Proc Hampsh Field Club Archaeol Soc **50**, 1994, 209–35

THE TRUSTWORTHY MOLE: HEYWOOD SUMNER, ARCHAEOLOGIST AND AUTHOR

By GORDON LE PARD

ABSTRACT

Born into a clerical family in the mid nineteenth century, Heywood Sumner (1853–1940) was remarkable and many faceted man. After a successful career as an artist (he was one of the founders of the Arts and Crafts movement) he moved to Hampshire finally settling in a house he designed on the edge of the New Forest. Here he began a second 'career' as an archaeologist.

He was one of the finest archaeological workers of his day, his excavations were some of the few carried out to the standards set by General Pitt Rivers; whilst his maps, plans and other drawings set new standards of accuracy and design which have influenced archaeological illustration down to the present day.

> [Our] arrival was memorable, [the vans] were delayed on the road, and did not reach Gorley till 4 O'clock. Then they stuck in the clay of the "leäne" hill – immovabley. There was nothing to do but unload them there. So Peggy, our old white pony, was put in the cart, and everyone in Gorley came to help: then by the light of a frosty moon, and of stable lanthorns our household goods were conveyed in long processions to the house (Sumner 1910, 7).

So, on a January night in 1904, Heywood Sumner, his wife and five children came to Cuckoo Hill, the house he had designed, at Gorley on the western edge of the New Forest.

George Heywood Maunoir Sumner had been born in 1853, the son of George Sumner, rector of Alresford. It was during his childhood that his love of the English countryside developed, later in life he would be most frequently described as a 'countryman'. Memories of this time show how he learnt to observe early on.

> It is a memorable experience to revisit the home where one was born and bred, more than seventy years ago; and to see the changes . . . that the flight of time has brought about. Railway embankments of which one remembers the original construction, then, bare, chalk-white barriers across verdant water-meadows; now, hidden by self-sown trees and undergrowth, preserves for natural regeneration. Plantations remembered as young saplings, now woodland. Fine clumps with landmark place-names, now reduced a stag-headed decay (Sumner 1931, 225).

He had a conventional Victorian education, private school (in Cheam, Surrey), Eton, Oxford and the Bar. Some people have expressed surprise that he did not follow the strong family tradition and enter the church. Both his father and grandfather had risen to be Bishops (of Guildford and Winchester respectively) whilst his grand-uncle had been Archbishop of Canterbury (Barbour 1989). However his uncle Charles had been a County Court Judge so perhaps the Bar was not the break with family tradition that it might appear. Sumner was not, however, to practise law, but became an artist instead.

In 1881 he published a series of etchings *The Itchen Valley from Titchborne to Southampton,* which was to lead to his first exploration of the New Forest. A new edition of *The New Forest, Its History and Scenery* by John Wise was being prepared. Wise apparently saw Sumner's etchings of the Itchen Valley and invited him to draw the additional illustrations for this edition. It was whilst preparing these etchings that Sumner came to the Parish of Ibsley (in which Gorley lies) for the first time. The story was one he enjoyed retelling:

> In the year 1882 I was doing some etchings for Sotheran's edition of Wise's "New Forest," and, after a spring day spent in wandering about Foringbridge, chance, and the good highway, brought me tired and homeless to Ibsley. Here I determined to stay: but where? for there was no

> inn. So I knocked at the first cottage door. "Could I have a night's lodging?" "No." The next – "No" – and so on, all along the row of thatched homes that makes Ibsley Street so attractive to the passer-by. At last I got into conversation with one of these negative cottage dames, and, I suppose, reassured her as to my good faith, for eventually she agreed to give me both bed and board, while after supper she confided to me that the cause of my curt repulse by her neighbours was "they thought that I was a robber." At the time I attributed this either to some flaw in my natural appearance, or to the wild life that might be supposed at the edge of the Forest. Now, however, I know it was owing to a mild robbery that had just occurred at the rectory, and any stranger was accordingly suspect (Sumner 1910, 3).

Despite this initially cold reception, he obviously fell in love with the Forest, since when he married Agnes Benson in the following year it was to the New Forest that they came for their honeymoon. According to family tradition Agnes does not seem to have enjoyed the Forest as much as he did:

> Her honeymoon had put her off forest walking for life. She said her trailing skirts had been caked with mud! (Brandford 1986).

It was twenty years before they returned. During this time Sumner had become a leading figure in the Arts and Crafts movement (Coatts & Lewis 1986, Barbour 1989), skilled in many of the graphic arts, of which book illustration was, perhaps, the most important for his later archaeological and topographical work.

One piece of work from this period was considered by his family as the foundation of many of his later studies. After her father's death Sumner's daughter wrote:

> The only thing "antiquarian" he had done previously [to the move to Cuckoo Hill] was a collection of folk songs he collected himself and illustrated in *1888*, called *The Besom Maker*. I am not sure that it wasn't the seed of the Gorley Book and so on (letter from Dorothea Sumner to Williams-Freeman 26/1/41).

This book was one of the first collections of English folk songs:

> In 1888 a small illustrated book, The Besom Maker and other Country Folk Songs, containing nine songs was issued by Mr. Heywood Sumner. It was around this period that a wave of sympathy impelled several people to turn their attention to the consideration of the songs sung by rustics (Kitson and Neal 1915).

Sumner remained interested in the subject for many years and contributed several examples to the first major anthology of English Folk Song *English Country Songs* (Broadwood and Maitland 1893). He joined the Folk Song Society in 1904 but published nothing more on the subject. *The Besom Maker* can be seen as a precursor of *The Book of Gorley* (1910) in its use of collected oral material interspersed with his own illustrations.

In 1897 Agnes was ill and the family were advised to leave London so they moved to Bournemouth. From here Sumner explored the surrounding countryside. He was a keen cyclist and, riding fifty or sixty miles a day he soon got to know the New Forest and Cranborne Chase. It was during this time that he built up an extensive library relating to local topography and history. His bibliographic knowledge became well known which led, in 1919, to his preparing a report on Salisbury Museum library for the museum committee (Musty 1988) and, in 1925, to his editing the first *New Forest Bibliography* which was published in conjunction with an exhibition 'Art in the Library' at the Mansard Gallery in London.

Sumner did not like Bournemouth and soon began looking for another home. He purchased the site of Cuckoo Hill in 1901 and began building almost at once. The house was occupied from 1902 but the family did not completely move in until January 1904. Cuckoo Hill seems to have been based on houses designed by C F A Voysey and W R Lethaby, both Arts and Crafts architects (Barbour personal communication, Le Pard in preparation) and is certainly an extremely attractive house.

The Book of Gorley 1905–1910

In 1905 he began the manuscript volume 'The Book of Gorley', pages of handwritten text interspersed with water-colour sketches. This eventually extended to three volumes (I will refer

to these as 'Gorley I, II and III'). Sumner's purpose in writing these volumes is not altogether clear. It is certain that they were intended to be read by people other than his immediate family, for he writes:

> Now in this chapter, I should like to give some sort of record of the present life & look of this Northern end of the Forest. Something that will enable my reader of A.D.2000 to see, as I see now, these wild hills & woods & valleys (Gorley I, 88).

Whoever these books were originally intended for, in 1908 or 1909 Sumner decided to publish a version of them. This appeared in early 1910 as *The Book of Gorley*. It consists of most of Gorley I and about half of Gorley II, and is an eclectic mixture of essays on local history, topography and rural life, much of which foreshadows his later work. The only area on which he was not to publish any more was rural life, although he was to remain interested in, and actively involved with, his local community for the rest of his long life.

> We had a fine bonfire of 150 Scots Pine faggots on Ibsley Common on Saturday night attended by our scanty population & by the ghosts of barrow folk in the form of night-jars who circled round & round the blaze (letter to Wallace 23/7/19).

Sumner seems to have wanted to write about the countryside, and the *Book of Gorley* can be considered as a series of test pieces. Perhaps he intended to follow up those sections which produced a favourable public reaction. Whatever the reason for the book, the result was surprising – Heywood Sumner became an archaeologist.

IN SEARCH OF EARTHWORKS

The change was sudden and dramatic. In the *Book of Gorley* he was accepting earlier authors' accounts of ancient sites with a naivety that was outdated even in his time:

> ANGLO-SAXON Clearbury Ring . . . Sir R. C. Hoare attributes this camp to the West Saxons, and dates it about A.D. 519, when the battle of Cerdic's Ford (Charford) was fought beside the Avon between Ambrosius (nearly the last king of the Romano-British) and Cerdic, who led the West Saxons. Ambrosius was killed, and the remnant of his followers retreated to the highlands of Cranborne Chase (Sumner 1910, 106–7).

Yet within twelve months he was producing surveys of sites that were not to be surpassed until the coming of aerial photography, and carrying out excavations to a standard that few were to equal for many years.

What was it that changed Sumner from an artist who saw ancient monuments as fascinating landscape features, to one of the finest archaeologists of his day? The clue, I believe, lies in his only surviving archaeological notebook. This dates from 1910–1912, and is the last of a series of sketch-books. It begins as a sketch-book with drawings of landscapes, trees, animals etc., then it changes in April 1911, to include detailed measurements of earthworks. These measurements are taken in a very specific way, which is detailed in Dr J P Williams-Freeman's *An Introduction to Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire* (1915). There is also an unusual coincidence of dates for in 1910 (the year the *Book of Gorley* was published) Williams-Freeman published his first list of Hampshire earthworks, with an appeal for help:

> [I] will be very grateful to anyone who can aid [me] with this survey (Williams-Freeman 1910).

Either as a result of this request, or perhaps through Williams-Freeman seeing the *Book of Gorley*, Sumner and Williams-Freeman met. By 1913, the date of the first surviving letter between them, they were obviously close friends, a friendship that was to last until Sumner's death.

Dr J P Williams-Freeman was one of the most important Hampshire archaeologists of the day. His *magnum opus, An Introduction to Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire* is still a valuable work. He was primarily a surveyor and from him Sumner learnt the basics of archaeological surveying. He was an apt pupil since by early 1911 he was carrying out his first independent surveys on Cranborne Chase.

Cranborne Chase 1911–13

During the early years of the twentieth century earthworks were attracting the attention of British archaeologists. In 1906 the Congress of Archaeological Societies had formed an "Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures Committee" which produced several reports and encouraged local investigation. Several studies resulted from this activity (eg Alcroft 1908, Wall 1908 and Burrow 1919), of which *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* was one of the finest.

Sumner began work on Cranborne Chase in the spring of 1911, exploring this area of rolling chalk downland to the west of his home. Although split between three counties (Hampshire, Dorset and Wiltshire) it formed a natural geographical unit which Sumner knew well, and which could be studied without trespassing too much on the survey Williams-Freeman was making of Hampshire earthworks.

By the autumn of 1912 Sumner had surveyed 49 sites, mostly prehistoric or Romano-British. Each one is dealt with in a similar way, the site is described, any writers who have mentioned it in the past are quoted and finally, if possible, it is ascribed to a particular period:

> Whitsbury Castle Ditches.
> This is a very fine camp. It stands 400 feet above the sea, its area covers about 16 acres, and is for the most part surrounded by a triple circle of great banks with two deep ditches . . . The woodland growth that covers this earthwork accounts for its scant estimation as a local landmark, and it must have been owing to this concealment that Sir R. C. Hoare described "Whichbury Camp" as "Single-ditched" . . . The area, which is now under pasture, presents a smooth surface. There is no humpy ground but potsherds may be found telling of past habitation (Sumner 1913a, 20).

On several sites Sumner records potsherds, sometimes 'British' pottery, but gives no further details. At this time, even after Pitt-Rivers' work, most prehistoric and even some Romano-British coarse pottery had not been clearly identified, so his lack of detail is, perhaps, understandable. Although the majority of sites he described were well known, his plans set new standards of accuracy and presentation. He also made several important archaeological discoveries. On June 13, 1911 he climbed Hambledon hill and noted:

> Outside the camp on the S. side, in the hill plateau there is humpy ground that may mean habitation, but here also there does not appear to be any mould, and I could find no pottery shards (Archaeological Notebook).

He had discovered the Neolithic causewayed camp. He planned the earthworks with remarkable accuracy, but as a properly cautious field archaeologist, would only suggest that they were of a different date to the main hill fort. It was not until 1928 that the full implications of his discovery were appreciated (Mercer 1980). On some known sites previously unknown features were recorded. At Knighton Hill Buildings he noticed that:

> The enclosure is very well defined . . . and is surrounded by a low bank . . . which cuts the scarps of three cultivation banks – showing that these were in existence, and that the possibly the land had reverted when the enclosure was made (Sumner 1913a, 43).

Later he pointed this out to O G S Crawford who took aerial photographs of the site and arranged for excavation, which enabled the enclosure to be dated to the late Iron Age and thus gave a *terminus ante quem* for the field boundaries (Crawford and Keiler 1928).

The publication of *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* in 1913 was greeted first with a little scepticism, then delight. One review expresses it perfectly:

> This book with its thick paper, its opulent margins, its large ornamental type, and its number of full-page or double-page plans, each one an example of attractive penmanship, suggests art rather than archaeology as its subject . . . [But] this book – a beautiful book in itself – gives a considerable amount of information as to the earthworks in South Wilts, which is not to be gathered from other sources (Anon 1914a).

New Forest 1913–16

As *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* was going through the press, Sumner began work on a companion volume. He had once described

Cuckoo Hill as lying between the Forest and the Chase and so, after surveying the Chase, it was natural for him to turn his attention to the New Forest.

Work started in 1913 and continued for the next three years. Surveying here was more difficult, many of the sites were previously unknown and the conditions on the Forest hampered investigation:

> As to y^r^ question ab^t^ these earthworks, I do not think that the 3 that I have found are fit for record . . . So I think that least said, (till I have had considerably more experience in comparing these spread Forest Earthworks), will be soonest mended. "I can mind the biggin'o't," is a needful warning here – where bank & ditch have been used for Forest Inclosure, & encroachment fences since the Middle Ages; a difficulty that doesn't occur on the chalk (letter to Williams-Freeman 28/12/13).

The Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest was published in 1917, it is very similar to his study of Cranborne Chase with its detailed descriptions of various earthworks, large and small, lying within the New Forest and surrounding countryside. There are however important differences, first it includes accounts of various excavations that Sumner had carried out (these will be described below), and secondly there are several medieval and post-medieval sites described. The chief medieval sites are Bishops Dyke and Lyndhurst Old Park. In both cases the date, and in the latter case the function, a Deer Park, of the site was determined by extensive quotations from legal documents (which might suggest that his legal training had not been all wasted!). In about 1909, in Gorley II, Sumner had written an essay on Medieval Deer Parks which dealt with the cartographic and documentary evidence. Now he compared the documentary with the physical evidence. An interest in medieval earthworks, apart from castles, was very unusual at this time, whilst Sumner's survey of eighteenth-century salt workings along the Solent shore was probably unique.

The other important post-medieval sites recorded were the timber enclosures of the sixteenth century. One, Ridley Wood, Sumner was able to date from documentary records. The second enclosure in Sloden Wood was of similar structure, and he sensibly suggested a similar date and purpose. He must have been delighted some twelve years later when O G S Crawford (the first archaeology officer of the Ordnance Survey and a close friend) asked him to edit a recently discovered survey of woodlands in the New Forest, dating from the early seventeenth century. This showed conclusively that his identification of the Sloden wood earthwork was correct (Sumner 1929a).

On publication, in October 1917, the book was generally recognised as a major archaeological study, and a standard work on the New Forest.

Bournemouth District 1919–20

For his third, and final, earthwork survey Sumner had help, both on the ground and financially from the archaeological section of the Bournemouth Natural Science Society (BNSS). Sumner had been involved with the society since 1914. In 1917 he was awarded honorary membership and served as president in 1926 and 1927 (Le Pard 1992):

> On 12th December, 1918 a conference was held to discuss possibilities of archaeological record work. A discussion led to a resolution to undertake a topographical survey of the Bournemouh area, and this was entrusted to, and kindly undertaken by, Mr Heywood Sumner F. S. A., and Mr W. G. Wallace (Shaen Solly 1920).

W G Wallace was the curator of the BNSS's museum as well as an amateur archaeologist of some experience (he had excavated at Bradbury Rings near Wimborne Minster, in 1900). In the archives of the BNSS are preserved many letters from Sumner to Wallace and through them we can see how the Bournemouth Survey was organized. First 6 inch Ordnance Survey maps of the area were obtained, and searched for both marked earthworks and for place-names that suggested sites worth searching:

> The 6" sheets gives several names that are interesting. I see a moat is marked round 2 sides of *Leigh* farm n^r^ Wimborne – in the vill of Leigh – and a '*Church Moor*' copse nearby that excites my curiosity,

as I always expect – & generally find – some sort of Earthwork near a 'church' place name (letter to Wallace 5/1/19).

Next field work was undertaken, both to examine the known sites and to search for new ones:

I have done 2 more days field work, & have finished a plan of 'The Bee Garden' E^{wk} on Holt Heath, – wh- I take to be an ancient E^{wk} of the Small square enclosure type (letter to Wallace 8/6/19).

As with the previous surveys discoveries were made:

I have found what I believe to be a deer-park E^{wk}, (comparing with the Old Park, Lyndhurst), on Rye Hill, Woodlands. The farthest verge of our district, near Wimborne S^{t} Giles (letter to Wallace 13/6/19).

Sumner was again breaking new ground

Rye Hill has the distinction of being the first medieval Dorset park of which a detailed account was published (Cantor and Wilson 1968).

The findings were presented to the BNSS on 15 April 1920, and published the following year. There were problems with this publication, in particular the cost of reproducing the map:

I hope that S. S. [Shaen Solly, chairman of the Archaeology Section] will be able to settle the inclus^{n} of the key map, for it is, as you say, an important (*indeed an essential*) item in our record. Please let me know further if the editor says "No", because then I must say my say & see what can be done (letter to Wallace 29/1/21).

The map was eventually included, but two drawings that Sumner had prepared to illustrate the report were dropped (Le Pard 1993). Sumner now incorporated the results of the three earthwork surveys on *A Map of Ancient Sites in the New Forest, Cranborne Chase and Bournemouth District* which was published in February 1923.

Later Surveys

Sumner had now surveyed all the countryside within easy reach of his home and he was to carry out no more large scale earthwork surveys. However earthworks continued to fascinate him:

Owing, to M^{r} T. G. Longstaff & family picnicking in Pinnick I got a pointer to a small unrecorded e^{wk} at the E. end of Pinnick. (W. of Handy Cross Pond) – and, after some questing – found it – ovalish – 20 paces X 16 paces – with Mediaeval over-all measurement for the surrounding e^{wk}. A Pig-pound probably. I am recording it for the Field Club Proceedings (letter to Williams-Freeman 27/12/24).

This site was published in the wonderful topographical paper 'A Winter Walk in the New Forest' (Sumner 1925c). This fascination with earthworks was to last to the end of his life, for it was his earthwork studies that had led directly to his excavation work.

EXCAVATING FOR KNOWLEDGE

In the summer of 1911, whilst working on Cranborne Chase, Sumner realised that to understand the sites he was surveying he would have to excavate. Williams-Freeman was no excavator and for advice he turned to Colonel William Hawley of the Society of Antiquaries who was excavating Old Sarum at the time. Hawley seems to have been keen to help and advise. In 1912 he proposed Sumner for Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries and visited Sumner's digs frequently over the next few years. However his main guide, to excavation and recording, were General Pitt-Rivers' volumes *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*. Sumner had obtained his copies sometime before 1907, because they were of local interest. Now he studied them for advice – and followed the General as well as he was able.

The sequence of his excavations follows a very logical path (Table 1). The earthwork surveys posed problems which could be solved by excavation, further problems were posed by the results of these digs, leading to further excavation. Thus his first excavations took place on Cranborne Chase.

Grims Ditch 1911

Grims Ditch is the name given to several banks and ditches that cross the chalk downs of Cranborne Chase. Earlier writers had described this complex, with varying degrees of accuracy, and put forward various theories. In Sumner's day the most popular

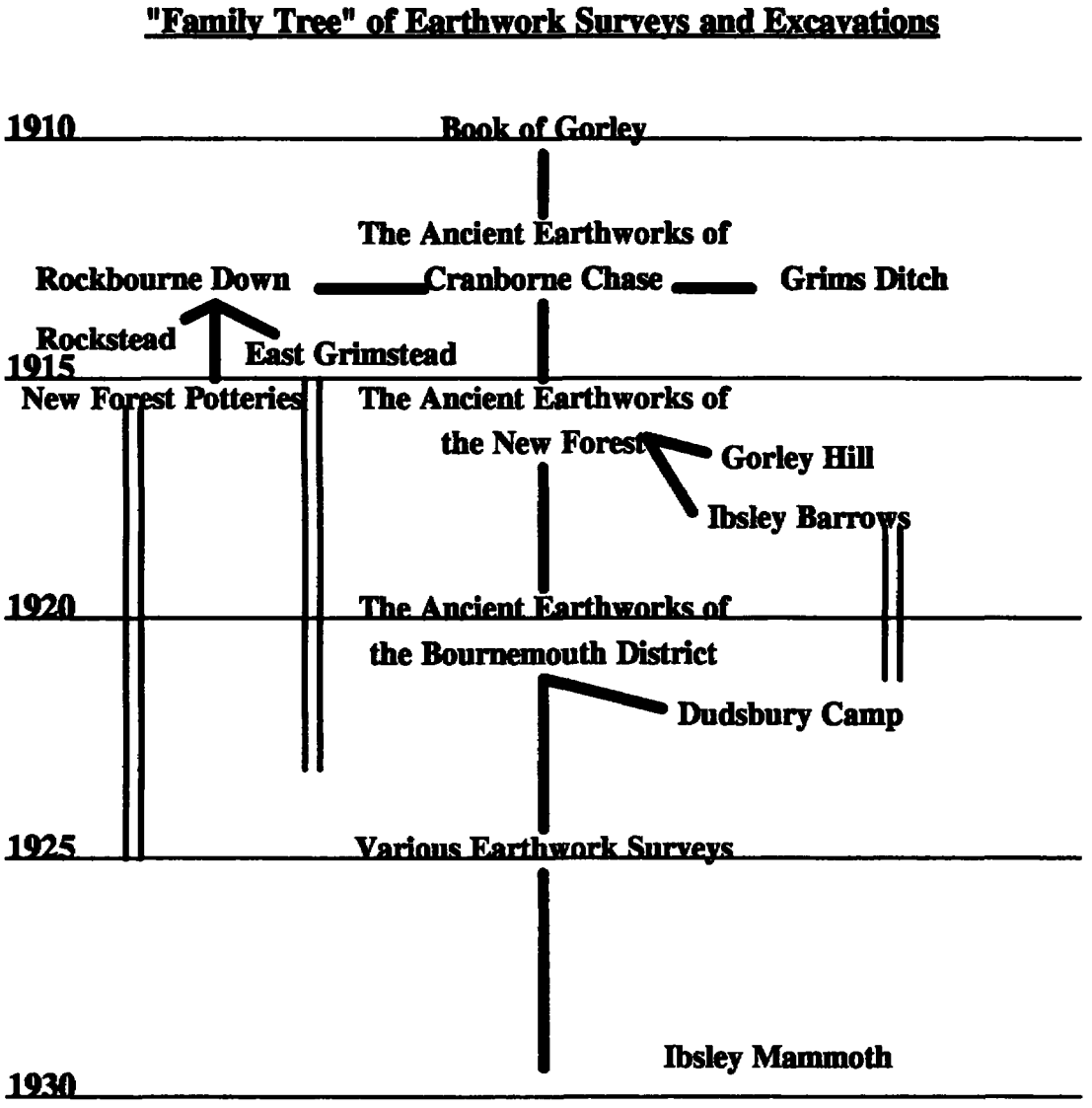


Table 1

was "an ancient British trackway" with its rival a "tribal boundary" running a close second. Sumner's approach was simple and practical:

> It appeared to me that excavation could give the only evidence that could explain the usage of Grim's Ditch. If if had ever been used as a trackway, the floor would assuredly be wide and would show signs of trampling (Sumner 1913, 61).

He began to dig on Breamore Down on 7 August 1911 (letter to Sir Edward Hulse) and completed his section in three days, this was left open for others to inspect:

> Colonel Hawley was staying here last weekend, & I drove him over on Saturday to have a look at the cut. He was interested in the section shewing so clearly that it had never been used as a trackway (letter to Sir Edward Hulse 9/9/11).

Sumner's work on Grims Ditch failed to provide a date for the earthwork, but his careful excavations and section drawings provide a starting point for modern studies of this feature (Bowen 1990).

Rockbourne Down 1911–13

Above the village of Rockbourne (Hampshire) lies Spring Pond which Sumner had first visited during his initial explorations of Cranborne Chase. He was fascinated by ponds and (sometime around 1908) had read *Neolithic Dew-Ponds and Cattleways* (Hubbard and Hubbard 1905).

> One little book that had a great vogue at the time was a curious compilation called Neolithic Dewponds and Cattleways, by Hubbard. It was full of the wildest ideas, but it did have a freshness that was in contrast to the dreary stuff that then often passed as archaeology. At least it showed that there were a lot of interesting things lying about all over the downs, waiting to be explained (Crawford 1953).

One of the ideas put forward by the Hubbards was that of the "fortified pond", a pond surrounded by an earthwork. It was, perhaps, with this in mind that Sumner came to Spring Pond in 1911. It was not a fortified pond, but there were unrecorded earthworks running up to the pond. Sumner was naturally curious about this, his first archaeological discovery, and soon determined that these banks delineated a five sided enclosure containing 96 acres. The next step was to try and determine the date and function. He explored the site thoroughly looking for clues:

> My observations were directed to the Down Land that still remains uncultivated within the area of this large enclosure. Signs of habitation – humps and hollows, with potsherds on the mole-hills and rabbit scrapes were found on the upper, North-Eastern side of the area, and here, helped by the experience and advice of Colonel Hawley, who came over from Old Sarum to inspect the site, I began to excavate in 1911 (Sumner 1914, 15).

Over the next three years he was to spend several weeks each summer excavating the site. It was an unqualified success, a large Romano-British site was uncovered, containing three "Hypocausts" (they would now be identified as "grain dryers"), on either side of the main enclosure bank. A separate, smaller, enclosure was uncovered, within the larger one; which, unusually, incorporated two Bronze Age barrows, one of which had been demolished, possibly to provide a well drained foundation for a timber building. He completed the excavation in 1913 and his account *Excavations on Rockbourne Down, Hampshire* was published in March 1914. It was very well received:

> In the paper-covered booklet before us Mr Sumner has presented the results of his labours in a most attractive form. The details of work and description of relics are given with the same care and accuracy that characterize the well known works of Pitt Rivers on his excavations in the not far distant Cranborne Chase; but the plans and diagrams are drawn in a somewhat new, and most graphic and interesting style (Anon 1914b).

The reviewer is certainly correct in seeing a similarity to Pitt-Rivers' work. Sumner had followed him closely in many respects, notably the use of "relic tables" to record finds from various parts of the site. But, as the reviewer stated, the plans owe nothing to Pitt-Rivers. They are virtually modern excavation plans. The standing earthworks are shown by hachures, the boundaries of the excavated areas clearly marked together with all the features discovered (Fig 1).

It was this publication that made his archaeological name. It was of high quality, and described a previously unknown type of site. It had long been realized that small farms must have existed in Roman Britain, indeed must have been common, but no one had ever found one before. The site became a classic and has recently been extensively re-interpreted (Bowen 1990).

The nature and quality of some of the material from Rockbourne Down led Sumner to make a remarkable prophecy:

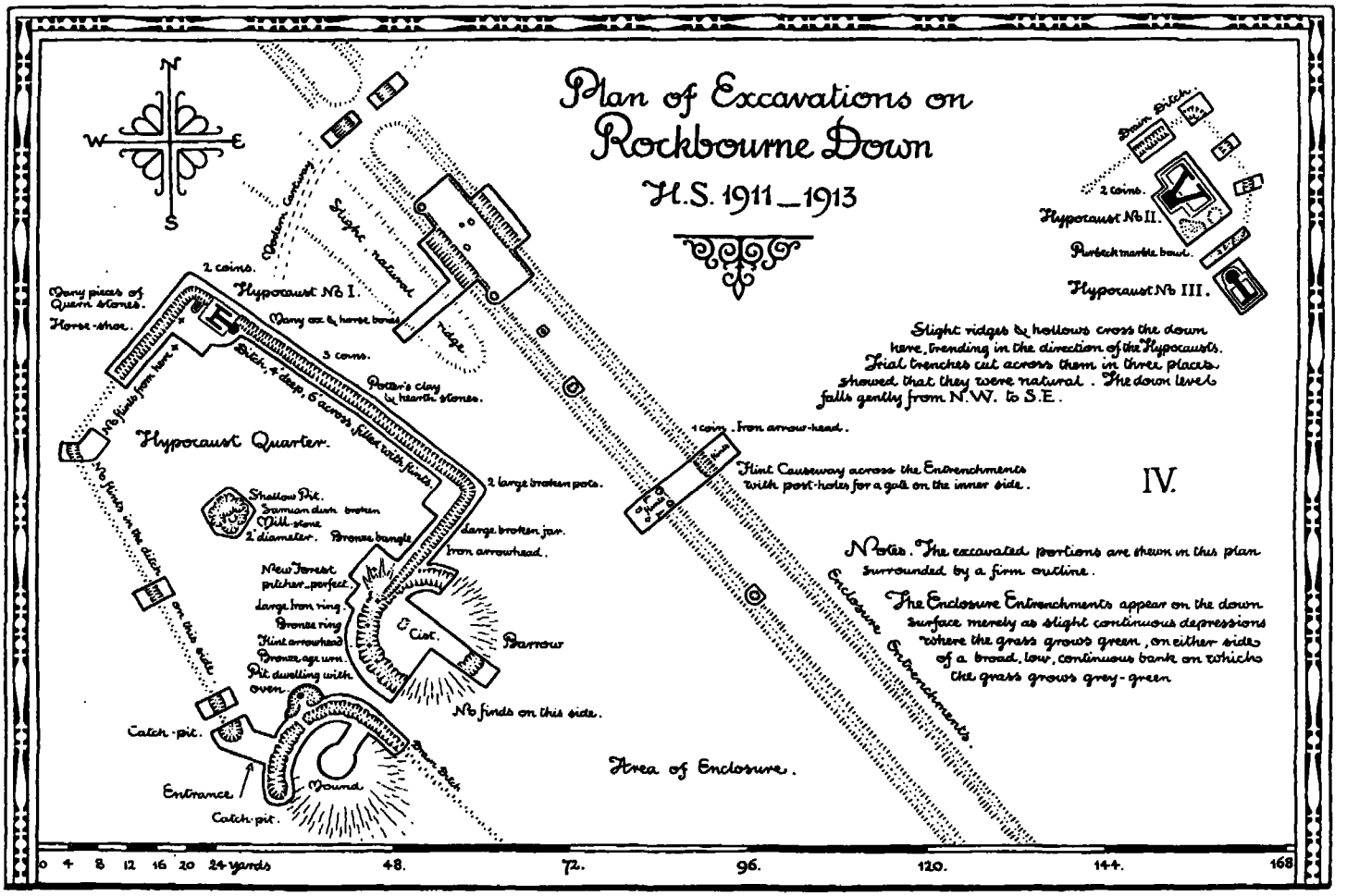


Fig 1. Site Plan of the Romano-British farmstead on Rockbourne Down (Sumner 1914a)

> The site of a farm vill of a humble type has been excavated by the writer on Rockbourne Down, and it seemed probable, from its good planning, from its masonry, and from its stray relics, that it may have been connected with a neighbouring villa house – which however has not been discovered (Sumner 1914b).

It was perhaps in search of this villa that in March 1914, he excavated a substantial rubbish pit at Rockstead, near Rockbourne, where a coin hoard had been found twenty five years previously. He was not however to discover the great villa at Rockbourne which was to remain hidden beneath the old cricket field for another thirty years.

NEW FOREST POTTERIES 1912–27

Preliminary research 1912–17

Whilst excavating on Rockbourne Down Sumner had found a large amount of coarse pottery which he wished to identify. Frank Stevens, the curator of Salisbury Museum, suggested the New Forest as a possible source:

> Most of the potsherds found on this site belonged to wheel-turned vessels, and came from the New Forest potteries, eight miles distant across the Avon . . . Museum specimens of New Forest pottery generally consist of "thumb-pots," and ornamental ware; but the sherds which may be found on the kiln spoil banks show a wide range of manufacture both in material and purpose. It is impossible now to excavate the site of these potteries for they have been enclosed and planted, and tree roots stop the spade. However, knowledge may be gained of the different sorts of pottery . . . by turning over the spoil banks . . . in this way it has been possible to identify similar ware discovered on Rockbourne Down (Sumner 1914a, 31).

This sparked an interest in these local potteries, and in 1916 he dug trial trenches across all the known sites, but discovered that the Victorian excavators had been there first. However these excavations did produce a wide range of coarse ware, not previously recognised as New Forest pottery. This collection was published in *The Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest* (1917) with the expressed wish of helping other archaeologists identify New Forest pottery when they came across it.

Ashley Rails 1917–81

Sumner now began the search for an undisturbed kiln site. His chance came in 1917 when a pony belonging to Mr G H Slightam died and was buried alongside Pitts Wood, Ashley Rilas. In the grave pottery was noticed and reported to Sumner. This site was well away from any previously excavated. He arranged the necessary permissions and, in December 1917 began to dig.

Excavation continued intermittently for the next eleven months and, although the kiln had been destroyed, robbed out in medieval times for the ironstone it contained, much new information was discovered:

> The Pottery finds have been v^y^ interesting ab^t^. 10 perfect vessels – or almost perfect, stamped ware of imitation Gaulish type, wh- has not before been known as made in Britain – & an interesting lot of mortaria types not recorded in local excavat^ns^.
> I took 2 hampers full of my finds to the B.M. [British Museum], who have 1^st^ claim on Crown Lands finds, and they want them all except the thumb-pots (Letter to Williams-Freeman undated but probably October 1918).

Sumner, typically, wanted to publish quickly:

> Some day – **When** _ etc. I hope to publish my record – which should be useful to excavators & students (same letter)

(the **When** etc. is of course "When the war is over").

After this excavation Sumner carried out a series of experiments. Samples of clay were collected from outcrops adjacent to the site and fired by Henry Whitcombe of Bournemouth Art School. Wooden stamps were made by W G Wallace to try and duplicate the stamped decoration (they worked perfectly). Unfortunately a series of experiments to try and duplicate the painted decoration was cut short by the sudden death of Owen Carter (of Carter and Company, the Poole Potters). All of this information, apart

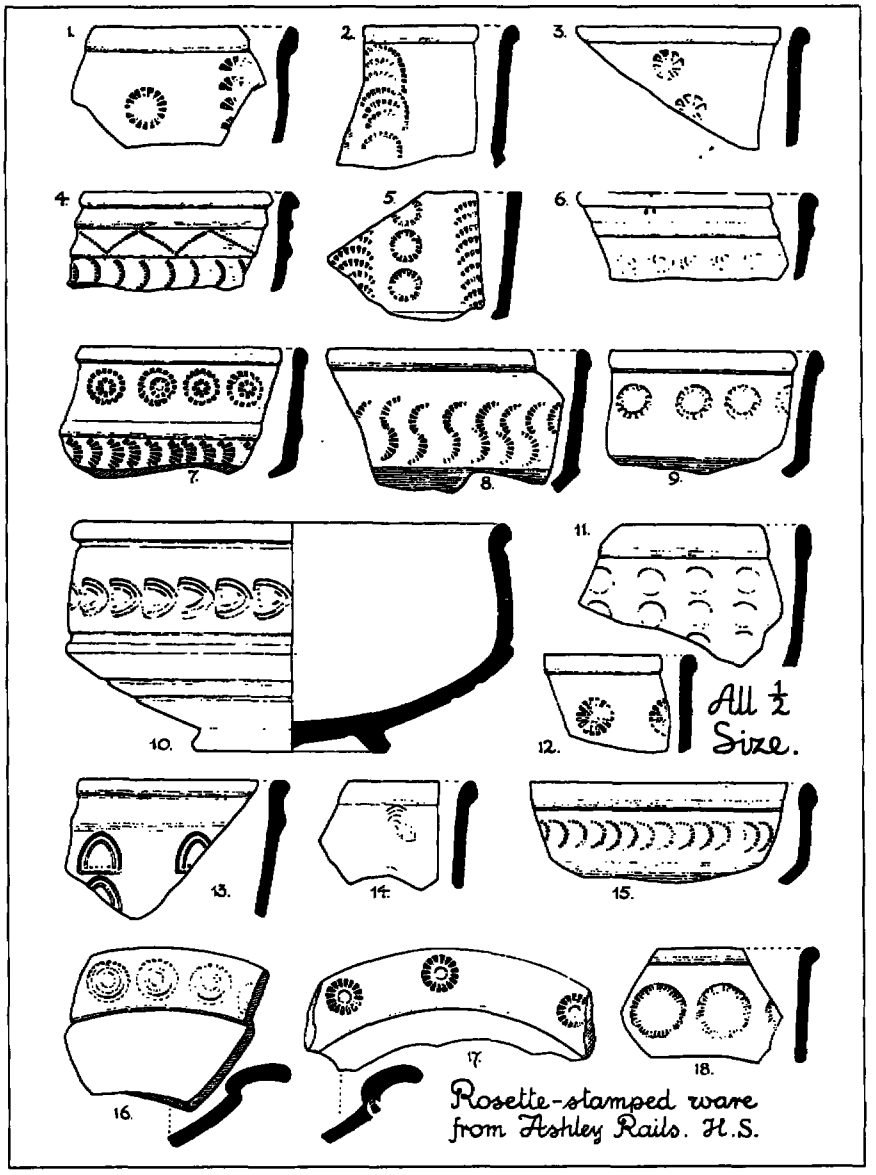


Fig 2. Pottery from Ashley Rails. A previously unpublished drawing, apart from number 15 all the pottery was illustrated in *A Descriptive Account of the Roman Pottery made at Ashley Rails, New Forest* (1919) plates IV, V and VI. (Courtesy of Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.)

from the uncompleted work with Owen Carter, was included in *A Descriptive Account of the Roman Pottery made at Ashley Rails, New Forest* which was published in September 1919. The booklet is remarkable for its date, the pottery is drawn in the modern manner, with both decoration and section side by side (Fig 2). Sumner was not the first to draw pottery this way but he certainly helped popularize the technique. The site plan too is remarkable, not only is the main kiln area excavation shown but also the pattern of regular trial holes which form a rough grid.

As he had stated in his letter, one of his purposes in publication was helping other archaeologists identify New Forest Pottery. For this reason he sent copies, together with samples of pottery to whoever he thought might be interested. In the copy preserved in the Dorset County Museum is a letter addressed to the curator of the day:

> I hope you will accept the enclosed record with my compliments for your library, & that it might be of service to you in identifying local pottery finds on Roman sites (letter to J E Acland 2/9/19).

In return Sumner wanted information on where New Forest Pottery had been found. He was trying to build up a picture of the industry, and wished to know about distribution. Also if pottery was found in a dated context it might help refine the dating of the kilns since dating evidence from the sites was limited to a very few coins and more evidence was needed.

Sloden and Linwood 1920–21

The dig at Ashley Rails had been very successful; only one thing was lacking, an undisturbed kiln. It was another forester, a "super-annervated woodsman, Parnell by name" who told him of a place near Sloden Green where potsherds could be found on mole hills. Working alone in February 1920 he finally uncovered a small kiln. A nearby site was excavated a few weeks later, with the aid of a party of schoolboys from Taunton School, Southampton:

> The diggins af^{td} at Sloden were a success in spite of 2 days of rough weather – 3 masters and 6 boys . . . If you can find an Archaeological School Master in B.Mth who knows the ropes of holiday camping, this seems to me in these high wage times, the best chance for bringing about excavat^{n} for knowledge (letter to Wallace May 1920).

A L Stevenson, the schoolmaster, returned with another party of boys later in the year to complete the excavation. He was to become a friend of Sumner's and to assist on later excavations.

At this site a second kiln was discovered; his account gives some idea of the problems he faced:

> The wet weather that prevailed at this period of the excavation prevented much work in this cavity [the combustion chamber], as the puddled clay trod into mud and thereby confused the ruinous evidence. Outside, around the platform, lay an immense quantity of burnt black earth and charcoal, but here also the muddy condition of the clay floor stayed investigation (Sumner 1921, 17).

These were not the only problems, as his illustration clearly shows a tree had grown over the kiln and its roots had to be removed during the excavation. Two more kilns were found in September, and then in November a neighbouring landowner found yet another one, at Blackheath Meadow, Linwood. Sumner excavated this one alone, it seems to have been something of a rescue dig and he was unable to organise help:

> Whenever fine weather allows, I am now digging, alone, on a well preserved kiln-site, 2 miles from here, and, with my insufficient means, I want to get it done – before frost & elemental destruction begin.
>
> I sh^{d} say that this site has been sprung on me since I last wrote to you, owing to the owner of the land having reported black earth & sherds in his cultivat^{n} observation – and moreover wanting excavation! to see what lay below.
>
> Vanity perhaps makes me smile at being regarded as a harmless trustworthy mole (letter to Wallace 3/12/20).

The excavation was completed by January 1921, and the booklet *A Descriptive Account of the Roman Pottery sites of Sloden and Blackheath Meadow, Linwood, New Forest* was published in April that

year. Sumner's excavations of the New Forest kilns has attracted a certain amount of criticism, notably from Vivien Swan (1971) see Appendix 2.

The Potters Hut 1925

With the completion of the kiln excavations at Sloden and Linwood, Sumner felt he had dug enough on the New Forest potteries. He knew the location of other kilns but did not feel that further excavation was justified, for example at one site:

> Much castaway broken pottery and burnt stuff was found. After my previous experiences at Sloden I have no doubt that a kiln existed on this site . . . Under the circumstances – having found and planned four kilns – further exploration in Mr Locke's pasture seemed to be scarcely justified (Sumner 1921, 31).

Despite this, he was to excavate a further two kilns in Linwood, in 1922 and 1925, at the request of the landowners. But if he felt he knew enough about the kilns, there was one aspect of the potters' lives that had eluded him – he did not know where they lived:

> The Romano-British potters worked in peace, . . . but I failed to locate with certainly a habitation site . . . They appeared to be a poor folk. Certainly they dropped few coins, and no bronze ornaments (Sumner 1921, 11–12).

In March 1925 he was to remedy this lack of knowledge. Just outside Islands Thorns Inclosure, pot sherds were discovered in a rabbit scrape. Excavation revealed a clay floor with a pattern of six post holes delineating a "hut" approximately 15 feet by 11 feet. The ruins of a small kiln were found nearby. Finds were slight and, apart from a scatter of pottery there was only one unusual, and delightful, discovery. Two tiny pots, a flagon and a beaker, which Sumner interpreted as children's toys:

> Precursors of the Queens dolls' house! only real-made for children by their Father or Mother (letter to Cowie 8/5/25).

Sumner seems to have been very proud of this discovery, for he describes it in *The Journal of Roman Studies* (1926), the *Bournemouth Natural Science Society Proceedings* (1926), the *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* (1927) and his own *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites* (1927). In August 1925 he lectured on "The excavation of a Roman potters hut in the New Forest" to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (where he shared the platform with Mortimer Wheeler). This excavation also fascinated Walter Brown, who had helped Sumner excavate the site. Many years later his memories were recorded:

> Mr Brown had once been employed full time by an antiquaries expert searching the New Forest. He said humorously of his own work: "He told me where to dig and I dug. I always was a good digger".
>
> He remembered the excitement when his employer found a kiln with contents unbroken instead of the usual shattered state. The scholarly man had thrown his hat in the air, shouted and danced around the find. Many of the finds Mr Brown made with him are now in the museums of Salisbury and London.
>
> Mr Brown further remembers an ancient New Forest dwelling-place being unearthed, where could be seen the places for the family bed and for their cooking (de Bairacli-Levy 1958).

In 1927 he brought together all his writings on the New Forest potteries. *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites* immediately became, and has remained, a standard work on the subject. The general map is one of Sumner's most remarkable creations. As well as showing the location of the pottery kilns Sumner added numerous illustrations of:

> Present day life in this district . . . [these] graphic suggestions . . . cheer the map-maker as he fulfils his task, and the map reader as he pours over the planned sheet; for it is a pleasure both to delineate, and to find things happening amid the hills and valleys and place names recorded (Sumner 1927).

These additions include, foxes, deer, cyclists and a deer hunt. Horses throw their riders in the mud at the bottom of the map, the hounds charge over the centre whilst the deer escapes at the top! Sir Mortimer Wheeler considered this the finest archaeological map he had ever seen (Fig 3).

R G Collingwood, writing in *Antiquity* produced

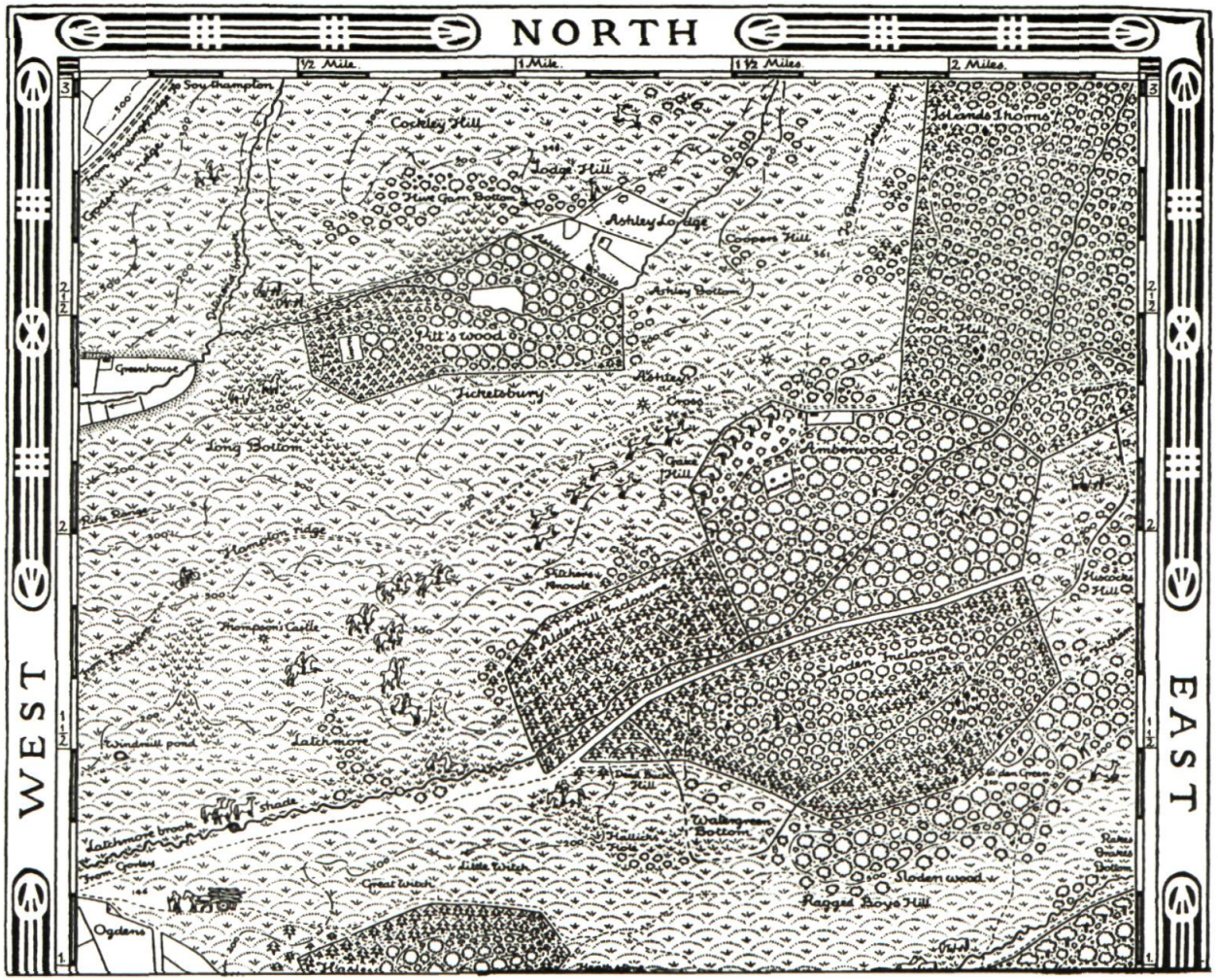


Fig 3. Extract from *A Map shewing NEW FOREST ROMAN POTTERY SITES* (Sumner 1921 & 1927a). In the original the pottery sites and possible Roman earthworks are printed in red.

one of the most glowing reviews that periodical has ever published:

> Here is a book of which it is difficult to speak without appearing extravagant. Merely to open it is to be charmed by beautiful type, beautifully arranged on excellent paper; to turn a few pages is to encounter illustrations as eloquent in their significance as they are tasteful in their execution; and to read is to run grave danger of absolute bewitchment . . . To . . . vivid imagination and a most delicate facility for observation . . . add scholarship and you have a mind perfectly gifted for archaeological research. And Mr Sumner's scholarship is as sound as his draughtsmanship. The result is a little book which bears on every page the marks of a classic (Collingwood 1928).

Sumner felt this was going too far and when Robert Newall wrote to congratulate him on the review, he replied:

> It is very nice of you to congratulate me on the review in 'Antiquity' on my New Forest Roman Pottery Sites book – I don't know R G Collingwood personally, so it is all the more gratifying (letter to Newall 8/3/28).

Accompanying the letter is a delightful cartoon self portrait (Fig 4) showing a tiny body and huge head with the inscription:

> From swelled head – Good Lord deliver me.

EAST GRIMSTEAD 1914–24

First Phase 1914–15

As well as leading to the exploration of the New Forest potteries his excavation on Rockbourne Down had other consequences. Sumner did not believe in the private ownership of archaeological finds. During his excavation Dr Blackmore and Frank Stevens of Salisbury Museum had given him considerable help and it was at Salisbury that he placed the artefacts from Rockbourne Down. In his history of Salisbury Museum, Frank Stevens wrote:

> Another figure came to the front at this time [1910–14]: Mr Heywood Sumner, who had been working in the neighbourhood of Rockbourne on a small Romano British Farm . . . he also joined the Museum Committee, and thus added greatly to its technical efficiency (Stevens 1948).

Sumner soon became Salisbury Museum's Romano-British expert, and for this reason he was called in when;

> Mr Penn the tenant of Maypole Farm, had always noticed that his crops failed in this part of the field . . . curiosity as to the cause induced his son to do some digging here, or rather some work with pickaxe and an iron bar; and in so doing he broke into a pillared Hypocaust, with well-made burnt tile pilae (Sumner 1916, 17).

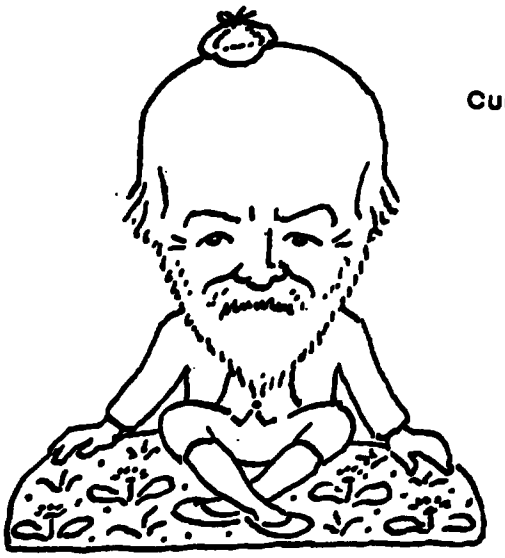
In three weeks during May and June 1914, helped by the three labourers who had excavated with him on Rockbourne Down, he uncovered a substantial Bath House at East Grimstead, a few miles east of Salisbury. Frank Stevens asked him for an account of it for the *Festival Book of Salisbury*, an anthology of essays on the history of Salisbury, which it was intended to publish later that year, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the museum. Sumner worked rapidly, writing to his daughter a few weeks after finishing the dig:

> I have completed a breathless record of my diggings at East Grimstead, with plans, sections etc. which would bring tears to your eyes (if you had to master them) (letter to Dorothea Sumner 1/7/14).

Due to the outbreak of war, publication was delayed, the book finally appearing in 1916. It had been hoped to continue excavations at East Grimstead, but although a little more work was done in 1915, which proved the presence of a large house nearby, the war intervened and it was several years before further investigation of the site took place.

Second Phase 1922–4

In 1922 Mr Penn, now the owner of Maypole Farm, deep ploughed the site of the villa. He made a fascinating discovery, a small stone column, Salisbury Museum were informed and:



Dear Newall

It is very nice of you to congratulate me on the review in 'Antiquity' on my New Forest Roman Pottery Sites book - I don't know R. G. Collingwood personally, so it is all the more gratifying - yrs ever

Heywood Sumner

March 18. 1928.

Fig 4. Letter from Heywood Sumner to Robert Newall (Courtesy of Alexander Keiller Museum, Avebury)

On Wednesday I go with Frank Stevens to investigate recent reported discoveries at E. Grimstead villa site. 5 miles from Salisbury, towards Dean. I hope that this excavat^{n} wh- I began in 1914 may revive. It is a villa. So far, I have excavated a detached bath house; & 6 rooms of a work-shop character, judging by their derelict remains.

I sh^{d} like to go on with this excavat^{n} as all my diggings have been on poor men's sites, & this is a rich man's site. I have dreams of a well, full of broken statuettes, & such (letter to Gardner 7/5/22).

Excavation began in June that year:

Since you visited E. Grimstead we have gone plodding on & now July 21 have stopped till harvest is done, begin again Aug 21.

Another detached bath-house with a dressing-room . . . and a mosaic-floored room discovered (in ruins) on the S. side of the rooms you saw, 3 now excavated. All the tesserae now turned up are of hard cream-coloured oolite free-stone . . . D^{r} Eric Gardner & his son & his motor come here Aug. 21. to dig, so I shall have labour saving help in my job . . . I have biked 312 miles in the last month on this job, wh= is more than an old buffer likes, + work at the other end (letter to Newall 23/7/22).

The note at the end of the letter is an indication of Sumner's remarkable fitness. He was 68 years old, and the route from Cuckoo Hill to East Grimstead took him across the steep escarpment of Dean Hill.

Excavation continued in the spring and summer of 1923:

If on the other hand you prefer to be in at the death at E. G. there sh^{d} be some further exploratory done on y^{r} outlying wall that runs S from the E corner of bath house 2 wh- you helped to excavate. – Supposing you come here at the end of y^{r} West Country holiday. Either time w^{d} fit in here all right, & be welcome (letter to Gardner 4/8/23).

The excavation was completed in the summer of 1924, Sumner now set a record which has probably never been surpassed. Excavation was completed, and the labourers started to backfill the site on August 1 1924. Sumner completed the writing up of the excavation report on August 20 1924, copies of the slim book *Excavations at East Grimstead, Wiltshire* were being distributed on October 6 1924. Even allowing for the fact that most of the drawings and descriptions of the various rooms etc. must have been prepared earlier, to complete the writing up, and see a small book through publication in under ten weeks is quite fantastic. It reflects very well on both Sumner's enthusiasm and the diligence of his publishers, the Chiswick Press.

Nowhere in the book is there any evidence of undue haste; one reviewer even considered that the site hardly warranted the detailed publication Sumner had given it:

The buildings are to type, except perhaps in the fact that there are three bath-rooms and in the amount of window glass found. It is, of course, wholly laudable, admirable, and desirable that an excavator should record the results of his work in full and complete detail and this admirably illustrated pamphlet completely achieves the desired end (P.F. 1925).

Sumner himself was not completely satisfied with the excavation. Writing to Robert Newall:

Please accept the enclosed record with my best wishes. It covers 10 years of intermittent fossicking, & not-withstanding is incomplete i.e. the whole plan of this villa settlement is still be be proved – but it is spread over about 15 acres, scattered & needs more wage fund than I can supply. Anyhow, I think a well-to-do villa residence here has been proved (letter to Newall October 1924).

Gorley Hill 1915

In 1914, whilst he was involved in his survey of New Forest Earthworks, he had been given a stone axe which had been found on the slopes of Gorley Hill. He sent it to Salisbury Museum:

Here is the celt . . . It was found in digging a ditch on the W. side of Gorley Hill: on top of this hill, there is a wasted entrenchment . . . I hope to dig a section through this one of these days, & to connect the celt with the camp above (letter to Stevens 29/10/14).

On the hill top he found two enclosures, a large one at the southern end, and a small rectangular one to the north. In 1916 he sectioned the bank of the larger enclosure, the one mentioned in the

letter to Stevens, but found nothing. He was too good an archaeologist to force a connection between this undated enclosure and the stone axe, he just described the axe as an interesting object found nearby. The smaller enclosure was another matter, excavating

> with another old buffer like myself (letter to Williams-Freeman 8/9/16)

enabled him to suggest a date for it using classic archaeological methods:

> The enclosure ditch . . . was excavated for a length of 18 feet from its western termination . . . The ornamented Samian sherd, Form 37 . . . was found on the floor of the ditch. From its position on the floor of the ditch this sherd must have been dropped shortly after the earthwork was made – before the ditch had begun to silt up – and indicates that this earthwork cannot have been made earlier than in the second century A.D. (Sumner 1917, 51).

This excavation was recorded in *The Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest.* This study also pointed the way to further excavations.

The Ibsley Barrows 1917–21

In the chapter on barrows in the *Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest* he had written:

> There has not been sufficient scientific excavation of Hampshire barrows to enable us to compare them with the evidence from excavations in the barrows of Wilts and Dorset (Sumner 1917, 84).

In the spring of 1917 chance gave him the opportunity to do something about this lack of knowledge:

> Are you holding on with your list of barrows in Hampshire? If you are I have a small consignment of hitherto unrecorded barrows on Ibsley Common, recently – in May – revealed by a fire that burnt the common from end to end . . . Solitary excavation is proceeding whenever I get the opportunity, one urn the result, so far + a great deal of sub-surface knowledge. But doing all the digging, observing, recording & filling in yourself is a slow process (letter to Williams-Freeman 27/8/17).

Through the spring and summer of that year he excavated four small barrows single handed. The finds were not spectacular, a collared urn was the only artefact located, but there were some interesting indications of ritual in the central mounds of 'pipe-clay' which he showed had been brought from some distance away.

In 1921 he returned to excavate two more barrows, this time with the help of the labourers who were assisting in the dig at Dudsbury Camp. A second collared urn was found as well as the rim of the third.

The paper describing these barrows was initially rejected by the Bournemouth Natural Science Society because of its length. A shortened version was published, but happily the original survives in the Society's archives. It contains, amongst other things, a fascinating description of Ibsley Common in his day and a wonderful evocation of the past:

> The common abides in solitude, only broken by vagrant stock, by herdsmen, turf-cutters, gravel diggers, or by Linwood children on their way to and from school at South Gorley.
>
> Yet 'Once upon a time' these plains were chosen for special distinction. Here barrows were laboriously raised to commemorate the dead . . . We may imagine processions of laden tribesmen crossing these plains, each bearing his sack of large stones or basketful of white sand in order to raise a memorial to some honoured chief of the Bronze Age (BNSS Archives).

This excavation was much praised at the time and was included in *Archaeology in England and Wales 1914 to 1931* (Kendrick and Hawkes 1932).

Dudsbury Camp 1921

Dudsbury Camp, a hill fort above the Stour had been one of the sites examined in the survey of the earthworks of the Bournemouth District:

> Indeed, excavation at Dudsbury must be desired by every archaeologist who visits this site. There are certain patches in the area where soil turned up a different colour from that of the surrounding soil, and where crops fail. There may be information awaiting discovery beneath the surface.
>
> Excavation for knowledge might yield evidence as

to the original period and varying occupation of this site, while at present we are only able to infer from its castra-metation that Dudsbury is pre-Roman. Without evidence from excavation surmises as to its past are guess work (Sumner & Wallace 1921, 53–4).

The BNSS decided to back the excavation of Dudsbury Camp, and subscribed £12! In the spring he began to get a team of excavators together:

Today . . . D^{r} Horace Smith volunteered as an excavator, (with a motor). and I am today writing to A L Stevenson the S^{thion} Schoolmaster who has given me . . . holiday camp help at Sloden, to ask if he can come along to Dudsbury.

Have you got any 2 local labourers that you can recommend . . . If we get the volunteer help indicated above, 2 labourers would be sufficient for the investigation proposed (letter to Wallace 10/3/21).

Excavation began on April 18 1921 and lasted ten days. One doubtful entrance proved to be modern, the 'patches' within the area failed to produce any sign of human activity. However investigation of the ditch was prevented by rising water – after a trench had been started it began to fill and was abandoned:

In July – or – Sept^{r} – when the surface water that lies in the inner ditch is at the lowest, will you join me at Dudsbury? & excavate the section across the ditch that Ryder began – but discontinued owing to water rising. We might find evidence that w^{d} help if Bonus Eventus smiled on us (letter to Wallace 26/5/21).

In September 'Bonus Eventus' did smile, in the form of two fragments of pottery in a peaty layer at the bottom of the ditch. Samples of the peat were sent to the botanist A H Lyell (who had helped identify the plant material from Silchester) who reported:

Leaves are *Salix cinerea* (Willow sp.). Seeds of Elder and Blackberry (note with letter to Wallace 16/10/21).

The pottery caused some difficulty. It was initially identified as 'Early Iron Age' by Reginald Smith of the British Museum; later Christopher Hawkes was to date it to the first century BC. Sumner could thus conclude:

From this (so far as our present evidence goes) the E^{wk} was originally thrown up in the Iron Age (letter to Wallace 20/10/21).

This may seem a poor result for the effort, but at the time it was important, for there was little dating evidence for hill forts, and what there was seemed contradictory. Neolithic and Bronze age dates were frequently given. For this reason the Dudsbury excavation has an honourable mention in Christopher Hawkes' review of hill forts (1931) which finally placed them firmly in the Iron Age.

The Ibsley Mammoth 1930

Sumner's last archaeological (perhaps it should be geological) excavation was a rescue one in a gravel pit at Ibsley where:

On 17th September last, Reginald Shutler of Ibsley was in charge of the steam crane, and noticed after one of his grab clutches that a patch of bone-like, crushed substance lay on the newly-scraped floor . . . he at once stopped the steam crane . . . and found by careful hand scraping, "the biggest bone he'd ever seen". Mr Hine kindly sent me word of this discovery – due to the quick sight and prompt action of Reginald Shutler, and on 18th September I visited the site. The "bone" certainly was surprisingly large, and appeared to be a fragment of mammoth tusk (Sumner 1931, 130).

Over the next few days he tried hard to remove it intact, but without success, it collapsed. Fragments were sent to the British Museum (who confirmed that it was a mammoth) and various local museums (Delair 1986). In his paper he quotes from a letter of Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward, of the British Museum, on the correct manner in which such a tusk should be lifted, Sumner comments:

These informing notes should be of value to any of our members who may be confronted by prehistoric, decayed bone; and I hope myself to have the chance to profit by them (ibid, 138).

A wonderfully optimistic statement for a man of 78!

FINAL DAYS

The mammoth tusk was his last excavation. Over the next few years he was to continue to write, lecture and lead field trips for various local societies but one can sense a slowing down in his activity. In 1937 he suffered a minor stroke which left him confined to a wheelchair, but he continued to actively correspond with other archaeologists and to help them where he could:

> I am much interested in the contents of y^{r} letter of Aug 20, & also disappointed in my present condition, making it impossible for me to come & see the flints on their present site.
>
> I'm not safe when standing up, my paralysed left hand & leg can't be depended on, & I've got to avoid chance of a fall . . eno' of ailment.
>
> I'm safely sitting in my armed chair, can see, read, think, talk, eat and drink as usual – that's more cheerful (letter to Arnold 3/9/38).

His wife, Agnes, died on January 23rd 1939. Sumner lived quietly on at Cuckoo Hill for nearly two more years. Two letters paint a delightful picture of the old archaeologist. In early 1940 Doris (Dorothea) Sumner wrote a long chatty letter to her cousin and close friend Christina Gibson:

> Father is well, for him. He takes this war more calmly than the last – probably because old age is out of it and middle age isn't . . . Wasn't that ice rain beautiful in its horrible way? The gorse sprigs each outlined in a shiny glass case were lovely. I brought one in to show father, and it caught the firelight and looked like those glass lustres on chandeliers (letter from Dorothea Sumner to Christina Gibson 25/4/40).

Sumner's last letter, to his old friend Williams-Freeman details the events of the day – the local historian commenting on local history as it happened:

> We here have been lucky no bomb has fallen nearer than $^{1}/_{4}$ mile distant – (we feel bumps all round) one big & 8 small, all dropped within 200 yds radius, damage one well filled in, a few windows broken, no human or livestock hurt -0.
>
> Another lot of 7 or 8 fell in a field n^{r} Moyles Court with one hen killed

and ends in typical Sumner style:

> Written on Sunday & Monday – in fog & sharp downpours. My glass fell 7 points yesterday & rose 6$^{1}/_{2}$ next day (letter to Williams-Freeman December 1940).

Still fascinated by the world around him Heywood Sumner died peacefully at Cuckoo Hill on 21st December 1940.

POSTSCRIPT

> I like a [work] to have either a preface or a postscript (Sumner 1910, 129).

In the half century since Sumner's death archaeology has progressed by leaps and bounds. What now can be said of his contribution to the science?

In the areas he worked he provides a bench mark, on the New Forest archaeology is pre- and post-Sumner. In recent years the New Forest Section of the Hampshire Field Club has worked on several sites discovered by Sumner, and his studies will remain invaluable works of reference for many decades to come, whilst his excavations were carried out with sufficient detail to enable later archaeologists to re-interpret them, which is, perhaps, the best that can be said of any excavator.

It is, however, in archaeological illustration that Sumner has had the greatest effect. Traces of his influence can be seen in many publications from the 1930s onwards. The barrow plans of Leslie Grinsell and the site plans of Mortimer Wheeler spring to mind, whilst some of Stuart Piggott's early work such as his survey of Butser Hill (1930) or Stone and Earth Circles in Dorset (1939) are virtually pastiches of Sumner.

These archaeologists and others carried on the tradition of accuracy, pleasing design and even occasional humour, that were the hallmarks of Sumner's work. This has continued, even into the august volumes of the Royal Commission of Historic Monuments: the plan of Bindon Hill (RCHM 1970) with its ships, whales and surprised sea-horses is surely a descendant of the Roman Pottery Sites map with its galloping riders.

Heywood Sumner would have been delighted.

Appendix 1: The Myth of the Solitary Archaeologist

A particularly engaging myth has arisen about Heywood Sumner which states that he was a solitary and isolated archaeologist who usually worked alone. The origins of this myth can be traced back to the obituary of Sumner that Dr Williams-Freeman wrote in 1941:

> He nearly always worked alone, riding over on a bicycle day after day, doing everything himself, so that a picture of the past rose slowly in his mind that he was always ready to discuss with a visitor. (Williams-Freeman 1941)

This view of a solitary man has been elaborated by Barry Cunliffe (1985) and Margot Coatts (Sumner ed. Coatts 1987) suggesting that he was isolated, to a great extent, from the wider archaeological world.

It is very far from the truth.

First it must be said that there was one aspect of archaeology that he preferred to do on his own, earthwork hunting:

> I like the absolute freedom of being alone when I am fossicking about for uncertain discoveries of this or that; one is more free to turn aside, have, seek and fail to find, yet to return home not wholly dissatisfied, because such negative results will be of future value in narrowing the area to be searched (Sumner 1925c).

Others have expressed similar sentiments:

> Earthwork hunting demands total concentration and a complete disregard of such restricting factors as time, weather and distance. The hunter engaged in such pursuit is likely to prove a poor companion (Pasmore 1967).

The aspect of Sumner's supposed solitary career that has attracted the most comment is that of the 'solitary digger'. fortunately he recorded his excavations very fully, including the names of the people who excavated with him. From these records it can be seen that he usually worked with a small team of volunteers or hired labourers (Table 2).

On four occasions he did excavate alone; however he usually had a reason. During the First World War hired labour was unobtainable for his digs on Ibsley Common and Ashley Rails. The kiln at Blackheath Meadow (1920) was probably a rescue dig since Sumner says that it was "sprung on" him by the owner, and it took place in mid-winter in far from ideal weather conditions. On only one occasion, at Old Sloden, does he appear to have excavated alone from choice, which hardly makes him a solitary digger.

Furthermore he was not isolated from archaeological societies and other archaeologists. In 1912 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He rarely attended meetings but sent "communications" describing his findings which were read with interest. He was a very active member of the Bournemouth Natural Science Society, lecturing to them or leading field trips virtually every year between 1914 and 1933, and serving as president in 1926 and '27. In 1922 he joined the Hampshire Field Club, served on the council and became the 'Local Secretary', for the New Forest area, in which capacity he was asked to report on matters of concern to the Club, as when Buckland Rings was turned into a Pig Farm!

On a more personal level he knew many of the notable archaeologists of the day, certainly all those who were active in southern Britain. Any archaeologist who visited the New Forest area usually seems to have been invited for tea at Cuckoo Hill. He was also keen to help and advise others; pottery samples were sent from Surrey and Kent for comment, whilst on a visit to Cambridge Cyril Fox wanted his opinion on the finds from the Devil's Dyke.

Visitors, whether individuals or society groups, were always welcome at his excavations, while he would always visit any excavation within reach. For example he was one of the earliest visitors to the excavations of the medieval palace at Clarendon near Salisbury (James 1989, 409–11) and later took a party from the BNSS there.

Although modest about his own achievements, his contemporaries always talked of him with affection as a quiet man and an excellent archaeologist. He seems to have disliked nobody, and nobody disliked him.

Table 2 Assistants on Excavations Organized by Heywood Sumner

Date	Excavation	Personnel
1911	Grims Ditch	"A Groom" (h) **1**
1911–13	Rockbourne Down	Charles Bailey, E Nicklen, **2**
		W Zebadee (h)
1914	Rockstead	"A Countryman" (?)
1914–5	East Grimstead	Charles Bailey, E Nicklen, **2**
		W Zebadee (h)
1915	Sloden Churchyard	Charles Bailey, Harry Roberts (h)
1916	Gorley Hill	William Roberts (h)
		Humphrey Sumner (v)
1916	New Forest Potteries	P W Pears(?)
1917	Ibsley Barrows	Alone **3**
1917–18	Ashley Rails	Alone **3**
1920	Old Sloden Kiln	Alone
1920	Sloden Kilns	A L Stevenson, Page, Chalk, Crabtree, Moseley, Fleming, Boot, Watts, Veals (v)
1920	Blackheath Meadow	Alone
1921	Dudsbury Camp	W G Wallace, A L Stevenson, Ryder, Dr H Smith, Captain Withycombe (v)
		Herbert & Percy Taylor (h)
1921	Ibsley Barrows	Herbert & Percy Taylor (h)
1922	Blackheath Meadow	Walter Brown (h)
1922–4	East Grimstead	Dr E Gardner, John Gardner (v)
		Alfred Judd, John Dawkins (h)
1925	Rough Piece Kiln	Walter Brown, Ernest Gilbert (h)
1925	Potters Hut	Walter Brown (h)
1930	Ibsley Mammoth	Reginald Shutler

h=hired v=volunteer

1 A servant described as a "groom" accompanied Sumner on this dig.

2 The labourers who assisted on Rockbourne Down are not named, but the three men who assisted at East Grimstead in 1914 are described as having helped at an earlier dig, which can only have been at Rockbourne Down.

3 At both Ibsley Barrows and Ashley Rails Sumner expressly states that he was unable to obtain hired help because of the labour shortage caused by the First World War.

Appendix 2: The Mystery of the Linwood Kilns, Criticism of Sumner's Archaeological Technique

In 1969 Vivien Swan re-excavated at kiln at Rough Piece, Linwood which had been first excavated by Sumner in June 1925 (Swan 1971, Sumner 1927a, 94–101). This showed that the kiln had only been partially excavated, was half the size indicated by Sumner's published plan, and that two features recorded by Sumner, a 'chimney' leading directly out of the furnace chamber, and a clay 'platform' surrounding the furnace chamber, did not exist. In her article she comments on the fact that the 'chimney' and 'platform', which Sumner recorded on virtually all his excavations had not been discovered by later excavators of New Forest kilns. As footnote to her article the editor of *Antiquity* included a letter from her, describing the recollections of one of Sumner's labourers:

> While excavating at Linwood last summer we were visited by Ernest Gilbert, the labourer who had worked for Heywood Sumner at Rough Piece. He related to us how Sumner had brought him to

Rough Piece in his car and ordered him to dig until he came to the kiln debris; S meanwhile sat in the car, but when Gilbert reported that he had reached the desired layer S insisted that his labourer should remain in the vehicle while he worked on the kiln. S then briefly explored what he wanted, shallowly covered over his results with soil, returned to the car and ordered Ernest Gilbert to complete the back-filling.

This damming criticism of Sumner's methods led Fulford, in his detailed study of the new Forest Potteries (1975) to write of Sumner's 'doubtful excavation techniques', doubt his measurements and dismiss the potters hut as 'more fanciful than probable'. That is roughly the case for the prosecution, the case for the defence follows.

First there is the matter of the 'platform' and 'chimney'. A clay area, surrounding the kiln and approximating to Sumner's 'platform' has been found on several New Forest kilns (see a plan of a kiln in Amberwood excavated by Fulford (1975) for an example). A 'chimney' has not yet been found and this may be an error on Sumner's part, but considering his general accuracy elsewhere local archaeological opinion is that "the jury is still out" on the matter of the 'chimney'.

Then there is the kiln at Rough Piece. In his account Sumner states that a complete vessel was found built into the kiln:

> If one waster flagon was used as building material, why not more waster vessels? To fill in this platform kiln with its clay material unexplored seemed to be unreasonable. Nobody would want to excavate it again, considering that it was in ruinous condition and had been carefully recorded. While if left uncovered it would soon perish beneath the ministry of the seasons, sun and rain and frost and snow. Accordingly, after leaving the excavated kiln open for inspection from June to September the platform of the kiln was forked over in search of other waster vessels, that might have been used as building material; but in vain; the only additional find made was of sandstone, three large blocks of which were found, burnt wine-red, inside the lining of the stoke-hole flue entry.
>
> My plan is now the sole record of this Rough-piece kiln (Sumner 1927a, 100–101).

If Sumner is telling the truth, and there seems no reason to doubt him as it is a needless story to make up, then the kiln re-excavated by Swan cannot have been the one excavated by Sumner. However it had been excavated, but by whom, and why was it confused with Sumner's kiln in the first place?

The Ordnance Survey record cards give two sites of kilns, or kiln groups, in "Rough Piece" one was Sumner's kiln, the other was excavated by Herman Lea. Lea was a photographer, best known for the photographs he took with his friend Thomas Hardy to illustrate the locations of the latter's novels, who dug at least four kilns there in 1929. They were never published and the only information that survives is a brief note by Sumner (1930d) who visited the excavation, and a note in a letter from Sumner to the Surrey archaeologist Eric Gardner:

> Herman Lea has unearthed now 4 certain kilns. Tree-roots are v^ obstructive on his site. It cannot be continuously explored. I fear that his persistant activities will end with a ? mark (letter to Gardner 5/6/29).

It is therefore certainly possible that the kiln re-excavated by Swan was one of those originally excavated by Lea, particularly as Sumner states that they were not "continuously explored". Even more remarkable, the grid reference given by the Ordnance Survey for Lea's kiln group, and that given by Dr Swan for her site are amazingly close (SU 1919 1014 by the OS, SU 1921 1010 by Swan). However she considered that the Ordnance Survey was in error, basing her identification of the kiln as Sumner's on the tale told by Ernest Gilbert.

Gilbert had been one of the two labourers employed by Sumner on the Rough Piece kiln; the other was Walter Brown. According to Sumner the excavation lasted eight days, Gilbert being employed on two of them. This does not sound like the dig described by Gilbert to Dr Swan, which seems a hurried, secretive affair. Two possibilities suggest themselves.

First, Ernest Gilbert has confused Heywood Sumner's excavations and Hermann Lea's, and is describing one of Lea's excavations. This is very

possible since Sumner was present at Lea's excavations, probably on several occasions.

Second, Gilbert is right and that his employer was Heywood Sumner but rather than excavating a kiln, he was re-excavating one, a kiln that Lea had already dug, but Sumner wanted to record. Gilbert was employed to remove the back-fill. It would account for the speed and secrecy since by digging over another man's site Sumner is committing a breach of archaeological manners.

Whatever the truth it must be remembered that Gilbert's story was recorded fifty years after the event.

This is the evidence for the defence. At present the only reasonable verdict that can be given on Sumner's excavation techniques is 'not proven', and unless one of the kilns that was certainly excavated by Sumner, for example one of the ones in Sloden, can be properly re-excavated using modern techniques, it will probably remain that way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those people who have assisted me in my research on Heywood Sumner. Mrs Susan Gibson, Mrs Jane Barbour, Mr Edward Hulse, Mrs S Blick, Mrs Clare Conybeare and Ms Janet Bell of the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Miss Elisabeth Lewis of the Winchester City Museum, Mr S Jenkins of the Alexander Keiller Museum, Avebury, Mr R Peers of the Dorset County Museum, D D Allen of the Hampshire Museums Service, Mrs P Coleman of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, and Mr Malcolm Taylor of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (English Folk Dance and Song Society).

Special thanks must go to Tony Westrapp and other members of the Bournemouth Natural Science Society for the considerable help and assistance they gave me.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Mrs S Gibson
Various Family Papers
Mr E Hulse
Letters to Sir Edward Hulse
Alexander Keiller Museum, Avebury
Letters to R Newall, Original cartoons and sketches
Bournemouth Natural Science Society
Letters to W G Wallace, MS report on Ibsley Barrows, MS Report on Ibsley Mammoth Tusk, Various topographical drawings, Annotated maps from the 1919 survey of the Bournemouth District
Dorset County Museum
Letters to Vere Oliver, Captain Acland
Ms. Report on Witchampton Temple and various drawings
Dorset County Library
Letters to A L Stevenson.
Hampshire County Museum Service
Letters to W G Wallace, J B Calkin and Dr E Gardner
National Monuments Record
Book of Gorley Manuscript Volumes II and III
Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum
Letters to Dr Backmore, F Stevens, R Newall, Numerous papers and drawings
Surrey County Record Office
Letters to Miss L Broadwood
Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Devizes Museum)
Letters to Mrs M Cunnington and Rev E V Goddard
Winchester City Museum
Letters to Dr J P Williams-Freeman, H Powell, General M Powell, A Arnold

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: the bibliography contains, as far as is known, a complete bibliography of Heywood Sumner's archaeological and topographical writings. It does not include his artistic work. The list of books containing his archaeological and topographical drawings is also as complete as possible. It only includes books published during his lifetime.

Abbreviations

PBNSS	*Proceedings of the Bournemouth Natural Science Society*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
PDNHAFC	*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*
PDNHAS	*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*
PHFC	*Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*

* work contains illustration(s) by Sumner

Anon 1914a "Earthworks of Cranborne Chase" (review) *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 511

Anon 1914b "Review of New Books – Excavations on Rockbourne Down" *Antiquary* May 199

*Anon 1930 (about) *Russell's Graphic Guide to the New Forest* Russel & Co. Southampton.

Alcroft, A H 1908 *Earthwork of England* Macmillan, London.

Barbour, J 1990 "Heywood Sumner – A very private person" *Hatcher Review* 3 437–448.

Basset, R 1978 "A Legal Training but an Etcher's Eye" *Country Life* September 28, 886–7.

*Begbie, J 1934 *Walking in the New Forest* Alexander Maclehose & Co., London.

Bowen, H C 1990 *The Archaeology of Bokerley Dyke* RCHM, London.

Brandford, S 1986 "Heywood Sumner at Cuckoo Hill" *Forest Views* 2–3.

Broadwood, L E and Maitland, J A F 1893 *English Country Songs* Leadenhall Press, London

*Buxton, E N 1884 *Epping Forest* Edward Stanford, London.

Burrow, E J 1919 *The Ancient Entrenchments and Camps of Gloucestershire* Burrow & Co., Cheltenham.

Cantor, L M & Wilson J D 1968 "The Mediaeval Deer-Parks of Dorset, VIII" *PDNHAS* 241–8.

Coatts, M & Lewis, E ed 1985 *Heywood Sumner. Artist and Archaeologist 1853–1940* Winchester City Museum.

Collingwood, R G 1928 "Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites" (review) *Antiquity* 2 112–3.

Crawford, O G S 1953 *Archaeology in the Field* Phoenix, London 44

Crawford, O G S and Keiller, A 1928 *Wessex from the Air* Oxford 131–7

Cunliffe, B 1985 *Heywood Sumner's Wessex* Roy Gasson Associates, Wimborne Minster.

de Bairacli-Levy, J 1958 *Wanderers in the New Forest* Faber & Faber, London 187–8

Delair, J B 1982 "The Fossil Elephants of the Avon Valley" *PBNSS* 62 39–46

Fulford, M G 1975 *New Forest Roman Pottery* British Archaeological Reports 17.

Hawkes, C F C 1931 "Hill-Forts. A Retrospect" *Antiquity* 5 60–97.

Hawkes, C F C 1938 "An unusual find in the New Forest Potteries at Linwood, Hants." *Antiquaries Journal* 18 113–36

Hubbard, A J and Hubbard, G 1905 *Neolithic Dew Ponds and Cattleways* Longmans, London.

James, T B 1989 "Visitors to Coombe Bissett and Clarendon Palace 1930–39," *Hatcher Review* 3, 407–15.

Kidson, F and Neal, M 1915 *English Folk-Song and Dance* Cambridge 43.

Kendrick, T D and Hawkes, C F C 1932 *Archaeology in England and Wales 1914–31* Methuen, London.

Le Pard, G F 1992 "Heywood Sumner and the Bournemouth Natural Science Society" *PBNSS* 63 pt 4 31–5.

Le Pard, G F 1993 (1992) "Two Dorset drawings of Heywood Sumner" *PDNHAS* 114 264–5.

Le Pard, G F *in press* "Cuckoo Hill: an Arts and Crafts house in the New Forest" *HFC Historic Buildings Section Newsletter.*

*Major, A F 1913 *Early Wars of Wessex* Cambridge University Press.

Mercer, R 1980 *Hambledon Hill, A Neolithic Landscape* Edinburgh University Press

Musty, J 1988 "The Catlin affair: The dispersal of the Blackmore Museum Library, Salisbury" *Hatcher Review* 3 303–310.

"P.F." 1925 "Excavations at East Grimstead" (review) *PHFC* 9 419.

Pasmore, A 1967 *New Forest Pottery Kilns and Earthworks* Privately Printed.

Pasmore, A & James, J 1985 *The New Forest and Heywood Sumner* Hampshire Field Club New Forest Section.

Piggott, S 1930 "Butser Hill" *Antiquity* 4 187–200.

Piggott, S & Piggott, C M 1939 "Stone and Earth Circles in Dorset" *Antiquity* 13 138–158

Royal Commission on Historic Monuments 1970 *An Inventory of Historial Monuments in the County of Dorset. 2. South East part 3* HMSO 49

Shaen Solly, H 1920 "Archaeological & Historical Section: Chairmans Note" *PBNSS* 11 46.

*Smith, R A 1922 *A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* British Museum, London.

*Stevens, F 1916 *Stonehenge Today and Yesterday* Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London (from 1919 to 1939 H.M.S.O. London).

*Stevens, F 1940 "Stonehenge Today and Yesterday" *Smithsonian Museum Report for 1940* 447–78

Stevens, F 1948 *The Salisbury Museums 1861–1947* Salisbury Museum. 9.

Sumner, H 1881 *The Itchen Valley from Tichbourne to Southampton* Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, London

Sumner, H 1882 *The Avon from Naseby to Tewkesbury* Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, London

Sumner, H 1883 *Wise's New Forest Folio* Henry Southern & Co. London.

Sumner, H 1888 *The Besom maker and other country folk songs* Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Sumner, H 1910 *The Book of Gorley* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1913a *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1913b "The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase" *PDNHAFC* 34 31–41.

Sumner, H 1914a *Excavations on Rockbourne Down, Hampshire* Chiswick Press, London

Sumner, H 1914b "The Earthworks of Cranborne Chase" Wiltshire Gazette 23/7/14.

Sumner, H 1916 "Excavation of a Roman Villa site near East Grimstead" in, F Stevens ed *The Festival Book of Salisbury*, Salisbury Museum, 14–23.

Sumner, H 1917 *The Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1919 *A Descriptive Account of the Roman Pottery made at Ashley Rails, New Forest* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1920 "Old Maps of Hampshire, Dorset and Wiltshire" *PBNSS* 11, 52–5

Sumner H 1921 *A Descriptive Account of the Roman Pottery sites of Sloden and Blackheath Meadow, Linwood, New Forest* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1922a "Broad Chalke Earthworks" *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 42 72–3

Sumner, H 1922b "Roman Pottery Sites in the New Forest" *Hampshire Chronicle* 14/1/22.

Sumner, H 1923a *A Map of Ancient Sites in the New Forest, Cranborne Chase and Bournemouth District* Privately published.

Sumner, H 1923b Note on a kiln at Blackheath Meadow in, Collingwood, R G and Taylor, M V "Roman Britain in 1922" *JRS* 12 (1922) 212–4

Sumner, H 1923c "Excavation of Barrows on Ibsley Common" *PBNSS* 14, 68–78.

Sumner, H 1923d (about) "Hod Hill and Hambledon Hill" in, Graham, P A *Iwerne Minster before, during and after the Great War* . Privately printed 37–44.

Sumner, H 1924a *Guide to the New Forest* Charles Brown & Co. Ringwood.

Sumner, H 1924b *Excavations at East Grimstead, Wiltshire* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1924c Notes on Roman sites at Witchampton, East Grimstead and Farley in Collingwood, R G and Taylor, M V "Roman Britain in 1923" *JRS* 13 (1923) 268.

Sumner, H 1925a ed. *A New Forest Bibliography and List of Maps* H M Gilbert & Son, Southampton.

Sumner, H 1925b "An account of Alresford written by Sir George Brydges Rodney, circa 1768–82" *PHFC* 9 334–41.

Sumner, H 1925c "A Winter Walk in the New Forest" *PHFC* 9 361–9.

Sumner, H 1925d Note on a Roman Building at Witchampton Dorset in, Collingwood, R G and Taylor M V "Roman Britain in 1924" *JRS* 14 (1924) 235–7.

Sumner, H 1926a "Geography and Prehistoric Earthworks in the New Forest district" *Geographical Journal* 244–48.

Sumner, H 1926b "New Forest and Old Woods" *PBNSS* 18, 48–58.

Sumner, H 1926c "Roman Housing in South Britain (near Bournemouth) A.D. 253–378" *PBNSS* 18, 76–79.

Sumner H 1926d Note on a Roman potters hut at Islands Thorns and a kiln at Rough Piece, Linwood in, Collingwood, R G and Taylor M V "Roman Britain in 1925" *JRS* 15 (1925) 238–43.

Sumner, H 1927a *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites* Chiswick Press, London.

Sumner, H 1927b "Roman Pottery and Iron Relics found at Armsley, near Breamore" in,

Edwardes, H S W "Excavations at Armsley" *PHFC* 10 56–62.
Sumner, H 1927c "Excavation of a New Forest (Roman) potters hut site" *PHFC* 10 79–81.
Sumner, H 1927d "Excavation of a (Roman) pottery kiln at Rough-Piece, Linwood" *PHFC* 10 81–2.
Sumner, H 1927e "Archaeological Benefactors, Hampshire, Dorset and Wiltshire" *PBNSS* 19, 62–78.
Sumner, H 1927f "Bronze Hoard in the New Forest" *Antiquaries Journal* 7 192–3
Sumner, H 1927g Note on an oven at Hamworthy Dorset in, Collingwood, R G and Taylor, M V "Roman Britain in 1926" *JRS* 14 (1926) 232.
Sumner, H 1929a "J Norden's Survey of Medieval Coppices in the New Forest" *PHFC* 10 95–117.
Sumner, H 1929b "Natural Landmarks in Bournemouth and New Forest Districts" *PBNSS* 21, 84–91.
Sumner, H 1930a "Combs Ditch and Bokerly Dyke reviewed" *PBNSS* 22, 99–112.
Sumner, H 1930b "Combs Ditch and Bokerly Dyke – Reviewed" *PDNHAS* 52 59–74.
Sumner, H 1930c "Earthwork at "The Nodes", Beaulieu Heath" *PHFC* 10 293
Sumner, H 1930d "Upper Linwood, New Forest" *PHFC* 10 293
Sumner, H 1931 *Local Papers, Archaeological and Topographical, Hampshire, Dorset and Wiltshire* Chiswick Press, London.
Sumner, H 1933 "Survey of moorlands near Verwood" *PDNHAS* 54 233–56
Sumner, H 1934 "Cranborne Chase" and "New Forest" in, Watson Smith, S *The Book of Bournemouth* British Medical Association, Bournemouth, 129–144 and 158–74.
Sumner, H 1935 (before) "New Forest Pottery Sites" in, *The Guides' Book of the New Forest* Lymington Guides, Lymington.
Sumner, H ed Coatts, M 1987 *Cuckoo Hill, The Book of Gorley* Dent, London.
Sumner, H and Druitt, J 1925 "Notes on Hampshire Place Names" *PHFC* 9 393–5.
Sumner, H and Wallace, W G 1921 "Ancient Earthworks in the Bournemouth District." *PBNSS* 12, 48–71.
Swan, V G 1971 "The Structure of Romano-British New Forest pottery kilns" *Antiquity* 45 45–8.
Swan, V G 1984 *The Pottery Kilns of Roman Britain* H.M.S.O.
Wall, J C 1908 *Ancient Earthworks* Talbot, London.
*Wallace, W G "Excavations on St Catherine's Hill, Christchurch" *PBNSS* 13 63–6
*Walls, E 1929 *The Salisbury Avon* Arrowsmith, London.
Wheeler, R E M 1954 *Archaeology from the Earth* Oxford 146.
Williams-Freeman, J P 1910 "List of Hampshire Earthworks" *PHFC* 6 343–5.
Williams-Freeman, J P 1915 *Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire* Macmillan, London.
*Williams-Freeman, J P 1917 "Roman Building at Grateley" *PHFC* 8 107–8 & frontispiece.
Williams-Freeman, J P 1941 "Obituary. Mr Heywood Sumner" *PHFC* 15, 123–7.
*Wise, J 1883 *The New Forest, Its History and Scenery* (Artists Edition) Henry Sotheran & Co. London.

Author. Gordon Le Pard BSc, Matchams View, Hurn Road, Ringwood, Hampshire, BH24 2BP.