THE DESERTED MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT OF WYKE

by

John Kay

Introduction

The chief feature of Ringmer's southern horizon is the finger of downland that pokes out from the Caburn block to form Mill Plain. From Mill Plain a straight track runs south westwards along the ridge towards the main bulk of the downs. This lane carries the parish boundary dividing Ringmer from Glynde, and has in places sunk several feet below the level of the fields on either side to form a hollow way, both sure signs of antiquity. From the first (1875) edition of the 1:2500 Ordnance Survey maps this lane is called Week Lane.

Where Week Lane reaches the open downland, at the foot of the escarpment of the part of the Caburn block called Saxon Down, and immediately beyond a modern dewpond, is an area containing numerous banks, ridges and depressions surrounded by the remains of a quadrilateral enclosure (see map). The site is indicated on the O.S. maps by the word 'tumuli'. The parish boundary cuts across the enclosed area, leaving one corner in Ringmer and the rest in Glynde. This article will probe the secrets of these humps and bumps, the remains of the medieval settlement of Wyke.

The Place Name Wyke

The place name element wic is very common in Sussex. There are no fewer than 10 Wicks (not including this one) noted in Mawer & Stenton's 'Place Names of Sussex', plus many other names in which this element is found in combination, such as Newick, Berwick and Gatwick. Most of the simple Wicks are very small settlements or single farms. The element is thought to have been borrowed by the Saxons from the latin vicus, a village or estate, but soon developed a wide range of meanings in English, ranging from 'administrative district' to 'salt works' (1). Most commonly it means simply 'farm', particularly a farm with some type of specialist function.

The name appears in our local records in a number of variant forms.

Alternating with the most frequent Wyke in the sources referred to below are

Wik (the earliest form), Wike, la Wike, Wyk, la Wyke, Wyka and Weeke.

There are also references to Wykedene, West Wyke and Marscalys Wyke, and
a Nicholas de Flyngereswyke who owned land in the settlement.

The Location of Wyke

The evidence for a settlement called Wyke on the border between Ringmer and Glynde falls into two categories. Firstly there are over 20 documents dating to the 13th and 14th centuries that refer to, or are witnessed by, people whose surnames are given as de Wyke, de la Wyke or atte Wyke. These are mainly documents recording tax payments, feudal dues or the transfer of property in Glynde, Glyndebourne or the Ringmer Borghs of Ashton, Middleham and Gote.

Secondly, and more significantly, there are a small number of documents which specifically refer to Wyke, and enable its location to be fixed in the immediate neighbourhood of the site at the end of Week Lane. These sources are sufficiently few in number to justify individual attention.

(i) The 1230 Fine (2)

Fines are a form of legal document that in theory record the outcome of disputes about the ownership of land, but in practice were often used to record transfers of freehold title (the seller agreed in advance to 'lose' the case). In the 14th year of the reign of King Henry III there was a fine between John le Justur and Robert de Wik, by which John obtained 15 acres of freehold land 'in Wik', half of which was then to be held of him by Robert subject to a quitrent of 15 pence per annum - twopence per acre was then a common local rate for quitrent payments to the Lord of the Manor (3). The fine does not indicate which of the many Sussex Wicks it refers to, but Robert's $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres are described in detail as follows:-

- 1 acre in Middelhamm; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Nortfeld; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in la Brodeland;
- 1 acre called Stenacre; Two $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Middel Droch Northende;
- $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Bettinglonde; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Hulprich; 1 acre in la Smalelond;
- $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in la Cruchefurlang; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Northweie; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Esteton.

This description makes in clear that the land described was composed of strips scattered through the furlongs of an open field system, and the reference to the first and last strips as being in Middleham and Esteton (Ashton), two adjacent Ringmer Borghs, rather strongly suggests that the open field system in question belonged to the Ringmer Wyke.

(ii) Sextons Land

Henry, a Vicar of Ringmer who died in 1275, purchased in his lifetime many small parcels of land scattered around Ringmer, with which he intended to endow a chantry. The funds proved insufficient for the purpose, and instead were assigned by the Archbishop to the support of the Sacrist (or Sexton) of the South Malling College of Canons (4). The College was amongst the religious establishments suppressed by Henry VIII, and its possessions passed first to the Crown, and then into lay hands. However, many of the Vicar's purchases retained the designation 'Sextons' until quite recent times - Saxon Down is a corruption of Sexton's Down.

By far the largest of Henry's purchases was the 21 acres of land in the Borgh of Gote & Middleham he bought from Nicholas de Flyngereswyke (5). This heads the detailed list in his will, where it is described simply as 'At Wike, 21 acres of land'. Its size enables it to be distinguished from the many other pieces of Sextons Land in later documents, and allows its location to be established.

There is a detailed valuation of the Sextons Land, then in the possession of Samuel Towers, a Lewes merchant, in 1649, when Mr. Hay of Glyndebourne, who leased it, was considering its purchase (6). Two copies of the settlement of Samuel Towers' estate in 1650 survive (7), and the land was finally purchased by the Hays from William Read of Bentley in 1737 (8). Thereafter it remained part of the Glyndebourne estate. In the 1649 valuation it is described as three pieces of land (8 acres, 8 acres and 5 acres) plus 20 acres of sheepdown (presumably allocated on enclosure of common downland), but thereafter always as 16 acres of land called Sextons plus 25 acres of downland called Sextons Down. From the abuttals given in these documents it is clear that this land is included in the fields numbered 822 and 823 on the Ringmer Tithe Map. This is confirmed by two 18th century perambulations of South Malling parish, which clearly describe the same location, while claiming that Sextons Down lay in Malling parish (9), and by the earlier Glynde perambulations referred to below. The boundary between Ringmer and South Malling appears to have been disputed. The 1650 settlement describes both Sextons Land and Sextons Down as in Ringmer, but the 1737 deed more cautiously refers to them as 'in Ringmer and South Malling or one of them'. At the corner of Sextons Down, and at the junction of the parishes of Ringmer, Glynde and South Malling, stood Sextons Cross (Saxon Cross on the O.S. maps). area actually marked as Saxon Down on the O.S. map is in Glynde parish, and

does not fit at all with the locations described in these documents - one of many examples of local place names that have drifted a little over the years.

These documents together clearly locate the 21 acres 'at Wike' purchased by Henry the 13th century Vicar close to the site at the end of Week Lane.

(iii) The Glynde Perambulations

Amongst the Glynde Place archives is a description of the boundaries of the parish of Glynde, made in 1576 but 'taken out of an old coppye' that clearly predates the Reformation (10). The section of the boundary from the Caburn to Glyndebourne is described as follows:-

of Calborowe Downe, by the south west side of Ive Deane, And so down to a cross called Deadman Cross, And so north to the south east end of Weeke Drove, And from there west to the east side of Oxendall, and so north to a cross called Sextons Cross, And so to the lands of the Church of Mawllynge, And so leads east from there to the east side of the land called Crekesdene, And goeth north and east by the lands of Weeke, And so from thence to the north end of a piece of land called Callmandowne, And so leads down by the Kings highewaye ...'

There is an 18th century copy of a similar, but not identical, pre-Reformation perambulation in the Glynde parish chest (11). This too refers to Carborrow, Deadmans Cross, John a Woods Cross (for Sextons Cross), Crekysdeane (the steep dene immediately north west of the site at the end of Week Lane) and the 'land of Wike'. Following these perambulations on the map, the part of the boundary that goes 'north and east by the lands of Weeke' must be Week Lane itself. The boundary goes through the actual site of Wyke, but apparently by this (or these) dates, which can be no later than the 1540s, nothing remains worth noting as a landmark.

(iv) The South Malling Demesne Survey (12)

Amongst the Gage archives is a 16th century copy of a detailed survey of the demesne lands of the manor of South Malling that apparently dates from the last quarter of the 13th century. Towards the end of the list of lands belonging to Stoneham is a 76 acre parcel of arable land described (in Latin) as lying between Bretteswick and the way by which one goes to the house of Walter de Wick 'apud' (which can be translated as near, at or in) Ryngmere. From the sequence in which the various parcels of land are described, and

on the assumption that the demesne lands at the end of the 13th century correspond to those that passed into lay hands in the 16th to become the Upper and Lower Stoneham Farms, it seems very likely that this entry refers to the tract of arable land between the Bridgwick chalkpits and Little Heaven. The route to Walter de Wick's house would then be the track that now leaves New Road just south of the end of Gote Lane, runs past Little Heaven and then traverses the down scarp via a prominent borstal to reach the top near Sextons Cross.

(v) The 1317 Deed (13)

A deed amongst the Glynde Place archives recording one of many small land purchases by an acquisitive Glyndebourne family describes an acre of arable land as 'in a place called Canone manne downe' and as abutting to the north 'on the way from Marscalys Wyke to Ashtone'. If 'Canone manne downe' can be identified with 'Callmandowne' in the perambulation (and elsewhere), the 'way from Marscalys Wyke to Ashtone' must be Week Lane. The track continues eastwards along Mill Plain to Ashton, so 'Marscalys Wyke' should be its westward destination.

Taken together these documents provide strong support for a settlement called Wyke in the vicinity of the site at the south west end of Week Lane. They suggest it had an arable open field system on the lands to the north and east of the site, sheep down surrounding it to the north and west, and a drove to the south west.

The Inhabitants

There are no known lists or sources which separately identify the inhabitants of the settlement of Wyke, but there are nevertheless a number of individuals who can, with varying degrees of confidence, be proposed as residents. This identification, if correct, provides considerable insight into the role played by Wyke in the local economy.

The clearest sources, as for much of the medieval history of Ringmer, are the 1285 and 1305 custumals of the Archbishop of Canterbury's giant Manor of South Malling (14). There, listed amongst the free tenants of the Borgh of Gote & Middleham, appear two men who both from their names and their occupations must be considered prime candidates.

The more substantial of the two was Walter de la (or atte) Wyke, who has already been referred to in (iv) above. He was one of the four shepherds of the Archbishop, and thereby an important figure in the local economy. The rights and duties of the shepherds are spelled out in detail in the custumal. In return for a sheepwalk of 30 acres, 15 acres of pasture on the downs, and the right to keep 120 ewes on his Lord's pasture and 6 pigs in the Broyle free of pannage, Walter had to pay a considerable rent, partly in money and partly in cheese, hand over the wool of the 120 ewes to the Archbishop, keep a dog (paying the huge penalty of 5s 0d if it was maimed while in his custody) and perform some minor ploughing and reaping services on the Lord's demesne. Together with the other three shepherds, he was responsible for maintaining and thatching the Lord's sheepfold, making and repairing his baking oven at Malling, and cleaning out his stable.

In addition to his sheepwalk, Walter also held a further $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of downland and 10 acres of land in the attractively named but unlocated 'Peverelescumbe', for which he had to pay a further money rent and perform the traditional free tenants' services. These were attending the manor and shire courts, distraining on the Archbishop's subordinates when required, and attending the Archbishop for three days hunting in summer and a further three days in winter, for which he had to provide his own bow and arrows. Walter was clearly one of the more substantial freemen in the manor, so it is not surprising that he appears as a witness to a number of late 13th century deeds, and that he has the second highest tax assessment in Middleham Borgh in the 1296 subsidy (15).

The second of the freemen was a much less prosperous figure, Roger atte Wyke, miller. He had only about 4 acres of land, for which he paid an annual quitrent of 2s Od. There is no mention in the custumal of his having a mill (watermills at least are mentioned elsewhere), but there is archaeological evidence suggesting a windmill at Wyke, and in a rental of Glynde manor dating from 1353 the Glyndebourne holding of Robert Tylyon included half an acre of land described as on the south side of 'la Wykmelle' (16). There were also other windmills nearby that he may have leased (see, for example, the preceding article).

There are also two other tenants in the southern part of the manor whose name contains the element Wyke. There is an Alice atte (or de) Wyke, who owns a house, garden, 3 acres of land 'and half a link between the court of Malling and the vill of Malling'. Her connection with Wyke is uncertain.

Much more important is an entry in the section headed 'Clyve' to the effect that John Marescall of la Wyk had bought 5 houses and 6 gardens from the heir of a smith and sold them to the Canons of Southmalling. The variants J. Marescall de Wyke, J. Marescallus de la Wyke (and wife Isabell) and John de la Wyke, marescallo, appear as principal or witness in three other late 13th century deeds, two of them also witnessed by Walter de la Wyke (17). If he can be identified with the man usually called John Marescall, or John le Marescall, who also has a wife Isabel (18), then we have a major local figure associated with Wyke, a man who would indeed justify its designation as 'Marscalys Wyke'.

John Marescall is one of the most prosperous of all the Archbishop's free tenants in the southern part of the manor, and a man of genteel status, comparable with Sir Richard le Waleys, who held the knight's fee of Glynde, or the Canons of South Malling. He was Keeper of the Broyle, and of the Archbishop's other woods, as his ancestors had been. He and his foresters customarily dined with the Archbishop at the court of Malling on the day the Archbishop arrived there for his twice-yearly visits (doubtless to brief him on the prospects for hunting). He held property throughout the manor. This included the mill of Salkingham in Wellingham Borgh (probably Chalkham, near Stoneham) and the site of another mill in Ashton. There were 5 houses, 7 gardens and a kiln in Cliffe, in addition to those he had sold to the Canons. His land included half a virgate in Wellingham, a hide and a half (74 acres) in Ashton, 10 acres of downland in Cliffe and 29 acres in Gote & Middleham. Five acres of the latter were 'at Stevenesdoune', on the northern slopes of Mill Plain, and just beyond the north east end of Weeke Lane. He held 140 acres in the Borgh of Uckfield, where he had 12 subtenants, and either he or another man of the same name held land in the archiepiscopal manor of Tangmere (14).

This last holding may suggest his origins. The Archbishop's marshal of horse in 1267 was Walter de Pagham, and various de Paghams had been prominent in Tangmere for well over a century by 1285, when a William de Pagham held 2 hides of land there of the Archbishop by knight service (19). John le Marescall may well have been a scion of this family who had inherited the archiepiscopal office, but only a minor part of the ancestral land.

The earliest deeds referring to him date from 1275, when John Marshall heads the long list of witnesses to the charter intended to establish Henry's chantry (4) (note below that the same man's testament names Master John de

Wichio as his trustee), and 1276 when John Marescall and Isabel his wife sold half a virgate of land in Ashton to Godfrey, the Dean of South Malling's servant (20). The latest is the 1305 custumal. An undated deed, thought to date from the early 14th century deed, lists Isabella atte Wyke, probably his widow, amongst the free tenants holding land in Glyndebourne and Ashton of the Manor of Glynde (21).

The other evidence for inhabitants of Wyke is confined to casual references to people in the locality whose names incorporate this element. Names noted include:-

- (i) Giles de la (or atte) Wyke. Witness to several late 13th century deeds, sometimes together with Walter de la Wyke. In the Latin form Egid' de la Wyke he figures as a tax payer in Ashton Borgh in 1296. Another Egidus atte Wyke, a married man, appears in an incomplete poll tax list that probably dates from 1379 or 1381 and relates to the Glynde, Glyndebourne and Ashton area (22).
- (ii) John atte (or de) Wyke. In Vicar Henry's testament of 1275 he left 20 marks to supplement his chantry endowment to be 'placed in the hands of certain good men or in the custody of Master John de Wichio' for investment in further lands. John atte Wyke, clerk, is witness to a late 13th century deed, together with Walter and Giles. John atte Wyke, son of Giles atte Wyke of Glynde, is seller of a croft in Ashton c.1290. John de West Wyke is witness to a local deed in 1319. John atte Wyke is the most highly assessed taxpayer in Ringmer in the 1327 subsidy, appears as a free tenant of the manor of Glynde in 1353 and witnesses a Glyndebourne property transaction in 1367. The 1379 or 1381 poll tax fragment includes John atte Wyke, an unmarried man, with Matilda atte Wyke, servant, as a member of his household (23). It is unclear how many different people these Johns represent, or how many of them might actually be John Marescall in a different guise.
- (iii) Walter atte Wyke, sometimes described as clerk. Witness to five property transactions in Glyndebourne and Glynde, 1350-1353, and included, as an unmarried man, in the 1379/1381 poll tax fragment (24).
- (iv) Robert de Wykedene. Witness with Walter (iii above) in a deed of 1350 (24).
- (v) Godefro atte Wyke. Taxpayer in Ringmer or Glynde, 1332 (25).

Altogether it seems probable that in the closing decades of the 13th century Wyke was the home of a small group of families. They included one household of superior status (that of John Marescall), one of the Archbishop's shepherds and a miller. References to putative inhabitants cover the period from 1230 to about 1380. Those at the latter end are those in which least confidence can be placed, as by this period surnames may be influenced as much by paternity as by residence or other personal characteristics.

The Archaeological Evidence

Considering the prominence and accessibility of the site, it has received surprisingly little archaeological attention. Gideon Mantell dug up many of the barrows on the hills north of the Caburn, but paid more care to recording the details of the more interesting objects he unearthed than the precise locations at which they were discovered. Two pennies dated 1805 found in the largest barrow on Saxon Down indicate the activity of Mantell or a fellow enthusiast in this locality (26). Hadrian Allcroft surveyed the scene, and pronounced the enclosure a farmstead abandoned before 1800, and Week Lane the Roman road to Crowborough and thence to Watling Street (27). Lt. Col. MacLeod suggested that the earthworks at Wyke were perhaps the site of Ramsted Nunnery, established in the period 1174-1183, disestablished about 1200 and re-established 1241-1270 by Archbishop Boniface (28). The only serious investigation seems to have been an exploratory study carried out by C.H. Vigor in 1945 (29) that was brought to a premature conclusion by the intensification of gunnery practice by the military authorities. It cannot be assumed that every irregularity of the downland turf in this area is necessarily ancient!

Vigor noted that the site was bounded by a quadrilateral entrenchment, which enclosed numerous banks, ridges and depressions, and two circular mounds called tumuli on the O.S. maps. The entrenchment enclosed a little over 2 acres, and consisted of a simple bank with a ditch on the outer side. The northeastern side had been mutilated in the creation of the concrete dewpond that still survives.

Despite being able to strip the turf from only a very limited area, and excavate just the smaller of the two 'tumuli', Vigor concluded, mainly on the basis of the pottery found, that the site had been occupied only from the 13th to the 15th centuries. There had been several buildings of indeterminate character, but of sound construction. Building materials

included sandstone, clunch chalk, flint, lime mortar, ironstone gravel, daub, slate, tiles and louvre pots (30). Charcoal from oak and beech timber was present. The smaller mound was not a tumulus, but contained only medieval artefacts throughout. He considered that all the earthworks were contemporary, and thought that the larger mound was also not a tumulus. A windmill base would be a possible explanation.

Vigor felt that the labour expended in the construction of the foundations and banks, and the relatively elaborate character of the building materials, would have been quite beyond the means of a medieval farmer, and for that reason he interpreted his findings as supporting Lt. Col.MacLeod's theory that this was the site of Ramsted Nunnery. Joyce Biggar has recently re-examined some pottery and other artefacts recovered during Vigor's excavation. She agreed with his conclusion, based on the sophistication of the range of household goods represented, that the site contained a substantial homestead (31).

Fading from Memory

As the centuries pass, memories of Wyke fade progressively from the historical record. The two pre-reformation perambulations of Glynde note the lands and drove of Wyke, but mention no landmark on the site itself. A perambulation of the Ringmer boundaries in 1618 proceeds from the lower to the upper end of Weeke Lane, and thence to Sextons Crosse, while in 1702 a similar group travel along 'ye Foredown, anciently Week-lane' (32). George Picknoll's 1768 map of Col. Hay's Glyndebourne Farm calls it simply 'The road to Glynd Turnpike and Ranscombe' (33), while a Glynde perambulation of 1770 simply proceeds 'along the Foredown by the hedge' (34). All mention of Wyke is lost, until Week Lane is resuscitated by the Ordnance Survey. would be interesting to know from where they derived their information. The perambulations above, which come from the parish registers, might seem the obvious source, but they all refer correctly to Sextons Cross, which the Ordnance Survey called Saxon's Cross. Is this a remarkable example of the stubborn persistence of the oral tradition through the centuries, or are there documentary sources not uncovered here? The name seems not to be recorded in post-medieval title deeds such as those of Sextons Land, nor was it apparently known to such early 19th century antiquaries as Mantell or Horsfield.

The land on which the settlement was built later became part of the Glyndebourne estate. The description of the bounds of Ranscombe in 1543

indicates that the downland immediately south of 'Sextries Down' was the 'Goote Down' of John Thatcher, so this was probably one of the elements that went to form the Gote manor and farm. This was successively assembled and consolidated in the 15th and early 16th centuries by the de Preston, Delves and Thatcher families, and was one of the two main elements of the Glyndebourne estate purchased by Harbert Hay in 1618 (35).

Conclusions

There seems little doubt that the earthworks at the southwest end of Week Lane represent the remains of the medieval settlement of Wyke. The settlement had arable land in an open field system, which those fragments that can be identified today suggest lay northeast of the settlement, below the scarp of the downs. To the north and west lay the sheepdown and the drove. The settlement's neighbours were Middleham and Gote to the north east, Ashton and Glyndebourne to the south east, and Ranscombe and Stoneham to the west and north, but the exact boundaries and relationships remain obscure. For the purposes of the 1285 custumal at least a major part of Wyke was included in the Borgh of Gote & Middleham, but most of the 14th century references are associated with Glyndebourne and Ashton.

It would be tempting to imagine that, as at Bishopstone (36), the original Saxon settlers might have dwelt high on the downland for defensive reasons, and only moved to more convenient sites on the springline where the chalk marl meets the gault clay (such as Middleham, Gote, Ashton and Glyndebourne) when they felt more secure. There is, however, no evidence at all to support the hypothesis that Wyke was such an early mother-settlement, save an early Saxon cemetery discovered at the junction of Week Lane and the lane to Glyndebourne at Mill Plain, and a few barrows 'near Caburn' excavated by Mantell that may have been reused for Saxon burials (37). The archaeological evidence suggests that in fact Wyke was a secondary expansion onto the downland in the late medieval period, a time of great population growth and a period when the sheep began to play a progressively more important part in the national economy. The presence of one of the four manorial shepherds at Wyke supports this view. The three other shepherds all lived at different locations around the Caburn block of downland, one at Southerham, one at Walcot in Wellingham Borgh and the third, John 1e Bret, in Gote & Middleham, but probably at Bretteswicke, which has come down to us as Bridgewick, the name of the chalkpits above the Ringmer-Lewes Road (36). The meaning of Wyke as a specialist farm, in this case a sheep farm, would fit well with this interpretation.

The evidence from the late 13th and early 14th century documents that Wyke was inhabited by several freeholders simultaneously suggests that at least in this period it was a small settlement rather than a single farm. It seems very likely, however, that the majority of the remains visible today were not the farmsteads of these men, but the much higher status establishment of John le Marescall. The presence of such an important archiepiscopal functionary would account for the high quality domestic ware and building construction noted by Vigor and Joyce Biggar, and explain how the investment necessary for the extensive construction work would have been available.

There is little conclusive evidence for or against Lt. Col. MacLeod's theory that this had been the site of Ramsted Nunnery a century earlier (28). None of the pottery or other artefacts have been unambiguously dated to the 12th century. The first in the list of deeds of the property belonging to Ramsted is 'Carta Hugonis de Duna de xii acris terre de Estone in la Dune datis religiosis de Ramstede', but this could be the Estone in Framfield parish (now Eason's Green) as easily as the one in Ringmer (now Ashton). The place name element ram would of course be appropriate on the downs, but stede, although now considered to mean simply 'site' (39), in Sussex seems more typical of the weald (as in Horsted, Buxted, etc.). 'Duna' sounds like dun, or down, but could perhaps be the wealden denn, especially as the name of the donor is 'de Dena' and 'de Dyne' in other documents. Three other charters record gifts by William de Horstede. The original charter is witnessed by William, parson of Framfield (therefore also a Canon of South Malling), and the refoundation charter by Henry, Canon of Malling (tentatively identified as the same person as Henry, Vicar of Ringmer). After the first suppression of Ramsted c.1200 its possessions were granted by the Archbishop to the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury. restored to him when the Numbery was re-established in the mid-13th century, at which time they included both a mill (type unspecified) and woodland. This is not long before John Marescall appears at Wyke, but conceivably the Nunnery was again very short lived, and the Archbishop might have then granted its properties to his marshal. The verdict must remain unproven, with the balance of evidence perhaps favouring a wealden site for Ramsted in Framfield or Little Horsted.

There is no documentary evidence for the survival of the settlement at Wyke for more than a generation after the Black Death, although the archaeological evidence suggests that its occupation may have continued into the next century. As a small and marginal settlement, it would be typical of many

abandoned in the retrenchment and engrossments of the late 14th and 15th centuries (40). This may well have occurred at the date when this part of Marescall's estate became incorporated into the expanding Gote Farm.

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- (13) ESRO/GLY/1483.
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- (16) ESRO/GLY/1062
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