

SUSSEX
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RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. V.

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JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
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R E P O R T.

THE least wearisome of all repetitions is that which announces continued successes; and such it is again the pleasant duty of the Council to report to the Members of the *Sussex Archæological Society*, as to the condition of their Society.

During the past year the influence of the Society has been strengthened by the accession of 96 new Members, by the publication of another volume—enlarging our previous knowledge of the History and Antiquities of the County,—and by the social enjoyment extended to a very numerous gathering of its Members and their friends, at the General Annual Meeting at Wiston, in August, under the most agreeable and fortunate circumstances.

On examination of the financial position of the Society, the accounts for the year appear thus :

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS,

FROM JANUARY 1, TO DECEMBER 31, 1851.

1851.	RECEIPTS.	£. s. d.	PAYMENTS.	£. s. d.
	Balance from 1850	41 14 3	Artists, for Illustrations of Vol. IV	74 0 6
	Annual Subscriptions	183 15 0	J. R. Smith, for Printing, Binding, &c. Vol. IV, part of account	95 0 0
	Three Life Subscriptions	15 0 0	(MEM.: <i>the remainder of this Account, £74 11s. 1d., was paid Jan. 20th, 1852.</i>)	
	Dividends on Consols vested in names of 3 Trustees	3 1 5	Advertisements, Parcels, Stamps, Sundries	3 12 0
	Sale of Society's Publications	20 14 0	Expenses of Wiston Meeting, £4 9s. 4d. — of Pevensy Meeting, 6s. 6d.	4 15 10
	Repayment of advances made to Castle Fund for Repairs	35 0 0	Investment of 2 Life Subscriptions	10 0 0
	Overdrawn	1 5 6	Advances to Castle Fund for Repairs (repaid)	35 0 0
			Ditto (not repaid)	4 5 0
			Overdrawn (repaid)	1 5 6
			£227 18 10	
			Balance in hands of Treasurer December 31st, 1851	72 11 4
		£300 10 2		£300 10 2

The Accounts relating to Lewes Castle have been kept distinct, and present the following result :

RECEIPTS.	£. s. d.	PAYMENTS.	£. s. d.
From 4037 Visitors to the Castle (not Members) from Oct. 14, 1850, to Oct. 14, 1851	83 10 0	Wages to Keeper, & Sundries	36 12 3
From 478 Visitors from Oct. 14 to Dec. 31, 1851	11 9 10	Year's Rent to Landlords	32 0 0
By Sale of old Fixtures	4 0 0	Taxes	1 8 7
From W. Davey for old materials of buildings pulled down near Gateway	120 0 0	Davey and Son for Repairs to Castle	102 17 11
		Mr. Harman for Repairs (on account) £25; W. Lambe, for sundries, 16s. 11d.; sundry expenses, £5 2s. 3d.	30 19 2
		Donation to Infant School*	10 0 0
			208 15 8
		Balance in hand	10 4 2
	£218 19 10		£218 19 10

*An Infant School having for many years occupied part of the premises near the Gateway, free of rent, the Committee thought it right to vote £10, to assist in its re-establishment elsewhere, when the building was pulled down.

The General Annual Meeting took place on Friday, August the 8th, 1851, at Wiston, by permission of the Rev. John Goring, and was very numerously attended, under the Presidency of Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, Bart., M.P.

Among the articles exhibited on the occasion were,—

- Two beautiful silver-gilt Bowls, dated 1610, formerly belonging to King James the First. Exhibited by W. Townley Mitford, Esq.
- The Matrices of the Seal of Boxgrave Priory in several parts, since purchased by the British Museum. Exhibited by Rev. J. Goring.
- Miniature Portrait of Sir John Fagg, the purchaser of Wiston from the Sherleys. By the same.
- Ancient enamelled Reliquary from Shipley church. By Sir C. M. Burrell.
- Drawings of Boxgrave Priory in 1851. By Mr. J. E. Butler, Jun.
- Drawings of Roman Antiquities at London, &c.—Mural Paintings at Battle—Views of Cowdray, Wappingthorn, &c. By W. H. Brooke, Esq., F.S.A.
- Impressions of Seals, Norman Coins, &c. By Rev. E. Turner.
- Bronze Celts from Whittlesea Mere, Coins, &c. By Rev. Heathcote Champion.
- Portraits, Portable Altar, &c. By W. W. Attree, Esq.
- Official Seal of Thomas Briggs, LL.D., Chancellor of Chichester, 1670. By Mr. W. Figg.
- Will of Margaret Covert, dated 1366, the property of W. S. Ellis, Esq.
- Subsidy Roll, for the Rape of Lewes, temp. James I. Mr. M. A. Lower.

The following Papers were read in the great Hall at Wiston :

- On the Early History of Steyning. By Rev. Thomas Medland.
- *Historic Notices of Bramber Castle, and of the Family of Braose. By Rev. Thomas Grantham.
- *On Cowdray House and its Possessors. By Sir Sibbald David Scott, Bart.
- *On the Sherleys of Wiston. By Mr. M. A. Lower.
- *On the Visits of Queen Elizabeth to Sussex. By Mr. W. Durrant Cooper.

All these contributions will be found printed in the present Volume (V.)

Another General Meeting took place, as advertised in the Sussex newspapers, in the Town Hall at Pevensey, on Thursday, October 23d, 1851, the Rev. G. Miles Cooper in the chair.

*Mr. Lower exhibited three ancient Seals—of the Franciscan Convent near Cologne—of Matilda Bloisii—of the Archdeaconry of Lewes—all described in the present volume.

Mr. Alfred Whiteman, the Town Clerk of Pevensey, exhibited the Seal of the Corporation of Pevensey.

An ancient iron Fetterlock, lately found at Manksey, exhibited by Mr. W. Harvey.

Mr. Figg exhibited a Deed, dated May 23, 1592, relating to the Guild of St. Thomas, near Lewes; and another, of the same date, relating to the Broken Church in Lewes.

Mr. James Powell read some remarks illustrative of the Cologne Seal above mentioned.

Rev. Mr. Jackson, curate at Warbleton, gave an account of some recent discoveries and excavations in the ruins of Warbleton Priory.

Another Meeting was held at Chichester, on December 30th, 1851, in order to inspect an arch formed with Roman tiles, and other architectural details, then recently discovered within the church of St. Olave's, in that city. The Dean of Chichester presided over the Meeting, which was held in the Council Chamber, by permission of the Mayor. As these interesting discoveries were liable to be speedily effaced by the rapid progress of the repairs of the church, the meeting was held at the request of several Members residing in and near the city, at so short a notice, that there was unfortunately no time to inform the Members generally of it. The Rev. Philip Freeman's description of St. Olave's Church, will be found in the present volume.

The following presents have been received since the last Report, and thanks returned to the Donors:

Books.

The Castle of Love. By Bishop Grossetête. 4to. From J. O. Halliwell, Esq.

Treasure Trove in Northumberland. From John Fenwick, Esq.

Camden's Britannia. Gough's Edition. 3 vols. folio. From Rev. Carey Borrer.

Miscellanea Palatina. From G. Ormerod, Esq.

Third Volume of Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Translation of William of Malmsbury. Quarto, 1815. From the author, Rev. John Sharpe.

Transactions of the Chester Society.

Quelques objets antiques découverts à N. Dame de Livoye, près Avranches. Par M. Charma.

Collectanea Antiqua. Last No. By C. Roach Smith, Esq.

Two Bronze Celts from Farney, Ireland. By Evelyn Shirley, Esq.

A Collection of Coins. By Mr. Barrett of Lewes.

An Ancient Dagger, found near Lewes. By Rev. G. C. Shiffner.

The repairs necessary for the occupation of the rooms in the Keep of Lewes Castle, have been completed, although at a considerable expense, owing to the timbers having been found to be decayed. The objects in the Museum

have been gradually increased, and an attractive addition to them has been made of a complete series of Casts from the Great Seals of England from early times to the present day. This was effected by a small fund, raised by private subscription, among Members of the Society. The walls of the upper rooms have been occupied by rubbings of many of the Sussex brasses, but the collection is not yet complete.

The ruinous buildings near the Castle Gateway have been pulled down, and its massive proportions are now again advantageously opened to view, after having been so many years hidden. The Society has not yet taken possession of the building, which is much in need of substantial repair.

W. H. BLAAUW,
Hon. Secretary.

Lewes; *January 27th, 1852.*

It is intended to hold the General Annual Meeting at Battle Abbey (by permission of Lady Webster), on Thursday, July 22d, 1852.

With respect to the Illustrations of the present volume, the Society gratefully acknowledge their obligations to Mr. W. Baxter, for the use of two plates of Wiston House; to Mr. W. Tompkins, for the use of the copy of Hollar's View of Arundel Castle; to Mr. M. A. Lower, for several drawings, from which woodcuts and engravings have been made; to Mr. Way, for procuring a copy of Grimm's drawing of Rusper, in the Burrell Collection; and to Mr. Hurdis, who has again, as on former occasions, so liberally exercised his artistic skill by engraving this view of Rusper.

At the request of many Members an Index to the Contents of the Five Volumes now published is added to the present. It is intended that each future Volume should have its own Index.

This Volume is distributed free to all Members paying the subscription for 1852. The price to the public will be 14s.; but new Members, joining the Society in subsequent years, may obtain it at 7s.; Vol. IV at 7s., Vol. III at 5s., Vol. II at 7s. 6d., by applying to Mr. W. Harvey, Local Secretary, 3, Cliffe, Lewes, or through other Local Secretaries.

The Society has established a friendly interchange of Publications with the following Societies:

- Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
- Newcastle Antiquarian Society.
- Kilkenny Archæological Society.
- Architectural Society of Northampton.
- Norwich and Norfolk Archæological Society.
- Architectural, Archæological, and Historical Society of Cheshire.
- Somersetshire Archæological Society.
- Société des Antiquaires de Normandie à Caen.
- Archæological Association.
- Archæological Institute.

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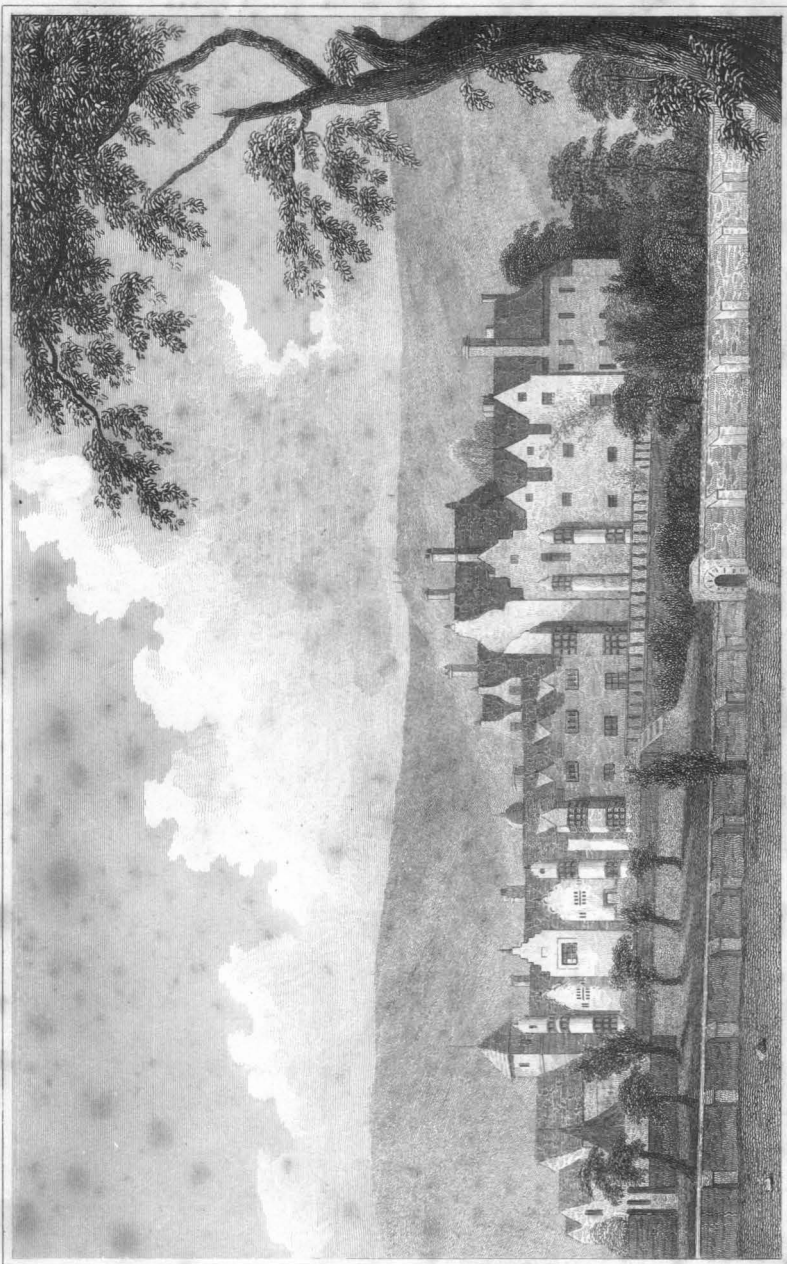
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WISTON HOUSE.

Engraved by C. S. Smith, from a Drawing by J. Cor. L. in the possession of Charles Spring Esq. &c.

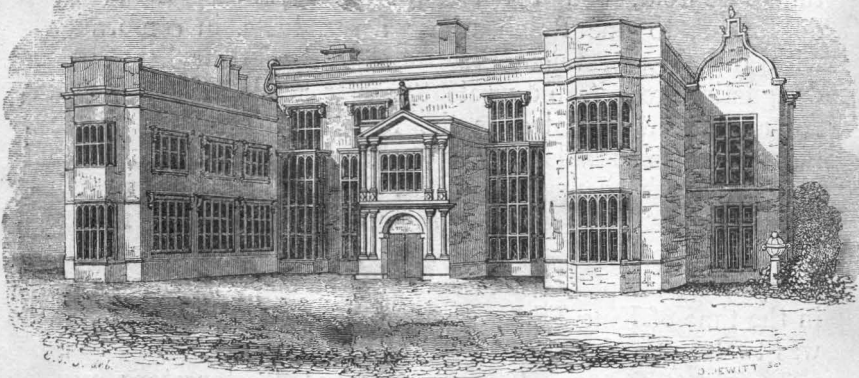
Sussex Archaeological Collections.

THE DESCENT OF WISTON,

WITH ANECDOTES OF ITS POSSESSORS.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

PARTLY READ AT THE WISTON MEETING, AUGUST, 1851.



(Wiston in 1835.)

THE meeting of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, at Wiston, in the summer of 1851, will long remain a golden day in the recollection of its members, no less from the beauty of the spot itself—seen to advantage in most lovely weather—and its interesting and romantic associations, than from the cordial welcome they received from its hospitable proprietor. If a humble member might venture, in the name of the Society, here permanently to record its thanks and obligations,

he would, in doing so, deferentially suggest to others of its friends and patrons, whose "stately homes"

. "so beautifully stand
Amidst their tall ancestral trees, o'er all this pleasant land,"

how gracefully to themselves, and how advantageously to the Society, they might follow so liberal an example.

The recorded history of Wiston, anciently written Wistoneston, commences with the great national survey—Domesday Book, from which we gather, that it was in the territory of the eminent feudal baron, William de Braose, to whom the Conqueror had awarded, as his portion of subjugated England, the Rape of Bramber. This particular district, which had previously been enjoyed by Earl Godwin, father of the unfortunate Harold, and his tenant Azor, was regranted, by de Braose, to one Ralph, whose descendants, in conformity with the then prevalent practice, borrowed their hereditary designation from it, and wrote themselves "de Wistoneston." Its assessment is stated in the record to have been twelve hides, and the arable eight ploughlands. There were two ploughs in the demesne, besides five ploughs held by ten villagers and twenty-four bondsmen. A church, five servants, seven acres of meadow, and a wood producing pannage for thirty hogs, complete the estimate of the manor, whose value, in the time of King Edward, and at the making of the record, was twelve pounds.



The arms of the Wistonestons, partially assumed from those of Braose, were—"Ermine, on a bend Azure, three lions' heads erased Or."

The following pedigree of the family is principally derived from an elaborate Table in Brayley's 'Surrey,' vol. ii, p. 80.

Radulphus de Wiston had, from the Lord William de Braose, Wistoneston for 12 hides, and Sultinges for 17 hides; 20 William the Conqueror.

Ralph, son of Ralph, lord of Wistoneston, Chancton, Chiltington, Sultinges, and Heene, co. Sussex.

Walter, son of Ralph, held four knights' fees of Lord William de Braose, as appears from the Red Book, in 6 Henry II.

William de Wistoneston, lord of Wiston, Ashurst, and Ifield; 26 Hen. II: married Agnes, daughter and co-heir of William de Harcourt, living 1 John.

Adam de Wistoneston, or Weston, of Surrey; 6 John: from whom descend the Westons of that county. Many members of this branch returned into Sussex, and were settled at Warnham, Sutton, Mayfield, Rotherfield, &c.¹

Henry de W., son and heir, of co. Oxon; 2 and 8 John.

William de W., son and heir, lord of Ashurst, Chiltington, Heene, Erringham, and Sloughtre; 36 Henry III. In 1267 he held four knights' fees of William de Braose.

Richard de W. had lands in Ifield; 43 Henry III.

Alicia, only daughter and heir = Adam de BAVENT;
51 Hen. III. 43 Hen. III.

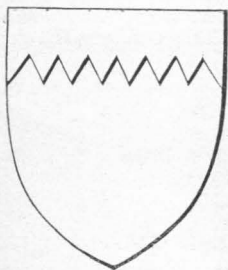
A John de Westeneston (not mentioned in this pedigree), and Basil, his wife, were benefactors to the abbey of Durford,

¹ And in particular at Hendal, in Buxted. William Weston, Esq., who was living 5 Hen. IV, married Joan, daughter and heir of John de Hindedale, and Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Thomas Walsh, of Sussex (of Walshes, in Rotherfield?), and had a son, William Weston, lord of Hendal, who, by Joan, daughter and co-heir of Thomas de Wintershall, of Bramley, had a son and heir, John Weston, of Hendal, 25 Hen. VI. The latter married the heiress of Gymond, of Farnham, and had William Weston, who was sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, 18 Edw. IV; he married the daughter of William Gunter, of Buxted, but died, without issue, 1 Hen. VII, leaving his two sisters, Joan and Margaret, co-heirs. Margaret married, first, William Wells, of Buxted, and, secondly, John Apsley; and Jane espoused Thomas Pope, of Little Horsted, who, in her right, became proprietor of Hendal, and progenitor of the Popes of that place. Many descendants of these Westons exist at this day, in middle and humble life, in East Sussex.

to whose monks they gave, in perpetual alms, "two sheaves, from their lands under the hills," thereby probably meaning the rich arable at the foot of the South Downs, and the tithes of a wood of seven acres, called *Herchaia*, on the eastern part of *Heregrava*.² This dateless grant, Mr. Cartwright conceives to be of the time of King John; and there is another, of the same period, from Hugh de Wistoneston.

In 1267, William de Wistoneston, the last male heir of the elder line, paid the large sum of forty-eight marks³ to redeem his lands from the feudal impost of *murage*, an aid due to the "overlord" for the repairs of his fortifications. His sole daughter and heiress, Alicia, married, as above stated, Adam de Bavent, and in 1272 a fine was levied by which the manor and advowson of Wistoneston were settled upon Adam and his heirs, with remainder to Richard de Wistoneston, younger brother of William, and his heirs.

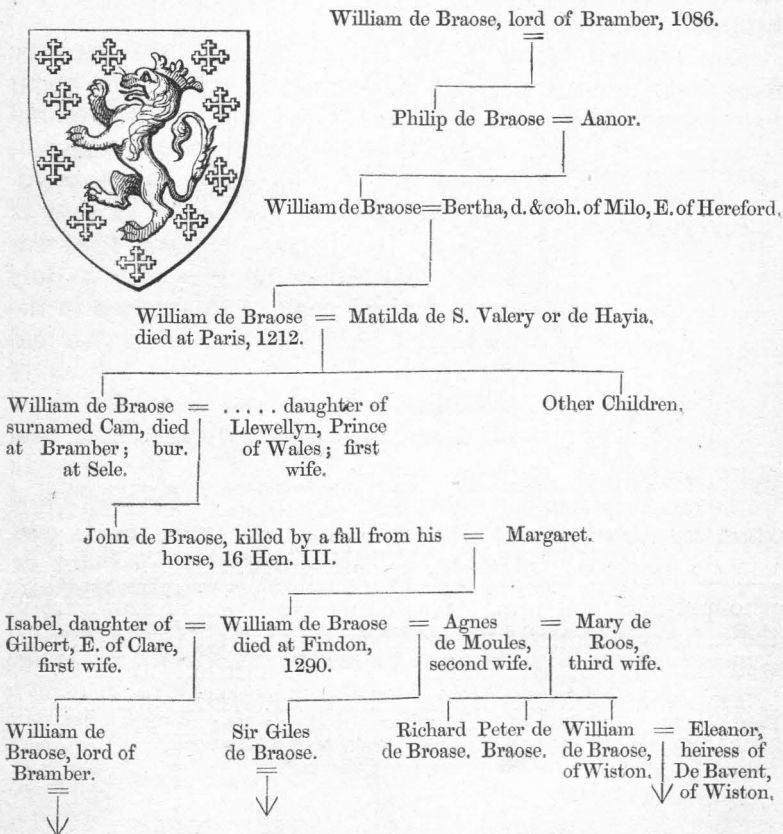
The eminent family of De Bavent derived their surname from their ancient seignory in Normandy, which lies about four leagues north-east of Caen. Upon the rise of armorial ensigns they adopted the coat, "Argent, a chief indented Sable." By an inquisition *de quo warranto* on the morrow of St. John the Baptist, 7. Edw. I, it was found that Adam de Bavent was duly entitled to his claim of free-warren in the manors of Chyltington, Wisteneston and elsewhere. His son, by the heiress of Wistoneston, who also bore the name of Adam, is stated by Cartwright and other authorities to have been a banneret at the siege of Carlaverock, but as his name does not occur in the celebrated *Roll*, as edited by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1828, this is probably a mistake. His son, by Alice, daughter of Peter de Escudamore, was Roger de Bavent, lord of Wiston, who was born in 1287. His name occurs in the well-known *Roll of Arms* of temp. Edw. II (also published by Nicolas in 1839)



² I am unable to identify these places. The latter is mentioned in the 'Chronicle of Battel Abbey.' Tetbert, a tenant of William de Braose, temp. William I, became a monk of the abbey, to which he gave his "hide of land at Langlentine, in Heregrave."—Chron. B. A., p. 40.

³ Ped. fin. 51 Hen. III.

among the knights of "Suthsex and Suthreye," with the above armorials. He was summoned to parliament as a baron from Jan. 8th, 1313 to July 24th, 1334, and died about 10 Edw. III. He married Letha ———, and had issue Roger, John, and Eleanor. Roger, the elder son, married Hawise ———, and died 24 Edw. III, leaving a son, John de Bavent, who was twenty years old at his father's death, but died without issue, and was succeeded by his uncle, John de Bavent, who also died childless in 1349. The manors of Wiston, Chiltington, &c., now devolved on the latter's sister, Eleanor de Bavent, who married William de Braose and so conveyed them to his family. De Braose was descended from a junior branch of the great house of Braose of Bramber, as will be seen from the subjoined pedigree. (*Arms* : Azure, crusily Or, a lion ramp. crowned, of the second.)



William de Braose died in 1360, leaving issue Sir Peter de Braose, who had the manor of Wiston confirmed to him, 1358, 31 Edw. III. Peter married a daughter of Sir John Weedon, of Buckinghamshire, by whom he had a son, Sir John, and a daughter Beatrix. Sir John de Braose married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Poynings, lord of St. John; he left no recorded issue, though the interesting effigy of a child on the



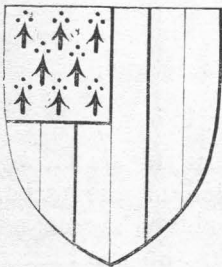
north side of the south chapel of Wiston is considered both by Mr. Cartwright and by Mr. Shirley as a memorial of a son who pre-deceased him. Sir John himself found sepulture in the same chapel, and his magnificent powdered brass there is well known to antiquaries. It is engraved in Boutell's 'Brasses,' and in Cartwright's 'Bramber.' The quaint legend surrounding the stone may be thus translated:—

In the grace and mercy of God, here lieth Sir John de Brewys, formerly knight, who died the 29th day of the month of November, Anno Domini 1426, to whose soul be God propitious.

Be witness Christ! this stone is placed,
Not that my body may be graced,
But that my soul remembered be;
Then, passer-by, whate'er thy time,
Old age, or youth, or manhood's prime,
Devoutly offer prayers for me. * * * *

By the premature decease of this knight the property of Wiston and its dependencies devolved upon his sole sister and heiress Beatrix, widow of Sir Hugh de Shirley. This lady according to an Inq. post mort. died on the Wednesday before the feast of St. George the Martyr, 18 Hen. VI, 1440.

Hitherto the materials for our historical sketch of this ancient lordship have been scanty, but from the period when it came into the hands of the Shirleys the account becomes more clear and interesting. Mr. Shirley's valuable work⁴—a model of family histories—supplies us with a detailed account of that branch of his ancient house, and as it is a privately printed volume, limited to a very small number of copies, the information which I purpose to borrow from it will necessarily be new to most Members of the Sussex Archæological Society. Many documents of earlier date



Shirley—Paly of 6, Or and Azure, a quarter Ermine.

have disappeared. At the time when Beatrix Shirley came into possession of the estate, her attorneys, John Whatton and John Ledes, gave a receipt for (inter alia) "four hampers and three willow baskets, one of which baskets is of great length, full of charters and deeds touching the manors of Wiston," &c.⁵ "What," asks Mr. Cartwright, "would the topographer of the present day give for the rummaging of these baskets!"—Containing as they probably did the documentary history of

⁴ *Stemmata Shirleiana*, by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.A., knight of the shire for county Monaghan, &c. &c. 4to, London, 1841. Mr. Shirley's courtesy in allowing me to make use of his researches is enhanced by the loan of several of the woodcuts accompanying this paper.

⁵ *Stemmata Shirleiana*, Appendix, p. 43: "Quatuor cosmos et tres basketes de salictis, quorum basketorum unum est magnæ longitudinis, existentes plenæ cartarum et factarum tangentium maneria de Wytstneston," &c.

this manor and its dependencies for four centuries, they would indeed be an invaluable treasure to the Sussex antiquary.

Sir Hugh de Shirley,⁶ the first of his name and family connected with this county, was an eminent personage. He attended John of Gaunt in his expedition into Guienne, and held the offices of Constable of Higham Ferrers Park, Constable of Donnington Castle, Grand Falconer of Ireland, &c. He was ever a staunch adherent of the Red Rose, and fell valorously fighting for his sovereign, Henry IV, at the memorable battle of Shrewsbury, July 20th, 1403. He was "one of those four knights who, clad in the royal armour, successively encountered and fell under the victorious arm of the Earl of Douglas in single combat." Prince Henry himself was the fourth of these champions, and Shakspeare makes him, in his speech to Douglas, say :

" Hold up thy head, vile Scot, or thou art like
Never to hold it up again ! The spirits
Of valiant *Shirley*, Stafford, Blount, are in my arms ;
It is the Prince of Wales that threatens thee ;
Who never promiseth but he means to pay !"⁷

The property in Sussex acquired by his descendants through his marriage with Beatrix Braose, consisted of the manors of Wiston, Ashurst, West Chiltington, Sloghtors, Heene, and Erringham. He left a son and heir, Ralph, who was thirteen years old at the time of his father's death.

Sir Ralph Shirley, lord of Shirley, Etindon, Wiston, &c., also achieved considerable eminence in the stirring and eventful days in which he lived. Attaining his knighthood while yet a youth, he was subsequently made Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, and held several other civil offices of great trust

⁶ The ancestors of the Shirleys were settled at Eatington, co. Warwick, immediately after the Norman Conquest, and probably anterior to that event. Sasualo or Sewallis is mentioned in Domesday as lord of Etendone. His immediate descendants, having possessions at Shirley, co. Derby, afterwards adopted their surname from that place. Sir Hugh de Shirley, who obtained Wiston, was eighth in descent from him. The present representative of the family is Washington, Earl Ferrers, and Eatington is possessed by a junior branch, represented by Evelyn John Shirley, Esq., M.P., father of the author of the *Stemmata Shirleiana*.

According to a MS. history of the Shirleys in the British Museum (Harl. 4022), the family are allied not only to the blood-royal of "England, both Saxon and Norman, but likewise to that of France, Scotland, Denmark, Arragon, Leon, Castile, the Sacred Roman Empire, and almost all the princely houses in Christendom."

⁷ Henry the Fourth.—Part I.

and dignity. In military affairs he was no less conspicuous. He accompanied Henry V in his campaign against France, was present at the siege of Harfleur, and had a principal command at Agincourt, where his subsidy consisted of seven men-at-arms and twenty-three archers, whose pay (the receipt for which is extant) for one quarter of a year amounted to the sum of £111. 1s. 0½*d.* He survived his royal master, and assisted at the coronation of his successor at Paris. He died abroad about 1443, but his body was brought to England for interment, and buried in the collegiate church of Newark. Sir Ralph was twice married, and by Joan, daughter and heir of John Basset, he was father of Ralph Shirley, of Eatington, Esq.

This Ralph Shirley, who died in 1466, married first, Margaret, sister and heir of Thomas Staunton, of Staunton-Harold; secondly, Elizabeth Blount; and thirdly Lucy, daughter of Sir John Ashton. From the first match sprang the elder line of Shirley of Eatington and Shirley Earl Ferrers; and from the second the Shirleys of Wiston. Elizabeth Blount was the daughter of Sir John Blount, and sister of Walter Lord Mountjoy. The Shirleys who had now for several generations been lords of Wiston had never been resident there, but upon the partition of the estates of Ralph Shirley, after his decease in 1466, the Sussex and Buckinghamshire manors were allotted to Ralph, his son by Elizabeth Blount, who thereupon settled at Wiston.

Ralph Sherley (for this is the orthography which was generally employed by the Sussex branch) was an esquire of the body to King Henry VII, and in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, 1503, served the office of sheriff of Sussex and Surrey. He made his will 11th February 1509, directing his "body to be buried before th' ymage of our Lady in the Chapell of o' Lady within the p'yshe church of Westneston" (Wiston). He gives to the cathedral church of Chichester 3*s.* 4*d.*; to the high altar of Wiston, 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the maintenance of Our Lady's light burning before her in her chapel above-mentioned, three pounds of wax; to the works of the church of Wiston, 20*s.*; to the reparations of the body of the chapel of Heene, 5*s.*; to the reparations of the church of Chiltington, 5*s.*; to the church of Lyminster, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to the repairs of the several churches of Steyning, Findon, Washington, Ashington,

Bunton (chapel), Ashurst, Buttolphs, Cokeham (chapel), Lancing and Old Shoreham, 12*d.* each; to the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in Steyning, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and to the parish church of West Angmering 'late fallen down,' 3*s.* 4*d.* He directs that *sixty* priests should attend his funeral to say "two trentall of masses," and the like number at his month's mind, each to receive for each service 10*d.* Also, that a sufficient priest should pray for his soul continually in Our Lady's chapel for three years next after his decease, the same to have for his labour £6. a year. The testator must have been a considerable agriculturist, since he bequeaths to his wife (together with the lease of Buddington⁶) and to his son Richard no less than ninety-one head of cattle, four horses, and eight hundred sheep.

This gentleman, the founder and patriarch of the Sussex Sherleys, was buried according to his desire in the chapel of St. Mary at Wiston. The spot is marked by a slab of Sussex marble, from which some ruthless hand has torn away the brass effigies and coat armour which commemorated himself and his wife and children. His wife was Joan, daughter of Thomas Bellingham of Lyminster, Esq., by whom he had two sons: Richard, his successor, and Thomas, who became ancestor of the Sherleys of West Grinstead. The daughters were—1, Jane, wife of Sir John Dawtrey of Moorhouse, in Petworth, whom she survived, and remarried Sir Richard Lister of Yorkshire; 2, Elizabeth, wife of John Lee of Fittleworth, Esq.; 3, Beatrix, who married first Edward Elryngton, youngest son of Sir John Elryngton, of Hoggeston, co. Middlesex, and secondly, Sir Edward Bray; from which match descended the Brays of Shere, co. Surrey. This lady is buried beneath a recessed tomb in the chancel of Selmeston, with an inscription (not mentioned in the *Stemmata*) to the following effect: "1532, HERE LYETH DAME BETRIS BRAYE, SVM TYME THE WYFE OF SYR EDWARD BRAYE, AND DAWGHTER OF RAFFE SHERLEY OF WYSTON, AND WYFE OF EDWARD ELDETON . . ." 4, Isabella, who married John Dawtrey of Southampton; and 5, Anne.

Before proceeding with the elder line of Sherley of Wiston,

⁶ Buddington is now annexed to the Wiston Place estate.

it seems desirable to give a brief notice of the Sherleys of West Grinstead. The founder of this branch, as above stated, was Thomas, the younger son of Ralph Sherley of Wiston, who inherited under his father's will the Buckinghamshire estates, and all the lands which had been *purchased* by him in Wiston, Beeding, and Broadwater. He settled at "the Marle" in West Grinstead, and married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Marmaduke Gorges, alias Russell, of Gloucestershire. By his last will dated, 26 Henry VIII, he gives the following sums for the repairs of certain churches, viz. : W. Grinstead, 10*s.*—Wiston 6*s.* 8*d.*—Horssington 10*s.*—Lancing 3*s.* 4*d.*—Burton 20*d.*—Ashurst 20*d.*—Shipley 20*d.*—Nuthurst 20*d.*; and appoints a yearly mass for seven years with 6*s.* 8*d.* worth of meat and drink for all comers. He gives to his son William his lands in Slaugham called Slutt, &c. and his farm of Aple-dram, and to his son Francis, his land at Buddington. Besides these two sons, he had six daughters, of whom Eleanor, the second, married Henry, eldest son of Sir Matthew Browne of Betchworth Castle in Surrey. He was succeeded by Francis his elder son, who, on the attainder of Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudley in 1549, obtained a grant of the manor of West Grinstead. He was M.P. for Shoreham in 1555, and sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1574. He married Barbara, daughter of Sir Richard Blount of Mapledurham, lieutenant of the Tower, and died in 1577. He had besides several other children, Thomas, his son and heir, born in 1555; Elizabeth, wife of — Wyborn; Richard, who died in 1614; and Cicely, wife of the Rev. John Wilson, second son of John Wilson of Fletching, Esq. Thomas Sherley of West Grinstead, Esq., the last male of this branch was a staunch Calvinist, as appears by his will dated 1607. He directs his burial in the chancel of West Grinstead next his father's grave, and orders a monument to be made in the south wall for his grandfather and grandmother, "with fair marble stones with brasses for his father and mother, himself and his wife, next the upper part of the halfe-passe" (*haut pas*).⁹ He bequeathed £20. a year for the

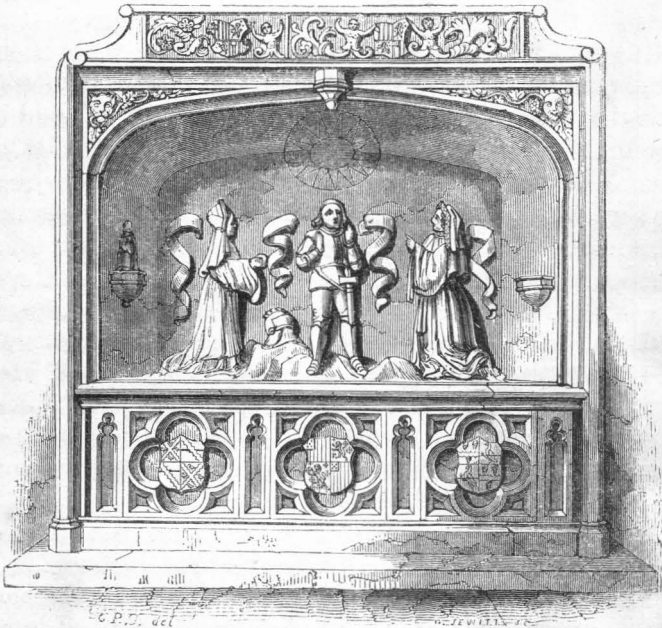
⁹ Within the beautiful church of W. Grinstead are no tombs nor any memorials of the Sherleys; Thomas Sherley's directions having probably never been carried into effect, and the very name of the family is no longer remembered in the traditions of the place."—*Stem. Shirl.* p. 233.

relief of ministers deprived for non-conformity in Sussex, and £5. per annum for laying *cinder* and stone on the road to Horsham. Mr. Sherley married Philippa, daughter of Sir Edward Caryll of Harting who survived her husband and left two daughters and coheirs; Cecilia, who married first, Sir George Snelling of Portslade, and secondly, Mr. William Blount; and Barbara who married Sir Thomas Thornhurst. This personage was killed in the attack upon the Isle of Rhé in 1627, and his widow erected a monument to his memory in Canterbury Cathedral. She subsequently re-married Mr. Anthony St. Leger. The estate of West Grinstead was sold to Sir Edward Caryll, Knt., whose descendants in 1750 alienated it to the Burrells, to whom it still belongs.

Let us now return to the Sherleys of Wiston. Sir Richard Sherley, eldest son of Ralph Sherley and Joane Bellingham, was sheriff of the two counties in 1515 and in 1525, and died in 1540. By his will in his own hand-writing dated 21st. Oct. 32 Hen. VIII, he directs his body to be buried "in the church of Wiston, in the chauncell of our Lady, before the image of Seynt Anne." He directs a trental of masses at his burial, another at his month's mind, and a third at his year's mind, with a penny to be given to every poor person attending his funeral. He gives to the church of Chichester 10*s.*, and to those of Wiston, Chiltington, Lancing, Ashurst, and Heene 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and to every other church within four miles of Wiston, one load of lime or bricks, and 12*d.* to defray the cost of carriage. He appoints as overseers of his will, Sir Thomas West, Lord la Warr, Sir Richard Lister, lord chief baron, Sir John Gage, Sir William Shelley, justice of the common pleas, his brother Thomas Sherley, and Mr. Richard Bellingham.

Sir Richard's monument on the south side of the Sherley, or St. Mary's, chapel, at Wiston, has fortunately escaped mutilation. (*See woodcut opposite*). The central shield at the base contains the arms of Sherley quartering Braose; the sinister one, those of his first wife Alma, daughter of John Shelley, of Michelgrove (Shelley quartering Fauconer or Michelgrove); and the dexter one, those of his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Guldeford, K.G., and widow of Thomas Isley, of Sundridge in Kent, who after Sir Richard Sherley's decease remarried William Stafford, Esq., (Guldeford

quartering Halden). Above the respective shields are effigies of the knight and his two consorts, in the costume of the period. Sir Richard had issue by his first wife, four sons and six daughters. The sons were William, his successor, and Thomas Edward and Richard, of whom nothing more is known. Of the daughters, Elizabeth married John Mychell, of Stammerham in Horsham; Alice married Thomas Challenor of Kenwardes in Lindfield; Anne married Richard Leeds of ———, all Esquires; Jane and Frances died unmarried.



The next possessor of Wiston was William Sherley, Esq., who succeeded to it in 1540, and married the following year, Mary, daughter of Thomas Isley, of Sundridge, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and Anthony, and a daughter Elizabeth. Anthony the younger son settled at Preston, near Brighton, an estate which he obtained through the interest of his mother, "who although she had married again [to Richard Elrington,

Esq.] remitted no care of her first progeny.”¹⁰ The very old family estate of Wedonhill in Amersham, co. Bucks, a fragment of the De Braose possessions, was also settled upon him. He married Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Walsingham of Scanbury, co. Kent, knight, and died in 1624, having had a numerous progeny. From his grandson, Thomas Shirley of Preston, who died in 1654, sprang the following branches of the house of Shirley :

Shirley, of Preston, Bart., created 1665; extinct in the elder line 1705. The ultimate heiress married Western of Rivenhall, co. Essex, ancestor of Lord Western.

Shirley, of Shirleys in Chiddingly, extinct 1737.

Shirley, of Otehall in Wivelsfield, created Bart. in 1786, extinct on the death of Sir William Warden Shirley, Bart. 1815. He was the last heir-male of Shirley or Sherley of Sussex. The female line is also represented by Lord Western.

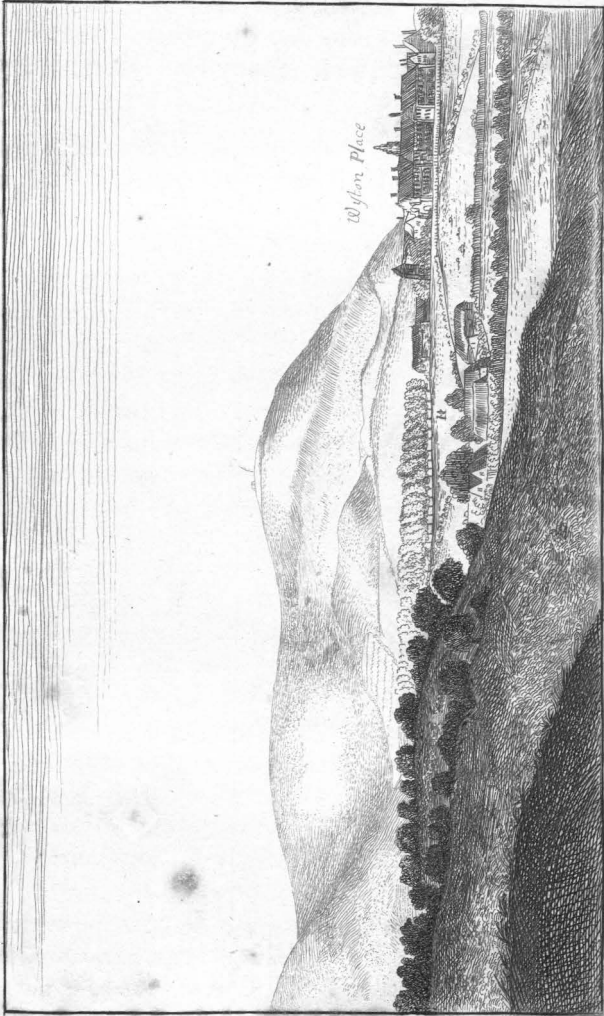
William Sherley, Esq., died in 1551, and was buried, according to the directions of his will, “in the chauncell” *i. e.* the south chapel of Wiston, under an altar tomb which also covered the remains of Richard Elrington, Esq., the second husband of his widow. This monument which has been destroyed bore the following inscriptions :—

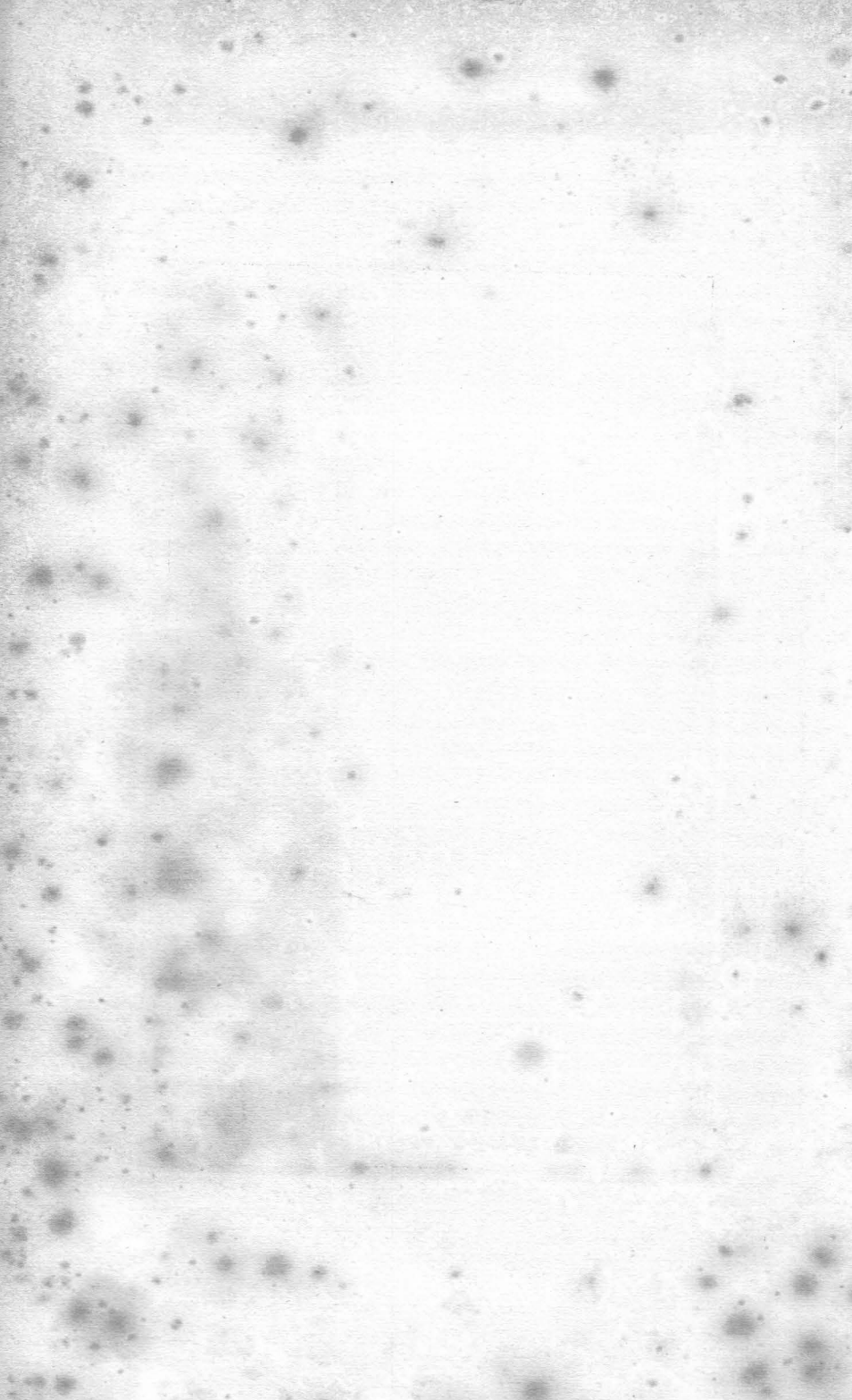
“Here lyeth William Shirley, sone of Sir Richard Shirley, knight, deceased the 29th day of May, a^o 1551, and in ye 5th yeare of King Edward ye 6th.”

“Here lyeth Richard Elrington, Esq., late of Wiston, who deceased the 9th of February, a^o 1569.”

(Sir) Thomas Shirley was only nine years of age at his father's death. He was knighted at Rye 12th August, 1573, on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to that town. Soon afterwards he either remodelled or rebuilt Wiston House. A view of the mansion taken in the reign of Charles I, and still preserved at Wiston, probably gives an accurate idea of it as reconstructed by Sir Thomas, and as it appeared during the childhood of his remarkable sons. (*See the plate opposite p. 1.*) It appears to have been of large extent and irregular form, with an infinity of gables of various shapes and sizes. The accompanying view by Hollar (*see plate*), though it cannot be commended for its precision, is valuable as showing

¹⁰ Harl. MS., 4023. Stem. Shirll.





its general aspect and the direction of the noble avenue leading to it. One of Sir Thomas's rooms remained until 1841 in its original state, the windows excepted. The ceiling was ornamented with the armorial honours of the Sherleys. The wainscot was well carved, and the date '1576' remained over the doors. On the cornice was painted, in very small letters on a white ground, a genealogy of the Braoses, which in many important particulars was extremely incorrect.

Sir Thomas Shirley, the elder (so called to distinguish him from one of his sons), had, by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Kempe, of Ollantighe, co. Kent, knight, three sons, "the three Sherley Brothers," of whom presently, and six daughters, viz.: Mary, wife of Sir John Crofts of Saxham, co. Suffolk; Isabel, wife of Sir Edward Onslow, of Surrey; Elizabeth, wife of Sir Pexell Brocas of Beaurepaire, co. Hants; Jane, wife of Sir John Shurley of Isfield,¹¹ knight; Anne, wife of John, first Viscount Tracy; and Cecilia, wife of Thomas West, 7th Baron de la Warr.

Commencing life under the most favourable auspices, Sir Thomas Shirley was destined to pass through a long series of painful vicissitudes. In addition to the advantages of a distinguished ancestry, and a large patrimonial estate, he for some time enjoyed the favour of his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth, who employed him in various state affairs of importance. He was a strong adherent to the Protestant faith, and we find him, on one occasion, in the unenviable character of inquisitor and gaoler to a noble neighbour of his, and that neighbour a much-injured lady.

After Throgmorton's conspiracy, Anne wife of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had declared her adhesion to the Catholic faith, was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas, who removed her to Wiston, where she remained a year in confinement.¹² From documents in the State Paper Office it appears that she was here examined on interrogatories by Sir Thomas Shirley, 9th April, 1584, touching her proceedings with the papists. Here the countess gave birth to Elizabeth her only daughter. In the month of June of the same year

¹¹ The Shurleys of Isfield and Lewes were not related to the Sherleys of Wiston otherwise than by this marriage.

¹² Lingard, *Hist. Eng.*, v, 421. Tierney's Arundel, 374.

she addressed the following letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, with a view to propitiate her great enemy, the Queen. Stern must have been the royal bosom that could resist so pathetic an appeal! ¹³

“ Good Master Secretary, when I was frst . . .
 whose favour I might crave for recome . . .
 declare my innocensye and dutiful . . .
 because you are in pl . . .
 but also for the general . . .
 especially of the favorable . . .
 mesire wherein as I was then . . .
 grasious opinion might revive and . . .
 continuance of my unfortunate estate dothe inforce me againe to trouble you
 trusting to receve suche favoure of you good Master Secretary as the clearness
 of my conscience dothe gieve me cause to hope for. For mine owne harte
 cannot accuse me of any undutiful thought to hir Maiesty, nether will I
 require any further favoure then you shall finde the truth of my answers
 worthy to desERVE, which doth imbolden me to intreat your honorable dis-
 position that it may please you to move hir Maiestye for hir gracious good
 opinion towards me, and that I may be releesed of this imprisonment, if it
 may stand wth hir pleasure: which is in no respect so grevouss unto me
 as that it is a plaine argument of the continuance of hir Maiestis displeasure,
 which howe it dothe trouble me God knoweth, and I wish it were as well
 knowen to hir Maiesty, for then I am sure it would move hir to pittye; and
 thus recomending my unfortunate case to your honorable and frindly care.
 I comitt you to God from Wiston this io of June 1584.

I have also bene bold to solysite my Lord Thresurer herein.

Your very loving frind,

ANNE ARUNDELL.”

To the right honorable Sir Fraunces Wallsingham,
 Knight, Princypall Secretary to hir Maiesty.”

Leaving Sir Thomas Sherley for the present, let us glance at the lives of his Three Sons, whose remarkable adventures were once the admiration of Christendom. But previously to doing so, it may not be uninteresting briefly to refer to another *triad* of brothers produced by Western Sussex in the preceding generation, whose entrance upon the stage of life was almost as singular as the parts which the Three Brothers Sherley played upon it: I allude to the Three Palmers of Angmering.

John, Henry, and Thomas Palmer were sons of Edward Palmer, Esq., by Alice, daughter of John Clement, a native of Wales, who, for his services under King Henry VII, obtained

¹³ It is written in a bold, firm, hand, but partly torn. It is in the S. P. O. Domestic, 1584, No. 271. (Kindly communicated by W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.)

a good estate in Sussex. John Palmer, the eldest, was born on a Whit-sunday; Henry, the second, on the following Sunday; and Thomas, the youngest, on the third Sunday—a full fortnight thus intervening between the first and third children produced at the same birth: an instance, unparalleled, perhaps, in the history of the world. The date of the year is not recorded, but the fact is nevertheless well attested. Fuller, who first mentions it, says: “The truth hereof needeth no other attestation than the general and uncontrolled tradition of their numerous posterity in Sussex and Kent; amongst whom I instance Sir Roger Palmer, aged eighty years, lately deceased, and cofferer to our late king, averring to me the faith hereof upon his reputation.”¹⁴

These three brothers were all knighted for their valour by King Henry VIII, who, as Fuller parenthetically observes, “never laid his sword upon his shoulders who was not a man.” They all achieved some degree of celebrity: Sir John served the office of sheriff of Sussex and Surrey twice, namely, in 25^o and 35^o Henry VIII; Sir Henry was governor of Guisnes, and lost his life at the age of seventy in defending that fortress; and Sir Thomas was beheaded for taking part with the Duke of Northumberland in favour of the Lady Jane Grey.

Far more interesting and uncommon is the history of the three Shirleys, who first saw the light on the spot where we are this day assembled. Various contemporaneous and subsequent publications have set forth their valorous and romantic exploits. The best, most copious, and most authentic of these is the production of Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.A. (‘one,’ as we have already shown, ‘of the same house,’ and a member of our Society), and was printed for the Roxburgh Club in 1848. From this work, and from an anonymous volume, entitled ‘The Three Brothers,’¹⁵ the following short narratives are gathered.¹⁶

¹⁴ Worthies of England, iii, 263.

¹⁵ London: Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1825.

¹⁶ One reads with some surprise in Cartwright’s ‘Rape of Bramber’ the following passage: “. the three Shirleys, whose reputed chivalrous exploits in Persia and Turkey, if they imposed for a time on the credulity of the ignorant, are now nearly consigned to a well-merited oblivion.” p. 139. If the reverend historian had adopted the ordinary means of testing the truth of the numerous contemporary statements on the subject, he might have saved himself this absurd and gratuitous criticism. Mr. Shirley’s book is principally based on letters, State papers, and other documents of the highest authority.

Thomas Sherley was born in 1564, and Anthony in 1565; Robert was several years younger.

Anthony Sherley, the second of the triad, after quitting the university, went to the wars in the Low Countries with his father in the year 1584, and was present at the battle of Zutphen in 1586. He was subsequently sent into Brittany with the rank of colonel, under the Earl of Essex, against the King of Spain. For his services in this expedition, Henry IV of France gave him the order of St. Michael, and he thereby incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, who recalled and imprisoned him, declaring, *suo more*, "that as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other sovereign than the one God had set over him. I will not," added she, "have my sheep marked with a strange brand, nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd!"¹⁷ In 1595, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Sherley, the father, he undertook an expedition against the Portuguese settlements on the African coast. In this enterprise he had the sanction of Essex, whose cousin, Frances Vernon, he had married, and with whom he did not live happily. Failing in the original design, the expedition was directed against Jamaica, and captured that island in 1596. The following year Sir Anthony returned to England, not much the better for his perilous adventures and his wretched voyage, for Sir Robert Cecil in a letter of the date says: "Poor Anthony Sherley is come home—alive, but poor." He soon after accompanied his patron Essex to Ireland, the lord-lieutenancy of which the latter had just accepted, and there obtained his knighthood. The same year he joined the expedition into Spain, returning to England towards the close of 1597. Here he remained for some time; but the heavy misfortunes which had befallen his house impelled him to fresh schemes of advancement in foreign climes:

"Mox reficit rates

Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati."

In 1598, therefore, he engaged in a singular mission to Persia, his object being partly religious and partly commercial.

¹⁷ The queen is said to have made a similar speech concerning the Lord Arundel of Wardour, who had been made a count by the Emperor Rodolph II, and wished to take precedence among the English peers with the foreign rank.

He wished to induce the King of Persia to join the Christian powers against their common enemy the Turk, as well as to promote a trading intercourse between his dominions and the West. Accompanied by his younger brother Robert, and twenty-three others, he set sail from Venice in an argosie bound for Scanderoon, determined, according to his own statement, "to do some extraordinary thing before he returned back again." Of this expedition several contemporary accounts are preserved. After a tedious journey by sea and land the party reached Aleppo, and there for the first time our Englishmen met with a since well-known beverage, by them described as "made of a seed which will soon intoxicate the brain," and "drunk extreme hot," though "it is nothing toothsome but very wholesome. This kind of drink," it is added, "they call *Coffee!*" At Aleppo they endured much indignity and extortion from the Turks, and on their route by way of Babylon to Persia they fell into the hands of a horde of Arabs, who robbed Sir Anthony of the rich jewels which he had purchased in order to propitiate the Persian monarch. At length they reached Kazveen, where the king, or 'Shah,' Abbas, was then resident. Here Sir Anthony's reception was all that the most dignified ambassador could have desired: he was welcomed with gorgeous ceremonials, and received into the confidence of the monarch, who in a subsequent allusion to their friendly intercourse said of him: "We have eaten together of one dish and drunk of one cup like brethren." Sir Anthony explained to the Shah the nature of our fortifications, and in conjunction with his brother Robert introduced the use of our artillery, so that ere long he had five hundred pieces of brass cannon and sixty thousand musqueteers in his army.¹⁸ In return, Abbas created him a mirza, or prince—the first instance of a Christian receiving an oriental title. But his good-will did not stop here: he appointed Sir Anthony his ambassador to the courts of Europe, and at his departure from Ispahan, in bidding him farewell, kissed him three or four times and gave him a seal of gold, saying: "Brother, whatsoever thou dost seal unto, be it the worth of my kingdom, I will see it paid."

Under such favourable auspices Sir Anthony returned to

¹⁸ Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii, p. 1806.

Europe. His first object was the court of Russia, where after a journey of six months he arrived in 1599. His reception by the Czar Boris was very cool and unpromising, and after a few months' stay he took his departure for Germany. Meanwhile the suspicious temper of Queen Elizabeth was unfavourable to his designs, yet still this did not prevent his being well received by the Emperor Rodolph at Prague in the year 1600. He next proceeded by way of Nuremburg, Munich, Innspruck, and Trent, to Rome. Here he avowed himself a Catholic; but from some cause which can hardly be explained he left the pontifical court in disgrace, and repaired once more to Venice. All his negotiations with the various courts seemed to have failed of any useful result. The fall of his kinsman Essex had considerably damaged his credit at home, but James I, even before his accession to the English throne, gave him many proofs of his favour, and granted him a commendatory letter to Shah Abbas.

Soon after this we find Sir Anthony a prisoner at Scios, and next paying a second visit to his patron the Emperor Rodolph at Prague. By Rodolph he was despatched on an embassy to the King of Morocco, to stir him up to hostilities against the Grand Seignior. At Morocco he lived in a magnificent style and exercised a princely hospitality, making use at the same time of his influence with this barbarous court for the release of many Portuguese subjects who were held in slavery. In 1606 he left Morocco, and arrived at Lisbon on business connected with the liberation of the captives. Soon afterwards he accepted a commission from the King of Spain, by whom he was created a knight of St. Iago, and made general of the Mediterranean seas. It was at this time that Sir Anthony's humanity met with a most base and ungrateful return. He had procured freedom from a Turkish prison for three Spaniards, two of whom on their return home promptly paid the money he had advanced for their ransom, but the third, in order to avoid the payment of his share, administered poison to him, causing him the loss of his nails and hair and almost of his life. At this period he was suspected of disloyalty to his own sovereign, a suspicion which received some support from the fact of his having presented the Spanish monarch with a hundred pieces of cannon. "How he came

by them," says Captain Alex. Hepburn (a Scotchman in the pay of Spain), "I know not, but this is true by God in heaven." The reader of these notes will have little difficulty in tracing the source of this artillery, when he recollects the anxiety of the Spanish king to obtain, through Gondomar, his ambassador, permission to import our cannon,¹⁹ and remembers that Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony's father, was an extensive manufacturer of Sussex iron.

In 1608, Sir Anthony again visited Italy, but returned the same year to Spain. A year later he was in Sicily for the purpose of molesting the Turkish ships. He made an attack upon Mitylene in the Archipelago, but proving rather unsuccessful was deprived of his command. Still, however, he received a pension of 3000 ducats a-year from the Spanish government—a sufficient income indeed; but such had been his expensive and improvident course of life that he was deeply involved in debt, and nearly the whole of his allowance was devoted to the discharge of his liabilities. Indeed, we are assured that this gallant knight, who had occupied a diplomatic position in nearly every court of Europe, was sometimes actually on the verge of starvation! The latter part of his life was passed in comparative obscurity. In 1627 we find him still in Spain, as intent as ever upon schemes and negotiations, "and daily exhibiting new projects to the council." He died, according to Granger, in 1630. So much for the second of these remarkable brothers. Let us now in a few words trace the fortunes of Sir Robert, the youngest of the triad.

Sir Robert Sherley does not appear to have had a university education. At the age of eighteen we find him in the wars in the Low Countries with his brother Anthony, and afterwards at Venice in favour of Don Cesare d'Esté against the Pope. In 1598 he accompanied his brother to Persia, and participated in his enterprises and his honours. When Sir Anthony set out for the European courts, Robert remained in Persia, and notwithstanding the failure of the embassy retained the favour of the king. Robert availed himself of this to procure liberty of conscience for all Christians throughout the Persian empire. He married an oriental princess, Teresia, daughter of Ismael Khan, a Circassian, and had two children. In 1608 Shah

¹⁹ See *Collections*, vol. II, p. 195.

Abbas despatched him on an embassy to the Christian powers, giving him a special letter to King James of England, signed, "King Abbas, the servant of the King of kings." Sherley went by way of Poland, and was entertained at Cracow by Sigismund III. The following year he received the honour of knighthood from the Emperor Rodolph and was created a count-palatine of the empire. He next proceeded to Rome with a suite of eighteen persons, eight of whom were Persians. He wore the Persian costume, distinguishing his turban with a crucifix. He had a grand reception from Pope Paul V and twelve cardinals, and was loaded with empty honours. Thence he proceeded in succession to Milan, Barcelona, and Madrid. At the Spanish court he was well received, and during his sojourn there was joined by the lady Teresia, his wife. In 1611 they came to England, and in August, that year, were at Wiston, where, from the disordered condition of their pecuniary affairs, the family meeting must have been anything but a happy one. His father, Sir Thomas Sherley, had for some time been in disfavour at court. He had been deposed from his office of treasurer of war in the Low Countries, and in order to meet his liabilities to the Crown had sold the ancient family properties of West Chiltington, Erringham, and Slaughters (in Billingham), besides other manors in various counties, retaining only that of Wiston, which he had settled upon his wife. After a long series of further troubles and embarrassments he died the year following his son's return, and was buried in Wiston Church, where, on the eastern wall of the family burial-place, a black marble tablet, surmounted by the effigies of himself and his wife, records his memory :

HERE LYETH Y^e BODY OF S^r THOMAS SHERLEY
 KNIGHT, WHO DECEASED IN OCTOBER,
 WHO MARYED VNTO M^o. ANNE KEMPE,
 DAUGHTER OF SIR THOMAS KEMPE, KNIGHT,
 Wth WHOME HE LYVED IN WEDLOCK YE SPACE
 OF LIII YEARES. BY WHOM HE HAD 12 CHIL-
 DREN, 5 SONNES AND 7 DAUGHTERS, THREE OF
 WHOM DYED IN THEIR INFANCYES. THE RESIDVE
 BEINGE 3 SONNES AND 6 DAUGHTERS LYVED
 TO BE MARYED AS IS EX-
 PRESSED UPON THIS
 MONVMENT.

To return to Sir Robert Sherley. He had with his Asiatic wife a favourable reception at the court of King James, and remained a year and a half in England, advocating friendly relations with his Persian master. At the beginning of 1613 he again set out for Persia, spending nearly nine months on this dangerous journey, and taking India in his route. He paid a passing visit to the Great Mogul. At Ispahan he remained about a year, returning in 1615 on another embassy to Europe. We find him successively at Goa, at Lisbon, and at Madrid. His allowance at the Spanish court was fifteen hundred ducats a month, with house and equipage. Here he resided till 1622, when he again visited Rome. There it was that Vandyke painted the fine portraits of Sir Robert and the lady Teresia now preserved in the Petworth collection. In 1624 he was again at the English court, where his position was much damaged by the intrigues of the East India Company, who were jealous of the commercial policy he was striving to establish. They even represented his embassy as an imposture and his credentials as forgeries. He ultimately returned to Persia, where, overcome by anxiety, disappointment, and fatigue, he died at the age of about fifty at Kazveen, and was buried there, with little ceremony, beneath the threshold of his own residence in 1628. The lady Teresia ended her "strange eventful history" by becoming a nun at Rome.

The life of Sir Thomas Sherley, the eldest brother, though less crowded with romantic incidents, is still sufficiently remarkable to render him a fair candidate for historical honours. Like Sir Anthony he received his military education in the Netherlands under his father. He subsequently served in Ireland, where he got his knighthood in 1589. He next became a courtier and contracted a clandestine marriage with Frances Vavasour, daughter of Sir Thomas Vavasour, knight, an offence for which his royal mistress visited him with a fourteen weeks' imprisonment. In 1593 he was again in the Low Countries. In the meantime, as we have seen, his father's affairs had grown desperate, and his goods at Wiston had been seized by the sheriff. The younger Sir Thomas therefore invested what money he could procure in the purchase of two ships as privateers against the Spaniards. In the pursuit of this gentlemanly calling he captured four vessels, and made an attack upon some villages, which he

sacked, and gave the spoils to his followers. In 1602 he set sail from Leghorn, and was taken captive by the Turks, who imprisoned him in the island of Zea, and thence carried him in chains to Constantinople. By the interference of James I he procured his liberty after a captivity of two years. After wandering through Italy and Germany he returned to England in 1606, poorer than ever. The following year he was imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of interfering with the Levant trade. Many years later, overwhelmed with debt, and broken in spirit, he sold Wiston, and retired to the Isle of Wight, where he died.²⁰ The date of his decease is uncertain. He was the only one of the three brothers who had surviving issue. By Frances Vavasour he had three sons, Cheyney and Henry, who died issueless, and Thomas, who was born in 1597, and was the last of the family who was knighted, and four daughters — Catherine, Elizabeth, wife of Sir Arthur Daking of Yorkshire, Frances, wife of John Mole of North-

²⁰ In the foregoing short memoirs of the Shirley Brothers I have necessarily omitted many interesting episodes and incidents of their lives, all of them romantic, and a few strongly bordering upon the improbable. A very good synopsis of their adventures is given in the Gentleman's Magazine for November and December, 1844.

My friend Mr. E. B. Price, F.S.A., has called my attention to the fact that there was an earlier personage of the name of Shirley, who distinguished himself as a traveller. Though not noticed in the 'Stemmata Shirleiana,' he was doubtless a collateral ancestor of our three brothers. He was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less in Smithfield, and at the date of Stowe's Survey of London (1633, p. 416) there was in that church "a faire flat stone having pictures in brasse" in the habit of pilgrims, in commemoration of this gentleman and his wife, with the subjoined epitaph :

" Behold how ended is our poore pilgrimage
Of John Shirley Esquire with Margaret his wife,
That twelve children had together in marriage,
Eight sonnes and foure daughters withouten strife ;
That in honour, nurtur and labour flowed in fame ;
His pen reporteth his lives occupation,
Since Pier his life time, John Shirley by name,
Of his degree that was in Brute's Albion : (?)
That in the yeere of Grace deceased from hen,
Fouртеene hundred winters and six and fifty,
In the yeere of his age fourescore and ten
Of October moneth the day one and twenty."

Stowe adds, that this Mr. Shirley "was a great traveller in divers countries, and that amongst other his labours he painfully collected the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Lidgate, and other learned writers, which workes he wrote in sundry volumes to remain for posterity."

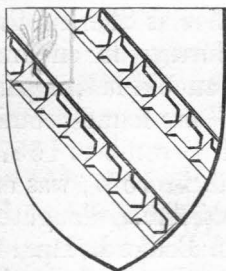
amptonshire, Esq., and Dorothy. Sir Thomas, after the death of Frances Vavasour, remarried Judith, daughter of William Bennett of London, and widow of — Taylor, and had eleven other children—John, Hugh, Thomas, Robert, Richard, Judith, Anne, Judith, Elizabeth, Bridget, and Elizabeth. Of this second family little is known except that Thomas Sherley, the third son, resided at West Clandon, co. Surrey, in circumstances “so reduced that the bequests of an old hat, a pair of gloves, two combs, and a pair of scissors” are found prominently recorded in his last will, dated 30th December, 1657. Sir Thomas Sherley, born, as above stated, in 1597, was an adherent to the cause of Charles I, married Anne, daughter of Sir George Blundell of Cardington, co. Bedford, knight, and had issue Sackville and Mary, twins, who were alive in 1634, and Thomas Sherley, M.D., baptized 15th October, 1638. The last was a medical writer of some repute in his day, and one of Charles the Second’s physicians. His history, if less romantic, is not less unfortunate than that of his ancestors. Conceiving that his grandfather had not been legally entitled to alienate Wiston, he instituted a suit against Sir John Fagg, by whom it had been purchased. The suit terminated in favour of Sir John Fagg, and Dr. Sherley, in an ill-advised moment, appealed to the House of Lords. Fagg was at that time Member for Steyning, and as it was contrary to parliamentary etiquette to bring an appeal before the Upper House against a member of the Commons, Dr. Sherley was ordered into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. Then arose that memorable dispute between the two Houses, which was only appeased by their prorogation. Dr. Sherley survived the appeal two years, and died in 1678 of grief for his supposed wrongs, and apprehension lest he should be deprived of the small residuum of his patrimonial estate.²¹ With him ended the ancient and honourable line of Sherley of Wiston—“a family not needing hyperboles”²²—whose singular exploits

²¹ The writer of an article in the *British Magazine* (Vol. i, No. 1) on Preston Church, has fallen into the strange error of making Dr. Sherley a member of the Preston branch of the family, supporting his statement by a ‘rustic distich,’ which he professes to have picked up on the spot, to the effect that “Shirley of Preston died for the loss of Wiston.” He also attributes the decay of the Sherleys to their adherence to the cause of the Stuarts.

²² Herbert’s Travels.

and no less singular misfortunes will hand down their name to the latest posterity, and render Wiston a classic spot as long as it retains its own.

The family of Fagg, who bore for arms 'Gules, two bends Vair,' originated in Kent. John Fagg, of Brensett, in that county, Esquire, was father of John Fagg of Rye, whose son, Sir John Fagg, bought Wiston of Sir Thomas Sherley, and was created a Baronet at the Restoration of Charles II., 1660. He married, first, Mary, daughter of Robert Morley, of Glynde, Esq., who died in 1687, and secondly, Anne, daughter of Philip Weston, Esq., who



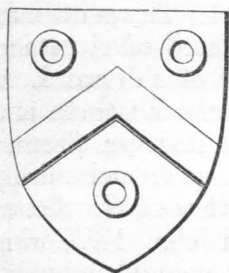
died in 1694. Sir John, of whom a fine full-length portrait is preserved at Wiston, survived until 1700. He had by his first marriage nine sons and five daughters. Of the sons, Robert succeeded to the title and estate, Charles was ancestor of the Faggs of Mystole, and Thomas, of those of Glynley in Westham; and of the daughters, Elizabeth married Philip Gell of Hopton, co. Derby, Esquire, and Mary married John Spence of Malling, Esquire.

Sir Robert Fagg, the second Baronet, married in 1671, Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Culpeper of Lindfield, Esq., died in 1715, and was buried at Albourn, leaving an only surviving son, Sir Robert Fagg, the third Baronet, who was born in 1673, and married Christian, daughter of Sir Cecil Bishopp of Parham, Bart., who survived until 1765, and died at the age of ninety-five. Sir Robert died at Hawley-Heath near Reigate, in 1736, having had issue John and Robert, who died young, Robert his successor at Wiston, Christian who died in 1775 aged seventy-six, Elizabeth who married Sir Charles Goring, Bart., Margaret who died young, and Mary who married Gawen-Harris Nash of Petworth, Esquire.

Sir Robert Fagg, the fourth Baronet, born in 1704, married Sarah, daughter of William Ward of York, M.D., and had an only daughter Sarah, who died at the age of seven in 1737. Sir Robert Fagg died 14th Sept. 1740, leaving the title to his second cousin Sir William Fagg of Mystole, ancestor of the present Baronet, and the Wiston estate and its appendages

to his sister Miss Elizabeth Fagg, who subsequently, in 1743, married Sir Charles Matthews Goring, Baronet, and so conveyed Wiston to the family now in possession. The church of Wiston contains many monuments of the Fagg family.²³

Sir Charles Matthews Goring, the fourth Baronet of his line, was a member of one of the oldest of Sussex families, who derived their name from the manor of Goring in the rape of Arundel so early as the reign of Henry III. They settled successively at Lancing and Burton. Henry Goring of the latter place received a baronetcy in 1622, and the elder line failed on the death, in 1723, of his grandson Sir William Goring, Bart., whose sister and heiress carried the Burton estate to the Biddulphs. It was through this line that



Goring. Argent, a Chevron between
3 Annulets Gules.

Mr. Stonor of Stonor, who is descended from the Biddulphs, claimed the Barony of Camoys, which was awarded to him in 1839, John Goring Esquire having in the fifteenth century married the heiress of Radmyle, whose ancestor had married the coheiress of the last Lord Camoys.

From a junior branch of the family sprang the Gorings of Ovingdean and Lewes, whose posterity became ennobled in the person of Sir George Goring, created Baron Goring of Hurstperpoint in 1626, and Earl of Norwich in 1646. The male line of this branch failed on the death of the second Earl in 1672.

From a still more recent offshoot of the house of Burton spring the Gorings of Highden and Wiston. Henry Goring, Esq., of Highden, succeeded in 1678 to the entail of a baronetcy previously held by Sir James Bowyer of Leythorne, in this county, and was himself succeeded by his grandson, Sir Harry Goring, Bart., who represented Steyning in several parliaments and died in 1734. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of Admiral Sir George Matthews of Southwark, and had, besides several other children, Sir Charles Matthews Goring, Bart.

Sir C. M. Goring married first Mary, daughter of William

²³ See Cartwright, Rape of Bramber, p. 155.

Blackburne of Ongar, Esq., by whom he had a son Sir Harry, the fifth Bart., grandfather of the present Sir Harry Dent Goring of Highden. This lady dying in 1739, Sir Charles remarried, as we have already seen, Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Sir Robert Fagg, in whose right he became proprietor of Wiston, which descended to his only son by this marriage, Charles Goring, Esq., born in 1744. This gentleman married, first, Sarah, daughter of Ralph Beard of Hurstperpoint, Esq.; secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Luxford, Esq., by whom he had two daughters, Elizabeth and Frances, of whom the former married the Rev. Dr. Trower, rector of Wiston, and now Bishop of Glasgow; and thirdly Mary, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Ballard, fellow of Winchester College, by whom he had Charles, Mary, and John. Mr. Goring died in 1829, aged eighty-five, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles Goring, Esq., of Wiston, who married Juliana Mary Caroline, daughter of Sir Willoughby Dixie, Bart., but died in 1849, without issue, when Wiston devolved upon his younger brother, the Rev. John Goring, the present possessor, and one of the vice-presidents of the Sussex Archæological Society.

From the foregoing genealogical details it will be seen that Wiston has had from the period of the Domesday survey to the present time, a succession of thirty-one lords, or, including the four heiresses of De Wistoneston, De Bavent, De Braose, and Fagg, thirty-five proprietors, a number exactly equal to that of the sovereigns who have occupied the English throne during the same space of time. I may add that few manors present us with a history so unbroken, and fewer still have had that history associated with so many remarkable persons.

PASSAGES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN SUSSEX,

FROM 1642 TO 1660,

WITH NOTICES OF SOME OF THE PERSONS CONCERNED IN IT.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

PARTLY READ AT THE ALFRISTON MEETING, OCTOBER, 1850.

AMONG the Apsley MSS. before referred to in Vol. IV, p. 221, there are two relating to occurrences in Sussex during the Civil War, which illustrate the condition of the county during that unhappy time of confusion. They are both of them interesting narratives—the one of a public event, the capture of Arundel by the Royalists, of which a slight account only is given by Clarendon, while it is passed over in silence by the adverse historians; the other depicts the private vexations and insults which the loyalty of a quiet country clergyman brought upon him from the Parliamentarians. There is no date of the year to either document, but by reference to the circumstances related in them, there is little difficulty in perceiving that each was written in 1643.

It seems a convenient opportunity for the better explanation of these MSS. to take a connected view of the political and military condition of Sussex during the early years of the Civil War, and the subject is in itself so extensive, that, in order to describe the events and persons of our local history, such only of the general occurrences of the war can be referred to as were connected with them. In frequent instances the very words, however rank with party violence, of contemporary authors will be purposely introduced, as speaking more the dialect of those times, and also as more effectually shunning the forbidden topics of modern controversy.

There had been a considerable display of loyalty in Sussex, and money was voluntarily subscribed to support the king's army against the Scotch in 1640. The clergy of the diocese had contributed £985. 16s., the county had sent 640 foot

and eighty horse, and Sir John Shelley with Sir John Caryll¹ had been appointed to receive offerings from the 'recusants,' to whom, as being her co-religionists, the queen had addressed a letter,² suspiciously like a proclamation (and for which she afterwards apologised to Parliament) exhorting them to contribute liberally in order to evince their gratitude for the king's toleration and favours towards them.

As early, however, as February 17, 1642,³ the county of Sussex sent up its petition to the House of Commons, praying "for a thorough reformation of religion." The independent authority claimed by Parliament was not indeed as yet universally acknowledged in Sussex, though its party seems to have prevailed among the middle classes, and many of its influential inhabitants, including some who sat in Parliament as its representatives, were much inclined to favour the cause of King Charles. Many statesmen were unwilling to drive matters to extremity while a peaceful compromise was yet possible, as is proved by the pathetic speech of Whitelock, though an adherent of Parliament, on the motion to appoint officers for a separate army, July 15, 1642. After quoting the opening lines of Lucan's 'Pharsalia,' on the peculiar horrors of civil war, he remarked on this proposal: "It seems to me to set us at the pit's brink, ready to plunge ourselves into an ocean of troubles and miseries. God has blessed us with a long and flourishing peace, and we have turned his grace into wantonness. We shall burn our own houses, lay waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, and open our own veins. You will now hear other sounds besides those of drums and trumpets—the clattering of armour, the roaring of guns, the groans of wounded and dying men, the shrieks of women, the cries of widows and orphans. Let us attempt a treaty, that there may be no strife between us and those of the other party, for we are brethren."⁴

¹ Sir John Caryll, of Harting, knight, withdrew from the contest, and obtained (Sept. 7, 1642,) a license from the House of Commons to pass into France with his family. He was however fined £2795 in 1643.

² Rushworth, ii, 825.

³ To prevent confusion, the dates in the following pages are given as if the civil year then began on January 1 instead of March 25; and it may also be noted that several dated facts are stated on the authority of the Journals of the House of Commons, to which special reference seemed superfluous.

⁴ Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 57.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard also, two days later, urged the same auguries. "If blood once begins to touch blood, we shall presently fall into a certain misery, and must attend an uncertain success, God knows when, and God knows what. Blood is a crying sin; it pollutes a land. Let us save our liberties and our lives, but so as we may save our souls also."

In vain were such warnings given; the dissensions went on increasing. The refusal to admit the king at Hull had already occurred in April, and the royal standard was soon (August 22, 1642) ostentatiously raised at Nottingham to attract the Cavaliers into an army. War was inevitable.

In the west of Sussex at this time Arundel and Chichester were of opposite parties. Arundel was in the hands of the Royalists, as were also the neighbouring towns of Portsmouth and Winchester. Chichester, however, adhered to the Parliament, being much under the influence of a great brewer, William Cawley, the son of an alderman of the city. He possessed landed property at Rumboldswyke, where 'Cawley's Lane' preserves his memory to this day. This active partisan, as Member for Midhurst, and afterwards for Chichester, steadily opposed the king throughout the Civil War. It must be recorded, to the honour of his family, that in 1626 a hospital for ten poor persons was founded, either by his father or himself, in Chichester. His name appears as taking the Covenant, June 6, 1643, the same day on which John Selden and Oliver Cromwell also took it, and it must have been an employment congenial to his religious principles, to have been appointed one of the "Commissioners for demolishing superstitious pictures and monuments" in London, which led to the destruction of much which modern antiquaries would prize. He was selected to return thanks to the Divines who had preached before Parliament on a fast-day, August 28, 1644, "for their pains in their sermons," and on February 16, 1645, he was empowered to pay to "three able preaching ministers" in Chichester £100 a year each, out of the estates of the dean and chapter. He signed the king's death-warrant; but even after the tide had turned he was elected by his native city to the Convention Parliament of 1660. Being, however, expressly excepted from pardon, he fled to Switzerland, and died abroad, while his estates were granted to the Duke of York.⁵

⁵ Noble's *Regicides*, i, 136; Hay's *Chichester*, pp. 162, 351.

In the east of Sussex, Lewes adopted the same party as Chichester, and sent Colonel Herbert Morley, one of the most distinguished supporters of Parliament, and having greater influence than any one in Sussex, as its representative. His active zeal will appear repeatedly throughout these occurrences.

The Parliament took several measures to establish their power. In the middle of August it is recorded that, "Monday morning, the House of Commons being met, they fell into consideration of securing the Cinque Ports, and restraining passengers from going out from several ports of this kingdom into France, and other parts beyond seas."⁵ One of the conditions of the attempted treaty with the king was, "that the towns and forts, which were within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports, should be delivered into the hands of such a noble person as the king should appoint to be Warden, being such a one as they (the Parliament) should confide in—and that they should not admit into them any foreign forces."⁶

Another means of making their influence more generally felt was the Ordinance, passed August 22d, for a solemn fast to be kept on the last Wednesday of every month, the observance of which served as a ready test of political leaning,⁷ and a pretty severe one it was, for Clarendon tells us that it was "observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches." It is to such a fast that the letter of the Rev. T. Sharpe, presently given, refers.

One of the severest blows early given to the Royal cause was the surrender of Portsmouth by Colonel George Goring. Though an eminent member of a Sussex family, being the eldest son of Lord Goring, afterwards Earl of Norwich, and important enough to enter into general history, he does not seem to have been actively engaged during the civil wars within the county. Having served in the wars of the Low Countries, he had risen to be colonel before he came over to join the royal army against the Scotch in 1640, on which expedition Sir P. Warwick thus describes him and his friends. "Wilmot, Goring, Ashburnham, and O'Neal were

⁵ Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament, No. 10, Aug. 15-22, 1642.

⁶ Clarendon, B. VIII.

⁷ The appointed Wednesday fast occurring in 1644 on Christmas Day, the opportunity was taken by Parliament of insisting on its being kept as a fast, and so it continued from that time till the Restoration. The king sanctioned this monthly fast by a Proclamation, January 8.

merry lads, and none of them good willers of the Earl of Strafford.”⁸ Goring was in fact an important witness against Strafford on his trial, May 5, 1641. He sat as the representative of Portsmouth in the Long Parliament, and was expected by its adherents to hold that town for them, but they had mistaken their man, and on August 2, 1642, he refused to obey any orders except the king’s, although he had received money from the Parliament for the express purpose of securing that fortress, and had in his place in Parliament boldly met and refuted all suspicions of his purpose. He was soon besieged and straitened, so that, on August 28, a parley took place, in which “Christopher Lewknor, the recorder of Chichester, the man appointed by his Majesty to take in money and plate on his behalfe,”⁹ was employed, as he was again on settling the terms of the final surrender, Sept. 7. More favourable conditions were obtained, owing to the enemy’s dread of Goring executing his threat of blowing up the large magazines of the town. Goring was allowed six days, Lewknor and the other officers two, to leave Portsmouth. Clarendon blames Goring much for his hasty surrender, and after mentioning the money advanced to him, both by Parliament and the Queen, says, he “had spent all the money in good fellowship, or lost it at play, the temptation of which vices he never could resist;” and another royalist authority attributes the loss of Portsmouth to the disgust excited by his conduct; “here Goring turned wantonness into riot, and turned riot into madness, which I mention because I believe hereby the townsmen’s affections were lost.”¹⁰ He sailed immediately to Holland, but soon returned to strengthen the king’s army at Newcastle; and though on many subsequent occasions his failures, when in command of the king’s horse, gave rise to strong suspicions of his treachery, he continued with the cavaliers till he retired abruptly to the Netherlands after the king’s cause became hopeless. He had been specially exempted from pardon by the Parliament when treating for peace, Sept. 21, 1644, and he never came back to England; but during some military service abroad, versed as he was in political deceit, he detected and brought to justice the treason of his

⁸ Sir Philip Warwick’s Memoirs, p. 145. ⁹ Warwick’s Memoirs, p. 273.

¹⁰ “Relation of passages at Portsmouth at the late siege, begun Aug. 12, 1642, to the surrender, Sept. 7. By one employed in that service. 4to, Sept. 21, London.”

Spanish general, who had been bribed by the French minister, and he finished his restless life as a Dominican monk¹¹ in Spain, 1662, before the death of his father, the adventurous and steady royalist, of whom subsequent mention will occur. The king's party, however, comprised many active spirits in Sussex, who were not so disheartened by this loss, as to cease watching for an opportunity to restore his authority. Their intentions had in August already caused some uneasiness to Parliament as to Chichester. The city was reported to be "in a good state of defence, and resolved to maintain the Protestant religion—but some ill-affected persons had plotted to betray the town, and some ministers had made seditious sermons, saying that the irreverent clergie had preached down the bishops, and the reverend tradesmen had preached down the clergie."¹²

In spite of the premature loss of Portsmouth, the hopes of the royalists were again powerfully excited in the middle of November, when Charles I, soon after the Battle of Edgehill (Oct. 23), advanced his army to Kingston and Brentford, Nov. 12, and even pushed on scouts to Hyde Park, Nov. 16, whose appearance, though there were but ten of them, gave an alarm to the unprotected Londoners, which more skilful tactics might perhaps have converted into submission. This was evidently a great crisis of the struggle, when the imminent danger of London, according to the evidence of the Parliamentarians, "occasioned a wondrous great uproar in the citie and suburbs, every man taking himselfe to his arms, and women and children running up and down crying."¹³ During this bold move of the king's army, there was a general expectation on both sides that it would have turned towards Chichester, and the party in possession prepared for defence. An Ordinance had been passed for associating the forces in the four counties of Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, under Sir W. Waller as Major-General, and the parliamentary journalist states that a popular dread of the cruelty of the king's army prevailed in Chichester. "Such was the care of the townsmen, yea, and of the cathedral men too (having heard of their plundering at Brainford), that they put themselves in armes, and out of their subscribed monies maintained

¹¹ Dugdale's Baronage. ¹² Perfect Diurnall, Friday, Aug. 18, 1642. ¹³ Perf. Diurn.

a considerable strength.”¹⁴ There was certainly much truth in this statement of the people of Chichester being ill-disposed to the king, the effects of which we shall presently see.

Captain Ambrose Trayton was, on Nov. 18, authorised to call in 200 men, or more if necessary, for the defence of Lewes, and to command them.

An Ordinance was hastily passed in Parliament on Nov. 21, “that Mr. Morley, Mr. Stapley, Sir Thomas Pelham, and Sir Thomas Parker, deputy-lieutenants for Sussex, Members of the House, should be sent down to put that county into the like posture of defence as is Kent, and to disarme all such as shall refuse to joyne with them in securing the county.” Sir Michael Livesay, who had just been thanked for organising Kent in the interest of the Parliament, was at the same time ordered to “go along and be joyned with them for that business.” This Kentish officer, then M.P. for Queenborough, is described as a spendthrift, “a most notorious coward, a penurious sneaking person, and one that could act the hypocrite to the life in voice and humble gesture.”¹⁵ He was present at the sieges both of Chichester and Arundel, and afterwards sitting on the king’s trial signed the death-warrant of him, who had a few years before (in 1627) signed his own patent of baronetcy. The Royal Proclamation of Nov. 8, 1642, had already excepted him from the general pardon offered to the county of Kent, as “a traitor and stirrer of sedition.”¹⁶

At this period, according to Clarendon, “the persons of honour and quality in most counties more vigorously declared themselves than they had done,” and advantage was immediately taken by the Sussex royalists of the measures of Parliament for arming the county, which served as a convenient cloak, enabling them lawfully to organise their own friends. The Commission of Array, being the royal authority for raising troops by the cavaliers, had been voted by the House of Commons, June 18, 1642, “against the law and against the liberty and property of the subject,” and was always at this period spoken of and treated as illegal, in opposition to the levies of trained bands by the Parliament. “Divers of the gentry of that county, who had a commission of array dormant, put the

¹⁴ Perfect Diurnall, Nov. 15-22.

¹⁵ Mystery of the Good Old Cause, Lond. 1660.

¹⁶ Rushworth, vi, 54.

same into execution, under a false pretence of raising the county to meet at Chichester to oppose the cavaliers coming."¹⁷ Mrs. Hutchinson in her Memoirs thus describes this conflict of rival authorities:—"Before the flame of the warre broke out in the top of the chimnies, the smoake ascended in every country; the king had sent forth Commissions of Array, and the Parliament had given out commissions for their militia, and sent their members into all counties to put them into execution. Betweene these in many places there were fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first." (p. 174.)

The royalist movement does not seem to have extended throughout the county, and there are no traces of any efforts in the Eastern parts to check Colonel Morley's influence. It is indeed remarkable that in the list¹⁸ of officers in the king's army at this time, and of Lords, "who have absented themselves from Parliament and are now with his Majesty," there are of Sussex names only "8th Regiment, Col. Ashburnham, 12th Regiment, Captain Ford." John Ashburnham, the M.P. for Hastings, was the person who reported to the king what passed in the debates.¹⁹ His estate was sequestered August 14, 1643, his cousin Lawrence Ashburnham having the delicacy to withdraw on the same day from the Committee of sequestrators. He was voted in 1648 a delinquent incapable of pardon, and his share in the king's flight to Carisbrook is well known, but he survived to attend the Court of Charles II, and to represent Sussex in Parliament in 1660. His younger brother William was also an active royalist.

There was, however, a considerable combination of royalists in West Sussex, the chief of whom were Sir Edward Bishopp of Parham, Sir William Morley of Halnaker, Sir John Morley of Broomes, Sir Edward Ford of Up Park, Sir Thomas Bowyer of Mundham, Richard May of Rawmere, and others, while the Bishop of Chichester, Christopher Lewknor the Recorder, and many of the clergy were ready to welcome them within the city. Many of these gentlemen were well

¹⁷ Speciall Passages, Nov. 16-29, 1642.

¹⁸ 'Catalogue of the Names of Dukes, &c. 1642, 4to.' Each lord undertook to pay for three months a certain number of horse, from twenty to two hundred each, at 2s. 6d. a day, besides their own expenses.

¹⁹ Clarendon, Life, i, 108.

calculated to have raised a strong force, had not their enemy's activity cut short their levies. It was remarked of Sussex, as of other counties in the south and east of England, that though many of the chief gentry were for the king, "yet the freeholders and yeomen being generally on the other side, as oft as they attempted to show themselves, they were crushed, and their endeavours defeated."²⁰ Sir Edward Ford had been just made High Sheriff of Sussex, "not three days old in his place," according to Vicars, and had offered the king "a thousand men, and to undertake the conquest of Sussex, though sixty miles in length." (p. 123.)

The Mayor of Chichester, Robert Eaton, had been too loyal to please the prevailing party in the city, and after publishing the Royal Commission of Array, had fled to join the king, though he afterwards in September made his peace by paying a fine of £150. His successor, William Bartholemew, had been active, on Nov. 2, in procuring seven pieces of ordnance from Portsmouth, with license to introduce 200 men from the County Militia, for the defence of the city against the cavaliers, but nevertheless by a concerted movement the royalists assembled in such numbers, on Nov. 22, as to seize these cannon and the magazine, take the city keys away from the mayor, and imprison some of the trained bands of the enemy. The news of this surprisal was sent up to Colonel Morley in Parliament the next day by W. Cawley, Edward Higgons, and Henry Chitty, who on the petition of the city had been retained as Captain of the Trained Bands.²¹ This caused the immediate expulsion of those concerned who were Members of the House, and the two M.P.s for Chichester, Sir W. Morley and Christopher Lewknor, Sir T. Bowyer, M.P. for Bramber, Thomas Leeds, M.P. for Steyning, and Thomas May, the colleague of W. Cawley for Midhurst, were thus "disabled," as the phrase ran; an impeachment was ordered, Nov. 23, against Sir William Morley, while Sir John Morley and Sir E. Ford were voted delinquents, and ordered into custody. The report to Parliament was of course from a hostile pen. "Parliament was then also informed that the county of Sussex

²⁰ Rushworth, iv, 630.

²¹ Journ. Comm. Nov. 13.—Chitty was afterwards appointed to be captain of a company of foot in the garrison of Portsmouth. Journ. Comm. Feb. 13, 1643.

is in a great combustion, and that there is some thousands of the Papists and malignants in the county gathered together in Chichester, it being also reported that a great number of the Cavalliers are come in thither to assist the Array men in opposing the ordinances of Parliament.”²²

At this period the terms of ‘Papist,’ ‘Malignant,’ and ‘Delinquent’ were so freely used by the Parliamentarians, that they form as unsafe a clue to the religious creed as to the moral worth of their opponents. Indeed, “any person who had harboured a priest” came under the Parliamentary definition of a papist, and was liable to lose two-thirds of his estate, real and personal. It should be remembered, however, in explanation of such severities, that the first clause of the *private* treaty on the king’s marriage (July, 1623), sworn to by King James, was “that none of the penal laws for religion should be executed.”²³ In the same spirit the royal troops are familiarly mentioned by authors, such as Vicars, as “the king’s cormorants.” On the other hand, the king himself, when publicly speaking to his army (as at Wellington, Sept. 19, 1642), described his enemies as “traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists.”²⁴ To reproach as atheists men who at least professed to speak and act from religious motives, was as extravagant a fiction as to call all the cavaliers papists.

It was high time for the Parliament to take some steps to recover its lost ground, and to put a speedy check upon a gathering which had so defied its power in Sussex. In order to encourage their friends, they ordered that Captain Springet, who was then made a deputy-lieutenant, and other captains of the county be thanked by Colonel Morley for their zeal in raising forces, and be “desired to go on with all vigour and resolution in that service. The House will take care that they shall have assistance from them to settle the peace of that county.”²⁵ And, on December 7, they ordered that “All such persons as have been apprehended or committed to prison within the county of Sussex by order of his majesty for refusing to obey the Commissioners of Array shall be preserved from all indempnity, and whosoever shall go about to

²² Perfect Diurnall, Friday, Nov. 25, 1642.

²⁴ Rushworth, vi, 20.

²³ Lingard, ix, 284.

²⁵ Journ. Comm. Dec. 1, 1642.

prosecute against them, or otherwise molest them for the same, shall be accounted enemies to the State and Commonwealth."²⁶ Instructions were at the same time given to seize the High Sheriff, Ford, to force Papists to contribute money, and to accept any repentant deserters, "so as they be not Papists or delinquents."

It is curious to what minute details the Parliament found time to attend in the midst of this anxious time. We find it entered on their Journals: "Oct. 24, 1642. That the Lady Covert shall have liberty to go into Sussex with such servants and horses as she shall think necessary for her retinue." On Nov. 11, "Thomas Russell, clerk, parson of St. John, Lewes," confined as a delinquent, was, upon his humble petition, discharged. On Nov. 24, a similar order was made in favour of John Newman, clerk, of Rodmill.

Before the middle of December, Sir W. Waller had so well succeeded in raising forces, that he was able to capture Farnham with its episcopal castle, afterwards his headquarters, and Winchester also, on December 13, in spite of rumours that Prince Rupert had led twenty troops of horse towards Chichester.²⁷

It seems strange that the cavaliers at this critical moment did not concentrate their power in the stronger fortress of Arundel, rather than within the comparatively defenceless walls of Chichester. Arundel was yet in the hands of the royalists, and had in its castle "a garrison, though not numerous or well provided, as being without apprehensions of an enemy."²⁸ It had been the previous year abandoned in despair by its proprietor, Thomas, Earl of Arundel.

This accomplished nobleman, the memory of whose antiquarian zeal is still preserved at Oxford by his Greek marbles, had been indeed well used to vicissitudes, and his whole life had been full of strong contrasts. He had been imprisoned in the Tower by the cautious policy of the same king, who had afterwards entrusted to him the safety of his queen and her mother. He had been educated as a Roman catholic by his mother with all the zeal of her fresh conversion,²⁹ but after

²⁶ Perfect Diurnall, Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1642.

²⁷ Perf. Diurn., Dec. 13-20, 1642. The news reached the Parliament on Dec. 16.

²⁸ Clarendon.

²⁹ Tierney's Arundel, p. 373.

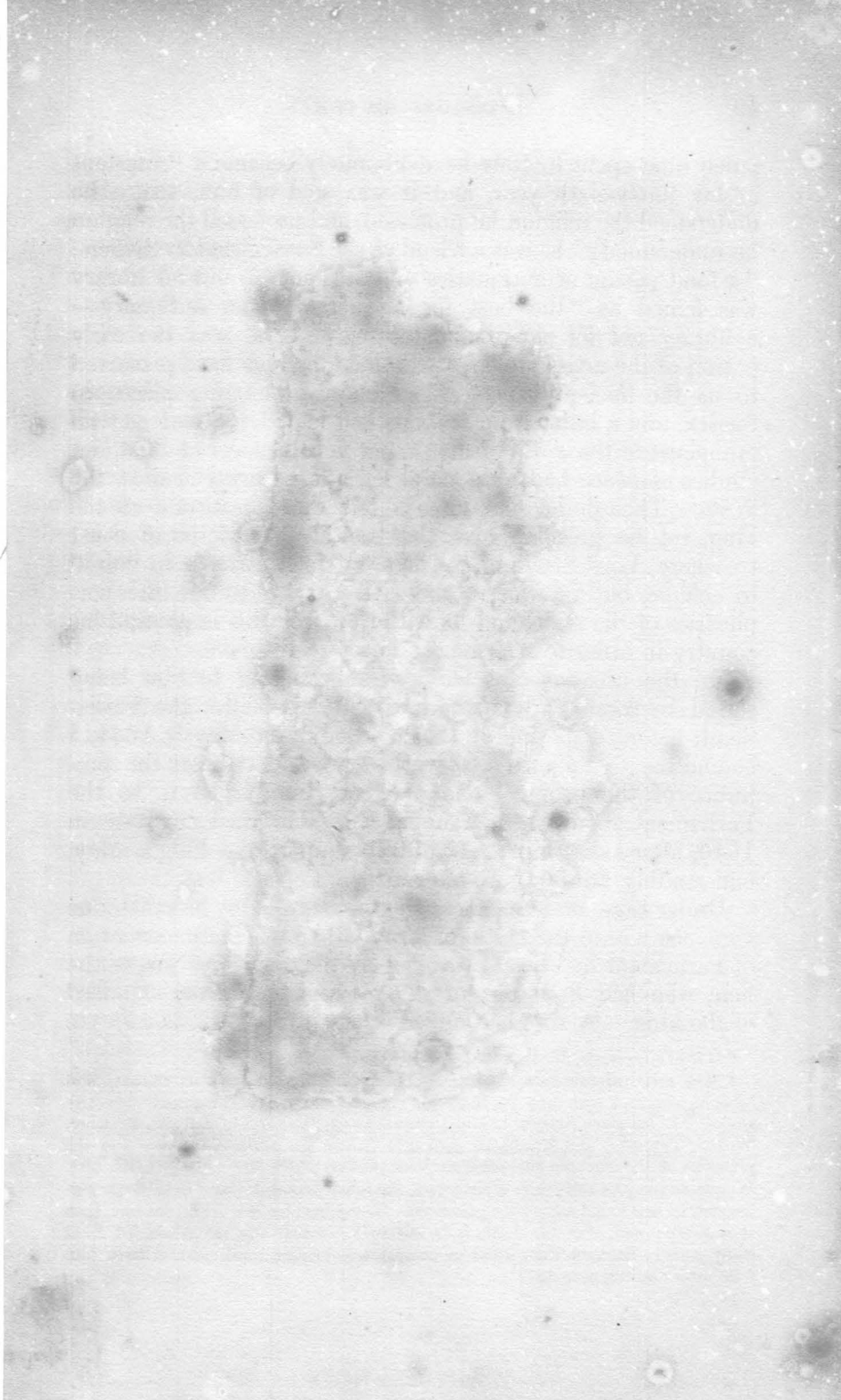
much time spent in Italy he deliberately became a Protestant in his thirty-sixth year, and it was said of him, that "he understood the religion he professed, and professed the religion he understood;" he was a friend of the Sussex scholar Selden; "a fond patron of antiquaries and antiquity," and his library was famed as "the best for an herald or an antiquary—a library not for show, but for use;"³⁰ he was the early patron of the artist Hollar,³¹ whose engravings have preserved to us the ancient aspect of so many interesting places in Sussex, and a letter from Rubens had hailed the earl as "an evangelist to the world of art;" but yet this lover of the quiet studies of peace had as general led a large army against the Scots. Though he had himself felt the ingratitude of the king, yet he presided over the trial of that victim of court treachery, Lord Strafford. The earl must have been inured to change, but he wanted the civil courage to face the perplexities of the state, and he withdrew from his castle and his country in order to seek repose in a foreign grave.

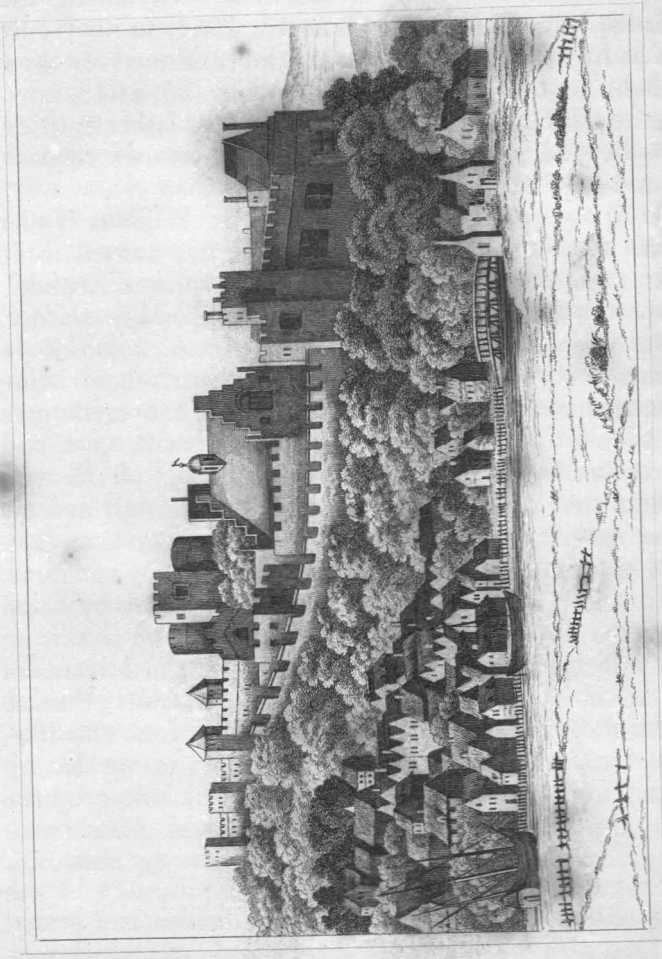
On the occasion of some jewels belonging to him being seized by some Parliamentarians in Devonshire, the Parliament, before disposing of them, ordered, on May 8, 1644, a committee to enquire "what the earl had done to the prejudice of the people," and the earl himself wrote to the Parliament about them, August 20. He died in Italy in 1646, after subscribing £12,000 to support the king's army, and sending £8000 more afterwards.

Under these circumstances there was probably less than due vigilance within the castle of Arundel, to which the attention of Parliament had been provoked by the open royalism of the heir, who had been one of the readiest to join the standard of the king. A vote had already passed (Sept. 13, 1642) "to

³⁰ Lloyd's Loyalists, 1668, pp. 285-287.

³¹ The earl had first met Hollar at Cologne in 1636, when on an embassy, and brought him back with him to England. Hollar recorded this on some of his early works: "In legatione Arundeliana ad Imperatorem." His views of Arundel, Bramber, Wiston, Pevensey, and Chichester cathedral (where the north-west tower and the pinnacles of the northern buttresses are seen perfect) justify the remark in the text. War drove the poor artist into other scenes, and when Basing House was taken by parliament, he was found among the prisoners. He rejoined his best friend the earl, then at Antwerp; and, after his death, it is sad to know that this valuable artist lived many years in England from 1652 in comparative neglect, until death relieved him from utter destitution in 1677.





ARUNDEL CASTLE.

sequester the profits of the Farthing Office, belonging to Lord Mowbray, sonne to the Earle of Arundel, because he hath shewed himself averse to Parliament and the good of this land.”³² Lord Mowbray in fact had been among the first to pledge himself at York (June 13, 1642) to obey only such laws as had the king’s assent, and he continued for three years to fight in the royal army. On Nov. 25, 1648, however, this royalist, having succeeded to his father’s titles, came from beyond sea, and was allowed, at his own request, to compound for £6000.

In order to secure this important post, Sir William Waller and Colonel Browne, after taking Winchester, turned aside from their march upon Chichester, and surprised Arundel. A contemporary³³ relates it thus: “In their passage thither, they by the way seized on and took in Arundell Castle in Sussex, some six miles from Chichester, whither, being suddenly and unexpectedly come, and finding the castle gate shut fast, they set a petard to the gate and blew it open, and so most resolutely entered the castle, surprising all therein, among whom they took one Sir Richard Leachford,³⁴ and his son, a great papist, and one Captain Goulding, raising men and armes in Sussex, to assist the Malignants in Chichester, which said prisoners, with one or two more, were by them sent up to the Parliament, who commanded them to prison. They also informed the Parliament that the trained bands of Sussex were in a readinesse to join with Colonel Browne against Chichester, they having received armes from the Parliament to arme themselves withall, their own armes having beene taken from them, and carried into Chichester by the malignant high sheriffe, who violently and by force tooke them away from their proper owners, (but this we must not call or count a restraint or deprivation of propriety of the subjects’ goods on the king’s part, so much babled and prated of by our base malignants against the Parliament,) which now

³² Perfect Diurnall.

³³ Vicar’s Jehovah Jireh, or God in the Mount. 4to, 1644, p. 231, referring to Dec. 1642. The Society is indebted to the kindness of John Tompkins, Esq., of Poling, for the plate copied from that portion of Hollar’s etching, which represents the castle of Arundel in 1644.

³⁴ He was afterwards exchanged (Sept. 19, 1643) for an officer taken prisoner by the king’s forces in the west.

these Sussex men resolved to regaine and fetch from Chichester, or else to lose their lives in the attempt thereof."

By the details of another contemporary,³⁵ we learn how very small the attacking force was. "Since then (the taking of Winchester) a hundred of our men going against Arundel (Arnall *in orig.*) town and castle have had good successe; 36 of those 100 tooke the castle (a thing, if well manned, impregnable,) and in it a hundred of the king's horse, men, and armes, also the magazine of the papists of that country, with much money, plate, and victuals, and all with the losse of one man."

This unexpected capture of Arundel has been little noticed by our local historians; Dallaway confuses the captures of 1642 and 1643, and reverses the true order of events, stating that Waller marched to the siege of Arundel "immediately after the surrender of Chichester," (p. 20;) though Clarendon expressly says that Waller "made a quick march through Wiltshire after his taking of Chichester" (B. vi;) and the Rev. M. A. Tierney, in his History of Arundel, says, "it seems in the first instance to have fallen into the hands of the parliamentary forces, but of the time when they obtained it or of the period during which they continued to hold it, no intelligence has been preserved." (p. 59.)

The fortunate petard, that had thus burst open the gates of Arundel, may have been considered by the victors as fulfilling thereby a religious destiny, for with the prevalent tendency to misapply Scripture, holy texts were often found in strange places. A standard of the Devonshire royalists, captured this very month (Dec. 1642), exhibited for its device this motto, issuing from a cannon, "O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise."³⁶ The text used by the Puritans,³⁷ "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood," Jerem. xlviii, 16, is a terrible instance on the other side.

The Chichester royalists had slender chance of successful resistance after this blow, and the newswriter of the day, expecting their courage to fail there, as it seems it had at Winchester, thus scoffs at them: "These silly persons, being

³⁵ Latest printed News from Chichester, &c. Dec. 22, 1642. 4to.

³⁶ Rushworth, vi, 93.

³⁷ Clarendon, B. vi.

deluded with expectation of the Cavaliers to assist them, would gladly submit, if it might be accepted, with satisfaction out of their estates."³⁸ Although Clarendon speaks of the city as "being encompassed with a very good old wall easy to be fortified," (B. vi.) yet soon after Waller and Sir W. Lewis had blockaded it, they informed the Parliament that "they find it of no great strength to hold out long." The despatches³⁹ of Waller report the progress of the siege. The royalists made an ineffectual sally on the first day, but after Waller had taken up his quarters "on the downe called the Broils, the onely commanding ground about the town," and had summoned them to surrender, before opening his battery, on the terms of delivering up the sheriff and "delinquents," they after some treaty, which denotes their conscious weakness, refused. The battery "overshot the towne extremely" at first, and an alarm was given of Prince Rupert's approach, but this probably quickened the siege, and on the third and fourth day the cannon were brought nearer, the suburbs of the west gate were set fire to, which caused the besieged to clear the east gate by burning the houses near. Waller then brought his ordnance to within half a musket-shot of the north gate, and so played into the market-place, while Colonel Roberts with fresh troops established himself at the south gate, and others galled the besieged on the walls near the east by keeping up a fire upon them from the church of St. Pancras outside. Waller now arranged for a simultaneous attack upon the east and west, and also "to petard a backe gate that issued out of the deanery through the towne wall into the fields, and was walled up a single brick thick." At night, however, the royalists renewed the treaty, and being now refused the terms first offered them, by seven in the morning of the eighth day, surrendered on a promise of "quarter and with it honourable usage." Clarendon thinks it would not have yielded "if the common people of the county, out of which soldiers were to rise, had been so well affected, as was believed," but he confesses that the cause was unpopular, and that in fact

³⁸ Perfect Diurnall, Friday, Dec. 23; Dec. 20-27. Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh*, p. 235. *Special Passages*, 1642.

³⁹ Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh*, p. 234. Dallaway's *Chichester*, p. 16. Hay's *History of Chichester* speaks loosely of the siege, as happening "in the month of January or February," and seems unacquainted with Waller's Letters.

“their number of common men was so small that the constant duty was performed by the officers and gentlemen of quality, who were absolutely tired out.”

Colonel Browne⁴⁰ during the siege had been withdrawn to resist a pressing danger at Windsor,⁴¹ but Sir Arthur Haselrig was present, and was both now, and again in 1647 when invited by W. Cawley, the especial scourge of the city, and Colonel Morley had brought “three troops of horse and two companies Dragoneers” on the night previous to the first attack on the city. When the surrender took place, after eight days’ siege, on December 29, 1642, “fifty or threescore gentlemen of quality and officers of name”⁴² fell into the hands of Waller, comprising seventeen captains, thirteen lieutenants, and eight ensigns. The conquerors, after entering the gates of the city, “shut them again, which done, they first released the honest men which were committed to prison, who they employed in places of trust, and after that seized the Bishop, those Lords, and the other Cavalliers to the number of about eighty. It is conceived they have found great store of money and plunder.”⁴³ The party writer of the day takes pleasure in pointing out “among the remarkable notes and observations of God’s mercy and good hand of Providence,” that the capture took place “upon the very fast day of this month, even before many congregations of the city of London, and country too in some places, had ended the worke of that daye’s humiliation and seeking of the Lord.”⁴⁴ He also piously notes, that, though it rained heavily in the city half an hour after the capture, none had fallen while the besiegers were “lying abroad” previously. Among the prisoners were many Scots of Lord Crawford’s troop, and others not connected with Sussex, Colonel Lyndsey,

⁴⁰ Alderman Richard Browne is called by Sir Philip Warwick (Mem. p. 254) “a woodmonger,” and “a man of a clear courage and good understanding, and very crafty.” This timber-merchant was afterwards knighted by Charles II, on account of his civil usage of his father when a prisoner.

⁴¹ Perfect Diurnall, Dec. 22.

⁴² Clarendon, B. vi.

⁴³ Brave News of the Taking of the City of Chichester by the Parliament Forces. 4to, Lond. Dec. 30, 1642.

⁴⁴ True Relation of the fortunate Sir W. Waller, concerning the manner of the besieging and taking of Chichester. 4to. 1643.—Vide Dallaway’s Chichester, p. 16; Rushworth, vi, 100.

Colonel Porter, Colonel Roberts, Sir W. Belendine, but on those belonging to the county a few words may be added.

The loyal High Sheriff, Sir Edward Ford, whose uncalculating zeal had brought the calamities of the siege upon the city and upon his friends, was the eldest son of Sir William Ford, called by Vicars "the soape projector," of Up Park, where the family had been seated for more than a century.⁴⁵ By the interest of his wife Sarah with her brother the Parliamentary General, Ireton, he was soon released on this occasion, and had other opportunities of proving his unfortunate loyalty, but he afterwards became remarkable as a skilful mechanist, and much improved the supply of water to London by raised pipes.⁴⁶ He was also an intelligent advocate of paper money. On his death in Ireland in 1670, his body was brought over to his native parish of Harting for burial, but he had survived to see the corpse of his brother-in-law Ireton, ten years after death, dragged as a regicide to Tyburn and there hanged, Jan. 30, 1661. "Ireton, having been buried long, hung like a dried rat, yet corrupted about the body." Let us hope that Ford endeavoured to prevent this barbarous ignominy, thus unfeelingly described by a royalist. John Ford was also among the Chichester prisoners.

The ancestor of the two knights Sir William and Sir John Morley, whose family does not appear to have been connected with that of Colonel Morley of Glynde,⁴⁷ one of their captors, was John Morley from Saxham in Suffolk, who purchased Halnaker, and having become rich by his place of "Apposer of the Extracts" in Queen Elizabeth's Exchequer, and desirous of the outward marks of a gentleman, obtained from the

⁴⁵ In Harl. MS. 1084, f. 141, is Camden's certificate, Dec. 15, 1615, of the family "Antiqua generis dignitate floruisse in Devonia et Sussex."

⁴⁶ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* iii, 405; Clarendon. By the marriage of his sole heir, Catherine, to Ralph, Lord Gray of Wark, Up Park became the property of the Earls Tankerville, until sold in 1745.

⁴⁷ The Somerset herald of 1634 certified that the Morleys of Glynde came from Winnington in Lancashire, but as to others of the same name, in Yorkshire or elsewhere, he added: "It hath not yet appeared to me by any testimonys that I have seen how and when they branched out."—Harl. MS. 1084, f. 143. A manor named Morley in the parish of Shermanbury is mentioned in Domesday.

Heralds of 1580 a grant of arms⁴⁸ somewhat similar to those of the family settled near Lewes. His son Sir William bought the manor of Selsey in 1635 of the Crown. His present forwardness at Chichester, which he had been elected to represent in Parliament, was especially denounced by the other party, as he had "but lately pledged his faith to the Parliament for fidelity in their service," and his estate was accordingly sequestered.⁴⁹ When the Members subscribed, April 9, 1642, "for the speedy reduction of the Irish rebels," Sir William had contributed no less than £1200; equal to what Sir Arthur Haselrig gave, and double the offering of Colonel Herbert Morley,⁵⁰ and indeed, on Sept. 14, he was thanked by the House of Commons, for increasing his voluntary contribution to their service, from 6 horses and £200 to £400 and 2 horses. He seems soon to have shrunk from the penalty of his loyalty, and on its being certified to Parliament, Nov. 22, 1643, that he had paid £1000 fine, and had taken the covenant, he recovered his estate, and does not reappear in Sussex history before his death in 1658.⁵¹

His nephew and fellow-prisoner, Sir John Morley of Brooms in the manor of Chilgrove, West Dean, had been summoned

⁴⁸ The original document, with an inspection of which I have been favoured by the kindness of the Duke of Richmond, Patron of this Society, now proprietor of Halnaker, is signed by "Robert Cooke, Clarencieux Roy d'Armes," and describes John Morley as requiring a search "for the auncient armes belonging to that name and familie whereof he is descended," and as having "well merited and deserved to be in all places of honor and worship accompted, nombred, admitted, accepted and received into the nomber and company of the auncient gent."—a sufficient proof of recent gentility. The arms granted were, "Sables, a leopard's head persed with a flower de lis, silver." The crest was "out of a crown a griffin's head between two wings, silver." Whereas "the auncient families" bore, sa : three leopards faces or, jessant a fleur de lis ar. ; and for crest, A man in armor proper, garnished or, in his dexter hand a baton of the last, across his body a sash."

⁴⁹ Dallaway's Rape of Chichester, p. 60.

⁵⁰ Rushworth, iv. 565.

⁵¹ The permission to compound was given on Sept. 9, but there was some delay in passing the order through the Lords, and the Committee of Sussex Sequestrators was ordered to relieve the fresh covenanters, and to allow him his rents from Sept. 9 (v. Journ. House of Commons, Sept. 9 and Oct. 1643.) "1658, Jan. 23, Sir William Morley, knight," is the entry among the burials of the Boxgrove Register, kindly extracted by the present vicar, Rev. W. Turner. Sir William married 1, Cicely Raymond, and 2, Susan Cooke, Mrs. Erneley. His nephew Sir William, K.B., who died 1701, after marrying Ann Denham the poet's daughter, and Mary Heath the judge's daughter, was only a child in 1642, but has been confused with his uncle. Harl. MS. 6164, f. 79.

as a "delinquent" by Parliament on Nov. 1, 1642, "for refusing to contribute to the public charge in this time of common danger." He was now fined £500 for his additional delinquency, and his estate sequestered, June 27, 1643.⁵²

Among the most chivalrous of the prisoners was Sir Thomas Bowyer, the expelled member for Midhurst, whom his sovereign had made a baronet in 1634. He had built a noble mansion, Leythorn House in North Mundham, but he did not grudge any sacrifice in the cause of his royal master, and when the sequestrators ultimately assessed him, Oct. 23, 1644, to pay "one third of his estate at the least," he cheerfully laid down £2033. 18s. 7d., and declared that "he had got a cheap pennyworth to preserve his peace of conscience."

Thomas May, the grandson of a wealthy London tailor who had built a good house at Rawmere in Mid Lavant, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, had been the colleague of Sir T. Bowyer for Midhurst, and had served as a captain of horse in Chichester, while his brother was a personal attendant on the king. His son Sir John afterwards married the daughter of Sir John Morley.⁵³

The recorder and member for Chichester, Christopher Lewknor, was of a well-known Sussex family, whose extended alliances have been already detailed in a previous volume⁵⁴ of the Society. His father Sir Richard, like him, had been recorder and member for Chichester, and is described in the "certificate concerning the justices of peace in Sussex" in 1587,⁵⁵ as "Doctor Lewknor a recusant with all his family, dwelling in the mydst of Chichester." The manor house at West Dean had been for some time the family-seat. We have already met with him as besieged in Portsmouth, and whether from his opposition in Parliament, or from his holding the

⁵² This family is now represented by Sir T. Dyke Acland, Bart., through a succession of female heiresses. The Morley heiress, Mary, Countess of Derby (whose charities still survive her at Boxgrove) had her arms exhibited in the rebuilt church of St. Pancras, destroyed during the siege, but by error the leopard's face was 'or.' Sir John was the son of Sir Edward Morley, Sir William's brother.

⁵³ This family seems entirely distinct from that of another Thomas May (born at Mayfield, 1595, and who died 1650) the eldest son of Sir Thomas May, knight. In his excellent History of the Parliament of England, fol. 1647, to which he was secretary, he feelingly exclaims, before relating the civil wars: "I could have wished more than my life that my theme could rather have been the prosperity of these nations."

⁵⁴ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. iii, p. 99.

⁵⁵ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. ii, p. 59.

same religious opinions as his father, he seems to have been especially obnoxious to the victorious soldiers, who plundered and demolished his house after the surrender. The recorder-ship was declared vacant, May 8, 1643, and his lands were sold in 1651⁵⁶ after he had been himself proclaimed a traitor to the Commonwealth.

Among the prisoners were also Thomas and George (afterwards Colonel) Gunter, cousins, belonging to an ancient family, originally from Wales, and settled at Racton on the western border of Sussex. A fine of £100 now imposed upon Thomas did not extinguish his loyalty, and Colonel Gunter after "serving the king in the war,"⁵⁷ had the honour of guiding Charles II in safety across Sussex before his well-known escape from Shoreham. He "happened to be the lucky man who first procured the bark at Brightelmstone" by the assistance of his kinsman Thomas, "a prudent loyal gentleman," and Thomas Mansell, "a merchant of Chichester of great integrity." The two Gunters met the king near Hambledon in Hampshire with a brace of greyhounds, as if for coursing. Full of peril as every step of the king's flight was, he had stopped in his ride to "view Stonehenge, the stones of which, in despite of fabulous tales, he twice counted exactly," before going on to meet his friends, and instead of proceeding to Racton as had been intended, it was thought more prudent to lodge for the night at Hambledon at the house of Colonel Gunter's brother-in-law, Mr. Simonds, "a loyal hearty gentleman, but too great a lover of the bottle." No one, not even Gunter's sister, suspected that William Jackson (as good a name to disguise fugitive kings as *Smith*) with his hair recently "cropped by Penderell's scissors," was the king. Indeed Simonds, who came in from the public-house while they were at supper, looked on him as a traitor, until his brother Gunter answered for him, on which the host "took him by the hand and drank a good glass of strong beer to him, calling him, 'brother roundhead,' a character which Charles, with his ready wit, kept up by gravely reproving Simonds for a profane oath. The next day, October 14, a long journey across Sussex lay before him, and the two Gunters rode with him, until "near

⁵⁶ In the order to sell the estates of delinquents, July 16, 1651, he is described as "late of the Middle Temple."

⁵⁷ Clarendon, B. xiii.

Lord Lumley's house at Stanstead," where Thomas prudently left him, in order to attract less notice upon the party. On reaching Bramber, "they there met some of Colonel Herbert Morley's soldiers, who yet did neither examine them, nor had they, as far as could be discerned, the least suspicion of the royal passenger, who arrived at last at the George Inn in Brighthelmstone."⁵⁸ Though Charles on parting, the next day, thanked Colonel Gunter "for his great care, pains, and fidelity towards him," it does not appear that either pension or title recorded them, when so many inferior services were rewarded after the Restoration.

Among the remaining Royalist captives were John Covert, of Slaugham, who was allowed to compound for his estate, Oct. 23, 1644; John Apsley, probably of the Pulborough branch of the family, though several of his kinsmen fought on the other side; and Francis Drury, Edward Osborne, Rishton, Heath, Robert Anderson counsellor at law, Mr. Collins a minister, Alderman Francis Shallet who was fined £50, and Captain Nicholas Woolfe of Grayling Wells within the city, and who held 149 acres leased to him in 1633 by the dean and chapter, and was now fined £48 by the parliament; his property was sequestred June 27, 1643, and, after his death, his widow, though the daughter of Richard Moore, a member adhering to parliament, was so destitute as to be obliged to petition (Sept. 4) for some support for herself and her children out of it; even the debtors of these '*delinquents*' were searched out, and Thomas Waller of Chichester, having in hand £700 "due to a papist" as the purchase money of an estate, was peremptorily ordered (Oct. 7, 1643) by parliament not to pay it to him, but to the state.

Of the Royalist clergy of course the chief delinquent was the bishop. Henry King having been chaplain to James I and Charles I, enjoyed rich preferments as canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and rector of Petworth.⁵⁹ He had but lately been

⁵⁸ The quotations in the narrative are from the authentic account in Boscobel, p.100, &c.; v. also Ludlow's Memoirs, p.36. Had Charles I made good his escape from Carisbrook, it was to this coast that he looked for the means of flight. Sir John Berkeley tells us: "His Majesty charged me to require Mr. Ashburnham to provide a ship for him upon the coast of Sussex, but Mr. Ashburnham thought not fit I should be furnished with money for that purpose, or for my journey."—Memoirs, p. 68.

⁵⁹ Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 11.

appointed to the bishopric, and is contemptuously described by a virulent opponent as, "a proud prelate as all the rest are, and a most pragmatistical malignant against the parliament, as all his cater-capt companions also are;" and, "as bad as the worst."⁶⁰ This unhandsome character however seems to be particularly ungenerous, as Wood says of him, that "he was puritanically affected, and therefore to please the puritans he was promoted to the See of Chichester."⁶¹ Indeed, Sir Edward Dering (M. P. for Kent) in the debate, Nov. 22, 1642, on the introducing into a Parliamentary Ordinance the words, "Idolatry introduced by command of the bishops," expressly asserted, "there can be no superstition proved upon the Bishop of Chichester." His father, the Bishop of London, had been also accused of holding religious opinions different from what he professed. The bishop's estate was ordered to be forthwith sequestred, June 6, 1643; and though he petitioned parliament more than once, and pleaded that he had compounded with Sir W. Waller, he was answered, that any such agreement "doth not excuse him from the ordinance of sequestration of the personal estate of persons so compounding."⁶² Besides many sermons, Henry King was no mean poet, composing a metrical version of the Psalms, and other poems, of which Wood gives a pleasing specimen. These were probably the fruit of his long leisure and retirement until he was enabled to resume his see on the restoration, which he survived nine years.

Philip King, a canon of the cathedral, probably a relation of the bishop, was also among the prisoners. The Dean of Chichester, Dr. Bruno Reeves, is not mentioned as a captive, but having been chaplain to the king, he was an active opponent of the parliament, which had indeed already (Jan. 1642) stripped him of a living. He was now fined £120, and derived no benefit from his deanery till long after, but in due time he became chaplain to Charles II, was made Dean of Windsor, and died holding two livings, in 1677. During the civil troubles he published the following account⁶³ of the wanton and greedy

⁶⁰ Vicar's Jehovah Jireh, and his England's Worthies, Waller.

⁶¹ Athenæ Oxon. iii, 841.

⁶² Journ. House of Commons, July 15, Oct. 3, 1643.

⁶³ Mercurius Rusticus, or the Country's Complaint, recounting the Sad Events of this Unparalleled War; Angliæ Ruina, 4to, 1647, p. 223; vide also Dallaway's Chichester, p. 130.

triumph of Waller and his troops after winning Chichester : "The next day their first business was to plunder the cathedral church," and effectually they did it. "They left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice for the blessed sacrament. The commanders having in person executed the covetous part of sacrilege, they leave the destructive and spoiling part to be finished by the common soldiers." As they broke down the organ and dashed the pipes with their pole-axes, they cried out in scoff, "harke how the organs goe." The communion table and rails were demolished, and as to the table of the Ten Commandments "they broke it into small shivers." The torn leaves of the prayer books were scattered all about, the pictures of bishops and kings defaced, but the gowns and surplices were "reserved for secular uses." A solemn thanksgiving for the victory was appointed in the cathedral, and after the sermon "they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, scratching and scraping the painted walls, Sir W. Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers of these impious barbarities." The subdeanery church in the north transept was then treated in a similar manner, the chalice broken into bits for division of spoil, and the Bible marked "in divers places with a black cole." Sir Arthur Haselrig had in the meanwhile learnt "by a treacherous officer of the church" where more of the church plate was concealed, and bringing some of his men with "crowes of iron" into the chapter-house, he directed their breaking down the wainscot about the room. As the work went on, "he cried out, 'there boys, there boys, hearke, hearke, it rattles, it rattles.' His tongue was not enough to express his joy, it was operative at his very heels by dancing and skipping. Marke, what music it is lawful for a puritan to dance to!" When a request was made to spare one cup for the Sacrament, the answer of one of the soldiers, a Scotchman, was, "they should take a wooden dish." There seems to have been a peculiar spite in the Parliamentarians against the ancient monuments in cathedrals. At Worcester, about the same time, their conduct is thus described by Arthur Trevor, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, Dec. 31, 1642: "All the bishops' beards, noses, fingers,

and arms, and all, if they had white sleeves, are broken." The kings fared no better. "In all this hurly-burly their general or officers durst manage no other instrument of correction in their hands than their hats."⁶⁴ Many others who held stalls in the cathedral were exposed to persecution. Dr. William Cox, the precentor, had held a protestant controversy with the Jesuit Fisher, but was nearly killed at Exeter by the Earl of Stamford, whose violent temper, "together with *after-dinner*,"⁶⁵ made him suspect Cox as a spy, and he was afterwards hooted as a Jesuit by the mob. Dr. James Marsh, the chancellor, had his living of Cuckfield sequestred, July 12, 1643, and fled to the king at Oxford; John Gregory, the prebendary of Bracklesham, a great oriental scholar, and a friend of Selden's, was so reduced as to die in obscure poverty at an alehouse in 1646; Dr. Joseph Henshaw, the Prebendary of Hurst, who succeeded Reeves as dean, and became Bishop of Peterborough in 1663, was now fined £177; Dr. William Paul, the Prebendary of Seaford, also became a Bishop, of Oxford, in quieter times; and Dr. William Oughtred, the Prebendary of Heathfield, and a Fellow of Eton, an eminent mathematician, died of excess of joy in his old age (86) when he learned the restoration of monarchy.⁶⁶ Even ladies did not escape punishment. "Lady Shelly, a known papist, who had sent arms to Chichester,"⁶⁷ had her estate sequestred some months later, besides the £100 which she had paid as composition. So rigorously did they exact their claims that parliament rewarded those who informed it of any debts owing to this lady, and large sums, one of £1000, and two of £500, were thus exacted from the hands of the debtors. Even after the death of this lady, who was Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Reresby, of Thrisbergh, co. York, the estate, which was then in the hands of Captain James Temple, the regicide, was withheld from Sir Charles Shelly, the second baronet, on the plea of his being the grandson of a papist. The parliament accompanied their thanks with a special charge to the commanders at Chichester "to be careful of the prisoners;" and they were hurried off to London where they were confined in the deanery of St. Paul's, and in

⁶⁴ Carte's Collection, p. 15.

⁶⁵ Mere. Rust., p. 62.

⁶⁶ Walker's Sufferings of Clergy; Fuller's Worthies.

⁶⁷ Journ. House of Commons, March 5, 11, May 8.

Lord Petre's house, in Aldersgate-street, until Jan. 11, 1643, when some were sent to Windsor castle. Ensigns Richard and Thomas Shelley were in March removed from Lord Petre's to Plymouth for security. Lewknor was kept as a close prisoner, and none allowed to speak to him privately. The prisons often at this period overflowed, and Colonel Morley was one of a committee "to dispose of the prisoners, either by sending them to the Indies or otherwise." Some were kept in vessels at Gravesend, and Colonel Goring was kept in custody at the Red Lion Inn, Holborn, even though parliament considered it not safe, and wished him to be removed to the Tower,⁶⁸ but it was courteously resolved that "Lady Goring shall have liberty to see her son, Colonel Goring, a prisoner to the parliament, in presence and hearing of his keeper." He was released March 12, 1644, by exchange with Lord Lothian. Before quitting Chichester, it is fitting that antiquaries should especially lament some of the accompaniments of this capture, such as the loss of the ancient city records, and the destruction of the north-west tower of the cathedral.⁶⁹

After a few years' trial as a garrison town, part of the time under the famous Algernon Sydney as governor, the parliament fortunately resolved to disgarrison Chichester, March 2, 1646, and its ordnance was transferred to Arundel.

At this period the opposing parties in parliament were so equally divided, that it required three countings of the numbers, on Jan. 10, 1643, to ascertain that there was a majority of two votes in favour of treating with the king; but, after the suppression of the Cavaliers at Chichester, no further resistance to the authority of parliament seems to have been attempted in Sussex for nearly a year. The estates of delinquents were at the mercy of the sequestrators appointed in April, 1643. These were Sir Thomas Pelham,⁷⁰ Anthony Stapley, Herbert Morley, Thomas Whitfield, John Baker, Herbert Hay,⁷¹ Herbert Springate of the Broyle, Ralph

⁶⁸ Journ. House of Commons, July 17, Aug. 10, 1643.

⁶⁹ Though Hollar's print, engraved between 1670 and 1675, shows this tower perfect, it is probable that his drawing was made before the siege.

⁷⁰ Only son of the first baronet of the name. He took the Covenant June 8, 1643, and Anthony Stapley on the 19th, being the two members for the county at the time.

⁷¹ Of Glyndbourne, nephew and ward of Colonel Herbert Morley. He was M. P. for Arundel.

Cooper, Edward Apsley,⁷² James Temple,⁷³ Captain Carlton, Sir W. Goring, Sir Thomas Eversfield,⁷⁴ Thomas Sherley, Henry Shelley,⁷⁵ Herbert Board,⁷⁶ and others.

Most of the same persons with the addition of Captain Cockram,⁷⁷ mayor of Rye, were also appointed commissioners, August 3, 1643, to raise a weekly assessment of £625 for two months, in support of the parliamentary army. By various subsequent ordinances the county was heavily taxed; on Sept. 26, 1643, it was assessed at £500; on Nov. 30, 1643, it was ordered to "raise 850 foot, either by press or volunteers;" Sept. 1, 1644, Sir William Goring was added to the above, and a levy of £104. 3s. 4d. weekly for a year was required; on March 31, 1644, the four counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire were called upon for a contingent of 3000 foot, 1200 horsemen, and 500 dragoons; July 12, 1644, Surrey and Sussex were required to furnish 1000 foot, 100 horsemen, and 100 dragoons; Feb. 14, 1645, the contingent exacted was £3927. 15s. 6½d., payable by monthly instalments; March 14, a requisition for 78 draught-horses for the artillery was made; and on July 18, of the same year, the county had to provide 169 horsemen and 62 dragoons.

Even the commencement of this series of demands was not likely to make a cause popular, and well might Algernon Sydney's father say, amid the tumultuous strife at this time, "it would be a shame for any private man to be happy, and a sin to thinke himself so."⁷⁸ The feeling of discontent

⁷² Probably of the Thakeham branch of the family, brother of Lady Morton. Vide *Suss. Arch. Collections*, iv, p. 220. He was M.P. for Steyning.

⁷³ M.P. for Bramber, afterwards a regicide.

⁷⁴ M.P. for Hastings. A few months later, by a fate not unfrequent in revolutions, Sir T. Eversfield of Den, Horsham, became a victim to this very instrument of power, and his own estate was sequestered Sept. 28, 1643, "for deserting, on July 18, the service of the Commonwealth." Colonel Morley had been ordered to receive £200 set upon Sir Thomas to pay for the forces in Sussex.

⁷⁵ The colleague of Herbert Morley, as representative of Lewes.

⁷⁶ M.P. for Steyning.

⁷⁷ On Jan. 6, 1644, Parliament "bestowed £100 on Major Scott and Captain Cockram, in testimony of their good service to the state." The latter name will frequently recur in the following pages.

⁷⁸ Earl of Leicester's Letter to the Queen, Dec. 1643, in Blencowe's Sydney Papers, p. xxvii.

again tempted the Royalists to recover some stronghold in the county. Some apprehension of this seems to have induced the House of Commons, on July 18, 1643, hastily to appoint a committee of their Sussex partisans, authorised "to dispose of the affairs of Sussex;" and, on the plea that "the county is in great danger, speedily to be invaded by the barbarous cruelties, whose very mercy is no less than cruelty, and because timely remedy cannot be provided, if any long or tedious debate should happen about the preventing this mischief," full power was given them to levy forces, appoint officers, imprison and punish offenders. Much irritation was also felt, when, according to the Journals of the House of Commons, "Oct. 5, 1643, the Pope's bull, for canonizing such Catholics as should die in the war (intercepted) was read." So many falsehoods were put into currency during the civil war for political ends, that this interference of the Pope in the national struggle may have been a fiction, invented to justify severities.

When the parliament, in November, 1643, decreed that "all well-affected persons," in the four counties, "shall and may associate themselves, and mutually ayd, succour, support, and assist one another in the mutual defence and preservation of themselves," and appointed Sir W. Waller "Serjeant Major General" of such forces, the Royalists could have no scruple in combining for their own purposes, under pretence of obeying this law. It was, according to Clarendon (B. viii), "a general misfortune and miscomputation of that time," that the Royalist gentry overrated their strength, and he gives, as an instance of this, the urgent application of Sir E. Ford and the gentlemen of Sussex, for aid from the king, to enable them to seize Arundel, "which, standing near the sea, would yield great advantage to the king's service, and keep that rich corner of the country at his majesty's devotion." (B. viii.) Sir E. Ford was now not only again free, but "had then a regiment of horse in the Lord Hopton's troops, and had with him in his regiment many of the gentlemen of Sussex of good quality." The king had already, Feb. 16, 1643, lent the colour of legality to a levy of 3000 foot and 300 horse in the four counties, and accordingly a sufficient force was collected, towards the end of the year, to enable Hopton to

make a vigorous and successful attack upon Arundel, where the parliamentary garrison was negligently weak, and no store of provisions had been laid in. The time was happily chosen when Waller was absent in London, where Hopton knew "of a necessity he must be lectured and feasted,"⁷⁹ and his march was therefore unopposed.

It is to this surprisal of Arundel that the following descriptive narrative refers.⁸⁰ There is no date, except that of Dec. 6, no address or signature to it, but its internal evidence proves it to have been drawn up by some officer, apparently the governor, of the parliamentary garrison, in justification of its too easy surrender. The annalists of the Parliament do not even mention this loss at all, but Clarendon says of Arundel Castle, "though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were good, and the graff broad and deep, and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any sudden attack." . . . "The officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. So, upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement if he should defer giving it up, either from the effect of his own fear and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the soldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day," (Dec. 9, 1643).⁸¹

Who this officer was nowhere appears, but his long rides across the country seem to prove him not deficient in personal activity or local knowledge. Considering that he appointed, as will be seen, the troops from Horsham to meet at his house, for which the situation of Colonel Edward Apsley's⁸² residence, Worminghurst, midway between Horsham and Arundel, was well adapted, and that the MS. has been preserved among the papers of his sister, Lady Morton, it is not improbable that that officer was the writer.

It should be noted, that "the exceeding hard frost made

⁷⁹ Letter of Arthur Trevor, Dec. 9, 1643, in Carte's Collection.

⁸⁰ From the Apsley MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Mabbott.

⁸¹ Dugdale, *Short View of the Troubles*, p. 115, says the castle was taken Dec. 9, 1643, which agrees with Clarendon and the MS.

⁸² V. note 72, p. 54.

his (Hopton's) march more easy through those deep and dirty ways, than better weather would have done, and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in prospect." (B. viii.) The bad roads of Sussex therefore may be considered to have formed, under ordinary circumstances, an essential part of the strength of Arundel.

"ARRONDELL.

"Wednesday night, December 6th, Coll. Fford and Sir Edward Bishop came to Arrondell. About 5 of the clock in the morning Mr. Knight came to my house and brought the first alarme, whereupon I gave the first alarme to this part of the countrie. By time it was day, Mr. Stanes came to me; finding that I had noe strength to rely on, for the company that I had formerly made use of was put into garrison at Cowdray House, he perswaded me to retire my selfe either to London or eastward. Upon his reasonable perswasions, as I was goeing to give order to have mine horses made ready, I saw some 20 or 30 in mine hall, standing with their armes as ready for service. Whereupon, turning to Mr. Stanes, I told him that it should never be said that I should abandon the countrie soe long as any would stand to me, and wished him to moove me no farther, for I was resolved that, hap what hap could. Whereupon I gave order to Capt. Leighton to exercise those men he had. As I was at dinner there came a report of 2000 of the enemy coming within two miles, viz. to Chilington Common. I sent out to them to bid them looke to their watches, but before I had dined the report was contradicted. There were spies sent out, whereof one, Mr. Knight's man, went into the towne, and there lost me a man, but very honestly returned, and brought the certaine intelligence of the enemy. Soe soone as it was darke, I tooke horse and rod to Horsham, and sending for Mr. Sheapard and some other gentlemen of the towne, I enquired what strength they could make: they told me they thought 200. We resolved that they should come to my house the next day. I tooke horse againe, and with the helpe of Sir Thomas Siffield's guide, got to Bramber by sunrise. There and at Shoreham I found Capt. Temple, Capt. Carleton, Capt. Suerrenden and Capt. Ffuller; before night Coll. Morly came to us alsoe from Lewes. Captain Morley,⁸³ had sent him that had been employed as a spye with a letter to me to have a randevouse appoynted, for there were 200 foote and 120 horse assembled, and to let me know that Sir Ed. Bishop had driven away all my sheepe. It was agreed the randevouse to be at Cobden Hill⁸⁴ by 12 of the clock. Next day, betweene one and two, Col. Morley, Capt. Temple, and my selfe, came to them with 200 dragoons, under Capt. Carleton and Capt. Suerrenden; Capt. Temple⁸⁵ tooke order to hasten

⁸³ Probably William, Colonel Morley's younger brother.

⁸⁴ Cobden Hill is on the Downs, on the west side of the valley in which Findon lies, not far from Mundham, then belonging to the royalist Sir T. Bowyer.

⁸⁵ James Temple, afterwards colonel, represented Bramber in parliament, of which he was governor. When the Rump was dispersed, his private debts made him for a time the inmate of a prison. He was "one of the prince's cruel judges, and a constant

the workes at Bramber and Shoreham by the pioneers, and Capt. Ffuller and his Company to man them.

Upon the information of the spye, Coll. Morley, Capt. Temple, and the rest of the counsell of warr resolved to fall into Arrondell, or if we were hindred of that by the breaking of the bridge by the enemy, to draw a brest worke at the head of the cawsey, and soe block them up at least on that side. Hereupon we drew the forces into severall bodyes. Now my Lord Hopton came into the towne since my spies cominge out. Upon this resolution, we marched in our severall divissions for Parham Park, and intended for Arrondell, we took the word, 'God with us.' The day was mistye, espetiallye on those high hills, soe was the night; only now and then upon a gale of winde the mist brake up. In our march, false intelligence was given that the enemy had layd Houghton Bridge: it was then thought fitt not to engage the body in those narrow wayes from Parham Ash to Arrondell in the night, till we know whether the bridge were layd or noe, doubteing that the enemy had notice of our advance, and soe might distress us in the waie. Whereupon, by the advise of the counsell of warr, the forlorne hope was turned into a partie, and sent, commanded by Lieut. Burton, to see whether the bridge was layd or noe. Before the partie could returne to the body, the light of the moone (which would [*have*] much assisted us in the bottoms where the mist was not soe thick, and the wayes very narrow,) would be soe far spent, that it was not possible for the foote to marche to Arrondell, wherefore they were sent to quarter at Parham, with whom I was going, till stayed by Coll. Morley. The horse were kept upon the hill to get intelligence of the enemy, and to do service upon their quarters, if we could find them out. Coll. Morley and my selfe with some others rod out upon the hills, to discover the country and to see what became of the partie sent out. In our absence the horsemen unbitted their horses, and turned them to a load of hay which they had taken from the couees. In our returne there was one musket shott of, and some dags⁸⁶ that sparkled fire much like a match lighted with gunpowder. This was a partie of the enemy upon our body, unsuspected by us. Coll. Morley was told that it was not well to lye soe openly; he said he would close them: one replied that they thought if he did but speake to them, it was enough. He rod towards them, and I rod on softly upon the way, till meetinge this partie of the enemy coming up from our own body, out of any roade, taking it to be a partie of our owne, for the mist fell thick that I could not discerne my horse leangth. I rod to them: they said, 'who are you?' I said, 'a friend,' they said, 'who are you for?' I replied 'what, doe you not know me?' and gave them the word 'God with us.' They asked me again, 'who are you for?' I returned the word again angrily, doubting that they might not know the word. With that, one of them caught hold of my horse, another of my sword, and asked 'who I was for?' I said, 'for king and parliament,' and laying my hand upon my sword, they pulled and brake it. A third came and caught hold of my rockett coate, and threw it over my head, when divers with their drawne swords rod about me, pulling

Rumper to the last." Vide *Mystery of the Good Old Cause*, 4to, 1660, London. Sir John Temple was a parliamentary commissioner in Sussex in 1647. Thomas Temple was cornet in the 72d troop under the Earl of Essex. Vide *Catalogue*, 4to, 1642.

⁸⁶ 'Dag' (from the Fr. *dague*) originally meaning a dagger, was at this period in common use to signify a small hand-gun or pistol.

by my coate that was about mine head. I told the properest man that I could spye (this man I understood to be called Mr. Mountegew)⁸⁷ that I was his prissoner. He replied that none should wrong me, but before they would lett goe mine horse, caused me presently to alight. They took my coate and gloves, and told me they should search my pockets. I replied, that should not need, for there was money for them, and soe gave the silver that I had in that pocket, some to one, some to another, wherefore the one would not lett the other rifle me, whereby I had the opportunity to convey away Sir William Waller's letters, and the Committee's, which I had then about me, and left a little money for my selfe. Mr. Mountegew gatt uppon mine horse, and told me that I should gett uppon his. This was a poore tired jade. I was long, eare I gott up. They held theire pistolls to me, and said 'shoote him, shoote him.' I, pulling the saddle on my side, turned my breast to theire pistolls, and said, 'why shoote me then? for I can not gett up.' Then said one, 'why do you not alight and helpe him up?' with that one alighted and helped me up. This I did delay, expectinge reliefe. They asked, how strong wee were? I told them between 3 and 400. This was true, but the rest I conceald, namely, that our men were unbitted and out of order, and unable to make any resistance. The feare of theire number, and the not knowing theire disorder, caused the enemy to hast away almost in the like disorder. Hence I conclude they came uppon noe advertisement, because theire partie was soe smalle, and our body soe greate, and had I beene minded to have done our partie an affront, I leave it to consideration."

Here the MS. breaks off abruptly, and it does not appear whether the writer got free from the Royalists. He may have remained their prisoner, and been found so, when Waller retook Arundel. Supposing the writer to be Colonel Edward Apsley, his subsequent detention there by the Parliament, and his motives for writing the above narrative seem accounted for. Soon after the re-capture, Apsley certainly incurred suspicion; for on January 17, 1644, on coming up to London from Worminghurst with "certain parcels of plate," they were "seized by the court of guard at Lambeth," and only released on a certificate of his being "well affected." It is also certain that he was a prisoner at Arundel during the following autumn, for the officer in command there was re-proved by parliament for having released him, without its previous sanction. Apsley was however bailed out of custody, Sept. 5, and, on the petition of the officers of his regiment, his case was referred for decision to the Sussex Committee in November.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Perhaps Mr. Walter Montague, who, with Sir Kenelm Digby, had in April 1640 advised their Roman Catholic brethren, under the sanction of the pope's nuncio in London, to assist the king with money. Rushworth, ii, 825. The estate of Lord Viscount Montague, a papist, of Cowdray, was ordered to be sequestered June 27, 1643.

⁸⁸ Journ. House of Commons.

On his march upon Arundel, Hopton had taken Winchester and Cowdray, leaving a garrison in the latter, and he now endeavoured to push his successes more to the east of the country. Colonel Morley, however, who had been especially commissioned, in November, 1642, to provide for the defence of Lewes, interposed and beat him back in his advance upon that town.⁸⁹

The Committee at Lewes, by a letter of December 7, had informed Parliament that "the town of Arundel had been taken, and the castle besieged and in great danger," and on this being read, December 9, John Baker of Mayfield was nominated high sheriff of Sussex under the authority of the newly-devised great seal, and "the gentlemen of the four associated counties were ordered to withdraw forthwith to consider of sending relief to Arundel Castle, and to clear the county of Sussex, and to consider of providing for the security of that county in the best way they can, and to consult hereof with the Earl of Northumberland, Lieutenant of Sussex." This Earl had adhered to the parliament, and was recommended by them to the king (Feb. 12, 1641), as "fit to be entrusted with the militia of the kingdom." Soon after the taking of Arundel, however, he retired to his house at Petworth, meaning thereby to mark his "aversion to the counsels at Westminster."⁹⁰

The Parliament was with reason much alarmed by this loss "in a county where the king had before no footing," as Clarendon remarks. The Committee of Safety immediately (December 14) wrote to the Earl of Essex, urging him to assist Sir W. Waller, "for the king's forces increase in Hampshire and Sussex, and divers new regiments are raising there, which would be very prejudicial to the public, unless presently prevented."⁹¹ One of the newswriters of the day observes; "no doubt the rot was in Hantshire as well as Sussex, for it came thence."⁹² More of the parliamentary adherents were now appointed (December 27, 1643) deputy-lieutenants of Sussex, including Thomas Middleton, William and Thomas Michelborne, Henry Shelley, Herbert Hay, and Lawrence Ashburnham, and a record was made on

⁸⁹ Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 74.

⁹¹ See Letter in Parl. Hist.

⁹⁰ Clarendon, Hist. B. vii.

⁹² Parliamentary Scout, 4to, No. 36.

the appointment of a sheriff for Sussex, separate from Surrey, that "it is not to be drawn into example in times of peace." The triumph of the Royalists at Arundel was as sudden as had been that of their enemies the year before, but it was much shorter-lived, not continuing a month.

Sir E. Ford had been left in command by Lord Hopton, with a garrison of above 200 men, and many good officers, who rejoiced in having got to such good winter quarters.⁹³ "The governor (says Clarendon) was a man of honour and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war, than what he had learned since these troubles." The magazines of provisions were unfortunately not increased, and one of his own officers, an Irishman, Colonel Bamfield, was intriguing against him.

Sir W. Waller had been making repeated applications for recruits and money, previous to this disaster. The city of London was now requested to allow "the longer stay of their forces," 500 men of the Windsor garrison were ordered to join him, the Kentish committee wrote from Westerham to offer assistance, and Sussex was required immediately to pay £1080. 5s. 5d., and to raise 125 horse. As the hard frost still continued, Sir William Waller was thus enabled quickly to march from Farnham by Alton and Haslemere to Cowdray House, the noble mansion of Lord Montague,⁹⁴ the garrison of which made its escape into Arundel.

On the morning of Wednesday, December 20, he attacked the entrenchments on the north of Arundel Castle, and forced his way into the town, obliging the Royalists to retire into the castle. At first the besieged hoisted a red flag on the walls as a well understood defiance, for at this time, "The Earl of Essex's colours were a deep yellow; others setting up another colour were held malignants, and ill-affected to the Parliament's cause. So small a thing is taken notice of in the jealousies of war."⁹⁵

The details of the successful siege, which lasted seventeen

⁹³ Clarendon, B. viii.

⁹⁴ The Parliament ordered the goods plundered at Cowdray to be brought to London, and "sold to the best value."

⁹⁵ Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 59.

days, are best known by Waller's own despatches,⁹⁶ which have been repeatedly published. Colonel Morley brought his regiment on the 21st, Sir William Springate his from Kent on the following day, and 600 horse were sent by the Earl of Essex. Provisions were so scarce throughout the siege that many of the garrison endeavoured to escape even in boats of raw oxhide across the Arun. On the 28th, however, with a reckless cavalier spirit, the garrison asked for a parley, only to request a supply of sack and cards, a mockery which must have not a little exasperated the stern covenanters. Hopton, who was at Winchester when the siege began, advanced by Petersfield, in order to relieve Arundel, and approached as near as Marden and West Dean, on Dec. 29, but he was unable to raise the siege, and endeavoured to create a diversion by attacking Colonel Richard Norton,⁹⁷ who held Warblington, just beyond the western boundary of Sussex, with a garrison of sixty men, and who commanded the parliamentary horse in the four counties, during the absence of the Earl of Pembroke. The Parliament, on learning Hopton's advance, had urged their general, the Earl of Essex, to march to Waller's help without any delay, as "absolutely necessary" to prevent the relief of Arundel, and "the mischief that will else follow upon the whole kingdom, is easy to be foreseen."

The garrison however was more and more straitened, and on January 5, 1644, Waller courteously permitted some ladies to leave the castle and dine at his table, while the terms of surrender were arranging. These were Lady Bishop,⁹⁸ with her two daughters, one of whom, Diana, was the young wife (only fifteen years old) of Henry Goring, an officer within the

⁹⁶ Full Relation of Late Proceedings of Sir W. Waller, printed by T. Field, Jan. 8, 1644.—Dallaway's Arundel, p. 105; Tierney's Arundel, i, 61. Dallaway at p. 99 attributes the narrative of the siege in 1642 to that of 1643.

⁹⁷ Vide Wars of England by R. Burton (pseudonym for Nath. Crouch) p. 112. Colonel Norton, who was M.P. for Hampshire, in a letter of Jan. 2, 1644, reports his encounter with some of Hopton's forces near Havant. (Journ. H. Comm. Jan. 8.) Sir Gregory Norton is described as "of Sussex, a man of mean fortune before these times. He had Richmond House and the king's goods for inconsiderable value, but they were the price of royal blood, he being one of the king's judges, and a constant Rumper to the last."—Mystery of the Good Old Cause, Lond. 1660.

⁹⁸ Lady Mary Tufton, daughter of the Earl of Thanet, wife of Sir Edward Bishop, the second baronet. Their eldest son was wounded in this siege.

garrison, the only son of Lady Goring,⁹⁹ who met her here. Within a few hours of the young bride's return to her husband, early on the morning of January 6, her father, Sir Edward Bishop, and Sir Edward Ford, presented themselves to Waller as hostages for the delivery of the Castle, both thus becoming his prisoners for the second time. They were declared by Parliament (Oct. 9) incapable of any employment. Sir John Morley was included in the same treatment, but was allowed to compound for a fine, on Oct. 23. Sir Edward Ford retired for some time abroad, but in 1647, the Queen sent him over, knowing his relationship with Ireton, "to discover the intentions of the army, and promote an agreement between his Majesty and them." Sir John Berkeley followed, and met him at Reading, with the same hopeless intrigue in view.¹⁰⁰ On the king's flight from Hampton Court, Ford was suspected to have been privy to it, and was ordered by parliament to be arrested.

Besides the trophies of 19 colours taken, there were also 1000 prisoners, besides those captured during the attack, and a newswriter of the day says of them, as they left the castle, "I never saw so many weake and feeble creatures together in my life, for almost all the common soldiers were half-starved, and many of them hardly able to set one foot before another."¹⁰¹ "The terrible coldness of the season"¹⁰² had detained there also the celebrated controversialist, the friend of Falkland, Dr. Chillingworth, in the hopes of a winter shelter, and, being now involved in the fate of the garrison, his life speedily sank under the treatment of his enemies.

The hard conditions of surrender, "at mercy," imposed upon Arundel on this occasion, were urged as a precedent afterwards, when the Royalists were besieging General Ludlow in Wardour Castle, and they refused to allow the garrison to retain their arms, because Waller had rejected such terms at

⁹⁹ Maria, daughter of Thomas Eversfield, called 'Lady Goring' by the chronicler, was the wife of Henry, cousin to the then baronet, Sir William, who adhered to the Parliament. She had nine daughters, besides this only son Henry, who afterwards succeeded to the baronetcy of Sir James Bowyer, and was the ancestor of the present Gorings of Highden and Wiston. Waller's list of prisoners mentions 'Ensign Goringe' and 'gentleman, Henry Goringe,' one of which was the young man in question. George, Lord Goring, father of Colonel Goring, who surrendered Portsmouth, was also a cousin, descended from another branch.

¹⁰⁰ Sir T. Berkeley's Memoirs, 1699. ¹⁰¹ Tierney's Arundel, p. 69. ¹⁰² Clarendon.

Arundel, "though they were in a much better state of defence there than those at Wardour."¹⁰³ So easy is one severity made to justify another.

As a startling incident of civil war, it should be noted that among the most zealous of the victorious besiegers were the very soldiers of Lord Hopton's favourite regiment, who had been routed and captured at Alton by Waller a few days before. The Trained Bands of London, which had reinforced Waller, were now requested to remain with him, in order to secure the castle. These consisted principally of apprentices, whose masters had been compelled by ordinance of parliament (Nov. 7, 1642), on receiving them back, to reckon the military service as a portion of their apprenticeship. It was only on special occasions that they left the city, and it was perhaps for their use, that among other stores sent to Waller by the Parliament on this occasion, "a thousand clubs" were included.¹⁰⁴ At Arundel were collected the Green regiment of auxiliaries, under Col. Whitcote, the Yellow regiment from the Tower Hamlets and from Southwark, which had been at Basing and Alton, and the Red and Blue Trained Bands of the city of London, under Sir James Harrington.¹⁰⁵ The Red regiment had been surprised by the king at Brentford in Nov. 1642, when he threatened to hang the soldiers if they did not join his army. "A smithe was brought to burne them on the cheekes with hot irons," whereupon 200 declared for the royal service, and "140 tendered their persons to be stigmatised rather than yield;" they were however released unhurt. It seems contrary to the usual notions of the relative strength of the two parties, to find the king in a private letter from Oxford, Dec. 15, 1642, to the Earl of Newcastle saying, "my greatest want is dragooners, which I want the more, because it is the rebelles (indeed only) strength, their foot having no inclination to winter marches."¹⁰⁶

On the news of the taking of Arundel reaching the Parliament (Jan. 8), thanks were voted to Waller, "much approving of all his proceedings herein; and they perceiving by the list

¹⁰³ Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 95.

¹⁰⁴ Journ. Comm. Dec. 9, 1643. The storekeeper had orders on Nov. 1 to deliver "for the use of Windsor Castle, 150 of the Danish clubs."

¹⁰⁵ Vicar's Magnalia Dei Anglicana, 1646, Lond.; Rushworth, vi, 719.

¹⁰⁶ Ellis' Letters, 1 Ser. iii, 294.

that there are many gentlemen of the country, that are not soldiers, that are men of good estate, they do give power to him to ransom them for sums of money, the which they leave to his disposition upon account." Sir William Waller, besides being hailed as 'William the Conqueror' by his friends, was promoted to be major-general in consequence of this success, which was made more complete by the easy capture of a Dunkirk ship laden with ammunition and other stores, which ran up the Arun ignorant of what had happened. The disposal however of this prize caused much embarrassment for many months to the parliament. The Spanish ambassador interposed with his objections, and sundry merchants claimed to have shares in the cargo. The Admiralty was therefore referred to, and ultimately the St. James of Dunkirk was released (Aug. 24, 1644) from restraint, and Colonel Morley, as commander of Arundel, was ordered to pay £4000 as salvage to Waller's army in compensation, and to account to the claimants for what had been already sold or used.¹⁰⁷

Waller now sent a large force "2000 horse and foot, and two drakes to besiege the Lord Lumley's house in Sussex."



This was Stanstead, in the parish of Stoughton, then a castellated building with a turreted gateway, and a courtyard, the remains of which are shown in the woodcut.¹⁰⁸ As one of

¹⁰⁷ Journ. Comm. Oct. 4, 1644.

¹⁰⁸ From Grimm's drawing in 5675, Burrell MS. "East side of ancient seat of the Earls of Arundel, Stanstead, now converted to barns and stables, 1782."

the possessions of the Fitz-Alans, it had passed in 1580, on the death of the last Earl of Arundel, of that name, to Lord Lumley,¹⁰⁹ the husband of Jane, one of his co-heiresses. It had, however, since his death been sold to Richard Lewknor, and it was perhaps the unpopularity of that family that now attracted the vengeance of Waller, to whom it speedily submitted. The victorious general is said also to have sent troops to destroy the ironworks, where the royal ammunition was made, in St. Leonard's forest, belonging to the crown or to royalists.¹¹⁰ The Cavaliers whom he had taken prisoners were sent up to London, guarded by four troops of horse,¹¹¹ "some in carts, some on foot." Waller now left Colonel Morley and Colonel Springett in charge of Arundel castle. Colonel Stapley continued as governor of Chichester, and, as such, had objected to quarter some of Waller's troops in that city; but the Parliament, after several letters had passed¹¹² on the subject, desired him to yield obedience upon all occasions to Sir William Waller, as commanding in chief.

All these officers were remarkable men of Sussex. Of Colonel Morley frequent mention has been made, and a more extended notice will be given at the close of these remarks. Colonel Anthony Stapley, of Patcham, served during all these wars as an active adherent of the Parliament, in which he sat as member of the county. To him, in conjunction with others, were entrusted the measures for raising money and troops in Sussex. He took the covenant on Feb. 5, 1644, and did not scruple to sit in judgment upon the king, and to sign his death-warrant. Clarendon¹¹³ ranks him "in the number of

¹⁰⁹ John De Lumley, Baron Lumley, was restored in blood, 1547, after an attainder, and on his death, 1609, the title became extinct. Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, was the other co-heiress, by whose marriage the Howard family succeeded to the honours of the Fitz-Alans.

¹¹⁰ Dallaway's Chichester, cxliii; see also *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, pp. 211-16, and III, pp. 243-46, as to Ifield and the Royal Iron-works in St. Leonard's Forest.

¹¹¹ They arrived Jan. 20.—*Journ. Comm.*

¹¹² Vide *Journ. of House of Commons*, Jan. 10, 16, Feb. 16, 20, March 7, 1644. There had been a previous dispute in Chichester between the Sussex committee and Captain Higgons, which was reported to W. Cawley, Dec. 20, 1643, and it continued June 4, 1644. Colonel Stapley was ordered, Sept. 2, to go down to Chichester and prepare the garrison to march to the assistance of Sir W. Waller, then in Dorsetshire. On March 13, 1643, Stapley had "licence to convey by sea into Sussex 100 muskets, rests, and bandaliers, for the use of the county."

¹¹³ *Hist.*, B. xv.

the blackest offenders." He must have been, however, popular where he was most known ; for, both in 1640 and 1656, he was returned at the same time by Lewes and the county as their representative, though in both instances he sat for the county. The memory of his deceased wife,¹¹⁴ a sister of the royalist, Lord Goring, did not relax his anti-monarchical zeal ; but, soon after his death, which happened under the protectorate, the influence of this family connection acted so strongly upon his sons, who had been children when the civil wars began, that they entered, in 1658, into a dangerous plot with their uncle against Oliver Cromwell. Their conduct on that occasion will be related presently.

Of Sir William Springet, for so his widow¹¹⁵ spells the name, though he died at the early age of twenty-two, we have such interesting particulars given us by that lady, who was first a rigid Puritan, and afterwards a Quaker, details so illustrative of the feelings of the time, that they will justify a longer digression. A strong sectarian spirit, for which allowance must be made, pervades all her remarks ; and both the parents of her husband seem to have had the same religious bias. She says, "his father (younger brother of Sir Thomas Springett of Broyle Place, knight) though a lawyer, was religious and strict—in that dim day of light," but this exceptional lawyer, after three

¹¹⁴ Anne, sister of Lord Goring, died in 1637.—Vide *Suss. Arch. Collections*, ii, 105, for Stapley pedigree, where however the date of Anthony Stapley's death is wrongly stated as 1671 ; he died shortly before his son's plot in 1658.

¹¹⁵ Mary, daughter of Sir John Preva, knight. Her fortune of £1600 was all spent by her husband in his campaigns. She was remarried to Isaac Pennington, son of an active regicide, who had been Lord Mayor of London, and adopted his religious creed. Her letters to her grandson, written in 1680, to teach him about his Springet ancestry, appear in *Gent. Mag.* 1851, pp. 365-585, as from a MS., the editor not seeming aware that they had been previously in print, 12mo, London, 1821. Many details concerning her are found in Thomas Ellwood's *Autobiography* (London, 8vo, 1714) who became a Quaker from her example. or more probably from love of her daughter Gulielma, or Guli, as he calls her, with whom he had been a playfellow in childhood. Ellwood was much amused by her change from "a free debonair courtly sort of behaviour to so strict a gravity," and feelingly describes the dullness of the meal, when, as he says, "we staid dinner, which was very handsome and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse," p. 14. Ellwood acted as agent to the Stapley estate in Sussex, and frequently travelled into the county with 'Guli.' The young lady, however, married in 1672 the celebrated William Penn, but during his absence in Pennsylvania sent an express to summon Ellwood to her at Worminghurst, when she thought herself dying, p. 325.

years of marriage died of consumption, and left his widow, Katherine sister of Sir E. Partridge¹¹⁶ of Kent, with a jointure of £240 a-year. With this small income she had in the house "a minister" to preach twice a week to her friends, "kept a brace of geldings, a man and a maid servant," and boarded at her brother's, spending half her fortune in daily compounding and dispensing medicines to the poor, with particular reputation as an oculist. She sent her son William to Cambridge at a "Puritan college called St. Katherine's Hall, for he declined bishops and Common Prayer very early," and when only twenty, he married the lady, who records all these details. The marriage took place in Kent "without a ring, and many of their formal dark words left out." When his first child was born, he carried him five miles off in order to avoid baptism in a church, and to obtain it from the chosen hands of "Master Wilson of Otham."¹¹⁷ It was, indeed, said of Springet by his enemies that he professed himself conscious of two sins only, worthy of repentance,—having gone to church and saying the Lord's Prayer. Having lost no time in taking the covenant, he soon received a commission to raise a regiment against the king. Though Sir W. Waller, in his despatch from Arundel, entitles him Sir William, yet as he was thanked for his zeal in 1642 by Parliament "as Captain Springate," it is wholly improbable that the young Roundhead had been knighted by the king in the interval, and probably the Earl of Essex had exercised a general's privilege to give him the title. Almost as soon as he had raised his regiment of 800 horse, he was called upon to employ it in the suppression of a royalist rising in the vale of Kent, having first sent his wife off in a stage-coach to Rochester, and so by water for safety to London, which, however, she found all in alarm at the king's advance to Brentford. He invited those who had lost cattle and horse by the Kentish royalists to claim

¹¹⁶ He was one of the committee appointed to remove the queen's Capuchin monks from Somerset House, in March, 1643.

¹¹⁷ He and Dr. Francis Tailor were chosen by Kent among the "Orthodox divines, presented by the knights and burgesses of severall counties, cities, and boroughs as fit persons to be consulted with by the Parliament touching the reformation of church government and Liturgie, April 25, 1642." 4to, 1642. The names for Sussex were Master Benjamin Pickering of East Hoathly, who was a constant attendant, and Henry Nye.—See Neale's Puritans.

the recovered plunder, depositing them characteristically "in what they call their church." Parliament appointed him a deputy-lieutenant for Kent, Oct. 16, 1643. His short military career was an active one; he besieged and took Lord Craven's house in Surrey, was hit by a spent bullet at Newbury, where, his tent not being ready, he lived "some days in Lord Robert's coach¹¹⁸ upon candied green citron and biscuit," and was present at several other engagements, until he became so disgusted at the faint zeal and intrigues of his fellow-officers, that he retired with his regiment into Kent. From thence, however, Waller's summons to rescue Arundel roused him, "he looking upon this engagement as a particular service to his own native county," and he hurried, as we have seen, to what proved his last campaign. "It was a very difficult hard service, but, Arundel being taken, he and Colonel Morley had the government and management of the castle committed to their charge."

Soon afterwards, however, a sickness, generally fatal, attacked the garrison. "Many Kentish-men, both commanders and others, died of it in a week's time," and Springet was also taken ill, "at his quarters, at one Wade's,¹¹⁹ near Arundel, of the disease of the soldiers, called calenture,¹²⁰ or sun-fever, frequent at sea." His wife was sent for from London, and her account of the journey, which, although then great with child, she immediately undertook, is remarkable. The road was so notoriously bad, that she had great difficulty in hiring a coach at all, and at length succeeded only by bargaining to pay £12 for the conveyance. A physician went with her, and the messenger from her husband escorted her on horseback,

¹¹⁸ John Baron Robartes seems always to have gone to battle in this manner, for at Edgehill his "coach and waggons of great value" were taken.—Carte's Collection, p. 11.

¹¹⁹ Edward Wade, gent. of Ferring, appears in the Sussex Visitation of 1634.

¹²⁰ Calenture needs a dose of archæology now-a-days, though formerly an item in the London Bills of Mortality. This fatal fever attacked especially those who lay exposed to unwholesome night air. In the delirium peculiar to it, surrounding objects assumed the aspect of verdant meadows to the eyes of the sufferer, who, when at sea, would madly throw himself into it, as if seeking the refreshment of a cool walk on land. Dryden and Swift have made fine poetical use of this delusion. Probably Falstaff died of it, for Mrs. Quickly, describing his last symptoms, after lamenting that he was "so shaken of a burning quotidian tertian," as Springet also was, says: "After I saw him fumble with the sheets and play with flowers, I knew there was but one way, for 'a babbled of green fields.'" Hen. V, Act 2.

but the frost, which had twice helped the capture of Arundel, was now broken up, the waters were out, and she was "forced to row in the highways in a boat, and take the things in the coach with her, and the horses to be led with strings tied to their bridles, and to swim the coach and horses in the highways." She was afterwards "benighted, and overthrown in the dark into a hedge," close to a very deep precipice. The colonel of a garrison which she passed, invited her to stop for repose, but she gallantly says, "I was resolved not to go out of the coach, unless it broke, until I came so near the house that I could compass it on foot." . . . "When we came to Arundel, we met with a most dismal sight, the town being depopulated, all the windows broken with the great guns, and the soldiers making stables of all the shops and lower rooms." After passing through the dreary town, she was at last obliged to fulfil her resolution of walking, for, within a quarter of a mile from her husband's residence, "the horses came to a stand, the wheel of the coach being pitched in the root of a tree." This unexpected arrival at midnight did not allay the feverish excitement of the overjoyed husband, who had been now sleepless for five days. When his friends had insisted upon quiet, he had covenanted with them for the liberty "to shoot birds with his cross-bow out of window, which he did till the fever took his head." . . . "He was an artist in shooting and fishing," and had been employed from his boyhood with horses, dogs, guns, cross-bows, bullets, feathering arrows, and, a curious amusement, "pulling his watch to pieces."

The devoted wife now watched him incessantly for two more days of ebbing life, hanging upon his parched lips, to cool them with her own, unterrified by the danger of infection, and rewarded by his faint entreaty, "Oh, don't leave me." The next morning after he had thus breathed away his love and life, in his 23d year, Feb. 3, 1644, his body was carried, in his own ammunition-waggon, to Ringmer, his native place. Having always provided, at his own expense, both his tents and ammunition, and having kept a table at Arundel open to the volunteers of his own regiment, it is not surprising that only £12. was now found in his chest, and he left debts of £2000, partly by having advanced loans for what he thought the good cause. He seems never to have neglected an occa-

sion of showing his burning zeal, always clearing "the steeple-houses" of their surplices, pictures, crosses, "and such like trumpery," and never relaxing, so as to reserve any such object "for its comeliness or costly workmanship." In one instance, when calling at the house of a Puritan member of parliament, a deputy-lieutenant of the county, as he passed through the hall, he drew out his sword, and cut some pictures, which he chose to consider superstitious, out of their frames on the wall, and then "spitting them upon his sword's point," carried them into the lady of the house, in order to reproach her. Conscientiously declining all advantage for himself, he would never lodge in the sequestered mansions of the royalists, not even that of his uncle, Sir Thomas Culpeper's, and indeed seems to have been one of the most earnest bigots of his party. His character, cherished in the fond memory of his widow, and traced by the hand of love forty years afterwards, may serve as a type of the strong feelings of that turbulent age, though indeed even she quietly laments his not having embraced the whole truth, as she complacently considered herself to have done.

The Earl of Essex had been very jealous of the separate commission, which enabled Sir W. Waller to command independently in the four associated counties, but Parliament made great exertions to raise supplies for the latter, that he might march into the west of England. Sir John Trevor assisted in levying money in Sussex for him, and Waller, when present in the House of Commons early in March, 1644, obtained authority to make a summary levy of horses in three days. A hundred barrels of powder were ordered to be "laid into Arundel Castle," and, on the same day (March 1), letters were written by Parliament, "to encourage the City Regiments now in Sussex to continue forth yet longer upon the service, the necessity of it at this time being so important." In May the Speaker wrote to the Sussex Committee, requesting the County Regiment of the Association forthwith to reinforce Waller, then near Basingstoke, but when more Sussex soldiers were, in Nov. 1645, sent in this manner to Abingdon, Parliament undertook to pay them for four months. It appeared, on calling over the names of members in the House of Commons, soon after this success at Arundel, that a hundred Parlia-

mentarians were absent in the country, fighting or otherwise promoting the interests of that party, but suspicions soon arose as to many of the Sussex Members, who had hitherto been their adherents. On Oct. 16, 1644, a petition was delivered at their door, "by divers ministers and well-affected persons of Sussex," complaining of Sir T. Pelham¹²¹ and Sir T. Parker; on Oct. 29, John Ashford was denounced to them "in consequence of the resort and great meeting of people ill affected to this house." All these matters were referred to the committee, and especially to W. Cawley, for enquiry. At this time also it was thought advisable to "demolish many strong houses in Sussex," where there was no garrison, allowing the delinquent owners to compound.

Leaving Arundel thus in the custody of the London apprentices, let us now consider the state of the eastern part of the county during this period, so as to explain the vexations endured by the Rector of Beckley, a small parish near Northiam, on the border of Sussex towards Kent. This clerical victim was Thomas Sharpe, the younger son of John Sharpe, of Northiam, justice of the peace, and grandson of Richard Sharpe of Benenden, in Kent, who had settled in Sussex after his marriage with Alice, daughter of Nicholas Tufton of Northiam. The living of Beckley, which had been anciently appropriated to Battle Abbey, was at this time in the patronage of the Montagues, valued in the king's books at £11. 6s. 8d., and this small preferment had been held by him many years, for his name appears in the "rating of arms and furniture, March 11, 1612; Beckley, Mr. Thomas Sharpe, parson, a musket furnished."¹²² The worthy clergymen had probably led a quiet loyal life, never dreaming that it would become a crime to love his king or reverence his own archbishop, until, after full thirty years of remote peacefulness, he was suddenly startled by some of those "horrid shapes and shrieks and sights unholy," the bare apprehension of which had extorted from many Parliamentarians the homage to

¹²¹ On Sept. 29, 1642, Sir T. Pelham had subscribed £200 to the parliamentary cause, but on March 7, 1643, when it was debated whether he should be entrusted with the collection of the weekly assessment in Sussex, the votes were against him, 27 to 24.

¹²² I am indebted to Mr. W. Durrant Cooper for this information as to the Sharpe family. Harl. MSS. 1562, f. 140; 703, f. 150.

peace before referred to. In his letter¹²³ to Mr. Newton of Lewes,¹²⁴ detailing his personal grievances, occurrences some months earlier, are alluded to, and as it is dated "Feb. 3," we may safely add 1643 as that of the year, both as coinciding with other vexations then inflicted upon Sussex, and because the old clergyman did not long survive the harassing demands made upon him, though he yet lived long enough to see his aged wife's augury realized, "that she should carry her hurt to the grave." They were both buried at Beckley; Anne, his wife, on August 22, and he, three months after, Nov. 21, 1643.

"To the right worshipfull his respected freinde William Newton, Esq., at his house near Lewes, present these,

"Right worshipfull,—I have hearde so much good of you by this bearer, how forward and ready you have alwayes bene, upon every occasion, to reach forth youre helping hande for the reliefe of such as are oppressed, as hath emboldened me (though a meere stranger and altogether unknown of you) to flee for shelter to you. It hath bene my great unhappines to fall of late into the deepe displeasure of Collonell Morley. The occasion was this: About a twelvemonth since, there were certaine propositions sent down from the Parliament concerning the raising and maintayning of certaine forces for the defence of the countrey, with directions to summon in the freeholders at Battel before the commissioner es therein nominated, to shew their opinions thereof; whither I went in the simplicity of my hart (God knowes) speaking plainly and modestly what I thought of the businesse, and being pressed thereunto, gave also the reasons of my opinion, never suspecting it woulde be imputed as a crime to any man, to have dissented. This gayned me the repute of the greatest Anti-parliament man in these parts, as I have hearde the Collonell himselfe shoulde say of me. Hereupon, about the latter ende of May last, by virtue of a warrant from the Collonell, I was seized on by Captaine Cockeram,¹²⁵ and was to be brought (to) the Collonell's quarters at Lewes. It was both unseasonable for time and weather, when the Captaine came to me, and besides, the fast was neere at hande, wherefore I desired respite till the fast¹²⁶ was over, promising then to appeare, which through

¹²³ Among the MSS belonging to Mrs. Mabbott.

¹²⁴ William Newton and Sir W. Colepeper, Bart., were added by Parliament to the committee for managing Sussex, March 1, 1644.

¹²⁵ In the Catalogue of the Names of his Excellency Robert Earl of Essex's horse, 4to, 1642, Edward Cockeram appears as ensign in his excellency's regiment, but it was more probably Richard who seized Thomas Sharpe. The Parliament on August 26, 1642, had ordered Colonel Morley to remove the ordnance, muskets, powder, and other ammunition from Camber Castle, which is described as "altogether unguarded and no way useful for defense," to Rye, committing the execution of this to Captain Richard Cockeram, "with the assistance of the inhabitants of the antient town of Rye." Richard Cockeram was mayor of Rye in 1609 and 1611, and his son Richard, the person now alluded to, was admitted gratis as a freeman in 1617.

¹²⁶ The Parliamentary Fast on the last Wednesday of every month.

his favour I obtained. On the next day after the fast, I tooke my journey thitherwardes, but upon the way had certaine intelligence that the Collonell was removed further to Arundell, or thereabouts, so that in going to Lewes, I shoulde but loose my labour. This moved me, being weary, to turne in to a freindee house five miles short of Lewes, whence I sent a messenger presently to knowe the certainty, who brought me worde that the Collonell was removed. I sent another likewise to Mr. Herbert Hay,¹²⁷ of Gline, to acquaint him with my businesse, who brought me this answeare, that he thought I might return home, till he hearde farther from the Collonell, whose return to Lewes was uncertaine, and yet, being not thus satisfied, I roade to Captaine Temple¹²⁸ and made my case knowne to him, who tolde me that my dissenting from the propositions at Battel was not the businesse, but to give or lende monyes to the Parliament. Whereupon, (though I had given before as much as other ministers of like estate had done) yet I tolde hime I woulde doe as he shoulde thinke fitt, desiring hime to make my peace with the Collonel, which he promised me effectually to performe, and I verily believe he did so.



Upon the 11th of June following, comes one of Captaine Cockeram's troopers into my house,¹²⁹ without either knocking or calling, and enquires of one of my maide servants whether I was within, whereunto, shee not answering, as being abashed at the sterne lookes of one rushing in so rudely upon them,

¹²⁷ Herbert Hay, of Glyndbourne, sat for Rye in the Long Parliament. He had been a ward of Colonel Morley, his mother being of that family, and died at the age of sixty-one, in 1652. The estate afterwards descended, other branches of his eleven children having failed, to the representative of his seventh daughter, Sir James Langham.

¹²⁸ Apparently the same officer before referred to, as fortifying Bramber and Shoreham.

¹²⁹ The woodcut is from Grimm's view of Beckley Parsonage, showing the date of 1636 over the door, taken 1784, now in the Burrell MSS., Add. MSS. 5670. The identity of the old parts was lost in the alterations made in 1804, and the present house was built in 1839.

he passed through that room into another, and so into a thirde, where he founde me with one of my nephewes, who was come out of Kent to see me, and a brother-in-law of his was at the time also with me, telling me that his captaine had sent him to require me to be within, for he must speake with me, and was harde by coming on to me; and so he turned about, going the same way that he came, as if he had meant to have returned to his captaine. I followed him, gently inquiring whether he knewe what the businesse was. He answered, because I came not to Lewes according to my promise. I replied, that I hearde by the way, that the Collonell was not there, and had sent a messenger to knowe it certainly, purposing to have repayed to him if he had not bene removed. With this and the like communication, he charging me with breach of promise, and I affirming the contrary, he came to the doore, where, insteade of going out, he only looked out, where spying a brother of his, a trooper likewise, yet not sent by the captaine, he called him in to him: whereat I confesse I was much troubled, suspecting least he might call in so many in like manner, as might rifle my house, before I shoulde come to speake with the captaine, to prevent which, and for no other intent (as God is my witsnesse) I stepped to the doore, shut it and bolted it. Whereupon they both drew their swords, and without so much as speaking one worde that I hearde, made at me, that had nothinge in my hands to defend myself with, and one of them had a full blow at me, before I coulde gett within him, wherewith he breake a broad new sworde upon the outside of my legg against my knee, so as it was God's great mercy, that I was not slaine or maymed for ever, he striking again with that part of his sworde which was left, but with the helpe of one of my nephewes, that (*was*) unarmed also as my selfe, I escaped the mischeife he intended me; the other of my nephewes being not come into the roome before, but ready to enter, seeing my danger, ranne suddenly backe, and catching a sworde that was at hande, rescued me from the danger of the other trooper behind me; at last we having our handes together with theirs upon their weapons, they were perswaded quietly to departe out of the house into the streete, where my nephewes left them attending the comming of their fellowes, and I, having shutt the doores, abode in my house. It was not long but the captaine with his whole troope came and seeing one of their company bloody, by a light hurt of his hande in taking holde of my nephewes sworde, they came all riding as furiously into my close, as if they had bene to assault their enemy; where being alighted, they call in a great rage to have the doores opened, bouncing and laying on as if they had meant to have beaten downe the house upon us, as indeede they threat'ned to doe unlesse we opened. My wife and family being marveylously affrighted by their violent raging and beating on the doores, and shooting diveres bullets into the house amongst us, I stepped to the windowe, hoping by gentle speech to have pacified their fury, before I opened to them, but I could not be heard, more I intreated, the more clamourous and outrageous they were, crying, 'open, open the doores,' which I detracting, and perhaps denying to doe till they woulde heare me speake in mine own defence, they presently brake downe all the glasse they could come at, brake open two doores, and layed on upon the thirde, which I perceaved they woulde also force, and did my selfe open unto them. Whereat they rushing in, I had at the least 20 drawne swordes and pollaxes lifted up at me, and had certainly been slaine, if the captaine and

one other had [*not*] safeguarded my heade with their swordes, and restrayned the fury of the rest. It were endelesse to write all how they rifled my house, the meaner sort pilfering what they coulede closely lay handes on, breaking divers vessels, cutting in sunder divers skaines of fine linnen yarne, driving my maide servants up and downe all the roomes of my house, and one of them most uncivilly thrusting my wife, being a weake woman, and aged 60 years, that she fell backwarde against the stayres, and caught such hurt, as for some weeks she was scarce able to turne herself in her bed, and is yet so payned with it at times, that shee feares that shee shall carry it to her grave. In fine, they haled me out of my house, carryed me away with them to Rye in the [*most*] despitefull manner, as if I had been the vilest caitiffe alive; where I was intertained with as much scorne as the rude schismaticall people coulede put upon me, without respect of my quality or calling, and he, that had done me the first and most injury, voyced abroad that I and a couple more assaulted them, and would have slaine them, which when I contradicted, appealing to his owne conscience that he vilely slandered me, and saying perhaps that the Parliament (which he bare himself much upon) woulde as I hoped right me, he replied that the Parliament woulde believe him before me. To conclude, the captaine kept me prisoner, till he had compelled me to give security for £120 to the Parliament, and £20 to those two troupers that came first to me, for no other cause that I can conceave, then for that I did not stande still to be cutt in pieces by them: so he doubled the sum which the collonell had sett upon me, and besides, the dammage which I sustayned by the pilferings, and other spoile made by the rude company was little less than £20 more. Thus, worthy sir, I have geven you the sad relation of my first cruel and undeserved sufferings, wherein (I protest before God) I have not wittingly swarved in the least measure from the truth. Now besides all this (which I was resolved to have swallowed in silence) upon Sunday last, being the 28th of Jan^r, I was, a little before church time in the morning, seized on againe, and carryed downe to Rye, where Capt. Kenn demanded of me £100 more, by vertue of a warrant from Colonell Morley and other commissioners, which I must pay downe presently, or els be carryed away to Arundell. I pleaded that I had it not, as indeede I had not, my meanes not being greate, and my selfe knowne to be a man not beforehand with the world, but spending freely my whole yearely income in hospitalitie amongst my neighbours, and in workes of charity, and besides I still owed a great part of what was before drawne from me, but all that I coulede say woulde avayle me nothing, I must pay it forthwith, he had no power to alter the summe, which putt me into a great straight. At lenght, with much importunity I obtained, that, paying down £40, I should, upon security geven, have a month's day for the payment of the rest. I procured £40 with great difficulty, but how to compass the rest I know not. All that little stocke, which I have left me will hardely pay what I have now and did before borrow for these two businesses. Besides, I owe £500, most of it being orphans goods intrusted into my hands, which I shoulde in time have waded out of, if these unhappy businesses had not fallen upon me. I perceave the Colonell is strangely incensed against me, by whose meanes especially, I verely thincke I knowe, even his, that hath most of all wronged me. I have lived for the space of 30 yeares last past in good repute with all men for the most sort, especially with those of the better sort, and still do with all moderate

men that knowe me : only my zealous defending and maintayning and using the booke of common prayer hath drawn the envy of all the schismatickes of the country round about upon me, who traduce me as a malignant, a popish priest, and invent and spreade abroad all manner of horrible untruths against me, as an enemye to and a detractory from the Parliament. Whereas all my parishe can beare witness with me how constantly I make mention of the two honourable houses, and earnestly supplicate the divine majesty for them in my publicke devotions, and I dare boldly challenge the most malicious of my secrete backbiting adversaries, to prove it, if they can, that I am any wayes popish, heretical, or seditious in my doctrines, or scandalous in my life and conversation, whether I have defrauded any man, or oppressed any by unjust suites and molestations ; and I will be willing to undergoe any censure for the first, and be bound to make double satisfaction for the second. Why then do I suffer, and suffer even unto utter ruine ? but I am a foole to justifie my selfe ; lett this plea obtaine my pardon, that the malitious calunnies of wicked whisperers have extorted it from me. I have abused your patience too long, I will shutt up all with this short request, that you woulde be pleased to interpose for me, to mollify the Collonell's exasperated minde against me, to obtaine, if it may be, a mitigation of this heavy ruining imposition, that I may not be forced to pay more than is already payed, which if I be compelled to doe, I shall have neither a bedd to lye upon, nor breade to putt into my mouth. Or if the remainder of my fine may not be remitted, yet at least that I may have till Michaelmas next for the payment of it ; which if I may by your mediation obtaine, you shall oblige your poore petitioner to be a dayly oratour at the throne of grace for all manner of prosperity, with increase of grace to you here, and fulnesse of glory hereafter.

So prayeth your humble Supplyant,

THO. SHARPE."

Beckley this 3d of February.

In additional illustration of the rough treatment of the clergy at this period, we have the contemporary though hostile account of the proceedings of the same Colonel Morley and Captain Cockeram at Hastings soon after the date of T. Sharpe's letter. There was indeed no lack of formidable rules for military discipline in the Parliament's army, but, as their enforcement depended on the colonels, they were by no means backward in encouraging attacks on the clergy or on churches. An Ordinance of Sept. 7, 1642, had indeed forbidden soldiers to "attempt to deface churches without special command of their colonel." This had arisen from some troopers of Colonel Sandy's regiment, under Serjeant Major Cockaine (*Cockeram?*), having committed, in Canterbury cathedral, outrages which even the Diurnal of the party describes, with something of an antiquarian spirit, as "worthy of condign punishment, to wit,

in defacing certain ancient monuments."¹³⁰ Among the earliest "Laws and Ordinances of warre established for the army under the Earl of Essex, 1643," we find—1st, a blasphemers forbidden "upon pain to have his tongue bored with a red hot iron;" 2d, all oaths and execrations to be punished by "losse of pay;" 3d, all such who shall violate places of publicke worship to undergo severe censure."

How easily the condition of the colonel's assent was complied with, may be readily imagined, from the following account: ¹³¹

"On Sunday morning, being the ninth of July 1643, in time of Divine Service, Colonell Morley, the crooked rebel of Sussex, came toward Hasting, one of the Cinque Ports, but in his march being discovered, presently notice was given to Mr. Hinson, curate of All Saints, who knowing that one end of the Colonell's Sabbath Day's journey was to apprehend him, was compelled to break off Divine Service in the midst, and fly into a wood near at hand, there to hide himself. The Colonell being entered the town, scattered the body of his horse into severall parts, to intercept all passages out of the town, and having secured the ports, he summons the mayor and jurats, and demands the arms of the town, to which he found ready obedience, for presently the mayor and jurats sent their servants to command all the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, which was done accordingly, and one of the jurats, Fray by name, furnished the Colonell with a waggon. He sent them away to Battell, being a town in Sussex, some five miles from Hastings. That night some soldiers lay in the church where Mr. Hinson officiated, where one Wicker, a common soldier, getting up in the pulpit,¹³² preached unto his fellows; and to show the fruits of so good doctrine, either the preacher or one of his auditory, stole away the surpluss. Ralph Mills, the honest parish clark, to recover it, complained to their Captain, Richard Cockeram, of Rye, but received no other answer but this, 'Do not you think he loves a smock as well as you?'"

Colonel Morley, now master of the town, demanded money from the jurats, which, when they had paid, he carried them off with him to Battel, and sent them back next day with a warrant to levy money on townsmen, marked out by themselves, principally "Mr. Car, the parson of St. Clements, and Mr. Hinson." Mr. Car had fled from home that Sunday, but thinking the storm over, on hearing that Colonel Morley was gone to Battel, was now on his return, when he fell in with

¹³⁰ Canterbury Cathedral was again plundered in 1646 by Colonel Sandys and Sir Michael Livesey.—Mere. Rust.

¹³¹ Mere. Rust. p. 161.

¹³² The same pulpit was occupied in 1673 by Titus Oates.

Fray on the road. Fortunately he was warned privately by "one Mr. Breame" of his treacherous companion, and, leaving him, rode back again. "Fray, thus unexpectedly robbed of his prey, instantly informed Colonel Morley that Master Breame had *frayed* away the bird that was so near going into the snare. Morley sent presently some troopers to apprehend Master Breame, and at what sum he did redeem this crime is uncertain." On Tuesday, the jurats were compelled to take an oath to execute the warrant for levying the money, and for arresting Mr. Hinson, who was accordingly seized at his own house, and, being told "he had highly deserved it for reading the king's declaration," was locked up in the town-hall with Mr. Parker, whom they had a little before committed, because he would not pay for the carriage of some ordnance to "Rye, a most factious town not far off." The next day Mr. Hinson was removed to the common gaol. "There they locked him fast up in a loathsome place, where there was but one short bench, and no company but a tinker, and he none of the joviallest neither, for the stubborn sullen tinker, pleading seniority in the place, took possession of the bench, and most unsociably kept it all night, not interchanging with Mr. Hinson his repose for a walk, for variety sake, but left him one while to walk, and another while to sleep on that floor." After three weeks' imprisonment, Mr. Hinson was sent with a strong guard to Colonel Morley, and by him forwarded on to London, from whence he escaped to the king at Oxford.

Many of the parochial clergy of Sussex were at this time forced by Parliament to yield their places to "godly, learned and orthodox divines," as John Peckham of Horsted Parva, superseded by Joseph Biggs; Zachary Tutsham of Dallington, by John Zachary; John Wilson of Arlington, by John Manning.¹³³ Party hatred was kindled, as we have seen, not only by the Presbyterian clergy, who, according to Clarendon (B. VI.), "both administered fuel and blowed the coals," but by such self-appointed teachers as occupied the Hastings pulpit on this occasion. Of the doctrine and learning, even of the elected members of their assembly of divines (constituted June 5, 1643), our great Sussex scholar and antiquary, John Selden,

¹³³ Journ. H. of Commons, Sept., Oct., 1643.

though of the same party, had the greatest contempt. When they were disputing about a passage in scripture he observed to them, "Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus—and thus."¹³⁴ Selden indeed delighted to puzzle Parliament also, "gravelling them" with his sharp retorts about *jure divino*.¹³⁵ Having taken the Covenant, June 6, 1643, he was qualified for office, and, fortunately, duties thus fell upon him, for which antiquaries must ever be grateful. A vote of Parliament, Oct. 27, 1643, granted him the keepership of the Records, just sequestered from a Royalist, and in those days of destruction, it was probably at his suggestion that a later order, Nov. 2, established a committee, including himself and Sir Simonds D'Ewes,¹³⁶ (another antiquary, whose MSS. are now in the British Museum) to "peruse all such books and manuscripts, records and other monuments of antiquity as have been or shall be sequestered, and are now or shall be laid up at Campden house, the Savoy, or any other place, and to give order that they may not be sold, or any way embezzled or defaced, but laid safe up in such places as they shall think fit."¹³⁷ On March 19, 1645, he was also appointed on the committee to settle the Herald's Office.¹³⁸ A sum of £5000 was voted to him on Dec. 31, 1646, "for wrongs suffered," a plea on which Parliament rewarded many of its adherents.

The ignorant credulity of the common people under the guidance of their military teachers may be imagined from the notoriety obtained at this time by a Sussex Cavalier as a cannibal. This outrageous accusation was spread and believed against a gentleman of a good family settled at Whiligh, in East Hoathly, Colonel Thomas Lunsford. According to a contemporary,¹³⁹ Thomas and his twin brother Herbert were "both the biggest men, though twins, you could likely see to, whereof Sir Thomas was feigned by the Brethren, a devourer

¹³⁴ Whitelock's *Memoirs*, p. 68.

¹³⁵ D. Lloyd's *Loyalists*, p. 518.

¹³⁶ D'Ewes made Selden's acquaintance at Sir Robert Cotton's, a congenial spirit, but describes him as "a man exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities." D'Ewes in his will desired his monument to be "according to the pattern of Mr. Camden's tombe."

¹³⁷ *Bibliotheca Topogr. Brit.* vi, 4.

¹³⁸ 4to, London, 1646.

¹³⁹ D. Lloyd's *Loyalists*, p. 581.

of children." His name was accordingly familiar as a bug-bear, and is introduced as such by Butler in his *Hudibras*—speaking of the solemn pulpit orators, who

“Made children with *their* tones to run for ’t
As bad as Bloody-bones or Lunsford.”

P. iii, c. 2, v. iii.

and a popular ballad on his supposed death, for the rumour was false, reports,—

“The Post that came from Banbury,
Riding in his blue rocket,
He swore he saw when Lunsford fell,
A child’s arm in his pocket.”¹⁴⁰

Some particulars of this conspicuous character may be given as the career of an unflinching royalist, who avowed his principles even when a prisoner to the Parliament. “I will never stain my ancestors or leave the title of traitor upon my posterity,” was his defiance when examined at Warwick Castle by his captors. The attractions of the Pelham venison, as in the case of Lord Dacre, had tempted him when a youth, in 1633, into poaching and assaults upon the gamekeepers, for which the Star Chamber imposed on him a fine of £1000 to the king, and £500 to Sir Thomas Pelham,¹⁴¹ his neighbour and cousin. Becoming desperate, he then in revenge “lay in wait and beset Sir Thomas Pelham, as he was returning from church in his coach on a Sunday, discharging two pistols into the coach.”¹⁴² This outrage bringing fresh fines of £5000 and £3000 upon him, he fled into France, in whose service he rose to be a colonel of foot. The Earl of Dorset, also his cousin, in a letter inviting proofs of the attack from Sir T. Pelham, October 26, 1633, speaks of him as “that young outlaw, Mr. Lunsford, who fears neither God nor man,

¹⁴⁰ ‘True Relation of the Battle near Banbury, by a Post that came from the Army. 4to, London, 1642.’ The reference is to Edgehill. See notes to Grey’s *Hudibras*. In *Gent. Mag.* N.S. vol. v, 350, 602, vol. vi, 33, 148, are full particulars of the family, and of the life of Thomas Lunsford. See also Clarendon’s *Hist.*, who says of him, “He was of no good education.”

¹⁴¹ The second baronet, living at Halland, in the same parish as Whiligh.

¹⁴² This description is from the words of the City of London’s petition, requiring the king to dismiss Lunsford from the command of the Tower, thus confirming the tradition attached to the bullet mark in the door of East Hoathly church, referred to by Mr. Lower, *Suss. Arch. Collections*, III, p. 223.

and who having given himself over unto all lewdness and dissoluteness, only studies to affront justice." He returned however with a high military character in 1639, became perfectly reconciled to his cousin, and obtained the king's pardon for the fines, when at York, April 24, 1639. After doing good service in the army against the Scots, he was appointed by the king Lieutenant of the Tower of London on Dec. 23, 1641, which raised, both in parliament and the city, such a storm of revived accusations and fresh jealousies as to his political and religious intentions, that the king was constrained to displace him three days after (on Dec. 26), and could only compensate him by knighthood. His fidelity and daring spirit were duly appreciated by his royal master, who told those who had insisted upon his dismissal that he had removed "a servant of good trust and reputation only to satisfie the fears of the city." The very next day after he left the Tower, he with a few other cavaliers boldly attempted to quell the disturbances and outcries of "no bishops" in Westminster Hall, and when the king finally quitted London (Jan. 10, 1642), the Lunsfords were among his escort to Hampton Court. For this and for attempting to seize a depot of arms at Kingston, he was proclaimed, and arrested by Parliament at the house of his father-in-law, Sir Henry Neville¹⁴³ in Berks, and imprisoned. As soon as he was at liberty, he actively encountered the first movements of the rebellion during 1642 until the battle of Edgehill, where he was again taken prisoner. By an exchange of prisoners, in April 1644, he again was freed to join the king at Oxford, and both there and at Bristol and Monmouth (of which he was made governor) distinguished himself by his impetuous royalism. At length he became the Parliament's captive for the third time at Hereford, Dec. 8, 1645, and was sent up to the Tower of London, where he remained two years in custody, alleviated by his wife's company, and where one

¹⁴³ His second wife was Katherine, daughter of Sir Henry Neville of Bilinsbeare, knight, and died in 1649. His third wife, the Lady Elizabeth Thomas, survived him. Though he had a patent of baronetcy, he took the title in his will only. His portrait is at Audley End. His seal on a letter to Prince Rupert, March 9, 1644, exhibits these arms: 1, azure, a chevron between three boars' heads, coupé or, for Lunsford; 2, arg. three chevrons gu., over all a label of three points purple, for Barrington; 3, or, a carbuncle gu., for Mandeville; 4, arg. three acorns vert, fructed gu. for Totham. Crest, a boar's head or, coupé gu.

of his daughters was born. Once more at liberty in June, 1648, he eagerly wrote to the Prince of Wales, then at Paris, "I have not been idle in your service since I had my liberty, and I conceive I have such interest in Sussex as there I shall most advantageously move in it." His brothers Herbert and Henry had shared his adventures in the same regiment; the latter was killed at the siege of Bristol, and is praised by Clarendon as "an officer of great sobriety, industry, and courage;" and Herbert rose to command a regiment and obtain a knighthood in July, 1644. Sir Thomas had retired to Virginia during the latter part of the civil war, but when the signs of the Restoration became visible, his elastic courage again moved him to action, and he applied to Lord Mordaunt for directions how to promote the royal cause.¹⁴⁴ He died at Tooting in 1691, with a celebrity, though ludicrously magnified and distorted by his enemies, as remarkable as that of Colonel Morley of the opposite party.

Seldom do we find, in the history of these sad times, that all the members of one family adopted the same party. A strong contrast to the unity of the three Royalist Lunsfords is presented by the three sons of another Sussex family, that of the Rev. William Goffe, rector of Stanmer, himself "a very severe puritan."¹⁴⁵ They each took the most opposite courses to distinction. The eldest, Stephen, after being a Prebend of Chichester, and chaplain to Charles I, became, while an exile at Paris, the Roman catholic chaplain to his Queen, and an Oratorian monk. "A dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of goodfellowship."¹⁴⁶ John, the next brother, adhered so steadily to the Church of England, that he was expelled from his living by the Puritans; while William, the third son, after beginning life as apprentice to a drysalter, soon took to arms, and rose to high rank in the army of the Parliament, and represented first Yarmouth, and afterwards Hampshire, in Parliament. Cromwell even made him one of his Lords, and appointed him Major-General of Hampshire, Sussex, and Berkshire. He was throughout an able and consistent partisan, and personally assisted Cromwell in dispersing the

¹⁴⁴ Carte's Collections.

⁴⁵ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii, 26.

¹⁴⁶ Clarendon, *Hist. B.* xi.

Parliament, in 1653.¹⁴⁷ His military command of Sussex brought him within reach of Colonel Morley, and he went over to Glynde to sound his views, which were then known to be adverse to the Protectorate, as he reported to secretary Thurloe, Nov. 5, 1655. "I intend to give Colonel Morley a kind visit this day, his house being within two or three miles. I hope such civility, whatever he thinks of my business, will do me no hurt." After their meeting, Thurloe resolved not to put either Morley, Fagge, or Hay in the commission, saying of the latter, that "he would not stir a hair's breadth without Colonel Morley."¹⁴⁸ An ear-witness¹⁴⁹ to his speeches in Cromwell's parliament of 1657, reports him to have "made a long preachment, seriously inviting the house to a firm and a kind of corporal union with his highness. Something was expressed as to hanging about his neck like pearls, from a text of the Canticles." The passage referred to by this loving adherent of the Protector, was probably, "Thy neck is like the tower of David, builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men," iv, 4. The council of officers, who assumed the government on the retirement of Richard Cromwell, naturally removed him from all military command,¹⁵⁰ but he was afterwards (Nov. 1659,) in the last days of the Rump Parliament, sent to engage General Monk's support for his party.¹⁵¹ Having been one of the high court of justice, and his name appearing on the king's death-warrant, he fled to North America, in order to escape the retribution which overtook so many of his fellow-regicides, and he is said to have lived there obscurely for forty years afterwards, with his father-in-law Edward Whalley,¹⁵² who had fled for the same reason.

After the first shocks of the political tempest, such as those at Chichester and Arundel, the tide of civil war passed on and left Sussex in the comparative calm of submission to the new powers in church and state. An under current of discontent

¹⁴⁷ Vide Bussey Mansell's letter, in Thurloe's State Papers, i, 637.

¹⁴⁸ Thurloe's Papers. Noble's Regicides, p. 87. ¹⁴⁹ Burton, Diary, i, 362.

¹⁵⁰ Clarendon's Hist. B. xvi.

¹⁵¹ Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 687.

¹⁵² E. Whalley had been a London wool-draper, but his business not thriving, he fled into Scotland to avoid his creditors, till the war began. He then became commissary-general of the horse.—Mystery of the Good Old Cause, Lond. 1660:

however revealed itself occasionally by disturbances on the surface, and the king had friends who waited their opportunity. In one of the king's letters taken at Naseby, dated Oxford, March 30, 1645, he alludes to the ease with which foreign troops coming to his succour might "land at divers fit and safe places of landing upon the west coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Selsey near Chichester;" and Arthur Trevor reported to the Marquis of Ormond in one of his lively letters (May 8, 1645,) that "the people in Kent and Sussex are very much given to dispute with their masters' taxes, and speak high and do some small matters."¹⁵³ Their grievances did indeed sometimes excite even the quiet people of Sussex to acts of resistance. One of these "small matters" had occurred at Nuthurst, near Horsham, in Feb. 1644, when two soldiers were killed by the parishioners in defending their town. The culprits were sent to Arundel, and would have been tried by a court martial had not parliament interfered, and, on a petition from Horsham, ordered them to be given up for trial to the civil authorities. It had been a scheme of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper to organise all the people of England as clubmen,¹⁵⁴ in such strength as to be able to put an end to the war by suppressing the armies of both parties, and this gave rise to many disturbances, though it utterly failed in its intention. W. Cawley informed the Parliament (Sept. 18, 1645)¹⁵⁵ of the rising of the clubmen¹⁵⁶ to the number of a thousand at Rowkeshill, near Chichester, relating their "divers outrageous proceedings," and again on Oct. 13, he complained of the obstructions he met with in the levy of money and recruits for Fairfax's army. The Sussex committee were instructed to consider "how to prevent any inconvenience that may happen by reason of the clubmen," and to sequester the estates of all recusants. Another of these "small matters" broke out in 1648. George Lord Goring, who had been raised to the earldom of Norwich

¹⁵³ Carte's Collections, p. 85. Arthur Trevor, a royalist lawyer of the Inner Temple, had been one of the counsel for the bishops, Dec. 30, 1641 (Rushworth, iv, 469), and was obliged to compound for his estate as a malignant, for £596. 9s. 8d. He died shortly before 1668.—Lloyd's Loyalists, p. 144.

¹⁵⁴ Clarendon's Hist. B. iv.

¹⁵⁵ Journ. H. Comm.

¹⁵⁶ Parliament had furnished their friends with clubs, but in many instances the clubmen appear to have turned against them.—Ludlow's Mem. i, 136.

(Nov. 8, 1644), and had been acting as the king's ambassador to France, came over under pretence of arranging his composition with the Parliament, but, in fact, to head a royalist rising in the southern and eastern counties, which ended so disastrously by the capture of Colchester, Aug. 28, 1648. He escaped the fate of his gallant comrades, who were executed, by the accidental result of an equal division of votes, 30 to 30, in Parliament, on the question of his death, which the speaker, a personal friend of his family, decided in his favour. His sentence was banishment, and the adventurous earl outlived his perils, and died quietly "at his Inne at Brentford in 1663."¹⁵⁷ The county of Sussex had assured Parliament in a petition on June 9, 1648, of their ready obedience to its authority, but a few days later came the news from Horsham that "the malignants, upon the endeavoured removal of Major Hornam to Arundel Castle, had risen in a tumultuous manner," and that "Sussex was in great danger, if the garrisons of that county be not speedily secured."¹⁵⁸ This riot was indeed soon "suppressed by the honest party," as the Sussex commissioners of sequestration complacently term their friends, and they also reported that Thomas Middleton,¹⁵⁹ the member for Horsham, "was guilty therein."

In the earlier years of the war he had acted with the Parliament, but now drew back from their excesses. He had been on one occasion the involuntary cause of alarming all London. The report on a plot was reading in the House of Commons (May 1641), when some members in the gallery stood up, the better to hear the report, and Middleton and Mr. Moyle of Cornwall, "two persons of good bigness weighed down a board in the gallery which gave so great a crack, that some members thought it was a plot indeed," and an alarm

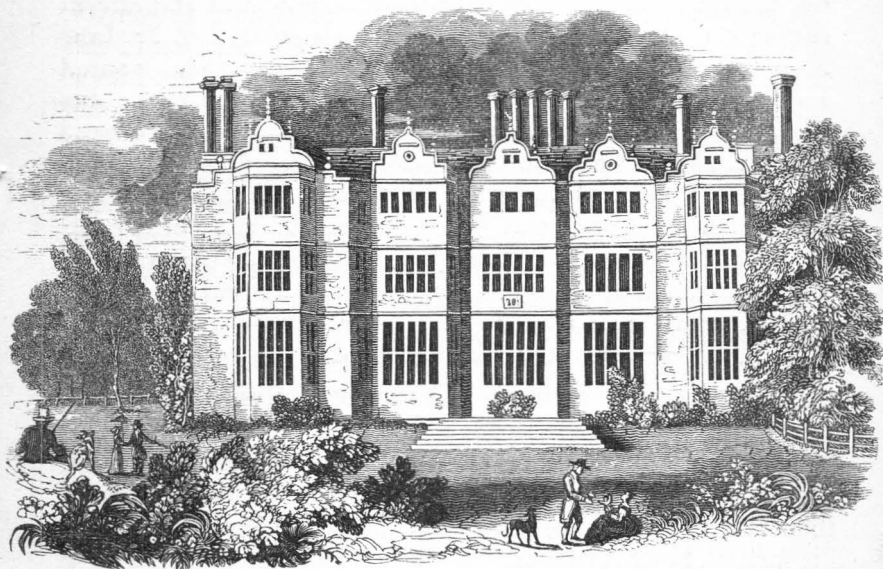
¹⁵⁷ Lloyd's *Loyalists*, p. 566. As the Parliament would not acknowledge his earldom as legal, he is frequently spoken of in history as Goring, or Lord Goring, and sometimes confused with his son, Colonel, afterwards General Goring. Lingard describes him in terms more applicable to the son: "No man during the war had treated his opponents with more bitter contumely, no one had inflicted on them deeper injuries." (xi, p. 9.)

¹⁵⁸ Rushworth, viii, 1169.

¹⁵⁹ His residence was Hills Place, near Horsham, for which he was elected in 1640 and 1660, but the house was sold in 1654. The woodcut representing it has been used by permission of Mr. Baxter of Lewes.

of fire, of the house falling, and of a malignant conspiracy spread rapidly over the town, so that a regiment of trained bands was collected in the city upon beat of drum, and marched as far as Covent Garden to meet these imaginary evils.¹⁶⁰

Middleton was now ordered up to London in custody, and the others concerned in this movement were allowed, Sept. 4, to compound for their estates by paying one-fourth of their value.



Hills Place.

The feelings of discontent at this period sometimes found vent in publishing caricature speeches feigned to have been spoken by well-known orators, and thus a pretended complaint was made against the malignants, for daring to describe the religion established by Parliament as “a cloak with often turning down as threadbare as the public faith, full of wrinkles, spots and stains, neither brushed, sponged nor made clean, with as many patches in it as in a beggar’s cloak, kept by cobblers, weavers, ostlers, tinkers and tub-preachers,” while their

¹⁶⁰ Rushworth, v, 744.

state policy was libelled as "a plot to turn this glorious monarchy into a peddling roly-poly Independent Anarchy."¹⁶¹

Similar speeches were palmed upon the degenerate Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who sat as a commoner in parliament. He had been appointed to the command of the horse in Sussex, but does not appear to have acted within the county; and we may accept these satires as representing his usual tone of conversation, for they are all abundantly interlarded with expletives of "dam me," and other oaths.¹⁶² His supposed speech, at his visitation of Oxford University, of which he was Chancellor, April 11, 1648, runs on in this strain: "You know what a coyle I had 'ere I could get hither, Selden did so vex us with his law and his reasons, we could get nothing passed; my friends voted bravely, else Selden had carried it. S'dearth, that fellow is but a burgess for Oxford and I am Chancellour, and yet he would have the Parliament heare his law,—and reasons against their own Chancellour.—I thank you for giving me a gilded Bible,—you could not give me a better book (dam me, I think so). I love the Bible, though I seldom use it."

After the King's death, the firm steps of Cromwell had trodden out every spark of resistance in Sussex for many years, and it was not till 1658 that we hear of the Royalist plot (before referred to), in which the two sons of the regicide Stapley engaged, professedly in order to redeem the guilt of their father. Of John, the eldest, Clarendon says, "not only his fortune but his interest was considerable in that maritime county."¹⁶³ By the interest of their countryman, General Goffe, both John and his brother Anthony Stapley had been put into the commission of the peace, but when they began

¹⁶¹ 'Speech of Miles Corbet, burgess of Great Yarmouth, July 31, 1647, folio,' no printer's name. An expectation of anarchy might well be entertained, when we find in a pamphlet of that period the sentiment of Communism, condensed in modern times into 'La propriété c'est le vol,' thus avowed—"Propriety is the original cause of any sin between party and party."—Vide Sydney Papers, by R. W. Blencowe, p. 78.

¹⁶² 'Speech of Philip Herbert, late Earl of P. and M. and M.P. for Berks, April 6, 1649, without Oaths, folio.' 'News from Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Manchestered, as here it follows, Word for Word, and Oath for Oath, 4to, 1648'—thus alluding to the similar Visitation of Cambridge by the Earl of Manchester. There is also another account of Pembroke's Visitation, entitled, "Lord, have merey upon us," 4to. He died in 1650.

¹⁶³ Clarendon, B. xv.

their conspiracy against Oliver Cromwell, in correspondence with the Marquis of Ormond,¹⁶⁴ who had come over early in January from the exiled King, on purpose to conduct it, they fell unwittingly into the hands of one of the Protector's spies. This person affected concurrence with them, but under the name of Corker, regularly reported to Thurloe, Secretary of the Council of State, all their schemes and impatient hopes. It was probably from John Stapley that Corker received the "list of the most active cavaliers in Sussex," which he sent to Thurloe. These were "Mr. John Stapeley, Mr. Thomas Woodcock and brother, Mr. Goring, Mr. Mallory,¹⁶⁵ Mr. Nicholas Gildridge, Mr. Thomas Foster, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Selwyn, jun., Mr. Bishop, Mr. Sackville, Mr. William Markwick, Mr. Graves, Mr. Ashbornham; and clergiemens, Mr. Car, Mr. Naylor, Mr. Hall, Mr. Milnes."¹⁶⁶ It is not often we get so clear an insight into the detective police employed to counteract conspiracy. Corker learnt that it was intended the King should land on the coast, and that Kent and Surrey, on that signal, were to march upon London. "Upon Thursday morning next," he tells Thurloe, "I shall have information whether Sussex shall follow their course likewise. I am confident you may intrap the whole design and designers by your pretended ignorance and security, or you may prevent them by your publike preparation to oppose them." "There are officers to be sent from London, when things are ready, to Mr. Stapley, because he complains that Sussex is a county so little inured to war, that it doth not afford them." At length six blank commissions arrived from the King, which Stapley was to distribute as he pleased, but Thurloe reports, "he is much troubled that he hath not a commission for

¹⁶⁴ Ormond found the Royalists in fact so suspicious of each other, that he advised them to make no movement until the king should land. After a month's concealment in England, having learned that Cromwell was on his track, he was "conducted by Dr. Quatremaine, the king's physician, into Sussex, where he embarked in a shallop near Shoreham, and was safely transported to Dieppe."—Hist. of Duke of Ormond, iii, 177.

¹⁶⁵ Mallory was the agent to deliver the king's commissions to Stapley, which he had received from Mr. Mordaunt, and to prevent his evidence convicting the latter, was adroitly enabled to escape on the very morning of his trial by the prisoner's wife.—Vide Clarendon, B. xv.

¹⁶⁶ Thurloe's State Papers, i, 788.

Colonel General, as he desired, because all the commissions are equal for the raising of a thousand men. To this answer is made him, that he may antedate his commission, and so command as eldest Colonel." . . . "Mr. Stapeley is absolutely resolved not to act at all, if either Colonel Morley or the Lord Dacres be put over him. This latter some think will be employed, because Chauncellor Hide forbade he should be solicited for money, because he was to be employed another way. He is willing to act under Sir Humphrey Bennit, who hath maintained 200 horses dispersed in Sussex this long time."¹⁶⁷

While this treachery was thus going on, the Marquis of Ormond was also sending his secret reports to Hide, that he found "much inclination towards the king and much general distemper against Cromwell," but that no one would rise until the king landed, and he crossed over to France to persuade him to do so. On his return, in March, he tells Hide, "I have not spoken with Dr. Huett nor Stapeley, both because their business was nothing without Bristol and Gloucester, and because I have too good reason to suspect him unable to do anything in proportion even to his least undertaking, not for want of will, but skill to order it." "Without securing other towns (the Marquis reports in another letter), Stapeley's business would not do ours, and besides I was assured by one who knows him and his interest well, that it was impossible, he could perfect near his lowest undertaking."¹⁶⁸ When Corker's employers thought the time ripe, the plot was of course easily arrested, and nothing could then exceed the baseness of the Stapleys in order to evade its penalties. Anthony was witness against his own brother, and John's treacherous evidence ensured the conviction and execution of his chief confederates, who were Sir Harry Slingsby, the head of an ancient Yorkshire family, who on the scaffold only regretted "that he did not suffer for more effective service to the king,"¹⁶⁹ and Dr. John Hewitt of Norfolk, "a devout grave preacher" in London, whom Cromwell came personally to revile when in prison as "being in the city as a torch set in the midst of a sheafe of corne." In spite of the entreaties of Cromwell's

¹⁶⁷ Thurloe, i, 711, &c.

¹⁶⁸ Carte's Collections, ii, pp. 119, 123, 125, 130.

¹⁶⁹ Lloyd's Loyalists.

daughter, Mrs. Claypole, these were both executed on June 8, 1658. John Stapley not only sacrificed his friends, but wrote to Cromwell, offering to fight in future "against Charles Stuart, though it be but in the capacity of a private trooper."¹⁷⁰ And yet Charles Stuart included him in his first distribution of titles after his Restoration, and Sir John Stapeley, Baronet, then lived to a good old age, very loyal, and well satisfied to have expiated the sins of his regicide father by such prosperous loyalty.

Having seen the activity, and the paramount influence in Sussex of Colonel Herbert Morley throughout this period, it may be well to trace his personal history with some detail, as an example of the career of a Parliamentarian of good family and education, a ready soldier and an earnest politician, during the trying period of the civil wars. The Morleys, originally from Morley in Lancashire, had been settled for a century and a half in Sussex. Thomas Morley, who died in 1558, had worked an iron-mill and furnace in Mayfield,¹⁷¹ of which his descendant Colonel Morley, died possessed. William, the son of Thomas, built the stately mansion of Glynde,¹⁷² much of which still remains as he left it. This gentleman was considered in the certificate of 1587, as "a good justice, as well in religion as of the commonwealth."¹⁷³

His grandson, Colonel Herbert Morley, whatever opinions he adopted in church and state, at any rate maintained them conscientiously, without the suspicion of a mean or interested motive. He had succeeded as a minor to his paternal estates, and, owing both to the neighbourhood of his property, and to his personal qualities, was chosen, in 1641, when in his 26th year, to represent Lewes in Parliament. As Evelyn

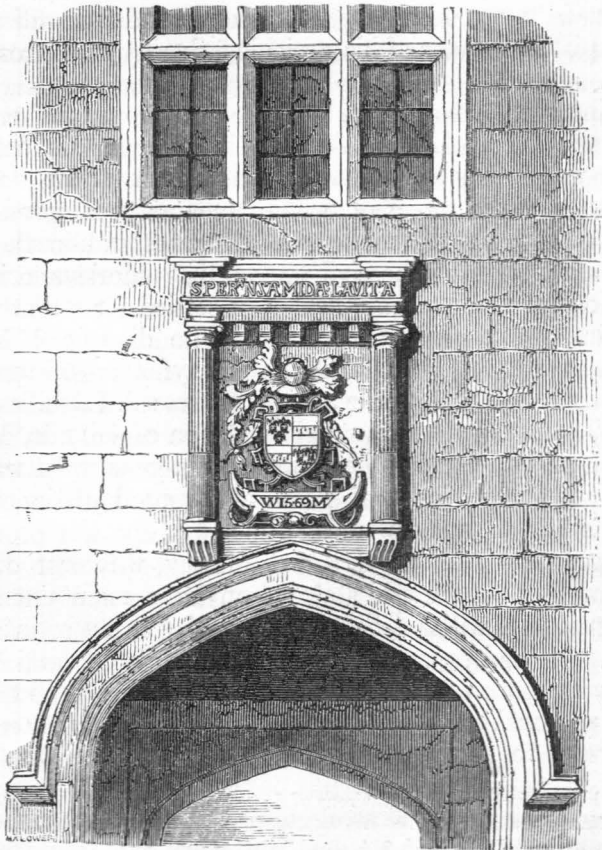
¹⁷⁰ The letter is in Horsfield's *Environs of Lewes*, p. 108. For the detection of the plot, see Clarendon, B. xv.

¹⁷¹ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, 214.

¹⁷² The principal front, to the east, has been partly modernised, but the original quadrangle within has been little altered. Over the archway to the west is a shield of the Morley arms impaling Pelham, the founder having married Anne Pelham of Buxted. Over the inner arch a tablet exhibits the arms of Morley quartered with Walleys, beneath the Italian motto, "Speranza mi da la vita," as represented in the woodcut, from a drawing kindly contributed by Mr. Lower. In the spandrels of two doorways on each side the archway is a leopard's head with **W M**, and on the south side is a pelican with **A. M.**

¹⁷³ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, 59.

claims him as a school-fellow, it is probable he had been educated in Lewes, at the same school where Evelyn confesses he learnt so little.¹⁷⁴ He had undertaken, in 1642, to provide men and gunpowder for the defence of Lewes, to pay for which contributions of money and plate were raised in the



Glynde Gateway.

town. As a steady partisan of Parliamentary supremacy, he was as diligent in that cause within the House of Commons as in Sussex, and must often have met previously in debate the Morleys, whom he made prisoners at Chichester.

For that success he received the formal thanks of the Speaker

¹⁷⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, IV, 228. The Lewes Free School had been founded by a Morley.

in his place in Parliament, Jan. 16, 1643, "for the great services he did in the taking of Chichester;" and he received a similar honor again on June 21, 1644, "for his good services at Basing,"¹⁷⁵ although Colonel R. Norton, who had commanded the besiegers, complained to Parliament of the want of "the gentlemen of the county to come and countenance his proceedings." He was entrusted as the chief agent for raising troops, levying money, and sequestering estates in Sussex, often in association with Anthony Stapley, his country neighbour. The command of two troops of horse was given him, Feb. 15, and to Stapley, a regiment of foot. His zeal extended to all points, and having been charged, March 16, 1643, "to take care that no horse do pass beyond seas without special warrant," he acted beyond what was required, and in the same month arrested William, the son of the unfortunate Earl of Strafford, at Rye, on his passage to France, but Parliament ordered his discharge, with a letter of thanks to Col. Morley, "for his care;" and in May he seized a vessel with some bark, belonging to the delinquent Earl of Thanet. In the midst of this vigilance, however, he attended Parliament; in May he was active in promoting severe measures of retaliation on Royalist prisoners, in consequence of some Parliamentarians having been ill-used at Oxford; and, in July, was prominent in urging the lords to proceed more diligently with the impeachment of the Queen, and the making a new Great Seal. His religious sentiments may be presumed from his having been appointed to the Assembly of Divines, but probably his military duties were more congenial, and, on Oct. 11, 1643, he got himself discharged from it, and was soon afterwards, as we have seen, placed in authority over Arundel, after assisting at its capture.

A few years later, the struggle of arms had subsided into the movements of rival factions, and when the army had overpowered the Presbyterian party in Parliament, its original masters and leaders, a general discontent¹⁷⁶ arose, in which

¹⁷⁵ Not the final, but the first siege of Basing House, abandoned when the garrison was relieved by the royalist Colonel Gage.—Clarendon's Hist. B. viii.

¹⁷⁶ The dislike to the army was at this time so strong in Wales, that the blacksmiths all fled, after cutting their own bellows, so that not a horse-shoe could be had by a soldier at any forge for 40s.—Rushworth, viii, 1098.

Colonel Morley participated, and though we may conclude, from his presence on three days at the king's trial (including the opening one) that he did not yet quite flinch from violent measures; he nevertheless, either from prudence or principle, abstained from putting his name to the death-warrant, and by that omission earned a subsequent exemption from the general fate of the regicides.

He seems to have manfully opposed Cromwell's designs as long as he could with safety. On a motion in the House of Commons for fixing a day for its dissolution, a critical division ensued, Nov. 14, 1651, and while Cromwell and St. John as tellers for the Ayes reckoned forty-nine votes, Col. Morley and Mr. Bond told off forty-seven in opposition. A few days later however (Nov. 19) both he and Stapley were elected among the twenty new Members of the Council of State, and on the recurrence of the usual election in November of the following year, he kept his station, Sir John Trevor being then added to the Council. After the summary expulsion of the Parliament in April, 1653, he seems to have withdrawn into private life, and though elected for Rye in 1654, he preferred the security of his own house, and declined to attend Parliament. When urged to do so, he wrote to Sir John Trevor, whose daughter his only son married, alleging "a terrible fit of the gout," as an excuse for himself and Fagge, his brother-in-law, "remaining at their seats."¹⁷⁷

Sir John Trevor had married John Hampden's daughter Ruth, and with such an alliance was not likely to despair of the Parliament's success. As member for Grampond, and an early Covenanter, he supported to the last both Oliver and his son Richard. He owned a fifth part of a grant from James I of a duty of one shilling a chaldron on the export of coals from Newcastle, producing him from £1200 to £1500 a year, and this he retained, we must suppose by political favouritism, throughout the universal changes of the war. Indeed, on March 19, 1644, Sir John Trevor was present when the Parliament desired letters to be written to all the seaports in their interest, "to encourage them to trade to Sunderland

¹⁷⁷ The letter is in Noble's *Regicides*, ii, 87, and reprinted in Horsfield's *Environs of Lewes*, p. 120. Fagge had on June 19, 1643, offered a loan of £1000 to Parliament, which Colonel Morley was authorised to accept.

for coals, and to carry the provisions for the army there." In despair of any other government he finally promoted the king's return, although by that event he was deprived of his coal duty, and also of a grant of Richmond Park and Nonsuch,¹⁷⁸ which had been given to him. Charles II however soon took him into trust and employed him as ambassador to France in 1667.

The local influence and popularity of Col. Herbert Morley were perhaps increased by his seclusion, for on a Parliament being once more called soon after Cromwell's death, he was returned as member both for the county and for Lewes, but on taking his seat, Feb. 11, 1659, "he stood up and made his election for the county, and moved that a new writ may issue for the borough of Lewes,"¹⁷⁹ and his brother-in-law Fagge also chose to sit for the county. Richard Cromwell appointed him one of the thirty-one Councillors of State.¹⁸⁰ He seems to have taken an active part in the debates for some months, and even when the general tendency of public opinion was towards monarchy, he retained his old opinions. He was always anxious to impose restraints upon the revived House of Lords, which he feared would otherwise threaten liberty, and was always severe in excluding 'delinquents' from Parliament. On the exclusion of Jones, M.P. for Brecon, on Feb. 12, 1659, he observed, "I would have not only his discharge, but his crime entered upon your books." (Burton, iii, 241).

In the debate on the form of Government, and on setting bounds to its power, Feb. 18, during the short Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, he spoke as if he foresaw the tendency to monarchy. "I see this bounding is a tender point. We are loth to come to it. We are now putting a negative upon ourselves, instead of bounding the chief magistrate, and now

¹⁷⁸ Sir John Trevor is said also to have received £9000 from the forfeited estate of the Marquis of Winchester.—See 'Mystery of the Good Old Cause, London, 1660.' Accurate accounts of the produce of the coal duties for a long series of years, with an inspection of which the writer has been favoured, are preserved at Glynde, where Lord Daere, the descendant of this Welsh knight and Ruth Hampden, occupies the seat of the Morleys. The estate passed to the Trevor family, by the marriage of Sir John Trevor's son to Elizabeth Clarke, the second wife and widow of William Morley, Colonel Herbert's only son, who died in his twenty-fifth year.

¹⁷⁹ Burton's Diary, iii, 202. The subsequent extracts of Colonel Morley's speeches are also from Burton.

¹⁸⁰ Ludlow's Memoirs, ii, 636.

are setting up another house. So that, when both those are set up, we shall have a negative upon neither," (iii, 337).

On the war with Holland, Feb. 24, he spoke thus: "My heart has bled for the blood already spilt, seeing how we were mistaken in what we fought for. I am against a war, unless upon clear grounds." He accused the Council of having made a dishonourable peace and a worse war, and therefore carried a motion not to refer it to them, (iii, 479).

His jealousy of the army was strongly marked, March 2. "You have taken away the major-generals out of the field, and from exercising their power in the country, and you are now making of them major-generals in parliament. They are most of them military men, that have forced parliaments before, and if you make them part of your constitution, they will force your resolutions," (iii, 589).

The debates about Cromwell's new lords were curiously characteristic of the times. Colonel Gorges had said bluntly that "the new lords are fittest, and an honest cobbler better than 100 old lords," (iii, 404); and Samuel Gott (member for Winchelsea in the Long Parliament, and in 1658 for Hastings) pleaded for them as a lame man would for a wooden leg. "I am as little pleased with these lords as any man, yet we are but one leg, and cannot go, but hop up and down with them. Though they be not to our content, I have seen a man walk very well with a wooden leg." March 7, 1659. (Burton, iv, 57.) Sir Ashley Cooper considered the scheme "a shoeing-horn" to let the old lords slip easily into their seats, but Colonel Morley threw aside all these alluring figures of speech, and answered sternly, "That is for the heel, not for the head. It is rather a gilded pill, and must be sent down in syrups and sweetmeats. All the gilding and syrups shall not make me pass it," (iv, 59). His attention to the manners and rules of the House incidentally appears. "I move against sitting in the afternoon, but if you will sit it out, I shall, tho' I have eate nought, accompany you," (iv, 40). "If that gentleman (Mr. Knightley) have liberty to speak every second man, pray let me have my turn," (iv, 104). On the Speaker himself moving for candles to be brought in, he cried out, "While another speaks, you ought to sit down, Mr. Speaker," (iv, 192).

On March 28, he obtained leave to go into the country for ten days; and the Parliament was dissolved soon after.

On May 14, 1659, Colonel Morley was again elected one of the Council of State, and, in conjunction with Haselrig and five others, was appointed to organise the army, in order to guard against the danger of military violence from General Lambert, who, nevertheless, soon afterwards dispersed them. In Sussex three troops of militia were to be raised, and placed under the command of Colonel John Fagg, Captain Thomas Fissenden, and Captain Thomas Hay.

There had been much previous mistrust of Lambert, and in fact the commissioners cashiered him, but this only made him the bolder to march the very next day, Oct. 13, upon the Parliament, in spite of Morley. Lord Mordaunt¹⁸¹ thus reported to the king, Oct. 27, 1659, Colonel Morley's behaviour on this occasion. "Immediately Colonel Morley's regiment, Okey's and Evelin's, with the Life-guards, were commanded to draw up. These possess themselves of the Palace-yard, the Abbey church, and Westminster Hall." Lambert marched, at the head of his troops, through London, and came to the Palace-yard. "There Morley met him, and bid him stand. Morley had a pistol in his hand, and Lambert, going as if he intended to have gone into the Hall, Morley swore, 'if he stirred a foot further he would shoot him.' To this Lambert answered, 'Colonel Morley, I will go another way, though if I please I could pass this.' He then faced about," marched into the Old Palace-yard, and ultimately succeeded in driving away all but his own friends from the House of Commons; his own forces being superior to Morley's in strength, owing to the city not raising their militia to succour Morley; "but that dull body had no spirit," Lord Mordaunt remarks. Morley and Haselrig on this betook themselves to Portsmouth, and secured that garrison in the interest of Parliament, and, after issuing there a solemn protest against any king or peers, Morley made "incursions into Hampshire and Sussex, where he had many friends."¹⁸² Chichester was now again maltreated by the same parties,¹⁸³ and their power so quickly increased that they soon marched on London, and there, on Dec. 26, 1659, restored the Parliament. The Marquis

¹⁸¹ Carte's Collection, ii, 246.

¹⁸² Clarendon, xvi.

¹⁸³ In the debate in Parliament, May 5, 1657, on sending some money to relieve the poor of Gloucester, a member, Mr. Highland, objected: "Other persons and places, as the city of Chichester, &c., deserve as much your justice and pity as Gloucester, and that more want bread than they do."—Burton, ii, 210.

of Ormond, writing to Cardinal Mazarine, Dec. 10, 1659,¹⁸⁴ reported, that "Kent, Surrey, and Sussex are so disposed as they will be ready to fall down to any formed body that can protect them." Whitelock also notes at this time, "Dec. 11, Intelligence of attempts at insurrections in Sussex, but defeated. So was a design to surprize the Tower."—"Dec. 29, Haselrigge, Walton, and Morley, came into the House in their riding habits, and Haselrigge was very jocund and high" (p. 686); and on Dec. 29 they received the public thanks of the House of Commons, and its cordial approval of their conduct.

Events were now hurrying on to a restoration of royalty, and Colonel Morley's powerful position made him an object of importance to all parties. On Dec. 31, he was reappointed, with Haselrig, Walton, and Monk, to give commissions in the army, and the republican Ludlow observes,¹⁸⁵ "These four being elected, it was visible that the balance would be in the fifth man that should be chosen, Monk having in a manner declared himself our enemy, and Colonel Morley being sufficiently known to be of a temporising spirit." Alured was ultimately chosen to the displeasure of Monk. Colonel Morley had been made lieutenant of the Tower, which gave him in a manner the command of London, and it was very natural for his royalist friend, John Evelyn, to urge him to declare for the king on so fair an opportunity. He has thus described his interviews with him for that purpose.¹⁸⁶

"Dec. 10, 1659. I treated privately with Col. Morley, then lieutenant of the Tower, and in great trust and power, concerning delivering it to the king, and the bringing of him in, to the greate hazard of my life, but the colonel had been my schoolfellow, and I knew would not betray me.

"Dec. 12, 1659. I spent in public concerns for his majesty, pursuing the point to bring over Col. Morley and his brother-in-law, Fagge, governor of Portsmouth.¹⁸⁷

"January 12, 1660. Wrote to Col. Morley again to declare for his majesty.

"January 22, 1660. I wente this afternoone to visit Col. Morley. After dinner, I discoursed with him, but he was very jealous; and would not believe Monk came in to do the king any service. I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour; he was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I tooke leave."

¹⁸⁴ Carte's Collection, ii, 295.

¹⁸⁵ Ludlow's Memoirs, ii, 830.

¹⁸⁶ Evelyn's Memoirs, 4to, p. 663; ii, 319-321. There seems, however, some mistake in Evelyn's dates of Dec. 10 and 12, as the Rump Parliament was not restored by Morley before Dec. 26.

¹⁸⁷ His brother, William Morley, was also governor of Arundel at the time.

Even on Monk's arrival in London,¹⁸⁸ Morley was unable to penetrate his intentions, and broke off correspondence with Evelyn, though he had been bargaining for the king's pardon of himself and his relations. Evelyn explains why he was so anxious to gain him. "He had a much better interest in Sussex than any of his party, whereby he might have facilitated his Majesty's reception in that county, in case his affairs required his landing there ;" and his letter of Jan. 12, addressed him thus, "being, as you are, free and uncontaminate, well-borne, and abhorring to dishonour or enrich yourselfe with the spoyles which by others have been ravish't from our miserable yet dearest country."

The republicans were alarmed, and Ludlow, apparently assured of Morley's support in maintaining the Republic, proposed that 2000 soldiers "should be ordered to march to the Tower, to join with Colonel Morley's regiment, which was already there, and would be ready to receive them ;" Ludlow adds, "he having sent to me to let me know that the Tower should be at my command, whensoever I pleased to desire it."¹⁸⁹ His position at the Tower was thus decried in rude verses of the time :¹⁹⁰

"This afternoon the Tower was committed
To Collonel Morley as him best fitted,
For to commit the Tower to one is good,
But to commit one to the Tower breeds ill blood."

Halting thus between two opinions, Colonel Morley missed playing the triumphant part, in which Monk soon displayed such cool judgment, and yet his refusal of Evelyn's offers does not seem to have proceeded from principle, for Whitelock expressly says, "Jan. 25, Colonel Morley, lieutenant of the Tower, concurred with Monk," so that both Ludlow and Monk had received opposite assurances from him at the same crisis.¹⁹¹ Though all regicides were at the restoration exempted from pardon, Colonel Morley, not having taken part in the final

¹⁸⁸ Monk arrived in London, Feb. 3, 1660, but did not declare himself decisively till Feb. 10, when the jubilee of burning the Rump lighted up all London.

¹⁸⁹ Ludlow's Memoirs, ii, 851.

¹⁹⁰ A-la-mode de Paris, Diurnall in Verse, p. 5. 4to, 1659.

¹⁹¹ His former comrade remained more steady at this period : "Cockeram's regiment at Gravesend in a mutiny—Monk sent some troops to reduce them," and on Feb. 8 they were reduced.—Whitelock's Memoirs.

act of the king's death did not come strictly under that peril, and was allowed, by paying £1000, to purchase security for the rest of his life.

He then had probably to seek an interview with Evelyn as secretly and cautiously as Evelyn had done of him at the Tower a short time previous, and the royalist, now safe and on the winning side, thus chuckles over his old schoolfellow's indecision and want of foresight.

“*May 24.* Came to me Col. Morley, about procuring his pardon, now too late seeing his error, and neglect of the counsel I gave him, by which, if he had taken it, he had certainly done the same work with the same ease that Monk did it, who was then in Scotland, and Morley in a post to have done what he pleased, but his jealousy and feare kept him from that blessing and honour. I addressed him to Lord Mordaunt, then in great favour, for his pardon, which he obtained at the cost of £1000, as I heard. O the sottish omission of this gentleman! what did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation, to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands!” (Memoirs, p. 319.)

June 30, 1660. The Sussex gentlemen presented their Adresse (to Charles II) to which was my hand. I went with it, and kissed his majestie's hand.” (P. 323.)

Colonel Morley ended his days peaceably at Glynde, Sept. 29, 1667, in the fifty-second year of his age, and was there buried.

We may perhaps trace for the last time Col. Morley's influence in the direction and success of the flight from death of his fellow-republican, Edmund Ludlow. After a period of hazardous concealment in London, this regicide made his way to Lewes, avoiding all towns on his road, and went on board an open vessel, from which, on its passage down the Ouse, the wind blowing hard, he removed to another provided for him by a merchant of Lewes, which had struck upon the sands as she was sailing down to receive him, and which had just returned from carrying over Richard Cromwell. This change was most fortunate for him, as the small vessel he had quitted was soon after searched for fugitives, while the one he was in, lying stranded in the river, was neglected, and the next morning he sailed for Dieppe,¹⁹² and hurried to Switzerland for shelter, where he joined W. Cawley.

¹⁹² Ludlow's Memoirs, iii, p. 12.

These remarks having extended to an unintended length, however incompletely treating the subject, may be here conveniently concluded, by subjoining a general list of the Members representing the county and boroughs of Sussex in Parliament during this period.

The Long Parliament met, Nov. 3, 1640, and was first dispersed by Cromwell, April 20, 1653.

County.—SIR THOMAS PELHAM Bart., took the covenant, and, on April 8, 1643, he was enjoined by the House of Commons to go forthwith into Sussex, “to advance the assessments and sequestrations of papists, bishops, and notorious delinquents.” He was one of the members “secluded,” as they were termed, by violence, in 1656.

ANTHONY STAPLEY also elected for Lewes, a covenanter and a regicide.

Arundel.—SIR EDWARD ALFORD, Knight, joined the king, and was disabled by Parliament, Jan, 22, 1643. He had been returned also for Tewkesbury.

JOHN DOWNES succeeded him and was a covenanter. He was a Londoner of mean family, and was placed on the council of state by the army in 1659. As he acted on the high court of justice all the days, sitting next to W. Cawley, as he related on his own trial, and signed the death-warrant, his name was excepted from pardon, but when tried, Oct. 16, 1660, he pleaded so hard for mercy, that he was reprieved, and died in prison.¹⁹³

HERBERT HAY, one of the “secluded” members.

Bramber.—SIR EDWARD BISHOP, Bart., election voided, Dec. 1640.

ARTHUR ONSLOW, a covenanter and “secluded” member.

SIR THOMAS BOWYER, Bart., disabled Nov. 23, 1642, for his assisting to seize Chichester.

JAMES TEMPLE, of a branch belonging to the ennobled family of that name. He was present on several days during the king’s trial, and signed the death-warrant. After his condemnation, in 1660, he was reprieved, and died in the Tower.

Chichester.—CHRISTOPHER LEWKNOB, disabled Sept. 2, 1642, for assisting to sieze Chichester.

SIR WILLIAM MORLEY, Knight, disabled Nov. 23, 1642, for the same reason.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE, Knight, “secluded.”

HENRY PECKHAM, “secluded.”

¹⁹³ Noble’s Regicides, p. 114.

East Grinstead.—RICHARD LORD BUCKHURST, elected also for Steyning, took his seat for East Grinstead, joined the king's army, and was disabled, Feb. 5, 1643.

ROBERT GOODWIN, a covenanter.

ROBERT PICKERING, election voided, Feb. 1645.

JOHN BAKER.

Hastings.—JOHN ASHBURNHAM, joined the king's army, disabled Sept. 3, 1645.

SIR THOMAS EVERSFIELD, disabled with his colleague.

JOHN PELHAM, "secluded."

ROGER GRATWICK, withdrew from the king's trial.

Horsham.—THOMAS MIDDLETON, a covenanter, "secluded."

PAUL RAVENSCROFT, a covenanter.

LEWES.—HERBERT MORLEY, a covenanter, attended the high court of justice, but did not sign the king's death-warrant.

ANTHONY STAPLEY, elected, but sat for the county.

HENRY SHELLEY, absent on a call of the House, Feb. 5, 1644, as being on service of the Parliament.

Midhurst.—WILLIAM CAWLEY, a covenanter and regicide.

THOMAS MAY, disabled for assisting to sieze Chichester, Nov. 23, 1642.

SIR GREGORY NORTON, Bart., had been made a baronet by James I, in 1622, and came from Rotherfield in Hampshire to reside in Sussex. Having gone all lengths on the king's trial, and having partaken of some of the plunder of Richmond Palace, his estates were seized in 1660, though he had died previously.—Noble's Regicides, 2, 102.

Rye.—SIR JOHN JACOB, knight, expelled Jan. 21, 1640, as a monopolist of tobacco.

JOHN WHITE, joined the king, disabled, Feb. 5, 1643.

WILLIAM HAY.

✓ JOHN FAGG, attended the High Court of Justice, but did not sign the king's death-warrant.

Seaford.—SIR THOMAS PARKER, Knight, a covenanter, "secluded."

FRANCIS GERRARD, a covenanter, "secluded."

Shoreham.—JOHN ALFORD, "secluded,"

WILLIAM MARLOTT, deceased 1646,

Both absent on a call of the House, Feb. 5, 1644, as being on service of the Parliament, and both took the Covenant, March 27, 1644.

HERBERT SPRINGETT.

Steyning.—RICHARD LORD BUCKHURST elected, but sat for East Grinstead. THOMAS LEEDS, disabled, Nov. 23, 1642, for assisting to seize Chichester.

SIR THOMAS FERNFOLD, deceased, Sept. 1645.

EDWARD APSLEY.

HERBERT BORDE, deceased, Dec. 1648.

Winchelsea.—SIR NICHOLAS CRISPE, expelled, Feb. 2, 1640, as a monopolist.
 SIR JOHN FINCH, knight, deceased. New Writ moved Feb. 11, 1643.
 WILLIAM SMITH, a covenanter, joined the king, disabled, Sept. 3, 1645.
 HENRY OXENDEN, "secluded."
 SAMUEL GOTT.

To Cromwell's Parliament, which met Sept. 3, 1654, there were elected nine members for the county, of whom seven had sat in the Long Parliament. After refusing, on Oct. 19, by 200 votes to 60, to make the Protectorate hereditary, Cromwell dissolved them on July 22, 1655.

County.—H. MORLEY, SIR THOMAS PELHAM, I. PELHAM, ANTHONY STAPLEY, JOHN FAGG, W. HAY, H. SPRINGAT, with the addition of FRANCIS LENNARD, LORD DACRE, and JOHN STAPLEY.
 ANTHONY SHIRLEY sat for Arundel, H. PECKHAM for Chichester, T. GOODWIN for East Grinstead, H. SHELLEY for Lewes, and Colonel MORLEY was elected for Rye, as well as the county.

Many of the same Members sat in the new Parliament which met Sept. 17, 1656. The House of Commons however, by ninety-three to eighty-seven voters, decided, Feb. 1, 1658, not to recognise the 'other house,' and three days after was dissolved.

County.—H. MORLEY, JOHN FAGG, A. SHIRLEY, ANTHONY STAPLEY (elected for both Lewes and the county), JOHN STAPLEY, SIR T. PELHAM, GEORGE COURTHOPE, SIR THOMAS RIVERS, Bart., SIR THOMAS PARKER.
 T. GOODWIN and H. PECKHAM retained their seats; SAMUEL GOTT sat for Rye, and SIR JOHN TREVOR for Arundel. W. GOFFE was nominated to the House of Lords.¹⁹⁴

Richard Cromwell's Parliament, which met on Jan. 26, 1659, was elected on the old system; and it being remarked, a few days after their meeting, that no writ had been issued to the ancient borough of Seaford, a writ was ordered on Jan. 31.

County.—H. MORLEY and J. FAGG. The first had been also chosen for Lewes, and the second for Bramber, but both elected to sit for the county.

Arundel.—HENRY ONSLOW and RICHARD MARLOTT.

Bramber.—JOHN FAGG and T. BYRE.

¹⁹⁴ Perfect List of the Names of the Several Persons returned to Parliament. 4to, London, 1656.

- Chichester*.—H. PELHAM and W. CAWLEY.
East Grinstead.—SIR ROBERT GOODWIN and G. COURTHOPE.
Hastings.—SAMUEL GOTT and NICHOLAS DELVES.
Horsham.—WILLIAM FREEMAN and H. CHOWNE.
Lewes.—COLONEL MORLEY (who sat for the county) and RICHARD BROUGHTON.
Midhurst.—W. YALDEN and BENJAMIN WESTON.
Rye.—W. HAY and MARK THOMAS.
Seaford.—NICHOLAS MEREDITH and JAMES THURBANE.
Shoreham.—E. BLAKE and JOHN WHALLEY, who, however, elected to sit for Nottingham.
Steyning.—SIR JOHN TREVOR and ANTHONY SHIRLEY.
Winchelsea.—J. BUSBRIDGE and ROBERT FOWLE.

After some debates the Commons recognised the Lords, and even resolved by a close division, 195 to 188, on March 8, that the old peers of royal creation were not to be excluded. A dissolution on April 22, 1659, led to a revival of the Rump (as it was called) of the Long Parliament, May 7, until its violent expulsion, Oct. 13, by Lambert. Haselrig and Morley restored it, Dec. 26, and so it continued until finally overpowered by Monk, a few weeks after.

It may interest some to add here the names of those connected with Sussex who were intended to be knights of the Royal Oak, when that order was contemplated by Charles II.

	value of his estate.
George Lunsford	£600 per annum.
Thomas Middleton	600
Walter Dobell	1000
Lunsford of Windmill Hill	600
Edward Eversfield	600
John Eversfield	1500
Henry Goringe	2000
John May	600
Mitchelborne of Stanmere	600

NOTICE OF AN ANCIENT ENGRAVED COPPER,

FORMERLY ENAMELLED, LATELY DISCOVERED AT ROTTINGDEAN.

BY THE REV. ARTHUR HUSSEY, M.A.

WITH REMARKS BY ALBERT WAY, ESQ.

DURING the summer of 1851, at the sale in the village of Rottingdean, of the effects of a cottager then recently deceased, there was accidentally observed a small plate of stout copper, on which were considerable remains of ornamental engraving. As the workmanship was manifestly not modern, and as even a cursory view showed the object to be curious, it was purchased, and thus rescued from probable destruction. The plate is nine inches long by four inches and a half broad, and has the evident appearance of not being complete in itself, but of having been originally connected with other portions of some article, whatever that may have been. The sunken parts of the engraved face still, in several instances, retain vestiges of enamel of different colours, but so small that they are scarcely discernible except on close examination.

The history of this relic, so far as it can be traced, seems worth relating. A surviving brother, now much above seventy years of age, of the late owner immediately recognised the piece of copper as having been in the possession of his mother, who stated by whom it had been given to her, and that it was said to have been dug up in the churchyard of Rottingdean; the date of which last event cannot now be ascertained, but may be estimated at from seventy to eighty years ago at least. It seems then an obvious conjecture, that our plate must have formed part of some article of church furniture, which was disused at the Reformation, and that reverence for the subject of the engraving, the Crucifixion, occasioned it to be deposited in consecrated ground, to preserve it from being consigned to the furnace, or applied to secular purposes like any other pieces of the same metal to which it may have been attached in its perfect state. The fact of its having lain in

the earth for some two hundred years or more will not alone account for the present defaced condition of this specimen of ancient workmanship, but it has been considerably injured by the assiduous exertions of at least the first female proprietor to keep the face of her valued curiosity *bright!*

Although various suggestions were offered, no definite opinion could be formed as to the original purpose or the date of this article, until it was submitted to the inspection of Mr. Albert Way, whose extensive archæological knowledge speedily solved the difficulty. The following portion of this paper contains Mr. Way's remarks, which cannot fail to be read with much interest, not merely as including a description of the individual relic now alluded to, but likewise from the information they afford respecting objects and arts, the former existence of which is not generally known.

The plate of copper found at Rottingdean was originally enriched with various coloured enamels, fixed by fusion in the cavities chased out of the surface of the metal, a process of the art of enamelling technically designated as *champ-lévé*. The portions of the design now appearing in relief, are the parts which were not covered by enamel, but were richly gilt, and the details of drapery, the hands, &c., were expressed by engraved lines, still partially to be discerned. The enamel has almost wholly disappeared, having scaled off, a few slight traces only appearing in the nimbs, &c. Of the gilding no trace remains.

This was doubtless of the work of Limoges (*opus Limovicenum*), and its date about the close of the thirteenth century. The enamellers of that place were long time celebrated for their skill in this kind of art. One of these artificers, Magister Johannes Limovicensis, was so renowned, that about 1276 he was employed to construct the tomb and enamelled effigy of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, and he came to England to erect the monument placed in the cathedral at that place.

The plate in question represents the Crucifixion: the figure of the Saviour, now lost, was a separate piece of metal, chased

in low relief, and attached to the enamelled plate by four rivets, one in each hand, and two in the feet. A space corresponding with this figure was left upon the plate: and not unfrequently the figure of our Lord was expressed by engraved lines on the flat metal, and not by a separate work in low relief. The heads of the angels, the Virgin, and St. John, and of a little figure beneath the cross are here likewise of separate pieces of metal, chased, and riveted on to the plate.

Immediately above the head of the Saviour appear two spaces, representing the *Titulus*: no trace of letters is now discernible, but the inscription was probably, as on another example, the abbreviated name of Christus Iesus, in Greek letters, the surrounding spaces being filled with enamel.

Above the *Titulus* is to be seen the Almighty hand, pointed downwards in the gesture of the Latin benediction, and surrounded by the cruciform nimbus: the arm issues from the clouds, but a rectangular perforation has been made in this part of the plate, possibly in order to adapt it to some purpose for which it was not originally designed. Over the limbs of the cross appears, on each side, an angel, the wings extended. One, on the dexter side, has the hands crossed, and dropped below his girdle; the other has the right hand upraised, in a gesture of surprise or admiration, in the left was probably represented a book. The angels are represented as if issuing from clouds, about two thirds of the figure being shown.

On the right side of the Saviour appears the Virgin Mary, and on his left St. John, whose right hand is upraised, a book of the gospel being in his left. The heads of these figures, as before observed, are separate pieces of metal, riveted on, and they were elaborately, and often very skilfully chased in relief. Of this delicate work no trace here remains. These figures, as also the cross, stand on a sort of pyramid, formed of what at first sight appears like scales; but this is a usual, conventional mode of representing a broken or mountainous surface, probably here intended to recal the hill of Calvary.

Beneath the crucifix appears an open grave, from which is seen emerging a figure, with hands upraised, the countenance turned upwards. This is not unfrequently introduced in works of this period, representing the Crucifixion: it may

import, that by the Redeemer's sacrifice, the power of death was vanquished; or it may probably refer to the opening of the graves, and resurrection of saints, who went into Jerusalem, as related, St. Matthew, xxvii, 52.

The field of the plate is ornamented with certain transverse bands, and flowers *sémées* between the bands, according to the usual mode of enriching the groundwork of such enamelled plates. Some of these flowers were gilt, and the petals expressed by engraved lines; in other instances the centre was tooled out, and a space left to be filled with enamel. The cross beam is most frequently jewelled; here it is ornamented with a running foliated pattern.

This plate was intended either to decorate the binding of a book of the Gospels, the *Textus*, most probably ornamented with a representation of the Crucifixion. The enamelled work was affixed to the oaken boards, which protected the sacred book, perforations being left for the rivets, as still to be noticed in the work. It may however have been part of the exterior ornaments of a feretory or small portable shrine, usually in form of a small chapel, such as that preserved at Shipley Church, Sussex. In either case this plate is only to be regarded as part of the decorations, having been originally surrounded by other plates of enamelled or chased work. If it was, as is not improbable, affixed to the side of a *shrine*, the perforation above mentioned, at the upper edge of the plate, may have been cut to admit some fastening or staple, or some adjustment of this kind, for the purpose of securely closing the little chest.¹

It may deserve notice, that on the back of the plate is roughly engraved a saltire. It is not uncommonly found, that some mark appears on the reverse of these enamelled plates, to designate either the use for which they were destined, or the particular position on the shrine, or other like work, which they were to occupy.

The design which appears on this plate is not uncommon in the works of Limoges of this period. A plate of the same size, and similar to this, some minor details excepted, was

¹ But possibly this perforation may have been formed originally after the exhumation of the plate for the purpose of suspending it upon a nail, for certainly it was so used.—A. H.

shown by Mr. Way at the meeting of the Sussex Archæological Society at Lewes. Another is to be seen in the York Museum. The specimen found at Rottingdean, although sadly defaced, and deprived of all its curious enrichments, is not without interest, as actual evidence of the use of the enamelled works of France in English churches, frequently to be noticed in ancient inventories and archidiaconal visitations.

P. S.—The signification of the dead man emerging from the grave at the foot of the cross, in the curious plate now described, is a singular little detail of medieval symbolism. The enamellers of Limoges originated, as we believe, from certain Byzantine artists, settled in France; and certain peculiarities of oriental design were long preserved in the works of Limoges. The formula, by which the Greek artists were instructed to design their representations of sacred subjects, has been preserved, and a translation published in France. In the chapter of the Crucifixion, the artist is directed to represent at the foot of the cross a little vault or cave, in which should appear the skull of Adam, and two bones moistened by the blood flowing from the Saviour's feet.

The signification of *Golgotha* no doubt led many an artist of more recent times to draw the skull and cross-bones, without any knowledge of or allusion to the apocryphal legend known to the medieval painter or enameller. The supposition was this: the hill *Golgotha* was believed to be the place of Adam's burial. Some even went so far with their symbolical imaginations as to say, that the cross was formed of a tree, which had grown on Adam's grave, and sprang from a seed or a branch of the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

It was not uncommon, when these bones had thus been introduced in representations of the Crucifixion, to make them apparently reanimate by the blood of the Saviour dropping upon them. A remarkable example deserves to be cited, as illustrative of the Rottingdean plate. In Beauvais Cathedral there is a representation of the Crucifixion in one of the windows of the Lady Chapel. It is a work of the same age as

the plate, the thirteenth century. Adam is there portrayed, resuscitated, and emerging from his tomb at the foot of the cross. He gazes upwards with gratitude and veneration towards the Redeemer of man, who had been lost through his disobedience.

In the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus there are some curious passages regarding the reanimation of defunct persons at the Crucifixion, and the raising of the body of Adam.

The curious Greek story or legend of the tree, of which the cross was formed, having grown from seeds of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, placed by Seth in Adam's mouth when he was dead, is told by Sir John Mandevile, p. 14; and the discovery of Adam's skull in the cavity of the rock, wherein the cross was erected, is alluded to, p. 92, edition 1725.

NOTICES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF STEYNING AND ITS CHURCH.

BY THE REV. THOMAS MEDLAND.

READ AT THE WISTON MEETING, AUGUST, 1851.

THE Parish of Steyning lies on the north side of the South Down range, not far from the point where the hills slope on each side to the river Adur. It comprises an extent of 3381 acres of very varied character, the southern part consisting of high down-land, while the northernmost part extends to the weald-clay, the intermediate space being occupied partly by sand and partly by a deep clayey loam of a very fertile description. The population at the last census (1851) amounted to 1464 inhabitants, of whom, by far the greater number are collected in the small town, which is situated on a plateau of the fire-stone, or malm-rock (as it is called in this county). It has been usual to derive the name of this town from the Saxon word, 'stean' a stone, and it has been supposed that it was so named, either from the stony nature of the country or from a ruin of some importance, or from the proximity of a Roman road, or Stane street. The last supposition has been most generally adopted, and Mr. Turner has alluded to it in Vol. II, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, pp. 64, 74. But Mr. Kemble, in his work on the Saxons in England, has assigned to it quite a different origin. He classes it among the ancient Saxon Marks, and considers its name as a patronymic derived from the head of a family or leader of a clan who settled here with his adherents.

“ As land may be held by many men in common, or by several households under settled conditions, it is expedient to examine separately the nature and character of these tenures. The smallest and simplest of these common divisions is that which we technically called a ‘mark’ or ‘march’ (mearc). This is the first general division, the next in order to the private estates, or ‘alods’ of the mark-men: as its name denotes, it is something marked out or defined, having settled boundaries; something serving as a sign to others, and distinguished by signs. It is the plot of land on which a greater or

lesser number of free men have settled for purposes of cultivation, and for the sake of mutual profit and protection; and it comprises a portion both of arable land and pasture, in proportion to the numbers that enjoy its produce."—*Kemble's Saxons in England*, i, p. 36.

If this latter derivation be adopted, it will account for the plural form which the name assumes in all the older documents, being written 'Stæningas' (the Saxon nominative plural) and 'Stæningum' (the Saxon dative plural) it may thus mean the place or abode of the children of Stæn; if the former etymology be preferred, we may regard the termination "ing" as the Anglo Saxon word for field, or tract of land, as it is often used in the proper names of places or districts, both in German and English. It may thus have the same meaning as Stonesfield, in Oxfordshire, remarkable for some Roman remains preserved there. But, whatever may be regarded as the derivation of the name, it seems clear, from the *Codex Diplomaticus*,¹ that the place was the site of an Anglo Saxon Mark.

This, probably, must be looked upon as its origin, for, although remains of the Romans have been discovered both at Bramber and at Wiston, nothing has been found which might indicate that the site of Steyning was ever occupied by them. We must be content, therefore, with its Saxon parentage, and when we consider how near it is to the coast, it seems not unlikely that a settlement was made here not many years after the landing of Ælla and his companions, A. D. 477.

Although however we may thus probably trace the occupation of Steyning, by its Saxon proprietors, to the close of the fifth century, there would hardly seem to have been for some length of time any such collection of dwellings as would entitle it to the name of a town, or even of a village. This it was reserved for St. Cuthmann to bring about, and as this saint is the titular patron of Steyning, and it, or at least a part of it, is sometimes called, in ancient documents, the Parish of Cuthmann, it will perhaps be as well to consider briefly a few particulars which are recorded concerning him.²

¹ Stæningas, Sussex.—Cod. Dipl. No. 314, Appendix A; *The Saxons in England*, by J. M. Kemble, Esq.

² These particulars are taken from an ancient *Life of St. Cuthmann*, in the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi*, Antwerp, 1658, vol. ii, p. 197. Feb. 4, which was kept as his anniversary.

The precise time at which Cuthmann lived is not known, nor is any account given of his birthplace; but it would appear to have been somewhere in the west of England, as he is said to have been journeying into eastern parts when he arrived at Steyning. In his early life he kept his father's sheep, and was distinguished for his youthful piety. The legend says, that when one day he was called home to his dinner, and could find no one to take his place, he described, with his shepherd's staff, a circle round his flock, and solemnly charged them in the name of the Lord not to stir beyond it during his absence. On his return he found his sheep gathered together in the same place, unhurt, and from that day forth he often had recourse to the same simple process, with the like success. Next to his piety, a leading feature in his character was affection for his mother; and when, on his father's death, and the exhaustion of their little property, he determined on quitting his native place, he could not resolve to leave his mother behind him, although, as she was so infirm and helpless, he knew not how to take her with him. In this dilemma he framed a kind of moveable couch, which from the description given of it must have been very like a large wheelbarrow, and with its assistance he was enabled to take with him his mother, as the companion of his wanderings. His barrow was partly supported by a cord, which passed over his shoulders; and when one day this cord broke, in a meadow, where some haymakers were at work, Cuthmann gathered some elder-twigs to supply its place: the haymakers laughed at him for choosing anything so brittle; but they were punished for their want of manners by a heavy shower, which was said to fall yearly ever afterwards in the same meadow, whenever the grass was cut. Amidst many difficulties and adventures Cuthmann continued on his way, and his elder-twig cord for some time answered its purpose well, but at last it gave way, and his barrow again fell to the ground. This was at Steyning, and the accuracy with which the locality is described inspires a belief in the truthfulness of this part of the narrative, which we should not perhaps so readily accord to some other parts. It is spoken of as a spot lying at the base of a lofty hill, and inclosed by two streams, which have their source in the neighbouring

hill.³ It was a quiet and sequestered place, and Cuthmann, regarding the second fall of his barrow as a divine intimation that here he was to stop, at once set about building a hut to shelter his mother and himself. The country is said to have been at this time but thinly inhabited, and greatly overrun with underwood and thickets; but the good man had no sooner determined on settling here, than he felt anxious to provide for the spiritual instruction of the inhabitants. When therefore he had finished his hut, he set about a far greater and nobler work, and after much personal toil, and many impediments, succeeded in erecting a church in the same spot (there is good reason to believe) on which the present building stands. Some strange miracles are related which were wrought in his behalf in the course of his laborious operations, but these may be omitted without any detriment to our narrative. Of the fact of the erection of the church, which from the account appears to have been a wooden building, there seems no reason to doubt. The Saint at his death was buried⁴ in the sacred edifice which he had toiled to build, and his fame had by this time so spread abroad, that Steyning became a place of much resort for pilgrims, who came to worship at his shrine. Thus the church of Cuthmann may justly be regarded as the nucleus of the future town of Steyning; the opportunities of public worship would induce some to settle around it; the gains derived from the concourse of pilgrims would attract others; and the residence of the Saxon kings at no distant period in their castle of Bramber, would contribute to give importance to the growing community.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to fix the exact date of the building of this church, although some approximation may be

³ "Steningas—locum in quem diverterat oculis perlustrabat, ipsumque suo operi per omnia convenire prospexit. Erat in eo tunc temporis rarus popularis accessus, rarus in eo tunc clamor et transitus, paucissimi et incolæ ejus. Erat locus in declivi montis pede submontanus, tunc dumis et arbustis sylvester nunc in terræ fertilis et fructifere agriculturam redactus, duorumque fontium de monte descendentium rivis decenter inclusus."—*Acta Sanct. Feb. viii* (the error of Feb. 4, in n. 2, on page 112, having been observed too late for correction), p. 198.

⁴ G. Hicckes, *Thesaurus*, vol. iii, p. 120: "Narratio de Sanctis qui in Anglorum regione quiescunt;—Stæningæ ad fluvium Bræmberum inter Saxones Australes requiescit S. Cuthmannus." The Saxon original is in another column opposite the Latin: "Cella de Steyning, in quâ sepultus S^{us}. Cudmanus."—*Leland's Collect.* i, p. 96, quoted by Cartwright, p. 169.

made to it. Nothing is said by Cuthmann's biographer of his having been instrumental in converting the South Saxons to the Christian faith, and we may presume therefore that this had been already accomplished. We know however, from Bede, that the inhabitants of Sussex were persuaded to embrace Christianity by Bishop Wilfrid, and his companions, A.D. 680; so that it is not likely that Cuthmann erected his church before the commencement of the eighth century. On the other hand, there are strong grounds for believing that Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred, was buried in the church of Steyning, and his death took place A.D. 858. We are thus led to the conclusion that the church was built some time between the commencement of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century, and we shall not perhaps be far wrong in fixing the date of its erection, and of Cuthmann's death, about the middle, or towards the end, of the former century.

I have said that there are good grounds for believing that Ethelwulf was buried here, and this belief is founded on the authority of Asser, who expressly asserts the fact, and whose situation in the household of Alfred⁵ gave him every opportunity of being acquainted with its truth. It is not unlikely that the body may have been afterwards removed to Winchester⁶ and we may thus, perhaps, reconcile the statement of Asser with the account given by Florence of Worcester, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, who say that he was buried in that city. The statement of Asser, however, seems most to be relied on, not only on account of his connection with Alfred, but, also, because Ethelwulf had given up the kingdom of Wessex (of which Winchester was the capital) to his unnatural son Ethelbald, about two years before his death. The next notice that we find of Steyning is in the will of Alfred, who bequeaths his estate here, together with his estates at Godalming and Guildford, to his nephew Ethelwold, the son

⁵ Asser was the secretary of Alfred. The statement in his Annals is this: "Athelwulphus, rex occidentalium Saxonum, quiescit in pace et sepultus est apud Stæningam." In the margin: "Athelwolpulus rex sepultus Steninge." In Asser's *Life of Alfred* (Archbishop Parker's edition) are these words: "Defuncto autem Æthelwulfo rege, sepultoq. apud Stenorngam, Æthelbald filius ejus," &c. And this note is added (I think by Hearne): "Ita male pro Stæningam."

⁶ Dr. Ingram, in his Appendix to his *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, suggests that he was first buried at Stonehenge. But this is clearly a mistake, arising from his being unacquainted with the existence and locality of Steyning.

of Ethelbert, his elder brother.⁷ It would seem, however, that these estates, upon the rebellion and death of Ethelwold, reverted to the crown, and we have a grant of Edward the Confessor, to the Benedictine abbey of Fecamp,⁸ in Normandy, which runs in these terms: "Edward, King, makes known in this writing, that I have granted the lands of Stæning to the holy minster at Feskamp, and such of the things that rightfully belong thereto, after Bp. Ælfwine's day, with sac and with soc, so fully and so freely, as it at first and at the best stood to him in hand."⁹

It would appear, from the terms of this grant, that at the time when it was made, Bishop Ælfwine had a life interest in the lands in question, but who this Bishop Ælfwine was it is not so easy to say. There were at this time living, Alwinus, the thirty-second Bishop of Winchester, who held that see from A. D. 1038 to A. D. 1047,¹⁰ and also Æthelwinus (which by a very common contraction may be shortened to Ælwinus) who was the tenth Bishop of Wilton, holding that see from A. D. 1013, to A. D. 1045. In either case, it would appear that the grant was made by Edward in the beginning of his reign, and that the reversion of the property fell in to the abbey, either in A. D. 1045, or A. D. 1047. The brethren of Fecamp were not, however, permitted to enjoy it many years, for Edward was prevailed on, by the influence of Earl Godwin and his family, to revoke the grant, and this probably took place A. D. 1052, when he was obliged by the same powerful influence to expel all the Normans from his kingdom. The lands after this, as we learn from Domesday Book, came into the possession of Harold, who, it is said, held them under King Edward, and who, doubtless, retained them until his fall at the battle of Hastings.

⁷ Kemble's Cod. Dipl. vol. ii, p. 216.

⁸ The town of Fecamp is situated in a deep valley fourteen or fifteen leagues from Rouen, in the Pays de Caux. Its abbey, dedicated to St. Stephen, was first founded for nuns by Count Waning, governor of the Pays de Caux, A.D. 664. It was burnt by the Normans in 841, and rebuilt by Richard I, Duke of Normandy, whose son Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, dedicated it in 990. Richard II, Duke of Normandy, removing the nuns to Montevilliers, placed here in their stead some canons, and some time afterwards monks of the Order of St. Benedict.

⁹ Kemble's Cod. Dipl. vol. iv, p. 229.

¹⁰ See Fisher's Companion to the History of England, where will be found a list of the holders of British sees up to the date of its publication, 1832.

The grant of the Confessor was confirmed in its full extent by William of Normandy, and there are extant two charters of his to this effect;¹¹ the one made when he was meditating his invasion of England, in which he dedicates the lands to the Holy Trinity and the abbey of Fecamp, apparently as a kind of votive offering; the other¹² made after his accession to the throne, which enters more fully into the particulars of Edward's grant, and comprehends lands granted to the abbey both in England and Normandy. The brethren, it would appear, were not slow in taking advantage of their restored property, and six of their number were forthwith sent over to form a priory or cell at Steyning. These are sometimes called black or Benedictine monks,¹³ and, at other times, secular canons,¹⁴ and the difference may be accounted for, by supposing that they lived together according to the rules of the Benedictine order, but that they so far became secular as to discharge the duties of the vicarage of Steyning, the advowson of which, together with the rectory, had been included in William's grant.

Among the Burrell MSS. is an extract from a letter of Mr. Hoper, the vicar, to Mr. Burrell, dated April 19, 1777, in which he says, "The parsonage house was formerly the residence of six Carthusian monks, subject to a superior religious house at Caen, in Normandy." There are here two mistakes of 'Carthusian' and 'Caen' for Benedictine and Fecamp, but Mr. Hoper gives, doubtless, the current tradition concerning the site of the priory; and this tradition was confirmed, A. D. 1848, by the discovery of the fishponds belonging to the establishment, when the foundations were dug out for the wall of the vicarage garden.

At the time that the Domesday survey was made, the property in Steyning was divided between the Abbey of Fecamp, and William de Braose, the powerful Lord of Bramber; but to the Abbey belonged by far the greater

¹¹ *Neustria Pia*, p. 223, fol. Rothomagi, 1663.

¹² See Cartwright's *Arundel*, 157-171.

¹³ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i, p. 96, Oxon. 1715: "Stening cella nigrorum monachorum."

¹⁴ "In the catalogue of religious houses ascribed to Gervase of Canterbury, temp. Ric. I, mention is made of a dean and secular canons there."—Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

portion, and all the dwellings in the town; and accordingly, when, in 1791, a parliamentary committee decided that the right of election was in the occupiers of ancient houses, or of houses built on ancient foundations, it was found that all such houses belonged to Sir John Honeywood, to whom the property of the Abbey had descended, and not to the Duke of Norfolk, who inherits, through the Mowbrays, that part of the lands of the De Braoses, which remains to him after many forfeitures, and much alienation.

It would seem however that the Lord of Bramber was not content with his share, for, both in the reign of William Rufus, and in that of Henry the First, the Abbot was obliged to appeal to the King against his encroachments, and the result was a formal agreement,¹⁵ entered into at Salisbury, A. D. 1103, between the Abbot and Philip de Braose, the son of William, in the presence of Henry, his queen, and many of his barons, by which the rights and privileges of the Abbot were fully recognised and confirmed.

Steyning was in these days a place of much importance, thriving and much frequented. According to Domesday Book, the rural population in the demesnes of the Abbey and William de Braose, amounted to 223 villani, and 106 bordarii, and in the town there were 123 dwellings, showing an increase of five, from the time of the Confessor. Now when we find from the same authority, that there were at this period only 60 dwellings at Northampton, 64 at Bath, 84 at Southampton, and 146 at Hertford, I am justified in saying that Steyning was a place of no small importance; and it would appear that, as soon as the Abbot and his brethren had been put in peaceful possession of their full rights and property, animated by the same spirit as St. Cuthmann of old, they determined on proceeding with the erection of such a building, as might adequately supply the spiritual wants of a community in which they had acquired so great an interest.

Domesday Book speaks of two churches as then existing at Steyning, the one doubtless the church which Cuthmann had originally built; and it is possible that the other may have been only a chapel-of-ease to this, the same that is mentioned

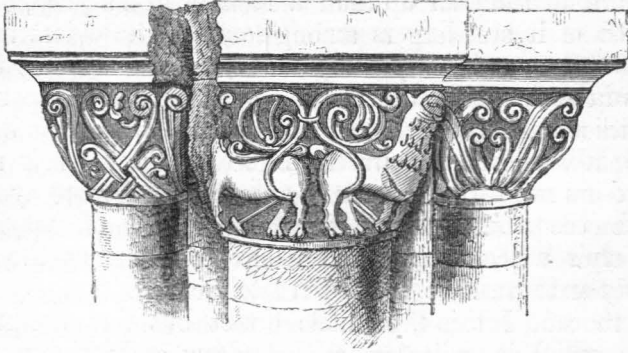
¹⁵ See Cartwright, Ex Pat. 40^o Edw. III, p. i, m. 41. Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 972.

in the valuation of Pope Nicholas, "Ecclesia de Steyning cum Capellâ." It may have been indeed that the church of Cuthmann was, strictly speaking, the parish church of that district, which was called the parish of Cuthmann, while the other church provided for the public worship of the inhabitants of the rest of Steyning. It appears to have been situated on the south side of the High-street, where there is now a garden, a little higher up than a stone-mason's yard, for the tradition of it still lingers among some of the oldest inhabitants, who, upon inquiry being made, pointed at once to the spot, where the foundations of it have been dug in upon. It was dedicated to St. Mary, as was also the well at the bottom of the hill, whose clear waters, bubbling up in their stone-covered recess, served for many ages to delight the eyes and quench the thirst of the inhabitants and of wayfarers. St. Mary's well, however, and its sister spring at the other end of the town, have both been lately covered up.

There can, I think, be little doubt but that the present church, which is dedicated to St. Andrew, and which replaced the wooden structure of Cuthmann, was built by the monks of Fecamp, both on account of the relation in which they stood to the place, as proprietors of all its houses as well as of the rectory and vicarage, and because, moreover, its style of architecture corresponds with that of the church of Gravelle, in Normandy, which also belonged to this abbey.¹⁶ The architecture, also, witnesses strongly in favour of the probability which has been suggested, that the greater part of what is now standing of the church was built in the reign of Henry I. If, indeed, we closely examine the architecture, we shall be led to the belief that some parts were erected before this time. The capitals of the pillars on the south side of the arch of the southern aisle (as seen in the woodcut), and a rude bas-relief on one of their shafts, would carry us back to the reign of the Confessor; the lesser arches, on each side of the lofty chancel arch, and the south doorway, look like early Norman work, but the pillars and arches of the nave are clearly of the later Norman style. It is not my purpose to enter on a detailed description

¹⁶ "Steyning Church has been compared to the nave of that of Gravelle in Normandy, formerly conventual, and subject to the Abbey of Fecamp."—Note in Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*, p. 168. Fecamp "bore three mitres, in token of supremacy, over three large Abbeyes."—*Archit. Antiq.* v, 211.

of this interesting building, for this has been already well done by Britton, in his 5th vol. of 'Architectural Antiquities,' p. 211, where three plates, engraved by H. Le Keux, from drawings by J. Carter, F.S.A., admirably exhibit the plans and architectural details of this church, including the block cornices, the capitals of each column, and the mouldings of the arches.



Capital of Pillar in Southern Aisle.

There can be but little doubt as to the correctness of the surmise, that what is now standing is but a truncated part of a much larger edifice. The solid foundations which are laid open both eastward and westward, wherever a grave is dug, even to some distance in the line of the outside walls, sufficiently attest this. Indeed, solid and massive foundations have this very year been dug in upon, ten or twelve feet from this outer south wall, at right angles to the eastern end of the nave, which would appear to warrant the conjecture that there was, at all events, a south transept, which was probably joined on to the nave where the stone is now patched up by some ugly brickwork. Whether the original design was ever carried out to its full extent, may perhaps be doubted, but if the more modern parts, such as the tower and porch, be narrowly examined, it will be found that there are many wrought stones worked up into the walls, which now are evidently out of place, and must have formed parts of some more ornamental structure.

Cartwright¹⁷ quotes from the Burrell MSS., a grant in fee by Sir William Percy and others, in 1406, to John Norton, of

¹⁷ Cartwright, p. 160.

a moiety of the manor of Wickham, and the chauntry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, in the church of Steyning. In an old book kept in the church chest, and still used for the more important parochial entries, some of the oldest legible notices with a date annexed to them relate to the Wardens of the lights of St. Peter, St. Christopher, and the Salutation of our Lady; and we may infer from this, that at this time, A. D. 1520, there were in the church either chapels or altars so dedicated where these lights were kept burning. It is but probable too that there were near the high altar stalls for the canons of the priory attached to the church, but these, as well as the chapelries and altars, have been swept away, and in the present building it would be difficult to find a place for most of them.

There are no distinct records of the time when the church was reduced to its present state, but two or three entries in the old church book may supply some clue to it. Thus, under the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII, A. D. 1545, is this entry: "Item, the said James Pellatt oweth to the church xii bushells of lyme, and William Pellatt, the younger, oweth a carten of Horsham stone." Again, in the third year of Edward VI, A. D. 1550, is this entry: "Mem., that the same yere Thomas Pellat, the mercer, owethe to the churche a carten of xx great free stone, and xxi bushells of lyme. It., Thomas Holland owethe v bushells of lyme." It is clear that during this period there was a great deal of building going on in connexion with the church, and it would seem that the parishioners had agreed to contribute their quotas of carriage and materials. In the year 1578, the twenty-first of Elizabeth, is the following marginal entry: "In leade lent the same yere—to Mr. Willyam Farnfold one peace in wayght 1 cwt. 6 lbs.—to Mr. Bellyngame iii peces wayinge one pece i cwt. xi lbs., one other ii cwt. xxiiii lbs., one other ii cwt. xviii lbs.—lent more to Sir Thomas Shelley iii peces wayinge ii cwt. v lbs.—i cwt. xxix lbs.—ii cwt. lackyng v lbs.—lent to Mr. Lecknor one peace wayinge xxxiiii lbs.—lent to Richard Pellat one peace wayinge xxxii lbs., whereof delyvred of the said 32 lbs to the prynces use¹⁸ xiiii lbs.—and there remayneth in leade in the vestery, in the custody of the wardens, xxv cwt. lacking v lbs." These loans to some of the

¹⁸ Sic in MS. What this may mean, and who this prince may be, I am at a loss to conjecture.

principal parishioners wear a very suspicious appearance, and certainly indicate that some work of demolition and spoliation had been going on. Perhaps it was about this time that the beautiful clerestory windows were curtailed of their fair proportions by the substitution over the side aisles of the present sloping roofs, covered with Horsham stone, for much flatter ones covered with lead.

Before quitting this branch of my subject, I may observe that we find from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (temp. Henry VIII)¹⁹ besides the churches, there was also a chantry in Steyning, the site of which is pointed out by the name of Chantry Green, still in common use, which was endowed with the rents of copyhold lands held under the Abbey of Sion, and the Duchy of Norfolk. The name of the chaplain was Owen Hardway, and this serves to illustrate the following entry in the church book, in the first year of Edward VI. "Item, Sir Owen, chantry priest, hathe gyven to the church the same yere a stole." Sir Owen seems to have continued his residence in Steyning after the suppression of his chantry, but his occupation was gone, and he wanted his stole no longer.

But to return from this digression to earlier times. There are various documents extant which recognise the rights of the Abbot of Fecamp, and in the Pleas of Assise for 1279, we find him, by his attorney, Stephen of London, claiming, under a charter of Henry III, among other extensive privileges, a market two days in the week, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and a fair twice in the year, at the nativity of the Virgin, and at the feast of St. Michael, to last each time for two days.²⁰ Nor does he seem to have been content with temporal privileges, for in the Registry of Chichester is a document,²¹ stating that, in the year 1230, in the time of Ralph de Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, a dispute arose between him and the Abbot and

¹⁹ "Cantaria in Steyning :

Owinus Hardeway clericus capellanus item valet in terr'	}	£	s.	d.
glebalibus in diversis locis ultra ijs. jd. solut' abbi'sse de		vij.	xiiij.	xj.
Syon' xijs. solut' ducisse Norff' de eorum quiet' reddit				
per annu'				
Inde X ^{ma} .		xv.	vj.	

²⁰ Cartwright, p. 157.

²¹ The knowledge of this document was kindly communicated by the registrar, J. B. Freeland, Esq.

monastery of Fecamp, and their canons and clergy of Steyning, touching the obedience and reverence due from them to the Bishop, by reason of the church of Steyning being within his diocese. The question was first brought before the Bishop of London, and others delegated by Rome to settle it, but lingered on for some time, until at last it was decided by two referees, that the church of Steyning should for ever remain free from all episcopal jurisdiction. Thus Steyning became a free church, and consequently no procurations are paid to the present time: and it appears moreover from the Tower Records of A.D. 1290, that the Abbot had likewise succeeded in establishing a claim of exemption from archiepiscopal jurisdiction.²²

Twelve years before this date the town had acquired also political importance, for in 1278, the sixth of Edward I, it was summoned to send two representatives to Parliament; and the first persons so sent were Andrew Piper, or Pepper, and William Daung; the former a member of that family from which the small farm of Pepperscomb, close under the hill, derives its name. It is very possible that this summons may have been the result of personal observation on the part of the sovereign, for we find from Mr. Blaauw's article on Royal Journeys in Sussex (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. II, p. 138), that the King was in Sussex in June 1276, and travelled from Chichester to Lewes, most probably taking Steyning and Bramber in his way. We learn from the same source that he was afterwards in this neighbourhood successively in 1285, 1297, 1299, and 1302; and, from a particular mentioned on this last visit, we gather that however Steyning may have been changed in many respects since the days of the first Edward, yet that in one point the ancient resembled the modern town, in that it had a brewery, for the king levied a fine of 13s. 4d. in Bramber and Steyning for a brewhouse transgression, and other offences.

It may be worth while to insert here the names of the principal inhabitants in A.D. 1296, as recorded in the Subsidy Roll, part of which, for the Lewes Rape, has been printed in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. II, p. 288, by Mr. Blaauw, who has

²² Tower Records, No. 53, 18 Edw. I: "Abbas de Fiscampo, Stenimnges ecclesia quod sit omnino exempta a jurisdictione archiepiscopi Cantuar."—Burrell MSS.

supplied the following list of those who then paid the tax of the eleventh of their chattels.

“Burgesses of of Stening and Brembre.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Ralph le Chepman . . .	v	iv	William atte mulle . . .	xvii	$\frac{1}{2}$
Emma, relict of John . . .	viii	$iv\frac{1}{2}$	Philip de Wantely . . .	xiv	$\frac{1}{2}$
William de Hyen . . .	v	v	Walter Doget . . .	iii	$iii\frac{1}{4}$
John le Herysse . . .	v	iv	Godfrey Thony . . .	v	$v\frac{1}{2}$
Robert Sylverlok . . .	iii	$vii\frac{1}{2}$	Simon Myryman . . .	xii	$\frac{1}{2}$
Roger le Hayward . . .	xix	$\frac{1}{2}$	Adam Herny . . .	xxii	$\frac{1}{4}$
William atte louf . . .	ii	$x\frac{1}{4}$	John Honyman . . .	xvi	$\frac{1}{4}$
William Josep . . .	ii	$x\frac{1}{4}$	Reginald le Pelet . . .	ii	$iv\frac{1}{2}$
John Testard . . .	iii	i	William the Baker . . .	xii	$\frac{1}{2}$
Robert Herny . . .	ii	$iv\frac{1}{2}$	Simon Cambrey . . .	xiii	
Gilbert Hally . . .	xvi	$\frac{1}{4}$	John Potard . . .	xiv	$\frac{1}{4}$
Robert le Cog . . .	xvi	$\frac{1}{2}$			
Nicholas AssEUR . . .	xvi		Total . . .	lxvi	iv”

Up to this time it would appear that the town retained its ancient prosperity, and the Nonæ Returns made in the fifteenth year of Edward III, A.D. 1342, would indicate that then too it had a considerable trade, but meanwhile it had most probably received a heavy blow, by the marriage of Aliva, the daughter and co-heiress of William tenth Lord de Braose, with John de Mowbray, in the reign of Edward II. This marriage carried the castle of Bramber into the Mowbray family, and from henceforth it ceased to be, at least for any length of time, the residence of its lords. The sea too had probably began to retire ere this from the neighbourhood, and that which had been in the Saxon and early Norman times the harbour of Steyning, the Portus Cuthmanni, as it is called in the agreement between Philip de Braose and the abbot, and which was certainly higher up than the castle and bridge of Bramber,²³ had ceased to be accessible to vessels as in former days. We know well from many instances, such as Sandwich, Romney, and Hythe, what an effect this has upon the prosperous condition of a place, and Steyning was, doubt-

²³ This is proved by the following passage in this agreement: “De navibus, que non poterunt ad portum transire propter impedimenta pontis, concordatum atque gradatum fuit, quod pons ad eum modum mittetur, quo naves libere transibunt ad portum, ascendentes et descendentes, ad talem consuetudinem et quietudinem, qua fuerunt tempore regis Edwardi. Quod si ad modum, quo dictus est, pons mitti tardaverit, ut erunt naves euntes et redeuntes quiete per eam consuetudinem, ad castellum Philippi, qua forent ad portum Cuthmanni.”

less, no exception to the general rule. When, moreover, the Norman provinces were separated from the English crown, much of the traffic must have ceased which once passed through Steyning, in its way to and from Shoreham. Another blow to its prosperity was, doubtless, the suppression of its priory, together with the other alien priories, in the 1st of Edward IV, A. D. 1461, and the subsequent transfer of the estates and privileges of Fecamp to the Abbey of Sion. The wealthy Abbots of Fecamp do not appear to have been otherwise than liberal nursing fathers of this their town, but so much can hardly be said for the Abbey of Sion, for in the church book there is an entry of 13*s.* 4*d.* paid by "my Lady of Syon," as if it were the usual annual allowance towards the support of the church. At the dissolution, however, by Henry VIII, even this must have been withdrawn; the property of the abbey was for a time taken into the king's own hands, the manor of Charlton, which formed a considerable part of the abbey's property, being annexed to the Honour of Petworth, and that of Steyning to the Honour of Hampton Court. The former, together with the vicarage of Steyning, was afterwards sold for £1219. 4*s.* to William Pellatt, who had held a lease of it from the abbey,²⁴ but it is not so easy to trace the descent of the latter. Steyning, however, was now a very declining place. Camden speaks of it as having, in his time, a well frequented market, but, as being in itself a comparatively small town.

It falls not within the object of this paper to enter on any more recent notices of the place; the modern parliamentary history of the borough reflects no credit on the burgesses; the borough itself is now disfranchised, and the place has dwindled into little more than a large village; the old Session-house, or Townhall, which stood in the middle of the High-street, and in which the courts of the lords were held, was removed some years ago, and the ancient prison of the lords, which stands at the corner, near the White Horse, is converted into a private dwelling. The Grammar School, indeed, which was founded and endowed A. D. 1614, by William Holland, a native and alderman of Chichester, still flourishes, and the

²⁴ MSS. British Museum, No. 606, fol. 42; Burrell MSS.

ancient house, given by the founder for the purposes of his school, and known by the name of Brotherhood Hall, standing on the right hand side in the street leading down to the church, retains its old ornamented gables, as seen in the woodcut.



Steyning Old School House.

The noble Church too, or rather a part of the noble Church, which the Benedictines of Fecamp built with such splendid liberality, although much disfigured and mutilated by the bad taste and narrow economy of more recent times, must continue to be regarded with interest and admiration, as a fine memorial of what Steyning was in the days of our Saxon and Norman forefathers.

THE COLLEGE OF BENEDICTINE CANONS
AT SOUTH MALLING.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

THIS College, which was one of the oldest monastic institutions in Sussex, was situated rather more than half a mile to the north of the town of Lewes, on a verdant eminence, gently rising above the banks of the river Ouse. Its original site is still known by the name of Old Mallyng, to distinguish it from the more modern settlement which was called South Mallyng. The establishment consisted of Benedictine Canons, and was dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel.

Like most of the ecclesiastical institutions, for the first foundation of which we must revert back to a period antecedent to the Norman invasion, the early history of this College is involved in much doubt and obscurity. Three several epochs have been assigned to it. Leland, in his *Collectanea* (i, 86), attributes its foundation to Cædwalla, King of the West Saxons, who died in the year 688, thereby carrying back its first establishment to a period rather less than a century after the arrival of St. Augustine in this country. Other historians have considered Aldulf, Duke or Governor of Sussex, and the last of the South Saxon kings, as the founder of this College; while others assert, that it was established by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, some time during the reign of Stephen. That this archbishop, as well as many of his successors, were not only great promoters of, but liberal benefactors to this College, so as to entitle them to be considered as its *modern* founders, I shall presently show; still, that Theobald could not have been its *original* founder is proved by the Domesday Survey, which notices "the canons of St. Michael," and states that they held under Archbishop Lanfranc four hydes in the manor of Mallyng, the value of which was £3, and the manor of Stanmere, which was rated at twenty hydes.

It also farther states, that of the forty-two hogs which were supported in pannage in the wood-land, six were claimed by the canons; and that six houses in Lewes were annexed to the manor of Mallyng, which yielded to the canons twenty-one pence annually. This manor appears to have been granted to the see of Canterbury by Baldred, one of the last kings under the Saxon Heptarchy, between the years 823 and 836; but, as the gift was made without the consent of his great council and peers, it was held to be void: prerogative, under the Saxon system, not authorising a king to alienate any part of the crown property without the consent of the magnates. This was subsequently remedied by Egbert, who, in the last year of his reign, viz. 838, with the concurrence of a general council, held at Kingston-upon-Thames by Ceolneth, Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the consent of his son Ethelwolf, confirmed this grant. The manor thus granted to the see of Canterbury extended in a north-easterly direction from the town of Lewes to the borders of the kingdom of Kent, occupying a narrow belt of land, from twenty-five to thirty miles in length. Hence we are able to trace the origin of the peculiar jurisdiction which the Archbishop of Canterbury exercised over certain parishes within the limits of the see of Chichester; for, upon the domain thus granted, and which was then but part of a vast forest, afterwards arose villages, all adjoining each other, in the direction before specified, and over the whole of which the see of Canterbury, till within these few years, exercised a peculiar jurisdiction. For although the archbishops did not remain in possession of any of the manors after the Reformation, they continued to hold their prerogative wherever their lands formerly lay.¹ This manor at the time of the Norman Survey contained seventy-five hydes, of which the arable constituted fifty plough lands, and the meadow land 195 acres, besides wood-land which yielded pannage for 300 hogs. There were also five mills within the lordship, producing to the archbishop £4. 14s., and 2000 eels. Godefrid held the manor at that time at the yearly rent of £95. I will here observe that this lordship has ceased to be distinguished by its ancient title, the demesnes included within

¹ Kindly communicated by William Courthope, Esq., Rouge-Croix, from his MS. History of the Manor of Mayfield, co. Sussex.

it having been divided into three portions, viz., the Beadlewicks of Ranscombe, Frantfield, and Ringmer, each of which has become a distinct manor.

The Saxon origin, then, of this College, being indisputable, I am disposed to attribute its foundation to Aldulf. He, probably, was the founder of the church which is known to have been erected at Mallyng during the Saxon rule, and to which, no doubt, secular canons were attached. Aldulf, we learn from the Saxon Chronicles, was slain in battle by Cædwalla; and his two infant sons, afterwards falling into his enemy's hands, were murdered by him. The extinction of the South Saxon rule caused the annexation of Sussex to the dominion of Cædwalla, who, during the latter part of his life, becoming tired of the continuance of wars and bloodshed, was seized with a fit of religious devotion, and became a great benefactor to the church. His title to be considered the founder of the College of Mallyng, may have arisen from its church having profited by his devotional liberality. Mallyng being situated in his newly acquired territory, he may have been prompted to atone for the death of Aldulf and his children by extending his uncompleted design, and granting to this College those rights and privileges which it is proved to have possessed prior to the Norman conquest. And thus the college remained till about the year 1150, when Archbishop Theobald perfected what Aldulf and Cædwalla had commenced. He increased the efficiency of this establishment by forming it into a deanery,² and by the addition of prebends to its already existing canonries, erecting, at the same time, suitable residences for the holders of them.

In this view of the origin and date of this College we are in some measure borne out by the following list of founders and benefactors, for whose souls the members of the College were directed by their statutes daily to pray.

“The most Serene Highness Aldulf, formerly Duke of Southsax, and first founder of this College, who gave to it Lyndefelde and Stanmere, with all that appertains to them.

² This probably took place during the period that elapsed between this archbishop's first and second grant; for in the *first* grant a Dean is not mentioned, while the *second* is addressed to the *Dean and Chapter*.

“The venerable Father Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who built [*rebuilt* ?] and endowed the church of the said College.

“Archbishops Boniface, John Stratford, William Courtney, Thomas Arundel, and Henry Chicheley,” who are described as “special benefactors” to the same church and College.

“Archbishops Boughsher [*Bourchier*], John Morton, and William Warham,” who are called “benefactors” only.

Of these, Archbishops Stafford and Warham are farther described as “reformers of the statutes.”

Other spiritual benefactors named are—“John Kirkeby, William Peers, Thomas Hanwell, and Thomas Edmunds, deans; and Roger Heron and John Fuller, canons of the same College.”

The lay benefactors noticed are—“Anne Fines, William Cheyney, Esq. and Margaret his wife, William Ballard and Margaret his wife.”

The foundation deed of this College, Leland tells us, was destroyed by fire, but when it so perished, or what was its date, he does not tell us. It was probably the original Saxon charter to which he alludes. Of the few records connected with its endowment which have come down to our time, the earliest I have met with are two deeds of Archbishop Theobald; by the first of which he gives to the Collegiate Church, which he had just re-erected, on the day of its consecration, “all the tithes of corn, hay, cheese, wool, lambs, pigs, goats, and all other titheable articles accruing on his whole manor of Mellinges, as well as from its appurtenant members;” and directs that “the tithe of corn and hay shall be cut and carried for the canons by his own people, when they cut and carry his.” This deed, which was executed at Mellinges, though undated, is supposed to be of the date 1150. And by the second he gives, “out of love for God, and for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his predecessors, as an alms to the collegiate church and canons of the blessed St. Michael of Mellinges, the tenth part of the money received by him for pannage in the same manor, and in addition, pannage for 24 hogs in his forest.” The forest here alluded to was that of the Broyle, a district which, though now almost denuded of trees, was formerly distinguished for the quantity and size of its timber; the pannage, therefore, of this forest, must have been of considerable value.

Thomas à Beckett was the next benefactor to this College, who, after confirming the grant of his predecessor, Theobald, gives, in addition, “to the church of S. Michael at Mallyng, and

the free Canons therein, the manse and demesne land belonging thereto."

These deeds are to be found in the chartulary of Archbishop Theobald, among the Tanner MSS., in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; where also is a deed of arrangement, by which William at Wode, dean, and William Risinger, William de Braunt, and Henry de Lye, canons, agree to assign the tithes arising from one hyde of land at Hastone, in Ringmere (probably the land now called Ashton Green, to the north of the village), "formerly belonging to Richard Gervase, towards the repairs and ornamentation of the church, and which they direct to be expended as follows: first, in repairing the stalls in the choir, or in case no such reparation is required, then in repairing the glass of the windows, with their appurtenances, or in colouring the timbers of the ceiling of the presbytery; or for other necessary uses, such as the provision for the repair of the roof,³ for books, vestments, vessels, or anything else of which they may stand in need, at the discretion and according to the direction of the dean and canons, for the time being; which tithes were to be collected and sold, and the money arising from such sale to be expended by some person deputed for such purpose." With regard to later benefactions, "it appears," says Mr. Serjeant Kempe, in his brief narrative of this deanery and College, "from the archbishop's rentals, that the Collegiate Church, like most others of that time, continued, by means of the religious bounty of private individuals, to accumulate, with the leave of successive archbishops, property in Ringmere, Glynde, the Clyffe," &c.

de Bosco

From the earliest period to which we can trace back the history of this Collegiate establishment, it appears to have consisted, besides the archbishop, who always held one canonry as well as the prebend of Magefield (annexed to it by Archbishop Baldwin about the year 1190, and who endowed it with the same rights and privileges for its support as were enjoyed by the prebendal canons of Archbishop Theobald, and the dean, who by virtue of his office held another canonry),

³ "Ad reparacionem fenestrarum vitrearum cum earum pertinenciis; deinde ad operimentum tingnorum ipsius presbiterii intrinsecus, quod celatura vulgariter appellatur; deinde in alios usus vel sartotecti, vel librorum vel vasosum."—*Sartotectum* or *sartatectum* is, according to Ducange, "operum publicorum tuitio vel refectio;" *sarcitector* or *sartitector*, a constructor of roofs.

of a dean and three elected canons, who were severally called, each from the office which he held, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. This, Archbishop Stafford directed to be discontinued, appointing that they should be designated prebendaries of the benefices which they respectively held.

Besides these prebendal canons, there were attached to the College, three vicars, a penitentiary, and a sacrist. All were under the collation of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

What were the duties of each member of this College, and what the emolument for the discharge of them, we learn from the only book of statutes of this College which has come down to us, viz. those already alluded to, first, of Archbishop Stafford, which were ordained by him at Mallyng, during a visitation held in the year 1443, and which appear to have been based on the earlier statutes, frequent allusions being made to them; and, secondly, the same enlarged, and in some measure remodelled, by Archbishop Warham, in the year 1515. These statutes are among Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

From these statutes we learn that the dean was the head of this College; and that, in the absence of the archbishop, whose representative he was, he had the full power of the archbishop in it. Besides keeping order in the house, it was his duty, by ancient custom, to visit all the churches within the limits of his deanery once in every year, to punish all irregularities committed either by the incumbents, or any of the parishioners; to look to and direct the necessary repairs of these churches; to demand payment of procurations, and to summon all defaulters to answer for their default in the chapter-house of the collegiate church. The churches within his deanery were those of Buxted, with the chapel of Uckfield, Mallyng, with the chapels of the Cliffe and Southeram, Lewes, Edburton, Framfield, Glynde, Isfield, Mayfield, Ringmere, and Stanmere. To which may be added Wadhurst, which appears to have been subsequently annexed to the deanery, but at what particular time I have not been able to discover. These were all under the *peculiar* jurisdiction of the archbishops; and were therefore called *his peculiars*. The church of Terryng, in the western division of the county, with the chapel of Patching, as well as the other chapels dependent on

this church, were also subject to the dean of Mallyng, as appears by a judgment recorded in Archbishop Theobald's Chartulary, dated 1230, arising out of a dispute, which seems at that time to have subsisted between William at Wode, dean of Mallyng, and Richard, rector of Terryng, who had rebelled against the jurisdiction of the dean over his church and its dependents, and by which it was decided that the rector of Terryng was in error; and that though he is privileged to take cognizance of all disputes arising among his own parishioners, still, should appeal become necessary, in any case, such appeal must be brought before the dean to be adjusted, as also any controversy between the rector and his parishioners. The rector of Terryng was also bound to attend, with his chaplains, all rural chapters held at Mallyng, when summoned to do so, upon any just and reasonable cause.

Besides the emoluments, with which we shall presently see the deanery was endowed, the dean possessed the church of Lyndefelde, by the gift of the original founder. There, "for the collection of the autumnal fruits, and for the better edification of the people," he was permitted to reside for the space of three months in each year, without infringement of the oath of residence at Mallyng, which he took upon his appointment. He was also entitled, as a fourth canon, to share with the other three canons in the emoluments of their canonries.

The canons or prebendaries were required to perform a forty days' residence every year; during which period each was to occupy the house appropriated to him, unless his absence was sanctioned by the archbishop; this residence was to be computed from Michaelmas to Michaelmas in each year; and, to meet the additional expense incurred by such residence, each canon, when resident, was to receive four marcs. This statute of residence was confirmed by a bull of Pope Gregory, dated the 12th year of his pontificate. As the canons could not officiate alone in the church, each canon was enjoined to appoint a competent vicar to assist him, if present, and to officiate for him, if absent, and to assign him an adequate stipend.

With regard to the endowment, a custom had prevailed, from an early period, for the dean and three prebendal canons of this church to divide, for their sustentation and use, the

proceeds of the churches of Mallyng, Southeram, and Framfield, equally amongst them. But after the church of Ringmere came into their possession, each of them was to hold Ringmere in turn for one year; the holder paying eighteen marcs out of its proceeds, to be divided equally among the canons resident, and two marcs towards the fabric of the church. But as this arrangement was found to lead to great neglect and deterioration of the College property, commissioners were appointed, by Archbishop Chicheley, with the full consent of the dean and canons, to devise a remedy. Their recommendation (which was subsequently confirmed by Archbishop Stafford) was, for the dean, for the time being, to receive the entire proceeds of the church of Mallyng; the precentor those of Southeram; the chancellor those of Ringmere; and the treasurer those of Framfield. But because the churches of Ringmere and Framfield far exceeded in value those of Southeram, the chancellor and the treasurer were to pay 20*s.* each, and the dean 6*s.* 8*d.* to the prebendary of Southeram, on the 8th day of October, yearly, in augmentation of his prebend. And as the dean had been accustomed, out of the proceeds of Ringmere, to repair all the buildings attached to the College, and to disburse any expenses incurred in support of its rights and privileges, the chancellor was now to do the same, and also to pay annually five marcs to the sacrist of the church of Mallyng.

Ecton, in his *Thesaurus*, states—that 6*s.* 8*d.* was due to the dean of Mallyng from each of the following parishes, viz., Buxted, Edburton, Isfield, Mayfield, Ringmere, Stanmere, Wadhurst, Framfield, and the Cliffe; and from Glynde 2*s.* for *proxies*; by which is meant a commuted sum paid by the parochial clergy, instead of finding a visitor of their parishes, whether bishop, archdeacon or dean, and his attendants, in sustenance, during the time of Visitation: and that Ringmere was farther liable to the payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the prebendary of Southeram; Isfield to pay 10*d.*, Cliffe and Glynde 12*d.* each, to the Church of Mallyng, for wax.

The penitentiary and sacrist were obliged to be continually resident. The office of penitentiary was one of the most lucrative in the Collegiate Church, after that of the dean, he being entitled to receive all the oblations made at the altar, at burials, as well as on anniversaries; and also at the purification of women,

the white vest and halfpenny being excepted, which was the perquisite of the sacrist : also the oblations at espousals, except the pence due for wax to the sacrist ; also the oblations due at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel, at Christmas, at Easter, and on the day of the dedication of the church, made by the parishioners, and no other. And when 2*d.* or more were offered at the celebration of mass in the Collegiate Church by another minister, he was entitled to one penny ; but should less be offered, his portion was to depend on the will of the canons. All other oblations and synodals, which were offered solely in honour of, and as a mark of subjection to, the Collegiate Church, which was the greatest of all the churches in the deanery, were to belong to the dean and chapter.

The sacrist, under the treasurer, had the custody of the church, as well as of the furniture belonging to it ; for the security of which he was obliged to pass every night within its walls. He received all the rents and profits of wax and oil, and the tithes of flax and hemp due from any quarter. But when, in the course of time, this remuneration was found to be insufficient to obtain a person willing to undertake the office, the dean and canons were required to pay him in addition 40*s.* per annum. And in the distributions of the church, the penitentiary and sacrist were each of them to receive a like portion as the vicars. As a farther endowment of this office, the church of Framfield was charged by an ordinance of Archbishop Langton, dated South Mallyng, 1223, and made upon the admission of Robert de Bishopestone, as chaplain, with the payment to it for ever of 4 marcs. This payment to the sacrist was repeated upon the institution of Gilbert de Cliva, the first vicar, after the creation of the vicarage, in 1266 ; and it was farther charged with the annual payment of 15 marcs to the dean and chapter of South Mallyng, "nomine rectorie." In case of non-payment of either of these two sums, power was given to distrain upon the houses and granges of the vicar ; the vicar, upon his taking possession of the vicarage, having been sworn to a due performance of this engagement. The office of sacrist was endowed with lands and tenements, granted in 1275, by Henry, vicar of Ringmere, to Henry de Pontefract, his chaplain, and after his death to his successors, to be appointed by the dean, from chaplains in the

province of Canterbury; but afterwards, by his will, he bequeathed the same lands and tenements to William, his chaplain and associate, who had served him zealously and faithfully for many years in the chapel of Ringmere, to found a perpetual chauntry in that church, the chaplain of which was to be appointed by the dean, to celebrate every day 10 masses, three for himself, four for his benefactors and for all the faithful from whom he had received alms during his life, two for St. Mary, and one for the Holy Spirit. The property so bequeathed is described to be—"All my lands, rents, and possessions, and all other my perquisites, with meadows and pastures, and all things appertaining to them, situated as well in the manor of South Mallyng, as in that of Glynde; and all the houses and rents lying within the town of Lewes, and in the Clyffe." And, in a codicil, he adds, "that if these possessions should be found inadequate to his maintenance, he shall receive 20 marcs more." The whole however proving insufficient, it was after a time resigned by the testator's chaplain, and afterwards, by the assignment of the archbishop, added to the endowment of the sacrist's office. The deed of appropriation was sealed with the seal of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, and with that of the Collegiate church of South Mallyng. The first sacrist under this new arrangement was Alexander de Sonde, whose appointment is dated April, 1275. The masses which he was required to perform were reduced to five weekly, three for the testator himself, one for the Blessed Virgin, and one for the Holy Spirit.

Previous to the passing of Archbishop Warham's statutes, no suitable residences, near the church, had been provided for the sacrist and vicars; on which account they were obliged to dispose of themselves in the private houses of their lay relations and friends as they best could. As this state of things was considered likely to lead to conduct "offensive to God, and to the church generally, but more especially to the Collegiate Church of South Malling, as well as to bring scandal upon the whole clerical order, and would probably continue to do so till some salutary remedy was applied," a portion of the land belonging to the archbishops was directed by him to be set out, near the churchyard, sufficient for the erection of a suitable manse; the whole expense of which he willingly took

upon himself to discharge, having at heart "the praise and glory of God, of St. Michael the archangel, of the whole heavenly host, and the salvation of his own soul." In this manse, when erected, they were to live in common; and to prevent all dispute among them, for want of a proper subordination and discipline, they were directed to select one of their number, if they could agree to do so, and, if not, the selection was to devolve on the Dean, who was to provide, during his year of office, food and other necessaries for their common daily use.

The appointment of the Vicars was for life, but they were not to be instituted till a strict and faithful examination into their morals and previous habits of life had been made, as well as into the sufficiency of their learning.

The Rector of Buxted for the time being was bound to find a subdeacon for the Collegiate Church, and to present him to the dean or his deputy; who having first satisfied himself of his upright character and qualifications in singing, was to admit him to his office. He was to receive from the rector of Buxted 40*s.* per annum, who, on account of this charge, was to be excused any other payment than synodals and the dean's procurations; the subdeacon was also to share with the vicars in all distributions made in the church.

The common Seal, together with the Deeds and other records, was directed to be kept in a common chest specially provided for that purpose, secured by two keys, one in the custody of each of the two resident canons, or, if only one were resident, of him and the penitentiary. On no account whatever was either of the keys to be in the hands of the sacrist, who, under the treasurer, had the charge of the building in which the chest was kept. No impression of the Common Collegiate Seal, as far as I have been able to discover, now remains.

About the year 1440 the Collegiate Church appears to have been so dilapidated as to be in great danger of falling. This arose from there being, previous to that time, no fund applicable to the support of the building. To remedy this, Archbishop Stratford directed the dean and canons henceforward to pay on the 8th of October yearly, the sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* each towards the reparation of the fabric, the sum so collected to be deposited

in a chest with two keys, and to be expended in no other way. The chest was to be kept in the treasury of the College.

The Archbishops of Canterbury resided occasionally at Mallyng, whenever, that is, they came to visit their peculiars, and at such other times as their presence might be required in that neighbourhood, not in a palace specially belonging to them, as at Mayfield and Slyndon, but probably in the portion of the College appropriated to their use as canons. In 1175, Odo, Abbot of Battle, received consecration from the archbishop in the Collegiate Church of Mallyng.”³

In the 17th of Edward III, the dean and canons of South Mallyng held a market and two fairs at Lyndefelde.

This College remained till the general suppression of monasteries and other religious houses in the kingdom, when it was dissolved by Henry VIII, in 1545. The deed of surrender by the dean, the penitentiary, the sacrist, and the clerk, will be found in Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xv, p. 65, dated March 10th, 1545, and in the ‘*Valor Eccl., temp. Hen. VIII.*’ a detail is given of the property of the College at the time. This consisted of tenths, pensions and lands, amounting to £47. 4s. 8¼*d.* yearly value, of which £7. 8s. 5*d.* proceeded from Mallyng parish, including twenty-five acres of land, fourteen of which are described as, “*les Marez Brookes, lying for the greater part of the year under water, 14s.*” The deductions were £1. 12s. 3*d.*, including, “*fee to John Stapely, the steward, per ann. 10s.*”

Ranscombe, in the parish of Mallyng, though not mentioned in the valuation, belonged to the College at its dissolution; and in the year 1545 was conveyed to Sir John Gage, knight, comptroller of the household of Henry VIII, by act of parliament, from Archbishop Cranmer, with its manor and fishery, called Broadwater in South Mallyng, Southeram, and Beddingham. In the deed of conveyance the archbishop reserved the prebend of Southeram, with its advowson. When this chapel of Southeram, situated about a mile s.e. of Cliffe church, first fell into decay, is not known, but it was pulled down in 1837-8, after having been long occupied as a cottage. On its demolition a skeleton was found embedded in the foundation of the

³ Vide Lower's *Chronicle of Battel Abbey.*

north wall. This may have been that of the founder, for it is in such situations that founders' tombs are ordinarily met with. The prebend or rectory, with all its appurtenances, glebe lands, &c., appears to have been vested in the archbishops, till the eleventh of James I, when it passed by letters patent into private hands.

Opposite the site of Southeram chapel is an old building, now applied to agricultural purposes, but which bears the name of 'the schoolmaster's house.'⁴

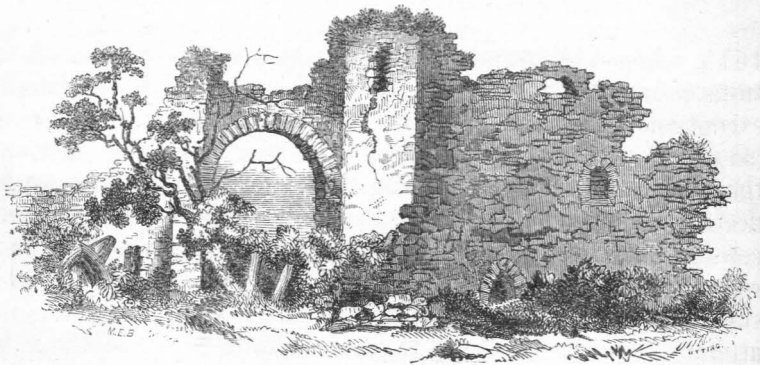
In the reign of Richard II, the value of the deanery appears to have been as follows:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
"The Vicarage of Maghfelde	7	4	half-tenths.
The Church of Boxstede	32	0	—
— Isefelde	10	4	—
— Edburton	14	0	—
— Glynde	5	4	—
— Stanmere	10	8	—
— Framfelde	10	0	—
Vicarage of Wadhurste	6	8	—
Prebend of the Dean of the same	40	0	—
— Treasurer	20	0	—
— Chancellor	20	0	—
— Precentor	20	0	—
Vicarage of Ringmere	4	4	—
	<u>£10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>

In 1547 the Deanery and College were granted, by Hen. VIII, to Sir Thos. Palmer, of Angmering. The value of the prebends at this time was: Framfield, £17. 0*s.* 7*d.*; Ringmere, £22. 10*s.*; Southeram, £19. 14*s.* 11*d.* They have since passed successively through the hands of Thomas Earl of Dorset, John Stansfield, Richard Evelyn, and several members of the Kempe family, one of which, Mr. Serjeant Kempe, left behind him a brief memoir of this monastic establishment, to which I have already alluded. They are now held by several proprietors, the principal of which is G. C. Courthope, Esq. In the letters patent to the Earl of Dorset, the property is described as including "the mansion, or capital messuage, and other buildings, with the appurtenances, to the late dean of South Mallyng, &c. belonging; the marshes called the Brookes, the Lynk, the Sexton's, the Vicar's Land, the Canon's Land, &c.

⁴ From information of Mr. W. Figg.

Of the collegiate buildings but little now remains. Kempe's idea was, that the existing mansion, called the Deanery, stands upon the site of the original College at Malling, but this is quite inadmissible. The original establishment was without doubt at the place now known as Old Mallyng, almost half a mile up the left bank of the Ouse. Here there were, in the time of Sir William Burrell, remains of architecture apparently of the Norman period; while, at the Deanery, there is nothing which denotes a high antiquity. In the Burrell MSS. (5676, f. 90) is a drawing by Grimm,⁵ of a perfect semicircular Arch at old Mallyng as represented in the woodcut.

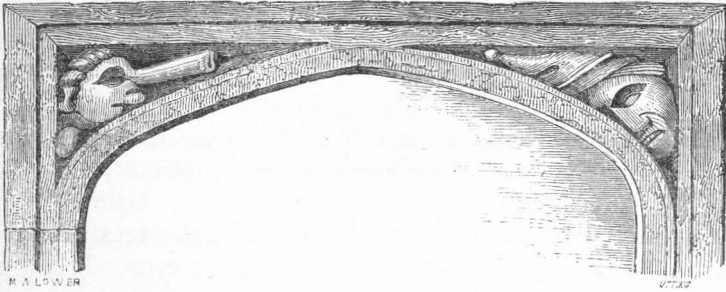


This Arch has long disappeared; but a portion of the wall to the right still remains. The adjacent farm-house appears to have been partially erected upon the old foundations, as the back wall of the kitchen is three feet and a half in thickness. In the right hand corner of this apartment, affixed to the wall, is a foliated capital of early English character.

At what period this place acquired the designation of Old Malling, in consequence of its desertion for a new site, it is difficult to determine. The mansion presents no traces of architecture anterior to the seventeenth century, except an oaken doorcase leading into the kitchen, which from its Tudor

⁵ I am indebted to Mrs. Blaauw for a copy of this, and to Mr. M. A. Lower for the drawing of the spandrels of the oaken doorcase. I am also under further obligations to Mr. Lower for much valuable information, more particularly for the account of the remains of the College buildings.

arch, and grotesque spandrel ornaments, may be referred to the earlier part of the sixteenth century, and to the date



Tudor Arch in Kitchen.

1515, when Archbishop Warham directed the erection of “a suitable manse” for the sacrists and vicars. With this slight exception, nothing remains of the College of *South Mallyng* (so called to distinguish it from Old Mallyng); so that, at the dissolution, the buildings must have been completely destroyed. In 1626, when the present parish church was commenced, the old church is stated to have been “*long since decayed.*”⁶ Hence it would appear, that at the suppression of the College about eighty years previously, no attempt had been made by the inhabitants of Mallyng to rescue the Collegiate Church from destruction. Foundations are observable to a considerable extent about the mansion; and Kempe speaks of the refectory as having, within his remembrance, been used as a barn.

Mr. Woolgar,⁷ in speaking of Cliffe Parish, says: “This parish has or ought to have a considerable estate of lands and tenements. These estates were anciently the property of a religious society, called the Guild or Fraternity of St. Thomas in the Cliffe, who were dependent upon the College of South Mallyng, but probably resided in the vicinity of the Cliffe. At the dissolution of the religious houses these estates became vested in the Crown. In the 33d of Elizabeth they were granted by the queen to William Typper and Robert Daw of

⁶ Epitaph of Mr. Stansfield, who endowed the church with £20 per annum, in All Saints' Church, Lewes.

⁷ Woolgar's MSS. vol. ii, p. 326.

London, gents. By a deed poll dated the 44th of Elizabeth, by which John Pierce of Glynde released unto Garginus Archer these lands, &c., they are thus described :

“ A piece of ground called the Summer Wish, containing $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or thereabouts, lying in the Parish of Mallyng ; two messuages or tenements situated in the South Street of the Cliffe aforesaid ; one other message or tenement in the West Street thereof ; three messuages or tenements adjoining to Cliffe Church ; and one piece of land lying on the north side of the Church aforesaid ; all which were parcel of the Fraternity and College aforesaid.”

Connected with Mallyng and its College, was a discovery made in 1794 by Mr. Cator Rand, then surveyor of the river Ouse, of the remains of a bridge and causeway leading across the brooks from Old Mallyng to Landport. They consisted of gross piles driven into the mud, supporting planks, which reached from one row of these piles to the other. They were found embedded nearly three feet beneath the surface of the soil ; a depth which they had probably attained during the lapse of many centuries. No doubt by this raised causeway access to the College was principally obtained on its western side ; its eastern approach being from the top of Mallyng Hill.

From Browne Willis's 'Mitred Abbeys' we learn that Reginald de Crossenhale was dean of Mallyng anno 1293, in which year he was rector of Fineham, in the diocese of Norwich, and of Uppingham in the diocese of Canterbury. His will was proved the same year. He was succeeded by John de Bonwyk, 27th Dec. 1293, 22 E. I. Robert Patterson was the last dean.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO KNEPP CASTLE,

ADDITIONAL TO THOSE IN VOL. III, 1-12.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. JOHN SHARPE.

COMMUNICATED BY

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



Knepp Castle.

THE woodcut representing the solitary tower now remaining of the Castle of Knepp is from a careful sketch, taken many years since by Mr. Petrie. So often the residence of a king, and the stronghold of a feudal baron, it has retained no traces of its former pride, but yet exhibits enough of the characteristic features of Anglo-Norman architecture in its flat buttress and round arched opening, to denote the period of its erection.

A few more notices of its ancient condition and history may be here added to those in a former volume.

1211, April 6. KING JOHN dated from Knep Castle a confirmatory charter to Bayham Abbey.—Dugd. Monast. c. xviii.

1233-4. KING HENRY III ordered Peter de Rivaux, who was then the guardian of the minor heir, William de Braose, to deliver up the castles of Bramber, Knappe, and Pevensey, to the custody of Robert de Sauvage, on account of the danger of war with France, those castles being on the sea-coast, and the truce then existing being about to expire on St. John's day, June 24, next ensuing. He was also to have custody of the lands of the honours of Cnappe and Bramber, which belonged to John de Braose.—Pat. 18^o Hen. III; Collect. Topogr. vi, 68.

1234-5. RICHARD, Earl of Poictou and Cornwall, had custody of the lands and castles of Bramber and Cnappe, which belonged to John de Braose, and custody of his heir.—Pat. 19^o, Hen. III.

1299. The king pardoned the executors of William de Brewosa deceased, £52, for which the manor of Knap had been pledged.—Close Rolls, 28^o Edw. I.

1315-6. WILLIAM DE BREWOSA granted that the manors of Knappe, Shoreham, Horsham, Beaubusson, and Bramber, and 3000 acres of wood in Bramber, after his death, should revert to John de Moubray and Aliva his wife, and that the manors of Findon, Wassyngden, Beding, and West Grinsted, and Kingsbernes should also revert to them, after the death of Mary de Brewosa, who held them in dower.—Pat. 9^o Edw. II.

ALIVA DE MOUBRAY was the daughter of William de Braose and Alice his wife, and grand-daughter of another William de Braose, by his first wife, Isabella de Clare.

1323-4. ALIVA, widow of John de Moubray, granted that the manors of Findon, Washington, Beding, West Grinsted,

and Kingsbernes, which would revert to her after the death of Mary, widow of William de Brewosa, who held them in dower, should, after the death of the said Mary, remain to Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Winton, and his heirs for ever. Also that the castle and manor of Bramber, the manor of Knappe, Shoreham, Horsham, and Beaubusson, and 3000 acres of wood in Bramber, which would revert to her after the death of William de Brewosa, senior, should on his death remain to the said Earl of Winton.—Pat. 17^o Edw. II. (See p. 12, vol. 3.)

Hugh, the only Earl of Winchester of the Despenser family, for whom this provision was made, was beheaded in 1326, and his title forfeited.

1352-3. JOHN MOUBRAY complained that he and his ancestors, time out of mind, had received yearly 2*s.* out of the tything of Wystneston, for the repair of his park at Knappe, until the manor of Wystneston came into the king's hands.—Pat. 26^o Edw. III.

1369. JOHN MOUBRAY, deceased, granted the custody of the park of Knapp, with the houses, to William de Greene for sixty years, receiving 2*d.* a day for his wages out of the issues of the manor of Knapp; but as he had accidentally lost the letters of the grant, the king confirmed the grant during the minority of Moubray's heir; the lands on that account being in the king's hands.—Pat. 43^o Edw. III.

1369. JOHN MOWBRAY granted the custody of his park and warren of Finden and Wassington to Robert Croak for life, with 2*d.* a day for wages, and a robe yearly or a mark of silver.—Pat. 43^o Edw. III.

1369. JOHN MOWBRAY granted the custody of Bramber Castle, and the office of Messer¹ of the manors of Kingsbernes and Beding, to John de Derby for sixty years, with 2*d.* a day for his wages,—dated at the manor of Knapp, on the day of St. Matthew the Apostle, 20 Feb. 36^o Edw. III.—Pat. 43^o Edw. III.

1386-7. WILLIAM FYFHIDE held of Sir W. Percy, knight, as of his manor of Woodmancote, by service of 4*s.* a year, and

¹ Messarius; messier, Fr. garde des récoltes, as explained by Laboulaye, acted as the bailiff of a vineyard or farm.

6*d.* a year towards the inclosure of Knappe Park.—Pat. 13^o Ric. II; Inquis. 10^o Ric. II.

1398-9. WILLIAM ROGER was appointed park-keeper of Knap for life, with the fees and profits, and 2*d.* a day out of the issues of the manor.—Pat. 22^o Ric. II; Close, 22^o Ric. II.

1403-4. JOHN GOUSHILL, chivaler, died seised in right of Elizabeth his wife, formerly widow of Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, of the manor of Knappe, worth £7 per annum, the manor of Findon worth £30 per annum, the manor of West Grinsted worth £10 per annum, the meadow of Suthwisshe worth £1. 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, rents in Washington, Bramber, and Beding, the hundreds of Burghbeche and Grinsted, half the hundred of Wyndeham, and half the hundred of Fysshergate.—Inq. 5^o Hen. IV, No. 22.

Sir JOHN GOVSHILL, of Hoveringham, co. Notts., was the fourth husband of the lady alluded to, who was the eldest sister and co-heiress of Thomas Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel. The Duke of Norfolk had been the lady's second husband. The effigies of Sir John and his wife remain at Hoveringham, where they were buried.

1446-7. The king confirmed the grant which John, Duke of Norfolk, made to John Penycoke, of the custody of the park of Knappe for life, with the wages of 3*d.* a day.—Pat. 25^o Hen. VI.

HISTORIC NOTICES OF BRAMBER CASTLE,

AND OF THE FAMILY OF DE BRAOSE.

BY THE REV. T. GRANTHAM.

READ AT THE WISTON MEETING, AUGUST 7, 1851.

At what period the Castle of Bramber was built is altogether unknown; but it has every appearance of being of Saxon origin, and it is supposed to have belonged to the Saxon sovereigns; and the circumstance of there being even at this time lands adjoining it still denominated the *king's barns*, renders it probable that this supposition is not without foundation. There is no doubt but that in the time of William the Conqueror it was a fortified place, as it is called "castellum" in the Norman Survey, and that it was given by him, together with forty-one manors in Sussex, besides others in Hampshire and Dorsetshire, to William de Braose¹ or de Brieuze, one of the most powerful of the Norman barons; that it was not, however, then considered to possess sufficient strength, or sufficient accommodation for a baronial residence, is highly probable, as this nobleman obtained from William a license to build. Little is known of the private history of its first Norman possessor, except that he granted to the Abbey of Battel, in this county, eight messuages in Bramber, and endowed, by a charter confirmed by the Conqueror, the Abbey of St. Florence at Saumur, in Normandy, with the tithes and churches of St. Nicholas at Bramber, St. Peter at Beeding, St. Nicholas at Shoreham, and St. Peter at Vetereponte, and shortly afterwards a Priory of Benedictines, consisting of a prior and four monks, was established at Sele in Beeding by the monks of St. Florence at Saumur, and it continued subject to the foreign abbey, till with the other alien priories it escheated to the crown, and, subsequently, coming into the hands of Owen and Clement Oglethorpe, it was by them given to Magdalen College, Oxford, in whose possession it still continues. The second Norman

¹ This name is by Matthew Paris written 'De Brausia.'

possessor of the Castle was Philip de Braose, the eldest son of William. He not only confirmed all the grants to the church made by his father, but added to them the prebend of Geoffrey of Bramber, and also gave to the priory of Lewes four of his salt-works at Bramber. This baron went to the Holy Land, and is supposed to have died abroad. He was succeeded by his son William, who married Berta, daughter and coheir of Milo, Earl of Hereford. His charter to the priory of Sele was confirmed by Seffrid II, Bishop of Chichester. Their son William, inheriting his mother's great estates in addition to his own patrimony, became one of the most powerful barons of the age, and was distinguished both by his cruelty² and his misfortunes. Of him it is related, that having invited Sitfylt ap Dimswald and many of the principal persons of South Wales to a feast at his castle at Abergavenny, he there treacherously murdered them; and, proceeding immediately to Sitfylt's dwelling, slew his surviving son in his mother's presence and set fire to his house. It has been supposed, and perhaps not without reason, that to the compunction subsequently felt on account of this his atrocious conduct, we are indebted for the Church of New Shoreham, as well as for large endowments conferred on the churches of Lira in Normandy and of Abergavenny in Wales. This baron having in the latter part of his life incurred the displeasure of King John, that sovereign seized upon his estates and gave them to his own son, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, at that time a child of not more than four years old. The reasons assigned by John for the seizure of De Braose's estates are as follows, as given from Rymer, f. 143, A. D. 1212, 14^o John :—

“ John, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. To all who shall read this document, health.

“ That it may be known to you all why and for what William de Braose, having forfeited his property, hath retired from our dominions, be it understood that the same William owed to us, at our last return from Normandy, five thousand marcs for our land of Munster in Ireland which we

² Under the year 1176 M. Paris writes : “ Eodem anno Willielmus de Brausia multitudine Wallensium in Castello de Bergavini calide convocata, prohibuit ne quis gladium ferret viator, vel arcum ; sed illis hujusmodi decreto contradicentibus capitali omnes sententia condemnavit, qui (ut prodicionis suæ nequitiam quasi sub velamine honestatis palliatam intelligas) hoc fecit in ultionem avunculi sui Henrici de Hereford, quem ipsi in Sancto Sabbato Paschæ antea peremerunt.”—M. Paris, p. 110, ed. 1684.

had leased to him, nor had he for five years paid us any of its proceeds; and when he had fixed many times for payment, he kept to none, and owed to us the rent of our city of Limerick for five years then passed, and had paid us nothing but one hundred pounds after five years—by the law of our Exchequer it was determined that his chattels in England should be distrained for the payment of our debt, but he so removed them, that none could be found; and we commanded our warden for the parts of Wales to distrain his chattels in Wales for the same debt; and then there came to us at Gloucester, Matilda of Hay his wife, and William Earl of Ferrers, his nephew, and Adam de Porter, who had married his sister, and they besought us that the aforesaid William might come to us to speak with us, and to make satisfaction to us for his debts; and this their request we granted, and at Hereford the aforesaid William came to us, and gave up to us three of his castles in Wales—Hay, Brecknock, and Radnor—to be held for the payment of his debts to us, and to make satisfaction to us for his transgression, within the time which at his request we had fixed; and moreover he gave up in pledge to us the whole of his land in England and Wales, unless he kept to the terms. And in this manner we received them, and he delivered up to us as hostages two sons of William de Braose, junior, and one son of Reginald de Braose, and four sons of his retainers, but neither on this account did he care to observe the terms of the agreement; but after a short time, when Gerard of Athi, to whom we had committed those fortresses, had commanded their constables to come to receive their pay, which was usually disbursed to them from month to month, the aforesaid William, hearing that these officers were absent, himself, together with his two sons, William junior and Reginald, collected together a large number of people, and attacked and laid siege to the three aforesaid castles all in one day; but when they could not succeed in their attack, they turned their course to the town of Leominster (it is a cell of the Abbey of Reading, and supported by our free bounty), and burned half the town, and of our cross-bearers and servants, found there, and others of our people, they killed some and wounded others. Gerard of Athi hearing of this, assembled of our people as many as he could, to succour those parts which they had attacked. Whereupon William, with his aforesaid sons, and his wife, and their families, fled into Ireland, and there he was received by William the Earl Marshall, and Walter and Hugh de Lacy, who communicated to us that they had undertaken for the same William, that he should come to us within a certain period (which in their letters they named), to make satisfaction for his aforesaid excesses, and this was granted, but neither did he observe his own terms; we therefore assembled an army to go into Ireland, and whilst we were making preparations for our march, the same William came to our judges of Ireland, and sought of them a safe-conduct, that he might come to us to sue for our pardon and forgiveness, and they assented to his request, and took an oath of him that he would come to us straightway; but when he had come to the marches of Hereford he paid no respect to us, but drew to him as many of our enemies as he could, and began to seek to do us all the mischief in his power, for he offered to us 4000 marcs for peace and our favour, for all his aforesaid debts and castles, and lands in England and Wales, and we commanded him to come with us into Ireland with our safe-conduct, together with his wife, to speak concerning the fine which he offered, and to confirm there the terms of agreement, which should then be made between us; this

he refused to do, and continued in Wales, and after that we had passed over into Ireland he did us what mischief he could, and burned a mill and three small houses.³ In the mean time Matilda de Haya fled towards Scotland, with William and Reginald; and afterwards Duncan de Karige sent word to us that he had taken Matilda and her daughter, the wife of the son of Roger de Mortimer, and the aforesaid William, junior, and his wife and their two sons, who when they were brought to us, Matilda herself offered us 40,000 marcs for the life and limbs of her husband, herself, and their people, and that he should give to us quiet possession of all his castles and lands, and this was agreed upon. Threedays afterwards, however, she repented of this determination, and said that she could not abide by it. Being about to return into England, we carried her and her family with us as prisoners, and she again offered us 40,000 marcs, and likewise 10,000 for having gone from her first agreement, and we assented to this on condition that as often as she might go from her engagement 10,000 marcs should be added to the fine, to be paid on her first payment; and this agreement between us, herself, and her family, was written and confirmed by the oath and seals of our barons who were present, and the periods for the payments were fixed. When Matilda and her family were at Bristol, she requested that we would give permission to her husband to come and speak with her privately, and we allowed it. Afterwards the same William came himself to us, and agreed to the terms which his wife had made with us, and promised separately that he was willing to pay; and when it was necessary for him to procure the money, we, at his request, sent with him a servant of Geoffrey, the son of Peter, our justiciary, to conduct him safely, lest he should anywhere meet with obstruction, seeing that he had been so often denounced to the several authorities as a wrong doer; and when the day for the first payment drew near, he himself secretly made his escape from our dominions, and paid to us no part of the aforesaid money. And when the day for the first payment had absolutely come, we sent to Matilda to know what she intended doing, and she answered explicitly that she could pay nothing to us, and that she had no more money for this purpose than 24 marcs of silver, and 24 Bysantines, and 15 ounces of gold, and neither herself nor her husband hath from that time paid anything to us. When therefore we had heard that William had thus withdrawn from our dominions, and that he had paid none of the money due, we gave command that our kingdom should be searched, and a proclamation made in the different counties; and when he did not appear, then, according to the law and custom of England, he was outlawed. That, therefore, you may be fully assured of the truth of this, we and the undersigned earls have affixed our seals to this document in testimony of its truth."

Such is the account given by K. John, but the historian Matthew Paris (pp. 191, 3, 5) tells us that John, having incurred the displeasure of the Pope, and caused the kingdom to be laid under an interdict, fearing lest the pontiff should proceed to release his subjects from their allegiance, deter-

³ The word in the Latin original is 'bordellos,' which means, I believe, a house made of boards, inhabited by those who are termed 'bordarii' in Domesday.

mined to take hostages from all whose fidelity he suspected, and that when the persons employed on this service came to William de Braose, Matilda, his wife, with the inconsiderateness of a woman, taking the words out of her husband's mouth, said to them that "she would never deliver up her children to their master, who had basely murdered his own nephew Arthur." De Braose rebuked his wife for her language, and replied, that if he had given any offence to the king, he without hostages, was ready to make satisfaction according to the judgment of the king's court and his peers. The tyrant, it is said, was greatly offended when he heard this report of his messengers, and sent troops to apprehend William and all his family; but they, having timely notice, escaped into Ireland. It is said that Matilda, repenting of her rashness, in order to propitiate Isabella, John's queen, sent her a present of a herd of four hundred cows, and one beautiful bull, white as milk, all but the ears, which were red.—Flemish Chronicle, cited by Speed, B. ix, c. 8, s. 42, p. 508. A.D. 1208.

Somewhat more than a year after, John took the fortress in which Matilda and her family had taken refuge, and though they were enabled to make their escape, they were afterwards taken and given up to the king, who sent them close prisoners to Windsor, where they were in some way put to death, as nothing more was ever heard of them. William de Braose himself escaped from Shoreham into France, and died the following year, A.D. 1212, at Ebula, and was buried at Paris, in the Abbey of St. Victor.⁴ During this and the following reign, Bramber Castle seems to have been a frequent halting-place in the royal journeys (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, II, p. 135, &c.); and that it was of considerable importance, as a place of defence, may be inferred from the letter of King John, printed in the Documents relating to Knepp Castle (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, III, p. 8), charging Reuland Bloet to transfer all the stores from Knapp to Brember, and to fortify that house in the best possible manner. The family of De Braose were

⁴ Miss Strickland, in her *Life of Queen Isabella of Angoulême* (vol. ii, p. 54), tells us, that "The lord of Bramber, his wife and children, were starved to death in the old Castle of Windsor." But this is a mistake, as Matthew Paris says expressly that William de Braose himself escaped into France, and died there; and two of his sons, Giles and Reginald, held the barony in succession. Camden, in his account of Monmouthshire, agrees with Matthew Paris.

not long deprived of their estates, King John thinking it impolitic to continue at enmity with them, and therefore, in 1215, although John, the son of his elder brother William, was the lineal heir, Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford, though he had actively espoused the cause of the barons against the king, upon making his submission and paying a fine, received the king's pardon, and a grant of the Braose property, and on the bishop dying the year following, the next brother, Reginald, was allowed to do homage for it. Reginald died in 1222, leaving his estates to his son William, who, in 1230, was put to an ignominious death (*patibulo suspensus*,—*Mat. Paris*) by Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, an account of which will be found in the letters to Ralph de Nevill, published by our Honorary Secretary, W. H. Blaauw, Esq. (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, III, p. 43). He had fallen into Llewellyn's hands two years before, having been taken prisoner in a foraging expedition (*Mat. Paris*, p. 295). This baron had married Eva, daughter of Walter Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and on his death the greater part of his possessions were divided among his four daughters, but the Castle and Barony of Bramber descended to the lineal heir, his first cousin John, the son of William. This John was killed by a fall from his horse, at Bramber, in 1232, having previously married a daughter of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and leaving by her a son William. After the death of this John, the guardianship of his estates and the wardship and marriage of his son were granted to Peter de Rivaux; and of his conduct in that trust we have a singular account. In 1234 the king, Henry III, commanded Peter to send his ward, William de Braose, to the court, there to be educated as his baron and liegeman, reserving, however, to Peter his right of disposing of his ward in marriage; and likewise to deliver up the Castles of Pevensey, Bramber, and Knepp; Peter however paid no attention to the first or second order, but a third was sent by Sir John de Argentine, who was directed to bring back an answer. Peter told him that as he brought no letters of credence, he should give him no answer, but that he would send letters to the king by a messenger of his own, who would be at court as soon as he was. His messenger found the king at Tewkesbury, and informed him from Peter that he could not send the boy, as he was ill,

for proof of which he referred him to the king's own messenger, but Sir John de Argentine told a different story; he informed the king that he had found the youth sound and well, riding a large black Spanish horse, with Peter, from the town of Rosse, towards London. This and other acts of Peter caused him to lose the favour of the king, and in the following year the Castles of Bramber and Knepp were committed to the custody of the Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother. The young baron, when he came of age, appears to have uniformly sided with the king (Henry III), and to have been much in favour with Edward the First, who, in the first year of his reign, granted him free warren for his lands at Beeding, Bidlington, King's Barns, &c. He accompanied Edward in his Welch expedition, and died at Findon in 1291, having had three wives, and leaving issue by them all. The last baron of the De Braose family who possessed the Castle of Bramber was William, his eldest son, by his first wife Isabella, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; he being of age at his father's death, did homage for his lands, and was admitted into possession of them. This baron was actively employed, during the reign of Edward First, in Gascony, Flanders, and Scotland, and of his violent temper we may form some idea from his insolent behaviour to Roger de Heigham, the judge of the Exchequer, who had determined a law suit against him, in which Mary, the widow of his father, had claimed 800 mares from him.

“Immediately after the delivery of the aforesaid judgment, William de Braose, in defiance of all order and authority, ascended the bar, and uttered the grossest and most contumelious words against the aforesaid Roger, for presuming to deliver such a judgment. Afterwards, as the said Roger, being much enraged, was passing along the court of Exchequer towards the king, he, William, insulted him in the most gross and bitter manner, saying, ‘Roger, Roger, thou hast at last effected the purpose which thou hast long sought to accomplish.’ To which the aforesaid Roger replied, ‘And what is this which this said William thinks of sufficient importance to induce me, for the accomplishment of it, to sacrifice my reputation and honour? Let him tell me, and whatever may be the consequence, I will make him amends for it.’”⁵

The punishment for such contempt of court must have been very grating to the feelings of the haughty Braose.

“It is adjudged by the king and his council, that the aforesaid William do walk, with his body without a belt, his head bare, and his hood laid aside (*discinctus in corpore, capite nudo et tena deposita eat*), from the Bench of our

⁵ Placita Coronæ, A.D. 1305.

lord the king, in Westminster Hall, through the middle of the said hall, in full court to the Exchequer, there to ask pardon of the said Roger, and to make satisfaction for the transgression and manifest dishonour done to him; and afterwards for the contempt shown to our lord the king, and his court, that he be committed to the Tower, there to remain during the king's pleasure."

The plaintiff in this law-suit against this refractory knight was the third wife of his father, Maria, daughter of William de Roos, and had three sons of her own. She appears, in the Subsidy Roll of 1296, as the principal tax-payer for her property in several parishes in the neighbourhood.

	s.	d.
" Vill de Fyndon, Maria de Brewes	37	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vill de Vetere ponte	29	10
Vill de Wassinthon	29	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vill de Suthbrok, Cherleton, and Wystemon	8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Half hundred of Fisseresgate	50	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " ⁶

While the defendant appears, as paying for the

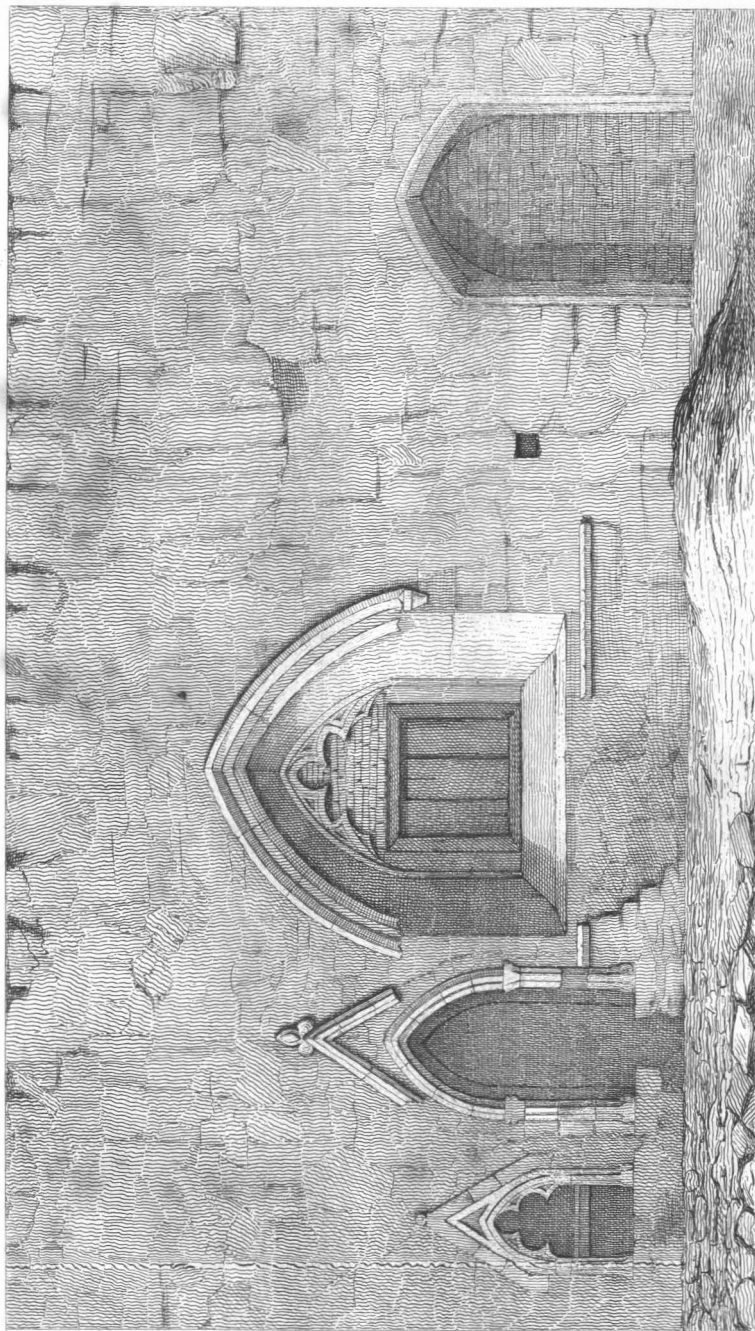
" Vill de Offington	30	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
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This William de Braose died in 1324, leaving two daughters, the eldest of whom, Aliva, married John de Mowbray, whose descendant, Thomas, was, in 1398, created Duke of Norfolk; and the Castle and Manor of Bramber have continued in the Norfolk family ever since, nor has the Castle probably been inhabited by any of its possessors since the death of this William, though it was not entirely destroyed till the time of Cromwell, as the following passage from Dr. Cheynell would seem to imply.

"Upon the 12th of December I visited a brave soldier of my acquaintance, Captain James Temple, who did that day defend the fort of Bramber against a bold and daring enemy, to the wonder of all the cuntry; and I did not marvel at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of stratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of success as it is of dexterity."
—*Chillingworthi Novissima.*

The Church of Bramber, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was probably coeval with the Castle, and seems originally to have been in the form of a Greek cross, somewhat similar to that of Old Shoreham; but in the latter part of the last century, being, with the exception of the nave, altogether ruinous, the chancel was taken away, and the centre tower partly built up, and made to form the present chancel.

⁶ Communicated by Mr. Blaauw, from the Carlton Ride MSS., E.B., 1781.



Mark Antony Lower, del.

*GTHAM CHAPEL.
South Wall of Interior.*

RESEARCHES INTO THE
HISTORY OF THE ABBEY OF OTTEHAM.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILES COOPER.

A PART of the Parish of Hailsham, now known as "Otham Quarter," was the seat of an early monastery of the Premonstratensian Order. The time of its establishment cannot be fixed with accuracy, there being no dates to the documents relating to its first foundation; but it was some time during the reign of Henry II, and therefore between the years 1154 and 1189. The first house of this order, erected in England, was Newhouse, in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1143; and the whole number suppressed at the Reformation has been computed to be about thirty-five.

These monks derived their name from Premonstré, in Picardy, where their first monastery was founded, A.D. 1121, by Norbert, a German of noble birth, who having entered into holy orders, became, eventually, Archbishop of Magdeburgh, and died in the full odour of sanctity, after signaling himself in a high degree as a reformer of the Regular Canons, whose discipline he had found greatly relaxed.

According to the legendary history of the order, he was wandering through the diocese of Laon, with the sanction of Bartholomew, bishop of that see, intent upon his designs of reformation and searching after a fit site for the erection of his monastery, when the Blessed Virgin appeared to him in a solitary and uncultivated place, surrounded with angels and glittering with light, and signified to him that his prayers were heard, and that this was the spot whereon to build the head house of his reformed order. At the same time she showed him what was to be their canonical habit, and uttering the words, "Son Norbert, accept a white dress," disappeared from his sight with her heavenly retinue. From these circumstances the place took its name of Premonstré

(*Præmonstratus*, foreshown) ; and the order, assuming as their appropriate dress a white cassock, surmounted with a rocket, a long white cloak, and cap of the same colour, acquired also the name of the White Canons.

They adopted in the main the rule of St. Austin, with the addition, as was usual in such schemes of reformation, of certain severe laws of their own ; and were at first as remarkable for poverty and austerity of life, as they became afterwards for their wealth and luxury. The abbots of Premonstré retained jurisdiction over their monks in this county, till so late as A.D. 1512, when by a bull of Pope Julius II, confirmed by King Henry VIII, it was taken from them, and the Abbot of Welbeck, Notts, was made the superior of all houses of this order in England and Wales.

From the charter of foundation it appears that a Chapel already existed at Otteham, or Hotteham, and that certain of these monks had settled there, conducting the religious services of the place. The Abbey was founded by Ralph de Dene, one of a Norman family, settled from the Conquest at West Dean, near Seaford.¹ For the good of his body and soul, as well as those of Robert, his son and heir, and of King Henry and his children ; for the souls also of his father and mother, and of all his predecessors and successors, he gives to God and the Holy Mary, to St. Laurence of Hotteham, and the Canons of the Premonstratensian order, there serving God, for the purpose of building an abbey, all his lordship of Hotteham, and its appurtenances, with the chapel of that place ; his men of Dudintone, to wit, Gladuwine, the brother of Speg, with five solidates² of land, John Cnokedune, Gilbert the carpenter, William Cnokedune, Hugo, Thomas de Farnstrete with his land, Robert Bunt, Wulsy Wiver, with his heirs and the heirs of his brother Grig, Sewal, Ulward, and Walter ; also the land which Fulker held of him in Seford, for an annual rent of j lb. of pepper, and viij lbs. of wax ; the marsh of Begeham, as Ralph, (de Dene), his uncle held it ; all the marsh

¹ He was the son of Robert Pincerna, alias Dene, who had six knights' fees in Chalkington, of which manor Buckhurst was parcel. The former name begets a suspicion that Robert held the situation of butler in the household of Earl Moreton at Pevensy, of whom Dene was holden.

² 'Solidata terræ,' according to Cowell, is twelve acres of land ; according to Spelman, five acres, or one-fourth of a virgate.

which belonged to Ulric, and the new marsh as far as pertained to him, for a free and perpetual alms.³

In a supplementary charter Fulker's land appears to have been partly in "Alurichestune" (Alfriston), and the founder gives in addition the hide of Ambefeld⁴ held by him of Richard de Horsenden (Horsemondens).

Robert de Dene, his son, added all his land in Telletune (Tilton, parish of Selmeston), with his fishery in the marsh. By another charter, the original of which, with the seal of green wax,⁵ is preserved in Anthony Wood's collection, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, he grants 20*s.* of yearly rent in the village of Dene—viz. the tenement of John of the Tye (de Tya) paying 4*s.*; that of Robert the shepherd (Bercarius) paying 6*s.*; of Simon of Pevensel, paying 7*s.*; of Walter Newman (Novi hominis) paying 2*s.*; and of Ralph the "Franklein," paying 12*d.*; with the tenements and men themselves. Also half a mark's rent in Mereshale, and the advowson of the church of Westdene.⁶

William de Bugele gave all the land which he held in the marsh lying between Pevenes and Heilesham, belonging to



³ Grants so made in 'Frankalmoin' (in liberam et perpetuam eleemosynam) excluded all power in the donor of reserving corrodies or allowances for himself or his dependants; and the land was held of the lord and his successors for ever, as a tenure of spiritual service only, and relieved from all temporal.

⁴ In the Inquisitiones Nonarum mention is made of Ambefeld and Ambelegh, tenements in Hellingly, where the name seems to be retained in the farm now called Amberstone.

⁵ I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Edward Turner for the use of his transcripts of the documents relating to Otteham and Begeham in the Ashmolean Library, which will be found among the most interesting of my materials.

⁶ This must be understood of the chapel of Exceit, which we know belonged to Bayham. (*Suss. Arch. Collections*, IV, p. 46.) The church of Westdene, properly so called, had been previously given by William, Earl of Moreton, to the Abbey of Grestein.—Ib. p. 41.

the fee of "Rikeward of Hellingle," subject to the payment every Christmas eve of half a pound of pepper to the lord, in lieu of every service and secular exaction.

Ela de Saukeville, the founder's daughter and co-heiress, in two charters confirmed the donations of her father and brother, and added on her own account, land at Thorn, Twisely, and Farnstrete,⁷ with all that Alirinus Crop held of her father in the marsh of Pevenham.

The preceding grants all received confirmation from Geoffrey de Saukeville, Ela's son by Jordan de Saukeville, and afterwards from Gilbert de Aquila,⁸ in whose barony most of them were, and who included also in his confirmatory charter the gift, not previously mentioned, of the Church of Hellinges (Hellingly) by Richard and Randolph de Brade, in equal moieties.

There are no fewer than twenty charters in the *Monasticon* relating to the abbeys of Ottenham and Begeham, which, as will be presently seen, were soon united. Of these the eight above cited and that numbered IX belong exclusively to Ottenham, while the remaining eleven are chiefly connected with Bayham. Several charters, with other original documents belonging to these monasteries, are to be found in the Ashmolean Museum; and some such deeds of gift by private benefactors have perished: we may, however, gather from the royal confirmatory charters of King John and Edward II (Nos. xviii and xix)⁹ what their benefactions were. In the present essay I propose to extract only such as, from their vicinity to Ottenham, may be most naturally referred to that abbey:—

These are—"The gift by Gilbert de Aquila of 120 acres of land upon the 'Dikere,' near Wiske (the Wishe?) above Pevenham; of two trees also, one oak and one beech, to be received annually within the octaves of St. John Baptist,¹⁰ in his forest, under the inspection of his foresters; sixty cart-loads of peat¹¹

⁷ Or Farnstrete. These were all hamlets or homestalls near the abbey, but the names are lost.

⁸ The second of that name, who died in Normandy, 6^o John, A.D. 1205, leaving as his successor a son, the third Gilbert, and last lord of Pevensey of that family, who founded Michelham in 1232.—Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 6359, fol. 152.

⁹ The references in Roman numerals are to the charters in the *Monasticon*.

¹⁰ There were two feasts of John the Baptist, viz. his Nativity, June 24, and his Decollation, August 29: the trees were to be claimed within eight days after the former.

¹¹ 'Carecatas turbæ.'

annually in his bog of Pevenham, as long as the bog should last ; and afterwards a rent of 2s. 6d. in the town of Pevenham ; also twenty swine quit of pannage¹² in his forest.

By another charter¹³ he likewise gives sixty acres of land, situate between Eppeshall and the Castelry (Castellarium) of Otteham, in exchange for all the land which the Abbot and Convent had at Michelham.

A grant by Richard and Randolph Brade (or le Brode), and Alianora, daughter of the former, of the mill in Hellingly, the rush-bed (juncheria), the island or field called Melinhe or Melnye (mill-island), and the moor (mora) or peatmoss of Langney. The former also grants all the land which Richard de Ponte held, land in the marsh, and his share in that called Croke (?); also a croft near the church of Hellingly, which Wm. Scarlet rented for 4d. a year, and six perches in length and breadth adjoining to the houses of the church, for the purpose of enlarging its precincts. The latter gives land which he possessed above 'Rede' in demesne, near the church-lands, with Melgrave and Cnolgrave.

Another of the same family, Nicholas de Brade, gives half a yard-land of the fee of Richard de Kaines.

Philip de Herst, and his wife Johanna, grant a certain weir (wara) of water at Hellingly. There appear also grants of half a hide of land in Langport (described afterwards as 'Lamporte in Borne'), by Thurstan, son of Gilbert de Hoding; land in Michelham, by William and Robert de Sessingham, holden of them and Loreta, by Godwin Cnoke and Sigar; land in the same place by Robert de Horsenden, holden of him and Loreta by Ulric, together with the same Ulric and his heirs; the land of Petley by Richard de Alurichestune; six acres in the plain called Yeldelond,¹⁴ next to the land which Ralph de Farnstret held, by Robert Folconer, of Wudetone; one hide of land in the manor of Burne, by John de Horsenden, all his land of Kenrede, by Wm. Maufe; the land which Geoffrey de Dittone held of him at Dittone, together with the said Geoffrey and his children, by Henry de Palerna; a third part of the salt-pan called the 'Golden.'¹⁵ situate in the marsh between Pevenham and Peplesham, by Ralph de Val (elsewhere 'Beval,' or 'de Bevallo'); land which the canons held of his fee of 'Oteham,' by Hugo de Divâ; two Flemish acres in the new marsh of

¹² 'Pannagium' is sometimes used to signify 'alimentum quod in silvis colligunt pecora'—sometimes, as here, for the money exacted by the lord from those who turned hogs into his forest.—Jacob.

¹³ Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 6037. From the Treasury of Canterbury Cathedral; an abstract of the Chartulary of Beigham, made by Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden, and re-written by Oliver Marshall of Cambridge, A. D. 1630.

¹⁴ Described in Carta 95, f. 9, Add. MS. 6037, as situated "ad chimum de Lewes"—the object of this grant is there added: "To furnish a light on St. Laurence's day for the souls of my father and mother, and of Matilda my wife, who is buried there."

¹⁵ "Salinæ quæ dicitur Aurea" . . . There is still a 'Pepplesham' about midway between Bexhill and St. Leonards', but this seems too remote to mark the position of the 'Aurea Salina.' I rather incline to think the place here meant was in Wartling, and identical with the 'Peplestun' mentioned in the Nonæ Returns as of that parish.—See also mention of Peplesham, in connexion with a Wartling family, in vol. IV, p. 148, *Suss. Arch. Collections*.

Iclesham, and one 'bescate'¹⁶ of land in the same, to be enclosed at the expense of the canons, with an engagement on their part to keep out the sea, by Ralph de Iclesham, for the soul of his grandfather, the founder; sixteen acres and one rood of land in 'Charlokeston' (Charlton), in the parish of Ferles, with the roads, paths, pasture, and common, belonging to it, by Egidius de Syrynton (Sherrington, in Selmeston parish), son of Simon de Syrynton, called 'de Dovorria.'

Then follows a grant by Ralph de la Water, jun., son of Wm. de la Water, of Wertlinges (Wartling), of all that land which the father held of the canons in villenage; and finally, William of Northiam, knight, gives poor Will of the water himself, with all his family and chattels,¹⁷ together with all the lands which the said Will, 'called of the water,' Peter le Large, and William, son of Simon de la Heche (deriving his name probably from his 'hache,' a hatchet or pick), his born serfs (nativi sui), held of him 'in nativitate' at Rokeland,¹⁸ and in the village of 'Weringgs.'

In addition to these, Geoffrey de St. Leger, by a charter now in the Ashmolean Museum, grants to the Canons of Ottenham 'Eadward Crepps,' for a free and perpetual alms; and, in Sir Edward Dering's abridgement of the Beigham Chartulary, we find farther that Randulfus de Horsye gives one acre near the house of Richard Gulafre (Alfrey?); that William de Warberton gives "Robert Macon and his land," Daniel, son of Adam, all his rent of Hertham, Hya, and Horsia: Robert, Abbot of St. Mary's of Grestene, remits to the Abbot and Canons of Otenham iij virgates belonging to his fee in the village of Telletun on Sunday before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, in the third year after the coronation of King John; and A. Archdeacon of London, certifies that Agathe, daughter of Robert son of Ralph, and Bertran son of William de Calverdon, husband of Alicia (her sister), have sworn to keep the agreement made with the convent of Ottenham, as to land once belonging to Ralph de Dene, their ancestor."

The soil about Otham, even at the present day, with all the appliances of modern ingenuity and skill, does not yield a very grateful return for the labours of the husbandman; and, in those early times of which we are treating, it must have been sterile indeed, for the monks had completed but a few years of their residence when they were fairly starved out. Few and simple as their wants would be, according to the rigid rule by which they had bound themselves, even these were not satisfied, and they were driven to apply to Ela de Saukeville,

¹⁶ 'Bescata'—(French besche, or bêche, a spade)—signifies either a piece of land cultivated with the spade—a garden, as distinguished from a field; or so much land as one man can dig with a spade in one day.—Jacob.

¹⁷ "Cum omni sequela sua at catallis suis."

¹⁸ Now Rockland, between Boreham-street and Wartling Church, where a weekly market on Thursday, and a fair to last three days, commencing the day before the feast of St. John Baptist, were granted to the Abbot and Convent by Henry III, on the 6th of March, 1251.

their founder's daughter, to authorise their removal to some happier spot. They had for some time meditated such a step, for Rikeward and Randolph de Brade had previously given their permission that the site of the Abbey should be transferred either to the church of Hellingly, or to Melgrave, or to whatever place the monk's might prefer.¹⁹

It happened that about the same time these Premonstratensian monks settled at Otham, others of the same fraternity established themselves at Brokely, in the parish of Deptford, or as it was then called, West Greenwich, where a monastery was founded for them by Juliana, Countess of 'Brocele.' Here they had gained the favour of Michael de Turneham, who bestowed upon them lands and houses; and afterwards, of his nephew Robert, a distinguished soldier, who fought with renown in the Holy Land, under the standard of Cœur de Lion.

Sir Robert de Turneham, by his charter (No. viii), granted to the Deptford monks all his land of Brokely, together with other possessions in Kent and Sussex, which (as properly belonging to the foundation of Begeham) it would be foreign to my present purpose more particularly to mention here; and also added, with the consent of Richard, Earl of Clare, in whose lordship it was, all his land of Begeham (the modern Bayham) on the N.E. border of the county of Sussex, in what is now the parish of Frant, that they might build there, in a pleasant spot called 'Beuliu,' an Abbey in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

There seems from the outset to have been a connection between the two monastic bodies settled at Ottenham and Brokely. One would naturally suppose that among members of a new Order, lately introduced into this country, a certain degree of mutual adherence and correspondence would be maintained; a supposition which is strengthened by observing that Michael de Turneham, the earliest patron of the Brokely monks, is one of the attesting witnesses to the foundation charters of Ralph de Dene; that in these documents Ralph grants marshland at *Begeham* to the monks of Ottenham, and that Buckhurst, in the immediate neighbourhood of Begeham, belonged to him. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that

¹⁹ Add. MS. 6037.

a friendly intercourse, and to a certain extent a community of patronage, existed from the first between these rising houses. Accordingly, when the canons of Otteham, in their difficulties, applied to Ela, their patroness, for permission to remove the seat of their Abbey, it was arranged between her and Sir Robert de Turneham that they should be transferred to Begeham, and there form one community with their brethren from Brokely. The charters of both these personages, granting permission to this effect, may be found in the Monasticon, and both state in exactly the same words the reason for the change, viz.: "Propter magnas et intolerabiles inedias loci de Otteham." This removal took place about the year 1203, early in the reign of King John. Ela was then a widow, speaking of herself as acting "in viduitate et ligiâ potestate meâ;" and she reserves to herself and her heirs the advowson of the Abbey: "Salvâ reverentiâ et dignitate advocacionis quam mihi et hæredibus meis, tam in vitâ quam in morte (*canonici*) tenentur exhibere." She had previously, by her marriage with Jordan de Saukeville, carried Buckhurst into the Sackville family, and with them the patronage of the Abbey ever after remained.

After this transfer the house at Otham and the Chapel were kept up—of course, on a very reduced scale—as a shrine of St. Laurence. For Ela in her charter of translation, gives her land at Thorne and Twisely, "to keep one lamp continually burning, day and night, before the altar of St. Laurence."²⁰ By a subsequent deed, given in the Chartulary, William de Marci and Ela (who must, if the same Ela, have married again, for he calls her "*uxor mea*"), release "to the Canons serving God at Otteham," a quit-rent of sixpence, payable to them yearly by the said Canons out of the land of Robert Rug, to be applied to the improvement of their fare upon St. Laurence's Day²¹ (August 10). With the exception of this sumptuous festival, no mention is made of any improvement in the commons of the brethren, whose ordinary fare was

²⁰ "Ad inveniendum oleum ad unam lampadem quæ singulis diebus et noctibus ardeat in ecclesia de Otteham ante altare Sⁱ Laurentii in perpetuum." Thorne was somewhere in the marsh, and Twisely or Twissle is described as in the fee of Gilbert de Aquila.—Cart. 37-40, f. 5, Add. MS. 6037.

²¹ "Hij sex denarii sint ad emendacionem refectonis conventus in die Sⁱ Laurentii."
—Ib. c. 41.

doubtless meagre enough. Two of the witnesses to the last named charter are, Ralph the chaplain, and Ailfred the chaplain; and it seems clear that a few monks remained at Otham to perform the services of the Chapel.

Some two hundred years after the removal to Frant, in a lease, dated the Feast of the Annunciation, 6^o Hen. IV (1405), Robert Frennesbury, Abbot, and the convent of Begeham, let their manor of Otteham, with all its appurtenances, for twenty years, to Henry Bahere of Bergeherh (*Burwash?*) and John Drew of Otteham, at the yearly rent of thirty marks; five marks to be paid to them, and twenty-five to the Prior and Convent of Michelham.²² In this lease reservation is made to the Abbot and Convent of all the oblations which should be made during its continuance "at the altar there, and the image of St. Laurence, in gold, silver, and wax;" together with one chamber and one stall, with liberty of ingress and egress at pleasure, for themselves or their deputies. They take upon themselves payment of the king's tenths, the support of the chaplain, and repairs of the Chapel and other buildings belonging to the manor, with the exception of such minor repairs of the windmill (at Thorne), as might be done by the tenants at the cost of fourpence: covenanting, however, for a sufficient supply by the latter of straw, for the reparation of the thatch and walls (*tecture et murorum*) of the Chapel and houses, with full liberty of access to every part of the estate, and of carrying out timber and underwood. They agree to allow the tenants due supplies of wood for fences and fuel,—“haybote et fferbote,”—but bind them to deliver up at the expiration of the lease “one leaden weight and one handmill (*querna*),” which are specially mentioned at the commencement; and to leave 6 acres 3 roods of land sown with bread-corn (*frumento*), 2 acres with beans and peas (*peccis*), and 21 acres 1 rood with oats. This lease is of considerable length, and enters into all the usual stipulations for manuring, &c., in very minute detail.

²² This appears to have been a fixed rent-charge on the manor of Otteham assigned to the latter monastery. For among the revenues of Michelham at the suppression in 1535 occurs—“Otham, Firma maner’, £16. 13s. 4d.”—exactly 25 marcs; whilst in those of Bayham we find “Otham, Firma maner’, £18. 8s. 2½d.”—an increased rent from the improved value of the property.

In a second lease²³ for forty years (without date, but probably about A.D. 1500), of a certain piece of land called 'Grete Otham,' the tenants, "John-a-Wode, and Joan his wife, of the parish of Jevynton," are bound "well and truly to pay tithes to the Chapel of Otham." The land was let at a rent of 10*s.* and three weeks' court-service annually, and seems to have been taken out of the waste, for the tenants undertake to extirpate and banish the *furzes* with which it was overrun, ("omnem subboscum vocatum *ffyrces*"), to surround it with hedge and ditch, and render it fit for tillage or pasture.²⁴

In this way the chapel was kept up till the general dissolution of the monasteries; but, with the exception of the chaplains left for its service, the monks migrated in the beginning of the thirteenth century to Bayham. There, with their confreres from Deptford, they formed a small but flourishing community, without, apparently, any serious difficulties to contend against, until they fell at last under the stroke of that 'Malleus Monasticorum' King Henry the Eighth.

The Abbey of Ottenham in its separate state was too short-lived to leave us any documentary evidences of its internal proceedings, which indeed were probably quite unimportant. A few obscure monks painfully struggling for a scanty subsistence are not likely to have done or said much that was worth remembering. But upon the description of their property, and its identification in a few instances with property now existing, and upon the names of some of the attesting witnesses to the charters, I will venture to add a few observations.

They who are familiar with the records of those early times are well aware of the abject state of servitude in which the tillers of the soil then lived, native Saxons for the most part under Norman masters, designated by the terms 'servi,' 'villani,'

²³ Both leases are in the Ashmolean Museum.

²⁴ Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, p. 318, Harris, and some other writers, confound our Otham with another place of the same name in Kent, about two miles S.E. of Maidstone; but no one who examines the description of the Abbey lands, can entertain a moment's doubt upon the subject. In the lease last mentioned 'Grete Otham' is described as lying within the bounds of the manor of Otham and in *Sussex*—"infra situm de Otham in comitatu Sussexie," and as bounded on the west and north by the roads respectively leading "from *Borne to Haylesham*," and "from *Pevensi to Lewys*." Abundance of similar proofs might be adduced, if necessary.

'bordarii,' 'cotarii,' and other names of servile import. But it strikes the uninitiated with some degree of painful surprise to find Ralph de Dene's men of Dudintone, Speg, Bunt, Grig, and others, transferred with the land, like so many cattle, at the will of their owner. Similar instances, it will be observed, occur in the cases of Ulric, given to the monks by Robert de Horsenden, of Geoffrey de Dittone and his children, of Eadward Crepps, of William de la Water, and some others.

The rent paid for land is deserving of notice—a certain weight of pepper or wax, then of higher comparative value than at present, some vestige of which remains in the term 'peppercorn rent' now used to denote a rent of mere nominal value.

It will be seen that certain kinds of property, in those times highly valuable, have ceased wholly or in great measure to be so, from alteration of circumstances.

A value, for instance, was then attached to *inland fisheries* and ponds, which in our days seems exaggerated, but admits of easy explanation. Of sea fishing there was then little or none, while that of the marshes possessed an importance which has long ceased to belong to it. Large meres, interspersed with 'eyes' or islands, supplied the place of what is now presented to our view as rich tracts of marsh-land, intersected with well-formed ditches. Drainage and the gradual reclamation of lands, by sea or river banks, from the overflow of water, have produced this change, and good fattening pastures been substituted for fisheries of comparatively little worth. But in the middle ages such fisheries were considerable gifts, and *ponds* even were much more thought of than they now are. At the time of the dissolution of religious houses, a pond in Boreham, belonging to Otham or Bayham, is estimated at an annual rent of one pound. Moreover, it must be remembered that, according to the rule of the Church, on Wednesdays and Fridays, and during the whole of Lent, fish might be eaten, though flesh might not. Hence an additional value was conferred on these grants, which were calculated to furnish a supply of wholesome and palatable food when other kinds were interdicted. In most of the foundations of religious houses in those early ages, especially upon the sea-coast,

these grants of fisheries, and the tithe of fish taken in them, are of frequent occurrence.

Salt-pans were then a valuable acquisition for the supply of that most necessary condiment at a time when salt-mines and rock-salt were here unknown,²⁵ and our ancestors were dependent upon these pans for a course and imperfect substitute, in place of that purer crystal which may now be found in abundance at the humblest tables. By them, too, fresh meat could not be had from Michaelmas to Ladytide; what was killed in October was salted for provision through the winter. The grant, therefore, to Otham of what was magnificently termed "the golden salt-pan," situate somewhere in the marsh between Pevensey and Wartling, was doubtless esteemed an acquisition of value, though now and long since, this and all the other salinæ of inferior name and pretension have entirely sunk into oblivion in these parts of Sussex. Salt-works at Apuldram, in the western division of the county were in use so lately as A.D. 1815, and were the only ones remaining for the manufacture of salt from sea-water on the coast;²⁶ but even these have, for some years past, been discontinued.

By a deed,²⁷ dated at Bramber, on the Feast of All Souls, 5^o Henry IV, 1403—

"John Shad and Alice his wife, and Matilda her sister, daughters and heirs of John Herberd of Bramber, grant to John Haycock of Bramber a salt house (*cotagium salinum*) with its apurtenances in Bramber, which is situated between the marsh of the lord of the barony on the south side, and the marsh of the Lord Abbot of Dureford, held by Robert Lymeneye, on the west side, and the shore of the sea water, flowing down in its course from Spottesmersh towards the bridge of Bramber on the north side (*ripam aque maritime descendens in suo cursu de S. versus pontem de B.*) and a certain other salt house, held by the said John Haycock, on the east side."

This shows to how late a period salt water flowed above Bramber bridge.

Peat, again, is a substance at present unknown as a local production of this neighbourhood; the drainage of the levels

²⁵ The salt-mines in Staffordshire were discovered in 1670.

²⁶ Dallaway's *Western Sussex*, i, 98. The Domesday Survey informs us that there were then in Sussex 285 salt-pans and thirty fisheries.

²⁷ MS. in the Chapter House Record Office, kindly communicated by J. Burt, Esq. —Durford, mentioned in the extract, was the only other Premonstratensian abbey in Sussex besides Bayham.

has put an end to the supply, and converted bogs into land of great fertility. Were it known, it would be little esteemed now that good and cheap coal has almost banished wood fires from general use, and much more effectually superseded such inferior fuel as turf cut from morasses. But when Gilbert de Aquila made his grant to the monks of Otham, of sixty 'carecates' of peat annually, from his 'turbary,' in the Pevensy level, and when the Brades of Hellingly gave in equal moieties their 'mora' (moor or peat-moss) of Langney, though wood was plenty, sea-borne coals were unknown, and this combustible turf was of great use to give body and durability to fires, while at the same time it was abundant and easy of access.

I might further instance the grant of *Pannage*, or the right of turning hogs into the woods in autumn, to batten upon the beech-mast, acorns, and other wild fruits with which the ground was copiously strewed at that season of the year. It is indeed still customary for landholders to turn their swine for this purpose into their own woods; but I am not aware of a common right now possessed by any to turn their hogs into the woods of their neighbours. When however these grants were made, vast districts of the country were unreclaimed forest, where oaks and beeches of primeval date and huge growth scattered around them an abundance of this kind of provender; and when an abbot had the privilege conferred upon him of turning his twenty, thirty, or fifty hogs into his lord's woods, it brought no slight addition to the winter stores of the convent, and would be valued accordingly. Enclosures, the destruction of timber, and the gradual breaking-up of forest lands for the purposes of tillage, have curtailed this privilege till it is almost extinct, though enjoyed yearly upon a large scale in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even much later.

The Dudintone of Ralph de Dene was some hamlet or farm near to Otham, but the place meant is now unknown. Ditton, in West Ham, called Dittuna in the charter of Henry de Palerna, might perhaps have been thought the same, had they not *both* been mentioned together in an ancient rent-roll, which will be noticed presently. There is, however, in the manor a field called *Duddleton*, which looks like the ancient name slightly altered, and may mark the locality.

In the family of Brade, De Brade, or Le Brode, we recognise the name of 'The Broad,' still attached to a valuable property in Hellingly, lately the munificent gift of the Rev. Dr. Warneford to the Radcliffe Infirmary at Oxford.

The mill given by the Brades in equal medieties has its representative in the humble structure which, with its *weir*, still spans the stream between Hellingly Church and Tinker's Corner; but the 'melye,' or mill-island, is no longer distinguishable from the adjacent land, nor can the 'juncheria,' or low swampy ground, be now identified, which supplied the monks perhaps with reeds for thatching, and rushes which might serve to make their fish-baskets, or to strew the floors, when carpets were as yet unknown.

The portions of marsh-land given in these early charters are particularly difficult to identify, and for an obvious reason. As the process of recovering such lands from the inundations of salt or fresh water advanced with advancing civilization, new divisions and distributions would be continually made, fresh names given, and old ones forgotten. The frequent occurrence of the term *new* marsh indicates this fact; and whoever attempts to fix the precise locality of these grants will find it in numerous instances a hopeless task to trace a species of property so changeful in its extent and form.

The 'guldene saltkote'²⁸ of Ralph de Val, between Pevenham and Peplesham, with the peat-moss of Gilbert de Aquila, have passed away, and now rank among the things that are forgotten. Those goodly trees, too, of gigantic size, the oak and the beech, which once gave shelter to the wild deer and wolves, "*ingenti ramorum—umbra,*" and of which a couple were granted yearly to the monks for the repair of their buildings, by the liberality of the Lord of the Eagle, have now disappeared from our open forests, and found a last refuge in the parks of the gentry.

²⁸ So called in Add. MS. 6037.—'Salcot,' in Essex, a low marshy parish on the Verley channel, is the same word, as also 'Salthouse' on the coast of Norfolk, 'cote' (cot) and house being convertible terms. Perhaps the *yellow colouring* of the house in which the brine was boiled might give its name to this salt-pan, according to a German practice mentioned by Tacitus, "*Quaedam loca diligentius illuminant terrâ, ita purâ ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur*" (Germ. 16), where ochreous earth of some bright colour seems to be indicated.

But names still linger in the immediate neighbourhood, as Cane Heath and Hay Rede, which remind us of the De Kaines and De Haiâ, the Rede and Kenrede of the charters, though we are unable to establish their identity.

Philip de Herst and Richard de Ponte were probably both inhabitants of that part of Hellingly, which now bears the name of Horsebridge, a corruption of Herstbridge. Falconer of Woodtown must have been well placed for the pursuit of his avocation; and William of the Water lived perhaps near the pond at Boreham, where ponds were scarce enough to make the circumstance distinctive. Simon de Syrynton 'of Dover,' was perhaps so called, from having held there some public office: as families of distinction have been possessors of Sherrington in ancient times, possibly he may have been constable of that famous seaport.

The witnesses to these charters are for the most part Norman gentlemen, or ecclesiastics, generally kinsmen or near neighbours of the donor, and in many cases themselves founders or benefactors of religious houses. Among those to the founder's charter are—

William de Warenne, sixth earl, whose sister was married to Gilbert de Aquila.

Adam de Puninges (Poynings).

Geffrey de Saccavile, son of Jordan and Ela, the founder's daughter.

Robert de Hicclesham, who seems to have been also a family connection.

Ralph, clerk, and Henry, clerk, probably his relations; and Michael de Turneham, the patron of the Deptford monks.

To the charter of Robert de Dene, the first witness is Robert de Gattun, his uncle; and here we find also Roger the *Englishman* (Anglicus), who would be the single exception to the general observation made above, were it not that, in the same deed, among such lofty signatures as Roland de Asquitade, and Reinald de St. Albans, we presently meet with the very humble name of Alexander Tripe, and afterwards of Master Giles Burn.

William de Bugele has among his witnesses Waleran de Herst, and William de Monceaux, father and son, successively

lords of Herstmonceaux. (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* IV, 131), and Robert Mortimer (*De Mortuo Mari*).

Ela, the founder's daughter, has in her two charters for witnesses three abbots—Robert of Boxley; William of Robertsbridge; and William of Cumbwelle (an abbey for Augustine canons, in the parish of Goudhurst, co. Kent, founded by Sir Robert de Turneham); also Geoffrey de Saukeville, her son, Randolph de Haiâ, Hugh and Reginald de Fokintun. Geoffrey de Sancto Leodegario (*St. Leger*), with Henry de Cobeham, and Reginald de Clifton, ancestors probably of the noble family of Darnley.

In the *Add. MS.*, 6037, two charters of Geoffrey de Saukeville are mentioned, to one of which "*Jordan, Abbot of Otteham,*" is a witness, being the only Abbot of our monastery whose name stands on record.

To the charter of Gillebert de Aquila are appended the names of the Lady Edelina, his mother, Richer and Engenulf, his brothers, William de Caines, Hugh de Hasseham, John de Aurichestune (*Alfriston*), and William Maufe, himself a donor to Otteham.

The charters being without date, the names of the witnesses are often of use in fixing it within certain limits, since in many cases it is known from other sources at what time they lived.

Among the documents relating to Otteham and Begeham in the Ashmolean Museum, is a small slip of parchment, the writing on which Mr. Turner informs me is much effaced, and in some parts illegible; but which is clearly shown from internal evidence to be a rent-roll of the Abbey of Otteham, about the time of its removal to Begeham. Names of tenants occur which are found in the earliest charters, as Hugo of Dudintun and Elwinus Crop; and Jordan de Saukeville, the founder's son-in-law, is mentioned as then paying *iijs. iiijd.* for sheriff's aid. Of this relic of antiquity, a slight account may not be unacceptable to the curious in such matters.

The tenements appear to have been all holden in villenage, subject to the payment of a small money-rent, often not more than a few pence, with the addition of one hen and a certain number of eggs, generally thirteen. The names of the tenants indicate their condition of life, as Adam the shepherd (*bercarius*),

Ralph the salter, Peter the thatcher or tiler, ('coopertarius,' elsewhere "le coverur"), Edwin the carpenter, Thomas the tailor, &c. Some derive their surnames from their places of residence, as Richard de la Dune, Edwin de Heppehalle, John de Dittun, Simon de Hidenne, Alphege de Mereschal :²⁹ one or two, perhaps, from personal qualities, as small size or fleetness of foot ; Richard Mus (mouse?), and John le Herre (hare?). In Thomas de *Druvi*, we probably see a forefather of the John Drew, who long after became a tenant of the manor.

After the list of rents payable to the abbot and convent, comes a statement of the annual payments due from them in respect of their manors of Teletun and Otteham.

For the former they paid *j* *d*, as 'Rome-fee' on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,³⁰ and half a mark for watching and warding the Castle of Pevensey, being the tax for one knight's fee, and the composition for doing 'heccage' for the same castle when it should be required.

With respect to this last service, a memorandum follows, that their tenants should do one eighth-part of the 'heccage,' and themselves be answerable for the rest, "except the service which Adam is bound to perform." They also paid *xv* *s*. annually to "Wilmentun," and to the same court *viiij* $\frac{1}{2}$ *d*. for sheriff's aid.

The explanation of 'heccage,' given in the glossaries, which makes it a fee paid for the privilege of fishing with a net called 'heck,' is evidently inapplicable here. The text shows it to mean some manual service occasionally done for the castle, in the way of defence, as by hedge, earthwork, or palisade. The words are—

"Ad gardam castri de Pevenes dimidiam marce scilicet defendendo pro feodo unius militis, et faciendo eidem castro Heccagium quando accidit, unde reddimus de proprio, vis. viii *d*. iii quadrantes, et sciendum quod quum Heccagium evenerit, tenentes nostri facient octavam partem, et nos tenemur facere de proprio totum residuum, excepto servicio quod Adam tenetur facere."

²⁹ 'Hephale' is still the name of lands forming part of Green Lee Farm in the manor of Otham ; 'Ditton,' a farm of Lord Burlington's, in West Ham ; and there are now in the marsh of Willingdon both a Great and Little 'Hidney.' I can find nothing nearer to 'Mereschal' than Marches Field in the adjacent farm of Sareland.

³⁰ This was the penny paid to Rome annually for every family or household—the well-known 'Peter's pence.'

In the Manor of Ottenham they paid the Rome-peny for Farnstrete; for castle-guard of Pevensey, iij s. iiij d. on account of Dudintun and Thorn, whereof their tenants paid v d. for Farnstrete; xij d. at Michelham; and xij d. to the church of Wilendun, within fifteen days after Easter.

For each manor they paid to the sheriff (in subsidium sui oneris) for preserving the peace of the Hundred, iiij d. annually as Hundred-pence.

Perhaps the most curious part of this ancient record is the enumeration of villein services, due from the tenants, a literal translation of which, as it stands, may be thought worthy of insertion.

“ Services which are due to the Court of Ottenham.

“ Hugo de Dudintun is bound to carry manure (cariare compostum) for iij days; also to work (averare) one day in every fifteen; ³¹ also in autumn there are due from him iij parts (see note 34) at Ottenham, or at Teletun.

“ Moreover, he is bound one day to mow grass (falcare pratum), another to collect, and a third to bring to the stack (introducere).

“ He is bound, also, for j day to cut bushes or heath (falcare brueriam) wherever it may be appointed him; j day to carry the same; also, [he owes] one cartload of underwood (unum cariagium de bosco).

“ Item, one day to dig peat (fodere turvam), and to bring it home (introducere) as long as it shall last. ³²

“ One day also to bring green stuff from the marsh, or to collect it (cariare bladum de marisco vel tassare); ³³ j day to carry hay in the marsh; j day to wash the sheep and another to shear them; so likewise the lambs.

“ Item, he owes one ploughing (unum partem caruce sue) in winter, and one day to harrow (herciare); and in Lent, j ploughing ³⁴ and two days to harrow. So also do the other (tenants.)

“ Besides, every man of Dudintun who has half a yardland is bound to make half a seme (or seam) ³⁵ of oatmeal against Christmas. So, likewise, is Adam de Heppehall.

³¹ ‘Averare’ often means ‘to carry,’ whether on the backs of animals or in carriages drawn by them—from ‘averia,’ animals used for draught or burthen—a word not unknown to modern literature; Sir W. Scott makes Auchtermuchty sleep off the fumes of his aqua vitæ beside his ‘cart-avers.’—Abbot, vol. iii, p. 222. But from the context I think it here means simply ‘operare,’ as ‘avera,’ in Domesday, signifies ‘a day’s work:’ one day in fifteen, deducting for Sundays, would amount to about three weeks in the year, the court-service exacted of John-a-Wode, p. 164.—See Spelman, in Verb.

³² ‘Quamdiu durabit’—the very expression used in the Charter implying an expectation that it would fail—another proof that the writings are nearly of the same date.

³³ From ‘tassa,’ cumulus, strues, &c.: Anglice, a haycock, mow, or stack.—Spelman.

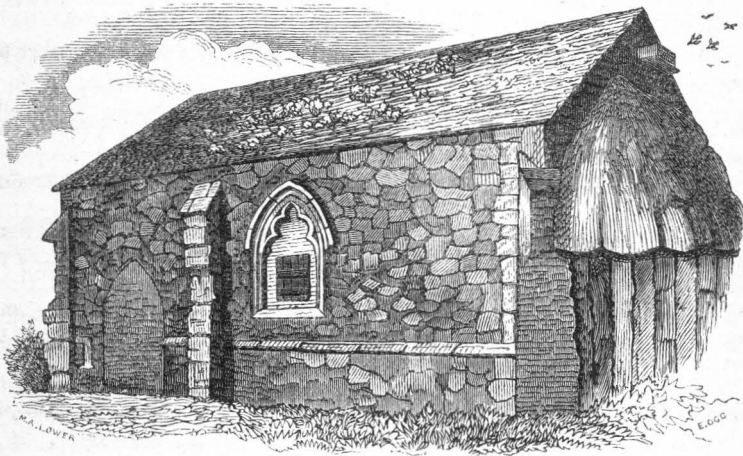
³⁴ That is, of his ploughing three-fifths was to be done in Autumn, one in Winter, and one in Lent.

³⁵ ‘Summa,’ what is now called a quarter, or eight bushels.

“Moreover, each of them has to bring j amber³⁶ of salt from the Otteham salt-pan, to wit all who have a half-yard of land.

“Robert the cobbler (sutor) is bound to share all (omnia participare) with the aforesaid Hugh of Dudintun.”

Very little of the ancient building remains; of the habitation of the canons apparently nothing, unless it be a small portion of the basement story of the present farmhouse, or the north side, with here and there a few squared stones, or a plain stone window-frame, worked up as materials in the more modern part of the edifice, which may be some two hundred years old. The well, from the solidity of its structure, one might judge to be original. It was scarcely to be expected that the Abbey which afforded these monks so transient an abode, should be other than small and insignificant.



The shrine of St. Laurence has proved more enduring. The monks found it in existence when they came; it continued little changed till the Reformation stripped it of its accustomed services, and, during the three hundred years which have since elapsed, it has preserved much of its character, amidst neglect and contumely. A small oblong building, distinct and detached from the rest, it had buttresses at the four corners and on the south side, now very dilapidated.

³⁶ ‘Ambra,’ or Saxon measure of salt, beer, butter, &c., the quantity now unknown.

The principal entrance was on the west, by a doorway of large dimensions, relatively to the size of the chapel. This was in use not many years ago, but is now stopped up; as also is a smaller door on the south side, which communicated more directly with the Abbey. The present entrance is by an opening broke through the north wall. Of the principal window at the east end nothing is left but the outer frame work, and it is entirely closed. Two corresponding windows, delineated in the views which accompany this essay, are on the north and south sides of the altar-place, their tracery destroyed, and its place filled with brickwork. If there were any window over the western entrance, it has been entirely demolished, no vestige of it being visible.

This venerable chapel is now used as a stable, the interior of which, with its mutilated sedile and piscina, awakens thoughts of St. Laurence, and the votive offerings once presented at his altar, according to the usage of medieval piety, strangely at variance with the impressions made by its present application. The drawings, which I owe to the obliging assistance of Mr. M. A. Lower, present a faithful representation of its most interesting features.³⁷

I can find but few traces of their old names attached to the manor lands. 'Fair place' field probably derived its name from the 'Beau lieu' of Bayham; the 'Castle fields' give a faint indication of the former connection between Pevensy and Otham; while 'Cook's field' and 'Kitchen field' raise visions of good fare, denied, it would seem, except on St. Laurence's day, to the Premonstratensians. One field has the odd title of *Pookhole*, apparently identical with 'Puchehole,' a local name found in the Chronicle of Battel Abbey. (See *Lower's Version*, p. 15; and *Mr. Blencowe's explanation*, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, III, p. 124.) Adjoining to the demesne lands, and within the limits of the manor, are lands called the Great and Little 'Millands,' comprising sixty acres, probably the ancient Thorne, and deriving their name from the mill which stood there.

³⁷ Mr. Lower informs me that "the interior is drawn to scale—onequarter of an inch to a foot—but additional height, to the extent of three feet, is given to the wall, to show the state in which it really existed about twenty-six years since, when the thatched roof was removed, and the present ugly slate substituted."

The monks endeavoured to supply the natural deficiency of water at Otham, by forming three small ponds near their dwelling.

In the disposal of the property belonging to Bayham Abbey after its suppression, the manor of Otham seems to have been early separated from the rest; for whilst the site of Bayham, with the property adjacent, was granted, in the reign of Elizabeth, to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, I find James Roots to have been lord of this manor in 1646, and John Acton in 1669.

In 1739 it was in the possession of the Medleys, and by the marriage of an heiress of that family, was conveyed, in 1796, to Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, Bart., whose daughter again carried it in like manner to the late Earl of Liverpool.

The other manor of Tilton, Robert de Dene's gift to the Abbey of Otham, has long been in possession of the noble family of Gage.

COWDRAY HOUSE, AND ITS POSSESSORS.

BY SIR SIBBALD DAVID SCOTT, BART.

READ AT THE WISTON MEETING, AUGUST, 1851.

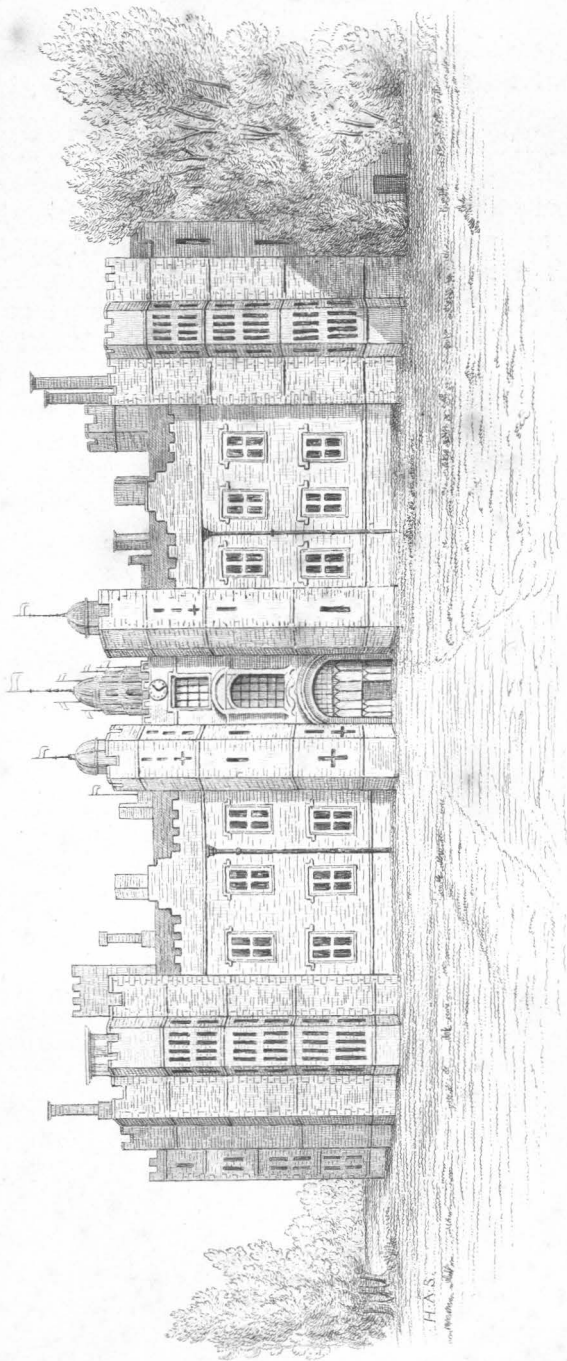
A little to the eastward of the ancient borough of Midhurst are situated the remains of Cowdray House, once the splendid seat of the noble family of Montague, but now a mass of irretrievable ruins, fast hastening to extinction. The surviving walls, which had been reverentially preserved, and inhabited for upwards of two centuries by the founder's posterity, are now so densely overgrown with ivy, that little of the remaining tracery of the windows can be distinguished; and innumerable progenies of jackdaws now find shelter, where once a king and a queen were 'marvellously banketed.'

Although not reduced to its present condition by the hand of time, it has, nevertheless, the appearance of a venerable and graceful ruin. Less than sixty years ago, Cowdray House, possessed of high antiquity, presented a magnificent exterior, and its interior was richly stored with the treasures of art and industry, valuable paintings, a fund of historical illustrations, and a library abundant in MSS.¹

But the glory of this house, with the accumulation of years, all passed away, as a tale that is told, being destroyed in one fatal night by the fury of an inextinguishable fire; and where festive preparations were in progress on the preceding evening, next morning there was nothing but blackened walls, and dismay and desolation.

The approach to the ruins, on the town side, is through wide iron gates, opening on a straight causeway, raised above the flat meadows on either side, and over a bridge called the Little Rother, which flows along the entire of the western front.

¹ A very good architectural description of this house will be found in the Gentleman's Magazine of January, 1834, p. 33, New Series.



W. View of COWDRAY HOUSE, from a drawing by S.H. Grimm, 1785.

The De Bohuns (who took the title of baron from the town of Midhurst) may be considered the founders of Cowdray House. In the reign of Henry I, four and a quarter knights' fees were created by the king in favour of Savaric de Bohun, comprising lands in Midhurst, Easebourn, &c., which from the Conquest up to that time had formed part of the barony of Arundel. These Bohuns had probably erected, and inhabited a stronghold, the remains of which may still be traced on a hill called St. Ann's, immediately at the back of Midhurst; and at the decay of that edifice, or perhaps tempted by the aspect of less troublous times, they migrated to the low ground on the other side of the river, and laid the foundation of Cowdray Manor House.

It is difficult to say whence this name *Cowdray* was derived, or when first applied. The word *Codrie* is found in Domesday Book, in reference to some place in Worcestershire. There is, in the parish of Birdham, a farm belonging to the dean and chapter of Chichester, called *Cothrey*, Coudry, or Cowdry. There was an ancient family of the name of Cowdray, of some importance in Berkshire and Hampshire, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it is not improbable that some branch of it may have settled in Sussex. The earliest we meet with is Fulco de Coudray² in 1251, and afterwards, Peter de Cowdray was summoned by Edward I, in 1282, to fight against the Welsh, several Sussex knights being summoned in the same writ,³ as John Earl de Warenne, Richard de Breus, John de Camoys, Hugh de Plessetis. Thomas de Coudray is found possessed of the same property in 1304, and was repeatedly, during the reign of Edward III, required to be ready with his arms for the war. His daughter Margaret was married to Roger Tiringham, the sheriff of co. Bucks, A.D. 1317-25.⁴ Another Fulco is mentioned as in possession of the same inheritance in 1368, and "Henry Coudray, chivaler," when about to cross the seas in the suite of Edward le Despenser, received a letter of protection from the king.⁵

An encaustic tile, bearing the arms of Cowdray, "gules,

² The property of the family was at Lyford, Padworth, and Barton-Sacy, co. Berks.—Sherborne Coudray Manor, and Hereyerd Manor, co. Hants.—Gethampton Manor, co. Oxon.—See Inquis. Post. Mort.

³ Rymer, Fœd. i, 604.

⁴ Ibid. ii, 901, 1014, iii, 52.

⁵ Ibid. iii, 446.

ten billets, or," was found in 1846 among the ruins of Lewes Priory, and is represented in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. III, pl. i, No. iv, p. 239. Cowdray Park seems anciently to have been called Shingle or Single Park.

Dallaway says: "There is sufficient evidence of a manor place having been known by the name of Cowdray in the reign of Edward III, and quotes the following extract in support of it:

"En tesmoignance de quele chose a ces presentes jay mys mon secal. Donnée a mon manoyr de Coudré, le iij jour de Decembre l'an del reigne le roy Edouard tierce après le conqueste d'Angleterre quarante prime."—(1368) *Regist. Episc. 3. Rede.*

The property appears to have remained in the family of the Bohuns until the reign of Henry VII, when Sir David Owen, a knight-banneret, and who appears by the Harl. MSS. 1562, to have been the natural son of Sir Owen Tudor, acquired possession of it by marrying Mary, sole heiress of the last of the Bohuns. The identity of this knight, with the author of a will, dated 1529, having a codicil of the date of 1536, the original of which is preserved at the Priory, Easebourne, has proved a subject of some discussion. This will is signed D. Owen, and is printed in *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 700. Sir Harris Nicholas appears to consider it the production of the *grandson* of Owen Tudor. The testator (whether son or grandson) had two wives, but unfortunately mentions one only by name, whom he is careful always to specify as "Anne, sister to Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley." He leaves directions as to the setting up of his own "image," and "the image" of his first wife on his tomb. Whether this first wife were Mary de Bohun, or her daughter-in-law, must prove the subject of further inquiry. There is an alabaster figure of Sir David Owen, which Dallaway incorrectly describes as of oak, in the chancel of Easebourne Church, evidently removed from its original resting place; but there are no traces of either of his wives. This monument is drawn and discussed in the Add. MSS. 5699. Burrell Coll.

In 1528, Sir David Owen sold the estate, or rather the greater part of it, to Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., Treasurer of the king's household. He was a distinguished character, an eminent statesman and warrior, and in 1537,

being lord high admiral, was created Earl of Southampton. His father was Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, Knight, of Aldwarke, Yorkshire, and his mother was Lucy, one of the daughters and coheireses of John Nevil, Marquis Montacute (brother of Warwick, the King Maker) who was killed at the battle of Barnet, 1471.

The Earl of Southampton having obtained a royal patent to add to the park, and to rebuild or add a castle of stone, with the privilege of embattling it, must be considered the founder of the *modern* Cowdray House, so to speak. A portion, of the old structure was incorporated with the new, but it remained for the earl's successors to complete the work he had so sumptuously commenced.

Lord Southampton's mother married secondly, Sir Anthony Browne, of Betchworth Castle, Surrey, standard-bearer of England, and esquire of the body to King Henry VII. His son was another Sir Anthony, a man held in high estimation, and greatly honoured by his sovereign, Henry VIII. He was likewise grand standard-bearer of England, and a knight of the Garter.

To him, his maternal brother the Earl of Southampton, dying in 1543 without heirs direct,⁶ bequeathed his Cowdray estate; and his son, a third Sir Anthony, was created Viscount Montague in 1554, by Philip and Mary, the title doubtless selected by reason that his grandmother aforesaid was daughter of Marquis Montacute or Montague. From him seven viscounts descended in regular succession. George Samuel, the eighth viscount, was drowned at Schaffhausen (Oct. 1793). The Cowdray property then passed by will to his only sister Elizabeth Mary, married to William Stephen Poyntz, Esq., and the title to the next heir male, a descendant of the second son of the first viscount, and at his death in 1797, it became extinct, or in abeyance.

Mrs. Poyntz's two sons having been unfortunately drowned off Bognor, the property, at her death, was divided between

⁶ In his will, printed in *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 709, he directed his body to be buried at Midhurst, if he died within one hundred miles of it, "and a new chapell to be built for his wife Mabyll," daughter of Henry Lord Clifford, and himself, at an expense of five hundred marcs. He died at Newcastle, whilst serving in the expedition against the Scots, and was probably buried there. The chapel remains, but there are no signs of a tomb.

her three daughters, until it was, in 1843, sold to the Earl of Egmont, the present possessor.

Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, mother of Lord Montacute and Cardinal Pole, is said to have resided here until the estate was forfeited to the crown by her attainder; but in the schedule of her estates (see Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii, p. 292) at the time of the execution, no mention is made of Cowdray, nor indeed of any property in Sussex.⁷ Moreover, Cowdray was sold to Sir William Fitzwilliam, in 1528, and the Countess of Salisbury's attainder did not take place till 1539.

Edward III granted to a certain Sir Thomas Bradstone, knight-banneret, and to his heirs for ever, an annuity of 500 marks, to be paid from the Royal Exchequer. John Nevil, Marquis Montacute (the Earl of Southampton's grandfather), had married the last, and sole heir, of the Bradstones; it is therefore possible that the earl might have entered into some arrangement with the Crown to receive certain lands in redemption of this annuity, which would ultimately descend to him and his heirs.

By an Act of Parliament (22^o Henry VIII) certain lands, escheated to the Crown by the several attainders of the Countess of Salisbury, and her son, Lord Montacute, and others belonging to suppressed monasteries, were to be given in exchange for the Bradstone annuity, and partitioned among the five daughters, and coheirs, of John, Marquis Montacute.

The share of the property in Sussex which devolved upon Lucy, the fourth daughter, wife of Sir Thos. Fitzwilliam, and mother of Lord Southampton, consisted probably of the lands belonging to suppressed monasteries.

Francis, third viscount, who died in 1682, and was buried in Midhurst Church, was a great sufferer in the cause of Charles I. In the *Lord's Journals* (vol. vii) there is a petition of Jane, Dowager Viscountess Montague, relating to damages

⁷ "Our records also tell us, that certain Bulls granted by the Bishop of Rome were found at Cowdrey, being then (as I take it) the Countess of Salisbury's house, and that the parson of Warblington conveyed letters for her to her son the cardinal."—*Kennett's England*. Camden says: "I saw Havant, and near it Warblington, formerly a beautiful seat of the Earls of Salisbury." Dallaway writes: "A chief estate (in the parishes of Racton and Stoughton) is Lordington, supposed to have been built, but certainly inhabited, by Sir Richard Pole, husband of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury." Cardinal Pole was rector of South Harting, 1526.

sustained during the occupation of Cowdray by the Parliament forces.

In the Journals of the Commons are the following entries :—

“*27th June, 1643.* Resolved, that the estate of the Lord Viscount Montague, a papist, shall be forthwith sequestred.

“*1st April, 1644.* Ordered, that Capt. Higgons do forthwith send up the plate, treasure, and other goods found in the Lord Montague’s house.

“*May 18, 1644.* Ordered, that the goods brought up from Cowdray House in Sussex, by order of this House, be forthwith stored up in the stores at Camden House.⁸

“*June 6, 1644.* Ordered, that the goods that are brought up, which were seized at the Lord Montague’s house in Sussex, and particularly those goods remaining at ‘The Talbot’ in Southwark, in Capt. Higgons’s custody, be carried into Cambden House,⁸ and all the said goods be there sold to the best value.”

Cowdray House was built in the form of a quadrangle, inclosing an area of 110 feet by 122. The principal front faced the west, in the centre of which was the chief entrance, through a lofty archway, over which were the arms of Browne, in white marble (sixteen quarterings, with a coronet; supporters, bears—motto, “*Suivez rayson.*”) And this gives us reason to believe that this side was built by the first Lord Montague.

Passing through this archway, the visitor enters the spacious court, where once in the centre a graceful fountain (since removed to Woolbeding) threw up limpid streams; opposite are the tottering walls of the east side, which once inclosed the noble hall, &c., in advance of which at one end is an elegant square embattled porch, with the royal arms over the doorway, with the lion and griffin as supporters. The roof is richly wrought in delicate fretwork, and displays the cognizance of Lord Southampton, an anchor and a trefoil, and his cypher, W.S. in gothic letters. Portions of this stonework have unfortunately fallen to the ground.

Emerging from thence the great hall is gained. This must have been a splendid apartment. There is a drawing of it by Grimm, taken about the year 1780, included in the Burrell MSS. at the British Museum, and well worthy of inspection. It was denominated the Buck Hall, and its dimensions were sixty feet by twenty-eight.

“At the upper end is a buck standing,” writes an eye-witness, who visited

⁸ Part of this house still remains on Notting Hill, according to the information of Peter Cunningham, Esq., the author of the excellent Handbook to London.

Cowdray in 1784,⁹ "carved in brown wood; on the shoulder a shield, with the arms of England; under it the arms of Browne with many quarterings, carved in wood. There are ten other bucks, as large as life, standing, lying, and sitting, some with small banners of arms supported by their feet."

The Catalogue of the Pictures at Cowdray House, printed 1777, announces that "in the Great Hall, among others, were pictures of Diana and her Nymphs, and the Fable of Actæon, in two large compartments, painted by Goupè; and the Twelve Apostles, larger than life, above the cornice, by Lanfranc."

The carved roof, said to have been of Irish oak, was of great magnificence; the form of it can still be traced, as some of the handsome stone corbels, on which its arches and beams reposed, yet remain on its walls. It was lighted by three windows, besides the great bay, and from the top by a cupola of three stories in the centre of the roof, the exterior apex of which was embellished with a cluster of emblazoned banners.

The great staircase was on the east of the hall, and was of grand dimensions. The marks of the ascending flights of steps, and the landings, are still visible, and fancy may clothe them with the figures of the departed.

The dining-parlour was joined to the upper end of the hall, and here, on the walls, were the valuable frescoes, mostly descriptive of the military exploits of Henry VIII, in which Lord Southampton and Sir Anthony Browne figured conspicuously. These are so far preserved to us, inasmuch as Mr. Grimm's valuable drawings were purchased by the Society of Antiquaries, and were afterwards engraved.

They were supposed, and indeed the Catalogue announces them, to be from the pencil of Holbein; but a learned disquisition of Sir Joseph Ayloffé, Baronet, V.P.A.S., denies that assertion, and imputes them with greater probability to Theodore Bernardi, who painted sundry matters in the south transept of Chichester Cathedral, about 1519; or to Jerome de Trevisi, who was present in person at the "Siege of *Bouloigne*." Certain, however, it is, that Holbein was entertained for some time at Cowdray, by Sir Anthony Browne, for whom he painted several portraits.

The arrangement of the before-mentioned Catalogue appears to have led the visitor a complete tour of the house, and suites of apartments are therein enumerated, of which not a 'rack' is

⁹ Gentleman's Magazine, November, 1709.

left behind. There were several ancient pictures of William the Conqueror, and these might have been brought from Battel Abbey, another royal grant to Sir Anthony Browne's family. Doubtless, Cowdray was the depository of many valuables, when the former estate was disposed of by Viscount Montague, to Sir Thomas Webster.¹⁰

In the grand drawing-room there was a small whole-length of Sir Anthony Browne, by Isaac Oliver, with this inscription :

“Sir Anthonie Browne was at one time, and to his death, master of the horse to King Henrie the VIII, and afterwards to King Edward the VI, captain of both their majiestys gentlemen pentionnars, chief standard bearer of England, justice in oyer of all their forrests, parkes and chases beyond the river Trent northward, lieueftenant of the forrest of Windsor, Wolmar, and Ashdown, of divers parkes and chases southward; one of the executors to King Henrie VIII; one of their majesty's honorable preivy counsell, and knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. In this dress he married by proxy Princess Anna Cleves, relex of King Henry the VIII.”

The Chapel was also on the east of the hall, “very neatly fitted up,” says the Catalogue. This supplies a subject for one of Grimm's drawings. A lofty canopy was raised from the high altar to the ceiling, and there was a famous altarpiece of The Resurrection, painted by Annigoni; this was preserved from the flames. The consecrated inclosure is now obstructed by rubbish and brambles, but the tracery of the five lofty windows, by which it was lighted is in tolerable preservation. There was a wainscoting of mahogany eight or ten feet high, and above it was painted white with gold ornaments. Portions of the mural embellishments remain.

The fortuitous destruction of this noble mansion occurred on the night of the 24th Sept. 1793. Flames were seen bursting forth from the carpenter's workshop at the top of the north-western angle, where it is supposed the workmen had incautiously left a pan of charcoal burning. The house was undergoing repairs at the time, and had been left in charge of a handful of servants,¹¹ Lord Montague being on the Con-

¹⁰ Sir Anthony Browne (father of the first viscount) and Alis his wife, daughter of Sir John Gage, are buried in the chancel of Battel Church. His second wife was the ‘Fair Geraldine’ of Lord Surrey.

¹¹ A survivor of this catastrophe resides in Midhurst. She was a member of the Montague household, and is now in her eighty-fifth year, but her memory is wonderfully retentive for so aged a person. She was asleep at Cowdray, when alarmed by the cry of ‘Fire!’ which she says was first discovered between eleven and twelve o'clock by two men who were engaged in brewing.

continent, and the dowager viscountess and her daughter (afterwards Hon. Mrs. Poyntz), at Brighton. Such was the rapidity of the conflagration that scarcely any of the valuable contents of the house could be saved. The immense amount of old woodwork facilitated the progress of the devouring element, and the solidity of the building rendered it impracticable to break down any portion in order to cut off the communication, so that in about six hours the work of demolition was complete.

By a sad coincidence, but a few short weeks intervened before the noble owner of Cowdray met his death by drowning, at Schaffhausen (Oct. 1793) together with his fellow-traveller, Mr. Sedley Burdett, brother of the late Sir Francis. No remonstrance could deter these rash young men from the design they had formed of endeavouring to navigate the cataracts of the Rhine, although every precaution to prevent them appears to have been taken by the local authorities.

Lord Montague was in his 24th year. His valet, Dickenson, seized his master by the collar as he was about to step into the flat-bottomed boat with which he had provided himself, declaring, that, for the moment, he should forget the respect of a servant in the duty of the man. Lord Montague, however, extricated himself with the loss of part of his collar and neck-cloth, and pushed off immediately, with his companion. They passed the first fall in safety, then they made for the second, far more dangerous than the first, and were never seen again. The servant remained near the place for some time, bewailing the fate of his master, and returned to Midhurst with the melancholy trophies of his devotion. It is stated that Lord Montague was engaged to Miss Coutts, to whom he was to have been united on his return to England.

Only on one account can he be said not to have perished too soon—the intelligence of the disaster at his home had not reached him! Had he learned his loss, the apparently suicidal attempt might have been in some measure accounted for.

The editors of Spelman's History of Sacrilege have instanced the fatality that pursued the family of Montague, as one of the proofs of the misfortunes entailed on the holders of church spoliated property.

Twice has Cowdray House been honoured by the visits of

Royalty. Edward VI, in a private letter¹² to his favourite companion 'Barnabe Fitzpatrick (who as a boy had been appointed to undergo any whippings the royal pupil might deserve), writes thus, on August 22, 1547, from Christ Church in Hampshire, after excusing his delay in writing, "partly be lakke of a convenient messenger."

"We have been occupied in killing of wild bestes, in pleasant journeyes, in good fare, in viewing of fair countries . . . and came to Gilford, from thens to Petworth, and so to Coudray, a goodly house of Sir Anthony Broune's, where we were marvelously, yea rather excessively, banketted. From thens we went to Halvenaker, a prety house besides Chichester. From thens we went to Warblington, a faire house of Sir Richard Cotton's, and so to Waltham, a faire great old house, in times past the Bishop of Winchistir's, and now my Lord Treasourour's house. In al theis places we had both good hunting and good chere. From thens we went to Portismouth toun."

Queen Elizabeth conferred a similar favour upon the son, who apparently was as hospitably disposed as his father.

There is a very curious account of "*The Honorable Entertainment given to the Queen's Majestie, in progresse, at Cowdrey, in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montecute, 1591.—Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to be sold by William Wright, dwelling in Paule's Churchyard, neere to the French Schoole, 1591.*"¹³

By this it appears that the queen, having dined at Farnham, arrived at Lord Montague's with a great train, on Saturday, 15th of August, at about eight o'clock in the evening. As soon as she appeared in sight, loud music sounded, which ceased when she arrived on the bridge. A man in armour (standing between two wooden effigies to resemble porters), holding a club in one hand and a golden key in the other, addressed her majesty, declaring that there was a prophecy when the first stone was laid, that these walls should shake, and the roof totter, until "the wisest, the fairest, and the most fortunate of all creatures" should arrive. That his fellow-porters gave up all hopes of this beneficial advent, and so fell asleep, but that he would rather have cut off his eyelids than wink till he saw the end. Now that the 'miracle of time,' 'nature's glorie,' and 'fortune's empress,' had arrived, of course the house was immoveable. He then presented the key, as a crest

¹² Printed by Horace Walpole, from the original.

¹³ See Nichols's Progresses, iii, 90; and Dallaway's Rape of Chichester, Append.

of his office, at the same time declaring his honourable Lord, the owner of the house, to be second to none in duty and service to her majesty, and that "his tongue was the keie of his heart, and his heart the locke of his soule."

The queen then accepted the key, saying she would swear as to the fidelity of the master; and having alighted, she embraced the Lady Montacute, and the Lady Dormer her daughter, the former of the two (as if weeping on her bosom) said "O, happie time! O joyfull daie!"

The next day (being Sunday) her majesty was "most royallie feasted; the proportion of breakfast was three oxen and one hundred and fortie geese."

On Monday morning, at eight o'clock, the queen rode to the park. A nymph emerged from a delicate bower, and with a sweet song presented Elizabeth with a crossbow, with which she killed three or four deer, placed in a paddock for the occasion, and the Countess of Kildare shot one. After dinner, about six o'clock, the queen mounted to one of the turrets of Cowdray, and witnessed "sixteen bucks pulled down by greyhounds on a launde," "all having fayre lawe."

The days of the week passed merrily, every day bringing some fresh surprise, planned for the royal guest's amusement. Fulsome orations, delivered by persons in various disguises, a characteristic pastime of the period, were the order of the day. At one place she was met by a pilgrim, "clad in russet velvet, with skallop shells of cloth of silver," who led the way to an oak, upon which were displayed the queen's arms, and those of the nobility and gentry of the shire, all "hanged in escutchions most beautifull," and these, the account goes on to state, "shall remaine on the oke, and there hang till they cannot hang together, one peece by another."

At another place a "wilde man clad in ivie," started forth, and delivered his oration; and at "a goodlie fishpond," an angler did the same.

One day the banquet was spread at Easebourne Priory, and doubtless Elizabeth beheld with interest the tomb, then brilliant with gilt and paint, of her long departed relative, Sir David Owen.

At another time "the lordes and ladies dined in the walkes, feasting most sumptuously at a table, foure and twentie

yardes long." The length of that table was however surpassed by another, laid "in the privie walkes in the garden," which was "fortie-eight yardes long." I believe these feasts took place in the "Close Walkes," still so called, which have been long pointed out as the locality by tradition. Moreover, the "goodlie fish-pond," or rather the basin, probably filled with fish for the occasion, is at a convenient distance. These close walks are really most "beautiful to beholde." This was on the evening of her last day, and, as a grand finale, "the countrie people" were allowed to present themselves before the queen, "in a pleasant daunce, with taber and pipe, and the Lorde Montague and his lady among them, to the great pleasure of all beholders, and gentle applause of her majestic."

The next morning she departed towards Chichester, accompanied as far as the dining-place by Lord Montague and his sons, and the sheriff of the shire, Robert Linsey. Before mounting her horse, she conferred the honour of knighthood upon six gentlemen—Sir George Browne (Lord Montague's second son), Sir Robert Dormer (his son-in-law), Sir Henry Goring, Sir Henry Glenham, Sir John Carrell, and Sir Nicholas Parker.

The extraordinary consumption of food mentioned in the narrative of the royal visit, may, in some degree, be accounted for by the great establishment maintained at Cowdray, as may be gathered from a curious book, preserved at the Priory, Easebourne, signed 'ANTHONY MOUNTAGUE,' 1595, in the handwriting of the second viscount (grandson of the first), containing orders and rules for the direction of his household and family. It gives also a

"List of the Officers and other Servantes.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. My Stewarde of Household. | 13. The Gentlemen of my Horse. |
| 2. My Comptroller. | 14. The Gentlemen Wayters. |
| 3. My Chiefe Stewarde of Courtes. | 15. The Marshall of my Hall. |
| 4. My Auditor. | 16. The Clarke of my Kytchen. |
| 5. My Generall Receiver. | 17. The Yeoman of my Greate Chamber. |
| 6. My Collector. | 18. The Usher of my Hall. |
| 7. My other Principall Officers. | 19. The Chiefe Cooke. |
| 8. My Secretary. | 20. The Yeomen of my Chamber. |
| 9. My Gentlemen Ushers. | 21. The Clarke of mine Officer's Chamber. |
| 10. My Carver. | 22. The Yeoman of my Horse. |
| 11. My Sewer. | |
| 12. The Gentlemen of my Chamber. | |

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 23. The Yeoman of my Cellar. | 31. The Granator. |
| 24. The Yeoman of mine Ewrye. | 32. The Bayliffe. |
| 25. The Yeoman of my Pantrye. | 33. The Baker. |
| 26. The Yeoman of my Butterye. | 34. The Brewer. |
| 27. The Yeoman of my Wardroppe. | 35. The Groomes of the Great Chamber. |
| 28. The Yeomen Wayters. | 36. The Almoner. |
| 29. The Second Cooke and the rest. | 37. The Sculleryman. |
| 30. The Porter. | |

All these lived in the house, and it is a fair presumption that there were women in addition to them.

His instructions thus define the stately order of his

“ Marshalled feast,
Served up in hall with sewers and seneschals.”
Par. Lost.

“ *My Sewer and his office.*”

“ I will that my Sewer, after he hath washed together with my Carver, att the Ewrye boorde, be there armed (*videlicet*) with an armyng towell, layd upon his right shoulderr, and tyed lowe under his left arm. Where being by my Gentleman Usher comaunded to the Dresser, he shall departe towards the Hall, attended there through with half a dosen Gentlemen and Yeomen att the least; and soe on to the dresser, where he shall deliver the meate to everye one accordynye to their places, and then returning with my service, all coveredde to my table, shall there receive every dishe, and deliver them severally to my Carver, which done, he shall there abyde a little besides the Carver, and nott departe until he be agayne comaunded by the Gentleman Usher to go for the seconde course, which he shall bring and use in all respects as before, and then attend untill the table be taken upp. After which, with due curtesie donne, he shall return to the Ewrye boorde, and then be unarmed. And after the meate brought downe into the hall, shall there distribute ytt orderly with the Gentleman Usher's advice, if neede shall soe require. I will that he take his diet with the Wayters, and place (for that daye) next to my Carver.”—*Manuscript of Anthony, second Lord Montague, 1595.*

It may appear remarkable that Lord Montague, being a staunch Romanist, should have received so many marks of esteem and confidence from Queen Elizabeth; but he was evidently a loyal and trustworthy subject, and a man of great independence of spirit, although a courtier. He and Lord Shrewsbury were the only two peers who voted against the queen's supremacy; yet, in the next year, he was employed as ambassador in Spain. He likewise sat on the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots.

As it is possible to be killed by kindness, he may have

been overcome by his royal mistress's condescension, for we read in Baker's Chronicles :

"This year (1591) died Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute; who, though he were a great Roman Catholick, yet the Queen, finding him faithful, always loved him, and in his sickness went to visit him."

He was buried in Midhurst Church, where a gorgeous monument, lately removed to Easebourne, was erected to his memory, and that of his two wives. He married, first, Jane, daughter of Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex; and secondly, Magdalen, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Greystock and Gillesland.

On the top of the tomb recline the figures of these two ladies, the size of life, and handsomely attired in the costume of their day. Between them rises an altar, at which the old nobleman is represented as kneeling, with 'beard of formal cut,' wearing a suit of gilt armour, and over it the collar and mantle of the Order of the Garter. There is the following inscription :—

"Here lyeth y^e bodie of y^e Right Honorable Sir Anthonie Browne, Viscount Mountague, Chief Standard Bearer of England, and Knight of y^e Honorable Order of y^e Garter, whereof he was ancienst at his death, and one of y^e Honorable Privye Councill to Queen Marie, who as he was noblye descended from y^e Ladye Lucye, his grandmother, one of y^e daughters and coheyles of Lord Ihon Nevill, Marques Mountague; so he was perfectly adorned with all y^e virtues of true Nobilitye. And in y^e 66 yere of his age he ended his lyfe, at his Howse at Horsley in Surrey, y^e 19 of October, 1592; and in the 34^e yere of y^e raigne of oure most soveraigne Lady, Queen Elizabeth.

"This honorable man, in y^e yere 1553, was employed by Queen Marie, in an honorable Ambassage to Rome, with Doctor Thyrlbie, Bisshope of Elye, which he performed to his great honor and commendation; and y^e seconde yere after he served Queen Marie, as Her Majesties Livtenant of y^e English Forces, at y^e Siege of St. Quentines.

In the yere 1559, Queen Elizabeth sent him Ambassador into Spain to Kinge Philipp, and likewise, 1565 and 1566, to the Duches of Parma, then Regent of y^e Lowe Countries, all which he effected both wiselye and honorablye to y^e service of God, his Prince, and Conntrie."

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S VISITS TO SUSSEX.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

READ AT THE WISTON MEETING, AUGUST 7, 1851.

THE accounts of the Progresses of 'Good Queen Bess' through, firstly, the extreme eastern, and secondly, the extreme western parts of Sussex (with the exception of the entertainment at Cowdray) are very meagre, and I propose to give a few particulars, which will fix some dates, and supply some hitherto unnoticed details.

The first visit was in 1573, and the dates are supplied from the Book of the Comptrolment of Sir James Croft, Knight, Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household, from the last day of September, 1572, to the last day of the same month, 1573, among the Carlton House Ride MSS. The chief movements are given, and it is clear from the particulars mentioned by Mr. Nichols, that she visited the seats of the neighbouring gentry from the principal places of her stay, where her household remained; thus, from Lord Abergavenny's she visited Sir Thomas Gresham at Mayfield; from Rye she visited Winchelsea; and on her return she visited Lord Cobham at Cobham Hall, from Rochester. It appeared strange that no record of the Queen's visit to Rye was found by Mr. Holloway among the town books, when he published his History. Another search has, however, brought some particulars to light. It is curious to learn that the popular tradition of the Queen's dining at Northiam is fully confirmed by the Comptroller's book; she dined there on her way to, and on her return from Rye. The oak-tree,¹ under the shade of which tradition says that she dined, still bears her name, and is standing near the church. Her usual habit seems to have been to dine at one place and proceed to another for supper. Mr. Nichols² states

¹ There was no large mansion at which she could be received.

² Progresses, vol. i, p. 333.

correctly that she started from Greenwich for Archbishop Parker's palace, at Croydon, on 14th July, 1573. The Comptroller's account is that she was at *Greenwich* at dinner on:

Tuesday, the 14th July, and reached *Croydon* for supper. Here she remained a week, and, having dined there on

Tuesday, the 21st July, she went to *Orpington* to supper, and stayed till after dinner on

Friday, the 24th; she then left, and reached her own house, at *Knole*, to supper. There she dined on

Wednesday, the 29th, and reached *Birling* (Lord Abergavenny's) for supper; on

Saturday, the 1st August, she went to the Manor of *Cotton's* to dinner, and to *Eridge* (Lord Abergavenny's other seat) to supper. Here she remained till

Friday, the 7th August, to dinner; and went to *Bedgebury* (Mr. Culpeper's) to supper; where she dined on the following day,

Saturday, the 8th; and then went forward to *Hempstead* (Mr. Guilford's) to supper. On

Tuesday, the 11th, she left *Hempstead*, dined at *Northiam*, and reached *Rye*, to supper. On the following day she knighted there her late hosts, Mr. Culpeper and Mr. Guilford, and also Francis Walsingham and Thomas Shirley of Wiston, who was afterwards treasurer of the army in the Low Countries. At *Rye* she remained till³

Friday, the 14th, when she dined again at *Northiam*, and went to *Syssinghurst* (Mr. Baker's) to supper. Here she stayed till

Monday, the 17th, when she dined at Mr. Baker's, and supped at *Bowghton Malherb* (Mr. Thomas Wotton's). Here she was on

Wednesday, the 19th August, at dinner; and thence went to *Hothfield* (Mr. Tufton's) to supper. There she dined on

Friday, the 21st, and reached her own house at *Weston-hanger* (of which Lord Buckhurst was keeper) for supper. On the morning of

Tuesday, the 25th, she left this house, dined at *Sandgate*, and was at *Dover* to supper. Lord Cobham, the Lord Warden, entertained her at the Castle, though she had a house of her own in the town, called 'The Maison Dieu.'⁴ She remained at *Dover* on

Monday, the 31st, to dinner, and went to *Sandwich* to supper. A full and interesting account of her reception and entertainment there is preserved in Nichols. She stayed there till—

³ The inscription on the stone of her well at *Rye* is '1588. E.R. H. GAYMER. MAIOR.' The date is the year of the dispersion of the Armada. The stone was doubtless then erected; the visit was in 1573, when Henry Gaymer was mayor.

⁴ See estimates for the repairs and particulars of the rooms in the State Paper Office.—Domestic, 1580-4.

Thursday, the 3rd September, and then proceeded to *Wingham*, at that time in the Crown, to dinner, and to *Canterbury* to supper. At this city she remained for more than a fortnight; and it was not until

Saturday, the 19th September, that she left; dining at *Dunston*, and reaching *Rochester* for supper. Hence she is stated, by Nichols, to have visited Cobham Hall. She was at Dinner, at Rochester, on

Wednesday, the 23rd, and supped at *Dartford*; where she dined on

Friday, the 25th; and reached her own palace, at *Greenwich*, to supper, the same day; having been absent for more than ten weeks.

The following entries in the town books of Rye, relating to the Queen's visit, were not published by Mr. Holloway, but have been now supplied to me by that gentleman:

"Henry Gaymer, mayor.—August 3rd, 1573. It is agreed at this assembly, that there shall be yielded to the Queen's Majesty, at her coming to Rye, for a present, an hundred angels in a purse.

"At this meeting, Mr. Henry Gaymer, mayor, freely hath granted to lend the town one hundred pounds of good and lawful money of England, until Michaelmas next, and the commonalty hath granted that he shall be repaid out of the money rising of the cess, and to be given, for the assurance of the payment, a bond made under the common seal of the town, to be paid at Michaelmas."

And in the Chamberlain's accounts of the same year is this notice:

"1573, Sep ^r . 21st. P ^d Mr. Gaymer the money he lent the town at the Queen's being here	£ 100
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In 1577, the Queen contemplated visits to Lord Montague, at Battle Abbey or at Cowdray, probably at the former, as new rooms still standing were built there to receive her—to Lord Buckhurst at his new house at Southover, near Lewes—to Lord Arundel, at Arundel Castle—and to Mr. Henry Goring at Burton. The project was stopped by the plague; but the great preparations made for her are quaintly set forth in a letter from Lord Buckhurst to the Earl of Sussex, dated from Lewes, the 4th July, 1577;⁵ wherein he requests to know when the Queen was likely to come to his house at Lewes, and how long she would tarry there, as he wished to make fit preparations; and having already sent for provisions into Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, he had found all places fully possessed by Lords Arundel, Montague, and others, "so as of force he was to send

⁵ Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. ii, fol. 349, printed by Sir Henry Ellis, in his *Historical Letters*, First Series, vol. ii, p. 271.

into Flanders, which he would speedily do, if the time of her Majesty's coming and tarriance with him were certain ;" and he concluded by beseeching God "that his house did not mislike her, which was his chief care ;" and declaring, that "if her Highness had tarried but one year longer, we had been too happy ; but God's will and hers be done."

On the 10th of the same month, Mr. Henry Goring of Burton wrote to Sir William More, at Loseley, near Godalming, as an old friend, and "hearing the Queen has laid two nights at Loseley, and intended to lie two nights at his house in Sussex," he asks how he is to entertain her ; "whether she brings her own stuff, beer, and other provisions, or whether Sir William provided every part."⁶

No other Sussex progress, either made or intended, has been noticed earlier than 1591 ; but it is certain that in June 1583, a visit to Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland, at Petworth, was contemplated ; and it will be seen by the following letter from Sir William Cornwallis,⁷ that, although the earl professed pleasure at the contemplated honour, every quiet mode was adopted to put aside the visit. It will be seen how dexterously the short time for preparations, the state of the countess' health, and the proverbial badness of the Sussex roads⁸ are brought forward to deter the Queen from pressing for a reception :

⁶ Nichols's Progresses, ii, p. 62. Searches among the Goring Papers, which came to the Biddulphs with the Burton property, and among the MSS. at Wiston have been kindly made by the Rev. M. A. Tierney and the Rev. J. Goring, for further particulars of this intended visit ; in each case, I regret to add, without success.

⁷ State Paper Office.—Domestic, 1583, No. 192.

⁸ The Sussex roads were so indifferent that it was not until a very late period that any stage coach entered the County. The earliest public conveyance from London, coming towards the Sussex coast, ran only to Tunbridge ; whence the journey was performed on horseback. This coach is thus noticed in the diary of Samuel Jeake, Jun., of Rye (Frewen's MSS. p. 83). 1682, May 22d, Monday, "I rode with my wife and mother-in-law to London, for diversion ; came thither 23, Tuesday : had hot and dry weather." "June 23, Friday, we returned from London in y^e stage coach to Tunbridge, and 24, Saturday, came to Rye at night." At that time the letters arrived at Rye by post, only three times a week ; viz., Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. In 1694 the ways, in the neighbouring parts of Kent, were not found very good by Mr. Jeake, who, on his journey from Rye into Kent, on the 9th April, 1694, to pay some legacies, thus (p. 169) records his experience.—"Had good weather over head, but dreadful and dangerous ways from Appledore to Ashford, yet it pleased God that I went safe, tho' by reason of the badness of the ways, it was near 3 o'clock in the afternoon (he had started from Rye at 8, a.m.) before I got to Ashford. Afterwards I had very good

"SIR,—My Lord of Northumberland, understanding a new Speech of Her Majestie coming into the cuntrey,⁹ having apointed now a great provision, wich he had ordeined for the receyving of her, hath sent up his servant, the bearer, to bring him as much certainty as he can lern of this matter; being now to begine agayne and to lay a new foundation for his promises, as well within the realm, as from beyond the seas; wich I perceyue will be dyfficult, considering now the shortness of the time. But that wh^h is gretest grief unto him, is the want of health in my Lady, his wyfe, who turned not out of her chamber this month, nor is like to do in another; notwithstanding, Sir, this is very trew, yet it may not be advertysed, lest it might be thought to give impediment to her Majestie's coming, wherof I perceyve my lord very glade and desirous; otherwyse, for my part, you geving me leave to speak my fancy, her Majestie will never thank him that hath perswaded this progresse, nor those lords that shall receive her, how great entertaynment soever they give her, considering the wayes by which she must come to them, up the hill and down the hill, so as she shall not be able to use ether coche or litter with ease, and those wayes also so full of louse stones, as it is carefull and painfull riding for any body, nether can ther be in this cuntrey any wayes devysed to avoyd those ould wayes. In truth, Sir, thus I find it, and I wyshe some others knew it, so I wear not the author; who though I write it for care of the Queen, yet might it be interpreted otherwise.

"I besech you, Sir, remember my sute, and procure any wear negative or affirmative, since I have complained to you. I could not waite with so doubtfull thoughts of her favor, and if you thinke, Sir, my coming necessary, it may please you signify your pleasure; I will perfourme it without delay. And so humbly take my leave.—Fro Petworth, the XXIX^h of June, 1583.

"Yours ever to comand me,

"W. CORNWALLIS."

"To the Right Honorable S^r Francis Wallsingame,
Knight, of Her Mai: Privy Councell."

This letter negatives the assertion that the earl was "forbidden to depart from the vicinity of the metropolis for ten years preceding his death;" though, as Dodd limits it, he might have been enjoined not to visit the North. The letter

ways." De Foe's account, in 1724, of the lady of quality going to church at a country village, not far from Lewes, and being drawn in the coach, by six oxen, is well known, "the way being so stiff and deep, that no horses could go in it;" and some interesting particulars of the "Travelling in Old England," are to be found in "Notes and Queries," vol. i.

⁹ Nichols in his Progresses (ii, p. 42), after referring to the probable visit of Queen Elizabeth to Sir William More, at Loseley Hall, near Godalming, in 1577, says, that she made, or at least threatened, another visit; for on 4th August, 1583, Sir Christopher Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, writes to Sir William More, "That in ten or twelve days the Queen intended to visit Loseley for four or five days, and he desires that everything may be got in order, and the house kept clean and sweet." On the 24th August he writes again to Sir William, that the queen intends dining at Woking on the 27th, and to go to bed at his house; that he should have "everything made sweet and meet to receive her; should avoyde (remove) his family, and have everything ready: the sheriff need not attend her, but Sir William, Mr. Lifield, and some other gentlemen should meet her at Guildford."

shows, however, that the earl wished quietly to dispense with the intended honour of entertaining his Sovereign in the South, and it may be with good reason; for, on the 20th December in the same year (1583), he and the Earl of Arundel were confined to their houses¹⁰ in London, on suspicion of being participators in Throgmorton's conspiracy; and it appears, from examinations and letters in the state-paper office, that his servants were more than suspected of assisting in the visits to and from the port of Arundel, in John Halter's boat,¹¹ of Mr. Charles Paget, and in the flight of that gentleman and Lord Paget, on Throgmorton's arrest. It was admitted in the examinations¹² taken before Lord Buckhurst, that very suspicious-looking packs were conveyed by Simon Smyth, secretary to the earl, to Christopher Haines's house in Arundel, for shipment: and that the earl's servants were very active, and in communication with John Halter. The Pagets had met at the earl's house, at Petworth. One of the earl's footmen, Thomas Fells, was examined on 9th of January, 1583-4,¹³ as to a letter of Lord Paget, said to have been seen by Sir Thos. Leighton; he declared that he had not been to the Earl of Arundel's house since his master's restraint; nevertheless, the Countess of Northumberland was not admitted to visit her husband, but was to be received at Mr. Blackwell's house on her coming to town. And though Lady Anne Lee, writing to Charles Paget, in Paris, on 29th January, 1583-4,¹⁴ tells him that his coming over to England had caused the Earl of Northumberland great trouble,¹⁵ and adds, "he was however restored to liberty;" yet that liberty was short. He was soon committed to the Tower, where his friend William Shelley,

¹⁰ State Paper Office.—Domestic, December, 1583.

¹¹ In the examination of John Halter (Domestic, 1583, No. 405) before Thomas Wilkes and Thomas Norton, he admitted bringing over from Dieppe to Arundel a gentleman whose name was very carefully concealed, together with his man, and that they inquired for Mr. William Shelley (of Michelgrove), went with Halter to William Davies' house at Patching, and remained about Arundel for several days. Halter also admitted that in his voyages to Dieppe he had carried over one of the Earl of Northumberland's servants, but he denied that he had dealt with the earl or with Mr. W. Shelley. The person whose name was so carefully concealed was supposed to be Mr. Charles Paget, who had come over to Sussex, where he passed under the name of Mope, to raise troops to invade England, and change the government.

¹² State Paper Office.—Domestic, December, 1583, Nos. 424, 425, 426, and 427.

¹³ Ib. 1584, No. 13.

¹⁴ Ib. No. 49.

¹⁵ In a letter from W. Parry to Charles Paget, dated 22 Feb. (ib. No. 18), he tells him the same thing.

Lord Henry Howard, and others, were also confined for high treason. On 12th February, 1583 $\frac{3}{4}$, the questions to be propounded to them were submitted to the council,¹⁶ before whom, in June, a plan was laid, showing that Throgmorton's plot might be traced to the earl, and the causes which implicated him.¹⁷ He satisfactorily explained that the intended marriage of his daughter to Mr. Pierpoint was a suggestion of Charles Arundel,¹⁸ and there was no proof of his guilt; nevertheless, he remained in the Tower till he destroyed himself on the night of 20th June, 1585.

At this time Sussex, and especially West Sussex, was not in a favorable state for a royal visit.

A regular correspondence was carried on between the parties who had fled to France, and their friends in England, from Rye and Arundel. Nicholas Wolf, of Washington, was violently suspected of a participation in Somerville's conspiracy against the queen's life, and examinations relating to him were taken before Mr. Thos. Bishophe and Mr. Richard Shelley.¹⁹ Authorised reports were transmitted to the council of the disturbed state of the county touching religion.²⁰ An information was laid against Mr. Underdowne, preacher of St. Michael's, at Lewes;²¹ and two against Mr. Henry Shales, the parson of Hangleton: the first by the Rev. Wm. Jackson, M.A., charging him with being a favourer of papists, and with holding heretical opinions;²² the other for errors in two sermons, preached at Lewes;²³ and a list was made of persons in the county, to be excluded from the number of preachers.²⁴

When the queen did visit West Sussex, in the summer of 1591,²⁵ these troubles had abated, and Henry, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, being in considerable favour, used his endeavours, through his friend, Lord Cobham, still Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to obtain the honour of a royal visit, which his predecessor had taken as much pains to put off. This appears by a letter to Lord Cobham, dated from Petworth, the 22d July, 1591,²⁵ some three weeks before the queen started for Cowdray.

¹⁶ Ib. No. 69.¹⁷ Ib. No. 332.¹⁸ Ib. 24th March, 1583, No. 133.¹⁹ Ib. 1583, Nos. 338, 345, 373.²⁰ Ib. No. 463.²¹ Ib. No. 445.²² Ib. 8th March, 1583, No. 85. His answer is dated 8th April.—Ib. No. 127.²³ Ib. No. 447.²⁴ Ib. No. 445.²⁵ Ib. 1591, No. 216.

“ Noble Lord, when I sent you word, in my last letter, that you should receive one from me, whiche might be shewed to Her Majestie, I conceived and desired that the Quene might lay her commandement upon me by your Lordship, and then upon your letter, I would have replied as in answer to your selfe, whiche might have be shewed. If you can bring it about you shall doe me a favor, bycause in it I shall be gladde to discover somewhat that I would pleade for myselfe. I will trooble you noe further, but send you the faith-fullest love signe onder the hand of your true friend, as a witsesse against him, when he shall faile to be ready to doe your servisse.

“ Petworthe, this 22 July.

“ NORTHUMBERLAND.”

To the Right Honorable the Lord Cobham,
Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and at Court.”

A perfect record has been preserved by Mr. Nichols of the week's entertainment of the queen at Cowdray.²⁶ No positive mention is made of a visit to Petworth. The accounts of the comptroller of the household for that year are not at Carlton House Ride. The queen left Cowdray on the 21st of August, and the only unpublished document, relating to the progress I have found, is in the State Paper-office, where, in a letter from Portsmouth, dated the 31st August, 1591,²⁷ it is said—

“ The absence of the Court makes that, your advertisement cometh from hence. The Quene is now about Portsmouth, having bene at Chichester, whither she came from Cowdray, my Lo. Montague's, where she and the whole Court (were) magnificently entertayned.”

The queen was entertained at Sutton Place, Surrey, on her way into Sussex,²⁸ and there is every reason to believe that she came by way of Dorking and Horsham, to Wiston, and thence went to Ashington, the lost register of which parish contained an account of the visit; thence she proceeded westward, through Parham and Pulborough, either by way of Petworth to Cowdray, or direct to the latter place, taking Stanstead and Petworth, on her way home from Portsmouth. Probably the Petworth visit was made on the way back, as a house, still standing in Godalming town, is pointed out as the queen's-resting place, on her return from Petworth.

It is unfortunate that no full record of the entertainment at Chichester remains; and that the register, of which the index alone has been preserved, has not been discovered.

²⁶ See also, *ante*, p. 185.

²⁷ *Ib.* No. 249.

²⁸ Bray and Manning, i, p. 136.

ON MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES,
DISCOVERED IN, AND RELATING TO, THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

PARTLY READ AT PEVENSEY, OCTOBER 23, 1851.

As one of the main objects of our Society is, to put upon record the discovery of Archæological objects, either found in the county, or illustrative of its history, I have the pleasure of laying before the Members the following particulars, most of which are now first printed, though others of them have already appeared in the Transactions of kindred Societies.

I. *Seal of the Hundred of Brightford.*—Sir Charles Burrell,



Bart., possesses the very curious Seal delineated in the accompanying woodcut. It was found at Bramber Castle a few years since; and an impression of it was exhibited in 1845 to the British Archæological Association, by Edmund Young, Esq., of Steyning. An engraving of it was published in the *Journal* of that body, vol. i, p. 63. Its form is that of a pentagonal shield, and its device, an armorial escutcheon

of the same shape, surrounded with a legend,—an arrangement as rare as it is inelegant. The legend is, “SUSSEX * R * BRAMBOR * HVNDREDDE * BYRTFORD *;” while the arms, if so they may be called, consist of a fesse or bar between a Lion rampant in chief and a Griffin’s head erased and ducally gorged in base. Mr. Planché expressed an opinion that the Seal was of the time of Edward I, and referred to one of still earlier date—that of Eleanor Countess of Valois, 1183-1214, which is heart-shaped, but has its inscription similarly arranged.

It is engraved in Oliv. Vredius' *Geneal. Comit. Fland.* Though sorry to dissent from so good an authority as Mr. Planché, I ventured (*Journal*, vol. i, p. 152) to give some reasons for believing the Brightford Seal no older than the fifteenth century. The charge below the fesse is, in fact, the crest of the family of Shelley, who were not influential in the hundred of Brightford until the marriage of John Shelley, Esq., with the heiress of John de Michelgrove, Esq., who died in 1458. The hundred, which comprehends the parishes of Clapham (in which Michelgrove is situated), Heene, Broadwater, Durrington, Findon, Sompting, and Lancing, forms an important part of the Rape of Bramber, of which the family of Mowbray, Dukes of Norfolk, at the above-mentioned date, were lords. The arms of the Mowbrays were, *Gules, a Lion rampant Or*, from which the charge above the fesse was, in all probability, borrowed.

II. *Seal of the Archdeaconry of Lewes.*—This interesting matrix was found upwards of seventy years since, in the moat of Cowling Castle, in Kent, and it is now in the possession of Humphrey Wickham, Esq., of Strood, who has obligingly sent me an impression. It is of the pointed oval or *vesica piscis* form, and belongs, probably, to the early part of the fifteenth century. It displays an exceedingly well-executed figure of St. Andrew, with his cross, standing beneath an enriched canopy. The inscription is, *S officialis¹ archidiaconi lewensis*. A poor engraving of this Seal was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* soon after its discovery.

III. *A British Urn.*—In April, 1851, a workman employed in digging flints² on the South Downs, westward of Steere's mill, and contiguous to Lewes race-course, opened a small barrow, containing a British Urn, which he succeeded in extracting entire. It was filled with ashes and burnt bones, amounting to somewhat more than a gallon. It is of the

¹ That is, of the 'official,' or deputy, or registrar.

² The man was in the service of Mr. Barrat, the road-surveyor at Lewes, to whom the Society is under considerable obligations for his friendly efforts to secure all objects of antiquarian interest met with in the various excavations of which he has the superintendence.

ordinary pattern, and, though smaller, so closely resembles one figured by the late Mr. Dixon, in vol. I. of our *Collections*, p. 55, as to render an engraving unnecessary. It is deposited in the Society's Museum at Lewes Castle.

IV. *Seal of the Friars Minors of Cologne.*—The brass matrix of this Seal was found in 1851, in the parish of Mayfield. It is probably of the 14th century, and bears the legend, *Sigillu(m) fr(atru)m minoru(m) diuini fra(nci)sci prope colon.* It is of the *vesica* shape, and has within the inscription a tabernacle of poor design, beneath which stand three crowned figures of the Magi, known in the Catholic hagiography, as the Three Kings of Cologne. Beneath the figures the artist, with a modest distrust of his graphic powers, has engraved the words *tres reg(es)*, while the 'star in the East,' above their heads, is, with the same good-natured explanatory intention, labelled *stella!* The wandering habits of the friars, and the vicinity of the palace of the English metropolitan sufficiently explain the discovery of the matrix at Mayfield. J. D. Powell, Esq., on exhibiting this Seal, at the Society's meeting at Pevensey, in October last, gave some appropriate elucidations of the 'Three Kings,' and of the state of the religious orders at the period to which the Seal belongs.

V. *Curious Implement found at Alfriston.*—In 1849, I had the pleasure of communicating to the Brit. Arch. Association a drawing of the singular relic, an engraving of which (*Journal*, vol v., p. 359) I am now permitted to reproduce; and I take the liberty of copying the note which accompanied the sketch:

“I send you a drawing of a very curious relic, lately dug up in the churchyard of Alfriston. What name to give it, I do not know, though its uses are quite obvious. It comprises an ear-pick, a nail-pick, a tooth-pick, and a tongue-scraper—the turned part of the last ingeniously contrived to protect the points of the other three. When closed, this little implement, which I have delineated of the actual size, might be conveniently carried in one's waistcoat pocket. The material is silver gilt. It was discovered at the depth of three feet, in digging a grave on the site of an old foot-path, where no interment had taken place for many years. As no motive can be assigned for burying such an article with a dead body, I am disposed to think that it must have fallen from the person of a bystander, into an open grave, during a funeral.

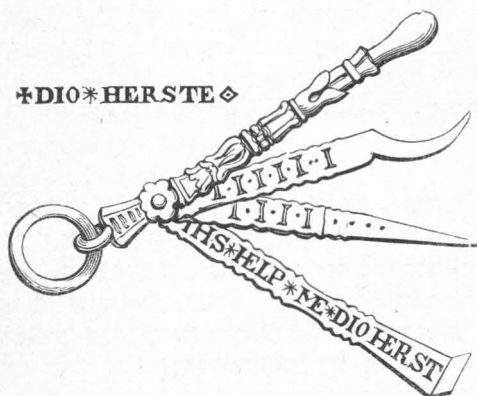
“On the inside of the tongue-scraper, the following legend is neatly engraved: IHS * HELP * ME * DIO HERST. On the corresponding face of the ear-pick, the name only is repeated, ✠ DIO * HERSTE. The mark of contraction over the IHS could not be shown in my sketch.

“In the parish register of Alfriston, is the following entry, referring to the original possessor of this interesting relic:—

‘Buryalls A^o Dni. 1584.

Dennis Herst, buryed the xiiij of ffebruarye.’

“The article is clearly of a considerably earlier date, and was probably manufactured at least thirty or forty years before the period of Herst’s decease. It is in the possession of Mr. James Richardson, parish clerk of Alfriston.”



I may add, that an implement of somewhat similar form, but of Roman date, is in Mr. C. Roach Smith’s collection. Another is engraved in Douglas’s *Nenia Britannica*, plate xviii, fig. 2; and one or two others, of the time of Elizabeth, have been discovered. Our relic is, however, of a more interesting character than any of these, not only from the pious invocation engraved upon it, but from “the local habitation and the name” of its possessor being so satisfactorily ascertained.

VI. *A small Love Seal found at Lewes.*—The matrix of this Seal was found about seven years since, in the garden of Mr. William Figg, and is now in that gentleman’s possession. It is of the size of a sixpence, and represents two rude figures, a man and a woman, apparently engaged in the act of

plighting their troth to each other. The legend is composed of the following letters :

LOVEMEANIZE.

It has been read, *Love me an I ze*, and presumed to mean "Love me and I [will love] thee." Similar inscriptions, with slight variations, have been frequently found on seals discovered in other parts of the kingdom, surrounding similar devices, the figures being sometimes only half-lengths. This interpretation, however, may not appear satisfactory to some; and the legend may be simply an appeal from a lover to his sweetheart—"Love me, Anize!" Anis was a common corruption of the name Agnes, much used in the sixteenth century. *Anise* was a still earlier form, and Z and S are convertible letters. The seal probably belongs to the period of the earlier Edwards.

VII. *Bronze Seal found at Eastbourne*.—It bears an armorial shield, "Semée of cross-crosslets fitchée, a lion rampant," and the inscription, * SIG'. JOHANNIS LIVET. The heraldic visitations of Sussex show two gentry families of Levett, with the same arms, one residing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Warbleton and Salehurst; the other, at the same dates, at Fittleworth, in this county; but this seal belongs to a period much anterior, namely, the early part of the fourteenth; and our member, Mr. W. S. Walford, has suggested the strong probability of its having belonged to the John Livet, who was certified lord of the township of Firle, in 1316.³

This Seal has been kindly presented to our Museum, by R. M. Caldecott, Esq.

VIII. *Monumental Iron Slab of Anne Forster*.—In 1850, a cottage on the estate of Admiral Sir Henry Shiffner, Baronet, of Coombe Place, was burnt down, when this memorial was brought to light, it having served, with its inscribed surface turned towards the wall, as a *chimney back*. Its dimensions are about three feet by two, and the inscription is surrounded with an ornamental border of fructed vine-branches, of con-

³ Parl. Writs, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 335.—Vide Arch. Journal, viii, p. 78.

siderably earlier character (as are also some of the letters, in consequence of old moulds having been employed) than the date of the memorial.

HER: LIETH: ANE: BORST
 R: DAUGHTER: AND:
 HEYR: TO: THOMAS
 GAYNSEORD: ESQUIER
 DECEASED: XVIII: OE
 IANVARI: 1591: LEAVING
 BEHIND: HER: II SONES
 AND: V: DAUGHTERS.

Cast-iron slabs of this description are not unusual in the churches of the Wealds of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent; but it was difficult, on the discovery of the present specimen, to account for its existence in a situation among dust and ashes of so different a kind from those which it would appropriately have covered in consecrated soil. The puzzle was, however, ultimately solved, by a reference to Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. ii, p. 369, from which it would appear that this slab is a *duplicate*, and not the actual one destined to record the heiress of the Gaynsfords.

"On the south side of the altar," says the work just referred to, in the church notes, under Crowhurst, "on a cast-iron plate, embossed, are the figures of two boys, in one small square, over them W. R; in another two girls kneeling; in the middle a person in a winding-sheet; and towards the upper end is this inscription, in capitals: [The above legend is here copied.] Below are two small shields of arms. On the one is 1, a Lion rampant; 2,; 3, a Cheveron between three Greyhounds; 4,"

In a note it is added, "At Baynard's, in Ewhurst, there is a long cast-iron *back* in the chimney, with the same inscription, and a duplicate, and the same mistake of reversing the F. Over each, on a shield supported by a lion and a griffin, is a rose in chief, and under it three fleurs-de-lis. In the centre, between the two inscriptions, are the arms of England, and over them the date, 1593. *Others, from the same cast as to the letters, have been found in the neighbourhood.* This

method of publishing her claim as heir to the family of Gainsford, seems a novel one."

I was informed that the cottage where the Sussex edition of the Crowhurst monument was discovered, had formerly been occupied by an old lady named Forster; and upon a supposition that she was a descendant of the Gaynsford 'heyr,' the transfer of the plate into this county is easily explained.

Sir H. Shiffner has obligingly presented this relic to the Museum of the Society.

IX. *Seal of the Deanery of Battel*.—The matrix was found at Chiltington, and is in the possession of J. M. Cripps, Esq. It is of the *vesica* form, of small size, and has for its device the head of an ecclesiastic, to the right, with the tonsure. Above the head is an object resembling an heraldic fillet, or label of two points. The inscription is, ✠ *Sigillu(m) : decanatus : de : bello*, and the date, the latter part of the fourteenth century. A cast of this Seal is in the Society's Collection at Lewes Castle.

X. *Ancient Interments at Southese*.—In the early part of the month of May of the present year, on the removal of a small barn, which stood contiguous to the western wall of the churchyard of Southese, five human skeletons were discovered at the distance of a few inches only from the surface of the soil. As a flint wall was the only separation between the spot where these remains were found and the churchyard, it might have been concluded that an encroachment had been made upon the latter by some unscrupulous proprietor, in a bye-gone age; but such a supposition would have been untenable, inasmuch as the skeletons, instead of being placed in the Christian mode of burial, with the feet towards the east, lay in a direction nearly north and south. The extreme shallowness of the interments is also opposed to such a notion. On an examination of the spot, by Mr. Figg and myself, certain inequalities of surface in an adjoining garden led to the conclusion that a tumulus of considerable magnitude had originally covered the spot, and that a portion of it had been levelled, for the purpose of making the little farm-yard in

which the barn stood. No metallic or other remains of antiquity, from which the period of the burials might be inferred, were found.

This may have been the cemetery of an aboriginal village; if so, the contiguity of the consecrated ground is the result of a practice prevalent in the early days of Christianity—that of interring the dead as near as might be to the old pagan resting-places. The ground on which the discovery was made is the property of the Rev. John Harman, a member of our Society.

XI. *Leaden Seal found at Pevensey.*—In the summer of 1851, as John Gurr, the custodian of Pevensey Castle, was digging close to the recently-discovered northern entrance of the larger or Roman inclosure, he found the interesting leaden Seal here represented. It is of the *vesica* shape, and has the peculiarity of a small projecting piece for a handle, resembling in this respect the singularly rude Seal of John de Bruges, found some years since at Littlington, and now in the possession of Thomas Dicker, Esq. Considering its material, it is in remarkably good preservation, the letters having all the sharpness of modern workmanship. The device consists of the ever-



star and crescent, and the legend is SIGILL(UM) MATILD(IS) BLOSII.

Of the ownership of this Seal nothing is known. A family named Blossme (perhaps latinized by *Blosium*) is found in records of the thirteenth century; but I have no evidence of their connection with Pevensey. Mr. Blaauw has suggested that it may have belonged to the family of Bloss; one of whom, Stephen de Bloss, is mentioned in a close roll of the earlier part of the thirteenth century, as a trader to the port of Pevensey. His vessel, laden with provisions, seems to have been detained by the port-reeves; and a royal mandate was issued for its liberation, in order that Stephen might go whither-

soever he chose along the coast, to sell his cargo. The entry is as follows:—

“10° Henr. III (A.D. 1226).

“De nave deliberanda. Mandatum est Ballivis portus de Pevenesl quod navem Stephani de Blos quæ venit in portum suum caricata victualibus, quo voluit abire permittant per costeram Angliæ, ad victualia illa vendenda. Teste Rege apud Marleburg, xxiii die Januarii. *Rot. Lit. Claus. (fol. 1844) f. 95. Memb. 24.*

XII. I have great pleasure in adding the following description of a fine Coin, recently found, from the pen of that distinguished numismatist, Mr. Akerman, F.S.A.

“A very fine coin of this type was sold in the sale of the Dimsdale Cabinet, some years since, with two others, the striking of which is not so perfect. All, however, read alike; namely, *obverse*, CO. F.—*reverse*, VIRI. The best of these examples is engraved in my ‘Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes,’

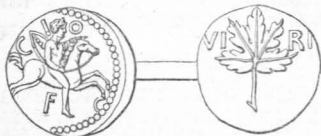


plate xxi, fig. 15, described at p. 186; also ‘Archæologia,’ xxxiii, 177. A fourth specimen is in the Collection of the British Museum, and was found recently at Rumsey. The place of finding of the others is not known, but it may be presumed to be Sussex. The example here engraved, of

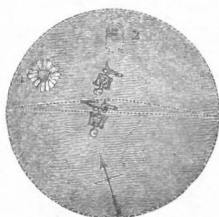
red gold, was found, in November, 1851, by a labourer, in Pagham Harbour. It weighs 83 grains.

“A reference to the Map in the ‘Archæologia,’ above cited, will show that there is great probability that the individual, by whose order these Coins were minted, ruled over a portion of Britain, which comprised the counties of Sussex and Hants, or, at any rate, the whole of the former and a portion of the latter; and there is good reason for believing that he is the Bericus or Vericus, mentioned by Dion Cassius, who, driven by intestine commotion, fled from Britain to Rome, and induced Claudius to undertake the subjection of the island, the greater portion of which had hitherto been ruled by petty princes in the interest of the Romans. It seems probable that CO. F. is to be read *Comii filius*, which would be in accordance with the formula of the Roman coins of the same period, the characters in which the legend is inscribed being also Roman; but the Comius referred to (if really implied) can scarcely be the chief of that name who acted for Cæsar in his invasion of Britain. Comius may indeed be the latinized form of a Celtic *title*, and not merely a name.”

In bringing these hasty jottings to a close, I beg to urge upon the members and friends of the Society, the desirableness of their depositing such antiquities as they may possess in our nascent Museum at Lewes Castle. Objects, intrinsically of little value in private hands, would, by classification and illustration, become valuable and important, and most efficiently subserve one of the principal uses of an Archæological Society.

ON THE OPENING OF A BARROW AT CROWLINK,
IN FRISTON.

BY MR. WILLIAM FIGG.



BARROW AT CROWLINK.

EVERY person who has travelled on the South Downs must have observed the numerous tumuli, or, as they are locally called, "*burghs*," scattered over their surface. In some districts they occur much more frequently than in others, but it is impossible to go any great distance without meeting with them.

"These tumuli are generally found on barren ground ; on commons, moors, sometimes on parochial grounds, near villages, of no great name or importance in history."¹

These barrows were raised over the remains of the dead, and, from their contents, it appears that this mode of interment was used by the several nations who at intervals inhabited Britain. This mode of marking the sites of interments appears to be of the greatest antiquity, and to have been almost universal previous to the Christian era.

"Many quotations, from the most early writers, have been made, which only prove the universal adoption of raising artificial mounds of earth over the dead, to perpetuate their funeral honours. 'Sux sunt metis metæ.'

¹ Nenia Britannica, p. 1.

They were considered of a more lasting nature than other kinds of memorials. The obelisk, or the pyramid, may be rased to the ground; but the more humble structures of earth might withstand the spoiler's labour, and retain their identities to the period of the world's destruction."²

Without any farther remarks, I will proceed to describe the Barrow. On the 28th of February, 1852, in company with two active members of our Society, Mr. Mark Antony Lower and Mr. J. T. Auckland, I had an opportunity of witnessing the opening of a barrow on the Down, called Bailey's Hill, forming the south-eastern corner of Crowlink farm, in the parish of Friston, in the occupation of Mr. John Guy, who kindly permitted us to make the examination.

This barrow, which is now only a few yards from the edge of the cliff, is about 33 feet in diameter, and rises scarcely more than two feet above the surrounding Down in the highest part; a considerable quantity of large flints had been brought to the spot, for the purpose of raising the mound.

It had been first opened by Mr. Auckland, a few days previously, when, on digging into the side on the N.W., a circular hearth was discovered, formed on the surface of the ground, surrounded by a series of fragments of large chalk boulders, or masses of chalk, worn into rounded forms by the action of the sea, and which had evidently been brought from the beach, and broken in pieces, in order to their being placed together in a circle, as shown in the woodcut, at No. 1. These stones bore strong evidences of the action of fire, but nothing more was found than portions of charcoal, together with burnt earth, and fragments of bones charred.

On commencing operations, on the 28th of February, the men continued the trench towards the S.E., and shortly discovered the northernmost skeleton;³ it was found lying on the back, with the head towards the S.W., the arms placed across the body, and the legs gathered up, with the knees together. On further search the second skeleton was found, the position was similar to that of the first, the legs gathered up, but the knees spread. These skeletons, which

² *Nenia Britannica*, p. 157.

³ There seems to be a tradition in this neighbourhood that the persons buried in barrows were warriors in armour; during the progress of our diggings, one of the labourers observed, "He was looking out for the man that was buried in a 'coat of arms.'"

were tolerably perfect, except the skulls, were interred on the highest part of the tumulus, at a very short depth below the surface, scarcely more than a foot. Nothing more was found in digging in this direction; but on opening the north-eastern side of the barrow, another place (No. 2) was found, with every appearance of having been used for the purpose of cremation. Instead of a hearth constructed on the surface of the ground, this was a hole sunk in the earth, about two feet in diameter, and one foot six inches in depth; in the centre of the bottom of which was another hole, of about one foot in diameter, and six or eight inches deep: the interior of these bore strong marks of fire, and the contents consisted of quantities of charcoal and burnt turf, with some fragments of bones, apparently human; and, at the bottom of the smaller hole, the middle portion of a human lower jaw was found, covered with half-burnt turf.

During the progress of the excavation not anything, either of metal or pottery, could be discovered, although the earth thrown out was carefully examined.

Any attempt to arrive at the probable date of barrows, in which no articles, either of metal or pottery, are found, is attended with much uncertainty. It is quite evident that, in the present case, this tumulus has been made use of for interment at two different periods, one in which it was the custom to bury the body entire, the other during which it was customary to burn the body. It seems now to be generally considered, that the usage of interment without burning is the most ancient of any.

“It is allowed by all writers, that the northern nations, from the most remote period of antiquity, adopted the same mode of interment; and, as their successive irruptions into Britain must have blended their sepulchral remains, great difficulty will doubtless occur to those who attempt their history.”⁴

“Cæsar says, the Gauls burnt their dead;⁵ the Belgæ were these Gauls: the Belgæ of Britain, therefore, burnt their dead. The barrows in Britain prove the fact. The large isolated barrows on waste lands contain urns and burnt bones; they also contain bones in their natural state;⁶ the body buried

⁴ Nenia, p. 155.

⁵ Lib. vi.

⁶ From its size, the barrow at Friston is one of those which Douglas calls *large* barrows.

without burning: the former, perhaps, were the Belgic Gauls; the latter, the Celtic Britons; a more primitive people, who adopted the most early rites of burial. These barrows have been proved to have exceeded the Roman times by the nature of their contents; this inference may therefore be permitted.”⁷

Such is the opinion expressed by Mr. Douglas many years since, upon the probable date of these barrows, and which subsequent observation has confirmed.

There are several passages in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute, describing the opening of a variety of barrows on the Wiltshire Downs; in which modern discoveries have brought to light some interesting facts connected with the interments of the early inhabitants of this country; and which also show that the same barrow had been made use of to deposit the remains of the dead at different periods.

It may be observed, before making a few short extracts from the volume above mentioned, that in several instances in the Wiltshire barrows, where skeletons were found entire, and in a “crouching posture,” urns were found with them. It seems, however, that these urns, which contained the bones of children, must have been subsequently buried, as in every instance they were found at a less depth than that of the body over which the barrow was originally cast up.

“At the centre, eighteen inches below the surface, were fragments of a coarse unornamented vase, containing the bones of a child, which had cut its first teeth but had not changed them. In the chalk rubble were numerous pieces of deer’s ribs. Two feet six inches from the surface was the skeleton of an adult; the thigh-bones measured fourteen and a half inches, the whole frame compressed, the right hand turned back under the wrist, the left laid across the face, the bones of the fore-arm between the upper and lower jaws; the skull fractured into minute portions. The crouched posture of the skeleton, the rudeness of the vase with the bones of the child, the flat form and insulated position of the barrow, assign it to the earliest period of sepulture.”⁸

“At fourteen inches deep were the fragments of a small plain urn, containing the *unburnt* bones of a child. At something under three feet was the skeleton of an adult, in the crouched position, without any urn.”⁹

“At a depth of five feet below these (heads of two oxen), and ten feet

⁷ Nenia, p. 191.

⁸ Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute, pp. 82, 83.

⁹ Ibid. p. 94.

from the top, was the skeleton of an adult, in many parts much decayed, but in the crouched position, lying on the left side."¹⁰

With this skeleton were found a small ornamental urn, a flint arrow-head, and a spear-head of the same material. At p. 110, two other bodies are noticed, as found lying in a 'crouched posture.' At p. 87, the author of the paper above quoted (the late Rev. Dr. Merewether) observes:—

"My researches in the last three days had been specially successful. I had found instances of the *earliest* mode of British sepulture, with the *crouched* and *unburnt* skeleton, and its rude unbaked urn; then the first indication of a change of custom in this essential particular, mostly the last to be altered,—interment by cremation, derived from the Roman conquerors, whilst the tumulus was retained; and then a still further innovation,—the deposit of all kinds of broken pottery, iron nails," &c. &c.

"Conclusions derived from the various *forms* of barrows seem uncertain; but three different modes of depositing the dead are clearly shown, and to a certain extent their relative antiquity.

"Of these different kinds of interment, I am of opinion (says Sir R. C. Hoare) that the one of burying the dead entire, with the legs gathered up, was the *most ancient*; that the custom of cremation succeeded, and prevailed with the former; and that the mode of burying the dead entire, and extended at full length, was of the latest adoption."¹¹

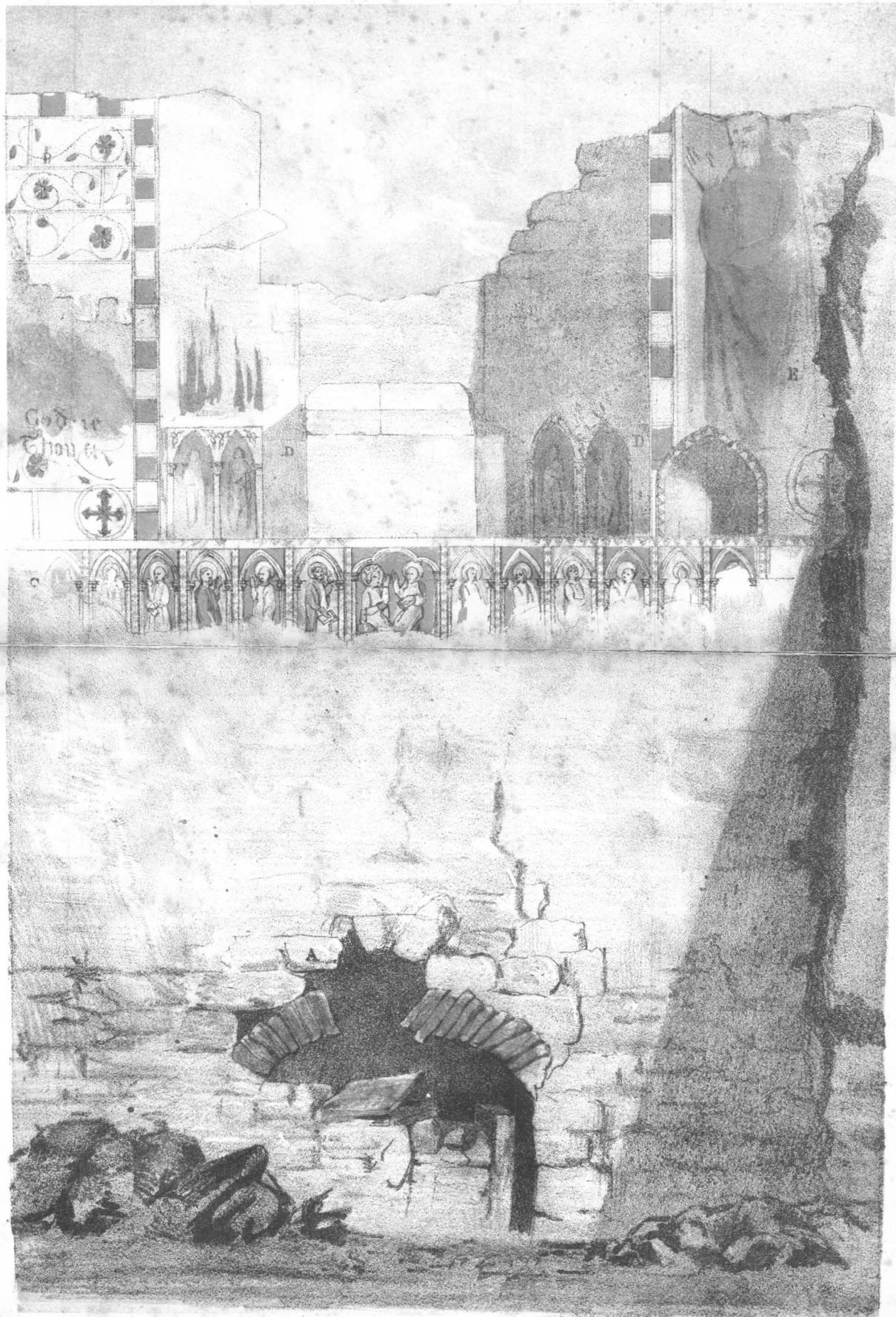
The comparison of relics discovered in other and distant parts of the kingdom, enables us to arrive at facts, and to ascertain data, from which to judge of the general habits and customs of our 'rude forefathers;' and it is singular thus to find, that the early inhabitants of the Wiltshire Downs were in the particular custom of interring their dead, nearly, if not quite, identical with the people of the Sussex hills; from which fact, it may not be unfair to conclude, that in their more ordinary usages and modes of life, they assimilated.

These remarks are presented to the Society, with a view of attracting the attention of Members to the subject of which it treats; and also for the purpose of eliciting further information

¹⁰ Salisbury volume, p. 105.

¹¹ Ibid. pp. 2, 3.

upon the sepulchral remains of the ancient inhabitants of the South Downs, from those persons whose investigations and studies have been such as to enable them, "by contemplating the relics discovered in our ancient sepultures," to add to the knowledge of the progress of mankind from the earliest times.



ON SOME ANTIQUITIES LATELY DISCOVERED

IN

ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH, CHICHESTER.

BY THE REV. PHILIP FREEMAN.

READ AT THE CHICHESTER MEETING, DECEMBER 30, 1851.

THE design of the following paper is simply to place on record some objects of interest lately brought to view in St. Olave's Church, in this city; and to bring together, from the usual sources, such information as is necessary to a just appreciation of them.

Those who were acquainted with the appearance of the Church previous to the recent works, will remember that both the interior and exterior were alike unsightly, and promised but little, either to awaken the admiration, or excite the interest of lovers of church architecture. This reproach is now, in some degree at least, removed: enough having been brought to light to give the entire structure claims upon our attention on the grounds of unusual antiquity; while among the details of later date, one at least will be found not altogether unworthy of the period to which it belongs—the very palmiest period of Gothic architecture.

On removing the floor of the chancel (to which there was an ascent of several steps from the nave), an undercroft, or vault, was brought to view, which not long since was used as a cellar, extending to a depth of about six feet below the chancel floor. In the wall at the eastern end was found an opening, as of a window or doorway, having a circular arch. The peculiarity of structure observable in this arched opening was the first circumstance which drew attention to the entire fabric, and suggested a more than commonly watchful and cautious search for further antiquities: a search which has been rewarded by the discovery of some features of novel interest.

Before, however, I describe these, or adduce the presumptive evidence which there is in favour of the Saxon origin of some

of them, it may be well to offer, by way of preface, some observations on the general question of Saxon architecture.

The exceeding rarity¹ of Saxon remains renders it quite an event in archæology or ecclesiology, when an undoubted fresh instance is added to those which are already ascertained. An unwonted interest attaches to even a probable discovery of this kind. But of course the same consideration must dictate a cautious weighing of facts, before we venture to decide that such and such remains are really Saxon.

Now we may distinguish, I conceive, two dates or periods² of Saxon architecture. The one, the later, more closely resembling the Norman style which succeeded it; the other, the earlier, having more affinity to the Roman, of which it was a rude imitation. To speak first of the *later*-Saxon period. There must have been—indeed we know historically that there were—a great number of churches built in the reigns of the Danish or Saxon kings, who more immediately preceded the Norman Conquest. And of these more especially a part at least must, by the nature of things, have survived. Accordingly, it is the opinion of some archæologists, that many of the remains which are now indiscriminately classed together as *Norman*, are really of *ante*-Norman, therefore of *Saxon*, though *late* Saxon, origin. Until the revival of accurate ecclesiastical study, in late years, it is well known that *Norman* remains were very generally thought, or called, *Saxon*; and we seem now to be going into somewhat of an opposite extreme. We are apt to think that nothing can belong to Saxon architecture, not even to the latest period of it, which does not present some of the strongly distinguishing features of that style; such as “long-and-short masonry,” “herring-bone masonry,” “square edged string courses,” “windows with a swelling baluster,” “apertures splayed the contrary way to the Norman,”—(viz. from the outside to the in)—or the like. Now surely this is somewhat unreasonable. Let us look at the state of the question. We know that early Norman

¹ See an interesting paper on Brixworth Church, by Rev. G. A. Poole, p. 30, et seq.

² The editor of the Pictorial History of England takes the same view: “Shortly after the ninth or tenth century the Anglo-Saxon architecture merged into that modification of Romanesque, which, regarding the source whence we derived it, we rightly name Norman. The introduction of this style forms a second period in Anglo-Saxon architecture,” &c.

masonry was often of an extremely rude character ; we need go no further than the arches of the choir and nave of our own cathedral for a proof of this. But plainer specimens even than these may be seen in many a country church ; for the cathedral exhibits shafts with cushion capitals, ornamented or plain ; whereas we sometimes find a perfectly plain circular arch, without the slightest ornament, without shafts at the sides, or mouldings either to the face or edge of the arch, and having for the impost or spring of the arch a simple horizontal rib, bevilled underneath, and sometimes channelled with a groove along the lower part of the face. Now, why may not such an arch as this be late Saxon, as probably as early Norman ? Nay, is not the presumption very often in favour of its Saxon origin : viz., in cases where Domesday Book, or other documentary evidence, shows that a church existed in the place at the Conquest ? For if, as has been well contended, the destruction and disappearance of Saxon churches is to be traced, in cases where the Danes had no hand in it, (as here they can have had none), to the zeal of the Normans in substituting a *richer style* of architecture for one which they thought rude and unworthy of its purpose, it is pretty clear that *they made no change* in instances like this ; for it would defy the art or the rudeness of man to build anything much ruder, or less ornate than such an arch as I have described. The Normans, therefore, may indeed have thrown in the bevilled string-course, by way of appropriating the structure to themselves, just as the Early English architects of our cathedral, at the period of transition from Norman, eked out the round Norman arches with floriated nook-shafts ; but that they were at the pains to pull down the rude Saxon arch, merely to build it up again no less rudely, is incredible. Just therefore as we call our cathedral arches Norman, notwithstanding the Early English shafts attached, so would I plead for calling such arches Saxon, notwithstanding any slight marks of the Norman chisel which they may bear ; though indeed such marks are often altogether wanting. And the truth probably is, that there was a considerable touch of Norman influence in our later Saxon work ; that the active and enterprising Northmen had paved the way to a revolution in architecture, no less than in government, some time before

they actually dispossessed the Saxon either in the one or the other. *Normano-Saxon* would probably be a term justly applied to the later Saxon edifices.

In one part of our cathedral, though in only one that I am aware of, there occurs a case exactly in point. The opening which forms the chancel arch of the old subdeanery church—being in fact an arch of communication between the north transept of the cathedral and a building which was perhaps the old chapter-house,—this opening is exactly what I have described above. Now here the evidence, and the consequent presumption *against* a *Norman* origin for that arch, is peculiarly strong. We know that the see was removed hither from Selsey in 1070, four years after the Conquest. And the common account, that the works were begun by the next bishop Radulfus or Ralph, accords very well with the character of the architecture of the nave, choir, and transepts, already described. We have before us, in short, a specimen of very early Norman. Is it credible that the same men who built thus nobly, with such ornament as the style of the day admitted, and the dignity of a cathedral church demanded, built also the poor and tame specimen of circular architecture I speak of? It is incredible. It is far more probable that they found it there when they commenced the new cathedral, and afterwards, finding it work in well with their transept wall, suffered it to remain. But if they found it there, there is a strong presumption that it belonged to Saxon times; for, first of all, as has been already observed, it was not worth the Normans' while to rebuild it, to substitute one so poor in character; and next, William of Malmesbury tells us, that the site chosen was one "where anciently stood the monastery of St. Peter;"—"ubi antiquitus fuerat monasterium Sancti Petri." "Antiquitus" may either mean "long before the Conquest," or William of Malmesbury may be measuring from his own days (temp. Stephen), and mean that the monastery was then first suppressed, and its site appropriated. Either way, it is evident that at the time when the cathedral was built, there was something to mark it as ancient ecclesiastical property. Nothing is more likely than that the church of the monastery of St. Peter was adopted as the germ, so to speak, of the present cathedral, both architecturally and ecclesiastically. Architecturally it

was allowed to regulate the position of the building, the site of its nave being adopted as that of the north transept; an arrangement to which parallel instances might easily be adduced; the nave of a smaller early church, becoming sometimes the chancel, sometimes the aisle³ or the transept, of a larger and subsequent one. Ecclesiastically, again, it is very conceivable that the old monastic church may have been used for the cathedral services, until the erection of the present choir. Or the old church may have long ceased to be monastic (taking William of Malmesbury's words literally), and have been already, even in that day, the parish church of St. Peter. Domesday Book testifies that there was a church in Chichester at the Conquest, though it mentions only one. It has been supposed that the Church of All Saints must have been the one intended, because it is described as being a peculiar of the archbishop's, as All Saints now is. The architectural presumption is, however, of the two in favour of the subdeanery church having been intended, if we give up the supposition of a conventual church of St. Peter. But indeed St. Olave's, as will be seen hereafter, is most likely to have been, at that day, the sole parish church, if there was but one. I prefer, therefore, the former supposition, viz., that the conventual church of St. Peter was incorporated into the cathedral, and that the arch in question formed a portion of it. On either hypothesis, however, it will be seen that we already, even previous to the late discovery, possessed on Chichester ground remains which may at least very plausibly claim to be of Saxon origin,—a genuine remnant of the days before the Normans, though most probably a comparatively late instance of the style.

I trust I shall not be thought to have digressed unwarrantably from our subject, in prosecuting this inquiry. The question as to which is the *Prot-ecclesia* of a city or diocese, the spot on which we may trace the earliest foot-prints of Christianity in our own neighbourhood, must ever be an interesting one; and in order to decide upon the claims for this honour, set up by any new discovery, it is necessary to weigh any others which may have been hitherto in possession of the field.

³ As at St. Mary's, Astbury, Cheshire.

Having seen then that, ancient as is the Norman structure of our venerable cathedral, it embodies, probably, some remains of a more ancient Saxon predecessor, let us inquire on what grounds the newly-exhumed remains of St. Olave's may be assigned to an equal or higher antiquity, and reckoned among the productions of one or other of those two Saxon periods into which I have said that the Saxon style seems divisible.

Now, it needs little discernment to perceive in the exceeding *rudeness* of the masonry of the arch before us (A) (as compared, for example, with the supposed Saxon arch in the cathedral), an indication of a considerable period having intervened between the erection of the two. But such observations are too general to found any certainty upon, and we must, therefore, seek to fix by more exact *criteria* the place to be assigned to this arch in the chronology of architecture. Now, on a close examination of it, it so closely corresponds, both in materials and construction, with the arches in the well-known church of Brixworth,⁴ Northamptonshire, that we can hardly hesitate to pronounce it a coeval structure. It will be seen, that, far from being formed of regular truncated wedge-shaped *voussoirs*, like the more perfect arches of later Saxon and Norman, it presents merely the edges of tiles, radiating very irregularly from a centre, but held together by, and compacted into one mass with the mortar; while the walls consist, in parts, of stone loosely bonded together; in other parts, of small square tiles. Both these, and the longer tiles in the arch, examination proves to be *Roman*; and it will be found, on the whole, that the following terms, in which the remarks of Mr. Poole, already alluded to, describe the masonry of Brixworth Church, will describe no less properly that which is before us:—

“Stone is employed indiscriminately, and with it a great number of Roman bricks, supplied by an encampment which stood within three hundred yards of the church. But the Roman brick, though used as rubble, is also used systematically in the turning of the arches; and this in a manner which gives it a very peculiar effect. The bricks so used are about two feet in depth” (sixteen inches by eleven in St. Olave's), “and for the large arches two courses are used; [for the smaller ones a single course only].”

The correspondence is, indeed, most perfect; for within a few yards of this very spot Roman remains have been found in

⁴ See Glossary of Arch., vol. iii, pl. 30, f. 1, and pl. 4, f. 1.

abundance. A well-known inscription, belonging to a temple of Neptune and Minerva, was formerly dug up here, within a hundred yards or so of this spot; and for aught we know, these tiles may have been taken from the original temple itself. Now the date of Brixworth Church seems historically ascertained, and it mounts up to the astonishing antiquity of A. D. 690 or 700, scarcely 100 years after St. Augustine set his foot upon English ground, and only ten or twenty after St. Wilfred founded the bishopric at Selsey (680). It is well known that Wilfred received a charter from Cædwalla, king of Wessex, bearing date 680. This seems to fall in most curiously with the supposition that this was one of the first churches founded here under the Saxon rule,—contemporary with Selsey. The date of Brixworth is fixed by an authentic record of the erection, by Saxulphus, abbot of Medehamstede (now Peterborough),⁵ of certain cells dependent on his monastery, of which Brixworth was one. This, combined with the architectural evidence, is now generally admitted as satisfactory proof of the antiquity claimed for Brixworth. Such, then, is the date which, I conceive, antiquarians would claim, and claim justly, for the remains of St. Olave's; and if the claim be admitted, it certainly places the fabric of this church immeasurably in advance, in point of antiquity, of all churches in this city, and probably in this diocese too. The date is the date of Ethelred, King of Mercia, 675-704.

Two questions, however, may be reasonably asked, tending to impugn, in opposite directions, the correctness of the date thus assigned, and to make it earlier or later than I have said. First, Why may not this arch be *Roman*—the remains of the very temple already spoken of? for arches of this kind confessedly approximate in character to debased Roman. But the answer is to be found in the nature of the *mortar* employed. Roman mortar contains a small quantity of *pounded brick*; of this no trace was found, either in the Brixworth mortar or here; therefore, the arch, though of Roman material, is not Roman. But again, Why may not they be the work of a much later age—the arch an 'arch of construction' carelessly thrown in, and constructed in an unworkmanlike manner? The answer is to be found, partly in the improba-

⁵ Glossary of Architecture, vol. iii, p. 2.

bility of a return to such primitive modes of building, but chiefly in the circumstance of the *low level* at which this structure stands. It is at this level—about six feet below the average level of the city hereabouts—that the Roman pavements and other remains have been found. The structure can hardly, on this account, be referred to a period *very long* subsequent to the Roman rule in Britain. The date, then, to which we are helped by the parallel of Brixworth, would seem to stand thus far unimpugned.

I proceed to mention other features, which subsequent examination brought to light.

On the north side of the chancel, at the same low level as the arch already described, was found another arch, of low segmental form, overlaid in part with large Roman tiles. In the south side of the nave, not far from the west end, a doorway of peculiar and interesting character was discovered, on removing the inner surface of the wall, composed of a soft chalk-stone. The remarkable features of it are, that it is of semicircular form, but perfectly plain, without impost or ornament of any kind, and that both the door itself, and the headway, in the thickness of the wall, on the inner side of it, are extremely narrow in proportion to their height. The



Doorway, S. side of Nave.

width of the doorway is but two feet one inch, its height nearly seven feet; the headway, or recessed opening in front of the doorway, is two feet eight inches wide, and about eight feet four inches high.

On the face of the north jamb, near the spring of the arch, is a plain incised cross, doubtless marking one of the spots which were touched by the chrism at the consecration of the church. This then comes in to prove the ante-reformation date of the doorway, which might else have been conjectured to belong to the *renaissance* or cinque-cento period (1500-1600) when the circular arch reappeared as an imitation of the Græco-Roman styles. Belonging, however, as this mark

proves, to an earlier period, its peculiar plainness forbids us (as before explained) to ascribe it to the Norman style; so that it may with safety be referred to the Saxon period. At the same time the excellence of the masonry, which is smoothly ashlarred, and the voussoirs fitting accurately to each other, render it impossible to class it with the ruder archway above described. It resembles, in a word, though still plainer in character, the arch of communication before mentioned as occurring in our cathedral, and can hardly be far removed from it in point of date. And there are historical considerations connected with the dedication of the church, which seem to limit us, in assigning a date, to the last few years of the Saxon rule. St. Olaus or Olaf, in whose honour the church is dedicated, was a king of Norway,—the second of that name. In the year 1014 he came over to England, to assist Ethelred II in repelling the Danes. For this service he was held in grateful recollection by the Saxons; and, accordingly, when, on his dying in battle in his own country, in 1028 or 1030, he was canonized in consideration of his having reintroduced Christianity (derived from this country) among his countrymen, churches were dedicated in his honour in various parts of England. The best-known of these is that which stands near old London Bridge, and is better known as Tooley, or St. Tooley's Church, a name which it gives also to the adjacent street. In a map of Chichester bearing date 1610, St. Olave's church is called 'Toolies.' By a similar corruption, St. Osyth in Essex, is commonly known as Tusey, or Tusith; and 'Taudry's' (St. Audrey's or Etheldreda's) fair, held at a place now called Erith, near Ely, is said to have given the name of 'tawdry' to the tinsel kind of ornament which was the chief article there traded in. We can hardly err, I conceive, in assigning an ante-Norman date, as a general rule, to churches dedicated to St. Olave, since the Normans were under no such obligation to him as would induce them to hold him in honour, and we may conclude, therefore, from the conjoint testimony of the form of this doorway and of the dedication, that the structure to which the former belongs, was erected somewhere between A.D. 1030 and 1066.

If then our conclusions, derived from the two arches which have now been described, are soundly based, we have on the

site of this little edifice, and forming part of it, remains of two successive buildings, the one belonging to the earliest, the other to the latest period of the Saxon rule: a thing of which it would probably be difficult to find a second example.

To return now to the eastern wall of the chancel. On carefully unmasking it, and removing the whitewash, it was first of all found that the east window, which had till now appeared as a fourteenth century window of three lights, had originally been Norman. East windows of a single light, such as at Marden (though this perhaps is Saxon) and at Stoughton, and Early English ones, as at Rumboldswyke, are not uncommon in this neighbourhood. At St. Olave's the sill of the later window having been placed at a higher level than that of the original one, the lower part of the broad splays of the latter had not been destroyed, but only filled in with masonry.

In connection with this window, was brought to light the curious and beautiful series of frescoes, shown in the coloured lithograph. The diaper (B) seems to have belonged to the eleventh century, and doubtless covered the entire wall. Like other Norman frescoes of that date (as at Ely), it exhibits an imitation of masonry-jointing, which modern taste justly condemns, and which, till lately, had been supposed to be a device of the 'churchwarden' period exclusively. About 100 or 150 years later (A.D. 1250-1300) there must have been superimposed, upon a fresh plaster, the rich and finely executed band of figures (C), which appears immediately below the window. The colours were found in excellent preservation. It will be seen that there are thirteen compartments, separated from each other by a band, representing either the toothed ornament which began to prevail in this period of transition from Norman to Early English, or the later quatrefoil. The central compartment contains a trefoil-headed arch, such as may be seen in the reredos of the chapel, which forms the eastern end of the north aisle, in the nave of our cathedral. The rest of the arches are somewhat obtusely pointed. The capitals both here, and in the similar arches depicted upon the window splays, are floriated in accordance with the style. The shafts are chevroned in an alternate manner; an ornament of occasional, though not very frequent occurrence, in Norman shafts. The string-course above is also chevroned.

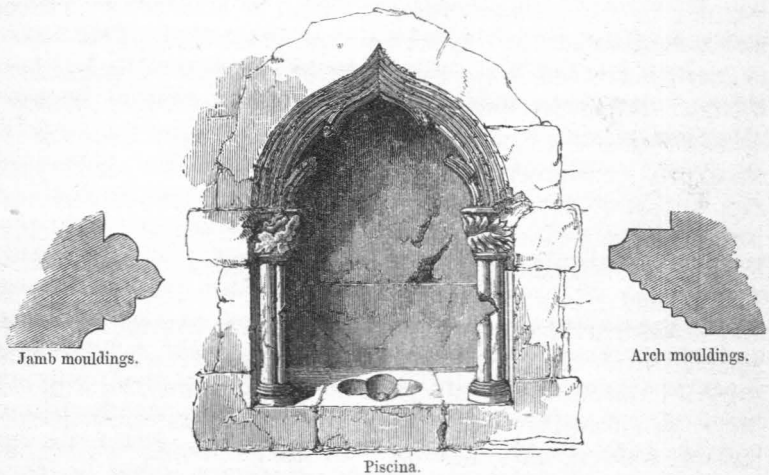
There is much appearance of transition Norman-work in all this. It is possible, however, that it may be imitation work of the Decorated period. Thus at Stedham church (see *Sussex Archæol. Coll.* vol. IV), we have the Norman cable moulding reproduced in fifteenth century work. The ground of these compartments is alternately red and green. The subject of the central compartment is evidently the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, represented in the customary manner. She is seated on one throne, and our Lord on another, in the act of crowning her. The remaining twelve figures were, in the first instance, not unnaturally conjectured to be the Twelve Apostles. On examining, however, the alternate figures, those on the red ground were clearly seen to be females. They may, therefore, consist of six saints, and as many virgins, in attendance, probably, on our Lord, and His Mother, respectively. One only, St. Peter, having the keys, can be identified by his cognizance. Four more niched figures appear on the jambs of the window (D); one of larger size on the wall flanking it (E). The large figure on the right of the window is too faintly discernible to be capable of identification.

One remarkable, and indeed unaccountable discovery, made in this part of the building, remains to be stated.

Two Roman urns, of plain character, were found imbedded in the wall *above the arch of the east window*. They were placed on their sides, with their mouths facing inwards towards the church; and there was some appearance of their having originally been open. For what purpose, or under what feeling, these urns were placed in this singular position, it is difficult to conjecture. The fact would seem to tally well with the supposition that this was an ancient ecclesiastical site. The ashes or relics of martyrs might have been enclosed in these receptacles in early times, and the vessels preserved, when, at a later period, the wall was raised, and a new window inserted. Though, indeed, it is well deserving of consideration, whether this curious discovery does not indicate a still more primitive origin than has been above claimed for the singular arch which occurs in the lower part of this wall. It has been conjectured, by more than one able antiquary, that the aperture in question might be no other than part of one of the ancient Roman

columbaria. These were sepulchral buildings, having small apertures like pigeon-holes, for the reception of urns. Such a one was discovered in the Appian Way, anno 1726, supposed to be that of Livia, the wife of Augustus.⁶ At what time, or under what idea, this sepulchral building, with its inurned remains, was adopted as part of the foundation of a Christian church, must be mere conjecture. It is also conceivable that the remains may have been those of martyrs—martyrs of the days of St. Alban (about A.D. 303) perhaps, and fellow-sufferers of his, in the days when Britain was still Roman.

We have now traced by the light of the lately-discovered remains, conjecturally indeed as to the earlier stages, the architectural history of this little church from early, or even the earliest Christian times, down to the end of the twelfth century. We have seen in it possibly Roman work of the first century; plausibly Roman-Saxon of the seventh; pretty certainly Norman-Saxon of the eleventh; unquestionably Norman of the same century; and Transition-Norman of the twelfth. But one stage more of any importance remains. The church, in the beginning of the fourteenth century (1300-1310) must have assumed in the main the appearance which, until the



recent restorations, it presented. One beautiful feature of this period has been brought to light in the North wall of the nave,

⁶ Vide Facciolati in v. Columbarium, and Fabretti, there cited.

the elegantly-worked piscina shown in the woodcut. The foliage of the capitals, and other details, so closely resemble those of St. Mary's Hospital, in this city, that they may well be supposed to have proceeded from the same hand. Lying over the pipe-hole of the drain of the piscina there was found a small loose stone cap or stopper, carved into the resemblance of an animal's face.

The restoration now in progress has been conducted with the most watchful care, on the part of the churchwardens and others, for the bringing to light, and for the preservation, so far as was possible, of antiquities. The eastern wall, however, with its curious varied chronicle, architectural and pictorial, of the successive ages of the Church's history, it has unfortunately been found necessary to demolish; and, with the exception of the Roman urns, and some fragments of the frescoes, will survive only in this imperfect record, and in the careful and elaborate representation of it, for which the Association is indebted to the skill and kindness of Mr. E. J. Butler. The later Saxon arch in the nave, and the piscinas in the north and south walls will, however, survive. The debased window and doorway which had long disfigured the west end will be restored, in accordance with the fourteenth century features of the church; and a poppy head of the fourteenth, or perhaps the fifteenth century, happily survived, to hand on the ancient type to the open seats which will replace the pews of a later period.

P.S. As the view advanced in the preceding paper of the very early Saxon, or even Roman, antiquity of the singular arch in St. Olave's church, has obtained currency in various ways, and amongst others, through the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine (February, 1852), it is right to state that this view has also been seriously called in question, by an intelligent correspondent of the same periodical. On a matter so open to conjecture, I should be far indeed from wishing to claim anything like certainty for the opinion which, in common with antiquaries of some note and experience, I have been led to entertain: rather am I anxious that all considerations *per*

contra, should be allowed the utmost weight that is due to them. I will therefore briefly state the views and objections of "Mr. Urban's" correspondent, only adding the grounds upon which I think them inconclusive against the antiquity of these remains. It is contended then, that the arch and jambs under consideration probably formed an entrance to the crypt; that the shape of the arch is not, as has been represented, circular, but segmental pointed; that the jambs are of the same coarse sand-stone as is used in other parts of the church, and that the mortar used in the arch is made of the ordinary white-lime; that no other Roman materials have been found, except some more tiles, similar to these, over an arch in the north wall of the chancel; and that it is evident that the crypt, approached by the supposed Saxon arch, formed part of the original design, from the elevated position of the windows above. This writer is disposed to concede the late Saxon date of the doorway in the nave; but supposes this to be the only part of the original church remaining. He concludes with saying that "much as he might have wished to coincide with those who have ascribed such an extraordinary age to this structure, he fears it cannot be done without committing an error."

The above representation is plausible, but there are, it seems to me, objections to it, both on the score of fact and argument. First of all, the quantity of Roman remains found, besides those in the arch, whose Roman character is not denied by this writer, has been considerable: viz., other large tiles, both in the north arch of the chancel and the south wall of the nave, and some herring-bone work higher in the east wall, and small square tiles, in vast numbers, all along the lower part of the south walls; and lastly, since the date of the earlier part of this letter, have been found the two Roman urns embedded in the east wall. All these things indicate, surely, a Roman site, and the existence of stores of Roman materials to draw from, at the time of the first erection of the church. At what date they were first employed for this purpose is a further question, but I venture to observe, that *free use* of Roman materials furnishes, as a general rule, a fair presumption of early date in a building. For what conceivable reason should twelfth-century builders be at the pains of interpolating the original

eleventh-century work (as according to this writer's view they must have done) with odds and ends of Roman materials in the way of arches and low basement-work? It is at least far more natural, if there be no insuperable objection weighing against it, to suppose that this lower structure, consisting in great part of Roman material, belongs to the oldest stage of the fabric; since it would be so clearly convenient for the builders, having some Roman edifice at hand, to draw largely from it for the new structure. And if this is once conceded, the arch is already, by this writer's admission, elevated to the Saxon period. But there is the objection of its alleged segmental-pointed character. Here again, however, we are at issue as to the matter of fact. It is unfortunate that the crown of the arch had suffered so seriously by the insertion of a beam, as to render its shape doubtful, and impart to it an appearance (*see lithograph*) certainly approximating to the segmental-pointed, though of so obtuse a character as to render it suspicious. My own impression, from personal inspection, is still firm that it was originally semicircular externally, and that the sides have become distorted by the removal of the crown of the arch; the soffit would become segmental from the irregular radiations of the tiles. A comparison of their arrangement in the construction of the arch with that figured in Gloss. Arch., vol. 3, pl. xxx, favours the view of its circularity. The argument from the lime or the sand-stone cannot be much relied upon. Supposing these objections, then, surmounted, there only remains the allegation that this archway was, after all, but the entrance to a crypt—a crypt coeval, at earliest, with the later Saxon church; but to this view, a conclusive answer may be given. A closer examination of the aperture showed that the jambs did not extend to the ground at all, but terminated at about three feet from the original floor-line, and, at this height, a sill was carefully formed of a horizontal layer of Roman tiles. The aperture was therefore plainly not a door at all, but a window; a fact which is all but decisive against the opinion of its being an opening to a crypt, and strongly countenances that which was taken above, that this wall was the eastern wall of the church itself, since this aperture would so well serve as an east window to it. Supposing once

more all this conceded, the parallel of the Brixworth architecture comes in to furnish a strong presumption that the original structure, of which this arch formed part, was coeval with the end of the seventh century. And the only objection which occurs to me is, that the walls are far less thick here than at Brixworth; this, however, might well result from the far grander scale of that church as compared with the humble dimensions which seem, from the first, to have belonged to St. Olave's, Chichester.⁷

⁷ The nave measures 25 ft. by 18 ft.; the chancel 16 ft. 6 in. long; and the east wall, seen in the lithograph, is 12 ft. 6 in. wide.

SUBSIDY COLLECTED FROM THE CLERGY OF
SUSSEX, IN 3^o RICHARD II (A. D. 1380),

COPIED FROM INEDITED MSS.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

A PORTION of the Subsidy Roll collected from the Laity in Sussex, in 1296, was printed in the *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, II, p. 288, and a reference was there made to the Clerical Subsidy of the Diocese of Chichester, in 1380, as giving full particulars of the value of church property at that time in Sussex. Much interesting information may be thankfully derived from the extant series of valuations of clerical property, although they commenced as the questionable boon of English money given by a foreign authority for a remote object, and terminated by a royal and national impulse, under Henry VIII, as the convenient preliminary to confiscation.

After the well-known Taxation of Nicholas IV, in 1291, which arose from the temporary grant of the Tenths usually paid to Rome by that Pope to King Edward I in aid of a crusade, the detailed returns of the Nonæ, in 1342, carry forward to that period our knowledge of the resources of the Sussex clergy as well as the laity. A general account has also been given by an eminent antiquary, Mr. Topham, in *Archæologia*, vii, 537, of the produce of a Subsidy granted by the clergy in 1377, when a personal tax of 12*d.* was levied on every beneficed ecclesiastic, every abbot or abbess, prior or prioress, canon or canoness, monk or other regular, of whatever order, sex, or condition, except the mendicant orders; and also a tax of 4*d.* on every priest, subdeacon, acolyte, or other tonsured person, above fourteen years of age. The diocese of Chichester contributed to this Subsidy the sum of 26*li.* 9*s.*, which was collected from 473 beneficed and 168 non-beneficed persons.

In 1380 another Clerical Subsidy was granted to King Richard II; and as the tax was partly on the value of property, and partly personal, the returns made may form a useful addition to our statistical knowledge of the county. In the archdeaconry of Chichester the return is very complete, and indicates accurately the interest held in it by the various

monastic establishments, both English and Foreign, and preserves to us also the names of many ancient incumbents. In the other half of the county, the archdeaconry of Lewes, the MS. presents us with the return of the personal tax only, without the interesting details of property, which we should have wished to complete a comprehensive view of its value in Sussex.

The collectors themselves were ecclesiastics. In the archdeaconry of Chichester the return was made by the abbot and convent of Premonstratensian canons of Dureford, in the parish of Rogate, where Henry Hoese had founded an abbey in the 12th century. A charter is extant (Dugd. Mon. vii, 937), granted by King Richard II, confirming to this abbey all their property.

In the archdeaconry of Lewes the collection was entrusted to the abbot and convent of Robertsbridge, near Battle.

The original Latin MSS. are preserved in the Carlton Ride Record Office, marked W.N. 1357, 1358, for the archdeaconry and city of Chichester, and F.L.H. 1231, for the archdeaconry of Lewes.

The words between brackets [] are erased in the MS. The modern names, when materially differing from the ancient, are occasionally added in *italics*; as are also the descriptions of such monastic establishments, alien or English, as are not within the county.

“Particulars of the Account of the Abbot and Convent of Dureford, collectors of the subsidy of *xvi*d. on every Mark of all ecclesiastical goods and benefices whatsoever, either rated¹ for tythe, or not rated; and of 2*s.* on each presbyter, advocate, proctor, and registrar, and notary public, not beneficed, and not paying to the fifteenth,² granted to the King by the Clergy, in the third year of K. Richard II, in the Archdeaconry of Chichester; (the Cathedral Church, and City of Chichester with its suburbs however being excepted,) namely from the aforesaid subsidy as follows:—

ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER.

Spiritualities.

(Bona Spiritualia.)

DEANERY OF STORINGHTON.	Marks.	Subsidy.
		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
From the church of Storinghton	rated 35	46 8
vicar of the same	8	10 8
Prior of Sele . church of Wyssynton (<i>Washington</i>)	25	33 4
vicar of the same	10	13 4
church of Brembre, but not newly rated	10	13 4
church of Launcynge	35	46 8
vicar of the same	8	10 8

¹ The rating having been fixed according to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1272.

² Not contributing to the tax of a fifteenth, laid upon the laity.

	Marks.	Subsidy.	
		s.	d.
The Templars—Somptynge is for the beneficial use of the Hospitallers and is not taxed, but makes a return of value among benefices newly valued.			
From the church of Bradewater, with the chapel of Worthynge	70	7	0
church of Goringe	80	8	0
vicar of the same	10	13	4
church of Parham	12	16	0
church of Grenstede	25	33	4
church of Combes	12	16	0
church of Esshyngton (<i>Ashington</i>)	40s.	4	0
church of Sullyngton	15	20	0
church of Thacham	20	26	8
church of Pulbergh	30	40	0
church of Slindefold	10	13	4
Cathedral Church.—The church of Wysbergh is taxed with the prebend in the Cathedral Church of Chichester, and the Dean has to make a return for it.			
From the vicar of Wysbergh (<i>Wisborough Green</i>)	10	13	4
Prior of Arundel—church of Billyngeshurst	15	20	0
vicar of the same	100s.	10	0
church of Echingefeld (<i>Itchingfield</i>)	10	13	4
church of Rusperr	10	13	4
Prioress of Rusperr—church of Horsham	20	26	8
vicar of the same	15	20	0
church of Nutehurst	10	13	4
church of Ffyndon	40	53	4
vicar of the same	12	16	0
Prioress of Rusperr—church of Warnham	12	16	0
vicar of the same	6½	8	8
church of Ruggewyk	20	26	8
vicar of the same	100s.	10	0
church of Chiltyngton	15	20	0
church of Wistneston (<i>Wiston</i>)	20	26	8
Abbot of Fescamp, } (<i>Benedictine Abbey, in the Pais de Caux, Normandy.</i>) } church of Stenyngge, with the chapel	30	40	0
vicar of the same	12	16	0

705½ marks Total of the rating £470 6s. 8d.; on which the subsidy is £47 0s. 8d.

Estimate of the real value of the Benefices in the said Deanery not taxed for the Tenth, from which the subsidy of 16*d.* from every Mark on two-thirds of the said value is granted to the king, namely :—

		FROM THE	Value.	s.
The Templars .	}	vicar of Sullyngton		40
		church of Wygenholte		40
		church of Gretham		40
		church of Bongeton (<i>Buncton</i>)		40
		vicar of St. Botulph		40
		vicar of Assherst		40
		The church of Somtynge, which was formerly for the beneficial use of the Templars, and is now for that of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England		12
		chantry of Thacham		30
		chantry of Stenynge		30
		chantry of St. Leonard		30
		chantry of Bradewater		30
chantry of Goringe		30		
Total of the Value			£27. 10s. 0 <i>d.</i>	

DEANERY OF ARUNDELL.

		FROM THE	Marks.	Subsidy.	
				s.	d.
Prior of Arundel—	church of Arundell	rated	12	16	0
	vicar of the same		8	10	8
Prioress of Levemenstre—	church of Levemenstre with				
(<i>Lymminster</i>)	Warnecamp		25	33	4
	vicar of the same		8	10	8
The same	church of Climpynge		30	40	0
	vicar of the same		8	10	8
	church of Palingham, (<i>now a manor, extending into Petworth, Kirdford, and Wisborough</i>)	100s.		10s.	
Abbot of Fescamp—	church of West Angmerynge		25	33	4
	vicar of the same		10	13	4
	church of Bargham (<i>Barpham</i>)		10	13	4
	church of Est Angmerynge		25	33	4
	church of Clopham		10	13	4
Cathedral Church [church of Pfferryng, taxed with the prebend in the Cathedral Church of Chichester, and the Dean has to make a return for it in his account.]	vicar of the same		10	13	4
	church of Codelawe (<i>the greater part of this parish having been washed away by the sea, it is now included in Climping</i>)		8	10	8
	church of Ffordes		8	10	8
	church of Middelton		12	16	0
	church of Ffelpham		40	53	4

FROM THE		Marks.	Subsidy.	
			s.	d.
Prior of Arundel—church of Yabeton (<i>Yapton</i>)		15	20	0
	vicar of the same	8	10	8
Prior of Boxgrave—church of Bernham (<i>Barnham</i>)		5	20	0
	vicar of the same	8	10	8
Prior of Boxgrave—church of Walberton		18	24	0
	vicar of the same	15	20	0
	church of Gates (<i>Eastergate</i>)	15	20	0
Prior of Tortington	church of Bersted	4	5	4
	church of Tortington	3	4	0
	church of Madherst	6	8	0
	church of North Stoke	10	13	4
	vicar of Bersted	6½	8	8
	vicar of Tortington	6½	8	8
	vicar of Madherst	6½	8	8
	church of Bury	30	40	0
Bishop of Chichester—church of Hoghton is valued at 10m., and is in the hands of the Bishop of Chichester, wherefore the collectors in the Cathedral Church of Chichester ought to make return in their account. Church of Amberle is valued, together with the manor there, and is in the hands of the same, and the same collectors should answer for it.				
	vicar of the same	8	18	0
Cathedral Church—[church of Burgham, valued at 16m; and the officer of the Cathedral Church of Chichester and the dean make returns for it.]				
	vicar of Burgham (<i>Burpham</i>)	10	13	4
	vicar of South Stoke	100s.	10	0
Prior of Arundel	church of Rustiton	30	40	0
	church of Hampton	10	13	4
488½ marks.	Total valuation, £325. 13s. 4d.; from which the subsidy is £32. 11s. 4d.			

vicar of Rustiton	40s.	chauntry of Weston	30s.
church of Illesham ³	40s.	chauntry of Bernham	30s.
vicar of Polyng	40s.	chauntry of Fferryng	30s.
vicar of Ffelgham (<i>Felpham</i>)	40s.		
18m. 10s.	Total of valuation, £12s. 10s.; [whence the subsidy, 25s.]		

DEANERY OF MIDHURST.

	Marks.	Subsidy.
From the church of Hertynge	valued 50	5 m.
vicar of the same	8	10s 8d
Abbot of Dureford—church of Rogate	16	21 4
vicar of the same	8	10 8
church of Trottone	10	13 4
church of Ipyng	100s.	10 0
church of Stedeham, with the chapel of Hethsshete (<i>Heyshof</i>)	25	33 4

³ Sic in MS., probably for Bilesham, now Bilsom, an ancient chapelry in Yapton.

	Marks.	Subsidy. s. d.		
From the church of Wolbedyng	100s.	10 0		
(continued.) church of Culeham	8	10 8		
church of Ludegarshale	10	13 4		
church of Tulliton (<i>Tillington</i>)	20	26 8		
church of Petteworth	70	7 m.		
church of Waltham	6½	8 8		
Prior of Heringham, (<i>Hardham</i>)	{ church of Blecham (<i>now Egdean</i>)	40s.	4 0	
		church of Bodgeton (<i>Burton</i>)	30s.	3 0
		church of Berlavyton	4	5 4
		church of Heringham	20	2 m.
church of Cotes	100s.	10 0		
church of Bigeneur	15	20 0		
church of Sutton	30	40 0		
church of Wollavyton	100s.	10 0		
church of Graffham	15	20 0		
church of Stopeham	6½	8 8		
Prior of Arundel—church of Cokkyng	10	13 4		
vicar of the same	6½	8 8		
church of Boketonne	15	20 0		
church of Lynches	8	10 8		
church of Threfford (<i>Treyford</i>)	12	16 0		
church of Ellestede	15	20 0		
church of Kurdeforde	25	33 4		
church of Lenchmere	6½	8 8		
church of Eseborne, with chapel of Midhurst	40	53 4		
476m. 10s. Total valuation, £317. 16s. 8d.; whence the subsidy, £31. 15s. 8d.				
vicar of Kurdeforde rated 4m.	church of Turdewyk (<i>Turwick</i>)	40s.		
vicar of Berlavyton 40s.	church of Chitehurst	40s.		
13 m. Total valuation, £8. 13s. 4d.; whence the subsidy, 17s.				

DEANERY OF BOXGRAVE.

	FROM THE	Marks.	Subsidy. s. d.	
Prior of Boxgrave	{ church of Boxgrave valued	40	53 4	
		vicar there	12	16 0
		church of Hamptonet	12	16 0
		vicar there	100s.	10 0
		church of Mundeham	15	20 0
		vicar there	10	13 4
		church of Honstone (<i>Hunston</i>)	8	10 8
vicar there	7	9 4		
Cathedral Church, [church of Aldyngborne valued, in the Cathedral Church of Chichester, and the Dean should make a return of it—and he does so.]				
vicar of Aldyngborne	15	20 0		
Cathedral Church, church of Sidlesham, valued in cathedral church, &c. &c.				
vicar of the same	12	16 0		

	FROM THE	Marks.	Subsidy. s. d.
Cathedral church—	[church of Ovyngge, valued in cathedral church, &c. &c.]		
	vicar of the same	15	20 0
Abbot of Hide, (<i>Benedictine</i> } church of Dughton.		20	26 8
<i>Monastery in Winchester.</i> }			
	vicar of the same	15	20 0
	church of Marsshton (<i>Merston</i>)	10	13 4
	church of Seleseye	20	26 8
	church of Ernele	6½	8 8
	church of Almoditon	6½	8 8
	church of Bridham (<i>Birdham</i>)	8	10 8
	church of East Wightring	100s.	10 0
Cathedral Church—church of West Wightring, valued in Cathedral Church, &c. &c.			
	vicar of the same	20	26 8
	church of Estichenere	12	16 0
	church of Westichenore	8	10 8
	church of Bourne (<i>Westbourn</i>)	60	4 li.
	vicar of the same	12	16 0
	church of Westthorneye	30	40 0
	church of Raketone (<i>Racton</i>)	100s.	10 0
	church of Lordeton	8	10 8
	church of Compton	15	20 0
	church of Up Merdon	20	26 8
	church of North Merdon	100s.	10 0
	church of Stoghton (<i>Stoughton</i>)	12	16 0
	church of Sengelton	10	13 4
	church of Stoke	100s.	10 0
	church of Midlovente	100s.	10 0
	church of Estden	8	10 8
	church of Westden	8	10 8
	church of Braclesham	6½	8 8
	church of Waltham	6½	8 8
Cathedral Church—church of Stoghton valued to the Cathedral Church, &c.			
	prebend of Waleton	50	5 m.
	prebend of Chudeham (<i>Chidham</i>)	40	4 m.
	prebend of Westbrouk	30	40 0
	prebend of Ffontiton (<i>Funtington</i>)	40	53 4
	prebend of Apulderham	30	40 0
	vicar of Boseham	6½	8 8
	vicar of Chudeham	100s.	10 0

717 marks. Total valuation, £478 ; whence the subsidy, £47. 16s.

vicar of Ertham	value 40s.	chantry of Mundeham	30s.
vicar of Dudelyng (<i>Didling</i>)	40s.	chantry of Sidlesham	30s.
chantry of Boseham	30s.	chantry of Halnaked	30s.

Total valuation, £10 ; [whence the subsidy, 20s.]

On the back of the Roll.

TEMPORALITIES IN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER.

Abbot of Dureford	{	Manors of the Abbot of Dureford :	£	s.	d.	
		Hertyng	valued	6	16	6
		Bertone		0	77	9
		At Ripsle, Wyhouse, & Wyke (<i>Rumboldswyke</i>)		17	10	
		At Rogate and Hartyng, from Rents		12	4	9
		Total	23 li. 16s. 10d.			

		Portions and Pensions of the Prior of Bruton.	s.	d.
Prior of Bruton, (<i>or Brewetone, Augustine.</i> <i>Monastery in co. Somerset.</i>)	{	in Suthstoke	26	8
		in North Merdon	5	0
		church of Pulbergh	5	0
		in Mundham	26	8
		in Graffham	5	0
		in Marrshton (<i>Merston</i>)	13	4
		Total	4 li. 20d.	

He also has the manor of Rongeton, valued at 13m. 4s.

The total is evident (*summa patet*).

Prior of Suthwyk, (<i>Priory of Augustine</i> <i>Canons, co. Hants.</i>)	{	The Prior of Southwyk has farm and rent (<i>habet agriculturam et redditum</i>) at Fysheborne, valued at 41s. 4d. The total is evident (<i>summa patet</i>).
		Abbot of Westminster. { The Abbot of Westminster has at Parham, valued at 43s. 4d. Total evident.

		Manors of the Prior of Boxgrove.	£.	s.	d.	
Prior of Boxgrove.	{	Boxgrove	valued	6	14	1
		Westhamptonet		0	26	0
		Kurdeforde		0	10	6
		Walberton		0	64	0
		Bornham		0	16	0
		Gratton		4	19	2
		Mundham		4	0	0
		Ellevestede (<i>Elstead</i>)		0	46	8
		Total	23 li. 16s 5d.			

		Manors of Shulbrede.			
Prior of Shulbrede.	{	Shulbrede	0	48	4
		Midlovente	4	8	4
		Shiple	0	38	4
		Mill of Gotestowe	0	40	0
		Total	10 li. 15s.		

Prioress of Esseborne. { The Prioress of Esseborne has, at Broadwater and Worthing, from profits of agriculture, 41s.

		Manors of the Prior of Heryngham (<i>Hardham</i>).	s.	d.
Prior of Erytham, (<i>Hardham</i>).	{	Billyngherst and Ruggewyk, Pulbergh	20	0
		Heryngham, from rent	9	6
		Preston	53	8
		Waltham, with Merifold	41	4
		Kurdeford, from rent	10	0
		Hodleggh, from rent	5	0
		Total	6 li. 18s. 6d.	

Abbot of Redyng, (<i>Benedictine Abbey, co. Berks.</i>)	{	The Abbot of Redyng has, in Duddleford, from profits of Agriculture, 100s.																																							
Abbot of Lucerna (<i>Præmonstratensian Abbey of the Holy Trinity at La Luzerne, in the Diocese of Avranches, Normandy.</i>)	}	The Abbot of Lucerna has, from rent, in the vill of Mundeham, valued 10m. The total is evident.																																							
Bishop of Exeter.	{	The Bishop of Exeter has, in Chudeham (<i>Chidham</i>) and Thorne, 26 <i>li.</i> The total is evident.																																							
Abbot of Hide	{	The Abbot of Hide has the manor of Dughton, which is valued at 22 <i>li.</i> 19s. Also he has, in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, the manor of Suthese, which is valued at 46 <i>li.</i> 3s., for which the Abbot of Robertsbridge has to answer in his account. Total . . . 26 <i>li.</i> 19s.																																							
Abbot of Tewkesbury, (<i>Benedictine Monastery, co. Gloucester.</i>)	}	The Abbot of Tewkesbury has, at Kyngeston, valued at 25 <i>li.</i> 15s. 4½ <i>d.</i> The total is evident.																																							
Abbess of Tarrant, (<i>Cistercian Nunnery, co. Dorset.</i>)	}	The Abbess of Tarrant has, in Byrdetone 15 <i>li.</i>																																							
Abbess of Godestowe, (<i>Benedictine Nunnery, near Oxford.</i>)	}	The Abbess of Godestowe has, at Bodegeton (<i>Burton</i>) and Shorham, valued at 7m. 4s. 8 <i>d.</i> Total 4 <i>li.</i> 18s.																																							
Abbess of St. Edward, (<i>Shaftesbury was often called Edwardstowe, from the relics of K. Edward the Martyr, in the Nunnery there.</i>)	}	The Abbess of St. Edward [de Shaftesburi] has, at Ffelgham (<i>Felpham</i>), Ffittleworth, and Kurdford, valued at 50 <i>li.</i> The total is evident.																																							
Abbot of Waverle, (<i>Cistercian Abbey, near Farnham, co. Surrey.</i>)	}	The Abbot of Waverle has, from rents of farms in Yabeton (<i>Yapton</i>), 20s. The total is evident.																																							
Abbot of Haghmont, (<i>Abbey of Augustine Canons, co. Shropshire.</i>)	}	The Abbot of Haghmont has, in Piperynge (<i>in Burpham</i>), from profit of agriculture, valued at 10m. The total is evident.																																							
Abbot of Seez, (<i>Benedictine Abbey of St. Martin de Seez, in Normandy.</i>)	{	<table border="0"> <tbody> <tr> <td>The Abbot of Seez</td> <td>in Gates</td> <td>20s.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>has, at Ffisheborne</td> <td>12 8 8</td> <td>in Aldrington</td> <td>10s.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gates</td> <td>13 11 8½</td> <td>in Ffishebourn</td> <td>10s.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Atherington</td> <td>9 18 8</td> <td>in Hampton</td> <td>10s.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Hampton</td> <td>19 17 2</td> <td>in church of Hampton, 10m.</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tortyngton</td> <td>8 2 2</td> <td>in Hertyng</td> <td>75s.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Kurdeford, for pannage and herbage</td> <td>0 10 0</td> <td>in Yaberton</td> <td>26s. 8<i>d.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total, 63<i>li.</i> 18s. 4½<i>d.</i></td> <td></td> <td>in Storinghton</td> <td>13s. 4<i>d.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Portions & Pensions of the same:</td> <td></td> <td>in Rogate</td> <td>25s.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>in Totyngton</td> <td>10s.</td> <td>Total</td> <td>16<i>li.</i> 13s. 4<i>d.</i></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	The Abbot of Seez	in Gates	20s.	has, at Ffisheborne	12 8 8	in Aldrington	10s.	Gates	13 11 8½	in Ffishebourn	10s.	Atherington	9 18 8	in Hampton	10s.	Hampton	19 17 2	in church of Hampton, 10m.		Tortyngton	8 2 2	in Hertyng	75s.	Kurdeford, for pannage and herbage	0 10 0	in Yaberton	26s. 8 <i>d.</i>	Total, 63 <i>li.</i> 18s. 4½ <i>d.</i>		in Storinghton	13s. 4 <i>d.</i>	Portions & Pensions of the same:		in Rogate	25s.	in Totyngton	10s.	Total	16 <i>li.</i> 13s. 4 <i>d.</i>
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Abbot of Fescamp.	The Abbot of Fescamp has Manors:— <i>li. s. d.</i>	
In the hands of the Earl of Arundell, and is not, on that account, exempt from the Subsidy.		<i>li. s. d.</i> Somptyng . . . 11 7 8
	Stenyng, valued at 6 11 1	Eglestone . . . 51 0 6½
	Wormynghurst . . . 8 13 1	And he also has, in
	Manor of Bury . . . 40 11 8	the vill of Bury . . . 0 4 0
	The same has, in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, the manor of Brede, which is valued at 38 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> , for which the Abbot of Robertsbridge has to account; and he does account.	Total . . . 163 <i>li.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 0½ <i>d.</i>
Manor of Bury, by writ.	Portions and Pensions of the same:— in Wassyngton, 20 <i>d.</i> ; in Goryng, 10 <i>s.</i>	
	The Prior has also in the Archdeaconry of Lewes— in Suthewyk, 20 <i>s.</i> ; in Brede, 40 <i>s.</i> ; in Sele, 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; in church of Brede, 25 <i>s.</i> ; for which the Abbot of Robertsbridge has to account.	
	Total 11 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	
Prior of Arundell	The Prior of Arundell has	
	Yaberton, valued 6 <i>li.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> ; Arundell, 19 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> ; Cockyng, 8 <i>s.</i> ; Rogate and Hertyng, 26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	
	Total 8 <i>li.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>	
	Portions and Pensions of the same:—	
	in Preston . . . 13 4	in Bourne . . . 26 8
	in Hertyng . . . 20 0	in Goryng . . . 26 8
	in ch. of Storinghton 13 4	
	And for 8½ marks, contingent temporalities of the said Prior, at Slyndefold, Rudgewyk, and Wisbergh, the Bishop of Chichester should be charged, and the collector of the Cathedral Church there should answer; and he does answer.	
	Total . . . 100 <i>s.</i>	
Prioress of Ruspere.	The Prioress of Ruspere has the manor of Ruspere, Garden, and Neweland, valued at 49 <i>s.</i> 1½ <i>d.</i> ; Horsham, 40 <i>s.</i>	
	Also in profits from agriculture in the said places, 8 <i>li.</i> 12 <i>s.</i>	
	Total . . . 13 <i>li.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 13 <i>d.</i>	
Abbot of Battle.	The Abbot of Battle has the Manor at Apulderham; valued at 29 <i>li.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 10¾ <i>d.</i> The total is evident.	
Prior of Sele.	The Prior of Sele has, at Stonford, in rents, 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	
	Total evident.	
	Portions of the same in the Archdeaconry of Chichester, in the parish of Stenyng and Brembre, from tithes, 10 <i>m.</i> in Veteri Ponte, 100 <i>s.</i> ; in Clapham, 50 <i>s.</i> ; in Ffyndon, 100 <i>s.</i>	
	Total 19 <i>li.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	
Prior of Lewes	Portions and Pensions of the Prior of Lewes, in the Archdeaconry of Chichester.	
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
	In Madherst . . . 4 0	In Cotes 2 0
	Bargham . . . 20 0	Bigeneur 26 8
	Ipyng 2 0	the church of Sutton 26 8

	In	s.	d.	In	s.	d.
Prior of Lewes (continued.)	Stedeham & Hesshete	42	6	Graffham	10	0
	Lutegarshete . . .	13	4	Compton	15	0
	Tolington	12	0	Upmerdon	25	0
	Petteworth	100	0	Midlovent	20	0
	Raketon	7	0	Total	£16. 6s. 2d.	

The Prior of Tortynnton has Manors :

	li.	s.	d.	li.	s.	d.		
Prior of Tortynnton.	Ichenore	9	0	0	Mill of Yabeton . .	0	13	4
	Tortynnton . . .	0	60	0	Walberton	0	46	2½
	Arundell	0	22	0	Shorham & Worthinge	4	0	
	Midherst	0	16	0	Pakyngeham (<i>Pagham</i>)			
	Angemering . . .	0	3	0	and Levemunstre	0	5	8
	Rutherwater and				From fishery, mill,			
	Lancyng	0	20	6	and wood (<i>boscagio</i>)	0	14	0
	Chichester, from rent	7	0		At the MerSSH . . .	0	50	0
	Yabeton	0	33	7	And for the portions			
	Blakehurst . . .	0	21	0	of the said Prior .	0	73	0
Madherst	0	26	8	Total	29li. 15s. 8½d.			
Sum of the total	Valuation of the aforesaid Temporalities, 615li. 7s. 9¼d.;			whence the Subsidy is 61li. 10s. 9½d.				

From the Chaplains [parochial, conventual, and others.]

John Ffetyngge ch. of Horsham	2	John Gore, chaplain of Kyngeston	2
William Seyke, chaplain there	2	John Hayward, ch. of Ffordes	2
John Baker, chap. of Pulbergh	2	Adam Hyndeshawe, ch. Storyngton	2
Adam Mantel, ch. of Wysbergh	2	Richard Rud, chaplain of Sutton . . .	2
John, chaplain of Nutehurst	2	Thomas Baker, ch. of Ffitelworth . . .	2
Thomas Toche, chap. of Grensted	2	Richard Dover, ch. of Petteworth . . .	2
John, ch. of parish of Bradewater	2	William Brummigham, ch. there	2
Richard atte Grenette, chap. there . . .	2	Thomas Salton, chaplain there	2
John Jacob, chaplain of Stenyng	2	William Coles, ch. of Loddesworth . . .	2
John Fforthrat, chap. of Somptyng	2	William de la Ruwe, ch. of Eseborne . .	2
John Pigou, chap. of Clopham	2	Philip Elys, chaplain of Midherst . . .	2
John Watersfeld, chaplain of		William ch. with Sir E. de St. John . . .	2
Estangemerynge	2	Thomas, chaplain of Kurdeford	2
Adam Hugyn, ch. of Warnecamp	2	William Ku. chaplain of Coleworth . . .	2
Henry Hanaper, ch. of Middleton	2	William Sli, chaplain of Ovyngge	2
William White, ch. in the College		William Botte, chaplain of Ernele	2
of Arundell	2	Rouland, chaplain of Bridham	2
William Peekes, chaplain there	2	William sacristan of Boseham	2
Thomas Shirefield, chaplain there	2	John, chaplain there	2
Henry Midherst, chaplain there	2	William Erland, ch. of Ffontiton	2
William Watersfeld, chap. there	2	John, chaplain at La Breche	2
John Boure, chaplain there	2	Thomas, chaplain at Thorneie	2
Total of Priests, 42.—Subsidy, 4li. 4s.			

Concerning any subsidy of Advocates, Proctors, Registrars, or Notaries Public, not benefited, not paying to the Fifteenth, in the said Archdeaconry, he makes no return (*non respondet*), inasmuch as he has not found, and has been unable to find any such Advocates, Proctors, Registrars, or Notaries Public there.

Total Valuation of Spiritualities,	li.	s.	d.	li.	s.	d.	
	1591	16	8	whence the Subsidy,	159	3	8
Temporalities,	615	7	9¼	whence the Subsidy,	61	10	9½

li. s. d.

Of the worth of Benefices newly valued, and not taxed to the Tenth, 58 13 4.
 Deducting from which, 19*li.* 11*s.* 1*d.*, for the third part of the said sum of the
 true Value, there remains 39*li.* 2*s.* 3*d.* for the two parts of the said value;
 whence the Subsidy, 78*s.* 2½*d.*; of Priests, 42 named, 4*li.* 4*d.*
 Total received 228*li.* 16*s.* 8½*d.*

Particulars of the Account of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church
 of Chichester, collectors of the Subsidy of 16*d.* on every Mark of all
 manner of Ecclesiastical Goods and Benefices, both taxed to the Tenth, or
 not taxed; and also of 2*s.* on each Presbyter, Advocate, Proctor, Registrar,
 and Notary Public, not beneficed, and not paying to the Fifteenth, granted
 to the King by the Clergy, in the third year of King Richard the Second,
 in the Church and City of Chichester, with its suburb, namely, from the
 said Subsidy, as follows:—

Deanery, with prebend 80 <i>m.</i>	Prebend of Fferryng 30 <i>li.</i>
Precentorship (<i>Cantaria</i>), with prebend 80 <i>m.</i>	„ Erlyngton 30 <i>m.</i>
Chancellorship, with church of Chidyingely 80 <i>m.</i>	„ Wysebergh 20 <i>m.</i>
Treasurer, for himself (<i>per se</i>) 70 <i>m.</i>	„ Hethfeld 40 <i>m.</i>
Prebend of Sutton 40 <i>m.</i>	„ Hurst 25 <i>m.</i>
„ Hyle 40 <i>m.</i>	„ Braclesham 25 <i>m.</i>
„ Calleworth 40 <i>m.</i>	„ Thorney 10 <i>li.</i>
„ Huveville 30 <i>li.</i>	„ Waltham 10 <i>li.</i>
„ Huve church 30 <i>m.</i>	„ Somerley 12 <i>m.</i>
„ Selesey 32 <i>m.</i>	„ Ippethorn 10 <i>m.</i>
„ Wystryng 40 <i>li.</i>	„ Gates 12 <i>m.</i>
„ Sidlesham 30 <i>li.</i>	„ Merdon 12 <i>m.</i>
	„ Hampsted 12 <i>m.</i>
	„ Middelton 100 <i>s.</i>
Total, 706 <i>li.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; whence the Subsidy, 70 <i>li.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	

Parishes belonging to the Court of Chichester (*ad curiam Cicestr.*)

	marks.		marks.
church of Bedyngham	16	church of Burgham	16
church of Ffryston	12	church of Stoghton	30
church of Alfryston	20		
Total, 62 <i>li.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; whence the Subsidy, 6 <i>li.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>			

Churches of the City of Chichester.

Church of Ffyshebourne	6½ <i>m.</i>
„ St. Peter the Great, Subdeanery	100 <i>s.</i>
„ St. Pancras	7 <i>m.</i>
„ Wyke	6½ <i>m.</i>
Total, 18 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; whence the Subsidy, 36 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	

Temporalities of the Bishop of Chichester.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Manor of Buxle	12	17	1	Aumberle, with church	60	0	19½
Bishopstone	43	13	5½	Sydlesham	52	0	3
Preston	37	14	5	Selesey	49	8	4¾
Hannefeld (<i>Henfield</i>)	33	7	10½	Cacham	75	10	9
Fferryng	31	15	0	Aldyngbourn	48	0	14

Also, he has profits (*redditus*), in the city of Chichester and its court, and the manor of Brule and Garden in Chichester . . . valued 16*li.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

Total, 462*li.* 4*s.* 7½*d.*; whence the Subsidy, 46*li.* 4*s.* 5½*d.*

Prior of Arundell. { Also, the Bishop has at Slyndefold, Wysbergh, Rugewyk, Curdeford, Horsham, Warnham, and Billyngeshurst, from the Temporalities formerly of the Prior of Arundel, 113*s.* 4*d.*
Total, 113*s.* 4*d.*; whence the Subsidy, 11*s.* 4*d.*

[Also the Bishop of Chichester has the Church of Hoghton, in the Deanery of Arundel, which is valued at 6*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*]

Sum of the total Valuation of the Spiritualities and Temporalities aforesaid 1262*li.* 4*s.* 7½*d.*
Whence the Subsidy 126*li.* 4*s.* 5½*d.*

Valuation of the worth of Benefices in the Cathedral Church and City of Chichester, with its suburb, from two parts of which value of the said Benefices the Subsidy is to be levied for the King:—

Archdeaconry of Chichester, valued in the year of the said Visitation, at	20 <i>li.</i>
Archdeaconry of Lewes, valued in the same manner	40 <i>m.</i>
Church of St. Peter, near the Geldehall of Chichester	4 <i>li.</i>
„ St. Martin	40 <i>s.</i>
„ St. Sepulchre	5 <i>m.</i>
„ St. Andrew	40 <i>s.</i>
„ St. Olave	30 <i>s.</i>
„ St. Peter the Less	30 <i>s.</i>
„ St. Mary in foro	30 <i>s.</i>

Total Valuation, 62*li.* 10*s.*; deducting from which 20*li.* 16*s.* 8*d.* for the third part of the said value, remain for the two parts, 41*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; whence the Subsidy, 4*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Chichester:—Priests there.

	s.		s.
John, chaplain of the Hospital of St. James for the sick	2	John Tangemere	2
William Ffishere	2	William Lughteburgh	2
John Selesey	2	Edward Barbour	2
Henry Boteler	2	Walter Priklove	2
Walter Bromlegh	2	Geoffry Hunte	2
Richard Wyfles	2	Thomas Longe	2
John Lovent	2	John Caas	2
John Skyrell	2	John Mesager	2
Thomas Lughteburgh	2	John Reed	2
Gregory Clerk	2	Richard Poday	2
Giles Bromedene	2	Henry Smyth	2
John Braclesham	2	John Estord	2
		Thomas Easter (<i>Passcha</i>)	2

Total of Priests, 26; whence the Subsidy, 52*s.*

Concerning any Subsidy from Advocates, &c., as at end of *Archdeaconry of Chichester*, p. 239.

Sum total received 132*li.* 19*s.* 9½*d.*

Particulars of the Account of the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge, collectors of the Subsidy of 16*d.* on every Mark granted by the Clergy to King Richard the Second after the conquest, in the third year of his reign, in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, namely, from benefices newly valued, according to their true value, from their Subsidy, and from the Subsidy of Priests, in the Archdeaconry of Lewes.

Deanery of Lewes.—Names of Priests.

	Each at s.	From	Each at s.
From Sir (<i>de domino</i>) Thos. Menant	2	Robert Clayton	2
Sir Robert Ponnyng	2	Thomas Russell	2
Sir Ralph Wyvelesfeld	2	Thomas Coupe	2
Thomas Dychenyng	2	John atte Broke	2
Robert de la Sele	2	Thomas de Hammes	2
John de Shorham	2	John Ffrank	2
Thomas Kent	2	John Champeneyes	2
John Gryffyn	2	Thomas Baker	2
Richard Munk	2	Robert Battesford	2
Walter Simham	2	Robert Chawry	2
Ralph Skeet	2		

XXI.

Deanery of Pevenese.

	s.		s.
Sir Ralph Hikkedon	2	William Bryd	2
John Blakforby	2	Richard Bealamy	2
John White	2	Thomas Crudde	2
Richard Spark	2		

VII.

Deanery of Dallington.

	s.		s.
Sir Thomas Smith	2	William Westmeston	2
John Gerneyt	2	Robert Massyngham	2
John Cheyne	2	William Ewerst	2
Roger Ffissbourne	2	John Parruch	2
Richard Meryweder	2	Walter Northampton	2
John Crayton	2	Richard Perry	2
John Tekune	2	William Wylde	2

XIV.

Deanery of Hasting.

	s.		s.
John Joye	2	John Leverton	2
William Gracian	2	Richard Barwyk	2
Thomas Helles	2	Sir Patrick	2
William Wynchelsea	2	Henry King	2
John Kyngeston	2		

IX.

Total of Priests, 51 ; of the Subsidy, 102*s.*

Valuation of the true worth of Benefices newly valued, from which the Subsidy of 16*d.* on a Mark, from two parts of the said value, is granted to the King.

Deanery of Lewys.

Church of		Church of	
St. Michael of Lewes	30 <i>s.</i>	St. Nicholas in the church of	
St. Andrew there	40 <i>s.</i>	All Saints	30 <i>s.</i>
St. Mary in foro there	30 <i>s.</i>	St. Peter de Westoute	4 <i>l.</i>

Chantry of Brembiltie	30 <i>s.</i>	Chantry of Crawle	30 <i>s.</i>
,, Ponynges	30 <i>s.</i>	,, Wannyingour	30 <i>s.</i>

Deanery of Pevenese.

Vicar of Fflechyng	100 <i>s.</i>	Church of Wodetone	30 <i>s.</i>
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Deanery of Darlington.

Chantry of Mote	40 <i>s.</i>	Church of Penherst	30 <i>s.</i>
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Deanery of Hastings.

Deanery there	100 <i>s.</i>	as a priest (<i>ut sacerdos</i>) Pre-	
Vicar of Crowhurst	30 <i>s.</i>	bend of Malrepast	13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

Total of the Valuation of Benefices, newly valued, in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, 33*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; deducting from which 11*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* for the third part of the value, remain 22*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* for the two parts of the said value; whence the Subsidy, 44*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

Concerning any Subsidy of Advocates, &c. &c., as at the end of *Chichester Archdeaconry*, p. 239.

NOTICES OF THE BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF
ST. MARY MAGDALEN, AT RUSPER.

BY ALBERT WAY, Esq. M.A.

AMONGST subjects of investigation to which the attention of Societies, instituted for purposes such as those contemplated by the archæologists of Sussex, may suitably be addressed, the Monastic Antiquities of the county form a legitimate object of detailed inquiry. Whether we view ancient conventual establishments in connection with their influence upon the welfare of the community, or the preservation of learning ;— whether we consider their beneficial operation in the charity and hospitalities shown within their walls, in days when no legislative provisions purveyed for the wants of the indigent and destitute ;—or we regard the less pleasing aspect of their history, in the superstitions and vicious indulgences, the corruptions to which the best of human institutions are liable,— we must recognise the importance of the conclusions to which such inquiries may lead. The annals of monastic foundations are, indeed, not less interesting to the historian and the antiquary, as supplying information regarding the social conditions of various classes in old times, than as intimately connected with the descent of estates and the history of eminent families ;—above all, as illustrative of the habitual feelings and the daily life of former generations.

It might seem superfluous to advert to such considerations, were it not that the Foundation, which I would now bring under the notice of the Society, is comparatively of minor importance, and one of obscure memory, through its remote position on the borders of Sussex and Surrey. It is not, however, every labourer in the field of local antiquities who may find, amongst the records of English monachism, a chapter of such essential interest as the history of the great Cluniac Monastery of Sussex ; or who may treat it with such ability and successful research as have been evinced in a former volume of

these "Archæological Collections." The sole pretension, which can be advanced in behalf of details of such insufficient interest to the general reader, as those now produced, must rest upon their direct connection with the county to which the proceedings and publications of the Society have been so successfully devoted.

The subject of the scattered evidences which I have here endeavoured to arrange, was brought under my notice during the examination of a voluminous mass of documentary collections, chiefly relating to a neighbouring county, and formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Ambrose Glover, of Reigate, Surrey. From him they have passed to his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Hart, of that town, whose friendly courtesy has placed these ancient documents at my disposal. They comprise many matters relating to the parts of Sussex bordering upon Surrey, as also to Kent and other localities; but the antiquarian zeal of their collector was chiefly devoted to the history of his own county, and Mr. Glover contributed largely from his stores materials for the History of Surrey, compiled by his friend, the late Mr. Bray. The document which I have selected amongst those, which may serve to illustrate the history of Sussex, is a roll of the rental of the Prioress of Rusper, a small monastery situate in a remote part of the Weald, in the neighbourhood of Horsham and the ancient possessions of the De Braose family, so distinguished in the history of Sussex.

Of the history of this priory and its foundation little is known; the origin and date of the establishment are involved in uncertainty; but it has been suggested, with much probability, that it was founded by the De Braose family, possibly either by William, who had inherited the vast estates granted by the Conqueror to his grandfather, comprising not less than forty-one manors in the county of Sussex; or by William his son, one of the most powerful barons of the times of Cœur de Lion and King John.¹ The earliest mention of Rusper, hitherto noticed, occurs in the "Libello de Comitibus, Episcopatus et Monasteriis Anglie," cited by Leland, and attributed to Gervase of Dovor, the chronicler of Canterbury, who lived

¹ See the Braose Pedigree in Cartwright's Rape of Bramber, p. 174. In Burrell MS. 5698, fol. 455, is the citation—"35 Edw. III, Rousper Prior' advoc' feod' percell' Baron' de Brembre."—Tower Records.

about A.D. 1200.² Leland gives an extract from the list of monasteries, — “ In South-Sax, Prior: Rospere. *Moniales nigrae.*”³ The existence of this nunnery, towards the close of the twelfth century, is, however, more fully shown by the deed of confirmation by Seffrid, Bishop of Chichester, second of that name, who was consecrated in 1180 and died in 1204. In this document, preserved in Bishop Sherburn’s Register, the bishop confirmed to the nuns of the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Rusper, the church of Warnham, of the gift of William de Braose; the churches of Ifield and Selham,⁴ with other possessions, including half a virgate of land at the place where the said nuns usually lived, the gift of William de Braose, their patron; two virgates in Rottingdean, of the gift of Lady Ela de Warenne; and some small rents in Hampton and Bethham, possibly Little Hampton and Beedingham, now Beeding, near Bramber.

Mr. Cartwright, who has given a translation of this confirmation deed, in his ‘History of the Rape of Bramber,’ prefaces his observations by a statement for which no authority is cited, and which I am wholly unable to explain. It is as follows:—“ On the west side of the parish (Rusper) a small establishment of Benedictine nuns was founded by Gervaise, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Ric. I, who conferred on it the manor of Priestwood. This being insufficient for its support, other grants were added, most of which are embodied in the following confirmation of Bishop Siffrid the second.”⁵ I have failed in tracing who was the founder thus designated as an Archbishop of Canterbury (the name *Gervaise* not being found in the *Fasti* of the metropolitan see), and I can discover no evidence regarding the grant of the manor in question. About the year 1231 the possessions of the Priory were augmented by the benefactions of John de Braose, killed in the following year by a fall from his horse at his castle of Bramber. He bestowed upon the nuns the church of Horsham. This donation is recited in the charter of Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, dated at Rusper, Nov. 17, 1231,

² MS. in Corp. Christ. Coll. Camb.—See Selden’s *Prolegomena* to Twysden, *Scriptores* Decem, p. xlii.

³ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. viii, 91, a.

⁴ Selham or Sulham, a parish near Midhurst.—See note, *infra*, p. 251.

⁵ Cartwright, *Rape of Bramber*, p. 375.

ordaining that the prioress and nuns should receive the whole tithes of corn, with certain lands, &c., and assigning to the vicar who should officiate in the said church, the small tithes, offerings at the altar, &c. This endowment was confirmed by Stephen de Berksteed, Bishop of Chichester, July 8, 1281.⁶

Although the poverty and insufficiency of the revenues of this house were thus in some measure alleviated, its resources were still of no large amount. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, about A.D. 1291, the following brief statement is found, under the Archdeaconry of Chichester:—"Temporalia Priorisse de Russpere.—Apud Ruspere, Grandin⁷ et Neulond, 2*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.*; Horsham, 2*l.*; De redditibus per annum, in diversis locis, 8*l.* 12*s.*; Summa, 13*l.* 1*s.* 1½*d.*"⁸ From the same record we learn that the church of Warnham was valued at 8*l.* (the vicarage, 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), that of Horsham at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (the vicarage 10*l.*), and that of Ifield at 10*l.* (the vicarage 5*l.*)⁹ In the taxation of John Langton, Bishop of Chichester, about A.D. 1320, as cited by Cartwright, these valuations remain precisely the same, making the "Summa totalis, spiritualia et temporalia, 44*l.* 7*s.* 9½*d.*" In the subsidy roll of 3 Rich. II, (1379-80) preserved at Carlton Ride, the *spiritualia* of the Prioress of Ruspere comprise 20 marks from the church of Horsham, and 12 marks from that of Warnham.—"*Temporalia*.—Priorissa de Ruspere habet manerium de Rusperr, Gardinum, et Newelond: taxat' 49*s.* 1½*d.*; Horsham, 40*s.* Item, in reddit' per agriculturam in dictis locis, 8*l.* 12*s.*—Summa 13*l.* 13½*d.*"

The resources of the Priory do not appear to have been augmented at any subsequent period. In 1484, as stated by Cartwright, the return to the Exchequer described it as in a state of ruin, and unable to pay the subsidy. At the bishop's visitation, in 1521, complaint was made of the onerous expenses caused by the too frequent visits of friends and relations of Elizabeth Sydney, then prioress, who, in 1527, on a like

⁶ Regist. Episc. Cicest. C., fol. 70 b. and 71, as cited by Tanner, who erroneously prints "Joannis de Breuyr," instead of Braose. Cartwright has given a translation of this endowment charter; Rape of Bramber, p. 350.

⁷ In Bishop Langton's Taxation, "*Gardinum*;" possibly Garden's Farm, Warnham, or Jarden's Farm, between Ruspere and Newdigate.

⁸ Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p. 140.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 134, 136.

occasion, admitted that the house had become "*aliqua- liter ruinosa,*" and promised speedy repairs. It appears, however, that some possessions of the house were leased about this time, by indenture, to Thomas Sherley and Thomas Mychell. In the Valor Ecclesiasticus, 26 Hen. VIII (A.D. 1535), their annual value is thus stated:—"Rousper' Prioratus.—Priorissa ibidem in omnibus exitibus et proficuis eidem et acciden' per annum, unacum proficuis cur,' prout di' Thome Sherley et Thome Mychell, per indenturam pro termino annorum, ultra v. s. v. d. sol' episcopo Cicestrensi racione visitacionis sue, per annum—xxxix£. xiiij.s. vij. d." ¹⁰

In the Episcopal Registers a few records are preserved, which serve to throw some light upon the history of the Priory in the fifteenth century. For transcripts of these, consisting chiefly of visitations by the bishop or his commissary, I acknowledge with pleasure my obligation to the kindness of the registrar, J. B. Freeland, Esq., who, at the request of Mr. Blaauw, has courteously supplied every desired information. These documents, some of which had been abstracted by Cartwright, will be found appended to these notices. They are not without interest, as showing the manner in which the visitor maintained the discipline of a religious house, and marking the abuses or deviations from the monastic rule, which rendered the frequent exercise of such control indispensable. I am also induced to give these extracts from the episcopal registers at length, since I am not aware that many similar minutes of visitations of monasteries have been published.

The proceedings on these occasions appear to have been conducted with much formality, in the chapter-house of the Priory. After a preliminary discourse (*preconisacio*) the superior and each inmate of the establishment was examined separately. In the visitation of 1442 it was found by the commissary that the prioress had rendered no account to the sisterhood, during the whole time she had held her office; whereupon she was enjoined to produce an account for that period, and thenceforward, year by year, to be submitted to the bishop and to the sisterhood at a stated time.

In 1478 Bishop Story visited the poor nuns (*pauperes*

¹⁰ Valor Eccles., vol. i, p. 319.

moniales) of Rusper in person. The chief matter which called for reproof was their non-observance of the rule of silence, so strictly enjoined, and doubtless most difficult to maintain. We read, in the Golden Legend, that "Agathon the abbot bare thre yere a stone in hys mowthe tyll that he had lerned to kepe scylence." On this occasion no penance was prescribed by the bishop to the prioress, since she had a right from her office to speak; but *Domina* Alicia Seynt Jon and another of the sisters were enjoined to make amends, by saying seven psalters of our Lady. The bishop investigated also the debts of the Priory, and asked for an inventory, which was not forthcoming. Six years after, Bishop Story again visited Rusper, when three of the nuns made their profession, the form of which is preserved in his register, and will be found amongst the extracts subjoined. They comprise also the details of the visitor's proceedings on other occasions, into which it is needless to enter here more fully.

No common seal of Rusper has hitherto been found. The following brief list comprises the names of prioresses which have been noticed:—

Agnes Barrett, "sister of William Barrett, of London, merchant, was prioress of Rouspour in Sussex, 12 Hen. IV" (1388, 89). Note in Burrell MS. 5686.

Agnes Snoxhule, or Snokesell, occurs in Visitations of 1442 and 1478.

Constancia Causell, or Custans Cowsewell, (elected sub-prioress July 7, 1478) occurs as prioress in 1484.

Elisabeth Sydney occurs in Visitations 1521-1527.

The Priory of Rusper having shared the fate of the lesser monasteries, in 1536, was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Robert Southwell, Master of the Rolls (Dec. 12, 29 Hen. VIII, 1537).¹¹ In 38 Hen. VIII, nearly the whole of the property passed to the crown by exchange.¹² It does not appear at what period the conventual buildings were demolished. Queen

¹¹ See Orig. 29 Hen. VIII.

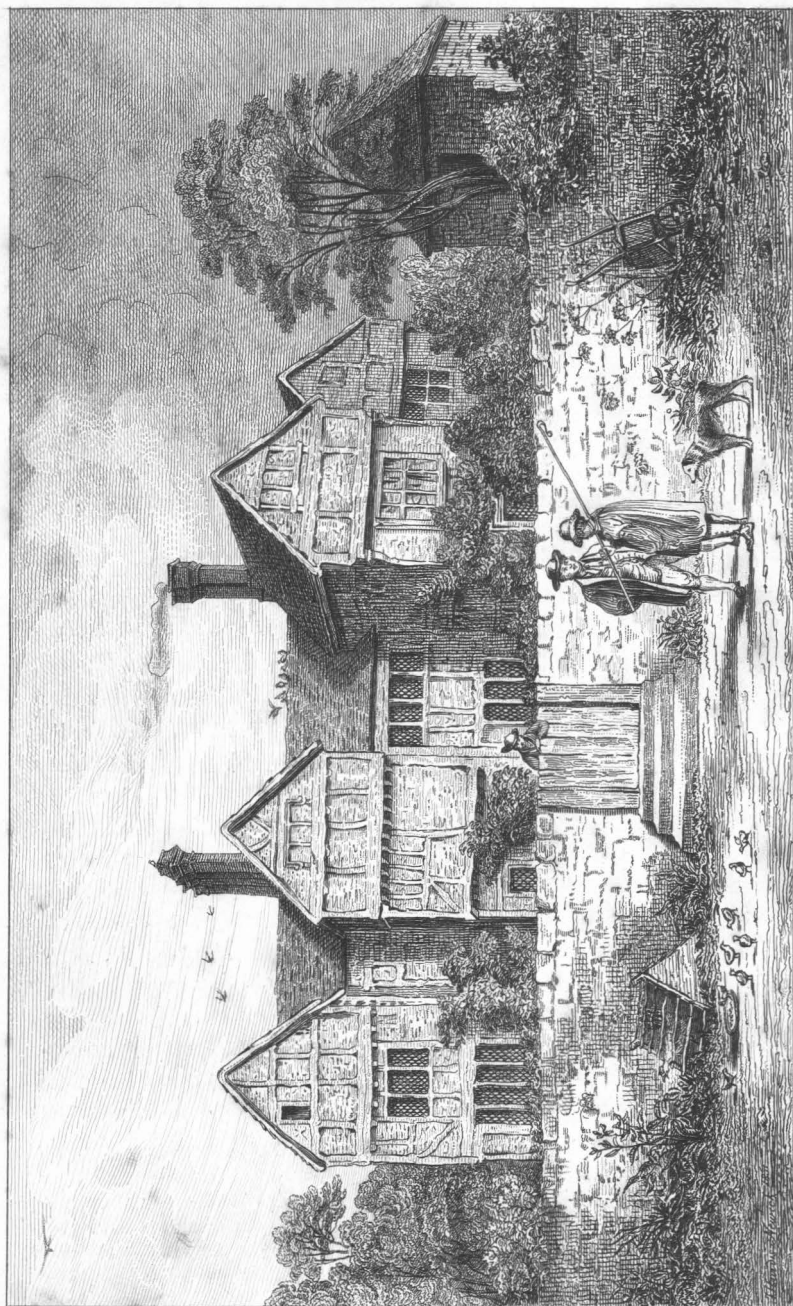
¹² See *Monast. Angl.*, Edit. by Caley, vol. iv, p. 586, where evidences regarding the history of Rusper, subsequently to the suppression, are given: comprising an Extract from the Particulars 38 Hen. VIII in Augment. Off., relating to the possessions of Sir Robert Southwell, formerly belonging to this Priory, and Particulars for Leases, in the time of Elizabeth, in 1581, when a lease of the site, &c., was granted by the queen to Thomas Churchyard, for twenty-one years.

Elizabeth granted the site to John Cowper, serjeant at law ; it was subsequently in the possession of a family named Stone, resident at "the Nunnery," and was sold in 1717 to Sir Isaac Shard. The following notes have been preserved by Sir William Burrell :—" Mr. John Stone lived at his seat in the parish called Nunnery, which is reported to have been a religious house. There is a well at Nunnery called Nuns' Well. On the north wing of the east front of Nunnery, towards the orchard, the foundations of additional buildings and the arch of a cellar are visible, 58 feet in extent, east of the present house. It is possible a similar wing was on the south aspect, and thereby formed a Greek Π , though the ancient apple-trees which cover that flank, render such an idea very problematical. Mr. Shard's steward gave directions for the immediate demolition of part of the surviving edifice, when I was there, 2 June, 1781, and previously took a neat and accurate drawing of the remains of that religious house."¹³ Through the kindness of Mr. Holmes, I have been enabled to procure a copy of this drawing, taken by S. H. Grimm, and preserved in the Burrell collections ; it is here presented to the Sussex archæologist, as a memorial not devoid of interest, although presenting none of the customary features of conventual structures.¹⁴ It is, however, highly probable, that in the remote woodland district where this Priory was situate, the use of timbered constructions and framed-work, similar to that here seen, might be preferred to more costly buildings of masonry. It should be observed that a similar drawing of this west view of "Nunnery" is preserved at Oxford, in the Bodleian Library, amongst the topographical collections bequeathed by Gough. It is mentioned in the catalogue of Drawings relating to Sussex, by S. H. Grimm, communicated to the Society by the Rev. Dr. Wellesley, and printed in a former volume of the "Archæological Collections."¹⁵ This very probably is the original sketch taken on the spot by the artist.

¹³ Burrell MS. in Brit. Mus., No. 5698, fol. 456.

¹⁴ The collection of drawings of churches, old houses, &c., executed by Grimm for Sir W. Burrell, is well known to the Sussex archæologist. An account of them may be found in the "Catalogue of MSS. Maps, Drawings, &c., in the British Museum," vol. ii, 1844. The drawing which has supplied the annexed representation is coloured.

¹⁵ This Drawing is executed in pen and Indian ink, and at the corner is written by Grimm—"The Nunnery at Rusper, near Horsham, Sussex ; June 2d, 1781."—*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 238.



W. FRONT OF NUNNERY IN THE PARISH OF RUSPER.

Documents relating to Rusper Priory.

I. Confirmation, by Seffrid II., Bishop of Chichester, 1180-1204.

Confirmacio Seffridi Episcopi super ecclesiis de Warnham, Ifeld, et Seleham, facta Priorisse et Monialibus de Ruspar.¹⁶

(Register of Bishop Sherburn, C, fol. 71.)

Universis sancte matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Seffridus, Dei gratia Cicestrensis Episcopus, secundus, eternam in Domino salutem. Justum est ut ea perpetua firmitate roborentur, que ad honorem Dei et sancte religionis augmentum pia devotione statuta fuisse dinoscuntur. Cum igitur paupercule mulieres in ecclesia beate Marie Magdalene de Rowspar constitute, et religionis habitu amictæ, divinis jugiter intendant obsequiis, Nos, divine pietatis intuitu, earundem indempnitate et securitati de beneficiis ad earum sustentacionem pie et canonice collatis, confirmacionis nostre auctoritate perpetuum credimus providere. Unde eisdem confirmamus ecclesiam de Warnham, ex dono Willielmi de Braosa; ecclesiam de Ifeld, ex collatione Roberti Buneth, de assensu eciam Willielmi de Braosa domini sui eisdem monialibus collatam; et ecclesiam de Seleham, ex donacione Radulphi militis de Seleham;¹⁷ habendas cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et in proprios usus, imperpetuum possidendas, salvo in omnibus jure et dignitate Cicestrensis ecclesie. Hiis eciam addicimus totam decimam Edwardi Cath' de Wulfelia, ex collacione Hamonis de Marley;¹⁸ ceterum quasdam alias possessiones, quas ex donatorum cartis collegimus predictis monialibus collatas, huic scripto nostro duximus inserendas; videlicet, in loco ubi prefate moniales regulariter degunt, ex dono predicti Willielmi de Braosa, earundem patroni, dimidiam virgatum terre, quam Walterus tenuit; et terram quam Herbertus Venter tenuit;¹⁹ et terram quam Exdricus et servi tenuerunt; ex dono Domine (Helene *erased*)

¹⁶ This document is enumerated amongst those cited by Tanner. Mr. Cartwright gives a translation of it, *Hist. of Rape of Bramber*, p. 375. For transcripts of these documents I am indebted to the kindness of the Registrar, Mr. Freeland, who has aided my inquiries with most obliging courtesy. Bishop Sherburn, who was translated to Chichester in 1508, was a diligent collector of ancient evidences, and by this means this deed of Confirmation by Seffrid II. has been preserved in Sherburn's Register.

¹⁷ Selham, Sulham, or Seltham, a parish in the deanery of Midhurst, and situate about midway between that place and Petworth. It appears in the *Taxat. Ecc.* p. 135 b, as Seltham, valued at £5 6s. 8d. In the *Valor Eccles.* vol. ii, p. 324, is the following entry—"Sulham.—Mauricius Powell clericus rector ibidem: valet clare per annum cum omnibus proficiis et commoditatibus, ultra v.s. annuatim solut' priorisse de Rousper pro pensione annua, etc.—£iij. xv. s. xj. d. ob." The Presentations by the Prioress and Convent of Rusper date from 1397 to 1511. At the Visitation of 1478, the Rector was found to be thirty years in arrear of his payments. (*Infra*, p. 255.) After the suppression the advowson was granted to Stephen Borde, and in 1716 it became vested in Brasenose College.

¹⁸ Wulfelia, it has been suggested, may be Wivelesfield (?), and Hamo de Marlay may have derived his name from a place in the parish of Horsham, one of the manorial divisions of which is called Marl post.—Cartwright, p. 338.

¹⁹ Near Rusper, on N.E., there is a dwelling still known as Venters.

Ele de Warenne,²⁰ duas virgatas terre in Rottynden ; ex dono Odonis de Dam-martyn tres virgatas terre apud Shorham ; ex dono Radulphi sive Ancrū (*sic*) unam marcam in molendino de Glotting ; ex dono Philippi de Tregoz redditum duorum solidorum in Hampton ; ex dono Johannis Tregoz redditum duorum solidorum apud Bethham. Ut autem hec nostra confirmacio rata sit imposte-rum, eam sigillo nostro duximus roborandam. Hiis testibus, Godefrido de Statune, Magistro Radulpho de Fordes, Magistro Willielmo de Kaynsham, Roberto de London, Willielmo de Hammes, Amfrido de Westburton, et multis aliis.

II. *Endowment of the Vicarage of Horsham, A.D. 1231 ; confirmed A.D. 1281.*

(From Bishop Sherburn's Register, C, fol. 71.)

Taxatio Vicarie de Horsham, cum confirmacione hujusmodi taxationis facta per Stephanum, Episcopum Cicestrensem.²¹

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentes literas visuris vel audituris, Stephanus, miseracione divina Cicestrensis ecclesie minister humilis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Universitati vestre tenore presentium innotescimus, nos literas venerabilis patris bone memorie quondam Radulphi, Cicestrensis Episcopi predecessoris nostri, non abolitas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui (*sic*) parte viciatas, inspexisse, in forma subscripta. Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Radulphus Secundus, dei gratia Cicestrensis Episcopus, Domini Regis Cancellarius, salutem in Domino. Ad universorum noticiam volunus pervenire, quod cum nobilis vir, Johannes de Braosa,²² pia ductus consideracione concessisset, et carta sua confirmasset, pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum, quantum ad laicum pertinebat, priorisse et monialibus de Ruspar, ecclesiam de Horsham, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, in proprios usus illarum convertendam ; et postea super estimacione proven-tuum ipsius ecclesie diligens ad mandatum nostrum facta fuit inquisicio, habita super premissis deliberacione diligenti, et considerata tenuitate et insufficiencia domus de Ruspar, considerata eciam competenti et honesta sustentacione vicarii qui imperpetuum eidem ecclesie ministrabit, ita ordinamus de eadem, videlicet, quod priorissa et moniales dicte domus de Ruspar quas-

²⁰ Warenm, MS. *Helene* seems to have been struck out, and *Ele* inserted, as the Christian name. The lady was probably Ela, daughter of William Talvace (son of William de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury) and wife of William de Warren, third Earl of Surrey, who perished in the great crusade of 1145. Ela survived several years, and died, according to the Register of Lewes Priory, cited by Dugdale, December 4, 1174. —Baron. vol. i, p. 75.

²¹ This *Taxatio* was made by Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, elected Nov. 1, 1222 ; Chancellor, 11 Hen. III, 1226 ; ob. Feb. 1, 1244. Stephen de Berksteed, by whom it was confirmed, was appointed Bishop of Chichester, June 20, 1261, ob. Oct. 21, 1287. Mr. Cartwright has given a very imperfect translation of this document, Rape of Bramber, p. 350.

²² The precise date of the grant by John de Braose has not been ascertained, but it was, probably, almost contemporary with the endowment. He succeeded to the barony of Bramber on the death of his cousin, William de Braose, at Easter, 1230, and was killed by a fall from his horse, in 1232.

dam certas porciones de ecclesia de Horsham predicta imperpetuum percipient, scilicet, totam decimam bladi ad ecclesiam ipsam pertinentem, cum terris, pratis, boscis, redditibus, assisis et homagiis ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentibus, et cum porcione gardini, prout certis limitibus est per nostram provisionem distinctum, et cum molendino eciam quod fuit persone ejusdem ecclesie; excepta decima quam habebit imperpetuum vicarius dicte ecclesie de eodem molendino, excepto eciam quodam clauso circiter tres acras continente, quod fuit persone ipsius ecclesie, ante istam ordinacionem a nobis factam, et jacet ultra stagnum molendini predicti, ex parte australi, et protenditur usque ad idem stagnum, a parte aquilonis, quod quidem clausum vicario predicto imperpetuum assignamus, excepto eciam manso quod fuit persone ipsius ecclesie, cum porcione gardini, prout certis limitibus a nobis est provisum, quod eciam eidem vicarie assignamus imperpetuum onera²³ eidem vicarie, omnes obvenciones altaris, omnes minutas decimas, necnon et decimas feni et molendinorum, præter decimam feni de dominico ejusdem ecclesie quam percipient imperpetuum priorissa et moniales dicte domus de Ruspar; ita quidem quod vicarius perpetuus, qui pro tempore in predicta ministrabit ecclesia, sustineat omnia onera debita et consueta ecclesiam supra dictam contingencia, imperpetuum. Providimus eciam quod propter parrochie amplitudinem, et parochianorum multitudinem, vicarius qui pro tempore in eadem ecclesia ministrabit secum habeat unum capellanum secum (*sic*), et duos ministros idoneos, scilicet, diaconum et subdiaconum, ad ministrandum cum eo in eadem ecclesia. Ad hanc autem vicariam sic taxatam admisimus divine pietatis intuitu Rogerum de Wallingford, capellanum, ad presentacionem dictarum priorisse et monialium de Rowspar, ipsumque in ea vicarium perpetuum canonicè institutum; salvo nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum jure pontificali et parochiali. Hiis testibus, magistro Johanne de Arundell, tunc officiali nostro, et Erniso de Tywa canonico Cicestrensi, et cet', cum multis aliis. Datum apud Ruspar, septimo idus Novembris, anno gracie millesimo, cc^{mo} tricesimo primo, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.—Nos igitur, predictam ordinacionem in omnibus et singulis sue (*sic*) partibus, quantum in nobis est jure pontificali, confirmamus. In quorum omnium testimonium presentibus literis sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Datum Stratham, octavo idus Julii,²⁴ anno Domini millesimo, cc^{mo} octuagesimo primo.

III. *Endowment of the Vicarage of Ifield, A.D. 1247.*

(From Bishop Sherburn's Register, C, fol. 72.)

Taxatio Vicarie de Ifeld.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Magister Laurencius de Summercote, officialis domini Cicestrensis Episcopi, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra quod hec est taxacio vicarie

²³ This expression is obscure, and the omission of a word might be suspected. Mr. Freeland has kindly supplied a facsimile, showing that the MS. reads as above given. The sense seems to be that because the *onera* are imposed, the bishop assigns all oblations, &c., so that the vicar may be able to sustain the *onera*.

²⁴ July 8. There is a manor in the parish of Cowfold, called Streatham, and there may anciently have been some manor-house, from which Bishop Stephen's confirmation was dated. Streatham occurs in the list of *Temporalia* of the see of Chichester, Valor Ecc. vol. i, p. 294; the agistment of the park there was then worth £4., the entire revenue was £43. 19s. 4d.—See Cartwright, p. 267.

Ecclesie de Ifeld, auctoritate nostra facta, inter priorissam et conventum de Rouspar et Alanum de Crawley, Capellanum; videlicet, quod dictus Alanus et successores sui percipient omnes decimas bladi et feni Johannis filii Emme, et omnes decimas Gilberti de Ewerthe.²⁵ Ista autem decimas percipient imperpetuum dictus Alanus et successores sui omnium terrarum quas dicti Petrus, Johannes et Gilbertus tempore ipsius taxacionis in dominico proprio habuerunt; salvis dictis monialibus decimis omnium assaritorum (*sic*) tam factorum quam faciendorum. Percipient autem dictus Alanus et successores sui nihilominus omnes obvenciones altaris de Ifeld, et omnes decimas moleninorum tam factorum quam faciendorum, et omnes decimas minutas dicte ecclesie, que non sunt in hoc scripto dictis monialibus reservate.²⁶ Preterea recipient idem Alanus et successores sui decimam bladi monialium earundem que habent in parochia de Ifeld, sed non decimam feni nec aliquam minutam decimam earundem, ceterum omnes alie decime de blado, feno et pasnagio, tocuis parochie de Ifeld, et principale legatum,²⁷ dictis priorisse et conventui remanebunt. Dictus autem Alanus et successores sui reddent annuatim sacriste de Rowspar quinque libras cere in festo Palmarum; et idem Alanus et successores sui omnia onera archidiaconalia, et sinodalia, et omnia alia onera, sustinebunt. Istam autem taxacionem utraque partium concessit imperpetuum valituram. In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum utrique parti alterius partis sigillo, una cum sigillo officialitatis, tradimus sigillatum. Datum apud Ruspar, proximo kalendis Julii, anno Domini millesimo, cc. quadragesimo septimo.

IV. *Visitation*, A.D. 1442.

(From the Register of Richard Praty, Bishop of Chichester, E, fol. 80.)

Visitacio Prioratus de Rousparr, exercita in domo capitulari ibidem, die Lune, viz. xv die mensis Januarii, per Magistrum Thomam Boleyn, Commissarium dicti Reverendi Patris, specialiter ad hoc deputatum.

²⁵ A farm, called Howard's Place, appears in Ordnance Survey about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of Ifeld, on the road to Crawley. Ewerthe may, however, be identical with Ewhurst.

²⁶ Reservato, MS.

²⁷ The precise nature of this exception is difficult of explanation. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. S. Walford for the following observations. "*Principale legatum*" means a mortuary, and appears here to be either equivalent to *principalium*, a term signifying the best beast or other chattel, to which the church was entitled on the death of a parishoner; or used as a more precise expression, since that term signified also an heir-loom. Dugdale (Hist. Warw. p. 930, ed. 1730) speaking of mortuaries, quotes a MS. t. Hen. III, relating to the Abbey of Pershore, in which the term *principale legatum* occurs in the sense of a mortuary. He cites also wills, in which horses, &c. are bequeathed, "*nomine principali*," the usual word being *mortuarii*. The subject of mortuaries, it must be observed, is of considerable obscurity, owing to the variety of customs and usages in different places. They were originally gifts by will, in satisfaction of tithes unpaid; and, as early, probably, as the date of this document, the usage of making such gifts had in some places become a legal custom, such as conferred on the church a right to them, which could be enforced in the spiritual courts. No mortuary was *due* in this sense, unless by virtue of a custom, yet the practice of bequeathing some chattel, in the name of, or as, a mortuary, was general, and the term *principale legatum* may have been employed to denote a mortuary bequeathed, as distinguished from such as were matters of right.

Nomina sororum ibidem.

Agnes Snoxhule, priorissa.
 Agnes Weston, sub-priorissa.
 Agnes Lewkenor.
 Margareta Okehurst.

Alicia Seynt Jon.
 Anna Brassbrugge.
 Constancia Causell, } non
 Agnes Tawke, } professe.

Detectum extitit ibidem quod priorissa non reddidit comptum sororibus suis toto tempore quo stetit priorissa.

INJUNCTIONES.

In primis, quod priorissa reddat comptum de et supra administracione sua in bonis ipsius loci, a primo die administracionis suscepte, usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis ultimo elapsum; et sic de anno in annum; de cetero quam diu steterit in officio priorisse sic comptare tenebitur, et quod ostendat hujusmodi comptum Domino Cicestrensi Episcopo, et sororibus dicti prioratus, citra festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste proxime futurum.

V. *Visitation*, A.D. 1478.

(From the Register of Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester, D, fol. 26.)

Visitacio Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Edwardi permissione divina Cicestrensis Episcopi, per ipsum personaliter exercita in domo capitulari priorisse pauperum monialium de Rushper, vij^o die mensis Julii, anno Domini ut supra (1478).

Domina Agnes Snokesell Priorissa ibidem fecit obedienciam domino, et examinata dicit quod non custodiunt bene silencium ut tenentur. Item, dicit quod domus non est multum gravata ere alieno. Insuper dominus petiit inventorium de statu domus, et quia non habuit illud permanibus, dominus assignavit ei terminum ad inducendum, ante festum Michaelis.

Domina Alicia Sanc' Jhon fecit obedienciam domino, et examinata dicit quod non bene in omni tempore et loco debito custodiunt silencium; ideo dominus injunxit sibi vij Psalteria de Sancta Maria dicenda.

Domina Custans Cowsewell fecit obedienciam domino, et examinata dicit quod non custodiunt silencium; ideo dominus injunxit sibi penitenciam supra scriptam. Item, dicit quod domus extitit indebitata ad summam x^o marc. ut credit, et non ultra, et dicit quod debitores domus plus debent eis. Item, dicit quod Johannes Wood erat executor Domini Ricardi Hormer, nuper Rectoris de Sellem, qui fuit a retro in solucione pensionis v. s. per xxx. annos priorisse et conventui de Rushper.²⁸

Domina Isabella Michelgrove fecit obedienciam domino. Domina Elisabeth Lewkenore non est professa.²⁹

Item, dictis die et loco priorissa et sorores sue elegerunt Dominam Custans

²⁸ Selham, a small parish between Midhurst and Petworth. See note, p. 251, *supra*.

²⁹ The Lewknors were of some note in the neighbourhood, and the advowson of Rusper descended to them from the Camoys family, — 22 Hen. VI. Hugh Camoys died seised of this advowson, leaving his two sisters and coheiresses, Margaret, æt. 25, married to Ralph Radmeld, and Eleanor, to Sir Roger Lewknor. Burrell MS. 5698. — See the Pedigree of the Camoys and Lewknor families, by Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. III, p. 89.

Cowsewell in sub-priorissam domus, quam dominus confirmavit et approbavit tunc ibidem.

Item, dicunt quod Johannes Goryng Senischallus habet officium suum sub Sigillo communi, et accipit annuatim xx. s. dicti officii pretextu.

Item, Johannes Pomatt receptor firmar' habet pro stipendio suo annuatim viij. s.

VI. *Professio monialium de Rusparr.* A.D. 1484.

(From the Register of Bishop Story, D, fol. 101.)

Vicesimo octavo die mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1484, in ecclesia conventuali prioratus beate Marie Magdalene de Rusparr, Reverendus in Christo Pater et Dominus, Dominus Edwardus, permissione divina Cicestrensis Episcopus, religiosas mulieres ac ejusdem prioratus moniales, videlicet Dominas Elisabeth Lewkenore, Elisabeth Sydney, et Elisabeth Hays, publice et expresse professus fuit. Cujus quidem professionis tenor sequitur in hunc modum.

Ego, Elisabeth Lewkenore, Soror domus sive prioratus de Rusparr, facio professionem meam, et promitto obedienciam Deo omnipotenti, beate Marie Magdalene domus ejusdem protectrici, ac Sancto Benedicto, et tibi Reverendo in Christo Patri et Domino, Domino Edwardo Dei gracia Cicestrensi Episcopo, ac eciam Domine Constance dicti loci pro nunc priorisse, et ejusdem successoribus, vivere sine proprio et in castitate secundum regulam sanctissimi patris nostri Benedicti, usque ad mortem.

Et similem professionem fecerunt alie due, viz. Domine Elisabeth Sydney et Elisabeth Hays. Et quelibet earum fecit tale signum crucis manu sua propria. ✠

VII. *Visitation,* A.D. 1521.

(From the Register of Bishop Sherburn, C, fol. 71, b.)

Visitacio, vij^o die mensis Augusti, A.D. 1521.

Quibus die et loco, coram dicto Domino Commissario, lecta commissione, etc.—comparuit personaliter Domina Elisabeth Sydney priorissa, et certificavit viva voce se execut' fuisse mandatum dicti Reverendi Patris, de quo supra juxta tenorem ejusdem. Deinde comparuerunt—

Domina Elisabeth Sydney, priorissa ibidem.

Domina Elisabeth Hayes, monialis professa.

Alicia Freland,

Dionisia Martyn, } moniales non professe.

Quibus sic parentibus dictus Dominus Commissarius oneravit dictam Dominam Priorissam et moniales juramento corporali de fideliter presentando omnes defectus ejusdem domus, et ea que sunt ibidem reformanda. Deinde examinavit eas et earum quamlibet secrete et singillatim, prout sequitur,—

Domina Elisabeth Sydney priorissa, examinata de et super premissis, dicit quod domus illa est in magno decasu; cetera bene.

Domina Elisabeth Hayes interrogata dicit quod domus multum oneratur expensis ratione amicorum et consanguineorum domine priorisse ibidem continue hospitancium: cetera bene in quantum ipsa scit.

Alicia Freland interrogata dicit quod stetit ibidem per xij annos, et nondum professa est; dicit cetera bene.

Dionisia Martyn interrogata dicit quod ibidem stetit per tres annos, et non adhuc professa: cetera bene, ut credit.

VIII. *Visitation*, A. D. 1524.

(Register A, fol. 93.)

Visitacio Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Roberti
permissione divina Cicestrensis Episcopi, A. D. 1524.³⁰

Visitacio supradicti Reverendi Patris in domo capitulari domus sive prioratus de Ruspar, per Magistrum Johannem Worthiall vice et auctoritate dicti Reverendi Patris virtute commissionis, etc.—exercita die Jovis, viz. ultimo Junii, anno Domini predicto.

Quibus die et loco coram dicto Commissario, lecta commissione predicta, et assumpto onere ejusdem, comparuit personaliter Domina Elisabeth Sydney, priorissa domus predictae, et certificavit se execut' fuisse mandatum dicti Reverendi Patris, de quo supra, juxta tenorem ejusdem. Deinde facta preconisacione comparuerunt, ut sequuntur,—

Domina Elisabeth Sydney, priorissa ibidem, comparuit personaliter.

Domina Elisabeth Hayes,	} consorores ejusdem domus, comparuerunt personaliter.
Domina Dionisia Martyn,	
Domina Alicia Freland,	

Quibus sic comparentibus dictus Commissarius oneravit dictam Dominam Priorissam et consorores suas, in vim conscienciarum suarum, de fideliter deponendo de et super ab eis inquirendis, et presentando ea que indigent reformationem. Deinde examinavit eas et earum quamlibet singillatim, ut sequitur.

Domina Elisabeth Sydney priorissa examinata in vim consciencie sue dicit quod omnia bene.

Domina Elisabeth Hayes examinata dicit in vim consciencie sue quod quidam Willelmus Tychenor habet frequentem accessum ad dictum prioratum, et ibidem seminat discordiam intra priorissam, sorores et alios ibidem existentes. Ulterius interrogata dicit omnia bene.

Domina Alicia Freland examinata dicit in vim consciencie sue quod Willelmus Tychenor habet frequentem accessum ad dictum prioratum, et multociens seminat discordiam ibidem inter priorissam, et sorores et alios ibidem existentes: cetera bene, ut dicit.

Domina Dionisia Marten interrogata concordat in omnibus cum dietis sororibus suis superius examinatis.

IX. *Visitation*, A. D. 1527.

(Register A, fol. 102, b.)

Visitacio dicti Reverendi Patris in domo capitulari Prioratus de Ruspar, die Veneris, quinto die mensis Julii, anno Domini predicto, hora nona ante-meridiam, per dictum Magistrum Johannem Worthiall exercita.

³⁰ An abstract of this Visitation is given in *Monast. Angl.*, vol. iv, p. 586.

Die, hora et loco predictis, coram dicto Domino Cancellario comparuit personaliter Domina Elisabeth Sydney priorissa, et certificavit se execut' fuisse mandatum dicti Reverendi Patris, juxta tenorem ejusdem. Deinde facta preconisacione comparuerunt ut sequuntur,—

Domina Elisabeth Sydney, priorissa.

Domina Elisabeth Hayes.

Domina Alicia Freland.

Quibus sic comparentibus idem Cancellarius oneravit eas de fideliter detigendo ea que indigent reformationi in prioratu predicto: deinde dictus Dominus Cancellarius examinavit eas secreta et singillatim, ut sequitur.

Domina Elisabeth Sidney priorissa examinata dicit quod omnia bene, excepto quod domus est aliquid ruinoso, quam promisit emendare quam cicius commode potest.

Domina Elisabeth Hayes interrogata dicit omnia bene.

Domina Alicia Freland interrogata dicit omnia bene.

X. *Original Rental Roll of Rusper Priory*; 24 Henry VIII, A.D. 1532.

From the Collections of the late Ambrose Glover, Esq., of Reigate.³¹

ROWSSPARRE.

¶ Extractum Rentale Priorisse de Roussparre, factum in anno xxiiij^o Henrici octavi, pro festo Sancti Michaelis tantum, per Henricum Foys recept'.

De Thoma Chalon' ³² Generoso, pro Tenemento suo in Horsham, vocato

Fabyans, in quo Johannes Wellere modo inhabitat, per annum³³ . xviiij.d.

De eodem, pro pacchyngges landes in Roussparre viij.d.

De eodem, pro uno prato vocato Shorfyns Mede iiij.d.

De eodem, pro uno campo vocato Crystmas Felde ijs. vj.d.

De eodem, pro terris vocatis Cowykses viij.d.

De Gardianis fraternitatis de Horsham, pro uno Tenemento nuper

Domini Thome Mascalle defuncti ³⁴ viij.d.

³¹ It will be observed, that this portion of the rental is confined to such rents as were payable at Michaelmas. Those payable at Lady-day, the feast of St. John the Baptist, and Christmas, are enumerated subsequently.

³² The contraction at the end of this name may imply Chaloner; there was, however, a family resident in the neighbourhood named Challen. Richard Challen, of Oving, seems to have borne the arms usually assigned to Chaloner.

³³ This seems to indicate that all the payments here enumerated were yearly, as nothing appears subsequently denoting that they were otherwise. It should be stated, that in the margin of the Roll opposite to each item, an horizontal line is drawn, crossed by upright strokes, from one to five in number, probably to score off so many successive payments, and indicate the arrears. It may, therefore, seem probable, that this Roll served for collecting the rents for a short time subsequently to the suppression of the Priory. If the marks here noticed indicate yearly payments, they may be taken as relating to the five years which intervened, until the grant to Sir Robert Southwell in December, 1537. Opposite the items relating to Thomas Chaloner, appears indistinctly in the margin—"of 6 year."

³⁴ There appear to have been a Brotherhood and two chantries founded in the church of Horsham, of which, see Cartwright, p. 351; Valor Eccl. i, p. 318. One of these is described as the Trinity chapel in the church porch, to which, as supposed, the

De Gardianis Ecclesie de Horsham pro croft terre in litille Horsham	vj.d.
De Edwardo Tyrrelle, pro terris Willelmi Danyelle et Johannis Gendone, vocatis Grovelande	xij.d.
De Willelmo Danyelle, pro una vacua placea terre juxta domum suam, vocat' his hoggates	vij.d.
De vidua Henrici Michelle, pro terris vocatis Bolters	vij.d.
De eodem (<i>sic</i>) pro uno Crofto terre pone domum suam	xij.d.
De eodem, pro uno Tenemento inter Cokkes Tenement, et tenement' nuper Domini Thome Mascalle	xij.d.
De eodem, pro dimidio orreo, vocato Langrigges Barne	vij.d.
De Ricardo Michelle, Drapere, pro altera dimid' de Langrigges Barne (modo vidua H. Michelle, <i>interlined</i>)	vij.d.
De Ricardo Michelle, de Stamerham, ³⁵ pro le almeshowsez super Calcutum ibidem	xvj.d.
De Willelmo Wallere, pro terris vocatis Milgate	vj.d.
De eodem, Pro terris vocatis Clementes Warryne	ix.d.
De Thoma Michelle, pro molendino aquatico	xvj.s. j.d.
De eodem, pro terris vocatis Grovelande	xx.d.
De Roberto Durrant, pro terris vocatis le Hewelle ³⁶ (<i>in firma, interlineation in a later hand</i>)	x.s.
De Ricardo Sharpe, pro uno Crofto terre vocato Chodes	xij.d. ob.
De eodem, pro Perattes Croftes	xxj.d.
De Thoma Kelsey, pro terris vocatis Bysshoppis, in Roughey, ³⁷ ut in jure uxoris sue	xvij.d.
De Rogero Alyne, pro terris Ricardi Foys, vocatis Bonyface Croft	vj.d.
De Rogero Copley Milite, pro le Herst lande et Gyblettes ³⁸	(<i>blank</i>)
De Ricardo Whyte, pro crofto terre vocat' Whelers, jacente juxta Newland	iiij.d. ob.
De Ricardo Foster, pro terris Johannis Carelle in Roughey, vocatis Frenchez Croft	iiij.s.
De Johanne Douggat, pro terris Johannis Carelle vocatis Inglandes	ij.s.

admission is applicable occurring in the Bishop's Register,—“1521. Thomas Mascall.” This was doubtless the person above named. Sir John Caryll, in his will, 1523, directed a trental of masses to be said in the Trinity Chapel by “*Sir John Mascall*.” This may have been the same individual; the term Sir John being often familiarly used to designate a priest.—See Prompt. Parv., tom. i, p. 264, v. Jone. Tindal, writing of the many degrees of the clergy, says: “There one sort are, your Grace, your Holiness, your Fatherhode; another, my lord Bishop, my lord Abbot, my lord Pryor: another, maister Doctour, father Bachelor, mayster Parson, maister Vicar; and at the last commeth in simple Syr John.”—Works, p. 343, edit. 1572.

³⁵ Stammerham, in Horsham parish, an old residence of the Michell family.—Cartwright, p. 336.

³⁶ Howells or Hewells, a manor chiefly in the town of Horsham, but extending into various adjacent parishes, in Sussex, and Albury and Godalming, in Surrey. It was part of the possessions of Rusper, and valued at £10 per annum at the dissolution, when it was leased to Henry Foyce (probably the Receiver named in this Rental) and John Hall.—Inqu. post m. cited by Cartwright, p. 341; see also Particulars for Leases, t. Eliz. in Augm. Off. Dugd. Mon., vol. iv, p. 587.

³⁷ Roughey Street, three miles south of Rusper.—See also note on Roughey, *infra*.

³⁸ This item is an interlineation.

De eodem pro uno Crofto terre juxta Newland	iiij.d.
De Johanne Edsawe, pro terris Thome Pachynge vocatis Nowers (?) Croftes	xj.d.
De eodem, pro Ryez Croftes	xiiij.d.
De Johanne Hallé, de Bradbriggis, ³⁹ pro pencione de Sullyngtone	ix.s.
De Thoma Bradbrige, pro uno Crofto terre (in parte Newland, <i>later hand</i>)	iiij.d.
De Thoma Wood, pro Tenemento Willelmi Horley, vocato Charmans	xvj.d.
De eodem, pro percell' de potters Felde	vj.d.
De Ricardo Bysshope, pro Holbrokes Crofte ⁴⁰	xvij.d.
(Covolde, <i>marg.</i>) De Johanne Dunstalle ⁴¹ de Cowfolde, pro le Ruge- lande	x.s.
(Cokefelde, m'. <i>marg.</i>) De Johanne Chalon' de Homstede, pro Worthé Felde	iiij.s.
(Warynglede, <i>marg.</i>) De Thoma Sherley, pro terris in Warynglede, vocatis Cokshots et Sluttes (late Johne Cokshots, <i>interlined by later hand</i>) modo in tenura . . . persone	vj.s.
(Slaugham, <i>marg.</i>) De Johanne Asshefolde de Slaugham, pro Bechelys lande	iiij.s.ij.d.
(Perkemansherst, <i>marg.</i>) De Johanne A Woode, pro terris in Perke- mansherst, vocatis Bery landes	viiij.s.vj.d.
(Herst, <i>marg.</i>) De Herlandes love, pro terris ibidem, vocatis parcell' de Bery lande et aliis	ij.s.
(Rowssper, <i>marg.</i>) De Thoma Eliott, pro terris in Roussper, vocatis Testardes . . . (non sol.' <i>interlined</i>)	viiij.d.
(Rohwez, ⁴² non sol.' <i>marg.</i>) De eodem pro firma terr' vocat' (<i>blank</i>)	vj.d.
De Willelmo Gendone, pro terris vocatis Russhott Mede	vj.d.
De Thoma Moose, pro terris vocatis Pytters	ix.s. ob.
De Johanne Gardener, pro terris vocatis Langherst. ⁴³	xij.d.
De (<i>blank</i>) Heybetylle, ⁴⁴ pro Mannys Tenement	ij.s. x.d.
De Johanne A Dene, pro terris vocatis Asshefolde	xiiij.d.
(Barkley, <i>interlined in later hand</i>) . . . eodem pro	iiij.d. ob.
(Ifelde, <i>marg.</i>)—De Ricardo Wryghte de Ifelde, pro terris vocatis Henrige	xxj.d. ob.
De Johanne Saundere, de Rowley, pro terris vocatis Russelles	xj.d.
<i>Interlineation</i> ,—Charlewode . . . Wright de . . . Joh' Wright.	

³⁹ Broadbridge Heath, N.W. of Horsham, O. S. The demesne lands of the Manor of Broadbridge, formed a detached portion of Sullington parish, distant about 12 miles south. A modus is paid actually for this land to the rector of that place.—Cartwright, p. 333.

⁴⁰ Holbrook, situated on the road from the Priory to Horsham.

⁴¹ John Dunstall and Walter Dunstall occur in the Cowfold Churchwardens' Accounts, circa 1470-82.—*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. II, p. 321.

⁴² Roughay, or Roughway, probably, a manor on the north side of Horsham, extending into the parish of Rusper.—Cartwright, p. 340.

⁴³ Langhurst, probably, near the borders of Sussex, north-east of Rusper.

⁴⁴ This may be noticed amongst several local names of persons, still to be met with, which occur in this Rental. The name Haybiddle or Haybittel, is well known in the southern parts of Surrey, near Reigate. I can suggest no better derivation than Haye, *Haia*, an inclosure, and bedel, Ang. Sax., bydel, *ballivus*.

De Willelmo Lasheforde ⁴⁵ de Charlewoode, pro Smythlande	vj.s.
De eodem, pro Prest Wood	iiij.s.
(Nudgate, <i>margin.</i>)—De Johanne Jakkett de Nudgatt, pro le hothe lande	ij.s.

SURRE'.

Aretro (<i>margin.</i>) De Henrico Perkehurst, de Albery, pro terris vocatis (<i>blank</i>)	ij.s.
Aretro (<i>margin.</i>) De Johanne Tanner, de Hertmere, pro terris vocatis (<i>blank</i>)	ij.s.
De Vidua Ricardi Cokkes, De Horsham, pro Tenemento suo	xij.d.
De Johanne Bakkes	xij.d.
De Willelmo . . . pro terris juxta Newlande, pro dicto anno	iiij.s.
De Johanne Fenner pro terris vocatis Bonewykes	v.s.
De (<i>blank</i>) Ede, pro terris	viiij.d.
De Thoma Tha . . . pro Marchis tenemento, per Annum	vj.d.
Summa hujus rentale, vj. li. v.s. vj.d. ⁴⁶	

Rentale de Annunciatione beate Marie receptum per Henricum Foy's.

De Roberto Durrant, pro terris vocatis le Hewelle ⁴⁷	x.s.
De Thoma Michelle, pro Molendino Aquatico	xvj.s. j.d.
De Thoma Chalou' Generoso, pro firma sua, nil, quia solutum prius antea pro termino annorum.	
De Johanne Kynge, pro una parcell' terr' in le Bysshoprike	xvj.d.
De Johanne Bakkes, pro le Newe House, in Warnham	xij.d.
De Ricardo Skynner, pro Mylwardes Felde juxta Newlande	iiij.s.
Summa hujus recepe', xxxij.s. v.d.	

Rentale ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste receptum per predictum Henricum Foy's.

De Ricardo Ede, pro terris vocatis Chowez ⁴⁸	xx.d.
De Johanne Michelle, de Cokkes, pro terris vocatis Chekyns	vij.d. ob.
De Johanne Fullere, pro terris vocatis Chekyns	xij.d.
De Ricardo Bakkes (<i>interlined</i> , modo Johanni Borne) pro uno Tenemento cum Gardino	iiij.d.
De Johanne Bakkes, pro le Newe housse in Warnham	xij.d.
De Thoma Michelle, pro parcell' de le Swelde, ⁴⁹ firnar' Henrici Foy's	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Michelle, draper, pro le Swelde mede	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Sharpe, pro Croftes juxta Newlande	v.s.
Unde solutum est Domino Willelmo Brandone clerico ⁵⁰	iiij.s. iiij.d.

⁴⁵ Another local name, still occurring. The Lechford family subsequently possessed the Manor of Charlwood, and were of good repute and condition in those parts. In 1625 it was sold by Sir Henry Lechford, Knight, to the Jordans of Gatwick.

⁴⁶ The total of the account had been erased, the last five items having been added by a later hand. There occur a few interlineations, not noticed above, being quite illegible.

⁴⁷ Hewells, manor in Horsham, &c.—Cartwright, p. 341.

⁴⁸ May this be the place now called Chowles Farm, east of the village of Rusper?

⁴⁹ Cartwright mentions a farm called "Sulde," in East Grinstead, sold by Thomas Agate of Horsham, 1692.—Rape of Bramber, p. 308.

⁵⁰ William Brandon is stated in the Commissioners' Return, 27 Hen. VIII, to have been the last Incumbent of Butler's Chantry, Horsham, valued at £6 7s. 6d. — Cartwright, p. 352.

Et sic remanet receptore <i>nisi</i>	xx.d.
De Thoma Wooddene, pro Colyns Gardene juxta le Swelde	vj.d.
De Roberto Durrantt, pro le Hewelle	x.s.
Summa hujus recepte', xvij.s. vj.d. ob.	

Rentale de festo Natalis Domini receptum per predictum Henricum Foys. (Firma, <i>marg.</i>) De Ricardo Sharpe, pro croft' terr' juxta Newlonde	xx.d.
(Firma.) De Ricardo Ede, pro terris vocatis Chowez	xx.d.
De Johanne Michelle, de Cokkes, pro Chekyns	vij.d. ob.
De Johanne Fullere, pro terris vocatis Chekyns	xij.d.
De Ricardo Bakkes, pro uno Tenemento cum Gardino	iiij.d.
De Johanne Bakkes, pro le Newe Housse	xij.d.
De Thoma Michelle, firmario Henrici Foys, pro parcell' de le Swelde	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Michelle, draper, pro le Swelde mede	iiij.d.
De Roberto Durrant, pro Hewelle landes	x.s.
De Roberto Horley (Brode, <i>interlined</i>) pro Mystyl felde	iiij.s.
De Thoma Wooddene, pro Colyns Gardene	vj.d.
De Thoma Elyott, pro Hethefelde	vj.s. viij.d.
(Firma.) De Willelmo A Dene, pro uno Crofto terre juxta Gotwyke Howse, ⁵¹ in parochia de Nudgate	ij.s. viij.d.
De Thoma Amys, pro uno tenemento et Croft terre ⁵²	vj.s. viij.d.
Summa hujus recepti	xxxvj.s. vj.d. ob. ⁵²
Summa totalis recepti, pro uno anno integro, ad festa predicta	xj. li. iiij. s.

Notandum est, quod personagium de Horsham est dimissum Johanni Halle et Johanni Ingggram, pro termino Annorum, pro Summa xij. li. vj.s. viij.d.

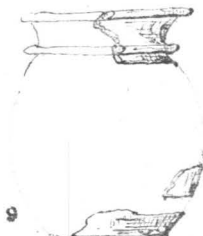
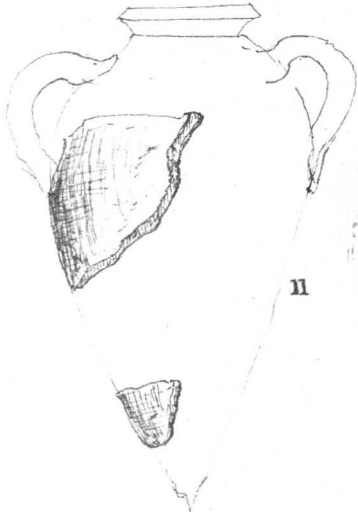
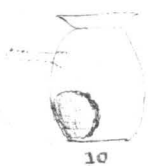
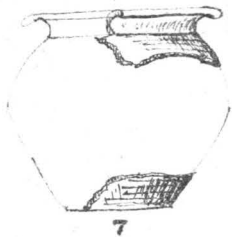
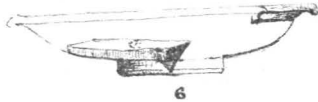
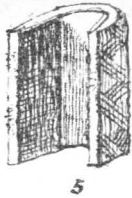
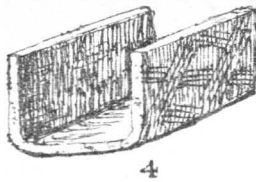
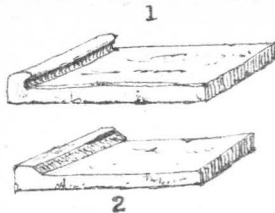
Et le personage de Warneham dimissum est Thome Charmanne, pro summa v. li. vj.s. viij.d.

Et le personage de Ifelde dimissum est Roberto Amys, pro termino Annorum, pro Summa vj. li. xij. s. iiij. d.

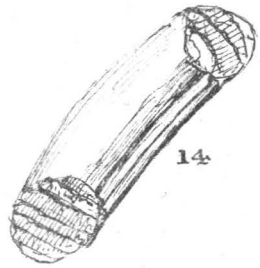
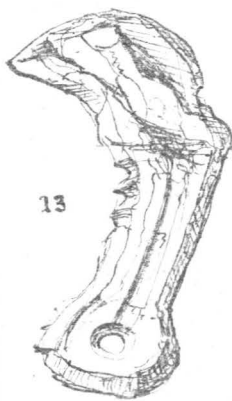
Summa de lez personag' per Annum, xxv.li. v.s. viij.d.

⁵¹ There is a dwelling called Gotwicke, of no great note, between Rusper and Ifield Wood, and within the boundaries of Sussex. The place, however, here called Gotwyke, is possibly Gatwick House, in Charlwood parish, adjacent to that of Newdigate; the name being derived from its position on the ancient line of road, running north and south, from which likewise Tilgate, and Gatton, some miles further on its course towards London, received their names. The manor and mansion of Gatwick, anciently the residence of the De Gatwicke family, and subsequently of the Jordans, is now the property of Alexander Fraser, Esq. This spot was the scene, according to tradition, of a great slaughter of the Danes by the united bands of the men of Sussex and Surrey, who fell upon the rear at their passage of the river Mole at Kimberham or Timberham Bridge.—Manning's Hist. Surrey, vol. ii, p. 187.

⁵² The last four items are entered in a later hand. Two other later entries appear to have been written below the last *summa*, but they are illegible, with the exception of the words "de Willelmo R. . . . ate . . . xl. s."



1 foot



Natural size.

F. E. PURKELL.

1852.

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND AT NEWHAVEN
SUSSEX.

ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED AT NEWHAVEN IN 1852.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK SPURRELL, M.A.

CURATE OF BARCOMBE.

DURING March, 1852, whilst cutting a drain across an upland meadow on the estate of W. Elphick, Esq., at Newhaven, a workman found a coin: a few days after, whilst the foundation of a wall was being dug upon the same spot, a piece of light-coloured pottery was turned up. On these being accidentally shown to me as a member of our Society, and pronounced Roman, some farther examination of the locality was determined on by the permission of the proprietor. Accordingly, an excavation was made by following a course of flints, which had been struck upon in digging the drain: and this was traced for some yards in two directions, from west to north, and from west to east, apparently two sides of a square. The flints were mostly squared, and formed a pathway or foundation about two feet wide: they were laid in mortar, made like all Roman mortar, of lime, sand, and pounded brick, and occasionally beneath the mortar were lumps of chalk, and blocks of yellow sandstone: the average level was about 2 feet beneath the present surface.

At the inner sides of the flint courses, little excavation was at the present time intended,¹ but for some distance along the outside of the north-west wall, every spadeful of soil brought up most undoubted Roman remains. Tiles of several kinds, and in great abundance, were found lying in all directions, flat; sometimes, in consecutive order, sometimes at different angles; coins too, bullocks' horns and bones, flints calcined and discoloured by heat, pieces of several kinds of grey pottery, of Samian red-ware, and of an amphora, an arrow head of iron, and some dozen nails and iron fragments, bones (not human) charred, and fish-shells, quite perfect though soft, of the mussel, oyster, whelk, cockle, periwinkle, and limpet, and in the shells and in patches everywhere coal ashes. Every piece

¹ The meadow being an important pasturage, it was not convenient to turn up more grass land at this season of the year. Probably, at the close of the season, an extensive excavation will be made.

of iron was much corroded, and the pottery much worn, and found only in fragments.

After sorting and arranging all the pieces, it was clear that a great many vessels and tiles of different kinds were to be distinguished: and with a view to arrive at some conclusions as to the questions—how came these things here? and do they indicate the site of a villa? I have drawn on the accompanying plate some specimens of the pottery, &c. as general types of the find, and will now give a list and sketch of them in detail as well as of the other things here found.

Nos. 1 and 2 are Roman roof tiles (*tegulæ*) the same in size and character, with the exception of the flange or neck being in No. 1 a hollow projection, and in No. 2 a straight bevel. They are about 1 foot square (more or less), $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, upper edge sometimes chamfered, the flange about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The upper surface quite smooth, the under rough and uneven, the colour a deep Venetian red: many specimens of these were found, but none perfect.

No. 3, one of the few and perfect fire tiles of the same colour as 1 and 2. It is about 8 inches by 6 inches, with the sides bevelled to the under edge. From this it was evidently part of a floor, and from the under surface being much burnt and calcined was probably part of the roofing of a hypocaust fire.

Nos. 4 and 5 are perfect examples of the most numerous remains found here. They are flue tiles of a hypocaust, and many of them from their burnt interior surfaces, mark the intense heat which passed along these fire-pipes: most probably there was a *flat* tile or a fellow-shaped one laid on these when in use. Those of the size of No. 4 are about 10 or 11 inches long, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, some of a deep scarlet red, others like all of No. 5, a light brown red, seeming to be river-mud. Those of No. 5 are about 8 inches long, by 5 broad, and curved more than the others by the heat of the kiln, which has, however, warped *all* slightly. The diamond-shaped pattern on the outside of all these flue tiles has been made with tools before baking, which seem to have been forks of eight and four teeth.

No. 6 is the ideal cup, or broad shallow bowl, of which some half dozen pieces of Samian ware seem to be the fragments; the lip shows it had been much used from the coral

glaze having been chipped off; one piece of lip has a raised stem on it,—perhaps of the ivy leaf,—and round the bottom of the inside is an ornament of little marks, seemingly the indenture of a coin; there is no potter's name.

Nos. 7, 8, and 9, are ideal shapes, suggested by the fragments of what seem to have been culinary vessels. Pieces of some half dozen of them were found, all varying in colour, and grain, and size, sufficiently to allot the pieces of each vessel distinctly. They are all of grey pottery of different shades: No. 7 being a light fawn grey, No. 8 a dark iron-coloured grey, No. 9 a very light iron grey; and some have rims at the neck, and all appear to have had a glaze, now worn off, and have been too carefully made and well-finished to have been cinerary urns.

No. 10.—The only piece found to suggest this shape, is a small oval of fine bright-red clay, the inside of which is quite clean and new, while the outside is blackened by fire. It seems to have been a small delicate pipkin used for cooking.

No. 11.—Two pieces of an amphora suggest a vessel of this character; they are the shape and colour of the usual wine holders, and are thickest at the shoulder-part, gradually getting thinner towards the base.

No. 12 is an iron arrow-head, apparently not barbed.

No. 13 is a piece of iron, with a hole and groove: possibly part of a hammer.

No. 14 is a piece of a ring, apparently of some earthy substance, Kimmeridge clay or anthracite, about seven inches in diameter. It was evidently turned in a lathe.

Besides these, there were pieces of iron found, which may have been parts of a helmet or hoop, and others like knobs of harness.

The coins found were four. No. 1 is a first-size brass of the Emperor Hadrian, (whose reign was from A. D. 117 to 138,) very much worn, having the legend so corroded as almost to seem stamped into the metal. The obverse is a laureated and bearded bust, round which the letters *DRIANVS AVG* can be read. From a more perfect coin of the same type, the full legend seems to have been *IMP CAESAR TRAJANUS HADRIANVS AVG*. The reverse is very indistinct, but bore the draped figure of Plenty with a cornucopia in her left, and ears of corn in her right hand, which she holds over a tripod altar, beneath are the words *ANNOA AVG*.

The coin No. 2 is a small brass of the Emperor Gallienus, (A. D. 259 to 268,) in very good preservation. On the obverse, GALLIENUS AUG surrounds a bust crowned with a spiked diadem, and having a close-curved beard. On the reverse, a stag with branching horns, is seen standing, inscribed DIANA CONS (*ervatrici*) AUG.

On No. 3 only the letters *us* remain at the end of an emperor's name, and the coin, a small brass, is so corroded, as to be difficult to identify, but is probably of Claudius Gothicus, (A. D. 268-270.)

No. 4, found at some distance from the Roman remains, is a thin brass counter of the fifteenth century, struck at Nuremberg, for use in France, and bearing on one side a shield, with the three fleur-de-lys of that kingdom, within a collar of roses, surrounded by the legend LIB : MICH : ALS : ICH : DIE : which is the German form of LOVE ME AS I THEE, found on the English love-tokens, described at p. 202 of the present volume.

This then is the short description of the whole amount of Roman remains, brought to light at the present time: and enough they seem to be to warrant a conclusive answer to the previous questions. *How* these things came here, therefore, is answered by the promiscuous character of the Find; which indicates that these Roman fragments formed part of a refuse-place or ash-pit. The broken and imperfect state of the pottery fragments make this presumption most probable; and the fish shells, bones, ashes, bits of iron, &c. confirm it. Without doubt, therefore, the nature of these things, and their proximity to foundations of walls, answer the other question, and *do* indicate that the ash-pit belonged to a Roman house! Perhaps therefore these Roman remains mark the site of a Roman villa at Newhaven, and it remains for time and opportunity to prove or disprove the realization of this idea.

Little is known of Roman stations and streets in this part of Sussex. If there was a Roman road from London to Lewes, perhaps it was continued to the sea-coast direct, and may have terminated at Newhaven. This local find may possibly lead to the discovery of the Roman road and station, and to the clearer determination of Anderida.

NOTES ON WATERMILLS AND WINDMILLS IN SUSSEX.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A.

THE history of the useful arts is, to a great extent, the history of civilization, and is, therefore, an important as well as an interesting study. The first instinct of uncivilized man is the desire which, in common with the lower animals, he experiences, of assuaging the pangs of hunger. The flesh of wild animals, and the fruits which nature spontaneously offers for his use, serve for a while to supply this want; but, as our all-wise and beneficent Creator has endowed us at once with the desire and the ability of raising ourselves in the scale of creation, mankind cannot long remain in this, the lowest phase of existence. Accordingly, the earliest records of history exhibit our progenitors in the character of pastors and husbandmen—keepers of sheep and tillers of the ground. In the progressive developement of natural resources and of human ingenuity, bread-corn soon came into use; but, as this was presented in a form little adapted for food, several processes of preparation remained to be invented. At first it was deemed sufficient to roast and bruise the grain, so as to fit it for the organs of mastication and digestion. This seems to have been, for a long period, the only means employed. The architect and the painter are older characters in history than the miller and the baker. If we may trust the poets, Troy had temples but no mills.¹ Thus Virgil, describing the shipwreck of Æneas on the Lybian coast, though he expressly refers to the then-known appliances for the preparation of grain,² mentions the Trojans as feasting upon parched and pounded corn:

“ fruges receptas
Et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.”
Æn. i, 178-9.

The pestle and mortar of primitive times at length developed themselves into the quern or handmill, which, with some

¹ I mean, of course, in the modern sense of the term. The mills mentioned by Homer were simple *querns*.

² “*Cerealia Arma.*”

improvements, became the ass or horsemill of a later date. The application of this power, was, however, always rare, and the handmill, worked by two persons, commonly women, was for centuries the only sort in ordinary use. The invention of watermills has been ascribed to Mithridates, but there is nothing satisfactorily known on the subject, except that they existed in Asia in his time. Watermills were unknown at Rome until shortly before the Christian era, and even then, it was long before they came into common use. Under Caligula there was, on one occasion, a dearth of bread in the city, because the tyrant had seized the cattle belonging to the mills; and it is not until the close of the fourth century that public watermills are mentioned in the Roman laws.³ In the ages which succeeded the decay of the empire, watermills were gradually introduced into most European countries; and, upon the rise of the feudal system, most manors had their mills for the use of the lord and his dependents.

Innumerable mills are recorded in Domesday book, most of which, we may reasonably conclude, had existed under the Saxon rule. In the succeeding list, I have placed in alphabetical arrangement those occurring in that record under the county of Sussex; and it may be interesting to our members, to compare the number of mills in any particular district here mentioned with that of those now existing. In most cases, the streams upon which they stood may be readily pointed out, and there is no great stretch of probability in assuming that the Sussex peasant of the nineteenth century, in some instances, carries his corn for grinding to the identical spot to which his sturdy ancestor, the Saxon *ceorl*, resorted for the same purpose a thousand years ago.

In Sir Henry Ellis's 'General Introduction to Domesday,' it is remarked, that "wherever a mill is specified, we generally find it still subsisting. Mills anciently belonged to lords of manors, and the tenants were permitted to grind only at the lord's mill. This circumstance sufficiently accounts not only for the great number of mills noticed in the survey, as objects of profit to the landholder, but for the large sums which they are continually stated to yield."

In a subsequent passage, Sir Henry states, that "the average value [of mills] in Sussex, where there were a hundred and

³ Sketches of the Institutions of the Romans, p. 103,

forty-eight mills, was eight shillings and twopence." On an examination of the following list, it will be seen, however, that he has rather under-estimated the number.

Mills in Sussex at the time of the Domesday Survey, 1086.

Name of Place in Modern Spelling.	Domesday Orthography.	No. of Mills and Annual Rental.	Proprietor.
	<i>Adintune</i> ⁴	One . . . 39d.	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Arundel	<i>Harrundel</i>	One . . .	

In the time of Edward the Confessor this mill yielded forty shillings. It now produced ten bushels of grain, and ten bushels of coarser corn, and four additional bushels. It probably stood on the site of the present "old mill" widely known to the lovers of the picturesque by Constable's excellent picture.

Applesham (in Coombes)	<i>Aplesham</i>	One . . . 6s.	William Fitz-Norman.
Barnham	<i>Berneham</i>	One . . .	William.
Barcombe	<i>Bercham</i>	Three & $\frac{1}{3}$ 20s.	William de Wateville.

Extensive flour and oil mills still exist on the Ouse, in this parish.

Barlavington	<i>Berleventone</i>	Two . . .	Robert and his subten. Corbelin.
Berwick	<i>Berevice</i>	One . . .	Reinbert.
Beddingham	<i>Beddingham</i>	One . . . 8s.	Godefred and Gilbert.
Birdham	<i>Brideham</i>	One . . . 20s.	William and his subtenant Nigel.
Bignor	<i>Bigeneure</i>	Two . . . 28s.	Robert and his subtenant Ralph.

This entry is accompanied by the interesting addition, that the same manor possessed *a quarry for millstones*.⁵

⁴ *Qu.* If this be not Addington in Surrey, an ancient archiepiscopal manor, introduced by mistake of the Domesday commissioners among the primate's Sussex estates?

⁵ It was obvious, on meeting with this notice, to apply to our learned vice-president, Dr. Mantell, to ascertain whether any stone is now known in the district in question fit for the purpose referred to. To my inquiry, Dr. M., with his accustomed kindness, replies: "The only stone that can have been hard enough for millstones, either at Bignor or in its vicinity, is the gritty limestone, or rather marlstone, provincially termed *malm-rock*. This stone is the equivalent of the sandstone at Southbourne and the firestone of Reigate, and some of this rock may have been hard enough for hand-mills. There were, when I visited the Roman villa at Bignor, with Mr. Douglas, many of the outer and larger tesserae of the pavement composed of the Bignor 'malm-rock,' and I remember having seen a British (? Saxon) *quern* of the same material." For a geological description of the malm-rock, see Dr. M.'s 'Fossils of the South Downs,' and 'Geology of the S. E. of England.'

Name of Place in Modern Spelling.	Domesday Orthography.	No. of Mills and Annual Rental.	Proprietor.
Bosham	<i>Boscham</i>	Eight . 4 <i>l.</i>	The King.
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i>	Three . 14 <i>s.</i>	Bishop Osbern.

The manor of Bosham was of great importance in Saxon times, and attached to the crown, which may account for the existence of *eleven* mills there.

Brambletye . . . *Branbertie* . . One . . 2*s.* Ralph.

A mill still exists on the stream between the ruins of this celebrated house and Old Brambletye.

Broadwater . . .	<i>Bradewatre</i> . .	One . . 7 <i>s.</i>	Robert.
Bunton	<i>Bongetune</i> . .	One . . 2 <i>s.</i>	Robert.
Burton	<i>Botechitone</i> . .	One . . 11 <i>s.</i>	Robert.
Catsfield	<i>Cedesfelle</i> . .	One, "supplying the hall."	Wenenc.
Chiddingly . . .	<i>Cetelingei</i> . .	One, "with the Miller"	4 <i>s.</i> Ralph and Godwin.
Chichester . . .	<i>Cicestre</i> . .	One . . 5 <i>s.</i>	Earl Roger de Montgomeri.
Chiltington (East)	<i>Childetune</i> . .	Half . . 15 <i>d.</i>	"A knight."
Cocking	<i>Cochinges</i> . .	Five . 36 <i>s.</i>	7 <i>d.</i> Robert.
Chithurst	<i>Titcherste</i> . .	One . 8 <i>s.</i> and 100 eels	Morin.
Ditchling	<i>Dicelingès</i> . .	One . . 30 <i>d.</i>	William de Warenne.
Donnington . . .	<i>Donechitone</i> . .	Four . . 38 <i>s.</i>	Robert.
	<i>Drisnesel</i> ⁶ . .	One . . 2 <i>s.</i>	Reinbert.
Eastbourne . . .	<i>Borne</i> . .	One . . 5 <i>s.</i>	Earl of Moreton.
Elstead	<i>Halstede</i> . .	One . . 4 <i>s.</i>	Bishop Osbern.
Firle	<i>Ferle</i> . .	Two . . 30 <i>s.</i>	Earl of Moreton.
Fishbourne . . .	<i>Fiseborne</i> . .	Two . . 40 <i>s.</i>	Abbey of Seez.
Goring	<i>Garinges</i> . .	One; no rental	
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i> . .	One . . 3 <i>s.</i>	"Different homagers."
	<i>Gorde</i> ⁷ . .	One . . 9 <i>s.</i>	Ralph.
Greatham	<i>Greteham</i> . .	One . . 10 <i>s.</i>	Robert.
	<i>Harditone</i> ⁸ . .	One . . 30 <i>d.</i>	William.
Harting	<i>Hertinges</i> . .	Nine 4 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Earl Roger de Montgomeri
Henfield	<i>Hamfeld</i> . .	One . .	William de Braose of the Bp. of
Hartfield	<i>Hertewel</i> . .	One of 4 <i>s.</i> and 350 eels	Walter. [Chich.

Other instances occur, in which portions of the rental were paid in eels, of which large quantities were produced by the mill-ponds. After heavy rains, when these fish *run*, bushels of them are occasionally taken up from mill-dams.

⁶ In the hundred of Henhurst.

⁷ In the hundred of Framfield.

⁸ In the hundred of "Ghidenetroi," rape of Chichester.

Name of Place in Modern Spelling.	Domesday Orthography.	No. of Mills and Annual Rental.	Proprietor.
Hooe	<i>How</i>	One	7 <i>s.</i> Earl of Eu.
Hollington	<i>Holintune</i>	Two	no rent. Abbot of Battel.
Horsted Keynes	<i>Horstede</i>	One	2 <i>s.</i> William.
Hunston	<i>Hunestan</i>	One	20 <i>s.</i> William.
Hurstperpoint	<i>Herst</i>	Three	9 <i>s.</i> Robert.
Iford	<i>Niworde</i>	Two	23 <i>s.</i> William de Warenne.
Iping	<i>Epinges</i>	One	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> Aldred.
Keymer	<i>Chemere</i>	Two	12 <i>s.</i> William de Wateville.
Lullington	<i>Lovringetone</i>	One	8 <i>s.</i> Ralph.
Lancing	<i>Lancinges</i>	One	8 <i>s.</i> Robert.
	<i>Lodintone</i> ⁹	One	20 <i>s.</i> Earl of Moreton.
Lyminster	<i>Lolinminstre</i>	One	5 <i>s.</i> Earl Roger de Montgomeri.
Ditto	" <i>Nonneminstre</i> "	One	30 <i>d.</i> Abbey of Almanesches and sub-tenant Roger.

(Lyminster appears to have borne the second name of *Nunminster*, from its nunnery, which existed there in Saxon times.)

Malling	<i>Mallinges</i>	Five	4 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> The Archbishop.
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i>	One	5 <i>s.</i> Godefrid.
Merston	<i>Mersitone</i>	Three	7 <i>s.</i> Oismelin.
Mundham	<i>Mundreham</i>	One & $\frac{1}{3}$	8 <i>d.</i> Alcher.
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i>	One	5 <i>s.</i> Chetel.
Newtimber	<i>Nivembre</i>	One	20 <i>d.</i> Alfech. ¹⁰
Nutbourne	<i>Nordborne</i>	Two	25 <i>s.</i> Robert.
Offham (near Arundel)	<i>Offham</i>	Two	Earl Roger de Montg.
Pagham	<i>Pageham</i>	One	10 <i>s.</i> The Archbishop.
Parham	<i>Perham</i>	One	30 <i>d.</i> Robert.
Perching	<i>Berchinges</i>	Half	40 <i>d.</i> Oswald.
Pevensay	<i>Pevenesel</i>	One	20 <i>s.</i> Earl of Moreton.
Petworth	<i>Peteorde</i>	One, 20 <i>s.</i> and 189 eels	Robert.
Poynings	<i>Poninges</i>	Two	12 <i>s.</i> William Fitz-Rainald.
Plumpton	<i>Pluntune</i>	Two	20 <i>s.</i> Hugh Fitz-Ralph.
Pulborough	<i>Poleberge</i>	Two	11 <i>s.</i> Robert.
Ratton	<i>Radetone</i>	One	4 <i>s.</i> Gozelin.
Rackton	<i>Rochintone</i>	Two	12 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Abbey of Troard.
Rotherfield	<i>Redrefelle</i>	One	30 <i>d.</i> Ansfred, Humphrey, William, and "one Englishman."
Selham	<i>Seleham</i>	One, 10 <i>s.</i> and 100 eels	Robert and his subtenant Fulco.

⁹ In the hundred of Pevensay.

¹⁰ Doubtless the origin of the modern surname *Elphick*.

Name of Place in Modern Spelling.	Domesday Orthography.	No. of Mills and Annual Rental.	Proprietor.
Sessingham (in Ar-lington)	<i>Sesinge ham</i>	One, 10s. and 500 eels	Gerald.
	<i>Semlintun</i> ¹¹	One . . . 6s.	William de Braose.
Sheffield ?	<i>Sifelle</i>	One 40 <i>d.</i> and 500 eels	Earl of Moreton.
Steyning	<i>Staninges</i>	Four . . . 47s.	Abbey of Feschamp.
Stedham	<i>Stedeham</i>	Three . . . 30s.	Robert.
Stopham	<i>Stopeham</i>	One . . .	Turchil.
Storrington	<i>Estorchetone</i>	Two . . . 11s.	Robert and his subten. Durand.
Ditto	<i>Storchestone</i>	One . . . 5s.	Robert and his subten. Alwin.
Sullington	<i>Silletone</i>	Two . 12s. 7 <i>d.</i>	Earl Roger de Montgomeri.
Sutton	<i>Sudtone</i>	Three 13s. 9 <i>d.</i>	Robert.
Thakeham	<i>Taceham</i>	One . . . 3s.	Morin.
Todham (in Mid-hurst ?)	<i>Tadeham</i>	3dpt. of 1 14 <i>d.</i>	William and his subten. Nigel.
Tillington	<i>Tolintane</i>	One, 20s. and 120 eels	Robert.
Treyford	<i>Treverde</i>	One . . . 30 <i>d.</i>	Robert Fitz-Theobald.
Trotton	<i>Traitune</i>	One . 12s. 6 <i>d.</i>	Earl Roger de Montg.
Truleigh	<i>Trailgi</i>	Half 13s. 4 <i>d.</i>	William de Braose.
(near Fulking ?)	<i>Trailgi</i>	Two . . . 65 <i>d.</i>	William, a knight.
Wantley (in Henfield)	<i>Wantelei</i>	One . . . 20 <i>d.</i>	Ralph (de Wistoneston.)
Washington	<i>Wasinetune</i>	One . . . 15 <i>d.</i>	Morin.
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i>	One . . . 3s.	Alwiet.
Wepham (in Burpham)	<i>Wepeham</i>	One . . . 30 <i>d.</i>	Picot.
West Preston	<i>Prestetone</i>	One . . .	Love <i>l.</i>
Westbourne	<i>Borne</i>	Four . . . 40s.	Earl Roger de Montg.
Westhampnett	<i>Hentone</i>	One . . . 5s.	William.
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i>	1 of 3s. and 2 houses of 9 <i>d.</i>	Turgis.

This shows the comparative value of houses and mills.

Wittering	<i>Westringes</i>	One . . . 30 <i>d.</i>	The Bishop of Chichester.
Woolbeding	<i>Welbedinge</i>	One . . . 10s.	Odo.
Woolavington	<i>Loventone</i>	One . . . 6s.	The Archbishop.
Ditto	<i>Ditto</i>	One . . . 7s.	Ivo.

Hence, it would appear, that in the year 1086, Sussex possessed upwards of 155 manorial watermills, a very disproportionate share of which lay in West Sussex. As the eastern portion of the county possesses an abundance of streamlets adequate to the purpose, the paucity of mills, there, may be referred to some cause unconnected with geographical features.

¹¹ In the hundred of Steyning.

Is it unreasonable to suppose that the western district was more advanced in point of civilization, and that while its inhabitants could carry their grist to convenient mills, the denizens of the east were fain to content themselves with the household *querns* of a more primitive age?

There is little doubt that most of the existing watermills of Sussex stand upon the Domesday sites. Some in the interim have given way to iron-mills, and since the discontinuance of that manufacture, these have again reverted to the original use.

Of the origin of Windmills little is known.¹² A prevalent, though perhaps unfounded, notion is, that they were introduced into Western Europe, along with many other Asiatic arts and inventions, by the Crusaders. Fosbroke's authorities are clearly wrong in asserting, that they were introduced into France and England before the middle of the eleventh century. Several French antiquaries carry back their existence to the year 1105, but they found their belief upon a charter of that date, which M. Leopold Delisle proves to be a forgery.¹³ The first authentic record of a windmill in Normandy, is in a deed without date, *circa* 1180, which gives to the abbey of St. Sauveur de Vicomte, a piece of land near a windmill, *molendinum de vento*. The first known mention of one in England, is in the Chronicle of Josceline de Brakelonde, about 1190, when a windmill which had been built by Herbert, the dean, at Haberdon in Suffolk, was ordered to be destroyed by Abbot Samson.¹⁴ M. Delisle has collected several other instances of early windmills in England and Normandy. Under the year 1216, Matthew Paris mentions the ravages of a storm, which overthrew many mills. "You might see," says

¹² Johannes Heringius, Oldenburgensis, who published his *Tractatus de Molendinis, eorumque jure*, in 1663 (Lugd. Bat.), could find no traces of Windmills in the writings of the ancients. He ascribes the invention to Europe: "quorum nullum apud veteres autores mihi videre licuit vestigium, sed, ut opinor, novissimum Europæorum est inventum." He quotes Bertrand de Argentine (Consuetud. Britan. 17. 365) for the various epithets applied to Windmills 'molendina alata,' 'volatica,' 'πνευματικά' 'ανεμικά,' 'moletrine flabiles,' &c.; and states that the oldest mills were those which turned wholly round, the *versatile*-roofed ones (hodie "smock-mills") being a Flemish invention of the 16th century. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Blaauw.

¹³ Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. vi, p. 403, 'On the Origin of Windmills in Normandy and England,' translated by Dr. William Bell.

¹⁴ Chron. Josc. de Brakelondia, Camd. Soc., p. 43, where the quarrel between the Abbot of St. Edmund's and the Dean is very graphically given.

the old chronicler, "the wheels of mills carried away by the force of the waters . . . and what the water had done with the water-mills, the wind did not spare to do with those mills which are driven by the wind." Windmills are named in several records between that date and the year 1302. The extremely severe winter of that year so damaged the watermills by frost, that thenceforward a preference was given to windmills.—

" Si gaingnient moulines a vent
Plusque n'avoient fet devant,"

sings the French chronicler, Godefroi de Paris, in allusion to the circumstance.¹⁵

The latter half of the thirteenth century presents us with two Sussex windmills of historical importance as associated with dangerous incidents in the lives of two eminent personages.

On the day of the battle of Lewes, May 14th, 1264, during the flight of the troops of Henry III before the victorious barons, Richard, king of the Romans, the king's younger brother, took refuge in a windmill, barring the door, and for awhile defending himself from the fury of his pursuers. At length, amidst derisive cries, such as, "Come out, you bad miller! . . . You, forsooth, to turn a wretched mill-master; you, who defied us all so proudly, and would have no meaner title than King of the Romans, and always August!"—he surrendered himself to Sir John Befs, or Bevis, a follower of Gilbert de Clare.¹⁶ The popular ballad composed on this occasion, avers that—

"The Kyng of Alemaigne wende do full well
He saisede the mulne for a castel.
With hare sharpe swerdes he ground the stel,
He wende that the sayles were mangonel.

"The Kyng of Alemaigne gederede ys host,
Makede him a castel of a mulne post."¹⁷—*Percy's Rel. Ant. Poet.*

¹⁵ Chronique, r. 1700, ed. de Buchon, p. 66, quoted by M. Delisle.

¹⁶ Blaauw's Barons' War, p. 180.

¹⁷ *Wende*, imagined; *saisede*, seized; *stel*, a post; *mangonel*, a war-engine to cast stones with: *gederede*, gathered; *ys*, his; *mulne-post*, mill-post. In order to justify the poet's notion of the resemblance that the newly-introduced windmill bore to the more familiar 'mangonel,' I annex a representation of the latter as it is given by our older heraldic authorities. I may add, that the old English name for the mangonel was the same that is now applied to the 'sayles' of a mill, namely, a 'swepe.'



And Robert of Gloucester distinctly states that he was "in a windmulle inome," taken in a windmill; so that the statement of the two historians of Lewes, Dunvan and Horsfield, that the capture of the would-be successor of the Cæsars took place in a *watermill* is palpably erroneous. The probable site of the windmill-fortress of Richard has been discovered by Mr. Figg. An old document cited by Mr. Blaauw, states that the mill was afterwards called "King Harry's mill," and the MS. Tib. A. x, states that "all these transactions took place at Lewes, *ad molendinum Suelligi*," "at the mill of the Hide." Mr. Figg shows that a district in the parish of St. Anne, beyond the western boundary of the ancient town wall, and lying in the line of retreat most obvious to the Royalists, was called, within a comparatively recent period, "the Hide;" while a survey of the date of 1618, exhibits a windmill standing upon it (near the site of the existing Black Horse Inn) which, there is strong reason to believe, was the successor of the very mill which has given rise to these notes. See also *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vol. II, p. 28.

A deed of Isabella, countess of Warenne, grants a lease of a mill near Lewes, at a rent of twenty-two shillings, to Richard de Cumbes. It is called "Sidelune melne," and Mr. Blaauw conjectures that it may have been the mill in question.¹⁸ In connection with our subject, and in further illustration of the persistence of a particular trade in one family, to which I have elsewhere alluded,¹⁹ I may mention that some sixty years since there resided at East Blatchington, in this county, an eccentric character named William Coombs, by occupation a miller, whose favourite boast was, that his quaint old-fashioned little windmill had been in the possession of his ancestors "ever sen' the days of King Harry the Eighth." It appears by no means beyond the bounds of probability that this individual was a descendant of the Lewes miller and he; for aught we know to the contrary, may in turn have been descended from some præ-Domesday mill-master of Anglo-Saxon stock.

The other "historical" Sussex windmill is that at Winchelsea, which nearly proved fatal to king Edward the First. The king was at that then important place in the month of August, 1297, on his way to Flanders. Thomas of Walsing-

¹⁸ Barons' War, p. 180.

¹⁹ English Surnames, Third Edition, vol. i, p. 121.

ham describes what might have been a very serious accident as "the miracle of the king's salvation," in the following terms :

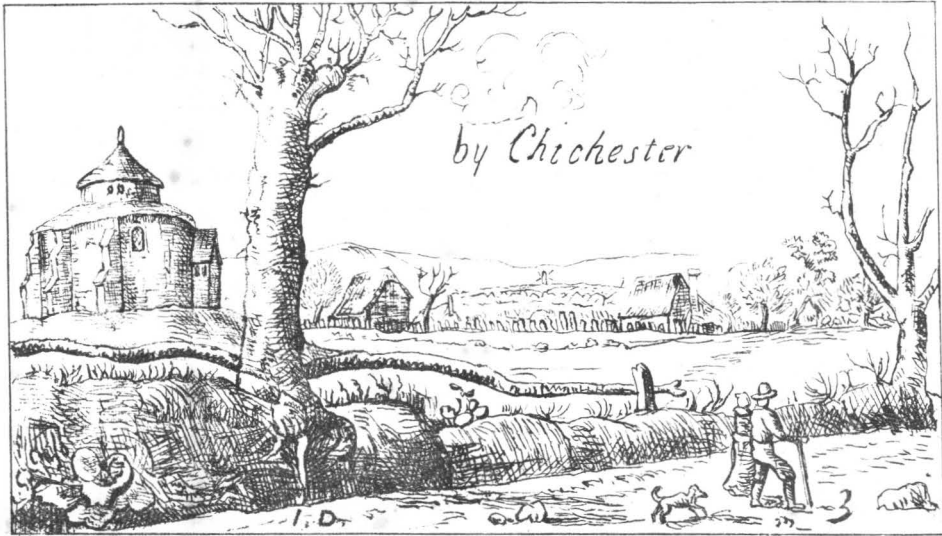
"Whilst the king was dwelling near Winchelsea, he proposed to go one day to the port to take a view of his fleet, and having entered the town, when he had just ridden over against the bulwarks, and was about to survey the fleet at the lowest station, it happened that he approached a certain windmill, of which there were several in the town; and his horse being frightened with the noise of the mill, and with the quickly-revolving sails, refused to proceed; and as the horse was vigorously urged on by the king by whip and spur, he leaped over the bulwarks; upon which, out of the multitude of horse and foot who followed the king, or had assembled to have a look at him, no one thought but that the king had perished, or had, at least, been stunned by the leap. But Divine Providence so disposing, the horse fell upon his feet, even from such a height, into a road, which from recent rains was softened with mud, into which the horse was able to slip for twelve feet, and yet did not fall; and being turned round with another bridle by the king, he ascended directly to the gate, through which he entered unhurt, and the people who were waiting for him were filled with wonder and delight at his miraculous escape."²⁰

It is not necessary to pursue the subsequent history of windmills in Sussex. Frequent mention of the existence of these picturesque additions to the landscape occurs in old deeds and other documents, but unaccompanied by any peculiarity requiring archæological or historical illustration.

Other mills claim a few words. Not to mention the iron-mills with which the county for many years abounded, and which have already engaged our attention,²¹ Sussex has, or has had, its paper, gunpowder, and fulling-mills, and even silk and cotton mills have been attempted on a small scale. Fulling-mills, which, according to Fosbroke, date as early as the 14th century, must have been very common, since in many districts there are enclosures still called "fulling-mill fields." The last that I have been able to trace existed at Plumpton within the present century. The two extensive *tidemills* at Sidlesham and Bishopston are of recent origin; but it is not improbable that we had others in earlier times. The invention is by no means modern: the very first folio of Domesday-book records a tidemill in Dover harbour, which wrecked almost every ship that came near it! and it may be assumed, with great probability, that some of the mills of the Sussex Domesday were also worked by the tide.

²⁰ Translated in Cooper's Winchelsea, pp. 57, 58.

²¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. II.



Engraved, Brothers, Red Lion Square.

Copies of Etchings by John Dunstall.

ON TWO ENGRAVINGS, BY JOHN DUNSTALL,
OF
"A TEMPLE BY CHICHESTER."

BY THE REV. DR. WELLESLEY,
PRINCIPAL OF NEW INN HALL, OXFORD.

IN preparing a List of the early Topographical Engravings relating to Sussex, two specimens, which at first did not appear to present more than ordinary difficulties of explanation, have up to this time baffled the most diligent inquiries in the most likely quarters.

With the hope of eliciting, through the body of our readers, some information which may lead to their satisfactory illustration, the accompanying engravings are now offered, from exact facsimiles made by the kind permission of Dr. Bandinel, from impressions among the Gough prints in the Bodleian Library.

They form No. 2 and No. 3 of a set of Views, apparently of about the period of King Charles II, etched by John Dunstall; but of how many the set consists we cannot say, having only seen the five following, all in Sussex, viz.—

No. 1, a north-west View of Chichester, from outside the city walls, the cathedral forming the principal object. On a cartouche above is the word "CHICHESTER." In the left-hand corner below are the initials "I. D.", and the printer's address, "Ro. Walton, Excudit." On the right-hand of the foreground is the number, 1.

No. 2 and No. 3 are those here given.

No. 4 represents the walls of what would seem a great mansion, with others of still greater extent in the distance. It has been suggested that the view is from Halnaker, reversed in the engraving; Boxgrove Priory ruins being on one side, and the spire of Chichester Cathedral on the other. Under a cart and horses in the foreground are the initials "I. D." and the number, 4.

No. 5 is the View of a mansion, seen from the outside of its

wall of enclosure, and inscribed "Hampnel House," in large *italics*, upon the sky. Below are the initials "I. D." and the number, 5. This is Hampnet, the final *t* not being crossed. The etching of this and of No. 1 is superior to that of the others.

Were it not for the employment of the term *Temple*, the building in Nos. 2 and 3 would pass for a very small church or chapel, of the apsidal class to which Up-Waltham belongs; and the only inquiry would be, whether it corresponded with any existing church, or any one which had been decayed, altered, or rebuilt. But it seems strange that this subject, which has none of the picturesque merits or social interests of the other Views in the set, should accompany them. Something of an antiquarian interest is more likely to have guided Dunstall's selection of these few performances. If at his time the "Temple" passed traditionally for the remains of a Roman edifice, this at once would account for his publishing *two* views of a building otherwise insignificant, and styling it a "temple." And in truth such a curiosity would have well deserved to be drawn in both its aspects, and given to the public.

That so small an edifice should have escaped demolition, even dating its existence from the latest period of the Roman occupation, is almost incredible. But the small Gothic buttresses, placed at variance with their normal application, and the addition of the apse, would seem to indicate a subsequent adaptation of the building to sacred uses; a presumption upon which its careful preservation might rest with some probability. At Treves the *Porta Nigra* owes its preservation to its *encasing* the church of St. Simeon,¹ destroyed not long ago; and similar circumstances, are well known to have been the preserving causes of many Roman remains in France, Germany, and Italy. The roof also, under its periodical renewals, would preserve the same general form, resembling in little that of San Stefano Rotondo at Rome, and reminding us of "tempietti," such as that of Romulus and Remus, in Rome, and the Campagna.

In the absence however of any authority for these conjectures, we invite our readers in the vicinity of Chichester, to communicate to us the result of their researches concerning any such churches, chapels of ease, cells or ecclesiastical edifices, decayed,

¹ An engraving of it by Merian may be seen in the first volume of Brower's 'Antiquitates et Anales Trevirenses.' Fol. Leodii, 1670.

demolished, or all but forgotten, as correspond with the representations before us, as well as any information respecting the birth, parentage, and residence, of the engraver of them. Dunstall is a Sussex name. It appears, by reference to the ancient accounts of the Churchwardens of Cowfold,² and to the rental roll³ of Rusper Priory, 1532, that a family of Dunstall had been living at Cowfold from the fifteenth century; and in the parish register of Cowfold (with extracts from which we were favoured by the Rev. W. Bruere Otter) there occurs a John Dunstall, baptised Dec. 24, 1637, younger son of Thomas Dunstall, of Brownings, who married, in 1631, Emma Stone, or Stoner, and grandson of Thomas Dunstall, who also lived at Brownings farm, and died in 1635. In 1589, John Browning, D.D., was the incumbent of South Stoke, and in 1706, a John Dunstall had the incumbency of the same parish. It is therefore not improbable that our engraver was so far connected by birth or kindred with Sussex, as to account for his visit to the neighbourhood of these views: and even should this John Dunstall, baptised in 1637, not prove to be our artist, which however is very possible, further researches may enable us to add to the slender notices of him extant, that he was a native of Sussex. Walpole, in his History of Engravers, only tells us that—

“John Dunstall lived in the Strand, and taught to draw. In 1662 he designed and etched a book of flowers. His portraits are William Gouge, Samuel Clarke the martyrologist, and King William and Queen Mary.”

We can add that he engraved,

“*Βιβλος Ὀικῶν* aut Liber Domorum, a Book of Houses, composed by John Dunstall, schoolmaster; composed for learners to draw by. The author hereof teacheth the art of Delineation or Drawing: he dwelleth in Black-friers, London.”

We have before us a title-page, six inches wide, bearing a large festoon of fruit, and this inscription:

“*Βιβλος καρπῶν*. Vel Liber Fructuum. Or a Book of Fruits, Drawn after the life By John Dunstall School-master: Composed for Learners to Draw by. The Author hereof Teacheth the Art of Delineation or Drawing. He dwelleth in Black-friers, London.”

² Suss. Arch. Coll. vol. II, pp. 317, 321, 322, 323.

³ See above, p. 260.

Also, No. 2 of a set of Fruits, nine inches wide; and Nos. 2, 3, & 4, of another set of Fruits, twelve inches wide. All these bear the words, "Johannes Dunstall delineavit;" and on No. 4 there is added—'Ο Καρπος 'Εστὶ Τέλος Πάντων. Ἰωάννης ὁ Δυσταλλος.

Dunstall engraved Clarendon House, and several Views in London, mentioned in "Gough's British Topography;" and was also the author of,

'Γεωμετρία, Geometria or some Geometrical Figures by way of Introduction to the art of Pourtraicture, Delineation or Drawing, By John Dunstall Schoolmaster in Blackfriars, London, *since removed into Ludgate-street.*'

The "Liber Domorum," bound up with this, in the British Museum, has only four fronts of town-houses, and shops.

These tripled-tongued inscriptions naturally suggest a doubt, whether the term "Temple" may not be accounted for by the pedantry of the classical schoolmaster.

Two other conjectures with reference to the term "Temple" may deserve consideration, namely; whether it was a puritanical mode of designating a place of worship; or, secondly, whether it was one of the round churches built after the form of the Holy Sepulchre, and belonging, as Temple Comb, Temple Newsham, Temple Sowerby, &c., to the Order of the Templars, or to that of St. John of Jerusalem, of which latter order, Poling in Sussex was a Commandery.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE FIRST FIVE VOLUMES
OF THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS.

VOL. I.

Page x, line 5.—The beautiful model of Chichester Cathedral was the work of Mr. George Holmes, and was his property when exhibited.

P. 5, l. 19, *for* near Beachy Head, *read* near East Bourne;—l. 38, *read* preserved near Seaford in high honor.

P. 24, note, *read* angariari posse.

P. 53, l. 24.—In *Chroniques Belges*, par J. J. de Smet, quarto, 1837, Bruxelles, is the following at p. 557: “Anno, 1057, Adventus sanctæ Lewinnæ Virginis de Anglia ad Bergas monasterium Sancti Winnoci.”—*Chron. St. Bavonis, Seculo xv.*

P. 70, l. 9, *read* whereof four dozen were square and two dozen round; note*, *read* Ashburnham.

P. 86, l. 5 from bottom, *for* thrashing, *read* thatching the barne.

P. 95, l. 26, *read* Fittleworth.

P. 103, l. 12, *for* married, *read* buried.

P. 118, last line, *read* Henry Peacham.

P. 119, third line from end of note †, *read* “in a city or town.”

P. 128, l. 8 from bottom, *read* about 18 inches.

P. 129, l. 17, *for* remarks on the small effigy at Abbey Dore, see *Journ. Archæol. Assoc.*, v. II, p. 361;—l. 22, *read* (portions, I presume, of an hexameter verse).

P. 145, l. 7, *for* Warblington, *read* Walberton;—l. 33, *read* impressed on;—l. 35, *read* branch out into three.

P. 147, last line, *for* was exerted, *read* has existed.

P. 153, l. 5 from bottom, *read* hundreds of circular foundations.

P. 164, last line: “When Mr. Todd was Librarian, there was a copy of St. Richard’s will, at p. 76 of MS. 585, probably part of the bequest of Archbishop Tennison.”—*Rev. C. Valentine.*

P. 170, n. ¹¹, *omit* “Dugdale’s Mon. does not mention them.”

P. 173, n. ²⁰.—In the Inventory of Jewels, &c. of Edward I, in 1285, occurs the following mention of another Bachedene, probably some relation:—“ciphos—de eodem (W. de Farendon) l ciphum deauratum sine coopterio cum pede, ponderis ii^m. vi^{unt}. xviii^d, pretium lvi^s. ix^d. datum per Regem Magistro Nicholao de Bachiden, canonico ecclesie Cicestrie.”—*Carl. Ride MSS.*, WN. 1865.

P. 174, n. ²⁶, *for* vellum, *read* parchment.

P. 175, l. 6, *dele* “paper.”

P. 179, l. 16, *read* Sir Stephen de Langespée;—n. ⁴¹, *read* Stephen Longsword.

P. 184, l. 10, *for* fillets, *read* coifs (tena coronas abscondunt);—n. ⁵⁷, l. 11, *read* serpents’ tongues.

P. 185, l. 18, *read* given them.

VOL. II.

P. 21, l. 26, *for* another version of the Inscription on the Lewes Priory Seal, and its interpretation, see Vol. III, *Sus. Arch. Coll.*, p. 202.

P. 29, line last but 2, *for* 1278, *read* 1268.

P. 45, l. 2.—“These ‘Shares’ seem to have been very ancient customs; for in the Charter granted by Richard I, A.D. 1194, to the Barons of Rye, we find these words: ‘Excepta quadam costuma in eadem villa vocata shares.’ Again, in the grant of Charles II to Edward Guldeford, Esq., of the Manor of Higham, A.D. 1661, alluding to the Bailiwick of New Winchelsea, are these words: ‘And with the custom of ships and fishing boats called shares.’ Among the old revenues of Rye Church is mentioned one arising from fish, called ‘St. Mary’s Share,’ she being the patroness of the church.”—*Wm. Holloway, Rye, Jan. 1850.*

P. 51, l. 3.—The Blockhouse was one of the forts erected by Henry VIII, on the coast, about 1539 or 1540, which were, in 1541, put under the command of the constables of Dover.—Wm. Holloway, Rye, Jan. 1850.

P. 86, l. 5, *for belt, read hood.*

P. 132.—Royal Journeys in Sussex. Dec. 7th, 1067, the Conqueror landed at Winchelsea.—Cooper's Winch., p. 5.

For an Account of King William the Second's visit to Battel Abbey, on its dedication, Feb. 11th, 1095, see Lower's Battel Chron., p. 45. He had been at Hastings on Feb. 2d, intending to embark from thence for Normandy.—Sax. Chr. Allusion to this king's frequently visiting Battel Abbey, is also at p. 46 of the Chron.

King Henry I was at Pevensey in 1001, awaiting the invasion of his brother Robert from Treport.—Sax. Chron. Hovedon, 268.

P. 133, l. 13.—“King Henry II landed at Winchelsea, on Saturday, January 30th, 1188.”—Cooper's Winch., p. 5.

P. 135.—April 6th, 1211, King John dated from Knepe Castle a Confirmatory Charter to Bayham Abbey.—Dugd. Monast. xviii.

P. 142.—Aug. 7th, 1297. Combwell is now a large farm in the parish of Goudhurst, belonging to W. Campion, Esq., of Danny. It is the site of an Abbey, of which not a vestige remains, although it is probable that king Edward sojourned there when he visited Goudhurst, on April 29th, 1305; see p. 156. Here the cook of king Henry III, was killed on his advance to the battle of Lewes, in 1264; see Lower's Battel Chron. p. 200.

P. 151, l. 29.—Mr. W. Holloway, of Rye, has very justly suggested that the clerk of the kitchen was sent (ad providenciam faciendam de muletto griseo) to procure, not “a grey mule,” but *grey mullet*, for which the Arundel coast has been famous; the error arose from not observing that “*muletto*” is merely the Latinised form of the French “*mulet*,” although *mugil* is the only classical form.

P. 156.—July 1st, 1305. Milkhus. “Milkhouse-street is in the parish of Cranbrook; the remains of Sisinghurst Castle are near it, where the king may probably have lodged.”—Rev. A. Hussey.

P. 158, l. 8.—The Barons of Hastings were wont to give their share of the cloths of the coronation canopy to the shrine of St. Richard.—See Jeake's Charter. In the accounts of the Churchwardens of Rye, in 1513, is an entry of “money gathered to St. Richard's shrine, 14s. 1d.—Paid to St. Richard of Chichester for Peter Pence, 5s.—St. Richard's shrine, 5s.—A.D. 1520, paid my Lord of Chichester for Saint Richard's shrine, 5s.”—See Holloway's Rye, p. 477.

P. 177, n. * l. 5, *read sin autem.*

P. 195.—“At Mr. Frewen's house at Brickwall, there is an old fire-back of iron in an upper room, exhibiting an anchor and cable surmounted by a crown, with the letters CR, one on either side of the crown.”—Mr. Holloway.

P. 289, l. 2.—“As this subsidy had been authorised by the king's writ from Odymer, this Robert de Pasele may have been one of the same family as Edmund de Passele, to whom the king's license had been given in 1283, to fortify his mansion of Mote, in the parish of Iden, near Odymer.”—W. Holloway, Rye.

P. 301, l. 2, col. 2, “Baa,” “perhaps an offset from the family of Baa, settled at Iekham in Kent, in early times, according to Hasted.—Rev. A. Hussey.

P. 319, l. 9, ‘costagies de vetel 12d.,’ “may mean simply ‘the price of vituals,’ a conjecture apparently confirmed at p. 120, at line two from the bottom, ‘vetell met and drynk vid.’”—W. Holloway, Rye.

P. 322, l. 2, ‘lyten.’—“In Hampshire, a churchyard was called a Lyttan.”—W. Holloway.

VOL. III.

P. 3, n. 2.—For a better explanation of the term Bernarii, see Journal of Archaeol. Institute, vol. vii, p. 321. “The Berners were originally the berniers, vassals who paid the brenage, brenagium, a feudal claim exacted for the provender of the lord's hounds; and in after times the brennarii (see Ducange in v.), or berniers, were attendants who had actually charge of the dogs, and are named in the Household Ordinances of Henry II, and in the List of Liveries, Wardrobe Book, Edw. I, p. 317. Their functions appear in the ‘Master of Game,’ Cotton MSS. Vesp. B. xii, f. 89. In the peti-

tion of the master of the buckhounds, t. Hen. VI, 1499, his officials appear to have been the 'Yomen veautrer and yeomen Berners;' Rot. Parl. It need scarcely be observed, that from this term a distinguished noble family received their name."

P. 20, l. 10, for Lullington, read Lyminster; and again at p. 21, l. 24.

P. 31, l. 6, read periere ruinae.

P. 35, l. 2, for 1222-24, read 1222-1244.

P. 36, l. 3.—A communication from a member of our Society, Mr. F. Mewburn of Darlington, points out that there is no proved similarity of origin between the two families of Neville,—that of Raby, and that of which the bishop, Chancellor Ralph, was a member; but that the two were united subsequently by a marriage of Sir John Neville of Holt, a junior branch of the Raby house, with Matilda, a daughter of Jollan de Neville, the Justiciary, compiler of the Testa de Neville. Mr. Mewburn refers to an elaborate pedigree in vol. iv of Surtees' Hist. of Durham, and to a pedigree drawn up by Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe, from the documents in the Duke of Cleveland's Archives.

P. 61, l. 27, for extent, read MS. Extent of the Priory.

P. 65, l. 4, for Jan. 1, read Sept. 8.

P. 128, n. ²⁴.—Mr. Turnbull, a member of our Society, points out a modern instance of a commoner's similar alliances with nobility, in the case of Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood; whose sisters are married to the Marquis of Bredalbane, Earl of Ashburnham, Viscount Haddo, and Lord Polwarth, besides other collateral alliances.

P. 151, n. ⁹².—For additional particulars of the intercourse between Walter Burrell and John Ray, see Vol. IV, p. 268.

VOL. IV.

P. 26, n. ⁷, l. 2, for 'John Frewen was Alderman, 1647, and his son Thomas, read "John Frewen succeeded his father as rector of Northiam. Stephen's son Thomas," &c.

P. 106, n. ⁴, read tribus vicibus.

P. 213, l. 23, for Sr., read scilicet.

P. 218, last l., read Surrenden MSS.

P. 224, l. 6, Sir Francis Nethersole was resident Ambassador at the Hague, 1631.

P. 226, l. 28, for John, read Richard Hoper;—l. 34, read excuse my slouth.

VOL. V.

P. 112, n. ², read Feb. viii.

P. 117, n. ¹², read Cart. Antiq. in Dugdale's Monast.

P. 131, n. ³, l. 3, read vasorum.

P. 176, l. 29, read over a bridge crossing the Little Rother.

P. 232, l. 14, the value of the church of Somtynge should be 12 marks.

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