

SUSSEX
Archæological Collections,

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY
The Sussex Archæological Society.



VOL. LVII.

LEWES :

FARNCOMBE & CO., LTD., PRINTERS.

MCMXV.

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APRIL, 1915.

Sussex Archæological Society.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M., K.G.

Vice-Presidents:

THE MARQUESS OF ABERGAVENNY, K.G.
THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, K.G.
THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.
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VISCOUNT GOSCHEN.
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Honorary Secretary:

W. E. NICHOLSON, *High Street, Lewes.*

Hon. Treasurer:

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L. F. SALZMANN, F.S.A., *Wroth Tyes, Hartfield.*

Hon. Curator and Librarian:

THE REV. DUNCAN PEARCE, *St. Anne's Rectory, Lewes.*

Hon. Photographer:

J. C. STENNING, *Bexley, Saffrons Road, Eastbourne.*

Hon. Auditors:

C. H. MORRIS, *Eastgate Street, Lewes.* FRANK NEWINGTON, *Lewes.*

Elected Members of Council :

W. C. RENSHAW, Esq., K.C. (*Chairman*).

C. THOMAS-STANFORD, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. (*Vice-Chairman*).

Till 1918.

W. C. ALEXANDER, Esq.
 REV. W. BUDGEN.
 J. E. COUCHMAN, Esq.,
 F.S.A.
 W. V. CRAKE, Esq., F.S.A.
 A. F. GRIFFITH, Esq.
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 W. A. RAPER, Esq.
 C. THOMAS-STANFORD,
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Till 1917.

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 F.S.A., late R.E.
 C. E. CLAYTON, Esq.
 REV. W. HUDSON, F.S.A.
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Till 1916.

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 R. BLAKER, Esq.
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 G. W. E. LODER, Esq.,
 F.S.A.
 W. C. RENSHAW, Esq.,
 K.C.
 J. C. STENNING, Esq.
 F. B. STEVENS, Esq.

Clerk and Collector : W. W. DAVEY, Barbican House, Lewes,

Who is authorised to receive Subscriptions, and to whom all communications respecting Subscriptions and the delivery of Volumes should be addressed.

LOCAL HON. SECRETARIES.

Arundel . . .	MRS. G. W. EUSTACE . . .	<i>Carleton House, Arundel.</i>
Brighton . . .	A. F. GRIFFITH, Esq. . .	<i>59, Montpelier Road, Brighton.</i>
Chichester . . .	REV. PREB. DEEDES . . .	<i>Little London, Chichester.</i>
Cuckfield . . .	MISS MARION COOPER . . .	<i>Tentercroft, Cuckfield.</i>
Eastbourne . . .	REV. W. BUDGEN . . .	<i>Mountney, Milton Road, Eastbourne.</i>
East Grinstead . . .	WALLACE H. HILLS, Esq.	<i>East Grinstead.</i>
Hailsham . . .	W. STRICKLAND, Esq. . .	<i>Cortlandt, Hailsham.</i>
Hastings . . .	W. V. CRAKE, Esq., F.S.A.	<i>St. Leonards-on-Sea.</i>
Heathfield . . .	W. C. ALEXANDER, Esq. . .	<i>Heathfield Park, Heathfield.</i>
Horsham . . .	P. S. GODMAN, Esq. . .	<i>Hampsteel, Cowfold.</i>
Hurstpierpoint . . .	J. E. COUCHMAN, Esq., F.S.A.	<i>Dene Place, Hurstpierpoint.</i>
Lewes	R. BLAKER, Esq.	<i>Wallands, Lewes.</i>
Midhurst	REV. H. L. RANDALL and MRS. RANDALL	<i>Cocking, Midhurst.</i>
Pulborough	R. GARRAWAY RICE, Esq., F.S.A.	<i>Carpenter's Hill, Pulborough.</i>
Rye	J. ADAMS, Esq.	<i>7, High Street, Rye.</i>
Selsey	E. HERON-ALLEN, Esq. . .	<i>Large Acres, Selsey Bill.</i>
Shorcham	E. F. SALMON, Esq. . . .	<i>St. Hilda's, Southwick.</i>
Tunbridge Wells	C. W. POWELL, Esq. . . .	<i>Speldhurst, Tunbridge Wells.</i>
Worthing	HERBERT E. SNEWIN, Esq.	<i>Park Road, Worthing.</i>

RULES.

Name.

1. The Society shall be called the "Sussex Archæological Society."

Object.

2. The object of the Society shall be to promote the study of Archæology in all its branches, especially within the County of Sussex.

Membership.

3. The Society shall consist of Ordinary, Life and Honorary Members.

- (a) Ordinary and Life Members (gentlemen or ladies) shall be proposed and seconded by Members of the Society and elected by the Council at any of its meetings (by ballot if demanded, one black ball in five to exclude), and shall pay an entrance fee of 10s.
- (b) Ordinary Members shall subscribe 10s. on election for the current year and on the 1st of January for every year afterwards. An Ordinary Member whose husband or wife is also an Ordinary Member and pays an annual Subscription of 10s. may pay an annual Subscription of 5s. only, but in that case shall not be entitled to receive a copy of any of the Society's publications.
- (c) Life Members shall pay £10 in lieu of the annual subscription as a composition for life. Any Ordinary Member may at any time become a Life Member upon payment of £10 and arrears (if any) of annual subscriptions.
- (d) Honorary Members: The Council shall have power to elect, as an Honorary Member, any person likely to promote the interests of the Society. The Honorary Members shall not be required to pay any entrance fee or subscription, shall not exercise the privilege of an Ordinary Member as to voting at the meetings, or the proposal of candidates, but shall be entitled to all other privileges of membership.

Duties and Privileges.

4. Every new Member shall have his election notified to him by the Clerk, and shall be required to remit the amount due to the Hon. Treasurer within one month of his election. A Copy of the Rules of the Society and a List of Members shall be sent to each Member on announcing to him his election. No Member shall participate in any of the benefits of the Society until he shall have paid his subscription, and, in the case of a new Member, his entrance fee. Every Member shall be entitled to a copy of each of the Society's publications issued during the period of his membership, but no such copy will be issued to any Member whose subscription is in arrear.

Subscriptions in Arrear.

5. In the event of the sum due from a new Ordinary Member under the preceding Rules not being paid within two months from the date of his admission, the Council shall have power to erase his name from the List of Members; and also to reinstate him on his justifying the delay to its satisfaction. In the case of any Member failing to pay his annual subscription, due on the 1st January, before the 25th March following, the Clerk shall apply to him for the same, and if the subscription is not paid on or before the 1st of August, the Council shall have power at its discretion to erase his name from the List of Members.

Withdrawal.

6. Any Member intending to withdraw his name from the Society shall give notice, in writing, to the Clerk on or before the 1st of January in any year of his intention to do so, otherwise he shall be liable for the current year's subscription. Persons ceasing to be Members shall no longer have any share or interest in the property or funds of the Society.

Conditions for Affiliation of Local Associations.

7. Any local Association may be affiliated to this Society, subject to the following conditions:—

- (a) The expression "Local Association" shall be deemed to include any Association, Society, or club, or other organisation whatsoever having a membership of not less than 20 and having its headquarters in, and carrying on its work in some part only of the County of Sussex, the main objects of which are the same as or similar to the objects of this Society.

- (b) If the Council of this Society and the managing authority of any local Association shall pass resolutions to that effect, such local Association shall thereby be affiliated to this Society.
- (c) The Council of this Society may pass such a resolution— (1) on the acceptance by any local Association of an invitation to affiliate addressed to it by this Society or the Council thereof; or (2) on the application of any local Association for affiliation. Such application shall be made in writing to the Hon. Secretary of this Society, and shall specify the object or objects of the local Association, the methods adopted by it in furtherance thereof, the district in which it carries on its work, full particulars as to its terms of membership, and such other details as the Hon. Secretary of this Society may require.
- (d) Every affiliated local Association shall in every year pay a fee of £1. 1s., and furnish one copy of each of its publications (if any) to this Society, and shall be entitled to receive one copy of each publication of this Society for the current year.
- (e) The Members of every affiliated local Association shall be eligible for membership of this Society without being proposed and seconded in accordance with Rule 3 (a).
- (f) The Hon. Editor may at his discretion include in the annual volume of this Society a brief summary of such of the proceedings of any affiliated local Association as appear to be of general interest; and also papers written by Members of, or dealing with archæological research or discoveries made by any such local Association, which shall in that event be entitled to purchase at cost price such number of copies of any such paper for its Members as may be specified to the Hon. Editor before publication.
- (g) It shall be competent for the Council to allow the Members of any affiliated local Association to attend the meetings (other than general meetings) of this Society, and to participate in such other privileges of membership hereof on such terms as it may think fit, regard being had to the mutual privileges offered by the local Association to the Members of this Society.

- (h) This Society and any affiliated local Association shall co-operate so far as may appear desirable to the Council of this Society, in promoting the object or objects which they have in common in the district in which the local Association carries on its work.
- (i) A local Association may withdraw from affiliation in the same manner as a member under Rule 6, and this Society may determine the affiliation of any local Association by giving to the Secretary thereof a notice to the effect expiring on the 31st December of any year.

General Meetings.

8. Two General Meetings of the Society shall be held in each year. The Annual General Meeting shall be held on the WEDNESDAY PRECEDING LADY DAY AT LEWES, at 12.30, or at such other time as the Council may determine, when the Council shall present its Annual Report and Accounts for the past year. An Agenda paper shall be sent with the Balance Sheet to all Members not less than 14 days before the Annual General Meeting. The second General Meeting shall be held in JUNE, JULY, AUGUST or SEPTEMBER, for the purpose of visiting some place or places rendered interesting by antiquities or historical associations, one month's Notice of same to be given to the Members.

Special General Meeting.

9. A Special General Meeting may be summoned by the Honorary Secretary, at such place as the Council may determine, on the requisition, in writing, of the President, or of Five Members, specifying the subjects to be brought forward for consideration at such Meeting, and those subjects only shall be then considered and resolutions passed thereon.

Voting.

10. At all Meetings of the Society or of the Council the resolutions of the majority present and voting shall be binding, except as provided in Rule 11; the Chairman to have a casting vote.

Alterations in Rules.

11. No alteration shall be made in the Rules except at the General Meeting in March, and then only by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting. No proposed alteration shall be considered unless notice thereof, in writing, shall have been given to the Hon. Secretary at or before the 31st December in any year. Any such

proposed alteration shall be set out in the Agenda paper referred to in Rule 8.

Special Meetings.

12. Special Meetings for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities and other purposes may be held at such times and places as the Council may determine.

No Gift or Bonus in Money to Members.

13. The Society shall not and may not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its Members.

Council.

14. All the affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council.

- (a) The Council shall consist of the President, the Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Editor, and the Honorary Curator and Librarian, who shall be nominated by the Council and annually elected at the Annual General Meeting in March; also of 24 other Members, one-third of whom shall retire annually by rotation, but subject to clause (e) shall be eligible for re-election without nomination. These other Members shall also be elected at the Annual General Meeting in March, by ballot if required. A month's notice shall be given to the Hon. Secretary of the intention of any Member to nominate a gentleman as a new Member of the Council, and the name proposed shall be placed in the Library, together with the names of the proposer and seconder. Notice of such nominations shall be sent to all Members of the Society. The Council may fill casual vacancies in the Council; persons so appointed shall hold office so long as those in whose place they shall be appointed would have held office.
- (b) The Council shall meet at Lewes (or at any other place in the County that the Council may from time to time determine) on such day in each of the months of February, April, July and October in every year (and also at such other times in any year) as the Council, or failing them, the Chairman of the Council and the Honorary Secretary, may from time to time determine. Five Members of the Council shall form a quorum.

- (c) The Council shall, at its first meeting after the Annual Meeting in March, appoint a committee to manage the financial department of the Society's affairs. Such committee shall, at each quarterly meeting of the Council, submit a report of the liabilities of the Society, when cheques signed by three of the Members present shall be drawn on the Treasurer for the same. The accounts of the Society shall be submitted annually to the examination of two Auditors, who shall be elected by the Society from the Members. The Council is further empowered, at any time when it thinks it desirable, to employ and pay a Chartered Accountant to assist the Hon. Treasurer in making out such accounts.
- (d) The Council shall, at its first meeting after the Annual Meeting in March, appoint a committee to manage and control the Museum and Library, such committee not to exceed 12 in number, and to include the Hon. Curator and Librarian, and not more than six Members who are not Members of the Council. Such committee shall report to the Council at each quarterly meeting.
- (e) The Council may appoint any Member Honorary Local Secretary for the town or district where he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of information relating to objects and discoveries of Archæological interest, and the organization of the second General Meeting in any year, if proposed to be held in such town or district.
- (f) No retiring Member of the Council shall be eligible for re-election who has failed, without reasonable cause, to attend at least one-third of the meetings of the Council held during the previous three years, or so much of that period as shall have elapsed since he became a Member of the Council.

Topics to be Avoided.

15. The Society shall avoid all topics of religious or political controversy.

Trustees.

16. The real and personal property of the Society shall be vested or treated as vested in not more than four Trustees, to be nominated from time to time as occasion may require by the Council.

REPORT FOR 1913.

The Council is able to report that the Society still continues to expand, notwithstanding a heavy death roll during the year. There are now 913 members, of whom 79 were elected during the past year. The numbers for the two last years are as follows:—

	Ordinary.	Life.	Hon.	Total.
1st January, 1913	794 ..	76 ..	5 ..	875
„ „ 1914	833 ..	75 ..	5 ..	913

The Annual General Meeting was held on the 19th March, 1913, when the Chairman had the pleasure of announcing that the whole of the debt on Barbican House had been cleared off, and he expressed the hope, which has since been realised, that the Index to Volumes XXVI. to L. of the Society's Collections would be issued shortly.

In the afternoon Mr. A. F. Griffith gave an exhaustive paper on the results of the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Winton Street, Alfriston. Mr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A., read a paper on Mediæval stained glass at Ticehurst, and Mr. L. F. Salzmann, F.S.A., read a paper on the descendants of Alvred Pincerna and Ralph de Dene, who were Domesday tenants.

The Summer Meeting was held at Alfriston and in the Cuckmere Valley, when some 180 Members and friends assembled at Berwick Station. The first place visited was Winton Street, where the site of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery was inspected and Mr. A. F. Griffith delivered an address on the subject of the excavations and the articles found. After this the party visited the Parish Church of Alfriston, which was described by the Vicar, the Rev. R. Doughty. Luncheon,

supplied by Messrs. Hammick, Ltd., of Eastbourne, was taken in a marquee on the Tye. In the afternoon Litlington Church was visited and described by Mr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A., and the Church and Early English Rectory of West Dene were visited and inspected by permission of the Rector, the Rev. G. W. A. Lawrance, who described the same. The excursion, which was otherwise very successful, was a little marred in the afternoon by the heavy and persistent rain.

Owing to the activity of the Rev. G. W. A. Lawrance and others, the foundations of the Ancient Church of Exceit, which was secularized by Bishop Sherburne in 1528, have been recovered. They occupy an imposing site on the Downs to the South of the Eastbourne Road on the East side of the Cuckmere Valley, and it is satisfactory to know that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are making provision for their preservation.

Further excavations at Winton Street, outside the limits of Miss Gregory's garden, carried out with the permission of Viscount Gage and the tenant, Mr. G. Hewitt, resulted in a few more objects of interest being brought to light, but the Cemetery was not found to extend very far beyond the limits of the land previously excavated.

Owing to the publication of the Index before referred to, the issue of Vol. LVI. was postponed until the spring.

During the past year (October, 1912, to September, 1913) the members of the Brighton and Hove Archæological Club (now over 200) have done some good work. Thirteen excursions were conducted to various places of archæological interest. Six of these were held in connection with the Earthworks Survey, of which Mr. H. S. Toms has been appointed Director. This section has made discoveries of additional unrecorded earthworks in the vicinity of Brighton and

Hove. Some of these, as well as Hollingbury Camp, have been surveyed and plans and sections made. Mr. William Law was appointed Hon. Secretary in place of Mr. H. S. Toms, who resigned in order to devote more time to the Earthworks Survey, and Mr. James Sharp North was appointed Treasurer in place of Mr. T. G. Leggatt, who resigned on account of ill-health.

The Council regrets to have to record the deaths of, amongst others :

The Earl of Ashburnham	elected	1886
Sir Geo. Barham	,,	1900
Prebendary Barwell	,,	1867
Prebendary Fraser	,,	1890
Mr. Joseph Farncombe	,,	1863
Mr. C. Davies Gilbert.....	,,	1895
Mr. Arthur Lee	,,	1888
Mr. H. H. Pownall.....	,,	1902
Rev. W. C. Sayer-Milward.....	,,	1894
Dr. Rutter	,,	1866
Mr. E. E. Street	,,	1900
Mr. W. Verrall	,,	1897
Mr. T. C. Woodman	,,	1881
Mr. W. R. Arbuthnot.....	,,	1877
Mr. H. Nicholls	,,	1863

The number of visitors paying for admission to the Castle and Museum during the past year was 6,152. This included many Schools, Institutes, &c., which is a token of growing interest taken in the objects of the Society.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1913.

RECEIPTS.			
	£	s.	d.
By Balance in hands of Treasurer	24	6	0
" " the Clerk	2	8	0
" " Mrs. Morgan.....	5	0	0
	31 14 0		
„ Subscriptions:			
Annual	369	6	6
Entrance Fees	39	10	6
Arrears	14	10	0
In Advance	10	1	0
Life Compositions	20	0	0
	453 8 0		
„ Sale of Volumes	16	12	9
„ Visitors to the Castle and Museum, Sale of Guides, &c.	181	19	6
„ Rent of Sussex Record Society	2	2	0
„ „ Garden	2	0	0
„ Excursion Account:			
Receipts	50	15	0
Expenditure	50	12	3
	0 2 9		
„ Acknowledgment (G.P.O.), two years.....	0	2	0
„ Donation by late Sir George Barham towards Vol. LVI.	3	3	0
	£691 4 0		

PAYMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.
To General Expenses:			
Rent of Castle, less Tax.....	30	2	8
Mrs. Morgan's Wages.....	26	0	0
" Commission	7	11	0
Castle Attendant's Wages and Insur- ance.....	40	8	3
Rates, Taxes, Lighting, &c.	27	3	3
Coal and Wood.....	7	5	0
Repairs	30	18	9
Insurance	5	15	0
Sundries	3	4	9
	178 8 8		
„ Clerk's Salary	35	0	0
„ Purchases for Museum and Library	15	18	5
„ Balance of Cost of Vol. LV.	95	1	7
„ On Account of Vol. LVI.	75	0	0
" Cost of Index Volume to Nos. XXVI.—L.	130	0	0
„ Cost of Printing 50 Copies of Inventory of "Sussex Church Plate"	5	15	0
	305 16 7		
„ General Printing.....	21	10	2
„ Postages and Petty Disbursements.....	8	2	2
Balance in Treasurer's hands	118	2	2
" Clerk's	3	5	10
" Mrs. Morgan's	5	0	0
	126 8 0		
	£691 4 0		

29th January, 1914.

Examined and found correct.

C. H. MORRIS,
F. NEWINGTON, } Hon. Auditors.

5

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, DECEMBER 31st, 1913.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.		ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions Paid in Advance.....	10	1	0		By Barbican House, purchased for	2,300	0	0
„ Sundry small Accounts (say)	10	0	0		„ Arrears of Subscriptions (say)	15	0	0
„ Balance due for Vol. LVI.	175	0	0		„ Balance in hands of Treasurer	118	2	2
„ „ for Index Volume	47	16	5		„ „ „ Clerk.....	3	5	10
Balance	2,198	9	7		„ „ „ Mrs. Morgan	5	0	0
	£2,441	7	0			£2,441	7	0
	£2,441	7	0			£2,441	7	0

N.B.—In addition to the above the Society possesses a very Valuable Collection of Tapestries, Antiquarian Objects and Books in their Museum and Library at Lewes Castle and Barbican House, to which additions are constantly being made, and also the Volumes of the Society's *Collections* in Stock, all of which assets are insured for £3,100.

N.B.—Volumes are supplied to Members only. Application should be made to the Clerk, Mr. W. W. DAVEY, at Barbican House, Lewes.

H. P. MOLINEUX,
Treasurer.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM DURING
THE YEAR 1914.

I.—TO THE LIBRARY.

Gifts :

- Miss Mary S. Holgate, Ardingly :
“Essex Review,” Vols. 1 to 5.
- Mr. W. W. Skeat, Cambridge :
“The Place Names of Suffolk,” by Professor Skeat.
- Mr. W. D. Scull, Crowborough :
“Sussex Iron” (an historical novel).
- Mr. A. C. Piper, Brighton :
Pamphlet, “Private Printing Presses in Sussex.”
- Mr. Percy D. Mundy, Hove :
“Pedigree of Mundy.”
- Messrs. W. R. Wynter and F. R. Gale, Seaford (authors) :
“Seaford of the Past.”

Purchases (in addition to Periodicals, &c.):

- “History of Withyham.”
“History of Robertsbridge.”
“Sussex Place Names.”

II.—TO THE MUSEUM.

Gifts :

- Mr. C. J. Attree, Horsham :
Red Flag formerly carried in front of Traction Engine.
- Mr. J. H. Baker, Haslemere :
Flint Arrow-head found at Northchapel.
- Mr. P. S. Godman, Cowfold :
Sketches, Casts, &c., of Objects found during Excavations at
Cissbury.
- Sir Howard W. Elphinstone, London :
Engraving of Ore Church (before 1828).

Loan :

- Miss Sergison, Cuckfield :
Early Plan of Cuckfield Parish.

NOTE.—The shortness of this list is mainly accounted for by the fact that practically no additions were made to the Library or Museum during the last five months of the year.

CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES.

The Society des Antiquaries du Nord, Copenhagen, Denmark.
The Society of Antiquaries of London.
The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
The Royal Institution of Cornwall.
The Royal Yorkshire Archæological Society.
The Birmingham Archæological Society.
The British Archæological Association.
The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.
The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
The Chester Archæological and Historic Society.
The Derbyshire Archæological Society.
The Essex Archæological Society.
The Kent Archæological Society.
The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
The London and Middlesex Archæological Society.
The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
The Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.
The Powys-land Club.
The Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
The Surrey Archæological Society.
The Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
The Smithsonian Institute, U.S. America.
The Thoresby Society, Leeds.
The United Architectural Societies of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northampton, Bedfordshire, Worcestershire and Leicestershire.
The Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden.
The Woolwich District Antiquarian Society.
The British School at Rome.

The Record Office.
The College of Arms.
The Lambeth Palace Library.
The Royal Institute of British Architects.
The British Museum.

AFFILIATED SOCIETY.

Brighton and Hove Archæological Club, 41, Cleveland Road, Brighton.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1911. Emson, F. Everitt, Walden, 1A, Western Road, Littlehampton.
1883. Hope, Sir William Henry St. John, M.A., Nethergate House, Clare, Suffolk.
1896. Read, Sir Charles Hercules, F.S.A., President Society of Antiquaries, British Museum, w.c.
1896. Round, J. Horace, 15, Brunswick Terrace, Hove.
1911. Tupper, Mrs. Eleanor, Roman Villa, Bignor, Pulborough.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

(Revised to April, 1915.)

THE * DENOTES LIFE COMPOUNDERS AND THE FIGURES THE DATE OF ENTRY.

NOTICES OF CHANGES OF RESIDENCE AND OF DECREASE OF MEMBERS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE CLERK, W. W. DAVEY, BARBICAN HOUSE, LEWES.

1883. *Abadie, Major-Gen. H. R., c.b., United Service Club, Pall Mall, London, s.w.
1868. Abergavenny, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, k.g., Eridge Castle, Tunbridge Wells.
1906. Adams, J., 7, High Street, Rye.
1913. Ade, John, Grove Hill House, Hellingly.
1869. *Alexander, W. C., Heathfield Park, Heathfield.
1912. Allcroft, A. Hadrian, Owlswick, Iford, Lewes.
1899. Allfrey, Miss K. E., Friston, Wray Common Road, Reigate.
1904. Amos, W. T., Alverstun, 160, Selhurst Road, Norwood.
1905. Amsden, Mrs. E. B., The Gothic House, Petersham Road, Richmond, Surrey.
1899. Andrews, J., 102, Marine Parade, Worthing.
1914. Anscombe, Alfred, F.R.HIST.S., 30, Albany Road, Stroud Green, n.
1912. Apperson, G. L., I.S.O., Oakdene, Hayward's Heath.
1907. Arnold, Miss Emily, Saints Hill House, Penshurst.
1906. Arnold, Miss M. H., The Hermitage, Emsworth.
1911. Ash, W. H., Fernbank, Heathfield.
1905. Ashton of Hyde, The Right Hon. Baron, Vinehall, Robertsbridge.
1864. Athenæum Club (Secretary), Pall Mall, London, s.w.
1900. *Attree, C. J., 11, East Street, Horsham.
1876. *Attree, Col. F. W. T., F.S.A., late R.E., 53, Albert Bridge Road, Battersea, s.w.
1911. Austen Leigh, Richard A., The Froyles, Lindfield.
1903. Aylmer, Captain A. L., St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
1907. Baggallay, Rev. Canon Fredk., M.A., The Rectory, Pulborough.
1908. Baker, Miss C., Walridge, Belsize Road, Worthing.
1904. Ballard, A., B.A., LL.B. (Lond.), Hon. M.A. (Oxon), Woodstock.
1909. Banbury, Capt. Cecil E., Pippingford Park, Nutley, Uckfield.
1899. *Bannerman, W. Bruce, F.S.A., 4, The Waldrons, Croydon.
1905. Barchard, F., Horsted Place, Little Horsted.
1912. Barchard, Mrs. Cæsar, Admiralty House, Lewes.
1914. Barham, C. Loftus, 17, Bridge Street, Hitchin.
1912. Baring, Hon. F. H., 34, Great Cumberland Place, w.
1914. Barnard, Mrs., Kenilworth, Sedlescombe Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1879. *Barron, E. J., F.S.A., 10, Endsleigh Street, Tavistock Square, London.
1906. Bartlett, Rev. C. B., 2, Denmark Terrace, Brighton.
1914. Bartlett, Walter, 24, Bedford Row, w.c.
1857. *Barttelot, Brian B., Ditton, Torquay, Devon.
1904. Batterham, J. W., M.B., F.R.C.S., 3, Grand Parade, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1891. Bax, Alfred Ridley, F.S.A., 7, Cavendish Square, w.
1863. *Baxter, Wynne E., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 170, Church Street, Stoke Newington, n.
1912. Beach, Henry William, Belmont, Hassocks.

1898. Beale, W. E., Folkington, Polegate.
 1908. Beck, J. L., Duncans Farm, Billingshurst.
 1908. Beck, Miss Ellen, Duncans Farm, Billingshurst.
 1899. Beckett, A. W., Anderida, Hartfield Road, Eastbourne.
 1890. Bedford, Edward J., Anderida, Gorrington Road, Eastbourne.
 1913. Beeley, Dr., Windybank, Kingston Road, Lewes.
 1910. Beldam, W., Littlehampton.
 1911. Bellairs, Alban E., Stone House, Forest Row.
 1908. Belloc, Hilaire, Kings Land, Shipley, Horsham.
 1912. Belt, Anthony, F.L.S., 15, Dane Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1880. Bennett, Rev. Prebendary F. G., 22, West Street, Chichester.
 1909. Bentall, C. J., West Town Lodge, Liverpool Gardens, Worthing.
 1900. Berlin Royal Library (per Asher & Co., 14, Bedford Street, London, w.c.).
 1912. Bethell, Alfred J., The Abbey, Storrington.
 1893. Bevan, Richard Alexander, Horsgate, Cuckfield.
 1911. Beves, Cameron H., Red Croft, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1895. Beves, Colonel Edward Leslie, Red Croft, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1908. Bigg, Mrs., The Hyde, Slaugham, Crawley.
 1910. Birch, Francis, J.P., Coldharbour Manor, East Grinstead.
 1911. Bird, W. B. M., Eartham, Chichester.
 1897. Birmingham, City of, Free Library (per Walter Powel), Ratcliff Place.
 1909. Bishop, Claude E. S., Redmont, Trinity Place, Eastbourne.
 1914. Blaauw, Henry T. G., Townings Place, Wivelsfield.
 1905. Blaber, William H., F.L.S., 34, Cromwell Road, Hove.
 1911. Black, Rev. Chas., High Croft, West Hoathly.
 1911. Blackman, Alfred, The Knoll, Baldslow Road, Hastings.
 1914. Blake, Miss, Broadfield, Crawley.
 1907. Blaker, E. H., North Gate, Chichester.
 1887. Blaker, Frederick, Warwick Street, Worthing.
 1907. Blaker, N. P., M.D., Cherington, Hurstpierpoint.
 1900. Blaker, R., 6, Wallands Crescent, Lewes.
 1911. Blane, Miss E., 18, Ashley Mansions, Victoria, s.w.
 1914. Blencowe, R. C., Bineham, Chailey.
 1905. *Blinkhorn, E., Broadwater House, Broadwater, Worthing.
 1873. Blunt, W. S., Newbuildings Place, Southwater.
 1897. Board of Education, S. Kensington, s.w. (National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum).
 1907. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 1895. Boger, J. I. C., M.A., Peacock Hall, Goring-by-Sea.
 1908. Boldero, John, Frankland, Mark Cross.
 1911. Boldero, Miss Maud, M.A., Baldursbo, Hampden Park.
 1912. Bolton, C. W., C.S.I., Avonmore, Granville Road, Eastbourne.
 1908. Bond, W. H., Municipal School of Art, Grand Parade, Brighton.
 1913. Borlase, A. C., 64, Ship Street, Brighton.
 1896. Borradaile, Charles, 3, Norfolk Terrace, Brighton.
 1894. Borrer, Major Cary, Somerhill Lodge, Somerhill Road, Hove.
 1913. Borrer, W., Pakyns Manor, Hurstpierpoint.
 1908. Bosanquet, Sir F. A., K.C., 12, Grenville Place, South Kensington.
 1882. Bourdillon, F. W., Buddington, Midhurst.
 1909. Bourke, The Hon. Terence, Pekes, Hellingly.
 1906. Bowes, R. K., 23, York Road, Littlehampton.
 1899. Bowyer, P. A., Liverpool House, Liverpool Gardens, Worthing.
 1892. Box, Stephen, Eldon House, Eldon Road, Eastbourne.
 1899. Boxall, W. P. Gratwicke, K.C., M.A., Ivory's, Cowfold.
 1897. *Boyson, Ambrose P., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., Grove Lodge, Tring, Herts.
 1913. Braby, E. E., J.P., Drungewick Manor, Loxwood.
 1908. Brassey, The Right Hon. Earl, G.C.B., 28, Victoria Street, Westminster, s.w.
 1889. Bray, John, 13, South Colonnade, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1890. Breach, William Powell, Newham, Steyning.
 1906. Bridgeman, Charles George Orlando, Lucas Grange, Hayward's Heath.
 1900. Briggs, H. Grisbrooke, 15, Bedford Grove, Eastbourne.
 1892. Brighton Public Library (Henry D. Roberts, Librarian).

1882. Brix, Comte de, 36, Rue des Chanoines, Caen; and Brix (Manche), France.
 1905. Broad, J. W., Preston House, Lewes.
 1888. Brooke, Edward, Ufford Place, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
 1896. Brown, Edward Harley, Old Park, Warninglid, Hayward's Heath.
 1910. Brown, George, Regent House, Eastbourne.
 1903. Brown, H. J., 4, Trafalgar Square, London, w.c.
 1913. Brownlow, Col., c.b., The Old Well Cottage, Forest Row.
 1913. Brownlow, Mrs., The Old Well Cottage, Forest Row.
 1912. Browning, A. Quintus, 1, Hangleton Road, Portslade.
 1908. Bryan, Miss, 205, Ashley Gardens, s.w.
 1911. *Buchanan, J., Lavington House, Petworth.
 1911. Buckley, Right Hon. Sir H. Burton, Old Castle, Dallington.
 1909. Buckley, T. H. W., The Grange, Crawley Down.
 1905. Buckman, T., North Street, Lewes.
 1897. Buckwell, G. W., Board of Trade Offices, 73, Robertson Street, Glasgow.
 1892. Buckwell, John C., North Gate House, Pavilion, Brighton.
 1907. Budgen, Rev. W., Mountney, 38, Milton Road, Eastbourne.
 1910. Bull, Sir Wm. J., m.p., The Meadows, 474, Uxbridge Road, w.
 1909. Bunston, Rev. T., Arlington.
 1896. Burdon, Rev. Prebendary R. J., St. Peter's Vicarage, Chichester.
 1910. Burnell, T. Coke, 18, Preston Park Avenue, Brighton.
 1910. Burnell, Mrs. Coke, 18, Preston Park Avenue, Brighton.
 1909. Burrows, Leonard Robert, Lawnswood, Burgess Hill.
 1893. Burt, Henry, Loseley, Burgess Hill.
 1877. Burton, Alfred H., St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1914. Butler, Geoffrey, Marling Cottage, Merstham.
 1908. Butt, C. A., Wilbury, Beach Road, Littlehampton.
 1902. Butt, G. W., Wilbury, Beach Road, Littlehampton.
 1908. Butt, H. A., 64, Norfolk Road, Littlehampton.
 1899. Butts, H. H., Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1909. Buxton, The Viscountess, Newtimber Place, Hassocks; and 5, Buckingham Gate, s.w.
 1907. Buxton, Travers, View Field, Crowborough.
1897. Campbell, Mrs. Finlay, Brantridge Park, Balcombe.
 1870. Champion, W. H., c.b., Danny Park, Hurstpierpoint.
 1910. Champion, W. R., m.p., Danny, Hurstpierpoint.
 1909. Canton, Capt. L. H., Filching Manor, Jevington.
 1909. Carey, Mrs., Downside, Roedean.
 1908. Cartwright, Fredk., Ardingly College, Ardingly.
 1895. Cash, Joseph, Stanmer, Church Road, Hove, Brighton.
 1913. Castello, J., The Mount, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1904. Catt, Miss J. W., Sunte House, Lindfield.
 1891. *Cave, Charles, Ditcham Park, Petersfield, Hants.
 1897. Cawthorn, F. T., 57, Freshfield Road, Brighton.
 1913. Chalk, W. J., The Limes, Crawley.
 1860. Chambers, G. F., F.R.A.S., Lethen Grange, Sydenham, Kent.
 1903. Champneys, Sir F. H., BART., m.d., Littlemead, Nutley.
 1914. Chandless-Chandless, C., Sherrington Manor, Berwick Station.
 1908. Chapman, Harold J., High Street, Lewes.
 1913. Charlesworth, Rev. C. Evelyn, 19, Priory Avenue, Hastings.
 1901. Charrington, Harry William, St. Helens, 23, Park Crescent, Brighton.
 1900. Cheal, H., Jun., Rosslyn Road, Shoreham.
 1852. *Chetwynd, Hon. Mrs. Charles, Cissbury, Ascot Heath, Berkshire.
 1852. Chichester Library Society (Secretary), Chichester.
 1909. *Chichester, The Earl of, Stanmer Park, Lewes.
 1908. Chichester, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, The Palace, Chichester.
 1909. Child, Stanley, Slinfold, Horsham.
 1901. Chilver, Miss A., Gate House, Midhurst.
 1894. Chippindall-Healey, Captain John Henry, 25, Lorna Road, Hove.

1897. Christie, A. L., Tapeley Park, Instow, N. Devon.
 1903. Christie, G. R. C., Robindene, Kemp Town, Brighton.
 1881. Churton, The Ven. Archdeacon, The Rectory, Bexhill.
 1878. Clark, J. C., 28, Ditchling Road, Brighton.
 1890. Clarke, Charles, Boltro Road, Hayward's Heath.
 1911. Clarke, C. B. O., Brook House, Hayward's Heath.
 1911. Clarke, H. R. G., Brook House, Hayward's Heath.
 1911. Clarke, John D., A.R.I.B.A., M.S.A., 6, Gildredge Road, Eastbourne.
 1896. Clarke, Ronald Stanley, F.R.G.S., Trobridge House, Crediton.
 1895. *Clarke, Col. Stephenson R., c.B., Borde Hill, Hayward's Heath.
 1895. Clarke, Mrs. Stephenson, Brook House, Hayward's Heath.
 1866. *Clarke, Somers, F.S.A., 48, Albert Court, s.w.
 1894. Clarke, Mrs. Cecil Somers, 5, Montpelier Terrace, Brighton.
 1879. Clayton, Charles E., 10, Prince Albert Street, Brighton.
 1898. Cockburn, W. H., 1, Duke Street, Brighton.
 1889. Codrington, Rev. Prebendary R. H., D.D., 54, South Street, Chichester.
 1903. Cogan, W. P., 5, St. John Street, Chichester.
 1908. Cogswell, Gerald, 5, Highworth, Worthing.
 1910. Cohen, Mrs. N. L., Courtlands, East Grinstead.
 1868. Colchester, Lord, F.S.A., Pall Mall, s.w.; and Carlton Club, London.
 1914. Colebrooke, W. E., 21, Watchbell Street, Rye.
 1912. Coleman, George, 33, Waterloo Street, Hove.
 1856. *Coles, J. H. C., Claremont, Denton Road, Eastbourne.
 1913. Colgate, T., Bishopstone, Lewes.
 1911. Coller, G. A., The Welkin, Lindfield.
 1911. *Collins, A. E., 24, Girdlers Road, West Kensington, w.
 1901. Columbia University, U.S.A. (per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, London, w.c.).
 1898. Combe, Harvey T. B., Oaklands, Seddlescombe, Battle.
 1900. *Comber, J., Ashenhurst, Albury Road, Guildford.
 1913. Combridge, S., 56, Church Road, Hove.
 1901. Constable, A. J., The Lodge, Littlehampton.
 1914. Cook, Christopher B., Madeira Avenue, Worthing.
 1899. Cook, Miss B., The Hall, Nutley.
 1909. Cooper, Miss M. H., Tentercroft, Cuckfield.
 1910. Corcoran, Miss J. R., Rotherfield Cottage, Bexhill-on-Sea.
 1913. Cortis, A. B., South Street, Worthing.
 1910. Cotching, T., 17, London Road, Horsham.
 1888. Cotesworth, W. G., Roeheath, Chailey.
 1889. Couchman, J. Edwin, F.S.A., Dene Place, Hurstpierpoint, Hassocks.
 1892. Courthope, F. G., Southover, Lewes.
 1911. Courthope, G. L., M.P., Whiligh, Ticehurst.
 1908. *Courthope, William Francis, 1, Whitehall Gardens, s.w.
 1908. Courthope, W. J., c.B., The Lodge, Wadhurst.
 1909. Courtis, Miss R., Wannock Dene, Jevington.
 1912. Cousins, Henry, 27, Lower Park Road, Hastings.
 1899. Cow, J., Elfinward, Hayward's Heath.
 1877. *Cowan, T. W., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.M.S., Upcott House, Taunton.
 1907. Cowland, William, Oakdene, Horeham Road.
 1907. Crake, Miss A. M., Ladies' Imperial Club, Dover Street, w.
 1908. Crake, Rev. E. E., The Rectory, Jevington.
 1892. Crake, William Vandeleur, B.A., F.S.A., Highlands Cottage, Essenden Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1912. Cram, Jury, West Street, Horsham.
 1890. Crawford, Robert Payne, Baidland, Seaford; and East Grinstead.
 1913. Creswell Gee, Rev. E., The Vicarage, St. Philip's, Aldrington.
 1906. *Crewdson, W., F.S.A., Southside, Dane Road, St. Leonards.
 1908. Cripps, Ernest E., Steyning.
 1892. Cripps, F. S., Stanford House, Slinfold.
 1911. Cross, Mrs. R. N., Slinfold, Horsham.
 1905. Cumberlege, Mrs. H. Mordaunt, Walsted Place, Lindfield.
 1912. Currey, Admiral Bernard, 59, Porchester Terrace, w.

1896. Curteis, Herbert, Comphurst, Windmill Hill, Hailsham.
 1912. Curteis, Robin, Piltown, Uckfield.
 1906. Curtis, James, F.S.A., V.P., R.S.L., 179, Marylebone Road, n.w.
 1890. Curwen, Eldred, Withdeane Court, Brighton.
 1909. Curwen, Eliot, M.A., M.B., 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
1908. D'Albiac, Miss, 205, Ashley Gardens, s.w.
 1908. Daintree, Robert, Swan Wood, Horeham Road.
 1899. Dalton, Rev. W. E., The Vicarage, Glynde.
 1863. *Daniel-Tyssen, A., M.A., 59, Priory Road, West Hampstead.
 1908. Daniel-Tyssen, Rev. R., 61, Tisbury Road, Hove.
 1913. Dann, H. C., The Beeches, near Stroud, Gloucester.
 1899. Darby, Miss C. C., Knowles Tooth, Hurstpierpoint.
 1913. *Darwin, Major Leonard, R.E., Cripp's Corner, Forest Row.
 1914. Davenport, Major Cyril, V.D., F.S.A., Bramall Lodge, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1871. *Davies, Miss, 28, Hans Place, London, s.w.
 1909. Davis, Miss Julia, Oakhanger, 65, Wilbury Crescent, Hove.
 1913. Davidson, Miss Blanche, Hickstead Place, Cuckfield.
 1906. Davy, C. Hardy, 8 and 9, Frith Street, Soho, w.
 1892. Dawson, Charles, F.G.S., F.S.A., Uckfield.
 1904. Dawson, Mrs., Castle Lodge, Lewes.
 1908. Dawtrey, John, Rothesay, London Road, Reading.
 1909. Day, Alfred J., The Hermitage, Walberton, Arundel.
 1909. Deacon, J. L., F.S.Sc., F.R.HIST.S., 26, High Street, Rye.
 1891. Deane, Rev. Canon, M.A., Vicar of Ferring, Worthing.
 1890. Deedes, Rev. Prebendary Cecil, 32, Little London, Chichester.
 1857. Delves, W. Henry, 23, Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells.
 1913. Dendy, R. A., 6, Fourth Avenue, Hove.
 1913. Denison Pender, Sir J., G.C.M.G., Slaugham Place, Handcross; and 6, Grosvenor Crescent, n.w.
1882. Denman, S., 27, Queen's Road, Brighton.
 1897. Denne, Major A. B., late R.A., Chief Inspector of Explosives (Union of South Africa), Box 946, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1902. Dennison, T., West Vale, Arundel Road, Eastbourne.
 1911. Denny, E. H. M., Staplefield Place, Staplefield.
 1914. Denton, J. Gurney, Selden Lodge, Worthing.
 1909. Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, Compton Place, Eastbourne.
 1903. Dibley, Colonel, Gaveston Place, Nuthurst, Horsham.
 1862. Dixon, Miss M. M., North Highlands, Hayward's Heath.
 1909. D'Olier, Dr. B., Arundel.
 1912. Doughty, Rev. R., The Vicarage, Alfriston.
 1909. Dowell, Capt. H. A., Union Club, Brighton.
 1898. Downs, Mrs., Hamsey Cottage, Blatchington, Seaford.
 1908. Doyle, Sir A. Conan, Windlesham, Crowborough.
 1914. Drew, H. W., F.R.C.S., The Cottage, East Blatchington.
 1903. Duke, F., Charlton House, Steyning.
 1908. Duplock, E. G., St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1901. Durnford, Miss, Midhurst.
 1908. Duval, Miss M. S., Pelham House, Lewes.
 1903. Dyer, F. B., 32, Bigwood Avenue, Hove.
 1906. Dyke, Miss Julia, Camoys Court, Barcombe.
1897. Eastbourne Central Public Library (Librarian).
 1900. Edwards, H. Powell, 51, South Street, Park Lane, w.
 1881. Eggar, T., Moungomeryes, 30, Brunswick Road, Hove.
 1914. Eliot, Rev. C. ff., The Vicarage, Mayfield.
 1857. Elliott, Robert, Little Hothfield, Ashford, Kent.
 1912. Ellis, C. H. S., Northlands, Hayward's Heath.
 1896. Ellis, Geoffrey, 23, Grand Parade, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1890. Ellis, William Jenner, King's Cliffe, Beacon Oak Road, Tenterden, Kent.

1904. Elwes, The Rev. Chancellor E. L., Woolbeding Rectory, Midhurst.
 1906. Emary, F. H., Lewes Old Bank, Eastbourne.
 1899. Eustace, G. W., M.A., M.D., Carleton House, Arundel.
 1910. Eustace, Mrs. B., Carleton House, Arundel.
 1906. Evans, Rev. A. A., East Dean Vicarage, near Eastbourne.
 1894. Every, John Henry, The Croft, Lewes.
 1913. Eyre, Rev. P. D., D.D., The Vicarage, Framfield.
1913. Farncombe, J., Saltwood, Spencer Road, Eastbourne.
 1893. Farncombe, Miss, Pictou, 32, Princess Road, Edgbaston.
 1913. Fawssett, Mrs., High Street, Lewes.
 1900. Felton, W. V., Sandgate, Pulborough.
 1897. Fibbens, Charles, Thistle Down, Findon, Worthing.
 1901. Field, Rev. S. B., 6, Ventnor Villas, Hove.
 1909. Field, W. A., 20, Preston Street, Brighton.
 1905. Finn, Arthur, Westbroke, Lydd.
 1904. Firmin, Boys, Wyncote, Crowborough.
 1892. Fisher, R. C., Hill Top, Midhurst.
 1895. Fisher, Rev. Robert, The Vicarage, Cuckfield.
 1881. *Fisher, Samuel Timbrell.
 1911. *Fison, Sir Frederick W., BART., Boarzell, Hurst Green.
 1887. *Fletcher, Rev. J. C. B., Mundham Vicarage, Chichester.
 1888. *Fletcher, W. H. B., Aldwick Manor, Bognor.
 1909. Flint, Frederick, Wraysbury, Lewes.
 1913. Foulerton, A. G. R., F.R.C.S., Wealdside, Lewes.
 1905. Fowle, W. T., The Broadway, Hayward's Heath.
 1912. Foyster, Rev. H. C. B., St. Clement's Rectory, Hastings.
 1908. Frankfort-Moore, Frank, Castle Gate House, Lewes.
 1906. Freeland, W. B. B., Chichester.
 1911. Freeman, G. M., The Friars, Winchelsea.
 1903. Friend, E. C., Tunbridge Wells Natural History Society, 2, Dyott Terrace,
 41, Mount Pleasant Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1864. *Freshfield, Edwin, V.P.S.A., 5, Bank Buildings, London.
 1910. Frewen, Colonel E., C.B., Brickwall, Northiam.
 1909. Frewen, Miss A. L., 44, Greycoat Gardens, Westminster, s.w.
 1902. Frewen, Moreton, Brede Place, Brede.
 1897. *Frost, Edmund, M.D., Chesterfield, Meads, Eastbourne.
 1912. Fryer, Christopher, Orchardway, Hayward's Heath.
 1871. Fuller, Rev. A., M.A., The Lodge, Sydenham Hill, s.e.
1904. Gadsdon, H. B., Whitelands, Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1912. Gage, The Right Hon. Viscount, Firl Place, Lewes.
 1913. Gaisford, Miss, St. John's House, Chichester.
 1909. Gale, Arthur J., Leigham, Heene Road, Worthing.
 1914. Gale, F. R., 103, Abingdon Road, Kensington, w.
 1895. Gardner, H. Dent, F.R.MET.SOC., F.R.G.S., Fairmead, The Goffs, Eastbourne.
 1908. Gell-Woolley, C. W. R., Greenlands, Keymer Road, Burgess Hill.
 1909. Giles, R., C.I.E., Ash, Stedham, Midhurst.
 1907. Giuseppe, Montague S., F.S.A., 94, Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon, s.w.
 1912. Glaisher, Henry J., 57, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, w.
 1909. Goddard, Alfred, Leap Cross, Hailsham.
 1909. Godden, A. G. E., 7, Highcroft Villas, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1895. Godfrey, Captain Goodhart, Ivy Hatch, Horsham.
 1902. Godlee, J. Lister, Wakes Colne Place, Essex.
 1913. Godley, Gilbert A., Strathmore, Cator Road, Sydenham, s.e.
 1885. *Godman, Charles B., Woldringfold, Horsham.
 1903. *Godman, C. R. Bayly, Hampsteel, Cowfold.
 1883. Godman, F. du Cane, F.R.S., South Lodge, Cowfold, Horsham.
 1877. *Godman, P. S., Hampsteel, Cowfold.

1911. Goggs, Rev. W. M., Tillington Rectory, Petworth.
 1908. Goldfinch, Miss Isabel, Courtlands, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1911. Goodman, C. H., Tremont, Heene Road, Worthing.
 1893. Goodwyn, Rev. Canon, Whittington Rectory, Andoversford, r.s.o., Glos.
 1875. Gordon, Mrs. A., The Red House, Slade End, Wallingford.
 1914. Gordon, Miss, Shalesbrook, Forest Row.
 1909. Gordon, Miss J. W., 27, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1911. Gorham, J. M., Drove House, Singleton.
 1911. Gorham, Mrs. S. H., Drove House, Singleton.
 1905. Goring, C., Wiston Park, Steyning.
 1907. Goschen, The Right Hon. the Viscount, 25, Rutland Gate, s.w.; and
 Seacox Heath, Flimwell, Hawkhurst.
 1911. Goslett, G. A. D., Chelworth, Chelwood Gate, Uckfield.
 1913. Göttingen University Library (care of Asher & Co., 14, Bedford Street,
 Covent Garden, w.c.).
 1907. *Grantham, W. W., 6, Crown Office Row, Temple, E.C.
 1906. Gravely, Charles Ewart, Hassocks.
 1901. Graves, A. F., 117, North Street, Brighton.
 1899. Gray, G. G., LL.D., J.P., F.R.G.S., F.L.S., 33, Wellington Square, Hastings.
 1912. Gray, Miss K., Warden Court, Cuckfield.
 1911. Grayling, Dr. J. F., 52, Rutland Gardens, Hove.
 1905. Green, W. D., Huntley, Bishops Teignton, S. Devon.
 1898. Greenwood, J. Anderton, Funtington House, near Chichester.
 1886. Griffith, A. F., 59, Montpelier Road, Brighton.
 1912. Griffith, Herbert C., 4, Belmont, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1914. Griffith, H. H., B.A., 59, Montpelier Road, Brighton.
 1886. Griffith, Rev. C. H., 4, Belmont, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1903. Griffiths, A. E., 47, Park Crescent, Brighton.
 1905. Grinstead, W. H., Eureka, Lewes Road, Eastbourne.
 1904. Guermonprez, H. L., Dalkeith, Albert Road, Bognor.
 1913. Gull, Rev. C. G., The Vicarage, Litlington, Sussex.
 1898. Gwynne, R. Sackville, M.P., Wootton, Polegate.

 1914. Haddock, Frazer, Horsham.
 1914. Hagger, J. W., Durham House, Worthing.
 1900. Haines, C. R., Mazagon, Godalming.
 1914. Haines, Mrs. S. S., Springham, Hellingly.
 1913. Haire, Rev. A., The Vicarage, Laughton.
 1913. Hale, Miss H., Forest House, Coleman's Hatch.
 1913. Hall, A. J., 33, Vernon Terrace, Brighton.
 1864. *Hall, J. Eardley, Barrow Hill, Henfield.
 1897. Halliwell, Mrs., Stirling Lodge, Richmond Park, Bournemouth.
 1907. Halls, Rowland H., Seveirg Buildings, Lewes.
 1858. Halstead, Mrs. C. T., Chichester.
 1912. *Halsted, Leslie C., Orotava, Eastgate Square, Chichester.
 1909. Hankey, C. T. Alers, Templecrone, East Grinstead.
 1908. Hannah, Ian C., Fernroyd, Forest Row.
 1879. *Hannah, Very Rev. John Julius, D.D., The Deanery, Chichester.
 1888. Harbord, Rev. H., Rectory, East Hoathly.
 1908. Hardy, Alfred L., 54, Tressillian Road, Brockley, S.E.
 1900. Harley, J., M.D., Beedings, Pulborough.
 1914. Harman, Miss, care of M. White, Esq., Woods Gate, Downs Road,
 Coulsdon.
 1908. Harris, G. S., Highlands, Hailsham.
 1908. Harrison, Frederick, M.A., 17, Compton Avenue, Brighton.
 1889. Harrison, Walter, D.M.D., 6, Brunswick Place, Hove, Brighton.
 1878. *Harting, J. Vincent, F.S.A., 24, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, w.c.
 1911. Harvard University (per E. G. Allen & Son, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury
 Avenue, w.c.).
 1900. Hassell, R. E., Tanners Manor, Horeham Road.

1885. *Haverfield, Professor Frank J., M.A., F.S.A., LL.D., D.LITT., Winshields, Headington Hill, Oxford.
1897. Haviland, Francis P., Branksome House, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1908. Haviland, Miss M. E., Branksome House, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1906. Hawes, Edward, Tanglewood, Grove-road, Sutton.
1900. Hawes, G. C., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, s.w.
1877. *Hawkshaw, H. P., F.S.A., 22, Ryder Street, St. James's, s.w.
1909. Hawkshaw, Miss, Hollycombe, Liphook.
1914. Helme, Mrs., Lindfield Place, Hayward's Heath.
1907. Hemming, A. G., Cambridge Lodge, Horley.
1908. Henderson, Mrs., Sedgewick Park, Horsham.
1870. Henty, Colonel C. Percival, Avisford, Arundel.
1894. Henty, Edwin, F.S.A., Ferring Grange, Worthing.
1909. Henty, Mrs. Douglas, Westgate, Chichester.
1909. Heron-Allen, Edward, F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.M.S., F.Z.S., Large Acres, Selsey Bill; and 33, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
1898. Hiersemann, Karl W., 29, Königsstrasse, Leipzig, Germany.
1906. Hilbers, Hermann G., M.D., 49, Montpelier Road, Brighton.
1909. Hill, Miss R. Marion, Huntsland, Crawley Down.
1912. Hill, Rev. E. B., Wilderness Cottage, Hayward's Heath.
1903. Hill, Rev. W. S., M.A., Espérance, Warwick Park, Tunbridge Wells.
1907. Hillman, Mrs. Aubrey, Saxonbury, Lewes.
1905. Hills, Gordon P. G., Fircroft, Cookham Dean, Berks.
1907. Hills, Wallace H., Lansdowne House, East Grinstead.
1903. Hinds, Mrs., Tennyson Road, Worthing.
1897. Hobbs, E. W., M.A., Warnham House, 22, Ship Street, Brighton.
1892. Hobbs, James, 13, Highdown Road, Dyke Road, Brighton.
1905. Holgate, Miss Mary S., Knowles, Ardingly.
1907. Holland, Ernest George, 85, Arundel Road, Littlehampton.
1907. Hollist, Mrs. Anthony M. C., Highbuildings, Fernhurst, Haslemere.
1898. Holman, Mrs. Frederick, High Street, Lewes.
1895. Holman, George, The Rowans, Wallands Park, Lewes.
1865. Holmes, G. P., The Chalêt, Felpham.
1913. Hope, Lady, 102, Gloucester Place, w.; and New Lodge, Coleman's Hatch.
1911. Hooper, H. B., Rathgowry, South Cliff, Eastbourne.
1897. Hordern, Rev. H. M., St. Nicholas Vicarage, Brighton.
1913. Horne, Mrs. Maud, Ditton Place, Balcombe.
1895. *Hounsom, W. A., J.P., 41, New Church Road, Hove.
1897. Hove Public Library (care of J. W. Lister).
1911. Howard, Alfred, Cedar Lawn, Ailsa Road, St. Margarets-on-Thames.
1896. Howard, Alfred J., 14, Seaside Road, Eastbourne.
1911. Huddart, Mrs., Cudwells, Lindfield.
1896. Hudson, Rev. W., F.S.A. (care of Messrs. Stanton & Hudson, 108A, Cannon Street, E.C.).
1896. Huggins, Charles Lang, Hadlow Grange, Buxted, Uckfield.
1908. Huish, M. B., Coombe Wood, Ditchling.
1888. Humble-Crofts, Rev. W. J., Waldron Rectory, Hawkhurst.
1895. Hurst, C. J. B., C.B., K.C., 25, Cadogan Square, London, s.w.; and Barrington Grove, Burford.
1905. Hurst, A. R., The Park, Horsham.
1904. *Huth, Captain P., Riverhall, Wadhurst.
1899. *Huth, E., Wykehurst Park, Bolney.
1904. Huth, Mrs. E. A., Riverhall, Wadhurst.
1914. Hyde, T. Ralph, Crescent Road, Worthing.
1871. Infield, H. J., 130, North Street, Brighton.
1905. *Inderwick, W. A., Coombsfield, Malden, Surrey.
1912. Ingram, Arthur D., 4, London Wall Buildings, E.C.
1913. Jackson, A. C., Woodvale, Stonefield Road, Worthing.
1909. Jackson, Horace, High Street, Lewes.
1912. Jackson, Miss Marion, Veine, Easebourne, Midhurst.

1909. Jamblin, Rev. Robert, St. Margaret's, Pulborough.
 1909. James, H. A., Hurstmonceaux Place, Hurstmonceaux.
 1901. Jarrett, F., Rye.
 1911. Jay, Edwin P., Littlehampton.
 1895. Jay, Rev. W. P., St. Anne's Vicarage, Eastbourne.
 1910. Jellicorse, Mrs., Densworth House, Chichester.
 1895. Jenner, J. H. A., F.E.S., Eastgate House, Lewes.
 1909. Jennings, A. O., 11, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1911. Johnson, J. R. Kirby, 7, Wallands Crescent, Lewes.
 1913. Johnson, Rev. A. N., Stone House, Bexhill.
 1913. Johnson, Mrs., Stone House, Bexhill.
 1913. Johnson, Rev. Theodore, Bodiam Rectory, Hawkhurst.
 1909. Johnston, G. D., 3, Knaresborough Place, Cromwell Road, s.w.
 1902. Johnston, L. P., F.R.N.S., The Cottage, Warningcamp, Arundel.
 1897. Johnston, Philip M., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Sussex Lodge, Champion Hill,
 London, s.e.
 1908. Johnston, Sir H. H., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., St. John's Priory, Poling, near
 Arundel.
 1913. Jones, P. Morgan, 25, Lewes Road, Eastbourne.
 1913. Justice, George, Lansdowne Place, Lewes.
1905. Keef, H. W., Hillbre Mount, Framfield.
 1889. Kelly, Rev. W. W., Aldingbourne, Chichester.
 1910. Kelway-Bamber, Herbert, M.V.O., 6k, Hyde Park Mansions, w.
 1884. Kemp, Captain William, Lyminster House, near Arundel.
 1913. Kensett, Miss E. J., Barrington Road, Horsham.
 1896. Keyser, Charles E., M.A., F.S.A., Aldermaston Court, Reading.
 1909. Kibbler, Dudley, Ashcroft, Ringmer.
 1909. Kibbler, Miss M. M., Ashcroft, Ringmer.
 1907. Kidd, Dr. Harold Andrew, Graylingwell, Chichester.
 1904. King, E. G., Fryern, Pulborough.
 1907. King, Henry, St. Leonards School, Ellenslea Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1899. King, Major H., Isfield Place, Uckfield.
 1899. King, J. Godwin, Stonelands, West Hoathly.
 1912. King, Mrs. Godwin, Stonelands, West Hoathly.
 1911. King, P. W., North Street, Lewes.
 1909. Kipling, Rudyard, Batemans, Burwash.
 1908. Kirkley, James, The Hall, Fairlight, Sussex; and Cleadon Park, *vid*
 Sunderland.
 1914. Kirtlan, T. E. Varley, Watt's Lane, Eastbourne.
 1887. Knipe, Henry R., 9, Linden Park, Tunbridge Wells.
1901. Lacaita, C. C., Selham House, Selham, near Petworth.
 1913. Laker, S. J., Holmbush, Barcombe.
 1904. Lamb, Mrs. M., Borden Wood, Liphook.
 1886. Lambe, R., Blatchington, Seaford.
 1914. Lambert, A. U. Miller, B.A., Cantab, South Park Farm, Blechingley.
 1912. Lanaway, Hugh, South Croft, New Upperton Road, Eastbourne.
 1901. Lane, Mrs., Dangstein, Petersfield.
 1907. Lane, Mrs. K., Middleton, Hassocks.
 1908. Langdale, A. C., 38, Kensington Mansions, Trebovir Road, Earl's Court, s.w.
 1913. Langdale, H. M., M.D., Ulverston, Uckfield.
 1913. Lawrence, The Hon. Mrs. Herbert, Ashdown House, Forest Row.
 1911. Lawry, William, Trevasse, Mill Road, West Worthing.
 1861. *Leach, Miss, Apsley, Upper Bridge Road, Redhill, Surrey.
 1893. Leadam, W. W., M.D., 118, Inverness Terrace, London, w.
 1913. Ledger, Horton, 157, North Street, Brighton.
 1909. Leggatt, T. G., 10, Southdown Avenue, Brighton.
 1904. Lennard, Rev. H. L. B., The Rectory, Crawley.
 1863. *Leslie, C. S., Fetternear House, Kemnay, Aberdeenshire.
 1912. Letts, Louis R., 57, Dollis Park, Church End, Finchley, n.

1912. Letts, M. H. I., 124, Holland Park Avenue, w.
 1898. Levy, Lewis, Borden Hall, by Sittingbourne, Kent.
 1855. Lewes Fitzroy Memorial Free Library, Lewes.
 1870. Library Congress, Washington, U.S. (care of E. G. Allen, American Agency, King Edward Mansions, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, w.c.).
 1900. Lincoln's Inn Library, Lincoln's Inn, London, w.c.
 1899. Lintott, W., St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
 1908. Lister, Henry J., The Field House, Crowborough.
 1870. Lister, John J., Warninglid Grange, Hayward's Heath.
 1906. Little, Miss E. M., 26, Brunswick Place, Hove.
 1905. Livett, Rev. G. M., The Vicarage, Watlington, Kent.
 1889. Lloyd, Alfred, F.C.S., F.E.S., The Dome, Bognor.
 1909. Lloyd, J. C., High Street, Lewes.
 1910. Lloyd, Miss Eleanor, Woodburn, Crowborough.
 1911. Lloyd, Nathaniel, Great Dixter, Northiam.
 1913. Locker Lampson, Mrs. J., Rowfant, Crawley.
 1894. Loder, Gerald W. E., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly.
 1863. London Corporation Library Committee (Librarian), Guildhall, n.c.
 1886. London Library (C. T. Hagberg Wright, Librarian), St. James' Square, w.
 1908. *Long, Miss C. B., Sherrington Manor, Berwick.
 1909. Lovell-Keays, Lionel, Endsleigh, East Hoathly.
 1888. *Lucas, C. J., Warnham Court, Horsham.
 1909. Lucas, E. V., Tillington, Petworth.
 1898. Lucas, J., Foxhunt Manor, Waldron.
 1907. Lucas, John Clay, Castle Precincts, Lewes.
 1893. Lucas, Mrs., Castle Precincts, Lewes.
 1909. Lucas, Perceval, Rackham Cottage, Rackham, Pulborough.
 1911. Lucey, Rev. A. C., The Vicarage, West Dean, Chichester.
 1913. Luning, W. Antrobus, Bakeham, Englefield Green.
 1905. Luttman-Johnson, Colonel F., D.S.O., Redhill House, Petworth; and Army and Navy Club.
 1899. Luxford, J. S. O. Robertson, Higham House, Robertsbridge.
 1911. Maberly, Miss, Pax Holt, Cuckfield.
 1909. MacCormick, Rev. F., F.S.A. (scot.), M.R.A.S., Wrockwardine Wood Rectory, Wellington, Salop.
 1904. MacDermott, Rev. K. H., The Vicarage, Bosham.
 1913. Macdonald, Rev. H. E. St. John, The Rectory, Hurstmonceux.
 1883. Macfarlane, J. B., 49, East Street, Brighton.
 1908. *Macneill, A. D., Newchapel House, Lingfield.
 1904. Maitland, Major F. J., Friston Place, East Dean.
 1886. Malden, H. M. S., Henley Lodge, Frant.
 1913. Maltean, Mrs. M. A., Saltdene, Seaford.
 1913. Maltean, Miss, Saltdene, Seaford.
 1913. Mann, P. R., Bolebroke, Hartfield.
 1893. March, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Goodwood, Chichester.
 1910. Margesson, Major E. W., Kingsclere, Liverpool Gardens, Worthing.
 1913. Margetson, Alan, 1, Belgrave Place, Brighton.
 1913. Margetson, Mrs., 1, Belgrave Place, Brighton.
 1912. Marshall, Rev. D. H., Ovingdean Hall, Brighton.
 1901. Marshall, Miss D. E. G. Don, Pillmead, Buriton, Petersfield.
 1912. Martin, Albert, Park View Hotel, Preston, Brighton.
 1881. Martin, Charles, The Watch Oak, Battle.
 1911. Martin, Dr. T. H., The Gables, Crawley.
 1903. Martin, William, M.A., LL.D., LL.B., F.S.A., 2, Garden Court, Temple, E.C.
 1908. Marx, E. M., 62, Old Steine, Brighton.
 1908. Mason, Reginald, Fairhall, Southover, Lewes.
 1912. Massey-Cooke, Ambrose H., Bosenham, Frant Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1890. *Matthews, Miss M. E., 4, Medina Terrace, Hove.
 1911. *Mayhew, K. G., M.A., Wyfolds, Eastbourne.
 1899. McAndrew, J., Holly Hill, Coleman's Hatch, Tunbridge Wells.

1906. Meates, T. A., Hammonds Place, Burgess Hill.
 1904. Mee, Rev. J. H., M.A., The Chantry, Westbourne, Emsworth.
 1879. *Melville, Robert, 8, Argyle Road, Kensington, w.
 1864. Merrifield, F., 14, Clifton Terrace, Brighton.
 1902. Messel, L., Balcombe House, Balcombe.
 1913. Messel, Miss Muriel, Nymans, Handcross.
 1913. Michell, Guy, A.R.C.O., Tenterfield, West Worthing.
 1910. Michell, Herbert, Gloucester Lodge, Amherst Park, Stamford Hill, n.
 1911. Milbank-Smith, Mrs. B., Worthing Lodge, Worthing.
 1899. Miles, J., High Street, Lewes.
 1913. Miller, B. A., Seaford.
 1868. *Milner, Rev. J., 116, Elgin Road, Addiscombe, London, w.
 1913. Mitchell, E. A., M.I.E.E., The Mount, Cuckfield.
 1905. Mitchell, G. S., Broadbridge Place, Horsham.
 1907. Mitchell, H. P., Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, s.w.
 1905. Mitchell, W. W., Maltravers House, Arundel.
 1907. Mitten, Miss Flora, Treepes, Hurstpierpoint.
 1886. Molineux, Major H. P., F.G.S., Old Bank, Lewes; and Mornington,
 Buxton Road, Eastbourne.
 1906. *Monk Bretton, The Right Hon. Baron, C.B., Conyboro', Lewes.
 1900. Monk, Mrs., High Street, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1904. Montgomerie, D. H., F.S.A., 69, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, London, w.;
 and Old Sarum, Salisbury.
 1899. Montgomery, J., B.A., The Grammar School, Uckfield.
 1914. Moore, Hy., 5, Ventnor Mansions, Hove.
 1914. Moore, Mrs. Hy., 5, Ventnor Mansions, Hove.
 1912. Moore, Norman, M.D., F.R.C.P., Hancox, Battle; and 94, Gloucester
 Place, w.
 1908. Moore, Resta W., Stirling, Amherst Road, Bexhill.
 1913. Morgan, W. P., M.B., Rostrevor, Seaford.
 1913. Morgan, Mrs., Rostrevor, Seaford.
 1913. Morphew, Harold, Loxwood Place, Loxwood.
 1893. Moro, His Grace the Duke de, Norton Mandeville Court, Blackmore,
 Ingatestone, Essex.
 1897. Morris, Cecil H., Eastgate Street, Lewes.
 1913. Morris, Harry, St. Swithun's Terrace, Lewes.
 1897. Morris, H. C. L., M.D., F.R.G.S., The Steyne, Bognor.
 1909. Morrish, C. A., High Street, Lewes.
 1907. Morrish, H. G., Langhurst, Horsham; and Leonard House, Grange Road,
 Sutton, Surrey.
 1911. Moysey, H. L., Creswell House, Bexhill-on-Sea.
 1899. Mullens, W. H., M.A., Westfield Place, Battle.
 1911. Mundy, P. C. D., 49, Selborne Road, Hove.
1904. Nash, Rev. E. H., M.A., St. Paul's Vicarage, Chichester.
 1914. Neill, Rev. Chas., M.A., M.B. CANTAB, The Vicarage, Nutley.
 1909. Newgass, Mrs., Shernfold Park, Frant.
 1903. Newington, F., School Hill, Lewes.
 1905. Newington, C. R. K., Sunnyside, Patcham, Brighton.
 1895. *Newington, Mrs. C., Oakover, Ticehurst.
 1910. Newlands, The Rt. Hon. Baron, Barrowfield Lodge, Dyke Road Avenue,
 Brighton.
 1914. Newman, Edgar A., The Bungalow, Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1914. Newman, Mrs., The Bungalow, Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1914. Nicholson, Mrs., Skippers Hill, Five Ashes.
 1904. Nicholson, W. E., High Street, Lewes.
 1913. *Nix, C. G. A., Tilgate Forest Lodge, Crawley.
 1913. Nix, J. A., J.P., Tilgate, Crawley.
 1881. *Noakes, Frederic, St. Mary's Villas, Battle.
 1870. Norfolk, His Grace the Duke of, E.M., K.G., Arundel Castle, Arundel.
 1896. Norman, Rev. Samuel James, South Lawn, Chichester.

1892. Norman, Simeon H., London Road, Burgess Hill.
 1908. North, J. S., 44, Market Street, Brighton.
 1914. Norton, Rev. F. C., The Vicarage, Ditchling.
1912. Oakeshott, Miss Edith, The Priory, Heene, Worthing.
 1903. Ockenden, M., A.M.I.M.E., The Wigwam, Edgar Road, Sanderstead.
 1899. Ogle, Rev. J. L., M.A., The Vicarage House, Coleman's Hatch.
 1903. *Oke, A. W., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S., F.L.S., 32, Denmark Villas, Hove.
 1903. Oliver, E. Ward, New Place, Lingfield, Surrey.
 1868. Orme, Rev. J. B., M.A., Bay Trees, East Preston, near Worthing.
 1911. Osborn, G. W., Uplands, Heathfield.
 1913. Otter, J. L., 16, Vernon Terrace, Brighton.
 1898. Owen, R. K. W., M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC., Highfield, Upper Maze Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1896. Packham, Arthur B., 11, Caledonian Road, Brighton.
 1909. Paddon, A. M., Lodge Hill, Pulborough.
 1897. Padwick, Henry, M.A., Manor House, Horsham.
 1908. Padwick, P. H., Thatch Cottage, Fittleworth.
 1908. Padwick, Mrs., Manor House, Horsham.
 1908. Padwick, H. C., Danehurst, Horsham.
 1899. Pagden, Miss F. A., Alfriston.
 1910. Palmer, F. J. Morton, M.B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.S.A., Holford, Longfellow Road, Worthing.
1897. Pannett, A. R., Hirlestedon, Hayward's Heath.
 1907. Papillon, Pelham R., 26, Albany Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1913. Parbury, Mrs. J. E., Springfield, Crawley.
 1881. *Parkin, Thomas, M.A., F.R.G.S., Fairseat, High Wickham, Hastings.
 1881. Parsons, John, Wallands Crescent, Lewes.
 1881. Parsons, Thomas, Hartland, Warwick Park, Tunbridge Wells.
 1908. Parsons, W. J., The Wallands, Lewes.
 1914. Parsons, Mrs. W. J., The Wallands, Lewes.
 1870. Patching, E. C., Belfort, Liverpool Gardens, Worthing.
 1897. Patching, F. W., West House, Shelley Road, Worthing.
 1896. Patching, John, 29, Grange Road, Lewes.
 1909. Patterson, Major H. A. L., Ersham Road, Hailsham.
 1912. Paul, Dudley M., Bridge, Lynchmere, Liphook.
 1905. Peach, C. Stanley, 28, Victoria Street, s.w.
 1909. Pearce, Rev. Duncan, St. Anne's Rectory, Lewes.
 1909. Pearce, Mrs., St. Anne's Rectory, Lewes.
 1909. *Peckham, A. N., Rannoch, Summersdale, Chichester.
 1879. *Peckham, Rev. Harry J., Rannoch, Summersdale, Chichester.
 1913. Penfold, Fred. B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S., 9, Nottingham Place, w.; and Steyning, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1911. Penfold, Rev. E. W. D., Draycott, Southey Road, Worthing.
 1898. Penney, S. Rickman, Larkbarrow, Dyke Road Drive, Brighton.
 1910. Philipson-Stow, Lady, Blackdown House, Fernhurst, Haslemere.
 1901. Phillips, Maberly, F.S.A., Steyning, Enfield, Middlesex.
 1904. Phillips, Rev. J. P. Bacon, The Rectory, Crowhurst.
 1900. Pickard, T. W., Glynde, Lewes.
 1904. Piffard, E. J. G., Daphne Lodge, King's Road, Horsham.
 1904. Plummer, H., Lyntonville, Hayward's Heath.
 1913. Plunkett, Mrs., Starlings, Ditchling.
 1892. Poland, Rev. Eustace B., Aucklands, Littlehampton.
 1914. Poland, Henry G., Waltham Farm, Pulborough.
 1914. Poland, Mrs., Waltham Farm, Pulborough.
 1911. Pollicutt, J. H., Walpole, Broadwater, Worthing.
 1905. Ponsoby, Arthur A. W. H., Shulbrede Priory, Lynchmere, near Haslemere.
1909. Poole, Rev. Preb. F. J., r.d., St. John-sub-Castro Rectory, Lewes.
 1897. Popley, W. Hulbert, 13, Pavilion Buildings, Brighton.

1911. Port, C. G. J., F.S.A., I, West Mansion, Worthing.
 1909. Porter, Miss Martha E., Park House, Ringmer.
 1914. Porter, R. Ewhurst, Ewhurst Manor, Shermanbury, Henfield.
 1904. Postlethwaite, Miss, Castle Lodge, Lewes.
 1912. Potter, Howard S., Fernside, Southover, Lewes.
 1912. Potter, Mrs., Fernside, Southover, Lewes.
 1912. Povey, Edgar, Malling Street, Lewes.
 1899. Powell, E. C., Fairlawn, Caversham, Oxon.
 1909. Powell, Miss E. S., Luctons, West Hoathly.
 1887. Powell, Rev. Clement, The Rectory, Newick.
 1886. *Powell, C. W., Speldhurst, Tunbridge Wells.
 1890. Powell, Hubert John, Hill Lodge, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1848. Powell, James D., High Hurst, Newick.
 1913. Powell, Jas. Crofts, F.S.A., 13, Chester Street, Grosvenor Place, s.w.
 1907. Powell, R. H., Malling House, Lewes.
 1899. Powell, W. W. Richmond, Old Dover House, Canterbury.
 1902. Pownall, Rev. G. S., The Rectory, Buxted.
 1881. Pratt, J. C., Southlands, Warninglid, Hayward's Heath.
 1913. Prince, Dr. J. W. G., Hartfield.
 1914. Preston, E. Mumford, Cuckfield Park, Hayward's Heath.
 1903. Pryce, H. Vaughan, M.A., 104, Bethune Road, Stamford Hill, n.
 1913. Pullen, Darcy, Sun Inn, Plaistow, Kirdford, Sussex.
 1898. Puttick, Rev. J., Cissbury Lodge, Broadwater, Worthing.
1903. Quinnell, R. (care of H. S. Ram, Esq., 13, John Street, Bedford Row, w.c.).
1911. Raikes, Arthur Stewart, 11, Grosvenor Crescent, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1910. Ramsden, Colonel H. F. S., Moseham House, Wadhurst.
 1909. Randall, Miss, St. Michael's School, Bognor.
 1900. Randall, Rev. H. L., The Rectory, Cocking, Midhurst.
 1882. Randall, Mrs. H. L., Cocking Rectory, Midhurst.
 1906. Ranken, Arthur Wm., Culverwood, Cross-in-Hand.
 1872. Raper, W. A., Battle.
 1902. Ray, J. E., F.R.HIST.SOC., 39, Havelock Road; and Hollingside, 9, Stanley Road, Hastings.
1905. Read, T., The Grammar School, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1912. Read, Rev. A. R., St. Leonards, New Church Road, Hove.
 1912. Read, Mrs., St. Leonards, New Church Road, Hove.
 1906. Reckitt, A. Benington, Kenmore Highlands, St. Leonards.
 1907. Reeves, B. V., High Street, Lewes.
 1882. Rendell, Rev. Canon Arthur Medland, Eydon Rectory, Byfield, Northants.
 1907. Renshaw, Sir C. B., BART., Barochan, Houston, N.B.
 1893. Renshaw, Walter C., LL.M., K.C., Sandrocks, near Hayward's Heath.
 1899. *Renton, J. Hall, Rowfield Grange, Billingshurst.
 1877. Rice, R. Garraway, F.S.A., 23, Cyril Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, London, s.w.; and Carpenter's Hill, Pulborough.
1901. Richardson, F. R., 4, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1893. Richmond and Gordon, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., Goodwood, Chichester.
 1884. Rickman, John Thornton, Malling Lane, Lewes.
 1912. Rickman, W. B., Stroods, High Hurst Wood, Uckfield.
 1876. Ridge, L. W., 14, Liverpool Terrace, Worthing.
 1909. Ridsdale, E. A., 7, Queen's Gate Gardens, s.w.
 1889. Rigg, Herbert A., K.C., M.A., F.S.A., Wallhurst Manor, Cowfold, Horsham.
 1908. Roberts, J. Slingsby, 3, Powis Villas, Brighton.
 1911. Roberts, Miss M. E., Fyning Corner, Rogate, Petersfield.
 1892. Robertson, Percy Tindal, 4, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, w.c.
 1913. Robins, Miss Elizabeth, Backsettown, Henfield.
 1896. Robinson, J. J., Managing Editor, *West Sussex Gazette*, Arundel.
 1904. Robinson, W., Gravetye Manor, East Grinstead.
 1893. Roemer, Baron C. H. von, Lime Park, Hurstmonceux.
 1914. Rogers, F. J., Voyna, Jameson Road, Bexhill.
 1907. Rogers, Mrs. L. E. W., The Point, Newick.

1882. Ross, Mrs., Tudor House, St. Helen's Road, Hastings.
 1913. Row, Ernest F., Hazeldene, Midhurst.
 1897. Royal Institution of Great Britain, 21, Albermarle Street, London, w.
 1901. Royal Library, Stockholm, Sweden (per Wm. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, London, E.C.).
 1908. Russell, Miss Louise, Haremere Hall, Etchingham.
 1914. Rydon, A. H., Awbrook, Hayward's Heath.
 1911. Rye, The Corporation of.
 1910. Rylands, John, Library, Manchester.
1905. Saleebey, Rev. E. S., The Vicarage, Littlehampton.
 1912. Salmon, Arthur, 232, Eastern Road, Brighton.
 1898. Salmon, E. F., St. Hilda's, South View Road, Southwick.
 1896. Salzmann, L. F., F.S.A., Wroth Tyes, Hartfield.
 1883. Sanderson, Rev. Preb. Edward, Rectory, Uckfield.
 1906. Sanderson, Sidney, 10, Cornfield Road, Eastbourne.
 1900. Sands, H., F.S.A., Bernersmede, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1910. Sands, Miss M. H., Bernersmede, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1910. Sands, Mrs. L. J., Bernersmede, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1895. Sankey, Percy E., 44, Russell Square, London.
 1904. Saunders, J. E., Herschel Lodge, The Avenue, West Worthing.
 1905. Sayer, C. Lane, 26, Pall Mall, s.w.
 1914. Sayer-Milward, Mrs., Fairlight Place, East Sussex.
 1898. Sayers, E., Terringes, Tarring Road, Worthing.
 1896. Scarlett, Harry, LL.B., Prestone, Firle, Lewes.
 1911. Schuster, Sir Felix, BART., Verdley Place, Fernhurst.
 1898. Scott, Rev. H. von Essen, South Lynn, Eastbourne.
 1891. Scrase-Dickins, Charles Robert, D.L., Coolhurst, Horsham.
 1906. Scull, W. D., B.A. OXON, The Pines, Crowborough Beacon.
 1900. Seligman, Mrs., Shoyswell Manor, Etchingham.
 1914. Sergison, Miss P., Woodcote House, Woodcote.
 1900. Shaw, Rev. Preb. W. F., West Stoke, Chichester.
 1875. Shenstone, F. S., Sutton Hall, Barcombe.
 1898. Simmons, Edward, High Street, Lewes.
 1904. Simmons, Mrs. L. J., The Crouch, Seaford.
 1912. Sinclair, Ven. Archdeacon, The Rectory, Shermanbury.
 1909. Sinnock, Miss F. S., Downford, Hailsham.
 1914. Skyrme, Mrs. E. M., 2, Albany Road, Bexhill.
 1904. Slade, E. F., Warwick Mansion, Brighton.
 1913. Smith, E. Manley, Bottingdean, Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1901. Smith, Gregory D., Fair Haven, Burwash.
 1909. Smith, Miss Harvey, Hill House, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1907. Smith, R. Cunliffe, J.P., Glenleigh House, Hankham, Hastings.
 1913. Smythe, Miss Mabel, St. Anne's House, Lewes.
 1912. Snape, Rev. R. H., 31, Arlington Road, Eastbourne.
 1879. Snewin, H. E., Hawthorndene, Park Road, Worthing.
 1907. Snewin, Miss (care of H. E. Snewin, Esq.), Hawthorndene, Park Road, Worthing.
1895. *Somerset, A. F., Castle Goring, Worthing.
 1907. Spelman, Rev. A. P., M.A., Burwash Weald.
 1912. Sperling, Miss D. E. A., Netherfield Court, Battle.
 1862. *Sperling, Rev. J. H., M.A.
 1878. Springett, Edmund S., Ashfield, Hawkhurst.
 1914. Sproston, W. M., Maylands, Hayward's Heath.
 1908. Sprott, F. W., Luckhurst, Mayfield.
 1898. Sprott, H., Magavelda, Crowborough.
 1903. Standen, Gilbert, Villa Roux, Ranulf Road, Cricklewood, N.W.
 1909. Stebbing, W. P. D., F.G.S., 78A, Lexham Gardens, W.
 1913. St. Croix, Clement de, 18, Park Crescent, Brighton.
 1914. Steele, Eric, Broadfields, Crawley.
 1876. *Stenning, A. H., 33, Palace Road, Roupell Park, S.W.

1866. Stenning, J. C., Bexley, Saffrons Road, Eastbourne.
 1893. Stephenson, Mill, F.S.A., 38, Ritterdon Road, Upper Tooting, s.w.
 1909. Stevens, Miss Alice, Eskdale, Burgess Hill.
 1903. Stevens, F. Bentham, B.A., LL.B. CAMB., Long Dean, East Blatchington, Seaford.
 1909. Stevens, Mrs. F. Bentham, Long Dean, East Blatchington, Seaford.
 1908. Stewart-Jones, Thorold, The Grange, Lewes.
 1908. Stone, Hugh William, Rylstone, Heathfield.
 1867. Streatfeild, R. J., The Rocks, Uckfield.
 1901. Streatfeild, Rev. W. C., M.A., The Vicarage, Eastbourne.
 1872. Strickland, William, J.P., Cortlandt, Hailsham.
 1897. Strong, Dr. H. J., Colonnade House, Worthing.
 1911. Sturdy, William A., Pax Hill Park, Lindfield.
 1905. Sturtevant, Miss, Everton, 43, Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1886. Sutton, Thomas, 55, South Street, Eastbourne.
 1914. Sykes, Walter, The Drewitts, Warninglid.
 1914. Sykes, Mrs., The Drewitts, Warninglid.
1906. Talbot, Hugo, 79, Montpelier Road, Brighton.
 1909. Tate, Francis, North Street, Worthing.
 1912. Tattersall, J. F., The Rest, Southease, Lewes.
 1892. Taylor, Henry Herbert, 36, Brunswick Square, Hove, Brighton.
 1904. *Thomas-Stanford, Chas., M.P., M.A., F.S.A., Preston Manor, Brighton.
 1914. Thorns, Leslie, Henfield.
 1904. Thorowgood, Miss H., Springfield, Bognor.
 1903. Timms, F. I., Talybent, Shakespeare Road, Worthing.
 1914. Tippetts, A. S., Pine Lodge, Crawley.
 1911. Tompkins, Newland, Pulborough.
 1911. Tompkins, Mrs. F. Newland, Pulborough.
 1905. Toms, H. S., 53, Beaconsfield Villas, Brighton.
 1909. Torry, Rev. Claude, Streat Rectory, Hassocks.
 1907. Tower, Walter E., Old Place, Lindfield.
 1896. Towner, John Chisholm, 3, Burlington Place, Eastbourne.
 1909. Travers, J. Amory, Tortington House, near Arundel.
 1894. Tree, Philip H., 11, Dane Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1906. Treherne, George G. T., 7, Bloomsbury Square, w.c.
 1909. Trier, Erwin, Bushbarn, Robertsbridge.
 1899. Trist, G. A., Prestwood, Ifield, near Crawley.
 1899. Tubbs, Mrs. L. C., Caple-ne-ferne, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1911. Tudor, Miss Alice, Fridays Hill, Haslemere.
 1911. Tudor, Owen S., Fridays Hill, Haslemere.
 1911. Turner, Mrs. Montagu, Ortons, Cuckfield.
 1903. Tyacke, G. A., West Gate, Chichester.
1894. Ullathorne, William G., 9, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1911. Uniacke, R. G. FitzGerald, B.A., F.R.S.A., Primrose Club, Park Place, St. James', s.w.
 1909. Unsworth, R., Jun., 6, Station Road, Petersfield.
 1907. Uridge, A. J. R., Claverham, The Wallands, Lewes.
1908. Vallance, Herbert, School Hill, Lewes.
 1909. Verrall, Frank, Manor House, Southover, Lewes.
 1913. Verrall, W. F., The Hollies, Worthing.
 1911. Villiers, E. A., Hambrook Park, Funtington.
 1899. Vipan, Major C., D.S.O., Ford Bank, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1899. Waddington, J., Ely Grange, Frant.
 1911. Wagg, A., 2, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1863. *Wagner, H., F.S.A., 7, Belvedere Terrace, Brighton.
 1914. Waldstein, L., M.D., Posingford, Hartfield.

1896. *Walker, Charles W., Holmshurst, Burwash.
 1911. Walker, J. Hanson, Westovers, Hickstead.
 1913. Walker, Rev. F. G., 114, Stanford Avenue, Brighton.
 1898. Wallis, W. L., The Wish, Eastbourne.
 1906. Walton, Francis, Springfield Lodge, Horsham.
 1906. Warner, Rev. J. A., The Vicarage, Hadlow Down, Uckfield.
 1911. Warren, E. P., Lewes House, Lewes.
 1912. Warrender, Lady Maud, Leasam House, Rye.
 1913. Watson, Rev. E. S. W., The Rectory, Bepton, Midhurst.
 1907. Watson, Thomas Henry, M.B., C.M., The Mount, Westham.
 1899. Wedgwood, R. H., M.A., Slindon, Arundel.
 1886. Weekes, Arthur, Mansion House, Hurstpierpoint.
 1911. Welldon, J. Turner, B.A., The Garth, Ashford, Kent.
 1912. Wells, Rev. R. P. B., The Vicarage, Boxgrove.
 1913. Wharton, Miss E. A., Fisher's Gate, Withyham.
 1893. White, Edmund, Landport House, Lewes.
 1895. White, James, Capital and Counties Bank, Worthing.
 1891. Whitfield, F. B., Old Bank, Lewes.
 1888. Whitley, H. Michell, Broadway Court, Broadway, Westminster, s.w.
 1901. Whiteman, C. L., Comps, Station Road, Henfield.
 1908. Wickham, G., Stonewall, Limpsfield.
 1903. Wickins, H. W., F.R.G.S., Log House, Wadhurst.
 1909. Wight, E., 9, Regency Square, Brighton.
 1896. Wightman, George John, The Wallands, Lewes.
 1903. Wilkin, F., Lower Cousley Wood, Wadhurst.
 1885. Wilkinson, Thomas, 26, York Avenue, Hove.
 1901. Willett, H., Bishopstone Manor, near Lewes.
 1880. *Willett, Rev. F., St. Andrew's Lodge, Seaford.
 1905. Williams, H. M., Lee House, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1913. Williams, S. H., Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1907. Williams, W. N., M.A., LL.B., The Laurels, Uckfield; and Selwyn College, Cambridge.
 1909. Wills, Mrs., Rotherhill, Stedham, Midhurst.
 1912. Willson, George, Lendarac, Sedlescombe Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1913. Willson, Mrs., Lendarac, Sedlescombe Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1910. Wilson, Rev. C. W. G., The Rectory, Selsey.
 1914. Wilson, Rev. S. Gordon, Lynton, Westham.
 1914. Winbolt, S. E., M.A., Christ's Hospital, Horsham.
 1896. Wink, F. Wallace, Pluscardine, Belsize Road, Worthing.
 1890. Winton, E. W., Etherton Hill, Speldhurst, near Tunbridge Wells.
 1901. Wisden, Captain T. F. M., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Lincoln.
 1909. Wood, W. J., High Street, Seaford.
 1909. Woodland, Herbert A., The Nest, Selsey.
 1869. Woods, J. W., Chilgrove, Chichester.
 1902. Woollan, J. H., 42, South Park Road, Wimbledon, s.w.
 1891. *Woollett, Lieut.-Col. W. C., F.S.A., 4, The Ridges, Farnboro', Hants.
 1898. Worsley, R., Broxmead, Cuckfield.
 1897. Worthing Corporation Public Library (per Miss M. Frost).
 1898. Wright, J. C., Holmdene, Arundel Road, Eastbourne.
 1868. Wright, Robert, A.L.S., Herstmonceux.
 1897. *Wyatt, Hugh R. Penfold, M.A., Cissbury, Worthing.
 1901. *Wyatt, J. A. Penfold, Harsfold Manor, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst.
 1909. Wynne, Rev. A. E., The Vicarage, Rottingdean.
1910. Yale University, U.S.A. (E. G. Allen & Sons, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, w.c.).
 1909. Yonge, Rev. George, M.A., The Rectory, Newtimber.
 1892. Young, Edwin, Redholme, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1904. Young, E. F., School Hill, Lewes.

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The Editor requests that any Papers for publication in the Society's "Collections" may be sent to him not later than the 31st December in each year.

Sussex Archæological Society.

SUSSEX CHURCH BELLS.

By AMHERST D. TYSSEN, D.C.L., M.A.

IN the Sussex Archæological Volume for 1864 an article appeared by the present writer, giving the inscriptions on all the bells of Sussex then existing and a disquisition concerning them. It had been preceded by a book by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, who had made some researches in Wiltshire, but it was the first complete county bell history which was published; and it showed that the Post-reformation bells were almost always dated and bore their founder's names, while the Pre-reformation bells in general lacked both these characteristics. It was therefore a puzzle to tell when, where and by whom these latter were cast; and the disquisition in 1864 did little more than point out that many of the ancient bells of Sussex came from foundries situated at London and Reading respectively.

The fact, however, that ancient bells presented a series of puzzles seems to have incited a number of astute investigators to try to solve them; and now a long list of county bell histories has been published, each of which has thrown a little more light on the dark ages of campanology, until the whole subject has become fairly clear. This list includes the following works:—

Sussex, as above, by A. D. Tyssen	in 1864
Cambridge, 1st Edition, by Canon Raven	in 1869
Devonshire, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe	in 1872
Norfolk, by J. L'Estrange.....	in 1874
Somerset, by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe	in 1875
Leicestershire, by T. North	in 1876

Northants, by T. North	in 1878
Cornwall, by E. H. W. Dunkin	in 1878
Rutland, by T. North	in 1880
Gloucestershire, by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe	in 1881
Cambridge, 2nd Edition, by Canon Raven	in 1881
Lincolnshire, by T. North	in 1882
Bedford, by T. North	in 1883
Surrey, by J. C. L. Stahlschmidt	in 1884
Hertfordshire, T. North and J. C. L. Stahlschmidt	in 1886
Kent, by J. C. L. Stahlschmidt	in 1887
Staffordshire, by C. Lynam	in 1889
Suffolk, by Canon Raven	in 1890
Buckingham, by A. H. Cocks	in 1897
Huntingdon, by the Rev. T. M. N. Owen	in 1899
Shropshire, by H. B. Walters	in 1902-5
Dorset, by Canon Raven and W. Miles Barnes	in 1906
Essex, by the Rev. Cecil Deedes and H. B. Walters	in 1909
Warwick, by the Rev. H. T. Tilley and H. B. Walters	in 1910

Besides these county histories, many works on English bells have appeared, of which a very full list may be found in *The Church Bells of England*, by H. B. Walters, published by the Oxford University Press in 1913.

Of the authors of these books the late Mr. Stahlschmidt did most to elucidate the subject of the ancient London founders by careful researches among the extensive records which have been preserved of that city, and the result of his researches has now been systematized by Mr. H. B. Walters; while Mr. A. H. Cocks has unravelled most of the mysteries presented by the works which emanated from the bell-founders of Reading.

The other writers, whose names appear in the above list, have dealt with the bells of their respective counties and amplified our knowledge of the subject, and the result is that it is now possible to give a fairly complete account of the ancient bells of Sussex by adopting the results of the labours of these investigators without much need for further personal research.

As the year 1914 is the jubilee of the appearance of the first account of the Sussex Bells it seems to be a suitable epoch for an endeavour to complete their history.

I will endeavour therefore to perform this task and premise that I shall speak in the present tense of Sussex bells mentioned in the work of 1864, and in like manner

of bells in other counties mentioned in the books dealing with them, and possibly in some cases of bells of which I have notes in my own unpublished collection. I may add that I find that I shall be doing little more than following in the footsteps of the authors of the Essex and Bucks books, and I may refer my readers to those books for further information on almost every point.

I have also found it convenient to preserve the references to illustrations which were introduced in my former article; accordingly Plates I., II. and III. and Figs. 1 to 29 are the same in both works. Figs. with higher numbers are only found in the present work.

There is a general agreement among the writers above-mentioned that hardly any bells exist in England which were cast prior to the year 1250, and that from that date until about 1400 the inscriptions on bells are in the style of lettering which Continental writers call Gothic majuscules, and which English writers often call Lombardic capitals; the beginning of the inscription being marked by a cross, and a stop being generally placed in each other interval between the words. The approach of the fifteenth century saw the introduction of the style of lettering called black letter by English archæologists and Gothic minuscules by Continental writers, and it saw also the introduction of shields and other founders' marks. Gothic minuscules, however, did not immediately supersede majuscules in all parts of the country; and in the southern and eastern counties, where they were most readily adopted, most of the founders continued to employ a majuscule for the initial letter of each word. Bells so inscribed may fitly be called mixed Gothic bells.

After the Reformation Roman majuscules came into fashion, and nearly all the bells are dated and bear the name, or at least the initials, of their founder.

At the time of the Reformation a break takes place, and we have a difficulty in connecting the Pre-reformation and Post-reformation founders in almost every town where bell founding was practised.

If we proceed now to sift out some of the bells of the Gothic majuscule period, we may take first a small bell at Albourne, inscribed

+ A AM ME FECIT BEATE MARIA

(see Fig. 50).

Now it is very unlikely that a founder, prior to 1400, had three names, and very probable indeed that he had only one. Moreover, the letters are placed with intervals between them and the interval between the first two A's is wide enough to allow the insertion of another letter with the usual space on both sides of it. We may therefore conjecture that a letter D has been omitted, and that the founder's name was Adam. Turning then to Mr. Stahlschmidt's list of possible bell-founders, disclosed by the London archives, we find the following names:—

Adam le Potter,	1282—1287.
Adam de Chepe, Potter,	1307.
Adam Mantel, Potter,	1351.

We do not know of any other bell which can with any probability be attributed to any of these potters; and we may suggest that the first and second names in this list are different descriptions of the same man, and that the Albourne bell is his work. The letters of the Albourne bell are shown in Fig. 50.

We may take next the first bell at Kingston, near Lewes, inscribed + WALTERVS WIMBIS ME FECIT (see *Surrey*, Plate IV.) and the first at Southease bearing

+ IOHANNES : ALEYN : ME : FECIT

(see Fig. 49).

The cross on these two bells is the same (Fig. 1) and so is the letter M, and possibly some of the other letters. The Southease bell is very badly cast, and the Kingston bell very well cast. The Southease bell also has the peculiarity of having some of the letters reversed. No other bell has been found in precisely the same lettering as these bells, and no other trace has been found of either of these founders.

Some light, however, is thrown upon them by the fact that five bells have been found in Buckinghamshire (*Bucks Bells*, p. 6, and Plate III. and *Surrey*, Plate I.), each inscribed (with some trifling variations)

+ MICHAEL : DE : VVYMBIS : ME : FECIT

and Michael de Wimbis, potter, figures in the London records under the date 1297, and is mentioned as dead in 1310—and six bells have been found bearing the name of Ricardus de Wimbis as their founder, and he figures in the London archives under the dates 1303-1315. One of the bells by Ricardus de Wimbis is at Goring, in Oxfordshire, and it bears also the words ORATE PRO PETRO EXONIENSE EPISCOPO, which must be an allusion to Bishop Peter Quivil, who died in 1291. This bishop was evidently fond of bells, for a record is preserved of a deed dated in 1285, whereby he granted a tenement at Paignton, co. Devon, to one Roger de Ropeford, Campanistarius, and his heirs, to be held at the annual rent of one penny, and certain services to be rendered in respect of bells (*Dorset book*, p. 2; *Devonshire*, p. 74; and see the grant set out verbatim in Ellacombe's *Cathedral Bells of Exeter*).

Now as Walter Wimbis had dropped the "de" and so made Wimbis a name instead of a description, he would seem to belong to a generation later than Michael and Richard. At the same time Mr. Stahlshmidt includes in his list one Ralph Wymbish, potter in 1308, and he has no later name identifiable with Walter Wimbis, while he has several earlier. Thus we find—

Walter le potter	1260—1279
Walter le potter	1287—1288

We also find several Johns without any surname added, who may possibly have called themselves John Aleyn, namely—

John de Totenham, potter	1288—1315
John de Alegate, potter	1291
John de Hadham, potter.....	1309—1339
John atte or de la Marche, potter.	1310—1317

So far as the style of lettering is concerned Walter Wimbis may have been contemporary with Michael and Richard, or a little earlier or a little later. We shall give on a later page reasons for placing John Aleyn before Walter Wimbis.

Mr. Stahlschmidt has given representations of the stamps used by Walter Wimbis on Plate IV. of his *Surrey* book, but he makes the letters and the cross too big. He also represents three alphabets used by Richard de Wimbis on Plates II., III. and VII. of the same book, and the *Essex* book gives specimens of a fourth alphabet used by Richard de Wimbis on Plate III., Figs. 1-7. The last mentioned is found on a bell at Berechurch in Essex bearing

+ RICARDVS : DE : WIMBIS : ME : FECIT

and we find the same cross letters and stop on a bell at Poynings in Sussex, bearing—

+ AVE : MARIA

We may therefore attribute this Poynings bell to Richard de Wimbis.

There is also another bell in Sussex which may be mentioned here, namely, the second at Kingston-by-Lewes. It bears

+ AVE : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA

the cross being Fig. 10 and the cross and letters being given in Fig. 33.

The letters on this bell bear a resemblance to those given by Mr. Stahlschmidt on Plate VII. of his *Surrey* book, which occur on a bell at Burham, in Kent, bearing (*Surrey*, p. 8; *Kent*, pp. 9, 190):

□ RICHARD : DE : VVYMBIS : ME : FECIT

but the letters on the Kingston second bell are rather larger than those on the Burham bell. Mr. Walters has also noticed that the Kingston second bell (see *Essex*, p. 8) has a broad flat moulding above the inscription band, which occurs also on the bell by Walter Wimbis,

which hangs beside it, and on other bells by the Wimbis family. The cross on the second bell at Kingston looks like that attributed by Mr. Stahlschmidt to Michael de Wimbis. It is a larger edition of that used by Walter Wimbis.

We may deal next with a group of seven bells, all in one style of lettering (Fig. 34), inscribed as follows:—

Bramber, + IHESUS NAZARENUS REX IUDIORUM :
NICOLAS ME FECIT

Birdham 1st, + IOHANES

Madehurst 1st, + MARIA

„ 2nd, + GOD HELP · SANCTE MARIA

Clapham 1st, + IACOBUS

„ 2nd, + CATEKINA

„ 3rd, + KATERINA + MARGARITA

Mr. Stahlschmidt's list of possible London founders contains one Nicholas le Rous, potter, in 1315. Nothing else is known of this man, and his name and date would suit for this set of bells. But no other bell in the same lettering has been found; and having thus a substantial group in Sussex, and none elsewhere, we feel bound to accord to the founder a home where his works are found. If Nicholas le Rous of London is identical with the founder of the Bramber bell, he must have settled in Sussex for a time.

We will take next two groups of bells, all with the same lettering and cross, which may be called the R and and P W groups, and of which the letters may be called Appledram letters.

All the bells in the 1st of these groups have the letter R beneath the cross. They are as follows:—

Osmington, Dorset, 1st, + ANGELUS GABRIEL

Milton Abbas, Dorset, 1st, + SANCTA IHO HANNES

Chale, Isle of Wight, 1st, + O SANCTA MARGARETA

Beeding, Sussex, 1st, + IN HONORE SANCTE KATERINE

„ „ 2nd, + IN HONORE SANCTE
MARGARITE

Washington, Sussex, 1st, + SANCTE MICHAEL
 „ „ 2nd, + IN HONORE SANCTE
 MARIE
 Yapton, Sussex 4TH, + AVE : MARIA

All the bells in the second of these groups have the letters P W beneath the cross. They are as follows:—

Ridgewell, Essex, 5th + SANCTE IOHANNES ORA PRO
 NOBIS
 Appledram, Sussex, 1st, + SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO
 NOBIS
 „ „ 2nd, + BENEDICTA SIT SANCTA
 TRINITAS
 Broadchalk, Wilts, 6th, + ANDREE CAMPANA FUGIANT
 PULSANTE PROPHANA
 Whitwell, Isle of Wight, 3rd, + MIKAELIS CANPANA
 FUGIANT PULSANTE PROPHANA

There is also preserved at the Whitechapel Bell foundry a drawing of an inscription of a bell formerly at Preston by Yeovil, with the same cross and letters, as follows:—

+ MISSUS EST ANGELUS GABRIEL A DEO
 RW

The last-mentioned bell appears to indicate that R came to acquire a surname beginning with the letter W.

We need not hesitate to place the R group of bells earlier in date than the P W group. The founder of the former generally employs only one name, and his inscriptions are of an elementary nature. The founder of the latter regularly employs two names and his inscriptions are more elaborate. We may also observe that no one would have invented the Whitwell inscription to suit the name Michael. It spoils the rhythm, while the substitution of a name of two long syllables makes the motto a correct Leonine hexameter. Andree may have been pronounced as a dissyllable at the time and the line may have been coined for the Broadchalk bell, but Thomæ or Petri would be more suitable words.

The phrase is a good one, both in sentiment and diction, and we can understand that the founder liked it and wished to turn it to account when dealing with another name, although that name was unsuitable for the rhythm. We might paraphrase this motto in modern language and say—

Where'er my solemn voice is heard
Be holy thoughts and feelings stirred.

Now for the date and locality of these bells. If the Essex bell were out of the way we should look to Southampton for the head quarters of these founders. The Essex bell enables London to put in a claim, and in Mr. Stahlshmidt's list we find one Peter de Weston, potter, 1330 to 1348, and there are several Roberts without any surname a little earlier. But then several bells have been found bearing the name of Peter de Weston, and these show that his letters and the style of his inscriptions are quite different from those of the bells which we are considering. And if it is said that he may have begun business as a successor to R at Southampton, and then come to London and found his style of lettering unfashionable there, is that any reason why he should have forgotten the pretty verse on the Broadchalk bell, which he liked so well that he applied it at Whitwell regardless of a breach of rhythm? For we may observe that that verse has not been found on any other bell at all. No, we must decide against the claim of London to have produced the bells in question and prefer to think that the Ridgewell bell was sold away from its first abode at the dissolution of the monasteries, or that its position so far from its fellows is to be accounted for in some other way. The Essex authors also tell us that the formula, "Ora pro nobis," was not used by London founders until about the latter part of the fourteenth century. We can only say, therefore, that the R and P W groups appear to fall in the fourteenth century and point to Southampton as the head quarters of their founders, R having lived in the middle of the century and P W a little later. Some representations of the cross and letters used on these bells are given in the

Essex book, Plate III., Figs. 8, 9 and 12, and they are shown in No. 55 of the *Dorset* book. We propose to call these Appledram letters.

We can next take the first bell at Ford, bearing—

+ ROBERTVS RIDRE ME FECIT

(see Fig. 51).

The treble bell at Hartley in Kent bears the same words, and so does the third bell at Ridgewell in Essex. Mr. Stahlschmidt also found the name of Robert Ryder, potter or brazier, appearing in the London Archives from 1351 to 1386, in which latter year he died. Mr. Stahlschmidt (*Surrey*, pp. 32, 33) shows by certain deeds the position of his foundry, and sets out the will of his lands. Mr. Stahlschmidt also, in Plate IX. of his *Surrey* book, gives the letters of the Hartley bell; and the *Essex* book (Plate III., Figs. 1-7) gives those of the third bell at Ridgewell, which are the same as those of our Poynings bell, and as those used by Richard de Wimbis at Berechurch in Essex. At Ford we have a third alphabet, which resembles but is not identical with another set used by Richard de Wimbis. The Ford letters are shown in Fig. 51 of this article.

We may next mention the second bell at Duncton. This has an inscription which, so far as legible, runs—

DE FLOTHE A . . . E : LA : HAGUE : FET : LAN : MCCCLXIX :

It is difficult to imagine how this bell, cast at The Hague, found its way to Duncton. There were certainly bell-founders in London at the time, and there must have been others not far from Sussex. The lettering on this bell is different from any other found in England.

We may take next the second bell at Stoughton, bearing

+ AUE GRACIA PLENA

I have myself found several bells in Hampshire with the same cross and lettering which occur here, one being at Winchester College, bearing + AUE GRACIA; and as Winchester College was founded in 1393, that is probably the date of the bell.

The third bell at North Stoneham, in Hampshire, has the same inscription as the Stoughton bell, and so has the

fourth at S. Michael's, Winchester; but on the last-mentioned bell we find another cross and a shield bearing an eagle. The information which we possess concerning bells in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire shows that bells belonging to this group are found in those counties also. And we have some further evidence that the date of these bells is near the beginning of the fifteenth century in the fact that Gothic minuscules are found amongst them. Thus the first bell at Gatcombe, in the Isle of Wight, bears

+ Sit nomen dñe benedictum

the cross being that on the Stoughton bell and the S of the same type. And the same combination occurs on the first at Compton, Hants, which bears + A choia, the A being that found on the Stoughton bell.

The cross on the Stoughton bell is Fig. 7 of the *Somersetshire* book, and it is recorded to be found on three bells at Holton, one at Sandford Orcas, and one at Woollavington in that county. All these are AVE bells. The distribution of these bells, therefore, seems to point to Salisbury as the home of the founder of them.

We will take next a clearly defined group of five bells, namely, Pevensey 3rd, Fairlight, Hollington, Westfield 1st, and Sidlesham 2nd. The first four of these bear

+ SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM,

all having the same cross and lettering. On the Fairlight bell a fine crown (Fig. 7) appears between the words; on the Hollington bell a fleurs de lis (Fig. 8). We learn from the *Essex* book that the Fairlight crown is found on a bell at Magdalen Laver in that county, which bears also the cross used by Richard Wimbish at Goring, and letters of his period. The other stamps used on these bells appear to have originated with their founder. The Sidlesham bell has the same cross and lettering and bears

+ PER QVOS FVNDATVR IACOBVS PRECIBVS TVEATVR.

This verse is not found elsewhere; so we must presume that the author of it thought himself justified in making

the second syllable of *Jacobus* short. This is one of two rhyming lines found in Sussex on bells inscribed in Gothic majuscules. It is indeed the only Leonine hexameter in that lettering in our county.

We learn from the *Essex* book that 20 bells of this type have been found, four in Essex, four in Kent, three in Somerset, and the rest in Cambridge, Herts, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex, and one from Worcester Cathedral preserved at Didlington in Norfolk. Mr. Stahlschmidt found good grounds for attributing these bells to one William Burford, who was described in the London archives as a bellezetter from 1371 to 1392, his will being proved on November 4th, 1393 (*Surrey*, p. 38), and his death taking place a little earlier; whereupon he was succeeded by his son Robert Burford, from 1392 to 1418. In Blomefield's *Norfolk* we find evidence of Robert Burford, of London, casting bells in 1410 (Vol. I., p. 308, cited in *Norfolk Bells*, p. 53). In Essex and Kent some bells are found bearing Burford's cross and majuscules, with Gothic minuscules added to them, this phenomenon being the same as that observed in the case of the Stoughton group. Our Essex authors attribute all the majuscule bells to William Burford and all the mixed Gothic bells to his son. They observe that the father was about the first London founder who placed on his bells such a formula as SANCTA KATERINA ORA PRO NOBIS. It also appears that he employed IN MVLTIS ANNIS RESONET CAMPANA IOHANNIS, a favourite inscription which deserves to be traced to its origin. Some representations of the stamps used by the Burford's are given in the *Essex* book, Plate IV., Figs. 11-15, and in the *Hertford* book, Figs 9 and 9A, and in the *Surrey* book, Figs. 164 to 167.

The next group claiming attention comprises four bells, as follows:—

Fittleworth, 1st	+	SANC	✠	TA CATA	✠	RINA	□
Barnham	+	AFE	✠	MA	✠	RIA	✠
						DRA	✠
						SIA	✠
				PLE	✠	NA	
Chichester, S. Peter, 2nd	+	□	+	AVE	✠	MARI	✠
North Mundham, 3rd	+	AVE	✠	MARIA	✠		

These bells all have the same lettering and the same cross and fleur de lys. We propose to give the name of Barnham to these stamps; they are shown in Fig. 35. A square or irregular shaped lozenge, bearing a sprig with divided leaves (Fig. 9), occurs three times on the crown of the Barnham bell, and is found on the first and third of the list above given. The lettering on these bells is nearly, but not quite, identical with that figured in *Bucks*, Plate V., as occurring on a bell at Beachampton, co. Bucks, inscribed—

+ NOS : PRECE : SANCTORVM : DEFENDAS : XPE : TVORVM

which bell belongs to a Midland group mentioned in the *Warwickshire* book, p. 8. The Sussex bells, however, present a more antiquated appearance than their Midland congeners and may reasonably be referred to the middle of the fourteenth century. It is clear that they cannot be regarded as London bells. Their founder may have resided in West Sussex for a time and afterwards moved to the neighbourhood of Banbury.

This still leaves us six Gothic majuscule bells to deal with, whereof one at East Dean, near Chichester, can be referred to a founder of the sixteenth century named William Knight, and will be dealt with in due course; while another, being the 6th at Alfriston, will introduce us to a group of men known as William Founder and his colleagues. The remaining four are unique and bear the following inscriptions:—

West Thorney, + IHESVS (see Fig. 36).

Alciston 1st, + SANCTA AGATHA ORA PRO NOBIS (see Fig. 37), the initials being surmounted by the crown, Fig. 12.

Ashington 2nd, + AUE MARIA GRACIA PLENA (Fig. 38).

Kingston, near Lewes, 3rd, + SANCTA ANNA ORA PRO NOBIS, the cross being Fig. 11, and the letters and cross being shown in Fig. 39.

The bell at West Thorney is probably the oldest inscribed bell in the county. Its cross occurs also on two

bells at Enborne and Sonning, co. Berks, inscribed respectively

+ MICHAEL and + MARIA.

The letters on these bells are smaller, but of similar character, to the Thorney letters, but the bulge of the H has one long tail at West Thorney and two little ones at Enborne. Mr. Walters has also found a similar cross on a bell at Sarresfield, co. Hereford. We can also trace a resemblance between the cross and I of West Thorney and a bell at Fontenailles, in France, dated MCCII.; and the bell of West Thorney, on being examined by the Rev. C. Deedes, was found to have a flat lip, in which particular it resembles one at Caversfield, assigned by Mr. A. H. Cocks to the period 1200-1220. These circumstances justify us in according an early date to the bell at West Thorney. We may fairly place it about 1250.

The bell at Ashington also presents a very primitive appearance. The letters and cross are very simple, and there are no stops between the words. It may well be Pre-Wimbis, and may be assignable to the reign of Henry III., about 1270 perhaps.

The 3rd bell at Kingston is a puzzle. Judging by the style of the letters one would be inclined to assign an early date to it, but the letters are arranged in words and we have the formula *ora pro nobis*, which is not found on any London bell clearly assignable to a date prior to 1370. There are also no stops between the words, a circumstance which generally indicates a late date, though it may also indicate a very early one.

The last-mentioned indicia occur also on the 1st bell at Alciston, but here the style of letters and the crowns over the initials all combine to place the bell late in the fourteenth century, about 1380 perhaps.

We now pass to the period in which Gothic minuscules appear.

The 6th bell at Alfriston bears the inscription:—

+ WOX · AVGVSTINI · SONAT · IN · AVRO · DEI

wherein AVRO is, of course, a mistake for AVRE.

The letters are all fine Gothic majuscules, which we propose to call Alfriston letters; the beginning of the inscription is marked by a medallion of six fleurs de lys springing from a centre (Fig. 20), and a stop of 10 spokes occurs in each other interval between the words. Some of these letters are given with crowns in *Bucks*, Plate XIII., and *Warwick*, Plate XII. This bell belongs to a considerable group of bells, which can with certainty be attributed to a certain group of founders; but the question which bells were cast by each of the founders is more difficult to answer.

We will proceed to mention the other members of this group which occur in Sussex.

The Alfriston majuscules are found again on two mixed Gothic bells at Catsfield, accompanied by minuscules of suitable size, which we propose to call Catsfield minuscules (see Fig. 40).

The inscriptions on these bells are :

1. + Sum Rosa Pulsata Mundi Katerina Vocata
2. + Dulcis Sisto Melis Campana Vocor Gabrielis

The cross on the second bell is Fig. 19 and that on the first bell is similar to it, but rather smaller. We propose to call these the larger and smaller Catsfield crosses.

The Catsfield minuscules are found again on a bell at Ninfield, accompanied, however, by majuscules, which are disproportionately small for them and which we propose to call Ninfield majuscules (some of them are figured in *Essex*, Plate IX.). The inscription on this bell is

+ Hic Est Martinus Quem Salvat Trinus Et Unus

On the crown of this bell the shield, Fig. 13, occurs three times, bearing a chevron between three vessels like coffee-pots, which are usually called lavers or ewers; this shield is called the larger laver shield. The cross at the beginning of the inscription is Fig. 14, which we will call the Ninfield cross and in each interval between the words the stamp Fig. 15 occurs, bearing the words, "William Foundor me fecit." This is called William Foundor's stamp.

With respect to the vessel called a laver or ewer we shall find it again on another bell-founder's shield, and it occurs in the arms of the Founders' Company. It was evidently therefore an article commonly made by founders in England 500 years ago; and we find that similar articles are made by coppersmiths in Egypt now, and are used as water jugs. We must suppose that our ancestors used them for the same purpose; but it is strange that they should have chosen a shape so ill adapted both for filling and cleaning.

The Ninfield majuscules are again found on the 3rd bell at Woolbeeding, accompanied by minuscules of suitable size, which we propose to call Woolbeeding minuscules (see Fig. 41), the inscription being

Hec Nova Campana Margareta Est Nominata  + 

The cross on this bell consists of four fleurs de lys (apparently *Bucks*, Plate XI., Fig. 1, and *Essex*, Plate VII., 1), which we propose to call the Guestling cross for reasons which will hereafter appear; and the shields are Figs. 16 and 17, known as the smaller laver shield and the trefoil shield respectively.

The 2nd bell at Heyshot has no words upon it, but it bears the smaller laver shield and the trefoil shield (Figs. 16 and 17) and the Ninfield cross (Fig. 14), the cross occurring twice.

We also find the smaller laver shield (Fig. 16) and the trefoil shield (Fig. 17), and the cross, which we have named after Guestling, on a bell at Guestling, and the third at All Saints, Lewes, each inscribed

Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis

But on these bells we find different lettering (Fig. 46), the description of which we must postpone for the present, while we return to the Woolbeeding bell.

The Woolbeeding minuscules are found on a bell at Folkington, accompanied by a still smaller set of majuscules (*Essex*, Plate VIII., Figs. 1-4), which we propose to call Folkington majuscules. The inscription on this bell is

+ Vox Augustini Sonet In Aure Dei

The cross is a small aggregation of four fleurs de lys, which may be called the Folkington cross, and is intended to be represented by Fig. 7 of the *Herts* book; and the smaller laver shield, Fig. 16, occurs three times on the crown of the bell.

We also find the Ninfield cross and the smaller laver shield (Figs. 14, 16) on the 2nd and 3rd bells at Tangmere without further inscription, each of these stamps occurring twice on the 2nd bell.

We also find a bell at Loxwood, bearing

+ criftul : perptue : det : nobil : gaudia : uite

where the letters, other than the S, are Woolbeeding minuscules, but the S is of long form, like a *ç* with a little hump on its back (See Fig. 41), while the Woolbeeding S is of crumpled form. The cross and stop at Loxwood are also different from any hitherto mentioned. We may call them the Loxwood cross and stop.

We will add here a list of the bells just enumerated—

Locality.	Cross.	Majuscules.	Minuscules.	Shields.	Stops.
Alfriston, 6th	6 fleurs-de-lys	Alfriston ...	None	None ...	Axle with ten spokes
Catsfield, 1st...	Smaller Catsfield	Alfriston ...	Catsfield ...	None ...	None
„ 2nd..	Larger Catsfield	Alfriston ...	Catsfield ...	None ...	None
Ninfield	Ninfield ...	Ninfield ...	Catsfield ...	Large laver 3 times	William Foundors
Woolbeeding, 3rd	Guestling...	Ninfield ...	Woolbeeding	Small laver and trefoil	None
Heyshot, 2nd ..	Ninfield ...	None	None	Small laver and trefoil	None
Guestling ...	Guestling }	Mentioned later and called Stephen Morton's	Mentioned later and called Guestling minuscules	Small laver and trefoil	} None
All Saints, Lewes, 3rd)					
Folkington ...						Folkington	Folkington	Woolbeeding	Small laver 3 times	None
Tangmere, 2nd	Ninfield twice	None	None	Small laver twice	None
Tangmere, 3rd	Ninfield ..	None	None	Small laver	None
Loxwood	Loxwood ...	None	Woolbeeding, with a long S	None ...	Loxwood

The references to these stamps are as follows:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| Cross of 6 fleurs-de-lys, Fig. 20. | Alfriston majuscules, <i>Bucks</i> , XIII.,
and <i>Warwick</i> , XII. |
| Large Catsfield cross, Fig. 19. | Ninfield majuscules, <i>Essex</i> , IX. |
| Ninfield cross, Fig. 14. | Folkington majuscules, <i>Essex</i> , VIII.,
1-4. |
| Guestling cross, <i>Bucks</i> , XI., 1;
<i>Essex</i> , Plate VII., 1. | Catsfield minuscules, Fig. 40. |
| William Foundor's stamp, Fig. 15. | Woolbeeding minuscules, Fig. 41. |
| Large laver shield, Fig. 13. | Loxwood long S, Fig. 41. |
| Small laver shield, Fig. 16. | Guestling minuscules, Fig. 46. |
| Trefoil shield, Fig. 17. | |
| Folkington cross, <i>Herts</i> , Fig. 7. | |

It will be seen that these bells manifest a terrible intermingling of stamps and letters, and the confusion is much increased when we introduce similar bells from other counties, and when we add the description and history of the letters found on the Guestling bell and its colleague at All Saints', Lewes. My predecessors have, however, done a good deal to unravel the tangles. One illuminating point is the medallion on the Ninfield bell, bearing the words, *William Foundor me fecit*. Mr. Stahlschmidt considers that this man was a citizen of London, who styled himself successively William Dawe founder in 1393 and William Foundor in 1395, the change being perhaps caused by the fact that there was another William Dawe in the City engaged in the leather trade (*Kent*, Preface, p. XII.). Notices of him occur from 1385 to 1418. We also hear of a founder named William supplying guns and powder and other materials for the equipment of Dover Castle in 1385 (*Surrey*, p. 45, *Kent*, p. 24). But we find 60 cannon bought the next year from William Wodeward, and other cannon bought from him in 1417 (*Issue Rolls of the Exchequer*, 239, 346; *Salzmann's Industries of the Middle Ages*, 96).

We learn from the *Essex* book that 24 bells have been noted bearing William Foundor's stamp (Fig. 15), and I gather (*Essex*, p. 27) that this is never found in conjunction with the Catsfield cross (Fig. 19) or its smaller representative, and that one of W. Foundor's bells at Abbotsham, co. Devon, is entirely in Ninfield majuscules, while all the others are mixed Gothic bells. The trefoil shield appears to accompany William Foundor's stamp on

the 2nd bell at South Elmham, S. Peter, co. Suffolk (compare *Suffolk*, p. 18, and *Essex*, p. 27, middle), but not elsewhere.

The Catsfield bells belong to a group of nearly 50 bells, all bearing one or other of the Catsfield crosses. The large laver shield occurs three times on the crown of many of them, and the small laver shield on some, while in two cases the Alfriston medallion of six fleurs de lys occurs in place of it. The trefoil shield also occurs on some of these bells. It should also be mentioned that the three sets of majuscules, namely, Alfriston, Ninfield and Folkington, are all similar in character, although they differ in size.

Mr. Stahlschmidt threw some light on the bells of this period by finding a Guild of Bell-makers mentioned in a list of guilds in London, drawn up in about 1420 (*Surrey*, p. 48), and he conjectures that the laver shield may have been adopted as the arms of the guild (*Herts*, p. 19), in which case it would have been free to the use of all members of the guild. But it seems to be impossible to explain the mixture of stamps which occurs, except upon the supposition that other devices and alphabets also were common to all members of the guild.

The *Essex* authors have made a meritorious attempt to solve the mysteries presented by this group of bells, and in so doing they have paid special attention to the initial or final crosses, of which each founder is likely to have possessed a private stamp. On this principle they assign the Folkington bell to one John Langhorne, who is first noticed in 1379, and whose death occurred in 1406. They find nine bells bearing the Folkington cross inscribed entirely in Folkington majuscules, and thus referable to an early date. Two of these have the small laver shield three times on the crown. They also find five mixed Gothic bells having the Folkington cross and majuscules and the small laver shield. The Folkington bell is one of these five; and they regard these as being some of John Langhorne's later works.

They assign the Alfriston bell to one William Wode-warde, who has been already mentioned as a gun-founder

from 1385 to 1418, and who appears from the Guildhall records to have done business as a bell-founder from 1395 to 1420 (*Kent*, p. 23). That is Mr. H. B. Walters' view, and he is the best judge on the subject. The 5th bell at South Lopham in Norfolk (*Norfolk*, p. 50) has the six fleurs de lys stamp for its initial mark, and it bears in Alfriston majuscules—

VIRGINIS EGREGIE VOCOR CAMPANA MARIE

but it has a different stop between the words, a crown over each letter, and the small laver shield four times on the crown.

That is the only bell, which much resembles the Alfriston 6th. Assuming the bell to be of William Wodewarde's workmanship, it should be one of his earliest productions.

With respect to the bells bearing the Catsfield crosses, Mr. Stahlschmidt is inclined to attribute those also to William Wodewarde, and, if so, they would seem to be referable to his later years. Mr. Walters has ascribed them to one John Brid, brazier, who is named as one of the executors of Robert Burford in 1418 (*Surrey*, p. 45).

This still leaves seven bells in our list unappropriated, of which the uninscribed bell at Heyshot and the two at Tangmere will be best attributed to William Founder, because they bear the Ninfield cross, which is generally distinctive of him.

The Loxwood bell stands by itself. It is inscribed entirely in minuscules and has a special initial cross and special stop between the words. The letters are, in general, similar to the Woolbeeding minuscules, found also on the Folkington bell, but the S is of long form instead of crumpled.

In general we find a long S before the letter T in a word, as in Est and Augustini; and a crumpled S at the end of a word and at the beginning of the word Sancta, when a minuscule is employed there. In the case, however, of the Woolbeeding and Folkington bells we find

a crumpled S in Est and Augustini; while at Loxwood the S is of the long form in every position. The Loxwood S, though of long form, is shorter than the C and has a slight hump on its back.

The verse, which occurs on the Loxwood bell,

Christus perpetuæ det nobis gaudia vitæ

was found also on a bell at Cuxton, in Kent, inscribed entirely in Folkington majuscules and accompanied by a cross, Fig. 7 in *Kent* and Plate X., Fig. 4 in *Essex*, which does not occur in Sussex. The Cuxton bell is ascribed by Mr. Walters to William Wodewarde on account of its initial cross (*Essex*, p. 24).

I believe that only one other bell has been found of the same type as the Loxwood bell, namely, the sanctus bell at Streatley, Berks. The inscription there is

+ hac : in : conclabe : gabriel : nunc : pange : tuave

The cross, stop and letters on this bell are all identical with those on the Loxwood bell, the S being of the same form. If difference of initial cross is to be taken to indicate a separate founder, the Loxwood and Streatley bells must have been made by a different hand from all the rest.

Altogether the batch of bells, which we have been considering, and which are associated with William Founder and the Bellmakers' Guild, appear to cover the bulk of the reign of Richard II., the whole of that of Henry IV. and the bulk of that of Henry V., that is to say, from about 1380 to 1420.

The Woolbeeding bell will be seen to be a jumble of jumbles. It bears the Ninfield majuscules employed by William Founder, the Woolbeeding minuscules used by John Langhorne, the laver and trefoil shields mainly associated with William Wodewarde, and possibly with John Brid, and the Guestling cross, which connects it with other founders who are about to be mentioned.

We must next take up the story of the bells at Guestling and All Saints', Lewes; but before doing so

we may mention that in our later history we shall meet with the Woolbeeding minuscules on two bells at Cranham, in Essex, which will be discussed later; and we shall also meet with the Guestling cross and lettering, and the Alfriston majuscules and the six fleur de lys stamp; but all the other letters, shields, crosses and stops used by William Founder and his contemporaries disappear, and are not found on any bells cast by known London founders of the period after 1430. In the later bells we never again find the Catsfield, Ninfield, Folkington or Cuxton crosses, nor the laver or trefoil shields, nor the Ninfield or Folkington majuscules, nor the Catsfield or Woolbeeding minuscules, nor any of the Loxwood stamps, except the special case of Woolbeeding minuscules at Cranham, in Essex, which will be mentioned later. May we conjecture that the London bellfounders awoke to the undesirability of intermingling their stamps, finding that a faulty bell made by one of them might be attributed to another, and that they destroyed all which were common property, and only preserved a few which had been or had become the private property of some members of the bell-makers' guild?

We will now deal with the Guestling bell and its duplicate at All Saints', Lewes. The minuscules on these bells are not found on any earlier bells, and we will call them Guestling minuscules, and we give them as Fig. 40; but the cross and the majuscules are found on the 2nd bell at Snaive in Romney Marsh and the 4th at Holy Cross, Canterbury, each inscribed

+ STEPHANVS : NORTONE : DE : KENT : ME : FECIT

There is a crown over each letter and stop and over the cross on these bells; and there is a similar crown over each majuscule at Guestling and All Saints', Lewes. The cross stop and letters are figured in Plate II. of *Kent* and Plate VIII. of *Surrey* and Plates V., VI. and VII. of *Essex* and Plate XI. of *Warwickshire*. The crosses given in *Essex* Plate VII., Figs. 1 and 4, are so much alike that I may have mistaken one of them for the other.

Fig. 3 of the same Plate is one of them crowned, and Plate X., Fig. 2, of *Essex* may be confused with them.

We know a good deal about Stephen Norton. His name occurs in a fine dated July 8th, 1362, between him, with his wife Johanna and James (Jacobus) Mathew, being a sale of eight acres of arable land (*terrae*) in Goudhurst for 10 marcs (*Kent*, p. 17). It occurs again in a fine dated January 20th, 136 $\frac{3}{4}$, on a purchase by him of two houses and 55 acres of arable land and four of meadow at Boughton Monchelsea, together with an estate for the life of the vendor's wife in 10 more acres of arable land, the price of the whole being 20 marcs (*Kent*, p. 18). His name appears again in a conveyance of the year 1375 (*Kent*, p. 18), and in the return to a writ of inquiry in 1394 (*Kent*, p. 19). A bell bearing his name exists at Chiselborough, co. Somerset, and a record is preserved of one formerly at Dover Castle, which recorded that it was given in the fourth year of Richard the 2nd (22nd June, 1380—21st June, 1381).

We also find that one John Maplesden by will made in 1528 desired to be buried in Maidstone Parish Church, "next to the tomb of Stephen Norton, bell-founder" (*Kent*, p. 19) and the Maidstone Registers, which commence in 1542, record the burial of one Joanne Maplesden on 29th July, 1543, but there are no tombs in the church now.

Stephen Norton was clearly very much "of Kent." Nevertheless, we may be sure that, if he had always carried on business in that county, the title "of Kent" would never have been added to his name. That epithet must have been applied somewhere out of the county; and he apparently felt proud of it. London is most likely the locality in which he plied his trade. The Guestling bell and its colleague are interesting as giving us a glimpse of his letters or lettering, apparently in the middle of the considerable interval which occurred between his own life and the resumption of his stamps, which will shortly be mentioned. We can best introduce this subject by mentioning a line of founders first and dealing with their bells afterwards.

We have mentioned two founders named respectively William Burford and Robert Burford, of whom the former worked from 1371 to 1392 and the latter from 1392 to 1418. They were thus contemporaries of William Founder, but they seem to have kept clear of the Bell-makers' Guild and the confusion attending the laver and trefoil shields. There are good grounds for saying that Robert Burford was succeeded in business by one Richard Hille. Mr. Stahlschmidt found Richard Hille's name occurring as early as 1423, and he sets out his will (*Surrey*, p. 49), which is dated 3rd May, 1440, and proved on June 6th in the same year.

Richard Hille was evidently a man of substance. He desired to be buried in the Church of S. Botolph, Aldgate, and he gives legacies to four apprentices and a contingent legacy to Isabella, the wife of William Chamberlayn, founder, and mentions two other founders, named John West and William Piggisworth. He leaves to his daughter Johanna 100 mares in money, and he gives her also goods from his retail shop of the priced value of another 100 mares (compare John Barbor's will, *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.*, XXXV., 351), and he gives the residue to his wife Johanna.

The last-mentioned lady carried on her husband's business after his death. The 6th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission sets out a deed dated the 28th of March, 1441, made between Johanna Hille, of London, widow, and certain parishioners of Faversham, from which it appears that she had supplied them with five new bells and she warranted the same sound for a year and a day (*Surrey*, p. 51).

There are clear grounds for saying that some time after the last-mentioned date Johanna Hille, the widow, married one John Sturdy, who is mentioned as living in 1449 in the parish of S. Botolph, Aldgate, the usual abode of the London bell-founders (*Kent*, p. 37). She, however, became a widow a second time before December 12th, 1459, for the report just mentioned sets out another deed of that date whereby Johanna Sturdy, of London,

widow, warranted a new tenor bell, which she had supplied to Faversham (*Surrey*, p. 52).

The dates of this Johanna's second marriage and of the death of her second husband and her own death are uncertain; but we can form an idea of them from the number of bells attributable to her and her husband.

We find bells stamped with a bordered shield bearing a bend between a cross and a ring (Fig. 18). These are attributable to Richard Hille. Thirty such bells are said to have been found (*Essex*, p. 16). We next find some bells bearing the same shield surmounted by a lozenge, a sign of widowhood. These are attributable to Johanna Hille after Richard Hille's death and before her second marriage. Six such bells have been enumerated (*Essex*, p. 18). We next find bells connected with the foregoing by letters and stamps bearing the letters I S with a coin between them. These can be attributed to this lady's second coverture, the initials doing duty either for her or her husband. About 25 such bells have been found (*Essex*, p. 18). Finally, we have bells of the same character having a lozenge over the coin between the initials I S. These are referable to Johanna Sturdy during her second widowhood. Thirteen such bells have been found (*Essex*, p. 19).

Sussex possesses specimens of all the four classes of bells just described.

The 3rd bell at Clayton bears no words but the shield (Fig. 18) and three other stamps. One of these is the Burford's cross on an octagon, as it was used by Robert Burford (*Essex*, Plate IV. 13; *Kent*, Fig. 5A). Another is a lozenge, apparently that shown in Fig. 9 of Plate IV. of *Essex*. The third is a cross characteristic of Richard Hille, being Fig. 168 of *Surrey* and Fig. 20 of *Kent*. This bell therefore falls in the period 1418-1440.

The bell at East Preston bears the cross and ring shield, surmounted by Johanna's little lozenge. It also bears a lozenge, apparently Fig. 7 of *Essex*, Plate VII., which may be called Johanna's larger lozenge, and the inscription:

Sancte Facobe Ora Pro Nobis

Both the majuscules and minuscules here employed are small. The letters **Sa** appear on stamp 7, Plate VII. of the *Essex* book, and the letters **or** in Fig. 10 of the same plate.

This bell therefore belongs to the period of Johanna's first widowhood; and, supposing her years to bear the same relation to her bells as her husband's do, the period would be 1440-1443. The East Preston bell would therefore fall in that interval.

The bell at S. Martin, Chichester, and the very substantial tenor at Heathfield, which must weigh some 12 cwt., are referable to Johanna's second coverture. Both bear the initials I S, encompassing a coin, which is said to be a silver penny of the time. The Chichester bell has the initials of the East Preston size, but plainer, and merely bears, in addition, two of Johanna's stamps, namely, her larger lozenge and a smaller version of Fig. 23 of *Kent*; but the Heathfield tenor bears the well-known line:

+ **In Multis Annis Resonet Campana Johannis + I O S**

The majuscules on this bell, including the initials I S, are Stephen Norton's with crowns, and the minuscules are the same as at Guestling (Fig. 45). The initial cross also appears to me to be the Guestling cross and to be Fig. 1 on Plate VII. of the *Essex* book. These two bells are therefore referable to Johanna's second coverture, which is likely to have extended from about 1443 to 1455.

Finally we have the treble at Rotherfield, inscribed:

Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum + I O S

Here we have the initials I S of small size, like those found at East Preston; they enclose a coin surmounted by Johanna's small lozenge (*Surrey*, Fig. 171A); the cross appears to resemble *Kent*, Fig. 23, but to have an octagonal base. The majuscules in the motto are Stephen Norton's with crowns, and the minuscules are those of the Guestling bell (Fig. 46). This bell is therefore referable to Johanna's second widowhood, which

may have extended from 1455 to 1464. The Wars of the Roses began at this time. There was a fight at S. Alban's on May 23rd, 1455; then a lull of five years until 1460, when another fight took place at Northampton on July 10th. The serious fighting occupied the winter of 1460-1. We hear of the battles of Wakefield, December 23rd, 1460; Mortimer's Cross, February 2nd, 1461; S. Alban's second battle, February 19th, 1461; and Towton, March 29th, 1461.

It has been noticed that Stephen Norton's capitals are not found in company with the cross and ring shield, and it is thought that Johanna may have acquired them through her second husband.

We hear again of Johanna, the wife of Richard Hille, in a will of one Henry Jorden, which is dated the 15th of October, 1468, and was enrolled at Guildhall in 1470. This will, with a curious codicil, is set out in *Surrey*, p. 60, *et seq.* The will is not a complete disposition of all the testator's estate, but a devise of certain tenements in the City of London, made under a custom of the City authorising the same (see Tyssen on *Charitable Bequests*, c. 3). Nevertheless, it begins like a full will. The testator calls himself Henry Jorden, citizen and fishmonger of the City of London. He desires to be buried in the Church of S. Botolph, Aldgate, where the body of his wife Johanna lay. He devises certain specified tenements to the Wardens of the Fishmongers' Company and their successors upon trust out of the rents to find a priest to perform certain services in the same church and to pray "for the souls of Henry Jorden and Johanne his wife Giles Jorden and Margaret his wife and Richard Hille and Johanne his wife," and to keep a yearly obit and to provide two tapers to burn in the said church beside his tomb and his wife's, and two others to burn in the same church on the stone where the bodies of his father and mother lay, and on the stone where the bodies of Richard Hille and Johanne his wife lay. Other pious uses follow, including a direction to distribute 138 quarters of coals, or else money to buy the same, after the price of viii^d for every quarter, namely, two quarters

each to 16 poor men and women of the craft of Fishmongers, householders in Old Fish Street, 10 ditto of Bridge Street, eight ditto in Thames Street, and one quarter each to 30 poor householders of S. Botolph, Aldgate, 20 poor householders of the craft of Founders dwelling in the City, 10 poor householders of S. Katharine, Crechurch, 10 poor householders of the alley going into the Fleet out of Fleet Street, and of the neighbourhood of Fleet Bridge. The ultimate surplus was to go to the Fishmongers' Company. A gift over follows if the Company of Fishmongers should make default in fulfilling his directions, and we have in the gift over two provisions respecting "my soul and the souls of Johanne my wife Giles and Margaret my father and mother and Richard Hill and Johanne his wife," and a direction to give eight pence each to 20 of the poorest people of the craft of founders in London. The testator appoints five executors, one being William Chamberlayn, Founder, and he gives a small legacy to each executor. The codicil contained some provisions respecting his son, who had become a monk, and a direction that the cost of enrolling his will should be paid out of his moveable goods.

We also find the name of Henry Jurden in the books of King's College, Cambridge, where, in the accounts of the year 1465, there is an entry of a payment of part of a sum of £40 due to him for bells (*Essex*, p. 34; *Camb.*, 2nd Ed., p. 26, note; *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Com.*, Vol. IV., pt. III., p. 223 *et seq.*).

Now the terms of the will of Henry Jordan surely warrant us in concluding that his wife Johanna was the daughter of Richard Hille, mentioned in that founder's will. And as we do not hear of any other child of Richard Hille or his wife Johanna, it would be natural to suppose that the bell-founding business carried on by them passed, on the death of the survivor, to Henry Jordan, the husband of their only child.

The dates agree with this view. We traced Johanna down to 1464, and we find Henry Jordan supplying bells in 1465. His will also shows a connection with the

craft of founders, but he calls himself a fishmonger, and makes the Fishmongers' Company the main object of his bounty and the administrators of his pious uses and charitable trusts; so that it is fair to conjecture that he had parted with his bell-founding business before he made his will in 1468.

And these conjectures are borne out by the phenomena presented by the bells themselves. A few bells are found inscribed with the Hille and Sturdy stamps without the letters I S and without any distinctive mark upon them; these may have been made by Henry Jordan. And then some more bells are found in the same lettering marked with a shield borne by members of the family of Kebyll, namely, three mullets in chief and a crescent within a chevron in the base (*Essex*, Plate VI. 9; *Bucks*, Fig. 15); these may have been cast by a purchaser, to whom Henry Jordan sold the bell-founding business.

If we accept these conclusions the history of this line of founders is clear; and it comes to an end with this Kebyll shield.

The authors, however, whom I am following, have taken a different view, which I must proceed to state. They think that the Hille and Sturdy stamps went to the owner of the Kebyll Shield without passing through Henry Jordan's hands at all; and they attribute to Henry Jordan a large group of bells, which may be called cross-key bells, bearing the shields, Figs. 21 and 22, which are known as the cross-key and banner shields.

This supposition presents great difficulties. The cross-key bells are so numerous that their founder must have been at work for quite 30 years; and that would make Henry Jordan carry on business for a long period in harmonious competition with his mother-in-law. It also makes the founder of the cross-key bells contemporary with a founder named Daniel, who used many of the same letters and devices; and the view which I am criticising throws many London bells and bell-founders on the troubled period of the Wars of the Roses, and leaves the subsequent time of comparative peace and prosperity barren in both respects.

Let us look a little into the facts. The cross-key bells form the most important group of Pre-Reformation bells, and the founder of them must be regarded as the principal bell-founder of that period. More than 100 cross-key bells remain, and they are found all over England from Yorkshire to Cornwall. At a moderate estimate the founder of them must have made 1,000 bells altogether. That means that he must have carried on his business for a good many years, and it is more easy to account for his large business if he lived in prosperous days. Now affairs in England were prosperous in the reign of Henry V., 21st March, 1413—31st August, 1422, and in the early part of the reign of Henry VI., from 1st September, 1422, until the Wars of the Roses broke out. We have already mentioned the first battle of S. Alban's on May 23rd, 1455, and the heavy fighting in 1460 and 1461. Another effort was made by the Lancastrians in 1464, marked by battles at Hedgley Moor on April 25th and Hexham on May 15th. In 1469 there were further disturbances with a battle near Banbury on July 26th, and one in Lincolnshire on March 13th, 1470; then came the expulsion of Edward IV. in September of that year, and his return six months later, and his victories at Barnet, April 14th, and Tewkesbury on May 4th, 1471. After the last-mentioned date there was peace in England to the end of the century, broken only by the effort necessary to overthrow Richard III., who fell at the battle of Bosworth on August 22nd, 1485. When we come to the reign of Charles I. we find an almost total cessation of bell founding while the Civil War lasted, although such business had been very brisk for many years prior to its outbreak; and we find again that the trade in bells was seriously damaged by the strain of the Revolution of 1688 and the struggles which followed it. We are bound therefore to allow for a paucity of bells during the disturbances in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Next let us consider on what grounds the cross-key bells are attributed to Henry Jordan. The reason is that he was a member of the Fishmongers' Company.

Now in 11 Henry VI., 1432-3, a common charter was granted to the Saltfishmongers and the Stockfishmongers, but their arms do not seem to have been amalgamated until a much later date. Prior to the amalgamation the Saltfishmongers bore: *Gules*, three pairs of crossed keys salterwise, *or*; on a chief *azure*, three dolphins embowed, *argent* (*Moule's Heraldry of Fish*, 171). It is thought therefore that the cross keys and the dolphin in the cross-key shield are taken from the arms of the Saltfishmongers. We may mention at once that a rival claim to the cross-key bells may be put forward on behalf of either of the founders named William Chamberlain mentioned respectively in the wills of Richard Hille and Henry Jordan; seeing that in the *Glossary of British Heraldry*, p. 173, the arms of Chamberlain are given as—*Gules*, two keys in saltire, *or*; and a diagram is added showing the wards of the keys in the same position and direction as on the cross-key bells.

Another connection of the cross-key shield with Henry Jordan is thought to be found in the sheaf, or garb, as it is called, which occurs in the dexter division. An almost illegible brass exists, which gives rise to a puzzle, on which we need not enter, but which is stated (*Surrey*, p. 57) by a former observer to have comprised a shield quartered 1st and 4th, *argent*, three mullets, *gules* (Jordan); 2nd and 3rd, *sable*, a chevron between three garbs, *argent* (Harleton). It is argued that these were the arms of Henry Jordan's father and mother, and that he adopted the garb from his mother's shield. This is very far fetched. The other three charges in the cross-key shield being clearly trade-emblems, the garb is likely to be of the same nature, and to indicate that the owner of the escutcheon dabbled in the corn trade. Moreover, if Henry Jordan had sought for figures in his parents' shields, would he not have chosen his father's mullets rather than his mother's garbs? A mullet is a star with five points, by the way. We may add that the stamps of the Hille-Sturdy line of founders and those of the cross-key line are never intermixed; and it is clear that Henry Jordan belonged to the former. A Burford *fleur*

de lys, however, occurs with cross-key lettering on a bell at Shipbourne, in Kent, which will be mentioned later.

I would therefore suggest that one of the William Chamberlains, whom we have mentioned, dealt in fish and corn, as well as in bells and other founders' work; and that he adopted the cross-key shield. We may proceed to consider which of the two William Chamberlains we should choose; and whether we should place the bells prior or subsequent to the Wars of the Roses.

I may proceed now to give an account of the cross-key bells in Sussex. They are 12 in number.

We find one at Litlington inscribed :

Iohannes Est Nomen Eius,

with the cross-key and banner shields (Figs. 21 and 22), separated by the cross (Fig. 30 of this paper). I propose to call this the Litlington cross. The base of the stamp appears to vary in shape. The majuscules on this bell are those figured on *Bucks*, Plate XII., and *Essex*, Plate XI., Figs. 1-7. I propose to call them East Dean majuscules, as I have always attached that name to them in my notes, and I propose to indicate them by the letters E. D. They are found on two bells at East Dean, near Eastbourne, which will be mentioned later.

The minuscules on the Litlington bell are of a type which I propose to call Chiltington minuscules, and to indicate by the letters ch. They will be found in Fig. 43 of this paper. They are the smaller of two sets found on a long line of London bells, apparently extending from about 1420 to 1510. I may mention that we find the Litlington cross and the East Dean majuscules in each group of these bells, and in some cases they occur upon every bell in the group.

At Piecombe we have a bell inscribed :

Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis

with the cross-key and banner shields, and between them the medallion, Fig. 23, bearing in effect "Jesu mercy lady help," which may be called the mercy medallion.

This medallion is found on quite five-sixths of the cross-key bells, its regular position being intermediate to the two shields. The initial letters on this Piecombe bell are again East Dean majuscules, but the minuscules are the larger of the two sets above mentioned. I propose to call them Graffham minuscules and to indicate them by the letters gr. They will be found in Fig. 45 of this paper.

The 3rd bell at Iford is of the same type as the Piecombe bell and it may be described shortly by the symbols E. D., gr., cross-key, mercy, banner; that is to say, it has East Dean majuscules, Graffham minuscules, the cross-key shield, the mercy medallion and the banner shield. Its inscription is *Sancta Margareta Ora Pro Nobis*.

A bell at Woodmancote bears the cross-key shield, the mercy medallion and the banner shield, without any further inscription.

The second bell at Preston has the same three stamps and the inscription, *Sancte Botolfe Ora Pro Nobis*. The minuscules are of the Graffham type, but the majuscules are of a flat form, shown in *Essex*, Plate XI., Figs 8-12. I propose to call these Preston majuscules and to indicate them by the letter P.

Then come three bells of the last-mentioned type, namely, P., gr., cross-key, mercy, banner, their inscriptions being:

Wivelsfield, 4th, *Wox Agultine Sonet In Aure Dei*.

Edburton, 1st, *Sancte Katerina Ora Pro Nobis*.

Iford, 2nd, *Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis*.

The bell at Tarring Neville is also of the same type, bearing *Johannes Est Nomen Eius*, but, in addition to the shields and the mercy medallion, it has another medallion, giving an indistinct representation of the crucifixion.

The first bell at Little Horsted also has the same stamps, letters and inscription as the 2nd at Iford, with

one noticeable variation, namely, that the capital S is of the East Dean type instead of the Preston. The 3rd bell at Drayton, Oxon, is precisely similar to this Little Horsted bell; and we find the same phenomenon on two bells of the same type in Essex, one at West Bergholt bearing "Vox Augustini Sonet In Aure Dei;" and the other at Thorington bearing "Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum." We may surmise that the Little Horsted, Drayton, West Bergholt and Thorington bells were cast at the same time, that the founder then preferred the Preston majuscules; but that the S of that alphabet was missing, and he thereupon used the S of the East Dean set.

The first bell at Iford is also of the P., gr. type, but it has between the shields in lieu of the mercy medallion, a special cross not found elsewhere. Its words are:

Sancte Botulfe Ora Pro Nobis

The first bell at Clayton bears

Sancte Toma Ora Pro Nobis

having Preston majuscules and Graffham minuscules, and the cross-key and banner shields; but the Alfriston medallion of six *fleurs de lys* occurs between the shields in lieu of the mercy medallion. This therefore shows a connection with the bell-makers' guild of William Founder's days; and a further connection is shown by the occasional use of the Alfriston majuscules on cross-key bells, as on the 3rd bell at Brookland in Kent.

It will be seen that of the 12 cross-key bells in Sussex all have the cross-key and banner shields; nine bear the mercy medallion, one has the Litlington cross, one the six *fleurs de lys* medallion and one (Iford 1st) a special cross; one has no inscription in words, and of the eleven others eight have Preston majuscules, three have East Dean majuscules, ten have Graffham minuscules and one has Chiltington minuscules.

The *Essex* authors tell us that the East Dean majuscules are found on about half of the 100 existing cross-key

bells, the Alfriston majuscules on a few and the Preston majuscules on the rest. They do not specify the styles of the minuscules; but they say that the Litlington cross appears instead of the mercy medallion on about a dozen of the bells.

In the *Essex* book 17 cross-key bells are enumerated, whereof five are E. D., nine are P., three have no inscription, nine are gr. and one ch. I have no note of the minuscules on the others. Two have the Litlington cross, one being E. D. gr and the other E. D. ch. I suspect that Preston majuscules and Graffham minuscules preponderate everywhere on the cross-key bells. They do so as far as my knowledge extends.

The authors, who regard Henry Jordan as the founder of the cross-key bells, see that some one must have intervened between him and the bell-makers' guild of William Founder's day, and they adduce two sets of bells and suggest names for the founders of them.

One of these groups bears the shield, Fig. 24, which I propose to call the Balcombe shield. We have two bells of this group in Sussex, namely:—

Balcombe 2nd, bearing

Vox Augustini Sonet In Abre Dei

and Pulborough 2nd, bearing

Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis

Both these bells have E. D. majuscules and gr. minuscules, both bear the Litlington cross (Fig. 30) and the Balcombe shield (Fig. 24.)

The *Essex* authors tell us that about 40 bells of this type have been found. That the Litlington cross occurs on all of them; that the E. D. majuscules are generally used, but the Alfriston majuscules are found in two of them; and that two of them bear a stamp, which will be mentioned later and called the Brede stamp (Fig. 32).

Both the Chiltington and Graffham minuscules are found on bells of this group.

In my former article I described the Balcombe shield as containing the letters I. W. That view has been adopted by others, and the suggestion has been made that the owner of the shield was one John Walgrave, who is mentioned in a will of the date 1408, as a servant of William Founder. That suggestion would require us to place these bells soon after the dissolution of the bell-makers' guild in 1420. I feel inclined to assign a later date to them, as will be mentioned below. It will be seen that I place them in the last decade of the 15th century, and I regard the presence of the Brede stamp as requiring that later date.

Another group of bells which has been assigned to the period intermediate to William Founder and Henry Jordan is one which is unrepresented in Sussex. It includes only 16 bells, whereof six have been recast. Two bear no words on them. All bear the Litlington cross (Fig. 30) and a shield containing the letters r c separated by a cross with a bifurcated foot, *Essex*, Plate XII., Fig. 1; *Kent*, Fig. 15; *Bucks*, Fig. 20; and all but two of them have a shield bearing three lions passant, the proper arms of England, *Essex*, Plate XII., Fig. 3; *Bucks*, Fig. 19; *Kent*, Fig. 16. All are inscribed with E. D. majuscules, and six of which I have rubbings have Chiltington minuscules. I have no information as to the minuscules on the others.

Two names have been suggested for the founder of these bells: (1) Robert Crowch, who is named as a servant and legatee in the will of William Powdrell, "civis et campanarius," of London, such will being dated 21st October, 1439, and proved two days later (*Kent*, p. 43); and (2) Richard Cresswell, who is mentioned in the will of Richard Hille as one of his apprentices (*Surrey*, p. 50), the date of the will being the 3rd of May, 1440. Both these names appear to me to come upon the scene at a wrong date. I cannot think that anyone would have omitted the *fleurs de lys* from the Royal Arms at a time when Henry VI. not only claimed to be King of France, but was actually King of a great part of it. The most likely epoch for the three

lion shield to have been adopted in the fifteenth century was during the interval between the treaty of Troyes on May 21st, 1420, and the death of Charles VI. of France on October 22nd, 1422. By that treaty Henry V. was to become Regent of France at once and King on the death of Charles VI., but Charles was to retain the title of King during his life; and the 21st Article ran in the words, "*Le roi d'Angleterre s'abstiendra en toutes occasions pendant la vie du roi Charles de prendre la qualité de roi de France.*"

Thenceforth Henry dropped the title of King of France and called himself "Heir and Regent of France" instead. On a fair interpretation of the treaty he ought to have omitted the *fleurs de lys* from his arms. He died before Charles, namely, on August 31st, 1422; and thereupon Henry VI., a baby nine months old, was proclaimed King of England alone; and we read that the body of Henry V. was conveyed from Paris to Calais on a chariot drawn by four horses, whereof the first bore the arms of England alone. Charles VI. died some seven weeks later, and thereupon Henry VI. was proclaimed King of France and became entitled to quarter the *fleurs de lys* with the lions as his father had done before the treaty of Troyes (*Nisbet's Heraldry*, II., 94).

It is possible therefore to place the R. C. bells about the period 1420 to 1426; and to suppose that the founder, having received permission to use the three lion shield in the interval mentioned above, may have continued to employ it later. If we adopt this view we may regard R. C. as commencing business on the break up of the bell-makers' guild of William Founder's period, and as originating the Litlington cross, the East Dean majuscules, and the Chilmington minuscules, besides making his two special shields, which naturally fell out of use on his death.

I ought, however, to mention that grounds exist for placing the r. c. bells a century later than the date here chosen. These grounds will be given on a later page; but after fully considering them I prefer to place the bells about 1420-1426.

I incline to place the cross-key bells immediately after the r. c. group and to attribute them to William Chamberlain, who is named in the will of Richard Hille, in 1440, as being a founder and having a wife named Isabella. It has been mentioned that the arms of a family named Chamberlain are given as *gules*, two keys in saltire, *or*, and that a diagram of the shield shows the wards of the keys in the same position and direction as on the bells. If I am right in this conjecture it is probable that the owner of the r. c. shield bore also the surname Chamberlain and was the father of William. We find a family named Chamberlain in London long prior to this date using the prænames Robert and William in alternate generations, and we find a Robert Chamberlain living about 1420, but we have no evidence of his being a bell-founder.

If these suppositions are correct it will follow that William Chamberlain started business with the East Dean majuscules, the Chiltington minuscules, and the Litlington cross; and that he first added thereto the cross-key and banner shields; and then replaced the East Dean majuscules with the Preston letters, the Chiltington minuscules with those of Graffham, and the Litlington cross with the mercy medallion.

I should accord to the cross-key founder a long career, say from 1426 to 1456, during which period the country generally was in a fairly prosperous state.

The cross-key founder must have been succeeded by a founder named J. Daniel, who used all the same stamps, except the shields, and added others to them. The books of King's College, Cambridge (see *Cambs. Ant. Soc. Comm.*, No. XXI.) contain an entry of the payment in 1460 of £3. 13s. 4d. to one, Cole, for bringing a bell of Danyell fonder's from London to Cambridge. The expressions Daniel bell-maker and Daniel bell-founder also occur in the accounts, and there is no entry of any payment for the bell, which may therefore have been given by the King. The bells of the College were unfortunately sold in 1754, but a sketch of their inscriptions was made and is reproduced by Canon Raven in

the second edition of his *Bells of Cambridgeshire*, and we learn from this sketch that one of them bore

+ In Multis Annis Refonet Campana Johannis I  D

and the sketch shows that the initial cross was that of Litlington and that the shield between the initials I D bore the arms of France and England quarterly, surmounted by a crown. This connects the bell with many others.

The 2nd bell at S. Bartholomew's Hyde, near Winchester, bears Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis, having Preston majuscules and Graffham minuscules, followed by I D in Alfriston majuscules, the Royal Arms crowned and the mercy medallion.

The same initials occur on the treble at Bildeston, in Suffolk, with the same adjuncts, namely, the Royal Arms crowned and the mercy medallion, but the style of lettering is not mentioned (*Suffolk*, pp. 21, 165).

The 1st bell at Torksey, in Lincolnshire, also bears the Litlington cross and the Royal Arms between the initials I D; and so does the 2nd bell at Cranham, in Essex. The inscription on the last-mentioned bell is Johannes Est Nomen Eius in East Dean majuscules, and, strange to say, Woolbeeding minuscules, with a Loxwood s in the word Est. But our wonder is further excited on finding on the 1st bell in the same tower the same motto in the same letters, accompanied by the Royal shield (Fig. 31), the Litlington cross (Fig. 30) and a stamp, which I propose to call the Brede stamp (Fig. 32 of this paper), which has been already mentioned in connection with the Balcombe shield. The 1st bell at Cranham also substitutes i for e in the word Johannes.

The reappearance of the Woolbeeding minuscules at Cranham is a puzzle; and the puzzle is aggravated by the phenomenon of two bells in the same tower having the same motto in the same lettering, but with a difference in their stamps. I can only imagine that these bells reproduce the minuscules of two earlier bells of the Folkington type, substituting East Dean majuscules for those of Folkington, which are disproportionately small.

There is other evidence, however, of a connection between I D and the grouping of Litlington cross, Royal Arms and Brede stamp. The Essex authors analyse very carefully the different combinations of the stamps connected with I D, and divide them into five groups. One of these groups is distinguished by the Brede stamp, the Royal Arms and the mercy medallion. It has one representative in Sussex, namely, the 1st bell at Grafham, which bears the words, *Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis*, the majuscules being of the East Dean type, and the minuscules, of course, Graffham. The same group has only one representative in Essex, namely, the 2nd bell at Theydon Bois.

Another group is distinguished by bearing the Brede stamp (Fig. 32), the Royal Arms (Fig. 31) and the Litlington cross (Fig. 30). This is indeed the most important group. It contains four bells in Essex, and I believe a fifth bell there, and no less than six in Sussex. Owing to the number and uniformity of these bells, we may draw the conclusion that they emanated from another founder, a successor of I D. It is true that they retain the Royal Arms, which Daniel may have been authorised to use on making the bell for King's College, Cambridge. But it is noteworthy that the Brede stamp and the initials I D never occur together, a circumstance which seems to indicate that the Brede stamp was introduced by another founder. In fact, I regard this Brede stamp as a crucial test in the series of bells which we are considering, distinguishing the works of the later founders from those of R C, the cross-key man, and J. Daniel.

The Sussex bells, which belong to the group bearing the Brede stamp, Royal Arms and Litlington cross, are as follows:—

Stopham, 2nd, *Vox Augustini Sonet In Aure Dei.*

Brede, 3rd, *Sancte Toma Ora Pro Nobis.*

St. Anne's, Lewes, 2nd, *Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis.*

Mountfield, *Vox Augustini Sonet In Aure Dei.*

Jevington, 2nd, Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis.

West Chiltington, 1st, Iohannes Xpi Care.

All these bells have East Dean majuscules, except that on the Stopham bell the V is of the Alfriston alphabet, being found also at Catsfield; the first three bells have Graffham minuscules, the last three have Chiltington.

We are told (*Essex*, p. 36) that some 90 bells of the 1 D and Brede stamp type have been found, and as much of 1 D's career fell in very troubled times we must allow him and his immediate successor to have had together a long term of business, say from 1456 to 1486 or later. Essex contains 11 of these bells, whereof one has Alfriston majuscules for the initial letters of the words and the other 10 have East Dean majuscules.

The bells bearing the Balcombe shield must come after the Daniel and Brede stamp groups. There is no other place for them, and some bells are wanted to fill up the gap to the end of the century. We have seen that two of them bear the Brede stamp, which appears to have been introduced by J. Daniel's immediate successor and to have been extensively used by its introducer. The absence of the Royal Arms from the Balcombe group may be explained on the ground that the founder had not received permission to use them. The Balcombe founder cannot well be regarded as the originator of the Brede stamp, seeing that it is found on only two of his bells. His bells may therefore be assigned to the period 1486-1500. Some 40 of them are said to remain, although we have only two in Sussex (*ante*, p. 35).


We have yet one more set of bells belonging to the same line of founders as the cross-key bells and we find ourselves on firmer ground in dealing with them.

We have four bells of this group in Sussex, all inscribed in East Dean majuscules and Chiltington minuscules. The other particulars of these are as follows:—

East Dean, near Eastbourne, 3rd bell, + Mc Melior :

Dece Non Est Campana Sub Ere ◻


the cross being that of Litlington and the shield being Fig. 25, which may be called the larger T.b. shield. The motto on this bell was commonly used on bells cast at Exeter in the fifteenth century. The founder of this bell may have learnt it on recasting one of such bells.

1st bell + Sancte Jacobe Ora Pro Nobis : 

the shield being similar to Fig. 25, but on a smaller scale, thus deserving to be called the smaller T.b. shield (*Essex*, Plate XII., Fig. 10), the cross being the Brede stamp, and the colon being composed of two diamonds, with two smaller ones about their middle.

Edburton, 3rd, Sancta Anna Ora Pro Nobis 

the shield being the larger T.b. (Fig. 25).

West Hoathly, 2nd, Sancta Maria Ora Pro Nobis 

the shield again being the larger T.b. (Fig. 25).

More than 30 bells have been found bearing one or other of these T.b. shields, and two bells bear a stamp with the same initials, but of less artistic design; and a few of these bells have Preston majuscules and some have minuscules very much resembling those of Catsfield. One bell at Weeley in Essex, bearing the larger T.b. shield, has *inter alia*, in fresh lettering, Pray For Wyllam Brooke And Agnes his wyff. Now Weeley for Probate purposes lay within the jurisdiction of the Commissary Court of Essex and Herts, whereof the indexes of the wills from 1441 to 1557 are preserved at Somerset House, but the wills are missing. In the Indexes the name of William Brooke occurs six times, once in the middle of the pages of the period 1495-1498, and once early in the period 1516 to 1519. The name Agnes Brooke occurs only twice, namely, on two pages near together in the middle of the period 1506 to 1508. We see ground therefore for assigning the Weeley bell and its congeners to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Now the accounts of S. Mary-at-Hill, London, mention one Bullisdon as a bell-founder in London in 1510; and on page 33 of Vol. XLI. of the *Sussex Archaeological Series* we find a

list of articles belonging to Rotherfield Church in 1509, whereof one item is a vestment given to the church by Master Bullysdon, brazier of London. We seem therefore to have fair grounds for attributing the T.b. bells to a founder named Bullisdon.

This line of founders comes to an end with the T.b. shields. The Litlington cross and East Dean and Chiltington letters, which had found favour since 1420, disappear, and so do the other stamps, which from time to time had been added to them; or at least we only find a few of them used upon stray occasions.

I will now mention the grounds which exist for placing the R.C. bells at the date at which we have arrived.

Mr. Stahlschmidt gives an account of a bell at Anstey, in Hertfordshire (*Herts*, pp. 26, 118), which bears round the shoulder *Sancte George Ora Pro Nobis* with the larger T.b. shield. The bell has also on its waist *Scr Richard Panfan Depbte*, the initial of the last word being reversed. Furthermore, this bell bears on its crown two Maltese crosses of the type found on bells bearing the initials T H, which will be mentioned later, a shield bearing a rose en soleil (*Herts*, Fig. 32) and the three lion shield (*Herts*, Fig. 33). The majuscules in the shoulder band are Alfriston crowned (*Bucks*, Plate XIII.); those on the waist are East Dean (*Bucks*, Plate XII.).

We also learn (*Beds*, pp. 50, 51, 131) that at S. Mary's, Bedford, there is a bell with no words upon it, but an indistinct coin and five shields. There are respectively (1) the larger T.b. shield; (2) a special founder's mark correctly represented in *Essex* XIV. 5, possibly the mark of William Smith, whom we hear of as a contemporary of Bullisdon; (3) an ermine shield with five pellets on a chief (*Beds*, Fig. 51); (4) the three lion shield (*Herts*, Fig. 33); and (5) the shield bearing a rose-en-soleil (*Beds*, Fig. 20).

Then at Shouldham in Norfolk (*Norfolk*, pp. 56, 210), the 3rd bell bears

the cross and lettering being different from any others here noticed; but on the crown the three lion shield occurs twice and the rose-en-soleil shield twice.

And (*Norfolk*, pp. 56, 151) at Islington, near Lynn, a bell bears

+ FOR THE YERE OF OWR LORD GOD XDLVI.,

the cross being the same as on the Shouldham bell and the date apparently 1556.

Mr. L'Estrange identifies the rose-en-soleil shield with a stamp on a quart measure in Norwich Museum, inscribed *Henricus Septimus*.

The three lion shield on the r.c. bells and those on the bells at Anstey (*Herts*), S. Mary, Bedford, and Shouldham (*Norfolk*) appear to be identical.

Mr. Walters gives a list of 13 bells which are referable to Austen Bracker (*Essex*, p. 83), their localities being Cambs 2, Essex 1, Leicester 1, Lincoln 1, Norfolk 5, Suffolk 3. These show that he imitates ancient letters, and on one bell he uses a shield which was the mark of some founders named Brasyer, who did a good business at Norwich in the 15th century. Some of his bells are inscribed: "Austen Bracker mad me," with the order of the letters and words all reversed. We shall show on a future page how reversed inscriptions may arise.

If we turn next to *Testamenta Cantiana*, published by the Kentish Archæological Society, we find under Ryarsh, in West Kent, that John Carpenter in 1515 bequeathed "to helpe to the bying of a nwe bell xxvi^s viii^d" and John Walsingham, *alias* Purley, in 1517 gave "to the chaungyng of the grete bell there vi^s viii^d." Now the great bell of Ryarsh was one of the r.c. bells up to 1871, when it was recast.

Here, then, we have grounds for placing the r.c. bells about 1517. At the same time, if we choose that date, we are met with other difficulties, which are hard to surmount; and altogether I incline to think that the great bell at Ryarsh was not changed in 1517 so as to instal a new bell of that date as the great bell there; and that the real date of the r.c. bells is about 1420 to

1426. Another Kentish testator made a bequest in 1516 for changing the treble bell at Burham to make a new tenor, but the tenor at Burham bears the name of Ricardus de Wimbis, and must be 200 years earlier than 1516.

With respect to the use of the three lion shield by T.b. and Austen Bracker, it was always possible for a founder to make a mould from an old bell sent to him to be recast, or indeed to cut out a piece of the old bell and use it for a stamp. It appears more likely that this was done with the three lion shield in the time of Henry VIII. and his successors, rather than that any one made a new shield of that type at that time. The three lion shield was then a thing of the past; and the Kings and Queens of England quartered the *fleurs de lys* with the lions in their arms, although they had long abandoned any attempt to give practical effect to their claim to the French throne, and Henry VIII. was in 1517, and for long afterwards, on terms of friendship with Francis I. of France.

I may add here a list of the founders of the cross-key line, arranged according to the foregoing suppositions—

1420 to 1426.—R.C., using Litlington cross, East Dean majuscules, Chiltington minuscules, also as special marks R.C. shield and three lions shield.

1426-1456.—The cross-key man, probably named William Chamberlain, using Litlington cross, East Dean majuscules, Chiltington minuscules and at times Alfriston majuscules, adding and preferring Preston majuscules and Graffham minuscules and mercy medallion, and always using as special marks the cross-key shield and banner shield, and using once each the six *fleurs de lys* medallion, the Iford cross and a medallion of the crucifixion.

1456-1470, say.—J. Daniel, using Litlington cross and mercy medallion, East Dean majuscules and occasionally Alfriston and Preston majuscules, using both Chiltington and Graffham minuscules, and the Royal arms shield, lions and *fleur de lys* quartered.

1470-1486, say.—The Brede founder, adding the Brede stamp, and adopting the Litlington cross, Royal arms and Brede stamp as his usual arrangement, using East Dean and Alfriston majuscules and Chiltington and Graffham minuscules.

1486-1500.—Owner of Balcombe shield, using Litlington cross and occasionally Brede stamp; East Dean and occasionally Alfriston majuscules, Chiltington and Graffham minuscules and his own special shield.

1500-1515.—T. Bullisdon, using Litlington cross and Brede stamp, East Dean majuscules, Chiltington minuscules, adding a diamond colon and his own special shields. On three bells he uses Alfriston majuscules and on one Preston. He also uses other minuscules, some new and some being an imitation of those of Catsfield.

A few further points deserve to be mentioned in connection with the founders whom we have been discussing.

Mr. Stahlshmidt attributes the Preston majuscules to one William Powdrell, who is mentioned in a manuscript in the British Museum (see *Essex Addenda*) as casting a bell for the Abbey of Bury S. Edmunds in 1434, and who describes himself as a "Campanarius" in his will, dated 21st October, 1439, and proved two days later (*Kent*, p. 43). Mr. Stahlshmidt ascribes to William Powdrell a bell at Stowting, Kent, and another bell formerly at Shipborne, in Kent, of which I have a rubbing, and which bore

○ † Sancte Gabriel Ora Pro Nobis

with the impress of a coin like a groat and a *fleur de lys* like that used by the Burfords, and with Preston majuscules and Graffham minuscules.

The Stowting bell still exists and I can give an account of it from information supplied to me for this paper by the Rev. J. Brown, the curate in charge there, and from a rubbing in my possession and from a drawing made by myself from a rubbing taken in the year 1859. The bell bears a stamp on the north side (*Kent*, Fig. 21), which is found also on bells attributable to John or

Johanna Sturdy; the letter W on the west side; a fleurs de lys on the south side, resembling that used by William Burford; and the letter P on the east side. The letters W and P are of the style of the fourteenth century, but they are different from the letters on the Appledram bells, which have been discussed on an earlier page, and different from all others with which I have been able to compare them. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from an exceptional bell like this, but it appears to have come from the Burford and Hille line of founders.

The Shipbourne bell may well have been made by a late founder, mixing together several sets of older stamps. We see an instance of this on a bell at Margaretting, in Essex (*Essex*, p. 44), where the Preston majuscules are used by one Thomas Lawrence, who will be mentioned a little later. We find in *Testamenta Cantiana* (p. 68) "a bequest of vi^s viii^d towards buying a new bell for Shipbourne in 1487." It is possible that the Gabriel bell may have been cast about that time by some founder in the cross-key line, during an interval between the death of one founder and the sale of his business to another. If we regard the Stowting bell as made by William Powdrell it does not follow that the Shipbourne bell is his work. He may have been the channel by which Stephen Norton's stamps came to the Sturdys.

We may here mention another group of bells. A bell at Hove bears the initials T. H. with a coin and Maltese cross (see Fig. 42). The same initials are found on a few other bells (*Essex*, p. 41). These bells have been ascribed to one Thomas Harris, who is mentioned in the accounts of King's College, Cambridge, in the year 1478, and is described as a bell-founder of London (*Essex*, p. 41).

One of these bells is at Limpsfield, in Surrey, inscribed

Sancta Margareta Ora Pro Nobis O Th O

The majuscules are all of the same character as the T and H. The minuscules are large and rough; the final S resembles a C with a slight bulge on the back; the foot

of the T turns backwards. The first O contains a rose-like figure; the second O resembles the Wokingham groat.

Another of these bells is at Hampton Court Palace, which was built by Cardinal Wolsey about 1520.

The accounts of King's College, Cambridge, also give the name of John Harrison as a bell-founder in London in 1483. And we may mention that we find in the accounts of Allhallows, London Wall, for the 20th and 21st years of Edward IV.: "It^m receyved the xxviii. day of Janyuere A° xx° (*i.e.*, 1489) of the executours of Thomas Belyetter toward the church werks—vi^s viii^a." It is possible therefore that Thomas Harris died a little before the last-mentioned date and was succeeded by John Harrison.

The accounts of S. Mary at Hill, which revealed the name of Bullisdon, also put us on the track of another bell-founder named William Culverden at the same date, namely, 1510. This founder's bells can be recognised by reason of their bearing a shield containing a rebus of his name; but we have no specimens of his art in Sussex. Many particulars concerning William Culverden are given by Canon Raven in his *Cambridgeshire* book (2nd Ed.), and by Mr. Cocks in his *Bucks* book, and by Messrs. Walters and Deedes in the *Essex* book. Amongst other things William Culverden became involved in litigation with another London bell-founder named William Smith, but the matter is not of an interesting nature (*Bucks*, p. 44). William Culverden's will is dated the 29th of September, 1522, and was proved on the 2nd of June, 1523; or rather the executors declined the onus of the execution of the will and received a grant of administration. In the will William Culverden mentions that he has sold the lease of his premises and all his implements belonging to the craft of a bell-founder to Thomas Lawrence, of London, bell-maker (*Camb.*, 2nd Ed., p. 44, *st seq.*).

Thomas Lawrence's bells can be recognised from the fact that some of them bear a gridiron, which was the emblem of S. Lawrence. We find a full account of his

bells in the *Essex* book, and learn that one of them at Leaden Roothing in that county has an inscription in English with the date 1523 in Arabic numerals; the letters being shown on Plate XV. of that book.

Some of the letters on this Leaden Roothing bell occur on the 2nd bell at Portslade, in Sussex, which bears STOPN, with two coins and three crosses. We can therefore attribute this bell to Thomas Lawrence, and we can also attribute to him the bell at Street, which has two of the same crosses without any inscription in words. These two crosses are also found on a bell at Laindon Hills, in Essex, which appears to be by the same founder (*Essex*, p. 44). We hear of Thomas Lawrence being at work in London as late as 1539, but he does not seem to have been very successful (*Bucks*, p. 46). See also *Ancient Deeds of the Record Office*, Vol. IV., No. 6325, for a bond by Thomas Lawrence, bell-founder, dated 6th June, 20 Hen. VIII., 1528. The letters STOPN are placed at intervals round the shoulder band of the Portslade bell, and were doubtless intended to be followed by minuscules, making the motto read Sancte Toma Ora Pro Nobis. I shall have occasion to comment on the absence of these minuscules on a later page.

Thomas Lawrence does not appear to have used William Culverden's letters, although we see that he acquired them; but he used other old stamps, including on one occasion the Preston majuscules, which appear on the treble at Margaretting, in Essex. The two Sussex bells attributable to Thomas Lawrence were probably cast prior to 1522, for in that year another founder appears in Sussex, who will now claim our attention.

We have nine bells in Sussex, which bear on their waist the large cross (Plate I., Fig. 1) surmounting the words, *Joannes · tonne · me · fecit*, and two more bells can be attributed to the same founder by reason of the similarity of their lettering. His bells are inscribed almost entirely in minuscules, of which he uses two sets, one larger than the other. He also uses two initial or final crosses, being Figs. 2 and 3 of Plate II., which

may be called respectively curved and straight, and two pairs of stops between his words; one pair, which may be called the ornamented pair, being Figs. 2 and 3 of Plate I.; and the other pair, which may be called the plain pair, being respectively a set of three dots unconnected, and a set connected by lines so as to resemble a reversed S.

The two bells, which lack his name and large cross, are the following:—

Sullington bell, + pulsemus : gratis : omnes :
laudes : trinitati : a^o : dni : m^o : ccccc : xxii^o O

Keymer, 2nd, + virginis : afflupte : nome : gero
: sancte : marie O

Both these bells are in the smaller minuscules with the straight initial cross (Plate II., Fig. 3), and the plain stops and a coin. The Sullington bell has also a scroll ornament above the shoulder band. The other bells, which bear John Tonne's name and large cross, may be arranged as follows:—

Findon, 3rd, + o : sancte : ste : phane, smaller minuscules, straight cross, plain stops; there is also a crown on the waist. A drawing of the inscription on this bell, preserved at the Whitechapel foundry, gives also the letters ihs and ff on the bell.

Botolphs, 1st, + sancte : pe : tre : o : ra : pro :
no : bis.

2nd, + of : your : charite : prai : for : the :
soulles : of : Eohn : slutter : Eohn : hunt : vvillem
: slutter.

3rd, + Iesu : thes : belles : vber : made : in : the
: per : of : gode : mdrxxvi.

All these have the smaller minuscules, straight cross and plain stops; the letters de are combined at the end of the words made and gode. There are little dots above and below all the letters and stops. There are

also on the waist of each bell a coin, a Tudor rose and a small medal of Henry VIII.

Twineham, 1st, + in + multis + annis + nomen + baptiste + Iohannis.

2nd, + hoc + michi + jam + retro + nomen + de + simone + petro.

Smaller minuscules, straight cross, but ornamented stops; dots above and below the cross and all the letters. A large medal of Henry VIII. on the waist of the 2nd bell.

Then follow three bells, all of which have the larger minuscules, the curved cross (Plate II., 2) and the ornamented stops (Plate I., Figs. 2, 3).

Beddingham, 3rd, + in + multis + annis + nomen + baptiste + iohannis. There is a small figure in an oval medallion beneath the large cross on the waist of this bell.

Rotherfield, 3rd, + sanctorum + more + modo + pulso + laudes + honore. This bell has on the waist the shield (Plate II., Fig. 1), a small medal of Henry VIII., a large medal of Henry VIII. and a coin, besides the large cross and the founder's words.

Lewes Market Tower—Old Gabriel, a large bell 47 inches in diameter and having the weight 17. 3. 2½. incised upon it, with the date 1792 and some names of officials of the town.

+ gabrielis + menti + dedens + habio + nomen

On the waist of this bell, besides the founder's large cross and words, we find a large shield 7-in. by 5¾-in. bearing the Royal arms; and below the shield a figure of S. Catherine; above the shield a crown composed of Plate I., Figs. 2 and 3 alternately, and beside the shield, a large medal of Henry VIII. and a Tudor rose. If the penultimate letter of the middle word of this motto is treated as an n, the line is translatable as "Yielding to the mind I have the name of Gabriel." But possibly

menti dedens may represent the French "qui donne à penser" and it may mean "I have the name of Gabriel which brings to mind." Another bell in John Tonne's lettering is a small sanctus bell at Arreton in the Isle of Wight, inscribed—

+ **H**us : nicholaus : seerle : x : alicia bertus :
fedit : me ○ ○

This is in John Tonne's smaller minuscules with his straight cross and plain stops.

The *Essex* authors tell us that there is also one of his bells at Tangley, Hants, bearing *surge mane seruire deo*, and eleven in Essex, of which they give particulars, one at Great Hallingbury being fixed at 1541-2 by the churchwarden's accounts, which show that it was cast in the neighbourhood, probably at Stanstead Mountfichet, in Essex, where another of his bells was hanging up to 1902, bearing the date 1540 in Arabic numerals. They also mention three more of his bells in Cambs, Herts and Suffolk respectively, with possibly one more in Suffolk, and tell us that his bells in those quarters lie within a circle of 24 miles round the town of Thaxted. These bells are all of the same character as those in Sussex in lettering, stamps and arrangement. We also find two bells of the same type in Cambridgeshire and one in Suffolk, all dated 1544 in Arabic numerals, but bearing the name Stephen Tonne instead of John Tonne. The *Essex* authors remark that these facts lead to the conclusion that John Tonne had his habitat in Sussex for a period covering the dates 1522 and 1536, and afterwards moved to the Thaxted district, where he worked for the next eight years and was then succeeded by Stephen.

Mr. Stahlschmidt (*Kent*, p. 49) mentions a bell at Down in that county which has some resemblance to John Tonne's style. It bears

+ **S**urge mane seruire deo anno dni m d xi

I have a rubbing of the bell and suspect that the X is preceded by another X.

There is much about John Tonne's bells which suggests a foreign connection. The practice of placing a cross on the waist with the founder's name beneath it has prevailed in the North of France during the last three centuries, and it was known there at an earlier date, although not so constantly followed. I have found two bells near Boulogne, of the date 1496, having the name Francois Dinonfort under a cross on the waist, but I cannot give any other instance of this custom prior to 1657, when it occurs on a bell of that date by a founder named P. Buret, at Bailleul (see Dergny's *Cloches du Pays de Bray*). I have, however, a pamphlet on the bells of Bordeaux, which gives a description and diagram of a bell of 1541 at the Church of Notre Dame, Bordeaux, with a cross on its waist, and mentions that a like cross is found on a bell at Lugon, canton de Fronsac, of the date 1531, and on one at S. Medard en Jalle, of the date 1605. But the founder's names do not occur on these bells, and we find in *Cloches du Pays de Bray* notices of bells bearing like crosses of the dates 1620, 1635, 1637, 1643 and 1647, mostly by founders of the Buret family. It is also a foreign habit to discard majuscules altogether and employ minuscules, even for the initial letters of proper names, while London bells of the period 1400-1530 are almost invariably of the mixed Gothic type, honouring every word with a majuscule for its initial letter. It will also have been noticed that John Tonne at times puts a date on his bells and indulges in inscriptions in the vulgar tongue; both these practices were adopted abroad several centuries earlier than in England. Tonne is also a French name, being derived from Antoine. Still, we cannot trace John Tonne back to his origin. William Culverden's will, which has been mentioned above, was dated the 29th of September, 1522, and attested by seven witnesses. One of these was Thomas Lawrence, the purchaser of his business. Another figures as John Tynny, and this may be a representation of the name John Tonne. Two others bore the names of Thomas Holland and Thomas Hayward. If we could show that either of these was a bell-founder, we might attribute to

him the bells bearing the initials T. H., which have been mentioned above.

It will be seen that the period of John Tonne's activity in Sussex was coincident with the career of Thomas Lawrence in London. The last-named founder also is found to have left London, and to have been admitted to the freedom of the City of Norwich on the 23rd of March, 154 $\frac{1}{2}$, and to have been buried there on December 3rd, 1545. We shall have occasion to mention later a founder named Vincent Goroway, who seems to have gone from London to Reading about the same time. The removal of bell-founders from London at this period is noticeable. Possibly they thought that the exercise of their trade exposed them to charges of heresy or idolatry, and that such charges were more likely to be preferred in the ferment of the Metropolis than in the less excited atmosphere of the provincial towns. Certain it is that the business of bell-founding fell to a very low ebb in London at the time of the Reformation. The uncertainty as to the outcome of the religious controversies, and the sale of old bells from the suppressed monasteries, doubtless affected the trade in bells all over the country, but London appears to have suffered most from those adverse influences. Hardly any bells exist which have been recognised as cast in London between the years 1530 and 1570; and there are hardly any unidentified bells which can by any possibility be attributed to London founders between those two dates. The effects of this loss of business were felt for a century and a half. In Post-reformation times many provincial foundries sprang up, and it was not until after the year 1700 that London regained the pre-eminence which it formerly possessed as a centre of bell-founding.

There were gun-founders, however, in London in the middle of the sixteenth century. In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, temp. Henry VIII.*, we find payments for guns to one Peter Bawde, who is described as a Frenchman and a gun-founder in Houndsditch (see Vol. V., p. 306, date 1st Oct., 1528, to the end of the year; Vol. VI., 1073, 3rd Sept., 1533; Vol. XII., pt. ii.,

No. 1280, fo. 18b, May, 1538). One bell bearing Peter Bawde's name has been found at Sutton House Chapel, co. Surrey, dated 1530, but we do not know of any other specimen of his work as a bell-founder.

The same repertorium which mentions Peter Bawde contains many notices of two brothers named Robert and John Owen, of London, who were appointed Royal gun-founders. We first hear of them in 1528, and find that they survived until 1550, in which year Robert renounced probate of a curious will left by John, and John's widow took out administration to him (*Suffolk*, pp. 107 *et seq.*). In 1551 we find in an account of the sale of goods of S. Giles, Cripplegate, an item—"To one Owen bell-founder vii^c of Bellmettall for xiⁱⁱ xiii^s iii^a" (*Bucks*, p. 46); but we do not know of any bell which can be attributed to either of these Owens.

We also find Peter Bawde's name in a subsidy roll of 1541. He is there described as a stranger in S. Botolph without Algate owning goods valued at xx^{li} and assessed to pay xl^s.

We must now retrace our steps a little and notice another locality, whose founders competed with those of London in Pre-reformation times.

In the account of the Sussex bells in 1864 it was mentioned that a number of Pre-reformation bells were attributable to a line of founders practising at Reading and Wokingham, and the names of some of the founders were given. The bells of this group have now been carefully analysed by Mr. A. H. Cocks, who has collected further information about them, and their dates can be assigned with tolerable certainty.

Some of these bells have no words or letters upon them, but three stamps consisting of Fig. 6, which may be called the Broad Face, a coin, being the impress of the reverse of a groat, of a type first struck in 1351, and a Trefoil ornament being the central figure at the foot of Plate XVI. of the *Bucks* book. Mr. Cocks regards these as being the earliest bells of the class which we are considering. They would seem to belong

to the period 1351 to 1375, but there are none of them in Sussex.

One bell, being the 2nd at S. Maurice, Winchester, connects these with the next group. It bears neither words nor letters, but the three stamps last mentioned, and in addition Fig. 5, which may be called the Wokingham crowned cross. Our Fig. 5 slightly improves this crowned cross, which is more truly represented by the first figure on Plate XV. of *Bucks*.

Next come some bells inscribed entirely in Gothic majuscules, bearing also all the four stamps just mentioned and a crowned stop. These Gothic majuscules are given on Plates XV. and XVI. of *Bucks*, and the crowned stop is the last figure on the last mentioned Plate. These majuscules may fitly be called Wokingham majuscules. Mr. Cocks gives ground for dating one of these bells about the year 1383, and they probably all lie between 1375 and 1400. There are none of these bells, however, in Sussex.

Three bells have been found resembling those of the last group, except that they lack the trefoil ornament. They probably come therefore at the end of the group, and may have been cast a little after the year 1400; they hang in Hants, Berks and Surrey respectively.

Next come a number of mixed Gothic bells having the Wokingham majuscules for the initial of each word, followed by small letters, which may fitly be called Wokingham minuscules. They all bear the Broad Face (Fig. 6), the crowned cross (Fig. 5) and the groat already mentioned; and on a few of them a stop, being a smaller edition of Fig. 2, is used as a mark of abbreviation. We have three of these bells in Sussex, as follows—

Cocking 2nd: Sancte Iohannis Ora Pro Nobis.

Fittleworth 2nd: Sancte Toma Or.

Felpham 2nd: Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum.

These bells all bear the groat and Figs. 5 and 6, and none of them have the stop above mentioned resembling

Fig. 2. They were probably cast in the period 1420-1440, or thereabouts.

We may mention next the 1st bell at Cocking, inscribed

Sancta Catrina Ora Pro Nobis

which is one of a group of bells having the same groat, crowned cross (Fig. 5) and Broad Face (Fig. 6), and, furthermore, the R. L. W. shield (Fig. 3). We may feel quite sure that this shield is the mark of one Roger Landen, of Wokingham, who is mentioned in the accounts of Eton College as doing some founders' work in 1448 (*Bucks*, p. 53).

Roger Landen was also probably the founder of the 1st bell at Easebourne, inscribed

Te Deum Laudamus

bearing the R. L. W. shield, the groat, the crowned cross (Fig. 5) and another face, Fig. 33 of *Bucks*, which may be called the Pinched Face.

Mr. Cocks is inclined to attribute this bell, and others bearing the same marks, to a different founder, on account of the substitution of the Pinched Face for the Broad Face; and selects one John Michell, whose name occurs in the Corporation accounts of Henley as a bell-founder at Wokingham in 1493. It is true that some later founders were pleased with the R. L. W. shield and placed it on their bells; but we may doubt whether a founder in the fifteenth century would have used his predecessor's shield, unless he bore the same name.

The Churchwardens' accounts of Thame, in Oxfordshire (set out in *Bucks*, pp. 56, 58), reveal the fact that their 2nd bell had been re-cast at Wokingham in 1487-8; and that, requiring a repetition of the job in 1494-5, they first sent to Wokingham, and afterwards had recourse to Reading, where the work was performed by one William Hasywood. William Hasywood's career must have lasted some 14 years, for his will is dated March 8th, 1507-8, and was proved on December 10th, 1509. Some bells can be attributed to him bearing the initials W. H., but we have none in Sussex.

William Hasywood, by his will (*Bucks*, p. 60), desired to be buried near his first wife, named Margaret, and left all the appliances of his trade to his second wife, Elizabeth, for life, and after her death to his son John, with a direction that if his son died in the lifetime of the said Elizabeth, the same should be sold and the proceeds applied by the said Elizabeth for the good of his soul and other souls. He evidently thought that his widow could not use his trade-tools, but his son could, and wished to put the boy somewhat in the power of the widow, who was doubtless his stepmother.

Apparently this arrangement did not work well, for we have no clear evidence that John Hasywood did any bell founding at all after his father's death. Still there are a few bells which may perhaps be attributed to him. Anyhow, a few years later we find that a bell-founder named John White was carrying on business at Reading. The name of this founder appears frequently in the Churchwardens' accounts of S. Lawrence, Reading, from 1516 to 1540, in which last-mentioned year the name of another bell-founder, John Saunders, occurs. The disappearance of John White from Reading may be explained by the fact that we find at Somerset House the will of John White the elder, of S. Philips parish, in the City of Bristowe (*i.e.*, Bristol), bell-founder, the same being dated 6th October, 1540, and proved 21st January, 1540-1. By this will the testator gives £100 to his wife Elizabeth, payable partly in cash, partly in certain silver articles at 3s. 8d. per oz., and partly in bell metal at 20s. per C.; he gives legacies also to his daughter Joyce, and a servant named Joanne, and gives the residue to his son John, and appoints him executor. It is possible therefore that John White, of Reading, was the son of the Bristol founder, and migrated to Bristol on his father's death. This view is favoured by a document in the Record Office of the date 1553 (*Bucks*, p. 66 note), mentioning a sum due to John White, of Brystowe, for casting a bell.

If the last-mentioned John White was the Reading founder he would have had a career of some 40 years.

That is doubtless unusual; still it is not inadmissible. At the same time a John White figures in the *Reading Records* from 3 Henry VIII. (1511-2), down to 1550; being first a guardian, then a burgess in 1519-20, mayor in 1536 and 1542, and afterwards an alderman. It is possible, therefore, that John White, of Reading, had no connection with John White, of Bristol, but sold his business to John Saunders in 1540 and continued to reside at Reading until 1550. The last-mentioned view is supported by an entry in the records, showing that on the making of a levy in 1542 one soldier was provided with a horse at the joint expense of John White and John Saunders, and with a harness at the joint expense of one Christopher Thick and Agnes Appowell, widow. A connection between the Reading bell-founders and a John Appowell will be mentioned later.

We know more of the next Reading founder, namely, John Saunders. There are many notices of him in the Reading churchwardens' accounts from 1539 to 1559; and the inventory of his goods taken at his death is preserved at Oxford (*Bucks*, p. 73), the date being late in the year 1559. We also find several bells bearing his initials, which can thus be attributed to him with certainty. It will be seen that his career covers the last eight years of the reign of Henry VIII., the whole of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, and the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

The *Reading Records* also contain many notices of a citizen named John Saunders, who was one of the burgesses from 1546 to 1553.

In the last-mentioned year we find an entry in the Register of the Acts of the Privy Council to the following effect:—

At Greenwich the xxviith of May 1553.

The Lord Treasurer

The Lord Privy Seal

The Lord Chamberlain

M^r Controller

M^r Secretarie Petre

A letter to the Mayor of Reading, Thomas Vachel and William Edmondson to cause one John Saunders of that town to be set on the

pillorie the next market day with a paper on his hed conteyning these wordes "For lewde and sediscious woordes touching the Kinges Majestie and the State" and when he hath stode there the hole market tyme to cause both his eares to be cut off and his body to be returned to prison untill the Kinges Majesties further pleasour shalbe signified unto them.

We find a further notice of this matter in the *Reading Records*, under the date of 13th September, 1 Mary, that is 1553, where we read:—

At this day forasmuch as John Sawnders one of the said burgesses for seditious slanderous and opprobrious words by him spoken agenst the Kings honorable counsaile by ther commandment was committed to ponysshement on the pillorie on the market day and ther to stond all the market tyme and then both his ears cut off; and for other seditious lewde and slanderous words by him at sondry tymes after that spoken to the great perturbance and disquietness of his honest neighbours, hit was therefor thought by the said Mayor and Burgesses that the said Sawnders to be no mete man to contynewe and be of the said company whereupon the s^d Mayor & Burgesses with one assent & consent for the causes aforesaid the seid day & yere have expelled discharged & clerely advoided the seid Sawnders from the seid hall & company for ever.

This entry appears to imply that John Saunders had been released from prison. His release may have been due to the death of Edward VI., which took place on July 6th that year, and caused a complete change in the government.

It will be seen that the occupation of John Saunders, the burgess, is not mentioned in the entry in the *Privy Council Register*; and it is never mentioned in the *Reading Records*, so that it is not certain that the bell-founder and the burgess were identical. It would be strange, however, if two men named John Saunders were living at Reading at the same time, both in a substantial position, and both apparently of about the same age. Still the facts present some difficulties. We find (*Bucks*, p. 73) John Saunders subscribing towards a new wall for the churchyard of S. Lawrence, Reading, in 1556; and in the accounts of S. Mary's, Reading, for 1558-9, we read—

Payd to the goodman Saunders towards the casting of the bell lii'

And in S. Lawrence's accounts for the year ending Michaelmas, 1559, we read—

The great bell—Itm for the goodman Saunders knyll	xx ^d
The best pawle—Itm for the goodman Saunders buryall ..	vi ^d
Graves. Imprimis for the goodman Saunders grave	vii ^s iii ^d

Mr. Stahlshmidt also records (*Herts*, p. 17) that in the *Book of the Founders' Company of London*, in the year 1554-5, the entries occur—

R ^d for admytting John Saunders straynger	xii ^d
„ „ Gylbert Smythe his s'vant	xii ^d

And in the annual entries of quarterage payments his name occurs for the three following years. In 1557-8 he appears to have been admitted to the Livery of the Guild, “the entrance fine of xiii^s iii^d” being duly recorded, and then his name disappears altogether; in the 1559 list only Gylbert Smythe being entered as a Journeyman Stranger. We have mentioned that John Saunders, the bell-founder, died in the last-mentioned year; and a perusal of the inventory of his goods (*Bucks*, p. 73) will make it clear that he carried on his bell-founding business at Reading up to the time of his death.

We thus see that John Saunders, the bell-founder, prospered and was respected after John Saunders, the burgess, was disgraced. Can they have been identical? This question may perhaps be answered in the affirmative, if we imagine the alleged seditious words to have been protests on behalf of constitutional government against the arbitrary acts done in the name of the Crown, both under Edward VI. and Mary. Other citizens may have regarded John Saunders as a political martyr and done all that they safely could to aid him; and his fellow burgesses, who voted for expelling him, may have acted under compulsion and fear, and may really have sympathized with him all the time.

Soon after the death of John Saunders we find three bell-founders living in Reading named respectively William Welles, William Knight and Vincent Gorowaye. We learn this from an undated book preserved among the

Reading archives. But we can fix the date of the book approximately; for we find a notice in the Reading Church accounts of Vincent Goroway, dealing in brass in 1564, and of a man called Vincent casting a bell in 1569 (*Bucks*, p. 75) we find the name of William Welles at Reading in 1567 (*Bucks*, p. 77) and an inventory of his goods taken on his death in 1572, including an enumeration of articles in his bell-house (*Bucks*, p. 78; I believe I found this among the records of the Probate Registry at Oxford); and we find plenty of notices of William Knight as a bell-founder, and bells bearing his initials, beginning with his casting a bell for S. Lawrence, Reading, in 1567, and extending to his death, the time of which is fixed by his will dated October 19th, 1586, and proved April 28th, 1587, the inventory of his goods having been taken in November, 1586 (*Bucks*, p. 122). William Knight was the first of a line of bell-founders bearing the same surname, who became the sole men of their craft at Reading from 1616 onwards; but during his life there was a competing house at Reading, of which one Joseph Carter became the head towards the close of the sixteenth century. We find the first notice of Joseph Carter in 1578; but he probably took up the business on the death of William Welles. And we may here notice a fact, which is material to our subject, namely, that we find John Saunders and Joseph Carter in the possession of some of the stamps of the old Reading and Wokingham founders; but we never find any of such stamps on the bells of any of the Knights.

I have given this detailed account of the bell-founders of Reading because, besides a bell clearly attributable to William Knight and seven dated bells bearing the name or initials of Joseph Carter, there are eight bells in Sussex, and a good many elsewhere, which certainly emanated from Reading in the sixteenth century, but which are difficult to assign to their respective founders.

On taking up this task I feel that I shall do well to give first a table of the public events which were likely to affect the demand for bells and the character of the

inscriptions upon them, and I may add the names of the bell-founders just mentioned.

The suppression of the monasteries gave a large number of bells to the King, which he or his grantees were able to sell as ready-made bells to churches or as old metal to founders. It thus satisfied some of the demand for bells, but helped the founders to supply that which was left.

The religious conflict was calculated to make founders and their customers shy of committing themselves by placing anything on their bells, which might be treated as savouring of heresy or idolatry; and to make founders shy of placing their name, initials or trademark on bells bearing a religious inscription.

Let us make out our list of events and founders accordingly:—

1531.	Some anti-Roman measures taken by Henry VIII.	} John White at Reading.
1533.	Divorce of Catharine of Arragon.	
1534.	Papal power abolished in England.	
1536.	Lesser monasteries suppressed. Bible in English supplied to every church.	
1537.	A serious insurrection in the north, called the Pilgrimage of Grace.	
1538-40.	Larger monasteries suppressed. Shrine of Thomas à Becket destroyed.	
1539.	Law of Six Articles enforcing Catholic doctrines.		} John Saunders at Reading.
1544.	Church services in English introduced.	
1545.	All services held in English.	
1547.	Jan. 28. Henry VIII. dies, Edward VI. succeeds.	
1548.	Images removed.	
1549.	Liturgy reformed. Insurrections in Devon and Norfolk.	
1553.	July 6. Edward VI. dies, Mary succeeds.	
1554.	Wyatt's rebellion.	
1555.	Persecution begins.	
1558.	Nov. 17. Mary dies, Elizabeth succeeds.	
1559, <i>et seq.</i>	Reformed religion installed.	
	William Welles at Reading until 1572.	
	William Knight at Reading until 1587.	
	Vincent Goroway at Reading in 1564 and 1569.	

In dealing with the bells it will be simplest to take William Knight's bell first, because it is the easiest to deal with.

We can attribute to him the first bell at East Dean, near Chichester, which is inscribed in Gothic majuscules, of a rather rude type, accompanied by a plain cross, and bears: + HAL MARI FVL OF GRAS. Our grounds for attributing this bell to William Knight are that we find the same inscription in the same letters on the treble at Rotherfield Greys, Oxon, accompanied by the initials W K under the cross. Also the 4th bell at Chinnor, Oxon, bears in larger letters of the same character + OWR FATHAR WICH ART IN HEWEN HALOWED BE THY NAME, with the letters W K under the cross; and the 4th at Kintbury, Berks, bears in the last mentioned letters: +OWR FATHAR WICH ART IN HEWEN + with W K under the cross. And in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser., Vol. V., p. 597, we read that at Long Sutton, Hants, three bells bore in old capitals:

1. + I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER
2. + OVR FATHER WHICH ART IN HEAVEN
3. + HAL MARI FVL OF GRAS

with the letters W R under the cross on each bell. The last-mentioned letter was doubtless a K in each case; and the contributor may have corrected the spelling of the words Father and Heaven.

Also at the Whitechapel bell-foundry a drawing is preserved of a bell formerly at Denchworth, Berks, in similar lettering, bearing

OVR FATHAR WICH ART IN HEVEN + W K.

All the bells thus attributed to William Knight may be regarded as early Elizabethan bells; and we have a limit for their date in the fact that other bells bearing his initials are found dated from 1578 to 1586, inscribed in other letters, namely, Gothic minuscules, and inscribed by a different process, which will be explained later. On two of these we find Pre-reformation inscriptions, with trifling mistakes, namely, *Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis*, and *In multis annis resonet campana Johannis*. We may therefore place the seven bells above mentioned in the interval between the death of John Saunders in

1559 and the year 1578, when William Knight exhibits a different style of inscription.

The other Reading bells in Sussex of the Reformation period may be divided into the Elstead group of three bells, Findon 2nd bell and the Kirdford group of four bells.

The particulars of the bells in the Elstead group are as follows:—

Elstead, 2nd: ☐ sancte paule ora pro nobis.

Easebourne, 2nd: ☐ sancta anna ora pro nobis.

West Itchener, 1st: ☐ sa nc ta ma ri a.

These bells are all inscribed in rather small letters, which we propose to call Elstead minuscules (see Fig. 44), and each of them has for an initial stop the stamp Fig. 4. In my former article I erroneously described this stamp as comprehending the arms of the See of Winchester, and that mistake has been repeated by others. Mr. Cocks has, however, lately called our attention to the fact that the shield of the See of Winchester has a uniform field, while the shield in Fig. 4 has a line down the middle, showing that it is of two hues, party per pale, as it is called; and the arms of the See of Winchester have a pair of keys in bend dexter and a sword in bend sinister, while the position of these charges is reversed in our bell stamp. He then identifies the escutcheon in Fig. 4 with that of the Abbey of Chertsey.

The 2nd bell at Findon bears

☐ Sanc ☐ te ☐ U gabri ☐ elis.

The Chertsey arms stamp marks the beginning of the inscription; the R. L. W. shield is in the middle; and the stop, Fig. 2, in the three places indicated. There are intervals between all the letters. The initial S is reversed and is of a type used at Drayton, Berks, which will be mentioned below, and the other letters are of a large size also mentioned below, and I propose to call them Kirdford minuscules (see Fig. 47).

The particulars of the four bells of the Kirdford group mentioned above are as follows:—

Kirdford, 3rd: *sancta maria ora pro nobis.*

Bury, 3rd: *sancte dunstane ora pro nobis.*

Donnington, 1st: *sancte gregori o n.*

Tortington, 1st: *§ thomas treherne.*

These bells bear no stamp of the nature of a trade-mark, nor even a cross. They only bear the words here given in large Gothic minuscules, identical with those used on the 2nd bell at Findon; and the Tortington bell has a special capital S.

In my former article I suggested that possibly the final *i s* on the 2nd bell at Findon were the initials of John Saunders, of Reading. This view is favoured by Mr. Cocks, and is borne out by the analogy of other bells.

Thus Mr. Stahlschmidt records a bell at Kimpton, Herts, bearing—

sanct § te § dbn § stane ☉ i U s

with the Findon stop (Fig. 2), the Chertsey Abbey arms (Fig. 4) and the R.L.W. shield (Fig. 3) in the positions indicated, the letters being apparently the Kirdford minuscules.

The second bell at Brightwell, Baldwin, Oxon, is inscribed in letters rather larger than those of Kirdford, and bears—

sancta : maria + is +

the cross being of the form called a cross potent.

When I visited Drayton, in Berkshire, the tenor there bore an inscription, in fat Gothic majuscules, with the letter S reversed, as follows—

SANCTA : ANNA : ORA : PRO : NOBIS ☉ I : S

The stop between the words was of the shape of an S, and the Chertsey arms stamp (Fig. 4) came at the end of the inscription. I propose to call the letters of this bell Drayton majuscules. Some of them are given on the upper part of *Bucks*, Plate XX.

At Waterstock, Oxon, the third bell bears—

Sancte : nic : colae 

with the R.L.W. shield and i o s below the shield.

The capital S on this bell is special; the other letters are the Elstead minuscules. The stop between the words and syllables is like a twist of bread (*Bucks*, Plate XIX., Fig. 9), called by Mr. Cocks a rope pattern. The R.L.W. shield comes at the end, with the letters i s beneath it encompassing the old Wokingham groat.

Mr. Cocks also mentions a bell at Fulmer, Bucks, bearing—

sancta maria ora pro nobis w

with i s below the W.

The W on this bell is special, and the other letters are Elstead minuscules.

Mr. Walters also has a note of a bell at Quarley, Hants, bearing

sanc ta ma ria ora pro nobis i s.

We may fairly credit the last mentioned six bells and the 2nd bell at Findon to John Saunders, and we may suggest that those, which lack the words *ora pro nobis*, were cast during the reign of Edward VI.; the others coming under Henry VIII. or Mary. We also see from these bells that John Saunders possessed all the stamps used on the bells of the Elstead and Kirdford groups, and other stamps in addition. Let us consider whether the bells in those groups were cast by him or by some predecessor or successor.

We may observe at once that John Saunders only appears to have commenced working as a master founder in 1539; and Chertsey Abbey was surrendered to Henry VIII. on July 6th, 1538, the inmates being removed to Bisham; and Bisham Abbey was surrendered on June 19th, 1539. Now the most probable way of accounting for the presence of the arms of Chertsey Abbey upon bells is to imagine that some founder was

employed to cast bells for the Abbey, that he engraved the stamp for the purpose of those bells, and requested and received permission to employ it for other bells also, and considered himself official bell-founder to the Abbey. Now John Saunders clearly could not have played this part, but his predecessor, John White, could have done so. Furthermore, if we credit John Saunders with the bells of the Elstead group, and with all bells of the same type found elsewhere, of which there is a fair number, we shall be attributing an undue number of bells to the troubled period in which he lived, and leave the previous 30 years almost devoid of Reading bells, although that period was far more favourable to the bell-founders' craft.

It seems therefore that we must credit the bells of the Elstead group to John White, together with their congeners in other counties. Mr. Cocks gives a list of 10 such bells (*Bucks*, p. 69), which, with three in Sussex and a few in other quarters, is only a fair number to attribute to John White's career. We may add that he employs the Drayton majuscules, the S-like stop, and the twist or rope-pattern stop, as well as the stamps in the Elstead group of bells.

The conclusion that the arms of Chertsey Abbey were first employed by John White is rendered quite certain by the fact (communicated to me by Mr. Walters) that they occur on the tenor at Aldbourne, Wilts., which bears the date MCCCCXVI.

We must next consider whether the bells of the Kirdford group are by John Saunders or some successor. Here instead of having a trade mark to guide us, we have the fact that no such mark appears. This is indicative of the troubled days in the middle of the sixteenth century, when a bell-founder might feel afraid of being readily identified as the founder of a bell. We see that John Saunders showed no such qualms in the case of the bells above mentioned, and if he was the victimized burgess he was clearly not a prudent man. Nevertheless, he may have become more apprehensive at a later date. Then let us ask whether any bells of the

Kirdford type are found elsewhere, and we can give an affirmative answer to this question. Several such are found.

At Warblington, Hants, there is a single bell, bearing

sancte pale ora pro nobi

in Kirdford minuscules, with nothing more.

And at Goring, co. Oxon, there is a like bell, bearing

sancte blasi

Mr. Cocks records the treble at Leckhampstead, Bucks, bearing

gabde virgo matr

in like letters, spread out irregularly, the *t* of mater being omitted.

Mr. Walters has found a similar bell at Upton Grey, co. Hants, namely, the 4th there, bearing

sancti blasi

and at the Whitechapel foundry there is a drawing of the inscription on a bell at Weston on Green, Oxon, bearing

sancte blasi ora pro nobis

Altogether the bells of the Kirdford group may have been cast by John Saunders in the reign of Mary, or they may be the work of his successor in the reign of Elizabeth. We have seen William Knight using Pre-reformation inscriptions in Post-reformation times, and William Welles or Vincent Goroway may have done the same. The attribution of all the bells of the Kirdford type to John Saunders will again swell the number of bells during his troubled period, and leave the succeeding quieter time very poorly represented; and unless the Kirdford set intervenes between John Saunders and Joseph Carter, there seems to be an unfillable gap. There are, however, others bells, some bearing Reading stamps and some in different lettering, which seem to

have been cast in the period of trouble. Mr. Cocks gives an account of several such, and I have met with a few more. I suggest that some of these, which do not show John Saunders' stamps, may be the work of Vincent Goroway, either during John Saunders' life, or after his death, and that the most probable view is that William Welles intervened between John Saunders and Joseph Carter, and that he cast the bells of the Kirdford group. (Possibly the names of W. Welles and V. Goroway ought to be transposed in this connection.) A similar phenomenon is found in *Leicestershire* (p. 48), where a bell at Melton Mowbray bears *be a ta ma ri a* with a few founder's marks; and the Churchwardens' accounts show that it was cast in 1562; and a dozen bells of the same type have just a saint's name, and two have letters without any obvious meaning.

With respect to Vincent Goroway, it is noticeable that Mr. Stahlshmidt (*Surrey*, p. 74) found the name of Winsent Galaway in the books of the Founders' Company in 1518. Galaway and Goroway are interchangeable, and the name is so special that there must be some connection here. Neither name appears in the *Reading Records*, but in 1534 we find one of the guardians named Vincent succeeded by a dash for a surname. Probably the Londoner moved off to Reading in the troubled period, and he may have lived until 1567 or have left a son bearing the same name as himself.

The name William Knight also occurs in the books of the Founders' Company from 1518 to 1530; but no conclusion can be drawn from such a common name. We find a William Knight at Reading in 1517, and the name recurs in 1540, 1542 and 1544.

I may add a few words to Mr. Cocks' notes on some points which have been discussed. He mentions the 3rd bell at S. Michael's, Winchester, which bears William Hasywood's cross, shield and initials, and a peculiar inscription. The motto proves to be the first five words of the Vulgate version of Ps. xlv. 4, which runs—*Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede, et*

regna. This might be used as a text for a sermon preached on the accession of a sovereign. Now Henry VIII. came to the throne on April 21st, 1509, and we find that William Hasywood's will was proved on December 10th in that year. William Hasywood therefore appears to have survived the accession of Henry VIII., and the peculiar inscription on the 4th bell of S. Michael's, Winchester, may thus be accounted for.

Mr. Cocks also mentions (p. 62) the treble bell at Week, Hants, which is inscribed in William Hasywood's letters, with his cross and shield, and a single reversed W in place of his initials. This can be attributed to William Hasywood himself, because we learn from a brass in the church that the bells were re-cast in 1498, and that year falls in William Hasywood's lifetime. Mr. Cocks also notices the 3rd bell at March Baldon, Oxon (p. 64), but his information as to this bell is not quite accurate. The inscription lies in one line round the shoulder and runs

S W X Z T Y V + O □ +

The letters are the crowned Wokingham majuscules, and the other stamps are respectively: (1) a special cross (different from William Hasywood's); (2) a circle with six convex spokes starting from the centre, a figure easily drawn with a pair of compasses; (3) the Pinched Face; and (4) the Wokingham crowned cross. This bell presents all the appearance of being an ancient Wokingham bell, possibly of date intermediate to Roger Landen and John Michell.

Mr. Cocks (*Bucks*, p. 174) mentions a bell-founder named John Appowell, who was working at Buckingham from 1548 to 1577, and suggests that he may have learnt his craft at Reading. This suggestion is confirmed by the *Reading Records*, which have been published. We there find a burgess named John Appowell holding offices at times from 6 Hen. VIII. (1514-5) to the 30 Hen. VIII. (1538-9). His death is mentioned in the last mentioned year, and we find another John Appowell elected to be a

burgess in the year following (1539-1540). The second John Appowell, however, soon disappears; a fact consistent with the view that he migrated to Buckingham.

The *Reading Records* also make it clear that Joseph Carter resided at Reading until his death. We find that he was elected a burgess on September 1st, 1598, and thenceforward regularly attended the meetings of the burgesses. Towards the close of his life he is noted as absent at times, the words "misericordia" or "per licentiam" being sometimes added. On March 2nd, 1610, he is noted as "egrotus," and at the next meeting on June 1st, 1610, his name does not appear at all. An account of Joseph Carter may be found in my former article on the Bells of Sussex, and fuller information concerning him is given in the *Bucks* book.

It will be well to add a chronological list of the ancient inscribed bells of Sussex:—

- | | | |
|---------------|--|--------------------------------|
| c. 1250. | West Thorney, 1. | |
| c. 1270. | Ashington, 1. | |
| c. 1280. | Southease, 1st by John Aleyn. | } London
founders. |
| | 1282-1307. Albourne, 1 by Adam. | |
| c. 1300. | Poynings, 1 by Ricardus de Wimbis. | |
| c. 1315. | Kingston, 1st by Walter Wimbis. | |
| c. 1320. | Kingston, 2nd. | |
| c. 1320-1330. | 7 bells by Nicolas. | } Probably Sussex
founders. |
| c. 1330-1340. | 4 bells of Fittleworth group. | |
| c. 1340-1360. | 5 bells by R. | } Western
founders. |
| c. 1360-1370. | 2 by P.W. at Appledram. | |
| | 1369. 1 by De Flothe, of the Hague, at Duncton, dated. | |
| c. 1370. | Ford, 1st by Robert Rider, of London. | |
| c. 1370. | Kingston, 3rd. | |
| c. 1380. | Alciston, 1st. | |
| c. 1390. | Stoughton, 2nd by a western founder. | |
| | 1371-1393. 5 bells by William Burford, of London. | |
| c. 1390. | Alfriston, 6th. | } London
founders. |
| c. 1400. | Folkington, 1. | |
| | 1393-1418. 4 bells by William Founder. | |
| c. 1400-1420. | Catsfield, 1st and 2nd. | |
| c. 1420-1430. | Loxwood, 1. | |
| c. 1420-1440. | 3 London bells—Woolbeeding, 3rd; Guestling, 1; | |
| | and All Saints', Lewes, 3rd. | |
| c. 1420-1440. | 3 Wokingham bells—Cocking, 2nd; Fittleworth, | |
| | 3rd; and Felpham, 2nd. | |
| 1418-1440. | Clayton, 1 by R. Hille, of London. | |
| 1440-1443. | East Preston, 1 by Johanna Hille. | |

- 1443-1455. Heathfield, 6th; and S. Martin, Chichester, 1 by John Sturdy, second husband of Johanna Hille.
- 1455-1464. Rotherfield, 1st by Johanna Sturdy.
- c. 1448. Cocking, 1st, and Easebourne, 1st by Roger Landen, of Wokingham.
- c. 1426-1456. 12 cross-key bells. } London
- c. 1470-1487. 7 Brede stamp bells. } bells.
- c. 1478. Hove, 1 by T H, of London.
- c. 1487-1500. Balcombe, 2nd; and Pulborough, 2nd; London bells bearing the Balcombe shield.
- c. 1500-1515. 4 T.b bells, London bells, by T. Bullisdon.
- 1515-1522. Street, 1, and Portslade, 2nd by T. Lawrence, of London.
- 1522-1536. 11 bells by John Tonne, of Sussex.
- 1515-1539. 3 bells by John White, of Reading (Elstead group).
- 1539-1559. Findon, 2nd by John Saunders, of Reading.
- 1559-1570. 4 Reading bells (Kirdford group).
- c. 1570. East Dean, near Chichester, 1st by William Knight, of Reading.

We may now take leave of the ancient bells, and in doing so we may well say a word of praise for the spirit exhibited by their inscriptions. We find an almost complete abnegation of self. We see neither churchwardens recording their names, nor bell-founders advertising their business. There is merely a little expression of religious sentiment. It may not be made in the way in which we should manifest our feelings, but still it was well meant; it was according to what our ancestors believed to be the right method of serving God.

We could wish to see all modern bell-founders putting pretty mottoes on their bells and making them works of art, pleasing to the eye as well as the ear. And I may mention that I believe one secret of making bells pleasant both to the ear and eye is to heat the mould before the metal is poured into it.

And here I may give a description of the modes of inscribing and ornamenting bells, recommending a consideration of this branch of the subject to future investigators; because it has not hitherto received much attention, and it may prove a means of throwing further light on our ancient bells.

For making a bell, according to the method which we believe to have prevailed from the earliest times until

quite recent years, an upright iron pin is fixed upon a circular base, provided with two arms, one fitting the inside of the intended bell and the other the outside. This apparatus is called a crook. A heap of clay is placed about the central pin, and the lower arm is made to revolve so as to reduce the clay to the exact size and shape of the interior of the bell. This is called the core. It is dried and cured so that the next layer may not stick to it. Another coating of clay is then superposed and reduced to the size and shape of the exterior of the bell, by the revolution of the upper arm of the crook. This forms a clay model of the bell.

The upper arm of the crook has certain little niches in it, and these produce rims round the clay model. The model is then dried and cured, and a further coating of clay is placed over it, being contained in a case shaped like a sugar-loaf, which is brought down on the model like an extinguisher, the same being called the cope. The cope in its turn is duly dried, and is then raised from off the core, and it carries the model with it by reason of the rims. The model is then taken out of the cope, being cut or broken into pieces to allow its extraction. The cope can then be replaced on the core and rivetted to the base on which the core rests, and the bell can be made by pouring molten metal into the space between them. The mould is buried for that purpose; but before this is done two other points require notice. One is the construction of a mould of the handles of the bells, called *anses* in French and canons in English, whereby the bell is to be attached to a block of wood or metal called the stock; the other is the execution of the inscription. We need not trouble ourselves about the mould of the canons, but the execution of the inscription demands our attention.

There are two methods of effecting it. According to one method which prevails in France the letters and ornaments which are to appear upon the bell are formed in wax and stuck upon the model of the bell. The cope thus receives the impression of them from the model and reproduces them upon the bell itself. According to the

other method which prevails in England the inscription is produced by stamping the letters and ornaments into the cope. The clay of the cope is damped for this purpose and the workman puts his head into it to do his work. The operation may cause little bulges in the clay which require to be reduced; and the grooves of the rims may require cleaning by the help of little metal capsules, which are passed round them. This is called dressing the cope.

We mentioned that some bells by Austen Bracker had the words all reversed. This phenomenon is due to the workman making a blunder and stamping the letters into the cope from left to right so that they run from right to left upon the bell itself.

It is evident that the French method enables ornaments of large size to be placed upon the waist of a bell without much difficulty, because the wax films can be adjusted to the contour; while the English method is unsuitable for the employment of large stamps, unless they are specially made to suit the contour of the bell.

We may add that a new method of forming the core and cope separately has now been introduced in England, and on the new method an inscription can only be produced by stamping it into the cope.

It is not always easy to tell from the inspection of a bell by which method the inscription was produced, and it is often impossible to decide the point from the mere inspection of a rubbing. In France each letter is formed on a little square tablet, which exactly fits in the space between the rims. The same appearance might be produced by a letter stamp with a square head. We find at times that the words have not been formed by a number of separate stamps each bearing a letter, but the founder has used a single stamp comprising an entire word. Such a stamp may be called a logograph. It seems to be better suited to the French method; nevertheless we find logographs used for bells for which the English method appears to have been applied.

The mixed Gothic bells of the period 1400-1530 appear at first sight to have been inscribed on the English

method. It will be remembered that one bell by Thomas Lawrence bore only the initials S T O P N. We can see that the minuscules could more easily have been forgotten when their omission could only be discovered by a workman inserting his head into the cope than on the French system, when the inscribed model is necessarily exposed to view. Nevertheless we sometimes find slipped or broken letters on mixed Gothic bells, which show that the French system was adopted. One such occurs on the 4th bell at Feltwell, S. Nicholas, in Norfolk, a Norwich bell of the fifteenth century. It will be well to give a representation of it (Fig. 48).

I believe that many of our Gothic majuscule bells were inscribed on the French system. Mr. Ellacombe prints in his account of the bells of Exeter Cathedral a very interesting bill giving details of the charges of casting two bells there in 1372-3, one being the clock bell. We have items for making the mould for the clock bell and attaching the cope to the base; building a furnace; purchasing copper, tin, wood, coal and straw; and digging the pit for the mould; and *inter alia* we find: "*In una libra cere emptā pro literis campane, viii^a,*" i.e., for a pound of wax bought for the letters of the bell, 8d. The items for the other bell are more condensed, but we find amongst them, "*In cera emptā pro literis, iiiii^a,*" i.e., for wax bought for the letters, 4d.

Also in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, temp. Henry VIII.*, Vol. II., No. 4108, we find an account, dated 23rd April, 1518, of the making of a gun, called a culverin, for the King, at Fontarabia, in Spain, wherein one item runs: "For weyx to make the King's arms and other conceits upon the culverin, 16 shamfrons."

In the Post-reformation period we find many bells in Sussex cast by founders of the names of Eldridge, Wilner, Giles, Wakefield, Tapsell, Joseph Carter and others, having flat letters very slightly raised above the surface of the bell. These letters were evidently cut out in some material like thick paper and stuck upon the clay

model of the bell. In these cases it happens that different specimens of the same letter on the same bell vary somewhat from each other; while all letters produced by impressing the same stamp in clay must necessarily be in absolute agreement. Also in the case of these paper letters it sometimes happens that a letter has been turned over and appears with its figure reversed; a result, which could not be produced by a proper stamp. The letter N is the most liable to be thus reversed.

Reversed letters are however occasionally found of an embossed form, which does not admit of being turned over. The 1st bell at Southease bears

+ IOHANNES : ALEYN : ME : FECIT

with the letters H N and T reversed, the H and T being of the usual Gothic form, so as to show the reversal (See Fig. 32). It is very difficult to account for this phenomenon. After inquiring into the mode in which the stamps for letters are now made, and speculating on the methods by which they might have been formerly made, it seems that a reversed letter could only be produced by a downright blunder. The workman must have formed a mould of a letter and inscribed the letter in the mould, as it would appear on a stamp. A wax letter formed in such a mould would appear reversed and produce a reversed letter upon the bell.

A bell-founder named Thomas Swain, who succeeded in 1753 to the business previously conducted by Robert Catlin, seems to have made such a blunder. There are five bells by him at Thames Ditton in Surrey, dated 1753, on all of which the letter N is reversed. However, there is also one bell there by him dated 1754 with the N rightly represented. The blunder was therefore discovered, and a new stamp made in proper form.

We may make T. Swain's action throw some light on the Southease bell. The cross and the letter M of that bell occur also on the 1st bell at Kingston, near Lewes, bearing

+ WALTERVS : WIMBIS : ME : FECIT.

The letter T is rightly formed on this bell, and the bell is much better cast than that at Southease. It seems therefore that we must accord priority in point of date to the Southease bell.

Perhaps one of the most curious facts on the point, which we are now considering, is that the bell at Berechurch, in Essex, by Ricardus de Wimbis has one S rightly placed and one reversed. We must suppose that a wrong stamp or mould had been first made and then a right one, but that the wrong one had not been destroyed, and the founder used it by mistake in forming the inscription.

The inscriptions on William Knight's early undated bells in Gothic majuscules may have been produced by the English method; but those on his bells in Gothic minuscules, dated from 1578 onwards, have low flat letters, which must have been cut out and applied to the clay model of the bell.

The Churchwardens' accounts of Bray and Winkfield in Berkshire reveal the name of Thomas Eldridge as a bell-founder at Wokingham in 1565. Mr. Cocks gives an illustration of his initials, apparently produced by the English method on an undated bell. I have also a rubbing of a bell at Yately, in Hampshire, dated 1577, bearing his initials, but the inscription on this bell appears to have been produced by cutting the letters in the clay of the cope in a very rude fashion.

However, Thomas Eldridge was succeeded by Richard in or before 1592, and Richard certainly produced his inscriptions by applying low flat letters to the clay models of his bells; and the same practice was followed by his successors for many years. A mere rubbing of a bell having low flat letters will readily show the means by which the inscription was produced.

The Eldridges supplied many bells to Sussex. We have

Richard,	1592—1622.
Bryan, No. 1,	1618—1640.
Bryan, No. 2,	1640—1661.
William, No. 1,	1660—1716.
William, No. 2,	} 1697—1714.
Thomas,	

Mr. Stahlschmidt, in his *Surrey* book, gives a pedigree of the family and sets out the wills of the two Bryans and William, No. 1.

The Eldridges established a connection in Sussex by keeping a branch establishment at Horsham for a time.

In Vol. XXI. of the series of the Sussex Archæological Society's publications there is a paper by Mr. Robert Garraway Rice on pp. 81-94, showing that Richard Eldridge hired a house, called the Bell House, at Horsham, at x^s a year in several years from 1610 to 1622, and cast a bell there in 1615. The Churchwardens of Horsham received the rent. In 1618 Bryan Eldridge is mentioned as paying two years' rent for the house, but Bryan evidently dropped the branch establishment at Horsham and moved his main foundry from Wokingham to Chertsey. The Churchwardens' accounts of Horsham also show that bells were cast for Horsham at Chertsey in 1633, 1645 and 1652; and a bell was cast in 1717, but it does not appear where.

The same article gives, on p. 88, some extracts from the Slinfold Churchwardens' accounts, showing that a bell was cast for that church at Horsham in 1594, and one at Whitechapel, in London, in 1606, also one at Horsham in 1611 and another there in 1618.

In Vol. XIX., pp. 42-43, some extracts from the Lindfield accounts are given, showing that one of the bells was re-cast at Horsham in 1594, and that the 4th bell was re-cast at Lewes by Edmund Giles in 1598-9.

The account of the Post-reformation bells of Sussex, which I was able to give in 1864, is in general full and accurate. Nevertheless the researches of the last 50 years enable some interesting additions and corrections to be made.

The early Elizabethan bells are still involved in mystery. One at Cliffe has an indistinct inscription, apparently giving the date MCCCCXLVI. We cannot tell by whom this was cast; nor do we know what name is indicated by the initials R. B. which occur on five bells in Sussex, dated 1571 and 1572. Mr. Cocks (*Bucks* p. 195)

and Mr. North (*Rutland*, p. 48) give an account of a bell-founder named Richard Benety or Bentley, who was living at this time; but his work is very different from the R. B. bells of Sussex; and I have notes of nine bells in the South of Hampshire and six more in the Isle of Wight, ranging from 1598 to 1614, bearing the initials R. B.; but these have fuller inscriptions than our Sussex R. B. bells, besides being somewhat later. There is also the 5th bell at Alfriston, dated 1587, of which the founder is unknown.

Another Elizabethan bell-founder was named John Cole. We have three specimens of his handiwork in Sussex, namely, Tangmere 1st, not dated; Lindfield 5th, 1573; and Findon 1st, 1576. We hear of him at Winchester, where the accounts of the College show that he re-cast the tenor bell there in 1573 (*Kirby's Annals of Winchester College*, p. 225); and the accounts of S. John's, Winchester, show that he re-cast four bells for that church in 1574. One of these bells still exists; at least, it existed some 50 years ago. We also find a bell by John Cole at Orlestone, in Kent, dated 1591, and another at Shadoxhurst, dated 1592. The words on the last-mentioned bell are reversed. That is a sure sign that they were stamped into the cope, and placed by the workman so as to run from his left to right. John Cole must have been an itinerant founder.

We find Henry Tapsell or Topsell and his son Roger located at West Tarring, in Sussex, at the close of the sixteenth century. The initials H. T. occur on a bell at Bury, dated 1599; and the names of both Henry and Roger on one at Felpham in 1600; and there are more than a dozen bells by Roger Tapsell, dated from 1600 to 1633.

We hear of the Tapsells a little before their establishment in Sussex. Two bells bearing the name Henry Topsell have been found in the eastern counties, one at Cratfield, in Suffolk, and the other at Kirby Bedon, in Norfolk (*Suffolk*, p. 103). Both these bells are dated 1585, and both bear also the initials R. T. The bell at

Kirby Bedon has the name Hednam on it, and we hear that it hung in the tower of Hedenham Church until 1838, when it was sold to Kirby Bedon. Canon Raven found in the records of the Consistory Court of Norwich a license dated 8th November, 1585, for the marriage of Henry Toopsell (with Tapsell added in the margin), of Beccles, in Suffolk, bell-founder, and Elizabeth Andrewes of the same place, single woman. He also found in the accounts of Cratfield parish, for the year 1585, items relating to visits of the Churchwardens to Beccles to see the founder.

Edmund Giles, of Lewes, is the most prominent figure amongst our local founders. His bells range from 1595 to 1614, but we have only 19 of them. He died in February, 161 $\frac{1}{2}$; and we find administration to his effects granted to his widow, with a surety described as Thomas Giles, of Chichester, bell-founder. We have four bells by this Thomas Giles prior to this date, viz., Mayfield, 1602; Oving, 1613; Upper Beeding, 1613; S. Bersted, 1614; and a dozen bells after it dated down to 1621, but the position of the latter bells, and some entries in the accounts of Cliffe parish, indicate that Thomas Giles operated in Lewes after Edmund's death.

I believe we can trace the origin of these two founders. We read that in *Warwickshire* (p. 47) two bells are found dated 1583 and 1584, bearing *Galfridus Giles me fecit* in broad flat Roman majuscules, with lozenges between the words. The bells by our Edmund Giles exhibit the same characteristics, and those by Thomas Giles have flat letters. There is a 3rd bell in *Warwickshire* attributable to this Galfridus (or Geoffrey) Giles, but nothing else is known about him.

We can add the name of Anthony Wakefield to the list of our Sussex bell-founders. His name occurs in the accounts of Hawkhurst, in Kent, as casting a bell there in 1595 (*Kent*, p. 303); and in the accounts of Cranbrook, in Kent, as casting bells there in 1596 (*Kent*, pp. 234-5). I have a note of finding administration of his effects granted to his widow, Emma Wakefield, on July 30th,

1605, his abode being at S. Pancras without Eastgate, Chichester. His bells in Sussex include—

Donnington, 2nd: PRAIS THE LORD 1594.

Stoughton, 1st: PRAISE THE LORD 1597 A W.

Bepton, 3rd: PRAISE THE LORD 1598 AW RR I P I R D.

Felpham, 3rd: PRAISE GOD 1599 AW.

West Dean (near Chichester), 2nd: A W 1601 (the 6 reversed).

Stoughton, 3rd: PRAIS GOD 1602 A W.

West Dean (near Chichester), 3rd: PRAIS GOD 165
RD WA A W.

Heyshot, 3rd: PRAIS GOD A W M W R A W P.

Mr. Stahlshmidt records that a bell at S. Paul's Cray, in Kent, formerly bore PRAISE THE LORD 1597 A W, and that the 4th at Cranleigh, Surrey, bears PRAIS GOD 1599 A W, and Anthony Wakefield may be credited with the 4th bell at Brading in the Isle of Wight, which bears PR IS THE LORD 1594 and the initials A W, besides many other initials. The word THE is a monograph and so are the first two letters of LORD. The letters on all Anthony Wakefield's bells appear to have been cut out and stuck on the model. The Brading bell bears also the initials T G besides other sets of initials. This may indicate that Thomas Giles was working with Anthony Wakefield at the time.

In 1614, just about the time at which Thomas Giles seems to have left Chichester, a Thomas Wakefield appears as a bell-founder there. We find him first co-operating with Roger Tapsell, of Tarring, and thus casting bells for Washington, Stopham, and All Saints, Hastings. We then find a dozen specimens of his sole workmanship during the next four years, then one at Graffham by him and Roger Tapsell, dated 1621, and one at Upper Marden by him and Bryan Eldridge, dated 1628. Bells bearing the names of two founders were doubtless cast on the spot and not at the special foundry of either of them. In the neighbourhood of Dieppe,

where the village churches have generally bigger bells than in England, this practice continued till the middle of the nineteenth century, and we find there many different combinations of the names of strolling founders.

Thomas Wakefield, in general, inscribed his bells with cut-out letters attached to the model. We find, however, reversed words on some of them and letters sunk instead of raised, which show a little bungling. On the other hand he employed an ornament showing a crowned shield bearing a *fleur de lys*. This occurs on the waist of three bells at Stedham, and the 2nd at Compton, and the 2nd at North Mundham (Plate III.).

A very full account of the bell-foundry at Whitechapel will be found in my former article, tracing its history from one Robert Mot, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, until the year 1864. Mr. Walters has, however, managed to supplement it a little. He gives ground for believing that one Robert Doddes preceded Robert Mot for a few years, working from 1567 to 1575, and that Robert Mot succeeded him in that year, having been previously his foreman (*Essex*, p. 66). He also shows that Thomas Bartlet died in 1632, and that one John Clifton worked the foundry from that date until about the outbreak of the Civil War, whereafter Anthony Bartlet appears on the scenes (*Essex*, pp. 74, 75). John Clifton's last date is 1640, and Anthony Bartlet's first date 1647. The Civil War occupied 1642-1645.

Fig. 26 is Robert Mot's special mark. Thomas Bartlet adapted it to his use by omitting the initials R. M. and placing the words "*Thomas Bartlet made me*" round it. In this form it was used by Anthony and James Bartlet. It has recently been revived by the present owner of the Whitechapel Foundry, Mr. Alfred Hughes, with the substitution of his own initials for those of Robert Mot.

Fig. 28 was also used by Robert Mot, and afterwards by Joseph Carter, who evidently bought Robert Mot's business. Fig. 28 closely resembles the crowned bell in Fig. 26, but Fig. 28 is the older stamp of the two.

Fig. 27 is a shield also used by Robert Mot and Joseph Carter, but it was used more than a century earlier by one Richard Brasyer, of Norwich. Many of the Norwich stamps were very artistic, and several later founders imitated them.

Fig. 29 is a medallion occurring on the treble bell at Stedham, dated 1741. The treble at Racton, 1742, and the bell at Eastergate, 1737, are by the same founder, Joshua Kipling, of Portsmouth.

The bell at Rumboldswyke by John Clarke has the date 1607 upon it. In the *Essex* book, pp. 84, 85, we read that 13 bells bearing John Clarke's name have been found, of dates ranging from 1599 to 1621. His ancestors seemed to have lived at Datchworth, co. Herts; but the distribution of his bells shows that he travelled about the country. He used cut-out letters of different types.

A bell at Rustington bears T A F F 1671. It is probable that F F are the initials of Francis Foster, a bell-founder of Salisbury. Mr. Stahlschmidt (*Kent*, pp. 241, 2) sets out some extracts from the accounts of the churchwardens of Cranbrook, of the year 1670-1, which show that one of their bells was re-cast at Rowanden in that year, and contain an item of the payment of £6. 10s. to Francis Foster, the bell-founder.

In my former article an account was given of one William Hull, who acted at times as assistant to certain London founders; and in 1676 settled at South Malling, and worked there on his own account until his death in 1687. In 1678 he cast a bell for Sandhurst in Kent. The accounts of that parish have been preserved, and they show that this bell was cast by William Hull, at Hailsham (*Kent*, 390).

Notices of William Hull appear in many county bell books, owing to the fact that he acted as assistant to one John Hodson from 1654 to 1669; and John Hodson was the principal London founder of that period. In 1669, however, William Hull seems to have parted company from John Hodson, and at the same time the name or

initials of Christopher Hodson appears in his place. In 1674 we find William Hull casting two bells at Withyham, in Sussex, as assistant to a founder named Michael Darbie, who changed his quarters a good many times. This association of William Hull with others has led Mr. Stahlschmidt to credit him with having a hand in casting the clock bell at S. Mary Magdalene, Richmond. I have a rubbing of that bell and find that it bears in Roman majuscules MATHEW MOODEY THOMAS ELING CHVRCH WARDENS 1683 MATHEW WALKER W. H. R. I: I O B., with Bartlet's medallion between the letters I. B. As this bell is clearly attributable to James Bartlet, of Whitechapel, and as William Hull was doing business on his own account at South Malling at the time, I do not favour the view that the initials W. H. on the bell are intended for his name.

In my former article I mentioned that there were ten bells by a founder named John Palmer in Sussex, and that his dates ran from 1636 to 1656; and that in the neighbourhood of Canterbury bells were found with his name, and others bearing the name of Thomas Palmer some 20 years later. Mr. Stahlschmidt has found that the headquarters of these founders were at Canterbury, and he gives an account of them with a pedigree of their family. There can be little doubt that John Palmer visited various villages in Sussex and re-cast bells on the spot (*Kent*, 83, *et seq.*).

And now, as we have at times referred to general history to help us to give an account of our old bells and bell-founders, let us try to reverse the process and see if our bells cannot be made to throw some light on our general history. I propose therefore to give a table showing the number of bells cast in each year from 1560 to 1860, and will give separately those of Sussex and the general summary of all bells available. A few remarks must be made upon this table.

(1) I have included in this table not only all existing bells, but all others of which an authentic record is

preserved, either in churchwardens' accounts or in the inscriptions on existing bells, or in notes of prior investigators.

(2) I give for our own county the details of the bells of each year, as well as the total number; from which it will be seen that, prior to 1700, single bells were generally re-cast from time to time, as they were required; but after 1700 we find many cases of whole peals cast at once. The same phenomena occur in other counties also; and in many cases records have been preserved, which show that there was formerly a small number of bigger bells, and that one object of the step taken was to provide a peal of bells suitable for change ringing. It is evident that the provision of six or eight bells by this method was a far less expensive matter than the re-casting of an equal number of single bells in the earlier period. Indeed, we hear in one case that the extra metal of the old bells defrayed the whole of the cost.

(3) During the period covered by this table we find a few undated bells, of which we can tell the approximate date by means of the founders' name or the style of lettering. None of these are included in this table. In general they are so few in number that their omission does not much affect the result. In Lincolnshire and its neighbourhood, however, there is a considerable number of undated bells belonging to the reign of James I. and the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, so that the revival of bell-founding which took place at that time was a little more marked than the figures in the sub-joined table indicate. There are also doubtless some undated bells belonging to the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(4) I give the bells of Gloucestershire and Somerset apart from the rest, because so many mistakes have been found in the books dealing with those two counties that the results cannot be relied on.

(5) The number of nineteenth century bells is greater than appears in this table, because many modern churches have been omitted from the books.

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.		Total of			
				1	2	3	4
				1	2	3	4
1560	Peace with France and Scotland				2		2
1561					6		6
1562					4		4
1563					2		2
1564					4		4
1565					5		5
1566			1	— 1	5		5
1567					7		7
1568					8		8
1569					2		2
1570					3		3
1571			1	— 1	10		10
1572			1111	— 4	19		19
1573			1	— 1	11		11
1574					11		11
1575				9		9	
1576		1	— 1	14		14	
1577				8		8	
1578				10		10	
1579				16		16	
1580		1	— 1	10	1	11	
1581		111	— 3	28		28	
1582				15	1	16	
1583		1	— 1	17	3	20	
1584				18	2	20	
1585	War with Spain, 1585-1604			21		21	
1586			1	— 1	15	1	16
1587			111	— 3	22	1	23
1588		Armada	1	— 1	20	1	21
1589					30		30
1590					25	2	28
1591			1	— 1	31	3	34
1592					31	1	32
1593					35		35
1594			1	— 1	24		24
1595		11	— 2	44	1	45	
1596				38	2	40	
1597		1	— 1	28		28	
1598		1	— 1	35	2	38	
1599		1111	— 4	31	1	32	
1600		11	— 2	39	2	42	
1601		1	— 1	46	1	48	
1602		11111	— 5	68	2	71	
1603	Mar. 24, death of Elizabeth	111	— 3	67	2	69	
1604	Peace with Spain	11	— 2	50	3	53	
1605	Gunpowder Plot	1	— 1	57	5	63	
1606		11111	— 5	63	6	70	
1607		1113	— 6	101	12	113	
1608		11	— 2	79	10	91	
1609		2	— 2	71	7	78	
1610		11	— 2	99	8	107	
1611		1	— 1	77	11	89	

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.	Total of			
			1 Accurate Counties	2 Somerset	3 Glo'ster	4 All Counties
1612			95	5		100
1613		111 — 3	94	6		100
1614		1111 — 4	78	4	1	83
1615		311 — 5	97	5		102
1616		11111 — 5	127	3	4	134
1617		11112 — 6	89	12	2	103
1618	30 years' war began	131 — 5	108	8	1	117
1619		11 — 2	100	8	2	110
1620	Some British troops sent to Palatinate	1 — 1	120	2	5	127
1621		11 — 2	133	4	2	139
1622		1 — 1	99	3	3	105
1623			116	7	3	126
1624	Rupture with Spain		145	7	0	152
1625		Mar. 27, James I. dies	111 — 3	101	5	2	108
1626	Cadiz, failure	1 — 1	109	7	9	125
1627	War with France	1111 — 4	84	8	2	94
1628	La Rochelle, failure	131 — 5	100	10	4	114
1629	Peace with France	11111 — 5	125	5		130
1630	Peace with Spain	1 — 1	115	7	4	126
1631		141 — 6	102	4	2	108
1632		1111 — 4	102	7	4	113
1633		12111 — 6	104	7	6	117
1634		111 — 3	112	11	3	126
1635		112 — 4	107	5	7	119
1636		1111121 — 8	138	4	9	151
1637		1 — 1	109	9	2	120
1638		11 — 2	100	4	4	108
1639	Trouble with Scotland	31111 — 7	58	2	7	67
1640	Long Parliament meets	111 — 3	99	7	5	111
1641		111 — 3	87	1	3	91
1642		11 — 2	24	2		26
1643	Civil War		1			1
1644			1	1		2
1645			1	1		2
1646			1 — 1	7	2		9
1647			26	2	1	29
1648	War in North and in Essex	1 — 1	20	3		23
1649	Cromwell in Ireland Dunbar, Sept. 3	211 — 4	22	6	6	34
1650				38	2	6	46
1651	Worcester, Sept. 3	1111111 — 7	44	2	2	48
1652	Sea fights with the Dutch		59	2		61
1653	Do. and Parliament expelled	11 — 2	54	1	4	59
1654	Peace with Holland	21 — 3	72	9	2	83
1655	Royalist risings		59	6		65
1656	Attack on Spanish islands and ships	31 — 4	108	4	3	115
1657			11 — 2	56	11	7	74
1658	Sept. 3, Cromwell dies		74	3	2	79
1659	Affairs unsettled		35	4	1	40
1660	Restoration	11 — 2	86	6	3	95
1661		11 — 2	69	11	1	81

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.		Total of				
				1	2	3	4	
				1	2	3	4	
1662				99	4	5	108	
1663		3	— 3	128	1	2	131	
1664		1	— 1	123	3	3	129	
1665	Plague War with Dutch—Fire	12	111121	—10	67	3	70	
1666		2		— 2	48	1	3	52
1667				36	1	4	41	
1668		1	— 1	51	7	6	64	
1669		1	— 1	53	5	3	61	
1670		11	— 2	85	5	4	94	
1671		11	— 2	69	6	1	76	
1672				66	3	1	70	
1673	War with Dutch	1	— 1	58	5		63	
1674		11	112	— 6	81	1	1	83
1675		1	— 1	107	3			110
1676		21	— 4	95	2	4		101
1677		11	— 5	63	2	5		70
1678				62	6	16	84	
1679		1	— 1	28	2	1	31	
1680				74	1	10	85	
1681				90	5		95	
1682		21	— 3	83	3	3	89	
1683		122	— 5	100	6	5	111	
1684		11	— 2	65	5	6	76	
1685	Feb. 6, Charles II. dies Monmouth's invasion	1	— 1	70	3	4	77	
1686		311	— 5	63		3		66
1687		11	— 2	52	4	9	65	
1688	James II. expelled	11	— 2	38	3	11	52	
1689				21	1		22	
1690	Fighting in Ireland			7		4	11	
1691					26	4		30
1692	La Hogue* and Flanders*			27	3	1	31	
1693	Disaster at sea			38	4	10	52	
1694	Failure at Brest			48	4	10	62	
1695	William takes Namur	1	— 1	75	2	4	81	
1696		11	— 2	38	2	16	56	
1697	Sept. 10, Treaty of Ryswick	13	— 4	32		14	46	
1698		21	— 4	41	4	17	62	
1699		61	— 7	73	6	2	81	
1700				96	9	22	127	
1701				92		2	94	
1702	Mar. 8, Death of William	11	— 2	77	2	4	83	
1703				96	1	5	102	
1704	*Blenheim	14	— 5	56	2	6	64	
1705				70	17	5	92	
1706	*Ramilies	1	— 1	63	4	10	77	
1707		1	— 1	102	10	10	122	
1708	*Oudenarde	41	— 5	57	7	11	75	
1709	*Malplaquet	1	— 1	86		16	102	
1710				99	7	12	118	
1711				78	8	13	99	
1712		512	11112—15	105	5	11	121	

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.		Total of 1 Accurate Counties 2 Somerset 3 Glo'ster 4 All Counties			
				1	2	3	4
1713	Mar. 3, Treaty of Utrecht	1111	— 4	99	7	15	121
1714	Aug. 1, Anne dies	114111	— 9	115	18	7	140
1715	Jacobite rising in Scotland and North of England	114	— 6	46	3	11	60
1716				70	5	25	100
1717		25	— 7	115	6	27	148
1718		13	— 4	110	6	4	120
1719	War with Spain. An invasion feared Jan., Peace made. South Sea Bubble	11211	— 6	69	11	11	91
1720				102	2	9	113
1721		1	— 1	101	7	24	132
1722				105	3	23	131
1723		151	— 7	162	9	19	190
1724	Troubles in Ireland and Scotland	114325	—16	111	13	5	129
1725	Nominal war with Spain for 5 years			59	8	8	75
1726		100	6	9	115		
1727	Death of George I. A Spanish attack on Gibraltar	1	— 1	93	4	10	107
1728				64	7	8	79
1729	Nov. 9, Treaty of Seville	2	— 2	76	19	16	111
1730				66	11	1	78
1731				75	9	9	93
1732		55	—10	90	8	17	115
1733		11	— 2	68	17	7	92
1734		4	— 4	93	13	15	121
1735		1	— 1	84	11	4	99
1736				56	13	10	79
1737		531114	—15	125	6	5	136
1738		2	— 2	69	12	4	85
1739	Oct. 19, War with Spain	8	— 8	82	9	25	116
1740				41	— 5	70	9	3	82
1741	War on the Continent. Failure at Cartagena	11	— 2	67	13	0	80
1742				5231	—11	101	12	8	121
1743	*Dettingen			78	8	13	99
1744		1	— 1	89	5	2	98
1745	Fontenoy, May 1. Jacobite rising	1	— 1	34	9	2	45
1746	April, Culloden			90	4	4	98
1747		French successes on land; English on sea			36	6	2	44
1748	Oct., Peace of Aix la Chapelle	3	— 3	114	8	12	134
1749				64	9	7	80
1750		1	— 1	68	13	2	83
1751		112	— 4	63	10	5	78
1752		152	— 8	72	19	7	98
1753		14	— 5	96	19	6	121
1754		12	— 3	109	5	8	122
1755		2	— 2	73	3	7	83
1756				59	10	11	80
1757	Seven years' war begins with fighting in Europe, America and India	1	— 1	56	29	8	93

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.		Total of			
				1	2	3	4
1758				87	8	2	97
1759		6	— 6	73	7	16	96
1760	Oct. 25, George II. dies	515	—11	78	8	15	101
1761		2421	— 9	93	7	3	103
1762	War with Spain also			76	5		81
1763	Feb. 10, Peace of Paris	1	— 1	69	4	6	79
1764		2	— 2	85	6	19	110
1765		611	— 8	85	13	3	101
1766		152	— 8	111	3	1	115
1767		18	— 9	104	7	1	112
1768		1	— 1	69	6	3	78
1769		615	—12	105	8	2	115
1770		65	—11	122	24	2	148
1771		376	—16	108	6	13	127
1772		1	— 1	110	14	1	125
1773		11152	—10	112	14	13	139
1774		1	— 1	122	3	6	131
1775	April, War of Independence begins	3811	—13	122	7	5	134
1776	July, Declaration of Independence	2	— 2	91	21	13	125
1777		61	— 7	98	8	2	108
1778	France joins in the War	1	— 1	74	4	4	82
1779	Spain also joins	1261	—10	111	4	2	117
1780	{ June, Gordon riots { Dec., War with Holland }	11	— 2	67		2	69
1781		11	— 2	82	7	5	94
1782	Nov. 30, Peace with U.S.	561	—12	96	10		106
1783	Jan. 20, Peace of Versailles	61	— 7	77	6	2	85
1784				83	4	2	89
1785		2	— 2	104	3	9	116
1786				68	1	1	70
1787		16	— 7	94	3	2	99
1788	George III. mentally affected			64	6	7	77
1789	{ Feb., George III. recovers { French Revolution begins }	256	—13	103	1	4	108
1790				94	15	1	110
1791	July, Birmingham riots	111	— 3	67	7	2	76
1792	French repel the Duke of Brunswick			66	1	4	71
1793	{ Jan. 21, Louis XVI. executed { Feb. 3, French Republic declares { war against England & Holland }			66	10	2	78
1794	French conquer Holland			75	4	1	80
1795	Sedition and riots in England	61	— 7	61	4	2	67
1796	Spain joins France	1	— 1	55	6	5	66
1797	{ Feb., specie payments suspended { until 1821. Mutinies in the Navy }			56		2	58
1798	Aug. 2, Aboukir	2	— 2	78	3		81
1799	{ Attempt to recover Holland fails { Rebellion in Ireland }			68	2		70
1800	Armed neutrality formed	111	— 3	47	5	2	54
1801	{ April 2, Attack on Copenhagen { War in Egypt }	11	— 2	45	3	2	50
1802	March 28, Peace of Amiens			86	3	3	92

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.	Total of					
			1	2	3	4		
1803	May 12, War renewed	11 — 2	86	7	1	94		
1804		1 — 1	87	13	1	101		
1805	Invasion feared. Trafalgar, Oct. 21	11 — 2	50	2	1	53		
1806		1 — 1	75			75		
1807	{ War with Turkey. July 7, Tilsit. } { Sept. 8, Copenhagen captured }	1 — 1	81			81		
1808	{ Spanish resist seizure by } { Napoleon } { Peninsula War begins }	11 — 2	113	4	4	121		
1809		11 — 2	77	11	2	90		
1810		11 — 2	68	15	9	92		
1811		1117	—10	73	10	2	85	
1812	June, U.S. declare war	611 — 8	77	2	1	80		
1813		1811 —13	61	1		62		
1814	{ April, Great War over } { Dec. 14, Peace with U.S. }	11 — 2	87	1		88		
1815	War, March to June, Waterloo	161182	—19	58	4	5	67	
1816		1 — 1	51	10		61		
1817			39	6	7	56		
1818		2281	—13	63	3		66	
1819		1 — 1	77	5	3	85		
1820			88	10	3	101		
1821		May 1, Specie payments resumed		56	11	4	71	
1822			1 — 1	57	4	1	62	
1823				85	11	12	108	
1824			1 — 1	62	15	10	87	
1825			11111	— 5	144	5	4	153
1826			111 — 3	117	8	4	129	
1827	*Navarino		181 —10	76	5	5	86	
1828			11 — 2	88	6	6	100	
1829			11 — 2	71	5	6	82	
1830				61	9	2	72	
1831				55	3	3	61	
1832			1121 — 5	57	3	4	64	
1833	114 — 6	39	6	5	50			
1834	111 — 3	35	1		36			
1835		20	1	11	32			
1836	11 — 2	31		2	33			
1837	16 — 7	38	2	4	44			
1838	1111 — 4	46	3	2	51			
1839	81211 —13	56	1	1	58			
1840	12 — 3	70	9	3	82			
1841	11 — 2	84	2	4	90			
1842	1112 — 5	75	9	7	91			
1843	1111 — 4	58	1	2	61			
1844	116 — 8	102	3	8	113			
1845	1 — 1	70	8		78			
1846	51 — 6	38	9	4	51			
1847	12 — 3	74	4	2	80			
1848	Chartist riots	1 — 1	51	3	3	57		
1849		311 — 5	74		11	85		
1850		1111 — 4	67	1	13	81		

Years.	Events.	Sussex Bells. Details and Total.		Total of			
				1 Accurate Counties			
				2 Somerset			
3 Glo'ster							
				4 All Counties			
				1	2	3	4
1851	Exhibition in Hyde Park	1	— 1	41	0	5	46
1852		11	— 2	46	7	3	56
1853		1161111	—12	79	8	3	90
1854	Crimean War	11	— 2	53	13	3	69
1855	Ditto. Peace at end of year	81	— 9	65	2	2	69
1856		11	— 2	75	2	2	79
1857	Indian Mutiny	11	— 2	51	2	8	61
1858		11	— 2	62	8	3	73
1859		1	— 1	64	6	2	72
1860		1	— 1	48	4	3	55

This table enables us to trace in many cases the influence of public events on the bell-founding business and thus to estimate the extent to which the internal affairs of the country were affected by its foreign relations. It will be seen that domestic troubles produced far more effect than foreign wars. Some irregularities can also be explained by the private circumstances of bell-founders. We can account for the extra numbers of bells in Sussex in 1665, 1712 and 1724 by the fact that certain itinerant bell-founders visited Sussex in those years. A more striking result was produced by the fact that Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, established a branch foundry in Devonshire in 1825 and maintained it there for a few years. The Devonshire record from 1819 to 1831 runs as follows:—

1819	.....	0	1826	.....	48
1820	.....	2	1827	.....	26
1821	.....	3	1828	.....	14
1822	.....	7	1829	.....	15
1823	.....	17	1830	.....	5
1824	.....	4	1831	.....	3
1825	.....	19	1832	.....	3

With respect to the illustrations appended to this paper, all subsequent to Fig. 32 have been drawn from tracings of rubbings. These necessarily omit many details, and often fail to show the base on which the letters rest. In most cases, however, the letters rest on bases.

NOTE ILLUSTRATING THE MATTERS DISCUSSED ON
PP. 24 TO 32 SUPRA.

While this article has been in course of being printed, our learned Editor has called my attention to the fact that a document is preserved at the Record Office mentioning John Sturdy, and Henry Jordan, of whom accounts will be found on pp. 24 to 32 above.

The reference to the document is Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 26, No. 567. A few words of it are illegible, but the rest reads as follows:—

To the full reverent and holy fader in God my full good and gracious lord Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England.

Beseecheth mekely youre contynuell oratour John Vyncent Belmaker That where the same youer beseecher being in covenant and service with John Sturdy late of London Belmaker now dede in the xxvii yere of King Henry the Sixth oon Herry Jurdan Fishmonger desired many times to have had youre said beseecher into his service fro the service of the forsaid John Sturdy And youre said beseecher wolde not concent therto but said he was bounde by endenture to the same John Sturdy and wolde not breke his covenant and then the same Herry seyng that he coude not have hym by that means lent your said beseecher xliiii^s viiii^d to thende that he wolde by such meanys out of the service of the said John Sturdy and so contynually staved and desired hym afterwards to have hym mys his service but youre beseecher alway refused it and then the same Herry seyng that he coulde by no means have hym into his service he desired your beseecher that he shulde avoyde and not to serve nether the said John Sturdy nor hym and if he wolde so do the said Herry wolde pardon hym of all the said money And so upon that by the stevyng and exorting of the same Herry youre said beseecher avoyded oute of the service of his said maister ageynst all right where he hath wandered sith in many cuntrees and lost his tyme by many yeres onto his unportable hurt And where nowe late an other servant of the said John Sturdy metyng w^t youre said beseecher in the cuntree brought hym ageyn into London to fulfille his service The said Herry hath nowe take an accion of dette ageynst youre said beseecher for the said money ageynst all right and conscience considering that he was pardoned and released thereof by the said Herry in the fourme aforsaid And also he hath take ageynst youre beseecher an other accion of statute of labourer where he oweth him no service nor never made a covenant of service w^t hym Wherefore please it youre good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly considered and upon examynacion of the said matters to denie and justifie theryn as good faith and conscience shall require for the love of God and in way of charitey.

The facts underlying this document probably are, that Henry Jordan befriended John Vincent, lending him money and procuring him a post in John Sturdy's workshop; that John Vincent failed to repay the loan, and Henry Jordan then suggested that as he could not pay in cash he should pay by working for him, Henry Jordan; that John Vincent was not willing to pay either way, and went away from London altogether, but after some years was brought back by circumstances; and that Henry Jordan then sued him; and that John Vincent thereupon had recourse to the known expedient of asking the Lord Chancellor to stay the action on the ground that he had an equitable defence to it; and that for that purpose he perverted the facts into the extraordinary story told in his petition.

As this petition is addressed to the Bishop of Winchester, it must have been presented between the 11th of October, 1456, and the 7th of July, 1460, while William Waynfilet, Bishop of Winchester, was Lord Chancellor.

The date given for the negotiation with Harry Jordan is the 27th year of Henry VI., which extended from August 31st, 1448, to August 31st, 1449. According to our calculation given above (p. 26), Henry Jordan's mother-in-law, Johanna, was then the wife of John Sturdy. We also placed the death of John Sturdy in 1455; and we see that he was dead at the time of the presentation of the petition. John Vincent's talk of returning to John Sturdy's service after his death is intelligible, if his widow was carrying on the business, as we have estimated that she did until 1464. Also the fact that Henry Jordan is called a fishmonger, while John Sturdy and John Vincent are called Belmakers, tells in favour of the view that Henry Jordan was not a bell-founder at the date of the petition or at any prior date.

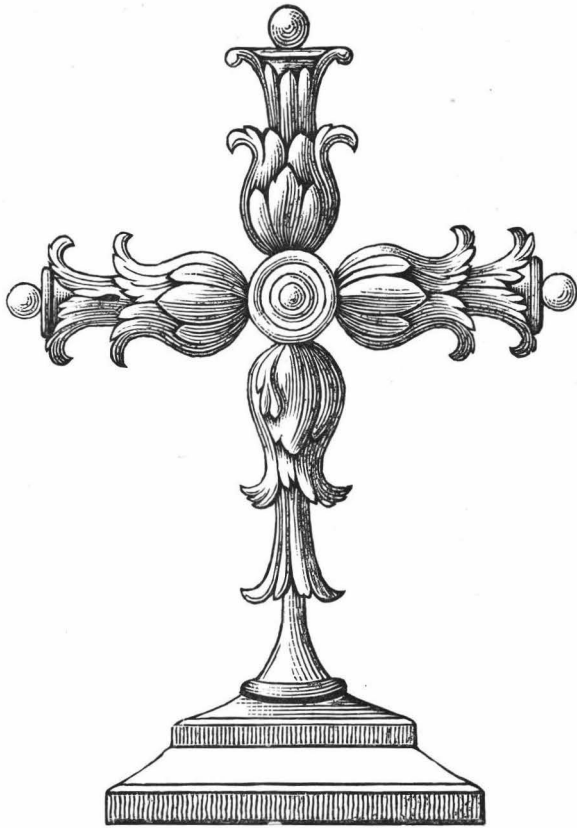


PLATE I. 1.
John Tonne's Large Cross.

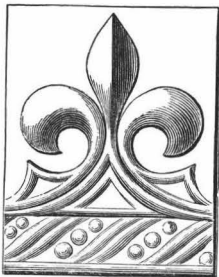


PLATE I. 2.

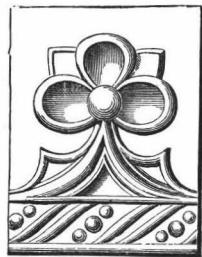


PLATE I. 3.

John Tonne's Ornamental Stops.

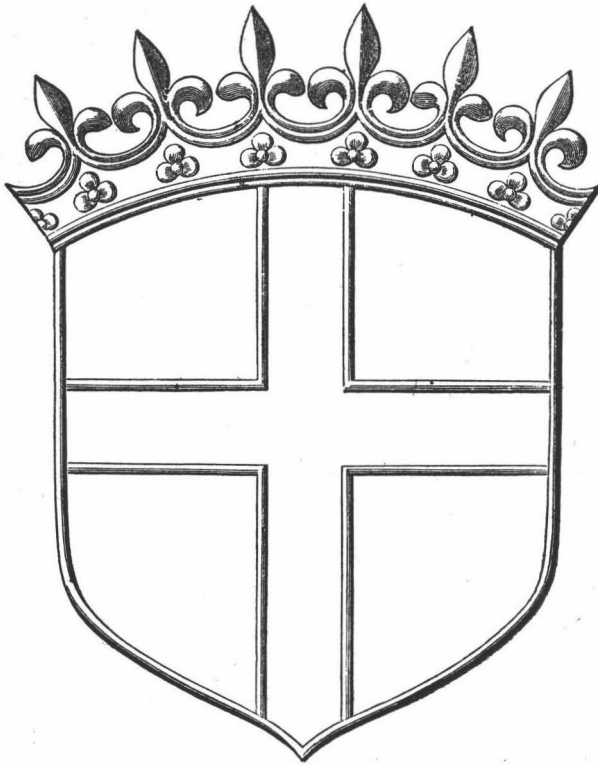


PLATE II. 1.
Shield used by John Tonne
on Rotherfield 3rd.

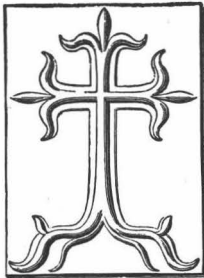


PLATE II. 2.
Curved Cross.

John
Tonne's.

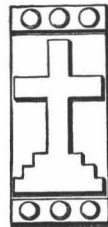


PLATE II. 3.
Straight Cross.

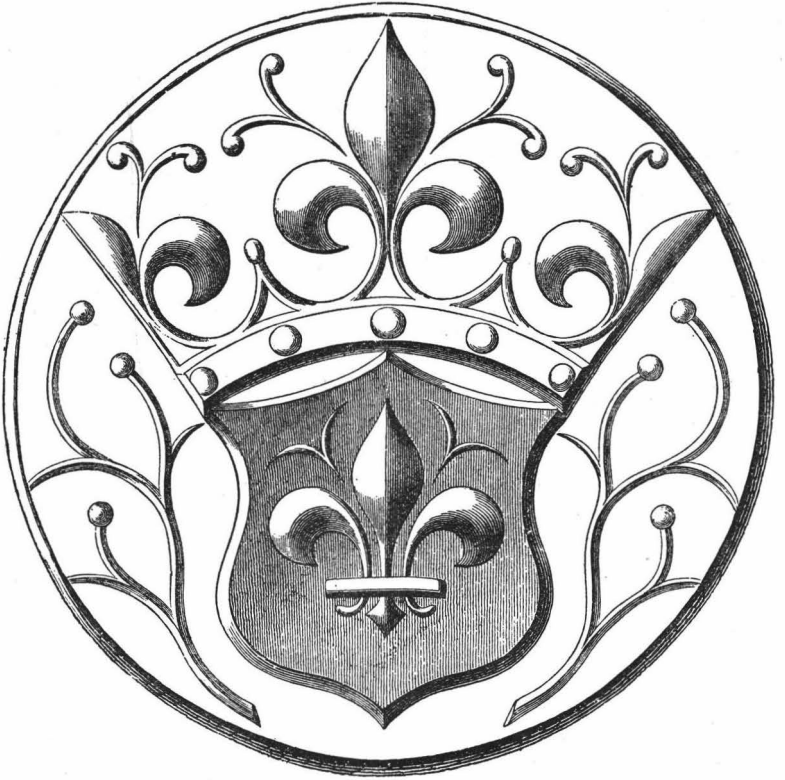


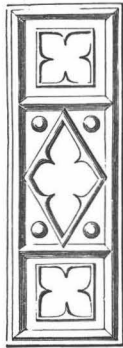
PLATE III.

Ornament used by Thomas Wakefield.

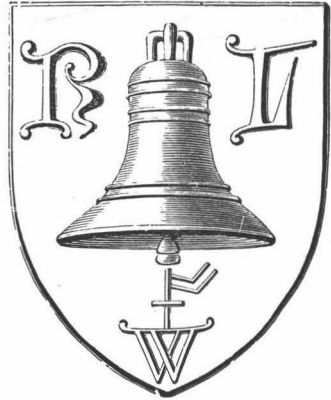
PLATE IV.



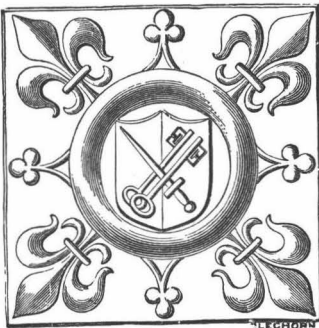
1. Walter Wimbis's
Cross on 1st
at Kingston by
Lewes.



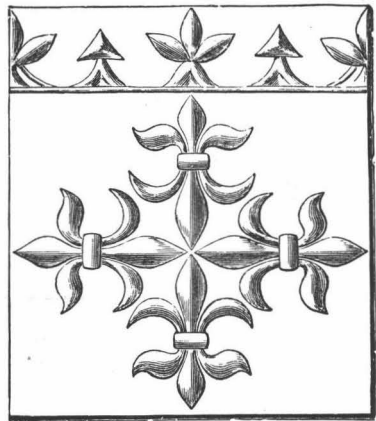
2. Stop
on 2nd at
Findon.



3. Shield of Roger Landen
of Wokingham.

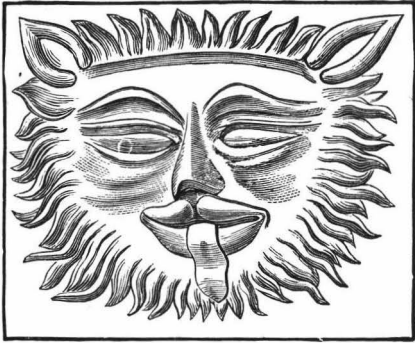


4. Stamp with Arms of
Chertsey Abbey.

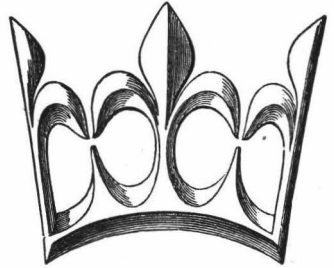


5. Wokingham Cross.

PLATE V.



6. Wokingham
Broad Face.



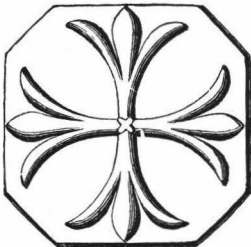
7. Crown used by
William Burford.



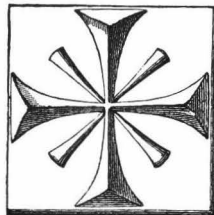
8. W. Burford's
Fleur-de-lys.



9. Barnham Leaf.



10. Cross on
Kingston 2nd.

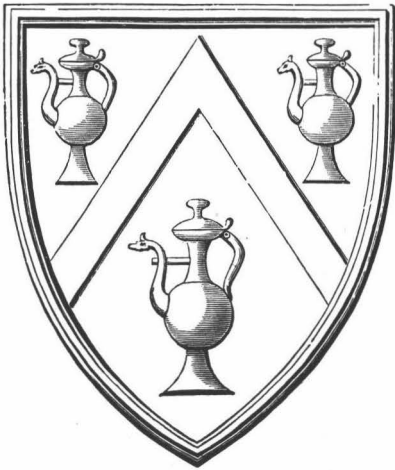


11. Cross on
Kingston 3rd.



12. Crown on initials of
Alciston 1st.

PLATE VI.



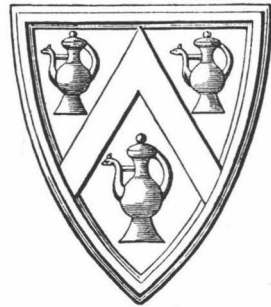
13. Large Laver Shield.



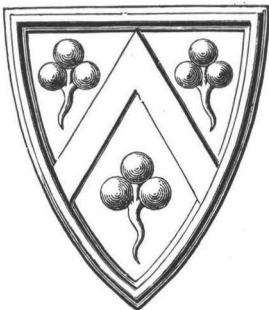
14. William Foundor's Cross.



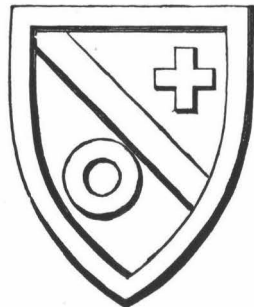
15. William Foundor's Stamp.



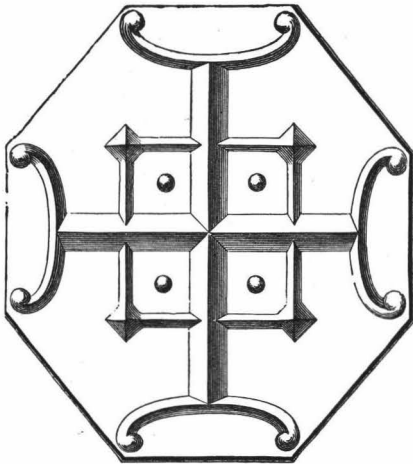
16. Small Laver Shield.



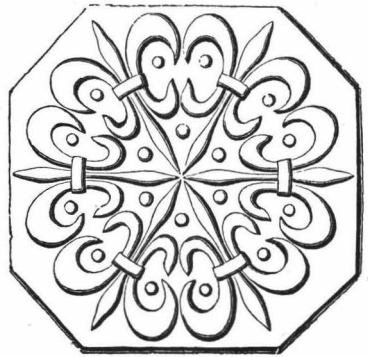
17. Trefoil Shield.



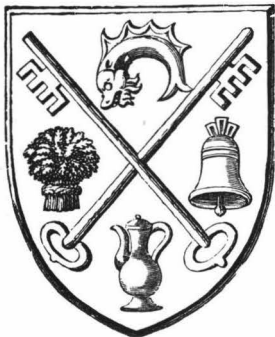
18. Cross and Ring Shield
Richard Hille's.



19. Catsfield Large Cross.



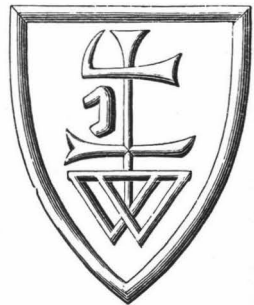
20. Six Fleurs-de-lys Stamp.



21. Cross Key Shield.



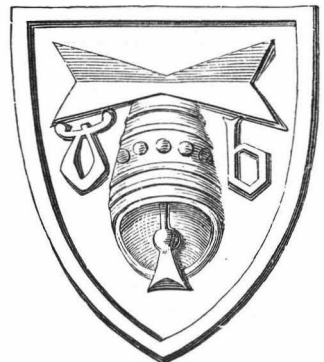
22. Banner Shield.



24. Balcombe Shield.



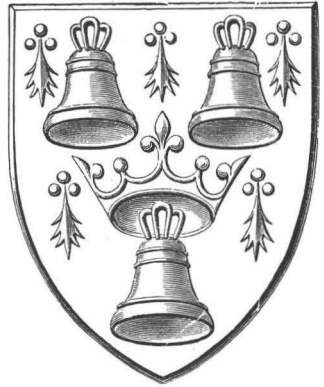
23. Mersey Medallion.



25. Large T b Shield.



26. Robert Mott's Stamp.



27. Richard Brasyer's Shield.



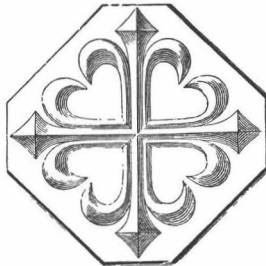
28. R. Mott's Small Stamp.



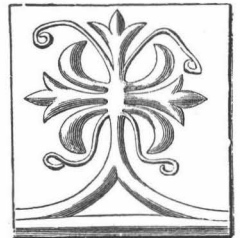
29. Joshua Kipling's Stamp.



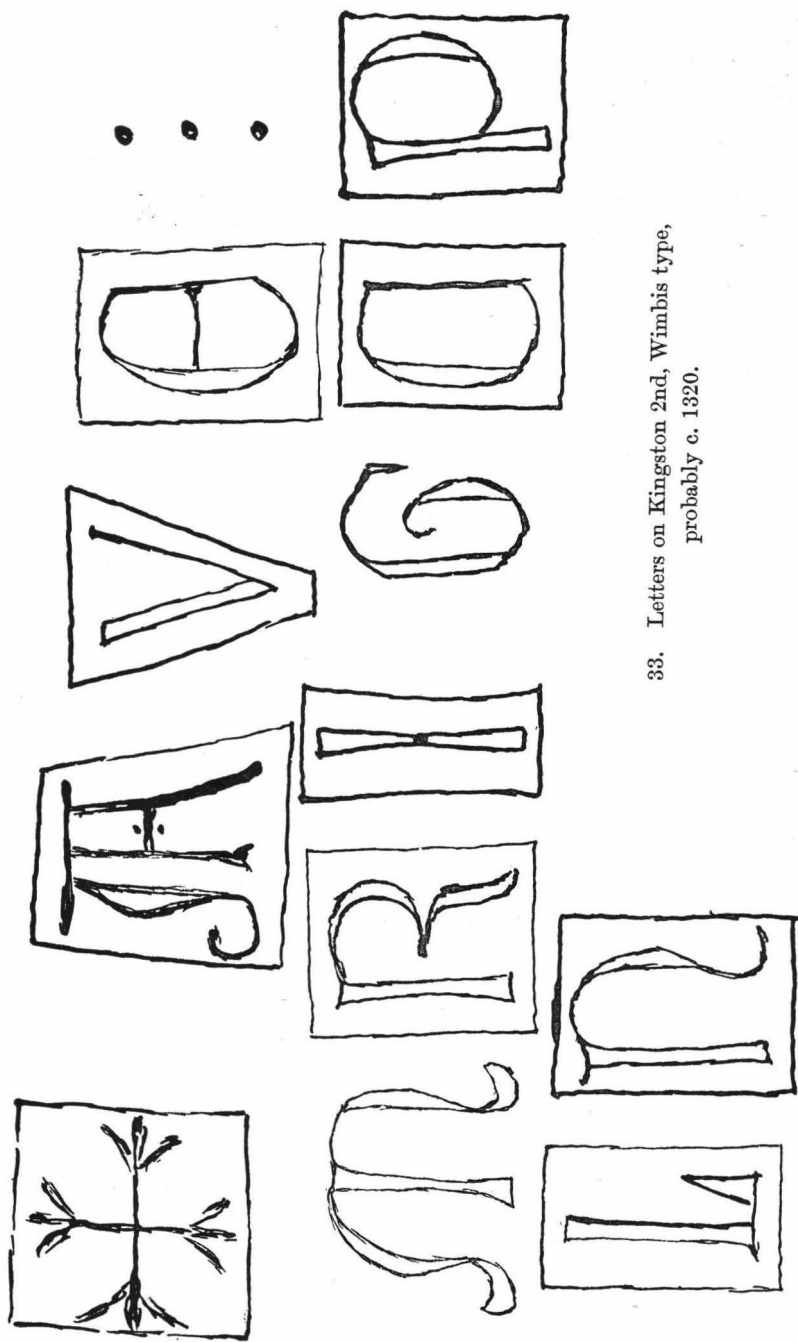
31. Royal Arms.



30. Litlington Cross.



32. Brede Stamp.



33. Letters on Kingston 2nd, Wimbis type, probably c. 1320.

† : A B C D E
G H I R I I I
O P R S T U X F



A F

E



M R

I D

S

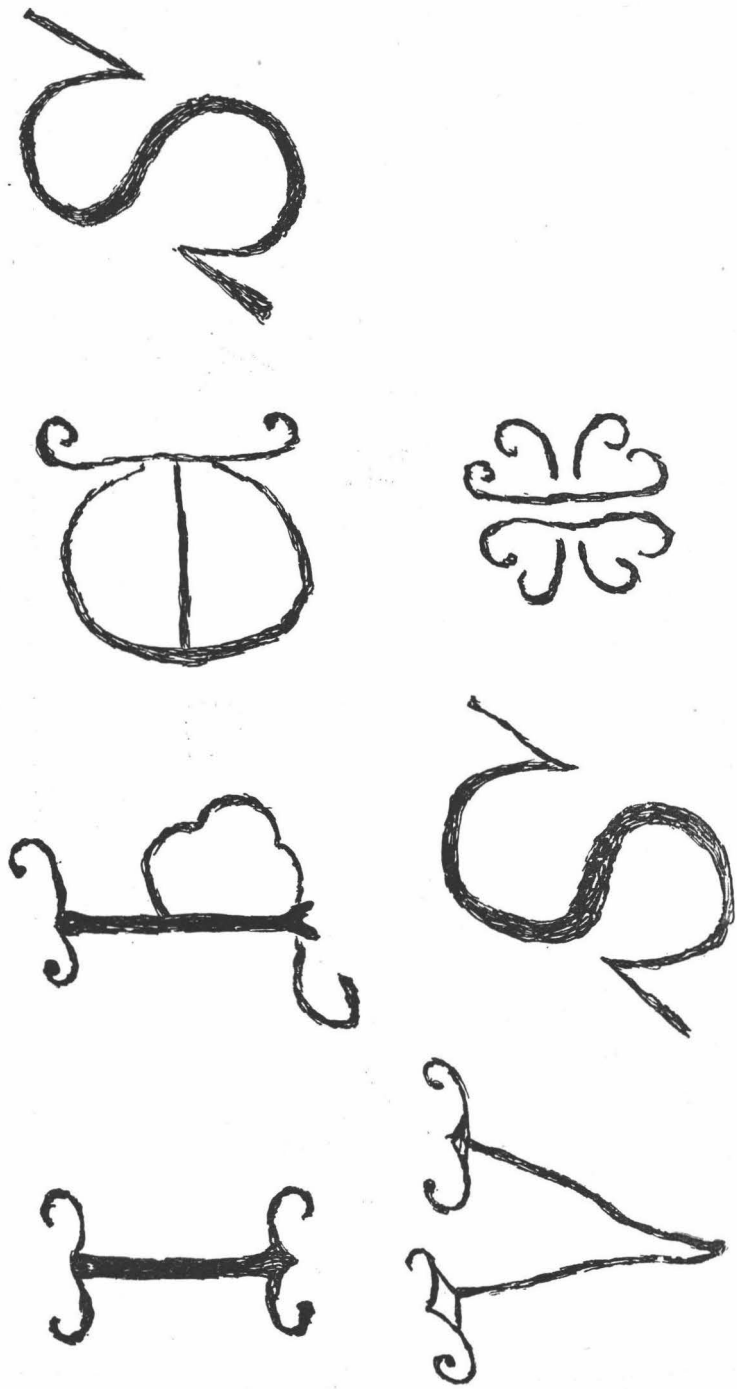
P

L

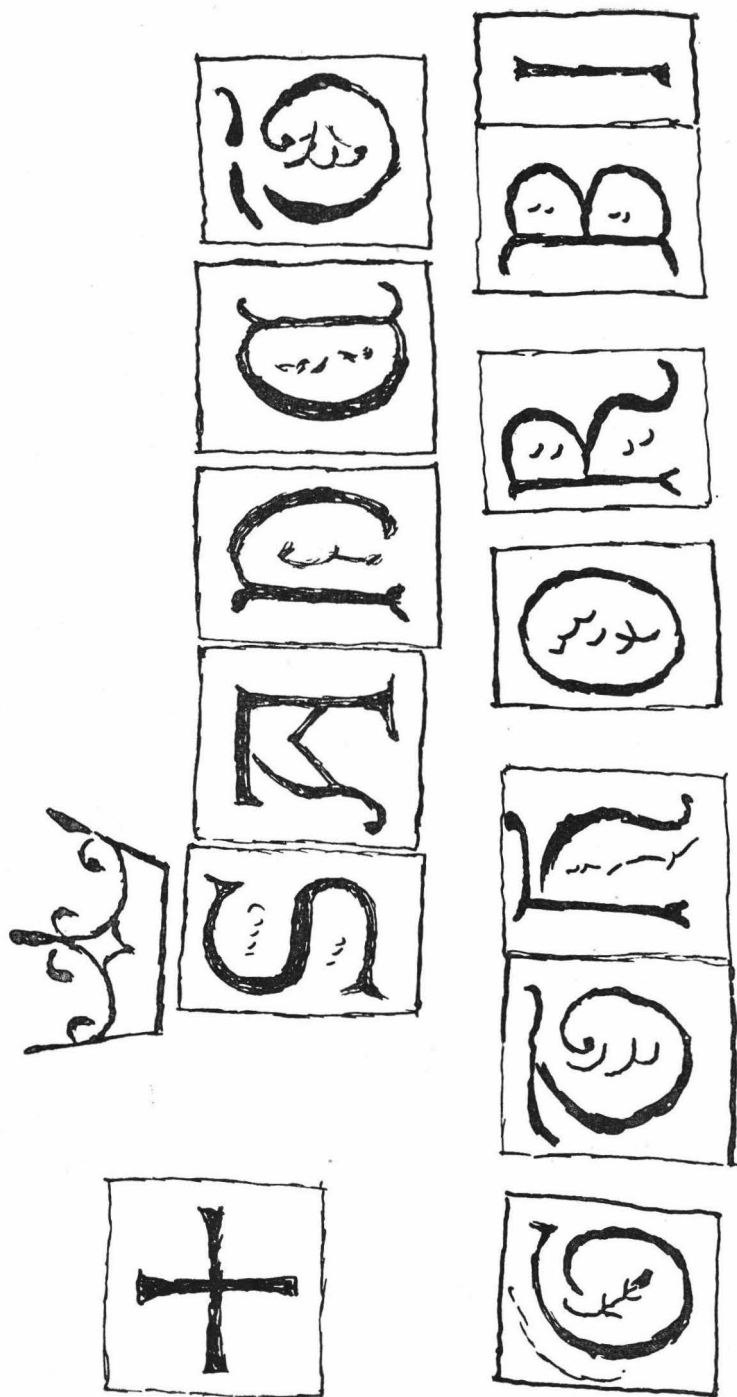
N

T

35. Letters and Stamps on 4 bells at Barnham, Fittleworth, Chichester S. Peter, and N. Mundham, probably c. 1350.



36. Letters on a bell at West Thorney, probably c. 1250,
the oldest inscribed bell in Sussex.



37. Letters on a bell at Alciston, unique, probably c. 1380.

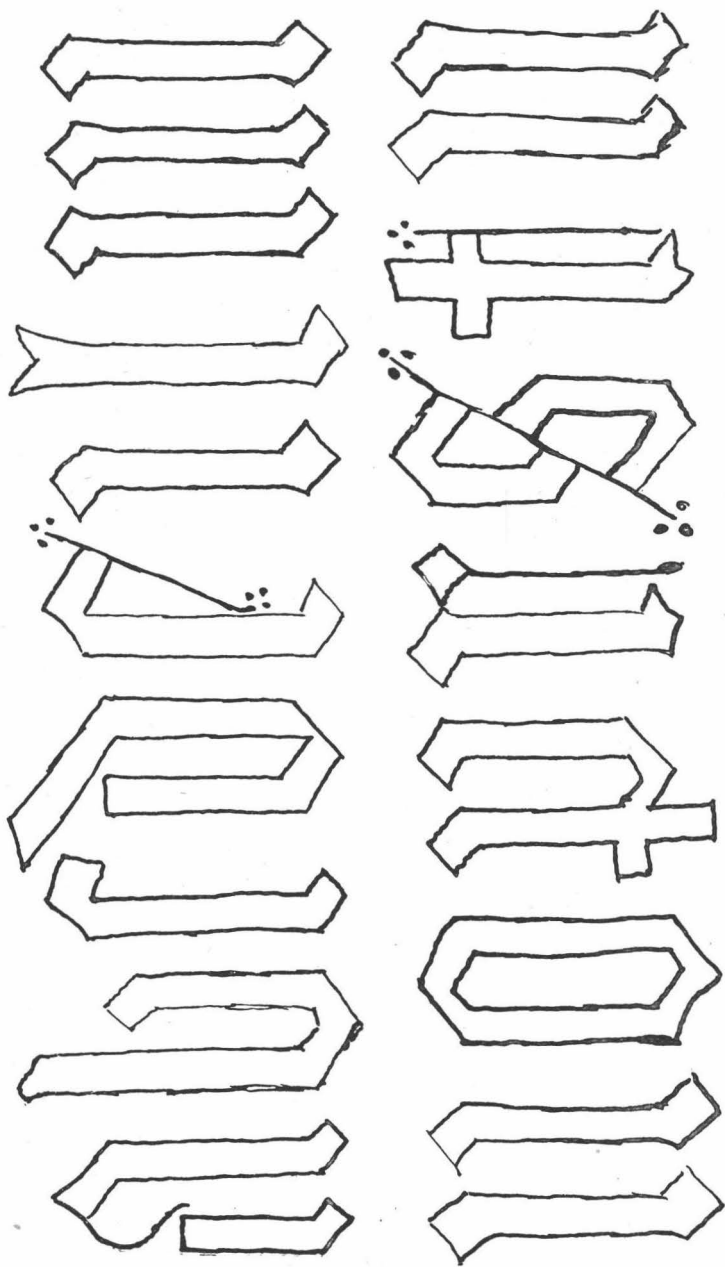
A O E O I U O

N D R U †

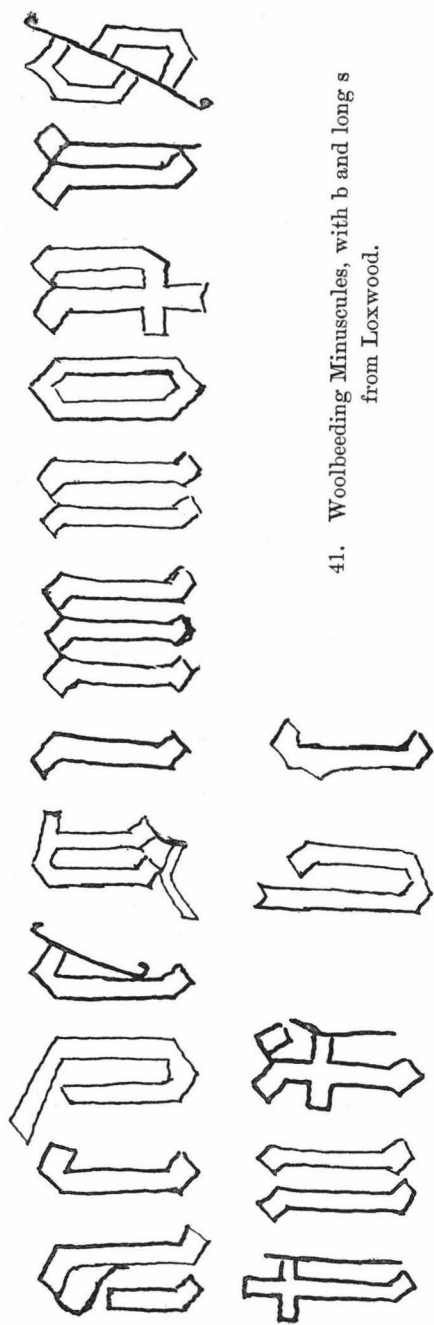
38. Letters on a bell at Ashington, unique, possibly c. 1270.

S A N D T A +
O R B I S

39. Letters on Kingston 3rd, unique, probably c. 1360.



40. Catsfield Minuscules.



41. Woolbeeding Minuscules, with b and long s
from Loxwood.



42. T H and + on a
bell at Hove.

a b c e g i l
u u o p r
s c t v x h

43. Chilington Minuscules.

A b c l m n
o p r s s t u

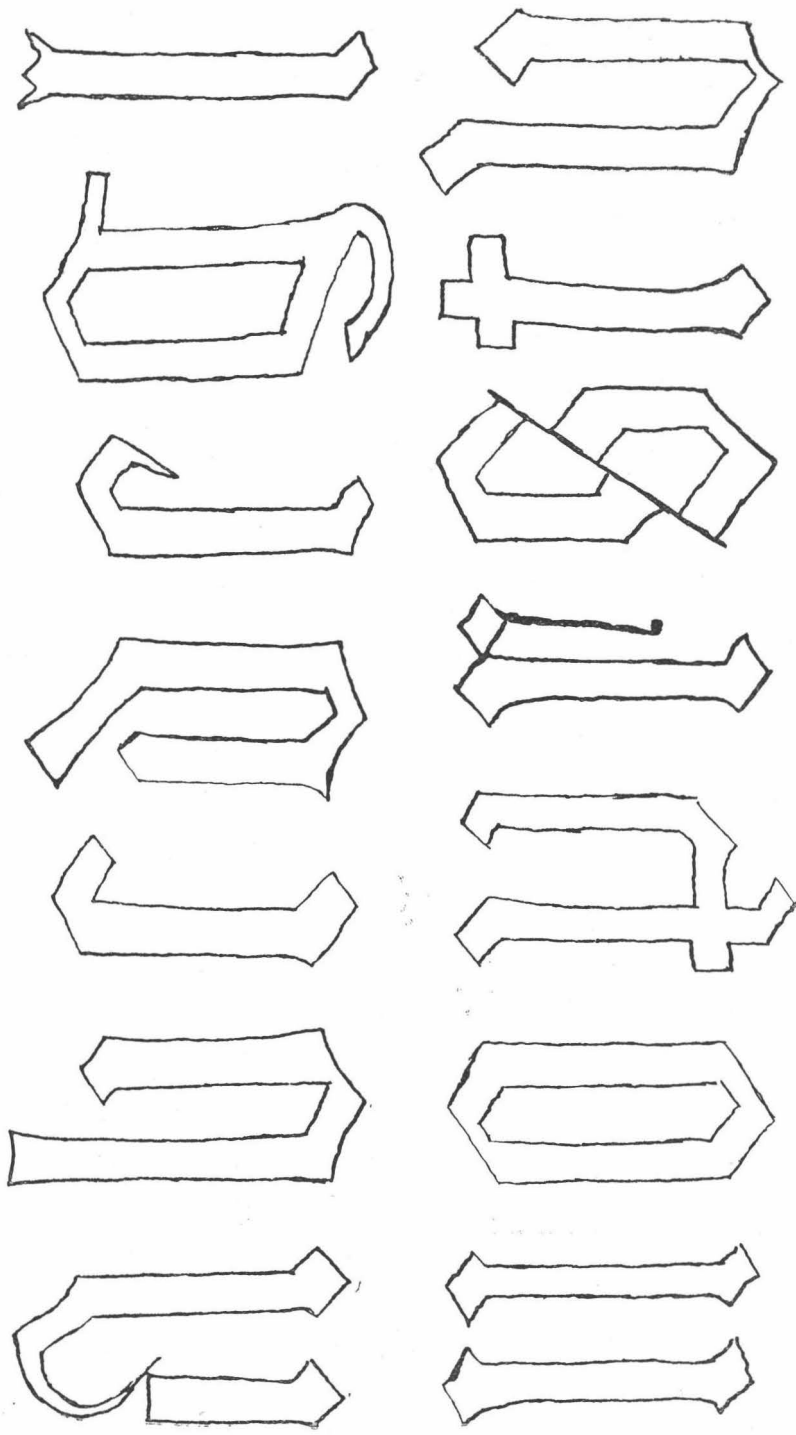
44. Elstead Minuscules.

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o
 p q r s t u v w x y z

45. Graffham Minuscules.

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o
 p q r s t u v w x y z

46. Guestling Minuscules.



47. Kirdford Minuscules.



48. Flaw on the 4th bell at S. Nicholas, Feltwell, Norfolk, a Norwich bell of the 15th century, showing how the wax letters on the clay model of the bell were displaced by the superposition of the clay to form the cope.

☩ I O S I A S T M A
S : A T D A V S T : M
D : F D O L O

49. Inscription on a bell at Southease, probably c. 1270.

A B C A F I R M T

50. Letters on a bell at Albourne, probably by Adam le Poter, of London, c. 1282-1307.

R O B A T V S I
D M F A



51. Letters on a bell at Ford, by Robert Rider, 1351-1386.

HASTINGS CASTLE, 1050—1100, AND THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY.

BY THE HON. F. H. BARING.

No traces have been found of a Roman camp at Hastings on Castle Hill; there may have been prehistoric earthworks, but it is uncertain. Though the Saxon town is generally mentioned simply as "Hastings," in the old list called the Burghal Hidage (*circa* 900) "Haestingeceastre" has the service of 500 hides attached to it, and in Aethelstan's Edict of Greatley it has a mint (928); the same name is used once by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (D) in 1050, and once by the Bayeux Tapestry. But often, if not always, the Saxon "*ceastre*" meant not a castle or a mere fort, but a town enclosed by a wall of timber or sometimes of stone, and Hastingeceastre appears to mean the walled or stockaded town of Hastings.¹ A castle or fort of some kind was made by Harold on the hill at Dover, but there seems no reason to think that there was any Saxon fortification on Castle Hill at Hastings. There was apparently none a little before 1066, for it was said that, when in Normandy, Harold swore to hand over the castle at Dover "and also *other* 'castra' to be built where William *should* order,"² and no castles seem to have been built after this (alleged) oath, at all events none at Hastings, for while the castle at Dover is specially noticed in the earliest accounts of the Conquest, none is mentioned at Hastings.

In 1066 William of Jumièges (vii., 34) tells us that the Normans, landing at Pevensey on September 28, "at once made a strong fortification (*castrum firmissimo*

¹ See Mr. Round's paper in *Archæologia*, LVIII., 322 (1902).

² William of Poitiers, 108-9: "Castrum Doveram, studio atque sumptu suo communitum, item per diversa loca illius terrae alia castra, ubi voluntas ducis ea firmari juberet."

vallo), and then pressing on to Hastings immediately (*cito opere*) established another one there," say on the 30th. The meaning of "castrum" in the eleventh century varies,³ but the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that the Normans, landing at Pevensey, "as soon as they came (*sona thaes hi fere waeron*) made a *castel* at Haestingaport," and "*castel*" is the word used in the Chronicle for the new castles of the Normans. It is now well established that, with few exceptions, these castles consisted of a timber-walled bailey, or two such baileys, and a timber keep, generally on a more or less artificial mound or "*motte*."⁴ The Tapestry shows such a mound and timber castle being raised, with the title "ordered that a castle should be *thrown up* at Haestingaceastre" (*ut castellum foderetur*), the Battle Abbey Chronicle (1176-96) mentions that this castle was of timber, and Wace describes how William landed from his ships the timber for it ready cut. Very likely there was also a stockade in front of the ships.

But where was this castle at Hastings placed? It is generally assumed that it was on the top of Castle Hill, but this is mainly assumption based on the natural attraction of that striking site—there is no real evidence for it. William of Poitiers tells us that after the battle, before starting on October 19 for Romney and Dover, William "put Hastings in charge of an active commander," and Orderic mentions incidentally at the end of 1068 "Humphrey de Tilleul who had been in charge of the castle at Hastings from the first day it was built."⁵ But, though the commander of the 19th October, 1066, presumably took over the castle set up on the 30th September, there is nothing that need identify that castle with Castle Hill. Even if the castle of 1068 was on Castle Hill, that of 1066 may still have been on a different site and removed within a few months, for Orderic, who wrote 50 years later, may not have been

³ Mrs. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, 69, 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24: It does not here matter whether such castles were always Norman, or always on a "*motte*." For "*castel*" see A. S. Chron. (D), 1052, 1067-9, 1075-6.

⁵ William of Poitiers, 139; Orderic, iv., 4. (512B).

thinking of the 1066 castle at all, as he does not mention it at the Conquest, saying only that William "occupied Hastings." Or it may well be that the castle of 1068 was the one built in September, 1066, but was *not* on Castle Hill, the castle there having been built by Count Robert of Eu, to whom the rape was granted in 1068-70.

All the chroniclers treat the castle of September, 1066, as erected immediately William reached Hastings, so possibly the town had not yet surrendered; but in any case a castle which was to "protect his ships and secure his retreat"⁶ could hardly be on Castle Hill. If William lost the inevitable battle and was pursued to Hastings by a victorious English army, a castle on the top of Castle Hill would be of little use to the defeated Normans. A castle there, when surrounded by the enemy, would not give much protection to the ships 180-ft. below or to a re-embarkation in them, even if they were in the haven at the foot of the hill, while William probably thought it safer to leave them drawn up on shore a little to the west, for their station is called "*navalia*," not "*portum*," and the context seems to suggest that it was a little away from the town.⁷ We may doubt whether the port or little creek would have been a good position for the ships, for even if they could all get into it, which is unlikely, it was probably a tidal harbour, and even at high tide they would take time to get out again—they would probably get to sea much quicker if drawn up on the shore.

The Norman army could not be encamped on Castle Hill. There were not 60,000 men, which is only a common mediæval phrase for "a great many." There could hardly be more than 8,000 to 10,000,⁸ but even 5,000 would hardly be satisfied with the water supply on Castle Hill, though there is a tiny spring near the top of it and

⁶ William of Poitiers, 129, see note 11.

⁷ "Dum custodiam navium viseret Dux (at Hastings), indicatum est forte spatianti prope navalia monachum Haroldi legatum adesse." William of Poitiers, 128.

⁸ *English History*, Rev., XX., 65, Sir James Ramsay only allows William 5,000 men, *Foundations of England*, II. 24. For the merely descriptive use of "60,000" see Round, *Feudal England* 290; in the *Chanson de Roland* Charles has 60,000 trumpeters! (§ 184, l 2, 110).

some water could be got by digging down 5 or 6 feet. In 1066 that hill extended further south than it does now, but it runs back from the coast in a narrow ridge, so that any considerable camp there would stretch away from the seashore. It is practically certain that what is now called the "Old Town," in the Bourne valley on the east of Castle Hill, being in the manor of Brede, was the "*new burg*" of Domesday, f. 17a, attached to the manor of Rameslie or Brede, held then and later by the Abbey of Fécamp. On the west of Castle Hill a tidal creek ran up (past the present "Memorial") close against the hill, and the flat ground now built upon to the south of the castle has been reclaimed from the sea. The (old) Hastings of 1066 was therefore not east of the hill or south of it, but must have lain west of Castle Hill, apparently west of the creek, below the church (now terrace) of St. Michael, the patron of the town, probably on land most of which has long since been washed away by the sea.⁹ This seems to be confirmed by the Pipe Rolls of 28 and 29 Henry II., which both speak of the castle as "of New Hastings" "*in operatione cast(elli) nove Hasting*" (both MSS. have "*nove*," not *novi*, as sometimes quoted). Having first established and garrisoned a castle at Pevensey, William would hardly then go past Hastings and encamp his army on the further side of it, on the east of the creek, putting Hastings and the creek between his camp and Pevensey,¹⁰ but in any case the features of the ground would compel him to put his camp west of the creek and west of the town; east of the creek would have been a curiously cramped position for 8,000 men, or even for 5,000.

Now it is not likely that, while his army lay to the west of the creek, William would place his castle to the east of the creek on Castle Hill, where it would be separated from his army both by the town of Hastings,

⁹ T. H. Cole, *Antiquities of Hastings*, pp. 13, 44, 73-9. The sea also swept away the first church of St. Clement in the "new burgh." As to the creek see *ibid.*, p. 12, and map, p. 136.

¹⁰ Part of his force probably came from Pevensey by sea, but apparently the horsemen marched by land and without difficulty ("*festinaverunt ad Hastings*," Tapestry and Will. Jum.), whether along the shore or north of the marshes is not clear.

which might be a danger in case of defeat, and also by a strip of estuary and tidal mud a mile long, for up to the eighteenth century the sea reached at high tide as far up the Priory Valley as the present engine house in Alexandra Park; ⁹ probably there was a tidal ford near the present Memorial, but that would hardly get over the difficulty. In the original accounts the castle of September, 1066, is joined to the army and the ships, and its special object is "to protect the ships."¹¹ For that purpose it was essential that the castle should stand, not 180 feet above the shore, but near the ships, in combination with the army and with any stockade in front of the ships or such other measures as were taken for their defence. Castle Hill was a splendid site for a baronial castle, but would have no attractions for William, who had an army at Hastings and was waiting to be attacked by another army. The object of the castle of September, 1066, was to assist in protecting William's ships and his base on the coast against Harold's army. This involved combination with William's other defences at Hastings (and Pevensey) and with his army of 6,000 to 10,000 men. If most of that army moved out some distance to battle it would still not move without reference to its base. After the conquest the use of a castle was different, viz., to enable a permanent garrison, small, but well entrenched in a castle, to dominate the town and, later on, to be an obstacle to the advance inland of any enemy who landed there. Castle Hill was a splendid site for a garrison, but it was not suited for William's purposes when he first landed and a castle would not be placed there before the battle. William meant to bring Harold down to meet him; he did not intend to leave the coast until

¹¹ William of Poitiers says (p. 129) "prima munitione Penevessellum, altera Hastings occupavere, quæ sibi receptaculo navibus propugnaculo, forent." On p. 148 he clearly uses *munitio* for a castle, "urbis Guentæ intra moenia munitionem construxit"—at all events the *munitio* at Hastings included the castle. The Carmen says:

"Littora custodiens, metuens amittere naves
Mœnibus et munit castraque ponit ibi;
Diruta quæ fuerant dudum castella reformat."

The last line seems to refer to Roman Pevensey.

he had won the coming battle. His object in the castle of September, 1066, was not to provide for a garrison later on, *if* he won that battle and marched away to Dover and London. The castle was built, as we have seen, immediately he reached Hastings to protect the re-embarkation of his army if Harold should prove too strong for him. Before the battle it would indeed have been strange tactics for William to divide his force or his fortifications into two parts, separated from each other by the town and the creek.

It would appear therefore that his camp and castle both lay on the west of the creek; probably the actual site of the castle, like that of the town of 1066, has long ago been washed away by the sea.¹² We could hardly expect positive evidence from the chroniclers; they could not foresee our difficulties and would not say, "though there was a high cliff, that was *not* the place where William put the castle;" but the tone of all the accounts is against a site on Castle Hill. The Battle Abbey Chronicle, compiled 1176-96, says that as soon as he reached Hastings William, "*having found a suitable position, carefully fortified it, setting up with speed a timber castle.*"¹³ Is this the way a monk, who was familiar with the later castle on Castle Hill, would speak of that striking site? Did he not rather distinguish in his mind between the castle of September, 1066, and the one he knew, not only as to material, but also as to site? In Wace also, who puts the landing at Hastings, the Normans "*sought out a good place for a castle*"¹⁴—but Castle Hill, if suitable at all, would need no seeking. Then he tells us with some detail that "they cast the material out of the ships and drew it to land, &c., &c., so that before evening the castle was finished"—but there is not a word of a striking site or of carrying the material

¹² Both Doctor Bruce (Bayeux Tapestry, p. 118) and Lower very rightly mistrusted the assumed site on Castle Hill, but the earth-marks "near the railway station" mentioned by Bruce seem rather far from the shore and would have left the town between the Normans and the sea, while those at Cuckoo Hill pointed out by Lower (*S.A.C.*, Vol. II., p. 56) are unsatisfactory.

¹³ Dux (from Pevensey), qui Hastings vocatur adiit portum, ibique, opportunum nactus locum, ligneum agiliter castellum statuens provide munivit.

¹⁴ "Par conseil firent esgarder Boen lieu a fort chastel garder," &c.

to the top of a high cliff, which would hardly have been done so quickly. Even if Wace is confusing the castle at Hastings with that at Pevensey, still the fact remains that the tradition he followed clearly made no sharp distinction between the sites of the two castles. Moreover, while the earliest authorities, William of Poitiers and the Carmen, both make very special mention of Castle Hill at Dover,¹⁵ the castle set up at Hastings in September, 1066, is, as we have seen, coupled by both of them with that at Pevensey, as if there was no particular difference between the two sites (note 11 above).

Humphrey de Tilleul may have been appointed in 1067, after the surrender of London, or he may have been the "active commander" of the 19th October, 1066, who took over the castle of the 30th September; but in either case a castle can hardly have been built on Castle Hill till after the battle. It would not be built till 1067, when William, on leaving England in March, specially charged his lieutenants to build castles; or possibly in November, 1066, by the "active commander," who might get forced labour from Hastings. It is perhaps more probable that it was not built till the Rape of Hastings was given in 1068-70 to Robert Count of Eu,¹⁶ for while Castle Hill was a finer site, the castle of September, 1066, on lower ground, would be enough to dominate the town, and may have been still the castle that Humphrey commanded in 1068.¹⁷

¹⁵ "Situm est id castellum in rupe mari contigua, quae naturaliter acuta," &c.; W. of P., 140. "Est ibi mons altus . . . castrum pendens a vertice montis;" Carmen, p. 44, l. 603.

¹⁶ Domesday Book (f. 18a, Bexelei) says the "castelry" was given him in the episcopate of Bishop Alric of Selsey," which ended in 1070, but "castelry" would cover a grant of the 1066 castle and the Rape with orders to build a larger castle on the top of the hill.

¹⁷ The supposed reference by a Battle "Register" to a castle "below the cliff" in 1094, cited by Mr. Dawson in his *History of Hastings Castle* (II., 498) from (Brit. Mus.) Burrell MS. 5679, f. 237, is due to misunderstanding. Burrell's rubric is "*Battle Abbey Register; Clarke on Coins, p. 468, note,*" and reference to the latter (1767) shows that "below the cliff, &c." (which from the ink looks like an addition to the citation of the "Register"), is quoted from a note in which William Clarke gives merely his own view of the castle's position in 1094, founded on misinterpretation of a grant of 1331 (see below, note 25). Burrell's abbreviation of Clarke's note is ambiguous and a little misleading; the "Register" is cited by Clarke, not for the castle's position, but only for the gathering at Hastings in 1094, when Battle Abbey was consecrated, and is no doubt the well-known "*Chronicle of Battle Abbey,*" translated by Lower (p. 44).

From our general knowledge of early Norman castles we may be pretty sure that the first castle on Castle Hill, though it was not the castle of September, 1066, was still not of stone, but had a timber-walled bailey with, presumably, a small timber keep on the "Mount" at the north-east corner of the present castle, and there is definite evidence of this in the ruins. The "Mount" at Hastings does not, like the mound at Pevensey, represent the ruins of a stone keep, for in the excavations of 1824 a trench was cut through it without finding any stonework.¹⁸ It consists of earth artificially heaped up on the south-western side of a hummock or out-crop of rock, so as to make a mound such as was used for their timber keeps by the Normans of the Conquest, though a small one.¹⁹ In 1824 Herbert found that the foundations of the stone wall where it passes over the "Mount" rest, not on rock, but "on large flat stones,"¹⁸ so that the wall cannot have been built till the earth of the mound had become consolidated, which would take some time.

Moreover, on the north-western side of the castle stand the ruins of the chapel of St. Mary, the north wall of the nave of the chapel forming at this point the wall of the castle. Now the chapel wall was thinner than the rest of the castle wall with which it was incorporated,²⁰ and older than that thicker wall, for if the castle wall had been built first the chapel would have been built up against it; Mr. Harold Sands points out to me a similar case at Chepstow, where the side of an early hall was incorporated with a later and thicker castle wall. It is impossible to suppose that a great piece of the stone wall of the Hastings castle was pulled down that the chapel wall might be substituted, but there was no need to thicken the chapel wall, for if the enemy broke through it they would be trapped in the nave. That the chapel

¹⁸ Herbert MS., quoted by Mr. Dawson in his *History of Hastings Castle*, II., 523, n. 1; 524, n. 2; 525.

¹⁹ It is perhaps possible that the keep or an annexe to it extended over part of the terrace which runs from the "Mount" southwards along the eastern wall of the castle.

²⁰ Of this chapel wall only the ends remain and the bottom of the rest; most of the existing wall is modern.

was the older is also shown by the way the castle wall abuts upon the pilaster buttress at the north-western corner of the nave. It is clear therefore that when the nave of the ruined chapel was built the wall of the castle must have been still of timber, not of stone, and the ruined nave, from its whole character, certainly dates from after the Conquest. At the earliest this nave was the one built by the Count Robert of Eu, who held the castle 1070-90 and attached to the chapel a college of Canons; he is called "fundator et aedificator ecclesie Sancte Marie" in the confirmation charter of Count Henry (1100-35).²¹ The nave was apparently used as the choir.

It is true that a fourteenth century petition of the college in one of their quarrels with the bishop as to his jurisdiction, from which it was claimed that St. Mary's was free as being a chapel of the King, into whose hands it had fallen in the thirteenth century, recites that the chapel "belonged to King Edward's brother," *i.e.*, Harold his brother-in-law."²² But it would be very dangerous to take this recital too seriously. The petition is 250 years after 1066 and Harold would not have a chapel on the hill unless he had built a castle there, which, as we have seen, is against the contemporary evidence. The recitals are only an *ex parte* argument by the canons, and probably the story that the chapel had belonged to Harold, even if it had become a tradition, was merely an attempt to support their contention that the chapel was a royal free chapel by pushing its origin back beyond Count Robert—not a word seems to have been said about King Edward or Harold or a pre-Conquest chapel in the arguments of the canons and the king's

²¹ Often called "The foundation charter;" it records eight prebends founded (apparently) by Count Robert and two by others. The thirteenth century copy in Ancient Deed 1073 D. seems better than the later MSS. used by Mr. Dawson (I., 21, 125); *e.g.*, its text is right here, "To the prebend of Hugh de Foscis Walter fitz Lambert granted etc., etc., and to this prebend Galfridus frater Hugonis gave the tith of Casebury, and the church of Guestling and the tith, and of Gensing the tith, and the count (gave) a dwelling in the castle; to the prebend of Ulbert (was given) the tith of Malrepat etc." The later MSS. apparently omit *comes* and *decimam*, altering the sense.

²² Ancient Petition E. 668, "Lauantditte chapelle estoit al frere le Roi saint Edward et fraunche de la corone (free as being the king's)."

lawyers in the litigation with the bishop on the same point in 1301-7.²³

A still later grant of 1446 giving the jurisdiction to the bishop speaks of the church of St. Mary in the Castle, "*quondam erecta et stabilita in ecclesiam collegiatam* by a certain Count of Eu, who formerly (*quondam*) held the castle," as having been always within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chichester "during all the time the castle was held by the said Count [Robert], both *before and after* that church was so erected and established" into a college.²⁴ This recital may be an echo of the same story, but as the grant of 1446 is drafted in favour of the bishop, whose argument was that the chapel had been originally built by Count Robert of Eu, not by any king, probably its "before and after," if it meant anything definite at all, was never intended to imply that there was either a castle or a chapel on Castle Hill before the Conquest, but at most that Humphrey de Tilleul or Count Robert had built a chapel there before the college of the canons was founded. It is, in itself, very probable that in the new timber-walled castle a chapel, perhaps also of timber, was built before 1075; Count Robert may or may not have rebuilt it, larger than before, when he founded the college of canons.

A word may be added on other difficulties which have been raised as to the chapel. It has been said that the original chapel of St. Mary must have been much larger than the existing ruins and therefore elsewhere, because Eadmer tells us that "in the church of St. Mary, which is in the castle," Robert de Bloet, the king's chancellor, was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1094 by Anselm and seven bishops.²⁵ But William Rufus was waiting in the castle to cross over to France and no doubt wanted the consecration before he left England. The ruins have a nave over 60-ft. long, which was not very small for 1094, but even if the chapel of 1094 was a smaller

²³ Dawson *op. cit.*, I., 127-8, 133-4.

²⁴ Charter Roll 189, No. 38; trans. Dawson, *ibid.*, I., 268.

²⁵ Rolls Series, No. 81, p. 47; as to this consecration see Freeman, *William Rufus*, I., 445, and Dawson *op. cit.*, I., 29-32.

one, the great men would get into it and the rest stand outside.

It has also been said that the first chapel of the College of St. Mary must have been on the shore below Castle Hill, or at least on a part of the hill since washed away, because the old chapel was destroyed "by inundations of the sea" and the chapel of the castle granted to the College in its place. But this is founded on a misreading of the grant of the castle to the College in 1331 by applying to the chapel the statement in the grant that "*inundationes maris*" had greatly damaged the *castle*. That must not be taken to mean that the sea overflowed the castle; any attack of the sea would be covered by the Latin "*inundationes*." But in fact this word, on which much has been built, was a mere "stylish" addition of the scribe who prepared the writ for the inquisition "*ad quod damnum*." The petition of the College in 1330 from which he was quoting said simply that *much* of the *castle* was "*destruit par la meer*" [clearly by the undermining of the cliff on which it stood] and its gates neglected, whereby their chapel "*in the castle*" was exposed to robbers "from lack of enclosure." The College asked the king to grant them, not the castle chapel — which they had already — but the "castle," that they might make good the "enclosure" and use the space inside.²⁶ In 1100 the point of land on which the castle stands must have extended a good bit further south than it does now, and it appears to have sloped downwards, but if any part of it then sloped right down to sea-level, which is not likely, the slope, running down from a height of over 150-ft., would be either very steep or pretty long, and in either case the wall of the castle bailey would certainly not be carried to the bottom of it; if it was steep, that would be unnecessary, and if it was long, impracticable. St. Mary's in-the-castle can never have been on the shore,

²⁶ Ancient Petition, 239/11,944; Inq. ad q. d., 221-1 (21st July, 4 Ed. III.); Patent Roll, 4 Edward III., pt. 1, m. 36; translations in Dawson, *op. cit.* I., 161-3. *Clarke on Coins*, Moss (*i.e.*, Herbert) and others misquote the Patent Roll's "*capella sita infra castrum*" as "*infra claustrum*." The mediæval "*infra*" means "*within*," not "*below*," *e.g.*, "*infra et extra*."

and there is nothing in the documents of 1330-1 to suggest that it was ever anywhere but where it is now.

The architectural history of the chapel is uncertain, its ruined condition and modern repairs rendering analysis difficult, but the following notes kindly given to me by the Rev. G. M. Livett will be useful:—

“The so-called chancel-arch has been in part rebuilt, and the thin wall between the tower-space and south chapel does not seem to be original. It is difficult also to distinguish between original work and modern rebuilding in the north wall of the nave. It is, in fact, impossible to assign with certainty any part of the existing remains to the time of Count Robert (1068-90). The slight indications of herring-bone work in the arcading of the east end of the north wall of the nave, and in its stone bench, have usually been interpreted as a sign of early Norman date; but there is similar work in the castle wall, confessedly of later date, on the north-west side, and even in the modern repairs; also in the interior of the newel staircase that rises in the angle formed by the north side of the chancel and the east end of the north side of the nave there is herring-bone masonry of a more complete character than that seen in the north wall of the nave; and it is doubtful if this newel staircase can be assigned to a date earlier than the close of the twelfth century—the date of the chancel arch—seeing that the stones of the large newel (11-in. in diameter) are faced with the chisel, in some cases with a toothed chisel, and not with the axe. It is known that the use of the broad chisel for dressing stones was introduced and became general, though not universal, in the last quarter of the twelfth century. One thing is certain, namely, that the ‘chancel-arch,’ though recently rebuilt, faithfully represents work that was done in connection with the remodelling of the eastern end of the church in 1180-1200. That remodelling seems to have included the erection of a ‘central’ tower over an earlier chancel, and the erection of a new chancel to the east of the tower. But this again is not quite certain, for it is possible that the earlier church (whether of

Count Robert's date or later) had a tower in this position, and that the remodelling included (for some reason unknown) the rebuilding of the steps and newel within the circular wall of the newel staircase, which on such a hypothesis would belong to the earlier church. I confess that such a hypothesis, involving a reconstruction of the staircase, does not commend itself to me, but it has in its favour the fact that the springing of the groin of the vaulting of the so-called chapter-house, which stood on the north side of the chancel and east of the newel, shows no sign of a groin-rib, and would therefore seem to be of an early (a Norman) date. To that point I will revert later.

“To return to the north wall of the nave. In the aisle or ‘cloister’ on the south side of the chapel, at the east end of the wall which separates it from the nave, there are remains of a recessed arch, rising from a bench, which corresponds in every detail of measurement and construction, excepting herring-bone work, with the most easterly of the recessed arches of the north wall of the nave. It is impossible to imagine any difference in date; the cloister and the south chapel to the east of it are clearly of the same date as the recessed arches of the north wall. As a working hypothesis, in view of further analysis and research, I suggest that the Norman church consisted of a short square-ended chancel with a south chapel and nave flanked by cloister; and I would add that the strengthening of the interior angles of the chapel with ashlar does not seem to point to a very early date. It is possible, of course, that all this work that we now see was grafted on to a simpler and early structure of Count Robert's date. Then I am inclined to think that the eastern development of the present plan of the church, with central tower, newel staircase, chancel and flanking building known as the ‘chapter house,’ was carried out in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The absence of groin ribs in the vaulting of the ‘chapter house’ is a difficulty. But the use of this building is by no means certain. It is in an unusual and inconvenient position for a chapter house, and its design,

apparently with a central row of shafts to support the vaulting, is uncommon. Its elevation and design really suggests an undercroft to an upper hall which was never completed. If this be a sound view the absence of groin ribs at a late date would be accounted for. In any case it seems impossible, considering its structural relation to the chancel, to assign it to a date earlier than the chancel. The only alternative is that the present chancel is a late twelfth century remodelling of an earlier chancel on the same lines, the earlier building including a central tower; and that my reading of the newel staircase is at fault. Before leaving this part of the church I should add that I have satisfied myself that a pilaster strip on the exterior face of the north wall, in line with the 'chancel arch,' does not belong to the building of the first church. Its coins are rough, but they contain a number of small squared Caen-stone blocks, which are re-used material. The fact that their present bedding faces, seen where the mortar has worn away from the joints, show a carefully faced surface of axe-work, proves that they are not in their original position; they came from some destroyed portion of the Norman church, perhaps from the old chancel arch. The object of the buttress was to resist the thrust of the western arch of the central tower, and the fact that it was an added or inserted bit of work is some confirmation of my belief that the central tower did not exist before the end of the twelfth century.

“The west end of the church also presents difficulties. The castle wall abuts upon the pilaster buttress on the west face of the north-western angle. The similar buttress on the north face has been wrenched away, doubtless for the sake of its Caen-stone quoins. These buttresses were of considerable projection (about 9-in.) and of Norman date, but probably not very early. There is a strange irregularity in the construction of the interior angle, which is not clean masonry. It is not a case of ruin or destruction; in the corner the rough masonry projects beyond the places of the two walls where they should meet at right angles; and it contains

a worked stone which appears to be a fragment of a bowl or font. Then, again, the pilaster strip on the interior face of the north wall of the nave, about 18 feet east of that irregular angle, is remarkable. Is it possible that the one Early Norman church, of which slight remains exist, perhaps, on the north wall from the pilaster eastwards, was extended westwards early in the twelfth century, and that the irregular angle incorporates some slight remains of another Early Norman building?

“We come now to the western tower, one of a pair.²⁷ My examination with a ladder leads me to the conclusion that this is a late Norman work, not earlier than the third quarter of the twelfth century, and possibly a little later, but not (I think) later than the close of that century. In the meantime, that is after the erection of the Norman church or its westward extension, and previous to the erection of this tower, the castle wall was built, as shown by the straight joint at the junction of the west wall of the tower with the castle wall.²⁸ The opening in the south side of the tower, of which the west jamb and half of the arch remain, originally about $4\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. wide, central in position (the side wall of the tower, partly destroyed, having been larger than the east and west ends), and only a few inches above the floor level of the towers upper story, had a plain round-headed arch of one order and no splay. I feel sure it was not a window, but of the nature of a door opening, though there is no rebate for a door. The floor is on a level with the rampart of the castle wall, with which the west wall of the tower in its upper stage is structurally connected, showing a door opening (now blocked) through which one could pass out of the tower on to the rampart. The round-headed

²⁷ The foundations of the twin tower were unearthed by Herbert in 1824 and by Mr. Dawson (p. 538). Seals of 1195 and 1334 (*S.A.C.*, Vol. XIII., p. 133, Dawson i., 91), though different, both give the chapel two western towers and also a central tower, but it may be doubtful how far they gave the actual chapel or only typical forms, modelled on abbeys and cathedrals.

²⁸ Moreover, this joint blocks the little loop or window of a mural passage in the castle wall. This passage is generally said to have led to a “sally-port” and Herbert in 1824 talks of steps down from it (Dawson, ii., 522), but Mr. Harold Sands points out that it was really (or originally) a latrine and has found its outlet in the bank outside the wall.

opening in the south wall of the tower, reached by a wooden ladder, would thus give access through the tower to the ramparts; and this was probably its purpose. It is constructed in rubble, with dressed edge-stones in jamb and arch. These stones are larger in size than is usual in Norman arches, but their surface is too weather-worn to reveal the character of their tooling. The little opening higher up in the west wall is a window opening that was closed with a shutter from the inside. The dressed stones of the splayed round-headed interior arch have the appearance, from a distance, of typical Norman work, but the external chamfer is rather broad. The plinth of the tower at the only remaining angle is finished with a broad-chamfered course of Caen-stone. But I do not think that this tower can be assigned to a date later than the twelfth century, and I am inclined, as I have said, to place it in the third quarter of the century.

“I would conclude these notes with the remark that the published descriptions, plans and measurements of the remains of the chapel are not altogether accurate; and that a proper analysis could only be based upon a perfectly accurate $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. or $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. plan plotted from measurements taken with the help of a string stretched from end to end, a number of points being fixed thereon and diagonals and ordinates taken from them. Such a plan would show the relationship of the different parts, and would probably suggest points for consideration which are not evident to the unaided eye.

“To sum up, I think that the following approximate dates may be taken as a basis for further study: (1) Norman church, of which the chancel has been destroyed, and there remain parts of the north and south walls of the nave, a cloister on the south, and a south chancel-chapel at the end of the cloister—1125-50; (2) the western towers—1150-75; (3) eastern extension, including (destroyed) central tower over the Norman chancel, newel stairs, new chancel and the ‘chapter house’ adjoining it—1175-1200.”

This would date the castle wall, built after the nave but before the western tower, somewhere in the middle of the twelfth century. We know from the Pipe Rolls that a stone keep, which would probably be later than the stone wall, was built or begun in 1171-4, when stone was carted "ad faciendam turrim" and £93 spent (allowing for duplication), equivalent to perhaps £2,000 now. In 1175-80 no expenditure is given. In 1182 we find £54. 16s. spent "in operatione castelli," and also £40 in 1182 and £20 in 1183 out of Berkshire receipts from Windsor, but whether these payments were to finish the keep or for other work at the castle we cannot tell.

ON STANE STREET

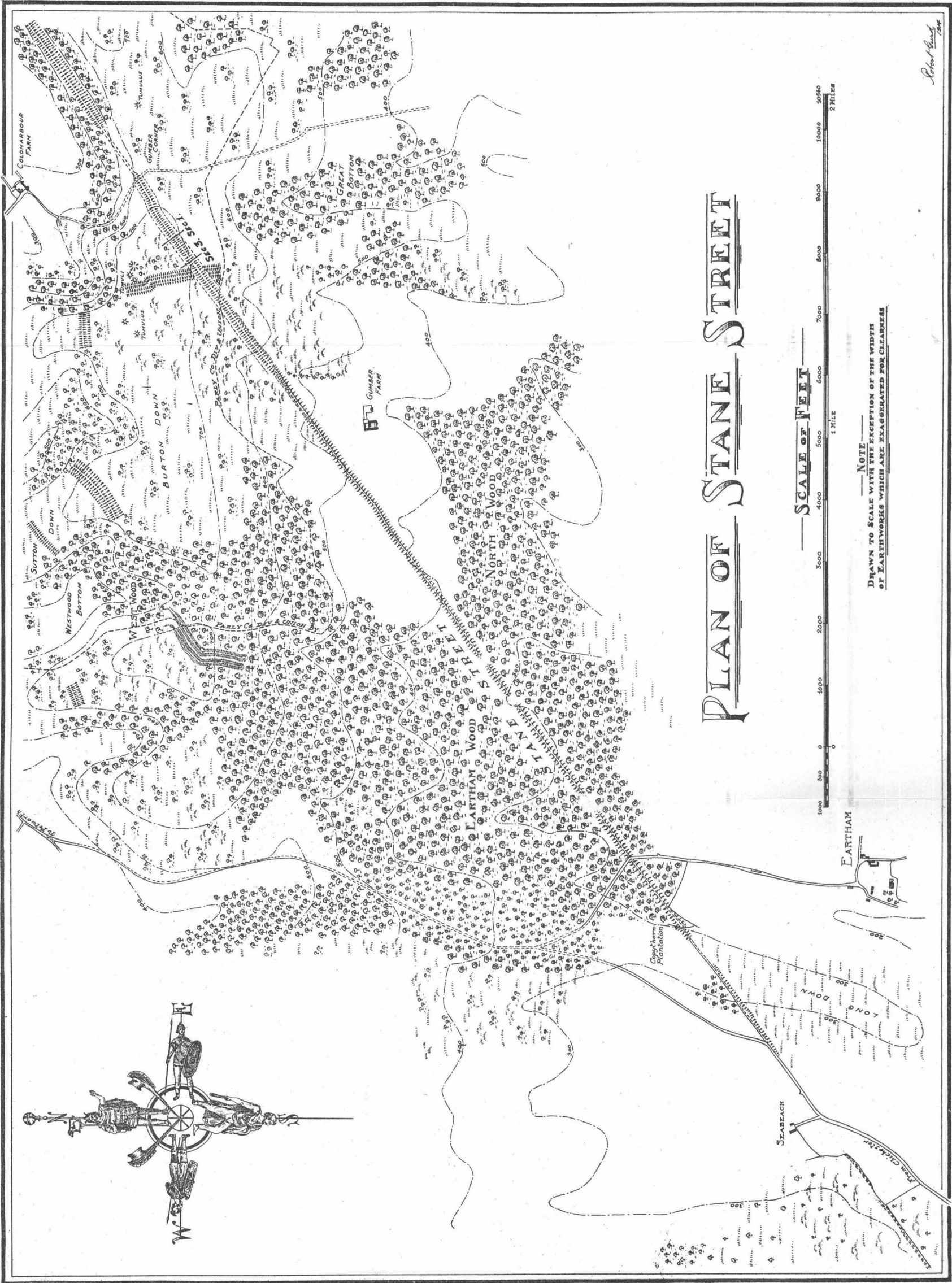
IN ITS PASSAGE OVER THE SOUTH DOWNS.

BY ELIOT CURWEN, M.A., M.B., B.C.

THE great military highway, known to us by its Saxon name of STANE STREET, was built by the Romans in order to connect London with their towns on the harbours in West Sussex and Hampshire by the nearest and most direct route. Clausentum (Bitterne) on Southampton Water, Portus Magnus (Porchester) on Portsmouth Harbour, and Regnum (Chichester) on Chichester Harbour were considerable ports of entry for the foreign auxiliaries so largely employed in garrisoning Britain, and ports of departure for the native levies who were enrolled in auxiliary cohorts and sent to serve in Gaul and elsewhere. These towns were connected by the direct road that ran from Clausentum eastwards along the coast, and the building of Stane Street opened up the shortest route between them and London.

Leaving the east gate of Chichester, Stane Street takes a direct course a little to the east of north-east, and, as Mr. Hilaire Belloc has shown,¹ covers the 57 miles of its length "not in one perfectly straight line," but in "a broken one consisting of four great straight sections." The modern main road from Chichester to Petworth almost exactly follows the line of Stane Street for $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and then just beyond Seabeach bends northward. From this point the next three miles of the Roman road passes over Long Down, where it supports a hedge; through Copythorn Plantation and North Wood, where its central vallum is easily traced, except at three stretches of soft ground in which it disappears

¹ *The Stane Street*, by Mr. Hilaire Belloc, p. 57 *et seq.*



PLAN OF STANE STREET

SCALE OF FEET



NOTE
DRAWN TO SCALE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE WIDTH
OF EARTHWORKS WHICH ARE EXAGGERATED FOR CLEARNESS

John Hunt 1844

for 480, 200 and 180-ft. respectively; across the cultivated lands of Gumber Farm, where its high ridge is flanked by a double hedge; across the rough land of the same farm, where it is again marked by a hedge; and over the high ridge of open Down to Gumber Corner on the edge of the escarpment, whence it descends to the Weald along the northern slope of Bignor Hill as a terrace 20 to 35-ft. wide.

We have in the three miles from Seabeach to Gumber Corner what is probably the best preserved section of the whole of Stane Street, for here it has neither been altered by metalling to meet the requirements of modern traffic, nor wholly obliterated by the plough. In the highest part of this stretch, between the limit of Gumber Farm at the Parliamentary County Division Boundary and Gumber Corner, the road, except for its covering of down turf, remains just as the Romans left it and presents the striking appearance of three parallel ways, for it is seen to consist of a central vallum and of two lateral side roads, each of which is flanked on its outer side by a ditch or channel. The vallum, or *agger*, is 3-ft. in width at the crown, and 27-ft. at its base, while the sideways are 25 and 26-ft. and the ditches 7 and 8-ft. wide, so the total width of the vallum, side roads and ditches is no less than 93-ft.

By the kind permission of the agent of the Slindon Estate, my son and I were permitted to cut a section through the road in the summer of 1913, and this we did at a point $50^{\circ} 54' 3''$ north, $0^{\circ} 37' 11''$ west, or 388-yds. south-west of the point at Gumber Corner, where Stane Street is cut across by the borstall leading down to Coldharbour Farm.

In this neighbourhood the general slope of the hill is to the south and east, and as the road ascends towards the north-east the ground stands at a higher level to the north and west, as is clearly seen in Plate II., Fig. 1, which represents the section cut.

The central vallum, an enlarged section of which is shown in Plate II., Fig. 2, rises 5-ft. above the old surface

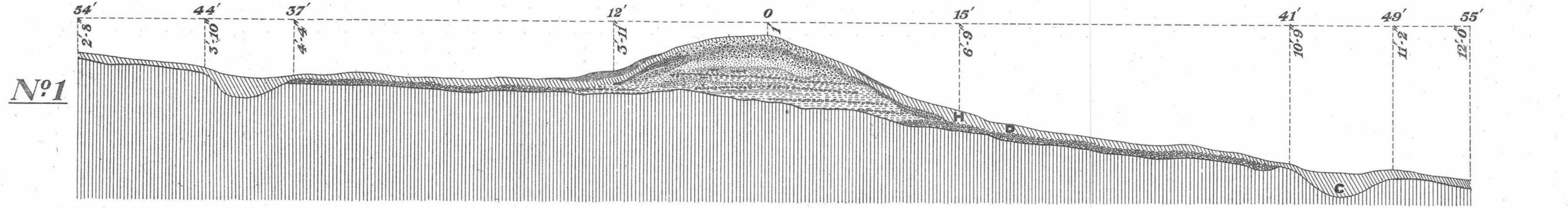
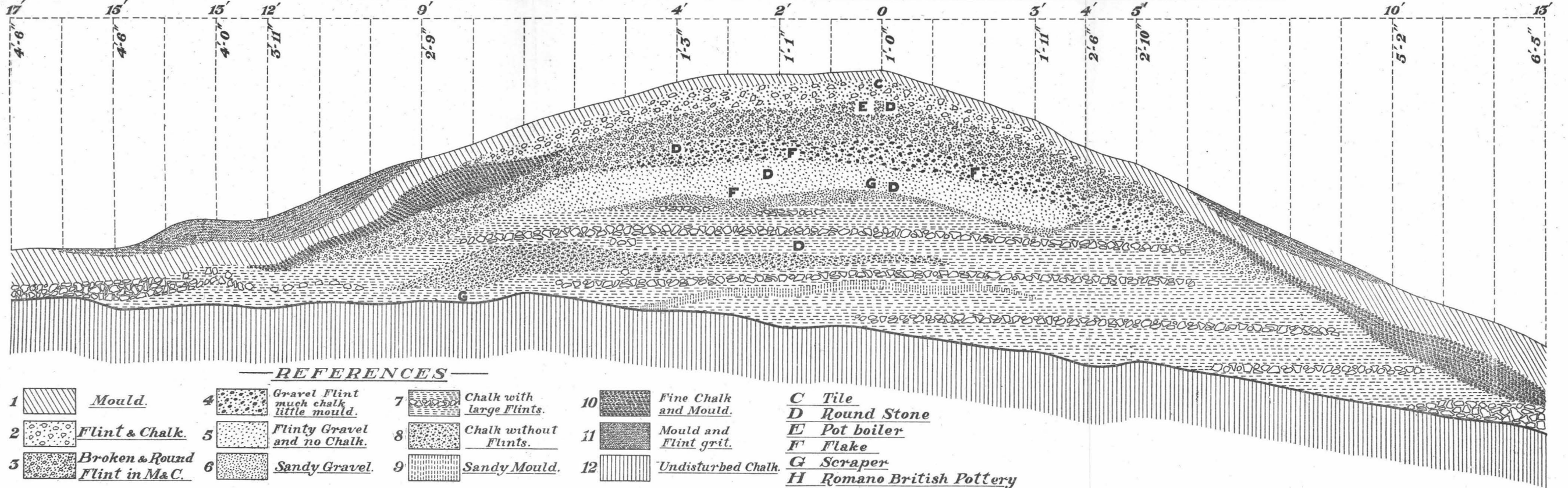
line, and consists of a succession of layers of different materials obtained locally. Examining these layers beneath the highest part (marked 0 on the datum line), we find that immediately under (1) the turf and 2-ins. of mould, come (2) 5-ins. of chalk with many flints, none of which are more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ -ins. in diameter, (3) 9-ins. of broken flints from the Downs, and water-worn flints, in roughly equal proportions, bedded in mould and chalk, (4) 7-ins. of gravel flint, small broken Down flint and small rolled flint in much chalk and little mould, rammed very hard and solid, (5) 5-ins. of gravel, with yellowish brown and red flint, and small patches of brick red sand, (6) 2-ins. of rich sandy gravel with only very small stones, (7) 27-ins. of rammed chalk with medium and large sized Down flints laid in horizontal layers; in this thick course of chalk and large flints are (8) a stratum of chalk without flint rammed into a curious homogeneous mass, 2-ins. thick, and (9) a 2-in. stratum of a sandy mould. Beneath these layers, and separating them from the undisturbed chalk, is a thin layer of dark mould, representing the old surface level, which is seen to correspond as nearly as possible with the line of the soil of the adjacent hill slope.

The side roads, now covered with several inches of clayey mould, are paved with 5 or 6-ins. of flints, many of which are of quite an unusual size; and the ditches, which are nearly 2-ft. below the present level of the ground, are filled with soil free from flint.

The various beds of the vallum thin off towards the sides, and each in ascending order tends to become more convex on its upper surface—an arrangement that would allow of water draining off easily. In constructing the road the builders evidently began on the lower, or south-east side, and from the first arranged their beds horizontally. The sides of the vallum are not as steep as they formerly were, for as much as 11-ins. of mould have gathered in the angles between the raised road and the sideways; most of this is a stiff mould, similar in character to that which covers the crown of the vallum and the sideways and ditches, but the soil under the turf in the angles

N^o 2

SECTION THROUGH STANE STREET AT 50°54'3" N, 0°37'11" W.



themselves is much lighter and looser in character, and darker in colour, being mixed with a quantity of very fine flint grit; our attention was drawn to this by a workman in our employ who in past days had had considerable experience as a road mender, and who pointed it out as evidence that the road had been much in use.

As might have been expected from so practical a people, the Romans made this road from material to hand on the Downs, or procurable within a short distance. The tertiary deposits at Seabeach, three miles down the road to the south-west, and those at Slindon and elsewhere to the south, produce vast quantities of such rolled flints as appear in layers (3) and (4), and such gravel as is found in layer (4); while brown and red flints, and red sand, similar to those seen in layer (5), are found in the Lower Greensand at Sutton, two miles to the north; from the Lower Greensand also came a large piece of iron stone found in this layer. There is nowhere any evidence of a surface layer of flags or blocks of hard stone. The whole road was consolidated with chalk, but whether grouted in, or simply rammed, we could not determine. Mr. R. A. Cripps kindly examined some of this chalk, and, as will be seen from his report which appears as an Appendix, is of opinion that it had never been burnt into lime and then become recarbonated in the course of the centuries, but had been used as chalk in the first instance.

In the soil turned over in cutting the section, which was 109-ft. long and 3-ft. wide, the only "finds" of the Roman period were three pieces of tile and one small piece of Romano-British pottery; in addition to these there were found one pot-boiler only, seven flakes of Down flint and one from the gravel; three rough scrapers, one of which was lying beneath the vallum on the mould of the old surface layer, and eight round flint-concretions from the chalk, each about an inch in diameter. In curious contrast with the scarcity of "finds" in this cutting it is interesting to record that a

cutting 53-ft. by 3-ft., through an earthwork not 200-yds. away, produced a quantity of pre-Roman and Romano-British pottery, two pieces of tile, 70 flakes, one scraper, 22 pot-boilers, three cores, and no round flint nodules or stones suitable for the sling.

For the sake of comparison a second section, Plate III., Fig. 1, was surveyed at a point $50^{\circ} 54' 19''$ north and $0^{\circ} 37' 18''$ west, or 162-yds. to the south-west of the first. Here the vallum rises about 6-ft. above the level of the slope of the hill, and is 3-ft. wide at the crown. By surface measurement the side roads are 22 and 23-ft. wide, but if 3-ft. are added to each on account of the silting up of the angles between them and the vallum—an amount quite permissible as shown by Plate II., Fig. 1—we have 25 and 26-ft. for the side roads, and 7 and 9-ft. for the ditches, giving an overall measurement of 95-ft. From this it appears that, at the points taken, the width of the vallum and side roads is constant, and the overall measurement practically the same.

Vitruvius, the architect (B.C. 27—A.D. 14) [vii. 1], has left us a description of the construction of a Roman road of the first class—*via publica* or *via militaris*; on the ground, or solid foundation (*gremium*), was to be laid a layer of stones (*statumen*) not smaller than the hand could grasp, on this a layer of rubble consisting of broken stones cemented with lime and rammed down hard (*rudus*), next a layer of smaller stones and broken brick and pottery cemented with lime (*nucleus*), and finally a surface layer (*pavimentum*) of blocks of hard stones carefully fitted together. He writes:—²

If the bedding is to be laid flush with the ground it must be first ascertained whether the ground is thoroughly sound. If it is found to be so it should be levelled, and then the courses of stones (*statumen*), and rubble mixed with lime (*rudus*) should be successively laid on. . . . If the rubble is new the proportion of stones to lime should be as 3 : 1; if it is old as 5 : 2. When the rubble has been laid it should be thoroughly rammed down with wooden beetles by gangs of men to a final thickness of not less than 9 inches. Over the rubble should be laid a course of pounded potsherds, mixed with lime

² *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Dr. Smith; *Vie*: 3rd Ed., Vol. II., pp. 946-954.

(*nucleus*) in the proportion of 3 : 1 and at least $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The pavement whether consisting of cut slabs, or mosaic cubes, should be well and truly laid by rule and level on the top of the nucleus.

This account has been supplemented by P. Papinius Statius (A.D. 81-96) [*Silvae*, IV., 3. 4], who, in a poem on the Via Domitiana, wrote:—

The task is first to cut parallel trenches (*sulci*) to mark the limit of the breadth of the road, and next to carry the excavations deep into the ground; then to fill the empty ditch (*fossa*) with new materials, and prepare a bed for the surface of the road.

Camden, who wrote 300 years ago, remarked on the fact that in some places the Roman roads were cut through by the country people for gravel; and it is clear that in days long gone by gravel seekers, or flint diggers, did not neglect Stane Street, for but a short distance to the south-west of the section in Fig. 3 the vallum, though now covered with short sweet Down turf, has been greatly reduced in height, its width to some extent increased, and its surface severely scored by digging; and the same remarks apply to a portion of the street that passes through the rough of Gumber Farm.

The problem as to how far the central vallum was accompanied by its two lateral flint roads is one that cannot be solved without further research. Dr. P. Martin³ tells us that he, and the late Mr. Hawkins, of Bignor Place, were able to trace the exact line of the Roman road through the ploughed fields across the Weald, from the foot of the Downs to beyond Grevatt's Wood, by the presence of that red gravel which we have seen entered largely into the construction of the vallum even on the high Downs; and it may be that pointed search for the presence, or absence, of large flints parallel to the known line of Stane Street may lead to a just estimation of the distance that the side roads accompanied the central vallum. These lateral roads, and containing ditches, are well marked along the $\frac{3}{4}$ -mile of grass land that separates the escarpment of the Downs from the commencement of the cultivated land of Gumber Farm, and that they extended a further mile at

³ *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Vol. XI., pp. 133-135.

least is evidenced by the great number of unusually large flints which appear for 10-yds. on either side of the Roman road as it passes between the ploughed fields⁴ onward to the point where it enters North Wood; beyond this point all surface trace of the lateral roads disappears.

These wide lateral ways, and the height and narrowness of the central vallum, distinguish that section of Stane Street that passes over the high Downs from the great majority of Roman roads in this country, which for the most part are raised a foot or two only above the level of the surrounding fields and are much narrower than we have seen Stane Street to be.

A ridge 5 or 6-ft. high is not an uncommon feature, however. Mr. Heywood Sumner gives a section of Ackling Dyke in Plan XXX. of *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, from which it appears that the vallum, or *agger*, is 6-ft. high and 6-ft. wide at the crown; and Mr. Codrington⁵ draws attention to the fact that—

On the Fosse way, between Bath and Cirencester, where it is a wide grass-grown deserted road on a high oolitic plateau, there is, to the south of Jackments Bottom, a ridge with the middle 4-6-ft. high, and that the same thing is to be observed on the deserted part of Watling Street, north of Watford Gap, where the green road shows no sign of a ridge for several miles until low ground is crossed, and then the ridge appears as much as 5-ft. high.

In his *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon*, Mr. Wright⁶ says:—

Where it runs along an uncultivated heath, the ancient Roman Road often presents itself to our view in an imposing embankment for several miles together. When they came upon higher ground, the Romans were not in the habit of intrenching, but they often raised the embankment higher even than in the plain, probably as a measure of precaution,

and instances the vallum of the Roman road on the summit of the Gogmagog Hills as an example.

“By the laws of the Twelve Tables (Dig. 8, 3, 8) the minimum width of a *via* was fixed at 8 feet where it was

⁴ Three years ago the foreman on the farm found here a silver denarius of the Emp. Constantine in a rabbit burrow in the vallum.

⁵ *Roman Roads in Britain* (1905), pp. 11-12.

⁶ *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon*, 2nd Ed., p. 183.

straight and 16 feet where it turned,"⁷ and it was not often that a Roman road in Great Britain exceeded 20-ft. in width; for example, the military way running along the south side of the Great Wall is 18-ft. wide; the road at Godmanchester 12-ft.; at Doncaster 18-ft.; and the Fosse way, south of Bath, varies from 6 to 18-ft.⁸

The only other road, of which we are aware, that is at all comparable to that part of Stane Street under discussion is that part of the Roman *via*, known as Ackling Dyke, that passes over the highland (400-ft.) of Cranborne Chase, in Dorsetshire, on its way from Badbury Ring to Old Sarum. Two sections of this road, one a little north-east of the crossing of Bokerly Dyke, and the other a quarter of a mile further north-east, are given by General Pitt Rivers,⁹ and though they differ in measurements, they are alike in presenting a central vallum, or *agger*, with flanking side roads and ditches. The larger of the two sections (marked 4) shows a vallum 12-ft. wide at the crown, and 42-ft. at the base, with side roads covered with fine gravel 19 and 20-ft. wide, and flanking ditches 3-ft. wide and 2½-ft. deep, making an overall measurement of 87-ft. Describing this section General Pitt Rivers says:—

The layers in the centre consist of (1) Surface moulds, (2) gravel and rounded pebbles, probably from patches of tertiary formation on Pembridge Hill, 6 inches, (3) rammed chalk rubble, 6 inches, (4) tertiary gravel again, 10 inches, (5) rammed chalk, 6 inches, (6) a single layer of nodular flints lying on the old surface line. The total height from the old surface layer to the top of the Road was 3 feet. This road which the Romans termed *agger*, tallies in the main with the account given by Vitruvius. . . . We see the two ditches on each side, which, however, appear here to have included more than the intended width of the road.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Vitruvius [V. 9, 7] describes the making of *ambulationes*, or gravel foot-paths, alongside the roads, and says that

⁷ *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Dr. Smith, *Viae*: 3rd Ed., Vol. II., p. 946.

⁸ *Roman Roads into Cambridge*, Rev. F. G. Walker, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1910, January 17th to March 7th.

⁹ *Eccavations in Cranborne Chase*, Vol. III., facing p. 74.

they consist of a firm foundation of earth, covered first with a layer of charcoal and then with a surface layer of gravel (*sabulo*). Very little gravel is found on the Downs, and it came handier to the builders of the side roads of Stane Street to employ flints, and they evidently went to some trouble to seek the largest flints they could find.

The central vallum of Stane Street on the high Downs, being only 3-ft. wide at the crown, was too narrow for the passage of the large bodies of troops which came to this island from other parts of the Empire, or for the native levies who were continually being sent to serve abroad, who must have trodden the sideways on their way from or to the ships in the harbours to the south-west; nor could the raised portion of the road have served for the use of chariots, or other wheeled vehicles, for if we may draw conclusions from the distance between the ruts in the streets of Pompeii, the gauge of ordinary carts was 3-ft. That the raised vallum was intended for use is clear from its laborious, careful and solid construction, and that it was actually and extensively used is shown by the nature of the road grit found in its sides as noted above. We know that until the reign of Septimus Severus (193-211, A.D.) heavy burdens were usually carried throughout the Empire by pack horses (*i.e.*, *Caballi*) mules and cattle, in panniers, and not in carts, and it may well be that the mule trains used the high and solid road, while the footmen moved along the side ways unhindered by the baggage; or the raised road may have been used, as Mr. Hawkins¹⁰ suggested, as a position of vantage for a line of scouts marching in single file, if the surrounding Downs were then, as now, thickly studded with hawthorn trees and scrub; and it may have had the collateral advantages of offering both a line of defence, and some shelter, to small bodies of men if attacked on one side only by the natives, and, on other occasions, a raised position from which they could more easily beat off attack.

¹⁰ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XI., p. 132.

FIGURE 1

SECTION THROUGH STANE STREET AT $50^{\circ}54'19''N$
 $0^{\circ}37'18''W$

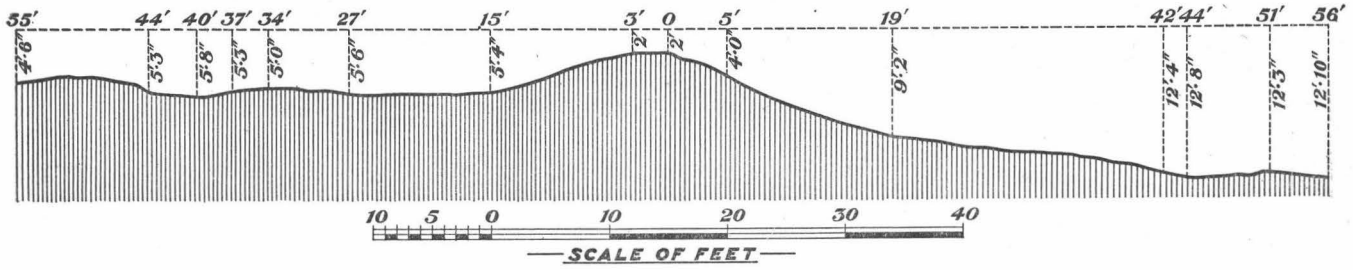


FIGURE 2

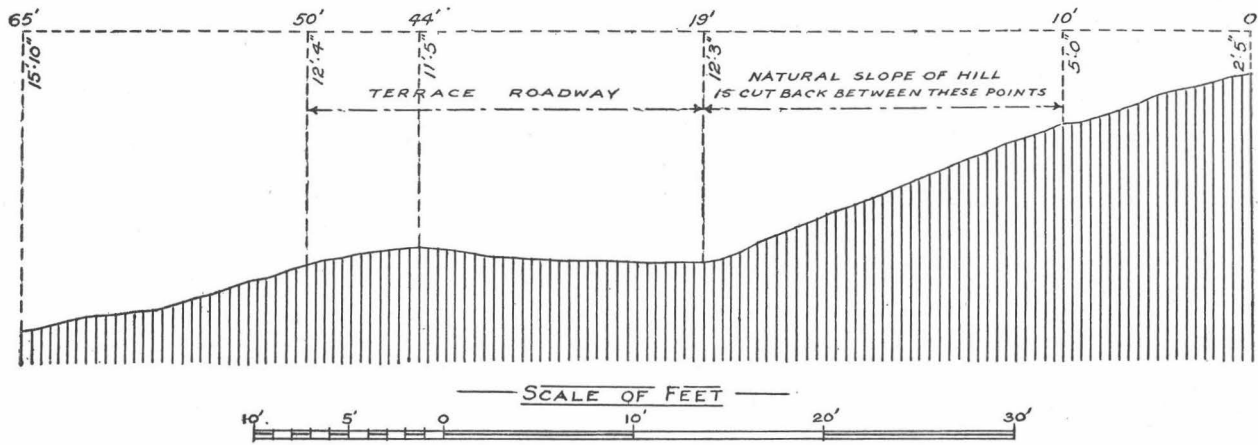


FIGURE 3

SECTION 180 FT BELOW JUNCTION OF THE BOSTAL FROM BIGNOR HILL WITH STANE STREET

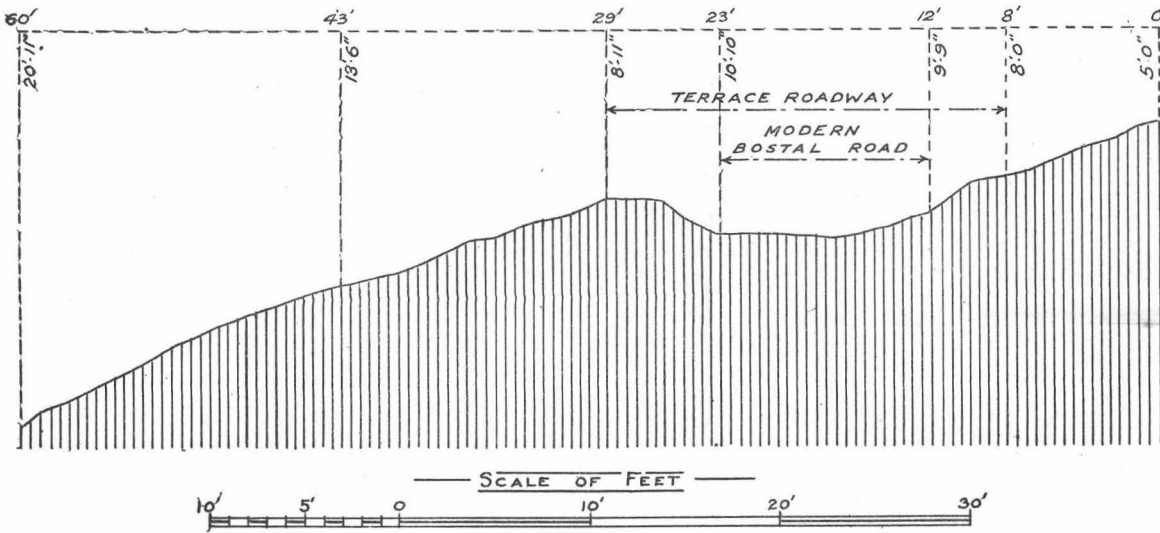
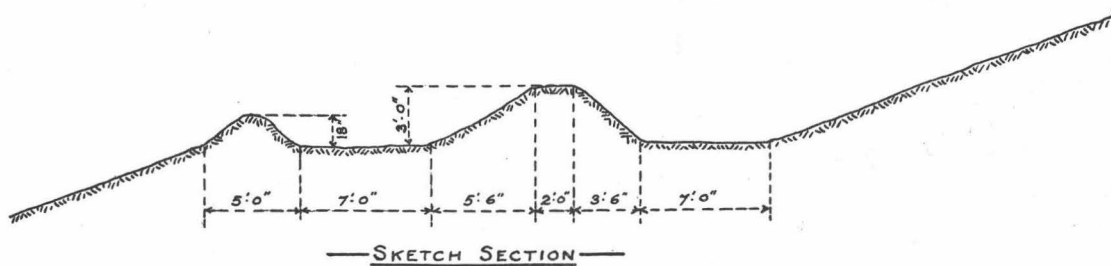


FIGURE 4



That engagements sometimes took place on a road itself is shown by Tacitus (55-120, A.D.), who, describing one such, says:—¹¹

Tertiæ decimæ legionis vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur, aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuerunt, dextra fronte prima legio incescit.

A translation of Heraeus' note on *agger viae* in this passage runs:—

Agger viae (cf. chap. 42, and Vergil Aen., V., 273) is the name given to the raised middle part of the Military road, which was appointed for the traffic of vehicles, and was paved with smooth stones, which rested on one or more layers of gravel, quarry stones and earth, rammed in tight; near this carriage way footways (*limites*) ran on both sides.

This note is interesting as showing the existence of sideways along the military roads in North Italy; the *agger viae* must have been wider in these roads if it admitted of vehicular traffic.

From Gumber Corner, where it is crossed by the borstall¹³ running down to Coldharbour Farm, Stane Street descends the escarpment as a well-made terrace 20 to 25-ft. wide. The terrace was formed by cutting back the slope of the hill, as shown in Plate III., Fig. 2, which is a section taken 468 feet east of the Coldharbour borstall, and its surface was apparently not covered with a layer of stones, for in no part of it examined did we find any evidence that the surface had been made up in any way.

At first the terrace is flat, but at places further down the level of the inner portion is lower than that of the outer part which somewhat overhangs the lower slope of the hill. Three hundred and ninety yards

¹¹ Tacitus Hist., II., 24.

¹² That is, "The standard of the XIIIth legion, four cohorts of the Auxiliaries, and five hundred cavalry are placed on the left; three Praetorian cohorts in deep formation occupied the raised roadway; the 1st legion marched on the right front. . . ."

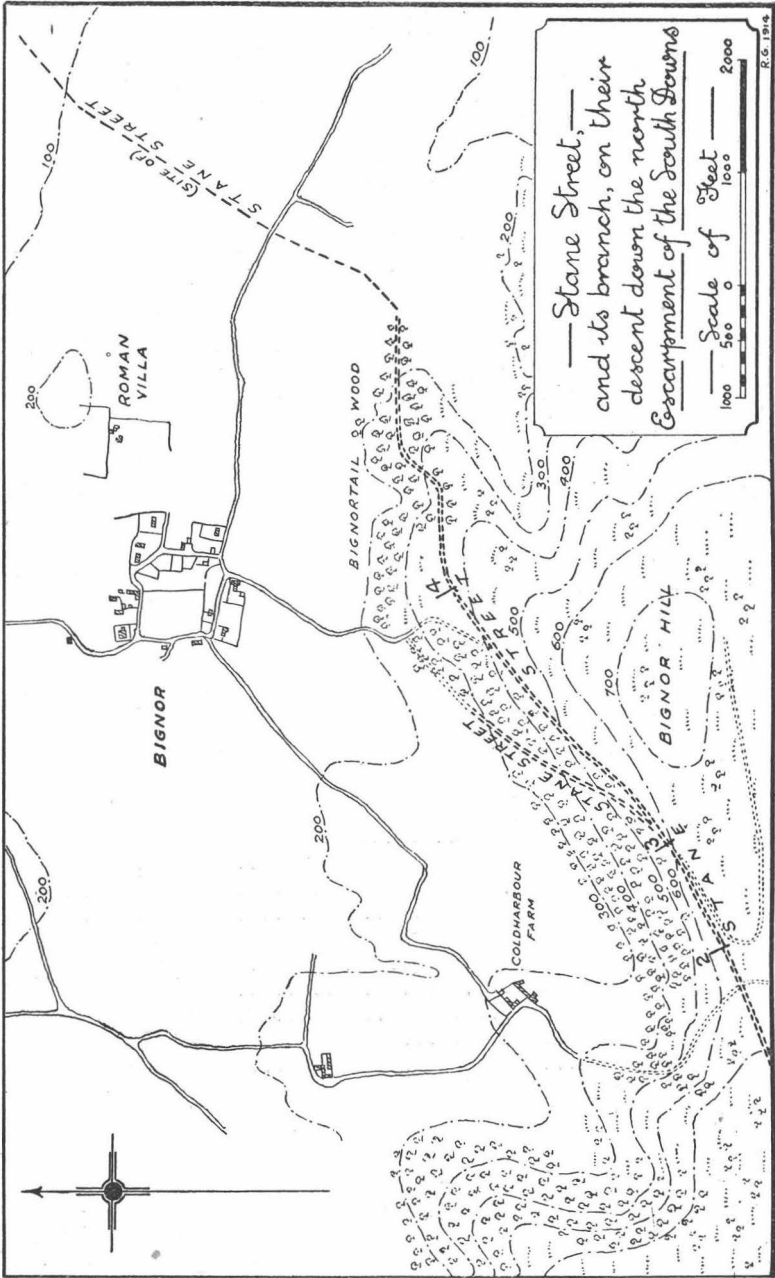
¹³ In *Notes and Queries*, 8th S. IX., June 6th, 1896, Prof. W. W. Skeat derives the word "borstall" from the A.S. *burh* and *steal*, with "the site of the fort" as its original meaning. A quotation from the *A.S. Vocabularies* shows that even in A.S. times its sense had changed to "a descent," or "path down a hill." [The first syllable seems more probably *beorh*=a hill; the "stall" may be connected with *stelan*=to go secretly or quietly, or with *stigele*=a raised way (whence our "style").—Ed.]

from its commencement a more modern road, much used in carting flints from Bignor Hill, runs into it, and for a distance of 851-yds. has cut its way 3 to 5-ft. below the level of the terrace on its inner, or up-hill, side (Fig. 3).

Where the hill turns eastwards this more recent road sinks 9-ft. below the terrace-road and makes direct for the village of Bignor, while the Roman road turns eastwards, crosses open Down-land, and makes a more easy descent to the Weald through Bignortail Wood. When crossing the Down before entering the Wood the central *agger* re-appears for a short distance (Fig. 4), but soon disappears again, and the road enters Bignortail Wood, and sweeps round the sides of a shallow comb, as a flat terrace 36-ft. wide; lower down a ditch 5-ft. deep appears on the inner, or up-hill, side of the terrace, and this is continued until the foot of the hill is reached where the outer or raised part of the road emerges from the wood as a ridge and is quickly lost in cultivated ground.

Two hundred and ten yards after it is joined by the above mentioned road from Bignor Hill the Roman terrace widens out to 35-ft., and throws out a branch which drops somewhat rapidly to run obliquely along the hill slope at a lower level. This branch terrace, which is similar in all respects to the main one, at first 25-ft. wide, soon broadens to 36-ft., again narrows to 25-ft. lower down, and once more widens to 35-ft.; in parts its surface is quite flat, and in parts it presents a ditch on its inner side; while where it approaches the level of the cultivated land, at about the 300-ft. contour line, a central *agger* appears again. Immediately beyond this point all certain traces of the terrace-road disappears.

It is noteworthy that, whereas the supposed line taken by Stane Street after leaving Bignortail Wood passes six hundred yards east of the Roman Villa at Bignor, just before it is lost this terrace road heads almost directly to it. This terrace is much overgrown by a dense thicket of tangled undergrowth, and consequently is not easily seen when leaves are on the branches; it bears, however, a narrow and seldom used footpath, which is indicated on the 6-in. Ordnance sheet. [Plate IV.]



— Stane Street, —
 and its branch, on their
 descent down the north
 Escarpment of the South Downs

— Scale of Feet —
 1000 500 0 1000 2000

R.G. 1914

PLATE IV.

APPENDIX.

REPORT ON SAMPLE OF CHALK FROM STANE STREET

By R. A. CRIPPS, Esq., F.I.C.

This sample consisted of a lump of chalky substance with some small pieces of flint embedded, and some adherent sandy and earthy matter, which latter was removed before analysis.

The results of my analysis are as follows:—

The figures add up to 100·64%, but this apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that the “Loss on Ignition” is also included, at least in part, in the “Earthy Matter.”

From the fact that there is no more calcium silicate present than is often found in natural chalk I am of opinion that the chalk was used as such and has not been produced from lime by the action of carbonic acid in the air and rain water. If lime had been used I should expect to have found quite a considerable proportion of calcium silicate or other silicate soluble in cold hydrochloric acid, produced by the action of the lime on sand or other siliceous matter, as is the case in cement, mortar, &c., although probably to a smaller extent than in those substances.

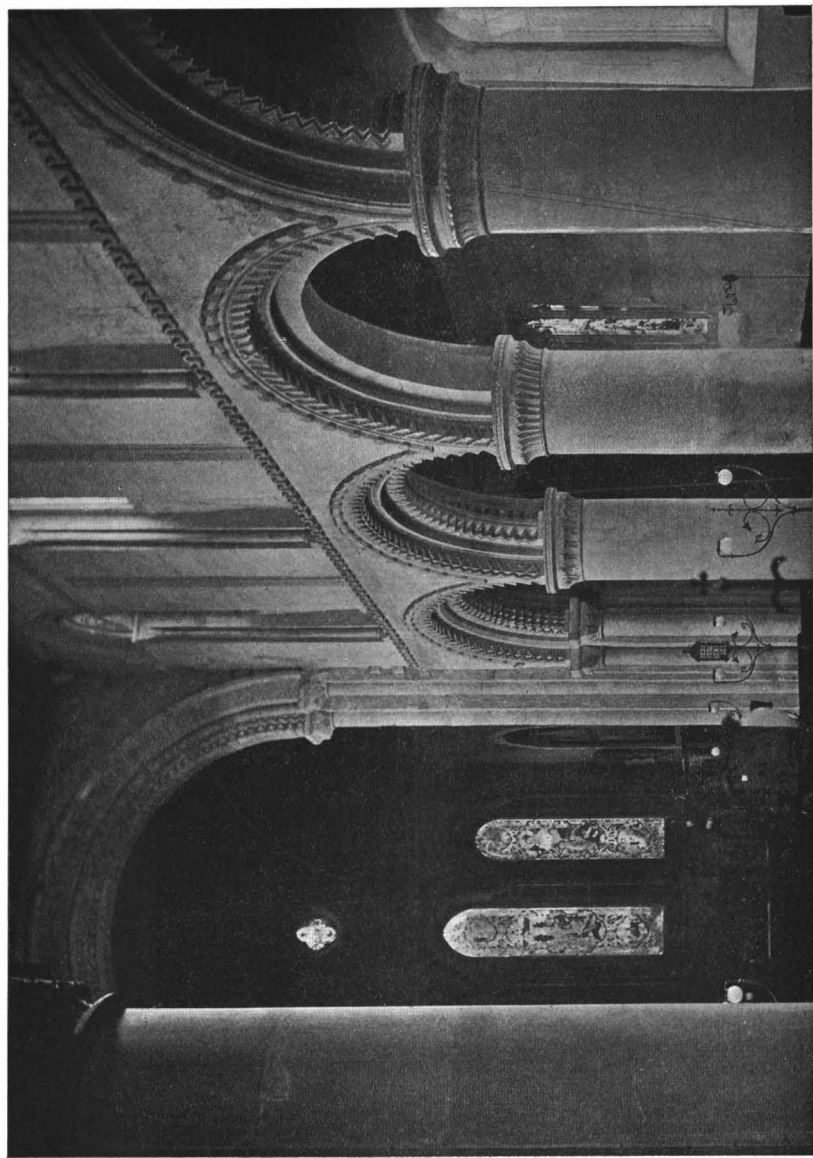
RESULTS OF ANALYSIS.

Moisture	0·90	per cent.
Loss on Ignition (mainly organic matter) ..	1·06	” ”
Sand, Stones, &c.....	21·03	” ”
Earthy matter	5·60	” ”
Calcium Silicate	0·28	” ”
Oxide of Iron and Alumina	0·70	” ”
Calcium Carbonate	71·07	” ”
Calcium Sulphate		Traces.
Caustic Lime		Absent.
Slaked Lime.....		Absent.

R. A. CRIPPS.

The Laboratory, Davigdor Road, Hove,
Dec. 11th, 1913.

Specimens of the various kinds of stones used in the construction of the vallum have been deposited in the Society's Museum at Lewes.



J. C. Stenning, Photo.

STEYNING CHURCH. S. ARCADE OF NAVE AND CHANCEL ARCH.

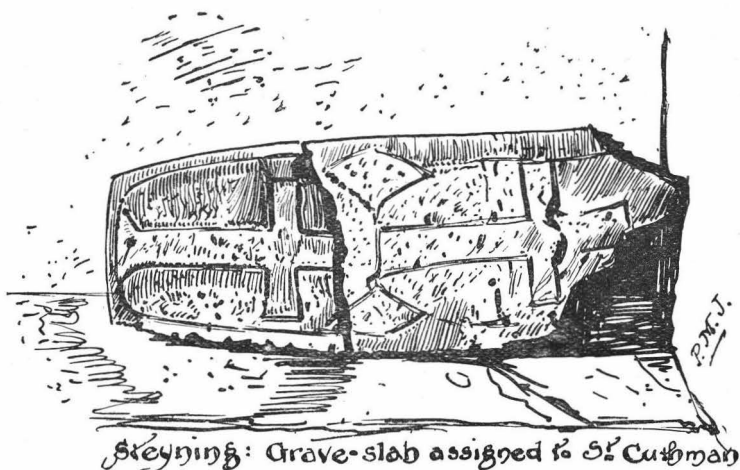
STEYNING CHURCH.

By PHILIP M. JOHNSTON, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

HAVING lately conducted the British Archæological Association on a visit to Steyning, Amberley and Arundel, I was asked by the Association to put my notes into a paper for publication in their *Journal*; and by the courtesy of their Council I am permitted to offer the following modified and extended version, together with the illustrations, for printing in our own *Collections*. I have taken the opportunity of adding a number of fresh illustrations.

Steyning Church, dedicated to St. Andrew, owes its origin to Cuthman, the shepherd-saint, a Westcountryman, who, in about the middle of the eighth century, came here, pushing before him a wicker wheelbarrow, in which was his mother. An accident to this primitive vehicle provoked the idle mirth of some Steyning hay-makers, who were fitly and promptly discomfited by a heavy shower; and the field which witnessed their ill-chosen merriment is said to have been visited by rain in the hay-harvest from that day to this. Cuthman seems, in spite of this unpropitious reception, to have taken the breakdown of his wheelbarrow as a sign from Heaven that Steyning was his resting-place on earth, and he proceeded to build a wooden church on the site of the present noble stone building. Here, in due course, with filial piety, he laid his mother to rest, and later was himself buried in the odour of sanctity; and it was not long before a shrine was erected over his bones, at which pilgrims from far and wide paid their devotions, and many wonderful cures were vouchsafed to the crippled and sick. What is quite possibly the grave-slab of Cuthman has lately been restored to the church from a neighbouring garden, and may be seen in the porch. It

bears a rude double cross in low relief, and is certainly of pre-Conquest date. A second slab is probably as old, and may be conjecturally assigned to the saint's mother. The Bishop-King, Ethelwulf, father of Alfred the Great, according to Asser, was buried here in A.D. 858.



Before dealing with the fabric it may be as well to give some short account of the history of the church.¹ It was given, with the manor, to the Benedictine monks of Fécamp, near Dieppe, by King Edward the Confessor about 1047. From them it was taken away by Harold, but it was restored to the Norman Abbey by the Conqueror. Probably at the time of its grant to Fécamp, certainly by the date of the Domesday Survey (1086), Steyning Church was collegiate, being served by three canons,² between whom the issues were divided. Although called a "Deanery" by Gervase in 1200, the head of the prebendaries or canons seems really to have been termed "Provost," that title being applied to Nicholas de Plumton in 1252. Between 1283 and 1290 the collegiate establishment seems to have come to an end, but Steyning remained a "peculiar," exempt from

¹ *Victoria Hist. Sussex*, II., 122.

² A seal of the church shows three tonsured heads, one above the other: *Ibid.*

the bishop's jurisdiction until at least the middle of the fifteenth century.³

After the Conquest, when William de Braose, to whom all this district, afterwards known as the Rape of Bramber, had been assigned, built a castle at Bramber, he also built a church there and endeavoured to assume for it full parochial privileges of sepulture, &c. This was resisted by the Abbey of Fécamp, and in 1086 the dispute was heard by King William himself, his sons Henry and William, Archbishop Lanfranc and other notables being present. After sitting all day, decision was given that St. Cuthman's rights of burial should remain unimpaired, and the bodies buried at William's church were therefore to be dug up and transferred to Steyning, and all the money received for burial fees, tolling bells, wakes and so forth was to be handed over to the monks.⁴ The challenge of this new church of St. Nicholas, Bramber, was the more pronounced as it was also collegiate, with canons and a dean at its head,⁵ an arrangement which did not endure long. The church, or rather chapel, of Bramber was given by William de Braose to the Abbey of St. Florent, Saumur, and about 1100 transferred by them to Fécamp,⁶ who became patrons of both churches, so that the rivalry was extinguished.

The primitive church was replaced by one of stone in the eleventh century,⁷ and of this some capitals built up into an arch in the grounds of a house called "The Priory," or "Gatewick House," to the north of the church, are relics. In the early masonry of the aisle walls are some of the materials at least of this primitive Romanesque church. It has been thought also that the plain round arches, without capital or impost, dividing

³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴ Round, *Cal. Docts. France*, 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 37, 397.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 396, 403, 405.

⁷ Domesday mentions two churches, and the second may have been that, dedicated, together with a holy well of great repute, to St. Mary, which is said to have stood on the south side of the High Street, where foundations still exist. At a later date there was also a chantry, the name of which survives in Chantry Green.

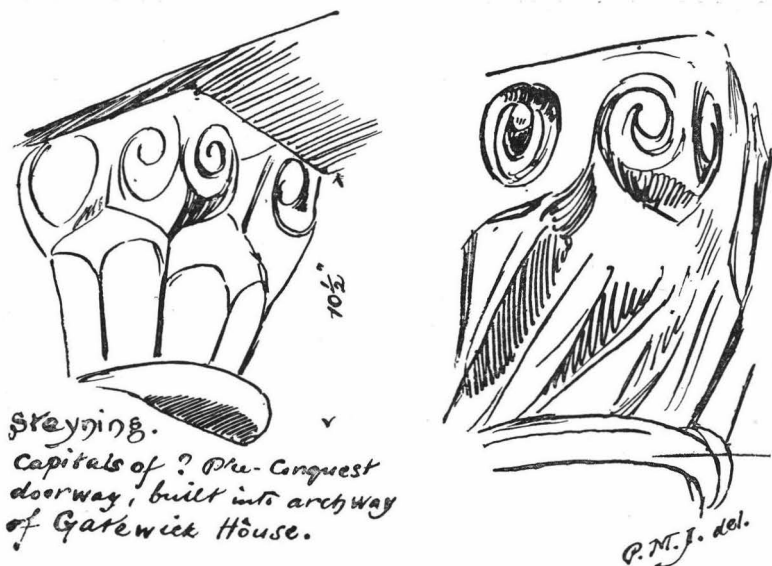


Fig. 1.

the choir from its pseudo-aisles, might be relics of this eleventh century church,⁸ but it is difficult to pronounce with certainty, both because of the extensive rebuilding of this eastern arm in and about 1577, when much old work was demolished and used for patching up what remained, and also because the construction is masked by modern plaster and new quoinings of Caen stone.⁹ The site of the eastern arch of the tower is occupied by the present east wall, which, with its three lancets and vesica

⁸ This could not, of course, be the case if there were four great arches at the crossing, like the present chancel arch.

⁹ A report made by Sir John Shirley, John Appesley and Humfrey FitzWilliam in 20 Elizabeth states that:—

“The chancel Quyer Steeple and other three chapels and iles adjoining to the said church be in great ruyn and decay and some part of them fallen down and the rest very likely to fall down shortly if present order be not taken thereon. The repair thereof will amount to £100 by estimation of the artificers.

Item the said three chapels and iles are superfluous and may very well be spared and taken down so as the stone iron and lead thereof may be employed toward the repairing of the said chancel quire and steeple. All which stone lead and iron now remaining in and upon the said ruinous chappells and iles are by estimation worth £30.

Item the body of the said church needeth not any enlardging.”

(Exch. Special Com., 2290.)

opening, the stone reredos and the chancel ceiling of wood and plaster, are wholly modern, dating from a restoration of the "sixties." So also is the handsome pointed arch, of Transition Norman character, to the tower, which, within the last thirty years, has replaced a tall, narrow, round-headed opening, of uncertain, but probably Elizabethan, date. The picturesque western tower, with its flint and stone chequer-work, would seem to have been constructed then, or in the seventeenth century, out of the materials of the western bays of the nave, which must have been pulled down for the purpose.¹⁰ What are now responds of the arcades can be seen from the aisle side to be full circular columns embedded in the re-constructed masonry, and the springing of the arch on each side also remains. It is certain that after the Reformation the church generally was suffered to sink into a semi-ruinous condition, and one can only be thankful that there was sufficient sense of beauty and decency to cause what is left of the glorious nave to be retained, although shorn of its pristine length. A close inspection of the tower will show that it abounds in axe-dressed stones, some of them chevron moulded, of twelfth-century date. Instead of the four existing bays in the nave, the church of that date had five, or, more likely, six, as foundations have been traced to the westward of the tower.

In about 1080 to 1100 the Benedictine monks of Fécamp started to rebuild the church on a grand scale, using flints, Caen stone, sandstone, Binsted and Quarr Abbey stones in the work. They would seem to have planned a cruciform aisled church, with central tower, but it is doubtful if the work in this first stage proceeded, except for foundations, westward of the crossing, leaving, perhaps, an earlier nave and aisles in position; an alternative theory is that the work was actually carried out and at a later date, bay by bay, elaborated by carving, moulding, and practical rebuilding, into the exceptionally rich Late Norman that we now see. In favour of the latter view (which I personally hold) is the undoubted presence of

¹⁰ A stone in the west wall bears the date 1684, pointing to a later repair.

quite Early Norman features in the outer walls of the aisles (including masonry and windows of coarse axe-tooling, with wide joints in the north aisle) and the existence of east responds to the nave arcades, of grouped or composite form, with early scalloped capitals. Possibly the arcades were never quite finished, and the nave was temporarily roofed when it had got as high as the crown of the main arches. This would be by *c.* 1120; and it would appear that little was done for some 40 or 50 years.

Before passing to this latter phase, I would draw attention to the other relics of the church of 1100. First and foremost is the magnificent chancel arch (Plate I.), sole survivor of four great crux arches of what must have been an exceptionally noble central tower. We cannot now say whether it was ever carried more than a stage above the roof. It may have formed what is termed a "lantern," and possibly at some later period of its history it was crowned by a pyramidal roof or a short lead-covered or shingled spire. For scale and proportions the remaining arch rivals the great crossing arches of Chichester Cathedral. The nave at this point is about 24-ft. wide and some $42\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. high, and the arch, a perfect semi-circle, is of two orders, with a label, the inner order being enriched by a roll, double chevrons, and an angle bead. The capitals of the tall shafts are scalloped with chamfered abaci. Of the same period, but slightly the earlier, are the flanking-arches opening from the nave aisles into what were the transepts. They measure about 7-ft. 10-in. in the clear, and have three heavy shafts with rectangular intervening members. The capitals are worthy of close examination. Those to the northern arch are of (1) primitive leaf pattern, (2) voluted, like the Early Norman capitals at St. Nicholas, Caen, the Chapel in the Tower of London, Blyth Priory Church, Notts, and Bishop Rémi's work at Lincoln; while those to the southern arch are (1) of heavy scallop work, and (2) of cushion form, covered with spirited carving in low relief of lions, whose tails, joined together, terminate in elaborate scrolls

of foliage.¹¹ The flanking capitals are carved with similar voluted foliage, and in the central shaft is a small panel carved with two men grasping the stems of trees, also of early twelfth century date. The arch-orders are of rolls and square members on this side, while on the north they are plain and square, save for some chevron work on the east face. The abaci in both arches have an early form of quirked hollow. The height of these shafts is altogether exceptional for the position and date, and it should be remembered that the arches originally opened into fully developed transepts. From the original floor to the spring of the arch measures nearly 16-ft. Of the windows in the north aisle, one is a plain splayed round-headed plastered opening; the other has nook-shafts, in a recessed jamb—all in ashlar.

By about 1150 the nave assumed its present form, with walls about 42-ft. high, divided at about 25-ft. from the floor by a broad string-course, ornamented with a design of miniature circular arches. In the clerestory space above are tall, wide round-arched windows, one to each bay. These have nook-shafts and a roll-moulding to the arch, which is surmounted by a label bearing the dog-tooth ornament—a mark of late date—and the same is continued in a string-course which joins the windows. The actual glazed windows are broad and squat, the lower half being “blind,” owing to the pitch of the aisle roofs covering the exterior. That this is the old arrangement is evident from the position of the shaft-bases outside, which rest on a stone weathering over the roof. Another peculiarity in the design on the south side is that the glass-plane is about in the centre of the thickness of the wall, giving externally a deep recess, which is ornamented with two nook-shafts and a square-edged inner order to each jamb. A moulded string course is carried round the circular heads as a label, and in the three eastern bays this is enriched with the double billet. The westernmost window, besides the absence of the billet moulding, has other marks of later date. It

¹¹ The curious fashion in which one head serves on the angle for two lions should be noticed.

may be 20 years later than the others, and is one of several indications that the work in execution proceeded westward. Another curious and interesting feature is the relative plainness of the external treatment of the north clerestory of the nave. It was not the "show" side.

Under the eaves of the nave roof, on both sides, is a corbel-table (see Plate III.), the corbels being of various moulded forms, with a few human heads. As marking the importance of the work, it should be noted that the whole internal and external wall-surfaces of the nave, except the north clerestory, are faced with tooled and fine-jointed Caen stone ashlar. In the interior especially this is a remarkable feature. The detail of the two western bays, on both sides, is slightly later, showing that the work progressed from east to west. The capitals of the windows externally show great variety in ornament—dog-tooth, scallop, plantain-leaf, and several forms of

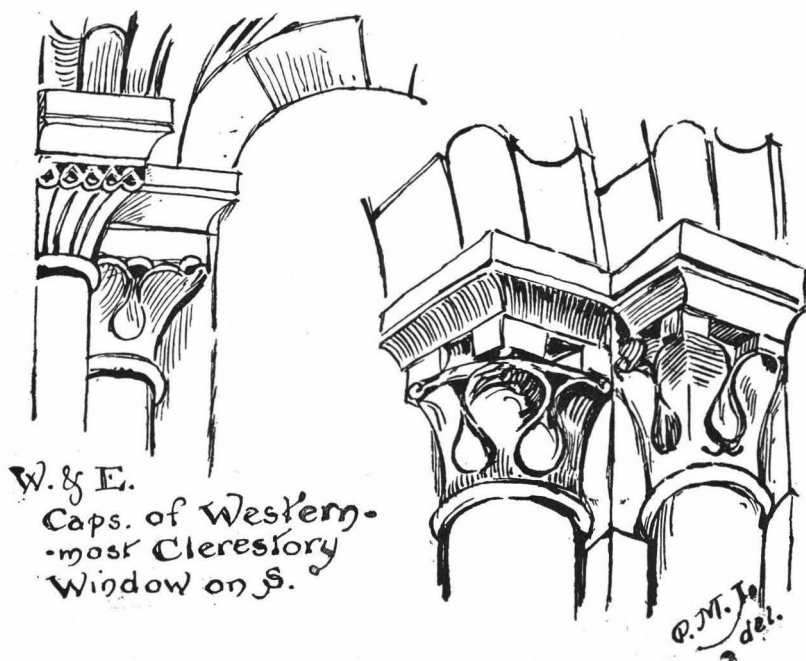


FIG. 2.

volute carving. The arch mouldings are in alternate bold rolls and hollows.

Below these windows, on the south, is a solitary pilaster buttress, with nook-shafts, also in Caen stone. The little capitals are of enriched scallop form. Norman pilaster buttresses remain at Old and New Shoreham, Chichester Cathedral, Rustington and Clymping, among other Sussex churches, but this is perhaps more decorative in treatment than any of them.

On the inside, between each pair of windows, is a vertical strip of moulding, the object of which appears to be simply to break up the plain ashlar face. I know of no other example of this peculiar feature in England; like others in the church, it is a strong reminder of the foreign influence which was dominant here.

Returning to the interior, we are at once struck with the lofty proportions of the nave arcades, the regularity and perfect technical excellence of the masonry and the wonderful variety and richness of the ornament on both arches and capitals. There is no richer example of Late Norman, before the Transition, in England than in these arcades, having regard to the scale and extent of the work. It is all in Caen stone, with the exception of a few blocks of green Isle of Wight stone on the aisle sides. The perfect curves of the semi-circular arches and the rigidly vertical cylindrical columns, with their moulded circular bases and massive square sub-bases, testify to the excellent mason's work, as do also the fine jointing and delicate axe and chisel tooling. A fine drill has been used to supplement these tools in some of the foliage carving.¹² There are three orders and a label to all the arches.

The profusion and variety of the chevron ornament is very remarkable—some carved on the floor, some cut in profile on the innermost orders, some "bunched," some developed into the diamond, others into a sort of herring-bone beading, returned round an angle. In some cases the innermost order is left quite plain, in others the

¹² Cf. Bishopston chancel arch and the contemporary Late Norman carving in Bayeux Cathedral have arcades.

middle, and the latter is generally either chamfered or roll-moulded. On the aisle side the outer order is uniformly plain and square-edged, and its hood is ornamented with the chevron on the south and dog-tooth on the north, the dog-tooth being in its earliest form of detached flowers of convex-curved outline, with a wide space between each pair. The label to the nave side in both arcades is of three-sided section,



bearing in relief circular pateræ, about twenty to an arch, carved in whorl and sunflower patterns. In the spandrels of the northern arches are two solitary pateræ of larger size, carved with foliage of so classical a character that, if met with as bosses in a Jacobean plaster ceiling, they would look quite at home. On this northern side, but not on the south, the labels at their junction terminate in four carved heads—a ram, two bearded men (one with his mouth open as though singing) and a dragon's head. On the south side are only pateræ. There are evidences that the carving in what is now the westernmost bay was never entirely finished.

The capitals are all circular—compare those of the 1140 nave, New Shoreham—and are all differently carved. The influence of Saracenic art, arising out of the Crusades, is unmistakable in one on either side. Taking them from west to east, we have a plain capital on each side; then—

North side, second capital, moulded abacus, with scalloped bell; third capital (Plate IV.), saw-tooth and honeycomb on abacus, and bell carved with a sort of sunflower petal design; fourth capital (Plate V.), enriched scallop, chevron and moulded abacus. The east respond capitals of square shape, with heavy rudimentary foliage belonging to the early twelfth century period, are in marked contrast.

South side, second capital (Plate VI.), cable-moulded abacus, palms and fern fronds on bell; third capital, cable on abacus, and invected scallop of angular section on bell; fourth capital (Plate VII.), abacus with cable moulding, threaded with miniature strings of nail-heads;

bell displays (1) fern leaves and fronds, (2) palm fronds, both treated with drilled holes and delicate ribs of raised beads.

I believe I am the first to call attention to the remarkable fact that in the south doorway and chancel arch of Winchfield Church, Hants, these peculiar ornaments on the last-described capital, together with the invected scallop of angular section, are repeated with an exactitude that compels belief in the same hand, or hands, having been at work in both churches. As the crow flies, the distance between is quite 40 miles, and by road along the downs quite 10 miles more; but evidently a travelling company of masons passed from the one district to the other, leaving their beautiful handiwork behind them; and the particular artist who carved these fern and palm capitals, and the other very Saracenic one at Steyning (No. 3 on N.) must have caught his inspiration from a crusade to the far distant East. I have also called attention (*Victoria History of Sussex*, Vol. II., p. 368) to the capital in Icklesham Church, East Sussex, which is evidently by the same craftsmen. So, also, are parts of Bishopston chancel.

There is little more to say about Steyning Church. The south doorway, sadly battered, is of this late Norman period. Tall and narrow, of two continuous orders, it is singularly unworthy of the fine church to which it forms the only public entrance.¹³ The typical Norman doorway is a feature practically non-existent in Sussex, and the few examples are relatively plain and on a small scale—a fact not easy to account for in a county which otherwise contains much fine work of this period. This Steyning doorway has perhaps lost an outer order or label. The inner order has a quirked hollow, and the present outer order a roll clasped by V-shaped tongues. The door itself, with mutilated hinges, is probably coeval.

The porch, docked of a once-existing upper story, is of late fourteenth-century date, with a good two-centred

¹³ There is a small blocked north doorway of fourteenth or fifteenth century date.

Stepping.

Painting on
2nd Column
from W., N.
side of Nave.

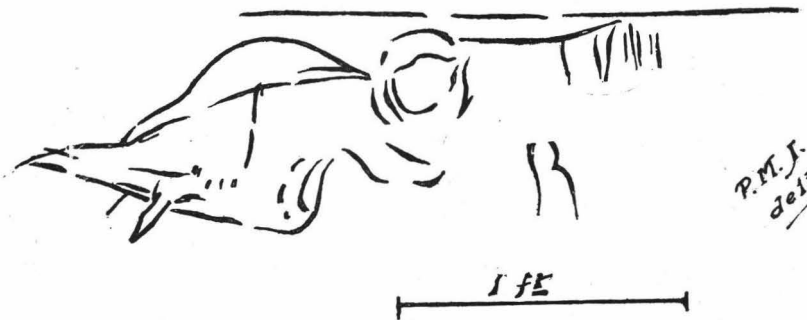


FIG. 3.



STEYNING CHURCH.

P. M. Johnston, Photo.

EARLY 12TH CENTURY CARVED CAPS. ARCH FROM S AISLE TO S CHAPEL.

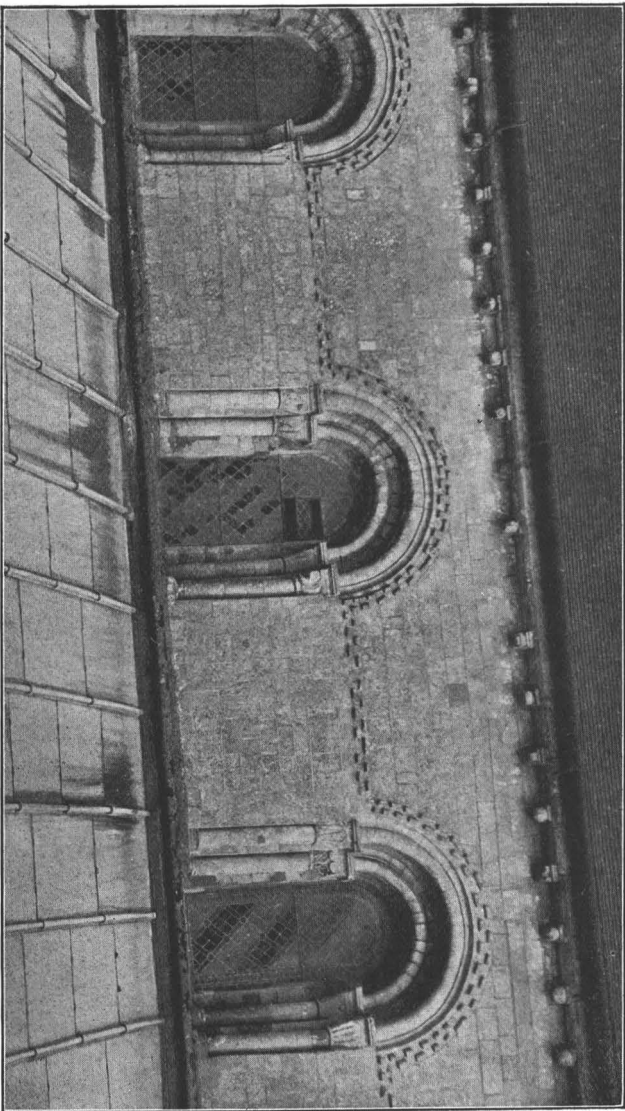


PLATE III.

STEYNING CHURCH. NAVE CLERESTORY (S.)

J. C. Stenning, Photo.

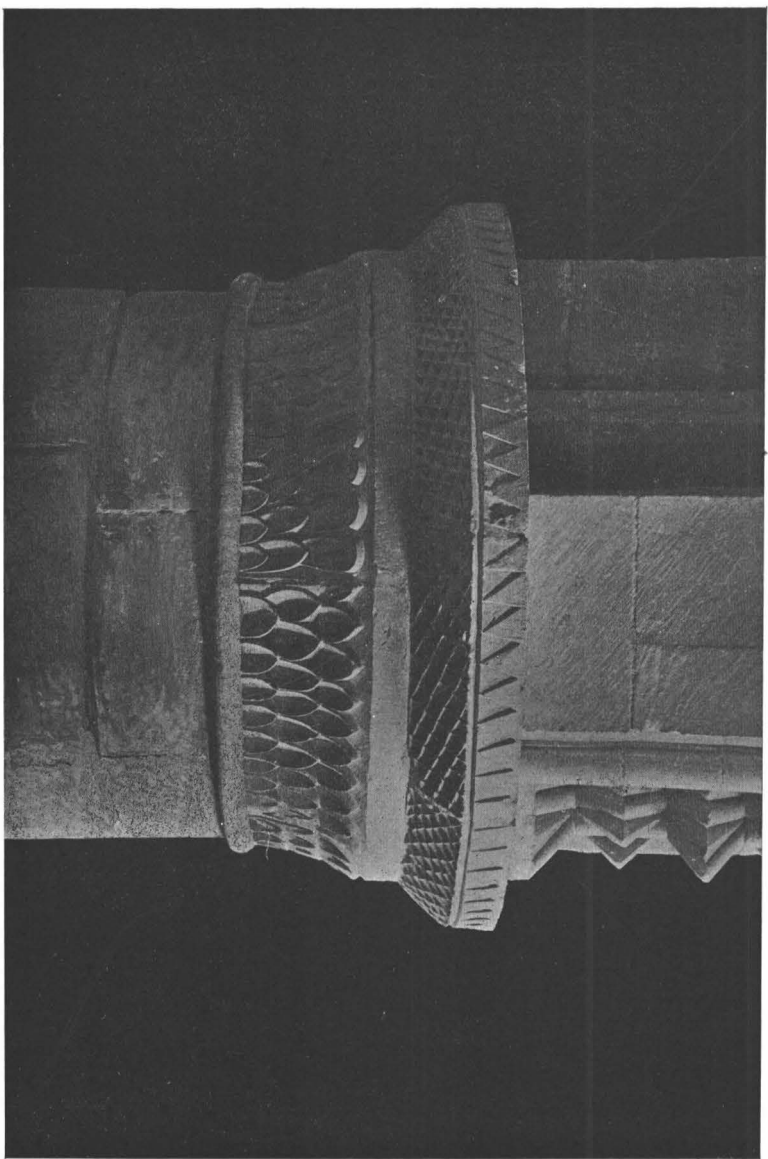
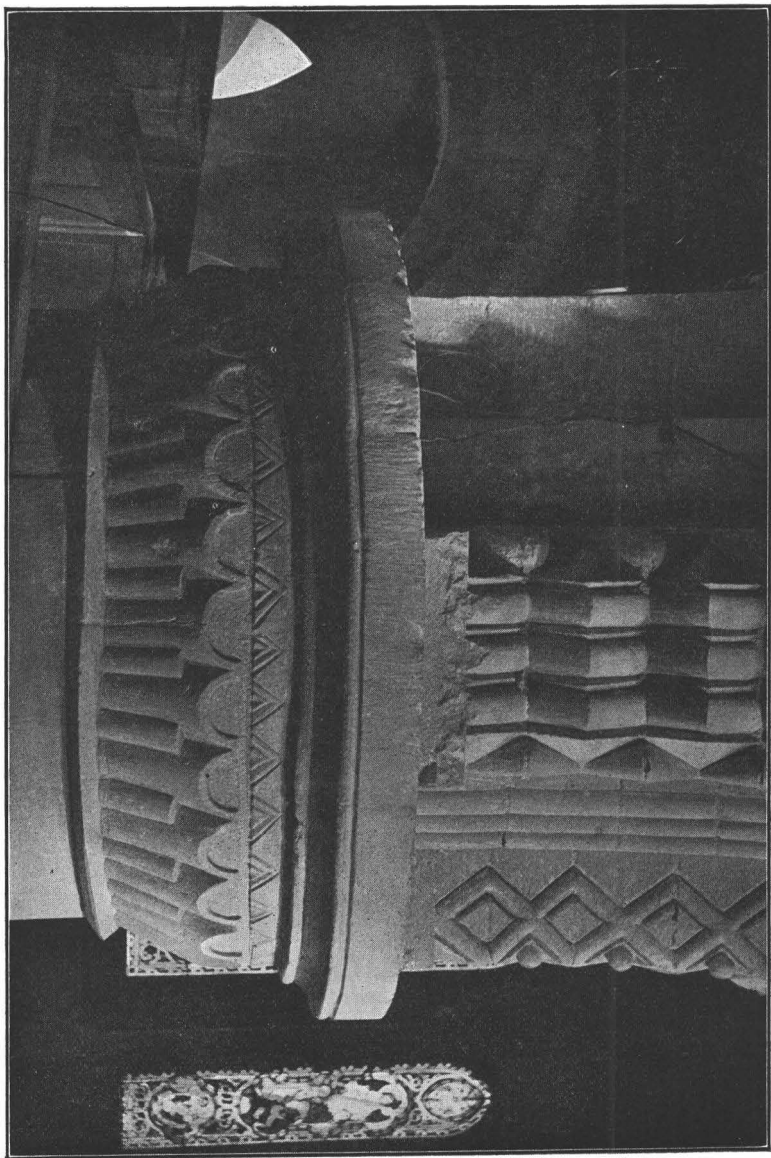


PLATE IV.

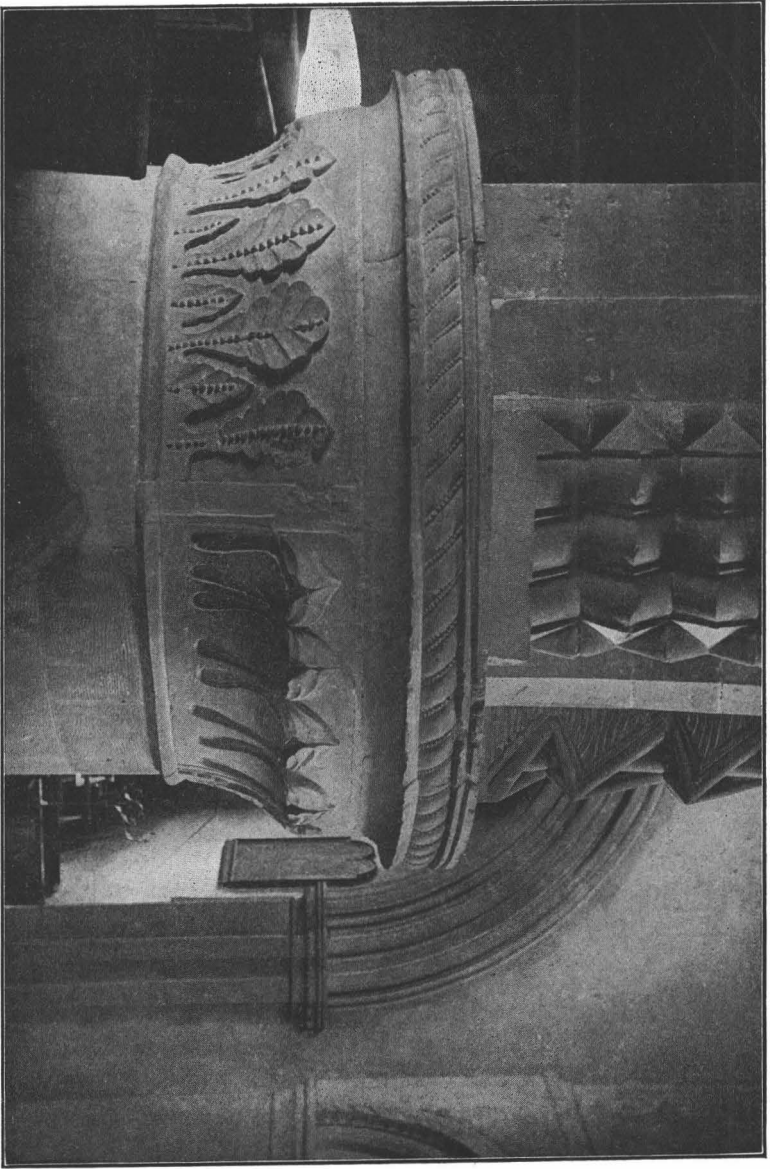
STEYNING CHURCH. 3RD CAPITAL, N. SIDE.

T. M. GROSS LLOYD, PHOTO.

STEEYNING CHURCH. 4TH CAP. ON N. OF NAVE.



STEYNING CHURCH. 2ND CAP. IN S. ARCADE OF NAVE.



STEEYNING CHURCH. 4TH CAPITAL, S. SIDE.

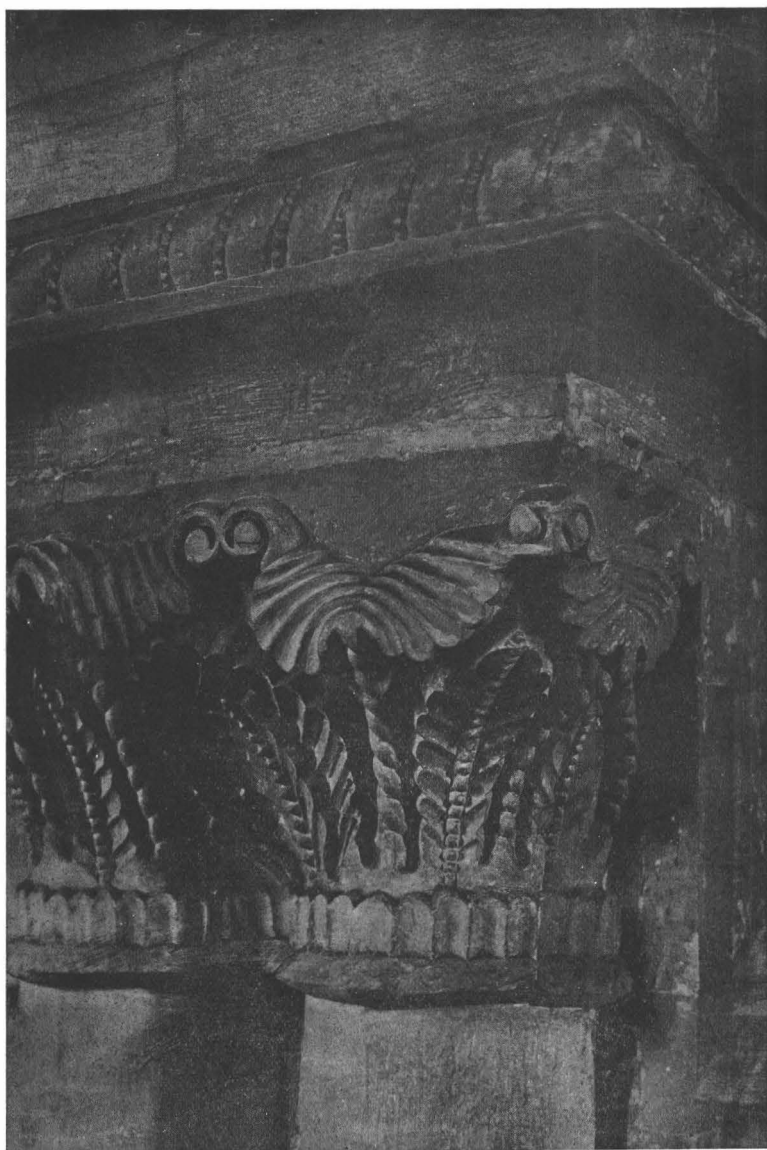




WINCHFIELD CHURCH, HANTS.

S. DOOR, W. CAP.

PLATE VIII.



WINCHFIELD CHURCH, HANTS.
CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH.

PLATE IX.

arched doorway within a square frame, and there are traces of an image-niche over. Its double doors are perhaps as old. In the south aisle, to the eastward, are three large Perpendicular windows; there is another in its west wall, and others of this period appear in the north aisle. The square font-bowl of Purbeck marble, late twelfth century, is mounted on a fourteenth-century stone base, lately restored to the church.

Until a few years ago traces of early paintings remained on the arcade piers, and one on the north side represented "The Woman that was a Sinner" anointing our Lord's feet. I made a *facsimile* copy of it, here reproduced (Fig. 3), some years before it was scraped off by workmen sent to clean the church. The date is late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century.

There are no monuments of any antiquity, saving the grave-slabs above mentioned, nor are the bells and church plate of much interest.

My best thanks are due to our kind hon. photographer (Mr. J. C. Stenning), who specially photographed the interior and exterior views; to Mr. T. M. Grose Lloyd for the admirable photographs of the nave capitals, taken before the removal of the galleries; and to my friend the Editor, Mr. L. F. Salzmänn, for the notes on the early history of the church and the record of what was done at the time of its Elizabethan patching up.

SOME SUSSEX DOMESDAY TENANTS.

BY L. F. SALZMANN, F.S.A.

I.—ALVRED PINCERNA AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

AFTER the Norman Conquest, when the victorious William divided the estates of the conquered Saxons among his followers, none received a larger share of the spoils than did the Conqueror's half brother, the Count of Mortain, to whom was allotted in Sussex the rape of Pevensey with its castle. Count Robert, in turn, assigned portions of his vast estates to his friends and retainers to be held of him, and among those so enriched was Alvred his Butler (*Pincerna*). Of this man's history prior to the Conquest nothing appears to be known, and the first mention of his name would seem to be as witness to a charter granting the Dorset manor of Puddle Hinton to the priory of Mortain in about 1082-4.¹ By 1086, when the Domesday Survey was compiled, Alvred was holding lands in nine counties: In Dorset, Stanton; in Somerset, Bradford, Hale, Norton, Ford, Chiselborough, West Chinnock, Pendomer, Cloford, Wick in Camerton, Weston Bamfield, Chiltorne Domer and an estate at Montacute; in Devon, Monkleigh, Frizenham, Wedfield, "Liteltrorilande," Matford, Thornbury, Chitterleigh, Stockleigh, Poughill and Densham; in Cornwall, Hilton, Thurlebear, Bottoborough, Launcells, Can Orchard, Burrow and "Roscaret;" in Northants, Thorp, Chilcote, Elkington, Lilbourne, Yelvertoft, Buckby, Adstone, Preston Parva and Farthingstone, and also a manor in Guilsborough held of William Peverel; in Notts, Stanton; in Bucks, Caldecot and Mursley; in Yorkshire, Crundel with Norton. In Sussex the Survey only shows him as holding one hide at Claverham, the same amount at Eastbourne, which afterwards became the Manor of Hartfield, and 15s. 4d.

¹ Round, *Cal. Docts. France*, 435.

from herbage at Pevensey; unless three virgates in Alciston and two virgates in Hooe, which were held by "Alvred," belonged to him. This, however, was not the full extent of his original holding in the county, as he gave to the Norman Abbey of Grestain, a chapel in Charlston in West Dean, while to Lewes Priory he gave the Church of East Grinstead, which is not mentioned in Domesday, and tithes in Berwick and Preston.² Other grants to religious houses throw a little light upon his family. Thus we learn that he had a daughter who became a nun at Shaftesbury from an entry in the register of that house of the gift of five hides in Shelvehampton by Alvred Pincerna with his daughter.³ It is worth noting that his contemporary and neighbour in Somerset, Dru de Monte Acuto, also placed his daughter in this famous nunnery.⁴ Moreover Alvred and his wife gave the tithes of Crundel in Yorkshire to St. Alban's Abbey,⁵ and in the register of benefactors of that abbey are entered, with fancy portraits, "Alvred butler of Robert Count of Mortain, who with his wife and sons gave a manor of seven carucates at Norton in Yorkshire, and offered an altar-cloth (*pallium*) to St Alban."⁶ Of the sons here alluded to one was no doubt "Richard son of Alvred Pincerna," who is entered on the Pipe Roll of 1130, under Buckinghamshire, as owing 15 marks "that he may sit with Ralph Basset at the King's pleas." Of this Richard I can find no further mention,⁷ but of the other, and elder, son William fitz Alvred rather more is known. He appears with his father in 1102 among the witnesses to the foundation charter given by William, Count of Mortain, to Montacute Priory,⁸ and again a year or two later he and his father attest the confirmation by

² Cott. MS., Vesp., F. xv., f. 44.

³ Harl. MS., 61, f. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cott. MS., Nero, D. vii., f. 94.

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 98b.

⁷ Probably he is the Richard son of Alfred, who with Richard son of William (? his nephew), remitted all claim in Eltingdon (Northants) to Pipewell Abbey: *Cal. of Chart.* i., 207.

⁸ *Montacute Chartul.* (Somers. Rec. Soc.), 1.

Henry I. of Count William's charter to the abbey of Marmoutier.⁹ On his father's death William fitz Alvred succeeded to most of Alvred's Domesday estates, and in the twelfth century Northants Survey¹⁰ he is entered as holding in that county at Buckby, Lilbourne, Yelvertoft and Guilsborough, all of which had been held by Alvred in 1086, at Harington and Clendon, which were held in 1086 by the Abbey of Grestain—possibly by grant from Alvred, and also three virgates “of the fee of Montague” at Oakley. The Bittlesden chronicle also shows that he was at this time lord of Preston Parva.¹¹

The most important references to William fitz Alvred occur on the Pipe Roll of 1130, where, under Sussex, he is entered as accounting for 1½ marks of gold “that Richer de Aquila may keep the agreement that he made to (*erga*) his men,” paying down 6ⁱⁱ for one mark of gold and owing the other half mark. In another part of the same roll occurs the entry, “William fitz Alvred accounts for the farm of the land of the porters (*janitorum*) and warders. Paid into the Treasury 19ⁱⁱ 4^s. And in livery of the warder of the Keep of Penuesel (Pevensy) 16^s.” Here we have William definitely connected with Pevensy, of which Richer de l'Aigle (*de Aquila*) was lord, and also with the “land of the porters and warders,” about which something must be said. It would seem that Count Robert of Mortain made provision for the defence of his two castles of Montacute, in Somerset, and Pevensy by assigning estates in their neighbourhood to the support of warders, and Domesday accordingly mentions the lands of the porters of Montacute in Somerset, while it also mentions land assigned to “the warders of the castle (of Pevensy)” in Eastbourne and Firle. From the amount, £20, paid by William in 1130 it would seem that he was then farming these warders' estates in both Sussex and Somerset, and his son appears to have succeeded him in control thereof, as will be seen.

⁹ Round, *Cal. Docts., France*, 437.

¹⁰ Printed in *V.C.H., Northants*.

¹¹ *Mon. Angl.* (1655), 783.

William fitz Alvred must have died about 1155, as his son Richard is found paying 30 marks for relief of his lands in Sussex in 1156.¹² He, as Richard fitz William fitz Alvred, confirmed to Lewes Priory the grants of his grandfather and added "Wederesfeld" in East Grinstead (*del hest de Grenested*) and "terra de Hamwde que fuit Waldere."¹³ One of the witnesses to this charter seems to be his uncle Simon (*patruus Ricardi*, I read it, but it is not very clear). In 1161 there is an entry on the Pipe Roll of 22 marks charged against Richard fitz William under the heading "Nova Placita" in Somerset; of this he paid £12. 10s. and was pardoned the rest. At the same time there is a note on the account for Northants of £12. 10s. paid by the King's writ to Richard fitz William "for his knights." A few years later he appears to have got into trouble with the King, possibly in connection with the quarrel with Becket, as in 1165 "Richard fitz William of Pevensey accounts for 200 marks of amercement (paying) into the treasury 100 marks;"¹⁴ a further 60 marks were charged against him in Devon and paid next year. At the same time "the lands of the warders of Pevensey of Muntagu" were seized into the King's hands, the Sheriff of Sussex answering for £6. 18s. for three quarters of the year's issues therefrom. The corresponding estates in Somerset had been seized the previous year, nor does it appear that Richard ever recovered any interest in these estates, if, indeed, we are justified in supposing that he had such interest at the date of their seizure. In any case his own personal estates were not seriously affected and in the return of Knight's fees made in 1166¹⁵ we find Richard fitz William holding 10 fees in Somerset and Dorset, five in Cornwall and in Sussex 15. Richard must have reached a considerable age, as we find him in

¹² Pipe Roll, 2 Hen. II.

¹³ Cott. MS. Vesp., F. xv., f. 43b. An original charter of his, confirming land in Sidenore to Lewes, now in the Record Office (Anct. Deeds, A 4216) is sealed with an equestrian seal; another better example of his seal is in the British Museum (Add. Ch., 22,421).

¹⁴ Pipe Roll, 11 Hen. II.

¹⁵ *Red Book of Exch.*

1195 paying 20 marcs which he owed for leave "to remain in England away from the first army of Normandy,"¹⁶ that is to say from the expedition of the previous year, at which time he must have been at least 60, so that his absence from the front was excusable. About the same date Richard fitz William made an agreement by which he granted the church of Clendon and other property in Northants to Richard, son of Henry de Clendon, and released to him 2s. 6d. service of a Mortain fee, that is to say, "when a fee gives 12^s 6^d" (the amount which the Mortain fees paid to a scutage of 20^s on the ordinary Knight's fee) then Richard's fee shall pay 10^s."¹⁷ He also granted that Richard de Clendon might hold the estates of "Braibroc" and Oakley (*Acleia*), which his father Henry held, if he could acquire them, from which it would seem that these estates had been lost since the date of the Northants Survey—probably in 1165.

Richard fitz William must have died about 1195. He left two sons, John and William, both of whom used the surname Montague (*de Monte Acuto*). The reason for this is a puzzle, for the solution of which I should be very grateful. John and William appear to have had no particular connection with Montacute, their interests being chiefly in Sussex and Northants so far as can be judged from records, and there was already a well-known family of Montague, descended from the Domesday tenant Dru de Montagud. The obvious solution that their mother was one of this family is not only unsupported, but actually contradicted by the evidence. The wife of Richard fitz William, who survived him, was Isabel,¹⁸ who, it may be added, is twice referred to as the mother of John de Montague.¹⁹ On the second occasion we obtain the important information that she was Isabel de Warenne; the record, from a Plea Roll of 1200, runs as follows:²⁰ "An assize of *morte dauncestor* between Martin de Estenor (*recte* Bestenore) and Ysabel de

¹⁶ Pipe Roll, 6 Rich. I., Sussex.

¹⁸ Curia Regis, 20, m. 7.

¹⁷ Curia Regis.

¹⁹ Pleas (Somerset Rec. Soc.), No. 32.

²⁰ Curia Regis, 20, m. 7d.

Warene concerning [100] acres of land in Estenore (*i.e.*, Bestenoure in Pevensey Level) is put in respite because she [] and called to warrant John de Monte Acuto her son because she herself claims nothing in [the said] land except dower." In passing, it may be as well to give the result of this case, which was legally of considerable importance in the matter of villenage tenure:²¹ "A jury came to certify what services Alvric father of Martin de Bestenore performed to the father of John de Monte Acuto for 100 acres of land in Bestenore. The jury say that Ailfric did (service) therefor to the father of John yearly of 20^s with 50 sheep which he had from him and each year he tallaged (*talliavit*) reasonably when he tallaged his other men and he could not betroth (*arrigare*) his daughter until he had made a fine with his lord."²² It was probably about this time that John de Montague obtained leave from the Prior of Lewes, the Bishop of Chichester and Master Alard, rector of East Grinstead, for his mother to have a chapel at her manor of Lavertye.²³ The question arises, who was this Isabel de Warene? There was a lady of that name, sister to William de Warene, Earl of Surrey, who married Robert de Lasey and afterwards Gilbert de L'Aigle,²⁴ and was living in 1233,²⁵ but had died before 1239.²⁶ But as she was already Robert's widow and Gilbert's wife in 1200²⁷ it is not very likely that she was identical with the wife of Richard fitz William, though it is not impossible.

Another reference to relationship is also obscure. In 1199 John de Montague is found paying 400 marks²⁸ to obtain the aid of the law in two cases which do not appear to have been connected; the first being—that the assize of *mort dauncestor* brought against him

²¹ Bracton, *De Legibus*, iii., 303.

²² Curia Regis, 24, m. 2d., *cf.* *Feet of Fines* (Sussex Rec. Soc.), No. 170.

²³ Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv., f. 45.

²⁴ Curia Regis, 113, m. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 214.

²⁷ Curia Regis, 24, m. 9d.

²⁸ Pipe Rolls 1 John, Sussex: *Rot. de Finibus*, 23.

by Walter Croc (who, incidentally, had just paid 200 marks to have such assize)²⁹ might stand over (*remaneat*); the other—to have an enquiry as to whether Richard, his father, was illegally and unjustly disseised of “the manor of Hecton and of the wood of Heihurst and of Afford with appurtenances and of Merston with appurtenances, which lands Walter son of Godfrey and Richard Robbe hold,” as the Pipe Roll puts it, or, in the words of the Fine Roll, “of the manor of Eston in Sussex and of the wood of Aishurst and of Ackford and of Little Merston of which Walter son of Godfrey deforces him and of the land of Scurte which Richard Robe holds.” Taking this second case first, we may note, in passing, the light which these twin entries throw on the vagueness of these legal records, accentuated by the absence of any standard of orthography, and learn therefrom caution in relying upon isolated entries. The “Eston” or “Hecton” in question was Heighton near Firle, which was seised at the same time as the “lands of the warders” in 1165, and accounted for with them on the Pipe Rolls.³⁰ Turning now to the first entry, the lands in dispute were the barony or honour of Otcumbe and Trent in Somerset, which had belonged to Walter Brito. On the death of Walter half his estates had passed to John de Montague, his nephew; the other half had been claimed, and seised, by Walter Croc, and it was for the recovery and royal confirmation of this second half that John was paying. The case was tried the following year,³¹ and the jury decided that “Walter Brito died seised of the barony and Walter Croc is his nearest heir,” but unluckily the grounds of their decision are not stated. The case is complicated by the fact that in 1202 Richard de Hescumbe, “heir of Walter Brito,” made over his rights to half Walter’s lands, then in the king’s hands, to William Briwerre³²—and the *Feudal*

²⁹ *Rot. de Finibus*, 10.

³⁰ He recovered the lands of which his father had been disseised by a payment of 100 marks in 1201, at the same time undertaking to pay up any part of the £100 due for his relief which might be still unpaid: *Rot. de Finibus*, 171.

³¹ *Curia Regis*, 24, m. 6d. The payment of 400 marks was remitted: *Rot. de Finibus*, 171.

³² *Rot. de Finibus*, 184.

Aids show that Otcumbe and Trent remained in the Briwerre family. Of Walter Brito there is little to be said beyond the fact that he held a fee in Dorset and Somerset of Richard fitz William in 1166; and it was, perhaps, in right of this overlordship that ward of the children of William Brito, of Sidelis (Sidelynych in Dorset) was entered in 1200 as an "escheat of the fee of John de Montague."³³ Finally, there may be something more than a coincidence in the fact that in 1205 William de Montague gave 50 marks to have the marriage of the daughter of Elyas Croc for the use of his son,³⁴ though this William was probably not the brother of John, but one of the better-known family.

While the blood relationships of John de Montague are thus puzzling, there is fortunately no doubt about the identity of his wife, thanks to what can only be called a family scandal. In 1226 William de Montague brought an action against his brother John and his wife Lucy, for causing a girl (*garciam*), Katherine by name, to be brought up as their daughter and heir to his disherison, as they had really no daughter or any other heir than himself, William.³⁵ John at once replied that he was not causing any girl, either Katherine or any other, to be brought up, and that he never had a daughter or any other heir than his brother William. Lucy, on the other hand, said that in truth she had a daughter, but that she did not know whether she was alive or not, but that if she might see the girl she would say for certain whether she was her daughter or not. Upon this the Bishop of Winchester, in whose ward Katherine then was, came forward, and said that Lucy bore her on the eve of St. Katherine, and for that reason she was called Katherine. Moreover, he produced her in court, and said that she was the daughter and heir of John and Lucy, as appeared from a charter by which John had granted the marriage of the said Katherine as his daughter and heir to John the Marshal, and the same Marshal had granted it to the Bishop. And to

³³ *Rot. de Finibus*, 98.

³⁴ *Rot. de Finibus*, 293.

³⁵ *Curia Regis*, 96, m. 17*d*.

prove that this was the girl in question he produced witnesses, namely, Savaric de Bohun, the brother of Lucy, and William de St. John, Katherine's godfather (*parentem*), and Piers de Mauley, who had brought her up (*nutrivit*), and the Earl of Chester, who had also brought her up for a long time, and the Earl Marshal and many others, and Roger la Zouche, who had also brought her up. Decision was therefore given that Katherine should remain John's heir unless perchance he should afterwards have a son; and Katherine petitioned that her father should not sell or alienate any part of her inheritance or of her mother's dower by reason of the hatred that was between them. It is always rash to theorize without knowing the circumstances, but we may perhaps attribute John's unpaternal conduct partly to annoyance at having no son, accentuated by ill-health, as other incidental references show that he was ill about this time, and afflicted with some kind of goitre (*gutturinosus*). Those who like may draw what conclusions they choose as to his extravagance or piety from the following records of his dealings with Jews and religious houses. In 1213 he made the statement that all his lands were then and had been for a long time in the hands of the King³⁶, who had made over the manors of Hetherington (Northants) and Marsh (Bucks) to Henry Tregoz, Michael de Poynings and Enjurer de Bohun, who answered for their issues at the Exchequer; and the Sheriff of Sussex in the previous year had accounted for £26. 19s. 2d. from the issues of the land of John de Montague, taken into the King's hands for debts owed to Jews, during the time it was in the King's hands before he made fine therefor.³⁷ Both the manors of Hetherington and Marsh, mentioned above, were held in 1086 by Grestain Abbey, almost certainly by grant of Alvrred Pincerna, in the hands of whose descendants certain rights of over-lordship, &c., remained, Hetherington being returned in the Northants Survey as belonging to William fitz Alvrred, and the advowson of Marsh

³⁶ Curia Regis, 58, m. 14.

³⁷ Pipe Roll, 13 John.

descending with Alvred's other estates. In 1215 the patronage of this church was in dispute between John de Montague and Geoffrey Gibeuin.³⁸ The latter stated that the greater part of the church stood on the fee of the barony of Dudley and Chanceaux (*Dudele et Cancellum*), but that John was trying to attach it to the barony of Mortain; also that in the time of Henry II. his father, Ralph Gibeuin, and Gervase Paynel litigated for 12 years, at the end of which time a duel was waged and a fine levied; at which time Richard, father of John, lodged no claim. John replied that the dispute did not affect the church, to which his father Richard had presented. This record is of considerable interest if read in connection with Domesday. In 1086 the original 15-hide manor of Marsh (which derives its distinguishing name of Marsh-Gibbon from this family of Gibeuin) had been divided into two, 11 hides being held by the Abbey of Grestain of the Count of Mortain, and the other four by Ailric, a Saxon, who had held them before the Conquest, but now held them at farm from William fitz Ansculf "in heaviness and misery" (*graviter et miserabiliter*).³⁹ The lands of William fitz Ansculf, of Dudley Castle, afterwards passed to the Paynels⁴⁰, and it would seem that the lords of the two manors must have united to build a church on the boundary of their estates. In 1214 the Abbot of Grestain paid one mark to have a writ of *precipe* against John de Montague, to make him "do to him what he ought to do for the manor which he holds of him in Hetherington and Marsh."⁴¹ It was perhaps as a result of this that John, who had been holding the manor from the Abbot, granted it back to him; whereupon he put a monk in charge, but upon John's death the Archdeacon of Lewes, who had the custody of John's lands, tried to seize the manor, while Andrew de Chanceaux acted still more vigorously and ejected the monk.⁴² So far as Hetherington was concerned John appears to have

³⁸ Curia Regis, 59, m. 2d.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *V. C. H. Bucks*, i.

⁴¹ *Rot. de Finibus*, 542.

⁴² Curia Regis, 105, m. 8.

complicated matters by giving the manor (? the overlordship) to the Knights Hospitallers, who undertook in return to maintain a priest to pray for his soul.⁴³

John de Montague died in 1227 or 1228, and as Katherine, his daughter and heir, was under age the King gave the custody of his lands first to Eustace, Archdeacon of Lewes, and afterwards to the Earl of Cornwall,⁴⁴ to whom orders were given to assign reasonable dower to his widow, Lucy.⁴⁵ Orders were also given for Hetherington Manor to be handed over to the Prior of the Hospitallers and his associates, John's executors.⁴⁶ Katherine was shortly afterwards married to Warin Basset and with her husband was involved in several disputes with her mother on the question of dower, and with her uncle on the question of certain estates said to have been granted him by her father. John de Montague had granted to his brother William all his land at Jevington, in Pevensey Marsh and in Little Preston (Northants), and the grant had been confirmed by the King in September, 1227.⁴⁷ Consequently when, in 1230, Lucy de Bohun claimed as dower against William de Montague one third of the villis of Jevington, Lavertye, Brambletye and Little Preston, he produced his brother's charter and called upon Warin and Katherine to be his warranties against Lucy.⁴⁸ They denied the authenticity of the charter and pointed out that in any case it did not mention Brambletye, into which William had intruded during John's life. Warin and Katherine also brought actions against the Prior of the Hospitallers to recover six carucates in Hetherington,⁴⁹ on the ground that when John de Montague demised them to him he was not in his right mind, and against the Abbot of Grestain for three carucates in Marsh. The Bassets of Wycombe were concerned with Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, in his rebellion against Henry III., as were also the

⁴³ Cott. MS., Nero, E. vi., f. 112.

⁴⁴ Close, 12 Hen. III., m. 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, m. 6.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 7.

⁴⁷ *Cal. of Chart.*, i., 59.

⁴⁸ Curia Regis, 107, m. 9d.

⁴⁹ Curia Regis, 101, m. 9.

Somerset Montagues, who were connected with them by marriage. Warin took the part of his elder brothers, Gilbert and Philip, and was accordingly proscribed in September, 1233,⁵⁰ and was killed on 15th October in that year in the successful attack upon Cardiff Castle.⁵¹

Katherine's hand was promptly bestowed by King Henry upon Michael, son of the steward of the royal household, Ralph fitz Nicholas.⁵² Michael and Katherine in 1234 were concerned in a suit⁵³ against her uncle, William de Montague, for eight knights' fees and a half and three-quarters in Jevington, Chiddingly, Alfriston, Crowlink, Ratton, Burton, Holindale, Preston and Charlton, a carucate of land in Brambletye, the advowsons of the churches of Jevington and Chiddingly and two knights' fees in Preston and Forehoe (Northants), to which his only title was by gift of John de Montague made at a time when he was ill and disabled and lying in that illness of which he died. William disclaimed the church of Chiddingly, which he said belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, but claimed that John had enfeoffed him in the other estates a year and a half before his death, and that he had presented clerks to the churches of Jevington and Alfriston; he also added that the advowson of Longborough (*Langeberge*) was appurtenant to the manor of Forehoe. Against this it was protested that the deed produced was not the deed of enfeoffment, as it was not sealed with John's great seal, but William asserted that John often used this seal for deeds. In the end the case was settled by agreement. The reference to the advowson of Chiddingly is worth noticing; for in 1214 John de Montague claimed this against William Maufe,⁵⁴ who said that it was not vacant as on the death of Gilbert the last parson, who died a little before Easter, he himself went at once to the legate, who happened to be in the district, and, as the see of Chichester was vacant, presented to him his clerk, Eustace. In spite of this the case proceeded, and the jury found that William,

⁵⁰ Pat., 17 Hen. III., m. 2.

⁵² Pat., 18, Hen. III., m. 10.

⁵¹ Matt. Paris, *Chron.* iii., 248.

⁵³ Curia Regis, 115, m. 28d.

⁵⁴ Curia Regis, 58, m. 13d.

father of William Maufe, presented Gilbert, the last rector, but that afterwards Richard fitz William recovered seisin against Lewes Priory and presented the same Gilbert, who was then admitted. It was probably about a year later that William Maufe claimed to advowson against John de Montague⁵⁵ on the ground that his grandfather William was seised thereof in the time of Henry II. and presented one Godwin, who was admitted as parson.

About 1238 William de Montague died,⁵⁶ leaving two daughters, Margaret, wife of William de Echingham, and Isabel, a minor. Some time before his death he had granted to Michelham Priory "the chapelry of Jevington with all appurtenances of the said chantry."⁵⁷ The site of this chapel appears to be commemorated by the name "Chapel Field," above Jevington Church, but nothing more is known about it. To the same Priory his wife Agnes had given all her demesne in Hartfield and Cowden. William and Agnes were also associated in gifts to Daventry Priory, in return for which the Prior agreed to find a chaplain to celebrate daily at Little Preston when they were in residence and to repair the chancel of the chapel, of which they were to keep the nave in repair.⁵⁸ In 1239 Agnes brought a number of actions for dower in her late husband's estates, Katherine and her husband Michael being defendants, either as actual tenants or as guardians of Isabel, the young daughter of William.⁵⁹ As a result Agnes obtained fees in Burton, Ditton, Ratton, Holindale and Wannock, the advowson of Alfriston, a third of the manor of Brambletye and the capital message of Jevington.

Shortly after this Katherine lost her second husband, and on 25th November, 1240, the King granted her marriage to Hugh de Vivona⁶⁰; on 26th February, 1242, she was released from her oath not to marry without the King's leave, Hugh de Vivona being empowered to take

⁵⁵ *Curia Regis*, 117, m. 7*d*.

⁵⁶ *Pat.*, 30 Hen. III., m. 8.

⁵⁷ Salzmänn, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 203.

⁵⁸ *Cott. MS.*, Claud., D. xii., f. 113.

⁵⁹ *Curia Regis*, 120, ms. 6*d.*, 8, 8*d.*

⁶⁰ *Pat.*, 25 Hen. III., m. 12.

a similar oath from her,⁶¹ and in the following May she was licensed to marry whom she would.⁶² Her choice fell upon Roger de Wanton, in conjunction with whom in 1243 she made a grant of lands in Chiselborough, Norton and elsewhere in Somerset and Elerky in Cornwall.⁶³ This last manor was not among the Domesday possessions of Alvred, but is recorded in the *Testa de Nevill*,⁶⁴ as held by Michael fitz Nicholas and Katherine his wife, as one fee of John de Montague's. The said John, about 1213, had claimed the advowson of of Elerky (*alias* Veryan) against the Prior of Montacute, who had denied that it was vacant, saying that Roger Cole was vicar and James de Siccavilla rector. John, however, claimed successfully that on the death of Gilbert, the last rector, whom Richard fitz William, his father, had presented, he had himself duly presented Thomas, Chancellor of Wells, to the rectory.⁶⁵

Katherine de Montague died childless about the beginning of 1244, her husband, Roger de Wanton, and Walter de Luton being the executors of her will.⁶⁶ Her two cousins, Margaret or Margery and Isabel, thus became co-heirs of all the Montague estates. Of them Margery was already the wife of Sir William de Echingham; he died without issue in 1252,⁶⁷ his brother Simon being his heir. Margery survived him, but upon her death in 1257⁶⁸ her sister Isabel became sole representative of the family of Montague. Isabel, at the time of Katherine's death, was still under age and a royal ward; the Patent Rolls showing that the King presented in her right to the churches of Clendon (Northants) in 1245, Longborough (Gloucs.) jointly with William de Echingham in 1246, and Chiddingly and Jevington in 1247. In 1248 the King granted her wardship to Stephen de Salines,⁶⁹ who sold it next year to her mother Agnes de Montague.⁷⁰ Isabel's history is an

⁶¹ Pat., 26, Hen. III., m. 10.

⁶² *Ibid.*, m. 4.

⁶³ Curia Regis, 134, m. 14 (partly illegible).

⁶⁴ p. 201.

⁶⁵ Curia Regis, 58, m. 14.

⁶⁶ *Rot. Finium* i., 246.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, i., 287.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Finium* ii, 266.

⁶⁹ Pat., 32 Hen. III., m. 4.

⁷⁰ Pat., 33 Hen. III., m. 5.

example of the complicated network of relationships between mediæval families introduced by remarriage. She was herself married three times: her first husband, Ralph de la Haye, had a son by a previous marriage with Eustachia de Nevill, herself a widow with a son.⁷¹ Ralph, to whom she was married before 1252,⁷² died in 1254,⁷³ and the following year Isabel paid 200 marks, which the King made over to Guy de Lezignan,⁷⁴ to be allowed to marry whom she chose. Accordingly she shortly afterwards married Thomas de Aldham, by whom she had two children, Baldwin and Joan. Baldwin married Nicholaa, daughter of William de Wintershull, and had a son, Francis, who died without issue, while Joan married John de St. Clare,⁷⁵ whose eventual heiress in the fifteenth century married Sir John Gage, ancestor of the present Lord Gage, who is thus the representative of Alvred Pincerna. It is rather remarkable that Ralph de la Haye⁷⁶ and Thomas de Aldham⁷⁷ both bore the same arms—a blazing sun—which arms were afterwards adopted from the Aldhams by the St. Clares and quartered by the Gages. The natural conclusion would be that these were the arms of Montague; but on the other hand the lozengy shield found on the seal of Sir William de Echingham,⁷⁸ with the shields of Echingham, St. John and Stopham, is usually assigned to Montague, and its suggestion of the famous lozengy or fusilly fess of the greater Montagues would be mediævally in accord with the connection which must have existed—whether tenurial or consanguineous—between the two families.

Thomas de Aldham died 11th December, 1275, and within three years of his death Isabel had married Richard de Pevensey, who was steward of the Queen's honour of Aquila, in which position he made himself

⁷¹ *Feet of Fines* (Sussex Record Society), 428, 518.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 523.

⁷³ *Rot. Finium*, 38 Hen. III., m. 5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 39 Hen. III., m. 8.

⁷⁵ De Banco East. 28 Edw. III., m. 206.

⁷⁶ Papworth, *Ordinary of British Armorial*, 1100.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *S.A.C.*, Vol. XXX., p. 145.

very unpopular,⁷⁹ and Sheriff of Sussex from 1285 to 1287. In 1279 Richard and Isabel granted a messuage and 100 acres of land in Bestenover, in Pevensey Level, to Thomas de Montague⁸⁰ in exchange for any rights that he might have in the manors of Jevington and Brambletye, and Chiselborough in Somerset. Who this Thomas was is not known, but ten years later he granted this land to Robert Marshal, of Westminster,⁸¹ saving to Robert, perpetual vicar of Pevensey, his term of three years. The previous year, 1288, he is mentioned as being rector of Alfriston.⁸² Another more important transaction in which Richard and Isabel were concerned was the agreement by which they recovered from Sir John Camoys and Margaret, his wife, the manors of West Chinnock and Chiselborough in Somerset, Heighton in Sussex and Elerky (Veryan, in Cornwall).⁸³ These had been the subject of a fine between Isabel and Thomas de Audham on the one hand and John de Gatesden, father of Margaret Camoys, on the other; now by this latter fine the first was annulled, and, in exchange for a confirmation of the manors of Bradford and Norton, Margaret and her husband remitted all claims to the other estates. John de Gatesden seems to have been a member of the official class who, having prospered in his employment, joined the select ranks of the landed proprietors by buying a number of estates in Sussex and elsewhere; the marriage of his daughter to Sir John Camoys may have been satisfactory to her father, but ended disastrously.⁸⁴ Gatesden had the guardianship of Isabel and her land while she was in the King's hands, and was therefore called upon, in 1247, to acquit Agnes de Montague of the service of two and a half knights' fees demanded by Peter of Savoy from her dower lands in Jevington and elsewhere.⁸⁵ About the same time he fell foul of the

⁷⁹ *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLII., pp. 185-6.

⁸⁰ *Feet of Fines* (Sussex Record Society), No. 893.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1044; Coram Rege, Hil. 17 Edw. I., m.

⁸² Close, 16 Edw. I., m. 7d.

⁸³ *Feet of Fines* (Sussex Record Society), No. 904.

⁸⁴ See *S.A.C.*, Vol. LV., pp. 29-32.

⁸⁵ Assize Roll, 877, m. 3d.

same lady over a house in Holindale, which William de Holendale had leased to Agnes for a term of years, after which Gatesden claimed that it should revert to him, emphasising his claim with armed force, which Agnes met with similar violence.⁸⁶ Agnes was at this time wife of Nicholas Malmeins,⁸⁷ who had been bailiff of the honour of Aquila under John de Gatesden,⁸⁸ and she and her husband were concerned in two interesting cases in 1262.

The first of these two cases⁸⁹ was an assize held to decide whether Nicholas Malmeins and Agnes his wife and Robert Paget had disseised Ralph de Mankeseye of his freehold in Pevensey. Agnes, it seems, had previously impleaded Ingeram de Mankeseye, Ralph's brother, of whose gift Ralph held two thirds of the estate, for one third of the estate as dower due through the death of William de Montague, her late husband. After she had recovered this third, which was salt marsh (*mareckum maris*), she and William de Northye and their other co-tenants by common consent enclosed the marsh with a sea wall, and as Ralph refused to contribute to the enclosure she enclosed his two thirds with her own third; the custom of the sea board being that if anyone has a holding in the marsh and declines to contribute with his neighbours when they wish to enclose the marsh, then his holding shall remain in the hands of whoever bore the cost of enclosing it until they have recovered the cost. In the end Ralph granted that Nicholas and Agnes should hold the land in question for their lives from the Prior of Michelham, as chief lord of the fee, with reversion after their deaths to the prior. The second case⁹⁰ was an assize to find whether Thomas de Aldham and Isabel his wife had disseised Nicholas Malmeyns and Agnes of their freehold in East Grinstead, namely, of a third of two water mills and of a mine of iron. Thomas said that

⁸⁶ Assize Roll, 909, m. 1.

⁸⁷ *Feet of Fines* (Sussex Record Society), Nos. 506, 523.

⁸⁸ Assize Roll, 909, m. 2.

⁸⁹ Assize Roll, 912, m. 16*d*.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, m. 17*d*.

Nicholas and Agnes had the third of the profits of the mills as her dower, but afterwards in course of time the mills perished so that none of them received any profits therefrom: it was then agreed that Thomas should repair the mills and take all the profits, saving to Nicholas and Agnes one quarter yearly of multure coming from the issues of the mills; and also Thomas gave them the suit of certain of his tenants at Lavertye to be done to a new mill which Nicholas had set up in Lavertye, which tenants formerly did suit to the said two mills. As to the mine, in the time of Ralph de la Haye, Isabel's first husband, Agnes used so receive by the hands of his servant a third of the profits of the mine by way of dower, and such third should still be paid if there were any profits from that source, but since Ralph's death there had been done. *? none*

Isabel de la Haye died at the end of August, 1285,⁹¹ her son and heir, Baldwin de Aldham, being at that time just over 23. The lands which she then held in Sussex were,— $1\frac{1}{4}$ fees in Jevington and Lampham; 1 in Preston, held by Luke de Poynings; 1 in Holindale, by William de Holindale; 1 in Ratton, by William Goldingham, and another half fee there held by Richard Hereward; 2 in "Ambefeud," Farnstrete, Bowley and Rameshurst (all in the neighbourhood of Hailsham), held by Andrew de Sackville; 1 in Charlton, by William Graundin; 2 in Burton (? in Jevington), by the "parcenarii de Burtone;" half a fee in Crowlink, by William de Echingham; 1 in Eastbourne, by "the heirs of Hertefeud;" $1\frac{3}{4}$ in Chiddingly, Derne, Cobford and Ebrystesham in Waldron, by William Maufe; also Brambletye manor, as a member of Jevington, and Lavertye in East Grinstead, held of John Peverel. Of these, Jevington, Preston, Ratton, Charlton, Burton, Chiddingly and Brambletye are all associated in Domesday with the name of Ralph, founder of the family of Dene, whose history I hope to trace in my next instalment.

⁹¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii., 571.

A PALATINATE SEAL OF JOHN, EARL OF
WARENNE, SURREY AND STRATHERNE,
1305—1347.¹

BY SIR W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, LITT.D., D.C.L.

AMONG the several thousand seals attached to documents in the Public Record Office (of which a card catalogue is now being made), there has lately come to light a fine example of more than ordinary interest.

This is a large double seal of John Earl of Warenne and Surrey, which, though now loose, was originally attached by plaited cords of mauve and pink silk to a deed dated 1st April, 1346, granting to King Edward III. the castle and town of Reigate with the manors of Dorking and Betchworth in Surrey, the castle and town of Lewes and various manors in Sussex, with certain castles and lands in Wales. [See Appendix.]

The seal is in dark green wax, and of unusually large size, being a trifle over 4-ins. in diameter, a width equalled only by the contemporary great seals of the King. The impression is also a remarkably sharp one, but about a third part of one side has unhappily been broken off and lost.

The obverse shows the earl as a man in the prime of life, bareheaded and with long wavy hair, moustache and short beard, seated on a throne. He is clothed in an underdress open at the neck and with tight sleeves, a long and apparently sleeveless gown reaching to the feet, and an ample mantle held by a cord across the

¹ By the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries (to whom the paper was originally communicated) and of the Surrey Archæological Society we are enabled to reproduce this interesting note (which has just appeared in *Surrey Archæological Collections*, Vol. XXVII.) on this singularly beautiful seal belonging to a member of a family as intimately connected with Sussex as with Surrey, and attached to a deed dealing with property in the county of Sussex.—ED.



PALATINATE SEAL OF JOHN, EARL OF WARRENNE.

(from a Block kindly lent by the Surrey Archæological Society.)

chest. In his outstretched right hand he holds a long-stalked flower, but the left arm, which was also extended, is broken away below the elbow. The throne is similar in form to that on the first "seal of absence" of King Edward the Third, and consists of a long seat with carved edge and panelled front, and high panelled back and ends crested with trefoils. At every corner is a tall pinnacle, the front pair rising from buttresses which stand upon a curved footboard. The flat seat is ornamented with a lattice pattern and may represent stamped leather.

The background of the enthroned figure, in allusion to the earl's surname, depicts a *warren* or coney-garth. Below the throne, among little oak trees, is a rabbit feeding, while two others sit in the mouths of their burrows. On the earl's right is another coney in his burrow, and a hart browsing upon a young oak. Whatever was on the left side of the earl is broken away.

The legend about the obverse, in large Lombardic capitals, seems to have been :

✠ SIGILLUM : IOHANNIS :
 COMITIS : W]ARENNIE :
 ET : STRATHERDIE : ET :
 COMITIS : PALACII

but the first three words are gone.

The reverse of the seal shows the earl on horseback galloping at full speed to the right. He has upon him a shirt of mail, which can be seen about the neck and upon the extended right arm, but the body is covered by a long and thin sleeveless jupe, and the legs and feet clearly have defences of plate. Over his head he has a close helm with eye and air holes in front, surmounted by his crest, which is a charbocle of eight arms set between a pair of short tipped and curved horns. The back of the helm is covered by a flowing mantling. Upon each shoulder is fixed an upright oblong ailette with the checkers of the earl's arms, and his left arm is covered by a similarly checkered

shield. The outstretched right arm shows the mail slit open along the inside, disclosing a tight sleeve within which seems to be girt with a strap. Possibly this served to secure a metal elbow-cop outside the mail. The lost right hand no doubt brandished a naked sword, which was secured to the earl's person by a chain hanging from its hilt to some point hidden by the shield.

The horse is entirely covered by a flowing checkered trapper, with a charboche like that of the earl's crest fixed between the ears. The saddle is a high one, and the bridle seems to be of chain covered with leather. The base between the horse's feet is a pool, with a pair of swans and two cygnets swimming therein, and on the bank at either end is a stork or crane.

The legend on the reverse is :

[✠] SIGILLUM : IOHANNIS :
 COMITIS : WARRENNIE :
 ET : SVRR

but the final words are broken away.

John de Warenne was the posthumous son of William de Warenne, only son and heir apparent of John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and of Joan his wife, daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He was born in 1286, and in 1305 succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Surrey and Sussex. In 1306 he received the honour of knighthood, and the same year married Joan, daughter of Henry, count of Bar, by the Lady Eleanor, daughter of King Edward I. He was created Earl of Stratherne in 1333 by Edward Balliol. As Stratherne was then a county palatine in Scotland, earl John was able to assume the title he bears on his seal of *Comes Palacii*.²

There can also be little doubt that, on account of this last dignity, he caused to be engraved the remarkable seal under notice. And its close resemblance to the

² In his will dated 24th June, 1347, the earl styles himself
 Johan Counte de Warenne de Surrey et de Stratherne
 Seigneur de Bromfeld et de Yal ;

but in the deed to which the seal belongs simply Earl of Surrey. (See Appendix).

great seals of the King is due to the earl's quasi-regal jurisdiction in a county palatine. It likewise has for parallel the palatinate seals used by the bishops of Durham down to 1836. The earliest of these is the seal of Thomas of Hatfield, 1345 to 1381, and is a double one, having on the obverse the bishop enthroned, and on the reverse the bishop in full armour galloping along on his charger.

Since earl John's seal was in all probability engraved in 1333, it is the earliest of known palatinate seals, and as the impression in the Public Record Office was attached to a deed of 1346, the earl no doubt continued to use it until his death on 30th June, 1347.

It is much to be hoped that other impressions may be brought to light of so noteworthy a seal.

APPENDIX.

RECORD OFFICE, ANCIENT DEEDS A. S. 244.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos Johannes de Warena Comes Surr' dedimus concessimus reddidimus quietumclamauimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris domino nostro domino Edwardo Regi Anglie et Francie Castrum et villam de Reygate, Maneria de Dorkyng', et Bechesworth' cum pertinentiis in Comitatu Surr', Castrum et villam de Lewes, Maneria de Cokefeld' Cleyton' Dychenyng', Mechyng' Pecham Brightelmeston' Rotyngden' Houndeden', Northese Rademelde Kymere Middelton', Alyngton' Worth' et Pycoumbe, ac villas de Iford' Pydyngshowe et Seford' cum pertinentiis suis in Comitatu Sussex', neenon omnia alia Maneria hameletta terras et tenementa nostra cum pertinentiis in Comitatus predictis, ac eciam Castra de Dynasbran et de Castro leonis ac terras de Bromfeld' yale et Wrightlesham cum pertinentiis suis in Wallia videlicet quicquid habemus in Comitatus predictis et Wallia in dominicis dominiis et seruiciis sine ullo retenemento, Habenda et tenenda eidem domino nostro Regi heredibus et assignatis suis cum feodis Militum Aduocacionibus ecclesiarum Capellarum Abbatiarum Prioratum Hospitalium et aliarum domorum religiosarum, homagiis et aliis seruiciis libere tenencium villanis cum eorum villenagiis et sequelis Warennis Chaciis parcis boscis viuariis stagnis

Mariscis piscariis pascuis pasturis hundredis libertatibus, regalibus et aliis quibuscumque ad predicta Castra villas Maneria hameletta terras et tenementa spectantibus sine reclamatione nostra seu heredum nostrorum imperpetuum. Et nos predictus Comes et heredes nostri omnia Castra villas Maneria hameletta terras et tenementa predicta cum feodis aduocacionibus et omnibus aliis pertinenciis suis predictis eidem domino nostro Regi heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes Warantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus Hiis testibus Bartholomeo de Burgherssh'. Thoma de Bradestan Johanne Darcy le fitz Johanne de Monte Gomery Thoma de Holand' Rogero de Bello Campo Edmundo Trussel Johanne Vynter Magistro Johanne de Thoresby Canonico lincolnie Rogero de Dorkyng' Canonico lichefeld' et aliis Data apud Caneford' primo die Aprilis Anno domini Millesimo Trescentesimo quadragesimo sexto regni vero dicti domini Regis videlicet Anglie vicesimo et ffrancie septimo.

[*Endorsed*] la chartre du feffement du Counte de Garrenn' faite au Roi des terres en Surr' Sussex' et Gales double.

[*and in a later hand*] Johannes Comes Warrennæ 20 E: 3: Regi qujeta clamantia.

THE SUSSEX MANORS OF THE EARLS OF WARENNE.

BY CHARLES G. O. BRIDGEMAN,

Barrister-at-Law.

AFTER my paper on the devolution of the Sussex manors, once belonging to the Earls of Warrenne, among the co-heirs of the FitzAlan Earls of Arundel (*S.A.C.*, Vol. LVI., pp. 54-91) had been printed, I succeeded in finding at the Public Record Office certain other documents which seem to me very material to the main question discussed there, and, if I may be allowed, I should like to add a few words by way of supplement to that paper.

1. I there stated (p. 73) that I had been unable to discover Manning and Bray's authority for their account of the termination of the proceedings between Maurice Berkeley and the Crown with respect to the Berkeley share of the manor of Reigate (*History of Surrey*, Vol. I., p. 276). I now find that the reference should be to Chancery Pleadings, Common Law Side (Rolls Chapel Series), Bundle 1, No. 29, and that the date of the final adjudication was 17th March, 19 Henry VII. (1504). No. 35 in the same Bundle consists of similar proceedings, *viz.*, petition of right, order directing inquiry and inquisition (all in Latin), and the final adjudication (in English) in respect of all the Sussex manors mentioned in the inquisition taken on the death of his brother, the Marquess Berkeley. These documents establish, I think, beyond all doubt that my conclusion on the main question was correct. Maurice Berkeley's claim is based on the existence of the old entail of 1363, and the title is traced step by step down to the death of the Marquess, including the partition in 1440, the only thing omitted

being the later partition *circa* 1483 (relied upon by the Earl of Surrey in 1513), which, if completed and binding on collaterals, would have put an end to Maurice Berkeley's claim to a share in these manors. The date of final adjudication on the petition as regards these Sussex manors is 8th April, 19 Henry VII. (1504). Maurice Berkeley obtained his Act of Parliament, removing the statutory impediment to his title, the same year, the parliamentary session beginning on the 25th January, 1504.

In my paper (pp. 76, 83) I accepted, on the authority of Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, the statement that the share which Maurice Berkeley recovered against the Crown was afterwards sold by him to Lord Bergavenny (and not to the Earl of Surrey), and I concluded that the Earl of Surrey must subsequently and before 1513 have acquired this share from Lord Bergavenny. It may be so, but there is another possibility, suggested by the date of the termination of the proceedings between Maurice Berkeley and the Crown (1504) as compared with Manning and Bray's statement as to the ownership of Reigate manor in 1496 (*History of Surrey*, Vol. II., p. 278), and it is this: That neither Maurice Berkeley nor the Crown was ever in effective possession of the alleged Berkeley share of the Surrey and Sussex manors at all, but that possession had followed the real title as put forward by the Earl of Surrey (as he then still was) in 1513, *viz.*, a partition *circa* 1483, under which the Marquess Berkeley and Sir John Wingfield took between them the great Marcher lordship of Bromfield and Yale in Denbighshire, while the Surrey and Sussex manors (except those which were then still held in dower by Edmund Lenthall's widow) fell to the shares of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Derby. The Earl of Surrey was not of course a party to the proceedings between Maurice Berkeley and the Crown, and would not be bound by them, although his name appears as one of the "tryers of petitions" appointed for the session of Parliament in 19 Henry VII.; and Smyth states (*Lives of the Berkeleys*, Vol. II., p. 166) that Maurice Berkeley's two sons, Maurice and Thomas,

joined in the assurance to Lord Bergavenny, "and for performance of the agreements bound themselves in £3,000 bond the peece to the said Lord Burgavenny," which does not look as if Lord Bergavenny was altogether satisfied with the title shewn. Upon this hypothesis King Henry VII. did not give up very much when he consented to judgment being given in favour of Maurice Berkeley; moreover, the lordship of Bromfield and Yale was then actually in the possession of the Crown by reason of the attainder and forfeiture of the estates of Sir William Stanley, the purchaser from the Marquess Berkeley and Sir John Wingfield, who could only have made a title to two-fourth parts thereof if the alleged partition in 1483 had been inoperative. A partition of *entailed* lands between coparceners would bind the issue in tail if made fairly, the lands allotted to each being of equal value at the time of the partition, but not otherwise. (See *Coke upon Littleton*, 166a, 169b and 173b).

2. There are also to be found at the Public Record Office certain Ministers' Accounts (all in Latin) for various periods during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which throw much light on the particulars of these Sussex Manors and would be well worth careful study by anyone interested in the history of the particular manors concerned.

The first is an account, or rather the first two are accounts, of Rowland Lenthall, the father of Edmund Lenthall, of the estates which had been allotted to Edmund Lenthall in 1440 after the death of Beatrice Countess of Arundel, and which were then in the hands of the King during his minority; they are for the period between Michaelmas, 1440, and the feast of S. Botolph (June 17), 1441, when Edmund Lenthall came of age (Min. Account, 19 Henry VI., Nos. 1 and 2). Besides other estates in Essex and Surrey they comprise in Sussex one third of Lewes castle (including the chace of Cleres described as belonging to it), one third of Lewes town (including view of frank-pledge, courts of town and barony, fair, fishery and various hundred courts), the whole manors of Cokefeld, Hundeden and Kymere, one third of the

forest of Worth, one third of a third (*sic*) of the Sheriffs turn called Nomanslond and of the rent called Sherivesyeld within the rape of Arundel, one third of the advowson of Lewes priory and one third of 72½ knights' fees, and one third of one tenth of a knight's fee. To take Cuckfield as an example of the particulars given, the whole manor appears to have then included £15. 0s. 11d. rents of assize, Cuckfield park containing 229 acres and Bentley park 326 acres, both of no value beyond the sustentation of the wild beasts, a water mill of no value beyond reprises, a site in the manor of Haldelegh, described as "a member and parcel of the manor of Cokefeld," also of no value beyond reprises, and 23s. 4d. issues of 130 acres of arable land (extended at 3d. per acre) beyond reprises.

The next Ministers' Account is that of the various reeves and other officers from Michaelmas, 1497, to Michaelmas, 1498 (Min. Account, 13 and 14 Henry VII., No. 1474). It has no title or description of its contents, but internal evidence shows that it comprises the share formerly enjoyed by the Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk, the last of whom died in 1476; and, in fact, at the time when the account was rendered the Crown was claiming to be entitled to the Berkeley share of those estates. The various officers get their discharge by payments made to Richard Lewkenor, Esquire, receiver there, and in one passage he is described as receiver of the counties of Surrey and Sussex, for which counties he was doubtless Crown receiver, though I presume he would himself account to the persons beneficially interested in all the shares. The Sussex manors included in this account are Mechyng (Newhaven) with Mechyng warren, Middleton, BRIGHTHELMESTON (Brighton), Clayton and Seaford (all of which on the partition of 1440 had been allotted to John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk), a moiety of Cuckfield, a moiety of Lewes borough and a third part of Lewes barony. The other moiety of Cuckfield and of Lewes borough, and a third part of Lewes barony at this time belonged to Lord Bergavenny, while the remaining third part of Lewes barony, which

had been assigned as part of the dower of Edmund Lenthall's widow, was doubtless accounted for separately, together with the manors of Hundeden and Keymer, the Cuckfield park inclosure and the Haldelegh demesne lands, these never having formed part of the possessions of the Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk. This account is interesting because of the minute detail in which the particulars are given, and I have thought it of sufficient importance to append, by way of illustration, a full translation of that part of the account which deals with the moiety of Cuckfield. It gives a good general idea of the nature of the works and services performed by the customary tenants of the manor more than four centuries ago, and mentions many names of persons and places which it would be interesting to identify. It is more than probable that some mistakes may occur in my translation; for the original, though in most places in good preservation and clearly written, is full of abbreviations, and there is a threefold source of error, *viz.*, in deciphering the letters, in extending the abbreviations, and in rendering unfamiliar words into English. However, I hope that it may be found to be substantially correct. I have thought it safer to make the translation as literal as possible, and not to supply any punctuation, as there is none in the original document.

MINISTERS' ACCOUNT, 13 AND 14 HENRY VII.

No. 1474.

(Translation of extract relating to Cuckfield).

Cokefelde	Account of John Boorde reeve there during the time aforesaid [Mich. 1497 to Mich. 1498]
Arrearages	The same answers for xxxij ⁱⁱ viij ^d for arrears of the account for the year next preceding as appears there at the foot Sum xxxij ⁱⁱ viij ^d
Rents of assize	And for xliij ^s 7 ^d for a moiety of rents of assize there at the feast of the Annunciation of the B.V.M. And for xliij ^s viij ³ ^d for a moiety of rents of assize there paid yearly at the feast of Whitsuntide And for xxj ¹ ^d for various increments of the purparty of the lord Duke as appears in

detail in the account of this lordship of the xxth year of King Henry VI And for ij^d for a moiety of iii^d of new rent of one parcel of land containing in length lx feet and in breadth xx feet lying at the west end of the garden of John at Hilde so granted to the same John and Isabell his wife their heirs and assigns at the will of the lords according to the custom of the manor by court roll of the xvth year of King Edward IV

Sum vjⁱⁱ xiiii^s v^{3d}

Farm

For xii^s iii^d lately received for a moiety of the farm of the water mill there this year he does not answer because it lies totally in decay But he answers for vj^s viii^d for a moiety of the farm of a tenement lately of Thomas Lyffelde of Bacheforden which tenement came into the hands of the lord by the name of escheat by the death of the said Thomas since let to John Herlond to hold to him and his by court roll And for ii^s for a moiety of the farm of a tenement of Alice Barnard so let to the said John to hold to him and his in manner aforesaid

Sum ix^s viii^d

Customs

And for ij^s vj^d for a moiety of the price of xxx hens of rent there at the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord and Easter price of a hen ij^d And for vij^{1d} for a moiety of the price

^{xx}
of cciiijviii [288] hens eggs of rent there at the feast of Easter sold yearly price of a hundred v^d And for iii^s viii^{3d} for a moiety of the customs and works of John Anobton and Alice Bacheford at the aforesaid three usual terms put in money And for j^{3d} for a moiety of the custom of making iij quarters iij bushels of oat malt price of a quarter made j^d And for ij^s for a moiety of the custom of ploughing viii acres by molmen (*pro molem*) price of an acre vj^d And for xvj^s x^{1d} for a moiety of the custom of ploughing by customary tenants lxiiii acres price of an acre v^{3d} beyond three parts of one work allowed for each acre And for vj^d for a moiety of the custom of seeking seed at the granary of the lord for sowing 8 acres by molmen (*per molem*) price of an acre j^{1d} And for v^s iiiij^{3d} for a moiety of the custom of seeking seed at the granary of the lord for sowing cj [101] acres by the customary tenants price of iij acres iii^{3d} beyond one work and a half for every iij acres And for lx^s ix^{1d} for a

¹¹
moiety of mccccxvj [2416] works and one quarter of a work in winter time and summer time of the issues of xviiij^{3d} virgates of land and one quarter of one virgate of land and of v cottages and a moiety of one cottage of which each cottage and each virgate of land has to work each week between the feast of S. Michael and Lammas day iij works for xl weeks and iiiij days except three weeks viz. the Nativity of our Lord Easter and Whitsun day price of a

work $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d And for xxv^s vj $\frac{3}{4}$ ^d for a moiety of dexij [612] autumn works of the issues of the said xvij $\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land and one quarter of one virgate of land and v cottages and moiety of one cottage of persons working in like manner between Lammas day and the feast of S. Michael for viij weeks and iij days price of a work j^d And for xij^d for a moiety of the works and customs of reaping and binding viij acres of corn by molmen (*per molem*) price of an acre iij^d And for xj^s vj $\frac{3}{4}$ ^d for a moiety of the works and customs of reaping and binding exj acres of corn by customary workmen price of an acre iij $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d beyond half a work allowed for each acre And for iij^d for a moiety of the custom of carrying corn by vj molmen (*per vj molem*) And for v^s received for two ploughs of rent at Lammas day And for iij^d for a moiety of the price of one pair of gilded spurs of rent at the same feast And for iij^s vj^d for a moiety of vj ploughshares of rent at the feast aforesaid price of a ploughshare xij^d And for xix^d for a moiety of the price of ix $\frac{1}{2}$ geese of rent there at the same feast price of a goose iij^d And for iiiij^d for a moiety of the price of a barbed arrow feathered with peacock's feathers (*penn' pauon' pennat'*) of rent there at the feast of the Nativity of S. John Baptist And for v^d for a moiety of vj irons of barbed arrows of rent at the same feast And for $\frac{3}{4}$ ^d for a moiety of the price of ij sieves (*criborum*) at the same feast And for vj^d for a moiety of the price of an acre [*sic sed qu. should be arcus a bow*] of rent there at Lammas day

Sum vijⁱⁱ iij^s v $\frac{1}{8}$ ^d

Tallage And for xxx^s for a moiety of tallage of bondmen (*natiu'*) at the feast of All Saints

Sum xxx^s

Issues of manor with agistment of parks of Bentley and Cokefelde And for v^s for a moiety of the farm of the herbage of the lord's meadow called Newisse in Bentley so sold this year And for iij^s iiiij^d for the aftermath of a certain meadow after the hay was carried this year. And for xxxiiij^s iiiij^d for a moiety of the farm of the park of Bentley together with meadow and pasture there so lately granted to John Okeden by the year And for vj^s for a moiety of the herbage of [a meadow] called Hokelondewisse so sold this year And for iij^s iiiij^d for the farm of a certain meadow after the hay was carried so let to John Okeden this year And for xx^s for a moiety of the farm of the park of Cokefeld so let to the parker of the same park this year For xxx^s for a moiety of the farm of the demesne lands of Aldeleghe he does not answer here because it is charged afterwards in an account by itself Nor does he answer for the aftermath there and elsewhere over the demesne lands because it belongs to the farmer of the same lands Nor does he answer for the feedings of uncultivated lands there

this year for the reason aforesaid But he answers for vs for a moiety of the farm of a meadow within the park of Cokefelde called Lordesmede so let to Thomas Ansty And for ij^s vj^d for the aftermath of the same meadow this year so let to the same

Sum lxxvij^s vj^d

Farm of garden with park inclosure

And for xx^d for a moiety of the farm of the fruits of the garden there so let to Thomas Ansty this year For lxx^s lately received for a moiety of the inclosure of the park of Cokefelde he does not answer here because it was lately assigned (*condit'*) to Margaret wife of Edmund Lenthall in dower as in the preceding accounts and now he answers for it in another account by itself

Sum xx^d

Perquisites of court

And for xvj^s vij^d for a moiety of xxxij^s ij^d for pleas and profits of halmotes held there this year as appears in the roll of the same above this account

Sum xvj^s vij^d

Sum total of receipts with arrearages lijⁱⁱ xiii^s xj^¼^d

Allowance of works of officers

The same reckons in a moiety of allowance of rents and works of one virgate of land of the bearer of the office of reeve there this year ix^s And in allowance of a moiety of rents and works of one virgate of land of the bearer of the office of bedell there this year as before extended vj^s

Sum xv^s

Decayed rents

And in decay of a moiety of the rent of certain land lately of Robert Warner in the park of Bentley inclosed for the share of the lord Duke ij^s And of a moiety of rents and works of certain land late of John Alderet yearly in the same park inclosed vj^d And in allowance of a moiety of rents and works of a tenement formerly of Alice Bacheforde in the hands of the lord after the death of Thomas Luffelde above let to farm by the year ij^s vj^d And in decay of a moiety of rents and works and services of iiij acres of land i rood of land lately of Isabell Pilstry lying in the park of Bentley this year so above charged viz. in ploughing (*arrur'*) ij acres in harrowing vj acres in reaping (*mess'*) vj acres in autumn xxij^¼^d And in decay of a moiety of rent of one acre of land which the heir of Simon Tye owes of his tenement if he had not been forester in the forest of Worth vj^d And in decay of a moiety of rents and customs of viij acres of land formerly of William Westekullesley in the hands of the lords after the death of the tenant ix^d And in decay of a moiety of rents and works of ij acres of land formerly of William Malteman because it is granted by John Earl of Warrene for ij^s a year beyond the money over the same lands above charged for the same vj^d And

in decay of a moiety of rents and customs formerly of William Chidiarde within the said park inclosed yearly ij^d And in allowance of a moiety of rents and works of various lands formerly of Alice Barnarde above let to farm with $iiij^d$ of tallage yearly xvj^d And in decay of a moiety of the rent of one place of land lately of Alexander Burley adjoining the vicarage of Cokefelde for land called Bache-forde let to farm above yearly $\frac{1}{2}^d$ And in decay of a moiety of the rent of one cottage formerly of John Leche [which he] formerly held and relinquished into the hands of the lords in the ij^{rd} year of King Henry VI which used to bring in $iiij^s$ a year now granted to John Cache for xvj^d yearly as in the halmote roll for the $iiij^{th}$ year of King Henry VI xx^d

Sum $xij^s ij^{\frac{3}{4}d}$ [*crossed out*]

Delivery of money

And in money delivered to Richard Lewkenor Esquire receiver there of the issues of his office for this year at two turns one turn being the xxv^{th} day of the month of October in the $xiiij^{th}$ year of the reign of King Henry VII by bill over this account delivered and remaining among the documents of this year vj^{th} and the other turn being over the determination of this account without bill but however (*set tn'*) out of the recognisance of the said receiver $xj^{th} ij^s xj^{\frac{1}{4}d}$

Sum $xvij^{th} ij^s xi^{\frac{3}{4}d}$

In all the allowances and deliveries aforesaid $xvij^{th} xvij^s xj^{\frac{1}{4}d}$ And he owes $xxxiiij^{th} xvij^s$ Of which there is allowed to him $iiij^s$ of a moiety of amerciaments not levied imposed upon various persons having no goods or chattels within the lordship by which they could be distrained by amerciaments aforesaid by the oath of the accountant And he owes $xxxiiij^{th} xiiij^s$

Respited

And $iiij^s$ above charged among arrearages of decayed rents of one cottage there near the gate of the manor as is charged above and nothing can be levied from it in the xj^{th} year of the present King Henry VII because it lies totally prostrated to the ground for default of repair until a remedy is better provided And to the same ij^s above charged among arrearages of decayed rents of one cottage there called Blaunchez in the hands of the lords in the xj^{th} year of the said King for default of repair &c.

Left over

John Chalnor farmer of the park of Bentley }
for the ij^{nd} iii^{rd} $iiij^{th}$ v^{th} and vj^{th} years of the } $viiij^{th} vj^s viiiij^d$
present King Henry VII in each year }
 $xxxviiij^s iiiij^d$

Thomas Ansty farmer of the agistment of }
the park of Cokefeld for the years aforesaid } lx^s
for $\frac{1}{2}$ a moiety of the farm of the same each }
[year] x^s

Charles Barlowe for money retained in his hands for his fee of the grant of the Earl of Derby for the farm of the agistment of the park of Cokefelde the meadow of Newyshe and Hoklondewisse for the several years past } xiiijⁱⁱ ij^s iiiij^d

Robert Tanner reeve there in the ixth year of the present King aforesaid for the farm of the meadow called Lordesmede } vijⁱⁱ vj^d distr.

Charles Barlowe for money retained in his hands for the xjth xijth and xiiijth years of the King aforesaid Henry VII for the agistment of the park of Bentley and of the park of Cokefeld each year xliij^s iiiij^d which he claims to have for his fee } vijⁱⁱ x^s

The same Charles for money retained in his hands this year viz. price of agistment of the park of Bentley and the park of Cokefeld and which he claims to have for his fee there } liij^s iiiij^d

Richard Sayer reeve there for the xth year of the King aforesaid of the farm of Lordesmede there } vij^s vj^d distr.

The third period is the year 1532-3, when the Mowbray share had become vested in Thomas (Howard) 3rd Duke of Norfolk and Anne Countess Dowager of Derby, the widow of Thomas 2nd Earl, in equal shares. For this period two accounts are extant, one being in respect of the possessions of the Countess of Derby (Min. Account, 24 and 25 Henry VIII., No. 6,158), and the other being the receiver's account in respect of the possessions of Thomas Duke of Norfolk (*Ib.*, No. 6,305). It is difficult to understand why either of these should be at the Public Record Office at all, as the Crown had apparently no claim whatever at that time to any of these estates, and I can suggest no explanation. Of these two accounts the former deals with precisely the same manors, and is in very much the same form, as the account of 1497-8, but it is in some respects easier to follow, as there are no arrears to be accounted for. The reeves and other

officers charge themselves with the whole receipts from the various manors and half-manors, and get their discharge by payment of a moiety to the receiver of the Countess of Derby, the Duke of Norfolk's moiety being stated to be accounted for elsewhere before Brian Taillour, the Duke's auditor. The particulars and amounts are very much the same as before, but among "rents of assize" occur "j^a for a moiety of ij^a of new rent of John Mychell senior for one vacant place of land formerly parcel of a cottage lately of Thomas Tylmans lying on the east side of the ancient highway from the Cross there up to the Park gate extending in length vj rods and in breadth iij rods" granted to John Mychell and his heirs by Court Roll according to the custom of the manor in 8 Henry VIII., also "j^a for a moiety of ij^a of new rent of John Staunden for j butt or croft of land near the park of Bentley containing by estimation one acre and a quarter of land" granted in the same manner by Court Roll in 11 Henry VIII., also "j^a for a moiety of ij^a of new rent of John Gonne for one croft of land containing j rood of land near Swetemannegrene," and " $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a for a moiety of j^a of new rent of John Gonne for one vacant place of land lying between the bridge called Pilstres Brygge and the meadow called Hokemedede," thus bringing up the total of rents of assize to £6. 14s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; there is an additional item of 1s. 8d. from "sale of wood," while the "perquisites of court" are increased to £4. 11s. 5d.

The receiver's account of the Duke of Norfolk's possessions is in a more summary form. It includes among his estates in the county of Sussex a moiety of Mechyng, Alyngton, Myddleton, Clayton, Brighthelms-ton and Seaford, a fourth part (inaccurately described as a moiety) of Cokefelde, a fourth part of Lewes burgh and barony, Court of Nomanslond and Iford rent, and also (under the heading "Land called Lentalland"), a fourth part of Hunden, Kymer, Haldeleigh, Cokefelde inclosure and Lewes barony. The allowances for fees and wages, expenses, alms, &c., in respect of all the estates included in the account are entered all together at the end, and

do not appear under the separate headings of each manor as in the reeves' accounts.

I may perhaps add that I have thought it well to describe these ministers' accounts in some detail, because the index to them at the Public Record Office after the reign of Richard III. has only recently been printed, and the contents of the accounts have probably been as yet but little explored. In conclusion, I wish to record my sense of obligation to our Honorary Editor, Mr. Salzmänn, for most kindly volunteering to check the proof of my transcript of the minister's account above set out with the original at the Public Record Office, and to thank him for some valuable corrections in my transcript which have resulted from his so doing.

AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT ALFRISTON, SUSSEX.

SUPPLEMENTAL PAPER BY A. F. GRIFFITH, M.A.

THE former paper (Vol. LVI., p. 16) dealt with the results of the excavations made in the autumn of 1912 in that part of this Cemetery which lies within the four recently erected walls enclosing the grounds of "Sanctuary." Last autumn the part lying outside and to the West of those grounds was excavated and further finds resulted. The writer of this paper was unfortunately away from Sussex when these further excavations were commenced and, though he lost no time in returning, they were completed the day before his arrival.

The date of issue of the last Volume of the *Collections* allowed the completed plan of the Cemetery to be prepared and published with the former paper, being Pl. XXI. at page 50 of that volume. From this it will be seen that at least 32 additional graves were found in this extra-mural part of the Cemetery. Thus a total of 131 graves in this Cemetery have been examined on behalf of the Society, in addition to about 20 which were opened by the builders in their previous operations on the site. It is improbable that any large number of unopened graves remain, except where the heap of earth from the foundations of the house (lying, as indicated in the plan, to the South-West of the house) prevented exploration in 1912.

Of these 32 graves all but seven lay East and West; and of these seven two lay North-West and South-East, and the rest North and South. At least 29 contained relics, which were generally of similar character to those found in the other part of the Cemetery, as indeed might have been expected. But the differences are

somewhat numerous and, as they may perhaps prove interesting, the index on p. 209 distinguishes by italics the grave-references to objects found within the garden walls, and by ordinary type those to objects found outside. Among the more striking differences are the following:—

FIBULÆ.

The "square-headed" type, both large and small, the "button," the annular and the penannular types were all absent here, while more or less numerous within the walls. On the other hand, one specimen of the ordinary cruciform type (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 6), so numerous in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere, though absent within the walls, was found in the surface soil thrown out from one of these graves. None of the special forms (Swastika, heart-shaped, &c.) found within the walls, recurred outside; and the "Applied" form of the saucer-shaped type (as also the Jutish type), absent within the walls, was entirely absent here also; one pair of the saucer-shaped fibulæ (from grave 101) is of a fresh and quite interesting type (Pl. XXIII., Fig. 3), with a thickly silvered quatrefoil in the central area; the outer area is gilt and has a zoomorphic ornament. These, with the buckle (Pl. XXX., Fig. 5) and scabbard-mounting (Pl. XXVII., Fig. 1A) from grave 89, are the only zoomorphic examples found in this part of the Cemetery. Another pair (Pl. XXIII., Fig. 1), from grave 87, has five reversed spirals, with a central stud or pin, the extreme tip of which was enamelled, though the enamel has gone from one of the pair. The single example, from grave 90 (Fig. 2), has six reversed spirals.

SUNDRY OTHER OBJECTS.

No finger rings, no crystal beads, no bronze pins, either plain or with decorated and gilt heads, no glass vases, no spoon¹ or bronze bowl, no ivory, no remains of iron-hooped pails were found in this Western part of

¹ Our spoon compares with those figured in Akerman's Index (Pl. XVIII., Fig. 4), and that in Douglas's *Nenia Brit.* (Pl. ii., Fig. 9).

the Cemetery. More unexpectedly still, these 32 graves produced not one shield boss (nor attendant handle or studs), though the 99 graves examined a year earlier produced no less than 13; that this lack is to be accounted for by the supposition that the graves were not those of warriors is negatived by the fact that they contained spearheads in seven instances and swords in three. But the spearheads strike one as being, on the whole, of a rather different type, lighter, and in some cases with longer haft; here, as before, no butt-ferrules were found; the one axe head (grave 91) is distinctly smaller than two of those found the previous year;² while of the three swords, two had bronze-mounted scabbards (none of which were found previously, though one, from grave 26, had a bronze pommel), one having mountings, which are gilt, highly decorated, and set with a garnet (Pl. XXVII., Figs. 1, 1A).

The large, highly decorated, bronze tabs to the buckles of the same metal, and the large iron tabs to heavy iron buckles did not recur here; nor, oddly enough, any of the "doubled," "duplicate" or "split" tabs and tangs, all bronze, or all iron, which were so numerous in the previous year's catalogue; a "duplicate" pair, one bronze and the other iron was, however, found in grave 98. But in the same grave with the highly decorated scabbard was found a fine buckle, set with two garnets (Pl. XXX., Fig. 5). It will be recollected that in the 99 graves excavated in the main portion of the Cemetery no objects were found set with enamel, garnet or shell; but of these 32 graves, one contained a scabbard and buckle, each set with garnets, and another a pair of saucer fibulæ, with enamelled stud at centre.

Five graves were found here (as against seven in the 99 earlier graves) to contain fragments of pottery. But not one had contained a complete urn, as at least two of the earlier ones had.

² Three of our axeheads are similar to that found near Ramsgate (Ak. Ind., Pl. XV., Fig. 20); and at Icklingham, Suffolk (larger), and Colchester, Essex (smaller), see Hor. Ferales, Pl. XXVII., Figs. 17, 18.

The small bronze object from grave 86 (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 3), perhaps a harness bell, the bronze ornaments from graves 87 and 103 (Pl. XXV., Figs. 1, 2), the bronze hinge from grave 88 (Fig. 3) and the horse's bit (Pl. XXVIII., and see note 5 on p. 205) from grave 91 are objects not represented in last year's graves; so too lead, here represented by the object from grave 93; so also are the objects figured as Nos. 1 and 4 in Plate XXX., of which the first reminds one of a somewhat similar but less heavy object found in the Saxonbury Cemetery at Lewes, while the second is apparently the end of a knife-sheath.

Like those excavated a year earlier, none of these 32 graves yielded any sign of cremation or accidental burning.

Appended is a list of these 32 graves, with their contents, and on page 209 is added an index to the contents of the whole series of graves.

In addition to illustrating some of the contents of the graves now described, the plates annexed to this paper contain figures of some of the objects mentioned in the previous paper; thus Pl. XXVI. illustrates three of the conical glass vases³ found in the earlier excavations, of which the fourth is already figured in Pl. XIV. of the earlier paper; and Pl. XXIX. shows the unexpected and very interesting ornamentation found on carefully cleaning and splitting the large iron tabs of the buckles in graves 20 (see Fig. 15 of Pl. XV., earlier paper) and 24. It will be remembered that one of these was found (Vol. LVI., p. 34) to have a delicate pattern in a quadrangular area within the thickness of the tab. It appears that this ornamentation in each case arose from a very thin plate, probably of silver, with an extremely finely executed pattern, not incised but hammered up from behind, and of quite distinctly Roman type, which though now embedded in the mass of rust, must have originally formed the surface of the tab, protected apparently by a thin overlying casing of iron, like the

³ A glass vase, much like our three, was found at Chessell, I. of Wight (Ak. Ind., Pl. XIV., Fig. 12).

lid of a locket. Though the thin silver plate has almost entirely perished, a sufficient part of the ornamentation can be clearly traced in each case.

The lettering on the silver ring from grave 28 appears to be quite meaningless; it is here reproduced.

YH IV ~~WV~~ YIV AIN ~~WV~~ IV AIN

In Plate XXIV. is figured the fine silver penannular fibula found in grave 43, on a scale much larger than that used in Plate IV., Fig. 10, of the former paper; this enlarged figure shews more distinctly the silver wire, free except at its two extremities, on which the pin runs.

In Plate XXVII. (Fig. 2) is figured the upper part of the bronze-pommeled sword from grave 26, shewing the two curious (if not unique) iron attachments by which very possibly the scabbard was attached to the belt.

In Plate XXX. (Fig. 2) is shewn the ornamented pin-catch to the fine "square-headed" fibula from grave 28; this is tinned, and ornamented with circular punch-marks; it was no doubt soldered on to the fibula, and the solder has perished; observe the well-worked end (to the right).

An enquiry by Professor Baldwin Brown gave rise to the following schedule, giving the weights and lengths of the nine swords found in the Cemetery, but it must be premised that the weights are difficult of comparison. Not only is there no metallic iron left, the whole having apparently oxidised, but the rust has cemented to the blade fragments of the wooden or leathern scabbard, along with fragments of chalk, &c., the amount of additional weight thus attached varying considerably in the different cases. The sword from grave 67 (Fig. 4 in Plate XVIII.) was evidently an exceptionally fine, thin, blade, but it has a substantial part of its scabbard adhering, thoroughly permeated with rust.

From grave 1..	1-lb. 13-oz.	From grave 67..	2-lb. 1-oz.
" "	3.. 2 " 1 "	" "	86.. 1 " 13 "
" "	26.. 1 " 13 "	" "	89.. 2 " 4 "
" "	48.. 2 " 4 "	" "	M.. 2 " 4½ "
" "	55.. 2 " 0 "		

It will be remembered that on p. 18 of the previous paper an ancient ditch is mentioned as having run more or less parallel with and some 25-ft. away from the East and West road bounding the Cemetery on the North. This trench was found again in a similar position westward of the western garden wall. Some 25-ft. from the wall it measured 6-ft. 6-in. across at the top with a rounded section, a maximum depth of 2-ft. 8-in. occurring about 4-ft. from its northern, and 2-ft. 6-in. from its southern, limit, so that the southern side of the ditch was much steeper than its northern. Here, as also within the wall, the ditch was completely filled up, shewing no sign of its existence on the surface. Nothing but the slightest remains of iron, and of animal bones, was found in the trench where excavated. How much further westward it ran has not been investigated.

The Society has again to thank Mr. J. C. Stenning, our Honorary Photographer, for the photographs from which the plates are taken; our Honorary Editor, Mr. L. F. Salzmann, for describing the coins found; and Miss Poulton, of Brighton, for the drawings of the bit, the hinge and the miniature spearhead, illustrated in Plates XXVIII., XXV. and XX.

It will be observed that this paper contents itself with recording the finds, leaving those who can to diagnose the age and distinctive characteristics of the objects.

SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF GRAVES, WITH THEIR CONTENTS.

N.B.—All the graves here noted lay East and West, except where otherwise specified. The graves are numbered in accordance with the Plan reproduced as Plate XXI. in Vol. LVI.

77. This grave contained an iron knife, $3\frac{7}{8}$ -in. long.

An iron ring, $1\frac{3}{8}$ -in. across.

A bronze strip curved round at one end and slightly ornamented, $2\frac{1}{4}$ -in. long, very like one found by the builders a year earlier (Pl. XXII., Fig. 4).

One amber and eight glass or porcelain beads. The amber bead is a rough pebble, bored; three are of porcelain, two yellow and one red; one is a blue glass bugle of quadrangular section, and the others are plain glass, one deep green, two azure and one deep amber coloured.

A broken bronze plate, $1\frac{1}{4}$ -in. across, was found in the surface soil.

Depth 18-in.; no bones; much yellow clay.

78. No objects found.

79. Four beads; two of amber, of which one is a bored pebble, an inch across, the other is smaller, and broken; two are large, of almost colourless (slightly green) glass, measuring $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. and $\frac{1}{16}$ -in. across.

Depth 16-in.; bones much perished; there was a trace of bronze staining on the left arm.

80. An iron knife, $4\frac{3}{4}$ -in. long.

An iron strike-a-light or purse rim, $4\frac{7}{16}$ -in. long.

Depth 18-in.; no trace of bones.

81. An iron spearhead, $9\frac{3}{4}$ -in. long (blade only $5\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long).

Depth 2-ft.; lower part of leg bones were under the garden wall.

82. A thick bronze buckle, $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. across; iron tongue; found on pelvis (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 7).

A bronze ring, circular section, $1\frac{3}{8}$ -in. across; found by lower left arm.

A short iron spearhead, 5-in. long, $1\frac{3}{8}$ -in. across, found in front of face.

An iron knife, $4\frac{3}{16}$ -in. long, found on pelvis.

Two iron fragments, found near tips of left fingers.

Depth 18-in.; feet were under the garden wall.

Grave lay North-West and South-East.

83. A very thick, rounded, bronze buckle, 1-in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ -in.; iron tongue; of unusual type (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 5).

A fragment of iron.

A small spherical flint fossil.

Depth 14-in.; the objects were found behind the pelvis; bones much perished; height, 5-ft. from ankle to top of skull.

84. A Roman coin (2nd bronze of Trajan), pierced, $1\frac{1}{16}$ -in. across.

An iron knife, half gone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long.

Five iron fragments, apparently two keys.

Small iron buckle, with the tongue slipt out of position.

85. A bronze rim of a wooden vessel (in four pieces), $4\frac{3}{4}$ -in. across, with two small pieces of wood attached.

A bronze band, $4\frac{3}{4}$ -in. across, ornamented with three rows of dots.

A bronze stud, $\frac{5}{8}$ -in. across; a cruciform incised ornament on head.

86. A bronze rim of a wooden vessel, five pieces.

A bronze band, five pieces; and fragments.

A large, rather thin, amber bead, $\frac{1\frac{1}{8}}$ -in. across.

A thick bronze buckle, $1\frac{7}{16}$ -in. across; bronze tongue.

A round tinned disc, $\frac{1\frac{5}{16}}$ -in. across.

A thin, small bronze object, perhaps a harness bell, with looped-handle, and two round holes near handle; crushed nearly flat; $\frac{4}{5}$ -in. across (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 3).

An iron ring, circular section, $1\frac{3}{4}$ -in. across; broken.

An iron spearhead, $7\frac{3}{4}$ -in. long.

A long iron knife, $7\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long.

An iron sword, 2-ft. 10-in. long, slightly bent, with slight remains of cross piece at end of haft.

Forty-five fragments of a blackish pottery vase, which had been ornamented with little knobs round its largest circumference.

Depth 15-in. from top of skull.

87. A pair of saucer fibulae, bronze gilt, ornamented with five reversed spirals and a central stud; $1\frac{3}{8}$ -in. across (Pl. XXIII., Fig. 1).

A bronze circular ornament, pierced; an iron object rusted on to the back, with leather preserved in the rust; $2\frac{1}{4}$ -in. across (Pl. XXV., Fig. 2).

An iron object, curved, $3\frac{1}{8}$ -in. over all; a little metal ring rusted into the knob at one end.

Two small Roman bronze coins (probably fourth century), pierced, one much beset with rust.

Thirty beads,

Two small, amber.

One small cylindrical porcelain, green, red and yellow, $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long.

One whitish glass, melon-shaped (? Roman).

Two glass, red ground, with white wreathed slip, and green eyes.

One glass, rather larger, red ground, with white wreathed slip.

Two whitish blue glass with spiral blue lines.

(Pl. XXII., Fig. 2, illustrates the above nine beads.)

Eleven black glass, plain.

Four azure, do. do.

Six parti-coloured black glass, three with red slip, one with blue spots and two others probably with white slip, but much decayed.

A thin, shaped, plate; metal not diagnosed.

A very small piece of black pottery and other fragments.

Depth 21-in.; length, top of skull to toes, 5-ft. 8-in.

88. A heavy bronze ring, eyed; $2\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long (Pl. XXX., Fig. 1).

A bronze hinge (heavy) in two pieces, each $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long (Pl. XXV., Fig. 3).

A fragment of thin sandstone, $\frac{5}{8}$ -in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in.

A fragment of flint.

Two fragments of pottery and two of brick and tile, all apparently modern.

A thin bronze buckle, $\frac{7}{8}$ -in. long; bronze tongue.

Depth 18-in.

89. An iron sword, 2-ft. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long (Pl. XXVII., Fig. 1), with remains of bronze-mounted scabbard, viz., bronze-bound round point; a cross band near hilt, highly ornamented, gilt and set with a garnet (Fig. 1A); a pair of gilt rims,⁴ each with two circular bronze studs standing out (perhaps to button on to the belt).

A bronze buckle, heavy, silvered, tab highly decorated and set with two garnets (Pl. XXX., Fig. 5).

A lozenge-shaped, thin metal plate, 1-in. along each edge.

A spearhead, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long (it is uncertain whether this belongs to this grave).

An iron fragment.

A bronze fragment.

Five fragments of urns, one red, the rest blackish.

Depth 2-ft.; height 5-ft. 9-in.

90. A saucer fibula, bronze gilt, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. across, ornamented with six reversed spirals; circle round centre milled (Pl. XXIII., Fig. 2).

An iron knife, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ -in. long.

An iron buckle, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. across iron tongue.

Six beads, four of amber, of which one is shaped, the rest are pebbles, two of red, green and yellow porcelain, but *spheroidal*.

Depth 22-in.; length, top of skull to toes, 5-ft. 9-in.

91. An iron snaffle bit,⁵ broken in two (Pl. XXVIII.); each ring is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. across; the bar in two unequal lengths, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. and 3-in.

Three fragments of an iron handle.

An iron knife, with long handle, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ -in. long.

A spearhead, with haft broken, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ -in. long.

A small iron axe-head, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long.

An iron strike-a-light or purse-rim, showing remains of wood on one side and linen the other, 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ -in. long.

A bronze object, somewhat like that figured from grave 14, but split in two, 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ -in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 9).

Three fragments of iron.

Depth 18-in.; length from top of skull to toes 6-ft.; skull upside down.

⁴ Compare the similar fittings to a scabbard from Brighthampton, Oxon. (Hor. Fer., Pl. XXVI., Fig. 3).

⁵ A very different type to the bit with "cheeks" found at Little Wilbraham, Cambs, figured in Neville's Saxon Obsequies, Pl. 38, though this, like ours, has the two portions of the bar of unequal length, and the rings of most uncomfortable rudeness. It is very interesting to note that the Saxons used the same two types of bits that we do, those with, and those without, cheeks.


92. A large very deep azure glass pentagonal bead, $1\frac{1}{2}$ -in. across (Pl. XXII., Fig. 1).

Depth 18-in.; the grave contained more than one body, apparently two, each buried in a doubled-up attitude.

The following were found in the surface mould:—

Fragments of glass, apparently gilt.

Two brass buttons, tinned.

An iron object 

93. A long piece of thin lead, rolled up, $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long (possibly a plummet); skeleton from skull to knees in good preservation.

94. Apparently the grave of a child, no bones, but only small milk teeth being found in it, with seven glass beads—

Four azure glass, plain.

One black ditto, ditto.

Two black ground, with zig-zag white or yellow band.

Small fragments of glass.

Small fragments of pottery.

Depth 15-in.; orientation uncertain.

95. An iron knife, haft broken short; $4\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long.

A very small bronze buckle (bronze tongue), $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. across (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 4).

Depth 2-ft.; height 5-ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ -in.; bones well preserved.

96. An iron knife, $4\frac{7}{8}$ -in. long.

97. Grave lay North-East and South-West. No objects found.

98. Two fibulæ, found on chest (along with the iron rim mentioned below), viz., a circular flat bronze fibula, $1\frac{1}{2}$ -in. across; a rather large perforation in centre surrounded by a small incised circle, this again surrounded by five small incised circles, arranged pentagonally (Pl. XXX., Fig. 3).

A circular flat bronze fibula, $1\frac{3}{8}$ -in. across; quite plain except a small perforation in centre.

A square bronze plate, $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. across; remains of iron ring passing through two bronze loops at top.

A similar iron plate.

An iron nail, 1-in. long.

An iron rim, bent, $2\frac{3}{8}$ -in. long.

Two small fragments of shell (probably mussel).

All these objects, except one of the fibulæ, were found near surface, suggesting that the grave had been disturbed.

Depth 18-in.; bones much decayed.

99. The contents of this grave were not identified. Possibly those described as M. later.

100. An iron knife, $4\frac{5}{8}$ -in. long.

Depth 16-in.; bones much decayed.

101. This grave lay North and South, with feet to North; contiguous with No. 102. A pair of saucer fibulae, bronze, $2\frac{1}{4}$ -in. across; central area has an incised quatrefoil pattern inlaid with silver, otherwise plain bronze with little circles gilt; outer area with zoomorphic ornament; pincatch, $\frac{5}{16}$ -in. deep (Pl. XXIII., Fig. 3).

A bronze buckle, $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. across; tongue gone (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 2).

A part of iron knife, $3\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long.

102. This grave was contiguous with No. 101, and lay North and South, with the feet to the North; it contained an iron knife, $5\frac{3}{8}$ -in. long; found on chest.

Depth 18-in.; bones much decayed.

103. A bronze pierced ornament, $2\frac{1}{2}$ -in. by $1\frac{5}{8}$ -in. over all; parts of two iron rings rested against the back and are rusted to it; two pieces loose (Pl. XXV., Fig. 1).

An iron buckle, $1\frac{5}{16}$ -in. across; iron tongue.

An iron punch (?), $2\frac{3}{8}$ -in. long.

A bronze object, similar to that figured from grave 14, $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 8).

Six beads, one a small flint, with natural perforation.

One, barrel-shaped, black glass with white lines, $1\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long.

One pale bluish white porcelain, with blue spiral line.

Three plain glass, two azure, one black (Pl. XXII., Fig. 3).

Depth 18-in.; bones almost completely decayed away.

Grave lay North and South, feet to North.

104. A thick bronze buckle, $1\frac{7}{16}$ -in. across; tongue gone; found on pelvis.

An iron knife, haft broken, $4\frac{1}{8}$ -in. long; found, with the next item, at right shoulder.

A bronze band (in four pieces), bronze nails still in their holes, otherwise quite plain; ends tapering; $\frac{3}{8}$ -in. wide; remains of wood still on some of the nails.

Fragments of wood.

Depth 18-in.; bones much decayed.

105. An iron knife, part of, $3\frac{5}{16}$ -in. long.

An iron buckle, $1\frac{1}{16}$ -in. across; tongue gone.

Bones much decayed.

106. This grave lay North and South, with feet to North, and contiguous with No. 107. An iron spearhead in two pieces, $6\frac{3}{4}$ -in. long; remains of leather preserved in the rust on one side; found on right side of head.

An iron knife, 5-in. long; remains of wooden handle are preserved in the rust; found on left side of body.

Depth 19-in. Length from top of skull to ankle 5-ft. 5-in.; lying on back, face turned slightly to East.

107. This grave, contiguous with the last, also lay North and South with the feet to the North; it contained two pieces of an iron spearhead; the middle of the haft and the point end of the blade are gone, the latter possibly before burial; found on right side of head.

Depth 19-in. Length from top of skull to ankles 5-ft. 5-in.; lying on back, face inclined to East.

108. No relics; length, 5-ft. 6-in.; width at shoulders, 10-in.; depth, 18-in.

The positions of the following graves were not recorded, but their contents were kept distinct:—

- K. A cruciform fibula, bronze, $2\frac{9}{16}$ -in. long (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 6).
 A small amber bead, shaped.
 A human tooth.

These were found in the surface mould on September 11th.

L. An iron purse-rim, or strike-a-light, much broken.

M. An iron sword, 2-ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ -in. long, $2\frac{1}{8}$ -in. across near hilt, $1\frac{7}{8}$ -in. near point; leather lining of scabbard rucked up; remains of wooden scabbard; no cross piece at tip of hilt; a piece of the block of wood which formed the handle is preserved in the rust.

Two pieces of bronze mountings of a scabbard, viz., the rim round the end.

A shaped bronze plate embedded in rust, probably also from scabbard.

A small part of an iron handle, $2\frac{1}{4}$ -in. long.

Two pieces of iron rim.

Sundry pieces of iron rust.

A thick pair of bronze tweezers, $2\frac{7}{16}$ -in. long.

N. A large iron knife $6\frac{9}{16}$ -in. long, 1-in. broad.

A bronze rim, probably from a knife scabbard (Pl. XXX., Fig. 4); it is not certain that these two objects were found together.

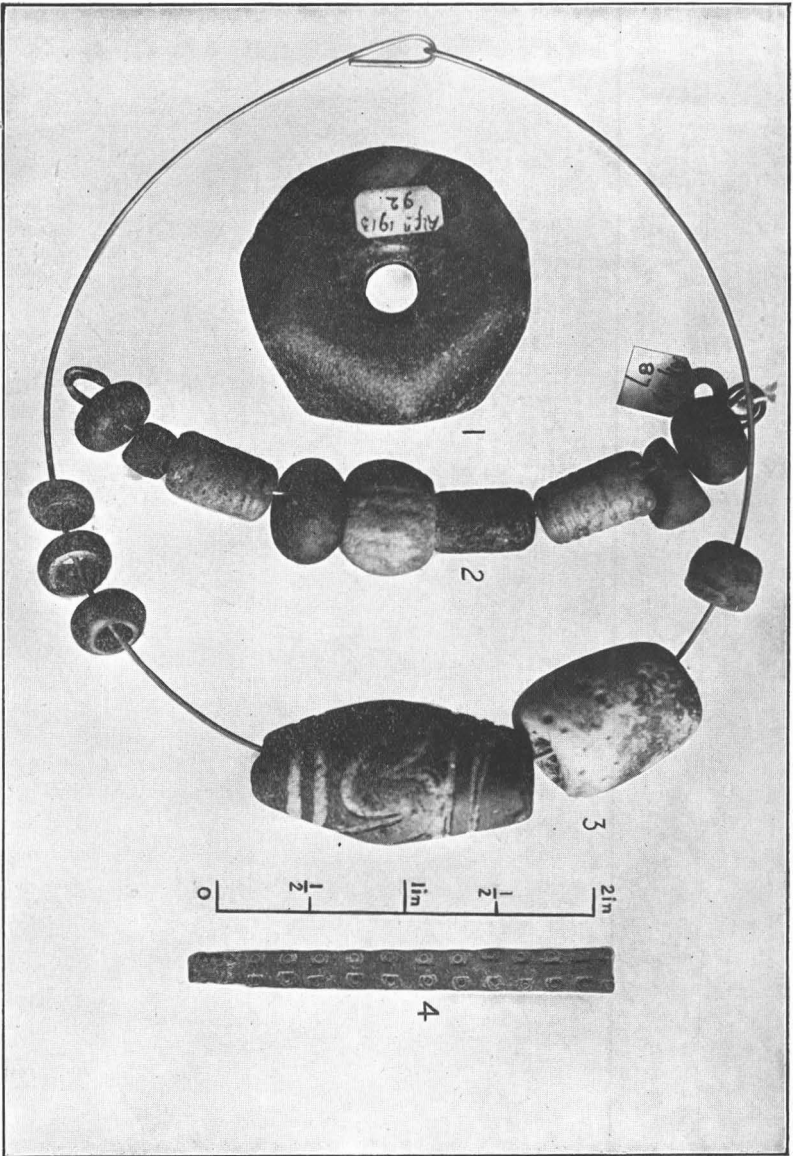


Fig. 1. Grave 92.
" 2. " 87.

Fig. 3. Grave 103.
" 4. " 77.

BRONZE GILT (except 3, 3A, which are PARCEL GILT).

PLATE XXIII.

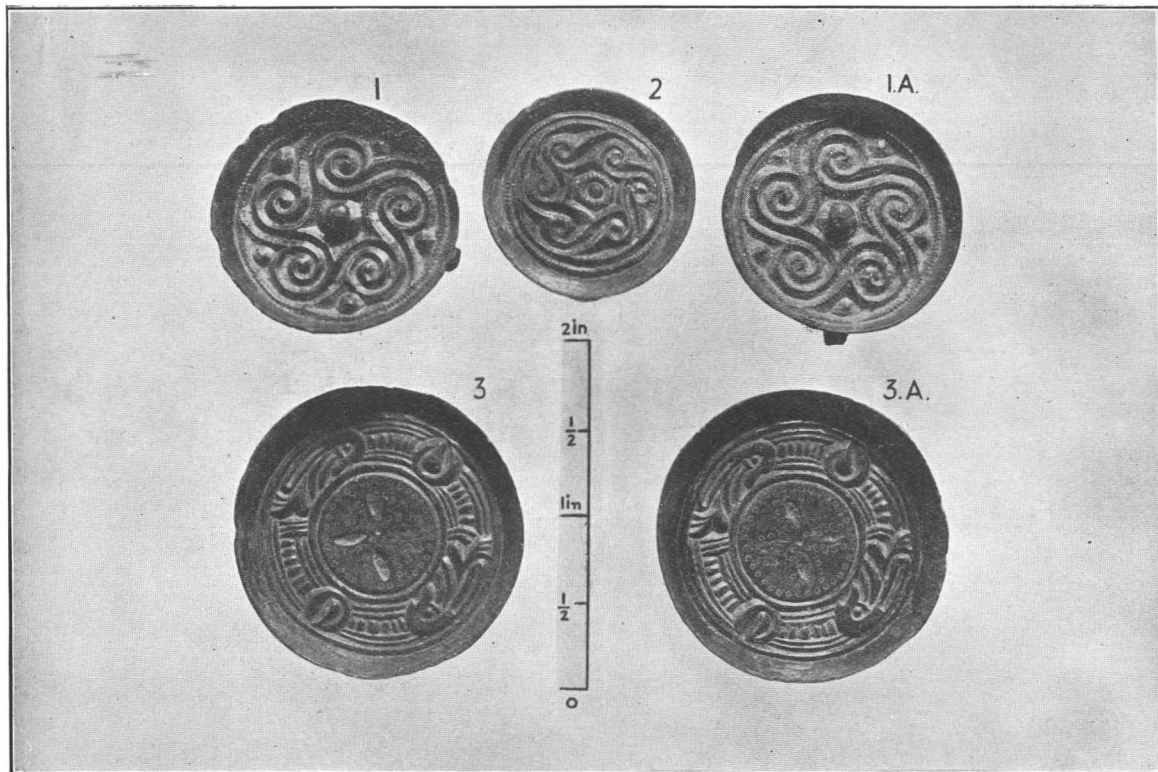


Fig. 1, 1A. Grave 87.

„ 2. „ 90.

Fig. 3, 3A. Grave 101.

No. 1, SILVER; rest, BRONZE.

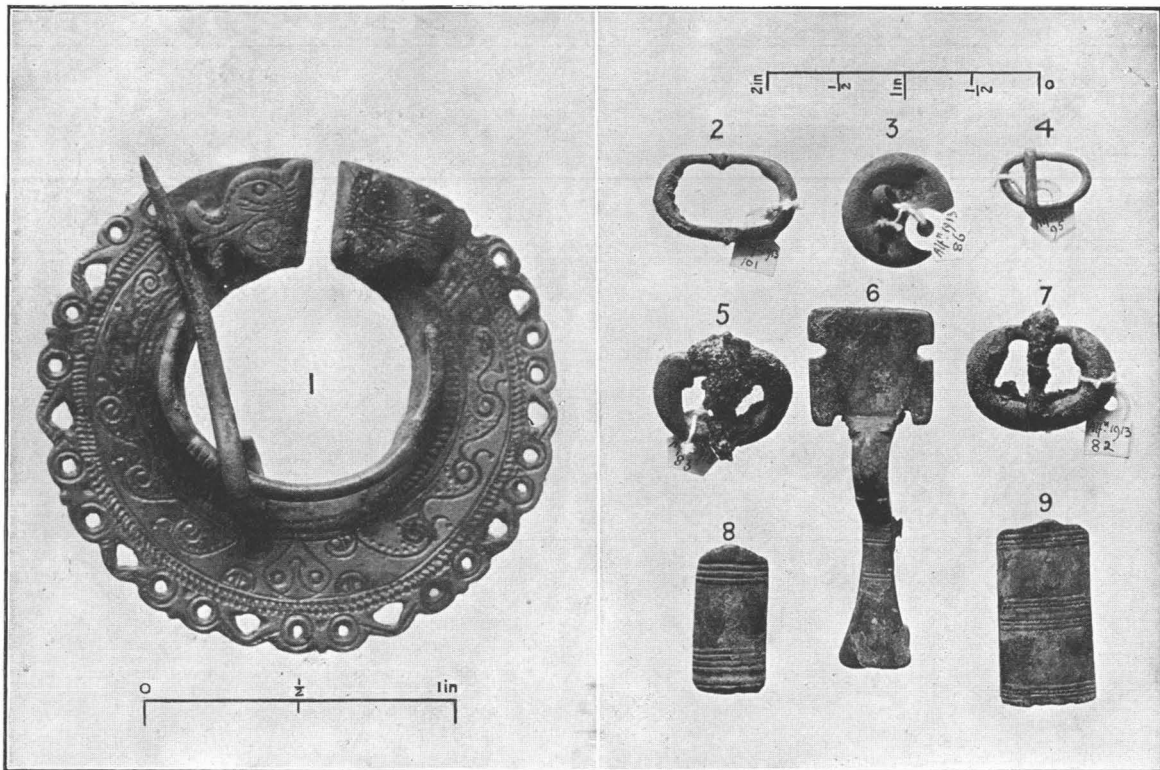


Fig. 1. Grave 43.
 " 2. " 101.
 " 3. " 86.

Fig. 4. Grave 95.
 " 5. " 83.
 " 6. " K.

Fig. 7. Grave 82.
 " 8. " 103.
 " 9. " 91.

BRONZE.

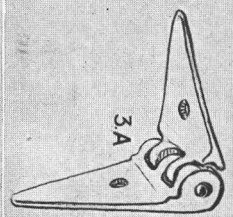
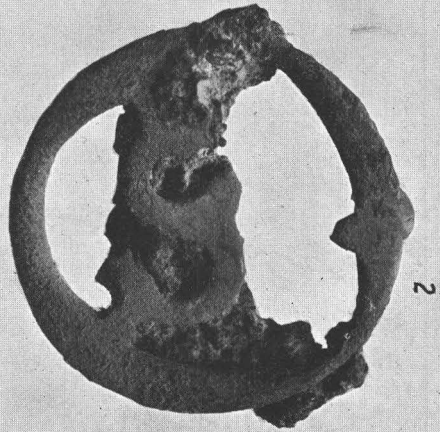
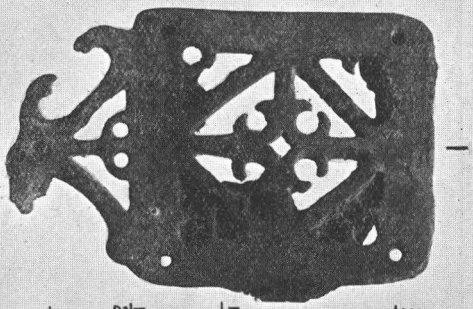


Fig. 1. Grave 103.
" 2. " 87.

Fig. 3. Grave 88.

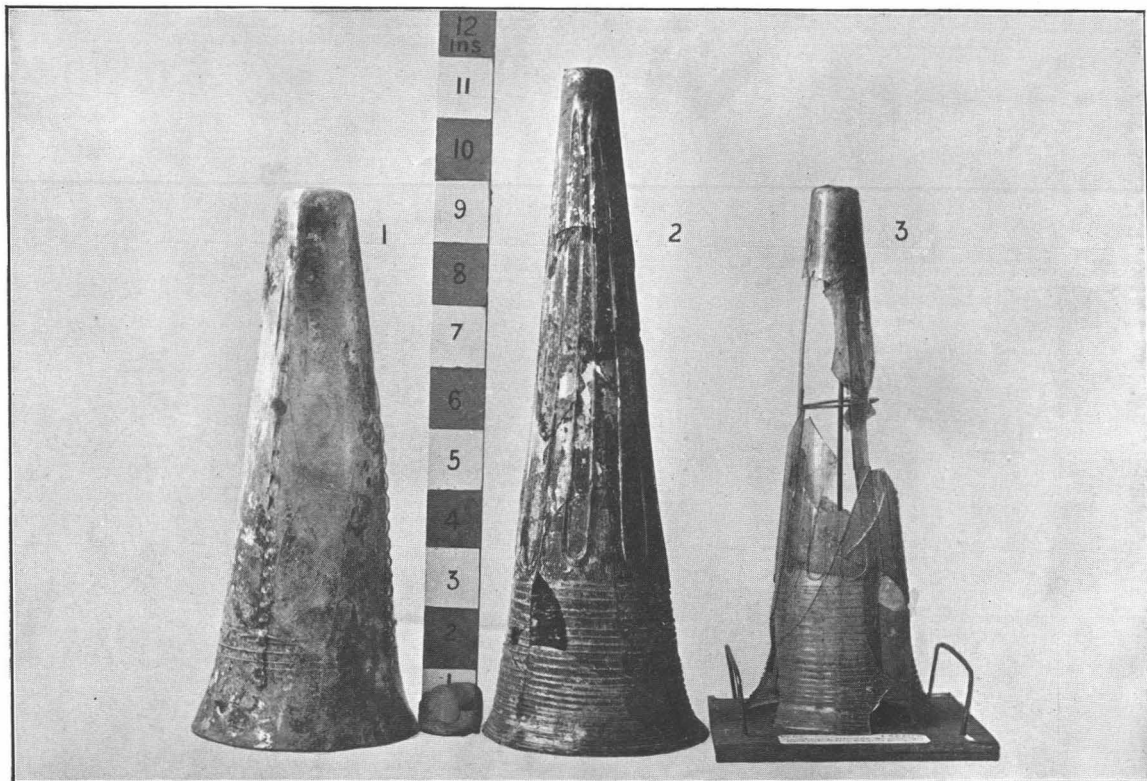


Fig. 1. Grave 60.
,, 2. ,, 43.

Fig. 3. Before our
Excavations.

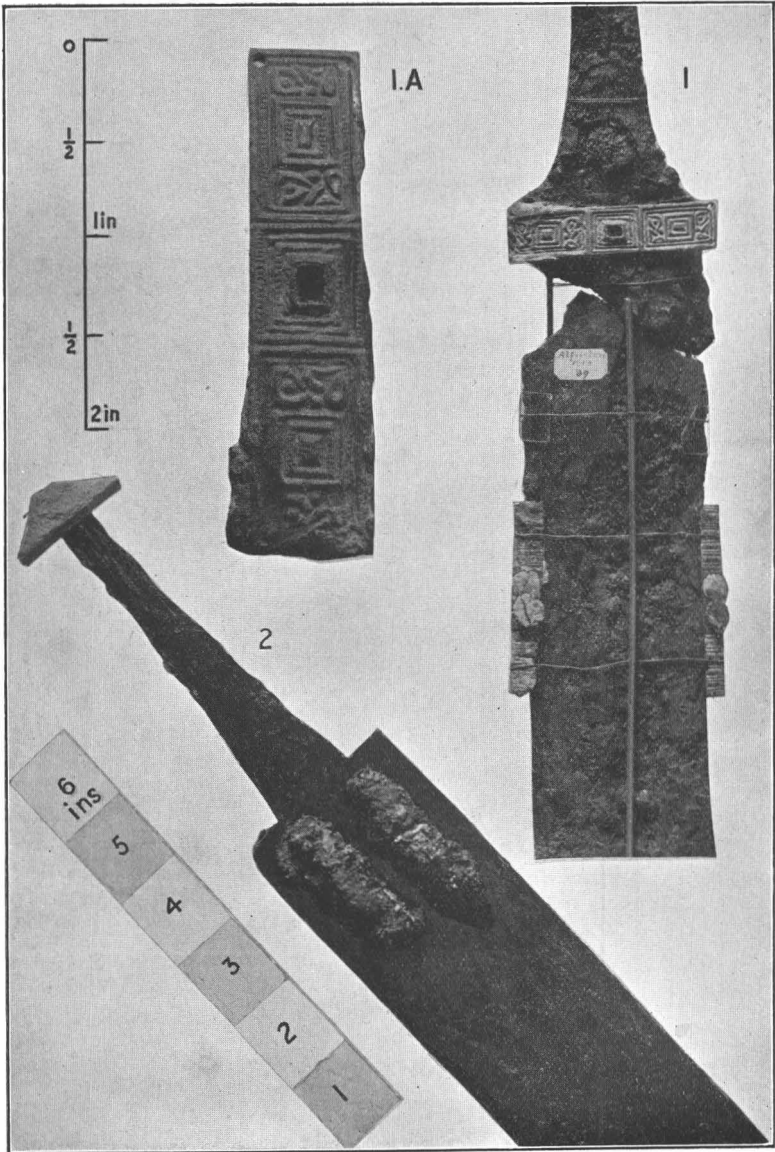
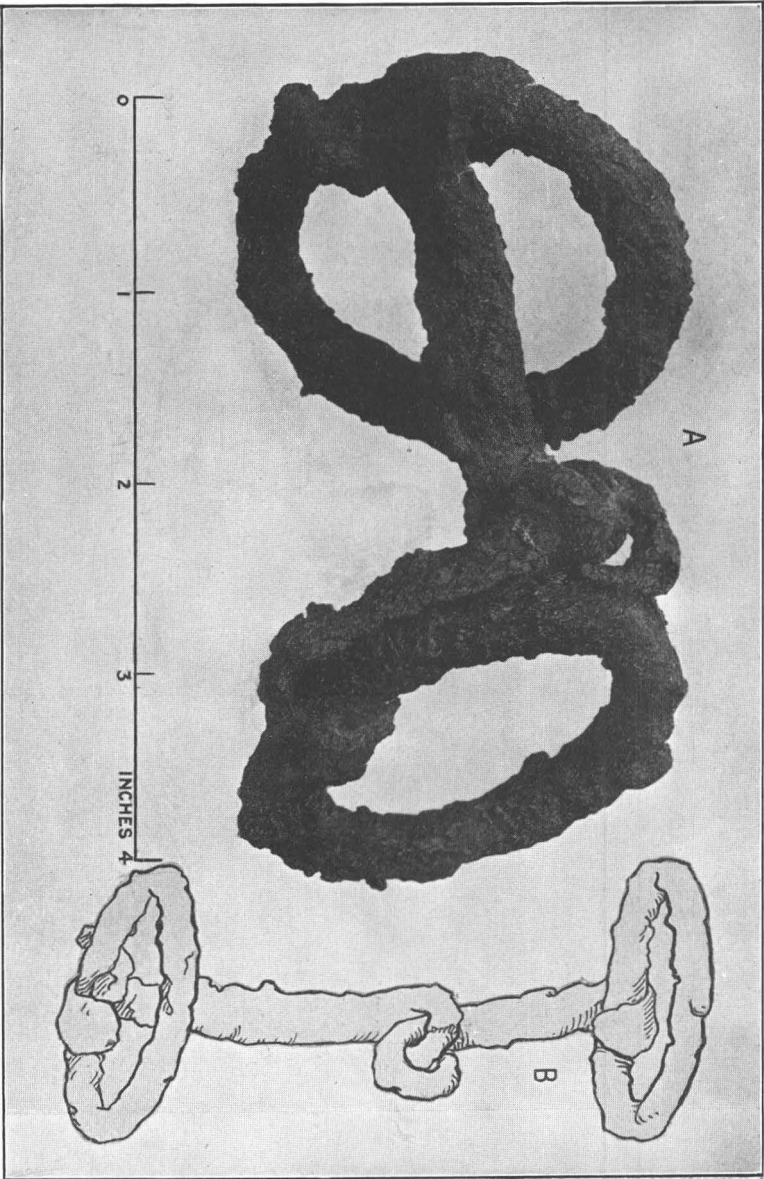


Fig. 1, 1A. Grave 89.

Fig. 2. Grave 26.



Grave 91 (The diagram B is $\frac{2}{3}$ rds actual size).

THIN SILVER PLAQUES on IRON.

PLATE XXIX.

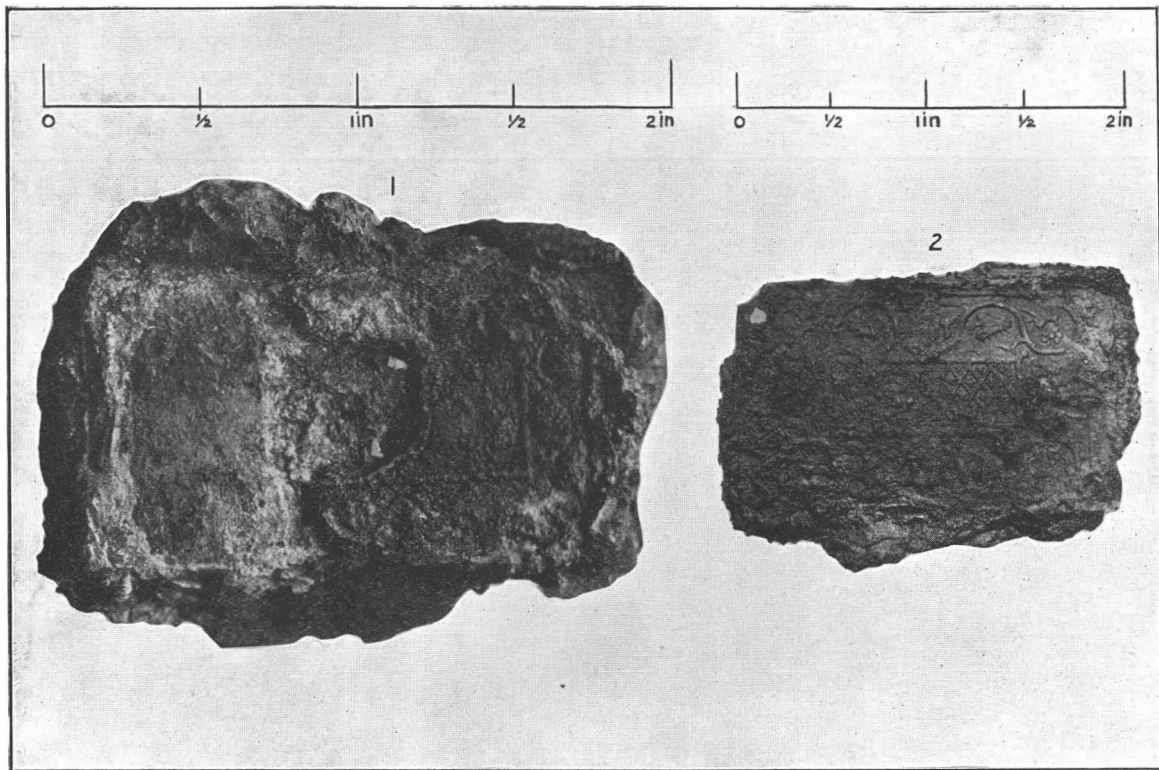


Fig. 1. Grave 20.

Fig. 2. Grave 24.

BRONZE (No. 2 TINNED; No. 5, TAB GILT, TONGUE SILVERED).

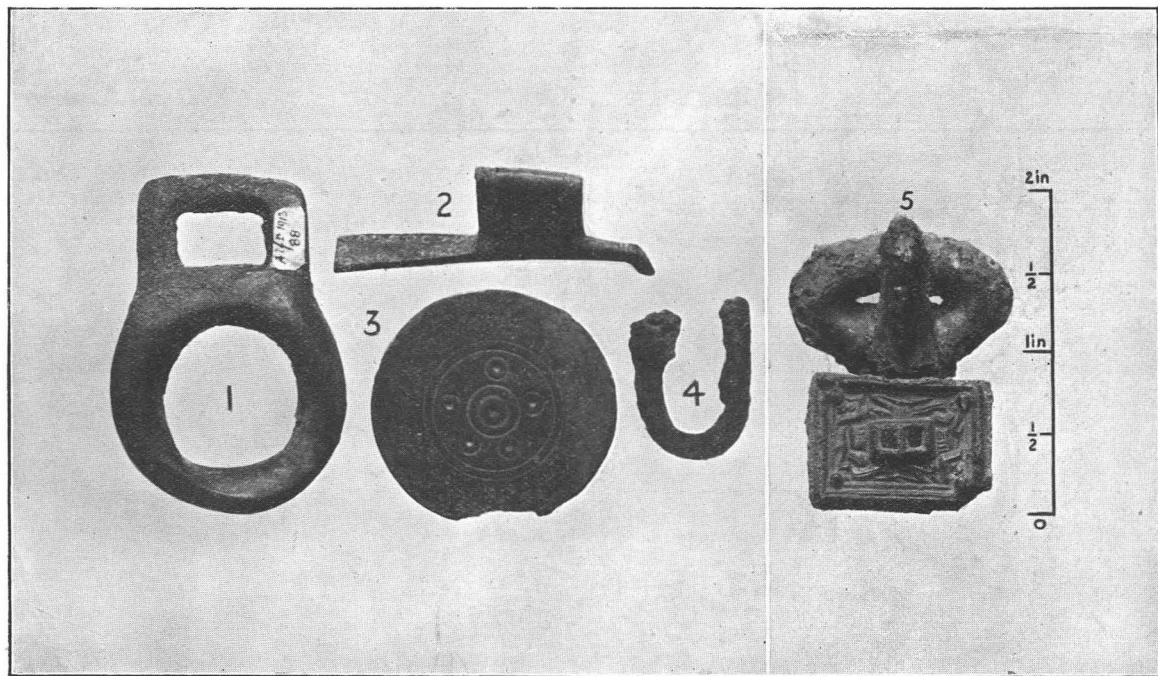


Fig. 1. Grave 88.
 " 2. " 28.
 " 3. " 98.

Fig. 4. Grave N.
 " 5. " 89.

INDEX.

The references are to the Catalogues of Graves except where specially noted. Graves I to 76 and A to H are catalogued in the earlier paper; Graves 77 to 108 and K to N in this supplemental paper.

X indicates the discoveries made by the builders before our excavations commenced, and catalogued in the earlier paper.

- AXE HEADS: 24, 26, 39, 91.
- BEADS.
- Amber: 2, 16a, 23, 43, 62, 64, 65, 68, E, X, 77, 79, 86, 87, 90, K.
- Crystal: 23, 28, 56, 65.
- Flint: 60, 103.
- Glass, plain: 16a, 28, 29, 43, 47, 51, 62, 68, X, 77, 79, 87, 92, 94, 103.
- „ lobed: 43, 62, X, 87.
- „ parti-coloured: 28, 43, 47, 51, 64, 68, X, 87, 94, 103.
- „ bugle: 28, 77.
- Porcelain, plain: 2, 23, 28, 43, 64, 68, 77.
- „ parti - coloured: 23, 43, 64, X, 87, 90.
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- BIT, Horse: 91.
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- Glass, 28.
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- „ DECKINGS: 2a, 16b, 17, 20, 21, 24, 43 (8), 65, X, 77, 87, 89, 103, M.
- „ RINGS: 28 (6), 43 (5), 60, X, 82, 88.
- „ SUNDRIES: 2a, 3, 4, 14, 21, 23, 26, 46, 63, 65, 69, F, G, H, X, 77, 85, 86 (2), 89, 91, 103.
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- „ set with silver and garnets: 89.
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- „ no bronze: 1a, 10, 20, 24, 33, 35, 36, 39, 49, 52, 63, A, E (2), H (2), 84, 90, 103, 105.
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- Heart-shaped: 73.
- Penannular, silver: 43.
- „ iron: 8.
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- „ zoomorphic: 28, 56, 62, 101 (2).
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- „ small: 43, 47.
- Sundry: 29, 43.
- Swastika: 28.
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- FLINT FLAKES: 33, 57, B, F, 80, 88.
- „ PEBBLES: see Pebbles.
- GLASS.
- Beads: see Beads.
- Bowl: 28.
- Fragments: 92 (a), 94.
- Insets: 3, 10, 17.
- Vases: 39, 43, 60, X.
- HINGE, BRONZE: 88.
- IRON BIT, Horse: 91.
- „ EYED OBJECTS, WITH CURVED END: 4, 62, 65.
- „ DO., STRAIGHT: 23.
- „ KEYS (?): 23, 68, A, 84.
- „ RINGS: see Rings.
- „ STRIKE-A-LIGHTS (or purse-rims): 74, 76, A, B, 80, 91, L.
- „ SUNDRIES: 23, 29, 31, 33, 36b, 43, 52, 56, 60, 68, 72, 76, B, E (2), G, X, 82, 83, 87, 89, 91, 92, 98 (2), 103, M.
- IVORY: 14a, 68, A.
- JET: X.

- KNIVES, Bronze, on chain : 28.
 ,, Iron : 4 (2), 7, 10, 12, 14, 20,
 21, 23, 24, 26, 34, 35, 37,
 39, 40, 42, 43, 49 (2), 52,
 53, 58, 59, 60, 62, 65, 67,
 69, 72, 73, 74, A, B,
 E (3), G, H (2), X, 77, 80,
 82, 84, 86, 90, 91, 95, 96,
 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106,
 N.
 ,, Bronze Sheath-rim : N.
- LEAD, small object : 93.
 LEATHER : 43, 54, A.
*See also note on swords, p. 13 of
 former paper.*
- PAILS (hoops or rims of).
 Bronze : 3, 16b, 36a, 85, 86.
 Iron : 54, 70.
- PEBBLES.
 Chalk : 19.
 Flint : 83, *see also* pages 17 and 26 of
 former paper.
 Holed : 60.
 Iron pyrites : 6.
See also Flint Flakes and Beads.
- PINS.
 Gilt headed : 29, 62, 65.
 Plain : 5, 8, 47.
- POTTERY.
 Urns : 52, D.
 Fragments : 41, 49, 54, 65, 72, B, E,
 86, 87, 88, 89, 94.
 Greybeard, fragment : E.
- PYRITES : 6.
- RINGS, BEADED, &c. : 2a, 28, 43.
 Bronze : 28 (6), 43 (6), 60, 65 (2), X,
 82, 88.
 Finger : 28 (2), 43.
 Iron : 14, 62, C, 77, 86.
- SHELL.
 Cowrie : 43.
 Mussel (?) : 98.
- SHIELD BOSSES.
 Angular ("Cambridge type") : 1a,
 3, 34, 35, 37, 40, 48, 55, 59,
 69.
 Conical : 41, 42, 54, 67.
- SHIELD HANDLES.
 Long : 37, 48.
 Short, flanged : 3, 55.
 ,, flat : 1a, 34, 35, 40, 42, 54, 59,
 67, 69.
- SHIELD STUDS : 34, 41, 42, 59, 67, 69, H.
- SPEARHEADS : 7, 14, 26, 34, 35, 36a, 40,
 41a, 54, 55, 59, 61, 63, 76,
 E, H, X, 81, 82, 86, 89, 91,
 106, 107.
- SPOON : 62.
- SWORDS.
 Bronze pommel : 26.
 Bronze-mounted scabbard : 89, M.
 All iron : 1, 3, 48, 55, 67, 86.
- TABS AND TANGS.
 Bronze, single : 2a, 4, 21, 23, 29, 48,
 60, 74, F.
 ,, "Duplicate : " 4 (2), 17 (2),
 21, 36b (2), 46, 55, B (2),
 E.
 ,, "Doubled : " 2a, 69, B.
 ,, "Split : " 20, 36b.
 Bronze and iron, "Duplicate : " 98.
 Iron, "Duplicate : " 20, 24.
- TALON : 43.
 Bone, imitation : 28.
- TWEEZERS : 37, 47, M.
- WOODEN OBJECTS : 4, A.

DRUNGEWICK MANOR, LOXWOOD.

By JOHN C. BUCKWELL.

AFTER the appearance of my article, entitled "Stories of Loxwood," Mr. Thomas-Stanford, of Preston Manor, M.P. for Brighton, communicated with me. He told me that his wife was a descendant of Mary Napper, mentioned in the Napper pedigree accompanying my article, and he very kindly lent me a large number of deeds relating to Loxwood and Wisborough Green.

It may be interesting to trace the connection of Mrs. Thomas-Stanford with the Mary Napper above mentioned. Mary Napper was the sister of Henry Napper, of Horsham, and according to my pedigree was born in 1630. She married William Stanford, of Warnham, at Slinfold in 1658, and died in 1686, leaving a will which was proved at Chichester. Her son was Edward Stanford, of Itchingfield, and also of Exceat in West Dean. He was baptised at Slinfold in 1660, and died in 1725 at West Dean, having married Grace Young. His youngest son was Richard Stanford, who was born at West Dean in 1711, and married Mary Ockenden, at Preston, in 1762. He died in 1769, and was buried at West Dean. His son, William Stanford, was born at Preston in 1764, and was Lord of the Manors of Preston and Hove, and High Sheriff of Sussex in 1808. He died in 1841 at Preston, having been twice married. His second wife was Mary Tourle, of Landport, Lewes, and their eldest son, William Stanford, was born at Preston in 1809, and married Eleanor Montague in the year 1842. He likewise was Lord of the Manors of Preston and Hove, and he died in 1853 at Preston. His daughter is Mrs. Ellen Thomas-Stanford, the wife of Mr. Thomas-Stanford, M.P.

Among the deeds lent to me by Mr. Thomas-Stanford is a copy of the patent by Queen Elizabeth granting the manor of Drungewicke in 1598 to Sir John Harte and a copy of the conveyance from his daughter, Mrs. Johan Bolls, to Richard Threele in 1605. These copies are contained in one sheet of parchment, both of them being written in old Court hand, the former in Latin and the latter in English. The copies are stated to have been made in 1651.

From the former it appears that in 1598 Queen Elizabeth sold the manor and farm to Sir John Harte for £879. 13s. 4d., and from the latter it appears that in 1605 George Bolls, of St. Mary Bothawe, in Candleweeke Street, London, and his wife, Johan Bolls (daughter of the said Sir John Harte) and their eldest son and heir apparent, John Bolls, sold the manor to Richard Threele, of Wisborough Green, for £1,600.

With regard to the purchase money paid by Sir John Harte, the deed states that it was paid "to the receipt of our Exchequer by the hand of our well beloved serjeant, Edward Carye Knight, one of the tellers of our same Exchequer, to our use."

In those old Elizabethan days conveyancers took great pains to ensure that everything intended to pass should be covered by the grant. In this particular instance the draftsman was not quite sure whether Drungewicke ought to have an "e" at the end of it or not, so he described it as "All that our manor of Drungewicke (with an 'e'), otherwise Drungewick (without the 'e')."

At that time the manor was in the occupation of Richard Browne at the annual rent of £14. There was also included in the conveyance a wood called Pephurste, and a wood still bears that name close to Drungewick manor. This wood was stated to be of the value of £13. 6s. 0d. a year. The deed also conveyed the perquisites and profits of the Court of the manor, which were stated to be of the value of 5s. a year, so that altogether apparently the manor was only worth £27. 11s. 0d. annually.

The description of the property concludes with the following words: "Which said Manor of Drungewicke lately was parcel of the possessions of the Bishopric of Chichester, now being in our hands by virtue of Act of Parliament." I conceive this Act of Parliament to be 1 Elizabeth, cap. 19.

Dallaway, at page 376, in his *History of Sussex*, asserts that the manor passed into the hands of the Crown in 1560 by an unfavourable exchange with the Bishop of Chichester. The Queen acquired several manors about this time under the same title. The manor of Bexhill, according Horsfield, Vol. I., page 428, was similarly acquired, and there is now being exhibited at the Brighton Library (lent by Mr. Thomas-Stanford) the original grant from Queen Elizabeth of the manor of Preston, from which it appears the Crown acquired its title to this manor in a similar manner to those of Drungewick and Bexhill.

There is a certain amount of pleasure in correcting errors of such historians as Dallaway and Horsfield. Dallaway states at page 376 that the Manor of Drungewick was sold or granted to Sir Edward Onslow. Horsfield, at Vol. II., p. 155, reiterates this statement. The deed now under discussion proves that the Onslows had nothing whatever to do with the original acquisition from the Crown. It seems to have been sold in 1598 to Sir John Harte, and only seven years later his daughter and her husband sold it at double the price to Richard Threele. Now it happens that Richard Threele married Margaret, the sister of Sir Edward Onslow, and as in 1664 Sir Henry Onslow, who was knighted during that year, is described as of Drungewick, it is highly probable that the manor passed from the hands of the Threeles into the hands of the Onslows. Sir Henry Onslow was the grand nephew of Mrs. Margaret Threele.

I was particularly struck in the perusal of the Grant by the profuse verbiage of what we used to call the "general words." When I was first initiated into the legal profession "general words" appeared in all conveyances, but the imagination of the Elizabethan Conveyancers

outstripped that of the Conveyancers of the nineteenth century. Just think of the following words: "And
 "also all and singular the messuages mills houses edifices
 "buildings barns stables dovecotes gardens orchards
 "backsides gardens shops cellars solars lands tenements
 "meadows feedings pastures commons demesne lands
 "wastes furzes heaths moors marshes woods underwoods
 "tithes of sheaves corn grain and hay wool flax hemp and
 "lambs and other tithes whatsoever as well the greater as
 "the lesser oblations etc, reversions and services rent
 "charges rents seck and rents and services as well of free
 "as of customary tenants work services of tenants farms
 "etc, our rights of jurisdiction franchises privileges profits
 "commodities emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever
 "with all their appurtenances of whatsoever kind nature
 "or species they may be or by whatsoever names they
 "may be known called declared or recognised etc."

Conveyancers in the sixteenth century made sure that nothing should escape their net.

Another fact worthy of note is that the Manor of Drungewick was to be held by Sir John Harte, of the Crown Manor of East Greenwich. I believe that all Crown Socage Manors were theoretically held of the Manor of East Greenwich, and at the end of this deed it is distinctly stated that Drungewick was to be so held.

The next point of interest is that the manor was to be held in Common Socage and not in Capite or by Military service, being an anticipation of the abolition of feudal tenures 80 years later.

Another point of interest occurs at the end of the deed. The words "Teste meipso" (witness myself) appear. The deed is a grant from the Crown, and throughout the anterior portion of it the plural pronouns "nobis and nostris" have been used.

I have been able considerably to extend my information with regard to the family of Threel. Berry gives a genealogy of a Threel family living at Bexhill, and apparently the William Threel who heads this family must have been a son of the Richard Threel who purchased

Drungewick. I have therefore given the entire family as far as I am able to work it up to date.

THREEL PEDIGREE.

ARMS: Paly *or* and *gules* (Dallaway and Berry).
 CREST: A tree fructed ppr. (Berry).

RICHARD THREEL, one of the Petitioners for the Chapel at Loxwood, 1404
 (S.A.C., Vol. LVI, p. 176).

John Threel, Marshal of the Household=Joan, dau. of
 to W., Earl of Arundel. d. 1465. . . . Bartelott.
 Buried at Arundel (Dallaway).

Edward or Edmond Threel,=. . . dau. and heir of . . .
 of Loxwood. (?) d. 1537. Cooke, of Rustington.

Thomas Threel, of Loxwood.=Elizabeth, dau. of Richard Covert,
 Buried at Wisborough Green Elizabeth, of Slaugham.
 22 . 6 . 1564.

Thomas Threel. Will dated 1560.=Dorothy, dau. of John John Threel.
 Buried at Wisborough Green Apsley, of Thakeham.
 24 . 4 . 1564.

Richard Threel, of Loxwood.=Margaret, dau. of Richard
 Bought Drungewick Manor Onslow.
 1605. Living 1634.

Edward Threel,=.Mary, dau. of William Threel,=.Ann, dau. of Mary
 son and heir. . . . Lock, of Trustee of Loxwood Giles Fynell, Threel.
 Living 1634. Merton Abbey, Chapel 1652 and of of Arlington.
 Surrey. Bexhill *vis* 1634.

William Threel. d. 1667. John Threel,=.Agnes, dau. of . . . Holden,
 Susan. Bur. at Wisborough of Bexhill. of Hurst, Sussex.
 Green 1650.

Thomas Threel,=.Margaret, dau. of Dr. Gifford,
 of Lewisham. of London.

William Threel. Thomas Threel. John Threel. Charles Threel. Andrew Threel. Lawrence Threel. Henry Threel. Maurice Threel.

The purchase of the Manor of Drungewick does not seem to have been a very profitable transaction to Richard Threel, as in 1629, by another deed lent to me

by Mr. Thomas-Stanford, I find that he mortgaged (*inter alia*) Pephurst Wood, together with one messuage and two barns, to Drue Stapley for £200 and £9 interest.

The proviso for redemption in this deed is quaint, judged by the standard of a similar proviso in a modern mortgage. The words run "doe att or in the now dwellinge house of the said Drue Stapley situat in the said parish of St. Saviours in the said Borough of Southwarke in and upon the twelveth day of February next ensueing the date hereof well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Drue Stapley etc."

The 12th February came and Richard Threele had not paid his mortgage money to Drue Stapley, and on the 13th February Drue Stapley entered into an arrangement by which, in consideration of another £9 for interest, he gave up to the 12th November for payment of the mortgage money. Again Threele made default, and on being pressed by Stapley for payment in June, 1631, he conveyed the equity of redemption to Stapley for a further payment of "threescore and eighteen pounds," making altogether £296. The equity of redemption was accordingly conveyed by Threele to Stapley. According to the deeds, Pephurste Wood alone (without the other properties conveyed) contained 105 acres, chiefly of woodland, so that in 1631 land in North-West Sussex, covered with wood and having also a house and farm buildings, only fetched £2. 16s. per acre.

Drue Stapley died the 1st December, 13 Charles I., and according to the Sussex Record Society, Vol. XIV., p. 216, he was then seised of "part of the manor of Drungewick, in Wisboro Green," probably the Pephurste Wood before referred to. According to an inventory of his goods at the time of his death he was "felo de se." His daughter and heiress married Thomas Shirley, of Preston.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Editor will be glad to receive short Notes on Discoveries and Matters of Interest relating to the Antiquities and History of the County, for insertion in the "Collections," such communications to be addressed to him at The Castle, Lewes.

No. 1.

THE BOSHAM HEAD OF GERMANICUS (?).

This remarkably beautiful work of early Roman Art, upon which you published a note on p. 272 of Vol. LIII. of the *S.A.C.*, has now passed into my possession. As there stated, the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum has given very careful consideration to this head, and is of opinion that it is as described in that note, but that it is not Romano-British, but was probably brought here by some traveller during the eighteenth century. There is a post-renaissance restoration at the back of the head, and signs of mounting which militate against the view that it was brought to Bosham by the army of occupation under Aulus Plautius, or that it affords any evidence corroborating the legend that the place where it was dug up some sixty years ago is the site of a Villa of Vespasian. In any event it remains one of the most beautiful portrait-heads of Augustan Age in this country.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN.

No. 2.

ROMAN URNS FOUND AT FIRLE.

Towards the end of August, 1914, while digging for flints on Lord Gage's estate on the south side of the Firle Hills, near the 400-ft. contour line on the north-west side of a depression known as Well Bottom and a little to the north-east of the Lords Burgh's tumuli, a workman discovered some almost perfect cinerary urns containing calcined bones, and with them a large number of fragments of other urns. There was no sign of a tumulus or any other external indication of the spot having been used for interment, though there are numerous

tumuli in the neighbourhood, and it is probable that the whole site had once been under the plough and disturbed, and this may account for the fragmentary character of much of the find.

Mr. J. E. Couchman kindly took charge of the urns and he has carefully restored the more perfect. The Society is much indebted to Lord Gage's Steward (Mr. William Weller) for recognising the interest and value of the urns and taking immediate steps for their preservation, and to Lord Gage for kindly allowing the Society to keep the whole of the find at Barbican House, with the exception of one urn, which is carefully preserved at Firle Place.

The details of the following list of the urns and fragments, with the exception of the description of the urn at Firle, have been supplied to me by Mr. Couchman :—

No. 1.—In the possession of Lord Gage. A cinerary urn $10\frac{1}{4}$ -in. in height, $9\frac{3}{4}$ -in. in diameter across the widest part, $4\frac{1}{2}$ -in. in diameter across the mouth. It is decorated on the shoulder with an incised band of lattice work between two small bands, the lattice work being $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of an inch in width and the narrow bands $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch each.

No. 2.—The smallest; it is $8\frac{1}{2}$ -in. in height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ -in. in diameter across the swell, $2\frac{1}{2}$ -in. in diameter across the mouth. It is decorated round the body with an incised band of lattice work between two smaller bands, the whole decoration being $4\frac{1}{4}$ -in. in width; on the shoulder, immediately under the neck, is a decadent celtic cordon. This urn is early Romano-British, and probably belongs to the first century.

No. 3.—A cinerary urn similar to No. 2, probably of the same date. The decoration round the body is a narrow incised band of chevron, around the shoulder the cordon. This is a larger urn; the height is $11\frac{1}{2}$ -in., the diameter $11\frac{1}{2}$ -in. and the mouth $3\frac{1}{2}$ -in.

No. 4.—A cinerary urn, probably of same date as 2 and 3. The cordon occurs twice, once under the lip and once lower down the shoulder; the shape is not spherical as the preceding vessels, but somewhat compressed, the width being greater than the height; the former is 11-in., the latter only 10-in.; the mouth is $2\frac{3}{4}$ -in. in diameter.

With these urns were a large number of pieces of pottery, from which one urn has been re-constructed, many pieces being missing. The date should be about the same as the others. Save a faint cordon under the lip there is no decoration. The clay is burnt and of a reddish colour; the size is 12-in. in height, 12-in. in diameter and the neck about 3-in. in diameter. A remarkable feature in this piece is, presumably, a maker's mark on the bottom, inside, and also on the side just above the position of the first-mentioned impression; it appears too clearly impressed to be made by accident, and the figures being separated confirms the opinion that they are intentionally placed there; the mark on the side has been defaced in repairing the urn.

The mark is a fern leaf, with six pairs of pinnae and a terminal; at the base of the leaf, at right angles, is a piece of a fern leaf, with three pairs of pinnae; it is sharply cut and nearly $\frac{1}{16}$ -in. in depth.

W. E. NICHOLSON.

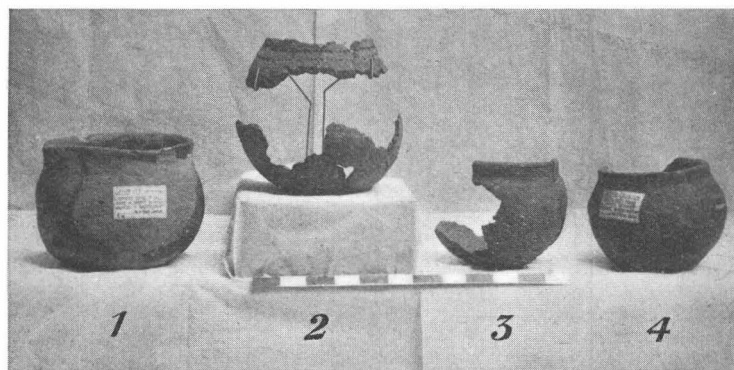
No. 3.

SAXON CREMATIONS NEAR SADDLESCOMBE.

The accompanying plan was made to record the positions of two Saxon interments discovered in the sides of a small chalk pit on Summer Down during the excursion of the Brighton and Hove Archæological Club, 5th October, 1912. The pit and adjoining group of ancient tumuli lie about two-thirds of the way from the Dyke Station to Saddlescombe. The 1914 edition of the ordnance survey (Sheet LII., S.E., Sussex) shows the tumuli and pit.

At point (1) on plan fragments of a pot were observed by the writer projecting from the bottom of the mould at a depth of one foot, and with them small pieces of burnt bones. Further search was made along the edge of the pit, and other pottery fragments with bones were turned out by Mr. E. J. Piffard about the same depth from the surface at point (2). These remains were subsequently presented to the Brighton Museum by Mr. Ernest Robinson, of Saddlescombe.

When *in situ* the sherds were so fixed in the soil as to indicate that the pots were intact at the time of burial. The treading out of the pit's edge by sheep is doubtless answerable for the loss of the missing portions of the urns and the greater part of the cremations. It has been found possible to piece together many of the pottery fragments,

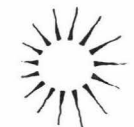


and the restoration shows the pot found at (1) to be hand-made, of globular shape, and about seven inches both in height and greatest diameter (see Fig. 2). Just below the rim, the edge of which is absent, there is a decoration of three rows of roughly parallel marks (only two rows can be seen in the illustration), each mark being about the size of an impression made in wax with the end of an ordinary safety match. The paste consists of a brownish clay containing a few grains of flint and chalk.

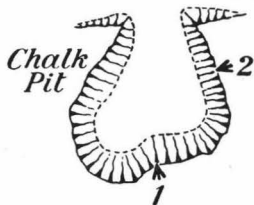
Summer Down

← TO THE DYKE

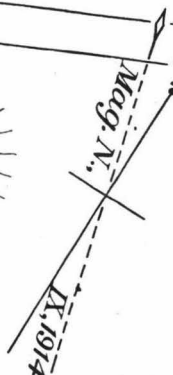
TO SADDLESCOMBE →



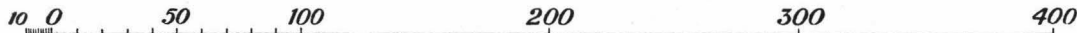
Tumulus



Tumulus



Tumulus



SCALE OF FEET

H.S.T.

SAXON CREMATIONS NEAR SADDLESCOMBE.

The pot found by Mr. Piffard (Fig. 3) has no decoration. It is four-and-a-half inches high, six inches in greatest diameter, and the paste of brown clay contains grains of chalk and some flint. To show the approximate shape of these pots when perfect, two examples (Figs. 1 and 4) have been selected from ten undecorated specimens in the Brighton Museum, which were found in the sand pit between Hassocks and Hurstpierpoint, and not far from the Roman Well described in the Society's *Collections*, Vol. LVI., pp. 197-8, by Mr. J. E. Couchman. The majority of the Hassocks pots contain cremations, and the thinness of the skull fragments gives one the impression that the interments are those of children.

Referring to the plan, Mr. Ernest Robinson states that a skeleton, with an iron spearhead, was found near the small chalk pit when making the road over Summer Down some years ago. The cross-shaped excavations on two of the tumuli are worthy of note. The view has been expressed that these mark the sites of foundations of windmills, but, so far, no record of windmills on these tumuli has been obtained.

HERBERT S. TOMS.

No. 4.

*ORDER BY THE COURT OF SUSSEX QUARTER SESSIONS,
HELD JANUARY 13 AND 14, 1684-5, TO THE SHERIFF TO
APPREHEND WILLIAM PENN, OF WARMINGHURST,
GENT., FOUNDER OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

While examining the Order Books of the Sussex Quarter Sessions I was fortunate enough to come across what I believe to be an unknown record relating to William Penn, the Quaker, founder of Pennsylvania, which has, I think, much more than merely a local interest. It is an order made by the Court of Sussex Quarter Sessions, held at Arundel on 13th and 14th January, 36th of Charles the Second [1684-5], directing the Sheriff of Sussex to apprehend William Penn, of Warminghurst, gent., for permitting "unlawfull assemblies and conventicles in his dwelling house there." The writer¹ of the article on William Penn in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, states that "Penn travelled in Holland and Germany" in 1671, "but was back in England before the end of the year," adding he "was now master of an income of 1,500*l.* a year, and established himself as a country gentleman at Basing House, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, whence in 1677 he removed to Warminghurst, Sussex." According

¹ J. M. Rigg.

to Dallaway,² who quotes from the deed, Penn purchased the Warminghurst estate in 1676. Penn went to Pennsylvania in September, 1682, but "a dispute with Lord Baltimore about the boundary on the Maryland side compelled him to return to England in 1684 to solicit its adjustment by the committee of trade and plantations."

The minute in the Quarter Sessions Order Book³ is as follows:—

For as much as the Grand Jury att this present Sessions have presented William Penn, of Worminghurst in this County, gent., for being a factious and seditious person and that he doth frequently entertaine and keepe unlawfull assemblyes and conventicles in his dwelling house at Worminghurst aforesaid, att which conventicles there are usually assembled the number of one or two hundred unknowen persons and sometimes more, to the terror of the King's leige people and in contempt of our Sovereaigne Lord the King and of his lawes, and ther upon they did humbly desire this Court that the said William Penn might finde suretyes for the peace and good behaviour; It is therefore ordered by this Court, that the Sheriffe of this County of Sussex doe upon sight hereof use his utmost care and dilligence and power to apprehend the said William Penn, and him bring before some Justice of the Peace of this County, to find suretyes for the appearance of him the said William Penn at the then next Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be held for the West Parte of this County, and in the meane time to be of the good behaviour. And if the said William Penn shall refuse to finde suretyes as aforesaid, Then it is hereby ordered that the Sheriffe of this County of Sussex doe upon such refusall, carry and convey the said William Penn to the common goale of the said County there to remaine untill he shall finde suretyes, as aforesaid.

The writer, before mentioned, states that "In March, 1685-6, the King, probably at Penn's instance, made proclamation of pardon to all who were in prison for conscience sake, whereby some twelve hundred Quakers regained liberty." This may account for there being no further reference to Penn in the Order Books.

R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A.

Pulborough,
December 31st, 1914.

² Dallaway and Cartwright's *Hist. of Sussex*, Vol. II., Pt. ii., p. 255. See also *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XXX., p. 237.

³ Sussex Quarter Session Order Book, "from 1679 to 1684-5," County Hall, Lewes.

No. 5.

CORRIGENDA.—SUSSEX CHURCH BELLS.

- P. 26, line 3, after first inscription for 45 read 46.
- P. 47, line 4 from foot, for **Th** read **T H** (both majuscules).
- P. 56, line 4 from foot, for Fittleworth 2nd read Fittleworth 3rd.
- P. 65, line 10, for Easebourne 2nd read Easebourne 3rd.
- P. 82, line 5, for Bepton 3rd read Bepton 1st, and in line 12, for Heyshot 3rd read Heyshot 1st.

No. 6.

OLD SUSSEX IRON.

I have in my possession several specimens of old Sussex iron-castings, one or two of which, in particular, seem to me to deserve some record in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*.

The first item to which I will refer is a Fire-back from Mayfield, dated 1696, with the following inscription:—

FIDES DONA SUPERAT.

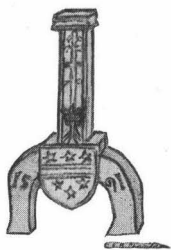
N L 1696

Which may be rendered "*Fidelity rises superior to gifts.*"



It seems to represent a chained dog, before whom a man is dangling a bone, which the dog cannot quite reach. It has been suggested that the man is a cloaked burglar trying to bribe the watch dog, but whatever may be the true explanation of the design, it is certainly a very quaint one, and I do not know whether any similar one is in existence. I bought it at a shop in Lewes nearly 30 years ago. Though I have spoken of it as of Mayfield origin, I doubt if I am justified in saying more than that I was told by the Vendor that it had come from Mayfield. The question of Foundry remains unproven.

Another very handsome Fire-back of large size, of the Royal Arms of England, but without any indication of its origin or date, I had built 28 years ago into the fireplace of my Library at Northfield Grange, Eastbourne, where it still is.



Of Andirons, or Fire-dogs, I have four sets, two of them of particular interest and importance. The oldest and handsomest pair are portrayed in the accompanying sketch of one of them. The date, it will be observed, is 1591, and the arms are those of the Ashburnham family, with a parody of the Ashburnham crest of an Ash-tree on the standard. This particular pair I obtained many years ago from a well-known member of the Sussex Archæological Society, the late Mr. C. L. Prince, of Uckfield and Crowborough, but I have an idea that other examples of this identical pattern are still in existence.

The second pair of Andirons are somewhat smaller than the first, and though they exhibit no armorial bearings, I take it that they came from Ashburnham, and that the initials which they bear, namely,

WR and IA, are those of William Ralph, a well-known Sussex ironfounder, and John Ashburnham, his landlord, in which case the date of the Dogs would be about 1620, I suppose.

The third pair of Dogs which I possess are also, I am inclined to think, of Ashburnham origin, because of the peculiar shape of the castings, but they bear no initials or other direct indications of their origin.

The fourth pair are not a pair, if I may venture on an Irish form of speech, but they pass fairly well as a pair. I should not, however, have troubled to have mentioned them in this paper but for the peculiar circumstances under which I acquired the second member of the combination. Having the first in my possession, and one Dog by itself being useless for any practical purpose on a hearth, I was long watching my opportunity to find a companion for it; and one day in the autumn of 1886, passing a blacksmith's forge near Crowborough, I bethought me to accost the owner with the enquiry whether he had any old Sussex iron which he did not care to keep; and he promptly produced Dog No. 2, and said he would be pleased to accept 2s. for it, a price which I cheerfully paid forthwith.

This Dog has no indications of origin on it, but No. 1 has the letter S at the top of the standard and seemingly two letters on the foot which I take to be H and E joined as one, but they are very indistinct.

If any Members of the Society should ever chance to be near the Crystal Palace, and would care to see the articles described in this paper, I shall be very pleased to show them, my house being close to the Sydenham entrance to the Palace gardens.

G. F. CHAMBERS.

No. 7.

SELSEY—REPORT FOR 1914.

No discoveries have been made during the year of archæological interest beyond the usual fragments of Roman pottery and worked Neolithic flints that are always turned up in ploughing or gardening operations.

No great "finds," but an average quantity of the early British gold, both worked and in the rough, has come to light. Several small specimens have been found of the curiously intricate ornaments made of finely plaited and interwoven gold wire, the original use of which remains entirely obscure. The large proportion of extremely small perfectly spherical globules of gold seems to me to suggest that in pre-Roman times gold beads were made in Britain by dropping the molten metal into water. The experiment may be made with lead, the tendency to this formation being utilised in shot-works.

The most important discovery is that of an undescribed and apparently unique silver coin of Verica. Its nearest relation is that

figured by Evans (A.B.C. 1864), Plate iii., Fig. 4. On the reverse the animal is more like a boar than a lion, as described by Evans (p. 181). The obverse may be compared with the coin already cited, and with Evans, Plate iv., Fig. 1, but the legend COM · F is placed between *two* crescents, the horns pointing inwards, and each crescent having a circle (four in all) at each extremity. The coin is in excellent preservation, having come out of the impervious Eocene blue-clay on the shore.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN.



NOTICES OF BOOKS RELATING TO SUSSEX.

These short notices, contributed by some of our Members, are not intended as reviews or criticisms, but only as guides to recent sources of information. The Editor will be glad to hear of any new published material connected with Sussex Archaeology.

The Sussex Record Society continues to do excellent work. The volume for 1914 being the first half of a most valuable calendar of *Sussex Manors, Advowsons, &c., recorded in the Feet of Fines, 1509—1833*. Abstracts of the fines are arranged alphabetically under the chief manors, with cross references, by Mr. E. H. W. Dunkin, F.S.A., to whom the Society is already so much indebted. The present volume covers to the end of L; the remaining portion and the formidable index will constitute the volume for 1915. It may be mentioned that abstracts, in Latin, of the early fines from Richard I. to end of Edward I. have already been printed by the Society and that it is hoped to issue a calendar of the fines for the intervening period, 1307-1509, in 1916. In the Parish Register section the Registers of Angmering, 1562-1687, have been edited and presented to the Society by the Rev. E. W. D. Penfold.

A Short History of the Parish of Salehurst, by Leonard J. Hodson, is a useful addition to the growing series of histories of Sussex parishes, and seems to be a careful piece of work. Salehurst parish contains not only an interesting church but the site of Robertsbridge Abbey and a considerable number of old estates, the houses on which in several instances retain features of interest.

Anglo-Saxon Church Architecture in Sussex, by Col. H. L. Jessep, R.E., is a useful monograph on the early churches of the county; of these, fifteen are stated to contain undoubted Saxon features, nineteen have details of construction suggestive of pre-Conquest date, and ten others are probably post-Conquest but with strong traces of the Saxon tradition. There are twenty-three illustrations, of varying merit.

Although these notices are as a rule indicative rather than critical the editor feels that an exception should be made in the case of "*The Place-Names of Sussex*" by R. G. Roberts, M.A., for several reasons. In the first place the subject is one of much importance, secondly a suggestion of authority is given to the book by its being issued under the auspices of the Editorial Committee of the Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series, thirdly it is exceedingly pretentious, and fourthly it is amazingly bad. In his preface Mr. Roberts states that his book "is not intended for beginners;" it is

certainly unfit for their use and would mislead them sadly. He also states that the first part contains "all Sussex names for which early forms have been found," which is absolute nonsense. Taking the first two letters alone, he omits six names beginning with A and nineteen beginning with B, all of which occur in the Domesday Survey. A similarly absurd claim to completeness is made in the second part (p. 186) where the names are grouped according to their constituent elements, Mr. Roberts claiming to have given "in every case" "a full list of Sussex names which contain the element under discussion."

Even for the compilation of a book whose scope "is purely linguistic,"—that is to say from which every suggestion of historical interest or value is carefully excluded,—certain qualifications are required. So far as the knowledge of phonetics goes, Mr. Roberts appears from his introduction to have studied the theoretical laws which philologists have laid down to tell us how vowels and consonants ought to behave;—anyone with an experience of records knows that place-names have an eccentric way of disregarding these rules. Before applying these rules to a place-name to solve its origin it is obviously essential to know what its early forms were. Mr. Roberts is aware of this elementary fact and presents us with lists purporting to be the early forms of the names he is discussing, each with its date and reference. Unfortunately he knows nothing of Sussex, or of palæography, or of the intelligent use of records; his lists are therefore full of blunders and worse than useless. His ignorance of Sussex leads him to make such mistakes as giving "1274 Hamden" as an early form of Hampden Park, a portion of the Ratton estate which has received its name, in memory of Lord Hampden, within the last twenty years. In the next entry to this he makes the final syllable of Hamsey either *ea*, a stream, or *eg*, an island, though the only early form he mentions is "Hammes Say," and very little research was needed to show that it derived its termination from the family of Say. His ignorance of palæography causes him to build theories upon the mere blunders of nineteenth century transcribers, as in the case of Goodwood, where he writes, "The 1379 form *Godmewude* is due to the assimilation of the *n* in *God(i)ne* to *m* before the following lip-cons.," it being really due to the transcriber reading the three minims of *in* as *m*. It is also very noticeable that he uses throughout, with hardly an exception, the old calendars of Charter Rolls, Inquisitions Post Mortem and so forth, compiled by the Record Commissioners in the early nineteenth century and notoriously full of errors, although modern calendars of far greater accuracy are available and are actually given in his Bibliography. Possibly the fact that most of the places are identified in the indexes to the modern calendars would hamper his imagination too much. For surely no previous writer has ever used records with such an eccentric disregard for their applicability. It would seem an obvious precaution when drawing up a list of early forms of any particular name to ascertain that they really refer to the place in question, but Mr. Roberts is above such pedantic accuracy, any slight resemblance is sufficient for him to prove identity. So under Bexhill we find forms such as

"Bokeshulle" which belong to Bugsell, for Bineham, the old form of which was "Bine," we have "Binelham" which is Bivelham or Bibleham, under Heathfield we have as "Type II." "Hethingfeld," which is a blundered form of Itchingfield, "Lullingmynstre" which is Lyminster is boldly assigned to Lullington, the famous abbey of Hyde by Winchester is confused with the Hyde at Arlington, Racton with Rattou, Robertsbridge with Rotherbridge, and so forth. But it is in his treatment of Domesday Book that Mr. Roberts really excels himself. The identifications of the Sussex place-names that occur in Domesday are easily ascertainable from the *Victoria History of Sussex*, which our author puts in his Bibliography, but he has not taken the very slightest trouble to ascertain them. On the contrary he has gone out of his way to make nonsense of them; so "Lodintone" near Pevensey is given to Lordington on the borders of Hampshire, "Isiwirde," which is Easewithe, is said to be the old form of Iford, Pyecombe is said to have been originally Picham because Mr. Roberts has found "Piceham" in D.B. and does not know it is Patcham. Occasionally his audacity bewilders even himself; thus under Ore he enters "Orne" as the D.B. form, but adds pathetically, "I cannot explain the *n* in the D.B. form"; it is certainly more easily explained by giving "Orne" its correct identification of Horns in Pevensey Level. So also under Rye he gives "Rieberge" (really a hundred in West Sussex) and writes, "If the D.B. form is to be trusted, the name was originally O.E. *rygebeorg*, "rye-hill," and the second element has subsequently been completely lost. But this is not very convincing." It is not!

It would be a waste of time to follow Mr. Roberts farther through his maze of blunders and in view of the rotten foundation upon which he bases his arguments his philology may be ignored, for even if it were much better than it is it would be invalidated by his inaccuracy. But those who are interested may follow the demolition of Mr. Roberts' etymology by Dr. Bradley in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1915. That a book so thoroughly and so obviously worthless should be issued in the Cambridge Archæological and Ethnological Series is strange.

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