

SUSSEX

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RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

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JULY 1949.

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1890. Bedford, E. J., 11, St. John's Terrace, Lewes.

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(Revised to July, 1949.)

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1920. Ade, John T., Grove Hill Farm, Hellingly.
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1937. AAdkin, Mrs. W. E. } Duncreggan, Cuckmere Road, Seaford.
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1941. Allen, Miss O. M., The School House, Fletching, Nr. Uckfield.
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1945. Arundel, Rev. E. D., F.S.A., 37, Southdown Road, Seaford.
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1943. AAsh, Mrs. } Cherry Orchard, Browns Brook, Fairwarp, Uckfield.
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1946. AAtlee, Mrs. } The Park, Wisborough Green.
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1903 Aylmer, Captain, A. L., Waterslade Lodge, Taunton.

1948. tBacon, A. H., 7, Western Terrace, Lewes.
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 1935. tBeaver, Sir Hugh, Luxford, Crowborough.
 1949. Beazley, Mrs., The Shaugh, Upper Hartfield.
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 1938. Bell, Mrs., The Cottage, Lingfield, Surrey.
 1929. tBell, the Right Rev. George K. A., D.D., Lord Bishop of Chichester, The Palace, Chichester.
 1944. Bell, Clive, Charleston, Fife.
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 1946. tBeyfus, N., 18B, Cantelupe Road, Bexhill.
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 1938. Billson, L. M., 107, Holland Road, Hove, 2.
 1911. tBird, Sir W. B. M., Eartham, Chichester.
 1932. Birley, Sir Oswald, Charleston Manor, West Dean, Seaford.
 1945. Birnstingl, C. A., Danns, Cross-in-Hand.
 1949. Bishop, E. W., 36, Talbot Terrace, Lewes.
 1947. Blaber, J. E., 34, Wordsworth Drive, North Cheam, Surrey.
 1905. tBlaber, William H., F.L.S., White Cottage, Storrington, Pulborough.
 1920. tBlack, Mrs. G. } Norton House, Hurstpierpoint.
 1946. tBlack, Miss J. E., }
 1948. Black, Miss, Cuckfield Park.
 1922. tBlackwell, R. G., Down Place, Harting.
 1948. Blake, Miss, 32, Wilbury Road, Hove, 3.
 1935. Blaker, H. M., 24, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1948. *Blaker, P. A. R., Wellingham Vane, Nr. Lewes.

1948. Blennerhassett, Lady, Upper Hartfield.
 1939. tBlundell, Miss E. M., Green Gore, Battle.
 1937. Bohn, H. A. G., Little Croft, Broomfield Avenue, Telscombe Cliffs,
 and 17, Holland Villas Road, Kensington, w.
 1947. tBoldero, F. F. } Tythe Barn Cottage, Harting.
 1947. aBoldero, Mrs. }
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 1928. tBothamley, H. W. H. }
 1937. aBothamley, Mrs. } Crockers, South Chailey, Lewes.
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 1927. tBoughey, Sir George, Bart. } Glynde Combe, Glynde.
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 1924. Bourke, Miss Myrtle, Pekes, Hellingly.
 1948. aBowie-Menzler, Mrs., 56, Chiltern Court, Baker Street.
 1923. tBoxall, Arthur } Hurstbourne Cottage, Cornwells Bank, Chailey.
 1923. aBoxall Mrs. A. }
 1926. Bradford-Brown, Miss, Domons, Northiam.
 1942. Bramley, G. A., Battle Lodge, Hastings Road, Battle.
 1925. tBrand, H. R., Glynde Place, Glynde.
 1945. tBrand, M. C., Littledene, Lewes.
 1946. Breeze, V. L., Jacobs Piece, Ringmer.
 1928. *Bridger, P. B.,
 1922. Bridgman, P. F., Eastgate Street, Lewes.
 1946. Brightwell, H., Bead Cottage, New Lane, S. Harting.
 1944. tBristow, L. B., 33A, Grove Road, Eastbourne.
 1947. Bristow, W. S., Lullings, Balcombe.
 1925. tBritten, Miss, Goldings, Cuckfield, Haywards Heath.
 1947. Britton, R. H. G., Lodge Hill, Farnham, Surrey.
 1941. tBrown, A., 64, Sancroft Road, Eastbourne.
 1931. Brown, Miss L. E., Hill House, Mare Hill, Pulborough.
 1948. tBrown, J. E. H., 1, Wallands Crescent, Lewes.
 1930. tBrowne, Miss, Downs Cottage, Heathfield.
 1947. Browne, Rev. F. B. R., Firlie Vicarage, Lewes.
 1912. Browning, Col. A. Quintus, O.B.E., T.D., Morialta, 111, Dyke Road,
 Hove.
 1934. *Bryant, A. H., 9-13, Fenchurch Buildings, Fenchurch Street, E.C.3.
 1927. Bryant, E. } Lantic, Maudlin Avenue, Steyning.
 1928. aBryant, Mrs. E. }
 1949. tBrydone J. M., O.B.E., Orchard House, Petworth.
 1938. Buckland, G. W., 7, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
 1947. Budge, Miss, Lamorna, 70, Haywards Road, Haywards Heath.
 1907. tBudgen, Rev. W., F.S.A., Mountney, 38, Milton Road, Eastbourne.
 1943. t*Bullock, The Rev. Dr. F. W. B., 6, The Uplands, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
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 1947. aBurder, Mrs. }
 1948. Burder, J., The Outer Temple, Strand, W.C.2.
 1926. tBurgess, H., 155, Church Hill Road, East Barnet, Herts.
 1929. Burns-Pye, E., Fairholme, Wadhurst.
 1936. *Burrell, Captain W. R., Knepp Castle, Horsham.
 1948. Burrows, Lady Dorothy, 15, Hornton Court, Kensington, W. 8.
 1932. Burstow, G. P., F.S.A., Junior School, The College, Eastern Road,
 Brighton.

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 1949. Bush, Mrs., The Black House, Firle, Nr. Lewes.
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 1909. tBuxton, The Rt. Hon. The Countess, Newtimber Place, Hassocks; and
 7, Eaton Place, s.w. 1.
 1942. tBye, Mrs., Woodfield, Brede, Rye.
 1941. Byng-Lucas, Miss C., Millers, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1946. Byng-Stamper, Mrs., Millers, St. Anne's, Lewes.
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 1946. Caldecott, Lady, Pier Point, Itchenor, Chichester.
 1936. Callender, E. M., } Tentercroft, Cuckfield.
 1949. ACallender, Miss B., }
 1929. Campbell, G. J., Littlehampton.
 1947. tCampion, Rev. Canon, F. H., Church Cottage, Graffham, Petworth.
 1922. *Campion, W. Simon, The Ham, Hassocks.
 1945. tCamplin, W. H., Oak Gate, Hankham, Pevensey.
 1948. Candlin, A. H., St. Bedes School, Eastbourne.
 1923. tCarley, G. C., 34, The Towers, Grand Avenue, Worthing.
 1927. tCarling, William, West Cottage, 16, Butts Road, Alton, Hants.
 1938. *Carlyon-Britton, R., F.S.A., 38, Westgate, Chichester.
 1948. Carew, Mrs., 8, The Driveway, Shoreham.
 1947. tCarr-Gomm, M. C., Ockley Lodge, Keymer, Hassocks.
 1948. tCarr-Gomm, Mrs. Hubert, The Tile House, East Blatchington,
 Seaford.
 1935. Casserley, Miss E. M., 116B, Lansdowne Place, Hove.
 1946. Castle, R. B. T., O.B.E., } Downlye, Cuckfield.
 1945. ACastle, Mrs. }
 1945. Catt, M. W., Pebsham Farm, Nr. Bexhill.
 1949. tCatt, Col. P., The Manor House, Felpham.
 1891. t*Cave, Charles J. P., F.S.A., Stoner Hill, Petersfield, Hants.
 1926. Challen, W. H., 108, Sackville Road, Worthing.
 1933. Chambers, Mrs. W. P. C., Heronsdale Manor, Waldron.
 1934. Chandler, R., Little Thurlow, Oathall Road, Haywards Heath.
 1908. Chapman, H. J., Mill Farm Cottage, Fletching.
 1945. Charters, Mrs., Hilltop, Stonegate, Tunbridge Wells.
 1900. tCheal, H., Montford, Shoreham.
 1949. tChevallier, C. T., Woodhayes, Crowhurst, Battle.
 1947. Chown, Mrs., Coombe Wood, Sedlescombe, Battle.
 1939. Christie, John, M.C., Glyndebourne, Lewes.
 1946. Church, R. G., Wood Cottage, 76, St. Lawrence Avenue, Worthing.
 1944. Churchman, H., } Farnagates, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst.
 1946. AChurchman, Mrs. }
 1947. Clark, A. J., Downderry, The Drive, Farnham Road, Guildford.
 1930. Clark, Mrs. Grahame, 42, Barton Road, Cambridge.
 1930. Clarke, D. K., Holt Down, Sussex Road, Petersfield, Hants.
 1937. Clarke, Miss F. E. R., 21, St. Martin's Square, Chichester.
 1929. Clarke, R. S., M.P., D.L., Brook House, Ardingly.
 1938. Clarkson, G. A. } St. Anne's, Lindfield.
 1938. AClarkson, Mrs. }
 1925. AClarkson, Mrs. H. G., 40, Wildcroft Manor, Putney Heath, s.w. 15.
 1922. Clayton, C. L., 10, Prince Albert Street, Brighton.
 1926. tClayton, E. S., Prawles, Ewhurst, Nr. Hawkhurst.
 1941. *Cleeves, C. E., Sproutes, Coolham, Horsham.
 1929. Clements, Col. H. T. W., Killadoon, Celbridge, Eire.

1921. Coast, Miss K., Rest Harrow, Arundel Road, Worthing.
 1936. τCoffin, S., 1, Turner Drive, Golders Green, n.w. 11.
 1943. Coleman, Miss M., 266, Ditchling Road, Brighton.
 1930. Coleridge, A. H. B., 16, Southampton Place, w.c.1.
 1948. Collingridge, Miss, Merriams, Ticehurst.
 1948. Collard, P. J., Little Inholmes, Ditchling Common, Burgess Hill.
 1947.*τCollins, A. E., 40, Gunterstone Road, w. 14.
 1947. τCollins, A. H., 16, New Park Road, Chichester.
 1934. Collins, S.W.
 1934. ACollins, Mrs. S. W. } Muster House, Muster Green, Haywards Heath
 1946. Coltart, W. S., Chilworth, Lavant Road, Chichester.
 1946. Colyer, H. G., Brendon, Chesham Road, Guildford.
 1921. τCook, C. F., F.R.S.A., 56, Church Road, Hove.
 1909. τCooper, Miss M. H., F.S.A., Newbury Cottage, Cuckfield.
 1932. Cooper, Mrs. R., Harewood Hotel, Tunbridge Wells.
 1947. Coplestone, J. A., Sutton Place, Seaford.
 1947. Copper, R. J., Central Club, Peacehaven.
 1945. *Corballis, Rev. J. H. J., 2, Grange Road, Eastbourne.
 1932. τCorbett, Lady, The Forest Farm, Chelwood Gate.
 1935. Corfield, Dr. Carruthers, Broadmark Place, Rustington.
 1944. τCosh, E. C., 27, Beach Road, Littlehampton.
 1928. τCourthope, Miss E. J., Sprivers, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1911. τCourthope, The Rt. Hon. Baron, m.c., Whiligh.
 1945. Courthope, R., Sprivers, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1947. Cox, C. T., Hill Lodge, Lewes.
 1938. τCox, Miss Irene, o.B.E., Little Hobbs Cottage, Tandridge Lane, Lingfield.
 1938. τCox, Lieut.-Col. R. J., St. Julian's, Palmeira Avenue, Hove.
 1944. Cox, Miss G. M., 4, Park Road, Burgess Hill.
 1947. Cox, Mrs., Cloona, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1949. Cox, Mrs., 8, Albion Street, Lewes.
 1908. Cripps, Ernest E., Sunnyridge, Steyning.
 1924. Cripps, W. T., Sunways, Wickham Hill, Hurstpierpoint.
 1947. Cripps, Miss R. M., 15, Crawley Road, Horsham.
 1939. Crook, Miss B., West House, Southover, Lewes.
 1947. τCrook, A. H. }
 1947. τCrook, Mrs. } 2, Chiswick Place, Eastbourne.
 1922. Crookshank, Rev. A. C., Ditchling Vicarage.
 1925. Cross, D. }
 1946. ACross, Mrs. D. } Moonrakers. Fairlight, Hastings.
 1930. Cross-Buchanan, L., King's Cottage, Mare Hill, Pulborough.
 1948. Culver, G. H. }
 1948. ACulver, Mrs. } Woodbine Cottage, Buxted.
 1948. Curnow, P. W., }
 1948. ACurnow, Mrs. } Grand Institute, West Mains Road, Edinburgh 9.
 1947. τCunnington, L. W., The School House, Angmering.
 1945. Curtis, Mrs., Barcombe House, Barcombe Mills.
 1949. ACurtis, Miss W. J., }
 1949. Curtis, Miss G. L., } Cedar Lodge, Bull Lane. Lewes.
 1909. τCurwen, Eliot, F.S.A., 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
 1916. τCurwen, Eliot Cecil, F.S.A. }
 1925. ACurwen, Mrs. E. C. } 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
 1948. Cutler, G. R., 67, Arundel Road, Littlehampton.
1949. Dale, A., 46, Sussex Square, Brighton.
 1945. Danby, Miss G. E. D., Crooked Lane Cottage, Seaford.
 1899.τ*Darby, Miss C. C., 4, Hove Park Way, Hove.
 1948. Darbyshire, W. L., Glyndley Manor, Hankham, Pevensey.
 1930. τDarlinton, W. S., The Mast Head, Frant.
 1913. Davidson, Miss Blanche, Hickstead Place, Bolney.

1924. Davidson-Houston, Mrs., 21, Buckingham Palace Mansions, London, s.w. 1.
1948. Davies, G. E., 131, Nevill Avenue, Hove, 4.
1931. Daw, Mrs., The Vineyard, West Hoathly.
1940. De Candole, The Right Rev. H. H. V., Bishop of Knaresborough, 4, Brunswick Drive, Harrogate.
1931. rD'Elboux, R. H., M.C., F.S.A., Whitelands, Battle.
1920. *Demetriadi, Lady, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 16, St. James's Street, London, s.w. 1.
1920. *Demetriadi, Sir Stephen, K.B.E., Middleton Laine, Westmeston.
1913. Dendy, R. A., Southover, Woodland Drive, Hove, 4.
1946. rDenby, R. C., Broadacre, Toat Hill, Slinfold, Nr. Horsham.
1947. Denman, J. B., Bank House, Ditchling.
1928. Denman, J. L., Oldways, Hurstpierpoint.
1935. *Denman, The Hon. Lady, Balcombe Place.
1939. Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, F.S.A., Compton Place, Eastbourne.
1936. Dicker, Rev. C. G. H., South Stoke, Bath.
1947. Dickens, K. W., Two Trees, College Lane, Hurstpierpoint.
1947. Dickinson, Mrs., 107, High Street, Lewes.
1947. Dixon, T. G., Warhams, Rudgwick.
1935. rDonne, L. V., 10, Nizells Avenue, Hove.
1927. rDowns, Mrs., Brix, Mudeford, Christchurch, Hants.
1949. rDowney, Mrs., 19, West Hill, St. Leonards.
1935. Doxford, Mrs., Northfields, Eastergate, Chichester.
1926. *Drummond-Roberts, Mrs. J. H., 13, The Drive, Hove.
1947. rDuggan, A. L., Bodiam Manor, Robertsbridge.
1947. Duncan-Jones, The Very Rev. A. S., The Deanery, Chichester.
1903. rDuke, F., Trullers, Holland Road, Steyning.
1949. Dumbreck, R., Boarzell, Hurst Green.
1931. Duval, Rev. D., The Vicarage, Great Barton, Nr. Bury St. Edmunds.
1947. aEales, Miss, Tythe Barn Cottage, Harting.
1937. Easterbrook, L. F., Phillismead, Treyford, Midhurst.
1946. Edwards, W. E., Wyngarth, Ringmer, Lewes.
1938. Eeles, Col. H. S., O.B.E., Sandyden House, Mark Cross.
1924. Eggar, T. Macdonald, 9, Old Steine, Brighton.
1945. Elliott, Canon G., 21A, Montpelier Crescent, Brighton, 1.
1946. Elliott, R. H., c/o 1, Longstone Road, Eastbourne.
1947. Ellis-Collins, S., West Harting Bakery.
1948. rEllis, E. J., Hampton House, Westham, Pevensay.
1931. Ellis, Mrs. C. H. S., Bavelaw, Copyhold Lane, Cuckfield.
1896. rEllis, Geoffrey, South Rise, 69, Dorset Road, Bexhill.
1943. Ellis, J. J. S., Downs Cottage, Kingston, Lewes.
1947. Ellis, Mrs., Field Gate, Spinney Lane, Itchenor, Chichester.
1941. Elphick, G. P., 37, St. John Street, Lewes.
1923. Emary, H. H., 147, St. Helen's Road, Hastings.
1948. Emerson, Mrs., 50, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
1946. English, G. C., Harting.
1948. Erskin-Lindop, Mrs., 11, Beverley Court, Hove, 3.
1922. Esdaile, Arundell, LITT.D., } Leams End, West Hoathly.
1924. aEsdaile, Mrs. Arundell }
1936. Evans, A., 2227, 20th Street, N.W., Washington D.C., U.S.A.
1943. Evans, Mrs., Hunt's Barn, Mayfield.
1927. Eves, Mrs. R. G., 149, Adelaide Road, n.w. 3.
1945. Evelyn, J., 5, Tregaron Avenue, East Cosham, Portsmouth, Hants.
1946. Ewbank, A. L. J., Mayfield.
1944. Ewing, Mrs., c/o National Provincial Bank, 128, Finchley Road, London, n.w. 3.

1945. Fabes, G. H., The Willows, Sea Road, Winchelsea.
 1934. Farmer, Miss E. M. O., Penlands, Loxwood, Billingshurst.
 1948. Faulkner, P. A., Strathmore, Ifield.
 1945. Fayle, A., Markstakes, South Common, Lewes.
 1947. Feest, F. H., Burletts, Bramber.
 1948. Fellows, F. H., 24, Walpole Road, Brighton.
 1946. Fenwick-Owen, Mrs., Langney Priory, Eastbourne.
 1940. Fibbens, C. W., Highdown, 17, Church Road, Worthing.
 1932. Field, L. F., 7, Ellerton Road, London, s.w. 18.
 1946. Field, Mrs., Roberts House, Handcross.
 1944. Firth, R. I., 6, Windover Crescent, Lewes.
 1939. Fisher, Miss D. L., Upways, The Lane, Summersdale, Chichester.
 1946. Fitch, C. A., 51A, Enys Road, Eastbourne.
 1932. Fitt, H. F., Osborne Road, Crowborough Hill.
 1947. Fleet, S., 5, West Street, Rye.
 1926. Fleming, Lindsay, Aldwick Grange, Bognor.
 1948. Fletcher, C. H., Hill House, Lodsworth.
 1937. Foley, Sir Julian, 6, Hadley Grove, Barnet, Herts.
 1940. Fookes, Miss, Chilver Bridge, Arlington.
 1943. Fooks, Rev. E. G., Our Lady Star of the Sea, Church Road, Portslade.
 1946. Forsyth, N., Pashley Manor, Ticehurst.
 1948. Foss, Miss J. R., 1, Sunstar Lane, Polegate.
 1939. Foster, Miss, 20, Bradford Road, Lewes.
 1947. Fowler, Mrs., The Brown House, Cowfold.
 1945. Fox, Dame E., Wealdworth, Laughton, Nr. Lewes.
 1933. TA Foyster, Miss C. H. | Beechcroft, Hartfield.
 1933. TFoyster, Miss, E. A. |
 1940. Frampton, Miss A. M., The Book Club, Crowborough.
 1948. A France, Miss, Cuckfield Park.
 1937. TFrancis, R., 34, Winchester Road, Worthing.
 1948. Fraser, Mrs., Campfield, Powdermill Lane, Battle.
 1949. Fraser, Miss J. F., Pounsley Lodge, Blackboys, Nr. Uckfield.
 1948. Freeman, J. H. G., | Millfield, Windmill Lane, East Grinstead.
 1948. A Freeman, Mrs. |
 1938. TFreer, S. S., F.S.A., Lancing College, Shoreham.
 1946. Frowd, Mrs., Silver Trees, Westfield Lane, St. Leonards.
 1920. Fry, Mrs. Penrose, Little Douce Grove, Northiam.
 1937. Furness, Miss B. W., Upper St. Olaves, 7, Laton Road, Hastings.
 1929. T*Furse, Mrs. W., The Old House, West Hoathly.
 1916. Fynmore, A. H. W., By-the-Sea, 119, Sandgate High Street, Folkestone, Kent.
1912. TGage, The Right Hon. Viscount, K.C.V.O., Firl Place, Lewes.
 1913. TGaisford, Miss, The Cottage, West Dean, Chichester.
 1946. Galloway, J. W., The Old Kennels, Staplefield, Haywards Htath.
 1949. Gardham, Brigadier H. P., Tower House, West Street, Rye.
 1926. TGardner, Captain C. F. | Summertree, Herstmonceux.
 1926. AGardner, Mrs. C. F. |
 1948. Gardner, Miss B. I. R., Forest View, Punnetts Town, Heathfield.
 1935. TGardner, Miss, Nethergong Cottage, Dorman's Park, East Grinstead.
 1946. TGardner, Miss E. M., Borden Village, Liphook, Hants.
 1947. Garrick, Major G. C., Fewhurst Farm, Billingshurst.
 1946. Gasson, R. P., 150, London Road, East Grinstead.
 1947. Gaster, Rev. H. F., 5, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1947. Gates, J. S., West Lodge, West Broyle Drive, Chichester.
 1918. Georges, F. E., Rosendale, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1946. Gibson, Mrs. W. C., 11, Beverley Court, Hove, 3.
 1948. TGilbert-Bentley, F. G., 70, Shandon Road, Worthing.
 1949. Gillam, Miss, Kinver, Church Avenue, Westham.

1949. Hubbard, R. G., {
 1949. AHubbard, Mrs., { Blakers, Cliffe Hill, Lewes.
 1925. THuddart, G. W. O., Everydens, Lindfield.
 1945. THuggett, N. E., {
 1945. AHuggett, Mrs., { Folly Cottage, Barlavington, Petworth.
 1929. Hughes, A. A., Oak Cot, Poynings, Hassocks.
 1932. Hughes, Mrs., Snap Hill, Litlington, Nr. Alfriston.
 1924. THulme, E. W., The Old House, East Street, Littlehampton.
 1946. Humphrys, H. T., Monkhams, Clayton Avenue, Hassocks.
 1949. Hunn, S. A. H., 104, Grand Avenue, Hassocks.
 1948. Hunnisett, R. D., 93, Stafford Road, Seaford.
 1946. THunter, Mrs., Cloona, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1895. Hurst, Sir Cecil J. B., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., The Nunnery, Rusper,
 Horsham.
 1948. THurst, Mrs. C. C., {
 1948. AHurst, J. G., { Broomhurst, Worthing Road, Horsham.
 1946. Hyland, G. W., Jasmine Cottage, S. Harting.
 1946. Hylton, Captain W. {
 1946. AHylton, Mrs., { Cokeham House, Sompting.
1948. Ingle, Mrs. W. B., Saxes Plat, Rudgwick.
 1927. Innes, A. N., White Hart Hotel, Lewes.
 1946. Innes, R. T., Crowborough Park, Crowborough.
 1932. Ionides, Basil, Buxted Park.
 1945. Irvine, B. Godman, Great Ote Hall, Burgess Hill.
 1937. TIvatt, Miss, Anchorhold, Haywards Heath.
1939. TJackson, R. L. C., {
 1947. AJackson, Mrs., { Hove College, Kingsway, Hove.
 1945. James, Miss, Boreham House, Boreham Street.
 1923. Janion, Mrs. H. Garnett, Rush Green, Forest Row.
 1936. TJarrett, A. M., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Worthing.
 1936. Jarvis, R. C., 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham, s.w. 16.
 1934. TJeans, H., Little Bucksteep, Dallington.
 1929. Jeffrey, Mrs. H. B., 30, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1910. Jellicorse, Mrs., Densworth House, Chichester.
 1925. Jenner, L. W., 9, Stanford Avenue, Brighton.
 1943. TJennings, R. W., K.C., Mickleham Cottage, Dorking.
 1934. Jervis, Mrs., St. Michael's House, Lewes.
 1923. Johnson, Mrs. C. Villiers, Philpots, West Hoathly.
 1945. Johnson, T. J., Wyddrington, Hugh Road, Smethwick, Staffs.
 1909. TJohnson, G. D., {
 1947. AJohnston, Mrs. G. D., { 10, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn,
 London, w.c. 2.
 1942. Johnstone, Miss H., LITT.D., 20, St. Martin's Square, Chichester.
 1946. Jolly, Rev. N. H. H., The Vicarage, High Hurstwood, Nr. Uckfield.
 1928. Jones, Mrs. J. A., The Croft, Southover, Lewes.
 1926. Jones, Miss Mabel, Clayton Wind Mills, Hassocks.
 1946. TJones, W. E., 39, Firlie Road, North Lancing.
 1938. Jowers, Mrs., 5, Somerhill Court, Holland Road, Hove, 3.
 1946. Judd, Lt.-Col. J. S., Redhouse, Coolham, Nr. Horsham.
 1933. Judges, Mrs., Field Head, Wickham Hill, Hassocks.
1929. Kaye-Smith, Miss A. D., 23, Charles Road, St. Leonards.
 1937. Keef, D. C., Wineberry Cottage, Compton Dundon, Somerton, Somerset.
 1937. Keef, Miss, F.S.A. (Scot.), 23, Courtfield Gardens, London, s.w. 5.
 1943. TKeen, Col. W. T., Down Cottage, Magham Down, Hailsham.
 1948. Keenor, Miss, Roedean School, Brighton.
 1946. Kelly, Miss K. N., Compton School, Compton, Nr. Chichester.
 1927. Kelsey, A. R., Brock's Ghyll, Wadhurst, Tunbridge Wells.

1928. Kelsey, C. E., Somerleaze, Eastbourne Road, Seaford.
 1945. Kendall, A. W., 123, Home Park Road, Wimbledon Park, s.w. 19.
 1943. Kennedy, Miss M. N., Lawn Cottage, Northiam.
 1947. Kenney, E. H. } Little Jointure, Ditchling.
 1947. aKenney, Miss A. }
 1930. Kensington, Lieut.-Col. G. B., Voakes, Pulborough.
 1947. Kent, Miss, Chittlebirch Oast, Staplecross, Robertsbridge.
 1933. Kenyon, G. H., Iron Pear Tree, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
 1945. Ker, Miss, Rosemount, Cullane, E. Lothian, Scotland.
 1935. tKewley, Miss, Flat 1, 16, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1948. Kilner, D., 41, Cambridge Road, Hastings.
 1938. tKimber, R. J., Corton, Blue House Lane, Oxted, Surrey.
 1946. King, H. H., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth.
 1941. Kingdon, Mrs., Chitcombe, Brede.
 1933. Kirby, Miss C. F. M., Heronry Cottage, Mayfield.
 1947. Kirk, Miss, Beech House, Sedlescombe, Battle.
 1946. Knaggs, Mrs., Whinchats, Ham Manor, Angmering.
 1944. tKnight, O. E., Ymuiden, Langney, Eastbourne.
 1946. Knight, Hon. Mrs. Claude, Conyboro', Lewes.
 1946. Knight, R., 3, Sunnywood Drive, Haywards Heath.
 1946. aKnoertzer, Mrs., Westering, Litlington, Polegate.
 1947. tKorner, Miss T., Sideways, Broad Oak, Rye.
 1946. Kyrke, R. V., 14, Saxon Road, Newhaven.
1922. Lamb, Miss W., F.S.A., Borden Wood, Liphook, Hants.
 1947. Landbeck, L. R., 15, Oak Gardens, Shirley, Surrey. }
 1947. tLangdon, Rev. Percy G., F.S.A., Sherborne House, Burlington Place, }
 1948. Langhorne, D. A., Burfield, Bosham. } [Eastbourne.
 1933. Latham, Sir Paul, Bart., Herstmonceux.
 1927. Latter, A. M., K.C., Nutbourne Place, Pulborough.
 1945. tLea, W. A. E., Monkton Wilde, Dyke Road Avenue, Hove.
 1947. Lear, Mrs., The Lodge, Ashburton, Steyning.
 1946. tLeechman, Miss D., 7, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W.7.
 1948. tLeechman, Miss M. E. B., Hill View Cottage, Lingfield, Surrey.
 1948. Leedham, S. D., Claverley, Bramble Lane, Worthing.
 1926. tLeeney, O. H., F.R.S.A., Ivydene, 17, Church Lane, Southwick.
 1928. tLeese, Miss G., Windover, Alfriston.
 1947. Lemmon, Lt.-Col. C. H., D.S.O. } Home Place, Whatlington, Nr. Battle.
 1947. aLemmon, Mrs. }
 1924. tLeney, C. W., Stantons, West Barnham, Bognor.
 1938. Lepingwell, G. B., Bratton, 51, The Droveaway, Hove.
 1948. Le Sage, Miss, Tortington Park, Arundel.
 1939. Lesmoir-Gordon, I., Meadowside, East Burnham, Bucks.
 1948. Lewis, Miss S. W., Edge House, Felpham.
 1948. Lindley, Miss, 4, Middleway, Lewes.
 1924. Lintott, Bernard, Ashleigh Road, Horsham.
 1945. Lintott, Miss E. L. N., 51, Gordon Road, Ashford, Middlesex.
 1923. Lister, Miss D., 1, Wilbury Avenue, Hove.
 1905. Livett, Rev. Canon G. M., F.S.A., Stoneleigh, Old Dover Road, Canterbury.
 1947. Livingstone, Major R. P., The Garden House, Searles, Fletching.
 1945. Livock, G. E., } St. Peters Court, Burgess Hill.
 1945. aLivock, Mrs. }
 1925. tLoader, Mrs., The Old Rectory, Kingston Lane, Southwick.
 1932. Lock, C. R., Caleb's Brook, Kirdford.
 1947. Lockhart-Smith, D. B., The Little House, North Common, Chailey.
 1924. Lomas, J. E. W., } Birch's Farm, Isfield.
 1949. aLomas, Mrs. M. E., }
 1945. *London, H. Stanford, F.S.A., Coldharbour, Buxted.

1908. *Long, Miss C. B., Selmeston House, Berwick.
 1949 †Longman, W., { Holly Cottage, Storrington.
 1949 †Longman, Mrs., {
 1945. Lovegrove, Captain, H., R.N., Ashdown, Winchelsea.
 1948. Low, Mrs., 9, Furze Croft, Furze Hill, Hove, 3.
 1938. Lowther, A. W. G., F.S.A., The Old Quarry, Ashstead, Surrey.
 1939. Lucas, Miss E. R., Wall Hill Field, East Grinstead.
 1946. Lucas, Mrs., Castle Precincts, Lewes.
 1946. †Lucas, S. E., 5, Lancaster Gate, London, w. 2.
 1927. †Luck, Miss, The Old Rectory, Etchingham.
 1949. †Luck, R. J., 9, Malling Hill, Lewes.
 1948. †*Luttman-Johnson, Mrs., Crouchland, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
 1949. Lutyens, Major E. J. T., { Horeham Court, Hellingly.
 1949. Lutyens, Mrs., {
 1949. Lywood, G./Capt. G., Bower House, Hammerwood, East Grinstead.
1904. MacDermott, Canon K. H., The Oaks, Felcourt, East Grinstead.
 1929. MacDonald, Miss D., Warden Court, Cuckfield.
 1948. McDonnell, Mrs., South Barn Cottage, Crowlink, Friston, Eastbourne.
 1946. †McElroy, Rev. G. G., Chalvington Rectory, Hailsham.
 1938. †McIver, Mrs., Woodcock, Felbridge, East Grinstead.
 1947. Mack, Miss, 4, Cagefoot Lane, Henfield.
 1943. Mackenzie, Col. J., Palace Court Hotel, Shelley Road, Worthing.
 1944. †McLaren, A. E., High Beeches, Coleman's Hatch, Tunbridge Wells.
 1919. †MacLeod, D., Yew Trees, Horley, Surrey.
 1949. MacLeod, R. D., Burghwood, Hurst Green, Etchingham.
 1947. Maclise, Mrs. Kennard, c/o Mrs. Graburn, Wepham, Nr. Arundel.
 1948. Macrae, Miss, Bracadale, Lewes Road, Ditchling.
 1933. McWalter, W. F. C., 7, Albion Street, Lewes.
 1943. Maitland, G., Scaynes Hill House, Haywards Heath.
 1936. Malden, Rev. P. H., The Presbytery, Herons Ghyll, Uckfield.
 1913. Malteau, Mrs. M. A., The Moorings, Ashurst Road, Seaford.
 1927. †Margary, I. D., F.S.A. { Yew Lodge, East Grinstead.
 1932. †Margary, Mrs. I. D. {
 1913. Margetson, Alan { 109, Marine Parade, Brighton.
 1913. †Margetson, Mrs. {
 *1928 †Margetson, W. L., 32, Savile Row, w. 1.
 1935. †Marsh, S. J., Ardens, Nutley, Uckfield.
 1949. Marsh, W., Woodleigh, Church Road, Worth, Crawley.
 1929. Marshall, Mrs. Calder, Becos Associated Works, 2, Howard Street,
 w.c. 2.
 1930. Martin, Miss E. B., The Dene, Shottermill, Haslemere.
 1942. Martin, R. E., 38, Courtway, Colindale, n.w. 9.
 1945. Martin, Rev. G. N., The Observatory, Crowborough.
 1946. Martin, D. G., St. Richard's Hospital, Chichester.
 1938. Martyn-Linnington, Miss, Little Park Hill, Burwash Weald.
 1948. †Mascall, Brigadier M. E., Longfield, 19, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1937. Mason, Ven. L., Archdeacon of Chichester, 2, The Chantry, Canon
 Lane, Chichester.
 1948. †Mason, J. H. N., Silver Birches, Belgrave Road, Seaford.
 1934. Mason, R. T., Suntinge, North End, East Grinstead.
 1946. Masters, Mrs. Hollowdown Cottage, Kingston, Lewes.
 1947. Matson, Major C., { Newpond Farm, Cross-in-Hand.
 1947. †Matson, Mrs. {
 1946. Matthews, Rev. W. D., The Vicarage, Heathfield.
 1928 †Matthews-Hughes, S. J., 13, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1945. Matthews, T., The Red House, Cowfold.
 1946. Matthey, G. C. H., 49, Palmeira Avenue, Hove.
 1946. Maude, Miss L. B., Little Bignor, Kirdford, Billingshurst.

1928. *Maufe, Edward, A.R.A., Shepherds Hill, Buxted.
 1937. Maxwell-Hyslop, J. E., Rottingdean School, Rottingdean.
 1911. *Mayhew, K. G., Garden House, Ham Street, Ham, Richmond, Surrey.
 1926. Maynard, Lieut.-Col., S. T. | Franklands Park, Burgess Hill.
 1935. AMaynard, Miss E. V. |
 1924. Mead, Rev. A. R., Hopwoods, Swards End, Saffron Walden.
 1931. TMeade, Mrs. E., 18, Clarendon Road, Southsea.
 1937. Meade-Featherstonhaugh, Admiral the Hon. Sir H., Up Park, Petersfield.
 1922.T*Meads, W. E. | Buckhurst Lodge, 30, Buckhurst Road, Bexhill.
 1922. AMeads, Mrs. |
 1949. TMein, J. D. B., New House Farm, North Common, Chailey.
 1947. Meller, C. H., | Middle Brow, Friston, Eastbourne.
 1947. AMeller, Mrs. |
 1948. Menzler, F. A. A., 56, Chiltern Court, Baker Street, London, N.W. 1.
 1947. Merrifield, R., The Museum, Church Street, Brighton.
 1938. Merritt, Mrs. Bertram, White Knights, Fletching Common, Newick.
 1927. TMersey, The Right Hon. Viscount, P.C., C.M.G., C.B.E., F.S.A., Bignor Park, Pulborough.
 1902. TMessel, Lieut.-Col. L. C. R., Nymans, Handcross.
 1925. *Metters, Mrs. T. L.,
 1931. TMeynell, Mrs., Conds Cottage, Ditchling.
 1913. Michell, Guy, West Down, 83, Goldstone Crescent, Hove.
 1946. Michell, Commander K., R.N., 11, The Crescent, Alverstoke, Hants.
 1911. Millbank-Smith, Mrs., B10, Marine Gate, Brighton.
 1940. Miller, Miss C., Tatsfield, Chyngton Gardens, Seaford.
 1941. Milner, The Rt. Hon. Viscountess, Great Wigsell, Salehurst.
 1948. Milner-White, Miss, Hodges, Five Ashes, Tunbridge Wells.
 1932. Mitchell, Mrs., Tylers, Kippington, Sevenoaks.
 1923. Mitchell, W. E., Annandale, Cuckfield.
 1949. Mockler, Miss G. M. C., 5, Upper Drive, Hove.
 1940. *Molson, H., M.P., House of Commons, London.
 1941. Money, J. H., 3, Hungershall Park, Tunbridge Wells.
 1946. Monico, J. R., Windy Ridge, Eastdean, Eastbourne.
 1935. Monk Bretton, Lady, Conyboro', Lewes.
 1921. Moore, Sir Alan, Bart. | Hancox, Whatlington, Battle.
 1926. AMoore, Lady |
 1949. Moore, Miss, 6, Headlands, Handcross.
 1948. Moore, S. M., 103, High Street, Lewes.
 1946. Morant, Miss, Lavender Cottage, Rectory Lane, Pulborough.
 1947. Mordaunt, Mrs., Court Farm, Burwash.
 1922. Morgan, W. L., The Neuk, Warren Park, Warlingham Village, Surrey.
 1919. Morgan-Jones, P., 14, Arundel Road, Eastbourne.
 1935. Morland, Mrs., Little Pitfold, Hindhead, Surrey.
 1946. TMorris, M., Reedens, Newick.
 1948. Mortimore, W. J., 1, Downs Road, Seaford.
 1907. TMorrish, H. G., Langhurst, Derby Road, Haslemere, Surrey.
 1928. Mosse, Rev. C. H., St. Wilfrid's, Aldwick, Bognor.
 1949. Mossman, O. W., Westminster Bank House, Petworth.
 1943. TMossop, G. P., Pre d'Elaine, Castel, Guernsey, C.I.
 1938. Moyle, Mrs., Kilworth, Maresfield.
 1945. Mullins, Miss, 30, Canonbury Square, London, N.1.
 1923.T*Munnion, E. H., Ardings, Ardingly.
 1936. Munro, Sir Gordon, K.G.M.G., M.C., The Old Rectory, Sullington, Storrington.
 1946. Murphy, Miss L. P., Little Bignor, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
 1938. Murray, Miss K. M. E., F.S.A., Upper Cranmore, Heyshott, Midhurst.
 1947. Murrell, Miss, 12, Sackville Lane, East Grinstead.

1937. Musgrave, Mrs., Upper Lodge Cottage, Ardingly.
 1947. tMusson, R. C., Badlesmere, Seaside Road, Eastbourne.
1904. Nash, Canon E. H., 1, Vicars Close, Chichester.
 1949. Nathan of Churt, the Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., Churt House, Rotherfield.
 1946. Naylor, The Very Rev. A. T. A., The Deanery, Battle.
 1927.t*Nettlefold, F. J., Chelwood Vachery, Nutley.
 1949. Newgass, E., The Old Rectory, Wiston, Steyning.
 1942. Newnham, W., Portways Farm, Warninglid, Haywards Heath.
 1949. Nicholas, Mrs., Pennings, Cuckfield.
 1914. tNicholson, Mrs., Coopers, Five Ashes, Mayfield.
 1938. Niemeyer, Lady, Cookhams, Sharpthorne, East Grinstead.
 1913. *Nix, C. G. A., Free Chase, Warninglid.
 1946. Noble, F., O.B.E., Lonsdale, Hempstead Lane, Uckfield.
 1936. Norris, N. E. S., Wayside, Withdean Road, Brighton.
 1946. North, D. W. J., 44, Market Street, Brighton.
1903. Ockenden, Maurice, Glendyn, 4, East Hill, Sanderstead, Surrey.
 1920. rOdell, Mrs., Mabbs Hill, Stonegate, Ticehurst.
 1937. tOdell, W. H., Southlands, Hailsham Road, Worthing.
 1946. Ogden, R.,
 1949. Ogilvy-Watson, Mrs., Leas, Wadhurst.
 1937. Ord, Miss E. M., Stagshaw, Ditchling.
 1938. Ormerod, Miss R. E., 35, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1946. aOvenden, Mrs., 6, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
1948. Padday, Mrs., Flat 3, Fair Maid of Kent Hotel, Dover Road, Walmer, Kent.
1949. Page, Rev. T. H., | Church Gates, Old Heathfield.
 1949. aPage, Miss, |
1948. tPalmer, Commander G. I., R.N., Decoy House, Poling, Nr. Arundel.
 1928. Pannett, C. J., Cinder Paddocks, Cinder Hill, Chailey, Lewes.
 1948. Panton, Miss, The Acre, Boundary Road, Worthing.
 1940. Parish, C. W., Bateman's, Burwash.
 1947. tParker, Miss, Mayfield, Erringham Road, Shoreham.
 1946. Parker, Mrs., Myrtles, Hailsham Road, Heathfield.
 1947. Parker, Rev. R. M., The Rectory, Komgha, Cape Province, South Africa.
1946. Parkman, S. M., 97, Marine Court, St. Leonards.
 1925. Parris, C. J., Oaklands, Jarvis Brook.
 1924. Parsons, Miss L. M., Mousehole, Forest Row.
 1924. Parsons, T. E., Caburn, Sandyhurst Lane, Ashford, Kent.
 1927. Parsons, W. J. }
 1946. aParsons, Mrs. } 6, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
1918. tPatching, Mrs. F. W., West House, Shelley Road, Worthing.
 1949. Paul, Mrs., Firlé Cottage, Blatchington, Seaford.
 1947. Payne, F. W., Ashburton, Steyning.
 1937. Payne, Miss H. E., Broomwood, The Drive, Chichester.
 1924. Pearce, O. D., | 63, Church Road, Richmond, Surrey.
 1928. aPearce, Mrs. }
 1947. Pearmain, H. F., Wedges, Itchingfield, Horsham.
 1923.t*Pearson, The Hon. Clive, Parham, Pulborough.
 1921.t*Peckham, W. D., Rymans, Apuldram, Chichester.
 1945. Pecry, Mrs., Oak Meadow, Billingshurst.
 1946. tPegge, P. W., Sunnyside, Rotten Row, Lewes.
 1928. Pelham, R. A., South Stoneham House, Swathyling, Southampton.
 1946. Penney, Miss }
 1946. aPenney, Miss K. J. } The Grange, Hurstpierpoint.
 1949. tPenney, S. E., 116, High Street, Lewes.

1949. tPennington, Mrs., 34, Stafford Road, Seaford.
 1924. Penty, H. F., 5, Berkeley Court, Kings Road, Brighton.
 1943. tPenzer, N. M., 18, Manor Court, Pinehurst, Cambridge.
 1922. tPepper, Frank M., Amberley, Arundel.
 1925. Pepper, J. W., Danehill Lodge, Danehill.
 1922. Pepper, T. J. C., The Old House, Ashacre Lane, Worthing.
 1947. Perham, M. R. W., Council Cottages, Harting.
 1944. Perrett-Young, M. J. D., 102, Lyford Road, Wandsworth Common,
 s.w. 18.
 1948. Perry, J. R., Medomsley, College Lane, Hassocks.
 1940. Perry, Mrs., Ledgers, Cuckfield.
 1927. Pett, H. M., 76, Old Shoreham Road, Hove, 4.
 1923. tPhilcox, Miss, 42, Norton Road, Hove, 3.
 1936. Phillips, E. | 26, Wilbury Crescent, Hove.
 1946. Phillips, Mrs. |
 1949. Phillips, T., Hall Stores, Yapton, Arundel.
 1937. Pickard, O. G., Ravensdene, Holden Avenue, N. Finchley, n. 12.
 1900. Pickard, T. W., Glynde, Lewes.
 1947. Picton, Miss, The Lodge, Ashburton, Steyning.
 1935. tPike, Mrs., 17, Gwydyr Mansions, Hove, 2.
 1948. Pilmer, Miss, Bishop Otter College, Chichester.
 1930. Pitcher, J. Scott, Westmeston Place, Hassocks.
 1949. Podger, Mrs., Round Oak Mead, Wadhurst.
 1947. Ponsonby of Shulbrede, The Rt. Hon. Lady, Shulbrede Priory,
 Haslemere.
 1930. tAPontifex, Miss, Downs Cottage, Heathfield.
 1934. tAPopley, W. D., 13, Pavilion Buildings, Brighton.
 1937. Porritt, Captain S. E., 2, Adelaide Court, Hove.
 1945. Pound, R., Appletree, Rodmell, Lewes.
 1912. Povey, Edgar, 11, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
 1924. tPowell, H. C., 79, High Street, Lewes.
 1946. tPowell, Mrs. Richard H., Church Farm House, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1946. *Power, Miss M. E., Scotenai, Meads Road, Bexhill.
 1923. tPoynder, Mrs., 92, High Street, East Grinstead.
 1946. Poynder, Miss, Lavender Cottage, Rectory Lane, Pulborough.
 1922. tPrice, L. L., 39, Preston Drove, Brighton.
 1948. Priddle, Miss, 19, Eley Crescent, Rottingdean.
 1930. Prideaux, Mrs. Arthur, Shovells, Old Town, Hastings.
 1947. Pugh, Mrs., 82, Cranleigh Road, Worthing.
 1925. tPulman, H. P., Sundridge, Hartfield Road, Seaford.
1941. Quenault, Miss P. M., 57, West Hill, St. Leonards.
1947. Randall, Captain H. A., Green Plat, Spatham Lane, Ditchling.
 1948. Ratcliffe-Densham, H. B. A., 50, Offington Lane, Worthing.
 1927. tRavenscroft, Lieut.-Col. H. V., The Abbey, Storrington.
 1902. tRay, J. E., F.R.HIST.SOC., | 9, Stanley Road, Hastings.
 1939. aRay, Mrs.
 1946. tRead, Mrs., Highfield, Halland, Nr. Lewes.
 1947. Read, Miss, Rough Brow, East Dean, Eastbourne.
 1939. Reader, Miss E. D., 76, Pennington Road, Southborough, Kent.
 1946. Recknell, G. H., Chantry Green House, Steyning.
 1939. Redhead, C. E. A., Little Garth, Blatchington, Seaford.
 1949. Reed, Mrs., Fox and Hounds, Bolney.
 1949. Reeves E. M., 159, High Street, Lewes.
 1939. Reid, Ven. E. G., Archdeacon of Hastings, Windmill Hill Place,
 Hailsham.
 1933. Reid, Miss M., Highlands Farm, Iden, Rye.
 1932. tReid, Miss Shirley, Mackerells, Newick.

1946. tReynolds, W. B., 35, High Street, Lewes.
 1949. Ricardo, Lady, Woodside, Graffham, Petworth.
 1949. Rice, Rev. D. E., Wadhurst Vicarage.
 1941. tRichards, F. J., Treep's, Hurstpierpoint.
 1944. Richards, Mrs., Inghams, Little Blakerham, Ipswich, Suffolk.
 1926. Richardson, C. Winterton, Red Croft, St. Mary's, New Romney.
 1946. Richardson, W. Wigham, 4, Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.
 1948. Richmond, A. C., Manor Cottage, South Harting, Petersfield.
 1936. Richmond and Gordon, His Grace the Duke of, Goodwood, Chichester.
 1929. tRidge, C. H., F.S.A. }
 1936. aRidge, Mrs. C. H. } Parc Clies, Gulval, Penzance, Cornwall.
 1921. Ridley, Mrs. G. W., Lower Barn, West Hoathly.
 1948. tRiley, R. C., 52, Lanercost Road, Tulse Hill, s.w. 2.
 1928. Riley, W. N., 4, Hove Park Gardens, Hove.
 1948. tRippingale, A. J., National Provincial Bank, Chichester.
 1945. Ritherdon, K. G., The Rectory, Newtimber, Hassocks.
 1947. Rivet, A. L. F., The Book Club, The Broadway, Crowborough.
 1948. Rivett-Carmac, Miss, 7, Markwick Terrace, St. Leonards.
 1949. Roberts, H. T., }
 1949. aRoberts, Mrs., } 29, Prince Edwards Road, Lewes.
 1934. Robb, Major Elvey, Wyecollar, Highfield Road, East Grinstead.
 1937. *Robinson, J. C., Oaklea Warren, Newick.
 1946. Robinson, W. E. P., The Pigeon House, Angmering.
 1933. Robson, E. L., 14, Hartington Mansions, Hartington Place, Eastbourne.
 1931. Roemer, Mrs. C. H. de, Lime Park, Herstmonceux.
 1949. Rolfe, C. B., Olives, Uckfield.
 1932. Roper, E. E., Gables, Hildenborough, Kent.
 1938. Rothermel, R. A., 59, High Road, Kilburn, London, N.W. 6.
 1947. Roumieu, Miss E. M., Woodcroft, Cuckfield.
 1946. Royce, Mrs., 18B, Cantelupe Road, Bexhill.
 1927. Ruck, G., F.S.A., The Delles, Great Chesterford, Essex.
 1927. Rundle, E. C., }
 1945. Rundle, Miss A. H., } 21, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1922. Russell, Ernest C., Courtlands, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1908. Russell, Miss Louise, Ashlands, Burwash, Etchingham.
1936. tSt. Croix, G. de, Newlands Farm, Boars Head, Tunbridge Wells.
 1936. Sadler, F., Apple Porch, Sidlesham, Chichester.
 1898. tSalmon, E. F., 4, Colebrook Road, Southwick.
 1949. tSalt, Mrs., 12, Goldsmith Road, Worthing.
 1949. tSalter, W. H., Lochbuie, Clayton Avenue, Hassocks.
 1896.t*Salzman, L. F., F.S.A., 53, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1943.t*Sapsford, A. G., The Old Forge, Wilmington, Polegate.
 1934. Saunders, A. E. H., Weppons, Wiston, Steyning.
 1943. Saunders, J. A., 23, Winchester Road, Worthing.
 1948. Saunders, Rev. W. D., 12, Walnut Avenue, Parklands, Chichester.
 1935. Savill, Miss M. L., St. Lawrence, Lindfield.
 1946. tSaville, M. V., The Cottage, Iden Lock, Rye.
 1925. Sawyer, Lt.-Col. J. E. H., Little Holton, Burwash.
 1948. Sawyer, Miss, Orchard Bungalow, Plumpton.
 1928. Schove, A. P., 16, Herbrand Walk, Bexhill.
 1948. Scott, Mrs., Harsfold Farm House, Billingshurst.
 1949. Scott-Plummer, Mrs., Holdens, Chiddingly.
 1934. Scott-Williams, Major A., d.s.o. }
 1934. aScott-Williams, Mrs. A. } Asni, Upper Carlisle Road, East-
 1940. Scragg, J., Headmaster's House, The Grammar School, Steyning. }
 1920.t*Secretan, Spencer D., }
 1945AtSecretan, Junior Commander A. F. M., A.T.S., } Swaynes, Rudgwick.
 1946.AtSecretan, Miss J. R. }

1930. Selby-Bigge, Sir Lewis Amherst, Bart., K.C.B., Kingston Manor, Lewes.
 1917. Selmes, C. A. }
 1927. AT Selmes, Mrs. C. A. } Kingfield, Rye.
 1948. Sharp, W. E., 25, Highlands Road, Horsham.
 1935. T Shaw, T., c/o Shaw's, Ltd., 101 Leadenhall Street, London, E.C. 3.
 1946. T Shephard, O. H., Harwood, Stone Cross, Pevensey.
 1938. Sheriff, R. C., Rosebriars, Esher, Surrey.
 1949. T Sherwin, J. C., 14, Cripsey Road, Cove, Farnborough, Hants.
 1943. Shiffner, Sir H. D., Bart., Bevern Bridge House, Lewes.
 1946. Sibree, J. O., 20, The Park, Rottingdean.
 1935. Siggs, C. G., 25, Eridge Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1943. T Simms, R. F., Mill House Farm, Mill Lane, Upper Portslade.
 1919. T Simpson, Mrs. Hume }
 1925. Simpson, Miss M. A. } Watland Furlong, Bishopstone.
 1936. Simson, R. S., Blunts, Lucastes Road, Haywards Heath.
 1925. Sinclair, Mrs., The Red House, Ninfield, Battle.
 1933. T Sissons, Miss H. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Terminus Road,
 Eastbourne.
 1928. Sissons, Miss V. H., Crouchers, Rudgwick.
 1928. T Skinner, Lt.-Col. R. M., 3, Bohemia Road, St. Leonards.
 1922. Skyrme, Mrs. C. R., 2, Bank Chambers, St. Leonards Road, Bexhill.
 1926. Slagg, Mrs. J. P., Mount Joy, Battle.
 1947. *Slyfield, G. N., 47, North Parade, Horsham.
 1948. Smart, J. E., Aberdeen House, London Road, Liphook, Hants.
 1945 *Smith, Miss, Homeside, Denton Road, Eastbourne.
 1927. Smith, Sir Francis E. J., Ashdown House, Danehill; and 4, Gloucester
 Place, w. 1.
 1909. T Smith, Miss Harvey, Hill House, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1942. Smith, H. L., 10, Market Street, Lewes.
 1947. T Smith, S. C. }
 1948. ASmith, Mrs. } Morley House, Lewes.
 1946. Smith, T., 6, Park Road, Lewes.
 1946. T Smith, Mrs., Weavers, Iden Green, Benenden, Kent.
 1948. Smith, J. L. E., Lower Ashford, Slaugham.
 1894. T Somers-Clarke, Mrs. Cecil, 99, Furze Croft, Hove.
 1947. Somerville, Rev. C. D. B., 135, Offington Drive, Worthing.
 1947. Sopwith, Col. G. E., Cross Farm, Waldron.
 1946. Spencer, J. C., Coles Hall, Five Ashes.
 1923. T Spokes, P. S., 26, Charlbury Road, Oxford.
 1927. Staffurth, Miss F. E. A., Kenworth, Nelson Road, Bognor.
 1923. Standen, Miss Violet J., Church Place, Pulborough.
 1919. Stedman, T. Gurney, 6, Darracott Road, Pokesdown, Boscombe, Hants.
 1949. T Steed, C. K., Flat 4A, 3, Second Avenue, Hove.
 1946. Steele, J., Hatchlands, Cuckfield.
 1924. Stenhouse, Mrs. J. R., 4, Park Road, Lewes.
 1938. Stephens, Mrs. E. G. Walls, Nepcote House, Findon.
 1949. Stephenson, C., South Road, Haywards Heath.
 1947. Stephenson, Rev. H. W., Westgate Manse, Lewes.
 1923. T *Stern, Col. F., M.C., Highdown, Goring-by-Sea.
 1903. T Stevens, F. Bentham, F.S.A. }
 1909. AStevens, Mrs. F. Bentham } Cinder Rough, Chailey.
 1948. Stevens, D. L., 10, Calverley Road, Eastbourne.
 1936. T Stevens, R. K., Green Path, Drayton Beauchamp, Aylesbury.
 1924. Stobart, James D. }
 1924. ASobart, Mrs. James D. } Wyatts, Horsted Keynes.
 1908. Stone, H. W. }
 1924. T AStone, Mrs. H. W. } Tilsmore Lodge, Cross-in-Hand.
 1927. T *Storey, H., Flat A, Dudley Court, 33, The Avenue, Eastbourne.

- 1939 Stormont, W., Chequers, Pulborough.
 1942. Storrs, W. T., The Storthing, Lewes.
 1925. Story, Miss E. M., Cheniston, Nyewood Lane, Bognor.
 1930. rStrachan-Davidson, K., c/o Westminster Bank, Ltd., Haywards Heath.
 1933. Stretton, H. F., Adam's Barn, Willingdon.
 1935. Sturt, Rev. H., Oak Cottage, Sedlescombe, Battle.
 1949. Styles, Miss, Drew's Farm, Plumpton.
 1920. rSutton, Lt.-Col. Thomas, F.S.A., { 22, Pearl Court, Eastbourne.
 1937. ASutton, Mrs. }
 1946. rSwann, O. H. }
 1930. rSwann, Mrs. } Rushmonden, Piltown, Nr. Uckfield.
 1926. Swayne, T. Gatton, North Down, Warwick's Bench, Guildford.
 1947. Swift, Mrs., Selsfield Place, East Grinstead.
 1937. Swindell, Rev. F. G., Isfield Rectory.
 1929. Swinderen, Madame de Marees van., 83, Eaton Square, s.w. 1.
 1948. Symonds, Miss, 4, Middleway, Lewes.
 1946. Synge, Miss D. M. B., New Kelton, Sutton Park Road, Seaford.
1924. Tatchell, Sydney, c.B.E., Cliffords Inn, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
 1945 *Tattersall-Wright, Major J. W., Walden, Innhams Wood, Crowborough.
 1948. Taverner, Rev. G. W., Dene Hotel, Rottingdean.
 1947. Taylor, Hon. Mrs., Orchard Cottage, Lower Farm, Madehurst, Arundel.
 1948. Taylor, A. R., South Harting.
 1947. rTebbv, J. H., 27, Hampden Road, Elm Grove, Brighton, 7.
 1934. Teichman-Derville, Major M., F.S.A., The Red House, Littlestone, New Romney, Kent.
 1926. Tessier, N. Y., 11, Eaton Road, Hove, 3.
 1936.*rThacker, Captain N., BM./DIPT., London, w.c. 1.
 1946. Thomas, A. H., F.S.A., 14, Drummond Road, Worthing.
 1948.*rThompson, F. O., Coningsby, 62, Hallyburton Road, Hove, 4.
 1947. Thorne, Sir John Anderson, Sherrald, Sedlescombe.
 1936. Thornton, R., East Ashling House, Chichester.
 1942. Thorpe, S. M., Caburn, Broderick Road, Hampden Park, Eastbourne.
 1949. rTierney, J. W., {
 1949. rATierney, Mrs., { 17, Kepplestone, Eastbourne.
 1947. rTindall, A. A., }
 1947. rATindall, Mrs., } Longacre, Ringmer.
 1945. Titcombe, Miss, 42, Kings Road, Brighton.
 1922. *Titley, R. K., Brighthurst, Horley, Surrey.
 1926. rTollemache, Sir Lionel, Bart., Ham House, Richmond, Surrey.
 1945. Tollemache, Mrs., R.M. Barracks, Chatham.
 1935. Tomlin, J. W. }
 1935. ATomlin, Mrs. J. W. } Old Homestead, Bodle Street Green, Hailsham.
 1925. Tompkins, Newland, Estate Offices, Pulborough.
 1947. Tooth, Mrs., The Gables, Southover, Lewes.
 1942. rTopping, A. R., Maddomswood Farm, Whatlington, Battle.
 1947. Towner, H. B., 220, High Street, Uckfield.
 1938. Townly, H. C., 58, Upperton Road, Eastbourne.
 1927. rToye, D. B., c.B., O.B.E., St. Audries, Summerdown Road, Eastbourne.
 1927. Tranchell, Lt.-Col. H. C., The Plantation, Curdridge, Southampton.
 1924. Trehearne, F. W. }
 1927. ATrehearne, Mrs. F. W. } Town Laine, Alfriston.
 1941. Tritton, F. S., }
 1941. ATritton, Mrs. } Deans Barn, Alfriston.
 1924. Troup, Gordon, Calleva, Henley-on-Thames.
 1940. Tuck, Mrs., Claverham Manor, Arlington.
 1938. Tufton, Mrs. A. G. }
 1938. ATufton, Miss } Toketon House, Southdown Road, Seaford.

1947. Tully, Mrs., The Post Office, Handcross.
 1924. TTurner, Albert, Holme, Lewes.
 1925. TTurner, H. G., } Isenhurst, Haywards Heath.
 1949 ATurner, Miss B. J., }
 1946. Turner, Mrs. Martin, Ricksteddle, Ditchling.
 1936. Turner, Miss O., Hortons, Cuckfield.
 1942. Tyler, V. W., Old Place, Pulborough.
 1948. Tynan, Miss, 16, Cornwallis Terrace, Hastings.
1933. TUridge, Miss C. G., Arlington House, Blatchington, Seaford.
1946. Varley, W. J., F.S.A.,
 1943. Vaughan, H. V., Selbourne, Summer Hill Lane, Haywards Heath.
 1947. TVaughan-Pryce, Mrs. H., 40A, High Street, Welshpool, Montgomeryshire.
1947. TVerral, A. P., 7, Bramber Road, Seaford.
 1924. Verral, Miss K. P., Kenilworth, Claremont Road, Seaford.
 1949. Verrall-King, Mrs., Wayside Cottage, Sparrows Green, Wadhurst.
 1926. TVidler, L. A., The Old Stone House, Rye.
 1948. Vigor, H., 43, Surrenden Road, Brighton, 6.
 1926. Vine, G., 12, Dunstan Road, London, N.W. 11.
 1948. Visick, A. C., Rose Lawn, June Lane, Midhurst.
 1931. Vivian, Sir Sylvanus P., C.B., Coldharbour, Hurst Green; and 76, Iverna Court, w. 8.
1947. Wace, Sir Ferdinand Blyth, K.C.I.E., The Orchard, S. Harting.
 1933. Wade, Miss, Barham, Cuckfield.
 1949. Wadey, J. E., 30, Kedale Road, Seaford.
 1936. Waghorn, Mrs., Meroc, Angmering-on-Sea.
 1947. TWalden-Aspy, Rev. F. C., St. James' Vicarage, Littlehampton.
 1947. Walker, B. P. M., Top Hat, 34, St. Aubyn's, Hove, 3.
 1948. Walker, Miss P. J., Willoughby, Dale Road, Forest Row.
 1927. Walker, S. Lewis, Stone House, Forest Row.
 1948. Walker, Mrs., Tillington Old Rectory, Petworth.
 1946. Wallis, Miss }
 1949. AWallis, Miss M. L. } Sunnycroft, King Henry's Road, Lewes.
- 1929 TWalpole, Miss G. E., Strawberry Hill, Ufford, Woodbridge, Suffolk
 1926. Walsh, Mrs. Cecil, Chippinge. North Common, Chailey.
 1947. Walters, Rev. D. M. I., Kingston Vicarage, Lewes.
 1936. Wapshare, Miss G. S., 33, De Montfort Road, Lewes.
 1932. Warburton, G. A., Shefford, Ridgewood, Uckfield.
 1945. Ward, J. R., Tavistock Hall School, Heathfield.
 1935. Ward, T. G., Wayside, Mill Road, Steyning.
 1949. Wardale, G. C., 1, Manor Terrace, Southover, Lewes.
 1940. Warner, Mrs., East Kentwyns, Henfield.
 1921.T*Warren, Col. J. R., O.B.E., M.C., The Hyde, Handcross.
 1936. Watson, Miss P., 7, Le Brun Road, Eastbourne.
 1941. Watts, Miss H. K., 22, Mackie Avenue, Hassocks.
 1938. TWebb, Charles, 8, Pavilion Parade, Brighton.
 1923. Wedgwood, Mrs., Mill Lane House, Slindon, Arundel.
 1886. Weekes, Mrs., Downs Hotel, Hassocks.
 1946. TWeeks, P. C., St. Faith's, Heathfield.
 1933. TWestlake, Rev. Canon, The Presbytery, 68, Gratwicke Road, Worthing.
 1926. Weston, Major, C. F. R. N., M.C., Tahunanui, Nelson, New Zealand.
 1924. Wharton, Captain E. L., R.N., Crossways House, Hildenborough, Kent.
 1937. Whistler, Hon. Mrs., }
 1944. *Whistler, Miss B., } Caldbeck House, Battle.
 1946. White, H. L., 4, Ipswich Road, Bournemouth.

1930. TWhite, Mrs. Percival, 3, Albany Villas, Hove.
 1930. TWhite, T.
 1930. TAWhite, Mrs. T. } Holmwood, Little Common, Bexhill.
 1946. White, P. F., 1, Church Square, Lion Street, Rye.
 1947. White, O. M.
 1947. AWhite, Mrs. } Ashcombe House, Lewes.
 1948. AWhite, T. M., }
 1936. Whiteman, Miss E. N. } Overbeck, Ditchling.
 1936. AWhiteman, Miss E. M. }
 1929. Whittaker, C. J., 58, Ship Street, Brighton.
 1909. Wight, E., 19, York Avenue, Hove.
 1948. Wilberforce, Mrs., 32, Ventnor Villas, Hove.
 1938. Wildes, Mrs., 107, Holland Road, Hove.
 1939. Wilding, Mrs., Northgate Cottage, Rottingdean.
 1936. Wilkinson, Rev. D. F., Heene Rectory, Worthing.
 1925. Willett, Lt.-Col. F. W. B., d.s.o., Cudwells, Lindfield.
 1945. Willett, Miss, 11, Malling Street, Lewes.
 1931. TWilliams, F. R., } 31, Kedale Road, Seaford.
 1942. AWilliams, Mrs. }
 1947. TWilliams, Miss, 34, Laurel Road, Hampton Hill, Middlesex.
 1949. Williams, Miss, School of Agriculture, Plumpton.
 1907. Williams, W. N., Knockbrea, Kingswood Road, Penn, Bucks.
 1946. TWillis, H. V., Charlton Lea, Little Breton Lane, Westham.
 1921. TWillson, A. B., 1, Shirley Road, Hove.
 1937. Wilson, A. E., LITT.D., F.S.A., Terrington, Tivoli Crescent North,
 Brighton.
 1948. Wilson, J. S., Sunnicot, Bosham, Chichester.
 1946. Wilson, Mrs., Furnace Pond Cottage, Slaugham.
 1917. Windle, Rev. T. H., Moorhurst, Battle Road, St. Leonards.
 1920. Winterton, The Rt. Hon. Earl, M.P. } Shillinglee Park.
 1947. Winterton, The Rt. Hon. Countess }
 1940. Wisden, T. J. F., White Cottage, Chailey.
 1930. Wisdom, Rev. H. T., St. Paul's Rectory, 39, Church Road, St. Leonards.
 1924. T*Wishart, E. E., Marsh Farm, Binsted, Arundel.
 1947. Witten, F. H., 32, Mill Lane, Shoreham.
 1932. TWood, E. A., Annecy, Gillsmans Hill, St. Leonards.
 1937. Wood, Rev. J. A., Wilmington Vicarage, Polegate.
 1909. Wood, W. J., Hillingdon, Hartfield Road, Seaford.
 1948. Woodward, A. G. H., 22, Baltic Road, Tonbridge.
 1935. TWoodward, Miss K. M., Coombe Springs, Coombe Lane, Kingston-on-
 Thames.
 1931. TWoolnough, J. W., Westmead, Nevill Avenue, Hampden Park.
 1948. Worcester, D. K., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
 1943. Wright, F., Tower Street, Rye.
 1925. *Wright, Miss Margaret
 1925. TWright, R. B., Michelham Priory, Hellingly.
 1939. Wyatt, Brig. R. J. P., M.C., D.L., Cissbury, Worthing.
1925. TYates, E., F.S.A., Elm Court, Marlborough Road, Hampton, Middlesex.
 1946. Yeatman, Mrs., Lane Lodge, Harting.
 1946. Yetts, Miss E. W., Granborough, The Goffs, Eastbourne.
 1924. Youard, The Very Rev. W. W., Old Malling Farm House, Lewes.
 1904. TYoung, E. F., School Hill, Lewes.
 1943. Young, G., Meadow Cottage, Hoe Lane, Flansham, Bognor.

PART II. Libraries, Societies and Institutions

1897. Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Dept.), The City Librarian,
Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1947. Birmingham University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
1939. Bishop Otter College, Chichester.
1907. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1892. Brighton Public Library, Church Street, Brighton.
1949. Bristol University Library, Bristol, 8.
1943. California University Library, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
1922. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
1941. Cathedral Chapter Library, Chichester.
1925. Chichester Diocesan Advisory Committee, Diocesan Church House,
Hove.
1928. Cleveland Public Library, 325, Superior Avenue, N.E. Cleveland,
Ohio, U.S.A.
1901. Columbia University, U.S.A. (per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey
Street, London, w.c.).
1870. Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A. (care of E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd.,
14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, w.c. 2).
1934. County School for Boys, Lewes.
1944. Croydon Public Libraries, Town Hall, Croydon.
1940. Duke University Library, Durham, N. Carolina, U.S.A.
1897. Eastbourne Central Public Library, 24, Grand Parade, Eastbourne.
1927. East Sussex County Library, Lewes.
1920. Glasgow University Library (c/o Jackson, Wylie & Co., 73, West
George Street, Glasgow, c. 2).
1863. Guildhall Library, The Librarian, London, E.C. 2.
1911. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. (per E. G. Allen
& Son, Ltd., 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, w.c. 2).
1924. Haslemere Natural History Society, Hon. Sec., E. W. Swanton, A.L.S.,
Educational Museum, Haslemere, Surrey.
1930. Hastings Public Library, Brassey Institute, Hastings.
1938. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
1925. Horsham Museum Society, Hon. Sec., F. B. Pay, 48, Vale Drive,
Horsham.
1897. Hove Public Library, Church Road, Hove.
1934. Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, w.c.1.
1910. John Rylands Library, Manchester.
1938. Kent County Library, Springfield, Maidstone.
1946. Lewes Fitzroy Memorial Free Library, Lewes.
1886. London Library, St. James's Square, s.w. 1.
1932. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1929. Minnesota University Library, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1926. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
1943. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
1903. New York Public Library (c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., New
Ruskin House, 28, Little Russell Street, w.c. 1).
1932. Newberry Library (c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., New Ruski-
House, 28, Little Russell Street, w.c. 1).

1948. Ordnance Survey, Director of Establishment and Finance, Leatherhead Road, Chessington, Surrey.
1939. Royal Institute of British Architects, 66, Portland Place, W. 1.
1897. Royal Institution of Great Britain, 21, Albemarle Street, London, w. 1.
1938. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
1901. Royal Library, Stockholm, Sweden.
1911. Rye, The Corporation of.
1929. South-Eastern Society of Architects, c/o C. Burns, 11, Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.
1903. Tunbridge Wells Natural History Society, J. Lister, Heronsgate, Speldhurst, Tunbridge Wells.
1934. University of London Library, The Goldsmiths' Librarian, Bloomsbury, w.c. 1.
1938. Utah Genealogical Society, Joseph Smith Memorial Buildings, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
1944. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
1897. Victoria and Albert Museum Library, South Kensington, s.w. 7.
1947. Victoria Public Library, Swanston Street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
1947. Westminster Public Libraries, St. Martin's Street, W.C.2.
1927. West Sussex County Library, South Street, Chichester.
1896. *West Sussex Gazette*, Mitchell & Co. (Printers), Ltd., 53, High Street, Arundel.
1946. West Sussex County Council (County Records Committee), County Hall, Chichester.
1897. Worthing Corporation Public Library.
1910. Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. (E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, w.c. 2).



Sussex Archæological Society

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1948

Till 1949.

W. H. BLABER
 R. H. D'ELBOUX, M.C.,
 F.S.A.
 S. S. FRERE, F.S.A.
 WALTER H. GODFREY,
 V-P.S.A.
 MISS H. JOHNSTONE,
 LITT.D.
 I. D. MARGARY, F.S.A.
 S. D. SECRETAN
 L. A. VIDLER

Till 1950.

E. R. BURDER
 E. CECIL CURWEN, F.S.A.
 ARUNDELL ESDAILE,
 LITT.D.
 H. J. GLOVER
 THE RT. REV. BISHOP
 HORDERN
 G. D. JOHNSTON
 J. E. RAY, F.R.Hist.Soc.
 F. R. WILLIAMS.

Till 1951.

ELIOT CURWEN, F.S.A.
 LINDSAY FLEMING
 COLONEL J. V. GRAY,
 F.S.A.
 O. H. LEENEY
 S. J. MARSH
 LIEUT.-COL. T. SUTTON,
 M.B.E., F.S.A.
 A. E. WILSON, LITT.D.,
 F.S.A.
 E. A. WOOD

1. MEMBERSHIP.—The following figures show the position at the beginning and end of the year :—

	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Associate</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st Jan. 1948	951	85	61	3	1100
1st Jan. 1949	960	85	65	3	1113

The increase is not so large as had been hoped and the membership is still some way below the high water mark of 1,288 attained on 1st January, 1929. However that was ten years after the end of the 1914-18 war and represented the result of ten years of rapid progress

in many directions. Members are urged to do all they can to make the work of the Society known and to induce their friends to join.

The losses by death have been unusually heavy and as will be seen from the names set out below include many members of long standing :—

Mrs. Anson (1926), Cyrus Braby (1929), Walter Broadbridge (1928), Colonel Stephenson R. Clarke, C.B. (1895), Mrs. A. F. M. Close (1927), the Reverend F. Stenton Eardley (1926), D. Eldridge (1918) Sir William B. Gentle (1923), J. H. Gorringe (1914), A. R. Hurst (1905), F. Wootton Isaacson (1915), Mrs. G. M. Jefferson (1924), J. Godwin King, C.B.E. (1899), Mrs. Godwin King (1912), the Reverend Lionel Lambert, F.S.A. (1945), D. H. Montgomery, F.S.A. (1904), A. R. Pannett (1897), the Reverend E. W. D. Penfold (1911), B. V. Reeves (1907), Miss E. M. Shaft (1923), Charles Stokes (1919), Lieutenant Colonel L. A. Watson (1924), Mrs. J. A. P. Wyatt (1937).

Mr. J. Godwin King had been a member of the Council since 1907 and in this capacity had rendered most valuable services to the Society. For the past 17 years he had been Chairman of the Finance Committee. His wise judgment and his wide contacts with local government were much appreciated by his colleagues.

In addition to his long service on the Council, Mr. Godwin King also placed the Society in his debt by his gift to the Sussex Archæological Trust of the Priest House, West Hoathly, and a small endowment fund. This interesting old house had been purchased by him and restored a few years earlier and he and Mrs. Godwin King (who only survived her husband by a few months) formed in it a small folk museum which they also gave to the Trust.

Mr. D. H. Montgomery, F.S.A., had made a special study of Norman Castles.

2. OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—The Society has been fortunate in having had as its President during the past year the Right Honourable Viscount Mersey, P.C., C.M.G., C.B.E., F.S.A. Lord Mersey has shown great interest in the Society's work and rendered much assistance in various directions. The Council is most grateful to him for his past services and for his willingness to be re-elected for another year.

At the Annual Meeting the other officers and the retiring members of the Council were re-elected; and Mr. S. J. Marsh was elected to fill the vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Mr. J. Godwin King.

Miss M. H. Cooper, owing to ill health, resigned the office of General Secretary in 1945 and no successor having been found, Mr. F. B. Stevens had carried out some of the duties in addition to his work as Financial Secretary. He had for some time been anxious to be

relieved of the heavy work involved: and the Council is glad to be able to announce that Mr. Edward R. Burder has accepted appointment as Secretary. In order to preserve continuity Mr. Stevens has agreed to act as Joint Secretary for the time being.

In the last annual report reference was made to the appointment of Miss P. M. M. Crouch, B.A. (Oxon.), as assistant Curator. Having been offered a studentship at Ankara by the British Institute of Archæology, Miss Crouch resigned the post to which she had been appointed and left the employment of the Society in October. In her place the Council have appointed Mr. Edward Pyddoke who, in addition to holding the Post-graduate Diploma in Archæology of the University of London, has also had considerable business experience.

Mr. M. G. Smith who had acted as Finance Clerk since 1923 relinquished the post at the beginning of the year. The Council desires to place on record its appreciation of the valuable services which he rendered to the Society over a long series of years.

4. MEETINGS.—The Annual Meeting was held at Brighton instead of Lewes in order that it might be combined with a meeting to promote the work of the National Register of Archives, at which the Mayor of Brighton presided and speeches were made by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, Lieutenant-Colonel Malet, the Duke of Norfolk and the President of the Society, Viscount Mersey.

Difficulties of transport interfered to a certain extent with the summer programme and made it necessary for the most part to limit the choice of antiquities to be visited to those which are easily accessible.

The Summer Meeting was held at Rye which embraces within its walls so many interesting buildings. Local meetings were held at Horsham, South Harting and Eastbourne; and a new departure was made in organising two walks. The first of these covered the Downland portion of Stane Street, and the second was from Pyecombe to Hurstpierpoint. These walks proved very successful and it is hoped to make similar walks a regular feature of the programme in future.

5. MUSEUM.—The Council applied early in the year to the Museums Association acting on behalf of the Carnegie Trustees for a grant from the fund which the Trustees have set aside for promoting the development and re-organisation of Museums throughout the country. The Association commissioned Mr. Philip Corder, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries to prepare an expert report on the Society's Museums. Mr. Corder visited Lewes in April and met Mr. I. D. Margary, Dr. Eliot Curwen and Mr. L. F. Salzman. His report was in due course submitted to the Museums Association and an intimation was received by the Council in June to the effect that the Association was prepared to recommend the Carnegie Trustees to

offer a grant of £750 towards the Council's re-organisation scheme, the total cost of which is estimated to be £1,175. Steps are now being taken by the Council to carry out the scheme.

Mr. Corder's report speaks in the highest terms of the Society's Museums; and the Council feels that it marks so important a stage in the Society's progress that all members should have an opportunity of reading it in full. It is therefore printed as an appendix to this annual report. The Council is sure that members generally will wish to express their appreciation of the splendid work which has been done for the Museums by a few of their number and their gratification at its striking recognition by Mr. Corder.

6. PUBLICATIONS.—Volume 86 (for 1947) was issued early in 1948 and fully maintained the high standard set by the Society's Collections. It is hoped that Volume 87 (for 1948) will be in the hands of members at about the same time as this report.

Considerable progress has been made during the year in overtaking the time lag in the publication of *Sussex Notes and Queries* which accrued during the war.

Two notable books have appeared during the year which, although not published by the Society, are so intimately connected with its work that they may fittingly be mentioned here. The first of these, "Roman Ways in the Weald," collects and sums up the results of Mr. I. D. Margary's research during the past twenty years, much of which is already familiar to members, through articles in the Collections and the many opportunities which Mr. Margary has afforded to members of tracing his discoveries in the field. The work has been generally hailed as a classic and the Society can feel proud of the part which Mr. Margary has allowed it to take in his great achievement.

The other notable book of the year is "Roof Bosses in Mediæval Churches," by the Society's senior member, Mr. C. J. P. Cave, F.S.A. This, like Mr. Margary's book, represents the culmination of devoted work over a long series of years, and, also like Mr. Margary's book, will remain a standard work on its subject. Many members will remember the extremely interesting lecture on Roof Bosses which Mr. Cave gave to the Society at Brighton at the Autumn Meeting in 1937.

REGISTER OF ARCHIVES.—Reference has already been made to the successful meeting held at Brighton to promote the work of the National Register of Archives. An influential Committee, with the Society's President, Lord Mersey, as Chairman, was appointed to assist in collecting particulars of Sussex archives and at its first meeting our member, Mr. W. A. Barron, was appointed Hon. Secretary. Progress has necessarily been somewhat slow, but the foundations of a new and important development have been satisfactorily laid.

7. RESEARCH COMMITTEE.—The Research Committee has met regularly during the year to consider the progress and future planning

of field-work, and this means of constant liaison with the Local Societies and with Colleges and Schools able to participate in such work has been found very helpful. A course of lectures by members of the Committee was arranged early in the year mainly for the benefit of Schools, and the voluntary attendance at these was very encouraging. The Committee meets at the Brighton Technical College, and the Society is much indebted to the Principal and staff for the facilities so readily provided.

8. FINANCE.—As will be seen from the statement of Receipts and Payments, all calls on the Society's funds have been met and an additional £150 has been carried to the Reserve Fund, representing a legacy and a special donation.

The engagement of a full time curator has necessarily resulted in a higher figure for salaries, and this will continue to rise. Fortunately the takings at the various properties vested in the Trust reached a record figure and this enabled the Trust to make a substantial contribution to the Society's income. With increasing expenditure on repairs this may not always be possible and it is essential, if the Society's new commitments for staff are to be met, that the regular income from subscriptions should be substantially increased. It is therefore of the utmost importance that new members should be enrolled.

With the gradual lifting of the restrictions on building, urgent deferred repairs can no longer be put off and during the current year (1949) the Council is faced with very heavy outlay in several directions.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1948

	RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.				
To	Balance from 1947			16	3	By	Subscriptions to Kindred Societies		20	13	4		
"	Subscriptions—	£	s.	d.		"	Library and Museum payments		29	0	4		
	Life Members 7 at 15 0 0	105	0	0		"	Printing and Stationery ...	286	16	0			
	Affiliated Members 6 at 1 0 0	6	6	0		"	Salaries	524	10	8			
	Members 823 at 1 0 0	823	0	0		"	Sinking Fund for Index to Volumes 76-100	10	18	8			
	" 37 at 1 1 0	38	17	0		"	Postages	43	4	8			
	" (Old Rate) 89 at 10 0 0	44	10	0		"	Telephone	8	9	2			
	" 1 at 10 6	10	6	0		"	Rent of Strong Room	10	0	0			
	" 80 at 10 0					"	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	345	15	9			
	" (Associate Members) 2 at 10 6	40	0	0		"	Expenses of Meetings	137	9	8			
	" (Associate Members) 1 at 5 0	1	1	0		"	Carried to Reserve Fund	150	0	0			
	" (Associated—Old Rate) 1 at 5 0	5	0	0		"	Advance to Sussex Arch. Trust for the purchase of Cressingham Cottage, Angmering	300	0	0			
	Entrance Fees 69 at 10 0	34	10	0		"	Volume 85	394	19	3			
	" 1 at 9 0	9	0	0		"	Donations: Chichester Civic Society	21	0	0			
	Subscriptions in arrear	17	3	0		"	Angmering Excavation Fund	15	0	0			
	Subscriptions in advance	26	2	0				36	0	0			
		1,137			13	6			23	6	1		
"	Interest on £250 3½ per cent. War Stock (Garraway Rice Bequest)			8	15	0	"	Miscellaneous		18	14	0	
"	Sale of Volumes			28	7	0	"	Balance at Bank					
"	Sale of Tickets for Meetings			194	6	6							
"	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>			24	11	10							
"	Repayment of Loan by Sussex Archaeological Trust			400	0	0							
"	Amount withdrawn from Reserve Fund			300	0	0							
"	Donations			3	11	8							
"	Miscellaneous			91	15	10							
"	Legacy, R. Morris			100	0	0							
"	Gift in memory of Mr. S. E. Winbolt			50	0	0							
		£2,339			17	7			£2,339			17	7

A1XXX

NOTE.—The Reserve Fund of £2,650 is invested in £1,000 3 per cent. Defence Bonds, £400 2½ per cent. Defence Bonds and £1,250 on deposit at the Brighton Savings Bank. The income earned, amounting to £248 11s. 0d. is also on deposit at the Savings Bank. The accumulated Balance of the Centenary Fund amounting to £1,362 8s. 10d. is also on deposit at the Brighton Savings Bank.

I have checked the above account with the books and vouchers, and I certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton, 1st March, 1949.

S. E. GRAVES, Chartered Accountant

THE MUSEUMS OF THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT LEWES

Report by Mr. Philip Corder to the Museums Association

BARBICAN HOUSE

Barbican House, which stands at the eastern angle of the Castle approach, was probably built in the 16th century. (For full architectural description, see *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. 82 (1940) by W. H. Godfrey, F.S.A., Director of the National Buildings Record). It was acquired by the Sussex Archæological Society in 1907 as a museum, library and headquarters for the Society, and the modern period of the Museum dates from that time (see *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Centenary Volume (1946).

The Sussex Archæological Society whose collections form the museum, is one of the oldest, largest and most active of county archæological societies, and has some 1,100 members. It celebrated its centenary in 1946. Its museum activities began about 1850, and in the course of a century it has built up one of the most important collections of local archæology and antiquarian material in this country. These collections, which are described and illustrated in the Centenary volume of the S.A.C., pp. 77-112, are disposed in separate period rooms. A full-time salaried curator was appointed for the first time in 1947, but the devoted and expert services of a number of distinguished archæologists in the county have rendered a part at least of the exhibition (notably the Stone Age, Early Iron Age, and Anglo-Saxon Rooms) a model of systematic, attractive and informative arrangement difficult to parallel in the museums of this country. As a whole the collection forms as good an exhibition of the antiquities of a special region as can, to my knowledge, be found in England, the shortcomings of the display being solely those imposed by the nature of the building and the limitations of the present equipment (see below for fuller details). It is these that the present application for a grant is intended to mitigate and improve.

The care of the building and the sale of tickets of admission (Castle 6d., Castle and Barbican House 9d., Castle, Barbican House and Anne of Cleves House 1/-, special terms for school parties by arrangement) is in the hands of a resident caretaker. Admission fees all go to the Sussex Archæological Trust (see below) by whom the building is now held, the salary of the curator only being borne by the Society, who own the exhibits, as distinct from the house itself. The exact number of visitors is not easy to compute, but it is normally over 7,000 per annum, and in the summer often exceeds 400 per day. The Museum is well used by organised school parties, not only from

Sussex, but from Surrey and Kent, the number averaging about seven per week. There is no doubt at all of the live and active part played by the Museum in the educational life of the county. At the same time the Museum retains, and will continue to retain, its character as the museum of a learned society, an indispensable instrument of research for serious students of local history and archæology.

ANNE OF CLEVES' HOUSE

Anne of Cleves' House is an attractive 16th century house in Southover (see Lewes plan) some ten minutes walk from the Castle, on the south side of the valley, presented to the Society in 1923 and now vested in the Sussex Archæological Trust (for detailed architectural description by Mr. W. H. Godfrey, F.S.A., see *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. 65, pp. 1-19). A notable exhibit itself, it at present houses a miscellaneous collection of old furniture and Sussex bygones in keeping with the attractive character of the house, which are in the nature of an overflow from the medieval and later collections at Barbican House.

It contains, in store, the extensive *Every Collection* of furniture, Sussex bygones and in particular the unique and very important collection of Sussex ironwork, left to the Society during the war, without cases for its exhibition or endowment for its upkeep. It is the cleaning, cataloguing and display of this extensive collection which is the main problem facing the Society and the chief occasion for the present application for a grant. It is impossible to separate the two problems of the improvement of the display at Barbican House and of the *Every Collection* at Anne of Cleves' House. The solving of the one will simplify the other.

Behind Anne of Cleves' House is a large and substantial old building of flint and brick with a sound roof, at present used as a workshop and store. This is the property of the Society, and plans have been made by Mr. Godfrey for the dividing of this into two floors and connecting it by a passage with the main house, as soon as building is again possible. The Centenary Fund of the Society is intended for this purpose. The realisation of this plan would enable the display within Anne of Cleves' House to be made more systematic, while the new annexe is admirably adapted to the exhibition of the important *Every Collection*. With the material already in the possession of the Society illustrating the early days of the manufacture of Wealden Iron, an exhibition covering the complete development of this most important of local industries could be made.

SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST (see Centenary Volume *S.A. Coll.* Vol. 85, pp. 119-137). The Sussex Archæological Trust was formed in 1925 to hold the properties already in the possession of the Society (Lewes Castle, Barbican House, Anne of Cleves' House). It has since acquired by gift ancient houses and archæological sites, and has become custodian of others purchased by public subscription independently of the Society. It thus acts for Sussex much as the National Trust does for the Country as a whole, with the exception that it is concerned solely with ancient buildings or archæological sites. It is in law a limited company and publishes an annual balance sheet (see, for example, the Centenary Volume pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

Members of the Sussex Archæological Society may qualify as members of the Trust by paying £1 each on election. There is no annual subscription, each property contributing to its own maintenance by entrance fees (for list of properties held, see above pp. xxxiv).

Several of the properties held by the Trust can qualify to be considered as museums. These are:—

1. Priest's House, West Hoathly, which contains a collection of local bygones, (see account by Ursula Ridley, 1938).
2. Wilmington Priory, which contains a few relevant objects from the site (see account by Messrs. Budgen & Godfrey, 1933).
3. Legh Manor, Cuckfield, which contains furniture and fittings acquired with the house in 1935, and might be described as a small "fossilized" country house (see account by W. H. Godfrey from *S.A. Coll.* Vol. 78).

These "museums" are all of local significance complementary to the buildings themselves, and do not in any way affect the problems of Barbican House and Anne of Cleves' House.

NEEDS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

BARBICAN HOUSE

SHOWCASES AND STORAGE. The chief criticism of the museum is that it suffers from overcrowding. The display is arranged in some eight rooms, which are conveniently devoted to one period. Only in the Stone Age Room, admirably arranged by Dr. Eliot and Dr. Cecil Curwen, are there modern table cases with adequate storage for the study collections in drawers beneath each. Elsewhere the show-cases are a very miscellaneous collection acquired over a century and the greatest need is for adequate storage to enable fewer and selected exhibits to be displayed, while the study material is disposed systematically in drawers and cupboards. This can only be achieved by the provision of new cases designed for their purpose and position, so as to make the fullest use of the rather limited space available. The old cases could then be transferred to Anne of Cleves' House, where most of them could be suitably adapted to the display of the

Every Collection. Each problem would have to be considered on its merits, and no detailed advice in the matter is practicable at this stage. There is no room at Barbican House to serve as a store for reserve material.

LIGHTING. Some of the existing cases could be much improved by adaptation, and interior lighting, if funds were available for the purpose.

MODELS. In certain rooms the appeal of the material, particularly to children and to the non-specialist visitor, could be improved by the addition of models. In particular one might mention a section of a flint mine in the Stone Age Room, an Iron Age settlement (on the lines of Little Woodbury) in the Early Iron Age Room, and a Roman Villa (perhaps Bignor) in the Roman Room. Lesser models and illustrative diagrams in other places might serve to mitigate the austerity of the display.

TREATMENT OF EXHIBITS. Some of the exhibits are in need of expert laboratory treatment, though the general condition of the collections is excellent. Notably the very important iron-work in the Anglo-Saxon Room is in a serious condition, having received no attention since it was treated on its acquisition. This is a highly technical matter, probably beyond the capacity and means of a resident curator, and the importance of the objects warrants expert attention in London.

WORK-ROOM AND LABORATORY. A work-room or simple laboratory is an urgent need. A small room, close to the curator's room is already provided with a sink and basin, and could be readily adapted for this purpose. I regard this as a first priority.

ANNE OF CLEVES' HOUSE

The main problem here is the treatment and exhibition of the unique Every Collection, already described. Its full display must await the structural work on the Annexe, but a start could be made with the lengthy job of sorting, cleaning and cataloguing and partial display were cases available, space being contrived by a temporary re-arrangement of the existing exhibition rooms. The Collection is at present stacked in a jumbled manner at one end of the large upper front room, where it was deposited during the war, while a considerable collection of fire-backs stands in the open archway, not too well protected from weather. The provision of a ceiling for this upper room is essential, and of some roof light, before it can be considered satisfactory for exhibition purposes, for it is at present open to the tiles. Though tolerably weather-proof, it is by no means dirt-proof,

Suitable cases are also required for the proper display of the collection of uniforms and costumes at present in store.

I have had the benefit of full discussion of all these problems and future plans at both museums with Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., Chairman of the Museum Committee, and with Mr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A. I am satisfied that the museum policy of the Sussex Archæological Society is the result of much careful thought and planning, and the proposals that form the subject of the present application to the Carnegie Trust have my whole-hearted and unqualified support. Intelligent and expert direction are assured to an extent that seldom or never is found in the governing body of a museum under a public authority. There is here no inertia or indifference to overcome, no conflict of interests due to the intrusion of local politics, while the buildings themselves are safely vested in a trust in perpetuity. There is moreover, no need for overlapping with the Lewes Municipal Museum, should this succeed in surviving, for its proper province is the Natural History of the county or district, which is excluded from the Sussex Archæological Society's museums. Lewes is fortunate to possess within its boundary a first-rate regional archæological museum like Barbican House, which its own resources, drawn from a population of some 11,000, could never prove adequate to maintain.

PHILIP CORDER.

April 5th, 1948.

THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Qualifying Subscriptions to 31st December, 1947	551	3	0						
Subscriptions received during 1948	26	0	0						
				577	3	0			
Endowment Fund and Specific Donations as at 31st December, 1944				3472	1	11			
							4049	4	11
LEGH MANOR, CUCKFIELD.									
Lands Improvement Loan as at 31st December, 1947				327	9	10			
Less Repayment during 1948				22	8	8			
							305	1	2
Loan Redemption Fund as at 31st December, 1947				212	2	4			
Transfer from Legh Manor Income Account				22	8	8			
							234	11	0
THE THOMAS-STANFORD TRUST FUND.									
Capital Account							1000	0	0
Income Account—									
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...				100	19	9			
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948				29	18	0			
							130	17	9
ENDOWMENT FUNDS.									
THE PRIEST HOUSE, WEST HOATHLY ...				200	0	0			
HOLTYE ROMAN ROAD				300	0	0			
ARDINGLY VILLAGE SIGN				100	0	0			
LOAN—SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.									
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...				950	0	0			
Less Net Repayments during 1948 ...				100	0	0			
							850	0	0
Sundry Creditors							71	14	9
INCOME ACCOUNTS.									
(a) <i>Lewes Castle and Barbican House.</i>									
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...				56	10	7			
Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948				180	13	10			
							237	4	5

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1947

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
CAPITAL ACCOUNT.						
Expenditure on the Purchase, Preservation and Equipment of Properties under the control of the Trust as at 31st December, 1944	5910	9	1			
Add Cost of Cressingham Cottage	300	0	0			
						6210 9 1
TRUST FUNDS.						
(a) <i>The Thomas-Stanford Trust Fund.</i>						
Amount advanced on mortgage of premises at Henfield	1000	0	0			
(b) <i>The Priest House Endowment Fund.</i>						
£200 3½ per cent. War Stock (at par) ...	200	0	0			
(c) <i>Holtye Endowment Fund.</i>						
£320. 3s. 3d. 3½ per cent. War Stock (at cost)	300	0	0			
(d) <i>Ardingly Village Sign Endowment Fund.</i>						
£107. 10s. 10d. 3½ per cent. War Stock (at cost)	100	0	0			
						1600 0 0
INCOME ACCOUNTS.						
(a) <i>Anne of Cleves House, Lewes.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1947 ...	153	12	9			
Less Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	11	17	6			
						141 15 3
(b) <i>Wilmington Priory.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1947 ...	215	12	8			
Less Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	5	19	1			
						209 13 7
(c) <i>The Long Man, Wilmington.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1947 ...						38 9 7
(d) <i>Southwick Roman Villa.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1947 ...	43	11	4			
Add Excess of Expenditure over Income for 1948	2	17	4			
						45 28 8

(b) Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	46	6	6		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	13	12	1		
	<hr/>			59	18 7
(c) <i>Legh Manor, Cuckfield.</i>					
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	453	19	9		
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for 1948	217	13	6		
	<hr/>			236	6 3
(d) <i>Bull House, Lewes.</i>					
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	755	11	2		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	126	7	10		
	<hr/>			881	19 0
(e) <i>Holtye Roman Road.</i>					
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	51	14	9		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	7	1	7		
	<hr/>			58	16 4
(f) <i>Ardingly Village Sign.</i>					
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	20	1	11		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	3	14	2		
	<hr/>			23	16 1
(g) <i>Pigeon House, Angmering.</i>					
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	395	6	0		
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1948	55	15	5		
	<hr/>			451	1 5
SUSSEX PHOTOGRAPHIC AND RECORD SURVEY.					
Balance as at 31st December, 1947 ...	4	3	6		
Add Income for 1948		16	0		
	<hr/>			4	19 6
BARCLAYS BANK LIMITED.					
Legh Manor Account, Overdraft	364	11	3		
Less Balance on General A/c.	111	10	1		
	<hr/>			253	1 2
	<hr/>			£9448	12 4
	<hr/>				

(c) Deficit as at 31st December, 1947	44	1	0		
Add Expenditure during 1948			15	0	
	<hr/>			44	16 0
GENERAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.					
Deficit as at 31st December, 1947 ...	456	14	4		
Add Expenditure during 1948		14	18	11	
	<hr/>			471	13 3
LEGH MANOR REPAIRS RESERVE FUND.					
£500 3 per cent. Defence Bonds				500	0 0
Sundry Debtors				185	6 11

£9448 12 4

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

*(an Association not for Profit incorporated under
the Companies Acts)*

I have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of my knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of my audit.

In my opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Trust so far as appears from my examination of these books. I have examined the accompanying Balance Sheet which includes summaries of the Income and Expenditure Accounts and these are in agreement with the books of account.

No figures are inserted in the accompanying Balance Sheet in respect of various properties which the Trust has received by way of gift.

Subject to this remark, in my opinion and to the best of my information and according to the explanations given to me, the said Balance Sheet gives the information required by the Companies Act 1948 and gives a true and fair view of the Trust's affairs as at the 31st December, 1948.

Signed S. E. GRAVES,
Chartered Accountant.

7, Pavilion Parade, Brighton.

25th March, 1949.

LIST OF PROPERTIES HELD BY THE SUSSEX
ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST on 1st January, 1949

1925.

1. Anne of Cleves House, Lewes (as Co-Trustee). Additional ground, 1928.
2. Wilmington Priory and the Long Man of Wilmington.
3. *The Marlipins, New Shoreham.*

1926.

4. Lewes Castle (as Co-Trustee). Additional ground, 1930.
The Brack Mount, 1937.

1927.

5. Barbican House, Lewes.
6. *Oldland Mill, Keymer.*
7. *Nos. 6, 8 and 10, Parsonage Row, West Tarring.*

1932.

8. Roman Villa Site, Southwick.

1935.

9. Legh Manor, Cuckfield.
10. Priest House, West Hoathly.

1936.

11. Bull House, Lewes.

1939.

12. Holtye Roman Road.
13. Ardingly Village Sign.

1940.

14. Pigeon House, Angmering (additional land, 1948).

Note.—In the case of properties the names of which are printed in *italics*, the Trust acts only as legal trustee, and Local Committees are responsible for management and finance.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN SUSSEX

On pp. 138 to 140 of the Centenary Volume (*S.A.C.*, Vol. 85) was printed a list of monuments in Sussex scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act, 1913 (as amended by the Act of 1931), as being monuments the preservation of which is of national importance. This list comprised all monuments scheduled down to 31st December, 1935.

The following monuments have been scheduled since that date :

- Angmering Roman Villa
- Arundel, Maison Dieu
- Bignor, Roman Villa
- Birling Gap, camp near Belle Tout Lighthouse, Eastdean
- Brambletye, Forest Row
- Burlough Castle
- Chanctonbury Ring
- Compton (Fernbeds Farm)—Solomon's Thumb, Long Barrow
- Eastdean, Camp near Belle Tout Lighthouse
- Hardham Priory
- Hastings Town Hall
- Laughton Place, Laughton
- Patcham Court Farm, dovecot at
- St. Leonard's Gardens gateway
- St. Leonard's Masonic Hall
- St. Leonard's Royal Baths Building
- Seaford Head Camp
- Seaford, Medieval Crypt
- Stane Street on the Gumber
- Stane Street, section extending for 750 yards above Coldharbour Farm.
- Worth (Barn Wood), moated site and earthworks

ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY TO JULY, 1949

1. Mr. A. Mann, 4, Arundel Road, Worthing.
"Sussex Pocket Book of Elizabeth Maud Baxter," 1805.
2. Battle Rural District Council.
"The Battle Rural District." Official guide.
3. Mr. W. D. Peckham.
Index to Parish Register of Boxgrove.
4. Mr. A. E. Marten, 7, Hertford Road, Worthing.
Some Martens of Sussex pedigrees. MS.
5. Worthing Museum.
Worthing Museum Publications No. 2.
"Guide to the Bronze Age Section," by A. E. Wilson,
F.S.A., and Ethel Gerard, A.L.A., 1948.
6. Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.
"Roman Ways in the Weald." 1st and 2nd Editions.
Author's copies.
7. Mr. G. D. Johnston.
Abstract of Turnpike Acts relating to Sussex.
Typescript.
8. Mr. E. Pyddoke.
"The Roman Roads," by Hilaire Belloc.
Extracts from "The King's Highway."
9. Miss R. A. M. Verrall, Barfield, Chartway, Reigate.
Collection of pamphlets, etc.
10. Mr. R. C. Troke, 20, Parley Road, Moordown, Bournemouth.
Photographs from the Burrell MS. of tombs of Sir
Edward Caryll and Sir Richard Caryll at Harting.
11. Captain A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A.
"Study of the Patterns of Roman Flue Tiles and their
Distribution." (Author's copy) pamphlet.
12. Mr. Ivor Grantham.
(1) "Stoolball and how to play it," by W. W. Grantham, K.C.
2nd Edition. Presentation copy, 1948.
(2) Collection of Miscellaneous books and papers relating to
stoolball and other early ball games. Collected by
W. W. Grantham, K.C.

13. Rev. Canon F. W. B. Bullock.
Guides to the Ruins of the old Parish Church of St. Helen, Ore, 2nd Ed., 1949; and The Church in the Wood, Hollington, 5th Ed., 1949. (Author's copies) pamphlets.
14. The Kent Archæological Society.
Seventeen rubbings of Sussex Brasses.
15. Rev. A. C. Crookshank,
Twelve volumes of Poems by Sussex Poets.
Borough of Lewes Poll Book. June 15, 1818. MS.
16. Dr. Carruthers Corfield.
"A short description of Rustington Church," 1949.
(Author's copy) pamphlet.
17. Messrs. Davey, High Street, Lewes.
The Share Book of the Lewes Waterworks Company, 1832-1859.
18. Mrs. Allen.
"Prelates and People of the Lake Countries," by C. M. L. Bouch, 1848.
19. Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, F.S.A.
(1) "Georgian City." A Plan for Chichester by Thomas Sharp, 1949.
(2) "Mid-Sussex through the Ages," by A. H. Gregory, 1938.
20. Mr. A. G. H. Woodward.
"The Parable of the Pilgrim." Written to a friend by Symon Patrick, B.D., Bishop of Chichester, 1670.
21. Mr. F. W. Trehearne.
"The Tribal System in Wales," by Frederic Seebohm, LL.D., F.S.A.
22. Mr. E. F. Salmon.
(1) "Terra Sigillata," by Felix Oswald and T. Davies Pryce.
(2) "The Parthenon," September, 1933.
23. Mr. J. Manwaring Baines, John's Place, Hastings.
Drawing, "From a Window of The Chequers, Lamberhurst," by Miss Harriett Harkness, 1834.
24. Rev. J. Robinson, 4. Woodland Avenue, Hove.
Guide to the Parish Church of St. Peter, West Blatchington.
25. Mr. J. Stevens Cox, Ivel House, Ilchester.
"Ilchester Gaol and House of Correction." (Author's copy) pamphlet.
26. Hastings Museum.
Thirty pencil and water colour sketches of places in Sussex made by Miss Harriette Harkness between 1833 and 1841.

BOOKS SENT FOR REVIEW

- (1) "All about Bury," by Lilian E. Brown.
- (2) "Lancing College, 1848-1948," by Basil Handford. Cambridges (Hove), Ltd.
- (3) "Fashionable Brighton, 1820-1860," by Antony Dale. 1949. Country Life.
- (4) "Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches," by C. J. P. Cave. F.S.A. Cambridge University Press.
- (5) "Sussex: The Little Guides," by R. F. Jessup. Messrs. Methuen & Co., Ltd.
- (6) "Blechingley." A Short History by Uvedale H. H. Lambert, Surrey Archæological Society.
- (7) "The Cook's Paradise," by R. L. Megroz.
- (8) "Southover Grange, Lewes," by A. Millward Flack.

ADDITIONS TO DEEDS & DOCUMENTS TO JULY, 1949

1. Miss Arkell, Banbury (per Mr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A.).
Three Chiddingly charters.
2. British Records Association.
Eighty deeds and documents, Ditchling, Buxted, Newick, Worth, Slaugham, Yapton and Eastbourne.
3. Mr. E. R. Burder.
125 deeds relating to Portslade, Wadhurst, Wivelsfield, Denton, Durrington, Steyning, Cuckfield, Worthing, Brighton, Frant, Slaugham, Mayfield, Maresfield and Lewes. Abstracts of Title to the Battle Abbey Estate; Particulars of Sale and Turnpike Acts of Parliament.
4. Miss R. Collingridge.
Lease of tolls of Mayfield and Wadhurst Turnpike Trust, 1818.
5. Messrs. Davey & Co.
Lewes Waterworks Waste Book, 1832-1859.
6. Essex County Record Office.
Three Laughton documents, from B.R.A.

7. Mr. H. F. Fitt (per Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.),
Marriage Settlement of Sir Henry Shelley and Miss Woodcock, 1775. Lands in Falmer, Clapham, Storrington, Angmering and Beckley.
8. Mr. Ivor Grantham.
A Collection of Sussex Maps, including 1" O.S. for the whole County, Estate plans, Barcombe, Chailey, Lindfield; Photographs of Royal Visit Picture and Poll Books.
9. Mrs. J. C. Gye, Mill Hill, N.W.
79 deeds concerning Lindfield, Chailey, Cuckfield and Worth late belonging to the Packham family.
10. Mr. J. D. Holman.
Court Rolls, Bailiff's Accounts and other manorial documents relating to the Manor of Chalvington, 335 documents.
11. Lancashire County Council Record Office.
Deed relating to Etchingam and Salehurst, 1724.
12. Mrs. Orlebar (additional).
Court Book and Rentals of Bishopshurst Manor, 1589-1709; Charters concerning Warbleton, Wivelsfield and Maresfield, and deeds, Albourne, Cowfold, Henfield, Hurstpierpoint.
13. Mrs. Wm. Powell, Chiddingly (per Messrs. Blaker, Son and Young).
Seventeen Chiddingly deeds.
14. Major de Roemer (per Mr. H. C. Curteis).
56 deeds and documents concerning lands in Herstmonceux and Framfield tithes.
15. Mr. F. Bentham Stevens, F.S.A.
Nine documents concerning land in Fulking, held of the Manor of Perching.
16. West Sussex County Council Record Office.
48 deeds and documents relating to Ringmer, Framfield, Lewes, Brede and Ninfield, and plan of Glynley in Westham by W. Figg.
17. The Hon. J. C. C. Cavendish.
Deed concerning the Manor of Wall Hill in East Grinstead, 1840.

ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM TO JULY, 1949

1. Miss L. Hitchins, London.
Lace cap, embroidered handkerchief and silk gloves
made by the donor's great grandmother.
2. Miss D. Flint, Harrow.
Roman and other coins from the garden of a house in
Birdham Road, Chichester.
3. Mr. E. R. Holden, Hove.
Eight tailors' dummies for the display of costumes.
4. Captain N. Thacker, London.
Roman coin from the garden of a house in Maresfield.
5. Mr. W. G. Muddle, per Dr. Ratcliffe-Densham, Worthing.
Stone mace-head found at Durrington. (*Loan.*)
6. Mrs. J. P. Wallis, Lewes.
 1. Candle and rush-light holders.
 2. Bread calipers made at Lamberhurst Iron works.
7. Dr. E. C. Curwen, F.S.A., Hove.
 1. Set of 20 photographs from the film "Beginnings
of History." (*Loan.*)
 2. Originals of maps published in "Prehistoric
Sussex." (*Loan.*)
 3. Photograph of wooden handles on bronze palstavs
found in a peat bog in Denmark.
 4. Section of timber from 11th century corduroy road
at Bolney.
 5. Neolithic flint hoe mounted in modern handle.
 6. Flint flake tool from Peacehaven — possibly
palæolithic.
8. Mr. A. Glasspool, Chichester.
 1. Roman bronze "winged" brooch.
 2. Six glass beads of early Saxon type.
9. Mrs. Sherman, London.
Portrait in oil colours of John Ellman.

10. Mr. E. G. Parris, London.
Bronze medallion depicting Thomas Paine.
11. Dr. Grahame Clark, Cambridge.
38 flint implements from the Seaford area.
12. Colonel J. V. Gray, F.S.A., Westham.
Two probably palæolithic flint implements from Selsey.
13. Mr. Gallup, Wadhurst.
 1. Silver-bound leather whip.
 2. Muzzle-loading gun.
 3. Collection of old stocks and dies.
 4. Mediaeval horse-shoe.
14. Mr. W. D. Popley, Brighton.
Booklet of specimen styles of hair-locket.
15. Mr. P. W. Pegge, Lewes.
Brass tinder-box and pistol strike-a-light.
16. Dr. H. B. Ratcliffe-Densham, Worthing.
Reconstructed Bronze Age 'pygmy cup' from Park
Brow.
17. Mr. C. R. Rolfe, Uckfield.
Two coins and a lead counter from a garden at Uckfield.
18. Bishop Hordern, Slaugham.
Fragments of painted plaster from 'Basing,' Hammer-
wood.
19. Mr. G. G. Bennett, Polegate.
Two miniature pots from Wannock Glen.
20. Mrs. Arundell Esdaile, West Hoathly.
A print of Henry Blacker—"the British Giant."
21. Mr. C. E. C. H. Burton, Westham.
 1. Small whetstone found in Westham.
 2. Three flint flakes, one being of Levalloisian type.
22. Mr. G. P. Garrick, Billingshurst.
Bronze medallion with arms of Queen Anne from
Tower Street, Chichester.

23. Mr. W. Mason.
Bronze mediæval seal of William Savage, bronze medallion with coat of arms, and a specimen of the Chichester halfpenny—from Halnaker Park and Boxgrove.
24. Mrs. Schrubb, Ringmer.
Two-gallon earthenware jar made for "T. Berry, wine and spirit merchant, Lewes"—about 1850.
25. Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A., Brighton.
Potsherds, fragments of shale armlets, hammer stones, etc.—from the Caburn.
26. Mr. W. G. Wallace, Bournemouth.
Small collection of mesolithic flints from Danny Park.
27. Mr. H. L. Smith, Lewes.
Bill-head of about 1830.
28. W. E. Baxter, Ltd., Lewes.
Letter-head as used in 1837.
29. Mrs. Hammond Innes, Eastbourne.
Roman flue-tile from Eastbourne villa.
30. Mrs. Tupper, Horam.
Two old dresses and a pair of knee-breeches.
31. Mr. C. L. Adamson, Heathfield.
Coloured print of Queen Victoria as a child.
32. Dr. H. F. Squire, Henfield.
Uniform and helmet of a Sussex volunteer. (*Loan.*)
34. Mr. H. F. Fitt, Crowborough Hill.
Part of a cannon-ball mould from Mayfield.
35. Rev. W. Budgen.
Three human skulls from near Willingdon; one possibly Neolithic, the others probably Saxon.

FARNCOMBE & Co. (1928) LTD.
Printers
MARKET STREET, LEWES, SUSSEX



JOHN, 1ST LORD ASHBURNHAM (1655-1710)
(from a portrait by Carlo Maratti at Ashburnham Place)

Sussex Archaeological Society

LETTERS

OF THE FIRST LORD ASHBURNHAM

BY RUPERT GUNNIS

IN the Muniment Room at Ashburnham Place are the letter-books of John, first Lord Ashburnham, ten vellum-bound books dating from 1695 to 1708. In these Lord Ashburnham apparently kept copies of every letter he wrote. The copies in the letter-books are in different hands and one imagines that having written the original himself, Lord Ashburnham then handed it to one of his secretaries to copy. These records are now in the ownership and possession of Lady Catherine Ashburnham, the present owner of Ashburnham Place and the direct descendant of John, first Lord, and it is entirely owing to her kindness and co-operation that I have been permitted to make the extracts which follow.

John, first Lord Ashburnham, was born in 1656 at Chiswick, the son of William Ashburnham and Elizabeth, daughter of the first Lord Poulett, and grandson of John Ashburnham, groom of the bedchamber to Charles I. In 1677 he married at Westminster Abbey Bridget, daughter and heiress of Walter Vaughan of Porthammell House, co. Brecon. He was Tory M.P. for Hastings from 1679 to 1681 and from 1685 to 1687. In 1689 he was created Baron Ashburnham of Ashburnham, Sussex. In 1710 he died in London. Such, in brief, are the facts of the public life of the first Lord Ashburnham; he played but little part in politics, and indeed there seem few reasons why he should have been given a peerage. William III, who granted him his coronet, was shrewd enough to realize that a great landowner like Ashburnham was well worth attaching to his interests.

To the historian the first Lord Ashburnham's life

must seem somewhat dull and unrewarding, perhaps hardly worth considering: the common enough story of a Sussex squire sitting for a safe Tory seat and rewarded for that and his control of votes by a barony.

The truth, however, is very different, for fortunately Lord Ashburnham's letter-books from 1695 to 1708 still survive, and from the pages of these emerges the picture of a man of exceptional character and parts. As one reads through the ten volumes (and each volume must contain the transcript of hundreds of letters) the dull, dim figure of Lord Ashburnham becomes clear-cut and distinct and we see him as he really was, a man of unbounded energy (hardly a day passes that he does not write six or seven letters), devoted to his wife and children, a good friend, a just master, though relentless to any steward or servant who tries to defraud him, a great landowner, for he had not only his Sussex estates and the broad acres in Wales his marriage had brought him, but he owned Ashburnham House in Westminster and Ampthill House in Bedfordshire, not to mention smaller houses at St. Albans and Chelsea and land in half a dozen other counties. A man of imperious mien: the tax-collector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, would raise his rates; rather than pay he empties Ashburnham House of all its contents, even tearing out the marble chimney-pieces and replacing them by deal ones, telling his steward to get rid of the house at once. Anything he has must be of the best and his ideas are grandiose; he wishes a pew built at Ampthill Church, Sir Christopher Wren must design it; he rebuilt Ampthill House, La Guerre must paint the walls, Tijou shall do the iron work, and Nost shall be responsible for the statues that are to decorate the façade of the house. Does his watch need cleaning? then Tompion shall attend to it. Is his picture to be painted?—then Carlo Maratti must do it.

As we read, those and other facets of his character appear, but overriding all else one becomes aware of his incredible almost fantastic attention to detail—nothing is too small or too unimportant for him to write or give orders about. The gardener is told exactly how to

manure a fruit-tree, the steward how to bottle the wine, his agent is given minute instructions on how to collect the rents and which of his endless tenants can be allowed to let his rent be in arrear and which must pay or go. Nothing is left to others or to chance, from the cook preparing his dishes to the tailor making his new suit. One is left stunned by this bombardment of letters and his restless activity, for Lord Ashburnham hardly ever seems to stay more than a few nights in any place—darting from one property to another, with side excursions to Holland and France, and always writing, writing, writing. As one closes the covers of one of the letter-books and draws breath, one feels a faint pang of pity for Lady Ashburnham; she must have had so restless, so disturbed a life and yet with so little to do, for her husband invades her province and it is he who writes giving the servants instructions on how to take down and fold up window curtains and how to physick the children!—one wonders if Bridget Ashburnham found it rather exhausting being married to quite such a human whirlwind.

Few men can have packed so much into their lives—he was only fifty-four when he died. One feels he might have done so much more with his life had that dynamic energy, that microscopic attention to detail, been utilized in the service of his country. What a great Quartermaster-general he would have made.

It has not been easy to know which letters to select for this article, but the ones chosen are those that deal with the agriculture, local politics, and life of a landowner in Sussex.

Almost the first letter of which we have a copy shows Lord Ashburnham as the nobleman keeping up considerable state, and the following letters to 'Robert Petre the Taylor' show the rather garish richness of footmen's liveries in 1695. Petre is ordered to send down to Ashburnham:

' . . . one hundred 40 yards of plain velvett galon on crimson colour onely of the breadth of the cut Parchment here inclosed, and 60 yards of narrow all as fine & good a galon as can be made. Serge enough,

exactly of the colour of the galon, to line 12 suites of clothes, and calamanced striped, white, crimson, & olive colour, for twelve waistcoats, crimson shagg for seven pair of breeches, matching with the galon, and with leather to line the said breeches. Alchimy for the twelve suites of the best & newest fashion and crimson silke sufficient to work the button holes. All these things you must send down next week, but if you cannot all of them, then be sure to send first the materials for the waistcoats and breeches.'

Having attended to his indoor staff, Lord Ashburnham next turns his attention to the garden; the 'Mr Parker' Lord Ashburnham writes to seems to have been a considerable London nurseryman who supplied fruit-trees and vegetables for all Lord Ashburnham's country houses.

The Earl of Monmouth 'grapes and figues' are almost certainly named after Henry Carey, first Earl of Monmouth, 1560-1639, a great traveller who introduced these special kinds of fruits into England.

'The trees that I desire should be sent downe to Ashburnham in Sussex are these following viz

The violet Muscatt Peache	04 Trees
The Chevreuse Peache	04
The Bourdin Peache	04
The Admirable Peache	04
The Alberge	04
In all Peaches	<u>20</u> Trees

Pear Trees for the Walls

The Colmar Peare	06
The Ambrette Peare	04
Golden Winter Bonchretien	04
In all Peares	<u>14</u> Trees

Plumm Trees for walls

The Pendrigon White Plumm	06
The Pendrigon blue Plumm	06
In all Plumms	<u>12</u> Trees

Dwarf Standards' Peares, Thirteen in number.

I leave the srts to your owne choice, But I would by noe means have a rough harsh Peare that is stony but something as near the Colmar & Ambrette as may be. And in case those two sorts are good in Standards you cannot doe better than to send 7 Colmar Standards & 6 Ambrettes Standards, But I leave you to judge what is best and fittest to be done in this case.

Vines to be sent with the trees above mentioned

Of the grape ripe in June	04 Trees
Of the Earle of Monmouths grapes . . .	04
Of the Earle of Monmouths white Figure	<u>8</u>

I would have all these trees herein mentioned gotten ready to be sent to the Vinehall Carrier, Robt. Stirtupp, by name, who sets up at the White Hart Inne, Southwark, and comes forth for Sussex Thursdays by 7 in the morning, and upon Thursday the 23rd of this Instant Jany. I would not have you faile to send them. . . .

It is a curious commentary on Lord Ashburnham's restless activity and the surprising swiftness of the post between Sussex and London in the late seventeenth century that only four days have elapsed before we find Lord Ashburnham writing to Parker and querulously asking why he has had no answer to his letter of 11 September:

'But having received noe answer to either of those letters makes me doubtfull what became of them and what steps you have made in ord. to the performing what was therein desired of you. However the season continuing soe fitt for planting I must not let the occasion pass away unmade use of.' . . . 'You must be sure to procure of the right sorts, for except you doe so all our labour & charge is cast away as I observed once to you in one of my five last letters. Therefore above all I recommend to you to avoid mistakes in the matter. And the Peaches (as your selfe advised) to be all upon Peache stocks & not on Plumm Stocks. I know you will be both carefull & diligent in these things & therefore I acquiesce in it.'

One more letter to Parker is interesting as showing the vegetables that were then grown.

'Parker lett there be no mistakes in this matter, the trees for Ashburnham are these—

Pare Trees	2
Chevreuse Peache	1
The Violet Muscat Peache	1
The Bourdin Peache	1
The Conde Peache	1
The Admirable Peache	1

One hundred of White Dutch Goose-berries for seeds 100

Sandwich peas 3 gall, egg pees 3 quartes, redd carrott seed halfe a pound, orange carrott halfe a pound, onion seed halfe a pound, spinage halfe a pound, cabage lettice seed 4 ounces, parsnipp foure ounces, Leek seed one ounce, Red beet seed 2 ounces, Sillery one

ounce, curled endiff 2 ounces, Red dutch cabage 1 ounce, Charville 2 ounces, short coucombers, long coucombers & prickly coucombers of each 1 ounce, a little melon seed and wyer sive.'

The next question which Lord Ashburnham turns to is that of the milled money, then coming in for the first time and we find him writing to Mr.—afterwards Sir Richard—Hoare, the banker:

'I should be glad of your opinion whither it were not advisable at this time to take inn my Rents & arrears thereof being offered to me in clipped moneye. The nicety of this will be what the methods & charge & trouble of exchange may be for milled money, which possibly you may be now able to informe me inn. As soon as there is any milled money stirring, I desire you will send me downe by Stirtupp the carrier, Two hundred & eleven pounds fourteen shillings sixpence thereof in crownes & halfecrownes onely. I shall alsoe trouble you to be informed what is like to be ye course of guineas as to their future value, and how they are at present currant.'

We have no copy of Mr. Hoare's answer, but Lord Ashburnham again writes:

'What I shall now trouble you with is to be made acquainted with the state of the new milled money wch I heare is in some measure come forth and that notwithstanding the weight, which it carries to the full of the old standard, yet I am told that it is defective in the finesse, and is not right sterling sylver which I knew not how to disprove till I have a true information. My enquiry of the rates of Sylver in myne of the 8th instant was with design to make some alterations in my service of plate, by addition thereunto, of wch I stand not yett soe clearly informed as to come to any resolution; Therefore if you please to mention in yr next what are the lowest rates you can take pr ounce for Trencher plates, dishes etc, you shall know my mind more fully and receive sutable instructions.'

To be on the safe side Lord Ashburnham also writes to his London agent about the financial situation—the question about the 'National Bank' has a curiously modern ring.

'I would willingly be informed of ye present state and credit of the Bank of England, and the Land Bankes, and of ye project allsoe now in agitation for a National Banke, and if there be any good account in print of these matters. I desire you would transmitt it to me. I would in like manner be made acquainted with the rates of guynes & how they are like to be current with the rates of sylver p. ounce both in buying & selling with Goldsmyshts.'

The London agent has not only to find out about the Bank but also to do Lord Ashburnham's shopping:

‘At length I have received the two peruques, the wine, vermicelli, sweet powder & table book to content. But one of the peruques being a Spanish bobb is too airye & sparkish for one of my gravity and circumstances, and therefore I believe I shall seldom appear in it, for which reason I must desire you will repair to Villiers & bespeak of him for me a very short riding bobb onely to were on horseback or walking about home, as short as the most reverend of the Clergy doth wear them, but as much better made and handsomer as he pleases.’

The agent must also engage a valet ‘who must be between 30 and 40 yeares in age and skilled in letting blood and playing on the music’. The agent recommends a man, but Lord Ashburnham is taking no risks about his servant and writes back:

‘I have received yours of the 28th wherein you doe not give me any particular acc^t of the person that served the Duke of Newcastle, or that you had spoken to His Grace concerning him which you know I desired you should doe, that I might know the reason he was dismissed from that service, how long he lived there, what he is capable of, and what character he has in the world as to his behaviour and sobriety. You doe not mention the Securitye he can give, or what his age.’

In the end a valet is engaged at £15 a year.

We can get an idea of the minute care Lord Ashburnham took over matters in his instructions about the building of a garden wall:

‘And now seing Ralf Kiteby is ab^t to beginn the new wall I must remember you to be very carefull that noe ill materials be employed in y^t worke, noe not soe much as a faulty brick, or that any clamps bricks be used. I will allow of nothing butt kell bricks, and those home burned & perfectly good; of which you must keepe a continuall acc^t by tale in writing, as allsoe of the Lyme to be worked upon the building this new wall. Be sure, John, to have a perticular eye to the foundations of the wall y^t they may be sufficiently strong and well layed as they ought to be for this time. I doe expect Ralph will shew me a piece of his best skill and worke.’

But it is not only over garden walls that Lord Ashburnham takes trouble—no vague ordering of medicines for him, the Apothecary must be told exactly what to prepare:

‘Against my coming to Towne I desire you to prepare for me three doses of pills thus compounded viz^t Of aggregative pill, aloë Rorata, galbanum, finely strained of each 9 grains of the best Rushia Castor

finely powdered 2 grains, mix these together with a little oyl of Amber and make it into three pills. Soe that you may observe in nine pills there must be two parts more then before mentioned of every ingredient. I shall allsoe want some Scoth pills and a large quantity of Jesuite powder with some Sirrop of July flowers.'

In May 1695 his wife's half-brother dies and Lord Ashburnham writes to London:

'I would have you gett ready for me, out of hand ag^t my coming to towne a black silke waistcoat of the richest and newest fashion silke that is worn. I am oblidged yet to continue my black by reason of the death of a relation; I would have this waistcoat gotten ready by Saturday night next.'

And not only his waistcoat but his wigs and the rest of his clothes must be in the newest fashion:

'The two peruques you will now receive by this bearer are two of the last made me by Villiers. The Campagne and the Espagnole which I desire you to give him from me with directions that ye Espagnole be new mounted and made a peruque cordonnee or twisted with a full cordoner twist, and yt the Campagne be allsoe made with the addition of some haire to be a twisted peruque allsoe.' 'I would have you goe to Mr Hoare the Goldsmyth & bespake of him a Sylver chaine or breade to lay on button holes instead of silke or sylver thredd button holes. For at my return I will have a Drap de Berry coat with my. plate buttons and sylver chain buttons holes for the Countrye. If he makes this chain very handsome and light with wyre at the ends of the button holes it will look well & not be cumbersome.'

There is an interesting reference in a letter from Lord Ashburnham to his Sussex agent about the iron industry. Lord Ashburnham owned a number of furnaces and it is a curious fact that the furnace at Ashburnham was one of the last, if not the very last, to turn out iron in Sussex, for it stood till about 1812.

'I confesse the Custome upon mee to pay for the throwing inn the clayes in the minepitts is a thing which I have very often excepted against, I think those who are admitted into my Land to break the ground and take out the Iron Stone ought to fill upp the pitts and restore me my land fitt for service afterwards and this I shall expect to be done whoever it is that shall draw any Iron mine for the future in my Estate, I know the carelesnesse and slacknesse of the worke-men after they have found their treasure and how little conscience is used among them to doe their duty especially in a beneficiall labour as that of mining has proved to many. I would have you speake to

Jno: Gilbert in this matter and lett him know that I am not satisfied to have my ground broken without any concern in filling the same upp again. Lett me know how my fencing goes forward round the woods of this yeare's fall, for I hope that you will not be cast this yeare in worke of any sort which by long experience I have had of Sussex is the greatest prejudice that is possible to happen in Country businesse.'

In September 1695 Lord Ashburnham seems to have got his private chaplain appointed rector of Ashburnham, but this appears to have led to trouble with the former incumbent, for we find Lord Ashburnham writing to the Bishop of Chichester:

'Your Lordsp was both kind & just in delivering this parish from a person from whom they could reape noe benefit in his performance of the ministry among ym. I persuade my self that what further concernes the good of the Church of this place in perticular will be allwayes gratefull to your Lordsp, and yt you will allow me freely to assure you that since the change of the Minister here, the parish hath been much better served & they may become good Christians if they will hearken unto & follow such advice as is now given ym both in publick & in private. I am sensible that they are well satisfied with my Chaplain the present Minister in generall, except the Vicar should be of an other mind & dissatisfied, which I have reason to think him from his great disingenuity & not dealing fairly with him according to his contract and his not a just allowance being unwilling to make him in his salary as his Curate; I desire your Lordsp will please to examine him about these matters, being sent on purpose by me, that you may know the truth & not sufferr him to be ill dealt with. I hear some plead for Mr Nethercott when they cannot alledge law or equity, that he should have pity & come off easy. Indeed, my good Lord, he is above pity & below esteem & were he neither, yet I should hope he would do justice or be made to doe so. He is very rich & in circumstances to make a much better condition to a Curate than twenty six pounds a yeare, and I hope your Lordsp will believe him to be soe, and that you will be able to persuade or oblige him to allow forty pounds a yeare, and allsoe to put his vicaridge house & buildings into good repair, which are now dropping downe & not habitable with safety. He has actually lived in the vicaridge near thirty yeare, and has layed by for himself & familye at least fifteen hundred pounds in money which methinks besides the piety & reward of soe good a work ought in gratitude to God & the Church prompt him to give some markes that he is desirous to acknowledge ye benefitt, a small retribution for soe great an advantage & in a think due from him in satisfaction of the laws he lives under. My Lord, there is need of very few words or applications to move yr Lordsp to what is fitt to be done in any case much lesse in this that concernes

the Church, I shall therefore deferre my apology for ye till I have the happinesse to see yr Lordsp at Westminr & remain My Lord, Yr Lordsp &c.'

Shortly after the Bishop of Chichester died and while the see is vacant Lord Ashburnham takes up the matter again with the Bishop of Ely:

'The late Bishop of Chichester had made such a progresse in the settlement of the disorders of our Parish of Ashburnham that I think had it pleased God to have spared his life he would by this time have compassed what he soe worthily had undertaken. My Lord it is chiefly the repaires of the Vicarage, and the damages sustained for want of due reparations That my Chaplain, Mr Cuningham, seekes to have redressed from Mr Nethercott, The Vicar. The late Bishop was resolved to have satisfaction given in these points or to putt the Vicarage under sequestration & I doubt not but the present worthy prelate his Successor will tread in the same steps. But my misfortune, in not being yett personally known to his Lordsp makes mee applye to your Lordsp at this time in behalfe of my Chaplain. That you will please to heare his case and represent the matter to the Bishop to whom I give my humble service tho a stranger. I know my noble friend the Bishop of Litchfeild whose servant I am, will soe farr oblige mee as to joyne with you inn appearing and supporting the Interest of the Church and of my Chaplain in this case. My Lord, I wish your Lordsp many happy yeares & am with great esteem. . . .'

Though Lord Ashburnham had supported the claim of his chaplain he apparently did not intend to allow him too much freedom or liberty, as the following letter to his agent at Ashburnham shows:

'I know not whither Mr Cuningham will be att Ashburnham sooner then this letter, he set forth from this place yesterday, and was directed to be with you on Saturday ye 6th instant, in order to perform divine service on the day following, in his parish church. I writt to you a letter by him. But what his excuses, or reall occasions may be I doe not soe depend upon my direction or his word, as to think his arrivall infaillible at the time prefixed. I suppose for one day or two at most, he may desire accomodation at the place, in lodging and dyett, but longer I will not admitt of, more with design for his good and interest then my owne; and therefore you must be sure to observe my orders against any pretences or insinuations of his, to the contrary, now in my absence that I depend upon you. I gave him noe verball message at all to you, in any matter; Therefore you are to govern your selfe singly and intirely by what you see in writing from my self now I am absent. I know you will not sufferr his company at any time to be a hindrance to you in my affaires and I believe

you able enough to extricate and free your selfe from importunity or impertinencies of any sort. But I thought it not unfit to give you this caution, since before you two were never left alone to gather in the Parish. He has this yeare beene absent neare nine months in my service, I hope by his diligence now upon the place, he will redeem what time has beene lost, if any should have soe beene, in the duties of a divine and parish minister, and that he will for this end applye himselfe heartily to his studdies, giving a good example in his life and behaviour, and avoiding all idle conversations and losse of time, as well to himselfe as others, he has noe orders from my wife neither, as to what regards the children. Whatever we would have done shall if God permitt, be from time to time imparted to you in writing. I have received yours of the 30th instant &c. . . .'

The matter of the vicar, the curate, and the vicarage, as far as Ashburnham is concerned, is again heard of in the following letter from Lord Ashburnham to his Curate:

'I have received yours of the 9th instant written at London and doe find that the present Bishop of Chichester is disposed to give his assistance in the quieting matters of difference between Mr Nethercott and yourselfe, and that my good friend My Lord of Elye will trouble himselfe soo farr as to become a Referee in the businesse, a better, more honest, and more able you could never have hoped for, and when your case shall be well drawn upp perused & debated betwixt these two learned and worthy Bishoppes, I doubt not but the issue will be to my satisfaction and your owne advantage. I think Mr. Willard the attorney your friend of Bourn may be helpfull to you in the penning your case, and to bring what you desire to passe, I am of opinion that you ought to govern yourself upon the place at Ashburnham in the manner I mentioned to you before you left Great Parke. What I would have Mr Nethercott doe in this case is either to repaire effectually the Vicarage house and make you a just allowance for the damages you have suffered hitherto, or to encrease your allowance to 40 lb a yeare or to resign the Vicarage in which last case we will be easie with him for reparations. I would be all meanes that you keepe your residence constantly in the parish. . . .'

Having presented his domestic chaplain with the Ashburnham living, Lord Ashburnham is left with no curate to perform divine service at Ampthill, his seat in Bedfordshire, and writes to ask a clergyman called Jones to come for a few weeks: 'for the performing divine service in my familie.' Apparently Mr. Jones makes some excuse and Lord Ashburnham returns to the charge with this typical and amusing letter:

'I have received your very dolefull letter which requires little or noe answer, had you beene desired to make mee a visit living either at the East or West Indies, or to have taken a journey in Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, such excuses as you make would have sounded better then at a distance of one dayes travelle from your familie onely; I would have you soe kind to your wife that I shall never persuade you to goe out of the room for her, soe farr am I from being willing to be thought the author or cause of a separation betwixt you, or to devest you of fullfilling those duties that are incumbent on a husband, a parent and a master, not shall you ever bee in perill by land or by water or by your own Countrymen by my meanes. So I bid you heartily farewell. I &c.'

Meanwhile the vicar at Ashburnham is giving more trouble and Lord Ashburnham writes a letter of advice to his curate.

'You will find the observations that have been made of the Vicar's honesty and faire dealings were founded upon matter of fact, and that they may be usefull to you in whatever you shall be soe unfortunate as to have dealings with him. You must now gett through as well as you can, and right joyned with good sense in your actings will be effectually supported against a much more powerfull and dangerous antagonist, then I take him to be. The way with him if I mistake not, is to presse and not to yeild, on any account of good nature without reason; he will never be brought to doe you right if it be not cramm'd into him by force of Lawe. I &c.'

It would be possible to go on quoting from the letter-books for many more pages. Indeed it is with only the greatest reluctance that one can bring oneself to stop giving extract after extract. The figure of Lord Ashburnham, so dim and so dull in the dusty pages of Mr. Collins's *Peerage*, has become through the medium of these faded brown-inked letter-books so vivid, so alive, and so compelling, that one almost feels that one knew him as well as did one of those forgotten secretaries who at Ampthill or Westminster, Ashburnham or Breconshire, copied late into the night by the light of a taper the letters which his Lordship had written during the day, letters which, when early morning came, the postboys and mail coaches would take to their destination over the deeply rutted roads of the English counties.

BELL'S FARM, SLAUGHAM

BY R. T. MASON

THIS pleasing old farm-house is at present receiving restoration and additions on behalf of its owner, Mr. John Smith, who, as one keenly interested in old houses generally, is making every effort to preserve its ancient character and at the same time ensuring that the additions made are sympathetic.

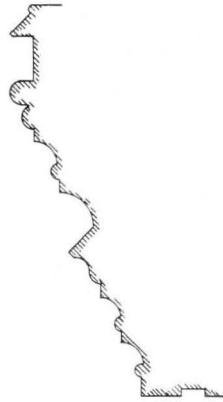
The *Victoria County History of Sussex* contains a brief but comprehensive description of the features of construction which were visible at the time of publication, but the present works have naturally brought to light others which are, perhaps, worth recording.

The date of erection may be fixed within reasonable limits by the contours of a rather heavy moulding which is cut upon a beam at what was the 'dais' end of the hall. A glance at its section shows the succession of simple compass curves forming a moulding which was conceivably favoured for ease in execution rather than for architectural beauty.

The original plan consisted of at least five bays—two of which were included in the buttery portion. These have a longitudinal partition (forming two separate offices) which has every sign of being part of the medieval structure.

The solar bay, which lay at the east end, has completely disappeared, but the fact has been revealed that it had an overhanging upper story—facing north—which was carried upon heavy corbels supported by shaped brackets tenoned into the main upright bay posts.

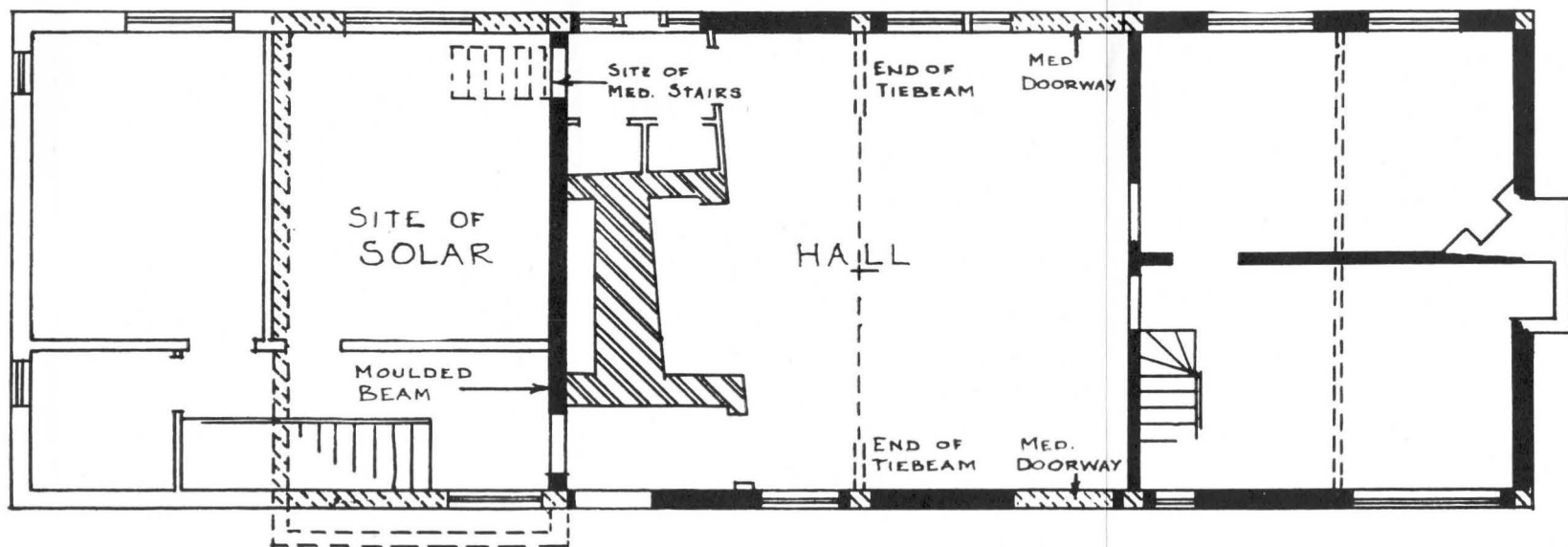
There is a possibility that the solar contained more than one bay. Three pieces of oak, obviously wall-



MOULDING
OF DAIS BEAM



PLATE I. BELL'S FARM: NORTH SIDE; HALL AND BUTTERY BAYS



SCALE



BELL'S FARM, SLAUGHAM: GROUND PLAN

plates, are traceable as re-used timbers in the house, but their lengths—two pieces of about 11 ft. long and one of about 22 ft., would do for either a gabled roof of two bays or a hipped roof of one bay only. It is conceivable also that they are, in fact, imported from some other building.

The major pieces of the medieval framing are all intact, as also are numerous smaller members—sufficient at least to show that the design was of large rectangular panels with curved braces and brackets. Most of them are of good size, but not really heavy. Practically all the plaster infilling has been replaced by brickwork of varying dates, though in the interior trussed partitions of the roof space there is a substantial amount of woven lath, plastered on both sides but blackened only towards the hall.

In medieval times there were two external doorways, situated on the north and south sides of the hall at its western end. These were framed into the main structure and had massive curved spandrels to form equilateral Gothic arches similar to that in the Priest House, West Hoathly. The mortices and long row of pin-holes, which were an essential part of this feature, are still clearly visible.

The roof is of the 'king-post and short collar' pattern, though the central hall king-post and its brackets have been taken out. Its tie-beam, also, has lost a large portion of the central part of its span, the ends being now supported by rather crude struts. The removal of almost one-third of the main hall tie-beam was a drastic action, and not without risk to the structure. One is inclined to think that such ill-advised methods upon the part of builders in the past has produced much of the 'tumble-down' character of old houses in the present.

Much of the Horsham stone with which the roof is covered is original; many of the slabs still have a liberal coating of soot from the hall fire. There is no trace of a louvre or funnel.

The slope of the roof is rather flat by local standards



PLATE 2. BELL'S FARM: SOLAR-HALL PARTITION; SHOWING NORTH DOORWAY

for the period. Its angle with the horizontal is probably only about $47\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, whereas 55 or 60 degrees is more common in Sussex and Surrey. The west end has a hipped termination with the familiar little gables at the apex, but these are clearly not medieval work, though use has been made of the old rafters in reframing. The inference is that both ends of the roof were originally fully gabled, but the buttery end was so far advanced in decay by Tudor times that reconstruction became necessary.

The little gables are a charming adornment to many old Sussex roofs, but in searching for the utilitarian factor in their evolution the following suggestion may be worth consideration: The framing of a true hipped end involves the uniting at the apex of four, or possibly five, pieces of timber. Ruling out nails, which the old carpenters were reluctant to use in oak, no satisfactory joint was evolved to meet these requirements; but by uniting the hip with the end common rafter at a point 2 ft. or so below its tip, the joints could be reduced to the framing together of two pieces only, and with this the craftsmen of the times were well able to deal.

An unusual feature of the hall roof, the purpose of which is not readily obvious, is the presence of two small octagonal posts in the apex above the collars. They are seated each upon its appropriate collar with their upper ends pinned between the points of a pair of rafters. They resemble miniature king-posts, lacking braces, and seem to have no practical function, being interpolated into a design which is generally recognized as efficient and complete without them.

Internally, two original doorways remain. The solar-hall partition had a communication door at either end, under the moulded beam, the space between them being filled with some kind of panelling, as shown by the deep groove in its lower surface. The northern of these doorways has survived and has chamfered spandrels forming a depressed Gothic arch. The position of its fellow is readily traceable by the door-post mortices in the beam. Here the bottom of the beam has been cut sharply

upward, presumably to give headroom to a staircase which once existed. This would have been the logical position for the 'cat ladder' stairs leading to the upper chamber of the solar end.

One doorway remains in the hall-buttery partition and is set towards the centre of its length. It is probable that here also there were a pair, but side by side and quite close together.

The conversion to a two-storied dwelling apparently took place towards the end of the sixteenth century. A chimney was then built approximately in the centre of the west bay of the hall, but at some later date and before the end of the seventeenth century this was pulled down and another built at the east end of the hall. Some of the stone of the first chimney was re-used in the new one, as evidenced by certain blackened pieces which have been extracted from the masonry during the present works. The trimming for the first chimney remains also, and as an example of carpentry is vastly inferior to the medieval work to which it has been attached.

On taking up the floor of what was presumably the farm-house kitchen the site of the old hall hearth was plainly indicated by a roughly circular patch of burnt earth and ashes.

The second chimney still remains and is being restored from a rather mutilated state as part of the renovation programme. At some date subsequent to its erection the solar part of the house was completely destroyed, probably by fire, as the moulded beam previously mentioned passes across the front of the chimney breast and through the hearth of the first-floor chamber. Modern Building By-laws expressly forbid such a practice and the regulation is here amply justified, for the beam is badly charred. Steps are naturally being taken to rectify the fault.

An extension is now being made to the east end, which may in fact be a reconstruction, assuming that the solar portion had two bays instead of the single one as hatched upon the accompanying plan.

There is some evidence that the fire took place during the early part of the nineteenth century. The wall of the hall which was exposed by the dismantling of the solar was faced with seventeenth-century bricks, but these appear to have been, as it were, second-hand, and have again been re-used in the present works. Deal weather-boarding covered the upper portion and also the south side of the house, and it seems likely that this belongs to the reconstruction which took place after the fire.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW WINCHELSEA

BY W. MACLEAN HOMAN

THE town of New Winchelsea, the present Winchelsea, was planned and laid out between the years 1283 and 1292. The following is an attempt to show how this was done and to throw some new light on various matters connected with the founding of the town.

As has been pointed out ('The French Bastides and the Town Plan of Winchelsea', by C. E. Chambers, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. XCIV), there are in the south of France a number of towns laid out at about the same time as Winchelsea and when England and the south-west of France were intimately connected. The plans of the French Bastides have much in common with that of Winchelsea, but the latter appears on closer examination to contain features not met with elsewhere.

The first town bearing the name of Winchelsea, or one of its older forms such as Wincenesel, Winchelese, Wincelesia, or Winchelsey, was probably situated some three miles south-east of Rye. No satisfactory explanation of the original meaning of the name has ever been suggested.

The town was destroyed by coastal erosion and inundation which probably commenced about the middle of the twelve-hundreds. The inundations mentioned by Matthew Paris in 1250 and 1251 refer to the marshes and not to the town of Winchelsea, and this is also the case with the inundation in February 1287 (1288) mentioned in the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury's chronicle, but by 1271 part of the parish church of St. Thomas in Winchelsea had been washed away (Charter Roll, 6 November 1271). In 1281 Edward I took steps to move the town to a new and safer site on the Hill of Iham, where the present town of Winchelsea is still situated. In 1283 he instructed Stephen de Pencester, Henry le Waleys, and Gregory de Rokesle to plan and assess the new town of Yhamme to be laid out for the

barons (that is to say, the property owners) of the town and port of Wynchelse, which was already in great part submerged by the inundation of the sea and in danger of total submersion. They were instructed to plan streets and lanes and a place suitable for a market as well as for the two churches of St. Thomas and St. Giles; they were also instructed to assign and to deliver to the barons suitable sites according to their requirements and to give directions concerning harbours and all other things necessary for the town (Patent Roll, 13 October 1283).

The Hill of Iham was evidently chosen as a site for the new town largely for military reasons; a fortified town there, together with Rye, would help to bar the entrance of the Brede river to an invading force. The site was far from ideal for a commercial town. It was about six miles from the sea by way of the small Brede river, the mouth of which after it joined the Rother was then fully a mile south of Broomhill Farm. The Brede river soon after the founding of New Winchelsea, if not before, showed signs of silting up to an extent that would inconvenience shipping. Still, the town became tolerably prosperous, and it was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that its shipping, on which the prosperity of the town depended, disappeared.

When New Winchelsea was founded in 1292 the coastline south-east of the town was somewhat farther out than it is to-day (see *S.A.C.* LXXIX. 213). The land between the sea and the Hill of Iham was protected from the sea by an embankment called the Daunsewall, and this land is called *Mariscus Magnus*, the great marsh, in a survey of 1285, and 'Spadlond' in an inquisition of 1300. The greater portion of it was part of the manor of Iham belonging to the Crown and this part in the survey of 1285 is stated to have been divided among seventy-eight tenants; it had an area of $226\frac{1}{4}$ Flanders acres (the usual land measure in these marshes), equal to $282\frac{1}{2}$ English acres, 4 Flanders acres being equal to 5 English. Many of the tenants had only one acre or less. Some of the tenants (if not all) got ground allotted to them in New Winchelsea when it was laid out.

The name 'Spadlond' given to the marsh suggests that the holdings there were of the nature of allotments for the townspeople and as such must have assisted materially the food-supply both of Old and New Winchelsea. The marshland was 'destroyed by storms of the sea' in the fourteenth century (Patent Roll A.D. 1351). A small marsh frequently mentioned, about 4 acres in extent, called 'Trecherie' and situated north-east of the Strand Gate of Winchelsea was part of 'Spadlond'. The name 'Trecherie' is interesting because it means gambling house (*Du Cange's Dictionary*) and suggests a fairly numerous local population or a port of call on the Brede river for ships at this place before New Winchelsea was founded. An inquisition of 22 March 28 Edward I (1300) states that 'Spadlond' belonged to the King, James de Audele, John of Ore, John Heryngaud, and Isabel of Gestlynge. The total area of the marsh is given as 518 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, probably Flanders acres, though this is not specified. Eighty-six tenants there were responsible for keeping the embankments against the sea in repair. The part of 'Spadlond' included in the manor of Iham and belonging to the King was obviously north of a line drawn from near New Gate eastwards towards a place on the coast called 'Courtwall', probably near Dogs Hill, and now eroded by the encroachment of the sea.

There is a popular belief that the sea came to the foot of the Hill of Iham when New Winchelsea was founded in 1292, but that was obviously not so. Even before 'Spadlond' was reclaimed and protected against the sea by the Daunsewall (the name suggests that the reclamation may have taken place before the Conquest) the marsh cannot have been flooded, except possibly at high tide; this is proved by the existence above low-water mark of the remains of the ancient forest now covered by a considerable depth of soil.

Before New Winchelsea was founded there were on the Hill of Iham the following properties and houses;¹ those taken over by Edward I for laying out the new town are marked thus *:

¹ Rentals and Surveys (P.R.O.), roll 663, dated 1291.

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Rods</i>
* Buildings, Gardens, and Courtyards	5	..
* Arable Land	42	80
* Quarry	7	120
* Coppice	3	120
* Hill Slopes	7	80

The above formed part of the manor of Iham and before they were acquired by the Crown had belonged to Sir John Tregoz, who in 1284 had transferred them to his daughter, Sibilla, and her husband, William de Grandison.

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Rods</i>
Ground granted probably about 1285 to the Grey Friars by John Bone of Wickham	4	..
Ground belonging to the following:		
* John Bone (who held his land from the manor of French Court)	24	111
* Heirs of John Langhurst	35	60
* Abbot of Battle	1	81
William le Frere House	0	90
Richard Wymund	0	95
Alice Nykes	1	40
* Gilbert de Croce	11	118
William de Sneylhamme	1	80
Thomas Wymund House	1	40
William Heved	0	80
Tristram le Frere	0	155
" " "	0	48
* John Moriz	2	120
* Heirs of Bartholemew Wymund	0	80
John Alard House	2	68
Robert Covelard	0	44
Tristram atte Clyue	0	40
Richard Dez	0	51
Robert Wython	0	120
* William and Richard, sons of Tristram le Frere	1	0
Widow of John Wilde	0	80
Henry le Priur	1	0
Elizabeth and Agatha Priur	1	0
Heirs of Walter Wodman	0	80
* John, son of Reginald Alard, in Trecherie ¹	1	0

The following belonged to the abbey of Fécamp:

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Rods</i>
* Land of the Heirs of John Batan	1	136
" " " A Mill ²	0	8
* " " "	2	0
John Moriz and Partners (below Hill)	2	0
Church of St. Leonard . . . . .	..	..
Little Town of Iham . . . . .	..	..

¹ Trecherie was, as already mentioned, a marsh about 4 acres in extent south of the present Bridge Inn.

² Probably the mill mentioned in the Rent Roll as being near the NE. corner of Quarter No. 15.

The little town of Yhamme, or Iham, appears to have principally covered the slopes west of St. Leonard's Church, and foundation walls of houses can still be traced there. The annual rent which the abbey of Fécamp got from the town in 1291 was 9*s.* 9*d.* and 4,000 red herrings valued at 5*s.* per thousand, but this small amount may perhaps rather be taken as an indication of the age of the town than of its size.

Remains of ancient pottery found at the footbridge over the ditch 120 yds. west of St. Leonard's Well indicate an ancient settlement. It is not improbable that the small church of St. Leonard is one of those mentioned in Domesday as being in 'Ramslie', as the area granted to the abbey of Fécamp by King Canute in 1031 was called. The church was about 20 yds. long and was orientated east and west in a square churchyard 25 yds. by 25 yds., where the Winchelsea windmill now stands.

There were eighteen houses, as we have seen, on the part of the hill not belonging to the abbey of Fécamp; of these only two houses were on ground taken over by Edward I for laying out the new town. The other sixteen houses were probably on the western slopes south of the town of Iham. It is probable that there were houses, not mentioned in the survey, on the ground taken over on the Hill of Iham from John Bone, the heirs of John Langhurst, and the Abbot of Battle; we know that there were 5 acres of houses, gardens, and courtyards, part of the manor of Iham. Obviously quite a large number of people were living on and about the Hill of Iham in 1291 and before the laying out of New Winchelsea.

The 66½ acres of ground that had belonged to Sir John Tregoz probably lay north of Grey Friars and of Dead Man's Lane (Hogtrough Lane) or its continuation eastwards and between the present Mill Farm and the Strand Gate; the 7¾ acres of quarry were probably south of Pipewell Gate, and the 5 acres of buildings, gardens, and courtyards perhaps lay near St. Thomas's churchyard and the Court Hall. Stone walls are some-

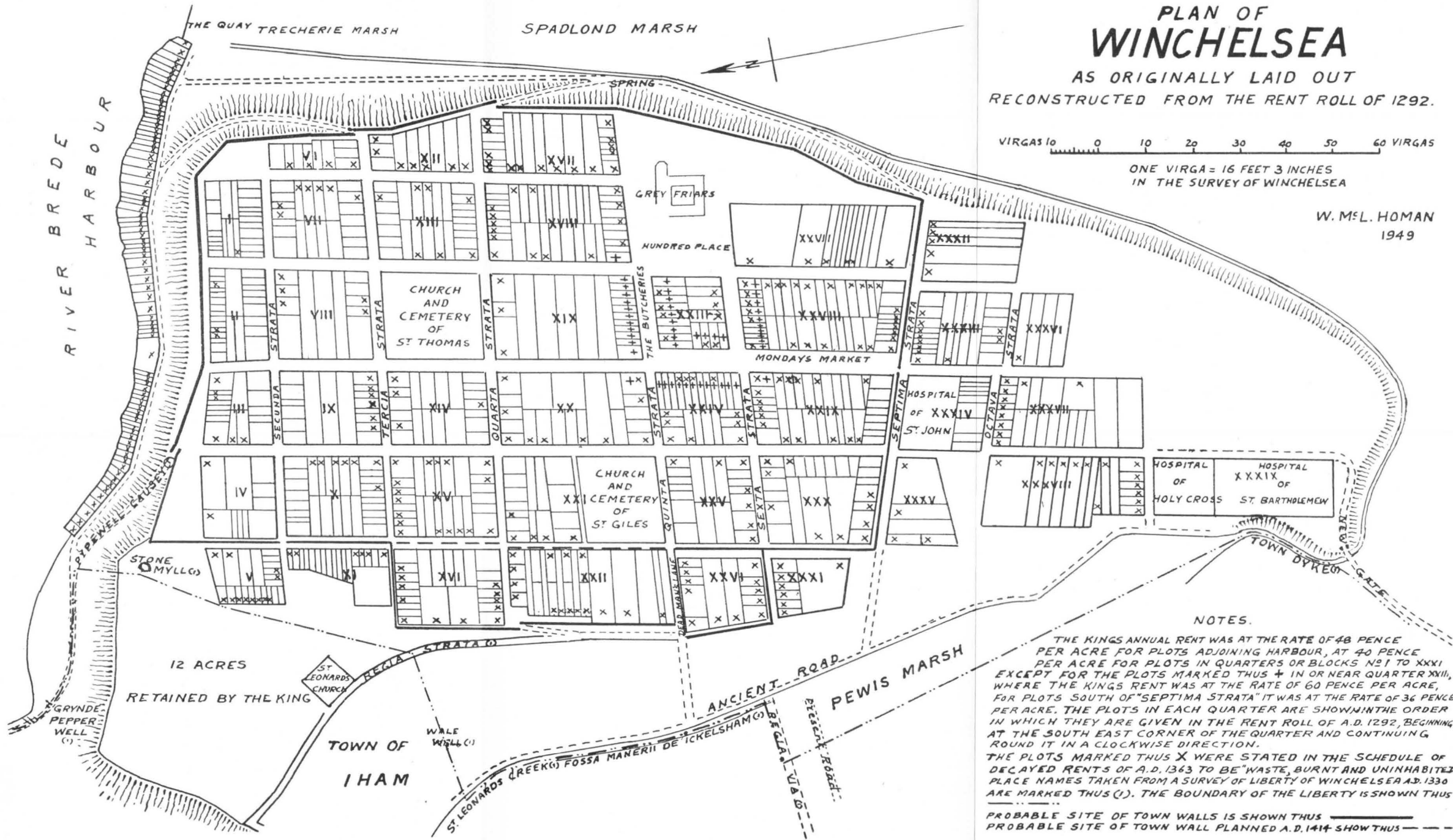
PLAN OF WINCHELSEA

AS ORIGINALLY LAID OUT
RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE RENT ROLL OF 1292.

VIRGAS 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 VIRGAS

ONE VIRGA = 16 FEET 3 INCHES
IN THE SURVEY OF WINCHELSEA

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1949



NOTES.

THE KING'S ANNUAL RENT WAS AT THE RATE OF 48 PENCE PER ACRE FOR PLOTS ADJOINING HARBOUR, AT 40 PENCE PER ACRE FOR PLOTS IN QUARTERS OR BLOCKS N^o 1 TO XXXI EXCEPT FOR THE PLOTS MARKED THUS + IN OR NEAR QUARTER XXII, WHERE THE KING'S RENT WAS AT THE RATE OF 60 PENCE PER ACRE, FOR PLOTS SOUTH OF "SEPTIMA STRATA" IT WAS AT THE RATE OF 36 PENCE PER ACRE. THE PLOTS IN EACH QUARTER ARE SHOWN IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE GIVEN IN THE RENT ROLL OF A.D. 1292, BEGINNING AT THE SOUTH EAST CORNER OF THE QUARTER AND CONTINUING ROUND IT IN A CLOCKWISE DIRECTION.

THE PLOTS MARKED THUS X WERE STATED IN THE SCHEDULE OF DECAYED RENTS OF A.D. 1363 TO BE "WASTE, BURNT AND UNINHABITED" PLACE NAMES TAKEN FROM A SURVEY OF LIBERTY OF WINCHELSEA A.D. 1330 ARE MARKED THUS (). THE BOUNDARY OF THE LIBERTY IS SHOWN THUS ---

PROBABLE SITE OF TOWN WALLS IS SHOWN THUS ———
PROBABLE SITE OF TOWN WALL PLANNED A.D. 1414 SHOW THUS - - - - -

times met with when graves are dug in the churchyard and south of the church; these may have belonged to the above-mentioned buildings or they may be remains of buildings of an earlier date. The so-called Bell Tower which stood in the churchyard till about 1760 may have been a building on the manor antedating the founding of the town.

Altogether the King took $149\frac{1}{2}$ acres on which to lay out the town of New Winchelsea. Of this, $87\frac{1}{2}$ acres were laid out as building sites; 45 acres were used for streets, markets, waste ground, &c., 5 acres were set aside for cemeteries and churches, and 12 acres the King retained for his own use; probably the latter were north-west of the town, where a field has for centuries been known as Castle Field.

The annual revenue from the $149\frac{1}{2}$ acres was, according to the rent roll in 1291, £14. 11s. $5\frac{3}{4}d.$, and exactly the same amount was made due annually to the King from the $87\frac{1}{2}$ acres allocated to the citizens of the town. Many of the plots of ground are registered in the Rent Roll of 1292 in the names of women.

Altogether there were 802 plots surveyed in the new town of Winchelsea. Of these, 79 were harbour plots, 572 were apparently within the town walls, 90 were between the walled part of the town and the New Gate, and 61 were west of the main walls of the town.

The work of planning and laying out the new town of Winchelsea seems to have proceeded very slowly. It was certainly not easy; it was necessary to arrange for and mark off more than 800 plots of land of various sizes to suit the different requirements and wishes of the citizens. The noted turbulent, jealous, and quarrelsome nature of these must have added much to the troubles of the surveyors. The total annual rent to be paid to the King for the 802 plots of various sizes had to be exactly the same as the annual revenue had been in 1291 from the land transferred to the King for the purpose of laying out the town, namely, £14. 11s. $5\frac{3}{4}d.$

By 1288 the planning was considered far enough advanced for the King's Treasurer, Sir John de Kirkeby,

Bishop of Ely, to appoint on behalf of the King a mayor and twenty-four jurats to make the final arrangements for the allocation and transfer of the ground to the citizens of the new town. The above-mentioned mayor and twenty-four jurats are not to be confused with the mayor later, probably from 1293 onwards, elected annually on Easter Monday by the people of Winchelsea and the twelve jurats chosen by the mayor to assist him.

The final allocation of sites in the new town apparently did not take place till 28 September 1292, and this date may be looked upon as that of the foundation of the town. Two copies of Rentals and Surveys Roll 674, dated as above, are at the Record Office, and they show how the ground was allocated. The rolls give the area of each plot and the annual rent due for it to the Crown, as well as the name of the person to whom it was allotted. This information is given separately for each of the thirty-nine blocks or quarters in which the town was laid out, as well as for the harbour plots on the Brede river north of the town. The roll was published in 1892 as an Appendix to *The Story of King Edward and New Winchelsea*, by F. A. Inderwick. There are a few errors and omissions, but none of great importance. If one studies this rent roll one is forced to the conclusion that the order in which each plot is mentioned indicates its position on the ground. It should therefore from the rent roll be possible to reconstruct the original layout of the town. The first step to do this is naturally to ascertain the land measure used. By comparing the areas given in the rent roll with those on the ground, where they can be determined by ancient landmarks, the measure used, the *virga*, is found to be approximately the same length as the pole now in use.

Although the approximate length of the *virga* used is easily ascertained, it is by no means easy to prove its exact length. Apart from the possibility that the rods or other means of measuring employed (possibly rods one-half *virga* in length) were not carefully standardized, great care would be required to get accurate results if a short measure such as a rod or a half-rod were used.

We can now check the results only by remains of ancient buildings and it is by no means certain that these were built exactly on the lines laid down by the survey. It may be said that wherever it is still possible to measure with fair accuracy a side of any of the blocks or quarters in which the town was laid out, the measurements con-

de Gny' dno' senas' atayd' amice' de' ad'	22 s.
de Danynd' dno'	21 s. 8 d.
de abute' hane'	21 s. 8 d.
de bene'	14 s. 8 d.
de Dagard'	14 s. 8 d.
de Coomb'	14 s. 8 d.
de ffarthel'	14 s. 8 d.
de Dellef'	14 s. 8 d.
de Dellef' frad' &'	14 s. 8 d.
de frouster' pyster'	14 s. 8 d.
de laol'	21 s. 8 d.
de Wyndel' quene' frut'	21 s. 8 d.
de Gny' dno' ch' le' archon'	14 s. 8 d.
de ffarthel' valley'	14 s. 8 d.
de Cogge'	1 s. 8 d.
de ha' Cogge'	1 s. 8 d.
de na' corchebde'	1 s. 8 d.
de Whirel'	1 s. 8 d.
de Colloc'	1 s. 8 d.
de Wyndel' d' f'	4 s.
de Wyndel' d' f'	4 s.

Total 200 s. 8 d.

EXTRACT FROM THE RENT ROLL OF 1292

firm the reconstruction of the layout based on the rent roll of 1292 in the manner that will be explained later. From a number of measurements it appears tolerably certain that the *virgae* in which the town was measured were about 16 ft. 3 in. in length. It is probable that the length of the *virga* was looked upon as being 16 ft. long. It is interesting to note that a Royal Commission of 1349 states that the plot of ground which Edward III wished to grant to the Church of St. Thomas for a rectory was 80 ft. by 40 ft. in size. This plot was

undoubtedly No. 8 in quarter No. 13 which the rent roll shows to have been $12\frac{1}{2}$ square *virgae*, that is to say, 5 *virgae* by $2\frac{1}{2}$ *virgae*. The *virga* was here obviously taken to be 16 ft.

The next step after determining the unit of length used in laying out the town is to ascertain where in each block the first plot in the rent roll was situated and the order in which the subsequent plots are noted in the roll. It will be found that ancient landmarks and documentary evidence where available show that the first plot mentioned in the rent roll was situated at the south-east corner of the block and that the other plots are tabulated in a clockwise direction round the block.

It will also be found that generally the order in which the plots in each block in the rent roll are entered is such that the plots by their areas fall into several groups. In the first group, consisting of the first lot of plots in each block or quarter in the rent roll, the area of each plot will be found to be easily divisible by five, and the total area of the group is equal to the southern street frontage of the block multiplied by five. In the second group the area of each plot is easily divisible by half the southern or the northern street frontage of the block, and the total area of the group is equal to half the southern or northern street frontage of the block multiplied by the western street frontage of the block, less 10 *virgae*. The third group of plots has the same characteristics as the first, and the fourth group has the same characteristics as the second. We will later give details of one of the blocks (quarter No. 13 in the rent roll) which will illustrate the above.

In laying out the town the surveyors appear first to have determined the positions of the streets. When the position of the streets and the blocks between them had been determined, a strip of ground 5 poles wide was measured off along the south side and along the north side of each block, and these strips were then subdivided into suitably sized plots each with a street frontage of one or more *virgae* and if desired a simple fraction of

a *virga*. The part of the block between the two strips was then divided by a north-south line and the ground on either side of this line was also subdivided into plots. In some blocks it was found convenient to modify the above procedure, for instance, where large plots were desired for leading citizens, as in quarters 8, 9, and 19; there the middle plots went right across the quarters from one street to another in an east-west direction. In quarters 1 and 2 the plots along the north frontage were not 5 but 3 *virgae* long. Some blocks, such as Nos. 23 and 24, were subdivided on a different principle, probably for shops with narrow frontage towards important thoroughfares, but these can also be reconstructed with considerable certainty from the rent roll.

To show how most of the blocks were subdivided, the particulars in the rent roll—the owner's name, the amount due annually to the Crown, and the area of each plot of the block or quarter No. 13, immediately east of St. Thomas's churchyard—will be given.

<i>Owner</i>	<i>King's Annual Due (pence)</i>	<i>Area (square virgae)</i>	<i>Reconstruction</i>
1. Henricus de Ecclesia . . .	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
2. Ricardus Inthelepe . . .	2½	10	= 5 × 2
3. Johannes Colekyn le Paumer . . .	1¾	7½	= 5 × 1½
4. Ricardus Trace . . .	2	7½	= 5 × 1½
5. Willielmus Thursteyn . . .	1¾	7½	= 5 × 1½
6. Walterus Scolloc . . .	2	7½	= 5 × 1½
7. Willielmus Gerveys . . .	1¾	7½	= 5 × 1½
8. Alanus Brountesone . . .	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
9. ¹ Ricardus Scot del Ord . . .	3¼	13	= 5 × 2½ + ¼
		Total	= 5 × 170 ¹ / ₁₀
10. Herbertus dictus Brouning Clericus . . .	4¼	17	= 8½ × 2
11. Petronilla Ingelburd . . .	5¼	21¼	= 8½ × 2½
12. Laurencius Clericus . . .	5¼	21¼	= 8½ × 2½
13. Johannes Tailleur . . .	4¼	17	= 8½ × 2
14. Petronilla relicta Johannis Purveaunce . . .	4¼	17	= 8½ × 2
		Total	= 8½ × 11

Plot No. 9 has been made 1 ft. 8 in. wider to suit street frontage of block.

<i>Owner</i>	<i>King's Annual Due (pence)</i>	<i>Area (square virgae)</i>	<i>Reconstruction</i>
15. Johanna de Stoke	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
16. Petronilla de Hertepole	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
17. Ricardus Pace	3¼	12½	= 5 × 2½
18. Heredes Stephani Cornman	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
19. Johannes Filius Johannis Pace	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
20. Johannes Stroyl	2½	10	= 5 × 2
21. Johannes Filius Radulphi Pace	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
		Total	= 5 × 17
22. Johannes Seman	6½	25½	= 8½ × 3
23. Walterus Songere	5¼	21¼	= 8½ × 2½
24. Laurencius Haskard	4¼	17	= 8½ × 2
25. Willielmus Skorefeyn	4¼	17	= 8½ × 2
26. Magnus Willielmus	4¼	17	= 8½ × 2
		Total	= 8½ × 11½

As mentioned, quarter No. 8, immediately north of St. Thomas's churchyard, shows a slightly different system of planning, the large plots going right across the block from west to east. A similar arrangement is to be found in quarters Nos. 9 and 19.

Quarter No. 8

<i>Owner</i>	<i>King's Annual Due (pence)</i>	<i>Area (square virgae)</i>	<i>Reconstruction</i>
1. Henricus Yve	3¼	12½	= 5 × 2½
2. Petronilla Clobbere	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
3. Alicia relicta Roberti Gervey's	3¼	12½	= 5 × 2½
4. Nicholaus Alard	2½	10	= 5 × 2
5. Gervasius Alard, Junior	11¼	45	= 5 × 9
		Total	= 5 × 18½
6. Nicholaus Alard	12¾	51	= 18½ × 2¾
7. Reginaldus Alard, Senior	18½	74	= 18½ × 4
8. Gervasius Alard, Senior	16½	66½	= 18¾ × 3½
		Total	= 18½(19) × 10¼
9. Thomas Alard	12	47½	= 5 × 9½
10. Willielmus Seman	5	20	= 5 × 4
11. Willielmus Mot de Hastings	3	12½	= 5 × 2½
12. Adam Pistor	3½	13¾	= 5 × 2¾
		Total	= 5 × 18¾

Plot No. 5 is where the Court Hall stands; the plot was, as will be seen, in private ownership in 1292, proving that the building is not the town's original Court Hall. It will be noticed that the area of plot No. 12 is such that it makes the northern side of the block one-quarter pole longer than the southern side. This is actually the case as proved by measurements on the ground and is due to the streets not being exactly parallel. The north side of block No. 19 facing the opposite (south) side of St. Thomas's churchyard is, by reconstructing block No. 19 on the same principle, as follows:

<i>Owner</i>	<i>King's Annual Due (pence)</i>	<i>Area (square virgae)</i>	<i>Reconstruction</i>
17. Johannes Andri . . .	11½	46½	= 5 × 9½
18. Johannes le Dore . . .	3½	15	= 5 × 3
19. Ricardus Godefray . . .	7½	30	= 5 × 6
Total			= 5 × 18½

As will be seen, the north side of quarter No. 19 is one-quarter pole shorter than the south side of quarter No. 8, which agrees with measurements on the ground and supports the correctness of the reconstruction of the layout.

Besides measurements there are many indications that the plots in the rent roll are given in the order mentioned above, and that the layout was as calculated by the writer and as shown on the accompanying plan, but there are places, especially at the southern end of the town, where absolute certainty is unobtainable. We will confine ourselves to a couple of the many indications that confirm the reconstruction of the layout of the town.

In quarter No. 4, which does not in the rent roll follow the usual order, a note after plot No. 7 indicates this; it reads as follows: 'Cole Alard VII virgas 1d. ob. qua. Ex parte boreali a Johanne filio Thome le Barber.' John the son of Thomas the Barber had plot No. 6.

The reconstruction of quarter No. 28 according to the rent roll makes the south end of the quarter $15\frac{3}{4}$ poles long and the north end $15\frac{1}{2}$ poles, whereas by comparison

with other quarters they should be about 18 poles. It will, however, be found that the town of Winchelsea owns a narrow strip of ground known as Mondays Market along the west side of quarter No. 28 (it was leased to the owner of quarter No. 28, Richard Stileman, in 1824); there can be no doubt that this strip, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ poles wide, was originally part of the road which must have been widened by this amount at this place presumably to provide market space. As has been pointed out, the southern end of quarter No. 28 is longer than the northern, whereas in quarter No. 29 the opposite is the case, so it looks as if the part of the road between the two quarters was not in a straight line with the part farther north. That this was actually the case is indicated by the alignment of the present wall along the west side of the road.

The laying-out of the town is done with so much ability, care, and skill that it can obviously not be due to carelessness or bad surveying that the streets are not quite parallel and do not intersect each other at right angles. What is the cause of this we do not know. It may have been done in order to fit the layout to existing buildings or perhaps even to the roads of an older settlement.

Some of the streets were obviously not laid out quite straight. We have seen that the street east of quarters 24 and 29 is not quite in a straight line; the same is the case with the street east of quarters 7 and 13, and the street south of quarters 7 and 8, as well as the streets south of quarters 4 and 5 and west of quarters 8 and 2. The change in the direction of the street occurs where it is intersected by another street, and it is not very marked; the deflection is generally only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

As the streets of New Winchelsea were not parallel or equidistant, the areas of the thirty-nine quarters or blocks of building-sites into which the town was divided varied in size, as shown below. The areas are as given in the rent roll of 1292 and have been arrived at by adding together the plots into which each quarter was subdivided; as, however, the area of each of these plots was evidently calculated by multiplying the street front-

age with one of the adjoining sides, when the plot was not a rectangle or even a parallelogram the areas are not absolutely correct.

Quarter no.	Acres	Area (square virgae)	Length of frontages of quarter			
			Southern (virgae)	Western (virgae)	Northern (virgae)	Eastern (virgae)
1	1	33	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	12	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	12
2	1	76 $\frac{1}{4}$	19 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
3	1	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	13
4	1	115 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$
5	1	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	14	13	16
<i>Secunda Strata</i> in rent roll. Now called Mill Road						
6	0	110 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	19	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	19
7	2	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	17	20	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	2	57 $\frac{3}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{3}{4}$	20
9	2	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	21	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	2	39 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	21	17	21
11	1	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Tercia Strata</i> in rent roll. Now called High Street						
12	1	45 $\frac{5}{8}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	..
13	2	41 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{10}$	21	17	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Churchyard of St. Thomas						
14	2	11	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	21	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	21
15	2	40 $\frac{3}{4}$	17	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	17	21 $\frac{3}{4}$
16	2	54 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	23	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	23
<i>Quarta Strata</i> in rent roll. Now called Back Lane						
17	2	65 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{4}$	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	..
18	3	29 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	30 $\frac{3}{4}$	17	29
19	3	87 $\frac{3}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	31 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	30 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	3	37	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	..
21	1	127 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	..
22	3	23	16	34	12	..
<i>Quinta Strata</i> in rent roll. Now called Dead Man's Lane						
23	1	81 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$
24	1	125 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
26	1	99	13	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	16	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Sexta Strata</i> in rent roll. Now no longer a road						
27	2	155 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	..
28	3	62	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	30 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	36
29	2	110 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	30 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	2	105 $\frac{1}{4}$	19	21	19	26
31	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	..	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	..
<i>Septima Strata</i> in rent roll. Now road to Hastings						
32	1	106	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	20	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	20
33	1	145 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$
34	1	125	16 $\frac{1}{3}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{3}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
35	1	33	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
<i>Octava Strata</i> in rent roll. Now no longer a road						
36	1	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	11	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	11
37	3	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	16	32	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	29
38	3	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	32 $\frac{1}{2}$
39	3	80	..	..	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	..

The frontage lengths shown above are calculated from the data in the rent roll of 1292 in the manner already explained. It must of course be taken into account that the unit used, the *virga*, is a large one and fractions less than one-quarter are seldom used in the rent roll.

In quarter No. 30 it will be found that in the rent roll the sum of the areas of the subdivision plots is 2 acres $83\frac{1}{4}$ square *virgae* and the area of the quarter is 2 acres $105\frac{1}{4}$ square *virgae*, a difference of 22 square *virgae*. This is probably due to the plot at the north-west corner of the block having been omitted by a clerical error.

The width of the streets varied, and it is often not possible now to determine exactly what it was. The streets running east and west appear to have been 2 *virgae* or less wide except those on either side of St. Thomas's churchyard, which seem for part of their length to have been $2\frac{1}{2}$ *virgae* wide. Round quarter No. 23 the roads were widened, probably to provide room for the market. In the rent roll of 1292 the east-west streets are described by giving them numbers in the order in which they occur; the street on the north side of the church-yard, the present High Street, being called third street (*tercia strata*) and that on the south side, the present Back Lane, being called fourth street (*quarta strata*). The streets along the east side and along the west side of the churchyard were evidently the most important in the town and were 3 *virgae* wide. Between quarter No. 28 and quarter No. 29 the road was, as we have seen, widened to $5\frac{1}{2}$ *virgae* by taking a piece off quarter No. 28, without doubt to give extra accommodation for the market. The other streets running north and south were probably $2\frac{1}{2}$ *virgae* wide. Many of the streets appear to have been reduced in width as they got near the walls. The streets appear never to have been paved. The original street level was generally 3 or 4 ft. below the present one.

The King's Dues, or annual rent due to the Crown, amounting to £14. 11s. $5\frac{3}{4}$ d. for all the plots in the town, was collected by the mayor or his representative and handed to the bailiff as the King's agent—no easy

matter, as there were more than 800 plots and the penny was practically the only coin in use at the time. The annual rent due on the harbour plots north of the town was at the rate of 48*d.* per acre; on the plots north of the present Hastings Road, the probable site of the town's south wall, the annual rent was at the rate of 40*d.* per acre except near and in quarter No. 23, the market or business centre of the town, where it was at the rate of 60*d.* per acre. South of the present Hastings Road, between it and the New Gate, the King's Due was at the rate of about 36*d.* per acre; these cheaper plots were probably outside and south of the main town wall, which there is reason to believe cut across the hill where the road to Hastings now takes a right-angled turn at the bottom of the avenue, though no trace of the stonework of this wall or the gate leading through it is now visible. The part of the town between this wall and the New Gate was probably never walled; at the New Gate it was protected by the Town Ditch and on the west side by the Pewis March. To the south and east it was protected by the precipitous cliff at the foot of which ran the continuation of the Town Ditch.

The walls of New Winchelsea must have been commenced soon after the town was laid out. A Patent Roll of 1295 and another of 1321 authorize a special customs duty on goods entering the port and town of Winchelsea to assist the town in building its walls.

There are three mounds suggesting fortifications near the south end of the Hill of Iham, but these are probably of no importance and only the result of quarrying operations for road-metal carried on till about forty years ago.

The walled part of the town appears to have had four main gates: the Strand Gate and the Pipewell Gate, which are still standing, a gate between and west of quarters 16 and 22, and another between and south of quarters 28 and 29; there is no trace above ground of either of the last two. At the extreme south end of the town there is a gate, which is referred to as early

as 1330 as the Newgate; its construction shows that it was obviously not one of the main gates of the walled town, though it appears to have been reinforced by a drawbridge over the Town Ditch. There were also probably a couple of posterns, one in Dead Man's Lane (Hogtrough Lane) and one at the north-east corner of quarter No. 17. Also, apparently, a gate at the west end of 'the second street'. The walls shown on the accompanying plan are probably substantially correct, but as few traces of them remain this cannot be definitely proved. Where traces of the walls are visible beside the two remaining gates they appear to have been 2 ft. thick and 10 ft. high, including the parapet, on the town side. Towards the outside the walls were a few feet higher, and where practicable were strengthened by a dry moat. There is a small corner of the wall still standing 100 yards west of the Pipewell Gate. The walls have disappeared, but a sixteenth-century map of the neighbourhood of Rye bearing the name of John Prowez and attached to a petition of about 1570, though the map is obviously of an earlier date, shows that they were at least in part still in existence when it was drawn, perhaps about 1540.

Merchandise coming into Winchelsea was sold at the market and was probably conveyed there from the harbour by way of the road which ascends the hill east of quarter No. 27, then following the south side of the Town Wall and entering the walled part of the town through the gate between and south of quarters Nos. 28 and 29.

The situation of the seventy-nine plots along the harbour front north of the town may be reconstructed with a fair amount of certainty. They were obviously given in the rent roll of 28 September 1292 in the order in which they occurred on the ground, beginning at the eastern end. The first plot belonged to Stephanus Auri-faber, Stephen the goldsmith, otherwise Stephen Alard, who in 1312 founded a chantry in the Mary Chapel of St. Thomas's Church. His harbour plot was next the quay (near where the Bridge Inn now stands), which

was without doubt the general public unloading-place for vessels. It was probably the river embankment, possibly with a wooden wharf. Behind this embankment was the 4-acre marsh called Trecherie, which we have already mentioned. The harbour plots were according to the rent roll partly liable to inundation at each high tide and were evidently used for the shipping of the owners. The leading citizens of Winchelsea had each a harbour plot, a residential plot within the fortified town, mostly near St. Thomas's Church, and another plot south of the walled city between it and the New Gate. There were twenty-five persons each owning three or more plots and fifty-five persons each owning two plots.

It is probable that all or nearly all the plots had buildings of some sort erected on them. This would appear to be so from the wording of the Schedule of Decayed Rents, dated 1363, in the Record Office, which gives a list of the properties that had been burnt and destroyed by enemy action. As the name of the original owner in the rent roll of 1292 is given to describe each plot in the schedule, they can all be identified on the reconstructed plan of the town, and we may thus estimate where the damage was done by enemy raids in 1360 and earlier.

The survey work in connection with the areas of the different properties on the Hill of Iham and adjoining it, as well as in connection with the laying-out of the town, has been amazingly well done. As far as it has been possible to compare the areas on the hill in the survey of 1291 with the same areas as given on the Ordnance Survey map, there appears to be a difference of only about 1 per cent. This close approximation may have been accidental and unusual, but the surveys were undoubtedly more accurate than one would expect. We do not know the methods or means by which a survey was carried out in the thirteenth century, nor do we know if a plan (it would not be drawn to scale) was made on parchment recording the survey or the laying-out of the town. The east, and not the north

as at present, is generally looked upon as being at the top of medieval surveys, and whether a plan was actually made of the town or not this appears also to have been the case with Winchelsea, to judge by the rent roll of 1292.

It will be noticed that Dead Man's Lane (also known as Hogtrough Lane), between quarters Nos. 21 and 25 and its continuation through the Butchery and north of Grey Friars, introduces irregularity into the layout of Winchelsea. There seems, therefore, good reason for assuming that this lane was in use before, possibly long before, New Winchelsea was laid out, and that a fairly populous settlement existed on the Hill of Iham before New Winchelsea was thought of. We have seen that in the Patent Roll of 13 October 1283 New Winchelsea is referred to as 'the new town of Yhamme'. The Abbot of Fécamp's town was in contemporary documents mentioned as the little town of Iham or as South Iham. This all seems to suggest that there was another settlement on the hill besides the abbot's 'Little Town', and that it was a settlement which may have been of considerable antiquity. It should in this connection not be overlooked that the Hill of Iham or the low ground beside it was the river terminal of the ancient ridgeway that passes Icklesham and Guestling Thorn, farther on dividing into two branches, one of which continues past Battle and the other, at Westfield, joins the ancient road system serving the iron workings along the Brede valley and neighbourhood at the time of the Roman occupation, as described in *S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 22.

An old embankment still visible roughly parallel to and about 40 yards north of the present highway from Icklesham to Winchelsea, where it skirts the northern end of Pewis Marsh, was probably formed to carry the highway above high tide when the present Winchelsea was laid out. It evidently joined the seemingly much older road, which skirted the eastern bank of the Pewis Marsh and was a continuation of the ancient ridgeway from Westfield by way of Icklesham and Hog Hill. When the 'Town Dyke' was dug to protect the new town of

Winchelsea it cut across this ancient road, and to take its place in a more easily defended position the present road at Newgate was constructed along the hill-side like other approaches to the new town. The name Newgate was no doubt first applied to this new road, and later with the changing meaning of the word 'gate' the name was transferred to the gateway which still spans the road.

A CRITICAL PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF SHOREHAM HARBOUR

1760-1816¹

BY H. C. BROOKFIELD, B.A.

THE port of Shoreham Harbour is to-day one of the most flourishing small ports in Britain. Although incapable of accommodating vessels of much more than 600 tons burthen, and restricted by a poor entrance and a 20-ft. tide, this port handled, in 1938-9, nearly 500,000 tons of shipping and about 938,750 tons of cargo, most of it coal, oil, timber, stone, and bricks for Brighton and neighbouring towns and their public utilities. To-day most of the coal burned in Brighton, Hove, and Worthing is imported through Shoreham, and the port is constantly busy and often congested. Its poor natural harbour is developed almost to the limits of possibility. The rise of this port is almost as much due to the growth of the seaside holiday as is that of the great towns which it serves.

Two hundred years ago, however, when Brighton was a decayed, eroded fishing-town of six streets, and Worthing and Hove mere villages, Shoreham Harbour was a shallow creek, ill kept and tortuous. In keeping with the eastward drift of beach in the Channel, the entrance was migrating constantly to the east, and had, by 1760, reached the Wish at Aldrington. It was a dangerous entrance, shoaly, and lying at an angle to the line of the coast as the advancing western point considerably overlapped the eastern.² The great medieval trade had died out, and the port subsisted on the import of softwood timber, Norfolk barley, coal for the wealthy, and Irish butter for the poor. There was a small export

¹ The writer is much indebted to the Harbourmaster and staff of Shoreham Harbour for generous help in this research, work on which has been assisted by a grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London.

² *The Coasting Pilot* (1757): London: W. & J. Mount. This provides a useful description, but no map.

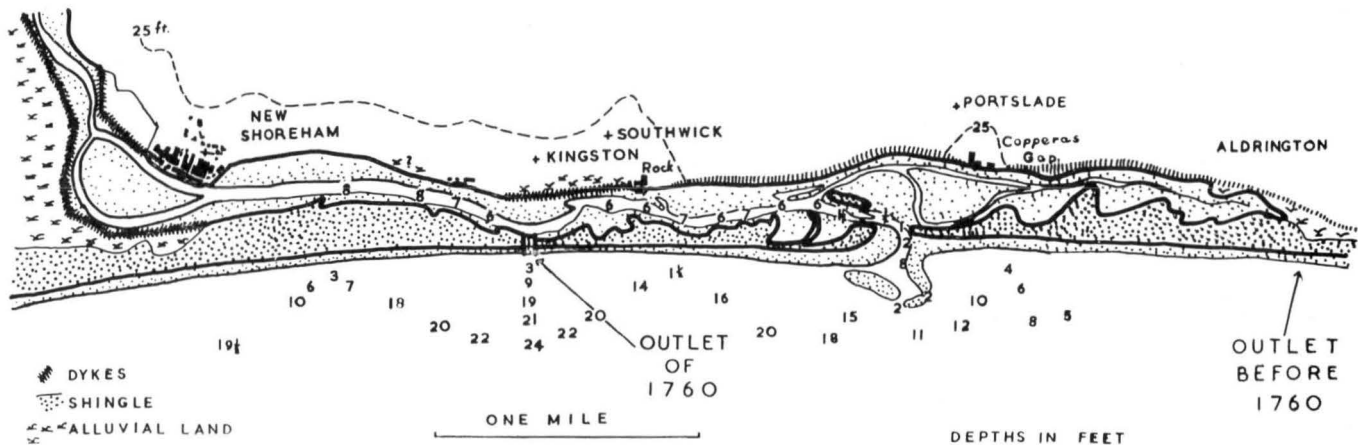
of hardwood timber to the royal dockyards, and of wheat and lime to the wetter, acid-soiled western counties of Britain. There was some shipbuilding, for which timber was floated down the Adur, but the size of the harbour imposed a serious restriction on this industry.¹

By 1760 the entrance was nearly 4 miles east of Shoreham town, and the state of the harbour was strangling even what small trade it possessed. Local merchants and others put through an Act of Parliament under which a Board of Commissioners was set up, with powers to make a new entrance through the beach opposite Kingston-by-Sea, and to levy tolls. There is still extant to-day, in Shoreham Harbour Office, the first minute book of these commissioners, running from a first hopeful entry in June 1760 to a last despondent entry in June 1812. In its pages can be traced much of the history of the port, through the critical years when the Prince of Wales was popularizing Brighton, and the great urbanization of the coast had just begun.

The first few meetings were concerned with the construction of the new entrance. At the first meeting, held in the 'Star' at Shoreham on 25 June 1760, 'it is ordered that a cut be made through the beach at the place fixed by a plan made by Mr. Desmaretz . . . and Piers be erected and built in order to make a useful harbour at the said town' (Shoreham). In September 1760 the timber, obtained from Offham, near Lewes, had arrived and had been delivered on the beach. A year later the west pier was complete. The date of opening is not recorded, but it would seem to have been towards the end of 1762. Later in that year it was decided to close up the abandoned eastern end of the harbour.

Already, however, difficulties had begun to appear. In October 1761 it was found necessary to discharge the surveyor for dishonesty. In May 1763, though the

¹ D. Defoe, *A Tour through England and Wales* (1722), has a useful account of this industry. Cheal, *The Story of Shoreham* (1921), details many of the vessels built.



MAP OF SHOREHAM HARBOUR, 1815
 (compiled from a chart by Capt. W. Clegram and other maps)

entrance was open, the piers were still not finished, and difficulties had arisen with the workmen and artificers. It later transpired that these worthies had driven only every second or third pile right through the beach into the underlying clay. The others rested only in the shingle, for the men had sawn off the lower ends and sold the timber for their own benefit! Honest contractors were at a premium in eighteenth-century Sussex.¹

In 1764 the works became increasingly precarious as the short piles were undermined by the sea. In February many of the piles had become dangerous. In June the pier-master and foreman were discharged, and reductions made in the salaries of certain commissioners whose honesty was suspect.

Despite these difficulties, and the constant formation of bars between the piers, this entrance remained open for some years. As late as June 1779 it was ordered that 'the timber blown up (by the sea, not by man) from the piles be sold by auction . . . leaving only such as are necessary', suggesting that the entrance was still open. Thereafter it would seem that a new entrance was opened by the sea in the weakened beach some distance to the east. In June 1783 'the piles that lyes scattering about in different parts of the beach' were ordered to be sold. In the same year, Yeakell and Gardner's map of Sussex indicated an open entrance in the beach opposite Southwick, half a mile to the east of the piers of the old entrance, which they mark still standing in the beach. The entrance thereafter continued to travel east at the rate of 30–40 yards per annum.²

Meanwhile trouble of a very different nature had arisen within the harbour. From the Middle Ages to 1760 the harbour had suffered from a very confined entrance, so that the flow of tides in and out was greatly restricted. In 1800, when the medieval state had been partly restored, the tide rose and fell 8 ft. at Shoreham Bridge, 14 ft. within the entrance, and 18 ft. in the open

¹ *Report on the Harbour at New Shoreham, Sussex; Supplementary Report on the efficacy of the measures.* By Wm. Chapman, civil engineer, 1815. Chapman received evidence from old inhabitants and shipmasters of the port.

² Minutes. June, 1810.

sea at spring tides.¹ Considerable reclamation of low-lying land along the north side of this semi-tidal creek had taken place, with protecting works of small magnitude. With the construction of the new entrance, however, the rise and fall of the tide was greatly increased, and this, together with strong tidal scour near the entrance, soon caused damage to the protecting banks and sluices.

As early as January 1763 it was ordered that 'a bank be forthwith raised opposite Mr. Norton's lands lying opposite the entrance of the new harbour'. Little appears to have been done, for in June 1769 we find the commissioners paying 10 guineas to Mr. Norton 'for loss of land to the amount of one acre from December 1762 to the present day'. As the protecting banks were progressively undermined, the damage spread further. By June 1771 Mr. Norton had lost a further 2 acres, and by 1773 a further $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres. The low-lying nature of this land is well illustrated by an entry of June 1775, claiming compensation for the loss of a further acre 'by the sea overflowing his land, which money he paid for emptying the same'.

By 1777 erosion was spreading farther east. In June it was noted that the land of Mrs. Barbara Monk at Southwick was 'in great danger of damage from the sea'.² In 1779 Colonel Bridger had lands in Southwick 'overflowed to the extent of 5 acres and 2 rods . . . and whereas a Dam and Sluice lying against the land above mentioned called the *Salts* in Southwick Parish with the fence is blown up by the sea, it is agreed that another Dam, Fence and Sluice shall be made and erected for the security of the said land . . . before this winter comes on'. Again nothing was done, and the order was repeated in 1780. In 1783 it was recognized that some of the *Salts* had been permanently lost. By 1786 some

¹ *Report on the Harbour of New Shoreham*, by J. Jessop. The report, reproduced in full in the minutes, was presented to the commissioners in 1800.

² The term 'the sea' in all eighteenth-century and earlier accounts of this type invariably refers to any salt water, and not merely to the open sea. It is clear that it must be so understood in this case. Misunderstanding of the term has led to some erroneous interpretations in the past.

of the land had been secured, but 4 acres and 26 rods of Mrs. Monk's land had been washed away.

As the entrance migrated eastwards, so damage also spread eastwards. A 'new cut' (probably no more than the natural shifting entrance, deepened and straightened by ploughing) gave rise to damage to Colonel Bridger's warehouses at Rock (the wharves at Southwick) in 1786, and in the same year the commissioners paid a total sum of £853. 0s. 5*d.* in compensation to various landowners in Kingston and Southwick. In 1789 Bridger's warehouses were altogether destroyed and the commissioners paid out a further £250. Damage continued, both here and at Southwick Salts, and in 1809 a low bridge across a channel at the 'Ham', east of Shoreham, was replaced by a bank and sluice, having been partly destroyed.

This is clear evidence that a belt of reclaimed land fronted the bank of the harbour between Shoreham and Southwick. Some of this may have been of considerable antiquity—one parcel of Mrs. Monk's land is referred to as the 'Old Salts'. This introduces new evidence in the history of Shoreham Harbour which the writer finds difficult to correlate with previous interpretations of the problem. At another time the writer hopes to show how this and other evidence makes possible a new interpretation of the evolution of this interesting part of the Sussex coastline.

As the hinterland became more prosperous, the trade of the port grew slowly, despite the physical handicaps. It would seem that Brighton obtained most of her early requirements by importing them over her own beach. Coal, timber, and provisions were unloaded here in large quantity.¹ Difficult and dangerous as this was, many shipmasters found it preferable to the navigation of Shoreham. This trade struck at the Shoreham merchants, but not at the commissioners, for Brighton was a 'creek' of Shoreham, and two appointments of

¹ See, for example, the account of this trade given in Erredge's *History of Brighthelmstone* (1856), or the rather more discreet references in many contemporary guide-books.

persons to collect dues at Brighton are recorded in the minutes.

Value of imports¹ rose gradually from £1,876 in 1753 to £3,047 in 1794, and then more rapidly to £7,164 in 1805. This small gain was achieved in spite of the physical difficulties, largely by the consistent and courageous policy of the commissioners in lowering the dues as much and as often as possible. Despite their heavy expenses the commissioners maintained a small, fluctuating balance which grew from £193 in 1762 to £259 in 1769, and £792 in 1777. It fluctuated below this figure until 1797, when it declined sharply to £300, then rising again to £747 in 1810. This appearance of solvency, however, is deceptive. The commissioners were almost constantly in debt. In 1770 the treasurer was ordered to pay back borrowed money, and in 1789 to pay off old debts. All available assets were sold. All the timber from the old piers was sold, and in 1789 the commissioners were so impecunious as to order that 'the harbour boat be sold for as much as can be got for the same'.

For the better management of the port, a harbour-master, one Caleb Burrows of Shoreham, was appointed in August 1789 at a salary of £35 per annum. Although the poor state of the harbour thereafter became better known, little more seems to have been done to remedy the defects. There were many complaints, particularly about the crookedness of the entrance. In June 1806 it was ordered that 'the Harbourmaster do his duty and plough the entrance'.

Despite all efforts, trade still failed to respond to the rapid development of the hinterland. Brighton made little use of the port. The composition of the commissioners clearly reflects the extent of the hinterland. The early members were mainly Shoreham merchants, but between 1776 and 1812 the body was widened to include men of Portslade, Findon, Sompting, Arundel, Wiston, Old Shoreham, Rustington, Broadwater (Wor-

¹ Information derived from the Collector of Customs by J. Cartwright, *History of the Western Part of Sussex*, vol. II, Part 2: 'The Rape of Bramber'.

thing), Steyning, and Warnham, near Horsham. In 1807 the upstream navigation was improved by the canalization of the river from Beeding up to Baybridge well into the Weald.¹ This was of great value to the timber exporting trade, and also to the trade in lime, other manures, and agricultural produce.²

The harbour was now proving increasingly inadequate. The entrance often became almost impassable after winter gales, and the erratic tidal currents continually produced new shoals in the river. In 1794, it was urged that 'much mud and sand are opposite Kingston Wharfe, which . . . should be removed . . . the better to enable ships to get to the said wharfe'. In the same year 'several small shoals [are] thrown up by the tide . . . on which ships frequently ground . . . [and are often] . . . compelled to unload some part of their cargoes.' In 1799 there were more shoals 'to the great detriment of the trade of the Port'.

Clearly some drastic measures were needed. In 1800 the engineer Jessop reported on the port, but his recommendations were not acted on.³ In 1801 the commissioners considered the purchase of a 'steam-engine dregge boat', such as had been in use for some years at Yarmouth, but, again, did nothing. In 1810 a company was established to construct docks in the West Beach, according to a plan prepared by Rennie, but failed, due to lack of support.⁴

By 1811 the population of Brighton had increased to 12,000, and the town was expanding rapidly. The use of the beach for unloading coal, &c., was becoming increasingly unpopular, and it was even proposed to build a harbour in the beach at Brighton. Both Shoreham and Newhaven were struggling to capture this trade, but both were in a deplorable condition. In June

¹ An Act of Parliament: 47 Geo. III, cap. 117, 13 August 1807. See also N. Priestly, *Navigable Canals, Rivers and Railways of Great Britain* (London, 1831), p. 24.

² There was considerable extension of inland navigation at this period, which deserves to be better known. Vazie, reporting on Shoreham in 1810, suggested canals to Brighton, Worthing, and Horsham.

³ See p. 42, n. 1, above.

⁴ *New Shoreham Harbour: The Report of J. Rennie, Esq., London, 1810.*

1811 Shoreham Harbour was described as being 'in a very bad state', which meant that it was almost unnavigable. The commissioners became increasingly apathetic, and six or seven attempts to hold each meeting were necessary before a quorum could be obtained. In June 1812 the commissioners held their last recorded meeting before the remaking of the port. This meeting recorded the death of the treasurer, and echoed the commissioners' great worry over their finances. The final entry is significant: 'At this meeting it is ordered that the treasurer shall pay such outstanding bills as are due, so soon as a sufficient sum shall be in his hands.'

In 1815 Capt. Clegram, a pilot of Shoreham, drew up an accurate chart of the harbour, and proposed a new entrance on the site of the 1760 mouth. Here was the narrowest part of the beach, and a marked bend in the channel with a long deep reach above and a shallow crooked bend below. Wm. Chapman, who reported on this plan in 1816, approved Clegram's plan, noting in addition a deep reach below the bend towards Portslade. He was the first to see the advantage of this channel, leading towards Brighton.¹

The new entrance was made, and opened in 1818. At once much of the Brighton trade was attracted to the harbour. Value of imports jumped from £9,417 in 1815 to £17,189 in 1818, and to £24,150 in 1822.² Since that date, though there have been depressions and slack periods, and though the entrance and the harbour have long continued to give difficulty, the port has never been in danger of complete eclipse, as it undoubtedly was in the critical years of the eighteenth century.

¹ This channel has since been dredged, deepened, and canalized to become the principal part of the port.

² See p. 44, n. 1, above.

SUSSEX ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

BY ERIC E. BARKER

PART III

Charter
No.

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- XLII. Grant by King Edgar to Abingdon Abbey, of land at East Hale. A.D. 963.
- XLIII. Grant by King Edgar to Bishop Æthelwold, of land at Washington. A.D. 963.
- XLIV.* Grant by King Edgar to the New Minster, Winchester, of land at Donnington. A.D. 966.¹
- XLV.* Grant by King Edgar to Westminster Abbey, of lands and privileges. A.D. 969.
- XLVI.* Exchange between King Edgar and Bishop Æthelwold, of land at Ely, &c., for land at Harting. A.D. 970.
- XLVII.* Another, bilingual, statement of the same transaction.

* Extracts of charters.

¹ The *V.C.H. Sussex*, vii. 73 ff., wrongly refers to this grant as of 996.

- XLVIII.* Exchange between Bishop Æthelwold and Wulfstan, of land at Yaxley (Hunts.), &c., for land at Washington. Before A.D. 975.
- XLIX. Grant by King Æthelred (II) to Leofstan, of land at Colworth. A.D. 988.
- L.* Will of Prince Æthelstan, bequeathing land at Rotherfield. c. A.D. 1015.
- LI. Grant by King Cnut to Archbishop Ælfstan, of land at Hazelhurst. A.D. 1018.
- LII.* Confirmation by King Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey, of lands and privileges.

* Extracts of charters.

In this section the list of Sussex charters up to 1066 is brought to a close. Sussex as a county is comparatively poorly off for Anglo-Saxon material, and the total number of charters, even including relevant extracts from charters which only partly concern Sussex, is only fifty-two. The present collection of charters adds comparatively little to the body of existing knowledge. The name of Beorhthelm does not belong properly to the list of bishops of Selsey; it seems almost certain that he was the bishop of Wells, and held Selsey in plurality. As late as 1060 the autobiography of Bishop Giso complained that the canons of Wells were in a state of beggary; doubtless we have here a tenth-century attempt to remedy the poverty of the see of Wells. A similar procedure was adopted by the archbishops of the poorly endowed see of York when between 972 and 1061 they attempted with varying degrees of success to hold the see of Worcester in plurality.

Bishops of Selsey 940-1075

(Continued from *S.A.C.* LXXXVII. 118.)

	<i>Acc.</i>	<i>Death or trans.</i>
16. Alfred	940 × 943	953 × 956
17. Beorhthelm, bishop of Wells	956	relinquished c. 963
18. Eadhelm	c. 963	979 or 980
19. Æthelgar	2 May 980	trs. Canterbury autumn 988
20. Ordbeorht	989	1009
21. Ælfmær	1009	1031 or 1032
22. Æthelric I	1032	Nov. 1038
23. Grumcytel	1039	1047
24. Heca	1047	1057
25. Æthelric II	1058	deprived May 1070
26. Stigand	1070	see transferred to Chichester 1075

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No writer on Anglo-Saxon charters of any county on which a volume by the Place-Name Society has appeared can fail to acknowledge a great debt of gratitude to the compilers of that Society's works. It is not, indeed, too much to say that no work on such material will ever be adequately completed without dependence on the Society's volumes, and mine is no exception to this rule. I should like also to express my thanks to Mr. L. F. Salzman for very painstaking editorial work, saving me, at times, from blunders of great magnitude; to Dr. A. E. Wilson, without whose early encouragement the work would never have been conceived; and to Miss F. E. Harmer and Messrs. Lindsay Fleming and R. H. d'Elboux for pointing out certain errors in Part I—errors for which I can only apologize. In this Part I am specially indebted to Mr. W. D. Peckham for lending me a photograph of that part of Liber Y at Chichester Cathedral which contains Charter No. XLIX, and for collating the same text in Liber B.

XXIX¹

Hec reddicio facta est eo anno quo Eathelstanus² frater Eadmundi regis et Eadredi mortuus est, qui tamen ante mortem suam predicte ecclesie Christi jam prenominate dedit villam unam nomine Terringes sitam super mare in Suthsexe. Eodemque anno predictus Eadmundus levatus est in regem, et predictas terras liberas clamavit ab omnibus seculariis serviciis, et fiscali tributo, exceptis expedicione pontis et arcis construccione.

This return was made in the year³ in which Æthelstan the brother of King Edmund and of Eadred died. Before his death he gave to the aforesaid church of Christ already mentioned one estate called West Tarring situate by the sea in Sussex. And the same year the aforesaid Edmund was raised to the throne, and freed the aforesaid lands from all secular dues and

official taxation, except the raising of troops and the building of bridges and forts.

1. This is an extract from a charter which appeared in BCS, No. 766, and in KCD, No. 1138, from the Lambeth MS. 1212, p. 322—a compilation of charters and other material relating to Canterbury, written in various hands of about the end of the thirteenth century. The remainder of the charter refers to the restoration of land at Twickenham and other places outside Sussex; hence 'this return'.

2. *Æðelstanus* K. Kemble's texts are normalized throughout, with *æ* for *e*, *t* for *c*, &c., where classical usage would demand; e.g. *prænominatæ* for *prenominate* and *expeditione* for *expedicione*. Variants of this kind will not be noticed separately.

3. i.e. in 939. The date of the charter as given in the Lambeth MS. is 941. This is the date originally given for the death of *Æthelstan* in the oldest extant MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which has a chronological dislocation at this point. In the MS. (of which a facsimile was published in 1941 by the Early English Text Society under the title *The Parker Chronicle and Laws*), at fol. 27b, the original annals 942 and 941 have been altered by erasure into 941 and 940, and a new number 942 added in a hand of the twelfth century. The MS. was actually at Canterbury when these alterations were made. It thus appears that the charter in the form in which it has come down to us is at least as old as the twelfth century, but much later than the date which it purports to bear; a contemporary charter-writer would not be likely to make such a mistake in dating.

XXX¹

In nomine sanctæ trinitatis.² Quamvis decreta pontificum et verba sacerdotum velut fundamenta montium in districtis ligaminibus fixa sint, tamen plerumque tempestates et turbines secularium rerum, etiam religio sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ maculis reproborum dissipatur ac rumpitur. Idcirco incertum futurorum temporum statum providentes, posteris succedentibus profuturum esse decrevimus, ut ea que communi tractatu salubri consilio depinguntur rectis litterulis roborata confirmantur. Quapropter ego Edmundus rex Anglorum cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector cuidam michi fidelissimo in Christo ministro et episcopo nomine Ælfredo³ quandam ruris partem de terra episcopatus sui, quam ipse modo et prius antecessores sui pontificali jure possederant. Ego autem, largiente Dei gratia, regiminis munimine utor ad possidendam hereditatem ipsi concedo,

stiloque perhenni trado vi mansas in duobus (locis), iiii mansas in Bracklesham et ii mansas in Thorneia,⁴ *tali autem tenore hoc præfatæ munificentiae munus tradendo concessi, ut possideat et firmiter teneat usque ad ultimum cursum vitæ suæ cum omnibus utensilibus quæ infra terminos ejusdem ruris continentur tam in notis causis quam in ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, humido et sicco, campis, pratis, pascuis, silvis, silvarumque densitatibus, donans donabo libertatem, et postquam humani generis fragilitatem deseruerit et ad desiderabilem jucunditatis viam per gratiam superni judicis adierit, succedendum sibi cuicumque libuerit æternaliter derelinquat, ceu superius prænotavi. Sit autem prædictum rus liberum ab omni fiscali tributo seculariumque servitutum exinanitum, sine expeditione et pontis arcisve constructione. Præcipio quoque in nomine Dei summi, tam nobis viventibus, quam etiam divina præcepta prædicantibus, hujus libertatis statuta ad irritum deducere minime quispiam præsumat. Quisquis benevola mente meam donationem applicare⁵ satagerit in hoc præsentis seculo, vita illius prospera foeliciter longiturne vitæ gaudia teneat. Si quis autem propria temeritate violenter invadere præsumpserit, sciat se proculdubio ante tribunal districti judicis titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare maluerit. Istis terminis prædicta terra circumgyrata esse videtur qui Anglice in carta ipsa conscripti sunt. Tunc sequuntur bundæ prædictæ terræ in lingua saxonica. Facta autem est hæc præfata donatio anno ab incarnatione domini. DCCCCXLV. Indictione iii. Ego Edmundus⁶ rex Anglorum præfatam donationem cum sigillo sanctæ crucis consignavi. Ego Eadredus⁷ ejusdem regis frater consignavi. Ego Eadgiva⁸ ejusdem regis mater prædictum donum consensi. Ego Oda⁹ Dorobornensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus ejusdem regis donationem cum trophæo agye crucis consignavi. Ego Wlstan¹⁰ archiepiscopus ejusdem regis donationem cum sigillo sanctæ crucis consignavi. Ego Theodred¹¹ Londiniensis episcopus ecclesie confirmavi. Ego Ælpheah¹² Wintoniensis episcopus triumphale trophæum agiæ crucis impressi. Ego Kenwald¹³ episcopus confirmavi. Et plures alii episcopi etc. consignaverunt.*

In the name of the Holy Trinity. Although the decrees of bishops and the words of priests are fixed in tight bonds like the foundations of mountains, nevertheless (by) the frequent storms and disturbances in lay affairs even the religion of God's holy Church is spoiled and broken by the marks of evil. Therefore, foreseeing the uncertain state of times to come, we have decreed that it will be of advantage to our successors after us, that those things which are outlined by common agreement in healthy discussion should be properly confirmed and corroborated in writing. Wherefore I, Edmund, king of the English and governor and ruler of the other nations living in the neighbourhood, do grant (using, by the gift of Divine grace, the authority of my kingship) to my most faithful minister in Christ and bishop, Alfred, a certain piece of land in the territory of his diocese; which he, and his predecessors before him, held by virtue of their episcopate, to possess as an heritage. And in everlasting writing I grant him 6 hides in two places, 4 hides in Bracklesham and 2 hides in Thorney. In such a manner have I granted and conceded the aforesaid endowment, that he may have it and hold it securely with all the utilities which are contained within the boundaries of the said land, both in known things and in unknown, in small and in large, in wet and in dry, fields, meadows, pastures, woods and thickets of wood, I give and will give liberty; and after he has left the frailty of the human race and, by the favour of the heavenly judgement, come to the longed-for road to joy, he may, as I have noted above, leave it in perpetuity to whatever successor he pleases. Let the aforesaid land be free of all taxation and void of secular services, except raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. And I order in the name of Almighty God, that while we live and preach the Divine precepts, nobody may presume to bring this franchise to nought. If anyone with benevolent intentions increases my grant in this world, may he have a happy time in the joy of eternal life. But if anyone with rashness presumes to make violent incursions upon it, let

him know that without doubt he will pay the penalty in fear and trembling before the tribunal of the last judgement, unless previously he makes amends with suitable recompense. The aforesaid land is clearly surrounded by these bounds, which are written in English in the charter itself. Then follow the bounds of the aforesaid land in the Saxon language. The aforesaid grant was made in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 945, of the indiction 3. I, Edmund, king of the English, have signed the aforesaid grant with the seal of the holy cross. I, Eadred, the king's brother, have signed. I, Eadgifu, the king's mother, have agreed to the aforesaid grant. I, Oda, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have signed the king's gift with the sign of the holy cross. I, Wulfstan, archbishop, have signed the king's gift with the seal of the holy cross. I, Theodred, bishop of the church of London, have confirmed it. I, Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, have applied the triumphant sign of the holy cross. I, Coenwald, bishop, have confirmed it. And many other bishops, &c., signed.

1. BCS 807, KCD 403, from (a) DCC Liber Y, f. 74v; (b) Liber B, f. 19r. A collation of Birch's text with Liber Y by Mr. W. D. Peckham appears in *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, p. 13, note 3.

2. The formulæ of this charter are standard for the period. A number of charters from 944 onwards were drawn up, *mutatis mutandis*, in identical wording—they include BCS 791, 820 (contemporary documents), 797, 808, No. XXXIII (chartulary texts).

3. Alfred, bishop of Selsey, signs charters from 943 (BCS 780, 784) to 953 (BCS 900). His predecessor Wulfhun's last signature was in 940, but there was until 943 also an Alfred, bishop of Sherborne, and as the name does not occur twice in any charter between 940 and 943 we cannot with certainty identify any signature of Alfred of Selsey before 943.

4. (b) reads *at Earnele* (Earnley), within which parish Thorney lies, though it is a detached part of the parish of East Wittering.

5. (b) reads *amplificare*, and this is the word generally found in this context (cf. n. 2 above).

6. King of England, 27 Oct. 939–26 May 946.

7. Brother and successor of Edmund; he died 23 Nov. 955.

8. Daughter of Sigehelm, alderman of Kent, and third wife of King Edward the Elder. She survived into the reign of Edgar, signing a charter of 959 (BCS 1047, which is a forgery, but in which the

inclusion of her name may well be based on genuine information), and being party to a transaction of c. 961 (BCS 1064).

9. Archbishop of Canterbury, translated from the see of Ramsbury in 942: he died 2 June 958.

10. See No. XXV, n. 14.

11. See No. XXVI, n. 16.

12. Ælfheah succeeded Beornstan (No. XXVIII, n. 25) as bishop of Winchester in 934: he died 12 Mar. 951.

13. See No. XXVI, n. 14.

XXXI¹

Leof, Æpelwold² ealdarman cyp his leofan cynehlaforde Eadred cyng hu ic wille ymbe þa landare þe ic æt mine hlaforde gearnode. Ærest Gode and þære halgan stowe æt þam bisceopstole æt Wintanceastre, þam bisceope and þam hiwum, þæt land æt Wilig þa twelf hida to scrudfultume. þæt hi me on heora gebeddenne hæbben, swa swa ic him to gelyfe. and þam cinge minne hæregeatwa, feower sweord, and feower spæra, and feower scyldas, and feower beagas, twegen on hund twelftigum mancosun, and twegen on hund eahtatigum, and feorwer (*sic*) hors, and twa sylfrene fata. and minum breðer Eadrice þæt land æt Ocebunan and æt Æscedune and æt Cegham and æt Wessingātune. and Æpelstane minæ breðer þæt land æt Bradan wætere. and þæt æt Niwan tune. and Ælfsige mine breðersuna (*sic*) þæt land æt Carcel. and Ælfstanes suna mines broþor þæt land æt Cleran. and eall þæt yrfe þæ ic hæbbe on lænelendum, þonne wylle ic þæt þæt sie gedeled for mine sawle swa swa ic nu þam freondum sæde þæ ic to spræc.

Sir, I, Æthelwold the alderman, do declare to my beloved and royal lord King Eadred, what I wish concerning the (disposal of the) estates which I have acquired from my lord. Firstly, to God and the holy establishment at the cathedral of Winchester—to the bishop and the community—the twelve hides of land at Wiley for the provision of clothing, so that they may remember me in their prayers, as I trust they will. And to the king my heriot; four swords, and four spears, and four shields, and four bracelets—two worth a hun-

dred and twenty mancuses and two worth eighty mancuses—and four horses, and two silver cups. And to my brother Eadric the land at Ogbourn, Ashdown, Cheam, and Washington. And to my brother Æthelstan the land at Broadwater and at Newton. And to my nephew Ælfsige the land at *Carcel*. And to the son of my brother Ælfstan, the land at Clere. And I wish that all the property which I hold on lease be distributed for the good of my soul, as I have just told my friends to whom I was speaking.

1. BCS 819, KCD 1173, from BM. Additional MS. 15,350, f. 87—the twelfth-century chartulary of Winchester. This document has also been edited by Miss F. E. Harmer, *English Historical Documents*, No. XX, p. 33; notes on pp. 116–18, q.v. Birch dated this will 946–55, the duration of King Eadred's reign; but as lands at Ashdown and Washington were confirmed to Eadric by charters in 947 (BCS 828, No. XXXII), it is probably to be assigned to the years 946–7.

2. See No. XXVIII, n. 57.

XXXII¹

*In nomine Dei summi et altissimi Jhesu Christi.*² *Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria providencia Dei gubernantur que sollicitudo mortalis vite totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur. Ideo certis adstipulacionibus mellita oracula divina clamacionis nos frequentivis ortacionibus suadet ut cum his fugitivis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis jugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt. Quam ob causam ego Eadredus³ rex Anglorum ceterarumque gencium in circuitu persistencium gubernator et rector cuidam fideli meo ministro vocitato nomine Edmundo⁴ pro eius amabili obediencia ejusque placabili pecunia quam michi in sua devocionis obsequio detulit iii mansas agelluli ei libenter largiendo donavi in illo loco ubi jamdudum solicole illius regionis nomen imposuerunt at Hanecan Hamme quatinus ille bene perfruatur ac perpetualiter possideat quamdiu istius caducis seculi vitam tenere presumet. Et post se cuicumque voluerit ceu corroboravimus perenniter heredi derelinquet ceu supradiximus in eternam hereditatem. Sit autem predictum rus liberum ab omni mundiali obstaculo cum omnibus ad se*

rite pertinentibus campis pascuis pratis silvis excepto communi labore expedicione pontis arcisve constructione. Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nostram diffinitionem elacionis habitu incendens infringere temptaverit perpessus sit gelidis glaciaryum flatibus et pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum nisi prius inriguis penitentiæ gemitibus et pura emendacione emendaverit. Isque terminibus predicta terra circumgirata esse videtur.

Dis syndon þara þreora hida landgemæra to west hanecan hamme and to glindlea. Ærest of þære landriðe andlang rode oð gænes riþe swa west iammor⁵ be nidde⁶ wearde more oð mæres hammes gemæra swa norð be middan fænne oð gifrecis hammes gemæra swa to horsiges gemæro þanan in to ðone land fleot and an sealtearn wiþ pelenes⁷ ea be norþan land fleote. Acta est hæc prefata donacio anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jhesu Christi DCCCCXLVII Indictione V. Ego Eadredus³ rex Anglorum prefatam donacionem sub sigillo sanctæ crucis indeclinabiliter consensi atque roboravi. Ego Eadgifu⁸ ejusdem regis mater cum sigillo sanctæ crucis confirmavi. Ego Odda⁹ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus ejusdem regis principatum et benevolenciam cum sigillo sanctæ crucis conclusi. Ego peodred¹⁰ Lundoniensis ecclesiæ episcopus corroboravi. Ego Ælfheah¹¹ Wintaniensis ecclesiæ episcopus testudinem sanctæ crucis subscripsi et confirmavi. Ego Cenwald¹² episcopus predictum donum consensi. Ego Ælfric¹³ episcopus consignavi. Ego Æthelgar¹⁴ episcopus roboravi. Ego Ælfred¹⁵ episcopus confirmavi. Ego Wulfsige¹⁶ episcopus consensi. Æpelstan dux.¹⁷ Ego Eadric dux.¹⁸ Ego Æthelstan¹⁹ dux. Ego Wulfgar²⁰ dux. Ealhhelm²¹ dux. Athelmund²² dux. Ælfgar²³ dux. Elfstan²⁴ minister. Wulfric²⁵ minister. Ælfsige²⁶ minister. Wulfric minister. Ælfric²⁷ minister. Æthelsige²⁸ minister. Æpelnoð²⁹ minister. Æpelgeard³⁰ minister. Ælfheah³¹ minister. Ælfred³² minister. Æpered³³ minister.

In the name of Jesus Christ, God the highest of the high. It is apparent to all that all things celestial and terrestrial are governed by the providence of God, and

that the anxiety of human life in all its struggles causes wailing and weeping for the loss of friends and of those dear to us. Therefore the honey-sweet pronouncements of God's Word tell us with many exhortations and with definite promises, that with these fugitive and doubtless transitory possessions, the measures of God's kingdom can be had in eternity by His aid. For that reason I, Eadred, king of the English, and governor and ruler of the other nations living in the neighbourhood, have given to a certain faithful thegn of mine, called by the name of Edmund, 3 hides of land as a free gift, in return for his agreeable obedience, and for the money which in his devotion and attentiveness he gave me, in the place to which the local inhabitants formerly gave the name of Hankham, that he may enjoy it and possess it for ever, as long as he presumes to remain alive in this transitory world. And afterwards, as we have confirmed, he may leave it to whatever heir he pleases as an eternal inheritance, as we have said above. Let the aforesaid land be free from all worldly impositions with all things pertaining thereto by custom, fields, pastures, meadows, woods, excepting the common work of raising troops and building bridges and forts. If anyone, however (God forbid), burning with pride, attempts to infringe this our decision, may he suffer with the cold blast of the icy regions and the winged army of evil spirits, unless firstly he makes amends by the pervading groans of penance and by honest amends. The aforesaid land is clearly surrounded by these boundaries. These are the boundaries of the three hides of land at West Hankham and at Glynleigh. Firstly from the land-stream, along the road to opposite the stream, then west towards (?) the marsh, by the middle of the marsh to the boundary of the border enclosure, then north by the middle of the fen to the boundary of Ersham, so to the boundary of Horse Eye, thence to the land-stream; and one saltpan opposite to Pevensey on the north of the land-stream. This aforesaid grant was made in the year of Our Lord's Incarnation 947, of the indiction 5. I, Eadred, king of the English, have given the aforesaid

grant my irrevocable agreement and confirmation with the seal of the holy cross. I, Eadgifu, the king's mother, have confirmed it with the seal of the holy cross. I, Oda, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have sealed the king's leadership and goodwill with the seal of the holy cross. I, Theodred, bishop of the church of London, have corroborated it. I, Ælfheah, bishop of the church of Winchester, have signed and confirmed it with the protection of the holy cross. I, Coenwald, bishop, have agreed to the aforesaid grant. I, Ælfric, bishop, have signed. I, Æthelgar, bishop, have strengthened it. I, Alfred, bishop, have confirmed it. I, Wulfsize, bishop, have agreed. Æthelstan, alderman. I, Eadric, alderman. I, Æthelstan, alderman. I, Wulfgar, alderman. Ealhhelm, alderman. Æthelmund, alderman. Ælfgar, alderman. Ælfstan, thegn. Wulfric, thegn. Ælfsize, thegn. Wulfric, thegn. Ælfric, thegn. Æthelsize, thegn. Æthelnoth, thegn. Æthelgeard, thegn. Ælfheah, thegn. Alfred, thegn. Æthelred, thegn.

1. BCS 821, from MS. in the possession of the dean and chapter of Wells, Liber Albus I, f. 288*v*. An abridged form of this charter was printed in BCS 822, KCD 416, from a late copy in the British Museum of no independent value (Cotton MS. Vitellius E, V. f. 123*v*).

2. The formulae of this charter were first used in 942-3; the same preamble occurs in Edmund's charters in these years, CS 778, 782, 788; also in a charter, CS 761, dated 940; but its dating clause is defective, and the name of Archbishop Oda among its witnesses refers it to the year 942 or later. The same formulae occur in Eadred's Ashdown charter of 947 (CS 828—cf. No. XXXI, n. 1).

3. See No. XXX, n. 7.

4. See No. XXVIII, n. 76.

5. This word is meaningless as it stands. It might possibly be a corruption of OE. *gean more* 'opposite the marsh'. But the OE. of this charter is otherwise fairly good, and the meaning of such a phrase in this context would not be very clear.

6. *Sic* for *midde*.

7. *Sic* for *Pefenes*; this is the form given in the Vitellius text, perhaps a silent correction of this text by the copyist.

8. See No. XXX, n. 8.

9. See No. XXX, n. 9.

10. See No. XXVI, n. 16.

11. See No. XXX, n. 12.

12. See No. XXVI, n. 14.

13. There was an Ælfric, bishop of Hereford, and another at Ramsbury at this time; it is impossible to decide which is the present witness.

14. Æthelgar succeeded Eadwulf (No. XXVI, n. 18) as bishop of Crediton late in 934. He died in 953 according to the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, who puts the length of his episcopate at 21 years: but the date 953 is confirmed by charters, for in that year Æthelgar signs CS 899, while his successor Ælfweald signs CS 900.

15. See No. XXX, n. 3.

16. Wulfsige II, bishop of Sherborne, succeeded Alfred (cf. No. XXX, n. 3) in 943. He died in 958 (Florence of Worcester).

17. See No. XXVIII, n. 45.

18. See No. XXVI, n. 34.

19. See No. XXVI, n. 27.

20. See No. XXVIII, n. 66.

21. See No. XXVI, n. 39.

22. See No. XXVI, n. 37.

23. Ælfgar signs charters regularly from 946 (CS 818) to 951 (CS 892). His signature also appears to a charter dated 945 (CS 810), but it is of Eadred (946–55) (!), and to one in 956 (No. XXXV).

24. See No. XXVIII, n. 82.

25. Two thegns named Wulfric sign charters regularly from 944 (CS 791) to 951 (CS 892). Previously, one had signed since 931 (cf. No. XXVIII, n. 77); and the signature of one continues to appear until 958 (CS 1034). Probably, therefore, it is the first Wulfric who signs 939–51, and the second from 944 to 958. The signature occurs twice in forged charters of 959 (CS 1045–7); in 956 in charters from the unreliable chartularies of Winchester and Abingdon (CS 932, 960, 969, 981); in 958 in a York charter, the text of which is so corrupt that it had distorted so familiar a name as *Eadgar* into the impossible form *Eagelr* (CS 1029); and in 934 in a Winchester charter (CS 705). This last is an Anglo-Saxon rendering of a charter of which the Latin text has also survived (CS 704), and is a forgery compiled with formulae of almost every period except those of 934. The witness-list of CS 705 is longer by eight names than that of its Latin brother, and as these eight names include two Wulfrics and Wihtgar (No. XXVI, n. 33) they were probably an addition made from a charter of 944–6.

26. See No. XXVIII, n. 94.

27. See No. XXVIII, n. 75.

28. Æthelsige signs charters as *minister* from 945 (CS 808, in which he is given the impossible title of *martyr*, evidently due to a transcriber's wrong expansion of the contracted form $\tilde{m}r = minister$) to 955 (CS 908), and as *dux* from 955 (CS 902) to 958 (CS 1034). In the forged Abingdon charter of 959 (CS 1046) he is given the title *pin-cerna*, not found in genuine Anglo-Saxon documents.

29. Æthelnoth signs a few charters from 946 (CS 818) to 949 (CS 875).

30. Æthelgeard signs charters regularly from 942 (CS 775) to 958 (CS 1024), as well as a forged charter purporting to bear date 935 (CS 707). His name was one of the eight additions to CS 705 (934!) (see n. 25, above).

31. See No. XXVI, n. 30.

32. Alfred signs charters regularly from 937 (CS 714) to 951 (CS 892).

33. One *minister* named Æthelred signs charters from 934 to 939: from 939 to 944 the name occurs twice in several documents (CS 742, 770, 775, 780, 782, 784, 787, 789, 795-6, 801): from 945 to 948 (CS 865) it again occurs once. It is probably the second Æthelred who signs here and from 939 to 948, overlapping his namesake by five years.

XXXIII¹

In nomine sancte trinitatis.² quamvis decreta pontificum et verba sacerdotum velut fundamenta montium in districtis ligaminibus fixa sint tamen plerumque³ tempestates et turbines secularium rerum etiam religio sancte Dei ecclesie maculis reproborum dissipabitur ac rumpitur. Iccirco incertum futurorum temporum statum providentes posteris succedentibus profuturum esse decrevimus ut ea que communi tractu salubri consilio definiuntur sertis litterulis roborata confirmentur. Quapropter ego Eadredus⁴ rex anglorum ceterarumque (gentium) in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector cuidam mihi fidelissimo comitique dilecto nomine. Eadrico.⁵ devotionis ejus sollertia ejusdemque placatus obsequio dignatus sum impertire bis denas mansas quod angelice (sic) dicitur twentig hida in illo loco ubi jamdudum solicole illius regionis nomen imposuerunt. Æt Wassingatune. Tali autem tenore hoc prefate munificentie munus tradendo concessi ut possideat et firmiter teneat usque ad ultimum cursum vite sue cum omnibus utensilibus que Deus celorum in ipso telluris gramine creavit, tam in notis causis et ignotis in modicis et in magnis, campis, pascuis, silvis, silvarum densitatibus, donans donabo libertatem, et postquam humani generis fragilitatem desererit⁶ et ad desiderabilem jocunditatis viam per gratiam superni judicis adierit succedentium sibi cuicumque libuerit eternaliter derelinquat ceu superius prenotavi. Sit autem predictum rus liber ab omni fiscali tributo seculariumque servitutum

exinanitum sine expeditione et pontis arcisve instructione precipioque in nomine Dei summi tam nobis viventibus quam etiam qui christianitatis nomine et divinae agnitionis fide censentur hujus libertatis statuta ad irritum deducere minime quispiam presumat. Quisquis benivola mente meam donationem amplificare satagerit in hoc presenti seculo vitam illius prospera feliciter longiturne vite gaudia teneat. Si quis autem propria temeritate violenter invadere presumerit. Sciat se proculdubio ante tribunal districti judicis titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare maluerit.

*Istis terminis predicta terra circumgirata esse videtur. Dis syndon þa landgemaore to wasinga tune.⁷ Ærest on duhan⁸ lea of duhan lea on readan wylle.⁹ of readdan wille to lydgeardes¹⁰ broge. of lidgeardes beorge to tatmonnes¹¹ apoldre. of tatmonnes apoldre to deneburge hleawe.¹² of deneburge hleawe to stan beorge. of stan beorwe to hapeburge hleawe.¹³ of þam hlæwe to here grafe of here grafe to twam beorgum. of twam beorgum to hremnes dune. of heremnes dune to bidan holte. of bidan holte þæt to wigan campe.¹⁴ of wigan campe to bennan beorge. of þam beorge to blæccan pole. of þam pole to þære apuldre þonne to dunan heafde. þæt to hunes cnolle. þonne eft on duhan lea. *Dis synt þa den þe þær to ge byrigeaþ. wynburge spær.¹⁵ and preo crochyrsta and horsham and yffeles¹⁶ Leah and hæslwic¹⁷ and gatawic and ridan fald and scacalwic and hund-sæding¹⁸ fald. Acta est hec prefata donatio anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jhesu Christi. DC.CCC.XL.VII. indictione Quinta. [Ego Eadredus⁴ rex Anglorum prefatam donationem sub sigillo sancte crucis indeclinabiliter consensi atque roboravi. Ego Eadgifu¹⁹ ejusdem Regis mater cum sigillo sancte crucis confirmavi. Ego Oda²⁰ Dorobornensis ecclesie archiepiscopus ejusdem regis principatum et benivolentiam cum sigillo sancte crucis conclusi. Ego Wulfstanus²¹ archons divine servitutis officio mancipatus Eborace civitatis archiepiscopus sigillum sancte crucis impressi. Ego peodred²² Lundoniensis ecclesie episcopus corroboravi. Ego Ælfhæh²³ Uuintoniensis**

ecclesie episcopus testudinem sancte crucis subscripsi et confirmavi. Ego Cenwald²⁴ episcopus prædictum donum consensi. Ego Ælfric²⁵ episcopus consignavi. Ego Æpelgar²⁶ episcopus roboravi. Ego Ælfred²⁷ episcopus confirmavi. Ego Wulfsige²⁸ episcopus consensi. Ego Æpelstan²⁹ dux.³⁰ Ego Wulfgar³¹ dux. Ego Æpelstan³² dux. Ego Ealhelm³³ dux. Ego Æpelmund³⁴ dux. Ego Ælfgar³⁵ dux. Ego Eadmund³⁶ minister.³⁷ Ælfstan.³⁸ Wulfsic.³⁹ Ælfsige.⁴⁰ Pulfric.⁴¹ Ælfric.⁴² Æpelfsige.⁴³ Æpelnop.⁴⁴ Æpelgeard.⁴⁵ Ælfheah.⁴⁶ Ælfred.⁴⁷ Æpered.⁴⁸

In the name of the Holy Trinity. Although the decrees of bishops and the words of priests are fixed in tight bonds like the foundations of mountains, nevertheless (by) the frequent storms and disturbances in lay affairs even the religion of God's holy Church is spoiled and broken by the marks of evil. Therefore, foreseeing the uncertain state of times to come, we have decreed that it will be of advantage to our successors after us that those things which are decided by common agreement in healthy discussion be confirmed and corroborated in connected wording. On that account I, Eadred, king of the English and governor and ruler of the other (nations) living in the neighbourhood, have deigned to grant to a certain very faithful and beloved thegn of mine, named Eadric, being pleased with his devotion, loyalty, and obedience, twice ten measures, which are called in English twenty hides, in that place to which the inhabitants of that district have applied the name of Washington. In such a manner have I granted and conceded the aforesaid endowment, that he may have it and hold it securely with all the utilities which God in heaven has created in the very soil of the earth, both in known things and in unknown, in small and in large, fields, pastures, woods, thickets of wood, I give and will give liberty; and after he has left the frailty of the human race, and by the favour of heavenly judgement, come to the longed-for road to joy, he may, as I have noted above, leave it in perpetuity to whatever suc-

cessor he pleases. Let the aforesaid land be free of all taxation and void of secular services, except raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. And I order in the name of Almighty God, that while we live, and also those who are numbered under the name of Christendom and the faith of God's knowledge, nobody may presume to bring this franchise to nought. If anyone with benevolent intentions increases my grant in this world, may he have a happy time in the joy of eternal life. But if anyone with rashness presumes to make violent incursions upon it, let him know that without doubt he will pay the penalty in fear and trembling before the tribunal of the last judgement, unless previously he makes amends with suitable recompense. The aforesaid land is clearly surrounded by these boundaries. These are the boundaries of Washington. Firstly at Duha's clearing, from Duha's clearing to the red spring, from the red spring to Leodgeard's hill, from Leodgeard's hill to Tatmonn's apple-tree, from Tatmonn's apple-tree to Deneburh's mound, from Deneburh's mound to the stony hill, from the stony hill to Hatheburh's mound, from the mound to the entrenchment, from the entrenchment to the two hills, from the two hills to Ramsdean, from Ramsdean to Biggen Holt, from Biggen Holt to the warriors' battle, from the warriors' battle to Beonna's hill, from the hill to the shining pool, from the pool to the apple-tree, thence to Duna's hill-top, thence to Hun's knoll, thence to Duha's clearing. These are the wood-pastures which belong thereto, Wynburh's spear, and the three Crockhursts, and Horsham, Yffel's clearing and Hazelwick and Gotwick and the red fold and the shackle-farm and Hundsæd's fold. This aforesaid gift was made in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ's Incarnation 947, of the indiction 5. I, Eadred, king of the English, have given the aforesaid grant my irrevocable agreement and confirmation with the seal of the holy cross. I, Eadgifu, the king's mother, have confirmed it with the seal of the holy cross. I, Oda, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have sealed the king's leadership and goodwill

with the seal of the holy cross. I, Wulfstan, magistrate dedicated to the duty of God's service, archbishop of the city of York, have impressed the seal of the holy cross. I, Theodred, bishop of the church of London, have corroborated it. I, Ælfheah, bishop of the church of Winchester, have signed and confirmed it with the protection of the holy cross. I, Coenwald, bishop, have agreed to the aforesaid gift. I, Ælfric, bishop, have signed. I, Æthelgar, bishop, have strengthened it. I, Alfred, bishop, have confirmed it. I, Wulfsige, bishop, have agreed. I, Æthelstan, alderman, have agreed. I, Wulfgar, alderman, have agreed. I, Æthelstan, alderman, have agreed. I, Ealhhelm, alderman, have agreed. I, Æthelmund, alderman, have agreed. I, Ælfgar, alderman, have agreed. I, Edmund, thegn, have agreed. Ælfstan. Wulfric. Ælfsige. Wulfric, Ælfric, Æthelsige, Æthelnoth, Æthelgeard, Ælfheah, Alfred, Æthelred.

1. BCS 834, KCD 1159, from a MS. in the British Museum, Cotton Claudius B vi, f. 37. This is a chartulary of the abbey of Abingdon, written early in the thirteenth century.

2. For the formulae of this charter, which are those in regular use at the time, cf. No. XXX, n. 2. This particular charter has especial affinities with the Merstham charter of 947 (CS 820), which is preserved in a contemporary text, Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Augustus II. 83.

3. Birch adds the word [*per*] at this point. Although some such word is necessary to meet the requirements of sense and of Latin grammar, the absence of such a word from the other texts which use this formula shows that it was no part of the original formula, and that its omission here is not due to a slip in transcription.

4. See No. XXX, n. 3.

5. See No. XXVI, n. 34.

6. Kemble amends to *deseruerit*, and comparison with other texts using the same formulae shows that this is, in fact, the correct reading.

7. For a geographical account of these boundary-marks see *P. N. Sx.*, pp. 240-1.

8. The pers. name *Duha* is only known from this example.

9. The red spring, or, less likely, Reada's spring; *Reada* (a pers. name doubtless originating as a nickname from the common adj. 'red') is found in Reading, Berks. (*to Readingum* 871 ASC).

10. This seems to be the only recorded instance of the pers. name *Leodgeard*, which would normally become *Lydgeard* in OE. of the tenth century. Both its elements are, however, quite common, and

the continental equivalent *Liuthgerth* has been noted (Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 325).

11. *Tatmonn* was the name of an eighth-century monk in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham (Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 466).

12. Perhaps the place where the woman Deneburh was buried. *Hlaw* means any kind of mound, natural or artificial; but it is very often found with the special meaning of 'burial mound', and this is a frequent meaning of its continental cognates (Bosworth-Toller, p. 540).

13. *Haðeburh* is a woman's name; cf. n. 12 above.

14. *Camp* literally means 'battle', doubtless here 'battlefield', 'place of battle'.

15. *Wynburh* is a woman's name; 'spear' perhaps in reference to a long narrow strip of land.

16. *Yffel* (only attested here and in No. XLII, where it is spelt *Yfel*) may be an extension of the name *Yffi* which occurs in the genealogy of the kings of Deira; or it may conceivably represent the ordinary adjective *yfel* (mod. Eng. 'evil', but used in a less emphatic sense in OE.), applied to someone as a kind of nickname.

17. Hazelwick is a farm in Worth parish.

18. No. XLIII has the form *hunreding*, which is probably more correct; a similar error in transcription (*Wulfsic* for *Wulfric*) occurs in this charter. *Hunræd* is a name well attested in OE.; the first 'd' in this form may be intrusive and due to influence of the common word *hundred*.

19. See No. XXX, n. 8.

20. See No. XXX, n. 9.

21. See No. XXV, n. 14.

22. See No. XXVI, n. 16.

23. See No. XXX, n. 12.

24. See No. XXVI, n. 14.

25. See No. XXXII, n. 13.

26. See No. XXXII, n. 14.

27. See No. XXX, n. 3.

28. See No. XXXII, n. 16.

29. See No. XXVIII, n. 45.

30. This and every other attestation is followed by the word *consensi*—'have agreed'.

31. See No. XXVIII, n. 66.

32. See No. XXVI, n. 27.

33. See No. XXVI, n. 39.

34. See No. XXVI, n. 37.

35. See No. XXXII, n. 23.

36. See No. XXVIII, n. 76. His title here should probably be *dux*, as he signs as such in a charter of King Edmund from the reliable *Textus Roffensis* (CS 779), which should be referred to the year 946; but such a confusion of titles, especially involving the first or last name of a given rank, is not uncommon.

37. This and the remainder of the attestations are in the form *Ego N. minister consensi*—'I. N., thegn, have agreed'.

38. See No. XXVIII, n. 82.

39. *Sic MS.*; Birch corrects silently to *Wulfric*. But the spelling in the MS. is quite clear, and can be conveniently verified in the photograph in W. Albery's *A Millennium of Facts in the history of Horsham and Sussex*, p. 33, in which this name occurs on the 13th line from the bottom of the right-hand column. See No. XXXII, n. 25.

40. See No. XXVIII, n. 94.

41. *Sic MS.*; Birch reads, correctly but against the MS. authority, *Wulfric*. See No. XXXII, n. 25.

42. See No. XXVIII, n. 75.

43. See No. XXXII, n. 28.

44. See No. XXXII, n. 29.

45. See No. XXXII, n. 30.

46. See No. XXVI, n. 30.

47. See No. XXXII, n. 32.

48. See No. XXXII, n. 33.

XXXIV¹

Anno dominice incarnationis. dccccxlvij. Ego Wlfricus² annuente, ³consenciente³ et presente domino meo rege ⁴Eadredo⁴ matreque⁵ ejus regina Eadgiva.⁶ Odon⁷ quoque archiepiscopo Dorobernie.⁸ ⁹Wlstano⁹ etiam archiepiscopo Eborace.¹⁰ multisque aliis episcopis. ducibus. Anglie coram positis concessi ecclesie Christi in Dorobernia terram juris mei nomine Pettinges in Suthsexa. quam rex Eadredus michi dedit in perpetuam hereditatem. cum libro ejusdem terre. liberam ab omni seculari servicio. Exceptis¹¹ expedicione pontis et arcis¹² constructione. Si quis hanc ¹³meam donacionem¹³ violare presumpserit; post mortem raptus a Tartareis ministris in flamigera domo. pestifera¹⁴ mortis¹⁵ concludetur.

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 947, I, Wulfric, with the agreement, and consent of, and in the presence of, my lord King Eadred and his mother, Queen Eadgifu, also Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and many other bishops and leaders of England standing present, have given to Christ Church, Canterbury, land in my possession by

the name of Patching in Sussex, which King Eadred gave me in perpetual heritage, with the book of the same land, free from all secular service, excepting raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. If anyone presumes to violate this my grant, after his death he will be seized by the ministers of Hell and brought to an end in the house of fire with a baleful death.

1. (a) BCS 823, from MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 323; (b) KCD 414, from Canterbury Cathedral MS. B. 2a, f. 338; (c) Hardy's MS. in Record Office, from C.C. MS. B. 4c, f. 325. The text printed is (a). This is an abridged version of a charter, and the fact that Patching was among lands restored to Wulfric after forfeiture in 960 (No. XL) suggests that it is not genuine in its present form. Patching was included among a long list of possessions confirmed to the cathedral by Æthelred II (CD 715).

2. *Wluricus*, c. Cf. No. XXXII, n. 25. This may be the latter of the two Wulfric's mentioned therein, but the name was a common one, and no certainty is possible.

3. *et sentiente*, b, c.

4. See No. XXX, n. 7.

5. *Eadredque*, b; *Eadredoque*, c.

6. See No. XXX, n. 8.

7. *Odone*, b; *Oddone*, c. See No. XXX, n. 9.

8. *Dorobernensi*, c.

9. See No. XXV, n. 14.

10. Omit, c.

11. *expensis*, b.

12. *b* inserts *et* here.

13. *donacionem meam*, b, c.

14. *pestiferæ*, c.

15. *morte*, b.

XXXV¹

Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jhesu Christi D.CCCC.LIII. Ego Adred² Rex Christo perpetualiter superni numinis intuitu subtronizato preregente et eque illo confavente totius Albionis primecherius³ et famose famuli⁴ Dei Adgive⁵ matri mee sub instinctu divini timoris terre particulam sub estimacione xxx mansionum in loco qui dicitur Felhham libentur admodum imperpetuum cui sibi placuerit derelinquendi concedo et hiis limitibus hec telluris particula libera preter arcem. pontem expedicionem circumgirari videtur.

Arest of elmerespole⁶ on biken mupe swo anlang brines flertes;⁷ to tilbirhes forde. swo on sa of sa on pane stapel. of panne stapele; eft in tilbirhthes forde. of panne forde; eft panen on stanford; of stanforde; eft on almeres pol. Et hec sunt pascua porcorum, quatuor mansiones in loco qui dicitur Boganora at Hidhirst in silva et in communi silva pascuale quod dicitur palinga schittas.⁸ Et hujus munificentie constipulaciones sunt nomina quorum infra conrecitari videntur. Hujus doni munificentiam signo crucis corroboro. Ego Odo⁹ Christi ecclesie archon. Ego Alured¹⁰ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Athelgar¹¹ episcopus et ceteri multi.

In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 953. I, Eadred, king while Christ is enthroned in eternity, reigning by the wisdom of God on high, and equally, by His favour, superintendent of all Britain, do grant freely in fear of God to the well-known servant of God, my mother Eadgifu, a little piece of land of 30 hides by estimate in the place which is called Felp-ham, that she may leave it in perpetuity to whomsoever she pleases; and this piece of land, which is free except for forts and bridges and the raising of troops, is seen to be surrounded by these boundaries. Firstly at Elmer's pool, to Bica's mouth, thence along Bryni's stream to Tilbeorht's ford, so to the sea, from the sea to the post, from the post to Tilbeorht's ford, from the ford to the stone ford, from the stone ford to Elmer's pool. And these are the pastures for swine, four hides in the place which is called Little Bognor, at Idehurst in the forest and in the common forest-pasture which is called *Palinga Schittas*. And the confirmations to this grant are the names of those who appear recited below. I confirm this endowment and gift with the sign of the cross. I, Oda, leader of Christ Church. I, Alfred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelgar, bishop, and many others.

1. BCS 898, KCD 432, from MS. in the British Museum, Harley 61, f. 12. This is a late-fourteenth-century chartulary of Shaftesbury. The present charter seems to be an abridged form of a genuine charter of the period, condensing much of the phraseology.

2. See No. XXX, n. 3.

3. Eadred seems to have been the first king who used this rather singular title, which is one borrowed from the late Roman bureaucracy and means 'supervisor', 'head of department', &c. It is not certain that it was genuinely used outside the period 951-6, occurring for the first time in a Glastonbury charter of 951 (CS 889) which seems genuine, in contemporary charters of 955 (CS 903) and 956 (CS 965), and in a few other genuine-looking documents of the period (e.g. CS 904, 923, 1009). The formula using this title was, however, extensively used for forgery; it was applied to a Glastonbury charter of Edmund, 946 (CS 816), to Winchester charters of Eadred (CS 905, probably expanded from a genuine charter, CS 931, dated 956, and CS 987, dated 957, each with the correct indiction—Eadred died in 955), and to a pair of charters of 958 in, *mutatis mutandis*, identical terms (CS 1036-7, from Winchester and Abingdon). These last were, however, issued by Edgar as king of Mercia, and the title is, therefore, more strictly applicable; they may be of genuine origin. The title *primicerius* was used in doubtful charters of 967 (CS 1198, 1209) and in a charter of 969 (CS 1229) preserved in a text (BM. Add. charter 19,793) which may be contemporary, but looks somewhat later. This and CS 1234, a Worcester charter of which the MS. is now lost, use the title in conjunction with formulae similar to those of No. XLIII. The title is again found in an Abingdon charter of 1042, regarded by Kemble as spurious (CD 762), and in a charter of 1009 from the Somerset house of Athelney, which may be genuine (CD 1306). Æthelred II used many of his predecessors' styles, including some which had been obsolete for many years. The use of such a style is, therefore, no criterion for judging the genuineness of any charter.

4. *Sic* MS.; Birch reads (correctly) *famule*.

5. See No. XXX, n. 8.

6. The name (OE. *Ælfmær* or *Æðelmær*) survives in Elmer Farm.

7. See No. I, n. 30.

8. Now Limbo Farm in Petworth; for the connecting forms see *P. N. Sx.*, p. 117.

9. See No. XXX, n. 9.

10. See No. XXX, n. 3.

11. See No. XXXII, n. 14.

XXXVI¹

Cathaclismi tempestate sedata, superstite quoque Noæ prosapie eloncosmun² restaurante a Nino³ rege Babylonæ per arma pestifera tyrannidem cepisse satis declarant historiographi; exin aureo tempore finito, necnon et æneo ferreo⁴ sequaces modo vi pereuntes modo mechanica arte cæteros fallentes, et persæpe

utroque omne⁵ subigerunt census⁶ reddere vulgus usque ad calcem, ac sic⁷ fortuna ludente mancipari immobilis⁸ patitur⁹ terra subditis habenis in sceptrigere¹⁰ voluntatis arbitrio. At tunc veritas ipsa¹¹ de terra resurgens humanæ inventionis legi¹² contraire extimplo parvipependit: unde apostolus inquit. Cui¹³ honorem, honorem; cui vectigal, vectigal; et veritas ipsa, Reddite¹⁴ quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Hoc ita¹⁵ prælibato, ego Eadwis¹⁶ basileon totius Albionis hanc particulam terræ mihi Deo donante sortitam in hæreditario jure singulis impartiri haud pigeo, ut eo fidelior quisque existat quo liberior abjecto censu¹⁷ apparet. Hinc ergo mihi fidelissimo Brithelmo¹⁸ episcopo et fratribus Cyssecestræ¹⁹ morantibus. LX. mansas diversorum locorum quorum nomina et numerum infra monstrabit terminus ille in diocesim perpetuam pro salute animæ meæ incunctanter offero, ydoneis diversi ordinis astipulantibus viris libentissime concedo, cum 'omnibus' ad se pertinentibus pratis, pascuis, silvis solutos jugo regali salva lege privilegiorum.²⁰ Interdiximus ergo neminem ausum ire hoc factum subvertere anno incarnationis dominicæ. DCCCCLVI. imperii autem primo, nisi anathema Deo et omnibus sanctis fieri minime ducat. 'Termini terrarum distincti sunt prædictæ donationis in carta Anglica.²¹ Ego Ædwis¹⁶ rex gentium Albionis hoc donum immo commercium tripudialis²² crucis vexillo spontanee impressi. Ego Eadgar²³ indoles clito consensi. Ego Oda²⁴ archiepiscopus corroboravi. Ego Oskytel²⁵ episcopus confirmavi. Ego Ælfsige²⁶ episcopus adqueivi. Ego Wulfsige²⁷ episcopus favi. Ego Brythelm²⁸ episcopus dictavi. Ego Daniel²⁹ episcopus subscripsi. Ælfgar³⁰ dux. Æðelstan³¹ dux. Ælferes³² dux. Edmund³³ dux.³⁴ Æðelmund³⁵ dux. Æðelwold³⁶ dux. Brithnod³⁷ dux. Æðelgeard³⁸ minister. Brithferd³⁹ miles. Ælfheah⁴⁰ minister. Ælfine⁴¹ minister. Ælwerd⁴² minister. Æðelweard⁴³ minister. Ælfsige⁴⁴ minister. Aðelmer⁴⁵ minister. Ælfred⁴⁶ minister.

Heading (B omit) Carta de donacione Vuinges Half-nake Erham Waltham ecclesie de Cyc'.

Historians tell us clearly that when the storm of the Flood had subsided, and the remains of Noah's progeny were restored over the whole world, tyranny was begun by Ninus, king of Babylon, with his terrible arms; thereafter, the golden age being ended, and also the brass and the iron, those who follow now perish by force and now deceive the rest by artful tricks, and very often by both means have conquered everything, making an account of the people right to the end; and thus by the caprice of Fate, the earth suffers subjection held motionless in bonds under the control of the sceptre-bearing will. And then the very Truth rising again from the earth, at once thought it not well to disobey the law devised by humans; whence the apostle says, 'Honour to whom honour is due and custom to whom custom', and the very Truth, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's'. Having a foretaste of these things, I, Eadwig, king of all Albion, do not hesitate to make grants to various people out of the piece of land which, in hereditary right, fell to me by lot through God's gift, so that the more freely property is given away the more faithfully each man may live. Hence, therefore, I promptly give, for the good of my soul, to the most faithful bishop Beorhthelm and the brothers dwelling in Chichester, 60 hides in various places of which the names and numbers are shown below in the boundary, as a perpetual sphere of influence. And I grant it most willingly with the agreement of men representative of various ranks, with all things pertaining thereto, meadows, pastures, woods, freed from the royal yoke, except for the law of privileges. Therefore I forbid anyone to dare to interfere with this act, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 956, of my reign the first, if he would not become accursed to God and all the saints. The boundaries of the lands of the aforesaid grant are set out in the English charter. I, Eadwig, king of the nations of Albion, have of my own free will sealed this gift, or rather bargain, with the banner of the triumphant cross. I, Eadgar, hereditary prince, have

agreed. I, Oda, archbishop, have corroborated it. I, Oscytel, bishop, have confirmed it. I, Ælfsige, bishop, have acquiesced. I, Wulfsige, bishop, have favoured it. I, Beorhthelm, bishop, have dictated it. I, Daniel, bishop, have signed. Ælfgar, alderman. Æthelstan, alderman. Ælfhere, alderman. Edmund, alderman. Æthelmund, alderman. Æthelwold, alderman. Beorhtnoth, alderman. Æthelgeard, thegn. Beorhtferth, thegn. Ælfheah, thegn. Ælfwine, thegn. Ælfweard, thegn. Æthelweard, thegn. Ælfsige, thegn. Æthelmær, thegn. Alfred, thegn.

1. BCS 930, KCD 459, from DCC Liber Y, f. 75r, of which a collation with Birch's text is given by W. D. Peckham in *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, p. 14, n. 1. Birch's text seems to have been taken from Kemble's collations of Liber Y and of Liber B, f. 19r, preserved in the British Museum, Addit. MS. 32127, f. 218. Birch's 'MS. Selsey A, f. 19' refers to this entry in Liber Y; 19 is the old foliation of 75. Kemble's text was taken from Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817 ed.), vol. VI, p. 1166, critically worthless. Birch's text varies from the text printed above in a number of orthographical details, as well as in the more important variations noted below.

2. Birch, *prosapia elonn cosmum*; K., *prosapia elentosinum*. Birch suggests (vol. III, p. 103, n. 1) that this curious word is a corruption of the Greek *ὄλον κόσμον*; I have adopted this suggestion in the translation.

3. *Anno* (sic), K.

4. *ferrei*, K.

5. *omnem*, K.

6. *censum*, K.

7. *ac si*, Birch.

8. *immobiliter*, Birch.

9. *partitur*, K.

10. *septigero*, Birch and K.

11. *ipse*, K.

12. *lege*, K.

13. Romans xiii. 7.

14. Matt. xxii. 21.

15. *itaque*, K.

16. *Eadwig* (in both places) Birch and K. Eadwig was the nephew of Eadred and son of Eadmund; he succeeded his uncle on 23 Nov. 955 and reigned until 1 Oct. 958. This is the date given in the oldest MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in a contemporary entry. Other MSS. give 959, and this is implied by the list of kings given in Cotton MS. Tiberius A iii, f. 178, which gives the length of Eadwig's

reign as 3 years 36 weeks, less two days; this list seems to have been written about 977. The evidence of charters, slight though it is, tends to support the date 958. No charter of Eadwig's dated 959 has survived, although the number of his charters of 956-8 is so large that it would be surprising if nine months of his reign were entirely unrepresented by charters. The charters of his successor Edgar issued in 958 are mostly as king of Mercia (BCS 1036-43); there is one of his as king of England dated 958, but it is a corrupt text (BCS 1044). Two, perhaps three, charters of Edgar dated 959 are extant (BCS 1051-2; 1049 is an abridgement of a lost charter).

17. *liberior . . . (blank) . . . censi*, K.

18. Beorhthelm is given by Searle in his list of bishops of Selsey (*Anglo-Saxon Bishops*, pp. 58-9). The name is, however, not included among those in any of the ancient catalogues; these include the lists appended to the Parker Chronicle (MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. Cantab. 173, f. 55r) and apparently written 984×988; that in the *Liber Vitæ* of Hyde Abbey (edited by Birch for the Hants Record Society, 1892) written about 1025; and that of Florence of Worcester (c. 1110). As the earliest of these lists was written within easy living memory of 956, its authority cannot be lightly set aside. There were, in fact, three other bishops named Beorhthelm during the period before the appearance of the next undoubted signature of a bishop of Selsey (Eadhelm in 963, BCS 1101). One was bishop of London from some time after 951 until 959; another was bishop of Wells from 956 (being the grantee of CS 986 as *electus*) until 15 May 973; the third was bishop of Winchester 960-3. It is clear, then, that to give conclusive proof of the existence of a Beorhthelm, bishop of Selsey, we must find the name occurring twice in charters before 956, and three times in charters in and after 956. Before 956 we find one charter, ascribed by Birch to 953×955, with two witnesses of the name; but although issued in the name of King Eadred (946-55), it is dated 958, and, exceptionally, has no archbishop of Canterbury among its witnesses; quite possibly this witness-list belongs to 958, *sede vacante* on the death of Oda, and the bishops are those of London and Wells. Between 956 and 962 inclusive there have survived no less than 112 charters, printed by Birch with full lists of episcopal witnesses; these include a good number of contemporary texts (BCS 926, 945, 961, 965, 978, &c.). Yet not once does the name of Beorhthelm occur three times in any single charter. This mass of charter evidence, though negative, is so great as to almost force us to the conclusion that there never was a Beorhthelm, bishop of Selsey, and that the Beorhthelm who interested himself in Sussex affairs here and in No. XXXVIII was either the bishop of London or of Wells, with some balance of probability in favour of the latter, since the bishop of London had been dead about four years before the next bishop of Selsey appears. The bishopric of Wells was so poorly endowed that in the eleventh century the canons were reduced to beggary (*Ecclesiastical Documents*, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 17—they had

neither cloister nor refectory); we may have here an attempt to increase the bishop's sustenance by giving him the see of Selsey in plurality.

19. *Cicestriae*, K. The see was of course at Selsey until 1075; the mention of Chichester is perhaps an editorial alteration by the thirteenth-century transcriber.

20. K. reads *solutos iure regali lege privilegiorum*.

21. K. omits.

22. K. reads *hoc donum ymo . . . (blank) . . . tripudialis*.

23. Edgar succeeded his brother Eadwig as king in 958 (see n. 16 above), having been king of Mercia for about a year. He died 8 July 975.

24. See No. XXX, n. 9.

25. Birch and K. read *Oscitel*. Oscytel was bishop of Dorchester-on-Thames; he was translated to York on the death of Wulfstan (26 Dec. 956) and died on 1 Nov. 971.

26. K. reads *Ælfheg*. Ælfsige was bishop of Winchester, 951-9, when he was translated to Canterbury, but died almost at once. Kemble's version seems to have confused him with his predecessor Ælfheah.

27. K. omits the name. See No. XXXII, n. 16.

28. Probably the bishop of London; see n. 18 above.

29. Daniel was bishop of Cornwall, and signs charters from 955 (CS 917) to 957 (CS 999) as well as a forged charter of 959, CS 1047.

30. See No. XXXII, n. 23.

31. See No. XXVI, n. 27.

32. *Ealhere*, K; *Ælfhere*, Birch. Ælfhere was alderman of Mercia; he signs charters as *minister* from 955 (CS 917) and as *dux* from 956 (CS 919) to 983 (CD 640) in which year he died.

33. See No. XXVIII, n. 76.

34. K. adds here *etc.* and ends. Liber B reads *et plures alii duces et milites consenserunt et subscripserunt*. Probably, therefore, K's text is ultimately derived from Liber B.

35. See No. XXVI, n. 37.

36. Æthelwold was alderman of East Anglia 956-62; see Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles*, table 27.

37. Beorhtnoth was alderman of Essex; he signs charters from 956 to 990, and was killed leading the English army against the Danes on 11 Aug. 991.

38. See No. XXXII, n. 30.

39. Beorhtferth signs charters from 949 (CS 879) to 973 (CS 1295). Birch reads here *minister*.

40. See No. XXXII, n. 31.

41. Ælfwine signs charters from 956 (CS 927) to 975 (CS 1319).

42. *Ælfweard*, Birch. The name does not appear again; it may be a bad form of Ælfweald, who signs a number of charters at this time.

43. Æthelweard signs charters from here to 975 (CS 1312) as

minister, and from 975 to 1002 (cf. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 145) as *dux*: he became alderman of the Western Provinces, and was a patron of learning and author of a translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* into Latin.

44. See No. XXVIII, n. 94.

45. Æthelmær signs a few charters from here to 957 (CS 1001).

46. See No. XXXII, n. 32.

XXXVII¹

In sanctæ et individuæ trinitatis vocamine. Ego Eadwig² egregius Angul Saxonum basileus cæterarumque plebium hinc inde habitantium crebro quidem coepi rimari quod ea quæ videntur temporalia ac caduca sunt et quæ non videntur æternaliter mansura.³ Idcirco cuidam meorum optimatum cui nomen insitum est Eadmundo.⁴ xvi. cassatos perenniter impendo penes illum locum quo assertione multorum hominum proferitur ita. æt Anninga Dune. dum vero vitale spiramen suum foverit corpus animo jocundo nostra dapsili deditioe perfruatur decurso scilicet suæ curriculo vitæ heredi cui voluerit impendat in perpetuum karisma. cum campis. pascuis. pratis. silvis. Hæc tellus a cuncto sit immunis servitu nisi pontis et arcis expeditionis juvamine. Augens fruatur domino. minuens ipse zabulo. Istis terminis circumgyrata assertur ante scilicet supradicta terra. Þis synt þa land ge mæro to anninga d(u)ne ærest on þa deopan riþe be eastan bremre siva west ofer bremre to cumb hæma ge mæro swa be cumb hæma ge mære to den tunninga ge mære of den tunninga ge mære swa to suntinga ge mære swa be suntinga ge mære to bidelinga ge mære swa þa(n)ne forþ east be bidelinga ge mære oþ eft ut (on) bremre. Þis suit þa den stowa broc hyrst⁵ and beaddan syla and æt fyrnþan and hliþ wic⁶ and strod wic.⁷ Hæc⁸ carta scripta est anno dominicæ incarnationis deccclvi. indicitione xiiii. Ego Eadwig² gratia Dei totius Brittannicæ telluris rex meum donum proprio sigillo confirmavi. Ego Eadgar⁹ ejusdem regis frater cæleriter consensi. Ego Oda¹⁰ Dorovernensis æcclesiæ archipresul almæ crucis signo roboravi. Ego Ælfsinus¹¹ Uuintaniensis æcclesiæ divinus speculator proprium sigillum impressi.

Ego Oscytel¹² placabili mente consensi. Ego Osulfus¹³ non rennuī. Ego Byrhtelm¹⁴ adquievi. Ego Apulf¹⁵ conclusi. Æpelstan¹⁶ dux. Byrhtferþ¹⁷ dux. Æpelstan¹⁸ dux. Æpelsige¹⁹ dux. Ælfsige²⁰ minister. Wulfric²¹ minister. Æpelgeard²² minister. Ælfheah²³ minister. Ælfgar²⁴ minister. Byrhtferþ²⁵ minister. Apelwold²⁶ minister. Wulfgar²⁷ minister. Alfwold²⁸ minister. Ælfsige²⁹ minister.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. I, Eadwig, unchallenged king of the Anglo-Saxons and of the other people living here and there, have often pondered the fact that those things which are seen are temporal and transitory, and those things which are not seen endure in eternity. Therefore to a certain nobleman of mine to whom the name Edmund has been given, I grant in perpetuity 16 hides near that place which according to the statement of many men is called thus, at Annington; while the breath of life sustains his body he may enjoy our bountiful gift with joyful mind, and when the course of his life has run out, he may give it as a perpetual gift to whatever heir he pleases. Let this land be free from all service except aiding with bridges and forts and in the raising of troops. Who increases it, may he see God; who lessens it, the devil. The aforesaid land is said, namely, to be surrounded by these bounds. These are the land-boundaries of Annington, firstly at the deep stream on the east of the Bramber,³⁰ west over the Bramber to the boundary of Coombes, along the boundary of Coombes to the boundary of Dankton, from the boundary of Dankton to the boundary of Sompting, along the boundary of Sompting to the boundary of Bidlington, thence west along the boundary of Bidlington to the Bramber. These are the pasture-places, (?) Brookhurst and Beadda's muddy place and (?) Frant and (?) Lydwicke and (?) Strudgwick. This charter was written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 956, of the indiction 14. I, Eadwig, by the grace of God king of all the soil of Britain, have confirmed my grant with my own seal. I, Edgar, the king's

brother, have promptly agreed. I, Oda, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have corroborated it with the sign of the holy cross. I, Ælfsige, God's overseer of the church of Winchester, have imposed my own seal. I, Oscytel, have agreed with pleasure. I, Oswulf, have not objected. I, Beorhthelm, have acquiesced. I, Æthelwulf, have closed it. Æthelstan, alderman. Beorhtferth, alderman. Æthelstan, alderman. Æthel-sige, alderman. Ælfsige, thegn. Wulfric, thegn. Æthel-geard, thegn. Ælfheah, thegn. Ælfheah, thegn. Ælf-gar, thegn. Beorhtferth, thegn. Æthelwold, thegn. Wulfgar, thegn. Ælfwold, thegn. Ælfsige, thegn.

1. BCS 961, KCD 445, from a contemporary charter in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Augustus II. 45. This MS. is slightly defective, but another text (of the thirteenth century) has been preserved in the Abingdon chartulary, Cotton Claudius B VI, f. 56*v*; and the letters in brackets in the printed text are restored from this version. The variations between the two texts are insignificant.

2. See No. XXXVI, n. 16.

3. An adaptation of 2 Cor. iv. 18. This quotation was used as part of charter preambles from the seventh century onwards.

4. See No. XXVIII, n. 76.

5. Brookhurst, in Slinfold, or perhaps Brockhurst in Lurgashall. The identification of these places, marked with (?) in the translation, is tentative; especially that of Frant, which although identical in form with *æt fyrnþan*, is too far east to be a likely outlier to Annington. See P. N. Sx., *ad loc.*

6. Lydwicke, in Slinfold.

7. Strudgwick Wood, in Kirdford; or, perhaps, Strood Green in Slinfold.

8. J. Stevenson (*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Ser., I, p. 227) thought that all the text from here was palimpsest; close examination shows, however, that the faint writing which seems to appear here and there is merely an offset due to ancient folding of the MS.

9. See No. XXXVI, n. 23.

10. See No. XXX, n. 9.

11. See No. XXXVI, n. 26.

12. See No. XXXVI, n. 25.

13. Oswulf was bishop of Ramsbury; he signs charters from 951 (CS 991) onwards, and died in 970.

14. See No. XXXVI, n. 18. This is probably the bishop of Wells; the bishop of London usually signs farther up the list.

15. Æthelwulf, or Athulf, seems to have held an all-time record for the tenure of an English episcopate, for he was bishop of Here-

ford for at least fifty-seven years, signing charters from 955 (CS 905) to 1012 (CD 719).

16. See No. XXVIII, n. 45.

17. Beorhtferth was alderman in one of the eastern provinces; see Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, pp. 104-5.

18. See No. XXVI, n. 27.

19. See No. XXXII, n. 28.

20. See No. XXVIII, n. 94.

21. See No. XXXII, n. 25.

22. See No. XXXII, n. 30.

23. See No. XXVI, n. 30.

24. Ælfgar was a relative of the king (so described in a charter, CS 1035), and died in 962 (*ASC.*).

25. See No. XXXVI, n. 39.

26. See No. XXXVI, n. 36.

27. Wulfgar signs charters regularly from 952 (CS 896) to 962 (CS 1093).

28. See No. XXXVI, n. 43.

29. See No. XLI, n. 26.

30. Now the river Adur.

XXXVIII¹

In nomine domini Jhesu Christi cosmi salvatoris. Anno secundo imperii Eadwis² totius Albionis insulæ imperantis, Ego Byrthelmus³ divina dispensatione episcopus, humanæ conditionis non immemor quia⁴ brevis est vita hominis super terram, totum me in futurum extendere desidero et ad eterna erigere⁵ festino, ubi nostra abscondita est vita cum Christo⁶ in Deo;⁷ atque ut amplior mihi hereditas in terra viventium reddatur, tota mentis aviditate crebro scrutatus sum qualiter terram quæ fraudulenter per quendam Ælfsinum⁸ nomine contra decretum sanctorum patrum Niceni consilii⁹ ab æcclesia arrepta fuerat, ubi Geuuisorum, id est Australium Saxonum,¹⁰ præsul episcopali cathedra sublimari videbatur; id est XLII¹¹ tributarios in illis locis qui vocantur Seleseie,¹² Sidlesham. Yecchenore, Bridham, Ham Egesawyde, Brinesfasten, Withringe cum aliis villis sibi cohærentibus, et cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus; necnon et terræ illius quæ appellatur Ældingeborna et¹³ Hlidesya¹⁴ VII cassatos; et in Geinstidesgate sex; in Amberle¹⁵ et in Hocton VIII; et in Waltham quatuor; et in Mundeham IX; id est XXXII¹⁶ tribu-

tariorum, pristino cui pertinebat episcopatu restituerem valuissem.¹⁷ Dum igitur rimabar quibus vel qualibus carismatibus supradictum regem Ædwi¹⁸ mihi placere¹⁹ potuissem, ut mea petitione terra restauraretur præfato monasterio, cessit animo, quod centum mancas obrizi auri in eius²⁰ devotionis obsequium attulissem; quod mox factum est. Accepto autem²¹ præscripti auri pondere hanc restorationis cartam²² scribere iussit, et consentientibus episcopis, ducibus, omnibusque nostræ²³ gentis optimatibus, placido rex vultu denique me allocutus est; dicens.²⁴ Habeto foeliciter et possideto quamdiu vitalis flatus tuum aluerit corpus. Cum autem dissolutionis tuæ dies advenerit, nullus eligatur hæres, sed ad eundem ubi episcopalis Australium Saxonum habetur sedes perpetualiter²⁵ redeat locum; ita ut ex hoc inconvolso jure ipsius et Selesie præsulis usibus præfata terra mancipetur cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus campis, pascuis, pratis, silvis, capturis piscium. Maneat vero hæc possessio immunis ab omnibus secularibus negotiis, exceptis tribus, expeditionum cura, pontium arcisve operatione.²⁶ Si quis vero hoc nostrum carisma aliqua machinatione infringere conatus fuerit, veniam non hic mereatur nec in futuro regni coelestis clavigerum propitium habeat, nisi prius hic ad satisfactionem emendare maluerit. Prædicta²⁷ siquidem tellus hiis terminis circumcincta clarescit.²⁸ Dis²⁹ sinde ðæt land gemeare to Selesie, areste æt wedering muðe ða be sæ on cymeneres horan; swa west be sæ oð þri beorgas; forð be stronde to cwuenstane and forð be strande hon horemuden nord andlang floetes oð wealeflet. up on wealeflet oðþ þer brynes dic ut scyt; west andlang dice on woflet, est andlang floetes and suo suð to wederingemuðan. Hæc carta scripta est anno dominicæ incarnationis. DCCCCLVII.³⁰ indictione. xv. Ego Edwi³¹ rex Anglorum indeclinabiliter³² concessi. Ego Edgar³³ eiusdem regis frater³⁴ consensi.³⁵ Ego Oda³⁶ archiepiscopus cum signo sancte crucis roboravi. Ego Ælsinus³⁷ præsul sigillum agiæ crucis impressi. Ego Birhelm³⁸ episcopus confirmavi. Ego Oscytel³⁹ episcopus adqueivi. Ego Cenwald⁴⁰ episcopus consignavi.

Ego Opulf⁴¹ episcopus non renui. Ego Epulf⁴² episcopus conclusi. Ædelstan⁴³ dux. Ædmund⁴⁴ dux. Ælfere⁴⁵ dux. Æðelwold⁴⁶ dux. Æðelsige⁴⁷ dux. Brithnod⁴⁸ dux. Elfeah⁴⁹ miles. Ædelgard⁵⁰ miles. Ælfric⁵¹ miles. Ælfyne⁵² miles. Ælfred⁵³ miles. Ælfsige⁵⁴ miles. Ælfwig⁵⁵ miles. Ælfgar⁵⁶ miles. Brithfurd⁵⁷ miles. Æðelfrac⁵⁸ miles. Wulfgar⁵⁹ miles.

In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, saviour of the world. In the second year of the reign of Eadwig, emperor of all the island of Britain, I, Beorhthelm, bishop by God's dispensation, not unmindful of the state of humanity, that the life of man on earth is short, desire to prepare myself for the future and hasten to build up for eternity, where our 'life is hid with Christ in God': and in order that a greater inheritance may be given to me in the land of the living, I have often considered with all keenness of mind how I could restore to the see to which it originally belonged, land which was deceitfully snatched, in a manner contrary to the decree of the holy fathers at the Council of Nicæa, by a certain Ælfsine, from the church where the bishop of the Gewisi, that is, of the South Saxons, was to be seen exalted in his episcopal seat; that is 42 hides in those places which are called Selsey, Withering, Itchenor, Birdham, Egesa's wood, Brinfast, Sidlesham, with other towns adjacent to them, and with all things pertaining thereto; and also of that land which is called Aldingborne, Lidsey, 7 hides; and in Westergate six; in Amberley and in Houghton 8; and in Coldwaltham four; and in Mundham 9; that is 32 hides. As, then, I was considering with what or what kind of gifts I might gain the favour of the aforesaid King Eadwig, so that on my petition the land might be restored to the aforesaid monastery, it occurred to me that I would take a hundred mancuses of fine gold in order to placate him; which was presently done. Having received the weight of gold aforesaid, he ordered this charter of restoration to be written, and, with the agreement of the bishops, the aldermen and all the noblemen of our nation, the

king with calm countenance then addressed me thus: Have it joyfully and possess it as long as the breath of life nourishes your body. And when the day of your death arrives, no heir may be appointed, but it shall return in perpetuity to the place where the episcopal see of the South Saxons is situated, so that from now the aforesaid land may be devoted to the use of the see and of the bishop of Selsey in irrevocable right with all things pertaining thereto by custom, fields, pastures, meadows, woods, fisheries. And let this property remain freed from all secular business, with three exceptions, raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. If anyone by any device attempts to infringe our gift, may he not deserve mercy here, nor in the future have the favour of the doorkeeper of the heavenly kingdom, unless he makes satisfactory amends beforehand. The aforesaid land indeed is clearly surrounded by these bounds. These are the land-boundaries of Selsey, firstly at Withering, thence by the sea to the Owers, west by the sea to Rumbridge; on by the beach to queen's stone and on by the beach to Hormouth, north along the stream to (Bosham Channel), up along (Bosham Channel) to where Bryn's dyke comes out; west along the dyke to the crooked stream, east along the stream and so south to Withering. This charter was written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 957, of the indiction 15. I, Eadwig, king of the English, have irrevocably agreed. I, Edgar, the king's brother, have agreed. I, Oda, archbishop, have strengthened it with the sign of the holy cross. I, Ælsine, prelate, have impressed the seal of the holy cross. I, Beorhthelm, bishop, have confirmed it. I, Oscytel, bishop, have acquiesced. I, Coenwald, bishop, have signed it. I, Oswulf, bishop, have not objected. I, Æthelwulf, bishop, have closed it. Æthelstan, alderman. Edmund, alderman. Ælfhere, alderman. Æthelwold, alderman. Æthelsige, alderman. Beorhtnoth, alderman. Ælfheah, thegn. Æthelgeard, thegn. Ælfric, thegn. Ælfwine, thegn. Alfred, thegn. Ælfsige, thegn. Ælfwig, thegn. Ælfgar, thegn. Beorhtferth, thegn. Æthelfrith, thegn. Wulfgar, thegn.

1. BCS 997, KCD 464, from (a) DCC Liber Y, f. 74r; (b) Liber A, f. 23r; (c) Liber B, f. 19v. Collation by W. D. Peckham, op. cit., p. 13. Birch's text seems to have been taken from Kemble's collations of Liber Y and Liber B; Kemble's from Dugdale, vi, p. 1166; cf. No. XXXVI, n. 1, and ultimately from Liber B.

2. *Eadwiges* (correctly), Birch and K. See No. XXXVI, n. 16.

3. See No. XXXVI, n. 18.

4. *quam*, Birch and K.

5. *ad superna egregie*, K.

6. *in Christo*, K.

7. Colossians iii. 3.

8. Perhaps the thegn Ælfsige who signs many charters at this time (see No. XXVIII, n. 94); the names Ælfsige and Ælfsine seem to be synonymous; the bishop of Winchester at this time is called by either indiscriminately. The name is, however, common, and there can be no certain identity.

9. The Nicene canons seem to contain nothing relating to improper seizure of Church lands. In 816 the English council of Chelsea, in its 7th canon, enjoined that monastic property was not to be alienated, except for one life or in emergency, e.g. for the relief of famine or devastation (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, p. 582). But even this was not observed in the tenth century, as is shown by the many leases for three lives granted by St. Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961-92).

10. The *Gewisi* properly speaking were the West Saxons, so named from an eponymous ancestor of their royal house. Perhaps by this time Sussex had been under West Saxon domination for so long (well over a century) that the term was loosely applied to all peoples within the West Saxon kingdom. Such a use is, however, quite unparalleled.

11. In 683 these lands had amounted to 55 hides (see No. II). In 1086 and in the time of King Edward the bishop's land in the Manhood was assessed at 36 hides, but Earl Roger held 6½ hides, including the manor of Birdham.

12. For these place-names Birch reads Seleseie, Wythringe, Iechenor, Bridham, Egesawyda, Brimesfasten, Sidlesham; K. reads Selsey, Wystrynges, Iechenor, Bridham, Egesawyda, Brimfaston, Sidelesham. This order is also that of No. II. For the names see notes to No. II.

13. Birch and K. omit *et*.

14. *Ludesey*, K.

15. From Liber B only. No. II has a corresponding gap.

16. In 683 the figures varied as follows: Aldingborne and Lidsey 6, Mundham 8. In 692 (No. IV) the total was 33 hides without any specific mention of Amberley, Houghton, or Coldwaltham. The specific figures here total 34. In 1086 the manor of Aldingborne accounted for 36 hides (but cf. No. XLIX, n. 17). It is difficult, in view of such variations, to be sure how the arithmetical error in the present charter has arisen.

17. *voluisse*, Birch and K.
18. *Eadwig*, Birch and K. See No. XXXVI, n. 18.
19. *placare*, Birch and K.
20. MS. Y has the curious and meaningless form *ineris*.
21. *igitur*, K.
22. Omit, Y. The word is obviously required to make sense.
23. *nostratis* (sic) K.
24. *ita dicens*, K.
25. *Saxonum Australium habita sedes perpetuatur*, K.
26. *co-operatione*, Birch; *comparatione*, K.
27. K. omits all from *prædicta* to *wedingemuðan*.
28. Liber B adds here *Tunc sequuntur bundæ prædictæ terræ in lingua Saxonica* and omits the boundaries.
29. For the boundary-points see No. II, nn. 22–31.
30. Liber Y and Birch read *decelvii*, obviously a transcriber's insignificant slip.
31. *Eadwig*, Birch: *Eadwius*, K. See No. XXXVI, n. 18.
32. *Indeclinate*, K.
33. *Eadgar*, Birch and K. See No. XXXVI, n. 23.
34. K. adds here *celeriter*.
35. K. continues: 'Æðelstan dux. Eadwine dux. Æðelwold dux. Ælfing (*sic*) præsul sigillum agiæ crucis impressi. Ego Brihthelmus episcopus confirmavi, etc.' and ends. Liber B reads as K., down to *confirmavi*, and then ends 'et multi alii episcopi duces et milites consenserunt, etc.'
36. See No. XXX, n. 9.
37. See No. XXXVI, n. 26.
38. Probably the bishop of London: see No. XXXVI, n. 18.
39. See No. XXXVI, n. 25.
40. See No. XXVI, n. 14.
41. *Owulf*, Birch, who also transposes the signatures of the last two bishops. See No. XXXVII, n. 13.
42. See No. XXXVII, n. 15.
43. See No. XXVI, n. 27.
44. See No. XXVIII, n. 76.
45. See No. XXXVI, n. 32.
46. See No. XXXVI, n. 36.
47. See No. XXXII, n. 28.
48. See No. XXXVI, n. 37.
49. See No. XXXII, n. 31.
50. See No. XXXII, n. 30.
51. Ælfric, who was a near relative of the king, signs charters from 953 (CS 900) to 963 (CS 1117).
52. See No. XXXVI, n. 41.
53. See No. XXXII, n. 32.
54. See No. XXVIII, n. 94.
55. Ælfwig signs a few charters in 956–8 (e.g. CS 934, 982, 1035).
56. See No. XXXVII, n. 24.

57. See No. XXXVI, n. 39.

58. Does not appear again. The name is perhaps a corrupt form of *Æthelfrith*.

59. See No. XXXVII, n. 27.

XXXIX¹

Item *Ælfwine*² *prefectus regis de Kent* III *cassatos cenobio prefato pro animula sua coniugisque largitus est in loco qui Sillinctune dicitur. Et illa possessio in Perham post dies Wulnopi*³ *redeat ad prefatum cenobium, quam ab eodem mercatus sum xxx mancuis auri.*

Again, *Ælfwine* the king's sheriff of Kent gave 3 hides to the aforesaid monastery, for his soul and his wife's soul, in the place which is called Sullington. And that property in Parham should revert to the aforesaid monastery after the time of *Wulfnoth*, from whom I bought it for 30 mancuses of gold.

1. BCS 1050, KCD 1223, from a charter in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. This is an extract from the great forged privilege of Dunstan to Westminster Abbey. The workmanship of the charter is of c. 1100. For some account of these forgeries cf. the notes to No. XLV by Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Charters*, pp. 88 et seqq.

2. See No. XXXVI, n. 41. *Ælfwine* was a large landowner, having estates in Berks., Hunts., and Hants (CS 935, 940, 1051, 1227). There seems no authority for connecting him with Kent, but it is of course possible that this charter even though forged may be based on genuine information.

3. A thegn named *Wulfnoth* signs charters of 958 (CS 1043, 1044). In 963 he was the grantee of land in the Thames valley (CS 1123).

XL¹

*Hec etenim sunt terrarum illarum nomina que rex prefatus Wulfrico*² *æternaliter liberavit. Æscesburuh and Deniceswyrð. Garanford, Cifanlea, Stanmere, Ceadelanwyrð, Boxoran, Bennanham, Wyrtingas, Ticceburnan, Steddanhham, Tullingtun, Pæccingas, Puningas, Nitimbre.*

These are the names of those lands which the aforesaid king gave freely and eternally to *Wulfric*. Ashbury and Denchworth, Garford, Chieveley, Stanmere,

Chaddleworth, Boxford, Benham, Worthing, Tichborne, Stedham, Tillington, Patching, Poynings, Newtimber.

1. BCS 1055, KCD 481, from a MS. in the British Museum, Cotton Augustus II. 40. This is a contemporary document of 960 setting out how King Edgar restored to Wulfric lands which he had forfeited for some offence.

2. Evidently the grantor of No. XXXIV, q.v.

XLI¹

Alme auctoritatis agiographa nos altibohando corroborat dicens. *Nudus egressus sum ex utero matris mee, et nudus revertar illuc.*² *Nichil intulimus in hunc mundum verum nec ab eo auferre quid poterimus.*³ Quapropter ego Eadgar⁴ tocius Bryttanniæ basileus quandam telluris particulam viii. videlicet cassatos loco qui cælebri æt Embresham nuncupatur vocabulo domino nostro Jhesu Christo. sanctæque eius æcclesiæ beato Andreae apostolo dicata loco qui cælebri æt Meone nuncupatur onomate ad usus servorum Dei inibi degentium cum omnibus utensilibus pratis videlicet pascuis silvis æterna largitus sum hereditate. *Sit*⁵ *autem predictum rus omni terrene servitutis iugo liberum tribus exceptis rata videlicet expeditione pontis arcisve restauratione. Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit privatus consortio sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris iugiter cum Juda Christi proditore eiusque complicitibus puniatur. Si non satisfactione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. His metis prefatum rus hinc inde gyrat.* Ðis⁶ synt þa land gemero to æmbresham para viii hida ærest on ummanig of ummanig on mearcdene. of mearcdene on þone ealdan fald. of þam ealdan falde on manning stan. of þam stane on gyldesburnan.⁷ of þam burnan on ultres⁸ denu of þære denu on id hilde⁹ stan. of þam stane on woburnan.¹⁰ of woburnan on fearndun.¹¹ of fearndune on bunning fald. of bunning falde on æscfald. of æscfalde on smeagel hyrst of smeagel hyrste on wufincg fald. of wufincg falde. on sihter wic. of sihter wic on slywhyrst of slywhyrst on ummanig. Anno dominicæ incarnationis.

DCCCCLXIII. scripta est hæc carta his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur. Ego Eadgar⁴ rex Anglorum concessi. Ego Dunstan¹² archiepiscopus corroboravi. Ego Oscytel¹³ archiepiscopus confirmavi. Ego Osulf¹⁴ episcopus consolidavi. Ego Byrhtelm¹⁵ episcopus adquevi. Ego Aþelwold¹⁶ abbas. Ego Aelfhere¹⁷ dux. Ego Aelfheah¹⁸ dux. Ego Aþelstan¹⁹ dux. Ego Aþelwine²⁰ dux. Ego Byrhtferð²¹ dux. Ego Byrhtferð²² minister. Ego Aelfwine²³ minister. Ego Aþelsige²⁴ minister. Ego Wulfstan²⁵ minister. Ego Aelfsige minister.

The divine writer of heavenly authority thunders forth for the strengthening of our souls, saying, 'Naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked I will return.' 'We have brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out.' Wherefore I, Edgar, king of all Britain, have granted in eternal inheritance a certain piece of land, that is, 8 hides in the place which the inhabitants call by the name of Ambersham to our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy church dedicated to St. Andrew the apostle in the place which the inhabitants call by the name of Meon, for the use of the servants of God living there, with all its utilities, that is, meadows, pastures, woods. And may the aforesaid land be free from all the yoke of earthly services, with three exceptions, namely, raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. If anyone wishes to remove our gift which we have set up in any way, may he be deprived from the fellowship of God's Holy Church, and punished in the eternal mournful fires of Hell, with Judas the betrayer of Christ and his accomplices, if he does not make amends with restitution appropriate to the extent of his crime against our decree. The aforesaid land is surrounded from point to point by these bounds. These are the land-boundaries at Ambersham of the 8 hides. Firstly at Hombly, of Hombly to the boundary valley, from the boundary valley to the old fold, from the old fold to Mann's stone, from the stone to the (?) idol's stream, from the stream to (?) Ulthere's valley, from

the valley to Idhild's stone, from the stone to Oeburne, from Oeburne to Fernden, from Fernden to Bunna's fold, from Bunna's fold to the ash fold, from the ash fold to the *smeagel* wood, from the *smeagel* wood to Wufa's fold, from Wufa's fold to the ditch farm, from the ditch farm to the tench wood, from the tench wood to Hombly. In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 963 this charter was written with the consent of these witnesses whose names are set out below. I, Edgar, king of the English, have granted it. I, Dunstan, archbishop, have corroborated it. I, Oscytel, archbishop, have confirmed it. I, Oswulf, bishop, have consolidated it. I, Beorhthelm, bishop, have acquiesced. I Æthelwold, abbot. I, Ælfhere, alderman. I, Æthelwine, alderman. I, Byrhtferth, alderman. I, Byrhtferth, thegn. I, Ælfwine, thegn. I, Æthelsige, thegn. I, Wulfstan, thegn. I, Ælfsige, thegn.

1. BCS 1114, KCD 1243, from the twelfth-century chartulary of Winchester now in the British Museum, Additional MS. 15350, f. 36v.

2. Job i. 21.

3. 1 Timothy vi. 7. This quotation is a common one in charters; cf. Nos. I and II. For an account of its use see J. Armitage Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 51-3.

4. See No. XXXVI, n. 23.

5. The exemption and anathema clauses of this charter are those in almost universal use at the period. The anathema *Si quis . . . decretum* is found in over sixty charters from 960 to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.

6. For some discussion of these boundaries see *P. N. Sx.*, pp. 97-8, n. 2.

7. *Gyld* means a payment of money, a sacrifice, and hence the object of such a sacrifice, i.e. a deity, idol; it is also used for the modern English *guild*. See Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 476. None of these meanings seems particularly applicable to a stream.

8. Perhaps for **Ultheres*? The same first element is found in Domesday, *Ultbeorht* (Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 468).

9. *Idhild* is a woman's name.

10. Mr. L. F. Salzman informs me that the house of Verdley Farm is still called *Oeburne*. Near the farm is a very tortuous stream. *Woburn* means 'winding stream'.

11. Perhaps Fernden, of which no forms are given in *P. N. Sx.* The modern spelling *Fernden* would seem to imply OE. *denu*, 'valley'; but Fernden is on high ground, over 600 ft. up, and 'fern

hill' would seem to be an appropriate name. The name of the adjoining parish, Fernhurst, suggests that there was a very large area covered with fern or bracken.

12. St. Dunstan was born in 909 or 910; he became abbot of Glastonbury *c.* 943, bishop of Worcester 957, bishop of London 959, archbishop of Canterbury 960, and died 19 May 988.

13. See No. XXXVI, n. 25.

14. See No. XXXVII, n. 23.

15. See No. XXXVI, n. 18. This is the bishop of Wells.

16. St. Æthelwold was abbot of Abingdon; he was consecrated bishop of Winchester on 29 Nov. 963, and died on 1 Aug. 984.

17. See No. XXXVI, n. 32.

18. Ælfheah was alderman of Hampshire, 959–71 (Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 338 f.). The date of his death is given by Florence of Worcester.

19. See No. XXVI, n. 27.

20. Æthelwine was alderman of East Anglia, 962–24 April 992 (Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles*, p. 407).

21. See No. XXXVII, n. 17.

22. See No. XXXVI, n. 39.

23. See Nos. XXXVI, n. 41 and XXXIX, n. 2.

24. Æthelsige signs charters from 958 (CS 1032) to 994 (CD 687). In 965–6 (CS 1169, 1176) the name occurs twice, probably by simple dittography.

25. Wulfstan signs charters from 961 (CS 1076) to 974 (CS 1303).

26. Cf. No. XXVIII, n. 94. The name of Ælfsige occurs in charters almost throughout the tenth century. It appears once among the signatories of charters up to 956; in 956–8 twice, once near the top of the list and once near the bottom (No. XXXVII, CS 1022, 1028–30, 1042). In CS 1032 we have an Ælfsige *dux*, but this is probably a mistake. In 959 and 960 it appears once; from 961 (CS 1066) to 973 (CS 1292) twice, both relatively near the bottom; then until 995 (CD 692, 1289) once, latterly heading the list of *ministri*. In 973 (CS 1297) Ælfsige signs as *discifer*. The *discōegn* was a regular member of the Anglo-Saxon royal household. We can thus distinguish three Ælfsige's during the second half of the tenth century: Ælfsige I, of No. XXVIII, n. 94, signs up to 958; Ælfsige II, overlapping his namesake, from 956 to 973; Ælfsige III, from 961 to 995. The present signatory may be either Ælfsige II or III.

XLII¹

Cuncta seculorum patrimonia incertis nepotum heredibus relinquuntur et omnis mundi gloria appropinquante debite mortis termino ad nichilum reducta fatescit. Hujus rei gratia terrenis caducarum rerum possessionibus semper mansura superne patrie emulu-

menta (*sic*) adipiscentes domino juvante lucremur. Quapropter lubrici potentatus non inmemor ego Eadgar² Christo conferente rex et primicerius³ tocius Albionis Regni fastigium humili presidens animo ob remunerationem majoris premii aliquantulam Ruris particulam. IIII. videlicet cassatos loco qui celebri æt Easthealle profertur ad ecclesiam beate Marie genitricis Dei ac domini nostri Jhesu Christi in loco qui dicitur Abbendun ad usus ibidem fratrum Deo servientium libenter concedo. obsecrans et precipiens in nomine Christi ut nemo successorum nostrorum superioris vel inferioris gradus hoc nostre devotionis donum aliquo temeritatis aliquatenus instinctu disrumpat. Sit⁴ autem predictum rus omni terrene servitutis iugo liberum exceptis rata videlicet expeditione pontis arcisve restauratione. Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit privatus consortio sancte Dei ecclesie eternis baratri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Juda Christi proditore ejusque complicibus puniatur si non satisfaccione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. His metis prefatum rus hinc inde giratur. Þis sind þa land gemæra to þam IIII hida to heast healle east be þam burnan ut oðða sæ and from þære ealdan heðe ut oð mearc andlang dun and snæp and scammandun and scortanwida into east healle. Anno dominice incarnationis. deccc.lx.iii. Scripta est hec carta his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina notantur. Ego Eadgar² Rex Anglorum consensi. Ego Dunstan⁵ archiepiscopus corroboravi. Ego Oscutel⁶ archiepiscopus confirmavi. Ego Osulf⁷ episcopus consolidavi. Ego Byrhtelm⁸ episcopus corroboravi. Ego Osuuold⁹ episcopus adquievi. Ego Apeluuoold¹⁰ abbas. Ego Ælfric¹¹ abbas. Ego Æscuuig¹² abbas. Ego Alfuuoold¹³ abbas. Ego Ælfhere¹⁴ dux. Ego Ælfheah¹⁵ dux. Ego Apelstan¹⁶ dux. Ego Apeluuine¹⁷ dux. Ego Beorhtnoð¹⁸ dux. Ego Byrhtferð¹⁹ minister.²⁰ Ælfuuine.²¹ Apelsige.²² Uulfhelm.²³ Alfwold.²⁴ Uulfstan.²⁵ Ælf-sige.²⁶ Ealdred.²⁷ Ælfric.²⁸

All the property of this world is bequeathed to fallible

heirs and relatives and all the glory of the world appears reduced to nothing at the approach of the end of due death. Therefore by the aid of the Lord we should acquire and obtain the permanent advantages of the heavenly kingdom with the earthly possessions of transitory things. Therefore, not unmindful of my fleeting power, I, Edgar, by gift of Christ king and superintendent, presiding at the head of the whole kingdom of Britain with humble mind, do grant freely, for the receipt of greater reward, a certain piece of land, that is 4 hides in the place which is frequently called East Hale²⁹ to the Church of St. Mary the mother of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ in the place which is called Abingdon for the use of the brothers serving God there: praying and ordering in Christ's name that none of our successors of higher or of lower grade may in any way, with feelings of rashness, break this gift of my devotion. And may the aforesaid land be free from all the yoke of earthly services, with three exceptions, namely raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. If anyone wishes to remove our gift which we have set up, in any way, may he be deprived of the fellowship of God's Holy Church and punished in the eternal mournful fires of Hell, with Judas the betrayer of Christ and his accomplices, if he does not make amends with restitution appropriate to the extent of his crime against our decree. The aforesaid land is surrounded from point to point by these bounds. These are the land-boundaries of the 4 hides at East Hale, east by the bourne out to the sea and from the old landing-place to the boundary along the hill, and Snap and Scamma's hill and the short wood pertain to East Hale. In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 963 this charter was written with the assent of the witnesses whose names are set out below. I, Edgar, king of the English, have agreed. I, Dunstan, archbishop, have corroborated it. I, Oscytel, archbishop, have confirmed it. I, Oswulf, bishop, have consolidated it. I, Beorhthelm, bishop, have corroborated it. I, Oswald, bishop, have acquiesced. I, Æthelwold, abbot. I, Ælfric, abbot. I,

Æscwig, abbot. I, Ælfwold, abbot. I, Ælfhere, alderman. I, Ælfheah, alderman. I, Æthelstan, alderman. I, Æthelwine, alderman. I, Beorhtnoth, alderman. I, Byrhtferth, thegn. Ælfwine, Æthelsige, Wulfhelm. Ælfwold, Wulfstan, Ælfsige, Ealdred, Ælfric.

1. BCS 1124, KCD 1249, from Cotton MS. Claudius B vi, f. 80^r. This is the chartulary of Abingdon Abbey, which also contains the two Washington charters.

2. See No. XXXVI, n. 23.

3. See No. XXXV, n. 3.

4. See No. XLI, n. 5.

5. See No. XLI, n. 12.

6. See No. XXXVI, n. 25.

7. See No. XXXVII, n. 23.

8. See No. XXXVI, n. 18. This is the bishop of Wells.

9. St. Oswald was appointed bishop of Worcester in 961 and archbishop of York in 972; he continued to hold both sees together until his death on 29 Feb. 992.

10. See No. XLI, n. 16.

11. Ælfric was abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury; he signs charters from 958 (CS 1030) to 969 (CS 1230).

12. Æscwig was abbot of Bath and signs charters as such from here to 975 (CS 1316), also a charter of Edward the Martyr, perhaps belonging to 977 (CD 1277); in CD 1276 (956 perhaps for 976) he is called *dux* by an accidental mistranscription. He became bishop of Dorchester, signing charters as bishop from 979 (CD 621) to 1002 (CD 1295).

13. Abbot Ælfwold signs charters of 959 (CS 1030, 1045, and an Abingdon forgery, CS 1046), 963 (CS 1120), 980 (CD 624), 982 (CD 663), 993 (CD 684), 996 (CD 696), 1001–2 (CD 705, 707). Owing to the gaps in sequence it is impossible to be quite sure that these signatures are all of the same person. There is, however, no evidence of the existence of any other abbot Ælfwold at this time, and no *a priori* objection to an abbot holding his office for rather over forty years. In CD 684 the name of his abbey is given in a contracted form, printed by Kemble as *wind*. No abbey of such a name is known to have existed. Examination of the original MS. (Cotton Augustus II, 38) shows that the *d* of *wind* is decidedly open-looking, and I think that it should rather be read *wincl*, which would be a normal abbreviation for Winchcombe (*Wincelcumbiæ* or the like in a Latin text). Quite likely, Ælfwold was abbot of Winchcombe, c. 959–1002.

14. See No. XXXII, n. 32.

15. See No. XLI, n. 18.

16. See No. XXVI, n. 27.

17. See No. XLI, n. 20.

18. See No. XXXVI, n. 37.

19. See No. XXXVI, n. 39.
 20. The remainder of the attestations are in the form *Ego N. minister.*
 21. See Nos. XXXVI, n. 41 and XXXIX, n. 2.
 22. See No. XLI, n. 24.
 23. Wulfhelm was the beneficiary of CS 987 in 957, and signs charters thence to No. XLIII (963).
 24. Cf. No. XXXVI, n. 42.
 25. See No. XLI, n. 25.
 26. See No. XLI, n. 26.
 27. Ealdred signs charters from 958 (CS 1027, 1035) to here; one in 967 (CS 1198); and a doubtful charter dated 955, of which the witness-list seems to belong to 972 or 973 (CS 1295).
 28. Ælfric signs charters from 956 (CS 932) to 973 (CS 1292).
 29. See *P. N. Sx.*, s.v. 'East Hale Bottom'. The land which forms the subject of this charter is now part of Eastbourne.

XLIII¹

Altitrono in eternum regnante universis sophie studium intento mentis conamine sedulo Rimantibus liquido patescit quod hujus vite periculis nimio ingruentibus terrore Recidivi terminus cosmi appropinquare dinoscitur ut veridica Christi promulgat sententia qua dicit. Surget gens contra gentem et Regnum adversus regnum,² et reliqua. Quamobrem ego Eadgar³ tocius Britannie basileus quandam telluris particulam. xx.iii.⁴ videlicet cassatos loco qui celebri æt Wasingatune nuncupatur onomate cuidam presuli qui ab hujusce patrie gnosticis noto Apeluold⁵ nuncupatur vocabulo ob eternam anime mee Remunerationem perpetua largitus sum hereditate. ut vita comite voti compos possideat et post vite sue terminum quibuscumque voluerit cleronomis immunem derelinquat. *Sit⁶ autem predictum Rus omni terrene servitutis jugo liberum. tribus exceptis Rata videlicet expeditione pontis arcisve Restauratione. Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit privatus a consortio sancte Dei ecclesie eternis baratri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Juda Christi proditore ejusque complicibus puniatur si non satisfaccione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. His metis prefatum Rus hinc inde gyatur.* Ðis⁷ sind þa land gemæra to wasingatuna ærest

of horninga dene to bennan beorges þonon ealdan cristes-
 mæle. of þam cristes mæle to blacan pole. of þam pole
 to dunnan heafde. þonon to hunnes cnolle to geoc
 burnan þonon to dunham lea. of þam lea to readdan
 wylle of þam wylle to lidgeardes beorge þonne to tate-
 mannes beorgelese of þan beorgelse to hæþburge hlawe
 þanne up to þære stan erigan. of þære stan erigan to
 wyum stealle þonon to heregræfen. of heregrafan⁸
 west to twam þorñ þonon to Remnes dune. of þære
 dune to scortan dene þonon to wigan campe. of wigan
 campe eft on horninga dene. Þonne sind þis þa den
 bæra. Ærest wynburge spear þonne se westra crochyrst.
 þonne oðer croc hyrst. þonne þridda crochyrst þonne
 horsham þonne yfeles leah þonne heaseluuic. þonne
 gate wic. þonne Ridan fald. þonne scacel uuic þonne
 hunreding fald forð oð hrycg. Anno dominice incarna-
 tionis. dcccc.lx.iii scripta est hec carta his testibus con-
 sentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur. Ego
 Eadgar³ rex Anglorum concessi. Ego Dunstan⁹ archi-
 episcopus corroboraui. Ego Oscutel¹⁰ archiepiscopus
 confirmaui. Ego Osulf¹¹ episcopus consolidavi. Ego
 Eadelm¹² episcopus adqueiui. Ego Ælfhere¹³ dux. Ego
 Ælfheah¹⁴ dux. Ego Apelstan¹⁵ dux. Ego Apeluaine¹⁶
 dux. Ego Eadmund¹⁷ dux. Ego Byrhtferð¹⁸ minister.¹⁹
 Apelsige.²⁰ Alfuuine.²¹ Uulfhelm.²² Uulfstan.²³ Apel-
 uueard.²⁴ Ælfsige.²⁵ Ælfric.²⁶ Alfuuold.²⁷ Ælfsige.²⁵

With the High-enthroned reigning for ever, it be-
 comes clearly apparent to those who with devout effort
 of mind consider the pursuit of knowledge, that with the
 greatly-feared perils of this life pressing on, the end of
 the doomed earth is recognized as approaching, as the
 true word of Christ sets forth in which he says 'Nations
 will rise up against nations and kingdoms against king-
 doms', and so on. Wherefore I, Edgar, king of all
 Britain, have granted in eternal heredity a certain piece
 of land, that is, 24 hides in the place which is frequently
 called by the name of Washington, to a certain bishop
 who by the wise men of this country is called by the
 name of Æthelwold, for the eternal reward of my soul;

that during his lifetime, while he has power over his wishes, he may have it, and after the end of his life he may leave it freely to whatever heirs he pleases. And let the aforesaid land be free from all the yoke of earthly services, with three exceptions, namely raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. If anyone wishes to remove our gift which we have set up, in any way, may he be deprived of the fellowship of God's Holy Church and punished in the eternal mournful fires of Hell, with Judas the betrayer of Christ and his accomplices, if he does not make amends with restitution appropriate to the extent of his crime against our decree. The aforesaid land is surrounded from point to point by these bounds. These are the land-boundaries of Washington, firstly at Horn's people's valley, to Benna's hill, thence to the old Christ's cross, from the cross to the shining pool, from the pool to Dunna's hill-top, thence to Hun's knoll, to the helpful stream, thence to *dunham* clearing, from the clearing to the red spring, from the spring to Leodgeard's hill, thence to Tatmonn's burial-place, from the burial-place to Hatheburh's mound, thence up to the stone hill, from the stone hill to *wyrum stealle*, thence to the entrenchment, from the entrenchment west to the two thorns, thence to Ramsdean, from that valley to the short valley, thence to the warrior's battle, from the warrior's battle to Horn's people's valley. These are its swine-pastures, Firstly Wynburh's spear, then west Crockhurst, then another Crockhurst, then the third Crockhurst, then Horsham, then Yfel's clearing, then Hazelwick, then Gotwick, then the red fold, then the shackle farm, then Hunnæd's fold, on to the ridge. In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 963 this charter was written with the consent of these witnesses whose names are set out below. I, Edgar, king of the English, have conceded it. I, Dunstan, archbishop, have corroborated it. I, Oscytel, archbishop, have confirmed it. I, Oswulf, bishop, have consolidated it. I, Eadhelm, bishop, have acquiesced. I, Ælfhere, alderman. I, Ælfheah, alderman. I, Æthelstan, alderman. I, Æthelwine, alderman. I, Edmund, alderman. I,

Beorhtferth, thegn. Æthelsige. Ælfwine. Wulfhelm.
Wulfstan. Æthelweard. Ælfsige. Ælfric. Ælfwold.
Ælfsige.

1. BCS 1125, KCD 1250, from Cotton MS. Claudius B vi, f. 82v.
2. Matt. xxiv. 7.
3. See No. XXXVI, n. 23.
4. In 947 (No. XXXIII) there were only 20 hides; but as the boundaries given here differ somewhat from those of the previous charter, it is possible that the present grant embraces slightly more land. In King Edward's time (1042-66) the manor of Washington paid geld for 59 hides; but as it included Bramber Castle it must have been much more extensive than the present grant. The land was exchanged by Æthelwold for land at Yaxley, Hunts., and Ailsworth, Northants. (No. XLVII) before 975.
5. See No. XLI, n. 16.
6. See No. XLI, n. 5.
7. For the boundary-points see No. XXXIII, nn. 7-18.
8. No. XXXIII has *heregrafe*. There seems to be confusion here between two words; *graf*, *græf*, masc. (dat. *grafe*, *græfe*), 'grave, trench', and *græfa*, fem. (dat. *græfan*), 'hole'—glossed *spelunca*. The form *græfan* is a normal variant of the latter (*ex inf.* Dr. A. H. Smith). The first element of the compound, *here* means 'army', and the meaning 'entrenchment' seems virtually unaffected whether *graf* or *græfa* was used.
9. See No. XLI, n. 12.
10. See No. XXXVI, n. 25.
11. See No. XXXVII, n. 23.
12. Eadhelm, bishop of Selsey, signs charters from here to 979 (CD 621). His successor Æthelgar was consecrated on 2 May 980.
13. See No. XXXII, n. 32.
14. See No. XLI, n. 18.
15. See No. XXVI, n. 27.
16. See No. XLI, n. 20.
17. See No. XXVIII, n. 76.
18. See No. XXXVI, n. 39.
19. The remainder of the attestations are in the form *Ego N. minister*.
20. See No. XLI, n. 24.
21. See Nos. XXXVI, n. 41, and XXXIX, n. 2.
22. See No. XLII, n. 23.
23. See No. XLI, n. 25.
24. See No. XXXVI, n. 43.
25. See No. XLI, n. 26.
26. See No. XLII, n. 28.
27. Cf. No. XXXVI, n. 42.

XLIV¹

Ego Eadgar² totius Britannie basileus quasdas (*sic*) villas ut nominentur Dunnetone³ habens quinque hidas terre et ecclesia (*sic*). Sueise cum viginti octo hidis terre et ecclesia⁴ . . . do et concedo.

I, Edgar, king of all Britain, do give and concede certain manors named Donnington, having five hides of land and a church, Southease with twenty-eight hides of land and a church, Telscombe with ten hides of land and a church.

1. This is an extract from a charter, BCS 1191, KCD 523, from the Cotton MS. *Vespasian A viii*, f. 34. Another copy (B) appears at f. 39. The charter purports to be a grant of lands by King Edgar to the New Minster at Winchester. The lands in question belonged to the abbey T.R.E., so that the charter probably contains genuine information. It is not, however, genuine in its present form.

2. See No. XXXVI, n. 23.

3. *Dunketone*, B.

4. Telscombe is not separately assessed in D.B.; the present church there is of twelfth-century and later date.

XLV¹

Nos itaque ad laudem nominis domini et ad honorem sancti Petri terras quæ hic karaxantur ibidem donavimus, holewelle, decewrthe, wattune, cillingtune.

We, therefore, in praise of the Lord's name and in honour of St. Peter, have given lands which are named here, Holwell, Datchworth, Watton, Chollington.²

1. This is an extract from a lengthy forged charter purporting to be a grant of lands and privileges by King Edgar to Westminster, and printed by Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Charters*, No. VI, q.v. The charter is dated 15 May 969.

2. See *S.A.C.* LXII, pp. 123 f.

XLVI¹

Ego Ædgarus, tocius Albionis basileus, monasterium quod stabilitum in insula est que a solicolis celebri Ely nuncupatur onomate, cum binis extra prefatam insulam territoriis, que hiis ex more vocitantur nominibus Melde-

burna et Ærningaford, pro vico ruris mutacione quod Hertingas dicitur Ædelwoldo, venerabili valde viro, Wyntoniensis videlicet ecclesie antistiti, perpetua largitus sum hereditate.

I, Edgar, king of all Albion, have granted in eternal heredity to the venerable man Æthelwold, bishop, that is, of the church of Winchester, the monastery which is founded in the island which is called by the inhabitants by the name of Ely, with two pieces of land outside the aforesaid island, which are customarily called by these names, Melbourne and Armingford, in exchange for land which is called Harting.

1. BCS 1265, KCD 564, from Stowe MS. ii, f. 13v. This is an extract from a charter of 970; cf. No. XLVII, below.

XLVII¹

Locus denique predictus deficiente servitio Dei nostra ætate regali fisco subditus erat, sed a secretis noster Atheluuoldus Deique amator diocesi Uuintoniensis civitatis fungens, datis nobis sexaginta cassatis in villa quæ ab accolis Heartingas nuncupatur mutuavit locum predictum cum appendiciis ejus. augmentavique mutuationi tres villas quæ his nominibus vocitantur Meldeburna, Earmingaford, Northuuold.

The aforesaid place, then, the service of God having ceased,² was in our time subjected to the royal exchequer, but our adviser Æthelwold, the friend of God, on assuming the bishopric of the city of Winchester, obtained the aforesaid place with its appendages in exchange, giving us sixty hides in the manor which is called by its inhabitants Harting; and I have added to the exchange three manors which are called by these names, Melbourne, Armingford, Northwold.³

*Anglo-Saxon version of the same*⁴

Nu wæs se halga stede yvele forlæten mid læssan ðeowdome þonne us gelicode nu on urum timan. and eac wæs gehwyrfed þam cyninge to handa ic cweðe be me sylfum. ac Atheluuold bisceop þe his min rædbora

and soð Godes freond sealde me to gehwærfe þone ham Heartingas on sixtigum hidum wið þam mynster lande þe lið into Helig. and ic þa geacnode into Ælig mynstre þas ðry hamas ðe þus sind gehatene. Meldeburna. Earningaford. Norðwold.

In our time the holy place was sadly neglected, with less service than pleased us, and it had also passed into the king's possession—I speak of myself—but Bishop Æthelwold, who is my adviser and the true friend of God, gave me in exchange the manor of Harting, consisting of sixty hides, in return for the monastic land belonging to Ely, and I added to the monastery at Ely the three manors which are called Melbourne, Armingford, and Northwold.

1. BCS 1266, KCD 563, from Brit. Mus. Stowe Charter 31, and Cotton MS. Augustus II, 13a.

2. That is, Ely. 'The service having ceased' refers to the fact that there had been a monastery there before, founded by St. Æthelthryth (Audrey) in the seventh century.

3. Melbourne is in Cambridgeshire; Northwold in Norfolk; Armingford survives as the name of a Cambridgeshire hundred.

4. BCS 1267, Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, No. XLVIII. The translation given here is Miss Robertson's (on p. 101). It will be noticed that the two versions, although substantially the same, differ considerably in detail.

XLVIII¹

Her sutelað on þyssum gewrite þet Apelwold bisceop and Wulstan Uccea hwyrfdon landa on Eadgares cyninges and on his witena gewytnesse. Se bisceop sealde Wulstane þet land æt Hwessingatune and Wulstan sealde him þet land æt Jaceslea and æt Ægeleswurðe. þa sealde se bisceop þet land æt Jaceslea into þornige and þet æt Ægeleswyrðe into Buruh.

Here is declared in this writing that Bishop Æthelwold and Wulfstan Uccea exchanged lands in the presence of King Edgar and of his advisers. The bishop gave Wulfstan the land at Washington and Wulfstan gave him the land at Yaxley and at Ailsworth. Then the bishop gave the land at Yaxley to Thorney and that at Ailsworth to Peterborough.

1. BCS 1131, Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, No. XXXVII, q.v. The same exchange is referred to in the Thorney foundation charter (CS 1297), dated 973, 'Viginti quinque mansas que Geakeslea nominantur quas dedit sanete Dei genetrici semperque virgini Mariæ æt Pornige mutuavit a Wulstano primo cum xxxiiii mansis in Wassen-gatune in Sudsexon.' In this passage the *xxiiii* is probably a mistake for *xxiii* (cf. No. XLIII).

XLIX¹

Domino² dominorum dominante in secula seculorum regna regnorum huius presentis seculi transeant sicut ignominica et omnis gloria et iocus huius mundi peribit et non sunt eterna sed superna eterna sunt. Unde ego Adelredus³ rex Anglorum gubernator et rector cuidam fidei meo ministro quem nonnulli vocitant noto nomine leofstan⁴ iijj mansas eternaliter concedo, illi⁵ ubi Anglica appellatione dicitur æt Colewerðe.⁶ ut hoc diebus suis possideat tramitibusque vite sue et post se cuicumque voluerit heredi derelinquat in eternam hereditatem. Si autem tempore contigerit aliquo quempiam hominem⁷ aliquem libellum ob istarum apicum adnichilationem in palam producere sit omnimodis ab omnibus hominum ordinibus condempnatus omnique abolitus industria veritatis cuiuscumque regum antecessorum tempore fuerit perscriptus. Maneat igitur meum hoc immobile donum eterna libertate iocundum cum universis que rite ad eundem locum pertinere dinoscuntur campis, pascuis pratis, silvis sine expeditione et pontis arcisve instructione. Si quis autem in propria temeritate violenter invadere presumpserit; sciat se proculdubio ante tribunal districti iudicis titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum nisi prius digna hic satisfactione emendare maluerit. Istis terminis ambitur predicta tellus.⁸ ærest of ðam hliðgate to wican stigele ðanon to ælriðe ho.⁹ þannon andlang mores to tilmundes ho. þanan andlang mores to beorganstedeinga¹⁰ mearce. þanne andlange mores to baberham.¹¹ þanne to ðelbrycge¹² þanne¹³ ðanen to sealgate. ðannen to michele¹⁴ memerinn. þanen to sealt rode. þanen to feðer cuncan¹⁵ riðe.¹⁶ þanne to ðelbrige.¹² þanne eft to þan hliðgate and on hage on Cycester.¹⁷ Anno dominice incarnationis. dcccc.lxxx.viiij. indi-

ctione. i.¹⁸ scripta est hec cartula hiis testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur. Ego ælredus¹⁹ rex anglorum prefatam donationem concessi. Ego adelgarus²⁰ dorovernensis ecclesie archiepiscopus cum signo sancte crucis roboravi. Ego ospoldus²¹ Eboracensis ecclesie archiepiscopus crucis taumate adnotavi. Ego Ælfeagus²² episcopus confirmavi. Ego Ælstanus²³ episcopus corroboravi.²⁴ Ego Ædelstanus²⁵ episcopus consensi. Ego Ædelwoldus²⁶ episcopus non renui. Ego Ædelsinus²⁷ episcopus conclusi. Ego sigericus²⁸ episcopus annui. Ego æscwygus²⁹ episcopus consolidavi. Ego Sygegarus³⁰ episcopus consignavi. Ego æðelwine³¹ dux. Ego Byrctnod³² dux. Ego ælfrich³³ dux. Ego pured³⁴ dux. Ego³⁵ Wulfrig³⁶ miles. Ego ædelrig³⁷ miles. Ego ælfrich³⁸ miles. Ego ælfelm³⁹ miles. Ego wulfrich⁴⁰ miles. Ego ælgar⁴¹ miles. Ego leofrich⁴² miles. Ego ordulf⁴³ miles. Ego wulfeah⁴⁴ miles. Ego ælwold⁴⁵ miles. Ego brithwold⁴⁶ miles. Ego ordbrith⁴⁷ abbas. Ego loefrich⁴⁸ abbas. Ego ædwine⁴⁹ abbas. Ego æluere⁵⁰ abbas. Ego ælfsige⁵¹ abbas.

The Lord of lords reigns world without end and the governments of the kingdoms of this present world disappear with ignominy, and all the glory and pleasure of this world will perish and are not eternal, but heavenly things are eternal. Whence I, Æthelred, king, governor and ruler of the English, do grant in perpetuity to a certain faithful thegn of mine, whom many call by the well-known name of Leofstan, 4 hides in the place where in English nomenclature it is called at Colworth; that he may possess it during the days and courses of his life and leave it after him in perpetual inheritance to whatever heir he pleases. But if it happens at any time that any man brings to light any charter for the cancellation of this one, may it be condemned in every way by all ranks of men and denied all authenticity, in whatever earlier king's time it was written. Let this my grant remain fixed and enjoyed in perpetual freedom with all things which are known to pertain by custom to the said place, fields, pastures, meadows, except

raising of troops and building of bridges and forts. If anyone with rashness shall presume to make violent incursions upon it; let him know that doubtless in fear and trembling he will render account before the tribunal of the last judgement, unless he previously prefers to make amends with suitable recompense. The aforesaid land is described by these bounds. Firstly from the swing-gate, to the farm stile, thence to the corner by the eel-stream, thence along the marsh to Tilmund's corner, thence along the marsh to the boundary of Bersted, thence along the marsh to Babsham, thence to Elbridge, thence to the gate by the shallows, hence to the great *memerinn*, thence to the salt cross, thence to the feather church stream, thence to Elbridge, thence to the swing-gate, and one haw in Chichester. In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 988, of the indiction 1, this charter was written with the agreement of these witnesses whose names are set out below. I, Æthelred, king of the English, have conceded the aforesaid grant. I, Æthelgar, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have strengthened it with the sign of the holy cross. I, Oswald, archbishop of the church of York, have noted it with the sign of the cross. I, Ælfheah, bishop, have confirmed it. I, Ælfstan, bishop, have corroborated it. I, Æthelstan, bishop, have agreed. I, Æthelwold, bishop, have not objected. I, Æthelsige, bishop, have closed it. I, Sigeric, bishop, have assented. I, Æscwig, bishop, have consolidated it. I, Sigegar, bishop, have signed it. I, Æthelwine, alderman. I, Beorhtnoth, alderman. I, Ælfric, alderman. I, Thured, alderman. I, Wulfsize, thegn. I, Æthelsige, thegn. I, Ælfric, thegn. I, Ælfhelm, thegn. I, Wulfric, thegn. I, Ælfgar, thegn. I, Leofric, thegn. I, Ordwulf, thegn. I, Wulfheah, thegn. I, Ælfwold, thegn. I, Beorhtwold, thegn. I, Ordbeorht, abbot. I, Leofric, abbot. I, Edwin, abbot. I, Ælfhere, abbot. I, Ælfsize, abbot.

1. KCD 663, from (a) DCC Liber Y, f. 73v, and (b) Liber B, f. 20r. I am indebted to Mr. W. D. Peckham for collating the text of Liber B and for lending me a photostat of the relevant part of Liber Y. The printed text is from Liber Y.

2. The formulae used in Æthelred's charters were mostly old ones revived. The portions printed here in italics occur in a charter of 951 (CS 891), and so do the words *Maneat igitur . . . dinoscuntur* (CS 892).

3. Altered from *Adelbert*, MS. The heading reads *Donatio de Coleworð facta per Adelbert' Regem Anglorum*. This mistake is due to the fact that a charter of Æthelberht of Sussex (No. X) occurs immediately before in the MS. Liber B reads *Ethelredus*; K. reads *Æðelredus*. Æthelred II, called *Unræd* or 'the Ill-advised', reigned from 978 to 30 Apr. 1016.

4. Probably the Leofstan who was sent on an embassy to Richard, duke of Normandy, in 991 (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, § 166).

5. *Sic*, MS.; *illic* (correctly), K.

6. *Coleworð*, K.; *at Coleworth*, B. Colworth, in Oving parish (1-in. O.S. Sheet 181, M.R. 914028) is 3 miles NNW. of Bognor Pier.

7. *hominum*, K. The MS. reading for this and for *hominum* immediately below is *hōm*; *hominem* is clearly required here to agree with *quempiam*.

8. B. inserts here *Hic sequuntur partes distincte in lingua Saxonica*, &c., and omits the bounds.

9. *ho*, earlier *hoh*, originally means 'heel', and hence an angular piece of land resembling a heel in shape (see KCD, III, p. xxvi). *ælrið* is the 'eel-stream' (cf. No. I, n. 37, the boundary of Colworth marches with that of Tangmere at this point). The name probably refers to a triangle of land formed by a bend in the stream. Aldingbourne Rife has no conspicuous bends in it now, but it has been straightened to some extent in the course of modern cultivation and irrigation. K. reads *Ælfriðe* as if it were a pers. name; this is impossible as *Ælfrið* could only represent the OE. male names *Æðelfrið* or *Ælffrið*, both of which had genitives in *-s*, as *Ælfriðes ho*.

10. K. reads *Beorganstedinga*. The ending *-ingas* (gen. *-inga*) is found in place-names attached to a pers. name, with the meaning 'sons of', 'people of', the holder of the name being an early tribal leader. See Worthing, Patching, &c., in *P. N. Sx*. This example and those in No. XXXVII show that it could be attached in quite late times to an existing place-name. The strict meaning of this phrase is 'boundary of the people of Bersted'.

11. *Sic* for *babesham*. See No. I, n. 24.

12. See No. I, n. 25. K. has initial *þ* in each case.

13. *Sic* for *þanne*. K. reads *ðanne*.

14. K. reads *mycele*.

15. This word is meaningless. K. reads, probably correctly but against the MS. authority, *cirican* (church).

16. K. reads *siðe*. While the *r*'s and *s*'s of this MS. are not always easy to distinguish, the meaning of *siðe* (which might come from *sip*, 'journey', or from *siðe*, 'scythe') would not be clear in this context.

In this well-watered, low-lying country the reading *riðe*, 'stream', is much the more probable.

17. *Haga* means originally any kind of enclosure, but is found in charters with the special sense of a town plot, especially one containing a building—although this sense is probably secondary. The association of a building with a *haga* is clearly shown by an original charter of 1044 (CD 773) which speaks of *se haga binnan port þe ægelric himsýlfan getimbrod hæfde*—'the haw within the town which Ægelric himself had built'. A charter of 996 (CD 696) preserved in the St. Albans chartulary, speaks of *habitaçulis quæ patria lingua Hagan appellari solent*. Nevertheless *haga*, even when applied to town property, sometimes retained its original meaning of 'enclosure', 'yard'; this is shown by its being equated with the Latin *curtis*: a charter of 988 (CD 665), in a grant of a *curtis* at Wilton, introduced its bounds with the words *Dis syndon þæs hagan gemæru*—'these are the bounds of the *haga*'. About 1040 a charter of Leofric, earl of Mercia, preserved in the Worcester chartulary in Latin and OE. versions, equates *ænne hagan on porte with curtum (sic) unum in civitate* (CD 766). References to such town property are not common in OE. charters. Plots in Canterbury and Rochester changed hands in 811 and in 855 respectively (CS 335, 486); but I have not noticed any other examples before the time of Æthelred II. The 4 hides of Colworth, together with the 32 hides mentioned in No. XXXVIII, probably went together to form the 36-hide manor of Aldingborne T.R.E. and T.R.W. (*Domesday Book*, f. 16v). This manor had 16 *hagæ* dependent upon it in 1086.

18. K. extends to *prima*; B. reads *primo* (sic).

19. *Æðelredus*, K.; *Etheldredus*, B. See n. 3 above.

20. *Æðelgarus*, K.; *Ethelgarus*, B. Æthelgar was bishop of Selsey 980–8, archbishop of Canterbury 988–90, in succession to St. Dunstan.

21. *Sic* MS.; *Oswaldus*, K.; *Oswoldus*, B. See No. XLII, n. 9.

22. *Ælphegus*, B. Ælfheah (St. Alphege) was bishop of Winchester 984–1005, archbishop of Canterbury 1005–12, when he was murdered by the Danes.

23. *Ælfstanus*, K.; *Alfstanus*, B. He may have been bishop of London or of Rochester.

24. B. reads here *et alii episcopi et duces etc.*, and ends.

25. *Æpelstanus*, K. This is probably an error for Ælfstan. In CD 689, 690 both the bishops of London and Rochester are called Æthelstan.

26. *Æpelwoldus*, K.; *recte* Ælfwold (cf. n. 25 above). Two bishops of this name held the see of Crediton in succession, signing charters from 988 (CD 662) to 1008 (CD 1305).

27. *Æðelsinus*, K.; Æthelsige was bishop of Sherborne from 978 to 991 or 992.

28. Sigeric was bishop of Ramsbury 985–90, when he was translated to Canterbury in succession to Æthelgar (n. 20 above). He died in 995.

29. See No. XLII, n. 12.
30. Sigegar became bishop of Wells in 975, and died on 28 June 996 or 997.
31. See No. XLI, n. 20.
32. See No. XXXVI, n. 37.
33. *Ælfric*, K. An *Ælfric* became alderman of Mercia in 983 and was banished in 985, but is mentioned as *dux Merciorum* in a charter of 989 (CD 670). Another *Ælfric* was alderman of Hants in 983, and signs charters to 997 (CD 698). The present signatory is probably the latter. CD 670 is a lease made by St. Oswald with the permission of the king and the alderman, and it is possible that this permission may have been granted some time before the lease was executed. Either of these *Ælfric*'s may have been the man who was guilty of treason on two occasions during the Danish wars, in 992 and 1003.
34. *Dureð*, K. Thored was earl of Deira, 979–93.
35. K. prints the remaining witnesses in the following order: Wulfric m, *Æðelric* m, *Ælfric* m, *Ælfhelm* m, Wulfric m, Wulfheah m, Leofric ab, *Ælfgar* m, *Ælfwold* m, Eadwine ab, Leofric m, Brihtwold m, *Ælfhere* ab, Ordwulf m, Ordbriht ab, *Ælfsige* ab. (so spelt). The MS. reads:
- | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Wulfrig, | <i>Ædelrig</i> , | <i>Ælfrich</i> , | <i>Ælfelm</i> (as printed) [f. 74r.] |
| Wulfrich m | <i>Ælgar</i> m | Leofrich m | Ordulf m |
| Wulfeah m | <i>Ælwold</i> m | Brithwold m | Ordbrith ab |
| Loefrich ab | <i>Ædwine</i> ab | <i>Æluere</i> ab | <i>Ælfsige</i> ab |
- Although the earlier witnesses' names are written in vertical columns, it is so irregular for abbots' and thegns' names to be mixed in OE. charters that it appears almost certain that these names on f. 74r. are intended to be read across the page, which brings all of each rank together. This is much more consonant with the usual OE. practice, and I have accordingly printed them thus.
36. Wulfsige signs charters from 980 (CD 624) to 988 (CD 665).
37. See No. XLI, n. 24.
38. Cf. No. XLII, n. 28. *Ælfric* signs charters from 965 (CS 1169) to 995 (CD 692), the name appearing twice between 965 and 973.
39. *Ælfhelm* signs charters from 970 (CS 1257) to 995 (CD 688), and as *dux* from 995 (CD 692) to 1006 (CD 715). Latterly he was alderman of Northumbria.
40. Wulfric signs charters from 971 (CS 1270) to 1002 (CD 707).
41. *Ælfgar* signs charters from 979 (CD 621) to 988 (CD 665).
42. One Leofric signs charters from 970 (CS 1266) to 997 (CD 698), another from 984 (CD 641) to 1007 (CD 1303), the name occurring twice between 984 and 997. The present signatory may be either of these.
43. Ordwulf signs charters from 975 (CS 1315) to 1006 (CD 715).
44. Wulfheah signs from 986 (CD 654) to 1005 (CD 714).
45. *Ælfwold* does not appear again, unless he is the signatory to a charter of 977 (CD 611).
46. Beorhtwold signs from 980 (CD 624) to 999 (CD 703).

47. Ordbeorht, abbot of Chertsey, signs from 964 (CS 1143) to 988 (CD 665). He succeeded Æthelgar (n. 20 above) at Selsey, and died in 1009.

48. Leofric may have been abbot of St. Albans or of Muchelney. The name occurs twice in charters from 983 (CD 636) to 1005 (CD 714).

49. Edwin was abbot of Abingdon, 985–90.

50. Ælfhere became abbot of Bath in 984, and signs charters to 1031 (CD 744).

51. This is the first signature of Ælfsige, abbot of Newminster, Winchester; he died on 25 Aug. 1007.

L¹

And ic ann þæs landes æt Hryðerafelda into nunnan mynstre, sancta Marian þances, and ænne sylfrene mede on fif pundun.

And I grant the land at Rotherfield to the nuns' minster, for St. Mary's sake, and one silver cross of five pounds.

1. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, No. XX; KCD 722, from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15350, f. 48. This is an extract from the will of the prince Æthelstan, son of Æthelred II; he died about 1015 (Whitelock, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–8).

LI¹

Universa quæ in seculo præsentī humanis videntur oculis cito deficiunt. quæ vero superis locantur montibus. amoenitate vigent continua. in summi tonantis regmine æternaliter fixa manentia. et idcirco nobis inveterati filiis seculi studendum est. Ut operibus iustis frui mereamur bonis cælestibus: semper victuri cum angelis sanctis. Unde ego Cnut² Anglorum rex venerabili archi episcopo Ælfstano³ petitione coniugis ac reginæ. Ælfgyfe.⁴ quoddam silvulæ nemus concedo famosa in silva. Andredes Wealde.⁵ quod vulgo dicitur Hæselersc. quatinus dies habeat proprios cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus. absque omni servitute terrena.⁶ postque finem secularem cuicumque sibi placeat heredi in æternam relinquat hereditatem. Si quis hominum ut non optamus hoc nostrum donum unquam pervertere vel frangere satagat, a Christo maledicetur omnibusque

sanctis eius in evum nisi ante mortem congrua emendet satisfactione quod nostrum contra regium deliquit decretum. Istis terminibus predictum cingitur nemus. Þis syndan ðæs dennes landgemæru to hæsel ersc. ærest andlang fearnleges burnan oð runanleages mearce. of runan leages mearce. be holan beames mearce. of holan beames mearce swa on gerihte to wiglege bufan ðære smi `þ' ðan to þam geate. of þam geate innan þæne (*sic*) sihter. andland (*sic*) sihtres innan þæne (*sic*) bradan burnan. niðer andland (*sic*) bradan burnan. be þæs arcebisceopes mearce eft innan fearnleages burnan. Scripta est hæc cartula mille decurso. Anno XVIII^o, his testibus concordantibus quorum nomina inferius scribuntur. Ego Cnut² rex hoc donum venerando archiepiscopo. Ælfstano³ æternaliter contrado. Ego Uulfstanus⁷ archiepiscopus hanc regis munificentiam corrobore. Ego Ælfgyfu⁴ regina beneficium hoc predicto archiepiscopo a domino rege impetravi. Ego Godwinus⁸ episcopus confirmavi. Ego Ælfwius⁹ episcopus assensus sum. Ego Ælmærus¹⁰ episcopus concordavi. Ego Ælfsinus¹¹ episcopus corroboravi. Ego Byrhtwoldus¹² episcopus contradidi. Ego Byrhtwinus¹³ episcopus conclusi. Ego Ælmær¹⁴ abbas. Ego Ælfwig¹⁵ abbas. Ego Ælfric¹⁶ abbas. Ego Ðurkil¹⁷ dux testis. Ego Godwine¹⁸ dux testis. Ego Sigeryd¹⁹ minister testis. Ego Byrhtric²⁰ minister testis. Ego Æðelricus²¹ prefectus testis. Ego Æðelricus testis fidelis. Ego Godwinus²² testis fidelis. Ego Ælfsinus²³ testis fidelis. Ego Ælfricus²⁴ testis fidelis.

All things which are seen by human eyes in this present world quickly disappear, but the things which are located on the mountains above, flourish in continual amenity, remaining fixed in eternity under the rule of the Thunderer; and therefore it is for us children of a decaying age to devote ourselves that by good works we may earn enjoyment of the good things of heaven; to live for ever with the holy angels. Wherefore I, Cnut, king of the English, at the request of my wife and queen Ælfgyfu, do grant to the venerable archbishop Ælfstan a certain grove of woodland which is

commonly called Hazelhurst in the well-known forest of the (Andreds) Weald; that he may have it for his own lifetime with all things pertaining thereto by custom, free from all earthly service; and after his earthly end he may leave it to whatever heir he pleases in eternal inheritance. If any man (God forbid) ever attempts to alter or infringe this our grant, may he be cursed for ever by Christ and all His saints, unless before his death he makes amends with recompense appropriate to his breach of our royal decree. The aforesaid grove is surrounded by these bounds. These are the forest-boundaries of Hazelhurst. Firstly along the stream of the fern-clearing to the boundary of Rowley, from Rowley boundary along Holbeanwood boundary, from Holbeanwood boundary direct to Whiligh, above the smithy to the gate, from the gate into the ditch, along the ditch into the broad stream, down along the broad stream by the archbishop's boundary again into the fern-clearing stream. This charter was written in the 18th year when a thousand had passed, with the agreement of these witnesses whose names are written below. I, Cnut, king, hand this gift over in perpetuity to Archbishop Ælfstan. I, Wulfstan, archbishop, corroborate this royal endowment. I, Ælfgifu, queen, have sought this benefit for the aforesaid archbishop from my lord the king. I, Godwine, bishop, have confirmed it. I, Ælfgiw, bishop, have assented. I, Ælfmær, bishop, have agreed. I, Ælfsine, bishop, have corroborated it. I, Beorhtwold, bishop, have handed it over. I, Beorhtwine, bishop, have concluded it. I, Ælfmær, abbot. I, Ælfgiw, abbot. I, Ælfric, abbot. I, Thurcytel, earl, witness. I, Godwine, earl, witness. I, Sigered, thegn, witness. I, Beorhtric, thegn, witness. I, Æthelric, prefect, witness. I, Æthelric, faithful witness. I, Godwine, faithful witness. I, Ælfsine, faithful witness. I, Ælfric, faithful witness.

1. *Ordnance Survey Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* iii. 39; in *S.A.C.* LXXVII. 119-29 there is an article on this contemporary charter by Dr. Gordon Ward, accompanied by a photograph of the original.

2. Cnut (Canute), king of Denmark, divided the English kingdom with Edmund Ironside on the death of Æthelred II; on Edmund's death (30 Nov. 1016) he succeeded to the whole kingdom, and reigned until his death, 12 Nov. 1035.

3. Ælfstan, also called Lyfing, was bishop of Wells, 999–1013, archbishop of Canterbury, 1013–12 June 1020.

4. Ælfgifu, or Emma, was the daughter of Richard I, duke of Normandy, and married, firstly, Æthelred II, and secondly, Cnut: by them she was the mother of Edward the Confessor and of Hardicnut respectively. She died in 1052.

5. Cf. Ward, p. 123. While it is possible that *Andredes* may be a wrongly inferred personal name, it is more likely a simple genitive of the place-name *Andred*. The form *Ondrede*, quoted by Ward from BCS 370 is probably the dative case of the same word.

6. Cf. Ward, p. 125. A contemporary charter of 930 (Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Charters*, No. IV; CS 1343) also grants exemption from all royal dues.

7. Wulfstan was archbishop of York, 1002–23, and author of the well-known *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.

8. Godwine was bishop of Rochester; the see was held by two bishops of the name in succession, who together sign charters from 995 (CD 688) to 1046 (CD 784). It is impossible to distinguish one from the other. There was also a Godwine, bishop of Lichfield at this time; but as the subject of the grant is very near Rochester diocese, the present signatory is much more likely to be one of the bishops of Rochester.

9. Ælfwig was bishop of London; he was consecrated on 16 Feb. 1014, and signs charters to 1035 (CD 753).

10. An Ælfmær was bishop of Selsey, 1009–31 or 1032, and another was bishop of Sherborne 1017–23. The present signatory is probably the former.

11. Ælfsige was bishop of Winchester; he signs charters from 1014 (CD 1309) onwards, and died in 1032.

12. Beorhtwold became bishop of Ramsbury in 995, and died on 22 Apr. 1045.

13. Beorhtwine was bishop of Wells in succession to Ælfstan (n. 3 above). The see was disputed by Æthelwine, but the dispute was solved by both the bishops dying within a fortnight. They sign charters up to 1022 (CD 734); their successor Beorhtwig's first signature is in 1024 (CD 741).

14. Ælfmær, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, signs charters from 1004 (CD 710) to 1022 (CD 734).

15. Ælfwig, abbot of Westminster, signs charters from 993 (CD 684) to 1045 (CD 778).

16. There is some evidence for the existence of three Abbots Ælfric at this time. One was abbot of St. Alban's, 1006 onwards; another of Athelney, in 1009 and 1012 (CD 1306–7); another of Cernel, who became archbishop of York in 1023 (Birch, *Saxon*

Abbots, pp. 21–2). It is impossible to distinguish which is the present signatory.

17. Thurecytel had played a leading part in the campaigns of 1009–16; he became Earl of East Anglia in 1017. In 1021 he was banished, but made regent of Denmark in 1023.

18. Godwine was the great Earl of Wessex, father of King Harold II; he signs this year for the first time (here and CD 728), and died on 15 Apr. 1053.

19. Sigered signs a charter of 1023 (Robertson LXXXII), and, in the same year, another as *dux* (CD 739). A writ of Archbishop Æthelnoth (1020–38) calls him *eorl*.

20. Beorhtric signs charters from 997 (CD 698) to 1062 (CD 813, 823), although in view of gaps in the sequence of extant charters we cannot be sure that all these signatures are of one person. He was perhaps the brother of Alderman Eadric, mentioned in 1009 (*A.S.C.*).

21. An Æthelric was sheriff of Kent in 1035 (CD 1323); the name occurs twice in CD 767 (1043), and once in a number of charters.

22. Godwine signs a few charters, Robertson LXXXII, CD 743, 749 (1023–33).

23. Ælfsine is perhaps a mistake for Ælfwine, who signs charters from here to 1033 (CD 752).

24. Ælfric signs a few charters, CD 729, 734, 743 (1019–26).

LII

Concessi etiam et confirmavi donationes quae ab eisdem regibus ante me donatae sunt. hoc est . . . in Pereham VII. in Collingtune VIII. in Cillingtune III.

I have also conceded and confirmed grants which were given by the same kings before me, that is, in Parham 7 (hides), in Chollington² 3, in Chiltington 4.

1. This is an extract from the great forged charter of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey (1066), KCD 824 from Cotton MS. Faustina A. iii, f. 25v.

2. See *S.A.C.* LXII, pp. 123 f.

M A P
Referred to by the
Assessors
A B W A R D.



INCLOSURE MAP OF CHIDHAM 1812 (29 in. x 22 in.)

SUSSEX INCLOSURE ACTS AND AWARDS

(Being Part 35 of *A Handlist of English Inclosure Acts and Awards*)

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I. INCLOSURE FACTS AND STATISTICS

A VERY competent authority¹ has said: 'The difficulty in the way of gaining an understanding of the true effects of inclosure . . . is the lack of statistical evidence.' It is understandable enough that this difficulty should arise for the inclosures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it is surprising that the same difficulty should obtain with reference to the parliamentary inclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The problem is not wholly the lack of evidence upon certain points, but also the existence of widely differing estimates given by different authorities concerning the same phenomena.

The first important statistics upon the question are, we think, those given in the Reports of the Parliamentary Committees and Select Committees of 1795, 1797, and 1800.² These, especially the 1797³ Report, contain tables of the numbers of Inclosure Acts passed in each year for each county. These were taken bodily by G. R. Porter for his *Progress of the Nation*, the figures in which replaced the earlier estimates in Chalmers's *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain*. In 1870 Sir Robert Hunter in the *Statistical Journal*⁴ gave a similar table of Inclosure Acts in counties, under three headings, Acts passed in the eighteenth century, Acts passed 1800-42, and Inclosures under the General Acts, 1845-69. Much more detailed statistics appear in the late Dr. Slater's⁵ book and in Professor Gonner's work cited below. This last work contains some twenty statistical appendices, the data in which are drawn primarily from the acts, though some are taken from

¹ Prof. W. Hasbach, *The English Agricultural Labourer*, 1908, App. II (V), p. 179.

² *Report from the Select Committee . . . on promoting the cultivation of Waste Lands . . . 1795; Report from the Committee . . . on promoting the cultivation of Waste . . . Lands . . . and common Arable Fields, 1797; Report of the Select Committee . . . on . . . the means of facilitating . . . the Inclosure of Waste Lands . . . Common Arable Fields . . . etc. (1800)*. All reprinted by the Commons Preservation Society, 1866.

³ Reprint above cited, pp. 50-7.

⁴ *Statistical Journal*, vol. 1870, p. 404.

⁵ *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, 1907.

the awards and from 'good estimates'.¹ Dr. Slater's tables, on the other hand, are based entirely upon such Inclosure Acts as were to be found in the library of the British Museum (Dr. Slater having assumed that the British Museum collection was more or less a complete one), and upon these only in so far as their preambles contained specific mention of open field arable land.

Various Blue Book lists of Inclosure Acts and Awards have been issued from time to time. In 1865 the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records printed a list² of plans attached to awards enrolled in Chancery and in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. The next year this was followed by a list³ of the awards themselves, including a few enrolled among national records other than those mentioned above. Early lists of Inclosure Acts, together with other local acts, had already been published in Bramwell's *Analytical Table of Private Statutes*⁴ and in Vardon's *Index to Local and Personal Private Acts, 1798-1839*.⁵ In 1843 a list of Inclosure Acts alone appeared in *Lord Worsley's Return*, several times reissued, having been revised to date, and last appearing in 1914.⁶ The Stationery Office *List of Acts Local and Personal*⁷ includes particulars of all acts 1800-99. Inclosure awards deposited or enrolled among county records are indexed in a Blue Book⁸ issued in 1904, based upon the answers returned to a questionnaire circulated to all Clerks of the Peace in 1903. Awards under the General Acts of 1845 et seq. are listed in another Blue Book⁹ issued in 1893.

Most of these lists, however, are put together in a very haphazard and unmethodical fashion. The two reports of the Deputy Keeper do not tally with one another, much less with all the remaining lists, and

¹ *Common Land and Inclosure*, 1912. Appendices.

² *Report*, xxvi, 1865, App. 1 a, 1 b, pp. 1-15.

³ *Report*, xxvii, 1866, App. 1 a-1 g, pp. 1-29. ⁴ 2 vols., 1813 and 1835.

⁵ 1840. ⁶ *P.P. (H.C.)* 325 (1843); *P.P. (H.C.)* 399 (1914).

⁷ *Index to Local Acts, 1900*, 41 Geo. III (1801) to 62-3 Vic. (1899).

⁸ *P.P. (H.C.)*, 50 (1904).

⁹ *P.P. (H.C.)*, 455 (1893). A few county lists have been printed. For a bibliography of these see a note by the present author in *Bull. Inst. Hist. R.*, vol. xviii, No. 54, pp. 97-101, 1941.

while the 1914 Blue Book is generally very reliable, so far as it goes, that of 1904 is a masterpiece of muddle and inaccuracy, every Clerk of the Peace having compiled his county list according to his own ideas, and the national return being composed simply of the county lists combined. It will be understandable enough that the value of the lists varies widely from county to county. Some of them are so carefully compiled that it would be almost impossible to improve on them, others are so confused and inaccurate as to be almost worthless. Like the lists in the Deputy Keeper's Reports, the Blue Book of 1904 contains some references to non-parliamentary inclosures. Another respect in which this book is of great value is that it is the only printed record of inclosures under the early General Acts,¹ the awards for which, unlike all others, were never enrolled nationally, but only locally. Such inclosures, forming a class intermediate between those of the eighteenth century, which were generally attained with complete disregard for all interests save those of the dominant landed class, and the latest inclosures under the General Acts, where considerations of public interest have been paramount, deserve very much more attention than they have ever received.

As we have indicated above, Dr. Slater's lists of Inclosure Acts purport to include all acts covering lands which included any proportion of open field arable land. Acts relating to the inclosure of common meadow, pasture, and waste alone are excluded from them.² Although there are many errors in these lists, some of which it is believed have been corrected in those below, Dr. Slater's decision has generally been accepted on whether or not any act included reference to open field arable. In some instances it has been possible to correct a few of his mistakes by reference to the 1866 Report which gives quite full particulars of the lands affected, or to the 1904 Blue Book, or by

¹ Especially of inclosures under the 1836 Act, 6 & 7 Wm. IV, c. 115.

² Though acts including common field *and* waste or meadow, however small the proportion of common field might be, are included. Dr. Slater's working methods are described above upon the authority of a letter to the author.

inquiry from students of local history in the county concerned.

It is submitted then that the lists below are likely to be useful to historians in that they contain:

1. A complete list of Sussex Inclosure Acts and of inclosures under the General Acts.
2. An indication (based upon Dr. Slater's work) of which acts included any proportion, however small, of open field arable, and which acts related to common meadow and waste alone.
3. A list (we believe the only one in print, apart from the scattered and inaccurate references in the 1904 Blue Book) of inclosures under the General Acts of 1836 et seq.
4. Particulars of all formal agreements enrolled or deposited with the Clerk of the Peace, relating to non-parliamentary inclosures.
5. Details of the enrolment of all inclosure awards enrolled either in the national courts at Westminster or among the records of the two administrative counties. (It seems that acts rarely made no provision for the enrolment of awards somewhere or other, and such awards as were not enrolled either at Westminster or with the Clerk of the Peace were generally entered among or deposited with the records of local manorial courts.)
6. Notes of all mistakes in previous compilations upon such important data as dates, areas, &c., in so far as it has been possible to check these, and of all major changes in the official names of parishes which have taken place subsequent to the inclosures. These, it is hoped, will enable the inquirer to identify with some degree of assurance the data relating to any particular inclosure.

Though this work cannot claim to be anything more than a mere compilation, it is hoped that at any rate it may be a useful one. It is quite certain that despite all our care it must contain errors. We shall be very grateful if any fellow student noting such will be good

enough to send us a postcard correcting them. Similarly we shall be indebted to any user of the lists who is able to fill any of the gaps which still remain in them. Such corrections will be entered in a copy of this work deposited in the library of the London School of Economics, and in another available for reference in the library of the Public Record Office.

II. METHODS OF INCLOSURE

There seems little need here to enter into a detailed discussion of either the Open Field System or of the Inclosure Movements. It may suffice to call attention to the fact that the English Inclosure Act evolved quite naturally from the methods which had been adopted to carry out inclosure in earlier times. Throughout the seventeenth century it had been usual for lords and tenants who desired to inclose their lands to do so by private agreement,¹ either with or without securing confirmation of this in the Chancery or the Court of Exchequer. Sometimes it appears that a Chancery suit was undertaken in order to bring pressure to bear upon a dissentient minority. Naturally there followed from this a demand for a General Act confirming decrees obtained in this fashion. When a Bill to this effect was rejected in 1664 the same end was achieved by the introduction within the next century of a whole series of Private Acts, many of these, especially the early ones, confirming arrangements already come to by private agreement. It was natural that inclosure by act should develop in an age when the power of the legislature was rapidly overshadowing that of the monarchy. After all, both the Chancery Decree and the Private Act are essentially the answer of the sovereign to the petition of the subject, the Chancery Decree being issued when the petition has been addressed to the king in his Chancery, the Private Act when the petition has been submitted to him in his court of Parliament.² And in fact, as Lord Ernle³

¹ Curtler, *The Inclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, 1920, p. 136.

² Gonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6 and 183.

³ Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, 1917, p. 162.

points out, after the Restoration the jurisdiction of the Chancery was first supplemented, then ousted, by the Private Act of Parliament.

Inclosure by Private Act

Stray Inclosure Acts appear before 1702, but they are rare in the extreme. There are but six in all.¹ Two more follow in Queen Anne's reign; eighteen in that of George I, but the number swells to 229 in 1727-60, and after 1760 the tide of inclosure flows fast. The table below shows which counties have inclosure acts before 1760.

<i>County</i>	<i>Before 1702</i>	<i>1702- 14</i>	<i>1714- 27</i>	<i>1727- 60</i>	<i>Total before 1760</i>
Bedfordshire	2	2
Berkshire	1	5	6
Buckinghamshire	3	3
Derbyshire	1	6	7
Dorset . . .	1	..	..	2	3
Durham	4	4
Gloucestershire . . .	2	1	3	11	17
Hampshire	1	..	12	13
Herefordshire . . .	1	..	..	..	1
Hertfordshire	1	1
Huntingdonshire	3	3
Kent	1	1
Lancashire	2	5	7
Leicestershire	15	15
Lincolnshire	15	15
Norfolk	2	5	7
Northamptonshire	21	21
Northumberland	8	8
Nottinghamshire	10	10
Oxfordshire . . .	1	..	..	5	6
Rutland . . .	1	..	..	4	5
Somerset	2	1	3
Staffordshire	3	3	6
Suffolk	2	2
Sussex
Warwickshire	2	31	33
Wiltshire	1	6	7
Worcestershire	3	3
Yorkshire, E. Riding	1	15	16
.. N. Riding	13	13
.. W. Riding	17	17
Total . . .	6	2	18	229	255

¹ The eight earliest inclosures of this sort are: Radipool, Dorset, 1602; Marden, Herefs., 1606; Malvern Chase, Gloucs., Herefs., Wores., 1664; Horton, Gloucs., 1668; Hambleton, Rutland, 1692; Salford, Oxon., 1696; Ropley Hants, 1709; and Farmington, Hants, 1713.

It will be seen that these amount to but 255 acts in all, and that nearly half of these are accounted for by the three midland counties of Warwick, Northampton, and Gloucester and the vast areas of the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire.

From these early acts, sanctioning existing agreements, there gradually developed the more 'typical' Inclosure Act appointing commissioners to make the partition, and confirming in advance the award they should make. The vast majority of the acts from 1760 onwards are of this type, and operations under this kind of act are quite familiar to the student from the admirable accounts given in any of the works cited. Inclosures under acts of this sort are listed in sections A and B.

The General Acts

The enormous expense attaching to inclosure carried out by this method early caused a demand for a General Act to simplify and cheapen proceedings.¹ After 140 years of more or less continuous agitation this demand was at last met by the passing of the General Inclosure Act of 1801.² This act, which arrived on the statute book after a great part of the work of inclosure had already been completed without its aid, was a 'Clauses Act' only. References to it are incorporated in almost all the special Inclosure Acts passed in the years following 1801. The next General Act of any great importance was that of 1836.³ This permitted inclosure by the consent of a majority of the proprietors (generally at least two-thirds), without any application to Parliament. No account of inclosures under it has appeared in any of the parliamentary publications (save for the very incomplete references in the second of the three Blue Books cited below), and they have been almost entirely neglected by historians. This is unfortunate, since in some respects they are the most interesting of all inclosures, lying as they do in a class intermediate between those inclosures carried out essentially by parliamentary

¹ Gonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-8 and references there cited.

² 41 Geo. III, c. 109. ³ 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 115.

authority, often without the real consent of many of the landowners affected, and those effected by agreement of the landowners concerned, without the formality and expense incurred by an application for parliamentary sanction. This act properly related to open fields only, though actually many inclosures of lands other than open field were quite improperly carried out by its means. It was extended to cover lands other than open field by a further act, three years later.¹ Inclosures under these two acts are listed below in sections C and D. It is probable that some at any rate of those listed in section C further inquiry will transfer to section D.

The third really important General Act was that of 1845,² with its amendments and extensions.³ This set up a body of Inclosure Commissioners, who had power to authorize the inclosure of lands not including any 'waste of a manor', by Provisional Order, without parliamentary sanction, and had the more restricted power of authorizing the inclosure of lands including the waste of any manor or manors by a similar provisional order, but which had to be confirmed by Parliament, after inclusion in the schedule of an annual general inclosure act. Sections E (i) and (ii) and F (i) and (ii) give lists of all inclosures carried out under the 1845 Act and the (annual) General Acts which followed it. That is: sections C–F give complete lists of all inclosures carried out under any General Act except the first (Clauses) Act. For references to acts merely incorporating the general clauses it will usually be sufficient to take all the Private Acts in sections A and B from 1801 onwards.

Inclosure Awards

Among the many series of historical records relating to the story of the country-side which are preserved either in the various local repositories within each county, or among the national archives in the Public Record Office, there are few, if any, to rival in interest and importance the long line of inclosure awards. They

¹ 3 & 4 Vic. c. 31.

² 8 & 9 Vic. c. 118.

³ See pp. 154–5.

cover largely the period of the reign of King George III, 1760–1820, but on occasion deal with a period half a century after this and about a century before it. Especially with regard to agrotechnical matters and the social and economic problems which are closely interwoven with them, there is all the difference between the awards, which form an extensive, continuous, and fairly systematic series, and the scanty, isolated, and fragmentary scraps of evidence, which, apart from the inclosure returns of 1517,¹ 1549, and the 1620's and 1630's, are our main source of information as to the agrarian problem in earlier ages. The fact that the series of inclosure awards is almost a complete one makes it possible, too, to summarize its contents, and to base an argument upon them with some degree of confidence and honesty, and without the haunting fear that records not quoted because they have disappeared may contain evidence very much outweighing that in the records cited. Therefore it is not too much to claim that these inclosure awards of Georgian times are in their evidential value infinitely more weighty than all other inclosure records taken together. It is surprising that so little attention has been given to them by local historians.

The primary purpose of the awards was at once to achieve and to register the change from the ancient methods of husbandry, the use of open field arable land, of common meadow, and of common pasture—the 'common' *par excellence*—to the modern system of land ownership, tenure, and cultivation 'in severalty'. But the awards have much more than merely legal or agrotechnical interest and importance. They form the best—in many cases the only—source of accurate information as to the distribution of land ownership in English villages of a century and a half ago. They are full of useful information as to the types of land tenure prevalent in the different districts. In perhaps half the villages of the country they serve as ultimate title-deeds

¹ Dealt with most admirably by the late I. S. Leadam in his *Domesday of Inclosures* (1897).

to a great part of the land, both that belonging to ordinary proprietors and that allotted to rectors, vicars, and lay impropiators in lieu of tithe and glebe. They record the lands forming the endowment of ancient village charities and schools. They are the final authority for information as to the course and breadth of the highways, the existence of footpaths, bridle-ways, and rights of way, and the courses, breadths, and liability for cleansing of most of the surface drains. The awards and the plans which are generally appended to them register the ownership of hedges and fences. They distinguish between tithable and non-tithable lands (many villages, in the midlands especially, had their tithes commuted largely under Inclosure Acts, so that inclosure awards in many counties are better sources of information as to tithe than are the tithe awards). They specify the allotments of land for public purposes—generally to the parish surveyors of highways for use as parish gravel pits—which are the origins of the greater part of such land as still remains vested in the ownership of such minor local government bodies as parish meetings and parish councils.

Accordingly the inclosure awards are invaluable sources of information, not only to the historian or antiquary and to him whether his interest be mainly ecclesiastical or civil, economic or social, but also to the present-day administrator who is concerned with land drainage, highways, footpaths, the provision of allotments, charity administration, or the use made by the minor local government bodies of the endowments entrusted to them.

Enrolment

It is no wonder that, as is noted in the *Report*¹ of the Public Records Commission of 1910–16, the inclosure awards are ‘more often consulted than any other documents in the county repositories’, and no less an authority than Lord Passfield,² in the evidence which he gave before the same commission, was at pains to

¹ *Rep.* III, Pt. 1, p. 10.

² *Rep.* III, Pt. 3, p. 10.

point out the value of these records to the local and, for that matter, to the national historian. His arguments were reinforced by those of Sir Lawrence Chubb, who in his capacity as Secretary to what was then the Footpaths and Commons Preservation Society had had much occasion to use the awards for evidential purposes. Sir Lawrence estimated that 'many' of the awards existed in one copy only, and that 'a considerable proportion' of them had entirely disappeared. Another witness put this proportion as high as a third. It is because so many of the original awards have been lost that we have thought it well to include here details of the 'enrolment' of all awards where such enrolment could be traced. The original award *should*, of course, be either in the parish chest of the place concerned or in the custody of its parish council or parish meeting. However, even where it is still in proper custody it is often difficult of access to the inquirer, especially the inquirer from outside, and there are evident advantages to the student who intends to examine a whole series of awards in finding them all together in one place, in recognized custody. Any series of enrolled copies is therefore particularly valuable, though sometimes the enrolled awards lack the plans which are attached to nearly all the original awards. It was quite usual for an Inclosure Act to order that in addition to the commissioners' original award, which was to be deposited with the public books and writings of the parish concerned, a duplicate copy, with or without its plan, should be entered on the rolls of some court of record. At first this enrolment was often carried out in some of the national courts, the Chancery, or the Court of King's Bench, latterly usually in the Court of Common Pleas, and, for parishes having Duchy property, usually in the records of the royal Duchy of Lancaster; afterwards often among the county records. Early enrolments are often to be found among the minutes of Quarter Sessions; for later ones the counties often purchased special volumes in which inclosure awards are to be found entered among registrations of annuities, lists of Papists'

estates, parochial agreements for the establishment of 'Gilbert' unions, and administrative oddments generally. In Sussex most of the inclosure enrolments were made at the office of the Clerk of the Peace at Lewes in Books A and B which also contain a miscellaneous variety of enrolled documents. Sometimes awards were entered among the records of the courts of honours or manors. In some cases the act or the commissioners directed that a copy of the award be placed with the manorial records. It may well be that the work now in progress in the Record Office, that of listing all the court rolls known to survive in England, may lead eventually to the discovery of a number of enrolled inclosure awards whose whereabouts are now unknown. It seems certain that there is substance in the allegation made that some commissioners, possibly anxious to ensure that the award deposited in the parish should be the only copy, and that its custodian therefore should receive any fees payable upon its consultation or extraction, disregarded the terms of the act and enrolled their award nowhere at all.

In inclosures after 1845 the original award was retained by the Inclosure Commissioners (now the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries), and copies were deposited with the Clerk of the Peace and with the parish authorities. Before 1845 awards may exist in duplicate. After this year they have almost always been executed in triplicate.¹

Other Inclosure Records

Normally, therefore, the inquirer interested in the inclosure of any particular parish has three principal sources of information open to him: the *House of Commons Journals*, which will give an account of the proceedings leading to the passing of the act; the act itself, and the award executed in pursuance of it, or the enrolled copy of this award if the original is not to be found. Data concerning these last two will normally

¹ For some reason which is not clear the Barnham Award of 1862 is not to be found among the Ministry's records.

be found in the columns below, and from these it is a simple matter to turn up the first named. When the original award is not to be found, particulars of the enrolment given below will often enable one to obtain access to such an enrolled copy. From these three sources it should not be difficult to make out the story of any particular inclosure as a more or less continuous narrative. Even so, however, the story will lack beginning, middle, and end.

Obviously, for inclosures of open field—by far the more interesting variety—it should begin with the gradually growing discontent of the leading proprietors in the place with the rigid and inelastic open field system, which prevented them from modernizing their methods of husbandry as they wished, the informal discussions they would hold among themselves and the tentative inquiries they would make of the attorneys who specialized in this class of business as to the cost of an attempt at inclosure. Probably in many cases this would be followed by a visit to a neighbouring township which had recently been inclosed, or by long discussions with its proprietors after business had been concluded on market day. Then would come the ceaseless propaganda among the smaller and more conservatively minded landowners in favour of the scheme, the insistence upon the benefits that could be expected to accrue from it, such as the modernization of obsolete technique and the abolition of outworn customs which it alone would make possible. Farmers would benefit by the enormous increase of productivity which was confidently predicted, the lord of the manor would receive a sufficient compensation for his not very valuable interest in the soil of the common, the incumbent could have his tithe commuted at a handsome valuation, the highways might well be improved while the enthusiasm for progress lasted, the 'deserving poor' would find small plots in severalty much easier to work than scattered scraps in the open fields, and would be much better off without the largely illusory benefits of the common. Even if they secured no compensation whatever for,

for example, common 'rights' which had actually been exercised by pure usurpation, they would have no difficulty in finding work upon the new, large, well-cultivated farms. Certainly they would benefit by the removal of the very real temptation to idleness which the possession of a large common entailed. The undeserving poor, especially the insubordinate squatters, living in riotous squalor in their tumbledown hovels on the common, would be both better and better off if they were compelled to work regularly for an employer. Everyone in the parish would gain by the increase of employment in hedging, ditching, fencing, draining, and by the fall in the rates. For doubtless there would be one as soon as the common ceased to form a constant attraction to all the beggars, wastrels, and drunkards in the district.

Then the story should deal with the methods used to induce the small freeholders at last to give a reluctant consent, and with the gradual buying out of those who proved recalcitrant to the last, until finally the promoters had the necessary quantum of consent in support of their proposals.

Of all this, however, the greater part of the records have perished and the story can but be pieced together from casual and fragmentary references. It is clear, however, that this, or something very like it, must have happened before ever the inclosure petition was drafted by the local attorney, to be presented to the House by one of the County Members, and to be embodied in a Bill, which finally became an Act of Parliament.

The missing middle of the story: how, when, and where the commissioners met, how they regulated their proceedings, dealt with the infinity of claims, just, unjust, and dubious, submitted to them, tried to harmonize conflicting interests, and eventually reduced what they considered the systemless chaos of the open field parish to something more in accordance with their conception of what a reasonably well-ordered parish should be, can hardly be discovered without the aid of the commissioners' working papers. It is very doubtful whether

many of the commissions kept any minutes at all (there was no statutory rule that they should do so), and of the few commissions that were businesslike enough to keep proper minute-books but few records are known to survive. Neither the British Museum nor the Public Record Office has any, nor are there any among the collections of the London School of Economics. It is very much to be desired that such minute books as are known to survive should be properly edited and published, since until this is done the student will never be able to obtain a grasp of the commissioners' working methods.¹

The end of the story is not yet. Nor will it arrive until the much-discussed 'Land Question' shall finally be settled (if indeed any such settlement is possible), in a fashion which shall be just, as well to the landowner and the peasant as to the community at large, whose vital interests are so closely concerned in it. Whether inclosure tended to land monopoly, as is often alleged; what was its effect in the long run upon the productivity of English land, did it actually result in the 'high farming' advocated by its pioneers, or was its outcome at last the reversion to something approaching prairie methods, bringing rural depopulation and unemployment in their train; were the smaller proprietors actually maintained in the possession of their holdings or, if they were dispossessed in later years, how much may inclosure be fairly blamed for their disappearance; what prospects they had of attaining the precarious dignity of a farm tenancy of their own, and how far they went to swell the ranks of the new urban proletariat, whose existence nowadays, divorced from all means of production, both manufacturing and agricultural, is the

¹ We believe that the only minute books to be so printed are that for Drayton Parslow, Bucks., 1797-1801, edited by Mr. G. Eland in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. XI, No. 25, 1923, and that for East Drayton, Notts., edited by the present author and printed in the (Nottinghamshire) Thoroton Society *Transactions*, vol. XLI, 1937. It is thought that the only published accounts of and guides to such records are a couple of articles, one by the present author, 'Some Unexplored Records of the Enclosure Movement', in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. LVII, No. 226, pp. 250-63, April 1942, and another by Mr. M. Beresford, 'Commissioners of Enclosure', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 130-40, 1946.

PLAN

of that Part of

HAMBROOK COMMON

which lies within the Manor and Farm of

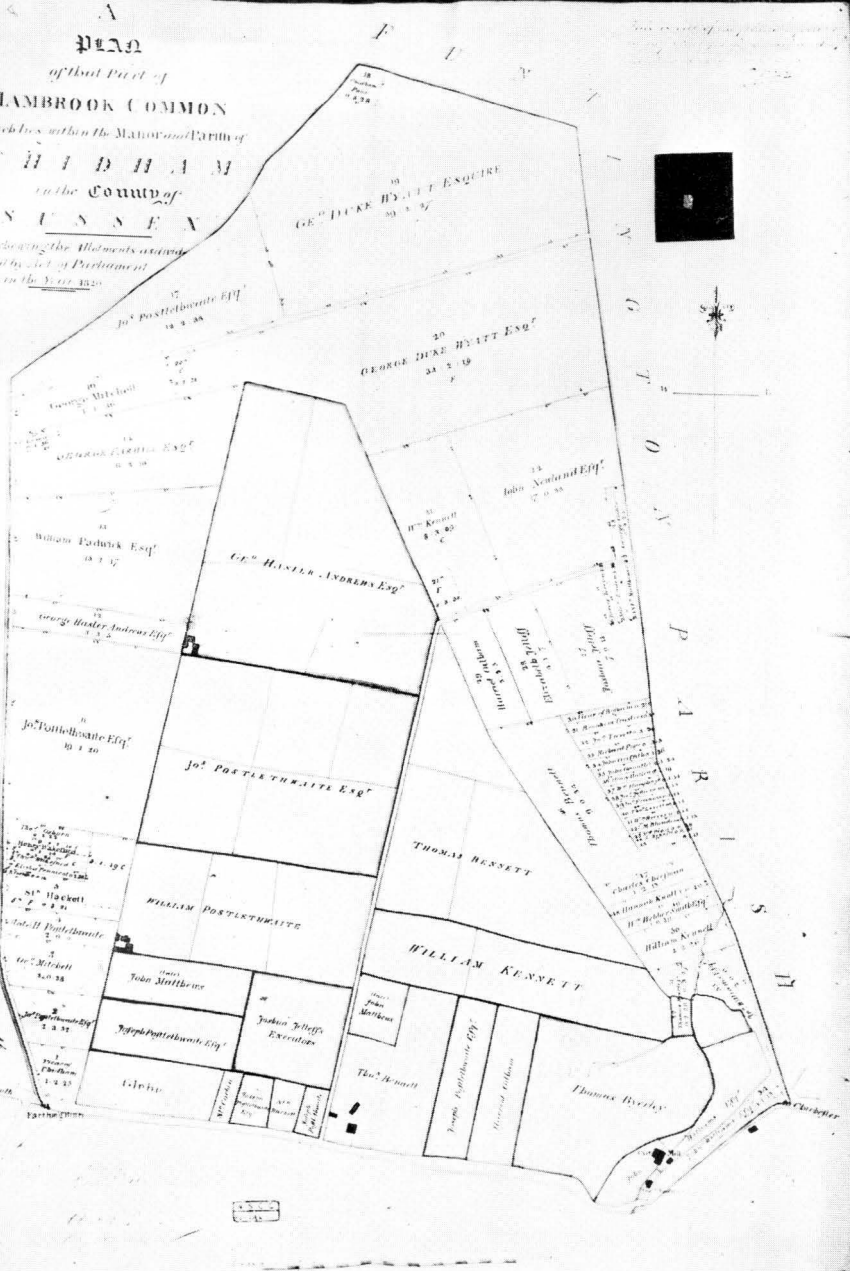
CHIDHAM

in the County of

SUSSEX

showing the Divisions thereof
as by Act of Parliament
in the Year 1820

J. E. N. T. B. O. U. R. N. E. P. A. R. I. S. H.



INCLOSURE MAP OF HAMBROOK COMMON, CHIDHAM, 1820 (26½ in. x 19¼ in.)

cause of much concern to all men of goodwill—these questions and many like them are not unworthy of attention, and, given it, should at length be capable of solution. It will be more than adequate recompense for the labour involved in this compilation if its publication contributes, in however modest a degree, towards the elucidation of such questions and the solution of such problems.

III. THE INCLOSURE MOVEMENT IN SUSSEX

Early Field Systems in Sussex

It will be seen by reference to his map that only the south-western half of this county is reckoned by Professor Gray¹ as within the area formerly occupied and cultivated under the usages associated with the English two- and three-field systems. Gray regards Alfriston and Blatchington, at the eastern end of the Sussex coastal plain, as the easternmost outposts of three-field agriculture along the south coast. And these townships² display several idiosyncrasies in their field structure. Notable among these are the terms applied, *wistae*³ for virgates and *leynes* for selions. Gray thinks both these terms peculiar to Sussex. Certainly both occur very frequently in the Battle Cartulary on which he bases much of his Sussex work. At the same time it is necessary to note that Dr. and Mrs. Orwin's later work,⁴ which has modified Gray's earlier conclusions in many important respects, means that Gray's statements must be accepted here with certain reservations. Dr. and Mrs. Orwin have shown that there are other open field areas considerably to the north of Gray's tentatively sketched boundary lines, so that in fact two separate bands of open field territory through north Sussex join up the south Sussex open field area with the midland open field region.

In the south part of the county Gray⁵ thinks it is

¹ *English Field Systems*, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., 1915, frontispiece.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³ For the subject of wists and virgates see *Suss. N. & Q.* VIII. 88, 106; x. 73; XI. 73.

⁴ *The Open Fields*, 1938, p. 64.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 498-9.

certain that three-field usages prevailed from early times. He has noted but two two-field townships, at widely different dates, Amberley 1387-8, and Broadwater 1811. By way of contrast he has noted no less than ten three-field townships, proved as being so at various dates ranging from 1338-9 to 1818. The following list is based upon his: Alciston 1432-3, Angmering 1809, Atherington 1606, Eartham 1817, Heighton 1338-9, Nutbourne 1818, Ovingdean 1444-5, Prinsted 1640, Rackham 1387-8, and Worthing 1810.

Early Inclosure in Sussex

Sussex was among the counties covered by Wolsey's commissioners in 1517. However, neither of Mr. Leadam's texts of the *Domesday*¹ contains any Sussex references whatever. Nor is there record of any returns, unknown to Mr. Leadam, being discovered in the Public Record Office subsequently to the publication of his studies. Apparently, then, Sussex must be regarded as among the counties for which all records of the 1517 commissioners' findings have perished.²

Probably such returns as may have existed were not very extensive, since in the early sixteenth century the tide of agrarian change had hardly reached the county. At any rate it was not thought worth while to include Sussex among the counties covered by the Depopulation Act of 1536.³ It is unfortunate that Sussex is also one of the counties for which it is impossible to find a great deal of evidence in Leland's work as to the agrarian condition of the shire about this time. He⁴ travelled through the county as through others, 1535-43, but contrary to his general practice he gives here very little information as to the state of the county he traversed from Tenterden (Kent) . . . to Robertsbridge . . . to Bredebridge in Southsex . . . to Newenden . . . to Meteham (? Mersham, Kent) . . . (and so through Kent to Dover).

¹ 'The Inquisition of 1517 . . .' in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, n.s., vols. VI, VII, VIII, 1892-4, and *The Domesday of Inclosures*, 2 vols., 1897.

² Dr. E. F. Gay in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, n.s., vol. XIV, 1900, p. 238 n.

³ Miss E. M. Leonard, *ibid.*, vol. XIX, 1905, p. 124.

⁴ *Itinerary*, ed. Miss L. T. Smith, 1907, vol. IV, pp. 63-77.

It is curious that, but a few years afterwards, according to Strype,¹ to John Hales, and to King Edward himself,² the county was affected by the agrarian rising of 1549. An incidental reference in a deposition made by one of the Hampshire rebels affords the interesting information that they hoped to have reinforcements of 'a great sight of them oute Sussex'.³ By August 1549 the disaffected are represented as acknowledging their fault 'with verie lowlye submission', and being ready to fight the western rebels.⁴ However, in 1550, it was still thought necessary to distribute men from the Boulogne garrison in Sussex, amongst other places, in anticipation of further risings.⁵

Sussex was exempted also from the last Depopulation Act, that of 1597.⁶ Presumably then inclosure of open fields either was not taking place to any great extent, or, if it was in progress, it was not felt to be here so serious a menace to rural society as it was in many other counties. Actually indications are not lacking that some inclosure was taking place at this period. Atherington Manor, for example, is known to have been inclosed to the extent of some two-thirds of its total area by 1606.⁷

According to the *Considerations . . .* of 1607⁸ the county suffered not at all by its exclusion from the operation of the 1597 Act, but, on the contrary, positively benefited by this. The county is so far away from the midlands that one is not surprised to find that there is no record whatever of Sussex landowners paying inclosure compositions in the years 1635-8.⁹ Blith in 1649 includes Sussex among the counties already inclosed.¹⁰

¹ So says (or implies) Prof. Gonner, *Common Land and Inclosures*, 1912, p. 269.

² Dr. E. F. Gay in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, n.s., vol. xviii, 1904, p. 200, n. 3, and p. 203, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202, n. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 207, n. 2.

⁶ 39 Eliz. c. 2 (1597), Slater, *The English Peasantry . . .*, 1907, App. D, p. 328.

⁷ Gray, loc. cit. See also article and map by P. M. Johnston, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. XLIV, 1901, pp. 148-65.

⁸ In Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, 1897, vol. II, App. II.

⁹ Gonner, op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁰ *Enrichment of the Weald of Kent*, 1636; McDonald, *Agricultural Writers*, 1908, p. 94.

Gervase Markham in 1636 in his celebrated work on the improvement of the Kentish Weald includes also directions for the reclamation of the Sussex Weald and, in fact, names Sussex in his sub-title.¹

There are a few incidental references to Sussex inclosures in Aubrey's work on Wiltshire:² 'From Dorking to Northdown Hills in Sussex is a large prospect of several miles off, over a spacious vale very broad, full of inclosed pasture.' He mentions the Surrey Weald as like that of Kent and Sussex, 'a rich deep inclosed county'. About the same time Blome³ speaks of the Sussex Downs as 'a very pleasant and champain country'. This hardly seems to agree with the statements made by other writers. Gonner⁴ has attempted to explain the discrepancy by supposing that here Blome is referring to the physical state of the county, not its legal condition. The country was no doubt unhedged, but that need not imply that it was generally subject to common right. Certainly it is not to be taken as suggesting that the Down country then or at any other time was largely in open arable field, although normally 'champain' (champion) is generally used as more or less synonymous with 'open field arable'.

Ogilby's book,⁵ which forms a most useful source of information as to inclosure in most counties towards the end of the seventeenth century, is of little value for the agrarian history of Sussex, so the county does not appear in Gonner's list⁶ of thirty-seven shires arranged in order of the (supposed) percentage of open land remaining in them, c. 1675. Celia Fiennes⁷ travelled through the county, as through others, about twenty years after Ogilby. She describes it as 'much in blind dark lanes', i.e. with narrow roads and well-grown hedges (all sure marks of early inclosure). From Boxhill

¹ *English Improver . . .*, 1649, quoted in Curtler, *Inclosure . . . of our Land*, 1920, p. 24.

² *Natural History and Antiquities of Wiltshire*, 1656-85.

³ *Britannia*, 1673, and *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁵ *Britannia*, 1675.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁷ *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. C. Morris (1947), pp. 40-1, 136-9.

the view was of 'a fruitful vale, full of inclosures and woods'. Elsewhere from Calvery Plaine (Calverley, Kent) to Branklye (Brenchley) 'the way is thro' lanes, being an enclosed Country for the most part, . . . as is much of Sussex which joyns to Kent'.

Of the later writers who deal with this matter of field systems and early inclosures in Sussex, perhaps the most reliable is William Marshall,¹ who wrote a century after Celia Fiennes's time. He says: '. . . there being, I believe, no trace at present of common fields having ever gained an establishment, and the whole of the district [i.e. between Pulborough and Midhurst] is in a state of Enclosure (except for a few surviving heaths and commons), and a little common field in the Maam (Marl or Gault)² soil.'

It is rather difficult to summarize the early history of inclosure in Sussex from such conflicting accounts as these. Nor does the later history of the county help a great deal to clear up the many dubious points. One scrap of information which certainly emerges is that on the rich soil near Worthing there was extensive inclosure by act in the eighteenth century, and there was less, but still a considerable area inclosed in the same way at the same time farther to the west. So presumably these two areas were relatively little affected by the inclosure movements of earlier days.

Probably Gonner³ is on the whole right when he suggests as the main features of inclosure in Sussex these conclusions: 'Here more than in Kent, common field is known to have existed, though in relatively small proportions. Much of the county was inclosed directly from the wild state, never passing through the common field stage. Such part of the land as had first been taken into cultivation in common field early disappeared, very probably under the influence of contemporary inclosures of the still remaining waste. Substantial areas of common were taken in during the sixteenth century, and

¹ *Rural Economy of . . . the Southern Department*, vol. II, p. 100.

² This is Dr. Slater's suggested identification, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 237-9.

further extensive acreages both of common and of common field were inclosed in the seventeenth century. The parliamentary inclosures of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries here represent merely the final phase of a movement which had been continuing for centuries. The total parliamentary inclosure was but 3·5 per cent. of the county area, more than half of this inclosure was waste, and the gross extent of open field in the county inclosed by parliamentary means was but 1·5 per cent.¹ of the county area.'

Late Survivals of Open Lands in Sussex

Marshall² refers to open field remaining in his time. 'In the Isle of Selsey I observed some common field land, also about Chichester in the year 1791.' Dr. Slater's map brings out clearly how largely these open lands were concentrated in the south-western corner of the county. There are two county reports, both written by the Rev. Arthur Young, son of the celebrated Arthur Young. According to the 1799 Report³ the county contained some 11,000 acres of improvable waste, but the reporter says nothing of the existence of open fields. Presumably, then, all, or nearly all, had disappeared by his time. In the quarto report⁴ Young speaks with great indignation of an extensive tract of waste, with some intersection of cultivation, stretching into Hampshire on the west and Kent on the east, calling loudly for improvement and 'occupying principally the Northern part of the county'. The Weald occupied a vast area, and in its present state was almost worthless. St. Leonards Forest contained 10,000 acres of it, and Ashdown Forest another 18,000. 'A very great quantity of waste, not less than 90,000 acres, in this part of Sussex, averages from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per acre.' The 'tenantry laines' (open fields?) in the neighbourhood of Lewes were wretchedly cultivated. The vast wastes might, by a judicious management of the cultivation, be converted

¹ Op. cit., p. 269. Curtler, op. cit., p. 24, quotes him as saying 1·9 per cent.

² *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties . . .*, 1798, vol. II, pp. 230 and 233.

³ *General View . . .*, 1799.

⁴ *General View . . .*, 1794.

to the amazing benefit of the county, and be highly productive to the empire. They would easily yield annually 200,000 sheep, abundance of other cattle, 'several thousand quarters of corn', and find employment for several hundreds of families.

The later Report has little more to say of remaining open lands of any kind. Nor does Eden¹ in 1797 give a great deal of information as to Sussex commons. He mentions, however, one of about 200 acres at Burwash 'of little value'. Chailey was a highly pauperized parish, and Eden quotes, without expressing either approval or disapproval, Arthur Young's² ascription of the high rates in the place to the 1,000 acres of commons still surviving.

The 1815 Report³ on English Agriculture describes in some detail the poverty-stricken state of the county, as set forth by the Board of Agriculture's official correspondents, but, unlike their colleagues in some other counties, the Sussex correspondents do not include inclosure among the causes of the prevalent agricultural distress. They also say nothing as to open fields or common still remaining.

There seems little material available on the management of open lands in Sussex.

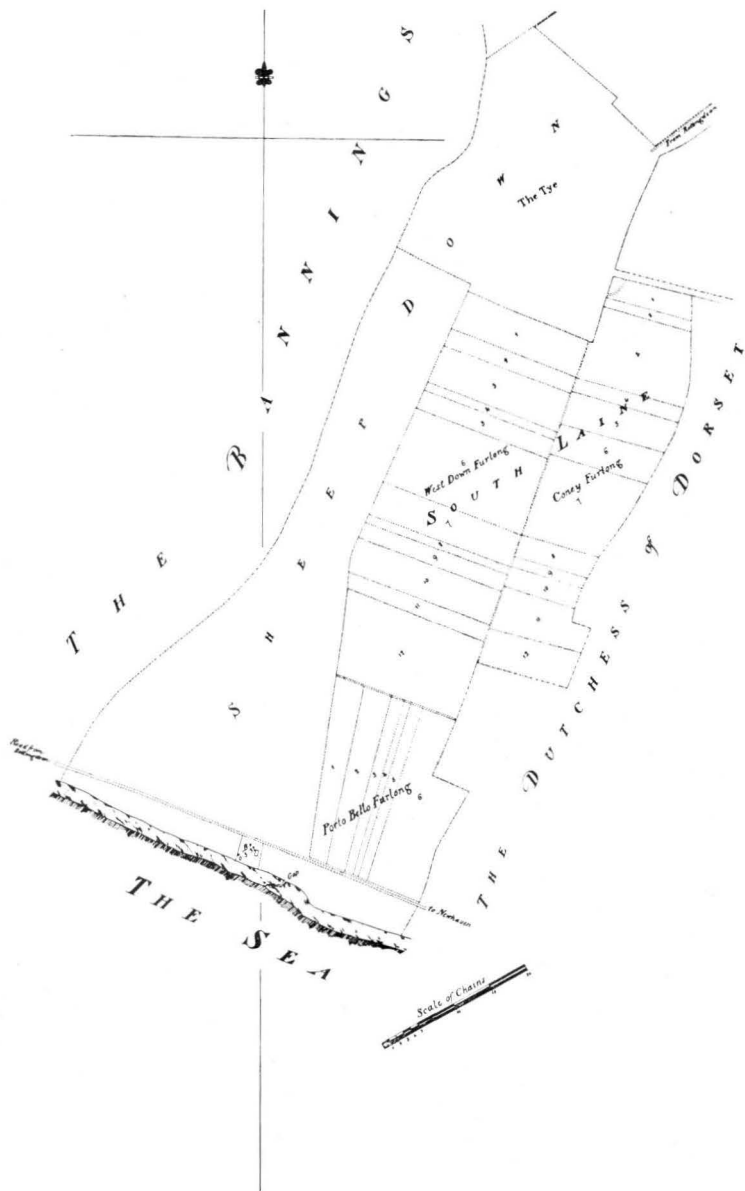
At Berwick⁴ there is record of communal management of agriculture from 1721. Apparently there was no manor court here, and the place was governed by voluntary agreement of the inhabitants. The commoners cast lots annually for the portions of the common meadow that they were to occupy each year. As it was not thought seemly for the rector to take part in the lottery, he was allowed always to use the lot next to the brook. The lots have since been gradually bought up by the principal landowner, but as late as 1907 the parish clerk had *ex officio* the right to turn out one bullock on what was formerly a common field, and

¹ *State of the Poor*, 1797, reprint of 1928, pp. 322-5.

² *Annals* . . . , vol. v, p. 222 (1786).

³ *Agricultural State of the Kingdom* . . . , 1815, pp. 54-9.

⁴ S. and B. Webb, *The Manor and the Borough*, 1908, p. 129, and the Rev. G. M. Cooper, in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. vi, 1853, pp. 240-1.



EXTRACT FROM INCLOSURE MAP OF TELSCOMBE, 1810

the right was annually purchased from him by the farmer occupying the land.

According to Gomme, the lot meadow of Southease¹ was thus distributed annually. On 10 July those tenants who possessed rights met on the ground and drew lots for the hides, commencing at the south end. The mode of drawing lots was as follows: fourteen pieces of stick, 5 or 6 in. in length, were severally notched, or marked with a knife, with certain characters marked as follows:

1 One score	6 Six score	11 C
2 Two score	7 Seven score	12 C
3 Three score	8 The Doter	13 D
4 Four score	9 Dunghook	14 The Drinker
5 Five score	10 Cross	

These hides were not each mown wholly by one tenant, but in various proportions; for instance, No. 8 was in six parts, No. 9 in six parts, No. 10 in three, and so on. The tenants having met, the following was the mode of proceeding: These marked pieces of stick were put into the pocket of one of the party, and drawn at random by those who had rights. As soon as the first stick was drawn it was stuck in the ground on the south side of the first hide, and the turf was cut with a mark similar to that on the stick; and so on till all the sticks were drawn and the pieces marked.

Some little open land—all I think common pasture or waste, rather than open field—has remained until the present day. The 1874 return² (which is, however, notoriously wildly inaccurate!) credits the county with 3,000 acres of open fields and 21,000 acres of commons seventy years ago. So far as I know there has been no attempt to correct the mistakes in it. Of the commons still remaining, one of the most interesting is Ashdown Forest.³ In 1372 this consisted of some 14,000 acres. It was granted in this year to the Duke of Lancaster, and it remained vested in the Duchy until the Restora-

¹ G. L. Gomme, *Village Community*, 1890, pp. 270-1. See also *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv, 1851, pp. 305-8.

² *P.P. (H.C.)* 85 (1874).

³ Shaw Lefevre (Lord Eversley), *English Commons and Forests*, 1894, pp. 161-70.

tion. The Sackvilles acquired in 1560 an interest in the keepership. In 1650 and 1658 the Commonwealth Government ordered surveys. A scheme of inclosure was drawn up, the townships on the verge of the forest each being allotted a common allotment, and the balance of the area being earmarked for appropriation by the State. This scheme, however, lapsed at the Restoration, and the inclosure was never carried out. After 1650 the Sackvilles regained the keepership, and the Digbys, Earls of Bristol, acquired certain interests also. They obtained a lease which authorized disafforestation and inclosure, the earl being enjoined to allot to the commoners 'a fair equivalent' for their common rights, the allotment to be confirmed by decree of the Duchy court. The commoners objected violently to the inclosures made, and to others carried out by the Sackvilles and by Sir Thomas Williams. In 1689 Williams and the Sackvilles undertook a suit against 144 of the commoners. After 1693, however, the lords and grantees were given possession, or quieted in possession of some 7,600 acres, the balance of 6,400 acres being left open and set aside for the commoners.

Most of the other manorial interests were bought up by the Sackvilles about 1730, and for a century and a half thenceforward they, and later their successors the De la Warrs, were constantly at issue with the commoners, mainly upon the question of estovers. Finally in 1881, after very heavy litigation, the forest still remained open, but in 1885 it was 'regulated', i.e. put under the control of a body of conservators under the Commons Act of 1876, and a sale of encroachments took place.¹ It is so controlled by conservators to this day.

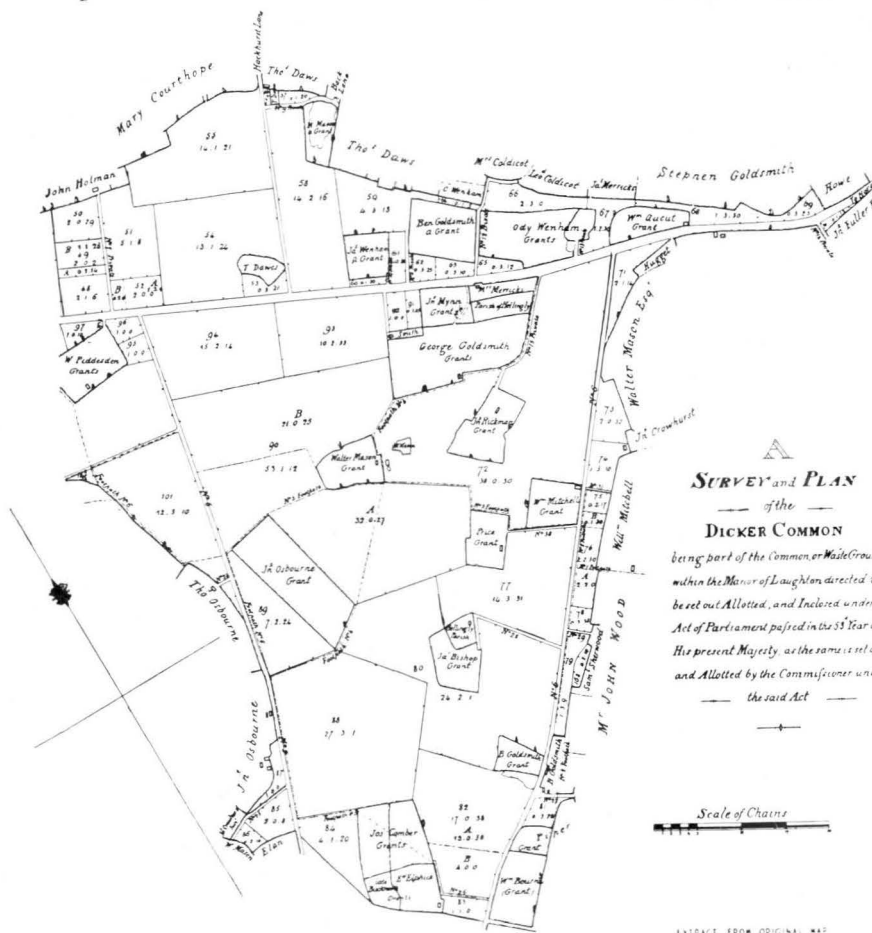
Sussex Parliamentary Inclosures

The lists below² give the fullest particulars I have been able to obtain of Sussex Inclosure Acts and Awards in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It will be seen that Sussex Inclosure Acts for lands including open

¹ 39/40 Vic. c. 56 (1876), and 48/49 Vic. c. 56.

² Lists A-G below.

field are only some twenty-four in all. They begin with Houghton 1799, and finish with Bury 1841. Clearly, then, the movement for *parliamentary* inclosure of such open fields as there were¹ was later in date in Sussex



SURVEY and PLAN
of the
DICKER COMMON

being part of the Common or Waste Ground
within the Manor of Laughton directed to
be set out Allotted, and Inclosed under
Act of Parliament passed in the 55 Year
His present Majesty, as the same is set out
and Allotted by the Commissioners under
the said Act

Scale of Chains

EXTRACT FROM INCLOSURE MAP OF LAUGHTON MANOR, 1813

than in most other counties. Sussex acts for the inclosure of waste² are seventeen in number, and range from Broyle Park 1767 to Waningore 1841. It is evident that in Sussex, unlike most other counties again, the

¹ List A below.

² List B below.

movement for parliamentary inclosure affected waste first, and only later began to touch such open fields as remained. It is rather surprising to find that the county had four inclosures under the 1836 Act,¹ which generally one finds applied only in the true open field areas. In at least two of the instances noted, Rustington and Littlehampton, the inclosures seem to be properly described as under the 1836 Act alone. Concerning the other two I am not so sure: they may well be under the extended powers added by the legislation of 1840² to those given in the earlier act. The lists of inclosures under the General Acts of 1845³ et seq. show a marked contrast between the inclosures which included open field land⁴ and those which did not.⁵ There are two of the former to forty of the latter. I do not know in what circumstances the scraps of open field at Oving and Hunston remained open until less than a century ago, although they were situated in what had never been a typically open field area. The question seems to be one for inquiry by a local student.

The lists of inclosures under the later General Acts are interesting in that they show clearly that there was some common pasture in Sussex which was not regarded as waste of a manor, since in seven years no less than four separate plots of such land were enclosed. The whole of the inclosures of waste seem to amount altogether to some 8,000 acres, compared with at least 16,000 acres, with probably another 20,000 acres affected by half as many Inclosure Acts for lands including open field, &c.⁶ Even so, the waste average is very considerably increased by the inclusion of the quite exceptional cases of Slindon, Framfield, and the Forest of Ashdown.

Clearly in the main this list indicates a kind of 'mopping up' process applied in recent years to the remaining scattered scraps of common which had survived earlier inclosure movements. They had lasted so long partly perhaps because their agricultural value was not enough

¹ List C.

² If so they should be in List D.

³ Lists E (i) and E (ii) and F (i) and F (ii).

⁴ Lists E (i) and E (ii).

⁵ Lists F (i) and F (ii). *Vide supra*, pp.136-7.

⁶ *Vide infra*, List A.

to justify the expense of inclosure until the General Acts simplified procedure and lowered costs, partly because they were not worth inclosure at all for purely agricultural purposes until the development of agricultural technique rendered their possible cultivation a sound business undertaking. Possibly their survival was due still more to the fact that not until the growth of urban development in the last century did some of the sterile Sussex commons, agriculturally almost worthless, become of great monetary value as building land.

The last list¹ seems to indicate little except that inclosure by agreement was not practised in Sussex in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is not of course to suggest that a great deal of land in this county as elsewhere was not inclosed by a process which is (sometimes rather euphemistically) described as by 'agreement'. But probably most Sussex parishes where a modicum of agreement for inclosure could be obtained had passed through the inclosure process in quite early times, long before it was customary to have the redistribution of property either authorized by an act or embodied in an award.

IV. SUSSEX INCLOSURE ACTS AND AWARDS

Wherever possible, place-names have been given in their generally accepted *modern* forms. All acts in the official return² are included. Those in Dr. Slater's lists,³ as including open field arable, are in list A. Those not in Dr. Slater's list presumably relate to meadow and waste alone. These are in list B. The 1836⁴ Act authorized the inclosure of open field alone, though it was frequently used to carry out the inclosure of open lands of other classes.⁵ Unless evidence to the contrary is available it is assumed here that the act was properly applied, so that inclosures under it are of common field. These are in list C. This act was extended in 1840⁶ to

¹ List G.

² P.P. (H.C.) 399 (1914).

³ *The English Peasantry* . . . , 1908, App. 2.

⁴ 6 & 7 Wm. IV, c. 115 (1836).

⁵ Cooke, *Inclosures and Rights of Common*, 1864, p. 84.

⁶ 3 & 4 Vic. c. 31 (1840).

cover lammas lands, &c., and inclosures carried out under the 1836 *and* 1840 Acts are listed in list D.

The General Act of 1845¹ authorized inclosure of lands other than common pastures by provisional order alone. This provision remained in force until the sixth amending act,² with an exceptional clause in favour of inclosures actually in progress in 1852. So for some ten years from 1845 there were inclosures which did not include the waste of a manor that were not submitted to Parliament for approval. After 1852 all inclosures required statutory authorization, and this was given in the annual General Act. Lists E and F cover inclosures in those two classes. The data³ have been obtained from various official Blue Books,⁴ from the Inclosure Commissioners' annual reports, and from the Ministry of Agriculture memorandum.⁵ Inclosures by agreement in list G must be a very small proportion of those actually carried out. There must have been many such of which no formal written record survives either in the Public Record Office or among the county records. It has not been possible to classify these, like the others, into inclosures containing common field and those consisting of common pasture and meadow, &c.

Contractions used in Lists

()	Dr. Slater's estimated acreage.
B.A.	Award retained by the Inclosure Commissioners, later transferred to the Board of Agriculture (now Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries).
Ch.	Award enrolled on Chancery Close Roll in Public Record Office.
C.P.	Award enrolled on Common Pleas Recovery Roll in Public Record Office.
C.R.	Award deposited among County Records in custody of Clerk of the Peace of the appropriate county.
C.R.e. (E)	Award enrolled among the County Records in custody of the Clerk of the Peace for East Sussex.

¹ 6 & 7 Vic. c. 118 (1845).

² 15 & 16 Vic. c. 39 (1852).

³ Such local lists as are available have been consulted and the data have been checked by various gentlemen whose help is acknowledged elsewhere.

⁴ *P.P.* above cited, also *P.P.*'s 455 (1893) and 50 (1904).

⁵ No. 702/LG.

C.R.e. (W)	Award enrolled among the County Records in custody of the Clerk of the Peace for East Sussex. Copies of the plans and typed copies of these West Sussex inclosure awards are available in the West Sussex Record Office.
C.R.O.	County Record Office.
E	East Sussex.
(H)	Hamlet.
K.B.	Award enrolled on King's Bench Plea Rolls in Public Record Office.
(M)	Manor.
n.s.	(area) not specified.
(P)	Parish.
S.A.C.	Sussex Archaeological Collections.
W	West Sussex.

A. Inclosure by Private Act of Lands including Open Field Arable

Date of Act	West or East Sussex	Place(s)	Acreage estimated in Act ¹	Date of award	Place of deposit or enrolment
1799	W	Houghton (P) and South Stoke (P) Not S. Stokes as in 1914 Blue Book.	900/1,438 (1,400) ²	1809	C.R.e. (W)
1803	W	Rustington Common Fields in Rustington (P) P.R.O. Ref. KB. 122/797 Rot. 1187.	360	1805	C.R. (W) and K.B. 46 Geo. III, 1805
1803	W	Lancing (P) P.R.O. Ref. KB. 122/797 Rot. 1189. Photostat copy of 'Parish' copy in C.R.O.	730	1805	K.B. 46 Geo. III, 1805
1804	W	Tottington (H) in Leominster (recte Lyminster) (P) P.R.O. Ref. KB. 122/797 Rot. 1190. Indexed in Slater as Tottington only.	163	1805	K.B. 46 Geo. III, 1805
1804	W	Goring (P) P.R.O. Ref. KB. 122/797 Rot. 1188. Indexed in Deputy Keeper's Report 27 as in Surrey and Sussex. It is wholly in Sussex.	307	1805	K.B. 46 Geo. III, 1805
1805	W	Broadwater (M) and Worthing (M) in Broadwater (P) P.R.O. Ref. CP. 43/911 Rot. 9. Two plans, ref. MPL. 21.	779	1810	C.P. 51 Geo. III, 1811
1809	W	Chidham	516	1812	C.R. (W)
1809	W	Angmering (P) P.R.O. Ref. CP. 43/917 Rot. 69. Typed copy of 'Parish' copy in C.R.O. East and West Angmering according to Deputy Keeper's Report 27.	234	1812	C.P. 52 Geo. III, 1812

¹ Acreage prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

² Slater's estimated acreage.

Date of Act	West or East Sussex	Place(s)	Acreege estimated in Act ¹	Date of award	Place of deposit or enrolment
1809	W	Warningcamp (M), and Byworth and Warningcamp (M) in Warningcamp (P)	n.s.	1812	C.P. 53 Geo. III, 1813
		P.R.O. Ref. CP. 43/919 Rot. 197.			
1810	E	Tellescombe (<i>recte</i> Telscombe)	690	1811	C.R. (E) C.R.e. (E)
		Original and enrolled copy of award in C.R.O.			
1810	W	Amberley (M) in Amberley (P) and Coldwaltham (P)	3,000	1828	C.R. (W)
		In Slater as Amberley only. Slater gives area as 2,573 acres. Amending Act passed 1813.			
1812	W	West Thorney (P)	960	1818	..
		'Parish' copy in West Thorney Church.			
1812	W	Poling (P)	170	1813	C.R.e. (W)
1813	W	Warminghurst, Ashington, and Chaneton (Ms) in Warminghurst, Ashington, Washington, Buneton, Wiston, Ashurst, and Findon (Ps)	/353	1816	C.R. (W)
1813	W	Eartham (M) and (P)	1,500	1817	C.P. 57 Geo. III, 1817
		P.R.O. Ref. CP. 43/937 Rot. 118.			
1814	W	Durrington (P) in Broadwater (M)	458	1818	C.R. (W)
		Slater wrongly indexes this place under <i>Suffolk</i> .			
1818	W	Woodmancot, Nutbourne, and Prinsted (Ms) in Westbourne (P)	800	1823	K.B. 3 Geo. IV, 1823
		P.R.O. Ref. KB. 122/1077 Rot. 944. Parish copy deposited in C.R.O.			
1819	W	Chidham and Westbourne, Sussex; Warblington, Hants (Ps)	320	1821	K.B. 2 Geo. IV, 1821
		P.R.O. Ref. KB. 122/1050 Rot. 906. Two plans, of Chidham and Warblington, ref. MPL. 12. The award is not enrolled in Hants or West Sussex C.R.O. The Chidham plan has been given to West Sussex Record Office.			
1819	W	Selsey (M) and (P)	669	1830	C.P. 1 Wm. IV, 1830
		P.R.O. Ref. CP. 43/990 Rot. 18, Plan MPL. 40. Slater says 689 acres. Parish copy deposited in C.R.O.			
1821	W	Bosham and Funtington (Ps)	830	1834	Ch. 1837
		P.R.O. Ref. C. 54/11828-30. Plan ref. MR. 259. Deposited in Bosham Church.			
1821	W	Tangmere (P)	200	?	..
1826	W	Felpham (P)	400	?	..
		Map only presented to C.R.O.			
1830	E	Kingston near Lewes and Iford (Ps)	2,527	1830	C.R. (E)
		Not Iford as in 1914 Blue Book, nor 2,405 acres as in Slater.			
1841	W	Bury	/1,728	1854	C.R. (W)

¹ Acreege prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

*B. Inclosure by Private Act of Lands not including
Open Field Arable*

Date of Act	West or East Sussex	Place(s)	Acreage estimated in Act ¹	Date of award	Place of deposit or enrolment
1767	E	Broyle Park in Ringmer (M)	/2,020	1769 1771	C.R.e. (E) C.R. (E)
		Indexed in 1914 Blue Book as Ringmer only. Two awards under the same act. I do not know why.			
1769	W	Walberton Common in Walberton (P)	250/255	1769	C.R.e. (W)
1777	W	Westergate Common in Aldingbourne (P)	400/426	1777	C.R. (W) C.R.e. (W)
		In 1914 Blue Book as Aldingbourne only. Both original award and enrolled copy in C.R.O.			
1785	W	Sidlesham Common and Aldmodington Green in Sidlesham (P)	/227½	1792	C.R. (W) C.R.e. (W)
		Both original award and enrolled copy in C.R.O.			
1791	W	Birdham (P)	/385½	1793	C.R. (W)
1791	W	West Wittering Common (part of Manhood Common), and Cackham Green in West Wittering (P)	/176	1793	C.R. (W)
		Not Cackhouse Green as in the 1904 Blue Book.			
1797	W	Elsted Marsh in Elsted (P) and Trotton (P)	/272	1801	C.R.e. (W)
		1904 Blue Book says also under an act of 1790. I have not been able to trace this.			
1808	W	Thakeham Common in Thakeham, Sullington, and Shipley (Ps)	292	1812	C.R.e. (W)
1808	W	West Tarring (P) (Manor of Tarring with Marle Post)	450	1811	C.R.e. (W)
1808	W	North Heath Common in Pulborough (P)	350/312	1815	C.R. (W)
1812	W	Horsham	/684	1813	C.R. (W)
1813	E	Laughton (M) in Laughton, East Hoathly, Chiddingly, Hellingly, Heathfield, Beddingham, Waldron, Chalvington, Ripe, and West Firlie (Ps)	1,824	1818	C.R. (E)
1815	W	Woolavington (P) and Graftonham (P)	1,200	1820	C.R. (W)
1820	W	Wenham (M) in Rogate (P)	850	1825	C.R. (W)
		Parish copy deposited in C.R.O. Not in 1904 Blue Book. In 1914 Blue Book as Rogate only.			
1828	E	Keymer (M) in Keymer, Balcombe and Worth (Ps)	/469	1829	C.R. (E)
1833	W	Bpton (P)	107	1834	C.R.e. (W)
1841	E	Waningore (M) and Houndean (M) in Chailey (P)	320	1842	C.R. (E)
		In 1914 Blue Book as Chailey only.			

¹ Acreage prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

C. Inclosures mainly of Lands including Open Field Arable under the General Act of 1836

Date of Act	West or East Sussex	Place(s)	Acreage estimated in Act ¹	Date of award	Place of deposit or enrolment
1836	E	Southease (P)	/758	1844	C.R.e. (E)
1836	W	Littlehampton (P)	/158	1841	C.R.e. (W)
1836	W	Rustington Brook and Mews Brook in Rustington (P)	/37	1839	C.R.e. (W)
1836	W	Westbourne Common Field in Westbourne (P)	/135	1841	C.R.e. (W) C.R. (W)

Parish copy deposited in C.R.O.

D. Inclosures mainly of Lands other than Open Field Arable, under the General Acts of 1836 and 1840

NIL

E. Inclosures of Lands including Open Field Arable under the General Acts of 1845 et seq.

(i) *By Provisional Order not needing statutory Confirmation*

1845	W	Portfield and Guildersfield (recte Guildenfield), in Oving (P)	178/188	1849	C.R. (W) B.A.
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(ii) *By Provisional Order confirmed in pursuance of Annual General Act.*

1845 and 1868	W	Hunston Commons and Common Fields in Hunston (P)	73	1871	C.R. (W) B.A.
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Slater says 78 acres.

F. Inclosures of Lands not including Open Field Arable under the General Acts of 1845 et seq.

(i) *By Provisional Order not needing statutory Confirmation*

1845	E	Bullock Down and Sheep Down in Eastbourne (P)	/633	1853	C.R. (E) B.A.
1845	W	Barnham Brook in Barnham (P)	/96	1853	C.R. (W) B.A.
1845	W	Barnham	/325	1862	C.R. (W)
Ministry of Agriculture have no record of original award.					
1845	W	Tenantry Down and West Hill in Findon (P)	/658	1856	C.R. (W) B.A.

Also Parish copy deposited in C.R.O.

¹ Acreage prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

(ii) *By Provisional Order confirmed in pursuance of Annual General Act*

<i>Date of Act or and Sussex</i>	<i>West or East Sussex</i>	<i>Place(s)</i>	<i>Acreage estimated in Act¹</i>	<i>Date of award</i>	<i>Place of deposit or enrolment</i>
1847	W	Washington Commons in Washington (M) and (P) and Ashington (P)	265	1851	C.R. (W) B.A.
1848	W	Mid Lavant Common and part of Marsh in Mid Lavant (P)	94	1856	C.R. (W) B.A.
1848	W	Boxgrove (P)	55	1856	C.R. (W) B.A.
1848	W	Old Broyle Common and part of Lavant Marsh in East Lavant (P)	95	1856	C.R. (W) B.A.
1849	E	Michelham waste lands, Harebeating Green and Upper Dicker in Park Gate (M) in Hellingly, Arlington, and Hailsham (Ps)	131	1855	C.R. (E) B.A.
1850	W	Storrington Commons in Storrington (P)	226	1858	C.R. (W) B.A.
1850	W	Nutbourne Commons in Pulborough (P)	182	1855	C.R. (W) B.A.
1851	W	Exfold Wood Common and Greenhurst Green in Rudgwick (P)	30	1851	C.R. (W) B.A.
1852	E	Clayton (P)	95	1857	C.R. (E) B.A.
1853	W	Ifield Green, Lowfield Heath, Soutons Green, Goose Green, and Gossops Green in Ifield (P) Parish copy deposited in C.R.O. by Crawley Parish Council.	86	1855	C.R. (W) B.A.
1854	W	Iping Marsh, Coopers Heath, part of Milland Marsh, and part of Wardley Marsh in Iping (P)	231	1857	C.R. (W) B.A.
1854	W	Broadbridge Heath, part in Drungewick (M) in Horsham, Sullington, and Warnham (Ps), and partly extraparochial	21	1858	C.R. (W) B.A.
1855	W	Pithington <i>als.</i> Pithingdean (<i>recte</i> Pithington) Marsh in Pulborough (P)	19	1857	C.R. (W) B.A.
1856	W	Eastern Sheep Down in Southwick (P)	129	1858	C.R. (W) B.A.
1856	W	Nyetimber Common in West Chiltington (P) In 1914 Blue Book as West Chiltington only.	107	1868	C.R. (W) B.A.
1856	W	Harting Combe, including Fyning Wood, in Rogate (P)	830	1861	B.A.
1856	E	Framfield (M) in Framfield, Buxted, Uckfield, Mayfield, Withyham, and Lindfield (Ps)	1,880	1862	C.R. (E) B.A.
1857	W	Broadbridge Heath, part in Broadbridge (M) in Horsham, Sullington, and Warnham (Ps), and partly extraparochial	13	1858	C.R. (W) B.A.

¹ Acreage prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

<i>Date of Act or 1845 East and Sussex</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Place(s)</i>	<i>Acreage estimated in Act¹</i>	<i>Date of award</i>	<i>Place of deposit or enrolment</i>
1857	W	Chiltington Common in West Chiltington (P)	102	1868	C.R. (W) B.A.
1857	W	Westbourne Common in Westbourne (P)	188	1859	C.R. (W) B.A.
Also Parish copy deposited in C.R.O.					
1858	W	Turwick (<i>recte</i> Terwick) (P)	107	1861	B.A.
1858	E	Haywards Heath in Cuckfield (P)	160/112	1862	C.R. (E) B.A.
1858	W	Drungewick (M) in Wisborough Green (P)	76	1865	C.R. (W) B.A.
See article and map, <i>S.A.C.</i> LVI. 170-5.					
1859	W	Chithurst Common, Chithurst Marsh, Charley Common and part of Milland Marsh in Chithurst (P)	222	1862	C.R. (W) B.A.
1859	E	Oathall (M) in Wivelsfield (P)	35/26	1861	C.R. (E) B.A.
1859	E	Tenantry Hill and Fore Down in Portslade (P)	384	1861	C.R. (E) B.A.
1860	E	Horstead Keynes and Broadhurst (Ms) in Horstead Keynes and Fletching (Ps)	195	1864	C.R. (E) B.A.
1861	W	Amberley (M) in Wisborough Green and Fittleworth (Ps)	190	1871	C.R. (W) B.A.
1861	W	Walderton Down in Stoughton (P)	280	1863	C.R. (W) B.A.
Arbitration Award deciding in which manor Walderton Down lay is enrolled in Public Record Office, reference C. 54/6851 No. 6.					
1864	W	Slindon Common, Slindon Bottom, North Wood, Baycombe Green, and Court Hill in Slindon (P)	958	1870	C.R. (W) B.A.
1865	W	Mannings Heath and Monks Common in Nuthurst (P)	30	1871	C.R. (W) B.A.
1868	W	Jolesfield Common, Partridge Green, and waste lands of Bidlington and Kings Barns (Ms), in West Grinstead and Cowfold (Ps)	87	1872	C.R. (W) B.A.
1869	W	Hunston (P)	16	1872	C.R. (W) B.A.
1869	E	Cow Down, the Dale, and Woolstanbury Hill in Piecombe (P)	306/272	1872	C.R. (E) B.A.
1884-5	E	Ashdown Forest in East Grinstead, Hartfield, Withyham, Buxted, Maresfield, and Fletching (Ps)	/6,000	1887	C.R. (E) B.A.
Not in 1914 Blue Book.					
'Regulated' under the Commons Act of 1876 by a Local Act 48 & 49 Vic. c. 56; about 30 acres of encroachments were sold.					
1895	E	Bexhill Down in Bexhill (P)	/45	1896	C.R. (E) B.A.
Not in 1914 Blue Book.					

¹ Acreage prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

G. Inclosures by Private Agreement formally enrolled among County Records

<i>Date of Act</i>	<i>West or East Sussex</i>	<i>Place(s)</i>	<i>Area estimated in agreement¹</i>	<i>Date of agreement</i>	<i>Place of deposit or enrolment</i>
1756	W	Bedham (M) in Kirdford (P) Wisborough Green (P), and Fittleworth (P)	n.s.	1769	C.R.e. (W)
Agreement between Lord of the Manor and Commoners for inclosure and felling of woodland and sale of timber made under General Timber Preservation Act, 29 Geo. II, c. 36.					
<i>Date of agreement</i>				<i>Date of award</i>	
1779	W	Eastergate Common in Eastergate (P)	120/102	1779	C.R. (W)
Articles of Agreement 3 Mar. 1779.					
1791	W	Donnington Common in Donnington (P)	68/65	1793	C.R.e. (W)
Award cites Articles of Agreement dated 19 July 1791.					
				<i>Date of agreement</i>	
..	W	Loxwood (M) in Wisborough Green (P)	135	1830	C.R.e. (W)
Two indentures of Agreement 19/20 May 1830. See <i>S.A.C.</i> LVI. 170-1, article and map.					
..	W	Rogate Bohunt (M) in Trotton (P)	13	1870	C.R.e. (W)
Agreement exchanging waste land for other in Rogate (P).					

Notes

All save one of the Sussex Inclosure Acts are Private Acts. The exception is the Ashdown Forest 'Regulating' Local Act of 1884-5 (48/49 Vic. c. 56). Only one Sussex Inclosure Act was amended by a subsequent act, that for Amberley and Coldwaltham (1810), 1813. Goring, 1804, is indexed in the Deputy Keeper's *Report* 27 as in Sussex and Surrey. It is wholly in Sussex. Dr. Slater erroneously indexes Durrington 1814 as in *Suffolk*. It is, of course, in *Sussex*. Warblington, Chidham, and Westbourne, 1819, are indexed in the Blue Books as partly in Sussex, partly in Hampshire. Warblington is in Hampshire, and the other two places in Sussex, so I reckon this inclosure under both counties. There is an award of some kind for Rye Harbour in 1838 under a Local Act of 1833² enrolled with the

¹ Acreage prefixed by a stroke is taken from the award.

² Local Act 3/4 Wm. IV, c. 67.

East Sussex County Records and in Chancery. It is, I think, an inclosure award of a very special kind, and as such it appears in both the official lists. It refers to certain inclosures of marshland which were won or secured as a result of the harbour works.

Under Part I of the Commons Act of 1899 there were a few small commons in Sussex 'regulated': in 1900 Lindfield Common of 23 acres, and Sidlesham and Fishers Commons of 30 acres; in 1902 Southwick Green of 10 acres; in 1903 Broadwater Green of 9½ acres; and in 1906 Staplefield (Cuckfield) of 12 acres.¹

V. GENERAL INCLOSURE ACTS

1235. 20 Henry III, c. 4. Statute of Merton.

(Lords of manors to be allowed to inclose or approve parts of the waste lands of their manors, provided it should appear on complaint of the free tenants that there was left a sufficiency of the common to satisfy their rights, with free access thereto.)

1285. 13 Edward I, c. 46. Statute of Westminster II.

(Lords of manors may approve against their neighbours, leaving them sufficient common.)

1482. 22 Edward IV, c. 7. Act for inclosing of woods, which have been felled, in any forest, chase, or purlieu, for seven years.

1549. 3 & 4 Edward VI, c. 3. Act concerning the improvement of commons and waste grounds.

1756. 29 George II, c. 36. Act for inclosing, by the mutual consent of the lords and tenants, part of any common for the purpose of planting and preserving trees fit for timber and underwood; and for more effectually preventing the unlawful destruction of trees. (Agreements for inclosure under this Act were to be enrolled with the Clerk of the Peace.)

Act amended in 1757 (31 George II, c. 41).

1773. 13 George III, c. 81. Act for the better cultivation, improvement, and regulation of common arable fields, wastes, and commons of pasture.

(Field Master or Reeve to superintend the ordering, fencing, cultivating, and improving of open and common fields. Lords of manors, with the consent of three-quarters of the commoners, may lease one-twelfth of the wastes, the net rents to be applied for improvement of the residue of the wastes.)

1801. 41 George III, c. 109. Act for consolidating into one Act certain provisions usually inserted in acts of inclosure; and for facilitating the mode of proving the several facts usually required on the passing of such Acts.

1821. 1 & 2 George IV, c. 23. Act to amend the law respecting the inclosing of open fields, pastures, moors, commons, and waste lands.

¹ Lord Eversley (Shaw Lefevre), *Commons, Forests and Footpaths*, 1910, pp. 336-8.

1831. 1 & 2 William IV, c. 42. Act to amend an Act of 59 George III, for relief and employment of the poor.
(Churchwardens and overseers may inclose part of the waste lands not exceeding 50 acres for cultivation, with the consent of the lord of the manor and majority of commoners.)
1831. 1 & 2 William IV, c. 59. Act to enable churchwardens and overseers to inclose land belonging to the Crown for the benefit of poor persons residing in the parish.
(Churchwardens and overseers may inclose waste or forest up to 50 acres.)
1832. 2 & 3 William IV, c. 42. Act to authorize, in parishes inclosed under Act of Parliament, the letting of the poor allotments in small portions to industrious cottagers.
1833. 3 & 4 William IV, c. 87. Act for remedying a defect in titles to messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, allotted, sold, divided, or exchanged under Acts of inclosure, in consequence of the award not having been enrolled or not having been enrolled within the time limited by the several Acts; and for authorizing the appointment of new Commissioners in certain cases where the same shall have been omitted.
1836. 6 & 7 William IV, c. 115. Act for facilitating the inclosure of open and arable fields in England and Wales.
(Open and common lands may be inclosed with the consent of two-thirds of the parties interested.)
1840. 3 & 4 Victoria, c. 31. Act to extend powers and provisions of the several Acts relating to open and arable fields in England and Wales.
1845. 8 & 9 Victoria, c. 118. Act to facilitate the inclosure and improvement of commons and lands held in common, the exchange of lands, and the division of intermixed lands, to provide remedies for defective and incomplete executions, and for the non-execution of the powers of general and local inclosure Acts; and to provide for the revival of such powers in certain cases.
(Village greens not to be inclosed. Commissioners to embody the conditions of proposed inclosure in a provisional order, and to take the consent of parties interested. Partitions and exchanges may be made. Regulated pastures may be set out.)
1846. 9 & 10 Victoria, c. 70. Act to amend the Act to facilitate the inclosure and improvement of commons.
1847. 10 & 11 Victoria, c. 111. Act to extend the provisions of the Act for the inclosure and improvement of commons.
1848. 11 & 12 Victoria, c. 99. Act to further extend the provisions of the Act for the inclosure and improvement of commons.
(Provisions concerning exchanges of land not subject to be inclosed, &c., extended to partitions.)

1849. 12 & 13 Victoria, c. 83. Act further to facilitate the inclosure of commons, and the improvement of commons and other lands.
1851. 14 & 15 Victoria, c. 53. Act to consolidate and continue the copyhold and inclosure commissions, and to provide for the completion of proceedings under the Tithe Commutation Acts.
(The Commissioners are to reserve to the lord of the manor the rights of way and other easements over lands intended to be inclosed.)
1852. 15 & 16 Victoria, c. 79. Act to amend and further extend the Acts for the inclosure, exchange, and improvement of land.
(No lands to be inclosed without the previous authority of Parliament.)
1854. 17 & 18 Victoria, c. 97. Act to amend and extend the Acts for the inclosure, exchange, and improvement of land.
1857. 20 & 21 Victoria, c. 31. Act to amend and explain the Inclosure Acts.
1859. 22 & 23 Victoria, c. 43. Act to amend and extend the provisions of the Acts for the inclosure, exchange, and improvement of land.
1868. 31 & 32 Victoria, c. 89. Act to alter certain provisions in the Acts for the commutation of tithes, the copyhold Acts, and the Acts for the inclosure, exchange, and improvement of land, and to make provision towards defraying the expense of the Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Office.
1873. 36 & 37 Victoria, c. 19. Act for making better provision for the management in certain cases of lands allotted under local Acts of Inclosure for the benefit of the poor.
1876. 39 & 40 Victoria, c. 56. Act for facilitating the regulation and improvement of commons and for amending the Acts relating to the inclosure of commons.
1878. 41 & 42 Victoria, c. 56. Act to amend the law respecting the expense of regulating commons.
1879. 42 & 43 Victoria, c. 37. Act to amend the Commons Act, 1876.
1882. 45 & 46 Victoria, c. 15. Act to provide the better application of moneys paid by way of compensation for the compulsory acquisition of common lands and extinguishment of rights of common.
1882. 45 & 46 Victoria, c. 80. Act for the extension of allotments.
1899. 62 & 63 Victoria, c. 30. Act to amend the Inclosure Acts, 1845–82, and the law relating to commons and open spaces.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

It is certain that despite my care this text must still contain errors, and there must be many omissions of possible references to early field systems and inclosures in the county. I shall be most grateful to any reader who can supply notes of any of these, so that the Sussex section may be as complete and as useful as possible, if it ever appears, as it is hoped that eventually perhaps it may, in a single volume covering the history of inclosure in the entire country. I regret that I have been unable to get into touch with Miss Marion Melville whose thesis *The Pastoral Custom of . . . Mediaeval Sussex* has corrected some of the errors in Prof. Gray's work. In completing this part of my work I have, however, received very valuable help from the following gentlemen: Mr. W. Albery of Horsham; Mr. B. Campbell Cooke, County Archivist of West Sussex; the Rev. A. C. Crookshank of Funtington; Mr. G. D. Johnston of 18 Marloes Road, W. 8; Mr. T. C. Hayward, C.B.E., B.A., Clerk of the Peace for West Sussex; Mr. H. S. Martin, C.B.E., LL.B., Clerk of the Peace for East Sussex. Mr. L. F. Salzman as Hon. Editor of *Sussex Archaeological Collections* has been good enough to publish an appeal for help addressed to local historians, and has also given me the benefit of his own knowledge. The West Sussex Record Office has supplied the useful table of statutes which forms Part V of the study.

I owe my thanks above all to the George Webb Medley Trustees in the University of Oxford for the assistance which has enabled me to proceed with this further instalment of my work at the cost of neglecting other interests which are not more valuable than the study of agrarian history, but which are a great deal likelier than this to afford a material remuneration.

W. E. TATE

REFERENCES TO ANCIENT SUSSEX CHURCHES IN 'THE ECCLESIOLOGIST'

MAINLY AS REGARDS RESTORATION AND REPAIR

BY O. H. LEENEY

(Continued from *S.A.C.* LXXXVII. 207)

EASTBOURNE (*St. Mary*)

Eastbourne alone, of the many Sussex sea-side resorts, retains a medieval church of all but the first rank. Its great value, in the forefront of Transitional Norman buildings, the excellent preservation of admirable detail, the retention, on an imposing scale, of ancient fittings and furniture, and its many monuments, combine to render it indeed one of our noblest legacies. It is gratifying, therefore, to record its restoration as among the most satisfactory that the historian has to deal with, being largely necessary repairs and faithful renewal of original details. Only the east front has been remodelled, but even here its most remarkable feature, a medieval vestry below the great east window, has been faithfully preserved,¹ as well as the east window of the north chapel.

These restorations and repairs took place for the most part between 1844 and 1873, during the long vicariate of Canon Thomas Pitman (1828-90; d. 1890), in whose incumbency, though the interior of the church was completely transformed after the manner of the age, the fabric itself was tenderly treated. It contrasts, for instance, most favourably with St. Nicholas at Brighton, the rebuilding of which was undertaken at much the

¹ Eastbourne is in the Rape of Pevensey; and therefore has not yet appeared in *V.C.H.*; it has had, however, the best historians of any Sussex town; and the reader is referred to the copious and painstaking works of the Rev. Walter Budgen, G. F. C. Chambers, and W. Wright, besides minor works. See also the excellent *Diocesan Guide*, with plan, by Walter H. Godfrey and E. F. Harvey.

same time, and which requires a small reference library properly to understand what was carried out. At St. Mary's, Eastbourne, the structure is so admirably preserved that its architectural history and development can be readily traced. The comparison is the more remarkable in that both restorations were carried out, or at least inaugurated, by the same architect, R. C. Carpenter.¹

The Ecclesiologist (vol. XIII, N.S. IX, pp. 440-1, Dec. 1852) contains a good description of the church, recognizing a very remarkable feature, not always grasped by the visitor, viz. the curious assimilation of the two westernmost bays of the church, of late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century date, to the earlier twelfth-century work eastwards:

The fifth bay of the nave and the tower attached to it are Third-pointed Perpendicular. And it is curious to note the strong line of demarcation which separates this comparatively new work from the old. The junction is carried down the westernmost columns, leaving half their capitals with foliage resembling that of their fellows, the other half with quite different sculpture; and half their shafts of a stone distinct in colour from that of the other half with which it is bonded.

The writer then goes on to describe the work, giving much interesting detail:

The restoration has been almost confined to the interior of the church, the fabric being substantially sound and in good repair. The stone quoins, monials, and tracery of the windows, the piers and arches have been scraped clean; the walls have been replastered; the timbers of the roof brought back to their natural colour. The pews have been abolished; and solid oak benches substituted in their place throughout the nave and its aisles. Of these unfortunately the appropriated ones have doors. The galleries await early destruction; they are condemned, and only temporarily reprieved in deference to the natural scruples of the aged widow of a former vicar whose work they were. A new stone pulpit is placed in the north-east corner of the nave; the carving of it is shallow and meagre. A low reading platform is railed in on the opposite side. High in the wall above the latter is a fenestella² containing credence shelf and piscina,

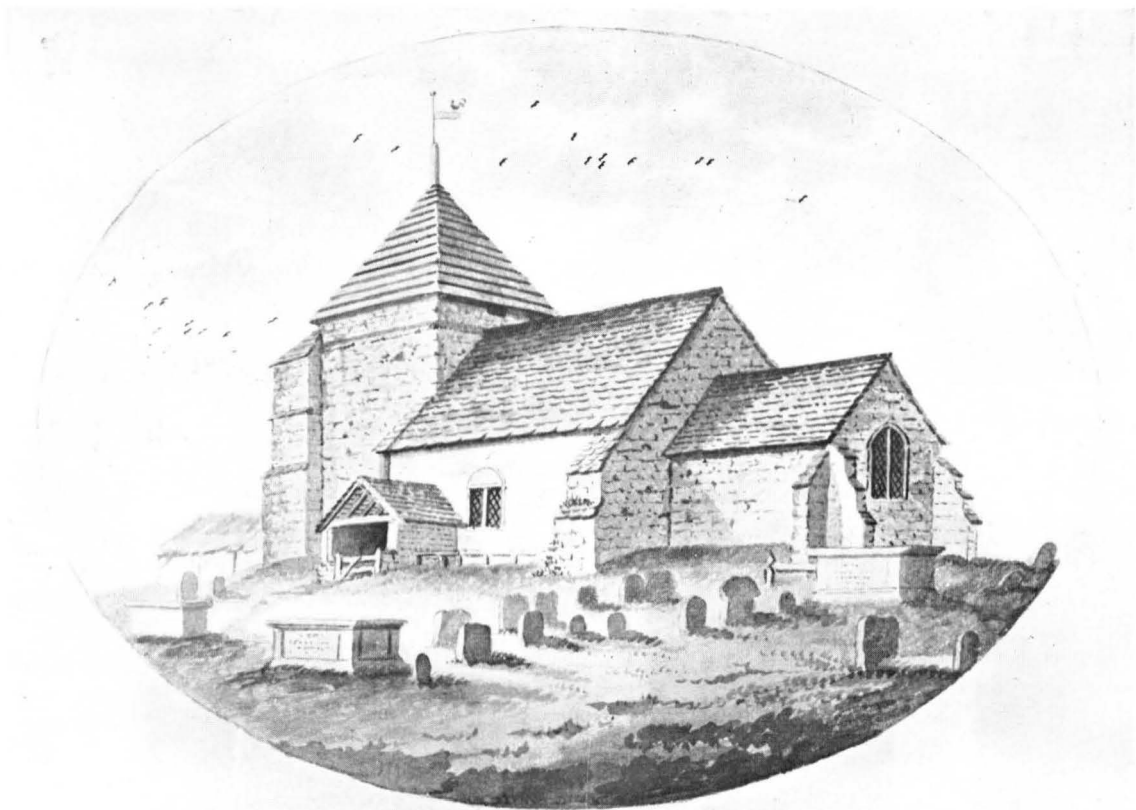
¹ *S.A.C.* LXXXIV. 134-42.

² This word, now superseded by *piscina*, was a favourite with the Camdenians. They meant the entire aperture in which the actual drain was placed. See Parker's *Glossary*, 5th edn., 1850, p. 204.

appendages we conclude of an altar in the rood-loft now removed. The turret stair which led to this loft has of late years formed the approach to the north gallery: it is to be regretted that in replastering the nave the upper doorway, piercing its wall into the roof-loft, was blocked up and its very outline obliterated. The chancel is devoid of screen, and lower by one step than the nave; it is however enclosed by elaborately arcaded parclooses of Middle-Pointed work, which have been relieved of paint, and made good where defective. Benches arranged longitudinally and unappropriated occupy the area; which we should gladly see tenanted by an instructed and orderly choir. A new situation in the chancel aisle has been provided for the organ, at present in the tower gallery¹. . . some handsome Third-Pointed sedilia on the south side have been cleared, but are unhappily superseded by a pair of altar chairs. The reredos of the same date is embellished with well intended, but not very pleasing attempts in polychrome. . . south of the altar a doorway in the reredos leads down steps into a disused sacristy of the Perpendicular period. . . The works have been conducted under the superintendence of Mr. Carpenter, and have evidently effected an immense improvement: much however remains to be done. Among the most pressing wants are those of a new altar (the present being a mean table), a new altar window, and proper arrangement of the choir.

The present condition of St. Mary's is the best comment on this quite accurate report; the very considerable extent to which the masonry, both externally and internally, has been preserved is sufficient testimony. In one sense, however, the destruction of the galleries, particularly of the north one, is to be regretted; its approach by means of an ancient rood-loft turret added an interesting chapter to the church's history, now wiped out. The sacristy is disused no longer, though its approach is such that lay inspection, not unreasonably, is not always particularly welcome. The altar (great east) window would have delighted the writer, could he have lived to see it; of five lights, with Geometrical traceries, multifoiled circles, and neat trefoils, it is eminently characteristic of Carpenter's school and time; the east window of the south chancel aisle, also with

¹ It is instructive to note a twentieth-century return to the western gallery, for which of course there is ample precedent, both medieval and post-Reformation. Such galleries are now put up to accommodate both organ and (sometimes) singers; recent Sussex examples are those at Brede, Rustington, and Kingston Buci; distinctly, in the two first instances, to the detriment of the architectural history of the fabric.



F A I R L I G H T

FAIRLIGHT CHURCH, c. 1780

(from a drawing by the Rev. R. H. H. H.)

modern traceries, is a simplified copy of it. Its fellow to the north is (or was) ancient, and one of the most delightful things in the church; of a frequent Sussex Curvilinear pattern.¹

FAIRLIGHT (*St. Andrew*)

Early numbers of *The Ecclesiologist* (vol. iv, N.S. I, pp. 169–70, July 1845; and vol. v, N.S. II, pp. 33–4, Jan. 1846; and vol. vi, N.S. III, pp. 189–90, Nov. 1846) give elaborate accounts and also harshly condemnatory criticism of a new church built in 1845. It succeeded a church pulled down, apparently, the year before; it is worthy of note that not a word of regret is expressed for its disappearance, an attitude, unhappily, not confined to that age. Some slight reference, therefore, to a building that has but recently celebrated its centenary may be useful as a contribution to our greater knowledge of the Gothic Revival.²

Contrary to the usual run of such appointments at the time, and for some decades subsequently, where Sussex churches were concerned, an unknown architect, Mr. J. Little, provided the plans. At the same time he furnished the design for another church in London (St. John's Wood) in a paraphrase of Perpendicular. Both were exhibited, together with many other designs by more famous architects, in the Architectural Room at the Royal Academy. Eclectically minded, and with a due regard to the essential character of the smaller churches of Sussex, Mr. Little adopted for the style chosen one correctly described in Kelly's *Directory* as 'later Early English' (but with variations therefrom).

The Ecclesiologist's critic adopts the harsh tone which

¹ The east windows of both chancel aisles suffered damage from one of the many air-raids which the town endured, and are still (May 1949) boarded up in consequence. That to the north had six medallions of Early Renaissance painted glass, of alleged Flemish provenance; for that to the south new glass has been designed. The beautiful glass of the great east window, happily uninjured, is a memorial of Canon Streatfeild, vicar from 1911 to 1929, bishop of Lewes for a short period; the west window (tower area) has good mid-Victorian glass. The two should be compared, preferably by evening light in spring or summer.

² Mr. John E. Ray describes both churches in *V.C.H.* ix. 177–8, which gives also an illustration of the old church, taken from a drawing in the Sharpe Collection, c. 1800. See also *The Builder*, 17 May 1845.

these enthusiastic and intolerant amateurs often used when not 'damning with faint praise'. He is kind enough to remark: 'there are four good points in this building: first, a moderate chancel (i.e. one of sufficient length), second, a porch in the proper position (i.e. the south, but the critics failed to grasp the fact that the position of a medieval porch was always determined by the convenience of its approach to the majority of parishioners), third, a roof of lead (actually of slate), fourth, a tolerable west window of three lancets, with three plain circles in the head. Everything else is as bad as it can be. The windows in the nave are couplets; the buttresses thin, meagre and obtruding themselves into the corbel-table; the tower, in its contour, a copy of that at St. Andrew's, Hove¹ . . . embattled with an octagonal embattled turret at the north-east,' and so on. The last extract describes the interior, and provides us with a new word, interesting to us of this generation who have seen the birth of many—'the chancel arch is supported on corbels bearing *respondlets*; the seats are open, but of incorrect design, with extremely poor poppy-heads', and so forth.

GRAFFHAM (*St. Giles*)

References to this church in *The Ecclesiologist* are brief. The first (vol. xviii, N.S. xv, p. 50, Feb. 1857) merely refers to an inspection by the committee of a design for a 'new church' by G. E. Street; the second (vol. xx, N.S. xvii, p. 295, Aug. 1859) states: 'Mr. Street has designed a very good lychgate for this church. It follows the old simple timber type, and has a tiled roof, with a moulded stone crest, and a metal cross on the gable. The gates are well moulded.'

Street wielded his 'zealous churchman's pick and plane' as vigorously in Sussex as did any restoring architect, here or elsewhere,² and the St. Giles' which

¹ Rebuilt by Basevi in 1836 on the foundations of the old.

² The new church ascribed to Street may have been, of course, another building; but that architect undoubtedly undertook the restoration of Graffham; it figures in the list of his works given in his son's biography (*Memoir of George Edmund Street*, 1888, pp. 22, 303) and is there correctly stated to have been 'practically rebuilt'.

emerged from his hands in 1874 is a very different building from the medieval structure. Funds appear not to have been lacking, the restoration having been undertaken as a memorial of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester (1805-73),¹ and Street went to work as drastically as many an architect of lesser reputation would have done.

Old St. Giles' is well shown in a drawing in the Sharpe Collection (1804) depicting admirably its many typically Sussex features. The nave and south aisle under the same sloping roof so frequently adopted by medieval carpenters hereabouts had the picturesque dormer which the common sense of the eighteenth-century builders no less frequently added; it had a tower with timber spire, of which the broaches were more receding than those of the present one. The dormer disappeared; but Street spared the tower and spire, which, however, becoming unsafe, were taken down in 1885; the tower was rebuilt in 1887, with spire added in 1889; the later builders omitted, as is so common, to provide a stair turret, access to the tower being only the customary step-ladder, in this instance of iron, flimsy and unsatisfactory. Street, however, must be given the credit of preserving the ancient fourteenth-century doorway, a pleasing design with good mouldings, now (1948) unfortunately much decayed; it has been reinserted.

Street also preserved some highly interesting details, furnishing no less remarkable innovations of his own. The chancel arch is modern; the old east window which, judging from Sharpe's drawing seems to have been a fourteenth-century design of two lights, gave way to a novel composition of five lancets under triple rear-arches. He also spared the interesting Transitional Norman arcades, so characteristic of the *genius loci*, with their capitals showing closely packed scalloped ornament, simple *griffes* (foot-ornaments) at bases, and arches of hard chalk at the angles, with rubble between. Happily, too, the venerable tub font, possibly Saxon,

¹ Street attended the bishop's funeral at Graftham; *op. cit.*, p. 221. His family were long resident in west Sussex.



EAST GRINSTEAD

EAST GRINSTEAD CHURCH, 1781

of which bowl, base, and plinth are all ancient, has come down to us.

Street's worst offence was the remodelling of the chancel and addition of a south chapel, with the erection of a sham Transitional Norman arcade, copied from those of the nave, and detestable as all such imitations are. This meant the obliteration of the south side of the chancel, which had some details of a curious nature. One remarkable feature has been happily preserved: a doorway leading to a modern vestry retains an old lock, a very quaint piece of ironwork, replaced in a modern door.

EAST GRINSTEAD (*St. Swithun*)

This large church and familiar landmark, so nobly set on a hill that all faults of detail are softened by distance, has never received the attention it deserves; travellers, though at first attracted by its handsome proportions, suffer themselves to be too easily disillusioned when learning the name of its architect, James Wyatt (1746–1813). To the student, however, of the Gothic Revival, probably no church of the eighteenth century presents a more attractive study, or one more worthy of attention. For St. Swithun's may rank as something more than a church of the revival; together with the slightly earlier fabric of another Sussex church, Laughton, it offers satisfactory proof that the old Gothic art of England never died, but that in some form, however 'debased and corrupt' we may choose to classify it, it lingered on, Barry's St. Peter's at Brighton providing the final link in the great chain of medieval beginnings until, so to speak, the morning light dawned in a new architectural sky. It may not be too fanciful to bring in a comparison with those northern lands in midsummer where, ere the sunset has faded, another glow appears on the horizon.¹

East Grinstead was beloved of the Camdenians and

¹ The belated Gothic remodelling of Laughton took place c. 1760 (*V.C.H.* II, 379). Wyatt's rebuilding of East Grinstead seems to have been commenced in 1789, but the tower was not completed until 1813; St. Peter's Brighton was commenced in 1824.



LOOKING WEST



LOOKING EAST
EAST GRINSTEAD CHURCH: AFTER FALL OF TOWER
(from drawings in the Burrell collection)

their followers from the foundation here of the St. Margaret's Sisterhood, the memorial of the famous liturgiologist, the Rev. John Mason Neale (1818-66), and of the two references in *The Ecclesiologist*, one is to that remarkable conventual establishment.¹

Wyatt's restoration of the church, subsequent to its partial destruction by the fall of its tower in 1785, seems to have been carried out with greater deference to the original design than is customarily supposed. The north side appears to have suffered most; there but a solitary pier and arch were left and certain windows, but on the south four or five bays were left almost intact, and windows.

A drawing taken immediately after the fall of the tower appears to show the same curious octagonal piers, with concave sides, capitals, and bases as now. The arches, however, seem to be less depressed than at present; and all these, including the chancel arch, appear to be Wyatt's work. A happy inspiration, fortunately heedless of the criticism of any succeeding generation of purists, led the architect to add a clerestory of five foliated circular windows on each side, with the result that St. Swithun's is an admirably lighted church. In these windows there is a certain sense of incongruity; round clerestory windows are not a marked feature, anywhere, of English Gothic, though it is true that Wyatt might have claimed Sussex precedents, e.g. at Arundel, Beddingham, Cuckfield, Framfield, and elsewhere. The chief defect of his work, however, still manifest, is the miserably inadequate chancel, a small rectangular projection only a few feet square. This was

¹ It gives, however, no detailed description of it; Dr. Neale was associated with the editorship of this publication and perhaps avoided giving publicity to an institution in which he was interested personally. A late number of *The Ecclesiologist* gives his obituary notice (vol. xxvii, N.S. xxiv, pp. 265-6, Oct. 1866). Dr. Neale (1818-66) was present at the foundation stone laying of St. Margaret's Convent (20 July 1865) but did not live to see its completion. It was designed by G. E. Street, who gave his services. See Street's *Memoir*, op. cit., p. 20; Eleanor A. Toyle, *John Mason Neale, D.D., a Memoir*, 1907, pp. 311, &c. An excellent handbook, *East Grinstead and its Parish Church* (5th edn., 1946), has been written by the present vicar, the Rev. Golding-Bird. See also Wallace H. Hills, *The History of East Grinstead*, 1906, pp. 63-86; and *S.A.C.* xx. 132-72, 'Notes on East Grinstead', by J. C. Stenning.

doubtless based on a curtailed arrangement of the older church, which appears to have been shorn of its chancel, the easternmost bay of the nave, fenced in with three-sided altar rails, serving as such. It is necessary to mention this makeshift to make us realize the meaning of the criticism in *The Ecclesiologist* which follows (vol. IX, N.S. VI, p. 144, Oct. 1848):

We have in another place¹ mentioned this church as a curious example of some correct feeling and execution some thirty years ago. It has lately undergone a change which at this stage of ecclesiology we should have thought impossible. There was a very fair pulpit in the proper position, with an open reading-pew and lettern² just inside the sacrarium. These have been swept away; and an old pulpit, reading-desk, and clerk's-pew, set up at the west end of the nave. This portentous erection measures twenty feet from east to west. The reading-desk is a plain watch-box, eight feet high. The font is shut out from the congregation; and almost all the sittings in front of the pulpit turned round to the west. It is but due to the Archdeacon of Lewes to say, that he in vain interfered to prevent this disgraceful alteration. This is a warning to all parish priests, in restoring their churches, to destroy the miserable work that they may remove.

It is hardly necessary to say that the advice proffered in the last sentence was faithfully carried out; and the colossal three-decker mentioned, perhaps one especially designed by Wyatt on a scale befitting a large church, has vanished.³ And the ardent reformers who penned this strongly worded protest to *The Ecclesiologist* would, were they to revisit the church nowadays, appreciate the twentieth-century remodelled ritual arrangements. Handsome screens, designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield, extend right across the church from north to south, those dividing the aisles, with return or parclose screens, forming chapels. The removal of the organ from the east end of the north aisle and its incorporation in a new instrument (1936-7) has preserved Wyatt's west gallery, effectually shutting out all light from possible sources to the west of it.⁴ The builders of our earlier post-Reformation galleries, as at Worth, were more considerate in

¹ I am unable to trace this reference.

² The Camdenians preferred this older form of spelling.

³ Some fragments of it are preserved in the south aisle.

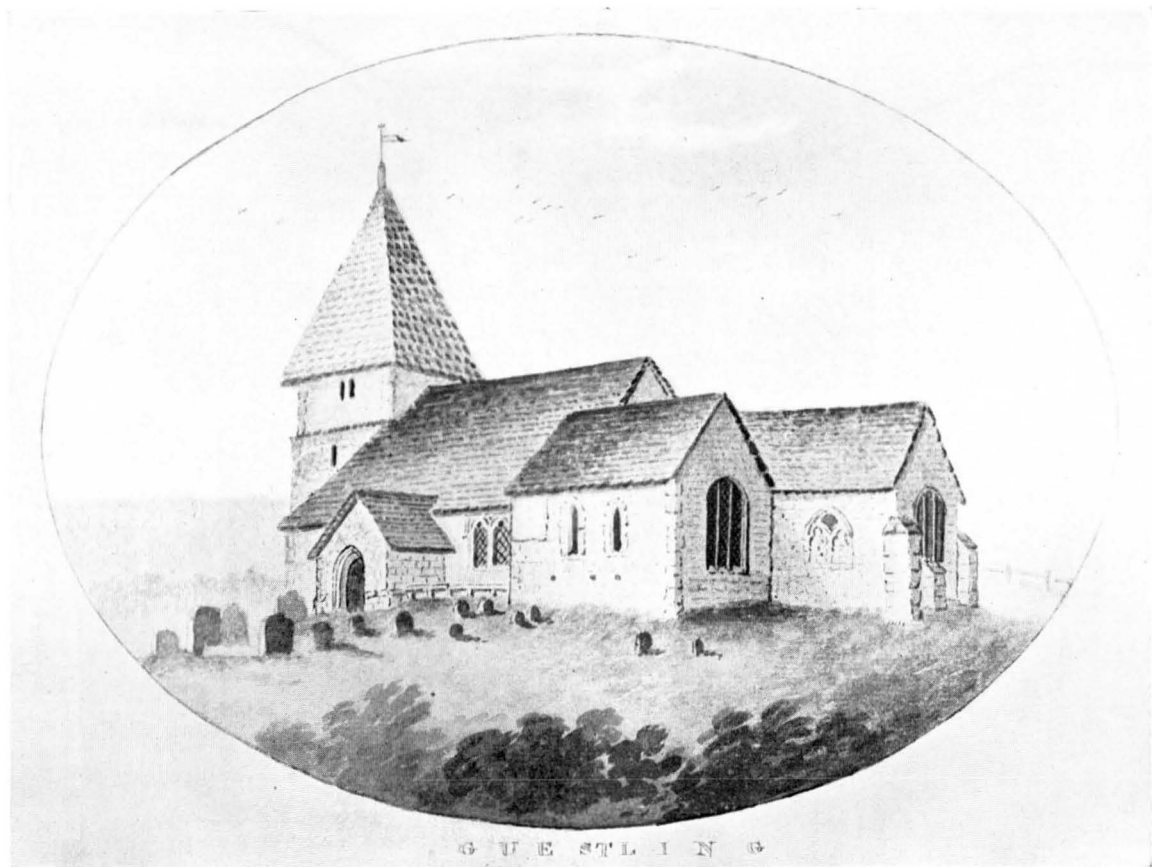
⁴ See also p. 159, n. 1.

this respect. The church is one that few ecclesiologists will visit without satisfaction; not the least attraction of the building being the Museum, housed in the tower, containing among other curios the eighteenth-century reredos.

GUESTLING (*St. Lawrence* or *St. Andrew*)

In view of the restoration, of the type which antiquaries rightly describe as 'heavy', in 1886, and serious injury by fire in 1890, a charmingly naïve description of the church in *The Ecclesiologist* (vol. VI, N.S. III, pp. 182-3, Nov. 1846) may be transcribed literally:

This little church is very interesting, as a rustic history of the mighty revolution by which Romanesque became Pointed. It consists of a western tower, nave with aisles, south porch, and chancel with two chantries, all with distinct roofs, except the north aisle of the nave, which has a lean-to. The first feature which strikes the visitor is the tower, and his first impression probably is that it is Saxon, when he sees the small double belfry-light divided by the equal circular shaft. It is, however, undoubtedly of Norman age. Three sides of the tower are nearly alike: above, a double belfry-window; below two windows in different stories irregularly disposed. The west and north sides are also diversified by a broad shallow staircase excrescence (we cannot call it a turret) having three single lights on as many stories to the west. Formerly this tower was only accessible from the church, but in barbaric days a western door has been cut through the west wall. The whole is so covered with rough-cast that the external masonry must be matter of conjecture. A young ecclesiologist would at once pronounce such a tower to be Saxon, although the windows have not the external splay. But let him enter into the church, and look at the north arcade of the nave. Here he finds three arches, of irregular dimensions, of only one order, with narrow chamfers, resting on square piers with a small quasi-abacus on their lateral faces, and, looking eastward, a chancel arch of the same description meets his eye. The whole work is as rude as possible. Therefore, these arches too might be esteemed Saxon. So they might be were they not unfortunately pointed. This is literally the only difference between them and the tower. The west window of the north aisle, which is Romanesque, is the narrowest we think we ever noticed. The arch leading from the north aisle to the north chantry is of rich Romanesque of three orders, and encircled to the west by a zigzag string. It would be curious to settle the comparative chronology of this rich specimen of Romanesque, and those most rude Pointed arches just described. The two side windows in the north chantry are lancets, encircled with a pear-shaped moulding.



GUESTLING

GUESTLING CHURCH, c. 1780

A similar window at the west end of the chantry, to the north of the abutment of the nave-aisle, is walled up. The east window was formerly a triplet; the extreme nook-shafts still remain. There are double sedilia, of First-Pointed, a head being carved over the one to the east, the chancel projecting beyond the chantries. It is divided from the north chantry by an arcade of two Romanesque arches, of two orders, resting on a square pier and corbels, and corbels for responds. An arcade of two Middle-Pointed arches, of two orders, resting on an octagonal pier and two semicircular responds, separates it from the south chantry. The side windows of this chantry are two lancets with enormous splays. The south arcade of the nave consists of two Middle-Pointed arches, of two orders, on an octagonal pillar and semicircular responds, with a blank space to the west. The aisle side-windows are two-light Third-Pointed. The roof is genuine and good, consisting of ties; one in the south chantry has a characteristic Middle-Pointed king-post. In the actual vestry (the eastern portion of the north aisle) is preserved the rich chest figured in the 'Glossary of Architecture'. There is the wreck of one poppy headed seat in the nave. The pulpit and desk are placed centrally. The tower has been spoiled by a heavy modern slated capping.

It will be noted that the writer (and such error persists to the present day) seems not to have grasped the fact that the nave arcades were cut through earlier walls, conceivably of Saxon date; and that probably a core of pre-Conquest masonry remains above the arcades, while coeval quoins are still to be seen in the west wall. It is likely, however, that this latter piece of evidence was concealed by the rough-cast referred to; and it should be added that traces are still visible inside the tower of the marks of timber framing, doubtless those of a wooden turret, removed when the tower, an undoubted Norman structure, was built up against an older west front.¹

The restoration of the church, delayed until 1886, was deplorable on many counts, the restorers callously obliterating many of the most important features in its architectural history; as in so many painful instances, a new chancel arch was put up—the worst offences of

¹ An interesting parallel exists, or existed, at Southwick in Sussex, where a twelfth-century tower was built up against an older west front, probably of the eleventh century. The tower, damaged by a bomb on 20 Feb. 1941, had to be taken down, when the old roof-marks of an earlier structure were revealed. The wall is now (June 1949) in bad condition; its rebuilding is probably necessary.

the restorer were of this character, as Rodmell and Westhampnett bear sad witness. No less reprehensible was the destruction of the ancient north arcade, of which the writer in *The Ecclesiologist* gives so piquant a description; for its three arches two were substituted, no doubt considered a great 'improvement'. The little Norman window was retained; it must have been coeval with the arcade, of which the form and pointed arches indicated the Transitional Norman period. A sham Norman doorway was inserted, a particularly offensive piece of work, in a wall where such had been deliberately avoided by the old builders, who, at Bishopstone, Southwick, and elsewhere, aimed primarily at a defensive structure. It is remarkable, however, that the old Norman masons, an unusual feature in a remote church of that time, built a stone newel, contained in a clumsy thickening of the wall at the north-west angle.

The high value of the Transitional Norman features so well summed up in the paragraph transcribed, viz. the north arch separating the chancel from the north chantry (chapel of St. John the Evangelist), is well known to students of Sussex church architecture.¹ The foliated capitals and mouldings are fine; the curious retention of the chevron ornament is paralleled at Burpham, New Shoreham, and elsewhere; the Canterbury school of mixed masons, English and French, released after the completion of the great works at the cathedral there, may be responsible.

A possibly earlier tragedy in Guestling's history is the disappearance of the chest mentioned;² it had pretty Flamboyant traceries, and was undoubtedly of foreign, probably Flemish, provenance. It seems to have been broken up, and it is known that fragments are, or were

¹ An excellent account of the church by Mr. John E. Ray will be found in *V.C.H.* ix. 182-3, with plan by himself and Mr. Walter H. Godfrey. Mr. Ray points out the resemblance between its Transitional Norman ornament and that at St. Mary's, Eastbourne; it is well illustrated also in *V.C.H.* ii. 370, by Mr. Philip M. Johnston.

² The illustration of the chest in Parker's *Glossary* (5th edn., 1850) will be found in plate 53. A sketch by Richard Hussey is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1832 (*S.N.Q.* iv. 75).

recently, still in private hands;¹ their restoration to the church, even as museum pieces, would be an act of grace; better, they could be incorporated in a new chest.

Within four years of the restoration, in the early hours of Sunday morning, 23 March 1890, a disastrous fire was caused by the overheating of an iron flue of one of the stoves; the ancient roof was ignited, and the entire woodwork of the church perished. The masonry also suffered throughout; and reddened stones, as in so many churches that have endured similar conflagrations, still bear witness thereto. The new arcade had but a short life, and with its neighbour has undergone renewal.²

HORSHAM (*St. Mary*)

Our next extract from *The Ecclesiologist* (vol. XIII, N.S. IX, pp. 375-8, Dec. 1852) is of greater interest to the lawyer and social reformer than the antiquary, in its report of 'The Horsham Pew Case', an action which aroused a good deal of attention at the time. The report, which is not without its humorous side, is certainly of value at the present day in reminding churchwardens of their responsibilities, and possible pecuniary liabilities as well. Those concerned at Horsham must have felt a cold shudder in their spinal regions when bluntly told by Dr. Phillimore, 'the learned judge of the Chichester Consistorial Court', what these responsibilities were. The judge is stated to have 'warned the churchwardens of Horsham that if they continued to foster and abet an offence, which they were bound to prevent and extirpate, and to disregard the solemn obligation to maintain the Ecclesiastical law, which they had contracted on their institution into their office, they might find they had subjected themselves to criminal proceedings, and to punishment'.

The unfortunate churchwardens were three in number.

¹ Information from Mr. Ray.

² The *Sussex Daily News*, Mon. 24 March 1890, gives a full description of the fire, which consumed adjacent farm buildings as well; but its reference to 'complete destruction', and statement that 'not a vestige of nave, chancel, or tower remains', are obviously exaggerated.

Two, it would appear, doubtless anxious to adopt a conciliatory policy all round, and to avoid taking sides, had suffered their active duties to devolve upon a third, by timely excuses of illness and prudent resignation.

Briefly the facts were that at Horsham, as elsewhere, 'a practice was prevalent of buying and selling seats in the parish church, so systematically carried on, that a register was kept of the supposed value of the seats; . . . this illegal and discreditable traffic had been countenanced by some vicars, and had been sanctioned and abetted by the churchwardens'. One of the seats (or pews) in question, 'customarily used by the inhabitants of a particular mansion, but not attached either by faculty or by prescription', became vacant through the demise of the head of the house. A parishioner, Mr. Rawlinson and his family, took possession of the pew, with the sanction, it was alleged, both of the incumbent and the third churchwarden. But early one Sunday morning a sister of the former occupiers turned up; and when Mr. Rawlinson arrived refused to admit him; whereupon there was 'a slight disturbance'. Mr. Rawlinson then brought the action in question, resulting in the defendants being 'monished that they should refrain for the future from intruding themselves in the pew, and from disturbing Mr. Rawlinson and his family in the quiet and peaceable possession of the same. And further, they were condemned in the costs of this suit.' By what right, however, either party was excluded in favour of another is not clear to the layman; it may have been a case of 'first come, first served'.¹

ICKLESHAM (*All Saints* or *St. Nicholas*)²

This remarkable church, with its heavy and unusual

¹ Disputes as to the alleged rights of parishioners to any particular seat or seats in their parish church were not unknown in pre-Reformation days. See W. J. Hardy, 'Remarks on the History of Seat Reservation in Churches', *Archaeologia*, LIII. 95-106; the writer does not mention the Horsham case. I can find no reference to it in our *Collections*; it does not appear, apparently, in the copious histories of Mr. Wm. Albery, and Mr. S. E. Winbolt's *History of the Parish Church* passes it by in silence. Hence *The Ecclesiologist's* report is worth quoting.

² The former seems the correct dedication; the latter being that of the south chapel: *S.N.Q.* I. 154.

physiognomy, has been well described in our *Collections* and elsewhere.¹ There are three references to the church in *The Ecclesiologist*, of which the first (vol. VI, N.S., pp. 181-2, Nov. 1846) may here be transcribed:

This very fine church has a very remarkable appearance externally from the high-pitched roof of the nave embracing the aisles; the chancel and its chantries, of greater width than the nave or aisles, having separate roofs. The tower is engaged at the end of the north aisle, east of the chancel arch. Commencing westward, the nave is separated from the aisles by an arcade of three Romanesque arches (of horse-shoe form) of two orders resting on circular pillars, with a blank space towards the west. The side windows are obliterated, excepting on the south [where] there are traces of a single Romanesque light, and of a square-headed two-light Pointed one, which must have supplanted it. There was formerly an entrance to the north which is now destroyed. The chancel-arch, which is of First-Pointed, of two orders, rests on corbels. The tower is very noticeable. Though low it has an appearance of stateliness, like that attributed to Saxon towers. It is of three stories, each of the upper ones of diminished size. The present entrance to the church is through it, advantage having been taken of the largest arch of an internal arcade of three on its west side. On its second story are small circular lights. It is now groined, and it opens to the aisle, chancel and chantry, by three arches; that to the chantry being early Pointed. The north chantry is separated from the chancel by two very early First-Pointed arches, of two orders, resting on square piers with nook-shafts, and semi-circular pilasters [responds] to the second order (supplied by corbels at the other extremity.) The east window of this clerestory [*sic*: the writer is referring apparently to the main chancel] was once Middle-Pointed, apparently of three lights and reticulated. At the south side, a Romanesque piscina has been formed in the respond-wall adjoining the east end. This chancel was lit by three lancets now blocked on the north side, with extremely wide splays, and under them, extending the length of the north wall, is a beautiful early First-Pointed arcade of four arches, and a half arch to the west. Traces of colour remain. The chancel projects a bay beyond the chantries: the east window was Middle-pointed; its splay remains. There is a beautiful two-light Middle-Pointed window, (two ogee trefoiled lights with cinquefoiled circle in head,) on each side of the sacrarium, now blocked up. On the

¹ T. T. Churton, *S.A.C.* xxxii. 105-22; Canon G. M. Livett, *S.A.C.* xlviii. 38-64, with plate of mouldings, an excellent study. See also John E. Ray, in *V.C.H.* ix. 187-9, with plan by Mr. Walter H. Godfrey and Mr. E. F. Harvey; it should be compared with those by Canon Livett; and references to the Rev. J. L. Petit in the text. Capitals at Steyning and Icklesham are the work of the same school; *S.A.C.* lvii. 149-161; Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, 412; cf. Livett, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 60.

south side is a rich Middle-pointed piscina with fenestella.¹ The lower part of the rood-screen remains blocked up by pues. It must have been low. There is a semicircular recess cut in the lower wall to the east of the arch opening into the chancel. The south chantry is separated from the chancel by three Middle-Pointed arches, of two orders, on octagonal pillars. The east window of this chantry has been modernized. On the south side are three windows, placed very high up, now blocked, of two lights, with circles in the head without foliations. (Is this want of foliation a local characteristic?—we rather suspect it.) Beneath them is an arcade of six arches, of which the fifth and sixth to the east are respectively raised a step above the one next; so that these at least were sedilia;—adjoining the sixth is a rich piscina, blocked in later days by a high-tomb. If the remaining arches in this and the northern arcades were seats, they must, we think, have held cushions or stools, or else been devoted perhaps to the acolytes, as they are almost on a level with the ground, and the bases of the pillars prevent our supposing the floor raised. The chancel and chantries are on the nave level. At the west end of this chantry is a Romanesque door, blocked, and above it a small blocked circular window like those in the tower, now partially concealed by the aisle-roof. Some of the timbers of the roof are of good Middle-Pointed, composed of ties, and with octagonal banded king-posts.

Soon after this notice appeared the restoration of the church was entrusted to Mr. S. S. Teulon; the work occupied his attention for several years, from 1847 to 1852, and must have been carried on with some intermissions; Teulon, we know, was very busy in the neighbourhood at this time and later, both with new churches and reconstruction of old ones. In vol. IX of *The Ecclesiologist* (N.S. VI, p. 268, Feb. 1849) a severe criticism appears of Teulon's restoration, the point at issue being one on which probably antiquaries are still divided:

This beautiful church . . . has lately been restored by Mr. S. S. Teulon, but we only judge of the manner in which it has been done by two lithographs. That of the exterior shows however that the remarkable span roof which formerly embraced both nave and aisles has given place to a dandified clerestory, with windows matching the new aisle windows, trefoil-headed single ones. We had not much opinion of Mr. Teulon's ability, but we were not prepared to see him or any other architect in the present day so wantonly destroying a feature of extreme singularity and picturesque effect in an ancient church. The nave of Icklesham will henceforward be, externally,

¹ See p. 158 n. 2.

a modern affair,—once it was a study in which Mr. Petit would have rejoiced, while inside it was remarkably solemn. The interior view of the chancel exhibits a few longitudinal benches and a sanctuary rail.

'The dandified clerestory' was, in fact, not carried out. In a temperate letter (the Camdenians treated him more considerately later on) Teulon justified himself (vol. XIII, N.S. IX, p. 204, June 1852) by remarking that 'he felt so strongly the force of the argument in *The Ecclesiologist* in favour of the then existing roof, being also anxious not to interfere with the integrity of the building, that he advised with the Vicar on the subject, and after a long conference and many opinions pro and con, it was concluded to adopt a roof embracing both nave and aisles, and the new roof was accordingly executed. When, however, this was completed, and the walls stripped of the broken plaistering, then, as he had conjectured, he found, but only on the north side, the clerestory window.' Unfortunately the architect gives no hint as to its nature.

The reference to the Rev. J. L. Petit is timely. That excellent antiquary and most skilful of rapid draughtsmen had published a slightly earlier work, *Remarks on Church Architecture*, in 2 vols., 1841, in which two invaluable pre-restoration views of Icklesham church are given.¹ One of the interior, looking to the north-west from the chancel, shows the screen referred to; perhaps, as the writer suggests, it was only breast-high, like that at West Tarring. The other, of the exterior from the north-east, is very remarkable. It shows a somewhat large timber structure, presumably a vestry, and that of some age, at the north-east angle of the north chapel or chantry; it seems to have had an annexe of some sort to the east of it, under the same roof, slightly elbowed. I can find no description of this building; it disappeared, no doubt, at the 'restoration', since it is wanting in Nibbs's etching from a similar viewpoint, taken in 1850.

¹ Vol. II, p. 103. Petit is best known to Sussex antiquaries for his monograph on Boxgrove Priory, 1861, in which, however, he hardly does himself justice.

Of the rest of Teulon's work at Icklesham little need be said. His worst offence, perhaps, was the addition of a freakish hexagonal western porch, a precedent for which it would be difficult to find hereabouts; apparently it took the place of one, semicircular on plan, built in 1785. His new east window of five lights, not three, of Geometrical tracery, is inoffensive. He has been charged with the destruction of an ancient tomb in the south (St. Nicholas) chapel, but unfairly; it seems to have been falling to pieces and beyond repair. His treatment of the other chancel windows and retention of many ancient features, e.g. blocked doorways in the north wall and at the west end of the south chapel, are among the points in which Teulon compares favourably with certain of his contemporaries; and when all is said and done, the church still remains one of the most valuable studies in the diocese.

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