set along this stretch of the coast and up into Wymering’s northern downland regions. This 18th century landscape mixture of agricultural farmland and small residential estates reappears in Hampshire on the Gosport peninsula and over towards the Sussex border around Warblington and Catherington (see GNos 1 and 16) and in Sussex, closer to Chichester at Funtington (GNo 29). The seeding of the countryside with upper/middle class housing around major urban and military or naval focuses such as Portsmouth and Chichester shows a certain economic ‘up-grading’ of the area, as professional and mercantile individuals and their families sought to settle in rural but accessible localities outside the cities where their working lives were centred. Wymering’s churchyard exemplifies this movement.

Wymering’s churchyard also contains memorials to Jane Austen’s brother Francis who became Admiral of the Fleet and who died aged 91 in 1865 and his wife and daughter.

Sources Lloyd 1974: 10,13, 29-30, 126 Draper 1990: 146-8, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 468-70, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 165-70 For more on Francis Austen see Cecil 1978.



Fig 2 Eastern sector of Wymering churchyard with chest tombs. The much altered and restored 17th century rectory stands on its northern boundary. Fig 3. Wymering Manor. This was a Youth Hostel during the 1990s but now is empty and rapidly decaying.

8. (CATHEDRAL) CHURCH OF ST THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, HIGH ST, OLD PORTSMOUTH

Parish of St Thomas's, Portsea, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of the cathedral church of St Thomas of Canterbury from the south showing its dormer windows still surviving in the roof of the quire.

Portsmouth's earliest parish is that of St Mary's, Portsea but in c 1180 the chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury, was built close to the harbour at the behest of John de Gisors under the aegis of the powerful Priory of Southwick. By the 14th century it had become a parish church and developed a relationship with the nearby Domus Dei, an early 13th century hospital also run by the monks from Southwick. This was bombed in WWII, and its nave now only survives as a shell though its chancel remains, having become the Royal Garrison Church in the 18th century. St Thomas's overlooks the Harbour to the west and has been associated with the sea-going and mercantile communities of Portsmouth since the Middle Ages. The area around the church, now the cathedral, is known as Old Portsmouth and retains much of the old street system and the last vestiges of Portsmouth's early modern housing. It is this area and the dockyard to the west which formed the hub of the town as it developed into the early modern period (Chapter 2.2) and by the mid 18th century it was enclosed by a stone and earthwork fortified wall which protected the island's south west flank and harbour. By this time Portsmouth had expanded from its origins as a trading port into a major maritime harbour, capable of sheltering, refitting and building Royal Naval men of war. At the same time it supported a garrison and the overcrowding this caused led to the expansion of the city so that by the 19th century many of Portsea's small hamlets and villages were losing their fields and beginning to amalgamate into the urban/industrial/commercial mass which now characterises the entire island.

During the Civil War Colonel Goring, in charge of its garrison, held out for the King but was

isolated by the corporation, townsfolk and many of the local gentry and forced in 1642 to abandon the town whereupon Portsmouth remained in Parliamentary hands until the Restoration (Chapter 2.5.2). However since Parliamentary artillery based in Gosport had targeted the city considerable damage had been done to St Thomas's tower which Goring had been using as a lookout. Thus, in the late 17th century the church underwent considerable restoration in which its architecture was altered and important early modern fittings installed.

Architecture

Fabric: rubble walling faced in white/cream Caen and Binstead limestone. Tiles and sheet copper roofing. Wood and leaded cupola to tower.

In the Middle Ages St Thomas's was an Early English cruciform parish church with a central tower and ribbed chancel vaulting as at Havant (GNo 2). Its restoration from 1691-3 expanded the nave and rebuilt the tower at the new west end. The transformation of church into cathedral started in 1937, was interrupted by WWII, and finally completed in 1991 when the old nave was turned into a quire and a spacious new nave built to the west.

The 17th century expansion remodelled the arcade piers into classical round Doric columns and a west gallery was added. The ceilings were coved and plastered throughout. In the next decades side galleries illuminated by surviving dormer windows were built to accommodate the expanding congregation (*see Fig 1*). The chancel began to accrete a profusion of wall memorials and ledgers (Chapter 5.2), a process started after the murder of the Duke of Buckingham in 1628 when a large monument to him was set up by his sister in place of an altar reredos at the east end of the church (*see Fig 2*). Until 1843, when the church was restored and the memorial resited, it remained to dominate the chancel rather more prominently than any of the other altar furniture.

Space and contents

Although the early modern contents of St Thomas's have been adapted and moved over succeeding centuries many of them remain (Chapter 7.1). The large box pews which occupied the floor of the nave have been reduced but an early 19th century print by Ubsdell shows that by the end of the period they were large high-walled constructions, some of them possessing a central table and reading ledge (*see Chapter 3.3.3*). From the print it appears as though they stretched into the chancel too, occupying space on the periphery and leaving a large, possibly benched central passage up to the altar Chapter 7.2.1). The church therefore would have been very crowded during services both with people and the furniture which contained them. The pews, which include a reduced version of the ancient Corporation pew, have now been cut down and

reordered, standing to north and south of the nave. The side galleries, which have been stripped out, stretched around the walls and ran up the nave's east side to the chancel arch. A high three-decker pulpit was set southeast of the chancel arch with a large concave wooden tester crowning it. This has a new sounding board (Chapter 4.3.1) and its lower desks have vanished but it remains in situ, accessed by a section of its late 17th century staircase (Chapter 7.2). While there are no Decalogues tablets two versions of the Royal Arms are still on view. The largest, a wooden, carved, painted and gilded panel was previously sited over the chancel arch and is now fixed to the west gallery in front of an 18th century pipe organ by Abraham Jordan. The other smaller arms surmount a pillar in the north east corner of the old nave (see Chapters 3.3.2; 3.3.4 and 4.2.2 for more on galleries, pulpit and Royal Arms)

Since the dormers remain, this section of the church is very light as is the centre of the well-fenestrated chancel. Much of the flooring has been replaced which suggests that central ledgers may have been either removed or shifted. However the stones which remain in the outer chancel aisles, for the most part are oriented correctly (seemingly upside down with their heads to the west) so it is likely that these were not moved. They commemorate a wide mixture of gentry, naval, dockyard and military personnel and chief members of the mercantile Portsmouth families of the period and there is an interesting ledger on the south side which has had a subsidiary memorial inscription added at a right angle to the primary one (see Chapter 5.4.1 for analysis of ledger placement). The Buckingham tomb by Nicholas Stone, now sited on the southern aisle wall, is more commemorative than physical as only his bowels were buried here, the rest of his body being interred in Westminster Abbey. It foreshadows a later memorial tradition through its classicism, Buckingham's social honour being represented by a central urn enclosed by pylon-shaped, sculpted pilasters, crowned by an armorial pediment supporting trumpet-blowing putti. The chest bears a long laudatory inscription set between two classical female allegorical figures, one of which is Fame also blowing a trumpet.

There are numbers of fine 17th-18th century wall plaques lining the chancel's outer walls and two exceptional wall slabs shaped like doors have been inserted at the head of the south eastern aisle. These commemorate Commonwealth Commissioners of the Navy, William Willoughby d 1651 and his successor Robert Moulton who died in the following year (*see Fig 3*). The upper parts of these are dedicated to large armorials and the lower halves to commemorative inscriptions. It is likely that these were considered the appropriate memorial forms for such important officials during the period of the Commonwealth. Certainly there are no other similar wall memorials in other churches within the research sample.

Churchyard

Much of the medieval and early modern churchyard has been cleared away and the great 20th century nave extension undoubtedly overlies its western extent. There is however a small railed-in plot behind the cathedral to the north east which still contains 18th and 19th century burials. The land to the south which lines the High Street is now a small grassed park.

Sources Carpenter Taylor 1963:29-30,54-7, Green 1967: 131-9, Lloyd 1974 Draper 19: 135-146 esp. P 137. Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 389-464 esp pp 393-404, VCH Hampshire Vol 3. Page 1908: 192-202. Church Guide by Knowles, Brindley and Friars 2006.



Fig 2. The Duke of Buckingham's tomb. Fig 3. Wall memorial to William Willoughby d 1651.

9 CHURCH OF ST MARY'S, PORTCHESTER CASTLE, PORTCHESTER

Parish of Portchester, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of St Mary's church and churchyard from the northwest.

Portchester is a large village running along a north-south road which traverses a short headland to the north west of Portsmouth. This road, Castle Street ends at a huge Roman coastal shore fort which encloses the shell of a medieval castle. In the Middle Ages it was accorded town-status and had a national importance which gradually dissipated as Portsmouth's harbour became more dominant from the 16th century on, Portchester's off-shore deep water facilities having gradually silted up.

The castle, village and its church thus have one of the longest continuous archaeological histories in this area, much of which was investigated and excavated by Barry Cunliffe in the 1960-70s. Cunliffe's reports (1975-77, 1985, 1994) give a detailed account of all phases of the castle's history and that of its environs up until the 20th century. The church is built inside the Roman/medieval outer walls in the southeast quadrant of the outer bailey and was a Saxon foundation with a cemetery. In the early 12th century Augustinian canons rebuilt the church and added priory buildings but c 20 years later they decamped to Southwick, building a new Priory on Portsdown Hill, quickly assimilating estates and exerting considerable influence over the region (see GNo 24). The castle itself, owned by the crown, was added to periodically up until the 16th century, its keep becoming a multi-storey tower, visible for miles around. The importance of the castle as an embarkation point for the continent for medieval kings ensured the growth of its village outside the castle's Land Gate and the village's medieval origins are reflected by surviving buildings in Castle Street. The church was therefore used both by those

castle inhabitants not entitled to worship in its chapel and also by the parish.

In the early 17th century the castle was acquired by the Uvedales of Wickham (see GNo 26 and Chapter 6) who then leased it back to the Crown to house prisoners of war. In the late 17th century Dutch prisoners, quartered in the church set fire to its roof but nonetheless the castle continued to be used in this way until the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. During the 17th and 18th centuries the village's housing stock was increased and improved with the addition of houses and cottages purchased or leased to the families of soldiers billeted as guards and officers (see English Heritage's Images of England for list of these). Portchester then expanded to the north with the coming of the railway and now extends over the lower slopes of Portsdown Hill as part of the mainland Portsmouth conurbation. Its coastline to the east was heavily industrialised in the 1960s and 70s and has completely lost its medieval/early modern landscape characteristics.

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble core dressed in ashlar. Roof and tower are tiled. Inside some Purbeck marble arcading shafts.

Both Simon Jenkins and Nicholas Pevsner use St Mary's church as a type-site for late Norman Romanesque architecture. It was built with a long 5 bay aisleless nave with transepts, three bay chancel, a low central bell tower and a finely sculpted west door – the northern transept and chancel being lined with arcaded stone seating to reflect its original monastic functions. It is not clear if this was repeated in the south transept as this was cleared away in the late 16th century. The Priory buildings lined a cloister to the south and the whole Priory fitted tightly into the south-eastern corner enclosed by the outer bailey walls. In the 16th century the outer wards housed an enormous naval storehouse and the castle's governor, Sir Thomas Cornwallis while rebuilding the castle's eastern range, decided to rationalise the church's architecture – the priory buildings having fallen into decay. He knocked these down, shortened the chancel to enable free access around the outer walls, and demolished the south transept (see Chapter 3.3.1 and 5.3.1).

The damage done by the Dutch prisoners mainly affected the church's roof which was repaired after 1705 using money allocated from Queen Anne's Bounty, an ecclesiastical relief fund, and St Mary's continued in use as a parish church. It was conservatively restored in two episodes in 1867 and 1888 which left much of the remaining medieval architecture in place but cleared out the early modern furniture. There is no sign of a west gallery but Cooke's account of 1928 shows that the vestry books for 1710 recorded the erection of a west gallery with space for 13 pews (Cooke 1928:153 and see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries)

Space and contents

The medieval layout of this church reflects that of St Mary's, South Hayling (No 4) in that it was built to accommodate two communities – a monastic and a lay congregation. It is therefore likely that the long narrow nave held the parish and castle worshippers, ministered to by a priest working from an altar placed west of the crossing while the Canons celebrated Mass in the chancel. The length of the nave post-Reformation may thus have inhibited the erection of elaborate box pews except for those situated in the more spacious crossing. Moreover a number of old pew bench heads discovered in the 19th century buried below the floor suggests that the nave was probably extensively benched from the 16th century onwards.

Under the crossing the floor has elements of regular early modern black and red tiling, perhaps installed after the fire. In this are several in situ 18th century ledgers memorialising Portchester gentlefolk (Chapter 5.2). Altar rails which are reminiscent of the late 17th century ones at Southwick have been moved to the eastern end of the chancel and above them on the south side of the east wall is inserted a wall memorial consisting of the framed bust of Sir Thomas Cornwallis (d 1618) which, like that of the Duke of Buckingham in Portsea, is by Nicholas Stone. Its inscription reads:

In sacred memory of Sr Thos CORNWALLIS Kt Groom Porter to Queene Eliz and King James second sone of Richard Cornwallis of Upnall Hall in Ye County of SUFFOLK ESQ second sonne of Sr John CORNWALLIS of BROOM HALL in Ye SAME COUNTY Kt which Sr Thomas had to WIFE Eliz MOLYNEUX second daughter of John Molyneux of Thorp in ye County of Nott Esq. He died ye 16th of Nov 1618 leaving 2 (7?) sonnes and one daughter.

(Also see discussion of monumental pedigrees in Chapter 6.4 *and see Fig 2*)

The last two early modern items of note are large panels. The first is an Elizabethan Royal Arms with lion and griffon supporters, dated to 1577. This is hung diamond-fashion as a hatchment and has lately been restored. The church guide states that Cornwallis managed to extract funds from Elizabeth for the church refurbishment so presumably the Arms was set up in gratitude. The second wooden panel is an even larger rectangle hung horizontally on the north wall, framed by painted foliate strapwork. This again represents a Royal Arms depicted in an ornate Baroque style surmounted by a crest and crown and topped by the initials A R ie Anne Regina and her motto 'SEMPER EADEM'. An inscription: '*By the Bounty of Queen Anne this church was repaired and beautified 1710*' shows that this too was put up to commemorate her royal gift (Chapter 4.2.2 *and see Fig 3*).

Churchyard

From the extant headstones it appears that much of the surrounding churchyard was lowered during the 19th century restorations. It is also possible to work out from the remaining archaeological traces on the church's south and east exterior faces the earlier roof lines of both priory buildings and chancel. The churchyard is bounded by a flint wall with brick coping and by the shore fort wall and covers the area once taken up by the monastic buildings. Cunliffe's excavations in the 1960s revealed the extent of the Saxon cemetery which spread further to the west.

There are several early graves to the west and north though the majority commemorate 19th-20th century parishioners. Of the early modern burials which survive there is a mixture of local villagers, gentry and services personnel but these are rather randomly distributed, probably as the result of the 19th century ground works. A large mature yew grows to the north of the nave while there are a few younger yews planted to the south.

Sources: J.H Cooke 1928, Carpenter Turner 1963: 19.43 Green 1967: 134-5 Lloyd 1974: 7-63, Draper 1990: 132-4 Cunliffe 1975-8, 1985, 1994 (Excavation Reports), Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 375-387, Jenkins 2000: 251-2, Munby and English Heritage Guide 1990 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 151-161



Fig 2. Nicholas Stone's wall tomb to Sir Thomas Cornwallis d 1618. Fig 3. Large painted Royal Arms of Queen Anne, set up after the mid-17th century fire to commemorate the receipt of her 'Bounty' - a financial award she established to assist with the repair of churches

10 CHURCH OF ST PETER AND ST PAUL, CHURCH PLACE, FAREHAM

Parish of Fareham, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. View of St Peter and St Paul's church, Fareham from the west. Fig 2. The 18th century church tower and belfry and the north chapel

During the early modern period Fareham was a large parish of 6736 acres incorporating a number of small hamlets spread around its parochial centre, the town and port of Fareham. Like Havant (GNo 2), this had grown up into an important regional industrial centre with markets, a fair, tide mill, tanning works, commercial docks and shipbuilding sheds and latterly a thriving brick industry (Chapter 2.2 and 2.5.2). Its position was crucial to its economy as it straddled the north western inlet of Portsmouth Harbour and was, at this time, accessible to naval and commercial shipping. In the 17th century its maritime facilities were considered as good as those of Chatham and since it was an outlet for timber exports, even more convenient for repairs.

The town grew up around a road crossing where the east-west Chichester- Bitterne road met the northern route to Bishop's Waltham and the southern to Gosport and Alverstoke. It held regular markets and acquired a number of fine merchant and gentry houses, ranged along its central streets – the High Street and West Street. It had two hard, the upper one for coal imports and boat building and the southern equipped with warehouses for exports. Today the river Cams inlet is heavily silted and though barges sometimes unload aggregate or sand, Fareham harbour is mainly used for sailing boats and pleasure craft. Its architectural heyday was during the 17th-18th centuries and much of the town centre's building stock reflects this prosperity. By the 18th century it had also become another attractive location for service and wealthy gentry families who

constructed villas and larger suburban houses on its outskirts. The parish also included a number of mansion houses eg Roche Court and Cams Hall which were the residences of important patronal families so that Fareham's social mix was extensive. It may have been the presence of so many monied, influential families whose ecclesiological opinions helped to drive the various episodes of construction and reconstruction which the parish church, St Peter and St Paul, underwent in the 18th and 19th centuries. Fareham however has been badly treated in the 20th-21st centuries with major roadways cutting the town into segments and much residential and commercial infill and expansion. Having lost its character as a nucleated town, it now stretches out to the west into the neighbouring parish of Titchfield, joins up with suburban Portchester to the east, while its southern side is heavily built up along the Gosport road.

Architecture

Fabric: North chapel – flint and rubble with long and short Saxon quoins. Most of the newer church, including the tower is of brick, some blue and grey with red brick dressings. Roof part tiled/part copper sheeting. Much of the interior is red brick.

After the Reformation and up until the mid-18th century the parish church of St Peter and St Paul, situated half way up the High Street, was a medium-sized medieval parish church of the 13th century with some evidence for late Saxon masonry in the Lady Chapel which was previously the chancel. This is now its only surviving pre-Reformation architecture (*see Figs 2 and 3*). In 1742 a blue and red brick tower was added to the west end with a cupola and bell chamber with room for a ring of eight bells (*see Fig 2*). This remains but in 1815 the rest of the church was extensively remodelled and west and side galleries replaced (Sturgess 1995:6 and see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries) since the nave was taken down and enlarged. In 1888 Blomfield built a new chancel. In 1931 Nicholson knocked down the 1812 work and constructed a new nave and in 1975 a church hall was built up against the east end. Apart from the Lady Chapel and the west tower, the church is now an amalgam of Victorian and modern rebuilding with no other suggestions of its early modern architecture (*see Fig 1 and Chapter 7.1*).

Space and contents

Like Farlington and Wymering parish churches (GNos 6 and 7), St Peter and St Paul's retains no hints of its previous early modern interior spatial layout, having been so extensively altered and its pre-Victorian furniture stripped out. It has a 15th century panelled reredos, once painted and now resited along the east wall of St Christopher's chapel which was an element of its post-

Reformation church fittings (*see Fig 4*).

Its ring of eight bells is well documented, 6 of them being founded in the 1700s by Joshua Kipling of Portsmouth, as discussed by Page (Page 1908:214, Sturgess 1995:12)). Both repeat the poem inscribed on the tenor bell which was cast in 1745 and which was composed to convey the founder's (or the parish's) horror at the Young Pretender's Rebellion. This is reproduced and discussed in Chapter 4.3.3. There are a number of early modern wall plaques and memorials, many of which commemorate naval officers but these have been reset after Nicholson's re-working of the nave. A carved Royal Arms is fixed close to the roof at the head of the south aisle, too high for close examination.

Churchyard

The church and its graveyard are set back from the High Street and are sited within their own close as at Petersfield (see GNo 19). Although the western part of its graveyard rises above street level it is evident that the largest area – that to the west has been lowered during one of the restoration episodes. The sector to the north is extensively populated with 18th and 19th century graves and a wealth of chest tombs. Many earlier gravestones have been uprooted and now line some of the exterior walls. The graveyard is extensive but is curtailed to the south as a result of Blomfield and Nicolson's expansion of the church southwards. It may be that the uprooted gravestones were taken from this area. There are a number of yews and the churchyard is heavily planted with evergreen trees and shrubs.

Sources: Sturgess (church guide) 1995, www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk Green 1967:134-9, Lloyd 1974: 9-10, 19-44, 104-154, Draper 1990:72-4, Pevsner and Lloyd: 1967: 218-227, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 209-216



Fig 3 The Lady Chapel . This was the medieval chancel and lies parallel to the new chancel which is to the south. Fig 4. Its 15th century reredos now in St Christopher's chapel abutting the tower.

11 CHURCH OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN, ROWNER LANE, GOSPORT

Parish church of Rowner, inland coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 Interior of St Mary's, Rowner viewed from the modern nave. This shows the nave and chancel of the older church to the right and the double celled space of the Brune chapel to the left.

The parish of Rowner lies inland along the Gosport peninsula enclosed by the coastal parishes of Fareham, Gosport and Titchfield. It is the smallest Hampshire parish studied here and was until the 19th century a quiet rural enclave only enlivened by its proximity to the naval bases at Gosport and the economic hub of Fareham since the southerly route to Gosport runs through the parish. The parish landscape was therefore predominantly rural with areas of marshy heathland which still characterise parts of the Gosport peninsula which have not been overbuilt in the present or heavily farmed in the past. There is an area of woodland conservation to the south of the parish which conveys a sense of the more intensely wooded landscape which was once a characteristic of many of the peninsulas and islands, such as Hayling and Chidham (see GNos 3, 4 and 29) which form the coast of the three harbours discussed in this gazetteer.

The Brunnes, a very ancient dynasty, first recorded as holding the manor in 1277, were Rowner's early modern manorial lords and patrons having been so long established that they had intermarried with many other Hampshire gentry families such as the Tichbornes. Their manor house is traditionally thought to have been situated to the southwest of the church and may have been demolished in the late 17th century. Rowner itself was never compactly nucleated, consisting of a straggling row of cottages bordering the main road with others closer to the church. Today the old part of Rowner consists of a single, neglected, timber-framed cottage of some antiquity next to the church. Both sit to the north of a green in some isolation but the rest of Rowner has

entirely sprung up in the 20-21st centuries and is a mixture of residential development alongside new industries and commercial enterprises which service the naval and aerospace facilities which are sited in and around Gosport.

Architecture

Fabric: externally - pink ragstone with raised mortar from Thicke's restoration. Tiled roof. Inside the medieval church some clunch used for voussoirs but also Bembridge and Binstead limestone dressings.

The earliest part of St Mary the Virgin was constructed in the 12th century and enlarged in the 13th but the shape of the church in the present has seen a number of changes culminating in the addition of a large 1960-90s extension built onto the west of the medieval building as a new nave and supplementary church offices. As Draper notes, this was damaged by fire in 1990 but has now been rebuilt and forms the church's working liturgical space. Outside the church's shape and size is therefore rather heterogenous in its extent and different architectural styles. Inside the old part of the church is also puzzling as it appears to possess two ancient chancels and naves. In fact the earliest 12th century church was very small and consisted of the southern nave. In the 13th century a chancel was added together with a parallel north chapel of similar extent and a northern aisle. On the church's restoration in 1874 Thicke, the architect, reversed these spaces, widening the north aisle into a new nave and installing an organ in the old chancel, thus moving the liturgical functioning of the church to the north. Both spaces are now opened out as if they were parallel churches. However the northern chancel has recently been repainted in bright colours, with a sky blue ceiling, its timbers picked out in red and gold, and with gilded corbel escutcheons, all of which replicate the feel of late medieval/early modern church decoration (see Chapter 4.2.1). This tunes in very well with one of its primary 16th century uses which was to house a large wall tomb commemorating Sir John Brune. This then was the Bruness' private chapel and mausoleum and continued to function as such until the late 19th century.

Space and contents

Since the church space has been completely reoriented in modern times and most of its early modern furniture and fittings removed, only the spatial usage of the Brune chapel remains for analysis. The old chancel and the north chapel communicate via a large 13th century archway – probably separated in the Middle Ages by an interposing wooden parclose but otherwise allowing the church's patrons when present to access the mass being held in the chancel while also utilising it as their personal chantry chapel.

By the 16th century this tradition of patronal worship and liturgical memorialisation would have been well established in the Brune family so that on his death, the north wall of his chapel would have been Sir John's first choice for the site of his tomb (for tomb positions see Chapter 6.4 and 6.5). This is dated to 1559 and although it has lost its inscription, the date of Sir John's death and the series of intermarriage escutcheons depicted in its four chest panels clearly show for whom it was designed and the extent of his genealogy (Chapter 6.4 *see Fig 2*). The tomb has been cleaned and only has slight traces of colour but its semicircular niche is carved elaborately with the Brune achievement, helm and mantling which would have been vividly painted, mirroring the treatment of the rest of the chapel. It stands at wall height and would once have dominated the chapel's space, its pew system - probably a series of stalls set against the walls - having to be built or reorganised specially to incorporate it. It is a transitional example of Tudor tomb development as it solely depicts aspects of Brune heraldry, having lost the religious imagery which characterised many late medieval and Henrician tombs (see examples at Racton (GNo 39), West Wittering (GNo 36) and Selsey and for their discussion Chapters 5.5.3 and 6.2). However, as with the above and also John Whyte's tomb in Southwick (GNo 24), it could have been intended to operate as an Easter Sepulchre in the event of the permanent reinstatement of Catholicism. Like many regional 16th century families, the Brunnes were evidently keeping their eschatological options open.

There is also a Royal Arms which hangs above the altar in the south chancel. This is dated to 1705 and is thus an Arms of Queen Anne. Unfortunately it needs some serious cleaning as its imagery is now too dark to be distinct. The north chapel and nave have a number of painted and gilded escutcheons as described above (*see Fig 3*), mainly with Brune heraldry although one sited over a door in the northern nave appears to be the upper crest of a wall memorial, possibly of the 17th century. There is a fine 18th century brass candelabrum hanging in the north chapel. Apart from the Brune tomb there are several well-executed wall plaques including one dating to 1743 memorialising one of Rowner's rector s- the Reverend Philip Henvill and his family. This again is a transitional form, similar to Mary Blackman's plaque in Havant (GNo 2) with a strong classical monochrome marble frame, its pediment bearing the painted Henvill arms.

Churchyard

Page describes the 1908 churchyard as a 'model of neatness' with well cared for memorials and tombstones. Today the space has been intensively adapted and there is a new extension to the north taken up entirely with modern burials. As at Fareham (GNo 10) the new buildings have been built over church ground to the south and west so that the south side of the churchyard is much

narrower than it would have been previously. There are several 18th century gravestones here and a couple to the east (Chapter 5.3.1) but the churchyard ground level must have been generally interfered with during the new building works.

Sources: Green 1967: 134-9, Lloyd 1974: 14, 20, 29, 38, 135, 143 Draper 1990; 85.

www.stmrowner.org.uk/History.htm , Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 490-2 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 218-9, White 1989: 5-9, 22-3



Fig 2 The Brune monument designed for Sir John Brune d 1559. It is completely different in form to contemporary tombs found at Southwick, West Wittering and Racton (GNos 24,36 and 38) Fig 3. Corbel boss with restored painted and gilded escutcheon.

12 HOLY TRINITY, TRINITY GREEN, GOSPORT

Parish of Gosport, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 West view of Holy Trinity church, Gosport.

Up until the development of Portsmouth's naval facilities, Gosport was a small fishing haven built on an inlet directly opposite Portsmouth's Hard and dockyard. During the Middle Ages it was a chapel of the larger parish of Alverstoke, a more substantial coastal village lying directly to the west on the far side of the peninsula. Gosport's growth was conjoined to the development of Portsmouth as a naval and maritime centre so that by the mid-16th century its position at the western head of the entrance to Portsmouth harbour led to a number of sea-defences being undertaken. The ferry which plied between the two towns became crucial to the functioning of the harbour as a whole. At this point Alverstoke ceased to be the major centre although its church still served the whole parish.

During the 17th century Gosport started to expand more rapidly and by the 18th it had grown into Portsmouth's chief victualling centre with stores, ship-building sheds, slipways and timber yards. It also had an iron works supplying the Dockyard so that it became a major industrial hub, servicing the Royal Navy. During the 18th century naval wars the town's population mushroomed since it now housed both maritime and service families and also many dockyard workers. It was also heavily ringed with defensive fortifications. Though it was tied into Portsmouth's economy, it was regarded as a subsidiary sister town. This has continued into the 21st century (with the addition of its independent significance as a submarine harbour), having suffered its own share of the destruction caused by German bombing raids during WWII. The loss of much early modern housing which increased during the rebuilding of the 1960s has largely remodelled Gosport's

centre. However there are still several Georgian farms and gentry houses to the north and Alverstoke retains something of its late early modern character having become a residential suburb to Gosport.

In order to cater for its growth, Gosport acquired its own church, Holy Trinity, built in a close to the west of the High Street. This was still regarded as a chapel to St Mary's Alverstoke until 1860 when it became a parish in its own right. St Mary's was completely rebuilt in several stages from 1865-85 and little of its original medieval or early modern material culture remains. Holy Trinity has therefore been selected for inclusion in the research sample.

Architecture

From the outside Holy Trinity is a large, uncompromisingly neo-Romanesque, red brick-built church which appears to date from the late 19th century. It is companioned by a tall campanile tower on its north west corner also fashioned from red brick. Inside however the church has a completely different architectural effect, deriving from the Baroque. Its development accounts for its different styles. The church was initially built in 1696, contemporaneously with St Thomas of Canterbury's refurbishment in Portsea whose late 17th century nave has strong similarities with that of Holy Trinity. It was built as a rectangular form of an auditory church with 14 vast Ionic piers, made from single tree trunks gifted by Peter Mews, the Bishop of Winchester, a coved ceiling and side and west galleries. In 1745 its sanctuary was extended with the addition of an apse. From an early 18th century watercolour (*see Fig 2*) it appeared to have had a lighthouse-like eastern bell tower, a canted pitched roof and a suite of small west windows illuminating the west gallery. However Sir Arthur Blomfield radically reorganised its architecture in 1887. Given to grand architectural flourishes, he removed the intervening galleries and furniture, giving the church a basilica-like interior. At the same time he rebuilt the external walls and altered the roof lines and added the western facade. In 1889 he built the campanile (Chapter 7.1). The church is now painted white throughout with its apse's capitals and panelling picked out in gilt.

Space and contents

Although the late-17th-early 18th century building was lower and less grandiose than the present one, it would have been capable of accommodating a substantial congregation given its gallery-space. Its modern internal dimensions however do not differ substantially from its earlier form and it is possible to imagine the space repopulated with its early modern furniture. If this had been constructed from varnished wood the interior would have been considerably darker

especially as the north and south roofs do not seem to have been equipped with dormer windows (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of gallery space).

It retains a few of its 18th century contents, in particular an important pipe organ built by Abraham Jordan and Sons, originally owned by the first Duke of Chandos and purchased by patrons of Holy Trinity from his estate at Canons Park, Stanmore after his death in 1744. The organ's importance as an innovatory example of its kind is compounded by the fact that it was played by Handel who was employed as the Duke's director of music. It was sited in the west gallery but moved in 1887 to the head of the north aisle where it remains. Since St Thomas's, Portsea (GNo 8) also possessed a Jordan organ in the 18th century one can see an increasing sophistication in the production of liturgical music beginning to affect urban churches whereas most rural parishes continued to use traditional string or mixed bands and singers for another century (see Chapter 4.3.2).

Over the west door is hung Gosport's Royal arms, dating to George I with its supporters, the lion and unicorn, portrayed passant rather than rampant (see Chapter 4.2.2). There is another rather more magnificent plaque attached to the south wall – the gift of William Mansfeild, dated 1703. An elaborately carved and gilded Baroque frame encloses the arms of the Bishop of Winchester – presumably donated by Mansfeild to commemorate Bishop Mews's patronage. A number of late 18th-early 19th century wall plaques have been tidily sited around the nave walls, amongst them a memorial to a member of the East India Company.

Churchyard

The 18th century watercolour of Holy Trinity shows its west front with a church path bordered by many monumental interments including several chests tombs, two enclosed by railings. It is evident from this there was previously a well-used graveyard which has now been completely eradicated, the land all around the church having been landscaped into a central park. The only other early modern feature is the erstwhile parsonage – a fine, grey-brick built, four storey gentry house which was built at the turn of the 18th-19th centuries by and for Thomas Bingham, Gosport's rector at that time.

Sources: Green 1967: 47, 135-9, White 1989:14-17, 19-61, Lloyd 1974: 16-7, 33, 51, 75,79, 82, 87, 105, 109, 114, 129-36, 143 Draper 1990: 82-5, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 240-58 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 202-8. The church guide can be accessed at www.holytrinitygosport.co.uk/.

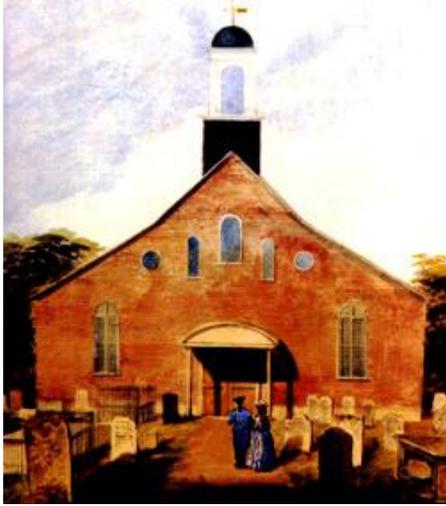


Fig 2 View from the west of Holy Trinity in the mid-18th century (image courtesy of www.holytrinitygosport.co/uk). Fig 3. Interior of Holy Trinity looking east towards the 1745 apsidal sanctuary.

13 CHURCH OF ST PETER, CHURCH STREET, TITCHFIELD.

Parish of Titchfield, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.1 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. St Peter's, Titchfield seen from the north. Fig 2 The Saxon tower and west porch.

Titchfield was an important township from the Saxon period onwards, its church being a minster at the centre of a vast parish with its priests serving a number of outlying village and hamlet communities from Lee on the Solent in the south to Swanwick to the north. The town was on the main Chichester-Bitterne road and stood at the head of the coastal inlet into which ran the river Meon. It was thus a port, exporting wool during the Middle Ages and deriving its prosperity from this, from tanning, parchment-making and from salt-working. In 1232 a large Premonstratensian Abbey was founded just to the north of the town whose abbots, like the priors at Southwick, became influential landowners and were Titchfield's manorial lords until the Dissolution (Chapter 2.5.1). Under their lordship Titchfield developed as a market centre with a wide central street which housed a central market hall. This was replaced in the 1620s with a two storied timber framed building with herringbone brick infilling and an open ground floor for market stalls and a cage and stocks for local malefactors. This has now been moved and can be seen at the Weald and Downland Museum at Singleton (see GNo 43 and Harris 2005).

Titchfield's most famous overlords were the Wriothesley Earls of Southampton, who were granted the monastic lands after the Dissolution and who turned the Abbey into a grand courtyard mansion, Hall Place. The Wriothesley estates stretched up the Meon valley and across much of Hampshire. Together with the Paulet Marquesses of Winchester they were amongst the most powerful Hampshire magnates and held considerable if volatile political influence under the Tudor and early Stuart monarchs (Chapter 2.5.1 and see Carpenter-Turner 1963: 51 for Wriothesley estate map). In 1611 the 3rd Earl of Southampton dammed the Meon at its mouth in

order to reclaim the intervening marsh between the sea and town, thereby depriving the town of its harbour. This began a process of decay in the town's fortunes which did not regenerate in spite of the Earl's efforts to get the now land-locked townspeople to learn to weave cloth. In the 18th century the Wriothesley line had died out and the Delmes, now owners of Hall Place, abandoned the mansion, robbing it of much of its stone in order to build Cams Hall, their new great house to the north east of Fareham (GNo 10). The ruins of Hall Place are now under the guardianship of English Heritage. The town acquired some good vernacular and middle class Georgian building stock in the 18th century and now exists as a quiet residential dormitory town to Fareham and Gosport.

Architecture

Fabric: Limestone, ragstone and rubble. The west tower has some Binstead and ironstone masonry and a course of Roman bricks. The roof is tiled and copper sheeted and the spire is shingled.

St Peter's has a long history of development as a parish church from Saxon times. The double storied west tower porch is the main evidence of its minster origins and the church was enlarged and extended in the 12th and 13th centuries (for discussion of minsters see Chapter 2.6.1). In the 14th a south chapel was added, now the Southampton chapel, and in the 15th the north aisle was rebuilt. This was given elaborately sculpted Perpendicular statue niches in its altar corners and these were later repeated on either side of the east window in the chancel. In 1867 the south aisle was demolished and rebuilt and a south vestry added. The Victorian restoration cleared out the early modern furniture but left much of the medieval architecture in situ. St Peter's architectural interest is therefore largely invested in its unfolding and dynamic medieval identity. However it also possesses a number of important early modern tombs and memorials, two of which reveal the church's close connection with its Wriothesley patrons (Chapters 2.5.1 and 7.1).

Space and contents

Although the Wriothesley Earls of Southampton and their families were likely to worship in their own chapel at Hall Place when they were resident in Titchfield, it is obvious that they regarded the south chapel of St Peter's as their patronal chapel and mausoleum. The Wriothesleys' confessional affiliations varied from generation to generation. The first earl gained his peerage and lands from services rendered to the Crown during the Dissolution, although he himself remained a moderate Catholic. After his death in 1550 his son, Henry, became overtly recusant and was associated with two of the Catholic plots designed to remove Elizabeth Tudor from the throne. The third earl however was as emphatic a Protestant as his father had been a Catholic (Questier 2006: 82-3). Regardless of their religious

convictions, the Wriothesley tomb in the Southampton chapel was constructed to demonstrate as much aristocratic magnificence as those found in the great cathedrals (Chapter 1.5.1). The 2nd earl's intention was to make two separate tombs – one for his parents and one for himself. However, Henry, the 3rd earl, commissioned the Flemish sculptor, Gerard Johnson to conflate the two and the result is an effigial chest tomb with two tiers, the bottom tier supporting the recumbent figures of the 1st and 2nd earls with the 1st countess lying above and between them (for analysis of effigial positioning see Chapter 6.3). It is in marble and alabaster with marble corner obelisks. This is an extremely elaborate object and has been the subject of a number of studies (see below for examples, also see Chapters 5.5.2 and 7.3.1-2 for analyses). On the chapel's south wall is an equally unusual tomb memorial to the 3rd earl's daughter Lady Mary, possibly by Epiphanius Evesham. Since she died aged four this is a rare example of a child's monument and shows her recumbent as a miniature adult in ruff and gown.

To the north of the altar in the chancel there is a more conventional 1608 wall tomb to William Chamberlayne and his wife. This has a commonplace format with husband and wife kneeling to face each other with their 4 children in gendered ranks in the entablature below (for a discussion of this form of late 16th-17th century wall memorial see Chapter 6.5). There are also several wall plaques attached to the chancel walls including two late 18th century memorials by Cooke and Nollekens which demonstrate the shift from the use of direct mortuary symbols to more classical symbolism expressing grief, regret and melancholy.

Churchyard

The churchyard is extensive and spreads down to the river Meon which runs along its eastern side, once part of the coastal foreshore and harbour. It is more heavily populated to the north where there are most modern burials but there are 18th century gravestones and tomb chests dotted around to the south and east. None of these are particularly unusual although there are a cluster of early 18th century graves tightly fitted into the church's southwest corner. The old parsonage, an elegant late 18th century building now in private hands, stands immediately to the southwest of the church.

The graveyard has two elderly yews to the east and much modern planting.

Sources: For Titchfield, St Peter's and the Earls of Southampton - Carpenter Turner 1963: 39-43, 50-2, 59 Green 1967: 104-11, Lloyd 1974: 6-15, 20-25, 34-40, 51-53, 60, 78-9 Draper 1990: 187-9, Jenkins 2000: 255-6, Questier 2006: 82-3, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 622-9, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 220-33. For account of Market Hall: Harris 2005: 46-7. For the Southampton chapel and the Wriothesley monuments: Lloyd 1974: 20, Whinney 1992: 49-51, Roffey in Gaimster and Gilchrist: 2003: 349-251, Jones J 2009: 6-15. The church has a detailed and well researched display in the Southampton chapel

which recounts the history of Titchfield and all the above subjects. Titchfield History Society produces a number of booklets and guides and its research can be accessed at

www.communicate.co.uk/hants/th/index/phtml



Fig 3 Tomb by Epiphanius Evesham (?) to Lady Mary Wriothesley, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Southampton d 1615 aged 4. Fig 4 Memorial to William Chamberlayne, his wife and family, 1608. This is of the conventional wall tomb type discussed in Chapter 6.5.

PART 2 HAMPSHIRE DOWNLAND CHURCHES

14. CHURCH OF ST HUBERT, IDSWORTH.

Parish of Chalton with Idsworth, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Figs 1 and 2. Two views of St Hubert's church, Idsworth from the west. The images show the church's isolation, marooned in a field on an eminence and accessible only on foot.

Idsworth is essentially a deserted medieval village and its chapel now stands amongst fields alone upon a low hilltop in a vale edged by steep Downland scarps. It is part of the larger parish of Chalton, occupying its southern spur just above Blendworth to the west and Havant to the south. Completely surrounded by chalkland agricultural landscape, it is one of the most isolated of all the Hampshire parish churches to be studied. It is sited 300 yards to the north of Old Idsworth, whose manor house was largely demolished when the railway was built close by in the 19th century. Heberdens, a large 18th century farmstead lies on the far side of the railway and this loose complex, together with a few dispersed neighbouring farms is all that now remains of Idsworth proper. Finchdean, a small hamlet, is a mile to the south.

The history of Idsworth, although it was never very populous, is one of gradual abandonment. It has Saxon origins, investigated by Barry Cunliffe in the 1960-70s and was by the 10th century a nucleated village (Cunliffe www.archaeologydataservices.ac.uk - see below). The church guide suggests that Idsworth had 'begun as a chaplaincy of the manor of Chalton but, by the 12th century, had become independent and later became the dominant of the two manors' (Adams, Adams, Law and Butt 2009:2) However shortly after this Idsworth was confirmed as a curacy of Chalton which suggests that it had lost its territorial primacy and was served by a chaplain thereafter. By the mid-19th century the Clarke Jervoise family, who had purchased Idsworth Manor in 1789, had moved into a new house built on the far side of Idsworth Down and this signalled the abandonment not only of the old house but also of the chapel.

Architecture

Fabric: flint and rubble with sandstone dressings – the west and north sides more restored. Its roof is tiled and there is a 19th cent vestry built south of the chancel and a clapboard bell turret on the north side at the head of the nave (Chapter 4.3.3)

The earliest origins of this church are given as 1053. There are also suggestions that, since Idsworth was included in the vast block of Earl Godwin's southern estates it functioned as a hunting chapel for Edward the Confessor. The standing evidence suggests that the nave is its earliest, Romanesque part though Pevsner and Lloyd date it to the 12th century. It is a very small two celled church with a two bay chancel, three bay aisleless nave and stone chancel arch (Chapter 7.2.1). A timber framed bell loft juts out over the head of the nave. The chancel is a 13th century addition and is the site of wall paintings uncovered in 1864 which must have been added as part of a 14th century refurbishment. The nave was enlarged to the south during the post-Reformation installation of the church's furniture and is now asymmetrical as a result. A west gallery was also added (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). By the beginning of the 20th century the chapel, deserted by its congregation, was beginning to fall down and in 1912 the Clarke Jervoise family commissioned Harry Goodhart-Rendel to renovate it (Chapter 7.1 and 7.4).

Space and contents

What is most evident here are the early modern installations which give this church its relevance to this study. These are a mixture of original furnishings and replicas. Goodhart-Rendel's renovations included the replacement of the west gallery and its staircase, most of the bench pews which are set behind the box pews in the nave which were made in imitation of an original 16th century pew now under the gallery and the spatial reorganisation of the chancel (Chapter 3.3.3). This included a new ceiling ornamented with 17th century-style plasterwork with cabled borders enclosing central medallions with religious and heraldic motifs (Chapter 4.2.1). At the same time he moved the 17th century pulpit and its 18th century sound board to the middle of the nave's south wall, siting it beside a post-Reformation wall text (see Chapter 4.2.1; 4.3.1 and 7.4 for sensory and social analyses). Although Goodhart-Rendel's restoration cannot be said to have aimed at authenticity in terms of the chapel's early modern material culture, it does go some way to recapturing and preserving its post-medieval layout. The resiting of the pulpit in particular explains the need for the extension of that side of the church in order to provide the extra space needed by the chaplain and accounts for the uneven dimensions of the southern box pews which allowed him to cross from chancel to desk and pulpit (Chapter 3.3.2). Hanging at present on the inner face of the chancel arch, is a late 18th-early 19th

century Royal Arms, set up by its chapelwardens in 1793 and 1825 to commemorate different repair episodes (Chapter 4.2.2) This confirms the supposition that St Hubert's was in use until the mid-19th century and its decay was an effect of the Clarke-Jervoises' departure. Idsworth's medieval paintings are of considerable interest but fall outside the scope of this research.

Churchyard

The church stands on the summit of a low hill at the centre of the Idsworth-Finchdean vale and looks up to the Downs to the south and west. It is surrounded by post and rail fencing with a wicket gate accessed by a path which climbs the slope of the hill from the road c 150 yards away. The churchyard is bare turf and small with a few trees but no yews or vegetation of any antiquity. It has a small rustic 18th century porch built out over the west door with a 'stable door' gate— its main congregational entrance. Since it was a chapel-of-ease to St Michael's, Chalton, it evidently lacked a licence to bury the dead and this is borne out by the absence of any headstone memorials, ledgers or tombs either inside or outside the chapel.

Sources: Green 1967: 125-31 Cunliffe 1972 www.archaeologydataservices.ac.uk, Lloyd 1974: 14,15,19,118,13, Draper 1990:99-100. Church guide by F and D Adams updated by M Law and J Butt in May 2009, Jenkins 2000: 248, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 305-8, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908:106-110. Also see: Churches of Hampshire www.southernlife.org.uk and the West Gallery site www.westgallerychurches.com/Hants/Idsworth.html



Fig 3 The interior of St Hubert's looking east. Its assymetry as a result of its early modern southern extension is highly visible. Fig 4. View from the chancel looking west to the restored west gallery.

NB The next parish of Blendworth has been left out of my research sample. Like Widley in the previous section, it has lost its small medieval church of St Giles which was dismantled in the 19th century. St Giles was close to a small scatter of cottages at the summit of Blendworth Down which represented its original centre. When in 1851 the new church of Holy Trinity was built lower down the slope and closer to the expanding village of Horndean, the hamlet of Blendworth went with it. The parish has accordingly changed irrevocably in terms of its early modern landscape and its religious hub.

15 CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, CHALTON.

Parish of Chalton with Idsworth, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of St Michael's and All Angels church and churchyard, Chalton from the south.

Chalton is a small village with dispersed settlement which is loosely nucleated around a sloping triangular green created by a network of small lanes. It lies on the west side of the rising escarpment of Chalton Down overlooking the even steeper slopes of Windmill Hill to the west. Although the busy A3 motorway cuts past it on the far side of Windmill Hill it is hidden away in the same way as Idsworth is, two miles to the south. This is a country of chalk pasture and arable criss-crossed with hedges, hanging woods and plantations.

Chalton's green is defined to the west by the Red Lion – a timber framed 16th century Wealden house. To the northeast is a short row of small cottages and farmyard while immediately south of these the church rises at the head of the village set on the summit of a steep slope. Immediately below the church to its southwest is the Rectory (now a private house) a 16th century building with an 18th century facade. On the edge of the village is Old Farm which may have been the manorial grange as the lords of Chalton's manor were for the most part non-resident. Thus most of the parish's building stock consists of working farms, although there is also Ditcham Park to the east, the residence of the early modern Cowper family – nowadays a private school. The Cowpers however seem to have preferred their neighbouring parish church in Harting (for Cowpers and the Cowper tombs – see Harting GNo 49 and Chapter 5.5.1).

Like Idsworth and Catherington (GNos 14 and 16), although hill-bound, the parish is only 4-5 miles from the sea. The parish population was low throughout the early modern period and it still is. Chalton's significance in the past derived from the importance of its demesne land since until the late 18th

century it was held as part of other estates belonging to powerful absentee magnates such as the Crown, Simon de Montfort, the earls of Leicester and later of Worcester, Oliver Cromwell in the 1640s-50s and the Dukes of Beaufort. Unlike Idsworth, whose odd positioning has attracted both antiquarian attention and modern visitors, Chalton seems to be a forgotten parish. This quality of neglect also clings to the church as will be discussed below. However in the present Chalton is also home to the Butser Iron Age Farm, a centre for experimental rural archaeology which is presently sited a half-mile west of Chalton under Windmill Hill.

Architecture

Fabric: flint and rubble with ashlar dressings and quoins. West tower extensively patched with brick. Tile roof. Interior plastered throughout.

St Michael's is a nearly rectangular building with a south transeptal chapel off the SE side of the nave and a tower to the west. The 4 bay nave is merely a wall's width wider than the 3 bay chancel. There are no aisles and, surprisingly for a church of these proportions, no chancel arch which Pevsner and Lloyd consider has been removed (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 161 and see Chapter 3.3.1 and 7.2) The west tower could be closed off from the body of the nave by a 14th cent door and was possibly the chief entrance to the church pre-Reformation. This is rather flimsily built and has been roughly repaired in several episodes in the 18th century when its parapet was embattled and again in the 19th century (Chapter 4.3.3). However the exterior west door has been blocked and entrance is through the north and south doors, the former of which has a late medieval porch, recently restored. The chancel is the church's oldest part and is mid-13th century with the tower and south chapel added in the 14th.

The church's restoration was undertaken, according to Page, in the early Victorian period and appears to be only partially carried out (Page 1908: 107). The restoration raised the chancel by a step and the newly tiled floor then gradually ascends to the altar in stages. It left the nave floor alone although modern cork tiles have been laid under the pews. The area around the chancel step has a number of ledgers which may have been used for patching purposes. This is echoed to the west where, at the cross passage between the north and south doors and beyond, the floor has been clumsily patched with old brick. This is redolent of the extant brick floor at Up Marden and may be a sample of the flooring common to small rural churches before the 19th century (see GNo 46). The odd lack of a chancel arch which may have been removed in the 17th century is discussed and analysed in Chapters 3.3.1; 6.4 and 7.2.1.

The walls are plastered throughout with a faded lime plaster suffering from damp in places. This gives the whole church a greyish colour and the damp, the smell of must and lack of redecoration makes the interior seem rather shabby. Surprisingly this also conveys a feeling of authenticity since the sweeping

innovations of 19th century restoration and reordering are veiled here. This interior therefore contrasts sharply with that of Southwick for example which has been very assiduously cared for and which, as a result, has a slightly museum-like atmosphere (see GNo 24).

Space and contents

The plainness of the interior plus its lack of chancel arch make this a very open church with moderately good light levels in spite of the extensive use of Victorian stained glass in most of the windows. There are few instances of early modern architectural change apart from the absence of the chancel arch (see Chapter 3.3.1) and a Victorian photograph on view in the church shows that the chancel had the same wagon ceiling it has now. There is no sign of a gallery but parts of the west end have been reorganised to house an organ which the photograph shows was previously sited in the south chapel. Perhaps a gallery was removed to allow the organ to be moved. There is little early modern furniture either except that there is a wall tomb to the north of the altar which depicts a kneeling relief effigy of Richard Ball, Chalton's rector from 1613-32. This was commissioned by his wife Elizabeth and is discussed in detail in Chapters 6.4-6 and 7.3.1-2.

The early modern ledgers may have been rearranged in the 18th century or even later during floor patching episodes. In the extreme southeast corner of the nave there is a black-letter ledger fragment with part of a cross from the 15th century, presumably a priest's gravestone and just north of this there is another partial ledger laid hard up against the chancel step with a crudely carved death's head dating from the 17th century. An 18th century ledger with a lengthy Latin inscription is sited behind the altar memorialising another Chalton minister (Chapter 5.2). The wall plaques to the south commemorate 19th and 20th century Clarke-Jervoises but there is a large 18th century gentry plaque east of the north door which lists several generations of the Heberdens (gentry farmers of Idsworth GNo 14). This is quite plain and semi-biographical, resembling a set of similar wall memorials to the Battine family in East Marden over the border (see GNo 45, Chapter 5.4.2 *and Fig 3*). From the number of parsons' memorials it seems likely that in the absence of a dominant gentry family Chalton's parishioners regarded their rectors as representing their social elite – a position they lost in 1789 when the Clarke-

Jervoises bought the manorial estates and established themselves at Idsworth.

Churchyard

Like Warblington to the south, Chalton's churchyard was the only burial ground available for some distance. The ground is extensive especially to the east where it covers the slope at the back of the church. The graveyard is rather field-like in keeping with the church's feeling of general desuetude but it

has a well-kept modern extension at its eastern extremity. This suggests that although the gravestones are not very numerous this large old churchyard is actually full.

The churchyard is irregularly populated with gravestones and there are few good 18th headstones – though most are later. These include a large mausoleum-like railed enclosure and another neo-gothic mausoleum for Clarke-Jervoise burials. There is a modern war memorial lychgate and the churchyard is both walled and hedged. There are a few trees within the churchyard but no extant ancient yews.

Sources; Green 1967: 124-9 Lloyd 1974: 13, 19, 31-37, 117-21, Draper 1990:57, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 160-2 VCH Hants VOL 3 Page 1908: 102-110. Also see the Cunliffe article listed under Idsworth (GNo 10) for Saxon Chalton.



Fig 2 The interior of St Michael's looking east. Fig 3. The Heberden wall plaque 1763.

16. CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, CATHERINGTON LANE, CATHERINGTON

Parish of Catherington, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The west side of All Saints' church, Catherington. Fig 2 Interior of the church looking east.

Catherington's parish is large and encompasses several smaller villages such as Lovedean and the Hinton hamlets are dotted across its Downland terrain. Its centre is a dispersed linear village bordering Catherington Lane which runs along the ridge of a southern spur of the Downs to the north of Portsdown Hill. At the southern end is a junction with Five Heads Lane leading to Horndean. Catherington House (now Kingswood School), expanded by Admiral Hood in the 18th century from a farm into a large gentry house, sits north of this lane and possibly overlies a previous manor house. At the northern end of the village the road leads steeply down Catherington Down towards Clanfield. In between, the village buildings are interspersed on either side with the church standing off to the east at the northern end. Catherington, like Chalton (GNo 15), is a Downland village which is c 4-5 miles from the coast. Over the past years its rural qualities have been gradually eroded and the suburban sprawl of Cosham, Cowplain and Waterlooville is now encroaching on the southern parts of the village.

In the early modern period the manor of Catherington was in the hands of the Earl of Worcester who also owned Chalton. However the parish's chief patrons were, in the 17th century, the Swayne and the Hyde families whose manorial estates lay at Hinton Daubnay, a hamlet about a mile to the northwest. Sir Nicholas and Lady Mathilda Hyde figure centrally in the parish church as their tomb occupies a primary position in the Hyde side chapel. The vicarage is modern – the previous vicarage was a large Victorian flint-faced house directly opposite the church which itself replaced an earlier building. Like many of the coastal and Downland villages close to Portsmouth it is evident that in the 18th and 19th centuries a number of gentry families with close connections to the services took up residence in Catherington – Catherington House being the most obvious example. Part of the Forest of Bere spread

into the parish and there were also extensive woods and commons to the southeast.

Architecture

Fabric: flint and pebble patched occasionally with brick and with largely restored flint facing and very little surviving plaster work. It is dressed with sandstone. The roof is tiled. Inside its pitch has been altered over the aisles – there is a previous lower roof line visible at the SW end of the S aisle on the E interior tower wall.

Like many of the Hampshire churches studied here All Saints, a mainly 12th century building, has been substantially reconfigured by its Victorian restorer, Edmund Ferrey, in 1883 who reroofed the aisles and added a south transeptual chapel for a choir vestry and organ chamber. The chancel and chapel are two bayed while the nave is four bayed. On the southwest corner there is a substantial two-stage tower with an embattled brick-built third stage for a bell loft (discussed below). Like Idsworth the church has some important medieval walls paintings and its nave roof has ancient 14th century timbering.

As at Chalton, there is no sign of a chancel arch – a lack emphasised by the fact that the nave and its arcades run directly and at the same width into the chancel (see discussion Chapter 3.3.1). However the arcading is misleading as the southern side is modern and the north side is constructed to take account of the northern chapel. Neither Pevsner and Lloyd nor Page offer any analysis of this and one is left with the supposition that All Saints was chancel archless from its inception, although it is certain that there must have been an interposing medieval wooden rood screen, presumably removed after the Reformation.

The Hyde Chapel which runs parallel to the chancel on the north side was added in the 13th-14th centuries as a Lady Chapel or possible chantry and transformed in the 17th century into a patronal chapel to house Sir Nicholas Hyde's tomb. In here the fenestration is mainly restored medieval but there is also one early Tudor flat-headed window insertion on the north east side. In the east wall there are also two single light lancets and above a small round ocular window with further decorative medieval wall painting on their splays and surrounds.

Space and contents

Sightlines are very good in the church's present configuration due to the lack of chancel or rood screens. There is no sign of any gallery but the tower's 18th century rebuilding and addition of a third stage strongly suggests that there was one. This is because in a two-stage tower the bell ringing chamber has to be sited on the ground floor with the bells in the loft above. This would mean that those in the gallery were next door to the bells – quite an uncomfortable location if the bells needed to be rung when the

gallery occupants were present. Building a third stage for the loft would accordingly be highly desirable where there was a gallery. This may also account for the repairs to Chalton's west tower in the 18th century. The gallery could then be efficiently accessed by the same stairs needed for the bell chamber (Chapter 4.3.3).

The medieval wall paintings are interesting, especially that of the depiction of St Michael the Archangel weighing souls for judgement dated by Tristram to c1350, discovered on the inner wall above the northern arcading. However, as at Idsworth, these lie beyond the scope of this work. Fragments of a 14th century churchyard cross unearthed in the 19th century from beneath the tower and the western churchyard path have been reassembled and are on show in the north aisle. These must date from an iconoclastic episode in the immediate post-Reformation period and their fragmentary condition suggests they were not hidden in order to be retrieved later in the case of the restoration of Catholicism (see Chapter 4.2.3). The major early modern artefact at All Saints is the Hyde tomb, dated to 1631, designed as an altar tomb at the eastern head of the Hyde chapel. It supports the two effigies of Sir Nicholas Hyde and his wife Lady Margaret Swayne who brought him the neighbouring manor of Hinton Daubnay. Above them a pedimented canopy rises with a semi-circular arched niche framed by Corinthian columns which support the pediment. This culminates in the Hyde crest and escutcheon, quartered with Swayne. The columns are surmounted by figures of Wisdom and Justice in reference to Sir Nicholas's position as Charles I's Chief Justice and there are relief figures below of Time and Death. The central black marble inscription is now badly corroded by damp. On the front of the chest tomb are ranked the Hydes' children, 6 sons and 4 daughters who all face south rather than confronting each other as is usual. It is noticeable that the girls are on the heraldic dexter side which suggests that their mother was of the more senior family (see Chapters 6.3 and 6.4 for a discussion of this). This however is complicated by the fact that her effigy has been placed behind her husband's in his judicial robes and is completely hidden by it. The tomb suffered in the past from neglect and as a result was repainted in the 1980s by an enthusiastic churchwarden using gloss paint. The colours and finish are thus completely anachronistic.

On the west wall of the Hyde chapel and elsewhere in the church there are a large number of family memorials from the late 18th and 19th centuries commemorating senior officers in the services together with their family members. This is evidence that Catherington's popularity as a residential location for army and navy gentry families was as great as in parishes nearer the coast (Chapter 5.4.2).

Churchyard

The churchyard extends all the way around the church but is most extensive to the west where its

main path leads from the west porch into Catherington Lane. The graves in this area are more modern, the 18th century graves and tombs being scattered to the south, some in family clusters. These include a tomb to the wife, son and daughter of the 18th century actor, Edmund Kean. Most graves commemorate gentry and middling families from the 19th and 20th centuries and again there are various naval and army officers buried amongst them.

Two large yews planted in the first part of the 18th cent blew down in the gale of 1987 – the rest of the churchyard has a number of younger trees. From the south and east sides wicket gates lead out into fields which afford tremendous views of the country across to Portsdown Hill to the south and Clanfield and Windmill Hill to the west.

Sources: Green 1967: 124-31 Lloyd 1974: 10, 14-9, 28-32, 52, 119, 154, Draper 1990: 56-7 Church Guide by Parsons, Beardsley, Steadmen and Sweeney 2000 Pevsner and Lloyd: 1967: 158-60 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 94-101.



Fig 3. The Hyde altar tomb (1631)with effigies of Sir Nicholas Hyde and his wife Lady Margaret Swayne. On their chest fascia are their children ranked unusually all facing the same direction and with the girls on the dexter side. Fig 4. Detail of the effigies.

17. CHURCH OF ST JAMES, SOUTH LANE, CLANFIELD

Parish of Clanfield, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St James's church, Clanfield seen from the south. Fig 2. The interior looking east.

Clanfield is another small parish of 1,404 acres which sits in a notch between Catherington and Chalton. Like Idsworth it started out as a chapelry to Chalton but gained parish status and its own rectory at the beginning of the 14th century. It is still surrounded by fields which rise to the north and east where the long high escarpment of inner Southdowns crosses from the Meons over towards Harting and Elsted in West Sussex (GNos 20-22 and 49-50). In the early modern period it was another isolated village, an outlier to Catherington, but unlike the latter not colonised by service families during the 18th century. Its communications however were better than those of Chalton and Idsworth as the main Portsmouth to London coach road passed through Horndean to the south and closely bypassed Clanfield as it ran north. In the post-medieval period this allowed easier access to the agricultural markets and fairs of the growing town of Petersfield.

Its good communications did not cause Clanfield to increase in size – its population in the early 19th century was 103, many of whom were agricultural labourers. Its centre was nucleated around a cross roads and consisted mainly of 17th-18th century timber framed thatched cottages, some of which still remain. There is evidence that there was a green south of the church as there is an old thatched shelter standing here, covering a wellhead (see Fig 4). At East Marden there is a similar relationship between village, church and well, the thatched well head sitting at the centre of a triangular green (see GNo 45). Clanfield has an ancient village pond close to the east lane leading to Chalton (GNo 15). In many ways here there are all the elements which traditionally characterise a rural village, including a 13th century church. However this is now completely rebuilt and thus, like Farlington (GNo 6 and see Chapter 7.1) the parish's interest lies in its landscape relationship to the group of parishes centred on Chalton. It has now

gained a large, rather dislocated residential settlement which, lying on a slope to the south east, joins up with the larger conurbation which is engulfing Horndean, Cowplain and Waterlooville to the south.

Architecture, space and contents

Fabric Flint exterior and tiled roof. Interior is brick-lined. Double belfry to the west.

The medieval church was pulled down in 1875 and rebuilt on much the same footprint by RJ Jones with a flint exterior and startlingly patterned brick interior in yellow, brown, black and red bands and red and beige geometric tiling (*see Fig 2*), very redolent of the 1860s architecture of William White's St Michael's, Lyndhurst which also uses ornamental brick in a visually arresting fashion. Unfortunately there is nothing of the early modern period left – only the medieval font and the west window which has been moved from the old east wall, retain their antiquity (Chapter 2.2).

There is a watercolour inside the church by L S Westall (*see Fig 3*), which shows the exterior of Clanfield's small medieval church in the 1840s with a short rendered nave and chancel, a wooden south porch surmounted by a dormer window in the roof above and a clapboard bell turret to the west. The positioning of the dormer strongly implies the presence of a west gallery as it would have illuminated both gallery and its staircase (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). There is also the stub of a wall rather than a buttress projecting from the southwest corner which may have been the remains of a vestry or oddly placed west extension. The only early modern materials remaining inside the church are some 18th century ledgers – one of which is placed centrally before the altar and is bordered by Jones's red and beige encaustic floor tiles.

Churchyard

Westall's watercolour shows the churchyard in the 19th century with numbers of scattered graves in the foreground to the south. The few remaining 18th century tombstones which survive close to the church are absent. The churchyard, as was common up until the 19th century, is fairly bare of trees or shrubs and a large ancient yew which edges the southern entrance into the churchyard also does not appear. Today the southern sector is even barer - a new cemetery has been opened to the west of the church where Westall shows an open field.

Sources: Green 1967: 129. Lloyd 1974: 119-20, 127, Draper 1990: 59 Also see

www.ubsdell.com/hampshire-discovering-the-19th-century and Brindle and Mee 2012 for more on

Richard Ubsdell's church landscapes. Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 179-80 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908:110-1



Fig 3 Watercolour of the medieval church of St James in the early 19th century by LS Westall. Fig 4. A thatched well is sited immediately to the south of the church.

18. CHURCH OF ST MARY (OUR LADY), HIGH ST, BURITON

Parish of Buriton, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Mary's, Buriton. External view from the southwest.

The parish of Buriton which contains the large village of Buriton as its centre is due north of Chalton and shares its Downland landscape. It is sandwiched between Chalton and Clanfield parishes to the south, Petersfield directly to the north and Harting to the east, Petersfield being its nearest market town. It has a sheep-pasture and arable landscape and lies behind the high ridge of Downs formed by Butser, War Down, Head Down, Oakham and West Harting Down. It lies in a watered bottom under Head Down with long strips of ancient hangar wood in its vicinity. On the far side of War Down the modern plantation of Queen Elizabeth Forest replaces some of the earlier woodland which once covered areas of the parish. A stream runs through the village, crossing it between the Manor House and the Rectory where it opens into a village pond – a relatively ancient feature (*see Fig 3*).

Buriton village is nucleated around a long High Street which originally ran north to Petersfield. The church, manor house and rectory are set at the southern end, although the village itself has grown into a substantial nucleus formed around a sub-oval lane plan. Its building stock includes a good body of timber-framed early modern malmstone or brick-faced cottages and houses with some modern infill housing. The Manor House directly to the north of the church was the home of Edward Gibbons, author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* who resided there periodically with his parents in the second half of the 18th century (D. Jones 2001-3: 4), the house being modernised by his father in 1747 from an earlier 16th-17th century mansion. The rectory has medieval features and an 18th century facade. The group therefore is a good example of the church/manor/rectory spatial relation which is visible elsewhere in this sample (discussed in Chapter 2). The village's present rural charm and prosperity is deceptive. In 1676 the population over 16 was 210 (Jones 2003: 17). By the 1841 census it was just under 400 but with much the same housing stock as that recorded in the 17th century, indicating much

subdivision of existing houses to accommodate an increased number of poorer families.

Architecture

Fabric: Malmstone and rubble with some flint. Tiled roof.

St Mary's appears rather too large to cater for the size of its medieval or early modern parish population since it was the mother church for Petersfield in the early Middle Ages. Entry is by the west door of the tower which leads through an oddly constructed archway into the four bay nave. The tower itself was burnt down in 1712 and rebuilt 1714 with an internal ringer's gallery. The nave is arcaded to north and south and gives immediately on to the three bay chancel. Again, as with Chalton and Catherington (GNos 15 and 16) there is no intervening stone chancel arch, although the gabled tympanum above is timbered, being supported by a moulded timber arch and close studded struts. There is also a modern wooden rood screen below modelled exactly on an older 16th century one. This is, I think, diagnostic of a post-Reformation insertion during the 16th century, though later, perhaps than that at Southwick (see GNo 24 and for discussion Chapter 3.3.1). Certainly three of the main churches in this area whose size would seem to require stone chancel arches are without them.

The church's fabric is mainly of the late 12th cent as demonstrated by the nave's arcading and may have been built from west to east, perhaps over the footprint of an earlier church. The chancel has a number of 13th century features and the aisles are 14th century though the north aisle was rebuilt in 1764 and the whole church was restored in 1878. During the restoration the roof and ceilings and many of the fittings were replaced and the floor levels altered to allow the addition of an underfloor heating system.

Space and contents

Spatially much of what is visible in St Mary's relates to the Middle Ages with the exception of the wooden chancel arch which opens up this otherwise rather dimly illuminated church. From Page's account of the aggressively recusant Shelley family who owned the nearby great house of Mapledurham one might speculate about their relationship with the more conformist patronal family, the Hanburys, at Buriton during the late 16th-early 17th centuries. The existence of the local Shelley family as co-patrons with the Hanburys and as Catholics must have had a very divisive effect on tenants and neighbours alike. It is tempting therefore to wonder if the changes wrought in the church at this time – a possible arch and screen replacement and opening up of nave and chancel may have been the rector's and the Hanburys' answer to the Shelleys and designed to be proof of their political and religious loyalty to Crown and state.

Together with the rebuilding of the tower in ragstone and the acquisition of a set of new bells in the

early 18th century (Chapter .4.3.3) , there are various examples of early modern material culture. There is an unusual 16th century black marble wall monument commemorating the Hanburys in the chancel. Llewellyn states this form was called at the time ‘a mural monument’ and that these, in the form of ‘an engraved panel of brass or stone,’ were ‘of a type established well before the mid-sixteenth century’ (Llewellyn 2000:221). It depicts Thomas Hanbury in sleeved gown, ruff, doublet and breeches facing his wife across a prie dieu on a tiled floor and behind him his six sons. Elizabeth confronts him dressed in a narrow farthingale and ruff and a flat capped headdress with her two similarly dressed daughters behind. The superscription reads ‘*Here lyeth enterred the bodye of Thomas Hanburye Esquire Sonne of Thom Hanburye Esqr Auditors of the Exchequer: who deceased the XXIIIJth day of July 1617. To whose pious memorye his last wife Elizabeth Grigge hath erected this monument*’. Below this are 3 coloured escutcheons – the whole being enclosed in a square masonry architectural frame. Page also lists several other brass plaques on the south wall to other 17th century members of the Hanbury family and at the bottom of the south aisle an altar tomb and wall plaque to the 17th century Bilson family – only the wall plaque remains (Page 1908: 90). At the head of the south aisle the 17th century communion table survives made from oak with heavy cylindrical balusters and stretchers. An interesting black marble ledger has been moved from its original position and placed sideways abutting the tower’s northern arch pier at the back of the nave. While this commemorates Hillard Hely, a gentleman, this inscription is a testament to his wife who died four years after him.

This reads: *In memory of Hillard Hely Esq/Who departed this life the 20th of April 1757/Aged 69 years. As also of Jane Hely who died December/the 3rd 1761 Aged 70 years./To her husband/a dutiful and affectionate Wife:/To her servants/a kind and tender Mistress/To her Relations and Acquaintance/ a steady and useful friend:/Strictly upright and just in all her dealings/And in every station of Life/ which she had pass’d/a good and valuable Woman*

A virtuous Woman is a Crown to her Husband/but she that maketh ashamed is as Rottenness/in his Bones *PROVERBS XII. I.*

In many ways this epitomises several similar 18th century female epitaphs found in this region. The 17th century emphasis on duty, virtue and obedience is still implicit but added to this, amplifying the idealisation of the role of ‘good woman,’ is now added the feminine qualities of tenderness and affection plus a particularly female framing of the hitherto masculine concept of honour (Chapter 7.3.2). Jane Hely is described as being useful, upright and just – qualities which entitle her to the ultimate accolades of goodness and personal worth. She is therefore shown to have been an honest woman whose duties included the practical and long term assistance of her family and social circle – these were not the kind of passive female attributes previously interwoven into 16th-17th century epitaph eulogies.

But the epitaph comes with a sting in its tail. The quotation from Proverbs is a pointed reminder to the reader that Woman's true *raison d'être* is as an appendage to her husband, and that if she fails in virtue towards him she pollutes him to the core ('Rottenness in his Bones' is a particularly strong Mary Douglas-type biblical image – see Douglas 1966 but also Wall 2002:203 for a discussion of the early modern domestic associations of this quotation).

Lastly, below the third stage bell loft, the 1714 tower has a ringers' gallery visible from the nave which still retains 18th century ringing regulations painted on the wall which emphasise the perceived need for decorum from bell ringers whose standards of behaviour may not have pleased the rector or churchwardens who employed them (for a discussion of these regulations and bell ringing see Chapter 4.3.3).

Churchyard

The churchyard spreads mainly to the south with a further modern southern extension. The churchyard is bounded by Manor house service buildings to the north but is walled or railed elsewhere. In the closed-off south porch are two upright ledgers both with the sculpted heraldic escutcheons which often appear over the graves of 18th century gentry, as here (Chapter 5.3.1 and 5.4.1). These presumably were lifted during the 1878 reflooring and are stored here for want of space elsewhere.

The west side of the church is closely lined with chest tombs of the 18th-19th centuries and to the south and southwest are several rows of weathered 18th century tombstones including a group to the Bones family (Chapter 5.3.1). The well-known 17th century botanist John Goodyer (1592-1664) is buried here although the position of his grave is unknown (see his biography in D. Jones 2003:2-3). The Gibbon family tombs are evidently elsewhere but there are various churchyard monuments to the Bonham-Carter family, owners of the Buriton estate from the early 19th century (their biographies are in D. Jones 2003). The churchyard is well treed with an old yew in the northeast corner. To the south and southeast the graveyard overlooks fields which are bordered by the slopes of the Downs while to the east are more estate farm buildings backed by the end of the vale also terminated by the Downland ridge.

Sources: Green 1967: 125-131, Draper 1990: 51-2, Llewellyn 2000, Church Guide leaflet – anon. Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:154-5, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 85-93. Also see D Jones 2001-3 on behalf of Buriton Heritage Bank, Buriton's local history society which provides local exhibitions and ongoing research forums. They publish a map folder and a number of well-illustrated and researched booklets written by one of their members Doug Jones. For more on the Shelley family of Mapledurham House see Questier 2006. Also see survey by NADFAS church records at www.nadfas.org.uk

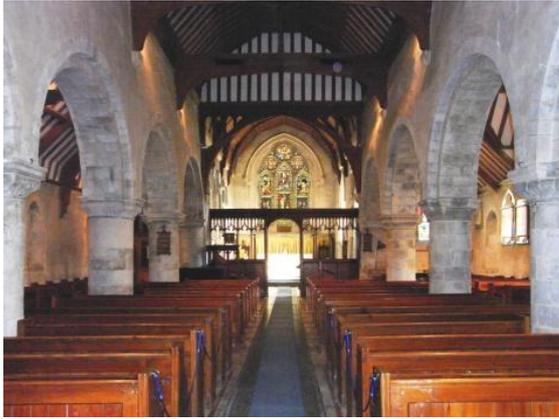


Fig 2 Interior of St Mary's looking east. Fig 3. The church and pond looking east. The Manor House is immediately to the north of the church.

19. CHURCH OF ST PETER'S, CHURCH PATH, THE SQUARE, PETERSFIELD

Parish of Petersfield, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The north side of St Peter's church, Petersfield taken from the Market Square. Fig 2. View of the church from the south.

The parish of Petersfield is centred around its focal point, the market town of Petersfield, but at 1609 acres is noticeably smaller than its surrounding parishes; the Meons and Buriton to the south. This undoubtedly reflects pre-Conquest parish land allocation since Petersfield is recorded as Buriton's chapel in the Domesday book. However during the Middle Ages the town, built at the junction of major road systems established itself as the centre of an agricultural market economy with winter and summer fairs and acquired borough status (Chapter 2.2). The structure of the borough however depended on precedent since there was no clear charter of incorporation. Up until the late 16th century its charter status remained uncontested under its manorial lords and the town, a centre for cloth and leather, became extremely prosperous. However Thomas Hanbury of Buriton (GNo 18) purchased the borough in 1597 and challenged the borough officers over their collection of taxes and court rights, winning his case in 1610 and funnelling the proceeds of municipal fines and taxes into his own pocket. Traditionally this is supposed to have triggered a decline in the town's fortunes which only began to recover in the 18th century.

Petersfield's economic recovery is attributed to its position as a road nexus since the London-Portsmouth road went straight through the town and was crossed by east-west routes from the Meons (GNos 20-22) and Winchester across to Godalming, Midhurst and South Harting (GNo 49). The establishment of stage coaches led to an increase in the number of Petersfield coaching inns and by the 1690s nine had been set up in the town. Its increasing 18th century affluence created much new Georgian building and Petersfield's earlier timber framed buildings were often refaced with Georgian facades.

There were two major gentry houses: the early 17th century Castle House which stood in the corner of the Square and Petersfield House, southeast of the church – a grand early 18th century mansion built by John Jolliffe which was pulled down in 1793. The Jolliffes were Petersfield's premier family, representing the town as MPS well into the 19th century. In 1750 Sir William Jolliffe commissioned a large lead gilt equestrian statue of William III whom he greatly admired to stand in the courtyard of Petersfield House. On the house's demolition this was transferred to the Square where it still stands. The town was also inhabited by numbers of doctors, lawyers and clerics in the later part of the early modern period – professional families who brought a degree of gentrification to this otherwise strongly agricultural market town. The early 18th century also saw the inauguration of a school, Churcher's College, which still exists. This was founded in 1722 by Richard Churcher (buried in St Mary's Funtington, GNo 30) who made his money as a member of the East India Company.

Petersfield sits in a well-watered Downland vale. In past centuries there was considerable marshland around it to the south so that the London Road had to pass along a raised causeway into the town. The southern Downland heights formed by Buster, War Down etc sweep round in a long semi-circular ridge so that Petersfield appears to sit in a bowl. It thus has a rich farming hinterland with cattle pasturage and arable on the lowland floor with sheep and wheat cultivation on the hills above.

Architecture

Fabric: mostly restored walls of flint, ragstone and some ashlar, the rooves being tiled. Intact medieval masonry includes Norman herringbone stone work at the eastern head of the church.

Considering St Peter's church was, until 1886, a chapel-of-ease to Buriton, it grew, from the 12th century on, into a remarkably large and imposing structure. Moreover its parish registers start from 1558 – an early date for registers which may indicate the importance accorded to its superior size and demography. Since the town itself evidently expanded rapidly in the Middle Ages it is likely that St Peter's began to supersede St Mary's quite early on after the Conquest, since some of the church's remaining unrestored architecture is high quality masonry of the early 12th century. There is some evidence for a pre-conquest church on the site of the chancel as it is slightly out of kilter with the alignment of the nave (as is Buriton, GNo 18 and Bosham GNo 31).

The church retains some important medieval architecture but was extensively remodelled by Sir Arthur Blomfield (also see Blomfield's work at Gosport GNo 12). Extant 1850s drawings of the early modern church demonstrate the changes the church underwent after its restoration. Blomfield was determined to reshape the church and this involved removing most of the early modern features – pews, pulpits, galleries, flooring etc although the new pulpit was reinstalled in the same position (Chapter 7.2). The

interior drawing of 1850 shows the floor was evenly paved and of a single level up to the chancel's altar rails. It appears as though there might have been a single ledger left in the central passage – perhaps another example of a signature floor (for this see Chapter 5.4.2 and West Itchenor and East Marden, GNos 36 and 42). Since Blomfield was rebuilding the aisles and changing the roof heights he also removed all the mural monuments so that both nave and chancel are now completely bare. By doing this he created a dramatic new vista from the bottom of the nave towards the Norman chancel screen (once the eastern wall of a central tower) and elevated it by adding a further stage with a round-headed window.

Space and contents

Since the church is so reworked, its early modern contents have to be interpreted from the illustration of the interior. This shows a large, single decker pulpit, accessed by a curved staircase and companioned on the other side of the central passage by a double reading desk. The pews were uniform rectangular boxes with latched doors probably constructed from late 18th century oak panelling. There was a suspended gallery at the head of the north aisle used by the Jolliffe family which could never have afforded any view of the chancel but would have raised the occupants slightly above and behind the minister in his pulpit and was lit by an early 18th century round-headed window typical of the type of windows found in 17th and 18th century auditory churches (Chapter 7.2.1 and see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). The nave's ceiling appears to have been boarded and plastered and there is an angled window over the east bay of the north arcade which would have cast light on the pulpit. The drawing of the church's exterior depicts another southern dormer presumably placed to illuminate the desks. Inside numbers of wall memorials are shown on the inner walls of the arcades and in the south transept. These are recognisable as some of those later moved by Blomfield to the west tower. The only wall memorial still surviving in the nave is on the north wall and commemorates the Worlidges, an eminent 17th century family who produced two Mayors of Petersfield.

Blomfield moved the wall plaques to three different areas. Many of the 18th-19th century gentry memorials are now sited in the meeting room at the bottom of the north aisle. There are also a few by the new kitchens on the south side. Blomfield showed a fine sense of social discrimination by clustering the Jolliffe wall plaques together on the walls of the newly consecrated Lady Chapel (1999) devised from the bell chamber space under the tower (Chapter 4.3.3) These include two large memorials to Jolliffe women; the first memorialising Catharine Jolliffe (d 1731) being composed in Latin and the second to Jane Jolliffe, who died in 1775. Her inscription reads

This memorial is consecrated/To the memory of JANE the daughter of JNo JOLLIFFE Esq/ Representative

*in Parliament for this Borough and MARY his wife/Who having in vain had recourse to the milder
climes/Of France and Italy/For the recovery of her declining health/After supporting a tedious and
painful illness, more/Than two years, with admirable fortitude and patience/At a period of life when its
enjoyments/are most to be desired/Contentedly and placidly resigned her breath to Him who gave it/On
the 19th day of April 1775*

A lengthy poem follows signed by *THOMAS SAMUEL JOLLIFFE, Brother of the Deceased,/Caused this
monument to be erected.*

This epitaph contrasts very strongly with that to Jane Hely in Buriton who died only 14 years before (see GNo 18 and Chapter 7.3.2)). The poem uses the new Romantic vocabulary to express contemporary concern over the correct treatment of consumption, which one presumes Jane Jolliffe succumbed to. It mixes social status claims (that the Jolliffe family able to send Jane abroad to Montpellier and Tuscany for her health – a kind of tragic Grand Tour) with orthodox expressions of belief in the Day of Judgement within the contemporary convention of politeness. Death here is characterised in the language of seasons and flowers. Jane is also eulogised for her fortitude, patience, contentment and placidness – entirely passive attributes appropriate to her youth and gender. The 70 year old Jane Hely, on the other hand, was evidently a matriarch and from her epitaph one gains an impression of an active woman, bustling about at the centre of her own family. Here one can perceive differences in the performance of gender roles in terms of age. A young maiden dies passively with resignation, an old matron actively, after a useful life.

Next to this a wall plaque by Flaxman dedicated to John Sainsbury (d 1769 aged 62) and Elizabeth his wife (d 1800 aged 72) which depicts two women sorrowfully draped over an urn. As with Selina Newland's monument in Havant (GNo 2), the imagery provides another example of the late 18th century tendency to reject death as a gross bodily process. The appearance of the urn (which implies classical cremation – a dry, fiery, cleansing mortuary treatment) and the elegant melancholy posture of the figures fuses the new concept of death as dry, unpolluted, masculine with the softer female (and relatively passive) qualities of tenderness, affection and regret.

Churchyard

The large churchyard was reorganised in 1950 when all the gravestones were uprooted and now either line the exterior walls or act as revetments to the banked pathways around the church (Chapter 1.2). This has entirely destroyed their geographic and social patterns and relationships and confounded any attempt at early modern mortuary diagnosis. Moreover, only the headstones have been retained; chest tombs and footstones are absent. As at Havant and other more urbanised sites the churchyard level is a

good metre or so above the foot of the church, showing a long period of use. There are also very few trees. To the south west and west is an irregular curving terrace of 18th-19th century cottages which convey the impression of a small close.

Sources: Carpenter Turner 1963: 30, Green 1967: 114-21, Draper 1990 131-2, Church guide by Eric Leaton (revised 2007 by David Francome and Barrie Kent and which has a useful bibliography for Petersfield history) , Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 371-5, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 111-121. Also see the NAFDAS Church Records for Petersfield at www.nadfas.org.uk



Fig 3 View of St Peter's interior, looking towards the chancel. Cluster of wall plaque mainly memorialising the Jolliffe family, moved during restorations to the south wall of the tower. The Sainsbury plaque is the lower of the two central memorials.

20. CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, THE HYDE, EAST MEON

Parish of East Meon, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 All Saints, East Meon, set on a steep rise above the village and seen from the south.

Before its reduction in 1894 East Meon, at 11,377 acres, was one of the largest parishes in my research sample. The river Meon has its spring a mile to the south of the village of East Meon and flows north and then west across the broad Meon valley floor with its fertile arable land and pasture which also, up until the 20th century, had fields set aside for growing hops. East Meon is set high up and most of the rest of the parish is Downland; the parish to the south being bisected by the hilly ridge which cuts between it and the southern parishes of Catherington, Clanfield and Hambledon (GNos 16, 17 and 23). Behind the village to the north rise the steep slopes of Park Hill and the church stands on a platform cut out of the down and overlooking the village in a most commanding position (Chapter 5.3.2). This was and continues to be a predominantly rural parish containing a number of large manorial estates which, in the early modern period, were the seats of the local gentry, some of whom intermarried with recusant families from southern parishes such as the Brunings of Wymering and the Uvedales of Wickham (see GNos 7 and 26) .

Much of East Meon was hereditarily owned and controlled by the Bishops of Winchester and the size and shape of the village and that of the church, reflects its powerful patron (Chapter 2.5.1). During the Middle Ages the Bishopric's manorial courts were held in the village and an important stone-built 15th century hall, the Court House, (in effect the ecclesiastical manor house) was built to accommodate these and the bishop's bailiffs. This house, although it has lost its south wing, survives immediately to the southeast of the church and is one of East Meon's architectural gems. The village itself is largely nucleated to the south of the river Meon which flows through the centre. Its architecture is a mixture of medieval-20th century housing with a number of well-built Georgian houses lining its main street.

Although it was not a market town it held an annual fair and so regularly provided a focus for the local economy (Chapter 7.1).

Architecture

Fabric: Walls are flint and rubble with some restoration, dressed with ashlar quoins. Some brick patching. Tower is faced in ashlar with a leaded spire. Roof - lead sheeting and slate.

Like Portchester (GNo 9), All Saints, is a large characteristic Norman church of the first half of the 12th century, cruciform with north and south transepts and an imposing central tower surmounted by a tall broach spire. However, as Pevsner points out, the church butts up against the hillside so tightly that only a south aisle was able to be constructed together with a Lady chapel and south porch (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 199). There has been considerable restoration done during the 19th century which has largely left the important medieval architecture in place, although the vestiges of a Doom wall painting, discovered on the west side of the chancel arch gable were left untreated and have now completely disappeared. Both early modern furniture and much mortuary material has been either ejected or moved, the only architectural clues to its pre-19th century layout are in the south Lady Chapel which runs parallel to the chancel. Here, against its west wall, there is a wooden staircase leading up to a doorway and platform at the head of the southern aisle (*see Fig 3*). This would undoubtedly have accessed a southern side gallery and it is likely, given the large size of the nave, that there was a west gallery too (See Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Space and contents

All Saints has a hexagonal 1709 pulpit standing to the north of the tower chancel arch. This has been cut down and rests on a modern podium although the baluster railings which edge its steps look contemporary with it (Chapter 7.2.1). It came from a London church but it is not clear when it was introduced (see Chapter 3.3.3). The most interesting early modern artefacts are now in the Lady Chapel and consist entirely of wall plaques which cover practically every inch of available wall space, suggesting they were moved in here during the restoration work from other areas of the chancel. Several of the wall plaques are expensive early-mid 18th century examples of classical frames surmounted with pediments crowned by armorial crests and commemorate local gentry families resident in the parish. Another, more discursive plaque, also bearing a crest at its head is sited on the north wall and was commissioned by Thomas Bonham-Smith to commemorate his parents, son and himself in 1764 (but not his wife). This is an example of the tendency towards biographical memorials becoming visible by the mid-18th century which is discussed in more detail with regard to East Marden and Compton (GNos 45 and 48 and in Chapter 5.4.2). There are also a good many ledgers which, being oriented with their heads

to the west, are likely to be in situ (Chapter 5.2). They are mainly sited in the central passage and in front of the altar with a particularly impressive, if damaged, 17th century black marble example to the Dixon family set prominently at the centre of the chapel. This has a deeply incised armorial crest and is similar to the 18th century ledgers stored in the south porch at Buriton and two particularly grand black marble ledgers in St Nicholas's, Wickham (GNos 18 and 26). The whole group of memorials in this chapel are significant and would repay more research.

Churchyard

The churchyard, backed by the slope to the north, wraps itself around the front of the church although a later extension has been opened out on the west side. The level of the ground rises steeply from the lane at the bottom and the churchyard ground itself is built up through its depth of interment. The oldest graves to the south and east are set in irregular clumps. However the 18th-19th century graves remaining are not, in themselves, very diagnostic of early modern mortuary practice. The churchyard has evidently been landscaped in the last century but in such a way as to tidy it rather than alter its ground levels. From a 19th century pen and ink drawing on display inside the church it appears as though there was once a half-timbered, jettied house set in a garden next door to the church on its east side. This is quite possibly the old vicarage belonging to the church which has since been torn down.

Sources: Green 1967:104-10, Lloyd 1974: 3, 9, 21-2, 30, 35, Draper: 1990:66, Jenkins 2000:245-6, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 199-210 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 64-75.

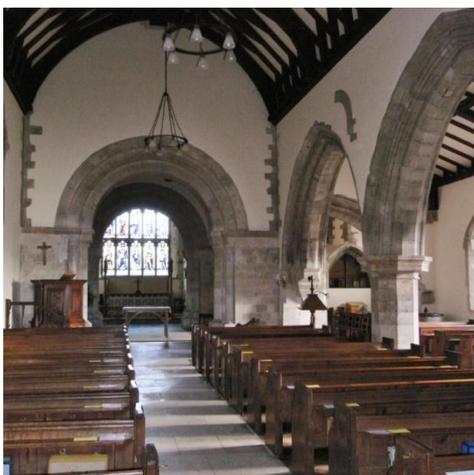


Fig 2 Interior of All Saints looking east. The Lady Chapel is to the south. Fig 3. West wall of the Lady Chapel with a wooden staircase and doorway presently leading onto a narrow platform.

21. CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST, CHURCH LANE, WEST MEON

Parish of West Meon, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St John the Evangelist, West Meon. View from the south.

West Meon is a smaller, wedge shaped parish which shares East Meon's landscape of high Downland divided by the river Meon. This runs from east to west in a shallow curve before it bends south at Warnford and continues down through Meonstoke (GNo 22) along its broad valley heading southwest towards the sea at Titchfield (GNo 13). The river widens and passes through the village of West Meon creating a particular river valley ecology characterised by its clear chalk-stream water which encourages specific flora and fauna such as brown trout and watercress. The valley provides lush grazing for cattle while the Downs to the north and south of the river have, since the Middle Ages, supported the common Downland cereal crops and sheep pasture.

The village sits in the northern part of the parish at a road nexus where the Petersfield road meets up with a main road running between Winchester and Alton and is joined by a southern route which comes up from Old Winchester Hill – the site of an Iron Age hill fort. Like East Meon the whole area is studded with archaeology – many of the Downland tops have prehistoric remains while a Roman villa was discovered in the 19th century just to the northwest of West Meon village. As with many of the Meon Valley parishes it has historically been partitioned into a number of big estates owned by local gentry or aristocratic families. Before the Reformation the manorial lands of West Meon were part of the great estate block belonging to the Bishops of Winchester but after 1544 the Wriothesleys were granted them to add to their extensive Hampshire domains. Hall Place, a late 17th century manor house a half-mile to the east of the village was their manorial seat until 1667 when it was sold to the Neale family. West Meon village is nucleated around the roads and river and the church is sited at the top of a rise to the north. The church, however, dates entirely to the 1840s when the Rector, Henry Bayley, personally

undertook the cost of dismantling the medieval church in order to rebuild a new neo-Gothic church some yards away from its original site, employing George Gilbert Scott (senior) as architect (Chapter 7.1 and for Gilbert Scott also see South Harting GNo 49).

Architecture, space and contents

St John's complete new build would seem to disqualify it from inclusion in this study since, its site having been moved, it does not even share the footprint of its predecessor (Chapter 2.2). However it still possesses a few early modern items, transferred from the old church. Two wall plaques commemorating 18th century gentry were evidently considered important enough to move into the new church and were placed high on the south wall under the church's west tower where they survive, albeit they are somewhat hard to see. The most important early modern artefact in St John's is a very finely-carved, painted and gilded Royal Arms of Queen Anne which was donated by the parish churchwardens John Shaft and Thomas Andrews and which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.2.2. This has been attached to a screen at the west end of the north aisle and is not therefore set in the place where one would expect to find it ie over the chancel arch. There are also two panels of Flemish origin which Pevsner and Lloyd date to c1600 (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 647). Unfortunately it is not clear whether these came from the old church or were more recent gifts.

Churchyard

St John has a spacious graveyard on its southern side, which stretches down towards the river. This is perhaps its most archaeologically interesting area since, at the top on the eastern side, is the preserved space where the old church once stood. It has been entirely demolished but its footprint is still discernible showing it to have been quite a small building, certainly much less imposing than its sister church at East Meon (GNo 20). Around it in the grass are a few fragments of old, illegible ledgers, presumably rescued from the floor of the previous church and relaid close by. The oldest 18th century gravestones stand to the west of this site though there are a few lining the central path which leads up through the cemetery. These though do not always face correctly to the east showing that they were probably moved at the same time as the church was dismantled. The southernmost part of the churchyard contains more recent interments and it seems likely that this area is a 1840s extension designed to allow for increasing numbers of village burials, since the 19th century population steadily expanded to c 900 until the end of the century when it began to shrink again.

Sources: Green 1967: 104-10, Lloyd 1974: 6, 125 Draper 1990: 200-201, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 647-8) VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 342-5. For map of (some) of the Bishop of Winchester's estates see

Carpenter Turner 1963:35. Also see www.southernlife.org.uk/westmeon.htm and www.localhistories.org/westmeon.html



Fig 2 The churchyard at St John's. The site of the old church is beyond the railings in the centre of the lawn. Fig 3. The carved Royal Arms presently set up over a screen at the back of the north aisle.

22. CHURCH OF ST ANDREWS, CHURCH LANE, MEONSTOKE

Parish of Meonstoke, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. St Andrew's church viewed from the south. Fig 2. The church's interior looking east.

Following the river Meon as it travels southwards, the parish of Meonstoke sits in its valley at the southern tip of West Meon, its eastern side flanking the much larger parish of Hambledon. To the south east is Old Winchester Hill which in addition to its archaeological features is presently a nature reserve. Meonstoke contains both Downland and riverine landscape and, like the other Meon parishes, still has an essentially rural economy, the village gaining some of its importance in the Middle Ages from its market and annual fair granted by a charter of 1280. The Meon valley narrows here and the church and village are built hard up against the eastern Downland slopes with the 13th century church facing over towards the adjacent parish of Corhampton and its ancient church, a Saxon foundation with 13th century wall paintings, which stands on the far side of the river. Both churches are less than a quarter of a mile from each other. There were two medieval Meonstoke mills in operation but a large mill building which superseded them still stands on the Meon just inside Corhampton's parish boundary. The village is built so that it is tucked into a rise of the Down behind. It is loosely nucleated with ribbon development lining its High Street and its extension Rectory Lane and with small cross lanes running down to the A32 – the main valley road from Gosport to Alton. The church is sited at the end of one of these on the flood plain which borders the river and is close to the main road. To its west is a converted medieval hall house, perhaps once the rectory, and another stands just to the south near the Bucks Head pub which suggests that the core of the old village lay much closer to the river around the church. The early modern village which had crept further to the east was burned down in the 18th century and as a result was rebuilt with rows of Georgian houses and cottages set into the hill and lining the High Street.

In 1385 the three parish manors were gifted by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, to Winchester College which he established and endowed and remained in the College's possession after the Reformation. Thus there is no manor house in the neighbourhood.

Architecture

Fabric: flint and rubble walls with ashlar quoins – much restoration work to the east. Some walls still bear the old plaster skim. Roof is tiled. Tower - flint rubble with double tiered and shingle belfry roofing added to the upper stage in 1900.

St Andrew's (originally St Mary's) is an architecturally coherent 13th century church with an aisled four bayed nave, a south porch (the north porch is now converted into a boiler house) and a 15th century west tower. The tower was raised by a stage in the 18th century, and this, as at Chalton and Catherington (Nos 15 and 16), may have been done in order to deaden the acoustics between the bell chamber and the gallery. There is, however no sign of a gallery presently and, if there had been, it is likely to have been removed during the 19th century restorations or in 1900 when the church and tower were again repaired. A Georgian plaster barrel vault roof covered the chancel until the 1900s when it fell down and was not replaced in that form. As in so many of the sample's Hampshire parishes, the restorations concentrated on the church's medieval architecture but at St Andrew's the only other possible 19th century alteration concerns the floor levels. The church has a much restored round headed chancel arch, the chancel being raised above the nave and the whole floored with Victorian black and red diaper tiling. Since there has been so much work to the chancel arch, it is likely that it, together with the chancel's floor level, was raised during the 19th century and retiled. Pre-Victorian single level floors were much more commonplace especially in Sussex and examples still exist at Fishbourne, Appuldram, Up Marden and Elsted (GNos 32, 33, 46 and 50).

Space and contents

The church retains its hexagonal 17th century pulpit which stands on a masonry plinth in front of the northern chancel arch pier. Like that at East Meon, it has evidently been cut down and reset at a lower level, losing its desks in the process (see Chapter 3.3.3). Its stone plinth appears to be have some age and it is conceivable that it has been skilfully put together out of old masonry blocks (an old font plinth?) to support the pulpit at a lower height. This would suggest the pulpit's reconfiguration was coeval with work to the chancel arch. The pulpit itself is late 17th century, finely carved and of considerable sophistication. Its body has restored inner panels carved with foliate strapwork but its ledge projects outwards and forms a canopy for an arcade supported by four heavy barley twist shafts of the type called 'Solomonic'. These are redolent of piers and supports often found in the urban auditory churches

of Wren and Hawksmoor and very similar to columns supporting the gallery in Southwick parish church (GNo 24) which are discussed in Chapter 4. The pulpit's quality may be connected to the influence of the church's patrons, Winchester College, in the same way as the furnishings at St James, Southwick are associated with its own patrons.

There is also an early 18th century carved wooden panel of Jacob which Pevsner ascribes to a German Baroque sculptor. As with the sculpture at West Meon, it is not clear if this was donated by a patron or when acquired by the church. St Andrew's last post-medieval artefact of note is a vigorous and brightly painted panel of a Georgian Royal Arms which hangs over the north door. This has an odd form of fourth quartering since the usual inescutcheon (the Hanoverian central badge or escutcheon) has crept into this area (see figure below) suggesting the Arms painter was a little unsure how to represent the new royal heraldry. From this and the imagery used, I would speculate that the panel dates to George I's reign rather than a later George (Chapter 4.2.2). There is lastly a restored wooden screen of some antiquity which blocks off the open tower arch from the nave – possibly an earlier parclose screen.

Churchyard

The churchyard runs all the way around the church, although its north part is an extension inaugurated in 1895 (Maxse 2004). The most populated area is to the south where there are a number of 18th century graves in good if worn condition (Chapter 5.3.1). Several are carved with scrollwork and have been given more architectural features (arcading, geometric pilasters etc) than those found closer to the coast.

The ground is grassed throughout and has lost its paths but is surrounded by a flint wall with brick coping to the south and west, punctured by a lych gate, Meonstoke's WW1 war memorial. To the east is a boundary ditch. The level of the churchyard to the west is well above the height of the lane and the medieval hall house beyond.

Sources: Green 1967: 104-8, Lloyd 1974: 3, 52, 120 Draper 1990: 115, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 333 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 254-7 Also see Maxse C 2004, developed from church guide book at www.bridgechurches.org.uk/church-meonstoke.htm and NAFDAS Church records for Meonstoke at www.nadfas.org.uk



Fig 3 17th century pulpit with Solomonic columns and arcading. Fig 4. This restored hall house close to the west side of the church is thought to have been Meonstoke's medieval rectory.

23. CHURCH OF ST PETER AND ST PAUL, CHURCH LANE, HAMBLEDON

Parish of Hambledon, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Peter and St Paul from the south, showing two storey porch and the west tower. Fig 2 The church from the north east with its added 14th century chancel.

Hambledon's parish covers a considerable area running north/south and bordered by the Meons to the north and Catherington to the east. It includes a number of smaller hamlets and villages such as Broadway, Glidden and Denmead, the latter now being a separate parish in its own right. Its landscape is made up of much high Downland dotted with sizeable farmsteads and its centre, the village of Hambledon, borders a long road which follows the bottom of a steep sided valley. Its soil is notable for its clay and is mainly suitable for cereal growing and sheep grazing on the hill tops. However its southern reaches around Denmead and across towards Soberton in the west feature stretches of the Forest of Bere, which in the early modern period were more extensive than they are now. Its economy therefore included forest management alongside arable and pastoral agriculture. Hambledon is also known for the development of standardised rules for cricket, since cricket was famously played outside at the Bat and Ball Inn on Broad Halfpenny Down just to the northeast of the village during the 18th century and thereafter. Paradoxically it is from this period that Hambledon was at its lowest ebb since William Cobbett described it as 'a tumbledown, rubbishy place' when he came through during his *Rural Rides* in 1826 (Draper quoting Cobbett 1990:88)

The village lines the lower slopes of its valley for some distance along West Street and East Street – mirroring in an inverted way Catherington village's ribbon development along its Downland ridge (see GNo 16). However it is nucleated on a cross road where its short High Street runs uphill on the north side and a lane ascending Speltham Hill meets at the southern junction. It is an amalgam of medieval, early modern and modern housing with a good number of large early modern (and later) gentry houses set along its length. It has the appearance of a large village which belies its previous significance since,

like Titchfield (GNo 13), it was an important pre-Reformation town centre and this continued into the 17th century when it was granted a charter for a weekly market and two annual fairs. Like many of the Meon parishes its manorial land and church were historically owned by the Bishops of Winchester with its manorial headquarters at the present Manor Farm. This undoubtedly accounts for its economic centrality and the seemingly disproportionate scale of its church. The church is set on a rise to the north of the High Street. Like many of the Hampshire Downland churches in this research sample it is cut into a terrace overlooking its village below (Chapter 5.3.2).

Architecture

Fabric: flint and rubble walls, the tower with brick dressings and topped with pinnacles. Central roofs tiled, chancel and aisle roofs lead sheeting. Inside Binstead and green sandstone used for arcade capitals etc, some plinths of clunch.

St Peter and St Paul's is remarkably large for its situation as a village parish church and possesses architectural features from practically all the medieval centuries including surviving architecture which reveals its origin as a late Saxon stone-built church. The Saxon building occupied the west end of the present church which then received 12th century aisles. During the 13th century it started to expand with a vengeance and over the century incorporated both chancel and nave into one without removing the original chancel arch. The old chancel was widened by another aisle and given transeptual chapels and then a brand new chancel was added to the east so that the church now appears to have an extra presbytery-like east end, an effect achieved by the odd succession of chancel arches (*see Fig 2*). It also received a tower to the west. During the 15th century it gained a southern porch and a vestry – both two-storied, with rooms for priestly accommodation, schools or for other parochial functions on the upper floors. At the end of the 18th century the tower caught fire but its upper stage was rebuilt to take the ring of six bells it had acquired, five of them dating to 1749 (Chapter 4.3.3). It now has corner pinnacles and brick quoins and dressings. Apart from this St Peter and St Paul's only remaining early modern architecture consists of two flat-headed Tudor windows in the vestry. The church has been very carefully and continually restored from the 19th century up to the present and several of the ceilings are now repainted with late medieval decorative designs (Chapter 4.2.1 *see Fig 4*).

Space and contents

It is probable that the size and complexity of this parish church, does not just reflect its relationship with its episcopal patrons, but is the result of its medieval and post-medieval demography (Chapter 7.1). There is no indication that Hambledon's urban prosperity suffered after the Reformation as its 1612 market charter testifies. It is likely then that the church with its double nave and spacious chancel was

extensively pewed and it seems possible that there was a west gallery in situ as the upper storeys of the porch were accessible via an interior gallery doorway. However, this cannot be verified and one must accept that the church's nave at this time was able to accommodate a large congregation.

Early modern furniture and fittings are almost entirely absent. There is a much restored late medieval pulpit which, presumably, has been used at Hambledon since its installation (Chapter 7.2.1). It is likely to be in its early modern position but its state of repair makes it hard to tell if it was previously part of a more elaborate pulpit and desk system. There is also a fine range of 18th century wall plaques on the nave and chancel walls demonstrating that Hambledon's parish was home to a wide mixture of social classes, some of whose gentry members were attached to the army or navy. The dormitory area for services families evidently stretched back this far into the Downland hinterland, though such families appear to have been less frequent further up into the upper Meon valley.

Churchyard

The size of the churchyard matches the church although to the north a more recent extension has been added, ascending the Downland slope. The earliest burials are to the south and there are some good groups of headstones, albeit rather weather-worn (Chapters 5.3.1; 7.3.1-4). To the east are several 18th century table tombs. Churchyard walls to the south and east are of flint. The church is sited right at the end of the High Street as it ascends the hill, providing it with a commanding view of the village below.

Sources: Green 1967: Lloyd 1974: 6-15, 21-2, 30-1, 40-1, 52, 113. 120-1, Draper 1990: 88 Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 269-72 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 238-244. Also see www.hambledon-hants.com for Hambledon Parish Council's history of the parish and its church and www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk for English Heritage's survey of church and listed village buildings in Hambledon.



Fig 3 Hambledon's double nave from the chancel. Fig 4 The painted chancel ceiling

24. CHURCH OF ST JAMES-WITHOUT-THE-PRIORY-GATES, HIGH ST, SOUTHWICK.

Parish of Southwick, coastal Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The exterior of St James-without-the –Priory-Gates, Southwick from the west. Fig 2. View of the church and churchyard from the east.

Southwick is an extended village two miles behind Portsdown Hill and about three miles west of Purbrook and Waterlooville. In spite of its proximity to dense population catchments Southwick is definitively rural and sits among an agricultural grain growing area which also includes pastureland and a considerable acreage of woodland which nowadays represents much of the surviving Forest of Bere which lies between Southwick and Denmead to the northeast.

The village is built loosely along a main street at the head of a large rectangle formed by four irregularly built-up roads from which it is possible to see elements of a prototypical ecclesiastical town planning system which failed to develop (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 609). This format and the growth of the village were closely associated with the Augustinian Canons who fled the busy military environment of Portchester Castle in the mid 1100s (GNo 9) and built their new Priory to the east of the village. Southwick Priory then became an important religious and landowning organisation until the Reformation (see Chapter 2.5.1 and St Thomas of Canterbury, Portsea, GNo 8). At the Dissolution Henry VIII granted Southwick Priory to Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton (GNo 13 Titchfield) who passed the manor and priory on to his gentleman retainer John Whyte. Whyte fashioned his new great house from the Priory buildings and, in the 1560s completely reconfigured the medieval parish church – St James-without-the-Priory-Gate - so that this is now one of the few majorly 16th century churches in the region. The manor of Southwick was held by a line of Whyte's descendant families including the 17th century Nortons and the 18th-21st century Thistlethwaytes (for account of the Nortons' relationship with the Uvedales of Wickham (GNo26) see Chapter 6.3). The village and its Southwick squirearchy have therefore had an intensely interdependent relationship since the 16th

century (Chapter 7.1).

Southwick House burned down twice and its present incarnation dates from 1841. It was the HQ for the Allied generals planning the D Day landings and now little remains of the medieval priory. However the parish church sits close to the Priory entrance and its name 'St James-without-the-Priory-Gate' demonstrates that it still is part of the tight patronal/parochial relationship which has characterised Southwick since the Middle Ages. This is especially so since at the Dissolution John Whyte was created Southwick's 'Lay Prior' infusing his temporal power over his estate with a spiritual one which included the rectorship of the parish. The Lay Prior's dual role is emphasised since the church is a 'Peculiar' - ie exempt from diocesan jurisdiction. The Thistlethwayte family still operate in both capacities as Lay Prioris and as Southwick's squires.

Southwick is largely a village of 18th-19th century timber-framed and brick/flint cottages and houses with some more modern additions. The village was more populated before the Reformation as it ran a weekly market and had an annual fair which continued up to the 19th century.

Architecture

Fabric : flint rubble and brick with Binstead stone dressings, substantially plastered outside. Three stage west tower faced in flint and clunch chequering. Tiled roof.

The church may have had pre-12th century foundations before the Augustinians arrived but much of its medieval fabric is a patchwork of additions from the 13th-15th centuries, especially on its south side. Before Whyte's remodelling in the 1560s it had an aisleless three-bay nave with a two-bay chancel and two stage west tower. Whyte expanded the nave to include a northern aisle which runs up to the chancel, forming a small north chapel (Chapter 7.2.1). This received a plaster ceiling, as did the chancel and nave whose ceiling is coved.

The chancel and chapel are separated by an arcade arch and also by Whyte's table tomb which retains its recycled brasses. Over this is an open, double-sided, triple-pedimented, classical canopy which affords visual contact between both spaces and suggests that this tomb may potentially have been placed in this position to double as an Easter Sepulchre in the event of any further religious changes (see Chapter 5.6 *and Fig 4*). At the same time the chancel arch was removed and a massive tie beam inserted directly under it (Chapter 3.3.1). The floor levels throughout are entirely unaltered since the 16th century and are single level (see notes on Meonstoke GNo 22) except for the altar dais which is raised by three steps. The floors retain much of their early flagging and are studded with many early modern ledgers.

The church is not only remarkable for its 16th century qualities but also for a host of subsequent post-medieval additions which add to its significance. These include a late 17th-early 18th century west gallery fitted into the tower over the main west entrance where there is a panelled lobby leading into the church flanked by gallery staircases on either side. The gallery projects into the nave, supported on barley-twist, Solomonic columns (see Meonstoke and for discussion Chapter 3.3.4 and 4.2.3 and Fig 3). The tower's early modern top stage houses the belfry and the gallery also acts as a bell chamber. It is lighted by two dormer windows presumably added at the same time as it was installed.

Space and contents

Up until the 1950s there was a complete set of box pews in St James. The nave's pews were then removed because of rot. However two large 17th century upholstered gentry box pews in the western bay of the chancel survive. At the head of the nave is an early modern pulpit and desk set. The pulpit is Elizabethan but the rector's and parish clerk's desk are part of the same refitting episode which saw the gallery's refurbishment (for spatial analyses of this furniture and that described below see Chapters 3.3.2-3 and 7.2.1). The altar is a similar amalgam of additions and improvements. The altar table is late Elizabethan backed by 17th century astragal wainscoting and a Baroque reredos of 1704, painted by an Italian artist. The central panel depicts tiers of winged cherubs overlooked by a representation of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove which is set in a classical arch supported on fluted pilasters and crowned by a balconied pediment, with painted marbling and gilded capitals and cornices. The whole sanctuary area is fenced off by late 17th century altar rails (Chapter 4.2.3).

The gentry pews have been mentioned and are gendered – the banked pews to the north being for the Squire and the male members of his family and household while those to the south are for their womenfolk. These are shaped more conventionally with bench seating around the edges but they are split into two compartments – presumably to establish the differing statuses of the gentlewomen and their servants or dependents (See Chapter 7.4 for vignette). There is no surviving Royal Arms but a gilded Creed tablet (originally from a full set of Decalogue tablets, one supposes) presently hangs on the gable tympanum above the chancel tiebeam, facing the congregation (Chapter 4.2.3).

The floor, as mentioned, has many ledgers (Chapter 5.2) and the northern aisle wall is lined with early modern wall plaques and memorials (discussed in Chapter 5.4.2). A 19th century Thistelthwayte hatchment hangs here too (see Glossary). There are five bells – 3 ancient including one by John Higden, dated 1623 (see Chapter 4.3.3) and 2 recast from an old tenor bell cast by John Wallis in 1620. Previously there were four bells hung on an old oak bell-frame which was taken down and given to the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum in 1981.

Churchyard

Entry to the church is directly off the High Street via the west entrance. However there is also a south porch (presently blocked). The west door is very close to the road and at this point the churchyard is tightly walled in. External plastering adheres to all except the west side of the church, the south side being recently plastered. The churchyard now spreads out extensively to the east and from the age of the headstones, it appears as though it has been extended in that direction in modern times. The oldest graves are more tightly clustered around the church. To the south there is a line of decayed 18th century table tombs all of which have surviving railings.

The church is now a good half metre below the present churchyard level . Above the east chancel window there is an exterior plaque commemorating John Whyte's rebuild. This says 'JOHANNES . WHYTE. ARM/GER. PATRONUS. HUIUS. ECCL/ESIE. ET. DMS. MANIERI. HANC. FEN/ESTRAM. ET. OPUS. FIERI. FE/CIT. ANNO. DNI. 1566' ie John Whyte, esquire, patron of this church and lord of the manor caused this window and work to be carried out in the year of our Lord 1566.

An ancient yew tree stands southeast of the church and the whole graveyard is surrounded by a high brick wall with 18th century brick coping.

On the external side of the north wall there is an unusual wall plaque to Elizabeth and Mark Crowder who died in the 1760s. The plaque has imagery which nowadays is connected with the Freemasons. It shows a tent-like canopy with billowing drapes to either side framing an all-seeing eye with starburst rays descending from it. Outdoor wall memorials are an uncommon feature of my research sample but others can also be found at St Mary's, Stoughton and St Mary and St Gabriel, South Harting (GNos 44 and 49 and see Chapter 7.4). As yet I have no explanation for why they were fixed outside the church rather than inside.

Lastly there is a puzzling tombstone to the east of the church which purports to derive from the mid-18th century but whose headstone is stylistically over a century later. It is not clear why the inscription and headstone are chronologically disjunct. It reads:

Here's Lewis the brave/That ne'er was a slave/Tho' Norton the Great/Drove him to Fate/He returns here to Rest/Like Norton the Great/O men would be gods

This is 'In Memory of William Lewis who departed this life the 24th of Oct 1763 Aged 80 years'

The church guide refers to Lewis as a poacher, the inference being that he was prosecuted by Richard Norton (who died in 1732) and was then either imprisoned or removed in some way, only to return later

still nursing a grudge against Norton which he or his family perpetuated by means of this mortuary doggerel. The absence of the last line drives the reader to contemplate what kind of word might rhyme with 'gods'. It certainly demonstrates that Squire or Lay Prior/parishioner relations were not always harmonious.

Sources: Green 1967: 124-9, Lloyd 1974: 10-11, 15, 19-25, 34, 51,54, 86, 113-17, Draper 1990: 176-7 Jenkins 2000: 254-5. Anonymous and undated church guide but also see St James's website www.stjamesouthwick.org.uk, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 604-9, VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 161-5 and, for an account of the church and village www.documents.hants.gov.uk/landscape/historic-settlement/SouthwickHistoricRuralSettlementpublication For the White, Norton and Thistlethwayte families see www.historyofparliamentonline.org and www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/A2A/records.aspx?cat=041-daly-2&cid



Fig 3 View of the interior of the church looking towards the west gallery. Fig 4. John Whyte's chest tomb and its pedimented canopy. It is dated 1566 - he set it up a year before his death.

25. CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, SOUTH BOARHUNT, HANTS

Parish of Boarhunt, chapel of Southwick, coastal downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1, View of St Nicholas, Boarhunt from the southwest. Fig 2. The church from the southeast showing its Saxon lesene (the reversed T shaped gable moulding) which indicates its origins.

Boarhunt parish contains a dispersed set of hamlets and farmsteads set between Wickham to the west and Southwick to the east. In South Boarhunt's case it consists simply of the church set into a downwards sloping shelf on the north side of the Portsdown ridge, a cottage set just above it and below it to the south, across the lane which borders its north and east sides a Manor Farm with house and farm courtyard. This is a working farm but has the appearance of considerable antiquity and is a significant element of the social landscape in its relationship with the church. Further to the south there is an 18th century watermill. The parish in general is sparsely inhabited though North Boarhunt lies along the Southwick-Wickham road and is a slightly more nucleated hamlet consisting mainly of modern residential houses. The whole area was once much more heavily forested as part of the Forest of Bere and there are still considerable stands of woodland, although towards the south the fields open out as they ascend the Portsdown ridge.

Like Idsworth (GNo 14), South Boarhunt is an example of an abandoned medieval village. The church's relationship with the manor farm is tight, the farm being on the site of the original manor house. The Henslowes, the early modern manorial lords, were a well-connected Portsmouth family. Ralph Henslowe, who married John Whyte's sister-in-law and who is commemorated by his tomb in St Nicholas' chancel, was elected Burgess of the Corporation of Portsmouth in 1550 and later became the city's MP. The Henslowes lived at Boarhunt during the late 16th century and continued there for over a century.

St Nicholas's is another church with Saxon origins but there are a number of early modern furnishings and fittings which provide source material for this study. A sensitive restoration in 1853 replaced some

of the existing nave furniture but left the squire's box pew, the triple-decker pulpit and the west gallery in their conventional 18th century form, indicating some unwillingness on the part of parson and parish to fall in with current Victorian ecclesiological fashions. Since the church is a chaplaincy of the Peculiar of Southwick, and since St James's remained largely unrestored during the 19th century, the continuity of style found in St Nicholas may be ascribed to this close relationship with its mother church and its patrons (Chapter 7.1).

Architecture

Fabric: Flint rubble with Binstead stone dressings. Plastered facing to the south. Restored north wall with galletted flint. Tiled roof.

St Nicholas's is a simple aisleless two celled building with a lobby/vestry at its west end which contains the gallery staircase, the west door being the only entrance. In its present framing the nave is three and a half bays – an odd length which is explained by its post-Conquest extension (see below). The chancel is a single bay which probably represents its original late Saxon (c1064) dimensions (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:111). In the nave the north and south doors (both blocked) seem placed much more centrally in their walls than is usual (Chapter 5.3.1). This is because the Saxon church was three celled – its western cell being an apartment for the priest (Chapter 2.6.1). This third cell was opened up in the 13th century and the nave extended to incorporate it, creating the odd structural imbalance. The rest of the church retains much Saxon architecture including a very narrow chancel arch, an eastern lesene (or exterior pilaster strip *see Fig 2*) and a double splayed, round-headed window in the chancel's north wall, now blocked by the Henslowe tomb. The belfry over the west end is c 13th century (Chapter 4.3.3)

The 16th century is only represented architecturally by a two light square headed window replacing a lancet in a recess in the nave's southeast corner. Evidence for this space's medieval function as a side altar is present in the form of a small, round piscina basin in the south wall, but post-Reformation, a pulpit was placed in this corner where it remains today and the fenestration was improved to enable reading and preaching. The Henslowe monument of 1577 was also installed (see below). It is probable that the gallery was put in at some point in the next century, though this was practically rebuilt during the 1853 restoration (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Space and contents

The chancel is noticeably closed off from the nave by the narrow width of the Saxon chancel arch, making a clear view into it from the nave very problematic. That the arch was not widened during the Middle Ages or during the 19th century suggests that the church's relative isolation, its small parochial population and its clergy's close relationship with the Southwick Lay Priors during the post-medieval

period are factors underlying this architectural conservatism. Moreover the chancel is so small that it is not feasible for a gentry pew to be sited with any comfort inside it. It seems logical to suppose that the post-Reformation emphasis on the nave at Boarhunt was even more exaggerated than it was elsewhere.

One reason for the chancel's cramped quality is down to the space taken up by the Henslowe tomb. The church guide suggests this has been moved to its current position in the centre of the north wall where it blocks the Saxon window but I feel this is unlikely. It is in the usual place of honour for a manorial lord's tomb and beside it in the floor, fitted in to respect the tomb, is a ledger to Thomas Henslowe, one of Ralph's descendants who died in 1662. His ledger is likely to cover the entrance to the Henslowe vault. Ralph's tomb is a development of the canopied Risen Christ tombs found over the border at West Wittering, Selsey and Racton (GNos 36 and 39 and see Chapter 5.6). This form no longer has any religious imagery and concentrates entirely on a display of heraldry. It has three niches contained within a triple Renaissance framework defined by Corinthian columns and with pitched or rounded pediments. In the entablature below are the central initials of Ralph Henslowe, flanked by those of his first wife, Clare Pound (of the Pounds of Farlington (GNo 6) and Portsmouth) and his second, Katherine Pole (descendant of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury - see Warblington GNo 1 and discussion of monumental pedigrees in Chapter 6.4). Below are their escutcheons set in strapwork cartouches, headed by grotesque masks. In the niches were set sculptural figures of Faith, Hope and Charity of which only Charity remains on display. All are recorded as having been damaged and have lost their heads – it is not clear why. It seems probable that below the surviving upper half of this monument there would have been a chest tomb, now missing, which may have been similar to that at Rowner (GNo 11) since both tombs are roughly contemporary. The new stonework here replaces this half and records the deaths of more recent Henslowes.

Apart from Ralph's, the only other memorial of note is the lower half of what must have been a very grand marble monument to the 18th century Eddowes family which blocks the south door of the nave. There is some confusion over this as the Eddowes do not seem to have been connected to Boarhunt. This however looks to have been moved from another location during which time it lost its upper part, since its marble top has drilled slots suggesting the original insertion of a further memorial tablet or sculptural panel. I would guess that this may have come from the dismantled church of St Mary Magdalene in Widley and was moved here because of the gentility of the family it commemorates. It has been rather crammed in behind the pews and so may well be an innovation which post-dates the restoration of 1853.

Its inscription reads: *Sacred to the memory/of ROBERT EDDOWES Esqr/ late Storekeeper of the*

Ordnance of Portsmouth/ who died the 8th of October 1765 Aged 71/ Also/of the Revd ROBERT EDDOWES A.M./Rector of Hannington and Vicar of Twyford in this County/his eldest son by his wife SUSANNAH FILMER/ descended from the Families of FIENNES and FILMER/ He died the 21st of February 1767 Aged 48/ Also/of CATHERINE BRENT/ the wife of ROBERT EDDOWES the son/ descended from the BRENTS of Thorpe in Oxfordshire/who died the 21st March 1771 Aged 55/ And ordered this monument to be erected/ Their remains are deposited in this place/Their virtues in the hearts of their friends/ Their hopes in the mercy of their Creator/Through the Intercession of their Redeemer/ CATHERINE EDDOWES DIED APRIL 1796.

Of the people memorialised, the first Robert was Storekeeper of the Ordnance in the Dockyard - an important position in the middle of the 18th century and the Eddowes would have been resident in Portsmouth while he fulfilled this role. His son, the vicar of Twyford, only survived him by 2 years and in the meantime his daughter in law Catherine ordered the monument to be erected before herself dying 6 years later. Catherine was evidently very conscious of status as the Eddowes inscription is intensely conservative and shows the same sense of genealogical importance that was considered paramount 200 years previously.

The church furniture – pew benches, the box pew and triple tiered pulpit, were, as mentioned above, introduced or refurbished in 1853. They are of panelled deal, and simply but well-made. The squire's pew, at the head of the northern block is a large square box with bench seating around its perimeter (see Chapter 3.3.3). It balances the triple-decker pulpit which is in the southwest corner.

There are traces of late medieval/Tudor painting in the form of floral scroll work which still adhere to the west jamb of the south door. Page discusses medieval wall paintings in the chancel which were obviously visible in the early 20th century but have now disappeared.

Churchyard

The church and churchyard have been carved out of a terraced slope just below the summit ridge of Portsdown Hill. There is therefore little space for an extensive burial ground although the land on all four sides of the church has been used as such in the past There are now two modern cemetery extensions to the west reclaimed from the fields which otherwise surround them.

On the south side, the exterior of the church is rendered in old plaster. Elsewhere to the east there is Victorian flint work which has been galleted – its mortar being stuck with small chips of flint, a local practice. In the east part of the churchyard is an extremely ancient yew with a circumference of 8.23m, suggesting it is over a thousand years old. The yew in St Thomas's, Warblington (GNo 1) is the only other specimen of a similar age in the sample.

The rest of the old churchyard has a rather patchy series of 19th and 20th century graves with a small number of 18th century ones. It may be that the restoration also rationalised the churchyard and cleaned some of the older graves away. The church has an assertive position over the lower countryside to the north. However it sits below the Portsdown ridge top and thus it does not create a clear silhouette from below, especially as it is presently entirely masked by trees. Those approaching the church from the north are obliged to climb upwards and then mount a steep rise to arrive at the church and in this respect it resembles the positioning of St Mary's, Stoughton and St Mary's, Compton in Sussex (see GNos 46 and 49 see Chapter 5.3.2 for graveyard analysis).

Sources: Green 1967: 124, 129 Lloyd 1974: 8, 9, 18, 121 Draper 1990: 41 Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 111-13 VCH Hants Vol 3 Page 1908: 144-7 Jenkins 2000: 241, Church guide (anonymous) 2000. For Henslowes and their relationships with Wriothesleys, Pounds, Whytes and Bickleys see www.historyofparliamentonline.org and also www.historyinportsmouth.co.uk/people/portsmouth-families.1htm) (pages from the above website compiled from 'The History of Portsmouth' by William Gates, 1910)



Fig 3 The interior of St Nicholas's looking east towards the narrow round-headed chancel arch. Fig 4. The Henslowe wall tomb in the chancel commemorating Ralph Henslowe and his two wives.

26. CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, SOUTHWICK ROAD, WICKHAM.

Parish of Wickham, lowland Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.2 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The church of St Nicholas, Wickham seen from the south west. Fig 2. The nave of St Nicholas looking towards the chancel.

The parish of Wickham centres about its market town, lying west of Boarhunt and Southwick. The parish contains substantial remnants of the Forest of Bere with much arable and wheat farming. Southwest of the Portsdown ridge, it contains low, undulating Downland and a swathe of the Meon valley cuts through it from the northern parish of Soberton to Titchfield in the south. Wickham's town centre is bordered by the Meon to the east and an early modern water mill, the Chesapeake, is set at the bottom of Bridge Street, the continuation of the road from Southwick which runs up into the town square. Wickham's square is a long rectangular space lined by a wide variety of late and post-medieval houses, shops and inns with Victorian and modern infill. Like Titchfield, Petersfield and Hambledon (GNos 13, 19, 23) Wickham was an economic focus during the Middle Ages with a market and fairs which continued into the 17th century when it expanded into a borough. Its prosperity over the centuries is demonstrated by the quality and status of the town's commercial and residential buildings. However Wickham's centre of population has moved. Its church, rectory and manor house were all on the west side of the river, an area which is now separated from the larger urban body by the busy main road from Gosport (GNo 12) to Alton. The town has sprung up around various transport corridors with another main road branching west to Winchester passing south of the market square.

The parish's chief manorial lords were the Uvedales who inherited in 1381, holding it until the early 18th century and resident in their great house – Place House - which stood opposite the church until 1780 when it was pulled down by subsequent manorial lords - the Garniers (Chapter 6.3). Page, writing in 1908, recounts an interesting piece of local tradition – he states that since Wickham's manorial courts were still being held, before the court baron could sit it was the custom for all involved to walk down to the church, cross the road and look over the wall at the site of Place Hall (Page 1908:236) Since the

Uvedales had been extinct for over a century this must have been a very unusual example of an enduring act of memory. About a half mile east of the church on the Southwick road is the Old Rectory, a spacious Georgian residence which indicates that this living was capable of supporting its rector in some style. The pre-1780 configuration of church, manor house and rectory in a close spatial relationship is therefore characteristic of the tripartite building template seen at Bedhampton, Farlington, Wymering (GNos 5-7) and elsewhere in Sussex (see *Maps 6-8*).

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble walls, some restored, most rebuilt. Brick-built southern transept. Ashlar dressings. Tiled roof.

St Nicholas is a church which has been practically rebuilt in two major episodes, the first in 1862 and then more completely from 1872-7. On viewing St Nicholas's Pevsner mourned that 'it ha(d) lost all of its medieval interest, without gaining any positive Victorian character' (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967:652). The rebuilding has left very little and has, in addition, obscured its previous archaeology having lost its porches (Chapter 5.3.1). Presently it has a Victorian west tower and spire with a resited 12th century west door, a modern west gallery, a three bay, aisleless nave, an arched crossing with transepts to north and south and a two bay chancel with an arcaded south wall which opens into a southern chapel parallel with the chancel. The southern transept dates from 1803 and was constructed from brick, the north is Victorian. Some of the medieval stone survives but most is rebuild. The arcading and part of the south chapel is early 14th century which was designed during the early modern period to be the private pew and mortuary chapel of the Uvedales. It is likely then that what is visible of the church's origins can be traced to the early 12th century with the chapel addition c1300. Finally there is the modern west gallery which holds the organ and probably replaced a previous one. The aisleless nave space is limited and the population of Wickham was substantial. No doubt there must have been continued need for expansion. A gallery would have been a usual way of addressing this and the erection of a southern annex or transept in 1803 was another means of extending the church's seating (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Space and contents

Spatial considerations in this church cannot be properly diagnostic since it has been so thoroughly reconfigured. However there are a number of points which spring from the Uvedale tombs and other items of material culture here which incorporate discussions of placement. Presently the earliest Uvedale tomb, dating to 1569 is on the chapel's south wall. At some point after the restorations the second larger Uvedale tomb dating to 1615 was removed from this chapel and erected in the south

transept – there is a 19th century pastel drawing of these tombs and their positions in the south chapel. The removal of the 17th century Uvedale tomb and the fragmentation of the first (only parts of it survive) has irrevocably changed the chapel's nature which has lost its patronal mortuary function (see Chapter 6.3, 6.5-6 and 7.3.2 for detailed discussion of this tomb). In the chancel there is also part of a (possibly) 15th century tomb chest. This has been moved and fitted under the lintel of the north window and, being unpainted, has lost its heraldic escutcheons. If this was the tomb of a late medieval Uvedale, it too might have been placed in the chapel, compounding the sense of patronal ownership of the space.

Behind the altar are two large blue-black marble armorial grave slabs dating from the late 17th century of the sort found at Buriton and East Meon (GNos 18 and 20 and Chapter 5.2). One lies hard up against the north wall and simply has a heavily incised armorial cartouche, a monogram and the date of death 1692. The other on the south side is similar. Page mentions that the latter commemorates Elizabeth, Countess of Carlisle, the last heiress of the Uvedales. Unless there were lost additional wall inscriptions both these ledgers seem to rely entirely on the heraldic knowledge of their observers to identify the person commemorated. In the chapel the 1569 wall tomb to Sir William (the elder) has been very badly treated, having lost a panelled base and its canopied cornice. What is now left is merely the internal panel bearing the inscription, three heraldic medallions and its armorial crest (Chapter 6.3). Page states this was 'mutilated' in 1863 and fixed to the south wall of the chapel (Page 1908: 235). The second monument now rests up against the east wall of the south transept just outside the chapel and is a full scale wall tomb commissioned for herself and her husband Sir William who died 1615 by Lady Mary Uvedale. This is a canopied tomb bearing the tiered effigies of Sir William and Lady Mary which is described and discussed at some length in Chapters 6.3; 6.5; 6.6 and 7.3.1). There are further ledgers both in the chancel and in the transepts. The southern transept ledgers however may have originally been headstones removed from the ground when the church was extended. Several of them have been sawn up to render them suitable for paving. This is repeated in the north transept where the floor is also partly cemented over (see Fishbourne GNo 32 for another example of this reuse).

Churchyard

St Nicholas is built at the summit of a sub-circular mound which may suggest the church has pre-Conquest origins and that it may have been ringed by an enclosure ditch in antiquity. Another explanation of its height and prominence is suggested by the age of the roads which border it which, together with churchyard mortuary build-up, may have acted as hollow lanes creating the sloping embankments. The exterior of the church itself, being so effectively rebuilt, appears considerably newer than the 1803 transept, walled with its pre-industrial bricks.

There are a few 18th century gravestones to the south of the church which include a foreshortened double gravestone commemorating two children. This has a double round-headed arch which springs off columns, a moulded pediment with rococco scrollwork and is similar to the architectural headstones in Meonstoke churchyard (see GNo22). It is possible that these come from the same mason's workshop, based in the Meon valley. There are also several 18th-19th century weather-worn and illegible chest tombs to the east. Two interesting memorials are the exterior wall monuments to the John Swans esq – father and son- which are set into the corners of the south wall of the brick transept. The Swans were a philanthropic Wickham family from the late 18th century who were originally buried in the area of the transept and rememorialised by these plaques subsequently. The churchyard has been extended recently to the northeast and the new cemetery is entirely modern. The whole is extremely well treed with mature holly, yew and other species, many probably dating from the church's restoration.

Sources: Green 1967: 104-10, Lloyd 1974: 10, 20, 25, 29-31,40. 43, 51, 106, 114-5, 121, 154 Draper 1990: 202-3, Pevsner and Lloyd 1967: 652-6, VCH Vol 3 Page 1908: 233-6. Also see *'The Parish and Church of St Nicholas, Wickham'* church guide by JL compiled from Retallack, Hulbert and Hirst 2006 which also provides a useful bibliography on Wickham. For Uvedales: see www.historyofparliamentonline.org



Fig 3 North eastern archway from the chancel into the Lady or Uvedale Chapel. Fig 4 A late 17th century gravestone in the southern sector of Wickham's church

PART 3. COASTAL PARISHES IN WEST SUSSEX

27. CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, CHURCH ROAD, WESTBOURNE.

Parish of Westbourne, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of St John the Baptist and its graveyard, Westbourne from the north east. Fig 2. The exterior from the northwest.

Westbourne, also referred to as Bourne, is presently an inland site though the parish originally possessed a stretch of coastline to the east of the parish of West Thorney so that until the 19th century Westbourne parishioners would have included seafaring amongst their occupations. It is the westernmost parish of the Chichester diocese and the county border runs along the line of the river Ems which bypasses the church a few yards to the west. The parish is large and well-watered and it includes an area of the Downland foothills, its economy being centred around arable and dairy farming with some woodland management of the eastern stands of the Forest of Bere around Emsworth Common and Stansted. Its parochial centre, the village of Westbourne, has been a nucleated site since the 12th century with good road connections and with an early charter allowing a regular market to be held (Chapters 2.2 and 7.1). Many of the houses have 18th century brick and stucco exteriors which hide earlier timber-framed interiors. The church and churchyard lie at the southern end of the village and were surrounded by fields to the south and west up until recently. The village of Emsworth lies nearby, directly south of Westbourne and both villages shared common family networks, the northern Emsworthians using St John's to worship in rather than their more distant parish church at Warblington.

In the 15th-16th centuries the church's patrons were the Fitzalan earls of Arundel, whose estates included the manor of Westbourne and Stansted Park, the 11th earl being responsible for adding a tower to the church. In 1566 the 12th Earl conveyed these lands to his daughter Jane and her husband John, Lord Lumley. The Lumleys continued up to 1721 when a natural daughter Anna Maria Montague inherited

and later the Earl of Halifax. Subsequently in 1781 an East India Company nabob, Richard Barwell, bought the Stansted and Westbourne manors.

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble walls, with ashlar quoins and dressings. Considerable restoration to the walls and tower. Tower battlemented and with an 18th century shingled spire. Roof tiled.

St John the Baptist's is a large parish church with a four bay aisled nave (at the west end the ground stage of the tower is open) and a two bay chancel. It was probably an aisled two-celled 13th century church which, in the 14th century was extended with raised aisles. In the early 1500s it received a three stage tower, a vestry and a north porch and in 1770 was given a crocketed spire and an external gallery. The church was heavily restored in 1865 under the supervision of Westbourne's incumbent, John Hanson Sperling, an ecclesiological enthusiast who stripped out its early modern interior. Fortunately research by Lindsay Fleming, the author of the church guide, recounts Sperling's own description of his changes. These included the removal of all the pews, the destruction of the plaster ceilings and the dismantling of the churches galleries. There were evidently north and south galleries since drawings from the 1780s and a photograph of 1870 shows dormer windows to light them inserted in the rooves on those sides. The photograph suggests that these must have been taken out after 1865. However Sperling also removed and destroyed the 1630 pulpit and its sounding board. During the restoration he also discovered a number of wall texts painted on the north wall, one being dated to 1757. There is also evidence to show that, pre-Reformation, a new rood loft had been commissioned. Research by Alison McCann shows that the carpenter employed to make it in 1533, Simon Whitehead, was taken to court over his failure to complete the work. This dragged on for two unproductive years and it is not clear if it was ever finished, especially as 13 years later roods were outlawed and the whole thing would have had to be removed (McCann 1993:124-5 also see Chapter 3.3.1). Around the beginning of the 16th century the north porch was added to the church. This has a remarkable beam above the church door (taken from elsewhere in the church) carved with an armorial in which the Fitzalans' arms are quartered with Widville (Woodville) and Maltravers. Francis Steer, the distinguished antiquarian and archivist, deciphered the carvings in 1958 and recognised the running horse of the Fitzalans at either end and a griffin and a bagwyn (a mythical horse-antelope) as supporters. He identifies the arms as those of the 11th Earl and dates it to between 1491 and 1511 (Fleming and Wilkinson (1953) 1992: 19-22).

Space and contents

Although the nave gives an instant impression of its breadth it would have been a much busier and more occupied early modern space, especially when surrounded on three sides by galleries (see Chapter 3.3.4

for discussion of galleries). Moreover if the north wall had been selected for text wall painting the possibility exists that the 1630 pulpit was sited close to them (Chapter 7.2.1 and for the relationship between post-Reformation text painting and preaching see the discussion of Idsworth GNo 14 in Chapter 4.2.1). It is not possible to recreate any pewing plan but although space in the chancel is limited there would have been room for private pews inside. This still possessed its old stained glass until the 1770s when the Reverend John Frankland replaced it. So for a short while the church, for all its clutter, would also have been much lighter inside with its windows glazed with clear panes rather than the Victorian stained glass Sperling and other patrons have installed. At the same time Frankland also donated the baluster-turned altar rails.

The sacristy of St John's still functions as a secure space for the storage of church plate, records etc. The 14th century door to this is remarkably heavy and strongly built and retains one of its two early modern stock locks which is still in operation (see Chapter 3.3.1). Up until recently a captured French standard from 1794 was kept in the church. It is now conserved in the Royal Marines Museum at Eastney, Portsmouth. Hanging in the nave are two remarkable examples of 18th century church lighting. These consist of elaborate brass candelabra with painted and gilded wrought iron attachments suspended from the ceiling and dating from 1737.

St John's has no tombs remaining, however it possesses a wealth of wall memorials and ledgers, some covered by pews and choir stalls – others more visible (Chapter 5.2). The chancel's north and south walls resemble the west wall of the Hyde Chapel at Catherington (GNo 16) for the profusion of their wall plaques (Chapter 5.4.2). Included amongst these are two memorials by Nollekens commemorating the Barwell family of Stansted. The earlier, to George's brother Henry who died in 1785, is a plaque with an obelisk-shaped memorial panel bearing a draped urn. George, who died in 1804, has a similar plaque with an inscription which recounts his faithful service to the East India Company and details the personal worth which justified him in accruing his immense fortune. Over this his bust is depicted in relief inside an oval panel resting on a composition which combines a cornucopia, account books, travelling equipment and a dead elephant (*see Fig 4*).

Amongst the many ledgers the central nave passage holds one dedicated to Frances, the 1st Lady of Rechard (sic), Lord Viscount Lumley d 1666. Frances was born a Shelley and so may have been one of the Shelley family recusants who were resident in Worminghurst in Sussex and also at Mapledurham House, Buriton in Hampshire (see GNo 18). In addition to 17th-18th century memorials there are a host of 19th-20th century ones. These demonstrate the continuity of the mortuary memorial tradition at Westbourne – a tradition which has been largely abandoned in many other parishes in this sample. Fleming and Wilkinson's guide has a complete list of plaques and ledgers.

Westbourne also had a lively tradition of bell-ringing. It possesses eight bells which were recast in 1770. Change-ringing was evidently popular in Westbourne at this time and the belfry has a commemorative board of 1785 to mark the occasion of a whole peal being rung (see Chapter 4.3.3 for discussion of this and change-ringing).

Churchyard

Westbourne's mortuary memorial abundance continues into its graveyard which rivals that of Warblington (GNo 1) for the profusion and variety of its 18th century headstones. The churchyard is large and surrounds the church on all sides, though its widest extent is to the north while the southern side holds 19th century burials. Entrance is by a lych gate off a small northerly lane and an avenue of yews leads from it to the north porch. These are exceptional survivors, having been planted in the 16th century and are traditionally thought to be one of the oldest avenues recorded on church property (see Chapter 5.3.2). The churchyard is surrounded by a mid-18th century flint wall with unusual coping shaped like medieval roof ridge tiling. Inside the biggest collection of 18th century headstones are grouped on either side of the avenue to the north. Those to the east face west while the western groups face east as if both respect the avenue. They have a wide range of motifs many of which have variant images of the familiar deaths-heads combined with winged cherubs. There are also more unusual examples which include a lamb of God bearing a banner, a cadaver emerging from a coffin flanked by cherub trumpeters, a wheat sheaf and pitchfork, cherubs holding back drapes revealing a cadaver lying on a bier, a composition of radiate crown, scroll, olive branch and bible, a cartouche surmounted by a winged cherub holding a skull and sword and a winged cherub illuminated by celestial rays, flanked by an hour glass and coffined cadaver. There are various later stones depicting urns, one whose body is so large it holds the mortuary inscription. Like those at Warblington and Wymering these would repay detailed study (see Chapter 7.4).

Attached to the church on a string course running just below its battlements are a series of medieval grotesques with human and animal heads.

Sources: Steer 1958: 247-9, Lloyd 1974:15, 25,30-1, 40, McCann 1993:124-5, Reger 1996: 83-4, Coppin: 2006: 11, Allen 2012 www.susseparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn: 1965: 365-7, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzmann 1953: 126-32. 'Westbourne Church Guide' is by Lindsay Fleming (1953) with revisions by Peter Wilkinson (1992) and has a further bibliography. It is published by Westbourne Local History Group.



Fig 3 The interior of St John's looking towards the chancel. Fig 4. The East Indian nabob Richard Barwell's wall plaque on which his portrait bust rests on a pile of things which include account books, travelling equipment, a cornucopia and a dead elephant.

28. CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, WEST THORNEY, THORNEY ISLAND

Parish of West Thorney and Southbourne, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Nicholas's church, West Thorney. View from the south east. Fig 2 The churchyard with the sea beyond.

The parish of West Thorney both preserves its ancient character and, at the same time, completely belies it. This paradox is caused by the present use of the island as a military base with restricted access to the public, a situation which strangely replicates the isolation it formerly enjoyed as a result of its geographic position. Like Hayling Island (GNos 3 and 4) to the west Thorney, which forms Emsworth harbour's eastern coast, was divided from the mainland up until the 19th century by a channel. This, the Great Deep, allowed for access at low tide by means of a wade-way but otherwise, as with so many of the ports and inlets of this area of coast, was more easily reached by boat. Its coastline has constantly changed, at some points losing land to inundation, at others gaining it through coastal management and reclamation (Chapter 7.1). Its worst episode of inundation was during the great storms of the early 14th century when many of the harbour islands were severely reduced in size (Reger 1996: 38)

Up to the 1870s Thorney's parish was a small but independent rectory bounded by Warblington and Emsworth to the west and Westbourne to the north and east (GNos 1 and 27). After a new church was built in the 1870s at mainland Southbourne, Thorney was absorbed into its new parish, carved out of Westbourne's southern coastal area.

Thorney's inland fields were flat, fertile and well suited to cereal production and its maritime resources abundant and though it never seems to have had a large population, it was a prized manorial holding for its demesne- its chief landlords after the Reformation being the Bickley family of Chidham (GNo 29) from 1549 until the mid-18th century. In the late 18th century Richard Barwell of Stansted acquired it. In 1936 the island was taken over by the Royal Air Force and has been a military installation ever since, the centre of the island providing space for large runways, although it is now an army base. The church is

even closer to the shore than Bosham's is (GNo 31), probably as the result of coastal erosion and it overlooks the Chichester Harbour and the Chidham peninsula to the east. The remains of Thorney's single village now consist only of a few cottages but were originally dispersed together with the Rectory along a dog-legged lane ending at the church. Presently the island's military facilities and servicemen's houses occupy its more southerly and westerly coastal parts which form the eastern border to Langstone Harbour.

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble with Caen stone quoins and dressings. Tiled roof. Tower and shingled spire recently repaired.

On approaching it St Nicholas is a long thin church, elongated by a stumpy two-stage west tower as wide as the nave with a semi-broach pyramid spire, similar to St Mary's, South Hayling but considerably shorter. The reason for the church's shape becomes apparent from its north side where signs of an infilled medieval arcade can be seen. The church's architectural history is one of reduction rather than expansion. It has a 12th century one-celled carcass (it has no chancel arch) which accrued north and south aisles, an extra western bay and its tower in the 13th century. However subsequently, possibly through neglect or decay, both aisles were removed; the north in one phase since only its arcade traces remain, the south in a more piecemeal fashion, leaving the church in this imbalanced state. Both Page and Pevsner and Nairn refer to an episode of repair or 'beautifying' in 1608 and this accords with other contemporary reports of decay in both Downland and coastal churches at this time when calls for repair were being urgently made (Pevner and Nairn 1965: 375, Salzmann 1953: 196, see Chidham and the Marden parishes (GNos 46-8 and Chapter 4.4). It is possible therefore that the aisles were removed as part of the clear-out at this time.

Space and contents

There is no indication of previous chancel arches or gallery space inside St Nicholas. However there is a 14th century pierced wooden screen erected in front of the west tower which John Allen considers was a parclose but which appears in an 1850 drawing being used as a chancel screen before the church's restoration by Lacy Ridge in 1886 (*see Fig 3*). Since pre-Reformation there would have been a wooden rood screen which was later discarded, it may be that this is also part of the 1608 programme and was reused as a more conventional chancel screen when the side chapel whose inner side it defined was lost together with its aisle.

It seems unlikely that there would have been any need for a gallery here after 1608 and the low

two-stage tower would have only been able to hold two bells at most (Chapter 4.3.3). The population consisted of a small number of farming and fishing families who would easily have been housed in the long nave. As at Apuldram and Singleton (Gnos 33 and 43) the doorlatch is marked with a St Andrew's cross – an apotropaic device designed to keep evil at bay (*see Fig 4*). The only other artefact dating to the early modern period here is the church's Royal Arms. This is another painted panel with rather indistinct Hanoverian quarterings dating it to one of the first three King Georges – it is not clear which (Chapter 4.2.2). There are few memorials inside the church other than those to members of the armed services. During other restorations Ridge removed numbers of them from both North Marden and Apuldram (GNos 33 and 48) and West Thorney appears to be another of his casualties.

Churchyard

The churchyard has a few 18th century gravestones, mainly to the south and east. It is placed with excellent views over the Chidham channel (*see Fig 2*) and more recently is home to the graves of dead service people including those of members of both sides during the last World War.

Sources: Reger 1996: 77-81, Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 375-6, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzman 1953: 195-7, Peckham 1944:88-9 (also cited in Allen).



Fig 3 View of the interior of St Nicholas's showing the 14th century wooden screen. Fig 4. Door latch with St Andrews cross incised and cross-hatching decorating the latch holder.

29. CHURCH OF ST MARYS, CHIDHAM, W. SUSSEX

Parish of Chidham , coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 Exterior of St Mary's, Chidham see from the northwest. Fig. 2 Church interior looking east.

Chidham is a small dispersed hamlet situated half a mile from the sea, set amongst the flat agricultural land of the Chidham peninsula between Thorney to the west and the Bosham peninsula to the east. Presently its oldest centre comprises strip development with cottages and a public house lining a village lane and the church, old rectory and Manor House forming a tiny nucleus. Like Thorney (GNo 28) it was dependent on both agriculture and fishing in the past. The quality of the soil is high in this area – ‘Chidham wheat’ was a highly productive strain from c1790 on (Salzmann 1953: 188) and this part of the coast was also known for its orchards. There were also salt pans, some dating from the Iron Age and Roman periods (see Bradley 1992: 27-44). A modern cluster of houses is centred on a large farmhouse (now a restaurant) on the main A259 to the north. During the Middle Ages St Mary's church was a subsidiary pilgrimage site for pilgrims visiting shrines associated with St Cuthman - an early medieval saint said to have been born here. A guild of St Cuthman is recorded in 1523, later fined post-Reformation for being ‘a superstitious body’. The loss of its pilgrimage status subsequently isolated the parish during the early modern period (Chapter 7.1)

The Manor House, a Jacobean gabled house which was given a Georgian frontage, is sited just behind the church and, as with Bedhampton (GNo 5) there is a side gate which opens directly onto a churchyard path which connects with the church's north door (*see Fig 4*). The early modern Bickley family was resident here. Southeast across the road from the church is the Old Rectory, a dignified brick-built 18th century house and a mile to the east is Chidmere House, an early Tudor farmhouse gentrified in the late 17th century by the Ede family. Another, Middleton House, lies to the northeast which Nairn calls ‘a handsome plain farmhouse dated 1759, a type fairly common near the Selsey peninsula’ (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:186) This collection of lesser gentry/farmhouses and the tripartite relationship

of manor/church and rectory provide an entirely characteristic landscape for this stretch of the West Sussex coast (see Parish Map 3)

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble with ashlar and ironstone dressings. Ironstone western buttresses. Some brick patching. Tiled roof with catslide over north aisle/side chapel.

St Marys is a plain, narrow 13th century building with a short northern aisle which was restored in 1864, leaving a fair amount of medieval architecture but removing its post-medieval contents. It has a two bay chancel and a four bay nave, its western bay being nowadays screened off and used as a vestry. Above this there is a Victorian bell turret which replaced an earlier clapboard bell cote, which itself replaced an earlier steeple (Chapter 4.3.3). The western door has been blocked up using fragments of 15th century quadrifoliate armorial stonework redolent of tomb chest masonry, suggesting that a medieval tomb sited in the church had been dismantled and recycled. The nave has a 14th century two bay arcaded aisle, in effect a side chapel, with a doorway for stairs to a rood loft to the south of the altar. It is likely that this chapel was dedicated to St Cuthman as there is pilgrim graffiti incised in its arcades. Post-Reformation it may have been taken over by the Bickleys as their private chapel. The chancel is small and square with a chancel arch substantially heightened in 1864 although apart from the sanctuary it retains its single level floor through from the nave and unlike the nave has not been repaved. Here there is evidence that there was once another substantial early modern tomb in the church though there is no physical evidence to show where it was placed (but see below).

Space and contents

Since the chancel arch was previously much lower it is likely that the early modern interior space of St Mary's was constrained by a greater sense of division between chancel and nave, especially if a chancel screen had been installed. The chancel provides an alternative location for seating for post-medieval manorial lords but the existence of two large tombs would largely dictate where they sat. The first tomb – the late medieval one used to block the west door – may have been sited in either space, the existence of the second is shown by more fragments which are now fitted into the north wall of the chancel. These show that this was a wall tomb since the remains consist of the Bickley's armorial crest, as would have been found at the top of a wall tomb's pediment and a plaque with a Latin inscription to Henry Bickley which, translated (by an anonymous Chidham historian), reads:

In this tomb lie the limbs of Henry Bickley/ Who enjoyed triple rights of the marriage bed/ Whom four daughters claimed as father//And one dear son fourth in number/ Who as soon as he had fulfilled sixty

years/ And seven winters sought the high stars/ He bore his fate the last day of December/ In the year 1570.

With regard to the medieval tomb – it is by no means clear who was commemorated here since pre-Dissolution the manor and church were owned by the Diocese of Exeter and served by a Prebendal Canon from a small College based in Bosham (see GNo 31). There is thus no obvious candidate for such an elite memorial. It may have been designed for a local gentleman (or woman) closely connected with the cult of St Cuthman and would therefore have been placed in the north side chapel. If this was so, the Bickleys would, as a matter of preference, have wanted to site their first ancestral tomb in the chancel in the greatest position of honour to the north of the altar (see Chapter 5.5.1 for a discussion of tomb placement). If this was so, this is more likely to have been the site of their patronal pew.

In the first half of the 17th century there is considerable evidence contained in the Church Inspection Records at the time for the ongoing decay of this church and the (often unsuccessful) efforts of the Chichester Deanery to get it repaired (see Chapter 4.4 and 7.2.2). Henry Bickley's tomb was also in a bad condition (for a more detailed account see Chapter 5.5.3). However by the early 18th century the installation of two expensive wall memorials for members of the Bickley and Meggott families shows that the church was still regarded as a suitable site for gentry interments (Chapter 5.4.2). These are dated consecutively 1707 (Henry and Margaret Bickley) and 1708 (George Meggott). Since the plaques evidently come from the same workshop (elements of their carving are identical) it seems likely that the Bickleys and Meggotts were related. In addition the first relates the fact that Margaret and Henry came down with the same fever interspersed with fits of lethargy and died on the 4th and 5th of December. This may possibly have been from an influenza epidemic or even perhaps malaria which was endemic along the coast. George's death at the age of 36 three months later is not described but could have had the same cause. The chancel floor is paved with a number of early modern ledgers amongst which are two memorialising 17th century members of the Edes family from Chidmere House (Chapter 5.2).

Churchyard

The eastern and northern sides of the churchyard seem relatively untenanted by graves – possibly as a result of the loss or removal of headstones but as the ground is still raised above the church level it does not seem to have been cleared during the 19th century and the path from the Manor to the church is deeply sunk into the graveyard. There are good groups of 18th century headstones on either side of the south church path which leads to the south door and to the west of the graveyard (Chapter 5.3.1). These include gravestones commemorating the Sone family (also buried at Warblington and Havant - GNos 1 and 2) and several Kennetts, early modern boat builders and fishermen mainly resident at Emsworth.

Elizabeth Kennett's headstone has daisies flanking a deaths-head. Like the St Andrew's cross the daisy is an apotropaic sign with Catholic connections as it was a symbol for the Virgin Mary – possibly an oblique reference to Elizabeth's Catholicism?

There are a few semi-mature yews but no particularly ancient vegetation and the graveyard has 19th century flint walling with round brick coping to the north and south.

Sources; : Lloyd: 1974:13, Reger 1996: 15, 32, 56, 58, 75-7, 99, Coppin 2006: 12, Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 185-6, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzmänn 1953: 188-90. For the archaeology of Chidham's salt pans see Bradley 1992: 27-44. See also anonymous and undated church guide leaflet.



Fig 3 The heraldic plaque and framed inscription to Henry Bickley d 1570 which is all that remains of his tomb. Fig 4. Chidham Manor House, accessed by path and gate to the north of the church.

30. CHURCH OF ST MARY'S, CHURCH LANE, FUNTINGTON.

Parish of Funtington with Sennicotts and West Stoke, coastal Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 Exterior of St Mary's, Funtington, seen from the southwest. Fig 2 Interior of the church looking east.

The parish of Funtington covers the lower slopes of the Downs at the point where the coastal plain begins to rise. It has a short coastal southern border at Cut Mill between Chidham and Bosham to the south, abuts Racton to the west and West Stoke to the east. The early modern parish was medium-sized at 3762 acres and contained well-watered arable farmland and good grazing for both cattle and sheep. Towards Westbourne there were marlpits which are still being worked. Its upper slopes were wooded but more sparsely than those parishes to the west. Like Chidham until 1548 it was part of the Exonian ecclesiastical manor of Bosham being served by the Prebends at Bosham College (see GNos 29 and 31). After the Dissolution, it became a curacy of the Diocese of Chichester and gained vicarage status in the 19th century.

Until the 18th century the village of Funtington was little more than a hamlet but at this time three major gentry houses were built - Funtington Grange (also a farm), Funtington House and Funtington Hall, all of which still survive. These had the effect of nucleating the village along a central street connecting Chichester with Westbourne and Stansted. So though Funtington was an entirely rural parish it is sited on a road which must have been part of an important agricultural transport system in the 18th century and this is endorsed by the existence of the Fox and Hounds, the village's public house which was a coaching inn. Although there are a number of large gentry houses in the parish there was no manor house and thus no church/manor house relationship visible, though with the sudden 18th century building influx a new social infusion of middle and gentry classes would have extended the parish's social mix.

Architecture

Fabric: (restored) flint walls with ashlar dressings and quoins. North and south exteriors of the chapels are pebble-dashed. Tiled roof. Tower embattled.

St Mary's retains its medieval appearance and footprint but is almost entirely the work of Ferrey, its restorer (John Allen's more recent research suggests that Ian Nairn's ascription of Teulon as Funtington's 19th century architect may be mistaken). The original church was 12th century with a 13th century north chapel and aisle, south chapel 14th and tower 15th but the restoration is so thorough that no signs remain at all of its early modern layout ((Chapter 2.2).. Luckily in the nave there are two pen and ink drawings of the exterior of the church in its pre- and post- restoration forms - a 'before and after' pair. The 'before' drawing is initialled NJD (?) and dated August 3rd '58 (ie 1858) taken from the southwest, the other is dated 24th Feb '59 and is a view from the southeast. The drawings show the difference the alterations made to the appearance of the building once the restoration was complete. The earlier drawing displays the church's southern leanto roof as a catslide with three irregularly spaced dormer windows in the roof. These were evidently designed to illuminate a south and west gallery but views of the north side are absent so it is impossible to tell if there was a matching north gallery (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries *and see Fig 3*). The second drawing shows that a new dormerless pitched roof over the south aisle replaced the catslide, by which point, one supposes, the galleries were removed.

Space and church contents

This church is extremely problematical in terms of spatial or material analysis or for any exercise in sensory deduction since it is completely refashioned and its proportions are now so different. There are likewise no items remaining from the post-medieval period. The church is reported to have fragments of a 15th century tomb chest in the walls of the south porch. This is now inaccessible. Like Bedhampton, Farlington and Wymering (GNos 5-7) the church cannot be said to have preserved anything of its previous rural/coastal character. Ferrey's reconfiguration has gentrified the church and made it more grandiose, probably in response to the requirements of the 18th-19th century influx of middle-high status parishioners.

Churchyard

St Mary's churchyard, however, has not fallen victim to Victorian reorganisation. The present churchyard is large, dates from 1408 when the church gained a burial licence and has been considerably extended into the neighbouring fields on the east and south sides in the modern period. The oldest graves are close to the church and clustered immediately to the south and south-west where there are numerous chest tombs, several still surrounded by iron railings (Chapters 5.3.1 and 7.3.1). The chest

tombs on the south side date mainly from the 18th and 19th century but the earliest covers the vault for deceased members of the Churcher family including Richard Churcher b 1676 (the founder of Churcher's College in Petersfield, see GNo 19). As at Wymering (GNo 7) the profusion of chest tombs here suggests this was a central burial ground for gentry families from the early 18th century on. From the number of contemporary estates which encircle Funtington - Densworth, Sennicotts, Oakwood, Northlands etc - it is evident that the parish, like Fareham, Catherington and Hambledon (GNos 12, 16 and 23) not only numbered local landowners but also was home to senior naval and army officers who are interred here.

There are also several graves covered in coved brick-vaulting flush with the ground. These are found frugally across other sites within this sample but at Funtington there are at least seven. Their brick vaulting may reflect a desire to discourage grave robbers. There is also a pedestal tomb (a tea caddy tomb – see Child 2007:246) in the churchyard's southwest quadrant. This is dated 1736 and is in the shape of an upended box culminating in a ball and foot mounting (there is a similar one in Havant graveyard [GNo 2] and see Fig 3 below). Immediately north of the chancel there is a large ancient yew. This side is bounded by an iron fence which separates the church from the neighbouring house and garden. The rest of the churchyard is enclosed with hedging and to south, west and east gives on to surrounding fields. A modern gate forms the entrance on the northeast side.

Sources: Reger 1996: 55-8, Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 226-7, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzman 1953: 190-2. The church guide is anonymous and undated and the parish website is found at www.funtington-parish.org.uk For grave monument types including tea caddy tombs see Child 2007:235-246



Fig 3 Drawing of St Mary's before its 19th century restoration showing the nave's dormer windows suggesting the existence of a west and possibly a southern side gallery. Fig 4. Unusual 18th century tea-caddy tomb in the southwest sector of the churchyard

31. CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, HIGH ST, BOSHAM, W SUSSEX

Parish of Bosham, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of the exterior of Holy Trinity, Bosham from the southeast. Fig 2. Western view of the church from across the Meadow, Bosham's seaside green.

The centre of Bosham parish is a large village lined with houses and cottages along Bosham Lane which leads to its harbour. Here it becomes nucleated around a green and its church of the Holy Trinity. The area is now a fashionable sailing resort, the harbour being situated on the eastern branch of a creek cutting into the west side of Bosham peninsula which protrudes, parallel to Chidham, into Chichester Harbour. Bosham's significance centres on its early medieval history. Bede records that the first Christian mission to the South Saxons was located here under the Irish monk Dicul in the 7th century. It was also associated with Canute as an important seaport and royal manor and, in the 11th century, with the Earl Godwin and his son King Harold who owned great swathes of land both on the coast and up into the Downs. Under Harold it continued as a royal estate and then passed into William I's hands after the Conquest. The church and manor house is illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry, Bosham being Harold's embarkation point for his ill-fated journey to Normandy in 1064 (see illustration in Langhorne 2006: 2-3).

The parish supported two manors – the secular royal manor and an ecclesiastical manor which included much of the Chidham peninsula and Bosham church. This estate was conveyed to Osbern, the Bishop of Exeter, immediately post-conquest and then 50 years later, an Exonian College of Priests was set up consisting of six secular prebendary canons, the prebendary area including the parishes of Bosham, Chidham, Funtingdon and Apuldram (GNos 29, 30 and 33). The church, set only a stone's throw from the sea, was thus in the hands of the Bishops of Exeter until the time of its disbanding in 1548. A stone-built Priory was erected to the south of the church for the canons which, post-Reformation, became the vicarage. This was dismantled in 1840 and only a fragment of its courtyard wall remains (see print in Langhorne 2006: 4). Thus in the early modern period the vicarage was immediately to the south of the

church while the mid-17th century manor house is presently sited just beyond the churchyard wall to the north east. The manor house is thought to have had earlier medieval origins as there is a small moated enclosure in its grounds from which the present house derived some of its masonry. During the early modern period the manor was part of the estates of the non-resident Earls of Berkeley.

Having lost its ecclesiastical centrality and lacking a governing gentry family, the early modern village, isolated on its headland, then became something of a backwater. Its economy was driven by agriculture and its coastal population was sustained by fishing, boat-building, trading and, according to 18th century records, a good deal of smuggling.

Architecture

Fabric: Rubble with some flint and brick (also Roman tiles), ashlar dressings and quoins (some long and short quoins on the lower stages of the tower). Tower (recently) plastered and with shingled broach spire. Roof tiled, some copper sheeting over the aisles. Quarr stone used inside.

Holy Trinity is an extremely important and significant example of extant late Saxon ecclesiastical architecture (Chapter 2.6.1) which has been added to and adapted during the Middle Ages. This renders it fascinating to students of medieval church architecture and many scholars and archaeological experts have studied it in the recent past (see Sources below). It has a long chancel of three bays extended in 2 phases, presumably to accommodate the College's requirements, an aisled four bay nave, the south aisle with a chapel undercroft or crypt and a four stage west tower with a 15th century shingled broach spire. The rooves have been lowered and raised again over the centuries, being lower during the early modern period. Like South Hayling and Portchester (GNos 4 and 9), pre-Reformation the chancel was used as the chapel for the College while the nave was devoted to the parish which had, by the 13th century, devolved to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chichester. As Joan Langhorne points out, the chancel arch then became the frontier between the two competing dioceses (Langhorne 2006: 4)

Since there have been various episodes of 19th century restoration which involved lowering the nave floor, raising the rooves of both nave and chancel and stripping the wall plaster from the interior, there is no surviving early modern architecture. However Langhorne's guide prints a highly diagnostic etching by J Rouse of the chancel in 1824, drawn from the east. This reveals a bank of medieval stalls and blocks of box pews which are set to the west in order to benefit from their proximity to the tiered pulpit which is placed on the south side of the chancel arch at the head of the nave. In the etching, the view through the chancel arch into the nave does not show any galleries but it reveals the nave's roof timbers – unlike the chancel its ceiling was unplastered. It is also noticeable that although there are a few ledgers embedded in the tile (or brick) flooring there are no wall memorials shown – the chancel appears bare

and neglected. The chancel and nave floors are on a single level; evidently the lowering of the nave floor during restoration was designed to allow the chancel to appear raised. The only evidence for the early modern period is the south porch which is probably 16th century and has horizontal plank-built 14th century doors. Langhorne also notes that the Parish registers refer to the removal of the doors to the chancel in 1808 'as the poor were in the habit of lolling on them' (Langhorne 2006:9). This implies that up until this date there was a chancel screen and Bosham's poor were not catered for in terms of seating. It also suggests that the occupants of the chancel pews had very restricted views into the chancel during sermons (Chapter 7.2.1).

Space and contents

The loss of interior plaster has made the church very dark and, since most of the revealed masonry is rubble walling, the stripping has coarsened its appearance and has probably destroyed both pre-Reformation wall painting and post-Reformation wall texts (also see South Hayling and East Wittering for this effect GNos 4 and 37). The heightening of the rooves has restored the medieval roof line but the previous lower, flatter pitch must have leant the church a more intimate, almost vernacular quality which might have reflected the contraction of Bosham's parochial society once the College had been dissolved in 1548.

The church has two churchwarden chests one dated to 1300 (*see Fig 4*). This is a stoutly made wooden chest with a secret compartment under its hutch but there is also a late 17th/early 18th century parish chest by the south door with 5 locks, indicating that Bosham's churchwardens were very security conscious (see discussion of parish chests in Chapter 3.2). There are also some 17th-18th century, over-restored, poppy-headed bench pews at the back of the south aisle (see GNo 36 and Chapter 3.3.3 for analysis of pews). Five of Bosham's six bells are early modern, the tenor has been recast from a 1665 bell and the earliest is the number 4 bell, cast in 1572.

Churchyard.

This is a well-populated churchyard and is widest to the north where it abuts the grounds of the Manor House. This area may have previously belonged to the Manor as it is clearly a 19th century extension. To the west of the churchyard a millstream passes the church and carries on under a bridge towards its mill (now converted into the sailing club) on the quayside.

The churchyard, within 20 yards of the sea, is walled to the south and entrance is gained via gates to the south east, from the meadow to the west. The east gate is reached from Bosham Lane via a footpath. The southern path which by-passes the church is an extension of Bosham High Street and opens into the quay meadow – a small common at the west end of the creek. The grave monuments are oldest to the

south and, being so close to the sea, are exceedingly weather- worn. These include an unusual headstone showing its unlucky commemeratee falling headlong out of his ship - a type very similar to other maritime graves at Warblington (see Fig 4 and GNo 1) To the east is a small garden of remembrance with a central crucifix memorial, demonstrating the longevity of the Catholic tradition in this region. There are several trees in the churchyard but no large yews. Nibb's etching of the exterior of Holy Trinity, printed in 1872, shows the churchyard in a state of disrepair with a haystack in its eastern corner and its fencing a jumbled mixture of boarding, post and bar and wattle fencing. Interestingly, given the date of publication, it shows the church with its low roofing – Nibbs must have sketched the church at some point before its restoration (Nibbs and Lower 1872: unpaginated – see under 'Bosham').

Sources: Lloyd 1974: 6-7, 13, 19, 29, 41, Reger 1996: 12-5, 22-5,32, 52-63, 67, 85, 96-102, 118-9 Jenkins 2000: 685-6, Coppin 2006: 15, Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 110-13, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzmann 1953: 182-88, Nibbs and Lower 1872 (unpaginated) entry under Bosham, Langhorne J. 2006 'Holy Trinity Church, Bosham – church guide complete with bibliography. For analyses of the church's Saxon and medieval architecture see Hare M 1973, Gem R 1985: 32-6 and Aldsworth F, Tatton-Brown T, Atherton J and Worssnam B 2006, also the Bosham entry in the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture at www.crsbi.ac.uk



Fig 3 Interior of Holy Trinity looking west towards the nave and tower. Fig 4. Gravestone of Thomas Barrow, Master of the sloop 'Two Brothers' who fell into the sea and drowned in 1754

32. CHURCH OF ST PETER AND ST MARY, FISHBOURNE ROAD WEST, NEW FISHBOURNE

Parish of New Fishbourne, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. St Peter and St Mary's church, New Fishbourne from the northwest. Fig 2 Interior of the church looking towards the chancel

Fishbourne's parish was divided into two parts – New Fishbourne to the eastern side nearest Chichester and Old Fishbourne, originally associated with the parish of Bosham, to the west. However after the departure of Bosham's prebends, some of the western fields were absorbed into Bosham proper and the rest became New Fishbourne. To the south the parish borders Apuldram and Funtington and Mid-Lavant to the north (GNos 33, 30 and 41). The parish centres on a creek and a much-silted harbour which was once sufficiently deep-water to be (currently) considered one of the potential invasion harbours for the 43AD Claudian Roman fleet (see Manley 2002). The river Lavant, threading through the city of Chichester, emerges and enters Chichester Harbour at the top of Fishbourne Creek.

It is a small parish of 1331 acres but its earlier archaeology is very well-known from the Roman Palace sited to the north of the main road. This was discovered in 1961 in a poultry field and excavated by Barry Cunliffe over a period of c 8 seasons (for more on this see Cunliffe 1971a and 1971b). The medieval village began to cluster around the upper mill of which there were two - a tide mill to the south and the upper one at the head of Fishbourne creek at the top of Mill Lane. The parish only consisted of a single manor whose owners sold it on fairly regularly so that there appears to have been no long-term patronal influence apart from the Lane family who were medieval and early modern copy-holding lesser gentry. The old Roman coast road from Chichester to Bitterne passes through Fishbourne, thus the village has always been on a major arterial route. Much of the post-medieval village housing stock is ribbon development, only nucleating around the harbour and its mills, having left the church in an isolated position to the east, set back from the sea. Today its only neighbour is a Georgian building with 17th century timbers (now called the Manor House),

which lies immediately south of the church (see below). Various farms and cottages are dotted across the parish's fertile flat wheat lands, though there are few major gentry houses.

Architecture

Fabric: Medieval core is rubble and freestone with ashlar dressings. Restored exterior to nave is freestone laid in irregular courses with raised mortar pointing. Chancel exterior is plastered. Clapboard bellcote turret. Tiled roof.

St Peter and St Mary's was originally a simple aisleless church of three bays with a small two bay chancel. Its chancel dates to the second quarter of the 13th century and it was extended with a nave in the 14th. Initially the church was served by chaplains selected from the Friars Minor in Chichester and later Rectors were not always residential although there was a priest's house by 1402 (Blakeney n.d.: 5). The churchyard was licensed to take burials in 1442. The guide reproduces a rather rough woodcut dated 1804 (Sharp Collection, Lewes) showing the unrestored church with a square turret belfry which suggests it was a typical Sussex/Hants church of the simplest type on which no great amounts of money or care had been lavished over the early modern period. It lacked a chancel arch but must have had a screen as there are 16th century bequests made to the rood but this was replaced during the 19th with wooden framing. As at Chidham (Gno 29), there was a guild fraternity dedicated to the Virgin under the patronage of the Lane family which was still operating up to 1559.

The organisation of the church's early modern architecture is further obscured by two restoration episodes. In 1821 George Draper remodelled the nave by adding a transept and a porch to the north. Then in 1847 the nave walls were taken down, and arcading and a south aisle were built. This extension was mirrored on the north side where the 1821 transept was reconfigured and an even newer porch and vestry added. The chancel was also restored and a wooden chancel arch inserted, supported on timber cruck framing. The single level flooring was left however.

Space and contents

As suggested above, before the 19th century St Peter and St Mary's form and dimensions would have been very similar to other small, aisleless churches in the region as at Bedhampton, Idsworth and Clanfield in Hampshire (GNos 5, 14, and 17) and West Itchenor, Racton and Up Marden in Sussex (GNos 35, 39, 47). These represent a group of fairly isolated churches which nonetheless fulfilled a stable role by catering for a steady, unexpanding early modern population. This is not to say that their interiors were not constantly being altered and adapted as can be seen elsewhere (eg Up Marden GNo 47). Indeed Fishbourne's interior, cleaned out as it has been in the 19th century,

retains various hints and clues as to its post-medieval past. Blakeney, the author of the church guide, is of the opinion that the set of dark carved settles which make up the choir stalls are Jacobean however their 'rough' geometric and foliate carving is regular and looks far too sharp. However they may have been made in the 19th century to replicate two 17th century gentry settle pews and are perhaps still set in the position in the chancel for which they were designed as are the pews at East Lavant and Elsted (GNos 41 and 50). Blakeney also reports two gentry box pews being moved from the chancel in 1887 (Blakeney n.d.:2 and Chapter 3.3.3).

There are two 17th century bells, both locally made and one is by a well-known 17th century bell-founder - John Higden (see Chapter 4.3.3 for discussion of bells) and has the 1630 churchwardens initials scratched on it – John Butler and Nicholas Alwin who was a local miller (Reger 1996:115). Alwin's memorial dated 1635 hangs in the north porch complex. Other early memorials are fixed into the west wall. The larger is the oldest and commemorates Anthony Wells – his inscription plainly carved into a stone plaque is in Latin '*Here lies ANTH WELLS once of Bradbridge in the County of Southampton who was buried the 8th day of May 1594*'. The other is inscribed BL NOVEM 15 1612 above the Lane coat of arms. Evidently the Lanes continued their association with the church into the 17th century and were buried here. Lastly when the aisles were built the floor was relaid using old flagstones to make up the north-south cross passage at the head of the aisles. Amongst these are ledgers which have been used in the same way as those set into the transepts at Wickham and in the south transept at Stoughton (GNos 26 and 45). Here, without any regard for their previous commemoratees, the chancel and nave ledgers have been raised, cut up to fit and inserted here as paviments (for analysis of ledger treatment see Chapter 5.4.1).

Churchyard

The church and churchyard, stationed back from its bypassing road, separated from the village and now at some distance from the sea is entirely secluded. Blakeney suggests that the earliest burial ground consisted of strips to the south and east of the church recorded in 16th century testaments made by the Lanes and others which detailed the positions of their graves. These would have also included early modern interments which were obliterated by the southern foundations for the 1847 aisles. There are few early headstones although there is a cluster northwest of the west door. Most of the other gravestones are 19th-20th century and there is a new burial ground annex for modern interments to the northwest of the churchyard. There are no yews and all the trees are part of a relatively recent planting. To the south of the church is a residence presently called the Manor House. Its early modern function is unclear since both Salzmann and Blakeney describe this as Fishbourne's Old Rectory. Nairn however refers to it as a Manor House while Allen calls it Fishbourne

Place (see sources below). Since Fishbourne was a relatively poor living with a stipend of £40 in the 17th century, it may be that its rectory was humbler and that this was the Lanes' residence.

Sources: Lloyd 1974: 4-5, Reger 1996: 9-12, 52-3, 63-4, 107-115, Allen 2013

www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 224, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzmann 1953: 154-156 R. Blakeney 'A Guide to the Church of St Mary and St Peter, New Fishbourne, West Sussex' (not dated). Also see description of church in www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk and etching by Nibbs in Nibbs and Lower 1872



Fig 3 Interior of the church facing west.

33. CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN MARY, APPLIEDRAM LANE SOUTH, APPLIEDRAM.

Parish of Apuldram, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 Exterior of St Mary's church, Apuldram from the southwest. Fig 2. The church's interior looking east.

The parish of Appledram (or Apuldram- the medieval and early modern spelling used here) lies sandwiched between Fishbourne and Birdham to north and south. Its west side borders the sea, running from Fishbourne Creek along the west of Selsey to beyond Dell Quay where its foreshore overlooks Bosham's headland. The whole area from Apuldram downwards to Selsey in the south is occasionally referred to as the Manhood peninsula. Appledram's acreage is very slightly bigger than Fishbourne's and like the other Chichester Harbour parishes the soil inland from the coast is fertile and dedicated to arable agriculture, orchards and pastureland. There are areas of brick-earth suitable for ceramic and a tile-clamp dating from the early Roman period has been found in the north part of the parish (Cunliffe 1971). Salt-making was also a local industry and there were 18th century salterns and a saltmill in the southwest corner of the parish (Salzmann 1953: 138). The village itself no longer exists, though the 1813 OS edition for Sussex (David and Charles Sheet No 87) shows a cluster of houses just to the south of the church and there is pre-Reformation evidence that there were three streets lined with cottages (Ratcliffe 2008: 7-9) sited around the junction of lanes leading from Fishbourne and Dell Quay. A third lane passes a medieval gentry house (Ryman's) and leads to the church and the Manor House. Population numbers, rarely exceeding 200 heads, are still presently estimated to be c 160 (Ratcliffe 2008:9)

Historically Apuldram was one of the prebendary chapels of Bosham College and its canon appointed a curate to hold its regular services. Post –Reformation, the benefice supported a Perpetual Curate, sometimes an absentee pluralist vicar. Identifying a clerical residence is problematic especially as Richard Ratcliffe, the parish historian, considered that the only church houses were built by incumbents in the 19th century (Ratcliffe 2008:15-6). There is therefore no obvious relationship between the church and a parsonage. The church however is close to the gentry houses mentioned above. The most notable

of these is a house called Rymans – a 15th century tower house built by William Ryman after 1410 (see Fig 4). The Rymans were important late medieval and early modern gentry and held their land as freeholders at the time of the Dissolution. In 1616 they managed to buy the estate and manor outright, later selling it to Thomas Smyth of Binderton (see West Dean GNo 43) in 1654. It seems thence to have been occupied as a working farm by manorial tenants. To the west is the Manor or Manor Farm, a substantial 17th century house with a Georgian facade. One of its owners in the late 18th century was Sir William Hamilton, Ambassador to Naples and husband of Emma, who presumably let it out. The church therefore by its proximity seems to have had more of a spatial relationship with its neighbouring gentry (farm) houses than with its ordinary parishioners (Chapter 5.3.2).

Apuldram, in conjunction with Fishbourne, was also a thriving medieval port. Chichester in the 14th century was the 7th most important port in England with jurisdiction over customs duties from Seaford to Southampton (Ratcliffe 2008:10) Until the 16th century it was used as a major lading stage for imports inland and exports to the continent. At this time a subsidiary port at Dell Quay a halfmile to the south was established and as the creek began to silt up in the 17th century it gradually took over from both earlier docks as the furthest inland point of navigation for sea-going vessels. Eventually further silting brought trading at Dell Quay to a halt although there was still some commerce and Dell Quay's disused warehouses were only demolished post-WWII. Thus one must bear in mind the vigorous nature of these coastal commercial ventures over the first two centuries of the early modern period. Until the 18th century Apuldram was not the sleepy rural backwater that its current situation might now suggest with its transport links to Chichester's coast roads and its trading connections (Chapter 7.1).

Architecture

Fabric: rubble, ragstone and flint with ashlar dressing. The lower walls have plinth-like courses of sandstone blocks with the ragstone, rubble and flint cobbles rising above. Tiled roof. Clapboard bellcote and shingled steeple. Ornamental use of Purbeck marble in the chancel.

This church, like Fishbourne's, has no chancel arch but possesses a south aisle and side chapel and a western turret bellcote (Chapter 4.3.3), entry being by the south door. The chancel is demarcated by the second of its tiebeams and by its flooring, raised during Victorian restorations from its previous single level state. The two bay chancel is illuminated by restored sets of 13th century three light lancets with arcaded mouldings and Purbeck marble shafts. The windows' sophistication is thought to derive from the church's connection with Bosham or in imitation of aspects of Chichester cathedral's architecture.

The church dates at its earliest to the 12th cent but was completely remodelled in the 13th when the south aisle and the arcaded windows were added. It is likely that the church's wooden rood screen

served in place of a chancel arch, especially as the chancel's (restored) wall plates have moulded chamfering ending in foliate spherical stops at this point. The entrance for the rood staircase on the north side confirms this supposition. Allen suggests the southern side chapel's parclose screen may actually have been some part of the rood arrangements (Allen 2013). Certainly the side chapel provided space for early modern gentry pews. There is no hint of a gallery.

The 19th century restorations were various. Steer gives these as 1803 – a new pulpit and other improvements – 1845 by J Butler which included removal of whitewash from walls and columns, discovery of a squint and rood-loft stairs and the raising and paving of the chancel - but then further work in 1862, 1877 and 1890 (Steer 1965:7). The 1877 restoration was by Lacy Ridge whose efforts Nairn describes as 'coarse: pitch pine roofs and a fussy bell turret' (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:84).

Space and contents

Spatially St Mary's cellular form mirrors several other churches in this group such as St James's, Southwick but especially St Mary's, Chidham which has a comparable north aisle and St Mary's, Compton with its south aisle (GNos 24, 29 and 49). What is exemplified at Apuldram is the quality of privacy and separation achieved by parclose screens for those entitled to sit within a side chapel. Allen's estimate of the parclose as rood screen material may be derived from the fenestrated quality of its upper half and the centrality of its door. Indeed, if it had been reused as a chapel divider in this way after the Reformation the space's purpose would have been specifically changed from guild to patronal chapel. Its masking qualities do not entirely preclude outside observation but they do generally obscure those who are seated within. Additionally it is a powerful demonstration of the way in which nave and aisle space was divided up before and after the Reformation so that those with rights of access might envision themselves in a 'different chamber' to the rest of the congregation.

Other items of note include another example of an early pew bench possibly of 16th-17th century date set at the back of the south aisle – this with a more stylised form of poppy head finial (see Chapter 3.3.3 and Fig 3). The early modern iron door fastener is of interest as well since it has been provided with a St Andrew's cross incised into the base of the latch. This is an apotropaic mark often found in spiritually dangerous or liminal house spaces, especially openings such as doorways (see GNo 28 and 43 and Wallis and Lymer 2001). There are also some encaustic medieval tiles laid up against the altar rails. A few similar tiles are set into the floor near the old bench pew so it may be that the aisle was previously tiled in this decorative way. Unfortunately there are no tombs, ledgers or memorials dating earlier than the 19th century inside the church.

Churchyard

The 15th century porch has windows to east and west with graffiti-inscribed jambs. On the sill of the window is a complex form of a mass dial with lines indicating summer and winter service times while other graffiti have been identified as a merchant's mark, a rudimentary 'weathervane' cockerel and various initials (possibly those of churchwardens) some in black lettering.

The churchyard's oldest gravestones are to the south (Chapter 5.3.1). To the north the churchyard is narrow and the east side is overgrown. The cemetery has evidently been extended over the past century to the west and the land on the southernmost edge is another expansion culled from a meadow which runs behind the Rymans' grounds. The church lane leads directly into the southern approach path, a hollow track with higher banks to either side (Chapter 7.3.1). Amongst some 18th–19th century headstones are three chest tombs; one to the Frelands - one of the principal late 18th century Apuldram families. There is no sign of the Smiths or Hamiltons either inside or outside the church, reinforcing the assumption that both families were non-resident. Nibbs's etching of the church and its churchyard is reproduced in Chapter 3.

Sources: Reger 1996: 56, 63-6, Coppin 2006:17 Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 84-6, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzmann 1953: 138-40. Ratcliffe 1986/2008 (2nd ed), Steer 1965. For apotropaic marks see Wallis and Lymer (eds) 2001



Fig 3 15th century parclose screen with a central door masking off the southeast chapel, a pre-Reformation chantry chapel . Fig 4 Rymans – a 15th century manor tower house situated to the southeast of the church.

34 CHURCH OF ST JAMES, CHURCH LANE, BIRDHAM

Parish of Birdham, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St James's church, Birdham, from the southwest.

At 1814 acres Birdham parish lies directly below Apuldram and to the northwest of Sidlesham on the west coast of the Selsey peninsula. Its north boundary follows a channel which runs into an 18th century canal designed to tranship goods from Birdham Pool to Chichester's southern canal basin. Prior to this, this inlet provided a tidal location for its mill and a small harbour for fishing, trading and boat-building as at Dell Quay and Bosham. The rest of the parish lies to the south consisting of flat agricultural plain only interrupted by a few undulating and wooded reaches which characterise the inland areas of the Selsey peninsula. The dispersed nature of the parish housing stock is echoed by the way in which Birdham's village has grown up since it too is dispersed along a network of inter-connected lanes with its oldest, most nucleated hub a half-mile south of Birdham Pool. There are some large houses around the church and near the Pool but these are relatively modern and not associated with previous manorial buildings. This is because during the Middle Ages Birdham's manors here were held as desmesne by the St Johns (from Halnaker, east of Chichester) and during the 16th century by a succession of gentry families. The Lewkenors (see GNo 43) then acquired one of the manors which descended in conjunction with their primary estates at West Dean. It is therefore more likely that Birdham's manorial land was tenant farmed in the 16th-18th centuries as were so many of these Sussex coastal manors. The early modern rectory was situated down a side lane some way from the church, but was largely rebuilt in the 19th and 20th centuries. The church is medium-sized and designed to accommodate a substantial congregation. Evidently Birdham's parish was well-populated but spread across the landscape in smaller farm and hamlet sized hubs.

Architecture

Fabric: ragstone and rubble with some brick patching and ashlar quoins and dressings. Chancel rebuilt

in 1882 in grey ashlar. Tower: ragstone and plastered with low pyramidal cap. Tiled roof.

St James appears to be a sizeable 14th century church with a three stage 16th century west tower. However close to, it is evident that a great deal of restoration has taken place and the chancel is completely rebuilt (Chapter 2.2). The nave however retains the bones of its 14th century architecture and chancel arch though it has lost its contents not only during the 19th century restoration episodes of 1863 and 1882 by G M Mills but also in 1964 when the last fittings were cleared out (Allen 2010). The Tudor tower however is intact and has a projecting stairwell on its southern side, reminiscent of those found in 16th-17th century domestic two storey or courtyard houses which give direct but private access from ground to upper floors (Johnson 2010:96). The nave is an odd size being roughly four and half bays. The extra half-bay is variously interpreted by Nairn and Allen as being either part of an earlier 15th century tower or the remnants of an intermediate belfry erected before the tower was built in the 1540s (Pevsner and Nairn 1953:106, Allen 2010). Since West Itchenor and East Marden (GNos 35 and 46) also has a similar arrangement which supports its belfry, it seems to me that the latter may be the explanation. The half-bay may also have been instrumental in allowing a sizeable west gallery which Allen notes was still in place in 1803 (Allen *ibid*) but was taken down by Mills (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). Until 1548 the church housed a guild altar or chapel which may have been sited at the head of the south aisle where there is a side altar piscina.

Space and contents.

Spatially this is a church about which it is only possible to make limited deductions, the reconstruction of the chancel having obscured its relationship with the less altered nave. The tower is also authentic in its dimensions but it is not clear whether or where its turret staircase would have allowed for access to the gallery since the tower is presently open to the nave and only floored at the height of the third stage bell chamber. However subsidiary framing in the roof in the south west corner suggests that there may have been a dormer previously inserted to light the head of a gallery lobby leading off the Tudor stairwell. Framing for another dormer on the north east side also exists suggesting that extra illumination for the pulpit was added, as at Petersfield (see GNo 19).

The nave's timber roofing is old and complex. In addition to the extra framing its extant tie beams support two crown posts with V shaped braces and both the tie beams and wall plates are decorated with (restored) cresting or dentillated crenellations. These are redolent of the carved wall plate decorations at Apuldram but are exactly replicated in this form at West Itchenor (GNos 33 and 35). This seems to be a local timber-framing decorative tradition of medieval origin, probably lasting through into the early modern period (although see below GNo 35 for further analysis). Although there is no church

guide, a notice in the church states that in addition to removing the gallery Mills also took out a triple-decker pulpit.

There are no ledgers or mortuary monuments dating to before the 1800s. The single exception is a carved stone plaque affixed to the chancel's south wall. This is part of an armorial achievement and is a bas relief pediment crest or possibly a chest panel belonging to a monument (probably a small wall tomb or memorial) which may previously have been sited here (*see Fig 3*). Coppin suggests this is St John family heraldry (Coppin 2006:16) but research suggests the St John coat of arms does not match the three morning star maces depicted on the shield. The plaque is well sculpted as a crest and escutcheon framed by foliate scroll work, still shows its red background paint and dates to the late 16th - early 17th century. Like the 16th century Bickley tomb at Chidham (and possibly the Lane plaque in Fishbourne, see GNos 29 and 32), it is another victim of the general monumental attrition discernible in this area. The tower retains its 14th century bell frame and holds two bells, one medieval, the second inscribed – 'William Hunneman 1695' - presumably the bell founder or a churchwarden as the incumbent at that time was John Harrow.

Churchyard

The churchyard is large. It has been extended to the southeast and the vast majority of the burials are 19th-20th century. Its ground has clearly been lowered during the 19th century as it is on a level with the church. Thus the early modern memorial landscape has been swept away apart from four rather nondescript 18th century headstones clustered to the north.

The churchyard's most obvious features are 2 large, dying trees. One a macrocarpa – probably about 200 years old stands opposite the south porch – its bark stripped and its branches extremely contorted. There is a similar dying pine tree to the west. Both are likely to have been planted well before 1882 and, since macrocarpas were a rarity in the 18th-19th centuries, may have been gifted to the church by wealthy patrons. The west tower's height makes the church a candidate for providing a coastal sea mark, unlike the churches at Fishbourne and Apuldram which lack towers or steeples.

Sources; Reger 1996: 14-5, 66-8, 93-4 Coppin 2006:16 Allen 2010 www.sussexparishchurches.org Steer 1961, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 105-6 VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzmann 1953: 199-201. Johnson 2010.



Fig 2 Interior of St James's looking towards the chancel. Fig 3. Small heraldic plaque or monumental heraldic device which is likely to have come from an early 17th century wall tomb or memorial.

35. CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, ITCHENOR ROAD, WEST ITCHENOR

Parish of W. Itchenor with Birdham and W. Wittering, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 Exterior of St Nicholas, West Itchenor from the southwest.

West Itchenor is one of the smallest parishes in this study at 546 acres. It lies below Birdham and above the much larger parish of West Wittering to the southwest which encloses much of its southern side. Its centre, the village and haven of Itchenor is on the mouth of the Fishbourne Creek at the point at which it opens up into the Chichester Channel and faces across to the southern end of the Bosham peninsula. From Itchenor the shore bends southwest to the tip of the western point of Selsey peninsula at West Wittering. Itchenor's harbour – a shingled beach with slipways and jetties can accommodate small sailing vessels but, like the Fishbourne harbours, had deeper and more navigable channels in the past. The coastline shares the general ecology of coastal pasture, arable, salt-marsh, and mudflats.

Presently West Itchenor's village lines a single lane, Itchenor Road, in effect a long cul de sac. This lane branches west from the main Chichester-West Wittering road and a mile from the junction the church stands to the north, set centrally in the steeply rising ancient graveyard. The church, a half mile from the harbour, is flanked by farms on either side, a newly restored Georgian one to the north appearing to be large enough to be Itchenor's manor farm as it has a close relationship with the church. This may have been the village's earliest nucleus with a smaller hub around the haven. These were then connected by infilling farms and cottages, one of which, a 15th century timber framed hall-house is still called the Old Rectory.

In the 16th century Itchenor was an unmistakably isolated and remote parish but in the 17th and 18th centuries it began to profit from the commercial activities of the other Chichester Harbour ports. Like Bosham (GNo 31), it also gained a reputation for smuggling and a Customs post was built on the quay to monitor its maritime trading. It was a manorial estate of the Rymans of Apuldram who sold both manors to Thomas Smyth in 1654 (seeG Nos 33 and 43). Later the Royal Navy used the harbour yards to

construct some of their smaller vessels (Chapter 2.5.2). By the late 18th-early 19th century much of Itchenor was owned by the third Duke of Richmond who, in 1787, built a holiday residence, Itchenor Park, for his favoured activities of yachting and bathing.

Architecture

Fabric: flint construction especially to the west (restored work). To the east and south flint cobbles and rubble, the north side is rendered. Ashlar quoins. 19th century tower has a flint west face and is clapboarded elsewhere with shingled broach spire. Tiled roofs.

A great deal of this is restoration work, some set into the usual 19th century raised mortar in places. However much of the restored walling has been done far more sensitively recently and shows a flint rubble and cobble construction on east, south and west sides with the occasional stone block filling and ashlar quoins. The north exterior face is plastered and the recent work done on it has left the brick infilling and the lower jambs of the north door visible so that the insertion of the window becomes completely obvious from outside.

St Nicholas's grew from a chapel into a small church towards the end of the 12th century. It is, in fact, one of the smallest churches in the research sample, similar in size to St Mary's, North Marden (GNo 48). As at Apuldram (GNo 33) its second wooden truss acts the part of a chancel arch although here the chancel floor has been raised as part of its restoration in 1869-70 by GH Mills (see Birdham's restorations – see GNo 34). The church is of the simplest plan – aisleless and originally towerless although it has had the same half-bay added to support a belfry, as is seen at Birdham (Chapter 4.3.3). Mills built the west tower with its short broach steeple over two heavy, rather brutal, flint-faced buttresses which meet above in an arch forming the west side of the tower's upper stage. Its west gallery was added in the 20th century presumably to replace one stripped out by Mills who evidently did not envisage that Itchenor's congregation would ever become more numerous (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). Certainly the church's size is testament to Itchenor's medieval sparseness of population and a gallery would have been necessary as the harbour grew more populous, just as, seemingly, it is today.

Space and contents

Mills replaced the roof timbers which show the same dentillated crenellations along the upper edges of their wall plates. It is hard to tell whether, as discussed above, these are replicas of local wood-carving traditions or Mills's own ideas of appropriate ornamentation. Although the chancel floor is modern the central passage and rear end of the church is paved with late 18th century flagstones. These are cut with vertical striations suggesting a masonry technique developed to prevent slippage. A single ledger has

been left in pride of place *in situ* at the head of the central aisle. This is dedicated to 'ANNA/ wife of Murdoch Mackenzie Esq./ (Lieutenant in the Royal Navy)/ Died October 3rd 1786/ Aged 39 years,' and has survived Mills's removal of all pre-19th century mortuary material from the church's interior. This combination of late 18th century flooring and the survival of a single ledger is also found at East Marden (GNo 46) and both floors are discussed at length in Chapter 5.4.2 (also see Petersfield GNo 19 for account of 1850s illustration of another possible example).

Churchyard

The south porch is restored, undoubtedly replacing an earlier one which Salzman dates to the 13th century (Salzman 1953: 204). On the east side of the floor there is a trapezoidal medieval priest's tomb slab with a crozier relief, half set under a bench (see Chapter 5.4.1 for analysis of ledger placement). In addition there are two 19th and one 18th century ledgers sunk into the porch flooring – the earliest dating to 1735. The churchyard encircles the church and has been extended to the west. It sits well above the level of the hollow lane which bypasses it, its depth of soil demonstrating its antiquity although it also appears to have been established on a rise. The entrance is through a modern lychgate into the southern graveyard where the burials are oldest (Chapter 5.3.1), the east and north side having gravestones which have a wider chronological range and which are less tightly grouped.

Sources: Reger 1996: 14-5, 32-3 68-71, 85-7. Allen 2011 www.susseparishchurches.org , Steer 1963, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 373-4, VCH W Sussex Vol 4 Salzman 1953: 204-5. For description of Itchenor Park see www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk



Fig 2 The interior of the church looking west. Fig 3 View to the west showing the new west gallery.

36. CHURCH OF ST PETER AND ST PAUL, POUND ROAD, WEST WITTERING.

Parish of West Wittering, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of St Peter and St Paul's, West Wittering from the north. Fig 2 The church's interior looking east.

West Wittering's parish is larger than many of the western Selsey coastal parishes. It lies south of Itchenor and includes a protruding spit of sandy promontory to the west and a long sandy beach to the south bending eastwards towards Selsey Bill. The western spit is moved about by the tides at East Head and ends with a submerged sand bar called the Winner which forms the eastern side of the mouth of the Chichester and Emsworth channels where they open into the Solent. East Head is directly opposite the south easterly corner of Hayling Island at the western side of the harbour mouth. The narrow gap can be hazardous to navigate in bad weather and this sea lane is known for shipwrecks, especially in the winter. Along the northern coast of Wittering the shore is made up of mudflats, marshes and salterns so that, although nowadays there are sailing and sea sports centres, there are no deepwater havens in this parish.

The village of West Wittering has a history stretching well back into the 7th century when it was part of the manorial possessions of the Bishop of Selsey (the pre-Chichester see). It was nucleated around the church in the early modern period and has largely 17th-19th century housing stock with modern infill. The church sits to the south of the village on a slight incline a half-mile from the beach. To the north lie several substantial yeoman or gentry farmsteads dating from the late medieval period on, showing that the parish possessed the same fertile land as its neighbours up the coast. Wittering's great house is Cakeham Manor a quarter mile to the east, built by the Bishops of Chichester and a favourite episcopal medieval summer residence later leased to early modern manorial gentry families such as the Erneleys (see below). The remains of its medieval Great Hall and undercroft still survive together with a Tudor tower and manorial dwellings.

Architecture

Fabric: Rubble and flint with freestone patching, much restored. Ashlar quoins and dressings. North east two stage tower has extensive patching to its groundfloor and a shingled pyramidal turret. Roofs tiled.

According to the church guide, this is either the third or fourth church to be built on this site (Done, Kennedy-Cooke and Williams. (2003:1-2)The earliest is said to have been a wooden one dating from the 8th-9th centuries. Burnt down in a Viking raid in the late 10th century, it was replaced in stone. The present church has Saxon elements but is a mid-12th century Norman rebuild with later 13th century additions in the form of the northeast tower and southern side-chapel. It has a two bay chancel and a four bay nave with a late 12th century south aisle. There is some indication that the south side chapel – presently a Lady Chapel - was associated with Richard of Wych, Chichester's bishop (1245-53) who was canonised in 1262 and who was fond of Cakeham Manor. A short crozier-inscribed coffin lid resembling a reliquary and dated to 1305 was discovered under the chancel during restorations and more recently an alcove, possibly designed as a feretory, above the Lady Chapel's altar was revealed, however the connection is entirely speculative. Until the Reformation a Brotherhood of Corpus Christi had an altar in the church which may have been in the ground floor of the tower since there is a blocked altar niche in its east wall. The belfry contains an ancient bell stock and a staircase which Allen considers dates to the 16th century (Allen 2011).

Other early modern architecture in the church simply consists of changes seemingly instituted to render the church more comfortable. Thus, the west door was blocked in the 18th century to prevent draughts from the prevailing south-westerly gales. A Grimm drawing from 1802 also shows that several of the chancel's windows were partially filled in post-Reformation. This only left the upper sections of their lights with the result that illumination in the chancel would have been severely impaired (see Chapter 3.3.1). There were two restorations; one to the chancel in 1845 and a later, more thorough remodelling by William White in 1875 which heightened the nave, lowered the chancel (the chancel was previously higher than the nave) and rebuilt the south aisle and much of the Lady Chapel.

Space and contents

There is some complexity of space in this church with its added cells to the south – the aisle and chapel - and one to the north – the bell tower. The building's expansion evidently took place immediately after its Norman rebuilding and carried on steadily through the 13th century. In the later part of the 16th century the central episcopal manorial involvement in the parish was transferred to its lessees, the Erneley family and Wittering's immediate connection with the Bishopric was severed. Thereafter it

appears that the church gained a more conventional patronal relationship with its manorial gentry and its spaces were adapted rather than reshaped.

St Peter and St Paul's has some good surviving early modern woodwork. The chancel possesses an early set of oak altar railings dating to c 1600 with baluster turning and a running frieze of interwoven scallops along the bottom (*see Fig 3*). There is also a large Jacobean oak communion table with similar carving motifs and stretchers which is now being used as the Lady Chapel's altar. In the body of the nave are a set of fleur de lys poppy-headed bench pews mostly restored and reconditioned in the 19th century. The oldest ones are represented mainly by their pew ends and appear to date to the 16th century (*see Fig 4*). They share the appearance of the ancient pews found at North Hayling, Idsworth, Bosham and Apuldrum (GNos 4, 14, 31 and 33 and see Chapter 3.3.3) which indicate some regional concern for organised congregational seating well before the Laudian seating reforms of the 1620s. At Wittering, together with the early altar rails they may demonstrate considerable parochial conservatism and resistance to late 16th century Episcopal pressure to bring the communion table into the centre of the church. There are also two Tudor misericords at the rear of the north choir stalls carved with a bishop's head and a Tudor rose. These however have been built into Victorian replicas and their original positioning or provenance is obscure (Chapter 3.3.3). There are also two early-mid 19th century Decalogue tablets set on either side of the chancel arch facing the nave (Chapter 4.2.3).

Two mid-16th century niche tombs are placed at the head of the north wall to the side of the altar. These are the Erneley monuments. The Erneleys of Cakeham were an ancient family deriving from Wittering's neighbouring parish of Earnley (the present spelling) whose estates covered much of this part of the Selsey peninsula. The first and largest was commissioned by William Erneley c 1536 to memorialise his first wife Elizabeth. The smaller tomb which stood at the northeast head of the chancel was erected by his second wife Bridget for William himself in 1545 ((Done, Kennedy Cooke and Williams 2003 and see Chapter 6.2 for discussion of Bridget's lack of heraldry and for the significance and the siting of these tombs). Both are in a tradition of Risen Christ tombs as found at St Peter's, Racton (GNo 38) St Wilfrid's, Selsey and at St Peter's, Westhampnett to the south of Chichester which is also analysed in some detail in Chapters 5.5.3; 5.6: 6.2; 6.5-6 and 7.3.2. It is noticeable that their figures have suffered some deliberate iconoclasm. The authors of the church guide suggest that the damage done to the images of Christ was caused by roving Parliamentarian soldiers under Waller who were quartered in Chichester in 1642 and who also vandalised the cathedral (see Johnstone 1947). Although Wittering is at some distance from Chichester, this seems quite possible as both Selsey and Westhampnett's Risen Christ tombs are similarly mutilated (Chapter 7.1).

Churchyard

The present churchyard is entered from the surrounding village to the north of the church via a modern lychgate and extends to the south in a triangle formed by the coast road as it curves south to the beach. The vast majority of the churchyard has been landscaped with some recent planting, especially on its southern side, leaving the oldest 18th century graves to the northeast and to the west of the church. Inspection of the stonework of the church's west wall with its blocked west doorway clearly reveals the different phases of the raising and lowering of the nave roof.

Northeast of the churchyard there is a 19th century flint-built Rectory which is now a church and parochial institution. However to the northwest is a modernised timber framed 17th century house which appears to have been its predecessor. To the west the fields, saltmarshes and sand dunes stretch out to the coast.

Sources: Reger 1996: 13, 15, 71-4. Coppin 2006: 14, Allen 2011 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 376-8, VCH W Sussex Vol. 4 Salzmann 1953: 217-21. Church Guide by Done, Kennedy Cooke and Williams 2003. Johnstone 1947, Thomas-Stanford 1910 (2007) and MacDougall 2004 for Waller's Civil War campaigns in Chichester and for more on the Erneley family see www.historyofparliamentonline.org



Fig 3 The church's Jacobean carved wooden altar rails. Fig 4. 16th century bench pews, reconditioned in modern times.

37. CHURCH OF THE ASSUMPTION, CHURCH FARM LANE, EAST WITTERING

Parish of East Wittering, coastal (also see Chapter 2.4.3 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. Church of the Assumption, East Wittering, seen from the southeast.

East Wittering's parish shares its larger neighbour West Wittering's landscape and economy but its coastline of 140 acres is a continuation of the southern Wittering beach which sweeps eastwards in a curve as it approaches Selsey Bill. This form of coastline is utterly different to the inlets, headlands and islands which form the marine geography of Chichester Harbour and mirrors the southern shores of Hayling, Portsea and the western side of the Gosport peninsula with their sand and shingle beaches backed by dunes, salt pasture and scrub woodland. The smooth arcs of shoreline are produced by southwesterly winds and currents which have steadily eroded the peninsula in a series of episodes (see West Thorney GNo 28) so that the shore has been constantly changing shape requiring management with revetments, sea-walls and groynes over the years. This coastal movement also affected East Wittering when the neighbouring parish of Bracklesham which bordered the coast was increasingly inundated in the early 16th century. At this point Bracklesham's reduced parish was amalgamated with East Wittering.

Inland East Wittering begins to reflect elements of the ecology of south Selsey with more marshland interspersed with fields and meadows. However the modern parish centre has been mainly created in the 20th century and consists of seaside bungalows, caravan sites and holiday properties which stretch along the shore from Cakeham to Bracklesham, creating a long thin coastal conurbation which bears no resemblance to East Wittering's earlier parish identity. As a result it is necessary to work from early maps which show a pattern of dispersed farmsteads with no major nucleated clusters of houses other than a small grouping to the south in the area of Bracklesham and around the church (Charles and David 1813 OS map Sheet 87, Brighton). This parish then was possibly the most isolated of all the southerly parishes since its neighbours to the east – Earnley and Selsey both had nucleated medieval and early

modern settlement groups – in Selsey’s case it also had an important diocesan and patronal presence up to the 11th century (for more information on Selsey see Salzmann 1953: 205-10). The parish church of the Assumption, previously St John the Baptist’s, was set amidst fields (now part of a Business Centre) adjoining Church Farm Cottages and other property which was evidently the hub of the church’s glebe. There appear to have been no manorial buildings in the parish and it is not clear where the parsonage was situated. In the Middle Ages the manor was held by the Wystring or Wyghtryng family who sold it in 1507 to the Erneleys of Earnley, resident at Cakeham Manor (see GNo 36) who farmed the manor as demesne until the 17th century.

The church of the Assumption was deconsecrated and sold in 1973 but by 1958 a new parish church – St Anne’s – had replaced it. The old parish church has therefore been neglected for some while and is now undergoing basic structural repairs so that gaining access to its interior is impossible. As with St James’s, Clanfield (GNo 17) East Wittering’s parochial significance therefore is essentially geographical and is harder to see purely by analysis of the material of its church.

Architecture, space and contents

Fabric: Flint-facing over flint and rubble, ashlar quoins and dressings. Tiled roof and shingled bell turret. All restoration work.

The church of the Assumption is an exemplar of the simple two-celled form found further to the west along the Sussex coast and up into the Downs. It is also mirrored by those Downland Hampshire churches which had more isolated or dispersed populations as can be seen at Idsworth, Clanfield and Boarhunt (GNos 14, 17 and 25). The church’s best architectural feature is its remarkable 12th century doorway, otherwise its form is basic consisting of a three bay aisleless nave, a two bay chancel rebuilt in 1845, with a 13th century chancel arch and a west belfry turret. Unfortunately it has been thoroughly over-restored by Lacy Ridge (who worked on South Hayling, West Thorney, Apuldram, Racton, East and North Marden, GNos 4, 28, 33, 38, 45 and 47) who heightened the nave, replaced the windows, roof and bell turret (Chapters 2.2 and 4.3.3) and installed an altar platform. Although there is no evidence for a west gallery Allen discusses a drawing by Adelaide Tracy from 1852 which depicts a set of round-headed windows in the nave of the kind seen in 17th and 18th century auditory churches and which survive in situ at St Peter’s, East Marden (GNo 45 and Allen 2012). Such windows were often installed in conjunction with 17th-18th century altar suites and nave furniture such as box pews and it seems likely that early modern East Wittering had a version of the kinds of fittings still visible in Idsworth, Southwick and Racton (GNos 14, 24 and 38 and for discussion see Chapters 3 -4). Ridge also stripped the walls of their

plaster both inside and out so that the interior of the church now shares the roughened and dimming effect of other similarly treated interiors (eg South Hayling and Bosham, GNos 4 and 31).

There is no relevant early modern material culture left within the church at present, many of its fittings having been transferred to St Anne's after the old church was decommissioned.

Churchyard

The churchyard surrounds the church on all sides but is fullest to the south and east where there are several 18th century gravestones (Chapter 5.3.1). It is still in use and has a further extension to the east. There is a mature yew to the southwest of the church. It is likely that up until the 1800s there was a small building cluster including the church farmhouse and its cottages surrounding the church which may have represented the parish centre. Like Boarhunt, Meonstoke, Fishbourne and Elsted (GNos 22, 25, 32 and 50) East Wittering's church and churchyard are indicative of an old parish focus which has been abandoned and removed to another location in subsequent ages, its major social tie being the memorial landscape provided by its churchyard.

Sources: Reger 1996: 13-15, 105, Allen 2012 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 216-7, VCH W Sussex Vol. 4 Salzmann 1953: 215-7.



Fig 2 South side of the churchyard looking east towards the more modern cemetery extension. Fig 3. Church Farm – together with the church this 18th century farmhouse was the centre of East Wittering's early modern parish.

PART 4. DOWNLAND PARISHES IN WEST SUSSEX

38 CHURCH OF ST PETERS, RACTON

Parish of Racton with Lordington, coastal Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of the exterior of St Peter's, Racton. Fig 2. The church's west front showing its 14th century chequer-work masonry.

Racton with its sub-parish of Lordington is a small, east-west, wedge-shaped parish which occupies a lush valley watered by the river Ems, now a stream, which cuts down through the outlying scarp of the Downs as they rise steeply to the north. Its economy is heavily agricultural with arable and sheep-grazing on the Downland slopes and cattle pasture in the valley. The parish centre consists of a few cottages strung out along the road on either side of the church and the rest of the parish still reflects the demographic paucity and dispersed farmstead settlement characteristic of its early modern form. The church is two miles north east of Westbourne and abuts the Stansted estate to the south.

In 1445 Racton and Lordington, both poor parishes, were amalgamated, the chapel at Lordington now being lost. Lordington, a half-mile to the north, is equally dispersed but its hub is Lordington House, a reduced Tudor courtyard mansion which was owned by Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury and builder of Warblington Castle (see GNo 1) who bequeathed it to her son Geoffrey who lived there after her execution in 1542 (see Pierce 2009). In the 17th century it passed to the Peckhams, resident in the Mardens (see GNos 46-48). Racton Manor, the early modern residence of the Gunter family, was demolished in 1841 and lay opposite the church in what is now a meadow. Racton Folly, a tall four-storey brick and flint-built tower stands on the western Downland ridge overlooking Racton hamlet. It was erected by the Earl of Halifax (owner of Stansted House) in 1772 and lends the landscape a slightly sinister quirkiness (see Lloyd 1974: 26-7). The church is small and

plain and sits west of the lane which follows the course of the Ems up to Stoughton (GNo 44). South-west of the church is a 17th century timber framed house to which a tradition adheres that it was one of Charles II's hiding places when he was being smuggled out of England after the Battle of Worcester. Since Colonel George Gunter was lord of the manor and instrumental in this escape this possibility cannot be discounted (see Salzman 1953: 114, Fletcher 1975: 298, Sawyer 1882: 81-104).

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble (restored). West wall is faced with chequers of flint and sandstone (see west wall of Southwick, GNo 24). Roof tiled. Bell turret shingled; its steeple cap is tiled.

St Peter's is of the simple three bay aisleless nave/two bay chancel form found extensively along the Hampshire and Sussex coastlines and which is also frequently reproduced up into many of the more isolated Sussex Downland parishes. It has several early modern features, though some of these are 19th century replica furnishings (see below). It was restored twice, latterly in 1875 but this is an example of fairly restrained restoration, surprisingly undertaken by Lacy Ridge whose architectural transformations were usually more radical (Chapter 7.1 and see especially North Marden GNo 47). John Allen ascribes this restraint to Ridge's limited budget (Allen 2011). Apart from the altar dais its floor is single level and there is no chancel arch, the division being marked by a fretwork wooden tympanum over the second moulded and cambered tie beam which supports a large Royal Arms panel (see below and for discussion see Chapter 3.3.1 and 4.2.2). It appears to have been equipped with a post-Reformation altar suite judging from what remains of it, with communion table, panelling, altar rails and Decalogue tablets, much of which survives or has been replicated (see Chapters 3.3.2 and 4 for analyses of these). The ceiling was once plastered and restoration has revealed the timber roofing which is ancient but whose rafters are heavily impressed with nail holes where the laths have been taken out. It is a small low church and catered for an equally sparse population so it is unlikely that there was a gallery. The north door is blocked and the vestry has been demolished.

Space and contents

At the chancel end the altar platform appears to have been raised as a Laudian intervention in the early 17th century or possibly with the installation of the new altar suite some years later especially as a number of 17th and 18th century ledgers are included in the paving of the forechancel and ledgers to the 17th century Jermyn family (of Lordington) have been inserted into the platform itself. On either side of the altar are gold-lettered early 18th century Decalogue tablets – undoubtedly part of the original suite (Chapters 4.2.3 and 7.2.2). The pulpit (probably a copy of a 17th century one) is

raised and sited on the south side of the chancel division but its desks are across the central passage to the north within a box pew enclosure. The pulpit has a curious folding flap which lifts up to provide a reading/writing surface – possibly for the clerk’s use or for signing marriage registers in the absence of a vestry (see pulpit analysis Chapter 3.3.2). All the nave furniture is restoration work with the pews remade as poppy-headed benches, though those closest to the pulpit on the south side have doors, a feature which defines them as gentry pews. However this may be a 19th century refinement and previously there may have been more commodious 18th century gentry pews in the chancel as at Southwick, East Lavant and Up Marden (GNos 24, 41 and 46, Chapter 7.2.1). Certainly there is an element of auditory discomfort attaching to these new pews since they are so closely sited to the pulpit as at Idsworth (see Chapter 7.4). The altar communion table is plain and there are mended 18th century baluster-turned altar rails. The nave and east wall is wainscoted with replica oak panelling provided by a patron in 1933.

Apart from Racton’s three tombs the most dominating aspect of the church is its traceried wooden tympanum which focuses the eye on its central panel depicting the Royal Arms of George II (see discussion in Chapter 4.2.2). The fretwork which backs the panel is described by Salzmann as ‘traceried cusps, subcusped’ (Salzmann 1953:116). Ian Nairn suggests it dates to the 18th century, though Allen puts it a century later (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:311, Allen 2011). This consists of flat cut-out woodwork with a sub-oval gap in the centre of each side. It is plain and unvarnished but if painted or gilded might have had the same sort of decorative impact as the painted reredos backing Southwick’s altar. Its effect is to frame the Royal Arms panel and it seems probable that the holes in its traceried sides were intended to hold subsidiary panels now missing– quite feasibly escutcheons displaying Gunter coats of arms. Such a conceit is definitively late 17th-early 18th century and would go some way to confirming my own theory that the whole is a single composition introduced at the same time as the Royal Arms was purchased and installed.

The other important early modern elements of this church are the three monuments to the Gunter family which line the east end of the north wall. The Gunters or Gounters were Racton’s premier family from the 14th century, lords of the manor and one of the many local 16th-17th century gentry families, occasionally overtly recusant, who favoured Catholicism (Questier 2006: 32, 49, 105). Their earliest monument (Gunter 1) is ostensibly dated to 1557 but may be earlier. It is the canopied chest tomb of John Gunter and it is another example of early 16th century Risen Christ tomb sculpture found in and around the Selsey peninsula (see West Wittering GNo 36). This version has the Gunters in gendered ranks as suppliants flanking the central Risen Christ sculpture on the alcove panel. While including unmistakable Renaissance imagery, with its canopy and chest top the form of this tomb

acts as a viable setting for an Easter sepulchre and is part of an earlier Catholic elite monumental tradition (as discussed in Chapter 5.5.3 and 5.6). Its lack of visible iconoclastic damage may indicate that this area had few active Dissenting parishioners or was not in the path of godly Parliamentarian or Royalist troops (for the church-damaging actions of the latter see Harting GNo 49).

Gunter 2 commemorates Sir George and Ursula Gunter d 1624 and occupies the northeast corner of the chancel. This is a restored effigial wall tomb showing Sir George kneeling before a fald stool facing Lady Ursula within a round-headed, inscription-bearing alcove whose pediment supports the sculptural figures of Justice and Charity flanking the Gunter crest. This is one of the commonest types of early-mid 17th century effigial monuments but it seems to have lost its lower part since there are no suppliant children and only a single inscription (for entire versions see Titchfield and West Stoke GNos 13 and 39 and for discussion see Chapter 6.5 and 7.3.1). The large figures of the Cardinal Virtues are disproportionate to the upper part of the tomb and suggest it was adapted to fit above the modern panelling and has been squashed and reduced as a result (for more on tomb reorganisation here see Chapter 5.5.3).

Between these two monuments is that of Sir Charles Gunter Nicholl d. 1733 (Gunter 3). Hazarded by Nairn to be the work of the sculptor Rysbrack, this is a masterly bust of Sir Charles set on a sarcophagus within a classical frame over a pedestal chest inscribed with his epitaph – the whole thing being surmounted by his crest (Chapter 7.3.1 and Pevsner and Nairn 1965:312). In contrast, above it hang Sir Charles's gilded funerary devices – an arm holding a (broken) bow, his helmet and gauntlets, also originally his sword and banner which are now missing. This heraldic mortuary equipment clashes anachronistically with the Georgian taste and refinement of the marble monument.

The restoration work inside St Peter's has attempted to 'medievalise' its interior, especially by removing the ceiling, which has leant the nave in particular a slightly ramshackle appearance. Since this church seems to have been fully decked out in the 17th-18th centuries with polite religious material culture designed to express the later Gunter/Nicholls' social sophistication and conformity to the state and to reflect their parochial dominance, its present roofing state counters these phenomena (Chapter 7.4).

Churchyard

Racton churchyard is only extensively populated in certain areas to the south and east. The graves here are more heavily pitted and weathered than many other inland churchyards to the extent that they are largely illegible. There are no major or ancient trees. The churchyard is walled on its south

and east sides and overlooks the lane to the south and the Ems which runs alongside it. Racton Manor would once have stood to the east set back from the lane but immediately opposite the church.

It is noticeable that the church's most decorative external facade is its 14th century chequered west side. This is now relatively obscured as there is a thick modern conifer hedge lining the west edge of the churchyard which borders a narrow strip of western cemetery. Since this side faces into a hollow in the hillside behind the church it is hard to see how any long view of the west wall was achieved. This casts doubt on the topography of the present roads and pathways since evidently the church's main medieval entrance was through its west door which is now only accessible from the church's southern path.

Sources: Lloyd 1974: 7, 20, 26-7, 6: 13, 15, 71-4, Coppin 2006: 30, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 311-2, Allen 2011 www.sussexparishchurches.org , VCH W Sussex Vol. 4 Salzman 1953: 133-8. For the Gunter family see www.historyofparliamentonline.org , Fletcher 1975: 56, 259-60, 277, 298, 313, 320, 329. Questier 2006: 32, 49, 105. For more on Sussex Civil War activity see Sawyer 1882; 81-104, Thomas-Stanford 1910.



Fig 3 The interior of St Peter's looking towards the chancel. Fig 2. View of Racton churchyard looking west up to the tower of Racton Folly.

39 CHURCH OF ST ANDREW'S, DOWNS ROAD, WEST STOKE

Parish of Funtington with Sennicotts and West Stoke, coastal Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Andrew's, West Stoke viewed from the south.

West Stoke's parish centre is a hamlet abutting Funtington to the east. Until 1933 it was a parish in its own right with a rector, rectory and manor house all in close proximity. Like Racton and Mid-Lavant (GNos 38 and 40) which flank the parish it was another small agricultural parish whose population in the 19th century never rose above a hundred. The larger part of West Stoke's housing consists of ribbon development strung along a minor back road from Funtington to the Lavants cut out of the lower slopes of Stoke Down. The cottages and farms are a mixture of 18th-19th century buildings some of which may have older timber-framed interiors. Kingley Vale, nowadays a nature reserve and yew forest lies to the northwest ascending steeply to the southernmost point of Stoughton Down near the Bronze Age barrow cemetery at Bow Hill.

The church is set back from the road at the west end of the village and a large manor house, West Stoke House, is immediately east of it. Originally the vicarage was a small timber framed building to the west with a tithe barn standing between the church and manor house. These all formed a small nucleus of buildings now reduced since the barn and rectory have since been demolished (Eastwood n.d. p 3).

St Andrews and its parish was part of the lordship of Chidham which was overseen by the Prebendal College of Bosham. It then passed through a succession of different hands until in 1540 the manor was granted to Thomas and George Stoughton of a Surrey gentry family. Adrian Stoughton inherited it, dying in 1614, and he and his family are memorialised in the church (see below and Chapters 6.5 and 7.4 for discussions of the Stoughton monument). Today the Duke of Richmond owns much of the parish which, on its back lane, retains a certain quality of rural isolation which contrasts with its more cosmopolitan neighbour, Funtington (GNo 30).

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble with brick patching (some Roman). Ashlar dressings and quoins. South porch and tower flint and rubble with 17th-18th century brick upper courses and pyramid cap. All roofs tiled. Some exterior rendering and pebble-dash facing.

St Andrews is in the same aisleless mould as Racton (GNo 38) with a 3:2 architectural ratio but it also possesses an intervening stone chancel arch. It is recorded in Domesday and its fabric is generally agreed to date to the 11th century with later 13th century additions. Alterations to the chancel arch gable have revealed fragments of a late 12th-early 13th century painted Crucifixion which was conserved in 1990. This also shows the Virgin and John the Baptist to either side and was undoubtedly created to take the place of rood screen statuary. The church was restored and the chancel arch raised in 1841 and it was repewed in 1878 (Allen 2011). Up until recently it had a plaster mansard ceiling but its fragility caused it to be replaced with plasterboard infilling between the roof timbers. Its floor, which is single level up to the sanctuary dais, was stripped out in the Victorian period and underfloor heating and tiles were installed. St Andrew's also has a very early south door possibly dating from the 13th century made from vertical planking with its original metal fittings (see below). Salzmann calls this a ledged door since its plank joints and edges are covered with beaded battens (Salzmann 1953:194). The south porch is two storied, its upper storey being the church's bell chamber. It is possible that there was a gallery but since in 1841 galleries were still generally in use and the later restoration seems to have concentrated on renewing the floor and furniture it seems unlikely that a gallery had ever been added. The west door has been completely removed while the north door now leads into the 19th century vestry and its boiler house.

Space and contents

Although the space here has been slightly rearranged by the imposition of the new chancel arch, the shape and form of this church has not been seriously altered and it has good congregational sightlines. Being painted white throughout, this is a very light space especially as the nave lancets are glazed with clear glass. There is little sign of the early modern altar arrangements other than a much-repaired baluster-turned set of 18th century altar rails. This also applies to the pulpit and nave furniture which have all been replaced though here the raised pulpit is at the head of the northern pews with a lower desk on the south side. It is quite likely that this reiterated an earlier placement. The ancient south door whose outer face is, for some reason, peppered with shot pellet marks, has an old latch with a St Andrew's cross and a heavy, early wooden stock lock (see Westbourne GNo 27) as at West Thorney,

Appuldram and Singleton (Gnos 28, 33, 43). Above the door is a tiny cast iron plaque with a Georgian Royal Arms which is discussed in Chapter 4.2.2.

There are no visible ledgers inside especially as the floor has been retiled and the sanctuary is carpeted but certain ledgers commemorating descendants of the Stoughtons have been removed from their places inside the church and reinserted in the porch (see Chapter 5.4.1 for discussion of ledger placement *and see Fig 4*). Other wall plaques are modern. However there is an important Carolingian wall tomb fixed into the NE corner of the chancel. This is another monumental wall tomb of a similar sort to the Gunter's at Racton but here is complete. It is of the conventional kind with Adrian and his wife Mary kneeling and facing each other across a prie dieu with a panel with their children kneeling in gendered ranks below them which I describe and discuss at some length in Chapters 6.5-6 and 7.3.1- 2 and use as a comparison point for a number of other wall tombs in the research area (for vignette see Chapter 7.4). There is presently a single bell cast in 1712 by Samuel Knight. This hangs in the belfry chamber above the south porch and can be accessed by a ladder through a trap door in the ceiling.

Churchyard

There is rather a sparse set of 18th century headstones in this graveyard and the whole area has the appearance of a extensively reorganised space in that there are a substantial series of Victorian and 20th century gentry gravestones which appear to have replaced earlier ones to the immediate south of the church. These include headstones commemorating several military or naval personnel. There are also graves to the north, but again, relatively modern ones.

The path now leads from the western car park to the south porch and continues eastwards towards the manor house, West Stoke House. The house's service buildings to the north are separated from the churchyard by a brick wall and to the south the churchyard is bounded by Victorian iron railings. This area is dotted with carefully topiarised yews and a mature copper beech. The back lane between Funtington and Mid-Lavant passes to the south on the far side of a short strip of pasture. Since St Andrews is on a rise and sits on a scarp of Stoke Down overlooking Kingley Vale and Bow Hill its position is commanding and it provides extensive Downland views (see Up and North Marden GNos 46-7).

Sources: Reger 1996: 15, 52, Coppin 2006: 41, Allen 2011 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Eastwood n.d. Church Guide 'St Andrew's Church, West Stoke', Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 375, Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 192-5. NADFAS Church Records for West Stoke www.nadfas.org.uk and for Stoughtons www.housesofparliamentonline.org



Fig 3 Interior of West Stoke church, looking east. Fig 4. The south door and porch. The 13th century door is pocked with shot marks and the porch is centrally paved with ledgers removed from the interior of the church during 19th century restoration.

40 CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, LAVANT ROAD, MID-LAVANT

Parish of East Lavant with Mid-Lavant, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View of the outside of St Nicholas's church, Mid-Lavant from the south.

The parish of Mid-Lavant is a tiny add-on to the larger parish of East Lavant with which it was joined in the late 19th century. It lies c 2 miles to the north of Chichester along the main road which largely follows the Roman Chichester-Silchester route and its southern parts contain some of the Iron Age entrenchments – earthwork banks and ditches – which were built to protect the Iron Age *oppidum* near Chichester from northerly tribal incursions. The parish centre is the village of Mid-Lavant which sits astride the main road to the west of the river Lavant as it runs south down through the Lavant valley from Singleton (GNo 43). The village is only a half mile from East Lavant, separated only by the river and its flood plain and it is possible that the two villages developed as a single settlement and were thrust into separate units in the early medieval period by the course of the river as the flood plain moved about creating intervening marshes and riverine wetland.

The parish is surrounded by Downland on all sides. Its mother parish of East Lavant is built on a slope while Hayes Down stands to the north and Stoke Down to the west. The village's position straddling a main arterial road to the north of Chichester meant that, like Funtington, it had a closer connection to the outside world and its present building stock – a mixture of 17th-20th century houses (some quite grand), cottages and workshop buildings reflects this. There is also a substantial modern housing complex north of the church. The parish's early modern gentry were the Mays who held the manor from 1581 to 1777 when they sold it to the Duke of Richmond who added it to his estates centred on Goodwood. The Mays' now demolished manor house was at Raughmere or Rawmere, to the southeast of the village and the Mays formed part of the 17th century Sussex gentry network, visible in this sample, which included the Cottons, Gunters, Stoughtons, Lewknors, Carylls and Fords who supported the

Royalist cause during the Civil War, the Mays albeit as neutrally as was possible (see GNos 1 and 5, 38, 39, 42 and 49, Thomas-Stanford 1910 and Fletcher 1975).

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble – church almost entirely rebuilt in the 19th century with replaced walls, roof, ashlar dressings, doors and windows. West end extended in 1872, south porch and new bell turret erected. Roofs tiled, turret shingled.

St Nicholas was built in the 12th century as a two-celled church of similar dimensions to Racton and West Stoke GNos 38-9). Although there is so little of the pre-19th century church left that any reconstruction of its former architecture seems impossible, nevertheless documents remain which discuss aspects of the church which were removed in two of its four renovations. The first alterations took place under the patronage of the Mays in the 17th and 18th centuries. Allen considers that these involved the reorganisation of the chancel, a rebuilding of its chancel arch, the insertion of round-headed windows and probably included the addition of a west gallery. In 1844 Butler added a north aisle and rebuilt the east window and then in 1871-2 Woodyer extended the west end by a bay and rebuilt the bell turret over it. He also systematically rebuilt the walls and windows and put in a triple chancel arch, leaving very little of the earlier fabric (Allen 2012). TDS Bayley preserves a letter by the Reverend Stephens, incumbent at the time which describes what was removed in 1872. He says

‘The (church) had been almost if not quite rebuilt a few years before I became Vicar. There was then a gallery at the west end, a wretched little wooden belfry, and a very common ugly Churchwarden porch on the south side’ (Bayley quoting Stephens 1969:5 and see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Thus, what Butler had left undone, Stephens and his architect Woodyer completed. Stephens however also removed the church’s most distinguished memorial, a marble sculpted tomb with a full body effigy of Dame Mary May by Bushnell set up in 1676 before her death in 1681 (*see Fig 3*) and hid it away in the family vault. This has now been recovered and was placed in the north aisle in 1981 when G Claridge levelled the floor, removed more of the church’s interior fittings and built an extension to the north. While not completely decommissioned, the church is now used for village amenities and houses a post office.

Space and contents

Unpicking these changes it is possible to envisage St Nicholas’s as another early modern small Downland church with a slightly larger congregation than the more remote parishes could provide and tightly engaged with its local manorial family, the Mays, who regarded it as their personal ritual centre. Since

their alterations were connected with the chancel one can speculate that they centred around their own gentry pews and the monuments which memorialised their family. A conventional set of altar furniture would have been installed and a few bench pews survive dating possibly to the 17th century (see Chapter 3 and 4.2.3). These line the chancel walls and are the last remnants of the early modern pew seating. With the addition of a gallery and the more metropolitan round-headed windows the church may have had a complete range of early modern appointments (for more on this type of window see Petersfield GNo 19, East Marden, GNo 45 and Chapter 4.2.3). A single ledger placed prominently in the repaved chancel commemorates Derby Leary d 1681 an Irish gentleman whose nephew recorded his gratitude to his uncle and his uncle's English friends and patrons in verse.

The monument to Dame or Lady Mary May, second wife of Sir John May, lacks its superstructure and heraldry but has been accommodated in an alcove in the north aisle with her sculptural effigy reclining propped up on one elbow and attired in loose-fitting classical drapery above a Baroque marble cartouche which is inscribed with her epitaph (Chapter 7.3.2). This was originally sited in the chancel but moved possibly after the sale of the manor to the Duke of Richmond (Bayley 1969:4) to the nave's south wall before being entirely banished by Reverend Stephens in 1872. In 1686 Dame Mary, conceivably on the advice of her husband's celebrated architect uncle Hugh May, commissioned John Bushnell, a well-known sculptor of the period, to execute her memorial and it was installed in St Nicholas's chancel – presumably close to Dame Mary's own pew in order that she might view it while she was alive. In fact her epitaph spells this out:

Here/ Lies the Body of Dame Mary May, Second/wife to Sr John May of Rawmere, the/only surviving Sister and Sole Heire unto/Sr John Morley of Broom and Daughter to Sr John Morley of Chichester, Son to/Sr Edward Morley a second Brother of the Family of Halnaker Place. Piously/contemplating ye uncertainty of this life/among other solemn preparations for her/Funerall Obsequies, Shee erected this/monument in ye time of her Life in ye/year of Our LORD 1676, shee departed this life in ye year of Our LORD 1681/in ye 41st year of her Age.

The Reverend TDS Bayley, whose monograph on this monument provides many details, gives little credence to the (perhaps apocryphal) story that after her death from smallpox her relatives carried out her instructions that she was to be faithfully portrayed by stippling the marble surface of her face and arms with slight pox marks and that this is the reason why Reverend Stephens found the sculpture so unpalatable. Bayley's rejection of this story is bound up with his conviction that the May family were 'persons of distinction and culture' whom he cannot believe 'deliberately performed an act of vandalism of this kind' (Bayley 1969:5). This opinion is perhaps rather easy to challenge in the light of present scholarship on 17th century concepts of death and mortuary representation (eg see Gittings 1984, Llewellyn 1991, Houlbrooke 1998, Tarlow 1999, Marshall 2002). Moreover, on examination, the flesh-surfaces of the monument appear distinctly roughened and contrast with the smoother treatment of

Dame Mary's draperies which have been given the expert finish of a professional sculptor, as has her epigraphical cartouche. It is clear that there are parallels to be drawn with this memorial and that, in particular, of Lady Mary Uvedale in Wickham (GNo 26). I have been unfortunately obliged to exclude Dame Mary's tomb from my analysis of female-commissioned monuments in Chapter 6 simply for lack of space. Her tomb however seems to me to be ripe for a reassessment of its importance as a rare example of late 17th century female-commissioned mortuary self-portraiture (see Chapter 5.5.3).

Churchyard

St Nicholas lies on the north side of the main road as it performs a dog leg, suddenly veering to the west and then equally abruptly to the north. The churchyard occupies a sub-hemisphere to the south of the church bordered by the road on the south and west and by a series of relatively modern cottages to the east and north. It is therefore only really extensive to the south and east and is populated by clusters of graves in these areas where their markers have survived. The oldest 18th century headstones stand close to the south wall and around the now inaccessible south porch and are both weather-worn and rather featureless. There is a mature yew to the north of the church and the majority of the churchyard is enclosed with a 19th-20th century flint wall with rounded brick coping.

Sources: Allen 2012 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 260, Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 101, 104-6. For Mays see www.housesofparliamentonline.org and Fletcher 1975: 33, 39-40, 252, 258-9, 285, 303, 310, 333, 340, 349. For the May monument see Bayley 1969, Esdaile 1941 and Aldsworth 1982.



Fig 2 The interior of St Nicholas's looking east. Fig 3. The effigy and epigraphic cartouche of the tomb of Dame Mary May d 1681 by Bushnell, now moved to the north aisle.

41 CHURCH OF ST MARY, POOK LANE, EAST LAVANT

Parish of East and Mid-Lavant, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 View from the south of St Mary's church, East Lavant. Fig 2. The interior, looking east.

The parish of East Lavant includes the erstwhile hamlet of West Lavant, now only surviving as a farmstead just west of Mid-Lavant. It covers the lower slopes of Hayes and Lavant Downs and to the east it looks over to Goodwood House, the seat of the Dukes of Richmond in Westhampnett parish. To the north it is overlooked by the high ranges of the Trundle and Charlton Downs which are dominated by the grandstand of Goodwood racecourse in East Dean. Like many of these Downland parishes it is still chiefly economically reliant on farming but is sparsely wooded.

The village, immediately to the east of Mid-Lavant over the Lavant bridge and flood plain, is more nucleated but is centred on an ascending complex of roads with houses and cottages loosely lined along them and its hub lies at the top of the rise. Just below this, to the north of Pook Lane is St Mary's church which stands back from the road. The village's housing stock is similar to Mid-Lavant's with a wide range of period houses and cottages with modern infill. There are several larger houses including the 17th-18th century Manor Farm which lies to the west of the church and has a path leading from its garden directly into the churchyard. However it seems unlikely that East Lavant had a separate manor house. As a manor it was held, post-Reformation by a succession of owners who included the Sackvilles and then the Morleys of Halnaker in the late 16th-17th centuries (see Dame Mary May's genealogy in Mid-Lavant GNo 40) and the Mays in the 18th. Thus it is likely that for the earlier part of the period it was farmed as demesne from the Manor Farm and, during the latter part, the Mays, resident in the great house at Raughmere (immediately to the southwest), would have patronised both Lavant parishes, although evidently they worshipped predominantly at St Nicholas's. The manor passed to the Dukes of Richmond at the same time as Mid-Lavant and is still part of the Goodwood estate.

Architecture

Fabric: Rubble with some flint with ashlar quoins and dressings. Chancel is rendered. The tower is of clunch faced with brick and sits on a flint platform. Roofs tiled.

St Mary's dates to the mid-12th century and is a larger church than St Nicholas's with a four bay nave and an unusually long three bay chancel. By the beginning of the 13th century it had gained a north aisle extension projecting into the middle two bays of the nave and Allen considers there may be evidence for a south transept chapel which was removed and replaced by a three stage brick bell tower in 1671, either paid for or built by William Westbrooke as is noted by a plaque in the tower (Allen 2012). The church was restored by G M Hills in 1863 who renewed much of its fabric including the roofs. He was probably responsible for the arcaded neo-Gothic reredos and extended the short northern aisle by adding new bays to either side to make it run along the whole length of the nave. The chancel floor which may have been elevated in the Middle Ages (see below) is likely to have been raised even further. In addition a late medieval alcove wall tomb with a gabled canopy and crocketed arch and pinnacles was moved from the chancel where it doubled as an Easter Sepulchre and was inset in the east wall of the tower.

It is likely that, pre-Reformation, the two-bay north aisle whose proportions recall that of St Mary's, Chidham (GNo 29) was designed to act either as a Lady or a guild chapel. Since Allen's research shows that there was work being done on this half-aisle in 1535 it may be that such use continued into the 1540s when guilds were discontinued (Allen 2012). In the 17th century the tower was added just to the east of the south door which was equipped with a porch. The tower too had an entrance, initially in its south side and later in the west but both tower and south doors appear to have been blocked either before or during Hill's work (Salzmann 1953: 103), entry to the church being of necessity by the west door. The south door has now been reopened. There is little doubt that there was also a gallery since a small splayed square-headed 17th century window remains to the west in the south wall of the sort used during this period to light enclosed newel staircases so evidently it was intended to illuminate the gallery's staircase. This too must have been removed by Hill (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries).

Space and contents

There is a selection of diagnostic early modern elements visible in St Mary's. Spatially it appears as though it was segmentalised in the late 17th century since a new entrance was added when the tower was built. Since this is a three stage edifice with a bell chamber below its belfry there must have been an interior staircase leading up to it, a feature which is presently not visible (Chapter 4.3.3). The door

however would also have allowed congregational members to enter whose pews were now sited under the bell chamber and it seems likely that such pew locations, being more private than those in the nave, were likely to be of higher status, though evidently not as socially elevated as those in the chancel (for discussion of pews see Chapter 3.3.3 and Stoughton GNo. 44). There may thus have been a range of statuses served by differential spatial sitings in St Mary's in the late 17th-18th centuries.

In the chancel are two sets of late-medieval/ early Tudor stalls with representational carvings on their elbow rests in the form of human heads (*see Fig 4*). Those to the north, although restored, are mainly original and, if they have not been imported from elsewhere more recently, are indicative of the residual use of earlier material culture as they would have been created or appropriated for gentry pew seating. In addition they are (and would have been) upholstered accordingly, as is seen in Southwick (GNo 24). A display case contains early 19th century flutes and a pitch pipe, conserved from the church's pre-organ days and demonstrating that early modern East Lavant had a wind or mixed church band, probably housed in the west gallery (Chapter 4.3.2). Prominently hanging in the nave is a very finely carved pre-Union Royal Arms of Queen Anne in its original baroque carved and painted frame (Chapter 4.2.2). In the northeast corner of the chancel is a well-restored wall memorial dedicated to Jane Henshawe d 1639, a member of the May family, by her husband Dr Joseph Henshawe who was a prebendary of Chichester cathedral at the time of her death (*see Fig 3*). Fletcher records his strongly pro-Royalist stance at the beginning of the Civil War, when tensions between the mainly Parliamentary citizens and Royalist cathedral authorities were at breaking point (Fletcher 1975: 258). After the restoration Henshawe was rewarded and became Dean of Chichester. He too was buried at East Lavant but it is not clear where. His wife's marble memorial consists of a lengthy inscription in Latin commemorating her virtues and lineage and its only ornamentation is heraldic. Lastly, although Hills reorganised the floor levels and paved the chancel throughout in Victorian geometric tiles, he left ledgers including two large 18th century ledgers to the Compton family visible at the head of the nave. He does however seem to have changed their locations which probably took up considerable space, head to tail, in the central nave passage since the earlier of the two has been turned to face the tower with its head to the south. The later ledger, dating to the 1780s, was then moved up the newly tiled passage towards the chancel steps. The Comptons may therefore have still been an active 19th century East Lavant family who objected to Hill's removal of their ancestral memorials but allowed him to swop them around (see Chapter 5.4.1 for analysis of floors and ledgers).

Churchyard

The churchyard is extensive and retains its ancient levels as it rises well above the church's foundations, especially towards its east end. From the outside it becomes obvious that the church itself is built into

the slope and that the chancel has always been slightly raised above the nave (Chapter 5.3.2). The graveyard encircles the church and there are 18th century gravestones and two chest tombs dotted around throughout although these are most populous to the southeast. The ground is still used and more recent interments vastly outnumbered earlier ones, so that it appears as though the older parts are still being reutilised. Further southeast though, are a cluster of 19th century and modern graves with Catholic symbols, suggesting that, as at Warblington and Bosham (GNos 1 and 31), East Lavant churchyard still caters for the mortuary requirements of local Catholics. Early photographs show that previously the southern side was extensively treed and Salzman records the existence in 1953 of an ancient yew here (Salzman 1953:103), now cut down. The southern paths, one of which, as mentioned, connects with the Manor Farm are paved with flagstones and various 18th century ledgers (probably removed in 1863) have been reused in amongst the pavours. The church does not exactly command the summit of its hill but is tucked just below it, so that it overlooks the valley of the Lavant and the Downs to the west and north.

Sources: Coppin 2006: 19, Allen 2012 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 259-60, Salzman 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 101-4. For Henshawe see Fletcher 1975: 258.



Fig 3. Wall memorial to Jane Henshawe, set up by her husband Dr Joseph Henshawe on her death in 1639. Fig 4. Early Tudor choir or gentry pew stalls with carved elbow rests in the chancel.

42 CHURCH OF ST ANDREW'S, CHURCH LANE, WEST DEAN

Parish of West Dean with East Dean and Singleton, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The 18th century west tower of St Andrew's church, West Dean.

The parish of West Dean is directly north of East Lavant, although up until 1933 an intervening parish, that of Binderton, existed which had actually lost its parochial significance by the late 18th century (see below). West Dean, together with Singleton, lies in the upper valley of the Lavant which in places becomes quite narrow, squeezed between the ridges of Heathbarn, High Down and Chills Down to the west and Haye's Down and Singleton Hill to the east. Here the road from the Lavants through to Midhurst follows the river as it bends east towards Singleton and West Dean's nucleated village is tucked tightly between the road and the river forming the southerly side to the parish's gentry headquarters at West Dean House, so that the two locations have taken on the appearance of a single entity. The house is large and is presently used as an adult education arts and design college under the auspices of the Edward James Foundation – the James family being the 20th-21st century owners of the West Dean Estate. This includes its gardens, open to the public, an arboretum and a large tract of working agricultural land. The Lewknor family acquired the manor in 1588 and established their chief residence here, a Jacobean great house (Chapter 2.5.1), but when it passed into the Peachey family's hands after 1706 the house was adapted and enlarged and then in 1804 completely rebuilt as a flint-faced, crenellated Gothick mansion by James Wyatt. This treatment of the house was, over the next century extended to many of the village building stock so that today the settlement cluster around the church appears to be homogeneously faced in 19th century flint. This is misleading as, behind their facades, several of the cottages and farm buildings are timber-framed structures dating to earlier periods (Salzmann 1953: 97). The ostensible homogeneity provides a good indication of the type of parish West Dean represents insofar as it had been a 'closed parish' for many centuries ie a parish

whose relationship with its leading family has been so intense that its economy is largely tied into that of the patronal estate (for a brief account of closed parishes see Chapter 2.4.3).

Much of the parish's Downland and valley bottom has been controlled over the centuries by its succession of manorial landlords and run as a large agricultural enterprise – a phenomenon which is replicated to the east by the Duke of Richmond's vast Goodwood estate which still owns tracts of lands covering the Lavants and West Stoke (GNos 39-41). This area of Sussex, therefore has changed in only minor ways from the great land-holding patterns visible across the region in general during the early modern period.

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble walling (restored) with ashlar dressings, walls externally rendered to north and south. Roofs tiled. Flint faced 18th century tower with corner pinnacles.

The church's archaeology is complicated not only as a result of various episodes of alteration especially during the 18th century, but also because in 1934 the edifice was practically burnt to the ground in a fire (Chapter 7.1). Interestingly, what was then rebuilt has replicated aspects of the 18th century interior rather than later or earlier forms and the only elements of its earliest building stages in the 11th century are two north and south Saxon doors which were discovered after the fire, of which only the blocked north door remains on view. This is accordingly one of the few regional churches where 19th century changes only vestigially affect its architecture. The 18th century alterations by the Peachey family included the elongation to the south of the upper bay of the nave into their personal pew transept, which was then mirrored by adding a matching northern one. Presumably, as they rebuilt and adapted their mansion house, the Peacheys (later Earls of Selsey) also found it desirable to redefine their pew seating area, since the Lewknor monument (see below) took up a great deal of space on the north wall of the chancel. This configuration remains as does a west gallery installed in the 17th-18th centuries and rebuilt in 1935. Two dormer windows on the west ends of the nave were also replaced to illuminate it while sets of round-headed windows in the nave were replicated (See Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). The tower was added by the Woods family of nearby Chilgrove in 1726, presumably as an act of patronage intended to be distinct from that of the Peacheys (Bishop and Newman 1976:6) and its tower staircase which leads up to the gallery has also been restored.

Space and contents

As discussed above, the Peacheys' reinvention of personal pew space by establishing their own transept demonstrates the physical changes seen necessary by one dynasty as it replaced another. The chancel itself is only two bays long and the Lewknor monument in its 17th century incarnation was larger and

more imposing than its post-fire form is now. Chancel gentry pews, which were likely to have been set in gendered positions on either side of the chancel passage would, in the case of West Dean, have been more constricted because of the tomb's intervention. Thus, it is likely that the Peacheys felt it necessary to make their social presence felt by establishing themselves in a visible but yet private location in their new pew – a movement which underlined their disassociation from the Lewknors and their prominence as the new patrons and masters of West Dean.

The Lewknor monument has echoes of the present state of the Cowper monument in South Harting church (GNo 49) in that what remains is only a part of its original form. The monument was commissioned by the last of three Richard Lewknors –grandfather d 1616, father d 1602 and son d 1635 – whose sculptures were intended to form a triple set of effigies. Under an architectural heraldic pediment the figures of father and son were depicted in an alcove kneeling to face east – the son behind the father, separated by a large console or scrolled corbel. Below this was the recumbent effigy of grandfather Richard Lewknor I on a chest tomb, attired in gown, cap and ruff. During the fire the tomb was very badly scorched and Richard I was so badly damaged that he was disposed of, leaving only the two kneeling Lewknors (2 and 3) and their alcove in place, the superstructure and much of the architectural setting also having vanished. The whole was meant to be brightly coloured but now it is no longer clear if the reddish tints visible on the kneeling effigies are due to paint or to the heat of the 1934 fire. Both Salzman and Fletcher provide an interesting footnote to Richard Lewknor 3's testimonial intentions regarding this tomb. It appears that he bequeathed £100 for the erection of his grandfather's effigy, a great deal of heraldry and a smaller wall tomb commemorating his father and mother with ranked children below (of the sort seen at Titchfield and West Stoke, GNos 13 and 39, Salzman 1953: 101, Fletcher 1975: 25). These intentions were only partially adhered to and the next two generations were much more prominently represented when the memorial was actually put up, the Lewknor wives and families being disregarded. From this, one may speculate that it was Richard 3's son John who was responsible for the tomb and that his chief preoccupation was to emphasise the longevity and ancestry of the male line of Lewknors at West Dean (Chapter 5.5.3).

Churchyard

West Dean's churchyard is remarkably enclosed on three sides by high flint walls, possibly built during the Peachey rearrangements. These certainly echo the uncompromising flint grandeur of the house and, since the house stands immediately to the south of the churchyard and is connected by a short path, the whole precinct conveys the impression that it is an adjunct of the mansion. Public entrance is on the west from the small lanes which thread through the village via a stone gateway with wrought iron gate and lamp bracket, although there is another smaller entrance to the north which leads up to the early

19th century Rectory. The paths here are thus quite clearly defined as those belonging to clergy and gentry and the single western one through which the parishioners enter.

The gravestones are less well defined however as they have been replaced from the 18th century on and there are numbers of more modern ones on all three churchyard sides (the west entrance court being very narrow). Two major gentry chest tombs lie to the southwest and there are very worn clusters of 18th century tombs just to the immediate south of the church. Bishop and Newman record the unlicensed planting of yew trees by Bulstrode Peachey in the church yard in 1731 – an undertaking which was noted and probably resented by the churchwardens but which also indicates the unilateral attitudes of local patrons at this time who evidently thought parochial consultation was unnecessary in such matters (Bishop and Newman 1976; 7)

Sources: Allen 2012 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 368-90, Salzman 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 97-101. For Church Guide see Bishop and Newman 1976. For Lewknor history see Fletcher 1975: 99, 129, 212, 247-8, 232, 236-9, 252, 258-60, 263, 277-8, 285, 310, 321. For both Lewknors and Peachey's www.housesofparliamentonline.org



Fig 2 The restored interior of West Dean church looking towards the crossing and chancel. Fig 3. The Lewknor tomb on the north wall of the chancel.

NB I have omitted Binderton parish which no longer has any diocesan reality being officially joined to West Dean in 1933, having been a non-functioning parish for over 250 years before this. This is because during the 17th century, Thomas Smyth, Binderton's lord of the manor, removed the old dilapidated church from its position close by his house and in 1671, rebuilt it closer to the road. Since he refused to increase the incumbent's stipend which the diocese considered to be necessary the church remained unconsecrated. Although he insisted on being buried in it, it later fell into complete disrepair, as it remains today. Thus the parish has been effectively joined with West Dean since this time.

43 CHURCH OF ST MARY'S, CHURCH LANE, SINGLETON

Parish of Singleton, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Mary's, Singleton seen from the southeast.

Singleton is the most easterly parish dealt with in this research sample, lying east of West Dean and to the northeast of East Lavant. Like West Dean (GNo 42) it lies at the head of the Lavant valley as the river bends east. The Downs rise to considerable heights in this parish with Levin Down to the north, Singleton Hill and Knight's Hill to the south and south east and Hat Hill and Chills Down to the west so that the nucleated village of Singleton and its church appear to sit in a bowl. As with West Dean, the parish is heavily wooded and the large managed forest stands of Singleton and Charlton forests lie to the north.

The village of Singleton is much more compactly nucleated than many of the Sussex parish Downland centres and lies around a road junction with the Chichester-Midhurst road and the back lane which runs from Singleton eastwards towards East Dean. Like Chalton in Hampshire (GNo 15) it has had a history of ownership by major aristocrats – its manorial lords including the Saxon Earl Godwin, the Earls of Arundel in the Middle Ages, the Lumley, Earls of Scarborough (of Stansted House) in the 16th-18th centuries and from 1730 the Dukes of Richmond. Thus, unlike West Dean, its landlords have been non-resident and the Manor Farm, sited on the southern outskirts of the village was their demesne headquarters. It is noticeable that Singleton, in spite of its nucleated form, was never granted a market or fair charter and has thus not accrued the wider range of early modern housing and social admixture which is visible in Hampshire villages of this sort or even at Westbourne, just over the Hampshire border (GNo 27 and Chapter 7.1). It does seem however to have been on a droving route, as the eponymously named roadside hamlet, Drovers, c 1 mile to the north indicates, so seasonally the village would have encountered big herds of cattle and sheep being driven down south to the Chichester cattle markets (see also Stoughton GNo 44).

The church lies on the southeast side of the village set back slightly from Church Lane. Much of Singleton's building stock is venerable with some late medieval timber-framed and flint-built houses and cottages together with a good sprinkling of 17th-18th century dwellings and service buildings but there are also modern housing closes on the outskirts to the east and north. Just to the southwest, set on the road between West Dean House and Singleton's Manor Farm is the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, a popular visitor and research centre, which displays a wide selection of rescued and re-erected local historical vernacular buildings and regional agricultural equipment and machinery.

Architecture

Fabric: Rubble and some flint with brick patching and ashlar/freestone dressings. The three stage tower has vestiges of herring bone masonry and is externally rendered. Tiled roofs. Some Quarr stone used and inside, Petworth marble.

St Mary's (known as St John's for much of the 20th century) is an important and quite extensive medieval church dating from the 11th century whose form was successively adapted up until the Reformation but appears to have undergone only slight change since then. As with Bosham, (GNo 31) the architecture of St Mary's is of considerable interest to early medieval scholars and medievalists. Its origins are Saxon and it was evidently a minster church with access (and possibly accommodation) in the tower's second stage to an upper lodging room built over the nave for the minster's priests who served the chapels (West and East Dean, Binderton, Chilgrove etc) in its hinterland (see Chapter 2.6.1 for minster discussion). It acquired its chancel, aisles and a double storey north porch in the following centuries. It also retains the staircase entrance and upper door to the medieval rood loft in the north side of the chancel arch. The only post-Reformation alteration which still remains is work done in the 1670s to the upper stage of the tower which may have been a long-delayed response to a lightning strike in 1632. The tower arch contains a west gallery with a projecting balustrade which looks to date from the same time and which provided space for the church band (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). Restoration work was done in 1863 and to the chancel in 1883 during which 17th-18th century furniture was partially removed. A major clue to what was previously there is in Allen's account of Adelaide Tracy's 1850 drawing of the interior which shows a pulpit elevated on the left hand side of the chancel arch close to the upper rood loft entrance which may imply that the rood stairs were used to reach it (Allen 2012).

Space and contents

In spite of some furniture renovation, many of St Mary's 15th century pew benches survive, refitted into a 17th century uniformed pattern. These lack the poppy heads of North Hayling's or West Wittering's

benches (GNos 3 and 36) and have been extensively repaired. Certainly, as with the gentry pews at East Lavant (GNo 41) they are proof of considerable residual re-use of material culture, in this case with artefacts pre-dating the Reformation. These may have been retained as a result of the lack of close patronage during the post-medieval period or were regarded as still being serviceable during any attempts to 'beautify' the church's furniture in the 1620s-30s (see Chapter 3.3.3). Although the other aspects of an early modern altar suite are also missing some 17th century panelling still lines the north wall of the chancel, indicating that its walls were once entirely wainscoted. In addition to the tower alterations which saw the introduction of the gallery there were also repairs done to the bell frame at the time of the lightning strike which show the importance attached to a church's ring of bells since their mechanisms were mended rather more speedily than the tower itself.

There are several early ledgers still visible under the choir stalls which date to the late 16th century (Chapter 5.2) and two canopied wall tombs of a form which is highly redolent of the Risen Christ tombs at West Wittering, Racton and elsewhere (GNos 36 and 38). These are sited to the north and south of the altar – the northern one still retaining its canopy and cresting - and have back panels which once held brasses, their chest slabs being made of polished Petworth marble. These are still in the late Gothic tradition, dating to the first half of the 16th century and are thought to be monuments to the 10th and 11th Fitzalan Earls of Arundel (died 1522 and 1544 respectively, also see Westbourne church for Fitzalan patronage (GNo 27)). The Fitzalans were connected to Singleton and stayed here periodically in their hunting lodge (Bury and Bishop 1962:1).

Churchyard

The churchyard encircles the church with its largest extent to the south where its perimeter starts to rise up the lower slopes of Knight's Hill. It has been extensively cleared out, probably fairly recently, since the main clusters of graves are modern and are set to the southeast, having taken the place of earlier gravestones. These have been removed and are lined up in a lengthy row on the churchyard's eastern edge, still on display but dehoued, as has been the case at Petersfield (GNo 19).

There are some mature trees and a single elderly yew to the north of the church. The churchyard is flint walled to the north and west and hedged on its other boundaries. Entrance is from the lane via a gate and a path leading towards the north porch.

Sources: Coppin 2006: 50, Allen 2012 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 325-6, Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 118-121. For Church Guide see Bury and Bishop 1962. For Saxon aspects of St Mary's see Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture at www.crsbi.ac.uk



Fig 2 The interior of St Mary's looking towards the chancel. Behind the lectern on the north side of the chancel arch are the entrances for the rood stairs and loft which may have been used to ascend to the upper stage of Singleton's early modern pulpit. The bench pews are largely restored but some date from the 15th century. Fig 3. The north wall of the chancel with the earliest Arundel tomb (1522) showing indents for its missing brasses and next to it, 17th century panelling.

44. CHURCH OF ST MARY'S, CHURCH PATH, STOUGHTON.

Parish of Stoughton, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The church of St Mary, Stoughton seen from the south.

Stoughton parish lies above Racton and is a similar but much larger east-west running block of Downland which abuts West Dean to the west and Up Marden to the north (GNos 38, 42 and 46). At this point my survey is returning to the Hampshire border and continues with the Sussex parishes which edge it to the north. The parish overlies a broad swathe of Downland valley and hill top and encompasses several manors, spreading westwards to include Stansted House and its estate within its boundaries. Stoughton village occupies a valley at the head of the river Ems and lies along a lane which leads south through Walderton, a hamlet which doubled as an important overnight droving station, towards Racton. This lane also runs north to East Marden where the parish becomes heavily forested and where the woods were once extensively coppiced. As with the Dean parishes, woodland management was a vital aspect of the economy of this area. This is also lush pastureland with a good deal of grazing for cattle.

Stoughton has a semi-nucleated village with a few modern houses added to its generally 17th-19th century building stock. It is loosely set around a green and consists of farm buildings, cottages and two small lanes which run steeply up Inholmes Down which backs the village to the west. One of these, Church Path, accesses an early 19th century parsonage house and then leads steeply up to the church which sits on a subcircular terrace cut out of the scarp (Chapter 5.3.2).

Like much of this East Hampshire/West Sussex region, Stoughton was part of Earl Godwin's estates pre-Conquest and, as at Bosham and Singleton (GNos 31 and 43), must have represented an important population centre which required its own church. Although, most of the sources agree that the church

origins lie in the late 11th century, its enclosed sub-circular precinct suggests that it may have replaced an earlier Saxon church and EA Killick, author of the church guide, considers the church itself to be pre-Conquest (Killick 1997: 3). Moreover its size and Saxo-Norman stone-built architecture demonstrates that this was an important location and the village may have been a more nucleated focus of the early medieval estates of both Godwin and his Norman successors. During the early modern period the parish had rather more distant relationships with its manorial landowners; the Lumley, Earls of Scarborough, resident at Stansted had their own private chapel and in the 17th century a branch of the Cotton family, established at Watergate House two miles west of Stoughton were recusants (for Cottons see GNos 1 and 5). This may therefore partially account for episodes of the church's early modern neglect up until the 19th century (see below and Chapter 7.1).

Architecture

Fabric: Mainly rubble with flint and some brick patching. Roughcast cement rendering to north and south walls and 19th century flint refacing to the chancel. The tower and west wall have some herring bone masonry and all quoins are 'side-alternate' ie they are laid with alternate broad faces. Brick porch. Roofs tiled and slated. Three stage tower has a short pyramidal slate cap. A block of Roman tiles is set high up on the north wall.

As mentioned St Mary's is an 11th century foundation with a number of marked Saxon features which include the height of its aisleless nave walls, double splays to two transept windows and the transepts themselves – porticus structures designed as chapels and high status interior burial sites. It was adapted in the 13th century and in the 14th the south transept was elevated into a tower and a massive wooden bell frame inserted. Like the other early churches in this area its medieval architecture has been carefully conserved and studied from the 19th century onwards when it was restored in the 1840s by Butler and again in 1879. It has a few early modern features and it is likely that the transept chapels up until the mid-16th century housed altars for local brotherhoods or guilds (Killick 1997: 15-6). In much of the 17th century the church underwent long periods of neglect similar to those which affected Chidham and Up Marden (GNos 29 and 46) during which the vicarage was burnt down and lost. During the 18th century this led to the living's sequestration at which point neighbouring parsons were required to provide the parish with its necessary services (see Chapter 2.6.4 for discussion of sequestration). However towards the end of the 17th century efforts had been made to repair the church – it is likely that at this point the chancel roof was lowered, cutting off the apices of some of its side-windows and a new south porch was constructed from brick with ashlar dressings. A west gallery was installed too since the corbels for its cross beams are still visible in the south nave wall (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries)

The porch, restored with an incongruous white ashlar cross in 1879, was of a size to hold a small school and was ornamented with a brick sill surmounting two recesses over the doorway. Although there is nothing to suggest what these were intended to display, it may be that since Killick's research indicates that the porch was erected after 1684 the sill supported a Royal Arms and the niches contained representations of William and Mary. This might have been designed to counter any accusation of parochial disloyalty in the light of the fact that for some while earlier in the century there had been no Royal Arms set up in the church (*see Fig 2*, Killick 1997: 17-18 and for Royal Arms see Chapter 4.2.2).

Space and contents

This is an extremely roomy cruciform church with much prized (and expensive) pew space available in the transepts as at Havant, Portchester and East Meon (GNos 2, 9 and 20). The present pews are constructed from the wood of the previous box pews but otherwise all the early modern furniture was removed. However the church still retains its Decalogue tablets – here an entire set which also comprise a Creed and Lord's Prayer tablet. These which, from their lettering probably date to the late 18th-early 19th century, are different in size – the Decalogues being much larger than the other two (for analysis of Decalogue tablets see Chapter 4.2.3). Presently the Decalogues hang over the south door while the Creed and Lord's Prayer sit in the south corners of the bell tower. While it is possible they were previously set on the tympanum above the chancel arch it seems more likely that they formed the backdrop for the chancel's altar table with the large tablets set centrally and the smaller two flanking them. They were perhaps commissioned after 1792 when finally Stoughton was provided with a regular (albeit pluralist) parson.

Most of the floor inside the church was repaved with plain red tiling when underfloor heating was installed in 1879. As at East Lavant (GNo 41) care was taken to preserve some of the ledgers and the central passage holds a long line of 18th century grave slabs dedicated to the Baylys – a long-lived Stoughton yeoman family - and their descendants, the Stares. At the head of this line is a remarkable ledger (possibly relaid as it faces the chancel) carved with an entrance framed by pillars and capitals supporting a foliate swag. Above this is a death's head and below a pair of crossed longbones. Although worn, this is the first in the Bayly series and appears to date to the late 17th century. In the absence of any other gentry patrons in the village one wonders if perhaps the Baylys earned their memorial prominence by helping to fund the late 17th century repairs. At any rate this line of ledgers forms a minor mortuary landscape of its own. Earlier flooring can be seen under the bell tower which has been patched over several centuries with flagstones and tiles of various sizes and hues. These also include the odd sawn-up ledger which has failed to pass the test of time and memorial esteem (see Chapter 5.4.1 for analysis of flooring and ledgers). As at Singleton, the early modern bell tower was subjected to

rather more episodes of repair than other parts of the church. It originally held 3 bells – one medieval and two cast by Anthony Wakefield in 1597 and 1602. Its 1600 bell frame was replaced only recently when its ring was expanded and the bell tower was archaeologically investigated and repaired (Taylor 1992).

Lastly a fragment of a larger brass is now attached to wall behind the modern pulpit. It consists of an inscription which reads: *'Here lyeth James Smyth clerk, sometime one of the Chaplynes perpetual of ye Hospital of the Savoy in Strand – on whose soule J'sus have m'cy'*. Killick suggests that he may have been one of the Poles' chaplains at Lordington since they figure in his will (Killick 1997: 9). It is dated 1563 – just after Elizabeth's accession and notably retains the *cuius animae* clause which so often provoked Puritanical iconoclasm because of its implicit acknowledgement of Purgatory (see Fig 3 and for a general account of early modern iconoclasm see Aston 1980). If this was part of a larger brass it is curious that its potentially inflammatory inscription has survived while the rest has not.

Churchyard

The church stands well below its graveyard, indicating the longevity of its use but unfortunately the churchyard headstones and tombs were all lifted in 1954 (Chapter 1.2). The headstones were then laid as pavements to the south and west of the church and obviously have since suffered from weather and wear from feet and are accordingly difficult to read. In spite of this, research has now been carried out by parishioners and there is a graveyard directory available in the church. From a partial study of both the register and what remains of the stones themselves (which also include ledgers) these are redolent of many of the other Sussex Downland graveyard groups– ie a mixture of 18th-20th century headstones. No chest tombs are recorded. On the north side of the chancel exterior a shallow masonry alcove bearing a faint memorial inscription is built into the wall above head height between the two north chancel windows. This is framed in moulded masonry and has a narrow sill supported by corbels, the whole conveying the impression of a blocked window. Unfortunately this is hard to approach and the inscription is too faint to read but is of a similar kind to the to the 18th century exterior wall plaques at Southwick and to another at South Harting (GNos 24 and 49 and see Chapter 7.4).

The church's position above the village on its platform is a commanding one but, set back at the top of its lane, it is also indicative of separation. It is presently enclosed by trees but a 1805 drawing from the Sharpe collection, published as an illustration in the Church guide, reveals the earlier bareness of its surrounding landscape, just as the Nibbs etchings show both Bosham and Apuldram (see GNos 31 and 33).

Sources: Coppin 2006: 40, Allen 2011 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965:

344-5, Salzman 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 121-6. Church Guide Killick 1997. Also see St Mary's, Stoughton in the Sussex Historic Churches Trust <http://www.sussexhistoricchurches.org.uk> and for the archaeological account of the 1990s repairwork and archaeology of the south transept tower and belfry see Taylor 1992 and for Saxon aspects of St Mary's see Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture at www.crsbi.ac.uk.



Fig 2 The late 17th century porch with brick framed alcoves above the door designed to take devices of some kind. Fig 3 Remnants of brass inscription to James Smith, chaplain d 1565.

Parish of East Marden with North Marden, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1. The west end of St Peter's, East Marden.

To the north of Stoughton the Marden parishes form a composite group which not only share their landscape qualities of isolated Downland but also show a common architectural and social identity in the same way as many of the Meon Valley parishes do in Hampshire (see GNos 20-22). Apart from Compton, the Marden mother parish, East Marden's centre is the easiest to find as it consists of a small village with its church and churchyard forming one side of a vaguely triangular village green. The parish is small at 938 acres and covers an area of elevated Downland which is sparsely wooded. It includes a number of dispersed farmsteads, most of which are the successors of their early modern predecessors and the population of the parish, which in 1724 was recorded as 9 families and in 1811 as 53 people in 11 houses, has not changed perceptibly since the electoral register for 1993 showed 46 adults of voting age (McLaren 1993:1).

The village sits on a crossroads where the Stoughton-Chilgrove lane is bisected by a branch road which heads off north towards Up and North Marden. At this point there is a thatched well in the middle of the village green. Apart from the church on the northwest side, there is a line of 18th-20th century cottages and converted agricultural buildings to the southeast and to the west a medium-sized farmhouse, now called the Manor House. Immediately to the north, behind the church is a 17th century timber-framed house with a cross wing and Georgian facade which was the old Parsonage (for discussion of its vicars see Chapter 4.4). The most notable gentry residence, Battine House, stands to the north of this and was the home of the Battines, East Marden's 18th century patrons who are commemorated in the church's chancel (see below).

Architecture

Fabric: Flint and rubble with some brick patching and restored flint facing dressed with ashlar. 18th century brick buttressing to the west wall. Brick and flint south porch. Roofs tiled. Weather-boarded bell turret with tiled cap.

Architecturally St Peter's is a remarkably simple church – long and aisleless with no subdivision other than that defined by the chancel's raised flooring and by its western tie beam. Scholars generally agree that the church dates to the 13th century and was designed as a single-celled building. The nave has five ancient tie-beams giving the impression of a 4½ bay space. This is because an extra tie beam has been added at the west end to help support the bell loft above the ceiling. The doubling of these timbers and their bracing forms a heavy structural element and their configuration may well have prevented the construction of a west gallery. The addition in the 18th century of three brick buttresses to the west wall also suggests that this part of the church needed reinforcing and a gallery might have worsened the problem, if it had not created it in the first place. The central buttress covers the space where a west door would be so that it appears as though this may also have been a weak point (*see Fig 3*). Two episodes of post-medieval alteration seem to have taken place. From 1659-63 records show that the church was widely renovated after a long period of neglect and at this point a brick and flint-built porch was erected, as at Stoughton (GNo 44 and see WRSO Par/133/8/1)) and probably the horizontal plank-built south door was installed. Allen notes that in the second episode in 1744, after the buttressing, the belfry was strengthened and two round-headed windows were added, one in the west wall and one to the east of the south door.

The restoration of the church was overseen by Lacy Ridge from 1875-77 whose work I have already discussed. On this occasion he seems to have restricted himself to renewing much of the external fabric and retained some of the early modern aspects of the church - allowing the porch and south door, the round-headed windows and the belfry framing to remain in situ (Chapter 4.3.3). He also left the flooring in place which was perhaps sufficiently recently laid to render a covering of Victorian geometric tiles superfluous (for discussion see below). He did however remove much else of note, leading Nairn to register his impression of St Peter's interior as 'characterless' (Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 269)

Space and contents

Here at St Peter's there is only a vestigial sense of its early modern spatial format. The two round-headed windows remain to demonstrate the increased lighting and modernised architecture by which churches such as East Wittering and Mid-Lavant were updated during the 18th century (GNos 37 and 40). Such windows, as discussed, often accompanied early modern altar suites. There is also compelling evidence that a new floor was installed towards the end of the period since the passages and the

chancel platform stages are neatly paved with well-laid large flagstones (*see Fig 2*). As at West Itchenor (GNo 35) the stones are carved with longitudinal striations (some very worn) but here they are also edged with short borders of horizontal cut marks – the whole treatment being designed to reduce slippage. Similarly to Itchenor there is a single ledger, but this is set off-centre towards the head of the central passage. It is very worn but memorialises Mrs Jane Tenet d 1780 (?) and, since there are no other ledgers, the whole arrangement suggests that she was in some way connected with the laying of the floor (see Chapter 5.4.2 for discussion of ‘signature floors’).

The only other post-medieval objects remaining in the church are a series of wall tablets which are fixed to the north and south walls of the chancel. Three of these date to the 18th-19th centuries and memorialise members of the Battine family who lived in the gentry house behind the Parsonage. The first Battine plaque is sited in the place of maximum honour to the north of the altar and gives William (1683-1770) and Mary Battine’s (d 1683-1767) genealogy and considerable biographical matter. The other two memorialise firstly Willamina Battine, a Dutch orphan and wife to William Battine 3 (ie William 1’s grandson) who also lived to a ripe old age at Battine House and who died in 1797 ‘*entering her Sabbath of eternal Rest*’ – a distinctly Low Church mode of expression. The third tablet commemorates William 3 himself who died in 1812. The stylistic and social inferences of these tablets are discussed in some depth in Chapter 5.4.2 and 7.3.1. The plain epigraphic style of these memorials is in stark contrast to the wall memorials of fifty years before. They demonstrate a tendency, visible in other plaques of this period, towards the unvarnished biographical epitaph which in this case may emanate from the Battines’ religious preferences. They also contrast with a simultaneous movement towards the erection of wall memorials expressive of regret, melancholy and sorrow (see the Newland memorial at Havant and the Jolliffe and Flaxman plaques in Petersfield –GNos 2 and 19 also Chapter 5.4.2 and 7.3.1).

Churchyard

The church stands on a decisive rise above the lower part of the village – giving it a dominating position. Its graveyard is not extensive and lies mainly to the west since the graves have had to be cut into the slope on the south. The east side is bounded by a driveway which leads to the old Rectory behind, now a private house. This is still connected to the church by means of a short path as can be seen at Bedhampton and Chidham where such paths lead to the Manor House (GNos 5 and 29). It may be that previously there was another lane descending from Battine House, and joining the Parsonage path into the church. In this case all East Marden parishioners would have been obliged to ascend the steep slope to the church (as at Chalton, East Meon, Hambledon, Stoughton and, also at Compton,

GNos 15, 20, 23, 44 and 48) excepting only their gentry who would be able to descend.

The graveyard has been extensively tidied and there are only a few examples of 18th century tombstones remaining which are excessively weathered. Its most populous area is to the west which has been recently extended to take new interments. There is a graveyard directory in the church and the author of the Church Guide, P McLaren states the earliest legible stone dates from 1756 (McLaren 1993: 2). The northern side is bounded by a hedge dividing the churchyard from the old Rectory garden. There is shrubbery hedging to north and east and a post and bar fence runs across the south side with a metal round-headed gateway let into it. The post and bar fence form is that most often illustrated by Nibbs and other 18th-19th century churchyard artists and thus appears to be a traditional method of marking churchyard boundaries.

Sources: Coppin 2006: 38, Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 268-9, Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 107-8. Church Guide P McLaren 1993. For more on William Battine 4 see Lee and Harris in Oxford National Dictionary of Biography www.oxforddnb.com/view/1716



Fig 2 The interior of the church looking towards the chancel, its Arts and Crafts furnishings and evenly paved striated flagstone flooring. Fig 3 View of the west wall with 18th century brick buttressing and one of the church's round-headed windows

46. CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, UP MARDEN.

Parish of Compton with Up Marden, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 The church of St Michael and all Angels, Up Marden seen from the northeast.

Up and North Marden are the most remote of all the parishes dealt with in this text. Up Marden church's isolation and quietude have been eulogised by both Ian Nairn and Simon Jenkins who praise its atmospheric qualities and the simplicity of its architecture but as a parish it is rather larger than any of the Marden companion parishes including that of Compton. It covers a stretch of high Downland farmland specialising in wheat and sheep and includes the most populous village of the Mardens – West Marden – which however lost its chapel in the 16th century and was absorbed into the greater parish. The whole locality was poor and Up Marden had been amalgamated with Compton a hundred years earlier.

Its centre is no longer a village but a sparsely strung-out set of farms and cottages lining a narrow lane which climbs the ridge to Apple Down through long strips of hanging woods. At the top between Up Marden House (now largely demolished) and Up Marden Farm a track leads towards the church which is accessed via two footpaths which pass between derelict timber-framed barns. Cynthia Bacon, the author of St Michael's guide book, states that in 1724 there were 46 parish families, in 1801 255 adults and by the mid-19th century c 360 so that it has become seriously depopulated in modern times. The church, now so tucked away, was once in the middle of farm buildings, yards and dwellings which included a parsonage to the south of the lane (Bacon 1990: 6,12) Although Bacon records a long string of local gentry and yeoman families over the period there seems to have been no pre-eminent manorial lords other than the Earls of Arundel who held the manor prior to the Reformation and then sold it to the Pay family in 1581-2, although the Barwicks became impropiators (or spiritual patrons and tithe receivers) of St Michael's (for account of their parish involvement see Chapter 4.4 and Chapter 7.1) . Much of the manorial land passed in the late 17th century to the Peckhams of Lordington and Littlegreen

near Compton (see GNos 38 and 48 and Salzmann 1953:110-13, Bacon 1990: 7-9). The Peckhams and Peckham Phipps of Littlegreen were thus the most dominant family towards the end of the period, tying in Up Marden's social hierarchies with those of Compton.

Architecture

Fabric; rubble with some flint and brick patching and ashlar dressings. Some external rendering. Roofs tiled but west bell tower pyramid cap roofed with slate. Inside: brick flooring.

The basic form of St Michael's dates to the 13th century with a long three-bay chancel and chancel arch and an aisleless four-bay nave with the added cell of its west tower ground floor previously used as a ringing chamber. Of all the churches in my research sample this comes closest to having undergone quite natural development through the ages since it was largely disused at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries and only restored in 1924 when it was conserved with a very light hand (Chapter 7.1). Subsequent episodes of repair in 1977 and 1994 were done with equal delicacy and the result is a church whose archaeology of material accretions is quite plain (Allen 2011).

In 1924 the oddity of its apparent Saxon chancel arch (which has a pointed apex springing from rough square imposts and square-moulded piers) was explained when its 13th century chancel arch was revealed and it became evident that at some point it had failed and another earlier structure had been brought in from elsewhere to underpin and buttress it. Allen estimates this repair to have occurred around 1625 when the church was suffering from extreme dilapidation (see Bacon 1990: 13-16 and WRSO 2265 Johnstone: Boxgrove Archdeacon's Visitation Bills and Book of Presentments Easter 1625 Up Marden, Chapter 4.4 and 7.2.2). For historical reasons to do with a groundswell of recusancy amongst Up Marden's gentry and the Barwicks in particular, I argue that this work may have been done over twenty years earlier, specially as part of the new arch had been deliberately repainted with an indistinct but seemingly representational subject (for analysis see Chapter 3.3.1 and Chapter 4.2.1). All sources agree that this arch probably came from West Marden's chapel decommissioned c 1585.

The chancel has an old altar platform paved with yellow limestone flags with a 1711 ledger commemorating the Lodger family of Locksash Farm embedded in the rise to the south. From the 13th century dog-tooth moulding of the middle bay's wall plates it appears as though much of the roof timbering is ancient. The floor throughout is constructed almost entirely from late 17th-18th century brick which undulates, especially under the chancel arch, as a result of early modern interments. In the nave the flooring is raised by half a brick's width on either side of the central passage so that the front pews would have been elevated slightly. Behind the cross passage the pews are raised on a platform a full brick's width high which has the effect of raking the seating. As there is no sign of a gallery or of any

records of one it may be that the raked seating was intended to improve visual sightlines for those at the back of the church. Brick paving like this, also found at the west end of St Michael's Chalton (GNo 15), can also be seen as a form of prototype surface for the later flagstone floors installed at West Itchenor and East Marden (GNos 35 and 45).

Space and contents

The effect of the narrower buttressing arch is to close off the nave from the chancel in a much more definitive way than the 13th century arch would have done. This lowered light levels and reduced visibility between the nave and chancel, an effect which has been countered nowadays (and probably in the early modern period too) by whitewashing the interior, including all the roof timbers. It seems likely that the general whitewashing of interiors may have been a commonplace with rural churches of this sort where expensive wainscoting or wall decoration was not feasible. However the buttress arch's intervention and the existence of two 18th century plain panelled deal box pews in the west corners of the chancel emphasises the degree of social separation which this early modern layout enforced (for discussion see Chapter 3.3.3 and 7.2.1).

The nave houses two ranks of short 18th century bench pews sited to the back of the church. It seems likely that these are in situ but the box pews which occupied the foremost ranks have been removed entirely and the space is now empty except for a 19th century stone pulpit and some long benches for the choir. Recently a number of medieval wall paintings were uncovered which include a figure of St Christopher on the nave's north wall. Amongst these is a fragmentary design in the spandrels between the easternmost southern windows. If these traces were the remnants of a 16th-17th century wall text they would hint at the whereabouts of the early modern pulpit, confirming that the present Victorian one replaces it in the southeast corner close to the text, as at Boarhunt (GNo 25). Although any signs of an altar suite are now missing the altar rails are an 18th century baluster turned set which under some shoddy brown paint appear to have previously been painted a more Georgian grey.

In both chancel and nave are numbers of wall plaques from the 17th-20th centuries and a series of early modern ledgers embedded in the brickwork of the floor and on the altar platform Chapter 5.2). There are wall plaques to Richard Peckham d 1718 and one to Thomas Phipps, his brother in law, (both of Littlegreen) d 1776 aged 69 while there are ledgers to Jane Peckham, d 1695 Richard's daughter and another to Richard's father Richard d 1659 aged 32. These are part of a row in the chancel which includes two to the Hobbs family who were local yeomen (see Chapter 5.4.1 for analysis of floors and ledgers). In the nave are wall plaques to the Jenmans who were resident at Pitlands Farm in the 18th century. Stylistically the most distinguished wall plaque is a tablet with a scrolled pediment bearing a

central flambard which commemorates William Thomas, vicar for 30 years d 1686, and his family (Chapter 5.4.2). Since the Peckhams were the pre-eminent local gentry family it is notable that they chose to be buried and memorialised in Up Marden amongst a company of yeoman farming families rather than in a more distinguished setting in the chancel, closer to home at St Mary's, Compton.

Churchyard

The south porch is a sensitive rebuilding of a previous 16th century porch which employs reused timbers. The exterior of the church has been rendered over the centuries and a rough coat of pebble-dashing still covers the south side. To the north there are areas of old plasterwork and a series of rough sub-circular discs of reddish plaster adhering to the chancel wall just under the roof line. These are inexplicable unless they are the mortar fixings of exterior wall memorial plaques as found at Southwick, Stoughton and South Harting (GNos 24, 44 and 49) which have since fallen off.

Most of the gravestones are ordinary 18th-20th century examples, clustered irregularly to the south while to the north the graveyard extends rather amorphously towards its grassy entrance paths (Chapter 5.3.1). The churchyard itself is kept well by the Friends of St Michael, an association set up to care for the church and on the east churchyard wall are placed commemorative tablets to 20th and 21st century parishioners closely associated with St Michael's. The churchyard is rather hidden by groups of trees and shrubs and there are three old yews to the south and northwest. The church's position on the brow of Apple Down ridge affords it a commanding position overlooking the slopes of Telegraph Hill to the west and the hollow vales which contain Locksash Farm and West Marden. This side is now overgrown with trees which obscure the view, masking the sense of a church nailing the landscape.

Sources: Coppin 2006: 32, Allen 2011 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 268-70, Salzman 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 110-3 Jenkins 2000: 700-1. Church Guide – Cynthia Bacon (and Alec Downs) 1990. There is also a churchyard directory in the church.



Fig 2 Interior looking east. Fig 3 Reverse view looking west from inside the chancel

47 CHURCH OF ST MARY, NORTH MARDEN.

Parish of North Marden with East Marden, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 Exterior of St Mary's, North Marden, showing the curve of its eastern apse, viewed from the southeast.

At 697 acres, North Marden is the smallest, most remote of all the Marden parishes. It is set amidst a cluster of parishes with South Harting and Elsted to the north and Up Marden and East Marden to the south (GNos 49, 50, 46 and 45). Like Up Marden, its centre is no more than a tiny collection of farms, converted farm buildings, cottages and a small house which may possibly have been the 19th century parsonage, all of which lie around a bend in a small lane branching off the Lavant-Harting main road. The church, a chapel of ease to East Marden, is so off the beaten track that it is extremely hard to find, being enclosed by trees and set some way down a bridleway which runs past a deserted farmyard. It too rides a Downland ridge – a lower spur of North Marden Down – and looks west to Apple Down ridge and northwest to Uppark and Harting (GNo 49).

The parish is high, rising to over 500ft to the northwest on North Marden Down which is intensely wooded. McLaren, author of the church guide, notes that in 1970 there were only 20 adult residents – 6 fewer than in 1674. Thus, like East Marden, it has never been well populated and remains sparsely inhabited (McLaren 1993: 1). As mentioned, the hamlet lines the lane some way away from the church. However, encircling the churchyard there is a subcircular terrace extending for c 100 feet into the surrounding fields which appears bounded by a shallow bank and ditch and beyond this is a series of humps and depressions which suggest building platforms. If these were archaeological features one might speculate that the hamlet has, over time, moved away from the church to the road. Since the parish consisted of a single manor it has had a relatively uncomplicated early modern history from 1575 when it was acquired by the Jenman family (also see another branch of the Jenmans of Pitlands Farm,

buried in Up Marden). The North Marden Jenmans held the manor for a century until they sold it in 1668 to the Peckhams and the manor became another segment of the dynastic estates the Peckhams were building up in the area. (Also see Chapter 4.4 for account of the state of its church buildings in the early 17th century).

Architecture

Fabric: Rubble with flint with much restored refacing. Some ashlar, some brick dressings and much brick patching. Tiled apsidal roof. Victorian flint south porch and north vestry and tiled bell turret .

In this research sample, St Mary's, North Marden, is perhaps Lacy Ridge's most all-encompassing restoration work (Chapter 7.1). The church in its present state consists of a single-celled aisleless apsidal chapel deriving from the 12th century. Nairn observes that this is 'one of only four single-celled apsidal churches in England; the others are at Nateley Scures, Hants, Winterbourne Tomson, Dorset and Little Tey, Essex' (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:269). Its Caen-stone south doorway retains its original sculpture - two orders of chevron and sawtooth mouldings – but the rest of the church was seriously remodelled in 1886-7 in an effort to correct another restoration 50 years earlier. A contemporary newspaper article included in the North Marden Vestry Minute book for 1879-1900 (WRSO Par/134/2/2) notes that the roof and floor were completely replaced, the seating improved and the walls stripped of stucco, the end result being that the 'edifice (was) now probably very much in the same state as that in which it was found by the restorers of the churchwarden period'. This is debatable since not only were the above works carried out including the replacement of the belfry (Chapter 4.3.3) but practically all the early modern fixtures and furniture were removed including the wall memorials which are only traceable now through their sawn-off fittings and imperfect plasterwork (Chapter 5.4.2).

It is also clear that the definition between chancel and nave as demarcated by the raised stages of the chancel platform (both restorations did away with the middle tie-beams) is 19th century and that the church originally had a single-level floor. This is confirmed by the height of a trefoliated 13th century statue recess on the southeast side of the apse which would have been of a correct height had the floor been considerably lower than it is presently. Most of the fenestration in the church was likewise re-worked by Ridge who replaced a round-headed early modern window to the south east with a pseudo-Norman round-headed stained glass light (Allen 2012). The claim that the floor was replaced is also open to question. The stages of the altar platform are certainly tiled with Victorian encaustic geometric tiles but the central passage is paved with small uneven flags, similar to those in Chalton's nave (GNo 15), which are likely be much older.

Space and contents

North Marden's floor, in many ways, is the most interesting survivor of its vanished early modern fittings. Another equivalent floor can be seen in South Harting at the head of the nave and in the chancel where its laying may be contemporary with the chancel refurbishment which occurred after a fire in 1576 (see discussion in GNo 49). It is also noticeable that there are no ledgers embedded in this passage or in the cross passage between the north and south doors. However, the church seems always to have been sparsely used for burial and, as at Up Marden, any chief ledger burials may have been close to the altar and removed or covered when Ridge elevated the chancel flooring. The cross-passage pavements are also interesting as they are evidently ancient and seem to have been patched with the same large striated flags as those at East Marden. One is led to wonder if these were supernumerary and were taken up to North Marden to fill in holes in the passage after work had been completed at St Peter's (Chapter 5.4.2).

There is supposed to have been a small 8" Royal Arms of George III but this has been removed. It is likely to have been similar to the one which remains in West Stoke (GNo 39) and is likewise discussed in Chapter 4.2.2. Lastly there are a complete set of Decalogues, Creed and Lord's Prayer tablets which have been hung up in pairs behind the font on the west wall. These replicate older ones found at Southwick, Racton and Stoughton (GNos 24, 38 and 44) but are set in neo-Gothic frames and unmistakably date to the early 19th century. They are the only indications of any altar furniture pre-dating Ridge's restoration (Chapter 4.2.3).

Churchyard

The churchyard is small and was enclosed in 1887 with an iron fence – parts of which still survive. Its earlier boundaries therefore may have followed a different line. McLaren observes there are only ten gravestones here but a recent interment shows that the churchyard is still functioning.

The oldest headstone is dated 1776 and commemorates John, son of John and Mary Jeffries with a deeply carved but conventional capital of deaths head and winged cherubs. There is also a good group of late 18th-early 19th century stones to the Page family. The earliest to Richard and Edmund Page are as lively as those found at Warblington, Havant or Westbourne (GNos 1, 2 and 27) and feature a row of images which include a Bible, a figure of Death with hourglass and scythe and a winged cherub. The third and latest is unsurprisingly headed with an urn.

The ground is ringed by vegetation on north, south and east sides and also fenced with wood, except where the iron railings still stand to the south and west. By the entrance on the south side is an elderly yew tree. To the west the vegetation has been removed allowing a superb view over the falling Downland across the valley towards Handle and Apple Downs.

Sources: Coppin 2006: 37, Allen 2012 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 268-9, Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 108-10. Church Guide P McLaren 1993. For single-celled apsidal church parallels to St Mary's see the websites for St Swithun's, Nateley Scures, Hants. http://southernlife.org.uk/nately_scureschurch.htm, for St James the Less in Little Tey, Essex <http://paintedchurch.org/littlete.htm> and St Andrews, Winterbourne Tomson, Dorset <http://www.visitchurches.org.uk/content.php?nID=region=Dorset&churchID=328> (all accessed 22/8.09)



Fig 2 Interior view of St Mary's, looking east towards the apsidal chancel. Fig 3 View to the west showing the early 19th century Decalogue tablets on the west wall.

48 CHURCH OF ST MARY, COMPTON.

Parish of Compton with Up Marden. Now part of the Octagon group which includes the parishes of Up Marden, Funtington, W. Stoke, Sennicotts, E Marden, N Marden and Racton. Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Mary's, Compton seen from the northwest. Fig 2 East view of the church's interior.

Compton joins the group of churches which, like Bedhampton, Wickham, Funtington, Birdham, East Wittering and Mid-Lavant (GNos 5, 26, 30, 34, 37 and 40), contain old fabric but have been very thoroughly rebuilt and stripped out in the 19th century. Nevertheless, it is the central parish of the Marden group, having been home to both a rectory and a vicarage in the 16th century (Salzmann 1953: 93) and Compton's clergy were occasionally called upon to serve Up Marden since although both livings were combined in 1439, they usually had their own ministers but periodically had a single incumbent. The parish shares the high Downland qualities common to the Marden parishes and is slightly smaller than Up Marden. Its land rises gradually to the north where it ascends a steep scarp towards Uppark. The road from Westbourne to Harting winds along a valley and passes through West Marden before it arrives at Compton's parish centre. This is a small village, nucleated around a small treed square which lies at the junction of this road with two small lanes, one of which leads to the church, while the other climbs the side of Telegraph Hill to the east of the village. St Mary's, situated amidst cottages, stands on an elevated terrace so that, like East Meon, Boarhunt, Hambledon, East Lavant and Stoughton (GNos 20, 23, 25, 41 and 44), it is cut into a backing Downland slope overlooking its parishioners, rather than being set on a promontory above (Chapter 5.3.1). Compton's housing stock is a varied mixture of 17th-20th century dwellings and agricultural buildings together with several small early modern gentry houses which show that its social range at this time was wider than most of its companion parishes.

The 16th century ownership of the manor was complicated by its being split into moieties but by the early 17th century it was again consolidated in the hands of Thomas Pay who sold it in 1653 to Robert

Peckham of Lordington. The Peckhams, by this time beginning to assemble their estates, moved their headquarters to Littlegreen, a large gentry house (now a school) which lies in the middle of Compton Park a mile to the north on the road to Harting. Their influence over Compton and its outlying parishes continued through their descendant families – the Phipps, the Peckham Phipps and the Phipps Hornbys up until the beginning of the 20th century.

Architecture

Fabric: Rubble and flint with galletted flint refacing and ashlar dressings. Tiled roofs. Weather-boarded and tiled bell turret.

St Mary's in its present shape consists of a two bay chancel with a four bay nave, a southern aisle with 13th century arcading and evidence for a now dismantled late 12th century north aisle. It was altered further in the 14th century (Allen 2013). Butler was commissioned in 1849-51 to supervise the restoration work which is discussed by John Maunder in the historical notes which are kept in the church (2001). He describes how, during work, two west galleries were removed and the nave lengthened by a bay which necessitated the rebuilding of the bell turret (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). The chancel was also dismantled and rebuilt, the pews, pulpit, reading desk and communion rails 're-arranged' (Maunder 2001:2), the windows, floor and roof-timbers replaced and a new north porch and vestry constructed. In 1807 Thomas Peckham Phipps had managed to establish a new private manorial pew as a transept extension at the head of the south aisle and this too was removed during Butler's reconstructions. As a result there is very little left of St Mary's early modern physical state to analyse, especially as the 'rearrangement' of the church furniture involved renewing everything (Chapter 2.2 and see Chapter 4.4 for an account of the relationship of its vicars with other Marden parishes).

Space and contents

Since the church has been lengthened and the chancel is 19th century it is difficult to envisage its original spatial constituents, other than to note that if there were two west galleries (one for the nave and one for the south aisle presumably) these may have hosted two different sets of people during the post-medieval period. Thus, for example, the nave may have held the church band whereas the south aisle gallery held children, servants or the poor. Although the implications of the 1849 restoration remain outside the scope of my research the fact that it also removed the 1807 Peckham Phipps gentry pew shows that the 17th- 18th century configuration of church interiors was still being implemented past the turn of the century.

A few wall plaques remain and though some are modern ones, two commemorating the Peckham-

Phipps dynasty are prominent. The earliest - to the last Richard Peckham d 1721 and his wife Sarah d 1740 – is a plain pedimented classical monument with a simple coat of arms which resembles the wall plaques dedicated to his father and son-in-law in Up Marden church. A much larger and more discursive wall plaque to his daughter Sarah (wife of Thomas Phipps) who died aged 75 in 1793 is fixed near the north door (Chapter 7.3.2 and *see Fig 4*). Nairn, briefly discussing this, says ‘urn etc. Bigger than usual but very dull’ (Pevsner and Nairn 1965:194). This is a conventional memorial for its period, with an oblong panel bearing her inscription surmounted by the usual draped and swagged urn. It has however some biographical elements which also fulsomely eulogise her and, like the Chalton Heberden and the East Marden Battine memorials, demonstrates the tendency towards the textual personalisation of mortuary memorialisation which I have discussed above (see GNos 15, 45 and Chapter 5.4.2). Again, it is curious that many of Sarah’s forebears and her husband are buried over the hill at Up Marden while her brother Thomas (from whom she inherited Littlegreen) and she are interred in Compton.

Churchyard

The churchyard is still in use to the south of the church. The ground surrounds the church, less extensively to the east and north but is a substantial plot of land which possesses a few 18th century headstones. It is mainly hedged and backs onto pastureland and the slopes of Telegraph Hill, the church itself being obscurely set at the head of a warren of cottages and lanes. A house to the immediate northwest of the church looks very similar to the rectory in Chalton, being large and having a late 18th - 19th century flint facade. It is presently a farmhouse and, if not the Old Rectory, was probably a gentleman farmer’s dwelling in the 18th century.

Compton’s research significance lies mainly in the fact that it represents a substantial, nucleated hub for a series of intensely inter-related parishes. These have been bound to each other over the centuries by economic, social and kinship bonds and a study of the genealogical relationships of their parishioners would prove highly informative if their early modern mortuary memorials and the parish documents were to be subjected to detailed examination.

Sources: Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org , Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 193-4, Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 91-4 Church Notes by John Maunder 2001 accessed by means of a portable noticeboard in the church (therefore not published or listed in the bibliography).



Fig 3 The interior of the church looking west. The Decalogue tablets at the end are late 19th century. Fig 4 Sarah Peckham-Phipps's wall memorial.

49. CHURCH OF ST MARY AND ST GABRIEL, THE STREET/COWLANE, SOUTH HARTING

Parish of Harting with Elsted and Treyford, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 South Harting's church of St Mary and St Gabriel seen from the south. Fig 2 Interior of the church looking towards the chancel.

Harting at 7946 acres is the biggest parish in the entire Sussex group and covers a set of smaller villages and hamlets – East and West Harting, Nyewood etc plus large areas of Downland parkland centred around several large estates which are enclosed by the northern parish boundary which follows the east-west line of the River Rother. Nairn characterises Harting as having more in common with the Hampshire parishes of Hambledon and the Meons (GNos 20-23) and its church as being in more of a Hampshire idiom than are its southern and eastern Sussex neighbours (Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 237). Its central village, South Harting, sits at the foot of Harting Hill which crowns the high Downland ridge which runs west to Butser and East Meon and continues east along the Cocking and Heyshott escarpments. Backed by this southern ridge and its extensive hanging woods, Harting's economy has in the past been directed towards sheep-rearing and forestry. There are also many dispersed farmsteads which employ the mixed farming of the valley bottoms. However Salzmann's accounts of land holding both pre- and post-Reformation suggest that much local estate land was imparked and that enclosure commenced from the 16th century on. This is unsurprising given the number of early modern mansion houses there were in the area and the powerful nature of the families who owned them. These included Uppark (of the Fords and later Fetherstonhaughs – see sources below and Chapter 2.5.2), Ditcham Park (on the west side of West Harting Down, owned by the Cowpers), Lady Holt (now demolished, seat of the Carylls) and Harting Place (originally owned by the Husseys, then the Fortescues and the Carylls, also demolished). Thus the parish was dominated by a set of well-connected, influential gentry families who all owned contingent estates and knew each other closely through marriage relations and through litigation – those two most potent familial ties. In addition, as discussed below, the Carylls were devoted Catholics whose unswerving loyalty to their faith and to the Stuarts ensured their financial

embarrassment by the middle of the 18th century (Chapter 2.5.1). The most important remaining mansion is Uppark, built on the crest of Uppark Down two miles south of the village and just beyond Littlegreen. Uppark was owned by the Fords who were prominent Royalists during the Civil War and in 1685, having transmogrified into the Grey, Earls of Tankerville, built a great house utilising the newly developing architecture of parade (see Girouard 1978 and Chapter 2.5.2). The house was badly damaged in a fire in 1989 but restored by the National Trust and survives as an important example of many aspects of late 17th-19th century gentry country living.

South Harting grew into a large village formed at the junction of the main Westbourne road where it continues northwest towards Petersfield with a lesser road at the base of the great Downland ridge, which leads through Elsted and across to Midhurst. The village had a weekly market and annual fair and has a varied building stock of 16th-20th century small gentry houses and farms, cottages, shops, workshops and agricultural service buildings, much of which is constructed from brick and clunch as well as flint (Chapters 2.2 and 7.1).

St Mary and St Gabriel stands on an elevation at the southern end of the village, well above the level of the main road, the Street, which runs past it. As a benefice, Harting was a wealthy one and included a sinecure rectory whose rector appointed a vicar to act for him (Salzmann 1953: 16). The Rectory, a Grade II listed building, is located some houses down from the church along the Street. At the end of Cow Lane which borders the north side of the churchyard there is a long brick-faced 18th century dwelling called Church Farm, presumably the parson's glebe farmhouse, whose produce helped to make up the vicar's and/or rector's income.

Architecture

Fabric: flint, rubble, clunch (compacted chalk) and ashlar with brick and tile patching and ashlar dressings. West wall (restored) is of sandstone and flint banding. Roofs are tiled and the tower is part rendered/part tile-hung with copper sheathing to broach spire. New hall extension to the south.

Like St John's, Westbourne (GNo 27), Harting's church is big enough to grace a town. It dates mainly to the early 14th century and consists of an aisled nave of three bays, a central tower and crossing with north and south transepts and a long four bay chancel with a vestry/sacristy built out to the north. The chancel is only slightly shorter than the nave plus crossing and is actually wider (see Plan). Entry to the church is by the modern north porch. The medieval development of the church is complicated by extensive damage done to the church in 1576 by a fire which caused a major refit in the following year. This fortuitously has reshaped aspects of the church to reflect its post-Reformation condition since much of the repairwork was devoted to rebuilding the rooves, tower and aisles and this architecture has

not been excessively tampered with. Regarding this, there is a marked contrast between the heavy 16th century 'barn-like' construction of the nave's timbers and masonry and the lighter, more high-status, domestic treatment of the chancel's timbering which is a confection of elaborate purlins, rafters and moulded tie beams ending in wall posts and ornamental pendants, together with collar beams supported by upper tie beams on turned balusters (Allen 2012, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 237, Jenkin 2000: 699). This dichotomy emphasises the demarcation of chancel from nave, especially as, undoubtedly, the chancel timbers would have been brightly painted and gilded as at Rowner (GNo 11). Unexpectedly, this is the only church in the research sample where the chancel floor-level is a half-step lower than that of the nave. The paving under the crossing and in the chancel is of old, smallish, unevenly-sized flagstones and it is possible that the fire simply ensured a general repaving rather than any elaborate readjustment of floor levels – a consideration which may not have been of any great consequence until Archbishop Laud's Arminian policies took effect in the 1620s-30s (see Chapter 3.2 for brief analysis of Arminianism).

In 1610 a southern side chapel (now ruined) was added running parallel to the chancel and abutting the south transept along its west wall through which access was gained via a small central door which is now blocked up (Chapter 2.5.1). This was the Caryll chapel built as a family and mortuary chapel to house the effigial tombs of Sir Edward Caryll d 1609 and Sir Richard Caryll d 1616 and to cater for the Carylls on the occasions when they were prepared to conform and take Communion in Harting (for discussion see Chapter 5.5.1). 19th century restorations took place in episodes – several being funded by the Fetherstonhaughs of Uppark, Harting's chief 18th-19th century patrons. These included the rebuilding of the west wall possibly by Sir George Gilbert Scott and much window replacement in the nave. A broach spire, added in 1798 was given a copper sheathing in 1825 and extensively renovated by Ridge in 1892. A children's west gallery was removed in 1875 when the most all-encompassing refit took place which also saw the removal of the old pews and pulpit (see Chapter 3.3.4 for discussion of galleries). The south transept also seems to have been extensively rearranged (see below) towards the end of the 18th century.

Space and Contents

Much of the spatial and material analysis which can be done in this church is dependent on the positioning in the chancel, not only of gentry pew seating but also of the original siting of gentry tombs since the nave furniture has been entirely refashioned. This is because, although it is evident that St Mary and St Gabriel's had a wealth of early modern mortuary monuments, these have either fallen into decay or been mutilated and moved about. The south wall of the chancel has a hemispherical late Tudor alcove tomb let into it which is now badly damaged (*see Fig 3*). Brass plaques identify the monument as

belonging to the Ford family and various 17th century Fords are listed who are presumably buried in the Ford family vault below. It seems likely that the tomb itself memorialises John Ford, Pronotary of the Court of Common Pleas and his wife Magdalen. The shape and surviving decoration of this tomb resembles wall monuments illustrated in Llewellyn's *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Llewellyn 2000: see Figs 112, 136, 141b, 174). Such monuments date to the turn of the 17th century and its first decade and it is likely that a tomb erected after John Ford's death in 1583 prototypically expresses such design elements as Tudor rose-centred coffering (also see the Wriothesley tomb in Titchfield GNo 13). The Brune monument in St Mary's Rowner is a similar shape but was a simpler, more transitional structure which accords with its earlier date (see GNo 11). There would also have been at least two other tombs in here, both belonging to the Cowper family of Ditcham and, since there were several other gentry families in Harting parish in the early part of the period (the Husseys, Fortescues, Windsors and Mervyns), it is likely that both before and after the fire the chancel was well populated by different clusters of private gentry pews, memorials and heraldry (see Chapter 5.5.1 and 5.5.3).

Today the chancel's Victorian choir stalls replicate the form of these gentry pews and occupy the same spaces some of their earlier counterparts would have taken. Otherwise the chancel's space is now much emptier - the Cowper monuments have been moved to the south transept where they have been clumsily spliced together as if they were a single tomb (see Chapters 5.5.2 and 6.3 for discussions of effigial positioning and 6.4 for the Cowpers' choice of church). Moreover the two Caryll tomb effigies mentioned above were rescued from their roofless chapel in the 1950s and now lie, in a very weather-beaten condition, next door to the Cowpers. Llewellyn, in a discussion on tomb destruction in regard to the Caryll chapel and its monuments records the following : 'Some Royalists damaged tombs. In 1643 the king's army, demoralised and unable to relieve Arundel, Sussex, sacked the church at South Harting damaging monuments to the Caryll family. Richard Symonds' diary, in part, exonerates the Cromwellians'. (Llewellyn 2000:263 citing Symonds R - ed Long 1854). Gentry tombs have not fared well in Harting (Chapters 5.5.3 and 7.3.1) and these together with the relationship of the Caryll chapel to the church are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.5.1 and 5.6.

In the north transept there is a communion table which dates from the Commonwealth period. It is notable for its smallness – both the Elizabethan and Jacobean communion tables such as those in Southwick and West Wittering (GNos 24 and 36) are much larger and more ornate. Moreover, the contrast between the complex and rich chancel interiors I have been projecting for Harting church during the late 16th and early 17th century with the material simplicity which this table represents shows the vast gulf in religious ideology which existed when Communion was celebrated by High Anglicans on the one hand and Presbyterians on the other.

Churchyard

All that remains now of the Caryll chapel are parts of its south wall, largely built of weather-worn clunch, the outline blocking of the chapel's west door and the footings of its east wall. The foundations of the two tombs on the south side are in a state of advanced decay. Since both were floor to ceiling wall tombs, it is unlikely that there was much fenestration to the south. Regarding its illumination the chapel would have had some borrowed light via the east windows of the south transept and the southwest window of the chancel (see Chapter 5.5.1). Attached to the south wall of the south transept is an 18th century exterior wall memorial of the sort already noted at Southwick and Stoughton (GNos 24 and 44 and see Chapter 7.4). This is fairly good condition and of good quality while another on the northeast corner of the vestry has fallen off, leaving its shattered fittings (see Fig 4).

The churchyard is extensive and surrounds the church on all sides except to the east where the ground falls precipitously away towards the main road. To the southwest a walled orchard which was once part of the Uppark estate was converted into a new cemetery in the 19th century. To one side of its southeast quadrant there is the Fetherstonhaughs' enclosed private graveyard. The old cemetery stretches up to Church Farm on the west side but is most extensive to the south where there are a fine series of 18th century gravestones, though none of particular note. It may be also, given the extent of the churchyard, that some headstones have been cleared as their survival is otherwise sporadic. Considering the parish's wide social mixture throughout the period there are surprisingly very few chest tombs. In addition the older gravestones have been drilled into arbitrary rows rather than left in family groups. It seems likely that the south side was extended in modern times since it now includes land which runs up to the fields to the west. Before being incorporated, this land probably provided a trackway for people and carts travelling between the walled orchard and Uppark. To the southeast there is a classic estate red-brick boundary wall with moulded coping which abuts a strangely elegant 18th century agricultural building – conceivably an apple store – which is finished with a curved Dutch gable. This now has been incorporated into the graveyard complex, being presently used as a gardener's shed. It is just possible that at one point it was used as a watchmen's hut for body-snatchers, though it predates the two Warblington huts by at least fifty years (see GNo 1).

Eric Gill designed the War Memorial, a tall obelisk-like cross with bas-reliefs at its base which stands in the angle of the north transept and chancel in front of the church. There are several mature trees and some yews to the southeast and west – none however are of great age. The church is well placed on its eminence to dominate the village which falls away to the north along the Street.

Sources: Coppin 2006: 29, Allen 2013 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 236-9,

Salzmann 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 10-21, Jenkins 2000: 699 The church guide is an anonymous but informative leaflet. See also NAFDAS Church Records for Harting at www.nadfas.org.uk. For more on the parish see *Gravelroot*, the South Harting parish guide website – www.gravelroots.net/harting/harting also www.harting.org.uk. For information on the Ford and Caryll families see Fletcher 1975, Llewellyn 2000: 263 and Symonds 1854, Questier 2006, Thomas-Stanford 1910 (2007), for Uppark see Jackson-Stops and Pipkin 1985: 26, 28, 90-5, 131-135, 151, 191, for Husseys see Bridget Earnley and the Husseys of Slinfold (GNo 36) and for the Cowpers see Chalton (GNo 15) and Chapters 5-6.



Fig 3 The remains of the Ford tomb inserted into the south wall of the chancel. Fig 4. An exterior wall memorial attached to the outside of the south transept.

50. CHURCH OF ST PAUL, ELSTED

Parish of Harting with Elsted and Treyford, Downland (also see Chapter 2.4.4 for parish landscape survey and 2.7 for summary)



Fig 1 St Paul's church , Elsted seen from the southwest.

Elsted parish is medium-sized, long and wedge-shaped, and hugs the east side of Harting and North Marden. It is the first and most southwestern of a set of thin, north/south running parishes which occupy this part of mid-Sussex and carry on through Treyford, Didling, Bepton and Cocking towards Midhurst and Petworth. Diana Chatwin estimates that this sort of parish is indicative of Saxon patterns of estate land-holding which show ownership of different strips of land which included lengths of coastal, Downland and Wealden terrain (Chatwin 1996:2-4). This suggests early Saxon origins for both estate patterns and parish church development at Elsted. Elsted parish, like Harting, is bounded to the north by the Rother where the countryside is low arable farm and woodland then stretches south across the high Downland ridge, ascending to c 800' ASL at Beacon Hill, after which it descends slightly at its southern border with East Marden (GNo 45).

Up until 1421 the manor was held under the lordship of the Bishop of Exeter with Chidham but after the Reformation it formed part of the Lewknor estate and then was sold to the Mills family of Southampton who were not resident. It seems accordingly never to have had a manor house, although the church is close to the Manor Farm which was evidently the manorial centre. Like Fishbourne and West Itchenor and possibly North Marden (GNos 32, 35 and 47), the village of Elsted has grown up at some distance from its church. It consists of a group of houses set loosely around the crossroad where the Harting-Midhurst road is bisected by a north-south lane leading from the church down towards the lower Treyford road. This part of the village has been enlarged with some modern development but early modern cottages, a farm and farm buildings show that by the 17th century it had already moved south towards the busier road.

The church stands opposite the Manor Farm at the end of its lane and near some modern housing. Unlike many of the Sussex Downland churches discussed in this section it is not prominently sited on elevated ground.

Architecture

Fabric: Originally flint and rubble. South and east walls now of rough yellow/pink ashlar as is the modern south porch. Tiled roofs, no belfry.

By the quantity and quality of the remaining herringbone masonry which can be seen especially well in the north wall the date for the first phase of St Paul's is estimated to be mid-late 11th century – a date which goes towards bolstering Chatwin's theories. This would have been a single cell church which expanded to include a chancel and north aisle in the 12th century and some later medieval refenestration. Up to and after the Reformation it was thus a small church with three short nave and aisle bays and belfry and a two bayed chancel. A south porch was added in 1622, the arch of which remains. Allen's research into the extant Sharpe and Tracy drawings suggest that there may have been other 17th century work done including buttressing and new aisle windows (Allen 2011) The church was restored by the incumbent in 1873 at which point the north aisle was removed but twenty years later a treefall brought the nave down and the building was abandoned (Chapter 7.1). Its abandonment was due in part to the erection in 1849 of a new and much larger church in neighbouring Treyford which took over most of the parish services. However this church in turn was found to be structurally unsafe and was blown up in 1951 after which, the combined parishes of Elsted and Treyford, being churchless, it was decided to repair St Paul's. The regeneration of the church was done with sensitivity, the surviving medieval masonry being carefully preserved and the south and west walls, porch and a south vestry being rebuilt in distinctive but sympathetic materials so that the different phases were obvious without being stridently out of tune with each other (Chapter 2.2).

Space and contents

There are hardly any early modern fixtures or fittings and since there has been so much alteration done to the church's architecture it is difficult to comment on the spatial organisation of St Paul's other than to discuss the nature of its chancel/nave relationship. The church has a narrow 12th century horse-shoe shaped chancel arch which, like the narrow Saxon arches seen at Boarhunt and Up Marden (GNos 25 and 46), acts to close off the two cells from each other. The socio-religious impact this divisive aspect of church architecture had after the Reformation created a series of effects which are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3. In Boarhunt, for example, the use to which the chancel was put was as a mortuary chapel for its patronal family, the Henslowes, rather than as a location for a private pew. In Elsted, it is

less likely that the chancel served as a private mortuary space as the parish had no resident manorial family. One could therefore speculate that, as at Up Marden, the local lesser gentry used the chancel for pewage. St Paul's chancel bears out this interpretation by containing two banks of 17th century stalls which are presently used by the choir though these are reputed to have come from All Saints, Dorchester (Allen 2011). However, as discussed above with the Harting choir stalls and as seen at Fishbourne and East Lavant (GNos 49, 32 and 41), these are in the correct position for gentry pews and it is possible that they were acquired to replace older pews which were no longer fit for purpose (see Chapter 3.3.3).

Churchyard

The churchyard surrounds the church, most extensively to the north and south. Given the church's history of modern change, abandonment and rebuilding it is surprising that there are any memorials left in the graveyard but, although it is not highly populated with headstones, it still retains quite a number and from its new interments is still functioning. A few gravestones are 18th century but of conventional design and there is an impressive late 18th century chest tomb to the south. The farmhouse is large with Georgian features and many outbuildings (some now converted) and it may be that the Lewknors' or Mills's tenant farmers were lesser gentry, especially towards the later part of the period, and may have been at the head of Elsted parochial society. A stream runs to the east of the churchyard which is bounded by a modern flint wall. There are a number of trees especially to the east including a mature cypress.

Sources: Allen 2011 www.sussexparishchurches.org, Pevsner and Nairn 1965: 218, Salzman 1953 Victoria County History Sussex Vol 4: 8-10.



Fig 2 The exterior of the church from the east. Fig 3 17th century gentry pews in the chancel of St Paul's, presently used as choir stalls.

