

SUSSEX

Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archaeological Society



VOL. XCVII

DEDICATED TO L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., F.S.A.,
TO MARK HIS FIFTY YEARS AS HON. EDITOR
1909 - 1958

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 1956. Bowden, Mrs., 3 Balmoral Court, South Norwood Hill, S.E.25
 1957. tBowman, Mrs., Wayside, Westway, High Salvington, Worthing
 1923. Boxall, Arthur }
 1923. ABoxall, Mrs. A. } Hurst Cottage, Sutton, Pulborough
 1953. Boyden, J. R., Compton, Chichester
 1952. tBradford, H. T., 23 Gladwell Road, Crouch End, London, N.8
 1951. Brailsford, J. W., F.S.A. }
 1951. ABrailsford, Mrs. J. W. } Oakway, Paddockhall Road, Haywards Heath
 1950. tBraithwaite, Mrs., The Garden Cottage, Bull Lane, Lewes
 1945. tBrand, M. C.
 1958. Brand, Mrs. Humphrey, Glynde Place, Glynde
 1959. Branston, Miss, Appledore Cottage, Lewes Road, Lindfield
 1951. Brazenor, H. C. F., The Museum, Brighton
 1953. tBreed, E. S., 20-35 Crescent Street, Long Island City, 5, New York
 1958. tBregan, S., 85 Marine Parade, Brighton
 1959. Bridges, Miss, The Old Barn, London Road, Uckfield
 1951. Bridgland, C. G., 56 Church Road, Hove
 1955. Brightman, G., Bartholomew House, Castle Gate, Lewes
 1946. *Brightwell, H., Oak Gates, Typots Lane, South Harting
 1944. tBristow, L. B. }
 1952. ABristow, Mrs. L. B. } 33A Grove Road, Eastbourne
 1947. Britton, R. H. G., 9 Glebe Place, S.W.3
 1952. Bromfield, T. H., 5 Park Road, Lewes
 1954. Brooking, J. H. C., Rudyard Cottage, Burwash
 1955. Brown, Miss A. F., Bexhill Hospital, Bexhill
 1959. tBrown, B. H., Ocklynge Manor, Eastbourne
 1951. Brown, Mrs. James E., Rystcot, Forest Row
 1953. ABrown, Miss K. N., Pilgrims, Lions Green, Horam
 1931. Brown, Miss L. E., 21 St. Botolph's Road, Worthing
 1912. Browning, Col. A. Quintus, O.B.E., T.D., 9 Longhill Road, Ovingdean,
 Brighton
 1927. Bryant, E. }
 1928. ABryant, Mrs. E. } Spring Hill, Mill Road, Steyning
 1949. tBrydone, J. M., O.B.E., 36 Rutland Gate, S.W.7
 1938. Buckland, G. W., 7 St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes
 1957. Buckland, L. A., Cherry Tree Cottage, Chelwood Gate
 1955. Buckley, The Hon. Ruth, Tollwood, Netherfield, Battle
 1955. Budden, W. G., Manor Farm, Chalton, Portsmouth
 1949. Bull, Mrs. H., 2 Stedham Hall, Stedham, Midhurst
 1959. Bull, Mrs., 179 New Church Road, Hove
 1943.t*Bullock, The Rev. Canon F. W. B., 6 The Uplands, St. Leonards-on-Sea
 1945.*tBurder, E. R. }
 1947. ABurder, Mrs. E. R. } Tapsell House, Wadhurst
 1947. ABurder, D. }
 1926. tBurgess, H., 155 Church Hill Road, East Barnet, Herts.
 1959. Burgis, N. L. S., Church Hill, Ringmer
 1936. *Burrell, Lt.-Col. Sir Walter, Baronet, C.B.E., Knepp Castle, Horsham
 1948. Burrows, Lady, 1 Eversley Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.19
 1932. tBurstow, G. P., F.S.A., Junior School, Brighton College
 1949. tBurt, J. C., Springholme, Deepdene Park Road, Dorking
 1956. Burton-Brown, Miss, 17 Westgate, Chichester
 1955. tBury, Mrs., Walnut Tree Cottage, East Dean, Chichester
 1949. tBush, Mrs., The Black House, Firle, Lewes
 1950. Butler, E. D., Withdean, Mare Hill, Pulborough
 1927. tButler, J. M., 130 Offington Avenue, Worthing
 1908. tButt, C. A., Leverington, 15 Maltravers Drive, Littlehampton

1957. Cadogan, G., Little Court, Belmont Lane, Hassocks
 1959. Caffyn, Brigadier E. R., C.B., C.B.E., Norman Norris, Horam
 1947.†Caffyn, S. M., Aymond Grange, Dittons Road, Eastbourne
 1946. Caldecott, Lady, Hoy, Fryern Road, Storrington
 1954. †Callow, Miss, Bentham Hall, Cartwright Gardens, W.C.1
 1951. Callow, C. F., 59 London Road, St. Leonards
 1957. †Cameron, Lt.-Gen. Sir Alexander, K.B.E., C.B., M.C., Buckham Hill House, Uckfield
 1929. Campbell, G. J., Littlehampton
 1922. *Campion, W. Simon, Danny, Hurstpierpoint
 1953. †Cane, Miss, Belfield, Hollington Park, St. Leonards
 1948. Carew, Mrs., 8 The Driveway, Shoreham
 1938. *Carlyon-Britton, R., F.S.A., 38 Westgate, Chichester
 1948. †Carr-Gomm, Mrs. Hubert, 16 Southover, Lewes
 1947. †Carr-Gomm, M. C., Ockley Lodge, Keymer, Hassocks
 1958. Carter, Mrs., Devon Cottage, West Common, Haywards Heath
 1956. Cash, Miss, Shepherd's Crown, Tadworth, Surrey
 1935. Casserley, Miss E. M., 1A Tisbury Road, Hove
 1946. Castle, R. B. T., O.B.E. }
 1945. †Castle, Mrs. R. B. T. } Hortons, Cuckfield
 1959. †Castle-Stewart, Countess, Old Lodge, Nutley
 1945. Catt, M. W., Pebsham Farm, Bexhill
 1949. †Catt, Col. P., The Manor House, Felpham
 1955. Cattermole, E. C., Crowhurst, Balcombe Road, Haywards Heath
 1959. †Caunter, W. B. }
 1959. †Caunter, Mrs. W. B. } Old Shortlands, Plaistow, Billinghamurst
 1926. Challen, W. H., Iping, 108 Sackville Road, Worthing
 1957. Challenor, Miss, St. Michael's, Burton Park, Petworth
 1954. †Chamberlain, Miss, South Cottage, Strawberry Gardens, Newick
 1933. Chambers, Mrs. W. P. C., Heronsdale Manor, Waldron
 1957. Chandler, Miss H. M., 4 St. Swithun's Terrace, Lewes
 1934. Chandler, R., Little Thurlow, Oathall Road, Haywards Heath
 1958. †Chandless, Mrs., Sherrington Manor, Selmeston
 1949. †Chevallier, C. T., 13 Clinton Crescent, St. Leonards
 1956. Chidgey, A. G., Tadorna, Beacon Road, Seaford
 1953. Chippendale, F. W., 7 Tudor Close, Rottingdean
 1958. Chisholm-Batten, W. R. }
 1958. †Chisholm-Batten, Mrs. } Newtons, Perrymount Road, Haywards Heath
 1950. Christian, G. H., Chailey Hatch, North Chailey, Lewes
 1939. Christie, John, C.H., M.C., Glyndebourne, Lewes
 1951. †Christie, Mrs., Top Flat, 14 London Road, Burgess Hill
 1957. Chubb, H. E., C.B.E., 27 Silverdale Road, Eastbourne
 1946. Churchman, Mrs., Farnagates, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst
 1957. Clare, H. J., 19 Chailey Avenue, Peacehaven
 1947. Clark, A. J., Downderry, The Drive, Farnham Road, Guildford
 1956. †Clark, C. R., The Rookery, College Road, Seaford
 1955. Clark, F. C., South View, Sandhurst, Kent
 1930. Clark, Mrs. Grahame, 19 Wilberforce Road, Cambridge
 1957. *Clark, J. P. H., 1 Adversane Road, Worthing
 1950. †Clark, Miss V. E., 14 Dorset Court, Kingsway, Hove
 1958. Clarke, Mrs., 18 Hazelgrove Gardens, Haywards Heath
 1929. Clarke, Col. Sir Ralph, K.B.E., D.L., Borde Hill, Haywards Heath
 1950. *Clarke, R. N. S., Hoathly Hill, West Hoathly
 1956. †Clarke-Williams, A. R., Cradlebridge, Ashington
 1953. †Claydon, Mrs., Chalfont, Willingdon, Eastbourne
 1929. Clements, Col. H. T. W., Killadoon, Celbridge, Eire
 1955. †Clough, A. R. }
 1955. †Clough, Mrs. A. R. } Normanswood, Crowhurst, Battle
 1954. †Clough, Miss, The White House, Sherborne Road, Chichester

1956. Cock, A. T., 1181 London Road, Norbury, S.W.16
 1936. rCoffin, S., 1 Turner Drive, Golders Green, N.W.11
 1951. rCole, Miss L. E. F., 114 Malling Street, Lewes
 1958. Cole, P., 19 Offington Gardens, Worthing
 1952. Cole, W. G., 21 Alfriston Road, Seaford
 1943. Coleman, Miss M., 266 Ditchling Road, Brighton
 1952. Coleman, N. F., 54 Fort Road, Newhaven
 1930. Coleridge, A. H. B., Shalford Cottage, Whitford, Axminster, Devon
 1948. Collard, P. J., Heath House, Lewes
 1948. Collingridge, Miss, Teagues, Flimwell, Wadhurst
 1947. rCollins, A. H., Trumley, Cedar Drive, Chichester
 1955. rCollins, Mrs.,
 1946. Colyer, H. G., Brendon, Chesham Road, Guildford
 1953. Combridge, J. H., 35 Old Lodge Lane, Purley
 1952. rCoombe, Rev. A. N., The Presbytery, Central Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.19
 1957. Connor, Miss, Whiteways, FitzAlan Road, Arundel
 1958. Cooper, Mrs., The Dean's Mill, Lindfield
 1935. Corfield, Dr. Carruthers, Broadmark Place, Rustington
 1958. Cornish, F., 12 Ainsworth Avenue, Ovingdean
 1949. Cornwall, J. C. K., 131 Windsor Lane, Slough, Bucks.
 1944. rCosh, E. C., 27 Beach Road, Littlehampton
 1955. Cotton, W. E. C., 31 Royal Avenue, London, S.W.3
 1957. Courthope, Lady, Shovers Green, Wadhurst
 1928. rCourthope, Miss E. J., Sprivers, Horsmonden, Kent
 1953. rCourthope, Miss E. M. D., South Norlington House, Ringmer
 1953. Courthope, Rev. Canon R. A., The Rectory, Sutton, Pulborough
 1958. Courtney, Mrs., 5 Chapel Hill, Lewes
 1955. rCourtney, Sir Christopher, 104 Bryanston Court, London, W.1
 1958. Cowan, G., High Rocks Hotel, Tunbridge Wells
 1956. Cowan, Miss, The Shelleys Hotel, Lewes
 1957. rCowley, R. I. }
 1957. Cowley, W. H. } Streat Place, Hassocks
 1947. Cox, C. T., Hill Lodge, Lewes
 1938. rCox, Lieut.-Col. R. J., St. Catherine's Lodge Hotel, Kingsway, Hove
 1949. Cox, Mrs., 8 Albion Street, Lewes
 1953. rCreasey, R. R., Harbour Villa, Coldharbour Road, Lower Dicker
 1908. Cripps, Ernest E., Sunnyridge, Steyning
 1939. Crook, Miss B., West House, Southover, Lewes
 1949. Cumberlege, G. F. J., D.S.O. }
 1957. ACumberlege, Mrs. } Idlehurst, Birch Grove, Horsted Keynes
 1957. ACumberlege, F. R. }
 1947. rCunnington, L. W., 11 Curzon Avenue, Horsham
 1954. Curnow, P. W., Cathedral School, Wells, Somerset
 1954. Curtis, L. P., Yale University, 774 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
 1949. rCurtis, Miss W. J., Prescott, Valebridge Road, Burgess Hill
 1916. rCurwen, Eliot Cecil, O.B.E., F.S.A. }
 1925. ACurwen, Mrs. E. C. } 95 Goldstone Crescent, Hove
 1954. Cutbill, A. H., St. Catherine's, Boxgrove, Chichester
 1948. Cutler, G. R., 67 Arundel Road, Littlehampton
 1953. Cutting, Mrs., Tyne House, 140 High Street, Lewes
1949. rDale, Antony, F.S.A., 46 Sussex Square, Brighton
 1945. Danby, Miss G. E. D., B.E.M., Crooked Lane Cottage, Seaford
 1959. ADarling, C., }
 1958. Darling, J. W. } 28 Park Road, Burgess Hill
 1951. ADarlington, A. }
 1951. ADarlington, Mrs. A. } 4 Overhill Drive, Brighton

1930. rDarlington, W. S., The Mast Head, Frant
 1953. Davey, L. S., 29 Southway, Lewes
 1950. rDavid, H. W., Wonaye, Wallsend Road, Pevensey Bay
 1953. Davidson, T. R., East Hookers Farm, Twineham Green, Haywards Heath
 1950. Davies, Miss, The Well House, Plumpton Green
 1959. Davies, Mrs., 14 Victoria Road, Southborough Common, Tunbridge Wells
 1953. Davies-Gilbert, Miss, Birling Manor, East Dean, Eastbourne
 1955. Davis, H. A., Culverake, Selmeston, Polegate
 1931. Daw, Mrs., The Vineyard, West Hoathly
 1950. Dawes, M. C. B., F.S.A., 13 Shakespeare Road, Worthing
 1950. Daws, Miss E. M., 31 Godwin Road, Hastings
 1958. Dawson, Mrs., Broyle Place, Ringmer, Lewes
 1951. Day, K. C., 40 Highdown Road, Lewes
 1957. Daynes, Mrs., 41 Wilbury Villas, Hove
 1956. de Brant, P., Amberley House, Amberley, Arundel
 1953. de Buret, Mrs., c/o Westminster Bank Ltd., Brompton Square, S.W.3
 1957. Deane, Mrs., Middleton, Stonegate
 1940. De Candole, The Right Rev. H. H. V., Bishop of Knaresborough, 4 Brunswick Drive, Harrogate
 1953. D'Eath, Mrs., Sunnings, Pear Tree Lane, Bexhill
 1957. Deighton, Mrs., 3 Hurstwood Cottages, Haywards Heath
 1920. *Demetriadi, Lady, c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 16 St. James's Street, London, S.W.1
 1913. Dendy, R. A., 15 Gwydyr Mansions, Hove
 1947. Denman, J. B., 27 Queen's Road, Brighton
 1928. Denman, J. L., F.S.A., Oldways, Hurstpierpoint
 1951. de Pass, D. H. } Polhills Farm, Arlington, Polegate
 1951. Ade Pass, Mrs. }
 1951. Ade Sallis, Miss, Beech Court, Hollington Park, St. Leonards
 1956. de Udy, Mrs., Chithurst Manor, Chithurst, Petersfield
 1954. Dibben, A. A., 222 King Street, Hammersmith, W.6
 1957. Dickens, W. A., Homefield, Tollwood Road, Crowborough
 1957. Dicker, Miss, 49 Upper Kings Drive, Willingdon
 1953. rDickins, A. F., St. Catherine's Lodge Hotel, Kingsway, Hove
 1947. rDickins, K. W., Gorricks, East End Lane, Ditchling
 1947. Dickinson, Mrs., 107 High Street, Lewes
 1959. rDingley, J. R. } Observatory Cottage, Church Road,
 1959. ADingley, Mrs. J. R. } Crowborough
 1952. rDobson, C. G., 65 Anne Boleyn's Walk, Cheam
 1949. Donaldson, Miss E. L., St. Hilda's School, Ballinrain Castle, Balfron, By Glasgow
 1951. Done, W. E. P., His Honour Judge, Westrings, West Wittering
 1935. rDonne, L. V., 10 Nizells Avenue, Hove
 1949. rDowney, Mrs., 19 West Hill, St. Leonards
 1958. Douglas-Bate, Mrs., Bridge House, Piltown
 1956. Drummond, R. H. } 42 Hurst Road, Hassocks
 1956. Drummond, Mrs. R. H. }
 1958. Drummond-Murray, W. E. P. L., 14 York Road, Beverley, E. Yorks.
 1926. *Drummond-Roberts, Mrs. J. H., 13 The Drive, Hove
 1958. Drummond Smith, N. } Spring Copse, High Hurstwood, Uckfield
 1958. ADrummond Smith, Mrs. N. }
 1956. Duguid, J. T., 6 Holbrook Park, Horsham
 1903. rDuke, F., Trullers, Holland Road, Steyning
 1949. Dumbreck, R., Boarzell, Hurst Green
 1955. rDunphy, L. H. } St. John's, Chiswick Mall, London, W.4
 1955. ADunphy, Mrs. L. H. }
 1951. Durant, H. P., Abbeylea, Stonegate, Wadhurst

1954. Eamer, T. J., 14 Norfolk Road, Brighton
 1955. Eastwood, J. P. B. }
 1955. Eastwood, Mrs. } Vivans House, West Stoke, Chichester
 1956. Eckersley, Mrs., Little Renby, Boar's Head, Crowborough
 1938. Eeles, Col. H. S., C.B.E., Sandyden House, Mark Cross
 1924. Eggar, T. Macdonald, O.B.E., 9 Old Steine, Brighton
 1955. tEllice, J., Ewhurst Manor, Partridge Green
 1959. Elliot, J. B. }
 1959. aElliott, Mrs. J. B. } Pell House, Wadhurst
 1946. Elliott, R. H., 1 Longstone Road, Eastbourne
 1955. tEllis, Miss A. G., Bursteye Farm, Lindfield
 1957. Ellis, Miss D., St. Mary's, Bramber
 1943. Ellis, J. J. S. }
 1953. aEllis, Mrs. J. J. S. } Downs Cottage, Kingston, Lewes
 1959. tEllis, P. J. P., 48a Coombe Road, Brighton
 1954. tEllison, J. A., Youl Grange, Link Road, Eastbourne
 1941. Elphick, G. P., 66 Priory Street, Lewes
 1950. Erskine, Mrs., 16 East Street, Lewes
 1948. Erskine-Lindop, Mrs., 14 Totham Lodge, Richmond Road, West
 Wimbledon, S.W.20
 1950. Esdaile, E., Leams End, West Hoathly
 1943. Evans, Lady, 39 Egerton Crescent, S.W.3
 1955. Evans, Mrs., The Woodleighs, Arundel
 1951. tExton, Miss, Rustington Hotel, West Cliffe, Eastbourne
 1957. tExton-Smith, Mrs., 8 South Cliff Avenue, Eastbourne
1950. tFagan, Mrs., Medwyn, Somerton, Somerset
 1959. tFairclough, F. R., M.B.E. }
 1959. aFairclough, Mrs. F. R. } Lavenham, Shirleys, Ditchling
 1953. Fairrie, Mrs., Durrance Manor, Shipley, Horsham
 1958. Fairfax-Lucy, Mrs., The Old Vicarage, Eartham
 1950. Faraday, L. B., Bath Hotel, Worthing
 1956. Farrant, Mrs., The Homestead, Cross-in-Hand, Heathfield
 1955. tFarrington, J. W. }
 1955. Farrington, Mrs. J. W. } Lloyds Bank House, Arundel
 1951. tFarncomb, Rear-Admiral H. B., C.B., D.S.O., M.V.O., R.A.N., 10 Wyldfel
 Gardens, Potts Point, Sydney, Australia
 1948. Faulkner, P. A., Little Whitehall, Ifield
 1952. Fawcett, C. L., 55 Ascension Road, Chase Cross, Romford, Essex
 1952. Fawssett, Captain A. C., D.S.O., R.N., Allen's Wall, Black Hill, Lindfield
 1945. Fayle, A., Aucklands, Blackboys, Uckfield
 1947. Feest, F. H., Burletts, Bramber
 1946. Fenwick-Owen, Mrs., Langney Priory, Eastbourne
 1951. *Ferguson, I. D.,
 1940. Fibbens, C. W., Drove-way, Itchenor, Chichester
 1950. Field, C. W., 26th House, High Street, Robertsbridge
 1946. Field, Mrs., Winfreth, Handcross
 1953. tFisher, R. A., Pond House, Peasmarsh, Rye
 1959. Flack, Rev. C. H. }
 1959. aFlack, Mrs. C. H. } Nutley Vicarage, Uckfield
 1926. Fleming, Lindsay, F.S.A., Aldwick Grange, Bognor
 1948. Fletcher, C. H., Hill House, Lodsworth
 1949. tFletcher-Moulton, The Hon. Sylvia, O.B.E., Court House, Barcombe
 1940. Fooks, Miss, Chilver Bridge, Arlington
 1943. Fooks, Rev. E. G., 8 Harrington Villas, Preston Park, Brighton
 1954. Fooks, Mrs. Osmond, Swithewood, Horsted Keynes
 1959. Formby, E. L., Arnolds, Fairwarp, Uckfield
 1956. Forsyth, J. L. }
 1956. aForsyth, Mrs. J. L. } The Place, Anstye, Haywards Heath

1946. Forsyth, N., Pashley Manor, Ticehurst
 1949. *Foster, Miss M. H., 17 Powis Square, Brighton
 1951. tFoster, Major R. C. G., Warren House, Mayfield
 1955. Foster, W. B., The White House, Worth Park, Three Bridges
 1954. Foster, Miss, Tylers Barn, Cuckfield
 1939. Foster, Miss, 4/3 Clarendon Terrace, Brighton
 1949. tFowle, S. H. W., 42 Claremont Road, Tunbridge Wells
 1947. Fowler, Mrs. C. S. }
 1951. aFowler, C. S. } The Brown House, Cowfold
 1955. Fox, Mrs., Bull House, Lewes
 1933. tFoyster, Miss C. H., Glaven Corner, Wiveton, Holt, Norfolk
 1956. Francis, D. L., 3 Poplar Avenue, Hove
 1937. tFrancis, R. B., 10 Heene Way, Worthing
 1952. tFrank, E. O., Briar Plat, Tylers Green, Cuckfield
 1959. Franklin, A. V., 15 Ferrers Road, Lewes
 1957. Franklin, N., 78 Lawn Road, N.W.3
 1958. Franklin, Rev. T. R. }
 1958. aFranklin, Mrs. } The Rectory, Hurstpierpoint
 1948. Fraser, Mrs., Campfield, Powdermill Lane, Battle
 1948. aFreeman, Mrs. J. H. G. }
 1948. aFreeman, Mrs. J. H. G. } Millfield, Windmill Lane, East Grinstead
 1951. Freeman, P. A. M., F.S.A., Wickham Manor, Winchelsea
 1950. French, B. A., 291 South Coast Road, Peacehaven
 1938. tFrere, S. S., F.S.A., Blenheim Gardens, Sanderstead, Surrey
 1956. Frith, Mrs. E., Pagewood Farm, Charlwood, Surrey
 1956. aFrith, C. }
 1950. Frith, Mrs. } Knabb Farm, Fletching
 1958. Fry, R. B., Nonsuch Cottage, Cuckfield
 1956. Fryer, D. J., 19 Clare Road, Lewes
 1951. *Fuller, R. H. C., 97 New Church Road, Hove
 1937. Furness, Miss B. W., 47 Hall Road, Serapoft, Leicester
 1929. t*Furse, Mrs. W., The Old House, West Hoathly
 1959. Fynmore, P. J., Hinksey, Birdington Close, Little Common, Bexhill
1912. tGage, The Right Hon. Viscount, K.C.V.O., Firlie Place, Lewes
 1954. tGallagher, Brigadier H. N., C.B.E., Little Orchard, Fittleworth
 1949. tGardham, Brigadier H. P., C.B.E., Tower House, West Street, Rye
 1951. tGardiner, A. L. }
 1951. aGardiner, Mrs. A. L. } 14 Headland Avenue, Seaford
 1926. tGardner, Captain C. F. }
 1926. aGardner, Mrs. C. F. } Summertree, Herstmonceux
 1935. tGardner, Miss, Nethergong Cottage, Dorman's Park, East Grinstead
 1948. Gardner, Miss B. I. R., Forest View, Punnett's Town, Heathfield
 1953. tGarner-Howe, Mrs., 21 Shirley Drive, Hove
 1946. Gasson, R. P., 150 London Road, East Grinstead
 1947. Gates, J. S., West Lodge, West Broyle Drive, Chichester
 1957. Gearing, Miss, 5 Gableson Avenue, Brighton
 1951. tGeary, F., Beken Field, Northiam, Rye
 1946. Gibson, Mrs. W. C., 14 Totham Lodge, Richmond Road, West Wimbledon, S.W.20
 1948. tGilbert-Bentley, F. G., F.S.A. (scot.), Chudleigh, Shalford, Guildford
 1959. Gledhill, J. B., Primrose Cottage, Burgh Hill, Etchingham
 1928. Glegg, R. Ashleigh, M.B.E., Wilmington Cottage, Seaford
 1957. tGlegg, Mrs., Manstone, The Bramblings, Rustington
 1945. tGlover, Mrs., South View, Westham, Pevensey
 1918. tGodfrey, Walter H., C.B.E., F.S.A., 81 The Causeway, Steventon, Abingdon, Berks.
 1949. tGodfrey, W. E., F.S.A. }
 1952. aGodfrey, Mrs. W. E. } East Crink, Barcombe

1952. Godman, S., Briarcroft, Pipe Passage, Lewes
 1949. Goff, Col. R. E. C., C.B.E., M.C., Heath Cottage, Piltown, Nr. Uckfield
 1948. Goldsworthy, Miss, 56 Hillsboro Road, Bognor
 1949. Gomme, D. E., Thistledown, Gorse Lane, High Salvington, Worthing
 1946. tGoodbody, A. W., Crowlink, Cuckmere Road, Seaford
 1958. Goodwin, J., Crowhurst Bridge Farm, Burwash
 1948. Goring, Lt.-Col. J., Findon Park House, Findon*
 1949. Goring, J. J., Hatherley, Hassocks
 1931. Gorringe, Lt.-Col. G. T. J., Peacock Bank, Sion Mills, Northern Ireland
 1956. Gowland, T. S., 10 Southsea Avenue, Worthing
 1954. Graburn, G. N., Westridge House, Goldsmith Avenue, Crowborough
 1958. Graburn, Mrs., Perryvale, Wepham, Arundel
 1954. tGrace, R. W., 220 Elson Road, Gosport, Hants.
 1955. tGraebe, R. E., 6 Small Holdings, Victoria Drive, Eastbourne
 1939. tGraham-Vivian, R. P., M.C., Wealden House, Warninglid
 1918. t*Grantham, W. Ivor, O.B.E., Buckles Wood, Chailey
 1935. tGraves, P. K., 51 Old Steyne, Brighton
 1931. tGraves, S. E. }
 1933. aGraves, Mrs. S. E. } 7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton
 1954. Gravett, K. W. E., 85 Seaforth Avenue, New Malden, Surrey
 1926. tGray, Miss E. H., Flat 2, 4 Somerhill Avenue, Hove
 1950. tGreen, Miss M. L., Aldhurst Cottage, Barcombe Mills
 1959. Green, J. G., Downs View, Lower Dicker, Hailsham
 1958. Green, T. K., 23 Chestnut Road, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey
 1955. tGreenwood, R. C. }
 1955. aGreenwood, Mrs. R. C. } 31 St. Swithun's Terrace, Lewes
 1944. tGreenyer, Miss E. T., Stiffkey Old Hall, Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk
 1951. tGregory, A. H., 132 Church Road, Burgess Hill
 1950. Gregory, R. A., 13 Bernard Road, Brighton
 1954. tGrey, J. C. P., Hop Gardens, Mannings Heath, Horsham.
 1934. Griffith, Miss, The Oaks, Bramlands Lane, Woodmancote, Henfield
 1952. *Grinham, Miss, The Braes, Helliashole Road, Stromness, Orkney
 1954. Grissell, Major M., Brightling Park, Robertsbridge
 1951. tGrove, Mrs., Beech Court, Hollington Park, St. Leonards
 1954. Gunnis, R. F., Hungershall House, Hungershall Park, Tunbridge Wells
 1946. Guthrie, Mrs., Westering, Litlington, Polegate
 1929. *Guy, N. G., 14 North Street, Hailsham
 1920. *Gwynne, Lieut.-Col. Sir Roland V., D.L., D.S.O., Wootton Place, Polegate
 1953. Hackforth, Mrs., Woodpeckers, Shermanbury
 1931. t*Haddock, R. N., F.S.A., Winchcombe Farm, Bucklebury, Nr. Reading
 1913. Haire, Rev. A., 22 Arlington Road, Eastbourne
 1954. Hall, G. L., 12 West 10th Street, New York, U.S.A.
 1929. tHall, Miss H., Blue Gate, Lindfield
 1949. Hamblock, Miss E. L., 26 Tudor Close, Dean Court Road, Rottingdean
 1935. Hamilton, Mrs., Crabblers, Shorne, Kent
 1955. Hancock, Mrs., Middlefield Cottage, Fox Hill, Haywards Heath
 1959. Hankinson, Mrs. }
 1959. aHankinson, N. } Elm Tree Cottage, The Crescent, Keymer, Hassocks
 1935. *Harben, J. R., 33 Withdean Crescent, Brighton
 1922. tHarding, Mrs., Birling Manor, East Dean, Eastbourne
 1954. *Harding, Mrs., Hole Farm, Bodle St. Green, Hailsham
 1955. tHarding, C. S., 93 Hawthorne Road, Bognor
 1955. Hardy, Mrs., Keysford, Horsted Keynes
 1959. Hardy-Jackson, Mrs., Hirtwell Cottage, Hollycombe, Liphook
 1953. tHarker, L., 100 America Lane, Haywards Heath
 1958. Harris, Miss, Broadleas, Backwoods Lane, Lindfield
 1955. *Harris, A., Cowden Cross Farm, Cowden, Kent
 1955. tHarris, A., D.S.O., Southease Place, Lewes

1952. tHarris, A. L., Old Manor House, Donnington, Chichester
 1954. Harris, S. A., 42 Erene Road, Worthing
 1953. tHarris, T. T., 19 Silverdale Road, Eastbourne
 1951. Harrison, Lt.-Cdr. G. W. R., V.R.D., R.N.V.R., Providence Cottage, Seaford
1958. Harrison, M. D., Pardons, Ditchling
 1952. Harrison, Miss }
 1952. aHarrison, Miss H. A. } St. John's Cottage, St. John's, Crowborough
1951. Hart, J. R. S., 155 The Vale, London, N.W.11
 1933. Harvey, Mrs. A. F. B., Woodhatch, Hartfield
 1949. Harvey, J. H. }
 1949. aHarvey, Mrs. J. H. } 95 Ladies Mile Road, Brighton
1949. tHarvey, Lady, Bowmans Farm, Burwash
 1958. Hasluck, Mrs., 3 The Hoo, Willingdon
 1958. tHastings, Miss P., Court Horeham, Cowbeech, Hailsham
 1959. Hatwell, Miss, 46 Avis Road, Newhaven
 1945. *Hawkins, Major L., Selhurst Park, Chichester
 1953. tHay, J. W. }
 1953. aHay, Mrs. J. W. } 14 Overhill, Southwick
1952. t*Hay, M. C., Perlis, Burpham, Arundel
 1947. Hayes, Mrs., Marden House, East Harting
 1949. *Hayne, Mrs., Palehouse Farm, Framfield
 1950. Hayward, Mrs., Little Ashfold, Staplefield
 1957. Heaver, B. H., M.B.E., Laine End, Ditchling
 1946. Hedgley, J. H.
 1947. Helme, J. D., Woodlands, Lindfield
 1958. Henley, H. F. T., Broadeaves, Croham Road, S. Croydon
 1956. tHenning, B. D., Saybrook College, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
1959. Henry, Miss, The Laurels, Nutley, Uckfield
 1958. tHerringshaw, E. A., 44a Amherst Road, Bexhill
 1956. Hersee, C. W., 25 Western Road, Newhaven
 1949. tHeseltine, Mrs., 2 Littlepark Lane, Hurstpierpoint
 1938. Hett, L. K., Culpepers, Ardingly
 1955. Hewitt, F. R. de G., 9 St. John's Avenue, Putney, S.W.15
 1925. tHewlett, C., Higher Bospolvans, St. Columb, Cornwall
 1955. tHeynes, M. H., Verecroft, Glenville Road, Rustington
 1953. Heywood, Miss, Little Damas, Plaxtol, Kent
 1932. Hickman, Mrs., Medlars, Dial Post, Horsham
 1957. aHield, Miss, Cleve, Newlands Road, Rottingdean
 1945. Hill, H. F., Crossways, 7 Lenham Road West, Rottingdean
 1948. Hill, Miss M. G., 12 Sir George's Place, Steyning
 1947. Hills, K. A.
 1957. Hipwell, W. R.
 1954. Hiscoke, H. W., 8 Frith Road, Hove
 1946. tHitchcock, G. E. W., Park Royal Hotel, Brighton
 1946. Hoad, Mrs., 49 Worthing Avenue, Elson, Gosport, Hampshire
 1953. tHobbs, H. C., Hills Place, Horsham
 1954. Hobden, J., School House, Belmont Road, Uckfield
 1956. t*Hodgson, G. L., 3 Carew Road, Eastbourne
 1948. t*Holden, E. W. }
 1948. aHolden, Mrs. E. W. } 5 Tudor Close, Hove
1958. Holland, Miss, Greenbanks, Etchingham
 1946. tHolland, T. R., 30 South Bank, Chichester
 1946. tHolleyman, G. A., F.S.A., 21A Duke Street, Brighton
 1907. Hollist, Mrs. Anthony, Highbuilding, Fernhurst
 1956. Holman, Miss, Ardgarth, Downsview Road, Felpham, Bognor
 1952. *Holman, John F., Hyes, Rudgwick
 1955. tHolman, R. F., 27 Collingham Gardens, S. Kensington, S.W.5

1957. Holmes, J., F.S.A., 15 Goldstone Villas, Hove
 1959. Holt, D. R., 20 Worthing Road, Horsham
 1959. Holt, Mrs., Catsfold, Henfield
 1958. tHomard, H. R., 102 Green Lane, Chislehurst, Kent
 1937. Homewood, Miss F. M., 117 Littlehampton Road, Worthing
 1950. Hope, J. B. }
 1956. Hope, Mrs. } 175 New Church Road, Hove
 1935. Hornblower, Lieut.-Col. T. B., The Croft, 10 Sutherland Avenue, Bexhill
 1958. Hotblack, Mrs., 3 The Hoo, Willingdon
 1955. Howard, Miss, 20 Ashenground Road, Haywards Heath
 1959. Howard, Mrs., The Beacon, Staplecross
 1950. Howe, F. A., No. 1, The Vicarage, Henfield
 1956. tHubbard, M. }
 1949. Hubbard, R. G. } Ryders Wells Farm, Lewes
 1949. AHubbard, Mrs. R. G. }
 1950. tHubner, J. H. C., Fulking House, Fulking, Small Dole
 1925. tHuddart, G. W. O., Everydens, Lindfield
 1957. Hughes, A. P., }
 1958. AHughes, Mrs. } Lye Oak, East Dean, Eastbourne
 1959. Hughes, Miss, Pondlye, Piltdown, Uckfield
 1932. Hughes, Mrs., }
 1958. AHughes, G. R. } Plummers, Bishopstone, Nr. Seaford
 1953. tHughes-Games, C. M. }
 1953. AHughes-Games, Mrs. C. M. } Brecon, Chyngton Road, Seaford
 1950. tHumphreys, Miss D., Training College, Darley Road, Eastbourne
 1946. Humphrys, H. T., Monkams, Clayton Avenue, Hassocks
 1956. Humphrys, L. G., Peter's Cottage, New England Road, Haywards Heath
 1952. Hunnisett, R. F., Flat 1, 16 Cumberland Road, Bromley, Kent
 1950. Hunter, Rev. F., Harting Rectory, Petersfield
 1956. Hunter-Brown, Mrs., Deepdene, Rottingdean
 1950. Hurst, Miss Barbara }
 1895. Hurst, Sir Cecil J. B., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Q.C. } South Grove, Brighton
 1954. tHurst, N. C., 3 Gildredge Road, Eastbourne } Road, Horsham
 1950. Hutton-Riddell, Mrs., Twitten House, Newick
-
1955. Impey, M. E., The Mint House, Rye
 1957. tInce, Mrs., Fortuna, Old Bosham
 1956. Inglis, Miss, 4 St. Philips Avenue, Eastbourne
 1937. tIvatt, Miss, The Anchorhold, Haywards Heath
-
1939. tJackson, R. L. C. }
 1947. AJackson, Mrs. R. L. C. } Hove College, Kingsway, Hove
 1957. Jackson, Mrs., Templemead, Pulborough
 1951. tJames, Mrs., 9 Ocklynge Avenue, Eastbourne
 1936. tJarrett, A. M., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Worthing
 1936. Jarvis, R. C., 31 Hitherfield Road, Streatham, S.W.16
 1951. Jeeves, S. G., Boarsland House, Lindfield
 1955. Jeffs, R. M., 92 Kingston Road, Oxford
 1957. Jenkins, Mrs., 36 Headland Avenue, Seaford
 1943. tJennings, R. W., Q.C., Mickleham Cottage, Dorking
 1934. Jervis, Mrs., St. Michael's House, Lewes
 1955. Johanson, Lt.-Col. J. L., Weathercock House, Hawkhurst
 1951. tJohnson, P. D. }
 1951. AJohnson, Mrs. P. D. } Harrow Mill, Baldslow, Nr. Hastings
 1909. tJohnston, G. D., F.S.A. }
 1947. AJohnston, Mrs. G. D. } 22 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London,
 W.C.2
 1942. tJohnstone, Miss H., LITT.D., 20 St. Martin's Square, Chichester
 1952. Jolliffe, Miss, 53 Braybon Avenue, Brighton 6
 1958. Jolly, Miss, Hazeldene, Bexhill Road, Ninfield, Battle

1946. Jolly, Rev. Canon N. H. H., Lyncroft, Barnham, Bognor
 1954. Jones, J. R., 63 The Avenue, Lewes
 1957. Jones, Mrs., Northfields, Eastergate, Nr. Chichester
 1946. †Jones, W. E., 25 St. James's Avenue, North Lancing
 1956. Jury, Mrs., Merlewood, Grove Hill, Hellingly
1957. Kaye, Mrs., Mallards, Moat Road, East Grinstead
 1937. Keef, D. C., Wineberry Cottage, Compton Dundon, Somerton, Somerset
 1937. Keef, Miss, F.S.A. (SCOT.), Borgetts, Heyshott Green, Midhurst
 1950. Kellam, J. R., 55 Houndean Rise, Lewes
 1956. Kelly, Mrs., Arundale School, Pulborough
 1946. Kelly, Miss K. N., Buckleys, Forest Side, Rowlands Castle, Hants.
 1923. †Kelly, Mrs. Richard, Farthings, Jordans, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
 1927. Kelsey, A. R., Brock's Ghyll, Wadhurst, Tunbridge Wells
 1928. Kelsey, C. E., Somerleaze, Eastbourne Road, Seaford
 1943. Kennedy, Miss M. N., Hayes Farm Hotel, Northiam
 1956. Kennedy, R. A., Art Gallery, Brighton
 1930. Kensington, Lieut.-Col. G. B., Voakes, Pulborough
 1947. Kent, Miss, Chittlebirch Oast, Staplecross, Robertsbridge
 1933. †Kenyon, G. H., F.S.A., Iron Pear Tree Farm, Kirdford, Billingshurst
 1958. Kiechler, J., 12 Wish Road, Hove
 1946. King, H. H., Undershaw Hotel, Hindhead
 1951. King, R. P., Pilstye, Forest Row
 1955. †King-Farlow, D., White Horses, Birling Gap, Nr. Eastbourne
 1952. Kingdon, Miss, Campden, Broad Street, Cuckfield
 1956. Kingsbury, D. A., 10 Glenway, Bognor
 1956. Kingsbury, J. R., 19 Glenway, Bognor
 1947. Kirk, Miss, Oast Cottage, Stream Lane, Hawkhurst
 1954. Knight, Miss, 3 The Crescent, Keymer, Hassocks
 1954. Knight, E. W., The Flats, Duck Lane, Midhurst
 1953. Knight, J., 58 Woodland Drive, Hove
 1944. †Knight, O. E., Ymuiden, Langney, Eastbourne
 1946. Knight, R., 3 Sunnywood Drive, Haywards Heath
 1955. Knowles, C. H. R., Felsted Cottage, Fontwell, Nr. Arundel
 1946. Kyrke, R. V., 2 Hereward Way, Malling, Lewes
1956. †Lake, A. L., Berwyn, Neb Road, Oxted, Surrey
 1922. Lamb, Miss W., F.S.A., Borden Wood, Liphook, Hants.
 1947. Landbeck, L. R., 15 Oak Gardens, Shirley, Surrey
 1958. Langhorne, Mrs., Burfield, Bosham, Chichester
 1927. Latter, A. M., Q.C., Nutbourne Place, Pulborough
 1955. Lawford, Mrs., Holm Lodge, Ringmer
 1952. †Leconfield, The Rt. Hon. Lord, F.S.A., 3 Wyndham House, Sloane Square, S.W.1
1957. Lee, Miss, Southease, Highland Road, Summersdale, Chichester
 1946. †Leechman, Miss D., 19 Bramber Road, Seaford
 1958. Leigh, Miss, Mayfield, Collington Avenue, Bexhill
 1947. Lemmon, Lt.-Col. C. H., D.S.O., 2 The Uplands, Maze Hill, St. Leonards
 1948. Le Sage, Miss, Tortington Park, Arundel
 1958. Levita, Mrs., Gables Cottage, Southover, Lewes
 1957. †Levy, Miss, Woodmans, Moor End Common, Lane End, Bucks.
 1959. Lewin, Mrs., 5 Spring Lane, Lindfield
 1953. Lewis, G. D., Worthing Museum
 1959. Lidiard, A. S., 3 Derek Avenue, Hove
 1948. Lindley, Miss, 85 Highdown Road, Lewes
 1954. Lindley, E. R., Pennings, Broad Street, Cuckfield
 1945. *Lintott, Miss E. L. N., 18 King Arthur's Drive, Frindsbury, Rochester
 1947. Lockhart-Smith, D. B., Ann of Cleves House, Ditchling
 1957. †Lockie, J., Conway, Robin's Drive, Aldwick

1958. Lodge, J. H., 9 Semley Road, Hassocks
 1924. Lomas, J. E. W. }
 1949. ALomas, Mrs. M. E. } Birch's Farm, Isfield
 1954. tLondon, Mrs. H. S., Coldharbour, Buxted
 1954.*tLongden, R. H. T., 18 Church Street, Shoreham
 1949. tLongman, W., 42 Chelsea Square, S.W.3
 1958. Loughlin, P., 11 Semley Road, Hassocks
 1945. Lovegrove, Capt. H., R.N., Ashdown, Winchelsea
 1948. Low, Mrs., Nash House, Lindfield
 1955. tLowman, Mrs., Cockhaise, Lindfield
 1938. Lowther, A. W. G., F.S.A., The Old Quarry, Ashtead, Surrey
 1946. Lucas, Mrs., Castle Precincts, Lewes
 1954. *Lucas, J. W., Castle Precincts, Lewes
 1957. *Lucas, Rev. R. C., Castle Precincts, Lewes
 1949. tLuck, R. J., 2 Woodside Cottages, Scaynes Hill, Haywards Heath
 1953. Ludford, J. H., 3 Poplar Road, Leatherhead
 1956. tLuttman-Johnson, F. M., Crouchland, Kirdford, Billingshurst
 1951. tLuxmoore, L. A., The Roundel, Rye
 1956. Lyle-Meller, E., 71 Embassy Court, Brighton
 1949. Lywood, G./Capt. G., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Holt's Branch, Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W.1
1949. McAnally, J. A., Cranfield, The Crescent, Felpham
 1953. AMcCourt, Mrs., South Norlington House, Ringmer
 1958. McCreadie, D. D. G., 2 Orchard Grange, Yapton Road, Barnham
 1954. Macdonell, Miss, Kings, Mare Hill, Pulborough
 1951. McGeorge, W. }
 1951. AMcGeorge, Mrs. W. } Legh Manor, Cuckfield
 1955. McIntosh, F. H. R. }
 1955. AMcIntosh, Mrs. F. H. R. } Little Manor, Ringmer
 1938. tMcIver, Mrs., Woodcock, Felbridge, East Grinstead
 1951. tMackean, Miss, Asselton House, Sedlescombe
 1958. Mackie, Mrs., Hillside, Batts Lane, Pulborough
 1957. McLaren, D. M., Beards, Chailey Green, Lewes
 1919. tMacLeod, D. }
 1950. AMacLeod, Mrs. D. } Yew Trees, Horley, Surrey
 1958. Macnair, A., 70 Hartington Road, Brighton
 1933. McWalter, W. F. C., 7 Albion Street, Lewes
 1950. Maddan, G. H. R., Aldon House, West Malling, Kent
 1954. Madgwick, J. T., Bushbury Cottage, Blackboys
 1936. Malden, Rev. P. H., 6 Dorking Road, Epsom, Surrey
 1955. tMalin, D. J., 31 Oldfield Crescent, Southwick
 1927. tMargary, I. D., F.S.A. }
 1932. tMargary, Mrs. I. D. } Yew Lodge, East Grinstead
 1952. Marlow, Mrs., Colindale, Station Road, Angmering
 1950. Marrack, Mrs., Orchard Dale, Church Street, Storrington
 1957. Marsh, R. G. Blake }
 1957. AMarsh, Mrs. Blake } Paynters, Newick
 1935. tMarsh, S. J., Ardens, Nutley, Uckfield
 1946. Martin, D. G., St. Richard's Hospital, Chichester
 1950. Martin, H. S., C.B.E., County Hall, Lewes
 1942. Martin, R. E., 38 Courtway, Colindale, N.W.9
 1957. Martin, S. R., Brunswick Chambers, Brunswick Road, Shoreham
 1937. Mason, Ven. L., Archdeacon of Chichester, 2 The Chantry, Canon Lane, Chichester
 1934. tMason, R. T., F.S.A., Oakfield Cottage, Newlands, Balcombe
 1946. Masters, Mrs., Orchard Cottage, Kingston, Lewes
 1950. Mather, F. H., Crosskeys, Lindfield
 1955. Mathys, V. J., Wray Cottage, Newlands, Balcombe

1954. Matthews, Rev. D. G., Southover Rectory, Lewes
 1945. Matthews, T., The Red House, Cowfold
 1946. Matthews, Rev. W. D., The Vicarage, Glynde, Lewes
 1946. Matthey, G. C. H., F.S.A., 49 Palmeira Avenue, Hove
 1949. τ Maudslay, C. W., C.B., The Beacon, Duddleswell, Uckfield
 1928. *Maufe, Sir Edward, R.A., Shepherds Hill, Buxted
 1956. Maunder, Mrs., Pitfield Cottage, Balcombe
 1957. τ May, J. T., Homeland, Beech, Alton, Hampshire
 1953. Mayfield, Mrs., Rushwind, Ninfield Road, Bexhill
 1935. Maynard, Miss E. V., The Green Farm House, Cley, Holt, Norfolk
 1937. Meade-Featherstonhaugh, Admiral the Hon. Sir H., G.C.V.O., C.B., D.S.O.,
 Up Park, Petersfield
 1953. Measor, E. O., 103 North Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.3
 1947. Meller, C. H. }
 1947. α Meller, Mrs. C. H. } Middle Brow, Friston, Eastbourne
 1956. *Merricks, J., Little Ashes, Icklesham, Winchelsea
 1947. Merrifield, R., F.S.A., 35 Orchard Close, Bexleyheath, Kent
 1955. τ Messel, Mrs., Holmsted Manor, Cuckfield
 1925. *Metters, Mrs. T. L., Craddock House, Cullompton, Devon
 1953. τ Michell, Miss Eva, 6 Chatsworth Gardens, Eastbourne
 1946. Michell, Commander K., D.S.O., M.U.D., D.S.C., R.N. } Leith House,
 1954. α Michell, Mrs. K. } Amberley
 1951. Michell, H. C., Durrants, Iden, Rye
 1955. Midgley, Miss, 24 Bradford Road, Lewes
 1950. τ Mill, Mrs., 2B Morpeth Terrace, S.W.1
 1940. Miller, Miss C., 22 Chyngton Gardens, Seaford
 1950. Miller, H. H., Northlands, Brook Street, Cuckfield
 1952. Millington, A. G. E., 71 Upper Bognor Road, Bognor
 1949. τ Millington, E. }
 1949. α Millington, Mrs. E. } The Mansion House, Hurstpierpoint
 1955. Mills, Miss, Rectory Close, Greatham, Liss, Hampshire
 1951. Milner-Gulland, R. R., Cumnor House School, Danehill
 1956. Misselbrook, Mrs., Wild Woods, Grove Hill, Hellingly
 1957. Mitchell, M. E., 22 Park Avenue, Shoreham
 1932. Mitchell, Mrs., Tylers, Kippington, Sevenoaks
 1940. *Molson, Hugh E., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W.1
 1941. Money, J. H., F.S.A., 25A Philbeach Gardens, S.W.5
 1946. Monico, J. R., Windy Ridge, Eastdean, Eastbourne
 1935. Monk Bretton, The Dowager Lady, Conyboro', Lewes
 1957. Moon, R. C., Training College, Upper Bognor Road, Bognor
 1959. Moore, D., 14 St. Swithuns Terrace, Lewes
 1958. Moore, J., 32 Victoria Terrace, Brighton 3
 1948. Moore, Stephen M., 103 High Street, Lewes
 1959. τ Moore, T. M., Gables Cottage, Southover, Lewes
 1947. Mordaunt, Mrs., Court Farm, Burwash
 1951. Morgan, Miss D. B., Bishop Otter College, Chichester
 1922. Morgan, W. L., The Neuk, Warren Park, Warlingham Village, Surrey
 1954. Morgan-Grenville, Capt. The Hon. G. W., Hammerwood, Midhurst
 1956. Morice, Mrs., Holly Brook, Colemans Hatch, Hartfield
 1935. Morland, Mrs., Little Pitfold, Hindhead, Surrey
 1951. τ Morrison-Scott, Mrs., 4 Castle Way, Steyning
 1952. τ Morse, A. P., 78 High Street, Lewes
 1928. Mosse, Rev. C. H., Canberra, Oathall Road, Haywards Heath
 1952. Mousley, Miss J. E., Far Curlews, North Shore Road, Hayling Island,
 Hampshire
 1957. Moylan, Sir John, C.B., C.B.E., Church Lane Cottage, Bury
 1953. Muers, Mrs., Creevagh, Forest Row
 1950. τ Mullins, Mrs. Claud, Glasses, Graffham, Nr. Petworth
 1923. τ *Munnion, E. H., M.B.E., Ardings, Ardingly

1954. Murphy, Miss, Training College, Brighton
 1946. Murphy, Miss L. P., Little Bignor, Kirdford, Billingshurst
 1938. T Murray, Miss K. M. E., F.S.A., Upper Cranmore, Heyshott, Midhurst
 1947. TMusson, R. C., F.S.A., Badlesmere, Trinity Trees, Eastbourne
1949. TNathan of Churt, The Rt. Hon. Lord, T.D., F.S.A., Churt House, Rotherfield
 1946. Naylor, The Very Rev. A. T. A., D.S.O., O.B.E., Home Place, Whatlington, Battle
1959. TNeedell, Mrs., Laurel Cottage, Rectory Lane, Ashington
 1953. Netherclift, Miss, 83 Graham Avenue, Withdean, Brighton
 1957. TNethery, Miss, 2 Old Park Close, Cuckfield
 1956. Newlyn, F. R., 8 St. Matthews Road, St. Leonards
 1957. Newman, Mrs. Westering, Runcton, Chichester
 1956. Newnham, Mrs. A., Minto, Codmore Hill, Pulborough
 1942. *Newnham, W., The Cottage, Warninglid, Haywards Heath
 1938. Niemeyer, Lady, Cookhams, Sharpthorne, East Grinstead
 1958. TNixey, Miss, 86 St. Helen's Road, Hastings
 1955. TNodder, E. G.
 1955. ANodder, Mrs. E. G. } Old Vicarage, Piddinghoe
 1956. Norfolk, His Grace the Duke of, E.M., K.G., G.C.V.O., Arundel Castle
 1950. TNorman, M. W. D., Bridge House, Oversley Green, Alcester, Warwickshire
1936. Norris, N. E. S., F.S.A., Mount Tivoli, 103 Tivoli Crescent N., Brighton
 1951. Norris, S., 38 Ferrars Road, Lewes
 1957. Nutting, Miss, High School for Girls, Chichester
1956. TOakley, Major J. L. D., Malthouse Field, Bolney, Haywards Heath
 1937. TOdell, W. H., Southlands, Hailsham Road, Worthing
 1952. Ogden, A. M. S., 5 South Drive, Coulsdon, Surrey
 1946. Ogden, R. P., Box 4971, Karachi, Pakistan
 1949. Ogilvy-Watson, Mrs., Leas, Wadhurst
 1954. TOglethorpe, N. R.
 1956. Oram, Mrs.
 1938. Ormerod, Miss R. E., Claremont, Second Avenue, Hove
 1958. Oxley, C. J., Mechyng, Coppice Way, Haywards Heath
1953. TPacker, G. A., Witchwood, William Allen Lane, Lindfield
 1951. TPage, G. E., 20 King's Close, Lancing
 1952. Palmer, C. R., Turners Hill
 1928. Pannett, C. J., Hillcrest, 21 London Road, Uckfield
 1959. TPannett, D. J., 9 Eastbourne Road, Brighton
 1948. TPanton, Miss, 4 West Park Lane, Worthing
 1951. Parris, E. G., 8 West Dean Road, Worthing
 1958. Parish, Mrs. Woodbine, The Glebe Barn, Pulborough
 1959. Parrish, Miss, Eastbrook House, Stonegate, Wadhurst
 1951. Parrish, H. E., 91 Houndean Rise, Lewes
 1927. Parsons, W. J.
 1946. AParsons, Mrs. W. J. } 6 Prince Edward's Road, Lewes
 1950. Paton, Miss, Strone, Park Farm Road, Bickley, Kent
 1953. Pattenden, Miss, 44 Archery Road, Eltham, S.E.9
 1950. Paul, W. R. H., 52 Ardrossan Gardens, Worcester Park, Surrey
 1957. Paul, Miss, St. Michael's, Burton Park, Petworth
 1958. Payne, F. W.
 1958. APayne, Mrs. F. W. } Ashburton, Steyning
 1937. *Payne, Miss H. E., Broomwood, The Drive, Chichester
 1924. Pearce, O. D.
 1928. APearce, Mrs. O. D. } 63 Church Road, Richmond, Surrey
1947. Pearmain, H. F., Secker, Piltown
 1959. Pears, Mrs., Restharrow, Ashurstwood

1923. r*Pearson, The Hon. Clive, Parham, Pulborough
 1956. Pease, Miss, 11 St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes
 1921. r*Peckham, W. D., 68 Westgate, Chichester
 1956. tPeckitt, Major C. R. }
 1956. tPeckitt, Mrs. C. R. } Chailey Moat, Lewes
 1955. Peers, Miss, Training College, Eastbourne
 1951. Pelham, The Hon. Mrs., Merton House, Ringmer
 1951. r*Penfold, F., c/o 14 Kings Avenue, Eastbourne
 1946. Penney, Miss }
 1946. aPenney, Miss K. J. } Cowdrays, Hurstpierpoint
 1949. tPennington, Mrs., 55 East Street, Seaford
 1952. tPennyquick, Brigadier J. A. C., Cunliffes, Horam
 1952. Perkins, A. W., St. Michael's Old Rectory, Lewes
 1950. Perry, E. M., 45 Old Shoreham Road, Brighton
 1956. Perry, K. L. W., Novington Cottage, Plumpton, Lewes
 1952. Petch, Mrs., Little Bridge House, Danehill
 1956. tPeters, R. G., 37 St. Edmund's Road, Northampton
 1951. Philcox, A. E., 12 Gundreda Road, Lewes
 1954. tPhillimore, The Hon. Claud, Rymands, Apuldram, Chichester
 1937. Pickard, O. G., Ravensdene, Holden Avenue, North Finchley, N.12
 1950. Pilkington, A. D., Treemans, Horsted Keynes
 1948. Pilmer, Miss, Highridge Training College, P.O. Box 3005, Nairobi, Kenya
 1957. Pirrie, Mrs., Downs View, Plumpton, Lewes
 1930. Pitcher, J. Scott, Woodpeckers, Great Bardfield, Braintree, Essex
 1957. Plaster, G. H., The Hey, Ditchling Road, Wivelsfield
 1957. tPogson, Major C. A., M.C., Flat 2, 47 The Drive, Hove
 1953. Pollard, A. P., 65 The Avenue, Lewes
 1959. Pollard, Major H. B. C. }
 1959. aPollard, Mrs. H. B. C. } Clover Cottage, W. Lavington, Midhurst
 1953. Ponsonby of Shulbrede, The Rt. Hon. Lord, Shulbrede Priory, Haslemere
 1937. Porritt, Captain S. S., 2 Adelaide Court, Hove
 1953. Potter, Miss, Twitten Cottage, Wadhurst
 1957. tPotter, Miss, Cleve, Newlands Road, Rottingdean
 1945. Pound, R., 10 Margaretta Terrace, Chelsea, S.W.3
 1924. tPowell, H. C., 79 High Street, Lewes
 1952. tAPowell, Miss E. M. }
 1946. tPowell, Mrs. Richard H. } Broad Ford, Horsmonden, Kent
 1956. Powell, Mrs., Old Church House, Battle
 1957. Powell-Edwards, Major I. H., Novington Manor, Plumpton
 1946. *Power, Miss M. E., Beechcroft, Upper Hartfield
 1949. Pratt, M. R., 31 Southbank Lodge, Surbiton, Surrey
 1956. tPrice, D. G. }
 1956. aPrice, Mrs. D. G. } Arish Mill, Westmeston Avenue, Rottingdean
 1950. r*Price, H. K., 2 Beech House, College Road, Eastbourne
 1954. Pridle, Miss G. B., Proyart, Old Fort Road, Shoreham
 1930. Prideaux, Mrs. Arthur, Shovells, Old Town, Hastings
 1950. tPringle, C. E., Farthing Field, Wilhelmina Avenue, Dutch Village, Coulsdon
 1953. aPringle, Miss K. N., The Three Gables, Midhurst
 1959. Pritchard, Mrs., The Small House, Ringmer
 1957. Pye, C. A., Barclays Bank Ltd., Uckfield
 1955. Quenault, Mrs., 9 Braybrook Close, Hastings
 1953. Ralling, H. St. G., Caldecot, Crowborough
 1952. Ralph, G. H., The Studio, Forest Row
 1957. Randall, H. A., Hapstead Farm, Ardingly
 1948. Ratcliffe-Densham, H. B. A., 50 Offington Lane, Worthing
 1959. tRead, Mrs. L. E. }
 1959. aRead, L. E. } Torreno, Shirleys, Ditchling

1946. Recknell, G. H., Chantry Green House, Steyning
 1954. Rector, W. K., 17 Dorset Road, Lewes
 1954. tRedgrave, A. H., Upper Brookhouse Farm, Framfield
 1950. Redwood, B. C., 10 Worcester Drive North, Liverpool
 1949. Reed, Mrs., The Fox and Hounds Farm, Bolney
 1949. Reeves, E. M.
 1951. aReeves, Mrs. E. M. } 159 High Street, Lewes
 1939. Reid, Ven. E. G., Windmill Hill Place, Hailsham
 1933. Reid, Miss M., The Elms, Iden, Rye
 1954. Reid, P. R., M.B.E., M.C., Possingworth Manor, Blackboys
 1932. tReid, Miss Shirley, Mackerells, Newick
 1956.*tRelf, R. S., 5 Sackville Lane, East Grinstead
 1957. Remnant, G. L., 18 Houndean Rise, Lewes
 1956. Revill, Miss, 10 Anson Road, Victoria Park, Manchester
 1952. Rew, H. H., Crowlink End, East Dean, Eastbourne
 1957. Reynolds, Mrs., Cedar House, Slindon, Arundel
 1946. tReynolds, W. B., 35 High Street, Lewes
 1956. Rhodes, J., Wayside, Beacon Gardens, Crowborough
 1957. Ricardo, Mrs., Mead Cottage, Cookham, Berkshire
 1944. Richards, Mrs., 182 Tivoli Crescent North, Brighton
 1954. tRichardson, K. S., Brickhurst Pottery, Loughton, Lewes
 1946. Richardson, Sir William Wigham, BART., 4 Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells
 1936. Richmond and Gordon, His Grace the Duke of, Goodwood, Chichester
 1948. tRippingale, A. J., 30 Graydon Avenue, Chichester
 1958. Roberts, L., 24 Burlington Street, Marine Parade, Brighton
 1950. tRobertson-Ritchie, D., Market House, Market Avenue, Chichester
 1937.*Robinson, J. C., Oaklea Warren, Newick
 1946. Robinson, W. E. P., The Pigeon House, Angmering
 1950. Rodhouse, G. F., 39 Arundel Road, Peacehaven
 1959. Roe, D. A., Fir Crest, Rye Hill, Rye
 1955.*Rogerson, J., 95 Ridgmount Gardens, Torrington Place, W.C.1
 1949. Rolston, G. R., Bambers, Grays Wood Road, Haslemere, Surrey
 1932. Roper, E. E., Gailes, Hildenborough, Kent
 1956. tRose, Clive R., c/o The Foreign Office, London, S.W.1
 1957. Ross, Mrs., 31 Westholm, London, N.W.11
 1955. Ross, A., Clayton Manor, Clayton
 1953. Roth, S. H. J., Raughmere Rise, Lavant, Nr. Chichester
 1952. Rottenburgh, Miss, The Spring, London Road, Pembury, Kent
 1953. Royds, Miss, Esmeralda, West Common, Haywards Heath
 1927. Ruck, G., F.S.A., Croft House, Stansted Mountfichet, Essex
 1956. Rudd, W. A., Four Winds, Pevensey Road, Newhaven
 1958. Rule, Mrs., Mill House, Westbourne, Nr. Emsworth
 1927. Rundle, E. C., 8 The Avenue, Lewes
 1922. Russell, Ernest C., Courtlands, The Avenue, Lewes
 1908. Russell, Miss Louise, Homelea, The Rocks, Burwash
 1953. Ryan, Col. P. J. }
 1954. aRyan, Mrs. P. J. } Roughters, Icklesham
1950. tSadler, C. J., 36 Benfield Way, Portslade
 1952. tSaigeman, F. L., Fullingmill Cottage, Fittleworth
 1950.t*St. Croix, F. W. de, M.B.E., c/o Barclays Bank Ltd., 2 The Pantiles, Tunbridge Wells
 1955. tSt. John, F. E. H., Luccombe Cottage, Barnham, nr. Bognor
 1955. tSalmond, Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir John, G.C.B., C.M.G., C.V.O., D.S.O., 10 Keere Street, Lewes
 1949. tSalt, Mrs., 39 Browning Road, Worthing
 1953. tSalter, Rev. S., Barkston Rectory, Grantham, Lincs.
 1949. tSalter, W. H., Lochbuie, Clayton Avenue, Hassocks

- 1896.T*Salzman, L. F., C.B.E., F.S.A., 53 The Avenue, Lewes
 1957. Sanders, A. E., Quince Cottage, Kingston, Lewes
 1943.T*Sapsford, A. G., The Old Forge, Wilmington, Polegate
 1954. rSaunders, R. G., 2 Hill View, Telscombe Village, Lewes
 1956. Saville, L. M., Holroyds, Barcombe
 1948. Sawyer, Miss, Orchard Bungalow, Plumpton
 1958. rSchubert, L. R. T., Alscot, Willingdon Road, Eastbourne
 1959. Sclater, A. W., Woodend, North Chailey, Lewes
 1951. Scorer, E. V. A. }
 1951. AScorer, Mrs. E. V. A. } 4 De Warrenne Road, Lewes
 1948. Scott, Mrs., Harsfold Farm House, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst
 1949. Scott-Plummer, Mrs., Holdens, Chiddingly
 1940. Scragg, J., Headmaster's House, The Grammar School, Steyning
 1951. Scrivener, Major J. P., The Well House, Aldwick Bay
 1920.T*Secretan, Spender D. }
 1945.ATSecretan, Miss A. F. M. } Swaynes, Rudgwick
 1946.ATSecretan, Miss M. D. }
 1952. rSevers, F., O.B.E., Sea Winds, Beach Road, Shoreham
 1956. Selwell, A. E., Barnelm, Boxgrove, Chichester
 1948. Sharp, W. E., 39 Highlands Road, Horsham
 1954. rShaw, Mrs., Heath House, Buxted
 1955. Shelford, Mrs. C. W. }
 1955. AShelford, C. W. } Chailey Place, Lewes
 1956. Shephard, R., Four Winds Garden Cottage, Lynchmere
 1938. Sherriff, R. C., F.S.A., Rosebriars, Esher, Surrey
 1949. rSherwin, J. C., 14 Cripsey Road, Cove, Farnborough, Hampshire
 1954. Shiffner, Miss, Zenda, Theobald's Road, Burgess Hill
 1948. rShillito, N. W., 18 Kepplestone, Staveley Road, Eastbourne
 1953. Shoemsmith, D. B., 3 Mill Rise, Bexhill
 1952. Shorter, R. J., Povey's, Weald Road, Burgess Hill
 1952. Shuker, Miss, Edgehill, Tilsmore Road, Heathfield
 1956. Simmons, R. A., 503 Issmin Towers, Vandermerwe Street, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, S.A.
 1925. Simpson, Miss M. A., Watland Furlong, Bishopstone
 1957. rSimpson, R. H. }
 1958 ASimpson, Mrs. R. H. } Payne's Dene, Crowlink Lane, Friston
 1925. Sinclair, Mrs., The Red House, Ninfield, Battle
 1958. Sissons, Miss, 68 Church Street, Willingdon
 1928. Sissons, Miss V. H., Crouchers, Rudgwick
 1951. rSkinner, E. C. C., Oakdene, East Grinstead
 1926. Slagg, Mrs. J. P.
 1947.T*Slyfield, G. N., 47 North Parade, Horsham
 1948. Smart, J. E., Overglen, Hill Brow, Liss, Hampshire
 1945. *Smith, Miss, Homeside, Denton Road, Eastbourne
 1952. Smith, A. E., 11 Wellington Road, Bognor
 1956. rSmith, A. N., Hoyle, Heyshott, Nr. Midhurst
 1950. Smith, C. W. }
 1950. ASmith, Mrs. C. W. } Quendon Hotel, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne
 1942. Smith, H. L., Southover High Street, Lewes
 1957. Smith, H. N. P., 42 King Edward Avenue, Worthing
 1953. Smith, H. S., c/o Midland Bank Ltd., North Street, Brighton
 1948. Smith, J. L. E., Lower Ashfold, Handcross
 1950. Smith, R., F.S.A., St. Anton, 61 Sutton Road, Seaford
 1950. Smith, Mrs. Ronald, Moorlands, Withyham
 1959. Smith, Miss V., 12 Houndean Rise, Lewes
 1958. Smith, W. S., 4 Heathcote Drive, East Grinstead
 1959. Snelling, H. J., 12 Nelson Road, Horsham
 1951. rSolomon, Major J. B., M.C., Old Poor House, Sutton End, Pulborough
 1957. Somerville-Collie, Rev. E. }
 1957. ASomerville-Collie, Mrs. S. } The Rectory, Burwash

1958. tSouthey, Mrs. Viner, Greta Cottage, Courtlands Close, Worthing
 1946. Spencer, J. C., Coles Hall, Five Ashes
 1957. Spicer, Mrs., Plumpton Cottage, Plumpton
 1958. ASpital, P. M., Court Horeham, Cowbeech, Hailsham
 1951. Squire, H. F., Batts, Henfield
 1927. Staffurth, Miss F. E. A., Cucumber End, Nyewood Lane, Bognor
 1957. *Stallard, W. B. }
 1957. AStallard, Mrs. H. B. } Gorse Cottage, Chuck Hatch, Hartfield
 1953. tStarke, L. G. K., C.B.E. }
 1953. AStarke, Mrs. L. G. K. } Brack Mound House, Lewes
 1957. Statham, G. P., Belmont School, Hassocks
 1919. tStedman, T. Gurney, Langley, Horsham Road, Slinfold
 1946. Steele, J., Martins, Newick
 1953. tSteer, F. W., F.S.A., 63 Orchard Street, Chichester
 1958. AStenhouse, Miss, Wayside, Westway, High Salvington, Worthing
 1955. Stent, Mrs., Malthouse, Chithurst, Rogate
 1959. Stephens, Mrs., St. Philips Vicarage, 195 Kennington Road, S.E.11
 1923.t*Stern, Col. Sir F., M.C., O.B.E., Highdown, Goring-by-Sea
 1952. Stevens, A. G., 26 Lorna Road, Hove
 1948. Stevens, D. L., 10 Calverley Road, Eastbourne
 1903. tStevens, F. Bentham, F.S.A. }
 1909. AStevens, Mrs. F. Bentham } Cinder Rough, Chailey
 1952. Stevenson, His Hon. Sir Melford, 3 Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4
 1957. tStoneham, R. T., The Manor House, Rotherfield
 1952. tStorey, F. G. H. }
 1952. AStorey, Mrs. F. G. H. } 7 Courtney Gate, Kingsway, Hove 3
 1930. tStrachan-Davidson, K., c/o Westminster Bank Ltd., Haywards Heath
 1953. Strachey, Mrs., Knapp House, Iping, Midhurst
 1959. Strauss, The Rt. Hon. G. R., M.P., Naylands, Slaugham
 1958. Streatfield, D. C., 62 Pemberton Gardens, N.19
 1956. Strudwick, P. S., Greensand Way, Stonepound, Hassocks
 1951. Stuart, Mrs., Priest House, West Hoathly
 1920. tSutton, Col. Thomas, O.B.E., F.S.A. }
 1937. ASutton, Mrs. T. } 11 Selwyn Park Court, Eastbourne
 1954. *Swanborough, The Right Hon. Lady, Swanborough Manor, Lewes
 1951. Swayne, G. O., 6 Hilgay Close, Guildford
 1948. ASymonds, Miss, 85 Highdown Road, Lewes
 1953. Symons, Mrs., The Old Forge, Cowbeech, Hailsham
 1946. Synges, Miss D. M. B., New Kelton, Sutton Park Road, Seaford
1952. Tatchell, Miss P., 10 Greenfield Close, Roman Road, Southwick
 1945. *Tattersall-Wright, Major J. W. }
 1954. ATattersall-Wright, Mrs. J. W. } Rannoch, Crowborough
 1957. Taylor, G. F., American University, Beirut, Lebanon
 1947. tTebby, J. H., 19 Falmer Close, Woodingdean, Brighton
 1934. Teichman-Derville, Major M., F.S.A., The Red House, Littlestone,
 Ashford, Kent
1953. tTerry, H. E. }
 1956. ATerry, Mrs. H. E. } 96 Willingdon Road, Eastbourne
- 1936.t*Thacker, Captain N., M.C., c/o Martins Bank Ltd., 16 Whitehall, S.W.1
 1946. Thomas, A. H., LL.D., F.S.A., 2 West Park Lane, Worthing
 1958. Thomas, Miss, 266 Ditchling Road, Brighton
 1954. tThompson, Miss F. B. }
 1959. AThompson, Miss E. } 62 Hallyburton Road, Hove
1947. Thorne, Sir John Anderson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sherrald, Sedlescombe
 1954. Thornton, J. F., 9 The Martlets, Lewes
 1942. Thorpe, S. M., 42 Brassey Avenue, Hampden Park, Eastbourne
 1952. tThrasher, W. J., 93 Shirley Drive, Hove
 1951. Thyer, G. H. G., 28 The Caravan Court, Raylands Farm, Tackrell's
 Lane, Southwater, Horsham

1954. rTibble, R. B. } 110 Waldegrave Road, Brighton
 1954. ATibble, Mrs. }
 1958. Thring-Bolton, Mrs., Church Cottage, Itchingfield, Horsham
 1947. rTindall, A. A., } Longacre, Ringmer
 1958. ATindall, Mrs. }
 1922. *Tittley, R. K., Brinkhurst, Horley, Surrey
 1935. Tomlin, Mrs. J. W., Old Homestead, Bodle Street Green, Hailsham
 1953. Tompsett, W., Ivy Cottage, Toronto Terrace, Lewes
 1950. Tootill, A. L., 137 Holmes Avenue, Hove
 1942. rTopping, A. R., Drayton Lodge, Ninfield, Battle
 1947. Towner, H. B., Hooke Hall, Uckfield
 1927. rToye, D. B., C.B., O.B.E., Luccombe, Selwyn Drive, Eastbourne
 1956. Traill, Miss, Fleur de Lys, South Street, Cuckfield
 1927. Tranchell, Lt.-Col. H. C., The Plantation, Curdridge, Southampton
 1957. Travis, Miss, 358A Neasden Lane, London, N.W.10
 1958. Treherne, Mrs., Herons Folly, Mayfield
 1959. Tremlett, Mrs., Bineham Farmhouse, N. Chailey, Lewes
 1955. Trickett, H. C. L., 18 Stanford Avenue, Hassocks
 1950. Trory, E. W., 57 Tivoli Crescent, Brighton
 1951. Troughton, Mrs., 101 High Street, Lewes
 1940. Tuck, Mrs., Claverham Manor, Arlington
 1954. rTucker, Rev. B. R. } Meadow Cottage, East Wittering, Chichester
 1954. ATucker, Mrs. B. R. }
 1953. rTuckley, H. } The School House, Laughton, Nr. Lewes
 1953. ATuckley, Mrs. }
 1938. Tufton, Mrs. A. G. } Toketon House, Southdown Road, Seaford
 1938. ATufton, Miss }
 1947. Tulley, Mrs., The Post Office, Handcross
 1957. *Tuppen, N. de B. H., Highlands, Horam
 1950. Tupper, Captain H., Roman Pavement, Bignor, Pulborough
 1954. Turner, Mrs. E. V., Littlecote, Blackwater Road, Eastbourne
 1925. rTurner, H. G. } Isenhurst, Haywards Heath
 1949. ATurner, Miss B. J. }
 1955. rTurner, L. B., 135 Cranley Gardens, Muswell Hill, N.10
 1936. Turner, Miss O., Crouchlands Farm, Cuckfield
 1951. r*Turner, R. W. D., 20 Warrior Crescent, Edinburgh, and Cotterlings,
 Ditchling
 1957. Turner, Mrs., Brook House, Burnt Oak, Crowborough
 1942. Tyler, V. W. } Old Place, Pulborough
 1958. ATyler, Mrs. V. W. }
 1948. Tynan, Miss, 1 Church Street, Isham, Kettering, Northamptonshire
1957. Udall, Mrs., Old Meadow Grange, Herne Bay, Kent
 1933. rUridge, Miss C. G., 11 Southdown Avenue, Lewes
1946. Varley, W. J., F.S.A., University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota,
 Accra, Gold Coast Colony, British West Africa
 1943. Vaughan, H. V., Commercial House, Perrymount Road, Haywards
 Heath
 1952. Vaughan, Mrs., Hilders Farm, Framfield
 1957. rVaughan-Pryce, Mrs. H., 40A High Street, Welshpool, Montgomeryshire
 1948. Vigor, H., 22 Old London Road, Brighton
 1955. r*Vine, G. M., 6 Wentworth Way, Pinner, Middlesex
1947. Wace, Sir Ferdinand Blyth, K.C.I.E., The Orchard, South Harting
 1956. Waddington, Mrs., 17 Sandy Way, Shirley, Surrey
 1933. Wade, Miss, Barham, Cuckfield
 1949. rWadey, J. E., 6 Connaught Road, Seaford

1956. Wagstaff, Miss, Sherwood, Guildford Road, Horsham
 1947. †Walden-Aspy, Rev. F. C., St. James's Vicarage, Littlehampton
 1947. Walker, Captain B. P. M., 21 The Kiln, Cants Lane, Burgess Hill
 1927. Walker, S. Lewis, Stone House, Forest Row
 1954. Walker, W. G. }
 1955. †Walker, Mrs. W. G. } The Tanneries, Alfriston
 1958. †Wallace, M. S., 6 East Pallant, Chichester
 1959. Wallich, Mrs., Instow, Pell Green, Wadhurst
 1946. Wallis, Miss }
 1949. †Wallis, Miss M. L. } Sunnycroft, King Henry's Road, Lewes
 1926. Walsh, Mrs. Cecil, Chippinge, North Common, Chailey
 1957. Walter, I. E., The Lodge, West Dean, Chichester
 1956. Walton, Miss, 31 Woodland Court, Dyke Road Avenue, Hove
 1958. Warburton, A. J., 65 Cantelupe Road, Bexhill
 1953. †Warburton, J. R., Glenmuir House, Branksome Road, St. Leonards
 1951. Ward, J. L., Salehurst, Robertsbridge
 1949. Wardale, G. C., 1 Manor Terrace, Southover, Lewes
 1953. †Watson, R. C., c/o E. Watson and Sons, Heathfield
 1949. †Watts, H. S. F., 100 Kingsdown Avenue, South Croydon
 1938. †Webb, Charles, 8 Pavilion Parade, Brighton
 1955. Webb, N. A., 25 Hove Park Way, Hove
 1952. †Webber, J. M. E. W., 4 Vine Place, Brighton
 1923. Wedgwood, Mrs., Mill Lane House, Slindon, Arundel
 1958. Weekes, C. S., Painswick, Moat Road, East Grinstead
 1955. †Welch, C. E., c/o Central Library, Tavistock Road, Plymouth
 1949. Weller, Mrs., Laurel Cottage, Horsham Road, Handcross
 1951. Wells, Mrs., 4 Tudor Close, Hove
 1937. Whistler, Hon. Mrs. }
 1944. *Whistler, Miss B. } Caldbec House, Battle
 1957. *Whistler, R. A., John O'Gaunt House, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire
 1950. †White, H., Caburn Mead, Summerfields Avenue, Hailsham
 1946. White, H. L., 30 Alyth Road, Talbot Woods, Bournemouth
 1930. †White, T. }
 1947. White, Mrs. T. } Holmwood, Little Common, Bexhill
 1947. White, O. M., 18 Adelaide Crescent, Hove
 1949. †Whitehead, F. A., 3 Hardwicke Road, Hastings
 1956. Whitehouse, Mrs., Tylors, Five Ashes
 1953. Whittaker, A. G., Estate Offices, Pulborough
 1929. Whittaker, C. J., The Ship, Walton-on-Hill, Tadworth, Surrey
 1955. †Whittington, D., 21 Crossway, Lewes
 1959. Widdowson, Mrs., Handcross Park, Handcross
 1959. Wight, E. B., Winter Hill, Rookery Lane, Haywards Heath
 1948. Wilberforce, Mrs., Flat 2, 29 Adelaide Crescent, Hove
 1954. Wilcockson, K. N., Hills Place, Goffs Park Road, Crawley
 1959. †Wilcox, R. P., 28 Cornfield Road, Reigate
 1936. Wilkinson, Rev. D. F., Wivelsfield Vicarage, Haywards Heath
 1953. †Wilkinson, H. R. }
 1953. †Wilkinson, Mrs. H. R. } Grange Cottage, Hadlow Down, Uckfield
 1955. †Wilkinson, Mrs. }
 1955. †Wilkinson, Miss } Kixes, Sharpthorne
 1958. Wilkinson, Mrs. H. R. }
 1959. Wilkinson, H. R. } Stanford House, Stanford Avenue, Hassocks
 1958. Willard, Miss, Forest Edge, Nutley
 1953. Willett, Miss D. M., Pilgrims, Lions Green, Horam
 1907. Williams, W. N., Knockbrea, Kingswood Road, Penn, Bucks.
 1959. Williams, Miss, 2 King Henry's Road, Lewes
 1951. †Willshire, R. J.
 1921. †Willson, A. B., 1 Shirley Road, Hove
 1953. Wilson, R. E., Crumps Corner Cottage, Little Horsted, Uckfield

1959. Wilmot of Selmeston, The Rt. Hon. Lord, Cobb Court Farm, Berwick,
Polegate
1937. †Wilson, A. E., LITT.D., F.S.A. } 81 Tivoli Crescent North, Brighton
1957. †Wilson, Mrs. A. E. }
1955. Windus, Mrs., Truleigh Manor, Edburton, Henfield
1920. Winterton, The Rt. Hon. Earl, T.D., Shillinglee Park
1952. †Witheridge, A. G., Christ's College, Cambridge
1930. Wisdom, Rev. H. T., The Vicarage, Tollesbury, Malden, Essex
1924. †Wishart, E. E., Marsh Farm, Binsted, Arundel
1947. Witten, F. H., 32 Mill Lane, Shoreham
1932. †Wood, E. A. } 242 St. Helen's Road, Hastings
1959. †Wood, Mrs. E. A. }
1959. Wood, The Venerable E. D. K., Archdeacon of Mashonaland, P.O. Box
7, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia
1952. Woodcock, Mrs., Flat 1, 47 Blackwater Road, Eastbourne
1954. †*Woodhead, G. J., 33 Primrose Road, Leyton, London, E.10
1952. †Woodhouse, W. C., 26 Canning Street, Brighton
1935. †Woodward, Miss K. M., 45 Ethelbert Road, Wimbledon, S.W.20
1959. Woolcombe, D. L., 52 Palmeira Avenue, Hove
1952. Worsell, I. J., Seven Sisters, Birling Gap, Eastbourne
1943. Wright, F., Oak Cottage, Peasmarsh
1949. †*Wright, F. S., 27 Stanford Avenue, Brighton
1950. Wright, J. A., P.O. Box 290, Kericho, Kenya
1956. Wyndham, J. E. R., Petworth House
1954. Wynne-Cole, B., 22 Parkside Place, Leeds 6, Yorks.
1953. †Yates, J., 9 Woodhouse Road, Hove
1950. †Yeoman, Mrs., 21 Cumberland Place, Harton Downhill, South Shields,
Co. Durham
1946. Yetts, Miss E. W., Granborough, The Goffs, Eastbourne
1957. Yetts, Mrs., 6 Compton Place Road, Eastbourne
1924. Youard, The Very Rev. W. W., 14 Grosvenor Road, East Grinstead
1904. †Young, E. F., School Hill, Lewes
1943. Young, G., Meadow Cottage, Hoe Lane, Flansham, Bognor

PART II. LIBRARIES, SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS

1959. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
1951. Battersea Public Library, Battersea, S.W.11
 1952. Bexley Public Library, Broadway, Bexleyheath, Kent
 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
 1956. Brighton Training College, 8 Eastern Terrace, Brighton
 1949. Bristol University Library, Bristol 8
1943. California University Library, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
 1951. California University Library, Los Angeles 24, California, U.S.A.
 1922. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
 1941. Cathedral Chapter Library, Canon W. K. Lowther-Clarke, 4 Vicar's
 Close, 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, New York 27, U.S.A.
 1870. Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A. (c/o E. G. Allen & Son Ltd., 14
 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2)
 1958. Cornell University Library, Ithica, New York (c/o E. G. Allen & Son
 Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2)
 1934. County Grammar School for Boys, Lewes
 1944. Croydon Public Libraries, Town Hall, Croydon
1940. Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A.
-
1927. East Sussex County Library, Lewes
 1897. Eastbourne Central Public Library, 24 Grand Parade, Eastbourne
1920. Glasgow University Library (c/o Jackson, Son & Co., 73 West George
 Street, Glasgow, C.2)
 1953. Göttingen University, Prinzenstrasse 1, Göttingen, Germany
 1863. Guildhall Library, The Librarian, London, E.C.2.
1911. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. (c/o E. G. Allen
 & Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2)
 1924. Haslemere Natural History Society, Hon. Sec., Miss Phyllis Bone,
 Educational Museum, Haslemere, Surrey
 1930. Hastings Public Library, Brassey Institute, Hastings
 1938. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
 1959. Holborn Public Library, 34/36 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1
 1925. Horsham Museum Society, The Curator, The Museum, 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
1952. Leicester University Library, Leicester
1946. Lewes Fitzroy Memorial Free Library, Lewes
1949. Liverpool Reference Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool
1955. Liverpool University Library, Liverpool, 2
1886. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.1
1957. Lund University Library, Lund, Sweden
1932. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1929. Minnesota University Library, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1959. Missouri University Library, Columbia, Missouri, 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., 77/79 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, W.1)
1932. Newberry Library (c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown Ltd., 77/79 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, W.1)
1952. Ohio State University Library, Columbus 10, Ohio, U.S.A.
1948. Ordnance Survey, Director of Establishment and Finance, Leatherhead Road, Chessington, Surrey
1939. Royal Institute of British Architects, 66 Portland Place, W.1
1938. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark
1911. Rye, the Corporation of
1949. Southampton Public Libraries, Central Library, Southampton
1929. South-Eastern Society of Architects, c/o C. Burns, 11 Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells
1951. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, School of Art, Bury St. Edmunds
1903. Tunbridge Wells Natural History Society, E. G. Parish, Barclays Bank Ltd., Mount Pleasant, Tunbridge Wells
1957. Tunbridge Wells Public Library, Mount Pleasant, Tunbridge Wells
1958. University College Library, Gower Street, W.C.1
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
1950. Virginia Historical Society, 428 North Boulevard, Richmond, 20, Virginia, U.S.A.
1946. West Sussex County Council (County Records Committee), County Hall, Chichester
1927. West Sussex County Library, South Street, Chichester

1896. *West Sussex Gazette*, Mitchell & Co. (Printers) Ltd., 53 High Street,
Arundel
1947. Westminster Public Libraries, St. Martin's Street, W.C.2
1949. Wisconsin University Library, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin,
U.S.A.
1897. Worthing Corporation Public Library
1958. Worth Priory, Crawley
1910. Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. (c/o E. G. Allen
& Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2)
1953. Zentralinstitute für Kunstgeschichte, Munich 2, Arcisstrasse 10

Sussex Archaeological Society



Report of the Council for the Year 1958

ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

Till 1959

E. CECIL CURWEN, O.B.E., F.S.A.
 LINDSAY FLEMING, F.S.A.
 Miss E. M. GARDNER, O.B.E.
 RUPERT F. GUNNIS
 G. D. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.
 Miss K. M. E. MURRAY, F.S.A.
 F. W. STEER, F.S.A.
 J. E. WADEY

Till 1960

G. P. BURSTOW, F.S.A.
 ANTONY DALE, F.S.A.
 W. EMIL GODFREY, F.S.A.
 R. P. GRAHAM-VIVIAN, M.C.
 G. A. HOLLEYMAN, F.S.A.
 G. H. KENYON, F.S.A.
 Colonel T. SUTTON, O.B.E.,
 F.S.A.
 E. A. WOOD, M.D.

Till 1961

Colonel A. H. BELL, D.S.O.,
 O.B.E.
 E. R. BURDER
 GARTH CHRISTIAN
 Miss E. J. COURTHOPE
 Brigadier H. P. GARDHAM,
 C.B.E.
 E. W. HOLDEN
 I. D. MARGARY, F.S.A.
 R. T. MASON, F.S.A.

1. MEMBERSHIP. The figures for 1st January, 1958, and 1st January, 1959, are as follows:

	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Associate</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st January, 1958	1,111	104	77	10	1,302
1st January, 1959	1,069	106	78	10	1,263

As will be seen, there was again a decrease in membership, but this, in view of the increase in the subscription, was only to be expected. New members continue to come forward in satisfactory numbers, and if this continues the losses incurred during the last two years should soon be made up.

Amongst the losses by death were:—W. A. Barron (1935), the Right Reverend Bishop G. K. A. Bell (1929), the Reverend A. C. Crookshank (1922), Colonel Sir Arthur Evans (1952), Leonard J. Hodson (1945), Brigadier M. E. Mascall (1948), Viscountess Milner (1941), Mrs. F. W. Patching (1918), E. F. Salmon (1898), Mrs. E. M. Skyrme (1922), Sir Sylvanus Vivian, C.B. (1931).

Bishop Bell joined the Society on coming to Chichester in 1929, and, notwithstanding the multifarious calls upon his time, had always taken a keen interest in its work and in that of the Record Society. He was elected a Vice-President in 1930 and served as President for the years 1937-39.

Mr. W. A. Barron was a member of the Council from 1949 until his death. As County Secretary for the National Register of Archives he did an immense amount of most valuable work in searching out and recording the archives of the county.

The Reverend A. C. Crookshank, who was successively Rector of West Thorney and Vicar of Ditchling, was a most enthusiastic and generous member of the Society. By his gifts to the Museum and Library and by his interest in the history of the parishes in which he ministered, he did much to promote the Society's objects.

After a distinguished career in the Civil Service, Sir Sylvanus Vivian devoted many years during his retirement to the study of the manorial history of Etchingam-cum-Salehurst, and the result of his labours was published in Volume 53 of the Sussex Record Society. He had been a Vice-President of the Society since 1948.

Mr. Leonard J. Hodson was the author of a History of Robertsbridge and other books.

At the time of his death Mr. E. F. Salmon had been a member of the Society for sixty years. He had rendered valuable service especially in connection with the Marlipins and the Southwick Roman Villa site. When, owing to increasing infirmities, he left Sussex and went to live in Gloucestershire with his daughter, the Council marked its appreciation of his work by electing him an Honorary Member.

2. OFFICERS AND COUNCIL. There are only two changes to be recorded. The Venerable Lancelot Mason, Archdeacon of Chichester, was at the Annual Meeting elected President of the Society in succession to Mr. Walter H. Godfrey, C.B.E., F.S.A. The other officers were re-elected, as were the retiring members of the Council. The vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Mr. W. A. Barron was filled by the election of Mr. Garth Christian, of Chailey.

3. MEETINGS. The Annual General Meeting was held at Lewes on 19th March. In addition to the usual business transacted in the morning, the newly installed President asked permission to call attention to the threat which the proposed Fly-over Bridge at Old Shoreham would be to Old Shoreham Church. The meeting unanimously decided to support strongly the objections raised by the Shoreham Preservation Society and the Chichester Diocesan Board of Finance. As a result of these and other objections the Minister of Transport has withdrawn the scheme for further consideration. The officers of the Society are keeping in close touch with the other bodies who have lodged protests.

After lunch the President, the Venerable Lancelot Mason, gave an illustrated lecture on "The Historic Churches of Sussex—the Problem Children of a Country Archdeacon," during which he explained the urgent need for the Historic Churches Trust to help to maintain these churches, especially in parishes where there are less than a hundred parishioners.

The Summer Meeting was held at Wiston and Steyning, when visits were made to Wiston House and Church, Steyning Church and Grammar School and the Chantry House, Steyning.

Local meetings were held at the Old Town, Hastings, the Manor of Dean and Selham Church, Great Ote Hall, the Holtye Roman Road, and Chichester Cathedral and its Precincts. Reports have appeared in *Sussex Notes and Queries*.

At the Autumn Meeting at Hastings, Dr. William Urry gave a dramatic lecture on Archbishop Becket and The Canterbury Pilgrimages. As he was unable to complete his subject, and in answer to many requests, he has been invited to lecture on the Becket Pilgrimages at the Annual Meeting on March 18th, and has accepted.

4. PUBLICATIONS. Volume 96 of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, which appeared at the end of the year, brings to an end Mr. Salzman's editorship of fifty years. It maintains the exceptional high standard which all have come to expect of it under his critical, but most helpful, eye. As members will already know, the Society is marking this memorable achievement by making a presentation to Mr. Salzman, details of which will be announced at the Annual Meeting. Fortunately, his vast knowledge and experience will remain at the service of the Society.

Two issues of *Sussex Notes and Queries* have appeared under the editorship of Mr. G. D. Johnston, and have contained a large number of varied and interesting short articles, without which the Society would fail to fulfil some of the purposes for which it was formed.

5. MUSEUMS. Though nothing of spectacular importance has occurred, a considerable amount of work has been accomplished in the four museums during the past year. General conditioning and care of the rooms and exhibits, re-arrangement where necessary, labelling and recording, are all subjects which take much time. Re-arrangement of the Medieval Room at Barbican House has begun, and wall cases of monastic tiles and the finds from Pevensey Castle have been respectively fitted up. Strip lighting has been installed through the ground-floor passage, and this has greatly helped our display of early maps. We have been pleased to welcome back to Barbican House our custodians of many years, Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Armstrong and their daughter, Mrs. Turner. Their genial presence is much appreciated by both visitors and workers in the House. Very shortly we expect to exhibit the finds from the Bronze Age Settlement on Itford Hill and illustrate these with a

suitable model. Mr. G. P. Burstow kindly worked for several days in the museum and rearranged certain cases in the Iron and Bronze Age departments. Mr. T. Harris has continued with his invaluable work in assisting Mr. Norris in various ways.

At Anne of Cleves House a really important constructional improvement has been completed, though it does not affect the show part of the building. For the first time in its many years of existence the House now has a bathroom! This has been engineered in the Custodians' quarters, and Mr. and Mrs. Acott, who continue doing an excellent job in keeping this large building attractively clean and bright, will surely feel encouraged.

At Wilmington Priory the extensive repairs have now been completed, and the Custodians' quarters greatly improved, the addition of a bathroom having also been made to these premises. A revised edition of the Wilmington Priory Guide has been published, a long-felt want, and is selling extremely well.

6. RESEARCH COMMITTEE. The Research Committee met four times in the course of the year. It continued its useful work of recording excavations, and the frequent small finds which occur in the county and which might otherwise go unrecorded. A copy of the minutes is preserved at Barbican House. The principal excavations of the year have been on the Iron Age fort on Torberry, on the Romano-British site at Ringmer Road, Tarring, in Roman Chichester, on the Neolithic camp at Barkhale (west of Bignor Hill), and on the Late Bronze Age sites on Plumpton Plain B and Amberley Mount.

7. MUNIMENT ROOM. There have been no large accessions of family archives during this year, but there has been a steady flow of miscellaneous volumes and papers, a notable example being the Rental and Customal in very good condition of Rotherfield Manor for 1346-7.

Thanks to Messrs. N. E. S. Norris and T. Harris the very large collection of correspondence of Rose Fuller, of Brightling, consisting of some 500 letters, which was deposited in 1954, has now been catalogued in draft. Most of the letters concern mid-18th century politics and electioneering with interesting references to Jamaican affairs. There are also many bills and accounts of the Sussex Yeomanry during the Napoleonic wars.

We have now received from Mr. H. V. Fuller about 700 William Figg estate maps with more to follow. 170 have so far been cleaned and flattened and until this work is completed cataloguing cannot really start.

8. RATING APPEALS. As recorded in the last Annual Report the Inland Revenue authorities lodged appeals against the decision of the Local Valuation Panel that the various properties occupied by the Society were entitled to exemption from rates under the Scientific Societies Act, 1843.

The appeals were heard in London on 23rd July by the President of the Lands Tribunal, Sir William Fitzgerald, M.C. The Society was represented by Mr. G. W. Squibb, Q.C., F.S.A., and Mr. W. J. Glover. Evidence on behalf of the Society was given by Mr. I. D. Margary and Dr. Philip Corder, M.A., LITT.D. The Solicitor of Inland Revenue had, before the hearing, abandoned his previous contention that the Society was not in part supported by annual voluntary contributions.

On 16th October, the President, who had in the meantime visited the various properties, gave judgment in very definite terms, dismissing the appeals with costs: and the Inland Revenue authorities have intimated that they do not propose to appeal to the Court of Appeal.

Further details of the interesting argument as to the scope and content of archaeology on which the issue ultimately turned will be given in the next issue of *Sussex Notes and Queries*.

It is a matter for great satisfaction that the exemption which the Society has enjoyed for nearly fifty years has, after a struggle lasting nearly three years, been confirmed in so clear and unequivocal a manner.

The Council feels it is only right to place on record here their deep sense of gratitude to Mr. Bentham Stevens for all his effort in the preparation and handling of the case and the unfailing belief in a successful outcome to it which ultimately led the Society to this satisfactory result. They directed that this sentence should be added to the Report as originally drafted.

9. LEWES CASTLE PRECINCTS. It was reported to the Annual Meeting that an application had been made to the Lewes Town Council for permission to erect a house and garage in the garden of Castle Lodge, immediately below the Keep. A resolution was passed unanimously re-affirming the view, which had been successfully put forward by the Society in 1927, that there should be no material addition to the buildings within the Precincts.

Representations to this effect were made to the Town Council: and the Society's objections were put forward at a meeting of the Planning Committee held on the site. The Town Council, however, decided to recommend the County Council that permission should be given.

The Society then submitted a detailed statement of its objections to the County Council: and was glad to find that the County Planning Officer's proposals for the Lewes Town Plan upheld the principle that there should be no further building within the Precincts.

The County Council decided that permission ought not to be granted, but the applicant appealed to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. A public enquiry was held at Lewes on 28th October, when the case against permission being granted was put forward by the County Council and supported by the Society.

The Ministry dismissed the appeal on the ground that the principle of prohibiting further building in the grounds of the Castle was a proper one.

The principle for which the Society, with wide public support, contended in 1927—when the County Council was considering the erection of offices in the Precincts—has now received official recognition and support and may be regarded as firmly established.

10. MICHELHAM PRIORY. The Society has received from one of its members, who is much interested in Michelham Priory, a donation of £1,000 to enable excavations to be made in order to throw light on the extent of the original Church and other monastic buildings. A preliminary survey has been made, but owing to the wet autumn and the difficulty of such work during the short winter days, it has not been possible to begin operations. It is hoped to do so in the early spring. In the meantime the thanks of the Society are due to the most generous donor of this fund.

11. FINANCE. As will be seen from the accompanying Account of Receipts and Payments, there was still a small deficit at the bank at the end of the year. The increase in the amount received as subscriptions was £325, due of course to the increased annual subscription. As against this, however, voluntary contributions dropped by £200 as many members had been voluntarily paying the larger amount. The net increase was absorbed by the additional amount paid in salaries. The Volume 95 also proved an expensive one, and it was not possible to increase the reserve for Volume 96. However, the cost of that volume is very much less, and the position next year should be more favourable.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

The following Reports have been received:—

Battle and District Historical Society

The winter programme, 1957-58, included a series of four lectures on "Tudor England" by Mrs. E. G. C. Masters, B.A., L.R.A.M., and two by Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A., on "The Late Saxon Period in Sussex."

Other lectures were:—"Kipling and Sussex," by Mr. H. T. Winter; "Witchcraft," by Mr. H. W. E. Reynolds, M.A.; "Dovecots from Roman Times," by Miss M. J. Powell; and "Literary Associations of Sussex," by Mr. R. T. G. Rowsell, F.L.A.

During the summer visits were paid to Glyndebourne and Glynde Place; Bateman's, Burwash, Rampyndene and Burwash Church; Ashburnham Place and Church; Royden Hall, Mereworth Castle and Mereworth Church; and finally to the ruins of Bayham Abbey and to Whiligh, where the party was kindly entertained to tea by the Hon. Miss Courthope and the Hon. Miss Daphne Courthope.

The Commemoration Service, 1958, was held on Sunday, October 12th, in Battle Parish Church, with the co-operation of the Dean of Battle. The sermon was preached by Mr. R. G. Stainton, M.A., a member of the Society. The Commemoration Meeting followed on Tuesday, 14th October, the 892nd anniversary of the Battle of Hastings. Mr. C. H. Gibbs-Smith, M.A., F.R.S.A., Keeper of Extension Services, Victoria and Albert Museum, gave a brilliant and entertaining talk on "The Bayeux Tapestry," illustrated by his own excellent coloured slides.

During June, 1958, Norman members of Le Souvenir Normand visited Battle, and, after a ceremony at the Souvenir Memorial Stone in the Abbey grounds, were entertained to tea by Mrs. Harbord, a Vice-President of the Society, in her home, Powdermill House.

The Society's Museum, which was first opened to the public in May, 1956, proved progressively popular and was visited by more than 6,000 persons during the year. The display has been steadily improved and now covers all periods of Battle's history from 1066 to the present day.

Brighton and Hove Archæological Society

Again we have to report a very successful year's work with an increase in membership and good attendances at meetings.

Between August 10th and 25th a small team of volunteers under the direction of Mr. G. P. Burstow and Mr. G. A. Holleyman, made

a small excavation on Plumpton Plain, Site "B." This Late Bronze Age settlement was first investigated under the auspices of our Society in 1934, by Dr. E. C. Curwen and Mr. G. A. Holleyman and the results were published in Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Vol. 1 (1935).

A cutting, 50 feet by 40 feet, was made in the area of the original Cutting VIII in the hopes of finding a hut floor. This unfortunately was not achieved, but some cooking holes and a quantity of pottery sherds were unearthed. Two pieces of bronze, believed to be part of a winged axe, were also found.

The moated site on the eastern bank of the Adur at Streatham, has ancient associations with the Bishops of Chichester, and the origin and character of the building, which is reputed to have stood upon it, have been the subject of considerable speculation.

During August, 1958, a number of exploratory cuttings were made with a view to determining the nature and extent of the buildings.

The foundations of two buildings (A and B) were encountered, respectively adjoining the northern and western sections of the perimeter. Building materials consisted mainly of water-worn flints, and blocks of ferruginous sandstone and of local marble, with heavy roof slates, roof tiles and small, square floor tiles.

A small area of building A was excavated and was found to have a floor of red clay, covered by several inches of ash and charcoal; it appeared to date from the fourteenth century.

The Rocky Clump Group have been active throughout the summer months in Stanmer Park.

The reference to Paecca's Weoh in the Charter of 765 A.D., where Aedwulf gives the Manor of Stanmer to the monks of Malling, has occupied our attention.

The Saxon burials that were discovered overlying the ruined site of what we would like to believe to have been a pagan temple of the 3rd century A.D., indicates to us that the site in Rocky Clump indeed have been Paecca's Weoh, or Paecca's Shrine.

It is, however, significant that the field to the south of Rocky Clump carries to this day the name of Paecca's Weoh (Pattiswe) (Patchway), and it is in Patchway Field that the group have worked this summer.

A deep horseshoe shaped earthwork is situated at the valley head and two cuttings have been made within this earthwork.

Eastbourne Association of Sussex Folk

The Eastbourne Association of Sussex Folk became affiliated to the Sussex Archaeological Society in the summer of 1958, and on Saturday, September 13th, first felt the benefit of it. On that day about a hundred members visited the county town, and were welcomed, without charge, at Barbican House, Lewes Castle and Anne of Cleves house. Also by the Friends of Lewes at the Priory.

This visit to Lewes made the thirtieth excursion in their Search for Sussex, made during their four years' existence.

Their motto "To know Sussex better," has been fully maintained, and invariably on their journeys they travel along the by-ways rather than the highways, with the result that little-known places have been visited. This fact was especially emphasised at their last outing, when it was found that less than ten had been to South Malling before.

Old Hastings Preservation Society

The Old Hastings Preservation Society welcomes its affiliation in 1958 to the Sussex Archaeological Society, and as a "new boy" gives details of its work. The Society has just completed its sixth year, and can look back with satisfaction on its achievements in retaining the character of the "Old Town" area of Hastings for the delight of future generations. The Society was originally formed to combat bogus "Tudorising," which threatened to spread; from small beginnings it has won official standing by ready and constructive advice, co-operating with the Local Planning Authority over new development in this special quarter of Hastings, and giving financial help towards the restoration of buildings of architectural charm and historic importance. Among buildings saved in this way are the two mediaeval churches, the fishermen's Net Shops, a distinctive feature of the Stade from Elizabethan times, a fine early Georgian Stables now being converted into a Little Theatre, and the establishment of a Fishermen's Museum, in a derelict church on the beach, with its lovely memorial windows to fishermen lost at sea.

This year the Society's main effort has been an appeal launched in July under the patronage of Lord Rupert Nevill and Sir Charles Wheeler, P.R.A., for funds to restore the glories of Pelham Crescent, a Regency group by the fine architect, Joseph Kaye, with its centre-piece the charming little church of St. Mary-in-the-Castle. The target is £10,500, of which £6,500 represents grants-in-aid by the Ministry of Works and the Hastings Corporation, who recognise the architectural importance of the Crescent to the South-East of England. To date, some £1,500 has been raised, and more funds are urgently required to stop further deterioration. Donations should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Pelham Crescent Appeal, Midland Bank, Robertson Street, Hastings, or to the Hon. Secretary, Hill House, Hastings, who will be glad to send details of the restoration proposed, or of the work of the Society. The Society is now incorporated as a Limited Company not for Profit, so that it may be on a stronger and more permanent basis, may hold property in its own right and benefit from Deeds of Covenant, etc. Membership continues to flourish at some 700, helped by a low minimum subscription of 2s. a year, which purposely precludes no friend of Old Hastings from joining.

The Milland Valley Local History Group, 1958

The Milland Valley Local History Group was formed in the spring of 1957, following a series of six lectures on Sussex History given by Mr. J. R. Armstrong. There were twenty foundation members, and at the last count these had increased to 139. This number is considered very satisfactory when the physical conditions of the Valley are taken into account. There is no "nucleated" village, only a few scattered hamlets and houses, and the population is extremely small.

The success of the Group is considered due to the fact that the subscription is very low (1s. a year) and there are no set meetings. The business of the Group is carried on by means of a Quarterly Folder. This began in duplicate, but now six identical copies circulate. Members are just being persuaded to add their own contributions and not leave the whole thing to the Hon. Secretary and Editor.

Apart from the folders, an expedition was made in July to Goodwood House, Singleton Church and Foxhall.

Recently an exhibition of objects of local interest gathered from local homes was held in the Milland Village Hall. A wide variety of objects were shown and about 150 people attended in spite of torrential rain.

The most successful and popular activity and one to be repeated in 1959 was an "Any Questions?" meeting. Five residents who had lived most of their life in the district answered questions about the locality with the Hon. R. W. Morgan Grenville, President of the Group, as Question Master. Much amusing and interesting information came to light.

Northiam and District Historical and Literary Society

During 1958 the Society has had another satisfactory year. Membership has declined slightly from 119 to 95, but it is hoped to improve on this next year. The winter meetings were very well attended. Lectures on the following subjects were given in the Elizabethan Bakehouse of the Hayes Hotel, Northiam: "Old Sussex Crafts," by Miss M. J. Powell; "History of Old Hastings," by H. W. Dyer; "A Marshland Parish," by Rev. H. A. Hodge; "English Historical Churches," with coloured slides, for the Historical Church Preservation Trust; also a Literary and Historical Quiz. Summer outings included visits to Glynde Place, Firle Place, and the Royal Pavilion, Brighton.

The annual dinner was held on November 3rd at the Hayes Hotel, the President, Mr. Roger Frewen, being in the chair. A very interesting talk was given by his cousin, Sir Shane Leslie, on ghost stories and strange physical phenomena. About fifty members attended.

Worthing Archæological Society

This Society has had a very successful year so far as Meetings and Excursions were concerned, but no major excavation work has been possible. It was hoped that arrangements might have been made to conclude the three seasons' work at Muntham Court, Findon, but owing to estate changes consequent on the death of Colonel Ulric Thynne, this has not been possible.

Two members of the Society have kept an official watching brief on new building sites and their adjacent road works within the town boundaries, and very interesting evidence of early settlements has come to light. Such evidence is, very properly, finding its home in the Worthing Museum.

The membership of the Society remains in the neighbourhood of 400. During the summer months, outings of varied interest were arranged and were well attended. They included the Educational Museum at Haslemere, and the ancient houses of St. Mary's, Bramber, Brede Place, Rye, and Rudyard Kipling's old house, "Batemans" at Burwash. The Churches of Clayton and Compton (just over the Surrey Border) were visited, also the excavation at Torberry, near South Harting. Practically all these outings took place in good weather!

The Annual Supper was held in the Richmond Room, Worthing, Assembly Hall in October, and the Mayor and Mayoress of Worthing, Alderman and Mrs. H. J. Steel, were the guests of honour. The chief speaker was Mr. Norman Cook, B.A., F.S.A., Keeper of the Guildhall Museum, London.

The Winter lectures which have been illustrated have included "An Archaeological cruise in the Western Mediterranean," by Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, O.B.E., F.S.A., "Stonehenge" by Professor R. J. Atkinson, M.A., F.S.A., "Hill Forts of S.E. England," by Dr. M. A. Cotton, O.B.E., F.S.A., "Venice and the Dalmatian Coast," by Lt.-Col. L. G. M. Keevil. The Presidential Address dealt with "Waterways of England."

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Annual Report, 1958

1. **PROPERTIES GENERALLY.** The number of visitors to the properties, the finances of which are administered by the Trust on behalf of the Society, was as follows:

	1957	1958
Lewes Castle and Barbican House	19,886	18,883
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes ..	4,465	5,333
Wilmington Priory	3,104	2,316
Priest House, West Hoathly ..	1,410	1,423

2. **WILMINGTON PRIORY.** The extensive works of improvement of the custodian's quarters have at length been satisfactorily completed. The Council is advised that a good deal of work is required on the remains of the Priory itself.

3. **THE LONG MAN, WILMINGTON.** During the year a considerable amount of work was done in repairs, and the Trust is greatly indebted to the volunteers who carried out the laborious task of white-washing the repaired brickwork.

4. **PARSONAGE ROW COTTAGES, WEST TARRING.** Extensive repairs have been carried out to the interior of the cottages which are now in very good order. Funds for this purpose were raised by a mammoth Whist and Bridge Drive organized by the Mayor of Worthing, Alderman H. L. Frampton, who has during the year been elected Chairman of the local Committee in succession to the Reverend J. A. Rees, who has left the neighbourhood.

5. **MICHELHAM PRIORY.** Towards the end of the year the Trust was asked whether it would accept a conveyance of Michelham Priory with a view to its preservation. The matter was very carefully considered but the Council regretfully came to the conclusion that having regard to the heavy expenses of upkeep both of the grounds and outbuildings and in the future of the house itself, the difficulty of finding a profitable use for the house, and the lack of an endowment fund it could not undertake the responsibility.

THE SUSSEX

Balance

as at 31

1957		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	QUALIFYING SUBSCRIPTIONS and Voluntary Contributions to 31st December, 1957 ..	993	15	8			
	<i>Add:</i> Subscriptions and Contributions received during 1958	55	18	9			
		<u>993</u>			1,049	14	5
	<i>Less:</i> Deficit on General Income and Expenditure Account at 31st December, 1958, as per Summary attached	1,004	3	5			
		<u>51</u>					45 11 0
	TRUST AND ENDOWMENT FUNDS						
	Thomas-Stanford	6,652	12	10			
	Priest House	200	0	0			
	Holtye Roman Road	300	0	0			
	Ardingly Village Sign	100	0	0			
	Miss M. H. Cooper's Legacy	900	0	0			
		<u>2,500</u>			8,152	12	10
	Legh Manor	2,624	12	2			
	<i>Less:</i> Amount expended	539	12	2			
		<u>2,085</u>			2,085	0	0
	BALANCE OF PROCEEDS OF SALE—Southwick Roman Villa ..	595	12	6			
	LOAN—Sussex Archaeological Society	1,000	0	0			
	INCOME ACCOUNTS—Credit Balances, as per Summary attached	9,604	2	7			
	SUNDRY CREDITORS	121	4	6			
		<u>£15,957</u>			<u>£22,063</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST
(An Association not for Profit incorporated under the Companies Act)

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 those books. I have examined the above Balance Sheet and accompanying summaries of the Income and Expenditure Accounts and these are in agreement with the books of account.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

Sheet

December, 1958

1957	£	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		EXPENDITURE ON PROPERTIES to 31st December,								
		1958	15,570	5	2			
		Less: Endowment Fund and								
		Specific Donations ..			3,472	1	11			
		Lewes Castle Repair Fund			2,361	15	0			
		Anne of Cleves Extension								
3,939		Account			3,465	0	0			
					<hr/>			9,298	16	11
								6,271	8	3
		TRUST AND ENDOWMENT FUNDS								
		Thomas-Stanford—Investments at valuation								
1,000		on 7th November, 1958			6,652	12	10			
200		Priest House £200 3½% War Stock (at par) ..			200	0	0			
		Holtje Roman Road £320 3s. 3d. 3½% War								
300		Stock (at cost)			300	0	0			
		Ardingly Village Sign £107 10s. 3½% War								
100		Stock (at cost)			100	0	0			
		Miss M. H. Cooper's Legacy—Deposit in								
900		Trustee Savings Bank			900	0	0			
		<i>(Note: The Market Value at 31st December, 1958, of the holdings of 3½% War Stock was £417).</i>								
					<hr/>			8,152	12	10
		INVESTMENTS—re Legh Manor								
		6% Loan on Mortgage			2,085	0	0			
		£200 4½% Defence Bonds			200	0	0			
		Deposit in Trustee Savings Bank			281	9	10			
		Deposit in Barclays Bank			767	9	9			
5,233					<hr/>			3,333	19	7
596		SOUTHWICK ROMAN VILLA—Deposit in Trustee Savings Bank			595	12	6			
		DEBIT BALANCES ON INCOME ACCOUNTS, as per Summary								
2,297		attached			2,448	9	10			
328		SUNDRY DEBTORS			453	4	2			
1,064		CASH at Barclays Bank			807	16	3			
					<hr/>			£22,063	3	5
£15,957										

No figures are inserted in the above 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 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 31st December 1958 and the Income and Expenditure Accounts give a true and fair view of the income and expenditure for the year ended on that date.

16th February, 1959.
7 Pavilion Parade, Brighton.

S. E. GRAVES, Chartered Accountant.

Summary of Income and for the year ended

	<i>Thomas- Stanford</i>	<i>Lewes Castle and Barbi- can House</i>	<i>Legh Manor, Cuckfield, General Fund</i>	<i>Bull House, Lewes</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Income for the year ..	727 10 6 <i>503 15 7</i>	912 19 0 <i>1,456 19 10</i>	660 0 0 <i>799 16 1</i>	136 13 3 <i>137 6 9</i>
Less Expenditure ..	30 15 0 <i>539 0 0</i>	1,076 11 0 <i>1,365 0 8</i>	1,091 19 5 <i>68 3 0</i>	22 5 0 <i>18 17 9</i>
Surplus for the year ..	696 15 6	<i>91 19 2</i>	<i>731 13 1</i>	114 8 3 <i>118 9 0</i>
Deficit for the year ..	<i>35 4 5</i>	163 12 0	431 19 5	
Balance at 31st Dec., 1957	1,412 11 0 <i>1,447 15 5</i>	744 18 7 <i>652 19 5</i>	4,375 16 1 <i>3,644 3 0</i>	1,805 0 2 <i>1,686 11 2</i>
Balance at 31st Dec., 1958	2,109 6 6 <i>1,412 11 0</i>	581 6 7 <i>744 18 7</i>	3,943 16 8 <i>4,375 16 1</i>	1,919 8 5 <i>1,805 0 2</i>

	<i>Anne of Cleves House, Lewes</i>	<i>Wilmington Priory</i>	<i>Legh Manor Endowment Fund</i>	<i>Southwick Roman Villa</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Expenditure for the year	466 2 2 <i>461 12 11</i>	146 14 7 <i>146 13 4</i>	25 12 7 <i>25 12 7</i>	
Less Income	246 5 2 <i>221 19 2</i>	68 11 7 <i>83 12 8</i>	181 0 5 <i>174 16 8</i>	14 16 10 <i>14 19 4</i>
Deficit for the year ..	219 17 0 <i>239 13 9</i>	78 3 0 <i>63 0 8</i>		
Surplus for the year ..			155 7 10 <i>149 4 1</i>	14 16 10 <i>14 19 4</i>
Balance at 31st Dec., 1957	886 2 8 <i>646 8 11</i>	887 1 10 <i>824 1 2</i>	160 18 9 <i>310 2 10</i>	77 2 7 <i>92 1 11</i>
Balance at 31st Dec., 1958	1,105 19 8 <i>886 2 8</i>	965 4 10 <i>887 1 10</i>	5 10 11 <i>160 18 9</i>	62 5 9 <i>77 2 7</i>

Expenditure Accounts

31 December 1958

<i>Holtye Roman Road</i>	<i>Ardingly Village Sign</i>	<i>Pigeon House, Angmering</i>	<i>Sussex Photographic and Record Survey</i>	<i>Long Man of Wilmington</i>	<i>Oldland Mill</i>	<i>Summary</i>
£ s. d. 13 9 0 11 9 0 4 2 5 12 9 11	£ s. d. 3 15 2 3 15 2 1 0 1 0	£ s. d. 122 16 6 118 0 0 47 17 8 109 17 3	£ s. d. 16 0 16 0	£ s. d. 150 0 0	£ s. d. 25 0 0 25 0 0 1 4 11 1 4 11	£ s. d. 2,752 19 5 3,056 18 5 2,274 16 5 2,114 14 6
9 6 7 1 0 11 71 10 4 72 11 3	3 14 2 3 14 2	74 18 10 8 2 9	16 0 16 0	150 0 0	23 15 1 23 15 1	1,073 14 5 978 9 3 595 11 5 36 5 4 9,603 19 7 8,661 15 8
80 16 11 71 10 4	42 0 0 38 5 10	1,087 11 4 1,012 12 6	12 19 6 12 3 6 11 7 6	111 10 5 38 9 7	193 6 3 169 11 2	10,082 2 7 9,603 19 7

<i>The Priest House, West Hoathly</i>	<i>Summary</i>	<i>General Fund</i>
£ s. d. 76 19 11 112 6 11 52 14 9 53 1 1	£ s. d. 715 9 3 746 5 9 563 8 9 548 8 11	£ s. d. 94 3 4 77 1 7 32 9 4 32 18 6
24 5 2 59 5 10	322 5 2 362 0 3 170 4 8 164 3 5	61 14 0 44 3 1
285 3 6 225 17 8	2,296 9 4 2,098 12 6	942 9 5 898 6 4
309 8 8 285 3 6	2,448 9 10 2,296 9 4	1,004 3 5 942 9 5

Additions to the Library to August 31st 1959

1. Mrs. SELWYN AUSTEN, Primrose Hill, Barcombe.
Sixteen Engravings of Views of Sussex.
2. Mr. LINDSAY FLEMING, F.S.A.
 - (1) *Westbourne Church Guide* (Author's copy) Pamphlet.
 - (2) *Your Parish History*, by H. M. Barron.
 - (3) *Royal Commission on Common Land*. Report 1955-1958
 - (4) *Funeral Sermon*, Preached 5th March 1695 being the day of the Queen's Burial in Westminster Abbey, at All Saints' Church, Lewes, by John Shore, Rector of Hamsey 1695.
 - (5) *Handbook of Dates*, by C. R. Cheney 1955.
3. Mrs. HADLEY, Rose Cottage, Aldwick.
Chichester Diocesan Clergy List with supplement 1900, by the Reverend G. Hennessy.
4. Dr. E. CECIL CURWEN, O.B.E., F.S.A.
Collection of Pamphlets and Offprints.
5. The DIRECTOR.
Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigation in the Netherlands 1954.
6. Mr. F. A. HOWE.
A Chronicle of Edburton and Fulking, Sussex (Author's copy).
7. Mr. E. PYDDOKE.
 - (1) Programme of Scots Greys Games and Races, Brighton, Oct. 1874.
 - (2) Scots Greys Steeplechases, Ringmer 1875.
 - (3) Card: Brighton Congress 1875. National Association for Promotion of Social Science.
8. Mrs. E. M. REEVES.
Photographs of Summer Meeting at Steyning and Wiston 1958.

9. Mr. B. J. SMYTH-TYRRELL, Wagenford, Bucks Green, Rudgwick.
Copies of Inscriptions on tombstones in Rudgwick Churchyard.
10. Lt.-Col. JOHN GORING.
Copy of a plan of St. Mary's, Wiston 1859, by Gordon M. Hills, 12 John Street, Adelphi.
11. Mr. R. R. CREASY.
The Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Hellingly. 1959. (Author's copy). Pamphlet.
12. Rev. R. T. HOOD, Ohio University, U.S.A.
Contributions to the Genealogy of the Woodhams family of Lullington. Typescript.
13. Captain N. THACKER.
The Dover Road, by C. G. Harper.
14. *Trills Centenary. Hunting Group Review*, by Iris Kahn.
15. Mr. P. J. BROOMHALL, Penhurst.
Penhurst Church (Author's copy) Pamphlet.
16. Mr. T. CLARE, Glen Roy, Denton Corner.
Collection of Photographs of Sussex Churches made by J. R. Clare 1917-1949.
17. Mrs. HOTBLACK.
Michelham Priory, by L. F. Salzman, C.B.E., F.S.A. Pamphlet.
18. Mr. L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., F.S.A.
Collection of 15 sepia drawings of Brighton 1830. Etchings of Pevensey, Eastbourne and Brighton. Water colours of Crowhurst Manor House and Pevensey Castle 1840.
19. Mr. M. W. D. NORMAN.
The Parish Church of St. Leonard, Aldrington, by A. Barr-Hamilton. Pamphlet.

PURCHASE:

1. *A History of Brighton College*, by G. B. Burstow, F.S.A., and M. B. Whittaker. Ed. by S. C. Roberts 1957.
2. *The Museums Calendar* 1958.
3. *Notes and Queries*, Volumes 202 and 203.
4. *The Handwriting of English Documents*, by L. C. Hector.
5. *Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537*, by J. M. W. Bean.
6. *Pewter Marks and Old Pewter Ware*, by C. A. Markham, F.S.A.

FOR REVIEW:

1. *Dictionary of Sussex Dialect*, by Miss Helena Hall.
2. *Town and Country in Roman Britain*, by A. L. F. Rivet.
3. *Wessex before the Celts*, by S. F. S. Stone.
4. *Guide to the Church of St. Margaret, Ditchling*, by W. H. Godfrey, C.B.E., F.S.A.
5. *Something of Sussex*, by Vera Garner Howe.
6. *Local History in England*, by W. G. Hoskins.

Additions to the Museum to July 1959

1958.

1. MR. P. REYNOLDS, Henfield (27)
Axe-hammer of metamorphosed schist found near Cockhaise Mill, Lindfield. (SNQ. XV, p. 37).
2. DR. E. CECIL CURWEN, F.S.A., Hove (28 and 29)
Archaeological MSS and Drawings.
Short-handled Danish scythe.
3. BY PURCHASE (30)
A butcher's meat trug.
4. MR. A. W. GIBSON, Ferring (31. 1-5)
Victorian baby's clothes
5. THE RECTOR OF ARLINGTON (32)
Pewter flagon dated 1685.
6. MRS. S. P. MATTHEWS, Crawley (33)
Lady's parasol with ivory folding handle, circa 1860.
7. MR. A. BARR-HAMILTON, Hove (34)
14th-century cooking pot from Bargham Church.
8. MR. H. S. WARD, Crawley (35)
Brass weight with Sussex stamp, dated 1826.
9. MR. T. GASTON, Waldron, per Mr. H. White (37. 1-13)
Four sets of hop tallies.
A smock frock.
A hop digging fork.
Horn knobs for oxen.
Old clay pipes.
An old iron key.
Plan of Foxhunt Green Farm, 1832.
Account book relating to above farm.
10. MR. N. CARTER, Crawley (38)
Flint arrowhead of Bronze Age type from Crawley Down.
11. BY PURCHASE (39)
Pair of marbled ware Wealden pottery candlesticks.
12. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT GAGE, Firle Place (40. 1-4)
Objects found during the excavation of the Itford Hill Late Bronze Age Farmstead 1949-53.

13. COLONEL T. SUTTON, O.B.E., F.S.A., Eastbourne (41)
Model of a reconstruction of the Itford Late Bronze Age village.
14. MR. C. BURGESS, Lewes (42)
Stone axe-head from Iford.
15. MR. C. PECKHAM, Lewes (43)
Soup ladle from St. Michael's Parish Soup Kitchen.
16. MISS H. M. HEWITT, Eastbourne (44)
Coin of Claudius I from Gore Park Road, Eastbourne.

1959.

17. MRS. D. A. MUNT, Lewes (1 and 14)
Album of Lewes Bonfire Broad-sides collected by the late Mr. S. A. Munt.
Truncheon captured by Bonfire Boys in 1838.
18. MR. F. HASKINGS, Eastbourne (2. 1-2)
Framed coloured chart of servants' liveries, 1851.
Manufacturer's pattern book of livery buttons issued by C. & J. Weldon of Cheapside.
19. MR. L. F. SALZMAN, C.B.E., F.S.A. (3 and 13)
A collection of lantern slides relating to Chichester.
Negatives of drawings in Burrell Collection.
20. EXECUTORS OF THE LATE DR. E. WIGHT, of Hove (4. 1-10)
Arrowheads and other flint implements from Sussex.
Similar material from Avebury, Windmill Hill, etc.
Prehistoric and Roman pottery from Sussex sites.
21. MR. A. FAYLE, Chailey (5)
Old inn sign from Lewes (bunch of grapes).
22. MR. L. S. DAVEY, Lewes (6. 1-5)
Various by-gones of Lewes interest.
23. MR. L. CRISFORD, Eastbourne (7. 1-2)
Models of a hay waggon and a harrow made by Caleb Crisford.
24. MR. G. A. HOLLEYMAN, F.S.A., Brighton (8)
Printed list of statutory rates of wages of servants and labourers fixed at Lewes in 1725, framed.

25. COLONEL T. SUTTON, O.B.E., F.S.A., Eastbourne (9. 1-8 and 11. 1-3)
Invitation cards to funerals of William Pitt, Lord Nelson, Duke of Wellington and Queen Victoria.
Home Guard Sector Commander's cap and shoulder flashes.
Home Guard badges for man and woman.
Intelligence book on German Armed Forces, 1939-45.
Victorian folding reading desk.
Box of toy soldiers.
Chinese lacquer card cabinet with cards, circa 1800.
26. MR. HOWARD L. SMITH, Lewes (10)
Butcher's meat trug.
27. COUNCILLOR B. F. GRILLO, Hambledon, Surrey (15)
Beadle's staff inscribed "Borough of Southover, Lewes."
28. CHURCHWARDENS OF TWINEHAM CHURCH (16)
Old wooden spade with iron-shod edge.
29. MR. E. F. SALISBURY, per Mr. Lindsay Fleming, F.S.A., Bognor (17. 1-8)
Material from donor's excavations at prehistoric flint mines on Long Down, near Chichester 1955-58.
Flint implements from Harrow Hill and Blackpatch.

Accessions to Muniments Room, For year July 1958 to June 1959

1. About 200 maps and plans by William Figg, being additional to those already held, approximately 650 in all. (From Mr. H. V. FULLER. Not for production until cleaned and catalogued).
2. About 15 deeds of 99 and 100 High Street, and 25 to 28 Keere Street, Lewes; 1736 to 1857. (Accn. 785. From Mr. F. BENTHAM STEVENS).
3. 19th c. plan of Foxhunt Green and Burgh Farms in Waldron with Farm Account Book and miscellaneous papers; 1840 to 1861. (Accn. 791. From Mr. T. GASTON).
4. About 27 letters from Gideon Mantell to Mr. Ivor Grantham's great-grandfather, with notes and extracts from Mantell's journal, and a letter from his daughter Ellen Maria Mantell. (Accn. 792. From Mr. W. IVOR GRANTHAM).
5. Deed box of miscellaneous deeds, mainly after 1800, originating from Henry Brooker, founder of the Brighton firm of solicitors. (Accn. 793. From Mr. F. BENTHAM STEVENS).
6. Small calf-bound account book of personal expenses in great detail of unidentified person; 1753 to 1779. (Accn. 797. Anon. gift).
7. Chiddingly Vestry Book, 1831 to 1862; memo at end gives short biography of Richard Lower. (Accn. 798. Anon. gift).
8. 11 miscellaneous farm ledgers and account books; c. 1880 to 1918. (Accn. 799. From Mr. H. A. DAVIS).
9. 2 plans of Swails Green Farm in Sedlescomb and Ewhurst, by James Atwood, 1753, and Thomas Colbran, 1790. (Accns. 801 and 802. From LORD ASHTON OF HYDE).
10. Photostat of survey map and plan of open and common fields, common pastures, sheep downs, and common droeways in parish of Telscombe, 1811, by William Figg; relates to Tithe Award. (Accn. 808. From EAST SUSSEX COUNTY SURVEYOR'S OFFICE).
11. 3 boxes of National Register of Archives records, property of late Mr. W. A. Barron, Hon. Sec. of Sussex County Committee. Includes list of archives and where kept, correspondence, accounts, etc. (Accns. 810 to 812. From EAST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE).
12. Court Book of Manor of Hammerden, 1612 to 1626. (Accn. 813. Additional to other records of the manor, from Miss E. J. COURTHOPE).

Ancient Monuments in Sussex

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 was printed on pp. 138 to 140 of the Centenary Volume (*S.A.C.* Vol. 85). This list comprised all monuments in Sussex scheduled down to 31st December, 1935.

Supplemental lists were printed at p. xlv of *S.A.C.* Vol. 88, at p. xli of Vol. 89, at p. xlv of Vol. 90, at p. lvii of Vol. 91, at p. lviii of Vol. 92 and at p. lviii of Vol. 96.

The following additional monuments have since been scheduled:

Iping, Hammer Wood Camp.

Harting, two barrows on West Heath Common.

Boxgrove, Halnaker Castle.

Pyecombe, earthwork and round barrows S. of Wolstonbury Hill.

Sussex Archaeological Society

LOUIS FRANCIS SALZMAN, C.B.E., F.S.A.

An Appreciation

By IVAN D. MARGARY, M.A., F.S.A.

Chairman of the Sussex Archaeological Society's Council

It is a great privilege to be given the opportunity of paying such a well-deserved tribute to the work of our distinguished fellow-councillor in this special volume of the *Collections* devoted to his honour upon retiring from the Editorship of the series after a continuous period of fifty years of most faithful and efficient service. In these fifty years no fewer than forty-five volumes have been issued to members of the Society. This is a truly remarkable record of continuity, and it would be interesting to know if it has ever been surpassed in any like series elsewhere.

Salzman's work for Sussex archaeology really began in 1901 with the publication of his *History of Hailsham*, a classic work which still remains the standard authority for its district, and this was no doubt one of the factors that led to his appointment as Editor of the *Collections* in 1909. Previous editors had come and gone, ten years being usually a longish spell, and it is safe to say that few, if any, then realised the continuity of office that would ensue.

My own recollections of him begin about 1931, when as a very junior member of the Council I was often impressed by his contribution to the discussion that arose upon an extraordinary variety of archaeological matters that came before the Council, usually placed before us most lucidly by the late Miss M. H. Cooper, who was then the Hon. General Secretary. One soon realised that Salzman had decided views and was quite prepared to express and defend them, often to the advantage of the Council's deliberations. Later, when one came to be a contributor to the *Collections*, one learnt to appreciate the meticulous care with which the work submitted to him was prepared for the printer, and then checked so accurately in proof that one's own attempts at proof-reading were rendered not only very dull but also as a rule quite unnecessary! Much later again, when one came to view the Council from the top end of the table, one learnt particularly to appreciate his help in matters connected with the Library.

Mention should also be made here of Salzman's work for our sister, the Sussex Record Society, founded in 1901, on whose

Council he has served since its inception. The purpose of that Society (which deserves to be more widely known than by its present 200 members) is to publish transcripts of ancient documents, such as lay subsidy rolls, chartularies, and the like, with suitable editorial comment, and as each volume is devoted to a particular subject it is usually *edited* by the scholar responsible for its production, but under the general supervision of an officer of the Society styled the Literary Director, who is, in effect, the general editor of the series of volumes. This post was held for some years by the late Rev. W. Budgen, but in and since 1940 it too has been held by Salzman, jointly with Walter H. Godfrey, and in that period Volumes 45-56 have been issued, together with the special Jubilee volume of the Society (illustrated with most attractive old sketches of Sussex buildings by Grimm and Lambert), making thirteen volumes in the series so far issued. In addition, Salzman himself was Editor of seven previous volumes on subjects he had brought to the Society for publication, so that here we have a further twenty volumes, edited or supervised in their production, to be added to our own forty-five, making sixty-five volumes on Sussex Archaeology, truly a remarkable personal record. Can any other county approach it?

This is a personal appreciation, and I therefore make no attempt to cover all the other and more distant aspects of his work—of his General Editorship of the well-known Victoria County History series from 1934 to 1949, which guided the production of the series into more modern lines, including the most excellent later volumes on Sussex; or of his publications on aspects of Mediaeval and Tudor England, of which the most recent was his *Documentary History of Building down to 1540* (1951), a volume that looks somewhat formidable from without but proves to be most entertaining within, besides being a real mine of information.

Eighty nowadays is but an important milestone in the course of so many lives, that we can reasonably hope that Salzman will yet enjoy many more volumes of our *Collections*, perhaps yet the more now that the burden of editorship is removed. May good fortune attend his well-earned retirement.

THE HIGHDOWN HILL GLASS GOBLET WITH GREEK INSCRIPTION

BY D. B. HARDEN

The well-known glass goblet bearing a Greek inscription and a frieze depicting a hound hunting two hares, which was found in grave 49 in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Highdown Hill, near Worthing, has been published many times since its discovery in 1894, and has long been an object of great interest to archaeologists and Anglo-Saxon scholars. I have myself referred to it summarily in two general accounts of Anglo-Saxon glass and described it in more detail in an article on Saxon glass from Sussex written in 1951.¹ The goblet is, however, so important and, at first sight, so much of an enigma in its Sussex context, that it seems worth while to return to it once more and expand somewhat the suggestions I have previously made about its probable origin and connexions.

It gives me special pleasure that this note is to appear in a volume offered to L. F. Salzman, from whose friendship and tuition in archaeological research I have long profited, and whose life-long leadership in Sussex studies has been an inspiration to so many.

DESCRIPTION

The vessel (Pl. I, *a*, *b*; Fig. 1) may be described as follows:

Goblet, dull olive green, cracked at lip, complete; some dulling but little or no iridescence on exterior: within, on one side (that where the hound appears) there is much whitish film and iridescence, in flaky state; rest of inside not much weathered (vessel clearly lay on its side in the grave); few bubbles, some black impurities, especially near rim. H. 8in. D. rim 2½in. Deep funnel lip, with rim lightly folded inward, cylindrical neck, oval body, splayed, stemmed base with tubular base-ring and oblate spherical knop; the whole blown from one paraison, the stem being formed by

¹ Worthing Museum, No. 3500. First publication in Read (1896), pp. 205 ff., pl. viii (full-scale engraving). Thereafter G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, IV (1915), 486, pl. cxxviii, 1; *V.C.H. Sussex*, I (1905), 343 and pl. opp. p. 344; A. R. Burn, *The Romans in Britain* (1932), p. 201; *Worthing Museum, Anglo-Saxon Guide* (1947 ed.), p. 11, and frontispiece [similarly in other editions]; D. B. Harden, "Glass vessels in Anglo-Saxon Britain," *Archaeol. News Letter*, III, no. 2 (July 1950), 26; Harden (1951), pp. 263 f., 266, fig. 10 (4 views); Harden (1956), p. 136, pl. XV *d*; A. E. Wilson, *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Collection* (Worthing Museum Publications, no. 1, 2 ed. 1958), p. 2, pl. i.

For full titles of works cited by author's name and date of publication see Bibliography, p. 19.

kicking-in a secondary bulb through the knob and into the body of the goblet, where the kick ends in a low, convex dome. Pontil-mark on base.

Wheel-abraded decoration¹ in four friezes separated from each other by pairs of horizontal wheel-abraded lines:

- a On funnel—inscription + *OYTIEN* ∪ *NXPW* above a band of 13 vertical ovals.
- b On cylindrical neck and on shoulder—band of 13 vertical strokes, above a row of 12 pothooks sloping to right.
- c On body—the main frieze: hound to l., chasing two hares, the nearer looking back, the other forward; between the animals three conventional sloping palm bushes, each with one large frond and one or two fronds in bud; below each animal are lines sloping to l., representing tufts of grass; above the first two animals, another smaller tuft, reversed. Two fill-up ornaments above the second hare.²
- d On lower part of body—row of 14 pothooks, sloping to right.

The inscription, circles, vertical lines and pothooks are all composed of series of transverse abrasions. The horizontal bands are composed of longitudinal abrasions. In the bodies of the animals there is much attempt at modelling the pelt by internal overall shading in different directions. The animals' eyes shine clearly with unabraded surface; the dog-collar and the dog's teeth are indicated by short parallel grooves.

DISCUSSION

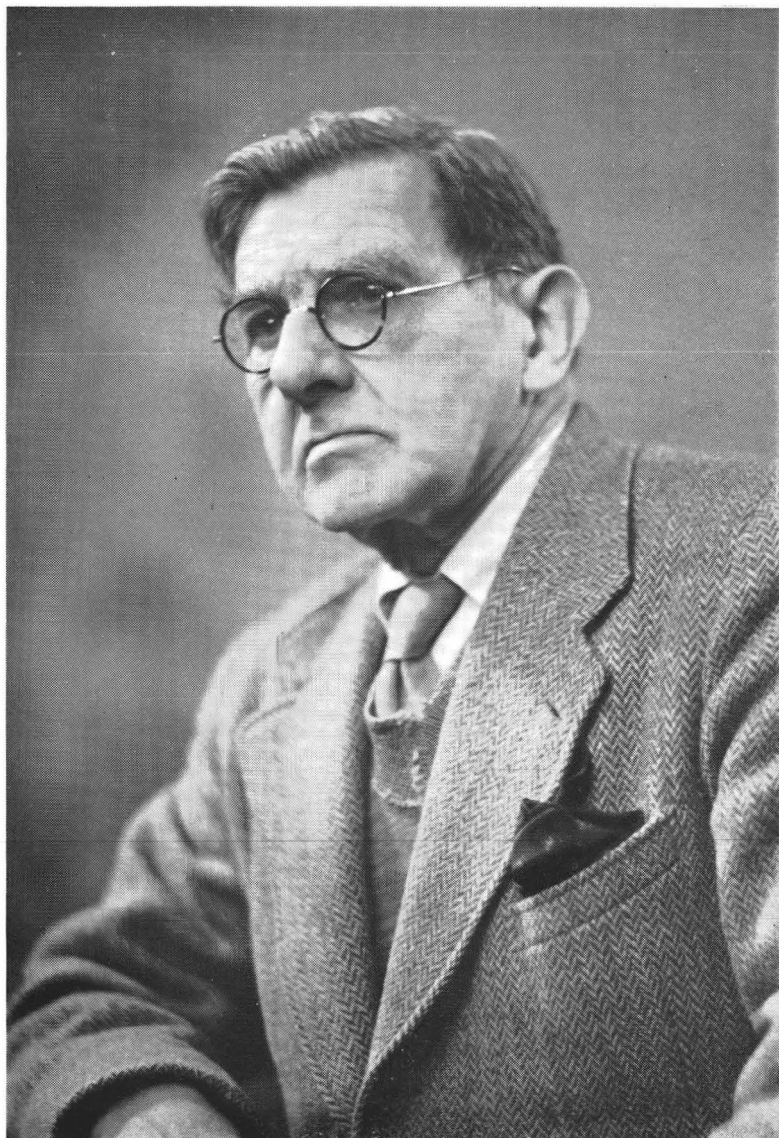
In discussing the glass in 1951, laying stress on the shape, the glass-metal, the style of wheel-abrading, the design, and the fact that the inscription was Greek and in Greek characters, I hazarded the opinion that it was Alexandrian (Egyptian) fabric of the late 4th or 5th century A.D. All these points will bear further study, and though my conclusion as to date and origin remains unaltered (except that I would now prefer to say late 4th or *early* 5th century) I hope to be able to show in greater fullness how it is reached.

A. SHAPE

Taking the shape first, a vessel of this kind, with flaring lip, tall cylindrical neck and oval body on a stemmed base ought, one would think, to be easy to parallel, not only in glass, but in other materials. It makes a useful bottle both for filling, since its lip is funnelled, and for pouring, since its narrow neck helps to control the flow; and it has a good, firm stand—or, rather, would have had, had it

¹ All the decoration appears very white now, both on the vessel itself and in the photographs, having been coated with a white substance to reveal its details more clearly.

² The right-hand one is visible in one photo (Pl. I, *b*) but has been omitted accidentally in the drawing (Fig. 1).



LOUIS FRANCIS SALZMAN, C.B.E., F.S.A.



not become misshapen during manufacture, so that it leans to one side. Yet Read, who had a wide knowledge of ancient shapes, was unable to cite a single parallel when he published it in 1896.

If the body ended in a plain base instead of a stem it would resemble a widespread series of late Roman flasks from the Syro-Palestinian region and from Egypt. In the 4th century such flasks have shortish necks, with a bulbous body not far short of half the height of the whole vessel (Pl. II, *a*). In publishing two good examples, said to be from Galilee, in 1949¹ I drew attention to other Palestinian pieces and to the parallel Egyptian type which I had already discussed from Karanis in the Fayum and elsewhere;² and I also noted that this shape, with funnel lip above a cylindrical neck, is normally replaced in the west by the other contemporary eastern shape where the whole neck forms a funnel, starting from the shoulder.³ In the 5th and 6th centuries in Syria and Palestine there is a tendency for the necks of flasks such as those on Pl. II, *a* to become far longer in proportion to the body than they were in the 4th century. Often the body is almost ludicrously small and such elongated vessels veer, in effect, toward the unguent-bottle shape.⁴ This variety may even have outlasted the 6th century. It does not occur in western glass.

Equally, had the upper part been cup- or beaker-shaped, instead of narrow-necked, many parallels for its stemmed base could be cited. Such cups or beakers with high stem built up by dropping on, or manipulated by twisting from the bottom of the body, are not infrequent in Roman glass from the 1st century onward.⁵ Stemmed cups or beakers with high pushed-in stems formed by inflation begin later, but are common enough by the 4th century.⁶ This type only occurred once at Karanis,⁷ amongst many solid-stemmed cups, but is frequent in the Near East, and lasted, it

¹ Harden (1949), p. 153, fig. 2, nos. 1-2, pl. xlix, 4. See also, now, Crowfoot (1958), p. 412, fig. 95, nos. 4, 9, 10, of 4th-5th century.

² Harden (1936), pp. 193, 208 ff., nos. 593-612, pls. viii, xviii (class IX B i (*a*), 1-3): cp. also *ibid.*, p. 315, nos. J 40444 (fig. 4, *b*) and 45772.

³ Harden (1936), p. 215 f., nos. 635-46, pls. xviii-xix; *id.* (1949), p. 154. For a recent discussion of the type, especially in its western aspects, see Isings (1957), pp. 122 ff., form 104.

⁴ See e.g. the sketches of forms in Eisen (1927), p. 449, fig. 189, *e-h*; Loeschke (1911), no. 1067, pl. xxxix; and P. P. Kahane in *Antiquity and Survival* II, no. 2/3 (1957), *The Holy Land*, p. 223, figs. 40-41.

⁵ Cp. Isings (1957), types 36a, 38, 40 (all 1st century), 36c (snake-thread vessel of the best period c. 200), 86 (trailed snake-thread and other goblets of the late 2nd-3rd century), and 112 (handled cup with geometric cut decoration, 4th century). Two stem-fragments from Karanis (Harden (1936), nos. 490-1, p. 173, pl. xvi) also belong to this category.

⁶ Cp. Isings (1957), forms 109b (beaker with broad base and an "open" stem) and 111 (cup). Morin-Jean, *La Verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain*, p. 143, says that form 109b of Isings (his own forms 110-111) is specially common in Gallia Belgica.

⁷ Harden (1936), no. 489, p. 172, pl. xvi.

would seem, for several centuries thereafter.¹ A few examples with high stems have occurred in Merovingian graves of the 7th century in the Rhineland,² etc., but they must be imports from elsewhere—perhaps Italy³—for, though the pushed-in foot with no more than a low stem was normal on Frankish stemmed beakers and claw-beakers of my Anglo-Saxon classes I and II,⁴ and is represented at Highdown in an example from grave 24 (Pl. II, *b*),⁵ the high stem is quite exotic in Germany and France. All these cups, even in the eastern Mediterranean, seem to have plain and not knopped stems.⁶

But when it comes to seeking parallels for both the tall funnel neck and the tall stem, whether inflated, or dropped on, or manipulated, we get few results. Isings gives a form (no. 93) with tall, concave neck and slightly flaring lip above an ovoid body on a stem apparently formed by dropping on a knob and applying a splayed base from another paraison.⁷ This appears in mid-Roman colourless metal with snake-thread or other decoration and is too early to be in strict connexion with the Highdown vessel. The only other vase that can be cited is a strange and unique piece found by illicit diggers at Karanis in 1916 which is in the Cairo museum (J. 45767). This piece (Pl. III, *a*) may be thus described:

Greenish colourless, intact, no weathering, bubbly. H. 10½ in. G.D. 2¾ in. Rim slightly outplayed, with unworked edge. Tall neck, deeply concave in middle and spreading out towards rim and towards body. Carinated biconical body merging, above, gradually into neck and narrowing, below, to junction with the stem. Stem formed by inflation, the pushed-in fold reaching to bottom of body of flask. Decoration of white paint on exterior and of gold foil

¹ Cp. e.g. for Egypt, Harden (1936), p. 167 f. (example in Cairo Museum (Edgar (1905) no. 32505) and one from Badari grave 7910, now in British Museum, no. 1924.10.6.46=G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, III (B.S.A.E., vol. 50) pl. li, 6); for Cyprus, O. Vessberg in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, VII, 124, pl. iv, nos. 17-18; for Palestine, Crowfoot (1958), p. 415, fig. 96, no. 7 (several examples); for Mesopotamia, several examples from Nineveh, now in the Ashmolean Museum, referred to—by implication only—*Liverpool Annals of Archaeol. and Anthropol.*, XX (1933), 184 ff.

² Isings (1957), p. 140; F. Rademacher in *Bonner Jahrb.*, CXLVII (1942), 295 f., pl. xlix, 3.

³ Numerous cups on high stems have been found in Lombard graves; one seen in Fiesole Museum (no. 1314b, found at Fiesole) had a pushed-in stem and it is probable from the drawings—see full references in Isings (1957), p. 140—that such was the normal Italian form.

⁴ Harden (1956), p. 136, pl. xvi.

⁵ Harden (1951), p. 266, no. I (c): 5th century.

⁶ The knopped stem occurred at Corinth in the 11th and 12th centuries (G. R. Davidson, *Corinth XII*, p. 111, nos. 719-20, fig. 127) and spread thence westward; but that is beyond our present scope.

⁷ Isings (1957), p. 110. The form is also illus., e.g., in Eisen (1927), p. 377, fig. 158, *r*. See too, e.g., Loeschcke (1911), p. 13, no. 114, pl. xliii, and F. Fremersdorf in *Saalburg Jahrb.*, IX (1939), 8, pl. ix, 1.

on interior of body and on under side of base, this gold foil being held in place, behind, with a coating of bitumen, so that the whole gives a mottled effect of white, black and gold on the green of the glass.

Writing in 1936¹ I believed that this vase might well be Roman, since it came to Cairo with other vessels, chiefly flasks and jugs, of Roman date. Yet I realised that its decoration and style were certainly not typically Roman. Since then I have seen a number of examples of this "under-side-painted" glass from Egypt and near by. There are examples from the Fayum (Egypt) in the British Museum,² and others were found at Auja Hafir in southern Palestine, on the Sinai border.³ It seems clear that we have here a type which is post-Roman but not excessively so. A date of 5th-8th century A.D. would suit both the Fayum fragments and those from Auja Hafir. We may then, think of this Karanis flask as 5th-century in date: it cannot be earlier as it is unlike normal Roman glass, and if, as the excavators claimed, the site was not occupied after that century, it ought not to be later. The technique, however, of under-side-painting continued into mediaeval times, as a fragment of enamelled glass recently found in London proves.⁴ Both the Karanis flask and the Highdown one seem to be allied with certain tall, handleless flasks or handled jugs of silver or bronze which occur in Coptic Egypt and in contemporary deposits elsewhere, where they are either imports from Egypt or locally made imitations thereof. Good examples of handled jugs with funnel lip, tall body and high stem were found in graves at Ballana and Qustul in Nubia, belonging to somewhere between the late 3rd and the early 6th century,⁵ and both flasks and jugs have turned up in Dalmatia, Italy, Spain and Central Europe, though Joachim Werner, who has made long study of this whole class of "Coptic" metal vessels, believes that the European finds are a century or so later in origin than the Nubian ones, i.e., late 6th-7th century, and denies any direct and exact parallelism between the two groups.⁶ A particularly interesting

¹ Harden (1936), pp. 223, 315 f., fig. 4, *e*. It is difficult to imagine how the decoration of gold foil was placed on the interior surface; but there is no doubt of its existence there.

² Found by the Egypt Exploration Fund: B.M. no. 1903.2.19.1-2.

³ Shortly to be published in the account of the excavations, edited by Mr. H. Dunscombe Colt.

⁴ See Jean M. Cook in *Medieval Archaeology*, II (1958), 173 ff. This fragment, it may be added, like Cairo J 45767, had white paint on the opposite surface to that of the rest of the decoration.

⁵ W. B. Emery, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (1938), pl. 64, Q2-112 (two silver jugs from debris of tumulus of tomb 2 at Qustul) and pl. 77, B4-1 (bronze jug from room 1 of tomb 4 at Ballana).

⁶ See J. Werner in *Mnemosynon Th. Wiegand* (1938), 74 ff.; *id.* in *Antidoron Michael Abramić*, I (Split, 1954-57) [= *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 56/59], pp. 115 ff., fig. 1, type A2 (list on p. 125), and (for Ballana comparisons) p. 123 f.

parallel to the Highdown shape is a bronze flask (Pl. III, *b*) in the Museo Arqueologico in Leon (Spain) with tall, funnel neck, ovoid body and high, splayed base-ring, bearing a Latin inscription in a band round the body.¹ We may also compare, for shape, a silver flask (no. E.C. 306) with all-over relief-decoration that forms part of the early-5th-century Esquiline Treasure in the British Museum.

B. GLASS-METAL

We pass now to the glass-metal, which is dull olive green with few bubbles and some impurities. It resembles closely the metal of fabrics 3 and 5 at Karanis, of which great quantities of whole and fragmentary specimens turned up in the latest (4th- or early-5th-century) levels at that site,² and it has also been found on many other sites in Egypt and Nubia. Now, writing in 1936 I found³ that the bulk of Egyptian export glass which I could cite in the west belonged to the earlier (2nd- or early-3rd-century) Karanis fabrics—mainly colourless wares (fabrics 1-2)—and I have seen no evidence since to cause me to alter this statement. There is, however, some evidence that later wares, especially specimens of fabrics 3 and 5, were coming west in small quantities, both in the 4th century and later. A little group of fabric-3 glasses was found in a grave at Köln-Müngersdorf which belonged to *c.* 370,⁴ and a few fragments of olive-green glass of fabric 3 or 5 were found at Tintagel in Cornwall, where their date of entry might be 5th or even 6th century.⁵ Cologne graves of the 4th century have also yielded some one- and two-handled (Pl. IV, *a*) cylindrical bottles of yellowish or greenish glass that are so closely parallel in shape and glass-metal to Egyptian pieces of Karanis fabrics 3 and 5 (Pl. IV, *b*) that they may have been exports from Egypt (see *infra*, p. 9 f.).⁶

C. TECHNIQUE OF DECORATION

Now these 4th-century cylindrical bottles also have wheel-abraded decoration and this leads us to a discussion of the decoration

¹ The inscription reads +IN NOMINE D[OMI]NI ARVILDI VITA D[EV]S CONCEDAT X; *Historia de España* (ed. R. Menendez Pidal) III. *España Visigoda* (414-711 de J.C.), Madrid, 1940, p. 640, fig. 418.

² Harden (1936), pp. 22 f., 32 f. As indicated *ad loc.* the fabrics 3 and 5 were much akin and it was often difficult to decide firmly to which of the two a particular piece belonged.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45; F. Fremersdorf, *Der römische Gutshof Köln-Müngersdorf* (Röm.-germ. Forschungen, VI, 1933), p. 94 f., pl. li (coffin C).

⁵ C. A. R. Radford, "Imported pottery found at Tintagel, Cornwall," in *Dark-Age Britain: studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (ed. Harden, 1956), appendix, p. 70.

⁶ For eastern examples see Harden (1936), pp. 45, 236, 245 f. (nos. 739 ff.) and 255 (examples in Cairo (from *Oxyrhynchus*) and in Brooklyn); Smith (1957), p. 187, no. 378. For western ones see Loeschcke (1911), nos. 318-9, pls. xxiv, xxvi; Fremersdorf (1939), p. 30, pl. 41 (here illustrated, Pl. IV, *a*: Cologne, no. 25480); and Fremersdorf (1951), pl. xxi, 2 (without handle).

on the Highdown flask, for their technique is exactly the same as that used by the Highdown *diatretarius* or cutter. This technique, which consists essentially of lightly abrading the surface of the glass by holding it against a revolving wheel, probably of corundum, became widespread amongst Roman *diatretarii* in the 4th century, at a time when the fine linear and facet cutting of the earlier Roman centuries—such as we see, for example, on the Lynceus bowl in Cologne or the Actaeon bowl from Leuna near Merseburg in the British Museum¹—had been abandoned in favour of cutting techniques which could be accomplished by speedier and less skilful workers. Amongst these later techniques, apart from the wheel-abrading with which we are here concerned, we may note, in passing, a very easily recognisable “impressionistic” group, where the human-figure designs are formed of straight and curved lines made with a wheel but without any faceting,² and secondly the free-hand flint-engraved group now best exemplified in this country by the hare-hunt bowl from Wint Hill, Somerset, recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum.³

Of all these techniques it is the wheel-abrading that most strictly imitates the fine facet style, for the designs are formed of curved lines, circles and ovals, and we should expect, therefore, that it first arose in the place which was the original home of that earlier style; that is to say, in my view, Alexandria. It is most likely that this was so, and it is certain that Egypt was the country where it took most root. Even if we cannot claim that all the examples of it that have been found in Syria and in the west were made in Egypt—and I do not think that we can—it is highly probable that some of them were. We can, indeed, watch a gradual degradation from the fine facet cutting to rough abraded designs that show no perceptible sinking of the details into the surface of the vessel.

The Egyptian examples have largely been summarised by me in 1936. From Karanis itself, I listed, first, two fragments of shallow bowls (nos. 133-4) and one of a deep bowl (no. 223), all of which bore abraded circles, ovals or lines on the exterior;⁴ and secondly, a series of one-handled cylindrical bottles (nos. 739-48) whose decoration varied from fairly-well-cut facets to more lightly abraded ones, accompanied by poor, superficial abraded lines.⁵ But besides these I cited and illustrated a number of other pieces of certain or probable Egyptian provenience. There is, first of all, a fine one-handled jug with geometric decoration in friezes from Behnesa

¹ Cp. Harden (1936), p. 101 and notes *ad loc.*; Fremersdorf (1951), pp. 2 ff. (no. 1=Lynceus, no. 5=Actaeon).

² Cp. Kisa (1908), pp. 666 ff., figs. 258-9.

³ A full account of the Wint Hill bowl and its group is forthcoming in the *Journal of Glass Studies*, II (1960).

⁴ Harden (1936), pp. 79 and 106, pls. xii, xiv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 246 ff., pls. xix, xx.

(Oxyrhynchus)¹ which is now in the British Museum (Pl. IV, *b*). In Toronto there is a shallow bowl (G. 1862) with abraded plant design on the base, inside, and a second bowl with abraded decoration is in Cairo.² Also in Toronto is an interesting jar (G. 1980) with abraded scroll over which is a painted design of horizontal lines and vertical dashes.³ Another example in Cairo (no. J 41061 from Karanis) is a yellowish-colourless flask with two bands of abraded decoration on the body—a piece which comes very near to High-down both in technique and in its frieze-design.⁴ A flask of similar shape with abraded sloping lines and curves in the R. W. Smith collection was bought in Cairo and probably came from an Egyptian site.⁵ Two other pieces probably from Egypt are in the same collection—a two-handed jug (no. 378) and an amphorisk (no. 379).⁶ We may also list here—for it is most likely to have been imported from Egypt—a one-handed bottle which is directly parallel to Karanis, nos. 739-48. It came from a tomb in the Fezzan excavated by the Italian expedition in 1933/4 and bears abraded decoration of facets in a chess-board pattern of lines.⁷

To these examples we may now add also a very interesting goblet in the Myers collection in Eton College, which I am glad to take the opportunity of publishing (Pl. V, *a*; Fig. 2) here:⁸

Greenish colourless, intact, some pinprick bubbles, some blobs of milky weathering. H. $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. D. mouth $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. D. base $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. Rim slightly folded inward and thickened in flame; two raised horizontal ridges formed by manipulation of parison $\frac{1}{2}$ in. below rim; cylindrical body, curving in at bottom to a U-shape; stemmed base formed by a second parison kicked inward to fullest extent, leaving a tubular ring at bottom. Wheel-abraded decoration in three friezes, nos. (*a*)-(*b*) and (*b*)-(*c*) divided by two horizontal lines interrupted in places and no. (*c*) bounded below by one similar line: (*a*) sloping lines above a scroll or quirk; (*b*) inscription *ΛΑΒΕ*, all the letter strokes being double-lined and with a single slanting stroke between the *E* and *Λ* to mark the end of the word; (*c*) scroll or quirk above sloping lines.

¹ This is one of the two bottles found in one tomb at Oxyrhynchus by Petrie in 1922, the other being a two-handed example, now in Cairo: W. F. M. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (B.S.A. Egypt, xxxvii, 1925), p. 16, pl. xlv, 9 (the Cairo piece).

² Harden (1936), p. 64; for the Cairo piece see C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Glass* (Cat. gén. Caire, 1905), no. 32445, p. 11, pl. ii. The decoration is partly on the interior and partly on the exterior.

³ Harden (1936), p. 177, fig. 3, *f*. Can this be an unfinished piece, and were the painted lines merely an aid to the *diatretarius*?

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 314, fig. 3, *l*. ⁵ Smith (1957), no. 375, p. 185. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷ G. Caputo, "Scavi sahariani," in *Mon. Antichi*, XLI (1951), p. 298 f., fig. 85.

⁸ I am most grateful to Mr. G. A. D. Tait, curator of the Myers collection and to the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, for kindly permitting me to study and publish it.

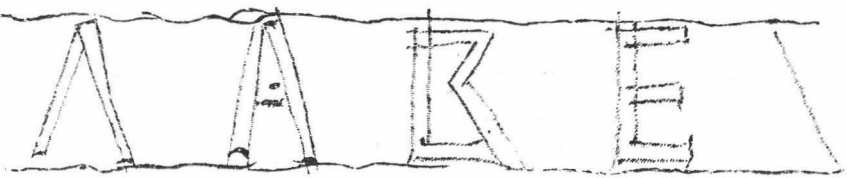
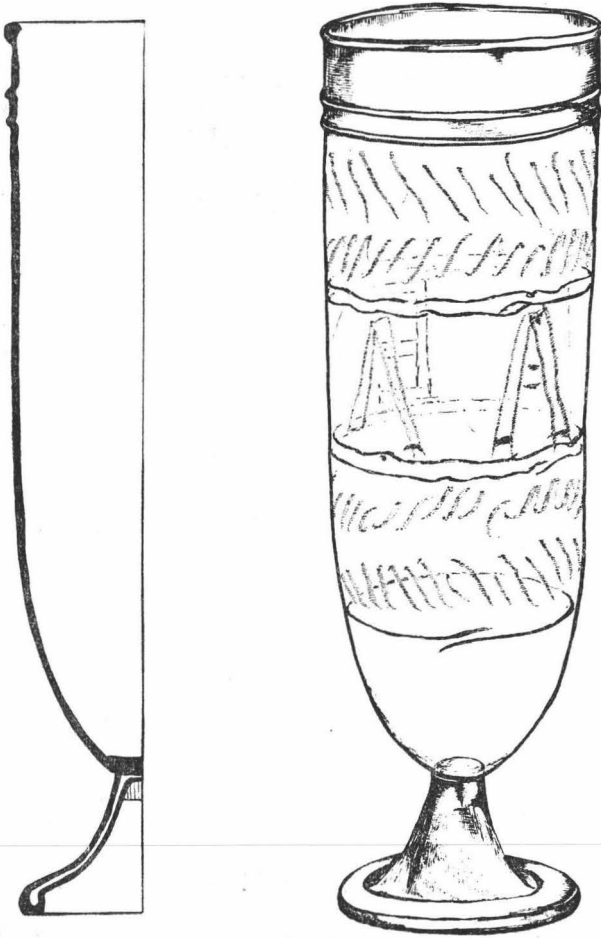


FIG 2

THE *ΑΑΒΕ* GOBLET, Eton College (p. 10). Section, elevation and unrolling of the inscription. Sc. $\frac{3}{5}$ Based on a drawing by Mr. Oliver Thomas

This piece was probably bought in Egypt, like most of the Myers collection, and its decoration is much akin in style to that of the Karanis jugs mentioned above: we may compare the rather poor abrading with that of Karanis, nos. 741 and 747.¹ The base is very unusual in its method of manufacture. To the U-shaped body, before it was knocked off the blowing-iron, a base which had already been formed from a separate paraison by inflation and folding, and held on a pontil, was attached. The pieces thus joined remained on the pontil and were knocked off the blowing-iron so that the rim could be fashioned. The neat junction of two separate paraisons, as indicated, would not be at all easy to accomplish. I can recall no parallel.

Though the technique of the stem of this piece is unusual, the shape in general can be readily paralleled. It will suffice here to mention a fine colourless goblet (Pl. V, *b*; Fig. 3) from Hawara in Egypt with well-cut design of heart-shaped ivy-leaves and commas in panels;² a similar colourless beaker (Fig. 4) with elaborate geometrical cut design and two letters of an inscription *KA*....., from the Fezzan;³ and, from the west, a number of snake-thread goblets.⁴ The U-shape occurs without the stem also, e.g., a goblet from Berslin in Carniola with an inscription *KAIIEWPAL* (= *καὶ ἐς ὄρας*) above elaborate cut decoration of heart-shaped ivy-leaves, fruit, etc.⁵ It is significant, I believe, that the Myers, Fezzan and Berslin pieces all have the same type of double-lined rectangular letters and that they also have the same or very similar rim-shapes with raised bands below. A bowl with similar lettering, from Cologne, is discussed below (p. 15 f.). The heart-shaped ivy-leaves on the Berslin piece are very like those on the Hawara goblet. All told, these are a closely-knit group, the proveniences of which point strongly toward Egypt as the place of manufacture. It is probable that the Hawara, Berslin and Fezzan goblets, which show good cutting, belong to the 3rd century, while the Myers goblet, with abrasion, belongs to the 4th century.

A number of glasses with wheel-abraded decoration very like that of Highdown bear Syrian proveniences. Four such are published by Eisen.⁶ First, there is a pointed amphorisk with three bands of

¹ Harden (1936), p. 247 f., pls. xix, xx.

² Manchester Museum, no. 2082 (Gl. 247); W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), p. 12, pl. xx, 6; Harden (1936), pp. 138, 141, fig. 3, *j*.

³ Caputo, *op. cit.* in note 7 on p. 10, pp. 311 ff., figs. 104-5.

⁴ E.g. Fremersdorf, *op. cit.* in note 7 on p. 6, pl. ix, 2; Loeschcke (1911), no. 120, pl. xlii.

⁵ Kisa (1908), pp. 633, 668, fig. 242; Harden (1936), p. 141. The inscription may be translated "and for the years," i.e., "for ever," and is equivalent to the "semper" on the bowl from Holme Pierrepont (p. 16 below). For a similar usage of *ὄρα* cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 562.

⁶ Eisen (1927), pp. 392, 410, pls. xcvi-viii, ci.

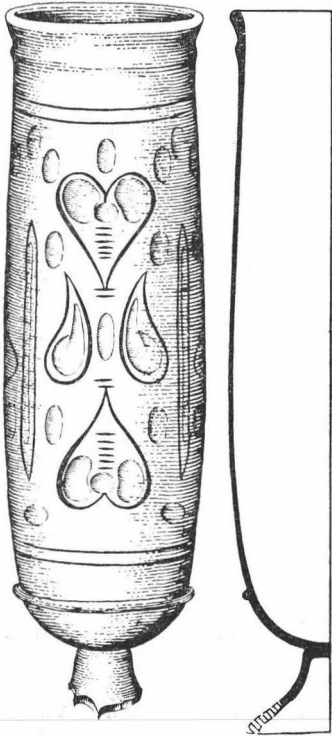


FIG. 3

THE HAWARA GOBLET, Manchester Mus. (p. 12). Elevation and section. Sc. $\frac{1}{2}$

From a drawing by the late Miss G. Sowerby (Mrs. Legge)

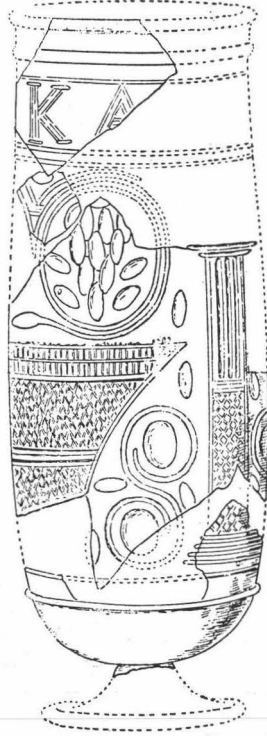


FIG. 4

THE FEZZAN GOBLET, Tripoli Mus. (p. 12). Sc. c. $\frac{1}{2}$

After *Monumenti Antichi*, XLI (1951), fig. 105

linear and flat-facet abrading, to which a piece "from Syria" in the Amattler collection in Barcelona,¹ that was formerly in the Durighello collection, is almost exactly a parallel in shape and decoration. Both these are closely parallel to the amphorisk in the R. W. Smith collection mentioned above,² which was in the Fouquet collection and is thought to have been found in Egypt. The second of the pieces mentioned by Eisen is a tallish jar with slightly convex base, then in Fahim Kouchakji's collection, decorated with flat facets and up-and-down gabled panels between bands of sloping lines. The third is a bowl (Pl. VI, *a*) on tubular base-ring "probably from Syria" in the Moore collection at Yale with an upper frieze that probably reads "ZECEC—a garland—AE[Γ]" (if Eisen's note on p. 410 is to be trusted) and a lower one of dots in circles separated by sets of sloping lines. The fourth is a cone-beaker (Pl. VI, *b*) with mammiform point in the Metropolitan Museum, N.Y., said to come from Hama in Syria or near by.³ A band near the rim reads *IIIZECEC* and below it are pairs of stylized grape-clusters above a band of sloping lines. The grape-clusters are wheel-abraded, but the inscription and lowest bands are more finely wheel-incised. Another example of this general class is a jar of dark olive-green glass in the British Museum (Acc. No. 90.3.14.1: Pl. VI, *c*) with vine-scroll on the body, which comes from Syria.

A most interesting flask from Syria (Fig. 5) formerly in the Niessen collection,⁴ bears abraded decoration closely akin in technique to that on the Highdown flask and also resembles that flask in shape, except for its stem, being one of the funnel-necked goblets discussed above (p. 5). On the body are four stylized plants with single blooms, in metopes; above, on shoulder, neck and lip, are three wavy horizontal lines. We may also note here a bowl in the Louvre⁵ from Kerch inscribed *III EZHCHC* round a central palmette in wheel-abrading allied to, but not identical in technique with, that on the Highdown flask.

Now, in general, the glass found at Karanis, when compared with Syrian finds,⁶ suggested that there was not a great deal of actual import of Syrian glass into Egypt, or of Egyptian glass into Syria, but that there was much cross-fertilisation between the two industries in the matter of shapes and techniques. It may, therefore, be that vessels of the types we are discussing were made contemporaneously in both countries. If, however, only one of the countries was involved in the manufacture of these wheel-abraded types, that country must have been Egypt. Far more examples with firm

¹ *Catalech dels vidres de la col·lecció Amattler* (Barcelona, 1925), p. 40, no. 187.

² See note 6 on p. 10.

³ Eisen (1927), pl. ci: *M.M.A. Bulletin*, Dec. 1914, p. 259 and fig., acc. no. 13.198.5. H. 5½ in.

⁴ Loeschcke (1911), p. 62, pl. xxvi, no. 1054.

⁵ Referred to in Harden (1949), p. 158, note 2.

⁶ Harden (1936), p. 43.

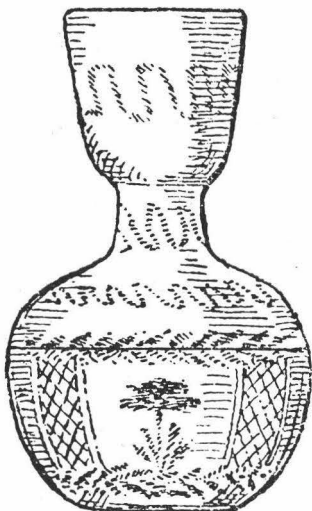


FIG. 5

FLASK FROM SYRIA, formerly in the Niessen collection, Cologne (p. 14). Sc. $\frac{1}{2}$
After Loeschke (1911), pl. xxvi, 1054

proveniences have been found there, and the shapes on which this decoration occurs, and the metal and colour of the glass, are all more typical of Egyptian than of Syrian styles.

In the west we can readily find further parallels, both in the Rhineland and elsewhere. Two one-handed cylindrical bottles from Cologne in the Niessen collection (now in Cologne Museum)¹ resemble Karanis, nos. 739ff. (p. 8) and a similar two-handed cylindrical bottle from the same site is illustrated in Pl. IV, *a*.² Another Cologne bottle, without handles, has five bands of flat wheel-abraded facets between bands of sloping lines.³ Cologne has also yielded vessels of other shapes with wheel-abrading, e.g., a fine shallow bowl of greenish glass (Pl. VIII, *a*) from the Apostolenkloster⁴ with elaborate geometrical pattern bounded by an inscription ΠΙΕΖΗΑΙC in Greek, each letter being formed of two parallel

¹ Loeschke (1911), no. 318, pl. xxvi (Severinstrasse) and 319, pl. xxiv (Neusserstrasse); Kisa (1908), p. 632, fig. 235 (=Niessen 318).

² Cp., e.g., Fremersdorf (1924), pl. xl; *id.* (1939), pl. xli (Cologne Museum no. 25480).

³ Fremersdorf (1951), p. 21, pl. xxi, 2 (Cologne Museum no. 30482). The two-handed vessel *ibid.* (no. 30449, from grave 217, Jacobstrasse=Fremersdorf (1939), pl. xl) is similar, but is an example of better cutting.

⁴ Fremersdorf (1939), pl. xlii (formerly Niessen collection, no. 6142).

abraded lines closely resembling those on the Myers, Fezzan and Berslin goblets (p. 11 f.). This resemblance could indicate that it came from the same workshop and was imported to Cologne from the east.

In Madrid Archaeological Museum¹ is a fragmentary, circular, shallow bowl of a shape closely resembling Karanis No. 130,² with vertical sides, thickened rim and true base-ring (Pl. VII, *a*). In metal and colour (yellowish-green) it is also closely akin to Karanis glass of fabric 5 and it bears wheel-abraded decoration on the inside consisting of a simplified chi-rho with circles in the angles, round which are two concentric bands of circles (one band is not visible in the photograph): there may have been more decoration on the missing parts of the vessel. It comes from Elche (prov. Alicante).

Finally, from Britain, we may recall the fragment of a bowl (Pl. VII, *b*, *c*) in the British Museum inscribed SEMPER [*vivas*] with a bird, a grass-tuft, and a band of circles, all wheel-abraded. It is alleged to come from an Anglo-Saxon grave at Holme Pierrepont, Notts., but the milieu is doubtful, as I have explained elsewhere.³ It must be late Roman, even if it belonged in the end to a Teuton, and as the illustration shows, its decoration is closely akin in technique to that on the Highdown flask.

There is no need to pursue further comparisons. Those given will suffice to indicate that wheel-abraded cutting is very frequent in Egypt, but less frequent, though still not rare, both in Syria and in the west. It is possible that Egypt was the only centre of fabrication and that the Syrian and western examples were all imported; but we cannot say for certain and it would be rash to be dogmatic.

D. DESIGN AND INSCRIPTION

We pass now to consider the design and the inscription. The band of circles immediately below the inscription, as we have seen, is wholly typical of these glasses with wheel-abraded cutting. Not so are the pot-hooks that flank the main frieze. I can cite no direct parallel to them, but they are clearly a debasement of the guilloche pattern that is so frequent in late Roman art—on mosaics more particularly. The main frieze, of a hound pursuing two hares to the right over stylised grass-tufts and between bushes, is a simplified hunting scene such as occurs in a more elaborate form, for example, on the Wint Hill bowl in the Ashmolean,⁴ where a huntsman on horseback with his two hounds drives a hare into a net through a field of grass-tufts and bushes. We may also compare a bowl of the 2nd-century group with fine facet-cutting that I believe is Egyptian

¹ *Op. cit.* in note 1 on p. 8, p. 659 f., fig. 452, where it is ascribed to the 4th-6th century. Only the centre and three independent portions of the side and rim are extant.

² Harden (1936), p. 78, pls. ii, xii.

³ Harden (1956), p. 136, pl. xv, g.

⁴ See note 3 on p. 9.

in fabric. It comes (Pl. VIII, *b*) from Strasbourg¹ and bears a simplified hunt like Highdown, with just one hound and one hare with fill-up lines and one large palm-frond of a type closely reminiscent of the palm-fronds on Highdown. Strasbourg could well be considered a prototype of Highdown were a prototype needed, which it scarcely is, seeing how common hunting scenes of all kinds, simple and elaborate, are in Roman art. It is fair to add that they are equally common in the east and in the west, so that, on design alone, we could not exclude either area from being the place of origin of our vase.

The letters of the inscription are uncial, with the less usual forms ϵ (closed) and ω (with full central arm). They are quite unlike the squared capitals used on the Myers goblet or on Niessen 6142. Nor do they resemble those on the Yale bowl, the New York cone or the Kerch bowl mentioned above (p. 14). I know, indeed, no parallel to them on a glass vase, so their style does not help us to locate the place of origin.

The inscription was translated by Haverfield² as "utere felix", "use me and be of good health". This Latin version occurs, for example, in white paint on a black colour-coated pottery beaker from Guilden Morden, Cambs., perhaps (but very doubtfully) on a pewter dish from Welney, Norfolk, on a silver ring from Kilbride, near Lanark, and on a bronze medallion in the Bibliothèque Nationale with an engraved scene representing men of the two British legions (II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix), various symbols, and animals.³ Baldwin Brown thought that the masculine $\delta\gamma\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\nu$ indicated that the owner was a man: but, however much that might have been the original intention of the *diatretarius*, we can hardly assert that the corpse it accompanied was necessarily male, especially since it is unlikely that any Sussex Saxon of the time could read the inscription! That the masculine may have been intentional on the maker's part is suggested by the occurrence of a similar inscription in the feminine ($\delta\gamma\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha \chi\rho\omega$) on a gold pin of the 10th century.⁴

What are the implications of such a vase with a Greek inscription in Greek characters being found in Saxon England? It is well

¹ Fremersdorf (1951), p. 7, no. 9, fig. 3, pl. ii, 3, with further ref. *ad loc.*

² Read (1896), p. 206.

³ The beaker and dish are mentioned by C. C. Babington, *Ancient Cambridge-shire* (Camb. Antiq. Soc. 8^o publ. no. 20, 1883), p. 61, and fig. on p. 60 (the beaker only). For Guilden Morden see also C. F. Fox, *Archaeol. of Camb. Region* (1923), p. 209. For Welney see *Archaeol. J.*, XXVII (1870), 71, 75, 98, *V. C. H. Norfolk*, I (1901), 310, fig. 25 (VERE ϵ FELEI as drawn *ad loc.*) and *C.I.L.* VII (ed. A. Hübner, 1873), no. 1271: this piece is (or was until recently) owned by Lady Doris Shepperson, Upwood, Hunts., as Mr. R. P. Wright kindly tells me. For the silver ring see A. R. Burn, *The Romans in Britain* (1932), p. 128. For the bronze medallion see *J. Archit., Archaeol. and Hist. Soc. Chester*, III (1885), 7 ff., pl. opp. p. 7, after F. Buonarrotti, *Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi appartenenti a . . . Cosimo III, Granduca di Toscana* (Roma, 1698), p. xviii, pl. at end of volume.

⁴ Read (1896) p. 206 f., after E. Miller, *Rev. archéol.*, XXXVIII (1879), 39 ff.

known that in the west, even up to the 5th or 6th century, glass-working was largely in the hands of eastern artisans, and Fremersdorf¹ and others deduce from this that glasses with Greek inscriptions in Greek characters were made by such workers in western factories so that there is no necessity to seek an eastern origin for any vessel with a Greek inscription found in the west. But is it likely that such workers would have put Greek inscriptions on vases which were to be sold to clients who were most unlikely to have knowledge of that script and language? That glasses and other objects in the west often carry Greek words in *Latin* characters (especially the Christian exhortation *pie zeses*) makes me wonder whether it would not be more proper to assume that objects with Greek inscriptions in Greek characters are imports from the east. It is true that the "Philosophers" mosaic of the 2nd or 3rd century found in Cologne, bears names (Diogenes, Socrates, etc.) in Greek script, and this must have been made on the spot: but it could have been taken direct from an eastern pattern-book. We cannot, therefore, lay down a general rule. Reusch has published² a list of Greek inscriptions from Cologne known up to 1938. Apart from the mosaic there were 16 coins (all are from eastern mints); 3 stone inscriptions (these may simply indicate that there were Greeks there to set them up); 2 gold finger-rings (Niessen 5303, 5305: very easily transportable objects); "quantities" of pottery beakers with Greek inscriptions (mainly *pie zeses*) in Latin characters (see above); and 9 glasses (all could be imported). Thus when we find glasses such as this from Highdown, which show so many indications that they may be eastern, bearing Greek inscriptions, it seems more natural to accept the inscriptions as lending further weight to the view that the objects are not of western make. However, it may have been up to, say, the time of Constantine, we must surely make such an assumption in the late 4th century, which must be the earliest date we can assign to the Highdown flask. By that time in the west only the scholar and the churchman, or the stray Greek immigrant, will have understood a Greek inscription.

CONCLUSIONS

We may conclude, then, that since the shape, the glass metal, the wheel-abraded decoration and the Greek inscription all indicate a probable eastern origin and since no aspect of the Highdown vase gives any firm indication that it must be a western piece, this vase is eastern.

¹ Fremersdorf (1951), p. 22 f.

² W. Reusch, "Griechische Münzen und Inschriften der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Köln," in *Germania*, XXII (1938), 166 ff. See also F. Fremersdorf, "Inschriften auf röm. Kleingerat aus Köln," in 27. *Bericht der Röm-germ. Kommission* (1938), pp. 32 ff. for further discussion of some of these and of others.

It is not so easy to decide whether it is Egyptian or Syrian, since we have found parallels to its shape and decoration in both countries. Its metal, however, is far more Egyptian than Syrian, and in general, I believe, the evidence adduced provides more telling signs of affinity between it and the known Egyptian glasses from Karanis and elsewhere, than between it and the few Syrian pieces we have been able to bring into the discussion. Moreover, not all the "Syrian" pieces are firmly provenienced and some or all of them could quite possibly have been traded in antiquity (or in modern times!) from Egypt to Syria. All in all, I would prefer to count it as Egyptian; that is, no doubt, an Alexandrian piece.

How it reached its grave in Sussex can only be guessed. Radford, in discussing the Mediterranean pottery from Tintagel,¹ indicates that there was apparently no break in the Mediterranean long-sea connexion with the Celtic west, but does postulate a break in Mediterranean trade with the Saxon-dominated parts of the country at the time of the earliest Saxon migrations into Britain. It was not until, perhaps, the late 6th century that Mediterranean trade with the Saxon part of England was opened up and such things as amethyst beads and Egyptian bronze vessels (p. 7) and textiles came in in some quantity. But that is too late for our glass. All the parallels we have been able to cite, whether for its shape, its decoration, or its glass-metal, have been centred on the 4th (or at latest 5th) century rather than later. This would give the late 4th or early 5th century as its date of manufacture. We must assume, then, that the glass came to the Britons by the long-sea western route, and was sold to, or captured by, its Saxon owner, or else that, though trade in general across Europe had ceased, this vessel, as a stray and rare object, had filtered through and was perhaps brought to Britain in the baggage of a Sussex settler.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am much indebted to Mr. L. M. Bickerton, Curator of Worthing Museum, who provided me with new photographs of the Highdown goblet and facilities for studying it afresh, and for the loan of the block of the Highdown stemmed beaker (Pl. II, *b*); to Miss V. Smith (Lewes) for her careful drawing of the goblet and Dr. A. E. Wilson for arranging that she should do it; to Mr. G. A. D. Tait and Mr. Oliver Thomas, for the photograph and drawing, respectively, of the Eton goblet; to Mr. R. A. Higgins, of the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum for the three photographs for Pls. II, *a*, IV, *b*, VI, *c*; to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum for the photograph and drawing of the Holme Pierrepont fragment; to Dr. D. E. Owen, Director of the Manchester Museum and Miss Shaw (now Mrs. Palmer), formerly Assistant Keeper, for the photograph and drawing of the Hawara goblet; to Dr. Fremersdorf and Dr. Doppelfeld of Cologne for the photographs for Pls. IV, *a*, VIII, *a*; and to Mr. Fernandez de Aviles of the National Archaeological Museum, Madrid, for the photograph of the Elche bowl.

ARCHITECTURE IN MEDIAEVAL WRITINGS

By JOHN H. HARVEY, F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

The study of architecture has seldom been widely spread, and never fashionable, in the western world of European culture. Hence architecture has but rarely formed a major theme of literary effort. Yet there have at all times been points of contact between writing and architecture, and references to building in English poetry alone are extensive.¹ Descriptions of buildings occur in historical and topographical works, and from time to time these include signs of appreciation of both the aesthetic and technical problems that confront the architect.

So far as the mediaeval period is concerned, such sources have suffered from undue neglect, to the extent that much of the serious literature of the subject has been vitiated by ignorance of the literary and documentary background that does exist. There is no longer any excuse for such ignorance, for the massive appendices of Mr. Salzman's masterpiece² have made generally accessible, not only a large collection of purely technical documents, but also a wide selection from the historical sources, ranging from A.D. 675 to 1526. From the point of view of architecture and building little, beyond points of detail, remains to be added. But regarded in an opposite sense, something may still be gleaned from the study of English architecture, as reflected in mediaeval writings, that throws light upon the development of literature itself.

Building is, after all, one of the cardinal arts of mankind, and as such may be described in verse or prose. Yet, perhaps because building is an art in its own right, like music or painting, it has seldom provided the main theme of literary work. It is, none the less, an important minor theme, and forms an element in the background of descriptive writing, comparable to, even if of less importance than, landscape. Looking to the unpredictable future a day may come when writers, searching for new subjects and fresh techniques, turn their attention to architecture just as poets and painters have in past times turned to nature.

In this country we have indeed a great tradition of writing founded on landscape and the observation of nature, and it is a tradition rooted in the very distant past. Akin to it, though as yet far less

¹ This article is based on a lecture read before the Royal Society of Literature on 19 January, 1949. For English verse references to building, see H. Heathcote Statham: *Architecture among the Poets*, 1898.

² L. F. Salzman: *Building in England down to 1540—A Documentary History*, 1952.

developed, is an architectural tradition, less noticeable but probably of equal antiquity. At the very beginning of extant writing in English, the tale of Beowulf is woven upon an architectural background. The foundation of the whole epic is a building, as can be appreciated from extracts, which I quote from Professor Gordon's version:—¹

"a hall, a mighty mead-dwelling, greater than ever the children of men had heard of. . . . Then I heard far and wide of work laid upon many a tribe throughout this world, the task of adorning the place of assembly. Quickly it came to pass among men that it was perfect; the greatest of hall-dwellings . . . the hall towered up, lofty and wide-gabled."

All through the story, the hall is brought in, a recurrent refrain:—

"the warriors hastened, went up together, until they could see the well-built hall, splendid and gold-adorned. That was foremost of buildings under the heavens for men of the earth . . ."

We are even told details of its construction:—

"the warriors' hall resounded . . . the building rang aloud. Then was it great wonder that the wine-hall withstood the bold fighters; that it fell not to the ground, the fair earth-dwelling; but it was too firmly braced within and without with iron bands of skilled workmanship . . ."

and again:—

"Hrothgar spoke . . . he went to the hall, stood on the doorstep, looked on the lofty gold-plated roof."

Then we come to the first piece of English writing which is purely an architectural description, the noble lines which reveal to us the impression made upon one of the Old English by the remains of Roman grandeur, perhaps at Bath.

Here again I quote the version by Professor Gordon:—²

"Wondrous is this wall-stone; broken by fate, the castles have decayed; the work of giants is crumbling. Roofs are fallen, ruinous are the towers, despoiled are the towers with their gates; frost is on their cement, broken are the roofs, cut away, fallen, undermined by age. The grasp of the earth, stout grip of the ground, holds its mighty builders, who have perished and gone; till now a hundred generations of men have died. Often this wall, grey with lichen and stained with red, unmoved under storms, has survived kingdom after kingdom; its lofty gate has fallen . . . the bold in spirit bound the foundation of the wall wondrously together with wires. Bright were the castle-dwellings, many the bath-houses, lofty the host of pinnacles, great the tumult of men, many a mead-hall full of the joys of men, till Fate the mighty overturned that. The wide walls fell; days of pestilence came; death swept away all the bravery of men; their fortresses became waste places; the city fell to ruin. The multitudes who might have built it anew lay dead on the earth. Wherefore these courts are in decay and these lofty gates; the woodwork of the roof is stripped of tiles; the place has sunk into ruin, levelled to the hills, where in times past

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, translated by R. K. Gordon (Everyman's Library), pp. 5, 10, 19, 23. These extracts, and those referred to in note 2 below and note 2 on p. 23, are quoted by kind permission of Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.

many a man light of heart and bright with gold, adorned with splendours, proud and flushed with wine, shone in war-trappings, gazed on treasure, on silver, on precious stones, on riches, on possessions, on costly gems, on this bright castle of the broad kingdom. Stone courts stood here; the stream with its great gush sprang forth hotly; the wall enclosed all within its bright bosom; there the baths were hot in its centre; that was spacious . . .”

This poetry takes us back over twelve hundred years, but here and there are surprising links with more modern work. In Shakespeare's Second Part of King Henry the Fourth,¹ is a little technical metaphor derived from building:—

“ When we mean to build
We first survey the plot, then draw the model;
And when we see the figure of the house,
Then must we rate the cost of the erection.”

Such a figurative use may be compared with the merely literal statement in the poem on the Arts of Men, dating from about 800 A.D.:—²

“ One man can marvellously plan the making of all high buildings; his hand is trained, skilful and deft, as fits the workman, to set up a hall; he knows how to join firmly the spacious building against sudden downfall.”

In all these early descriptions, loftiness and height recur again and again: it was clearly a mental pre-occupation of Northern peoples, living in the tall forests, for at the opening of the Elder Edda a pagan temple is described as “ high-timbered.”³

Turning from poetry to prose, the Old English or Anglo-Saxon Chronicle contains an interesting passing reference to architecture under the year 978, when the whole of the Great Council, the Witanagemot, “ fell at Calne from an upper chamber, except the holy archbishop Dunstan, who alone supported himself upon a beam.”⁴

Saxon England was falling into decay, and when, less than a century later, it was vanquished by William of Normandy, the language itself as a literary medium disappeared. For some two centuries our literature is in Latin, supplemented by romances written in the Anglo-Norman dialect of French. But the Normans brought with them, in fact had exported in advance of their invasion, a new and more competent version of Romanesque architecture. William of Malmesbury, the great historian, writing in Latin about 1120,⁵ described Edward the Confessor's burial at Westminster in the abbey church

“ which he himself was first to build in England after that style of composition which now almost everybody imitates at great expense” (*quam ipse ubi compositionis genere primus in Anglia aedificaverat quod nunc paene cuncti sumptuosius aemulantur expensis*).

¹ Act I, Scene iii.

² *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 348.

³ Edda, Voluspa, 7, 2.

⁴ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. J. A. Giles (Bohn's Antiquarian Library), p. 387.

⁵ *Gesta Regum*, ii, 228, p. 385 (Rolls Series).

Very soon after Malmesbury wrote, Norman Romanesque was itself thrust aside by the budding Gothic, and a notable account of the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral after its burning in 1174 was written by Gervase, one of the monks, who for several years held the office of Sacrist and undoubtedly took a keen interest in building work. It is too long to quote, and is besides very well known.¹ Less famous, but of much higher literary value is the Latin poem written soon after 1220 on the life of St. Hugh of Lincoln; it contains a long and beautiful passage describing Hugh's building of the new Gothic cathedral at Lincoln from 1192.² Here I can quote only some of the more striking sections:—

“The ancient pile is pulled down to the ground and the new arises, expressing by its posture the apt shape of an erect cross. Arduous work makes a unity of three separate parts, for the solid bulk of the foundation rises from the centre, and the wall supports the roof, hanging in air.”

*Funditus obruitur moles vetus, et nova surgit;
Surgentisque status formam crucis exprimit aptam.
Tres integrales partes labor arduus unit:
Nam fundamenti moles solidissima surgit
A centro, paries supportat in aera tectum.*

The author goes on to describe the skill with which the work was put together:—

“The skill of the craftsmen well corresponds to the cost of the materials, for the vault spreading its wings like the feathered birds, and as if in flight, strikes the clouds, though resting on its solid columns.”

*Materiae pretio studium bene competit artis.
Nam quasi pennatis avibus testudo locuta,
Latas expandens alas, similisque volanti,
Nubes offendit, solidis innisa columnis.*

There is a play of words at “*alas*,” meaning both “wings” and “Aisles.”

So admirable was the construction that it seemed not to be artificial, but a work of nature; not united, but one:

“ *non esse videtur ab arte,
Quin a natura; non res unita, sed una.*”

The dark Purbeck marble contrasts with the freestone, and instead of having a rough grain, shines with a high polish:—

*Altera fulcit opus lapidum pretiosa nigrorum
Materies, non sic uno contenta colore,
Non tot laxa poris, sed crebro sidere fulgens.*”

So fine is the texture of the shafts that one might doubt whether they were not of dull jade rather than an exceptionally fine marble; and as for the slender shafts themselves, surrounding the great

¹ English translation by R. Willis: *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 1845, pp. 32-62.

² *Metrical Life of St. Hugh*, ed. J. F. Dimock, Lincoln, 1860, lines 833-965. The passages here quoted are lines 854-8, 862-5, 870-1, 872-4, 879-883.

columns, you might think them a group of maidens in a round dance:—

“*Inspectus lapis iste potest suspendere mentes,
Ambiguas utrum jaspis marmorve sit; at si
Jaspis, hebes jaspis; si marmor, nobile marmor.
Inde columnellae, quae sic cinxere columnas,
Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream.*”

A fine passage describes the windows, and the great Bishop's Eye and Dean's Eye at the ends of the Transept, concluding allegorically with their symbolism and that of the different parts of the church.

Just as the triumph of Norman over Saxon style and method had been described by William of Malmesbury, so in a French source of about 1215, the Latin chronicle of the bishops of Auxerre,¹ occurs a reference to the supersession of the Romanesque by the new Gothic style:—

“the bishop, seeing that his church at Auxerre was of old building and of poorer style, suffering from decrepitude and age, than the others everywhere lifting up their heads in a wondrous sort of beauty, determined to adorn it with a new structure and by the keen skill of those versed in the art of masonry, lest it should be in any way unequal to the rest in style or treatment; so he had it totally demolished that, its ancient sloth put aside, it might grow young in a more tasteful form of novelty.”

Not everybody was pleased with the new inventions: Alexander Neckam, the foster-brother of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, was complaining² that in buildings, as in dress, food, jewellery and furniture, too many unlawful new ideas were being thought out:—

“*tot et tam illicitae adinventiones excogitatae sunt . . . attende superfluas et vanas adinventiones in aedificiis, in vestibus, in cibariis, in phaleris, in suppellectilibus . . . O vanitas!*”

On the other hand, some of the monastic historians were not only keenly interested in their own buildings, but in the men who made them; the St. Albans chronicler refers to the making of new choir-stalls in the early fourteenth century, and tells how the Abbot brought together craftsmen skilled in the cutting and carving of timber, and set over them “a certain Master Geoffrey in charge, a most skilful man, by whose industry the work might attain the desired result.” He goes on to tell that Master Geoffrey was for many years paid 4s. a week for himself and his boy, and that every year he was given a suit of clothing of the livery taken by the Abbot's esquires, while the servant was clad like the grooms of the household.³

About the same period two Irish Franciscans were setting out on a pilgrimage to Palestine: Brother Simon Simeon and Brother Hugh the Illuminator. On their way through England in 1323 Simon recorded some of their impressions of the buildings they

¹ V. Mortet and P. Deschamps: *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture . . .*, XIIe-XIIIe siècles, Paris, 1929, p. 203.

² *De naturis rerum*, ed. T. Wright (Rolls Series), 1863, p. 281.

³ *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series), 1867, II, p. 124.

saw.¹ At Lichfield stood the new Gothic cathedral, still unfinished but a most beautiful church with its high stone steeples and decorations:

"ecclesia gratiosissima . . . quae est mirae pulchritudinis, turribus lapideis sive campanilibus altissimis, picturis, sculpturis, et aliis ecclesiasticis apparatus excellenter ornata atque decorata."

When they reached London they were struck by the size of Old St. Paul's, and once more by the height of its central spire, 500 feet as was said, and by the splendid eastern Lady Chapel:—

"Ecclesia Beati Pauli Apostoli, mirae magnitudinis; in cujus medio est campanile illud famosissimum et incomparabili dignitate coronatum, quum habet in altitudine pedes, ut asseritur, quingentos et in eadem ecclesia ad orientem est capella Beatae Virginis imperialissima."

They were equally impressed by the Tower of London, its marvellous height and great strength, and when they reached Westminster they saw the Abbey and the Painted Chamber in the Royal Palace. We cannot follow the two friars throughout their journey, but at Paris their attention was drawn to the western portals of Notre Dame with their abundance of statues, and the lofty towers above:—

"cujus portae occidentales nimia varietate sculpturarum atque turrium altitudine decorantur"

and the far-famed and lovely Sainte Chapelle, with its Scriptural paintings:—

"illa pulcherrima atque famosa capella biblicis historiis mirabiliter ornata."

While the two Franciscan pilgrims had been passing across England, a new architectural work, unique in its kind, was being founded at Ely Cathedral: the octagon which was to replace the fallen central tower. The chronicle of the bishops of Ely devotes a long section to the design and construction of the work under the Sacrist, Alan of Walsingham:—²

"He caused the place where the new belfry was to be built to be dug, and a firm foundation sought in eight places set out with architectural skill (arte architectonica mensuratas) for the eight stone piers which were to support the whole."

The great powers of invention of the designer of the remarkable timber vault, which could span the 70 feet of this great building, were not forgotten:—

"artificiosa structura lignea novi campanilis summo ac mirabili mentis ingenio ymaginata,"

nor the excellent work of the craftsmen who shaped the great timbers and framed them together:—

"per ingeniosos artifices sculptis et fabricatis, atque in ipso opere artificiose coadunatis."

¹ *Itinerarium Symonis Symeonis . . .*, ed. J. Nasmith, 1778, pp. 4-6.

² *Anglia Sacra*, I. 644, quoted in D. J. Stewart: *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, 1868, pp. 89-90.

We know moreover that this genius of a roof-builder was William Hurley, brought down from London and paid a yearly retainer equal to £800 of our money.¹

For two or three hundred years English writers are seen in a glass darkly, using Latin; then in the middle of the fourteenth century they suddenly come face to face, in the pages of Chaucer and his contemporaries. In his later career, Chaucer was Clerk of the King's Works for the two years 1389 to 1391, and this may have provided him with the technical knowledge found in the *Canterbury Tales*. But on the whole there is little reference in his work to the splendid buildings erected around him. An outstanding exception is his description of the House of Fame, written about 1384:²

For-why me thoughté, by Saint Gilé!
 All was of stoné of berylé,
 Bothé castel and the tower,
 And eek the hallé, and every bower,
 Withouten pieces or joiningés.
 But many subtil compassingés,
 Babewinnes and pinnacles,
 Imageries and tabernacles
 I saw; and full eek of windowés,
 As flakés fallé in great snowés.
 And eek in each of the pinácles
 Weren sundry habitacles. . . .
 In whiché stooden, all withouté—
 Full the castle, all abouté—
 Of allé manner of minstrales,
 And jestiours, that tellen talés
 Both of weeping and of game,
 Of all that longeth unto Fame.”

And further on:—

Lo! how should I now tell all this?
 Ne of the hallé eek what need is
 To tellen you, that every wall
 Of it, and floor, and roof and all
 Was plated half a footé thické
 Of gold . . .”

In these descriptions the main elements are size, precious materials, and cunning workmanship, and the same holds true of the more detailed portraits of building in Pierce Plowman's *Crede* and Lydgate's *Troy Book*. But Chaucer himself, in the *Knight's Tale*, when he had learned something of building technique, was able to give a more convincing picture of an architectural accomplishment, the making of a theatre for the tournament held by Theseus:—³

“I trow men wouldé deem it negligence,
 If I forget to tellen the dispence
 Of Theseüs, that goeth so busily
 To maken up the listés royally;

¹ F. R. Chapman: *Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, 1907, I, pp. 44-47.

² *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford), pp. 338-340 (The Hous of Fame, lines 1183-1200, 1285-1304, 1341-1346—spelling regularised).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 442-3 (The Knightes Tale, lines 1881-1913).

That such a noble theatre as it was
 I dare well sayn that in this world there nas.
 The circuit a milé was abouté,
 Walléd of stone, and ditchéd all withouté.
 Round was the shape, in manner of compass,
 Full of degrees, the height of sixty pace,
 That, when a man was set on o degree,
 He letted not his fellow for to see.

That is a counsel which might profitably be followed by some of our designers of cinemas. And it is worth noting that Chaucer, here as elsewhere, gives an exact number, for dimensions were a preoccupation of the mediaeval writers: they rejoiced in round numbers.

Eastward there stood a gate of marble white,
 Westward, right such another in the opposite.
 And shortly to concluden, such a place
 Was none in earthé, as in so little space;
 For in the land there nas no crafty man,
 That géométry or ars-metrick can,
 Ne portrayour, ne carver of imáges,
 That Theseüs ne gave him meat and wages
 The theatre for to maken and devise.
 And for to done his rite and sacrifice,
 He eastward hath, upon the gate above,
 In worship of Venus, goddésse of love,
 Done make an altar and an oratory;
 And westward, in the mind and in memory
 Of Mars, he makéd hath right such another,
 That costé largély of gold a fother.
 And northward in a turret on the wall
 Of alabaster white and red coral
 An oratory riché for to see,
 In worship of Diane of chastitee,
 Hath Theseüs done wrought in noble wise."

And then continues a long and detailed description of the materials, sculpture and painting of three temples.

Contemporary with Chaucer is the romance of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, a poem full of themes typical of later English writing: wild landscapes and foul weather, the welcome with a warm fire, and possibly our first literary fox-hunt. Sir Gawayne on Gryngolet might at times be Mr. Jorrocks on Arterxerxes, and Ongar Castle and the other Surteesian dwellings reflect the abode of the Green Knight. But the castle seen by Gawayne is truly Gothic (I modernise very slightly):¹

"The wall waded in the water wonderly deepé
 And eft a full huge height it haléd upon lofté,
 Of hard hewen stoné up to the tables,
 Embowered under the abattlement in the best manner,
 And sithen garites full gay geared betweené,
 With many lovelich loupé, that lookéd full cleané;
 A better barbican that burné blushéd upon never;

¹ *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, ed. R. Morris (E.E.T.S., 4), 1864, and later editions,

And innermore he beheldé that hallé full highé,
 Towër tilted between turret full thick,
 Fair filioles that were fair, and fairly long,
 With carven capitals, craftily cut;
 Chalk white chimneys there chose he enough,
 Upon bastille-roofs, that blinkéd full white,
 So many pinnacles painted were powdered ay-where,
 Among the castle crenels, clarbered so thick,
 That pared out of paper purely it seeméd."

At the very end of the fourteenth century, the artistic culmination of the English Middle Ages, which produced the new Westminster Hall, the naves of Winchester, Canterbury and Westminster, and the Wilton Diptych, the anonymous critic of the Friars who wrote *Pierce Plowman's Crede* gave the most detailed of all the descriptions of a great church in the brilliance of its original enrichments:—¹

"Then thought I to question the first of these four orders,
 And pressed to the Preachers to proven their will.
 I hied to their house to hearken of moré;
 And when I came to that court I gapéd abouté.
 Such a build bold, y-built upon earth height,
 Saw I not in certain sith a longé timé.
 I gazed upon that house and gladly thereon lookéd,
 How the pillars were y-paint and polishéd full clean,
 And quaintly y-carven with curious knottés,
 With windows well y-wrought wide up aloft.
 And then I entered in and even-forth went,
 And all was walled that wone though it wide weré,
 With posterns in privity to passen when they listé;
 Orchards and arbours eaveséd well cleané,
 And a curious cross craftily entailéd,
 With tabernacles y-tight to tooten all abouten.
 The price of a plough-land of pennies so roundé
 To apparel that pillar weré puré little.

Then I munté me forth the minster to knowen,
 And awaited a wone wonderly well y-built,
 With arches on every half and beautifully carven,
 With crockets on corners with knottés of goldé;
 Wide windows y-wrought y-written full thické
 Shinen with shapen shieldés to showen abouté,
 With markés of merchants y-mingled betweené,
 More than twenty and two twice y-numberéd.
 There is none herald that hath half such a rollé,
 Right as a ragman hath reckoned them anew.
 Tombs upon tabernacles tiled upon lofté,
 Houséd in corners hard set abouten,
 Of armed alabaster clad for the nonce,
 All it seemed saints y-sacred upon earthé;
 And lovely ladies y-wrought layen by their sidés
 In many gay garments that weren gold-beaten.
 Though the tax of ten year were truly y-gathered,
 Would it not maken that house half, as I trow.

Then came I to that cloister and gapéd abouten
 How it was pillared and painted and portrayed well clean,

¹ In W. W. Skeat: *Specimens of English Literature* (lines 153-218—slightly modernised).

All covered with lead low to the stonés,
 And y-pavéd with painted tile each point after other;
 With conduits of clean tin closéd all abouté,
 With lavers of latten lovelich y-fitted.
 I trow the gainage of the ground in a great shiré
 Noldé apparel that place o point till other endé.
 Then was the chapter-house wrought as a great churché,
 Carven and covered and quaintly entailed,
 With seemly celuré y-set on lofté,
 As a Parliament House y-painted abouté.

Then faired I into frater and found there another,
 An hall for an high king an household to holden,
 With broad boardés abouten y-benched well cleané,
 With windows of glass wrought as a churché.
 Then walkéd I farther and went all abouten,
 And saw halls full high and houses full noble,
 Chambers with chimneys and chapels gayé;
 And kitchens for an high king in castles to holden,
 And their dorter y-dight with dorés full strongé;
 Firmary and frater with many more houses,
 And all strong stone wall stern upon heighté,
 With gay garités and great and each hole y-glazed;
 And other houses enow to harbour the queené.
 And yet these builders will beggen a bagfull of wheaté
 Of a pure poor man that may unneath payé
 Half his rent in a year, and half be behindé!'

The tendency to rich and repetitive detail was growing upon English poetry in the fifteenth century, and runs closely parallel to repetitious panelling and decoration in architecture itself. The most ambitious of all the architectural descriptions in verse is Lydgate's account in his *Troy Book* of Priam's rebuilding of Troy.¹ Amounting in all to some 400 lines, it is possible to quote from it only a few sections.

First King Priam sends for craftsmen:—

“ He madé seek in every regioun
 For suché workmen as were curious,
 Of wit inventive, of casting marvellous;
 Or such as couldé craft of gemetry,
 Or were subtle in their fantasy;
 And for everich that was good devizer,
 Mason, hewer, or crafty quarrier;
 For every wright and passing carpenter
 That may be foundé, either far or near;
 For such as couldé gravé, grope or carvé,
 Or such as weren able for to serve
 With lime or stoné, for to raise a wall
 With battling and crestés martial; . . . ”

He describes the clearing of the site, the setting out, the making of the foundations, the walls and gates. Upon the towers were set menacing figures, comparable to the minstrels on Chaucer's

¹ *Lydgate's Troy Book*, ed. H. Bergen, I (E.E.T.S., E.S., XCVII), 1906 (lines 490-502, 607-612, 638-658, 681-694, 747-764—spelling regularised).

House of Fame, and exactly like those which exist at Carnarvon and Alnwick Castles:—

“ With squaré towers set on every side,
At whose corners of very pomp and pride
The workmen have, with stern and fell visages
Of rich entaile, set up great images
Wrought out of stone, that never are like to fail,
Full curiously enarméd for battaile.”

The streets and houses are built:—

“ And every house, that was built within,
Every palace and every mansioun
Of marble were throughout all the town,
Of crafty building and working most royal.
And the height was of every wall
Sixty cubits from the ground accounted;
And there was none that other hath surmounted
In the city, but of one height aliche,
In very sooth, both of poor and rich,
That it was hard of high estate or low
House or palace asunder for to know,
So equally of timber and of stone
Their houses weren raiséd every one.
And if I should rehearsen by and by
The carved knots by craft of masonry,
The fresh embowing, with verges right as lines,
And the vaulting full of babewines,
The rich quoining, the lusty tablements,
Vine-leaves running in the casements—
Though the terms in English wouldé rhyme,
To reckon them all I have as now no tyme.”

There were pentises or cloister-walks along the streets:—

“ And through the town, by crafty purveyance,
By great advice and discreet ordinance,
By compass cast, and squaréd out by squares,
Of polished marble upon strong pillars,
Deviséd were, long, large and wide,
In the frontal of every streetés side,
Fresh alleys with lusty high pinnacles,
And shewing outward riché tabernacles,
Vaulted above like reclinatories
That called weren deambulatories,
Men to walk together twain and twain,
To keep them dry when it did rain,
Or them to save from tempest, wind or thunder,
If that they list shroud themselves thereunder.”

Finally there is a most remarkable picture of urban hygiene, with a quite modern theory of epidemics; the river was made to flow:—

“ Through conduit pipés, large and wide withall,
By certain meatus artificial,
That it made a full purgation
Of all ordure and filthés in the town,
Washing the streets as they stood a-row,
And the gutters in the earthé low,
That in the city was no filthés seen;
For the channel scouréd was so clean

And devoided in so secret wise
 That no man might espyen nor devise
 By what engine the filthés, far nor near,
 Were borne away by course of the rivere—
 So covertly every thing was curéd.
 Whereby the town was utterly assuréd
 From engendering of all corruption,
 From wicked air and from infection,
 That causen often by their violence
 Mortality and great pestilence.”

From Lydgate, the greatest literary figure then in England, it is a far cry to the simple prose of Henry V's master mason at Calais, who, in 1421, was commanded to write to the King and keep him informed of the progress of works on a chapel:—¹

“Souveraine Lorde, in as humbly wise as any true liegeman can think or deme, I recommend me unto youre noble grace; having in myne hert continually emprinted, amonges youre other high comaundments, yeven to me at youre departyng from Caleys, that speciall commandment, by the whiche ye charged me, that I shulde algates write unto youre highnesse, from tyme to tyme, of all matiers that me semed necessarie or expedient to signiffie unto youre highnesse. In parfomyng of the which youre commaundement, like it youre highnesse to conceive, that the fundament of youre chappell, withinne youre castell of Caleys, and the walles over (height above the grounde, in the lowest place, viij. fete) whereof I send yow the patrone by John Makyn, servant to Thomas De la Crosse, bringer of this. . . . And as touching the stone of this cuntre, that shuld be for the jambes of your doores and windowes of your seid chappell, I dare not take upon me to sett no more therof upon your werkes, hit freteth and fareth so foule with himself, that, had I not ordained lynnesse oyle to bed hit with, hit wolde not have endured, ne plesed youre Highnesse. Wherefore I have purveyed xij. tons tight of Cane stone, for to spede youre werkes withall. And more I shall purveye, in all the haste possible, for I cannot see that none other stone wolle be so profitable for youre seide werkes; and, for God's love, souveraine lorde, like yow, of youre benign grace, to have me excused now and at all tymes, of my rude and uncunnyng writyng to youre highnesse; the which anbassheth me ful mochel, to write unto youre high estate of any matter, savinge youre wille and commandement aforesaid; the which I shall ever obeye and perfourme, to the uttermoste that is possible unto me, whiles my lyf endureth. Souveraine lorde, I beseche Almightye gode kepe yow in continuel prosperitee, to his plesaunce, and your herts desire, and send yow victorie of all your enemyes for his muche mercye.”

The ability to write was becoming less and less the closed preserve of a caste of clerics, and a new tradition of English prose was just beginning, among intelligent laymen: knights like Sir Thomas Malory, and diligent stewards like William Worcestre. Worcestre, who was the first layman among English antiquaries, was deeply interested in buildings and jotted down notes and dimensions wherever he went. Unfortunately, he never found time to work up the material, which lies embedded in his astonishing notebook, first partially published in 1778 under the title of *Itinerarium*.²

¹ *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou, etc.*, ed. C. Monro (Camden Soc., LXXXVI), 1863, pp. 19-21.

² Edited, incompletely, by Nasmith with Simon Simeon (see note 1 on page 26), p. 175; these extracts are from photostats of the original (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 210), pp. 93-4; the Exeter reference is at p. 15.

The book is not an itinerary, though it does contain the bare facts of Worcestre's journey from Norwich to St. Michael's Mount in 1478. It is rather a common-place book, filled with all kinds of historical and topographical notes and extracts, and a descriptive survey of Bristol, street by street. It can hardly rank as literature, but it is the ancestor of all the travel-books and local histories in our language. Most of the notes are in awkward and ungrammatical Latin, but here is an otherwise typical section on Bristol, which happens to be in English:—

“ At the south-side of Saint Collas gate meeten tway chief ways, the chief bridge upon four great arches of ten fathom in height, and the fair chapel upon the fifth arch, and the second way having the space of a triangle going to back by Saint Nicholas Church.

At the south side of Saint John's his gate meeten also four cross-ways, which one chief way is Bradstreet, the second is Tower street by Saint John his church going straight to Winch street, and is but a strait way going by the old town wall and the old town gate called Blind Gate, straight by the ancient first gate called Pyttee Gate upon the hill entering into Winch street, called Castle street.

Worcestre had the habit of recording the dimensions of the churches and buildings he visited by pacing them out, and here again is a reminder, or rather a preview, of Mr. Jorrocks at Ongar Castle, pacing out the drawing-room in the Earl's presence: “ ‘ Wonder how long this room is? Sixty feet, I dare say, if it's a hinch; let's see.' So saying, Mr. Jorrocks, having set his back against the far wall, took a coat-lap over each arm, and . . . proceeded to step the apartment.”¹

Worcestre elsewhere remarks of Exeter Cathedral that “ the whole church is arched over in a most beautiful way ” (*pulcherrimo modo*), and there is an even more definite piece of aesthetic criticism on the Saint Albans altar-screen in Abbot Whethamstede's Register:—²

“ that most highly decorated, sumptuous and lofty face of the high altar, which greatly adorns the church and fills with pleasure the eyes of beholders; to all who gaze upon it, it is the most divine object in the whole kingdom.”

The fifteenth century was the last of the true Middle Ages, and the Age of Devotion was giving way to the Age of Ostentation. When the sixteenth century was but a quarter grown, Skelton could write in *Colin Clout* of the greed and extravagance of the new prelates like Wolsey:—³

“ Building royally
Their mansions curiously,
With turrets and with towers,
With halls and with bowers,
Stretching to the stars,
With glass windows and bars;

¹ *Handley Cross*, Chap. XXVI.

² Quoted by J. D. Sedding in *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society Trans.*, I, 1881-5, p. 42.

³ *The Complete Poems of John Skelton*, edited by Philip Henderson, 1931, pp. 310-312. I am much indebted to Mr. Henderson for his kind permission to quote from his version.

Hanging about the walls
Cloths of gold and palls,
Arras of rich array,
Fresh as flowers in May;
Now truly, to my thinking,
That is a speculation
And a meet meditation
For prelates of estate,
Their corage to abate
From wordly wantonness,
Their chambers thus to dress
With such perfectness
And all such holiness!

Howbeit they let down fall
Their churches cathedral."

That is the voice of one who, for all the sprightly modernism of his verse, was at heart a conservative and regretted the passing of the old order. But it was not the end: these last four centuries are built upon the older foundations, not all was lost. How durable these foundations are may be seen even in this one minor theme, the part played by buildings in our literature: we read in George Herbert the symbolism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in Bunyan meet the castles and mansions which he had found in the old romances. And though this is not the place and time to discuss the extraordinary architecture of the "Gothic novel," I must mention a more recent book, perhaps a nobler descendant of the true Gothic, and in a sense the culmination and apotheosis of this particular theme: Meade Falkner's antiquarian thriller *The Nebuly Coat*, where the hero of the book, if any hero there be, is the great Minster Church itself.

THE WAGNERS OF BRIGHTON AND THEIR CONNECTIONS

By ANTHONY R. WAGNER, C.V.O., D.LITT., F.S.A.

Richmond Herald

On the 27th of May 1784 at St. Nicholas' Church, Brighthelmstone, the Vicar's daughter, Anne Elizabeth Michell, married Melchior Henry Wagner of Westminster, thus forging a lasting link between Brighton and the Wagners. Henry Michell (1715-1789), the bride's father, was something more than a country parson. The *Dictionary of National Biography* finds room for him as a classical scholar and friend of scholars. A biographer opined that "from the uncommon strength of his understanding, the excellence of his social qualities, and his unrivalled superiority in literary attainments, he seemed to be formed for a higher sphere than the parochial duties of a country town."¹ It was fortunate, therefore, that besides the Rectory of Maresfield, where he was instituted in 1739, he held from 1744 to his death in 1789 the Vicarage of Brighton in the years when Brighton was growing fashionable. "The most distinguished personages that visited Brighthelmston, courted his acquaintance, and not unfrequently gave him considerable proofs of their munificence and esteem."² His son James Charles Michell (1767-1841) averred that his father "first raised the consequence of that now Royal and populous town, and at the time the Nobility, who visited it, were content with the huts of fishermen, 'the Rooms' were nightly the resort of all, and there the Company assembled to drink tea, and play a pool of quadrille, departing at eleven o'clock." "I remember," he adds, "when, except the Inns, my Father's house contained the largest room in the town, 20 feet square, the dormitory of the Priory of St. Bartholomew: the kitchen had been the Refectory. In the former I have seen Garrick, Foote, and Dr. Johnson. He occasionally received pupils into his house, with whom he educated his sons, and at a late period of his life, the Hero of Waterloo for a short time was placed under his tuition, and became a resident within the Vicarage-house of Brighthelmston. This house upon my Father's death was taken down, and a modern edifice erected upon its scite, by the Rev. Mr. Hudson, his successor."³

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 59, Pt. 2, 1789, p. 1055, and John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. IV, p. 447.

² John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. IV, 1822, p. 867.

³ *Ibid.*

When this house in turn was vacated by the Rev. H. M. Wagner in 1835, his uncle the Rev. John Henry Michell¹ (1759-1844) wrote to his sister Anne Elizabeth Wagner, "I could not but sympathise, my dearest sister, with you on your last farewell to the site of the Old Vicarage. There is something in the recollections of local scenery in our earliest days, that must excite melancholy feelings, and as to myself the reminiscences of such spots are more vivid as I advance in weakness of mind and body. Had I a talent for delineating with a pencil, what is now before my imagination, I could sketch the back garden with its then apparently large but now very small dimensions, and all its walks and our several plots, and our cages for jackdaws and hutches for rabbits with dear Mamma's sacred gooseberry tree, and the asparagus bed and the beautiful fig trees with their delicious figs, and the wild pear tree and your detached garden of tulips, &c., &c., which float on my fancy and which existed more than seventy years ago in all their luxuriance and attractive forms. What a contrast is this to the present Vicarial parterre, even when I saw it in its incipient state."²

Stories are told of vehement exchanges between old Henry Michell and Dr. Johnson³ and on one occasion "when the war of words waxed uncommon warm, 'tis said that his alarmed companion," his son John,⁴ "then a boy, took to pulling his father by the coat-tails, or whatever answered to these more modern appendages, to get him away."⁵

On another occasion "The Thrales went to the rooms, and Dr. Johnson went there also. The weather was cold, and Michell and Johnson, meeting in an ante-room, they sat down near a fire to warm themselves and converse. For a time their conversation was amicably and peacefully exchanged; but, at last, some knotty and difficult question arose, and not being able to adjust the matter, Michell seized the poker, and Johnson the tongs, with which they enforced their arguments by thumping the grate violently and vociferating. The ladies, who most unscientifically were dancing, became alarmed; the country dance was interrupted; nor was it resumed until Wade, the Master of Ceremonies, and the politest man in the world, pacified the wranglers."⁶ Michell became friendly with the Thrales, who stayed at Brighton regularly in the 1770's, and

¹ Rev. John Henry Michell, 1759-1844, Fellow and Vice-Provost of King's College, Cambridge, Rector of Buckland and Kelshall, Herts. He married, in 1804, Margaret, the sister of his brother-in-law M. H. Wagner. See p. 45.

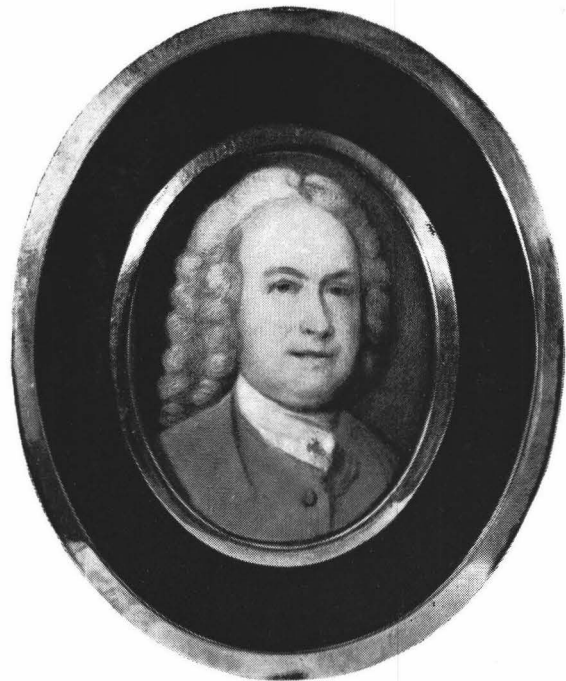
² Original letter in my possession, dated 18 May 1835 from 8 North Parade, Bath.

³ V.C.H. *Sussex*, Vol. VII, p. 249.

⁴ Rev. John Henry Michell, 1759-1844.

⁵ *The Family Book of Numbers or Family Memoranda showing the descendants of the Great-Grandfathers of Henry Michell Wagner recorded by his son, H.W., F.S.A., up to 1892 [and thereafter]*, p. 103, MS. in the writer's possession, and referred to hereafter as BN.

⁶ J. G. Bishop, *Brighton in the Olden Time*, 1880, p. 112 n.

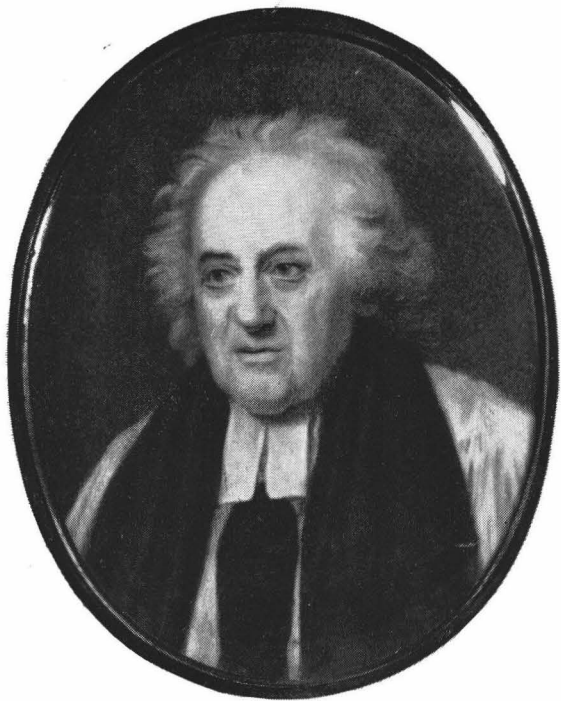


MELCHIOR WAGNER, 1685-1764.



PLATE I

GEORGE WAGNER, 1722-1796.



HENRY MICHELL, 1715-1789



PLATE II

ANNE ELIZABETH WAGNER (née Michell), 1757-1844.

was at their house at Streatham in 1776. In a game of animal comparisons in 1779 they put down Johnson for the Elephant but "Old Michell" for the Hog.¹ Henry Michell's male progeny still survives in Sussex, but the extant branch in 1832 disguised itself under the surname of Luttmann-Johnson.²

Henry Michell's daughter Anne Elizabeth Wagner (1757-1844), herself a disciplinarian, incidentally recalled her father's domestic manners when she checked one of her sons as a child who "was handing a book or doing something in a gauche or rude way . . . with the words 'If my Father had seen you do that, he'd have knocked you down.'" She herself "had had a boy's education, and knew Latin and Greek, but had the sense not to talk about it, except to her children, whom she grounded herself, knowing probably more than" her husband, "who had only passed thro' Westminster. She used to repeat, with a remarkably beautiful intonation, many Odes of Horace—in her old age she amused herself with repeating much poetry, and some parts of Horace so often, that" her daughter Mary Ann Wagner (1791-1868), "knowing nothing of Latin in the original, could repeat much also."³

How she met her husband Melchior Henry Wagner (1749-1811), is unknown, but possibly as a visitor to Brighton. The admission register of St. John's College, Cambridge, records that his younger brother George Wagner (1764-1831) was at school at Brighthelmston⁴ and this may have been between 1781, when he left Westminster, and 1786, when he went up to Cambridge. Perhaps he was a pupil of the Rev. Henry Michell. M. H. Wagner had none of his wife's academic background or scholarly pretensions, coming of a family who for three generations had been hatters by appointment to successive kings and to the army, with premises in Pall Mall. M. H. Wagner's grandfather, Melchior Wagner (1685-1764), was a native of Coburg who came to England in the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne and was naturalised on the 13th of July 1709.⁵ His father Hans Heinrich Wagner (1650-1724) was court hatter at Coburg, a post in which his eldest son Johann Heinrich succeeded him. Melchior was the second son and he and his two younger brothers were hatters also. But while the latter remained in

¹ *Thraliana, The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale*, ed. Katherine C. Balderston, Oxford, 1951, pp. 6, 414, 761. I have a letter from Mrs. Mostyn, daughter of Mrs. Thrale, to H. M. Wagner, which once enclosed an autograph of Dr. Johnson.

² *Michell of Shipley Co. Sussex*. Sheet Pedigree by Henry Wagner printed c. 1890.

³ *Genealogical "Notes and Queries" June 1862*. MS. notebook by Henry Wagner, in the writer's possession, pp. 87-8. Referred to hereafter as GNQ.

⁴ *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

⁵ W. A. Shaw. *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland 1701-1800*, Huguenot Society Publications, Vol. XXVII, 1923, p. 93.

Coburg,¹ Melchior judged rightly that there was an opening for him in England. In this enterprise he was following his father's example for Hans Heinrich Wagner was not a Saxon born, but had come to Coburg in 1677 from his native Goldberg in Silesia. The motive of his migration, may, however, have been religious, for the toleration extended to the Silesian protestants by the Emperor Rudolf II in 1609 was steadily diminished as the century wore on and suffered an especial setback in 1675 when the last of the native ducal house of Piast died.² Hans Heinrich Wagner's father Caspar Wagner of Goldberg (dead by 1679) was a tailor, as was his father Michael Wagner (dead by 1629), the first known ancestor.

It was a piece of good fortune for Melchior Wagner that his arrival in England was followed a few years later by that of a German king (George I, 1714-1727), to whom his language and origin would commend him. On the 11th of July 1717 he received a warrant of appointment as hatter to the king and when his younger son George Wagner was baptised in 1722 King George I stood sponsor. The royal godfather gave his godson a jewelled watch and a silver-mounted tortoise-shell snuffbox. The former was stolen from the house of Malcolm Wagner (1856-1933), but I have the latter. George Wagner's godmother was Dorothy, Viscountess Townshend, the sister of Sir Robert Walpole.

By 1722 Melchior Wagner had his house and business at 93 Pall Mall, of which he and his descendants had a lease from the Crown till 1823.³ In later life Melchior Wagner lived at Putney, where he died in 1764. In 1714 he had married at Greenwich Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Anthony Teulon (d. 1740) a Huguenot refugee from Valleraugue in the Cevennes and like his son in law a hatter.⁴

Anthony Teulon the refugee must have arrived in England soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes for his daughter Mary Anne was born at Greenwich in 1691. Her eldest brother John Teulon (1698-1765) had an interesting, if mysterious career, for in

¹ Descendants of the third son Johann Georg Wagner (1688-1760) are extant in Germany, the U.S.A. and Peru.

² Franciscus Hanus, *Church and State in Silesia under Frederick II*, Washington, 1944, p. 124.

³ In 1810 M. H. Wagner restored the house and recorded the fact in Latin on a stone affixed to the garden front. In 1908, when the house, then occupied by the War Office, was demolished to make room for the Royal Automobile Club, this stone was acquired by Henry Wagner and is now in my garden in Chelsea.

⁴ Samuel Smiles in *The Huguenots*, 1867, p. 520, printed a wonderful account of the Teulons' descent from Marc Tholon, Sieur de Guiral, but this is moonshine. Henry Wagner ("Pedigree of the Huguenot Refugee Family of Teulon," in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 4th Series, Vol. II, pp. 202-5) was content to begin the pedigree with Jean, the father of Anthony, but recent searches in the Archives Départementales at Nîmes indicate that this Jean was the son of Sire Jean Teulon of Valleraugue, executor of his daughter's will in 1654. Probably through the Teulon connection the Wagners acquired a vault in the old churchyard of Lee, Kent, where many of the family were buried between 1742 and 1811.

1746 he was appointed Ross Herald in Scotland.¹ Perhaps it is from him that some of his sister's descendants have derived an interest in heraldic things. He died in Edinburgh on the 16th of February 1765 and was buried in the Greyfriars Burial Ground. Another brother, Anthony Teulon (1700-1776), was the great-grandfather of the two most distinguished members of the Teulon family, the architect brothers Samuel Sanders Teulon (1812-1873) and William Milford Teulon (1823-1900). Dr. Pevsner writes of the former's St. Paul's Church, Hampstead, as showing "all *Teulon's* sense of sensational display, crude, heavy, noisy and impressive."² His Buxton Memorial Fountain is perhaps his best-known work. William Milford Teulon "was the originator and designer of the Strand improvement scheme, and the new street from the Strand to Holborn," (i.e., Aldwych and Kingsway) and "founder of the City Churches and Churchyards Protection Society."³

The eldest son of Anthony Teulon the younger, Melchior Seymour Teulon (1734-1806) was "at the age of fourteen . . . sent to London, and put apprentice to his uncle, Mr. Wagner of Pall-Mall, Hatter to King George the Second." He came from a religious home and "was naturally of a thoughtful serious turn of mind." In his uncle's house, however, "he entered upon a new scene of life, being introduced into a gay family of young people, who spent their evenings in all the fashionable amusements of the times, in which (when business allowed), he was induced to take his part, and became particularly fond of Music and Dancing, and frequently attended theatrical performances. He, however," says his Methodist biographer, "never gave in to the vicious courses, to which such pursuits too often lead. The family were constant attendants at St. James's Church, and at the monthly Sacrament, and required all their young people to attend with them. About the year 1752-3 the Rev. Dr. Secker, then Rector of St. James's, began a Sunday evening lecture;⁴ taking occasion to improve the event of several shocks of an Earthquake, which happened about that time, and gave great alarm to many, and produced a temporary reform in his uncle's family. Plays and cards were, for a while suspended, and family prayer begun, which continued till the pious Doctor was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury;⁵ when, with his faithful warnings, all fears of the Earthquake vanished; and with them, the practice of this round of duties, and they gradually resumed their usual pleasures."⁶ The relapse of the Wagners did not,

¹ *Court of the Lord Lyon, List of His Majesty's Officers of Arms*, ed. Sir F. J. Grant, Scottish Record Society, 1945, p. 31.

² Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. London except the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1952, p. 187.

³ Obituary in *The Times* of 26 June 1900.

⁴ It was in fact in 1750, cf. T. D. Kendrick, *The Lisbon Earthquake*, 1956, pp. 5, 11, 17, 20.

⁵ 1758.

⁶ Memoir of Melchior Seymour Teulon, *The Methodist Magazine*, June 1808.

however, engulf Melchior Teulon, who later became a Methodist and a friend of John Wesley near whom he lies buried in Bunhill Fields.

London Directories show that by 1749 (or earlier) Melchior Wagner had taken his sons Anthony (1718-1761) and George (1722-1796) into partnership and by 1758 had retired in their favour. Anthony, the elder, was married twice and both his wives were of Huguenot families. Leah, daughter of Peter Debonnaire¹ by Susanna Le Keux married in 1745 but died in 1749. Later the same year Anthony married Anna (1723-1804) daughter of Abraham Dupuis, the ancestor of a dynasty of Eton masters.² Anthony Wagner had no children by either wife and himself died prematurely in 1761 "of injuries received by a fall from his horse on Sunday morning the 28th day of June, opposite S. James' Palace Gate." His widow married Captain Francis Cooke of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, brother of Dr. William Cooke (1711-1797), Head Master of Eton (1743-5), Provost of King's College, Cambridge (1772-1797), and Dean of Ely (1780-1797). From 1748 Dr. Cooke was also Rector of Denham, Buckinghamshire, where his daughter Elizabeth Anne (d. 1825) married Benjamin Way (1740-1808) of Denham Place. Their Way descendants recalled among Dr. Cooke's visitors at Denham Rectory³ only one "who was not a dignitary of the Church. This was Dr. Cooke's brother, Francis, who was a Colonel in the army and had fought at Minden; and about whose lady the younger generation used to whisper a merry tale. She had been the widow of a Mr. Wagner of Pall Mall; and possibly at her instigation, Mr. Wagner had suggested to His Majesty, King George II, that he would like to be made a Baronet, a request that blunt King George refused testily. "No, no, Wagner," pronounced His Majesty, "I can't make you a gentleman!"⁴

Melchior Wagner's daughter Anne (1716-1768) married, like the rest of her family, a Huguenot, Clement Paillet (1706-1758) of Deptford. One of their granddaughters, Harriet Paillet (d. 1814) married Sir Lewis Versturme, K.H. (d. 1833), who was said to be a natural son of George III. A great-grandson of Anne Paillet was Dr. Thomas Charles Hyde Rooke (d. 1806) of Honolulu, who adopted as his daughter his wife's niece Emma (1836-1885). She in 1856 married Kaméhaméha II, King of the Sandwich Islands (d. 1863). As a widow Queen Emma visited London in 1865,

¹ "Pedigree of the Huguenot Refugee Family of Debonnaire," by Henry Wagner, *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, New Series, Vol. III, pp. 245-8.

² 'Huguenot Refugee Family of Dupuis,' by Henry Wagner, *Ibid.* pp. 249-251. In the Dupuis Vault in Fulham churchyard are buried Anthony Wagner (1718-1761), the Rev. George Wagner (1764-1836) and Anthony Wagner (1770-1847).

³ They included his Sleaford and Hawtrey relations, both families which gave Eton dynasties of masters.

⁴ A. M. W. Stirling, *The Ways of Yesterday*, 1930, p. 56; this book contains much of Sussex interest. The same story has, I believe, been told of others.

staying with Lady Franklin, at whose house Henry Wagner (1840-1926) met her.¹

From his brother's death in 1761 George Wagner (1722-1796), the King's godson, was in sole charge of the business until 1772, when he took his own son Melchior Henry (1749-1811) into partnership. The King's hatter was naturally patronised by men of fashion. Bills from Wagner for hats survive in more than one noble archive, from that of Frederick, Prince of Wales, downward.² Still more profitable, possibly, were the contracts for supplying army caps. George Wagner's career was evidently very prosperous, but he refused opportunities of civic advancement which came his way. The record in his own hand in the Family Bible tells us that "the 7th day of June 1768 he was nominated (by the Rt. Honble. Thomas Harley Esquire Lord Mayor) for the Office of Sheriff of this City, and County of Middlesex. January 2d. 1769 was invited to put up for Alderman of Farringdon without, but declined it, on account of Jn^o. Wilkes Esq^r standing, was a second time invited to the same honor for the Ward of Candlewick and Elected Sheriff both which he also declined in the year 1777."

It was probably his son Melchior's marriage in 1784 that led George Wagner to leave the young couple in residence over the Pall Mall shop, while himself removing to 13 Duke Street, Westminster where Directories show him living from 1785. In 1788 he retired altogether in his son's favour. Duke Street backed on the east side of St. James's Park as Queen Anne's Gate does on the south side and was somewhat similar in character. This part of it was demolished about 1862 to make room for the New Public Offices. George Wagner "was fond of the arts, and filled his house with pictures which at his death were put up at Christie's, but fetched," Henry Wagner thought, "very little."³

He, like his father and brother, married a wife of Huguenot descent. This was Mary Wilhelmina (1731-1808) daughter of Henry Godde (1702-1764), whose father Peter Godde (d. 1716) was a Huguenot refugee.⁴ George Wagner records in the Family

¹ Henry Wagner, "The Huguenot Refugee Family of Paillet," *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*. New Series, III, 321-3: BN, pp. 19-20.

² Preserved in the Duchy of Cornwall Office. Payments by Lord Fitzwalter in 1734 are recorded in *English History from Essex Sources, 1550-1750*, Essex Record Office Publications, No. 17, 1952, p. 161, from the Mildmay Archives.

In 1780, on his return to England, William Hickey wrote, "My next calls were at Rymer's for boots, Wagner for hats, and Williams of Bond Street for leather breeches"; *Memoirs of William Hickey*, ed. Alfred Spencer, Vol. II (1775-1782), 1918, p. 261.

³ Henry Wagner Collections, Catalogue, I, p. 2. MS. in my possession. The sole survivor of his collection (apart from family portraits) is the contemporary painting on panel of King Edward VI, which he called (erroneously) his Holbein. This was given by M. H. Wagner to his brother-in-law J. H. Michell, then repurchased by G. H. M. Wagner, descending to his grandson Malcolm, at whose sale I bought it, cf. GNQ p. 125.

⁴ Henry Wagner, "Memoranda relating to the (?) French Refugee Family of Godde," *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, New Series, Vol. III, pp. 221-2.

Bible that her godfather was the Duke of Cumberland and her godmothers the Princess of Hesse and Lady Deloraine. The explanation of this is that her aunt Frances Godde (1695-1749) was "tire-woman to the Queen" (i.e., Caroline, Queen of George II). Through Frances' first marriage to Richard Pigot (1679-1729) the Wagners had their most distinguished family connections, for her son George Pigot (1719-1777) was a nabob who was made a baronet in 1764 and a peer in 1766 as Baron Pigot of Patshull. He owned the Pigot Diamond, which was sold by lottery under Act of Parliament in 1800 for £23,998 and passing at length to Ali Pasha was at his death in 1822 crushed to powder by his order.¹ Through the marriage of two of Lord Pigot's nieces, that of Caroline Pigot to the Rev. Lord Henry Fitzroy (1770-1828) and that of Anne Fisher to the first Earl of Kilmorey (1748-1832), Frances Godde has to-day distinguished descendants.²

Another link through the Goddes had more practical importance. In 1764 Mrs. George Wagner's first cousin Anna Jackson (1738-1789) married the Rev. Samuel Smith, LL.D. (1731-1808), Head Master of Westminster School from 1764 to 1788.³ During those years two, if not three, of George Wagner's sons attended the school, George (1764-1831) from 1773 to 1781 and Anthony (1770-1847) from 1779 to 1786.⁴ Melchior Henry (1749-1811) was also thought by his grandson to have been there though the school records do not show him.

Between her husband's death in 1796 and her own in 1808 Mary Wilhelmina Wagner (née Godde) went to live at a house in Elysium Row, Fulham, probably the house now called Northumberland House, whose handsome brick front was a few years ago concealed by stucco.⁵ In 1814 following her death her eldest son M. H. Wagner bought a small house close to hers, 11 Elysium Row, now 130 New King's Road, for his brother the Rev. George Wagner (1764-1836), who from 1790 was Rector of Mursley, Buckinghamshire.⁶

In 1811 Melchior Henry Wagner died at the age of 61 "so suddenly that being taken ill in the middle of the night, tho' his son

¹ *Complete Peerage*, Vol. X, p. 521 n.

² These include the Duke of Sutherland, Duchess of Portland, Earls of Warwick, Feversham, Rosslyn, Westmorland, Kilmorey and Jersey, Viscount Ednam, Viscountess Melgund, Sir Robert Pigot, Bt. and Sir Martyn Beckett Bt.

³ Henry Wagner, "Jackson of London," *Misc. Gen. et Her.* N.S. Vol. IV, p. 74, and "Pedigree of Smith of Westminster, and Dry Drayton, Co. Cambridge," *Ibid.* pp. 61-4. Dr. Smith's son and namesake was Dean of Christ Church, 1824-31.

⁴ *The Record of Old Westminster*, 1928.

⁵ Charles James Feret, *Fulham Old and New*, 1900, Vol. II, p. 67.

⁶ This was on the presentation of Sampson (formerly Gideon), Lord Eardley, the son in law of Sir John Eardley Wilmot, an old friend of the Rev. Henry Michell. The Fulham connection probably came through the Dupuis's, who lived there at Purser's Cross.

George ran instantly for Dr. Heberden, who lived but a few doors off in Pall Mall, on his return with the Dr. he found him already dead."¹ George Henry Malcolm Wagner (1796-1868), the elder of his two sons, succeeded to the hat business, but his apprenticeship in 1803 to his uncle J. C. Michell of Brighthelmstone, attorney, suggests that his parents had already had other things in view for him. The academic and clerical connections of his mother (Anne Elizabeth, née Michell) and her own intellectual gifts may well have bred an ambition to be done with shopkeeping. A withdrawal from the business was at all events effected. Directories of 1818 show Wagner & Co. transformed into Wagner, Gale & Co., Hatters to the King, Army Cap Makers to their R.H. the Dukes of York, Kent & Cambridge & Manufacturers of Helmets & Accoutrements. In 1820, the firm becomes "Wagner, Gale & Caterer." In 1823 they move to 89 Pall Mall. In 1824 Wagner drops out leaving Gale, Caterer & Co. In 1839 Gale goes and John Caterer & Sons, Hatters to Her Majesty, appear at 15 St. James's Street, are still there in 1840, but vanish wholly in 1841.²

In 1814, on her elder son's marriage, Anne Elizabeth Wagner moved into No. 10, Pall Mall³ where she lived till 1829. When Arthur Wagner (1824-1902) stayed there as an infant, the building work on the Athenaeum opposite used to disturb his morning slumbers. In 1815 she payed a visit of four months to Paris with her two daughters, where they occupied two floors at No. 1 Rue Royale. In 1817 she had a house in Castle Hill, Hastings. In 1829 she gave up her London house and went with her daughter Mary to live with and keep house for her widowed younger son the Vicar of Brighton. In the new vicarage she died in 1844.⁴ I have four volumes of her diaries. The first is of a tour in the north and Scotland in 1814. The second covers the Paris visit of 1815 and the years 1816-1817. The third runs from 1827 to 1830 and the fourth from 1831 to 1835. Save on the tours the entries are brief and deal largely with visits, letters, business and sermons.

Her son George Wagner having disposed of the family business followed his true bent and became a country gentleman. Before 1819 he had bought Carter's Corner in Hellingly, Sussex, as a shoot-

¹ Small genealogical notebook by Henry Wagner, 24 May 1861, fo. 226. Referred to hereafter as HW.

² Whether John Francis Cater (*sic*), hat, cap and accoutrement maker to the Queen and the Royal Family, who was at 56 Pall Mall from 1839, was a successor, I do not know. Henry Wagner thought that Christie "army-hatters at the corner of Bond Street" had "bought the Wagner business to get rid of a rival." HW. p. 22b.

³ A sketch book of Elizabeth Harriott Wagner (née Douglas) in my possession contains a pencil drawing of this house made in September 1823 by Carlo Secandrei, who was, I think, H. M. Wagner's Italian servant.

⁴ In 1810 her sister Elizabeth had left her a house at Brighton on the Old Steyne, then No. 49, later numbered 47. This she rebuilt, but only occupied for a short time in 1834-5 with her son and his household while the new vicarage was being built. BN. pp. 33-4, 109-110.

ing box.¹ In that year he finally abjured London and took a lease of Herstmonceux Place, formerly the seat of the Hare family, which he had also previously taken in 1817,² and here lived till 1843.³ He became a J.P. in 1819, a Deputy Lieutenant in 1821 and served as High Sheriff of Sussex in 1838. This was through the third Earl of Egremont (1752-1837), Lord Lieutenant of Sussex 1819-1835, whose amiable eccentricities George Wagner recalled. His yearly invitation to shoot would not have been renewed had the guest not said, when asked, *where* he wished to shoot.⁴

At intervals George Wagner with his wife, two sons and two daughters payed long visits to the Continent. "Being cultivated linguists and musicians, they enjoyed to the full the excellent opportunities afforded in their Continental life and saw much interesting and distinguished Society. Of the young ladies, the elder was a charming harpist, and the younger played the zither, while George had learnt the violoncello. Their father had *not* studied music, but his accuracy of ear was such as to enable him to sit down to the piano, on coming home from the opera, and to play off airs which he had only once heard." His grandson Malcolm Wagner (1856-1933) inherited this musical talent. George Wagner's fund of anecdote, vivacity of narration, charm of manner and a warmth of welcome, which made him a delightful host, were remembered by his nephew.⁵ In 1845, on a visit to the Continent with his family which had lasted about three years, he "was crippled for life by an accident to the family travelling-carriage, in which his leg was dreadfully shattered, at Tegern See in the South Austrian highlands." In later years he lived at 77 Marina, St. Leonards on Sea.⁶

A biography of his elder son the Rev. George Wagner (1818-1857) has been published.⁷ There is a good short account of him in Frederick Arnold's *Robertson of Brighton*,⁸ and Augustus Hare describes him and his family briefly in *The Story of my life*.⁹ There is therefore the less need to write of him at length here. The outward tale of his life is soon told. From 1829 to 1835 he was at Eton, in Wilder's house, where he reached the Sixth Form and the cricket eleven, making 47 against Harrow in the match of 1835, and had the reputation of being the best boxer of his size in the

¹ BN, p. 43. From about 1828 to 1834 it was rented from him by his brother in law the Rev. Thomas Coombe.

² HW, p. 12.

³ BN, p. 38. His landlord was John Gillon who bought the property in 1819, cf. V.C.H. *Sussex*, Vol. IX, p. 134. A pencil drawing of the house made in 1823 by Mrs. H. M. Wagner is in her sketch book in my possession.

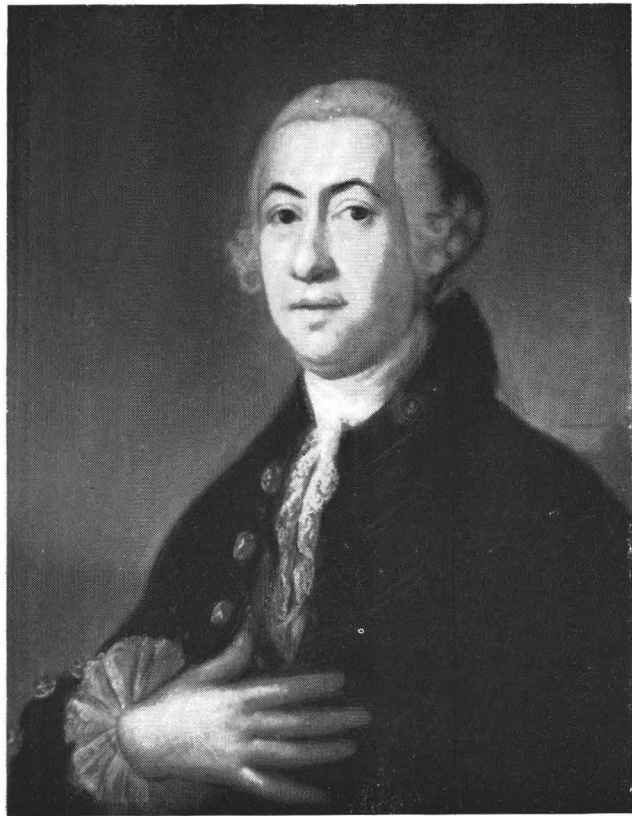
⁴ BN, p. 37: GNQ pp. 119-120.

⁵ BN, p. 37. ⁶ BN, p. 38.

⁷ John Nassau Simpkinson, *Memoir of the Rev. George Wagner, M.A., late incumbent of St. Stephen's Church, Brighton*, Cambridge, Macmillan & Co., 1858.

⁸ Rev. Frederick Arnold, *Robertson of Brighton with some notices of his times and contemporaries*, 1886, pp. 124-132.

⁹ Augustus J. C. Hare, *The Story of my life*, Vol. I, 1896, p. 79.



GEORGE WAGNER, 1722-1796.



PLATE III

MARY WILHELMINA WAGNER (née Godde), 1731-1808.



HENRY MICHELL WAGNER, 1792-1870.



ARTHUR DOUGLAS WAGNER, 1824-1902.

PLATE IV

school. In 1835 he was taken from Eton to be placed for nine months under the tuition of Archdeacon Julius Hare (1795-1855) then Rector of Herstmonceux. After a period abroad with his family he was at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1836 to 1842, was then ordained, was curate of Dallington in the Pevensey Level from 1842 to 1848, incumbent of St. Stephen's Brighton from 1851 to 1856 and in 1857 died in Malta, whither he had travelled with his sister Anne in search of health.

None of this, however, gives much indication of what it was in George Wagner that made his friends wish to put on paper their recollections of him. The character which emerges from these is one of striking simplicity, humility and devotion. Augustus Hare calls him "a pale ascetic youth, with the character of a mediaeval saint . . . afterwards a most devoted clergyman, being one of those who really have a 'vocation'" and says that he "probably accomplished more practical good in his brief life than any other five hundred parish priests taken at random." Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1788-1870) the theologian thought him "one of the most lovable beings I ever met with. In fact, I cannot say that I ever met with anyone like him. His beautiful simplicity gave such a charm to all the rest of his character, and in that character there was a harmony undisturbed by a single jarring note." Frederick Arnold compares his ministry at Dallington with that of George Herbert at Bemerton. "He would take away the pillow from his own bed to take to a sick man, or would carry an old woman's pail for her up a difficult hill. He turned rooms in his vicarage into schoolrooms for boys and girls, and formed village classes to whom he taught Latin and mathematics." The work he put into founding the Home for Female Penitents at Brighton in 1853-4 seems finally to have undermined his never robust health.

George Wagner's incumbency of St. Stephen's Brighton, a church built, or rather re-erected from the materials of the Pavilion chapel, by his aunt Mary Ann Wagner (1791-1868) was owing to his uncle the Rev. Henry Michell Wagner, Vicar of Brighton. Henry Michell Wagner (1792-1870) was a very different character from his saintly nephew and different also from the latter's father, his own genial, unambitious elder brother George. He resembled in many ways, however, his scholarly, autocratic grandfather and predecessor the Rev. Henry Michell (1715-1789) and his mother, the latter's daughter, who in 1824 saw her son appointed to the Vicarage of Brighton which her father had held till his death thirty-five years earlier.

H. M. Wagner was the first of his paternal family at Eton, where he was at school from 1805 to 1812. He was first at Slingsby's, a dame's house, but became a King's Scholar in or before 1808. He had been preceded at Eton by the Rev. John Henry Michell (1759-1844),¹ his mother's brother, and the husband of Margaret Wagner

¹ Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1781-1804, Rector of Buckland, Co. Hertford, 1803-1844. He is said to have been offered the Head Mastership of Eton.

his father's sister, who was a King's Scholar from 1768 to 1778. Presumably it was H. M. Wagner who carved his surname, still remaining, in gigantic letters in Fourth Form Passage. His brother George, six years his senior, "used to ride down to Eton to see him. He was very nearly missing 'Kings'; but" his brother "having been informed that the Fellow next going off, wanted to do so immediately, in order to marry, but was prevented by the thought that he should lose some sum arising from his Fellowship, called on him, and finding it to be so, payed the arrears at once into his hands. On his leaving, he desired to dine his friends in Windsor, and gave a long list of them—many more than he supposed Keate¹ would allow—into" his brother's "hands, that he might do his best with the latter. Keate at once granted permission, say, for the first four, and with a little hesitation for the second batch, but when" George Wagner "proceeded to 'ask leave' for more, he answered sans ceremonie, as his manner was, that if" he "asked for these further ones, he would withdraw his permission for all the previous boys."²

To King's College, Cambridge, H. M. Wagner accordingly went in 1812, becoming a Fellow in 1815. In 1817 the Duke of Wellington wanted a tutor for his sons, Lord Douro (1807-1884, 2nd Duke) and Lord Charles Wellesley (1808-1858). He consulted Dr. Joseph Goodall (1760-1840), then Provost and previously (1801-9) Head Master of Eton. Dr. Goodall was a schoolfellow and lifelong friend of the Marquess Wellesley (himself a good scholar) and was likewise an old friend of Mrs. M. H. Wagner.³ He recommended Wagner for the tutorship and the Duke offered him the post. Wagner was and had for some time been in Italy but returned in haste, reaching his brother's house at Herstmonceux in Italian costume with Secandrei, who was, I think, his servant.⁴ Thence he went to join the Duke on the Continent.

He remained eight years with his pupils, to whom of his own accord he added a third, Gerald Wellesley (1809-1882), later Dean of Windsor. In 1818 he took them to Eton, where they boarded with him in a private house.⁵ In that year he played for Eton against Harrow at Lords as a substitute for a boy who failed to appear!⁶ At Eton he and his pupils remained till 1824, when Lord Douro and Lord Charles entered Christ Church, Oxford, and H. M. Wagner again accompanied them as private tutor. Following a disturbance in 1825, in the course of which the Dean's⁷ door was painted red, both young men, still accompanied by their tutor, were removed to Trinity College, Cambridge.

¹ John Keate, 1773-1852, Headmaster of Eton.

² GNQ, pp. 120-1.

³ BN, p. 55.

⁴ GNQ, p. 119.

⁵ He figures at this period in an anecdote told by A. D. Coleridge in *Eton in the Forties*, 1898, p. 244.

⁶ Information from W. R. Lyon, 1927.

⁷ This was Dr. Samuel Smith, H. M. Wagner's kinsman, see p. 42 supra.

From 1818 to 1824 H. M. Wagner kept a diary,¹ from which extracts have been printed with notes by Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh.² Besides full details of his pupils' work he gives a brief account of his daily activities, from which a picture emerges of a highly conscientious tutor who was nevertheless able to enjoy a pleasant social life. He kept a horse and tilbury and constantly visited his friends in and about Windsor. He was often with the Duke's family in London and at Stratfieldsaye. Confidential passages in the diary appear in Italian or in shorthand. For a rather longer period, extending from 1818 to 1831, letters are preserved which passed between the Duke and Duchess and the tutor.³ These help to build up a lively picture of the life and *milieu*. An attractive small conversation piece by R. B. Davis showing the two Wellesley boys, one on a pony and one standing, in the park at Stratfieldsaye passed from H. M. Wagner to his son Henry and was presented by the latter to Kathleen, Duchess of Wellington in the 1920's. It is now at Stratfieldsaye.

In 1823 H. M. Wagner married Elizabeth Harriott⁴ (1797-1829) daughter of the Rev. William Douglas (1768-1819), Vicar of Gillingham, Dorset, and Canon and Chancellor of Salisbury. Douglas was the son of Dr. John Douglas, Bishop of Carlisle 1787-91 and of Salisbury 1791-1807, who had been a Canon of Windsor 1762-1776 and Dean 1788-1807, the foundation of his career having been his success as the political agent of William Pulteney, Earl of Bath (1684-1764).⁵ Mrs. William Douglas had been given apartments in Windsor Castle by George III after her husband's death and she and her children were living there when H. M. Wagner was tutoring the Duke's sons at Eton. The diary and letters contain references to his courtship. In Mrs. Douglas' apartments at Windsor Arthur Douglas Wagner (1824-1902) the only child of the marriage was born on the 13th of June 1824. Lord Douro⁶ stood godfather when he was baptised at Winkfield on the 6th of August following.

In 1824 the elevation to the See of Chichester of Dr. Carr the Vicar of Brighton gave the Crown the presentation to Brighton and

¹ Now in my possession.

² *Etoniana*, No. 52, 30 Nov. 1932, pp. 17-24.

³ The letters to H. M. Wagner are in my possession. Those from him are at Stratfieldsaye and by the kindness of the present Duke of Wellington I have been allowed to take copies.

⁴ Her sketch book of 1818-23, in my possession, contains drawings of Salisbury, Windsor Castle and other scenes.

⁵ This, in turn, arose from his appointment in 1747 as travelling tutor to Lord Pulteney, Lord Bath's son. D.N.B. A "Pedigree of Douglas of Tilquihilly or Tilwhilly Co. Kincardine," from an original of c. 1771 continued to 1881 by Henry Wagner, is in the *Genealogist*, Vol. V., 1881, pp. 193-210. It is continued in *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 1952. The best known member of the family was Norman Douglas 1868-1952.

⁶ Afterwards 2nd Duke of Wellington. This was recalled when the 7th Duke of Wellington stood godfather to my own son Roger in 1957.

through the Duke's influence H. M. Wagner was appointed to the living which his grandfather had held from 1744 to 1789.

The old Vicarage at Brighton was in Nile Street, now a part of Prince Albert Street. In 1834-5 H. M. Wagner sold this and with the purchase money bought 2 acres of land on the Downs behind the town. Here he built what is now the Old Vicarage "a house that might do for a bishop's palace or baronial abode."¹ The house was designed by Mew, a Brighton builder, but erected by another builder, Cheesman, for under £3,000.² Three acres adjoining the Vicarage site were bought by Mary Ann Wagner (1791-1868), who built on the part nearest the Vicarage a house, which from its fine open views, she called Belvedere. This was meant for her mother, who, however, never lived there. Mary Ann let it for a girls' school and at her death left it to her nephew the Rev. Arthur Douglas Wagner (1824-1902) who lived there. On his death it passed to his first cousin Fanny Coombe (1832-1924) and on hers to her great-nephew the Rev. Arthur Newman Coombe, now Roman Catholic priest at Henfield, Sussex. On the southern part of the same field Mary Ann Wagner built the houses which now form Belvedere Terrace and parts of Montpelier Place and Montpelier Terrace.³ About 1850 she gave a plot fronting on Montpelier Place for the re-erection there (at her expense) of the demolished Pavilion Chapel. This became St. Stephen's Church of which her nephew George Wagner became incumbent.

When H. M. Wagner became Vicar of Brighton in 1824 the only Public Church of England places of worship in Brighton, already a rapidly growing town, were the old parish church of St. Nicholas, the Chapel Royal and St. James's Chapel. At his death in 1870 there were 17 churches and 5 chapels⁴ of which several owed their existence to his initiative. Christ Church, All Saints, All Souls, St. John's and St. Paul's "were all the offspring of" his "energy and indomitable perseverance . . . and were all erected by means of subscriptions and grants from public bodies obtained through him and without charge for erection or maintenance to the parish."⁵ St. Paul's, of which his son Arthur became incumbent, was built at his expense at a cost of £14,000.⁶

His wealth, which was partly inherited, partly derived from his second marriage⁷ increased the authority derived from his position—an anomalous one for a single cure of souls and described by the

¹ F. Arnold, *Robertson of Brighton*, p. 117.

² BN, p. 56.

³ These were left to different members of the family, the larger share passing to A. D. Wagner. Henry Wagner (1840-1926) lived and died at 7 Belvedere Terrace, which then passed to O. H. Wagner (1867-1955), who sold it in 1954.

⁴ BN, p. 56.

⁵ Obituary in *Brighton Gazette*, 13 Oct. 1870: cp. Obituary in *Brighton Guardian*, 12 Oct. 1870.

⁶ H. Hamilton Maughan, *Some Brighton Churches*, 1922, Ch. V.

⁷ p. 49

then Bishop of Chichester as a bishopric within a bishopric.¹ He had "ecclesiastical dominion over 80,000 souls, and rights of nomination over from twelve to fifteen churches or chapels of ease within Brighton. With a natural love of governing, it was more than the Vicar could bring his mind to do to relinquish this power."²

Of his autocratic ways there are many tales. It is said that, when William IV was coming to Brighton on a Sunday and asked for the church bells to be rung, the Vicar answered that on that day the bells were rung only for the king of kings, for which Queen Adelaide congratulated him. Another tale is that when preaching at St. Paul's, where his son Arthur, with whose high Tractarian views he was not in sympathy, was incumbent there, he took for his text "Lord, have mercy on my son: for he is lunatick and sore vexed."³ "Once the church rates were refused. Whereupon the vicar stopped the church clock, to the indignation of some, and the amusement of others. As the vicar was riding past on horseback, a small boy—and Brighton has its *gamin* class—called out, "Who stopped the clock?" The vicar dismounted and administered personal correction, for which he was in due course of law summoned and fined."⁴

A correspondent wrote to the *Quebec Mercury* in 1865 recalling how when the Vicar had voted against Sir Brooke Pechell, the mob were shouting for him outside, and the police had made a lane to let him pass safely through, and the astonishment of the latter when he walked straight into the midst of the mob, who gave way and split and let him through unmolested. Never had the writer seen "haughty and scornful defiance so completely portrayed." "He was," says Arnold, "a man who would fight fair and strike hard. He never spared himself in purse or person. When very aged and infirm, he would bend his tottering steps on a stormy night to visit some case in his parish."⁵ In the margin of Arnold's book the Vicar's son Henry Wagner (1840-1926) wrote of his father "If he had been less masterful, his work would have been less masterly."

It seems probable that H. M. Wagner's character was made harder by two bereavements. In 1829 his first wife died after a long illness. In 1838 he married a second wife, who, however, died in 1840 four days after the birth of her younger son. This second wife was Mary Sikes Watson (1800-1840), the only surviving child of Joshua Watson (1771-1855), a descendant of Cumberland "Statesmen" who,

¹ Whether Frederick Arnold (*Robertson of Brighton*, p. 122) meant, when he described the Vicar's position as that of "a kind of *bishop in partibus*," to stigmatize the people of Brighton as *infidels*, I am not sure!

² Obituary in *Brighton Guardian*, 12 Oct. 1870.

³ H. Hamilton Maughan, *Wagner of Brighton*, 1949, p. 14.

⁴ F. Arnold, *Robertson of Brighton*, p. 120,

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

having made a great fortune as a wine merchant during the Napoleonic wars, devoted the rest of his life to philanthropy and the Church of England.¹ The late Dean Inge (1860-1954) who facially somewhat resembled him, was his great-nephew.² Mary Sikes, the wife of Joshua Watson, conveyed a royal descent to her offspring.³ By his second wife H. M. Wagner had two sons, Joshua Watson (1839-1898) and Henry (1840-1926).

Arthur Douglas Wagner (1824-1902) the only son of the first marriage, though a clergyman like his father, differed from him both in character and opinions. Like his father, his cousins George and John and his brother Joshua he went to Eton.⁴ From 1842 to 1846 he was at Trinity College, Cambridge, being elected a scholar in 1845. In 1848 he was ordained deacon and in 1849 priest. His religious bent seems to have been apparent at an early age, for in 1840, when he was only 16 and not yet confirmed, the Bishop expressly approved his becoming Godfather to his brother Henry.⁵ St. Paul's, Brighton, built by his father, had been opened in 1848 before Arthur had been ordained. It was, however, served by the clergy of the parish church until 1850 when he was appointed Perpetual Curate, a post which he held until his death more than fifty years later.

He was already a distinguished theologian and in full sympathy "with the most advanced leaders of the New Catholic movement which had Pusey and Newman at its head. St. Paul's is named in one of Newman's best-known books as being one of the first churches in England to adopt the revived Catholic ritual and teaching. It is believed, indeed, that the Rev. Arthur Wagner was the first Vicar in the Anglican Communion to wear the full Eucharistic vestments, to use altar lights, etc." He "did not escape the accusation of being a ' Jesuit in disguise ' . . . His father, though less advanced, . . . warmly supported him in the attacks which were made upon the young clergyman. These . . . sometimes assumed a ferocity which now [1902] seems barely credible. It was a common experience of Mr. Arthur Wagner to be stoned in the streets of Brighton thirty years ago, and he was once shot at by a

¹ D.N.B.: Edward Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, 1861: Alan Brunskill Webster, *Joshua Watson: the story of a layman*, 1771-1855, 1954. The poet Wordsworth was an old friend of Joshua Watson. In accordance with a Cumbrian custom they exchanged plaids and I have the poet's.

² The Dean's mother was Susanna Mary, daughter of Archdeacon Edward Churton by Caroline, daughter of Archdeacon John James Watson, Joshua's brother.

³ Joseph Foster, *The Royal Lineage of Our Noble and Gentle Families*, Vol. II, 1887, pp. 774, 778.

⁴ Arthur was in Slingsby's house. George and his brother John Henry were in Charles Wilder's and Joshua was in that of J. L. Joynes, who had married his (Joshua's) German nursery governess, Fraulein Unger.

⁵ BN. p. 62.

rabid Protestant, a working man, who was punished by a year's imprisonment for his crime."¹

The most sensational attack which he sustained arose out of the murder at Road in Somerset in 1860 of Francis Savile Kent, a child four years old, of which his half-sister Constance Kent, then aged 16, was accused. The evidence against her was insufficient and she was discharged. She then came under the influence of Arthur Wagner and in 1865 gave herself up to justice, declaring that, having in the confessional confessed her guilt to him, she had in time been persuaded by him to do so. She was tried, found guilty and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and in 1885 she was released.

At her trial Arthur Wagner, called as a witness, refused to divulge what had been told him under the seal of confession. A storm of criticism then broke over him, nor was it confined to words for he was attacked in a Brighton street by a gang of roughs. Public meetings were held. Stones were thrown at his church workers. The Mayor of Brighton was asked, but declined, to hold a town meeting "for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to take steps to check the alleged Romish practices at St. Paul's" and an unsuccessful attempt was made in the House of Commons to have a Select Committee appointed to look into the subject. In spite of Constance Kent's confession her brother's murder remains in certain ways mysterious. More than one book on the subject has appeared of late years² and a recent writer³ has suggested that the confession was a false one. Both in connection with this case and otherwise Arthur Wagner had for some years to suffer more or less violent attacks on his ritualistic practices.

He was a notable churchbuilder in Brighton. Between 1860 and 1862 he built St. Mary Magdalene's, Bread Street, at a cost of £2,500, in 1863-4 the church of the Annunciation, Washington Street, and in 1866-74 the imposing church of St. Bartholomew, this last at a cost of about £18,000. Between 1870 and 1875 he, with his brothers Joshua and Henry, built St. Martin's Church in the Lewes Road at a cost of about £30,000 as a memorial to their father. In 1873 he had bought Totease House at Buxted, twenty miles from Brighton, as a place of retreat and in 1885-7 he built St. Mary's Church there. He founded in 1855 a Sisterhood called the Community of St. Mary in Queen Square, Brighton. For this in 1878 he built a house at Buxted, but in 1912, after his death, it moved to Ovingdean.⁴ His imaginative kindness and immense but unobtrusive generosity, combined with great simplicity of personal life, are stressed by those who have written of him.

¹ Obituary, *Sussex Daily News*, 15 Jan. 1902.

² John Rhode, *The Case of Constance Kent*, Famous Trials Series, 1928.

³ Yseult Bridges, *Saint with red hands?* [1954].

⁴ H. Hamilton Maughan, *Some Brighton Churches*, 1922.

His half brother Henry Wagner (1840-1926) was sent in 1851 to Rugby and from 1859 to 1862 was at Merton College, Oxford. His book of press cuttings shows that in 1863 he was attending functions in London with "a kind old friend," the wealthy and philanthropic Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906; created in 1871 Baroness Burdett-Coutts) and for about a year (apparently in 1865-6) he acted as her Assistant Secretary, largely concerned with her extensive charities. With her he maintained a close friendship for many years, continuing to assist her in her charities, but her marriage in 1881 at the age of 66 to a bridegroom of 27 is said to have brought about a coolness.¹ For a part of the same year 1865-6 Henry Wagner also acted as secretary "to a very notable man, Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak" (1803-1868).² In 1866 he became a Student of the Inner Temple and in 1871 was called to the Bar, but never practised.

In 1875 he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. A book of "Genealogical 'Notes and Queries'"³ dated June 1862 shows that he already then took a serious interest in what became a leading pursuit of his life. This was at first limited to the study of families linked with his own. A call paid on his distant cousin William Milford Teulon⁴ in 1863, however, made him aware of the French Hospital of La Providence, a Huguenot almshouse,⁵ of which in 1865 he became a director,⁶ and so led to his interesting himself in the pedigrees of the descendants of the Huguenot Refugees. His researches into Huguenot genealogies occupied much of his time during the ensuing fifty years. A number of articles and pedigrees by him appeared in the *Transactions of the Huguenot Society*, the *Genealogist* and *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*. His extensive manuscript collections were ultimately given to the French Hospital,⁷ whose directors have now deposited them in the library of University College, London. Within his chosen field his knowledge was vast and his scholarship impeccable. His collections relative to his own family, both of materials and of information, must be mentioned here with gratitude, for without them this paper could not have been written.

By 1868 or earlier he had become a keen Alpine climber. He was for many years a member of the Alpine Club and paid long visits

¹ Mr. Compton Mackenzie in *Echoes*, 1954, p. 71, recalls the "china cockatoo sitting on a circular perch which hung in the bow window of Lady Burdett-Coutts' house at the corner of Stratton Street" and Piccadilly. This was taken down when she was out of town. It, or a replica, was given by her to Henry Wagner. It used to hang in his house in Half Moon Street and now hangs at a window of mine in Chelsea.

² BN. p. 61.

³ GNQ.

⁴ See p. 39: GNQ, pp. 130-1.

⁵ Then in Old Street, later at Hackney, then at Horsham, now at Rochester.

⁶ His cousins O. H. and A. R. Wagner followed this example.

⁷ An account of them is in the Huguenot Society's Proceedings, Vol. XIII, 1926, No. 3.

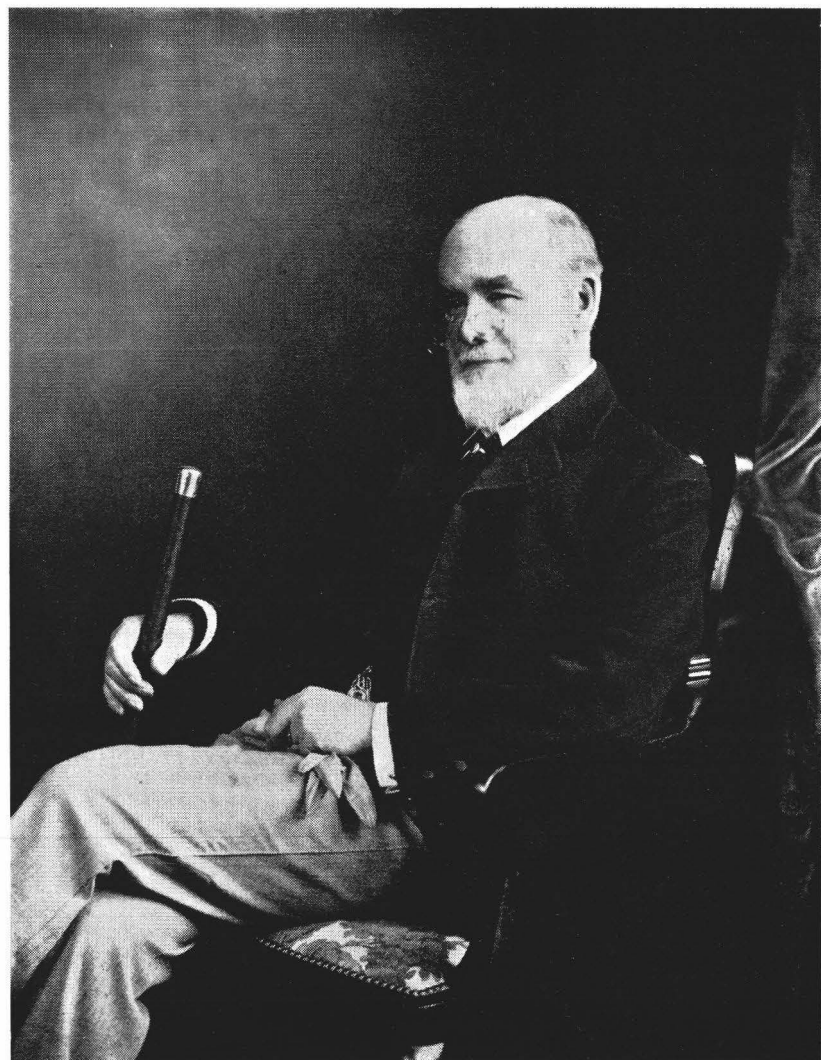


PLATE V
HENRY WAGNER, 1840-1926

to Switzerland every summer,¹ often taking friends or relations with him and staying in later years at a small hotel at Grimentz which he had bought for his former valet Henri Saviot, whose health had broken down.

His long continued and discriminating collection of works of art began while he was still at Oxford, for he brought home from Italy a handsome marble mantelpiece on which he had had carved his own arms, those of the University and those of Merton College. This, without asking the permission of the College authorities, he had fixed in his rooms at Merton. For this he was nearly sent down, but the mantelpiece remains there to this day. He also, while at Oxford, had two water-colours painted of his rooms in Merton, one (which I have) without figures, the other with the figures of himself and several friends. This was given by O. H. Wagner to the College and hangs in the room which it depicts.

When he came to live in London he soon formed the habit of attending Christie's, Sotheby's and other sale rooms. His bids were almost always low, but his taste was excellent and in more than fifty years he formed a large collection comprising many remarkable items. His extensive and detailed catalogue of his collections shows that he was buying as early as 1866. Perhaps his most valuable purchases by present day values were of Italian Primitives of which he bought many at prices which now seem ludicrously low.

For nearly fifty years he lived, a bachelor, at 13 Half Moon Street.² By degrees the house was so filled with his collections, especially of pictures, that not only were the walls entirely covered but pictures were screwed on to the doors. He also had a house at 7 Belvedere Terrace, Brighton, one of those built by his aunt.³ He lived very simply giving much of his ample income to charities and leaving £40,000 to charities in his will.

In 1921, his health failing, he settled at Brighton and decided to dispose of 13 Half Moon Street and most of his collections there. Their extent, however, made it impossible to do this quickly. He had scarcely ever thrown away a letter and his cousin O. H. Wagner, who was, fortunately perhaps, fairly ruthless in these matters, spent many hours over three or four years sorting and destroying. Henry Wagner gave the National Gallery (to which he had already made gifts) a choice of his pictures and in 1924 they took twelve. It would, I think, have irritated him intensely to know that several of these are no longer on public view. After this on the 16th and 22nd of January 1925 most of his remaining pictures, drawings and armorial porcelain were sold at Christie's, fetching about four times what he had paid for them. This gratified him greatly as an endorsement

¹ I have his diary of these visits for 1868-1877.

² At present numbered 12A, but retaining his arms in stained glass over the front door.

³ See p. 48

of his taste. He died at Brighton in 1926 and many thousands who remembered the benefactions of his family came to witness his funeral.

I was seventeen years old when Henry Wagner died and well remember him and his London and Brighton houses. When I was seven years old he encouraged my already strong spontaneous taste for genealogies by giving me his copy of H. B. George's *Genealogical Tables*. He was a man held in much affection by a large circle of friends. An impish humour combined with a spasmodic pepperiness to give a spice to his conversation. His taste and scholarship were remarkable and are not without their memorial in the pictures he gave to the nation and the genealogical collections he left behind him.

With him and his cousin, Malcolm Wagner (1856-1933), the male line of Melchior Henry Wagner (1749-1811) came to an end and the only remaining Wagner descendants of Melchior (1685-1764), who came to England, were those of M. H. Wagner's younger brother Anthony (1770-1847) my own great-great-grandfather. Between him and the widow and children of his elder brother there was a breach of relations for what Henry Wagner thought "not insufficient reasons."¹ He gives, however, only hints of what these were. In a margin of a pedigree written in his Oxford days or soon after he made a note, perhaps inspired by parental discouragement of genealogical enquiries in a certain direction: "N.B. for a warning against any renewal of acquaintance with the above-mentioned portion of our kith and kin, that my great-uncle, Anthony W. having behaved ill in many various ways—(having amongst other misdemeanours, got into his possession the family plate, sold it entirely, and appropriated the proceeds—and at length insulted his widowed sister-in-law, my grandmother, was (altho' he got his portion of the inheritance from my great-grandfather) cut by his family *in toto*; after wh. he further evinced his low tastes by marrying a woman of the humblest class, and of no education—one of his daughters I believe to have married a respectable Ironmonger, named Williamson, in London; the others probably to have done *less* well for themselves." When Henry Wagner wrote this he did not know that half a century or so later he himself would virtually adopt as a son one of his despised great uncle's descendants. It is a pity we have only one side of the story, which bears some traces of exaggeration. The "ironmonger," for example, was a Civil Engineer. That decisive character Mrs. M. H. Wagner may not have been wholly guiltless of offence.

Elsewhere Henry Wagner writes that Anthony's sister Mary (1774-1852) "had conceived a prejudice" against her sister-in-law Mrs. M. H. Wagner, "probably owing to the representations of her brother Anthony, with whom she had been thick," but on the

¹ BN, p. 68.

death of her mother, Mrs. George Wagner, in 1808 "she, like the rest of the family, broke with him, and she then shewed his letters, which were very bad and *untrue*" to her brother Melchior and his wife. "At the reading of the will, when it came out that Mrs. G. Wagner had only left" Mrs. M. H. Wagner "the Family Bible . . . having no doubt been primed by Anthony, who apparently thought others like himself, to believe that Mrs. M. H. Wagner "would take care to have a hand in the making of the will, she was much astonished—and not being accustomed to mince matters, said to her brother before the assembled family "Anthony, you should have left the Bible to yourself, for you had much more need of it than Mrs. Wagner."¹ Whatever may have gone before, it may be supposed that after such a scene relations would not be cordial.

Anthony Wagner, who had been at Westminster School from 1779 to 1786 and was then living with his parents in Duke Street, was admitted a member of Staple Inn on the 19th of April 1791² and an attorney at law in Chancery. Just a month after his mother's death he married at St. George's Hanover Square—"beneath him" according to Henry Wagner³—Sarah Harby (1783-1838), who came from Stathern, Leicestershire, where the poet George Crabbe was curate in 1785. Her father's occupation has not been traced, but her grandfathers were a blacksmith and a hemp-dresser and her more remote ancestors husbandmen and yeomen. Anthony Wagner, who lived for many years and practised as an attorney at 35 Grosvenor Row, Pimlico (in what is now a part of the Pimlico Road), was a member of the original committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society⁴ from 1804 to 1809 and a collector on its headquarters staff for 27 years.

He had five sons and two daughters who survived infancy. The eldest son Anthony Mitchell Wagner (1808-1839), a surgeon, in Henry Wagner's words "was respectable, but died young."⁵ The second and third sons, Thomas Jepson Wagner (1810-1864) and Melchior George Wagner (1812-1873), were both attorneys and are both said to have been in love with Catherine Powell (1811-1863),⁶ whom Thomas married in 1834. Hence a quarrel which kept Thomas's children out of Melchior's will. This was the more unlucky for them, since Melchior was well to do and childless, while Thomas, after a not unhopeful start, went down hill. Anthony Mitchell Wagner seems to have taken his brother Melchior's side against Thomas to judge by the terms of his will in 1835⁷ and their

¹ GNQ. pp. 99-100.

² He was again admitted to Staple Inn 9 April 1799.

³ BN. p. 68.

⁴ His name appears next to that of William Wilberforce on a tablet just inside the entrance to the Society's building in Queen Victoria Street.

⁵ GNQ. p. 100.

⁶ She brought her progeny both Welsh and English royal descents, including one from Owen Glendower.

⁷ Proved 21 January, 1847, P.C.C.

father's will of 1844¹ leaves a similar though milder impression. A. M. Wagner made a bequest to John James Powell, Catherine's brother, a fellow surgeon, through whom, presumably, the family had come to know her. The fourth son Alexander Hewgill Wagner (1814-1886) studied medicine like his brother Anthony and was about to leave for study in Germany, when he heard of William Lyon Mackenzie's rebellion in Canada in 1837. Moved by this he went to Canada in 1838 and was working in a store in London, Ontario, when in 1855 he was able to purchase (for \$500) the postmastership of Windsor, Ontario, which he held for many years. He had married in 1846 and left a family. My unfortunate great-grandfather T. J. Wagner (1810-1864) practised as an attorney before his marriage in London, but then moved to Abingdon and in or before 1843 to Pembroke Street, Oxford. The death of a favourite child in 1851 is said to have bowled him over. He took to drink. His practice declined. He moved to Bristol and ceased to practise in 1859. His wife died in 1863 and he in 1864. An attractive miniature shows him with a background of Oxford spires.²

He left two sons and two daughters. The elder son Albert (1837-1911), having consumed his small inheritance, removed himself to New York in 1865 and there married and had children. The name of the younger son throws an amusing light on his father. In 1844 Running Rein had won the Derby—or was thought to have done so till Lord George Bentinck satisfied the stewards of the Jockey Club that Running Rein was in fact a four year old named Maccabaeus and so not qualified to run in the Derby. The Epsom stewards thereupon declared the second horse, Orlando,³ the winner. Thomas Wagner had backed Orlando and is said to have been so delighted with the outcome that he gave the name Orlando to his son.

Orlando Henry Wagner (1843-1909) was from 1863 to 1878 an assistant master at Christ's Hospital, Hertford. In 1878 he started a private school at Folkestone. As a school this succeeded, but lack of capital and business sense led to a financial failure. In the meantime a certain rapprochement with the elder branch of the family had taken place. My father, O. H. Wagner's son and namesake (1867-1955), while at school at Christ's Hospital in London from 1878 to 1883, used to visit Henry Wagner at 13 Half Moon Street and when the time came for him to go to Oxford in 1886 he was sent to Worcester College of which Henry Wagner's cousin by marriage William Inge (1829-1903) had become Provost in 1880. His Oxford career was interrupted in 1888 by his father's financial failure and the way in which he faced this disaster so won Henry Wagner's approval that in 1890 he paid for him to return

¹ Proved 4 April 1839. P.C.C. 253 Vaughan.

² In the possession of Charles Albert Wagner of Brooklyn *c.* 1932.

³ General Jonathan Peel (1799-1879), Orlando's owner, was my wife's great-great-grandfather, *Recollections of Lady Georgiana Peel*, 1920, pp. 210-11.

A COLLECTION OF LEWES HANDBILLS, 1768-1777

By STANLEY GODMAN

Through the kind offices of Mr. Wheatley, of Messrs. Farncombe and Co., the Sussex Archaeological Society has acquired a valuable collection of Lewes broadsides and advertisements, thirty-three items in all, dating from about 1768-1777. The one item that does not refer to Lewes is dated "Tunbridge, August 21, 1758" and consists of a ten-line verse "On a Child born blind, and who yesterday received his sight in the Presence of all the Nobility, by the Chevalier Taylor." The celebrated itinerant oculist, "Chevalier John Taylor" visited Lewes in August 1761 and again in August 1762, so the Tunbridge broadside may have been used as an advertisement on the occasion of these visits. The lines in praise of Taylor run as follows:

"From cure to cure the Chevalier
Quick as his tongue, does wonders here:
Beneath his hand, with hideous cries,
Through fear, not pain, an Infant lies;
But in few minutes bless'd with sight,
Now starts astonish'd at the light;
The light that, as with magic power,
Presents a world unknown before:
With painful pleasure sighs awhile,
Then thanks the Doctor with a smile."¹

Taylor's visits to Lewes, which took place a few years before the entertainments with which the handbills, etc., mainly deal, were announced beforehand in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*. He stayed at the *White Hart*. On August 24, 1761 the paper announced:

"Exactly at 11 o'clock this morning, as usual in all parts of the world, the poor afflicted in the eye may have his best assistance free and the faculty and gentry are invited to be personal witnesses of his present method of restoring sight. Exactly at 5 this evening the Chevalier will certainly part hence for the Castle in Brighthelmston. . . ."

He was in Lewes again a year later "at his usual lodgings in the Town." Meanwhile his autobiography had appeared: *The History of the Travels and Adventures of the Chevalier Taylor, Ophthalmiater—written by himself*, 1761 and the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* of August 9, 1762 announced that copies "may be had on his arrival." The book contains the famous account of Taylor's operations on

¹ For further verses "On Dr. Taylor who came to Tunbridge Wells in the year 1758" see Lewis Melville, *Society at Royal Tunbridge Wells in the 18th century and after*, London 1912, p. 106.

and take his degree. An uphill but successful struggle as a master in preparatory schools brought him at length to headmastership of his own school at 90 Queen's Gate, South Kensington, London, in 1906. His marriage in 1903, before his finances seemed to make this prudent, shook his Cousin Henry's reviving belief in the capacity of any descendant of Anthony Wagner (1770-1847) to live prudently, but in time this setback too was forgotten. Henry owned himself mistaken and as the years passed came to lean ever more heavily on his cousin Orlando.

Thus it came about that the family archive formed by Henry Wagner passed at length to my father and so to me.

the composers Bach and Handel¹ both of which were in fact unsuccessful.² According to the "Spencersche Zeitung" of Leipzig for July 31, 1750 Bach died "as an unfortunate consequence of an operation very badly performed on his eyes by a well-known English oculist."³ In his *History* Taylor claimed to have been successful with Bach ("He received his sight by my hands") but more or less admitted failure with Handel ("upon drawing the curtain we found the bottom defective from a paralytic disorder"). What were these failures, however, compared with the 80,000 successes which he claimed to have achieved in thirty years! During his short stay at the *White Hart* in Lewes in August 1762 "his lodgings were continually crowded with persons complaining of defects of sight assembled from various parts of the country."⁴ Ten years later he died in a convent in Prague, blind at the last himself.

Apart from the verses on the Chevalier Taylor of 1758, the earliest bill in the collection almost certainly belongs to 1768. It announces a concert to be held on "Friday the 12th August" at Verrall's Coffee House, Lewes, which flourished for forty years from 1734 and was managed first by Richard and later by Henry Verrall.⁵ One of the performers participating was "Mr. Noel" (or Georg Noelly, to give him his full name), a performer on the pantalone (a huge dulcimer-like instrument eleven feet long, with 260 strings) who is known to have toured England in 1767, visiting Worcester, Oxford and Cambridge and probably other places.⁶ It would be natural to conclude that he visited Lewes on August 12 in that year but that date was not a Friday in 1767. It therefore seems that, since Friday August 12 occurred in 1768, Noelly came again or stayed in England during 1767-8. There is no evidence that he had been to England between a visit which took place "in Handel's time,"⁷ i.e., before 1759, and the year 1767 in which he visited Worcester, Oxford and Cambridge. The next year in which August 12 fell on a Friday was 1774, but the concert could not have taken place then because another artist, Stephen Philpot jun. died in 1773. Noelly, who thus appears to have paid a visit to Lewes in 1768, was a friend of C. P. E. Bach, who owned his portrait, and he finally settled at Ludwigslust in 1780. He died in 1789.

The concert began at 11.30 and the charge for admission was 5/-. The soloists were Signor Fidele ("lately arrived from Italy")

¹ Cf. *The Bach Reader* edited by David and Mendel, 1946, p. 187. *Bach und der Oculist Taylor* by H. Zeraschi, in "Bach-Jahrbuch" 1956, pp. 52-64.

² Cf. *The Chevalier Taylor* by George Coats in: "The Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital Reports" Vol. XX, Part I, May 1915, p. 8.

³ *Bach and the English Oculist* by B. Lenth in: "Music and Letters" Vol. XIX, April 1938, p. 196.

⁴ *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, August 31, 1762.

⁵ *S.A.C. XCII*, 4-5.

⁶ *Musical Times*, February 1903; *Monthly Musical Record*, January 1952.

⁷ E. L. Gerber: *Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 1792, II.

and Mrs. March, who sang duets by Italian composers: Piccini, Carafelli, Traetta and Buranello and also by Bach (almost certainly, John Christian, who settled in London in 1762). The programme was divided into two "Acts," each of which was introduced by an overture, the first by Arne, the second by Handel.

The concert ended with an "Organ Concerto by Mr. Stephen Philpot jun." This is one of the few references that I have found to Stephen Philpot jun. before he was appointed Organist of the Foundling Hospital Chapel in May 1770 in succession to Handel's secretary, John Christopher Smith. His father Stephen Philpot had been a Lewes resident since at least 1737, the year in which the baptism of his son Charles was entered in St. Michael's parish register, and he died in Lewes in December 1770 (buried at St. Michael's on December 7).

Stephen Philpot senior, whose wife ran a boarding school for young ladies which he continued on her death in 1761,¹ was the author of an *Essay on the advantage of a Polite Education, joined with a Learned One* (London, 1747) from which it appears that he had been Dancing Master to Frances and Charlotte, the daughters of the Duchess of Somerset to whom the Essay is dedicated. Miss Beck, the Archivist at Petworth House, kindly informs me that there are extant no household and personal accounts for the period when Philpot is likely to have been in the Duchess's employment (i.e., after 1725, the date of her marriage to the Duke of Somerset). In 1767 Philpot published *An Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Violin on an entirely new plan* on the title-page of which he is described as "Stephen Philpot of Lewes, One of His Majesty's Musicians in Ordinary."

Stephen Philpot junior, who performed in the Lewes concert of August 12, 1768, was appointed Organist of the Foundling Hospital Chapel in May 1770.² He died in January 1773 and his *Six Capital Lessons for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte* were published by John Bland of 45 Holborn, after the composer's death.

Hitherto no distinction has been made between father and son in the Music Catalogue of the British Museum, but it is clear from the description of the composer of the *Six Capital Lessons* on the title page ("the late Stephen Philpot, Organist of the Foundling Chapel") that he was Stephen Philpot junior who played an organ concerto at the concert in Verrall's Coffee House in 1767.

There are several other less detailed handbills in the collection announcing concerts in Lewes. The first of these is dated July 26, 1776, when a concert was given by "Mr. Jones, who will perform several select pieces on the celebrated Pedal Harp at Verrall's Assembly Rooms at 12 o/c." Edward Jones (1752-1824), the

¹ *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, November 16 and December 28, 1761.

² Nicholls and Wray: *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, p. 211.

A T
VERRAL'S COFFEE-HOUSE, Lewes

On FRIDAY, the 12th of AUGUST instant, at Half an Hour
past Eleven in the Morning, will be performed,

A
C O N C E R T,
O F

Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC.

The Vocal Parts by Signior FEDELE, lately arrived from ITALY,
and Mrs. MARCH.

ACT I.

An Overture of Dr. ARNE's.
A Cantabile, of BACH's, by Signior FEDELE.
An Air of Mr. PICINI's, by Mrs. MARCH.
And a Concerto on the PANTALONE, by Mr. NOEL, being an Instru-
ment of a new Construction, eleven Feet in Length, and has 260
Strings of different Magnitudes.

ACT II.

An Overture of HANDEL's.
An Air of BURANELLO's, by Signior FEDELE.
An Air of Signior CAFARELLI's, by Mrs. MARCH.
A Duet, of Signior TRAIETTA's, by Signior FEDELE and Mrs.
MARCH.
And an Organ Concerto, by Mr. STEPHEN PHILPOT, jun.

Tickets to be had at the New Coffee-House, the WHITE HART, and
at the PRINTING-OFFICE, LEWES.

(Price Five Shillings.)

Advertisement of a concert at Verral's Coffee-House, Lewes,
on 12th August, 1768 (see p. 59).

This EVENING, being the 11th Instant,
At the BEAR INN, Bridge-Foot,
Will be READ,

The Beggars Opera.

The SONGS will be SUNG,

By One who personates all the Characters, and
enters into the different Humours, or Passions,
as they change alternately throughout the
Opera.

The Characters are distinguished by the Modulation
of the Voice; and 'tis a certain Spirited Manner of
reading an *Opera*, so as to entertain.

To begin at Seven of the Clock.

TICKETS to be had at the said BEAR INN; and at the PRINTING-
OFFICE; at a Shilling each.

* * * Ladies and Gentlemen intending to favour the Performer with their
Company, are requested to provide themselves with Tickets, as no Money
can be received at the Door.

On *Wednesday* Evening,

The PROVOK'D HUSBAND;
With some of the most Celebrated *Songs* between the Acts.
And on *Thursday* Morning, (to begin at Half after Ten) *Love in a Village.*

Advertisement of a solo performance of the " Beggar's Opera "
at the Bear Inn in the Cliffe, Lewes (see p. 61).

For Two Evenings Only,
 In a LARGE COMMODIOUS ROOM,
 At the BEAR, at the BRIDGE-FOOT, LEWES,
 On this present Tuesday, being the 22d, and on Wednesday the 23d
 of September Instant, in the Evening,

The famous Mr. WILDMAN,

WHOSE amazing Command of BEES has been long the Astonishment of his Spectators, and remains yet unaccounted for by the most inquisitive and learned Virtuoso; having made very extraordinary Improvements by daily Practice and Study into the Nature of that industrious and admired Society of Insects, will explain to the Company the proper Management of BEES, and give the most convincing Proofs of the Utility of his new-invented HIVES, which are far superior to any ever yet made use of, either for Pleasure or Profit: After which he will exhibit his commanding Power over them by the following curious Experiments:

- I. He commands the Bees out of the Hive into his Hat, or any Person's in Company, if desired.
- II. He causes the Bees to leave the Hat, and hang upon his naked Arm, representing a Swarm of Bees on the Bough of a Tree.
- III. He removes the whole Swarm from his Arm to his naked Head and Face, in a most extraordinary Manner.
- IV. He makes them march over a Table at the Word of Command, and what is more surprising, he will make any other Person's Bees tame in a Quarter of an Hour, and exhibit the above Performances with them, if desired.

Mr. SARGENT will entertain the Company with several very pleasing different Feats of Agility, between the above Performances.

Doors to be open'd at Half past Six, and begin precisely at Seven o'Clock.

Front Seats TWO SHILLINGS, Back Seats ONE SHILLING.

As in this Exhibition the Curiosity is sufficiently excited and fatished, Mr. WILDMAN begs Leave to observe to those in particular who keep Bees, that it will be remarkable useful, as he instructs them gratis to take the Honey and preserve the Bees; Mr. Wildman never wishing to act upon so interested and illiberal a Plan, that himself only may be benefited by such useful and astonishing Discoveries.

Those Ladies and Gentlemen who honour Mr. Wildman with their Company, will see some curious Bee-Hives, constructed upon a Principle peculiar to himself.

Advertisement of a performance by Mr. Wildman, the bee-charmer, at the Bear Inn in the Cliffe, Lewes (see p. 65).

This is to give Notice,
 That there will be deliver'd this Evening, at the Sign of the
Swan in the Cliffe
 A PHILOSOPHICAL Lecture,
 On the Nature, Properties, Power, and Effects of
ELECTRICITY,

With many Surprizing and Entertaining Experiments on the
ELECTRICAL MACHINE;

PARTICULARLY, those shewing the Nature of Attraction and Repulsion, with the Nature of Hurricanes explained. A true and exact Representation of a Stormy Cloud striking on a Steeple, Tower, Tree, or Mountain, attended with a small Explosion, and flash of Lightning; and that Metal Conductors will safely and certainly carry the Force and Power of Lightning from high and lofty Buildings down to the Earth, clearly proved and demonstrated by several curious and entertaining Experiments, term'd the Tower, Thunder-house, &c.

The Nature and Laws of the central and centrifugal Forces explained, proving them Inherent in the Electricity, by a Globe or Ball putting itself in Motion.

That Fluids in Motion are Accelerated, and their Particles expanded; with many other Experiments too tedious here to mention, proved and demonstrated by John Rose, Electrician, from Pluckley, in Kent; being the Result of more than twenty Years Study on the Mathematics, and Philosophy.

CON DITION S.

About thirty EXPERIMENTS perform'd each Evening, to begin exactly at 7 1/2 o'Clock, each Person to pay only 6 pence.

Any Number of Gentlemen or Ladies may be waited upon, any Time in the Day, by giving an Hour or Two Notice.

Any Number of Subscribers, not less than twenty, may have all the Apparatus carried any distance, not exceeding one Mile, for a private Performance, by giving a Day or Two Notice; if a greater Distance, then a greater Number of Subscribers, being well worth the Observation of every common-sens'd Person.

Mr. Rose Electrifies Persons for all kinds of Nervous Disorders, every Morning between the Hours of Nine and Twelve, (poor Persons Gratis) being certainly efficacious in Paralytic, Agues, all Rheumatical Cases, &c. as hath been fully proved, by several Curious and learned Gentlemen, even the learned and Rev. Mr. Jones, Rector of Pluckley, in Kent; the celebrated Mr. Lovett, of the Cathedral Church of Worcester; Mr. Ferguson, F. R. S. and several Others.

Advertisement of a lecture on electricity by John Rose, of Pluckley, Kent, at the Swan Inn in the Cliffe, Lewes (see p. 67).

Welsh harper, had come to London from his home in Merionethshire only a year before. In 1783 he was appointed Bard to the Prince of Wales and in 1784 he published *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*.

On Friday, the 26th of July, 1776,
Mr. J O N E S,
 WILL PERFORM
 SEVERAL SELECT PIECES
 On the Celebrated
PEDAL-HARP.
 LIKEWISE WILL INTRODUCE
 SOME OF THE MOST FAVOURITE
SCOTCH and IRISH AIRS,
 With VARIATIONS.
 At VERRAL'S ASSEMBLY ROOM,
 In L E W E S.

The CONCERT to begin precisely at *Twelve* o'Clock.

TICKETS, 2s. 6d. each, to be had of Mr. Jones, at *Verral's Coffee-House*; and at Mr. Lambert's, Stationer, in the *Cliffe*.

LEWES: Printed by W. LEE.

On Saturday August 2, 1777 a "Grand Concert" took place in "the Assembly Room at the Coffee House, Lewes" at 11 a.m. It consisted of "solos and concertos on the violoncello and German flute," though the latter instrument has been scored through by hand on the bill.

On an unspecified date there took place at the *Bear* Inn in the *Cliffe* a reading of the "Beggars' Opera" in which "the songs will be sung by one who personates all the characters and enters into the different humours or passions as they change alternately throughout the Opera." On the Wednesday evening (probably the next day) "The Provok'd Husband" was given and on the Thursday morning "Love in a Village." The *Bear*, which stood on the banks of the Ouse by *Cliffe* Bridge, was destroyed by fire on June 18, 1918.

In the early 19th century it was used for amateur theatrical performances by the Lewes Pic-Nic Society.¹

According to playbills for the summer season of 1780 at "the Theatre, Lewes" which are preserved in Brighton Public Library² the "Beggar's Opera" was given on July 5 and "Love in a Village" on June 30, 1780 by "Comedians from the Theatres Royal" but these are evidently not the performances given at the *Bear Inn*. The performance at the *Bear Inn* was merely a reading, with the songs all sung by one artist, whilst the performance at "the Theatre, Lewes" was given by a full cast. The site of "the Theatre, Lewes" before the erection of the permanent theatre in 1789 has not yet been clearly established but, according to Henry C. Porter³ a "wooden theatre abutting on Mount Pleasant" had been constructed in the summer of 1774, with four entrances, all in Castle Lane.

The Musical Glasses were at the height of their popularity at this period.⁴ One of the handbills announces for "three evenings at the Swan": "the most complete set of Musical Glasses—which for beauty of tone exceed all other instruments in the world." The *Swan*, or *White Swan*, as it was earlier called, was at 15 Malling Street.

Mechanically produced music was also popular at this period and featured in a construction known as "The World in Miniature" which was billed for September 13, 1776. The machine revealed "the nine Muses playing in concert on divers musical instruments."

Another bill announces the appearance at "the Catts" in the Cliffe of a troupe from Italy under Signor Marco, who were to give "the primitive grand Fantoccini." Their other sketches included "Love in High Life" but the ladies in the audience were assured that the players would behave "with all due decency and respect to their sex." The charges for admission were Pit 1s.; First Gallery 6d.; Upper Gallery 4d. The *Dorset Arms* in Malling Street was familiarly known as "The Cats" from the supporters of the arms of the Dorset family, which are leopards.

Evidence of the visit to Lewes at the end of 1770 or the beginning of 1771 of the dancing master and dramatist Samuel Johnson is provided by a copy of the pathetic *Address to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Lewes* dated January 1771 in which he apologises, evidently in response to complaints, for the inadequacy of a recent performance at the Theatre. He was presumably the author of "Hurllothumbo or the Super-Natural" an "extravaganza" first performed at the

¹ See F. W. Steer: "Sources of Information on 18th and 19th century Theatres in Sussex" in *Theatre Notebook* XII, 2 (Winter, 1958), p. 63.

² Playbills of Theatres in Lewes and Brighton, 1780 (S9 Lew T34).

³ The First Play-House in Lewes in: *Southward Ho!* 1, 5, 201-203, April 1894.

⁴ Cf. A. Hyatt King, "The Musical Glasses and Glass Harmonica," *Proc. Roy. Mus. Ass.* 1945-46.

Haymarket in 1729.¹ According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* Johnson (known latterly as Maggoty or Fiddler Johnson) who died in 1773, lived in retirement for the last thirty years of his life, but although, as his Letter shows, he was ill, he performed in Lewes only two years before his death, when he was already eighty years old. "Ill as I was," he wrote, "I ventured to the Theatre where I was conveyed in a chaise out of which I could not get without the assistance of two men. The words that were spoken were from Beaumont and Fletcher and Tom Brown. The repeated applause I had always received in Exeter, Salisbury and many other capital towns did not allow me to doubt of being equally well received in Lewes. Whatever my fault it was an inadvertent one. That my illness rendered me incapable of going through the Interludes can be proved by the gentlemen in attendance. As a Manager and performer I have spared no pains to give satisfaction and it would be hard to undergo a *general* Censure for *one* fault and that not intended." He ended by announcing that he was hoping to come again: "I am preparing another place (in Lewes) for my Company's next visit." Possibly the "Theatre" to which Johnson refers was the "new temporary theatre" where, according to the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* of December 31, 1770, a performance of "Othello" was arranged to take place on January 1, 1771—very close to the date of Johnson's unhappy visit, since his Letter is dated January 1771.

In September 1768 Lewes was visited by "Mr. and Mrs. Astley with their two learned horses" who gave performances at the Dorset Arms at 12 o/c and 4. It was early in the Spring of that year that Philip Astley had set up his equestrian establishment in Lambeth but not until 1770 that he found a permanent site at the foot of Westminster Bridge.²

A handbill dated 1770 in the British Museum announces "Horsemanship and Activity by Mr. and Mrs. Astley, at the foot of Westminster Bridge . . . a slight shower will not hinder the performance as there is a covered gallery 120 feet long built round the Ride." A note at the foot of the bill states: "Most of Mr. Astley's bills have been pirated by some pretenders to horsemanship—Mr. Astley offers any person 200 guineas to perform the like." According to Willson Disher, the historian of Astley's Circus, he had to close "before the summer (of 1768) was over because Mrs. Astley was presenting him with a son."³ As they were both performing again in Lewes in September, the son was presumably born just

¹ See *Hurlothrumbo as it is acted at the New Theatre in the Haymarket*, by S. Johnson from Cheshire. Printed for J. Jones, 1729. Samuel Johnson himself played the part of Lord Flame. There is a rare copy of *The Songs of Hurlothrumbo compos'd by Mr. Samuel Johnson* in the Hirsch Library in the British Museum.

² Willson Disher, *Greatest Show on Earth*, 1937, p. 23.

³ loc. cit. p. 25.

before their visit to the County Town. Among the tricks announced on the Astleys' handbill were "making a horse sit up like a dog" and "riding three horses, sitting on them at one time." In his *Natural Magic or Physical Amusements Revealed* published in 1785 Astley wrote: "Any person who has seen my little learned Horse, the learned Mr. Breslaw¹ and many other sagacious performers, is thoroughly acquainted with the manner of forcing and slipping cards, etc., to deceive the spectators, but should anyone require a personal explanation they may be satisfied by attending my Riding School in London." In August 1770 the Astleys were in Lewes again, according to the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* for August 6, 1770. This time they brought with them "Master Griffith, a boy 14 years old which rides on 1, 2 and 3 horses, in many pleasing attitudes." The performance took place again at the *Dorset Arms*.

Some time after 1770, when Astley had established himself at the foot of Westminster Bridge, Lewes was visited by "the celebrated Mr. Hawtin, the Ballance Master from Mr. Astley's Riding School." Among the feats announced on the bill were "balancing a coach wheel on one hand and on the chin" and "balancing a ladder of 24 steps on one thumb." In 1776 there was an exhibition at the *White Swan* by "the surprising Warwickshire Young Lady, Miss Hawtin from Coventry," a 14-year-old with no arms or hands who could "thread a needle, sew and use scissors with her toes and feet only." She was accompanied by her brother "who has had the honour of performing before his Majesty and most of the nobility." As his speciality was "heavy and light balances" he was presumably the afore-mentioned "celebrated Mr. Hawtin."

The Astleys' visit was probably preceded by the visit of "the amazing learned little horse from Courland" under the direction of "the brother of the famous Mr. Zucker" (whose "learned little horse" performed at the Belvedere Tea Gardens, Pentonville).² The Mr. Zucker who came to Lewes lodged at "Mr. Wall's, Carpenter, near Market House" and the performance took place in Market Lane. "Market House" was at the corner of Castlegate and the High Street until 1792 when the Market was erected in what has since been named Market Street. When the Market House was at Castlegate, St. Martin's Lane was also tagged Market Lane and it was here that the performance probably took place. The tricks performed by the "little learned horse" included playing at cards, distinguishing ladies from gentlemen, playing at dice ("he is always sure to win") and "drinking the company's health like a human person."

Another German, "the celebrated artist, Barnard Abraham," brought his "Dog of Knowledge" to Lewes. This remarkable animal was able to "tell the day of the week and the month of

¹ Breslaw, author of *Breslaw's Last Legacy, or the Magical Companion*, 1784, visited Lewes on August 12, 1772. See below p. 67.

² Disher, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

the year," to "read and cast accompts" and "tell how many people are in the company." There was, however, a significant request at the foot of the bill: "He (Mr. Abraham) begs the favour that no dogs may be permitted in the room." The room was in the *Crown* and the charges for admission were: "to no less than 12 persons, 1s. each; women and men, 6d.; girls and boys 3d. each."

Lewes was entertained by learned little horses, dogs of knowledge and—performing bees. Bees "charmed" by Mr. Wildman performed at the *Bear Inn* (the bill bears no date of year). There were two Wildmans, uncle and nephew, Thomas and Daniel, both of whom were celebrated bee-charmers. Thomas "came up from Plymouth to London in 1766 to display his wonderful power over bees and in 1768 received the patronage of the King and humbly dedicated his book (*A Treatise on the Management of Bees*) to the Queen."¹ He also appeared before the Society of Arts "with different swarms of bees which he made to fly in and out of the hives at pleasure."² The Society offered him 100 guineas if he would disclose his plan for "removing honey and wax from hives without destroying the bees," but he declined. Alfred Neighbour³ quotes some lines written by a Dr. Evans in praise of Thomas Wildman's feats:

"Such was the spell which, round a Wildman's arm,
Twined in dark wreaths the fascinated swarm;
Bright o'er his breast the glittering legions led
Or with a living garland bound his head;
His dextrous hand, with firm yet hurtless hold,
Could seize the chief, known by her scales of gold,
Prune, mid the wondering train, her filmy wing,
Or o'er her folds the silken fetter fling."

A London handbill dated June 20, 1772 announces an "Exhibition of Bees on Horseback at Jubilee Gardens, Islington, in which the celebrated Daniel Wildman will exhibit several new and amazing experiments: Daniel Wildman rides, standing upright, with a curious mask of bees on his face by firing a pistol he makes one part of the bees march over a table and the other part swarm in the air and return to their proper places again."⁴

A Lincoln handbill of September 17, 1794⁵ announces "Mr. Wildman's astonishing exhibition of Bees": "He can command the Bees into any gentleman's hat present and from thence he will order them on to his naked arm." This programme also included "the scientific dog and horse from Astley's Riding School." According to the undated Lewes handbill Wildman's skill consisted in "commanding Bees out of the Hive into his hat or any person's in the company and making any other person's Bees tame in a

¹ *The British Bee Journal*, October 1873, I, 90.

² *loc. cit.*

³ *The Apiary*, London 1865, p. 104.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, June 17, 1854, p. 572.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, October 23, 1875. Cf. also H. M. Fraser: "Beekeeping in the British Isles from 1750 to 1800," *Bee World*, 37 (9); 165-175 (1956).

quarter of an hour." No mention is made of the trick-riding which was a feature of the act at the Jubilee Gardens. The fullest account of the known facts about the Wildmans was given by J. G. Desborough in *Notes and Queries* for December 18, 1875. He explained, however, that bee-charming was due "simply to a careful handling of the queen bee and confidence in the knowledge of the fact that bees will always find and attach themselves to their queen and not sting unless provoked." Daniel Wildman also published a book entitled *A Complete Guide to the Management of Bees* from his "Bee and Honey Warehouse" at No. 326 Holborn in 1775. "He continued to publish his pamphlets for the sale of bee hives until 1812."¹

Horses, dogs, bees and, finally—human beings "to attract the curious." Lewes received a visit from "the surprising Monmouthshire Fairy" Margaret Morgan, aged 17, from Magar (now spelt "Magor") near Newport, who stood only 31 inches high and weighed only 18 pounds. Nevertheless, she was "strait and well shaped in every respect." Prices of admission were: Gentlemen and Ladies 6d.; Children and servants 3d. The exhibition took place at the *King and Queen* in the Cliffe from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. but, the bill added, "her mother is with her and will wait on ladies and gentlemen at their own houses if required." The *King and Queen* Inn stood on the opposite corner to the *Bear* Inn (the site is now occupied by a multiple self-service store).

Margaret Morgan's male counterpart, the "Lilliputian Dwarf"—"the shortest and best proportioned man ever seen," who was only 38in. in height, was to be seen for 1s. by Ladies and Gentlemen (double the price for seeing Miss Morgan) and 3d. by children and servants. He was exhibited at the *Dorset Arms*.

Three exhibitions of interest to natural historians were to be seen in Lewes at this period:

(1) Mr. Charles Harben of Lewes showed "two most surprising Eagles taken in Sussex in 1769: a golden eagle and an osprey." On this occasion "the prices for gentlemen and ladies" were "left to their honour." For "common persons" the charge was 2d. each.

(2) Another undated bill addressed "To all that are Admirers of Nature's Wonderfull productions" announced "the Surprising Large Sea Lion or Amphibious Creature and the only one of the kind in this Kingdom, to be seen in the Market Place." Although not yet 2 years old it was computed to weigh 8 hundredweight. It was "confined in a strong Den or Cage, so there is no danger to be feared by any person who comes to see him." Reference was made on the bill to a paper read before the Royal Society in 1766 entitled "Observations upon Animals commonly called Amphibious, by Authors."²

¹ *British Bee Journal* I, 90.

² *Philosophical Transactions* LVI, 193-203.

(3) A Sea-Dog was to be seen "alive, at the *Bear Inn*, in Lewes" which had been "taken sleeping between the rocks near Beachey Head." "Admittance for Ladies and Gentlemen, 6d.; Servants and children 2d."

On August 12, 1772 Mr. Breslaw gave a performance of "his new-invented dexterity and deceptions" at Verrall's Assembly Rooms. From *The Memoirs of John Decastro, Comedian* (1823, p. 230) we learn that in 1756 "Breslaw and his Italians" put on a "grand exhibition in seven different divisions and between the acts a most beautiful artificial firework" at "Breslaw's Exhibition Room in Cockspur Street Haymarket." As mentioned above, he was the author of *Breslaw's Last Legacy or the Magical Companion containing all that is curious, pleasing, entertaining and comical, selected from the most celebrated masters of deception*. Among the subjects dealt with were Air Balloons, Legerdemain, Card Tricks, Dreams and their Interpretation, Strange Tricks performed by Electricity, Fortune Telling by Cards and "making a pea dance on the end of a piece of tobacco pipe."

The lecturers on scientific subjects who visited Lewes during this period, to whom the handbills refer, were:

Mr. Pitt, who gave a course of ten lectures on natural and experimental philosophy in 1776. The charge was 10/6 for the course or 1/6 for single lectures. There is a reference to this course of lectures in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* for July 27, 1776 which carries an announcement of a similar course to be given by Mr. Pitt at the *New Ship*, Ship Street, Brighton, with the following note: "He intends visiting Lewes in about three weeks." The Lewes handbill may therefore be dated about the third week of August, 1776.

This was not the first course on natural and experimental philosophy to have been given in Lewes. In October 1761 a Mr. Silk gave a similar course of 12 lectures (10/6 for the course, or 1/6 per lecture) at the *White Hart* (*Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, October 5, 1761) and in January 1774 the schoolmaster Cater Rand announced that he intended "going through a course of lectures on Experimental Philosophy, which will elevate the minds of Youth above the low pursuit of sensual amusement." His subjects included Astronomy, Pneumatics and Electricity (*Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, January 3, 1774).

It is not so easy to date the lecture on Electricity which John Rose of Pluckley gave at the *Swan* in the Cliffe but as he mentions the "Rev. Mr. Jones, Rector of Pluckley" as one of his sponsors, this narrows the possible date of his visit to between 1765 and 1778, the period of Jones' incumbency at Pluckley.¹ Rose was a practitioner of electro-therapy "for all kinds of nervous disorders"

¹ See F. Haslewood, "The Rectors of Pluckley, Kent," in *Arch. Cant.* XXII, 93.

and he claimed that his treatment had been "fully proved by even the learned and Rev. Mr. Jones." Jones was elected F.R.S. in 1775 and became Rector of Nayland in 1777, hence his usual appellation "Jones of Nayland." In 1762 he had published an *Essay on the First Principles of Natural Philosophy*. Rose stated on his handbill that he was ready to give his treatment free of charge to poor persons.

Mr. Beetham (i.e., Edward Beetham of Little Strickland, Westmoreland) gave a series of "new-compiled" "Moral Lectures" at the *White Horse*, which was on the site now occupied by Nos. 165-167 High Street. Beetham's "patrons" included the Rev. Mr. Beetham of Haceby and the Rev. Mr. Lewes, Dissenting Minister of Stafford, which is perhaps surprising in view of some of the contents of the *Moral Lectures on Heads* which he published in Newcastle in 1780 (followed by *New Lectures on Heads* in the same year). In the first series he dealt with the "Heads" of Captain Whiffle, Mr. Contrast, Mr. Hardfront, the Head of a Young Heir and Signor Castrati. Of the latter character he wrote: "they are extremely convenient for those ladies of such extravagant mock modesty who are mightily concerned for their virtuous reputation, as they can indulge their little wanton sallies without running the danger of any disagreeable consequences." He did not proceed with this line of thought but merely added: "As some may imagine that these reflections rather border on obscenity I shall leave off here." Describing the head of a College Libertine, the Rev. Simon Saintless, he tells how "after a gambling debauch he fell asleep in the middle of his sermon . . . the clerk pulled him by his sleeve and waked him. When rubbing his eyes he bawled out, 'What's trumps?'" Incidentally, Beetham offered to return their money to those "not satisfy'd."

Finally, the collection contains handbills relating to two further entertainments at the *Dorset Arms*: Vinall's New Medley of Entertainments, which included "a surprising piece of mechanical performance, composed of several curious pieces of architecture, representing cities, palaces, bridges, rivers and falls of water" and ("to be seen at the Catts") "the curious experiment of the Camera Obscura, performed by John Pallany, an Italian, with variety of music on the Italian Cymbal." The admission charges were 6d., 4d. and 3d.

There is also a bill announcing the State Lottery in 1777, which states that tickets are available from Fuller and Morris of Ludgate Hill and also from "James Lambert, Bookseller at Lewes."¹

NOTE.—The author wishes to thank Mr. L. S. Davey and Mr. W. K. Rector for their valuable help in the preparation of this paper.

¹ See *S.A.C.*, XC, 119.

MEDIAEVAL SUSSEX PRISONS

By R. B. PUGH, M.A., F.S.A.

The gaols of mediaeval England were of three kinds: county gaols, franchise gaols and "convict" prisons for criminous clerks. The first were in the custody of sheriffs, the second of the lords of liberties, and the third of diocesans. Most counties had at least one prison of each class.¹

County or "common" gaols seem to have originated in the early years of Henry II and they lasted until 1878. From the first they had many uses. They were places to which justices might commit, without trial, suitors or jurors in contempt and Crown accountants in default. Later on trespassers upon whom penal sentences had been imposed and private debtors unable to satisfy their creditors were sent to them. But the leading purpose of all county gaols was to keep safe suspected felons until they could be tried.

The "charter" of the county gaol was the Assize of Clarendon which laid it down that sheriffs were to build gaols in counties that had none. In the main this order was punctiliously obeyed, for in the year of promulgation (1166) money was spent on gaol construction or repair in no fewer than seventeen counties.² Such works continued throughout the 12th century, but until 1198 nothing was done in Sussex, and Surrey waited even longer. It is not known why these two counties appear so late in the records of gaol works. It could be that they had long had gaols which needed no repair. But it is the more attractive view that the two sheriffs put off the day of construction for as long as possible and shut their suspects up instead in the two gaols of London. Once there, those suspects could be "delivered" by the justices sitting at Westminster. At any rate in 1172-3 Surrey contributed no small sum towards building the Fleet,³ and this suggests that its sheriff was sharing the expenses, —because he was sharing accommodation,—with his colleagues in London and Middlesex. Sussex never made such a payment. It is, however, known that in 1191-2 Sussex prisoners were transported from Lewes to Lambeth.⁴ May they not have been on their way to a London prison, there to stand their trial?

¹ The following class numbers of documents in the Public Record Office are used in this article: Chancery, Patent Rolls (C 66), Criminal Inquisitions (C 144); Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Pipe Rolls (E 372); Justices Itinerant, Assize Rolls, etc. (J.I. 1), Gaol Delivery Rolls (J.I. 3); Special Collections, Ancient Petitions (S.C. 8).

² R. B. Pugh, "The King's Prisons before 1250" (*Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., v. 2).

³ *Pipe R.* 1173 (P.R.S. xix), 91.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1192 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 204.

However this may be, we begin at last to hear of a true Sussex gaol in the fiscal year 1198. In that year and in the next the sheriff was allowed £5 10s. for doing works upon a gaol in Chichester castle,¹ and here, for the next 40 years at least, stood the common gaol for Sussex. Its history is meagre. Works were done again in 1222-3² and in the next year or next but one a "house" was built in front of it.³ Perhaps this "house" was a dwelling for a gaoler. At any rate in 1224-5 the sheriff began to claim an allowance of £3 0s. 10d. to meet the costs of custody,⁴ or, in other words, to pay a gaoler his daily wages. The allowance works out at 2d. a day, which is rather above the national average.⁵ Perhaps two men were employed. The sheriff's claims were met again in 1225-6 and in 1232-3.⁶ In 1236 the gaol was delivered.⁷ Next year the sheriff was receiving prisoners sent to it by the king's command.⁸ After that the prison seems to fade away.

The shortage of administrative manpower in the 12th and 13th centuries forced the Crown to couple adjacent counties under a common sheriff, who accounted at the Exchequer for both of them together. Surrey and Sussex, which had shared the same sheriff intermittently from 1226, were thus formally linked from 1242, and so remained until the 16th century. This sharing of sheriffs resulted in a sharing of gaols. The common gaol for Surrey had been established at Guildford in 1207,⁹ probably in the castle, for there it later stood. By 1242, the very year in which the sheriffdoms were welded, there is clear evidence that Guildford held some Sussex prisoners, for the sheriff was directed to bail five of them in his capacity as Sheriff of Sussex.¹⁰ In 1248 the Sheriff of Surrey was ordered to receive some prisoners from the bailiff of Hastings rape and put them in the gaol at Guildford, there to stay until they could be tried at a Guildford gaol delivery.¹¹ From this time forward the use of Guildford for Sussex prisoners is so common that it is pointless to record the instances.

In the earliest times, it is thought, gaols were delivered by sheriffs; a little later at the eyes or at a similar but more restricted visitation. In 1220, however, a new system replaced the rather haphazard arrangements of the past. The Crown then began to commission groups of local "knights," usually four in number and often with a

¹ Ibid. 1198 (P.R.S. N.S. ix), 225; 1199 (P.R.S. N.S. x), 199.

² E 372/67 Sussex.

³ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii. 50; E 372/69 Sussex.

⁴ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii. 127.

⁵ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., v. 21.

⁶ E 372/70 and /77 Sussex.

⁷ C 66/46 m. 3d. The assumption has been made throughout this article that commissions to deliver gaols were executed. Often this cannot be proved.

⁸ *Close R.* 1234-7, 485.

⁹ *Pipe R.* 1207 (P.R.S. N.S. xxii), 64.

¹⁰ *Close R.* 1242-7, 75.

¹¹ Ibid. 1247-51, 27.

professional justice among them, to clear a stated gaol of its whole population or of some particular individuals within it.¹ This system had been running sixteen years before any such commission was issued for Sussex. Four "knights" were then appointed to deliver Chichester. No Surrey commission was issued until ten years later. Probably in this period of infrequent deliveries prisoners from these counties were tried at Westminster.

From 1246 until 1253, and from 1256 until 1260, justices were appointed to sit at Guildford once and sometimes twice a year. There were then no more deliveries until 1263-4, no doubt because the civil war was being fought. Deliveries then started again and commissions were issued at two-yearly intervals until 1267-8. After that, until the reign of Henry III had closed, there was always one delivery a year at Guildford and sometimes there were two.² In three instances the justices were expressly commissioned for Sussex as well as Surrey,³ and in several others the panels were formed by mixing "knights" from both the counties. It is reasonably certain that on each of these occasions, if on no others, it was the intention to deliver Sussex prisoners at Guildford. Probably some Sussex gaols were delivered at the Sussex eyres, but no special gaol delivery commission is known to have been issued for any Sussex prison between 1236 and 1272.

It is clear that in the first forty years of the 13th century the common gaol for Sussex was at Chichester and that for many generations afterwards there was none in the county at all. This does not mean, however, that Sussex men, even suspect felons, were never imprisoned in their own county. On the contrary, in the 13th century there were more than a dozen places in Sussex where prisoners were kept. One of these stands apart from all the rest. It was the castle of Hastings, which, unlike the others, was in the hands of the Crown on all occasions when it is mentioned as a prison. In the early years of the century it had belonged to the family of the Counts of Eu,⁴ but it was taken from them by King John, and though ordered to be restored in 1214,⁵ was not restored in fact until a few years later.⁶ By 1225 it had returned to the Crown⁷ and so remained until 1249. It was then granted to Peter of Savoy,⁸ who kept it, though not uninterruptedly, until his death

¹ For a convenient summary see *V.C.H. Wilts.* v. 16-19.

² These statistics are compiled from the gaol delivery commissions enrolled on the dorso of the Patent Rolls (C 66/57-91).

³ 1252 (C 66/63 m. 4d.); 1256 (C 66/70 m. 10d.); 1258 (C 66/72 m. 8d.).

⁴ *Bk. Fees* i. 71.

⁵ *Rot. Lit. Pat.* 116; cf. *Rot. Chart.* 197.

⁶ It is not clear that the Countess of Eu was in seisin before 19 Sept. 1219; *Peerage* s.v. Eu.

⁷ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii. 15, 28. These writs are addressed to the Constable of Hastings, a royal official. Cf. *ibid.* 27 for orders to pay him money out of the exchequer to strengthen the castle.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1247-58, 50.

in 1268. It then reverted to the Crown again.¹ In 1215 it was serving as a prison for a Jew,² three years later it contained adherents of Louis of France taken in war,³ while in 1225 a suspect homicide was sent from it to be kept in security at Chichester.⁴ These uses may be considered almost too special to constitute the castle a prison in the sense in which the word is mainly used in this article. In 1235-6, however, two thieves and four suspect homicides escaped from the castle,⁵ next year four other suspect felons were bailed out of it,⁶ and in 1240 yet four more were ordered to be imprisoned in it.⁷ Peter of Savoy's life tenure then ensues. Soon after this has ended, the prison begins to be delivered, though only for a few years. Sited as it was at the opposite end of the county to Chichester, it seems to have served as a supplementary prison, both at the time that Chichester was going out of use and in the early years of Edward I when, as we shall later see, the delivery of Sussex prisons began to be adopted as a policy.

The other Sussex prisons, apart from the bishop's, can be called private or franchise prisons. A prison of some kind may perhaps be thought of as an almost indispensable concomitant of all leet jurisdiction, though, where the jurisdiction was narrow, the prison cannot have been much more than a lock-up, mainly intended for the detention of misdemeanants.⁸ It follows that a prison was not often expressly granted. Such grants, however, are not unknown, and an early instance comes from Sussex itself, for in 1200 the Abbot of Fécamp paid to have a prison at Winchelsea.⁹ How he used it and how long it lasted, we do not know, since the prison is not mentioned again. But though grants may have been rare there was no lack of private prisons. Thus in 1279 the Abbot of Robertsbridge kept one at Redland¹⁰ and the Percies one at Petworth.¹¹ With hardly less certainty, the Templars had one at Loxwood in 1288.¹² The Archbishop of Canterbury had prisons in his manors of North Berstead, South Malling and Pagham in 1266-7.¹³ The Abbot of Battle's gaol at Battle is mentioned first in 1246¹⁴ and lasted long. The first references to Arundel and Bramber are somewhat earlier, to Lewes and Pevensey a little later.

¹ *V.C.H. Sussex* ix. 15.

³ *Pat. R.* 1216-25, 158.

⁵ *Close R.* 1234-7, 453.

⁷ *Ibid.* 229.

⁸ W. M. Palmer (*Assizes held at Cambridge A.D. 1260* (1930), p. vii) claims that every lord of a manor who held a court had some kind of a prison in the 13th century. While this may perhaps be going rather far, Palmer is certainly able to point to many prisons in quite small places in 13th-century Cambridgeshire.

⁹ *Pipe R.* 1200 (P.R.S. N.S. xii), 248.

¹⁰ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxi. 81. Assuming that "Rechelond" is Redland in Robertsbridge.

¹¹ *Plac. de Quo Warranto*, 751.

¹² *J.I.* 1/926 m. 22d.

¹³ *Close R.* 1264-8, 419-20; C 144/2/15.

¹⁴ *Close R.* 1242-7, 402.

² *Rot. Lit. Pat.* 146.

⁴ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii. 15, 28.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1237-42, 14.

Arundel, Bramber, Lewes and Pevensey are all towns with castles in them and it is almost certain that the prisons in those towns stood inside the castles.¹ On most occasions when they are referred to as prisons, these castles were in the hands of subjects. The FitzAlans owned Arundel, the Braoses Bramber, and the Warennes Lewes. Pevensey for a while belonged to Peter of Savoy. The evidence about these castle-prisons is sufficiently sparse and puzzling to make it wise to set it out in detail.

In 1232-3 two approvers were sent away from Arundel to Newgate.² The prison is not heard of again until 1272. In that year and in four subsequent ones up to 1306 prisoners were bailed out of the castle by writs directed to the sheriff,³ and between 1275-6 and 1295 at least seventeen commissions were issued to deliver the gaol.⁴ In 1232-3, between 1272 and 1287, and between 1302 and 1306 the nominal owner was under age.⁵ During the second of these minorities, in 1274-5 and 1279, enquiries were conducted into the exercise of the FitzAlans' prison rights. The jurors found that suspects taken within the honour of Arundel ought to be imprisoned in Arundel castle and not sent to the county gaol at Guildford. Violaters of this liberty were fined.⁶

In 1234 and on three subsequent occasions up to 1288 bail writs were issued in favour of prisoners at Bramber,⁷ and in 1295 a Bramber prisoner was pardoned.⁸ In 1234 the heir to Bramber was a minor. On all later occasions the tenant-in-chief was in seisin.⁹ No deliveries are known.

Bail writs in favour of prisoners at Lewes were issued in 1249¹⁰ and 1261¹¹ and the prison is mentioned on several other occasions up to 1305.¹² John de Warenne, seventh Earl of Surrey, had full seisin of his Sussex lands in 1256.¹³ He died in 1304 and in 1306 the ancestral property was redelivered to the eighth earl.¹⁴ In 1279 Warenne's claim to keep a prison was tested upon a writ of *quo warranto*. It was found that suspects taken with the mainour within the rape of Lewes or prosecuted by a party with immediate suit

¹ For the frequency with which gaols stood in castles, a not unexpected phenomenon, see *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., v. 9-10.

² E 372/77 Sussex.

³ *Close R.*: 1268-72, 474; *Cal. Close* 1272-9, 64, 372; 1288-96, 99; 1302-7, 370.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 339, 407; 1281-92, 303, 308; 1292-1301, 166; 45th D.K. Rep., 78; 46th Rep., 83; 48th Rep., 6; 49th Rep., 8; 50th Rep., 10; C 66/101 m.18d., /102 m.25d., /105 m.20d. Systematic search for commissions has not been carried beyond 14 Edward I. Further search would be unlikely to change the facts significantly.

⁵ *Peerage*, s.v. Arundel.

⁶ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 214; *Plac. de Quo Warranto*, 751.

⁷ *Close R.* 1234-7, 17; 1256-9, 353, 357; *Cal. Close* 1279-88, 501.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, 143.

⁹ *Peerage*, s.v. Breuse.

¹⁰ *Close, R.* 1247-51, 175.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1261-4, 7.

¹² *Cal. Close.* 1302-7, 299.

¹³ *V.C.H. Sussex* vii. 2.

¹⁴ *Peerage*, s.v. Surrey.

(*secta incontinenti*) ought to be kept in Lewes prison and justice done upon them *sicut est in curia baronum*. Those attached merely upon suspicion, upon indictment, or without the mainour and immediate suit ought to be reported to the sheriff. If the sheriff did not come to claim them within three days, the earl was to send them to Guildford under escort of his own bailiffs and therefore at his own expense.¹ This seems to imply that the earl's prison was fit enough to hold those prisoners against whom suspicion was so strong that their conviction might be confidently presumed or who were appealed by appellors who were prepared to prosecute forthwith. Such prisoners might be expected to be quickly tried. It was no place, however, for those whose trial might need a lengthy preparation. A separate source tells us that the prison was held in fee under the Warenes by the porter of the castle.² No deliveries are known.

Bail writs in favour of Pevensey prisoners were issued in 1259,³ 1287-8⁴ and 1289⁵ and about 1305 certain persons had been committed to the castle by "vagabond" commissioners.⁶ The castle had been granted to Peter of Savoy in 1246.⁷ After his death in 1268 it remained for many years in the hands of the Crown.⁸ No deliveries are known.

If we look at all the evidence that we have about the franchise gaols of Sussex we shall reach one definite conclusion: their management was not exempt from royal intervention. Prisoners were sent to them, bailed out of them, pardoned or delivered, as though the prisons had been common gaols. It was not only during a minority that the Crown did these things, but also when the tenant-in-chief was seised. This is not really surprising. The cleavage between royal and franchisal, central and local government was not so sharp as logical analysis can make it. It was the king's government that the lords of franchises were privileged to carry on. In law all prisons were the king's⁹ and the term *prisona regis* is as often given to franchise prisons as to those that were at a sheriff's entire disposal.

That the lords of some of these franchises nevertheless had special rights of prison is of course equally clear. The claims of the Fitz-Alans and Warenes have already been recited. The Archbishop of Canterbury claimed to send away to Maidstone gaol suspects taken upon his Sussex lands.¹⁰ The Crown does not repudiate these claims. At the same time it tends to reduce or limit them. The theory has already been evolved that the imprisonment of suspect felons, unless their felonies are open and notorious, is to be enjoyed

¹ *Plac. de Quo Warranto*, 751.

³ *Close R.* 1256-9, 395.

⁵ *Cal. Close* 1288-96, 2.

⁷ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 296.

⁹ This was the later doctrine enunciated by Coke *Inst.* ii. 589. It is implicit in the language of 13th-century writs.

¹⁰ J.I. 1/921 m. 8.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxi. 88.

⁴ C 144/28/2.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 351.

⁸ Lower, *Hist. of Sussex*, ii. 93.

by them alone who have the power to try such felonies; and that power is confined to the King himself and those whose liberties are very wide.¹ Now the theory begins to take concrete shape. Thus Lewes is to house heinous suspects for three days but no more. The sheriff's bailiffs, who enter the archbishop's liberty at Withyham and carry off two suspect thieves to Guildford, escape without reproach.² The archbishop's claims are viewed with apprehension.³

A more striking instance of restriction is exhibited in a story told at the eyre of 1279 about the prison at Bramber. In that year, or shortly before, two people had taken sanctuary in Shoreham church. They left it and were handed over to the Constable of Bramber, who kept them for a fortnight. The sheriff argued that this was five times too long: a man should not be kept above three nights anywhere in the county except in Pevensey Castle; he should be sent instead *ad prisonam domini regis*,—a phrase here used in a narrow sense. The whole county agreed that this was a true statement of the law.⁴ If it was the law, it was not the custom, for in several places, apart from Pevensey, the three-day term was much exceeded. But even if the statement was not true, it is none the less important: whatever the theory or the practice might once have been, private prisons now ought to be, for serious felonies, mere staging points upon the road to Guildford. Pevensey, the excepted place, was no exception. Like Hastings it was in royal hands, and could be used, as Hastings had itself been used, to supplement the common gaol in Surrey.

Instead of scaling down the privileges of a franchise prison the Crown might regularly deliver that prison, and so it treated the only three such prisons that are henceforth conspicuous in Sussex. Indeed in times to come it was the law that none possessed the franchise of a prison unless that prison were delivered,⁵ and this doctrine may be rooted in the later 13th century.

We have seen that in Henry III's time there had been no Sussex gaol deliveries, once the solitary delivery of Chichester in 1236 had ended. In 1272 there is a sudden change. Between that year and 1293, when a new system begins, Hastings was delivered three times, Arundel at least fourteen, Chichester at least seven, and Battle at least four.⁶ The last Hastings delivery took place in 1275-6, but the delivery of Arundel continued for another twenty years,⁷ and of Battle and Chichester for a much longer term. It is indeed the

¹ Bracton, *De Legibus* . . . *Anglie*, ed. G. E. Woodbine, ii. 345-6.

² J.I. 1/926 m. 12.

³ "Et quia hujusmodi missio de uno comitatu in alium comitatum est contra coronam domini regis et unde corona sua leditur, ideo inde loquendum": J.I. 1/921 m. 8.

⁴ J.I. 1/921 m. 33 *olim* 25.

⁵ 7 *Mod.* 31: Chief Justice Holt's judgment of 1702.

⁶ Hastings deliveries: 42nd *D.K. Rep.*, 572; 43rd *Rep.*, 459; 44th *Rep.*, 194. Battle deliveries: 45th *Rep.* 88-9; 46th *Rep.*, 94; For Arundel deliveries see above, p. 73, and for Chichester deliveries below, p. 76-7.

⁷ The last delivery noted was in 1295: *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, 166.

case that in 1272 the heir to Arundel was under age, and that consequently the Crown may have found it easy to use the castle as a prison. But the castle-prison was in frequent use until the end of the century and was not given up or left without delivery upon the succession of Richard FitzAlan in 1287.

The story of the gaol at Chichester was left, intentionally unended, in 1237. There seemed some reason to think that the prison might then have been abandoned. Yet sparing references to a prison at Chichester continue. They are hard to interpret. Are we dealing with the old county gaol of 1198 or with some other?

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, had been granted Chichester in 1227.¹ No doubt he occupied the castle soon after that, and his doing so could have been a reason why the sheriff took to using Guildford. In any case no gaol can have stood in the castle after 1269 when Richard gave the site to the Grey Friars.² In 1279 Edmund, the next Earl, claimed to do justice upon all felons taken in the city with the mainour or with sufficient suit. The jury did not reject this claim but made it clear that persons indicted of felony were to be imprisoned in the city gaol and thence delivered.³ Such deliveries had begun in 1276-7.⁴ The Earl of Cornwall's jurisdiction was such that he could have had a prison of his own, but if he had, the city had one also by this time. To which prison, if two there were, the bail writs of 1246,⁵ 1252,⁶ and 1268⁷ refer cannot now be known. The city prison, as we shall see, continues to be mentioned. By 1363 it stood near the church of the Black Friars in East Street.⁸

The jurisdiction that the Earl of Cornwall enjoyed at Chichester presumably was similar to that which the Earl of Arundel enjoyed at Arundel. The first seems to have been forced to use the prison of another liberty—the prison of the city. The second kept his prison for a while on the understanding that it would be regularly delivered, as was the prison of Chichester city. Chichester and Arundel, however, are not many miles apart, and it is not surprising that one of them should have been abandoned in the end. It was Chichester that gained the victory. A city needed a prison in any case to house such prisoners as were justiciable in its own courts, and the Crown was more indulgent to corporate franchise holders than it was to great lords. The claims of Arundel to house a felons' gaol may well have weakened when Richard FitzAlan succeeded, and under the new system of delivery, which is described below, there would have been little object in reviving them.

In 1293 the story of gaol delivery in all counties is greatly simplified. The "four knights" are finally replaced by a couple of professional justices who go on circuit over a wide area.⁹ Surrey

¹ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii. 197-8.

³ *Plac. de Quo Warranto*, 761.

⁵ *Close R.* 1242-7, 397.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1268-72, 13.

⁹ *V.C.H. Wilts.*, v. 39,

² *V.C.H. Sussex* iii. 20-21.

⁴ *46th D.K. Rep.*, 128.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1251-3, 97.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iii. p. 191.

and Sussex, naturally enough, were grouped in the same circuit, the rolls for which survive, though as a severely broken series. Robert Malet and Thomas de Belhus set off in 1293 to deliver the gaols of Guildford, Chichester and many other places. They sat at Guildford on 13 February where they heard Sussex pleas as well as those of Surrey. On 16 February they were at Chichester.¹ For many generations such commissioners, who after 1299 were supposed to be substantially the same persons as the justices of assize,² tried Sussex prisoners. The sessions at Guildford were plainly the most important. Sussex pleas are always to be found upon the rolls, sometimes mixed up with the Surrey pleas, sometimes segregated from them. But the justices continued to visit Chichester as well, to deliver the city gaol. There are rolls of their sessions for 1309,³ 1310⁴ and 1330⁵, and it is known that they also sat in other years. The last recorded instance was in 1504.⁶ The justices also visited the gaol at Battle and the record of their deliveries survives for 1303,⁷ 1337,⁸ 1344⁹ and 1378.¹⁰ Commissions were also issued in 1366¹¹ and 1438.¹²

It is not hard to imagine that the removal of Sussex men into Surrey, at least of those arrested east of Beachy Head, was a severe inconvenience to the commons of Sussex. Nor may the arrival of such prisoners at Guildford have been altogether congenial to the men of Surrey. At any rate in 1306 the gaoler of Guildford complained to the Crown that his castle was too weak to hold as many prisoners as it then contained, inflated as its population was by the presence of Sussex men indicted by oyer and terminer commissioners. The King, however, somewhat curtly refused to move any prisoners away, recommending, instead of that, the strengthening or enlargement of the building.¹³ In 1320 the commons of Sussex in turn complained that there was no gaol in their county and that there was no certain place in which to hold the county court or to house the sheriff's staff. Upon the plea for a gaol the Crown postponed action.¹⁴ It was a time when agitation about inconveniently placed prisons was in the air. In 1314-5¹⁵ and 1318-19¹⁶ there were complaints about the removal of the Berkshire gaol from Wallingford to Windsor, and in 1325 the commons of Suffolk petitioned for the restoration of the gaol at Ipswich and the return of Suffolk prisoners from Norwich, whither the sheriff, who was also Sheriff of Norfolk, had removed them.¹⁷ How the men of Berkshire and Suffolk suc-

¹ J.I. 3/91.

³ J.I. 3/111.

⁵ J.I. 3/123.

⁷ J.I. 3/104.

⁹ Ibid.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1364-7, 480.

¹³ *Rot. Parl.* i. 193.

¹⁵ Ibid. 300.

¹⁶ *Docs. illustrative of Engl. Hist.*, ed. H. Cole, 40.

¹⁷ *Rot. Parl.* i. 436.

² 27 Edw. I c. 3.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1509, 359.

⁸ J.I. 3/129.

¹⁰ J.I. 3/163.

¹² Ibid. 1436-41, 265.

¹⁴ Ibid. 379.

ceeded in their applications has not yet been ascertained, but certainly the men of Sussex failed in theirs. Perhaps there was a little reason on the Crown's side, for it is clear that the gaol in Chichester was not merely one for citizens but, in 1330 at all events, was holding men from the hundreds of Bosham and Steyning.¹ There was also the prison at Battle. But as the men of Hertfordshire had secured a gaol in Hertford in 1290² and the men of Leicestershire one in Leicester about 1300,³ the commons of Sussex were not treated very leniently. Perhaps they would have fared better if, like Hertfordshire and Leicestershire, they had raised the funds themselves for building such a gaol.

Sussex renewed her plea for a common gaol in 1347, but without avail.⁴ The shortage of prison accommodation in the county was, however, so acute at the time of the Peasants' Revolt that the Earl of Arundel was required to take felons into his castles at Arundel and Lewes. The Crown issued its directions to him in 1381⁵ and next year formally constituted Lewes castle a felons' gaol for two years.⁶ Apart from these emergency arrangements, Arundel and Lewes play little part in later mediaeval prison history until Lewes comes prominently to notice once again as the site of a common gaol. Each has in fact been encountered only once in this period. In 1349 Lewes held the body of a labourer who had failed to pay a sum of money extortionately demanded of him by the collector of the Fifteenth.⁷ This man, of course, was not a felon. In 1397 two men were sent to Arundel castle but were enlarged the same year.⁸ Their committal was just after the attainder and forfeiture of the eleventh Earl of Arundel, so the castle was presumably at the king's disposal. Of the other prisons of earlier times Bramber is also only heard of once: in 1355 some men of Shoreham arrested two pirates and put them into Bramber castle, as the nearest place of safety.⁹ Pevensey, on the other hand, recurs more frequently. In 1325-6 it was housing some of the king's rebellious subjects,¹⁰ and in 1389 a trespasser who had assaulted a man within the liberty of the Cinque Ports.¹¹ The castle had been a possession of the Dukes of Lancaster since 1372¹² and after the accession of Henry IV became parcel of the duchy. As such it could be used as a royal prison, not for common felons but for men of rank. Here lay, in charge of Sir Henry Pelham the constable, a senior duchy official

¹ J.I. 3/123.

³ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 91-2.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 73.

⁷ J.I. 1/941A. m. 8.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, 227; *Cal. Close* 1396-9, 164.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1354-8, 202.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close* 1323-7, 419, 423, 479.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1396-9, 14.

¹² R. Somerville, *Hist. of Duchy of Lancaster*, 137.

² *Rot. Parl.* i. 61.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.* ii. 194.

⁶ *Ibid.* 119.

and three other persons in 1404,¹ Edward, Duke of York in 1405,² King James I of Scotland in 1415,³ the Queen Mother, Joan of Navarre, from c. 1419 to 1422,⁴ and Sir John Mortimer in 1422 and 1423.⁵ Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, and his young brother may also have been kept in the castle in 1406.⁶ Whether any of these persons was shut up in either of the subterranean buildings that still form part of the gatehouse can only be a matter of conjecture.⁷

The ambition of the men of Sussex to possess a common gaol was satisfied at last. In 1487 they petitioned for it once again, asking that it might be set up, not at Chichester, as they had suggested in 1347, but at Lewes.⁸ By this time Lewes had become the meeting place of the county court,⁹ a privilege that it was not to share with Chichester until another 17 years had passed.¹⁰ Two years after the granting of the petition, in July 1489, the justices appointed to deliver Guildford castle were, by a separate commission, appointed to deliver Lewes gaol as well.¹¹

It is not surprising that this long-felt want should have been supplied by a Parliament of Henry VII, for in the same reign, in fact in 1504, the Act concerning escapes was passed.¹² This restored most common gaols to the custody of sheriffs and imposed new fines for negligent escapes. It had been because the men of Sussex were escaping justice that the gaol at Lewes had been granted. The petitioners had argued that a blind eye was turned upon some malefactors, owing to the cost and risk of taking them as far as Guildford. Other malefactors, it was said, were rescued on the way, or, safely housed at Guildford, were wrongfully acquitted through "lack of appearance" of the King's Sussex subjects at the trials. These are all public-spirited arguments. The petitioners of 1320 had been more self-regarding, for they rested their case partly upon the inconvenience to jurors of travelling so far from home.¹³

It was some years before Lewes was properly fitted into the circuit system. In the decade following its first delivery we have record of only three commissions (1493, 1494, 1497) although in the same

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, 364.

² H. Wylie, *Hist. of Engl. under Hen. IV*, ii. 46, 48.

³ Wylie, *Reign of Hen. V*, i. 56-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 223, 394 quoting *inter alia* T. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser. ii. 331).

⁵ Wylie, *Reign of Hen. V*, iii. 395.

⁶ Wylie (*Hen. IV*, ii. 42) presumes this. The boys were certainly in Pelham's custody.

⁷ *Min. Works, Guide.*

⁸ *Rot. Parl.* vi. 388.

⁹ In 1320 the county court had met in no fixed place: *Rot. Parl.* i. 379.

¹⁰ 19 *Hen. VII* c. 24.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 284.

¹² 19 *Hen. VII* c. 10.

¹³ S.C. 8/File 4/157 and /158.

period there were 12 commissions to deliver Guildford.¹ It is only from July 1500 that we can trace a regular succession of Lewes deliveries. From then, however, until the end of Henry VIII's reign there were usually two a year. In the next reign circuits rather than gaols were usually named in the commissions. Lewes, it must be supposed, was regularly delivered as one of the Home Circuit gaols.² Occasionally, too, its delivery was ordered by name. By 1515 its maintenance was a clear responsibility of the joint sheriff of the two counties.³ We do not know precisely where the prison stood at first. The commissions of 1493 and 1494 speak of the gaol of the town of Lewes,⁴ and the meaning may then be that what was in fact a borough gaol had been adopted as the county one. In 1497 the gaol was said to be in Lewes castle,⁵ and thereafter is usually referred to by that title.

As we have seen Chichester gaol continued to be delivered after Lewes had been opened. It is not known that Battle was. Its name, with that of Chichester, appears in a late 15th-century list of gaol towns,⁶ but no commission for its delivery has been found after 1438, though one was issued for the abbot's gaol at Wye in Kent as late as 1520.⁷ Presumably it did not survive the Dissolution. But no sooner had Chichester and Battle disappeared than a new gaol arose at Horsham. The facts about its establishment are not precisely known, but there is good evidence that it had been opened by 1541. It has been surmised, not improbably, that it was an outcome of the Act of 1531-2 enabling justices of the peace to build gaols where such were needed.⁸ Thus Sussex, which for many centuries had had no common gaol at all, entered the modern world with two of them.

About the gaols of Sussex liberties and boroughs in the later Middle Ages, apart from Battle and Chichester, there is at present but little evidence. As we have seen Pevensey was perhaps used as a Cinque Port gaol in 1389, and in 1487 the town prison at Winchelsea was delivered by a special commission, appointed by the Crown because of a vacancy in the office of Lord Warden.⁹ Probably there were many more than these, especially in towns and boroughs that possessed powers to punish trespassers by imprisonment and fine, but their names are hard to come by.

Since clerks could not be hanged, bishops' prisons were needed where clerks, who had failed to purge themselves in courts Christian,

¹ The commissions are printed in *Cal. Pat.* 1484-1509.

² The commissions are printed in *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII.*

³ *L. and P.* 1515-6, p. 303.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 443, 480.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1494-1509, 117.

⁶ B.M. Add. MS. 35205. Dated in catalogue as "temp. Hen. VI," but probably a little later.

⁷ *L. and P.* 1519-23, p. 381.

⁸ W. Albery, *Millenium of Facts in the Hist. of Horsham*, 325, 329.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 212, 214.

could be confined for life. Such prisoners, clerks convict, must have increased in number, as by legal fiction benefit of clergy was extended. We know, however, little enough about the prisons where they lodged, and the prison of the Bishop of Chichester is no exception. In the earlier 13th century, the bishop, like some of his brethren in other dioceses, seems to have had no prison of his own,¹ for in 1236 or shortly before, the king had put the sheriff's gaol at his disposal.² Indeed no reference to a prison for Chichester clerks has been noticed before 1414. We then hear that the bishop kept one in his manor at Amberley,³ presumably in the castle rebuilt in the later 14th century.⁴ In 1440 he had another one in Chichester palace⁵ which is mentioned again in 1479.⁶ It is thought to have been in the gatehouse.⁷

The absence of a common gaol in Sussex resulted in Sussex men, who proved their clergy, being handed over to "a bishop of another county,"—that is to say the Bishop of Winchester,—before whom they established their guilt or innocence. This occurred in 1284⁸ and was still a grievance in 1320.⁹ The effect would have been, of course, that while the trial in court Christian was pending, or after trial if conviction ensued, the clerk would have lain in one of the Bishop of Winchester's prisons. Alternatively, it could happen that none appeared at Guildford to claim a suspect Sussex clerk on the ordinary's behalf. The suspect had then to be remanded to Guildford gaol.¹⁰ If such practices were common the Bishop of Chichester's prisons may not have been of much importance.

¹ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., v. 17.

² *Close R.* 1234-7, 282.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1413-6, 198.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxii. 30.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, 492.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1476-85, 161.

⁷ *Archaeologia* xlv. 225; *V.C.H. Sussex* iii. 152.

⁸ Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, i. 526n., quoting Pecham's register.

⁹ S.C. 8/File 4/157 and /158. These appear to be the originals upon which the enrolled abstract in *Rot. Parl.* i. 379 was based.

¹⁰ A case of 1397. The clerk was eventually pardoned. *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, 110.

MONUMENTS BY JOHN FLAXMAN IN SUSSEX

By RUPERT GUNNIS

It is not altogether by chance that there are in Sussex more monuments by Flaxman than in any other county in England. Some of the sculptor's earliest commissions came from Sussex, and neighbours seeing how admirable were the monuments and tablets he erected in some village church, or perhaps in Chichester Cathedral, decided to employ him. They knew, too, that he was not expensive in his charges and that his designs were excellent, simple and well carried out.

The Sussex monuments by Flaxman are not on the grand scale, his largest, but by no means always his finest, monuments are to be seen in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey.

In our own county Cathedral can be seen some of his best work, and the tablets scattered in Sussex village churches have both beauty and charm, and are infinitely superior to the usual late 18th or early 19th century monumental work with its clumsy figures of "Hope" or "Religion," or a lumpy urn half covered with heavy and coarse drapery.

The first important monument carried out by Flaxman in Sussex was that to the poet, William Collins (Plate I), which was erected in Chichester Cathedral in 1795. On its unveiling the *European Magazine* for that year (p. 199) gave this description of it—

A monument of most exquisite workmanship has been erected by public subscription to the memory of the Poet Collins, who was a native of Chichester, and died in a house adjoining the Cloisters. He is finely represented as just recovered from a wild fit of phrenzy, to which he was unhappily subject, and in a calm and reclining posture, seeking refuge from his misfortunes in the divine consolation of the Gospel, while his lyre and one of the first of his poems, lie neglected on the ground. Above are two beautiful figures of Love and Pity entwined in each other's arms.

The description adds that it was the work of Flaxman who had "just returned from Rome." He had indeed been in that city for seven years, had come back in 1794, and his monument to Collins was the first large commission he had received. It was not his first work for a Sussex patron, as his account book (published by the Walpole Society, 1940, from British Museum Add. MS. 39, 784 B.B.) mentions settling an account with Francis Hare-Naylor of Hurstmonceaux the author of the novel, *Theodosius, the Enthusiast*, for which, it is thought, Flaxman may have designed the plates.

Nor was this the sculptor's first acquaintance with the Sussex squire, for when he had been in Rome he had been commissioned by Mrs. Hare-Naylor to design thirty-nine drawings to illustrate the Iliad of Homer. Though he was paid the miserable sum of fifteen shillings a drawing, the fame they brought him was more than a recompense. It was perhaps owing to his friendship with the Hare-Naylors that Flaxman was asked to design the monument to Collins. In the sculptor's account book is a note that the Committee which had been formed to deal with the question of the monument had agreed to pay him £90; £50 being paid on 3rd March, and the second sum (which for some reason or other came to £46.16.0) on 24th August, "the Monument being erected to the satisfaction of the City."

Beneath Collins' monument are twenty lines of verse by William Hayley, who was also a friend of Flaxman, and who doubtless put in a good word for the sculptor with the Chichester Committee. Hayley must have known that Flaxman was far from rich and deeply anxious to get work on his return to England, indeed, in the account book there are references in 1794 to small sums lent "for three months" by Hayley to his less fortunate friend.

The next monument (if we follow the date of death of the person commemorated, not the date of the erection of the monument) is that to Jane Smith (Plate I) which is also in Chichester Cathedral. She died in 1780, but as there is no bill in Flaxman's note-book, it is difficult to say how long after her death it was put up. All one can say is that, if it was put up soon after 1780, then Flaxman made use of a figure which, on a grander scale, won the praise of every critic. The figure at the top of Jane Smith's monument is a young man seated in an attitude of grief and holding an inverted torch in his hands.

When, in 1801, Flaxman's vast monument to Lord Mansfield was unveiled in Westminster Abbey, the crowds stood in awe looking at the heroic and noble seated marble figure of "silver-tongued Murray," which was based on the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds; then, for the monument is free standing, walking to the back they saw the figure of a boy with the downturned torch. In Jane Smith's monument the figure has his eyes closed in sleep. On Lord Mansfield's monument part of the face of the figure can be seen and the shoulders are bent as if by a sudden weight. It was said that Flaxman had been in Court when Lord Mansfield had sentenced a young criminal to death; with a few swift pencil lines he had caught the expression of hopelessness and horror on the boy's face, as if already in his ears were the cries and shouts of the mobs who would, in a few days, come to watch his last moments on the gallows outside Newgate. On the Chichester monument the figure represents the quiet sleep of death; on Mansfield's, with a few strokes of the chisel, Flaxman was able to show, with the same figure, in the same attitude, the sickening fear of a sudden and violent end.

In 1783 the Rev. John Wickins died at Petworth where he had been rector for many years. His monument (Plate II) was probably erected shortly after his death, for it is a type Flaxman only used in the early part of his career. It shows a child angel in high relief, kneeling on a cloud and pointing to an inscription in an open book. Practically similar monuments by Flaxman can be seen at Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey, Great Gaddesden, Herts., Holme Pierrepont, Notts. and Wortley, Yorks.; indeed the only difference is the text on the open book. We know from Flaxman's account book that the Holme Pierrepont monument cost £100, so that one could imagine that the rector's family paid about the same sum, which would not perhaps be too difficult, for Wickins was a pluralist on no small scale; besides holding two livings, he was a prebendary of the cathedrals of Chichester, Wells and St. Paul's.

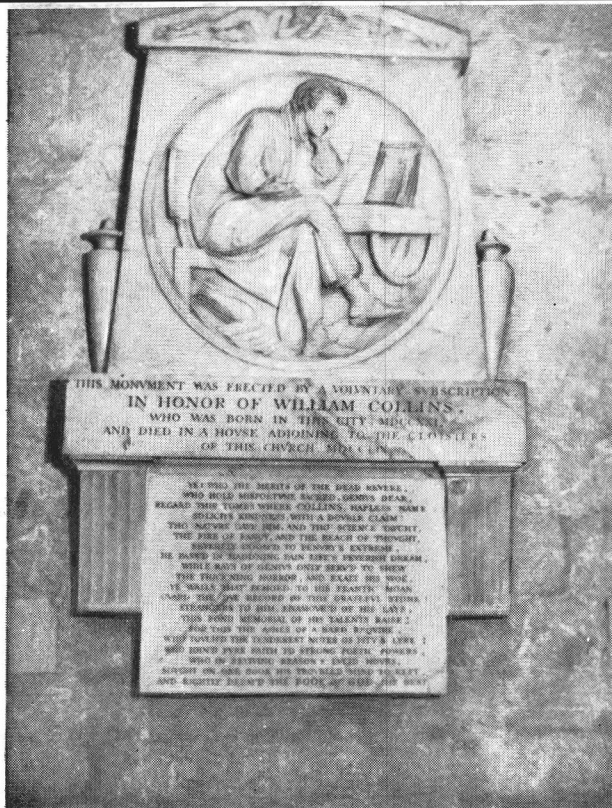
A year after Wickins' death, died another rector, Christopher Dodson of Hurstpierpoint, where he had been for fifty-one years. His tablet is a dull, minor and undistinguished work and merely consists of an oblong rectangle with a coat of arms at the top. Flaxman used this simple monument on other occasions; one in Grosvenor Chapel is to the memory of the notorious political Lord Mayor, John Wilkes.

Sir William Burrell died on 20th January, 1796 and his obituary, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. LXVI, p.86) says he had "in the course of five years made the most ample collections for a History of the County of Sussex, arranged in complete order by rapes and parishes, in 12 folio volumes, besides another of drawings of churches, houses, etc., by Lambert and Grimm, three volumes of monumental inscriptions and four volumes of surveys and records. This work he spared no pains to bring to perfection, though he declined to give it to the publick himself (yet no man was so well qualified for the undertaking as himself), but intended to bequeath it to the British Museum."

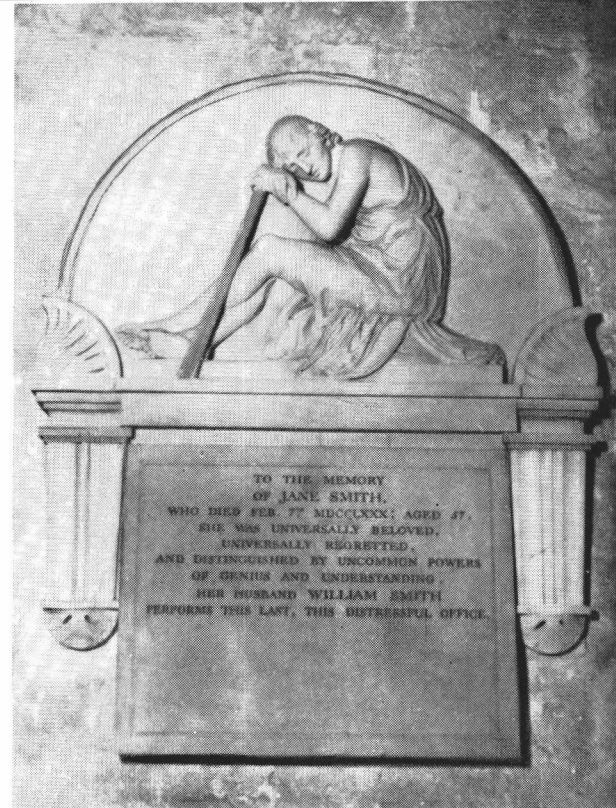
Lady Burrell lost little time in ordering a monument to her husband, and Flaxman notes in his account book, how in April he paid £2.3.0 for "coach and road expenses to and from Cuckfield." This was not to see Lady Burrell who was then living near Dorking, but to select a suitable site for the two monuments she had ordered, one for West Grinstead (Plate III) and the other for Cuckfield.

The journey that Flaxman made to West Grinstead church seems very expensive for he notes—"Post chaise and Turnpikes from Cuckfield to West Grinstead and back £1.6.6."

We can imagine the sculptor looking round West Grinstead church and wondering where his monument should go. Already there were two very grand and impressive 18th century monuments, that to William Powlett (1746) by Michael Rysbrack, and the other to Sir Merrick Burrell (Sir William's uncle) by the obscure Nathaniel Smith, pupil of the celebrated Anglo-French sculptor, L. F. Roubiliac.



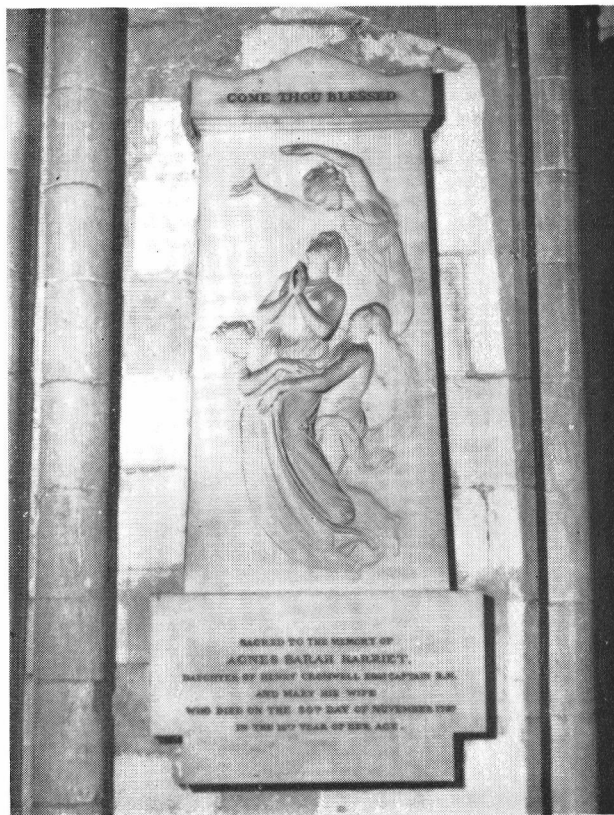
WILLIAM COLLINS, d. 1759.
 Monument erected 1795. Chichester Cathedral.



JANE SMITH, d. 1780.
 Chichester Cathedral.



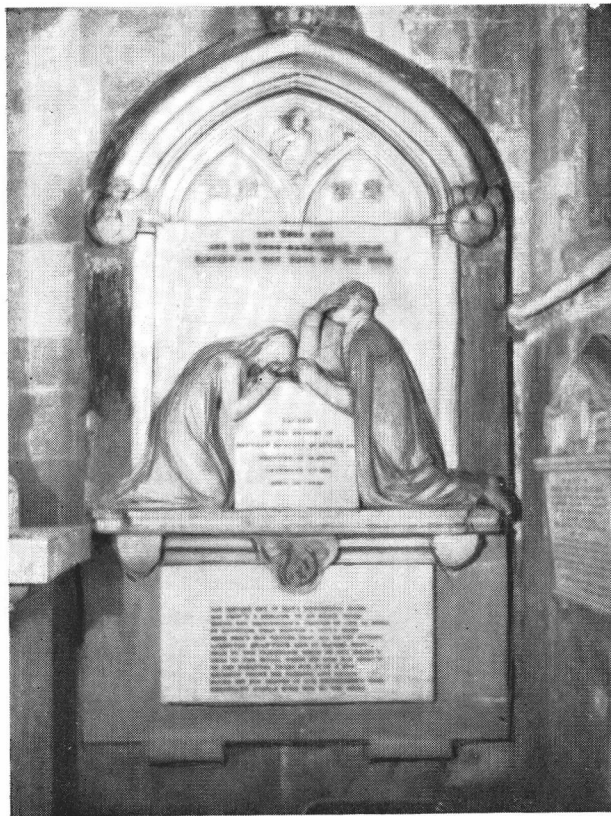
REV. JOHN WICKINS, d. 1783.
Petworth Church.



AGNES CROMWELL, d. 1797.
Chichester Cathedral.



PLATE III
 SIR WILLIAM BURRELL, BART., d. 1796.
 West Grinstead Church,



MATTHEW QUANTOCK, d. 1812.
Chichester Cathedral.



IN MEMORY OF
THE REVEREND THOMAS BALL,
WHO DIED IN HIS SEVENTY-FOURTH YEAR
MCCCLXX
AND OF MARGARET HIS WIFE,
DAUGHTER AND COHEIRESS OF WILLIAM MILL,
WHO WAS BARRON AT THE AGE OF TWENTY
AND HAVING FORBIDDEN HER OWN
AND AUNT UNCLE

PLATE IV

Flaxman's Hellenic style would not go well too near the Roman toga-clad Powlett or the pyramid and draped medalion of Sir Merrick's cenotaph, and he therefore selected a position by the south nave aisle and on the left of the tower arch, close to Sir Merrick's monument (though he was not buried at West Grinstead but at Beckenham), yet not overshadowed by the other works. Flaxman's monument is of great beauty with its superb and richly carved urn at the top of a rectangular sarcophagus, and though urns figured in several of Flaxman's monuments, yet I think this is the most graceful he ever carved.

The second monument to Sir William is a small work set above the south door of Cuckfield church and perhaps hardly worthy of the sculptor.

There is another minor work by Flaxman in West Grinstead church, but so uninspired and tame that few, if indeed any, visitors notice it. It is to the memory of Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John Woodward, rector of West Grinstead, who died in 1797, and is set on the north wall of the chancel at the east end. One feels that Flaxman himself could not have taken much interest in this tablet, for though it is noted in his account book, it is, unlike most of his work, not signed by him, and one wonders if it was done by one of his assistants.

These last two little tablets may be dull works, but we now come to one of his most beautiful small tablets, that to Agnes Cromwell, in Chichester Cathedral (Plate II). She died in 1797; the inscription says—"The fatal effects of a consumption snatched her from the arms of those to whom she was deservedly dear." The tablet shows Agnes being carried to heaven by three angels, and is an enchanting composition, its low relief being beautifully carved.

In the same year that Agnes Cromwell died, Flaxman put up a monument in Rye church in commemoration of Thomas Owens (d. 1769), Elizabeth Weller (d. 1781) and Catherine Owens (d. 1797). The monument was ordered by John Norton of Rye. The monument has a fluted urn at the top which is wreathed with yew; again the urn is well carved, as indeed are the rest of the details, and it is a work of distinction.

In Ashurst church is Flaxman's monument to Sarah Wilson, 1765-1798, the daughter of Thomas Wilson of Tenterden, Kent. Flaxman's bill, for £50, is made out to the Rev. Dr. Wilson (rector of Ashurst, 1783-1806), the dead girl's uncle; and, according to the inscription, it was at his house that she died, while "on a visit." Her body was taken to the family vault at Tenterden, but the uncle erected the cenotaph in his church. It is a pretty little work with the upright inscription tablet surmounted by a fluted urn, the base of which is flanked by half palmette acroteria.

The sculptor's next Sussex monument had a special meaning for Flaxman, for it was erected to the memory of his pupil Thomas Alphonso Hayley, who died in 1800 and was buried at Eartham.

Thomas was the natural son of the poet, William Hayley, a great friend of Flaxman's, and was born in 1780. Hayley's wife, Eliza, adopted the child, treating the boy as if he was her own son. Thomas, at a very early age, showed an aptitude for drawing, and attracted the attention of both the portrait painter, George Romney, and also of John Flaxman; in 1795 he was articled to the latter as a resident pupil for three years. During this period Thomas produced several independent works, including busts of his master and of Lord Thurlow. In 1798 Thomas, who had never been strong, was found to be suffering from curvature of the spine, and abandoning all work in London, returned to his father's house at Eartham, where, after two years of suffering, he died. Flaxman's monument to his favourite pupil is in the form of a mandorla-shaped panel, in which is a relief of a winged angel holding in her left hand a palm branch, and in her upraised right hand a wreath. On the inscription tablet are the words "John Flaxman, Sculptor, dedicates this stone to the virtues and talents of his beloved scholar."

Francis Dear died about 1799 and his monument in Chichester Cathedral was erected in 1803; the inscription tells us that he, in the "Official capacity of Registrars to two Spiritual Courts, acquired the enviable reputation of unspotted integrity." The monument is the classical type of which Flaxman was so fond. Its upright inscription tablet is flanked by two Virtues, Faith and Hope, which he used again on the monument to Archdeacon Courtail, who died in 1806 and was buried at Burwash. There are of course slight differences: in the Dear monument Faith holds her anchor by her side and in Courtail's it is held in front of her. In the main the two monuments are similar, but none the worse for that, as this simple design was one of Flaxman's best.

Again, in Chichester Cathedral is the monument to Sarah Udney, wife of a sugar merchant in the West Indies. She died in 1811, and the sculptor, having for the moment abandoned classical art, turns here to Gothic. Mrs. Udney is shown reclining, her left hand supports her head, her right rests on an open book, and the composition is surrounded by a Gothic frame. Flaxman used this type of design several times, but it has never, to me, seemed as successful as those monuments based on Classical art and design.

Flaxman's next monument, also in the Cathedral, is again Gothic in design, a fine composition, and it is odd that, as far as I know, Flaxman did not use this design again. It is to Matthew Quantock (Plate IV), who, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1813, p. 89) "while skating on a pond near Chichester and although an expert swimmer, sunk in such a calamitous situation, that he could not be extracted." The monument shows the kneeling mourning parents and is set in a Gothic frame and is both a moving and beautiful memorial.

Matthew was only twenty years old when he died. Only a year older was George John Frederick, 4th Duke of Dorset, who was

killed at Killiney, near Dublin, while hunting with Lord Powerscourt's hounds. His body was brought back to Withyham for burial in the Sackville Chapel and Flaxman, for the Duke's monument, returned to the classical style. It is a large work and shows the seated mourning figure of the mother in Hellenistic draperies, her head resting on her arm, which is supported by an altar on which is an urn. Above is a medalion of her son, who, rather curiously is shown in contemporary dress; but the medalion is probably a copy of a portrait.

Dean Ball died in 1770, but it was not till 1819 that a monument was erected in Chichester Cathedral, to him and his wife, she having survived him by thirteen years. Why it was so long after the death of both the Dean and his wife that the monument was put up, is puzzling: the Dean had, it would seem, provided for it in his will, but it may be that some relation had a life interest in the capital which was aside for the monument, and it was not till his—or her—death that a memorial could be put up. Whatever the reason we may well be pleased, for it meant that Flaxman was commissioned to do the work and produced a lovely design. The monument (Plate IV) is oval and shows in high relief an angel seated on the base of a column and comforting a mourning woman, whose head is buried in her arms. Round the edge of the relief are the words—"They shall in no wise lose their reward." The angel is a delightfully natural figure, who looks as if he had just flown down from heaven and has perched for a while on the column; the bent back of the woman and her draperies form a most graceful arc, and the whole monument is one of the best Flaxman ever carved.

Flaxman's last Sussex monument, also in the Cathedral, is to Admiral Henry Frankland, who died in 1823. The central figure of "Resignation" he had used before in various other monuments, nor was the symbolism of the anchor and the flag lying against the triangular pediment, and covering the corner of the monument with its folds, a fresh conceit; Flaxman had used it on other naval tombs. Yet the figure of "Resignation" is superbly carved and the pose of the head most moving.

Such then are Flaxman's memorials in Sussex. This is not the place to discuss his place in the history of English art, nor to examine the trends and schools which influenced his work; yet, before we leave him we might have a glimpse of what sort of man he was. He had a sickly childhood, was weak and slightly malformed, he was deeply religious, kind and ever anxious to help younger artists. He preferred to live a retired life and a rival sculptor, Sir Richard Westmacott, gave this rather patronising description of him—"Flaxman, Sir, lived as if he did not belong to this world; his ways were not our ways. He has odd fashions; he dressed—you know how he dressed; he dined at one, wrought after dinner, which no other artist does, drank tea at six, and then, Sir, no one ever found him at the evening parties of the rich or noble; he was happy

at home, and so he kept himself." He may have been dull company for the more dashing and convivial artists, yet, he was a very great craftsman, and though we may not now agree with that knowledgeable collector and patron of the arts, Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, who, on receiving the sculptor's group of the "Fury of Athamas," cried "Flaxman is the greatest artist who ever lived, and I am possessed of the greatest work done in sculpture"; yet we may say that his memorials in Sussex show that he must for ever take a high place in the ranks of British sculptors.

1896 & 1959, A COMPARISON

By F. BENTHAM STEVENS, F.S.A.

The year 1896 was a notable one in the history of the Sussex Archaeological Society for it was its Jubilee year. This was celebrated with the appropriate rejoicings and junketings, including a Dinner at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, and a Luncheon, at the invitation of the Duke of Norfolk, in the Baron's Hall at Arundel Castle. Another event in that year, which no doubt at the time passed almost unnoticed, was in the course of time to prove of cardinal importance to the Society. This was the election by the Committee (as it was then called) at its meeting at the White Hart Hotel, Lewes, on 24th September of "Louis Francis Salzman, Esquire of Downford, Hailsham" as a member of the Society. At that date Salzman was 18 years of age. He had left Haileybury: and in the following month entered Pembroke College, Cambridge.

He must soon have given evidence of his exceptional gifts, for when the formation of the Sussex Record Society was promoted by a few members of the Committee of the Archaeological Society he was asked to participate: and at the inaugural meeting on 26th February 1901 he was elected as one of the members of the original Council. Two years later, at the Annual General Meeting held on 18th March 1903, he was elected a member of the Council (as it had now become) of the Archaeological Society.

The Editor of the *Collections*, the Reverend William Hudson having resigned, the Society at its Annual Meeting in 1908, elected the Reverend J. Cavis Brown as his successor. Unfortunately the precaution of first obtaining his consent had been overlooked: and this was not forthcoming. Finding itself stranded without an Editor, the Council, at its meeting on 8th November 1908, asked Salzman "to undertake the onerous duties of Editor." This he agreed to do: and he was formally elected Editor at the Annual General Meeting on 24th March 1909. The first Volume which he edited was Volume LII, which is dated October 1909. To anyone looking back after Salzman has held the office with such distinction for fifty years, it may seem strange that the Council only asked him to undertake the Editorship after another member had declined to do so, and that even then there was a delay of many months. But the circumstances were special. The Council had been acutely divided in regard to the provision of headquarters for the Society; and the purchase of Barbican House was only decided on under considerable pressure from the general body of members. At the Annual Meeting in 1908, when the new Editor should have been appointed, six members of what may be termed the Barbican House party (including Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford as he then was) had, after

a contested election, secured seats on the Council. Salzman was then a young man, and was not resident in Sussex: and it may well have been that some of the older members of the Council hesitated to entrust to him sole responsibility for what was, in those days, the principal activity of the Society.

Such were the early stages of Salzman's long and most fruitful years of service to the Society. It has occurred to me as one who has been his colleague on the Council for upwards of fifty years that it might be of interest to compare the Society as it was about the turn of the century with the Society as it is to-day. Incidentally this will afford an opportunity to fill in one or two gaps in Salzman's own otherwise full and detailed history of the Society's first hundred years which appeared in the Centenary Volume (1946). For instance, although in that article Salzman gave biographical and other details of his predecessors in the post of Editor, when it came to his own tenure of that office, with characteristic modesty, he dismissed the subject with an equally characteristic quip!

One of the most striking contrasts between the early and later history of the Society is that in the 63 years before Salzman became Editor there had been no less than nine holders of that office to say nothing of an editorial committee, and that only fifty-one volumes had been published. Moreover there had from time to time been differences of opinion between the Editor for the time being and the Committee; and long delays and other difficulties had arisen. During the last fifty years the Society has been fortunate enough to have only one Editor who, notwithstanding two world wars and a continuous rise in production costs, has succeeded in publishing forty-five volumes. These volumes have followed one another smoothly and regularly and, except on one long forgotten occasion, no question of editorial policy has ever had to be discussed by the Council. Any part which the Council has taken in regard to the *Collections* has been limited to such matters as changes from one printer to another, and an enquiry as to the most suitable paper for the Volume which resulted in an interesting report printed in full in Volume LXXI (1930). The fact that he has had to deal with no less than six different printers must have added considerably to the Editor's worries.

The only possible criticism which could be advanced is that recent volumes are much smaller than those of earlier years. Actually Salzman's fourth volume (LV, 1912) with its 383 pages is the largest of the whole series of ninety-six volumes: and the volumes published prior to 1914 certainly take up much more room on our shelves than those of later years. But this is partly due to the thickness of the paper used in the early days: and only partly to the greater number of pages. And in any case the slimming of later volumes is most certainly not due to the Editor, but rather to the inexorable rise in the cost of printing, and possibly to occasional faint remonstrances from a harassed Financial Secretary!

In this connection it must also be remembered that prior to Volume LXXV (1934) the *Collections* had, in addition to the main articles, always included Notes and Queries and sometimes reviews of Sussex books. In 1926 *Sussex Notes and Queries* began to appear as a separate publication. This was in itself a notable development in the activities of the Society. For a time a certain number of Notes and Queries continued to appear in the annual volume; but it was no doubt sound policy to reserve this for major articles.

A more important and significant contrast is in the subject matter of the various articles which have appeared in the annual volumes. In Volume XL (1896) there were thirteen papers, none of which dealt with any pre-Norman Conquest subject: in Volume XLI (1898) there were two short pre-Conquest articles of three pages each: in Volume LI (1909)—Salzman's first volume—the only article on any pre-Norman Conquest subject was one by him on the excavations which he himself had recently conducted at Pevensey Castle. From that time on the number of articles on pre-Norman Conquest subjects tended to increase, partly owing to Salzman's own activity. For instance he contributed to Volume LV (1912) an article on excavations at Selsey, and in Volume LVI (1914) he collaborated with Arthur F. Griffith in an article on the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alfriston. In the next volume (LVII 1915) appeared the first of many articles by Dr. Eliot Curwen, the subject being "Stane Street in its passage over the South Downs."

Pre-historic topics were still relegated to Notes and Queries at the end of the volume, but in Volume LVIII (1916) Hadrian Allcroft broke fresh ground with a long article on "Earthworks of West Sussex." From that time on the number of articles on pre-historic subjects by Eliot Curwen, E. Cecil Curwen, H. S. Toms and others tended to increase.

As a result a suitable balance between pre-history, Roman and Anglo-Saxon times and the Middle Ages and later has been maintained. During the early years of the century there had been a strong bias in favour of genealogical and manorial history; and pedigrees were more numerous than plans. It is by no means the least of Salzman's achievements that although his own personal interest has been mainly in mediaeval or at any rate post-Roman Conquest research he has, as Editor, taken the widest view of his responsibilities and welcomed contributions on every period and every phase of archaeology.

In one respect there is no difference between 1909 and 1959. Salzman, as shown in his own review of the first fifty-one volumes of the Society's *Collections*, inherited from his predecessors a high standard; and this has been consistently maintained throughout the forty-five volumes for which he has been responsible. That this was due in part to the contributors Salzman would be the first to admit;

and the record is a remarkable one. The Editor of any archaeological publication—to say nothing of a mere county Society's *Collections*—would have counted himself fortunate to have been able to call on such widely recognized authorities as J. H. Round, P. M. Johnston, Eliot Curwen, E. Cecil Curwen, Walter H. Godfrey, C. J. P. Cave and I. D. Margary. These were all active members of the Society and frequent contributors to the volumes under Salzman's Editorship. Other notable contributors have been Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Sir W. H. St. John Hope, W. C. Renshaw, K.C., Sir Charles Thomas-Stanford, Baronet, E. Clive Rouse, Sir Charles Peers, A. Hadrian Allcroft and Ian C. Hannah. And there have been many others with special knowledge of some aspect of Sussex history as, for instance, the Reverend Canon J. H. Cooper, the Reverend Walter Budgen, W. D. Peckham, J. E. Couchman, Brigadier-General Fane Lambarde, Mrs. C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, S. E. Winbolt, Ernest Straker, L. V. Grinsell and Dr. A. E. Wilson. The Society as a whole, and Salzman as its Editor, may well be proud of having had available the services of so many scholars and experts in such a varied range of subjects.

To complete the record of Salzman's editorship a few minor changes may be mentioned. On the completion with Volume LXXV (1934) of the third series of twenty-five volumes of the *Collections*, he suggested, and the Council readily agreed, that Roman numerals should no longer be used for the volumes so that the next volume was numbered 76. At the same time he introduced the excellent practice of indicating the year of publication on the spine of the bound volumes.

A much less welcome change was forced upon the Council by the need for economy when it decided, with Salzman's concurrence, that the annual volume should be issued in paper covers, unless a member notified his or her desire to have a copy bound in cloth and made an additional payment to cover the cost.

The publication of an annual volume is in many ways the most important function of the Society in achieving its object of promoting the study of archaeology in Sussex. But from another point of view the maintenance of its museums is also an essential part of its work: indeed this was expressly recognized by the Lands Tribunal in the recent rating appeals. In this direction there is the greatest possible contrast between the conditions prevailing prior to 1907 and those of the present time. Until 1907 the museum comprised only miscellaneous exhibits housed in the damp and badly lighted rooms of the southern tower of the Keep and the Barbican. Notwithstanding the cramped space various articles with no relation to Sussex history had been accepted: and one of my earliest recollections of the Council is its decision to get rid of a collection of African assegais!

It was, of course, the acquisition of Barbican House which made it possible to develop the Museum: but so rapidly did the

scope of the Museum expand that, when available, Anne of Cleves House was brought into use. The accommodation there has been twice extended: and there are now subsidiary museums at Priest House, West Hoathly and Wilmington Priory.

Although Salzman has not had the same direct responsibility for the museums as for the volumes he has played an important part in classifying and arranging the exhibits. It is of interest to note that the brief list of additions to the Museum during the year 1898 in Volume XLII includes "two Sussex Iron Fire Dogs presented by Mr. L. F. Salzman." This was the first of many gifts by the same hand. Moreover, Salzman has for many years been a member of the Museum Committee and has taken a prominent and often decisive part in directing its policy: and since he settled in Lewes twenty years ago no one has been a more frequent and regular visitor to Barbican House.

The Library is another branch of the Society's work to which Salzman has devoted an immense amount of time and attention. In 1896 this was housed in a room in Castle Lodge which Salzman himself has described as excessively cold and damp. Since 1908 the ever growing accumulation of books has found a more suitable, though by no means ideal, resting place on the top floor of Barbican House. No great changes have taken place: but students make an increasing use of the facilities available. Salzman has long been Chairman of the Library Committee and unofficial Librarian: and has wrestled with the task of finding space for the inflow of new books, as well as of weeding out those which can be spared from a library which must give preference to books on Sussex.

The Muniment Room did not exist until 1925 when it was inaugurated by the Reverend Walter Budgen. It now forms an important department. Here again Salzman in an unofficial capacity has given invaluable help. Indeed without his assistance the present Curator of Deeds assures me he could not have undertaken the task.

It has always been Salzman's aim that the Society should be as large and influential as possible: and in this respect a comparison with his early years must afford him considerable satisfaction. In 1896 there were 532 members—rather fewer than the number which had been attained as early as 1853. By 1909 the figure had risen to 837: and in 1930 had reached 1288. A decline then set in and continued during the years of the 1939-45 war. But since 1947 the membership has always exceeded 1,000, and on 1st January, 1959, stood at 1,263.

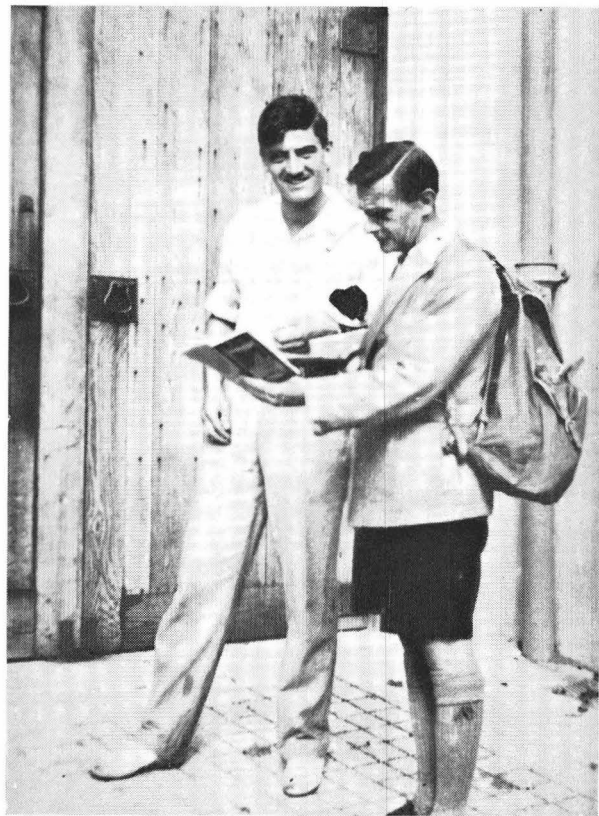
The classification of members has also been extended by the introduction, in 1909, of Associate Members.

Another change is that until 1909 there were no affiliated Societies. There are now 19 of these with a total membership estimated at over 4,000. At first affiliation was only applied for by Societies in the larger towns; but Societies are now springing up in country districts.

In some ways the existence of numerous affiliated Societies may tend to lessen the membership of the County Society: but on a long view it must be a source of strength to the County Society that in addition to its own members so many members of local Societies have the same objects in view.

Of the individual members in 1896 only one survivor remains, Sir Cecil J. B. Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Q.C., of Horsham, whom we were proud to have as our President in 1956-57. In March 1896, shortly before Salzman joined the Society, there were according to the Annual Report for 1895 still eleven survivors of the original members of the Society: and an examination of the list of members printed in Volume XL confirms this and shows that of the eleven three were clergymen. This serves as a reminder that of the 218 original members whose names appear in Volume I no less than 65 (or 30 per cent.) were in Holy Orders. The Clergy continued to take a prominent part in the Society's affairs for many years. In 1896 there were 92 clerical members although the proportion had fallen to 17 per cent. Moreover at that time the Reverend Chancellor W. D. Parish, the author of *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect*, was Chairman of the Committee: he was succeeded in that office by the Reverend Canon J. H. Cooper. Both were active parish priests. Salzman's immediate predecessor as Editor was the Reverend William Hudson and, as mentioned above, another clergyman was originally designated as the latter's successor. But the number of clerical members has now shrunk to a mere 26 or only 2 per cent., and the only clergyman to hold office is our President, Archdeacon Mason. It should not be supposed however that this striking change indicates that the clergy are less interested in archaeology than previously. Judging from the Society's experience when it visits churches this is certainly not the case. It is primarily due to the diminution in the number of clergy in the county and the consequent lack of leisure. Until, say, 1914 many incumbents of comparatively small parishes had curates; and combined parishes were few and far between. Today there are few curates: and many incumbents are responsible for two and some for three parishes.

An even more marked change has taken place in regard to women members of the Society. Of the 218 members named in Volume I only 24 or 11 per cent. were women: and even by 1896 the number had only risen to 40 and the percentage had fallen to 7. But in 1958 of 1,236 individual members 487 (including 101 associates) or 39.4 per cent. were women. Moreover until 1920 the rule in regard to the election of the Council provided that a month's notice should be given "of the intention of any member to nominate a gentleman" as a new member of the Council, thus by inference ruling out the possibility of a woman serving on the Council. In 1921 Miss M. H. Cooper became the first woman member of the Council: and when in 1928 C. H. Chalmers died she succeeded him as General Secretary and carried out the duties with great ability until 1945.



L. F. SALZMAN ON HOLIDAY.



PLATE I

L. F. SALZMAN, c. 1930

Such a development would have greatly shocked many members of the Council in 1903 when Salzman joined it!

The original rules of the Society provided that a General Meeting should be held annually at some place rendered interesting by its antiquities, or historical associations, in the Eastern and Western Divisions of the county alternately. The list of these, and of occasional meetings, given on page 278 of Volume XL (1896) shows that during the last decade of the nineteenth century occasional meetings were few and far between, and that for the most part the Society was content to have one meeting only in addition to the Annual General Meeting. This continued to be the case until 1909 when the need to raise funds to clear off the debt on Barbican House led to the organization of various local meetings. After C. H. Chalmers became Secretary in 1923 it became the practice to hold several such meetings every year; and also to hold an Autumn General Meeting. Except during the war years a meeting of one kind or the other has since 1932 been held in each Rape in the county.

The interpretation to be put on the words "some place rendered interesting by its Antiquities or Historical Associations" has gradually changed somewhat. Originally it would appear that anything later than the seventeenth century had no archaeological interest: and of course pre-historic sites were not considered worthy of visits. This continued at any rate until 1914 and even later. But in recent years some meetings have taken the form of walks on the Downs to see pre-historic sites: and at the other end of the scale visits are now paid to Georgian and Regency buildings which in earlier days would have been dismissed as lacking in interest. This of course is in accord with the general tendency of opinion which has brought into being the Georgian Group and many similar Societies.

The conditions under which meetings were held prior to 1914 differed greatly from those prevailing to-day. Motor cars were still rare, and motor coaches unknown. The bulk of the party usually came in one or more horse-drawn chars-a-banc, heralded or pursued by more active members on bicycles. Advantage had also to be taken of railways and other means of travel. The first of the new series of local meetings was held in 1909, appropriately enough at the Priest House, West Hoathly. The programme gave particulars of the train service on the now disused line between Lewes and East Grinstead. Those who wished for conveyances to drive from the station to the village (1 mile) were asked to send in their names: and appropriate arrangements were made with the proprietor of the local pony chaise!

Having regard to these conditions it is remarkable to see what a full programme was arranged even in those days: but there were occasions on which it had to be curtailed and lecturers had to be

reminded that the audience—and sometimes the lecturer himself—wanted to catch a particular train!

For another meeting held in 1909 the late Charles E. Clayton had secured as a lecturer Hilaire Belloc, M.P. (as he then was) who had recently published anonymously "Sussex." There were then amongst the prominent members of the Society "cloistered minds who" in Sir Mortimer Wheeler's words "sniff at any form of publicity in the serious and recondite matters with which we are concerned:" and they disapproved of this lecture as too "popular." However it was largely attended: and provided a small sum towards the extinguishment of the debt on Barbican House. But it had a more important and quite unforeseen result. Amongst the audience was Dr. Eliot Curwen. It was his first contact with archaeology in any form. He at once joined the Society: and began to study the past. The immense services which he and his distinguished son, E. Cecil Curwen rendered both to archaeology in general and to the Society in particular are too well known to need elaboration here. So for once at any rate archaeology reaped a rich harvest from a "popular" lecture.

Another aspect of the Society's functions which shows a great contrast with 1896 is that of finance.

The Annual report for 1895 (printed in Volume XL) after referring to the need for providing increased accommodation for the Museum and Library includes the following somewhat pathetic lament:

"It is earnestly hoped that advantage may be taken of the Jubilee Celebration to do something in the way of providing at least a comfortable room where the meetings of the Society may be held and the work of the Society carried on.

An impression appears to prevail that Sussex Archaeology is to a large extent exhausted. This however is by no means the case; there are practically no limits to the work of the Society, but those imposed by the want of funds. Excavations and publications are both standing still for want of money and it was a disappointment to the Committee that their appeal for funds to carry out an extension of work met with so little encouragement."

The accounts for the year 1895 show that the total income (including visitors' fees for admission to the Castle, £107) was only £535: and apart from a sum of £566 $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Consolidated Stock the Society had no assets other than "a very Valuable Collection of Antiquarian Objects and Books," and yearly tenancies of Lewes Castle and Castle Lodge.

The Jubilee Celebration did not result in any immediate improvement. Things remained in the same condition until notice to terminate the tenancy of Castle Lodge was unexpectedly received. As Salzman has observed in his history of the Society this was ultimately to prove highly beneficial to the Society, for drastic action could no longer be avoided or postponed.

The Society's accounts for 1958 show a total income (apart from admission fees to the various properties and a special item of £1,000) of £2,828, and a reserve fund of £1,220. The increase is of course largely due to the increased subscription: but it can fairly be urged that members receive more for their money than they did in 1896. Nor do the Society's accounts tell the whole story. The Sussex Archaeological Trust was formed in 1925 and is the legal *alter ego* of the Society. As such it holds Lewes Castle and Barbican House as trustee for the Society as well as Anne of Cleves House and several other properties, some of great and increasing value and others involving a heavy responsibility for upkeep. In addition the Trust holds investments valued at over £12,000. Many generous donors have contributed to this happy result.

The forty-five volumes of the *Collections* edited by Salzman are themselves convincing proof that Sussex archaeology is still—after 63 years—by no means “exhausted”: and, while the provision of ways and means to meet fresh requirements remains a problem, it can hardly be said that the work is “standing still for want of money.”

FARMING IN SUSSEX IN THE MIDDLE AGES

INTRODUCTION: THE WORKING OF A MANOR
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By A. E. WILSON, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE DOCUMENTS

The following documents have served as the basis for this introduction to manorial history in Sussex:—

- A. Sussex Record Society Vol. XXXI Thirteen Customals of the Sussex Manors of the Bishop of Chichester. W. D. Peckham;
- B. Sussex Record Society Vol. XLIV Records of the Baronry and Honour of the Rape of Lewes. Arnold J. Taylor;
- C. Sussex Record Society Vol. LVII Customals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury. B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson;
- D. Camden Society Vol. 1887 Battle Abbey Customals;
- E. Public Record Office S.C. 11/877 The Extent of the Manor of Laughton 1292;
- F. Public Record Office S.C. 11/675 The Extent of Customary Works of the Manor of Willingdon 1292 (?) and 1296;
- G. Burrell M.S. 5690 Extent of the Manor of Upmarden 1405;
- H. Barbican House G 123 Account Rolls for Heighton St Clere 1285/6;
- I. Barbican House G 18/1-4 Court Rolls, Alciston 1275/6, 1278/9, 1288/9.

From A, B, D examples come only from documents dated before the end of the reign of Edward I. Later articles will draw a more detailed comparison and deal with changes during the fourteenth century. The purpose of this one is to describe from contemporary documents the farming year in Sussex. Normally the documents will be summarised, but occasionally quoted directly.

Extents

An extent not only "extended" a manor, giving precise details of house, gardens, fields, pasture, meadow, mills, etc., but evaluated each item including the services due from the customary tenants. Thirteenth century writers stated that such evaluation formed an

essential feature of an extent. The Laughton Extent used the verb *extendere* with the meaning of "to value." Walter of Henley called for evaluation item by item and insisted that the services of customary tenants should be "put in money." Bracton quoted 13 writs ordering extents and 12 of them specifically mentioned evaluation.

The writs ordered the sheriff to have the manor "extended" by oath of lawful men and to ascertain how much it was worth per annum. The sheriff sent the extent to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer. The most common occasion for extents was the death of the holder of an estate.

Some of the extents in "B" furnished only summary information. The one for the lands of John de Gatesden and his wife Hawis de Nevill (p. 68) in Fletching, Barcombe, Bevendean and Ditchling stated that John de Gatesden had at Berkaump (Barcombe) 1 messuage and garden, worth half a mark (6s. 8d.) a year. In demesne there were 115 acres of arable, worth 57s. 6d. at 6d. an acre. There was 16s. 1d. from the rent of free tenants. Five customary tenants paid 37s. 7d. in rent and works; the profit of the wood was worth half a mark a year, and the pasture 16d. Total £7 17s. 6d.

The inquisition (B, 71) into the lands of William de Say at Hamsey furnished many more details. After giving the size and value of different pieces of arable, meadow and pasture, the rents of the free tenants, villeins and cottars, it enumerated and valued the works of a typical villein, William le Byde (five days in each week from Michaelmas to the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, valued at 2½d. a week). Besides these week works he had to mow for eight days before autumn and find four men for 2 boonworks worth 4d. and one man for every day during the eight harvest weeks at 1d. a day. The extent then named the cottars and gave their rents and enumerated and valued their works. The total value of rents and works of this manor came to £31 15s.

The same volume contained other published extents for Sussex estates including those for the lands of Richard de Playz (Plais) in Worth, Wapsbourne, Warningore, Ilford, Lewes and Chailey; of William de Say in Streat; of William Bardolf in Plumpton, Barcombe, Piddinghoe and Fletching; of John de Burgh in Portslade; of Robert Aguilun in Perching.

Most examples used in this article come from the extents of Laughton (E) and Willingdon (F). The Laughton extent began with an evaluation of

House and garden	3s.
Meadows (various)	£8 11s. 6d.
Arable (213 acres)	65s. 2½d.
Pasture (88 acres)	£4 19s. 6d.
Wood	£7 16s. 4d.
Mill	13s. 4d.
Pleas of Hallmote	£2 0s. 0d.

Then came a detailed list of over 70 free tenants and their holdings, rents, renders and services, if any, amounting in all to,

on St. Thomas' Day,	40s. 8½d. and 33 hens;
on Hokeday,	40s. 11d. and 304 eggs;
on St. Peter's Day,	40s. 9d.;
at Michaelmas,	£4 3s. 9d.

Next it enumerated the customary tenants of Laughton itself, naming their works and the value of each work and the money rents and other renders which they had to pay. Together works, rents and renders amounted to,

on St. Thomas' Day,	54s. 6d. and 45 hens;
on Hokeday,	54s. 1d. and 319 eggs;
on St. Peter's Day,	54s. 1d.;
at Michaelmas,	53s. 11d.

Then came the cottars of Laughton with their rents and renders and works, if any. These amounted to,

on St. Thomas' Day,	2s. 5½d. and 34 hens;
on Hokeday,	2s. 2½d. and 272 eggs;
on St. Peter's Day,	2s. 2½d.;
at Michaelmas,	8s. 11½d.

The extent then dealt with the tenants in the woodland belonging to Laughton at Hawkhurst (still marked on the map near Waldron). Most of these held a cot only and paid a hen at Christmas and eggs at Easter. Some paid a small money rent. The total came to 14 hens, 112 eggs and there was 4s. 2½d. money rent.

The next section gave the tenants, mainly cottars, at the Dicker who rendered 19 hens, 3 qrs. of oats, 154 eggs and paid 2s. rent between them.

At Waldron a number of tenants paid small money rents for their holdings amounting to 7s. 0½d.

After these details the extent gave certain information for the whole manor and the duties and allowances of the reeve, the beadle, and a total of the rents and works due with their evaluation.

Rentals and Custumals

A rental stated the rents of assize (fixed or assessed rents) due from all tenants whatever their status and the terms (dates) on which they fell due. The usual dates were the equivalent of our quarter days, the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle (Dec. 21), Hokeday (the Tuesday within the quinzaine of Easter), the Feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) and Michaelmas (Sept. 29th). Sometimes the first two of these went by the names of the Nativity (*Ad Natale*) and Easter (*Pascha*). Hokeday was kept as a Holy Day in commemoration of the slaughter of the Danes in England. Some rents fell due on other dates, especially St. Peter ad Vincula or Lammas (Aug. 1st).

Many of the documents were both rentals and custumals, but occasionally, as in the case of Appledram in the Battle Abbey custumal, some gave no rents at all. A study of the rentals and

customals of the Sussex manors of the Bishop of Chichester (A) and of the Archbishop's Manors in Sussex (C) shows the different methods of handling the material. Especially enlightening is a comparison of the entries for Wellingham in the main text of the Archbishop's custumal (C, 85-95) with the entries for Wellingham from the 1305/6 rental given in the appendix (C, 123-125). The more formal rental separated the rents from the customs, but itself gave the customs also. Neither evaluated all the works due.

A custumal listed all the tenants holding land not reserved to the lord as his demesne land. There was a great variety of ways of classifying such tenants on different manors, but the main distinction lay between free and neif (*nativus*) or free and villeinage. These terms applied both to the persons and to the land. By the thirteenth century a neif or villein sometimes held free land and a freeman neif land. The Archbishop's custumal for the Wealden manors of Wadhurst, Mayfield, and Grenhurst had many examples of such arrangements. Some free tenants held quite large estates as knights' fees; Sir Richard Walens held 3 knights' fees as of Malling at Glynde; the lord of Edburton held 1 knight's fee of the Archbishop by the free service of his arms. The custumal then supplied no further details of these holdings. Sometimes, as in the case of Glynde, there still survive separate customals and rentals giving the rents and services. Others held freely, without any customary service, one of the standard units of land measure—a hide, half-hide, virgate or yardland or wist, or some fraction thereof. For this they normally paid fixed (assized) rents, did suit of court and gave a heriot.

Account Rolls

These customals and rentals enabled the reeve to carry out his duties and to make up his account rolls which he had to submit to audit annually. On the front of the roll (called *infra* because it is inside when rolled up) the accountant entered, from information supplied by the reeve, the cash transactions which fell into three main groups: receipts, disbursements and *liberatio*. *Liberatio* was the amount in cash, or tallies representing cash, which the reeve had paid to the lord during the year. The scribe (whether the accountant or his clerk) did not fill in the totals on the cash side of the roll. That action followed the scrutiny of the auditors.

On the back of the roll (*dorso* or *extra*) there were two main sets of entries with many subdivisions. The first was the grain account which dealt with the quantity of seed planted, the yield from it and the ways in which the reeve had disposed of the crops. The second was the stock return which dealt with a variety of items from horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, etc., to nails bought for repairs. The account roll of Heighton St Clere (H) for the year 1285-6 has supplied the examples used in this article.

Court Rolls

The steward or bailiff of the manor held a manor court or hallmote from time to time. The court rolls included, among the many items enrolled, such things as the collection of heriots on death, the inquiry into conditions on which the previous tenant held his tenement and into the person entitled to succeed him. The Alciston court rolls (I) included many informative, and some amusing, examples of the cases arising in these manorial courts.

THE OFFICIALS

Steward

On large estates, consisting of a number of manors scattered over a considerable area, the chief official was the steward. In very large estates there would be more than one steward who frequently visited the manor. Some tenants of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Wadhurst (C, 31) held "a ferling" (a quarter of a virgate) of freeland on condition that they lodged the bailiff of Malling and the steward of the Archbishop when they wished to lie at their houses. The virgaters of Wadhurst (C, 37) owed carrying services to South Malling if the steward of the Archbishop's lands was at Mayfield. In 1278 at a court held at Alciston "William le Beste . . . in full court confirms in the presence of Dom. Henry de Rye then steward of Battle, who at the request of the said Willeam Beste caused this grant (a free tenement for life) and confirmation to be enrolled."

Bailiff

The bailiff on large estates seems normally to have looked after more than one manor. The Archbishop's land in Sussex consisted of two bailiwicks—the one for South Malling and the one for Pagham. There were frequent references in the Archbishop's custumal to Peter de Werth, bailiff in the time of Archbishop Boniface. "Note that Peter de Werth, when bailiff, sold to John de Betefeud freeman of Walter de Scoteney in the time of Boniface, 1 ferling of neif land. . . ." The bailiff had general supervision of the services of customary tenants. "Each virgate must gather 50 sheaves of straw for a $\frac{1}{2}$ week if the bailiff wishes." He often had much work in connection with the lord's court. Such entries as the following are frequent:—"To produce him before the Lord or any of his bailiffs to answer and satisfy concerning the offence." (I).

Serjeant

An official with this title appeared in some of the custumals. At Aldingbourne (A 33) the custumal carried the heading: "These are the customs and services of the manor of Aldingbourne. This custumal was made by the oath of seven men of the parish: . . . in the time of John de Climping then serjeant of the Bishop of Chichester A.D. 1256/7 on the morrow of Twelfth Day." One of

the persons responsible for measuring the garden at Bishopstone was Seffrid the lord's serjeant of Bishopstone (A, 103). The term seems to be interchangeable with bailiff in these earlier documents. In fact at Cakeham (A, 5) the term serjeant appeared in one version and bailiff in another. The Bishop apparently had a serjeant in each of his main manors. A charter dated between A.D. 1180 and 1204 granted to Thomas de Feringes the mill at Ecclesdon by service of 1 *lb* of pepper rendered to "my serjeant" Ferring (S.R.S. XLVI no. 180). The serjeant and bailiff were officials of the household whereas the reeve and beadle were tenants assigned certain duties.

Reeve

The chief official resident in the manor, usually known as the reeve, was chosen from among the villeinage. At the court held at Alciston in 1275 (I) "Geoffrey Crul was removed from the reeveship of Lullington and in his place was chosen by the borgh of Alfriston Ralphe Shepherde and he took the oath." The Willingdon extent (F) described the reeve's main duties. If any villein be chosen reeve "he shall accept the office and collect rents and moneys of the lord and he must answer for them in his accounts and keep the farming grange and granary and he must account for their issues. And he must account for all receipts and expenses and shall have for discharge of his office 6s. and 8d. And if the lord shall have arable land and want it cultivated the reeve shall have his meal. If he default he shall have in place of his food a bushel of wheat for each week; but he shall not have the allowance of 1 mark unless only for the value of his works." At the Manor of Bishopstone (A, 90) "whosoever of the hide-holders shall be reeve, if he hold half a hide shall not do or render anything for the other yardland and shall have a horse at the lord's hay or on the lord's pasture by day and by night. If there is need for him to stay out on the lord's business he shall have his food every time the steward is in the township or while the Bishop is there. He shall be at the lord's table from Lammas to Michaelmas (harvest time) after dinner or nones. If he goes to market or elsewhere on the lord's business and stays the night where he cannot go home, it shall be at the lord's costs." At Alciston (I) "William the reeve holds 1 wist for 12d a year which he does not pay when he is reeve."

Beadle

A customary tenant could be elected to the office of beadle. The Willingdon (F) extent stated that "if the said Henry be elected beadle he shall occupy the same office. And he shall have for any dike dug on behalf of the lord right of pasture And if the lord mow his meadow, he shall have from any haystack taken to the lord's court as much hay as he is able to pierce with an iron fork from the bottom of the stack. And if the lord does not mow his

meadow, the beadle must have $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow. . . ." He had similar deliveries from the arable lands of the demesne. "And for all these same things he must keep the meadow and corn without loss or answer for losses made. And he must make distrains and attachments belonging to the said manor."

On the Bishop of Chichester's estates the beadle came from the cottars; "all who hold cots shall be beadle if the lord wills, those who hold 1 acre shall be quit of rent, hens, eggs and works and all other services for the year, and as long as the bishop or the steward is in the township he shall have his food in the Bishop's house. He shall be at the lord's table from Lammas to Michaelmas after nones. He shall have 2d. as often as he is in Chichester to certify summonses. If it befall that the beadle has 2 acres or more he shall be quit of 1 acre and do the services that belong to the rest." (A, 93).

Certain tenants held land on condition that they helped the beadle. Each of three "drofmen" in Wadhurst (C, 35) held 10 acres of land "and must drive in all distrains made by the beadle for any matter touching the Lord Archbishop at South Malling or Stonham. And he must drive in to the aforesaid places the animals which arise from the heriot of neifs and freemen and he must drive the customary swine¹ to the same places from the parrook² wherever it is situated in the bedellary of Manfend (Mayfield)"

Messor (Hayward of Repereeve)

The word hayward means one who guards the hedges or boundaries (haga-ward). The thirteenth century law-book, *Fleta*, described the work of the messor or hayward. "The hayward ought to partake of the virtues of firmness, sharpness, health and fidelity. Early and late he ought to go about and watch the court, woods, meadows, fields and other things pertaining to the manor, impound cattle found in damages to the lord, and when quarrels arise and surety has been given for their prosecution, make summonses and attachments, fix a day for the parties at the next court and openly present in court what he did in the matter. He is also bound to receive seed by measure and, after the lands have been sown therewith, to answer to the granger for the remainder. It is also his duty to oversee the ploughs and harrows in both seed times so that any defect (if there be any) may be made good properly. He ought also to collect the customary and boon ploughs in their places, and during the whole year the reeve ought to tally against him for seed received, sown and returned, as well as for works, both customary and 'requested.' For whatever arrears there be, let him answer to the reeve or the granger, and the reeve to the bailiff, who, if he has answered sufficiently, is not bound to account further."³

¹ i.e. The gavelswine

² Later paddock

³ *Fleta* lib. II. Cap. 84.

At Lavant (C, 16) the messor (repervee) was quit of all works and had his food at harvest. At the 1276 Alciston court the jury found four tenants guilty of damage to the lord's pasture and others of damage to the lord's wheat. Obviously the hayward had been doing his job. His badge was a horn.

"Little Boy Blue come blow your horn,
The sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in the corn."

CLASSES OF TENANTS

T. H. Aston read a paper in 1957 before the Royal Historical Society in which he discussed the varied views of the Origins of the Manor in England.¹ The laws of Ine showed that even at the beginning of the eighth century the chief landholders had already let out some of their land to tenants and they assumed the distinction between demesne land, retained by the lord, and tenant land on which some of his followers had settled by his grant. These tenants had two kinds of obligations: (a) private—rents and services to their lord and (b) public—taxes to the king. Miss Neilson discussed this distinction in her *Customary Rents*.

Anglo-Saxon charters applied the term *ceorl* to three particular groups of tenants who ranked between noble and slave: (a) *geneats*, (b) *geburs* and (c) *kotsetlars*. An early eleventh-century document, the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, described the status and obligations of these classes. The "geneats" formed a peasant aristocracy free from the week-works of the other classes but with services which did not destroy their free status at law. Conspicuous among such services were riding, fencing, carrying. They paid a rent and gave a swine for pasture rights and paid church scot. The Sussex customals and rentals showed many examples of the survival of this class in the thirteenth century. At Cakeham a class of free tenants called gavelmen held one yardland and paid a money rent, normally 5s. a year, rendered 2 hens and 20 eggs, paid 3d. for "wodepans," carted brushwood to the Bishop's residence at Aldingbourne, ploughed 1 acre in winter and 1 in Lent, harrowed 1 acre in winter and 2 in Lent, carted at harvest, "packed" as required, fenced at Aldingbourne Park, mowed in the meadow and carted straw to Chichester. At the other end of the county at Wellingham and Ayston tenants holding molland did similar services.

Certain tenants at Willingdon (F) came into this category, "Henry Wernefalst holds a messuage and 92½ acres of land and pays for it 5s. at the four terms of the year as above and he owes similarly to the bailiff of Enlewike at the same terms at the hundred 4d. And he pays at Christmas 2 hens and at Easter 10 eggs. They say that he must plough ½ acre of land for winter sowing and ½ acre for sowing in spring and the ploughing is worth 6d. And he shall have

¹ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol. 8 (1958), pp. 59-83.

his meal which is worth 2d, and thus the ploughing service is actually worth 4d. And he shall harrow for 2 days and that is worth 4d. . . . And he shall hoe for 1 day and that is worth 1d. . . . And he must mow the lord's meadow for one day and that is worth 3d. . . . And he must gather hay for one day and that is worth 1d. . . . And he shall carry hay with 1 cart and 2 oxen for one day and that is worth 3d. . . . And he must carry a load of wood from Clavregge to Willingdon and unload the said wood . . . and he must reap with one man for 3 days in harvest time . . . he must draw manure for 2 days from the sheepfold . . . and he must do pack service for 5 leagues distance . . . and he must carry the lord's corn to the barn for 3 days."

In the forest area of Mayfield (C, 48) among the free tenants William de Ystede "holds 1 virgate of land for 5s 4d paid at the four terms of the year . . . And he must hunt with bow and arrows for 12 days and he must carry 3 cartloads of wood in his own wain to South Malling. He owes 1 hen and 10 eggs at Christmas and he shall give gavelsuen if he has 3 pigs. He must help in keeping 1 nest of sparrowhawks."

These extracts illustrate well Aston's contention that the geneats were closer "personal dependents of the lords who in subordinate capacities ministered to them in their halls and on their journeys, on the chase and in administration. They entered the tenantry by grants from their lords."

The geburs of Saxon times held a yardland and had to do heavy services. The *Rectitudines* suggested that a normal burden of works included 2 days' week work all the year except during harvest when they did three. In addition to week works they had boonworks, some ploughing and sowing services similar to those done by the geneats, though the custumals stated these did not count for works and they paid money rents.

The Sussex custumals showed a somewhat similar burden for the thirteenth century villein. They pointed fairly clearly to an original burden of five days a week for every $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and a proportion of that stint for lesser holdings. At Cakeham (A, 4) and Sidlesham (A, 22), the holder of $\frac{1}{2}$ a hide (2 yardlands) paid 6s 4d money rent and did 5 days a week weekwork except during the three holy weeks—Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. At Aldingbourne the yardlander owed works every other day but two who held 2 yardlands each owed works every day. On the Battle Abbey manor of Alciston the holder of a half-hide had to find "on every working day the service of 1 man who was to do whatever should be required of him." Then the rental stated the amount of labour which represented a fair day's work at various tasks. It is not possible to establish this strict relationship between the size of the holding and the number of works on every manor, but there seems enough evidence to suggest considerable survival of the traditional system on many Sussex manors. Even where the services had been halved for the

yardlander from Michaelmas to the Lammas, they remained much heavier in harvest. At Selsey the yardlander owed works on 3 days and 2 days in alternate weeks, but on every day from Lammas to Michaelmas.

The third type of ceorl, the kotsetlar of Saxon times, had a small share in the village arable. The *Rectitudines* suggested 5 acres, and he paid no rent but services. The author of the *Rectitudines* gave as an example of his works—every Monday and 3 days or more in harvest. In the thirteenth century rentals and customals this class appeared as cottars owing works. At Cakeham (A, 6) the cottars rendered hen and eggs and worked Monday, Wednesday and Friday all the year round. The 12 cottars at South Malling (C, 112) owed 2 works a week each and held 1 cot and a small holding varying from 1 acre to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

In addition there were a large number of cottars who owed no week work at all and the customals often distinguished them from the cottars owing works. At Wellingham (C, 92) the "cottars owing works" paid 6d money rent and did 1 work a week throughout the year except the four holy weeks.

Another group of cottars were free and did no works. The opening up of new land (by creating assarts) was constantly adding to this class. At Slindon (C, 7) the rental included a section—assart and encroachment at Michaelmas. It contained such entries as "Juliana Cok for 1 cot—1d" and at Grenherst there was a list of assarts conveyed in the time of Lord Robert, Archbishop "to be added to the freemen above." They included John Goscelyn who held 1 piece of land adjoining his messuage at la Regge for 1d.

By the time of the Archbishop's customal (1285) the practice of leases and subletting had caused considerable confusion between free and villeinage land. People who were legally free held villeinage land and were responsible for the works and services from that land. Also people who were legally villeins held freeland by the payment of rents. Avice de Werth of Mayfield (C, 51) furnished a good example of this practice. She held 23 acres and more as a virgater owing works, also 1 acre as a free tenant for $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. Among the Coterelli at Mayfield (C, 53) were several freemen and freewomen who held portions of land of Avice de Werth, neif. A more striking example of this tendency was Matthew de Crowherst at Wadhurst (C, 38). He, a freeman, held 1 virgate of villeinage land as well as 42 acres of free land. He sublet to Gilbert de Ywherst (C, 41) (freeman) 1 ferling (i.e., one quarter) of his virgate of villeinage land, who discharged "to the lord a fourth of all services which the 1 virgate of land does which the said Matthew holds of the lord." He sublet to various people including Helwis de Ywherst, neif, the rest of this virgate on similar terms.

An entry in the Alciston court rolls for 1278 gave further illustration of this practice of subletting. "At this court there was granted to Ralph le Hunt a tenement, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 1 rood and a small

piece of land which he had by cession of John at Nesshe until the feast of St. Matthew and for a further term of 6 years following. And because Robert Lakel holds 1 acre and 1 rood thereof and Richard Urri 1 rood and Richard Mount 1 rood, which they have sown, it is granted to them as well by the lord as by the said Ralph that they should have their crop now growing, so that the said Ralph may hold the said parcels from the feast of St. Michael for 4 years."

The Willingdon (F) extent contained ample evidence to show that by the end of the thirteenth century some tenants had commuted all their services to a money rent. "Thomas le Thremel holds a messuage and $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land and he shall do 1 work on every working day of the year which is valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day. And because he does not do these works they are valued at 13s. per annum which he renders." At Wellingham (C, 86) John Marestall who held the mill of Salkingham gave "12d instead of ploughing, harrowing and reaping 1 acre of oats."

HIDE, VIRGATE AND WIST

These terms present some difficulties in Sussex. Both Mr. Salzman and the Rev. W. Budgen have discussed them in *Sussex Notes and Queries*.¹ The Archbishop's custumal for the estates outside the wood supports the evidence for a hide of 60 acres or less in both East and West Sussex. A fine for Tangmere dated 1220² stated that the Archbishop granted to Richard Pagham 1 hide namely 60 acres measured by the perch of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet. A composition between the Dean and Chapter of Chichester and the Convent of Grestein about land at Firle stated that 4 yardlands made a hide and each yardland contained 15 acres.³

In parts of Sussex east of the Ouse Valley the term wist replaced the term hide and a note in the Battle Abbey custumal (D) stated "that a virgate of land and a wist are the same and signify one thing. A virgate or a wist is the sixteenth part of a knight's fee. Four virgates or wists make a hide. Four hides make a knight's fee." Mr. Budgen went on to show that the Alciston wist or virgate was even slightly smaller, about $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres. At the Archbishop's manor of Suthram the virgate contained about 12 acres of land.

THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

To carry out the work of the manor the reeve had three sources of labour: the services rendered by some tenants whether they were free or villein; the works of the villeins and cottars; and paid servants. His first task was to get the demesne land ploughed. Some extents and custumals stated the exact amount and situation of the arable land. For other manors separate terriers exist. (A, 126). The description of the demesne of Loventon (Lavant)

¹ *S.N.Q.* VIII p. 106 and *S.N.Q.* X p. 73.

² *S.R.S.* II p. 180.

³ *S.R.S.* XLVI p. 369.

(C, 16) supplied useful information about the arable fields. "There are in Eldewik 48½ acres which contain, besides fallow, 49 lands. In Brockfurland 60 acres 3 roods and 3 dayworks which contain 31 lands" etc. The mediaeval ploughteam consisted frequently, but not always, of 8 oxen. To drain his land the mediaeval ploughman ploughed in such a way as to produce a ridge and furrow. He began in the centre of the strip with mouldboard turning the earth towards the centre. He turned his plough at the end of the furrow (a furlong) and worked backwards to the beginning. Each turn took him farther away from the centre and on each stretch the plough piled up the earth towards the centre. The officials of the manor had set out the length and width of the strip according to the local measure. In different parts of the country the ploughed strip was known by different names: rigs, ridges, lands, selions.

The length of the rod, pole or perch, used to mark out the strips, varied from manor to manor. At Tarring "there are 301 acres 3 roods of arable land (in demesne) measured by perches of 17 feet in length as in the manors of Pagham and South Malling, and which make 340½ acres 1 rood measured by perches of 16 feet according to ancient custom of this manor." (C, 21). Neither of these measurements was the traditional 16½ feet, used on the Bishop's manors, but the rod varied only a little either side of the traditional measurement. The "yard" which gave its name to the yardland¹ and yardlander was the Saxon "geard" or rod. A yardland was then a strip 40 rods long (a furlong) and 1 rod wide. A yardlander held, according to the Laws of Ine, 1 strip in each acre of the hide.

Ploughing

At Tangmere (C, 11-14) some of the free tenants, if they had a plough, ploughed 1 acre in winter and another in spring at the lord's food. The villeins ploughed a strip (selion) in winter and another strip in spring without harrowing and without counting it a work. Two people, Thomas Ekerman and Nicholas Penne each held 4 acres of Akerland. They were specialist ploughmen who followed "the lord's plough every workday throughout the year from daylight to nones and if he was not ploughing he had to work for the same length of time. And after nones he did nothing except for payment. But if he did not plough or work before dinner he ploughed or worked after nones because he had always to work half a day for the lord. And he had the lord's plough on every other Saturday on his own land for ploughing until it was ploughed. At Aldingbourne (A, 35) five Akermen did similar services. At Tarring (C, 25) a class of tenant called Oxherd who held 5 acres did similar ploughing to that done by the holders of Akerland at Tangmere: "Each shall find 1 man for the lord's plough every ploughing day and shall have the lord's plough for ploughing their own land, etc."

¹ In Latin *virgata terrae*—hence *virgate* and *virgater*.

Where there were no specialist ploughmen, as at Sidlesham (A, 22), the villeins, in addition to ploughing the one acre in winter and another in Lent at the Bishop's food, did much ploughing for works. "In winter he shall plough and harrow 12 acres for 24 works; in Lent he shall plough and harrow 12 acres for 36 works." In return for grazing rights certain tenants did a ploughing service frequently known as *graserthe* or *gerserth*. It was really a rent. At Tarring "the jurors say that each tenant who has a joint plough if he come with beasts on the demesne then he shall plough once 2 acres for *gerserth* without harrowing it and if he hath part of a plough team he shall come with his part to the ploughing." (C, 26). At Appledram (D), the Battle Abbey manor near Chichester, this was called *benerthe*. "All the customary tenants were twice a year, if called upon, to do a *benerthe* or ploughing service." At Suthram the workmen for each virgate "must plough, sow and harrow 1 acre for *gerserthe* and for this ploughing they shall have their animals grazing in the fields and meadows of the lord when the corn and hay have been carried away for the whole time it lies open, except wheat straw which they shall not have, nor shall they harm it with their animals. They shall do this ploughing for whatever corn the bailiff wishes." (C, 131).

Certain villeinage ploughings went by the name of *gavelerth*. At Wellingham the 1305 rental said "and (he) must plough 6 acres for *gavelerthe* yearly, namely 2 acres for wheat, 2 acres for oats and 1 acre for barley ploughed twice." (C, 88). If these works and services did not plough all the demesne arable required the lord then used hired labour. Such payments appeared in the Account Roll of Heighton St. Clere for 1285-6. "For ploughing 1 acre 3 rods for wheat 21d. per acre; for ploughing 23½ acres and 1 rod for peas and vetches 6s. 9d. at 12d. an acre."

Manuring

Most customals for arable farms laid down careful regulations for manuring the fields. At Bishopstone (A, 88) the half-hide holders carted out all the lord's dung from the barton or the fold of the ewes. At Denton (A, 101) the half-hide holder "and his fellows have to draw out the lord's dung for 7½ days, each day with his wain and 2 oxen yoked and 1 horse, if he has no horse he shall have his wain yoked with 4 oxen; he shall find at the same time 2 men each day to load, and one of them after loading shall lead the wain and take nothing, the other shall if needed draw out the dung likewise, at the lord's food." At Laughton (E) the 61 works of drawing out manure were valued at 2½d. a work and the 2 works of "loading and spreading" at 1½d. each. The account roll for Heighton St. Clere (H) entered payments for 28 works of drawing out manure at 2d. a work and 47 works of spreading at ½d. a work. The customal of Cakeham (A, 4) distinguished the duties of the villein from those of the cottar. The villein "shall carry the

Bishop's dung with his own wain and have the aid of the cottars in loading it and he shall do a row of dung a day under the supervision of the sergeant and the reeve and shall be quit of a work." At Wellingham (C, 88) each virgate holding mollond had to draw out dung from Stonham "but they do not have to spread the aforesaid dung." At Mayfield Gunnora de Everfeud (a villein) had let out to a cottar 10 acres of her land for 8d. and 3 days' reaping and he had to draw out manure for 1 day.

Marl was also used to improve the soil and at Aldingbourne (A, 34) the villein carted 1 load of dung for 1 work and spread 2 loads, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ loads of marl, for 1 work.

Sowing

Wheat and rye were sown between Michaelmas and Christmas and were, therefore, known as winter seeds; oats, barley, vetches, peas and beans between Christmas and Holy Week and were called Lent seeds. The reeve's accounts gave in precise terms the quantity of each kind of seed sown and the exact acreage sown in each field. Later they entered the yield from each field. At Heighton St. Clere (H) the grain account on the back of the roll for 1285-6 contained many entries of this nature:

"The quantity of seed (of wheat) on $50\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 1 rod of land, 21 qrs. 5 bushels at $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre. . . . In Middle furlong $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, in East furlong 5 acres."

"The quantity of seed (barley) on $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres 1 rod, $15\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, 7 bushels less 1 peck per acre. On Podland 1 acre 3 rods, in Longen akre, $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres."

"The quantity of oats on 57 acres 1 rod, 49 qrs. 2 bushels, on each acre 7 bushels less in total $6\frac{1}{2}$ bushels 1 peck."

The surviving extents show that the thirteenth century farmer ploughed a variety of soils, some of which were not suitable for all seeds and their values as arable varied greatly. At Hamsey (B, 71) there were 140 acres on which wheat and barley could be sown and each acre was worth 6d. a year. There were 80 acres of arable on which oats could be sown and each acre was worth 3d. a year. At Wapsbourne (B, 69) 150 acres were described as poor quality (*debilis*) arable.

Though the lord provided much of the seed for sowing the demesne lands certain tenants had also to supply some as a rent. At Aldingbourne (A, 34) the villein gave "the lord 1 quarter of corn whereof two-thirds wheat at Michaelmas seed time and one-third barley at Lady Day seed-time." At Wellingham (C, 125) each virgater had to provide as gavelote (oat render) 1 quarter of oats. At Denton (A, 101) the half-hide holder had to fetch seed for 1 acre for wheat, 1 acre for beans, and 1 acre for barley from the lord's granary and sow it. At Bishopstone (A, 88) the half-hide holder fetched the seed corn from the lord's granary but "the lord's sower" sowed it.

Harrowing and Hoeing

The customals often combined harrowing and ploughing services in one entry such as the following for Lavant (C, 18) where the villein had to "plough in winter and harrow 1 acre as boonwork and another in spring. He shall plough in winter and harrow 2 acres for Gavelerth and 2 acres in spring for 10 works. He shall harrow $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of new fallow for 1 work and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of cultivated land for 2 works or $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of barley for 1 work." At Laughton (E) 36 free customary tenants harrowed for 36 works valued at 45s. 6d. at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per work, and the villeins did 103 harrowing works valued at 8s. 7d. at 1d. a work. The cottars there did 46 harrowing works not evaluated (*non extendent*). The Reeve's accounts for Heighton St. Clere recorded 28 works harrowing wheat, 38 works harrowing oats at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a work.

To keep the growing crops healthy the customals made provision for hoeing. At Suthram (C, 108) the villeins hoed 6 acres for a work of 3 weeks. At Heighton St. Clere the bailiff accounted for 45 hoeing works at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a work.

Harvest

Ploughing, manuring, sowing and harrowing had taken up some of the tenants' time during the first three seasons of the agricultural year. They had time for other services, as we shall see later. In autumn, or harvest, from the first of August (Lammas) to the twenty-ninth of September (Michaelmas) their services increased considerably. The bailiff called upon them for their boonworks. Many free tenants did boonworks (*precaria*). At Tangmere (C, 11) one of the free tenants had to provide one man at every harvest boonwork and supervise the reapers "so that they reap well." At Denton (A, 99) "John Patrick, freeholder . . . had to find at each harvest boonwork men to reap at the lord's food, and he, John, had to be at each harvest boonwork in the place of a sergeant bearing a rod in his hands, faithfully and honestly to gather in the lord's corn." Other freeholders also had to find 1 man at each harvest boonwork. A customary tenant there (A, 101) had to find 4 men at all harvest boonworks each day at the lord's food twice a day. The boonwork entries for Aldingbourne throw light on the position of cottars as well as villeins. The villein (A, 33) sent "to the oat boonwork all his hands (*famulos*) and anyone who holds a cottage of him shall come with his hands to the boonwork and he himself shall come to see that they do the lord's work well and fairly; . . . At the wheat boonwork likewise. . . . If a boonwork is needed every day he shall reap half an acre and the lord shall allow him works." In addition to the boonworks on the chosen days, in harvest he had to reap half an acre every other day, unless it be a holy day or a Saturday. The cottars who owed works at Aldingbourne (A, 37) had to find 2 men at the harvest boonwork; and if anyone held a cottage of them they had to come with them at the boonwork.

The reeve's accounts for harvest expenses at Heighton St. Clere included such items as the expenses of 49 customary tenants at the first boonwork; expenses of 80 customary tenants and 7 others at the wheat boonwork.

The virgaters at Wadhurst (C, 36) in the forest section of South Malling did their harvest work at Stonham in South Malling. They had to reap, bind, make ready to carry 2 acres of wheat, 2 acres of barley and 2 acres of oats. Certain cottars at Wadhurst held their land on condition that, among other things, they reaped at Stonham $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wheat, barley and oats.

At Selsey (A, 17) the cottars bound $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres for a work and stooked, if needed, up to nones for a work, and gathered 50 acres of straw for a work. At Laughton the $216\frac{1}{2}$ works of reaping done by the customary tenants were valued at 1d. a work; the cottars were responsible for 50 works not valued. The 62 works for carting corn were valued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. The reeve of Heighton St. Clere accounted for the cost of reaping, stooking and carrying the various kinds of corn. At Bishopstone (A, 88 and 92) there existed a nice distinction between the harvest works of villeins and cottars. The villein reaped and bound $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of corn a day and "left the sheaves lying not stooked on the lord's demesne." Some of the cottars "worked" at stooking and carrying sheaves.

Threshing

At Slindon (A, 2) the virgater threshed 2 bushels of wheat, 4 bushels of barley, 2 bushels of vetches, a bushel of beans and peas, and 1 quarter of oats, each for a work. At Suthram the work was allotted differently. Certain virgaters threshed throughout the whole year, except the four holy weeks, namely in each week 1 seam of wheat or 2 seams of barley, or 3 quarters of oats, and of peas, vetches and beans as much as of corn for 2 works. At Heighton St. Clere in 1285-6 the threshing and winnowing included 112 quarters 4 bushels of wheat, 94 quarters 3 bushels of barley, 88 quarters 1 bushels of oats and 18 quarters and $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of beans, peas and vetches. At the Alciston court roll for 1275 it was recorded that "John Colyn the lord's neif and servant (*famulus*) took in the lord's barn 1 bushel of beans worth 5s., that is the said John was in the said barn to thresh the lord's corn and he carried away the said beans secretly to his house. And upon this the said John charged in full court about the said offence could not deny that he caused himself to commit the said offence and therefore he is committed."

Meadow

The extents evaluated after the arable land the acreage of meadow on the various parts of the manor. At Willingdon (F) there were in Smalewysse $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres worth 13s. a year; in Nordwysse $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres worth 11s. a year; in Bradwys 8 acres worth 16s.; in Pedefer 20 acres worth 50s., in Wiclände 41 acres worth 40s., etc. The total acreage

was 282½ and its value £20 0s. 2d. This manor including areas of Pevensey Marsh was particularly rich in meadow. In contrast a downland manor like Upmarden in West Sussex had only 8 acres of meadow but 400 acres of downland pasture.

The customals gave precise details of the works required on the demesne meadows and the use of meadow land by other tenants than the lord. At Willingdon (F) Henry de Wernalaste and others with similar holdings mowed the lord's meadow for 1 day, gathered hay for 1 day and carried hay with a cart and 2 oxen for 1 day. Other lesser tenants of the cottar type spread hay for half-a-day, gathered hay for 1 day, and loaded hay on a cart for 2 days with 1 man. At Lavant where there were 18 acres and ½ rood of meadow in Northmead; 3½ acres in Hunymede, and 25 acres in Heycroft. Some of the free tenants (C, 17) mowed in Northmead for 2 days with 1 man, gathered hay and carried it with the others. Some cottars spread hay in Northmead. The virgaters owing works (C, 19) mowed for 2 days in Northmead for 2 works, gathered hay for 1 work, carried it for 1 work. They also mowed the meadows of Heycroft from morning until nones for 1 work and gathered hay for 1 day for 1 work, carried hay for 1 day for 1 work. At Tarring (C, 25) the mowing service of the virgater was called Gavelmed.

At Suthram (C, 108) the virgaters mowed the meadow of Ramscombe and Thakwisse and half the meadow of Estgote and half the meadow of the marsh for a work of 3 weeks, and spread grass, gathered and brought in hay, namely, the hay of the meadows of Ramscombe and Thakwisse, to Ramscombe and the hay of Estgote and of the Marsh to Stoneham for a work of 2 weeks.

At Heighton St. Clere (H) the accounts recorded 48 works for mowing the meadow at 1d. a work, of works for spreading hay at ½d. a work, 56 works for collecting hay at 2d. a work and 35 works for carrying hay at 2d. and 22 works for making haystacks at 1d. a work.

Pasture

At Laughton (E) in various parts of the manor there existed on the demesne 94 acres of pasture valued at £4 19s. 6d. The Archbishop's customal for Suthram (C, 108) gave examples of pasture and meadow held by villeinage tenants in order to feed their animals. John at Heth held 1 virgate of neif land containing about 12 acres of land (arable) and 1½ acres of meadow and pasture for eight animals containing 3 acres. He also held 1½ acres of downland. Master Henry de Gaunt formerly steward to Boniface had conveyed to Robert de Ecclesia, neif, ½ virgate of neif land. . . . containing 6 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow and pasture for 4 animals of 1½ acres. Juliana at Dene and Agnes and Lettice her sisters held 1 sheepwalk containing about 24 acres of land and 1½ acres of meadow and pasture for 8 beasts containing 8 acres for 20s. . . . "And they shall keep 120 ewes on the lord's pasture if the lord wills." (C, 106).

The right to put farm animals in the lord's pasture was very strictly limited. At Tangmere (C, 12) certain villeinage tenants had the right to put one animal at pasture with the lord's oxen and both the Rector and the reeve were entitled to have at the lord's pasture four beasts and one horse. At Heighton St. Clere the reeve entered in his accounts among the "Issues of the Manor" a number of sales of pasture, e.g., 8d. for pasture for ewes; 4s. 2d. for pasture for 50 hoggets (sheep in their second year) from Michaelmas to Hokeday at 1d. per head.

Sheep Rearing

The downland has always made Sussex famous for its sheep. Both lord and tenants kept flocks. At Bishopstone Juliana de Herdewyke (A, 94) rendered for a certain meadow 2 ewes which the lord chose in her fold by will of the sergeant, reeve and beadle. She was entitled to have 40 sheep and 1 ram with the lord's wethers on Wykmannedown all the year "while the lord's sheep are in that pasture, but not elsewhere unless save at the Bishop's grace." Two other tenants had 25 sheep each and one had 75 sheep on Cotmandown. One of the cottars, Juliana widow of Hamo held 5 acres belonging to the herdewike and had from the lord 300 ewes and 40 of her own to help the wey. She kept the lambs till they were weaned "And if they are not weaned by Lady Day she shall be allowed 1 cheese for every day thereafter that they suck till they are weaned . . . She shall keep none of the lord's lambs at pasture and shall have oats and hay to feed the lambs and litter. She shall have one lamb of custom and have her own wool, and shall follow the lord's fold with her own sheep, the lord shall repair the sheepcote and the two houses of the sheepcote in one of which she can make cheese. . . . For every sheep beside her own she shall answer for 1 wey, or for everyone short, the market price, and shall render 30d. for whey."

One of the reasons for these detailed regulations about grazing sheep lay in their value for improving the land. Another Bishopstone entry (A, 91) related that the tenant should "feed the pasture of the drove with his sheep and as soon as the lord's corn is shifted from the north part of the drove and the lord has his sheep on that pasture he with his sheep shall common there and shall not feed the pasture of his own land as long as the lord's sheep are feeding there."

Many tenants had to do tasks connected with sheep-rearing. At Lavant (C, 17) a freeman had to oversee the lord's sheep during washing and shearing to see that they were well done. At Suthram the virgaters between them had to shear 200 sheep for a work a week. The reeve's accounts gave exact figures of the number of ewes, lambs, hoggets on the farm each year with the number bought and sold and died from murrain. At Heighton St. Clere (H) the reeve accounted for 135 hoggets in hand from previous year's lambing; 60 of these were sent to the bailiff of Jevington before shearing, 40

to the bailiff at Tarring St. Clere and 33 died of murrain. The keeper of the fold (*custos falde*) accounted for 177 lambs washed and sheared at 7d. a hundred. At Slindon (C, 4) Emma at Pette among her other duties as a cottar washed and sheared sheep. "If she enters the water when she washes she shall have 1 *scutellum*¹ of barley, and if not, she shall have nothing."

WOOD AND FOREST

The mediaeval manor needed besides arable, meadow and pasture, a reasonable amount of wood and forest. In Sussex these were often detached from the main settlement. The Archbishop's manor of South Malling, even from the time of its earliest grant in Saxon times as an 80 hide unit, stretched from the suburbs of Lewes right to the border of Kent. The Bishop of Chichester's manor of Bishopstone had its wood at Heathfield; Laughton included the Hawkhurst wood at Waldron. In West Sussex West Tarring had its Wealden holding of Marlepost.

The woodland area of South Malling under its separate bailiff had a remarkably different economy from that of the lands outside the wood. It was divided into borghs:—Wadhurst, Mayfield, Grenherst, Framfield and Uckfield. Each hamlet within these borghs was assessed at 1 virgate, or occasionally a fraction thereof. The size of the virgate differed entirely from that of the virgate in the arable districts; it averaged 100 acres and often exceeded 100 acres. Sometimes one person held the whole virgate, e.g., Christine of Alerdynden (C, 38) held the virgate there assessed at 100 acres of which 25 were coppice. More often it was divided among 2 or more holders. This type of organisation did not hold in other woodland areas.

The works due from the virgates at Wadhurst (C, 35) were the pattern for those of all the woodland holdings of South Malling and showed the part played in the manorial economy by these holdings. They included fencing the court at Malling, roofing the grange at Stonham with poles (*pollis*) which the lord had to supply from his wood by livery of the bailiff. Each found four beams, 10 boards, 10 laths for repairing the barley grange at Stonham when necessary. Each hide made 1 cask worth 18d. and 1 trough worth 18d. Together the virgaters had to roof the stable at South Malling. Each of them made 1 hurdle 7 feet long with 8 pieces and delivered it to Stonham on the eve of Ascension Day, and carried 3 cartloads of wood in his own cart to the Court of Malling.

At Laughton (E) the works included 60 for carrying wood to Laughton from Waldron at 3d. a work, 21 from Hawkhurst at 2d. a work, 123 from the Broyle at 1d. a work. At West Tarring (C, 29) certain tenants in the Weald owed before Mid-summer 42 works

¹ Six *scuttela* made a bushel.

cutting wood for Gavelwod for which they gave 5s. 3d. if they did not do it. William Cupere, John Red and Simon Post provided 1 great load of charcoal, that is 16 bushels a year from the lord's wood. The virgaters between them carried 10 loads of wood or charcoal to West Tarring. The beadle of the wood had, among his allowances, the roots of fallen trees and the branches on the ground broken off by the wind, up to 5 cartloads. At Heathfield works included carting 1 load of brushwood or heath at the will of the sergeant, carting timber to Bishopstone, felling and cleaving underwood and timber.

At Hawkhurst (E) and Malling (C, 117) there were foresters. John Marescal of Malling with 2 foresters kept the lord's forest, with 1 forester in the Broyle and another within the wood "at his own cost and he must answer for damages done." With the free tenants at Wellingham he had to be at the lord's hunt with bow and arrows for 3 days in winter and 3 in summer.

The tenants had rights of common in the wood unless certain portions were specially retained to the lord. At Marlepost (C, 29) all tenants could "common everywhere except in one wood enclosed throughout the year and except in the time of pannage or danger which is the lord's with all his animals except goats." At Wellingham (C, 39) all freeman had pannage in the same wood (the Broyle) appurtenant to their free holdings and the customary tenants by reason of the hens which they gave each year to the lord; and by reason of the common which they had they could have the pigs of their own rearing and their pigsties. This right was limited. When the pannage was full the freeman gave 2d. for each pig and at half pannage 1d. The customary tenant gave pannage and also the third best pig if he had three. At Tangmere (C, 14) every customary tenant, if he had 7 pigs gave to the lord the 3rd best, if he had 14 he gave the 3rd best and the 3rd worst; he gave none for more, nor for six. At Wadhurst (C, 35) it was the duty of the drofmen to drive the customary swine to South Malling or Stonham from the parrook whenever it was held in the bedellary of Mayfield. They also renewed and repaired the parrook. The term parrook applied both to the place where the swine were collected and the court which supervised the payment. The drofmen of Uckfield (C, 78) had to make or repair the parrook Syfledebroke at their own cost with the lord's timber, and on the day when the parrook was held they helped to put the *gavelswen* (swine paid as rent) in there and afterwards drove them to Stonham. The swineherd of Slindon had the privilege of having 5 pigs in the lord's pasture and mast and all the bishop's tenants at Heathfield had their own pigs on the lord's mast.

The term "danger" presents some difficulties. It seems to mean a payment by tenants to be allowed to plough their land in pannage time when such ploughing might be a danger to the interests of the lord, or it may simply mean a payment for pannage.

MEALS AND ALLOWANCES

Throughout the custumals frequent references occur to meals provided when tenants do certain tasks. At Willingdon (F) the ploughing of 1 acre was worth 6d. but the meal was worth 2d. and thus the ploughing was worth 4d. to the lord. In particular there are exact details of the meal at the boon works. At Bishopstone (A, 89) all who went to the 2 ploughing works had meat one day and fish the other and a fair amount of ale, and all who had oxen in the plough teams went to supper at the lord's house if they wished. All who went to the wheat harvest boonwork had for dinner, soup, wheaten bread, beef and cheese, and for supper bread, cheese and their fill of ale: the other day they had soup, wheaten bread, fish and cheese and their fill of ale. At dinner each had as much bread as he wished and at supper a loaf apiece.

The reeve's accounts included such entries as for beer bought for 24 men, harrowing the wheat 7d.; for 34 men ploughing partly for wheat, partly for barley and partly for oats 18d.; for the expenses of 66 customary tenants drawing out dung, bread, beer and meat as on back of roll. On the back of the roll among a large number of entries were the following releases of wheat—for bread for drawing out dung, 1 qr.; for 18 men ploughing at the wheat boonwork 1 bushel; for the reeve in autumn 1 qr.; for John Model messor for 5 weeks in autumn, 5 bushels; for the beadle mixed grain, 2 qrs. 1 bush. 1 peck. The harvest expenses included for the wheat boonwork: in bread 1 qr. 5 bush. wheat; for beer 10 bushels of malted barley; and 6 score of herrings bought for 1s.; meat 5s. 8d.; cheese 18d.

PACKING

On large estates such as those of the Archbishop and Bishop there was need for much transport, sometimes over short and at other times over long distances. Among the duties of a villein at Bishopstone were carrying bread, wine, fish, meat, flour, provender, wheat and barley for the lord's service to Preston, Bexhill, Lewes and Arlington. A cottar carried letters to Preston, Bexhill and Heathfield. If the carrying service was on foot it was known as *fotaver*, and if the person went beyond a certain distance it was an *utaver* and the reeve paid an allowance. At Slindon 1 *scutellum* of barley was paid for over 5 leagues. When the Archbishop left the manor of West Tarring, each tenant of 1 virgate did carrying service with one horse, and the others according to their holding, to the lodging where he spent the next night. The virgater at Lavant, with his fellows, carried to Chichester, Pagham and Midhurst for 1 work without crossing the bridge; if he crossed the bridge it was worth 2 works. They carried wool from Lavant to London and Croydon and Malling, allowing 8 works and 2 bushels of oats at the lord's granary.

(To be continued)

LESSAY ABBEY, MOTHER-HOUSE OF BOXGROVE PRIORY

Some remarks on the restored Abbey Church, and notes
on visits to certain parishes mentioned in the Boxgrove
Chartulary

By LINDSAY FLEMING, F.S.A.

Many of the documents registered in the Boxgrove Chartulary¹ illustrate the close links that persisted, for some time after the Conquest, between Sussex and Normandy. Boxgrove Priory arose as a dependency of Lessay Abbey² (Plate I), and any study of the Sussex convent begets desire for some acquaintance with that great Norman foundation³.

Lessay Abbey, Manche, situated in the Cotentin peninsula of Normandy, in the Bishopric of Coutances, is in a district whence sprung several of the families associated with Boxgrove in the early days. To the north is La Haye-du-Puits, once patrimony of the Hay family, benefactors alike of Lessay and Boxgrove, and south-eastward is St. Martin-d'Aubigny, home of the Albini, or d'Aubigny, line, earls of Arundel. South of Coutances is St. Jean-le-Thomas, now a popular seaside resort, whence sprung the Sancto Johanne, or St. John, family.⁴

It may be questioned whether many English tourists have gone to Lessay for the sake of its architectural treasure, the abbey church.

¹ To be published by the Sussex Record Society for 1959 and 1960, volumes 58 and 59.

² Boxgrove Priory was probably the principal dependency, as at a visitation by the archbishop of Rouen in 1250 it was recorded that in many priories lived one monk only, contrary to the rule. There were dependent priories at Plessis, Orval, Pirou, Portbail, Avarreville and Barneville. A lepers' hospital at Bolleville, founded by the lords of La Haye-du-Puits, was later united to Lessay and became the priory of St. Mary of Bolleville.

³ There is an extensive French literature on Lessay Abbey. Besides the writings mentioned below see, especially, G. Desdevises du Degert, *Mon Vieux Lessay. Le Pays, les Gens, la Vie* (St.-Lô, 1928), and G. Rubillon du Lattay, *L'Ancienne Abbaye de Sainte-Trinité de Lessay 1056-1791*. (Mortain, n.d.). I owe thanks to Mlle. Desmier, librarian at Avranches, for showing me the latter book.

⁴ For much information on the Norman origins of English families, of whom representatives figure as donors or witnesses in the Boxgrove Chartulary, see Lewis C. Loyd, ed. by Charles Travis Clay and David C. Douglas, *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families*, Harleian Society, vol. 103 (1951). See also, M. l'abbé Charles Birette, 'Les Normands de la Manche à la Conquête de l'Angleterre,' in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. 42 (1932), pp. 146-200.

They may more likely be attracted by the Fair held annually, 12th-14th September, on the Lande de Lessay, the heath near the town, on each side of the road to Coutances, scene of one of the romantic novels, *L'Ensorcelée*, of J. Barbey d'Aureville, the Walter Scott of Normandy. Near this bleak and mysterious terrain was established in the 11th century the Abbey of the Holy Trinity of Lessay, of the order of St. Benedict. In the immediate vicinity was marshy land now lush water meadows, while south and east of the abbey arose the township, composed to-day of two main streets, in the shape of a "T." Rebuilt in the 18th century, and again since the second world war, the town of Lessay, sheltering as of old under the great church, presents to the visitor an air of dignity, and also of progress.

But no doubt lovers of antiquity have rested at Lessay. Fortunate if they came before the last war, when they will have seen the abbey church in all its majesty, and, attached, the 18th-century conventual buildings that survived, except for loss of the founder's tomb and other such features, the French Revolution. The earlier turmoils that so harmed the ecclesiastical monuments of the country, the English wars and wars of religion, caused damage to the fabric, but this had been made good in a manner so sympathetic to the Roman style of the earliest building that the periods of construction became almost indistinguishable.

We do not see the same edifice now, but a very faithful reproduction in respect of the many parts that suffered, when Nazi mines nearly caused irreparable disaster in 1944.¹ One admires the skill and devotion of those immediately responsible for the rebuilding, from the architect M. Y.-M. Froidevaux, l'Architecte en Chef, Monuments Historiques, and contractors, MM. Dagand and Seyve, Périgueux, Dordogne, to the masons and carpenters. In the new sacristy is this inscription:—

CETTE ÉGLISE DEDÉE À LA
SAINTE TRINITÉ
FUT CONSTRUITE AU XI^E SC.
DEVASTÉE PAR LA GUERRE
EN 1944. ELLE FUT RELEVÉE
DE SES RUINES DE 1945 À 1957.

¹ The damage caused and the work of reparation are fully described and illustrated in the latest work on the Abbey: *L'Abbatiale de Lessay, Les Domages – Les Travaux – La Mise en Valeur – Les Fouilles et les Découvertes*, by Y.-M. Froidevaux, Note Préliminaire, by Jean Verrier, *Aperçu Historique*, by M. Lelégard, *Les Monuments Historiques de la France* (3, Rue de Valois, Paris 1er), Bulletin Trimestriel, No. 3, July-September, 1958. Many of the Nazi mines exploded, including those placed at the foot of three of the four main piers supporting the tower. So the tower collapsed, all the roofs, a length of the north wall of the nave aisle, part of a nave pier, some of the south wall of the nave aisle, and a great deal of the apsidal east end of the quire. See Plan.

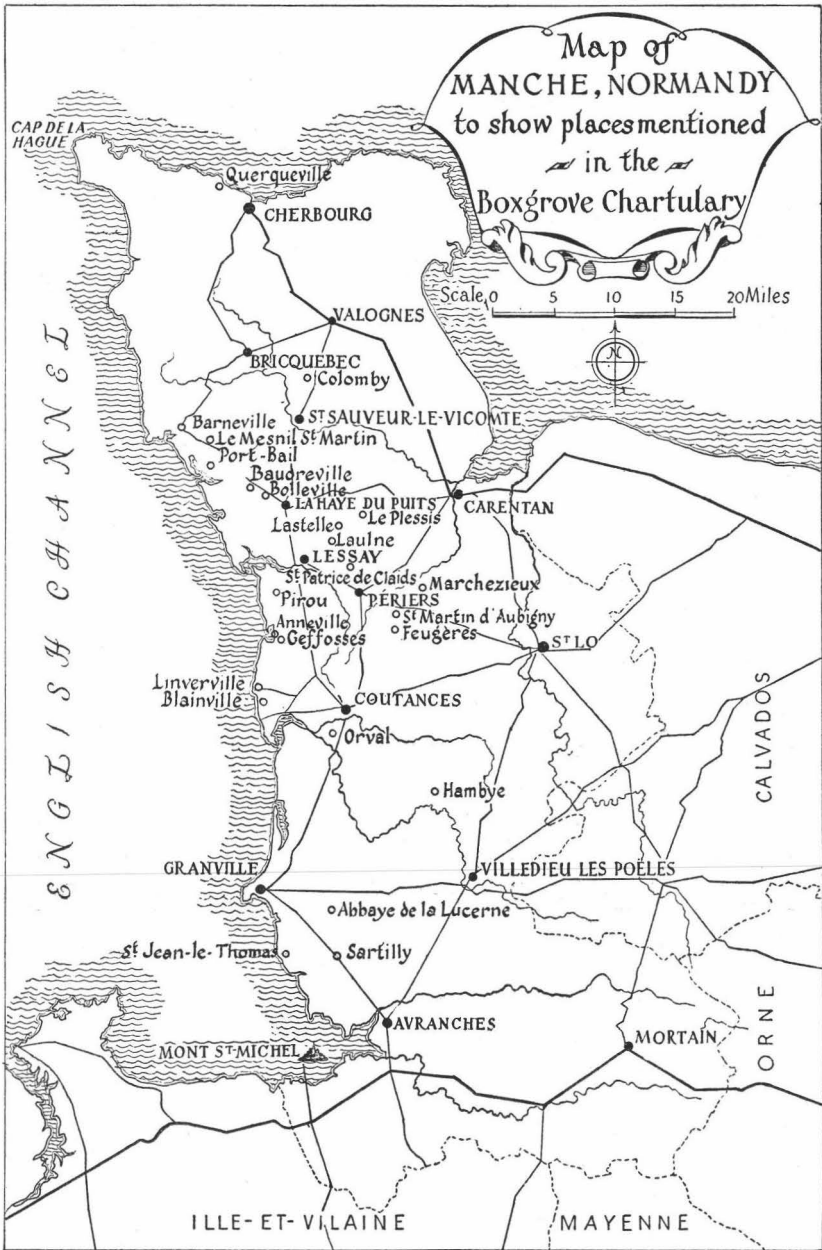


FIG. 1

Drawn by John Broughton

Lessay Abbey was founded in 1056 by Turstin Haldup, or Halduc, lord of La Haye-du-Puits, his wife Emma, and their son Odo Capel. The foundation was confirmed by William the Conqueror in 1080, in presence of Queen Maud, his sons Robert and Henry, William archbishop of Coutances, Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury and many others. The son, seneschal of the Duke-King, was regarded as the principal founder, and before his death, in 1098, the construction of the abbey was well advanced.¹ The nave of the church was completed in the early 12th century, in similar style. In 1105, the nephew of Odo, Robert de la Haye, or Hay, with consent of his wife Muriel and sons Richard and Ralph, made those great benefactions, including Boxgrove, besides other lands and churches in England, that eventually became the special endowments of the English house and are recorded in the Boxgrove Chartulary. These gifts enabled the building at Lessay to be completed, though dedication of the abbey church did not take place till 1178. One may assume that Boxgrove Priory church was completed even later, as result of the liberal grants of William and Robert St. John, grandsons of Robert Hay, noted in the Chartulary. Lessay Abbey suffered severely in about 1356 at the hands of the English and Navarrese, but restoration of the church was begun in 1385 and finished by 1444 in the original style. The abbey again suffered injury in the wars of religion of the later 16th century. The monks fled, and the monastery was pillaged by the protestants and the robber bands of Montgomery.

The plan of the abbey church is a typical Norman one, in the form of a cross. Those of the abbey churches of C erisy-la-For et and of Boscherville may, for example, be compared.

The nave, with north and south aisles, is constructed in seven bays, divided by six pairs of compound piers (Plate II). Of these, the two easterly pairs, of different design from the remainder, are considered to be part of the earliest structure, that included the quire and transepts, probably completed by 1098. The supposition could not be fully confirmed during the recent rebuilding, as the easternmost bay of the nave was destroyed when the adjoining piers supporting the central tower were blown up.² But it was established that the vaulting of quire, crossing and transepts was part of the original structure, as the homogeneity of the rubble core proved that these three adjoining vaults were constructed as one operation, following on the building of the walls and preceding that

¹ During the recent reparations, the tomb of Odo Capel, as is considered, was discovered in the crossing before the quire, and a carved head was found, thought to have belonged to the 13th century effigy destroyed at the Revolution. See Bulletin, No. 3 (1958) of *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, cited above, pp. 144-5, and 148, illustration.

² See Bulletin, No. 3 (1958) of *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, p. 140, note 2. Also cited in this footnote are several of the authorities on the architecture of the Abbey.

contains five lights in each of two stages, and has a semi-domed roof. In the quire north aisle is the chapel of St. Benedict and in the quire south aisle that of St. Opportuna, Norman abbess, patron saint of the parish of Lessay. East of the south transept is a rectangular chapel of 15th-century date; it replaced an apse and was extended eastwards. This, now the baptistry, is lighted on the east by a traceried window of two lights supporting a quatrefoil centre-piece. In the newly paved floor is indicated, by a band of different material, the line of the foundations of the apse discovered during the recent work. A rectangular chapel, destroyed in the 18th century, occupied the similar position, adjoining the quire north aisle; a new sacristy has been built on this site.

Above the stone vaulting of the church has been reconstructed a timber roof covered with thick schist obtained from the Cotentin. The quadripartite covering of each bay, of nave, quire and transepts, is composed of diagonal ribbed vaulting, while that of nave and quire aisles consists of plain groined vaults.¹ The transverse arches of the aisles are supported on attached columns against the outer walls. There are no wall-arches. A feature of the end walls of the transepts is that in the centre of each an attached column rises the whole height of the wall. These walls are further broken by five moulded string-courses demarcating the stages, and level with the springing of the arches of the two lower stages of fenestration. There are similar string-courses below the triforium arcading and the clerestory windows in nave and quire.

The west end of the church, largely rebuilt, is of simple design, containing a semi-circular headed central doorway, plain on the interior, with two windows over and one larger window above these. The windows, internally, have moulded semi-circular heads and attached shafts. Moulded string-courses run below the windows, and a broken string-course crosses the wall in line with the springing of the arches of the lower pair of windows.

The extent of the re-building in the 15th century is unknown. The south aisle is thought by one writer² to have been added and not merely restored at that period. The vaulting of the four westerly bays of the nave may have been renewed then, as at the intersection of the diagonal ribs were magnificent carved bosses displaying coats-of-arms. These were surmised to belong to the principal donors to the cost of the repairs in the 15th century,³ or the shields might have been those of abbots.⁴ The credit for that reparation is traditionally thought to have been principally due to Abbot William de Guéhébert, who died in 1447, having resigned the abbacy some years before then, and to have been initiated by

¹ See Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

² M. Élie Lambert, *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Florent Richomme, *Abbaye de Lessay, Annuaire du Département de la Manche* (1841), pp. 255-60.

Peter Leroy who became Abbot in 1385 and in the next year was chosen Abbot of Mont-St-Michel.

It is the policy of the organisation charged with the care of the historic monuments of France, faced with such grave problems, to preserve so much as remains, rather than to recover a building's former state. But it was decided that special considerations applied to Lessay Abbey, one of the few examples of a great Norman church to have survived complete and unaltered in style, and that an entire restoration must be attempted, as had been done, in similar if less tragic conditions five centuries before. The magnitude of the task that was undertaken in 1945 cannot now be appreciated, and the extent of the risk can only be imagined, from unexploded mines and the chance of falling masonry. For not only had the mines destroyed great portions, but they had shaken and weakened much of the remaining piers and walls. And at the outset there was only one stonemason known in the locality, and he was a prisoner-of-war! But in one respect there has been a break with the past, or the immediate past. The furnishings of the church, the altars, window glass, pavements, have been carefully and thoughtfully re-designed, to emphasise, and not detract from, the magnificence of the church's general proportions, in consonance, besides, with the purity and severity of the architecture. Few of the old fittings remained. An 18th-century altar and reredos survived, though mutilated, in the north transept, the chapel of the Virgin Mary. They have not been completely renewed but left to remind of the agonies of war, except that, as an inspiration for the future, a restrained but impressive figure of St. Mary, carved in stone by the sculptor Cattant, has been placed in the arched recess over the altar. Statues of St. Benedict and of St. Opportuna, have been erected, but no others; the figure of Christ on the Cross, over the high altar, in wood, is the work of Lambert-Rucki. A stone plaque, probably from an altar tomb of the 14th or 15th century, containing eight figures in traceried panels, was formerly in the quire, and has been re-fixed at the west end of the nave north aisle. There once existed a similar plaque with ten figures, but this has gone.¹

Externally the abbey church has little ornamentation. The central tower on the lower stage is broken with semi-circular headed openings and arched recesses; on the principal stage are four small openings on each face, enclosed in arcading of tall attached shafts, with semi-circular moulded heads, features that dated from the 12th century and have been reproduced. The enormous slated dome, added to the tower in the 18th century, has been replaced by a simple

¹ Renault, *Essai Historique sur l'Abbaye de Lessay, Procès-Verbal des Délibérations du Conseil-Général du Département de la Manche (1850-51)*, pp. 585-619. This book was lent to me by M. André Lucas, notaire, Lessay, to whom I am deeply grateful for the kind welcome he accorded me. I also wish to thank M. Jeanson for the kind reception he gave me. He and his brother are proprietors of the abbey buildings and farm.

pyramidal roof, covered with schist as the church. The windows of the different parts are in some cases plain openings, but others are relieved with attached shafts and moulded heads. The 12th-century doorway at the west end is to be remarked: the outer framing is composed on each flank of three attached columns, and the semi-circular head is composed of two mouldings and a band of "saw-tooth" ornament. The sheerness of the walls is relieved by pilasters and string-courses, but the beauty of the cream-coloured stone atones for any lack of adornment. Three sorts of stone have been used, and will enable the three principal periods of construction to be distinguished in the future. In the 11th and 12th centuries stone from Yvetot-Bocage, about 30 miles from Lessay, was used, and in the 15th century, stone from Creully, near Caen. But these quarries are exhausted or no longer afford good material. So a stone was sought, distinct from, but harmonising with, the old material, and the requirements were met by the stone called Montanier, from the department of Oise, of which Beauvais is the capital.

One tarried at Lessay on account of the abbey, and for the proximity to Coutances cathedral, so miraculously spared in the war, the one recalling Norman grandeur, and the other telling so eloquently of the sublimity attained by the Gothic style in its fullest development. I had planned to visit from Lessay some of the churches mentioned in the Boxgrove Chartulary.¹ Among these may be mentioned that at Laulne which is a completely new church, the old one having been damaged in the war. Lastelle has a church of some interest. The chancel of two bays has been considerably restored, with a new altar in the centre, a new painting on the east wall, a new sacristy at the east end; on the external wall of the latter have been placed old carved heads of a bishop and of a pilgrim. The central tower rests on four 14th-century arches, some capitals carved. A new wooden circular stair affords access. In the south transept is an 11th-century font and a 13th-century piscina. A 14th-century double piscina, under a trefoiled arch, with credence shelf, is in the chancel. The nave, continuous with the chancel, is of two bays. In the south chapel, between nave and chancel, has been placed a five-foot wooden statue of Christ, holding a pascal lamb, with traces of colour. As old memorials have not often survived in French churches, it was interesting to find inscription on the south wall of the south transept, recording that the chapel of the Holy Virgin was decorated, and rent for masses given, in 1678, by the "noble homme" Langluin "escur" and his wife "damoiselle" Gillonne Morel: "priez dieu pour eux."

Meadows and trees, a Sussex setting, enclose the handsome but modernised church of St. Patrice de Clads. There is a long vaulted

¹ See *Sussex Record Society*, vol. 58, No. 41. M. le Chanoine Pinel, du Chapitre de Coutances, author of *Coutances et sa Cathédrale*, gave me a most kind welcome at Coutances and assisted me in identifying the places mentioned in the Boxgrove Charter.

nave and chancel with early 13th-century chancel arch. The south transept has a modern altar. The east end is filled by an 18th-century altar and reredos; the sacristy is beyond. The tower is on the north opposite the transept. There are plain semi-circular arches at the entrance of transept and tower. Of the 14th century are west window and porch, the latter restored in 1861.

At Marchezieux, the church is of the 14th century¹ (Plate IV). It has a cruciform plan, nave with aisles of the same height, choir and transepts. The nave arcades are supported on round piers, with cylindrical capitals ornamented with volutes. Since the war were discovered early paintings in the choir representing the Nativity, Massacre of the Innocents, Visit of the Magi, the Last Supper, and other Biblical scenes. A curious feature was pointed out by the Curé. Adjoining the ribs of the nave vaulted roof and close to each of three of the carved bosses was a reclining figure, of small dimensions, coloured, supposed to represent abbots of Lessay. Why they should be thus commemorated and in such uncomfortable attitudes is impossible to surmise.

Feugères church has nave and choir continuous, much restored, only the piers and arches of the crossing being original work of the 13th century.

Another church recorded in the Boxgrove Chartulary is that of St. Margaret of Baudreville. This church, as so many, was much restored and adorned in the last or present century. The chancel arch, with crudely carved capitals to the piers, would appear to date from the 14th century. The pulpit is of the 17th century and there is a plain ancient holy water stoup.

But in the church of Our Lady of Port-Bail we may still, in imagination, see the early benefactors of Boxgrove; this 11th-century church has suffered little from the hands of the restorer (Plate III). It was built, one read on a notice inside, to replace an abbey that existed in the 6th century. The roofs suffered in the last war, but the six tie-beams spanning the nave and supporting king-posts appeared to be ancient. The building is still in a state of considerable dilapidation, redolent of antique charm that will no doubt vanish when the contemplated restoration is carried out. There are north and south transepts, and at the crossing, above which rises the tall square embattled tower of the 15th century, are Norman arches with carved capitals showing traces of old colouring (Plate IV). On the west side of the north transept is a 15th-century chapel, entered from nave and transept by pointed arches. The church occupies a striking situation near the shore of the estuary of the Olonde.²

¹ Henry de Ségogne, editor, *Les Curiosités Touristiques de la France, Manche* (1952), p. 41.

² The church of St. Martin of Goney at Port-Bail also has carved capitals, 12th century. The church of Barneville has wonderful 11th century nave arcading.



PLATE I

LESSAY ABBEY. Exterior from the south-west. October, 1958.



PLATE II

LESSAY ABBEY. Interior of the Nave in 1934.

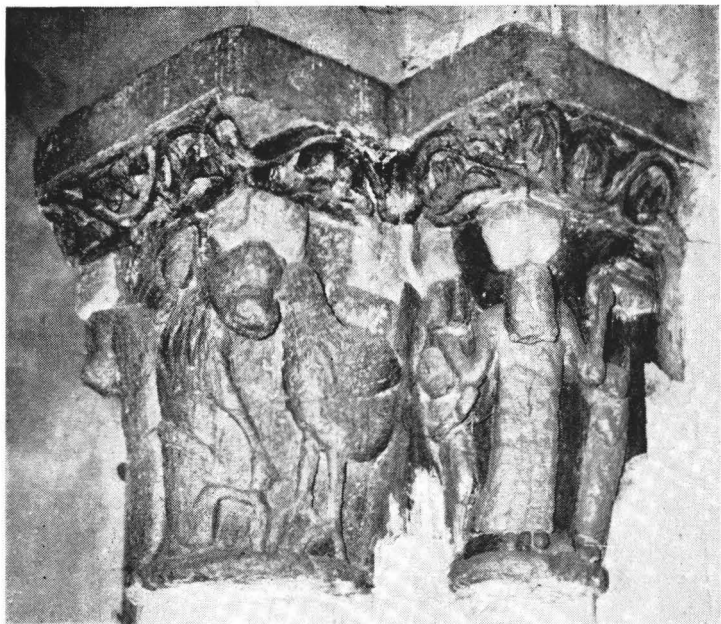
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CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE PORT-BAIL.
Exterior from the south-west. October, 1958.



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE PORT-BAIL.
Interior. October, 1958.



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE PORT-BAIL.
Carved Capitals. October, 1958.



CHURCH OF MARCHEZIEUX
Exterior from the south-west. October, 1958.

All these churches are not far from Lessay (see map). At considerable distance, near Cherbourg, is the church of Querqueville, once associated with Lessay, and etched by Cotman.¹ This is reputed one of the most ancient Christian shrines in France.

¹ *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, by John Sell Cotman; accompanied by *Historical and Descriptive Notices* by Dawson Turner, vol. I (1822), p. v.

MEDIAEVAL HOSPITALS IN SUSSEX

BY WALTER H. GODFREY, C.B.E., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

THE number of hospitals in England during the Middle Ages may be put at between seven and eight hundred, and not a few of them were built on a scale of remarkable size, even of magnificence. The needs that these hospitals were founded to meet were of a less specialised character than those of the modern hospital, which exists solely for the treatment and cure of disease or injury. They were what the name properly implies, houses of hospitality, where all who needed relief—the poor, the sick, the disabled, the indigent traveller and in certain cases the aged—could claim temporary help and attention. In addition there was usually accommodation for some permanent pensioners. The history of their foundation, endowment and administration, forms a fascinating story in the social life of the country.

To see a medieval hospital in working order it is necessary to visit some such establishment as the great hospital at Beaune, built in 1443 by Nicholas Rolin, Chancellor of Burgundy, and by his wife, Guigone de Salins, which is still as they planned it. The beauty of the buildings has to be seen to be believed, and their fitness for their purpose, as well as their ample equipment, is evident when we see the work of the hospital in full swing. Nor was Beaune an isolated example, for there were thousands of these buildings throughout Europe, although only a small proportion are still in actual use. The lofty thirteenth century hospital ward at the Biloke, at Ghent, is furnished with beds and stands in the midst of the great modern hospital that has developed from it. Wherever they exist, the medieval hospital buildings impress one with their fine proportions and the generous scale on which they were erected.

The ancient hospital almost invariably possessed a chapel opening on to the infirmary hall, as the principal ward was called. That the service of religion was deemed indispensable to the work of material succour is only to state a principle inherent in medieval society.

There is an important consideration which we must bear in mind in considering medieval institutions. Neither the classical nor the modern conception of the State will fit in with the organisation of life in the Middle Ages. Yet this organisation was by the twelfth century a very complete one, and was based on an elaborate scheme of personal service. On the manorial estates each man gave a proportion of his time or the products of his labour in return for his dwelling and the land which he cultivated. The principle of mutual responsibility was worked out in a mechanism of social

economy of surprising minuteness, and its simple efficiency eliminated many of the evils from which we suffer to-day. The duties of the employed and the employer were alike defined by custom, and this close personal relationship made the interference of the State occasional and remote. The monasteries held in this system a position equivalent to the lords of the manor, and to a gradually increasing extent the towns inhabited by merchants and craftsmen constituted another element, acknowledging like duties and responsibilities in their corporations and guilds. It is therefore natural to find that the hospitals of the time owe their foundation and their ultimate supervision to (a) individual benefactors, (b) monasteries and (c) towns, all of which were sensible of the people's needs, and most of all perhaps the monasteries, who professed and practised hospitality as one of the chief duties of their order.

But, however founded, the medieval hospital was generally a self-governing institution. It had a corporate constitution conferred by charter, and possessed a common seal. The staff, namely, the "brothers" and "sisters" who ministered to the inmates and patients, often formed the governing body, under a master or chaplain elected by them. But in other cases the governors were concerned only with the administration, as at Sherborne, Dorset. Here, where the Hospital of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist still shows us its beautiful medieval building, we find that practically the whole of the townsmen subscribed to its foundation, so much so that the subscription list, which is extant, is virtually a directory of the town for the year 1437. The governing body was a "brotherhood" of 20, each of whom on admission contributed a sum of £5 to the funds. They elected a "master," the old equivalent of chairman of the board, who served for 12 months, and the only privilege they could enjoy was a weekly pension of 20d. if, on becoming feeble and aged, they fell into poverty. The inmates were 12 feeble men and four women, who elected a "prior" among themselves and were attended by a chaplain and a housewife. A much earlier foundation, that of St. John's Hospital, Canterbury, built by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1084, provided for 30 men and 30 women suffering from divers ailments, and he set over them attendants and guardians. He also founded a college of priests nearby to minister in the hospital chapel, and at the same time he built his isolation hospital for lepers at Harbledown, outside the city.

In the County of Sussex we have records of 28 medieval hospitals, of which nine were exclusively for lepers, and one general hospital (Rye) made provision for leprous persons. These "lazar-houses" were usually built as a group of cottages within a close that also contained the chapel and buildings for the staff, but with the disappearance of the disease they became neglected and were ultimately demolished. Few remains therefore exist. That of St. John the Baptist, at Harting, is interesting as having been connected with

the Order of St. Lazarus (the English headquarters of which was at Burton Lazars, Leicestershire), but it was conveyed to Dureford Abbey in 1248.

Of the remaining 19, four belonged to local religious houses, two were under the authority of the bishops of Chichester, and five at least were administered by the municipality. Of the eight others, two at Shoreham and one at Winchelsea were probably town hospitals, the *Maison Dieu* at Arundel was the most important private foundation, and four are known by little more than their names.

Commencing then with the monasteries, we should expect to find an important establishment at Battle, the great Abbey founded by William the Conqueror to commemorate his victory. Outside the imposing fourteenth-century gateway is a timber-framed building still known as the Hospital, which no doubt accommodated travellers. Whether this was the site of the original hospitium or whether, as was more usual, there was a guest hall attached to the gate, is not certain. At Lewes, at the Cluniac priory of St. Pancras, we have more to go upon. Next the ruins of the gateway in Southover High Street is the parish church of St. John, with a row of twelfth-century columns separating the nave from a later south aisle. The chancel is modern and the west tower is as late as 1714. If we consider this building carefully, it seems probable that it was the original hospital divided into two wards, for men and women, each, no doubt, with its own altar at the east end. In an early deed the parish is described as that of St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene, two dedications familiar in hospital annals. It would seem that what happened in the fourteenth century was that a chapel of St. John within the priory gate, built for the use of the parishioners, had become too small, and that the hospital building was then converted into the parish church, a new hospital being built in the vicinity. Such documentary evidence as we have supports this view,¹ and there is still in existence the chapel (converted into a cottage) of St. James's Hospital, opposite Southover Grange and not more than 100 yards from the priory gate. This chapel is, as we should expect, of the fourteenth century. Its great infirmary hall has disappeared.

Lewes Priory administered a second hospital, that of St. Nicholas, at the west end of the town, but nothing of this remains. There was a hospital of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Anthony at Cokeham, near Sompting, which in 1351 passed into the care of the Priory of Hardham. The second dedication is interesting, since the establishment of St. Anthony of Vienne was the mother house of many European hospitals and of one in the City of London. Of the hospital at Vienne, Peter, Bishop of Hereford, wrote in 1252:—
“ [to it] a multitude of the sick and poor resort from divers parts

¹ See *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. I, pp. 201-203.

ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL CHICHESTER

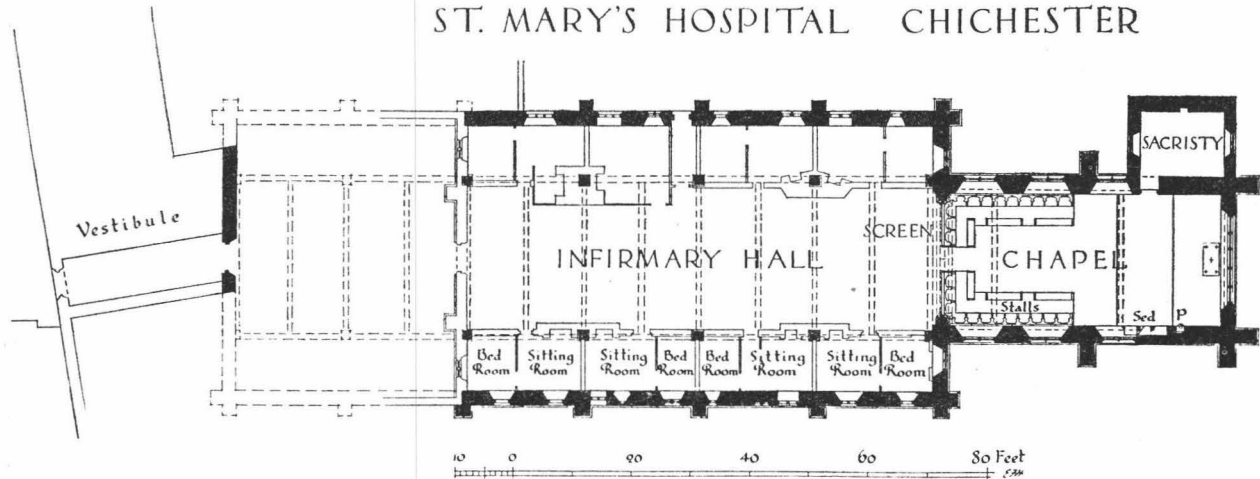


FIG. 1

of the world who suffer from St. Anthony's fire and find a refuge there." The master of St. Anthony's, London, was privileged to let the pigs, offered to the hospital in alms, wander in the streets for food, and John Stow, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, says that the vendors of pigs in the market would slit the ear of an unsaleable pig and hand it to the proctor of St. Anthony's, who tied a bell round its neck. He adds that kindly passers-by who fed these straying pigs were much inconvenienced by their following them through the streets. Another Sussex hospital (classified under town hospitals), that of Playden next Rye, owed its foundation in the eleventh or twelfth century to the Abbey of Fécamp, in Normandy.

Two important hospitals were under the care of the bishops of Chichester. That at Windham, which has disappeared, was founded by St. Richard de Wych, who occupied the See of Chichester in the thirteenth century, and to whose shrine the Cathedral owed much of its fame. He dedicated it to St. Edmund, the Archbishop (of Canterbury), who was his close friend, and it is noteworthy that it was when he was on a visit to the celebrated hospital or *Maison Dieu* at Dover (now the Town Hall), where he dedicated a second altar to the same St. Edmund, that he died in 1253.

The other episcopal hospital is that of St. Mary, Chichester, founded about 1172 by a dean of Chichester, and built as we see it to-day, between 1232 and 1248. Although it has been shortened in length it is one of the most perfect examples extant of a medieval hospital. The aisled infirmary hall, with its magnificent timber roof, was originally about 120 feet long by 45 feet wide, and the roof is 42 feet high to the apex. Where the beds used to lie in the aisles against the walls, are now miniature dwellings or cubicles inhabited by the almswomen whom the hospital now supports. The chapel, which is built of stone and is divided from the hall by a rich thirteenth-century screen, measures 45 feet by 22 feet. It is of great beauty and architectural interest.

The group of town hospitals in Sussex is of particular interest, especially as their constitution and the rules concerning them are embodied in the early civic customals. They all belong to coast towns or ports which had special need of them. Hastings, the head of the Cinque Ports, possessed the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene before 1293, and the town customal of 1356 defines the terms of municipal control. Near Rye was the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Playden, which, as already stated, owed its foundation to the Abbey of Fécamp. Its control was early vested in the town, according to the customal which is probably of thirteenth-century date, and it had the privilege of holding a fair on St. Bartholomew's Day. Winchelsea, also like Rye, one of the Cinque Ports, possessed three hospitals, St. John's, St. Bartholomew's and that of St. Cross. The two former were definitely under the control of the Mayor and Commonalty. The last named was founded before 1252 in Old Winchelsea, and rebuilt by Edward I in the thirty-ninth quarter of

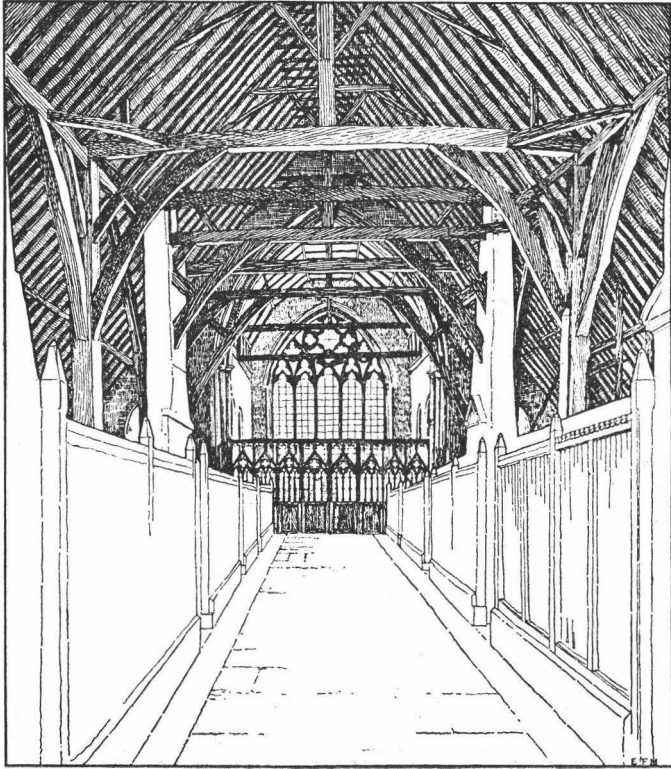


FIG. 2. ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, CHICHESTER.
Infirmary Hall and Chapel.

the New Town. The Hospital of St. Katherine, at Shoreham, is not known to have been a town hospital, but since it survived the dissolution by changing its name to that of Our Saviour, it was probably supported by the townspeople. Its seal shows a representation of the Crucifixion, with a Catherine Wheel below.

The Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Westham—the village that lies at the West Gate of Pevensey Castle—is mentioned in 1354, and the Pevensey Customal of 1337 shows it governed by the "Burgage." But a document of 45 years before this (1292) records a Hospital of St. Cross, of which nothing further is known. It is just possible that we have here in Westham circumstances somewhat similar to those we have already noticed at Southover. The parish of Westham went, in very early days, under the title of Peelings (one of the manors in the parish) and the association of this name

with the advowson of the church continued for some time. The present church incorporates an early twelfth-century building of cruciform plan, with the unusual feature of a string course on the south wall which evidently covered a cloister walk. The walls of the unaisled nave have been traced some 6ft. beneath the tower. If the first church were indeed situated at Peelings, at some distance from Pevensey, and if, as was not unusual, the Hospital of St. Cross stood outside the gate of the castle, it is not an unreasonable inference that when the suburb without the walls grew more populous, the hospital became the church. Southover is not the only parallel, for the fine church at Ramsay, in Huntingdonshire, was almost certainly the Hospital of Ramsay Abbey, and the same transformation seems to have occurred at Much Wenlock, in Shropshire, and Lenton Priory, Nottingham, both houses of the Cluniac order. It would be interesting if some further evidence were forthcoming in regard to Westham, where a later chancel, with aisle and west tower, has been added to the Norman building.

To conclude this brief survey of Sussex hospitals it is only necessary to mention the one important private foundation—that of Arundel. Designed by the thirteenth Earl, it was actually built by Richard Fitzalan, his successor in 1395, two years before his execution. The extensive ruins of its quadrangles and courts, its hall, chapel and cloisters, may still be seen below the castle, on the bank of the river. It was called indifferently the Hospital of the Holy Trinity and Christ's Hospital, and it was suppressed in 1546. In the eighteenth century its buildings were despoiled to provide material for building a new bridge.

The sixteenth century saw the end of practically all the hospitals that had been built and endowed in the Middle Ages. Thereafter the charitable instincts of the wealthy found an outlet in the foundation of almshouses, but hospitals were not revived until the end of the seventeenth century. The infirmary, which was so important a feature of all monasteries, had formed the model for the medieval hospital, and its great ward or hall, with the chapel at the east end, was copied all over the country and may still be seen in such survivals as St. Mary's, Chichester. The chief guest-house of a monastic establishment was not of course planned for the sick, but the refuge for the poor at the gate generally followed the infirmary plan, and influenced the secular hospitals in its turn. In this we need see nothing more than one aspect of the great influence which the monasteries had in developing the domestic architecture of the twelfth* to the fifteenth centuries. The Englishmen of these far-off days were not blind to the need of those suffering from physical disability for shelter and service; they met that need, as was their wont, with liberality, and with buildings and appointments that were notable alike for their generous scale and their signal beauty. Their achievements are surely worthy of some tribute from us, for it was a good work to which they put their hands.

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