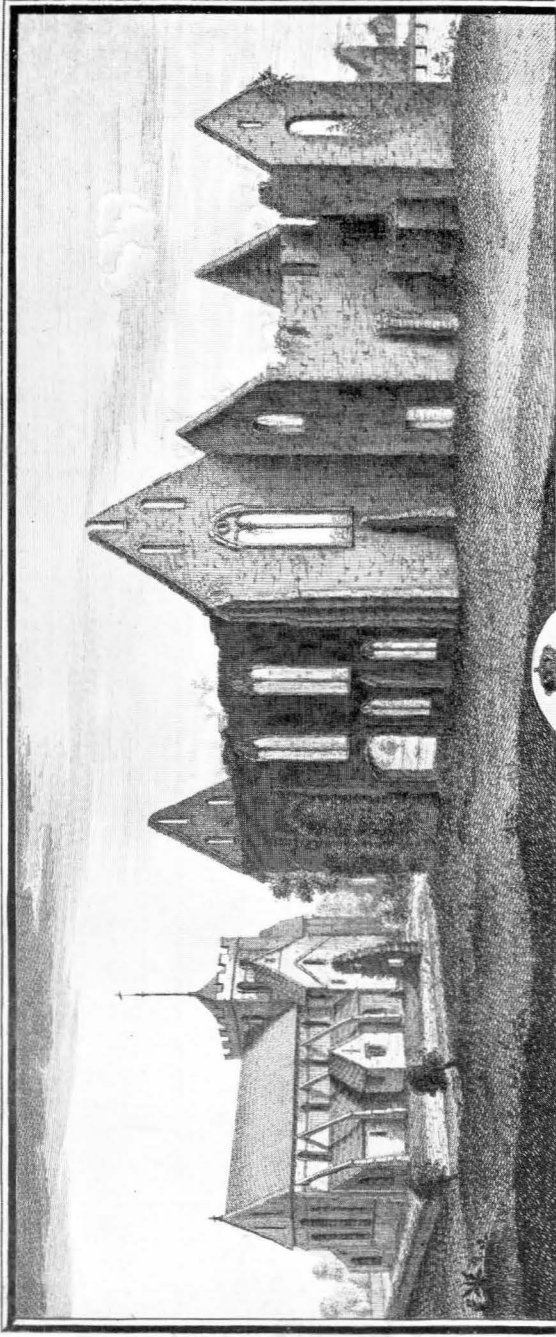


THE NORTH-WEST VIEW OF BOXGROVE-PRIORY, IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.



To the Hon. Secy. to the Hon. Comtee. of Derby
 This Prospect is humbly presented by
 Jas. Sadler, Surveyor of the Priory & Church

THIS Priory was founded in the year 1130, by the Countess Matilda, the daughter of King Henry I. It was the first of the kind in the County of Derby, and was at first a priory of monks, but was afterwards converted into a convent of nuns. It was burnt down by the soldiers of King Henry VIII. in the year 1535, and the ruins were sold to the Duke of Devonshire in the year 1710. The Duke of Devonshire has since been engaged in the restoration of the Priory, and has already expended upwards of £10,000 in the work. It is now the property of the Duke of Devonshire, and is open to the public on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays. The Priory is situated in a beautiful spot, and is surrounded by a park of about 100 acres. It is a fine specimen of Gothic architecture, and is well worth a visit. The Priory is situated in the town of Boxgrove, in the County of Derby. It is a fine specimen of Gothic architecture, and is well worth a visit. The Priory is situated in the town of Boxgrove, in the County of Derby. It is a fine specimen of Gothic architecture, and is well worth a visit.

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Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

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CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>
LIST OF OFFICERS	v.
LOCAL HON. SECRETARIES	vi.
CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES	ix.
AFFILIATED SOCIETY	ix.
HONORARY MEMBERS	ix.
LIST OF MEMBERS WITH DATES OF ADMISSION IN SOCIETY	x.
THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS OF BOXGROVE PRIORY. BY <i>W. D. Peckham, M.A.</i>	1
THE EARTHWORKS OF REWELL HILL, NEAR ARUNDEL. BY <i>Eliot Cecil Curwen, B.A., and Eliot Curwen, M.A., M.B., B.Ch.</i>	20
TENTATIVE EXPLORATIONS ON REWELL HILL. BY <i>A. Hadrian Allcroft, M.A.</i>	31
A PERAMBULATION OF CUCKFIELD, 1629. BY <i>Miss M. H. Cooper</i>	40
KINGSTON-BUCI CHURCH. BY <i>Dr. Francis Grayling</i>	53
A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK. BY <i>Leonard J. Hodson, LL.B.</i>	61
NEOLITHIC SPOONS AND BRONZE LOOPS. BY <i>J. E. Couchman, F.S.A.</i>	65
SANCTUARY IN SUSSEX. BY <i>H. Michell Whitley, Past Hon. Secretary Sussex Archaeological Society</i>	80
AN ELIZABETHAN RETURN OF THE STATE OF THE DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER. BY <i>V. J. B. Torr</i>	92
SOME NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF ALARD. BY <i>L. F. Salzman, F.S.A.</i>	126
NOTES AND QUERIES	142
SUBJECT INDEX TO PAPERS IN VOLS. LI.—LX.	146
INDEX TO VOL. LXI.	152

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	<i>Page</i>
THE NORTH-WEST VIEW OF BOXGROVE PRIORY ..	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PROBABLE ARRANGEMENT OF CLOISTER ROOF.. ..	7
BOXGROVE PRIORY :	
PLAN SHOWING REMAINS OF CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS	19
(facing)	
GENERAL PLAN OF EARTHWORKS ON REWELL HILL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD (Plate I.)	20
(facing)	
NORTH-EASTERN VILLAGE (Plate II.)	22
NORTH-EASTERN VILLAGE (SECTIONS) (Plate III.) ..	24
SOUTH-WESTERN VILLAGE (Plate IV.)	27
SOUTH-WESTERN VILLAGE (SECTIONS) (Plate V.)	28
(facing)	
CIRCUS NEAR SOUTH-WESTERN VILLAGE (Plate VI.) ..	29
NORTH-EASTERN GROUP (SECTIONS CUT) (Plate VII.)	33
KINGSTON-BUCI CHURCH (INTERIOR)	53
THE LEWKENOR TOMB	57
THE LEWKENOR SHIELD	58
NEOLITHIC CLAY SPOONS	66
SPOON FOUND IN CAVE OF ARENE CANDIDE LIGURIA (AFTER MORELLI)	68
CLAY SPOON IN HADERSLEV MUSEUM	70
SPOONS FROM SARKA, BOHEMIA	71
SPOONS FROM TROY	71
BRONZE LOOPS FOUND AT PYCOMBE AND BROOCH FROM CLAYTON, SUSSEX	76
BRONZE PALSTAVES FROM CLAYTON AND POYNINGS, SUSSEX..	77
INCENSE CUP AND PENDANT FOUND AT CLAYTON	78
THE ALARD TOMB, WINCHELSEA	125
BRONZE CELTS FROM EASTBOURNE	143

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1897. Johnston, Philip M., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Sussex Lodge, Champion Hill, s.e.5.
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.

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1883. *Abadie, Major-Gen. H. R., c.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, London, s.w.
1906. Adams, J., 7, High Street, Rye.
1920. Ade, John T., Grove Hill House, Hellingly.
1916. Adeney, Mrs., The Croft, Southover, Lewes.
1918. Alberly, Wm., London Road, Horsham.
1915. Alcock, Charles, Holmestrowe, East Grinstead.
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1899. Allfrey, Miss K. E., Friston, Wray Common Road, Reigate.
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1905. Amsden, Mrs. E. B., Standen Farm, Ockley, near Dorking.
1914. Anscombe, Alfred, F.R.HIST.S., 30, Albany Road, Stroud Green, N.
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1906. Arnold, Miss M. H., The Heritage, Emsworth.
1919. Arrol, Walter, 5, Park Crescent, Worthing.
1919. Arrol, Mrs., 5, Park Crescent, Worthing.
1919. Arrol, Miss Violet, Park Crescent, Worthing.
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.
1915. Austen, Edmund, J.P., Coleman House, Brede.
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1909. Banbury, Capt. Cecil E., 24, Ryder Street, St. James's, s.w. 1.
1899. *Bannerman, W. Bruce, F.S.A., 4, The Waldrons, Croydon.
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1914. Barham, C. Loftus, 17, Bridge Street, Hitchin.
1918. Barham, Col. Arthur S., C.M.G., V.D., Hole Park, Rolvenden, Kent.
1906. Bartlett, Rev. C. B., 2, Denmark Terrace, Brighton.
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1857. *Barttelot, Brian B., Ditton, Torquay, Devon.
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 1900. Berlin Royal Library (per Asher & Co., 14, Bedford Street, London, w.c.).
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 1895. Beves, Colonel Edward Leslie, Westfield, Palmeira Avenue, Hove.
 1908. Bigg, Mrs., The Hyde, Slaugham, Crawley.
 1911. Bird, W. B. M., Eartham, Chichester.
 1897. Birmingham, City of, Free Library (per Walter Powel), Ratcliff Place.
 1909. Bishop, Claude E. S., Stanton Prior, Meads, Eastbourne.
 1914. Blaauw, Henry T. G., Townings Place, Wivelsfield.
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 1911. Black, Rev. Chas., High Croft, West Hoathly.
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 1911. Blackman, Alfred, The Knoll, Baldslow Road, Hastings.
 1918. Blackman, Herbert, 361, London Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1914. Blake, Miss, Broadfield, Crawley.
 1907. Blaker, E. H., North Gate, Chichester.
 1915. Blaker, James, Snaresbrook, Christ Church Road, Worthing.
 1900. Blaker, R., 6, Wallands Crescent, Lewes.
 1914. Blencowe, R. C., Bineham, Chailey.
 1905. *Blinkhorn, E., Broadwater House, Broadwater, Worthing.
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 1873. Blunt, W. S., Newbuildings Place, Southwater.
 1907. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 1895. Boger, J. I. C., M.A., Peacock Hall, Goring-by-Sea.
 1908. Boldero, John, Frankland, Mark Cross.
 1912. Bolton, C. W., c.s.r., Avonmore, Granville Road, Eastbourne.
 1917. Bond, the Rev. H. C., Clayton Rectory, Hassocks.
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 1896. Borradaile, Charles, 3, Norfolk Terrace, Brighton.
 1920. Borradaile, Mrs. F., The Beeches, Barcombe, Sussex.
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 1907. Bothamley, Mrs. Kate, Middleton, Hassocks.
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 1882. Bourdillon, F. W., Buddington, Midhurst.
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 1892. Box, Stephen, 2, Gore Park Avenue, Eastbourne.
 1899. Boxall, W. P. Gratwicke, K.C., M.A., Ivory, Cowfold.
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 1889. Bray, John, 13, South Colonnade, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
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 1892. Brighton Public Library (Henry D. Roberts, Librarian).
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 1903. Brown, H. J., 4, Trafalgar Square, London, w.c.

1912. Browning, A. Quintus, 5, Granville Road, Hove.
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 1909. Buckley, T. H. W., The Grange, Crawley Down.
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 1897. Buckwell, G. W., Board of Trade Offices, Market Place, Hull.
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 1908. Butt, C. A., 3, St. Catherine's Road, Littlehampton.
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 Cranleigh.
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 1909. *Chichester, The Earl of, Stanmer Park, Lewes.
 1918. Chidwick, R. W., Kelmescott, Northcourt Road, Worthing.
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 1903. Christie, G. R. C., Robindene, Kemp Town, 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.
 1896. Clarke, Ronald Stanley, F.R.G.S., Trobridge House, Crediton.
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 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.
 1917. Clayton, Rev. H. J., The Vicarage, Bognor.
 1918. Clayton, Capt. E. W., M.C., Briar Cottage, Pirbright.
 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.

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 1868. Colchester, Lord, F.S.A., Pall Mall, s.w.; and Carlton Club
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 1912. Coleman, George, 33, Waterloo Street, Hove.
 1913. Colgate, T., Meeching Court House, Newhaven.
 1911. *Collins, A. E., 12, Edith 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.
 1918. Connell, Rev. J. M., 28, Grange Road, Lewes.
 1901. Constable, A. J., The Lodge, Littlehampton.
 1899. Cook, Miss B., The Hall, Nutley.
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 1910. Corcoran, Miss J. R., Rotherfield Cottage, Bexhill-on-Sea.
 1913. Curtis, A. B., Outspan, Down View Road, West Worthing.
 1915. Cosens, G., Woodleigh, Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, s.e.
 1910. Cotching, T., 17, London Road, Horsham.
 1889. Couchman, J. Edwin, F.S.A., Dene Place, Hurstpierpoint, Hassocks.
 1911. Courthope, Major G. L., M.P., Whiligh, Ticehurst.
 1908. *Courthope, William Francis, The Bath Club, 34, Down Street, w. 1.
 1912. Cousins, Henry, 27, Lower Park Road, Hastings.
 1899. Cow, J., Elfinsward, Hayward's Heath.
 1877. *Cowan, T. W., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.M.S., Sutherland House, Clevedon.
 1907. Cowland, William, Hildon, Horeham Road.
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 1907. Crake, Miss A. M., 42, Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.
 1912. Cramp, Jury, West Street, Horsham.
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 1908. Cripps, Ernest E., Steyning.
 1892. Cripps, F. S., Stanford House, Slinfold.
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 1912. Currey, Admiral Bernard, The Old Farm House, Glynde, Lewes.
 1912. Curteis, Robin, Com., D.S.O., R.N., The Admiralty, Whitehall, and
 Fernhurst, Uckfield.
 1918. Curteis, Lieut.-Col. John, 6, The Lawn, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1919. Curteis, Robt. Mascal, 21, London Road, Uckfield.
 1906. *Curtis, James, F.S.A., V.P., R.S.L., 179, Marylebone Road, n.w.
 1909. Curwen, Eliot, M.A., M.B., 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
 1916. Curwen, Eliot Cecil, 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
 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.
 1899. *Darby, Miss C. C., 1, St. Aubyn's Gardens, Hove.
 1913. *Darwin, Major Leonard, R.E., Cripp's Corner, Forest Row.
 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.
 1908. Dawtrey, John, Rothesay, 339, 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., 7, Cannon Lane, Chichester.
 1890. Deedes, Rev. Prebendary Cecil, 32, Little London, Chichester.
 1857. Delves, W. Henry, 23, Mount Zion, Tunbridge Wells.
 1920. *Demetriadi, Lady, Tremaines, Horsted Keynes.
 1920. *Demetriadi, Sir Stephen, K.B.E., Tremaines, Horsted Keynes.
 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.
1902. Dennison, T., West Vale, Arundel Road, Eastbourne.
1911. Denny, E. H. M., Staplefield Place, Staplefield.
1914. Denton, J. Gurney, Selden Lodge, Worthing.
1916. Devereux, Rev. W. J., Bishopstone Vicarage, Lewes.
1909. Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., Compton Place, Eastbourne.
1903. Dibley, Colonel, Gaveston Place, Nuthurst, Horsham.
1920. Dix, A. H., Forest Dene, Worth.
1862. Dixon, Miss M. M., North Highlands, Hayward's Heath.
1912. Doughty, Rev. R., 10, Maze Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1909. Dowell, Capt. H. A., Union Club, Brighton.
1920. Downing, H. P. Burke, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 12, Little College Street, Westminster Abbey, S.W. 1.
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.
1920. Duckworth, George H., M.A., F.S.A., C.B., Dalingridge Place, East Grinstead.
1903. Duke, F., Charlton House, Steyning.
1915. Dunkin, Mrs., The Heath, Fairlight, Hastings.
1908. Duplock, E. G., St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
1901. Durnford, Miss, Midhurst.
1908. Duval, Miss M. S., Pelham House, Lewes.
1903. Dyer, F. B., 32, Bigwood Avenue, Hove.
1908. Dyer-Edwards, Thos., Charman Dean, Broadwater; and 5, Hyde Park Gate, W.
1906. Dyke, Miss Julia, Camoys Court, Barcombe.
1897. Eastbourne Central Public Library (Librarian).
1881. Eggar, T., Moungeries, 30, Brunswick Road, Hove.
1918. Eldridge, D., Manor Farm, South Heighton.
1912. Ellis, C. H. S., Thorpe, Hayward's Heath.
1896. Ellis, Geoffrey, 23, Grand Parade, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
1890. Ellis, William Jenner, 108, Seddlescombe Road North, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
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., 18, Upperton Garden, Eastbourne.
1893. Farncombe, Miss, Pictou, 32, Princess Road, Edgbaston.
1913. Fawcett, Mrs., High Street, Lewes.
1897. Fibbens, Charles, Vectis, Woodleigh Road, West Worthing.
1909. Field, W. A., 20, Preston Street, Brighton.
1915. Fiennes, Major H., Well Side, The Grove, Rye.
1905. Finn, Arthur, F.S.A., Westbroke House, Lydd.
1892. Fisher, R. C., Hill Top, Midhurst.
1895. Fisher, Rev. Preb. F. Robert, Friars Gate, Chichester.
1881. *Fisher, Samuel Timbrell.
1911. *Fison, Sir Frederick W., BART., Boarzell, Hurst Green.
1920. Fison, R., Ditchling, Hassocks.
1916. Fletcher, J. S., The Crossways, Hambrook, Emsworth.
1887. *Fletcher, Rev. J. C. B., Mundham Vicarage, Chichester.
1888. *Fletcher, W. H. B., Aldwick Manor, Bognor.
1909. Flint, Frederick, Wraysbury, Lewes.
1905. Fowle, W. T., The Broadway, Hayward's Heath.

1916. Fosbroke-Hobbes, Lieut. A. W., R.H.A., 54, Sackville Gardens, Hove.
 1918. Fox, W. H., F.S.A., 69, Lombard Street, E.C.
 1912. Foyster, Rev. H. C. B., The Vicarage, Colemans Hatch, Sussex.
 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.
 1909. Frewen, Miss A. L., 44, Greycoat Garden, Westminster, S.W.
 1902. Frewen, Moreton, Brede Place, Brede.
 1897. *Frost, Edmund, M.D., Chesterfield Meads, Eastbourne.
 1920. Frost, Rev. E. L., The Vicarage, Kingston-by-Sea.
 1871. Fuller, Rev. A., M.A., The Lodge, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
 1916. Fynmore, A. H. W., Laurel Cottage, Tarrant Street, Arundel.
1904. Gadsdon, H. B., Whitelands, Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1912. Gage, The Right Hon. Viscount, Firlie Place, Lewes.
 1913. Gaisford, Miss, St. John's House, Chichester.
 1914. Gale, Capt. F. R., M.B.E., 103, Abingdon Road, Kensington, W.
 1895. Gardner, H. Dent, F.R.MET.SOC., F.R.G.S., Fairmead, The Goffs, Eastbourne.
 1919. Garton, Rev. J. A., The Vicarage, Mill Hill, N.W. 7.
 1908. Gell-Woolley, C. W. R., Greenlands, Keymer Road, Burgess Hill.
 1918. Georges, F. E., Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1919. Gibbs, Alexr., "Traquair," Balcombe Road, Lindfield.
 1919. Gibbs, Mrs. Charles, 23, Upper Wimpole Street, W. 1.
 1912. Glaisher, Henry J., 57, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, W.
 1920. Glasgow University Library (c/o Maclehose Jackson & Co., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow).
 1909. Goddard, Alfred, Leap Cross, Hailsham.
 1909. Godden, A. G. E., Higheroft Villas, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1918. Godfrey, Walter H., F.S.A., Melville Park Road, Lewes.
 1902. Godlee, J. Lister, Wakes Colne Place, Essex.
 1885. *Godman, Charles B., Woldringfold, Horsham.
 1903. *Godman, C. R. Bayly, Hampsteel, Cowfold.
 1877. *Godman, P. S., Hampsteel, Cowfold.
 1908. Goldfinch, Miss Isabel, Courtlands, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1911. Goodman, C. H., Tremont, Heene Road, Worthing.
 1920. Gordon, Robt. A., M.A., LL.M., Cantab., 2, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, E.C. 4.
 1914. Gordon, Miss, Shalesbrook, Forest Row.
 1911. Gorham, J. M., The Hall House, Hawkhurst.
 1905. Goring, C., Wiston Park, Steyning.
 1916. Gorringe, John Hugh, Aysgarth, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1907. Goschen, The Right Hon. the Viscount, 25, Rutland Gate, S.W.; and Seacox Heath, Flimwell, Hawkhurst.
 1920. Gostling, Dr. W. A., Barmingham, Richmond Road, Worthing.
 1913. Göttingen University Library (care of Asher & Co., 14, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.).
 1916. Graff, Clarence, 12, Great Cumberland Place, W.; and Brook Cottage, Slaugham.
1919. Grant, John, Seafield, West Tarring, Worthing.
 1907. *Grantham, Major W. W., 6, Crown Office Row, Temple, E.C.
 1918. *Grantham, Lieut. W. Ivor, Balneath Manor, Lewes.
 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.
 1911. Grayling, Dr. J. F., 52, Rutland Gardens, Hove.
 1916. Green, Lieut.-Col. E. W. B., D.S.O., The Gables, East Preston, Sussex.
 1916. Green, Mrs., The Gables, East Preston, Sussex.
 1919. Greenip, W. Mason, Greta Bank, 6, Farncombe Road, Worthing.
 1898. Greenwood, J., Anderton, Funtington House, near Chichester.

1886. Griffith, A. F., 59, Montpelier Road, Brighton.
 1912. Griffith, Herbert C., 13, Vernon Terrace, 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.
 1920. Gurney, Miss Ethel, c/o Barclays Bank, Northwood.
 1898. Gwynne, R. Sackville, M.P., Wootton, Polegate.
 1920. *Gwynne, Lieut.-Col. Roland, Folkington Manor, Polegate.
1900. Haines, C. R., Meadowleigh, Petersfield.
 1913. Haire, Rev. A., The Vicarage, Laughton.
 1913. Hale, Miss H., Forest House, Coleman's Hatch.
 1913. Hall, A. J., 33, Vernon Terrace, Brighton.
 1897. Halliwell, Mrs., 7, Walpole Road, Brighton.
 1858. Halstead, Mrs. C. T., Chichester.
 1912. *Halsted, Leslie C., East Pallant House, Chichester.
 1908. Hannah, Ian C., Fernroyd, Forest Row.
 1879. *Hannah, Very Rev. John Julius, D.D., The Deanery, Chichester.
 1900. Harley, J., M.D., Beedings, Pulborough.
 1914. Harman, Miss, The Grosvenor, Grosvenor Gardens, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1889. Harrison, Walter, D.M.D., Shawmut, 10, Windlesham Road, Brighton.
 1920. Harrison, Mrs. E. S., Aldwick Farm, Bognor.
 1878. *Harting, J. Vincent, F.S.A., 24, Linclon'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.
 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., 55, Combe Park, Bath.
 1877. *Hawkshaw, H. P., F.S.A., 22, Ryder Street, St. James's, s.w.
 1909. Hawkshaw, Miss, Hollycombe, Liphook.
 1918. Head, Alban, F.S.A., Watersfield, Pulborough.
 1914. Helme, Mrs., Lindfield Place, Hayward's Heath.
 1907. Hemming, A. G., Cambridge Lodge, Horley.
 1908. Henderson, Mrs. Sedgwick Park, Horsham.
 1920. Hennessy, James, Castle Lodge, Lewes.
 1909. Henty, Mrs. Douglas, 117, Eaton Square, s.w. 1.
 1919. Herbert, Rev. George, 61, Preston Road, Brighton.
 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.
1920. Hewett, Dr., Hailsham.
 1898. Hiersemann, Karl W., 29, Konigsstrasse, Leipzig, Germany.
 1907. Hillman, Mrs. Aubrey, Saxonbury, Lewes.
 1905. Hills, Gordon P. G., A.R.I.B.A., Firecroft, Cookham Dean, Berks.
 1907. Hills, Wallace H., Landsdowne House, East Grinstead.
 1903. Hinds, Mrs. Lynton House, Worthing.
 1897. Hobbs, E. W., M.A., Warnham House, 22, Ship Street, Brighton.
 1917. Hodson, L. I., LL.B., The Mill House, Robertsbridge.
 1917. Hodgson, A., Sanford, Westons Place, Warnham.
 1905. Holgate, Miss Mary S., Ardingly.
 1898. Holman, Mrs. Frederick, High Street, Lewes.
 1895. Holman, George, Rokeby, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1919. Holmes, Arthur, Arundel.
 1916. Hoper, J. D., 28, Albert Street, Rugby.
 1897. Hordern, Rev. H. M., St. Nicholas Vicarage, Brighton.
 1919. Horn, Miss Isabel, Anstye, Cuckfield.
 1913. Horne, Mrs. Maud, Ditton Place, Balcombe.
 1895. *Hounsom, W. A., J.P., 41, New Church Road, Hove.

1920. Houseman, Rev. A. B., Sompting, Worthing.
 1897. Hove Public Library (care of J. W. Lister).
 1911. Howard, Alfred, Cedar Lawn, Ailsa Road, St. Margarets-on-Thames.
 1896. Howard, Alfred J., Lessingham, Hinthorpe Road, Eastbourne.
 1916. Hockett, Miss, Mytten, Cuckfield.
 1911. Huddart, Mrs. Cudwells, Lindfield.
 1896. Hudson, Rev. W., F.S.A., 3, Thornton Avenue, Streatham Hill, s.w. 2.
 1896. Huggins, Charles Lang, Hadlow Grange, Buxted, Uckfield.
 1888. Humble-Crofts, Rev. Prebendary W. J., Waldron Rectory, Hawkhurst.
 1916. Humphries, S., 4, Chichester Place, Brighton.
 1920. Huntley, Edwd, Crowborough Warren, Sussex.
 1895. Hurst, C. J. B., c.B., k.C., 14, Ashley Gardens, s.w. 1; and The Nunnery, Rusper, Horsham.
 1905. Hurst, A. R., The Park, Horsham.
 1904. *Huth, Captain P., Riverhall, Wadhurst.
 1899. *Huth, E., Wykehurst Park, Bolney.
 1904. Huth, Mrs. E. A., Hillstead, St. Marychurch Road, Torquay.
 1914. Hyde, T. Ralph, Crescent Road, Worthing.
1871. Infield, H. J., 130, North Street, Brighton.
 1905. *Inderwick, W. A., Woodlands Crofton, Orpington, Kent.
 1912. Ingram, Arthur D., 36, Russell Square, w.C.
 1915. Isaacson, F. Wootton, M.A., F.R.G.S., Slindon House, Arundel.
1913. Jackson, A. C., Woodvale, Stonefield Road, Worthing.
 1909. Jackson, Horace, High Street, Lewes.
 1909. Jamblin, Rev. Robert, St. Margaret's, Pulborough.
 1909. James, H. A., Herstmonceux Place, Herstmonceux.
 1901. Jarrett, F., Rye.
 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., 29, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1909. Johnston, G. D., 10, Old Square, Lincolns Inn, London, w.C. 2.
 1902. Johnston, L. P., F.R.N.S., The Cottage, Warningcamp, Arundel.
 1908. Johnston, Sir H. H., G.C.M.G., k.C.B., St. John's Priory, Poling, near Arundel.
 1913. Johnson, Rev. A. N., Flimwell Rectory, Hawkhurst.
 1913. Justice, George, High Street, Lewes.
1920. Kaye-Smith, Miss Sheila, 9, Dane Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1905. Keef, H. W., Hillbre Mount, Framfield.
 1889. Kelly, Rev. W. W., Aldingbourne, Chichester.
 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.
 1906. Kilbracken, Lord, G.C.B., South Hartfield House, Coleman's Hatch.
1904. King, E. G., Fryern, Pulborough.
 1907. King, Henry, St. Leonards School, Ellenslea Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1899. King, J. Godwin, Stonelands, West Hoathly.
 1912. King, Mrs. Godwin, Stonelands, West Hoathly.
 1911. King, P. W., 51, York Road, Hove.
 1919. King, A. W. W., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth.
 1909. Kipling, Rudyard, Batemans, Burwash.
 1914. Kirtlan, T. E. Varley, Garden Graith, 55, Watts Lane, Eastbourne.

1901. Lacaita, C. C., Selham House, Seldam, near Petworth.
 1904. Lamb, Mrs. M., Borden Wood, Liphook.
 1886. Lambe, R., Blatchington, Seaford.
 1914. Lambert, Uvedale, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC., South Park Farm, Bleachingley.
 1912. Lanaway, Hugh, South Croft, New Upperton Road, Eastbourne.
 1908. Langdale, A. C., 38, Kensington Mansions, Trebovir Road, Earl's Court, s.w.
 1913. Langdale, H. M., M.D., Ulverston, Uckfield.
 1911. Lawry, William, Trevoze, Mill Road, West Worthing.
 1920. Leach, Rev. E. F., Clymping Vicarage, Littlehampton.
 1904. Lennard, Rev. H. L. B., The Rectory, Crawley.
 1863. *Leslie, C. S., Fetternear House, Kemnay, Aberdeenshire.
 1912. Letts, M. H. J., 124, Holland Park Avenue, w.
 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.
 1918. Lindsay, D. G., The Laurels, Boreham Street, near Herstmonceux.
 1899. Lintott, W., 50, Osmond Road, Hove.
 1870. Lister, John J., Warninglid Grange, Hayward's Heath.
 1906. Little, Miss E. M., 26, Brunswick Place, Hove.
 1905. Livett, Rev. Canon G. M., The Vicarage, Wateringbury, Kent.
 1889. Lloyd, Alfred, F.C.S., F.E.S., The Dome, Bognor.
 1909. Lloyd, J. C., High Street, Lewes.
 1911. Lloyd, Nathaniel, Great Dixter, Northiam.
 1894. Loder, Gerald W. E., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly.
 1920. Loftus, Lieut.-Col. St. John, Court House, Nutley, Uckfield.
 1863. London Corporation Library Committee (Librarian), Guildhall, E.C.
 1886. London Library (C. T. Hagberg Wright, Librarian), St. James' Square, w.
 1908. *Long, Miss C. B., Sherrington Manor, Berwick.
 1888. *Lucas, C. J., Warnham Court, Horsham.
 1909. Lucas, E. V., Tillington, Petworth.
 1907. Lucas, John Clay, Castle Precincts, Lewes.
 1893. Lucas, Mrs. Castle Precincts, Lewes.
 1899. Luxford, J. S. O., Robertson, Higham House, Robertsbridge.
 1911. Maberly, Miss, Pax Holt, Cuckfield.
 1904. MacDermott, Rev. K. H., L.TH., A.R.C.M., Selsey Rectory, Chichester.
 1913. Macdonald, Rev. H. E. St. John, The Rectory, Herstmonceux.
 1919. MacLeod, D., Heathfield.
 1917. Macmillan, Maurice C., Birchgrove House, East Grinstead; and 52, Cadagon Place, s.w.
 1919. *Mackenzie, A. D., 23, Marine Parade, Worthing.
 1908. *Macneill, A. D., Newchapel House, Lingfield.
 1904. Maitland, Major F. J., Fristin 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, 9, Lewes Crescent, Brighton.
 1913. Margetson, Mrs., 9, Lewes Crescent, Brighton.
 1912. Marshall, Rev. D. H., Ovingdean Hall, Brighton.
 1912. Martin, Albert, Park View Hotel, Preston, Brighton.
 1881. Martin, Charles, The Watch Oak, Battle.
 1920. Martin, Edmund D., B.A., 8, Kingsland Road, Broadwater, Worthing.
 1908. Marx, E. M., 62, Old Steine, Brighton.
 1920. Mascal, G. P. Y., Capt. R.M.L.I. Retd., Beanacre, Ditchling.

1908. Mason, Reginald, Fairhall, Southover, Lewes.
 1918. Matthews, H. J., Court Lodge, Hartfield Square, Eastbourne.
 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.
 1920. Melville, Col. C. H., 22, Selwyn Road, Eastbourne.
 1879. *Melville, Robert, 8, Argyle Road, Kensington, w.
 1916. "Men of Sussex" Association, Cicestria, Park Avenue, Finchley, n. 3.
 1864. Merrifield, F., 14, Clifton Terrace, Brighton.
 1902. Messel, L., Nymans, Handcross.
 1916. Michell, Edward, Holmbush, Shakespeare Road, Worthing.
 1913. Michell, Guy, F.R.C.O., Allerton, 107, The Drive, Hove.
 1910. Michell, Herbert, Gloucester Lodge, Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, n.
 1911. Milbank-Smith, Mrs. B., Worthing Lodge, Worthing.
 1899. Miles, J., High Street, Lewes.
 1868. *Milner, Rev. J., 116, Elgin Road, Addiscombe, London, w.
 1913. Mitchell, E. A., M.I.E.E., Marchworth, Furzefield Road, Reigate.
 1905. Mitchell, G. S., Broadbridge Place, Horsham.
 1907. Mitchell, H. P., Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, s.w.
 1907. Mitten, Miss Flora, Culver Croft, Hurstpierpoint.
 1886. Molineux, Major H. P., F.G.S., Barclays Bank, Lewes; and Mornington,
 Buxton Road, Eastbourne.
 1906. *MonkBretton, The Right Hon Baron, C.B., Conyboro', Lewes.
 1900. Monk, Mrs., High Street, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1904. Montgomerie, D. H., F.S.A., 91, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill,
 London, w.; and Old Sarum, Salisbury.
 1899. Montgomery, J., B.A., The Grammar School, Uckfield.
 1912. Moore, Norman, M.D., F.R.C.P., Hancox, Battle; and 94, Gloucester
 Place, w.
 1913. Morgan, W. P., M.B., Rostrevor, Seaford.
 1913. Morgan, Mrs., Rostrevor, Seaford.
 1919. Morgan Jones, P., Rest-a-Wyle, Lewes Road, Eastbourne.
 1913. Morphew, Harold, Eyhurst, Kingswood, Tadworth, Surrey.
 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.
 1916. Mosse, H. R., M.D., Old Parkhouse, Ifield, Crawley.
 1899. Mullens, W. H., M.A., Westfield Place, Battle.
 1920. Mummery, S. P., The Crossways, Warmingham, Surrey.
 1919. Murray, E. C., Ellerslie, Chichester.
 1904. Nash, Rev. E. H., M.A., St. Paul's Vicarage, Chichester.
 1909. Newgass, Mrs. Shernfold Park, Frant.
 1903. Newington, F., School Hill, Lewes.
 1895. *Newington, Mrs. C., Oakover, Ticehurst.
 1920. Newington, Mrs. G., St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1910. Newlands, The Rt. Hon. Baron, Barrowfield Lodge, Dyke Road
 Avenue, Brighton.
 1914. Newman, Edgar A., Ivydene, Bepton, near Midhurst.
 1914. Newman, Mrs., Ivydene, Bepton, near Midhurst.
 1918. Newnham, H. S., Herons Court, Withdean, Brighton.
 1916. Nicholls, Miss E. C. S., The Manor House, Broadwater, Worthing.
 1914. Nicholson, Mrs., Skippers Hill, Five Ashes.
 1904. Nicholson, W. E., F.L.S., 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.
 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.
1903. Ockenden, M., A.M.I.M.E., The Wigwam, Edgar Road, Sanderstead.
 1920. Odell, Mrs. Julia, Mabbs Hill, Stonegate, Ticehurst.
 1899. Ogle, Rev. J. L., M.A., "Accengill," Blatchington Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1903. *Oke, A. W., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S., F.L.S., 32, Denmark Villas, Hove.
 1868. Orme, Rev. J. B., M.A., Bay Trees, East Preston, near Worthing.
 1911. Osborn, G. W., Uplands, Heathfield.
 1913. Otter, Sir 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.
 1917. Padwick, F. G., M.A., The Mount, Petersfield.
 1908. Padwick, P. H., Thatch Cottage, Fittleworth.
 1908. Padwick, H. C., Danehurst, Horsham.
 1910. Palmer, F. J. Morton, M.B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.S.A., Holford, Longfellow Road, Worthing.
1920. Palmer, Miss, Sullington Rectory, Pulborough.
 1897. Pannett, A. R., Hvilstedet, Hayward's Heath.
 1913. Parbury, Mrs. J. E., Springfield, Crawley.
 1881. *Parkin, Thomas, M.A., F.R.G.S., Fairseat, High Wickham, Hastings.
 1916. Parsons, Dr. J. Inglis, Soanberg Cottage, Kingston, Lewes.
 1881. Parsons, Thomas, 19, Woodbury Park Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1914. Parsons, Mrs. W. J., The Wallands, Lewes.
 1916. Passmore, J. R., Sutton Farm, Iford, Lewes.
 1870. Patching, E. C., Belfort, Liverpool Gardens, Worthing.
 1896. Patching, John, 29, Grange Road, Lewes.
 1918. Patching, Mrs. F. W., West House, Shelley Road, Worthing.
 1920. Patching, W. G., Ryecroft, Stoke Abbott Road, Worthing.
 1912. Paul, Dudley M., Bridge, Lynchmere, Liphook.
 1909. Pearce, Rev. Duncan, Lynchmere, Haslemere.
 1879. *Peckham, Rev. Harry J., Rannoch, Summersdale, Chichester.
 1916. Pellatt, P. Mill, Coombe Cottage, Coombe Hill, East Grinstead.
 1919. Pellatt, Apsley, Coombe Cottage, Coombe Hill, East Grinstead.
 1913. Penfold, Fred. B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S., Steyning, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1911. Penfold, Rev. E. W. D., Durrington, near Worthing.
 1898. Penney, S. Rickman, The Grange, Hurstpierpoint.
 1910. Philipson-Stow, Lady, Blackdown House, Fernhurst, Haslemere.
 1917. Phillips, I. R., Barons Down, Lewes.
 1917. Phillips, Mrs., Barons Down, Lewes.
 1904. Phillips, Rev. J. P. Bacon, 12, Lancaster Road, Brighton.
 1900. Pickard, T. W., Glynde, Lewes.
 1904. Piffard, E. J. G., Daphne Lodge, King's Road, Horsham.
 1904. Plummer, H., Lyntonville, Hayward's Heath.
 1892. Poland, Rev. Eustace B.
 1914. Poland, Henry G., Waltham Farm, Pulborough.
 1914. Poland, Mrs., Waltham Farm, Pulborough.
 1911. Pollicutt, J. H., Walpole, Broadwater, Worthing.
 1905. Ponsonby, 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., 1, West Mansion, Worthing.
 1909. Porter, Miss Martha E., Hillgay, Burgess Hill.
 1914. Porter, R. Ewhurst, Ewhurst Manor, Shermanbury, Henfield.
 1912. Potter, Howard S., The Avenue, Lewes.
 1912. Potter, Mrs., The Avenue, 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, Newick House, Burgess Hill.
 1886. *Powell, C. W., Speldhurst, Tunbridge Wells.
 1890. Powell, Hubert John, Hill Lodge, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 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., Major, 36, Brunswick Terrace, Hove.
 1914. Preston, E. Mumford, Cuckfield Park, Hayward's Heath.
 1903. Pryce, H. Vaughan, M.A., 104, Bethune Road, Stamford Hill, N
 1898. Puttick, Rev. J., Gable End, Mill Road, Worthing.
 1919. Pullein, Miss C., The Manor House, Rotherfield.
1903. Quinnell, R., Flower Lodge, 15, Walpole Road, Brighton.
1916. Radcliffe, Alan F., Charterhouse, Godalming.
 1911. Raikes, Arthur Stewart, The Gate House, Ingatestone, Essex.
 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., 41, Havclock Road; and Hollingside, 9, Stanley Road, Hastings.
 1905. Read, T., The Grammar School, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1906. Reckitt, A. Benington, Kenmore Highlands, St. Leonards.
 1907. Reeves, B. V., High Street, Lewes.
 1893. Renshaw, Walter C., LL.M., K.C., Sandrocks, near Hayward's Heath.
 1899. *Renton, J. Hall, F.S.A., Rowfold Grange, Pillingshurst.
 1877. Rice, R. Garraway, F.S.A., Park House, 75, Albert Bridge Road, London, s.w. 11; and Carpenter's Hill, Pulborough.
 1919. Richardson, P., Parkside, Offington Lane, Worthing.
 1893. Richmond and Gordon, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., Goodwood, Chichester.
 1884. Rickman, John Thornton, 35, Preston Park Avenue, Brighton.
 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.
 1911. Roberts, Miss M. E., Fyning Corner, Rogate, Petersfield.
 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, Major C. H. de, Lime Park, Herstmonceux.
 1882. Ross, Mrs., Tudor House, St. Helen's Road, Hastings.
 1916. Routh, Col. W. R., 55, Brunswick Place, Hove.
 1913. Row, Ernest F., Hazeldene, Midhurst.
 1897. Royal Institution of Great Britain, 21, Albemarle 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.

1911. Rye, The Corporation of.
 1910. Rylands, John, Library, Manchester.
1905. Saleebey, Rev. E. S., The Vicarage, Littlehampton.
 1898. Salmon, E. F., Hempnall House, Southwick.
 1920. Salt, Miss Dorothy, East Pallant, Chichester.
 1896. Salzman, L. F., F.S.A., 14, Brookside, Cambridge.
 1906. Sanderson, Sidney, 10, Cornfield Road, Eastbourne.
 1919. Sandell, Weller W., Allersford House, Railway Approach, Worthing.
 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.
 1919. Scarlett, Mrs., Prestone, Firle, Lewes.
 1911. Schuster, Sir Felix, BART., Verdley Place, Fernhurst.
 1898. Scott, Rev. H. von Essen, Christ Church Vicarage, Eastbourne.
 1891. Scrase-Dickins, Charles Robert, D.L., Coolhurst, Horsham.
 1920. Seale, Miss F. E., Forest Dell, Green Lane, Crowborough.
 1920. Secretan, Spencer D., Swaines, Rudgwick, Sussex.
 1900. Shaw, Rev. Preb. W. F., West Stoke, Chichester.
 1904. Simmons, Mrs. L. J., The Crouch, Seaford.
 1919. Simmance, John F., Knowles Tooth, Hurstpierpoint.
 1919. Simpson, Mrs. Hume, Compton House, Lewes.
 1909. Sinnock, Miss F. S., Downford, Hailsham.
 1904. Slade, E. F., Warwick Mansion, Brighton.
 1913. Smith, E. Manley, Bottingdean, Easebourne, Midhurst.
 1909. Smith, Miss Harvey, Hill House, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1920. Smith, Major E. P., Hooke Hall, Uckfield.
 1913. Smythe, Miss Mabel, The Corner House, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 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.
 1919. Southey, Robt., 53, Chapel Road, Worthing.
 1918. Spenceley, Lance-Corpl. Harold, M.M., Uxbridge, Ontario, Canada.
 1912. Sperling, Miss D. E. A., Netherfield Court, Battle.
 1918. Spink, Lieut. T. C., Royal Naval Airship Station, Polegate.
 1878. Springett, Edmund S., Ashfield, Hawkhurst.
 1914. Sproston, W. M., Maylands, Hayward's Heath.
 1908. Sprott, F. W., Luckhurst, Mayfield.
 1903. Standen, Gilbert, Maisonette, 3, Ranulf Road, n.w.
 1913. St. Croix, Clement de, 18, Park Crescent, Brighton.
 1914. Steele, F., Broadfields, Crawley.
 1919. Stedman, T. Gurney, 18, Vernon Road, Bushey, Herts.
 1876. *Stenning, A. H., 18, Scarsdale Villas, Kensington, W. 8; and East
 Grinstead.
1866. Stenning, J. C., 42, Lushington Road, Eastbourne.
 1903. Stevens, F. Bentham, B.A., LL.B. CAMB., Castlegate, Lewes.
 1909. Stevens, Mrs. F. Bentham, Castlegate, Lewes.
 1919. Stokes, Charles, 22, Kent Avenue, Ashford, Kent.
 1920. Stone, Christopher, Field Place, Horsham.
 1908. Stone, Hugh William, Rylstone, Heathfield.
 1867. Streatfeild, R. J., The Rocks, Uckfield.
 1901. Streatfeild, Rev. Preb. W. C., M.A., The Vicarage, Eastbourne.
 1905. Sturtevant, Miss, Holmesdale, 45, Sedlescombe Road, South,
 St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1886. Sutton, Thomas, Clover Cottage, South Cliff, Eastbourne.
 1920. Sutton, Major Thos., R.F.A., 261, Preston Drive, Brighton.
 1920. Symington, J. Nobel, Emerson Court, Hambrook, Emsworth.

1906. Talbot, Hugo, 79, Montpelier Road, Brighton.
 1909. Tate, Francis, North Street, Worthing.
 1912. Tattersall, J. F., The Priory Cottage, Bishopstone, Lewes.
 1892. Taylor, Henry Herbert, 36, Brunswick Square, Hove, Brighton.
 1904. *Thomas-Stanford, Chas., M.P., M.A., F.S.A., Preston Manor, Brighton.
 1904. Thorowgood, Miss H., 7, Queen's Square, Bognor.
 1916. Thorpe, Arthur D., Hill Crest, Amherst Gardens, Hastings.
 1903. Timms, F. I., Talybent, Shakespeare Road, Worthing.
 1911. Tompkins, Newland, Pulborough.
 1911. Tomkins, Mrs. F., Newland, Pulborough.
 1905. Toms, H. S., 53, Beaconsfield Villas, Brighton.
 1920. Torr, V. J. B., 12, Avonmore Road, w. 14.
 1909. Torry, Rev. Claude, Streat Rectory, Hassocks.
 1907. Tower, Walter E., Old Place, Lindfield.
 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, Owen S., Fridays Hill, Haslemere.
 1919. Twine, Perceval, Saxons, Winchester Road, Worthing.
 1903. Tyacke, G. A., West Gate, Chichester.
1894. Ullathorne, William G., 9, River View, Flackwell Heath, High Wycombe.
1909. Unsworth, R., Jun., 6, Station Road, Petersfield.
1909. Verrall, Frank, Manor House, Southover, Lewes.
 1913. Verrall, W. F., The Hollies, Worthing.
 1915. Victor, Rev. H. E., 103, High Street, Lewes.
 1897. Victoria and Albert Museum Library, South Kensington, s.w. 7.
 1919. Viner-Brady, N. P. W., Ferryside, Twickenham.
 1899. Vipan, Major C., D.S.O., Ford Bank, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1911. Wagg, A., 2, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1863. *Wagner, H., F.S.A., 7, Belvedere Terrace, Brighton.
 1896. *Walker, Charles W., Holmshurst, Burwash.
 1913. Walker, Rev. F. G., 114, Stanford Avenue, Brighton.
 1919. Waller-Bridge, Rev. H. F., The Rectory, Worth.
 1898. Wallis, W. L., The Wish, Eastbourne.
 1917. Walton, H. W., White Hart Hotel, Lewes.
 1917. Walton, Mrs., White Hart Hotel, Lewes.
 1917. Warner, Regd. G., Clayton Old Rectory, Hassocks.
 1917. Warre, Capt. A. T., F.S.A., 13, Salisbury Road, Hove.
 1911. Warren, E. P., Lewes House, Lewes.
 1918. Warren, A. G., Melvill, Park Road, Lewes.
 1917. Waters, The Rev. R. A., The Rectory, Albourne.
 1913. Watson, Rev. E. S. W., The Rectory, Bepton, Midhurst.
 1907. Watson, Thomas Henry, M.B., C.M., The Mount, Westham.
 1920. Webb, Miss U. K., Upmeads, Halland, Sussex.
 1920. Webb, G. F., Sackville House, East Grinstead.
 1899. Wedgwood, R. H., M.A., Slindon, Arundel.
 1886. Weekes, Mrs., Mansion House, Hurstpierpoint.
 1911. Welldon, J. Turner, B.A., The Garth, Ashford, Kent.
 1912. Wells, Rev. R. P. B., The Vicarage, Boxgrove.
 1919. Weston, Mrs., Cooden Down, Bexhill.
 1913. Wharton, Lady, Fisher's Gate, Withyham.
 1895. White, James, Capital and Counties Bank, Worthing.
 1901. Whiteman, C. L., Comps, 6, Station Road, Horsham.
 1891. Whitfield, F. B., Old Bank, Lewes.
 1888. Whitley, H. Michell, Broadway Court, Broadway, Westminster, s.w.

1920. Whyte, E. Towry, F.S.A., Byhill House, Egdean, Fittleworth.
 1908. Wickham, G., Stonewall, Limpsfield.
 1909. Wight, E., 9, Regency Square, Brighton.
 1919. Wight, Mrs., 35, Wilbury Villas, Hove.
 1919. Wight, Miss, 35, Wilbury Villas, Hove.
 1903. Wilkin, F., Lower Cousley Wood, Wadhurst.
 1885. Wilkinson, Thomas, 26, York Avenue, Hove.
 1919. Wilkinson, Miss D., 6, Holland Park, w. 11.
 1901. Willett, H., Bishopstone Manor, near Lewes.
 1917. Willett, H. A., Willow Cottage, Ditchling.
 1920. Willett, Mrs. Ellen, Willow Cottage, Ditchling.
 1880. *Willett, Rev. F., Fir Tree End, Hayward's Heath.
 1905. Williams, H. M., Lee House, Dyke Road, Brighton.
 1920. Williams, Dr. Richd., 9, Mountney Road, Eastbourne.
 1913. Williams, S. H., Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1907. Williams, W. N., M.A., LL.B., Selwyn College, Cambridge.
 1910. Wilson, Rev. Canon C. W. G., The Vicarage, Cuckfield.
 1914. Winbolt, S. E., M.A., Christ's Hospital, Horsham.
 1901. Wisden, Captain T. F. M., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dartmoor.
 1916. Wolseley, The Viscountess, Massetts Place, Scaynes Hill, Hayward's Heath.
 1909. Wood, W. J., High Street, Seaford.
 1909. Woodland, Herbert A., The Nest, Selsey.
 1902. Woollan, J. H., Normans Cottage, Ditchling.
 1891. *Woollett, Lieut.-Col. W. C., F.S.A., 4, The Ridges, Farnboro', Hants.
 1917. Worsley, Mrs. F. P., Broxmead, Cuckfield.
 1897. Worthing Corporation Public Library (per Miss M. Frost).
 1920. *Worthing Gazette*, 35, Chapel Road, Worthing.
 1898. Wright, J. C., Holmdene, Arundel Road, Eastbourne.
 1920. Wright, Rev. W. H., The Rectory, Newick, Sussex.
 1897. *Wyatt, Hugh R. Penfold, M.A., Cissbury, Worthing.
 1901. *Wyatt, J. A. Penfold, Harsfold Manor, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst.
 1910. Yale University, U.S.A. (E. G. Allen & Sons, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, w.c.).
 1918. Yeo, A. W., Hodcombe, Eastdean.
 1892. Young, Edwin, Redholme, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1904. Young, E. F., School Hill, Lewes.

Sussex Archæological Society.

THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS OF BOXGROVE PRIORY.

BY W. D. PECKHAM, M.A.

It is somewhat remarkable that, while plans of such monasteries as Hardham and Shulbrede have appeared in the Sussex Archaeological Collections, no plan of the Benedictine priory of S.S. Mary and Blaise, Boxgrove, has as yet been published in them. An attempt is here made to fill this gap in Sussex archaeology by a plan which aims at presenting the monastery buildings as they were on the eve of the Dissolution.

While this is primarily concerned with the internal evidence of the ruins themselves, yet a certain number of external authorities have been consulted.

The various allusions to conventual buildings in pre-Dissolution documents are of little help in identifying the buildings to-day. For instance, Bishop Sherburne's Injunctions of 1518¹ speak of the dorter, frater, Chapter House, kitchen and misericorde, but are of no use in determining their position or dimensions.² The analogy of other Benedictine monasteries is, of course, of first-rate value.

The first useful documentary evidence for the buildings of which I am aware is in a Survey made xij Eliz.³ as follows:—

Md. the Scyte of the late Pryorie walled round about wth bricke and stone wth divers ruynous howses viz: one employed for A Brewhouse, one for A Barne to laie the Tythes growinge upon the

¹ *Episcopal Register*, Sherburne 159. *S.A.C.*, IX. 61-66.

² It seems to me quite possible that a small monastery like Boxgrove did not possess a building *exclusively* used as a misericorde.

³ *S.A.C.*, IX., 225.

demeanes and tennants londe, one stable for xx^{tie} Geldings, one Dove-house w^h is letten to S^r Thomas Palmer in charge for iij^{li} yerely rente, certain rowmes above and under where may be made wth some paynes-taking CC quarters of malte yerely, and chambers sufficient to laie and kepe y^e same. But there is no Cestrall to steepe the Barly, yet one kyll to drye malte, whereuppon may be dried v Combes at one tyme, and that day by day consequently. And there ys one well thereunto adioyninge of v Fadome deepe w^{ch} serveth by pypes under the Grounde.

I shall refer to this as the "Survey."

In the eighteenth century the buildings were sketched three times, once by Buck, twice by Grimm. Buck, 1737, gives one view from the north-east, the most prominent feature of which is the one large fragment of the conventual buildings still existing above ground. This I shall for the present refer to as the Barn, from the last use to which it was put, in order not to pre-judge the question of its use in monastic times.

Grimm's water-colour sketches in the British Museum⁴ of 1781-82 are a much more complete survey. They include a view of the Barn from the north-west (fol. 82) engraved in Dallaway⁵, a view of the Barn from the north-east (fol. 83)⁶, two views of the Church from the south (fol. 84 and 86), one of the Church and the Barn from the east (fol. 85), and one of the interior of the Barn looking south (fol. 87). Grimm's other views, interior of the Church, De la Warr tomb, etc., do not concern the present paper.

I have examined the originals of all these⁷, but have not examined Grimm's other series of drawings in the Bodleian.

While these drawings are of great value as showing the general condition of the buildings in the eighteenth

⁴ M.S.S. Add. Burr. 5675.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 133.

⁶ This, and the interior view of the Barn (fol. 87), are reproduced in *S.A.C.*, XV., 112. It is not there stated that these are Grimm's views, and it is rather easy to suppose that they are views of the building as then existing. The Barn was, however, then roofless, as appears from the drawing in Turner (see below).

⁷ It should be remembered that the reproductions of Grimm's drawings in *Dallaway* and the *S.A.C.* were not made photographically, and consequently are not of the same authority as the originals.

century they cannot always be relied on for detail. For instance, the foundations of the porch at the south-west corner of the Barn (XIV. on plan) are shown by Grimm (fol. 82), but much exaggerated in size, while the lancet window which opened into the porch is omitted, as are also the two small lancets in the gable which should appear in the view of the south end of the Barn (fol. 85).

I am tempted to infer from the fact that neither Buck nor Grimm give any view of the remains of the cloister that the buildings lying round it had disappeared completely, or almost so, in the eighteenth century. But the *argumentum a silentio* is always a dangerous one to use, a fact well illustrated in this case. For among the numerous drawings of Grimm there is none that shows the Chapter House screen, while Buck's view appears to ignore it altogether. But it is worth noting that these authorities fail us almost altogether in researches as to the Claustral buildings.

In 1861 there was published *The Architectural History of Boxgrove Priory*, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, "with some historical remarks and conjectures on the Priory and Church of Boxgrove by the Rev. W. Turner, Vicar." This contains a plan of the Church, including the nave, by E. Sharpe, a sketch of the Barn from the north, and a "Plan of Church and adjacent buildings, foundations, etc." This plan is on too small a scale (about 80 feet to the inch) to show much detail⁸, and would have been of more interest had it been accompanied by letterpress to explain the hatchings, etc., but it has the great merit that it does not introduce conjectures as facts⁹, a vice undesirable

⁸ The accuracy of those parts of my plan which are copied from it is of course affected by the error which easily creeps in in copying from a small scale to a larger.

⁹ There is a possible exception to this. A buttress is marked in the middle of the south wall of the barn. There is no buttress, nor sign of a buttress, there now; nor, to judge from the existence of a fruit tree against the wall, is there any foundation below ground. That any restorer should have removed this and made the wall good while leaving neighbouring wall ends ragged seems very unlikely.

at any time and disastrous at a period when archaeologists could discuss whether the Chapter House screen was once part of the Parish Church. I shall refer to this work as "Turner."¹⁰

The internal evidence does not call for so many remarks. The buildings above ground are of flint rubble with freestone dressings. Where the latter are in position it is, of course, possible to take measurements with accuracy; even where, as sometimes happens in the Barn, the freestone has been removed it is still often possible by stretching string along the faces of the wall to ensure fair accuracy.¹¹ But in tracing the foundations which were visible in the dry weather of 1919 the same degree of accuracy is not attainable. The exact breadth of such foundations as I have traced is rather a matter of inference, as is of course, their exact length. But an error of six inches or a foot shows far less on the length of such a foundation than on its breadth. But if my plan is of no more use than to serve as a guide to some future excavator it will not have been made in vain.

Before going over the buildings in detail it may be well to consider what we should logically expect to find on such a site.

Besides the buildings of the home farm (which may well have stood on the site of the present Priory Farm) the buildings of Boxgrove Priory must have divided into two classes. First, the buildings composing the Enclosure or Claustrum, which we should expect to find grouped, except the infirmary, in a regular order round the cloister court; and secondly, the non-claustral buildings, bakehouse, brewhouse, dovecote, stables, etc., together with the guest house. This class of buildings we may expect to assimilate closely to the corresponding buildings in a lay establishment.

¹⁰ The precise date when the plan was made is not clear. Petit's paper was read before the Archaeological Institute in 1853, but Turner's notes seem to have been added later. See p. 39.

¹¹ I have been able by this means to reconstruct on plan the splays of two of the ground floor windows of the Barn where not a scrap of ashlar was left.

A dovecote at Boxgrove would not differ in any way from a dovecote of the same date at Halnaker. These buildings were probably not grouped in so regular an order as the claustral, and some of them may easily have been of timber construction.

At the Dissolution it is reasonable to suppose that the claustral buildings suffered, if anything more than the others. They were less easily secularizable as buildings and were consequently stripped of such parts of their material as were readily saleable.¹²

The survey bears this out. A brewhouse, a dovecote and a stable sound like old monastic buildings continued in their old uses. The malthouse appears not to have been too well equipped, malt could only be made "with some paynes-taking," and there was no "Cestrell." But it would not have been so necessary to have a malthouse on the spot in monastic days, the barley may well have been brought in ready malted from the monastic granges, whereas a brewhouse was a necessity in the pre-hop days when beer would only keep a short time.¹³

I. It is not my purpose to discuss the various problems connected with the Church, there are however two or three points where my plan may need explanation.

I have marked those altars whose positions are certain, or at least reasonably probable. The question whether the present porch was originally a chapel is an interesting one, but probably insoluble.

I have omitted from my plan the two doorways in the west wall of the north transept. Both are obviously late Gothic work, and the smaller one, at any rate, can hardly have been in its present position before the Dissolution, as it is arranged for the present

¹² "The King's Grace . . . hath more proffett there than in any other Howse dissolved in Sussex." Cott. MSS., *Cleopatra E*, IV., p. 234 b. Turner, p. 30.

¹³ As an interesting instance of a mediaeval survival, I may note that till a few years ago, if not to-day, three colleges at Oxford still brewed their own beer on the spot.

ground level, which is considerably higher than the ancient. The blocked doorway leading from the cloister to the nave is in quite a typical position, and it seems to me less likely that the door next to it was opened by the monks in later monastic days than that it was inserted, possibly from elsewhere, by staunchly Protestant churchwardens who felt the need of a north door (which was certainly used by the owners of Halnaker¹⁴), and objected to the idea of the monks' door being brought into use again.

The west wall of the present Church appears to consist in part of the old stone choir screen. I have assumed that the *outer* face of this has been altered, probably at the restoration in 1865. The outer jambs of the two small blocked doorways do not correspond exactly with the inner.

Sharpe's plan makes the rudimentary north aisle narrower than the south. In my plan, based on my own measurements, they are of the same breadth. There are two explanations of the difference between Sharpe's plan and present-day conditions: (i) The aisle wall, which was standing in Grimm's day and in Sharpe's may have been pulled down and a new one built two or three feet further north. This rebuilding must have taken place at different dates, as is manifest from the condition of the masonry. (ii) Sharpe may have made an error, probably in transferring measurements from his field book to his plan. No one will be surprised that I have adopted the latter hypothesis.

In connection with the ruin of the nave I would make a suggestion, obvious enough, but which I have nowhere seen put forward. It is that Lord De la Warr exchanged the monastic part of the Church, granted to him at the Dissolution, for the nave, which the parishioners would naturally claim. The presence of the tombs of his relations, and of his own "power chapell" would make him willing to effect an exchange which profited the parish.

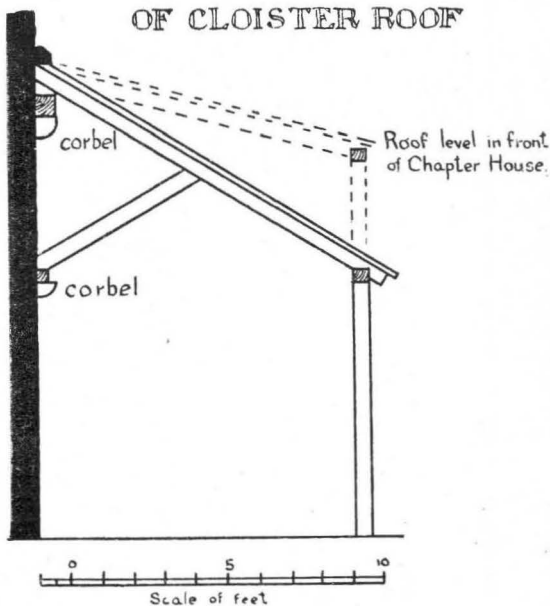
¹⁴ Turner, p. 41; *S.A.C.*, XV., 108.

II. The Cloister Court. The monastic buildings are placed to the north of the Church. There was no objection, so far as the ground was concerned, to placing them to the south. It was probably thought more desirable to use the church as a screen against the south-west winds rather than against the north, for which the line of the Downs would be to some extent a protection.

The main dimensions of the Cloister court are clear. The distance from east to west is visible above ground, and the door from the cloister to the nave or parochial church still traceable.¹⁵ Two fragments of the Refectory wall foundation give the distance from north to south. The

space thus enclosed (62 by 58 feet) approximates pretty closely to the traditional square. The system of roofing the south walk is easily deducible from the corbels and weather-moulding remaining on the walls of the nave. There are two lines of corbels, the lower about eight feet from the original level

PROBABLE ARRANGEMENT
OF CLOISTER ROOF



of the cloister pavement, the upper about five feet higher up. These clearly carried timbers of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. scantling in the lower range and of about 9 by

¹⁵ Cf. S.A.C., XLIII., 161.

7in. in the upper, parallel to the face of the wall. On the upper line of timbers rested the rafters of the lean-to roof, the lower carried either tie-beams or diagonal braces. From the presence of notches cut in the shallow Transitional buttresses it would seem that the latter was the method adopted. The diagram may make the presumed arrangement clear.

The same arrangement is traceable on the west face of the transept, and also existed on the west face of the warming room, if the single remaining corbel there is considered sufficient evidence.

But in front of the Chapter House there appears to have been a different arrangement. At the point marked A on the plan there is still visible the spring of a masonry arch which must have spanned the cloister walk. And at B is a block of the same size, rather awkwardly inserted into the Norman work of the Chapter House screen. The surface of this is badly weathered, but it appears to have been the spring of a similar arch. Between the two, above the arches of the Chapter House screen, are two corbels on a horizontal line about twelve feet above the level of the cloister pavement.¹⁶ Nearly, but not quite, opposite B a mass of masonry exists below ground.¹⁷ And Turner marks a foundation opposite A.¹⁸ It would seem therefore that the eaves of the cloister roof, which were presumably level with the lower line of corbels, must have been higher here, and the pitch

¹⁶ The Chapter House screen does not now exist as high as the line of the weather moulding which marks the line of the cloister roof on the Church.

¹⁷ That this masonry exists is certain. It was encountered a few years ago in digging a grave. The arch linking it with B must have been on a skew. This may have been done to place the two piers symmetrically in the cloister arcade. An arch thrown square across the cloister walk from this pier would have had to spring from the haunch of the northernmost arch of the Chapter House screen.

¹⁸ This would lie under the present path and so could not have been visible to me. I had inferred its existence before I saw it marked on Turner's plan. The different size of the two foundations may be accounted for either on the hypothesis that the southern had been partly demolished when Turner found it, or because the northern was deeper to support a flying buttress rendered necessary by a weakness in the dorter wall.

consequently flatter, probably to improve the lighting of the Chapter House.¹⁹

The position of these two foundations gives the east walk of the cloister a breadth of ten feet, a very reasonable dimension for a small monastery. The breadth of the other walks may be taken to have been the same.

Save for these two piers there is no trace of a cloister arcade. It is reasonable to suppose that, like the roof, it was of wood.

III. The Chapter House. The screen of this is still standing, though many of the stones are very badly weathered. A short fragment of the north wall is also standing, and the foundation of the rest of it, and of about half the east wall, clearly traceable, as is also the foundation of one of the pillars. The position of this is somewhat of a problem, as it lies distinctly farther east than the line of the dorter wall²⁰, which it should have supported. It is possible that excavation might show that this block had shifted from its original position. The springings of two severeys of early Norman vaulting, without groin ribs, still remain at the west, and two corbels which carried other springings are visible on the north face of the transept.²¹

IV. The existence of a line of ashlar on the wall of the north choir aisle shows that the east wall of the Chapter House was continued as far as the Church. And the line of a doorway into the choir aisle is also traceable on the outside.²² It seems less likely that the Chapter House was of this irregular shape with direct communication with the choir than that this corner was a separate room. And as the present

¹⁹ I am disinclined to think that these arches carried an upper floor.

²⁰ This is marked on the plan by a dotted line. To the north it is indicated by the line of the warming room wall, to the south the point where it bonded into the transept wall can still be traced by the scraps of ashlar used to make good the present face of the wall. Freestone was too precious in monastic days to be used where flint rubble would have done just as well.

²¹ These are marked on the plan.

²² Turner traced the line of wall, but does not seem to have detected the door.

vestry is of considerably later date I am inclined to identify this room with the sacristy with which a church of this size may well have been provided.

V. Warming room. Part of this seems to have been above ground in Turner's day. Owing to the small scale of his plan it is impossible to say whether the gaps in the east wall as marked by him were window openings or no. For completeness sake I have indicated them on my plan. The foundation of the north wall is by no means clear, even under favourable conditions, and Turner does not seem to have traced it, but the end of the east wall which he traced tallies with my own previous conclusion as to the position of the north wall.

The north-west corner of the standing Chapter House screen is the jamb of a doorway which must have given access either to the warming room or to a passage leading eastward. The partition between this passage and the warming room may have been of timber, of the heavy type of stud partition still surviving in mediaeval buildings in Oxford. This would account for its having left no trace.

VI. Of the Dormitory no traces now remain except the indications of the bonding of the east wall mentioned above, the weather moulding of the roof still visible on the transept wall and the doorway of the night stairs to the Church. This has been somewhat reduced in height and is now a square-headed window.

VII. The wall, given on Turner's authority, continuing the line of the west wall of the warming room, is presumably one wall of the Rere Dorter. A fragment of wall, with apparently a gable, shown in Buck's view, may have been the east wall of it. There was, of course, no water carriage system in this dry country; this deprives us of the evidence which drains might otherwise have furnished.

VIII., IX., X. The evidence as to the Frater, Kitchen and Cellar is scanty. I have not been able to find any indication as to where the north wall of the

Frater stood. That the Kitchen was in its usual place is I think certain from the position of the monastery well, which is still in use and which must have stood in a small court close to the kitchen. That the low modern wall which bounds the churchyard and orchard on the west rests on ancient foundations I believe, for the following reasons:—(i) The kitchen and cellar must have had a wall about where the present one runs. The cellar wall can hardly have been further east than the present, or it would have made the cellar too small, it cannot have been further west, unless the lancet window existing in the wall of the north aisle has been inserted there out of its proper place to be a plague to the twentieth century archaeologist. (ii) A line of ashlar, marking the bonding of a wall, is traceable in the aisle wall, so far as can be seen for ivy, exactly where the present wall stands. (iii) The foundation extends further north than the present wall, which would hardly have been the case had it been laid for it. See Plan.

The position of the two fragments of wall lying west of this and put in on Turner's authority cannot be verified to-day as the space here is gravel. I can suggest no identification for them. The possibility of their being post-Dissolution work must not be lost sight of.

Grimm (fol. 84 and 86) shows a gable about here. It may have belonged to the Cellar, to the Kitchen, or to these scraps of wall.

XI. The Dovecote. Part of the foundation of this is still visible in dry weather on the Vicarage lawn.²³ In 1863 it was still standing and in use as a dovecote,²⁴ and there seems to me to be no reason to doubt that it is identical with the "dove-house w^h is letten to S^r Thomas Palmer" of the Survey and with the dovecote which the monastery presumably possessed.

XII. North of the Frater site and parallel to it lies

²³ I did not survey this, but have inserted the dovecote entirely on Turner's authority.

²⁴ *S.A.C.*, XV., 112.

the foundation of a long narrow rectangular building divided by walls into three compartments of very unequal size. It seems too long and narrow to have been the monastic misericorde, and its position, close to the well, leads me to think that it may have been the brewhouse. The irregular building adjoining it to the north, half of which seems to have been closed and half an open shed, I am inclined to put down as post-Dissolution, partly because I have traced what appears to be a continuation of the diagonal wall to the eastwards as far as the Barn. This sort of rough-and-ready joining up of angles smacks rather of post-Dissolution work; the north wall of the brewhouse may have been standing when the Barn was first so used, and may have been linked up with it and used as a back wall for the lean-to cattle sheds which were the inevitable accompaniment of a barn. There are, however, no such sheds in Grimm's drawing (fol. 82), though one of the walls running east and west shows some distance above ground.

The building still above ground presents an interesting problem in identification. Before discussing its use in monastic times it may be as well to state in some detail the evidence available as to its component parts.

XIII. This is the building which was in use in Grimm's time as a barn. It was clearly designed as a large hall²⁵, resting on a vaulted undercroft. The latter was lighted by windows to the east and west, while four doors gave access to it. (i) To the south-west, opening from the building marked XIV., which appears to have been a porch. This door opens inwards, its mouldings are the most elaborate, and it is broader than the others. From these facts, and from its proximity to the other monastic buildings, I conclude that it was the principal entrance to the undercroft. It is fitted with sockets for a bar. (ii) In the

²⁵ It seems to me contrary to mediaeval building tradition to have designed this large building as two separate rooms. (See *S.A.C.*, XLIII., 165.) There is, so far as I know, not a scrap of evidence that it was so divided, and the burden of proof would fall on those who would establish a partition.

south wall opening outwards with regard to the Barn, and unprovided with bar sockets. Clearly a door of communication.²⁶ (iii) In the east wall, a narrow door, the arch of which appears to have been set askew for some purpose. It has bar sockets, and consequently appears to be an outer door. (iv) Towards the north end of the west wall, giving communication with the building marked XVI. Only one jamb of this survives, and Grimm's drawing (fol. 82) gives no help. It appears to have opened into the splay of a lancet window, shown by Grimm.²⁷ My reconstruction is somewhat conjectural. The whole arrangement suggests that this doorway is an afterthought. Close to it (C on plan) is a shallow niche, 3ft. 8in. broad. This may have been a service hatch blocked when the doorway was opened. In the next bay is an opening (D on plan), now almost entirely blocked by more recent masonry. The shape of this and the presence of tiles set herring-bone fashion suggest that it was a fireplace.

The vaulting system of this undercroft is apparent at a glance.

In the upper floor²⁸ one window survives in very good condition, that in the north wall. It has lost its mullion but seems otherwise perfect. The upper part of each of the lights was glazed, the grooves for the glazing still being traceable. The lower part was closed by shutters, of these the hinges and the bar sockets are clearly visible, as is the groove for draining off water from the outer face of the shutter. There seems to have been a wooden transom at the head of the latter. There are two stone seats in the opening of this window. The remains of the other large window surviving are so covered with ivy that no detail can

²⁶ Grimm (fol. 87) shows another arch (E on plan) in this wall. There is no sign of this on the south face of the wall, and the north is covered by a shed.

²⁷ Dallaway's engraving represents this as a kind of rude trefoil, but this is not nearly so pronounced in Grimm's original. Probably the uppermost freestone voussoirs were still in place, while the lower ones had been wrenched out. No freestone now remains on the outer surface, but enough of the soffit remains to reconstruct the dimensions with fair accuracy.

²⁸ Neither in the existing remains nor in the drawings have I seen any sign of a staircase to the upper floor.

be made out, but from Grimm (fol. 87) it must have resembled the north window. Buck and Grimm (fol. 83 and 87) show two similar windows on the east side. There is also a one-light window with cinque-foiled head in the west wall.

Three doors of similar design and practically identical dimensions exist in the upper floor. One, to the south, opens outwards from the Barn, has no bar, but has three steps in the thickness of the wall leading downwards.²⁹ It has no bar sockets. A second, at the south end of the west wall opens inwards from the upper storey of the porch (XIV.). It has no bar sockets, but doubtful remains of an iron bolt socket. The third opens inwards from the building marked XVI., and has bar sockets. Close to this is a small aumbry.

Both Grimm and Buck show large blocked arches in the east wall of the two southernmost bays.

High in each gable are three lancets, two below and one in the point of the gable, presumably smoke outlets.

Buck shows this building in a fairly perfect condition, but roofless. But the wide opening in the centre bay of the east side can hardly have been the mediaeval arrangement and suggests that it may already have been used as a barn. In Grimm's time it had been re-roofed and the gables somewhat lowered. The drawing in Turner shows it substantively as it is.³⁰

From one or two small indications in this building I believe it and those adjacent to have been the "rowmes above and under" which were used as a malthouse at the time of the Survey.

XIV. This was already ruined in Grimm's time. The foundations of the two side walls are still visible at ground level. The remains of two corbels with

²⁹ The stop of the chamfer on the south face shows that these steps are coeval with the building.

³⁰ If Grimm (fol. 87) is correct in showing a roof without any tie-beam the collapse of the roof and of the upper part of the eastern wall is not to be wondered at.

elaborately undercut foliage and of a vaulting rib show that it was vaulted. These ornamental corbels, the small size of the building, and the fact that a lancet opens into it from what was apparently a coeval building have made me conclude that it was a porch to the undercroft. It is noticeable that the south wall of this building is the only wall of the whole group, so far as accurate measurements can be obtained, which is less in thickness than the 3ft. 4in. which appears to have been adopted as a standard. This, and the fact that its west face aligns with the warming room wall suggests the possibility that there was another building filling the space between it, XV. and the Rere Dorter.

XV. That a two-storeyed building stood here the door in the upper storey of the Barn is sufficient proof. Its roof probably had its ridge running north and south, as the lower pair of smoke lancets in the south gable of the Barn are spaced much wider apart than the corresponding pair in the north gable. The south gable is too much covered with ivy for any weather moulding to be traceable, and Grimm (fol. 85) gives no details. The ground floor does not appear to have been vaulted, and the upper floor must have been at a slightly lower level than that of the main hall, to judge by the steps in the door of communication.

XVI. Buck alone shows this standing. Besides the part marked on the plan he shows a small wing further west. I have been unable to trace any foundations of this, and Grimm (fol. 82) shows the foundations existing at ground level in his time as a simple rectangle. At the east end (*i.e.* in the outer wall of the Barn) is a fair-sized aumbry.

Two other sets of foundations are traceable near here, those of a cart shed against the north wall of the Barn, and those of a long wall running in a westerly direction from it. They represent walls which were not there in Buck's time but were standing when the drawing in Turner was made. They are consequently eighteenth or nineteenth century work. I mention them because

they can be somewhat bewildering to the archaeologist on the spot.

Grimm identifies this group of buildings as the Refectory. I hardly imagine that any archaeologist of to-day would bear him out. Sir W. H. St. John Hope³¹ says that the Barn "no doubt served as the infirmary," but unfortunately does not give the reasons which led him to this identification. While I hesitate to disagree with so high an authority, I must admit that I can see no argument in favour of this identification but the fact that no trace of infirmary buildings exists elsewhere.³² To begin with, the position is somewhat unusual for an infirmary, though this argument alone is of little weight. But the great size of it tells against this identification. The dormitory had a floor area of 1560 square feet, while the upper floor of the Barn alone, not counting any of its three annexes, had one of 1716 square feet. Finally, the absence of any chapel is conclusive against the infirmary identification. The two southernmost bays of the east side of the barn seem the only possible place where a chapel could have jutted out. The arches shown in these bays by Buck and Grimm seem at first sight to point to there having been a chapel here. But the buttress marked F on plan is clearly a buttress and not the stump of a wall, hence the wall to the north of it³³ must have been an external wall, and the arch shown by Buck in this bay cannot therefore have opened into a chapel. And if this arch was not a chapel arch the probability of its neighbour having been one is diminished,³⁴ while the door under it, having bar sockets, does not look like a communication door into another undercroft. Neither

³¹ *S.A.C.*, XLIII., 165.

³² The infirmary may have been a wooden-framed building. There is plenty of room for it east of the warming room, but I have traced no foundations.

³³ This is in the main a rather rough post-Dissolution rebuild. Grimm (fol. 87) shows the extent of it. Enough of the original is however left to show that a wall existed here.

³⁴ I suspect that these two arches represent two Perpendicular windows opened to light what by my theory must have been the most important part of the building, and subsequently walled up, probably when it was used as a malthouse.

Buck nor Grimm show any foundations in this neighbourhood, nor have I been able to trace any.

What then was the purpose for which this large building was put up early in the fourteenth century? A glance at the plan shows a large hall lying between two smaller buildings, nearly the typical arrangement of hall, solar and offices of the contemporary manor house.³⁵ A building of this size, on the lines of an ordinary house, it seems to me, is most likely to have been built as the monastery guest house.³⁶

Lying between a part of Stane Street still in use as the Chichester—Petworth road and the road to Arundel and the eastern part of the County, Boxgrove, though so close to Chichester, must have had plenty of opportunities of exhibiting the monastic virtue of hospitality. Besides serving for the actual entertainment of strangers, the Guest House may well have been the place where the Prior played the country gentleman in the latter days of English monasticism when Chaucer's monk looked on the Rule of St. Benedict as "old and som-del streit." Turner's identification as the "Refectory or Prior's Lodging" would seem therefore near the mark.

The southern annex (XV.) I believe to have been the solar for the accommodation of guests of higher rank, hence the two Perpendicular windows, whose previous existence I suggest, would have lighted the High Table. Besides the inherent probability that monasteries would provide different accommodation for guests of different rank, there is the direct evidence that St. Alban's Abbey had already built a hall with an inner parlour as a guest house.³⁷ The undercroft may have served as a kitchen, the opening C on plan originally as kitchen hatch, while the presence of two

³⁵ Purely secular architecture did not usually place the hall on an undercroft at this time, but the Prebendal School at Chichester is an undoubted instance of the same arrangement of even earlier date. *S.A.C.*, LIV., 3.

³⁶ The identification has been made before, I do not know by whom. Kelly's *Directory of Sussex* speaks of "the ruins of a solitary building erected c. 1300 and formerly the guest chamber." I arrived at my conclusion independently.

³⁷ Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 30.

aumbries at this end of the building bears out the view that it was the lower, or service end.

There remains the question what the monastery site would yield if excavated.³⁸ I think it likely that evidence for the north wall of the Frater and Kitchen exists somewhere below ground, although too deep to be traceable on the surface in dry weather.³⁹ But against this it should be noted that Turner detected none. The plan of the Rere Dorter and of the building which possibly lay north of it might also be recovered. And there would be some chance of establishing the positions of the doorways giving access to various buildings.

Unless steps are taken for its preservation, the days of the Guest House are numbered. The present Vicar, the Rev. R. Wells, has done excellent work in cutting ivy,⁴⁰ but flint rubble deprived of most of its ashlar dressing and exposed to the weather will not last for ever. It is partly in the hope of being as useful to succeeding generations as my own authorities have been to me that I have gone into details with a fullness which may seem tedious to my contemporaries.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this paper was in type I have had the opportunity of consulting two other ancient drawings.

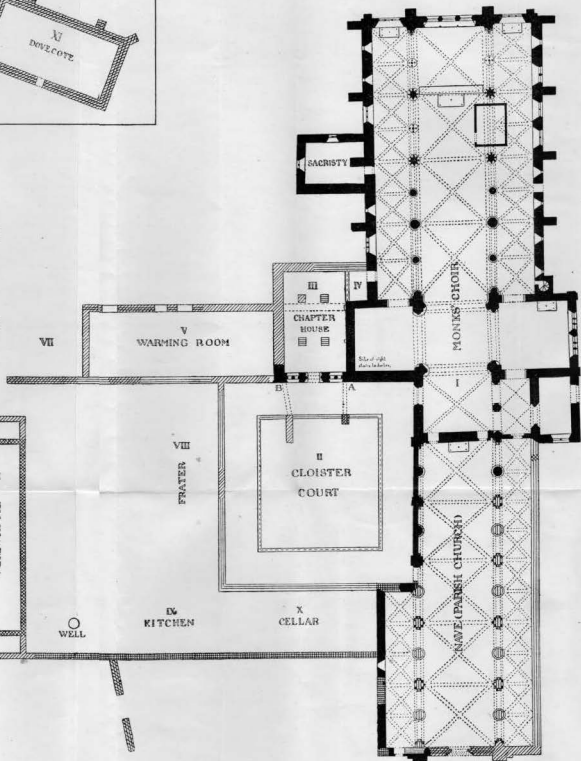
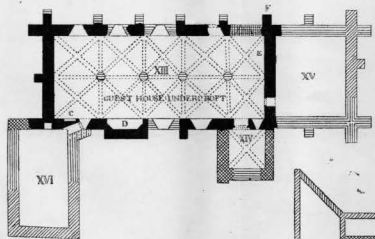
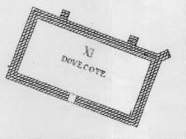
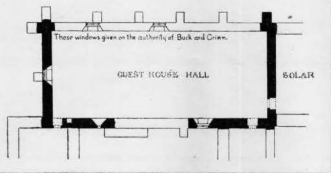
Vol III. of Grose's *Antiquities of England* gives a drawing and some explanatory letterpress. The latter includes the following:—"Several parts of this abby are standing; some of them are converted into dwelling houses. These remains, though they give no great idea of its former elegance, shew, however, that it was a very substantial building."

The view, which the letterpress informs us was taken in 1761, and which is therefore earlier than Grimm, is

³⁸ It should be remembered that it was partially excavated by Turner.

³⁹ The present ground surface is not so favourable for tracing foundations as that on the sites of the Chapter House or the service annex to the Guest House (XVI.).

⁴⁰ *S.A.C.*, XLIII., 165.



BOXCROVE PRIORY

PLAN SHOWING REMAINS OF CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS

- EXISTING ABOVE GROUND
- MODERN WALLS ON ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS
- FOUNDATIONS AT GROUND LEVEL
- FOUNDATIONS BELOW GROUND LEVEL
- ON THE AUTHORITY OF A PLAN OF c.1860
- INFERRED
- CONJECTURAL

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

DOVECOTE INSET IS INCHES FROM HERE

taken from the south side of the Church, from very much the same viewpoint as Grimm's fol. 84, and gives the Church very accurately. To the north of the ruined nave the upper part of a dwelling house is visible. This appears to be a rectangular building, running east and west. The principal roof ridge runs in the same direction, but the western part of the south wall rises in to a gable, clearly the same gable which is shown as a ruin in Grimm's fol. 84 and 86. The windows visible appear to be post-Dissolution.

I have no doubt that this dwelling house represents the shell, at any rate, of the monastic Frater and Kitchen, the distinction between the two being still traceable in the different directions of the roof ridges. Features such as doors and windows having been modernised, it would not have attracted Buck's attention so much as the Barn, and it was a ruin, and probably largely demolished in Grimm's time.⁴¹ The fact that the Priory site was inhabited right into the eighteenth century casts some doubt on the date of the building marked XII. on plan, which may have been built as offices for this house.

I have also examined Rouse's drawing of 1825. It shows the Barn from the north-east. Generally, it confirms Buck and Grimm, particularly in showing the two high-blocked arches in the southernmost bays of the upper floor. But comparison with existing remains shows that it is less trustworthy for detail than any of the earlier drawings which I have used as authorities.

⁴¹ Cf. *S.A.C.*, XV., 105.

THE EARTHWORKS OF REWELL HILL, NEAR ARUNDEL.

BY ELIOT CECIL CURWEN, B.A.,

AND

ELIOT CURWEN, M.A., M.B., B.Ch.

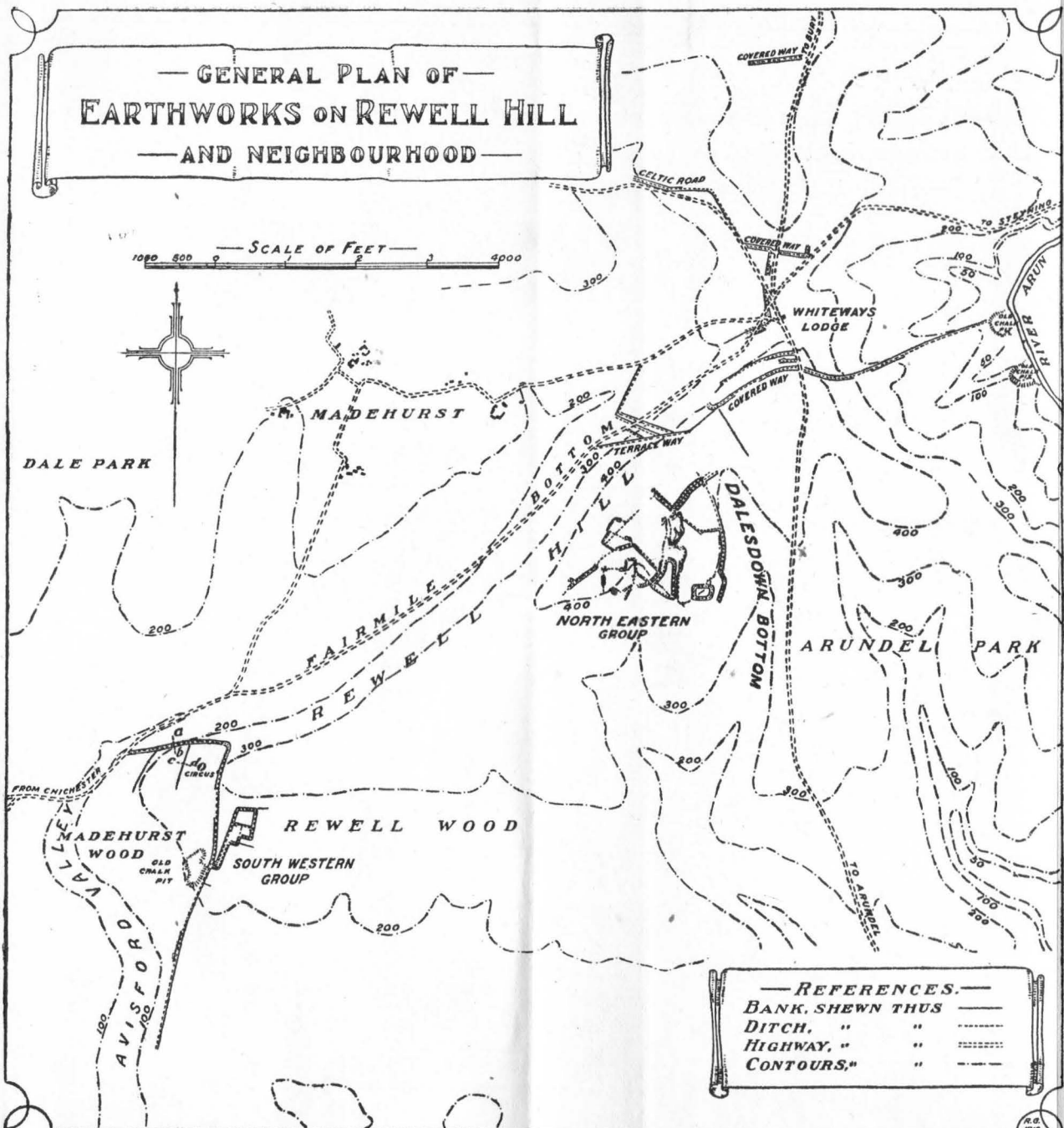
SINCE the survey of a group of "Covered Ways" in and near Arundel Park, a further exploration, in the early summer of 1918, of the deep woods which cover Rewell Hill, has revealed a most extensive series of Earthworks—perhaps the most extensive of their kind yet found in Sussex.

Rewell Hill itself is a ridge of the Downs, about two miles long, which runs in a south-west direction from Whiteways Lodge, the northernmost lodge of Arundel Park (Plate I.). This ridge falls away abruptly to the north-west into Fairmile Bottom, and slopes gently to the south-west, in which direction it is terminated by the deep, steep-sided, wooded valley—a continuation of Fairmile Bottom—which crosses the Arundel-Chichester main road close to Avisford House. At its north-east end the hill merges into the high land at the north end of Arundel Park. The entire hill is wooded, with the exception of part of the escarpment on the north-west. Certain areas, however, now covered with hazel, show signs of having been under the plough at some period.

The Earthworks which have been found on this hill form two groups—a north-east group near Whiteways Lodge, and a south-west one bordering on Madehurst Wood. Of these the former is the more extensive, and will be described first.

— GENERAL PLAN OF —
EARTHWORKS ON REWELL HILL
 — AND NEIGHBOURHOOD —

SCALE OF FEET
 1000 500 0 500 1000



— REFERENCES. —
 BANK, SHOWN THUS ———
 DITCH, " " - - - - -
 HIGHWAY, " " ·····
 CONTOURS, " " - - - - -

THE NORTH-EASTERN SITE (Plate II.).

The north-east group of Earthworks covers some 80 acres, and consists of a little over three miles of banks and ditches, interlacing and branching in all directions. Some are mere ditches—faintly marked, and without banks; others consist of ditches with one or two banks; at other places two ditches, with two, three, or four banks run parallel to one another. Sometimes, as in the north-west corner of this group, small areas of ground are enclosed by these ditches. In the south-east part is a quadrilateral area—some 200 feet by 150 feet—surrounded by a ditch between two banks; on the northern side of this area, the ditch gives off two branches, as it were, to enclose another smaller oblong space at the north-east corner of which the fosse again gives off a branch, which is soon lost.

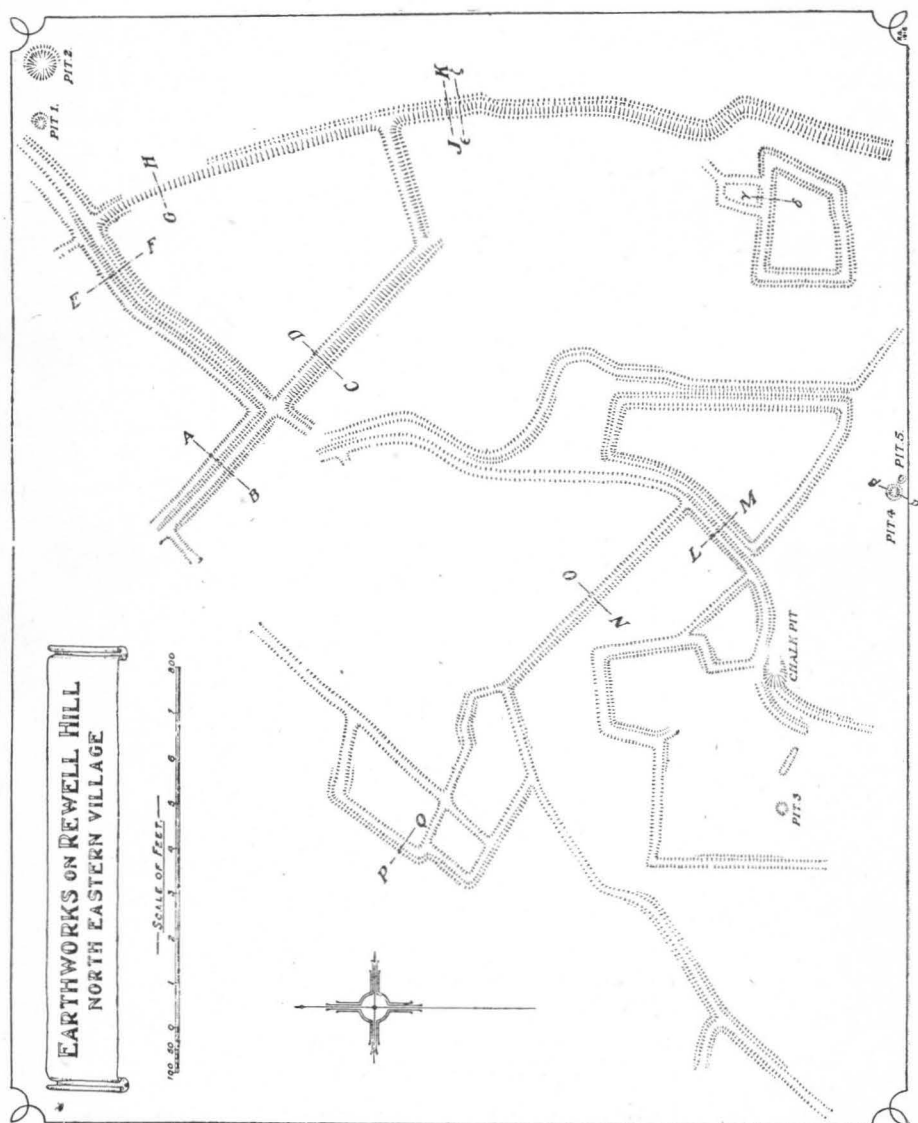
On the east side of this north-eastern group, the ground drops rather abruptly into the upper part of Dalesdown Bottom. Along the brow of this declivity runs a somewhat more substantial bank than the average, with a ditch some ten feet below it, and a small bank below that again, the whole suggesting a means of defence on the east. Its ditch in some places communicates with those of the rest of the system. No other similar Earthwork bounds or defends the site on its other flanks.

The general plan of this group is best understood by reference to Plate II., and Plate III. shows typical sections.

In addition to the banks and ditches there are a number of pits.

Pit 1 (Plate II.) is a bowl-shaped hollow, 36 feet in diameter and 6 feet deep, with a bank thrown up on its lower side, so that its rim is approximately level. This gives it the appearance of having been a pond.

Pit 2 is similar, but larger, and relatively shallower, its diameter being 80 feet, and depth 6 feet. Its appearance is that of an unsuccessful modern dew-pond.



These two pits are situated at the head of Dalesdown Bottom. Pit 2 is just on the edge of the open ground of which the upper part of the valley consists.

In a line between Nos. 1 and 2, and situated 10 feet from the latter, is a small pit (not marked in the plan), diameter 11 feet.

Pit 3 is on fairly level ground. It is bowl-shaped, with a diameter of 33 feet, and a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It has no bank at all. A beech-tree, standing on the north-west edge of the pit, is 8 feet in girth at a height of 4 feet from the ground. This pit is about 20 yards from the alleged site of "Sherwood Lodge" (see p. 25).

Pit 4 is situated on ground that slopes gently to the south. It has a small even bank all round, and is shallow and saucer-shaped. Its diameter is 26 feet, and its depth from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet.

Pit 5 adjoins Pit 4. Its diameter is 16 feet and its depth from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet below the bank, which is thrown up on its lower side only.

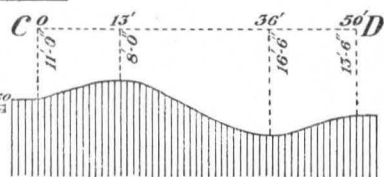
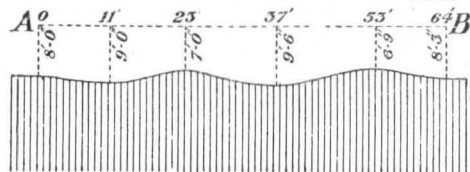
Since the plan of these Earthworks was made, another pit was found 210 feet to the south-east of Pit 5. Its appearance, dimensions, and situation are similar to those of Pit 4.

Other pits may, and probably do, exist, but if so their discovery has so far been prevented by the densely wooded nature of the ground.

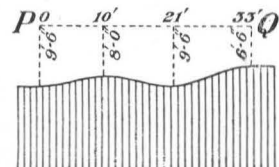
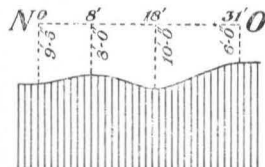
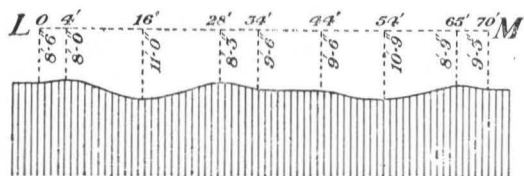
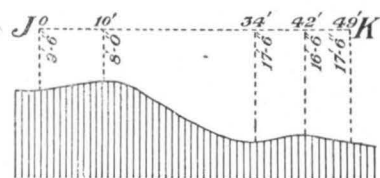
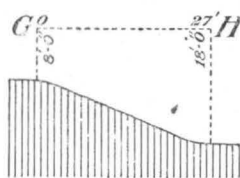
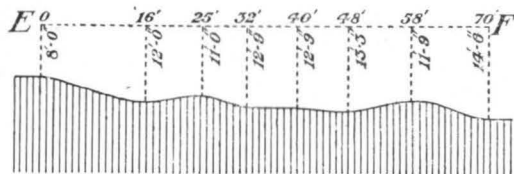
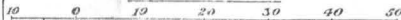
Taking into consideration this north-eastern group of earthworks as a whole, one is at once struck by its utter irregularity. If one was asked to say which appeared to be the most essential element entering into the formation of any one part of the Earthworks, one would at once say the ditch. Apart from the fact that in many places the ditch exists without any banks at all—a fact which might be explained by the ground having been subsequently ploughed—the ditches are, with few exceptions, continuous with one another, but not so the banks. The latter are spasmodic, and shift from one side to the other of the ditch. We never find the ditch changing to the opposite side

— NORTH EASTERN VILLAGE —

— SECTIONS. —



— SCALE OF FEET —



of a continuous bank. From this we would deduce that, if these Earthworks were thrown up with a purpose—as they presumably were—that purpose is localised in the ditch. The uses of a ditch are practically four in number—a defence, a boundary, a water-channel, and a road. A glance at the plan will dispose of the defence theory, except in the case of the easternmost Earthwork (sections G—H and J—K) alluded to above. They are too big and irregular to be boundaries; moreover boundaries do not need to be doubled, as some of these ditches are. The water-channel theory also need not detain us in this case, so that nothing remains but the suggestion that the greater part of these ditches represent a complicated series of roadways forming a town.

There have been no surface finds except a quantity of comparatively modern bricks and tiles near the chalkpit (marked on the plan). This was the site of an old house called Sherwood Lodge, locally said to have been much used in smuggling days; but of it no other traces now remain.

How far further north this town extended cannot now be determined, as all surface traces of it have been obliterated by a plantation of larch trees made some 60 years ago. Immediately to the north-east of this plantation is found the "Covered way," which descends the hill eastward through Arundel Park to the river Arun.¹ Near this point also begins a terrace-way which descends the hill to the westwards into Fairmile Bottom. This terrace-way is comparable with those of the Roman period to be found elsewhere on the north escarpment of the Downs.² Further, on the green to the west and north of Whiteways Lodge, are several banks and ditches somewhat similar to the Earthworks under review. These seem to be connected with other banks further west, running into Houghton Forest. Still further north, passing the western end of the more southerly of the two Covered

¹ *S.A.S. Collections*, Vol. LIX., p. 40.

² *Archaeological Journal*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XXII. (1916), pp. 201-232.

ways on Bury Hill, is a small ditch and bank, answering in all particulars to the pre-Roman, or Celtic, roads on the Downs; where this Earthwork turns to the west into Houghton Forest it appears as a track between two low banks (for some of these Earthworks see site plan, Plate I.).

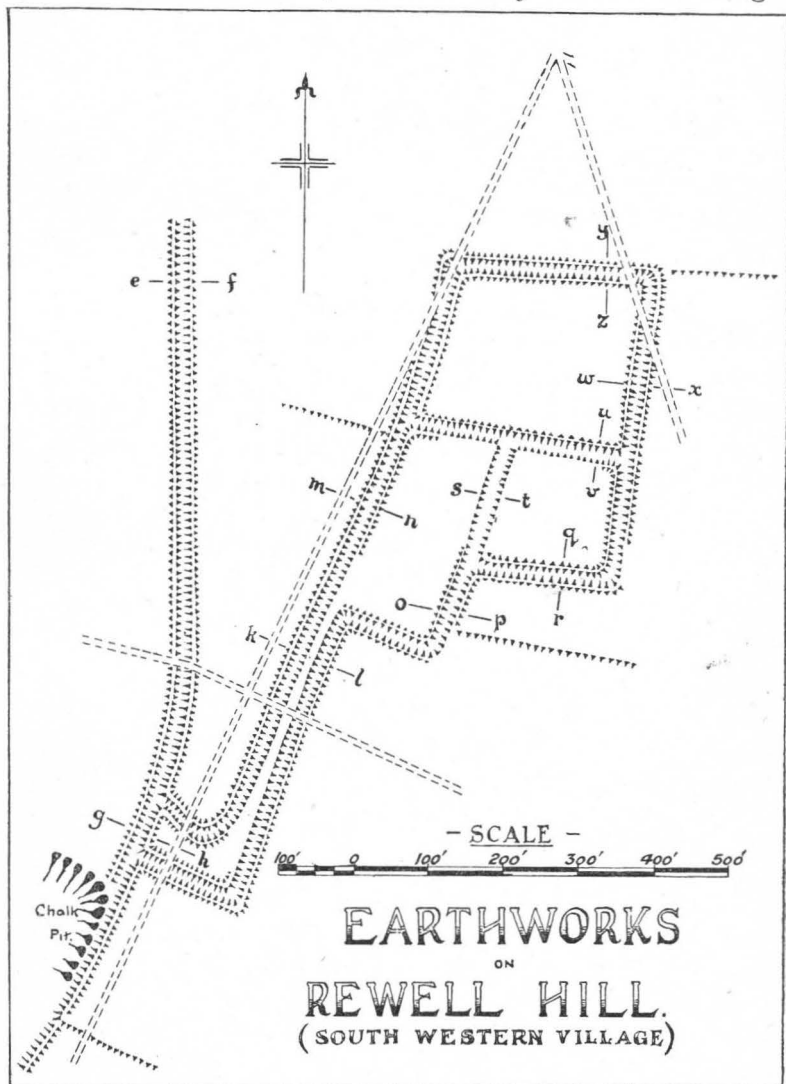
What, if any, relation these contiguous works have with one another, it is not easy to determine. They may belong to different periods, and their proximity may be accidental, due to the fact that the site was one which was favourable alike for cultivation, for habitation, and for passage from one area to another; and if we may premise continuity of use or occupation over a long period, it may well be that an Earthwork constructed by one race may have been used for the same, or another, purpose by subsequent peoples.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN SITE (Plates I. and IV.).

The south-western group of Earthworks on Rewell Hill consists of (1) a main Earthwork, $1\frac{1}{10}$ miles long; (2) a branch set of ditches and banks leading off from it towards the north-east; and (3) a Circus.

The main-Earthwork (Plate I.) starts in West Stubbs Copse and runs up from the south on ground that is fairly level at first, and consists in its southern part of a bank on the east side and a ditch on the west. Here it lies parallel to the brow of the hill where the latter drops suddenly and steeply to the west into the valley which runs out by Avisford House (alluded to above). As it goes further north, the ground begins to slope more and more markedly down to the westward, giving the eastern bank of the Earthwork a great height above the ditch. Here, in places, a smaller western bank appears, giving the whole a close resemblance to the "Eastern Defence" of the north-eastern group. At its northern end this Earthwork comes out on the brow of Rewell Hill, above Fairmile Bottom, and at this point it turns abruptly to the west, and proceeds to descend the hill slantwise in order to

ease the gradient, in this part resembling the large "Covered Way" in Arundel Park.³ (See Plates I. and V., section *a—b*.) On its way down two large



lynchets take origin from its southern bank, and run southwards (Plates I. and V., section *c—d*).

³ *S.A.S. Collections*, Vol. LIX., p. 40.

Almost midway along the north-south part of its course, the ditch of this Earthwork gives off two branches, about 100 feet apart. These two branches proceed eastwards, piercing the large eastern bank, and are accompanied each by two banks. After 100-150 feet they turn abruptly north, losing, as they do so, the banks which lie between them, but retaining their outer banks which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet high. Regaining later their two banks, they proceed to enclose three rectangular spaces, the arrangement of which will be best understood by reference to the plan (Plate IV.).

At the point where the main earthwork gives off its branches which form the rest of this group, the continuity of the ditches is apparently broken by a small bank which follows the line of the east bank of the main earthwork. This, however, is a modern boundary-bank separating the estates of Arundel and Dale Park. There is no doubt that the ditches were originally continuous.

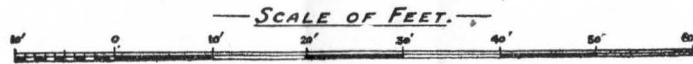
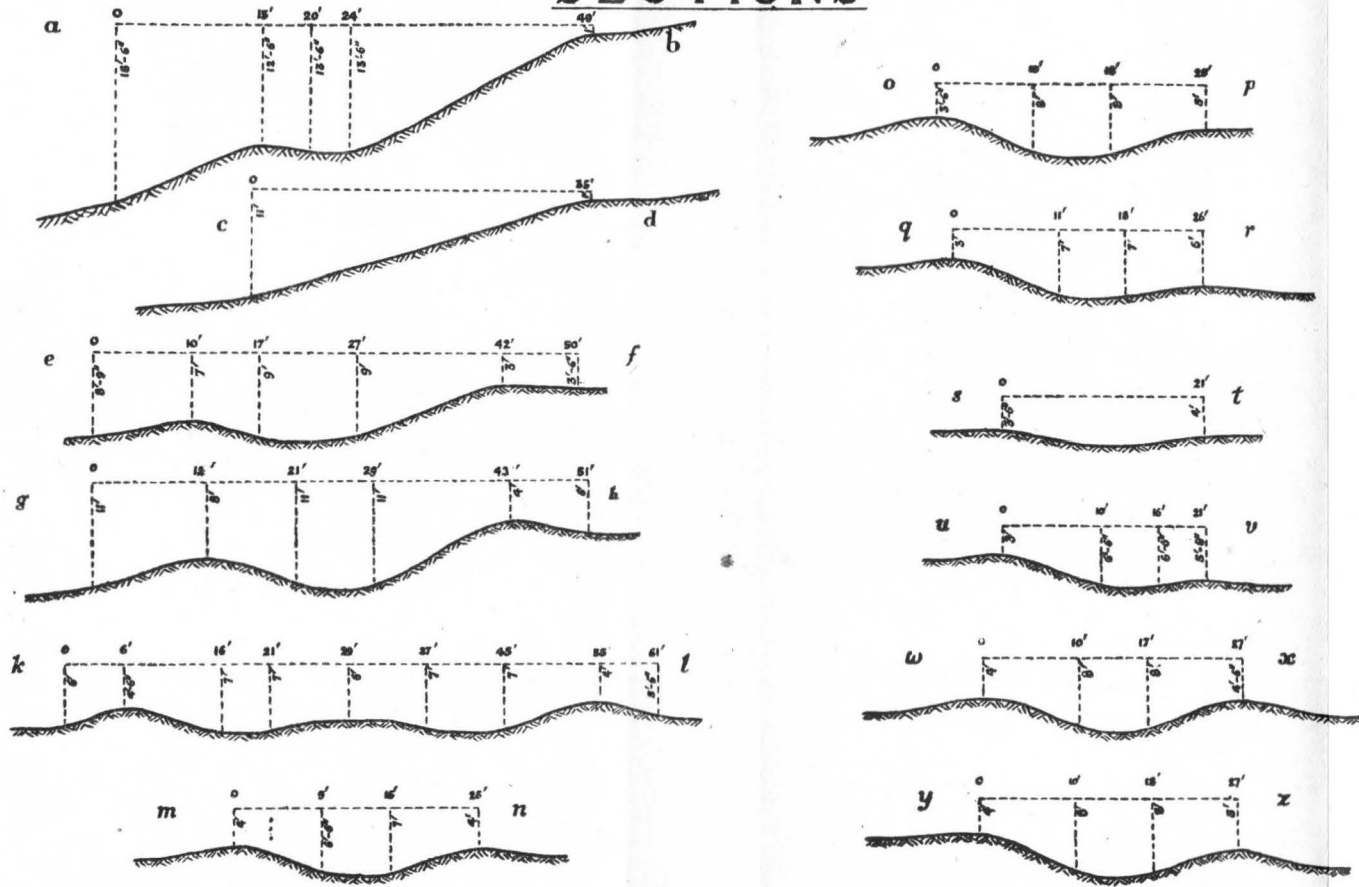
Plate V. shows typical sections of these banks.

The whole site is occupied by trees—mostly pollarded Spanish chestnuts, the leaves of which cover the soil. That the area was not always wooded is evidenced by the comparative absence of big trees, and the presence of three cultivation-terraces adjoining the earthwork.

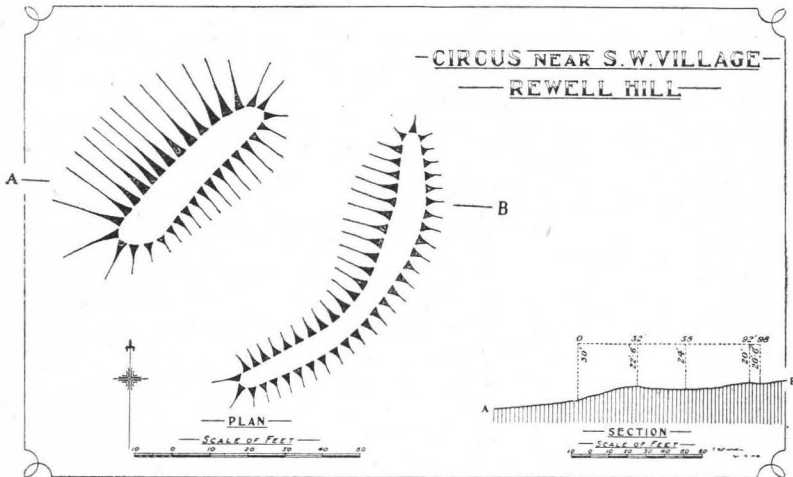
Calcined flints appear in considerable numbers wherever the soil is bared. In the more northerly enclosed space many fragments of tile of uncertain period are to be found, and some oyster-shells. Two pieces of grey Romano-British pottery were picked up on the surface, one in the more northerly area, and one in that to the south-east.

A small, but fairly typical, Romano-British Circus (Plate VI.) was found in the angle made by the main earthwork where it turns to descend into Fairmile Bottom. It is situated on a gentle hill-slope, with an extensive view to the north and west, and consists of two kidney-shaped banks enclosing a hollow, leaving two entrances (N.E. and S.W.) between the banks. The north-west bank is necessarily the larger, as the

—: SOUTH WESTERN VILLAGE:—
 —: SECTIONS:—



hill drops in that direction. The neighbourhood of the Circus abounds in fragments of Romano-British and Bronze-Age-type pottery.



DERIVATION OF "REWELL."

Thanks to the researches of Rev. W. Budgen, the following old forms have been found:—

Year.

- 1071 Ruell Fitzalan MS. ap. Burrell MSS. 5687, f. 3.
 Ruele *Ib.* f. 7.
 1302 Boscus de Ruele. *Ib.* f. 19.
 1272 Roell Inq. p. m. Henry III.
 1272 Ruelle Escheat Roll, 56 Hen. III. (quoted in
 Tierney's *History of Arundel*, p. 29).

Professor Weekley (Nottingham) has kindly sent us the following note:—

"F. *rouelle* (O.F. also *roele*, *ruele*, etc.), dim. of *roue*, wheel, from L. *rota* (whence our *rowel* of spur), is used in O.F. of any round object (shield, coin, piece of cloth, slice, etc.), and often in comparisons, as *rond comme une rouelle*. I think it likely that the wood was named from this word."

The present shape of the wood, however, bears no resemblance to a circle. It is possible that it may have contained a circular earthwork which has since disappeared.

We suggest an alternative derivation from F. *ruelle*, dim. of *rue*, street, in reference to the streets of the British town.

Capt. E. H. Mostyn told Mr. Allcroft that he had found amongst the papers of his late father, Col. E. J. Mostyn, sometime agent to the Duke of Norfolk, a note raising the question whether *Rewell* were not correctly spelled *Rowel*. At the present day "Rewell Hill" is the name given to the north-eastern extension of the ridge towards Dalesdown Wood, whereas the southern end of it is in popular speech always called "*The Rewell*." Such a name as *The Rowel* would very happily describe this portion of the ridge, and it is worth noticing that the opposite high ground of Slindon Common is still known as "*The Spur*."

TENTATIVE EXPLORATIONS ON REWELL HILL.

BY A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT, M.A.

At the meeting of the Council of the Society held in March, 1919, Dr. Eliot Curwen drew attention to the series of earthworks which he and his son, E. C. Curwen, had recently discovered on Rewell Hill. The Council decided that a Committee should be formed¹ to examine and report upon the works, and that the Agent of the Duke of Norfolk's estate at Arundel should be asked to allow them to be surveyed. The desired permission was readily accorded, and Messrs. Curwen having completed the survey, the Committee visited the sites on May 10th, and duly reported their conclusions. On the strength of this report, which was read before the Council in July, I was requested, with the kind consent of the agent, and at the cost of the Society, to conduct some tentative exploration.

It was thought well to confine this to the larger (north-eastern) site in Dalesdown Wood. The work occupied five days, Aug. 19th—23rd inclusive. The extent and results of it are here described.

1. THE DIGGINGS.

A commencement was made with the pits numbered 4 and 5 on the plan (Plate II.), their peculiar size and disposition having given rise to the hope that they might prove to be habitation pits. Both were very regular in outline, surrounded by continuous banks or lips rising at most little more than 1ft. above the natural surface, and the larger of the two (diameter 26ft.) shewed what might pass for an entrance-way on the south-west. The large trees which overhung both seemed to guarantee some degree of antiquity, for modern pond-makers carefully avoid the vicinity of

¹ The members of this Committee were Dr. Eliot Curwen, Messrs. R. Garraway Rice, J. E. Couchman, E. C. Curwen, Mrs. Eustace, and myself.

trees of any sort, their roots being liable to perforate the clay lining of any pond. One of these trees, an oak, has a girth of 5ft. 9in. at 4ft. from the ground; the other, a beech, has a girth of 8ft. 9ins. at the same height.









A trench was cut north and south across the larger pit. Beneath the accumulation of leafage and leaf-mould we came at once upon tough red or yellow clay, devoid of flints, spread fairly evenly over the whole floor, and ramped up to the banks. Beneath this, at the southern end of the section, was found a stratum of large natural flints ranging up to 10lbs. or more in weight, thinly distributed in a kind of floor, beneath which the pure clay was continued in a thin layer overlaying the solid chalk. Elsewhere these large flints were not to be found, the clay going right down to the chalk, which in the centre was 2ft. below the surface. The chalk floor had been excavated, not to the round section of a basin, but in the form of a blunted cone, as is the floor of a modern Wiltshire dew-pond.

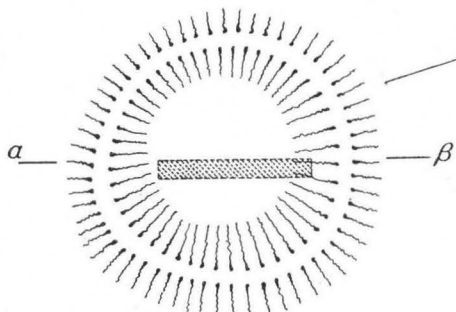
The pit, small as it is, was evidently a pond, and the clay as evidently puddled; it had the toughness of old leather, and was most difficult to deal with. The enclosing bank shews that it was not a catchment-basin, but a genuine dew-pond, and the situation, on ground having a gentle fall to south and south-west, and near the head of a long shallow combe, is such as was commonly chosen for such ponds. There was no trace of any straw, and nothing to suggest that the work was of great age. It may have had some connexion with "Sherwood Lodge," which stood 200 yards away to the west. The great thickness of the clay lining points to a use extending over many years, it having been usual to renew this at intervals with new coats of clay, each very thin. A great pile of surface-flints which filled one quarter of the pan, shewed that it had served as a convenient dumping ground for such material in recent years.

In the case of the smaller pit (No. 5) digging was

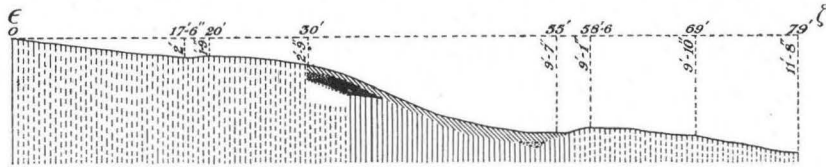
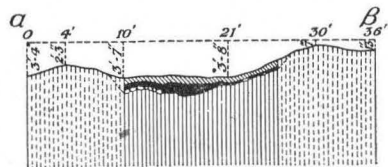
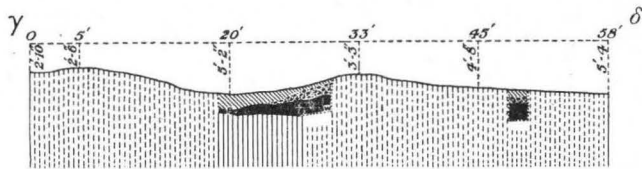
— REWELL HILL —
 — NORTHEASTERN GROUP. SECTIONS CUT. —

— REFERENCES —

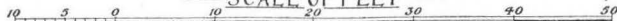
- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---|--------------------|
|  | Limit of exploratory excavation. |  | Undisturbed Clay. |
|  | Leaf-mould, with flints & roots. |  | Undisturbed Chalk. |
|  | Broken Chalk. |  | Clay & Flints. |
|  | Clay & Flints. |  | Large Flints. |



— PLAN OF PIT 4 —



— SCALE OF FEET —



carried only so far as to prove that this also had never been made as a habitation-pit. It was largely filled with yellow and red clay like the other, but the solid chalk was met with in the centre at a depth of less than 1ft., not in its natural form, but cut vertically down so as to form a smooth face, against which the clay was bedded. The mass of chalk was in a position which made the pit useless as a pond, a habitation-pit, a rubbish-pit, or a well-head, yet it was as regular in plan, and as regularly ringed by a well-finished bank of flint and mould, as was the other, and like the other it had never been ploughed over. There was nothing whatever to suggest what may have been its purpose.

A section (Plate VII., section $\epsilon-\zeta$) was next cut across the line of what would seem rightly to have been considered to be the exterior eastern defences of the settlement. These run north and south along the brow of the plateau, where it commences to fall somewhat steeply towards Dalesdown Bottom, the chalk naturally coming very near the surface upon the slope, although it is more than 3ft. below it upon the plateau. The section was 25ft. long and 3ft. wide. In the fosse the surface layer was natural leaf-mould with a few scattered flints and pieces of chalk; these lay near the solid chalk bottom or upon it, and had evidently rolled down from the valla which originally stood on each side of the fosse. Both valla had been built up of chalk thrown out in forming the fosse, the bottom of which was 3ft. below the exterior vallum, 9ft. below the other. The bottom had a blunted V-section; and there were 3 or 4 inches of yellow clay with a few flints in its lowest part. The lowest point was 20ft. away (horizontally) from the footings of the inner vallum, but only 4ft. from those of the external vallum. There was no discoverable trace of a fosse on the other side of either vallum. The inner vallum had a base 6ft. 3ins. wide, but had been spread by ploughing to a width of 16ft. in places. It had apparently been built up as a mere heap of piled chalk rubble, flint, and soil, just as these were thrown out of the fosse. A trial hole sunk

in this vallum 28ft. to the north gave the same result : the plough-mould lay at the surface, and went down to the depth of a foot. In it, just where the spread of the vallum ended, was one small shard of fine hard earthenware, $\frac{3}{16}$ in. in thickness. The interior was stone-grey in colour, regularly scored with slight parallel ribs $\frac{1}{4}$ in. apart. The exterior was closely mottled with chestnut brown. It is perhaps not a century old. There was no other find.

A third section (Plate VII., section $\gamma-\delta$) was taken across the fosse which separates the two small rectilineal enclosures lying near the south-east corner of the plan. To all appearance these represent a homestead, perhaps two homesteads, of whatever date, and it was argued that there was therefore a double chance of finding here some object discarded from either enclosure. This reasoning was justified in so far that the section produced the only ancient relics found during the whole of the digging. To attempt the exploration of either enclosure was out of the question in view of the dense hazel growth and the lack of expert labour.

The section was 10ft. in length, extending from the centre of the fosse to its southern edge, but it was carried right down to the native chalk. It revealed the southern half of a shallow V-shaped fosse sunk in the surface clay, which was here 3 ft. thick. On the bottom of this fosse at its deepest point lay some fragments of pottery. The fosse was filled in with some 20ins. of plough-soil, *i.e.* fine mould and small broken flint, over which was a thin layer of leaf-mould. Of the vallum there was nothing traceable beyond a slight heave in the surface, the plough-soil extending right over this and beyond it.

So indeterminable was the actual bottom of the original fosse that the digging was inadvertently carried through it down to the solid chalk. This was found to trend gradually downward with the natural fall of the ground to the south. To remove any doubt as to its being here at its natural level, a further hole was sunk some 20ft. to the south on the line of the

section. This hole was carried down through 15ins. of plough soil and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of natural clay with flints, to a total depth of 3ft. 9ins. without reaching the chalk.

At the point marked W in the section (Plate VII.) were found one or two pieces of wood, one (5ins. long, diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) having the appearance of the pointed end of a slender rod which had been driven almost vertically to a depth of some 2ft. below the original surface of the fosse. Submitted to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, this was pronounced² to be "certainly" a root of the sweet chestnut (*castanea sativa*), probably a fragment left *in situ* when the residue had decayed. As the sweet chestnut still grows abundantly in adjacent parts of Dalesdown Wood, there is no reason to question this verdict, and none whatever to take the fragments as indications of a sometime stockade or *cheval-de-frise*, for which they are far too slender.

On Aug. 23rd the various holes and trenches were carefully filled in, and the ground left pretty much as it had been. Except for the assistance of one person for five hours on the 21st, the effort to obtain hired labour had proved futile. The work fell therefore almost wholly upon the Rev. W. Budgen, E. Cecil Curwen, and myself, and the amount accomplished may fairly be called commendable, having regard to the *natura loci*. The abundance of flints and the toughness of the clay were aggravated by the thick growth of tree-roots over the whole area, and though the great heat of early August had abated, the dense leafage and consequent lack of air made the diggers' efforts very exhausting.

2. THE POTTERY.

Upon the floor of the fosse shewn in Section γ —(Plate VII.), at the point marked P, were found scraps of pottery representing 3 different vessels. These were accidentally broken into seven fragments by the excavators, but were all recovered and rejoined. One was a trapezoidal fragment ($2''$ by $1\frac{7}{8}''$) of hard thin

² By the Director, Lieut.-Col. Sir D. Prain, C.M.G.

ware, $\frac{3}{16}$ ins. thick, thoroughly baked, and alike in colour and in texture resembling oatcake. It was devoid of all trace of ornament. The curve of it shewed it to be part of a vessel of considerable size, despite its thinness. Two related scraps formed the roughly square remnant ($1\frac{3}{16}$ " by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ") of a second vessel of coarser make and of a more reddish-yellow tone. All the foregoing were of markedly sandy texture. The remaining four pieces, when rejoined, formed part (about one quarter) of the circular base (diam. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ") of a largish vessel, the precise form of which there is no means of guessing. As the underside was much blackened, it had possibly been a cooking-pot. It was perfectly baked, and the colour of the inner surface and of the fractures was that of dull reddish sand; indeed, so sandy was the texture that the whole might well pass for a disc of natural coarse sandstone. At $\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the circular edge was a round hole shewing a bevelled section: the diameter on the inner side was $\frac{1}{2}$ in., that on the outer side $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

All these pieces were submitted to the British Museum, and Mr. Reginald A. Smith pronounced them to be "of the Early Iron Age, a century or two before the Roman period. This view is supported by the outside finish of the urn-base . . . and the hole in it. Such holes are frequent in urns of the period (see *B.M. Iron Age Guide*, fig. 135), and are thought by some to be for straining honey from the comb, by others to allow the soul of the burnt departed to escape. The ware in all three cases is particularly sandy. . . ."

With reference to the last remark, it may be added that during August and September of 1919 I picked up within a definite area in Arundel Park, distant only a mile from the site on Rewell Hill, some 10-12lbs. weight of Romano-British pottery in small fragments, not one of which presents the peculiar sandy texture of the specimens from Rewell Hill.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The digging made it amply clear that the site, or at any rate such part of it as was examined, had been

long and continuously cultivated. There is reason for believing that the systematic planting of the ground is a matter of quite recent years³, there being few trees of any considerable age within this area, and those few standing mostly in such positions as to bespeak them originally hedge-row timber growing along the lines of field-fences now unrecognizable. Arundel Park itself was not enclosed before 1809⁴, up to which date it was under regular cultivation. The present high road from Arundel to Whiteways Cross was made only in consequence of the enclosure of the Park, and there is no old timber in the plantations which now line the whole of this road. Continued cultivation had doubtless already destroyed most of the customary *reliquiae* of an ancient settlement on Rewell Hill, levelling all but the larger of its valla and fosses, when the subsequent methodical planting of the ground completed this destruction.

Much as it were to be wished that the diggings had been more productive, it will be allowed that, such as they are, the results confirm the Committee's belief that the site is that of a very considerable settlement of a date not later than the Roman occupation. The peculiar form of the fosses explored, more especially of the great eastern fosse, and the finding of the pre-Roman pottery on the floor of one of the fosses, are quite sufficient confirmation of this belief. Other facts point in the same direction. The Roman terrace-way and the great "Covered Way" mentioned above (p. 25) seem to have converged at a spot immediately north of the settlement, and a second

³ Capt. E. H. Mostyn, of the Arundel Estate Office, kindly allowed me to see a map bearing date 1792, which includes a great part of Rewell Hill, but unfortunately stops short at a line to all intents identical with the Southern edge of Dalesdown Wood. Dalesdown Bottom is shewn parcelled into fields, and the main part of the Hill as already planted, with large cultivated areas scattered about it. The map gives little detail of the ground further to the north, for that was not then part of the Duke's Estate. I am informed that the fir-plantation (just felled) which bounds the site on the north side, was arable land some 60 years ago. The name of Dalesdown itself belongs to a period when this area was rather down than forest.

⁴ The document authorizing its enclosure, done at Lewes, bears date Nov. 28, 1809.

roadway, in part of Celtic type, which comes up from Swanbourne by way of Target Bottom and Pughdean, and emerges from the hollow in a short but perfect terrace of Roman form, seems to have had for its objective the same ganglion at or near Whiteways Cross, unquestionably a very important road-centre from very early times indeed.

The absence of surface relics within the settlement itself is to be sufficiently accounted for by the long cultivation of the area, the rapid formation of a deep covering of leaf mould and vegetation, and the curious but noticeable absence of rabbits and other burrowing animals, itself due to the clayey character of the sub-soil. To have detected the site at all, under so many difficulties, is a notable achievement of those who found it and charted it, and they are entirely justified in their belief of its archaeological importance; but having regard to the extent of the area and the character of the ground, and to the degree to which it has been interfered with, one would hesitate to recommend that the Society should undertake any very extensive research there. About the smaller (south-western) site there is at present nothing to be said.

A PERAMBULATION OF CUCKFIELD, 1629.

BY MISS M. H. COOPER.

THE following account of the beating of the bounds of Cuckfield Parish in the year 1629 was written by the then Vicar, Thomas Vicars B.D. in a paper book with a vellum cover which is kept in the safe of Cuckfield Church. This book has been frequently referred to, and many extracts have been made from its pages in the articles relating to the History of Cuckfield and its inhabitants in Vols XLV. and L. of our Collections. It is called "The Parish Book," and some quotations from this "Perambulation" are to be found in Vol. L. p. 14, as notes to the account of a later Procession or Perambulation which was made in the year 1705 by the Rev. Robert Middleton, who was then Vicar, and his parishioners. He is careful to tell us that it followed the precedent of the one previously made by Mr. Vicars in 1629. It must be remembered that the ancient parish of Cuckfield included the present ecclesiastical parish of Staplefield and the greater part of Haywards Heath. The "inhabitants" who accompanied the Procession on the different days were probably those whose lands coincided with the boundary, who therefore were able to point out the correct divisions. We see how necessary this was from what happened on the second day when much to Mr. Vicar's annoyance they were obliged to curtail their walk because no one in the company knew the exact boundary line.

A perambulation about the Parish of Cuckfield begun May 11, 1629, in the morning and finished the 13th of the same at evening by T. V. B. of D. and Vicar there

with the assistance and companie of these whose names follow. A^o Regni Regis Caroli 5^o.

James Sicklemore Curate and Scholem:¹
Edward Sheerman Parish Clerk.²

Rich. Bartley
Joh. Holford
Tho. Hurst
Joh. Stone³
Joh. Venne⁴
Thom. Blundell³
Will. Parsons
Tho: Herbert
Rob. á Field
Tho. West younger
Hen: Gatland young
with other Parishioners

Joh. Burrell son of Nin.⁵
Joh. Alchorne⁶
Abrah. Holford
Joh. Ward son of Hen:⁷
Joh. Ward of Bonehouse
Franc. Chaloner son of Nir.
Sam. Weekes
Rich. Faulkner son of Will.
Joh. Faulkner son of Joh.
Joh: Strong⁸
Will. Harradine⁹
John Testar
Joh. Bartley¹⁰
with other Schollers

The first day there met us
and accompanied us upon
the bounders.

Joh. Harland
Joh. Cheale
Hen: Mitchell
Joh. Lashmer
Joh. Pierce
Tho. Weeken

The second daye these,

Joh. Weller
Phil. Mourten
Rob. Stanbridg
Steph. Jupp
Edw. Davie

The third daye these,

Will Faulkner
Geo. Jenking
Ellys Jenner
Hen. Gatland
Hen. Standen
Joh. Warden
with other inhabitants.

Upon Monday morning May 11 1629. meeting in the Churchyard, and setting ourselves in order Pro-
cessionwise wee began to sing the 24th Psalme and so
went over the Stile at the South east end of the Church
yard singing downe the lane Till wee had made an end
of the Psalme. Then wee made what speed wee could
to the outside of the Parish that waye, to begin our
Perambulation.

Wee began at a gate commonly called the Nashe
Gate, from whence (keeping the hedg) Southward wee
went along till wee came to the North east corner of
Layhaies alias the Copyhold¹¹. There wee tooke all

¹ Curate and Master of the Free Grammar School, 1626-1636.

² Became Parish Clerk in 1617.

³ Sidesman 1628 (The Parish Book).

⁴ Surveyor for 1629 (The Parish Book).

⁵ Of Homestead, bap. at Slaugham Apr. 28, 1614, d. Jan. 15, 1690.

⁶ John s. of Alex. Alchorne, bap. Dec. 10, 1616 (Cuckfield Registers).

⁷ Bap. Sep. 28, 1617 (Cuckfield Registers).

⁸ John, s. of Nicholas Strong, bap. Dec. 21, 1617 (Cuckfield Registers).

⁹ Cottages in Little London Lane are still called Harradines.

¹⁰ John, s. of Rich. Bartley, bap. at Slaugham Nov. 27, 1614 (Cuckfield Registers).

¹¹ Now called Copyhold.

along the bounder hedg from the lane going South east to the bottom of the gill¹²; and then keeping the gill and running goosell¹³ upon the South hedg for oure bounder, all the foresaid Layhais being in Cockfield parish, and so passing over the river that did run from the fornace into the east side of the Moone hills being all in Cockfield parish, the river turning and running into the South to and through Hookland. But when wee came to the North west corner of Hookland wee tooke the gill and north side and bounder hedg thereof upon the East, untill wee came to the streete¹⁴ coming on upon the South bounding to Hookland. At the North east corner of Hookland the streete entring narrower than it was at the North end therof against the South east corner of Hayeswood Land¹⁵; and from thence wee went all along the King's highwaye southward, leaving Nic. Furrells house at the South east side of us keeping the street for a bounder to Hookland, till wee came to a field being the inheritance of Hen: Mitchell¹⁶ wherein were many tilloes¹⁷ called Cookesfield and there taking the bounder hedg of Hookland going South west wee came to the street and passing over the hedg into that street which leadeth from S. John's bridg to Mitchells of bridg from South to North going along the street to the foresaid river and wane bridg called Mitchell's of bridg finding all the Hookehouse and land with the Gootsonnes to be in Cockfield parish. From thence wee tooke along that river from the East passing and falling into the South and West into the land joyning to and with the mansion of Hen. Mitchell of the bridg, and so forth along the river into the lands of Hen. Ward¹⁸ Gentlem. called the Cowepasture of Paynes, there being as it were a little hand of land on the South side of the maine river which as in a goosill the water compasseth round; and then at the next hedg at the South side of the river about the end

¹² A ditch or ravine.

¹³ A gutter.

¹⁴ A highway or road.

¹⁵ Now Heaselands.

¹⁶ Of Bridge.

¹⁷ Tilloes=tiller, a young oak.

¹⁸ Of Paynes now Paynes Place.

of the new cutt¹⁹ (which was made by Joh. Hussey gentlem: to carrie the water of that old river to his water mill²⁰) there parteth Clayton, Hurstp^rpoint and Cockfield. And then going over the east end of that new cutt wee goe along the old river taking in the Brook meads, till wee came to the Southwest corner of Paines land, the field called the Horse pasture, the hedg going from the South to the North, taking in all Paynes-land, as the Westfield and the Westmead, and so forth through and over the Pond of Lye, taking in the Spittlecrofts, and then over the corner of the Hotheheld into the upper Woodfield, and then at the stile of Merrifields taking in the Hodes, and so to the street; and going along the street into the South from thence we came to Woodleford bridges, wee go over them both²¹ into a meade joyning to the highway and bridges, on the South side of the river, the owners thereof being John Lashmere²² and Joh. Roberts. Having taken that in, we come over the bridges againe and pass westward along by the river side, and then leaving the second brooke mead in the parish of Hurst, the third brooke mead on the South side of the river running from Woodleford bridges being John Roberts his and in Cockfield, wee came over the river crosse a brookemead, and bounding upon the South west corner hedg of Church land grove; further along North and taking in Moorefield and Moorecroft, and then going over the hedg at the East end and north side of the Chates gate, keeping the hedg to the South east corner of Lofield²³ and so going along the South bounder hedg to the streete and finding the Chates to be in Hurst, the South land (sometime Joh. Dumbrells) to be in Bolney and all Lofield in Cockfield; and so forth along the streete Northward to a little river and a goosel

¹⁹ *Note in Margin by T. Vicars*: "The old waye of the river and not the new cutt is the bounder of our parish."

²⁰ Probably Leigh Mill.

²¹ *Note in margin by T. Vicars*: "Wee goe over the further bridg, not because it is in our Parish, but to take in that common mead."

²² Of Hilders.

²³ Now Lovells.

bridg, and so on the North there to a house²⁴ taking in a litle mead or croft wherein is a noted oaken rough stubb greate and full of young little boughs. So we went to the outside of Pickwell being in the East, and bounding upon the West all along the Westree out hedg of Pickwell and Raggatfield all in Cockfield. There wee came to the streete leading from Pickwell house in Cockfield to Bolney going along that streete unto Rob. Washford's house, taking in half his garden next the house in Cockfield, and thence bending upon the South West and going along the bounding South hedg of Horsmanhodes and Fleshacres ; both being all in Cockfield, fetching the East side of the streete bounding to Horsmanhodes and Fleshacres with John Pierces the Smith his house and shopp. And then starting crosse the street wee came to the South West corner of Merriefields in Cockfield bounding on the West the lands of Hen. Ward gentlem. and thence going to the West side or end of Brookesmead²⁵ in Cockfield and then coming to a little streeme and wenebridg (the stream falling into the East) over a paier of barres keepe up the Westerne hedg and streeme for the division of Cockfield and Bolney, Patrenostre land being all in Cockfield and then all Rob. Thornden Haslings in Cockfield, and all Thorndeane being in Cockfield, and also keeping the foresaide goosle streame up through out Strickland, the which streame therein making a division of Cockfield and Bolney upwards into the West till you come to a bridg and streete leading north and South, the bridge's name being Evemill bridg, whereat parteth Bolney, Slaugham and Cockfield ; and then Cockfield taketh the East side of the streete joyning to Haslings sometimes in the tenure of Robert Ilman being all in Cockfield. And going to the Westerne hedg of T. Nye his Haslings being all in Cockfield to a streete that cometh out of the East from Cockfield leading to Warninglead²⁶

²⁴ *Note in margin by Mr. Vicars* : " This house as I conceive is Morlay's the sawyers : the half of whose garden some say is in our parish."

²⁵ Now Broxmead.

²⁶ Warninglid.

Westward, here wee brake up the course of our walk for this daye and coming home, at the head of the cawsey going downe to our towne setting ourselves in order as at first wee sang to God's praise Psal. 50 from the 7th v. to the 15th inclusive.

Upon Tuesday morning May 12th highing us to the place of the streete leading to Warninglead, where wee left off the last day, jumping right upon a litle nick at the north side of that streete at the south end of the hedg bounding betweene Slaugham and Cockfield entring in and setting ourselves in order as before wee went downe all along that hedg Northward singing the 4 first staves of the 65 Psal. then turning a very little into the East wee finde another hedg running Northward, where we entered into the lands of Joh. Burtenshaw the elder called by the name of Cumbers alias Seamews or North Haslings being all in Cockfield, going still further into the North, into a field called the Hame being Fr ; Scrace his and called by the name of High-hall, all that land and house being in Cockfield and going all along the West hedg Northward wee entred in at the Pythe in the lands of Rob. Stanbridg and called by the name of Stanbridge's being all in Cockfield. From his house wee went in at a gate and turning to the South hedg and going further to the West along the hedg into the West in the Wishmeed of Stanbridge's to the Southwest corner of the same meed joyning to Sir Walt. Coverts' park pale ; and from thence going Northward along the Parke pale unto the street that leadeth out of the East into the West out of Cockfield into Slaugham Church. And then there going crosse that street into and through a place where there hath bene a hop garden being a parrish (?) moorie ground into a tenement in Slaugham park called Savages or Banks his being all in Cockfield parish, there being a mooregill and a bank whereon there hath stood a rayle going South and North which parteth Slaugham and Cockfield till wee come to the Park pale againe to the nick and corner of Cockfield croft bounding to the sometime mansion house of

Gerard Wheeler on the East side, and on the West side of the King's highway leading out of Cockfield to Hancrosse²⁷ being once a parcel of Chods; and from thence keeping the high streete into the East towards Hancrosse till we came to the King's Highway that turneth to Crawley into the North, and going round about a nick or corner of land being two little fields, the North field thereof being a broomefield, both fields being once a part and parcel of Chodds; and so further going crosse the East and Westernne street at the West end of a house sometime called Tilgate Lodg, now ruined, into Harlands field, and keeping along the North and Easterne hedg of Woodlands being all in Cockfield, and then wee went crosse a gill and keeping along the Northerne and Easterne edg of Harriswood²⁸, and also that end of little Betcheleys, so going on the North hedg of Steph. Jupp's land, and of Osborne's field, which is with the other three aforementioned all in Cockfield parrish; and then wee went downe into a deep stony gill which divideth Blackfold and the North West Cripes and going North up along that gill wee enter at the South West corner of Brantridg, keeping round the boulder hedg North West and North of Brantridg ground, till wee came to a house place sometime standing in Tilgate Forest, called Wellars house, now ruined. And going from thence Eastward to a tilloe in the heathfield and so to a ground stup or stump of an old sta^me of a greate oake, which oake (before the fall of it) as is sayd was called the Priests oake; the oake once having three great boughs or armes reaching into 3 parishes Cockfield, Slaugham and Balcomb. And from the place of that boulder wee went South and Southeast into a field of Brantridg called Forrest wood, and taking the hedg toward the East, bounding to a house a little way off, on the Northeast corner of that field where sometime dwelt one Smeed. Then turning wee tooke the boulder hedg of Brantridg Southward bounding to the lands of Thomas and John Newman of Balcomb at the East

²⁷ Handercross.²⁸ Harry's Wood.

and also of R. Falkner's land in Balcomb bounding unto us, going along upon the Eastern hedg of the upper Burrage and the upper Burrage wood in Brantridg, and all in Cockfield we came into the Northlands, unto the Northeast corner of thos Northlands being all in Cockfield parish. And here wee brake off our second dayes travell for because wee had not in our companie any to give us perfect direction for the bounders any further at that time; whereas wee might have gone with ease a great way further. But being constrained to return home, as wee came to the cawsey setting ourselves in order as before wee went downe the street into the towne singing the 3 last staves of the 65 Psal.

Upon Wednesday morning May 13th wee returned with speed to the Northeast corner of Northlands where setting ourselves in order as before wee kept the border hedg upon the East, leading Southward, as wee went downe singing the 3 first staves of the 85 Psal. so going along the hedg leading Southward to Washland the inheritance of the heire of Brantridg, and keeping the bounder hedg between Northland and Washland till wee came out into the street that leadeth betweene Brantridg and Tyes. And then keeping the street southward bounding to Ellis Vinals by name and all in Cockfield, bounding on the other side on Oatehale of Tyes which Oathal is in Balcomb and going along that street at the South West corner of Oatehale wee turned Eastward into the lane or street going Eastward from Tyes to Falkners²⁹. Along that lane wee went to the North East corner of Sayers alias Castrie, where was our bounder mead between Sayers and the brook. Where in that first field of Sayers did once stand a barn, and so keeping Southward to a mead of Sayers land bounding to the Brook running down South to the Eastern nick and end of the mead called Gosnols eye, there meeting 3 rivers, out of the North, North west and West falling from the Southeast corner of Sayers land and Gosnols eye into one river at the North side of Sidney which is all in Cockfield. Which river from

²⁹ Now called Whitehouse.

those 3 rivers aforesaid divideth Cockfield and Balcomb untill you come to a field or mead called the Hooke joyning to a hopp garden at Pilstie bridg. There at the Northwest corner of that mead wee did and are to goe over the brooke, where there is as it were a hand or such a little plott of that mead of Ellys Jenners, that the brook water runneth round about it. And from the bounding hedg there going Northwards from the river up to the street dividing the lands of Joh. Faulkener in Balcomb and Ellys Jenner³⁰ in Cockfield, in that street wee go on Northward still, till wee come to the narrowing again of the street which is at the pointing Southern east corner of Groveland which is all in Cockfield. The bounder hedg on the West going and turning Northward and bounding to Balcomb, the foot waye from the Faulkners to Balcomb Church lying over the Northwest corner thereof. At which corner cometh a river falling into the South and South east, along which river (before we come to Groveland bridg, where is the K^s highways or before wee come to the place where the street that cometh downward from Balcomb to Cockfield cometh nearest to that river) the bounder hedg of Northland and Cockfield goeth upon the Eastern bank above the river and so up North Eastward at a water gullett which hath bene coming up thereby into the Kings highway, wee go a little straightway forward down the highway turning in at the West side of the street at a great oak tree neere a paier of barrs and so down by the hedg, from that wee took over the foresaid river or brooke at the North West corner of Burts tenement a part of Rooks in Balcomb and bounding to Groveland to the bridg; and from Groveland bridg, that river divideth Cockfield and Balcomb, Coxe his house and garden, all Rowehill house and land and the Upper Pilstie being in Cockfield. When we came to the lands of Middle Pilstie, there is a meade of that land in Cockfield Parish that is at the Northeast side of the river and bounding on the Northeast hedg thereof

³⁰ Ellis Jenner lived at Pilstye.

with all the rest of Middle Pilstie and all lower Pilstie in Cockfield parish, the brook still after being our bounder on the North side of all Bentley and Naldred to Ryebridg³¹, both of them all being in Cockfield. The which Rye bridg parting Cockfield Balcomb and Ardinglie. And from Rye bridg the King's highway goeth Southward being the bounder on the Eastern side of Naldred in Cockfield, and of Boordhill in Cockfield; and coming upon the South in that way unto Twyvers goosel bridg at South Dike there wee tooke over the hedg into a mead the Southwest side thereof being in Cockfield, the old way and passage of the water in the mead and not the new cutt where the water now runs being the bounder of our Parish. At the further end of that mead there was a stake strooke into the ground, for a mark, and from that stake wee went Northward to the corner end of the hedg of a hop garden upon the Southwest corner, and so up at the Northwest side of Sugwood's house³², and so fetching the bounder hedg of Sugwoods where parteth 3 parishes. The Honewood being in Ardinglie, the Hookes in Linfield and all Sugwoods as aforesaid in Cockfield, and Mascall's field is in Cockfield, and then going again into the streete upon the South, that street namely that we left at Twyvers bridg, and so along that street we went to Bridgers house and so on to Bridgers mill. And at Bridgers mill going on South along the East side of the street over the wane bridg that the water runneth under that falleth from the mill, and so over the footbridg on the East side of that street jump to the Northwest corner of Edw. Pelland's mead called Millgreen mead. There wee over the hedg, and taking the North bounder hedg of that mead going upon the East and so forth into Fields meade the bounder Northern hedg thereof, and so of Wigperrie mead and Church mead still along the Northern hedg Eastward of those meades to the street, at a place of the street near to Scrace's bridg towards the Southern end of that lane where lieth a gutter logg cross the street,

³¹ Now Ryelands Bridge.

³² Now Sugworth Farm.

where there is a nick of land on the East side of that streete being a part of that mead, and also a platt of upland ground rising upward next the Common and bound to the Southeast from Scrases bridg lane end up towards Scrases house as it were the right hand of a bodie ; which is found with that part of the mead beforesaid to be of the mannor of Trubweeke and of the parish of Cockfield ; and from that bounding hedg of that plott, keeping up close as near as can be to Scrase's mansion house pale and closes thereof along that land to the East side of the corner close to the hedg unto and in at the Wanegate without the Northwest corner of Matthews, Sir Stephen Boord's land and all in Cockfield, and so keeping the boulder hedg upon the North into Newman's land called Veralls and the Gubrides being both and all in Cockfield, then entering the out bounds of Petlands bounding into Rowland and also woodknowl mead in Linfield upon the North of us and Northeast, and so going the Eastern hedg upon the South fetching the outbounds of Petlands all in Cockfield to the common. Then wee came Westward along the highway in the Common without the Petlands till wee came to the stump of a beech joyning to the hedg very neare. From which stump or stame walking between two oaken tilloes³³ on both which were marks set for remembrance. And so wee tooke downe from those trees leaving them in the East through a parish slant of the Common Southwest crossing the highway that leadeth from the North into the South out of Cockfield to Wivelsfield and going a little further making marks on the ground where sometime stood a crabb tree wee tooke into a lane on the right hand called the half streete, bounding at the South side of greate Hayworth³⁴ and so on further in that lane we went to the Southeast corner of Bonehoure³⁵ joyning to Brookeland on the South ; and so keeping the border hedg of Bonehoure to the Burchat stile of the footway

³³ These oaks and the beech stump are marked on the map of the Manor of Trubweek in the Society's Museum.

³⁴ Now Great Haywards.

³⁵ Now Bolmore.

leading from Hayworth to Hayesland³⁶; and from that stile still keeping the bounder hedg of Bonehoure to the South, westward to the street and Kings highway leading from North to South from Butlers Green to St. John's Bridg. And then going on the West in the streete, taking to the Southeast corner of the Welcroft and Renfield's house being in Cockfield, and going the Southern West bounder hedg of the Welcroft into the West end and corner of Sanders, being all in Cockfield; and from thence taking over the gill to the Southwest bounding hedg of Joh. Chownes³⁷ inheritance and land called by name Renfields being in Cockfield parish and so over at the furnace lane and street at the very gate going into Thomas Renfield's³⁸ keeping that street we came to Nashe gate againe where we began. Where thanking God for his mercie and praising his holy name by singing the 67 Psalme wee came along through the Park and lanes till wee came to the Churchyard where setting ourselves in order as wee did at the first wee went singing lustily and with a good courage towards the Vicarage the remainder of the 85 Psalme beginning at the 7 verse.

Blessed be God.

A second Perambulation is recorded in the Parish Book as taking place when Mr. Greenhill was Vicar. No date is given, but as the names of the Churchwardens are mentioned we know it must have been in 1664. The entry is as follows:—"A Perambulation about the parish of Cockfield begun May the 16th in the morning and finished the 18th of the same at Evening according to the President and directions aforegoing in p. 93 by Samuel Greenhill Vicar of Cockfield the Assistance and company of these that follow. The first day Samuel Creed schoolmr. John

³⁶ Now Heaselands.

³⁷ In the map of the Manors of Trubweek and Haywards the house now called Chownes is marked John Lucas house.

³⁸ Cuckfield Parish Register, 1604, Apr. 25, Thomas Renfield of Vylleders in Keymer and Mercie Anstie als Field. Vylleders may be the same as Burnt House Farm, which is situated in a detached part of Keymer.

Mitchell and John Bartley Churchwardens, Henry Spurling Parish Clerk Nicholas Standbridge Sexton. Mr. John Burrell, John Stone sen., Tho. Holford, Stephen Stāmer jun: William Brotherton, Thomas Winpenny, Edward Virgoe, John King." The second day the same parishioners took part with the exception of the two last, in whose place are the names of Richard Faulconer and Stephen Wood, and the third day Thomas Burtenshaw, sen., Tho. Burtenshaw, jun., and John Seale are added to the list "with divers of the youth, schollars and others every day."

The third Perambulation recorded in the Parish Book is that of Mr. Middleton in 1705, which has been already printed in *S.A.C.*, Vol L. He adds at the end of his account "Neither have I found recorded here in this Book, or elsewhere any of the Perambulations in times past besides that of Mr. Vicars, and that of Mr. Greenhill. Only some told me at this time of my Perambulation that they remembered a Perambulation made in Mr. Archdeacon Henshaw's time." With the advent of ordnance maps the need for these "perambulations" has passed away.

KINGSTON-BUCI CHURCH.

BY DR. FRANCIS GRAYLING.

THE approach from Hove to this highly picturesque spot is very striking; at a railway arch we suddenly leave behind the varied surroundings of a sea-port with its "mystery" tower-ships, and find ourselves entirely in the country amidst tall trees, leafy lanes,



KINGSTON-BUCI CHURCH—INTERIOR

Photo by T. Dunkerton

meadows, a manor house, and at the end of a side lane an ancient rectory, and still more ancient church, as yet but little touched by the unsympathetic restorer.

It is mainly to this structure, as yet undescribed in this journal, that attention is now directed.

The plan comprises nave with north partial aisle, central tower, and chancel. Externally the measurements roughly taken are:—Length—nave 51 feet, tower 21 feet, chancel 21 feet; breadths—nave and chancel 21 feet, the aisle 11 feet; no measured plan is exhibited in the building. The porch is to the south. Up till about 60 years back the aisle was a lean-to shut off from the church and used as a cart lodge; it has been re-constructed of old materials in an indifferent manner. The tower appears never to have been finished; it has a pyramidal roof, covered with Horsham “slatts,” as is the whole of the roofing. The bell stage is greatly needed.

The nave is the earliest part, as evident by its high walls, absence of original buttresses, the large sandstone coigns, and the comparatively thin walls—2 feet 3 in.—the strongest evidences of pre-conquest construction. The original rough-cast remains—much covered by modern pebble-dash—hiding any windows that have escaped enlargement, though possibly one may still be found near the porch. The inserted windows in this part are a single 13th century lancet west of porch, a two-light 15th century example on the other side, and at the west end a similar one, all original—of sandstone; by the side of the last mentioned is an added buttress 8ft. 5in. in projection.

The porch is late 13th century, with external and internal door-cases of local firestone, as well as pieces of Caenstone. The tower seems to be entirely of 13th century date, only one of its four windows is now open—internally the rear-arches, turned in block chalk, are semi-circular; the staircase projects on the south, square on plan.

The chancel is also of 13th century construction; it has original and elegant two-light curvilinear windows, one on each side, the east end window being entirely modern, re-placing a debased opening, as seen in a drawing done early in the 19th century. A priests' door on the north side has been lately re-opened, a deep chase in the adjacent buttress shows a

small lean-to annexe to have existed outside it, and in the re-built gable wall of the nave-aisle is a lozenge-shaped window, which is stated to have belonged to this apartment. So far the exterior.

Having entered by the inner porch door, a well-cut and tongued cross-patonce is seen in the jamb on the right. The font is square, both bowl and pedestal of sandstone. The roof is ceiled within, the wall plates showing. The rafters have a collar and braces, which, together with the upright ashlar-pieces, form seven cant; there are cross-ties but no king-posts.

The nave opens to the aisle by two arches, properly responded and margined at each end on half pillars, supported in the middle by a singularly elegant detached pillar, semi-circular in form, 8ft. 6in. high, on a square sub-base; the base of the column has the torus and sunk scotia embracing the plinth by four gryffs or little feet; the capital is singularly and elegantly moulded, the abacus under cut; under this is a corona and quirk from which depends an ovolo or quarter round, like the base of a tiny dome, shadowing the plain bell hollow, below which is the annulet; the arches are double ordered, the edges of these being chamfered and stopped at the feet; a more beautiful piece of 13th century architecture is seldom seen in Sussex churches. The high walls here enabled proper proportions to be observed; the tooling of the surface of the pillar is a study in itself; the material is firestone.

The tower area is covered by a testudo or quadripartite vault between the eastern and western cross arches, which also have two orders or members: at the four angles are attached shafting pillars with plain bell capitals of weald fresh-water marble, the paludina shells (whelks) project as the more earthy part of the marble has exfoliated.

To the north and south are the undercut pointed wall or formeret arches of the vault, the pair of diagonal ribs with roll and fillet moulding forming, as they always should, a pair of true semi-circular arches.

When this vault came to be set out it was found

that the outer order of the cross arches of the church would be fouled by the oblique ribs, this difficulty was got over by cutting away the lower part of the outer order in each arch, the hollow thus created was given a little edge moulding, and a niche was contrived at the apex, which gives rather a character to the whole construction.

No provision was made to take up and down bells ; the present one, weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., was cast by William Hull, of Lewes, the year of his death, 1687.

The projecting newel staircase not only leads up to the future ringing room—assuming the tower completed, but also led to the rood-loft by an opening on the way ; the newel pillar round which wind the steps has the unusual luxury of an entwining hand-guide carved on the stone.

Coming now to the choir or chancel, round which is a semi-circular 13th century string-course, the screen of 14th century design requires notice ; assuming that it was not a sanctuary screen, but was the rood screen, having its loft, it has certainly been removed much to the east ; the doorway is wide, with cusping and flat arch over, the tracery of the sides is reticulated—the mullions missing—the moulded brestsummer embattled. The modern attempt at restoration and enrichment can happily be easily cleared when this screen shall again be in its old place, and provided with its loft.

The chancel roof is debased, having no collar braces ; the piscina is 13th century. An oblong opening by the priests' door communicated with the annexe.

The north side of the sacarium is occupied by the Lewkenor tomb and Easter sepulchre. The material is firestone ; it is like one at Hamsey and also one at Sittingbourne, Kent. The Lovelaces who erected the latter were allied to the Lewkenors. All three examples have much in common, though varied in design, the date of each seems to be just at the beginning of the 16th century. The example at Kingston-Buci has a table tomb panelled, the table being edged by a deep

champ, which may here have been intended for a painted inscription instead of brass.

The canopy above has a contrary curved arch, single feathered and delicately crocketed. The hollow has a coved miniature vault, the panels of which are

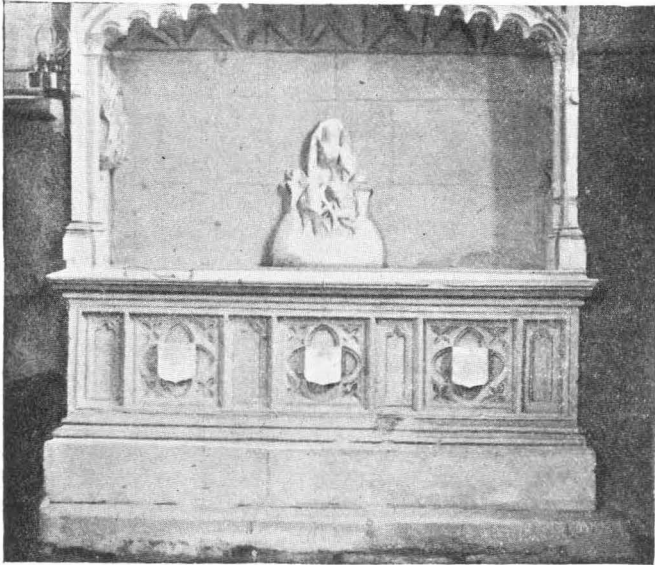


Photo by P. M. Johnston

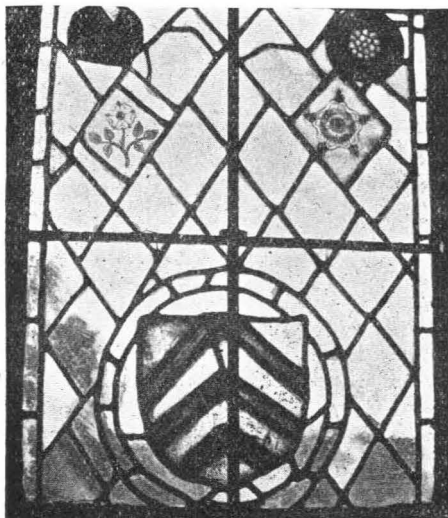
THE LEWKENOR TOMB

diagonally divided into four parts; at the first intersection is a rose, 2nd a crown, 3rd a crown, 4th an angel, 5th a pomgranate, 6th a rose, 7th a rose—each varied.

In the centre of the table under the arch is defaced sculpture representing the sepulchre, with sleeping soldiers in helmets all round. Above the Saviour is rising, scarcely now to be traced. The figure to the east can hardly be interpreted, but the western sculpture is clearly "our blessed Lady of Pity."

It is singular that in the three sepulchre tombs mentioned none of the numerous shields are either charged or painted.

The *glazing of the windows*. Up till the present year the modern glass painter has not appeared; but he is reported to be on the way. All the openings are glazed with plain diamond quarries dating round the past 2½ centuries. Of the original painted glass one quarry charged with a foliated and lipped rose, smear shaded and yellow stained, and an entire shield, have alone survived. The date of the glass is quite at



THE LEWKENOR SHIELD

the end of the 15th century, before the stipple shading was fully established. The charge of the shield (which follows the shape of the period having contrary curved base) is Argent, 3 chevrons azure—for Nicholas Lewkenor. The Lewkenor shield is generally tintured exactly the reverse; but Berry, *Enc. Herald.*, gives the chevrons Or, and Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, under Acryse, Kent, gives the field Argent—the chevrons gules; under Ash and Kingsdown, both near Wrotham, he gives the usual tinctures.

The Revd. Ernest I. Frost, present Rector of Kingston-Buci, at the end of 1919 handed over this glass to the writer. The shield was in the widest improper

flat leads that well nigh hid the glass. Having made a careful dissection, I found three pieces of the field had been renewed in the 18th century, the rest being all late 15th century of that beautiful argent that is not even yet matched by the modern glass manufacturer, the tone of the chevrons, which were quite perfect and had never been cut with a diamond, is also remarkably fine.

The base apex was upside down, which is now rectified. The photographic view by Mr. Wystan Toyne of Hove shows the shield as re-led by the writer, retaining the 18th century pieces: the apex of the upper chevronel required a small piece of ancient glass to be added where a huge lump of solder had been clumsily introduced in front of a fragment of the original argent, which is now seen in place. The quarry has been inserted on the right side of the glazing-panel, and another of intermediate date is added to effect a balance, as well as an eroded ruby rose with yellow centre of the "Intermediate date" of glass painting. The shield has been surrounded by a species of chaplet formed by lead-work.

Of the furniture and fitting of the church, it is on record that the church was re-fitted by the Lewkenors (see Vol. 3 of our *Collections* for pedigree of the family) at the beginning of the 16th century, the benches having carved poppy ends, eleven of which remain, one now at the west end having the Lewkenor shield; the rest are on the sides of the nave gangway, but attached to woodwork of more modern date.

The pulpit has the linen-fold panelling, the whole of this has been sawn and adapted for the present not very convenient arrangement.

The sanctuary rail of later date—Tuscan in character—has been subjected to an attempted arching and cusping!

Near the font is a 17th century singing desk, examples of which are rare; one of rather earlier date still exists at Bobbing, Kent. The Lord's Table is of

17th century date. The present rector has during the past nine years effected very considerable improvement in the interior, and is opposed to certain radical insertions which have been suggested.

The east window, designed in the 14th century style, does not appear to have been suggested by any motive or fragment; it is already beginning to decay; what appears to be a rebate in one of the jambs is simply due to the fact that a small piece of stone was inserted and has, as might be expected, dropped out.

The Quarr abbey stone from the Isle of Wight does not appear in the church, but is seen in the ruin of a dovecot west of the churchyard.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK

BY LEONARD J. HODSON, LL.B.

THE following extracts are taken from a small leather-bound manuscript book (now in the possession of Mr. J. F. Tattersall of Bishopstone, near Lewes) containing "An Account off the payments and Disbursements of Elizabeth widow of John Cowper deceased and by him impowered to act as Overseer in the Roome of one of his daughters till they shall attaine the age of one and twenty years."

John Cowper (or Cooper, as his name is spelt in his will¹ and also in the Salehurst Register, which records his burial on October 31st, 1699) was a well-to-do yeoman who apparently farmed Squibbs Farm on the borders of Etchingham and Salehurst. He left surviving him his wife, Elizabeth (to whom he left "one bedstedle one feather bed and the furniture thereunto belonging and the use of the rest of my household goods that she shall have need of during widowhood"), a son, James, and three daughters—Sara, Elizabeth and Hanna.

The widow, with the assistance of "my Uncle Walker of Nindfield," seems to have kept her accounts and transacted her business as "Overseer" with great care and particularity:—

Paid to Mr. Smith for making my husband's coffin the sum of fifty shillings. paid to doctor Guibs for a journey to my husband in his last sickness and for things had of him 14 shillings. for Gloves given at the funerall for 15 pair of mens gloves at 2s. pair 18 paire of womens at 2 s. a paire for 5 paire of womens had after

¹ Dated 27th July, 1691. The Will contains an interesting scheme for the foundation of a School at Salehurst in the event of all the testator's children predeceasing him.

at 2 s. paire because there were not (enough) for all that were designed to have gloves of them which were sent for first. paide for claret for the funeral of my husband forty shillings and for beear sixteene shillings and to the Clarke for diging of the Grave and Ringing of the Knell to shillings and four pence and to the minister for Reading the Burial two shillings and ten pence.

1699. December the firs. paide the sum of forty shillings to the poor of the parish of Salehurst given to them by John Cowper in his will.

Paide to Mistris Rogers for the Childrens schooling eight shillings and to pence. more for making cloaths for me and the children eleven shillings and sixpence.

For making the Buring suit for my husband two shillings.

December the 12 of 1699 paid for three herriots due to Sir George Stroud lord of the maner of Etchinham and Salhurst² the sum of six guineas vallued at 21 and six pence a guinea for land of John Cowpers lying in Salhurst and seased at the death of the said John Cowper and for a gratuity for straining fifteene shilings and six shillings spent in making up the composition in all seven pound ten shillings.

December the 16 1699 paid to Mr. John Chambers for the personage tythes one pound eight shillings.

Upon the 3d of November paide to Thomas dan for giving a Bulloch a drink three shillings and for his sons work four shillings.

Feb the 14 1699 then paid to William March for two maxins of dung and for paling in of a garden and other things five pounds.

March the 6 1699 then paid to William Hicks Shopkeeper for 6 yards of mill lincenwoolce at 22 a yard to make Sarah Cowper and hanna each of them a peticoat, for 15 els of Changing Cloath for Sarah and Elizabeth Cowper at 16 pence an ell . . . for two pair of stockings for James at ten pence a pair.

March the 25 1700 then paide to my servant maide 95 Shillings for her years wages.

April the 5 1700 then paide my servant man ten pounds six pounds for his last years wages and four pounds that was behind of the year before.

Before March the 12 then paide for Calico 3 yards 5 Shillings and for lace and edging 8 Shillings.

May the 9 1700 Charges and expences about the probate of the will at lewis for transcribing a Cobby of the will to be kept for a Guide for the overseers the original Being left in Coort and for Copping out the Iventory and for writing of a Bond in all three pounds 2 and Six pence.

² This manor seems to have been variously known as that of "Salehurst," "Echingham." "Echingham-cum-Salehurst," and "Salehurst-cum-Echingham." It was afterwards bought by the notorious Sir John Lade, Bart. See *A Short History of Salehurst*, p. 133.

Then paid for Carring of five load of household goods which was late John Cowpers of Salhurst from the parish of Salhurst to the town of Cranbroke the sum of fifty Shillings. paide to nathanel freebody for taking down of my houshould and for seting of it up and for making of a dreser and a Spit Rack the sum of 14 Shillings.

June the 12 1700 then paid to John Smith the sum of ten shillings for a window tax for the year ninety nine for the house called Squibs.

April the 9 1700 then paid to thomas Lord for a pair of stays 17 shillings and for making a manto 2 Shillin.

May the 10 1700 . . . for four pair of Shoos for my four children ten Shillings.

June the 13 1700 then paid to John Leigh for five yards of druget to make a Coat for James Cowper . . . the sum of 15 Shillings for two yards and a half of damask to make a wasket for him at 17 pence a yard for 8 yards of Crape at ten pence a yard to lind the Coate and the skirts of the wasket.

November the 16 1700 then paid to Mr. Leigh for seven ells of Cloath to make shirts for James Cowper at 13 pence an ell seven shillings and seven pence for two yards and a quarter of Callico at five groats a yard for five yards of dimmetry to make a frock for James Cowper at 16 pence a yard for 2 doosen of buttons at 7 pence a dousen for making the frock 2 shillings and six pence.

December the 02 1700 then paid to John avery for half a yard of Shag to graft a pair of Breeches for James 3 shillings and for setting of it on and for Buttons one Shilling.

December the 03 1700 then paid to Mr. James Bulloch for ten weeks skooling for Sarah and Elizabeth Cowper to teach them to write ten shillings.

January the 20 1700. then paid to Mrs. Hamond for teaching of hanna to read for five and forty weeks eight Shillings.

Feb. 1700 then paid to Gooddy Barich for two pair of pattens for my self and Sarah Cowper 2 Shillings and 4 pence.

February the 20 1700 then paid to Goodman Brislanden for four new shelves to set in my Closet three shillings and sixpence and for to new shelves to set in my kitchen three shillings and for an other new shelf one shilling and for a new stolledg one shilling.

March the 20 fifth 1701 then paid to doctor Groombridg Six pounds for a years Rent for my dwelling house paid ten Shilling for a window tax for the same house paid to Goodman Fairhall for two door Locks for to set on at my dwelling house three shillings.

May the 12 1701 then paid to Mr. Leigh for two pair of Bodies for Sarah and Elizabeth Cowper fifteen shillings and sixpence paid at the same time for thirtene yards of stof for hanna Cowper at 15 pence a yard sixteen shilling and three pence.

. . . for a yard and a half of muslin to make head cloaths for Sarah and Elizabeth Cowper six shillings.

May the 03 1701 then paid to tho. Cotterel for making of hanna Cowpers Gown and peticoat one Shilling and ten pence.

From April, 1702, the amounts expended are set out in figures instead of in words as in the earlier part of the book.

About this time Sarah appears to have gone to Ninfield to live with "my Uncle Walker" (who charged two guineas a quarter for her board), and James to "my cousin Walker at Dallington" (who charged £10 a year). Both young people were well-equipped with new clothes for the occasion. Sarah's outfit included "a Riding Gown," "a pair of Bodies," "a maske," and "a bunnet and a pair of gloves," as well as such other necessaries as "dowles (Dowlas) to make Shifts," "blue linnen for aprons," and "A Sherf." Expenditure on James is set out at some length and includes "9 yards of druket to make a Coat and wascoat," "Shag to make Breeches," "Shalooone to lind his Cloaths," and "3 dusen of buttens for his coat." "A little trunk for him and a pair of Gloves . . . two pairs of wosted Stocking," and "a Coome (Comb)" complete the list. Smallpox was a common enough disease in those days and less than a year after James had migrated to Dallington there is recorded a payment to "nurs baker" of £1 12s. 0d. "for tending of James Cowper of ye small pox." The "tending" seems to have been successful, for soon after there occur notes of expenditure on "nick-cloaths," "does skin breeches," and "a pair of glovess for games." The accounts terminate in April, 1703. There was apparently some litigation about John Cowper's will five years later, for the original will (which is now missing) was sent up (Nov. 15th, 1708) to the P.C.C. according to a monition from there, being at the petition of Sarah Hope (als. Cooper), wife of Barham Hope and daughter of the Testator.

NEOLITHIC SPOONS AND BRONZE LOOPS.*

BY J. E. COUCHMAN, F.S.A.

THE two Neolithic clay spoons illustrated were found about eighteen years ago on the boundary of the parishes of Hurstpierpoint and Clayton in Sussex. The main road from Hassocks Railway Station to Hurstpierpoint runs east and west parallel to the Downs, and about one mile from their foot, on a ridge of sand sloping southward. Within two or three hundred yards of the Ham Farm has been found a continuous series of relics from an early date. Pygmy flints have been found in fair numbers; Bronze Age urns, one of the Ashford type, and others of the conical shape, have been unearthed; and a Roman road twenty-seven feet wide has a burying ground by its side. The Ham farmhouse suggests the Heim of Saxon times, the Hill of the hundred adjoins the house, with the "field of the hundred settles" not far removed, and of later days there remain the fulling mill field, the bull-baiting field and the bear stakes.

Some four hundred yards west of the Ham farmhouse and about one hundred yards west of the Roman road, just at the top of a hill known as Wickham Hill, are the cross-roads. That running north and south is, I believe, an old British road, and is the boundary of the parishes previously mentioned; about 150 yards from the cross-way on the south side is a disused sand-pit, on the edge of which a rabbit had scratched out the two spoons. It is to be regretted that some effort was not made at the time to discover the history of these strange things, as three or four years afterwards, when they were understood, it was impossible to identify the exact spot, and excavation led to no result.

* This paper was read by Mr. Couchman at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 13 February, 1919, and is reprinted from the Society's *Proceedings* by kind permission of the Council.

One of these spoons (fig. 1a) is of singular shape, and but for its association with the other would scarcely have been so described. The handle is cylindrical, slightly tapering at the end, the mean diameter is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in., and its length $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. The bowl was fashioned by the finger, and the end of the bowl is turned up at right-angles to the handle. Both spoons are made of dark soft clay mixed with particles of mica or quartz.

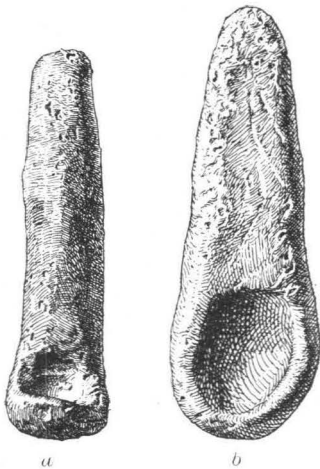


FIG. 1. NEOLITHIC CLAY SPOONS
FOUND IN SUSSEX ($\frac{1}{2}$)

The second object (fig. 1b) is typically a spoon moulded by hand, the bowl was shaped by the thumb, the groove left by the thumb-nail in the paste being easily discovered. The width across the bowl is a little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the total length of the spoon $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. The handle is concave on the front, having been smoothed down by the finger when the paste was soft; the back of the handle is round, the spoon tapers from the widest part of the bowl to the end of the handle, which is round. These spoons are now in the British Museum.

Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., speaking of "Foreign Relations in the Neolithic Period," gives many illustrations by Dolmens, flint Implements and Pottery, of the connection between the Neolithic People of the Mediterranean and the same race in the British Isles, and remarks that these spoons which have just come into notice form another link with the Neolithic Continent¹.

The distribution of these spoons in Europe is irregular, and they generally come from the south. A few have been found in Spain, and two in Asia Minor, while the more northern parts such as Holland,

¹ *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, 1918-1919, Vol. III., Pt. 1.

Denmark, and Slesvig provide each less than half a dozen, and to these may now be added the two found in Sussex.

The more important centres are the Camp de Chassey in the Department of Saône-et-Loire, the Grotte de Nermont at St. Moré, and Priesterhügel in Transylvania, in which places clay spoons have been found in considerable numbers.

The material varies little over the whole area, and usually contains quartz or mica grit. The shapes differ considerably, the handles vary in length, and some are made with a socket at the end of the bowl into which a wooden or horn handle can be inserted. Some handles are curved, and the bowls are either round or oval, sometimes decorated, as in the Schleswig example, with an incised pattern; or as in those of a later date at Priesterhügel, with a painted geometrical ornament covering the entire handle.

M. St. Venant², in a very interesting history of the spoon, says that nine-tenths of his collection came from the Camp de Chassey, and that he regarded this as the principal centre of manufacture. They are found, he says, in Lake-dwellings, in grottos of Neolithic date with cremated interments, but always in stations or workshops of the Neolithic period. By searching the museums of France and the collections of other countries, he discovered more than 650 spoons of different types. Many spoons made of horn have been found associated with Neolithic interments: some of these he illustrates, but does not mention how many of the total of 650 were of clay or of horn. One with a very bent handle was found in a Neolithic grave north of Uzès³ in the province of Gard.

MM. Cartailhac and Chantre⁴ illustrate a spoon from the Grotte de Nermont at St. Moré; it is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, of terra-cotta, with an oval bowl and more or

² J. de St. Venant, *La cuillère à travers les âges*.

³ Frère Sallustien Joseph, *Grotte néolithique de St. Vérédène, Canton d'Uzès*, Nîmes, 1904, pl. 1.

⁴ E. Cartailhac et E. Chantre, *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et naturelle de l'Homme*, pl. 513, fig. 71.

less parallel handle square-ended ; it was found in 1878 with other items of Robenhausen date. This cave has provided so many specimens that it has been called the Grotto of Spoons.

Two illustrations of a similar type of spoon, from the Grotto of Chiaristella in Sicily, now preserved in the museum of Palermo, are given by G. Wilke in his work on the megalithic culture of West Europe⁵.

Pleyte⁶ illustrates two clay spoons, one with the handle broken off, the other with a long bent handle : they were found at Oostergo in Friesland, Holland, and are now in the museum at Hanover.

A spoon, and a bowl of another, illustrated from Priesterhügel in Transylvania⁷ are similar to the rude clay spoons found elsewhere with Neolithic interments,



FIG. 2. SPOON FOUND IN CAVE OF ARENE CANDIDE, LIGURIA (AFTER MORELLI)

and they form part of the large number found in this district (Déchelette says 100⁸). This total, however, includes a very interesting series belonging to a later development, which were found in a different stratum from that of the two spoons previously mentioned. This series presents a remarkable advance in technique. The handles are cylindrical, and were probably burnished before the paste was baked, to receive a painted geometrical pattern. Many are pierced at the end for hanging, but unfortunately all the bowls are broken.

⁵ G. Wilke, *Südwesteuropäische Megalithkultur*, p. 81, p. 57.

⁶ Pleyte, *Nederlandsche Oudheden, Friesland*, pl. 10.

⁷ *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXX, p. 199, figs. 153, 154, 155.

⁸ Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, vol. I, p. 559.

The brothers Siret,⁹ speaking of similar discoveries in Spain, say that at Zapata, four kilometres west of Ifre, and north-west of the station of Parazuelos, there were found two fragments of spoons in terra-cotta, and the finds led to the discovery of thirty-eight burials, all inhumations. At El Argar several fragments of spoons were found, a few sufficiently complete to indicate their original size. One had a large bowl and a very short handle, the latter being broken; and they suggest that it might have been used as a lamp. The longest is four inches, the shortest with scarcely any handle is about two inches. El Argar and Zapata lie near the coast between Gibraltar and Cartagena.

At La Cueva de los Murciélagos, three kilometres from Albuñol, two graves were found with a horn spoon in each, one perforated at the extremity of the handle.

Another spoon of clay with a very long bowl and short handle is illustrated in Morelli's *Iconographia* (fig. 2).¹⁰ It was found in the cavern of the Arene Candide in Liguria. The spoon in the drawing, which I assume to be full size, is $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. in length. Morelli says: "It is of clay, rather fine and homogeneous, abounding in small splinters of mica. Before it was baked it was carefully smoothed with the fleshy part of the finger-tip, as the numerous marks of finger-nails remaining on it testify; it is furnished with a small flattened handle and is much worn at the part opposite the handle." A similar object, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, was found in the cavern of the Pollera, and Istria has furnished several. At Lagozza, in the commune of Bensale, Province of Milan, was found "a small spoon of terra-cotta, black and sparkling."¹¹

More recently a large clay spoon (Haderslev Museum) was found in the northern chamber of one of the Giants' graves at Over Iersdal (fig. 3), with other broken

⁹ Henri et Louis Siret, *Les premiers âges du métal dans le sud-est de l'Espagne*, pl. 23, fig. 78.

¹⁰ Morelli, *Iconografia Ligustica*, 1, pl. xci, fig. 4.

¹¹ *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, tav. 11, fig. 4.

pottery.¹² Round the inside of the large oval bowl are rows of decoration incised with the edge of the cardium or cockle-shell; fragments of other kinds of pottery from the same place show a similar ornamentation in horizontal lines and chevrons. There is a hole in the end of the shank to receive a wooden handle, and it is the largest spoon to which I have found a reference (length, $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

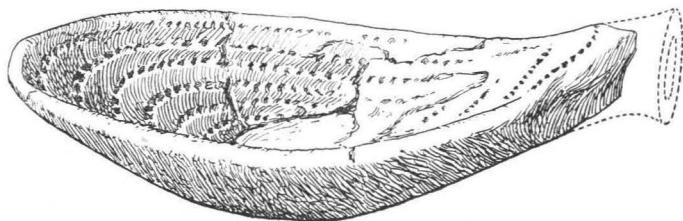


FIG. 3. CLAY SPOON IN HADERSLEV MUSEUM ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Spoons illustrated¹³ from Sarka, near Prague, Bohemia, follow the ordinary model; but nothing is stated except that all the objects on the plate of illustrations were found together and are of the late Neolithic period (fig. 4).

Dr. Sophus Müller¹⁴ speaks of a spoon of clay with a round flat bowl, and with a socket in which to fix a wooden handle, similar to that found in a Giant's Chamber in Holland. This also was found in a grave.

Southern Bulgaria is represented by two small specimens,¹⁵ and my last quotation is from Schliemann¹⁶: "Very curious are the little terra-cotta spoons, which, as they are so slightly baked, may have been used by the Troyan metallurgists; similar spoons are very rare at Hissarlik." These spoons were found in the ruins of the second city, and Schliemann further says

¹² *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1914-15, fig. 61, Copenhagen.

¹³ Pič, *Cěchy přědhistorické*, 1 pl. 71, fig. 17, et pl. 41, fig. 9, 10.

¹⁴ S. Müller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager, Stenalderen*, No. 238-9.

¹⁵ *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, vi, 1914, 84, Southern Bulgaria.

¹⁶ Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 410.

that a broken spoon of identical shape was found in a settlement of the Stone Age at Inzighofen. Three other specimens were found at Dozmat in the county of Vas, and at Tisza Ugh in the county of Heves in Hungary. A broken terra-cotta spoon was discovered

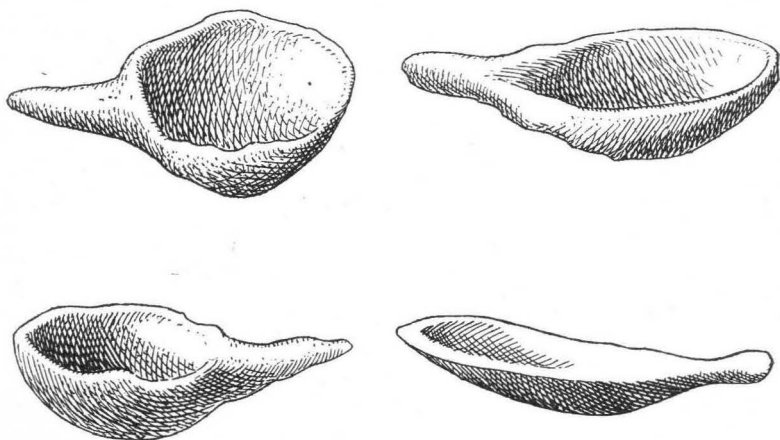


FIG. 4. SPOONS FROM SARKA, BOHEMIA (AFTER PIC)

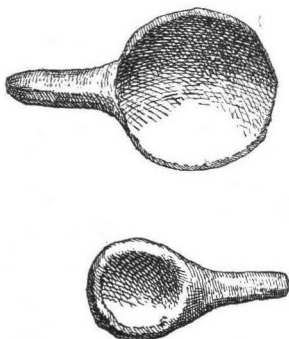


FIG. 5. SPOONS FROM TROY, 2ND CITY AFTER SCHLIEMANN (½)

at Szihalom, and is exhibited in the museum at Buda-Pesth. Two were found in a lake-dwelling of the Stone Age at the station of Auvèrnier, Lake of Neuchâtel, and at the station of Gérofin in the Lake of Biènnè.

There are a few other references,¹⁷ some of which have proved inaccessible; others no doubt exist, but are unknown to me; but the above are sufficient to show that these spoons are found throughout middle and southern Europe, in fact from Spain to Asia Minor. They appear occasionally in pairs, but so indefinitely that nothing can be deduced from the fact. There seems, however, general agreement on two points: (1) That these clay spoons belong to the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age; (2) that in nearly all cases they have been found with interments, and therefore formed part of the obsequies of the dead.

In ruins of lake-dwellings, Lochlee Crannog, Ayrshire, horn spoons were found; and W. G. Wood Martin, in *Pagan Ireland*, describes a small spoon made from the vertebra of some animal.

Whatever burial rite may have been connected with these spoons, the transition from this rude type to the carefully-modelled and elaborately-painted spoons at Priesterhügel suggests continuity through a lengthened period, and we might even look for its survival in the Bronze Age.

In the British Museum are two bronze spoons, one found in the Thames, and one in Thames Street, London, also a pair found at Crosby Ravensworth, Cumberland.¹⁸ There are two similar spoons from Weston, Bath; two from Penrhyn, Cardiganshire; two from Llanfair, Denbighshire; and two pairs at Dublin. Two found at Pogny, Marne,¹⁹ in the grave of a woman, lay one within the other inside a small vase; and two found at Upper Walmer, Deal, with a skeleton laid at full length north-east by south-west, were on either side of the skull.²⁰

¹⁷ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1873. *Revue Archéologique*, xiv, 2nd series, 1866. Marchesetti, *Caverna di Caprovizza presso Trieste*, p. 29, pl. v, fig. 17. J. Teutsch, *Die spätneolithischen Ansiedlungen mit bemalter Keramik; Mittheil. der prähist. Com. Wien*, 1903, p. 371. Hoernes, *Neolithische Wohnstätten bei Troppau*, p. 411.

¹⁸ *Arch. Cambrensis*, 3rd ser., VIII., p. 208; and *Arch. Journ.*, XXVI., p. 52.

¹⁹ Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, vol. II., p. 1276.

²⁰ *Arch. Cantiana*, XXVI., p. 12.

These bronze spoons are too shallow to have held more than a very insignificant quantity of liquid. Is it possible that they may have contained butter?

Of the eighteen there were no less than seven pairs, one spoon of each pair having a cross extending to the edge of the bowl; the fellow is plain, but has a hole drilled close to the margin, always on the right side of the spoon as drawn. The two from London were odd spoons found at different places. The two from Pogny are slightly different in arrangement: one quite plain with no hole, and its fellow with a cross which is pierced in the centre.

The pairs of spoons from Pogny and Upper Walmer clearly indicate that they served a similar purpose to the spoons of clay, and it is possible that these bronze objects were a metal development of the simple Neolithic type of clay. There is a considerable hiatus between the highly decorated spoons of Transylvania and these of Celtic bronze, but we may hope some day to discover the intermediate types.

The second part of my paper refers to bronze and miscellaneous objects kindly lent for exhibition by Mrs. Weekes, of Hurstpierpoint.

The two bronze loops (fig. 6) are identical in shape with sixteen others, which appear to have been of local manufacture, as thirteen of the total were found in, or within a few miles of, Brighton. Three were found at Handcross, and of the remaining two there is no record, but they were thought to have been found in Surrey.

Of the two loops exhibited, one is a coiled rod of circular section 9 mm. or $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. The loop is nearly circular, being $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the inside. The ends are bent over and hammered, and there is no decoration. It was once well covered with green oxide, much of which has now disappeared. In the second case the rod is of quadrangular section, 7 mm. between the flat faces; the diameter of the loop is $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., and the ends are treated in the same way as before. The decoration on the angle of the rod can only be seen at one or two places, and is most

noticeable where the end of the fastening turns over the loop proper; it resembles the teeth of a fine saw partly filed down. It is similar in this respect to all the other loops made of quadrangular rod, and its condition is like the first. These bronze loops were found about seventy years ago at Pycombe, west of the Cowdown. About 1846 the Sussex Archaeological Society was founded, an event which may have been the cause or the result of much archaeological activity, and the opening of many of the tumuli on the Downs may possibly account for several Bronze Age finds about that time.

The remaining sixteen loops have been somewhat widely dispersed, but the whole may be identified as follows:

- 2 found at Pycombe (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. VIII., p. 285); now in possession of Mrs. Weekes, Hurstpierpoint.
- 3 found at Handcross (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, 1917); 1 in possession of British Museum; 1 in possession of Blackgate Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne; 1 supposed to be in the Great Chesters Museum.
- 4 found at Hollingbury Hill, Brighton (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. II., p. 267); British Museum.
- 2 found in tumulus near Lewes Road, Brighton (*ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 265, and *Alnwick Castle Museum Catalogue*, Nos. 273, 274).
- 2 said to have been found in Surrey (*Surrey Arch. Coll.*, Vol. I., p. 7); British Museum.
- 2 found at 133 Bonchurch Road, Brighton, 1 mile from Hollingbury Castle (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XVIII., p. 409); British Museum.
- 3 found at Blackrock, Brighton (*ibid.*, XXVIII., 157); bought from the Greenwell Coll. by Mr. C. T. Trechmann, F.G.S.

These bronze loops belong to the third period of the Bronze Age (about 1000 B.C.).

There are two fine wire bracelets of somewhat similar design in the British Museum, one found in

Heathery Burn Cave, Co. Durham, the other in a little stream in Anglesey. There seems little reason to connect these objects except in point of age, the design is so primitive that it may as well have been conceived in Wales as in Sussex.

The brooch illustrated at the side of the loops (fig. 6) is of bronze, decorated with seven bands of lines encircling the body. It has a long catch at the foot, and one coil only of the spring at the head. The type is well known and may be dated about 800 B.C. It was found at Clayton, at the foot of the Downs, six miles north of Brighton, and may be added to the growing list of such discoveries in Britain.

Three bronze palstaves (fig. 7) are from different moulds; of the two larger, one is flat between the flanges; the other is concave, and was found on Clayton Hill. The third came from a large barrow south-west of the camp, on the Devil's Dyke at Poynings. They are each $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length.

The small palstave is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and was found on Wolstanbury Hill. All three of these weapons belong to the middle period of the Bronze Age, contemporary with the loops.

The small vessel called an incense cup (fig. 8) was found in a large barrow on Clayton Hill. The height is $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., the diameter of the base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., and of the mouth $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.; its profile is angular in the middle, where the diameter increases to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the lower half of the side has twenty-two vertical incisions about one inch in length; the upper half is impressed with cord pattern very similar to that on a cup in the British Museum of the same type from Roughbridge Hill in Wiltshire.

Inside this cup was found a pendant of bright blue faience similar to those described by Sir Arthur Evans in February, 1908 (*Proceedings*, XXII., p. 124). It is described as quoit-shaped, with an attached loop, and an illustration is given in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, VIII., p. 285. This pendant is of Egyptian origin, and Sir Arthur goes on to say that if these pendants

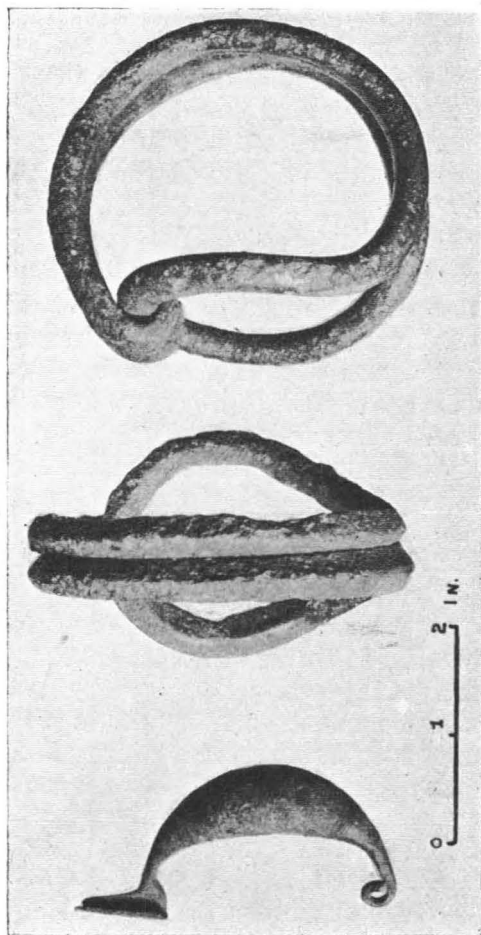


FIG. 6. BRONZE LOOPS FOUND AT PYCOMBE, AND BROOCH FROM CLAYTON, SUSSEX

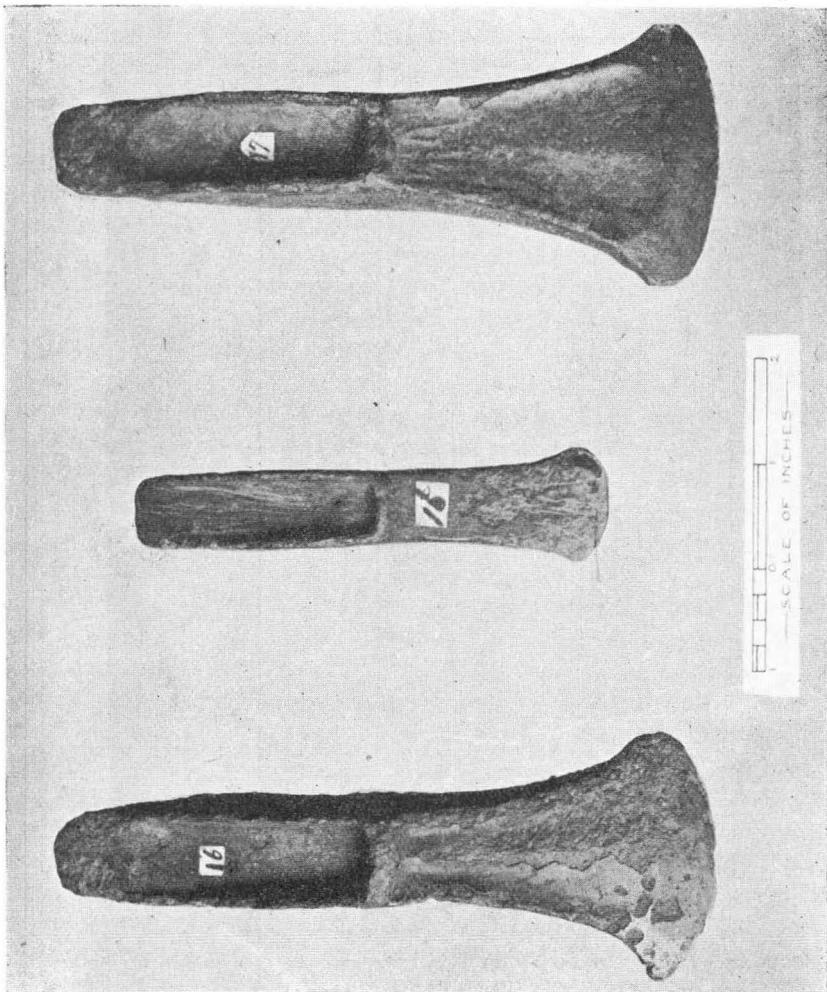


FIG. 7. BRONZE PALSTAVES FROM CLAYTON AND POYNINGS, SUSSEX

and beads of the same material reached the Bronze Age inhabitants of Britain through Phoenician agency, it is highly improbable that this could have taken place earlier than 1100 B.C.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr. Reginald Smith for his generous help on many occasions, and particularly



FIG. 8. INCENSE CUP AND PENDANT OF BLUE FAIENCE FOUND AT CLAYTON, SUSSEX ($\frac{1}{2}$)

for providing references and other material for this paper.

Mr. Reginald Smith drew attention to the occurrence in France of pottery spoons in burials after cremation: there was good evidence of that rite in the Neolithic period abroad, but in Britain the dead were not regularly cremated till the latter part of the Bronze Age. The horn specimen found in a beaker near Inverurie, Aberdeenshire,²¹ suggested the ceremonial use of spoons

²¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, VII., p. 561; XVII., p. 456.

in the early Bronze Age; and if offerings of butter were made in them, the continued use of *ghi* or clarified butter in southern Asia might be quoted as a parallel. One of the palstaves exhibited was said to come from a barrow: very few discoveries of the kind were recorded, perhaps owing to the introduction of cremation about the middle of the Bronze Age, when that type came into use. Another exhibit was of special interest as throwing some light on the chronology of the incense cup, and incidentally on the length of the Bronze Age in Britain. A similar ring with loop, of turquoise faience, had been found at Lewes, and beads of the same material had been connected by the President²² with Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1500 B.C.).

The President was inclined to agree with regard to the Neolithic date of the large family of spoons shown on the screen: in Crete they belonged also to the early Copper Age; and a deposit, evidently of votive character, consisting of a clay object shaped like horns, and a quantity of spoons or ladles also of clay, had been found there under a later settlement by an American explorer. In Troy they also belonged to the age of metal, but throughout Europe they were commonly Neolithic. The absence of any associated objects in the present instance was unfortunate. He thought it dangerous to compare antiquities widely separated in time and space, and pointed out that fifteen centuries separated the pottery and bronze spoons of Britain. In thanking the author for the exhibition, he expressed his gratification that the spoons were destined for the British Museum.

²² *Proceedings*, XXII., p. 125.

SANCTUARY IN SUSSEX.

BY H. MICHELL WHITLEY,

Past Hon. Secretary Sussex Archaeological Society.

THE story of the sanctuaries and sanctuary seekers of Sussex has been practically ignored by our historians ; and no paper on the subject (with the exception of a few cases) has been printed in our " Collections," although the subject is of great interest, and the details throw a vivid light on the laws and life of the country in mediæval times.

There were two classes of sanctuaries ; firstly, the sanctuary rights for a limited period of forty days, which belonged to every consecrated church and chapel with their graveyards ; and secondly, the chartered sanctuary with rights for a lifetime, which extended about a leuga, or a mile and a half, from the church in all directions. These were granted by Kings to specially favoured Abbeyes and Minsters.

St. John of Beverley, St. Cuthbert of Durham, and Westminster Abbey were some of the greater sanctuaries of England.

Sussex possessed a great chartered sanctuary in Battle Abbey. William the Conqueror, in fulfilment of a vow, built this Abbey, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Martin, on the site of the battle field. Amongst other privileges he endowed it with a " leuga " or league of land around the abbey in every direction, entirely free from all subjection to bishops or others. If any person guilty of murder, manslaughter, or any other crime, should through fear of death take refuge within the " leuga " he should receive no injury ; and if the Abbot should chance to meet any capitally condemned thief or other criminal, he should be at liberty to release him from punishment.

In 1364 the Abbot of Battle going to London met a felon condemned to the gallows, and by his prerogative saved him from death ; and although the King and

magnates of the realm were greatly offended, the Abbot produced his charter of liberties before Parliament and established his right.

There were heavy penalties for the violation of sanctuaries, increasing as the distance from the centre lessened.

The right of sanctuary was very early recognised, and well known in Roman times, and the custom of granting protection to criminals probably came into existence about the beginning of the fourth century. Its first mention in English history is in the laws of Ethelbert, King of Kent in 597, which enforce the sanctity of churches, laying down that the violation of church-frith is to be punished by a fine double that of an ordinary breach of the King's peace. Violations of sanctuary were exceedingly rare; as a rule its privileges were profoundly respected, but a very interesting case where heavy penalties were enforced occurred at Arundel on 6th March, 1404,¹ the escaping criminal being dragged away from the handle of the door of the cloisters, to which he was clinging.

The Cistercian Abbeys claimed a complete right of permanent sanctuary, though not of late times exercised. This claim, however, was founded only on papal authority, whilst English judges held that creating any permanent hindrance in the way of justice by sanctuary could only be based on royal charters.²

The privilege of sanctuary in churches did not extend to those who had committed sacrilege or were heretics.

The adjoining townships had mutual responsibilities in the administration of justice, and the police system of Mediaeval England was largely based on the principle of the responsibility of men of the neighbourhood. The Hundred was accountable for murder and robbery; the township for homicide committed during the daytime, the tithing for the crimes of its inhabitants.

¹ *Rede's Register* (Sussex Record Soc.), pp. 106-7; *Sussex Arch. Collections* Vol. VIII.

² Cox, *Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers*, p. 192.

Four was the usual number of neighbouring vills, but sometimes three, five or more are included, and the responsibilities imposed on them were numerous and burdensome.³

The amercement paid for a murder was first introduced by Canute, and was afterwards continued by William the Conqueror for the security of the Normans ; for if the murdered person was English the Hundred was excused from this burden. In the time of Edward III. this distinction was abolished.

The origin of the Coroners' office is usually ascribed to the eyre of 1194, but there is evidence that Coroners of counties and boroughs were appointed before that date. In the 13th and 14th centuries there were four Coroners in every county. Their tenure of office was for life and they had to be substantial men, so that they might answer to the King and people. Their chief function was to hold inquests on the bodies of those who had died by violence, or accident, or perished in prison.

It was one of the duties of the Coroner when a man fled to a church to summon the neighbours and the representatives of the four nearest townships to form a jury at a certain day at the church where a fugitive was, and receive the confession of the crime, and if he or she chose to abjure the realm, the Coroner was to arrange it, but if he did not pray for abjuration he was to be handed over to the township to be kept safely at their peril. The formal abjuration of the realm by a criminal who took sanctuary in a church dates from the early part of the 13th century, and such a custom was almost unknown on the continent.

Criminals taking sanctuary were prohibited to carry any kind of weapon into a church and its precincts ; and whilst the church was bound to provide food for a fugitive, the watching to prevent an escape was thrown on the township, which was fined if this happened.

The procedure on taking sanctuary was as follows :—

³ *Select Coroners' Rolls* (Selden Society), pp. 18-20.

The criminal fled to a church, where he was sheltered and fed for forty days, as before mentioned, and before the expiration of that period he had either to abjure the realm on oath before the coroner, or surrender himself for trial, in case the prosecutor could not be pacified; the fugitive had a port allotted to him which he had to reach within a certain period, and take the first ship for abroad; he was clad in sackcloth and carried a cross in his hand. He was allowed to leave the king's highway for a short distance under great necessity or for sleep and food, but if he left it permanently, or returned to the kingdom, he was liable to be taken and hanged. This duty was laid on the townships concerned.

The right of sanctuary under protection of the church softened the harsh penalties of the English law. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries hanging was the almost invariable punishment for all offences, even in such a matter as a theft of the value of a few pence. Sanctuary substituted transportation for life for capital punishment.

The custom of taking sanctuary at Rye differed from the usual rule, and is described in the Customal of the town written in 1568; the following being the procedure:—

“When any man taketh the degree of the holy church the Mayor (as Coroner) shall go unto him to enquire the cause why he runneth to holy church; and if he will acknowledge his felony, let it be recorded, and immediately he loseth all his goods and chattles as forfeited, of which the Mayor shall answer unto the town; and, if he will, he may remain in the church and churchyard by the space of forty days, and at the end of forty days, he shall forsake the land. And he sitting upon the churchyard stile, before the Mayor, shall his own self choose his port of passage, and in case he shall make his abjuration within forty days, he shall be accepted, and anon, the abjuration done, he shall take cross, and the Mayor shall do to be proclaimed, in the King's name, that no man, upon the pain of life and member, shall do him harm or molestation all the while he keepeth the King's highway towards the port that he hath chosen for his passage.”

Dover was the most usual port of embarkation assigned by the coroner to criminals who abjured the

realm, even when it involved a journey of many days, as the sea passage was shorter to the continent.

The Coroner's Rolls very often name the port, but the Assize rolls very rarely. In Sussex, Winchelsea and Shoreham would be the favourite ports, which accounts for fugitives flying to the churches near these towns owing to the shorter journey to the ship.

There was a general decay of reverence for sanctuary in the 15th century, mainly caused by the small respect shown by our Kings for these immunities when they sheltered their enemies, and in the reign of Henry VIII. sanctuary rights were much crippled and curtailed; and all forms of sanctuary in church and churchyard were abolished in the twenty-first year of the reign of James the First.

The cases of sanctuary-taking are to be found in the early Coroners' and Assize Rolls. Unfortunately there are none of the former for Sussex at the Public Record Office, but there are a series of early Assize Rolls containing sanctuary cases; in these the port of embarkation assigned to the fugitive is not given; the main reason of the entries on these rolls being to secure to the King the value of the forfeited goods of the criminals; in some cases these amounted to a considerable sum, but the bulk of the fugitives were destitute, or possessed only of chattels worth a few pence.

Although mediaeval gaols had thick walls and heavily barred windows, whilst the prisoners were ironed, escapes after capture were frequent, not only when shut up in the gaol, but also when being taken there, probably in many cases by the connivance of their guard; and these Assize Rolls contain many such instances. Another point to which attention may be drawn is that in numerous cases the fugitives avoided sanctuaries near at hand, and fled to more distant churches. The reason for this is that the townships and their officials were fined if they allowed a criminal to escape. Warning was given probably by the sounding of a horn, and all would be on the alert to intercept the culprit as he fled to the church; the fear

of this led sanctuary seekers, therefore, to choose a more distant refuge. Again churches at or near a port were more favourably situated for embarkation and were therefore frequently selected.

It would be impossible within the limits of a paper to print the numerous cases of sanctuary seeking contained in the Assize Rolls for Sussex, and the following are therefore selected as examples. In a few cases I have been unable to identify the churches, and I have also in several instances slightly abbreviated the entries.

Assize Roll 909 A ; 33rd Henry III., 1248-9; contains eleven cases of sanctuary seeking and the churches to which the criminals fled were: Chichester Cathedral, Arundel, West Dean, "Horminges," Shoreham, Sompting, Tarring, Lewes, Malling, Kingston, "Stortefeud" (in Steyning Hundred), Tarring Neville, and Eastbourne; four confessed to murder and the others to theft.

HUNDRED OF BOX (m. 20).

Alexander de Hedingham killed Geoffrey de Horminges in his house in Horminges and he fled to the church of Horminges and confessed the same, and abjured the realm, and he was of the tithing of William Met of Horminges therefore he is in mercy (subject to a fine). His chattels were worth 2s. 7d. for which the sheriff will answer, and Beatrice wife of the aforesaid Geoffrey fled to the aforesaid church and abjured the realm.

HUNDRED OF LOXFIELD (m. 31).

Unknown malefactors came in the night to the house of Aldith of Bokstede (Buxted) and killed Aldith and her daughter Alice; and Gilbert de la Hethe, and Simon Alry were accused of the death of the aforesaid Aldith and Alice; and they fled to the church of Meauling (South Malling) and Gilbert confessed before the Coroner and abjured the realm, but Simon was found not guilty.

BOROUGH OF LEWES (m. 32).

Henry the son of Ralph the chaplain of Lewes stole 7s. 10d. from his father's chest and fled to the Church of St. Mary of Lewes; afterwards Bartholomew the clerk and Thomas the scrivener of Lewes carried him off from the church and put him in the house of the Friars Minor of Lewes. He remained there for ten days, and then escaped. It was testified that they were all clerks; and no felony had been committed, *nisi quaedam presumpcio*.

HUNDRED OF GUESTLING (m. 27).

Roger Brun put himself in the church of St. Cross and abjured the realm before Thomas Russell, catchpole (*cacherellum*) of Roger de Sakinden, bailiff, without view of the coroner. Therefore the township of Gesteling is amerced.

HUNDRED OF BRIGHTFORD (m. 23).

Robert Hocky, accused of theft, was arrested by William Faukener the King's bailiff, and imprisoned at Suntinges (Sompting). He escaped to the church of Suntinges and was allowed to come out, the whole tithing of Storketon (Storrington) guaranteeing that he would appear before the Justices. He has not done so; therefore the tithing (11 persons named) is in mercy.

Assize Roll 912; 47th, Henry III., 1262; contains twenty-eight cases, the churches being: Fairlight (2), Icklesham, Playden (hospital and church), Ninfield, St. Mary of Battle, "Brecceslegh" (in the half-hundred of Denne), Malling, Sutton, St. John of Lewes, Cuckfield, Aldrington, Chiltington, Steyning (the thief escaped after spending three weeks in the church), Broadwater (2), Shoreham (2), Angmering (2), St. Nicholas of Arundel, Tillington, Parham, Siddlesham, Westbourne, West Marden, Woolbeding, Singleton, St. Michael outside the East Gate of Chichester.

(m. 45.) William le Carreter, alderman of Eswrithe, and Walter Tracy, alderman of Rotherbridge, arrested John Wymund for theft and bound him. He escaped right through the church of Petteworth to the wood of Rotsford and afterwards put himself in the church of Perram (Parham), confessed many thefts and abjured the realm. No chattels; he was a wandering stranger.

(m. 47 d.) Alice de Langeport fled to the church of St. Michael outside the East Gate of Cycestre for theft and abjured the realm before the coroner of the city. Henry Kitellere, Mayor of Cycestre, and others came and took Alice from the church to Portsmouth and did not allow the King's forinsec coroner (*i.e.* the county coroner) to perform his office. They claimed that the church was within the Liberty of the city, but a jury of neighbouring hundreds said it was in the hundred of Boxe, as there was a church of St. Pancras, which was nearer to the city and that hundred was once fined 100s. for the escape of a thief therefrom.

The Assize Rolls 915 to 921 (7th Edward I., 1278) are records of the same eyre and repeat one another, though some cases are recorded in one roll and not in another: 921 is the fullest and contains practically all

the cases. The following churches occur: Ticehurst, Folkington, Uckfield, Lewes, St. Mary of Westout (3), Southover, Salehurst, St. Bartholomew of Winchelsea (*i.e.* Playden Hospital), Crawley, Steyning (2), Goring, Tarring, Shoreham (2), Bidlington, Albourne, Chichester Cathedral, St. Pancras of Chichester, East Wittering, Singleton, Bosham (2), and Petworth.

ASSIZE ROLL 915.

HUNDRED OF SWANBOROUGH (m. 11).

John Cosin slew John Testar (who had tried to stop him beating his wife), striking him with a stick on the head, of which wound he died. John Cosin fled and put himself in the church of Westute and before the coroner abjured the realm. His chattels are worth 5s. and he was in the tithing of Weremond de Wynterbourne in Westout, therefore he is in mercy. No Englishry was presented; therefore a murder fine upon the hundred. And the townships of Kingeston, Iford and Westout did not come to the inquisition in full numbers; therefore they are in mercy; and the vill of Suthenouer did not make a presentment; therefore it is in mercy.

HUNDRED OF SHOREHAM (m. 19).

Isabel who was the wife of John Chaper of Beding put herself in the church of Shoreham, and confessed before the coroner to homicide of her two children, and abjured the realm. She had no chattels; and because this happened in the daytime and yet the vill did not take her (when she fled to the church) therefore it is in mercy.

HUNDRED OF BRIGHTFORD (m. 20).

Robert Shaldewyn and Richard the son of Muriel contended together in the vill of Findon, and Robert killed Richard, and three neighbours came and are not suspected; and Gilbert le Coueror one of the neighbours did not come to the inquest, and he was attached by William Frewyn and John le Clerk therefore they are in mercy. And the aforesaid Robert fled and put himself in the great church of Chichester and there before the coroner of Chichester confessed and abjured the realm. He had no chattels but was in the household of Ralph Cucku of Fyndon; therefore he is in mercy. No Englishry was proved; therefore a fine upon the hundred; and the townships of Washington, Clapham, Offington and Broadwater did not come in full number to the inquisition before the coroner; therefore they are in mercy.

ASSIZE ROLL 921.

HUNDRED OF GUESTLING (m. 1).

John Monin of Doggestrete put himself into the church of St. Bartholomew of Winchelsey, and confessed that he had committed homicide, and abjured the realm before the coroner; his chattels were worth 20s. for which the sheriff will answer, and he was in the tithing of Icklesham, therefore it is in mercy.

HUNDRED OF HENHURST (m. 6).

Christiana de Ivechirche in the county of Kent was taken on suspicion of theft and put in the prison of the Abbot of Robertsbridge at Rechelond and she escaped from the prison and she fled to the church of Salehurst, and there before the coroner abjured the realm. She had no chattels, nor was she in a tithing, as she was a stranger.

HUNDRED OF BUNTINGHILL (m. 12d.).

Walter Curleu and Odo the son of Cristiana Snelling were in a certain tavern in the vill of Worth and there the aforesaid Odo struck the aforesaid Walter with a certain pike in the head of which he died. Odo was captured, and led to the prison of Lewes, and there was in the custody of Hamelin the porter of Lewes, who holds the prison in fee, and he escaped from his custody and fled to the church of St. Nicholas of Crauele (Crawley) and there confessed to homicide before the coroner, and abjured the realm. He had no chattels and was in the tithing of Roger of Kissmere in Worth, therefore he is in mercy, and because the twelve made no mention of the abjuration, therefore they are in mercy.

BOROUGH OF LEWES (m. 14d.).

Guichard, serjeant of the Prior of Lewes, Hugelin le Porter, Janin le Boteler, Emery le Palfreyman, Reynold the Cook, and John de Acres, clerk, men of the Prior of Lewes, were at the tavern of Roger Tympan of Lewes. Six persons were sent by Oliver fil' Ernys, bailiff of Lewes, to arrest John de Acres. A fight ensued in which Robert Wodecok and Laurence Cook were killed. Guichard and the rest (except John de Acres) fled to the Priory church and abjured the realm. No chattels: they were of the household of the Prior, who is in mercy.

[The widow of Robert Wodecok lodged an appeal against Prior John de Tyng and 24 monks (named, including John de Acres) and various officials of the priory for aiding and abetting the murder but did not prosecute.]

HUNDRED OF EASEWRITHE (m. 23d.).

Philip son of Adam le Lechur was hanged at Petteworth for theft, but by the breaking of the rope escaped alive, and flying to the refuge of the church, abjured the realm. The King, at the request of Eleanor de Percy, pardoned him and cancelled his abjuration.

BOROUGH OF ARUNDEL (m. 21).

John Simelecher put himself in the church of St. Nicholas of Arundel and confessed that he was a horse thief, and abjured the realm before the coroner. And because the coroner allowed him to choose what port he liked, when he ought to have assigned him a port; therefore his action is to be inquired into. And because the coroner (of the Borough) with the whole township of Arundel carried out the abjuration without the coroner *de forinseco* (i.e. the county coroner), whereas they ought to summon him into the banlieu of Arundel to take abjurations, as appears by the roll of the last eyre; therefore their action is to be enquired into.

The Assize Rolls for 16th Edward 1st (1287) which are contained in the Plea Rolls Nos. 924, 926, 928, and 930, are in main duplicates, although some few churches which are included in one of the rolls are omitted in others and vice versa. Rolls were prepared for each itinerant judge and one for the crown. It is therefore necessary to take them in one list, including all the churches mentioned. Roll No. 924, marked Rex for the King, No. 926 Boylund, No. 928 Hoptone, No. 930, unmarked, but probably Roff. The following are the churches to which the fugitives fled mentioned in these rolls:—

Church of the Lepers of Winchelsea, Salehurst, "Foxyerle" (a blunder for Bexhill), Horsted Keynes, Wilmington, Uckfield, the Priory and the Church of the Friars Minor at Lewes, Brighton, Barcombe, Worth, Willingdon, Chiltington, Ditchling, Wivelsfield, Ninfield, All Saints and St. Michael of Lewes, Steyning, Shoreham (2), Broadwater, Angmering, St. Nicholas of Arundel, Chithurst, Tangmere, Eartham, Chichester Cathedral, Pagham, Racton, Church of the Friars Minor at Chichester, St. Michaels without the East Gate, Chichester, Preaching Friars of Chichester, Selmeston, Hartfield, Rotherfield, Hellingly, Frant, Hurstpierpoint, Crawley, Ferring, Warmhurst, Findon, Wanningore, Sompting.

ASSIZE ROLL NO. 924.

HUNDRED OF HENHURST (m. 46).

Gilbert Cokshete broke the prison at Burwash, and, being pursued, put himself in the church of Salehurst in the daytime, and confessed he was a robber and had broken prison, and abjured the realm

before the coroner. He had no chattels, nor was he in a tithing, as he was a stranger, and the vill of Salehurst did not take him (when he fled to the church) therefore it is in mercy.

HUNDRED OF LONGBRIDGE (m. 52).

A certain William Dew, being pursued by the vill of Heylesham, put himself in the church of Wylington and confessed that he had killed Walter Wynter and William de Leukestrode, and abjured the realm before the coroner. His chattels were worth 3d. for which the sheriff will answer, and he was in the tithing of Richard le Palmer in Wylington therefore he is in mercy and because the vill of Wylington did not capture him therefore it is in mercy.

HALF-HUNDRED OF NETHERFIELD (m. 45).

Daniel de Beleme was arrested for theft, taken to the next Courtleet (*lestum*), held outside the gate of the Castle of Hastings before Robert Passelegh, steward of John of Brittany, and condemned to be hanged; while he was confessing to a chaplain before being hanged, there came Robert le Bule, chaplain, John de Lewes, then chaplain of the Castle of Hastings, John de Dover, then clerk of the Castle, Philip, chaplain of Tycheshurst, and others, and with armed force rescued Daniel and caused him to escape to a church in the castle, in which he remained for eight days, and afterwards they came and took him out of the church and caused him to cross (the sea) in a boat; Robert Passelegh was fined 10 marks because he allowed the rescue and did not set a guard round the church.

ASSIZE ROLL 926.

HUNDRED OF STEYNING (m. 17).

Peter Gitarer of Steyning and Adam Sorel in the eighth year of the king's reign, killed John de Wycham in the town of Steyning; and Peter fled and put himself in the church of Steyning and confessed that he had killed the aforesaid John, and abjured the realm before the coroner. He had no chattels and he was of the household of Reginald de Lychepeol therefore he is in mercy, and the vill of Steyning did not take him (when he fled to the church) therefore it is in mercy. No Englishry was presented therefore a judgment for murder on the hundred. And the vills of Lancing and Broadwater did not come to the enquiry before the coroner therefore they are in mercy.

ASSIZE ROLL No. 928.

BOROUGH OF ARUNDEL (m. 19d.).

Robert de la Ware and William de Ofham Clerk in the eleventh year of the King's reign were quarrelling in the house of the aforesaid Robert within the banlieu of Arundel, and Robert killed William, and Robert immediately fled and put himself in the church of Saint Nicholas of Arundel, and confessed his crime, and abjured the realm before the coroner. His chattels were worth 11s. 2d.

for which the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem will answer. He was in the tithing of Richard de Ofham of South Stoke, therefore he is in mercy. And the twelve jurymen concealed the aforesaid felony, therefore they are in mercy.

ASSIZE ROLL NO. 930.

BOROUGH OF LEWES (m. 13d.).

John atte yard, put himself in the church of the Friars Minor of Lewes and confessed that he had killed William the cook of the Prior of Lewes at Hadham in the County of Essex and abjured the realm before the coroner. He had no chattels, nor was he in a tithing, because he was a stranger, and because this happened by day and the vill of Lewes did not take him therefore it is in mercy.

We may end our selection of extracts on a lighter note with an entry which shows that the practical joker was not unknown in the thirteenth century:—

Assize Roll 924, m. 62d.—Walter le Bal was committed to prison because he made Gilbert Ede put himself in the church of Arundel out of fright, because he gave Gilbert to understand that the Justices here hung men here for a penny.

Assize Roll No. 932. 16th Edward 1st, 1287. In this roll the abjuration cases are not marked in the margin as usual.

Assize Roll No. 933, 32nd Edward 1st, 1304-5. Fragmentary and much damaged. It begins with the Borough of Lewes. No abjuration cases in the 5 membranes of which it consists.

There are also at the Public Record Office numerous mixed Assize Rolls of various counties, these contain certain Assize Rolls relating to Sussex, but they have not been searched for the purpose of this paper.

Before closing this paper I wish to express my cordial thanks to our Hon. Editor for invaluable assistance in its compilation, and also for contributing several additional cases of very great interest.

AN ELIZABETHAN RETURN OF THE STATE OF THE DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER

BY V. J. B. TORR.

EMBODIED in Volume 594 of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, and comprising folios 109-115b inclusive, may be found a hitherto unpublished document of considerable Sussex interest, belonging to the opening years of the reign of Elizabeth. This document forms one of a series of episcopal replies to an order directed by the Privy Council in the summer of the year 1563 to every archbishop and bishop in England, requiring information upon certain specified points as to the state of their respective dioceses. Having in view the national and official character of these returns it is a matter for regret that the collection is not entirely complete, since several dioceses are now unrepresented; and of those which fortunately remain to us some have become separated from the bulk of the replies and have been bound up in other volumes with papers bearing no relation to them. Among the existing documents of this general return some furnish considerably fuller details than others; in certain respects that for the diocese of Chichester is of greater interest than some of its fellows, and in others less. Harley MS. 594 contains (omitting one or two of later date) the original 1563 returns of the following dioceses:—St. Asaph, Bangor, Bath and Wells, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Chichester, Coventry and Lichfield, Durham, Ely, and Exeter. In Volume 595 of the same collection may be found Llandaff, London, St. David's, Salisbury, Winchester, and Worcester. The foregoing volumes contain therefore the bulk of the collection. Rochester, Peterborough, Norwich and Hereford have found their way into Lansdowne MS. 6, and Lincoln into Lansdowne MS. 23, while York,

Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol would appear to have been lost. The foregoing list thus accounts for the total of the 26 English and Welsh sees existing after the augmentation by Henry VIII. of the traditional number of twenty-one.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to touch upon the importance of the body of these diocesan returns as a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of England at a period which has been dealt with by most modern writers in a manner strangely biased and misleading, even if the term dishonest be considered scarcely justifiable in the majority of cases. It is fortunate, in the interests of historical accuracy and truth, that a more evenly balanced estimate of the religious proceedings of Elizabeth's opening years is at length beginning to prevail. Such presentments of the facts of the case as have been made in recent years by Professor Maitland in the *Cambridge Modern History*,¹ and by the late Dom Norbert Birt in his able analysis of the period,² based upon contemporary documents, have largely overthrown the violently *ex parte* and arbitrary assertions of the late Bishop Creighton and many lesser writers.

Dom Birt has fully availed himself of these returns of 1563, but in every case simply to the extent of tabulating the statistics given, without attempt at transcription *in extenso*. In this sense, therefore, the document forming the theme of this paper makes its appearance for the first time.

Before proceeding to confine ourselves to the local interest of the county of Sussex, it will be necessary, if a right perspective is to be gained of the relation of the part to the whole, to touch upon, albeit in the briefest manner, those national ecclesiastical events which preceded and were largely if not entirely the cause of the Privy Council's injunction upon the episcopate in 1563—the events, that is to say, between Elizabeth's accession and the latter year.

It has hitherto, until the comparatively recent appearance of more unprejudiced and scholarly enquiries

¹ Vol ii.

² *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, London, 1907.

such as those alluded to above, been assumed and asserted, though upon what authority it is difficult to see, that the religious policy of Elizabeth in re-opening the schism with the See of Rome, healed by her sister in 1554 at the supplication of both Houses of Parliament, and reinstating the Edwardian régime of belief and practice in the place of Catholicism now ousted for the second time, was welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the English nation and with but insignificant and transient opposition. The Church reformed itself once more with trifling disturbance in the process, and in general the religious state of the country is supposed to have presented a remarkable contrast to the dark days under Mary, attracting to itself, it would appear, no inconsiderable share of the unalloyed glory resplendent in the civil domain while Elizabeth held the sceptre, which has so often been dwelt upon and magnified by writers possessing a more generous amount of rhetoric than of sober history.

It is a satisfactory sign that so remarkably inaccurate an estimate has been greatly revised of late. A study of the Elizabethan State Papers is in itself more than sufficient to rule such a story completely out of court. Relying upon so unimpeachable an authority the contrary statement may be ventured that the religious condition of the country was infinitely worse than that under Mary, throughout the greater part of the reign of Elizabeth.

The State Church fell a victim to shameless Erastianism, its bishops became the pawns of the Privy Council (to which indeed they not infrequently appeal for assistance in ruling their turbulent and desolated dioceses), and every parish in England contained faction and disorder. Sees were pillaged by their pastors to enrich their families, and many churches decayed and fell to ruin through the lack of clergy to serve them, and the apathy of their parishioners to maintain them. The great number of open Papist and Puritan recusants long years after the Queen's accession, and the drastic persecution set on foot in the endeavour

to crush the discontent, are facts in themselves sufficient to refute a grossly distorted version of Elizabethan history which has gained credit far too long.

On the same day, November 17, 1558, the Queen and Primate, in the persons of Mary Tudor and Reginald Pole, concluded their personally irreproachable lives, the one at St. James's, the other at Lambeth, and with them died the hope of a continuance of the Catholic restoration in England. The late Queen's sister Elizabeth was proclaimed the new sovereign on the same day by the Lord Chancellor, Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York.

Mary's long illness had given Elizabeth and her partisans plenty of time in which to prepare plans for execution after the Queen's inevitably early death, and signs were not wanting within a short time after Elizabeth's accession to demonstrate her real intentions in religion, despite all her pledges and promises made to Mary before her decease to maintain the Catholic faith. Thus Bishop Christopherson of Chichester³ was thrown into prison (where he died about a month later) by royal orders, for naturally enough denouncing an attack on the established creed made by a Reforming preacher at Paul's Cross; and Bishop White of Winchester⁴ was temporarily placed under restraint within his own house in Southwark for his sermon at Mary's funeral, two examples of Elizabethan tyranny perpetrated before the close of the year 1558. The neglect of the new Queen to send the customary announcement of her accession to Rome, and an ominous expression in her order of December 27, 1558,⁵ inhibiting all preaching until further notice, were additional tokens of the course affairs were shaping.

It was undoubtedly owing to the bishops' distrust of Elizabeth's good faith in her pledges to maintain Catholicism as the established religion of the realm that the well-known hitch over her coronation arose, all

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, IV, p. 294.

⁴ *Ibid.* LXI, p. 53.

⁵ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, ed. 1824, Vol I, part ii, Appendix of Original Papers, III, pp. 391-2; Wilkins, *Concilia*, IV, 180.

the prelates declining to crown or anoint her.⁶ At length Oglethorpe of Carlisle reluctantly gave way under pressure, and in hope of conciliation performed the ceremony, but according to the Roman Pontificat as usual, the Queen taking the customary oath to uphold the liberties of the Church, and the bishops doing their homage as well as the lords temporal.⁷

The momentous first Parliament of the new reign assembled on January 25, 1558-9, and among the numerous bills bearing upon religion introduced by the Government those of Supremacy⁸ and Uniformity⁹ quickly overshadowed the others, and finally disclosed the Queen's intentions. It would be impossible to follow in detail here the long fight which raged for nearly three months over these crucial measures, despite the elaborate and careful packing of the Commons, a stiff resistance was shown in the lower House, and Cecil eventually only carried the Supremacy by a ruse.¹⁰ In the Lords the attitude of the lay peers was generally at best wavering, with a few honourable exceptions to the many won over by Court bribery or cajolery. Not so, however, the lords spiritual; feeble in numbers, they made a heroic stand from start to finish against Cecil's programme, and their unwaveringly united front was in the end only overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers after a fight worthy of the finest traditions of English history. Of the total of 26 sees, ten¹¹ had fallen vacant by death by the close of 1558, and of those still possessing pastors several more were unrepresented in Parliament by reason of absent prelates, with or without proxies. Thus the entire burden of the fight fell upon the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Exeter, Coventry and Lichfield, Llandaff, Carlisle,

⁶ Cardinal Allen, *True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, (1584), p. 51.

⁷ Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

⁸ *Eliz.*, c. 1.

⁹ *Eliz.*, c. 2.

¹⁰ J. R. Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, Bk. VI, ch. iii; ed. 1878, vol. II, pp. 303.

¹¹ In order of vacancy: Salisbury, Oxford, Bangor, Gloucester, Hereford, Canterbury, Rochester, Bristol, Chichester, Norwich.

Chester (with the addition of Ely late in the session), and the Abbot of Westminster. The imprisonment of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln in the Tower on April 3, 1559,¹² after the break-up of the adroitly-managed Westminster Conference, still further weakened the courageous handful of prelates. Able speeches of Heath of York and Scott of Chester against the Supremacy Bill have been preserved by Strype,¹³ Collier,¹⁴ etc., demonstrating how clearly the Bishops had grasped the issue at stake and had foreseen the spiritual disorder and strife which followed upon the rejection of their pleas. The archbishop dwelt powerfully upon the incompetence of a lay assembly to bestow a spiritual supremacy upon a lay sovereign, in defiance of all the General Councils and canons accepted throughout Christendom.

At the time of the Bishops' fruitless struggle in the Lords the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury spoke with remarkable boldness, in the teeth of Government pressure to the contrary. Wilkins¹⁵ has preserved an account of the proceedings from January 24 till April 7, including the noted five articles declaring their firm adherence to the tenets of the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Papal Supremacy as *iure divino*, and the exclusive right of spiritual persons to handle matters of faith and ecclesiastical discipline, which on February 28 the Bishops promised to present to the House of Lords the next day (March 1). The fourth article may be quoted as witnessing the hostility of the English parochial clergy to the terms of the Supremacy Bill then being forced upon the country by lay ministers of the Crown :

*Item, Quod Petro apostolo, et eius legitimis successoribus in sede apostolica, tanquam Christi vicariis, data est suprema potestas pascendi et regendi ecclesiam Christi militantem, et fratres suos confirmandi.*¹⁶ On

¹² Machyn's *Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 192.

¹³ *Annals*, Vol. I, part ii, Append. Orig. Papers, VI. and VII., pp. 398 seq.

¹⁴ Vol. VI, pp. 216 seq. ¹⁵ *Concilia*, IV, pp. 179-80. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

March 10 the Bishop of London signified to the Lower House the adherence of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to all the foregoing propositions save the fifth—in which refusal we may detect an element of professional jealousy. This national clerical protest was duly forwarded to the Lord Keeper Bacon, and henceforth ignored by the Government. The civil power had determined upon no Pope and more Reformation; if the Church would not consent it must be coerced by sheer force after the manner of Henry VIII.

The Bills of Supremacy and Uniformity were finally secured at the end of April, the latter we learn from a despatch of the ambassador de Feria to his master King Philip II., passing by the incredibly small majority of three votes in the Lords.¹⁷ and became law on receiving the Royal Assent on May 8, when Parliament dissolved.

Although the Crown programme was now a *fait accompli*, the strict legality of the proceedings was questionable, inasmuch as the consent of one of the three necessary estates of the realm had been entirely withheld. The estimate of the *Cambridge Modern History* is scarcely disputable: "The Bishops were staunch; the English Church by its constitutional organs refused to reform itself; the Reformation would be an unprecedented State-stroke."¹⁸ And: "The requisite laws had been made, but whether they would take effect was very uncertain."¹⁹

The Act of Supremacy annulled *in toto* the legislation of the preceding reign, whereby the spiritual supremacy over the English Church which had been usurped by Henry VIII. at the schism of 1534 was restored to the See of Rome, and the normal working of the ecclesiastical machinery re-instated in harmony with the constant tradition handed down from the days of Gregory and Augustine. In the teeth of the protests of the entire body of the spirituality all and every kind of jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, within the

¹⁷ *Chron. Belg.*, No. cccxvi, i, p. 519, May 10, 1559, quoted by Birt, *op. cit.* p. 90

¹⁸ Vol II, p. 566.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

realm was now once more taken into the Crown. The "foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate" excluded by the Act of Supremacy from the exercise of any manner of authority in England amounted simply of course, stripped of the verbiage of the statute, to the Pope of Rome.

"And for the better observation and maintenance of this Act," it was enacted by § IX. of 1 Eliz. c. 1., that every bishop and other ecclesiastical person, every civil justice, mayor and other officer and functionary under the Crown should be compelled to take an oath renouncing all other supremacy than that of the English sovereign in either sphere, ecclesiastical or temporal, refusal to do so being declared punishable by forfeiture of benefice and office for life.²⁰ A Commission²¹ wholly composed of laymen was speedily set up to administer the oath and enforce the new ecclesiastical policy.

Thereupon began a wholesale deprivation of clergy throughout the kingdom, consequent upon the refusal of large numbers to violate their consciences by swearing an oath which they held to be heretical and altogether unlawful. On May 20, 1559, Richard Cox (one of the protagonists in the Frankfort internal quarrels among the Reformers during the exile under Mary, and later intruded by Elizabeth into the see of Ely) wrote to Wolfgang Weidner that the whole body of the clergy remained "unmoved" by the newly-enacted Supremacy.²² The resistance encountered in the Province of York by the Commissioners, the official report of whose Visitation may now be seen in the Public Record Office,²³ was general and unbending. Thus at Durham the majority of the Chapter, including the Dean, flatly refused to swear; and generally, great numbers of the country incumbents failed even to answer the summons, a considerable proportion of those who did appear proving obdurate. Our information upon the Southern Province is more meagre,

²⁰ 1 Eliz., c. 1. § x.

²¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, XV, pp. 518-9, May 23, 1559.

²² *Zurich Letters*, Vol. I, No. 11, p. 27.

²³ *Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. X.

but at Winchester the Cathedral Dean and Chapter, the Warden and Fellows of the College and the Master of St. Cross all preferred deprivation to swearing.²⁴ Both Universities refused to countenance the new order of things, and Oxford especially soon became denuded of learning through wholesale deprivations.²⁵ The results throughout England were generally so dismal that the Commission was temporarily suspended.

A more decided policy was carried through with the episcopate. Bonner of London, and Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, were deprived, the former at the end of May, and the latter early in June, on refusal to swear.²⁶ Other examples rapidly followed, and by the end of 1559 the civil power had performed the astounding feat of removing the entire hierarchy, with the solitary exception of Kitchin of Llandaff, who, after opposing every reforming measure in Parliament in company with his brethren, at length weakly capitulated, and consequently retained his see till his death in 1563, holding a curiously aloof position for the rest of his life, and taking no part in the memorable consecration of Parker to the primacy in Lambeth Chapel, December 17, 1559.

This despotic action of Elizabeth's Council in depriving a whole hierarchy has scarcely received the amount of attention it deserves, and is fully equal to the proceedings of the worst days of Byzantine Erastianism. Added to the canonical illegality of declaring sees vacant wholesale for at most a purely civil offence of their occupants, the Government quickly proceeded to overstep the bounds of the Act of Supremacy itself by committing the deprived bishops to confinement in the Tower and other places of detention, simply upon motives of expediency.²⁷

²⁴ P.P.O. Dom. *Eliz.*, IV, No. 72, June 30, 1559.

²⁵ Cf. *Zurich Letters*, Vol. I, No. 33, p. 77, May 22, 1560. (Jewel to Peter Martyr).

²⁶ *Venetian Papers*, No. 78, June 6, 1559, quoted by Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

²⁷ And this in some cases not merely temporarily; thus Watson of Lincoln languished, deprived of liberty, for *twenty-four years*, dying in Wisbech Castle in 1584.

The difficulty of refilling the great number of Sees either previously naturally or now arbitrarily vacant soon became apparent, since it had been decided to maintain the outward form of episcopacy; and it is evident from contemporary documents that the carrying through of the appointment and consecration of the able and moderate Matthew Parker to Canterbury caused considerable embarrassment and anxiety to the Queen's ministers during the autumn of 1559. The abortive Commission to consecrate of September 9 and the second attempt of December 6 may be seen in Rymer.²⁸ It must suffice here to state that a new hierarchy was eventually got together from the less quarrelsome element of the reforming divines who gaped for preferment at Cecil's hand, and that since the labour of refilling the vacant Sees was entirely a triumph of statecraft without reference to any ecclesiastical authority, it is to this that we must look for the explanation of the subservient attitude of the new succession in greater or lesser degree down till the time of its removal in the Civil War of the succeeding century. Gradually the Government, aided greatly by the tactful and moderate rule of Parker, was able to deal more successfully with the lesser clergy. As has been stated, considerable numbers of the higher dignitaries resigned or were deprived along with the Bishops, while among the lower orders the majority conformed, either stubbornly braving molestation of their Popery in the more remote districts, or outwardly taking the Oath of Supremacy and using the new service prescribed after June 24, 1559, by the Act of Uniformity, in the hope of another turn of the wheel of fortune that had revolved so often since 1534. Even of these conformists many subsequently resigned²⁹ as their hopes faded, and some attached themselves to the households of the

²⁸ *Foedera*, XV, p. 541 and pp. 549-50.

²⁹ Cf. Bishop Cox to Peter Martyr in December, 1559: "The Popish priests amongst us are daily relinquishing their ministry, lest, as they say, they should be compelled to give their sanction to heresies." (*Zurich Letters*, Vol. I, No. 28, p. 66.)

wealthier recusant gentry throughout the kingdom.³⁰ Others remained in their cures in an attitude of passive resistance, officiating as parsons in the churches, but refusing to preach the new selection of doctrines, several cases of which here in Sussex are to be found with their names³¹ in Parker's metropolitan visitation of Chichester diocese during the vacancy after Bishop Barlow's death in 1569, a remarkable document³² which testifies to the great strength of the old religion in an area comparatively under the eye of the Government, and despite all coercion and the violently Protestant doctrine of the "godly and wholesome" homilies set forth in lieu of sermons ten years after the crisis of 1559.

Since martyrs for any cause are always to be found in the minority the greater number of the parochial clergy conformed, as has been said, despite the real convictions of the majority³³ as expressed in the last free Convocation of 1559; yet the number of those who obeyed their consciences was unquestionably considerably greater than is commonly stated, relying ultimately upon Camden. His approximate total of 200 malcontents is quite irreconcilable with the vast numbers of desolate parishes throughout England in the years immediately succeeding 1559. The scholarly work of Dom Birt before quoted may be recommended for an able and impartial survey and analysis of the contemporary documentary evidence. Thus in the diocese of Ely early in 1560-1 Bishop Cox certified to Parker that almost two-thirds of the cures were un-served³⁴; while it appears from the Norwich return of 1563 that well over 200 churches were destitute of even

³⁰ Sussex instances may be seen in P.R.O. Dom. *Eliz.*, LX, No. 71.

³¹ The incumbents of Withyham, Washington, Billingham, Clapham, Pulborough, and Findon. That of Pulborough is Nicholes Hyckett, mentioned in this 1563 return as Rural Dean of Storrington.

³² P.R.O. Dom. *Eliz.*, LX, No. 71.

³³ A minority of course existed conscientiously attached to advanced Protestantism, and this formed the core of the rising Puritan party, soon to cause such trouble to the State bishops.

³⁴ Addl. MS. 5813, f. 78, Jan. 24, 1560-1. 47 livings were vacant, and 53 without resident incumbents.

a curate³⁵—a single diocese thus having indisputably as many unserved cures as have commonly been allotted to the whole kingdom. Further corroboration of the usual understatements may be sought in the vast number of men ordained in the opening years of the reign to fill the host of vacant cures, the crying need being emphasised by the acceptance of all manner of coarse and illiterate persons, seemingly to a greater degree than was the case after the terrible mortality of clergy in the Black Death over 200 years before, and now with more demoralising results.

So much desolation, disorder and neglect was in most parts of England apparent even after all the twofold efforts of the new episcopate to extirpate Popery and to improve the state of their dioceses generally, that in the July of 1563 the Privy Council took the matter from the Bishops (not a few of whom were proving singularly incompetent to cope with the difficulties caused by the low financial state of their property after the Queen's shrewd "exchanges" had done their work, the great number of Papists everywhere, and the new trouble of the rising tide of Puritan extremism in the opposite direction), and enjoined each Ordinary to make and transmit to them a comprehensive return of the condition of his diocese. To this order we are indebted for the interesting series of documents already touched upon, and with the ground prepared thus far, may now confine ourselves to the consideration of the particular return for Chichester.

Although all of the diocesan returns do not give the form of the various questions asked (and Chichester is among those deficient in this respect), they may be gathered from the nature of each reply. The Rochester document³⁶ prefixes the enquiry to each answer, so that we know they ran as follows:—(1) What shires were contained in the diocese; (2) into what archdeaconries and deaneries the diocese was divided, with the names of the officials set over them; (3) how many peculiar

³⁵ Lansd. MS. 6, No. 60.

³⁶ Lansdowne MS. 6, No. 57, July 12, 1563.

jurisdictions were in the diocese, and if any, under whom ; (4) the number of churches and chapels in the diocese, specifying whether served or unserved ; (5) a certificate of the number of households in each parish.

As has been stated before, the answers of the various bishops to each question vary in completeness. For Chichester the last query as to the number of households is missing, for the reason given of lack of time to answer it, and if such a certificate was ever eventually forwarded to London it is not now forthcoming. The body of the questions evidence that efficiency and attention to detail characteristic of Cecil's work in whatever task he laid his hand to.

The Chichester document is neatly written, scoring in this respect over that of the neighbouring diocese of Canterbury.³⁷ The latter gives the number of households, but is less interesting in not specifying the vacant cures. Chichester is also fortunate in incorporating information upon the archiepiscopal peculiars, as against the case of Rochester, from which we learn nothing of the thirty odd churches comprised in the peculiar deanery of Shoreham.

A total of 286 cures is returned for the whole diocese of Chichester, counting annexed churches as a single living, 137 in the archdeaconry of Chichester, and 149 in that of Lewes. This total is not entirely perfect, as there is strangely no mention whatever of Hailsham, Sutton (in Pevensy Deanery), South Malling or one of the Chichester parishes (St. Peter by the Guildhall). The only church which is mentioned but not stated to possess or lack an incumbent is Easebourne in the Deanery of Midhurst. An interesting and somewhat unaccountable item of information is the assignment (possibly merely by clerical error, however) of Tarring Neville to Lewes Deanery instead of Pevensy, and Wartling to Pevensy instead of Dallington. Otherwise (with the exception of several parishes whose churches had since decayed, etc.) a remarkable fidelity is noticeable to the decanal allocations of the Taxation

³⁷ Harley MS. 594, No. 8, f. 63, July 9, 1563.

of Pope Nicholas IV. in 1291, which may be consulted in the *Victoria History of Sussex*. The peculiar deaneries of Pagham and Tarring are in this 1563 return counted as the single Deanery of Pagham, whereas in the Metropolitan Visitation of six years later they again appear named separately. The ancient exempt jurisdiction of Battle is for some reason ignored and treated as part of Dallington Deanery, although it is evident from the 1569 Visitation that the parishioners of Battle still regarded themselves as a peculiar liberty in no doubtful sense: "They saie that theie are of no Iurisdiction, but free from any Busshops auctoritie³⁸," basing their claim on the grant of William the Conqueror. The churches of Steyning and Bosham have their old liberties similarly ignored in the 1563 return. The jurisdiction of the Dean of Chichester over the city parishes is recognised, however (with the single exception of All Saints in the Pallant, entered under the Archbishop's exempt area of Pagham), the Dean's liberty being styled the "Precinct" and not a deanery. The peculiars of Canterbury in Sussex were finally made over to the see of Chichester by order in Council dated August 8, 1845,³⁹ terminating a very ancient arrangement which seems to have grown up as the spiritual corollary of the extensive temporal ownership of the same Sussex lands by the Archbishop, as also in Rochester and other dioceses.

Reference has been made to the great number of empty or unserved cures existing throughout the kingdom in 1563, principally owing to the wholesale deprivations and resignations of incumbents who clung to the old order of religion, and the grave difficulty of filling their places by suitable conformists. The neglect of parishes was increased by the unabatement of non-residence (in common with plurality, immorality and other evils which the Reformation professed to remove), though in this diocese only seven⁴⁰

³⁸ P.R.O. Dom. *Eliz.*, LX, No. 71.

³⁹ Le Neve, *Fasti Ecc. Ang.* (ed. Hardy), p. 235.

⁴⁰ Those of Fishbourne, Henfield, Shermanbury, Alfriston, Frant, Rotherfield and Westfield.

ministers are presented as thus absent. The 1563 certificate reveals that though Sussex was in a better plight than the areas ruled from Norwich and Ely, the percentage of totally unserved parishes under Chichester was nevertheless abnormally high, unless it be explained by the foregoing hypothesis of a stiff clerical resistance to the Queen's religious policy. No fewer than 49 churches and one chapel are returned as unserved, or nearly one-fifth of the total number, and this, be it remembered, after four years' lapse in which to refill the vacancies, probably even more numerous in 1559. It is surely highly significant of the grave disorders prevailing to find such great and important churches as Boxgrove, New Shoreham and Winchelsea returned as not only vacant but actually unserved, as also large village churches like Alfriston in like straits through unsupplied non-residence, and the cathedral-like church of Rye with only one curate to minister to the needs of a thriving town population. At Boxgrove six years later they had only managed to secure the services of not even a curate, but a "sorry reader" !⁴¹

It is interesting to note how unevenly distributed are these many vacant or unserved livings, Lewes archdeaconry claiming 36 against only 13 in that of Chichester, a figure almost equalled by the dozen in the single Deanery of Lewes and the eleven in Pevensey. In South Malling, Dallington and Hastings the percentage is again moderately high, though very low in Boxgrove, Storrington and Pagham. This disparity between the two archdeaconries would seem to indicate either that the clergy of East Sussex remained more staunch to Catholicism than those in the western half of the county, or that the vacancies were more quickly and efficiently attended to in the areas nearer the cathedral city; or perhaps the solution may lie in both alternatives.

A table is appended classifying the served and unserved parishes in each deanery, which are indiscriminately mingled in the original document.

⁴¹ P.R.O. Dom. *Eliz.*, LX, No. 71.

In the said table several chapels of ease have been described as "unspecified" by way of distinction from those stated to possess or lack curates apart from their parish church. Certain churches are returned as already combined into double cures, being served presumably in alternation by the resident incumbent. The number of the latter appears somewhat magnified when allowance is made for the unabatement after the Reformation of the abuse of plurality, some overlapping undoubtedly occurring in the return. Thus a reference to Hennessy's *Sussex Clergy Lists* shows that in 1563 the adjacent livings of Northiam and Beckley in Dallington deanery, and both the Hastings churches were held in plurality, so reducing the apparent number of "parsons resiant" from four to two, since the same individual is entered as resident on each of his cures.

The generally admirable summary of the ecclesiastical history of Sussex given in the *Victoria History* scarcely maintains its usual accuracy in stating that the clergy of the Chichester diocese would seem to have been but slightly affected by the changes under Elizabeth. The upheaval was too general throughout the kingdom not to leave its mark in Sussex also. A merely casual perusal of the pages of Hennessy reveals the surprising number of parishes which changed their pastors in or soon after 1559⁴²; and the remarkable foothold which Catholicism maintained in Sussex for many years afterwards, as shown in the return of the Justices of the Peace made by Bishop Barlow to the Privy Council in 1564,⁴³ and Parker's visitation of 1569, already mentioned, was unquestionably largely buoyed up by the resistance of the parochial clergy to the new order of things which had been imposed by force upon the nation amid the death cries of the old Church.

⁴² According to Hennessy's *Clergy Lists* 72 fresh appointments were made in 1554 at the beginning of the Roman reaction. During 1559 and 1560 there were 109 changes: of these 8 are definitely ascribed to the death of the last incumbent; 23 incumbents had been instituted in the time of Henry VIII., 18 under Edward VI., and the other 60 were Marian, Romanist appointments.
—ED.

⁴³ *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. IX, *Bishops' Letters*, pp. 8-11.

Great stress is laid in the Visitation upon the pitiful lack of preachers available to dispel the Popish darkness of the people by their sermons, not a few even of the conforming clergy refusing to preach and openly favouring the old regime. After ten long years of coercion the report sums up the dismal results from the standpoint of the authorities of the State Church in the phrase: "Excepte it be aboute Lewys and a litle in Chichester, the whole diocesse of Chichester is very blinde & superstitiouse for want of teachinge and preachers to go abrode amonge them."⁴⁴ It is evident therefore that the clergy were hardly less affected by dissatisfaction with the changes than were the laity.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* contains a useful summary of the career of William Barlow, the compiler of our 1563 return as bishop of the Chichester diocese. Beginning as an Augustinian Canon, he gradually drifted further and further along with the tide of the Reformation, eventually embracing the extreme Erastian opinion of Cranmer that any kind of episcopal consecration was superfluous if the elect had obtained Crown appointment to a See. His own consecration to St. David's in 1536 has left no record behind it, and is at best doubtful. Translated to Bath and Wells in 1548, he resigned on Mary's accession, and retired to the Continent, returning however to England at her death and obtaining the See of Chichester under Elizabeth. Barlow is probably best known as the consecrator of Parker, with whom he was connected by the marriage of his daughter to the Archbishop's son. Barlow died in August, 1568, and was buried at Chichester.

In the following transcript of the original MS. the spelling and arrangement has been wholly preserved. As to the actual caligraphy, the extreme similarity in many cases between small and capital letters has

⁴⁴ P.R.O. Dom. *Eliz.*, LX, No. 71.

rendered a completely perfect distinction of the difference (in the interests of literal fidelity to the original), a task desirable rather than possible. Capitals have therefore been used for place names, etc., except in clear cases to the contrary. The MS. further contains such a maze of inconsistently dotted i's and vague dots and dashes by way of punctuation that these features have had chiefly to give place to our present usage.

HARLEY MS. 594.

f.109

MY dewtie most humble doñ to yo^r honoures, it may please the same to be advertised that yo^r Lrēs datyd the ixth of this Iulij I receyvid the xvijth daye folowynge at after none. And for answe^re to the articles in them comprysed I haue vsed my vttermost indeavour w^t all spede posseble playnlie to certifie yo^r Lordshipps so farr as y^e brevitie of tyme wolde suffer me in mañ^r ensuynge. Fyrst the diocese of Chichester contayneth the whole onlie shiere of Sussex.

Secondly the diocese ys deuyded into two Archedeconries of Chichester and Lewes.

The Archedecon of Chichester ys Thomas Spenser, m^r of arte and ys person of Hadley in Suffolke where he is nowe residinge. In this Archedeconrie ar fowre Deanes Rurall. The names of them and their deanries ar theis. x^poforer wraye pson of Estwyghtrings dean of Boxgrava. Roger Wheler vicar of Cockynge deane of Mydhurste. Nicholas Hyckett person of Pulborow deane of Storington. William Wyllames vicar of Walberton deane of Arundell, whiche deanes haue no Iurisdictiones, but ar chosen euery yere to collecte ordinarie chargies or dewties and to execute processes dyrectyd from the Bysshopp. The Archedecon of Lewes ys Edmūde weston baccheler of the lawe, and Cannon Residensiarie in the Cathedrall Church of Chichester, and haith theis fower deanes, hereafter mentyoned in his Archdeconrie wythout Iurisdiction. vizt Iohn Burston person of Saynt Maries westowte deane of Lewes. Cuthberte Lynsey person of Westdean dean of Pevensy Thomas Moulder pson of Iden deane of Dalington. Thomas Staffer, pson of Gestlinge deane of Hastings.

Thirdlie I haue full Iurisdiction thorowghout the whole diocese, sauynge in the Peculier Deanries of Pagh^am in the Archedeconrye of Chichester, and Southmallinge in the Archedeconrie of Lewes, whiche be exempte vnder my Lorde Archbysshopp of Canterburie, notwythstandynge his grace haith latlie graunted me thorder of them by Coñmissiō to

my deputies. Also the dean of Chichester hath certayne p'vilegies in the precinct of the Citie and suburbes of the same: howbeit to no derogacoñ of my Iurisdiction.

- f.109b Fourthlie the number and names of all the p'ishe Churches and Chapells of ease w^tin bothe Archedeconries of Chichester and Lewes deuided by deanries as well in placys exempt as not exempt herfolowyth.

Chichester Archdeconrie

Boxgrav^a deanrie

The p'ishe of Boxgrav^a hath nether vicar nor curat.

Hamptonet⁴⁴ a vicar resiant.

Ovinge a vicar res:

Aldingbo^rne a vicar res.

Merston a pson res.

Northmūdh^am a vicar res.

Doneghton⁴⁵ a vicar res.

Hunston a vicar res.

Appuldram a curat

Sidlesh^am a vicar res:

Selsey personag a curat.

Estwightings⁴⁶ a pson⁴⁷ res:

Westwightrings⁴⁸ a vicar res:

Westychinor⁴⁹ a pson res:

Ernelie w^t Almodingtoñ a pson res:

Byrdh^am a pson res:

Bossh^am a curat.

Chudh^am a vicar res:

Westbo^rne a pson w^t a vicar indued⁵⁰ res:

Stoughton a vicar res:

Stoke a pson res:

Estmerden a vicar res:

Racton a pson res:

Northmerden a pson res'

Cumpton w^t vpmarden a vicar res:

Funtyngton a curat.

Mydlavent a curat.

- f.110 Bynderton a curat.

Estdean a vicar res:

Westdean w^t the Chapell of Chilgrove a vicar res:

Syngleton a curat

Erth^am a vicar res:

Waltam a pson res:

Westhorney psonage a curat

⁴⁴ West Hampnett.

⁴⁵ Donnington.

⁴⁶ East Wittering.

⁴⁷ Rural Dean of Boxgrove.

⁴⁸ West Wittering.

⁴⁹ West Itchenore.

⁵⁰ Inducted.

The pishe Churches aforesaide———xxxiii^{ti}
One chapell of ease.

Mydhurst deanrie

The pishe of Esebo'ne havinge iij chapells vizt
the Borrowe of Mydhurste, Farnhurst and
Loddisworth ar sy^uyd wyth curats
Hartinge⁵¹ a pson wyth a vicar indued res:
Rogate a curat
Turwyke a pson res:
Trotton a pson res:
Elnested⁵² a pson res:
Reforde⁵³ cum Deydlinge a pson res:
Bep-ton a curat
Ipinge a person res:
Stedh^am psonage a curat.
Vlbedinge⁵⁴ a pson res:
Lynchmer chapell, no curat.
Kyrdeforde a vicar res:
Lurgashale a pson res:
Tullington a pson res:
Petworthe a pson res: having ij chapells vizt
Northchapell and Donghton ar seruyd w^t curatts
Lynche psonage no curat.
Fytilworthe a vicar res:
Stoph^am a pson res:
Hardam no vicar nor curat.
Coldwaltam a curat.
Bignor a pson res:
Wullavingtoñ a pson res.
Sutton a pson res:
Bodecton⁵⁵ w^t cotys a pson res:
Selh^am a person res:
Cockinge a vicar⁵⁶ res:
Graffh^m psonage a curat.
Barlavington no pson nor curat
Heishot a pson res:

f.110b

The pishe Churches aforesaide———xxix^{ti}
vj Chapells of ease.

Storington deanrie

Storington a person res:
Thackh^am a pson res:
Sullington psonage a curat.
Washington a vicar res:

⁵¹ South Harting.⁵⁴ Woolbeding.⁵² Elsted.⁵⁵ Burton.⁵³ Treyford.⁵⁶ Rural Dean of Midhurst.

Chiltington psonage a curat.
 Pulborowe a pson⁵⁷ res:
 Wygingholte w^t Greth^am, a pson res:
 Somptinge a vicar res:
 Brodwater a pson res:
 Launsyng a vicar res:
 Brambroughe⁵⁸ w^t Butulphus a pson res:
 Comes⁵⁹ a pson res:
 Wystem psonage no curat
 Parh^am a pson res:
 Asshington a pson res: w^t the chapell of Bonghton⁶⁰.
 Goringe a vicar res:
 Horsh^am a vicar res:
 Rusper a pson res:
 Nuthurst a pson res:
 Warneh^am a vicar res:
 Rugwycke a vicar res:
 Ichingfelde a pson res:
 f.111 : Slyndfolde a pson res:
 Byllinghurste a vicar res:
 Westgrinsted psonage a curat.
 Shipley no curat.
 Wiseborowgryne a vicar res:
 Fyndon a vicar res:
 Stenyng, a vicar res: and hath ij Chapells vizt asshurst
 and wrymynghurste sy^auyd w^t curatts.

 The pise Churches aforsaide—————xxix^{ti}
 iij Chapells of ease.

Arundell deanrie.

The towne of Arundell a vicar res:
 Lyomister a vicar res: and hath a Chapell namyd
 Burph^am a vicar res: [Warnyngcampe
 Feringe a vicar res: and hath ij chapells vizt Kyngeston
 and Preston seruyd w^t curatts.
 Palinge a vicar res:
 Claph^am a pson res:
 Estangmeringe psonage a curat
 West Angmeringe pish hath nether vic' nor curat.
 Rustington a vicar res:
 Lytle Hampton psonag, a curat.
 Clympinge a vicar res:
 Ford psonage a curat
 Yapton a vicar res:
 Mydleton a pson res:

⁵⁷ Rural Dean of Storrington.⁵⁸ Bramber with Buttolphs.⁵⁹ Coombes.⁶⁰ Buncton.

Felgh^{am}⁶¹ a psonage w^t a vicorage indued res:
 Walberton a vicar⁶² res:
 Barneh^{am} pise hath nether vicar nor curat
 Madhurste a vicar indued
 Estergate a pson res:
 Northstoke hath nother vicar nor curat.
 Southstoke psonage a curat.
 Tortington a curat.
 The pise of Burye hath no vicar bnot^{a63} curat
 Amberley a vicar res:
 Bynsted a vicar res:
 Houghton a curat
 Cudlowe psonage no curat.

f.111b

The pise Churches aforesaide—————xxvij^{ti}
 iij Chapells of ease.

Pagh^{am} deanrie
 Cant' pecul':

The pise of Pagh^{am} a vicar res:
 Barstyd⁶⁴ a vicar res:
 Slyndon a pson res:
 Tangmer psonage a curat.
 Estlavent a pson res:
 The Palent⁶⁵ in Chichester no curat.
 Terringe⁶⁶ a pson w^t a vicar indued res: havinge ij
 chapells vizt Hyne and Durington sy^ruyd by curatts.
 Patchinge a pson res:

The pise Churches aforesaide—————vijj
 two chapells of ease.

Churches w^tin the
 precinct of Chichester Citie

The pise of greate Saynt Peters hath a vic' res:
 The pise of lytle S^t Peters a pson res:
 The psonag of S^t martens a curat
 The psonag of S^t Andree a curat
 The psonage of S^t Olauⁱ⁶⁷ a curat.
 The psonag of Saynt Bartholomeis a curat.
 The psonag of S maries no curat.

⁶¹ Felpham.

⁶² Rural Dean of Arundel.

⁶³ "Nor" roughly altered to "but," "no" left unerased, "b" being prefixed and the final "r" altered to "t."

⁶⁴ South Bersted.

⁶⁵ All Saints in Chichester.

⁶⁶ West Tarring

⁶⁷ St. Olave's.

The pische of S^t Pancras a pson res:
 The pische of fishborne a pson not res: no curat.
 Wycke⁶⁸ psonage a curat.

The pische Churches aforesaide—————x

f.112

Lewes Archedeconrie.

Lewes Deanrie.

The pische of Saynt Michell in the towne of lewes a curat
 The pische of S^t Maries Westowt⁶⁹ a pson⁷⁰, res:
 The pische of all sayntts in lewes having nether nor curat
 The pische of S^t Iohnes vnder the Castell having a pson
 [res:

The pische of S^t Iohnes Southov' having nether pson nor
 Kyngston nyer Lewes a vicar res: curat.

The pische of Iforde havinge nether vicar nor curat

Radmell a pson res:

Sowthes⁷¹ a pson res:

Torringe⁷² psonage a curat

Pedinghoe nether vicar nor curat.

Michinge⁷³ psonage no curat

Tellyscombe psonage a curat

Rotingdean a curat

Ovingdean psonage no curat

The pische of Falmer having nether vic' nor curat.

Pecchame⁷⁴ a vicar res:

Preston wythe hova a vicar res:

The pische of Brighthelmyston⁷⁵ a curat.

Blachington⁷⁶ a pson rese

Haugleton a pson res:

Portislade a vicar res:

Ponynges a pson res.

Nytimber a pson res.

Pycombe a pson res:

Clayton w^t Ky^m⁷⁷ psonage a curat

The pische of Dycheninge⁷⁸ havinge nether vicar nor
 curat but a Chapell namyd Wyvilsfelde seruyd by a
 curat

Strete a pson res:

The pische of westmestoñ, a curat also havinge a chapell
 callyd Chiltingtoñ and sy^ruyd by a curat.

plumpton a pson res:

⁶⁸ Rumboldswyke.

⁷⁰ Rural Dean of Lewes.

⁷² Tarring Neville.

⁷⁴ Patcham.

⁷⁶ West Blachington, near Brighton.

⁶⁹ Now called St. Anne's.

⁷¹ Southease.

⁷³ Meeching, the modern Newhaven.

⁷⁵ Brighton.

⁷⁷ Keymer.

⁷⁸ Ditchling.

- f.113
- Pevensey a vicar res:
 - Heighton⁸⁴ a pson res:
 - Westh^am a vicar res:
 - Estbo^rne a vicar res:
 - Wyllingdone a vicar res:
 - Fokyngton psonage no curat
 - Ievington psonage a curat
 - Wylmyngton a vicar res:
 - Erlington⁸⁵ a vicar res:
 - Barwycke a pson res:
 - Alcistoñ no vicar but a curat
 - Selmyston havinge no vicar nor curat
 - Chalvington a pson res:
 - Rype psonage no curat
 - Laughton a vicar res:
 - Fyrles a vicar res:
 - Denton a pson res:
 - Bisshopston no vicar, a Curat
 - Blachington⁸⁶ psonage no curat.
 - Seforde a vicar res:
 - Alfrystoñ a vicar not res., no^r curat
 - Lullington havinge nether vicar nor curat.
 - Lytlington a pson res:
 - The pishe of Estdean no curat
 - Fryston a vicar res:
 - Westdean a pson⁸⁷ res:
 - Wartlinge pishe havinge nether vicar nor curat.
 - Marisfelde a pson res:
 - hortistede Kaynes a pson res:
 - Lytle horsted a pson res:
 - Whithiam a pson res:

The pishe Churches aforesaide—————xli^{ti}

- f.113b Dalington deanrie.
- Warbleton a pson res:
 - Horssemounsex psonage a curat
 - Hoe a vicar res:
 - The pishe of Crowhurste havinge nether pson nor curat
 - Nenfelde a vicar res:
 - Catisfelde a pson res:
 - Ashebo^rneh^am a vicar res:
 - Penhurst a pson res:
 - Dalington a vicar res:
 - Brightlinge psonag a curat

⁸⁴ South Heighton.

⁸⁵ Arlington.

⁸⁶ East Blatchington, near Seaford.

⁸⁷ Rural Dean of Pevensey.

Burwashe a pson havinge a vicar inducd res:
 Tyshehurste a vicar res:
 Ichingh^{am}⁸⁸ a pson res:
 Salehurste a vicar res:
 Bodingh^{am}⁸⁹ a vicar res:
 Ewehurst a pson res:
 Northiam a pson res:
 Beckley a pson res:
 Iden a pson⁹⁰ res:
 Playden a pson res:
 Estgyldeforde nether pson nor Curat.
 Peasemershe nether vicar nor curat.
 Vdym⁹¹ nether vicar nor curat.
 Brede a pson res:
 Sedlescombe a pson res:
 Whatlington nether pson nor curat
 Mundfelde⁹² a vicar res:
 Westfylde a vic' non res: no curat.
 The pise of Battell a curat.
 Heathfelde a vicar res:

The pise Churches aforesaide—————xxx^{ti}

f.114 Hastings deanrie.

The pise of Bexill a curat
 The pise of S^t Clemets in y^e town of Hastings
 a pson res:
 The pise of all Sayntts in y^e same towne a pson res:
 Hollington a vicar res:
 Farley⁹³ a vicar res:
 Ore no pson nor curat.
 The pise of pett havinge nether pson nor curat
 Gestlinge a pson⁹⁴ res:
 Ikellsh^{am} a vicar res:
 The towne of Wynchelsey havinge nether pson nor curat
 The towne of Rie havinge no vicar but a curat.

The pise Churches aforesaide—————xj.

Southmallinge deanrie

Cant' pecul':

The pise of Buxstyd a pson res:, Havinge a chapell
 namyd ockefelde sy^ruyd wyth a curat.

⁸⁸ Etchingham.

⁸⁹ Bodiam.

⁹⁰ Rural Dean of Dallington.

⁹¹ Udimore.

⁹² Mountfield.

⁹³ Fairlight, by a comparatively modern alteration.

⁹⁴ Rural Dean of Hastings.

Franfelde a vicar res:
 Waddehurst a curat
 Maghfelde⁹⁵ a vicar res:
 Isefelde a pson res:
 The pische of Cleve⁹⁶ havinge nether pson nor curat
 The pische of Glyne havinge nether pson vicar nor curat
 Rigmere⁹⁷ a vicar res:
 The pische of Stam⁹⁸ havinge nether pson nor curat.
 Edberton a pson res:
 The pische of Lynfelde havinge nether pson nor curat.

The pische Churches aforesaide—————xj
 one Chapell of ease.

f.114b Concernynge the fyfth article for certifyinge the number
 of Howseholdes, I cañot possiblie accomplishe yt in so shorte
 a space requyred: for I must sende to euery curat of the
 diocese beyng above threscore myles in length to lerne the
 certentye of them: Wherin vsinge all dylligence I will
 spedelie certifie yo^r Honoures, whom allmyghtie god
 contynually conserve vnder his most gracious proteccon.
 ffrom Chichester the sixth of Iulij 1563^o.

Yo.^rs. at comaundmēt

W. Cicestrē.

f.115 is blank.

f.115b *Sealed and endorsed* :—

To the right Honorable
 Lords of the Queenes Maties
 Privie Counsell.

Counterendorsed :—

19. July. 1563.

B. of Chichesters

certificat.

r^d.⁹⁹ xxi.

⁹⁵ Mayfield, again a modern alteration of spelling.

⁹⁶ St. Thomas in the Cliff, below Lewes hill.

⁹⁷ Ringmer.

⁹⁸ Stanmer.

⁹⁹ Received July 21.

ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER.

[N.B.—Churches distinguished with an asterisk have non-resident incumbents and no curates to supply their duties.]

Churches served by

	RECTORS.	VICARS.	CURATES.	Churches UNSERVED.
PRECINCT OF CHICHESTER CITY Total.... 10.	St Pancras Little St. Peter	Great St. Peter	St. Andrew St. Bartholomew St Martin St. Olave Rumboldswyke	St. Mary, Fishbourne*
DEANERY OF PAGHAM (Archiepiscopal Peculiar). Total.... 8	East Lavant Patching Slindon	Pagham South Borsted Tarring	Tangmere Hyne } chapels of Durrington } Tarring	{ Chichester, { All Saints in the { Pallant
DEANERY OF BOXGROVE. (not specified) Chilgrove chapel (of West Dean) Total.... 34 1 chapel	Birdham { Earnley with { Amodington East Wittering Merston North Marden Racton Upper Waltham West Itchenor West Stoke	Aldingbourne Chidham { Compton with { Up Marden Donnington Eartham East Dean East Marden Hunston North Mundham Oving Sidlesham Stoughton Westbourne West Dean West Hampnett West Wittering	Appledram Binderton Bosham Funtington Mid Lavant Selsey Singleton West Thorney	Boxgrove

ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER—*continued*

Churches served by

	RECTORS.	VICARS.	CURATES.	Churches UNSERVED.
DEANERY OF MIDHURST (not specified) Easebourne Total . . . 29 6 chapels	Bignor { Burton with Coates Elsted Heyshot Iping Lurgashall Petworth Selham Stopham Sutton Terwick Tillington { Treyford with Didling Trotton Woolbeding Woolavington	Cocking Fittleworth Kirdford South Harting	Bpton Coldwaltham Graffham Rogate Stedham Doughton } chapels North } of chapel } Petworth Farnhurst } chapels of Lodsworth } Ease- Midhurst } bourne	Barlavington Hardham Linch Linchmere chapel
DEANERY OF ARUNDEL (not specified) Warningcamp chapel Total . . . 27 3 chapels	Clapham Eastergate Middleton	Amberley Arundel Binsted Burpham Climping Felpham Ferring Lyminster Madehurst Poling Rustington Walberton Yapton	Bury East Aagmering Ford Houghton Littlehampton South Stoke Tortington Kingston } chapels of Preston } Steyning	Barnham Cudlow North Stoke West Angmering

ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER—*continued.*

Churches served by				Churches UNSERVED.
	RECTORS.	VICARS.	CURATES.	
DEANERY OF STORRINGTON	Ashington	Billinghurst	Sullington	Shipley
	{ Bramber with	Findon	West Chiltonton	Wiston
	{ Buttolphs	Goring	West Grinstead	
(not specified)	Broadwater	Horsham	Ashurst	} chapels of Steyning
Buncton chapel	Coombes	Lancing	Warming-	
(of Ashington)	Itchingfield	Rudgwick	hurst	
	Nuthurst	Sompting		
	Parham	Steyning		
Total . . . 29	Pulborough	Warnham		
3 chapels	Rusper	Washington		
	Slinfold	Wisborough Green		
	Storrington			
	Thakeham			
	{ Wiggonholt with			
	{ Greatham			

ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES.

DEANERY OF SOUTH MALLING	Buxted	Framfield	Wadhurst	Cliffe by Lewes
(Archiepiscopal	Edburton	Mayfield	Uckfield chapel	Glynde
Peculiar)	Isfield	Ringmer	(of Buxted)	Lindfield
Total . . . 11				Stanmer
1 chapel				

ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES—*continued.*

Churches served by—

	RECTORS.	VICARS.	CURATES.	Churches UNSERVED.
DEANERY OF LEWES	Albourne	Bolney	Barcombe	Ditchling
	Aldrington	Cuckfield	Beeding	Falmer
	Ardingley	Ifield	Brighton	Hamsey
	Balcombe	Kingston-by-Lewes	Chailey	Henfield*
Total 57.	Crawley	Old Shoreham	{ Clayton with	Iford
2 chapels	Hangleton	Patcham	{ Keymer	Lewes, All Saints
	Hurstpierpoint	Portslade	Cowfold	„ { St. John,
	Lewes,	{ Preston with	East Grinstead	{ Southover
	„ St. John sub Castro	{ Hove	Kingston Bowsey	Newhaven
	„ St. Mary Westout		Lewes, St. Michael	New Shoreham
	Newick		Rottingdean	Ovingdean
	Newtimber		Tarring Neville	Piddinghoe
	Plumpton		Telscombe	Shermanbury*
	Poynings		{ Westmeston and	
	Pyecombe		{ Chiltington chapel	
	Rodmell		Woodmancote	
	Slaugham		Wivelsfield chapel	
	Southease		(of Ditchling)	
	Southwick			
	Street			
	Twineham			
	West Blatchington			
	West Hoathly			
	Worth			

ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES—*continued.*

Churches served by—

	RECTORS.	VICARS.	CURATES.	Churches UNSERVED.
DEANERY OF PEVENSEY	Berwick Chalvington Denton East Hoathly Horsted Keynes Horsted Parva Litlington Maresfield South Heighton West Dean Withyham	Arlington Beddingham Chiddingly Eastbourne Fletching Friston Hellingley Laughton Pevensey Seaford West Firle Westham Willingdon Wilmington	Alciston Bishopstone Hartfield Jevington	Alfriston* East Blatchington East Dean Folkington Frant* Lullington Rotherfield* Rype Selmeston Waldron Wartling
Total 40				
DEANERY OF DALLINGTON	Beckley Brede Catsfield Etchingam Ewhurst Iden Northiam Penhurst Playden Sedlescombe Warbleton	Ashburnham Bodiam Burwash Dallington Heathfield Hooe Mountfield Ninfield Salehurst Ticehurst	Battle Brightling Herstmonceux	Crowhurst East Guldeford Peasmarsh Udimore Whatlington Westfield*
Total 30				
DEANERY OF HASTINGS	Gestling Hastings, All Saints „ St. Clement	Fairlight Hollington Icklesham	Bexhill Rye	Ore Pett Winchelsea
Total 11				

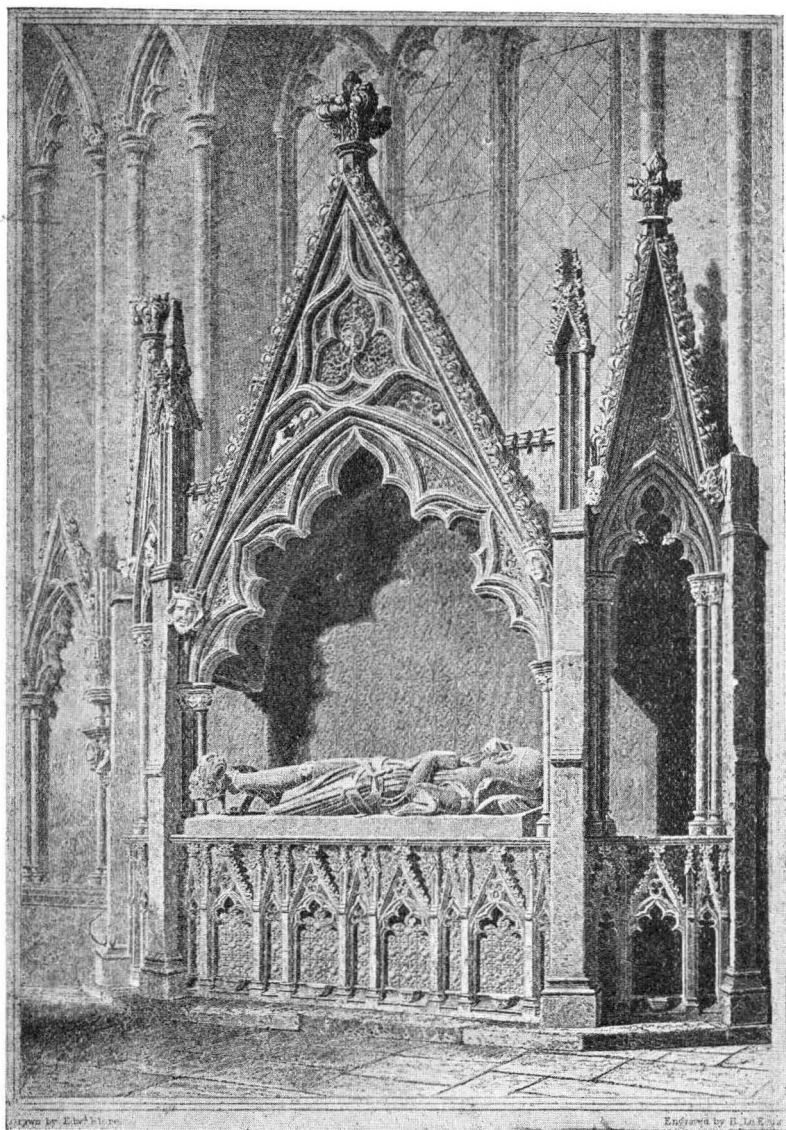
ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER.

DEANERY.	Churches SERVED.	UNSERVED.	UNSPECIFIED.	Chapels SERVED.	UNSERVED.	UNSPECIFIED.
City Precinct	8	2				
Pagham	7	1		2		
Boxgrove	33	1				1
Midhurst	25	3	1	5	1	
Arundel	23	4		2		1
Storrington	27	2		2		1
	<u>123</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>

ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES.

DEANERY.	Churches SERVED.	UNSERVED.	UNSPECIFIED.	Chapels SERVED.	UNSERVED.	UNSPECIFIED.
South Malling	7	4		1		
Lewes	45	12		2		
Pevensey	29	11				
Dallington	24	6				
Hastings	8	3				
	<u>113</u>	<u>36</u>		<u>3</u>		

DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER	TOTAL CURES.	SERVED.	UNSERVED.	UNSPECIFIED.	TOTAL CHAPELS	SERVED.	UNSERVED.	UNSPECIFIED.
	286	236	49	1	18	14	1	3



THE ALARD TOMB—WINCHELSEA

SOME NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF ALARD.

BY L. F. SALZMAN, F.S.A.

DURING a large part of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Winchelsea was in many ways the most important place in Sussex, its importance as a military and trading harbour being uninterrupted by the rebuilding of the town on a new site after the destruction of the old town by the inroads of the sea, culminating in the great storm of 1287. When Winchelsea was at the height of its prosperity one family, the Alards, stood out as pre-eminent. Hitherto, however, the history of this family has been left in obscurity, an obscurity which it is hoped that these notes may do something to lighten. I cannot claim to have compiled anything approaching a satisfactory pedigree; the relationships of the very numerous members of the family are largely problematical, there usually being two or three persons with identical names existing at the same time. Owing, perhaps, to the Alards being bound up with and practically confined to the Cinque Ports they do not figure frequently in the national legal records which are usually the chief source of genealogical details.

In 1197 Laurence, rector of Brede, and James son of Alard, were accused of wrongfully detaining certain tithes of "Wlfledemareis" and of Winchenesel belonging to the Abbey of Fecamp. They alleged that the tithes had been granted to them by a charter, which the monks declared was forged. After repeated summons Laurence appeared, but failed to prove his case; James did not put in an appearance; the defendants were therefore cast in damages to the amount of 20 marcs.¹ A year earlier, 7 Richard I., James son

¹ *Cal. Docts. France*, 50.

of Alard of Wincheles' gave to Ralph de Icklesham 25 acres of land in Stanford, in return for which Ralph gave him 25 "English acres" of land, namely $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Reinger's marsh, which Stephen the clerk of Rie held, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Hope marsh adjoining the sea wall, and a "hoke," or knoll, of the fee of Icklesham lying in the said James's marsh in Kisflete, to hold for a rent of 25d.² For the same rent James son of Alard, obtained another 24 acres in Stamford marsh from Simon de Cattesfeld in 1200.³ The same Simon is found in 1203 buying 12 acres in Clivex (Cliffend in Fairlight) from James de Winchenese.⁴ The identity of these two Jameses is shown by the record of a suit in 1200 in which it was found that Alard, father of James of Winchelese, was seized of 16 acres in Clifix and Stanford, which James therefore recovered against Simon de Cattesfeld, who was holding them.⁵ This identification enables us to ascertain the name of James's wife, as in 1203 James de Winchelese and Goda his wife purchased 6 acres of land in Bukenie (close to Winchelsea) from Henry son of Peter. Further confirmation of the identification is found in a suit of 1205 concerning part of the land obtained by James son of Alard, from Ralph de Icklesham in 1196: William son of Alwin, brought an action, by writ of morte d'ancestor, against James de Winchelese for 10 acres in Reinger's marsh; James called Ralph de Icklesham to warrant him, but before the day of the trial Ralph died, leaving as his heir a daughter who was under age.⁷

Apparently, however, the descendants of James kept the surname of Winchelse, and the real founder of the Alard family was William son of Alard. But before dealing with him it will be as well to see what we can find out about Alard himself. My first impression was that I had found him in that Alard "fil' Swethine," "fil' Sotyne" or "fil' Swottine" who appears as

² *Feet of Fines* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), no. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 69.

Feet of Fines (Suss. Rec. Soc.), no. 74.

⁵ *Curia Regis* 24, m. 28d.

⁷ *Curia Regis*, 33, m. 9; 38, m. 1d.

witness to various undated charters of about 1200 in this district.⁸ Unfortunately for this hypothesis there is an entry on the Pipe Roll for 1212⁹ recording payments made to sailors who brought certain galleys from Winchelsea to Portsmouth, "by view of William son of Ailwin, and Peregrine, and Godard, and William Foster, and Alard son of Swecgiene," evidently another variant of the same name, whereas the Alard father of James, was, as we have seen, dead before 1200. Incidentally this same account of 1212 mentions also Nicholas son of Andrew and Alard, his brother.¹⁰ The only conclusion that we can draw seems to be that Alard was a common Christian name in the district, and that the identification of the particular Alard who founded the family must await further research.

On 24th January, 1225, the King granted protection for three years to William son of Alard, Paulin de Winchelse, and Thomas son of Godfrey of Winchelsea; and this protection was renewed in July of the same year when these three, and others, were going to Gascony with Richard, the King's brother.¹¹ After this expedition William Alard was paid for the wages of himself, 30 sailors and 30 serjeants-at-arms, and also for anchors and ropes which he lost in Gascony.¹² In 1239 William Alard is found, associated with the same Paulin and Thomas, in charge of repairs to certain galleys at Winchelsea.¹³ That his private affairs were prospering may be gathered from his being excused from assuming the onerous honour of knighthood in 1242,¹⁴ in which year he obtained from Geoffrey Esturmi the manor of Snargate in Kent.¹⁵ Two years earlier

⁸ Campbell Charters (B.M.), xxvi, 2 and 4; *Cal. Robertsbridge Chs.*, no. 244.

⁹ Pipe R. 14 John.

¹⁰ There was a Gervase son of Andrew de Winchelse about this date (*Cal. of Robertsbridge Chs.*, nos. 138-147), who founded the family of Andrews; which in view of the persistence of the name Gervase in the Alard family may be significant. There was also a Reginald, brother of Alard de Winchelse (*ibid.*, no. 302), and the Gervase son of Reginald, who was associated with William son of Alard, in the capture of a cog at the Isle of Wight in 1217 (*Close Rolls*), was presumably his son.

¹¹ *Pat. R.*

¹² *Close R.*

¹³ *Liberate R.*

¹⁴ *Close R.*

¹⁵ *Charter R.*

William and John Alard had been among the nine representatives of the Sussex Cinque Ports who undertook that order should be kept at Yarmouth.¹⁶

The John referred to in the last entry was brother of Stephen and Henry Alard,¹⁷ and is found associated with them; as, for instance, in 1235, when certain men of Barfleur complained that their ships, laden with wine, &c., had been seized off the coast of Brittany by William Beufiz and Stephen Alard (who had been put in joint command of a squadron of thirteen ships), Henry and John Alard.¹⁸ Six years earlier, in 1229, in a group of licences granted for trading to Gascony occur John Attelard (one of the forms which the name takes), Stephen Alard of Winchelsea and Robert Alard of Bulverhithe.¹⁹ The names of the licencees belong almost entirely to the ports of Winchelsea, Rye and Hastings, but five masters of Bristol ships are mentioned, including Robert de Cadewsby, master of the *Pateric* of Bristol, which we know from an earlier entry on the Patent Rolls was the name of a ship belonging to Roger Alard, a prominent merchant of that town, whose name, with those of his brothers Richard and Elias, occurs frequently between 1218 and 1240. It is worth noting that in 1241 the King allowed John Alard of Winchelsea to retain the crossbows and others arms of Henry de Trublevill which were in his keeping;²⁰ other entries on the Close Rolls showing that arms for the use of Trublevill, who had been recruiting bowmen in Gascony, had been deposited at Bristol; but I have not been able to establish any connection between the Alards of Bristol and Winchelsea. John Alard died before 1248, in which year his widow Maud is mentioned in connection with land in Fairlight.²¹

Stephen Alard, as we have seen, was cruising the Channel in 1235 and acting rather high-handedly; another instance occurring that year in the complaint of Reynard Bernard, merchant of Peregoz, that when

¹⁶ *Close R.*¹⁷ *Cal. of Robertsbridge Chs.*, no. 106.¹⁸ *Pat. R.*¹⁹ *Ibid.*²⁰ *Close R.*²¹ *Assize R.*, 909.

he was coming to England with wine Stephen Alard robbed him and carried off his brother Stephen to Guernsey. Drew Barentyne was ordered by the King to make search for Stephen Bernard and the goods, and to arrest Stephen Alard, who had done this cruel thing, —“ if he can lay hands on him,”²² a conditional clause which we may possibly interpret as a hint not to be too zealous in his hunt for the offender.

To the next generation belongs Reynold, or Reginald, Alard. He is called “ of Rye ” in 1254, when he was licenced to take a shipload of provisions from London to the Earl of Hereford in Gascony.²³ In 1267 he was one of six barons of Winchelsea and Rye deputed by the merchants on both sides of the Channel to guard the seas from St. Mathieu to the Foreland, and in particular to attack Henry Pechun, a notorious pirate, and his accomplices;²⁴ and in 1281, as Reginald Alard “ the elder,” he was granted an annuity of 10 marks, charged on the farm of Winchelsea, for his good service with the army in the Welsh expedition of 1276.²⁵

Old Winchelsea, as is well known, was gradually eaten away by the sea, and finally overwhelmed by storms in the winter of 1287. Edward I., recognising the value of the port, had prepared a new site on rising ground a little to the north, and there laid out the new town of Winchelsea, to which he now transferred the inhabitants of the destroyed town. This new town was laid out regularly in chess-board fashion, and in 1291 a record was compiled of the householders in each of the blocks or “ quarters.”²⁶ In this the prominence of the Alard family is very noticeable; twelve or thirteen members are mentioned, and in the case of the 8th quarter, out of twelve householders six are Alards. Reginald “ the elder ” occurs twice; “ the younger ” three times; John, son of Reginald,²⁷ twice; and Nicholas, son of Reginald, once. Nicholas, unqualified, occurs

²² *Close R.*²³ *Pat. R.*²⁴ *Ibid.*²⁵ *Pat. R.*²⁶ Printed in W. D. Cooper's *Hist. of Winchelsea*, p. 43-53.²⁷ Witness to a charter in 1295: *Add. Ch.* 20169.

four times—twice in the 8th quarter; one to these two entries probably referring to Reginald's son. Gervase "the elder" is entered four times; "the younger" three times; and John, son of Gervase, once. John, son of John, occurs once; plain John three times alone, and once jointly with Justin, his brother. Thomas is mentioned four times and Alan once. In addition to these there were younger members of the various branches who are not entered as independent householders. The difficulty of disentangling the pedigree and identifying individuals is obvious.

Which of the two Reginalds was witness, with his elder brother Henry, to a charter of John, son of Gervase Andrews in 1270,²⁸ is not clear; but in 1289 Reginald Alard "the younger" and William de Bourne, barons of Winchelsea, were pardoned 1000 pounds of black money of Tours, which the King had had to pay on account of their escape from the prison of the seneschal of Poitou, in whose custody they had been placed under sentence of imprisonment by the Court of France; and he is presumably the "Reinard Alred" whose death, on 15 April, 1308, is recorded on a slab in Winchelsea Church.²⁹

A John Alard occurs in 1273, when orders were given that he should not be arrested on a charge of having harboured Andrew de Fincheham, clerk, who had robbed his master, Warner, vicar of St. Thomas', Winchelsea.³⁰ In 1293 John Alard received a grant of a ship belonging to Robert Brede of Winchelsea, which had been forfeited for piracy.³¹ John, son of John Alard, is mentioned on the Court Rolls of Iham in 1306; and in the same year Alard, son of John Alard,³² with others of the Cinque Ports, was excused outlawry for his failure to appear before the Justices, on condition of serving with the fleet on the Scottish expedition.³³ John Alard and Margaret his wife occur in 1278 in

²⁸ *Cal. of Robertsbridge Chs.*, No. 364.

²⁹ See *S.A.C.*, XXIII, 190.

³⁰ *Pat. R.*

³¹ *Close R.*

³² Alard, son of John, was appointed bailiff of Winchelsea in 1314: *Fine R.*

³³ *Pat. R.*

connection with land in Pevensey;³⁴ and I am inclined to think that Sibyl Alard, who in 1296 paid 10s. to the subsidy in the vill of Icklesham,³⁵—a sum only equalled by John Heringaud,—was widow of John Alard. Ten years later, at any rate, Sibyl Alard and her son Robert are mentioned on the Court Rolls of Iham; and a Robert, son of John Alard, is found in 1312, in conjunction with his brother Henry and Alan,³⁶ again in 1328.³⁷ This Robert, son of John Alard, in 1318 acquired 100 acres in Bestenoure, in Pevensey Level, from Werina, widow of Robert le Mareschal of Westminster and afterwards wife of William de Colverdenne; which land, by permission of Nicholas, wife of Baldwin de Aldham, he granted to Battle Abbey³⁸ in 1322 to found a chapel in the chantry of St. Nicholas in the church of St. Thomas of Winchelsea³⁹ for the souls of his late wife Isabel and of his brother Henry.⁴⁰ Robert's son and heir John in 1353 released to John Peytevyn all his claims to lands, rents, and the advowson of half the chantry of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the church of St. Mary of Rye, and other tenements in Rye, Peasmarsh, Brede, and Udimere, which came to him by inheritance after the death of John Ambroys of Rye.⁴¹

Nicholas Alard, mariner of Winchelsea, in 1298 was pardoned a debt of £25 for a ship called *La Nave Dieu*, late of Bernard au Queor, forfeited and sold to him by the Exchequer.⁴² In 1302 Nicholas Adelard and William Pate were bailiffs of Winchelsea and were accused of having unlawfully taken 400 pieces of iron of Normandy from the *St. Peter*, a ship of John Billing of Yarmouth.⁴³ In the same year Nicholas and Thomas Aelard were appointed collectors of wine dues at

³⁴ *Assize R.*, 914.

³⁵ *Sussex Record Soc.*, X, 3.

³⁶ *Add. Ch.* 20082.

³⁷ *Add. Ch.* 20170.

³⁸ Robert had granted land in West Greenwich to Battle Abbey in 1320: *Cal. of Ant. Deeds*, B. 3935.

³⁹ *Cat. of Battle Abbey Charters*.

⁴⁰ Henry left two daughters, Isabel, who married Henry, son of Nicholas Aucher (*De Banco* 507, m. 508 d.; *Arch. Cant.* XIV, 246), and Joan (*Arch. Cant.* XIV, 250).

⁴¹ *Rye MSS., Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v. ⁴² *Pat. R.* ⁴³ *Assize R.* 945.

Winchelsea, and Nicholas held that office from 1307 to 1310.⁴⁴ He was also licensed to export corn to Gascony and bring back wine in 1307.⁴⁵ About the same time Nicholas Adlard, Henry Jacob and Justin Adlard,⁴⁶ masters of the ship *Seint Edward* and the cog *Nostre Dame*, complained that while on the King's service in Gascony they lost their anchors and cables, which were valued by the Mayor and good men of Winchelsea at £30; they therefore asked for an order to Sir Robert de Burgesshe to cause the £30 to be raised from the commonalty, on whose behalf the ships were serving. They emphasize their demand with a warning something like a threat:—"E sachez que si vous ne perven pluys hastilment garde vous perdre la Navye de Cink Porz."⁴⁷ One Nicholas left a son Henry, who died without issue in or before 1337, when his property was divided between his four sisters, Joan, Pernel or Petronilla, Margery and Isabel.⁴⁸ Joan, who was widow of Thomas de Estewelle, received rents of 5s. 6d. from tenements in Romney, 10s. from William Spayne, 4s. from Stephen Vinch, 8s. from Henry's capital messuage, and 10s. from the heirs of Robert Hugheham,—out of which she was to pay (John?) Yve 40d.; also three-quarters of an acre of meadow at Romney and a quarter of the sites of two mills at Winchelsea. Pernel and her husband Henry Vinch⁴⁹ obtained rents of 24s. from land in the marsh, 12d. from the tenement of John Snapp in Trecherie, 12d. from John Yonge in the same place, 4s. from a tenement once Geoffrey de Langherst's, 6s. from a salt-pan in Trecherie, and 8s. from four shops in la Bocherie; also a messuage at la Kay adjoining Stephen Alard's tenement, and a piece of

⁴⁴ *Pat. R.* and *Fine R.*

⁴⁵ *Pat. R.*

⁴⁶ Justin occurs as witness to various deeds from 1300 to 1312: *Rye MSS.*, *Hist. MSS. Rep.* V.

⁴⁷ *Anct. Petition*, 1476.

⁴⁸ *Add. Ch.* 20173.

⁴⁹ Son of Vincent Herbert *alias* Finch. His brother John is said to have married Lucy de Wigsell, widow of Robert Alard: Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 160. In 1348 dispensation to remain in marriage was granted to Nicholas Alard and Margaret, daughter of Henry Finch, who had married not knowing that they were related in the fourth degree: *Cal. of Papal Regs.*, III.

land next to Robert Bataille's land below the cliff. Margery and her husband Richard Finor received rents of 22s. from Robert Sykeys, 6s. from Thomas Standanore, 10s. from John Clerk, 8s. from Borgeys Corner, and 2s. from Piricroft ;⁵⁰ a messuage at Pipewell and 2 acres of land at Suthmerche. Isabel and her husband Thomas Archer of Dover received rents of 24s. from Galyot tenement, 16d. from John le Frend, and 2s. from William le Long ; also the capital messuage, for which she was to pay 8s. yearly to her sister Joan.

Another Nicholas Alard left a son Stephen who in 1312 founded a chantry for the souls of himself and his wife Alice and of his father and mother, Nicholas and Isabel, in the chapel of Our Lady in the church of St. Thomas of Winchelsea. The endowment of £200 was paid to the Abbot of Langdon, in Kent, who undertook to maintain two chaplains to sing mass, vespers, *placebo*, and *dirige* daily, at a yearly cost of £10, Stephen granting a house in the 18th quarter for the use of the chaplains and providing two chalices, two sets of vestments and a portifore and breviary.⁵¹ Among the witnesses to the deed of foundation are Robert and Benet Alard. This Stephen occurs between 1307 and 1327 as collector of wine dues in the ports of Winchelsea and Rye.⁵² In 1320 the ship *Johanette* of "our beloved merchant Stephen Alard, baron of Winchelsea," trading from Cornwall, was seized near Beauchief (Beachy Head) by Flemish ships and the King ordered goods of Flemings in England to the value of £120 to be seized in retaliation.⁵³ Four years later, in 1324, Stephen Alard was temporarily appointed admiral of the ports south and west of the Thames,⁵⁴ and he received in 1326 a grant of land at Selling in Kent, late belonging to Bartholomew de Badlesmere, for which were afterwards substituted lands of Bartholomew de Berghersh in Chiddingstone.⁵⁵ In the same

⁵⁰ John Gerard, rebel, held 16 acres in la Pyrie by Romney from Robert, son of John Alard by knight service in 1322 : *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, II, 508.

⁵¹ *S.A.C.* VIII, 213 : *Year Book*, 5 *Edw. II.* (Selden Soc.), 128.

⁵² *Pat. R.* and *Fine R.* ⁵³ *Chanc. Misc.*, 132, file 1. ⁵⁴ *Pat. R.* ⁵⁵ *Ibid*

year he was paid £37 on account of repairs done to the ship *Nicholas*.⁵⁶ One of the beautiful tombs in Winchelsea church is usually ascribed to Stephen Alard. He had three sons, Robert, Stephen and Nicholas,⁵⁷ of whom the first two are mentioned in the *Nonae Rolls* of 1341, and it was presumably this younger Stephen who in 1342, with certain ships of Fowey, Bayonne and Dartmouth, captured two Norman ships laden with wine and iron, took them into Dartmouth and divided the spoil.⁵⁸

Stephen Alard in 1320 held of the Earl of Richmond half a knight's fee in Stonelink, Broomhill and Couehurst.⁵⁹ This descended to John Alard (apparently son of Stephen's son Robert) about 1377, and from him to his daughter Agnes, who, according to the Burrell MSS.,⁶⁰ married first John Orlaston and secondly John Seyntleger. By her first husband she had two sons, William and Robert, both of whom died without issue, and two daughters, Joan, who married William Scot, and Margaret, who married William Parker. This is borne out by the fact that in 1424 William Parker and Margaret his wife sold half the manors of Stonelink and of Orlaston (in Kent), and the reversion of the other halves, held for life by William Scot, to John Tamworth and Thomas Seintleger.⁶¹

Thomas Alard and William de Thorntoft were ordered in 1295 to prepare for naval purposes all the ships they could find in the southern counties,⁶² and two years later Thomas was one of those appointed to assist John de Warenne in deciding what measures should be taken with regard to the town of Berwick-on-Tweed.⁶³ From 1297 to 1305 he was bailiff of Winchelsea,⁶⁴ and in 1304 he and John Ive, master

⁵⁶ Pipe R. 19 Edw. II.

⁵⁷ A fine of 1319 re land in Fairlight and Brightling : *Suss. Rec. Soc.* XXIII, 43.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, II, no. 1814.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 405.

⁶⁰ Add. MSS. 5679, s.v. Stonelink.

⁶¹ *Feet of Fines* (*Suss. Rec. Soc.*), no. 2915. John Tamworth was member for Winchelsea between 1419 and 1435.

⁶² *Pat. R.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 114.

of *La Nicolette*, of Winchelsea, petitioned that they might be allowed to account for 100s. which had been paid them for preparing the said ship in 1294 when it was ordered to cross to Brabant with the King's daughter, who married the Duke of Brabant, which 100s. was now being demanded from them.⁶⁵ Next year he died; his executors, Henry Paulyn and John Reynold, answered for the farm of Rye, Winchelsea and Iham at Michaelmas 1305,⁶⁶ and he was succeeded in the office of keeper of Winchelsea by the most famous member of the family, Gervase Alard.

A Gervase Alard occurs as early as 1254, when he was one of the defendants in a law suit, but was called off on the King's service before the case came on,⁶⁷ but it is not probable that he was either of the two Gervases at New Winchelsea in 1291. Of these two, Gervase "the younger" is mentioned in a Wardrobe Account of 1295 as mayor of Winchelsea,⁶⁸ in which capacity he also witnessed a deed in the same year with John son of Reginald Alard, Thomas, Nicholas and Henry Alard.⁶⁹ The other Gervase seems to have held the nickname of Frendekin, as in the same Wardrobe Account we have entries of:— Four casks of cider, valued at £4 1s. 0d. delivered to Fredekin Alard of Winchelsea (called in the margin Gervase Frendekin) to be sold on the King's behalf;⁷⁰ of 20 casks of cider from Shoreham lodged with Frendekin Alard (in the margin Gervase Frendkin).⁷¹ Also,—a payment to Gervase Alard Frendekin for wages of Theobald de (*sic*) Flesheware and his companions guarding the galley of Winchelsea in the harbour, at 3d. a day each.⁷² It was probably this elder Gervase who was Admiral of the Cinque Ports in 1300⁷³ and again in 1303⁷⁴, and in 1306 was

⁶⁵ *Rot. Parl.*; cf. *Exch. T.R. Misc. Books*, 202, f. 51.

⁶⁶ *Pipe R.* 33 Edw. I.

⁶⁷ *Plac. Abbrev.*, Hil. 38 Hy. III., m. 9.

⁶⁸ *Exch. T.R. Misc. Bk.*, 202, f. 51.

⁶⁹ *Add. Ch.* 20169

⁷⁰ f. 49.

⁷¹ f. 50.

⁷² f. 46.

⁷³ *Liber Garderobae*, 278.

⁷⁴ *Pat. R.*

appointed Admiral of all the ports westward from Dover to Cornwall,⁷⁵ in which capacity £500 was paid to him and to William Pate, Justin Alard, William Charles of Sandwich and John de Aula of Dover, captains of the fleet of the Cinque Ports in Scotland, for the wages of themselves and their crews.⁷⁶ In the same year he was granted for life the custody of the town of New Winchelsea,⁷⁷ as we have already seen ; but it would seem that he died shortly afterwards.

Owing to his having been the first Englishman to bear the famous title of Admiral, Gervase Alard has acquired a celebrity which it is quite likely would seem disproportionate to his contemporaries. The most magnificent of the Winchelsea tombs,—a monument which very few parish churches can rival,—is always assigned to him. In my own opinion, however, it seems at least as probable that it belongs to Stephen Alard, who, as we have seen, was also admiral, was a landed proprietor and merchant, and was the founder of a chantry in the church. Leland in his *Itinerary* (c. 1538) mentions that the admiral was buried in Winchelsea church, but unfortunately gives no clue to the tomb ; nor is there any certainty how far the “tradition” that assigns the finest tomb to Gervase is genuine and continuous—the majority of such “traditions” being merely the guesses of eighteenth century antiquaries,—so that it is improbable that the question will be finally settled.

Shortly before his death Gervase Alard addressed a petition⁷⁸ to the King, setting forth that he had served the King and his brother Edmund in Gascony, Flanders, Scotland, Normandy, and elsewhere, and had received no reward from him, save £4 from Rauf le Coffrer at La Rose in Galway and a horse worth 4 marks from the King ; now he is old and has had much trouble and expense in the King's service, so he begs he will give him some reward and will grant him a small piece of land of the fee of the Barony of Egle at Pevensey, called

⁷⁵ *Close R.*

⁷⁶ *Pat. R.*

⁷⁷ *Pat. R.*

⁷⁸ *Anct. Petition 1471.*

le Iland, lying right on the sea : which land ought to be his, but he was ejected from it in the time of Sir Peter of Savoy. Before the grant of the land could take place both king and admiral had died. In 1308 Edward II. caused enquiry to be made whether it would be to his injury to grant to Henry Alard of Winchelsea a certain place in Westham called Ilonde, or Hylonde, and salt marsh lying on the sea there. The jury found that the place in question contained within its walls, or dykes, 36 acres of land, worth 30s. ; the salt marsh contained 400 acres, of which 200 acres were covered with stones, and was worth 20s. They further said that Peter of Savoy had formerly acquired all this from various people, and held it with the other lands of the Barony of Aquila ; after his death it came to Queen Eleanor, and subsequently to the late King Edward, who granted it to Margaret his wife, and Queen Margaret assigned it with other lands to John Fillol and William Goldyng for a term of years.⁷⁹ Even when he had obtained the coveted estate he does not seem to have been left in undisturbed possession, as in an undated petition Henry, son of Gervase Alard, complains that the Sheriff of Sussex, by procurement of the Prior of Wilmington, entered and made distraint upon his lands in the franchise of Pevensey, which is a member of the Cinque Ports.⁸⁰ He seems, however, to have settled at Pevensey, as Henry Alard was one of the mariners of that port serving with the fleet in 1313,⁸¹ and three years later, when he, with others, was outlawed at the suit of the Prior of Michelham, he owned *inter alia* a messuage and 60 acres of marshland in Westham, worth 60s., and held of the Prior 100 acres of *terra susanna* worth 13s. 4d.⁸² Henry Alard was still at Pevensey in 1323.⁸³ and his descendants remained there until the sixteenth century. Philip Alard, who occurs in 1353,⁸⁴ was bailiff of Pevensey in 1377.⁸⁵ Thomas

⁷⁹ Inq. ad quod damnum, file 69, no. 9.

⁸⁰ Anct. Petition 1480.

⁸¹ *Close R.*

⁸² *Coram Rege*, East. 10 Edw. II., m. 137. ⁸³ *Assize R.* 938, m. 28.

⁸⁴ *Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bk.* 10.

⁸⁵ *Cal. o. Battle Abbey Charters.*

Alard of Pevensey appears as witness to a deed in 1376.⁸⁶ In 1421 William Alard was one of the feoffees of Wellondes in Westham, John Alard being a witness to the deed of enfeoffment,⁸⁷ and the Court Rolls of Pevensey for 1446 contain orders to distrain Laurence Wynchelse, prior of Michelham, to answer William Allard, and to distrain John Onewyne to answer John Allard.⁸⁸ The last-named was possibly the husband of Alice Alard, who was distrained in 1473 to accept the office of reeve of the manor of Langney, to which she had been elected;⁸⁹ as when Alice, who held 16 acres called le Thorne in Langney in free-bench, died the following year, William Alard, son of John and Alice was presented as next heir.⁹⁰ This was, no doubt, the William Alard of Westham, gentleman, who was accused by Richard Bayly of robbery in 1469,⁹¹ and was summoned to answer Lord Dacre in 1477 as to an alleged debt of £10.⁹² The latest note that I have of this branch of the family is the occurrence of William Alard as reeve of Langney in 1486,⁹³ but I believe they continued in this neighbourhood into the seventeenth century, if not later.

Returning now to Winchelsea we will deal with the presumed descendants of the younger Gervase (mayor in 1295). We find Robert, son of Gervase Alard, Gervase his brother, and Robert Alard of Iham as defendants in a suit brought by William de Echingham in 1324.⁹⁴ Robert, son of Gervase Alard, occurs in 1312, when he received a grant of tenements from Henry, Robert and Alan, sons of John Alard;⁹⁵ and in 1326 Stephen Alard, Robert Bataile, Gervase Alard, and William Squier, before the King at Leicester, became sureties in £200 for the good behaviour of Robert, son of Gervase Alard of Winchelsea.⁹⁶ Robert, son of Gervase, had a wife, Maud, and four sons,

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*⁸⁷ *Ibid.*⁸⁸ Court R. (P.R.O.) 126, no. 1885.⁸⁹ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bk. 10.⁹⁰ *Ibid.*⁹¹ Coram Rege 382, m. 19d.⁹² *Pat. R.*⁹³ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bk. 10.⁹⁴ Coram Rege 259, m. 77d.⁹⁵ Add. Ch. 20082.⁹⁶ *Close R.*

Gervase, Robert, Reginald, and Thomas.⁹⁷ In 1328 Reginald's land in Brede was seized for the default which he made in his suit against his brothers, Gervase and Robert.⁹⁸ A Reginald Alard, who may not have been the same, was ordered in 1329 to come to the King on the morrow of Midsummer, as the King wished to have colloquy with him on certain affairs.⁹⁹ In 1337 Reginald is found exporting hides to Zeeland and Brabant,¹⁰⁰ and in 1346 he and Henry Fynche were ordered to take charge of the tackle of the *George*, which had been wrecked near Winchelsea.¹⁰¹ He died in or before 1355, when the King granted to John de Colonia the custody of 20 acres in Fairlight, late of Reynold Alard, who held them by knight's service of Thomas Passele, whose lands were in the King's hands, to hold during the nonage of the heir of Reynold,¹⁰²—whose identity does not appear.

In a list of persons in the Rape of Hastings who were assessed in 1340 to supply soldiers we find:—Reginald Aillard, for 100s. of land in Dolham, Robert Alard of Winchelsea, for the same in Guestling, Robert Aillard,¹⁰³ for the same in Stonelink, and Margery, widow of Gervase Alard, for the same in Snailham, each providing one armed footman, and James Alard, for 40s. of land in Gotele, providing an archer. James was son of Gervase (whom I take to be the son of Gervase the mayor), and is so called in 1336,¹⁰⁴ being more definitely termed son and heir of Gervase in a deed of 1341,¹⁰⁵ after his father's death. As James Alard he bought a small estate in Northiam in 1346.¹⁰⁶

Robert Alard (probably the son of Gervase the mayor) was bailiff of Winchelsea and Rye in 1317,¹⁰⁷ and again from 1325 to 1330, during which period his

⁹⁷ *Assize R.* 938, m. 34d.

⁹⁸ *Close R.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Pat. R.*

¹⁰¹ *Close R.*

¹⁰² *Pat. R.*

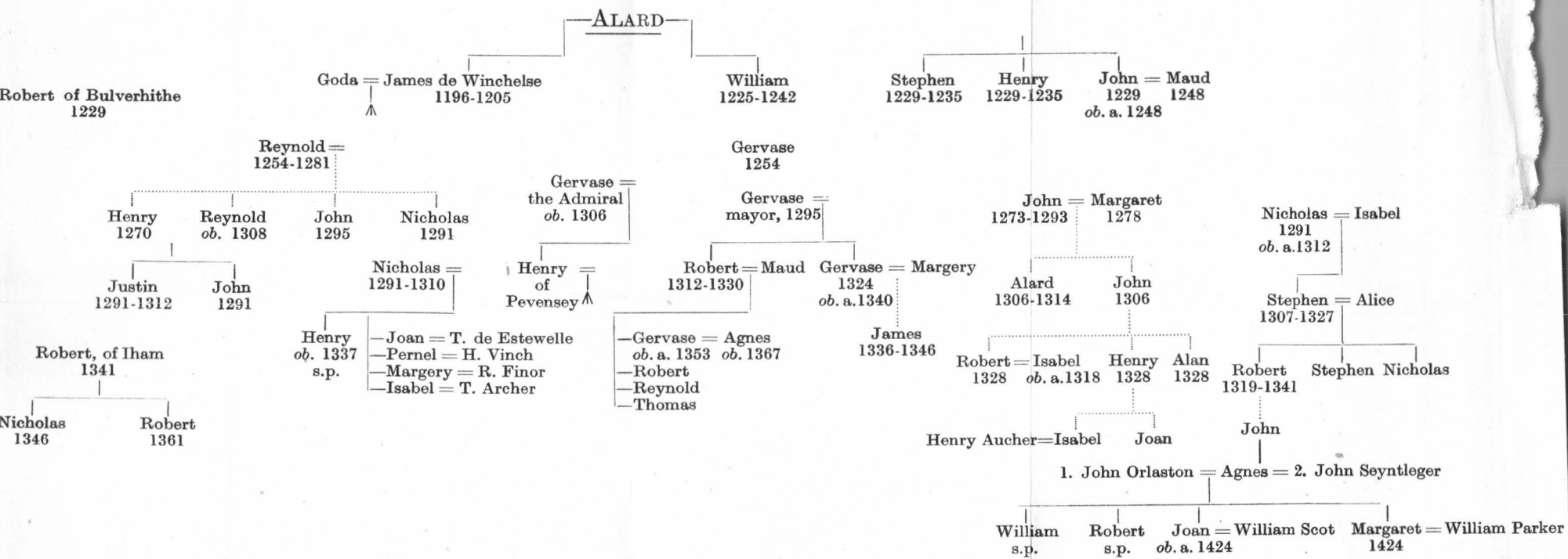
¹⁰³ Possibly Robert Alard of Iham, who occurs on the *Nomae Rolls* in 1341, and whose sons, Nicholas and Robert are mentioned in 1346 (Add. Ch. 20176) and 1361 (Rye MSS.) respectively.

¹⁰⁴ *Assize R.* 1423, m. 74.

¹⁰⁵ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁶ *Feet of Fines* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), no. 2021.

¹⁰⁷ *Fine R.*, Pipe R. 11 Edw. II.



SKELETON PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF ALARD

house was burnt and his account rolls destroyed, so that he could not render an accurate account of the issues.¹⁰⁸ In December, 1330, the custody of Rye and Winchelsea was committed to Robert and Gervase Alard,¹⁰⁹—but whether these were the same Robert and his brother or his sons I cannot say; in any case, the barons of Winchelsea complained of their extortions and bad conduct, so that in January, 1331, they were removed from office and ordered to appear before the Court of the Exchequer.¹¹⁰ Robert in 1334 fled from Winchelsea and forfeited his property to avoid a charge of having been concerned in the murder of Andrew Sely,¹¹¹ and the younger Gervase (son of Robert, son of Gervase) seems to have settled in Kent, as in 1337 orders were issued to the constable of Dover to arrest Gervase Alard of Merden and later in the year Gervase Alard of Snargate was pardoned for his offences against the King.¹¹² In 1367 Agnes, widow of Gervase Alard, died seised of the manor of Snargate,¹¹³ and the fact that in 1353 William de Ryddenne of Kent was pardoned suit for the death of Gervase Alard of that county¹¹⁴ suggests that Gervase had met with a violent death. The Alard family continued to flourish in Kent, and, I believe, still exists there; nor did it die out in Winchelsea for another century or so, William Allard being the town's representative in several parliaments between 1428 and 1444.¹¹⁵

According to Leland the arms of the Alards passed by the marriage of the heiress of the main line to the Oxenbridges,—certainly that family have long used the lion within a border charged with scallop shells,¹¹⁶ which appears on the tomb usually ascribed to Stephen Alard. The Kentish Alards use a very different shield:—argent, 3 bars gules, on a canton azure a leopard's head or.

¹⁰⁸ *Close R.* ¹⁰⁹ *Fine R.* ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* ¹¹¹ *Ibid.* ¹¹² *Pat. R.*

¹¹³ *Cal. Inq. p. m.* 41 Edw. III.; the inquest is unfortunately missing. In 1333 Gervase and Agnes had levied a fine of lands in Snargate, &c. (*Arch. Cant.* xx, 178).

¹¹⁴ *Pat. R.*

¹¹⁵ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, p. 158.

¹¹⁶ The East Sussex family of Maufe bore a lion within an orle of scallop shells; the coincidence may be significant.

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 Barbican House, Lewes.

No. 1.

NORMAN SEATS OF THE FAMILIES OF BUCI AND COVERT.

KINGSTON BUCI. The suffix of this place-name is derived from a family which held a block of four knight's fees, in the Rape of Bramber, under the great Norman house of Briouze (Braosa). At least as early as the end of the 12th century Robert de "Busci" held Kingston.¹ He must have taken his name from Boucé, now in the Department of L'Orne, E.S.E. of Briouze, and S. of Ecouché.

It is not often that we can connect, with any degree of certainty, a Norman family in England with the place in Normandy from which they came; but this can be done in the case of another Sussex family, which held of the house of Briouze. This was the family of Covert. In 1172, as Stapleton observed, William de Braose returned his knight-service in Normandy "at three knights and one knight for *Couvert*."² For years I tried in vain to identify this place, which has not risen to the dignity of a *commune*. Stapleton, however, gives the clue by describing it as in the Bessin, that is, the Bayeux district. We are thus enabled to find it, far enough from Briouze, in the Department of Calvados and the *arrondissement* of Bayeux. It lies west of Caen and nearly south of Bayeux, and adjoins Tilly-sur-Seulles.

In Sussex the Coverts held two knight's fees³ in Sullington and Broadbridge (in Horsham)⁴ on the Braose fief. Although their surname is, sometimes given as "Le Covert" (or Cuvert) there is no doubt in my mind that it ought to be "De Covert."

J. HORACE ROUND,

Hon. Mem.

¹ *Sussex Fines* (Sussex Rec. Soc. II), No. 19.

² *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, I, p. CLXXII.

³ *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 222-223.

⁴ *Sussex Fines*, Vol. II, No. 723 (*cf.* Vol. I, No. 344.)



BRONZE CELTS FROM EASTBOURNE

No. 2.

BRONZE CELTS FOUND AT EASTBOURNE.

During excavations connected with the re-building of business premises on the West side of Terminus Road, Eastbourne, in the year 1916, two bronze socketed Celts were unearthed at a depth of 10 feet below the present level of the ground.

By the kindness of the gentleman into whose possession the objects had come, and through the archaeological interest of a mutual friend, I was enabled to photograph the Celts and place on record some particulars concerning them.

I was informed that the stratum immediately above the "find" to a thickness of 4 feet was chalk "sludge," this was followed by 3 feet of alluvial soil which was overlaid by 3 feet of vegetable mould; there was no evidence of the soil having been moved. The site lies low within a very few yards of the course of the Bourne Stream, and animal remains, elephant, hippopotamus, elk, &c., were many years ago excavated in the immediate neighbourhood, the specimens being in the local Museum.

As will be seen from the illustration, one of the Celts is of the small socketed type without ornament, but the other is larger in every way, and is ornamented with raised lines and roundels, the design being similar but not identical on the two sides. The weights and principal measurements are as follows:—

	A.	B.
Weight	16½ ozs.	8½ ozs.
Length	5½ inches.	4¾ inches.
Greatest Width of } Blade }	2¼ "	2⅝ "
Circumference of } Collar of Socket }	5½ "	4⅞ "

It was expected that the specimens would have found an appropriate home in the Eastbourne Museum, but unhappily they have gone out of the town into a private collection. The hope is cherished however, that by the kind courtesy of the possessor facilities may be afforded for obtaining a cast of the Celts to be deposited in the Museum of the town where they were found.

W. BUDGEN.

No. 3.

WILL OF SIR WILLIAM PERCY.

Among the manuscripts of Lord Middleton, reported upon by the Historical Manuscript Commission, is the following will.—

"In the name of God, St. Mary his mother, and of all Saints. The 14th day of the Kalends of April, the year of grace and of God 1406, I William Percy, Knight, being of sound mind, bequeath my soul to God and to his mother and to all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the Church of Wodemancote. Also I leave to the

Cathedral Church of Cicestre 40s. Also I leave to the Church of Wodemancote 13s. 4d. Also I will that a window which is now begun on the north side of the said Church may be completed with my goods. Also I leave to William, parson of the said Church, 20s. Also I leave to the convent of the priory of Lewes in alms 10 marks. Also I leave to the convent of the Friars of Shorham 40s. Also I leave to William son of Lord (*monser*) de Ponynges 10 marks. Also I will and bequeath that the residue of all my goods, living and dead, after my debts and my will are performed, remain to Mary my wife. For the performance of my bequests and will I ordain and appoint as my executors Sir Robert de Ponynges, Gilbard, parson of Ebarton (Edburton) and Mary my wife."

Proved on 2 July, 1407, before Roger, rector of Poynings, appointed in this behalf by John Perche, clerk, registrar of the Court of Canterbury, in the parish church of Wodemancote, with grant of administration to the aforesaid by the said registrar on 9 July.

SUBJECT INDEX TO PAPERS IN VOLS. LI-LX.

A

- ALFRISTON, Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at, 56, 16-53; 57, 197-210
 ALVRED PINCERNA, 57, 162-179
 ARCHITECTURE :
 Domestic, *see* Bolebroke, Bridge, Buckhurst, Chichester, Cowdray, Crawley, Dixter, Pokes, Steyning
 Ecclesiastical, *see* Bexhill, Chichester, Chithurst, Crawley, Eastbourne, Excete, Herstmonceux, Poling, Steyning, Tortington, Twineham
 ARLINGTON, Churchwardens' Accounts, 54, 85-112
 ASHDOWN FOREST in 1632, 55, 312

B

- BAKER, John, Diary of, 52, 38-82
 BELLS, Sussex Church, 57, 1-118, 222
 BELTOUT VALLEY Entrenchments, 55, 41-55
 BEXHILL CHURCH, 53, 61-108
 BLACK MAGIC, A Case of, 59, 130
 BOLEBROKE HOUSE, 52, 32-37; 54, 274
 BOOKS relating to Sussex :
 Church Disasters, 51, 193
 Parliamentary History of Borough of Lewes, 51, 193
 Sussex Place-Names, 51, 193
 Sussex : Painted by Wilfrid Ball, 52, 197
 The Spirit of the Downs, 52, 198
 Feudal Aids, 52, 198
 Notes on Sussex Churches, 52, 198; 54, 277
 The Two Shorehams, 52, 198
 The South Downs, 52, 198
 The Brasses of Sussex, 52, 198
 Rambles in Sussex, 52, 198
 An Account of the Families of Lennard and Barrett, 53, 281
 Memorials of Old Sussex, 53, 281
 The Ships and Mariners of Shoreham, 53, 282
 History of Brickwall, Northiam and Brede, 53, 282
 Heathfield Memorials, 53, 282
 History of Hastings Castle and Rape, 53, 282
 Sussex in the Civil War, 53, 282
 The Percy Cartulary, 54, 276
 Selsey Bill, 54, 276
 Bosham Church, 54, 277
 The Wonderful Weald, 54, 277
 Off the Beaten Track in Sussex, 54, 277
 The Sussex Coast, 55, 323
 Gravetye Manor, 55, 323
 History of Cuckfield, 55, 323
 Parish Registers of Hove and Preston, 55, 323
 West Sussex Churches, 55, 323
 Recollections of a Sussex Parson, 55, 323
 Old Eastbourne, 56, 206
 Bourne in the Past, 56, 206
 Sackville College, 56, 206
 A Short History of Salehurst, 57, 226

- Anglo-Saxon Church Architecture in Sussex*, 57, 226
The Place-Names of Sussex, 57, 226
- BOROUGHs, Early Charters of Sussex, 55, 35-40
- BOSHAM, Roman Remains at, 53, 272
 — Extracts from Parish Registers of, 54, 55-61
 — Visitations and Inventories of the Free Chapel of, 54, 77-84
- Head of Germanicus at, 57 217
- BRIDGE, Lynchmere, 54, 32-36 ; 55, 319
- BRIGHTON CHURCH, Pews in, 54, 271
- BUCKHURST, 54, 62-76
- BURPHAM, British Coin found at, 55, 305
- BUTTINGHILL, Hundred of, 58, 6-20

C

- CANTING ARMS in Sussex, 59, 25-34
- CHANCTONBURY RING, Excavations at, 53, 131-137
- CHICHESTER, Grey Friars' Church, 51, 14-36
 — Chartulary of St. Mary's Hospital, 51, 37-64
 — Bishop's Palace, 52, 1-23
 — The Prebendal School, 54, 1-5
 — The Vicar's Close, 56, 92-109
 — Shrine of St. Richard, 60, 141
- CHITHURST CHURCH, 55, 97-107
- CHURCH PLATE, 53, 198-266 ; 54, 183-258 ; 55, 126-219, 321 ; 56, 196
- CLERGY, Commission to Arm and Array, 51, 153-162
- CLERGY of Archdeaconry of Lewes and Deanery of South Malling, 55, 220-277
- CONVENTICLES in Sussex, 1669, and Licences for Nonconformists, 1672, 51, 1-13
- COOPER, Rev. Canon J. H., Obituary, 52, 199
- COURTHOP, Sir George, Memoirs of, 51, 65-98
- COWDRAY, The Porch of, 54, 113-129
- CRAWLEY, 55, 1-18
- CUCKFIELD BRIEFS, 52, 24-31
- CUCKFIELD FAMILIES : The Michells, 53, 109-130

D

- DACRE, The Lords, and their Hoo Quaterings, 59, 128
- DEANERIES of the Diocese of Chichester and their relations to the Rapes, 55, 108-122
- DENE, Family of, 58, 171-189
- DIXTER, Northiam, 52, 132-155
- DOMESDAY BOOK, Place-Names ending in "-intun" in, 59, 76-83
- Names of Sussex Hundred in, 60, 92-125
- DOMESDAY TENANTS :
 1 Alvred Pincerna, 57, 162-179
 2 The Family of Dene, 58, 171-189
- DRUNGEWICK MANOR, Loxwood, 57, 211-216

E

- EARTHWORKS, *see* Beltout, Hartfield, Selsey, Stane Street, West Sussex
- EASTBOURNE CHURCH, Rood-loft Piscina in, 51, 123-125
- Skeletons found near, 52, 189
- Supposed Battlefield near, 52, 192
- Maps of, 53, 276
- Descent of Manor of, 55, 307-310
- Finds at, 58, 190-194
- Hundred of, 59, 126
- EAST GRINSTED CHURCH, Pews in, 54, 271
- ECCLESIASTICAL DEPOSITION BOOKS, Witnesses from, 56, 1-15
- ECHINGHAM of Echingham, 53, 276
- EXCETE and its Parish Church, 58, 138-170

F

- FARMER'S BOOK of the Eighteenth Century, A, 52, 188
- FARNEFOLD of Steyning, 59, 84-112
- FIRLE, Roman Urns found at, 57, 217
- FOLK LORE, *see* Black Magic, Hove, Rings, Witchcraft
- FORSTER, Anne, Grave Slab of, 59, 130

G

- GENEALOGIES, *see* Dacre, Dene, Domesday Tenants, Echingham, Farnefeld, Gratwicke, Leedes, Michell, Springett, Stopham, Tattersall, Verrall, Warene
- GLASSMAKER in Sussex in Sixteenth Century, A, 51, 189
- GOTT, Samuel, 53, 277.
- GRATWICKE, Family of, 60, 34-66

H

- HARDHAM PRIORY, Wall-Paintings at, 58, 1-5
- HARTFIELD Church Bell, 56, 200
- Exploration of the "Castle" Mound, 56, 201
- Fire-back from Anchor Inn at, 60, 146
- HARTING, Coins found at, 53, 274
- HASSOCKS, Roman Well at, 56, 197
- HERSTMONCEUX CHURCH and the Dacre Tomb, 58, 21-64, 198
- HOVE, Seal found at, 54, 270
- Witches at, 52, 192

I

- INQUISITIONS post mortem, 52, 100-131
- INVENTORIES, Two Sussex, 51, 115-122
- IPING, Roman Vessel from, 52, 194
- IRON, Old Sussex, 57, 223, 58, 197

J

JEFFERAY, Seal of, 55, 310-311

K

KEYMER, Manor of, 54, 6-31

KNIGHT, Samuel, Bell-founder, of Reading, at Arundel, 56, 202

L

LEEDES of Wappingthorne, 54, 37-54

LEWES ARCHDEACONRY, Bishops' Transcripts for, 55, 314

LEWES, Dedication of St. Anne's Church at, 54, 265-269

LEWES PRIORY, Objects found at, 53, 279

LINDFIELD ARCH and Burleigh Arches, 53, 274

LOXWOOD, 56, 161-192

M

MICHELL FAMILY, 53, 109-130

MUSIC, Sussex Church, 60, 1-33

MUSTERS of 1618, Sussex, 59, 116-125

N

NONCONFORMISTS, Licences for, in 1672, 51, 1-13

— at Lewes in Eighteenth Century, 51, 183-185

— in South Malling Deanery, 54, 273

P

PARLIAMENT, Members of, for Sussex, 51, 126-152

PAROCHIAL DOCUMENTS, Inventories of:—

Beddingham, 54, 263

Bexhill, 52, 178-181

Durrington, 56, 194

East Dean, 52, 182

Firle, 54, 263

Framfield, 55, 299

Friston, 52, 183

Hove, 53, 267

Jevington, 52, 184

New Shoreham, 54, 259

Ringmer, 52, 184

Selsey, 54, 261

Southwick, 55, 301

Waldron, 52, 186

PATCHAM, Roman Glass Inkpot found at, 55, 63-73

PEKES, Chiddingly, Ancient Paintings at, 53, 138-142

PENN, William, Order for arrest of, 57, 221

PETWORTH, Honour of, 53, 188-191; 55, 19-34

PEVENSEY DOCUMENTS, a correction, 53, 275

— Excavations at, 51, 99-114; 52, 86-95

— Levels, Inning of, 53, 32-60; 60, 145

- PLACE-NAMES ending “-intun”
in Domesday Book, 59, 76-83
- PLUMPTON and the Springett Family, 56, 199
- POLING and the Knights Hospitallers, 60, 67-91

Q

- QUAKER REGISTERS, Notes on
Early, 55, 74-96

R

- RINGS used as Amulets, 52, 193
- RODMELL, Pigeon-House at, 58, 197
- ROMAN, *see* Bosham, Chanctonbury, Eastbourne, Firle, Hassocks, Iping, Patcham, Pevensey, Selsey, Stane Street, Ticehurst

S

- SADDLESCOMBE, Saxon Cremations near, 57, 219
- SEDLSCOMBE CHURCH, Allotment of Sittings in, 52, 96-99
- SELSEY or Pagham Harbour, 53, 26-31
- Excavations at, 55, 56-62
- Roman and other objects found at, 53, 272; 55, 215; 57, 224; 58, 196; 59, 129; 60, 144
- SHELLEY, William, of Michelgrove, Inventory of Goods of, 55, 284-298
- SHOREHAM, New, Extracts from Vestry Book of, 51, 163-182
- Dedication of the Church, 51, 190
- Seal of, 51, 190
- SPRINGETT FAMILY, 56, 199
- STANE STREET in its passage over the South Downs, 57, 119-135
- on Halnaker Hill, 58, 132-137
- STEYNING, An Ancient House at, 56, 192-3
- Church, 57, 149-161
- STOCKFERRY, 58, 196
- STOPHAM, Zouches and Honour of Petworth, 55, 19-34
- SUNDIALS, Primitive, in West Sussex Churches, 60, 126-140
- SUSSEX COAST LINE, 53, 5-25
- SUSSEX, Churches of, in 1586, 53, 1-4
- SUSSEX KNIGHT'S FEE, A, 53, 183-187

T

- TATTERSALL of Brighton, 54, 271
- TICEHURST, Roman Remains at, 58, 195
- TILGATE FOREST, Worked Flints from, 55, 123-125
- TORTINGTON CHURCH and Priory, 52, 163-177
- TURNER, Thomas, of Keymer, 59, 127
- TWINEHAM CHURCH, 59, 113-115

V

VERRALL FAMILY of Lewes, 58,
91-131

W

WARENNE, Earls of Surrey, Devolu-
tion of Manors of, 56, 54-91

— John de, Earl of Surrey and
Stratherne, A Palatinate
Seal of, 57, 180-184

WEST SUSSEX, Some Earthworks
of, 58, 65-90

WISBOROUGH GREEN, Relics at,
60, 141

WISTON, Rolls of the Manor of,
53, 143-182, 54, 130-182

WITCHCRAFT in Sussex, 60, 147

WITHYHAM CHURCH BELLS, 51,
186-188

WOOLBEDING, Stone Coffin found
at, 55, 306

INDEX TO VOL. LXI.

A

- Acres, Jo. de, 88.
 Acryse (Kent), 58.
 ALARD, FAMILY OF, SOME NOTES ON
 THE. By L. F. SALZMAN, 126-138.
 Albourne, 87, 122.
 Alchorne, Alex., 41.
 Jo. 41.
 Alciston, 123.
 Aldham, Baldwin de, Nicolaa.w.of,
 132.
 Aldingbourne, 119.
 Aldington, 86, 122.
 Alfriston, 105, 123.
 ALCROFT, A. HADRIAN, ON EX-
 PLORATIONS ON REWELL HILL,
 31-39.
 Almodington, 119.
 Aly, Simon, 85.
 Alwin, Wm., son of, 127, 128.
 Amberley, 120.
 Ambroys, Jo., 132.
 Andrewes, Gervase, 131.
 Anglesey, 75.
 Angmering, 86, 89.
 East, 120.
 West, 120.
 Anstie, Mercy, 51.
 Appledram, 119.
 Archer, Isabel, 134.
 Thos., 134.
 Ardingly, 49, 122.
 Arlington, 123.
 Arundel, 81, 85, 86, 120, 124.
 Boro. of, 89, 90.
 S. Nich., 89, 90.
 Park, 20, 25, 38.
 Ash (Kent), 58.
 Ashburnham, 123.
 Ashington, 121.
 Ashurst, 121.
 Aucher, Henry, 132.
 Isabel, 132.
 Nicholas, 132.
 Aula, Jo. de., 137.
 Avisford House, 20, 26

B

- Bacon, Lord Keeper, 98.
 Badlesmere, Bart., 134.
 Baker, Nurse, 64.
 Bal, Walter le, 91.
 Balcombe, 46, 47, 48, 49, 122.
 Banks, 45.
 Barcombe, 89, 122.
 Barentyne, Drew., 130.
 Barich, Goody, 63.
 Barlavington, 120.
 Barlow, Bp., 107, 108.
 Barnham, 120.
 Bartholomew, clerk, 85.
 Bartley, Jo., 41-52.
 Rich., 4-41.
 Bataille, Robt., 134-139.
 Battle, 123.
 Abbey of, 80, 132.
 Abbot of, 80.
 S. Mary, 86.
 Bayly, Rich., 139.
 Beckley, 107, 123.
 Beddingham, 123.
 Beeding, 122.
 Beleme, Daniel de, 90.
 Bentley, 49.
 Bepton, 120.
 Berghersh, Bart., 134.
 Bernard, Reynard, 129.
 Stephen, 130.
 Bersted, South, 119.
 Berwick, 123.
 Beufiz, Wm., 129.
 Beverley, S. John of, 80.
 Bexhill, 89, 123.
 Bidlington, 87.
 Bignor, 120.
 Billing, Jo. 132.
 Billinghamurst, 102, 121.
 Binderton, 119.
 Binsted, 120.
 Birdham, 119.
 Birt, Dom., 93.
 Bishopstone, 123.
 Blackfold, 46.
 Blackgate Museum, 74.
 Blatchington, East, 123.
 West, 122.
 Blundell, Thos., 41.
 Bobbing (Kent), 59.
 Bodiam, 123.
 Bolney, 43, 44, 122.

Bolnore, 50, 51.
 Bonner, 100.
 Boord, Sir Steph., 50.
 Boordhill, 49.
 Borgeys Corner, 134.
 Bosham, 87, 105, 119.
 Boteler, Janin le, 88.
 Bourne, Wm. de, 131.
 Box, Hundred of, 85.
 BOXGROVE PRIORY, CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS OF. By W. D. PECKHAM, 1-19.
 Boxgrove, 1-19, 106, 119, 124.
 Braose, Wm. de, 143.
 Brabant, D. of, 136.
 Bramber, 121, 143.
 Brantridge, 46, 47.
 Brecceslegh, 86.
 Brede, 123, 132.
 Robt., 131.
 Bridgers Mill, 49.
 Brightford, Hundred of, 86, 87.
 Brightling, 123.
 Brighton, 74, 89, 122.
 Brislanden, Goodman, 63.
 British Museum, 74.
 Brittany, Jo. of, 90.
 Broadbridge, 143.

Broadwater, 86, 87, 89, 90, 121.
 BRONZE CELTS FOUND AT EASTBOURNE. By W. BUDGEN, 144.
 Broomhill, 135.
 Brotherton, Wm., 57.
 Broxmead, 44.
 Brun, Roger, 86.
 Buck, 2, 10, 14.
 Buci, Robt. de, 143.
 BUDGEN, W., ON BRONZE CELTS FOUND AT EASTBOURNE, 144.
 Bule, Robt. le, 90.
 Bullock, Jas., 63.
 Buntinghill, Hundred of, 80.
 Burghersh, Sir Robt., 133.
 Burpham, 120.
 Burrell, Jo., 41, 52.
 Burston, Jo., 109.
 Burtenshaw, Jo., 45.
 Thos., 52.
 Burton, 120.
 Burwash, 89, 123.
 Bury, 120.
 Bury Hill, 20.
 Butlers Green, 51.
 Buxted, Aldith of, 85.
 Alice of, 85.
 Buxted, 121.

C

Cadewsbey, Robt. de, 129.
 Canterbury, peculiars of, 105.
 Carreter, Wm. le, 86.
 Catsfield, 123.
 Cattesfeld, Simon, 127.
 Chaloner, Fran., 41.
 Chalvington, 123.
 Chambers, Jo., 62.
 Chaper, Jo., 87.
 Isabel, wife of, 87.
 Charles, Wm., 137.
 Charley, 122.
 Cheale, Jo., 41.
 Chesters, Gt., Museum, 78.
 CHICHESTER, AN ELIZABETHAN RETURN OF THE STATE OF THE DIOCESE OF. By V. J. B. TORR, 92.
 Chichester Cathedral, 85, 87, 89, 145.
 S. Andrew, 119.
 S. Bartholomew, 119.
 S. Martin, 119.
 S. Michael, 86, 89.
 S. Olave, 119.
 S. Pancras, 87, 119.
 S. Peter, Great, 119.
 Little, 119.
 Friars Minor, 89.
 Bp. Christopherson, 95:

Chichester Dean of, 105.
 City Precincts, 124.
 Chidham, 119.
 Chiddingly, 123.
 Chiltington, 86, 89, 121.
 Chapel, 122.
 Chithurst, 89.
 Chownes, Jo., 51.
 Clapham, 87, 102, 120.
 Clayton, 43, 65, 75, 122.
 Clerk, Jo., 87, 134.
 Climping, 120.
 Coates, 120.
 Cocking, 120.
 Cokshete, Gilbert, 89.
 Cole, Dean of S. Paul's, 100.
 Coldwaltham, 120.
 Colonia, Jo. de, 140.
 Colverdenne, Wm. de, 132.
 Derina, wife of, 132.
 Compton, 119.
 Cook, Laurence, 88.
 Wm., 91.
 Coombes, 121.
 COOPER, MISS, ON A PERAMBULATION OF CUCKFIELD, 40.
 Cosin, Jo., 87.
 Cotterel, Thos., 63.

- COUCHMAN, J. G., ON NEOLITHIC
SPOONS AND BRONZE LOOPS, 65-79.
Coveror, Gilbert le, 89.
Covert, Sir Walter, 45.
Cowfold, 122.
Cowper, Eliz., 61, 62.
 Hanna, 61, 62.
 Jas., 61, 62, 63, 64.
 Jo., 61, 62.
 Sarah, 61, 62, 64.
Cox, Bishop, 101, 102.
 Rich., 99.
Coxe, 48.
Cranbrooke, 63.
- Crawley, 46, 87, 88, 89, 122.
Creed, Saml., 51.
Crosby Ravensworth, 72.
Crowhurst, 123.
CUCKFIELD, A PERAMBULATION OF
 By Miss COOPER, 40-52
Cuckfield, 86, 122.
Cucku, Ralph, 87.
Cudlow, 120.
Cumbers, 45.
Curleu, Walter, 88.
CURWEN, ELIOT AND ELIOT CECIL,
ON EARTHWORKS OF REWELL HILL
NEAR ARUNDEL, 20-30.

D

- Dacre, Lord, 139.
Dalesdown Bottom, 23, 31, 36, 38.
Dallington, 106, 123, 124.
Dan, Thos., 62.
Denton, 123.
Devils Dyke, 75.
Dew, Wm., 90.
Ditchling, 89.
Doughton, 120.
- Donnington, 119.
Dover, 83.
 Jo. de, 90.
Dublin, 72.
Dumbrells, Jo., 43.
Durham, 75.
 S. Cuthbert, 80.
Durrington, 119.

E

- Earnley, 119.
Eartham, 89, 119.
Easebourne, 104.
Easewrithe, Hundred of, 88.
Eastbourne, 85, 123.
East Dean, 119, 123.
Eastergate, 120.
East Grinstead, 122.
East Guldeford, 123.
East Marden, 118.
Edburton, 121.
 Gilbert, 145.
- Ede, Gilbert, 91.
Ely, 106.
Emery, le Palfreyman, 88.
Ernis fil' Ernis, 88.
Esturmi, Geoff., 128.
Estewelle, Thos. de, 133.
 Joan, wife of, 133.
Etchingham, 61, 62, 123.
 Wm. de, 139.
Ewhurst, 123.

F

- Fairhall, Goodman, 63.
Fairlight, 86, 123.
Fairmile Bottom, 28.
Falmer, 26, 32, 122.
Farnhurst, 119.
Faulkner, Jo., 41, 48.
 Rich., 41, 47, 52.
 Wm., 41, 86.
Felpham, 120.
Ferring, 89, 120.
Field, Robt., 41.
Fillol, Jo., 138.
Fincheham, Andrew de, 131.
Findon, 87, 89, 120.
- Firle, 123.
Fishbourne, 105.
 S. Mary, 119.
Fittleworth, 120.
Fleshacres, 44.
Flesheware, Theobald de, 136
Fletching, 123.
Finor, Rich., 134.
 Margery, 134.
Frant, 89, 105, 123.
Framfield, 121.
Folkington, 87, 123.
Ford, 120.
Foster, Wm., 128.

Frend, Jo. le, 134.
 Frewyn, Wm., 87.
 Friston, 123.

Funtington, 119.
 Furrell, Nich., 42.
 Fynche, Hen., 140.

G

Gatland, Hen., 41.
 Gerard, Jo., 134.
 Ginks, Dr., 61.
 Gitarer, Peter, 90.
 Glynde, 121.
 Godard, 128.
 Goldyng, Wm., 138.
 Goring, 87, 121.
 GRAYLING, Dr. F., ON KINGSTON-
 BUCI CHURCH, 53-60.

Graffham, 120.
 Greatham, 121.
 Greenhill, Rev. S., 51.
 Grimm, 2, 13, 14
 Groombridge, Dr., 63.
 Groveland, 48.
 Guestling, 123.
 Hundred of, 86, 88.
 Guichard, 88.

H

Hadham (Essex), 91.
 Hadley, 109.
 Hailsham, 90-104.
 Halnaker, 5, 6.
 Hamond, Mrs., 63.
 Hamsey, 56.
 Handcross, 46, 73, 74.
 Hangleton, 122.
 Hardham, 1, 120.
 Harland, Jo., 41.
 Harradine, Wm., 41.
 Harry's Wood, 46.
 Hartfield, 89, 123.
 Harting, South, 120.
 Hastings, 106, 107, 124.
 Castle of, 90.
 All SS., 123.
 S. Clement, 123.
 Haywards, Great, 50.
 Haywards Heath, 40.
 Heaselands, 42, 51.
 Heath, Nich., 95.
 Archbp. of York, 97.
 Heathfield, 123.
 Hedingham, Alex. de, 85.
 Heene, 119.
 Heighton, South, 123.
 Hellingly, 89, 123.
 Henfield, 105, 122.
 Henhurst, 89.
 Hundred of, 88.
 Henshaw, Archdeacon, 52.
 Herbert, Jo., 133.
 Thos., 41.
 Vincent, 133.
 Hereford, Earl of, 130.
 Herstmonceux, 123.

Heringaud, Jo., 132
 Hethe, Gilbert de la, 85.
 Heyshot, 120.
 Hicks, Wm., 62.
 Highhall, 45.
 Hoathly, East, 123.
 Hocky, Robt., 86.
 HODSON, LEONARD J., ON A 17TH
 CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK, 61-64.
 Holford, Abraham, 41.
 Jo., 41.
 Thos., 52.
 Hollingbury Hill, 74.
 Hollington, 123.
 Homestead, 41.
 Hooe, 123.
 Hope, Sarah, 64.
 Barham, 64.
 Horninges, Geoff. de, 85.
 Beatrice, wife of, 85.
 Horsmanhodes, 44.
 Horsham, 121.
 Horsted, Keynes, 89, 123.
 Parva, 123.
 Houghton, 120.
 Forest, 25, 26.
 Hove, 122.
 Hugelin le Porter, 88.
 Hugheham, Robt., 133.
 Hull, Wm., 56.
 Hunston, 119.
 Hurst, Thos., 41.
 Hurstpierpoint, 43, 65, 89, 122.
 Hussey, Jo., 43.
 Hyckett, Nich., 102, 109.
 Hyne, *see* Heene.

I

Icklesham, 86, 88, 123.
 Ralph de, 127.
 Iden, 123.
 Ifield, 122.
 Iford, 122.
 Iham, 136.
 Ilman, Robt., 44.

Inverrie (Scotland), 78.
 Iping, 120.
 Isfield, 121.
 Itchenet, West, 119.
 Itchingfield, 121.
 Ive, Jo., 135.
 Ivechirche, Christiana de, 88.

J

Jacob, Hen., 133.
 Jenking, Geo., 41.
 Jenner, Ellys., 41, 48.

Jevington, 123.
 Jupp, Steph., 41, 46.

K

Keymer, 122.
 King Edward I., 138.
 Marg., wife of, 138.
 King, Jo., 52.
 Kingsdown, 58.
 KINGSTON-BUCI CHURCH. By Dr.
 F. GRAYLING, 53-60.

Kingston, 85, 87, 120, 122.
 Buci, 143.
 Kirdford, 120.
 Kissmere, Roger of, 88.
 Kitehin of Llandaff, 100.
 Kitellere, Hen., 86.

L

Lade, Sir Jo., 62.
 Lancing, 90, 121.
 Langdon (Kent), 134.
 Langport, Alice de, 86.
 Langhersts, Geoff., 133.
 Lashmer, Joh., 41, 213.
 Laughton, 123.
 Laurence, 126.
 Lavant, East, 119.
 Mid, 119.
 Lavie, Edw., 41.
 Lechur, Allan le, 88.
 Phil., son of, 88.
 Leigh Mill, 43.
 Leigh, Jo., 63.
 Leuckestrod, Wm., 90.
 Lewes, 85, 87, 88, 109, 124.
 All SS., 89.
 Boro. of, 85, 88, 91.
 Cliffe, 121.
 Friars Minor, 85, 91.
 S. John, 86, 122.
 S. Mary, 85, 87.
 S. Michael, 89, 122.
 Priory of, 145.
 Prior of, 88.
 Ralph, Chaplain of, 85.
 Hen., son of, 85.

Lewkenor, Nich., 56, 58.
 Linch, 120.
 Linchmere Chapel, 120.
 Lindfield, 121.
 Linfield, 50.
 Litlington, 123.
 Littlehampton, 120.
 Llanfair (Wales), 72.
 Locklee, Craog., 72.
 Lodsworth, 120.
 Lofield, 43.
 London, 72.
 Bp. of, 98.
 Long, Wm. le, 134.
 Longbridge, 90.
 Lord, Thos., 63.
 Lovelace, 56.
 Lovells, 43.
 Loxfield, Hundred of, 85.
 Lullington, 123.
 Lurgashall, 120.
 Lychehol, Reg. de, 90.
 Lyminster, 120.
 Lynsey, Cuthbert, 109.

M

Madehurst, 120.
 Wood, 20.
 Malling, South, 85, 86, 104, 124.
 March, Wm., 62.
 Marden, North, 119.
 West, 86.
 Maresfield, 123.
 Mayfield, 121.
 Mereschal, Robt. le, 132.
 Derina, widow of, 132.
 Merriefields, 44.
 Merston, 119.
 Met, Wm., 85.
 Michelham, Prior of, 138, .
 Middleton, 120.
 Mr., 52.
 Rev. Robt., 40.

Midhurst, 120, 124.
 Mitchell, Hen., 41, 42.
 Jo., 52.
 Monin, Jo., 88.
 Moorecroft, 43.
 Moorefield, 43.
 Morlay, 44.
 Moulder, Thos., 109.
 Mountfield, 123.
 Mourten, Phil., 41.
 Mundham, North, 119.
 Muriel, 87.
 Rich., son of, 87.

N

Naldred, 49.
 NEOLITHIC SPOONS AND BRONZE
 LOOPS. By J. G. COUCHMAN, 65-
 79.
 Netherfield, Half Hundred of, 90.
 Newhaven, 122.
 Newtimber, 122.
 Newick, 122.
 Newman, Jo., 46.
 Thos., 46.

Ninfield, 86, 89, 123.
 NORMAN SEATS OF THE FAMILIES OF
 BUCI AND COVERT. By J. H.
 ROUND, 143.
 Northchapel, 120.
 Northiam, 107, 123.
 Norwich, 108.
 NOTES AND QUERIES, 143.
 Nuthurst, 121.
 Nye, T., 44.

O

Oatehale, 47.
 Ofham, Rich. de, 91.
 Wm. de, 90.
 Offington, 87.
 Oglethorpe of Carlisle, 95.
 Onewyne, Jo., 139.
 Ore, 123.

Orlaston, Jo., 135.
 Robt., 135.
 Wm., 135
 Osborne, 46.
 Oving, 119.
 Ovingdean, 122.

P

Pagham, 89, 105, 106, 109, 119, 124.
 Palmer, Rich. le, 90.
 Sir Thos., 2, 11.
 Parham, 86, 121.
 Parker, Matt., 101.
 Wm., 135.
 Marg., wife of, 135.
 Parsons, Will, 41.
 Passelech, Robt., 90.
 Pate, Wm., 132, 137.
 Patcham, 122.
 Patching, 119.
 Pauly, Hen., 136.
 Paynes Place, 42, 43.

Peasmarsh, 132.
 Pechin, Hen., 130.
 PECKHAM, W. D., ON CONVENTUAL
 BUILDINGS OF BOXGROVE PRIORY,
 1-19.
 Pellands, Edw., 49.
 Penhurst, 122.
 Penrhyn (Wales), 72.
 Percy, Jo., 45.
 Percy, Eleanor de, 88.
 Sir Wm., Will of, 144.
 Peregrine, 128.
 Peter Martyr, 101.
 of Savoy, 138

Petit, Rev. J. L.
 Petlands, 50.
 Pett, 123.
 Petworth, 86, 87, 88, 120.
 Pevensey, 123.
 Peytevyn, Jo., 132.
 Pickwell, 44.
 Piddinghoe, 122.
 Pierce, Jo., 41, 44.
 Pilstie, 48, 49.
 Bridge, 48.
 Pipewell, 134.
 Piricroft, 134.
 Playden, 86, 123.

Plumpton, 122.
 Pole, Reg., 95.
 Poling, 120.
 Portslade, 122.
 Portsmouth, 86.
 Poynings, 122.
 Poynings, Lord, 145.
 Wm., son of, 145.
 Sir Robt., de, 145.
 Roger, Rector of, 145.
 Preston, 120, 122.
 Pyghdean, 39.
 Pulborough, 102, 121.
 Pyecombe, 74, 122.

Queen Eleanor, 138.
 Eliz., 95.
 Mary, 95.

Q

Queor, Bernard au, 132.

R

Racton, 89, 119.
 Raggatfield, 44.
 Rauf le Coffrer, 137.
 Renfields, Thos., 51.
 REWELL HILL, NEAR ARUNDEL—
 EARTHWORKS OF. By E. C. CUR-
 WEN AND E. CURWEN, 20.
 REWELL HILL, TENTATIVE EXPLORA-
 TIONS. By A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT,
 31-40.
 Reynold the Cook, 88.
 Reynold, Jo., 136.
 Richmond, E. of, 135.
 Ringmer, 121.
 Ripe, 123.
 Roberts, Jo., 43.
 Robertsbridge, Abbot of, 88.
 Rodwell, 122.

Rogate, 120.
 Rogers, Mrs., 62.
 Romney, 133.
 Rooks, 48.
 Rotherfield, 89, 105, 123.
 Rotsford, 86.
 Rottingdean, 122.
 ROUND, J. H., ON NORMAN SEATS OF
 THE FAMILIES OF BUCI AND COVERT,
 143.
 Rowehill House, 48.
 Rudgwick, 121.
 Rusper, 121.
 Russell, Thos., 86.
 Rustington, 120.
 Rye, 83, 106, 128, 136.
 S. Mary's, 132.
 Rylands Bridge, 49.

S

St. John's Bridge, 51.
 Sakinden, Roger de, 86.
 Salehurst, 61, 62, 87, 88, 89, 123.
 SALZMAN, L. F., ON THE ALARD
 FAMILY, 126-142.
 SANCTUARY IN SUSSEX. By H.
 MICHELL WHITLEY, 80-91.
 Savages, 45.
 Sayers, 47.
 Scot, Wm., 135.
 Joan, wife of, 135.
 Scott of Chester, 97.
 Scrace, Fr., 45.
 Seaford, 123.

Seale, Jo., 52.
 Seamews, 45.
 Sedlescombe, 123.
 Selham, 120.
 Selmeston, 89, 123.
 Selsey, 119.
 Sely, Andrew, 141.
 Seyntleger, Jo., 135.
 Thos., 135.
 Shaldewyn, Robt., 87.
 Sharpe, E., 3.
 Sheerman, Edw., 41.
 Sherburn, Bp., 1.
 Shermanbury, 105, 122.

Shipley, 121.
 Shoreham, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 104,
 New, 122.
 Old, 122.
 Friars of, 145.
 Hundred of, 87.
 Shulbrede, 1.
 Sicklemore, Jas., 41.
 Sidlesham, 86, 119.
 Simelecher, Jo., 89.
 Singleton, 86, 87, 119.
 Sittingbourne (Kent), 56.
 Slaugham, 41, 44, 45, 46, 122.
 Slindon, 30, 119.
 Slinfold, 121.
 Smeed, 46.
 Smith, Jo., 63.
 Mr., 61.
 Snapp, Jo., 133.
 Snelling, Cristiana, 88.
 Odo, son of, 88.
 Sompting, 85, 86, 89, 121.
 Sorel, Adam, 90.
 Southease, 122.
 Southover, 87.
 Southwick, 122.
 Spayne, Wm., 122.
 Spenser, Thos., 109.
 Spurling, Hen., 52.
 Squibbs Farm, 61.
 Squier, Wm., 139.
 Staffer, Thos., 109.
 Stamer, Steph., 52.

Stanbridge, 41.
 Robt., 45.
 Rich., 52.
 Standanore, Thos., 134.
 Standen, Hen., 41.
 Stanmer, 121.
 Stane Street, 17.
 Staplefield, 40.
 Stedham, 120.
 Stephen of Rye, 127.
 Steyning, 86, 87, 89, 90, 103, 121.
 Hundred of, 90.
 Stoke, North, 120.
 South, 120.
 West, 119.
 Stone, Jo., 41, 52.
 Stonelink, 135.
 Stopham, 120.
 Stortefeud, 85.
 Storrington, 86, 121, 124.
 Stoughton, 119.
 Street, 122.
 Strong, Jo., 41.
 Nich., 41.
 Stroud, Sir Geo., 62.
 Sugworth, Fr., 49.
 Sullington, 121, 143.
 Suthmerche, 134.
 Sutton, 86, 104, 120.
 Swanborough, Hundred of, 87.
 Swanbourne, 39.
 Sweegiene, Alard, son of, 128.
 Sykeys, Robt., 134.

T

Tamworth, Jo., 135.
 Tangmere, 89, 119.
 Tarryet Bottom, 39.
 Tarring, 85, 87.
 Neville, 85, 104, 105, 122.
 Telscombe, 122.
 Terwick, 120.
 Testar, Jo., 41, 87.
 Thakeham, 121.
 Thomas, 85.
 Thorndeane, 44.
 Thornden, Robt., 44.
 Thorney, West, 119.
 Thorntoft, Wm. de, 135.
 Ticehurst, 87, 123.
 Tilgate Forest, 46.
 Lodge, 46.

Tillington, 86, 120.
 TORR, V. J. B., ON AN ELIZABETHAN
 RETURN ON THE STATE OF THE
 DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER, 92-124.
 Tracey, Walter, 86.
 Treyford, 120.
 Trotton, 120.
 Trubweeke, Manor of, 150.
 Turner, Rev. W., 3, 9, 10.
 Twineham, 122.
 Twyvers Bridge, 49.
 Tycheshurst, Phil., Chaplain of, 90.
 Tyes, 47.
 Tympan, Roger, 88.
 Tyng, Jo. de, 88.

U

Uckfield, 89, 121.
 Udimore, 123, 132

Up-marden, 112

Veralls, 50.
Vicars, Thos., 40.
Vinals, Ellis, 47.

Wadhurst, 121.
Walberton, 120.
Waldron, 123.
Walker, Uncle, 61, 64.
Walmer (Kent), 72, 73.
Waltham, Upper, 119.
Wanningore, 89.
Warbleton, 123.
Ward, Hen., 42, 44.
 Jo., 41.
Ware, Robt. de la, 90.
Warden, Jo., 41.
Warenne, Jo. de, 135.
Warminghurst, 89, 120.
Warner, 131.
Warnham, 121.
Warninglid, 44.
Wartling, 104, 123.
Washford, Robt., 44.
Washland, 47.
Washington, 87, 102, 121.
Weeken, Thos., 41.
Weekes, Sam., 41.
Wellar's house, 46.
Welcroft, 51.
Weller, Jo., 41.
West, Thos., 41.
Westbourne, 86, 49.
West Dean, 85, 119, 123.
Westfield, 105, 123.
West Grinstead, 120.
Westham, 123.
West Hoathly, 122.
Westmeston, 122.
Westminster Abbey, 80.
Weston, Bath, 72.
Weston, Edm., 109.
Whatlington, 123.
Wheeler, Gerard, 46.
Wheler, Roger, 109.
Whitehouse, 47.
Whiteways Cross, 38.
 Lodge, 20, 25.

Yapton, 120.
Yarde, Jo. atte, 91.

V

Vinch, Hen., 133.
 Steph., 133.
Virgoe, Edw., 52.

W

WHITLEY, MICHELL, ON SANCTUARY
IN SUSSEX, 80-92.
Wiggonholt, 121.
Wigsell, Lucy, 132.
Willingdon, 89, 90, 123.
Wilmington, 89, 123.
 Prior of, 138.
Winchelsea, 84, 89, 106, 123, 126,
 136.
 S. Bart., 87, 88.
 S. Thos., 132.
 Gervase de, 128.
 Godfrey of, 128.
 Thos., son of, 128.
 Paulin de, 128.
Winchester, Bp. White, 85.
Winchenese, Jas. de, 127.
 Goda, wife of, 122.
Winpenny, Thos., 52.
Wisborough Green, 121.
Wiston, 121.
Withyham, 102, 122.
Wittering, East, 87, 119.
 West, 119.
Wivelsfield, 89, 122.
Wodcock, Robt., 88.
Wodemancote, 144.
Wolstanbury Hill, 75.
Woolbeding, 86, 120.
Woollavington, 120.
Wood, Steph., 52.
Woodlands, 46.
Woodleford Bridge, 43.
Woodmancote, 122.
Worth, 88, 89, 122.
Wychem, Jo. de, 90.
Wyllames, Wm., 109.
Wymund, Jo., 86.
Wynter, Wm., 90.
Wynterbourne, Weremond de, 87.

Y

Yonge, Jo., 133.