

SUSSEX

Archaeological Collections,

ILLUSTRATING THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. III.

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JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

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CORRECTIONS.

- P. 20, line 9. *Lullingminster* is Lulminster, or Lymister, near Arundel—not Lullington, in E. Sussex.
109. There is a fourth Court of Probate for Wills in Sussex, viz. for the deanery of Battel, which includes the two parishes of Battel and Whatlington. Ex inf. W. D. Cooper, Esq.
- 109, line 6 from bottom, for Thomas, *read* William.

REPORT.

THE Committee have again the pleasing duty of congratulating the Members of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY on the continued prosperity and advance of the Society; in evidence of which they may refer to the interest excited, both locally and among the literary public, by the contents of their Second Volume; to the crowded meeting held at Arundel in August 1849, and to the interesting proceedings of subsequent meetings at Brighton and East Bourne. To these outward signs of activity and success, may be added the extension of the Society's influence pervading all classes, so as to secure a ready co-operation on all subjects of Archæological interest, and which is evidenced by the number of Members, now amounting to 342, constituting the Society. With such encouragement, there can be no room for doubt of its progress, or for distrust of a friendly feeling having been generally awakened towards its main objects—the better explanation of the ancient history of the County, and the more careful preservation of the ancient buildings, monuments, or documentary evidence. The prosecution of such a purpose is well calculated to teach the present generation the value of the blessings they enjoy by a true representation of the manners and customs of former times.

It is the earnest hope of the Committee that the contents of the present Third Volume may be considered as contributing fresh materials to Sussex history, and may meet with a favourable acceptance from those, who have welcomed the former publications.

By the financial position of the Society at the close of 1849, it found itself possessed of a balance of £49. 18s. 6d. in the hands of the Treasurer, after discharging all liabilities, and also of £87. 3s. Stock of the Three per Cents. purchased by the £5 compositions. There was also a considerable amount of subscriptions in arrear, the early payment of which by the Members is confidently relied upon.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS,

FROM JULY 1, 1848, TO DEC. 31, 1849.

1848-9. RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.				
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
Balance in Treasurer's hands, July 1, 1848	37	7	2	By drafts on Treasurer, from Aug. 7, 1848, to Sept. 11, 1849	219	1	4
Annual Subscriptions of Members	214	17	0	Purchase of £37 15s. 4d., 3 per Cent. Consols (representing 7 Life Compositions of £5)	35	0	0
7 Life Subscriptions of £5 each	35	0	0	Balance in Treasurer's hands, Dec. 31, 1849	49	18	6
Sale of Vols. I and II to Members and the Public	15	6	2				
Dividend on £49 7s. 8d. 3 per Cent. Consols	1	9	6				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£303	19	10		£303	19	10

The principal expenses included in the above payments were—for the Meetings at Hastings, £1. 18s. 6d.; at Lewes, £2. 0s. 10d.; at Arundel, £4. 2s. 9d.; for advertisements, £11. 10s.; for printing circulars, £5. 16s. 6d.; for stationery, parcels, and postage, £7. 9s. 1d.; and nearly the whole of the remainder was required for the printing, binding, and distributing the Society's Second Volume, with its numerous illustrations.

At the General Annual Meeting, held at Arundel, August 9, 1849, the Society was much indebted to the kindness of their President, his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, for permission to view the ancient and modern portions of the noble castle.

Among the articles exhibited were—

Two Antique Keys, found in Arundel Park. By the Duchess of Norfolk.

The Corporation Records of the Borough of Arundel, from 1539 to 1835. } Exhibited by Mr. G. Balchin, Town Clerk, by permission of the Corporation.

Original Petition of the Inhabitants of Arundel to Parliament, praying for compensation after Sir W. Waller's Siege. }

Two Silver Maces, and the Seal of the Borough. }

Roman Earthenware, found near Worthing. }

Two Leadens Seals of Papal Bulls, from Sullington. }

A large Stone Quern, found at } Exhibited by F. Dixon, Esq.

Roman Coins and Lacrymatories, from the Foundations of the new Subdeanery Church at Chichester. By the Rev. T. W. Perry.

* Roman Fibulæ of Bronze, and other articles, from Old Land, Maresfield. }

* Bronze Wyvern, the Ancient Crest of the Warennes, from Belencombe, in Normandy. } By M. A. Lower, Esq.

Ancient Pottery, from Waterfield. }

* Fragment of a Statuette of Our Lady, found in the College Chapel, Arundel. } By Rev. M. A. Tierney.

* A large Silver Camp Watch of King Charles I. Exhibited by its proprietor, W. Townley Mitford, Esq.

Complete Suit of Clothes, belonging to King Charles I, with his Star, Ruffles, Hunting-horn, and large Watch in Silver Case. }

Two beautifully Illuminated Rolls of Vellum, representing the Masque exhibited on the Entry of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, into Heidelberg. Presented by that Princess to Mr. Spencer, of Redleaf, and } Exhibited by his descendant, the Rev. T. Harvey, of Cowden.

- Three Bronze Celts, found on the Lewes Downs.
 A small Hornbook of the 17th Century, set in Silver Frame, with engraved back. } By Sir Henry Shiffner, Bt.
- An ancient cross-bow, found on taking down an old house at Augmering. By Rev. E. Turner.
- Drawings of ancient Mural Paintings in Treyford Church. By Rev. W. D. Willis.
- Bactrian Coins found at Pevensey. By Mr. Miller.
- Numerous Autographs of Historical Characters—Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, Oliver Cromwell, &c. By R. Cole, Esq.
- Leadens Seals of Papal Bulls from Chichester. By Rev. W. Watkins.
- Ancient Roman Coins from Hurstperpoint. By N. Borrer, Esq.
- Drawings of Chichester Cathedral. By Mr. Butler, junior.
- Patera of Samian Ware, Lacrymatories, large Urns with Bones, bronze Fibula, Flints, Celt, &c., silver and brass Roman Coins, found in August, 1849, near Balmer. By W. Figg, Esq.

The following Papers were read at the meeting in the Townhall :

- * Documents relating to Knepp Castle, in the time of King John. Communicated by Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, Bart.
 - * Discoveries made in 1847, in the Vaults of the Chapel of Arundel College. By Rev. M. A. Tierney.
 - * Description of Ruins of Belencombres Castle, in Normandy. By M. A. Lower, Esq.
- Fabulous History of the Horse Hironnelle (Arundel) and the Giant Bevis. By M. A. Lower, Esq.
- * Diary of Timothy Burrell, Esq., of Ockenden House, Cuckfield, from A.D. 1683 to 1714. By R. W. Blencowe, Esq.
- Notes on the House at Arundel, called Nineveh, with Armorial Badges of the Arundel Family. By Rev. E. Turner.
- Lists of the Burgesses of Arundel in 1296, 1327, 1332, and 1545, from MSS. }
 Original Letters of William, Earl de Warenne and others, in the 13th Century. } By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

At a Meeting held at Brighton, on Dec. 6, 1849, the following Papers were read :

- * The Pedigree of the Lewknor Family. By W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
- Remarks on Amberley Castle. Illustrated with Drawings. By Rev. G. Clarkson.
- * Description of the ancient Rectory House and Church of West Dean, near East Bourne. By Rev. G. M. Cooper.
 - * Extracts from ancient Sussex Wills, from MSS. By M. A. Lower, Esq.
 - * The Customary Services of the Tenants of the Manor of Southese. By W. Figg, Esq.
- Numerous Rubbings of Brasses, and Electrotype Copies of Ancient Seals, the property of Dr. Pickford, were exhibited.

At the Meeting held at Eastbourne, on May 21, 1850, the Society examined, on the spot, the situation of the Roman villa, rediscovered in 1849. Lady Domville exhibited some specimens of fine Pottery found there.

A Papal Dispensation of Leo X, dated June 9, 1516, enabling Thomas Combe, the Priest of the Church of Arundel, to hold another benefice in plurality, was communicated by Rev. H. Latham.

Mr. Ade described the course of a Roman Road lately examined by Mr. Figg and himself, near Pole Gate.

Mr. Lower described an implement for the teeth, nails, &c., found in a grave at Alfriston, in 1849. It is marked with the name of Denis Hurst, who, according to the register of the parish, died in 1584.

Mr. W. Harvey read an account of the Coins which had been found in the neighbourhood.

Rev. G. M. Cooper's History of the Priory and Church of Wilmington, illustrated by numerous Drawings, was communicated, and reserved for future publication.

*The * is prefixed to those papers and objects which are published in the present Volume.*

Some Papers of fresh interest are necessarily deferred, especially those relating to recent discoveries of Roman remains at Balmer, Westergate, &c., and of a Roman road near Eastbourne; and the Committee take this opportunity of earnestly requesting the assistance of all their Members to render more complete a general account of all the traces of Roman occupation in Sussex, which it is their wish to include in the Fourth Volume. Any communication denoting the localities of such discoveries will be thankfully received by W. FIGG, Esq. *Lewes*, who has undertaken to collect such particulars.

It is proposed in an early volume to give a descriptive list of all the Tradesmen's Tokens issued in Sussex in the seventeenth century. Members possessing specimens are requested to communicate with W. HARVEY, Esq., *Lewes*.

The thanks of the Society are due to JOHN PETER FEARON, Esq., for presenting the Society with the plate of Ockenden House, his own residence, as an ornamental embellishment of the curious Diary of Timothy Burrell, published in the present volume, and the same Diary has been also fortunate enough to be further illustrated by the kindness of JAMES HURDIS Esq., who has preserved the appearance of the original MS. in the faithful copies of its rude drawings by the liberal devotion of his skill.

LEWES; July 1, 1850.

NOTICE.—*The General Annual Meeting will take place at Herstmonceux, on Thursday, July 25th, 1850.*

This Volume is distributed free to Members. The price to the public will be 10s.; but to new Members hereafter joining the Society, the price will be 5s., and some copies of the Society's First Volume will be reserved for them at 5s., and of the Second at 7s. 6d., for which applications may be made to Mr. W. HARVEY, Local Secretary, *Cliffe, Lewes*.

Sussex Archaeological Society.

Patron.

His Grace the

DUKE OF RICHMOND,

K. G.,

Lord Lieutenant and

Custos Rot.



President.

His Grace the

DUKE OF NORFOLK,

K. G.

Earl Marshal.

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 The EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY, M.P.
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THE objects of this Society embrace whatever relates to the Civil or Ecclesiastical History, Topography, Ancient Buildings, or Works of Art, within the County, and for this purpose, the Society invite communications on such subjects, especially from those Noblemen and Gentlemen who possess estates within the County, and who may materially assist the completion of the County History, now very imperfect, by the loan of Ancient Documents relating to Estates, Manors, Wills, or Pedigrees, and of any object generally connected with the Ancient History of Sussex.

The Society will collect Manuscripts and Books, Drawings and Prints, Coins and Seals, or Copies thereof, Rubbings of Brasses, Descriptive Notices and Plans of Churches, Castles, Mansions, or other Buildings of antiquarian interest; such Collection to be preserved and made available for the purposes of the Society, by publication or otherwise.

Rules.

1. THAT the Society shall avoid all topics of religious or political controversy, and shall remain independent, though willing to co-operate with similar Societies by friendly communication.

2. THAT the Society shall consist of Members and Associates.

3. THAT candidates for admission be proposed and seconded by two Members of the Society, and elected at any Meeting of the Committee, or at a General Meeting. One black ball in five to exclude.

4. THAT the Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings shall become due on the 1st day of January, or £5 be paid in lieu thereof, as a composition for life. Subscriptions to be paid at the Lewes Old Bank, or by Post-office order, to THOMAS DICKER, Esq., Treasurer, Lewes Old Bank, or to any of the Local Secretaries.

5. THAT Members of either House of Parliament shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and also such other persons as the Society may determine.

6. THAT the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee of Management, to consist of a Patron, a President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, a Treasurer, and not less than twelve other members, who shall be chosen at the General Annual Meeting; three Members of such Committee to form a Quorum.

7. THAT at every Meeting of the Society, or of the Committee, the resolutions of the majority present shall be binding, though all persons entitled to vote be not present.

8. THAT a General Meeting of the Society be held annually, in July or August, as may be appointed by the Committee, at some place rendered interesting by its Antiquities or Historical Associations, in the Eastern and Western Divisions of the County alternately; such General Meeting to have power to make such alterations of the Rules as a majority may determine, on notice thereof being one month previously given to the Committee.

9. THAT a Special General Meeting may be summoned by the Secretaries on the requisition, in writing, of five members, and either the Patron, President, or two Vice-Presidents, specifying the subject to be brought forward for decision at such Meeting, and such subject only to be then considered.

10. THAT the Committee have power to admit without ballot, on the nomination of two members, any Lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

11. THAT the Committee have power to elect as an Associate of the Society, any person whose local office may enable him to promote the objects of the Society—such Associate not to pay any Subscription, nor to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

12. THAT the Committee be empowered to appoint any Member *Local Secretary* for the town or district where he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects of local interest, and that such Local Secretaries be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee.

13. THAT Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, be held at such times and places as the Committee may determine.

14. THAT the Secretaries shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the General Meeting, and, until other arrangements can be made, shall have the custody of any books, documents, or antiquities, which may be presented, or lent to the Society.

Persons desirous of becoming members of the Society, are requested to communicate with a Secretary.

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 Rev. W. H. Holland, Chichester.
 Rev. T. A. Holland, Poyning.
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Sussex Archaeological Collections.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO KNEPP CASTLE.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. JOHN SHARPE, LATE CURATE OF SHIPLEY,

AND COMMUNICATED BY

SIR CHARLES MERRIK BURRELL, BART., M.P.,

WITH REMARKS, BY W. H. B.

(READ AT ARUNDEL, AUGUST 9, 1849.)

OF the six great feudal fortresses, each of which anciently defended a Rape of Sussex, one only has added the magnificence of modern luxury to the sternness of its antique strength; while four of the others have long been reduced to scanty ruins, and the sixth was in very early times purposely destroyed, and its site occupied by a monastery.

Knepp Castle, in the parish of Shipley, though never one of the principal strongholds, and though a ruin for more than 600 years, was frequently the residence of a king, and is said to have exhibited, even in the last century, considerable traces of its extent within the angle of two small streams falling ultimately into the river Adur. West of the ruins is a field, now called Town Field, which was an approach by a raised road, and a bridge, probably a drawbridge.

There remains of it now only the broken wall of a single tower, with a flat buttress, upon a small mound;¹ but its demolition is not due either to war or neglect. The period of its history, authenticated by the few documents relating to it, is very brief; and it will be seen that it is all comprised within the reign of King John, into whose hands, together with Bramber, it had been seized on the forfeiture of William de Braose. This nobleman had incurred the king's anger by

¹ For a view in 1775, see Grose, vol. iii, where the succession of owners is also detailed.

various disputes and refusals to pay fines for his large possessions in Ireland, and at last escaped to die at Paris in 1212, his wife and eldest son William having perished at Windsor in prison, in 1210. It is to this circumstance that we owe the following notices of Knepp in the national archives, and even these will be found to refer as much to the timber and game of the adjoining forest as to the Castle. Indeed the necessity of providing a store of food for the winter in those times, made hunting in the forests an urgent duty.

King John was at Knepp on April 8, 1206; on January 6, and again from May 28 to June 1, in 1209; from April 6 to 9, in 1211; and from January 21 to 24, in 1215; and it will be seen that his Queen Isabella made a residence of eleven days here, in 1214-15. Some confusion arising from the regnal years of King John commencing from the moveable feast of the Ascension, it is sufficient here to state that they were generally reckoned from May to May.

At his first visit the king signed an order to protect the men and lands of Humphrey le Dene against any lawsuits, as long as he should be absent in Ireland on the king's service. 10th John, Rot. Pat.

Most of the deeds are addressed to Roeland Bloet, who seems to have been the king's confidential agent at Knepp, Cnapp, or Cnappe, as it was variously named. The castle was a member of the honor of Bramber. The documentary extracts were originally collected by the Rev. John Sharpe, when curate of Shipley, the learned translator of William of Malmsbury, who also assisted in preparing the materials for 'Monumenta Historica Britannica,' lately published by government.

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—We send to you Michael de Puning, commanding that you permit him to take all the fat deer he can without the park at Cnapp: as well by bow as by his dogs; and that you cause them to be salted (*saliri*); and act for our advantage, as well concerning their flesh as their skins (*tam de carne quam de coriis*). Witness ourselves, at Durham, the 5th day of September." (1212.) 14^o Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 123.

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—We command you to find necessaries for Wido, the huntsman, with two horses and

22 dogs, and two assistant keepers (Bernariis),² and one lad (garcione); and to Nigel, the huntsman, with two huntsmen, and 28 dogs, and two assistant keepers, and one lad; and to Gilbert de Montibus, with two horses, and 21 dogs, and two assistant keepers, and one lad, whom we send to you to hunt in the forest of Cnappe, so long as they shall be with you; and the cost you shall be at for this shall be computed to you, at the Exchequer. Witness ourselves, at Wingham (*co. Kent*), the 31st day of May." (1213.) 15° Joh., Rot. Claus., pp. 134, b.

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—We send to you John de Beauchamp, with 24 dogs, one assistant keeper, one lad, and two horses; and Alberic de Capella, with 22 dogs, one keeper, one lad, and two horses; and Richard Pincun, with 20 dogs, one assistant keeper, one lad, and one horse: commanding you to cause them to hunt in the forest of Cnappe; and that you find necessaries for them so long as they shall be with you, according to our order; that is to say, to the aforesaid John with two horses, and to the aforesaid Alberic with two horses, until the time of grass (*usque ad tempus herbæ*); and that when the time of grass shall come, you find necessaries for them, for their respective horses; and the cost you shall be at for the above shall, on the inspection and testimony of reputable men, be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness ourselves, at Wingham, the 1st day of June, in the 15th year of our reign." (1213.) 15° Joh., Rot. Claus., pp. 134, b.

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—We command you to find necessaries for Michael de Columbariis, with one horse and 24 dogs, at Cnapp, until we send for them; and the cost you shall be at for this shall, on the inspection and testimony of reputable men, be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness ourselves, at Ospringe (*co. Kent*), the 5th day of June, in the 15th year of our reign; and that you cause these dogs to hunt in the forest, with the other dogs in your custody." (1213.) 15° Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 135.

² Bernariis has been interpreted "keepers of boar-hounds;" but the word is more probably synonymous with "Berræriis," sbirri, inferior officers, keepers; their pay was 3*d.* a day in the time of Henry II. (*Lib. Nigr. Scacc.*)

“ *The King to Roeland Bloet, greeting.*—We send to you Wyot, Nigell, May, Richard de Brademar, and Herbert de Foxkot, our huntsmen, with 10 lads and 5 keepers, and 10 horses, and 114 dogs of the pack (de mota), and 5 greyhounds, to hunt for deer, in the park at Cnapp: and we command you to find them in reasonable expenses as long as they shall be with you, for which it shall be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness ourselves, at the Tower of London, the 28th day of December, in the 15th year of our reign.” (1213.) 15° Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 158, b.

“ *The King to the same.*—We send to you, Henry the son of Baldwin, the keeper of the hounds (veltrarium),³ with 18 keepers, his fellows, and 220 of our greyhounds (leporariis), to hunt the does in the park at Knapp; commanding you to find them in reasonable expenses so long as they shall be with you, for which it shall be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness as above.” (1213.) 15° Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 158, b.

“ *The King to the Barons of the Exchequer, &c.*—Compute to Roeland Bloet the cost he has been at since his last reckoning, on the inspection and reckoning of reputable men, in the pay for our huntsmen, hounds, and carpenters, at several times, and in keeping, strengthening,⁶ and repairing our castles of Brambell (*Bramber*) and Cnapp, according to our order; and in the pay of the mariners (marinellorum), sent in 10 ships on our service to Dover; and in carrying timber from St. Leonard’s Forest to the sea, for the purpose of constructing our hall at Dover, according to our order; and in 50 leashes for dogs (copulis) from our forest of Cnapp to Binindon (*Benenden, co. Kent*), as our gift according to our order. Compute also to the same Roeland the cost he has been at in making bridges and hurdles (in cleiis faciendis), by our order; and in the carriage of brushwood (buscæ), to Corf (*Corfe, co. Dorset*) and Dover, and in inclosing our park at Cnapp, and in repairing the Stew-pond, according to our order; and for 18 casks of wine, bought for our service, and

³ From veltris, canis sagax vel odorisequus; veltro, It.; viautre, Fr.; vertragus, Martial, Epig. 14, 200; velt-jagher, field-ranger.

expended at our several comings, by our order. Witness ourselves, at Eysse (*Aive, in Angoulême*), the 21st day of March, in the 15th year of our reign." (1214.) 15° Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 142.

"*The King to Richard Bloet.*—We order you to send all the wild boars and sows (porcos et layas)⁴ which are in your custody to Portsmouth, in ships of your bailiwick, which are about to proceed there, so that they be there, all excuse being put aside, on the morrow of S. Hilary at latest, and it shall be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness as above."

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—We send to you, Wyot our huntsman, and his fellowes, to hunt in our forest of Cnapp, with our boar-hounds (canibus porkaricis), to the end that they may take daily two or three boars (porcos). We will, however, that none of our good dogs shall hunt there; and that you should see every day what they take. Also, that you be with us at London, on the Sunday next following the feast of St. Martin (*Nov. 11*); and in the meantime that you send one of your soldiers (militibus), who may be with them in those parts; and that you supply them with necessaries. And the cost you shall be at for this purpose shall, by the inspection and testimony of reputable persons, be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness ourselves at Reilegh, (*co. Essex*), the 8th day of November." (1214.) 16°, Rot. Claus., p. 182.

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, greeting.*—We command you that hereafter you neither fell, nor cause to be felled, anything in the park or forest of Cnapp. Witness ourselves, at Wodestock, the 26th of November." (1214.) 16°, Rot. Claus., p. 179.

"*The King to the Barons of the Exchequer.*—Pay to Hugo de Nevil the cost he has been at in conveying a thousand marks from Merleberg (*Marlborough*) to Cnapp, and from Cnapp to Audiburn, and from Audiburn (*Aldingburn*) to

⁴ "Layas," the Latinised form of the French word "Laie, femelle d'un sanglier." (Dict. de l'Acad.)

Winchester, on the inspection and testimony of reputable persons. Witness ourselves, at Merleberg, the 9th day of February, in the 16th year of our reign." (1215.) 16° Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 184, b.

"*The King to his Barons of the Exchequer.*—Pay to Robert Bloet, on the inspection and testimony of reputable persons, the cost he has been at for 19 days, for William the son of Richard, with 3 horses, and 114 greyhounds, and 25 keepers of the hounds, and 3 assistant keepers; and for Alberic the hunter, with 2 horses and 16 dogs of the pack; and for Richard Pinchun, with 2 horses and 13 dogs of the pack; and for Adam Chewerr, with 2 horses and 2 dogs of the pack; and for Robert de Stanton, with 2 horses and 5 beagles, (berserettis); and for William May, with 2 horses and 4 beagles; and for Gibbun, with 2 horses and 3 beagles; and for Philip Pitte, with 2 horses and 2 beagles; and for Alexander, the valet of our son Richard,⁵ with one horse and 3 beagles. Pay also to the same Roeland the cost he has been at, on the inspection and testimony of reputable men, for Robert our fisherman, with 2 horses, for 38 days. Pay also to the same 19s. 6d., which he has laid out, on the inspection and testimony of reputable men, for the purchase of two nets for our use; and 4l. 19s. for one cask of wine, on the inspection and testimony of reputable men, which he disbursed in the expences of our Lady the Queen,⁶ during eleven days' residence at Cnapp. Pay also to the same 8½ marks, which he paid to Henry Fitz Count (filio comitis?) by our order, and one mark which he paid to Hugo Pantulf, by our order. Pay also to the same 18s., which he expended, on the inspection and testimony of creditable persons, in the journey of our Lady the Queen from Cnapp to Merleberg. Witness ourselves, at Sutton (*co. Surrey*), the 6th day of March, in the 16th year of our reign." (1215.) 16° Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 190.

When King John was involved in disputes with his own barons, and threatened with foreign invasion, it was of the

⁵ After the death of W. de Braose, in 1212, a grant of the Barony of Bramber was made to Prince Richard, earl of Cornwall, afterwards king of the Romans.

⁶ Though the exact date of the queen's visit to Knepp is not fixed, it was probably recent.

utmost importance to him to secure the Castle of Dover; and accordingly we find him active in using the timber of Knepp Forest for the construction of those ponderous warlike machines which were then used for attack and defence. The difficulty of sending along bad roads these huge wooden towers, corded up in frame, and ready for use, must have been great. When Prince Louis besieged Dover in July, 1216, he used a famous engine of like nature, given him by his father, and called 'Mal Voisin;' but the heart of oak from Knepp, and the courage of Hubert de Burgh were effectual, even against the 'evil neighbour.'

"*P.*,⁷ *by the grace of God Bishop of Winchester, to the Sheriff of Sussex, greeting.*—We command you to cause the timber which the carpenters, whom William Brieg may send into the forest of Knapp, shall fell within the same wood, to be carried to Dover, for the works of the Castle there; and the cost which you shall have been at for this purpose we will cause to be paid to you at the Exchequer. Witness Master E. de Falcoberg, at the Tower of London, the 23d day of June, in the 16th year of the reign of King John." (1214.) 16^o Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 207.

"*P. Bishop of Winchester to the Bailiffs of Roeland Bloet, greeting.*—We command you, inasmuch as you regard the honour of our Lord the King, that, as soon as you see these letters, you cause all the carpenters within your bailiwick to assemble in the forest of Kneppe; and that you cause these carpenters, as well as those whom the sheriff of Sussex⁸ will send to you, to fell and lop and prepare timber (præsternere, eskapellare et parare meheremium) in the same forest, as Richard de Popleshall and Baldwin the carpenters shall direct; and the said timber to be carried by service (de prece) as far as the sea, and by sea, at the expence of our Lord the King, as far as Dover. And the cost which you shall have been at, for felling, lopping, and carrying the said timber by sea, on the inspection of the aforesaid, shall be paid you at the

⁷ Peter des Roches, a person of historical importance, was chief justiciary at this time, and bishop of Winchester from 1204 to 1238.

⁸ Matthew Fitz Herbert was, at this time and many subsequent years to 1219, sheriff of Sussex.

Exchequer. Witness ourselves, at Dover, the 12th day of August, in the 16th year of our Lord King John." (1214.) 16° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 210.

The crisis of the king's fate was now approaching; the discontented barons had been received by the Londoners in triumph, on Sunday, May 24, and on June 19 Magna Charta was signed; after which the king immediately prepared to annul it. A subsequent order alludes to the foreign mercenaries whom he had invited over, and whom he personally welcomed at Dover on their arrival, Sept. 1, 1215.

"*The King to Roeland Bloet, greeting.*—Know ye that the citizens of London have surrendered the city of London to our enemies, on Sunday next before the feast of St. Dunstan, in the morning, of their free will (spontanea voluntate). Wherefore we command you, without delay, to transfer all the stores (attractum⁹) which you have at Knapp or elsewhere, and which you may be able to gather, to Bremble; and that you fortify that house in the best possible manner you can, while resident in that castle; that you destroy altogether the houses at Knapp. In testimony of which we send you these letters. Witness ourselves, at Freemantle (*Frigidum Mantellum, co. Hants*), the 18th day of May, in the 16th year of our reign." (1214.) 16° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 137, b.

"*The King to all who are about to come to England in his service, health.*—We command you that you do what our beloved and faithful Roeland Bloet shall tell you on our behalf, and in witness whereof myself, at Winchester, 20th day of May, in the 16th year of our reign." (1214.) 16° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 137, b.

The following documents denote the anxiety of the king to secure Bramber and Knepp castles in the approaching struggle. William, the sixth Earl of Warenne, the king's first cousin, had always remained true to him, and had been frequently a surety to

⁹ "Attractum" seems to answer to the French 'attrahiere,' acquirements obtained by labour, in distinction from what is bought or given; it may here refer to the timber or other product of the forest, prepared for the Dover machines.

the barons for the performance of the king's promises; but even he joined the French Prince Louis in 1216.

“ *The King to Reulend Bloet, greeting.*—We command you, strongly enjoining, that when our beloved and faithful W. earl of Warren, or any of his people (aliqui de suis), shall come to you, to receive him, and his men whom he may bring with him, into our castles of Bremble and Knappe, to remain in them as long as they choose, in witness whereof we send you these. Witness ourselves, at Windsor, the 22d day of May, in the 16th year of our reign.” (1214.) 16° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 168.

At this time King John thought it politic to come to terms with the Braose family, and to restore Bramber and Knepp, not indeed to the heir, son of him who had perished in prison four years previously, but to his uncle Giles, bishop of Hereford, who, after having actively taken the part of the barons against the king, and recovered by force some of the family castles in Wales, had now recently made his submission, and having paid a fine, received the king's pardon and a grant of the hereditary property of the Braoses. The following letter authorises him to have seizin of Knepp Castle, but the bishop unfortunately died in less than a month, November 17, 1215, when about to assume possession. John de Monmouth, then appointed the temporary warden of Knepp, had been a wealthy ward of the bishop's father. To ensure the delivery of the castle, the king sent his half-brother, William Longespée, earl of Salisbury, who had steadily adhered to him; but at length the personal wrongs inflicted on him by the king's vices drove this earl also, like Warenne, to desert him in the following year, and join the French prince Louis.

“ *The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—Know ye that we have received our venerable father, E.¹⁰ bishop of Hereford, into our full favour, and have restored to him all the lands, tenements, and castles of which his father was seized as in fee, in consideration of the fine which the bishop has paid to us on that account. We, together with the bishop aforesaid, have committed to John of Monemouth the castle of Bremble, with

¹⁰ Egidius, Giles de Braose, bishop of Hereford, 1200-1216.

its appurtenances, to be kept till a certain term, under special condition made between us and the bishop. Wherefore we command you, immediately, without delay, to surrender the castle of Bremble to the said John of Monmouth; and that you cause, without delay, the same bishop to have full seizin of Cnappe, with its houses and all its appurtenances, and of all lands and tenements of which his father was seized in fee, within your bailiwick. In testimony moreover of which we send you these letters patent. Witness ourselves, at Rochester, the 20th day of October, in the 17th year of our reign. And that you should no further delay to execute this command, and that you may the more securely deliver up the castles aforesaid, as is enjoined, we send to you our brother William, who shall tell you by word of mouth, on our part, that you should give them up." (1215.) 17° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 157.

"*The King to the Constable of Bremble, &c.*—Know that we have intrusted to Wilekin Bloet the castle of Bremble, to be kept in his custody as long as it shall please us; and therefore we command you, that you deliver to him the said castle without delay, as the bearer of these presents, John, clerk of John de Monmouth, shall tell you, and in witness hereof we send him. Witness myself, at Rochester, 1st day of December." (1215.) 17° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 160.

"*The King to the Constable of Cnappe, &c.*—We command you, without delay, to deliver up to our beloved and faithful Reuland Bluet, the castle of Cnappe, with all its appurtenances, to keep during our pleasure: in testimony of which we send you these. Witness ourselves, at Rochester, the 25th day of November, in the 17th year of our reign. And it is commanded to all of the honour of Cnappe, to be obedient and amenable to the same Reuland, as the bailiff of our Lord the King." (1215.) 17° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 160.

The above and succeeding documents were occasioned by the sudden death of the newly-restored bishop. Godfrey de Craucumb, who had apparently become warden of Knepp Castle, had been employed by the king to convey from Ireland to Bristol the bold Maud de Braose, on her seizure with her

son. She seems to have irritated the king by promises of purchasing her husband William de Braose's pardon, by 40,000 marcs, which she afterwards refused to pay.

“*The King to Godefroy de Craucumb, &c.*—We command you to deliver up the castle of Cnappe, and the honour of Brember, with all which we had restored to the bishop of Hereford, in case you have already received them, to our beloved and faithful Reuland Bloet, without delay, to be kept during our pleasure. In testimony of which we send you these. Witness ourselves, at Rochester, the 25th day of November, in the 17th year of our reign.” (1215.) 17° Joh., Rot. Pat.

“*The King to Roeland Bloet, greeting.*—We send to you Master Nicholas, commanding that you cause to be made, without delay, in the forest of Knappe, as many good engine-towers called Turkese (petrarias Turkesias¹¹) as you can [MS. defective] . . . to Dover, ready and prepared with ropes and other things belonging to them; and let the aforesaid Nicholas have his pay as long as he shall be with you, pence a day. Witnessed at Folkestone, 3d day of May.” (1216.) 17 Joh., Rot. Claus., p. 267, b.

“*The King to Roeland Bloet, &c.*—We command you to cause the castle of Cnappe, without delay, to be burnt and destroyed (comburī et diruī), and in testimony of which we send you these. Witness ourselves, at Wilton, the 13th day of June, in the 18th year of our reign.” (1216.) 18° Joh., Rot. Pat., p. 187.

Whether this peremptory order was immediately acted upon is unknown; but it may partly account for the early disappearance of Knepp Castle from history, and the removal of the garrison at this time seems confirmed by a subsequent order, when the king, at Leymenestre (*Leominster, co. Hereford*), on July 31, 1216, granted a safe conduct to the men of

¹¹ “Petraria,” or petreria, petrorita, periere, Fr., was a large wooden turret, used in sieges, to cast missiles from; and this particular fort acquired the name of ‘Turkasia,’ or Tharcassia, carquois, Fr., a quiver. It was distinct from the mangonel, being often mentioned with it.

Roeland Bloet, allowing them to pass freely with their baggage (harnesium) in any direction, without hindrance. Rot. Pat., p. 192.

As King John died on October 19, only four months later than the order of demolition, it is not at all probable that it was fully executed in that short period, in the midst of civil war, and with such imperfect methods of destruction as were then known; but fire could easily have rendered Knepp Castle uninhabitable by a garrison, and so the king's object would be fulfilled. A similar order of destruction was also given with respect to Pevensey Castle, on the earl de Warenne's defection at this time.

In the pressure of civil war, King John, though ready to order the demolition of his own castle, yet was at times willing to ensure the safety of his subjects by a compromise, and very recently, on June 9, 1216, from Devizes, he had addressed to the barons of Winchelsea a permission, in case of a descent of his enemy, Prince Louis of France, upon that town, to offer him 200 marcs, to exempt the town from fire and damage. 18°, Rot. Pat., p. 187.

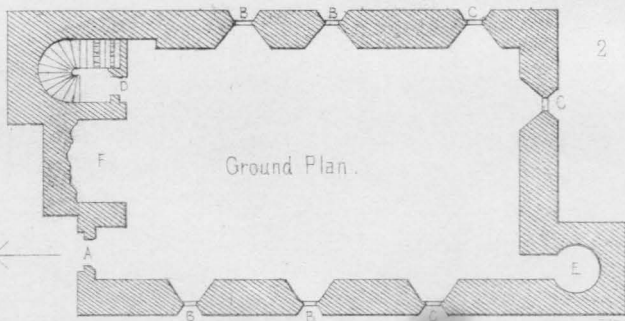
There are but few subsequent notices of Knepp in the Records. In 1218 there is a deed addressed to William de Braose, relating to the honour of Cnapp (2° Hen. III, Rot. Pat.) In 1280, April 13, an order from William de Braose to his bailiff is dated from Kneppe (Cartwright's Bramber). In 1323-4 there is a grant allowing Alionora, widow of John de Mowbray, to surrender to Hugh le Dispenser, earl of Winchester, the notorious favourite of Edward II, the castle and manor of Brembre in fee, and the manors of Knapp, Shoreham, Horsham, and Beaubusson, in the county of Sussex. 17° Edw. II, Rot. Pat.

The park of Knepp was however preserved; and, in the Tower Rolls, 1400, Pat. 1° Hen. IV, "the King appoints John Pilton park-keeper of Knap Park, with the wages of 2*d.* a day, and other perquisites, during the minority of Thomas Mowbray, son and heir of the late earl of Nottingham."

Following the fate of Bramber, the property of Knepp fell into the hands of the crown four times within 26 years, between 1546 and 1572, on so many successive attainders in the Howard family.



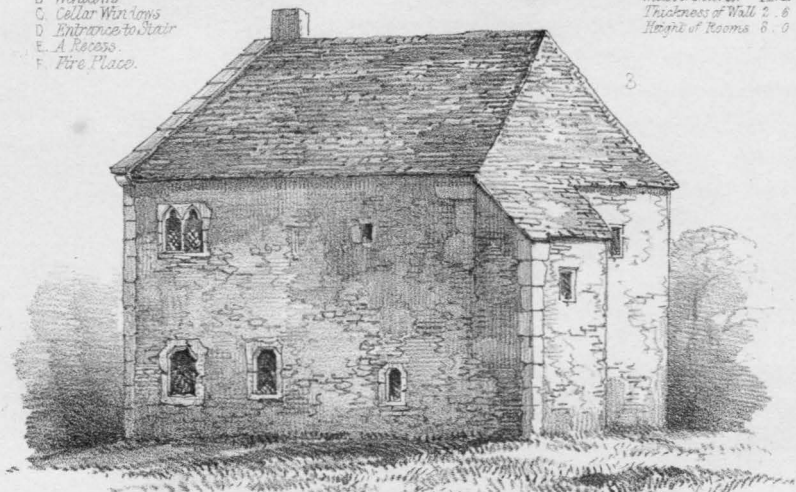
N. E. VIEW OF THE RECTORY HOUSE.



Ground Plan.

- A Entrance door
- B Windows
- C Cellar Win'tops
- D Entrance to Stair
- E A Recess
- F Fire Place.

Length of Exterior 35.6
 Width of Interior 14.10
 Thickness of Wall 2.6
 Height of Rooms 6.0



S. W. VIEW OF THE RECTORY HOUSE.

ON AN ANCIENT RECTORY-HOUSE,

IN THE PARISH OF WEST DEAN,

WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILES COOPER.

(READ AT BRIGHTON, DEC. 6, 1849.)

IN the village of West Dean, near Seaford, is an ancient structure, possessing, I think, a considerable degree of interest, as a specimen of the domestic architecture of the middle ages. Residences of the nobility and dignified ecclesiastics of those times, in tolerable preservation, are of not unfrequent occurrence; the skill and solidity with which they were constructed, and the opulence of those great families or official personages who have been their successive possessors, having secured them from the ordinary fate of meaner and more fragile edifices.

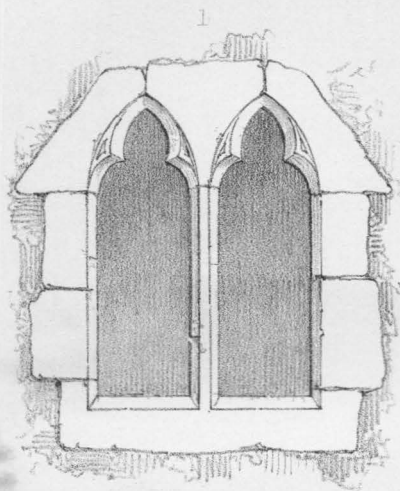
But specimens so complete as this, of what may be considered as the dwelling-houses of the middle class of the people in that remote period, have not so often fallen under my own observation: and if I shall be able to show, by probable evidence, that this is one of the few instances of small houses belonging to the 14th century, which have survived the wreck of time, and come down almost unimpaired to the 19th, those who are interested in the study of antiquities will perhaps judge it to be worthy of some public notice.

This curious house, which belongs to the rectory, stands contiguous to the churchyard, and is now tenanted by two labourers. It is built, with a lavish expenditure for its size, of stone and oak timber; the former excellently cut for the quoins, copings, door-arches, and mullions of the windows. Its walls are about $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 2ft. 6in. thick. It is distinguished by what I believe is generally thought a mark

of high antiquity, a staircase (Plate I, fig. 1), whose walls, of very solid masonry, project externally, square without, and semi-cylindrical within, roofed over with stone of good workmanship, and attached to the north end of the house. This contains a spiral stair of stone, forming the communication between the two stories, the floor between which consists of massive beams (15in. by 8in.), and joists (5 to 7in. by 5in.); the entrances to the stairs, both above and below, being massive pointed arches, of equilateral proportion (Plate II, fig. 4). The doors themselves are of oak, presenting, together with their fittings, the appearance of great age. A small cellar, half sunk below the surface, at the south end, seems to have served for a store; as does also a singular projecting part at the south-west corner of the building, which is of quadrangular form, and had originally no light. A loft, extending the whole length of the roof, which is comparatively modern, lighted by two small, unglazed windows at the north end, and accessible, only by a ladder, may once have answered the same purpose, but has long ceased to be used at all. Of the fireplaces, the one below is so much disguised by modern alterations, that I can hardly conjecture its original character; but that in the chamber above remains as at first, a spacious hearth, raised above the floor, and covered with a projecting funnel (Plate II, fig. 3), which rests upon two brackets, the whole of stonework, plain but substantial.

Upon a comparison of the two buildings, one might be led, by general appearances, to assign to the rectory about the same date as to the adjacent church. Both are built of the same material, flint, faced with the green sandstone, found on the coast at Eastbourn, and so much used in the churches of this neighbourhood. This forms here the mullions of the windows, the arches, and other ornamental work, with occasionally a small admixture, in the church, of sandstone of a reddish colour. The house bears every note of a genuine structure, unaltered in its main features to an extent which is at first sight surprising, if it belong to the period which I suppose.

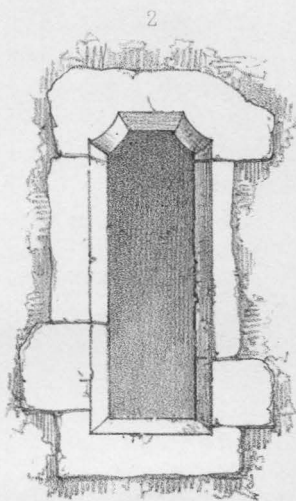
There is no record that I am aware of, nor any tradition going far back, which directly throws light upon the history of this ancient building. But there are certain sources of



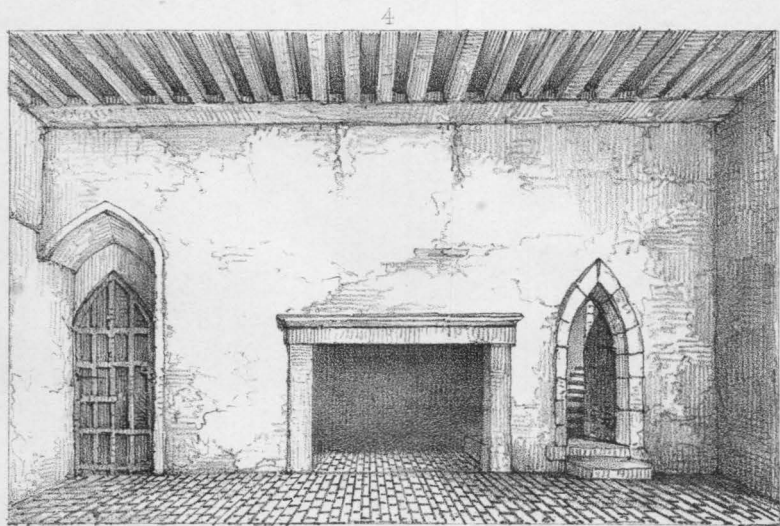
Chamber Window, E



Fire Place in Chamber



Ground Floor, E



WEST DEAN RECTORY, INTERIOR, GROUND FLOOR

information which may perhaps enable us to frame a probable conjecture as to its origin and date. I find in the charters of the Norman Abbey of St. Mary Grestein, as given in the 'Monasticon,' that amongst its English possessions were the churches of East Dean and West Dean. It is well known that the Priory of Wilmington was a cell of that foreign abbey; and amongst the references given by Tanner, relating to this priory, is one which mentions that the "Prior de Wilmington habet in propriis usus ecclesiam de Wilmington et ecclesias sive præbendas de Est-dene et *Westham*."—The latter I take to be erroneously written *Westham* for *West-dene*; since *West Dean* is expressly named in the charters above alluded to, whereas no mention is *there* made of *Westham*. At any rate it is certain that the church of *West Dean* formed part of the possessions of St. Mary Grestein, of which the prior and monks of Wilmington were first the administrators and eventually the possessors. My conjecture therefore is, that by *them* was built the rectory-house. The edifice, small as it is, would be too costly for the incumbent of so moderate a preferment to have erected for himself; whilst it would be quite in keeping with the ampler resources and possibly better taste of the monastery. The architectural details also exhibited in the accompanying drawings, will be found, I think, to confirm the supposition I venture to make.

Now if it be conceded that the house was erected by the Benedictine monks of Wilmington, this will enable us to assign an approximate date. For as the priory was suppressed towards the end of the reign of Henry IV, and its estates transferred to the cathedral church of Chichester, the chapter of which was confirmed in possession by statute 1 and 2 Henry V, the erection of the building must have been antecedent to 1413, the year of Henry Vth's accession. The priory owed its origin to a grant of the manor of Wilmington to the Abbey of Grestein, in the reign of William I, by Robert earl of Moreton; and it appears from the charter that the church of West Dean was part of the original gift of that nobleman, about the end of the 11th century. From these grounds, then, I am disposed to infer that this rectory-house is not far short, if at all, of being 500 years old;

having been first designed as a cell for the residence of one or more monks, to whom the pastoral care of the parishioners, the public services of the church, and perhaps the management of its temporalities, were committed.

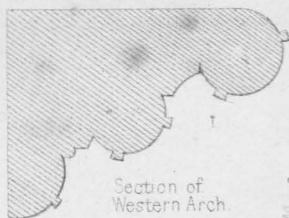
Its preservation during so long a period may be partly accounted for by the seclusion of its situation. The village of West Dean is, and always has been, extremely small, the population at present being only 129: it is embosomed in the hills, with no public road through it; a striking example of a sequestered Southdown hamlet.

The church bears evident marks of higher antiquity than the date of its transfer to the chapter of Chichester, A. D. 1413. It is of the simplest form (Plate III, fig. 2), a parallelogram, with a bell-tower at the west end, surmounted by a low irregular four-sided spire. The extreme internal length is 69 feet, the width 16 feet. It contains several features of architectural interest—proofs doubtless of the pious care of the priors, its early patrons. In the chancel are two mural recesses under arched canopies; the one of great simplicity of design and ancient character; the other (Plate IV, fig. 3) more decorated, and with the appearance of having been at some time used as a ministerium or sepulchrum Christi.

There is reason to think that they were monuments of some family of distinction settled in this place at an early period. It appears from the records of Edward the First's journeys in Sussex, that this monarch, when staying at Lewes, paid a morning visit to West Dean, and dated a writ from thence on the 25th of June, 1305. (See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, vol. II, pp. 156-7.) A manor-house of some importance, owned and occupied early in the 17th century by the Thomas family, was pulled down about twenty-five years since, having been long used as a farmhouse, and being then too much dilapidated for repair. An elaborate monument of some members of that family, date 1639, is in the chancel of the church.

There appears to have been nothing to separate the nave from the chancel but a wooden screen (removed not many years ago), and a rood-loft; part of the stone stair leading into the latter is still visible, inserted in the north wall behind the pulpit. But at the western end a circular arch (Plate IV,

Mouldings 1

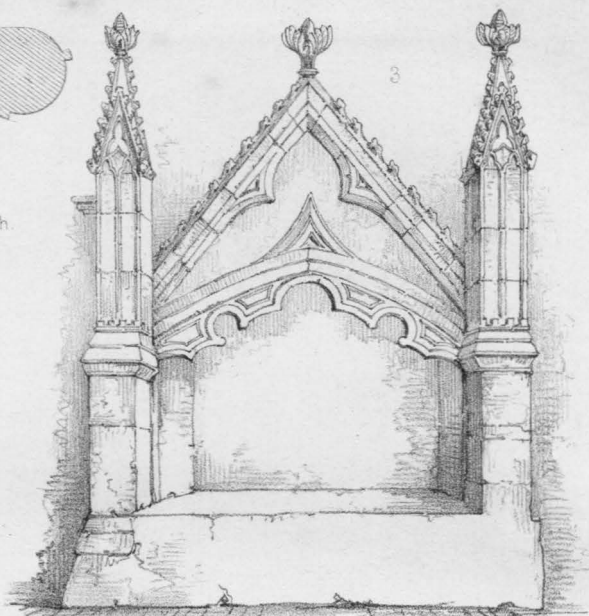


Section of Western Arch.

2

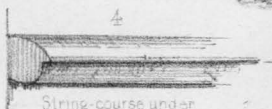


Section of Column above Piscina.



MURAL CANOPY
in N Wall of Church
(Decorated English)

4



String-course under East Window



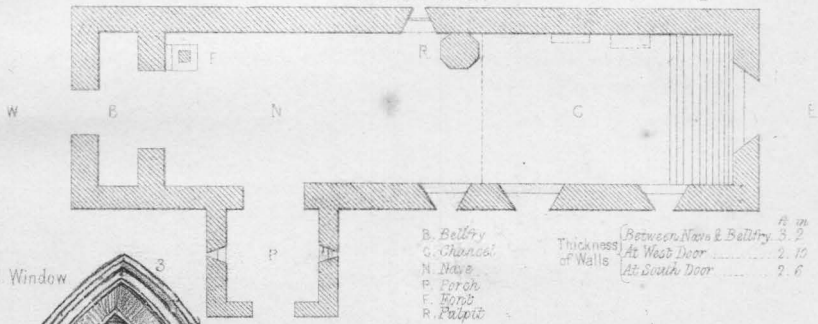
WEST INTERIOR ARCH-FONT.



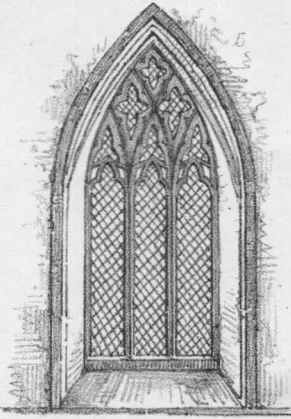
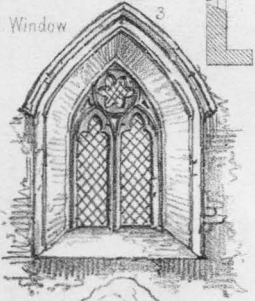
WEST DEAN CHURCH, S.W. view, SUSSEX.

GROUND PLAN

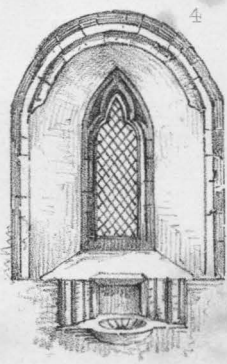
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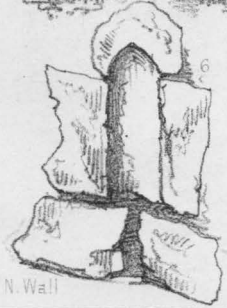
S. Window



East Window



South Window & Piscina



N. Wall

fig. 5) of considerable beauty, 6 feet 4 inches in span, springing from short shafts, each consisting of three clustered round pillars 1 foot 9 inches high, with capitals 4 inches high, and bases $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, of roll moulding, resting upon solid piers of squared stone 4 feet high—leads from the nave through a narrow belfry (7 feet wide) to the western door.

In the east window (Plate III, fig. 5), 13 feet high and 7 feet broad, the mullions branch off into circular arches on each side, the intersections of which form the compartments for the tracery with which the head is filled. Immediately below it, across the whole width of the chancel, runs a string-course (Plate IV, fig. 4) of early English or decorated pattern, a roll moulding, of which the upper part overlaps the lower. The two south windows (Plate III, figs. 3, 4) have their jambs considerably splayed; that to the east, 4 feet 6 inches by 1 foot four inches, is a single, the other, 6 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, a double light, with a circular head, including a sexfoil, both having the interior recesses neatly arched.

The window next the porch is a modern insertion. A narrow single window on the north side, 4 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 3 inches, gives light to the pulpit. The above are all of pointed trefoil. On the outside of the north wall, towards the tower, is a small window of very rude character, probably Norman, 1 foot 9 inches by 6 inches, now stopped with flint-work (Plate III, fig. 6.) The west window is of the perpendicular style.

In the opening of the single south window, just without the altar-rail, is a piscina, let into the wall, and inclosed between columns terminated above by the bottom of the recess of the window (Plate III, fig. 4; Plate IV, fig. 2); this gives them a truncated appearance, though probably at first so constructed. The basin is elegantly scalloped, radiating from the centre. The remains of a stoup for holy water, broken off close to the surface of the wall, are on the east side of the south entrance.

The font is square and massive, placed upon a raised base near the west door, supported in the centre by the usual cylindrical drain, and at the corners by four octagonal pillars;

like most of the stonework of these two buildings, it is in perfect preservation. The earliest date one can assign to all these details, except the west window, seems to be anterior to 1400. The soil of the churchyard is much higher than the floor of the church, especially on the north side, partly owing to the site having a natural slope to the south; but the rise of the surface at the west entrance, to the height of full twenty inches, entirely concealing the sill and lower parts of the door jambs, cannot be so explained, and must have taken place subsequently to the erection of the building. It has doubtless resulted from that accumulation of matter which, in the case of most of our ancient village churches, has raised the surface of the churchyards so much above their original level. This change can hardly have been produced in any sensible degree, in so very small a village as this, by the human remains consigned to their last resting-places, even in a very long period of years. But it may be accounted for by the consideration that, whenever vaults or stoned graves are made, the excavated earth is spread over the surface of the churchyard; and that fresh turf is continually introduced for the purpose of covering new-made graves, or redressing those which have decayed. Possibly, too, the debris of the edifice, when destroyed or dilapidated, may have augmented the accumulation. These, in the course of ages, appear quite adequate causes for the change of level now observable, when it is borne in mind that popular feeling everywhere forbids the removal of the consecrated earth from the precincts of the church. Thus, there are perpetual additions and no abstractions.

Whether the Rectory House is of the age I have conjectured, must be determined by its own evidences: to me, these seem to warrant the conclusion I have drawn. It may serve, perhaps, to strengthen this conclusion, that, in the 'Nonarum Inquisitiones' it is stated that the rector of this church had then (A.D. 1340) "one messuage, & 7½ acres of land, wherewith the church was endowed." The land remains the same to this day, and I am disposed to believe in the identity of the house.

William de Medestede, a namesake of one of the royal

commissioners, was an attesting juror on that occasion; and might probably be the incumbent, for he is styled "clericus," and said to be "de eâdem parochiâ." The return shows that the parish was then, as it is now, of small population and importance; for the rector's whole income, including the annual value of the above-mentioned land and messuage, together with "the customary offerings, and the tenth of hay, pigeons, gardens, calves, pigs, flax, and other small tithe," was valued only at £1 16s.3d.; whilst there was no inhabitant who lived by merchandise, nor had any dignitary, or other ecclesiastical person (save the Prior of Wilmington), any property therein. The ancient dovecote, with a numerous tenantry, still remains, but the culture of flax has long since disappeared.

Perhaps I may be allowed to add a few words upon a question incapable, it may be, of any very positive solution, but yet one of interest and curiosity.

ASSER, bishop of St. David's, the friend and secretary of Alfred, mentions, in his book 'De Ælfredi Rebus gestis,' the fact of his having had his first interview about the year 885, with King Alfred at Dene,¹ which Dallaway (vol. i, p. 174) supposes to be East Dean, included in "Silleton" (or Singleton) in Domesday, afterwards held by the Earl of Arundel (23 Hen. II) of the king, "in capite," as of the honour of Arundel. A DENE also occurs in the Will of Alfred,² which

¹ "His temporibus ego quoque a rege advocatus de occiduis et ultimis Britannie finibus ad Saxoniam adveni: cumque per multa terrarum spatia illum adire proposueram, usque ad regionem dexteralium Saxonum, quæ Saxonice Suthseaxum appellatur, ductoribus ejusdem gentis comitantibus perveni; ibique illum in villa regia, quæ dicitur Dene, primitus vidi," "dato revertendi pignore statuto tempore quarta die ab eo equitantes ad patriam remeavimus, sed cum ab eo discesseramus in Wintonia civitate febris infesta me arripuit." (Vide Asser, Odon, 1722, p. 47)

² Will of King Alfred, ed. Rev. Owen Manning, 4to, Oxon, 1788, p. 17:—"To my eldest son (Ethelward), the land at Eaderingtune, and that at Dene, and at Meone, and at Ambresbyry, and at Deone, and Sturemynster, and at Gifle, and at Cruen, and at Whitechurch, and at Axemouth, and at Brancescumb, and at Columtune, and at Twyfyrd, and at Mylenburn, and at Exanmynster, and at Suthewyrth, and at Liwtune, and the lands that thereto belong, which are all that I in Weal district have, except Triconshire. p. 19. "And to Athelm, my brother's son, the manor at *Ealdingburn*, and at *Cumtune*, and at *Crundell*, and at *Beading*, and at *Beadinghamme*, and at *Burnham*, and at

Mr. Manning, in his notes, concludes to be either in Hants or Wilts, because most of the estates there bequeathed lay among the West Saxons, and none of the lands afterwards mentioned are farther west than Wiltshire. Manning here alludes to the bequests made to the king's younger son; but of the manors left to his nephews Æthelm and Athelwold, and to Osferth his cousin, *many* are in Sussex, and several in *East* Sussex, as Rotherfield, Ditchling, Sutton (in Seaford), Lullingminster (Lullington), and Beddingham. In truth, little or no regard is paid to counties in the arrangement of the bequests. There is therefore but slender ground for Mr. Manning's conclusion. We do not, indeed, know that Alfred possessed any other manor of this name, beside the one spoken of by Asser, and *that* he tells us was in *Sussex*. If the king had held more than one, it is likely more would have been mentioned in the Will; or, one only being named, that it would be so designated as to distinguish which he meant. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Dene of the Will is identical with the Dene in which Asser first saw Alfred, and which he describes as the king's "villa regia," in the county of Sussex.

But then Mr. Dallaway's reasons for thinking this to be East Dene, in the hundred of Singleton, can scarcely be looked upon as conclusive. The language used by Asser, in speaking of his journey—"I arrived, through great spaces of country, as far as the region of the Saxons on the right hand, which in Saxon is called Suthsex, some guides of the same people accompanying me,"—seems well to describe his long journey from the extremity of South Wales; but he would hardly require natives of Sussex for guides to conduct him to a Dene only a few miles over the borders of the county, though their services would be necessary to bring him to a remote village at the eastern extremity of the Southdowns.

Regarding this, therefore, as still an open question, I must

Thunresfield, and at Æscing. And to Athelwold, my brother's son, the manor at Godelming, and at Gyldeford, and at *Stening*. And to Osferth, my cousin, the manor at *Beccanlea*, and at *Rytherfield*, and at *Dicceling*, and at *Suthtune*, and at *Lullingminster*, and at *Angmering*, and at *Felham*, and the lands that thereto belong." In the above extract the places in Sussex are in Italics.

put in a modest plea on the part of *our* West Dean, for the honour of being considered a residence of the most illustrious among our Saxon monarchs. It may be premised, that “*villa regia*” means nothing more than “a country *village*, where the kings of England had a royal seat, and held the manor in their own demesne.” (Jacob in verb.) Beddingham, another property belonging to Alfred, left by him to Æthelm, his brother Ethelbert’s son (and only eight miles from West Dean), was so held, in the Confessor’s time, by his queen Editha;³ and there is nothing incredible in the hypothesis that West Dean itself might be in Alfred’s time a royal abode. It was held of the king “*pro manerio*,”⁴ under the Confessor; and we have it already in evidence, that a family of rank occupied it in the Norman period, and that it was visited by Edward I. Besides the ruins of the manor-house before mentioned, which show it to have been a large and handsome edifice, there are in a field declining to the south, and presenting one of the best sites in the village, foundations of great extent and solidity, and the whole surface of the ground exhibits manifest indications of large buildings at some remote period, of which the tradition is now entirely lost. It was in the immediate vicinity of the king’s other manors—Sutton, in the adjoining parish of Seaford; and Lullington, separated from it only by the small parish of Littlington;—places at the present day still more inconsiderable even than West Dean. The downs in this neighbourhood bear clear marks of having been frequented and cultivated in the earliest periods of our history. A residence in them is likely to have been desirable for the king in those troubled times, from their being difficult of access to an invading enemy, and abounding in strong positions for defence. The river Cuckmere, which now finds its way with difficulty into the sea in this parish, the mouth of its ancient harbour being blocked up by a bar of shingle, formed once, as is evident from inspection, an estuary, which flowed far inland to Alfriston, and extended up a side valley to the foot of the slope upon which the village and church of West Dean stand. Thus it was formerly accessible both by land and

³ Domesday, T. 1, f. 21, b.

⁴ “*Pro manerio*;” “from the French Manour, habitation, or from *manendo*, abiding, because the lord of it does usually reside there.” (Jacob.)

water. The very name of the town Alfriston, hard by, seems to savour of the king as its founder. In the absence of more cogent proofs these are sufficient, I think, to render it supposable that this sequestered spot is the DENE once dignified by the presence of the great Alfred.

Subsequent inquiry leads me to conclude that the family settled at West Dean was that of the Heringauds; for I find:

- A. D. 1081-7 . . — (1) *Ralph* holds of the Earl, in Dene, viii hides. (Domesday.)
- Temp. H. II; } — (2) *Ralph de Dene* (whom I take to be his son or grandson) founds
i. e. } “Ottenham” (in Hailsham), for monks of the order of Premontré; his
1154 to 1189. } daughter *Ela* marries *Jordan de Sackville*; and about A. D. 1200 *Ralph Heringod* (probably *Ela*’s father with the addition of his surname) and *Jordan de Saukvill* both give land to *Grestein*. (Tanner, p. 560, and Charter of *Grestein*.)
- 1200 to 1250. — (3) *Robert de Dene* (son of *Ralph* and brother of *Ela*), by his wife *Sibylla*, has *Ralph de Icklesham* and *Robert de Dene*; the daughter of the former, *Sibylla de Icklesham* (who seems to have been sole heiress), carries *Icklesham* (and it would appear *Dene* also) by marriage to *Nicolas Heringod*. (Authorities cited in *Horsfield*.)
- 1269 — (4) Their son *Ralph Heringod* obtains a charter of free warren for his manor of *Icklesham*. (Burrell MS. 5679.)
- 1296 — (5) *John Heringaud*, Villata de *Exetes* (in W. D. parish), is taxed 45s. 7½d. (Unpublished Subs? Roll, communicated by Mr. *Blaauw*.) This must be the man whom *Edw. I.* visited in 1305—for,
- 1302 to 1313 — (6) *John Heringaud* sits six times in parliament as knight of the shire for *Sussex*.
- 1333 — (7) *Henry de West Dene* is knight of the shire.
- 1340 — (8) *Thomas Heringaud* appears as a resident in W. D. in the *Nonæ Return*.

Upon the whole, it seems highly probable that the Heringods were all along possessors of both *Dene* and *Icklesham*; and that *Sibylla* the second married a cousin.

LEASE OF THE FREE CHAPEL OF MIDHURST,
IN 1514.

COMMUNICATED BY

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.S.A., &c. &c.

FROM MS. COTTON, CLAUD. E. VI, F. 141.

“ THIS Indenture made betwene S^r Thomas Docwra, Prior of Hospitall of Saint John Jerusalem in England, and his bredren Knightes of the same hospitall uppon that one partie, and Robt. Eybrisse, of Midhurst, in the countie of Sussex, yoman, uppon that othre partie, witnessith that the said prior and his bredren, by ther hole assent and auctorite of ther Chapitor have graunted and letten to ferme to the said Robert Eybrisse ther free chapell of Midhurst, in the countie aforesaid, with the oblacions of the same, a garden platt lying next to the same chapell, two medowes, ten crofts and felde, a wilde hethland, with a quyte rent of viijs. by yere, for tythes going out of ij. milles at Mydhurst aforesaid, which garden plat, ij. medowes, x. crofts and felde, wilde hethland and quite rent are belonging to the seid fre chapell aforesaid, woodes and under woodes except, and to the said prior and his successors already reserved : To have and to hold the forsaid fre chapell, oblacions, garden plat, ij. meadowes, x. croftes and felde, wilde hethland, and quite rent, to the forsaid Robert and to his assignes fro the fest of Seint Mighell tharchangell last past before the date herof unto thend and terme of xlj. yeres than next folowing, and fully to be ended. Yelding and paying therfor yerely, in the tresourye hous of Saint Johns besides London to the forsaid prior and his successors xxxiij. iiiij^d. sterling, at the festes of the Annunciacion of our Lady and of Seint Mighell tharchangell, by even portions ; and also bering and paying all maner of quite rentes, quinzymys and subsidies going out of the said fre chapell,

garden plat, medowes, croftes and felde, and wilde hethland, during the seid terme ; also, the said Robert and his assignes shall bere the costes of all maner of reparacions of the said fre chapell and paling of the same, and shall sufficiently close, hedge, and fence the said garden plat, meadowes, croftes and felde during the said terme ; and shal have, as ofte as nede shall require, doing no waste, tymbor, palebote, and hedgebote out of the said grounde for the reparacons aforesaid, during the said terme. Also, the seid Robert and his assignes shall fynde one honest preste to say masse in the seid free chapell, at iiij. festes every yere, during the seid terme, that is to say ; in the fest of Seint Thomas of Canturbery, in Cristemasse weke, in the fest of the Nativite of seint John Baptist, in the fest of the Translacion of seint Thomas of Canterbury, and in the fest of the Decollacion of seint John Baptist. Furthermore, the forsaid Robert confesseth, by thies presentes, that he hath in keping certen ornaments, to be occupied in the seid fre chapell, the parcelles wherof be writen particularly uppon the bak of this endenture. All whiche parcelles the said Robert and his assignes shall deliver to the seid prior and his successors at thende of the seid terme, for the use of the said fre chapell. And if it happen the forsaid yerely rent and ferme of xxxiiij^s iiij^d sterling to be behynde and not payed, in part or in the hole, after any terme of payment aforesaid, by the space of xl. daies, than it shalbe liefull to the said prior, and to his successors, to reentre into the forsaid free chapell, garden plat, croftes, and felde, with thappurtenances afore specified ; and all the same to enjoye, as in ther first astate, this present lease and endenture in any wisse notwithstanding. And to all and singler paymentes and covauntes afore specified in this endenture, which the said Robert Eybrisse and his assignes aght to performe and kepe wele and truely to be performed and kept, the said Robert Eybrisse byndeth him, his heires and executors, to the said prior, and to his successors, in ten markes sterling, by thies presentes.

“ In witnes wherof to that one part of theis endentures remanyng with the said Robert Eybrisse, the said prior and his bredren hath putt their common seall, and to that other part of the same endentures remanyng with the said prior, the said Robert Eybrisse hath putt his seall. Yeven in our

chapitor holden in our house of Saint John's of Clarkenwell, besides London, the xjth day of January, in the yere of our Lord God mcccccxiiij, the vi. yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viijth.

“ In capella de Midhurst. First, a litle chalesse, with the paten of silver, and gilt. Item, a fair table of Saynt Thomas of Canterbury, of alabaster. Item, a vestment of white silk, the gronde therof blak, the orfrayes grene and blak silk, with Albe, Amys, stole and fanon. Item, two stayned clothes of white for the alter, of dyvers ymages. Item, three alter clothes, two of dyaper and one playne. Item, a corporas caas of blak damask, with the clothe. Item, a fair superaltare of marbil. Item, a litle mas-booke, in secundo folio ‘ cibauit ex adipe,’ Item, an other mas-booke, in secundo folio ‘ et angelus.’ Item, two cruettes of tynne.”

ORDERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF JAMES I,
 TO THE SHERIFF AND JUSTICES OF SUSSEX,
 ON THE TOO GREAT CHEAPNESS OF CORN IN 1619, AND ITS DEARTH IN 1621.

COPIED FROM BURRELL MSS. 5702, ff. 262, 263.

BY W. H. B.

“AFTER our very hartly commendations, whereas the kingdom hath of late years, by the special blessing and favour of God, abounded with such plenty and store of corn, as that the price thereof is become so small and low, as tend greatly to the ympoverishing as well of the farmers as the owners of such land as consisteth of tillage and grain, in respect whereof complaints have been made unto us from divers parts of the realm, that many farmers have been forced, these two last precedent years, through the extraordinary cheapnes of corn, to leave their farms, and the owners to loose such benefit and profitts, as otherwise was to accrue unto them from the same; upon consideration whereof, forasmuch as it hath been always the care of the state to provide, as well to keep the price of corn in times of plenty at such reasonable rates as may afford incouragement and lyveliehood to the farmers and husbandmen, as to moderate the rates therof in times of scarcity for the relief of the poorer sort—His Majesty, in his high wisdom, finding it requisite that some expedient be thought of for remedy herein, hath commanded us to require you to confer and advise of some fitt place within that county, where a magazine may best be provided for the keeping and stoaring of some reasonable quantity of corn, according to the use and practise of all pollitick and well ordered states, at such rates and prices as may best serve, as well for the comfort and encouragement of the farmer now in the time of plenty, as for the relief of the country upon all occasions of scarcity;

the charge and stock wherof, as it must arise from the country by such ways and means as may best suit with conveniency, and as in your knowledge and experience shall be thought meet, so will the benefit be redoubled, to the general good of the same upon all occasions that may fall out; in regard wherof we doubt not of your best care and dilligence, and require you to acquaint the judges, at the next assizes, with your proceedings herein, that such farther order may be taken as shall be meet; and so we bid you hartely farewell.

Whitehall, this 26th of January, 1619.

“You shall understand that we have made the like addresses to all other counties of the realm.

Your very loving friends,

G. Cant. ¹	Fr. Verulam, Canc. ²	E. Worcester. ³
La. Winton. ⁴	T. Arundell. ⁵	G. Carew.
J. Digbie.	T. Edmondes.	Robert Naunton.
Fulke Greville.	Jul. Cæsar.	Lionell Cranfield.

To our very loving friends, the High Sheriff and Justices of Peace of the county of Sussex.”

[Sir John Howland was the sheriff of Sussex in 1619.]

Folio 263.—“After our harty commendations, the unseasonableness of the last summer, together with the sudden rising of the price of corn, and the scarcity which is found in many counties of the realm, hath made his Majesty to take into his princely consideration what course may best be taken for provision in that kind to be taken for the benefit and relief of his subjects, and to that purpose, his majesty’s pleasure is, and we do hereby, in his majesty’s name, will and require you (according to our like directions in this behalf to some other counties), that taking a perfect survey and information of the

¹ George Abbot, Archbishop.

² Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, Chancellor.

³ Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester.

⁴ Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester.

⁵ Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

stores in that county, you return certificate unto us with all expedition what provisions and stores of corn, as well old as that of the last year's growth, are now in the country; what quantity may well be spared out of the same, for furnishing of other parts of the kingdom, as need shall require, and what hopes and expectation you have of the next harvest; and so we bid you hartely farewell.

From Whitehall, the 4th of March, 1621.

Your loving friends,

G. Cant.	Jo. Lincolne, C. S. ⁶	L. Cranfield.
Lenox. ⁷	Arrundel and Surrey.	G. Carew.
J. Digbie.	H. Mandevill.	T. Edmonds.
Geo. Calvert.	C. Edmonds."	

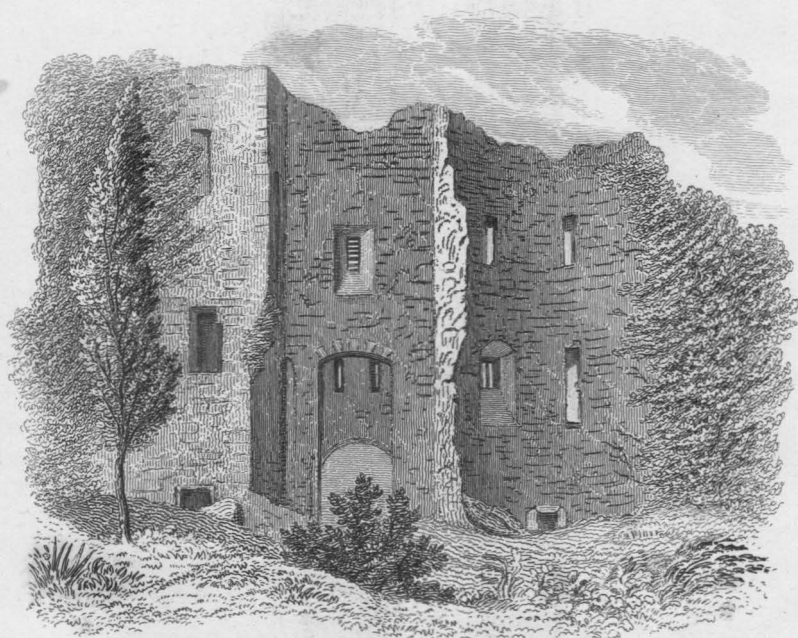
[Richard Michelborne was the sheriff of Sussex, 1620-21.]

⁶ John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the Lord Keeper (Custos Sigilli).

⁷ Lodovick, Duke of Lennox, afterwards Duke of Richmond.



THE CASTLE OF BELLENCOMBRE; FROM A SKETCH TAKEN IN 1832.



(INTERIOR.)

ON THE CASTLE OF BELLENCOMBRE,

THE ORIGINAL SEAT OF THE FAMILY OF DE WARRENNE, IN NORMANDY.

BY MR. M. A. LOWER.

(READ AT ARUNDEL, AUGUST 9, 1849.)



Ruins of Bellescombres, 1849.

THE interest in the early history of the De Warenne family, excited by the discovery of the remains of William de Warenne and Gundrada, at Lewes Priory, in 1845, led me, during a recent brief stay in Normandy, to visit the principal seat of that ancient race—the Castle of Bellescombres.

For this purpose I left La Chapelle, the château of M. de Breauté, member of the Institute of France, in company with M. l'Abbé Cochet, of Dieppe, our foreign associate, taking in our way the towns of Longueville and S. Victor, the former celebrated for its castle and abbey, built in the eleventh century by the Giffards, Earls of Buckingham, and the latter for its monastery, founded by William the Conqueror.

At the distance of a league and a half from S. Victor, at a place little known to the antiquary and rarely visited by the tourist, stand the remains of the habitation of the once potent De Warennes. A picturesque village of one broad street, consisting of irregular antique houses, chiefly constructed with wood, and flanking the humble *mairie*, constitutes the bourg of Bellescambre, which occupies a very agreeable and picturesque situation on the western side of the river *Varenne*. This river, which rises in, and gives name to, the neighbouring commune of Omonville-sur-Varenne, is now more generally known as the *rivière d'Arques*, because it passes the castle and town of Arques on its way to join the Bethune, which debouches a few miles northward at the haven of Dieppe. The town itself, in early times, bore the same name as the river, and from it the De Warennes took their surname. It was not until the graceful mound upon which the castle stands had been cast up, that the spot assumed another name, and was called *Bellescambre*, which, as Mr. Stapleton observes, may be literally translated *Bellus Cumulus*, "the fair mound or pile."¹ At the present day, Bellescambre is the *chef-lieu* of a canton in the *arrondissement* of Dieppe, containing a population of less than 1000 inhabitants.

The castle of Bellescambre recently belonged to M. Godard de Belbeuf, of the Château de Belbeuf, near Rouen, and previously to the Duchess de Fontaine-Martel, near Bulbec, *châtelaine* de Clères, who married the Duke de Bethune-Charrost. It is now in the hands of a small proprietor named M. Dillard.

It occupies the artificial mound alluded to, and is apparently about 100 feet above the river *Varenne*. A few massive walls of stone and brick, once a portion of the keep or donjon, constitute the whole of the existing remains. Nor will this excite surprise, when I state that the property was purchased by the present possessor for the sum of 10,000 francs, in the year 1835, for the express purpose of selling the materials; and so little ashamed is the old man of his sordid spoliation, that he told us, with an air of the utmost satisfaction, that he had, within the last ten years sold 18,000 feet of freestone,

¹ Vide *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 6.

procured by the demolition of the two entrance towers only. The height of these towers was about 50 feet. Unless some friendly influence should arrest the progress of destruction, in a few years more it will have to be said of Bellescambre—

“Etiam perierunt Ruinæ!”

In the middle of the donjon, according to M. Dillard's statement, stood a *Chapel*, no remains of which are now visible. The area, inclosed by the vallum and fosse, measures between two and three acres, and includes the parish church of St. Peter. Within the memory of man, a long flight of steps, extended from the warder's lodge to the keep; but this also has disappeared.

The accompanying etchings have been made from drawings taken on the spot in 1832, before the building was delivered over to the spoliating cupidity of M. Dillard. At that date it consisted chiefly of two lofty round towers, with machicolations; but the battlements had disappeared. Between the towers were a principal and a side gateway; and over these were two longitudinal openings, by means of which the drawbridge was raised. Internally the towers were square; but the inner walls of the left hand tower had been removed previously to 1832.

I need hardly state, that the present owner of Bellescambre Castle had never heard the name of a De Warenne!

Very little appears to be known of the history of the descent of this castle. That it was the *caput baroniae* of the Earls of Warenne is beyond question, although the Norman antiquaries and historians scarcely recognise the fact. Indeed, I was assured, by a very erudite archæologist, that the earliest record respecting it to be met with in Normandy was dated no earlier than the time of John *sans Terre*.² It is not, therefore, surprising that Dr. Watson, the English historian of the family, gives only two or three incidental notices of Bellescambre. It appears from Dugdale, that William de Warenne, the second earl, with Isabel, alias Elizabeth, his wife, gave to the church of All Saints, at Bellescambre, and the infirm brethren there serving God, all his arable lands at S. Martin's, probably part

² M. Leprevost, however, in his notes to the 'Roman de Rou,' speaking of the De Warennes, says: "Ils possédaient dans notre province, entre autres domaines, la terre et le Château de Bellescambre." (ROMAN DE ROU, p. 241.)

of the ancient paternal estate of the family. The brethren thus referred to were the constituents of a hospital of lepers, founded here in early times. Isabel, Countess de Warenne,³ likewise, in the year 1135, gave to these lepers the sum of one hundred shillings, arising out of the borough of Lewes.⁴

William, fourth Earl of Warenne, by accord between King Stephen and Henry Duke of Normandy, resigned certain rights, on condition that Reginald de Warenne (son of William the second Earl) should, if he thought fit, have the custody of the castles of Bellencombre and Mortimer, giving hostages to the duke for the same, until Henry should become king of England.⁵

On the separation of England and Normandy, the connexion of the De Warennes with Bellencombre ceased. The castle, however, remained as a fortress till a much later date. In the parish church (which exhibits very evident traces of the style known among us as that pertaining to the Norman period, and which was probably erected by one of the early earls) is an incised slab, with an inscription which shows that the governorship of the castle was an office existing so lately as the year 1519. It is to the following effect :

“ Beneath lie the viscera and intestines of the late noble and puissant Lord, Monsieur James de Moy, in his lifetime Chevalier, Baron of Moy, and hereditary Castellan of this land, lordship, and castelry of Bellencombre. His heart and body are buried in the collegiate church of Moy. He died on Sunday, the 12th of February, in the year of grace 1519.”⁶

³ In the MS. book of deeds relating to Lewes Priory (Vespas. F. xv, in Br. Mus.) the name of William de Bellencombre twice occurs, as a witness to confirmatory charters of Countess Isabella, together with Reginald de Warenne, William his son, Oddo priest of Roger de Warenne, &c. (f. 31, 35.)

⁴ Dugd. Mon. Watson's Memoirs of the Earls of W.

⁵ Chr. Nor. 993. Holinshed's Chron. Watson.

⁶ “ Cy dessous reposant les visceres et intestines de feu noble et puissant Seigneur Monsieur Jacques de Moy, en son vivant Chevalier Baron du dict lieu de Moy, et Chastellain hereditaire de ceste terre sieurie et chastellenge de Bellencombre. Cœur et corps duquel est inhume en l'eglise Collegial du dict lieu de Moy : il trespassa le dynece xij. jour de Fevrier, l'an de grace mil cinq ans dix neuf.”

Under the inscription are the arms of Moy: Gules, fretty or, of 6 pieces—a coat which, according to D'Eschavannes' 'Armorial Universel,' was borne by a family of this name in Picardy.

At a still later period the castle must have been in a habitable state, as pieces of marble moulding, not older than the 17th century, are to be found among the rubbish. About six years since an oblong slab, of black marble, inscribed with the following lines, was found in the garden. It is certainly of the same period.

“ MON . HONNEUR . ET . MA . VIE
 SONT . DEVX . LOTS . DE . MON . BIEN .
 QVAND . L'UNE . M'EST . RAVIE .
 L'AUTRE . NE . M'EST . PLUS . RIEN .”

I inquired of M. Dillard if any other articles had been found, and he stated that about two years since his wife had picked up a silver ring and an antique spur, both of which she had sold. Many tiles of medieval date had also been found. The greater part of them were taken from a corridor in the castle, and are now laid down in the kitchen of the old man's cottage.

I was fortunate enough to procure one relic of extremely interesting character, for which this modern Baron of Bellescambre demanded the moderate sum of two francs, and the sale of which seemed to him a very satisfactory transaction. It is a bronze *wyvern*—in the opinion of M. l'Abbé Cochet, of the 13th century. The wyvern or two-legged dragon was the crest or rather badge of the De Warenne family; and the article in question bears a striking general resemblance to some drawings of it made in the time of Henry VII, and engraved at page 13, vol. i, of Watson. The only material difference between them is, that the latter have expanded checquy wings, while in my bronze figure the wings are *close*, and very slightly relieved from the back. I may mention that Alice, Countess of Warenne, and consort of John, the seventh earl, was buried in Lewes Priory, in 1290, before the high altar, under a marble tomb, whereon was sculptured a *wyvern*, or *heraldric dragon*, with a branch in its mouth. The coincidence may be accidental, but it is certainly highly curious, and deserving of further consideration.

These few facts, however meagre they may appear, are all that I was enabled to glean regarding this once-important and interesting spot. I trust, however, that their relation to Sussex history, and their connection with a distinguished race, represented at this time by the noble proprietor of Arundel, will render them acceptable to the members of a Society which may truly be said to have been called into existence by the discovery of the bones of William de Warenne and Gundrada.



Church of Belencombe.

LETTERS TO RALPH DE NEVILL,

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER (1222-24), AND CHANCELLOR TO KING HENRY III.

FROM THE TOWER MSS.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ.

(READ AT MEETINGS IN 1848 AND 1849.)

THE invaluable stores of our national Records, the soundest materials of English history, have been often augmented in old times by the exercise of royal power in seizing the private papers of some fallen statesman, or some conspicuous offender; and though the examination of such documents may now prove that they might have been safely left in the owner's possession, yet we may, in these later times, gladly accept their aid in illustration of the social state and manners of a remote period. It is probably owing to some such seizure that the following, hitherto unpublished, letters are now found among the MSS. of the Tower of London.

Although Ralph de Nevill, the Bishop of Chichester, to whom they are addressed, was a man of great eminence both in church and state, yet no political secrets are revealed and no treason whispered in them; but as they include perhaps the earliest familiar details extant relating to the management of a landed estate, we may be able to glean from them some interesting particulars of the agriculture and condition of Sussex in the thirteenth century.

Matthew Paris, who must have been personally acquainted with Ralph de Nevill, sketches his character in glowing colours, as "an unshaken column of truth, who dispensed to every one, especially to the poor, his rights justly and without delay;" but, on the other hand, he has been denounced by the noble biographer of the Chancellors as an intriguer and an extortioner. Although the connection of Ralph with the great family of Nova

Villa or Nevill is not traced by Dugdale in his *Baronage*, nor by Mr. Rowland in his *folio History of the Nevills*, yet there can be no doubt of it: he appears to have been born at Raby, co. Durham, and Hugh, the head of the family, addressed many letters to him as to a kinsman, which are still extant among these MSS.; and as Hugh steadily adhered to King John during his troubles, it was probably by his influence, as well as by his own study of the law, that Ralph advanced. Many preferments were heaped upon him in those days of pluralities, including Hambleden and Ludgershall, co. Bucks, and Ingham, co. Lincoln, all within the diocese of Lincoln, as well as Edmundthorpe, afterwards referred to, and Stratton; and in April, 1214, he became Dean of Lichfield.

The gratitude of Ralph de Nevill towards his early patron, King John, was shown by his afterwards building a chapel outside Chichester, and establishing two chaplains to pray there for the soul of that king. Early in the reign of Henry III, about 1219, he was employed in the office of the Close Rolls, in conjunction with the king's treasurer, and also appears to have exercised much authority in the Chancery, either as a principal clerk, or an appointed deputy to Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, who had been chancellor from 1212, and in this capacity he acted some years. There was a prevalent feeling at the time that judges should be irremovable, in order to support their independence, and it was not till 1222 that Marisco, at length yielding to insults and importunities, resigned his office. His letter of reproof to Ralph de Nevill, who had written to him without giving him the title of Chancellor, by which, as he observes, even the pope and cardinals had addressed him, is among these MSS.; but having been published by Lord Campbell (vol. i, p. 128), is not here repeated. Ralph de Nevill having at length received the great seal, as chancellor, in 1222, he is said by some to have advised the king to annul *Magna Charta*, and to have raised money by extortion. He had held the dignity of Dean of Lichfield, as we have seen, and he was also Chancellor of Chichester before he became bishop of that diocese, Nov. 1222, his consecration taking place at Easter, 1224, for the feast on which occasion Henry III gave him four casks of Gascon wine and twelve bucks. He appears to have attended the king in 1223, in the

wars on the Welsh borders, and to have fled with him, stripped of everything, after being there defeated.

A life tenure of his office, as chancellor, was secured to him by the king's grant, on Feb. 11, 1227; and in May, 1234, the Chancery of Ireland was also intrusted to him, on similar terms. His character stood so high, that on the death of Archbishop Wetherstead, Aug. 3, 1231, Ralph de Nevill was elected his successor by the monks of Canterbury, although his confirmation was refused by the Pope, on account of his active and uncompromising spirit, according to Matthew Paris. He remained therefore Bishop of Chichester, but in 1237 was unexpectedly elected Bishop of Winchester, much to the displeasure of the king, who wanted the see for a relation of his own, and called all those who had voted for Nevill "fools." Ralph de Nevill of his own accord declined this honour, but he refused to resign his civil office on the demand of the court, in this imitating his predecessor, who had so long tried his own patience by keeping him out of power. When the king therefore in his anger compelled him, in 1238, reluctantly to give up the great seal, at Winchester, and the duties of his office, and banished him from court, he retained in his retirement both the title and the emoluments of chancellor. It was apparently on this occasion that the collection of the following letters fell into the king's hands, as they appear to be all anterior to these circumstances. He was replaced in power in 1242, by his friend Hubert de Burgh, and continued chancellor till death lawfully terminated his long tenure of dignity, on Feb. 1, 1244, in his noble palace, on the spot now occupied by Lincoln's Inn. Matthew Paris, his contemporary, says he was "conspicuously liberal to his church," and the beautiful spire of his cathedral is said to have been begun by him.

Most of the letters being written in a plain, business-like manner, there will be no risk of losing any beauties of diction by translating them from Latin to English, introducing a few specimens of the Latin style, and quoting the original words also where any doubtful or remarkable phrases occur likely to interest the curious reader. It may be observed that the numbers prefixed merely indicate their casual arrangement at the Tower, but have no reference at all to their date, very few indeed furnishing evidence of the exact time when they were written.

There are a few letters among the collection, three, indeed, written by Ralph de Nevill himself, which refer to a period before he had attained to his highest dignities; the following urgent request for venison, however, proves him to have been then a rising man, though directed to him only as "Master" (magistrò). It must have been written therefore before 1214, when he became Dean of Lichfield; but he may have been already acting as the unwelcome deputy of the chancellor. T. de Hoyland was probably a Yorkshireman; but how he was connected with Lincoln does not appear.

383. "*To his dearest companion, Ralph de Nevill, Master, Thomas de Hoiland, greeting, and the affection of sincere love.*— It is reported to me, that you, being established in great power, and fully obtaining the favour of your Lord (Domini vestri gratiam plene obtinentes), are able easily, out of the abundance of venison, to satisfy your friend in need of such a thing; we scholars indeed, dwelling at Lincoln (nos quidem scolares Lincolniam moram facientes), neither find venison meats to be sold (nec carnes venatorias emendas nec largitorem comperimus), nor do we find any one to give it us; I supplicate therefore earnestly your liberality, on which I fully rely, by my friend, the bearer of this, that as it may not be troublesome to you to succour me with as much of this kind as you please, so it would be glorious to me, if I should be able by your bounty to set before my companions dwelling with me (commorantibus mecum sociis), among other things to be set on the table, such as are so rare among us; and if perchance you should not be able to satisfy my petition at present, which heaven forbid, (quod absit) arrange if you please so that within a certain period to be notified to my messenger, I may have one beast (unam habeam bestiam), from some one of our friends. Farewell."

Several letters address Ralph de Nevill as Dean of Lichfield, and belong therefore to the period between 1214 and 1222. It is evident that he then transacted much of the chancery business. Among these, one letter (No. 639), from Hubert de Burgh the justiciary, consults him as to a treaty with the papal legate; another (No. 644), from Peter, bishop

of Winchester, is about legal proceedings of the sheriff of Devonshire; another (No. 387), about a writ of attainder, is written by Hugh de Nevill, as "to his dearest friend and kinsman" (consanguineo suo).

The three familiar letters, written at this time by Ralph de Nevill himself to his man of business, display him actively employed in procuring a horse promised him, borrowing money because he was out of cash, providing reluctantly for the services of his parish church of Thorp, and laying in a store of dried fish, wax-candles, and a cloak. That he farmed attentively now, as afterwards when bishop, seems indicated by his wanting iron and steel for his ploughs, and his looking forward to the grinding his own corn. Geoffry le Sauvage, probably the dean's correspondent and agent at Thorp, became a justiciary in 1222, married Matilda, daughter of Hugh le Despenser, and died 1230. (Foss's Judges, ii, p. 464.) From the mention of the fair of St. Edmund, it is clear that, though there are numerous parishes named Thorpe in various counties, the dean's rectory was Edmundthorpe,¹ otherwise called Meringthorp, or Edmerethorp, on the eastern border of Leicestershire, in the gift of the crown.

384. "*Ralph de Nevill, Dean of Lichefield*, to his beloved and faithful Geoffry Salvage, greeting.—Know that Henry de Ver has promised me a palfrey, which he will cause to be bought at the fair of St. Edmund (in nundinis S. Edmundi), and I order you therefore to search out his arrival at the fair with every sort of diligence, with whom if you shall be able to find him, agree about this matter efficiently, and receive the palfrey, and transmit it to me, taking care that I may have my monies at the appointed periods, advancing my other matters of business which I have enjoined you and committed to you, that I may be grateful to you. Farewell."

385.² "*Ralph de Nevill, Dean of Lichefield*, to the faithful Geoffry Salvage, greeting.—Returning you thanks for your

¹ In Nichol's Leicestershire, this name is erroneously conjectured to have arisen from the grant made, in 1266, to Edmund Earl of Lancaster.

² 385. "Rad: Nevill Decanus de Lichefeld, fideli G. Salvage, salutem. Grates vobis referendo de diligencia vestra apposita circa expeditionem negociorum meorum, vobis significo quod, quia non sum valde nummosus, scripsi celerio et sacriste S^{ci} Edmundi

diligence applied in the dispatch of my business, I signify to you that, because I am not very full of cash, I have written to the cellarer and to the sacristan of St. Edmund, that one of them should accommodate me with 40*s.*, to be delivered to you for the dispatching of those matters of my business which do not admit of delay, and do you receive that money, if possible, from one of these, and buy pigs therewith; and since I dare not contradict your commands, I send you a writ of "Pone," for the use of your kinsman; besides which my chaplain of Thorp, who is at Thorp, has requested me to grant to my parishioners, for the use of my church of Thorp, which is not a little in need of them, and I am willing that you should deliver them to him. He has also informed me, that you, on my behalf, have granted to him alterage to the value of three marcs, and two marcs a year to be received at the time of grinding my wheat, and since that agreement is a fair one, because it cannot be done otherwise, I am content that it should be so done, and that you hold to that agreement with him. Farewell."

There appear to be some clerical errors and omissions in the original Latin of the above letter, which leaves in doubt what his Thorp parishioners had asked for. It seems clear, however, that he had no ready money, and therefore begrudged appointing "alterage," that is to say, provision for the support of divine service, arising from offerings at the altar or otherwise, and only submits to it as a bad bargain. There was then a vicar or curate in common to the two adjoining rectories of Edmundthorpe and Wymondham, and with him this unwilling agreement was apparently made. The cool promise of a king's writ to serve his friend's kinsman is worth noting. The writ of "Pone" authorised the removal of a cause depending in an inferior to a higher court.

quod alter illorum accommodet mihi xl solidos vobis tradendos negocia mea expedienda que dilacionem non capiunt, et vos, si fieri potest, denarios illos de altero illorum recipiatis, et porcos inde ematis, et quoniam non sum ausus contradicere mandatis vestris mitto vobis literam de pone ad opus cognati vestri; preterea rogavit me capellanus meus de Thorp, qui est apud Thorp, concederem parochianis meis ad opus ecclesie mee de Thorp, que non modice inde indiget, et volo quod eas ei liberetis, preterea mandavit mihi quod vos ex parte mea concessistis ei Alteragium pro tribus marcis, et duos marcas per annum, recipiendos tempore triturationis bladi mei, et licet convencio ista honesta sit ex quo aliter fieri non potest, placet mihi quod ita fiat, et vos convencionem istam ei teneatis. Valet."

386. This letter marks his anxiety to secure a sufficient stock of winter food, often a subject of care and difficulty in old times. The dean, wrapped up in his "grey cloak," might superintend the putting iron and steel to his ploughs. The price of wheat in 1237, according to Fleetwood's *Chr. Prec.*, was 3*s.* 4*d.* a quarter.

"*Ralph de Nevill, Dean of Lichefield*, to his faithful Geoffry Salvage, greeting.—That you have sold my wheat from Thorp for 22 marcs (£14 13*s.* 4*d.*), as you have informed me, because it could not be sold for a higher price, I am content that it should be so sold. About your purchases also, concerning which you wished to inform me, I commend your prudence, requesting that you so manage my affairs, that I may thank you; know that I have spoken with Sir Richard Duket, that he shall let me have 5000 herrings and 200 wax candles, and a grey cloak, and iron and steel for my ploughs; and therefore I order you, that, as soon as you can, you go to him, and agree with him about all these things. Be mindful of the herring which the prior of Nuwic gave me, namely, 5000, in order to receive which it behoves you to be at Nuwic either the third day before the feast of St. Martin, or the third day after the feast of St. Martin; about the other herring which you know of, I leave the whole to your discretion. Farewell. I have quite lost the letters of Abraham de Cruetzford, of the tenor of which I am entirely ignorant. Farewell."³

³ 386. "R. de Nevill, Decanus Lichefeldensis fidei suo G. Salvage, salutem. Quod bladam meum de Thorp vendidistis, pro xxii marcis sicut mihi mandastis ex quo pro majori precio vendi non potuit, placet mihi quod ita vendatur. de perquisitis eciam vestris de quibus me certificari voluistis prudentiam vestram commendo, rogans quatinus agendis meis intendatis, quod grates vobis sciam; sciatis quod locutus sum cum Domino Ricardo Duket, quod faciet mihi habere quinque millia allecis, et ce cere et unam penulam debisis et de ferro et asero ad carrucas meas, et ideo vobis mando quod quam cito poteritis ad eum accedatis, et de hiis omnibus eum conveniatis. mementote de allece quem Prior Nuwicensis mihi dedit, scilicet quinque millia, ad quem recipiendum oportet quod sitis apud Nuwic vel tertio die ante festum S^{ti} Martini vel tercia die post festum S^{ti} Martin; de alio allece quod scitis totum relinquo discretioni vestre. valet. literas Abrahe de Cruetzford deperdidit, quarum tenorem penitus ignoro. Valet."

Bisis is the latinized form of the French word Bisse, biche, a deer, and the phrase has been translated "deerskin," but it probably here means "grey," from bis, Fr. bisus, bisius.

This Priory of Black Canons of St. Augustine was at Newark, near Guildford, in Surrey; the gift of herrings was perhaps a return for some favour.

The letter No. 662, though the manuscript is imperfect, must have been written by Hugh de Nevill in 1222, when Ralph de Nevill was just elected Bishop of Chichester, it being thus addressed:—

“ *To his kinsman, Ralph, by the grace of God elect of Chichester, Hugh...greeting, with sincere love.— . . . since you are my chief refuge . . . to you as to my kinsman I send, entreating earnestly*” (He then excuses himself from attending to a summons in person, on account of his bodily weakness, and complaining of the great expense to which he is put on being called upon to provide knights for his fiefs, declares he cannot afford it at present, “without great burden, since I am not in cash, as I think you well know (sine magno gravamine cum non sim nummosus sicut bene nostis ut credo).”

There are two other Nevills who correspond with the bishop. N. de Nevill was probably Nicholas, a brother of Robert, the justiciary, who died 1219. His letters (913, 914, 915) report the king's movements at Jersey and elsewhere abroad. G. de Nevill, chamberlain, salutes Ralph as a relation (consanguineo) 308, 368, 749, and he may have been the Geoffry de Nevill who was a justiciary in 1270, brother of Robert of Raby. (Foss's Judges, ii, p. 420.)

The recommendation of an army surgeon by a chief justice to the bishop is a curious example of the secular business he was often engaged in. As Martin de Pateshull was chief justice of the Common Pleas from 1216 to 1230, the letter must have been written between 1222 and 1230.

304. “ *To the Reverend Father in Christ Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his M. de Pateshull, greeting and due reverence.—Since, in the siege of castles, physicians are necessary, and especially they who know how to cure wounds (in obsidione castrorum necessarii sunt medici et maxime vulnera curare scientes), there comes to the army of our lord the king, by my advice, Master Thomas, the bearer of this, whom I have known to be skilful in such knowledge, and I entreat on his behalf, that if you please, you will be willing to consider him commended, and that you will make*

known his skill to those who shall need his assistance (*qui ejus auxilio indigebunt*). May your paternity fare well and long."

The disturbances caused on the frontiers of Wales by Prince Llewellyn were a source of disquiet to the bishop, to whom are directed accounts of the truce made with the Welsh prince, and of his disposition to break it, and of the fortification of Brecknock (Nos. 775-777), an appointment being made for the bishop to meet Llewellyn near Shrewsbury, to arrange peace. One of the letters (770) authentically chronicles the ignominious fate of a great lord connected with Sussex. William de Braose had, in 1218, been put into possession of his hereditary property by his father, Reginald, and after some border wars was seized by Llewellyn, while a bidden guest at an Easter feast, on suspicion of too great intimacy with his wife. Dugdale (*Baron*, i, 419) leaves the manner of his death uncertain ("some say he was hanged"), and is followed by Banks (*Dorm. Bar.* i, 43); but Matthew Paris (anno 1230) accurately reports that "he was hung on a gibbet in the month of April," and the following letter, though the MS. is much defaced, from a contemporary witness near the spot, describes the execution to have been ostentatiously public, as if to correct any rumours of secret murder. The readiness of the Welch to see Braose hanged partook of a revengeful remembrance of the treachery by which many of their own chiefs had been slaughtered by Philip de Braose, in 1176 and 1198, and the frequent civil wars on their borders. "Crokin," the scene of this "spectacle," was perhaps Crwccas, near Brecon, or Crug Hywel (Crickhowell), or Crugcorney, near Bergavenny, where the Braoses had large possessions. The place where W. de Braose was buried is still known as Cae Gwylm ddu, or Black William's Field. There is much reason, however, to think that the lady implicated had no concern in his death. She was a natural daughter of King John, and, having been the wife of Llewellyn for nearly thirty years, her charms may fairly be supposed then somewhat faded, and moreover her husband, after her death six years later, built a monastery at Llanfoes over her tomb, and in the next generation intermarriage took place between his family and the Braoses. (*Vide Th. Jones's Brecknock*, i, 64-131.

The Cistercian Abbot of Vaudey, founded 1147, in the parish of Edenham, Lincolnshire, was probably the sender of the Lincolnshire sheep into Sussex, mentioned afterwards, in 673, 678.

770. “*To the most Reverend Father and most loving Lord Ralph, by the grace of God the venerable Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of the Lord King, brother N., called Abbot of Vaudey (de Valle Dei) greeting, and his whole self (salutem et se totum) . . . (de domino W. de Braus quicquam dicatur) anything be said of Sir William de Braus, know for certain that on the morrow (April 30) of the apostles Philip and James, at a certain manor which is called Crokin, he was hanged on a certain tree (in arbore quadam), nor that secretly or by night, but publicly and in full day, 800 men, and more than that, being called together to this miserable and lamentable spectacle, and more men being summoned (convocatis), and those especially to whom Sir William de Braus and his sons were odious on account of the death of their ancestors, or some other sort of grievance inflicted on them. Farewell. (propter progenitorum suorum necem aut alterius modi illatam molestiam erant infesti).*”

It was probably during these Welsh wars that the bishop was earnestly entreated, by a letter from Evin Vechain, to procure the release of his son from prison (No. 307).

The preceding letters, though not belonging to the history of Sussex, yet have been introduced, as relating to the early life of so distinguished a bishop of Chichester, and as affording some genuine traits of the pursuits and occupations of ecclesiastics in remote times. The succeeding series of letters relate mostly to Sussex, and the greater number of them are written apparently from or near Aldingeburne, by the bishop's Sussex seneschal or steward, Simon de Senliz, a zealous, shrewd, and somewhat crafty man of business, who seems not only to have familiarly reported the state of the farms, and the lawsuits, but also ecclesiastical offences. Of four generations bearing the same name, the first, Simon de Santo Licio, was a noble Norman at the Conquest, and his fourth descendant married a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. The letter-writer speaks of his own brother (No. 679) as also named Simon. We find this faith-

ful agent in high trust long after the bishop's death, having been appointed by the king to try offences in co. Bucks, in the year 1265, as appears in a MS. letter, 431.

667. After sending some pigs to the bishop, and promising more, S. de Senliz proposes buying oxen in Gloucestershire, because he hears they are cheap there. According to an inquisition made on some lands in Somersetshire in 1254, oxen are valued at 5*s.*, 6*s.*, 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 8*s.*, cows at 4*s.* or 5*s.*, wethers at 9*d.*, ewes 9*d.*, hoggets 5*d.*, and lambs at 3*d.* (Ad. de Domerham, ed. Hearne, v. i.)

“ *To his Reverend and excellent Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his faithful servant, Simon de Senliz, greeting, and faithful service.—I send you now 19 pigs, from your manor at Aldingeburn, and, as soon as the pigs of your other manors shall be fat, I will send them to you. Signify to me, if you please, if Thomas of Cirencester (Cirencestrie) has sent to you any message about procuring oxen, and if he shall not have done so, let me know; also whether you wish that I should buy any oxen in those parts, and how many you wish I should buy, since intelligence has been given me of a certain fair in those parts, in which good oxen are often sold at a reasonable rate. Let me know, if you please, about these and other matters, your good will and pleasure, by the bearer of this.—May my lord fare well.*”

668. The Archdeacon of Lewes, whose death is speculated upon in the following letter, must have been Eustace de Lene-land, whose last year of office being in 1226, the date is thereby limited. A good bargain and the necessity of foxhounds are equally urged upon the bishop's attention. The bishop seems to have inclosed some land at Watersfield (a tything in Cold Waltham parish), over which his neighbours claim right of common, and a lawsuit is threatened, against which the king's writ must be sent.

“ *To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his devoted Simon de Senliz, greeting, and both devoted and due obedience and reverence in all things.—E.,*

the Archdeacon of Lewes, has informed me that he had a conference with you at London, about granting a lease of the church of Aldingeburne (super ecclesia de Aldingeburne ponnenda ad firmam), at this instant time of autumn for 30 marcs (£20), to be paid him ready money, once for all (pre manibus simul et semel). Though you will be able safely to receive, in like manner, if you please, according to the sale of the wheat that there is now, yet as they cannot assure us about the future year, on this account I am incapable of advising your excellency (excellentie vestre consulere pessume possumus); but if he should be willing to lease out the said church for less price than 30 marcs, do not omit to take it, considering above all, that if the same archdeacon should be dead before the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, he will receive nothing in the next future autumn from the produce (de fructibus nichil percipiet), wherefore it must necessarily be considered that it would turn to your advantage and profit. Send me, lord, the letters of the king (litteras Domini regis) about the business of Sir William Dawtrey (de Alta Ripa) and Sir Hugh Sansaver (Hugonis sine averio), claiming to have common (clamans habere communem) with you in your land of Watresfield, since they hold nothing of you, and do no service to you to entitle them to have common with you: but they are prompt in procuring a Writ of Novel Disseisin, in order to throw down your fence (breve de nova disseisina ad sternendum fossatum) at Watresfield, whence it is necessary for you that the aforesaid letters should come. Be pleased to consider, if you please, about dogs fit to catch foxes in your park of Aldingeburne, since the star for taking them is now passing by (sidus capiendi illos jam præterit). Deign to signify to me your good pleasure, if you please, about these matters and others which may concern you in Sussex . . . know however . . . for certain that your business . . . (*MS. imperfect*) . . . goes on in due course (ordinate). May your holiness always fare well in the Lord."

In the next letter a most extraordinary instance of clerical immorality occurs in the vicar of Mundeham (a small parish to the south of Chichester, which had been given to the priory of Boxgrove), and his plea of having the Pope's dispensation for having two wives is disbelieved even in Sussex. The mar-

riage of the secular clergy was not unfrequent at this period, though prohibited by the decrees of popes and councils, but the claim of a priest to have two wives at once, as in this instance, is probably unparalleled. The foxes are again complained of, as doing damage in the park of Aldingburn.

669. (*MS. defective.*) "*Simon de Senliz to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester*, (salutation as in 668).—Know, lord, that on my departure from London, as in oats sufficient for sowing at Totehal, as I believed, but it was afterwards signified . . . less was sown than was expected, wherefore if you count on coming to London shortly, signify . . . I will provide, God willing, sufficiency for sowing both at Totehal and elsewhere, lest your letter, which God forbid, by default . . . you will provide for yourself sufficiently in this matter . . . a certain chaplain, William Dens by name, vicar of the church of Mundeham, has two wives, as it is said, of whom one is resident at Chichester; which William indeed brought forward letters of licence from the high pontiff, as he said, but in these Sussex parts as well as in England (*it is believed*), that never did those letters emanate from the conscience of our lord the Pope, but were obtained contrary to the statutes of the general council (quidam capellanus Willelmus Dens nomine, vicarius ecclesie de Mundeham duas habet uxores ut dicitur quarum una est residens apud Cicestriam, qui quidem W. litteras detulit a summo pontifice ut dixit, set in partibus Sussex quam in Anglia (*creditur*) quod nunquam littere ille a consciencia Domini Pape eminaverunt, sed contra statuta concilii generalis fuerant impetrate); wherefore, if it please your holiness, signify what you shall have decided to be notified to your official (officio vestro) on this matter: above all things taking care, if you please, to send some man with dogs fit to catch foxes (canibus aptis ad vulpes capiendos) in your park of Aldyngeburn, who do us there much damage, and this shortly, since the star for taking them has passed away (sidus transiit ad illos capiendos): deign to inform me, lord, if you please, of your condition, since I much desire to hear the certainty of your safety and prosperity; know for certain that I will show myself vigilant about your business, both in Sussex and elsewhere. May your holiness fare well in the Lord."

670. (*MS. imperfect.*) The bishop being expected in Sussex, preparations are made by laying in provisions. A boundary line between Aldingburn and Hamptonett (Little Hampton) should be drawn. The cruelty of the bailiffs of William de Albini, the Earl of Arundel, is reported as obliging weekly resort to law for redress. The forest of Houghton was one of the oldest possessions of the see of Chichester, but as the Earls of Arundel claimed to have a distinct manor within it, constant disputes arose, and probably it is to these the letter refers. The precentor of Wells, William de Hammes (Hamsey?), who held that office from 1217 to 1247, is a man to be guarded against.

“ To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his devoted Simon de Senliz, greeting, and submission in all things equally devoted and due.—Concerning each of the articles (de singulis) which can be found in your bishopric, and were in my custody, I will make such provision, by the grace of God, by the term appointed me by you, that neither you nor yours in this particular shall find anything wanting to your advantage and honour by my slight or negligence; not retrenching this from your memory (a memoria non recidendo), if you please, that wines ought to be brought through the manors of your bishopric, by the help and . . . of your people (quod vina per auxilium et . . . m vestrorum per maneria episcopatus vestri venire oporteat), against your arrival, and although you will have a sufficiency of malt (bracium) ready in each of your manors, I will not have any of it ground or brewed (nihil faciam molire vel braciare) until I shall receive some command from you, in case of accidental events; and upon these and other matters I shall be glad to have a conference and discussion with you about the middle of Lent, if it should please you and can be done. From my sickness by which I was oppressed, by the favour of God, I am fully recovered, rendering you manifold thanks that it pleased you to know and to hear of my convalescence; humbly assuming the burden of the office of your Stewardship (suscipiendo honus seneschalcie vestre), until you shall provide better for yourself, that is, at your arrival in the Sussex country (in parte Suxess); know besides, lord, that the names

of the knights are Richard Lovel,⁴ Thomas de Argentun, between whom on the one side and you on the other, a boundary (divisa) ought to be made in your manor of Aldingeburn and their manor of Hamptonett, and nothing has yet been done, nor has the sheriff of Sussex even satisfied me in anything, as he promised you in London, when three days for doing it were appointed him, the bailiffs (ballivi) of the Earl, the Lord Earl of Arundell, behave themselves cruelly towards your church of Chichester and your tenants (adversum ecclesiam vestram Cicestrensem et tenentes vestros crudeliter se habent), nor do they choose to act more mildly on account of any threatening of your official (officialis vestri); wherefore, for the defence of the poor tenants and of your people, it behoves me and your servants almost every week to resort to the hundred court of the earl (hundredum comitis adire). There is not in your bishopric either a rich or a poor man, who, for the sake of love and reverence to you, can offer more honour to your people (non est dives neque pauper qui vestris maximum pretendant honorem nisi), than Ralph de Bonewull and his associates, who keep the hundred court of the Earl of Arundell. Take good care, if you please, lest the precentor of Wells should circumvent you in anything, because he has devised to do certain things in your bishopric, which might turn out to your loss, which I will more fully expound to you by word of mouth, God permitting. Farewell."

671. The vigilant steward prompts his master how to make the best bargain with a lady, if she should apply to him as to her claim in Beause, which perhaps was Beaubush, an inclosed park in St. Leonard's Forest.

"*To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of our Lord the King, his devoted Simon de Senliz greeting, and with the greatest reverence due, and devoted service (famulatum) in all things.—I think your excellency well knows that John de Bayllo ought to hold (debet tenere) of you a fief of three knights in your manor of Beause; but it was seized indeed into your hand for default of the service (per defectum servicii) belonging to*

⁴ In the earliest Roll of Arms extant, 1240-5, published by Sir H. Nicolas, appears "Richard Lovell, d'or ung lion d'azure rampant."

you in the said manor, and is still in your hand. From whom the Lady Sybilla, wife of Sir Richard de Cumbes, held a fief of one knight for her life, in the way of dower, and is now gone the way of all flesh; in which fief Sybilla, wife of Sir Nicholas Haringod, claims an hereditary right for him (sibi), as it is said, even in those parts, that he (ipse) is the nearest heir of that tenement; nevertheless I have caused it to be seized in your hand for the aforesaid reason, nor will do anything henceforth without your special order. Wherefore, if the Lady Sybilla, wife of the said Nicholas Haringod, should by chance come to you, about to speak to you on these premises, I advise that you should talk with her, in order to have the said land by lease (ad firmam), or by some other method, if it can be done, since it is adjacent to your land in Beause, and, as I hope, will tend to your advantage, if you should be able to have it some way or other (aliquatenus), since this land, together with your own land of Beause, would be able to support 500 sheep at pasture; but however, that you be more assured what the said land is worth, know that there is there one ploughland in domain (una carucata in dominio), and 46^s in fixed rent (in redditu assiso). Besides this, Lord, know that I have summoned the men of Burn about the Aid (auxilium) which they ought to have paid with you (solvere debebant vobiscum) at the feast of St. Michael now past, concerning which they would not answer me, but all with one voice said, that you have entirely remitted the said aid to them. What however on these premises or other matters your discretion may wish or feel, deign to write me back word, if you please. May the Lord preserve you for long time (per tempora longa).”

672. The following letter is highly characteristic of the adroit steward, who wished the bishop to earn all the honours of hospitality without its cost. The Archbishop thus mocked with friendly invitation was either Richard Wethershed (1229-34), and S. de Senliz may not have wished to meet him, or it may have been his successor Edmund, after the bishop's abortive nomination to the primacy. Another attempt to entrap the Archbishop into an incautious agreement will be seen in No. 278, to which the present letter is probably subsequent,

and he reports him, in 674, as having given him "a shallow and feeble answer" about a disputed claim to common. S. de Senliz also urges an immediate application for a vacant canonry at Hastings, and asks for a writ to hunt out a runaway liegeman.

672. "*To his Reverend Lord, Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester*, his devoted Simon de Senliz greeting, and both devoted and due obedience and reverence in all things.—I am informed that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, about this coming Lent, will come to Malling, and will go in one day from Slindon as far as his manor of Terringes, on the morrow, being about to come to your manor of Preston,⁵ and to tarry there for one night; but he will provide himself there out of his own means, and wishes to accept nothing of yours; wherefore, if you please, it would be well that you should write to him, that he should reside there at your cost, since I know well that he by no means wishes it, but yet it shall be to your honour, although he will by no means accept of yours. If you please, I will pay attention to him, so that it shall turn to your advantage and honour; and you may know for certain that as long as he has sojourned at Slindon, attention was paid him competently in presents from your manors of Aldingeburn and Amberle. Besides these matters, send me, lord, if you please, a writ of our Lord the King to search after William le Weite, your native and fugitive. I am also informed that Fulco de Echingeham, canon of Hastings, has died, so that, if you think fit, be pleased to write in favour of one of your clerks, to Sir Symon de Echingeham, his brother, to whose presentation the prebend belongs, as he says, since he is your friend as I believe. Upon these and other matters deign to signify your pleasure to me. May your holiness for ever prosper in the Lord."⁶

⁵ The bishop had obtained the grant of a market at Preston, June 28, 1226.

⁶ 672. "Reverendo domino suo Radulpho Dei gracia Cycestrensi Episcopo devotus suus Simon de Senliz, salutem, et tam devotam quam debitam in omnibus obedientiam.—Datur mihi intelligi quod Dominus Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus circiter hanc instantem quadragessimam venturus est apud Mallinges, et ibit una die de Slindon usque ad manerium suum de Terringes, in crastino venturus ad manerium vestrum de Preston, et ibidem moram facturus per unam noctem, sed ex suo proprio ibidem se ipse exhibebit, et nichil de vestro vult accipere, unde, si placet, bene esset ut scriberetis ei, ut ibidem residereret super custum vestrum, quoniam bene scio quod nullo modo vult, sed tamen ad vestrum cedet honorem, etsi nullo modo de vestro vult accipere. si placet, faciam ei regardum, ita quod

679. The bishop being expected in London, fuel, lamb's fur, &c., are got ready for him. Some sheep from Vaudey are wanted, and it is a proof that Sussex sheep were either bad or scarce, to have made it worth while to send for them from so distant a country as Lincolnshire; and it is agreeable for modern farmers to contrast such a state with the renown of their own Southdown breed. A supply of beef for the bishop's London larder is wanted; some wheat too, when ground in Hertfordshire, was to be sent up for his use.

“ To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of our Lord the King, his devoted Simon de Senliz, greeting, and with the greatest reverence due and devoted service (famulatum) in all things.—Know, most dear Lord, that I have been in London, where, to the best of my powers, I have laboured, and made provision that you should there have a sufficiency of good wine (the MS. is faint, and the word uncertain, whether vinum or frumentum), and wood for burning (ligna ad comburendum, braciandum et forniandum); and by the grace of God, all your affairs, both at Westmeln and elsewhere, go on duly and prosperously. I have provided that you have lamb's fur (fururam agnorum) in sufficiency, as I think, against the winter, for the use of your household. Moreover, my lord, please to think about procuring sheep (de multonibus perquirendis) at the Abbey of Vaudey, or elsewhere, and sending them to Sussex. Speak also to Sir Robert de Laxington about having oxen for your larder (ad lardarium vestrum), in London. Deign to inform me, if you please, the certainty about your condition and your arrival in London, inasmuch as I consider your advice and handling necessary for your affairs. If you should think it fit,

ad vestrum cedet commodum et honorem, et sciatis pro certo quod quamdiu moram fecit in Slindon, competenter factum fuit ei regardum in exenniis de maneriis vestris de Aldingeburn et Amberle. preter hec, Domine, si placet, mittatis mihi breve Domini Regis ad perquirendum Willelmum le Weite, nativum et fugitivum vestrum. datur etiam mihi intelligi quod fulco de Echingham canonicus de Hastings diem clausit extremum, unde, si videtis expedire, scribere velitis pro uno de clericis vestris Domino Symoni de Echingham fratri suo, ad cujus collacionem spectat prebenda, ut dicit, quoniam amicus vester est, ut credo. super hiis et aliis bene placitum vestrum significare dignemini. Valeat sanctitas vestra semper in Domino.”

lord, I recommend (laudo) that a part of the old wheat at Westmūn should be ground, and sent to London against your arrival. I will employ myself, both in Sussex and elsewhere, vigilantly. I send to the feet of your holiness, my brother Simon,⁷ as you have directed. May your holiness always fare well in the Lord."

673. An inquisition of the land of John de Nevill, who was perhaps a deceased tenant of the bishop, is set on foot. The audit now approaches, and occupies much of the steward's time, but he proposes many new arrangements about the tenants. The dearth of good Sussex shepherds is marked by his keeping one from Lincolnshire, and another from Gloucestershire, as he does on another occasion (686) also from Worcestershire; the Broyle of Chichester is bringing into cultivation from its rough state; the difficulty of sending up venison to London, because the carts are wanted for the sowing season, is noted.

What a careful attention the bishop paid to the success of his farming, appears strongly marked by the account of his stock, kept by him. "Inventory (carta) of the implements in stock of the bishopric of Chichester, for ever, in the whole of his manors, not to be diminished or removed at the will of any one whosoever, namely, 150 oxen for the ploughs, 100 cows, 100 bulls, 3150 sheep, 120 goats, 6 he-goats, and 10 horses for the ploughs." (Regist. Rede MS., in Dallaway's Chichester.) He was however far outdone by his contemporary Michael de Ambresbury, abbot of Glastonbury, who, on his resignation, in 1252, "left the abbey free from debt, his lands excellently cultivated, and this stock: oxen 892, which make 111½ ploughs in all (*at 8 oxen each*), farm horses 60, colts 23, cows 233, bulls 19, bullocks 153, steers 26, calves of the last year 126; wethers 1630, ewes 2611, rams 32, lambs and hoggreles 1162, lambs of last year 1276: sum of all the sheep, in the whole, 6711; pigs, 327." (Adam de Domerham, de Reb. Glast. p. 522.)

"To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God

⁷ There are other instances of this period where two brothers have the same Christian name.

Bishop of Chichester, his devoted Simon de Senliz, greeting, and both devoted and due obedience and reverence in all things.—On the Monday next before the Feast of St. Michael, I received your letters at Bueause, which you transmitted to me first, that I might inquire about the land (ut inquirerem de terra) of John de Nevill, knight, and immediately after the receipt of these letters I sent on to make the inquiry (ad inquisitionem faciendam), according to the tenor of your command (mandatum), since I was not able then, in my own person, to give attention to it, inasmuch as your sir official (dominus officialis vester) and I are employed, and are diligent about auditing the account of your manors, but as soon as the inquisition of that land shall have been made, which will be shortly, I will transmit to you that inquisition, distinctly and openly reduced to writing. I retain in Sussex the friar of Vaudey (de Valle dei) until I shall have held the audit, inasmuch as I have proposed to keep sheep (bidentes), in your hands, on your manors, and therefore I keep back the friar, in order that the sheep may more advisedly and usefully be provided for through him. Know, besides, lord, that, after auditing the account of Roger de Hertford, I will, if you please, commit the custody of your manor of Bissopestone to Henry, a serving-man of Burn, and chiefly on account of the sheep (bidentes), which I keep in your hands, because I think that the said Henry will manage, in such like business, well and competently, and also will, if you please, be able easily to keep (custodire) the manor of Burn, together with the manor of Bissopestone, and easier than Burn and Buxle (*Beaxhill?*), on account of the crossing over the water of Pevenesell, and then some one else will be able to keep (custodire) the manor of Buxle without a horse. To Richard, whom Thomas de Cirencester sent you, I have delivered the manor of Preston to keep, because, as I believe, he knows how to manage about keeping sheep, and I will take care that your Broyle (Brullius vester) at Chichester shall in the meanwhile be well treated, and advanced to the proper state (bene tractabitur et ad statum debitum produceretur). I also wish it not to be concealed from your excellency, that Master R(*eginald*), your official (officialis), and I will be at Aldingeburn on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Fides (*Oct. 6*) to make the boundary there

between the Lord of Canterbury and you ; and, if it please you, your long cart (*longa caretta*) might easily come to Aldingeburn on that day, in which I will forward to you in London venison taken in your parks, and other provision (*aliam warnisturam*), and also the cloth bought for the use of the poor, as much as you shall like, three hundred ells of which I bought at Winchester fair, since the above things cannot be forwarded at present by your small carts (*per caretas vestras parvas*) from the manors, on account of the time for sowing, which is at hand. Among other things, know that the crops on your manors are safely and usefully gathered in for your advantage, and are deposited in barns (*in horrea deponuntur*), and all your other affairs go on well, by the grace of God, and are duly carried on, and for this I will diligently labour with all my strength. As soon as your sir official (*dominus officialis vester*) and I shall have made the round of your manors (*transitum fecerimus per maneria vestra*) for auditing accounts, we will come to you wherever you please. May your excellency ever flourish in the Lord."

674. S. de Senliz is engaged with the purchase of Depemarsh for the bishop from R. de Aguillon. This consisted of 313 acres of land, called Depemarsh or New Broyle, as being contiguous to the Broyle near Chichester. It derived its name from *bruillum*, a heath, and seems at this time to have been principally woodland. This tract of land is always termed the Chichester Broyl, to distinguish it from another broyle in Ringmer, belonging to the archbishop. R. de Aguillon, the vender, was probably of the same family as Nicholas Aguillon, dean of Chichester, 1210-15, and William Aguillon, who held three knights' fees of the honor of Arundel, about this time. The dispute with the abbot of Seez about his claim to common is arranged. This Norman abbey of Benedictines had the right of Free Warren in Little Hampton, and also held lands in Eastergate, now forming the prebend of Gates, with lands in Aldingburne and Birdham. The bailiff of the abbey dwelt at Bailies Court, as it is still called, on their manor of Atherington, in Little Hampton ; and the steward reports, that he has bought up the crops of the next harvest, and has been erecting oxsheds, and bringing land into cultivation at the Broyle. The

archbishop has given a shallow answer about his claim to common : is any venison to be sent up ?

“ *To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of the Lord King, his devoted Simon de Senliz greeting, and with the utmost devotion, due obedience, and service.*—Do not take it ill that I did not come to you before your departure ; I wish, indeed, I could come to you quicker, to hold council, and to treat of your innumerable affairs. But I staid in Sussex, because a day had been appointed Sir R. Aguillon⁸ at Arundel, the Thursday next after the feast of St. Peter ad vincula (*Aug. 1*), that on that day he might give you such security (*immunitatem*) as he could for the wood and the land which is called Depemers, who indeed caused his own deed (*chartam*) to be made for you, the transcript of which I send you under this form, namely, that the said R. has demised to you and your successors, and has quitclaimed for ever, for himself and his heirs, all his right and claim which he had or could have in the land and wood called Depemers : wherefore, if you shall see that that form is sufficient and expedient, it pleases me well ; but if otherwise, cause another form to be made which you ought to have, and transmit it to me ; since I have by me letters patent (*penes me patentes*) of the said R., that he will give all manner of security (*omnimodam securitatem faciet*) to you, according as you shall see what ought to be done, and to do so has sworn before prudent and discreet men named for the purpose. But I asked him at the time to deliver to me the deed (*cartam*) of those from whom the right and claim descended (*descendit*) to him, but he answered, that (he had) no deed, which makes mention of Depemers separately ; but it makes mention of Depemers conjointly with certain land adjacent to Depemers, which the said R. holds in his own hand, so that the said land is conjoined in one and the same deed with the wood (*bosco*) of Depemers. But I asked him to let you have the deed of the heir from whom the right descended, which makes mention separately of Depemers ; he answered, that he could by no means do so, and thus I left him. What, however, your discretion may wish and feel on this matter, write back your pleasure by the bearer of this. But I will tarry in the parts near London,

⁸ “ Robert Agulon, de goules ov ung fleur de lis d’argent.” (*Roll of Arms, 1240-45.*)

either at Westmeln (*Westmill, co. Herts*), or at Burneham and elsewhere, waiting for your pleasure and command. Know for certain that I have met the lord abbot of Seez in the presence of Master R(*eginald*) your official (*officialis*) and Daniel your clerk, about this, that he claims for himself common, where he is not entitled to have any. At length, by the consent of the said abbot and his bailiffs (*ballivorum*), we have provided an agreement (*formam*), competent and reasonable, as well as useful to you as we think, by which is appeased the contest and discord between you and Sir W. Marescall, about common which he claims for himself. Know moreover that I have bought for your use, of Sir Hugh de Nevill, all his autumn crops from his manor of Stokes (*near Arundel*), with the produce of the gardens, for £15, of which I have paid him in ready money £10, and he will receive 100*s.* on the coming feast of St. Michael. Among other things, know that I am causing to be raised a certain ox-shed (*facio levare quendam bovariam*), in the Chichester Broile, in a good and fitting situation, which will contain 100 feet in length, and will be constructed within these next eight days, and I carry on the assarting and fallowing vigorously (*facio essartare et waretare efficaciter*)⁹ in the same Broile; and by the grace of God all your affairs, both in Broyle and elsewhere, on your manors, duly, and properly, and orderly, are handled and advance. Let me know too, if you please, whether I am to take venison in your parks, and how much by the feast of St. Michael. As to the pasture which the men of our Lord of Canterbury claim for themselves in your manor of Aldingeburne, I have spoken with the Lord of Canterbury himself, whose answer was shallow and feeble (*cujus responsio tenuis fuit et debilis*); wherefore, if you please, get ready our lord the king's writ to appoint an attorney, so that I may be your attorney to make the boundary (*ad faciendam divisam*) between him and you. I beseech your excellency not to be angry because William the Fowler (*le oisellur*) did not come to you, inasmuch as he holds the place of collecting wheat at Horton, and let me know in what part he should come to you, and I will send him to you as soon as I shall come into the

⁹ To *assart* is to bring forest land into arable or pasture; *waretare* is to prepare the land by ploughing, or perhaps by a fallow.

Sussex country. I should know more certainly and more openly how to carry on your affairs, if I could have a conference with you; and while I am near London, let me know, if you please, if I must come to you, since, while I am nigh, I could easily transfer myself to you. May your excellency prosper in the Lord."

675. The difficulties about the title deeds of Deepmarsh are again adverted to. The bishop's chaplain at Westmill (co. Hertford) is in very bad repute with his parishioners, and his manner of life not to be endured. 100 pigs are sent for pannage to a forest of Hugh de Neville.

The same to the same (as in 668).—"As I have written to you elsewhere, I have met Sir R. Aguillon, that he may give you indemnity (immunitatem) about Depemers, who caused his own deed (cartam) to be made, in which he quitclaims all that he has had or could have in Depemers, the transcript of which deed I have sent you; but I asked him to let you have the deed of the heir from whom the right has descended: he said that he had none which made mention of Depemers separately, nor will he let you have any from the heir, which makes mention of Depemers separately; wherefore it seems to me, that, saving your peace, you have not sent me in your letters the certainty what I am to do about it, since I have with me the letters patent (litteras patentes) of R. himself, together with a deed of quitclaim,¹⁰ in which (in quibus continetur) is contained, as I have otherwise told you, that he will give you every manner of security (securitatem) about Depemers, which he ought to give. Wherefore it is not needful, nor is it so well fitting between us in my absence, that I should retain in my possession at once both the deed of quitclaim and his letters patent about giving you security, because I firmly promised him to deliver up to him on my next arrival

¹⁰ No. 1081. "Know present and future, that I, Reginald Aguillon, have released and quitclaimed, for me and my heirs for ever, all the right and claim which I or my heirs have, or ought to have, by the donation or grant of Nicholas, son of Robert, son and heir of Julian de la Wade, in the woodland, which is called Depmersh, in Broyle, outside Chichester, to the venerable father Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, and chancellor of the lord king, and to his successors, as the deed of quitclaim which I have made to Sir William St. John, marks out and testifies; in testimony of which, &c."

his deed or his letters patent. The deed, however, which you in your letters which you have forwarded to me call common, he will give up to no one's custody, as it makes mention of a certain land, which he holds in demesne together with Depemers; but if you shall think that it would be sufficient to dispatch the form of the deed, whose transcript I sent you, I am well pleased, but if not, I advise that the deed itself be given back to R. himself, and that you retain the letters patent, until sufficient satisfaction shall have been given you for the indemnity which he is bound to give. About that which I reported to you concerning the abbot of Seez, you have sent me nothing certain, except that you approve of the treaty with him: wherefore, if you approve of my arrangement, write to the lord the abbot, that you ratify the arrangement which I may make with him, and if you please let me know what manner of security I may accept from him, which will hold good with the arrangement made. Know also that H., your chaplain of Westmulne, is evil spoken of greatly in his parish, both by the elders and the younger; for they charge upon him many things which do not become a chaplain, saying that they can in no manner endure such things as they see and consider about him (*ceterum sciatis quod H. capellanus vester de Westmulne multum diffamatur in parochia sua tam a majoribus quam a minoribus. Imponunt enim ei multa que non decent capellanum, dicentes se ea que de eo vident et perpendunt nullo modo posse sustinere*); wherefore, if you please, take counsel on this, informing me if he ought to be removed from thence, or stay there longer, and this speedily if you please, since, as you well know, the time of retaining or removing chaplains is at hand.¹¹ Ask Sir Hugh de Nevill, if you please, to write to his forester (*forestario*) of Wauberg, that he may receive 100 pigs to pannage (*in personam*) which T., your bailiff of Westmulne, will send on to him on your behalf. At the departure of this I am at Westmulne, and I shall immediately begin to journey towards Sussex, as you have directed me, where, by God's help, I will

¹¹ This seems to imply that chaplains were engaged by the year only, probably ending at Michaelmas. Five marcs a year (*3l. 6s. 8d.*) had been fixed by Archbishop Langton as the minimum for a perpetual vicar, but a rector might engage a curate with a stipend of 40s. Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester, raised this in 1289 to five marcs as a minimum in his diocese.

apply diligence about your affairs being taken care of and put in order. May your excellency farewell in the Lord.”

676. The buying and sending iron from Gloucestershire to Winchester is remarkable, and is referred to at p. 177 of vol. II of *Suss. Arch. Collections*. The abbot of Gloucester, who was to forward on the iron, was Henry Foliot about this time. The vacant vicarage of Walberton, near Arundel, which had been given to the priory of Boxgrave by W. de St. John, in the twelfth century, is asked for on behalf of the bishop's clerk Philip.

From the same to the same (as in 668).—“I have looked into the letters of Sir H. de Kynard directed to you, which I transmit to you, informing your holiness that he misunderstood (male intellexit) your order about buying iron, writing to you that he was to buy 10 marcs worth of one sort and 100s. worth of another; wherefore, since the said H. has misunderstood your order, be pleased to write to him, that he is to procure you 10 marcs of small iron (de minuto ferro) if it can be found, but if not, then 5 marcs of the large (de grosso), and 5 marcs of the small iron, and that he must have it carried to Gloucester. Write also, if you please, to the lord abbot of Gloucester, that he may have it carried on to Winchester, to the house of your host (ad domum hospitis vestri),¹² which can be easily done, and without expense. I lay affectionate entreaties at the feet of your holiness, humbly and most devoutly supplicating your excellency that for charity's sake (caritatis intuitu), and at my instance and petition, you will be pleased to write to the lord prior of Boxgrave, that he, at your instance, may confer upon your clerk Philip a certain small vicarage, now vacant, at Wauburton, which belongs to his donation, if you have not already intreated him for some other clerk; for I well understand, that he will most willingly attend to your request. Deign, my lord, to inform me of your pleasure as to your condition, since I very much delight to hear the certainty of your safety and prosperity. Moreover Sir H. de Kynard advises you that the iron should be freighted (sit cariatandum) at Bristoll, and not at Gloucester; but if it

¹² Perhaps the house usually occupied by the chancellor, when in attendance on the king at Winchester.

agrees with your pleasure, I advise you that it should be brought to Gloucester, inasmuch as it will be able to be carried to Winchester more easily, and at less expense to your advantage. May your holiness always fare well in the Lord."

677. The preceding letter as to Walberton was effective, and is backed up by another, sending Master Philip himself to thank the bishop.

From the same to the same (as in 668.)—"I send to the feet of your holiness your clerk Philip, bearer of this, returning to your excellency manifold thanks upon bended knees, that by your favour you have been pleased to request the lord-prior of Boxgrave about the vicarage of Wauburton. I hope, indeed, that the said prior will assent to your petition, if you would confer with him; which Philip indeed will inform you, by word of mouth, about your business in Sussex, and on that account I send you no other letters at present, and the said Philip will personally explain to you your affairs. May your holiness always fare well in the Lord."

678. *From the same to the same*, relates to an inquisition, according to the king's writ having been delayed; probably the same to which the archbishop's letter 268 refers; but the MS. is defaced, and nearly illegible.

680. Two horses brought up from Sussex are sold to a London mercer for £10, because their keep in London is so expensive. In a MS. extant of the Priory of Sele, near Bramber, in 1324-5 (Add. MSS. 6164, f. 342), the value of horses and other farming stock then found there is thus stated: "A palfrey of the prior, 25s. 8d.; horse for a knight (equus pro armigero), 1 marc; 3 cart horses at 5s. each; 2 plough horses (affri) 6s. 8d.; 4 pack horses (jumenta) at 6s.; 1 male foal, 2s.; 17 oxen at 12s.; 1 bull, 5s.; 2 cows at 10s.; 2 young oxen at 6s. 8d.; 3 bullocks at 4s.; 6 calves at 2s.; 14 sheep (multones) at 2s.; 60 hoggrels at 10d.; boar, 4s.; 20 swine at 3s.; 4 sows at 2s.; 14 young pigs at 14d., and 25 at 6d. each; 2 carts hooped with iron (carete ferro ligate), 10s.; 2 ploughs with apparatus, 4s." It appears, therefore, that the

bishop's horses must have been good ones to fetch so good a price as they did.

S. de S. to R. de N. (as in 668.)—"Know that I have agreed with Wat de Froille, your serving-man at Burneham, that he should go to Boulton, and tarry there, to take charge of those things which belong to you, who answers me that he will conform to your will in this particular with a willing mind; wherefore it is advisable that he or some other should go to Bolton with haste. But I have spoken with Geoffrey of London, the mercer, that he may buy two horses, which I have had brought up from Sussex, who offered me for them 15 marcs (£10), and no more, so that if you please that they should be so sold, it is expedient that they should be sold soon, since it is heavy and burdensome to keep horses (*grave et honerosum est sustentare equos*) in London. What, however, your discretion may feel on these and other matters, deign to inform me, if you please, by letter. At the departure of this I am at Burneham. (*MS. imperfect*). Then I am going to proceed to Stamford for the same reason. May your excellency always fare well in the Lord."

682. S. de Senliz has bought 12 acres of good timber in the Broyle at 40*s.* per acre, a good bargain; wheat crop abundant, and got in dry; 2 carts employed in marling at Selsey, as the marl found there is said to be the best. If more carts are advisable, 12 mares should be borrowed for them, as horses sell as dear as gold in Sussex. A wardship would be convenient, and, indeed, in those times the profits arising from rich wards were always eagerly coveted at court. In the Peterborough Chronicle, lately published by the Camden Society, Bishop Ralph appears to have received from the abbot a grant of the wardship of the lands of Brian de la Mare, after a suit concerning it had been decided in the abbey's favour by Hugh de Nevill, the Forester, a transaction rather suspicious; and on the king confirming the charters of the abbey in 1227, 28 marcs (£16 13*s.* 4*d.*) were given to Bishop Ralph, "ad opus Cancellarii." Marling goes on at Watresfield, where the new windmill works well. On the question of this marl at Selsey, the great Sussex geologist, Dr. G. A. Mantell, has kindly favoured me with the following remarks: "I am not

aware that the true chalk marl, or *malm*, as it is provincially termed in West Sussex, is any way visible near Selsey; but as the tertiary strata that conceal the fundamental chalk rocks of that part of the country are of variable thickness, it is possible the chalk marl may protrude in some locality not now observed, on or near the bishop's farm; in which case 'marla optima' would be a very proper designation. Otherwise, as Selsey lies between Bognor and Bracklesham, in both which places marls and clays occur, belonging to the tertiary deposits of the London and Hampshire basins, as they are geologically termed, it is possible that some argillaceous stratum may have been met with at no great depth from the surface that furnished the marl in question."

The St. Johns in this part of the country had been great benefactors to Boxgrave Priory, and were a family of importance whose names frequently occur in the old documents of Sussex history.

From the same to the same (as in 671.)—"Know, Lord, that I have bought for your use 12 acres of timber in the Chichester Broyl from Sir H. de St. John, of the best timber at my choice, 40s. for each acre, by the counsel of your freemen and liegemen, who assert firmly that each acre is worth four marcs (£2. 13s. 4d.), and I well believe that W. de St. John will give us some from his own timber in the said Broyl. I wish you also not to be ignorant that the wheat in each of your manors in your diocese is well and plentifully gathering in for your benefit, and is being safely deposited in your granaries without any flood of rain. There will be nothing left to gather on the morrow of the Beheading of Blessed John the Baptist (*Aug. 29*). By the grace of God all your affairs proceed prosperously in Sussex, and I will strive with all my strength that they shall not proceed otherwise. I am using marl at Selsey with 2 carts, as it is said that the marl found there is the best; wherefore if you should see it to be advisable that I should use marl with more carts, I advise you should procure from Sir Godescall, or elsewhere, 12 mares to draw in the carts, inasmuch as it is expedient for you to procure them in those parts, because they are as dear as gold in Sussex. Be pleased, lord, to speak with the lord the king,

that he may commit to you the wardship of the land of Sir Amauri de Croun, until the full age of the heir, since I could then conveniently provide to your advantage for your manors in stock and other business. In like manner I am using marl at Watresfield with 5 carts, and I much hope that it will result to your advantage; the windmill also there is ready and well fitted up, and it grinds. Sir W. de St. John answers me kindly that he will with a willing mind fulfil your wish and good pleasure about the business, concerning which I should have a conference with him, as you directed me, and as elsewhere I have informed you. Upon the aforesaid and other matters deign to signify to me your pleasure. I desire also concerning your condition and safety to be assured. May the Lord preserve you for long time."¹³

681. The steward reports that eleven horses, sent by the bishop, had arrived safe; his barns are full, and the harvest abundant; that he is sawing and carrying timber from the Broyle, and wants somebody to help him in the Michaelmas audit.

¹³ 682. "Reverendo domino suo R. gratia Dei Cicestrensi episcopo Domini Regis Cancellario devotus suus Simon de Senliz salutem, et tam devotum quam debitum in omnibus famulatum.—Sciatis, Domine quod ad opus vestrum emi xii. acres de meheremio in Bruillo Cicestrensi de Domino Willelmo de Sancto Johanne, de meliori meheremio in electione mea, quamlibet acram pro xl^s, et hoc de consilio liberorum et legalium hominum vestrorum, qui firmiter asserunt quod quelibet acra valet iv. marcas, et bene credo quod Willelmus de S. Johanne dabit nobis aliquantum de meheremio suo in dicto Bruillo. Nolo etiam vos latere, quod bladum in singulis maneriis vestris in episcopatu vestro bene et fructuose ad commodum vestrum colligitur, et absque pluvie inundacione in horrea vestra salvo deponitur. Nihil ex eo erit ad colligendum in crastino decollationis Beati Johannis Batiste. (Aug. 29), gratia Dei singula negocia vestra prospere procedunt in Sussex, et laborabo pro viribus ne aliter procedant. Marlare facio apud Seleseiam cum duabus carretis, quoniam ut dicitur marla ibi inventa optima est, unde si videritis expedire ut marlare faciam cum pluribus carretis, consulo ut perquiratis de Domino Godescall vel alibi xii. equas ad trahendum in carretis, quoniam expedit vobis, ut in partibus illis illas perquiratis, quoniam ut aurum emantur in Sussex. Loquimini si placet, Domine, cum Domino Rege, ut committat vobis custodiam terre Domini Amouri de Croun, usque ad plenam etatem heredis, quoniam tunc commode possem ad utilitatem vestram maneriis providere de instauro et de aliis negociis. Similiter marlare facio apud Watresfeld cum v. caretis, et bene spero quod cedet ad utilitatem vestram. Molendinum etiam ad ventum ibidem promptum est et bene paratum et molit. Dominus Willelmus de S. Johanne benigne michi respondet quod animo libenti voluntatem vestram et beneplacitum de negotio, de quo colloquium haberem cum eo, sicut michi precipistis, et sicut alias vobis significavi, adimplebit. Super predictis et aliis voluntatem vestram michi significare dignemini. Desidero etiam de statu vestro et incolumitate certitudinem audire. Dominus conservet vos per tempora longa."

S. de S. to R. de N. (as in 668).—“ Know, lord, that on the Sunday next after the Nativity of the Blessed Mary (*Jan. 1*), I received, at Aldingeburn, by the hands of Robert Blund, Willam de Araz, and your messenger, Bruwer, eleven horses, which you forwarded there, and by the grace of God they came there safely. Your barns on your manors are competently filled with the crops, and I well understand that in many manors you have more sheaves this year than you had in the year gone by. I am occupied in sowing on most of your manors, and in carrying the timber from the Broyle of Chichester, bought from Sir W. de Saint John, as far as your residence at Chichester. Moreover, lord, I urgently beseech your excellency to inform me, if you please, before the day of St. Michael, who should audit the account of your reeves in Sussex, in conjunction with me, for I do not calculate that Master Reginald de Winton,¹⁴ your official, will be able to attend constantly to that business, and even now the feast of St. Michael is at hand, the season for auditing the account. What therefore upon this and your other business in your diocese, your discretion may please and feel, deign to intimate to me, if you please, since immediately after auditing the account I will come to you in London, unless previously, by your command, I should go elsewhere. By the grace of God, all your affairs in Sussex go on and are treated duly; and for this I labour with all my power, as I know that you wish it; deign to write to me your good pleasure upon the aforesaid and other things. May the Most High preserve, for long time, your life and safety.”¹⁵

¹⁴ He was archdeacon of Lewes in 1227 and in 1239.

¹⁵ 681. “ Reverendo Domino suo Radulpho gratia Dei Cicestrie Episcopo, Domini Regis Cancellario devotus suus Simon de Senliz salutem, et tam devotam quam debitam obedientiam et reverentiam. Sciatis, Domine, quod die Dominica proxima post nativitatem Beate Marie recepi apud Aldingeburn per manus Roberti Blund, Willelmi de Araz et Bruwer nuncii vestri, xi. equos quos illuc transmisistis, et gratia Dei salvo venerunt. Horrea vestra in maneriis vestris competenter frugibus sunt impleta, et bene intelligo quod in pluribus maneriis plures habetis garbas hoc anno quam anno preterito habuistis. seminare facio in plerisque maneriis vestris et cariare mererium de Bruyllo Cycestrensi, empto a Domino Willelmo de Sancto Johanne, usque in curiam vestram de Cycestrie. ad hec Domine, rogo excellentiam vestram attentius, ut si placet significetis mihi ante diem S. Michaelis quis debeat una mecum audire comptotum de prepositis vestris in Sussex, quoniam non puto quod magister Reginaldus de Wynton officialis vester possit illi negotio vacare continue et nunc festum S. Michaelis instat, tempus comptotus audiendi. Igitur

683. An agreement is in progress between Sir W. de St. John and W. de Goodwood. Marling with twelve carts at Aldingeburn. Fish cannot well be sent up from Sussex to London, unless the bishop sends his sumpters on purpose.

S. de S. to R. de N. (as in 671).—"Your excellency should know that I have conferred with Sir W. de St. John upon the business which was intrusted to me by you, who kindly answers me that he will most readily assent to your will in this particular, as soon as he shall have had an interview with you. But the same Sir William, according to the agreement begun and arranged between you and him in London concerning the business of William de Godewewd, has appointed a day for the said William at Boxgrave, on the Thursday next after the feast of S. Andrew (*Nov.* 30), in order that there, in presence of the Lord Dean of Chichester, and your official and me, peace should be restored between them, if possible; and I will strive for this to the best of my power, with the greatest diligence. I also wish you not to be unaware (*nolo vos latere*) that on the morrow of the blessed virgin Catherine (*Nov.* 25) twelve carts were ready for marling in your manor at Aldingeburn. I also beseech you, dearest lord, that, if you should judge it necessary that fish should be forwarded with certainty from Sussex to you in London, you will cause to be sent some of your sumpter-horses (*aliquos de summariis vestris*) in Sussex, since otherwise fish will not be able, without great difficulty, to be transmitted to you. Deign to signify to me, if you please, the assurance of your arrival in these Sussex parts, contrary to present arrangements (*contra ordines*), knowing for certain, that if it can anyhow be done, your arrival in these parts would be necessary. Upon the premises, and other matters, deign to signify your pleasure to me, if you please. May your excellency always fare well in the Lord."

684. The abbess of Barking, a Benedictine nunnery in

quid super hoc et aliis agendis vestris in episcopatu vestro, vestra velit et sentiat discretio, michi si placet intimare dignemini, quoniam statim post compotum auditum, veniam ad vos London, nisi prius de mandato vestro alibi venire debeam. Gratia Dei omnia agenda vestra in Sussex rite procedunt et aguntur, et ad hoc pro viribus laboro, quoniam scio quod illud optatis. Beneplacitum vestrum super predictis et aliis michi scribere dignemini. vitam et incolunitatem vestram altissimus conservet per tempora longa."

Essex, about this time, was Maud, a natural daughter of King John; she petitions that some land in the bishop's manor in Cacham, in W. Wittering parish, should be surrendered to her kinsman, and S. de S. advises compliance. The poor men at Horton, who had given security for a debt of 40s. of W. de Brewus, are in trouble about it; Horton was a manor in Beeding parish, receiving a quit-rent from Southwick, apparently now under the wardship of the bishop.

S. de S. to R. de N. (as in 668).—"You have informed me, by your letters, that the Lady Abbess de Berekinges has many times besought you, with entreaties, that you would show favour to a certain kinsman of hers, the wardship of whose land has devolved on you in your manor of Cacham. Wishing, however, fully to assure you about this land, I make known to your excellency, that there is not in the whole more than one ploughland there, and from that ploughland are deducted two dowers (*de ipsa carucata detrahantur due dotes*); the residue however of the land, namely, of the portion of the kinsman himself of the abbess I have put out to lease for a silver mare, so that, if you pleased, you might release that wardship to him, but with the reservation that the produce of this coming autumn should be given up to the use of him who has sown that land. Moreover, know, dearest lord, that Sir William Maubaut has sent his steward to Brambre for 40s., which Sir William de Brewus¹⁶ had promised, and he there found pledges (*invenit plegium de hominibus*) of the men of Hortune who are in your wardship, that Sir William Maubaut, on a day appointed him, would come to satisfy him fully: on the day however appointed him, he did not come to redeem them (*ad ipsos deliberandos*), wherefore the bailiffs (*baillivi*) of Brembre seized the pledged goods of the said bail, nor could they have them quit until satisfaction should be given him of the 40s.; but may it please you to consider the indemnity of

¹⁶ This William de Braose, who died 1290, was the son of John, and during his minority in ward under Peter de Rivaulx, who, in 1234, made excuses for not bringing the boy to the court as being ill, and he was afterwards committed to Prince Richard, earl of Cornwall. Perhaps in the interval his Sussex estates were managed by Bishop Ralph de Nevill. William Maybank was a witness to a charter of John de Braose in the beginning of the reign of Henry III (*Dallaway's Rape of Bramber*), and his family, in 1324, held the manor of Tottington, extending into Southwick. Edmund Maubank appeared on behalf of Queen Isabella, in 1320-1, at the Court of the Bailiffs of Pevense. (*Lew. Ch. f. 91.*)

the poor men, as they are under your wardship, upon the afore-mentioned demand; consult your discretion, if you please, lest the said poor men should incur loss, by reason of their lord; for you are able, if you please, to satisfy this demand, and to reckon it to Sir William, in his rent (*computare in firma sua*). Moreover, know, lord, that the same William does not permit your wheat of Hortune to be ground, although he may see that we have need of forage for the use of the oxen living there (*licet videat quod nos ad opus boum ibidem esistencium de foragio negocium habeamus*). I am unwilling too, lord, that the poor men should enter upon this payment, because I well know that the same William does this for no other reason than that he may discharge himself, and that the poor men should have the burden and incur the loss. Wherefore it is necessary for me that you should please to signify to me your advice upon this, if you please, in order to redeem the goods (*averia*) of the said men of Hortune. Concerning Master Reginald, your clerk, I inform you that he conducts himself in your diocese as a man of good life and honest conversation (*vir bone vita et honeste conversationis*), and he diligently employs himself to preserve the rights and indemnities of the church, and your honour and advantage, as it becomes him. I have asked the men of Burn for 100*s.* in Aid (*auxilio*), which they owe annually, who all with one voice said that they would come to you to have a release from it (*ad habendam inde deliberationem*); wherefore I have been unwilling to distraint them on this account, before I had made this known to you. Let the writ of our lord the king be sent me, if you please, to search after Jordan, son of Ralph de Drove, Simon Curtman, John, son of Ralph de Drove, William Baratt, who are your natives and fugitives. Upon these and other matters, deign to let me know your pleasure, since, by the grace of God, all your affairs in Sussex prosper, and, as is fitting, advance duly and orderly. Farewell."

685. Master W. de Kaynsham expects to be dismissed from the bishop's service, and will not exert himself: the rent of a small garden in London to be lowered to a pound of pepper; a desirable mortgage is likely to be offered at Westmill, 60 acres of the land sown with wheat; the trial between the

bishop and the abbot of Hyde, near Winchester, is coming on soon. Walter de Aston was then abbot, and the dispute was probably about the five hides of land in Esterbridge hundred, in Sussex, held by his abbey.

S. de S. to R. de N. (same as 668).—“ Know, dearest lord, that I have spoken in London with Master William de Kaynesham, about his collecting your dues, which belong to you, in Sussex (de officiis vestris que vos contingunt in Sussex, per eum procurandis), by whose hint I learnt that he does not vigilantly employ himself in your business, because, as I believe, he thinks shortly to be removed from your service, wherefore it is necessary for you to hold opportune counsel about this. Moreover, I have had a conference with Sir John, canon of Dorekceaster, to lower the rent of the garden, which you bought from Nicholas at London (a Nicolao London), wherefore I hope that at my instance, and for the small value (*for a small consideration, pro parvo precio*), you may be able to diminish the rent annually, by a payment henceforth every year of one pound of pepper, or cinnamon, or something of that sort. Your excellency ought also to know that it has been hinted to me by Thomas, your servant, at Westmuln, that Sir John de Rocheford, Knight, is ready to mortgage (pignori obligare) for eight years, a ploughland (carucatam) of his land neighbouring your land of Westmuln, whereof 60 acres have been sown with wheat, and for each acre 6s.¹⁷ are offered him ready money (pre manibus). But of the residue (de residuo) of the same ploughland, a hundred and four score acres are to be sown with oats and barley; about that business, as well as the other aforesaid matters to be procured and to be completed for your honour and advantage, as your discretion may feel and see to be fitting, may your holiness advise, informing me, if you please, of your will and pleasure in these matters, since I will show myself vigilant in all your affairs, to the best of my power. Know also, dearest lord, that a day has been appointed you before the justices (jus-

¹⁷ This ploughland seems to have consisted of more acres than usual. In an extent of the land in Merse (co. Bucks), belonging to the abbey of Gresteign, seized as alien in 1294, the price of fields sown appears, for an acre sown with wheat, 3s., with peas and vetches, 1s., with oats, 1s. (de prato falcabili), hay meadow, 11s. (MSS. Add. 6164, f. 112, Br. Mus.)

ticiarios) at Westminster, in 15 days from the feast of Saint Hilary, to hear the dispute which is between you and the Lord Abbot of Hyde. May your holiness always prosper in the Lord."

686. Somebody must be sent to help at the audit, and then S. de S. will come to London to report. A Cistercian monk, from Bordesley, co. Worcester, has brought up lambs and sheep from the abbot, the shepherd to be left with them; another proof of the dearth of Sussex shepherds.

S. de S. to R. de N. (same as 671).—"As I have otherwise informed you, the time for auditing the accounts of your reeves (prepositis) in your diocese is at hand, and it behoves you that they should be audited quickly; so that, if you please, most dear lord, be pleased to send into your diocese some one of your household (de familia vestra) to audit the account. You have moreover directed me to come to you in London within 15 days after the feast of St. Michael. Wherefore I should wish most freely to audit the account first with some one of your household, so that, on my arrival, I might be able reasonably to answer about the proceeds of your diocese. Deign to let me know your good will, if you please, about the aforesaid. Know, moreover, lord, that on the Saturday next after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*Sept.* 14), there came to me a certain monk from Bordele, telling me that 40 lambs and two sheep (xl. agni et duo multones) had been sent to you from the abbot of Bordele, and were at a certain grange of the house of Waverle; in consequence of which I asked the said monk to lend you his shepherd (bercarium suum), until I could procure another suitable, and this he willingly granted me. May your holiness always prosper in the Lord."

687. The perambulation of the Broyle is delayed. S. de S. promises to leave £20 in London for the bishop's expenses, and money from the Fifteenth. The cash will be deposited at the Franciscan convent for the bishop, such establishments then acting as banks of deposit. Great expenses which had been going on in the bishop's house in London, had been checked by S. de Senliz.

S. de S. to R. de N. (as in 668).—"Know, lord, that on the day of St. Hilary I received your letters in London, in which

was contained, that my presence in Sussex would be necessary to expedite and promote your affairs there. . . . (*MS. imperfect.*) . . . I forwarded on the messenger to my father, who . . . as is related to me, was detained by sickness . . . St. Hilary, which messenger, by God's gift, will arrive on the Thursday or the Friday next after the feast of St. Hilary, at . . . to let me know more fully about his condition. Upon that matter which your excellency signified to me, that without any waste of delay I should be present at the perambulation of the Chichester wood (*bosco*), I let your holiness know that the sheriff of Sussex, the knights and very many freeholders (*libere tenentes*), who had been chosen the adverse side, to make the perambulation, were in London on the octaves of the Epiphany, where I have had a conference with the greater part of them, without whose presence I should not be able to advance this perambulation that I should receive from my father, by my messenger, a certain and opportune command, and when the aforesaid sheriff and knights, who are bound to be present (*interesse debent*) at the perambulation, depart from London, know that I will journey into Sussex without waste of delay ; but before I leave London I will treat of many particulars about your affairs in Sussex with you, if you please, since about Easter, and not before, I expect to return from Sussex. About your having commanded me to leave £20 for your expenses in London, together with the money of your Fifteenth (*cum denario de quintadecima vestra*), I acquaint your holiness that, either by borrowing or some other mode, I will deliver the sum of £20, together with £32 15s. 5½*d.* from your Fifteenth (*de quintadecima vestra*), to brother Gilebert, the treasurer of the Hospital of the Friars (*minor*) which you may have ready by your arrival in London. Know also, lord, that when I came to London, I found heavy expenses in your dwelling (*in hospitio vestro*) in London, (on behalf of (*pro*) R. de Warewike, as I know, from being so told), which on my arrival I lessened. At the departure of this, there was not yet come to London yours from Sanwiz (*Sandwich*). Know this also, lord, that the presence of Master Reginald in Sussex was necessary to expedite and forward your affairs there. Upon the premises, and other matters, deign to inform me, if you please, what may be agreeable to your pleasure, as you shall see it expedient. May your holiness always prosper in the Lord."

302. S. de S. sends 85 ells of cloth for the poor; cannot sell the old wine, as there is so much new on sale in Chichester, which seems to have been a place of considerable import for the wines from the south of France at this period.

S. de S. to R. de N. (as in 671).—“ Know, lord, that William de St. John is not in these Sussex parts, so that I cannot at present complete the business which you enjoined me; but as soon as he shall be come into these Sussex parts, I will strive with all my might to expedite and complete it, as I shall see it result to your honour. I send you fourscore and five ells of cloth, bought for the use of the poor, and to be distributed. I am not able to sell for your advantage the wine which is in your cellar in Chichester, on account of the too great abundance of new wine which there is in the town of Chichester. Know also, lord, that a certain burgess of Chichester holds one croft, which belongs to the garden granted to you by the Lord King, for which he pays every year 11 shillings, which (quos) the sheriff of Sussex exacts (exigit) from him. Wherefore since the said land belongs to the said garden, and has been of old time subtracted from it, about the aforesaid rent be pleased to signify your advice to me. In your manor of Selesey I am marling effectually, so that, on the departure of this, five acres have been marled. Please to intimate to me your will upon the premises and other matters, as I will show myself vigilant and watchful, to the utmost of my strength, about taking care of and completing your business. May your excellency prosper in the Lord.”

303. The dispute about rights of common with the abbot of Seez has been referred to in No. 674; but the agreement supposed to have been come to appears now broken off, and the compulsion of a distress is recommended.

“ *To his Reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of our Lord the King, his own Simon de Senlis, greeting in the Lord.*—Your excellency must know, that on the Thursday next after I left you, I came to the Broyle (ad bruill) with good and discreet men, to meet the abbot of Seez, as was pre-arranged in your presence. But he contradicted the convention made before you, asserting that no mention had been made in your presence of the Great Land (de Magna Landa), but only of White Land (de Alba Landa),

which only contains (tenet) 3 or 4 acres at most. You will, however, if you please, easily call to mind, that we made the greatest effort before you about Great Land, namely, that he should quitclaim to you both the Great Land and the White Land at the same time, so that he should remain in peaceable possession of his crofts, and the land of his wood which he had sold. It is advisable, therefore, as it seems to me, for you to make some distress in some mode, that he may the quicker return to your will. But about his crofts which are sown, first deign to command me, whether I ought to allow him to carry off his crops. Be pleased to signify to me, if you please, your pleasure upon these and other matters. Farewell."

Besides the numerous letters written by S. de St. Liz, there are a few letters to the bishop-chancellor from others. It does not appear for whom the favour is asked, mentioned in the following letter from his kinsman, G. de Nevill, who was chamberlain to the justiciary Hubert de Burgh.

308. "*To the venerable Father in Christ and Reverend Lord, and if it so please, kinsman, Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his own in all things, G. de Nevill, chamberlain, eternal greeting in the Lord.—I beseech your paternity earnestly, that for the sake of yourself, and at my entreaties, you will deign so kindly to listen to the entreaties which the Lord Richard, brother of the Lord King, and the Lord Earl of Sarum, pour forth to you, on behalf of him, who has carried himself so faithfully in the service of the Lord King, and of the lord his brother in Gascony, that it may result to your honour and advantage. Farewell in Christ.*"

306. A demand on the bishop-chancellor for the immediate payment of a small debt, seems, though respectful, rather summary.

"*To the venerable man, his Lord and Father in Christ, Ralph, by the grace of God, Bishop of Chichester, his clerk, Ralph de Tiboutot, greeting, and his whole self favourably disposed in all things.—I beseech your paternity to send me, by the bearer of this, 20 shillings, which, by your favour, you owe me from the term of St. John. May your paternity prosper in the Lord.*"¹⁸

¹⁸ 306. "Viro venerabili domino suo et patri in Christo Radulpho Dei gratia Ciestrensi episcopo suus clericus Radulphus de Tiboutot salutem, et se totum in omnibus favorabilem. paternitati vestre supplico, ut mihi per latorem presencium mittatis xx. solidos, quos vestri gratia mihi debetis da termino S. Johannis. Valeat paternitas vestra in Domino."

In 428, K. Henry III commands Bishop Ralph, his chancellor, and Simon de Segrave, to give (*faciatis habere scutagia*) Peter de Brus the scutages of his knight's fees, held in capite while he is serving with the army in Poictou. This is dated 14th September, 1230.

278. We have seen enough instances of Simon de Senliz's keen sense of his master's interests, and how the abbot of Seez, in No. 303, drew back from a compromise, protesting that the terms had not been fairly explained to him. The following letter, from Richard Wethershed, recently elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1228, is of the same nature, and seems written with an indignant sense of having narrowly escaped from an attempted fraud.

“Richard, by the grace of God, elect of Canterbury, to his venerable brother Ralph, by the same grace, Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of the Lord King, greeting in the Lord.—We suppose you to bear in memory that, when you lately held a conference with us, you suggested to us that there was a dispute between our men of Pageham and yours, about certain boundaries, asserting that our men would by no means be content with the ancient boundaries; on account of which, thinking some small matter was comprised under the name of boundaries, as a ditch, or such like, we conceded that those boundaries should be defined by royal command (per mandatum regium declarari); but because we have since learnt, by our bailiffs (baillivos) for certain that the matter is not small, but rather great, in peaceful possession of which the church of Canterbury has stood for a hundred years and more, I cannot, without our heavy loss, endure that the aforesaid business should proceed for the present. Since, therefore, as we have heard, you will have obtained the writ of the Lord King upon this to the sheriff of Sussex, to make the aforesaid perambulation by lawful men, we affectionately beseech your brotherhood, that you will give (orders) to the said sheriff, by your letters and commands, that he should forbear to use the said writ, until we shall have had a conference upon this, which will be shortly, by the Lord's permission. But we rely upon you that, inasmuch as we would not attempt anything to the prejudice of your right, so also you are unwilling to do anything which may redound to our damage and dis-

grace or to that of our church. Farewell; and upon this matter write back your will to us."

487. This letter brings forward a new crusader, the bishop's carpenter having assumed the cross, and left his service, while employed at Chichester cathedral. The carpenter seems, by the terms used, to have been retained under some contract for a limited time or work, and a substitute was therefore presented by him. Simon was dean from 1220 to, perhaps, 1230.

"*To the venerable Lord and dearest Father in Christ, Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor of the Lord King, his ever devoted S(imon), dean, and the chapter of the same church, with due obedience of devoted submission.*—Your carpenter of Chichester church, approaching us under a vow signed with the cross, wishing to begin his journey (devotus carpentarius vester ecclesie Cicestrensis cruce signatus volens iter suum arripere), has presented to us a certain fit and competent young man (juvenem), of whom we entertain sure hope that he will sufficiently supply the business, in order that he, in the absence of the aforesaid crusader (cruce signati), may be able to replace him in his duties in the said church, in like manner as he was bound (sicut ipse tenebatur), and since we are unwilling to meddle with this manner of business without your will and assent, we send the same crusader to you, devoutly supplicating your paternity, that if you are willing to admit the said young man, you will inform us, if you please, of your pleasure on this matter, by letter to us by means of the same crusader. May your serenity always prosper in Christ."

282. The Precentor of Chichester, if he were the writer of the following manly letter, appears to have been Ervisius de Tywa, from 1219 to 1239. He acted in June, 1239, as one of the arbitrators in a dispute between Albert, prior of Lewes, and Nicholas, vicar of Patcham. (Lew. Ch. f. 112.) It is remarkable that no other letter in the collection makes any appeal to the bishop's spiritual feelings, except by the customary set phrases of compliment. The tone of the letter implies that the bishop had not been a very frequent attendant at the cathedral of Chichester while chancellor.

"*To his Reverend Lord and Father in Christ, Ralph, by*

Divine clemency Bishop of Chichester, his clerk *W(illiam)* Precentor (cantor) of Chichester, eternal greeting, and both devoted and due reverence.—Although the common advantage of the kingdom is to be preferred before the private advantage of individuals, yet since the glorious solemnity of the Passion and Resurrection is at hand, in which it is no less honorable than laudable for the cathedral church to be adorned with its own prelate (suo decorari antistite), and for sheep to rejoice in their own shepherd, I beseech you, with all the devotion in my power, that, if it can in any way be done without offence to the Lord King, you will be pleased to visit your church, and celebrate the paschal services. Both the clergy and the people would congratulate indeed your presence, and I hope that, for the space of three days at least, it would be agreeable to your paternity to attend to the divine mysteries in your church of Chichester, laying aside in the meanwhile the anxieties and cares of the court, which, incessantly harassing you, scarcely permit the least, if any, period of tranquillity by day or night. Despising in all your business the threats of men, may you place your hope and trust in Him, who has the power to cast both body and soul into hell (in gehennam); and if it should perchance happen that you do not come into these parts, I implore the kindness of your paternity, that you will be pleased to make known to me, according to your opportunity, a day and place after Easter, or within it, where I may enjoy a much desired conference with you, for I have many things to consult with you upon, in my business and secrets. May your paternity prosper in the Lord.”

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NOTICES CONNECTED WITH A RECENT EXCAVATION
IN
THE COLLEGE CHAPEL AT ARUNDEL.

BY THE REV. M. A. TIERNEY, F.R.S., F.S.A.,

AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

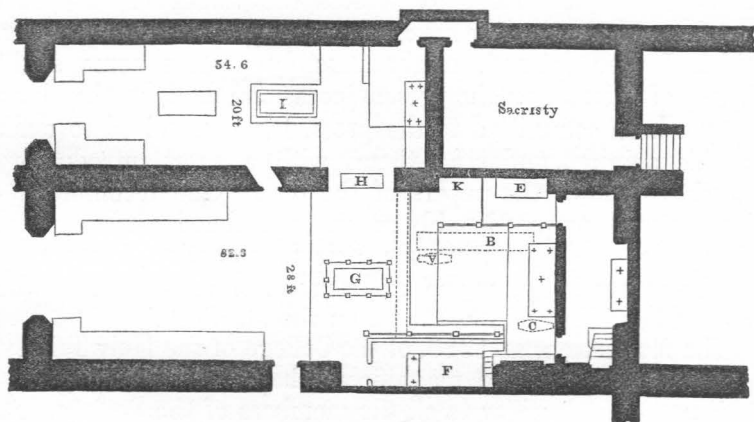
(READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING AT ARUNDEL, AUGUST 9, 1849.)

THE following Notes of an excavation lately made in the Chapel belonging to the College of the Holy Trinity, at Arundel, were intended originally to form a few supplementary pages to my printed account of that foundation. My object in writing them was simply to record the little additional information which I had obtained, and to distribute it, in a printed form, among such of my friends or acquaintances as might chance to possess the volumes: but some members of the Society have since thought that the Notices, which I then penned, might possibly possess some slight degree of interest on the present occasion; and, as they have not yet been committed to the press, I have resolved to defer to this opinion, and read them, with a short introductory sketch, as one of the papers of the day. One recommendation they will unquestionably possess, and that is their brevity. If an apology be wanting for their introduction, I can only plead the partiality, or the enthusiasm, of those friends who have induced me to inflict them on the meeting.

The foundation, in 1380, of the College of the Holy Trinity, at Arundel, and of the magnificent chapel which belonged to it, is no doubt familiar to all the members of the Society. At the period of the dissolution of the monastic and other religious establishments of the country, the college, of course, shared the fate of its sister institutions; but a deed of conveyance, obtained upon the payment of one thousand marks, and an annual rent of sixteen guineas to the crown, secured its possession to the family of the original founder; and the

college, with its lands and manors, the chapel and all its appurtenances, became the private property of the Earls of Arundel.¹ The college was now dismantled and unroofed; but the chapel, protected by its peculiar character and destination, was more fortunate. From the period of its foundation, it had been used as the burial-place of the family; and, for this reason, was not unnaturally spared in the destruction which involved the neighbouring buildings.

It was on December 26th, 1544, that the patent conveying the college and its property to Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, was issued by the crown; on February 24th, 1580, that nobleman expired; and, a few days later, was interred among his ancestors in the chapel. His death closed the line of the Fitzalans; but the Howards, who, by the marriage of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, with one of the daughters of the late earl, had succeeded to the honours and property of the earldom, continued to use the chapel as their sepulchral resting-place; and two small vaults, sunk, in 1624, in the Chapel of Our Lady, and having their respective entrances on the north and south sides of the tomb (I) of John Fitzalan, which



UNDERGROUND PLAN.

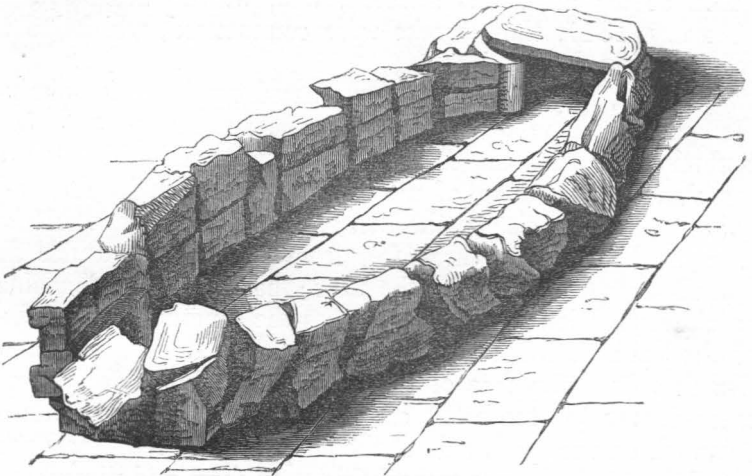
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| A, Stone Coffin. | F, Tomb of Earl William, ob. 1488. |
| B, Vault, now destroyed. | G, Tomb of Earl Thomas, ob. 1415. |
| C, Stone Coffin. | H, Tomb of Earl John, ob. 1435. |
| E, Tomb of Earls Thomas
and William, ob. 1524-35. | I, Tomb of Earl John, ob. 1421. |
| | K, Entrance from sacristy, now stopped up. |

¹ Pat. 36 Henry VIII, p. 21, m. 49, apud Hist. of Arundel, 612.

stands in the middle of that chantry, became henceforth the burial-place of this family. But a period of more than two centuries had already filled these vaults with remains, when it was thought advisable to construct another and if possible a larger repository, for the interment of the members of the house. With this view, the space under the sanctuary and altar of the college chapel, extending from the foot of the central tomb (G) of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Beatrix, his countess, to the great east window, and comprising the whole width of the area, was selected, and, at the beginning of February, 1847, those works were commenced, which led to the following discoveries.

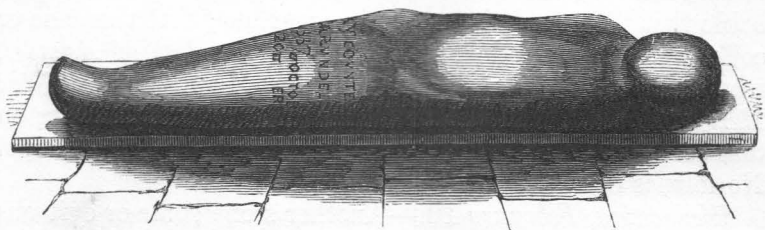
Saturday, February 6.—The workmen employed in opening the ground, came upon an interment apparently of a date contemporary with the erection of the chapel itself. It was the skeleton of a man of more than six feet in height, and, judging from the size of the bones, of unusual power. It lay at a depth of about three feet from the surface, under the second step (A) leading to the altar; having its head against an old foundation wall which crosses the sanctuary at the foot of the tomb (G) of Earl Thomas; and with its left side about five feet from the face of the wall that supports the canopy erected over the tomb (E) of Thomas and William, Earls of Arundel, on the north side of the chapel. The receptacle prepared for the body was remarkable. In form and dimensions it bore the appearance of a stone coffin; but it was without a bottom; the foot and sides, as far as the shoulders, were constructed of small cut blocks of Caen stone, which, from their shape, as well as from the rich diapering still visible upon some of them, had evidently formed portions of the old Priory Church; while the upper part was completed by two larger blocks of the same material, united just at the crown of the skull, and hollowed out, so as exactly to receive the head. This upper part was covered by another flatter stone, in such manner as to form a perfect chamber for the head; but below there was no sign of covering of any sort. The trunk and limbs had evidently been left unprotected, and the earth filled in upon them. Among the remains was found the trowel or *float*, as it is technically called, which had been used by the mason in plastering the stones. The handle was broken

off—an indication that its work was done, and that it was not again to be employed; but, in form and size, the implement corresponded exactly with the tool of the present day, from which, in fact, it differed solely in the coarseness and thickness of the material. The accompanying woodcut (Fig. 1) will convey an accurate notion of the coffin, as it appeared when first opened. The coffin itself, however, has been preserved, and may be seen in the small chapel at the back of the high altar.



Tuesday, February 9.—The space between the coffin or cyst, which I have just mentioned, and the canopy erected over the tomb of Earls Thomas and William, on the north side of the sanctuary, was occupied by the vault (B), or a portion of it, described in pp. 634, 635 of my history. In pursuance of the plan on which the works were proceeding, this vault was to be thrown into the larger one, now in course of construction. Its walls, therefore, were taken down, and the four coffins of Philip Howard, his wife, and his two sons, known to be contained in it, were removed, when we unexpectedly discovered a leaden case, fitting close to a body which had been interred in it, and, in appearance, much resembling a mummy-case (Fig. 2). An inscription, rudely scratched with the point of some sharp instrument across the lower part, over the legs, announced it

to be the coffin of "Mary, Countess of Arundel, 1557, 20 October," second wife of Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel of that name. It was lying close to the wall, on the south side



of the vault, with the feet immediately under the north-west angle of the altar, and a large quantity of loose earth carefully thrown over it. How, or at what precise period, it came to be placed here, can only be matter of conjecture. It is certain, as we know from Strype, that the lady whose body it contains, and who died at Bath Place, afterwards called Arundel House, in the Strand, was buried originally in the church of St. Clement Danes, in London ;² but the daughter of her husband by his first marriage, whose name, like her own, was Mary, and who, having espoused the Duke of Norfolk, had become

² "On the same day," (October 21, 1557) "died the Countess of Arundel, at Bath Place, in St. Clement's parish, without Temple Bar.

"On the 26th was a goodly hearse set up for her in the said parish church, with five principals, eight bannerols, &c. On the 27th she was brought to church, the bishop of London, Paul's choir, and the clerks of London going before. Then came the corpse, with five banners of arms borne. Then came four heralds in their coats of arms, and bare four banners of images at the four corners. And then came the chief mourners, my Lady of Worcester, Lady Lumley, Lady North, and Lady Saint Leger. Then came a hundred mourners of men, and, after, as many ladies and gentlewomen, all in black; besides a great many poor women in black and rails, and four-and-twenty poor men, and many of her servants, in black, bearing of torch lights. On the next day, being the 28th, was the mass of *Requiem* sung, and a sermon preached, and, after, her grace was buried; and all her officers, with white staves in their hands, and all the heralds waiting about her in their coat-armour. The lord abbot of Westminster was the preacher, and the bishop of London sung the mass. A second mass was sung by another bishop; and a third by another priest. And after, all departed to my lord's place to dinner." (Strype, *Memorials*, iii, 385.)

the mother of him from whom the future earls of Arundel descended, had been interred in the same place only in the preceding month ;³ and it is known, that for the body of this latter lady a search was afterwards ordered to be made, with a view to its removal to Arundel.⁴ Now, it is by no means improbable that the search in question *was* made ; that this case or coffin was then found ; and that Mary, *Countess of Arundel*, who died in 1557, being mistaken for Mary, *mother of the Earl of Arundel*, who also died in 1557, was brought here on that occasion. Certain it is that the latter, Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, is not here.

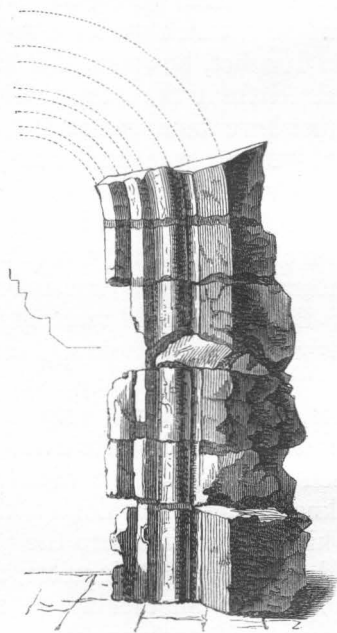
Wednesday, February 10.—Another stone coffin or cyst was discovered, situate at the south end of the altar ; its left side, in fact, forming part of the foundation of the altar in that spot, and its foot resting against the reredos (see C in the plan). Like the one already mentioned, it was constructed with stones, evidently taken from the remains of the ancient church ; but there was no covering to the upper part ; the stones were not hollowed out to receive the head ; and the interior, instead of being left bare, as in the preceding instance, was lined throughout with a thick coating of very hard cement. From the presence of several very large nails, it was evident that the body had originally been inclosed in a wooden shell. The skeleton, which was that of a man above the middle size, was perfect. The arms were folded, and across the waist was a line of greenish earth, impregnated apparently with particles of decomposed brass. Close to the left hip were found two rings, of about an inch and a half each in diameter ; one an ordinary ring, of iron ; the other a *buckle-ring*, with the tongue still remaining, of brass ; while several pieces of coarse woollen cloth

³ History of Arundel, 358, note ; and Strype, Mem. iii, 383.

⁴ By his will, dated at Dover, Sept. 3, 1641, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the grandson of this lady, fixes the place of his own interment at Arundel ; orders " a figure of marble," with a " short latine epitaph," to be erected to the memory of his eldest son ; and expresses a wish that " an only sister, who is buried there, may have some memory of her great virtue." Then comes the following passage : " *And if my grandmother of Nordfolk's body could bee found in St. Clement's church, I desire it might bee caryed to Arundell, and there have some memory of her :* for I desire persons of our family, beeing of so eminent virtues as these three were, and dyed all about the age of ffifteene, might have record left worthy of them." (MS. Harl. 6272, fol. 31.)

bore testimony to the fact of the body having been interred in a dress of that material. The plasterer's trowel, broken precisely as in the former instance, had been thrown in upon the remains, and was found among the earth.

The accompanying engraving (Fig. 3) exhibits some of the stones which formed this coffin, which, when put together, and



restored to the relative positions which they originally occupied, prove to have been the jamb, or part of the jamb, of one of the windows of the ancient church. Of that edifice, which was pulled down when the chapel, with the present church, was erected, in 1380, the age, though suspected, has been hitherto unknown; but by the aid of this interesting relic, I think we may now fix its date with tolerable certainty. The window was round-headed; the large internal splay, and the plain deep torus moulding of the external face, are both characteristic of the early Norman age; and there can be little doubt, therefore,

that the building owed its erection either to Roger Montgomery, first earl of Arundel, or to one of his immediate successors. From the bevelling of the springing-stone, it appears that the arch of the window was a semicircle, having a radius of sixteen inches, and thus giving to the perforation a total width of two feet eight inches.

Who may have been the persons entombed in these coffins is a matter of speculation, which, however interesting in itself, is one, unfortunately, which we have no means of satisfactorily determining. The fact, however, that the coffins were formed of stones obtained from the ancient church, shows that the interments must have taken place at the earliest period after the foundation, perhaps even during the erection, of the chapel, when the materials of the former building were still at hand; while the particular spot in which they were found—one under the steps of the sanctuary, and the other at the end of the altar—naturally suggests the inference that they were ecclesiastics. But they could scarcely have belonged to the new college; for the *brethren* would certainly not be buried nearer to the altar than the *masters*, and the first three masters, Ertham, White, and Colmord, have their graves at the entrance of the chapel, leading from the church. Could they, then, have been members of the dissolved priory? Unquestionably, we know, that when Loxley, the escheator, was sent down by the king, to inquire into the propriety of dissolving the priory, and secularizing its inmates, there were two monks, Mercer, the prior, and another whose name has not reached us, still surviving. Of the period of their death we have no knowledge; but that they may have been the tenants of the coffins in question is not impossible; and the line of earth, indicative of a belt or girdle, with the woollen cloth which I have mentioned as found in one of the coffins, will scarcely fail to be deemed, in some degree, confirmatory of this suggestion.

Saturday, February 13.—We opened the vault under the canopy and tomb (E) of Earls Thomas and William; and, to our surprise, found within it the body of Henry Fitzalan, whose monument is on the opposite side of the chapel. It is inclosed in a leaden case, precisely similar to that which I

have just described as containing the body of his second wife, Mary, Countess of Arundel, and lies close to the wall of the vault, on the side nearest to the altar. Across the breast is the inscription

HENRIZOIFN
1579

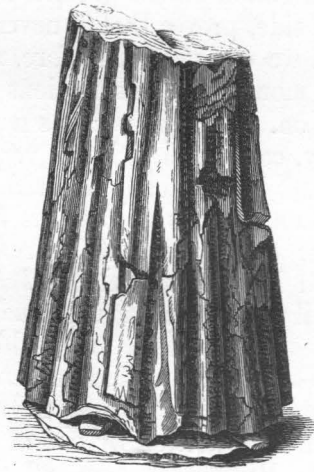
scratched, as in the preceding case, with the point of some sharp instrument.

On the left of this are two other bodies : that on the opposite or north side of the vault has been embalmed, and is without any inscription, or visible mark, whereby to identify it ; the other, which lies in the middle, between the last two, is the body of Henry, Lord Stafford, the brother of Mary, who married William Howard, fifth son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and afterwards Lord Stafford. Of the coffin no vestiges remain ; but on the body, which is reduced to a dry impalpable powder, lies an engraved plate, bearing the following inscription :

“ Hic situm est corpus Henrici Domini Stafford,
Baronis de Stafford, qui, quindecim annorum, decem
Mensium, sex dierum spatio pie emenso, placide in
Domino obdormivit, Augusti 4^{to}, Anno Dni 1637.”

On the death of this lord, the barony legally devolved on his third cousin, Roger Stafford, the nephew of his great grandfather, and the son of Richard Stafford, by Mary, daughter of John Corbet, of Cowlesmore, in Shropshire. The marriage of Richard seems to have been unfortunate, and, in all probability, gave offence to the family. Of his two children, the fruits of this marriage, Jane, the daughter, became the wife of a joiner ; and, in 1637, when the barony devolved on her brother, had a son living at Newport, in Shropshire, where he was following the humble craft of a cobbler. Roger himself was bred in penury ; is thought to have found a shelter, if not a home, beneath the roof of a person named Floyd, a servant of his maternal uncle ; and, either to conceal the disgrace of his family, or to blunt the recollection of his own misfortunes, assumed, during his early life, the name

mediæval art. The accompanying woodcut will convey some notion of the grace of this beautiful and interesting relic. It is unfortunate that the bust and head could nowhere be found.



PEDIGREE OF THE LEWK NOR FAMILY.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

(READ AT BRIGHTON, DECEMBER, 1849.)

I GIVE a full and corrected Pedigree of the Lewknors, who, from the time of Edward I to the days of Philip and Mary, occupied a very high position among the families of Sussex. They were the representatives of the Bodyams, the Wardeuxs, the Dallyngrudges,¹ the Bardolphs, the Folyotts, the Louches, the Husseys, and the Camoys,¹ and through these last, of the Tregoz and the Radmylles; whilst they have been connected by marriage with the De la Warres, the Sackvilles, the Pelhams, the Pellatts, the Culpepers, the Gorings, the Audleys, the Nevilles, the Finches, the Mays, the Stapleys, and the Peacheys, of whom Lord Selsey is the head, and a large number of the olden landed proprietors of Sussex. They were many times sheriffs, and various members of the family represented the shire, Chichester, Shoreham, Horsham, and East Grinstead, in Parliament. They fought and bled at Tewkesbury and Bosworth; and for the part which Edward Lewknor, who had been groom-porter to Edward VI and Queen Mary, afterwards took against that Queen, he was conveyed to the Guildhall, 15th June, 1556, and being cast to suffer death, was taken to the Tower; he died, however, before the execution of his sentence, and was buried in the Tower on 7th September. Elizabeth was not unmindful of his services, and one of the first acts of parliament introduced in her time was on 15th March, 1558, for the restitution in blood of his son Edward Lewknor, and three of his

¹ The persons appointed for Sussex, 33 Edw. III, 1351, (Rym. Fæd. vol. iii, p. 456), to take care of the kingdom during the king's absence, were, Thomas de Brewose, John de Boun of Midhurst, *Thomas de Camoys*, Andrew Peverel, Henry Tregortz, *Henry Husee*, *Robert Halsham*, Walter Colpeper, *Roger Dalyngrudge*, and John Begeberry.

brothers, and six sisters. Another, Thomas Lewknor, with many others,² was suspected, by Richard Curteis, Bishop of Chichester, 1576, of being a papist, and his citation for examination, on 24th March, 1576, was one of the charges of over-zeal made against that prelate, and against which, on the petition of Sir Thomas Palmer, sen., Knt., Richard Ernley, Esq., Thomas Lewknor, Esq., and others, in 1577, the bishop had to defend himself. (Strype's Annals, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 22 and 116.)

The importance which this family (now passed away) held in the county, induced me from time to time to look into their pedigree, and I found so many errors and omissions, that by degrees I filled up MS. pedigree with notes. Indeed I found not only that names were inserted without authority, but that all canonical rules had been set on one side by the persons, who had compiled the printed pedigrees. Not only were father and son made own brothers, and a daughter-in-law made to marry her husband's father, but one unfortunate bachelor was made to marry his own aunt.

The foundation of the pedigree printed by Dallaway and Berry is the Harl. MS., No. 1406, which is confessedly a hasty and bad copy of the visitation of 1634. The more correct copy of that visitation, of which I have availed myself is Harl. MS., No. 1562, and that is the basis of the pedigree now printed; it has, however, been compared with the evidence given on the Camoys peerage, and with another copy of the pedigree, Harl. MS., No. 6164. I have consulted the Battle Abbey Records, Strype, Machin, Rymer, Madox,

² The names returned by the bishop as cited (Strype's Annals) were—

Sir Thomas Palmer the elder, Knt.	Jasper Gunter, Gent.
Wm. Shelly, of Michelgrove, Esq.	John Navye, of Racton, Yeoman.
Rich. Shelly, late of Worminghurst, Esq.	John Bickley, Gent.
Thomas Lewknor, of Selsey, Esq.	John Rimant, Gent.
Will. Dawtry, of Moor, Esq.	One Hare, of Mr. Carell's House.
Rich. Ernley, Esq.	Scot, of Iden.
Jeffrey Pole.	One Tichborn, of Durford, Gent.
Edw. Gage, of Bentley, Esq.	Cryer, Parson of Westmeston.
John Gage, of Firles, Esq.	Gray, Parson of Withiam.
Thos. Gage, of Firles, Esq.	The Curate of Shipley.
Edw. Gage, of Firles, Esq.	John Taylor, Parson, and
John Shelley of Patcham, Esq.	Doctor Bayley,
John Gosford, of Stansted Lodge, Gent.	With others.

Cotton's Bodyam, and other sources; and I have to acknowledge the ready and valuable aid of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter, of T. W. King, Esq., York Herald, and Wm. Courthope, Esq., Rouge-Croix, in clearing up doubts and difficulties.

I have not, however, printed the first two descents as given in the Harl. MS., No. 6164, believing, with Sir Charles Young, the descent in the MS. 1562 to be the most correct and probable. In MS. 6164, the grandfather of Sir Roger Lewknor, who married the Bardolph, is said to be Nicholas Lewknor, a witness to a charter, 50 Hen. III; and the father of Sir Roger is made Sir Jeffery Lewknor, one of the justices in Eyre, who is made by Dallaway a brother of Sir Roger and son of Thomas; but there is no authority for having a son Jeffery, or for the connection of that Geoffry Lewknor with the Sussex family. There were other families of the same name, for there was a Margeret de Lucenor, Abbess of Shaftesbury (Hutchins' Dorsetshire, vol. ii, p. 17); a Galfridus de Leukenore in 49 Hen. III (Mon. Angl., vol. ii, p. 330); a Nicholas de Leukenore in 52 Hen. III (Madox's Exch., vol. i, p. 269); on id. Oct. 1278, John de Lewkenhowere was constituted Prior of St. Frideswide, Oxon (Hearne); and in 17 Edw. III, John de Lewkenore had free warren in Spillesbury, Oxon; but they were disjointed persons. The descent of the Sussex family even from Nicholas Lewknor, who was keeper of the wardrobe, and died possessed of the manor of Rayne Hall, Essex, in 1268, leaving a son and heir, Roger, to whom Henry III confirmed the fee (Morant's Essex, vol. ii, p. 401), is very doubtful. The first correct evidence of the Sussex Lewknors is in the Placita de quo warranto, 7 Edw. I, (Cal., p. 753), where Roger de Lukenor claimed and had the manor of Herstede, in Sussex, which he and his ancestors had owned from time immemorial. On the foundation of New Winchelsea, 16 Edw. I, we find that Sir Roger de Lewkenore was assigned a tenement there, next to those of Sir William de Echingham and Simon de Echingham. In 6 Edw. II, Thomas Lewknor had free warren in Horsted Keynes, Bradhurst, Iteford, Selmeston, and Mankese, in Sussex, in South Mimms in Middlesex, and in Gretworth in co. Northampton.

Lewknor Pedigree.

NICHOLAS LEWKNOR,
Lord of the Manor of
Rayne Hall, Essex,
Keeper of the Wardrobe;
ob. 1268. This descent,
however, is not clearly
supported by authority.
(Morant's Essex, vol. ii,
p. 401.)

Roger de Lewknor,
Sheriff of Surrey,
12 Edw. I, (1284);
died seized of the manors
of Selmeston, Itford, and
Horsted Keynes. Inq.
p. m. 23 Edw. I.

Thomas Lewknor,
at. 24, 23 Edw. I. Inq.
p. m. taken at Lewes, on
Sunday after the Feast of
St. Edward.

Sir Roger Lewknor,
Knight of the Shire, 1336;
at. 32, 10th Edw. III;
Sheriff of Sussex, 29th
Edw. III;
ob. 36 Edw. III. (1362.)

Joan, da. and heir
of Richard de
Kaynes, of Hor-
sted Keynes.

Barbara, da. & heir
of . . . Bardolph.
(Katherine was his
widow, but she may
have been his wife
subsequent to Bar-
bara Bardolph.)

Sir Thomas Lewknor,
Knt., living 30 Edw. III,
(1356.)

Joane, da. and heir of
Sir John D'Oyley, of
Stoke D'Oyley.

Richard Lewknor,
M. P. for East Grin-
stead, 1374.

² John Lewknor,
Knt. of Shire, 1449.

Isabel, da. of Sir
Roger Covert.

¹ Sir Roger Lewknor,
Knight of the Shire,
4th Hen. IV (1404), ob.
10 Edw. IV. Inq. p. m.
13 Edw. IV.

Elizabeth, da.
of Sir John
Carew, of Ful-
ford.

Margaret,
mar. Sir
John Covert.

Jone, da. and heir,
mar. John Bartlott.

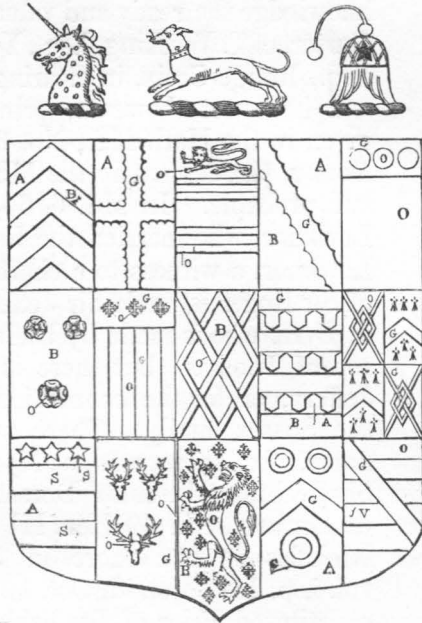
- 1. Andrew Sackville,
he ob. 9 Henry IV,
- 2. Raff. Myle,
- 3. . . . Righley.

Sir John Lewknor,
of Goring, Knight of the
Shire, 1450; Sheriff, 29
Henry VI; M. P. for
Horsham, 1459. Pro-
claimed after Tewksbury,
27th April, 1471. (Rym.
Fœd. II. p. 710.)

Sir Thomas Lewknor,
M. P. for Lewes, 1468;
Knight of the Shire;
at. 19, 13th Hen. IV.
Inq. p. m. 31 Hen. VI.

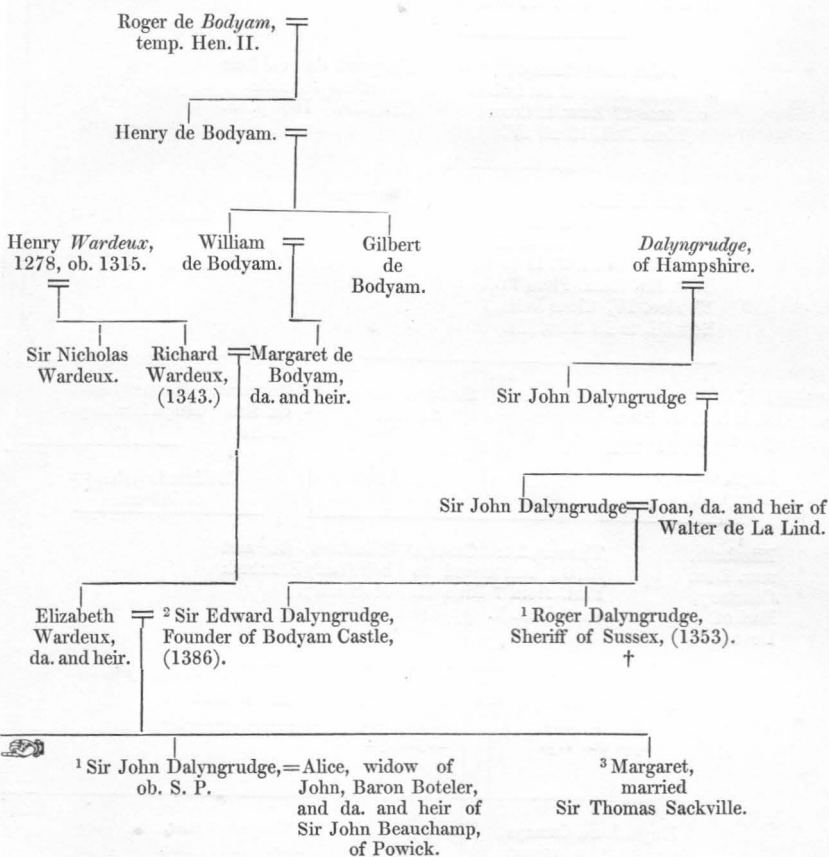
² Philippa, da. and
heir, widow of Sir
Richard Barnes,
Knt., of West
Horsley, Surrey;
who ob. 5 Hen. V.

(See p. 95.)

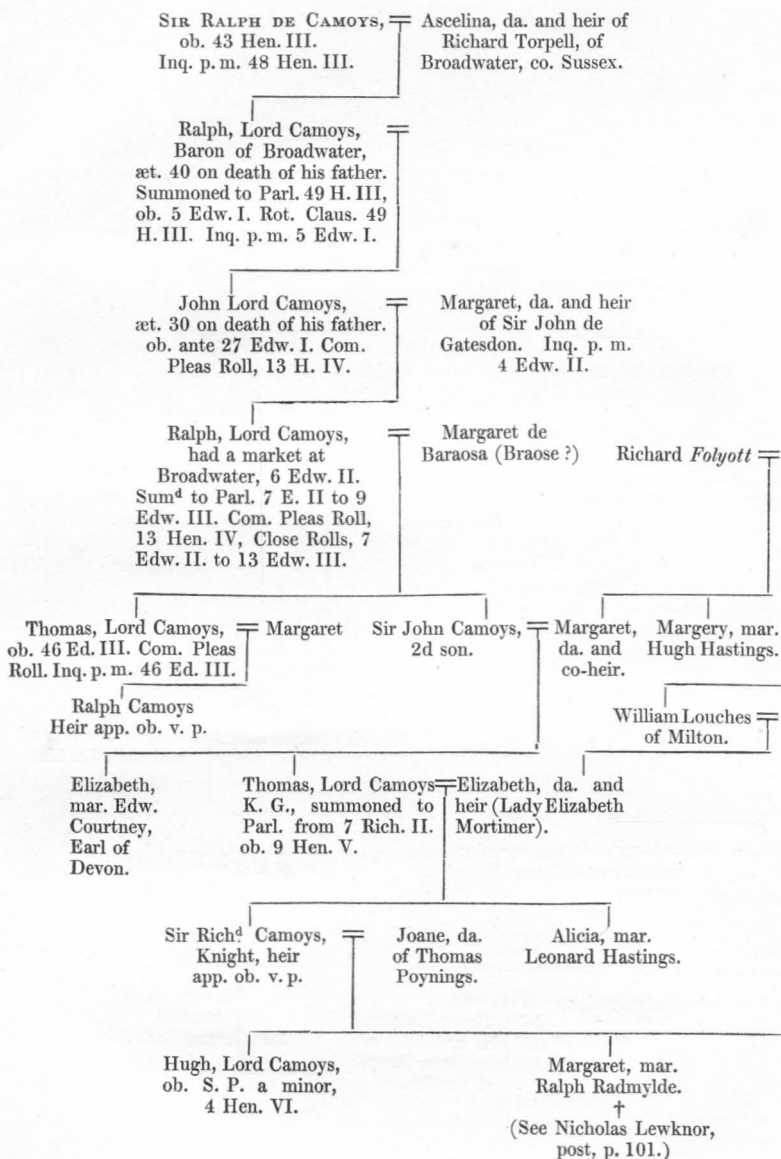


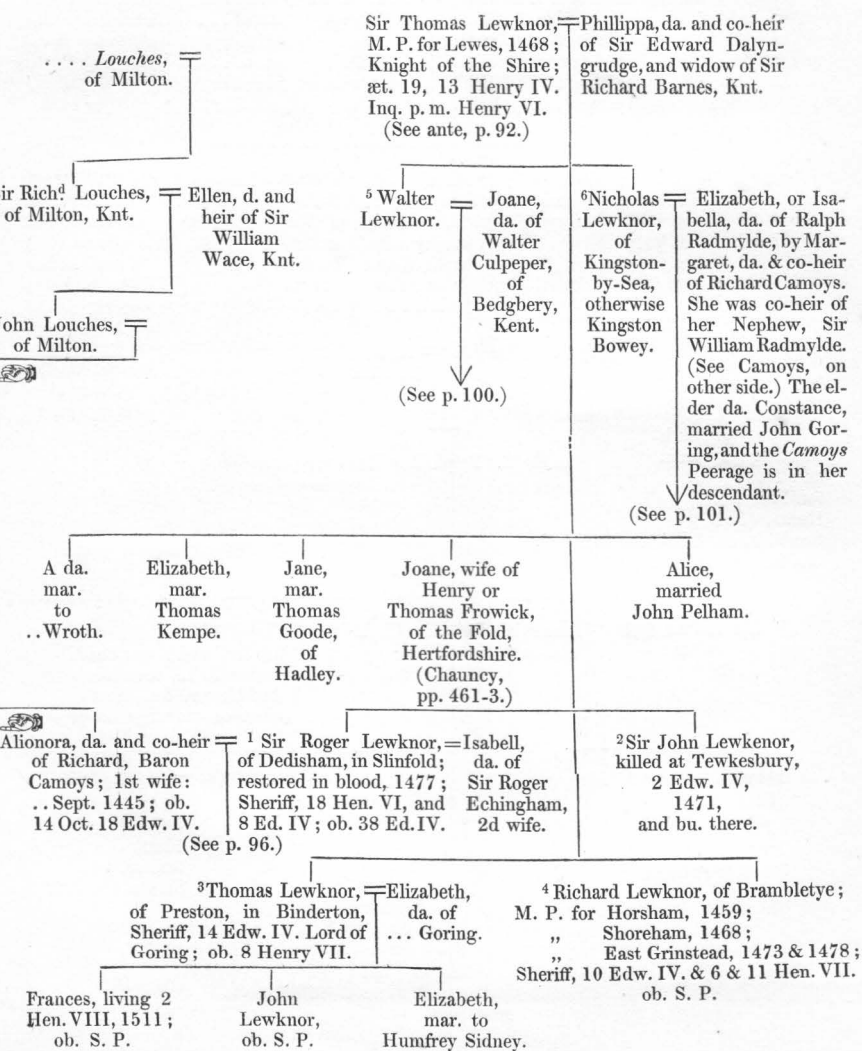
QUARTERINGS.

- | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 Lewknor | 4 Folyott | 7 Grandison | 10 | 13 |
| 2 Dalyngrudge | 5 Camoys | 8 Echingham | 11 | 14 Goring |
| 3 Tregoz | 6 Bardolph | 9 Braose | 12 Doyley | 15 |



PEDIGREE OF THE LEWKNOR FAMILY.





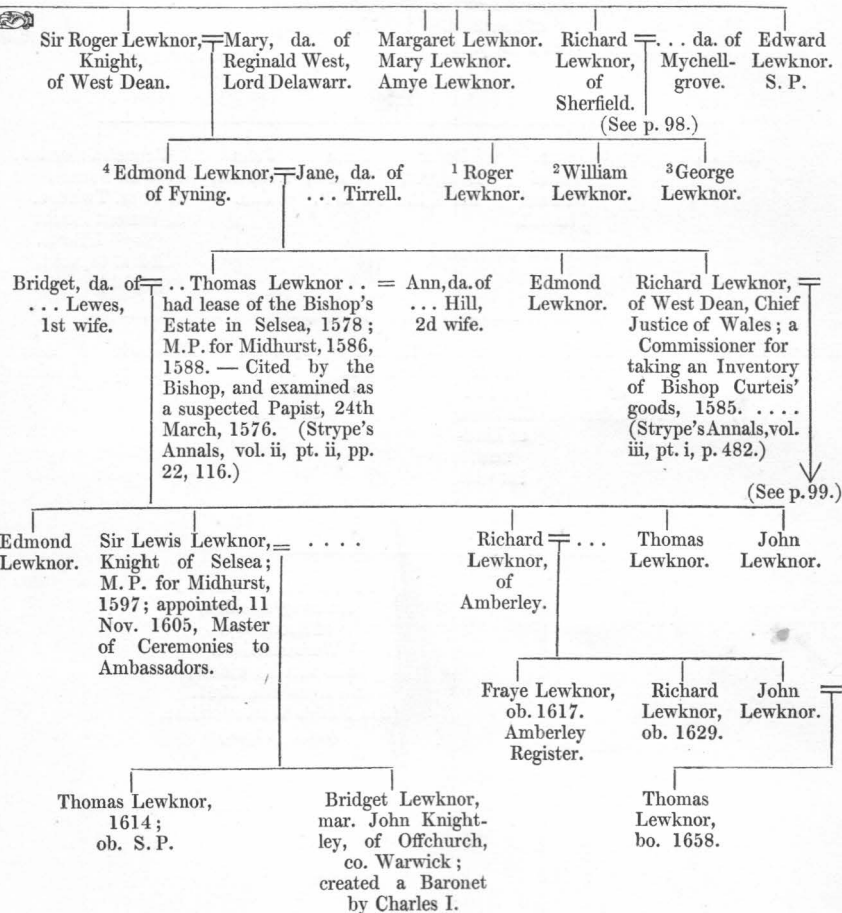
¹Sir Roger Lewknor, = Alionora, da. and co-heir
of Dedisham, in Slinfold; of Richard, Baron Camoys;
restored in blood, 1477; 1st wife: . . Sept. 1445;
ob. 38 Edw. IV. ob. 14 Oct. 18 Edw. IV.
(See ante, p. 95.)

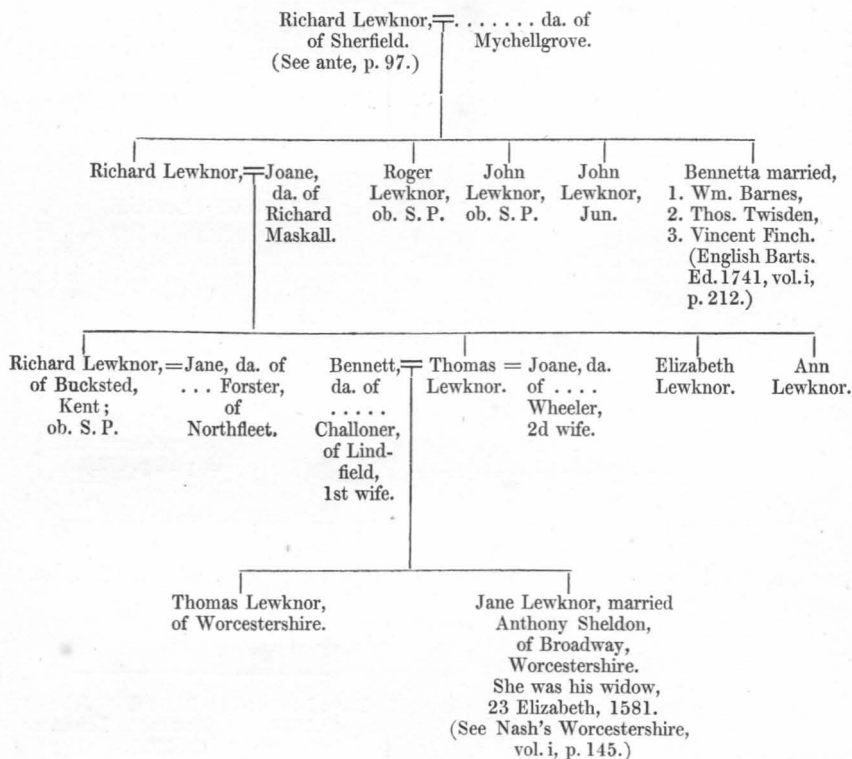
Sir Thomas Lewknor, of Trotton, æt. 34 in 29th Ed. IV; attained 1 Rich. III; ob. on the Feast of St. Mar- garet the Virgin, 2 Rich. III; attainder reversed 1 H. VII.	Catherine, da. of Sir John Pelham, Knt., and Widow of John Bramshot.	William Lewknor, S. P. George Lewknor, S. P.	Reginold Lewknor, S. P. Roger Lewknor? S. P.
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Elizabeth, da. of Thomas Meffant, 3d wife; she re-married Sir Rich. Lewknor, of Trotton. (See post, p. 100.)	Sir Roger Lewknor, Knt. Sheriff 1532; obtained the castle and demesnes of Bod- diam, 1543. Will proved 13 Ap. 1543.	Eleanor, da. = Elizabeth, of George, da. of . . . Lord Hussey, Audley, wo. of . . 1st wife. 2d wife, ob. S. P.	Catherine mar. Richard Knatch- bull, temp. Hen. VII. (Eng. Bart. ed. 1741, vol. ii, p. 229.)
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John Mylle = ² Katherine of Great- Sir H. Kniv- ham, 1st vett was 38 husband. H. VIII, appointed to the wardship.	Wynd- ham Morgan 2d hus- band.	³ Mabel, mar. Anthony Stape- ley, of Framfield; ob. leaving a son not baptized, and he ob. an infant, in his father's lifetime.	Thomas = ⁴ Constance = N. B. Edward Foster, born after Glemham, of of Wor- 12th Jan. Chichester, 2d cester, 1542. husband. (See 1st hus- Battel Abbey band. Rec. p. 146.) Living 1588, but his name is not men- tioned in the Camoys' Pe- crage case.
Lewknor = Cecilia, Mary Mylle. Mylle, of † da. of Camoys John Court, in Crooke Wool- of South- beeding ampton. and New- ton Berry, Hants. (Ped. See Visit. co. Southampton, 1622, No. 91, and 1686, No. 94.)	Elizabeth = Henry Morgan. Bosville.	Sir Ralph Bosville.	

Sir Arthur Pole, Knt. 2d husband.	Jane, eldest da. and co-heir.	Sir Christopher Pickering, Knt. 1st husband.	Sir William Barentyne, 3d husband; on death of Sir R. L., took Hor- sted Keynes, &c. Settle- ment on marriage dated 1st Aug. 24 Hen. VIII.
Henry Pole, ob. S. P.	Mary Pole, mar. John Stanne.	Margaret Pole, ob. un- married.	Ann Pickering, married 1st, to Francis Weston, son and heir of Sir Rich. Weston, Knt. Under Treasurer of England. 2d, Sir Hen. Knivett, of Chorlton. 3d, John Vaughan, of Kirkhowell.
			Sir Drew = Anne, Baren- of . . . tyne, of Plump- Grey. ton, co. Sussex.





Richard Lewknor, =
of West Dean.
(See ante, p. 97.)

Thomas Lewknor,
ob. S. P.

Sir Richard Lewknor, =
Serjeant at Law, Chief
Justice of Chester, Re-
corder of Chichester,
1597, M. P. for Chi-
chester; ob. 6th April,
1616, æt. 76.

Elenor, da. of
Christopher
Broome, of
Halton, Oxon.

²Margaret
mar.
John
Austen,
of Shal-
ford,
Surrey.

³Tho-
mas
Lewk-
nor.

⁴Christopher Lewknor, =
Recorder of Chi-
chester; M. P. for Mid-
hurst, 1628; M. P. for
Chichester, 1640- 1;
declared guilty of trea-
son to the Common-
wealth, and lands or-
dered to be sold, 16th
July, 1651. (Scobell's
Acts, 156.)

Mary,
da. of
John
May, of
Raw-
mere,
and
relict of
.Smith,
ob.
1642.

⁵Eliza-
beth
Lewk-
nor.

⁶Anthony
Lewk-
nor.

Susan,
da. of
Edmond
Bullock,
in co.
Salop.

⁷George
Lewk-
nor.

⁸John
Lewk-
nor.

Lawrance
Lewknor.

Elizabeth
Lewknor.

Richard Lewknor,
of Preston, in Bin-
derton; M. P. for
Midhurst, 1620;
Knt. of Shire, 1628;
ob. 27th May, 1635,
æt. 46, S. P.

Frances Lewknor, =
eldest da. and co-
heir.

Michael Martin,
of . . . Oxon.

Elizabeth
Lewknor.

Edward
Woodward
Knight Esq.
of Chaw-
ton, Hants.

Bulstrode Peachey, =
2d husband;
mar. 1725, and
assumed the name
of Knight:
ob. 1735, æt. 54,
S. P.

Elizabeth Marten, =
da. and heir.

William Woodward Knight,
of Chawton, 1st husband;
ob. S. P.

¹Richard Lewknor,
of West Dean;
ob. 9th March, 1602,
æt. 34.

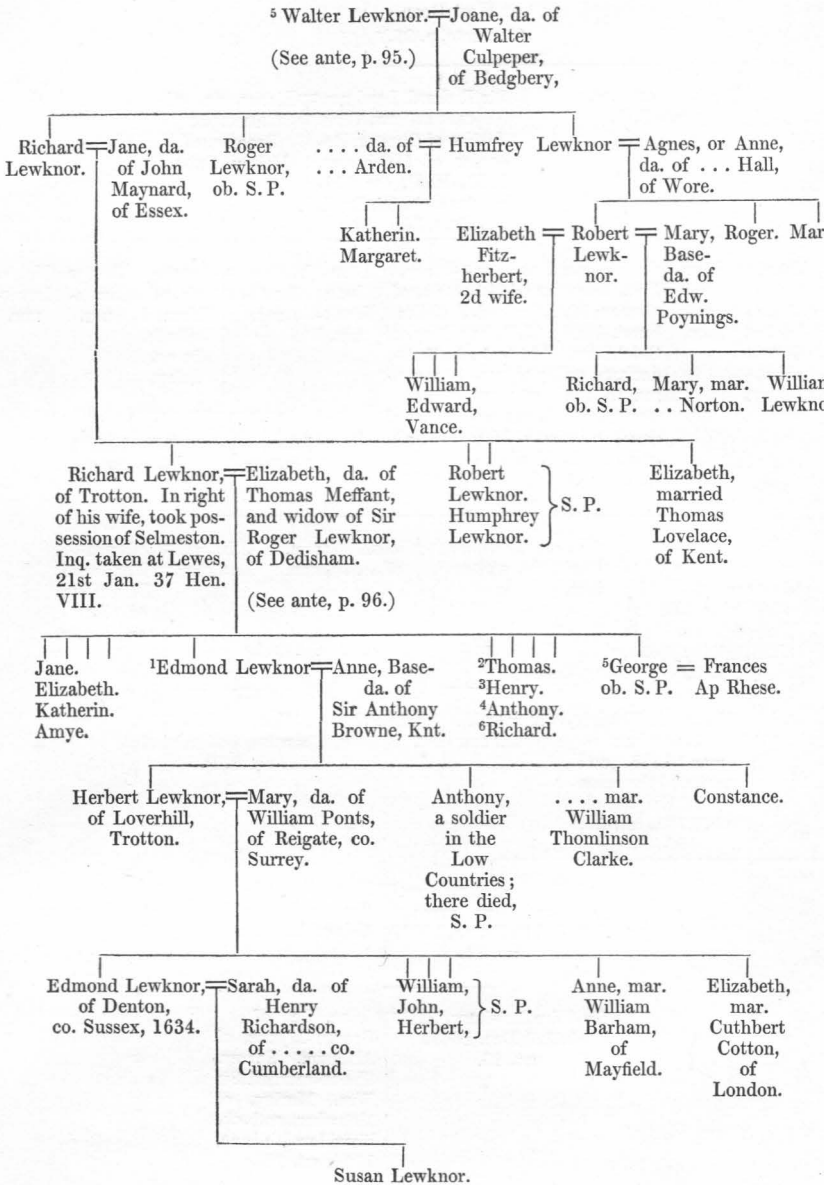
Mary, da. of
Thomas Bennett,
Ald. of London.

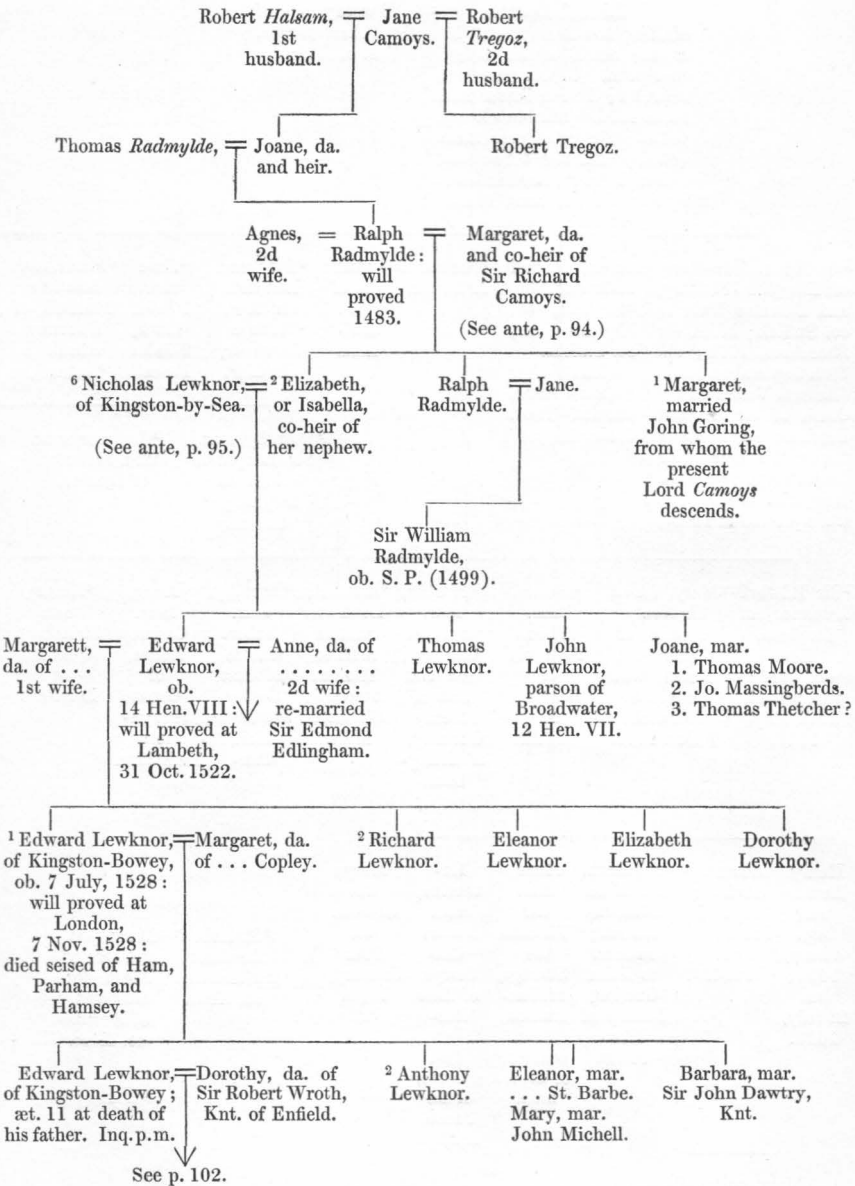
Sir John Lewknor, K. B. =
ob. 3rd Dec. 1669,
æt. 46.

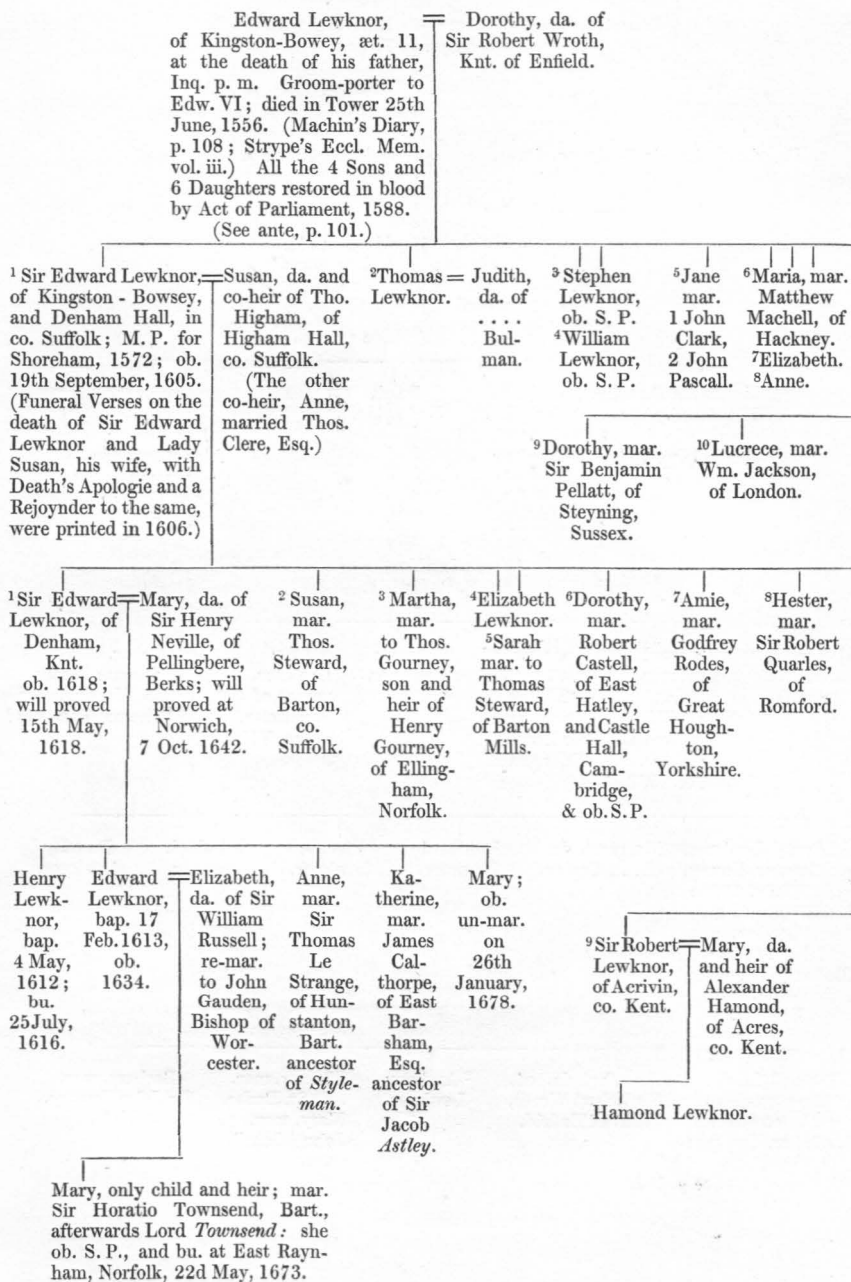
Anne, da. of
George Mynne, of
Abisham, Surrey.
She re-married Sir
Wm. Morley, of
Halnaker, and ob.
his widow 6th June,
1704, æt. 70.

John Lewknor, of
West Dean;
M. P. for Midhurst,
1661 and 1681 to 1705;
Knt. of the Shire, 1679;
born 24th April, 1658;
ob. 19th Feb. 1706, S. P.

= Jane . . .
(who eloped, and an
Act was passed, 2 Wm.
& Mary, to illegitimate
any child she had then
had or should have
during her elopement.)







SILVER CLOCK OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

EXHIBITED AT THE ARUNDEL MEETING, AUGUST 9, 1849.

BY WILLIAM TOWNLEY MITFORD, ESQ.

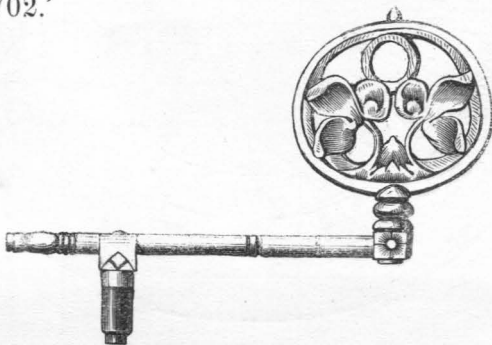


THE silver bedside clock given by King Charles I to Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Herbert, as he was going to the place of execution at Whitehall, on January 30, 1649, came into possession of my family by intermarriage with the Herberts, about a century ago. Since that time it has remained in our possession. Thomas Herbert, a kinsman of the Earls of Pembroke, was one of the early travellers in the East Indies,

his account of which has been published, and in later life was of Parliamentary politics during the civil war, until he was appointed as a personal attendant upon the king, when he was won over by nearer acquaintance, and became sincerely attached to him until the end. It has been said that the MS. of 'Icon Basilike' was delivered to him, but that is very doubtful. He died March 1, 1681, aged 76.

Parts of the interior mechanism of the clock were unfortunately modernised about fifty years ago, and the original catgut spring replaced by a metal one, but the outer case of fine perforated work, inclosing two silver bells, on which the hours and quarters are struck, remains unaltered. "Edward East, London," is engraven inside; his name is among those of the ten Assistants of the Clockmaker's Company, on its first incorporation in 1631; and he is mentioned as the king's watchmaker, living in Fleet Street, in the following extracts.

The woodcut of the back of the clock is two-thirds of the real size; the other woodcuts represent the exact size of this beautiful relic of historical interest. Its previous history will be best explained by the following extracts from *'Memoirs of the two last years of the Reign of that unparallell'd Prince, of ever blessed memory, King Charles I, by Sir Thomas Herbert—London, 1702.'*



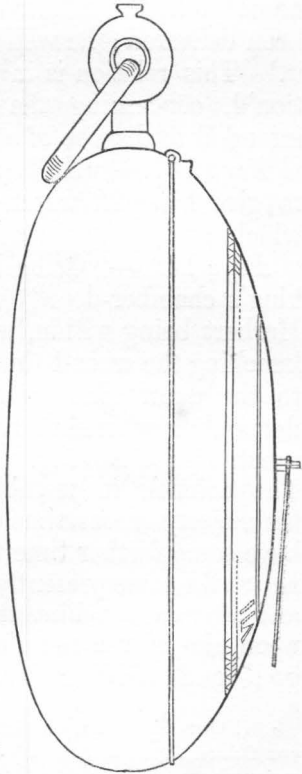
Page 91.—"The king being desirous to know the matter, he before break of day rang his silver bell, which, with both his watches, were usually laid upon a stool near the wax lamp, that was set near them in a large silver basin."

Page 101.—"One night, as the king was preparing to go to bed, as his custom was, he wound up both his watches,

one being gold, the other silver, he miss'd his diamond seal, a table that had the king's arms cut with great curiosity, and fixt to the watch."

Page 103.—"Another night his majesty appointed Mr. Herbert to come into his bedchamber an hour earlier than usual in the morning; but it so happened that he overslept his time, and awaken'd not untill the king's silver bell hastened him in. 'Herbert,' said the king, 'you have not observ'd the command I gave last night.' He acknowledged his fault. 'Well,' said the king, 'I will order you for the future; you shall have a gold alarm watch, which, as there may be cause, shall awake you; write to the Earl of Pembroke to send me such a one presently.' The Earl immediately sent to Mr. East, his watchmaker, in Fleet-street, about it; of which more will be said at his Majesty's coming to St. James's."

Page 120.—"Mr. Herbert about this time going to the cockpit near Whitehall, where the Earl of Pembroke's lodgings were, he then, as at sundry other times, enquired how his Majesty did, and gave his humble duty to him, and withall ask'd him if his Majesty had the gold watch he sent for, and how he liked it. Mr. Herbert assured his lordship the king had not received it. The earl fell presently into a passion, marvelling thereat; being the more troubled, lest his Majesty should think him careless in observing his commands, and told Mr. Herbert, at the king's coming to St. James's, as he was sitting under the great elm tree, near Sir Benjamin Ruddier's lodge in the park, seeing a considerable military officer of the army pass towards St. James's, he went to meet him, and demanding of him if he knew his cousin, Tom Herbert, that waited on the king?"



The officer said, he did, and was going to St. James's. The earl then deliver'd to him the gold watch that had the alarm, desiring him to give it to Mr. Herbert, to present it to the king. The officer promised the earl he would immediately do it. 'My lord,' said Mr. Herbert, 'I have sundry times seen and pass'd by that officer since, and do assure your lordship he hath not deliver'd it me according to your order and his promise, nor said anything to me concerning it; nor has the king it, I am certain. The earl was very angry, and gave the officer his due character, and threatened to question him. But such was the severity of the times, that it was then judged dangerous to reflect upon such a person,¹ being a favourite of the time, so as no notice was taken of it. Nevertheless, Mr. Herbert (at the earl's desire) acquainted his Majesty therewith, who gave the earl his thanks, and said, 'Ah, had he not told the officer it was for me, it would probably have been delivered; he well knew how short a time I could enjoy it.' This relation is in prosecution of what is formerly mention'd, concerning the clock or alarm-watch his Majesty intended to dispose of as is declared."

Page 131.—"He" (the king) "commanded Mr. Herbert to give his gold watch to the Dutchess of Richmond; all which, as opportunity served, Mr. Herbert delivered."

Page 132.—"Colonel Hacker then knock'd easily at the king's chamber-door" (on the morning of Jan. 30). "Mr. Herbert being within, would not stir to ask who it was; but knocking the second time a little louder, the king bade him go to the door. He guessed his business. So Mr. Herbert demanding wherefore he knocked, the colonel said, he would speak with the king. The king said, 'Let him come in.' The colonel, in trembling manner, came near, and told his majesty it was time to go to Whitehall, where he might have some further time to rest. The king bade him go forth, he would come presently. Some time his majesty was private, and afterwards taking the good bishop by the hand, looking upon him with a chearful countenance, he said, 'Come, let us go;' and, bidding Mr. Herbert take with him the silver

¹ Whether this person, who intercepted the king's intended present of a gold watch, was Colonel Joyce, or some other equally honest Roundhead officer, must be left to conjecture.

clock that hung by the bed-side, said, 'Open the door; Hacker has given us a second warning.' Through the garden the king passed into the park, where, making a stand, he asked Mr. Herbert the hour of the day; and taking the clock into his hand, gave it to him, and bade him keep it in memory of him, which Mr. Herbert keeps accordingly.³³



NOTES ON THE WILLS

PROVED AT THE

CONSISTORY COURTS OF LEWES AND CHICHESTER.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

(READ AT THE BRIGHTON MEETING, DECEMBER, 1849.)

SIR HARRIS NICOLAS, in the preface of his 'Testamenta Vetusta,' observes, that "of all species of evidence, whether of the kindred or of the possessions of individuals, perhaps the most satisfactory is afforded by their wills; and in many cases these interesting documents exhibit traits of character which are more valuable, because more certain, than can possibly be deduced from the actions of their lives." After some philosophical remarks in proof of this assertion, he adds, "But it is to the antiquary—to him who seeks for information on the habits and manners of his ancestors—from sources unpolluted by the erroneous constructions or misrepresentations of others, and who (setting aside the theories of a favourite writer on past times) judges from evidence alone, that early wills are of the greatest importance. Where, but in such instruments, can we possibly obtain an accurate knowledge of the articles which constituted the furniture of the houses, or the wearing apparel of persons who lived several centuries ago? or in what other record can so satisfactory an account of the property of an individual be discovered as in that in which he bequeaths it to his child or to his friend?" The archæologist who has paid the slightest attention to these valuable records will need no confirmation of these observations.

All are aware that the principal depository of wills is in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Doctors' Commons. It is there that the testaments of the greater portion of the noble and gentle families of the province are deposited; still there are in the various episcopal and archidiaconal courts many early wills of great antiquarian interest. In the county of

Sussex there are three registries, viz. that of the Archdeaconry of Chichester, at Chichester, that of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, at Lewes, and that of the Peculiars of the Archbishop, also kept at the latter town. By way of calling the attention of our Society to this branch of archæological research, I intend in this paper to note down a few remarks resulting from occasional perusals of the wills preserved in the registries alluded to.

The earliest will I have met with in the Lewes registry is dated 1528. At Chichester, the wills are of about the same date. Those of the Peculiars commence in the reign of Elizabeth.

The principal utility of these documents is the light which they cast upon family history. As I have already stated, the wills of the more eminent families are principally to be found at Doctors' Commons; still many of those made by the gentry of bygone times exist in the local depositaries; while almost the entire material for the pedigrees of that interesting class, the old yeomanry of Sussex, is to be found in them. By the authentic light of these memorials, the published pedigrees of county families may be carried a few descents higher, as well as greatly amplified in the collateral branches. And it is highly curious to trace, on the one hand, how the gradual rise or decline of a family has taken place, from yeomanhood to gentry, from gentry, it may be, through a successive decadence, to the very verge of pauperism. On the other hand, it is no less remarkable to observe how steadily the fortunes of some families have held on "the even tenour of their way," through the long period of three centuries. In the year 1534, for example, William Ade, of Radmyll, bequeaths to his wife and children property of a description which proves that he was an agriculturist, holding a little estate of his own and occupying more, which ever since has been the social position of his descendants, thrifty and well-to-do members of the commonwealth—"their country's pride;"—and if the said Thomas, in his goodwill, could contribute towards the making of a "northe doore in the parische churche of Radmell a quarter of barley," he has lineal descendants—among whom may be reckoned our valued member and contributor, Mr. Charles Ade—who would be, and are, equally forward in promoting

any object for the common good. Here I would add, parenthetically, that Master Ade's wishes about a "northe doore" for his parish church were realised—the stone casing of it remains, though the aperture has long been closed. Why, I will not undertake to say: I have often wondered how it is that we find so many instances of the blocking-up of northern doors in our Sussex churches. But, to return, the investigation of wills often supplies us with information regarding the dedication of churches and the details of their arrangements, such as chapels, altars, &c., not elsewhere ascertainable. Thus William Tyttelton, vicar of Chiddingly in 1559, directs his body to be buried "in the chauncell, at the north syde, *under the sepulchre.*" Now, so far as I am aware, this is the only kind of proof of this church having had its "sepulchre," or recess, so common in our larger churches, for the enactment of the scene of the Resurrection at Easter; for the chancel has been so modernised as to leave no traces of it.

The prebend of Woodhorne in Chichester cathedral, now held by our member, the Rev. Dr. Holland, formerly sustained the singular appendage of *a chapel in the churchyard* of Arlington. At the south-west corner of that cemetery there existed, within memory, some slight remains of this building; but the only documentary evidence I have met with concerning it occurs in a will. In 1563 Elizabeth Fynnes (Fiennes), of Arlington, widow, bequeaths her body to burial, "in Erlyngton chyrche, or in the chappell within the sayd chyrcheyarde."

Benefactions to the parish church of the testator occur in almost every early will. They usually consist of small sums, without any specific direction as to their appropriation. Sometimes, however, the object of the gift is distinctly stated. Thus, in 1542, Thomas Standen, of Ticehurst, gives "to the selyng or gylding of the myddell roff over the body of the said church of Tysherst x marks, to be made within iiij yers next after my decease, on the condycion that the parishons there, or sum other well-dysposyd people, wyll goo further in the same." "Item (he adds) I bequeth to the purchasing of a fayre, to be kept at Tysherst grene or strett, v marks, and if the parishens do not obteyne their purpose in purchasing the said fayre, then I wyll that (the) v marks shall goo to the necessary reparacons of the said church." Perhaps some member who is

acquainted with the building may be enabled from this extract to ascertain whether the testator's wish was carried out. Standen appears to have been a substantial yeoman, for in addition to a legacy for the reparation of "the most noysum and fowle wayes within the said paryshe of Tysherst, whereas most nede shalbe sene by the discrecyon of the honesty of the parishe," he bequeaths "unto an honest priest callyd S^r Richard Atkinson vⁱ, to syng for my sawle, my wyffe's sawle, and all Cristen sawles, the space of iij quarters of a yere, that is to say, xxxiiij^s iiij^d a quarter, and to synge now the said iij quarters forthe, and from hence forth without seasynge."

These incidental notices often supply the names of the parochial incumbent at the date of the will; a matter of some interest to the topographer. Before the Reformation, parish priests are almost uniformly honoured with the style of "*Sir*," a designation which will call to mind several Shakspearean characters.

The images and other objects of devotion in the unreformed church are frequently mentioned in wills. William Alewyn, of Westdean, near Chichester, by his will, dated 1525, directs his body "to be buryed in the chauncell of Saynct Andrewe, of Westden," and gives "to the *silver crosse* of Westden xx^d, and to every light beyng in the chirche of Sancte Andrew half a quarter of barley." John Jeffraye, of Rippe, in 1558, bequeaths his body to be buried "within the paryshe church of Rype, before the *Image of our Lady of pitye*." I may remark, that this term "our Lady of pity," in Latin, "*Mater Dolorosa*," was applied to all those images of the Virgin in which she was represented with our Saviour on her knee, as he was taken from the cross—a very melancholy aspect.¹ Anthony Sentleger esquier, in 1539, desires interment in the church of Slyndon, "before the *pict^r of our Lady*." William Jefferay, of Chiddingly, in 1543 orders his grave to be made "in the church of Chetyngligh, in the middyll passe before the *roode* (or crucifix) at my father's fett." He also wills to have "a taper of iiij pownds of wax to burne before the sepulker [already referred to as existing in this church in the will of Tyttelton, the vicar], the space of vij yers." In 1542, George Coulpeper, of Balcombe, Gent., directs his body to be buried

¹ Gent. Mag., Oct. 1836.

in the parish church there, "before the alter or *memoriale of our Lady*." Oblations to the shrine of St. Richard of Chichester—so ably illustrated by our Honorary Secretary—are of very frequent occurrence.

The provision made for the "helthe" of the testator's "sowle" varies with the means he possessed. Sometimes the aid of a single priest at the "burying," "month's mind," and "year's mind," was all that was directed; at other times, four, six, or even twenty, priests are ordered to attend the exequies. John at More, of More House, in Wivelsfield, by his will, dated 1542, directs xx priests to attend his burial, to sing dirges and masses for his soul, and to have vi^d each for their trouble. Nicholas Apsley, of Pulborough, Gent., in 1546, bequeaths "unto xx prysts to singe masse at his burying x^s, and unto other xx prysts to singe masse at his monthes mynde x^s. Edward Wheatley, of Pevensey, a wealthy yeoman, in 1545 directs that "Robert Crossebyll, priest, shall syng for the helth of his soule and all Christen (souls), in the church of St. Nicolas of Pevensey, one hole yeare, and have for his labor xⁱⁱ." A still wealthier person, of the same class, Richard Burré, "ffarmer of the parsonage of Sowntyng, called the Temple, which I hold of the howse of Saynt Jonys," in 19 Hen. VIII, wills that S^r Robert Bechton, "my chaplen, syng ffor my sowle by the space of xi yers," and further requires an obit for his soul for eleven years in Sompting church—"at that obbit to be spente in priests, clerks, ryngers, and pouer people xiiij^s iv^d;" annual sums of iiij^s iv^d and ij^s to be sent on the occasion to the "gray ffryars of Chichester, to the blacke ffryars of Chichester, to the ffryers of Arundel, and to the ffryers of *the Sele*." To the reparations of Reigate church he gives the large sum of £6. 13s. 4d. Humbler testators give at their buryings and month's minds largesses of wheat, barley, meat, bread, and "bere." Geffreye Holman, of Horsted Keynes, in 1558, orders as a gift to the poor on these occasions "one busschel of wheate in breade, and drinke to the same, and *chese* or *hering* as the time shall fortien"—a curious illustration of olden manners.

Quitting for the present bequests of a religious nature, I would observe that those which relate to the disposal of property are of great value. Landed estates are generally speci-

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Quitting for the present bequests of a religious nature, I would observe that those which relate to the disposal of property are of great value. Landed estates are generally speci-

fied, and thus much light is thrown upon local history ; while the manners of our ancestors are often illustrated by the references made to personal effects. I select a few instances. Joane, widow of Thomas Culpeper, of Crawley, 'esquier,' (temp. Henry VIII), gives to her "yongist son, John Fenner, a salt-seller, with a cover, and halff a dosen of the best sylver sponys and a bede," and all her "wayns and carts, with such other thyngs that appertenyth unto husbandry." She gives also to her daughter Fenner her "best beads of corroll gawdye with gold," and to Elene, another daughter, "a littel cope gilt." Thomas Shoyswell, of Shoyswell, in Etchingham, gives, in 1580, to Dorothy his wife, "a standing cupp of sylver parcell-guilt ; also ij chests, the one the chest that *I made at Sheffylde*—the other that standeth at the stayers hed, and the cubberd that standeth at my bede head ; also a gold ringe ingraven, with a seale like unto a man's head." Somewhat unnecessarily, according to our modern notions, he adds, that she is to have "the use and weringe of her wedinge ringe during her lief, and a ringe with blewe saffier." He further gives her "the chamber in his howse called the Grene chamber, and the chamber within the same, together with free ingress, egress, and regresse into and from the same by the ways, droves, and stayers used and accustomed to the same [together with wood for fuel], and the garret over the Greene chamber, and free liberty to bake and brewe in the bakehouse and brewehouse for her owne necessarie use, and to drye her clothes uppon the hedges and bushes about his mannor-house of Shoyswell ; and sufficient rôme, pasture, and haye for ij geldings in the stables and grounds nere adioyning the said mannor-house." John Mascall, of Sherington, in Selmeston, in 31 Eliz., gives his eldest son Walter all his "brewinge vessells, and all other old standerds and utensills of the house, all his books, and £100." John Bolney, of Bolney, "esquier," in 1551, after ordering his burial in the "chauncell of Bolney church, under the cofer (aumbry ?), on the north syde thereof, gives *inter alia* "to Mr. John Covert, esquier, ij payre of almond *synetts* and splints thereto, with a bowe and a sheafe of arrowes and a byll." Nicholas Stone, of the chappellrye of Uckfelde, in 10 Eliz., gives to Thomas Stone, his brother, his "best cloke and worst bowe, and all that belongethe theartoe ;" and to his

brother John, his buckler. Thomas Culpeper, of Wilmington, Esq., in 1602, gives to Sir Nicholas Parker, of Willingdon, to his cousin Anthony Culpeper, of Bedgbury, to all his "over-living" brothers, and to his nephew, Culpeper, of Ffokington, "a ringe of gold value £3. 6s. 8*d.*, with this posey to bee graven at the outside of the ringe, round about the knobb, viz. 'NON TE DESERVI SED PRESTO.'" In bequeathing farming-stock, the names of cattle are frequently specified. Thomas Ade, of Rodmill, in 1555 gives his son Richard "iiij oxen and a cowe, Quyll, and Merywater, Chaylivy, and Sharpe, and the cowe that he bowght." Christian Blaker, of Portslade, widow, in 1578, gives her daughter, Anne Beard, of Rottingdean, her best russet cassock; to another daughter, Alice Foggins, her second russet cassock, her best worsted kertle, and a peticote; and to a third daughter, Barbara Avery, "a coverlet of blewe and red yarne," &c. Among household furniture, "pewter dishes" and "brasse pottes" are always conspicuous.

In the will of William Wenham, of Laughton, 1563, is the following singular bequest: "To my cosen, Johan Hibden, xl^s to be delyvered to my syster, Johan Holden, *toward the healyng of her legge.*"

The names of the witnesses to a will are sometimes suggestive of interesting considerations. In the testament of John Afyld, of Warbleton, 1543, the name of Richard Woodman, the Protestant martyr, subsequently burnt at Lewes, appears in juxtaposition with that of George Fayrbanke, his persecutor, the unprincipled and apostatising priest of the parish.

The foregoing remarks may be regarded as prefatory to a series of entire Wills and abstracts of Wills which I intend to offer to the notice of the Society for publication, if desired, in future volumes of the *Collections*. Not to extend the present paper unduly, I shall confine myself to two wills, of the date of 1542, from the registry of the Archdeacon of Lewes.

No. I. (Abstract.)

"In the name of God, &c. I, THOMAS DONET, of BURWASSE, &c. I give and bequeth my sall, &c., and my body to be buryed in the church-yerod of St. bartholomew, in burwashe aforesayd. It. I give to the high aulter ther, for my tythes and oblacions neclygently forgotten, v*j*^d. It. To the mother

church of Chichester, iiij^d. Item, I gyve to the church of burwashe, iij^s. iiij^d. to bye a legger, otherwise a great portwys, to say matyns and evensong. It. I wyll have bestowyd at my buryng, in masses and diriges and other charitable deds, vi^s. viij^d. Item, as mych at my moneth day in lyke wyse vi^s. viij^d.”

The bequest of a legacy for the purchase of a *porteus* or service-book for the parish church, is curious; but my principal object in this will is to show the farming stock of a considerable Sussex agriculturist upwards of three centuries ago.

“ Item. I gyve to Rose my wyff the leasse of my farme of *broksmayle*² [with] viij kyne, ij oxen, and ij marys (mares), the best that she can chuse. Item. I gyve to her all my whole howsehold duryng her lyff [afterwards to her two daughters, Agnes and Elizabeth]. Item. I gyve to Rose my wyff ij toweryngs, and ij twelmontyngs.

“ ——— To Jane, my wife's daughter, ‘an haffer of ij yerys age.’

“ ——— To John, my son, ‘all hys catell that he hath with me, and a cow,’ &c.

“ ——— To Wylliam, my son, a cow of v yers.

“ ——— To Hary Donet, my godson, a calf.

“ ——— To Thomas Donet, my godson, a calf.

“ ——— To Jelian Donet, an haffer of ij yers.

“ Item. I wyll to Stephan, my son, an horse called *marcocke* . . and a copell of bullocks of ij yere.

“ ——— To Wyllm. Stylman, my godson, a copull of twelmontyngs.

“ ——— To Robert Donet, a calff.

“ ——— To Wyllm. Donet, my son, a bay geldyng and a mare called *trouleppe*.³

“ ——— To Jone Styman, a cowe.” (Dated 22 Dec. 1542.)⁴

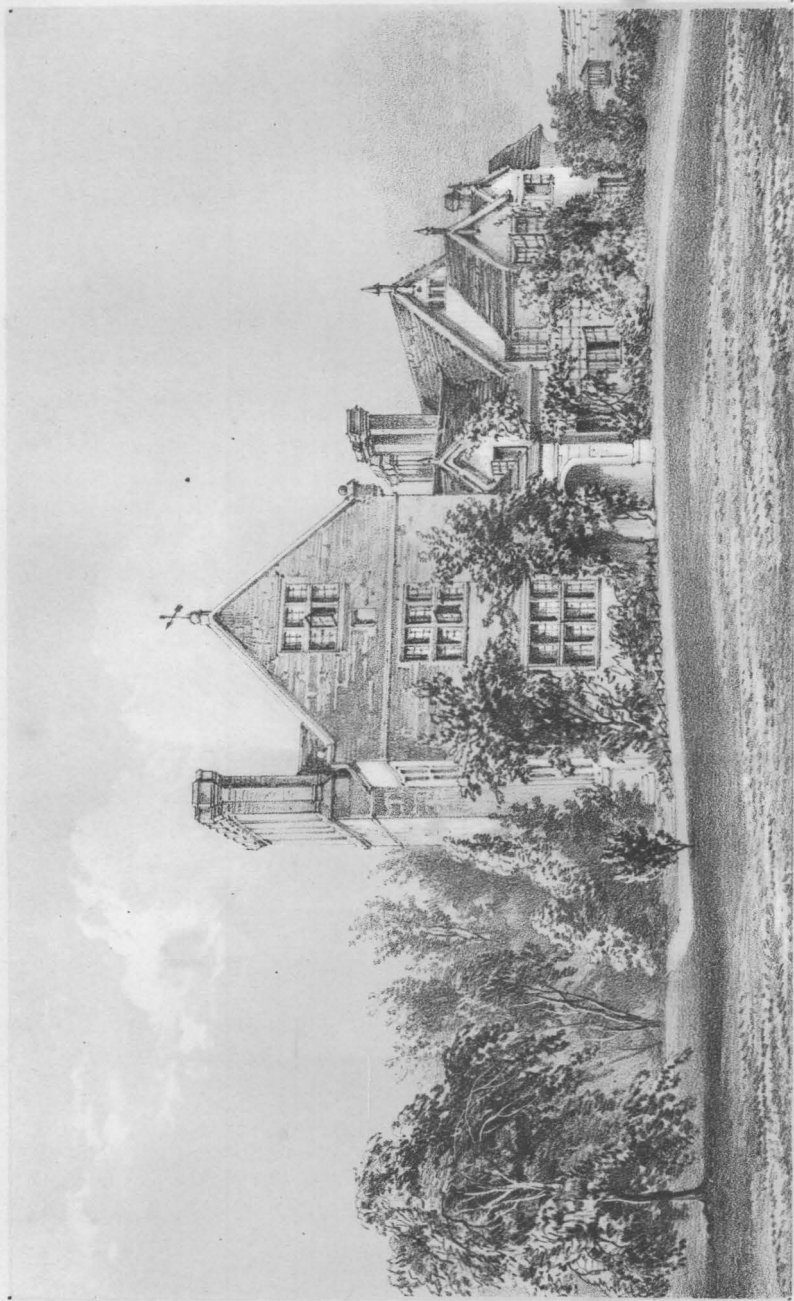
II.

“ In the name of god, amen: the last day of September, the yere of our lord god 1542, I, NICHOLAS WORDSWORTHE, chantry priest of CRAWLEY, beyng hole of mynd and perfect

² *Brookmaile* appears on the Ordnance Survey as a house three quarters of a mile north of Burwash church.

³ This word, whatever it may mean, is now corrupted to *Tulip*, a common name for horses in Sussex.

⁴ Lewes Registry, liber i, fol. 5.



Morris & Wood del.

OCKENDEN HOUSE, CUCKFIELD.

EXTRACTS FROM
THE JOURNAL AND ACCOUNT-BOOK
OF
TIMOTHY BURRELL, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
OF OCKENDEN HOUSE, CUCKFIELD, FROM THE YEAR 1683 TO 1714.
EDITED, WITH NOTES,
BY ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, ESQ.

HAVING, through the kindness of my friend, the Rev. Mr. Plucknett, been enabled to publish extracts from the Journal of a Sussex Clergyman, the Rev. Giles Moore, in the first volume of the *Suss. Arch. Collections*, an opportunity has been kindly offered by another neighbour, Mr. Bull, of Lindfield, to lay before the public a sequel to that work, in the following extracts from the Journal of a Sussex gentleman, which, commencing only six years later than that referred to, gives to those who are interested in such inquiries an opportunity of comparing wages and prices for a period of nearly sixty years, and to those who are curious in such matters, it affords an insight into the domestic habits and manners of another class of men—those of the country gentleman of that time, a subject which has acquired additional interest from the masterly manner in which it has been lately treated by Mr. Macaulay, though the truth and accuracy of his sketch has been somewhat angrily disputed.

The manuscript from which the following extracts are taken was kept by Mr. Burrell, a member of that family which has long occupied an eminent position in this county. The family of Burrell, which is a very ancient one, was originally settled in Northumberland, where they remain to this day. One of them, named Ralph, in the reign of Edward II, married Sismonda, the daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Woodland, of the county of Devon, and in consequence they settled in that county. A younger son, a descendant of that branch of the family, named Gerard, being bred to the church, became, in 1446, archdeacon of Chichester, canon residentiary of that

cathedral, and vicar of Cuckfield, and through him the family was introduced into Sussex.

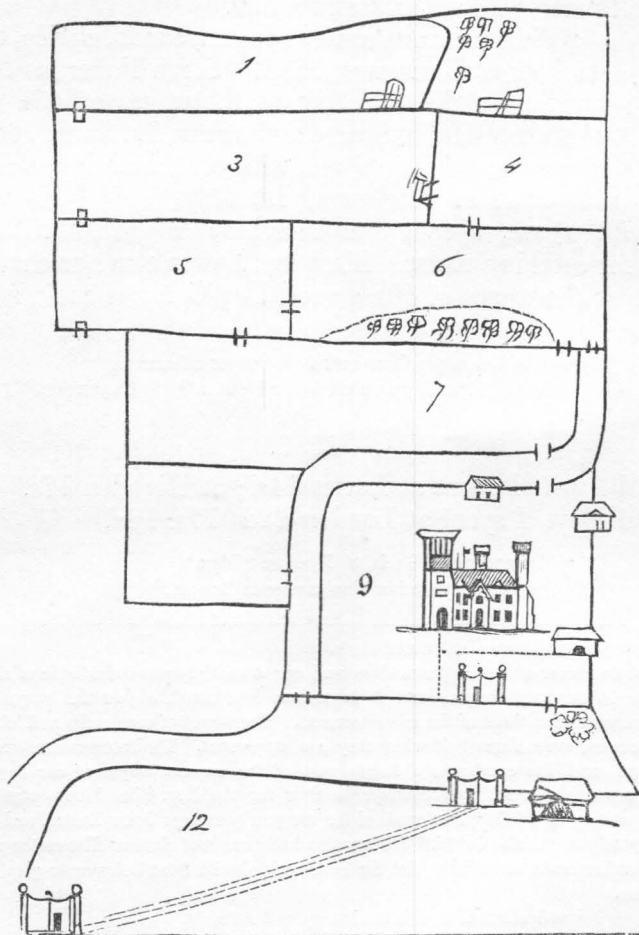
The author of this Journal, Timothy, seventh son of Walter Burrell, was born in 1643 ; he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was called to the bar, and practised in London : this he gave up, and he settled in the country, where he still followed the profession of the law, and was generally known by the title of Counsellor Burrell. He appears to have been a good man, a scholar, and a gentleman. His charities were extensive, and he exercised a generous hospitality towards his neighbours, both rich and poor.

Mr. Burrell was thrice married ; his first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Harry Goring, of Highden ; his second was Mary, daughter of Sir Job Charlton, of Luxford, in Herefordshire ; and his third wife was Elizabeth Chilcott, of Surrey. He had no children by either of his first wives, and the last died in giving birth to an only daughter, born in 1696. She was married, at 19, to Mr. Trevor, who became the second Lord Trevor. Short as their married life was, it proved to be an unhappy one. She died about two years after, leaving, as her mother had done, an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married the second Duke of Marlborough.

Mr. Burrell, whose affections were centred in his only child, survived her loss a very short time, sickness and grief bringing down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. In his will, made after his daughter's marriage, he leaves his estates for his life to his son-in-law, and names him one of his executors and trustees. In a subsequent codicil, drawn up after his daughter's death, he revokes these appointments, giving as his reason for so doing "his son-in-law's rude and ungrateful treatment of himself, and his morose and ungentlemanlike conduct to his daughter, who, in the opinion of all who knew her, deserved very different and far better treatment from him." He died at his house at Ockenden, 26th December, 1717, aged 75.

The grandmother of Mr. Bull, the possessor of the original manuscript, was a Stapley, a descendant of that ancient family, so long resident at Hickstead Place, in the parish of Twineham, and it was from thence that the manuscript was brought. It entirely relates to domestic matters ; many of the notices are in Latin, of which language he was evidently a considerable

master, and occasionally in Greek, and they are accompanied by characteristic sketches, the first of which represents his house and the small property surrounding it, and many of those which follow are intended to indicate either the moral habits or the occupations of those to whom he refers; and it is to J. H. Hurdis, Esq., of Newick, who upon this, and upon other occasions, has proved himself a zealous friend to our Society, that we are indebted for the graphic illustrations which accompany the work.



- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Coppice, 1 acre 3 roods 22 rods. | 6. Market field, 3 acres wanting $1\frac{1}{2}$ rod. |
| 3. Great Hilly field, 3 acres 3 roods 20 rods | 7. Upper mead, 3 acres 1 rood 19 rods. |
| 4. Little Hilly field, 1 acre 1 rood 13 rods. | 9. Bean plat, 1 rood $7\frac{1}{2}$ rods. |
| 5. Park field, 2 acres 3 roods 18 rods. | 12. Orchard. |

The house and estate still remain in the family, being the property of Sir Charles Burrell, and the place is occupied by Mr. J. Fearon, who, fully appreciating the beautiful and picturesque character of the old house, has kindly and liberally presented the Society with the plate which appears as the frontispiece to this paper.

“The whole low part of Ockenden House is computed by Will Lindfield, as to the covering, at 38 squares and a half; the tall part at 10 squares and a half.



“Walter Savage came as promo, condo, clerico, camerarius,¹ at Christmas, 1683. Sarah Fuller, as dayry-mayd, on the 5th May, at the wages of 45s. p^r. an. Abraham Holford came as footman, 1st June, 1685, at the wages of 30s. p^r. an., with coat, breeches, and hat. John Hall came as coachman, 1st July, 1685; his wages were £6 p^r. an., a coat and breeches: I gave him 2s. 6d. more for catching moles. Margaret Lawes came as chamber-mayd, at the wages of 50s.; and Mary Coley as cook, at 50s. p^r. an.²

‘Et Luxus populator opum, cui semper adhæret
Infelix humili gressu comitatur Egestas.’³ CLAUDIAN.”

1686.

“2d April. I spent at Lewes 14s.; at Highden 17s.

“3d May. I spent at London £22 17s. 10d.

“Me constare mihi scis, et discedere tristem
Quandocunque trahunt invisâ negotia Romam.”⁴

¹ A compound of butler, valet, and clerk.

² In the contrast of cost in those days and our own, the most remarkable of all is the difference in servants' wages; and it is curious how much higher the wages of the coachman were than those of the other servants. The wages of mechanics and labourers, it will be seen, were about half what they are at present. The footman received about a fifteenth, and the coachman a fourth part of the current wages of our days; and that these were the usual rate of wages is clear, for the Rev. Giles Moore says in his Journal, writing in 1685, “I entertained for my yearly servant John Dawes, and I paid him his yearly wages, £5 0s. 0d.” No mention being made of clothes. The rector paid his servants rather better than the squire, for he bargained with Rose Coleman to give her £3 per annum.

³ “Spoilers of wealth are luxury and state,
And wretched want doth on their footsteps wait.”

⁴ “You know my constant love for happy home,
And with what pain I visit bustling Rome.”

“ June. To the Protestant briefe I gave 10s.⁵ For my tythes, 10s. 2*d.* Spent at London, £13 3s. 6*d.* I gave widow Norman and widow King 7s. each. At Ned Luxford’s I gave away 10s. 6*d.*

“ For a quarter of malt, £1. 5 quarts of brandy, 5s. Half an ell of cloth, 3s. Weaving 30 yards of diaper, £2 5s.

“ August. For the keep of two calves, at 6*d.* a week, 5s. 6*d.* 20 bushels of white peas, £3. 4 pullets, 4s. 3 ducks, 1s. 6*d.*

“ Sept. For 6 bushels of wheat, 17s. 4*d.*⁶ Chimney money, 15s. Half a lb. of cod’s tongues, 1s. 2*d.*; and for 4 stone of cod fish, 4s. 6*d.* 4 weanyer pigs, £1 8s.

“ I spent at Lewes and Comb, £1 10s.; and at Highden, 10s.⁷

“ Dec. I layed out in London £19 7s. 9*d.* I gave to the poor, £1 5s.

“ The clerk’s wages were 8*d.*, but I gave him 4*d.* more. The sexton’s wages for my seat, and those I bought of my uncle Joe, were 8*d.* Poor-tax, 7s. 4*d.*; church-tax, 1s. 10*d.* I payd Mr. Snatt my half year’s tythes, 10s. 3*d.*, and at Easter I sent him my offering, 10s.⁸

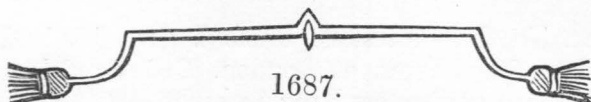
“ Summa totius anni . £314 11s. 7½*d.*”

⁵ The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the year before, had driven, it is said, as many as 70,000 French Protestants into England, the greater number of whom were in a state of destitution. This collection made for their support, and repeated for several successive years, was general; and notwithstanding every effort made by James II to frustrate the object, the appeal was most liberally responded to. “ Perhaps,” says Macaulay, “ none of the munificent subscriptions of our own age has borne so great a proportion to the means of the nation.” The sum subscribed, free from all deductions, amounted to 40,000*l.*

⁶ The average price of wheat this year was £1 10s. 2*d.* the quarter.

⁷ The giving vails to servants, which was then the common practice, will account for his large expenditure at the houses of his friends. Comb and Highden were the residences of his relations, the Bridgers and the Gorings. On a later occasion, in 1699, he records the fees, but not the place in which he paid these vails, when it is clear he included the whole household in his donations. “ Mr. Johnson, 10s. 9*d.* (half a guinea); chambermaid, 10s.; cook, 10s.; coachman, 5s.; butler, 5s.; chief gardener, 5s.; under-cook, 2s. 6*d.*; boy, 2s. 6*d.*; under-gardener, 2s. 6*d.*; nurse, 2s. 6*d.*: total, £3 0s. 9*d.*”

⁸ Easter offerings were generally paid. “ All my Esther offerings,” says Giles Moore, “ were clearly worth to me this yeare 1659, £2. The persons who gave me above the ordinary allowance were Mrs. Board, 10s., Mrs. Culpepper, 10s., the rest of the family, 5s., and Mr. Jordan, 2s.”



1687.

“ 28th March. I spent at Lewes, 15*s.* To Dr. White, 10*s.*, and to Fishenden the apothecary, 5*s.*

“ April. Chimney money, 15*s.* Claret, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Rhenish, 7*s.* I spent at London, £9.

“ June. Spent at London, £11 16*s.* Gave Gulliver, to get him out of gaole, 2*s.* 6*d.* Jo. Hall’s wages for the yeare, £6.

“ I payd John Holford, for his two years’ wages, due on the 1st, £3, and I gave him £2 for excusing his livery this year.

“ I bought of Sir Harbord Whalley two coach geldings for £35, and I gave the man who brought them from Maudlyn faire, near Winchester, 10*s.* I bought another coach gelding of Vinabo, of Chayley, for £10.

“ 1st August. I spent, in my journey to Comb, 18*s.*, and I lost 8*s.* at cards there. Payd Harry Bridger the legacy given him by my father, £5.

“ Oct. To the apothecary for bleeding, 1*s.*⁹

“ For a spinning-wheel, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and for spinning 6 lb. of hemp, 4*s.*¹⁰ Tobacco, 1*s.* For making my breeches, 3*s.*

“ Nov. Spent at London, £12 10*s.*

“ Dec. Tythes, 10*s.* 3*d.* Fiddlers, 6*d.* Howlers,¹¹ 1*s.* To the poor of the parish, £1 3*s.* 6*d.* For hanging the bell, 2*s.* The bell, wood, and iron weighed 66 lb. Chimney money, 15*s.* I gave aunt Salter £5. Spent at Lewes and Comb, £1 13*s.* I bought 50 herrings for 1*s.* 9*d.*

“ Feb. 2d. For digging 21 rods, at 2*d.* a rod, 3*s.* 6*d.*”

Then follows a list of presents which were sent to him by his friends and neighbours, rich and poor, during the course of the year. The following are specimens, as it would be tedious to give the whole list: “ Stephen Comber, two quarts of mead and two green geese; Mrs. Edwards, one dozen and half of lobsters; Mrs. Snatt, two dozen of China oranges; Sir John Morton, haunch of venison; Mr. Warden, two days’ work with his team; brother P. Burrell, hamms, plumms,

⁹ There are other notices of this habit of being bled every spring and autumn.

¹⁰ About the same price paid by Giles Moore to widow Ward, thirty years before—viz. at the rate of 10*d.* per lb.

¹¹ These are the boys who went round on New Year’s Eve wassailing the orchards. For an account of them see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, Vol. I, p. 110.

and sweetmeats ; Mr. Board, a haunch of venison ; brother P. Burrell, two dozen bottles of claret ; J. Pelham, half a bushel of oysters ; sister Emma Charlton, a pott of cocks (woodcocks) one dozen and a half." Besides these, there arrived geese, capons, pigs, and game from his poorer neighbours, among whom Mr. Griffith sends him four chickens, cockerells.

" March 24th. Church tax, 11*d.* Letter, 4*d.* 9 ells of Holland, £1 4*s.* I spent at East Grinstead, £1 2*s.*

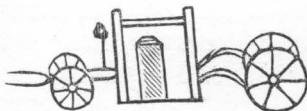
" The value of the wheat, oates, barley, malt, peas, tares, hemp, pigs, turkeys, and geese brought from Stoneham, was £12 14*s.* 9*d.*

" Summa totius anni . £294 18*s.* 6*d.*"

1688.

" April. I sent Mr. Snatt my Easter offering, 10*s.*

" 1st May. My charriot cost £28 ; two liveries, £5 4*s.* Spent at London, £24 18*s.* 6*d.* French Protestants, 10*s.* Chimney money, 15*s.*¹² Poor tax, 11*s.* Spent at



Grinstead, £1 2*s.* P^d Gosmark for tending Mary 3 weeks, 6*s.*

" July. I sent 40 lbs. of black cherries to Highden, 11*s.*

" Oct. 1st. I spent, in my journey to Ludford, £35. Gave the ringers, when I came home, on the 25th, 2*s.* 6*d.* Lord Bergavenny's rent, £1 10*s.* Tythes, 10*s.* 3*d.* Dr. White, £1 10*s.* Apothecary's bill, £1 3*s.*

" Dec. To the poor of the parish, £1 6*s.* Fiddlers, 1*s.* French Protestants, 6*s.* Thanksgiving, 5*s.* Church tax, 11*d.* Letters for two years, 5*s.*¹³ P^d Tydy for 2 bushels of wheat, 12*s.* 6*d.*¹⁴

" Summa totius anni . £323 9*s.* 6*d.*"

The value of wheat, oats, barley, malt, peas, tares, hogs,

¹² This was the last year of that obnoxious tax, Chimney Money, or Hearth Money. By the 1st Will. and Mary, it was declared that the "revenue of Hearth or Chimney Money was grievous to the people of England, by occasioning many difficulties and questions, a great oppression to the poorer sort, and a badge of slavery to the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered and searched at pleasure by persons unknown to them, and therefore it was abolished for ever." The net income derived from the tax was not more than £200,000*l.* (Macaulay.)

¹³ Twopence was the charge for each letter sent by post, if the distance did not exceed eighty miles, and 3*d.* if it did. Mr. Burrell's correspondence probably fairly represented that of other gentlemen of his day.

¹⁴ The average price of wheat this year was £2 0*s.* 10*d.*

pigs, pullets, turkeys, eggs, ducks brought from Stoneham, was £23.

Among the presents sent to him this year, which were comparatively few in number, sister T. Burrell sends him 4 lbs. of new butter; sister Emma Charlton, as usual, a pot of woodcocks and two cheeses; and his brother Peter sends him a hamper, with 24 bottles of Rhenish.

1689.

“25th March. Tythes, 10*s.* 8*d.* Offering, 10*s.* To Dr. White, for attending my wife, £2; and to Jude, of Lewes, for bleeding her, 10*s.* To John Warden, for holding Washington Court, £1 0*s.* 4*d.* To Plow, the horse-rider, for riding the chestnutt colt, 15*s.*

“23d May. I paid, for 3 years’ lord’s rent, due to Sir James Morton,¹⁵ of Slaugham, for a farm in Hurstperpoint, called Pookryde, 12*s.*¹⁶ King’s tax, 4*s.*

“June. I payd the mowers for 11 acres, at 20*d.* an acre, 18*s.* 9*d.*; and to Gosmark and his boy, for haying, 23 dayes, £1 3*s.* 6*d.* To Nan Gosmark, for haying, 8 days, 4*s.* To the excise boy, for 6 dayes haying, 4*s.*¹⁷

“Thos. Godsmark came to me as footman, at the wages of 30*s.* p^r an., with coat, breeches, and hat.

“Dec. 26th. Christmas boxes, howlers, 4*s.* 6*d.* To the poor, £1 5*s.* King’s tax, 4*s.* 5*d.* Poll tax, £3 2*s.* John Coachman’s poll money, 7*s.*”

The wheat, oats, barley, malt, &c. brought from Stoneham, were worth £24.

¹⁵ Sir James Morton married Ann, co-heiress of Sir John Covert, Bart., who was the last male representative of that ancient family. On his death Sir John Morton succeeded in right of his wife to the manor of Slaugham. He had two sons, the youngest of whom sold the property to Charles Sergison, Esq., in whose family it still remains.

¹⁶ There are many farms and closes in Sussex which owe their names to their having been the reputed haunts of fairies—such as Pookryde, Pookbourne, Pookhole, Pookcroft. The sharpened end of the seed-vessel of the wild geranium, called by the common people Pookneedle, probably originally meant the Fairy’s Needle.

¹⁷ The price for mowing an acre of grass would now be about 3*s.* 6*d.*, a man’s wages for haying, 2*s.*, a woman’s, 1*s.* a day, beer being allowed. A comparison of the wages and prices of our days, and those of Mr. Burrell, shows that the condition of the poor is much better now than then.

Among many presents received this year he mentions half a buck from Lady Goring; a haunch of venison from William Board, Esq.; 10 teale and 6 tame pigeons from Sir H. Goring; pigs, geese, and a peacock from others; and 3 dozen and 3 pigeons from Major Bridges.

1690.

“June. Spent in London, £24 5s. Rent for Ockenden, 10s. Tax for £1600, £8. 2 quarters’ land-tax, 15s. 9d. Tax for my poll and my wife, £5 2s. Tax for practice, £4 10s.

“I spent at London £17 14s. For a dozen lbs. of flax, 8s. 9 galons of vinegar, 7s. 6d.

“10th Sept. King William’s return, 1s. Bells and bond-fires, 1s. 6d. Sacrament, 1s. Poor tax for Ockenden, 11s. I gave Mally my brother Leighton’s debt, £23.¹⁸

Payd 4th part of king’s tax, 15s. 9d. Gave the poor £1 5s. Militia, 5s.¹⁹

“John Piccomb came as footman, at 30s. p^r an. and a livery. Anne Baker came as cook, at 50s.

“P^d Goldsmark and his son for digging the bean plats, about 36 rods, at 2d. p^r rod, 6s.; it took 5 days. P^d Edwards for 18 rods of hedge and ditch, at 3d. the rod, and 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$ for stubs, 4s. 10d.”²⁰



Among the presents of the year he receives a side of venison, half a buck, a loaf of double-refined sugar, 2 lbs. of chocolate, a pot of woodcocks, and two cheeses; a rundlet of wine and gloves; several sugar loaves, ducks, capons, pullets, game, a pottle bottle of mead, and other small tributes from his poorer neighbours.

¹⁸ His brother Leighton was Edward Leighton, created a baronet two years later; he married a daughter of Sir Job Charlton, Mr. Burrell having married another. The Leightons were of a very ancient family in Shropshire. They do not appear to have been in any way related to Archbishop Leighton.

¹⁹ Every man possessed of an estate of £500 a year, or of £6000 personal estate, was obliged to provide and equip one horseman; and every one who had £50 a year, or £600 personal property, one pikeman or musketeer.

²⁰ The wages of labour had gradually increased, for Giles Moore, thirty years before, had paid for sixteen rods of hedging at the rate of twopence a rod.

1691.

" May. I gave Mally £45.

" June. Spent at London, £27 15s. ; and again, £13 5s.

" July. Spent at London, £28 13s. 9d., and at Tunbridge Wells, in 5 days, £2 2s. For 10 quarts of brandy, 10s., and 3 quarts of sack, 6s.

" For 28 lbs. of hops I gave 7s.



" Two hats for my fellows' liveries, 10s.²¹

" Dec. Gave the poor £1 5s. Tinmouth briefe, 2s. Offering, 10s.

" I payd Jack Piccomb in full of his quarter's wages, 7s. 6d. To mend his coat and breeches, 1s., and to buy stockings, 1s. 6d."

This year Mr. Burrell, for the first time, invites a number of his humbler neighbours to dine with him at Christmas ; a list of them, amounting to about 30, and their wives, and the bill of fare, which was most abundant, will be found in a future page. Two dinners were generally given, on the 1st and 2d of January, and were never omitted, excepting in the year when he lost his wife.

Among the presents received this year, including venison, teal, and many other good things, Alfred Savage sends him Adams's Map of England, and Savage's sister a fat chicken and cider.²²

²¹ In these days of fanciful hats, his fellows' hats prove the truth that old fashions are perpetually revolving and turning up again. In Stubbe's 'Anatomic of Abuses' there is a curious passage on this matter written in 1585 : " Sometimes," the writer says, " they wore their hats sharpe in the crowne, perking up like the spire or shaft of a steeple. . . . Othersome be flat and broad in the crowne, like the battlements of a house ; another sorte have round crownes, sometimes with one kinde of bande, sometimes with another, now black, now white, now russet, now greene, now yellowe, now this, now that ; never content with one colour or fashion two daies to an ende. . . . And as the fashions be rare and strange, so is the stufes whereof the hats are made ; for some are of silke, some of velvet, some of wool, some of taffetie, and which is the more curious, some of a certaine kinde of fine haire, which they call Bever, of 20, 30, or 40 shillings a piece, and so common a thing it is, that every serving-man, countryman, and others, doe weare them. Another secte, as phantastical as the rest, are content with noe kinde of hat without a bundle of feathers of divers and sundrie colours perking on the top of their heads." (Archæologia, vol. xxiv, p. 170.)

²² Before Mr. Burrell's time Mr. Justice Stapley did all the law in this part of the world, and these were golden days for justices, when they could do a little business on

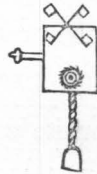
1692.

“ 26th March. Sacrament, 1s. I gave to the poor 4s., and in soup, &c., 3s. Spent in London, £55 13s. 6d. In small things, 9s. 6d. Ann Baker married; I gave her 2s. 6d.

“ Edward Virgoe came Promo, Condo, Clerico, Camerarius, at £3 p^ran. I paid for walling the house of office, 1s. 6d.

“ Paid Green for a new jack, £1 10s. 6d., and he is to keep the wheels and the pully in good order for 6d. a year.

“ Paid the chandler for 12 dozen of candles, £2 8s.



“ Oct. 17. Payd Hollybone, for setting the old pales by the orchard at the pond, at 10d. p^r rod, which was a little too much, for he worked 3 days but gently, 4s.

“ I paid Jo. Warden, for 30 bushels of malt, being just 4 months, £4 3s.

“ Gave Jennings, for a pyke, which weighed 20 lbs., 5s. 9d.



“ Spent at London, £54 3s.

“ I paid John Coachman, part of his wages in money, and 14 lbs. of wool, 10s.

“ Dec. I bought 15 bushels of wheat of P. Courthope, at 6s. a bushel.²³ Note. Beard offered the best wheat to cousin Board, at Lewes, for 6s. I gave Jack Piecomb, to mend his breeches, 1s. 6d. Spent at Highden and Danny, £2 18s. Poll tax, £1 9s. 6d. King's tax, 8s. 6d.

“ 2d Jan. I and my wife, my man Edward Virgoe, and their own account. “ He,” (Mr. Justice Stapley) says Giles Moore in 1673, “drew up all the articles concerning Matt's marriage, I payed him £1 10s. for my share, Mr. Citizen paying as much for his.” And again, in another case, he says, “ I again wante Mr. Justice Stapley, and then asking his sons some Latin questions, I gave them each 5s. I payd his clerk for a subpoena 3s., for a parchment and engrossing the bill 8s., and to Mr. Stapley for his council and for drawing the bill, £1 5s. To Mrs. Stapley I lost 1s. at cards.” That Counsellor Burrell had succeeded to Mr. Justice Stapley's business, would appear from the following extract from his relation's diary. “ I received the above settlement at the Crown inn in Cuckfield, where were the writings of ye Westlands, then sealed in the presence of Timothy Burrell, Stephen Wood, and Edward Virgoe. Paid 30s. to Mr. Burrell, and 15s. spent. The case of the rector of Horsted Keynes does not bear out Mr. Macaulay in his representation of the character of the clergy of this day: he was a man of independent spirit; his library was large and valuable, for not a third of the books he bought are specified in the “ Extracts from his Journal.”

²³ The average price of wheat this year was £2 1s. 5³/₄d. the quarter.

maid Phillips, went to sojourn with my brother Peter Burrell ;²⁴ and I and Virgoe came away into the country on the 17th March, my time there being just 6 weeks. My wife and her maid came from P. Burrell's on the 10th April, her time there being just 11 weeks ; £17."

The presents received this year include, among many other good things, a cheese, excellent, from Richard Tayler, 4cheeses, called Albemarles, from his sister Cornwallis, a dozen bottles of white wine from P. Courthope, 2 oranges and 2 lemons from J. Warden, &c. &c. ; but no venison arrived this year.

1693.

" March 26th. I payd Frances Smith all her wages due to this day, £2, and discharged her, she being a notorious thief.

" For carding 13 lbs. of wool, 3s. 4d. ; weaving 21 yards of cloth, 11s. ; scouring and fulling, 7s.

" I spent at the assizes at East Grinstead £1 5s.²⁵ Sir Chris^r Lewis, £1.

" I payed for 8 bushels of wheat £2 8s., and 28 bushels of oats, £2 14s.²⁶

" 11th May. Spent at London, £26. For holland, drugs, and chocolate for Mally, £3 4s. Poor tax, 10s.

²⁴ Peter Burrell was the ninth son of Walter Burrell ; he married Isabella, daughter of John Merrik of Essex, by whom he had two sons, Peter and Merrik, and three daughters. Peter, the eldest son, was deputy-governor of the South Sea Company, and Member for Haslemere. He married Amy, daughter of Hugh Raymond, Esq., of Langley, in Kent. His son Peter was surveyor-general of the Crown lands ; he married the eldest daughter of John Lewis, Esq., of Hackney ; they had one son and four daughters. Peter the son married Priscilla, Baroness Willoughby of Eresby, eldest daughter of Peregrine, Duke of Ancaster. Eliza Amelia married Richard Bennett, Esq. Isabella Susanna married Algernon, Earl of Beverley. Frances Julia married Hugh, Duke of Northumberland ; and Eliza Ann married Douglas, Duke of Hamilton. An instance of noble marriages not to be paralleled, probably, in the family of any other commoner.

²⁵ The assizes for Sussex in those days, and indeed to a comparatively late period, were held alternately at East Grinstead and Horsham, and in the summer at Lewes. The Sussex roads were so wretchedly bad, that the judges in winter stopped at the first towns they came to in the county, jurymen, prosecutors, and witnesses finding their way to the assize town as they best might.

²⁶ A good bargain, for the average price this year was £3 0s. 1d. a quarter, and with this year commenced a succession of bad harvests, which continued for seven years ; they were known by the name of the barren years ; the scarcity was severely felt throughout all Europe. The average price of wheat in England for the seven years ending with 1699 was 56s. 10½d., an immense price, considering the difference in the value of money.

NOTE OF TAXES PAID IN 1693.²⁷

	£	s.	d.
For Stoneham	31	12	0
Nash	12	2	0
Pookryde	4	0	0
Ockenden	3	16	0
Money, 1600 <i>l.</i>	19	4	0
	£70	14	0

“ 30th Nov. Spent at London, £45 9*s.* 6*d.*

“ My servant, Edward Virgo, had a new stock and lock sett on a fowling-piece of mine, for which he paid Green 10*s.* I agree, when Edw^d Virgo goes from me, either to pay him the 10*s.*, or to let him take the fowling-piece.”



Among many presents received this year, 62 in number, there were tenne trouts from Wm. Clarke, Esq., a buck from Sir John Shelley, a dozen bottles of wine from P. Courthope, a bottle of usquebagh from C. Sergison, Esq., a keg of sturgeon, Westphalia ham, and chocolate, the usual tribute of a pot of woodcocks from his sister Cornwallis, a sack of oats and a dozen small birds from Alfred Savage.

1694.

“ 16th April. Marian Hall, footman, came at the wages of 30*s.* p^r an., and a livery once in two years. I laid out for him, in part of his wages, for linen sleeves, shoes, hat, and frock, 17*s.* 8*d.*

“ Peter Burrell’s boy came to be with me at Ockenden, on the 15th of Nov. ; he was carried back the 31st March, 1695. The first letter I received was on the 24th Nov. ; I am to pay 6*d.* a letter.

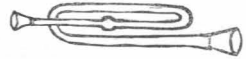
“ I bought a bay gelding for the coach of Thomas Agates, 4 years old, with a white spot on the wither, and a small white spot on the forehead, for £12.

²⁷ In 1692 a valuation of the land of England was made, and certain payments were awarded to each county, hundred, or division, of which the proportions are still retained, notwithstanding the great changes which have taken place in the relative value of property. It was fixed this year at 4*s.* in the pound. Mr. Burrell’s income, therefore, derived from land, was about £260 a year, equivalent, probably, to three times that sum at present. The charge for personal property was 24*s.* for every 100*l.* Six per cent. was about the interest of money in those days ; his income, therefore, would, from this statement, have been about £360 a year, besides what he made by his profession ; but in his will he bequeaths the rent of several houses in St. Clement’s, London, the value of which is not specified.

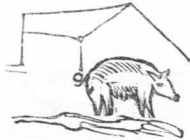
The presents this year came freely in, including half bucks, sides, and haunches of venison, crammed pullets, messes of Hastings peas, a salt fish, a collar of brawn, half a dozen bottles of sack, and the annual present of small birds from John Packham.

1695.

“ Paid for Gazettes, this day, 3s.²⁸



“ I had 8 bushels of wheat from Col. Bridger, for which I am to pay him 4s. 6d. the bushel.²⁹ It was dusty, musty, and short of measure, so that it was not eatable. *Mem.* He sent me 5 bushels of malt, at 14s. the quarter, slack dried.



“ I bought a heyfer of Geer, 3 year old, for £4, and 2 small weanyer pigs for 10s.

“ Charge for the hog pound, 2400 bricks, £1 3s. 6d. 3 quarters of a load of lime, 7s. 6d. Joe Chatfield, for 8 dayes work, 16s. For stone, and for other work, £7 7s.

“ Paid the butcher, £5 12s. 6d. *Mem.* I returned a breast of mutton, but query if he ever crossed it.

“ Invited at Christmas Jo. Attree, Henry Ives, Robert Chatfield, Chas. Savage, Thos. Burtenshaw, Stephen Comber, Walter Gatland, Walter Burt, George Jennings, W. Sanders, W. Wimpenny, Jo. Chatfield, Widow Swayne, Jo. Holford, Thos. Canon, W. Robrough, W. Heasman, Thos. Uwins, Thos. Agates, Jo. Warden, Alf. Savage, Rd. Virgo, W. West, Thos. Mathers, Thos. Tydy.”

“ Frigoribus parto agricolæ plerumque fruuntur,

Mutuaque inter se læti convivia curant.

Invitat genialis hyems, curasque resolvit.” (VIRG. *Geo.*, lib. i.)³⁰

²⁸ The first official Gazette ever published appeared in 1665, and was called the ‘Oxford Gazette,’ from the fact that the first numbers issued from thence, the court being resident there, on account of the plague. It came out twice a week. The ‘London Gazette’ is its lineal descendant. The etymology of the word ‘gazette’ is curious, being derived from ‘gazza,’ a magpie: hence ‘gazetta,’ a little chattering, a paper which gives all the news. (Voc. Della Crusca.)

²⁹ This gentleman who took him in in the matter of the wheat, lived at Comb, near Lewes; he was colonel of the Sussex militia, member of Parliament for Lewes, and brother-in-law to Mr. Burrell, having married his sister; he died in 1691, aged eighty-one.

³⁰ “ In genial winter swains enjoy their store,

Forget their hardships, and prepare for more;

The farmer to full bowls invites his guests,

And what he got with pains, with pleasure spends.” DRYDEN.

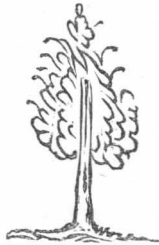
The presents were of the usual sort, 55 in number, from the half buck from Sir Charles Goring, down to the dishes of beans and carrots from his poorer neighbours.

1696.

“ April 1st. Quarter’s tax for £1100, £3 6s. For land, 15s. Payd Philips in full of her wages, £1 10s., and I gave her 20s. over. Paid the tax due on his marriage, £5 2s. 6d.

“ Filia jam nata est mea sera et sera voluptas,
Solamenque mali.³¹

“ My daughter on Thursday, 25th hour after 10 of the was baptized on My brother P. Burgodfather, my Lady and my niece Jane



Elizabeth Burrell was born June, 1696, about half an clock in the forenoon. She Monday, 15th February. rell (by Wm. Board, Esq.) Gee (by my sister Parker), Burrell, godmothers.

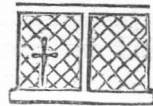
“ *Ἡ φύσις τοῖς πατρᾶσι τοὺς παῖδας μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς παῖσι τοὺς πατρᾶς ἐπιταττεῖ φιλεῖν.*”³² (Lucian.)

Est mihi, sitque precor nostris diuturnior annis
Filia, quâ felix sospite semper ero.³³

“ 22d Aug. Paid Hall’s wages in goods and in money, 10s.

“ 29th, 31st. Two ew legs of mutton sent—if the butcher be honest!

“ Oct. 15th. Paid the first window tax.³⁴ For the poor tax, 16s. 6d. To Mr. Middleton, for half a year’s rent for Sandbournes, £4 10s.”



Presents flowed freely in, beginning with 2 chickens and peas, 12 chickens and raspis; a buck and 10 mullets from Sir H. Goring, half a buck from Sir J. Pelham, two dozen pigeons

³¹ “ A child is born, my late, my only joy.
My comforter in grief.”

His wife died in her confinement, and was buried on the 3d of February.

³² “ It is the nature of parents to love their children more than children love their parents.” This law of nature has been well compared to that of gravitation.

³³ I have a child, O may she long survive
Her happy father, happy should she live !

His prayer was not heard; she died when she was about twenty years of age.

³⁴ What his feelings were in paying this tax, is sufficiently indicated by the etching. The poor-tax had increased in eleven years from 11s. to 16s.

from Col. Bridger, two dozen of wine, sack, and claret from Mr. Lyddale; two capons and a caponet, a loin of pig pork, a basket of pear royals, and two swans from cousin Middleton.

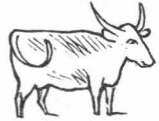
1697.

“April 21st. P^d Mathers the tax on the birth of my daughter and the burial of my dear wife, £6 6s.³⁵ P^d John Coachman on his wages, £5, and further more of free will, 10s.

“P^d George Jennyns the tax for the whole year for £2086 in money, £26. For mine and my daughter’s poll, 8s. 3d. For my stock, worth £50, 6s. For my land, at 4s. in the pound, £4 4s. Total, £30 18s.

“For 10 bushels of tares, £1 10s. For 10 lb. of chocolate, by sister Kit Goring, £1 13s. Paid Hannah Long, alias Virgo, her two years’ wages, £10.

“23d Aug. I sold J. Holford a red cow for £8 6s. 8d.; if she don’t weigh 20 stone a quarter, I intend to take only £8 for her.



“I invited no guests this Christmas, but I invited, on the Sundays, Will Gatland, Henry Ives, and others.”

After recording the many presents received this year, which (with the important exception of venison, which was altogether omitted) were of the usual character, he gives his opinion of presents in general in the following quotation from Seneca: “Quidam cum aliquid illis missum est munusculum, subinde aliud intempestive remittunt, et nihil se debere testantur. Rejiciendi genus est protinus aliud invicem mittere, et munus munere expungere.³⁶ (Lib. de Beneficiis, cap. 40.)

³⁵ Elizabeth Burrell was buried at Cuckfield on the 8th February, and the following certificate appears in the parish register: “She was not buried in woollen, but in linnen, and this was certified to Stanning, the churchwarden, on the 15th.” For carrying on the war with France with vigour, a tax was laid on births, marriages, and deaths. Every person, paupers excepted, paid 2s. on the birth of a child, a duke paid £30, other peers £25; every esquire or reputed esquire, £5, every gentleman 20s. The tax on burials was £4; a duke or duchess, or rather their executors, paid £50, a marquis £40, an earl £30, a gentleman £20. In the present instance Mr. Burrell appears to have been taxed for one event as an esquire, and as a gentleman for the other. These taxes were imposed only for five years, and, as might be expected, were never renewed.

³⁶ “Some persons, whenever any little present is sent to them, immediately reply to it unreasonably with another; thus showing that they will be under no obligation. This mutual interchange, this wiping out of one present by another, is one way of rejecting them altogether.”

1698.

“ 26th April. Thomas Goldsmith came as footman, at 30s. per an. wages, and a livery coat and waistcoat once in two years, when he was to have a new one ; but being detected in theft, I turned him away on the 21st August. After a ramble to London, being almost starved, he came again as footman 25th March, 1703, at £4 per an., one livery coat and breeches in two years ; if he went away at the end of the first year, he was to leave his livery coat behind him. I paid Sharp for his shoes 4s. ; for making his waistcoat, 2s. ; stockings, 1s. 6d. ; breeches, 3s. 6d. ; hat, 4s. Sarah Creasy came as cook, at the wages of 55s. p^r an.



“ 8th Oct. Payd John Coachman, in full of his half year’s wages, to be spent in ale, £2 6s. 6d. I paid him for his breeches (to be drunk) in part of his wages) 6s.



“ Mem. The three first Flying Posts were brought to me by Chatfield, the carrier, on the 12th Nov.³⁷



“ Christmas.

“ Res est sacra miser. (Sen.) Lord’s rent.³⁸

“ To the poor at Christmas, £3 10s.³⁹ To a fire at Newbury, 2s. Anne Chaloner, 2s. To Mrs. Payne, her rent, 10s. For 11 yards of Worcester frieze and materials for two coats for Edw^d Luxford and T. Burrell, £2 6s. 6d. A seaman wrecked, 1s. Protestants, £5. To a man in prison, 2s. For the gallery, £1. Mad Parson Perking, 2s. Mad Maynard, 1s.

³⁷ The reader may form some opinion of the character of this newspaper from the following announcement of it. “If any gentleman has a mind to oblige his country friend or correspondent with his account of public affairs, he may have it for 2d. of J. Salisbury, at the ‘Rising Sun,’ Cornhill, on a sheet of fine paper, half of which being blank, he may write his own private business, or the material news of the day.”

³⁸ “The miserable man is a sacred thing.”

³⁹ A few only of his many acts of charity will be mentioned, as a larger detail would be very tedious. It is remarkable how many insane persons are the objects of his liberality. It would seem that they wandered much about the country in those days.



“ I bought of Thos. Uwings 20 bushels of good clean wheat, to be delivered at £6 10s.⁴⁰ P^d for poll tax, 3 q^{rs}. £1 1s. For my daughter, 1s. For £1600 money, 4 q^{rs}. £3 13s.

“ March 24th. I paid Rebecca Jup her wages, £2 9s. ; a bad servant. To Bec at parting, 1s.”

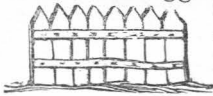
Among the presents of the year were a dozen bottles of Burgundy from Christopher Montague, Esq., 6 bottles of brandy from sister Goring, 2 dozen of claret from Sir Richard Raynes, a gallon of verjuice from Stephen Comber, 17 pigeons from Mr. Bridger, half a buck from Sir H. Goring, pykes, perches, and eeles from Lady Morton, &c. &c.

1699.

“ Paid my nurse two guineas in part of her year's wages, to be ended 29th Jan., £2 3s. ⁴¹

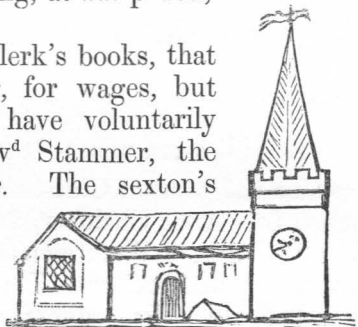


“ P^d for digging and steining a well, 21 feet deep, £1 15s.



The smith's work came to £4 9s. Paid Dumbrell, on his paling, at 2d. p^r rod, 10s.

“ It appears, by the church clerk's books, that Ockenden pays him by the year, for wages, but 8d., and no more, though I have voluntarily subscribed a paper to pay Edw^d Stammer, the present clerk, by the year, 2s. The sexton's wages are but half as much as the clerk's, that is to say, 4d. though I give him more.⁴²



“ I gave my niece, Frances Bridger £5.

“ *Ἀχαρισ και βραδυπους ἄχαρισ χάρης.*”⁴³

⁴⁰ The average price of wheat this year was as high as 60s. 9d. the quarter.

⁴¹ It is curious that Mr. Stapley in his Journal, written at the same time, values his guineas at 22s. each. (*Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. II, p. 124). From the sketch of the jug it would seem that Mr. Burrell suspected his nurse of the besetting sin of the Sarah Gamp school, but that he repented of his suspicions.

⁴² There are no such regular wages paid to clerks and sextons in our days. They are paid fixed salaries out of the church-rates, and by fees at the several offices of the church.

⁴³ “Ungracious is the favour which is slow of foot.”

“ Ingratum est beneficium quod diu inter manus dantis hæsit, nam qui tarde fecit, diu noluit.” (Sen.)⁴⁴

“ To mad Parson Perking, 2s. 6d. Ned Luxford, 5s. Thos. Burrell, £1. Juveni mutum se simulanti dedi, 6d., et cuidam se pro nautâ obtendenti et captivo sed falsò ut opinor, 1s. Alms given to one unworthy are given *ου τω ανθρωπω αλλα τω αμθρωπινω.*⁴⁵

“ Paid to John Coachman, in part of his wages, to be fooled away in syder or lottery, 5s.



“ Christmas.

“ *Αει νομιζονθ οι πένητες του Θεου.*⁴⁶ Lord’s rent. To the poor, £3 7s. 6d Boys’ boxes, 4s. 8d. Old Potter, 1s. Ned Luxford, 10s. Nan Chaloner, 2s. I gave my godson Luxford a coat, 10s. French school, 2s. To the poor at sacrament, 1s.”

The presents sent to him this year were nearly fifty in number, including venison, fish, stubble geese, capons, pullets, pigs, down to a gallon of turnips and a gallon of vinegar. His nephew, T. Burrell, of Slaugham, sends him a cock and a fieldfare.⁴⁷

1700.

“ April 2d. Two black geldings, 5 years old this spring, each 15 hands high, with a small star in the forehead, and two



white feet behind; all the rest of the body black. I bought them of Rob. Clements, of Wantage, in Berkshire, and their price was £34. They were procured for me by W^m Nelson, Esq., to whom I paid the money. I gave John Grindle, the saddler’s boy, for bringing the horses, £1 9s. 6d. Clement’s servant, 5s.

“ I paid Lashmar, carpenter, for 36 days’ work at Chownes

⁴⁴ “Thankless is the gift which has long stuck to the hands of the giver; for he who has been tardy in giving, has long wished not to give.”

⁴⁵ “Not for the sake of the man, but for the sake of human nature.”

⁴⁶ “The Lord ever careth for the poor.”

⁴⁷

“ Turdus,

Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
Res ubi magna nitet, Domino sene.”



barn, 2s 6d. p^r diem. To his journeyman, 24 days' work, at 20d. p^r diem; and to his apprentice, 41 days, at 1s. p^r diem. Jack Packham hath worked at Chownes 18 days. I paid him for his work £1. For beer, bread, and cheese, at the rearing of the barn, 7s.⁴⁸



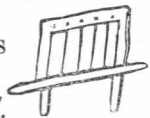
"May. For two smocks for Nan West, 5s. A chip hat, 1s. 6d. 2 blew aprons, 2s. 6d. Mending her fingers, 2s. 6d. New shoes, 2s. 2d.

"P^d John the Coachman, in full of his year's wages, £4 3s. I payd him 2s. 6d. for Thos. Gates, for a goos, but he kept it for ale; and to widow Goldsmith, for mending his stockings, 1s. 6d.



"Oct. T. B., a bucking.⁴⁹ *Mem.* I washed in soap; bought blew, 1s. They formerly used only 1½d. worth of blew, which would have been sent for as they used to do, and then they spent 1s. at 5 washings; but how will it be now? Tis better to buy as we want, than by wholesale, and so it is with soap, &c. I payd for 18 stone of hard soap, at 2s. 2d. the dozen, £1 6s.

"Payd Dumbrell, for a horse to carry clothes on, 2s. 6d.



"For cakes for my girle, 4s. 6d.
"To the poor at Christmas, £3. Mad woman and child, 6d. Widow Weeks, 10s. Bermondsey briefe, 2s.



"Paid for 10 chord of wood, at 4s. 6d. a chord."

⁴⁸ Giles Moore, forty years before, in 1659, says, "To John Gower, carpenter, for one day's worke for his man and himselfe, I payd 3s. 1d., which was 1d. extraordinary." And as to the mason, he says, "I have agreed with John Blakiston, mason, that hee and his son and boy are to give mee one dayes worke for their victuals, and 1s. more, which I am to pay them at the earning."

⁴⁹ This was an important domestic event in those days, particularly so the great general washing, which included all the linen of the house, which took place rarely, once or twice in the year—this was called driving or bucking, derived from the Saxon word 'buc,' which means a vessel for water. A lye was used by pouring boiling water upon wood ashes, on which sometimes herbs and soapwort were placed. This plan of a general washing is still in use in the country houses in France.

Among many other presents, he receives this year, from Wm. Gatland, a leveret and vinegar; half a buck, and 10 quart bottles of Burgundy from the Gorings, a turkey cock, &c. &c., from others.

1701.

“ May 2d. I payd Ned Virgo, in full of his wages, for two years, due the 26th of this month, at London, £8; and Mary Slater her wages, £2 10s. For physick for Nan West, 13s. 6d.; 3 flaxen shifts for her, 10s.; stuffe for her gowne and petticoate, 12s. 9d.; and for making the gowne, 2s.⁵⁰



“ 17th June. I agreed with Sam. Hyder for 2 quarters of good bright wheat, for £2 14s., to be delivered to the miller. I payd Old Edwards, for mowing the Upper Mead, the Marl-pit Field, 3 Acre Field, Little Holly Field, Great Hilly Field, in all 14 acres 1 rood, at 1s. 8d. the acre, £1 4s.

“ Oblatum mihi pro consilio Ellyotto More remisi, 10s; atque iterum respui aurum Ellyotti More, et consului ex gratis. Oblatum mihi a J. Anscomb, præmum ob consilium in suo negotio condonavi.

“ To Mrs. Robrough, for 6 yards and $\frac{1}{2}$ of flannel, which will make 3 flannel waistcoats, 13s. 3d.



Hony.



“ Of widow Weeks, 6 quarts of hony; of Margaret Janett, 8 quarts; and of others, 18 quarts: in all, 32 quarts, £2 8s. 9d.

“ Cœli tempore certo

Dulcia mella premes, nec tantum dulcia quantum,
Et liquida et durum Bacchi domitura saporem.”⁵¹

VIRG. *Geor.* IV.

⁵⁰ Nan West's flaxen shifts would now cost about 20s.; the stuff for her gown and petticoat could be bought for about the same price they cost Mr. Burrell; the making of the gown would be about 2s. 6d.

⁵¹ “ For there at pointed seasons hope to press
Huge heavy honeycombs of golden juice,
Not only sweet, but pure and fit for use;
T' allay the strength and hardness of the wine,
And with old Bacchus new metheglin join.”

DRYDEN.

“Attica nectareum turbastis mella Falernum
Misceri decet hoc a Ganymede merum.”⁵²

MARTIAL.

“Nan Saxby brought 5 quarts, good weight; she said it weighed 3 lbs. and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the quart. If a quart of hony weighs 4 lbs. and a half.

“Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis
Nil nisi lene decet, leni præcordia mulso,
Protueris melius.”

HOR. ⁵³

“I put 2 lbs. and a $\frac{1}{2}$ to a gallon of water, and $\frac{1}{2}$ a gallon, *i. e.* 6 quarts, which is still filled up in the boyling, whilst the scume rises. There remains 6 quarts of mead, 2 nutmegs, a race of ginger, bruised, and boiled in it after the same is all gone. Work it up with a spoonful of good yeast, and barrell it up 10 days.”

In his account of the presents received this year, there is the first mention made of tea.⁵⁴ Mr. Middleton sends him a bottle of white wine and tea. There are haslers, haslers, haslers, in abundance; a carp, which weighed 9 lbs.; six grey birds, pigs, capons, pullets, &c. &c.

⁵² “Rich Attic honey, with Falernian wine,
Let Ganymede himself such draughts combine!”

⁵³ “Aufidius first, most injudicious, quaffed
Strong wine and honey for his morning draught;
With lenient beverage fill your empty veins,
And smoother mead shall better scour the veins”

FRANCIS'S *Hor.*

It is singular that a liquor which was once so great a favourite both in ancient and modern times, should have fallen into total disuse among the higher classes. “Sir Roger de Coverley,” says the Spectator, (they were walking in the Spring Gardens, and Sir Roger was thinking of the widow), “here fetched a deep sigh, and was falling into a fit of musing, when a mask who came behind him gave him a gentle tap on the shoulder, and asked him if he would drink a bottle of mead with her.” (Spectator, No. 303.) A country gentleman of the present day would be roused from a fit of musing at Vauxhall by an application for something better than mead.

⁵⁴ It is curious to observe how slowly that now almost universal comforter, tea, made its way into England. Mr. Burrell does not mention it among the items of his accounts, though on one occasion he says he gave away three quarters of an ounce; and yet it was certainly known in London in 1661. Pepys says he sent for a cup of tea, a China drink, which he had never drank before.

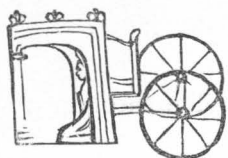
1702.

“ News.

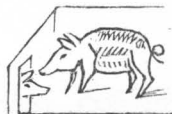
“ 3d May. Payd for the prints, to the 5th May, 15s. 4d.
 Payd Susan Hawkins, for a year’s attendance on my daughter,
 £10.

“ 25th May, Pandoxavi. 12th June,
 Relinivi.⁵⁵

“ July. The bell given me by my
 niece, Short, weighed 118 lbs.

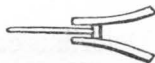


“ Two hind wheels of the coach, made
 by Juniper, cost £1 5s.

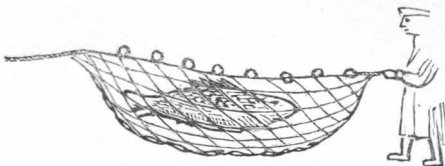


“ Shut up two fat hogs.

“ Paid Juniper for a new wheelbarrow, the irons of the
 wheel being my own, 8s. 6d. Paid him for a slide, which is
 to be repaired for nothing if they break out, 5s. I payd him
 for putting in a new fore purchass in the coach, 4s.



“ Paid Hen^y Killing,
 for a fish-net, the chords
 and leads being my own,
 8s.



⁵⁵ “ I brewed,” “ I tapped.” The reader is not to suppose, from the few notices of this kind extracted, that Mr. Burrell was deficient in one of the great attributes of the “ fine old English gentleman”—a cellar full of ale and beer. In the manuscript, notices of brewing occur in every page. But the best proof of this is found in his maltster’s bill: his four months’ consumption of malt being thirty bushels, which was pretty well for so small a family. In searching for the meaning of the word ‘Pandoxavi,’ the following curious passage in which it occurs was pointed out. At an episcopal visitation which took place at Tortington Priory, near Arundel, in 1584, the following presentation was made: “Johannes Gregory, Prior, et septem fratres canonici, Johannes Arundel, Snb-prior, dicunt quod ecclesia est aliquantum ruinososa, et quod panis et potus non sunt salubres. Henricus

“ Ancilla de W^m Robrough brassicam capitatam licentiâ non impetratâ nec rogatâ horto abstulit.⁵⁶



“ Payd Robinson, for pruning the trees in the court and the gardine, 2l^s.



“ 14th Sept. Goldsmith departed my service, by consent, this day; on the 24th Oct. he repented, and returned, half-starved.⁵⁷



“ 23d Jan. Anno currente sexagenarius.

“ Protervè se gessit soror, at me aliquantulum repressi.

“ 24th. Civibus Eliensibus incendio domorum depauperatis dedi, 1s.⁵⁸

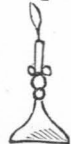
“ 28th. I payd the saddler, in a bill for mending John Lord's legs, and in part of his wages, £1 6s.

“ 31st. Ad rem divinam in Ecclesiâ pomeridianam non adfui a nepote meo T. Burrell præpeditus.⁵⁹

“ 11th Feb. Hæmorrhoidum fluxum copiosorem passus sum.

“ Doloribus colicis aliquantulum tentatus.

“ For 12 dozen of candles, at 5s. 6d. per dozen, £3 6s.



“ Woolvin de Shermanbury consuluit me de seminatione lini sup^r H. Pelham, anno ultimo.⁶⁰

Ringwood, canonicus, dicit quod coquus et *Pandoxator* sunt immundi et indocti in officio suo.” The answer to the inquiry as to the religious and moral condition of the Priory was very short: “Omnia bene”—“All right.” In Bayley's Dictionary, the word ‘pandoxatri’ is defined ‘An alewife, one who brews and sells drink.’ The good Samaritan brought his neighbour to a ‘Πανδοκειον,’ literally, a public-house.

⁵⁶ W. Robrough's maidservant came and took a cauliflower out of my garden without asking leave or saying anything about the matter.

⁵⁷ The curious hieroglyphic would intimate that he walked away a single man, and brought back a wife; it is clear he had a wife to whom he proved a very indifferent husband.

⁵⁸ “My sister was impertinent to me, but I kept my temper pretty well. To the citizens of Ely, reduced to poverty by a fire, I gave 1s.”

⁵⁹ “I was prevented attending morning service by my nephew, T. Burrell.

⁶⁰ “Woolvin of Shermanbury consulted me on the point of his sowing flax under his

“ J. Packham ob quotidianam ebrietatem acriter increpui, et per quinquennium, apud me gratis diversantem nec dum sobriè et frugaliter se gerentem tandem domo expuli.⁶¹

“ Doloribus scorbuticis circa femora noctu cruciatus, per aerem derepente prægelidum ut opinor excitatus, nive copiosè cadente.

“ Protervè et cum convitiis rixata est soror mecum, unde ipse aliquantulum ne dicam nimis commotus, abinde per tres dies diarrhœa levi et termine ventris non perquam gravi, sed per modica intervalla affectus, ac etiam hæmorrhoidem fluxum modicum passus. Tippingii liquoris bis in dies, et hieræ picræ semel aut bis haustum cœpi.⁶²

“ Sororem meam Christianam Goring, et alios ex conducto visi apud Slaugham.

“ Cuidam Morel pauperi de Henfield, cujus domus incendio subitaneo diruta est dedi, 1s., et cuidam Botting de Nuthurst pauperi ære alieno involuto 1s.

“ Famulum aliquantulum intemperantius objurgavi, ob nimium salem jusculo immistum.”⁶³

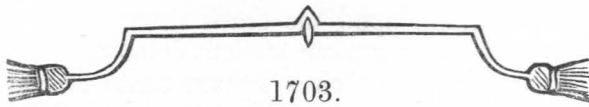
Among many good things received this year, Lady Morton sends him a side of red deer; and his sister Goring half a buck on one occasion, and four salt fish on another, together with six bottles of brandy, and preserved lemon, chocolate, and citron.

landlord, Henry Pelham, last year.” A great deal of flax was grown in this country formerly; there are few, if any parishes, in which tradition does not show certain flax-fields. Now, here and there, a small quantity is grown by way of experiment.

⁶¹ “ I severely reprimanded John Packham for his continual drunkenness, and at last I turned him out of my house, of which he had had the free run for five years: a drunken extravagant fellow !”

⁶² “ My sister quarrelled with me, and was insolent to me, and I was somewhat, not to say too much, irritated with her; the consequence was, that for two days my stomach was at intervals seriously affected. I took Tipping’s Mixture, and one or two doses of hiera picra.” This last medicine to which Mr. Burrell generally had recourse in his physical troubles, is still a favourite one with the common people of Sussex. The following old receipt, which has been kindly communicated, shows the sort of drenches to which our ancestors had recourse: “ In case of colic, take an ounce of hiera picra prepared with aloes, saffron, cloves, ginger, mace, half a quarter of an ounce of each; put them into a pint of the best rum or brandy, with a pint of white wine. Take four spoonfuls going to bed, with some warm wine, or three or four spoonfuls of ale.”

⁶³ “ I was rather too impatient with my servant for having put too much salt in my broth.”



1703.

“April 5th. I paid Sarah Creasy her year’s wages, and I have this day discharged her from my service, having been found faulty in taking vessels of strong beer out of the brewing, and hiding the same; her wages were £2 15s.⁶⁴



“Pauperi cuidam de Bolney ex fide jussione depauperato et reinde in carcere detruso dedi, 6*d.* Oblatum mihi, 10*s.* Parochianis de Cuckfield remisi, Edwardo Luxford dedi, 5*s.* Pauperculæ Lincolnensi cum puellâ ægrotâ præter cibacia dedi, 3*d.*

“Nepti meæ uxori Rich^d Bridger Rhedam meam calash dictam, ad vehendam eam ad Reigate accommodavi, ac postea ad revehendam.

“Pro emptione librorum parochianis donandorum, 10*s.* T. Burrell consanguineo meo qui prodigus dum juvenis, jam senex coactus est egenti vivere fato, £1. Citharædis quatuor ad nundinas Cuckfieldienses, 1*s.*⁶⁵

“Urna sepulchralis Romana cineribus et ossibus humanis repleta, variis catinis sive patulis diversarum figurarum circumstantibus, e luto rubente ac splendido confectis, in venta fuit in Regiâ viâ apud Highbridge Hill, in Cuckfield apud Anstey.⁶⁶

“Circiter ærarius acetabula quædam quorum stannum in-

⁶⁴ The etching in this case represents some instrument used in brewing, an occupation in which women formerly were extensively engaged. The justices of Rutland, in settling the rates of wages in 1610, adjudge that a chief woman, who can bake and brew, and make malt, and oversee other servants, shall have for her wages 24*s.* 8*d.* a year; a second best woman, who cannot dress meate, nor make malt, but who can brew, shall have 23*s.* 4*d.* (Archæologia, xi, p 20.)

⁶⁵ “I gave ten shillings to purchase books to be given to the children. To T. Burrell, my kinsman, a spendthrift in his youth, and now paying the penalty of poverty in his old age, I gave £1. To the band at Cuckfield fair I gave 1*s.*”

⁶⁶ “There was this day found in the high road, at Highbridge Hill, in Cuckfield, near Anstey, a Roman sepulchral urn, filled with human bones and ashes, with various platters of different forms standing round it, made of red shining clay.” This must have been a Roman urn with Samian pottery, such as has been lately found on the Downs at Barmer.

terne illitum frequenti usu detritum fuit resarciebat. Vasibus scilicet fervefactis injecta cum lapide de sale ammonica forcipe detento valide internis lateribus affricabat.⁶⁷

“11th June. Hesterno die, pedes rore ambulando madefactus, et aliquantulum casei recentis comesus, hodie multo manè flatulentis paroxysmis discrucior. Hieræ picræ haustum unum et alterum capiendo tandem stomachi sive pectoris dolor quievit, Deo, Optimo, Maximo ob hanc misericordiam suam gratias persolvo.⁶⁸

“Willo Goring mente lapsus et per orbem diu jam vagabondo dedi, 6*d.*

“I paid old Edwards for mowing 14 acres, at 1*s.* 8*d.* per acre, and as it was a very great grass, 42 load, I gave him 5*s.* over. I paid the hayers £1 4*s.*

“Dolore capitis aliquamdiu vexatus venam aperui et sanguinis uncias plus nimis novem emisi, aquas purgantes de Ditchling potare cœpi.⁶⁹



“10th July. My girle began to learne to dance, at a guinea entrance, and a guinea a quarter.

“Payd Edward Virgo his year’s wages, £5.

“Payd Mary Slater her wages, £30*s.*



“Edwardo Luxford erga victum filioli sui apud Westmeston annuatim de me erogandas dedi jam libras, £2. Jo. Heasman ob erudiendos pauperes puerulos elementa dedi, 7*s.*⁷⁰

⁶⁷ “A travelling tinker repaired some of my saucepans, the inside tinning of which had been rubbed off by frequent use, having heated the saucepans, and then having rubbed the inside of the vessels briskly with a stone of sal ammoniac, which he held in a pair of pinchers.”

⁶⁸ “Yesterday, having wetted my feet, by walking out in the dew, and having eaten a small piece of new cheese, I have been to-day tortured with flatulent spasms. By taking two doses of hiera picra, the pains in my stomach, or rather in my chest, abated. Thanks be to the great God for this his mercy towards me.”

⁶⁹ “Having been troubled for some time with a headache, I was blooded, and lost nine ounces, more or less, of blood, and I began to take the aperient waters of Ditchling.” There is a chalybeate spring in that parish called the Well House, near the common, but no one in these days drinks the aperient waters of the Ditchling Spa.

⁷⁰ “I gave Edward Luxford, towards the support of his boy at school, £2 0*s.* 0*d.*, and he is to apply to me every year for the same sum.” The history of Ned Luxford and his

“Hæmorrhoidum fluxum passus sum absque dolore atque crastino die venæ hæmorrhoidales turgescentes dolore afficiebantur.

“Nov. Pandoxavi.



“Decem libras a sorore meâ Emma Cornwallis, ob parandas atras vestes super mortem mariti mihi assignatas remisi, ac propriis sumptibus mihi vestes atratas comparavi, Thos. Cornwallis, obiit 16 July, 1703.⁷¹

“Dec. 8th. Pauperibus parochianis Sancti Egidii quorum ædes subitaneo igne corruerunt, 6*d.* Ad sacram cœnam, 1*s.* Fabri Fabrisio prole numerosa oppresso dedi, 10*s.* 24th. Pauperibus parochianis ex consuetudine, £3 1*s.* 4*d.* Cantatoribus nocturnis in Natalitiis Domini, 1*s.* 6*d.*

“Jan. 16. E penetrali vespere calefacto corripuit aer frigidulus, unde noctanter per sudorem relevatus manè per Dei elementiam convalui.

“Forte meum si quis te percunctabitur ævum
Me ter vicenos sicut implevisse Decembres.”⁷²

“Lenior et melior fiam accedente senectâ!”⁷³

The presents received this year were 64 in number: “a silver Te pot and porridge spoon for his girle, from his niece

children is curious, and certainly, as far as it goes, bears out Mr. Macaulay’s statement as to the frequently humble destiny of clergymen’s children in those times. This boy, to whose schooling he contributed, in process of time became curate of Heathfield, vicar of Chiddingly, and rector of Chalvington. Though belonging to an old [and very respectable family, he apprenticed one of his sons to a mason, and another to a stay-maker at Lewes. Henry, the son of the latter, was clerk to a brewer there. He was a great angler, and died in the pursuit of his calling at a very advanced age; he slipped into the Ouse a few years ago.

⁷¹ “I returned £10, which had been sent to me by my sister, Emma Cornwallis, to purchase mourning upon the death of her husband, and I furnished myself with mourning at my own expense. Thos. Cornwallis died on the 16th July, 1703.” It is not unlikely that the custom here alluded to was superseded by that of sending mourning rings to a friend or relation, or the bequest of a sum to purchase one; and that, too, has passed away, though the sending of scarfs and hatbands, which still continues, may have had its origin from the same cause.

⁷² “About mine age should anxious friends inquire,
Pray tell them, Sir, I’ve seen my sixtieth year.”

⁷³ “As age creeps on,
May I become a milder, better man!”

Bridger; six bottles of Nantes and chocolate, from sister Goring; chocolate, tobacco, snuff, and snuff-box, from brother Goring; half a buck, from Sir Robert Fagge; another half buck, from brother Goring; haunch of venison, from Mr. Board; crammed pullets, pheasants, partridges, capons, and pigs, a cod fish, &c. &c., from others.⁷⁴

1704.

“Ockenden House.

“I had the roof measured; the high building was 10 squares and a half; the low building 41 squares. The stable 15 squares and a half.



“Paid for two neckcloths for Esquire Goldsmith, 7s. To Frank Virgo, to pay for a shirt, 6s.

“20th May. Payd Warden for 2 hats for the fellows liveries, 11s.



“Paid Mr. Heal, the dancing-master, for one quarter’s teaching my daughter, £1 1s. 6d., after which he went to London for 2 weeks, and was absent at Christmas for 4 weeks.



“Johanni Burt mente capto dedi tunicam et femoralia, et Mariæ ancillæ olim meæ, 1s. To Mr. Goldsmith, for shoes, and to redeem his shirt, 2s. On the 25th of March I payd him in full for his year’s wages, and agreed, in the hearing of Nurse, to pay him £4 the next year; and I gave him hopes, if he proved a good husband, to consider him further; but he several times rambled about all night, was frequently drunk with brandy, and spent all the money I got for him in half a year’s time, besides his wages.



“Ecclesiæ Leicestrensi vi turbinis dirutæ, dedi 6d.

⁷⁴ As a proof that it was the custom mentioned in note 71, for the relations of deceased persons to provide mourning for their friends, Mr. Jackson, nephew and heir of Pepys, says Evelyn, “sent me a complete mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies, but my indisposition hindered me from doing him this last duty.”

“ Payd Susan Hawkins one year’s wages, due for attendance on my daughter, £10.

“ Confessoribus Orangensibus, £2;⁷⁵ and to John Coachman, for the Orange refugees, 1*s.*; and for his batchelor’s tax, 1*s.* To John Goldsmith, for the Orange refugees, 6*d.*; and towards his damask waistcoat, 3*s.*

“ Incendio domorum Wappingensibus depauperatis dedi in ecclesiâ, 2*s.*⁷⁶

“ July. P^d Jo. Coachman for Fred. French, for help at the horse-pond, 1*s.* 6*d.* To Frank Virgo, to pay for a shirt, 6*s.*

“ For 4 bushels of Lymington salt, £1 8*s.*⁷⁷

“ Nov. Naufragorum viduis et liberis post violentam procellam ad insitas reductis, dedi £1 1*s.*; et Somersetensibus inundatione maris submersis, 1*s.*⁷⁸

⁷⁵ The city of Orange, which had been taken, and its walls destroyed, by Louis XIV, in 1682, was restored to William the Third by the treaty of Ryswick; but after his death the French took it again, and expelled all the Protestant inhabitants, and it was for these unfortunate refugees that the collection was made.

⁷⁶ So frequent were the fires in London about this time, that a few years later an act was passed, subjecting servants convicted of having caused a fire by carelessness to a penalty of £100, and in default of payment, to eighteen months’ imprisonment, with hard labour. (Northouck’s Hist. of London.)

⁷⁷ The manufacture of salt used to be carried on to a great extent at Lymington and its neighbourhood, but latterly it has much decreased. The sum Mr. Burrell paid for this great necessary of life was enormous, but sufficiently to be accounted for by the heavy tax imposed upon it. In 1698 the duty was 5*s.* a bushel, which was afterwards increased to 15*s.*, thirty times the cost of the thing itself. The revenue derived from it, when at its highest point, amounted to £1,500,000, that great corrector of excessive taxation, the smuggler, having stepped in to defeat its purpose. Mr. Maculloch calculates the consumption of salt in England, now that it is free from duty, at 22 lbs. a head. If this calculation be accurate, it is a proof how heavily it must have pressed upon the people; and it is another instance to show how much better things are managed now than they were in what many persons call “the good old days.” This tax was finally repealed in 1823. (Maculloch’s Dict. of Commerce.)

⁷⁸ “To the destitute widows and children of those who were shipwrecked in the violent storm I gave £1, and to the Somersetshire people, who were overwhelmed by an inundation of the sea, 1*s.*” In this memorable storm, in which ten ships of war were lost, and the Eddystone lighthouse destroyed, the low lands of Somersetshire, on the shores of the Bristol Channel, were deluged by the breaking of the banks and the irruption of the sea, whole herds and flocks being swept away. A singular record of this great tempest is preserved to this day, by the bequest of a person named Taylor, who (having probably experienced some providential escape) left a small sum of money to be paid for a sermon, to be preached every year, on the subject of the storm, at the Baptist Chapel in Little Wyld-street, in London. The minister has a guinea, the clerk ten shillings, and two pew-openers 5*s.* each. The sermon is preached on the Sunday nearest to the 26th and 27th of November.

“Cuidam Brown militi vulnerato, Romano Catholico, dedi 1s.

“Payd Heasman for 17 posts, at 5*d.* ; 34 rails, at 6*d.* ; in all £1 4*s.* 6*d.* I was grossly cheated, being charged 7*s.* 6*d.* for carriage ; he payd back 2*s.* 6*d.*



“Dec. Pauperibus ex consuetudine, £3 4*s.* Fœminæ parturienti, 1*s.* T. Burrell febre quotidianâ correpto, misi 5*s.* Duobus militibus mutilatis apud Gibraltar, 1*s.*

“Extra fortunam est quiddam donatur Amicis
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.”⁷⁹ MARTIAL.

“Societati pro propagandâ religione, £10.⁸⁰



“Will Gates came to me as footman, at 50*s.* per ann. ; he is to have a hat, coat, and breeches once in two years. If I turn him away the first year, I am to give him 5*s.* more, and take his livery. He died in 1713.”⁸¹

With the exception of his sister Goring, who sends him 22 bottles of wine and 2 bottles of brandy, his aristocratic friends seem to have forgotten him this year. No venison was sent. The smaller tributes of capons, pullets, pigs, rabbits, messes of peas and beans, and bunches of turnips were sent freely by his poorer neighbours. In allusion to this, Mr. Burrell heads the list with the words of Homer—*Δοσις δόλιγητε φίληγητε*—“the gift was small but welcome.”

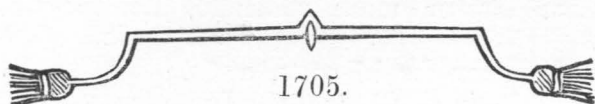
⁷⁹ A free translation of this is to be found in the epitaph of the good Earl of Courtenay :

“What we gave, we have ;
What we spent, we had ;
What we had, we lost.”

GIBBON'S *Hist. of the Courtenay Family.*

⁸⁰ “To the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts I gave £10.” This society had just received its charter.

⁸¹ The symbol by which Gates is always accompanied is that of a spade. In the certificate of his burial he is called Mr. Burrell's coachman.



“May. For 22 quarts of hony, at 1s. 6d. the quart, £1 15s. 6d.


“Εξ οἴνου και μελιτος το συναμφοτερον η̄διστον.”⁸²

LUCIAN, *Prometheus*.

“Frances Goring, neptis ex sorore, hospes venit cum ancillâ, abiit August. Cornwalllo et Willo Robrough navigaturis, dedi 4s. Nautæ cum pedibus inferioribus vi fulminis e transverso distortis, dedi 1s.

“10th July. Collectori Tirrell pro maris inundatione in Essexia, 10s. 9d.

“I paid for 2 ells of cloth to make a smock for my girle, at 5 groates the ell, 3s. 4d. To Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Sellers, their bills, £15 18s. 9d. For 28 yards of pink flowered satten, at 9s. the yard, £12 12s.⁸³


 Payd Gosmark for making cyder 1 day, whilst John Coachman was to be drunk with the carrier's money, by agreement; and I payd 2d. to the glasyer for mending John's casement, broken at night by him when he was drunk, and could not waken Goldsmith to let him in.

“For 12 chord of wood, at 9s. 6d. the chord, £5 14s.

“Mariæ Robrough et tribus puerulis abeuntibus, dedi £1 4s. 6d.



“I sold Halford a fat cow, at 16d. the stone. She weighed 67 stone 6 lb., £4 10s. 10d.; 5th quarter, £1 2s. 7d.; total, £5 13s. I sold him a calf, which weighed 114 lbs., at 3d. the lb., £1 7s. 6d.

“Dec. 10. Rore frigidiusculo inambulando male me habui, at levi sudore orto spontaneo relevari me sentiebam mane. Deo

⁸² “The sweetest mixture is that of wine and honey.”

⁸³ This is about the price which would be paid in the present day.

gratias!⁸⁴ 26th. Doloribus scorbuticis circa tibia ac femora noctu tentatis per acrem, ut opinor, derepente prægelidum excitatis.

“Jovis Cellingensibus oppidi incendio depauperatis dedi 1s.

“A leg of mutton was brought in by Holford’s daughter for 7 lbs., which weighed only 6 lbs. Teste Sarah. Watch the butcher!

“Cuidam Cox Herefordiensi absque brachiis, sed duobus digitis tantum ex humero nascentibus, qui literas perquam graphicè exaravit, 1s. 6d. Pauperi hernioso et eidem pro expensis in itinere ad Sanctæ Bartholomæi Noscomium, 5s.⁸⁵

“Shut up two large hogs for fattening; bought 2 quarters of pease for them, at 3s. 3d. the bushel.



“Glande sues læti redeunt, dant arbuta silvæ.”⁸⁶

Among the presents received this year, are half a fat buck, from Henry Gage, Esq.; the same from Sister Goring, with 4 bottles of brandy, a chees, and a partridge; from R^d Hayler, two old conies, and some dead muddy carps.

1706.

“25th March. P^d John Coachman, by Ned Virgo, that he may be drunk all the Easter week, in part of his wages due, £1.

“P^d Mr. Middleton my 4th part, for Gazettes, to this day, 6s. 6d.⁸⁷



“Scoto militi emerito a Collegio Chelsiensi ut præ se fert, at suspicor veritatem, 2s. 6d. Berry erga expensas in curatione brachii fracti filiae suæ, 1s.

⁸⁴ “Dec. 10th. I felt unwell in consequence of having walked out in the dew when it was rather cold, but a slight perspiration coming on, in the morning I found myself relieved. Thanks be to God!”

⁸⁵ “To a man from Hereford of the name of Cox, who was without arms, but who had two fingers growing out of his shoulders, with which he managed to write very well, I gave 1s. 6d.; and to a poor man who was ruptured, for himself, and to pay his expenses on his way to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, 5s.”

⁸⁶ “The winter comes, and then the falling mast

For greedy swine provides a full repast.”

DRYDEN.

⁸⁷ “At the seat of a man of fortune in the country the News Letter was impatiently expected; within a week after it arrived, it had been thumbed by twenty families: it furnished the squires with matter of talk over their October, and the neighbouring rectors with topics for sharp sermons against Whiggery and Popery.” (Macaulay, vol. i, c. 3.)

“ For a payr of fine scarlet stockings for my girle, 3*s.* The curtains, quilt, &c. for my daughter’s bed weighed 3 qrs. of a lb.”⁸⁸



Received of my brother, P. Burrell, 2 galons of white port, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the galon, and 3 galons of canary, at 10*s.*—£1 10*s.*⁸⁹

“ Aug. For a periwigg for John, 14*s.* So he has had in all £6 2*s.* 5*d.* in full of his year’s wages, and 2*s.* 5*d.* over; and I gave him notice that I would not allow him any longer for the livery, being worn two years, since ’twas to be all spent in drunkenness.



“ I bought of a Scotchman a payr of pink scarlet stockings for my girle; a better penny-worth than Richardson’s, on the 15th of July.”⁹⁰



“ Dec. Pauperibus ex consuetudine, £2 10*s.* 6*d.* Betty Smith de Kidlington mente lapsæ plane, 1*s.*; Maynard mente lapsæ, 1*s.*



“ 13th March. A broom, a new rubbing brush, &c.



“ Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scrobe quantus Consistit sumptus!”⁹¹



“ 16th. I had 3 dozen of Malmadizia, a sort of palm wines, from Teneriffe, and 11 galons of white port, drawn off and bottled. I received from my brother Peter 6 quarts of right canary.

“ *Fœminæ pauperi uxori Socii Chirurgi marini captivi, apud Edinburgum in Scotia, sed falso et jam in carcere vocato the Compter, in actione debiti, 1*s.**”

⁸⁸ In a codicil to his will, made after his daughter’s death, he leaves the “ crimson damask satten mantle, with a broad plate upon it, the white damask satten mantle, and the white satten quilt, satten basket, and pincushion,” which belonged to his daughter, to his granddaughter, on her marriage or coming of age.

⁸⁹ In the article of wine our ancestors had greatly the advantage over us. Mr. Burrell’s Port wine cost him about a shilling a bottle, his Canary twenty pence a bottle.

⁹⁰ Coloured stockings were all the fashion in those days. Pepys, thirty-six years before, having been told by his cousin Turner, that she had drawn him for her Valentine, says, “ I did this day call at the New Exchange, and bought her a payr of green silk stockings and garters, all coming to about 28*s.*; and I did give them to her this morning.”

⁹¹ “ In brooms, and clouts, and such like sordid things, What money is spent!”

His sister, Goring, as usual, sends him half a buck and 6 bottles of brandy; he receives a Tunbridge egg salver for his girl, and another sends him as many as 20 lobsters.

“25th April. *Ædificando templo Protestantium in Palatinatu*, 2s. 6d.

“*Erga monumentum Johannis Raii, Tutoris olim mei apud Cantabridgienses, sed colendissimo*, £5.⁹²

“Paid Nanny West her wages in full, due 25th, and more £1 10s.; paid Sarah Wade 2 years’ wages, £5.



“For 4 yards and a half of muslen, to make 6 night neckcloths for myself, at 3s. a yard, 12s. 4d. I bought 2 surtout coats, of light gray cloth, at 3s. 6d. the yard, for Joe and Will.

“Sturt’s crock of butter weighed 8 naile, 9 lb.; he saith his wife put up 5 naile, 5 lb. at 3s. 4d. a naile.



“Nov. 7. *Sacrâ cœnâ cœptâ vitæ melioris ingredi viam statui*. Nov. 9th. *Paulo nimis iratus servulis*.⁹³

“Paid for a cart with lodes, £1 18s.; for a pair of horse drills, 5s.



“Dec. *Pauperibus ex consuetudine*, £3. *Viro Hodleyensi, cujus uxor aquâ perfervidâ læsa fuit*, 6d. I gave Thos. Warden 3 quarters of an ounce of tea.

“The maltman gave notice that from this time forward malt would be at 3s. 4d. a bushel; for 16 lbs. of hops I gave 16s.⁹⁴

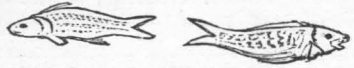


⁹² “Towards a monument to John Ray, formerly my tutor at Cambridge; a man to be much revered by me, £5.” This was the celebrated natural philosopher and divine, whose death had occurred about two years before: he was Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Peter Courthope, whose name occurs frequently in this Journal, a relation of Mr. Burrell’s, was another of his pupils, and, as appears from the short sketch of his life in the Biographical Dictionary, was one of the several curious gentlemen who accompanied him in his journeys through England, when he went “a simpling.”

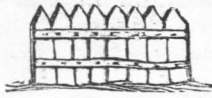
⁹³ “Nov. 7th. Having taken the holy sacrament, I have determined to live a better course of life. Nov. 9th. I was rather too irritable with my servants.”

⁹⁴ At all times and in all ages the most uncertain of crops. In 1691 he paid only 3d. a lb. for them.

"I paid Mr. Jug for 10 carps, of 14 inches, 9s. Shut up a hog to fat.⁹⁵



"Jan. Edward Sandridge came to work on the orchard palisade gates, with his boy. 25th was a wett day. 26th, worked well. 27th, little work, and no boy; afternoon, boy.



"Bought of Henry Wood 4 bushels of wheat, at 2s. 6d. a bushel.⁹⁶

"Invited at Christmas.

1st January.

Walter Gatland,
G. Savage,
J. Savage,
Rd. Burt,
Rt. Chatfield,
Jo. Sturt,
Jo. Warden,
Will. Banester,
Thos. Gates,
Henry Ives,
T. Uwins,
Mrs. Burt,
Mrs. Hedger.



2d January.

Jo. Chatfield,
Will. Sanders,
Will. Winpenny,
Thos. Canon,
Jo. Hurst,
Thos. Warden,
Jo. Holford,
Edw. Virgoe,
Rd. Virgoe,
Mrs. Luxford,
Will. West,
Mrs. Mathers.

⁹⁵ The gentlemen of Sussex set great store by their carps and tenches. Mr. Burrell this year makes out a list of his—when they were put into the stew, and when taken out—he classifies them as small fish, sizeable, middling, large, very large, noble and vast. The carp, too, was a cherished and a costly fish in other counties. Speaking of Swallowfield, where Evelyn went in 1685, on a visit to Lady Clarendon, admiring everything, he says: "Above all, the canals and fishponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stored with fish, that for pike, carp, bream, and tench, I never saw anything approaching it. We had at every meal carp and pike, of a size fit for the table of a prince; and what added to the delight was, to see hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cook standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had a carp that would have been worth at London twenty shillings a piece."

⁹⁶ The average price of wheat this year was as low as £1 3s. 1d. a quarter; the lowest price, with one exception—namely, 1687, when it was £1 2s. 4½d.—that occurred for ninety-seven years, from 1646 to 1743. In 1743 it fell to £1 2s. 1d.

1st January.

Plumm pottage,⁹⁷
 Calves' head and bacon,
 Goose,
 Pig,
 Plumm pottage,
 Roast beef, sirloin,
 Veale, a loin,
 Goose,
 Plumm pottage,
 Boiled beef, a clod.

Two baked puddings,
 Three dishes of minced pies.

Two capons,
 Two dishes of tarts,
 Two pullets.



2d January.

Plumm pottage,
 Boiled leg of mutton,
 Goose,
 Pig,
 Plumm pottage,
 Roast beef,
 Veal, leg, roasted,
 Pig,
 Plumm pottage,
 Boiled beef, a rump.

Two baked puddings,
 Three dishes of minced pies.

Two capons,
 Two dishes of tarts,
 Two pullets.

⁹⁷ Minced pies still remain to us, but, alas, for plum porridge! which, like many other good things, has quite passed away; and yet it was a great favourite with our forefathers, as Hudibras bears witness to in these lines :

“ Rather than fail, they will deny,
 That which they love most tenderly,
 Quarrel with mince-pies, and disparage
 Their best and dearest friend plum porridge.”

Should any of our readers feel disposed to revive this dish, the following receipt, which has been kindly sent to me, will enable them to make the attempt : “ Take of beef-soup made of the legs of beef 12 quarts, if you wish it to be particularly good, add a couple of tongues to be boiled therein. Put fine bread, sliced, soaked, and crumbled; raisins of the sun, currants, and prauants, two lbs. of each; lemons, nutmegs, mace, and cloves are to be boiled with it in a muslin bag; add a quart of red wine, and let this be followed, after half an hour's boiling, by a pint of sack. Put it into a cool place, and it will keep through Christmas.” This was the great national dish for the happy season of Christmas. There was yet another, appropriated to a different period, which, though not alluded to in the Journal, it may not be amiss to notice, particularly as that, too, is fast disappearing—namely, firmity. This was made of the corn of wheat deprived of its skin, which was gently boiled, and then were added the yolks of eggs, with sugar and flour, currants, and raisins, and grated cinnamon. It was eaten on Mid-Lent or Refreshment Sunday, the Gospel of that day giving the account of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, being considered as justifying the indulgence; and it was a great relief after severe fasting. Firmity was universally known through Somersetshire, and at Bristol families used to interchange presents of it. It is still eaten at Oxford on Mid-Lent Sunday, and the prepared wheat cannot be procured on any other day.

“ Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda ; vel quod
 Quærit, et inventis miser abstinet, ac timet uti ;
 Vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,
 Dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri ;
 Difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
 Se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
 Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
 Multa recedentes adimunt.”⁹⁸ HORACE.

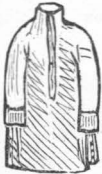
“ Optima quæque dies miseris mortalibus ævi
 Prima fugit ; subeunt morbi, tristisque senectus.”⁹⁹ VIRGIL.

Presents flowed in very freely this year: venison, capons, wild ducks, woodcocks, pheasants, pigs, a fine pig from Anne Saxby, a fine pig from Wm. Anscomb, and a very fine pig from Walter Gatland.

1708.

“ I paid Susan Hawkins, for a year’s attendance on my girle, £10; and I paid Nanny West her year’s wages, £2.

“ For a bob perriwig I gave £5.



“ May 10. For 12 ells one quarter of holland, at 5s. 6d., for 6 half shirts, £3 7s.

“ I lett Mr. Crunden, the butcher, the White-man’s Green Croft, from Lady-day, for one year, at 15s. and a shoulder of mutton.

⁹⁸ “ A thousand ills the aged man surround,
 Anxious in search of wealth, and when ’tis found
 Fearful to use what they with fear possess,
 While doubt and dread their faculties depress.
 Fond of delay, they trust in hope no more,
 Listless and fretful of the approaching hour ;
 Morose, complaining, and with tedious praise,
 Severe to censure, earnest to advise,
 And with old saws the present race chastise.
 The blessings flowing on with life’s full tide,
 Down with our ebb of life decreasing glide.”

FRANCIS’S *Horace*.

⁹⁹ “ In youth alone unhappy mortals live ;
 But, ah ! the mighty bliss is fugitive :
 Discoloured sickness, anxious labours come,
 And age and death’s miserable doom.”

DRYDEN.



“ For a bushel of white
pease, 3s.



“ 1st June. Bolus ex rhubarbo confectum deglutavi ex præscripto Doctoris Whish, pro dolore colico, sed dolorem in stomacho talem peperit, quod haustum tincturæ sacræ coactus fui recipere, quis, Deo gratias, requiem mihi aliquantulam dedit.¹⁰⁰

“ Carolinæ Robrough, quæ mihi visitandi grâtiâ venit, dedi £1 2s. 6d.

“ Lisbonæ in Hiberniâ combustæ dedi 2s. 6d.,¹⁰¹ et Johanni Burt mente lapso indusium linteum, 31s., et secundum 2s. 6d.

“ My daughter’s account.

“ I gave her, to buy pins, 10s.; for mantle, pettycote, silk, scarlet stockings, bought in London, by my sister Goring, £16 6s.; for 4 ells of holland, for shifts, £2 6s.; 6 yards of printed calico, for a wrapper gown, 17s.; 21 yards of Norwich black and white crape, at 2s. 6d. a yard, £2 2s. 6d.; 6 yards of Durance scarlet lining, 9s. I gave her at Den, £1. Spanish leather shoes, 3s., &c. &c. Her total expenses, besides the waste of 4 payr of shoes, were £40 16s. 6d.¹⁰²

“ Dec. Pauperibus ex consuetudine, £3 10s.; Ed.

Edwardo restituenti cochleare argenteum super fime-
tum inventum, 1s.; Scholæ Brighthelmstoniensi Tri-
viali ex consuetudine et pro dimidio anni, £1. To



John Coachman, for shirts, and to buy him heart’s-ease during the Christmas holidays, £1.

¹⁰⁰ “ I took a bolus of rhubarb, from a prescription of Dr. Whish, for the colic, but it produced such a pain in my stomach that I was obliged to take the tincture of hieræ picræ, which, thanks be to God, gave me some relief.”

¹⁰¹ In 1707 the castle and town of Lisburn were burned to the ground. The castle was never rebuilt, but the town, in which many of the Huguenot families had established themselves after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and in which they carried on a flourishing linen manufacture, soon rose again on the ruins of the old town, and, as is always the case where the principle of life in a community is strong, in a very improved condition. In such cases ashes are the best manure.

¹⁰² In these articles the advantage in point of cheapness is all in favour of the present day. The holland for shifts, which cost Mr. Burrell 46s., could now be purchased for 15s.; the 6 yards of printed calico, which cost him very nearly 3s. a yard, for from 6d. to 12d. a yard; and the Norwich crape would be 18d. instead of 2s. 6d.

“ 9th Jan. I invited Mr. Middleton,¹⁰³ Mr. Willy, Mr. Shore, and Mr. Carpenter, to dinner.

Pease pottage.
 2 carps. 2 tench.
 Capon. Pullet.
 Fried oysters.
 Baked pudding.
 Roast leg of mutton.

Apple pudding.
 Goos.
 Tarts. Minced pies.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Mr. Middleton, the Vicar of Cuckfield, married the sister of the celebrated Dr. Patrick, first Bishop of Chichester and afterwards Bishop of Ely, and to him, whom in his will he calls his patron and benefactor, he probably was indebted for the living of Cuckfield, and certainly for a prebendal stall at Ely. Mr. Middleton died in 1712. Judging from the character and spirit of his will, he must have been a good and religious man. It begins with this solemn preface:—“ In the name of God, amen! First, I commend my soul into the hands of Jesus Christ, my Lord and dear Redeemer, hoping, through the infinite mercy of God, and the meritorious death and passion of his Son, and by an unfeigned faith in the same, and a true repentance of all mine offences, it shall be conveyed to that place of rest and refreshment, where good souls wait for the happy resurrection of their bodies, and a consummation of their bliss in heaven; and I commit my body, after my decease, to the earth, in firm belief of its re-union with the soul, and joynt salvation and glory in the day of the Lord, and decently to be buried meanwhile; and as for the estate or portion of worldly goods God’s good providence hath been pleased to give me, to support me in my pilgrimage, I bequeath,” &c. &c. With respect to his funeral he directs, “ that it shall be performed as it was in the case of his wife’s funeral, with the exception of those exorbitant expenses which were then incurred, and of which he greatly disapproved at the time; that the provisions should be the same, and the burnt claret or other wine should be used as then.” To Mr. Burrell, that worthy gentleman and parishioner, he desires his executor to send a mourning ring, not exceeding in cost 14s. or 15s., and a pair of gloves; and he appoints him one of the trustees of a charity, consisting of a bequest of £30, the interest of which was to be applied to the putting to school, under a good schoolmaster, poor children of the parish, to be taught to read and write, and to be instructed in the Church Catechism; and the rest of his property, in proportions of £100 each, he leaves to the grandchildren of Bishop Patrick, his only son; their father, being dead; and to his nieces living at Taunton, one of whom had married Mr. Coles, the saddler, and who was to be heard of at John Hughes’s, the leather seller, at the Three Crownes in Newgate Street, legacies of £10 each. He then directs the attention of his executors to three catalogues which he had left behind him, one the catalogue of his offences, another that of his afflictions, the third that of the mercies, both to body and soul, which in God’s good providence, he had experienced: the first two he directs them to destroy, the last he leaves to their discretion, to publish, if they thought the so doing would tend to advance the glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures. He was buried according to the directions in his will, on the right hand of the body of his wife, and, by a singular coincidence, the nearest tablet is that of the vicar who preceded him, Mr. Henshaw, placed there by his half-brother, Peter Gunning, Bishop, first of Chichester, then of Ely.

¹⁰⁴ This is a specimen, selected from others, of a dinner given to a small family party; others will follow on a larger scale. Compare this with that model of a small dinner given by Justice Shallow to Falstaff. “ Some pigeons, Davy; a couple of short legged hens, a joint of mutton, and any pretty little tiny kickshaws, tell William Cook.”

“ Edwardo Luxford, erga suscipiendos Ordines Deconatûs, dedi £1. Wm. Constable tenenti condonavi 5s.¹⁰⁵

“ These are the funeral charges on the interment of my dear sister Jane Burrell, who died on the 16th January, 1708. To G. Wood, for crape and worsted for the shroud, £1 6s., and for making it, 8s. ; for making and nayling the coffin, £2 2s. ; for bays to line it, 11s., and cloth to cover it, £1 6s. ; for black crape, hatbands, gloves, 6s. ; favour knots, wine, and use of pall, £15 1s. To Mr. Middleton, for sermon, £2 3s.¹⁰⁶ To the clerk and sexton, for the passing bell and grave, 2s. 6d. To Mr. Daw, for his bill for charges for commission and probate of the will, £2 9s. The total expenses were £35 9s. 6d. She left to Mr. Thos: Burrell and Alex^r Burrell £500 each. To Peter Burrell, £100. To Francis Burrell, a gold watch. To Peter Short, £5, and to Peter Short's wife, £5. To Edw^d Virgoe, as her godson, 10s., and as my servant, £1. To my daughter Elizabeth, 10s. I payd her servant, Mrs. Dorothy Bridger,¹⁰⁷ her year's wages, which did not become due till May, 1709, £5, and I paid her her legacy, £2. Mary Chaloner, £1. Anne West, £1. Mary Taverner, £1. Will. Gates, £1. Jo. Lord, £1.”

In addition to these bequests, Mrs. Jane Burrell left £10, to be divided among the poor of the parish, a very common legacy in those days. The recipients were 112 in number, who received sums varying from 4s. to 6d. each ; one of them, who rejoiced in the curious name of John Eightacres' wife, receiving 1s. ; to Anne Chaloner there was given £1.

In recording the presents received this year he mentions the days on which he receives them. Mrs. Shore sends him a large salt fish ; then follow messes of beans, sugar peas, mullets, wild ducks ; but what is remarkable is the time of the year when game is sent him, six partridges arrive as early as the 12th of July, 3 heathpots on the 29th, a pheasant on the 17th of August, 12 more partridges on the 21st. They were

¹⁰⁵ “ To Edward Luxford, towards his expenses in taking deacon's orders, £1. To my tenant, William Constable, I remitted 5s.”

¹⁰⁶ A funeral sermon was quite a matter of course : 10s. was the price paid by the poor ; two guineas, as in the present instance, by the rich. The Rev. Giles Moore bought a book full of funeral sermons in London for a few shillings.

¹⁰⁷ This good lady, it seems, soon afterwards quartered herself upon Mr. Burrell for an indefinite period.

probably taken in nets, with setters, and sent to him alive. It seems that our ancestors ate game all the year round, for Lady Russell, writing on the 3d of April, 1680, says, "The widow and I are going to a partridge and Woburn rabbits." Twelve iron cakes for Betty complete the list.

1709.

"26th March. Protestantibus in Poloniâ et Livoniâ ad ædificandam ecclesiam, 2s.¹⁰⁸ 29th. Paid for all Gazettes, from January to this day, for my third part, 1s. 6d.; the whole being 4s. 6d.

"Paid John Coachman for a whip to spoil my horses, 1s. 6d.



"Janæ Payn vini Lusitani, 3s. Duobus militibus rude donatis 1s. Nautæ ab Indiâ Occidentali qui duos naves bellicosas aufugiens navem suam mercatoriam ad littora appulit posteâ per hostes combustam, 1s. Marco Booth, juveni generoso qui variolis decubisset, dedi 5s.

"Oct. I bought 2 bushels of wheat for 16s., and then two bushels more for 17s. The two bushels with the bag weighed 134 lb. Since that wheat has fallen to 8s. a bushel. Query, what returned from the miller? 121 lb. So the toll paid was 13 lb., which was reasonable for double toll, which Sturt saith might have been 16d. the bushel.¹⁰⁹



¹⁰⁸ "For the Protestants in Poland and Lithuania, for the building of their church I gave 2s." There was a general collection made for the distressed Protestants in Lithuania, and towards the translation of the Bible for them, as early as 1661. In the present instance, the church alluded to was to be built at Mittau, in Courland.

¹⁰⁹ In olden time, when the lord of a manor built a mill, he made his vassals pay him toll for the privilege of grinding their corn there; this was called "multure." When he found it more convenient to let the mill, he generally made terms with the tenant, reserving to himself and his family the privilege of grinding their corn toll free, "Multura libera," as it was called. For his own people, those who lived within the manor, he secured their grist being ground on the payment of single toll, whilst the miller was at liberty to ask what he pleased or what was called double toll of strangers, and probably Mr. Burrell lived out of the manor in which the mill was situated. It is satisfactory to find some one at last speaking well of a miller, a class of men which, from the times of Chaucer, who describes his miller as one who "well cowde stele corn and tollen thries," down to the present day, have been the subject of gibe and jest. Touching millers, there is a curious old traditionary Sussex story of one who was known by the name of "The honest miller of Chalvington," and he came to a bad end; for falling into poverty, he hanged himself on his own mill post. He was buried in a cross road, on the borders of the parish, and an oak stake was driven through his

“Dehinc durante annonæ caritate elargiri statui pauperibus ad januam diebus Dominicis eleemosynam captantibus, 12 libras carnis bovinae singulis septimanis, et decem libras super, in toto 16 libras, et modium frumenti et $\frac{1}{2}$ modium hordei in quatuor septimanis.¹¹⁰

“24th Oct. Dorothy Bridger venit hospes. . . . abiit . . .¹¹¹

“Venæ hæmorrhoidales sanguinem copiosorem emittebant absque dolore.

“Nov. Pauperibus Palatinis, £1.¹¹² I paid John Coachman

body. In process of time the stake became a tree, and the spot was haunted by the miller's ghost. Thus far tradition; but the curious circumstance connected with this story is, that in the year 1829, close to the root of an old blighted oak which hung across the road near the haunted spot, some cottagers, in digging for sand, discovered some human bones, which were generally admitted to be the remains of “The honest miller of Chalvington.”

¹¹⁰ “From this time I have resolved, as long as the dearth of provisions continues, to give to the poor who apply for it at the door on Sundays, twelve pounds of beef every week, and on the 11th of February 4 lbs. more, in all 16 lbs., and a bushel of wheat and half a bushel of barley in 4 weeks.” The average price of wheat this year was £3 9s. 9d. the quarter, the highest price which occurred in the course of 146 years, namely, from 1649 to 1795. The following year it was as high as £3 9s., an enormous price, considering the difference in the value of money.

¹¹¹ “24th Oct. Dorothy Bridger came as my guest she went away

¹¹² The history of these Palatinates is curious. Louis XIV, the year before, had fallen suddenly upon the Palatinate, and ravaged it with fire and sword. The famine following upon the havoc, reduced the wretched inhabitants to such a state of misery, that they were obliged to fly their country, and seek homes wherever they could. The first flight that arrived in England did not, according to Burnet, exceed fifty Lutherans, who were so effectually recommended to Prince George of Denmark's chaplain, that the queen was induced to allow them what does not appear an excess of royal liberality, a shilling a day, and took care that they should be sent out and settled in the plantations in America. To use Burnet's own words, “Ravished with this good reception,” they wrote such an account of things to their friends abroad, that thousands were induced to come over and try their fortunes in England; but these arrived at an unfortunate time, when provisions were very dear and corn was at a famine price. However, there they were, and they must be supported. A great number of them were quartered in tents on Blackheath. Briefs were issued for collecting money for them, and very large sums were bestowed in charity upon these strangers, much to the indignation of the English people, who were severely suffering themselves. About 500 families were sent to Ireland, and £24,000 was granted for the purposes of settling them there; and, query, whether they were not the ancestors of those German settlers on the coast of Wexford, whom recent travellers in Ireland describe as prospering, though surrounded by idle, wretched Irish? Three thousand of them were sent to New York, and these settled on the Hudson River; but being ill treated there, they removed to Pennsylvania, where they were hospitably and kindly received by the Quakers. These formed the nucleus round which thousands of German and Swiss Protestants have since collected, and amply have they repaid the original settlers for their hospitality, by those habits of patient industry which the Germans import with them wherever they go. In the course of ages their descendants have ill requited the liberality shown to their ancestors when they first

for Palatines, 1*s.* For tools pretended at Mr. Tydy's sale, £1 1*s.* 6*d.*



“12th March. The young Sneak's cow lost her calf. 21st. Middle Sneak's cow calved a bull calf; I sold it to Morden for 25*s.* Old Sneaks calved a cow calf in April.

“I gave my daughter this year 15*s.* to buy pins. For a new gowne, pettycotes, &c., £15 2*s.* 2 pair of Turkey leather shoes, one yellow and one red, laid with silver, 9*s.* 6*d.* To Venlowe, for staves, £2 4*s.* Gave her when she went to Horsham, £1 10*s.* Sent her to Higden, 10*s.* Gave her at Christmas $\frac{1}{2}$ a guinea. For the materials of Durance scarlet¹¹³ for a wrapping gowne, and the making, £2 3*s.* 9*d.*



“My flint glasses and decanters cost 6*d.* a lb. at London. I brought from London 2 saltfish, which weighed 21 lbs.; one of them was a very bad one.

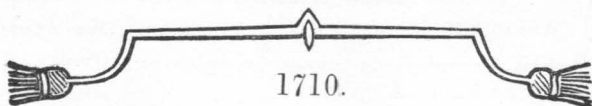
“Paid Warden's bill for brandy and hose, in part of John Lord's wages, 19*s.* 6*d.*”

His humbler friends and neighbours dined with him as usual on the 2d and 3d of January, the dinner being very nearly the same as that before recorded, plum porridge and mince pies prevailing. The presents this year were 70 in number. Messes of peas and beans, carrots, radishes and turnips, &c., from his poorer neighbours. From the richer, half bucks, a fat goos from one, a sorry gosling from another, capons, pullets, pigs, bullocks' sweetbreads, &c. &c.

arrived upon our shores, inasmuch, as it is well understood, these Germans are the authors and abettors of that system of repudiating their debts, by which so many of our countrymen have suffered.

That such a circumstance as the arrival of some thousands of needy foreigners in England should have excited indignation, under the special circumstances of the case, among the people, is natural enough; but that it should have been taken advantage of by public men in the way it was, is a strong proof of the violence of party spirit in those days. The Tories accused the Whigs of intending the overthrow of the church of England, by the introduction of so large a body of dissenters, and the House of Commons was prevailed upon to pass a vote, declaring those who invited the Palatines over to England to be the enemies of their queen and country. (Burnet.)

¹¹³ A considerable part of the country through which the Durance flows is celebrated now for its “*étoffes de garance*,” stuffs dyed with madder root, of a fine red or scarlet colour.



“ March 26th. Two bushels of wheat which I sent to John Sturt the miller, weighed 124 lbs. sack and all; there were brought back 111 lbs., so that 13 lbs. were wanting.

“ To John Lord, to buy stockings, 1*s.* 6*d.*; for 2 neck-cloths, 4*s.* 6*d.*; breeches and drink, 5*s.*

“ I paid the saddler for John Coachman falling drunk off his box, when he was driving to Glynde, in part of his wages, £1 7*s.* 6*d.*



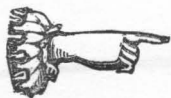
“ May 22. Maria Christiana Goring venit, hospes gratissima, abiit 26 Junii.¹¹⁴

“ 2d June. Pro funere Janæ Payn, £1.

“ For the things bought by my sister for my daughter at London I paid £37 13*s.* For a scarlet camlet cloake, £3 9*s.*



“ 25th June. I paid to Nanny West for her wages, due at Lady day, £1 10*s.*, besides 10*s.* to Dr. White, and 27*s.* to Fishenden the apothecary.



“ 6th Aug. Incepi Doctoris Fuller methodum infusionis amari et vini stomachici.
8th Sept. Incepi methodum Doctoris Cox.
10th Oct. Incepi methodum Doctoris Fuller novum die Lunæ post meridiem.¹¹⁵

“ Anne Chaloner, virgini vetulæ inopi, filiæ nutricis meæ, dedi 2*s.* 6*d.*¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ “ May 22d. Maria Christiana Goring came, a most welcome guest; she went away the 26th of June.” This lady, whose visit gave him so much pleasure, died a few years later. She left him a legacy of £50, which, however, by his will, he remitted to her brother, Sir C. Goring, giving him £250 besides, in consideration of the large portion he had received with his wife, Sir C. Goring’s sister.

¹¹⁵ “ On the 6th of Aug. I began Doctor Fuller’s system of bitter infusion and stomachic wine. On the 8th of Sept. I tried that of Dr. Cox. On the 11th of Oct. I began a new system of Dr. Fuller’s, on Monday, after 12 o’clock in the forenoon.” It appears from old prescriptions, that great importance was often attached by our forefathers to the particular time of the day when they took their medicines.

¹¹⁶ “ To Anne Chaloner, an old maid and poor, the daughter of my nurse, I gave 2*s.* 6*d.*” In the Cuckfield register there is this notice of her burial: “ Anne Chaloner was buried the 16th Jan. 1722. A maiden of 90 years and upwards.”

“The carrier brought me 4 gallons of red Porto wine, 6 bottles of Canary, and 7 bottles of claret. There was again brought me 4 gallons of red Porto wine; and on the 14th January, another vessel of pale red Porto wine, 4 gallons.¹¹⁷



“Nov. Bought of Richardson 2 yards and 3 nails of coarse muslin, at 4*d.* per yard, for turnover cravats for winter, 9*s.* 6*d.*

“Allano Parsons, virtute scripti Edwardi Luxford, misi £2, debitum in Martii mense. Ant. Huggett decoctori, *ἔκων ἀέκοντι δε θυμω*, dedi 5*s.*¹¹⁸ Captivis et naufragium passis, £1.

“Thom. Burrell dedi tunicam laneam duplicatam et £1, et Janæ Luxford tuniculam laneam 5*s.*; Johanni Burt mente capto dedi tunicam et femoralia e lanâ confecta, 11*s.* 6*d.*

“Pauperibus ex consuetudine, dedi £3; et ut credo aliquid aliud. For poor tax, £1 2*s.*¹¹⁹



“Paid W. Gates his year’s wages, due at Lady day, £3 10*s.*; and Mary Chaloner two years’ wages, due 1st April, £5.”

The presents this year were of the usual sort; a brace of partridges arrived on the 30th of July; but there was no venison. The dinner party at Christmas much as usual as to the guests and the fare.

1711.

“April. I paid the miller for 6 bushels of wheat, £1 10*s.*

“I invited Sir John Shaw, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Shore and wife, to dinner.

¹¹⁷ The Methuen treaty, entered into between England and Portugal in 1703, which was considered in those days a masterpiece of policy, though a very different opinion is now formed respecting it, by which the wines of Portugal were admitted into this country on payment of only two thirds of the duty to which the wines of France were subject, was now producing its full effect in making us a port-drinking people. Claret and sack, before this period, were the prevailing wines. In the course of the Rev. Giles Moore’s Diary, which includes the period between 1655 and 1672, these are the only wines mentioned; port is not alluded to.

¹¹⁸ “To Allan Parsons, in consequence of a letter from Edward Luxford, I sent £2, due to him in the month of March; and to Anthony Huggett, a bankrupt, ‘voluntarily, but with no willing mind,’ I gave 5*s.* To shipwrecked sailors, captives, £1.” These probably were our sailors shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, and made slaves of by the Algerines.

¹¹⁹ His poor tax had doubled in the course of 25 years. In 1686 he only paid 11*s.*

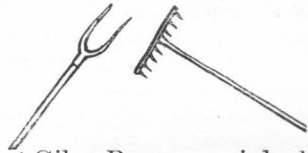
“ DINNER.

A Soup taken off,
Two large carps, at the upper end.
Pidgeon pie, salad, veal ollaves,
Leg of mutton, and cutlets, at the lower end.

Three roasted chickens,
Scotch pancakes, tarts, asparagus,
Three green gees, at the lower end.
In the room of the chickens removed,
Four souced mackarel.

Raspis in cream at the upper end.
Calves'-foot jelly, dried sweetmeats, calves'-foot jelly.
Flummery, Savoy cakes,
Imperial cream, at the lower end.

“ June. I had 26 load of hay off my land, and I paid the hayers £2 8s. ; the mowers £1 4s. 3d., at 20d. an acre.¹²⁰



“ A bushel of wheat, which I got of Giles Brown, weighed 66 lb. ; I sent it to the miller, and 2 lb., that is to say, a quart, was taken for toll : another bushel weighed 72 lb. *Note.* The leather meal sack weighed 6 lb.¹²¹

“ My two servants' liveries cost £6 6s. ; their laced hats, £1 1s. 6d.

“ 9th Junii. Tunicam nigram laneam cum indusiis et femoralibus dedi Thos. Luxford. Fœminæ, pauperi ædificandæ casulum apud Fletching, 11s. ; Jacobi Holford, uxori puerperæ, 5s. ; et pro erudienda filiâ Chatfield, Janæ Bodenham, marito Hawkins, £6. To Susan Hawkins, for attendance on my daughter, for two years, £20.

“ For 6 bushels of salt, at 5s. 4d. the bushel, £1 12s.

“ Aug. I gave my daughter, going to Danny, £2. ; and on her going to Comb, £1 5s. I sent her to Highden, 2 guineas.

“ I paid Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Selby, for mantua, petticoates, stockings, linen hood, gloves and aprons, £40 9s.

¹²⁰ Wages had been gradually creeping up in the course of 50 years ; Giles Moore, in 1659, paid his mowers 16d. an acre.

¹²¹ The average price of wheat this year was £2 a quarter. Fine as the wheat is which finds its way into Horsham Market, such a weight as 72lbs. a bushel is not known in the present day. It may have been the Windsor bushel, of 9 gallons, of which he speaks.

“Captivis de Belisle et Dinant, 1*s.*; aliis captivis de Dinant, 1*s.*”¹²²

“3d Dec. I received the first Gazette from the postmaster.

“Pauperibus ex consuetudine, £3 10*s.*”

The presents he received this year were more than 70 in number, including 2 fine salt fish from a Mrs. Carrington; Mrs. Stone sends some grass butter to Betty; Sir Robt. Fagge half a buck and shoulder; partridges¹²³ arrive in the middle of June; others send him a vast carp, 150 roches,

¹²² Mr. Burrell repeatedly gives money to these prisoners from Dinant; who they were I have not been able to ascertain: they were, probably, our soldiers made prisoners of war by the French, and who had been detained at that place and at Belisle.



¹²³ It is curious to trace the course of legislature in England, with respect to game, particularly as to the periods when it was lawful to take it; and it is clear from the old statutes, that the English were always a preserving and a poaching people. The following preamble to the first statute on record, that of Henry VII, c. 17, passed 350 years ago, entitled, an “Act against the taking of Fesants and Partridges,” is conceived quite in the spirit of our own times. “Item, for as much as divers persons, having little substance to live upon, use many times as well by nets, snares, and other engines, to take and destroy feasants and partridges, upon the lordships, manors, and tenements of divers owners or possessioners of the same, without license, consent, or agreement of the same, by which they leese not only their pleasure and disport that they, their friends, and their servants should have about hunting, hawking, and taking of the same, but they also leese the profit and avail that by that occasion should grow to the household, to the great hurt of all lords and gentlemen, and others having great livelihood within this realme.” Then follow the penalties. The next in order is an “Act for the Preservation of Pheasants and Partridges,” passed in 1581, which states, “Whereas the game of pheasants and partridges is within these few years past in manner utterly decayed and destroyed in all parts of this realm, by means of such as take them with nets, snares, and other engines and devices, as well by day as by night; and also by such as do use hawking in the beginning of harvest, before the young pheasants and partridges be of any bigness, to the great spoil and hurt of corn and grass then growing; be it enacted, no one shall take a pheasant or partridge after the first day of April.” The penalty for such offence was 20*s.* for a pheasant, and 10*s.* for a partridge, or one month’s imprisonment. The next limitation of time took place in 1761. By the 2 Geo. III, c. 19, the time for taking partridges was fixed between the 12th of February and 1st of September; that for taking pheasants, as it is at present, between the 1st of February and the 1st of October; and the 30 Geo. III, c. 34, passed in 1799, placed the killing of partridges, between the 1st of September and the 1st of February. There was an Act, the 13 Geo. III, 1779, fixing the periods when black game and grouse might be killed, which is curious as determining the time when the bustard, a bird which has now totally disappeared, might not be killed, namely, between the 1st of March and the 1st of September.

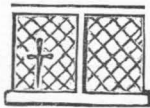
With respect to venison, it would be endless to enter into an account of the laws for the preservation of deer. Suffice it to say, that without meaning any reflection upon Mr. Burrell or his friends, it seems clear from the following passage from an old writer on

half a saumon; Mrs. Shore and Edward Virgo send his daughter a coffee-mill, tatters (query), and iron cakes.

1712.


“ Janæ Mathews apud sacram synaxin, 1s. ; Willo Bond, prodigo incarcerato, 5s. ; Rapley ad synaxin, 1s.¹²⁴”

“ For half a gross of corks, of a cork-cutter from   Southwark, at 18d. per gross, 9d.”



“ June. To a poor-tax, £1 2s. ; for 6 month’s tax, due at Lady-day, £2 2s. ; for money, £600, £2 8s. P^d for 2 years’ window tax, £2 10s.”

“ July. Dedi Mariæ Mackarel, abeunti a Cuckfield, cum vir ejus exuebatur officio excisi, 2s, 6d.”

“ I paid the saddler, for plasters, ointment, peccatorals, purges, for John Lord’s head, eyes, wrist, knee, foot, and lung, 14s. 11d.¹²⁵” 

“ I gave James Rapley, when he helped Gosmarke mowing, as an encouragement, 2s. 6d.”

“ Captivis apud Fez dedi £1. Incarceratis captivis a Jamaica, 1s.¹²⁶ Pauperibus ex consuetudine, £3 ; et aliquid

forest laws, that so long as they got their venison, our ancestors were not very particular whence it came. He says, “ Budæus reporteth this old verse of venison—

‘ Non est inquirendum unde venit venison,
Nam si forte furto sit sola fides sufficet.’ ”

Which he quaintly translates thus—

“ Venison cometh,
It is not to be inquired from whence ;
For if by chance it stolen bee,
A good beliefe sufficeth thee.”

MANWOOD’S *Treatise on Forest Laws.*

¹²⁴ “ To Jane Mathews, at the holy communion, I gave 1s. ; to Willy Bond, a spendthrift, who had got into gaol, 5s. ; to Rapley, for the communion, 1s.”

¹²⁵ The fall and the saddler together were fatal to the coachman ; he died in a few months, and was buried the 4th August, 1712.

¹²⁶ “ To the captives at Fez I gave £1. ; to the imprisoned captives from Jamaica, 1s.” The fate of Christian slaves taken by the Barbary corsairs, naturally enough excited the intense sympathy of our forefathers ; and whilst many a sincere prayer was offered up to the Lord to “ show his pity upon all prisoners and captives,” large sums were subscribed and liberal bequests made for their redemption from slavery. Whether they took the wisest course to put an end to the practice of piracy by so doing is another question. The sums left for this purpose became, in after ages, a subject of much embarrassment and litigation.

aliud. Dean aurifabris uxori Zelotypæ, et ea de causâ mente lapsæ sed lascivæ ut accipi postea, 6*d.*

“The smoky cow, bought of Gatland, for £4 1*5s.*, calved a cow calf, a stout calf.”



Among the presents of this year Jo. Hurst sends him a noble dish of trouts; from others he receives a poor leveret, a leveret bruised, a fine goos, a noble hare, 13 pigeons; and Mrs. Dodson sends him a number of oatcakes. Besides his usual Christmas dinner parties, he invites several of his poorer neighbours to dine with him on Sundays. Several dinner parties are recorded; among others, the following is no bad specimen of a bill of fare, when Mr. Shaw, Mr. Sergison and family, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Shore and his wife, dined with him.

The first case in which this species of charity has been alluded to (which has been kindly communicated to me), occurs in the 43*d* of Elizabeth, where it is enumerated among the many others which had been abused, and which called for inquiry and reform. The next in point of date on record was that of a Lady Mico: in the year 1670 she gave a moiety of £2000 towards the redemption of poor slaves, directing her executors to dispose of the yearly interest of that sum, as they thought best, to redeem some yearly. The piracy which caused this legacy in process of time ceased, and this £1000, left quietly to accumulate, in the year 1827 had swelled into £115,510. The scheme ultimately arranged by the Court of Chancery for the disposal of this large fund was, that it should be placed under the management of trustees, three of whom are to be appointed by the Colonial Secretary, and the income is applied to the promotion of education in the British Colonies. Lady Russell, writing in 1686, mentions “the noble legacy of £3000, left by Sir W. Coventry,” to the same purpose. No one seems to know anything about this money; and no doubt the Charity Commissioners would be glad to be informed upon the point, and put upon the scent. In the year 1728 another bequest was made, which occasioned infinite trouble. A Mr. Betton left his property to the Ironmongers Company, in trust, that half of it should be applied to the redemption of British slaves in Turkey and Barbary, and a fourth part to the promotion of Church education in the schools in the parishes of London and its suburbs. In 1840 the sum applicable to the redemption of slaves amounted to £100,000, 3 per cents., besides an annual income of more than £1000 a year. As there were no slaves, it was decided by the Court of Chancery that the income should be applied to the promotion of charity schools in England and Wales, but that none should receive more than £20, a stipulation which has in effect very much neutralized the whole benefit of the charity.

With respect to the captives from Jamaica, it is not very clear who they were; it is very possible they may have been the remnant of those who, in 1694, were taken by a Monsieur Du Casse, the governor of Hispaniola, who in that year landed on the island with a considerable force, ravaged with great cruelty the settlement, and, though ultimately defeated, carried off with him a great booty and a considerable number of prisoners.

A pease pottage, which being taken off,
 A haunch of venison.
 Salad.
 Lemon pudding on one side. Scotch collops on the other.
 Leg of mutton, rost.
 Cutlets at lower end.
 A venison pasty.

Two large chickens, roasted.
 Scotch pancakes. Kidney pies.
 Gooseberry tart.
 Fried plaice.
 Raspis in cream jellie. Imperial cream.
 Flummery. Plain cream.
 Codlings.

“ Pauperibus ex consuetudine £3, et aliquid aliud, et quotidie ultra parochianis, militibus mancis, egentibus, rude donatis, meritis et aliis”¹²⁷

“ Paid Sharp for shoes, and for mending John Lord’s, 10s. To G. Virgoe, for 3 shirt clothes for him, 15s., and for making the shirts, 1s. 6d.

1713.

“ March 25th. I made an allowance of £80 per annum to my daughter.”¹²⁸

“ 7th April. P^d Rapley his half year’s wages, due at Lady day, £2 5s. I gave him more, 15s.

“ 18th May. I paid to Sister Goring for bills for her, £50 13s. For setting the diamonds, £7. I gave her going to Comb, £5, and to Highden, £5. For cards, 5s. more. To Venlowe for staves,¹²⁹ £5 19s. Her total expenses were £89 15s. 7d.



“ 7th April. I bought a chees weighing 18 lbs. for 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. the lb. It was all eaten in the kitchen by the 18th.

¹²⁷ “ To the poor, according to custom, £3, and something more, and daily, beyond this, to parishioners, wounded soldiers and sailors, poor creatures, pensioners, and others, I don’t know how much.”

¹²⁸ His daughter was married to Mr. Trevor on the 2d of February, 1715. She died in about two years, leaving one daughter. The exact time of her death is not ascertained, as there is no record of her burial, either at Cuckfield or at Glynde. Mr. Trevor, who afterwards became Lord Trevor, survived her many years.

¹²⁹ A museum of female armour and costume is still a desideratum. Were there such, we should probably have seen such a specimen as this highly embroidered. It was very costly, as compared with its present price, which I am credibly informed would be about £3.

“Sept. 19th. Maria Dodson venit hospes futurus, abiit 3rd Nov., 7 weeks.

“10th Oct. Pandoxavi quinque cados cerevisiæ fortis.¹³⁰



“13th Oct. P Curtis for 12 dozen of candles, £3 11s.; for 10 dozen of soap, £1 10s. His receipt: ‘Rec^d. of Mr. Timothy Burrell, Esq. the sume of five pounds and won shillen, in full for 12 doz_n of candls, and 10 dozen of soap.

Edw . Curtis.’ ”

As this year was the last in which any account is given of his Christmas dinners, the list of his guests, and the bill of fare are inserted.

“Invited at Christmas, 1711.

Mr. Stabley, Ux. abs.,
 Chas. Savage, Ux, abs.,
 W. Gatland, Ux. abs.,
 Rd. Burt,
 J. Warden, Ux. abs.,
 Jo. Sturt,
 Wm. Banester,
 Thos. Gates,
 Wm. Heasman,
 Thos. Ives,
 Thos. Uwins,
 Wm. Aynscombe,
 Mrs. Langford,



Mrs. Burt,
 Thos. Canon,
 Edw. Virgoe,
 Jo. Hurst,
 Thos. Warden, Ux. abs.,
 Rd. Crunden,
 Rd. Virgoe, Ux. abs.,
 W. West,
 Mrs. Mathers, abs.,
 Mrs. Luxford. abs.,
 James Stone,
 Will. Hedger,
 Jo. Chatfield.

¹³⁰ “10th Oct. I brewed 5 casks of strong ale.”

DINNER.

3d January.

Plumm broath,
 Leg of mutton boiled,
 Two capons,
 Hog's chine roasted,
 A pig,
 Rump sirloin rost beef,
 A pig,
 A goos,
 Plumm broath,
 Rump of beef.

Two baked puddings,
 Three dishes of minced pies.

Two dishes of tarts,
 Two pullets,
 Two rabbits.



4th January.

Plumm broath,
 A pig,
 Mutton pasty,
 A hare.
 A goos,
 Plumm broath,
 Rib of rost beef,
 A goos,
 Leg of mutton roasted,
 Clod of beef boiled,
 Plumm broath.

Two baked puddings,
 Three dishes of minced pies.

Two capons,
 Two pullets,
 Two dishes of tarts."¹³¹

In future his humbler friends were invited in parties of two or three on Sundays. Among many other good things sent him are—10 large carp, a noble trout, half a buck, a haunch of venison, a side of poor venison from Mr. Spence, a pyke 3 feet and half long, 6 dozen of wheat-ears, 20 whittings, &c. &c.

1714.

“March 25th. I paid the maltman for 10 bushels of malt, at 3s. 6d. the bushel, £1 15s.



“26th. I bought of Gatland at Sotheram, a coach-horse, five years old, for £16. Blind!

¹³¹ Such hospitalities as these, when, at the joyous season of Christmas, the rich and poor met socially together, were probably common in those days. It is certain that they were exercised by Evelyn at Wootton, for on the 26th Dec. 1656, he says: “I invited some of my neighbours and tenants, according to custom, and to preserve hospitality and charity.” The custom has fallen into disuse; and thus another bond of happy union, connecting the different classes of society, has been broken.



“ April 9th. Paid Rapley his year’s wages, £5.¹³²

For 8 gallons of white wine, I paid £2 8s., and for the vessel, 2s.

“ To Wat Chaloner for materials for making J. Bennett’s livery coat, waistcoat, and breeches, with a laced hat, £3 5s. For a lb. of loaf sugar I paid 1s. 4d.¹³³

“ I paid Nanny West her year’s wages due 25th March, and 5s. over, £2 5s.



“ Paid Mr. Walter half a year’s rent for Sandbournes, £4 10s.¹³⁴

The presents this year fell off sadly, both in quantity and quality ; they do not exceed 31 in number—a partridge arrives early in July, 4 more in August from Mrs. Sergison, and Mrs. Lyddell sends him erysipelas medicine.

1715.

“ 24th June. By Jo. Dyke I paid James Rapley’s wages, from 4th April to the 25th July, after his death, £1 13s. 6d.



“ 11th Aug. I paid Mary Cook her year’s wages, £2 15s.¹³⁵

“ For 18 ells, at 7s. 8d. the ell, for whole shirts, I gave £3 10s.



¹³² Warned by the fall and fate of his old coachman, Mr. Burrell evidently had converted his successor into a postilion.

¹³³ The finest loaf sugar may now be bought for 6d. or 7d. a pound. “ In 1662,” says Giles Moore, “ I gave to Mr. Lysle’s wife, at whose house I lodged, a sugar loafe of 4 lb., and an ounce of the best double-refined sugar, costing 7s.” The sugar loaf seems to have been a usual complimentary present in those days. Take, for instance, the six sugar loaves presented by the dean and chapter, as a matter of course, to the judges of assize at Salisbury ; and the pair which were sent by Sir John Croke to Sir M. Hale, at Aylesbury, and which the worthy judge indignantly returned. (Lord Campbell, *Life of Sir M. Hale.*)

¹³⁴ The Sandbournes are in extent between thirteen and fourteen acres, the present rental of which is now £2 an acre, or about three times as much as in the days of Mr. Burrell ; and this is probably a fair exponent of the difference of rent generally at these respective periods.

¹³⁵ In the course of 30 years there had been a slight, but very slight, increase in servant’s wages. In 1686 he paid his cook 50s. a year.

This year the only presents recorded are seven in number—a dish of asparagus, 2 rabbits, cherries, carrots, a goose, 8 lemons, and a fat goose.

“ St. James’s Day.

“ 25th July, 1715.

“ I gave over housekeeping, and my son-in-law Trevor began to keep house the day and year above written.”

For the two years and a half during which Mr. Burrell survived this arrangement, which proved to be an unhappy one, the notices in his Journal are very scanty. He mentions some few, but probably very few (only seven in number), of the presents which he received in 1715; and an increased, though not a large number, in the following year. The last entry in his book occurs only a fortnight before his death, on the 10th of December, 1717, and is accompanied by a drawing of a hog shut up to fatten, which, without the context, no one would imagine was intended to represent that animal. He died on the 26th December, 1717, aged 75; and it would seem, from the following inscription on his monument in Cuckfield church, raised to his memory by his brothers, Walter and Peter Burrell, that the loss of his daughter hastened his end.

Juxta sepultus est
 TIMOTHEUS BURRELL,
 Cujus natales
 Vicina indicant marmora,
 Virtutem, ingenium,
 Nulla.
 Ad Jurisprudentiæ laudem,
 Accessit Optimarum Artium studium;
 Ad Pietatis et Beneficentiæ splendorem,
 Adjunxit humanitatis cultum.
 Totus profuit,
 Totus delectavit.
 Unicam prolem Elizabetham;
 At multarum instar,
 Incertum an vivam constantius amavit,
 An defunctam acerbius flevit.
 Certe tantæ calamitatis diu non superfuit.
 Obiit die 26 Decembris, anno salutis, 1717.
 Ætatis suæ 75.

Neither his friends, his servants, nor the poor of the parish, were forgotten in his will. To Sir Charles Goring he left £250, and, as before stated, remitted the £50 which had been left to him by his sister, Christiana Goring; and to Emma Cornwallis, the sister of Sir Job Charlton, £300, in consideration of the considerable portions which he had received with his first two wives. To Peter Burrell he left £250, to each of his other brothers £100; and to his nephew, Timothy, the sum of £20 a year, to be paid to him during his residence at the University, and to be continued to him till he obtained some preferment worth at least £30 a year—a proof of the cheapness of an University education, and the moderate views of emolument of the clergy in those days.¹³⁶ To his infant grand-daughter he seems to have transferred much of that affection which he felt for her mother. Besides his estates he mentions a number of small matters, which he leaves to her on her marriage or her coming of age; among others those which he evidently much prized, “his rare silver plate,” and “his curious collection of gold coins.” To his old secretary, Edward Virgoe, he leaves £100; to Anne West, £20; and to Susan Hawkins £10 a year, so long as she continues a widow. To the £30 bequeathed by Mr. Middleton, for educating poor children he adds £20 more; and he gives £100 to be laid out in the purchase of land, the interest to be applied for the distribution of bread among 6 poor persons of the parish.

¹³⁶ “Parson Adams,” says Fielding, about 1740, “at the age of fifty was provided with a handsome income of £23 a year, which,” adds the author, “he could not make any great figure with, because he lived in a dear county, and was a little encumbered with a wife and six children.”

ERRATA.

P. 122, l. 13, for *Vinabo*, read *Vinall*.

128, 16, for *Sir Chris. Lewis*, read *Sir C. Levins*.

136, l. 4 *from bottom*, for or *bucking*, read *a bucking*.

149, 11, for *Sanctæ*, read *Sancti*.

ON THE
MILITARY EARTHWORKS OF THE SOUTHDOWNS,

WITH A MORE ENLARGED ACCOUNT OF CISSBURY,
ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL OF THEM.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

(READ AT THE BRIGHTON MEETING, APRIL, 1849.)

THE Military Earthworks, which are occasionally met with in traversing the Southdowns, and which are probably connected with an *early*, if not the *very earliest* known history of the county, stand prominently forward to invite the consideration and inquiry of the Sussex Archæologist. I call these Earthworks *military*, because, though a few of them *might have been*, and I am disposed to think *were*, of Druidical origin, the generally received opinion is, that the greater part of them were formed for the purposes of military encampment and fortification.

Of these earthworks, some are situated on the northern ridge of the Downs; no doubt as places of refuge and defence against invaders, from what is now called "the Weald" of Sussex; others occur more to the south, being obviously so placed as a protection against hostile attacks from the sea coast; while two or three are to be found in situations about midway between these two; probably as additional places of retreat, or as links of communication.

Viewed in a military light, these earthworks are precisely in the position, in which we should expect to find them. For not only are they so arranged as to form a regular chain of hill forts; but their situation, on some of the most prominent eminences of these Downs, naturally affords not only all the requisites for military observation, but also the strongest points of defence, that could well be met with on these chalk hills.

With regard to those found on some of the most northern elevations of the Downs; we have, beginning at the western

extremity of the county, the earthworks of Heyshot, near Midhurst, which measure in circuit about half a mile. Next occur those of Chenkbury, near Steyning, the area inclosed by which is about two furlongs in diameter. Then those of the Devil's Dyke near Poynings, the ramparts of which are about a mile in circumference. Then those of Wolstanbury, a projecting hill immediately above Hurstperpoint, the area of which is about a furlong in diameter. Then those of Ditchling Hill, the ramparts of which measure about 60 rods by 50. The old via, up the northern face of the Downs, which must have been formed at a very early period, as an approach to this earthwork from the Weald, still exists, except the lower part, destroyed by the formation of a chalk-pit. Much of it is very deeply cut, the earth being thrown out so as to form a very bold and secure vallum on the north side of it. Its width at the bottom is about four feet. About half way up the hill this via turns off to the west in a most remarkable manner, and after being carried round a lofty mound formed by the earth, heaped up in the centre, during the process of its formation, comes into the direct via again, about twenty yards higher up. And, lastly, occur the earthworks of Mount Cauburn, above Ringmer, which, though they are scarcely three furlongs in circumference, are constructed with a double vallum, the outer being broader and deeper than the inner, and having its inmost rampart rising very bold and high. Near to this, on the same hill, is another earthwork of much larger dimensions, the outlines of the ramparts of which are now very faintly to be traced, but of which enough remains to enable us to discover what was its original structure and shape.

With regard to those earthworks situated on the southern eminences towards the sea coast, we have, commencing from the west, first, the earthworks of the Broil, near Chichester, which are constructed as an additional outer fortification to this city, on the north side, at that time the most accessible, and consequently most open to attack. The form is that of two sides of a square, each side being a mile in length. Next are those of Highdown Hill, in Ferring (omitting for the present those of Burpham, near Arundel), the area of which measures 300 by about 180 feet. Then those of Cissbury, near Findon, which are by far the largest and most striking of

these earthworks, a more particular description and history of which I shall presently give. Then those of White Hawk Hill, above Brighton, which have a triple vallum. Of this many parts were levelled by the formation of the Brighton race-course, at the southern extremity of which it was unfortunately situated, but of which a sufficiency still remains to show its form, and that it inclosed an area of about five acres, the outermost trench of this earthwork being about three quarters of a mile in circumference. Then come those of the Castle Hill at Newhaven, which inclose an area of about six acres; and those of the Castle at Seaford, which are situated on a hill opposite to this, and which inclose an area of about twelve acres. There is also a similar earthwork on a hill near to Birling Gap, inclosing a high and also isolated portion of the cliff, the circumference of which measures about three quarters of a mile. There are also two earthworks in the parish of Telscombe, which, though they are at present in a very imperfect state, appear to have been once strongly fortified, each containing from twelve to fifteen acres.

Of the intermediate range, we have the earthworks of Chilgrove and Bowhill, the former of small dimensions, but having a very distinct double vallum; the latter much larger, and on the apex of a very prominent hill, inclosing an area of about fifteen acres. Near to these, but on the opposite side of the valley of Singleton, are the earthworks of the Trundle, above Goodwood, the diameter of the area of which is about two furlongs, and which has a double vallum. The last are those of Hollingbury Castle, which are situated about midway between Ditchling and White Hawk Hill, on the old road from Ditchling to Brighton, which is erroneously supposed to be a Roman road. This earthwork is, in many respects, very similar to that of the Trundle, having a double vallum, the ramparts of which are thrown up very high. The area inclosed is about six acres.

There is also a hill rising immediately above the valley of the Arun at North Stoke, still called Camp Hill, upon the summit of which may be faintly traced the remains of an ancient earthwork, the greater part of which has been levelled by the plough. This is supposed to have been connected with the extensive military vallations in the adjoining parish of

Burpham, to which I have already alluded, and which appear to me to belong to a range evidently constructed for the defence of the valleys of the tide rivers, by the intervention of which the continuous line of the Downs is occasionally broken. Those of Newhaven and Seaford may be considered as falling under this class.

The remains of earthworks also exist at Selsey, close to the churchyard, and at Hardham, near Pulborough, the former of which is circular and the latter square. That at Hardham is considered to be the exact "ad decimam" point on the Roman via from Regnum to Dorking. But of these I shall not say more, my subject confining me to the ancient earthworks of the Downs.

The hills on which these earthworks are placed are elevated very considerably above the ordinary level of the Downs, and are from 600 to 900 feet above the level of the sea.

The portæ of these fortified posts are, for the most part, still very distinctly to be traced. Those on the northern ridge of the Downs are on the east, west, and south; those on the southern ridge, on the east, west, and north sides. The situation of the portæ in the intermediate range differs in all. Those of Bowhill are to the east, west, and south; and those of the Trundle to the east, west, and north; while those of Hollingbury, differing from all the others, are double to the east and west, and single on the south sides, the double portæ being about fifty-five yards from each other.

With regard to the date of these earthworks, it is, like their history generally, involved in much uncertainty. But little is known on this important point beyond what we are enabled to gather from their shape, or perhaps their names. Tacitus describes the British under Caractacus as occupying fortified posts on high hills; and he tells us farther, that wherever this general found these eminences easy of access, he blocked up the posts with dry walls.¹ (V. Annal. lib. xii, ch. 33.) This, then, is the earliest allusion we have to these ancient fortresses. No instance, however, of this kind of wall occurs on any part of the Southdowns. Probably, in the absence

¹ The dry masonry of the ancient British fortress on a hill above Weston-super-Mare in Somersetshire, commonly called "Worle Hill," is an instance of this kind of defence. Are the stones on Saxonbury Hill the remains of an ancient British fortress of this sort?

of stone, ramparts of earth may have been substituted for them. We know that the fortifications of the ancient Britons were circular, or as near to that shape as the circumstances of their particular locality admitted. To them, then, we attribute the earthworks of the hill above Chilgrove; of the Trundle; of Heyshot; of Chenkbury; of Cissbury; of Highdown Hill, as far as we can judge of its form, this being one of the most irregular earthworks on the Downs; of Wolstanbury; of Hollingbury;² of Whitehawk Hill; of Cauburn; as well as those of Newhaven, Seaford, and Birling Gap. We also know, that the fortified encampments of the Romans were square;³ to them, then, we attribute the construction of those situated at the Broil, and on Ditchling Hill; and also the southern fortification on Mount Cauburn, as well as that of Telscombe, which are now, or which were originally, square, but the form of some of which has been altered, by the angles having been rounded off at a later period, probably by the Saxons, after they fell into their possession; for I incline myself to the opinion, that neither the Saxons nor the Danes originated any earthworks in this country. The attacks of the Danes were generally by predatory incursion, and they seldom left their ships long; and as to the Saxons, they availed themselves of those already formed to their hands, altering the shape of such as were not in accordance with their habits. And hence arises the difficulty of speaking with any degree of certainty on the date of some of these earthworks, judging from their shape alone.

But this does not apply to Cissbury, a description of which remarkable and interesting fort I shall now proceed to give, noting at the same time some errors which historians, both ancient and modern, have fallen into in the accounts given of it.

Even at this distant period, its present aspect shows it to have undergone but little change; and on this account much of the difficulty which presents itself in investigating others,

² This earthwork has hitherto been represented as square, but by a very careful admeasurement and inspection, I am able to pronounce its shape to be decidedly circular.

³ For an account of the mode by which the Romans fortified their encampments, by means of stout stakes fixed as on the top of the agger, v. Procopius. In forming a ditch across the encampment at Hardham, some of the parts of these palisades which had been driven into the ground were discovered, blackened by age.

from the alteration which time and circumstances have wrought in them, is in this case thus removed.

This extensive earthwork incloses an area of about sixty acres, and has a single vallum, varying in depth from eight to twelve feet, according to the nature of the apex of the hill, the oval shape of which it necessarily follows, and a rampart of considerable width and height. The approaches to it were by roads formed on the east, south, and north sides of this hill. Of these, that on the south side, towards the sea coast, was the principal means of access, the road running to the east being, as I shall presently show, apparently a pass to the Roman station at Lancing; and that to the north intended to connect this point with the earthwork at Chenbury, from which it is distant about two miles, and with the Weald. The different passes through the entrenchment connected with these roads are still very perfect.

I shall now proceed to notice some of the misrepresentations connected with the history of this Hill Fort, to which I have already alluded; and first of that connected with its name "Cissbury."

Camden asserts this name to have been obtained from Cissa, the second in succession of the line of South Saxon Kings. "Hard by," says that generally accurate antiquary and topographer, speaking, in his 'Britannia,' of Offington, of which estate Cissbury is parcel, "hard by there is a fort compassed about with a bank rudely cast up; wherewith the inhabitants are persuaded that Cæsar entrenched and fortified his camp: but Cissbury, the name of the place, doth plainly shew and testify that it was the work of Cissa." Rapin followed the opinion of Camden.

That Cissbury might have been occupied by Cissa, during some period of his unusually long reign, seems very probable; and that, from some cause or other not recorded, it received from him its present name, appears likely. The sound seems, as Camden says, to guarantee the fact; but that it was first built or fortified by Cissa, is altogether a mistake; there being abundant evidence of its existence some centuries before the time of Cissa.

In proof of this, I need only refer to the evidence which it still bears of Roman occupation. In the centre of the fort the

foundations of a *prætorium* are still to be traced under the soil in a very dry season; and to the east it was apparently connected by a road with the important Roman station, discovered in the year 1828, on Lancing Down, about two miles from Cissbury. This Way, a considerable portion of which is now to be seen, is, much of it, fortified by a rampart on the north side of it. For though it is supposed to have been constructed for the express purpose of a communication with the wells of Applesham (from which place alone, as far as we can at present judge, water in sufficient quantity could have been obtained for the use of the fort), still Applesham could not well have been reached, without passing Lancing Hill. It appears then very probable, that for the purpose of securing a sufficient supply from this source, the Roman *Prætor* abandoned Cissbury, and took up his station on Lancing Hill: the remains of a tessellated pavement and other relics of a superior kind, discovered on this hill, plainly showing that it was not the station of the explorer of the district, as has been supposed, but a *prætorian villa*.

To this evidence of the Roman occupation of Cissbury we may add the fact of many Roman coins, and some Roman pottery of a very curious kind, having been found in the garden and paddock of Mr. Wyatt, at the foot of the hill; and also the remarkable circumstance of about three quarters of an acre of land, sloping immediately from about the centre of the south side of the fosse, and sheltered on the east and west sides by rising hills, being called within the memory of persons now living "the Vineyard," a spot which must strike every one visiting this interesting locality as peculiarly well adapted to the culture of the vine, which the Romans are supposed to have first introduced into this country. I am well aware that this is a disputed point, and will refer those who wish for farther information upon it to the papers of Pegge and Daines Barrington, which are to be found in some of the early numbers of the 'Archæologia.' This, connected with Cissbury, is, I believe, the only instance of the name being retained in Sussex. In Worcestershire it is by no means uncommon for fields in the immediate vicinity of Roman stations to be called "the Vines," or "the Vineyards."

So far, then, we have, I think, satisfactory proof of Cissbury having been occupied as a Roman station some centuries before the time of Cissa.

In determining that it was not of Roman formation, but of much earlier date, and therefore that the tradition of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Cissbury, to which Camden alludes, is altogether erroneous, I need only refer to the circumstance, that we have no historical evidence to show that Cæsar himself, or any part of the army which, during his sojourn in this country, he personally commanded, were at any time within the limits of this county. But in addition to this, we have the fact of the circular shape of this earthwork, which determines it not to have been of Roman construction. Nor is there the slightest reason for supposing, that the form of the vallum and agger were ever different from what they now are. I have examined the whole with the greatest minuteness, and have been unable to discover the slightest trace of Saxon alteration. It must then have been of ancient British formation; and happily there is much both of internal and external evidence, to support us in arriving at such a conclusion.

For, in the first place, on the western slope of the area inclosed by the vallum there are a considerable number of excavations, at the distance of about twelve feet from each other, the outermost of which appear in some measure to range in a line with the vallum; but the innermost to be placed irregularly. These excavations are all of them circular, but differ much in their size, varying in diameter from twelve to about twenty-five feet at the surface, and varying also in their depth.

That they were not intended as reservoirs for water, as has been conjectured, and which at first a casual observer might imagine to have been the case, their position in the fort, as well as the situation of this fort upon the summit of a high chalk hill, at once convinces us. That they were intimately connected with the first formation of the fort itself is very evident; but to what purpose were they originally applied? Cartwright, in the very brief description which he gives of this interesting relic of antiquity, suggests that they were the "site of rude huts; and this circumstance," he adds, "and the

appearance of burnt bones and fragments of vessels of unbaked clay, which have been found in the neighbourhood, are considered as indications of ancient British origin."

It is true, we learn from the earliest writers on Britain, that the habitations of its first inhabitants were huts, covered sometimes with skins, at other times with branches of trees or turf; and that where the dryness of the situation would admit of it, the dwellings which they so protected from the inclemency of the weather, were *holes only*, made in the ground, and so arranged as to be near each other, the whole being protected by a slight embankment of earth. Still this description will not apply, as they cannot be called slight embankments. What then were they? No doubt "*Ponds*," or as Dr. Stukely called them, "*Dishbarrows*"—those "holy, consecrated recesses," as Governor Pownal calls them, formed for the special purpose of forwarding the celebration of the religious ceremonies of the ancient Britons, during their sojourn in these hill forts.⁴ Barrows of the same kind, but much fewer in number, are to be found within the inclosures of the Trundle, Wolstonbury, and Hollingbury, and in the immediate neighbourhood of others.

Upon the whole, then, there can, I think, be no doubt that Cissbury is an ancient British fortress, and that I have rightly placed it in that class. The subsequent Roman occupation probably arose from the defeat and dispossession of its earlier possessors, as the result of some of the conflicts which took place during their hostile excursions from the great forest of Anderida, which was their stronghold, or perhaps after the reduction of the province of the Regni, and the submission of Cogidunus to the Roman sway, under Vespasian.

As to the probable period of Cissa's connection with this fort, Sussex, we know, was one of the most inconsiderable of the kingdoms forming the Saxon heptarchy. From the Saxon annals we learn, that Ella was its first king; that upon the decline of the power of Hengist, having been invited to this country, he landed with three of his sons, of whom Cissa was the youngest, in the year 476, at Cymenshore, supposed to be Wittering, near Chichester; that after many struggles,

⁴ On the north and south sides of Stonehenge, just within the vallum, are two circular holes similar to those at Cissbury.

attended with varied success and much bloodshed, he succeeded in driving the Britons back into the great Forest, till, in the year 491, having determined to annihilate them, he laid siege to Andredcester, probably Pevensey; and not succeeding in his operations against it, he immediately assumed the title of king of Sussex.

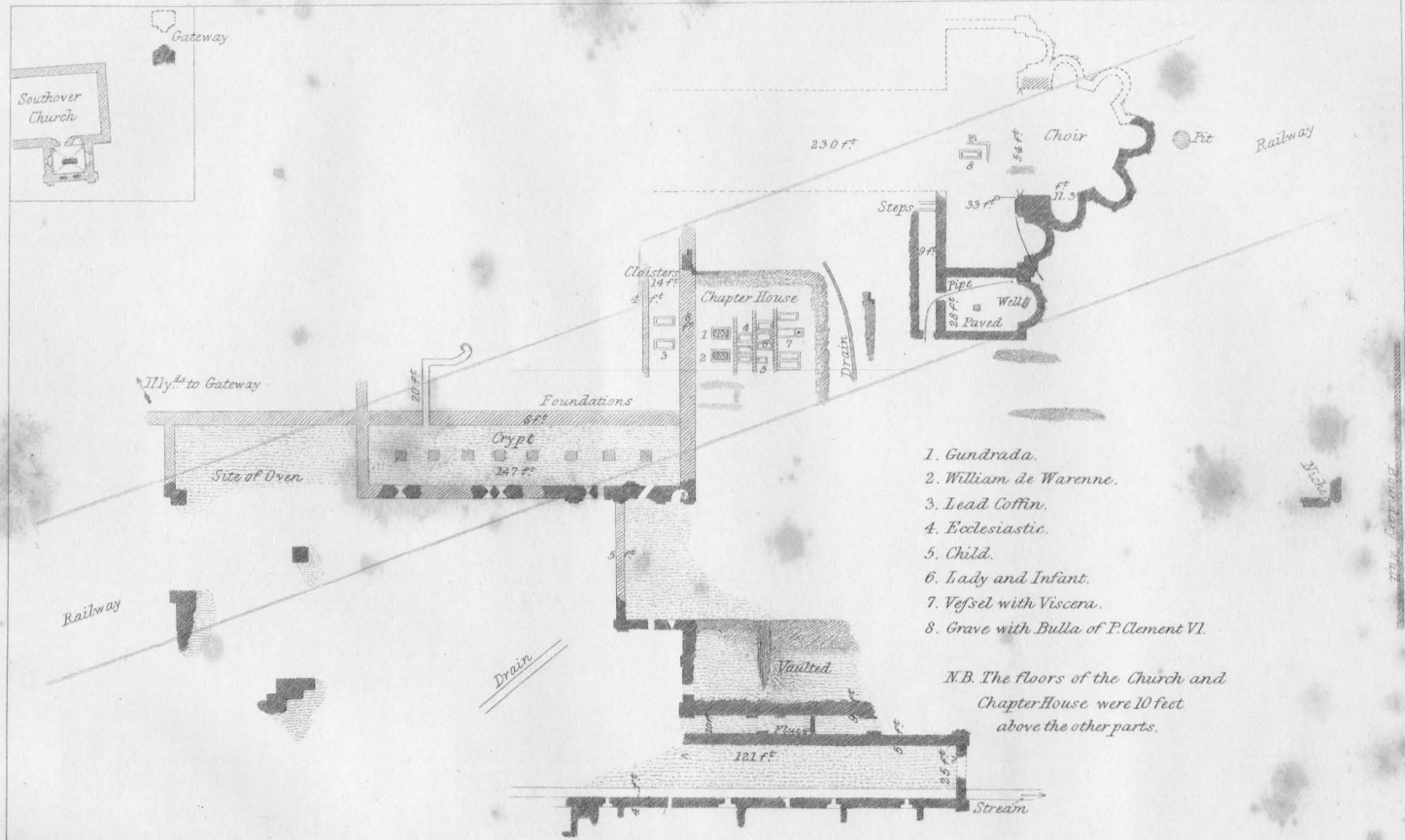
In this war Cissa is supposed, as one of his father's generals, to have possessed himself of Cissbury, during his march eastwards, from Cymenshore to Anderida. But if dates are to be depended upon at this early and uncertain period, this could not have been the case; nor, indeed, could he have then held command in his father's army. According to the best historical evidences, Cissa succeeded his father in the kingdom of Sussex in the year 514, and is recorded to have held the kingdom 75, or, as Stow says, 76 years. Had he then been no more than a year old when he accompanied his father to this country (which was not very likely to be the case, for in a warlike expedition, why should Ella have encumbered himself with the charge of a mere infant), he must, at his death, have attained the age of 116 years; and if we make him old enough to command an army at that time, his age at his decease must have been patriarchal indeed! There can, however, be no doubt that incorrect dates have involved this very interesting epoch in the history of our county in much confusion.

As, then, Cissa's connection with Cissbury must have been at some later period of his life, I would suggest, that, having succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Sussex, he established himself, as we know, in the western part of it; and, finding Chichester already fortified to his hands, he made it the capital of his new dynasty, changing its name from Regnum to Cissan Ceaster. Cissa's was a peaceful reign. Disgusted, probably, with war and all its attendant horrors, from what he must have witnessed when young, he appears to have yielded without opposition when hostilely pressed upon by neighbouring powers. The views of the Saxons, like those of the Romans, tended more to an extension of power, than to the increase of the blessings of civilized life; and it is not to be wondered at, that of the military doings of the South Saxons, during the reign of Cissa and his imme-

diate successors, beyond the fact of their being confined principally to the defensive, we know nothing. But this is sufficient for our purpose. For this it was that led him so thoroughly to repair the fortifications of Chichester, that he is said by Camden and others to have rebuilt it. And as this would be his western stronghold, so Cissbury would offer an eligible post, already strongly fortified both by nature and by art, as a place of defence towards the centre; commanding an uninterrupted view of the coast from Beachy Head to Selsey Bill, and also of the Portus Adurni of the Romans, from which foreign invasion was most to be dreaded. And having adopted this as a military fort, he would naturally give his own name to it, as, upon taking possession of Regnum, he had done to that fortified city.

One word in conclusion, on those earthworks to which I have alluded as, in my opinion, possessing strong claims to be considered of Druidical origin. I refer to the earthworks of Cauburn and Whitehawk Hill. Others may have possessed similar pretensions, and more particularly Hollingbury, in the vallum, and within the inclosure of which portions of Druidical stones are still to be found; and at the southernmost of its two most western portæ, the remains of an upright stone of this kind still stands, projecting a little above the sod, precisely in the position of the two stones at the entrance of the passage of the vallum at Stonehenge. The greater part of them are circular—a circle being the ancient hieroglyphic for the Deity. The discovery by Dr. Mantell of several ancient British remains on the hill, where the fort is situated, may also be adduced as indicating its origin. A similar remark may be made as to the Trundle, within the inclosure of which I can personally testify that fragments of ancient British pottery have been exposed to view, wherever the turf is removed from the surface.

Mount Cauburn, however, appears to me to possess all the requisites of places of Druidical worship. It is constructed with a double vallum, corresponding with the double row of stones at Stonehenge; and the mound of earth thrown up within the ramparts corresponds precisely with the Gorseddaû, or sacred hillock, from which the Druids of the higher order



GROUND PLAN OF LEWES PRIORY.

ON THE
CLUNIAK PRIORY OF ST. PANCRAS, AT LEWES,
ITS PRIORS AND MONKS.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ.

“ La gente che per li sepolcri giace,
Potrebbe veder? già son levati
Tutti i coperchi, e nessun guardia face.”

DANTE, *Inf.* x, 7.

THE accompanying ground plan of the site of Lewes Priory, due to the care and accuracy of Mr. John Parsons, at the time of the railway excavations in 1845-6, will interest the members of the Society, as recording the position of the graves found, and the traces of buildings before unknown, and now effaced, which are generally supposed to denote the chapter house and the church.¹

When the London workmen were pulling down the church in 1538, the commissioner Portinari,² put its dimensions, in a rough way, on record, as a guide to estimate the value of its stone and lead, not at all from any love or comprehension of its architecture, and accordingly his account is not very intelligible.

“ A vaute on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altar, that was borne up with fower great pillars, having about it 5 (pillars,

¹ For a detailed report of the discoveries made, see Mr. M. A. Lower's papers in the *Journal of Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. i, p. 346; and vol. ii, p. 104. See also *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 1845.

² On the original MS. signed “John Portinari” (Cott. MS. Cleop., E. iv) is a note by a later hand, “this is Richard Moryson's hand, as appeareth by a letter in another book,” and Mr. Wright adopts this in his ‘*Suppression of the Monasteries*’; there are indeed, in Cotton MSS., Nero B. vi, and Cleop. E. vi, several letters in Latin, English, and Italian, written by R. Moryson to Lord Crumwell, as his “most honoured patron, and most bountiful Mæcenas,” dated from Venice and Padua, in some of which there is a resemblance to the scrawling writing of Portinari's letter, while others are in a small clear hand; but it is not at all improbable that the writer was a descendant of that Portinari, whom Philip de Commines mentions as one of the wealthiest factors of the Medici in Flanders and England in the 15th century. “Un autre ay vu nommé et appelé Thomas Portunary, estre pleige entre le dit roy Edouard (IV) et le Duc Charles de Bourgogne, pour cinquante mille ecus, et un autre fois en un lieu pour quatre vingt mille.” I am indebted to Col. Davies for pointing out this notice.

erased in ms.) chappelles," may have been a semicircular vault closing the east end of the choir, as seen on the plan, if we suppose Portinari looking to the north. Conceiving the entire church to have been cruciform, and certainly to have had aisles, we must distribute the twenty-four pillars "standing equally from the walles," he speaks of (10 feet diameter, and 18 feet high) some in the choir, some in the transepts, and the remainder in the nave. "The church is in lengthe cl fote. The heygthe lxxiii fote." Probably the "church" here means the nave only, as being 150 feet; for the subordinate church of Castle Acre was 90 feet nave, and 136 feet choir (including Lady Chapel)=226 feet in all; and Thetford, another Cluniac priory of similar date, was 121 feet nave, and 127 feet choir=248 feet in all. Probably this had been rebuilt in the style of the 13th century, as we know the two western towers were, to the support of which we may assign four larger pillars, 14 feet diameter. The other "fower thicke and grosse pillars" bare up the central bell tower, which seems to have been 93 feet high inside, "with an highe rouf, *vaute*," (*erased in ms.*), and 105 outside.

The choir and its apsidal terminations may have retained much of the Norman style of its original construction. The space on the south of the choir may have been a side chapel of St. Pancras, corresponding to that of the Holy Cross, which we know was on the north side. These two side chapels with apsidal terminations exactly correspond in form and situation with those of the Cluniac churches of Castle Acre and of Thetford, in Norfolk, where there was also originally an apsidal east end.³ The apartment opening into the south transept was paved with encaustic tiles, and had its walls painted; the occurrence within it of a well, 22 feet deep, may perhaps indicate its use as a baptistry or a vestry. The chapter house, though its form cannot be well determined (that of Thetford was rectangular, 37 feet by 27 feet 8 inches), seems sufficiently proved by the position of the numerous graves symmetrically arranged there, including those of the founders.

The leaden bull of Pope Clement VI (1342-52), found under a skull, may mark the spot (8 *on the Plan*) where John, the last and least worthy of the Earls de Warrenne lay,

³ For an interesting account of recent excavations there, by H. Harrod, Esq., see vol. iii, p. 105, of Norfolk Archæol. Soc.

whose excommunication by the archbishop may have needed the neutralizing effects of a papal brief of absolution.

A very few years before destruction was let loose upon the church, a stately herald, Benolte, who held the office of Clarenceux from 1516 to 1534, drily noted down in his Visitation book the proud monuments which he saw there, raised over what were then fondly believed to be the resting-places for ever of the great and noble. His description is indeed full of gross blunders as to Earl Hameline's pedigree and the three Earls Richard (for heralds and even kings-at-arms, may sometimes be in the wrong); but, in spite of his errors, the testimony of the herald is worth having, as that of one of the latest calm eye-witnesses of the monuments in their perfection, with no foreboding of the speedy approach of Portinari's "3 carpenters, 2 smythes, 2 plummars, and one that kepith the fornace," and undisturbed by the faintest dream of a railway.

"William, the firste Erle Waryne and Surrey, furste founder of the howse of Saynt pancrase, assituate within the towne of lewys, in the countye of Sussex, wiche Willyam and Gondrede his wyffe lieth buryede in the Chapytre of the same howse, wich Gondrede was dawghter unto Willyam the Conqueror: also in the same place adjoynyng unto his father lyeth buryede Wylyam his sone, and hys wyffe; item, in the same place lyes Willyam the fourthe Erle of Waryne, and Mawld his wyffe, daughter to the Erle of Arundel. Item, in the same howse lyethe Hamelyne brother unto King Edwarde (*Henry*) the seconde and Erle of Waryne by marynge Isabell dawghter to Willyam the III^{de} Erle Waryne. Item more, in the same place lyes Richard the fyrst (*second*) Erle of that name Erle of Arundell and Surrye, next whom lyeth in another tombe Alionora the sister (*daughter*) of Henry Duke of Lancaster. Under a playne stone adjoynyng to the said thombes lyes John (*drowned* 1379) son to Richard the second Erle of Arundell and Surrye and Philippe his seconde wyffe, dowghter to Edmonde Erle of Marche (*Philippa was second wife to the third Earl Richard*); and next unto the sayd John lyes Wylym (*died* 1385) sone to Richard Erle of Arundell and of Surrey, second (*third*) of that name, and Elizabeth his wyffe, dowghter to Lord Wyl bowne (*William Bohun*) Erle of Northe Hampton."⁴

We know, from Prior Auncell's book (*f.* 106), that there are grave omissions in the herald's list, even of important members of the founders' family; the Countess Alice, half-sister of Henry III, lay before the high altar, in a marble tomb, carved with a dragon; her son William, so untimely killed in 1296, at a tournament, and his widow Joanna, also lay

⁴ The above extract from a MS. in the College of Arms, marked D 13, was kindly communicated by William Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix.

before the high altar, in raised tombs ; and their son John, the last Earl, lay singly (*solus*) near the great altar ; the third Earl Richard and his first wife lying before the high altar on the south side ; George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny, who died 1492, was buried by the side of the altar, where he had previously erected his own tomb, of which a small metallic bull's head, his crest, was the only fragment found in 1845.

Three anniversaries in honour of the founders and other benefactors, were kept at the priory, the third day in Lent, Maunday Thursday, and Pentecost, on which day doles were distributed to the poor.

One peculiarity in the construction of the walls yet remaining of the conventual building, is worth notice, as not often occurring in other ancient buildings, and as not sufficiently explained. Their middle thickness is perforated by hollow passages about six inches square, and smoothed on the inner surface, as if formed by a mould, running through the whole length, and apparently communicating with each other. They may have been merely intended to save materials in the construction, or to admit a draught of air to dry the massive walls ; but they may also have served for the ventilation of the apartments, or for the flow of warm air, or even for the conveyance of the voice from one part to another of these extensive buildings.

The large area of the walled inclosure (nearly 30 acres) afforded ample space, not only for the residence of numerous monks, but also for farm purposes ; and, in dry seasons, the site of a large cruciform pigeon-house may still be traced in the lower ground. Whether the monks, however, were numerous, is doubtful, for the prior had no authority to admit novices into the community ; and the visits of the Abbot of Cluny, to whom the privilege was reserved, were uncertain and unfrequent. The abuses arising from this are strongly pointed out in a petition presented to the Parliament at Winchester, in 1330, in which it is stated, that in the Cluniac convents in England there was not a third of the proper number of monks provided for by the founders, and that the revenues were wrongfully shared among the smaller number ; that there were not above twenty monks regularly professed, while some had belonged to the order for forty years with-

out profession. Such a state of things would have realized Dante's sarcasm on the scarcity of good monks, that "a little cloth would furnish them all with hoods."

"Le pecore . . . , . . . son si poche
Che le cappe fornisce poco panno." *Par.* xi. 132.

The petition observes that Parliament had ordained, apparently without effect, "that the Prior of Lewes should be an abbot to make professed monks within their own domains," without the necessity of their going abroad, to their disgrace and loss.

"Ce fut des ordonances ordiné en parlement pur le ordre de Cluny, ke ky fut priur de Lewes dust etre un abbé pur fere les moynes profes en lur terre deymeine, et oyr et determiner les pleynts en lur terre, ke ons ne usent mester le passer la mere at estre huny e perdu." (Reyneri App., p. 147, Dugd. Mon. v, preface.)

One year was the usual time of probation for novices in other orders, when they were admitted to profess, on presenting the following petition :

"SIR,—I have been here now this twelve months near hand, and loved be God, me likes right well both the order and the company, whereupon I beseech you and all the company of heaven, that ye will receive me into my profession at my twelvemonth day, according to my petycion, which I made when I was first received here amongst you." (Monast. 1, xxvi.)

We may well imagine how anxiously the Cluniac novices desired to be relieved from their probationary state, when we know the strict discipline enforced upon them. An authentic account of the customs observed in the latter half of the 11th century at Cluny, is given by Udalric, a monk there, to William, the Abbot of Spire. (Spicileg. Achery, 1, 640.) Many of the regulations are excellent. Each monk was to take his turn in the kitchen, cooking, however, only the beans and herbs permitted, and to keep the pots and pans clean and bright; to grease (*ungere calceos*) his own shoes at a fixed hour, to make his own bed; to comb his hair and wash his hands and face in the cloisters, with the use of three towels there placed; where also, in divided troughs, he was to wash his own clothes. He was always to pull his frock up in front, so that his feet might be well seen; and, when standing in the presence of the abbot, his feet were to be kept steadily even, and not alternately spread out (*habeat pedes æqualiter compositos, nunquam ab invicem inter standum*

divaricatos), with his head bent down (*demisso*), being liable to correction if the head was ever seen erect. He was, moreover, never to call anything his own, except his father and mother, to whom alone he was to apply the word *my*, using the pronoun *our* to everything else.

In clothing, also, while other Orders gave their brethren a regular allowance of two suits a year, there was no rule among the Cluniacs, except to replace garments when they were worn out (*nisi cum fuerint inveterata alia tribuantur*).

A novice, however, was subjected additionally to the galling restriction of "perpetual silence in the church, the dormitory, the refectory, and the kitchen;" and for one word spoken, even reciting an Antiphone or Responsorium from their service, unless the book was actually before him, he was not easily forgiven (*non facile veniam absque iudicio meretur*).

Dante has graphically set before us the solemn gait of the silent monks of his day :

" Taciti soli e senza compagnia
N'andavam l'un dinanzi e l'altro dopo,
Come i frati minor vanno per via." *Inf.* xxiii, 1.

A system of signs became a necessary substitute for the loss of the distinctive privilege of man; and it must have cost the novice some time and trouble of memory to learn the full code of manual signals, by which alone he could explain his meaning or obtain his food. Some specimens of the authorized gestures may be introduced; and when the fingers of a company of novices were in full play using them, the appearance must have been more that of a modern school for deaf and dumb, or of the ward of a lunatic asylum, than of a religious establishment. These signs, however, were thought so perfect, that John, a monk, in his life of S. Odo, enthusiastically praises them, as sufficient to signify all things necessary, if the use of the tongue were lost. (*Martene de Vit. Monach.*, iv, 288.)

"For bread, make a circle with the two thumbs and forefingers, because bread is usually round—for rye bread, commonly called a tart (*panis sigali vulgo turta*), the same sign as for bread, and add a cross on the palm, because that sort is usually cut into 4—for the tartlet (*tortula*) given out extra on 5 feasts, place two fingers a little apart obliquely on the two similar fingers of the other hand—for beans, place the first joint of the thumb erect on the end of the next finger—for eggs, imitate a continued pecking the shell with one finger on another—for fish, imitate the motion of a fish's tail in water—for eel, shut

up both hands—for lamprey, imitate the side holes in its head by fingers on your cheek—for salmon or sturgeon, add to the sign for fish the thumb of your closed hand to the chin, by which pride is signified, because such are especially proud and rich—for cheese, join both hands obliquely, as if pressing cheese—for honey, put your tongue out a little way, and pretend to lick your fingers (*paulisper linguam fac apparere, et digitos applica quasi lambere velis*)—for milk, press the little finger on the lips, because an infant so sucks (*ita sugit infans*)—for cherries, put the finger under the eye—for raw onions, press the finger on the mouth a little open, on account of that sort of smell—for water, join all the fingers together, and move them obliquely—for wine, bend the finger and put it to the lips—for mustard (*sinapis*), put the thumb on the first joint of the little finger—for vinegar, rub the throat (*guttur*), because its sharpness is there felt—for a plate, spread out the hand—for a cup (*scyphus*) of the daily allowance, bend the hand into a hollow with fingers rather bent—for a glass, besides the last sign, put two fingers round the eyes, to signify the brightness of glass—for shirts (*stamineæ*) hold the sleeve with the three smallest fingers—for breeches (*femoralia*), draw the hand up from the thigh, as if putting them on—for shoes, turn one finger round another, like one who binds his shoes with a strap—for thread, a similar sign, adding one, as if you wished to put the thread through the eye of a needle—for a comb, pass three fingers through the hair, like one combing—for the prior, pretend to hold a bell with two fingers, and to ring it—for a monk, hold the head of the cowl (*capellum cucullæ*)—for an ass-driver, place the hand near the ear, and move it as an ass does its ear—for sign of not knowing (*nesciendi*), wipe the lips with the finger upright—for lying (*mentiendi*), draw the finger within the lips—for a book, move the hand as if turning over a leaf;” there was added to this general sign others to describe the particular book, one for each species of service-book, such as “for the psalter, place the tips of the fingers with the hand hollow upon the head, in the likeness of David’s crown.” The discouragement of any classical learning is curiously illustrated by the sign given “for a secular book, which any Pagan may have written, scratch the ear with a finger, as a dog usually does with its foot when at play, because infidels are not undeservedly compared to such an animal.”

The curious reader will observe in these signs traces of obsolete manners and thoughts, which are not without interest; but such elaborate contrivances to avoid the sin of using the divine gift of speech, if continued during several years, owing to the non-arrival of the abbot, however adapted to make the novices adepts in palmistry, may account readily for the complaints to Parliament of the Prior of Lewes having no authority to admit them into brotherhood.

To compensate for the privation of their tongue, the Abbot Peter, in the 12th century, recommended the novices to keep their hands in activity, and manufacture combs, and, “with well instructed foot to turn needle cases, hollow out wine vessels (*justiciæ*);” and if near any marshy place, of which

there was no lack near Lewes, to weave the reeds into baskets or "mats, on which they might sleep, and which they might bedew with daily tears, and wear out with frequent kneeling before God." (Bib. Clun. in Maitland's Dark Ages, p. 452.)

The household of the prior was arranged on a full scale, and we find among the frequent witnesses to the charters of the community a succession of sub-priors, seneschals, chamberlains, marshals, porters, butlers (*dapiferi*), and cooks. The most formidable officer, however, in the convent must have been the circuitor, or *circa*, as he was called. The death of one of these in 1297 is recorded as an important event in the Lewes chronicle. The friar appointed to this duty was expressly enjoined to roam about the monastery "in so religious and stately a manner, as to inspire terror in the beholders," taking note in profound silence of any misconduct. Laziness, laughter, and whispering were all to be watched and reported; and for this purpose he was "diligently to explore what the monks were about, by applying his ear (*aure apposita*) to each cell in his rounds—going round the choir with a lanthorn during the third or fourth lesson of the Night Service, and if he found any brother dozing, he was to leave the lanthorn shining full upon him, and retire, on which the startled sleeper was to beg pardon on his knees, and, taking up the lanthorn, to continue himself the same search, till he could hand it over to some other drowsy culprit." (Reyner, *Antiq. Benedict.*)

This ancient practice of hunting the sleeper must have given rise to some droll scenes in the midst of the long church services, and it would be a curious experiment to revive it in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century.

Of the Priors themselves, men eminent in their day, frequently summoned to Parliament, and almost as important, by the extent of their possessions and their influence on society, as the Earls in the castle towering above their convent, it is now difficult to trace the very names or periods. A few, indeed, are authentically recorded in the chronicle published in the Society's 2d vol.; and it is remarkable that several verbatim extracts from that MS. (*ex fragmento nobili*, as he terms it) appear in Reyner's book (*Antiq. Bened. folio*, Douay,

1626, pp. 62, 120), which must have been taken before its injury by fire.

There being some errors in the lists of priors given by Browne Willis, ii, 237; Horsfield's 'Lewes,' ii, 238; and the new edition of the 'Monasticon;' advantage may be taken of the dated documents in the chartulary, and the chronicle, to authenticate some additional dates in compiling a fresh list, though still incomplete, and to introduce occasionally such other particulars as may belong to Sussex topography or biography. It is curious to observe how very meagre and uncertain the list is with respect to the later priors, after the dates of the chronicle and chartulary, of whom we should expect the fuller history. The reference, unless otherwise specified, will be to the pages of the chartulary MS. Vespas. F. xv.

The difficulty of procuring monks at the foundation of Lewes Priory has been adverted to on a former occasion; but it is worth while more fully to prove it by the noble and conscientious answer returned by Hugh, the abbot of Cluny, when requested by William the Conqueror to send six monks over to England, for each of whom he offered to pay £100 a-year.

"Be pleased, dearest lord (wrote the abbot in reply to this kingly offer), not to require from me what I cannot do without my own perdition, for I am not willing to barter away my soul at any price, which indeed I should sell, if I should send you one of the brethren committed to my charge, to where I might lose him; and I would more readily give money to procure monks, of whom I am much in want for divers places under my government, rather than accept it for their sale. For of what chapter would they stand in awe in those parts where they would see no monastery of our order? At whose door could they knock, or in what manner could they be constrained? Command me therefore some other thing, and suffer this patiently, if what you have asked cannot be done consistent with the salvation of your friend." (Reyner, Antiq. Bened. 2, 59.)

After this refusal, William de Warenne may have well rejoiced, when he subsequently overcame the abbot's scruples, and obtained so excellent a man as Lanzo for his new priory. William of Malmesbury, who was almost a contemporary, speaks of him as having "so ennobled Lewes by his worth with the grace of cloistered reverence, that it may be said to be the peculiar domicile of goodness." Again: "The lofty advancement (sublimitas) of the monastery attests the efficacy

of the man; so that none could exceed it in the devotion of the monks, in affability towards guests, and in charity to all." (De Gest. Pontif. iii, 147.) The chronicler, when narrating his death, after a priorate of nearly thirty years, describes scenes passing within the priory church, its vestry, and the chapter-house, which it may be interesting to add. The striking instance of the importance attached to the rule of silence will be remarked. While in the vestry preparing for mass on Holy Thursday, he was taken so suddenly ill, while completing his priestly attire with the chasuble, that he left it as it fell from him, not folded up, and after retiring from the chapel (oratorio) he was unable to sleep for two days. When pressed by his friends to speak to them at night, he refused, explaining that since he first took the monastic vow, he had never spoken a word after the completorium (the last service performed, after which the gates were locked, and the keys delivered to the prior), until the primes of the next day. On the Saturday, after kissing all the brethren, which, in his zealous love, he would do standing, in spite of his feebleness, "he was at daybreak led into the chapter-house, and there from his seat imparted his paternal benediction and absolution to all the brethren, begging their prayers in return, and teaching them what to do if he should die." His illness allowed him more rest after this until the Monday, when, on recognising symptoms of imminent death, he went, with his hands washed and his hair combed, as is carefully noted, to hear mass, and, after the sacrament, returned to his bed. After again blessing every individual of the convent, he clasped a cross, and, "with his head and body bent down in reverence, was carried by his monks into the choir (presbyterium) before the altar of St. Pancras; and there, after a little while, with a glowing countenance, about to be exempt for ever from all evil, he migrated pure to Christ." (Malmsb. p. 172.)

1077-1107.—Lanzo, a man of distinguished piety and ability, was the first prior vouchsafed to Lewes by the abbot of Cluny.

1107-1123.—Hugh, a native of France, after being prior of Lewes for some years, was selected by Henry I as the first abbot for his new monastery at Reading, in 1123, and afterwards, by the same patronage, became archbishop of Rouen, in 1130. He attended that king's death-bed, and died himself Nov. 10, 1164. (V. Order. Vit. 901. W. Malmsb.)

1123-1130.—Aucherius, Ausgerus, like his predecessor, passed from the priory of Lewes to the abbey of Reading, in 1130. He founded there a hospital for lepers, and died Jan. 27, 1135. (Flor. Wigorn.)

1139.—Arnald, died in 1139. The only authority for his being prior is an entry in the chronicle: "1139.—Arnald Prior died on the nones of November;" but he may as probably have belonged to Montacute, or some other Cluniac house.

1154-1163.—William was party to a deed in London in 1154, witnessed by Lawrence, abbot of Westminster (f. 140), and was witness to a deed of Reginald de Wareme, together with the chaplain of William de Blois, the king's son, who died in 1160 (f. 112). He is also probably the Prior William mentioned in a deed witnessed by Earl Hamelin and Countess Isabella (f. 310); and in a deed (f. 171) of Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury (A.D. 1152-84). He was probably also the "William, prior of Lewes," who witnessed a grant of Godfrey de Lisewis to Normanesberch (a cell to Castle Acre). Among the other witnesses were Philip de Mortimer (then a Lewes monk, afterwards prior of Castle Acre); Geffry, chamberlain; Seman, cook; and Alexander, the prior's notary. (Monast. t. 2.) This deed, being approved by John, bishop of Norwich, and subsequently confirmed by Archbishop Hubert, was probably of the date between 1175 and 1180.

1180.—Osbert. V. Willis' lists.

1186-99.—Hugh. According to the Waverley Annals, p. 166, this prior, being a man of great piety and honesty of life, was made prior of Cluny in 1199.

1207-8.—Vinbert was party to a deed (9° K. John) with Eustace, bishop of Ely (f. 284 and 307).

The William here occurring in the Monasticon was identical with the William above.

1219.—Stephen was elected, after a struggle with Cluny, for the presentation; the Earl de Warenne ultimately selecting him from two names presented by that abbey (Burrell MSS.); and this form continued the rule ever afterwards.

1226-1234.—Hugh was party to a deed dated in the 10th year of Pope Honorius III, 1226 (f. 311); also to one signed in presence of Bishop Ralph de Nevill, chancellor, 14° Hen. III, 1230 (f. 299); also to a deed relating to an old wall in Atheling-street, London, witnessed by Andrew Bokerel, lord mayor from 1232 to 1237 (f. 172); also in one dated 1234 (18° Henry III).

Henry de Fleg, prior of Farlegh, is inserted here in the Monasticon erroneously as Prior of Lewes.

1236-1244.—Albert died in 1244. On Hugh Sanzaver presenting his son William to the vacant benefice of Bignor, the Prior Albert disputed his right, and presented Peter de Dene, who, after an appeal to the Bishop's Court, was admitted according to a deed signed at Hardham, Feb. 24, 1236,

witnessed by Alexander de Arundell, the seneschall of the prior; Thomas, the gatekeeper; and Robert, the butler (f. 154). On April 6, 1239, a dispute with Nicholas, vicar of Peccham, about the manor of Peccham, was decided in favour of the priory, by William, prior of Battle, acting as delegate of Otho, the legate. But by a subsequent deed, June, 1239, an arrangement was made, by which the vicar was to receive the tithes, on paying the priory a rent of 16s. 8d. This is witnessed by Reginald de Winton, then archdeacon of Lewes; Thomas, the rector of St. Mary de Westout; Master Maurice, of Bisshopstone, &c. (f. 112.) Prior Albert is party to a deed, June 24, 1239 (f. 220); one on Oct. 14, 1242 (f. 266); one at Michaelmas, 1243 (f. 295); two deeds on Nov. 23, 1243, witnessed by William, the prior of Castle Acre, and Alexander de Arundell, the parson (persona) of Piddingho (f. 264). There are also deeds of Prior Albert at f. 53, witnessed by Alfred, the parchment-maker, and Robert de Watergate; also a deed (f. 236) about the church of "Letune," and another (f. 249).

1244-7.—Guychard de la Osaye, Guygardus, was admitted as prior May 7, 1244, and died Dec. 7, 1248. He was party to a deed (f. 230) in September, 1245; to another in 1246 (f. 187). A deed of Peter de Hautbois, called also de Alto Bosco, confirmed to this prior the grant of some land at Herst, and the dower of Helewise, relict of William de Hautbois, at her death (f. 114). "By special grace" he confirmed a lease of fifteen years, from 1247, granted by "Richard Godebert, native of the prior of Lewes," who was otherwise, from his servile condition, unable to give any security (f. 225).

1248-1255.—William Russinoll, Russelun, succeeded in 1248, and came to Lewes in 1249. He was party to a deed in June, 1252 (f. 276). A deed of John la Ware and his wife Olympias, records having publicly received from this prior "in the County Court certain charters and deeds which had been deposited in the priory by Hugh de ffokinton, and were read out before delivery, with the assent of the said county" (f. 80). He crossed the sea, journeying towards the Roman court, and returned March 2, 1255, being party to a lease at Kingston in that year; but he again left England, and did not return, having probably obtained some abbacy on the continent.

Roger Willermes is inserted in some lists as prior, with the date of 1251, partly on the authority of an entry in the chronicle: "1251.—Prior Roger came on the morrow of St. Mary Magdalen, and the same year Hugh, abbot of Cluny, was at Montacute." This occurs between the two entries of 1248 and 1255, which speak of William Russinoll as prior of Lewes, and may therefore more probably apply to Montacute. In the Rolls of Parliament of 6° Edw. I, n° 9 (1278), as printed from the MS. transcript (in Sir M. Hale's MSS. No. 5, in Lincoln's Inn) of the original roll, now no longer extant, there is a petition from a prior of Lewes, called Perez (Peter), who complains that the convent had leased the tithes of Weston and Brinkley (Co. Cambridge) to Richard de Merton, to the said Peter's great prejudice and grievance, the said tithes having been, twenty-five years previously ("passe ja vint et v anz"—1253?), granted to the "Conte de Savoye," by Roger Willermes, formerly (jades) prior of Lewes. It will be observed, that in 1253 William Russinoll was certainly prior, and in 1278 John de Thynges. The only Prior Peter near the date given was Peter de Villiaco, from May to

Nov. 1275. There are, therefore, certainly errors either of dates or names in the above account, which, from the only authority being the very incorrect transcript made for Sir M. Hale, cannot now be explained.

1257-1268.—William de Foville, ffovyale, came to Lewes in 1257 as prior, after having previously been prior of the Cluniacs at Northampton, and he died Sept. 28, 1268. He calls himself "William, the third of that name, prior of St. Pancras," in a deed giving permission to a tenant to erect a water-mill (f. 217), which excludes from the list the supposed William after Vinbertus. He received a quitclaim as to land in Herst from Robert de Perepont, giving fifteen silver marcs in return, witnessed by Thomas de Pongines, John la Warre, &c. (fol. 114); he made an exchange of a small portion of land with Roger, prior of Michelham (f. 120); accepted a grant from Hugh de Busty, witnessed by Thomas de Poning, Robert Perpoint, William de Wystemestune, Peter de Hangelstune, &c. (f. 128). In 1258 he was party to a deed signed in London (f. 178), and to an agreement with Warin le Bat, of Grensted (ff. 324, 49). In 1261 he consented to an arbitration between himself and the abbot of St. Radegund, near Dover, to be decided "at South Malling, on the Friday after the Sunday when 'Quasi in gemitu' is sung." In 1263, on St. Dunstan's day, he received a quitclaim from Maurice de Ewakene (f. 69), and a grant in Hodlegh from Robert de Glindlee and his wife Margaret, witnessed by William and Henry de Bodiham, Simon de Hellingelegh, &c. (f. 70), and a grant of "La Heghlonde" in Westham (f. 71); he is named in deeds at ff. 222, 252, 207. His bequests to the priory have been previously noticed.

1268-1274.—Milo de Columbers arrived at Lewes Jan. 30, 1269, having been elected the previous year. He went over to Clugny in 1270, and quitted Lewes in 1274, on becoming abbot of Vezelay; he died in 1281. This prior was party to a deed, March 6, 1268 (f. 252); to another on Oct. 19, 1269, witnessed by William, the prior of Castle Acre (f. 263); to another in the chapter at Lewes, Oct. 27, 1270 (ff. 275-284), so that he must have returned from Clugny by that date; to others at Lewes on the morrow of the Epiphany, and on St. Vincent's day (f. 212) and at Michaelmas in 1271 (f. 233), in which last, John, rector of Ditchling, appears as a witness; again at Lewes in 1272 in August (f. 140), and in November (f. 211), in July, 1273 (f. 323), and in a lease of land at Grensted (f. 47). Roger de Bromham confirmed to Milo "the tenement in Heathfield parish, lying on the north side of the king's highway, leading from Burgherssh to Horeappeltre" (f. 82).

1275.—Peter de Villiaco, Niwaco, prior of Souvigny, in France, was sent by Cluny as prior of Lewes, where he arrived May 1, 1275, and concurred with his convent in appointing proctors to correct the taxation of the vicarage of Halifax, on Ascension day, 1275. (Monast. Angl. e Regist. Arch. Ebor. P. II. f. 3.) He resigned, however, this dignity on November 5, in the same year, and became prior of St. Martin des Champs, at Paris, November 11. It was perhaps by his bequest, as he was then a resident at Paris, that the well known Hotel de Cluny there was repaired, though it is described only as that of "a certain prior of St. Pancras, deceased," by Reyner. (Antiq. Benedict. p. 165.)

1275-1284.—John de Thyenges, Tenges, Tirenges, Dwyanges, prior of Gayfes, came to Lewes May 29, 1276, began a journey to Rome in May 1280, returning between Easter and Pentecost in 1282, crossed over to attend the chapter general of his Order, Feb. 2, 1284, and did not return, as he became prior of St. Mary de la Woute, in Auvergne.

There is a deed of his (f. 238), dated Christmas eve, 1276; one dated at Southwark, March 25, and another dated at Reygate, October, 1278 (f. 195). A brief from Pope Martin IV, dated at Viterbo, in 1282, called upon the abbot of Westminster to prevent any attempt to the prejudice of this Prior John, during his absence at the papal court, "for certain business of his own and of the priory." (Rymer.)

Michel de Sevenoke sold to this prior, "at Lewes, on Saturday, the eve of St. Nicolas, 1282, Reginald Onyot, formerly my native of Brighthelmstone, with all his following (sequela), and his chattels, for 40s." (f. 120). This prior paid £12 sterling to Robert de Perepund, knight, in return for a release from homage for some land at Herst, witnessed by Simon, Robert, and John Perepund, William Dani, &c. (f. 114); and he appears in other undated deeds (ff. 234, 43).

1284-1297.—John de Avignon, Avynun, Avynn, had been prior of Wenlock, and came to Lewes August 15, 1285; he died March 28, 1297. He was party to a deed on the Quintaine of St. John, 1285 (f. 188); to another in 1286 (f. 237). Saer de Droseto gave the prior a quitclaim in 1287-8, witnessed by Sir Roger de Lewkenore, William de Echingham, William Manse, and William Goldingham, knights, &c. (f. 63). In 1288 John de Okle gave him a quitclaim of some land in Bolney before the justices itinerant at Chichester (f. 125). He signed a deed in the chapter at Lewes on the feast of St. Benedict Abbot at the end of 1289 (f. 192). On Oct. 24, 1290, he presented Peter de Montellier as prior of Prittlewell (Pat. 18° Edw. I). On August 1, 1291, he made a covenant with John atte hale, of Wydyhame, acting on behalf of John de Corsle, a minor (f. 67). A deed signed at Rising, in Norfolk, on the Monday after Palm Sunday, 1292 (f. 269), confirmed to this prior the rights of franc-pledge, &c., in Hecham, on paying rent of half a marc to John de Montalt, and these rights appear again confirmed in Rot. Pat. 35° Edw. I, p. 1. On July 8, 1292, a claim of a pension of 46s. was determined at Winchester, in favour of the priory, after a law suit against William of York, rector of Gatton. Another deed of his is dated on the morrow of St. Nicholas, 1296 (f. 308).

1298-1301.—John de Novo Castro, Newcastle, probably the first prior of English birth, came to Lewes May 24, 1298, and died January 10, 1301.

1301-1305.—Stephen de Sancto Romano, de Rouen, came to Lewes, as prior, on the feast of St. Pancras, May 12, 1302. He was a party to a deed of exchange relative to some lands at Hecham, in Norfolk, dated there on the Wednesday after Easter, 1303 (f. 222, 229); and there are also bonds signed by him and the convent in chapter, on May 2, and June 22, 1303, acknowledging loans of money advanced in relief of the difficulties of the priory (f. 140). Stephen also occurs in a patent, dated April 7, 1305 (Pat. 33° Edw. I, p. 1, m. 7), enabling him, on his setting out for the Roman

court, to appoint his fellow monk, Guichard de Caro Loco, and Thomas de Holm, to act for him during his absence for two years. This last reference has been strangely misapplied in the 'Monasticon' to a Stephen in 1360, by an obvious error. (The John here introduced by the 'Monasticon' appears to be identical with John who succeeded in 1309.)

1309.—Alberisus, Alberic. See Willis' lists.

1309-1325.—John de Monte Martino. A letter from John, prior of Farlegh, to this prior, excusing himself for not being at Lewes on St. Pancras day, on account of illness, is dated May 3, 1313 (f. 166). An agreement between him and John de Thornhill, Kt., is dated at Lewes in Feb. 1315 (f. 303). He is stated to have set off for parts over sea June 2, 1315 (Pat. 8° Edw. II, in Harl. MS., 6958, p. 217). A lease of the manor of Sutton, granted by him to John de Sutton, for 100 marcs (£66. 6s. 8d.), is dated in the chapter of Lewes, Sept. 11, 1319 (f. 98). A donation in London to the prior is dated in Southwark, May 3, 1313, witnessed by David, steward of Earl de Warenne (f. 173). Documents of this prior, addressed to John de Feskamp, prior of Farlegh, are dated April 26, 1321; on the feast of St. Gregory, 1322; and from Horsted, August 3, 1323 (f. 166). An agreement between the prior and Robert Frankleyn, rector of Edburghton, concerning "the land of William under-thè-hill, at ffolking in la claye between the road under ffolking and la leet towards the hill," is dated at Lewes, Aug. 23, 1324 (f. 154). It was during this Prior John's time that the last Earl de Warenne was excommunicated; and the Earl in 1315-16 surrendered all his estates, with the patronage of Lewes, to the king, receiving a regrant of them soon afterwards. Probably this circumstance may have had some influence in encouraging the Pope to appoint a prior to Lewes, as he did after Prior John's death.

1325.—Adam de Winchester. John de Coventry. After the death of Prior John de Mont Martin, probably in 1325, the Pope assumed the privilege of nominating a prior for his successor, without any respect to the rights of the lay patron; and accordingly, in 1325, Adam, a monk of St. Swithin at Winchester, was intruded by papal authority into the dignity, although Peter de Joceaux was selected by the Earl de Warenne from the two names duly presented to him by the abbot of Cluny. Of these two rival priors Adam seems to have first gained complete possession; and there is extant a patent of Edward II, Westminster, July 20, 1325 (19° E. 2, p. 1, m. 32, Tower MS.) pardoning, "of his special grace, Adam, prior of Lewes, and the convent for the transgression of John, the late prior," in acquiring the advowson of Melton Mowbray, in mortmain, without royal consent; and on July 6, 1325, Adam, as prior, and the convent in chapter granted the advowsons of Dewsbury and Wakefield (co. York) to Hugh de Despenser, which grant was confirmed by a deed, April 27, 1344 (MS. Pat. 18° Edw. III). By a deed dated at Lewes, on Saturday, the feast of St. Ambrose, 1327, Prior Adam de Winchester and the convent leased "the tithes of le Boyvlyonds, in Wogham (in campis Wogham), which belonged to the office of the chamberlain of the convent, to John le Gerdeler, rector of Chailey (Chaggelye) and Thomas Northwod, for four years, at a rent of 40s." (f. 102.) These are the only traces of Adam acting as prior; but we find him in 1329 described by King Edward III, in his letter of remonstrance to Pope John XXII, as having been

actively labouring to remove the more regularly appointed Prior Peter, by law-suits in the Roman courts. The first extant letter of the king, dated from Eltham, Feb. 23, 1329, alludes to other previous remonstrances, and complains that although the Pope had now imposed silence on Adam (*impositum fuerat silentium dicto Ade*), yet he hears of the Pope having substituted for him "his dear brother in Christ, John de Courtenaye, a monk of Tavistock," and admonishes the Pope to respect his rights and those of the Earl, who would not submit to their violation (*æquanimiter nullatenus patietur*), inasmuch as the Pope had never hitherto had any right of presentation to priories in lay patronage. The king strongly urges the Pope to revoke any collation or presentation he may have made of John de Courtney, which he supposes him to have made in the plenitude of his power when the truth was not known to him; and exhorts him to leave Peter free from undeserved vexations, although malevolent suggestions, prompted by envy, had been made against his good fame. (Rymer.) Nothing more is heard of John de Courtenay, with respect to Lewes, so that we may suppose the Pope yielded to the king's significant request. But, by way of compensation, he was elected abbot of Tavistock, Jan. 3, 1334; and, relying on the influence of his powerful family (the Earl of Devon being in fact his younger brother), he defied his diocesan, and twice incurred suspension from his office by the Bishop of Exeter. On the last occasion, in 1348, the bishop ultimately forgave him, for alienating the monastic property, avowedly from respect to his brother, only laying a prohibition upon him not to keep hounds (*inhibuit vero ne canes venaticos alet*. MS. Lands. 963, p. 102). He may again have longed at times for the freedom of the Sussex Weald and Downs, when he thus found his amusement considered by his diocesan less venial than the dilapidations of his abbey.

1327-1343.—Peter de Joceaux, de Jocellis, may be looked upon as the regular prior from 1327, as his election had been strictly according to the rules. He is described in the king's letters as having been admitted and engaged for some time (*per aliqua tempora*) in the government of the priory, labouring daily with the assistance of the Earl de Warenne, who is stated to have been ever devout to the Holy See, in recovering the rights and property of the convent. The king speaks of him as laudably reported "for his purity of life, and for his observance and prudent circumspection of religion, and personally agreeable to the Earl."

He signed a deed at Lewes, November 20, 1331 (f. 226); and another in chapter at Lewes, February 16, 1334, giving leave to Roger Laket to grant to the abbey of Robertsbridge some land in Possingeworthe, in Waldern, held *in capite* of the priory, for the annual payment of 10s. (f. 67). On May 12, 1334 (f. 162), Prior Peter sent forth a severe rebuke to the Cluniacs subjected to him. And again, on Sept. 28, 1336, at Lewes (f. 161), he deputed Hugh de Chintriac, probably the same who was afterwards prior, to give Farleigh Priory into the care of two monks of that convent, their own prior "having betaken himself, for unknown reasons, to remote and unknown places," without appointing any deputy. He is mentioned in a deed of April 14, 1339 (f. 223); and in an undated one confirming some land in East Grinstead to Walter le Fyke, witnessed by Walter, rector of Hartfield, W. Dani, &c. (f. 48). His seal is affixed to a deed dated Nov. 12, 1343. (See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, vol. II, p. 20.)

1343-1349.—Jonn Gain, Cana, Gaincaria, de Janitura, Janituria, Gambana, was appointed by King Edward III, from Westminster, May 13, 1345, to a diplomatic mission abroad, together with Sir Otho de Grandison, Kt., and Thomas de Baddeby, clerk, "to form treaties of mutual help for the defence of the Catholic faith and of justice," with the kings of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Hungary. (Rymer.) And from Calais, Sept. 1, 1347, he was commissioned with John de Chalon, Lord d'Arlay, to treat with the proctors of (Albert the Wise) the Duke of Austria, to arrange the marriage of the king's daughter with the duke's son, and to settle the dower, the time and manner of her journey, &c. (Rymer.) This alliance, however, never took effect. There is a deed of agreement between him and Laurence Archinbaud, prior of Farlegh, dated at Lewes, Aug. 26, 1346, by which Farlegh was to pay £100 sterling to Cluny (166). He also appears in deeds dated from the chapter-house at Lewes, Dec. 2, 1347, and May 5, 1348 (f. 189). And he is alluded to as "late prior," in the deed of 1351, making the priory denizen.

1350-1362.—Hugh de Chyntriac, Chintracoia. There are leases granted by him, of two virgates of land to John Scras, of Kyngeston, near Lewes, for a rent of 26s. 8d., dated Lewes, Sept. 21, 1350. On Feb. 25, 1351, he is named as prior in King Edward the Third's charter of denizenship to the priory (MS. Rot. Pat., 25° Ed. III, Tower.) The erroneous date of 1373 has been assigned in Horsfield's Lewes for the priory losing its alien character; but the king's patent is dated as mentioned, and was granted avowedly in consideration of the convent's surrender to the king of the advowsons of five churches in its gift, of the annual value of 200 marcs (£133. 6s. 8d.); and the priory was held liable to pay the king, while the French war lasted, the tribute (apportum) of 100s. due to Cluny. The patent of 1373 (in Dugd. Monast.) recites this previous deed, and extends the naturalisation to the five subordinate priories of Castle Acre, Pritelwell, Stanesgate, Farlegh, and Horton. A lease is dated Oct. 15, 1352, and again on March 17, 1353 (f. 62). Oct. 20, 1353, he granted a seven years' lease of some land "at Newyke, in the parish of Hedfield," to Richard Bonesherssh and Robert de Bromham (f. 82). An agreement between this prior and Maurice, late prior of Kirkby, as to the advowson of Melton Mowbray, dated March 1, 1353, appears in the Insepimus Charter of Edw. III, Dec. 17, 1353 (MS. Rot. Pat. 27° Edw. III, p. 3, m. 7). In Jan., 1356, he signed the lease of a shop (*unam schoppam*) in Lewes to William, carpenter, of Lewes, and Matilda his wife (f. 313). In March, 1357, he dated from Lewes a confirmation to John Smith de la clive and Matilda his wife, of "all the land at Bregghous (*Sharpes Bridge?*) with its appurtenances in flechyng, held of the manor of Horstede by Matilda, as younger sister to the late John Charp" (f. 67). Another deed is dated from Lewes in Sept. 1357 (f. 83); and a lease of half the tithes of Terring for two years, at 70s. a-year, to John de Horsham, the rector, witnessed by Roger Dalyngerigge, &c., in 1358 (f. 104). An indenture between this prior and Gregory, the parson of Sculthorp, is dated at Lewes, Feb. 24, 1359 (f. 254); and another indenture, between him and John de Haddon, is dated at Lewes, Sept. 24, 1359 (f. 159); and a deed, to which "Waryn Trussel, chevaler," is a party, is dated from Lewes, June 25, 1359 (f. 308). On March 24, 1360, Guichard

de Chentriaco, probably a relation of Prior Hugh, was preferred by him as prior of Prittlewell (Pat. 35° Edw. III). He is named as prior in 1361 (Harl. MS. 6955, f. 6, from Regist. Sudbury, f. 7). On March 6, 1362 (36° Edw. III), he leased a messuage in Estport (f. 61). An exchange was made by him with Robert and Sybilla de Dene (f. 75).

1364-1393.—John de Caro Loco, Cherlewe, Chier Lieu, the gallant defender of his convent in arms against the French invaders, by whom he was taken prisoner; the friend of the unfortunate Earl of Arundel, who vainly pointed out to him a spot for his own burial in the priory church.

The licence granted by Edward III, in 1365, to his “beloved in Christ, the prior and convent of S. Pancras in Lewes,” to grant the advowson of Egginton to the priory of Michelham, does not mention the prior’s name (MS. Pat. 39° Edw. III, p. 1, m. 28). On May 2, 1368, he granted the deanery of South Malling to John, rector of Edburton (f. 152). His name appears in deeds of Sept. 1369 (f. 183); on April 1, 1371 (f. 185); on May 1 (f. 104), and in June, 1372 (f. 226). On Dec. 1, 1373, he granted a lease of some shops in Southwark, “cynk schoppes, chescun schoppe ene une estage” (f. 184), at 10 marcs a year. He is named as “John now prior” by King Edward III, when making the priory indigenous, on May 20, 1373 (47° Edw. III). On March 14, 1376, an indenture was made between this prior and John Leme, prior of Michelham, giving to the latter, for 10s., “all the land called La Wallond, in the manor of Langenaye, extending toward the east to the road called Sirstreet, and in breadth between the king’s highway which leads from La Hake to Haylsham” (f. 92). A quitclaim given to him is dated at Lewes, May 16, 1381 (f. 63); a deed signed in chapter at Lewes, March 22, 1388 (f. 52); another at Michaelmas, 1392, leasing to John Leme, prior of Michelham, the manor of Sutton, for a rent of 100s. (f. 99); another on Feb. 24, 1394, relating to a dispute with Walter Dalingrigge as to lands in West Hoathly, arranged by arbitrators chosen by the Earl of Arundel (f. 52); another on July 25, 1396 (f. 52), may refer to the succeeding prior.

1397.—John Ok. The confirmatory charter of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, dated Nov. 2, 1397 (21° Ric. II), states it to have been granted “at the devout supplication of brother John Ok, prior of our house at Lewes, and of all the convent” (f. 42).

As the large conventual seal of the priory, engraved at p. 20 of Vol. II, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, appears to belong to this period, it is right to mention that a new reading of its inscription has been suggested by the reviewer in the ‘Gentleman’s Mag.,’ Nov. 1849, p. 503. By a slight change in four letters of the first word, “*Wariennale*,” the words, as well as the figures above them, become allusive to the glory of martyrdom conferred on St. Pancras by the anger of the Roman Emperor—“*Martiriale decus tribuit michi Cesaris ira*.” As this may be the more correct reading, it is due to the Society to state, that the former version of it was not hastily adopted, and that the

difficulty of deciphering the legend was so great, that a cast of the seal was previously examined by several gentlemen in London most conversant in such matters. As to both sides of the seal being of the same date in the reviewer's opinion, it may be remarked, that a new seal, or at least a new side, became requisite after the priory became denizen in 1351, and the other side, assumed to be the later, resembles the workmanship of the close of the 14th century.

1412-1417.—John de Tency, Teny, Tring. Vid. lists in Willis, Tanner, Burrell MSS. A royal licence for the priory to accept lands in Walpole and West Walton, co. Norfolk, in mortmain, was granted in 1409-10 (MS. Pat. 11° Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 18); but the name of the then prior is not mentioned.

1421-1429.—Thomas Nelond, whose majestic form, the only one of all the priors preserved to us, still lies shadowed out in brass at Cowfold, died April 18, 1429. In 1421-2 he was commissioner, together with Robert de Poynings, Sir John Pelham, Knt., and others, for building and repairing the banks on the sea coast between Meching¹ and Seford, according to the custom of the Marsh (Rot. Pat. 9° Hen. V, 1, m. 13), and again with the same parties in 1422-3 (Rot. Pat. 1° Hen. VI, 1, m. 30). The only deed in the chartulary in which he appears as a party was signed in chapter at Lewes, on April 25, 1428 (f. 296).

1433-4.—James Honiwode, Honeywood. (Hayley's MS., 6343, col. 517).

1433-1444.—Robert Auncell, Ansell, the compiler of the collection of charters relating to the priory, now MS. Vespas., F. xv in the British Museum. In 1433-4, Robert, prior of Lewes, was commissioner for the sea walls between Mechyng and Seford, together with John the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Robert Poyning, Sir Thomas Echyngnam, Sir Thomas Lewkenor, Knights, John Darell, Richard Wakehurst, and others, with power to impress labourers upon fitting wages. (Rot. Pat. 12° Henry VI, 1, m. 24.)

1450-1460.—John Danyel. Odo, the abbot of Cluny, having appointed him chamberlain, vicar-general, and commissary of the Cluniacs in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the king, Henry VI, confirmed such authority, and granted him licence to travel, in execution of such office, for three years, on June 20, 1452 (MS. Pat. 30 Hen. VI, p. 2, m. 15). He is named, in 1459, July 30, as prior of Lewes (Rot. Pat. 37° Hen. VI, in Harl. MS. 6963, f. 113); and in 1460, having incurred risk of statutory penalties by appointing Robert Cryche prior of Montacute, on the authority of letters from the abbot of Cluny, King Henry VI granted him a pardon for such offence, and authority to execute such letters with impunity, dated at Westminster, Nov. 11, 39° Hen. VI. (Rymer.) He is spoken of in this document as deserving con-

¹ Flechyng in the MS. (Hayley's Coll. 6344) must be an error for Mechyng, the old name of Newhaven.

fidence for "his religion, honesty, and conscience," as being chamberlain of the order of Cluniacs, and as sufficiently and lawfully deputed to act as vicar-general and commissary of the order in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

1486-93.—Thomas Atwell, Awell. Vid. Willis.

1526.—Robert. The deed surrendering Stanesgate Priory, in Essex (a cell to Lewes), to the dean and canons of Cardinal Wolsey's new college at Oxford, is dated in the chapter-house, on July 24, 1526, and being signed by every individual of the Lewes priory, enables us to ascertain that there were then twenty-two monks, besides the prior and sub-prior. The names are as follows :

Robert, prior of Lewes.	Robert Harverding.
Antony Wolvey, sub-prior.	Dion Mayoll.
William Atherold.	Thomas Attwell.
Simon Evry.	William Gravysend.
Clement Brown.	Nicholas Canterbury.
John Canterbury.	Mathew Fayth.
John Clement.	Thomas Steven.
William Plumster.	Robert Burton.
John Symson.	William Felician.
David Fremfyld.	John Martyne.
William Bayley.	Richard Lucy.
Thomas Maydston.	
John Lewe.	

(Monast. t. v, p. 38.)

1532—John Ashdowne. After spending seven years in studying at Cambridge, he took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Oxford, on March 29, 1506 (Wood's Fasti Oxon. 1, 9). He is mentioned as John, prior of Lewes, as being present at a Last at Westham, Oct. 3, 1532 (24° Hen. VIII), together with Richard, abbot of Bayham, John, prior of Michelham, Thomas Lord Dacre, and others, when penalties were imposed on the placing of nets, pots, engines, &c., in Pevensey Marsh.

1534-1537.—Robert Crowham, Croham, the last Prior. He took the degree of Bachelor in Theology in 1526. He is mentioned in the Valor Eccles. of 1534-5 as "now prior."

The commissioners of Henry VIII soon afterwards came down to inquire into the lives of the monks in Lewes, and the doom of the Priory was evident. We need not search too closely into the morals of the Lewes brethren. The commissioners, as Fuller quaintly observes in his 'Church History,' "knew the message they were sent on, and found out water enough to drive the mill." From every monastery they visited was sent up a report of detected sins, the details of which still remain in MSS., headed *comperta crimina*, and which it requires but little charity to distrust. The last abbot of Glastonbury adopted as his motto, perhaps with a hope of the

revival of his abbey, *mersos reatu suscita*, "rouse up those plunged in guilt;" but let us hope that the inmates of the priory did not require so fierce a rousing. Robert Crowham was himself quite ready for a change, and the last representative of Lanzo became a contented prebendary in the cathedral of Lincoln, April 11, 1537 (B. Willis, 2, 237). Probably this preferment was one of the "just and reasonable causes" moving his conscience to the final surrender of the priory to the king on November 16, 1537.² Nor was this all the compensation he expected, for he also obtained a promise from the Duke of Norfolk of a large share in the spoils of his own priory. This appears in a letter from Henry Polsted, a commissioner employed by Lord Cromwell in Kent, to his master. (Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv, f. 233.)

"My bounden dutie rememberd unto your lordshipp, this shalle be to signifie the same, that the prior of Lewes hath last Mondaye knogled a fyne, both of Lewes and Castle Acre, albeit, it is thought that Castle Acre passeth not by the fyne; and as concernyng the preamble of the dede, it is now fully resolved, that ther shall not be any such preamble. The prior affirmed, this day, that my Lord of Norfolk thean promised hym to have all the goods of the monastery, and the oon half of the debts. I am very sorry that my command was not to come a little rather upon Sondaye, that I might have spoken with your lordshipp in the premisses, asserternyng your good lordshipp that Master Pollard and I intend, God willing, to be at Rygate tomorrow, at night, according to my Lord of Norfolk's appointment; and thus our Lorde save your good lordshipp in God's saving mercy. At the Rolls, this Mondaye, the xiith day of November.

Your lordshipp's servant,

"HENRY POLSTED."

Henry VIII, in his grant of the priory to Lord Cromwell (dated Feb. 16, 1538), uses redundant phrases, as if in bitter mockery, to describe the free willingness of this surrender by the convent. The prior and monks are stated to have acted by a deed under their common seal—

"with unanimous assent, the consent of their deliberate minds, by their own certain knowledge and mere motion, from certain just and reasonable causes specially moving their minds and consciences, voluntarily, of their own accord." (Burrell MSS. 5706, f. 183). The royal grant specifies, among other details, "the church, the bell-tower (campanile), and the cœmity," and the whole was to be held of the crown, "in capite by military service, namely, by the twentieth part of one military fee, and on the annual payment of £77. 14s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d."

² The date of Nov. 6, 1538, is by some error given to this act in the new edition of the 'Monasticon.'

Within one short month, after obtaining on such easy terms the accumulated bounty of five centuries of benefactors, Lord Cromwell sent down his skilled agents of destruction, and although the Priory Church must have been the most beautiful building in Lewes, even the very memory of its site soon perished from among the succeeding generations of the townsmen.

We have, indeed, vivid descriptions by eye-witnesses of the eagerness, not only of strangers, but of the very townsmen, to share in the plunder of these monastic buildings in England at the time of their fall; and the following extracts from the third series of Sir Henry Ellis's 'Original Letters' may be considered as describing scenes witnessed at Lewes, as well as elsewhere :

"It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of the lead there was, and plucking up of boards, and throwing down of the sparres, and when the lead was torn off and cast down into the church, and tombs in the church all broken (for in most abbeyes were divers noble men and women, yea, and in some abbeyes, kings, whose tombs were regarded no more than the tombs of all other inferior persons, for to what end should they stand, when the church over them was not spared for their cause?) and all things of price either spoiled, carried away, or defaced to the uttermost. The persons that cast the lead into foddors, plucked up all the seats in the choir, wherein the monks sat when they said service, which were like to the seats in minsters, and burned them, and melted the lead therewithal, although there was wood plenty within a flight shot of them." (V. iii, p. 32.)

One of Cromwell's commissioners wrote to him thus from Warwick :

"The power people thorowly in every place be so gredy upon the howsys, when they be suppressed, that by night and daye, nott only of the towne, but also of the cuntrye, they do continually resortt as long as any dore, wyndoo, yren, or glasse, or lowse ledde remaynethe in any of them. And if it were so don oonly wher I go, the more blame miht be layd to me; but yt ys universally that the people be thus gredy for yren, wyndoes, doores, and ledde. In every place I kepe wache as long as I tary, and prison those that do thus abuse them selvys, and yet other will nott refrayn." (Vol. iii, 139.)

Another agent of Cromwell, in Lincolnshire, advises him not to pull down the stonework of some monasteries there, on account of the expense; but the king's commission being "to pull down to the ground all the walls of the churches, steeples, cloisters, frateries, dorters, chapter-houses, and all other houses, saving them that be necessary for a

farmer," he proposes to take away and sell all the bells and lead, to pull down the roofs, battlements, and stairs, and then "let the wals stand, and charge some with them, as a quarry of stone, to make sales of, as they that hath need will fetch." (Vol. iii, p. 268.)

The descendants of Warren and Gundrada might well have used on behalf of Lewes, if they had dared, the almost pathetic language of Sir Simon Harcourt, when he pleaded for the sparing a monastery in Staffordshire: "a little howse, the whyche my power auncestors dyd buyld, and gave away from them and their heires for ever a great porcion of their landes for this intent, ther to be prayed for perpetually; and so, many of them be tumulate and buried." (Vol. iii, p. 18.)

The heathen Seneca thought that some power of retribution was given to violated tombs:

"Vires aliquas natura sepulcris
Attribuit, tumulos vindicat umbra suos."

L. A. SENECÆ, *Epigr.*

And many a Christian in the time of Henry VIII probably recognised such a retribution in the signal fall and execution of Lord Cromwell, which so speedily ensued.

On former occasions when the Priory stood in peril, the lay patron, the Earl de Warenne, was ready to shield it from the royal grasp. In 1324, when Peter de Worldham and Stephen Poer were sent as commissioners by Edward II to appraise and seize all alien priories, they made the following exception as to Lewes:

"As to the revenues of the Priory of Lewes, with its appurtenances, from the said day October 8, in the eighteenth year (*of King Edw. II*, 1324), to November 13 next following, they make no return (*non respondent*), because the king by his brief, at the supplication of John Earl de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, has commanded the said commissioners not to intermeddle with the said revenue of the priory, or its appurtenances, but to restore to the same earl the said priory, with its appurtenances and revenues arising therefrom, together with the goods and chattels found in the same." (*Add. MSS.*, 6164, p. 467.)

Long before the violent suppression of the English Cluniacs there is evidence that evil passions had penetrated within their cloistered walls. It has been already stated that Peter de Jouceaux, the Lewes prior, sent forth a stern reproof (f. 162) in 1334, from Lewes, in a grand and verbose epistle to his

subordinate priors and sub-priors. Referring to certain of his monks having been already condemned by the chapter-general held at Cluny in 1329, "as infamous, and subjected to perpetual imprisonment on account of their transgressions, rebellions, conspiracies, and other enormities," and fearing lest some of them should return to their offences, like dogs to their vomit, he ordained that they should be held as aliens, and incapable of holding any office whatever, or doing any legal act; that their voices should be considered as those of enemies, and all egress from the monastic inclosures, except in case of processions with the convent, interdicted them. He then proceeded to complain, on the report of trustworthy persons and by his own experience, that monks, not professed, had assumed the direction of affairs in certain of his convents, and strictly commanded a return to order within one month. Alluding to the confusion caused in the Lewes priory by the intrusion of the pope's nominees, Adam and John, who seem to have carried off with them all moveable articles, such as Prior Foville's gilt cup, and other valuables, the prior stated that "all the things which were in our refectory, at the time of our promotion, intended for the use and service of the brethren, had been, by certain sons of discord and iniquity, fraudulently alienated, subtracted, and taken away, without hope of restitution, so that the said refectory is stripped of everything." In order to get a fresh supply of necessaries for the Lewes refectory, the prior then ordained that all future subordinate priors, and even those created by him, should pay, within one year of their creation, 20*s.*, or 13*s.* 4*d.*, according to their degree, and be liable to arrest, within the walls of the priory, by the sub-prior of Lewes, until payment be fully made. The officer of the refectory was to lay out the money by the advice of the sub-prior. The priors concerned are stated to have consented in the chapter-general to this wholesome (*salubre*) statute, which concludes with wishing "peace and eternal life to those who keep it, and may the curse of ourselves and of God absorb and involve all who contravene it. Given in our chapter at Lewes, on the 12th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1334."

Among the glories now lost to Lewes, was the honour of having a cardinal in the 13th century, holding the rectory of

one of its parish churches in the prior's gift ; and it is edifying to observe the earnestness with which the Cardinal Hubert, then an absentee at Lyons, in his act of resignation, urges the Prior of Lewes to fill up his place with a resident rector.

“ Hubert, by Divine mercy cardinal deacon of St. Eustace, to all who shall peruse this letter eternal greeting in the Lord. Know all of you, that we, on the 20th day of July, in our chamber (camera), in the presence of the religious man the abbot of Cluny, and very many other trustworthy persons, have resigned the church of St. Mary in Westout in Lewes, in the diocese of Chichester, the rector of which we have hitherto been, into the hands of the religious man the prior of Lewes, patron of the same church of St. Mary, who receives and accepts the said resignation, most earnestly exhorting the same prior, that he ought to present to the same church a fitting person, who shall be willing and able to make personal residence in that church, and to discharge devout service to God, as the care (cura) of the same church requires. Given at Lyons, on the aforesaid day and month, in the third year of the pontificate of the Lord Pope Gregory the Tenth.” (A.D. 1274). *Lew. Chart.*, f. 111.

In concluding, for the present, these miscellaneous remarks on Lewes Priory, principally authenticated by the MS. chartulary, it may be mentioned, that of this Cardinal Hubert, a prince of the church, and an important man in his lifetime, no other trace remains in Lewes history than this hitherto unnoticed record ; and Prior Auncell's clerk, who copied the above document into his chartulary 170 years afterwards, knew so little about him as even to misread his name Ubertus, for Albertus, and so writes him down. It may indeed be gathered from other authorities, that Hubert was a noble Tuscan, of the family of the Counts d'Elci, near Sienna ; that he bought the city of Orbitello from his aunt ; that he was made cardinal in 1261 by Pope Urban IV ; and that, after assisting to create three popes, he died, July 13, 1276, two years after the resignation of his Lewes benefice, leaving to the church of Asti, of which he was archdeacon, a bequest of money and “ a golden cross, in which is part of the true cross, with a silver foot,” and sundry rich church vestments. (*Ciaconius, Vitæ Pontif. et Card. Roman.*, ed. 1677, t. ii, p. 159. *Vitæ et res gestæ Pontif. et Card.*, fol. 1630, p. 719.) It must be a matter of speculation how long this wealthy Italian condescended to retain his Lewes rectory, or whether he ever visited it, and it is equally doubtful whether

he owed its emoluments to papal nomination, monastic intrigue, or to his own merits.

The massive gold ring, represented in the accompanying woodcut, was found some years ago, among the ruins of the priory, and is now the property of Mr. J. Parsons. It was probably a new year's gift—"en bon an" being engraved within the circle—to some Lewes prior in the fifteenth century, and exhibits the patron saints of the priory, the Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Pancras. When found, it retained some of the blue enamel forming the ground near the figures. A gold ring, found at Orford castle in Suffolk, similar in form, but without the triple facets of the centre, is engraved at p. 89 of No. 25, 'Archæological Journal.'



OBSERVATIONS ON
THE BUCKLE: THE BADGE OF THE FAMILY
OF PELHAM,

AND ITS APPLICATION TO VARIOUS ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS IN SUSSEX;

AND ON THE
BADGE OF THE FAMILY OF DE LA WARR.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

“ It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an antient noble family which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time ? ”—BACON. *Of Nobility*.

“ Out of the spoils won in battles did they dedicate to maintain the House of the Lord. ”—1 CHRON. xxvi, 27.

AMONG the many distinguished vice-presidents of the Sussex Archæological Society are two noblemen who, from the great antiquity of their families and their long territorial connection with the county, seem to hold that office with a peculiar appropriateness. More than five centuries ago, their ancestors—both Sussex knights—fought side by side beneath the victorious banner of the Black Prince, and, upon the plains of *Poitiers*, made a magnanimous king their captive; and from that distant period, downward, the fortunes of their houses have ever been more or less identified with Sussex interests and Sussex history. Both at this day occupy an equal rank in the English peerage, and although they no longer, like their stalwart ancestors of other days, lead forth the mail-clad men of Sussex to the field of sanguinary conflict upon a foreign shore, they enjoy, at home, a no less glorious, and far more beneficial, place in the bloodless annals of the arts of peace.

The capture of King John of France by Sir Roger la Warr and John de Pelham, was commemorated, according to the

fashion of chivalric times, by an addition to their armorial ensigns; and these Badges are still borne by the Earl de la Warr and the Earl of Chichester.

The following account of the origin of the Badges is given in Collins's Peerage (Edit. 1768, ii, 87.)

“John de Pelham was a person of great fame in the reign of Edward III. He attended that victorious monarch in his wars with the French, and was a competitor in taking John, king of France, prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, on Monday, September 19th, 1356, 30th of Edward III. Froysart gives an account, that with the king were taken, beside his son Philip, the Earl of Tankerville, Sir Jaques of Bourbon, the Earls of Ponthieu and Eue, with divers other noblemen, who being chased to Poitiers, the town shut their gates against them, not suffering any to enter, so that divers were slain, and every Englishman had four, five, or six prisoners, and the press being great to take the king, such as knew him cried, ‘*Sir, yield, or you are dead!*’ whereupon, as the chronicle relates, he yielded himself to Sir Dennis Morbeck, a knight of Artois, in the English service, and being afterwards forced from him, more than ten knights and esquires challenged the taking of the king. Among these (adds Collins) Sir Roger la Warr and John de Pelham were most concerned; and in memory of so signal an action, and the king surrendering his sword to them, Sir Roger la Warr, Lord la Warr, had the *Crampet* or *Chape* of his sword for a badge of that honour, and John de Pelham, afterwards knighted, had the *Buckle* of a belt as the mark of the same honour, which was sometimes used by his descendants as a seal manual, and at others the said buckles on each side a cage, being an emblem of the captivity of the said King of France, and was therefore borne for a crest, as in those times was customary. The buckles, &c., were likewise used by his descendants in their great seals; as is evident from several of them appendent to old deeds.”

Deferring the De la Warr badge to the end of this paper, I propose first to illustrate the *Pelham Buckle*.

The surname of Pelham is derived from the manor of Pelham in Hertfordshire, where, according to Madox (Hist. Excheq. p. 395), there anciently stood a castle. Although the

first direct ancestor of the family on record is Walter de Pelham, who flourished in the reign of Edward I, there is little doubt, as Collins observes, that Pelham had been in the possession of the family from the period of the Norman Conquest. The Three Pelicans, the well-known coat of the family, were formerly painted in the church of Pelham¹ a pretty certain proof that that building had been erected by a family which was afterwards to become remarkable for the number of religious edifices erected and enriched by its pious liberality.

This fact proves the high antiquity of the arms of Pelham, which appear to have originated in the taste for punning so observable in early heraldry. *Pel* was the initial syllable for 'pelican'—so it was for 'Pelham,' and this was sufficient. In the oldest examples the pelicans were represented 'close,' i. e. with their wings down; afterwards the wings appear slightly elevated; and finally, they are upraised to their full extent. In this manner they are now borne.

The subjoined woodcut represents the various *phases* of this ensign. Fig. 1 is from the spandrel of the western door of Laughton church; fig. 2 is from a sculptured stone at Robertsbridge abbey; and fig. 3 is the existing mode of representation.



The Crest 'a peacock in his pride,' though of much later adoption, also partakes of the same punning character.

The following genealogical table will serve to render more intelligible the notices of the Buckle and other armorial bearings referred to in the course of this paper:—

¹ There are three contiguous parishes in Hertfordshire called respectively Brent-Pelham, Stocking-Pelham, and Furneux-Pelham, but I am unable to state which of the churches is the one referred to.

WALTER DE PELHAM, Lord of Pelham in 1292 (21 Edw. I),
Lord also of Cottenham, co. Kent, and of Twinsted, co. Essex:
died in 1292.

William de Pelham, son and
heir, aged 15 in 1292; died
without issue.

Walter de Pelham, in 28 Edw. I,
had a confirmation-grant of lands at
Hailsham, Horseye, &c., in Sussex.

Thomas de Pelham, son and heir, was living in 2 Edw. II.
His name occurs as witness to a dateless deed of Lawrence
Lecole, concerning lands at Waldron. (A.)

Thomas de Pelham is mentioned in a deed, dated at Warbleton,
in 1346 (20 Edw. III). (B.)

Sir John de Pelham took John, King of France, prisoner, at the
battle of Poitiers; whence the Pelham Buckle. In 43 Edw. III
he was appointed, by Sir John Sutton and Thomas Teuwe, to
deliver seisin of their manor of Laughton and hundred of Shiplake,
co. Sussex, to Thomas de Vere, Earl of Oxford. In 1379-80
Archbishop Whittlesea appointed him master and surveyor of his
bailiwick of Stoneham, in Ringmer. He espoused Joan, daughter
of Vincent Herbert, alias Finch, by whom he obtained certain prop-
erty at Winchelsea. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. (C.)

Sir John de Pelham, K. B., Esquire to John of Gaunt, Lord of
Pelham, Constable of Pevensey Castle, and Knight of the Shire
for Sussex, temp. Henry IV. In the 2d year of that reign he
was High-Sheriff. He re-founded the Priory of Hastings, at
Warbleton; and was buried at Robertsbridge Abbey, 1429. He
used for his sign-manual the Buckle of a Belt, and on each side
thereof the letters I. P. (1400). He married Joan Crownall (?),
who so gallantly defended Pevensey Castle against the Yorkists.

This Sir John's rent-roll, dated 1403 (5 Henry IV),
proves him to have been lord (*inter alia*) of the manors of
Laughton, Burwash, Crowhurst, &c. (D.)

(See p. 215.)

(See ante, p. 214.)

Sir John de Pelham, only son, Constable of Pevensey Castle, Lord of the manors of Laughton (with the hundred of Shiplake), Crowhurst, Burwash, Daldington, &c. His will is dated 36 Hen. VI. His seal gives as a crest, a Cage; on each side thereof a Buckle. (E.) He married Joan de Courcy, servant to Queen Catherine.

Joan Pelham, wife of Sir John St. Clair, or Seynclere.

Agnes Pelham, wife of John Colbrond, of Boreham. (F.)

¹ Sir John Pelham, of Laughton, married Alice Lewkenor, but left no male issue. (G.)

² William Pelham, of Laughton, succeeded; died in 1503, and was buried at the New Priory of Warbleton: no issue. (H.)

³ Thomas Pelham, of Laughton, succeeded, as survivor of his brothers; died in 1516, and was buried at Laughton. (I.)

¹ Catherine, married, first, Bramshot; afterwards, Lewknor. (J.)

² Cicely, married William Lunsford, of East Hothly. (K.)

³ Joan, marr. Covert; and, subsequently, William Ashburnham, Esq. (L.)

William Pelham, third son, and eventual successor, rebuilt Laughton Place, in 1534, died in 1538, and was buried at Laughton. From him descends, in the tenth generation, Henry Thomas, present Earl of Chichester. (M.)

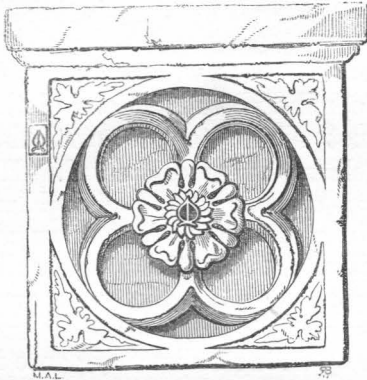
It is somewhat remarkable that Froissart, whose minuteness of detail in his account of the military transactions of the period is extraordinary, does not allude to the particular circumstance from which the Pelham badge originated. He does not even record the name of Pelham. Walsingham, Knyghton, Fabyan, and all the other chroniclers down to Holinshed, are also silent upon it. Neither is there any public or private document confirmatory of the story, which rests upon the simple authority of an undisputed family tradition. And were this tradition unsupported by strong indirect evidence it would have no better claim upon our credence than what is usually accorded to similar statements, few of which will bear the test of historic investigation.

The earliest instance of any *record* of the circumstance that occurs, is an inscription which, according to Royer's 'Eastbourne Guide,' published in 1789, existed at Laughton; but which has subsequently disappeared. It was to the following

effect:—“*Johan de Pelham, dans le temps de Edouard III, 1356, a la guerre de Poitiers, en prenant le roi de France prisonnier avoit donné pour Ensign d'honneur la Boucle, et Roger la War, le chape de l'épée; la Boucle estoit portée aut' foix aux deux côtés d'une Cage. 1503.*”

The next account is that given by Philipot, Somerset Herald, who, in 1632, drew up a pedigree of the family. That statement is followed by Collins.

It is uncertain whether the badge was actually borne by Sir John de Pelham himself, though there is curious presumptive evidence that it was. Although Sir John's family had been settled in Sussex for several generations, they still retained their original estate at Pelham. To show the probability of the Buckle having been used by Sir John, it is necessary to state that the church of Ware, co. Hertford, having been given to the monks of St. Elbrulf, at Utica in Normandy, in the 12th century, a cell to their monastery was founded there. During the wars between Edward III and the French, this establishment shared the fate of the other alien priories: it was confiscated



and let to farm at £200 per annum.² Attached to the possessions of the priory of Ware was the church of Thunderich, now Thundridge. On Thundridge church the Pelham Buckle unquestionably occurs, once in the south spandrel of the western door, and twice upon a stone fixed in the south wall of the tower. That over the western door is represented upon a kind of cockade or ribbon-knot within a rude

quatrefoil. The larger one on the south side of the tower is also placed upon a cockade, which occupies the centre of a rosette, placed within a quatrefoil, and that within a circle; the stone itself is square, and on the left hand side of it,

² Tanner's Notitia.

towards the top, a small plain buckle is introduced.³ As the family do not appear to have held any lands in the parish, it is difficult to account for the existence of the badge at this church, except upon the supposition that Pelham obtained, in reward for his services, a grant of the profits of a portion of the confiscated property, and, becoming a benefactor to the church of Thundridge, had his liberality commemorated by the placing of his badge upon the fabric, according to the prevailing fashion of the times.

This supposition receives some sanction from the proximity of Thundridge to Pelham, his old ancestral estate.

Sir John de Pelham, after a career of fame and prosperity, found a resting-place, among several of his fellow-heroes, in Canterbury cathedral, to which he had been a benefactor. It will be seen by a reference to the pedigree (*ante*), that his ancestors had possessed the manor of Cottenham, in Kent, and that he himself had held an office under Whittlesea, archbishop of Canterbury. (C.) "His figure in armour, with the arms of his family upon his breast," says Collins,⁴ "was painted in glass in the chapter-house of Canterbury." A modernised drawing of this painting was given in Philipot's pedigree of Pelham, which is engraved in Collins's 'Baronage;' but the original has unfortunately perished.

The evidence that Sir John de Pelham (D), the son and successor of the Poitiers hero, used the Buckle as his badge is quite positive. According to Collins, he employed "the buckle of a belt, and on each side thereof the letters I. P., as his sign manual," in 1400. The priory of the Holy Trinity at Hastings, originally founded in the reign of Richard I, by Sir Walter Bricet, having been rendered uninhabitable by the encroachment of the sea, Sir John assisted in the refoundation of the establishment at Warbleton, some miles from the original site, upon his estate there, giving its inmates (according to the licence of King Henry IV, dated 23d Oct. *anno regni* 14^o), besides his lands and tenements at Warbleton, the benefit

³ For the intimation of the existence of this early example of the badge I am indebted to W. H. Blaauw, Esq., Hon. Sec., and for the sketch from which the accompanying cut has been made, to Mrs. Blaauw.

⁴ Peerage, edit. 1768, ii, 87.

of his influence with that monarch for a grant, for twenty years, of the manor of Monkencourt, in Withyham, and the church there, lately confiscated from the priory of Morteyn in France. This convent was thenceforth designated the "New Priory." On the farm-house constructed in part from the remains of this priory, the Buckle occurs; and I am informed that a few years since the wainscot of the interior was similarly decorated.⁵

This Sir John de Pelham stood high in the favour of King Henry IV, who, in the beginning of his reign, made him his swordbearer. It may not be deemed irrelevant if I submit a copy of the deed conferring this honourable office, with a translation, for the benefit of the numerous ladies who grace the list of the Sussex Archæological Society. I believe the document has never been printed.

"Henricus (IV) Dei gratia, &c., omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et consideratione boni et gratuiti servitii per dilectum et fidelem nostrum *Johannem Pelham, Chivaler*, nobis ante hæc tempora impensi, concessimus eidem Johanni quod ipse pro termino vitæ suæ gladium nostrum in nostra presentia loco et tempore requisitis deferre possit, salvo jure cujuslibet qui officium illud fortuito clamare voluerit in futuro. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium xxiv die Octobr', anno regni nostri primo.

"Per breve de privato sigillo."⁶

(*Translation.*)

"Henry IV, by the grace of God, &c., to all to whom these letters shall come, health. Know ye that we, of our special favour and in consideration of the good and free service formerly rendered us by our beloved and faithful John Pelham, Knight, have granted to the same John, for the term of his life, the right of bearing our sword in our presence at the place and time required, saving the right of any person who may hereafter chance to claim that office. In testimony of which we have caused these our letters-patent to be written. Witness myself, at Westminster, the 24th day of October, in the first year of our reign.

"By writ of privy seal."

In the first year of Henry V, Sir John was a privy councillor to the king, and ambassador to the French court, and in the

⁵ In a survey (in the Augmentation Office, temp. Hen. VIII, but without date) of "The Demaynes belonging to the New Priory," mention is made of an inclosure called "*Pelham Garden, ij acres.*"

⁶ Burrell MSS. 5702, f. 331.

following year the monarch committed to his custody James I, king of Scotland, who had been made prisoner by his father in 1406.

“ Henricus (V) Dei gratia, &c., omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod cum commiserimus dilecto et fidei nostro Johanni Pelham, Chivaler, custodiam & gubernationem Jacobi, regis Scotiæ, quamdiu nobis placuerit, Nos ex consideratione concessimus eidem Johanni pro sustentatione ipsius regis in victu et vestitu et aliis necessariis sibi incumbentibus, septingentas libras percipiendas singulis annis quamdiu præfatus Johannes custodiam et gubernationem ejusdem regis habuerit, in certis locis prout inter concilium nostrum & præfatum Johannem poterit concordari, ad terminos Paschæ, nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ, S. Michaelis, et Natalis Domini, per æquales portiones. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentem. Teste meipso apud Westm. xxij die Februar’, anno regni nostri secundo.

“ Per ipsum Regem.”⁷

(Translation.)

“ Henry V, by the grace of God, &c., to all to whom, &c., health. Know ye that whereas we have committed to our beloved and faithful John Pelham, Knight, the custody and government of James, king of Scotland, during our pleasure, we have, upon consideration, granted to the said John, for the support of the same king, in food and raiment, and other necessities, seventy pounds, to be received every year, as long as the said John shall have the custody and government of the king, in such places as may be agreed upon between our council and the said John, at the respective terms of Easter, the nativity of St. John the Baptist, Michaelmas, and Christmas, by equal portions. In testimony of which we have caused these letters-patent to be written. Witness myself, at Westminster, the 22d day of February, in the second year of our reign.
By the King himself.”

Returning from this digression, it may be remarked, that there exists a rent-roll of Sir John’s possessions in 1403,⁸ from which it appears that he was lord, *inter alia*, of Laughton, Burgherse (now Burwash), Crowhurst, all in Sussex, and numerous other manors. Of his religious zeal we have an instance in the foundation of Warbleton Priory. He was likewise a benefactor to the abbey of Robertsbridge, and by his last will, dated 8 Feb., 1429, directed his body to be buried there. So lately as 1831 there was remaining, among the ruins of that building, a

⁷ There is little doubt that Pevensey castle was the prison of the unfortunate king; Sir John de Pelham being at this period constable of that fortress. There, a few years previously, Edward Duke of York had been Pelham’s prisoner; and there, at a subsequent date, Queen Joan of Navarre, the widow of Henry IV, endured a long captivity.

⁸ Collins, ii, 92.

beautifully-carved stone, bearing the Pelham Buckle, surrounded with ornamental foliage—probably a fragment of his tomb. On my last visit to the spot, in 1848, it had disappeared, and on inquiry I was told that many carved stones (*this* doubtless among the number) had been broken up to mend an adjacent highway! I consider myself fortunate, therefore, in having preserved a sketch of so interesting a relic.⁹



Several of the churches standing within the manors held by this eminent personage have the buckle carved on their stonework, proving the Pelhams to have been either the builders of or benefactors to those structures; though it is doubtful whether we ought to assign them to him or to one or more of his descendants.



His successor, Sir John de Pelham (E), gave on his seal, as a crest, a *cage* upon a helmet, and on each side a buckle, emblematical of the *captivity* of the French king. A most exquisite impression of this seal, in the possession of the Earl of Chichester, was exhibited at the Lewes meeting in 1848. The cage has sometimes been used by the family as a crest in more recent times.¹⁰ The counter-seal is a buckle, with the letters I. P.

⁹ Among other stones of which I made drawings, were several monumental slabs with crosses, a head of Christ, and a fragment of an inscription for one of the family of De Bodiham. The arms of Pelham, figured at p. 213, having been built into the garden wall, escaped destruction.

¹⁰ Historical and Allusive Arms. 1803. An imperfect impression of this seal (penes A. H. Burkiitt, Esq., F.S.A.) is engraved in the Journal of the Brit. Archæological Association, vol. i, p. 252.

We have seen that the hero of Poitiers was connected with the manor of Laughton in 43 Edward III. His successor became its lord. The hundred of Shiplake, which is nearly coextensive with that manor, comprises the six parishes of Laughton, Ripe, Chalvington, Chiddingly, East Hothly, and Waldron. The church of Chalvington retains no evidence of the good-will of the family; to the other five churches they were certainly benefactors. At Waldron the arms of Pelham, Azure, three pelicans (close) argent, remain in one of the windows. The shield is evidently of high antiquity, and perhaps dates as far back as Thomas (A), grandfather of the first Sir John, who was connected with the parish as early as the commencement of the reign of Edward II.



Laughton church became, after the dissolution of the monasteries, the burial-place of the family. This edifice is not remarkable for its architectural features. The chancel, in a vault beneath which repose many members of this noble house, has been rebuilt in recent times. Two or three simple slabs and a few decaying hatchments alone mark the place as the mausoleum of an ancient line. No ostentatious tombs, no tasteless tablets, commemorate the noble dead. Few families have been less addicted than the Pelhams to monumental marble.

On the rood-loft beam are preserved two Pelham helmets, one of about the time of Henry VII, the other of later date; the iron crest, "a peacock in his pride," belonging to one of them, is still preserved, but a pair of gauntlets have disappeared. The tower of the church is in the perpendicular style. The moulding of the western doorcase is terminated on each side by the Buckle, and the spandrels contain shields with the (ancient) arms of Pelham on the dexter side, and those of Colbrond, viz. a fesse; on a sinister canton a crescent—on the sinister. Agnes, daughter of Sir John Pelham (F), married John Colbrond, of Boreham, ancestor of the baronets of that name, and the arms of Pelham and Colbrond occurring here in juxtaposition, afford probable evidence of the erection of this church (or at least of the tower) about the



time of Henry V. It may be remarked, that the Colbronds had lands in Laughton previously to that period, and that a manor-farm, bearing their name, has been in the possession of the Pelhams for about four centuries. The arms subsequently borne by the family were different, viz. "azure, three levels, with plummets, or."

Chiddingly church has some features of greater antiquity, but the tower, with its fine stone spire and angle pinnacles, is also of the perpendicular era. The moulding of the western door, like that of Laughton, terminates with Pelham Buckles; but the shields in the spandrels are not charged with any armorial coat.

Ripe church is a beautiful little structure, partly decorated and partly perpendicular. Here again the Buckles occur on the mouldings of the western door-case, but the spandrel shields are uncharged.

The architecture of *Easttholy* church is also of late character. The moulding of the western door, as in the other instances, finishes with Buckles. The spandrel shields are both charged with the arms of Lunsford, "a chevron between three boars' heads." The Lunsfords were settled at Lunsford, in the parish of Echingham, so early as the reign of Edward the Confessor. They were resident, temp. Edw. IV, at Whiligh, in this parish, and about that time Cicely (K), second daughter of the third Sir John Pelham, espoused William Lunsford, Esq. This match fixes approximately the date of the erection of the tower.



I avail myself of this opportunity to record an almost obsolete tradition associated with this doorway. Not many years since, there was to be seen, near the top of the old oak door, what looked like the dint of a large gun or pistol bullet, and the story goes that it was caused by a shot fired by one of the Lunsfords of Whiligh at the Pelham, who, at the date of the event, resided at Halland, partly in this parish. Pelham was riding to church one Sunday morning in his carriage, when Lunsford, with whom he had had a quarrel, aimed the deadly weapon at him, without effect, however; for the bullet, after passing through both panels of the coach, struck the church door and did no further mischief. The bullet itself remained for many years sticking in the wood, to attest the truth of the legend.

This tradition, unsupported by documents, might be deemed worthy of little credit, but there are some letters in the Burrell collection which go far to establish its accuracy. The parties in question were Thomas Lunsford, Esq., of Whiligh, and Sir Thomas Pelham of Halland, the first baronet of his family, who died in 1624. It appears from the tenour of the first of the letters alluded to (which is too long for insertion here), that one Constable, a servant of Sir Thomas Pelham, used some opprobrious words of Lunsford; whereupon the latter writes to Sir Thomas, calling upon him to chastise his dependant. He reminds him of the former intimacy of the two families, and of their alliance by blood, and demands such atonement as is due to a kinsman and a gentleman. A second letter relating to some sporting transactions in which Mr. Lunsford makes reference to injurious reports raised against

him touching the "coney and hares" of Sir Thomas, follows, and very strong language is employed. Whether the baronet took any measures to appease his kinsman is unknown, but it would appear that the correspondence was followed up by the murderous attempt alluded to in the tradition; for, in a letter from Francis Warnet, Esq., of Hempstead, to Sir Thomas Pelham, dated 10th December, 1621, he states that a writ of outlawry has been issued against Mr. Lunsford, and desires him (Sir Thomas) to let him know the yearly value of Whiligh, and that of the stock, begging, if he does not wish "to be anywayes seen in it" himself, that he will appoint Mr. Constable, or some other of his men, to make the necessary report. The result of the outlawry is not known, but the Lunsford pedigree states that the subject of it died in 1638, and was buried at Greenwich.¹¹ Three of his sons entered the military service, and were much distinguished in the Civil Wars, which soon after broke out.

In the 17th century the Pelhams, then of Halland, built a chapel or pew on the north side of the church, and placed their favourite Buckle with the initials **T. P.** over the doorway.

Thus much of the Pelham churches, in the hundred of Shiplake. The remainder of the ecclesiastical edifices decorated with this badge are principally situated in the rape of Hastings, of which the family have for several centuries been lords-paramount. Sir John de Pelham (D) had a grant of the manors of Crowhurst, Bevelham (Bibleham in Mayfield?), and Burwash. In the first and third of these manors there are churches, each ornamented with the family ensign.

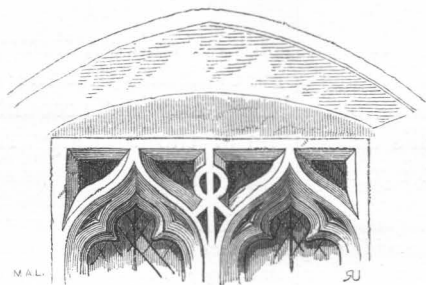
Crowhurst church possesses little to interest the antiquary, except its close proximity to the beautiful remains of the chapel of the old manor-house (which was built at a period long anterior to the acquisition of the estate by the Pelhams), and the tower of the building itself. Here, as in the cases already cited, the Buckle is introduced in the moulding of the door-case, and also—in an interesting and tasteful manner—in the tracery of the window above. The accompanying elevation will explain the arrangement. Nailed to the front of the gallery of this church is a Buckle in carved wood, which has

¹¹ The three letters are printed in full in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, March, 1837.

apparently been preserved from the screen which once stood beneath the rood-loft.

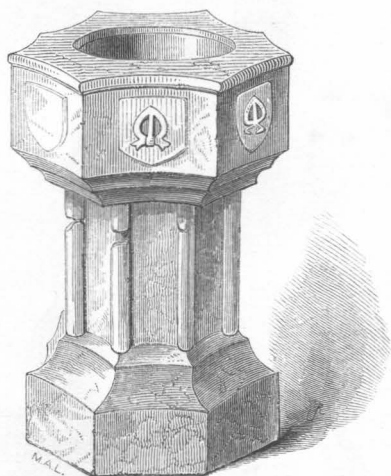


At *Burwash* church, which exhibits traces of various styles of architecture from the Norman downwards, the Buckle is



introduced at the head of the mullion of a window of two lights at the east end of the south aisle. The font of this church is

also ornamented with Buckles carved upon some of the shields which occupy each face of its octagonal basin. Both the



window and the font were probably presented to the church by the Pelhams soon after their acquisition of the manor.

At *Ashburnham* church the Buckle is found in its usual situation on the moulding of the tower doorway. Its existence here is easily explained by the alliance between the families of Pelham and Ashburnham effected by the marriage of Joan Pelham (L) to William Ashburnham, towards the close of the fifteenth century.

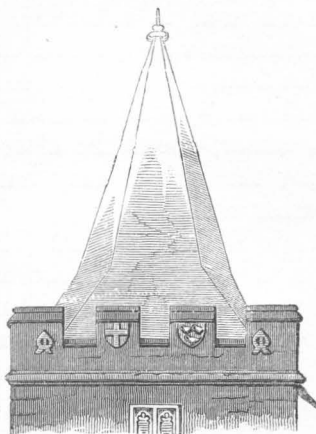
The neighbouring church of *Penhurst*, though it does not exhibit the Buckle, has some evidences that the Pelhams were among its benefactors. The following account is from Sir William Burrell's description of the building written upwards of eighty years ago :

“Of the painted glass in the chancel east window there remains now only, at the bottom of the middle light, an escutcheon turned upside down, charged, quarterly 1. *Sa* : a mullet of six points arg ; 2 and 3 ermine ; 4 ermines.¹² At the top of the other two lights is a fine building in each. Above the said three

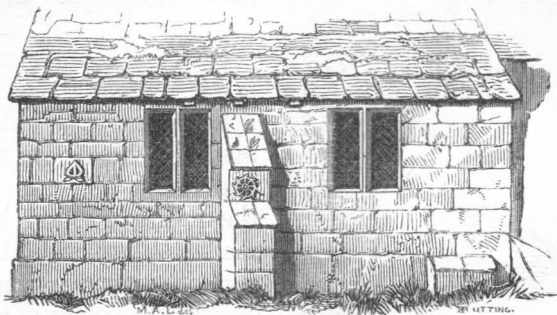
¹² The arms of Penhurst of Penhurst probably ; though their coat is generally blazoned, *sa*, a mullet arg.

lights are four compartments. The most southerly is filled with an angel depicted, having his under garment reaching to his heels white ; a robe, crimson fringed with gold ; wings of gold. On his breast and over his body an escutcheon with *ar. three pelicans, close, vulning themselves, arg.* for PELHAM." ¹³

At another church in the same vicinity, that of *Dallington*, the Buckle again occurs. On the parapet of the tower are two shields, one charged with the arms of Pelham, the other with a cross, and flanked with two Buckles. Sir John Pelham (E) acquired a grant of the chase of Dallington, with which at his decease, 36th Hen. VI, he enfeoffed Sir John, his eldest son. By one of these personages Dallington church, or at least this tower, was probably rebuilt.



The Sir John Pelham last mentioned (G) married a Lewknor, and was a benefactor to the neighbouring church of Warbleton. In the north window of the chancel there are several shields, one of which is Pelham impaling Lewknor, and inscribed "Pelham."



At *Wartling* church there is an interesting example of the badge.¹⁴ A chapel has been added on the south side of the

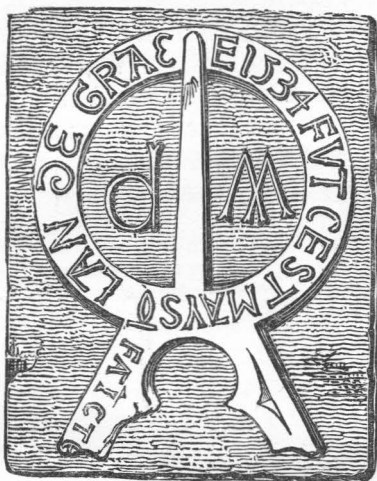
¹³ Horsfield's *Sussex*, i, 561.

¹⁴ Sir Nicholas Pelham, who died in 1559, held the manor of Cowden in this parish, and it is probable that his ancestors had previously possessed it.

nave. It has been much disfigured by reducing the height of the wall and thus cutting off the tracery of the windows. On the western end of this building is a shield, uncharged, but probably intended to receive the arms of Pelham. On the south wall is a Buckle, and on a buttress to the right a Catherine wheel, which marks the dedication of the chapel. The family pedigree presents us with the name of a *Catherine* Pelham (J) who married first a Bramshot, and secondly a Lewknor, about the close of the 15th century, and by this lady the chapel may have been erected in honour of her patron saint.

Sir William Pelham (M), who was at the head of the family temp. Henry VIII, rebuilt the mansion of Laughton Place, in that reign. The existing farm-house, which comprises a portion of his work, is ornamented on the front and on some of the chimneys with Buckles. Inserted in the brickwork are several highly-glazed tiles, with a large Buckle and the initials W.P. stamped in relief.

On the circumference of the Buckle is the legend, "LAN DE GRACE 1534 FVT CEST MAYSO FAICTE." The badge is also introduced into some beautiful arabesque ornaments cast in brickwork in various parts of the interior of the house. This ornamental brickwork was doubtless made in the neighbourhood, and it may be commended to the notice of local lovers of medieval art as a beautiful and inexpensive species of decoration worthy of adoption in our own times.



(From *Curiosities of Heraldry*, p. 161.)

At Halland Place, the more recent family seat, situated on the boundary-line of the parishes of Laughton and Easttholy, the Buckle was much employed. That magnificent Elizabethan house, renowned for its hospitality in the days of Thomas Holles Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, was, after his

death, pulled down. A farm-house occupying a portion of the site was constructed with part of the materials. In the front wall is introduced a carved stone, bearing the date 1595, and a shield, party per pale; dexter the Peacock, sinister the Buckle; a singular and very incorrect mode of assembling the crest and badge, and probably the first instance of placing the Buckle upon a shield. A portion of the moulded bricks which originally formed the top of an enriched basement of the mansion has also been preserved. The ornament consists of erect and inverted Buckles alternately disposed, and the effect is extremely good.

A few years later, when badges had ceased to be worn upon the habits of domestic servants, some members of the house of Pelham seem to have been desirous of retaining their Buckle, which might otherwise have fallen into disuse, by making it part and parcel of their *arms*. In the pedigree drawn up at the Visitation of Sussex in 1634, two Buckles with a part of the belt attached are quartered as an "augmentation." This is the first instance of the formal recognition of the Buckle by the Heralds, for in the previous Visitation of temp. Elizabeth the pelicans only are entered. The addition of the belts was displeasing to one branch of the family. Among the Burrell MSS. is an original letter, written from London, 10th July 1620, by Sir Thomas Pelham to his "good cosen" Sir William Pelham, in which he says:

"I have received your letter and the book which I sent you, because you did in a letter remember a chamber in Laughton House, wherein were those arms of intermarriages of our house and with our house. I had don as you wish, had conferred with a skilfull herald, but that I did so much dislike the altering, and buying and selling of arms for gayne, as you might see in the book. *They have added to the buckle a part of the girdle* which I did never see in all the seals of arms I have, or on any escutcheon."¹⁵

Sir Thomas was doubtless annoyed to find that the ancient badge of his house could only be introduced into his shield by a new grant, the expenses of which he himself, as the head of the family, would be called upon to defray. Sir Thomas, who was the first baronet of the family, died in 1624. His son and successor, Sir Thomas Pelham, seems to have entertained no similar dislike to the objectionable "girdles," for at the

¹⁵ Ex inf. W. Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix.

visitation of 1634, as above stated, the quartering, or "augmentation," occurs as now borne, viz. *gules, two demi-belts paleways, the buckles in chief, arg.*

I have lying before me the cover of a letter directed "To the Right Honorable my singuler good Lord and brother the Lo. Conway, principall Secretary to his Ma^{tie} etc. giue thease," and endorsed, "6 Novemb. 1625, Sir William Pelham." The seal is a buckle of rather fantastic fashion, with the date "Dec. 22, 1596." Sir William was first cousin to Sir Thomas, and the same personage to whom he had addressed the letter above quoted a few years previously. The date so singularly engraved upon the seal is perhaps that of his own knighthood.¹⁶

In more recent times, this celebrated historical badge has been applied to a variety of humbler uses than the enrichment of architecture and the aggrandisement of arms. It has been adopted as the sign of a little inn at Bishopston, where the Duke of Newcastle had a seat; as an embellishment to cast-iron chimney-backs in farm-houses; as a mark for sheep; and as an ornament to mile-stones; and throughout that part of eastern Sussex, over which the beneficial influence of the family extends, there is no "household word" more familiar than the *Pelham Buckle*.

Paucity of information will limit my remarks on the badge of the De la Warrs to a few words.

The badge assigned to Sir Roger la Warr, for his share in the capture of the French monarch, is variously described in books of heraldry as the *chape* or *crampet* of a sword. It is intended to represent the metal termination of a scabbard, and is blazoned in Parkér's 'Glossary' as, *A crampet or, the inside per pale, azure and gules, charged with the letter r of the first.*

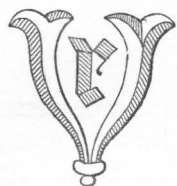
I have met with but two examples of this badge. Figure 1

¹⁶ The cover belongs to a letter in the collection called the Conway Papers, edited by Mr. Crofton Croker, and was most obligingly presented to me by Lord Londesborough, K.C.H. and F.S.A.

is many times repeated upon the tomb of Thomas Lord la Warr, in Broadwater church. That personage died in 1526, and this magnificent tomb was erected not long subsequently. Another badge of the family, *the leopard's head, jessant de lis*, accompanies the crampet.¹⁷ Figure 2



(Fig. 1.)



(Fig. 2.)

is found in Gerard Legh's 'Accedens of Armorie' (edit. 1562), where it is described as a *Crampette*

Or, geuen to his auncesters for takyng of the Frenche kynge in fiede." In this instance also

it is accompanied by another badge, derived from the Mortimers, viz. "a rose parted in pale, argent and geules." The text *r*, which does not occur in the Broadwater example, is introduced in Legh's. To its meaning I have discovered no clue; and it may originally have been a mere ornament, which in the course of time assumed this shape.¹⁸

¹⁷ This badge is derived from the arms of the great family of Cantilupe, from whom the De la Warrs are descended by a maternal ancestor.

¹⁸ The substance of the foregoing paper was read at the first Congress of the Archaeological Association, held at Canterbury, in 1844, and was printed in Mr. Dunkin's Report of that meeting. As the impression was limited to 150 copies, few of which found their way into this county, I have been requested to reproduce it among the papers of the Sussex Archaeological Society, with such additional particulars as have subsequently been met with. The illustrations have been engraved by Mr. Utting, from my own drawings, made on the spot.

CATALOGUE OF
DRAWINGS RELATING TO SUSSEX.

BY S. H. GRIMM,

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. H. WELLESLEY, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF NEW INN HALL, OXFORD.

It has been long known that the British Museum possesses a collection of drawings of churches, houses, &c. in Sussex, executed by S. H. Grimm for Sir W. Burrell, Bart. An account of these has been published in the 'Catalogue of the MSS. Maps, Drawings, &c. in the British Museum,' vol. ii, 8vo, 1844; but it is not perhaps so well known to Sussex antiquaries that there exists among Gough's Topographical Collections, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, another valuable and important series of Sussex views by the same hand, drawn in pen and Indian ink, in a clear, satisfactory style. The size of the majority of them is ten or eleven by seven or eight inches, except the 'South side of Boxgrave Priory Church,' the 'Arches at Slaugham,' and 'Pevensey Bay,' which are on wider slips, fifteen inches long.

In the belief that a similar catalogue of these has not yet appeared, and may prove acceptable to the inquirer into Sussex topography, the following list is presented, exhibiting the inscriptions in Grimm's handwriting, at the corner of each drawing.

- "Page 8. South view of CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. May 26th, 1782.
 South-east view of CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. May 27th, 1782.
 P. 8, B. West end of CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. May 26th, 1782.
 Inside of the TOWNHALL at CHICHESTER, Sussex. June 14th, 1781.
 P. 10, B. Outside of the TOWNHALL at CHICHESTER, Sussex, north side formerly the church of Friary, now Mr. Franklin's house. June 14th, 1781.
 MRS. FRANKLIN'S HOUSE, near the townhall, at Chichester, Sussex.
 It was formerly a Friary, of which the townhall was the church.
 June 14th, 1781.
 East side of the WEST GATE at CHICHESTER. May 24th, 1782.
 ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL at CHICHESTER, Sussex. June 16th, 1781.
 APULDRUM, near Chichester, formerly a fortified tower, belonging to the bishop, and still surrounded by a foss, now a farm. May 27th, 1782.

- P. 11, B. LEWES CASTLE, from Mr. Shelly's inclosed down, Sussex. May 26th, 1785.
- P. 19. The CHAPEL of the FRIARY at ARUNDEL, taken from the bridge. May 20th, 1780.
 RUINS of ARUNDEL COLLEGE. May 20th, 1780.
 ST. MARY'S GATE, ARUNDEL, with part of Pilgrims' Hall Wall. May 28th, 1780.
 CHURCH and COLLEGE (the latter now the steward's house), at ARUNDEL, Sussex, taken from the battlements of the Castle keep. June 6th, 1781.
- P. 19, B. The OLD FRIARY, near the bridge at ARUNDEL, Sussex. May 20th, 1780.
 The remains of CHALCEDO, near Arundel, Sussex, formerly a cell to Arundel Priory, or rather a place of confinement for refractory monks. June 6th, 1781.
- P. 20. South view of AMBERLY CASTLE, Sussex. May 17th, 1788.
 North view of AMBERLY CASTLE and CHURCH, Sussex. May 17th, 1788.
 UPPER or EAST COURT of AMBERLY CASTLE, Sussex, representing the north end of the great hall. The doorway next the tree on the right hand leads to the kitchen, which is seen on the outside of the north wall. July 17th, 1788.
 WEST COURT of AMBERLY CASTLE, Sussex. May 17th, 1788.
- P. 20, B. South side of the PRIORY CHURCH of BOXGRAVE, near Chichester, Sussex, founded by Robert de Haya, in Henry the First's time. It had a great benefactor in William d'Aubigny, Earl of Arundel, who married Adeliza, Dowager of Henry the First. Their heads are in the inside of the east window, in the extremities of the miter over the window. The old house, standing before the church on the right hand, was formerly the vicarage, but now inhabited by the sexton. The stone marked RXI stands on the top of an arched buttress, on the right hand, in the place marked N Z. June 7th, 1781.
 East view of the REFECTORY and north view of the PRIORY CHURCH of BOXGROVE, near Chichester, Sussex. (The Refectory is now a barn.) June 8th, 1787.
- P. 20. The PRIORY CHURCH of BOXGROVE, and part of the Refectory, Sussex. East view. May 23d, 1782.
 Section of the REFECTORY of BOXGROVE PRIORY, near Chichester, Sussex, now a barn. June 8th, 1781.
 North-east view of an old BARN, formerly the REFECTORY of BOXGROVE PRIORY, near Chichester, Sussex. June 8th, 1781.
- P. 24. The south end of the HALL in BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 14th, 1783.
 VAULT in the inside of the GATEWAY of BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 15th, 1783.
 The West Front of BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 15th, 1783.
 South end of the REFECTORY of BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 18th, 1783.
- P. 24, B. East end of the GATEWAY of BATTLE ABBEY. June 16th, 1783.
 East view of BATTLE ABBEY, in Sussex, with the Cloisters. June 18th, 1783.
 East side of BATTLE ABBEY REFECTORY. June 18th, 1783.
 The GATE of BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 14th, 1783.

- P. 26. The CELLAR under the Refectory at BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 14th, 1783.
 HEADS on the South Front and in the Souterrain of BATTLE ABBEY. June 14th, 1783.
 Inside of the REFECTORY of BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex. June 15th, 1783.
 BRAMBER CASTLE, from the windmill above Steyning, Sussex. May 16th, 1788.
- P. 26, B. South-west view of STEYNING CHURCH, Sussex, June 4th, 1781.
 WHISTON, in the neighbourhood of Steyning, Sussex, the seat of — Goring, Esq. This old family seat of the Gorings was originally as large again; half of it was destroyed in the civil war of King Charles I. June 4th, 1781.
 West end of WHISTON CHURCH and South end of WHISTON HOUSE, the old seat of the Gorings, near Steyning, in Sussex. June 4th, 1781.
 North-east view of the CHURCH and VICARAGE HOUSE at STEYNING, Sussex, of which the latter is a part of an old nunnery. The nave of the church is Norman; the rest of different Gothic parts. June 5th, 1781.
- P. 28. PEVENSEA BAY, from Hastings to the Sea-houses at Easebourn, with a view of Easebourn town, and the Sea-houses and Pevensea Castle, in a distance. May 23d, 1785.
- P. 28, B. North-east view of the BRIDGE and CHURCH of OLD SHOREHAM, Sussex. May 21st, 1782.
 South-west view of the CHURCH of NEW SHOREHAM, Sussex. May 20th, 1782.
 North-east view of NEW SHOREHAM CHURCH, in Sussex. May 20th, 1782.
 PEVENSY CASTLE, from Warking Road, Sussex. June 22d, 1783.
- P. 29. Inside of HASTINGS CASTLE, Sussex. June 5th, 1784.
 SQUARE TOWER and SALLYPORT in the front of HASTING CASTLE, Sussex. June 5th, 1784.
 The ROCKS of HASTINGS CASTLE, Sussex; from the bathing-houses. June 5th, 1784.
 HASTINGS CASTLE, Sussex, from the road along the rocks west of the Ferry. June 5th, 1784.
- P. 29, B. INNER COURT of PEVENSEA CASTLE, Sussex, with the north entrance Tower; taken from the Dungeon Hill. June 22d, 1783.
 INNER COURT of PEVENSEA CASTLE, Sussex, with the Dungeon Hill, taken from the north entrance. June 22d, 1783.
 Outside of the north entrance to the INNER BALLIUM of PEVENSEY CASTLE, Sussex. June 22d, 1783.
 West view of PEVENSEY BAY and the SEA-HOUSES at Easebourn, Sussex. May 22d, 1785.
- P. 30. The GATEWAY of ARUNDEL CASTLE. May 20th, 1780.
 The KEEP and GATEWAY of ARUNDEL CASTLE, from the Court. May 20th, 1780.
 View of the COURT and GATE TOWER of ARUNDEL CASTLE, from the Steps at the entrance of the upper part of the Keep. June 6th, 1781.
 BEVIS'S TOWER in the Precinct of ARUNDEL CASTLE. May 20th, 1780.
- P. 32. South-west view of a part of the ABBEY of ROTHERBRIDGE, vulgarly called Robertsbridge, in Sussex. The Ruin on the right is the Church, now a shapeless lump of rubbish, a farmer having burnt the stone facings and mouldings to lime. June 20th, 1783.

- P. 32, B. North Front of the INSIDE and GATEWAY of BODIHAM CASTLE, Sussex. June 1st, 1784.
 East view of the INTERNAL PART of BODIHAM CASTLE, Sussex. June 1st, 1784.
 FRONT of BODIHAM CASTLE, Sussex, with the Gateway, seen through an outer gate or barbican. June 1st, 1784.
 Inside of BODIHAM CASTLE GATE, Sussex. June 1st, 1784.
- P. 34. Inside of the FRIARY CHAPEL at WINCHELSEA, Sussex. June 4th, 1784.
 FRIARY and CHAPEL at WINCHELSEA, Sussex, from the South side of Mrs. Luxford's Garden.
 (N. B. In this place the notorious Westons were hid, till their fate brought them to London. June 4th, 1784.)
 South side of WINCHELSEA CHURCH, Sussex. June 4th, 1784.
 North view of the LANDGATE at WINCHELSEA, Sussex. June 4th, 1784.
- P. 34, B. South side of WINCHELSEA LANDGATE, Sussex. June 4th, 1784.
 Inside of the LANDGATE at WINCHELSEA, Sussex. June 4th, 1784.
- P. 36. IPRES TOWER, now the Gaol at Rye, in Sussex. June 2d, 1784.
 The North-west or LANDGATE at RYE, in Sussex. June 2d, 1784.
 RYE, with a distant view of WINCHELSEA, Sussex. June 2d, 1784.
 CAMPERWELL CASTLE, and a distant view of RYE, in Sussex, from the south side of Winchelsea road. June 4th, 1784.
- P. 36, B. The south or STRAND GATE at RYE, in Sussex. June 2d, 1784.
 BREDE PLACE, near Rye, in Sussex, formerly the mansion of the Oxenbriggs, now inhabited by poor labourers. June 3d, 1784.
 South Entrance of MAYFIELD HALL, Sussex, 17 ft. 5 in. long, 13 ft. 1 in. wide, 11 ft. 9 in. high. June 11th, 1783.
- P. 37. South Front of MAYFIELD PALACE, Sussex, 12 miles from Tunbridge Wells. June 11th, 1783.
 North-east view of the BUTTERY and STAIRCASE of MAYFIELD PALACE, Sussex. June 10th, 1783.
 North-west view of the PALACE and HALL at MAYFIELD, Sussex, called by some St. Dunstan's Palace; formerly a Villa of the Archbishops of Canterbury. June 10th, 1783.
 East side of MAYFIELD PALACE, Sussex. June 11th, 1783.
- P. 37, B. South side ORNAMENTS and DOORWAYS in MAYFIELD HALL, Sussex. June 11th, 1783.
 North side ORNAMENTS in MAYFIELD HALL, Sussex. May 11th, 1783.
 View of BAYHAM ABBEY, Sussex, from the West side of the Abbey Gate. June 12th, 1783.
 South view of BAYHAM ABBEY, Sussex. June 12th, 1783.
- P. 39. The North TRANSEPT of BAYHAM ABBEY CHURCH, Sussex. June 12th, 1783.
 The Inside of the East end of the ABBEY CHURCH at BAYHAM, Sussex. June 12th, 1783.
 Chapel in the south Aisle of BAYHAM ABBEY CHURCH, Sussex. June 12th, 1783.
 CLOSE on the south side of BAYHAM ABBEY, Sussex. June 12th, 1783.

- P. 39, B. North View of the ROCKS about GREAT-UPON-LITTLE, near Wakehurst House, Sussex, in the parish of West Hoadley. May 14, 1780.
 Curious ROCK in Boarshead Street, near Tunbridge Wells, Sussex. May 17th, 1785.
 ROCKS by Buxted, in Sussex, called the VINEYARD, as there was formerly a plantation of vines, which throve well, being sheltered from the cold winds and open to the meridian sun. May 28th, 1785.
 (N. B. The rock which makes the foreground is hollowed out for a habitation.)
 Outside of the ROCK HABITATION of the VINEYARD ROCKS, near Buxted, in Sussex. May 28th, 1785.
- P. 40. GREAT-UPON-LITTLE, near Wakehurst House, Sussex, in the parish of West Hoadley, three or four miles from East Grinstead. May 14th, 1780.
 GREAT-UPON-LITTLE, with some of the adjoining ROCKS, near Wakehurst House, Sussex, in the parish of West Hoadley. May 14th, 1780.
 Part of the ROCKS about Great-upon-Little, Sussex, in the parish of West Hoadley; south view. May 14th, 1780.
- P. 40, B. West side of the ROCKS near Tunbridge Wells. June 8th, 1783.
 The ERIDGE ROCKS, in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, Sussex. May 17th, 1785.
 South view of the PEN ROCKS, in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, Sussex. May 15th, 1785.
 South-west view of the PENS ROCKS, in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, Sussex. May 15th, 1785.
- P. 41. South-west view of the PENNS ROCKS, near Tunbridge Wells, Sussex; taken from the road to the house. May 15th, 1785.
 South side of the ROCKS, near Tunbridge Wells, Sussex. June 8th, 1783.
 North-east view of PENNS ROCKS, near Tunbridge Wells, Sussex. May 15th, 1785.
- P. 42, CISSBURY (the Camp of Cissa), from the North-west side of the village of Findon, Sussex. May 16th, 1780.
 FINDON PLACE, Sussex. May 16th, 1780.
 CHURCH, HOUSE, and BRIDGE, at TROTTON, in Sussex. May, 30th, 1782.
- P. 42, B. ENTRANCE to HALNAKER HOUSE, near Chichester, belonging to the Duke of Richmond, whose park of Goodwood it joins, but formerly a seat of the Lords Delaware. June 15th, 1781.
 INNER FRONT of HALNAKER HOUSE, near Chichester, Sussex, belonging to the Duke of Richmond, but formerly one of the seats of the Lords Delaware; it is so ruined that it is even abandoned by the farmer, and only inhabited by a poor old French woman and her family; she is one of the Duke's dependants from his French Duchy of Aubigny. It retains still some things of its ancient splendor. The Gothic windows on the right of the doorway belong to the hall, of which part of the gallery and (especially the east end), the carved wainscoat remains, with coats of arms of the noble families allied to the Delawares, the royal arms of Harry VIII, ornaments suiting the taste of that period, and a door in each corner, leading to the cellar and buttery, with a Gothic Bacchus over it holding out cups, one has the inscription *come in and drink*, the other *les bien venus*, both in the

German taste; there is a full-length picture of Sir — Morley, in the habit of the Order of the Bath, with his Squire. The building on the right hand, with high chimnies and a window and gate at the end of it, contains a long painted gallery full of the coats of arms of the Delawares, &c. The uttermost building to the left, with the broad, low, bow windows, contains a large kitchen and chimney, emblems of the old hospitality. This building is gradually demolishing to furnish materials for barns and stables.

View of WOLSEMBURY HILL, from Herst Churchyard, Sussex. May 15th, 1780.

P. 43. Outside of the GATEWAY of MICHELHAM PRIORY, Sussex. June 10th, 1784.

North side of MICHELHAM PRIORY, Sussex. June 10th, 1784.

GATEWAY and south-west front of MICHELHAM PRIORY, Sussex. June 10th, 1784.

North-west View of MICHELHAM PRIORY, Sussex. June 10th, 1784.

P. 56. Plan and Elevation of VERDLY CASTLE, near Midhurst Sussex.

Inside of the RUIN of VERDLY CASTLE, near Cowdry in Sussex. May 31st, 1782.

Outside of the RUINS of VERDLY CASTLE situated in a beechwood in a deep vale belonging to Lord Viscount Montague, 4 miles from Cowdry in Sussex. There is no mention made of it by any author, tradition reports that it was destroyed in the time of the Danes. It is only known to such as hunt the Martin cat. May 31st, 1782.

SHELBRED PRIORY near Midhurst, Sussex, now a farm belonging to Lord Viscount Montague of Cowdry. May 26th, 1790.

P. 56, B. The PARSONAGE HOUSE at TERRING in Sussex, consisting of the remains of a Chapel erected by Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. June 5th, 1781.

BROADWATER CHURCH, Sussex. May 16th, 1780.

KNEP CASTLE in the Rape of Bramber, Sussex. North-east view. June 3d, 1789.

P. 57. POYNING in the Sussex Downs, with a ruin of the seat of the Lords Goring. May 15th, 1780. Behind the hill to the left is the Devil's ditch, an old extensive camp.

South Front of WILMINGTON PRIORY, Sussex. June 23d, 1783.

West Front of WILMINGTON PRIORY, Sussex. June 13th, 1783.

South Front of EASEBORN PRIORY, Sussex, taken from the South corner of the garden. May 23d, 1780.

P. 57, B. WAKEHURST HOUSE, Sussex. May 14th, 1780; built in Edward Sixth's time.

CUCKFIELD in Sussex. May 15th, 1780.

HALLEND in Sussex, east front. June 25th, 1783.

The PRIORY of HARDHAM, alias Farringham, originally Hauteraye in Sussex, founded in the time of Henry II, now a farm. May 21st, 1780.

- P. 58. ROCTON HOUSE, Sussex. May 25th, 1782.
 The HOUSE of LORD EGREMONT, at Petworth, in Sussex. On this spot stood formerly the old family seat of the Percys, Earls of Northumberland. May 22d, 1780.
 BOSEHAM, in Sussex. May 26th, 1782.
 South-east View of the ANCIENT HOUSE of the EARLS of ARUNDEL, at Stansted, Sussex, now converted into stables. May 25th, 1782.
- P. 58, B. ARCHES in the North Front at SLAUGHAM, Sussex. May 31st, 1787.
 General View of the RUINS of SLAUGHAM HOUSE, Sussex. May 31st, 1787.
 West Front of HALLEND, in Sussex, one of the houses of the Pelhams; it was sometimes inhabited by the late Duke of Newcastle, now by a farmer, and going fast to ruin. June 24th, 1783.
- P. 59. The NUNNERY at RUSPER, near Horsham, Sussex. June 2d, 1781.
 South-west view of CLIMPING CHURCH, Sussex. May 22d, 1782."



I.
 II. Boxgrove.
 III, IV. Horsted Keynes.

V. Chichester.
 VI. Poynings.



I. Rustington.
 II, III, IV, V, VI. Lewes Priory, Poynings, and Horsted Keynes.

SUSSEX TILES.

BY MR. WILLIAM FIGG.

WITH TWO ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE remains of pavements formed of decorative tiles have of late attracted much attention among archæologists, both as regards their use in our churches, and in the domestic edifices of our ancestors. The investigations concerning this branch of ornamental decoration have been made with so much care and attention, that it would be superfluous to make any general observations upon the subject in this place, as they have been illustrated in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, the *Examples of Decorative Tiles*, by J. G. Nichols, F.S.A., the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and other publications.

Great varieties of examples have been found in Great Britain and in Ireland, of almost endless design, and of various dimensions. Sussex furnishes its share of these curious relics of mediæval art, and interesting examples have been found at Lewes Priory, Horsted Keynes, Etchingham, Poynings, Chichester Cathedral, Boxgrove, Rustington, &c. &c. &c.; they consist of armorial bearings and ornamental designs in considerable variety.

It has been my object in the accompanying illustrations, to place before the Sussex Archæological Society, some of the most interesting examples from different parts of the county.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICES

OF THE

IRON-WORKS OF THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

SINCE the publication of Vol. II of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, I have met with several interesting illustrations of the history of the once important Manufacture of Iron in Sussex, which seem equally deserving, with the facts recorded in my previous memoir, of preservation in the publication of this Society.

To our valuable member, W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., I am indebted for the following highly important notices, discovered by him in that extensive repertory of historical documents, the State-Paper Office.

In 1573 (No. 96), there is a declaration by Christopher Barker, to the council, of the great consumption of oaken wood in Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, by the iron-mills and furnaces.

In January 1574 (No. 15), there is a petition from Ralphe Hogge, "manufacturer of guns and shot for the Ordnance Office," to the council, complaining of the infringement of the patent granted him by the queen, for the sole exportation of ordnance; whereupon a return was procured on Feb. 15th following (No. 18), giving a list of the owners of iron-works in the three counties. The chief men were summoned before the council, and from the others bonds were taken, under a penalty of £2000, not to found or sell ordnance without license from the queen. The list alluded to (so far as relates to Sussex) is as follows: the remarks within brackets I have added for the sake of illustration.

“ *Stephen Collyns, 1 fordg, in Lamberherse.*

The Lord Montague, 1 fordg, in ffraunt (Frant), in the hands of John Porter.

[Sir Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montagu, was of Cowdray and Battel Abbey. John Porter, a cadet of the family of that name, at Bayham, resided, temp. Eliz., at Lamberhurst. He built Court Lodge, in that parish.]

„ *Breechers (?), 1 fordg, in ffraunt, in the hands of Mr. Wyberne and Mr. Leeche.*

The Lord Abergavenny, 1 fordg, 1 furnace, in Waterdowne (forest).

John Barham, ij fordgs, in ffraunt, in other men's hands.

Nicholas ffowle, i fordg, 1 furnace, in Wadeherst.

Arthur Mylton, i furnace, in Netherfeld (Battel).

Wm. „ i furnace, in Netherfeld.

„ *ffanner, i furnace, in „*

Sir Thomas Gresham, i furnace, in Mayfelde.

[The celebrated founder of the Royal Exchange; possessor of Mayfield Palace.]

„ *Isted, i fordg, in Mayfelde.*

[Probably *Richard Isted* of Morehouse, in Mayfield.]

Sir John Pelham, ij fordgs, i furnace, in Dalington, Hethefeld, Waldron, and Brightling, in other men's hands.

[The last three were subsequently, and until a comparatively recent date, worked by the family of Fuller.]

Sir Richard Baker, i furnace, in Dallington.

Sir rycharde Baker, ij fordgs, ij furnaces, in Heathfelde and Warbleton.

Sr Robert Tirwett, i fordge, 1 furnace, in Echingham, in the handes of Glede.

[The Tyrwhitts of Kettleby, co. Lincoln, held Etchingham and Salehurst, as representatives of the Echyngghams, at this period.]

Sr Henry Sydneys, i fordg, i furnace, in Robertsbyrdge.

[Ancestor of the Earls of Leicester, and proprietor of the abbey of Robertsbridge.]

„ *Bugsell (?), i fordg, in Salehurst.*

Mr. Fynche, i fordge, in Netherfelde, or thereaboute.

[Ancestor of the Earls of Winchelsea. The family were, for a long period, owners of Netherfield, in Battel, and anciently resided there.]

Mr. Ashburnham, ij fordgs, 1 furnace, in Ashburnham.

The Lord Dacres, i fordg, 1 furnace, in Buckholt, in the handes of Jeffreys.

[Lord Dacre, of Herstmonceux Castle. Buckholt is in the parish of Bexhill.—

Bartholomew Jefferay, the person referred to as tenant, was a member of the eminent family of this name at Chiddingly, being nephew to Sir John Jefferay, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His will, dated 8 Dec., 17th Eliz., directs that Thomas Aulfrey "have the vse and gou'nance of his *fforge, ffurnace, and woodes* for five years, for the payment of his debts."—Lewes Registry of Wills.]

Nynyan Burwell, i furnace.

[A clerical error for *Burrell*—of Cuckfield.]

Ralphe Hogge, i furnace [at Buxted].

The Lord of Buckherst, i fordg, in fletchyng, in the hands of Mr. Leech.

[Richard Leche, Esq., whose costly monument exists in Fletching church. He died in 1596, as he "was coming out of the office of high sherief of the countys of Sussex and Surre."]

The Lord of Buckherst, i fordg, in Ashefelde, in the hands of Mr. Relf.

Anthony Morley, i fordg, i furnace, in Freshfield and Horsted [Keynes?].

[A. Morley of Glynde. Freshfield is on the Ouse, near Fletching.]

Mr. Barrington, i fordg, 1 furnace, in Herste [Horsted] *Kaynes.*

Mr. Challoner, 1 fordg, in Ardinglye.

Mr. Challon' and Mr. Covert, i forge, i furnace, in Slaugham.

Mr. Mighell, i furnace, in Hoadlee [Hothly].

„ *Reynoldes, i furnace, in Mylplace.*

„ *Payne and Duffild, i fordg, i furnace, in* [E.] *Grynsted.*

The Lord of Buckherst, i fordge, i furnace, in Parrock, in the hands of George Bullen.

The Quenes Ma^{tie}, 1 fordg, 1 furnace, in Ashedowne [forest], *in the hands of Henry Bowyer.*

[Ashdown forest was in the hands of the Crown.]

Robert Whitfelde, i fordge, in Rowfraunte.

[Rowfant, in the parish of Worth. Robert Whitfeld, Esq., who had a seat there, was a collateral ancestor of Thomas Whitfeld, Esq., of Lewes.]

Henry Boyer, i fordge, in Tynsley.

[Probably Henry Bowyer, of Cuckfield, son of John B., of Hartfield. Vis. Sussex, 1634.]

Henry Boyer, i furnace, in Moore forrest. [Qy. in Petworth.]

The Lord Abergaveny { *ij fordgs, 1 furnace, in*
The Earles of Darby and Surrey { *Moore forrest, in the*
hands of Ensfelde.

Mr. John Gage, i fordg, i furnace, about Copthorn and Lyngfelde, in the hands of Thorp.

[In Surrey. The Thorpe family resided, however, at Gibsaven, in the parish of Worth.]

The Quenes Ma^{tie}, 1 fordge, in St. Leonardes (forest), in the hands of Roger Gratwyck.

Roger Gratwyck, 1 furnace, in Ifelde (Ifield).

[W. G. K. Gratwicke, Esq., is descended, in the seventh generation, from the iron-master here indicated, who, in 1570, resided at Ham.—Berry's Suss. Gen. p. 169.]

The late Earle of Northumberland, i fordg, i furnace, in Petworth Great Park, in the hands of Mr. Blackwell.

[Vide Vol. II, p. 215.]

Thomas Smyth, of Petworth, i fordg, 1 furnace, in Shillinglee.

Thomas Gratwyck, i fordg, in Donsfolde [Surrey].

The Lord Mountague, i fordge, i furnace, in Hasellmore, or thereabout. [Surrey.]

Thomas Worge, i furnace, in Echingham.

Bartholomew Jeffrey, i fordge, i furnace, in Buckholde.

[Vide p. 242, ante.]

Then follow 3 "fordges" and 1 furnace, in Surrey; and next,

Dyvers fordgs and furnaces, in Burwashe, of Collyns, Mayes, and others.

Dyvers fordgs and furnasses, in Battayle, of Wykes, Jeffreys, and others.

[All gentry families.]

Dyvers fordgs and furnaces in Marshfield, Bucksted, Franchfelde, and Uckfelde.

[Maresfield, Buxted, Framfield, Uckfield.]

Dyvers fordgs and furnaces in Hartfelde and Wythyham.

Bonds were taken from

William Walpole, of Fitlehurste (with his arms on seal).

Robert Reynolds, of East Grenestede.

John Faulkner, of Waldern.

Thomas Gratwick, of Sherfold (Shernfold?) (with his mark).

Roger Gratwyck, of Sullington.

Thomas Isted, of Mayfeld.

Thomas Glide, of Burwashe.

John Eversfeld, of Moore, gent.

Stephen Colleyms, of Lamberhurst.

Nicholas Fowle, of Mavill (Mayfield), "for furnes and forge in Wadhurst."

Robert Hodson (Hodgson), of *Franckfeld*.

[Poundsley furnace, in Framfield.]

Arthur Myddleton, of *Retherfeld* (Rotherfield), for furnaces called Huggens and Maynard's Gate.

John Palor (?), of *Retherfelde*, for Howborne forge.

[Howbourne, in Buxted.]

John Carpenter, of *Fraunte*, called Bunklaw.

William Relf, of *Warbleton*, for a forge at Crowhurst.

Thomas May, of *Winchelsey*, for a "furnes" at Echingham.

John Stace, of *Ashurst*.

John Thorpe, of *East Grenstede*.

John Duffold, of *East Grenstede*.

Robert Whitfylde, of *Worth*.

George Bulleyn, of *Hartefeild* (seal with his arms).

[Probably of the Hever Castle family, and consequently a relative of the Queen.]

Nicholas Pope, of *Buckstede*, for a furnace at Hendall.

Thomas Colleyns, of *Brightlinge*, "Stockens (Socknersh) furnace."

Alexander Fermer, of *Rotherfeld*, a furnace called Hamsell.

Nynion Challoner, of *Cokefeld*.

George Maye, of *Burwashe*, a forge called Budgell.

John Baker, of *Battell*.

Thomas Haye, of *Hastings*, *Netherfelde* furnes (in *Battell*).

John Gardener, of *Asheburnham*.

[He was of Kitchingham, in that parish.]

Thomas Ellis, of *Biblesam* (Bibleham, in Mayfield).

Robert Wodday, or *Woody*, of *Frant*. Benehall forge.

Bartholomew Jeffray, of *Boksell* (Bexhill).

Sir Thomas Gresham, *Knt.* (of Mayfield).

In another paper of the same date (No. 56), there is a list of persons summoned to the council, and of furnaces; and the following additional names are given:

John Ashebornham, of *Ashebornham*, for a furnace called *Pannynges*, a furnace in *Asheburnham*, a forge at the same place, and a forge in *Penhurst*.

[*Pannynges* is doubtless identical with *Pannyngridge*. Vol. II, p. 185.]

Sir Alexander Culpeper, *Knt.*, "lyving at my lord Montagues house."

Michael Blackwell, a furnace at *Northchapel*.

John Blacket, a furnace at *Hodley* (West Hothly).

Robert Reynold, a forge at *Brambletyne* (Brambletye).

Anthony Morley, a furnace called *Horsted Keynes*.

[The site still belongs to his descendant, the Hon. Gen. Trevor.]

John Faulkener, a forge in —, and a forge in *Marsfelde*.

John Frenche, a forge at *Chiddingly*.

Thomas Stollyan, "a furnes called *Waldern furnese*," *Priory furnes* (*Warbleton*), *Brightling forge*, and *Warbleton forge*.

[He was of Warbleton.]

John Collyns, "a forge in *Burwashe*, called the *Neither forge*."¹

Simon Colman, "a furnes called *Batteforde furnes*."

[Batsford, in Warbleton?]

Richard Wicke, "a furnes called *Neitherfeld furnes*, and a forge in *Mundfelde*" (*Mountfield*).

Sir John Baker, Knt., a furnace and a forge in *Withiham*.

These documents supply us with the following sites of iron-works, in addition to those comprised in my topographical summary in Vol. II; namely, *Etchingham*, *Bexhill*, *Uckfield*, *Hartfield*, *Mountfield*, *Brambletye*, &c.

They also furnish the following additional names of families who were either iron-masters or proprietors of iron-works.

Abergavenny (Lord).	Fermor.	Pelham.
Barrington.	Fanner.	Payne.
Bullen.	Gresham.	Porter.
Buckhurst (Lord).	Gage.	Raynolds.
Bowyer.	Gratwick.	Relfe.
Blacket.	Glide.	Smyth.
Challoner.	Gardener.	Stace.
Carpenter.	Hay.	Surrey (Earl).
Culpeper.	Isted.	Stollyon.
Colman.	Jefferay.	Tyrwhitt.
Dacre (Lord).	Leche.	Whitfeld.
Derby (Earl).	May.	Wykes.
Duffield.	Montague (Lord).	Walpole.
Eversfield.	Myddleton.	Wybern.
Ellis.	Mawge.	Wodday.
Finch.	Mighell.	
Faulkner.	Northumberland (Earl).	

¹ In my former paper on the Sussex Iron-works (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. II, p. 178), is given a representation of the curious cast-iron monument of Jhone Colins, in Burwash church. From this it would seem that the Collinses of that place carried on the trade for a long period. The Collinses of Brightling and Lamberhurst were probably descended from them.

From a return of royal mills, made in 1608, it appears that the crown was, at that date, in possession of the iron-works in St. Leonard's Forest :

“Parcell possessionū nuper
Ducis Norff. excambiat,

Molendm̄ ferr cū ptn̄ in fforest Sci. Leonardi.	}	ffirmā molendm̄ ferr' et furnac' vulgariter nūcupat. <i>the Iron myll and forge of St. Leonards</i> , ibm p. ann. xxxvj ^h xiiij ^s iiij ^d ” ²
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These were among the works destroyed during the civil wars, by Sir William Waller.

The following notices of iron-works occur in the deeds of Battel Abbey, purchased of the late Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart., and now in the possession of Sir Thos. Phillipps, of Middle Hill, Bart.

1724. Richard Hay, of Battel, Esq., leased for nine years, to John, Lord Ashburnham, and Sir Thos. Webster, Bart., *Beach furnace*, in Battel. A deed of sale, dated in the same year, conveys to Lord A. and Sir T. W., “certain furnace-bellows and other implements at Beach furnace.”

1731. Richard Hay, Esq., leased the above furnace to Sir Thos. Webster, for the term of his own life.

1733. Elizabeth Robinson Lytton, of Knebworth, co. Hertford, widow, leased, for seven years, to Sir Thomas Webster, her iron-furnace, mill, &c., at *Etchingham*.

1734. Sir Thos. Webster leased, for five years, to Messrs. Harrison, Jukes, and Co., *Robertsbridge furnace*.

1746. Sir Thomas Webster leased to Wm. and Geo. Jukes, of London, ironmongers, *Robertsbridge furnace*.

1756. Sir Whistler Webster, Bart., leased certain lands and iron-quarries at *Robertsbridge*, to Edward Sackford, husbandman.

The following transaction is interesting, as showing that less than a century since a Staffordshire iron-master could profitably engage in the iron-works of Sussex. The iron wrought in this county with charcoal would probably be of essential service for mixing with the pit-coal iron of the lessee's home manufacture.

1754. Sir Whistler Webster, Bart., leased “to John Churchill, of Hints, co. Stafford, ironmaster, the foundry called *Robertsbridge furnace*, with all buildings, lands, ponds, and water, ever held with the same.”

1768. Sir W. Webster leased the above works to William Polhill, of Hastings, David Guy, of Rye, and James Bourne, of Salehurst, ironmasters.

² Lansd. MS. 165, p. 12.

The following statistics are drawn from the article "Iron," in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

In consequence of the falling off in the supply of charcoal, resulting from the increased scarcity of wood, the iron trade greatly diminished in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, so that the amount of iron made, which had formerly reached 180,000 tons per annum, was, in 1740, reduced to rather less than one tenth of that quantity.

At that date (1740) there were—

Furnaces in England . . . 59		Tons of Iron made . . . 17,350.
„ in Sussex 10		„ „ . . . 1,400.

With the exception of Gloucestershire, Salop, and Cheshire, Sussex occupied the chief place. The furnaces of Sussex were, at that date, of less magnitude than those of some other districts; as Gloucestershire, for example, with only six furnaces, produced 2850 tons annually, while this county, with ten furnaces, wrought only 1400 tons.

Again, according to parliamentary documents, in the year 1788, there were wrought, *by charcoal fuel*,—

Furnaces in England . . . 24		Tons of iron made . . . 13,100.
„ in Sussex 2		„ „ . . . 300.

By *coke*,—

Furnaces in England . . . 53		Tons of iron made . . . 48,200.
„ in Sussex . . . None		„ „ . . . None.

It may be interesting to add, that in the interval between 1740 and 1788, the average increase of iron made in England amounted to 50,950 tons.

In 1796 there were—

Furnaces in England . . 104		Tons of iron made . . 108,793.
„ in Sussex 1		„ „ . . 173.

In addition to what was said of the Roman iron-works in England, at p. 175 of Vol. II of the *Collections*, I take this opportunity of stating a few facts.

The greatest iron-works carried on by the Conquerors of the World in this country, were in the county of Gloucester. So extensive were these works, and so imperfect the smelting

practised by the Romans, that in the 16th and following centuries the iron-masters, instead of digging for ore, resorted to the beds of scorïæ for their principal supply of the metal.³

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are several relics of the manufacture, discovered in Oxfordshire, and described as follows :—“ Two pieces of slag, supposed to be from a Roman smelting work, found, with pieces of Roman pottery and coins, at Drunshill, near Woodeaton. The ore was probably brought from the top of Shotover Hill. Found Feb. 1841, and presented by Mr. Hussey, of Christ Church.” On receiving this information from the Rev. Edward Turner, who had been struck with the analogy between this discovery and that which he had himself made at Maresfield, I had the honour of presenting to the Ashmolean Society some specimens of the cinders, pottery, and coins found in a like juxtaposition in Sussex, and these now occupy a corresponding place in the museum of that learned body.

³ Vide Encyc. Britan. *in voc.* “Iron.”

MANORIAL CUSTOMS
OF
SOUTHESE-WITH-HEIGHTON, NEAR LEWES.

BY MR. WILLIAM FIGG.

(READ AT THE BRIGHTON MEETING, 6 DECEMBER 1849.)

“And as every of the lords at the beginning were contented to grant divers parcels of their manors to sundry gentlemen and others, to hold of them, freely, by sundry kinds of suits and services, and payment of certain free rents yearly, so was their policy also to have others to travail and till the earth, and to use the trade of husbandry for the increase of corn to serve their own necessity, and to be ministers also to the commonwealth; and to these kind of people they granted their lands for term of life and lives, reserving certain rents, suit of court, fines, heriots, and such other services as hereafter shall appear. And if the lord were inhabiting upon the manor, he also bound them to do custom works, which they call due days, as in time of tillage, hay-time, and harvest, according to the rate and quantity of their tenements and farms.”—*Survey of the Estates of the Earldom of Devon*, 1548. See NICHOLS'S *Topographer and Genealogist*, tom. i, p. 44.

AMONG the matters of archæological interest connected with Sussex, which have not yet found a place in the Society's *Collections*, are many feudal customs and services by which lands were formerly held under various Lords of Manors. During the lapse of years, many of these have either become obsolete, or have been compounded for by a money payment; and the very fact of their having ever existed has, in many instances, been long forgotten.

It is with a view of bringing this subject before the Society, and of inciting many members of more ability, and with better opportunities of research, than myself, that I am induced to contribute the following specimens of the customs of Southese-with-Heighton, in order to open a fresh source of archæological inquiry of considerable extent, which, although not of the first importance, may, if carefully pursued, bring to light much curious matter in illustration of the manners of our forefathers.

SOUTHESE-WITH-HEIGHTON.

The earliest existing court-book of this manor commences the 13th of October, 1623, about which period it appears to have become the property of Sir Thomas Springett, of Broyle Place, in the parish of Ringmer, the following being the first entry :

“SOUTHEESE Curia prima Thome Springett militis ibidem tenta die Lune, viz. cum decimo tercio die Octobris, anno regni Domini nostri Regis HAYTON. Jacobi, Anglie francie et Hibernie vicesimo primo, et Scotie lvij^o 1623. Per Johe^m Rowe¹ Gentm ibidem.”

Then follows a list of the homage, viz. 13 for Southese, and 4 for Hayton, and this note :

“Quilibet tenencium predictorum tam de Southese quam de Hayton Attornⁱ se Domino per solutionem unius denarii argenti et ad hanc curiam fecerunt fidelitatem.”

Various applications by the tenants of the manor, for licenses to let their lands, are next recorded, and a memorandum that the tenants of Telscombe manor have, from time to time immemorial, made certain ditches in Southese brooks.

The custom relative to the care and education of children of the tenants of this manor, holding in fee simple, according to the custom, during the widowhood of the wife, “tamdiu sola et casta vixerit ;” and farther, in case she shall marry again, follows. And, lastly,

“Et quod infra Manorium predictum talis habetur, et a tempore cujus contrarium hominum memoria non existit habebatur, consuetudo usitata, et per tenentes hujus Manorii Domino ejusdem Manorii vel firmario suo terrarum Dominicalium quolibet anno facta, prout sequitur in his Anglicanis verbis.”

“*The Customary Services yearely to be done by the Customary Tenants of Southese, unto the Lord of the saide Manor, viz.*

1. ffirst, every tenant that is seised or possessed of two yarde landes, must for the same finde one ordinary court (cart), with cattell to carrye out dounge from the lordes farme, the next daye after Michaelmas day, if it be not Sondag ; if so, then the next day after, accordinge to the customary time of a dayes worke.

2. Every tenant of one yarde lande is the same day to finde one filler to fill the court pott full wth dounge.

¹ See *Sussex Collections*, Vol. I, p. 2.

3. Every tenant of one yarde lande & an halfe is to finde one yeare a court, furnished wth cattell, and the next yeare a filler.

4. Every tenant of a yarde lande must plowe halfe an acre of lande, viz. one roode of wheate, & one roode of barlye yearely, and to harrowe the same, two teyne for wheate, and three teyne for barlye.

5. Every tenant of a yarde lande must yearely finde a reaper for two dayes, the one in one weeke, and the other in the next weeke followinge (friday and Satterday to be none of the dayes).

6. Every tenant for every yarde lande must carry for the lord or his farmer, two cariages of corne, after they have performed their service of reapinge, the one of wheate, two sheafe high above the lades, the other of barly, two rearinge high, the next weeke (friday and satterday excepted).

M^d. The two yarde landes, sometime Waterman's, are exemted from the service aforesaide, as also from receavinge ought from the lorde of the rewardes here after mencioned to be due to the other tenants.

The Salarye or Reward from the Lord to the Tenants is as followeth, viz.

1. first, every tenant and servant that either carrieth or filleth dounge as aforesaide, must have allowed him bread, cheese, and drinke, good and sufficient in quantitye for a labouringe man all the daye, & at the end of the daye his dinner, at the cost and charges of the lorde or his farmer.

2. Every plowholder, driver and harrower, must have a good & sufficient dinner, as the time & season shall require, at the cost of the lord or his farmer.

3. The lord or his farmer must allowe and paye to every tenant, yearely, for every yarde lande, the first Sunday in Lent, sixe good herringes and one loafe and an halfe of bread, made of good wheate, ech loafe being of the weight & size of two poundes & one ounce.

4. Every reaper must have allowed him, at the cost of the lord or his farmer, one drinke in the morninge of bread and cheese, and a dinner at noone, consistinge of rostmeate and other good victualls, meete for men and women in harvest time; and two drinkings in the after-noone, one in the middest of their afternoone's worke, and the other at thende of their day work, & drinke alwayes duringe their work as neede shall require.

5. Every tenant, for the time of his caryinge of corne as aforesaid, must have allowed him, by the lord or his farmer, good drinke, bread & cheese, to stand alwayes readye in the barne, to refresh them in their labours.

Summa huius curie, ix*li*. vj. unde { Dn^o Comiti, xls.
Dno Moderno, vij*li*. vijs.

M^d, that all the tenants of this manor of Southeese, as copiholders, and their fines, ar arbitrable at the lorde's will, and their best beast, is due for an herriott, both uppon death and surrender for every of their severall copiholdes, except Martin's Cottage; w^{ch} payeth v*jd*. fine and v*jd*. herriott de certo. This is ment of such as have estates of inheritance; for tenant for life payeth no herriott.

M^d also, that there is within this manor neither reeve nor bedle by customs, but the lord appointeth a bayliffe to collect the rents and profits of court.

At a Court, held October 1, 1624, is the following entry :

The Customary Services by the Homagers of Hayton, at this Court, p'sented by them yearly to be done unto the Lord of this Manour, or his farmer, as followeth, viz.

1. Imprimis, every owner or possessor of one yarde lande (and so for more or lesse accordinge to that proportion) within the parish of Hayton, is to finde or allowe one good and sufficient reaper, man or woman, two dayes in every yeare, the one in one weeke, the other in another weeke, to reape the corne that shall growe on the demesnes of the manor of Southeese (friday and Saterday excepted).

2. Every reaper is to have sufficient bread, cheese, and drinke, fitt for labouringe men, and at the end of the day to have apple pyes or such like repast.

3. Every reaper is to be at Stockferry in the morninge by sunne risinge, ready to do their worke, and to returne to the saide ferry by sunnesett at eveninge.

4. Yf the reapers come over Stockferry at the time lymited, and the farmer be not there ready to diswarne them, it is instead of a daye's worke; but if the farmer come to Stockferry, and diswarne them before they come over, they ar to returne to their owne busines.

5. Every tenant of a yarde land is to have from the lord, or his farmer, one loafe of good wheaten breade, wayinge two pounds and one ounce, and foure wholsome herringes, the first Sondag in Lent, every yeare.

6. The tenants of Hayton ar to have three hides and an halfe of brooke-land, in the Northwish, in Southeese, yearly to cutt & carry away the haye thereof at any time before Lammas."

(The tenants of Heighton were allowed to compound for their "harvest worke dayes.")

NOTE.—There appears to have been an ancient custom in Scotland very similar to the above, on lands called '*terre bondorum*,' '*bondage lands*,' or '*bondagia regis*,' or '*husband lands*.'—Houses in the hamlet of Traquair are still held on the tenure of finding certain '*bondages*,'—that of performing certain services of agricultural work.—*New Stat. Acc. Peebleshire, parish of Traquair*.—Lives of the Lindsays, Appendix, No. XI, p. 426.

END OF VOL. III.

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