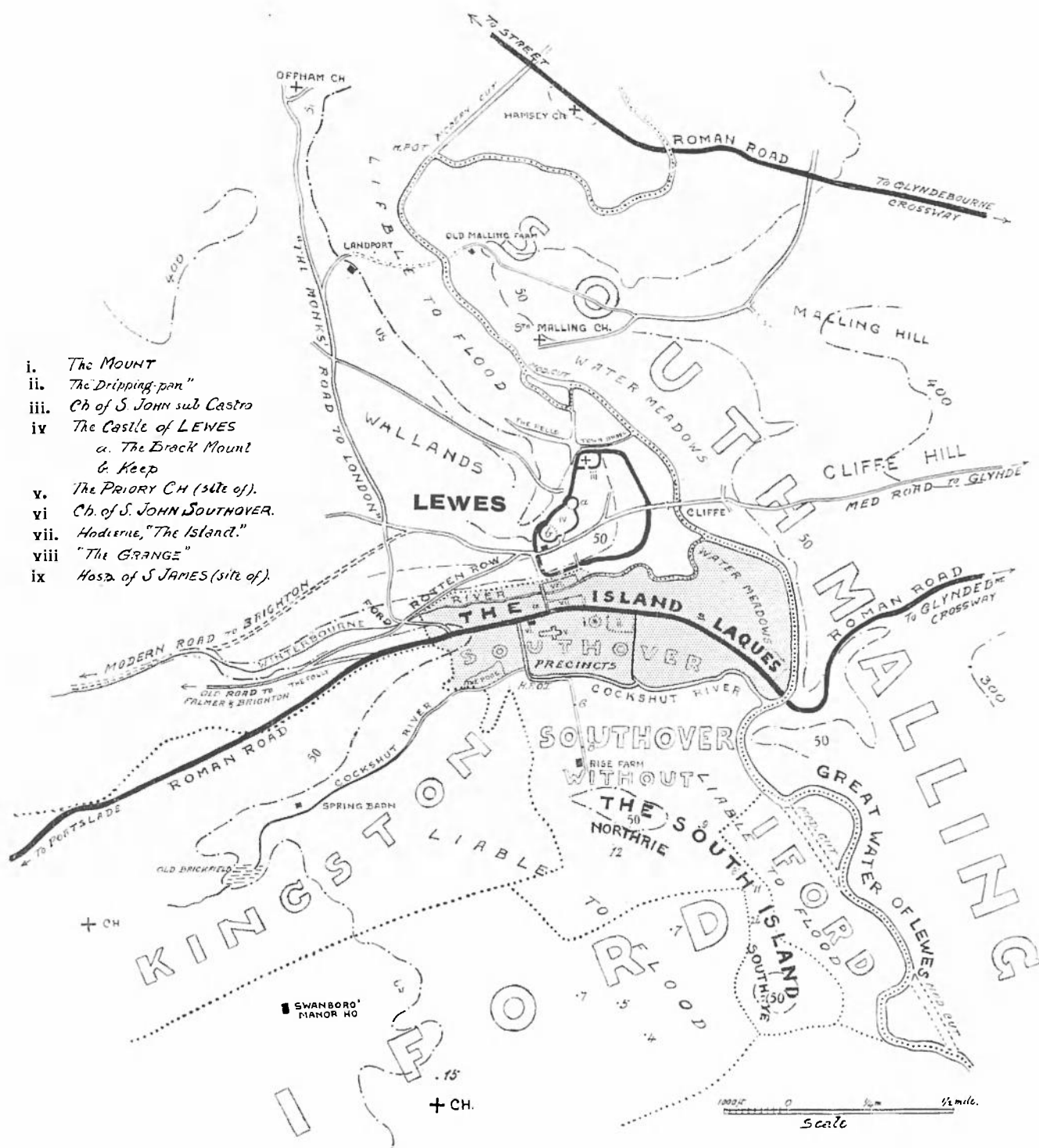# THE FIRST CASTLE OF WILLIAM DE WARRENNE.

By A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT, M.A.

That picturesque castle whereof Lewes is rightly proud has so long passed without question as the original Sussex stronghold of the house of de Warrenne, that any attack upon its pride of place must needs be made with caution and supported with ample force, and will assuredly meet with an obstinate resistance. Nevertheless, the writer proposes hopefully to demolish a tradition which he believes to be mistaken, and to raise once more in its proper place the banner *chequée or and azure* of the first great earl[1] of Warrenne and Surrey.

That the castle in its present form owes little to the first de Warrenne is generally agreed. The earliest portions of the existing masonry must be of far later date, possibly as late as the time of Henry III thinks Mr. Harold Sands, and all that can reasonably be claimed for an earlier date is part, more or less, of the remaining earthworks. Only in rare instances did the castle-builders of the Conqueror's time advance to the use of masonry, and that masonry should have been early used at Lewes is the more improbable seeing that the locality produces no stone more serviceable than flint.[2] The great royal fortresses indeed in some cases took shape in stone before the Conqueror died, but of the ' forty thousand thieves ' who landed with him in 1066 the most puissant would commence with a stronghold constructed solely of earth and timber, and such castles were the rule until another century and a half had passed. The first essential, the nucleus of the whole, was the *motte*, an earthen mound of dimensions varying according to the circumstances. Its height might be anything from 10 to 100 feet, its diameter at the base anything from 30 to 500 feet. Its plan was commonly circular. A fosse, dry unless accident pro-

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[1] It is assumed that the popular view is correct, and that William de Warrenne received from Rufus in 1088, not the lands only, but the earldom of Surrey also.

[2] Much of the existing masonry is of imported Caen stone.

PLATE I.

To face page 37.

i. The MOUNT
ii. The "Dripping-pan"
iii. Ch of S. John sub Castro
iv The Castle of LEWES
    a. The Brack Mount
    b. Keep
v. The PRIORY CH (site of).
vi Ch. of S. JOHN SOUTHOVER.
vii. Hodierne, "The Island."
viii "The GRANGE"
ix Hosp. of S. JAMES (site of).

SKETCH MAP OF LEWES AND LAQUES AND ENVIRONS.

vided otherwise, surrounded its base, and outside the fosse was an earthen parapet crowned with a strong stockade of timber.   Upon the top of the *motte* rose the *bretasche*, a sort of block-house likewise built of timber, and enclosed within a second stockade.   Access to this was given by a narrow gangway or bridge of planks, spanning the fosse. Such, and no more, was the original Norman castle in nine cases out of ten.

If the builder were a person of dignity maintaining a large retinue, or if his castle occupied a position of more than ordinary importance, and therefore requiring a large force to hold it, there was added a base-court or bailey, a level annexe enclosed within a fossed and stockaded rampart of its own.   This might be of any shape and size, but was usually of small extent.   If all went well with the castle and its owners, there might be added a second bailey, and a third, or even more.   The substitution of walls of stone for stockades of timber, and of a mason-built keep for the wooden *bretasche*, often with other modifications which entirely disguised the original plan, were the last stages in the castle's evolution.   In some cases the evolution was regularly completed, in far more it halted half-way, and in a very large number of cases it never advanced beyond the first stage. [1]

William de Warrenne, first of that style, received at the Conquest grant of the lands of Lewes and some forty other manors in Sussex.   In 1069 he was lord also of Conisborough castle in Yorkshire.   At some later date unknown he acquired enormous estates in Norfolk, and at the time of the Domesday survey (1086) he owned lands in no less than twelve counties.   In the last year of his life (1088) he received from William Rufus the lands of the earldom of Surrey.   To his original castle in Sussex he had therefore added at least three others, at Conisborough, at Castle Acre, and at Reigate, and must have had as much as he could well do in maintaining them all without launching out into any extravagant or uncalled-for

[1] It is curious that Sussex, despite—or rather, perhaps, because of—the importance of its castles, has no really typical example of the mount-and-bailey fortress. The best has never yet been noticed to my knowledge : it lies immediately north of Milton Court in the water-meadows on the east bank of the Cuckmere, close to the site of the (later) Burghlow castle. The *motte*, now overgrown with trees, is known as The Rookery, and considerable remains of two baileys are clearly traceable.
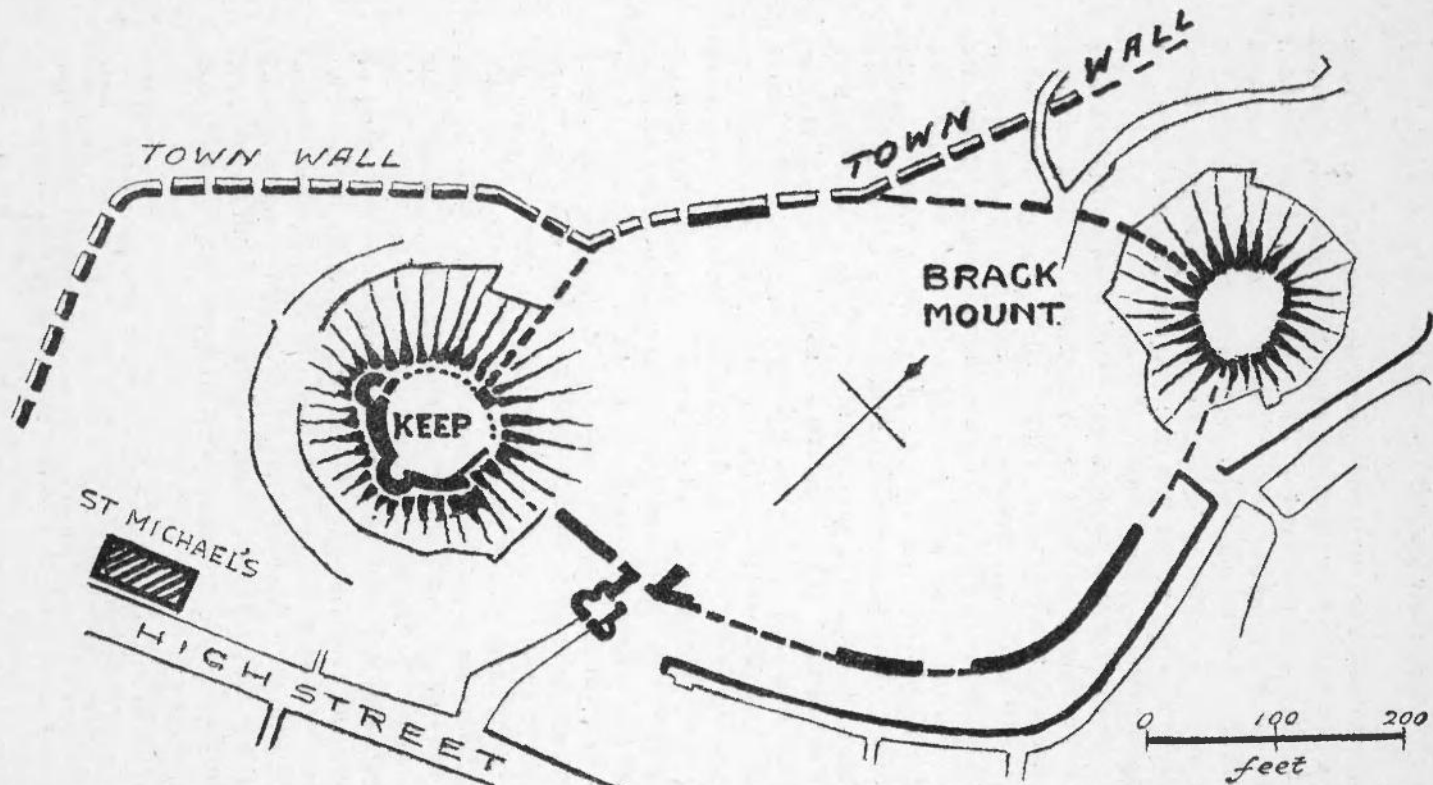
FIG. I.   SKETCH PLAN OF LEWES CASTLE.

TOWN WALL

TOWN WALL

BRACK MOUNT

KEEP

ST MICHAEL'S

HIGH STREET

0   100   200
feet

developments.[1] For the first few years of his residence in England, prior to his accession to his lands in Norfolk, he was in fact a comparatively poor man, and wherever his first castle may have stood, it can have been nothing but the normal structure of earth and timber, with probably a single base-court or (for he was related to the Crown, and his Sussex holding was of very great strategic importance) perhaps two. Where was that castle ?

Lewes castle is remarkable—not ' unique ' however—in possessing two *mottes,* and both of great size. They stand respectively at the north-east and the south-west ends of the oval area once included within the curtain wall. Inasmuch as it is known that, from the time of the Conquest to the reign of Henry IV, no rival lords ever shared the ownership of the spot, it is a reasonable inference that the two *mottes* belong to the designs of two different generations of de Warrennes, the one representing the nucleus of an earlier castle, the other that of a reconstruction. The north-eastern, or Brack Mount,[2] is probably the earlier of the two, and if the first earl was responsible for either, it must be for this one. Both certainly belong to that first stage in the evolution of castles when the earthen mound was considered to be a *sine qua non,* that is to say, before the era of stonebuilt castles. Builders of stone castles had no need for *mottes,* though they commonly made use of them if they happened to be there. They did not themselves construct *mottes,* or at any rate *mottes* of any great size.

That both *mottes* at Lewes were the work of any one builder, albeit not actually impossible, is certainly highly unlikely. Their great size bespeaks an expenditure of labour and money such as would scarcely be incurred voluntarily by any one lord, were he never so rich, still less by a lord who, like de Warrenne, had the cost of several other great castles to drain his purse. It is almost certain that the first earl had nothing whatever to do with the south-western mount ; the Brack Mount he probably did build, but it was not his first and original fortress.

The question of the relative age of the two *mottes*

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[1] *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (quoted hereafter as *S.A.C.*) ii, 11 *sqq.* ; xl, 170 *sqq.*

[2] It is called ' Bray Mount ' by Horsfield and other writers of a century ago.

must in the absence of documentary evidence be decided by analogy.   In castles of the mount-and-bailey type it is the rule that the *motte* stands as it were in the rear of the whole, the bailey or baileys covering it on the most assailable sides.   The natural course, therefore, to be followed by the builder who first decided to place such a castle on Lewes Hill, was to put his *motte* at the extremity of the hill, where the ground dips suddenly down to the Ouse.   This was a position of very great natural strength, defended on three sides by slopes and swamps alike difficult to negotiate, while the bailey or baileys, lying upon the saddle of the hill, would cover the only practicable approach.   So commanding a position had long previously made appeal to some nameless British warrior, whose barrow was reared there[1] ; the Norman took the hint, and enlarged the barrow into a *motte,* the Brack Mount.

When the Brack Mount was under construction the walls of Lewes, it would seem, did not yet exist ; for it was the rule, wherever there already existed a town wall, so to place the Norman castle that its *motte* or keep should lie upon the line of the town's wall.   This is not the disposition of the Brack Mount.   On the other hand it is precisely the disposition of the south-western mount. But the latter, as has been said, must itself belong to the days before the castle was converted from timber to stone. As it is not to be supposed that any later lord of Lewes would be content to remodel his castle in earth and timber at a time when the townsmen could boast walls of stone, the inference is that Lewes was still unwalled when this remodelling took place and the south-western mount was built.   But even when thus remodelled, the castle was still of earth and timber.   The last phase came when some yet later lord, replacing timber by stone, utilized the existing *motte* (south-western) as the site of his keep. This may have been before the town was walled, or at the same date ;   it can hardly have been afterwards. Judging from the plan only, one would certainly infer that the walls of the castle antedate the walls of the town.

When the town was first walled we have no means of

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[1] G. A. Mantell, *A Day's Ramble in and about Lewes* (1846), p. 109.   He believed the interment to be Roman.

knowing with precision, but as there exist murage grants from the year 1266, we may be content with the rather ' wide solution ' that the walls belong to the reign of Henry III.[1] The south-western mount, as has been said, must be earlier than the walls. Even if we concede for this mount so early a date as 1200, we are already four generations removed from the days of the first earl. The lord in 1200 was Hameline, fifth earl, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet. He lived long enough to have remodelled the castle in the manner suggested, but so for that matter did his son and successor the sixth earl, William (1202–1240), and his grandson, the seventh earl, John, who was with intervals lord for the extraordinary span of sixty-five years. It must be remembered that, while the building of stone castles became common in the thirteenth century, the building of others of the earth-and-timber type did not cease until the close of the fourteenth century. There is therefore no reason why the remodelling should not have taken place as late as 1250 or 1260, except that one would not expect the great house of de Warrenne to be content at so late a period with a castle of the earlier type.

That Lewes was a place of some importance after the Conquest is no necessary proof that it was equally important in earlier times, and all assertions that it was so lack evidence. The earliest indications of its existence as a town at all are said to be coins minted there in the reign of Athelstan (925–940), when there were certainly two moneyers at work here—not two *mints*, as Mantell, Lower, and others, have asserted. *The Burghal Hidage*,[2] a document which may go back to the reign of the same king, mentions Lewes as a *burh*, i.e. a town fortified and maintained for the defence of the county against the Danes. There is nothing to show that the town had any existence

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[1] The first mention of the bridge at Cliffe is said to belong to the year 1264. The existence of this bridge seems to postulate that of the East gate at Lewes, so the walls and gates were probably in existence by that time. Henry III's choice of the town as his base in the campaign of 1264 might be thought to point the same way, but it is odd that, if existing, the walls offered no resistance to de Montfort's men. The king himself made his headquarters in the priory of St. Pancras, not in Lewes.

[2] Mrs. E. S. Armitage (*Early Norman Castles*) believes this document to be a list of the towns so fortified at a much earlier period, perhaps by Alfred, but certainly as early as Edward the Elder (901–924). There may very well have been some sort of Saxon settlement at Lewes at the date, but there is no proving the fact; and even if it existed its Saxon fortifications, as will be explained, suggest that it must have been very small.

before military requirements called it into being somewhere between the years 878 and 940 ; and the facts that a Witanagemote was held at Swanborough in 868,[1] another by Athelstan himself at Hamsey,[2] would seem to point in the opposite direction.

Thereafter we have no information until the time of the *Domesday Book*, and it is from that record that one must endeavour to gauge the dignity of the place at the close of the eleventh century.

The *Domesday of Sussex* makes no mention of any castle at or near Lewes, nor even of any castellany, but as it is almost equally silent about all the other great Sussex castles,[3] nothing can be inferred from this omission. On the other hand the *Domesday of Norfolk*, in dealing with William de Warrenne's Norfolk lands, mentions a *castellatio de Lawes* (cix. 1)[4] or *de Lauues* (cix. 13), a *castellum de Lauues* (cx. 19), a *castellatio Aquarum* (cviii. 10), and a *castellum de Laquis* (cxii. 8, 13, 19 ; cxiii. 3). It has always been assumed that these expressions refer to one and the same fortress, viz. a castle occupying the site of the existing castle of Lewes, and the statement that ' it is certain that Lewes had a castle in 1086,'[5] is a terse summary of the current opinion. I hope to adduce evidence to show that the ' certainty ' is far from certain. To the consideration of the various expressions used by the scribes of *D.B. Norfolk* I shall revert presently. At this juncture it is enough to observe that it is surely strange that in 1086, twenty years after the Conquest de Warrenne's original castle should still be so little known as to be styled indifferently by any one of at least three totally different names—Lewes, de Laquis, and Aquarum.

The *Domesday of Sussex*[6] styles Lewes a burh (*burgum*), and implies that it was a naval base in the time

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[1] *S.A.C.* xxix, 130.

[2] Heneage Legge in *The Churchman*, March, 1905.

[3] Dr. J. H. Round has shown (*Archaeologia* lviii, 342) that the *D.B.* expression *castrum Harundel* (xv *a*, 9) is merely a place-name, analogous to such modern names as Castle Acre, Castle Hedingham, Castle Cary. The most direct reference to any Sussex castle in *D.B. Sussex* is the remark (xxv *a*, 42) that ' in one hide of (the manor of)

Washington stands the castle of Bramber (*castellum Brembre*).' References to *D.B. Sussex* are throughout to the facsimile edition of W. D. Parish (1886).

[4] The references to *D.B. Norfolk* are throughout to the facsimile edition (George III's) of 1783.

[5] Dr. J. H. Round and L. F. Salzmann in *Victoria County History of Sussex*, vol. i, p. 351.

[6] xxi *a*, 2–16.

of Edward the Confessor, with a permanent force of armed ships.   Under king William I it still retained its privilege of a mint.   The value of the burh in 1086 was thirty-eight shillings more than in the time of king Edward, so that, if it had not greatly grown, it had not seriously suffered in the Conquest.   The inference is that, albeit a burh, it had made little or no resistance.   Hastings and Burpham were likewise burhs, standing as such side by side with Lewes in the *Burghal Hidage.*

The *D.B.* return for Hastings is ' eight pounds less two shillings '[1] ; that of Burpham, ' in the time of king Edward and now eight pounds, but it pays ten pounds.'[2] It would seem, then, that a burh was not necessarily a very wealthy place.

A burh was a fortified place.   Where and what were the fortifications of the burh of Lewes ?   The walls of a Saxon burh were certainly as often of earth as of masonry, and one would expect only earth in a district void of all good building stone.   The position of the Norman castle, and especially of the Brack Mount, militates against the supposition that the Saxon walls followed the same line as did the later thirteenth-century walls, even if there were any discoverable trace of an earthen vallum along the line of those walls.   A still more forcible objection is the great extent enclosed by the later walls, which included an area approaching to 75 acres.   Ethelfleda's burh at Eddisbury, Cheshire, enclosed about 12 acres, and that of Edward the Elder at Witham, Essex, some 20 acres ; yet both of these were royal burhs, and presumably, therefore, quite as large as the average of burhs, if not larger.   The area entrenched behind the immense vallum at Burpham is twenty-two or more acres.   There is no reason to assume that the Saxon burh of Lewes was more than three times as large as that of Burpham, and nearly four times larger than the royal burh at Witham.   Not much more satisfactory is the theory which maintains that the Norman castle itself represents the Saxon burh : its area (7 acres) is reasonable enough, but there are other difficulties.   The burhs of the *Hidage*

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[1] *D.B. Sussex,* iii *b*, 8.   It is referred to merely as ' the new burh in the manor of Rameslie.'

[2] *D.B. Sussex,* xviii *b*, 37.

were expressly designed to check the incursions of the
Danes, and the Danes were seafarers who made their
incursions primarily by way of the rivers. In consequence
the burhs were placed in the closest possible proximity to
the waterways to be defended, as for example is that of
Burpham on the Arun, and in positions which allowed
the Saxon's vessels to be moored at his very gates. In
the case of Lewes such a position was provided, not by the
summit of the hill where stands the castle, but by the
small platform projecting like a bastion from this higher
ground into the levels along the Ouse, where now are the
church and churchyard of St. John sub Castro. Although
almost every trace of its original defences has disappeared,
it is known that this area was once heavily fortified. There
was certainly a vallum and fosse running across the gorge
of the bastion. Dunvan, who wrote the so-called *Lee's
History of Lewes* (1795), describes [1] the vallum as running
also along the east and west sides of the position, which is
a trapezoidal area of about two acres only, rising abruptly
out of the levels on three sides, and sufficiently protected
by artificial defences on the remaining (southern) side.
He adds that there were also two mounds ' within the
ramparts, for defence or observation.' [2] There is no
evidence that the defences were in any way reinforced by
masonry, nor is such a thing likely. The 50-ft. contour-
line runs fairly closely round the edge of the platform,
while the castle, which overhangs it on the south, and so
suggested the church's distinctive epithet of *sub Castro*,
stands 50 feet higher. Immediately at its north-west
foot lie the Pells, [3] a pool of water measuring some 700 feet
by 50 feet. This pool was made by enlarging and em-
banking part of an old river-channel which skirted the
foothills from Offham and Landport and, turning east, fell
into the present main channel of the Ouse just below the
Corporation wharf. That part of it which lay between
the Pells and the main channel—and that part only—
was known as the Town Brook, and marked the earlier

[1] p. 341. Horsfield merely copies Dunvan,
excepting that he adds that the fortress
was a Saxon work (*Hist. Lewes*, i, 271).

[2] Mantell says the mounds were conical,
and ' stood within the works, one at the west

angle, the other at the east ' (*Day's Ramble
in and about Lewes*).

[3] ' A bog or Pell, as they are called here
(at Cooden).' *S.A.C.* xxxvii, 200.

boundary of the borough.   At a later date was made a
new cut directly north from the Pells to the main river,
which at that period formed a small loop to the south,
as the course of the parish boundary of South Malling
shows.   About midway upon this cut was erected a paper-
mill, and the Pells were now made to serve it as a mill-
pond.   Like most other town-ditches, the Town Brook was
probably very early choked by the accumulation of the
town's rubbish.[1]

Previous to the making of the railway from Lewes
to London the Pells extended some little way further
along the old river-channel to the west, while to the south
the water covered also the immediate western foot of the
churchyard of St. John sub Castro, where is now the
terrace of houses forming Toronto Place.   This southward
extension was filled in with the upcast from the railway
cutting and the tunnel[2] which passes under the Castle Hill.

Heneage Legge[3] cites from *Fabyan's Chronicle* the
assertion that king Alfred divided the once single channel
of the river by a number of artificial cuts, to make the
waterway impracticable for Danish ships.   *Fabyan's
Chronicle* is of very doubtful value, and one need only
remark here that, if the river were made impassable for
Danish vessels, it must have been impassable likewise to
Saxon ships.   I imagine that the assertion has arisen from a
vague memory of the construction of the basin of the
Pells or of the stream connecting it with the main channel.
That this latter was to some extent at least artificial is
suggested partly by its straight course, partly by its ancient
name of the Town Brook.

A tablet set upon the wall of a terrace of new houses
(1902) in Lancaster Street, which occupy the site of the
vallum and fosse defending the southern side of the
burh, states that 'Here stood the fosse of the Roman
camp which occupied the site of the churchyard.'   There
is no doubt whatever that the churchyard was a defensive
enclosure, and as little doubt that it owed nothing to the
Romans : I cannot learn that any Roman remains have

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[1] It is shown on ' A Plan of Lewes ' dated
1788, as being at that date a dry ditch.

[2] Information of Reg. Blaker, Esq., who
had it from an eye-witness.   In James
Edwards' *Map of Lewes* (1799) this southern

extension of the Pells appears as a large
oblong space apparently divided into water-
cress beds.

[3] *Guide to Lewes*, p. 2.

ever been found here,[1] no Roman road can be shown to
have led to it, and both in plan and in position it is unlike
Roman work. There is indeed no evidence of any sort
that there existed any settlement at Lewes in the Roman
time. On the other hand there is a good deal to be said
for the view that this work was the Saxon burh. Alike
in plan and in character the defences were such as the
Saxon built, and the fortress occupied just such a position
as his purpose demanded, for it completely controlled
the adjacent river, while it was sufficiently screened from
the eyes of an enemy advancing up the stream ; and in the
basin below might lie secure a very considerable fleet of
the small vessels of the time.[2] Here, moreover, stood what
was probably the mother-church of the town ; for even
in its portentously modern shape the church of St. John
sub Castro still embodies scraps of alleged Saxon work,[3]
a proof of antiquity which cannot be advanced by any
other church in the borough.[4] More remarkable still, as
late as 1467 a manorial court was held within the church-
yard.[5] Finally, there is no alternative site which might
with equal reason be held to be that of the Saxon burh,
nor any other convincing explanation of the origin of the
fortress which we know to have stood here ; for, while
there is no reason at all to think it Roman, there is none
to think it anything else but Saxon. In the whole of
Sussex, with all its long list of anhistoric earthworks, there is

[1] Mantell says (Day's Ramble) that ' several
Roman Imperial coins' had been found on
' the sloping ground to the south' of the
position.

[2] The three docks which form so remark-
able a feature of the earthwork at Willington,
on the bank of the Bedfordshire Ouse,
measure respectively 72×35 ft., 110×60 ft.
and 170×105 ft., the latter having originally
been perhaps 50 ft longer. This work
was, it is thought, of Danish construction
in the year 918. Dr. J. P. Williams-Freeman
describes (Field Arch. of Hampshire, pp. 142–
145) a somewhat similar work at Long-
stock on the Test, where would appear to
be a rectangular dock measuring about
300×100 ft. This, he suggests, was also
Danish, a work of Canute in the year 1016.
Allowing 2,000 superficial feet for each
vessel, the Pells in their present form would
accommodate some twenty sail, and it is
perhaps not a coincidence only that in the

time of king Edward the landowners of
Lewes were liable for ship-money to the
amount of twenty shillings (Domesday of
Sussex, xxi a, 5–7).

[3] Heneage Legge, Guide to Lewes, pp. 7,
22.

[4] In the ninth century a burh at Worcester
was ordered to be constructed ' as a pro-
tection to all the people, and also to raise
the praise of God therein.' This quotation
(from S. O. Addy's Church and Manor,
p. 136) illustrates the presence of the
church within the very exiguous limits of
the original burh at Lewes. Another case
is Chirbury in Shropshire, which figures
in A.-S. Chronicle (anno 915) as Cyricbyrig,
' Church-borough.' In this instance the
church was so large or otherwise so remark-
able as to give a name to the fortress. (I am
aware that this explanation of the name
is open to dispute).

[5] Heneage Legge, Guide to Lewes, p. 22.

none resembling this, excepting the work at Burpham ; and Burpham also was a burh, in its position precisely analogous to that of the old fortress of Lewes. [1]

If it be established that the churchyard of St. John sub Castro really represents the Saxon burh, a good many difficulties disappear. Here would grow up the original town of Lewes, gradually extending hence eastwards and southwards over the steep slope facing towards Cliffe. [2] Its growth would be very slow, for it is to be remembered that there was as yet no ford, let alone a bridge, at Cliffe, the town standing in a *cul de sac*, and having, save by boat, no means of communication with the outer world to north, east and south. Here the Norman found it, still an insignificant place in all but the strategic sense ; and when (much later) he decided to put a castle here, he naturally reared his *motte*—the Brack Mount—on the spot which dominated the little town beneath. Such was always the Norman's way. When later still there was founded in Southover another church of St. John, the older Saxon church was for distinction named *sub castro*, for it lay in truth beneath the walls of the castle above it. [3]

The position, if small, was and still is one of exceptional natural strength, the fall of the ground on all but the south side being in the literal sense precipitous. Standing on the opposite side of the valley near South Malling church, one overlooks the whole area, and understands at once why the spot recommended itself to Saxon strategy. But when, more than one and a half centuries later, the Norman looked about for a site for his castle of Lewes, there were excellent reasons against his deciding to build within the old Saxon fortress, apart from the facts that the area was too small, and that the town, now slowly spreading to the south, overlooked it too closely.

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[1] The Arun covers one side of Burpham, as the Ouse covers one side of the work at Lewes; in the one case a backwater of the Arun provided a harbour for ships, just as did the Pells in the other case. The defences at Burpham were precisely analogous to those at Lewes, viz. one great vallum and external fosse thrown athwart the gorge of the position. At Burpham, as at Lewes, there was no village before the spot was fortified, for the fortifications gave a name to the place (Burpham =*Burh-ham*). The church and village at Burpham lie *outside* the defences, i.e. on the north, because in this position they were screened from the sight of possible enemies coming up the waterway from the south.

[2] The name of Market Street perhaps indicates the central thoroughfare of the town as it was in the twelfth century.

[3] Horsfield asserts (*Hist. Lewes*, i, 275), apparently on poor authority, that it had once borne the name of St. John *in* Castro.

Lee's *History of Lewes* (1795) speaks (p. 34) of 'the remaining traces of an extensive encampment on the *wall-lands* adjoining the town on the north-west . . . apparently the station of a considerable army engaged in the blockade of the fortress (sc. Lewes castle).' It is much to be wished that the author had been more precise in his description both of the earthwork and of its situation, for there appears to be no other mention of it; and no means of recovering further details about it. One can hardly doubt in the face of so definite a statement that there did exist, on the high ground of the Wallands, some sort of entrenchment, albeit it is not an altogether unknown happening for an enthusiast to see the remains of purposed earthworks in features either natural or accidental; but this work, while it may have been almost anything else, cannot have been the Saxon burh, because, if not too remote from the river, it was assuredly too remote from the later town.

The best argument in support of its having once existed is the name of the Wallands, which may have quite well been derived from some such walled enclosure. It is an old name, occurring, *e.g.* in the Latin *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* 26 Henry VIII (' Walland sub castro ') and in a document amongst the records of Cluny bearing date 1411 (' the land called la Wallond ')[1] The late Professor Skeat roundly denied that the prefix *Wal*—or *Wall*—in place-names can refer to any wall or walls; but in face of the archaeological evidence it may be doubted whether so positive a negative be correct. Anyway the explanation of the name of Wallands here suggested will probably be admitted to be at least as likely as any others yet forth-coming. One of these interprets it as ' the lands visible from the (castle) walls ' of Lewes. How came it that the name was restricted to the area visible from one part only of the said walls, and further to so small a part of that area ? Another theory would re-write the name *wall-ends*, explaining it as the ground ' where the castle walls ended.'[2] The reader must decide for himself.[3]

[1] Sir G. Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*, vol i, p. 214.

[2] Horsfield, *Hist. Lewes*, i, 275.

[3] The name of Wallands Marsh occurs in the vicinity of Hailsham, where perhaps the original was Wellands, i.e. lands liable to flood. No such explanation can serve for the Lewes Wallands, which are high ground.

If the churchyard of St. John sub Castro verily repre-
sents the Saxon burh, it is clear that in the eleventh
century Lewes was still a very small place.   In all likelihood
it owed its origin solely to its selection as a place to be
fortified against the Danes, and the town grew up very
gradually in and about the little fortress.[1]   Heretofore the
important place in this part of Sussex was South Malling,
where Ceadwalla of Wessex had founded his Benedictine
house as early as 688.[2]   Even 400 years after that date
there was scarce room for two places of importance so close
together in this thinly peopled island.

Lewes made good but slowly.   Small in the beginning,
it remained small until vitalized by the happy chance that
a Norman lord founded upon its outskirts one of the most
important religious houses in all the southern counties,
and subsequently chose Lewes Hill as the site for a castle.

The topography of Lewes and its environs was very
different in the Normans' time from what it now is.   The
river Ouse,[3] as yet unbanked, permanently drowned large
areas of land along its course, and came almost to the foot
of the burh in St. John's churchyard.[4]   The drowned areas,
biting right and left into the adjacent chalk hills, left longer
or shorter tongues of dry ground jutting out into the morass.
There was no bridge on the Ouse at Cliffe, nor any means
of passing the river save by boat.   The Winterbourne was
an open stream of considerable size, whose tidal estuary
occupied all the lower part of the narrow valley between
Lewes and the peninsula whereon now stands Southover,
and offered no ford within a mile of the Ouse.   Even at
the present day spring tides run up it as far as the grounds
of the Grange, and it is significant that it was the South

[1] Writing in S.A.C. xxxviii. (1892), p. 183,
John Sawyer remarked, in connexion with
the discovery of the Saxon cemetery at
Saxonbury and an earlier discovery in
South Malling in 1830, that 'no similar
evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation of
Lewes seems to have been recorded.'

[2] This is the traditional view.   The
theory (based upon the charter, no. 197
in Birch, Cart. Saxon.) that it was founded
by Alduulf circa 765, is contradicted by
the charter itself, which speaks of the
monastery as founded long before (religiosa
antiquitate fundati).

[3] It is much to be wished that we could
learn the correct ancient name of the
stream.   The name 'Ouse' appears to be
of quite recent application.   A charter of
Henry III speaks of it only as 'the great
water of Lewes'; Rowe (circa 1600)
calls it 'the great river'; and even Dunvan
(1795) occasionally uses the same expression.
Cf. Dr. F. J. Haverfield in S.A.C. xxxvii,
p. 220.

[4] 'Even in the fourteenth century' it
was 'necessary to construct a causeway
and a bridge of wood across the sundering
marsh and river' (Heneage Legge).

gate of the medieval town opening upon this valley of the Winterbourne, and not the East gate leading to the Ouse, that bore the name of the Watergate.   Except by boat there can have existed no means of crossing the Winterbourne lower than the ford at the foot of Winterbourne Hollow, as is proved by the course of all the older main roads.   To this ford, for example, continued the High Street of Lewes, almost in a right line by way of Rotten Row,[1] and passing the river, followed the southern side of the valley westwards towards Falmer.[2]   To the same ford came another road from the direction of Offham— still spoken of as 'the monks' road to London'—leaving Lewes as it then was far to the east; and following the present course of Bell Lane, it fell into what is now Southover High Street.   This was, as late as 1264, the only road then connecting Lewes with the peninsula of Southover, a name which, not found earlier than the thirteenth century, means 'South shore,' and plainly speaks of the estuarine character of the intervening valley. The site of Southover was at the Conquest a tongue of high ground formed by the eastward extension of Ashcombe Ridge towards the Ouse at Southerham, and the present High Street of Southover represents a Roman road which, coming from Portslade by way of Brighton over Kingston Hill to Ashcombe Ridge, passed the Ouse at Southerham, and was continued onwards up Oxteddle Bottom and over Saxon Down by Glyndebourne Mill towards Crowborough and Tonbridge.[3]   The peninsula of Southover, hemmed in between the deep Winterbourne valley on the north, and on the south the Cockshut river and the 'Brooks,' is a mile long, but little more than one

[1] 'The highway leading towards Winterbourne' (*Rowe's MSS.* fol. 82a). This is the *only* 'highway' he mentions in his list of the roads and lanes of Lewes.

[2] This road is still plainly traceable, passing through the fold-yard at the foot of 'The Folly,' and continuing thence westward. Immediately east of the fold-yard there runs into it another road coming from the western end of Southover High Street. This portion, if short, is nevertheless a fine piece of engineering, descending the steep face of the slope on a broad, smooth, and beautifully graded terrace, of a character to suggest that, like Southover High Street

itself, this also was originally Roman work. Be that as it may, this road must have been utilized by the monks of the priory for communicating with the first of their outlying possessions, viz. their *mansio* in Falmer and lands in Balmer adjacent thereto.

[3] See an article by the present writer in *Archaeol. Journal*, Sept. 1916. It was the existence of this road which determined the peculiar site of the 'ancient wooden church of St. Pancras' beside it. The church of Hamsey likewise stands beside a Roman road, and like that of St. Pancras, close to the ford.

quarter of a mile wide even at its broadest part, which is immediately south of the railway station. Here likewise is its highest point (39 feet), the ground falling thence regularly towards the Ouse on the east. The narrowest point of the peninsula is at its base, which measures scarce 300 yards across. At the present day ordinary tides flow up the Cockshut as far as the foot of Cockshut Lane, at the south-western angle of the erstwhile precincts of the priory.

On this peninsula, safeguarded on three sides by the waters, did William de Warrenne establish his famous priory of St. Pancras, and the position fully justified its later monkish style of *prioratus de Latis Aquis*, ' Broadwater priory.' But before the priory was founded, here too, it is suggested, he likewise planted his original castle. This was the fortress of which he speaks in the *Carta Fundationis*[1] as ' my castle of Lewes,' so naming it from the adjacent burh across the Winterbourne, because there was no nearer town or village of sufficient repute to serve as sponsor.

In the records of its time the priory is commonly spoken of as the ' priory of St. Pancras, of (at, near, in) Lewes,' or the Latin equivalent, but frequently appears under the name of *prioratus de Laquis, de Latis Aquis*, or *Latisaquensis*. The last named is merely a monks'-Latin adjective formed, with fine scorn of rules, out of *Latis Aquis*; and *Laquis* is said to be an abbreviation of *Latis Aquis*. *Latis Aquis* is further said to be a Latin synonym for Lewes, begotten of a Norman attempt to read a meaning into the latter name by interpreting it as *Lès Eaux*, where *lès* is an old French word answering to the Latin *latus*, ' broad.' Thus *Latis Aquis, Laquis*, and Lewes are assumed to be synonymous. But though the assumption has long since passed into an article of faith, it remains none the less an assumption only; and it will not bear examination.

In the first place, there is no evidence that *Laquis* is an abbreviation of *Latis Aquis*. Such an ' abbreviation ' would, if it were a fact, be difficult to parallel. The form *Laquis* is found repeatedly in *D.B. Norfolk* (1086), and

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[1] Sir Geo. Duckett's view that this document, if not absolutely genuine, at any rate embodies genuine facts, is accepted throughout. Such part of the *Carta Fundationis* as is pertinent is printed at the end of this article.

it is hard to believe that within twenty years of the Conquest the name of Lewes could have been etymologized and Normanized to *Les Eaux*, again Latinized to *Latis Aquis*, and finally abbreviated to *Laquis*. Such a development would be a matter of many years, even in an age when languages were more fluid than they are now; and if it really occurred with the rapidity assumed, how comes it that while there is no hint of these various intermediate forms in *D.B.*, they appear only at long subsequent points of time? The frequent mention of *Laquis* in *D.B. Norfolk* proves, not that *Laquis* was Lewes, but that there was a place named *Laquis* within de Warrenne's castellany, and presumably the *caput* thereof.

In point of fact the longer form *Latis Aquis* is not found until a date much later than is its so-called abbreviation *Laquis*, and the documentary evidence is decisive that *Laquis* was the earlier, *Latis Aquis* the later form of the name. In which case it becomes doubtful whether *Laquis*, whatever else it may mean, ever meant ' Broadwater ' at all.[1]

In the second place, if *Laquis* was really a Latinized synonym for Lewes, then either it was felt to represent phonetically the Saxon name, or it was felt to interpret that name etymologically. Now the accepted spelling of the town's Saxon name from the Conquest to the present time has been Lewes and nothing else. It occurs so spelt again and again in *D.B. Sussex*, with no variation whatever, and the scribes of that part of the ' Winchester roll ' must be supposed to have had the best chance of knowing the right spelling. It was otherwise with the scribes who compiled *D.B. Norfolk*: to them the name, like the place, was unfamiliar, and they distorted it in various ways— Lawes, Lauues, Laues, Laes, Leuues, and Leuis[2]; but while all these forms are unquestionably intended for Lewes, not one of them can possibly be held to approximate to *Laquis*. Strange things are done or imagined under the cloak of philology, but no philologist has yet explained how a

[1] The confusion was probably assisted by the fact that there was a ' Manor and fishery called Broadwater in South Malling, Southerham and Beddingham' (Horsfield, *Hist. Lewes*, ii, 171.).

[2] In the *Burghal Hidage* the spelling is Lathes, due to the not uncommon confusion of the Saxon symbols for *w* and *th*. The *Liber de Hyda* (1200) has *Leuuias*, and J. B. Johnston (*Place-Names of England and Wales*) cites from an unspecified O.E. charter the forms Loewas, and also Loewen.

Saxon *w* could come to be represented by a Norman *qu*.[1] *Laquis*, therefore, cannot have been intended to represent Lewes phonetically. Neither can it have been intended to represent it in point of meaning. On the one hand, it is impossible to believe that any would-be etymologist of the eleventh century could have deduced from Lewes, or from any recorded spelling of that name, the old French *Lés Eaux*, or for that matter, the simpler *les eaux*. Such a deduction smacks too much of the ingenuity of a later age. On the other hand, *Laquis*, as has been shewn, cannot represent an original *Latis Aquis*.

In fact *Laquis* is not Latin, albeit it has about it a superficial echo of *aquae* or of *lacus*. Similarly there is in Lewes a yet more elusive echo of *l'eau*. Hence the attempt to identify the two.[2] But Lewes is Saxon, not Norman; and whatever it may look like, it can never have sounded like *l'eau* or *les eaux*.[3] Such vague resemblances were good enough for writers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but they will not suffice to-day, nor can I think they satisfied the scribes of the Conqueror's time. *Laquis* cannot be equated with Lewes etymologically, any more than phonetically. It was not Lewes at all. The Latin for the latter is commonly *Lewes*, adjective *Lewensis*, although the scribe of William de Warrenne's *Carta Fundationis* wrote *Lewiarum*,[4] from a nominative *Lewiae*. Both forms are attempts to Latinize the Saxon name phonetically, leaving the meaning unexplored. There is no reason to doubt that the meaning was 'Hills,' Lewes representing *Hlaewes*, the modified plural of *hlaw* (law, low), 'a hill.'[5] But *Laquis*, so far from being a translation of this, signified the precise opposite.

There is little doubt that the *lows* to which the name

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[1] This apparently presents no difficulty to J. B. Johnston (*op. cit.*), who, accepting *Laquis* as verily a synonym for Lewes, remarks that it is a 'somewhat puzzling' variant, where '*qu*- will stand for *w*, as in Old Scots.' But Latin, even monks' Latin, is not old Scots, nor for that matter was *Laquis* ever meant to be a synonym for Lewes.

[2] John Rowe, dismissing without discussion Camden's derivation of Lewes from A.S. *Leswa* ('meadow') declared that it was derived 'from French *les ewes* (sic) *ab aquis circumiacentibus*.' This

explanation he found 'agreeable' to the *D.B.* name of *Laquae*.

[3] The local pronunciation to-day approximates rather to *Lowes* (two syllables with the *s* hissed) than to Lewes.

[4] Possibly the legitimate genitive from a nominative *Lewes* (plural) was felt to be lacking in euphony as in perspicuity.

[5] Cp. the Sussex names of Burghlow on the Cuckmere, and Baldslow (hundred). J. B. Johnston (*Place-Names of England and Wales*) suggests a hypothetical **bleow* (cf. *hus-bleow*, 'house-shelter'), Mid. Eng. *lewe ;* and perhaps such a meaning might

of Lewes refers were those of the great barrow-field
covering the Downs west of the burh as far as the Race
Hill, for any references to the *natural* hills hereabouts
would have lacked of distinctiveness. The name of
Byrgelstaltune (now Burgh Hill, 7 miles to the east),
' the *tun* at the place of the cemetery,' shews that the
Saxon had no superstitious aversion from such places.

Laquis is in reality a Normanized form of the Saxon
name for the peninsula of Southover. That there existed
any village on that peninsula at the date of the Conquest
it is impossible to prove. Had there been one it could
scarcely have failed to find mention in the *Carta
Fundationis*, but that document speaks of nothing but the
' ancient wooden church,' a mill, a mill-pond, and one
suburbanus named Lewin,[1] who may or may not have
been the miller. *Domesday* is entirely silent.[2]

Writing of his own castle the first earl terms it ' my
castle of Lewes ' (*castrum meum Lewiarum*), simply
because the site of his castle had as yet no name that was
familiar to outsiders. It was perhaps the monks who
gave currency to the name of *Laques*, and it is not difficult
to guess whence it came. Anglo-Saxon had a native
word *lacu*,[3] ' a small stream,' plural *laces*. This name,
especially in its plural form, would admirably suit the
situation of the priory as it then was, between the streams

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be not unapt as applied to the *original*
town, the sheltered burh around St. John
sub Castro. This word, in the modern
form of *loose* ('a shelter for cattle') is
still in local use. It does not, however,
account for the plural form of Lewes.
There is indeed no reason to assume any
such form as *bleow*, for the derivation from
blaewes is at once reasonable and regular.

[1] It is perhaps scarcely necessary to
remark that this extremely common Saxon
name (*Leofwine*) has nothing at all to do
with the name of Lewes, any more than
had its corresponding feminine Lewinna,
the very dubious girl-martyr saint associated
with Seaford.

[2] In *Victoria Hist. Sussex*, vol. i, p. 351,
it is asserted, in comment upon the *D.B.*
entry (xxi. *b*, 1) that Ramelle (Rodmell)
owned ' forty-four haws in Lewes,' that
these lay ' in the suburb of Southover.'
As no authority is given for this statement,
and I am unable to find anything con-
firming it, I prefer to take the *D.B.* record
as it stands, and to believe that the said
haws were actually in Lewes.

[3] This word, which is purely Saxon,
and not a derivative of the Latin *lacus*,
still survives in some English dialects. It
is especially common in South Wales, where
there occurs in the parish of Llanstephan,
Carmarthenshire, an old property known
to this day as Laques. It is the suffix
in a number of place-names in various parts
of England, e.g. Senlac in east Sussex,
Fislac (Fishlake), a Yorkshire dependency of
the priory, and Fenlake, Bedfordshire.
A small stream at Fenlake, flowing into
the Bedfordshire Ouse, bears the name of
the Lake (Skeat, *Place-Names of Bedford-
shire*, p. 36). The same name appears
disguised in that of the modern river Lark
in Suffolk; cp. Lackford, ' the ford of the
Lack,' or Lark (Skeat, *Place-Names of
Suffolk*, p. 33). It may be added that the
personal name of Dulake is still to be found
in Lewes.

of Winterbourne and Cockshut, and was duly Normanized into Laques—the natural manner of transliterating the Saxon word with its hard *c* and its hissed *s*. A castle or a priory, therefore, in this locality would naturally be called de Laques. Attempting to write it *Latiné* some one was bound to blunder over the preposition, and for Norman *de Laques* would write Latin *de Laquis*. This seems to be what happened in Norfolk: the returning-officers, not recognizing the name to be Normanized Saxon, treated it as Latin; and so it seems to have been treated ever since, albeit there is nothing Latin to which the form *Laquis* can be referred.

He was a praiseworthy exception amongst their number who substituted for *de Laquis* the pure Latin *Aquarum*. He at any rate felt that *de Laquis* was not Latin, else why did he seek for a Latin equivalent? It would seem that he even knew what *Laquis* really represented, for his translation (*Aquarum*) could hardly be bettered. That other unrecorded genius who first expanded *Laquis* into *Latis Aquis*, albeit he had Latin enough to know that *Laquis* was not Latin, had not enough Saxon to tell him what it really meant. Nevertheless his effort had the two-fold merit of being at once good Latin and even more descriptive of the spot than was the Saxon original (*Laces*.)

That *Aquarum* represents *de Laquis* is very clear, but for the unlucky assumption that both these were synonymous with Lewes there is no ground whatever. John Rowe may not have been the first man to give his authority to the assumption, but he certainly furthered it, with the result that three centuries have been spent in the effort to show that the name of Lewes likewise denoted 'water' or 'waters.' But neither in sound nor in sense has the pure Saxon Lewes anything to do with the Norman-Saxon *Laques* and its Latin equivalent *Aquarum*.

Altogether the *D.B. Norfolk* alludes to de Warrenne's Sussex castle at least eight times, and in the following phrases:—

> *Castellum de Laquis* (4)
> *Castellatio de Lewes* (1)
> *Castellatio de Lauues* (1)
> *Castellum de Lauues* (1)
> *Castellatio Aquarum* (1)

The name *de Laquis* occurs nine times further in the expression *pro (de) escangio de Laquis*, referring to some little-understood transfers of land between de Warrenne and another person or persons ; and other mentions of Lewes—Lewes, Leuis, Laes, Laues—recur four times, either in the same expression (*pro escangio*) or in the expression *pertinet ad Laues*. Thus, out of a total of twenty-one references, we have

de Laquis, 13
Lewes (various spellings), 7
Aquarum, 1

The last named being merely a translation of *Laques*, we have the name of Lewes seven times only, that of *Laques* or its equivalent fourteen times.

Again, of the eight passages alluding in any way to a castle (*castrum*, *castellum*, *castellatio*), three only speak of it as the castle of Lewes, whereas it is five times styled the castle of Laques (or Aquae). And as the word *castellatio* in *D.B.* is commonly taken to mean 'castellany,' the concrete 'castle' being termed *castellum* or *castrum*, we have finally

Castle of Lewes (Lauues), 1
Castle of Laques, 4

From this we would certainly infer that the strict name was the castle of Laques, but that it might also be spoken of as the castle of Lewes. *De Laques* was the correct name, because the castle stood in *Laques ;* and *Laques* was what is now called Southover. [1]

In *D.B. Norfolk* the name of *de Laquis* occurs thirteen times, in nine different pages of the roll, without any variation whatever ; whereas the name of Lewes, occurring seven times in five different pages, is mis-spelt in every case but one. This means that de Warrenne's Norfolk tenants knew him officially as lord of the

[1] In the official *Guide* to the castle of Lewes, published by the Sussex Arch. Society, it is stated, in the note to p. 11, that Lewes castle is mentioned in *D.B. Norfolk* (under Otringheia) as 'castellum de Laquis and Lauues.' If this were a fact the writer of this article would have been saved much of his labour, for it would be documentary proof that de Laquis and Lauues do *not* denote one and the same place. But it is not a fact. The expression *castellum de Laquis et Lauues* does not (as the *Guide* would imply) occur in *D.B.* at all, nor are the two names ever coupled in any way whatever. It is clear that to some of the scribes of *D.B. Norfolk* the castle was known as de Laquis, to others as de Lauues, and no one scribe used both expressions.

castellum de Laques, and so spoke of him to the returning-officers.   Those officers, however, were little likely to be familiar with the name of Laques, for this was in effect a mere Saxon field-name and corresponded to no town, nor even to a village.   They would know the earl rather as having his headquarters at or near Lewes, and some of them preferred to grapple with that troublesome Saxon name, substituting it, more or less ill-spelt, for the less familiar, if less difficult, name of *Laques*.   After all, the name of Lewes was more or less known to the Anglo-Norman world at large as that of a burh, while *Laques* was scarcely known at all outside its immediate environs.

If the earl's castle was on Lewes Hill, with what possible reason could the name of Laques be extended to it ?   The name of Lewes was well known as that of a Saxon burh ; the name of Laques was as yet known to very few, and those natives only.   Why then use *de Laques*, the unknown name, as an alternative designation of a castle at Lewes, a place known to most people ?   There is no answer to this question.   A castle on Lewes Hill could not by any stretch of logic or language be called the castle of Laques.

But if the earl's castle stood actually in Laques, i.e. within the peninsula of Southover and close beside his priory, it was as natural to speak of his *castellum de Laquis* as to speak of the *prioratus de Laquis*.   Laques, however, being as yet a new and unfamiliar name, it was customary to speak even of the priory by the more informing style of *prioratus de Lewes*, for every one knew of Lewes, whereas few had yet heard of Laques ; and there was no other township near enough to provide a name.   In exactly the same way was the castle spoken of by the *D.B.* scribes as *castellum de Lauues* alternatively with *castellum de Laquis*, and the earl himself, like a sensible business man, spoke of. it by the more familiar name *castrum Lewiarum*.   To understand how the name of Lewes should come to attach to a priory or a castle situated in Southover is easy enough ; but to explain how a castle situated on Lewes Hill should come to be called the castle of Southover is beyond the present writer's wit.

William de Warrenne, I suggest, adopted a very suitable name for the spot on which he settled himself and his monks,

but treated the spot very naturally as part of the contiguous burh of Lewes, just as to-day Southover is regarded as parcel thereof. Indeed he speaks[1] of a part of the ground as being in the occupation of *unus suburbanus nomine Lewinus.* Laces was not a township or village, but an outlying part of the manor of Iford, albeit situated much nearer to the confines of Lewes than to its own village. The mere fact that William's castle is spoken of in *D.B. Norfolk* by such a variety of names proves that the name of Laces or Laques was at that date but little known outside the immediate vicinity. And no wonder, for it never occurs at all even in *D.B. Sussex.*

De Warrenne's original castle, or the nucleus of it, is standing yet, exactly at the broadest and highest point of the peninsula, an earthen *motte* still 38 feet high, commonly known as 'The Mount,' or less correctly 'The Calvary Mount.' Its proportions are quite large enough[2] to have satisfied his requirements, the more so as his original Sussex holding was not by any means an extensive domain. It was indeed considerably less than that of Robert earl of Mortain, of Roger Montgomery, or of the earl of Eu, if a little larger than that of William de Braose. These, with de Warrenne, were the five tenants-in-chief appointed by the Conqueror to act as wardens of 'this broad rampart of the guarded south.'[3] There was ample room for base-courts on the gentle southward slope. On the north ran the Roman road, beyond which the ground fell very steeply to the waters of the Winterbourne valley. If no traces of base-courts are to-day discoverable, it is not to be wondered at, for there was nothing about such works

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[1] *Carta Fundationis.*

[2] The mound was possibly once a few feet lower, and rather wider at the summit. Its present form is perhaps due to the harrowing to the top of some of the soil removed in making the spiral ascent to the summit. Its lower slopes also have been very steeply scarped in recent times, probably when the adjacent house was built some 60 years ago, while the level of the road on the north side has been considerably raised in order to clear the railway.

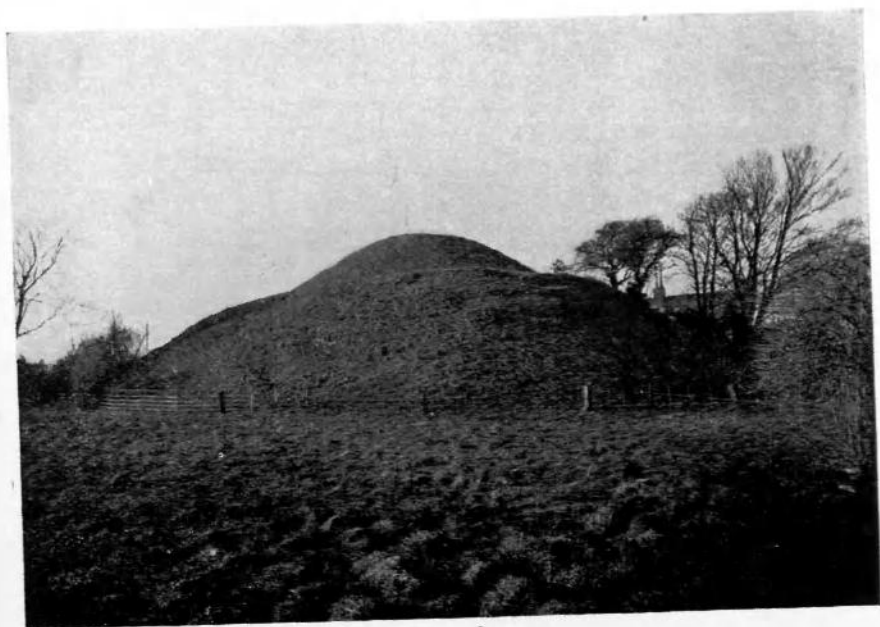[3] It is confessedly very difficult to make out the exact number of the manors granted to each tenant-in-chief, and quite impossible to recover their acreage. There is the fact, however, that the tenants-in-chief of Sussex were these five only, and that de Warrenne's various lands are summarized in four double pages of *D.B.*, whereas the holdings of the three who take precedence of him (Mortain, Roger and Eu) require from five to six double pages apiece. Parish gives (p. 12) the various holdings as calculated by Basevi Sanders thus:—

Earl Roger ..	..	..	89	manors.
de Warrenne	..	..	43	,,
Earl of Eu..	..	..	41	,,
Robert earl of Mortain	..	51	,,
William de Braose	..	38	,,

THE CASTLE OF LAQUES.
(The *motte* is seen black behind the Priory ruins.   View from south-west.)

THE CASTLE OF LAQUES.
The original Castle of William de Warrenne, commonly called the Mount.   (View from south-east).

to offer much resistance to time and the spade. Once made over to the monks, such minor earthworks would speedily vanish beneath cultivation, and it was just here lay the gardens of the priory in later years. The use of the field to the east as a tennis court, and of that to the south as a football field, postulates further levelling of the soil.

The site was one of very great natural strength, notwithstanding the slight elevation, for the only means of access by land was by the Roman road from the west ; and had the need arisen, the narrow gorge of the peninsula could easily have been defended, or even permanently fortified, at small cost. Such need does not appear to have arisen within the short period during which this castle of Laques was ' in being,' *i.e.* during the life of the first de Warrenne.

The priory as originally founded lay immediately to the west of the Mount, its church being distant only some 200 yards. At a later date, when the foundation had been enlarged, its boundary-wall was 200 yards east of the Mount, and the latter—dismantled—was included within the precincts. When in the course of time the real origin of the Mount was completely forgotten, some puzzled antiquary hazarded the picturesque guess that it had been reared by the monks to serve them as a Calvary. That the monks placed a cross upon it is probable enough, but that they built it, and for this purpose only, is more than unlikely. Such laboured ways of symbolizing their faith were foreign to the monks of this country, whatever may have been the case abroad.[1] Dunvan waxes indignant[2] over the Mount as ' a monument of the Gothic taste and profusion ' of some supposed prior its builder, admitting, however, that he could not ascertain the culprit's identity. He endorses the further guess that the material for it was obtained in the course of excavating the ' Dripping Pan.' The ' Dripping Pan ' is to-day a cricket-ground, but the eye of faith sees herein the fishponds[3] of the good monks,

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[1] Mantell was very positive that it was ' the only monument of the labours of the monks of St. Pancras that remains unimpaired' (*A Day's Ramble*). The notion that the Mount was built to be a Calvary seems not to be older than about a century.

[2] Lee's *Hist. Lewes*, p. 415.

[3] The ' Dripping Pan ' was probably a garden. The field to the south of it, now known as the Convent Field, used to be known as the Convent Garden.

not explaining why they should choose to make these upon the very highest ground in the whole of their territory, while Nature offered so many spacious sites of more convenient kind, or how they contrived to maintain a proper supply of water thereto.[1] Not more unreasonable is the surmise which attributes the *motte* to the up-cast from the railway-cutting at its western foot ; but as the *motte* is figured large in maps and prints made before railways were heard of,[2] this theory requires no further refutation.

Other suggestions have been made. Some have declared the Mount to be a natural formation : geology negatives any such belief. Others have held it to be a barrow : Sussex has no barrows approaching such a size, few or none that stand in such a position, below the 50 feet contour line and ringed about by the waters. Yet others have asserted it to be a military work of Britons, of Romans, of Saxons, or of Danes. That any of these peoples ever constructed fortifications of such a form has never been proved. By what accidental perversity did it happen that no one, so far as the writer knows, ever attributed it to the Normans ? In the light of modern knowledge it is scarcely possible to see in the Mount anything at all but a Norman *motte*, and had it not stood within the known precincts of the priory, it is probable that it would long ago have been recognized as such. In size, in proportions, in position it is exactly what a *motte* would be and should be, and while good reason can be adduced for regarding it as the indubitable work of the first Norman lord, none whatever can be advanced to the contrary.

It has long been recognized that the great Norman castles of Sussex were deliberately placed to command so many routes of entry into England. Inasmuch as the facts of topography remain the same, it is not therefore surprising that these castles should commonly occupy positions previously pitched upon by Roman strategy. The castle of the earl of Eu at Hastings commanded the

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[1] The fishponds (*i.e.* stews, for the larger breeding-ponds would scarcely be required in a locality so well provided with rivers) were more likely somewhere along the Cockshut. Dugdale's *Monasticon* prints a charter (no. 8) of the second earl granting to the monks the right of fishing for the benefit of their sick in all his *piscaturae et aquae*.

[2] It appears, e.g., in the inset ' South Prospect of Lewes ' in Budgen's *Map of Sussex*, 1724.

creeks and inlets at that point, and there is reason to believe
that a Roman *castrum* stood somewhere near the same
spot ; for the older name was Hastingacestre, and William
of Malmesbury mentions the remains of extensive Roman
ruins still visible in his day. Of the Roman original of
Pevensey castle, commanding the haven there, there is
no need to speak, and the same applies to Chichester, where
Roger de Montgomery's *motte* still stands within the north-
east angle of the Romano-British walls. Bramber castle
similarly blocked the waterway of the Adur, and Arundel
castle that of the Arun. In the case of the two last named
castles the Roman's priority is neither so well known nor
so plainly demonstrable, but as long ago as 1849 the
Rev. Edward Turner reported in the *Collections*[1] the
finding of the remains of a Roman bridge between Bramber
and Upper Beeding ; while there is good reason to believe
that a great east-to-west Roman road passed the Arun at
Ford, only a couple of miles below Arundel. The Romans'
part in the choice of these sites prepares one for the deduc-
tion that Roman roads played no less a part than did water-
ways in determining the positions of Norman castles.
Too little is yet known of the Roman road-map of the
county, but it is known that a trunk-road of the first class
(the Stane Street) led from Chichester, and it is certain
that others must have served Hastings and Pevensey.
All these led into the interior from the coast, but besides
many others likewise running north, there must have
been again other roads running east and west, and linking
up the various stations from Hastings' to Chichester.
Some of these were entirely Roman in origin, like that
already mentioned from Chichester by way of Ford to
Portslade and onwards. Others were pre-Roman tracks,
adopted and adapted by the Romans. Of these last the
most important was the immemorial trunk-way along the
ridge of the Downs from Harting to Eastbourne, which
crossed the various transverse valleys wherever suitable
passages could be found—near Midhurst, above Arundel,
at Upper Beeding, near Lewes, and by the Long Bridge
north of Alfriston in the Cuckmere Valley. A Norman
castle is to be found at or near every one of these points.

[1] *S.A.C.* ii, p. 63.

The castle of the Bohuns at Midhurst was so placed as to command alike the waterway of the Rother, the British east-to-west trunk-way, and the Roman north-road from Chichester by way of the Trundle and Singleton to Midhurst, and thence on to the Thames valley.

Ere the Norman came the Roman coastal road across the lowlands through Ford may well have fallen into complete desuetude, sunk in the swamps of the lower Arun, while the British trunk-way along the Downs still remained in use, as indeed it did until the eighteenth century.[1] The Norman, therefore, built his castle on the dry ground at Arundel rather than in the mud of Ford. The British trunk-way again crossed the Adur at Upper Beeding, and the finding of the Roman bridge there proves that a Roman road took a similar course. This determined the position of de Braose's castle at Bramber. The Long Bridge—a bridge old enough to give its name to the hundred at least as early as the fourteenth century[2]— likewise represents the passage of the Cuckmere in Roman and in pre-Roman times. Here, too, was a Norman castle,[3] represented later by the fortress of Burghlow.

The case of Lewes remains to be considered. I have elsewhere[4] reconstructed some part of the Roman road-system of the lower Ouse valley, and have, I believe, adduced satisfactory proof of two Roman passages of the Ouse, neither of them actually at Lewes, but both within a very short distance of that town. The one was at Hamsey, a mile to the north, the other at Southerham opposite the extremity of the peninsula upon which stands Southover. I have also shown that there is no evidence for any road of Roman date running actually through Lewes to the present bridge at Cliffe, while there are strong reasons against such a road having ever existed before medieval times. The town of Lewes lay at a ' dead end.' It was easy enough to get there from the west; to go further was impossible except by boat.

Therefore, when William de Warrenne received his grant of Lewes and the surrounding lands, with the

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[1] It is shown, with the mileage marked, in e.g. Budgen's *Map of Sussex*, 1724.

[2] *Feudal Aids*, anno 1316.

[3] See above, p. 37, note 1. This castle stands in Milton, or, to give it its full name, Milton *Street*.
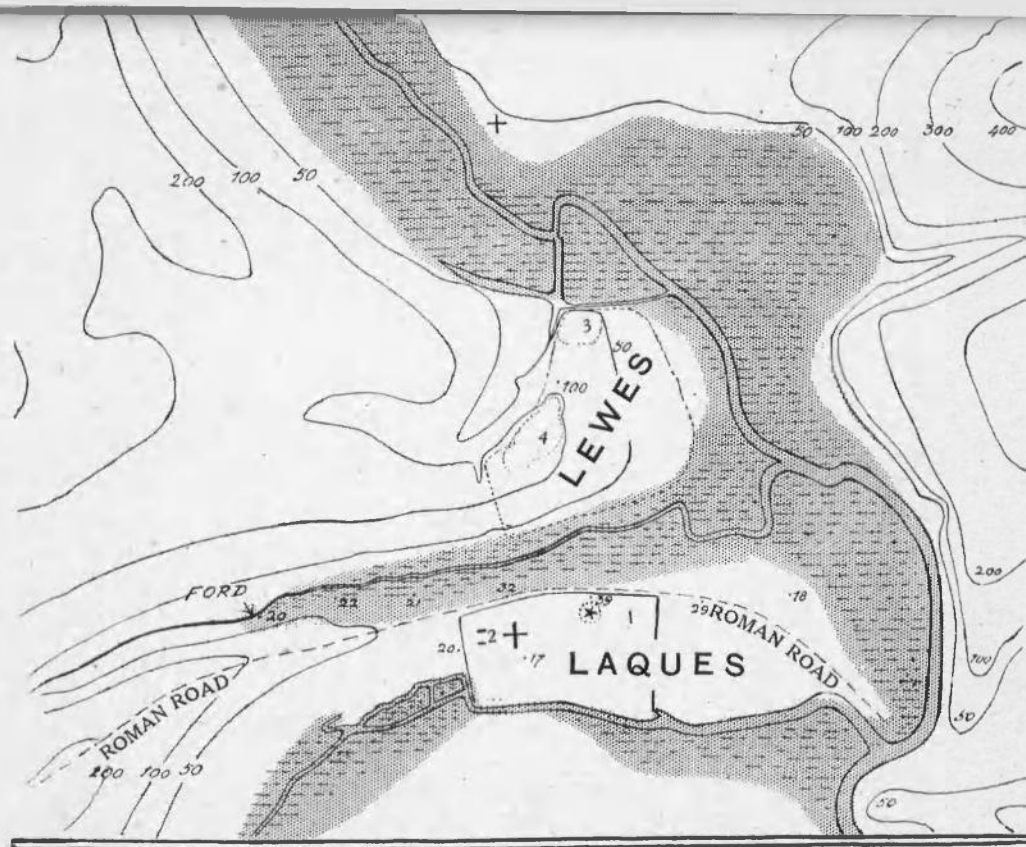
[4] *Archaeol. Journal*, Sept., 1916.

FIG. 2.   LEWES AND LAQUES, orographical plan.

1. The Mount.   3. Churchyard of S. John sub Castro.
2. Priory Church of S. Pancras.   4. Lewes Castle.

consequent responsibilities of warden of the waterway of the Ouse and of the roads thereabout, he had choice of three positions for the castle which he forthwith proceeded to build. He might have selected Lewes Hill, but had he done so, he would have secured the waterway indeed, but left the roads unguarded. He would have been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away from the ford at Hamsey, making allowance for the windings of the river and the spread of the marshes ; and if not more than $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in a direct line from the other ford at Southerham, he would have been nearly two miles away by the only practicable road, which must have compelled him to travel by way of the ford of the Winterbourne, along Bell Lane and so the whole length of the peninsula of Southover. He must therefore have dismissed Lewes Hill as unsuitable, and had choice of the two actual Roman fords. Choice there was really none, because at Hamsey he would have had no control of the Southerham ford, whereas at Southover he directly controlled both the southern ford and the waterway, and also covered the northern ford at Hamsey,[1] the danger to be guarded against being that of an attack from the sea by way of the river. If, therefore, the first Norman lord of Lewes was to do his duty as did the lords of the other great castles, he was bound to put his castle at Southover, where stands the Mount to this day. There, and then, like the other lords of Norman castles in the county—Chichester and Midhurst, Arundel, Bramber, Burghlow, Pevensey and Hastings—he had the advantage of a hard Roman road to and from his fortress.

After the battle of Lewes (1264) the army of de Montfort pushed on to attack the priory, where the king was lodged. Its march was by way of the ford on the Winterbourne, so that this was still the nearest road from Lewes to Southover 200 years after the Conquest. Some two or three hundred knights of the king's army, including John, seventh earl de Warrenne, made their escape from the priory to France by way of Pevensey.[2] They probably

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[1] It is said that the Says, on coming into possession of Hamsey (twelfth century ?) built a castle 'close to the south-east of the church' (Heneage Legge in *The Churchman*, March, 1905). If this was so, it was one instance the more of a Norman castle guarding a Roman road and ford.

[2] C. L. Kingsford's *Song of Lewes*, l. 24 (Clarendon Press, 1890), and the authorities quoted in the note thereon.

fled along the Roman road by Southerham, the success of de Montfort's men making impossible any other way of escape from the peninsula.

That the Mount was built by any other Norman lord than a de Warrenne is out of the question, for the same reason as is the theory that the Brack Mount and the south-western mount on Lewes Hill owe their origin to different families : there were no rival lords of this territory.   That it was built by one of them as an outpost of the greater castle on Lewes Hill is unlikely, for it is far too near that castle and much too large.   It cannot have been built after the site was included within the precincts of the priory.   Unluckily we are not told when that happened. We know, however, that the founder himself enlarged the original foundation both in numbers and in lands before his death ; and as the priory does not seem to have been extended to the west, its expansion must have been towards the east, that is, in the direction of the Mount. Authority[1] declares that the original church of the priory was almost doubled in size within the first half of the twelfth century, the dorter was doubled, and a new and enlarged infirmary was erected to the east of the earlier buildings.   It is scarcely to be believed that the Mount was still a garrisoned and inhabited castle when the priory had encroached so near to it.

But it is possible to make, from William de Warrenne's own words, a nearer determination of the dates.   In his *Carta Fundationis* he says that, subsequent to the original endowment of the priory, he conferred upon it certain other lands, amongst which he mentions ' the land called " The Island " near the monastery, with its meadows and pastures ; and further all the land which I held in demesne within the island where stands the monastery, together with the mill and mill-pond and the *suburbanus* Lewin.'   From the phrasing it is clear that two different areas are here referred to by the Latin appellation of *insula*, ' island ' : (1) the area *including* the monastery, and (2) another area *near* the monastery, sufficiently extensive to embrace meadows and pastures ; and the language further shows that this latter was specifically known as ' The Island,' whereas the former

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[1] Sir W. St. John Hope in *S.A.C.* xlix (1896).

was *insula* generically. 'The Island' specifically so called was, as Horsfield[1] saw, the insulated patch of high ground amid the Brooks (water-meadows) now called the Upper and the Lower Rise. The proof of this identification is to be found in the following, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* from the *Cartulary*, fol. 117 *b* :

'*Willielmus comes de Warrenn. concessit et dedit Radulpho de Rye messuagium et totam terram Martini de Peccham pro terra et insula vocat. Southeye iuxta Lewes, quam dedit Deo et monachis S. Pancr. de Lewes in perpetuum.*'

Peccham[2] is Patcham, a manor of the earl ; and Martin de Peccham took his name from the land he farmed. So probably did Radulphus de Rye. His farm, we are told, was an island, specifically the South Island. It belonged to the earl, who gave it to God and St. Pancras for ever. The facts tally exactly with those of the earl's own words in the *Carta Fundationis*, and the lands mentioned in that document and in the *Cartulary* must be the same. The passage further tells us that the earlier form of the name was The Rye or Rie, as it is written in most of the early maps. The meaning and derivation of Rye are not certain, but there cannot be much doubt that it is the same word as appears in the name of the town of Rye (Rieberge, *D.B.* i, 16 *b*)[3] the spelling Rise being a modern shift to read a meaning into the older form, of which the sense was lost.

It appears that in early times there was no distinction made between the Upper and the Lower Rye, both being included in the one appellation of The Rye or The South

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[1] *Hist. Lewes*, vol. i, p. 298.

[2] So spelt also in *Lewes Subsidy Rolls*, 1296, and in *Cal. Inq. post mort.* 1343 and 1416.

[3] The topographical similarity between the two is exact, each being a rounded islet rising out of the surrounding flats. Dunvan (who writes Rhie for Rise, and is so followed by Horsfield) would find the explanation of the name in a passage ⁄(source not specified) relating to the duties of certain of the Prior's dependants, *spargere unam Rheiam de fiens* (? *fimo*) 'to spread one Rhie of dung.' It is obvious, he says, that the word *rheia* must denote 'a heap of determinate size' (Lee's *Hist. Lewes*, p. 416). The local saying that the two Ryes are shovelsful dropped from the Devil's spade, would seem to reflect the same idea. The only light

thrown upon the matter by the *New English Dictionary* is s.v. *Ree* 'to riddle,' 'a small riddle'; where it is remarked that 'the term is supposed to contain an allusion to the form that the coarser part of the grain assumes in the act of riddling; i.e.. a low conical heap. The *N.E.D.* and Wright's *Dict. of Provincial English* both cite the expression 'to rye (rie) it up well,' and also 'ree ruck, a small rick of corn in form of a stack put up to be easily dried.' As long ago as 1669 Somner (*Roman Ports of Kent*) derived the name of the town of Rye from another dialect-word, *ree*, meaning a stream or channel, but this derivation will not serve for the Rise in Southover. For other speculations see Holloway's *Hist. and Antiquities of the Town and Port of Rye* (1847).

Isle; and when the constant flooding of the Brooks made the area to be actually an island for a large part of the year,[1] such a manner of speaking was quite natural. The floods can rarely, if ever, have risen to such a height as to overflow the narrow spit of somewhat higher ground which forms the bridge between the two portions. This is borne out by the style of Radulphus ' of *the* Rye, and that of Richard de la Rye.[2] It is borne out also by the description of Radulphus' land as very ' near the monastery,' for had it lain on the Lower Rye only, it could not have been so described. Upper and Lower Rye at that date formed one holding only, otherwise known as The South Isle, with natural reference to the residence of its lord the prior 400 yards away to the north.

At the present time this land, although no longer held as one farm, is included within the parish of South-over Without. In earl William's time it was part of the manor of Iford. *Domesday*[3] tells us that in 1086 the monks of St. Pancras held 6½ hides of land in Iford (*Niworde*), while William tells us[4] that before giving to the monks ' the land called the Island ' he had already made over to them 5½ hides in Swanborough, that is, in the same manor of Iford.[5] In other words, since the date of the original grant of 5½ hides in Swanborough, the earl had added thereto one hide more. Now in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (26 Henry VIII), amongst other properties of the priory, are returned ' profits arising from the land called the North and South Rye, now stocked with rabbits, and amounting to 120 acres.'[6] As there can be no question that this is the same land as that referred to by the earl as ' The Island near the Monastery,' and by the *Cartulary* spoken of as the holding of Radulphus de Rye, it follows that this land likewise represents the additional hide in question; and its area being 120 acres, we have proof positive that, at any rate in this part of England, the extent of the hide was

[1] Cf. *Valor Ecclesiasticus:* ' 100 acres called le Marres Brokes, lying under water almost all the year.' . . . ' certain lands (in Swanborough) called the Broke, lying under water most of the year.'

[2] The name of Richard de la Rye occurs as a witness to a deed of gift quoted by Sir Geo. Duckett in *S.A.C.* xxv, 119.

[3] xxi*a*, 35.

[4] *Carta Fundationis :* (in *Swamberga*).

[5] *D.B.* mentions (xxi*a*, 25) a hundred of Swanborough, but no manor of that name. It had become merged in the larger manor of Iford as parcel of the earl's demesne.

[6] ' *Profic' provenien' de* 120 *ac' terr' voc' le Northrie et Southrye instaurat' cum cuniculis.*'

120 acres. We learn also that the grant of the Rises was made before 1086.

When the earl had determined to make over the Rises to the priory, he compensated the evicted Radulphus with another farm in his manor of Patcham, heretofore occupied by one Martin.

The other area (spoken of in the *Carta Fundationis* as generically ' an island,' and described as including the priory, mill and mill-pond), can be nothing but the peninsula of Southover itself. It is difficult to see what else can be meant, for we are told that this area included the site of the priory : we know where that was, and there is no evidence that it ever was or could be separated, or even partly separated, from the rest of the peninsula in a way to justify its being itself styled ' an island,' in reference to the rest of the peninsula. The site of the priory was indeed merely the western slope of that higher part of the peninsula on the crest whereof stands the Mount, de Warrenne's castle. That the peninsula as a whole should be called ' an island ' is entirely in keeping with Anglo-Saxon idiom. That language had no precise word to denote a peninsula, and commonly used instead one or other of the words for island : thus Selsey is ' Seal's Island,'[1] and Durham (Dunholm) is the hill-peninsula surrounded on three sides by the River Wear. When the earl wrote of the peninsula of Southover as *insula*, he was merely translating the term commonly applied by the natives to that or any similar spot of dry land almost surrounded by water.

It is odd that the name of ' The Island ' still survives, denoting that part of Southover which is included within the bounds of Priory Street, Garden Street, Eastport Lane and the northward turn of Southover High Street ; and that it does so survive is a corroboration of the view above set forth, that the entire peninsula was so called before the name of Southover came into use. An island in the

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[1] Bede (IV, xiii. §291) expressly says that Selsey, though called Seal's Island, was in fact a peninsula (*qualis locus a Latinis peninsula solet vocari*) in the eighth century. The remark of Holinshed (1577) that it ' sometime (as it should seeme) hath beene a noble island ' rather than a peninsula, even if it did not wear the air of a guess, has no weight against Bede's express statement that it was a peninsula when it received its Saxon name of Selaeseu, *quod dicitur Latine Insula Vituli Marini*. Holinshed evidently preferred to refer the first syllable to the A.S. *sel*, ' noble,' hence Selsey = ' noble island.'

proper sense this area can never have been, any more than can the site of the priory, for it lies upon a steep slope running down from the Roman road (now Priory Street) to the Winterbourne valley, immediately opposite to the Watergate of Lewes. The only road from Lewes to Southover being, as has been explained, the roundabout way by the ford in Winterbourne Lane, there must have been frequent use of boats across the estuary, and these would naturally ply from the Watergate to the opposite shore; and as the passengers would ask for passage to ' the island,' the usual name for the peninsula at large, this name would naturally come to be attached more particularly to the spot where the boats made land, i.e. along what is now Eastport Lane, but was originally the open foreshore of the peninsula. One is naturally tempted to see in this survival of the name a clue to the position of ' the land called the Island near the monastery,' which de Warrenne made over to the priory; but such a view is put out of the question by the allusion to its ' meadows and pastures,' for which there could be no room within the narrow limits of the modern ' Island ' as demarcated by its four streets, its entire area being only some $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres. It was doubtless here, however, that the original village of Southover first came into being.

Thus, ' the island ' generically so termed being the peninsula of Southover, when William de Warrenne wrote that he made over to the priory within his own lifetime ' all the land which he held in demesne within the island,' this grant must have included the site of his own erstwhile place of residence, the castle of Laques; and as William died in 1089,[1] we have a terminal date for the transfer. But before he abandoned the castle of Laques he must have provided for himself a substitute, i.e. the first castle on Lewes Hill, represented by the Brack Mount. And finally, as *Domesday*, compiled in 1086, still calls his castle more often than not by the style of *castellum de Laquis*, it is to be inferred that the new castle on Lewes Hill had not then been built. It must therefore have been built between 1086 and 1089, and the transfer of ' the land

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[1] The *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* gives the date of his death as June 24, 1088, rather than in the next year. The difference in no way affects the argument.

within the island ' to the priory cannot have been made before 1086.

The modern parish of Southover is a patchwork of various dates made up of oddments filched from others and from the waters. There is, as has been said, no evidence for the existence of even the name of Southover at the time of the Conquest, let alone a parish of that name ; and the ' ancient wooden church of St. Pancras ' was most probably merely a wayside oratory, or ' field-church,' having no parish, no burial ground, and no right of taking fees.[1] The whole peninsula, as well as the present parish of Kingston also, was included under the wide name of Iford ; for that of Kingston is likewise a post-Conquest creation. Kingston is not mentioned in *Domesday ;* Iford (Niworde) is mentioned as being wholly demesne land of the earl. It had formerly included the vast area of $77\frac{1}{2}$ hides, being according to *Domesday* the third largest manor in the county,[2] and belonged to queen Edith. In 1086 it vouched for 36 hides, or (taking the hide at 120 acres) 4320 acres. The present acreage is 2205·371 acres, or 18·378 hides only, leaving to be accounted for some 2114·619 acres more. The acreage of Kingston is 1642·656 (13·688 hides). and that of Southover 554·861 (4·623 hides), a total of 2197·517 acres or 18·311 hides. These combined two parishes so nearly represent the missing area that it is impossible to doubt that they were originally part of Iford and included in its acreage.[3] The difference is 82·9 acres (·67 hides) only, which may be sufficiently accounted for partly by errors in the Norman measurements, partly by subsequent reclamations from the Brooks.

As there is no specific account made in the above calculation for the manor of Swanborough, the manor of Kingston, or the so-called manor of Southover, none of these being mentioned in the *Domesday* survey, it is a legitimate inference that, whether or no they had consti-

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[1] It is true that de Warrenne styles it *ecclesia*, not *capella*, but in view of the feelings wherewith he regarded it and the costly scale on which he had rebuilt and endowed it, he was not likely to use any less dignified term. To the Saxons even such chapels were ' churches ' (*feld-cirice*). *D.B.* (xxia, 31) mentions the church of Niworde. If St. Pancras' was not a parish church, there was reason the more for the earl's making it the chapel of his castle.

[2] It was exceeded only by Silletone (Singleton) $97\frac{1}{4}$ hides, and Rodmell 79 hides.

[3] The figures for the acreages are taken from the Ordnance Survey (6 inch), and the equivalents in hides are calculated upon the equation 120 acres — 1 hide, which has been shown to hold good for the Rye.

tuted separate manors prior to the survey, they were for the moment all merged in the larger manor of Iford. And it further appears that, understood in this wider sense, the manor of Iford was coterminous with the parish as it then was.

The church of Kingston has always been regarded as a daughter of the mother-church of Iford, and, as its dedication to St. Pancras would suggest, was built by the monks of the priory, doubtless in part as compensation for that ' ancient wooden church of St. Pancras ' in Laques which they had usurped. There is extant a charter which ' confirms the gift of 1 acre of land in Kingston-by-Lewes, made by Peter the sheriff for the erection of a church there, and orders Hugh the sheriff to cause the church to be built.'[1]   This charter is attributed to the second earl (*ob.* 1138), and the grant of a site suggests that no earlier church existed there. Hameline (fifth earl) gave the rectorial tithes to the monks in 1200. The present building is a reconstruction of the fourteenth century. The vicarages of Iford and Kingston have been united since *circ.* 1666.

Thus the lands of Kingston were at the time of the Conquest included within the manor of Iford, and the peninsula of Southover was in all likelihood part of the same parish.[2]

When in the course of the twelfth century[3] was built the church of St. John, Southover, this became the parish church of such part of the peninsula as was not included within the precincts of the priory. These precincts extended to some 40 acres, and the residue was probably little more in the first instance than 150 acres ; for the entire area of the parish[4] to-day is no more that 223·490 acres, and before the embanking of the Ouse and the Winterbourne was completed it must have been considerably less. There were included in it also the monks' lands

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[1] *Vict. Co. Hist.* vol. ii, p. 5. The vicarage was appropriated to the priory in 1200 (*ibid.* p. 7).

[2] Horsfield (*Hist. Lewes*, vol. i, 296–7) concludes that Kingston was once part of Iford, but believes Southover to have been part of Lewes.

[3] Horsfield (*Hist. Lewes*, i, 296) fixes the date in 1146 or 1147. It may be observed that this church, like those of Hamsey and Isfield, is aligned to a pre-existing road, with small regard to the east and west position.

[4] Of St. John Southover, exclusive of Southover Without, which extends to 331·371 acres more.

on the Rises. The map makes it almost certain that the two Rises were originally parcel of the parish of Iford, for to this day there remains detached a fragment of that parish extending from the Rises to the old bed of the river Ouse.

Domesday (xxi *a*, 32) returns in Iford ' two mills of twenty-three shillings.' Within the parish as it now exists there is no stream at all, nor any indication that there ever existed any stream of volume sufficient to turn a mill. But when the parish extended so far as to include Kingston and Southover, it included also the Cockshut river, and that this stream was at that date large enough to turn a mill is proved by the earl's mention of the mill which he made over to the priory. That particular mill, being situated within the peninsula of Southover, was, as has been shown, still the earl's property in 1086. It was presumably the castle mill, and one of the two mentioned in the survey. The other must have stood at some point higher up[1] on the course of the Cockshut, perhaps near the present Spring Barn and the old brick-yard thereby. There is at any rate no other stream to which the two mills can be referred.[2]

The ' two mills and ponds ' mentioned in the alleged confirmation charter of the second earl (1089-1138) need not be discussed, because that document is a forgery (see p. 74) ; and were this doubtful, it is scarcely possible to see where there can have stood a second mill and pond within the narrow confines of the peninsula. The only possible situation would appear to be on the Winterbourne immediately below the ford, but of any mill here there is no tradition.

The northern bounds of the newly created parish of Kingston—that is, the original parish of Iford—followed the line of the Roman road (Juggs' Road). The eastern boundary marched with the prioral lands in Southover.

[1] It cannot have stood lower down, because the stream was there tidal.

[2] How very much larger was the flow of the Cockshut in early times is shown by the fact that Kingston had to keep in repair no less than six bridges over its course. (Cp. *S.A.C.* xxix, 122.) In later times there was, as has been mentioned, a mill on the Winterbourne opposite the Watergate of Lewes, but this cannot have been built until that river was more or less completely embanked. In the time of the *Domesday* survey, as has been shown, it was an open tidal estuary as far up as the ford in Winterbourne Lane. Below that ford it can therefore have driven no mills, while above the ford the stream lay beyond the limits of Iford at its largest.

When, therefore, at a somewhat later date, was created the parish of Southover, the western boundary of the latter was for the most part coincident with the eastern boundary of Kingston. On the north it ran, as was natural, up to the boundaries of other pre-existing parishes, i.e. from the ford in Winterbourne Lane eastwards along Grange Road and onward by the line of the town-wall of Lewes.

The Tithe commissioners found[1] that the lands of Southover, having been lands of the priory, had never paid tithe ; and at the present time, with the exception of some very small areas, the entire parish is still tithe-free. This may explain why, after the dissolution, whereas Thomas Cromwell received grant of the rectories of Iford and Kingston, of Southover he received the advowson only ; for in Southover there were no rectorial tithes worth the granting. So Southover remains a rectory, while Iford and Kingston are vicarages.

Such small parts of the parish as still pay tithes are chiefly a few acres lying in the hollow of the Winterbourne valley, and a very small area in St. James' Street. Of the former the greater part may very well be accounted for as representing land reclaimed from the river at a late date or dates. The land in St. James' Street appears to represent the original land of the hospital of St. James, and it would seem that the monks of St. Pancras were persuaded to alienate this portion of their possessions, which in consequence ceased to enjoy the same immunity from tithe as did the rest of the parish. The annual *pensio* of forty shillings which the monks received from the church of St. John Southover[2] was perhaps somewhat in the nature of a ground-rent.

The history of Southover is admittedly full of difficulties and anomalies.[3] As it is not mentioned in *Domesday*, Rowe inferred, and Horsfield agreed, that it was ' an appanage of Lewes, and included in the *Domesday*

[1] Under date October 20, 1843.

[2] *Valor Ecclesiasticus.* The history of this hospital of St. James is very obscure. Leland (*Collectanea*, i, 86) says that it was a cell of the priory, which Horsfield doubts. Dunvan declares roundly that it was ' founded by one of the earls of Warren, probably the second earl,' but gives no reason for his opinion (*Hist. Lewes*, p. 418). It occupied about one acre of ground, abutting on the High Street somewhat west of St. John's church, its memory being preserved in the name of the present St. James' Street.

[3] See Rev. W. Hudson's article in *S.A.C.* xlviii, 16, sqq.

account of Lewes.' William de Warrenne's charter, as has been said, mentions nothing hereabouts besides the wooden church, one mill, and one *suburbanus*.

In a document cited by Sir Geo. Duckett,[1] which purports to give a summary of part of the confirmation charter of the second earl de Warrenne (*circa* 1089), the name appears as Suthoure, and even then is applied to no village, but to 'the land called Suthoure.' As this form of the name belongs to a date something like 400 years later than is pretended, the document is an obvious and very clumsy forgery.[2] If the church of St. John was really founded in 1146–7, Southover was not before at that date constituted a parish. Yet in 1296 we find mentioned a hundred of Southover (Southenovere), and again in 1334 (Southnare).[3] In a Subsidy Roll of 1332[4] we find Iford and Kingston separately mentioned as *villate*, while Southover stands by itself as a half-hundred. Later still it is a borough, commonly mentioned side by side with the borough of Lewes, yet independent thereof. After the dissolution an inquisition held at Lewes ruled that its lands had consti-tuted a manor,[5] and thence onward its affairs, whether ecclesiastical, municipal or manorial, were adminstered by one and the same body of administrators.[6]

It is not proposed to examine further these anomalies in detail. I venture only to point out that, if it be estab-lished that Laques was in Southover, and that Southover as a place or parish had no existence prior to the twelfth century, good reasons for some of the anomalies are at once apparent. Whether or no it was indeed a manor before the Conquest—and the finding of the inquisition at Lewes by no means proves that it was—the absence in *D.B.* of any mention of the manor is not more remarkable than the absence of all mention of. the manor of Swanborough. Both were demesne of de Warrenne. The peninsula of

[1] *S.A.C.* xxxv, p. 114.

[2] Amongst other reasons for rejecting it are the following : (1) it ignores all the possessions of the monastery outside the peninsula, e.g. in Swanborough (Iford), Falmer, etc.; (2) it speaks of 'the land called Suthoure' as being subject to tithe, which, as it was the property of God and St. Pancras, could not be the case; (3) it speaks of 'churches' in the same 'land called Suthoure,' though at the date pretended there existed only one church there, and that the church of the priory; (4) it speaks of the grantees as 'the monks of Lewes,' a most unlikely expression in a legal document of that date.

[3] *S.A.C.* l, 171 (*Subsidy Rolls*).

[4] *Sussex Record Society*, x (1909), 282-3, 296.

[5] Horsfield, *Hist. Lewes*, i, 297.

[6] *S.A.C.* xlviii, 17.

Southover was, so to say, his immediate homestead, and with such immediate possessions—castles and their belongings—the scribes of *Domesday* were not concerned.   Transferred piecemeal by the earl to the priory, it became as much the property of the prior as aforetime of the earl; and as Rev. W. Hudson remarks, the prior himself speedily became as important a personage as any baron, while the dignity of the castellany of Lewes began to suffer rapid eclipse after 1400.   Herein the same writer finds a reason for the jealous assertion of Southover's rights as a borough on equal terms with her elder sister Lewes, and similarly for her claim to the dignity of a hundred.   The place had once been the *caput honoris* of the barony in the days when the Mount was de Warrenne's castle; it was still the *caput honoris* in respect of the priory and all the priory's vast belongings as ' eldest of the five daughters of Cluny.' Verily the zeal of de Warrenne's house had eaten him up.

All through the centuries from the first coming of the monks (1077) to the dissolution its affairs were managed from and by the priory, the burgesses having no voice at all save (after 1146-7) to some small degree in the management of their parish church. Thus, when the activities of Henry VIII and his henchman John Portinari had swept away the priory, the burgesses, flung upon their own resources, had to make shift as best they might; and the readiness wherewith the heretofore vestry of Southover adapted itself to its new responsibilities, acting indifferently —and adequately—as vestry, borough council, and court leet all in one, is a striking instance of that peculiar quality which has given empire to the English people.   It is also a striking instance of the spontaneous appearance, even so late, of the normal Anglo-Saxon mechanism of communal government.

There is yet one other piece of evidence in support of the theory that the Mount was de Warrenne's original castle.   In his own statement of the circumstances which led to his founding the priory, the earl writes [1] that he ' rebuilt in stone the ancient wooden church of St. Pancras *beneath* my castle of Lewes (*sub castro meo Lewiarum*).' We know where that church stood, and we may imagine

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[1] *Carta Fundationis.*

how modest a little edifice it must have been even
when thus rebuilt, for this was not yet the priory's
church. Now the nearest point of the great castle on
Lewes Hill being 1,700 feet distant, the Brack Mount a
full 2,100 feet away, it is inconceivable that the earl, if
his castle were so far distant, could speak of the church
of St. Pancras as being ' beneath the castle,' especially as
there flowed a deep tidal estuary between the two. On
the other hand the expression would exactly suit the facts
if the castle of which he wrote was really the Mount,
only some 600 feet away from the church, situated more-
over on ground more than 20 feet higher than that where
stood the church, and towering—without counting the
bretasche—some 40 feet higher still. To speak of the
church of St. John within the old burh as ' sub Castro,'
is intelligible enough, for it lies only 600 feet away from
the Brack Mount and 50 feet below it ; but those who
will maintain that the earl, installed on the Brack Mount,
could equally well speak of St. Pancras' church as being
' beneath my castle,' must admit that by parity of
reasoning the present church of St. John Southover
might as well have been styled St. John sub Castro ;
whereas the fact that the one church (that within the old
burh) was for distinction styled sub Castro, with reference
to the castle on Lewes Hill, implies that that style could
not well be understood to apply to the other. This
argument is not further emphasized only for the reason
that the precise meaning of the phrase ' beneath my castle '
must be a matter of individual opinion. It is certain,.
however, that the Normans, devout churchmen though
they were, liked to have their churches as near as might
be to their castles, and had no fancy for church-going
at long distances. If de Warrenne's castle were in South-
over, it was in the nature of things that he should attach
himself to the lonely little wayside oratory close by, the
more so as it was non-parochial ; and on the other hand,
had his castle been on Lewes Hill, one would expect to
find him patronizing some church nearer than that of
St. Pancras, if not St. John sub Castro itself. The church
of St. Michael was very probably built, perhaps by the
first earl, to serve as chapel to the new castle. It may be
added that the earl speaks of the church beside his fortress

of Castle Acre merely as *ecclesia castelli nostri de Acre.*
That church lay on somewhat lower ground, yet only
some 1,350 feet to the west.

The sequence of events appears to have been as follows :
de Warrenne, charged with watch and ward of the Ouse
as one of the ways of entry into duke William's newly con-
quered kingdom, put his castle at the spot determined by
the course of the Roman road along the peninsula of
Southover, so as to control alike the road and the river ;
Lewes being as yet an insignificant place, not calling for any
actual military occupation thereof. This was at the
moment of the Conquest. Eleven years later (1077) the
earl made his journey to Cluny, and on his return founded
the priory, granting for its site a small area of land
adjacent to the little church of which he had grown
so fond as to have already rebuilt it. The original
endowment was the whole of his demesne land and a
mansio in Falmer and a hide of land[1] in Balmer. To
this were presently added firstly certain lands in Norfolk
(Carlentona), secondly 5½ hides in Swanborough, and
thirdly the hide in the Rye. The last-named grant had
been made before the date of the *Domesday* survey. Not
earlier than 1086 the earl enlarged the foundation, and
gave to the priory further all the residue of the peninsula
of Southover. This grant included the site of the Mount,
his castle, for the earl had by this time decided to transfer
his own residence to Lewes Hill. This may possibly have
occurred only in 1088, and may have followed upon his
being raised to the earldom of Surrey.

He was now a very wealthy man, and a very important
man, but there were other reasons for the change. The
Conquest was by this time a *fait accompli* of twenty years'
standing, the Normans' tenure was secure, and with the
monks as his allies to keep watch over the ford at Souther-
ham he might feel quite justified in making the transfer.
Lewes Hill was unquestionably a most admirable position,
and there were great possibilities of revenue to be derived
from the development of the town and its market ; and,

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[1] This hide in Balmer was held by one
Eustachius, the modern Stacey. It may
be of interest to mention that Time has
brought its revenge, for another Eustachius
to-day owns the erstwhile monastic grange
of Swanborough manor and the 5½ hides
of land in Swanborough which were part of
the earl's gift to St. Pancras.

if we may judge by what had already passed between the earl and the abbot of Cluny, there was dawning in the former's mind some sense of the difficulty of always living cheek by jowl with his foster-children of the priory. So he commenced the building of the actual castle of Lewes, and reared the Brack Mount to be its *motte*. When, this new castle was completed (? 1089) the earlier castle of Laques was abandoned, and its site made over to the monks, who may very well have seen fit to set up a cross where had beforetime flown the banner of the Chequers, so turning the *motte* into what is nowadays persistently miscalled a Calvary.

Appendix.

Extracts from Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. 1825), vol. v, p. 125 sqq.

Carta Fundationis—

After speaking of his pilgrimage to Cluny—

ideo misimus et requisivimus a domino Hugone abbate et a tota sancta congregatione (*of Cluny*) quod concederent nobis duos vel tres vel quatuor monachos de sancto grege suo, quibus daremus ecclesiam unam quam de lignea lapideam fecimus sub castro Lewiarum, quae fuit ab antiquo tempore in honore sancti Pancratii, et illam daremus eis, et tantum in principio terrarum et animalium et rerum unde duodecim monachi possent ibi sustentari . . .

(Hugo) donavit et misit nobis quatuor de monachis suis, dominum Lanzonem et tres socios suos ; quibus donavimus in principio omnia quae eis promisimus et confirmavimus per scriptum nostrum . . .

King William I dies. Lanzo desires a confirmation of the charter. Wherefore W. de W. writes ' these presents '—

Ego Willielmus de Warrenna Surreiae comes donavi et confirmavi Deo et Sancto Petro et abbati et conventui de Cluniaco ecclesiam sancti Pancratii quae sita est sub castro meo Lewiarum, et . . . . . . in sustentationem praedictorum monachorum sancti Pancratii mansionem Falemelum nomine, totum quicquid ibi in dominio habui, cum hida terrae quam Eustachius in Burgamela tenet et (*quae*, not in the text) ad ipsam mansionem pertinet. Mansionem quoque Carlentonam nomine . . totum quod ibi habuimus. Et in Swamberga quinque hidas et dimidiam. Terram etiam quae vocatur Insula iuxta monasterium cum pratis et pascuis. Totam etiam terram quam ego in dominio habui intra Insulam in qua monasterium situm est, cum molendino super stagnum quod ibi iuxta est positum, et cum uno suburbano ibi iuxta posito, Lewino nomine.