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RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

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R E P O R T.

AT a period when there have arisen so many other general and local Societies, having in view the same objects, it might have been sufficient if the SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY had been able merely to maintain its ground, and, after six years' exertion, to show no symptom of decay. But it is especially gratifying to find that the progress of its influence and the increase of its numbers in 1852, have been equal to that of former years. Though acting within, and principally drawing its recruits from a limited district, it has yet added 94 Members during the year, and is now based on 555 supporters, among whom are many of high eminence in literature, not locally connected with the County.

So eminent a success has hitherto marked its career, that the Committee may fairly be content with the soundness of the simple principles on which it was originally founded—entire freedom from political or religious discussion, and the easy admission of all desirous of promoting the preservation and better knowledge of the history and antiquities of Sussex. The rate of contribution was purposely fixed so low that, although the noblemen and landlords of the County have readily associated themselves with the interests of the Society, and have in many cases by personal kindness advanced its prosperity, the representatives of all classes and of all opinions in great numbers have found in it a ready welcome; a convincing example that the respectability and welfare of a Society do not in these times depend on the amount of money payments, but on the cordial union of all for a common purpose.

While thus reverting to past successes, our attention is naturally recalled to the losses occasionally suffered by the death of many valuable Members, and though the list unhappily includes many of the earliest friends of the Society, it is hoped that it will not be thought invidious here to express an especial regret for a few, whose names will be long cherished in the memory, not only of their friends but of the public.

The late FREDERIC DIXON, Esq., of Worthing, before his premature death, was one of the active founders of this Society, and his zealous exertions in the Committee were freely given, amidst many other avocations. To the early volumes of the Society he contributed the results of his varied knowledge and industry, and in his posthumous work on the Geology of Sussex, there is also much to interest the antiquary. It is agreeable to know that his valuable Museum has since found a worthy home in the choice collection at Alnwick Castle.

Many other Societies, scientific and antiquarian, of which the late MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON was the President and chief ornament, have lamented the abrupt loss of the cheerful exercise of his talents and learning, and it becomes this Society to add this slight tribute to one of their earliest Vice-Presidents, connected by one of his titles with Sussex.

The recent death of another of our foremost supporters has attracted the attention of a wide public, as well as the particular regrets of this County, with which Dr. MANTELL was so intimately connected. His elastic energies were devoted to so many branches of scientific research, with so much original genius, and with such a peculiar felicity in his manner of imparting his discoveries to others, that his publications will always be held in high esteem. Many objects of great value and interest found in Sussex, of which he was a diligent collector from boyhood, were afterwards purchased by the British Museum.

On Sussex Heraldry. By Mr. S. W. Ellis.
 On the Custom of Borough English. By Mr. Corner.
 These two latter were not read from want of time.

Among the articles exhibited, were,

A volume of Monastic Seals. By Mr. Bellingham.
 Valuable MSS. and autographs. By Mr. O'Callaghan.
 Roman Pottery from near Gorely Crop, Fordingbridge, co. Hants. By Rev. E. L. Johnson.
 Tiles from Battle Abbey; Sacristan's Roll of the Abbey, about the time of Henry IV; Portrait of Isaac Ingall, aged 113, domestic servant for 90 years in the Webster family; King Edward VI's Booke of Common Praier, 1559; Painting of Battle Abbey. By Dowager Lady Webster.

Due notice having been given, rule 6 was thus altered—

“The Committee of Management to consist of a Patron, President, Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Local Secretaries, and not less than 12 other Members.”

An eminent antiquary, Mr. Roach Smith, having undertaken to conduct some excavations at Pevensey Castle, the Committee thought it proper to evince their interest in the proceeding, by a small contribution in aid of the subscription for the expenses. The result has improved our knowledge of this very interesting locality.

Various presents have been made to the Society during the year.

An ancient dagger, found near Lewes. By Rev. G. C. Shiffner.
 Weapons of Celtic and Teutonic Races. By J. Yonge Akerman, Esq.
 Two bronze belts from Farney, Ireland. By Evelyn Shirley, Esq.
 Mummies of the Ibis, and various Egyptian Antiquities. From F. Barchard, Esq., jun.
 Facsimile of MS. of Sprott's Chronicle. By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.
 Aubrey's Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey, 5 vols. 8vo. By Joseph Knight, Esq.
 J. P. Andrew's History of England, 2 vols., 4to. By C. Hicks, Esq.
 Collectanea Antiqua. From Roach Smith, Esq.
 History of Colchester Castle. By Rev. H. Jenkins.
 History and Antiquities of All Saints, Sudbury, by Rev. C. Badham. By Earl Waldegrave.
 Quelques objets antiques à Livoye. Par M. Charma.

Proceedings of various Antiquarian Societies, Nottingham, Norwich, Cheshire, Chester, &c.

A Quarterly Meeting was held at Lewes, on October 5th, at which

Mr. Lower read a paper describing the Excavations at Pevensey.
 Mr. Hamilton Dicker, on the Picturesque in ecclesiastical architecture, with reference to Sussex churches.

The intended visit to Chichester of the Archæological Institute, in 1853, having been announced, the Committee thought it advisable to fix their Annual Meeting during the week of the Institute's Session at Chichester, and his Grace the Duke of Richmond, having intimated his intention to preside at such meeting, if held at Goodwood, on Thursday, July 14th, that day was accordingly fixed.

W. H. BLAAUW, HON. SEC.

Beechland; January 1, 1853,

The First Volume of the SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS, having been out of print for some time, to the inconvenience of the Members who have since joined the Society, the Committee have arranged for the reprinting a limited number of copies at 10s. each, and they particularly invite their friends to make applications for such copies, without delay, either to a Local Secretary, or the Honorary Secretary.

Rules.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. THAT the Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the General Meeting.

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

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ON THE (SO CALLED) ROLL OF BATTLE ABBEY.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

READ AT THE MEETING AT BATTLE, JULY 23, 1852.

EVERY one, learned or unlearned, has heard of the Roll of Battle Abbey, or has read of it in books. There is a vague opinion floating in society that there exists a list of the persons who accompanied William Duke of Normandy in the expedition which ended in the subjugation of Saxon England, prepared by the persons who presided over the monastery which the duke erected at this place as a memorial of the event, and that perpetual prayers might be offered for them, and especially for those who were slain in the battle. Others have been content with the notion that it is a list of *families* who became settled in England at the Conquest. But though warning has from time to time been given not to trust too implicitly to any thing which is presented to us as being the roll in question, people not inattentive to gentilitial inquiry, nor without something of the spirit of critical research, are heard to speak of such a roll as a *document*, a *record*, or at least a *quasi record*; a certain writing of very high antiquity and authority; as a last appeal, an authoritative decider of controversies, whenever a question is raised, whether this or that family is of Saxon origin, or to be classed amongst those, who, as the phrase usually runs, "came in with the Conqueror at the conquest of England."

I propose to make this supposed Roll the subject of inquiry, and to give a little more of definiteness to the ideas entertained concerning it than at present seems to prevail. And in this

it will be perceived that I have not been inattentive to the *genius loci*, assembled as we are within the very buildings of the monastery. At the same time I may be thought by some to owe an apology to you, gentlemen of Sussex, for anything which may be regarded as tending to the unsettling a favourite opinion, or to the disparaging testimony arising in your county to matter of great and general interest. My apology is this: that Archæology or Antiquarianism means minute and exact history; that you are an Archæological Association, intent therefore on acquiring and diffusing minute and exact knowledge in all matters of history; and that nothing can be more opposed to the spirit of such an Association, than persistence in error, or the encouragement of mere prejudices, however dear and interesting they may be.

In entering upon this subject, the first question which presents itself is, what do we mean when we speak of the Roll of Battle Abbey?

Now we know most authentically that this Abbey of Battle was founded by the Conqueror, on the actual field of the battle in which he gained the victory over Harold: that it was founded in commemoration of that battle and victory, and that the suffrages of the house should ascend for himself and family, for those persons by whose aid he had obtained the victory, and especially for those who were slain in the conflict; and nothing, it may be thought, could be more in accordance with the usages of the monastic foundations, than that the names of persons who were entitled to their suffrages should be recited in the services, or at least borne upon the hearts of those who were engaged in them. So that, antecedently to all investigation, it might be presumed that such a catalogue would be formed of the persons who composed Duke William's host, and be preserved in writing in the martyrology or some other record of the house, from whence the names might be read, if not on any other day, at least on the feast of Saint Calixtus, the anniversary day of the battle.

The foundation charter still exists. It is preserved in the British Museum, its number being 83. A. 12, of the Harleian Charters. The clause belonging to our inquiry is less specific than for our present purpose we might desire,—“*et pro salute omnium quorum labore et auxilio regnum obtinui, et illorum*

maxime qui in ipso bello occubuerunt ;” but as far as it goes it is perfectly intelligible.

It leaves no room to doubt that the whole of Duke William’s army was to be remembered in the devout solemnities of the monastery ; but then the question arises, whether the persons who composed this host were to be spoken of in those devotions *nominatim*, or only in general terms, and on the resolution of this question depends whether we have reason to believe that such a list as the Roll of Battle Abbey is by some understood to contain, was ever prepared.

This is a question, first, of general probability, and secondly, of fact and history.

It cannot be denied that the monks might so interpret the intention of their founder, that they might think it incumbent upon them, at least on the great anniversary of the battle, to make special mention of every person who had aided the Duke of Normandy in his enterprise, and in that case there must have been prepared a written catalogue of them, to be used in the services year by year. But then, to recite the name of every soldier who formed such a numerous host as that which the duke brought over with him, would seem to be so large a tax upon the patience of the monks, that it seems the more reasonable opinion that the monks gave a lax interpretation to this clause in the charter, and were content with naming the duke, his wife Matilda, and King Edward, and, then in the actual terms of the charter, all who had aided, and especially all who were slain, without descending to name every archer in the army or every captain of the several divisions of the host : and this probably was all that the founder actually intended.

So much for the general probability. We may wish that we could arrive at a different conclusion, for such a list prepared at the time of the foundation of the monastery would form a most authentic and valuable historical document, especially if, as would no doubt have been the case, there had been a distinction marked between those who were slain and those who survived the battle. It would be instructive as bearing on military antiquities ; it would be of vast importance in its bearing on genealogical history. Had such a list been prepared, and had it descended to our time, we should then

undoubtedly have had a Battle Abbey Roll in the highest and best sense.

Of the general probability every one may form an opinion. That opinion in most minds would I think be unfavourable; but another ground might be taken. A religious service, in which every soldier of a large army was to be named, might be thought too ponderous a duty; but the monks might, out of respect to their founder and in regard to the object of their foundation, have thought it right to prepare such a list and to enter it in the books relating to their house. This, though such a roll would be of less authority than the former, would still be a most valuable document, answering well to the idea which people form of the Roll of Battle Abbey. Have we then reason to believe that such a catalogue as this was prepared by them?

And this leads at once to what belongs both to this question and the one which preceded it,—what evidence is there, as a question of fact and history, that any such list was ever prepared?

In answer to this question it will, I believe, be universally admitted, that there is no testimony from any early chronicler, to the formation of such a list in the monastery for any purpose or on any suggestion whatever; that no such list is to be found in any of the registers, or chartularies, or chronicles of the house that have descended to our times, and there are several of them; that no separate script containing such a list exists, and yet the existing documents relating to the Abbey and its possessions are exceedingly numerous: and further, that no antiquary or other person of credit pretends to have ever seen or heard of such a list. So that we are driven to this conclusion, that no proof exists that such a list ever was prepared, and if prepared, it has not descended to our time, either in the original or in any copy.

It may be said, indeed, that we cannot tell how much of historical evidence may have perished when the monastery was broken up at the Reformation. This is true; but if such a list had existed when Leland visited Battle and noticed the historical manuscripts in the library, I think he would hardly have omitted to take notice of it, if any such document had then existed; and when so many persons prepared lists of men or families who came in with the Conqueror, as we

shall soon see to have been the case, if the monks of Battle had possessed so early and authentic a list, that some of those persons would not have obtained copies of the list and formed their own collections upon it.

I fear then that we are driven to the conclusion, (1) That no Bede-Roll of the army was ever prepared, which Bede-Roll would have been the Battle Abbey Roll, in by far the highest and best sense of the word; (2) That no list of the duke's host was ever prepared for purposes less formal and important than to be used in the devout solemnities of the place; and that if such a roll ever did exist, it has long ago perished, as well as all copies of it or extracts from it.

But while I venture confidently to submit that no list of the army of the Duke of Normandy has come down to us with the authoritative stamp of the Abbey of Battle impressed upon it, I do not deny that there are several lists of persons or families who are said to have come in with the Conqueror, descended to us from times long before the Reformation, though not ascending to near the time of the Conquest: nor would I affirm that one or more of these may not have been the work of some private monk of the monastery, whose position naturally invited him to the consideration of such a question as this. At the same time, while admitting the probability that some private monk of the house may have thus amused himself in his hours of leisure, as many other persons in the middle ages did, there is no possibility of determining which of several lists is the work of a monk of Battle; and that if we could do so, we are not bound to attribute to it that kind of high authority which is yielded by popular opinion to the supposed Battle Abbey Roll. These lists, of which I shall speak in some detail, being ten in number, all differ in many respects from each other. They are evidently but conjectural lists formed according to the opportunities of information which the compilers of them possessed, and so are far from coming to us with any authority worthy of regard. Yet one or two of these lists it is supposed must be meant, when an appeal is made to the Roll of Battle Abbey.

The very diversity of these lists plainly shows that they are the works of different persons whose sources of knowledge were different. The diversity lies in the names and in the

numbers. There are names of families in them which we know historically did not become settled in England till long after the Conquest. Persons are omitted of whom we have the best evidence that they were in the expedition. In fact, any critical student in that part of history might at this time form a similar list from Domesday Book and the old Norman chroniclers, and one which would be far more worthy of regard than any of these, though still depending for its authority on the credit which we gave to the skill and diligence of the individual compiler.

It was not till so late as the time of Queen Elizabeth that any claim was put forth on behalf of any of these lists to be the Roll of Battle Abbey, or to be in any way connected with the Abbey, except as having had a certain reference to the Conquest and to the influx of strangers from Normandy consequent on that event. Holinshead, in 1577, is the first writer who claims for any of them the title of the Roll of Battle Abbey, and he distinctly states that the roll which he has printed did some time belong to the Abbey. It is a list of surnames only, placed in alphabetical order, 629 in all, and all apparently names of French origin. With the testimony before us of such a writer as Holinshead, I should not pretend to say that he may not have copied the list from some manuscript which may have belonged to the House of Battle; but further than that I could not go, since the list has evident marks of being only one of the many lists of the kind which were prepared; and with Holinshead, Stowe is to be compared, who, a very few years later, published another list differing from Holinshead's, containing indeed, only 407 names, and for this he claims that it is taken "out of a table some time in Battle Abbey;" so that, at the very beginning, when our chroniclers began first to look upon these lists in connection with the Abbey, we have two different lists, the pretensions of each of which may be said to be equal. There is, however, a correspondency between them. Both begin with Aumarle and end with Wyvil, though in different orthographies. The second name in Holinshead's; Aincourt is absent from Stowe's, and yet the Deincourts would hardly defer even to a Battle table which excluded them from the distinction of having come in with the Conqueror. Neither Holinshead nor Stowe affords us any information

respecting the channel through which they obtained their knowledge that their lists had any existence in the Abbey before the dissolution.

Next comes Du Chesne. He received from Camden a copy of Stowe's List, and he has printed it with the title—*Cognomina Nobilium qui Gulielmum Normanniæ Ducem in Angliam sequuti sunt: ex Tabula Monasterii de Bello in Anglia cum hac superscriptione*—Then follow the five lines,

“Dicitur a bello BELLUM locus hic, quia bello
Angligenæ victi sunt hic in morte relict
Martyris in Christi festo cecidere Calixti.
Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,
Cum pereunt Angli, stella monstrante cometa.”

These lines are interesting enough; but it is extraordinary that Du Chesne did not perceive they formed no title, and no proper exordium to the list of Norman names which follows: nor is his testimony to the existence of the lists in the Abbey of Battle to be regarded as independent of the testimony of Stowe.

Camden, however, seems to have given credit to what Holinshead and Stowe have said of their lists having come from the Abbey,—“albeit, happily they are not mentioned in those tables of Battle Abbey of such as came in at the Conquest,” but in what light estimation these tables were in his opinion, appears from what he next says, “which whosoever considers well shall find always to be forged, and those names to be inserted which the time in every age favoured and were never mentioned in that authentical record.” (*Remains*, 4to, 1629, p.130). Camden would seem to have entertained a notion that there was some primitive list made at Battle, but lost.

I must however halt at this step, to take especial notice of what is said by Browne Willis, an antiquary of a later age but of high authority. He wrote concise accounts of the abbies, which he called *Mitred*, and among them is Battle:—“Nor were the monks of Battle less careful about preserving a table of the Norman gentry which came into England with the Conqueror. This table also continued till the dissolution, and was seen by our admirable antiquary Mr. Leland, who hath given us the contents of it in the first tome of his ‘*Collectanea*.’”

Willis seems to have confounded Leland with Stowe, who

speaks of these tables, so designating them; for I cannot find that Leland does anywhere speak of lists or tables at Battle. It is just possible that Willis may have seen some portion of the 'Collectanea' not printed by Hearne; but in Hearne's edition of the 'Collectanea' there is nothing said of any list at Battle, the only list being that at vol. i, p. 206, an isolated fragment of history occupying pages 221-4, of Leland's manuscript, the two pages before it and the four which follow being left by him blank. It is true that it is an old list of families said to have come in with the Conqueror, but it is not said that it was found at Battle. It is, moreover, entirely different from either Holinshead's or Stowe's, being one of those sing-song lists in which the names are placed in couplets, of which more afterwards. If this is the list of which Willis speaks, we have then *three* lists, for all of which a Battle Abbey authority is claimed.

Holinshead was not the first person who printed one of these lists; for Grafton had printed the same list before him. Negative evidence of that kind, it may be said, does not go for much; but Grafton, when he introduces the list to the reader, says nothing of Battle, but only that he had the list of Mr. Clarencieux, meaning Cooke.

Fuller is only named here to show that he reproduces both Holinshead's list and Stowe's; following them in referring the lists to Battle Abbey.

Leland does not inform us from whence he derived the list which he has placed in his fine body of Collections for the history of English affairs. It is however one of the best. He gives the title, which he found with it, thus: "Et fait a savoir que toutes cestes gentez dount lor surnouns y sont escritz vindrent oue William le Conquerour a de primes." This is probably not later than the reign of Edward the First. It contains 498 names, beginning thus:

"Aumarill et Deyncourt,
Bertram et Buttencourt,
Biard et Biford,
Bardolf et Basset," &c.;

and thus it goes on, ending with

"Percehay et Pereris,
Fichent et Trivet."

We have now had three of these lists brought before us. The next I shall notice is that contained in the Chronicle of John Brompton, abbot of Gervas, a monastery in Yorkshire. It is probably one of the oldest. Of later writers Fuller and Du Chesne have both reproduced it. Du Chesne prefixed this title—*Cognomina eorum qui cum Gulielmo Conquestore Angliam ingressi sunt: Ex Historia MS. Jorvalensi, auctore Johanne Brampton, abbate Jorvalensi, qui floruit anno 1199.* The fact, however, only is that the chronicle ends with the death of King Richard the First, in 1198. There is doubt about the exact time and the authorship of this Chronicle, not material to our present purpose.

The author of the Chronicle says of this list that he found it written, without any reference to the place where, and that the names which occur in it when he wrote were in frequent use in England. It is introduced by a piece of old French verse, in which the author of the list informs us that it was his intention to give a catalogue of the persons who accompanied the Conqueror, but finding that the names given at the font were often changed, as Edmund into Edward, Baldwin into Bernard, Godwin into Godard, and Elys into Edwine, he shall be content to give the surnames only which were not changed. Then follow 240 names in rhythmical couplets:—

“Maundevelyte et Daundevelyte
Ounfrevyle et Downfrevyle
Bolvyte et Baskervyle
Evyle et Clevyle,” &c.

The names with which it concludes are,

“Peyns et Pountlarge
Straunge et Sauvage.”

The fifth of these lists contains 250 names. It much resembles the one just described, but is still materially different, as will be seen on comparison of the first four lines.

“Maundevelyte et Saundevelyte
Frevile Sechevile
Dumfrevile Dunstanvile
Botavile Basevile,” &c

It may be read in the Harleian MS. No. 293; where it is said to be taken from a manuscript of Matthew of Westminster in the Library of All Souls College. It has this title—*Hec*

sunt cognomina procerum qui intraverunt Angliam cum Rege Willielmo Duce Normannorum conquestore Angliæ, et qui inheredati sunt in Angliæ in feodum militare. So that this at least is clearly a list not formed with any reference to the battle or the monastery.

In the same Harleian MS. is an English poem entitled—The names of Northmen and French that came in with King William the Conqueror, beginning thus :—

“Percye and Brown, the Malet and Bewchamp
Menile Vilers, and eke the Umfravile,” &c.

and so in alternate rhyme, through seven stanzas. There are altogether about 240 names, all of which are said to be of families estated in England.

The collector of the miscellaneous matter which is bound together in the Harleian MS. No. 293, has still another list with the following title in English.—These be the surnames of the persons of reputaciounes that entred into England with William Conqueror. This list begins with

Dominus Percy, magnus Constabellarius.

Dominus Mowbray, Mariscallus.

Dominus Radulphus de Mortuo Mari, omnium strenuissimus, velut alter Samson cum leonina ferocitate.

There are, however, no more flights such as this, and the author then proceeds with surnames only, beginning with Amarle, Ayncort, Bardolf, and ending with Percely and Perer; about 540 in all.

There is still another list in this MS. where the surnames are classed by their terminal syllables, Bastard, Baygnard, Brassard, Maignard, &c. It is headed, The Surnames of such as came into England with the Conqueror. There are about 400 names.

A list very similar to this but containing only 313 names, I have seen fairly written in a manuscript of the reign of King Edward the Third. It begins with Bastard, Baynard, and ends with Chien, Parlebien.

Another such a list is printed by Fuller (*Church History*), p. 165). This consists of 380 names, and is materially different from the nine of which we have spoken. The names are arranged alphabetically, beginning with Archerd, Averenges, and ending with Yvoire. The possession of the original is

traced to a William Scriven, a name little known in literary history.

But although these ten lists differ so much from each other, that they may safely be asserted to be the work of different hands, yet there is a strong family resemblance; that is, there are many names which are common to all of them or nearly all. This is to be accounted for by the fact that whatever errors there may be in them, and whatever sophistications may have been committed upon any of them, there is still a large amount of truth; nor could it well be otherwise, since it is not any matter of question whether there were not some Norman families who came over with the Conqueror, and who remained in England, where large possessions had been given to them.

We see, however, that various persons must have attempted the formation of lists such as these; that they executed their task to the best of their power: but it follows, as a necessary conclusion, that their labours are something entirely different from a Bede-Roll of the monastery of Battle, or even from a list, had such been made in the Abbey at the time of its foundation, of the persons who formed the army of Duke William; and that whatsoever authority they possess, depends upon the opinion we may form of the success of the anonymous authors, which opinion must be guided by the concurrence which we perceive between the results of their labours, and the conclusion to which we ourselves may arrive by the study of the contemporary Norman chroniclers, and of our own chronicles and records, especially Domesday Book.

Authority seems to be quite out of the question in respect of any of them, not excepting those for which any claim is set up that they had been found at Battle. If we wish to know if Warren or Laci came in with the Conqueror, we should not now think of answering the question by referring to these lists; we know it on far higher evidence. But if we ask the same question respecting Mauley or Furnival, and appeal to these lists, we should find them there; but if we appeal to other authorities, we should find them absent from Domesday Book, and we should hardly find them in England at all, before the reigns of Richard the First and John. Lists of which this can be said, cannot be held to

decide the question, when it is asked concerning a race, where there is no positive evidence of any other kind for or against, whether they came in with the Conqueror. Tayleur's list of the commanders of the host who embarked with the duke at Saint Valeries is essentially different from the lists above described. So is a little fragment of the followers of William de Moion, preserved by Leland, in his 'Collectanea' (vol. v, p. 202). Many names of persons in the expedition are also to be found in Ordericus, William of Poitiers, Wace, and others. A collection of the names, critically compiled, is a work yet to be performed.

What I have now ventured to offer to the consideration of the members of the Sussex Archæological Society requires no summary: and I beg to conclude with a few more general remarks on the Abbey of Battle itself. We have an account of it of course in the great English Monasticon, but it was impossible, in a work like that, to intermix with the dry detail anything of sentiment or feeling, so as to give animation to the narrative, or so as to make prominent any peculiar or remarkable characteristic of each of these venerable foundations. Yet how much is there in the history of some of them; how much in the history of Battle in particular, to make it the subject of the study of any one in whom is united the disposition to minute research, with the ability to take comprehensive views of the events of ages past. How much also might taste, feeling, and the religious and the patriotic sentiment do with such a subject as this. I do not mean that the writer should convert his history into a romance, or should leave us in doubt where the fact ends, and the fiction begins. There was a gentleman, whom I had the pleasure of knowing, who had formed a just conception of what I mean, but who sank into the grave in quite the bloom of life, leaving only a very few specimens of what such a work in his hands would have been, among which is your own Abbey of Lewes.

The peculiar interest of Battle lies in many circumstances: the high authenticity of its history; the vast amount of manuscript relating to it; the vast extent of the building, and the magnificent appearance which it must have presented in many of the approaches to it; the large amount of ruin

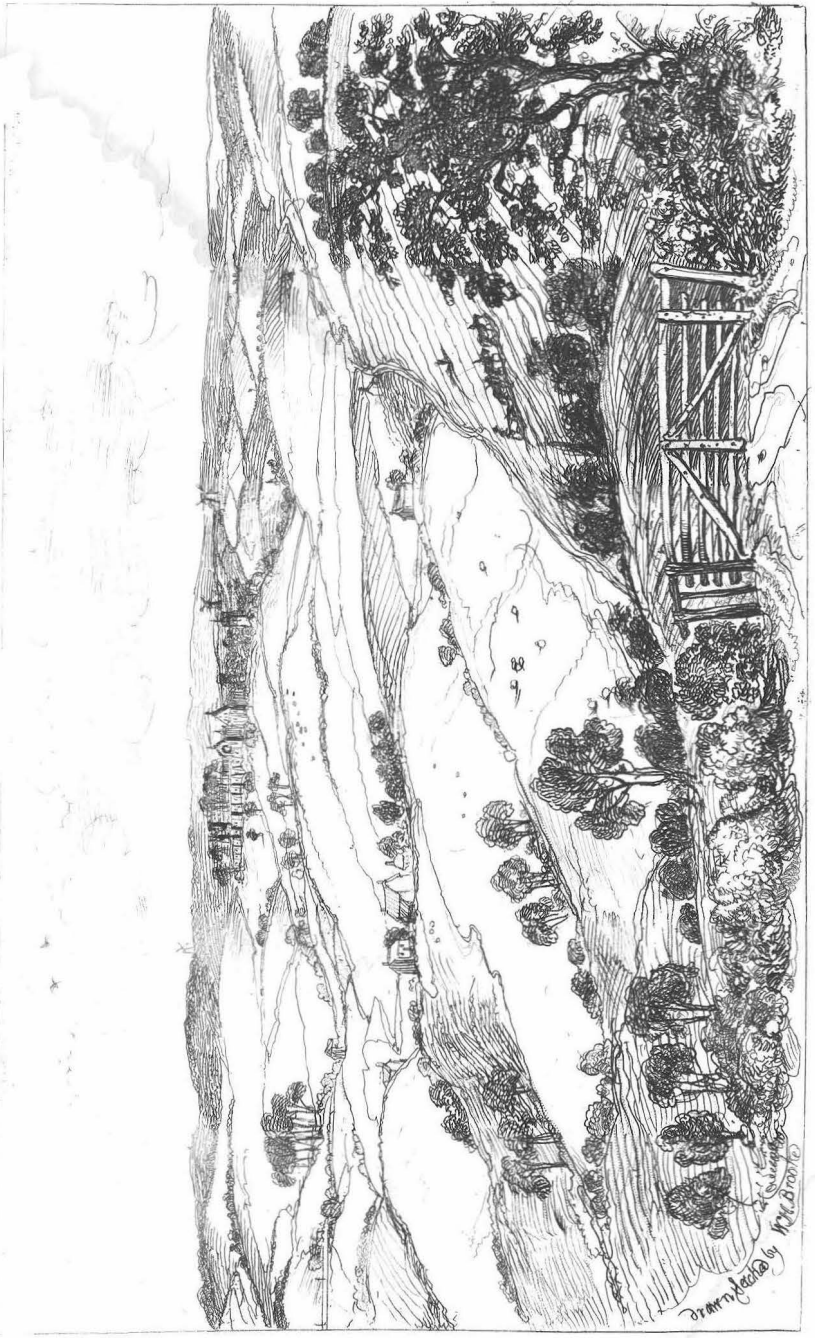
which still remains. But the very site inspires reverence when we remember that here was fought the last battle which Englishmen ever waged with an invading foe, and that here perished in a dreadful combat the last of an ancient line of sovereigns. But this kind of historic interest ends not here. We are presented with a hero-king "slain in war," but we are presented also with a victor destined to be the first of a long race of princes, who from this event take the beginning of the sway they have so long held in England. It is related that the duke, as he reposed after the battle, dreamed that he heard a voice which said to him—"Thou hast conquered; seize upon the crown and transmit it to a long posterity." It is now nearly eight hundred years since the voice was heard or seemed to be heard, and there is every prospect that the power then acquired by the Norman, modified as time goes on and men grow wiser, will descend in the same line for centuries yet to come.

These are among the earliest of the thoughts which spring up in the mind when in a meditative mood the holy precincts of this monastery are paced. We think also of the sacred rites which through five centuries were celebrated here: of the convent-bell; of the lighted windows; of the holy anthem; of the alms; of the sacred commemorations of the dead. Would that our reformers had felt more of the spirit of what we may call the poetry of religion. But the monastery of Battle while it shared all these with Glastonbury, St. Albans, and other early foundations of its class, has one circumstance peculiar to itself. It was not only a house of religion, it was a national monument, intended so to be, and if I say that you, people of Sussex, had in this the grandest monument of any public event which the piety, the affection, or the political wisdom of any of our princes has led them to erect, I say no more than what all England must allow to you. It was **THE ABBEY OF THE BATTLE**, the commemorative structure of that great event; and *Battle* we see has superseded every name by which the place might in earlier times be designated.

There are traces of that political sagacity which his contemporaries ascribe to William in the erection of so splendid a trophy. It was to some extent a support of the new power he had acquired. It awed the poor Saxon. It maintained

while it exhibited the Norman supremacy in these southern parts of the kingdom. Seven hundred years ago a Saxon might have turned from it with aversion. We live in happier times. The distinction of Norman and Saxon has passed away. Look in the house of peers, how few there are who can be traced in male descent from any person who came in with the Conqueror, and in the few cases where this may be done on at least plausible evidence, how much of Saxon blood is blended with the Norman.

It has been the good fortune also of Battle Abbey to have afforded, ever since the dissolution, a place of residence to persons of distinction. One of them, Lady Montacute, was a very remarkable person, as the printed account of her life shows. The remains have been valued as a choice if I may not say as a sacred possession, and never more than now. To maintain such an edifice as the great church of the monastery was not to be thought of when its revenues were taken from it; to keep up all the buildings intended for the residence of perhaps several hundred persons was equally impossible; but observing the noble gateway and other remains I read with much surprise and some concern what Professor Lappenberg has written, knowing that his high historical reputation will cause what he says to be received throughout Europe as a true account.—“All these visible monuments of the battle of Leulac and the conquest of England are no more; crumbled and fallen are the once lofty halls of Battle Abbey, and by a few foundation stones in the midst of a swamp are we alone able to determine the spot where it once reared its towers and pinnacles.” How much there is that is mere rhetoric in this, we who are now assembled within its ancient walls, can testify.



drawn by Mr. D. D. D.

ON THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A.

READ AT BATTEL ABBEY, 23, JULY, 1852.

“At nunc horrentia Martis.”

“Καρίστοι μὲν ἔσαν, καὶ καρίστοις ἐμάχοντο.”

Few things are more difficult to describe than the events of the battle-field. To say nothing of that lack of coolness which is essential to accurate observation, an individual spectator commonly sees only a small portion of the engagement, and is apt to overrate the incidents occurring in the foreground of his view, while those which take place in the distance are but slightly noticed. Acts comparatively insignificant thus become magnified, while those of far greater importance are occasionally either much distorted, or altogether overlooked. Allowances must also be made for party prejudices, and for the flowers of rhetoric almost inseparable from such descriptions. Now if even contemporary accounts of modern battles are found to differ *inter sese* in some essential particulars, it must be a matter of great difficulty to frame an intelligible history of the sanguinary conflicts of ancient times from the materials furnished us by partial and often incompetent chroniclers, and written from oral traditions at periods considerably subsequent to the transactions themselves. It is only by a collation of many descriptions, and a competent acquaintance with the field whereon the battle took place, that a writer can hope to convey a moderately accurate idea of such a scene. Many popular accounts exist of the tremendous struggle which occurred on, and gave name to, the spot where we are to-day assembled, but they are chiefly copied one from another with little or no reference to original documents, and written in total ignorance of the geographical features of

the locality.¹ In attempting to lay before you some general remarks on the subject, in order to invest this day and this place with some little additional interest, I shall adopt an opposite course, and deduce nearly or quite all my materials from authorities who lived near the times in which the battle occurred, and from personal surveys of the scene of action.²

On the political causes of the battle I shall say nothing: they are well known to all. And on the events which succeeded William's landing at Pevensey on the 28th of September up to the fatal day—October the 14th, 1066, I have already contributed some remarks which have been published in the Society's transactions.³ You will therefore have the goodness to consider the Norman duke as intrenched in his temporary castellum at Hastings, and the unfortunate Harold as having erected his standard and fixed his gonfanon upon this spot. Short as had been the interval between the arrival of the Saxons from the north and the morning of the battle, they had not neglected to fortify this naturally strong and well-chosen position. According to the Roman de Rou, Harold "had the place well examined, and surrounded by a good fosse, leaving an entrance on each of three sides, which were ordered to be kept well guarded."⁴ Upon the vallum his soldiery erected a barricade, composed of their shields and of wood from the adjoining forests, principally ash, the whole being so joined and wattled together as to form an almost impenetrable wall.⁵ We can well understand how the army could in a few hours erect a fortification of some strength by such means, when we remember that the ordinary mode of constructing houses of the meaner sort in

¹ Henry of Huntingdon, also (in other respects a valuable authority, as living in times not very remote from the Conquest,) tells us that William "aciem suam construxit in *planis* Hastings."

² I would here record my obligations to my friend, the Rev. John Collingwood Bruce, M.A., F.S.A., author of 'The Roman Wall,' &c.,—with whom I lately had the pleasure of reviewing the localities of the battle—for several useful suggestions and memoranda.

³ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 53 et seq.

⁴ Taylor's Edition, London, 1837, p. 143. The Roman de Rou, a chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, is a Norman-French poem of the twelfth century, of great historical interest and importance. It was written by Master Wace, a native of Jersey, whose christian name is unknown. He lived and wrote as late as the year 1173, yet from incidental notices in the work it appears that he had gathered much of his information from eye-witnesses.

⁵ Rom. de Rou, p. 176.

Saxon times was by driving large stakes into the ground, and filling up the spaces by interweaving pliant branches of young trees, and covering the whole with clay or mud—a style of building still retained for out-houses in some parts of Sussex, and known by the rather unclassical designation of “raddle-and-dab.” Within this extempore fort were assembled the men of London, and Kent, and Hertford, and Essex, and Surrey, and Sussex, and St. Edmund, and Suffolk, and Norwich, and Norfolk, and Canterbury, and Stamford, and Bedford, and Huntingdon, and Northampton, and York, and Buckingham, and Nottingham, and Lincoln, and Lindsay, and Salisbury, and Dorset, and Bath, and Somerset, and Gloucester, and Worcester, and Winchester, and Hampshire, and Berkshire, and elsewhere. This enumeration is from Wace, who informs us that, in addition to these, “the villains were also called together from the villages, bearing such arms as they found; clubs, and great picks, iron forks, and stakes”—a mixed and motley group, animated by the fire of a generous patriotism, and fully bent upon a vigorous resistance.

The manner in which the night of the 13th of October was spent by them redounds little to their honour. On the eve of such a crisis as they knew the next day must inevitably bring, they might have been more rationally employed than in drinking and dissipation. The Saxon camp in fact rather resembled that of a victorious host, than that of one which stood upon the very brink of destruction. “All night,” says our graphic chronicler, “they might be seen carousing, gambolling, and dancing, and singing; *bublie*, they cried, and *wassail*, and *laticome*, and *drinkheil*, and *drink-to-me*.”⁶ Sad the contrast between that hilarious toast-drinking and the shrieks and groans which were, a few hours later, to resound from the blood-drenched hill.

Far different was the scene presented by the Norman army on the eve of the battle. The priests were everywhere busy, confessing and shriving the soldiery, and mingling with their penances and pardons exhortations to valorous deeds. All night they watched and prayed in portable chapels which had been fitted up throughout the camp. Among the priests-militant so engaged, two were especially conspicuous: Odo,

⁶ Rom. de Rou, p. 156.

Bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror's uterine brother, afterwards Earl of Kent; and Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, a name subsequently famous in Sussex history.⁷ Instead of *wassails* and *drinkheils*, misereres, and litanies, and paternosters, and holy psalms resounded on every side. In the spirit of superstitious zeal, the soldiers vowed, that if God would grant them the victory, they would never more taste flesh on a Saturday, the day of the week upon which the field of Hastings was to be lost or won. At break of day Bishop Odo celebrated high mass, and pronounced a solemn benediction.

The line of the Normans' march, from their camp at Hastings to the battle-field, must have lain on the south-western slope of the elevated ridge of land extending from Fairlight to Battel; that is, to the north of the village of Hollington, through what is now Crowhurst Park, to the elevated spot then called Hetheland, but now known as Telham Hill. This district, which is even at the present day encumbered with woods, must have presented many obstacles to the advance of a multitudinous army. But every possible means to facilitate their movements had been employed; and, early in the morning of the fatal 14th of October, they stood upon the heights of Telham in full view of the Saxon camp, more than a mile distant.

“*Haud procul* hostiles cuneos nam cernit adesse,
Et plenum telis irradiare nemus.”⁸

Here the duke marshalled his followers into three columns of attack. In the first column of cavalry were the warriors of Boulogne and Ponthieu, with most of those adventurous mercenaries who so largely swelled the invading force;⁹ in the second were the auxiliaries from Bretagne, Mantes, and Poitou: the great duke himself led what might be regarded as the flower of this congeries of armies, his own proper subjects, the chivalry of Normandy. While these preparations are being made, let us take a rapid glance at the appearance presented

⁷ Roman de Rou, p. 157. Ordericus Vitalis, edit. Prevost, ii, p. 146.

⁸ De Bello Hastingsensi Carmen, 343, 344.

⁹ William “had soldiers from many lands, who came some for land, and some for money. Great was the host, and great the enterprise.” (Wace.)

by William's soldiery. Here we shall be chiefly assisted by that extraordinary and interesting monument, the Bayeux Tapestry. The date of that work, as most are aware, is disputed, but this is not the place to enter upon the discussion; and I will simply state my belief, that it is as old as the period assigned to it by some of our best authorities, namely, the life-time of Matilda, the Conqueror's queen. Whether it is actually the workmanship of the fair needlewomen of her court is little to our present purpose. I only claim for it all the authoritativeness of a contemporary document. The tapestry represents the horsemen clad in mail which usually reaches only to the knee, though sometimes, as in the case of the duke himself, it descends to the ankle. It is usually of the ringed, but occasionally of the masced, or diamond pattern. The helmet is conical, and is remarkable for an appendage in front, called the nasal, which effectually protected the nose from injury. The feet, which rest in stirrups, are usually armed with prick-spurs. The left hand supports a kite-shaped shield, about four feet in length, sometimes plain, but often ornamented with roundles, crosses, and rudely pourtrayed wyverns: no trace of true heraldic bearings is found. The offensive arms are spears, sometimes furnished with trifurcated and other pennons, heavy swords, and maces, or batons of command. For the modes of warfare then prevalent, it is difficult to conceive of a more appropriate armature than the *tout ensemble* of a Norman cavalier, as shown in this needlework, presents. Of the few infantry shown, some are in mail, and others in ordinary costume, armed with bows and arrows. The tapestry does not show war-engines, although, according to the *Carmen*, there were *balistæ* intermixed with the infantry. These, however, may have been simple cross-bows.

“Premisit pedites committere bella sagittis,
Et balistantes inserit in medio.”¹⁰

During the march from Hastings, a distance of about six

¹⁰ V. 337, 338. The *Carmen de Bello Hastingsensi*—a poem of more than eight hundred verses, is attributed to Guy, Bishop of Amiens from 1059 to 1075. In spite of some exaggerations, and a violent prejudice against the Saxons, it pre-

sents internal evidence of having been written very early after the battle, and by one who possessed exact information on the subject. Some incidents of the day are found in no other author.

miles, the Normans had not worn their armour, and it was only when they came within view of the Saxon camp that they proceeded to arm. The testimony of the 'Chronicle of Battel Abbey' is tolerably conclusive on this point. It was at Hetheland, which I take to be identical with Telham, that this preliminary was gone through. Several historians relate an anecdote connected with it, which is worthy of quotation :—

“ Having arrived at a hill called Hethelande, situated in the direction of Hastings, while they were helping one another on with their armour, there was brought forth a coat of mail for the duke to put on, and by accident it was handed to him the wrong side foremost (*inversa ipsi oblata est*). Those who stood by and saw this cursed it as an unfortunate omen, but the duke's sewer (Fitz-Osborne) bade them be of good cheer, and declared that it was a token of good fortune; namely, that those things which had hitherto kept their ground were about fully to submit themselves to him. The duke, perfectly unmoved, put on the mail with a placid countenance, and uttered these memorable words: 'I know, my dearest friends, that if I had any confidence in omens, I ought on no account to go to battle to-day; but, committing myself trustfully to my Creator in every matter, I have given no heed to omens, neither have I ever loved sorcerers.' ”¹¹

This sensible speech was followed by the duke's celebrated vow, that if God would grant him the victory over his foe, he would found a monastery upon the field of battle as an asylum for his saints, and as a succour for the souls of those who should be there slain. William Faber, a brother of the abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours, who had joined the army for the advancement of himself and his convent, hearing the vow, obtained the duke's consent to have the establishment dedicated to his patron, St. Martin, who had the valuable recommendation of being known as the “military saint,” and the tutelary of Norman soldiers.

William's arming was not completed until he had suspended from his neck a portion of the holy relics upon which Harold had so solemnly sworn that he would never oppose him in his designs upon the throne of England.¹² The bulk of these objects of his superstitious regard was also present upon the

¹¹ M. A. Lower's Translation of the Chron. Monast. de Bello, a work of the twelfth century. London, 1851. (p. 4.) See the anecdote at greater length in Rom. de Rou, pp. 162, 163.

¹² Ordericus Vitalis, ii, 146. Edit. Aug. le Prevost.

battle-field. Three hundred amulets of gold and silver, we are told, were enclosed in a feretory in the form of an altar, upon which mass had been daily celebrated from the setting out of the expedition.¹³ The duke now called for his horse, and was soon mounted upon a noble charger, a recent present from the King of Spain. William's carriage on this occasion was eulogised by one of his followers, the Viscount of Tours: "Never," said he, "have I seen a man so fairly armed, nor one who rode so gallantly, or bore his arms, or became a hauberk so well; neither any one who bore his lance so gracefully, or sat his horse and manœuvred him so nobly. There is no other such knight under heaven! A fair count he is, and fair king he will be."¹⁴ The Bayeux Tapestry exhibits the duke holding his baton over his right shoulder; and, by representing him of the same height as the generality of his attendants, disproves the legendary statement of his enormous stature, a notion which probably originated from a misconception of the meaning of the epithet *Willelmus Magnus*, which some of the Norman historians are fond of applying to him.

There were others too, who, from some remarkable demeanour in preparing for the conflict, attracted the gaze of the whole army. Hardly less conspicuous than the duke himself was his half-brother, the Bishop Odo. While most of the monks and priests withdrew to the neighbouring heights within view, to *watch* and pray, this valorous churchman, disdaining danger, "drew on a hauberk over a white aube, wide in the body, with the sleeve tight, and sat on a white horse, so that all might recognize him. In his hand he held a mace; and wherever he saw most need, he led up and stationed the knights, and often urged them on to assault and strike the enemy."¹⁵ There, too, was the young knight Toustains Fitz-Rou le Blanc, bearing the sacred gonfanon which the pope had blessed and presented to William. This had been offered, in turn, to Raol de Conches, the hereditary standard-bearer of Normandy, and to Walter Giffard, but declined, by the former on the ground of his desiring the more useful service of the sword, by the latter on account of his bald and hoary head. "I shall be in the

¹³ Chronicle of Battel Abbey, page 41.

¹⁴ Rom de Rou, p. 167.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

battle," he cried, "and you have not any man who will serve you more truly; I will strike with my sword till it shall be dyed in your enemies' blood!"¹⁶

It is interesting to the Sussex antiquary to observe that all the great baronial houses, whose estates lay in this county, owed their lands to the prowess of their ancestors on the field of Hastings:—Roger de Montgomeri, afterwards earl of Chichester and Arundel, was there, and commanded one wing of the army; the men of Brius were there, and at their head was doubtless William, the subsequent lord of Bramber; William de Warenne, afterwards lord of Lewes, came too, "his helmet setting gracefully on his head;" Robert earl of Mortaine, the future lord of Pevensey, "never went far from the duke's side, and brought him great aid;" Robert, earl of Eu, the counsellor of William, was there, and for his services received the rape of Hastings. He "demeaned himself as a brave man, and those whom his blows reached were ill handled." The names of D'Albini, De Aquila, Monceux, Mowbray, and Tregoz, all afterwards eminent in Sussex, also receive honourable mention in the Chronicle of Wace.

At length amidst the sound "of many trumpets, of bugles, and of horns," the Normans were drawn up in order of battle, and the duke harangued them in a set speech, which is variously reported by the different chroniclers. What he really said must have been inaudible to the great majority of his sixty thousand followers. The alleged cruelty and perfidy of the Saxons, the perjury of Harold, and the rich rewards which awaited the invaders in the event of conquest, formed excellent topics for declamation, and were no doubt seized upon. "On then! in God's name, and chastise these English for their misdeeds!" is the laconic but inspiring peroration put into his mouth by one of the chroniclers.

They now proceeded to march from Telham Hill, and to cross the valley which separates that elevation from the one upon which Harold's army was encamped; the graceful and gradually rising spot upon which "the Abbey of the Battel" now rears its time-stained turrets. A finer site for a camp

¹⁶ Rom. de Rou, pp. 168, 169.

cannot be conceived: almost in its whole circumference bounded by low, and, in those days, marshy ground, it was difficult of access to the attacking army, and proportionably easy of defence; and had the Saxons adhered to their original purpose of remaining within their lines, the result of the battle would probably have been favourable to the defenders.

Within the barricaded embankment, in view of the approaching army, stood Harold attended by his brothers, Girth and Leofwine, and the chief men of his realm, while above his head waved the gonfanon, a noble standard sparkling with gold and precious stones, which he little dreamed was so soon to be stricken down, and sent as a thank-offering and a trophy of his enemy's triumph to the successor of the apostles, in return for the blessed banner of William, which was now waving at a distance in the morning breeze. This flag is particularly mentioned by the chroniclers. William of Poitiers notices it as "the memorable standard of Harold, having the figure of an armed man woven of the purest gold;" and William of Malmesbury says that "it was of the shape of a fighting man wrought with costly art of gold and precious stones." Packed in a very contracted space stood the army of Harold, which appears to have been in point of numbers nearly or quite equal to the duke's. The Saxon regular troops wore short and close hauberks and hemlets that hung over their garments.¹⁷ Their arms were swords, bills, lances, and clubs; but their favourite weapon was the battle-axe which they had borrowed from the Norwegians. It was commonly employed with both hands, and had a heavy blade a foot in length.¹⁸ Of their shields, some were kite shaped, like the "Normans;" others, particularly those of the nobles, round and very convex.¹⁹ The peasants, who had been hastily collected during Harold's hurried march, wore their ordinary costume, chiefly of leather, and were furnished with the rude but easily available weapons already mentioned.

¹⁷ Rom. de Rou. The Bayeux Tapestry makes little or no distinction between the dress of the Saxons and that of the Normans.

¹⁸ Rom. de Rou, p. 200.

¹⁹ Bayeux Tapestry.

The Saxons were all on foot. The Carmen contemptuously says of them :—

“Nescia gens belli, solamina spernit equorum,
Viribus et fidens hæret humo pedibus.”²⁰

and again tells us, that on their arrival on the field of battle :—

“Omnes descendunt, et equos post terga relinquunt ;”²¹

while Wace assures us that they were ignorant of jousting and of bearing arms on horseback—a statement which might be deemed incredible did it not rest upon such excellent authority.

At length, according to Wace (to whose ample account of the battle I am principally indebted), “the English stood ready to their post, the Normans still moving on ; and when they drew near, the English were to be seen stirring to and fro ; men going and coming ; troops ranging themselves in order ; some with their colour rising, others turning pale ; some making ready their arms, others raising their shields ; the brave man rousing himself to the fight, the coward trembling at the approaching danger.”²² Now was the struggle about to begin—a struggle fraught with tremendous consequences ; and many an islander trembled, and many a transmarine heart beat high, at the recollection of an old prophecy attributed to Merlin,²³ “that a Norman people in iron coats should lay low the pride of the English,” “Then,” to quote the monk of of Battel, it “was manfully fought with arms.”²⁴

But first, there comes upon the stage of this eventful drama, a character to whom the old historians, Guy, Benoit, Gaimar, and Wace, allude with peculiar gusto. Among the Norman knights was one who, from his prowess and agility, had acquired, according to the usage of the times, the sobriquet of Taillefer or “cut-iron.” He is usually designated a jougler or a minstrel ; but whatever his accomplishments might have led others to call him,²⁵ it is evident from what follows, that he was also a personage of equestrian rank, a noble or a knight. He asked and obtained the duke’s permission to strike the first blow,²⁶ but previously, he commenced in lofty strain the composition

²⁰ V. 369, 370.

²¹ V. 377. Yet a popular picture, by A. Cooper, R.A., represents Harold (receiving the arrow in his eye) on horseback.

²² Rom. de Rou, p. 186.

²³ Translation of Chron. de Bello, p. 5.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The Carmen styles him “Incisor ferri,” “mimus,” “histrio.”

²⁶ Rom. de Rou, p. 190.

known as *Cantilena Rolandi*, and which Wace describes as the song of "Karlemaine, and of Rollant, of Oliver, and the vassals who died in Renchevals."²⁷ He then began a series of exploits, which Gaimar graphically enumerates:—²⁸

"Forth from the French, with gallant haste,
The juggler Taillefer then pressed,
Armed and on a fiery horse,
And placed him 'fore the Norman force;
Where wonders in the English sight
He played with all a master's sleight;
First, to incite them to advance,
High in the air he hurled his lance,
And caught it by the point—and then
As nimbly threw it up again.
This daring feat he thrice did shew,
Then launched his weapon 'midst the foe,
A luckless wight of whom it struck,
So skilfully his aim he took;
Then drawing forth the sword he wore,
Thrice drew and caught it as before,
With an address so magical,
It seemed enchantment to them all.
These tricks performed, he urged his steed,
And galloping with utmost speed,
Forced through the foe an opening wide,
And dealt his blows on every side."

Thus began the battle of Hastings—"that battle whereof," to employ the words of Wace, "the fame is yet mighty! Loud and far resounded the bray of the horns, and the shocks of the lances, the mighty strokes of clubs, and the quick clashing of swords."²⁹ The Norman war-cry "Dieu aide" was answered by the Saxon-English "Out, out!" "Holy Cross!" "God Almighty!"³⁰ Taillefer was still conspicuous in the *mêlée*. The

²⁷ The song has not been recovered. It appears very probable that it was *improvised* for the occasion. Had it been a composition previously committed to writing, I think Gaimar and others would have given us at least the substance of it.

²⁸ In the passage:—

"Un des Franceis donc se hasta
Devant les autres chevalcha, &c."

Lines 5272, 5273.

The translation is by Andrews. Maister Geffrei Gaimar's *History of the English* is a very long Norman-French poem,

which appears to have been written about the middle of the twelfth century. It has recently been edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

²⁹ Rom. de Rou, p. 191.

³⁰ Spelt by Wace, "Ut!" "Oli-crosse!" "Godemité!"

"Olicrosse est en engleis
Ke Saint Croix est en franceis
E Godemité altretant
Com en frenceiz Dex tot poissant."

"Normans escrient; *Dex aie*;
La gent englesche; *Ut s'escrie*."

first victim of his prowess was an English standard-bearer ; then fell a second ; in the third attempt, amidst a clashing of swords upon helmets and a shower of Norman arrows, he himself fell.³¹

The close order in which Harold's army was drawn up is noticed by several of our authorities. The Carmen says :—

“ Anglorum stat fixa solo densissima turba,³²
Tela dat et telis, et gladios gladiis ; ”

and Huntingdon compares it to a castle, impenetrable to the Normans—“ quasi castellum impenetrabile Normannis.” “ Each side,” says Wace, “ defies the other, yet neither knoweth what the other saith ; and the Normans say that the English *bark* (as in more modern times they tell us they whistle with ‘ la langue des oiseaux,’ and for the same reason)—because they understand not their speech ; ” and thus the war of bitter words and still bitterer wounds went on. For some hours, apparently, little progress towards a decision of the conflict was made. The men of Harold stood well together, as their wont in battle was, and woe to the hardy Norman who ventured to enter their redoubts ; for a single blow of a Saxon war-hatchet would break his lance and cut through his coat of mail.³³ What force therefore could not do was at length effected by stratagem. To quote the words of the monk of Battel : “ By a preconcerted scheme the duke feigned a retreat with his army, and Eustace the valiant count of Boulogne, nimbly following the rear of the English who were scattered in the pursuit, rushed upon them with his powerful troops.”³⁴ It was during this retreat and pursuit that there occurred an incident of a frightful character, which is particularly described by Wace. “ In the plain ” says he, “ was a fosse . . . The English charged and drove the Normans before them, till they made them fall back upon this fosse, overthrowing into it horses and men. Many were to be seen falling therein, rolling one over the other, with their faces to the earth, and unable to rise. Many of the English also, whom the Normans drew down along with them, died there.

³¹ Henry of Huntingdon. His fate is not mentioned by other historians.

³² Carmen, v. 415, 416.

³³ Guill. Pictav., p. 201, quoted by Thierry.

³⁴ Chron. of Battel Abbey, p. 6.

At no time in the day's battle did so many Normans die, as perished in that fosse. So those said who saw the dead." ³⁵ The account given in the 'Chronicon de Bello' is similar. "There lay," says our monk, "between the hostile armies a certain dreadful precipice, caused either by a natural chasm of the earth, or by some convulsion of the elements. It was of considerable extent, and being overgrown with bushes or brambles was not very easily seen; and great numbers of men—principally Normans in pursuit of the English—were suffocated in it. For, ignorant of the danger, as they were running in a disorderly manner, they fell into the chasm and were fearfully dashed to pieces and slain. And the pit, from this deplorable accident," he adds, "is still called *Malfosse*." According to William of Malmesbury the slaughter was so great, "that it made the hollow level with the plain with the heap of carcases." According to Odericus Vitalis, Eugenulph or Engerran de Aquila, whose descendants afterwards gave to their barony of Pevensey the name of the "Honour of the Eagle," was among the number of those who thus ingloriously fell. The scene is graphically described in the Bayeux Tapestry, and the accompanying legend is: HIC CECIDERUNT SIMUL ANGLI ET FRANCI IN PRELIO. Upon an elevated bank some Saxons soldiers are shown hurling down darts upon the Normans as they struggle and plunge in the fosse. This exactly agrees with Malmesbury's statement—"By frequently making a stand, they slaughtered their pursuers in heaps; for, getting possession of an eminence, they drove down the Normans, when roused with indignation and anxiously striving to gain the higher ground, into the valley beneath, where, easily hurling their javelins and rolling down stones on them as they stood below, they destroyed them to a man." ³⁶

There is no place near Battel which can, with a due regard to the proprieties of language, be called a "dreadful precipice" (*miserabile præcipitium vaste patens*), though, by comparing Malmesbury with the Monk of Battel, I think I have succeeded in identifying the locality of this "bad ditch." From all the probabilities of the case it would seem that the flight and pursuit must have lain in a north-westerly direction, through that part of the district now known as Mountjoy.

³⁵ Rom. de Rou, p. 193.

³⁶ Edit. Giles, p. 277.

Assuming this, the eminence alluded to by Malmesbury must have been the ridge rising from Mount Street to Caldbeck Hill, and the *Malfosse*, some part of the stream which flowing at its foot, runs in the direction of Watlington, and becomes a tributary of the Rother. This rivulet still occasionally overflows its banks, and the primitive condition of the adjacent levels was doubtless that of a morass, overgrown with flags, reeds, and similar bog vegetables. Thanks, however, to good drainage, the "bad ditch" no longer remains. The name was corrupted, previously to 1279, to Manfosse, and a piece of land called Wincestrecroft, in Manfosse, was ceded to the abbey of Battel in that year. Now Wincestrecroft is still well known, and lies in the direction specified, west by north of the present town of Battel.³⁷

To return to our narrative. A cry now ran through the Norman host that the duke had fallen in the disaster at Malfosse, and the varlets³⁸ who had been set to guard the harness, seeing the sad loss of life in the fosse, began to quit their post and to fly from the impending danger. But William having been apprised of the report, and seeing numbers running away, hastened to stop them. Brandishing a spear with his right hand in a menacing manner, and at the same time removing his helmet with his left, he cried out, "Look! I am alive, and with God's help I will yet conquer."³⁹ On this they returned to their charge. Bishop Odo at the same time galloped towards the varlets, and said to them: "Stand fast! stand fast! be quiet, and move not! Fear nothing; for, please God, we shall conquer yet!"⁴⁰

"Estez, estez,
Seiez en paiz, ne vos movez;
N'aiez poor de nule rien,
Kar se Dex plaist, nos viencron bien!"

This scene is depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, and the inscription accompanying it is: HIC ODO EPISCOPUS TENENS

³⁷ See more on this subject in the notes to my translation of the Chron. Monast. de Bello, pp. 6, 7, in which I was assisted by the exact local knowledge of Mr. Vidler, an old inhabitant of the parish, and author of a little work called 'Battel and its Abbey.'

³⁸ The servants, attendants, grooms, or "gillies" of the Norman knights.

³⁹ Orderic. Vit. ii, 148. This incident is also represented in the Tapestry.

⁴⁰ Rom. de Rou, p. 194.

BACULUM CONFORTAT PUEROS; "Here Bishop Odo, holding his baton, exhorts or encourages the varlets."

Thus reanimated, these men stood to their post; while Odo (who throughout the battle showed himself—though not exactly in the clerical sense of the term—a good "episcopus") returned at a hand gallop to the barricades, holding aloft his mace, and urging on the knights, wherever he saw most need, to assault and strike the enemy.⁴¹

And so continued the main battle. "From nine in the morning, when the conflict began, till three o'clock came," says Wace, "the battle was up and down, this way and that, and no one knew who would conquer and win the land." In one of the fluctuations in favour of Harold, William's chances appeared so desperate, that even Eustace of Boulogne, who elsewhere conducted himself so courageously, seriously advised him to escape from the field, since the battle was lost beyond recovery.

"Morz est por veir, sens faille,
Sil ne se part de la bataille;
Nul recovrer n'a mais ès suens."⁴²

Harold's personal bravery throughout was unimpeachable. Not content with the functions of a general in exhorting his followers, he was assiduous, we are told, in every soldier-like duty; often would he strike the enemy when coming to close quarters, so that none came within his reach with impunity; for in an instant he brought down at one blow both horse and rider.⁴³ On his part, William was equally intrepid, everywhere ready to encourage his chevaliers by his voice, his presence, and his example. "He lost," says Malmesbury, "three choice horses⁴⁴ that were pierced under him that day." Yet he does not appear to have suffered the loss from his person of a single drop of blood.

The discharge of archery, though incessant, took but little effect: the wooden shields of the Saxons were so many targets, which received, but were not penetrated by, the Norman arrows. At length the archers, at the suggestion, it

⁴¹ Rom. de Rou, p. 194.

⁴² Benoit de Ste. Maure, L'estoire des dux., in Chron. Ang. Norm., vol. i.

⁴³ W. of Malmesbury.

⁴⁴ Wace says but *two*.

is said of William himself, shot into the air in such a manner that the arrows should fall upon the faces of the enemy.⁴⁵ Many were immediately blinded, and received frightful wounds in their faces. "Then it was," says Wace, "that an arrow that had been thus shot upwards, struck Harold above his right eye, and put it out. In his agony he drew the arrow, and threw it away, breaking it with his hands, and the pain to his head was so great that he leaned upon his shield. So the English," he adds, "were wont to say, and still say to the French, that the arrow was well shot, which was so sent up against their king; and that the archer won them great glory who thus put out Harold's eye."⁴⁶

According to the *Roman de Rou*, the Normans now feigned a retreat: but I think it will be found that the incident is misplaced, and that it belongs to that earlier part of the day's proceedings which is connected with the disaster at Malfosse; we can hardly imagine that such a stratagem would be resorted to a second time. It would appear that the conflict sometimes degenerated into mere skirmishes and personal encounters; and the historians, particularly Wace, give us some very interesting episodes of this kind, which, from internal evidence, would seem to have been furnished to him by eye-witnesses. One of these may be quoted:—

"On the other side was an Englishman who much annoyed the French, continually assaulting them with a keen-edged hatchet. He had a helmet made of wood, which he fastened down to his coat, and laced round his neck, so that no blows could reach his head. The ravage he was making was seen by a gallant Norman knight, who rode a horse that neither fire nor water could stop in its course when its lord urged it on. The knight spurred, and his horse carried him on well till he charged the Englishman, striking him over the helmet, so that it fell down over his eyes; and as he stretched out his hand to raise it and uncover his face, the Norman cut off his right hand, so that his hatchet fell to the ground. Another Norman sprang forward, and eagerly seized the prize with both his hands, but he kept it little space, and paid dearly for it; for as he stooped to pick up the hatchet, an Englishman, with his long-handled axe, struck him over the back, breaking all his bones, so that his entrails and lungs gushed forth. The knight of the good horse meantime returned without injury; but on his way he met another English-

⁴⁵ Docuit etiam dux Willielmus viros sagittarios ut non in hostem directe, sed in aëra sursum sagittas emitterent cuneum hostilem sagittis cæarent: quod Anglis

magno fuit detrimento." Henry of Huntingdon, in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 763.

⁴⁶ *Rom de Rou*, p. 198.

man, and bore him down under his horse, wounding him grievously, and trampling him altogether under foot."⁴⁷

The fair hands that wrought the embroidered history of the Conquest have introduced several such encounters, without giving us the names of the champions concerned. They have also strewed not only the main portion of the design, but its borders, with the "Scuta virum, galeasque, et fortia corpora" of the slain. In a spirit the opposite of that of most of his brother chroniclers, the monk of Battel thus expatiates on the scene: "A fearful spectacle! The fields were covered with dead bodies, and on every hand nothing was to be seen but the red hue of blood. The dales all around sent forth a gory stream, which increased at a distance to the size of a river. . . . Oh! how vast a flood of human gore was poured out in that place where these unfortunates fell and were slain! What dashing to pieces of arms; what clashing of strokes; what shrieks of dying men; what grief, what sighs, were heard! How many groans; how many bitter notes of direst calamity then sounded forth, who can rightly calculate? What a wretched exhibition of human misery was there to call forth astonishment! In the very contemplation of it our pen fails us."⁴⁸

The time when Harold received the arrow-wound may be regarded as the moment from which the tide of battle turned in favour of the Normans. His patriotic warriors fought on still, but the struggle had become with them one of fierce despair rather than of courageous and confident hope. Now it was that twenty of the Norman knights bound themselves to each other by a solemn vow that they would break the Saxon's ranks and bear off his standard, or perish in the attempt. In this hazardous enterprise many fell, but the rest, hacking a path with their swords, made themselves masters of the prize.⁴⁹ With this ensign of his regal authority fell Harold himself. An armed man," says Wace, "came in the throng of the battle and struck him on the ventaille of the

⁴⁷ Rom. de Rou, p. 209, et seq. The reader will understand that the citations from Wace in this paper are from the excellent translation, by Edgar Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., of so much of the *Roman* as relates to the Norman Conquest;

except in the few instances where the original Norman-French is quoted.

⁴⁸ Chron. of Battel Abbey.

⁴⁹ Henr. Hunt. in Mon. Hist. Brit., p. 763. "Signum regium, quod vocatur Standard."

helmet, and beat him to the ground; and as he sought to recover himself, a knight beat him down again, striking him on the thick of the thigh, down to the bone."⁵⁰ The men who struck the fatal blows were never known, and probably they themselves fell in the desperate mêlée. The princes Girth and Leofwine were killed in the same fatal onset. This is shown by several authorities, although the Bayeux Tapestry places their death at a much earlier stage of the battle.

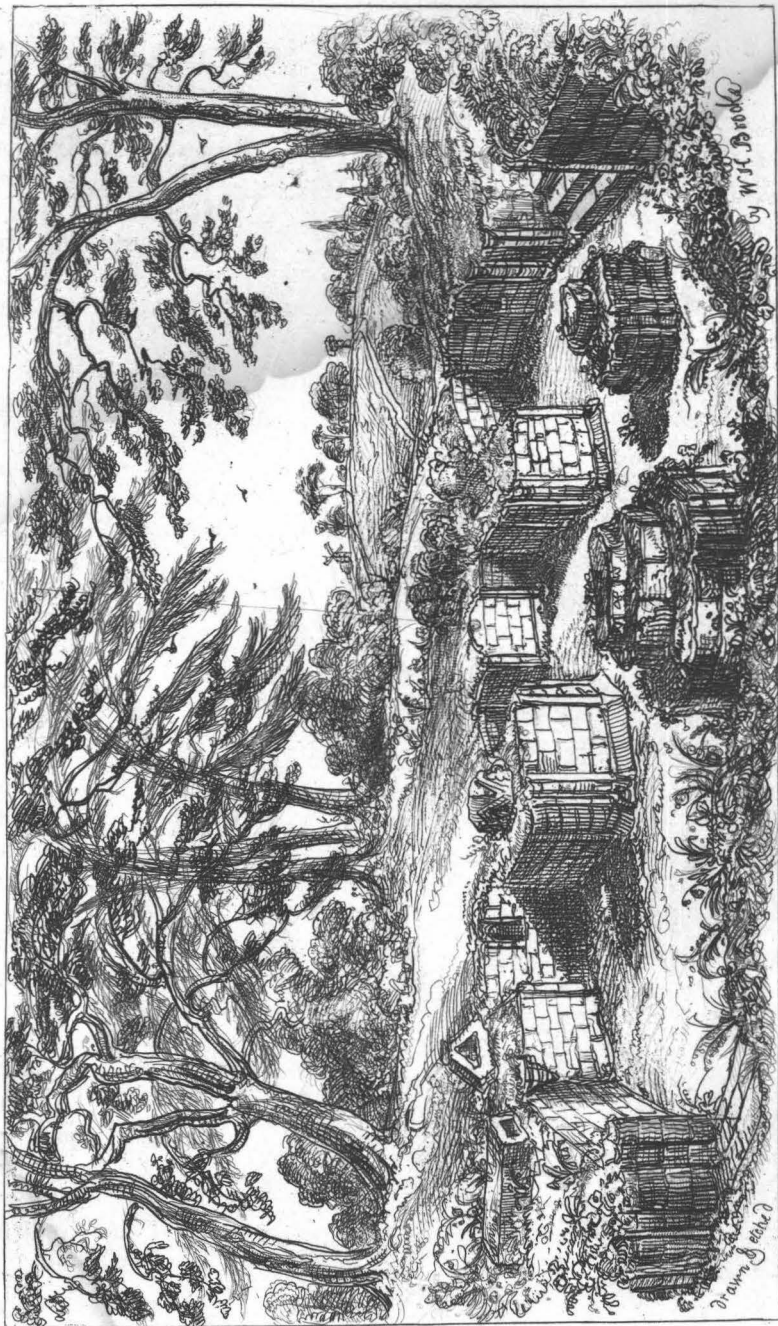
Respecting the precise spot where Harold and his standard fell, there is no doubt. William had vowed to build his monastery upon the site of the conflict, and that he built it *here*, upon the identical place where the crowning-point of his victory happened, is stated by several authorities, and the Chronicle of Battel Abbey, written upon the spot, furnishes conclusive proof of it. When William of Marmoutier and his brethren, some time after the battle, engaged in the work of rearing the abbey, not liking the place on account of its lack of water, they proceeded to build on a more eligible site on the western side of the hill, at a place called *Herst*;⁵¹ but the Conqueror hearing of what they had done waxed wroth, "and commanded them with all haste to lay the foundation of the temple on the very place where he had achieved the victory over his enemy." The brethren suggested the inconvenience which would arise from the dryness of the site, when William gave utterance to the memorable promise that, if God would spare his life, he would so amply endow the establishment, that wine should be more abundant there than water in any other great Abbey. The chronicler goes on to inform us that, "in accordance with the king's decree, they wisely erected the high altar upon the precise spot where the ensign of Harold, which they call the Standard, was observed to fall."⁵²

The place is still pointed out. The noble Abbey-Church had been destroyed at the Reformation, and all traces of its parts and arrangements had been well-nigh obliterated; shrubs and parterres covered the ground once drenched with the blood of patriots and long hallowed by the offices of religion; but the finger of tradition faithfully pointed to a spot which art, and nature, and time had combined to conceal. Sir Godfrey

⁵⁰ Rom. de Rou, p. 252.

⁵² Chron., p. 11.

⁵¹ I cannot identify this locality.



"HIC HAROLD REX INTERFECTUS EST."

Webster, in the year 1817, anxious to test the truth of the popular belief on the subject, caused excavations to be made in the northern part of the abbey grounds, and there, in the very place indicated, discovered the most satisfactory evidence that could be required. Sunk below the general level of the ground, and filled up with earth and rubbish, he disclosed what was originally the undercroft or subterraneous chapel beneath the east end of the church, with the foundations of the massive columns by which the vaulting of its roof had been upheld, and two flights of steps which had led upwards to the north and south aisles of the church. In the easternmost recess of this crypt are considerable remains of an altar, and this must be regarded as the representative of the exact *locus in quo*, which hangs in the air a few feet above, where upon the floor of the choir once stood the high altar itself.

But to conclude the narrative of this eventful day. The fighting continued some time after Harold was known to have fallen, even when the sun had set upon the awful scene. Amidst the gloom of that October evening, either rampant with victory or mad with revenge, they still fought on—only distinguishing foes from friends by their language—until the thickening darkness and the exhaustion of their strength compelled them to desist. Never was discomfiture more complete, or triumph more decided. The majority of those Saxons who escaped from the field, made their way to London; but many others betook themselves to the neighbouring woods, some to bind up their wounds and bewail the sad issue of the day, others to lay themselves down and die.

“Solum devictis nox et fuga profuit Anglis
Densi per latebras et tegimen nemoris.”

Carmen, 559-60.

The battle was over; the people-elected Harold—more deserving of our pity for his misfortunes than of admiration for any kingly right or regal qualification that he possessed—was dead; a greater and wiser, if not a better, monarch had virtually, though not actually, by holy chrism and solemn benediction, ascended the throne. William had conquered and won the land! An old and decayed, and corrupt dynasty had ceased to be; a greater and nobler people had come to

improve and elevate our race ; a battle was won—a conquest gained—for which we have infinite cause to be thankful.

“Then,” says Master Wace, “William returned thanks to God, and in his pride ordered his gonfanon to be brought and set up on high, where the English standard had stood, and that was the signal of his having conquered.” What follows is not a little revolting to those unaccustomed to the horrors of war: “He ordered his tent to be raised on the spot among the dead, *and had his meat brought thither, and his supper prepared there.*”⁵³ His barons pressed round him to offer their congratulations and to extol his deeds. Never had there been such a knight, they said, since Rollant and Oliver. “And the duke stood among them, of noble mien and stature, and rendered thanks to the King of glory, through whom he had the victory ; and thanked the knights around him, mourning frequently for the dead. And he ate and drank among the dead, and made his bed that night upon the field.”⁵⁴

The sabbath morning that dawned upon the scene brought few of the calm, and bright, and holy concomitants, proper to the season. Nought was there to tell of “peace upon earth and goodwill to men ;” but instead of it, the sad and sickening fruits of pride, ambition, and the primal curse. Even the iron-hearted Conqueror is said to have wept at the spectacle. Then calling to his presence a clerk who, previously to the departure of the armament from St. Valery, had written down the names of the chief men of the army, he caused him to read the roll to ascertain who had fallen and who had survived ;⁵⁵ and Bishop Odo, truer now to his sacred functions, “sang mass for the souls that were departed.” The document alluded to, if preserved, was the true Roll of Battel Abbey, but it has not come down to our times, and the various lists which we possess are of subsequent date, and more or less apocryphal in their character.⁵⁶

William’s next duty, before setting out for his castellum at Hastings, was to see to the interment of the dead. If we may trust the author of the Carmen, he was in this matter guilty

⁵³ Rom. de Rou, p. 256.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 258.

⁵⁵ Chron. de Normandie, quoted by Thierry. John Foxe, Act. and Mon.

⁵⁶ See a paper in the present volume, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., on this interesting subject.

of a great and inexcusable breach of humanity, of which even his enemies do not accuse him. "He traversed the field, and selecting the dead bodies of his friends, buried them in the bowels of the earth; ⁵⁷ but left the corpses of the English strewn upon the ground to be devoured by worms, and *wolves*, and birds, and dogs."

"Lustravit campum, tollens et cæsa suorum
Corpora dux, terræ condidit in gremio;
Vermibus atque lupis, avibus canibusque voranda,
Deserit Anglorum corpora strata solo."

V. 569—572.

Ordericus, however, says that William gave the Saxons permission to bury their dead.⁵⁸ And Wace informs us that the noble ladies of the land came also, some to seek their husbands, and others their fathers, sons, or brothers. They bore the bodies to the villages, and interred them at the churches; and the clerks and priests of the country were ready, and, at the request of their friends, took the bodies that were found, and prepared graves and laid them therein.⁵⁹ The body of Harold was found frightfully gashed with wounds and not easily to be identified among the mass of his followers. The story of his mistress, Edith Swanhals, having been called in for this purpose, rests upon slender authority, and appears quite improbable. According to the *Carmen*, the duke had the lacerated corse wrapped in purple linen and carried to his marine camp (*castra marina*) at Hastings, where by his command it was buried upon the cliff, beneath a stone insolently inscribed with the words: "By the orders of the Duke, you rest here, King Harold, as the guardian of the shore and the sea."

"PER MANDATA DUCIS, REX HIC HERALDE, QUIESCIS,
UT CUSTOS MANEAS LITORIS ET PELAGI."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ During the recent excavations for the railway from Hastings to Tunbridge Wells, which passes within a few hundred yards eastward of Battel Abbey, it was rather confidently expected that some traces of the battle, such as arms or human bones, would be brought to light; but this expectation was not realised, and

this proves, I think, the correctness of my opinion, that the battle and the retreat took place in the opposite, or westerly and north-westerly direction.

⁵⁸ Ord. Vit., ii, 153.

⁵⁹ Rom. de Rou, p. 258.

⁶⁰ Vv. 591, 592.

Pictavensis also says, that he was buried by the seashore, and Ordericus agrees with the Carmen in asserting that the duke peremptorily denied the request of the Countess Ghitha for the remains of her son. "I have lost," was the sorrowing mother's plea, "three of my sons in this war; will you deny a bereaved widow's heart the consolation of possessing the bones of *one* of them? Give me but those beloved remains and I will pay you for them weight by weight in pure gold."⁶¹ The duke, with characteristic sternness, replied, that he despised such traffic as that, and that he considered it unjust that one should receive burial at the hands of a mother, whose cupidity had caused so many mothers' sons to lie unburied.⁶² William of Malmesbury, however, tells the story in a manner more creditable to William's humanity. "He sent the body of Harold to his mother, who begged it, unransomed; though she proffered large sums by her messengers. She buried it at Waltham, a church which he had built at his own expense in honour of the Holy Cross." It is added by some minor authorities that Ghitha's request was seconded by two monks, Osgod and Ailric, who had been dispatched by the abbot of Waltham for that purpose. The popular belief, encouraged for their own purposes by the fraternity at Waltham, was, that Harold had found honourable sepulture among them; though it may deserve a place among historic doubts whether his real grave is not upon the cliffs of the Sussex shore.

The number of the slain is variously stated. The Carmen, with admirable latitude of expression, says, that William killed "two thousands, besides innumerable other thousands!" Ordericus tells us, from the information of eye-witnesses, that the Normans lost 15,000 men. "How great think you," asks the monk of Battle, "must have been the slaughter of the conquered, when that of the conquerors is reported, upon the lowest computation, to have exceeded ten thousand?" All things considered, we should probably not greatly err in fixing 30,000 as the number who perished on this memorable field.

⁶¹ Carmen, v. 579, &c.

⁶² Ordericus Vit., iii, 152.

I have extended these remarks far beyond my original intention, though I trust that the nature of the subject and its historical and local importance will form a sufficient justification for the length of my essay; which I will now conclude with a few remarks, upon the localities which history and tradition have identified with the battle.

1. I have shown the Hetheland of the Battel Chronicle and Telham Hill to be one and the same spot. Tradition says as much, but corrupts the name to *Tellman* Hill, because there the conqueror *counted* his troops!

2. There has been much conjecture as to the original name of the place now called Battel. It has been stated to be *Epiton, Sothope, Senlac, St. Mary, Heathfield, &c.* I believe that no town or even village existed here in Saxon times. It was probably a down covered with heath and furze—a wild, rough common, without houses and almost without trees. The Saxon chronicler had no better mode of indicating the locality of the hostile meeting than by saying that it occurred AT THE HOARY APPLE TREE (*æt thære hāran apuldran*)⁶³—probably from some venerable tree of that species growing near at hand.⁶⁴

3. The portion of the town of Battel which lies eastward of the church is called the Lake, and sometimes *Sanguelac*, i.e. the “lake of blood.” Tradition says, that the Conqueror gave the place this name because of the vast sea of gore there spilt; and the Battel chronicler’s account of the conflict would almost

⁶³ Sax. Chron. in Mon. Hist. Brit. But the phrase has been translated in a totally different sense.

⁶⁴ In Saxon and early Norman times it was very usual to mark places by some particular tree. See the Codex Dipl. Sax. Æv. *passim*. An instance may be cited in this immediate neighbourhood. According to the ‘Battel Chronicle,’ when William Faber commenced the founding of the Abbey he began to build (as already stated) on a site to the westward of the

spot where the battle had taken place, and where the abbey was eventually erected. “The place is to this day called Herst; and a certain thorn-tree growing there is a memorial of this circumstance,” p. 10. The *hoar apple-tree* was a common land-mark in the Saxon period. Mr. Hamper, in his elaborate paper on Hoarstones, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxv, cites no fewer than fourteen instances in different counties.

warrant the name.⁶⁵ Even but a few years since, the springs of chalybeate water hereabouts—the sources of the little river Asten—were believed to have received their redness from the blood of the slaughtered Saxons. Drayton, with his usual grace, embodies the beautiful idea in his *Polyolbion* :

“ Asten once distained with native English blood ;
Whose soil yet, when but wet with any little rain,
Doth blush, as put in mind of those there sadly slain.”

Most unfortunately, however, for tradition and poetry, the true original name of the spot referred to was not *Sanguelac*, but *Santlache*, and it is so spelt in all the earlier monastic documents.

4. One of the boroughs or subdivisions of the hundred of Battel is called *Mountjoy*. Now Boyer defines *Mont-joie* as “ a heap of stones made by an army as a monument of victory,” and this may be the origin of the name. In this district, and on the line by which the Saxons must have retreated, is another spot, known as *Call-back-hill* ; and this, tradition—ever fond of playing with words—has made the place where the duke “ called back ” his pursuing troops. Here again legendary history must yield to etymological criticism, for the true name is *Cald-bee*, i.e., “ the cold spring ; ” and such a spring is yet seen bursting from a cavernous recess on the spot.

5. To the westward of the town of Battel, on the London road, is a large tree, called the *Watch-Oak*, which is supposed to have derived its epithet from some watch set either the night before or the night after the battle ; but the tradition is very vague. One other place may be noticed : this is *Standard-hill*, in the adjacent parish of Ninfield, where somebody’s standard, William’s or Harold’s, was set up. So says tradition ; but there seems nothing to support such a notion. Harold’s standard was first pitched *here*, and here it remained until it was supplanted by the oriflamme of the Conqueror ; and here, as we have already seen, subsequently arose this

⁶⁵ Vide p. 31 supra.

majestic edifice “the Abbey of the Battle”—an expiatory offering for the slaughter which had there taken place.

“KING WILLIAM bithought hym alsoe of that
 Folke that was forlorne
 And slayn also thoruz hym
 In the bataile biforne.
 And ther as the bataile was
 An Abbey he let rere
 Of Seint Martin for the soules
 That there slayen were ;
 And the monkes wel ynoug
 Feffed without fayle,
 That is callèd in Englonde
 Abbey of Bataile.”

So sings Robert of Gloucester ; but upon the history of this celebrated monastery, which, in after times, the monks delighted to style *the token and pledge of the royal crown*, I cannot now enter, although that history is by no means an unimportant or an uninstrucive one. I must, however, add a word or two in conclusion. What a contrast does the 23d of July, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-two present to that 14th of October, One thousand and sixty-six ! *Then*, a hostile meeting of two semi-barbarous nations intent upon shedding each other's blood—*now*, a confluence of beauty, rank, and intelligence, equally intent upon diffusing pleasure, harmony, and good-will, and promoting the great cause of human progress. For I contend that the study of archæology is every way calculated to improve the human mind and character. We review the barbarous past with interest it is true, but with no regret that our lot was not cast in Saxon or in Norman times. We can survey these venerable walls with pleasure, without the slightest yearning after cloistral life. In a word, like the traveller who has laboriously gained the summit of a lofty hill, we can *look* back upon the devious windings and rugged passes of the way, brightened and mellowed by distance ; but, like him, we have no desire to *go* back, to tread again the dark and dangerous past. It has been well said that “an undevout astronomer is mad,” and the same may be predicated of an ungrateful archæologist. The more we scrutinize the annals of other days—the more we investigate the reign of

tyranny, of intolerance, of superstition—the more we contrast the rudeness of other ages with the comforts and refinements of our own—the wiser, the more grateful, the happier we shall be!

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 17. The eve of the battle.—We must recollect that the contrast between Saxon riot and Norman sanctity is drawn by a Norman pen. The words *bulbie* and *laticome* put into the mouths of the Saxons remain unexplained; though Mr. Blaauw suggests that the latter may, by some perversion, represent the defiant phrase, “Let them come on!”

Page 28. The slaughter at Malfosse.—Since the preceding pages have been in type, I have learned the existence of an opinion that this “deplorable accident” must have occurred “on the precipitous slope and dell behind Beauport, where Sir Charles Lambe, not long ago, found many bones in the lower swampy ground.” But a diligent examination of the various accounts of the battle convinces me that the statement I have given is the correct one; and that William’s pretended retreat could not have been to so great a distance from Harold’s camp as Beauport, which is three miles from the spot. Besides, the name *Malfosse*, which was retained in 1176, and (in the slightly corrupted form of *Manfosse*) in 1279, is clearly identified with the accident, by its contiguity to Winchester-croft, a place well-known, and lying as I have stated, west by north of the town.

“Adam, son of Adam Picot, Deed of release to Reginald Abbot of Battel of nine acres of land and wood in *Manfosse*, called Wincestrecroft, in exchange for twelve acres of land and wood near the Birechette. Dated Battel, Eve of St. Michael, 1279. Seal fine and perfect.”—*Thorpe’s Cat. Battel Abbey Charters*, p. 50.

VISIT OF KING EDWARD THE SECOND TO BATTLE AND OTHER PARTS OF SUSSEX IN 1324.

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

READ AT THE BATTLE MEETING, JULY 23, 1852.

EXTENSIVE journeys across every part of England are in modern days made with so much ease by all classes of society, that it is becoming difficult to appreciate the strong contrast afforded by the slow, laborious, and costly progress of travellers over the same ground at an earlier period of our history. The poor necessarily staid at home, and generation after generation of the same humble families were gathered into the same churchyards, unless when their feudal duties summoned them to the perils of foreign war. Even to the rich baron a movement to or from his own estates and castle was a matter not lightly to be undertaken, nor without serious thoughts as to the furniture and bedding, the food and drink, the household menials, and the armed retinue, the animals and vehicles, which he must take with him on the road.

In tracing from ancient MSS.¹ some of the details of a royal progress of King Edward II in Sussex, it will be seen what preparation his officers had to make beforehand by sending even almonds, spices, and sugar, the accustomed luxuries of his table, into the country, as he could not expect there to meet with them, and it will be remarked how much he depended for

¹ The MSS. referred to in the following pages by capital letters are :—

A. Carlton Ride, MSS. 2582 ; E.B. xv. Rotulus de summ' exhennior' et almort' staur' expens' in Rot' Hospitii Regis. 18^o Edw. II.

B. C.R. MSS. 3191. W.N. xiii. Rot' liber' cere speciar' pann' ad aurat' per Th. de Useflete, clericum magne Garderobe. 18^o Edw. II.

C. C.R. MSS. 3154. W.N. x. Rot' divers' expens' per Th. de Useflete.

D. C.R. MSS. 3202. WN. xiii. Rot' de presentis. 18^o Edw. II.

E. C.R. MSS. 3500. Compot' forins' expens. 18^o Edw. II.

F. Tower MSS. Close Rolls, 18^o Edw. II.

G. C.R. MSS. xv. Compot' diurn' expens' Hospitii Regis. 18^o Edw. II. Imperfect.

H. C.R. MSS. 2920. FLH. Rot' expensar' forinsecarum.

food upon the gifts, whether willing or reluctant, of his subjects at every stage, and how much the direction and extent of his daily advance was influenced by the convenience of finding good quarters in monasteries, or feudal dwellings.

In the formal accounts of the expenses of this journey, no intimation is given of its object. It occurred in the year 1324, the eighteenth year of the incapable reign of Edward II, who had now replaced the loss of his favourite Gavaston (from whom his father had separated him when a youth during a former visit to Sussex at Midhurst) by the equally unpopular Spensers, under whose guidance he had recently overpowered the league of his barons, and established a long truce with Scotland. In the dispute, however, with France concerning Guienne, the English king had been summoned to do homage to Charles the Fair for that fief of the French crown, and indeed previous to King Edward's approach to the south coast, he had appointed, on July 8, the bishop of Norwich and two knights to treat with the French king, and to arrange with him a day and place for a personal interview, to put an end to the disputes which had arisen about the castle of Mont Pessat :² it was probably with a view to this meeting, and his intended visit to Gascony, that the journey took place.

Roger Mortimer, Queen Isabella's notorious favourite, after repeated acts of treason, had lately escaped from the Tower into France. Spenser was naturally distrustful of the king's safety and his own, had they put themselves within reach of his malice, so that ultimately the meeting of the two kings was abandoned, and the fatal compromise was adopted of sending to France the young Prince of Wales with the queen, instead of the king, a measure which, two years after, led to his dethronement.

Edward II had been principally residing at his palace of Westminster from the middle of June till he commenced his journey into Sussex. In the beginning of August, however, he issued directions from Guildford to prepare ships, and collect an armed force at Portsmouth to accompany him abroad. (Rot. Pat. 18^o Ed. II, p. 1, m. 6.) The officers of his household had leisure to get ready packages of dainties for the

² Pat. Rot. 18^o Edw. II, p. 1, m. 37.

king's eating, and to send them forward to be ready at his halting places.

The use of strong spices was at this time so general, that a provision of them was deemed indispensable, and as some of the articles sent are now little known, it may be explained that canell was powdered and strewed on bread; galinga, or galingale, an aromatic root of pungent flavour, imported from India, was also used in a powder with food, and long continued common in England. Edward II seems to have prepared himself for his journey in the same manner as did the pilgrims to Canterbury, described by the great poet of the next reign:—

“A coke they hadden with hem for the nones
To boile the chikenes, and the marie bones,
And poudre marchant, tart, and *galingale*.”—*Chaucer, Prol.* 383.

Pignons, or pignola, the seeds of pine cones, were a common food in France even to the seventeenth century. See Legrand d'Aussy, *Vie privée des Français*.

In August, 38lb of rice, five score and eleven pounds of almonds, $1\frac{1}{2}$ qts. 2 oz. of cloves, besides pepper, canell, galinga, a box of pine seeds (*pign'*); and in September, $40\frac{1}{2}$ lb of rice, 168lb of almonds, a box of ginger, cloves, pepper, canell, mace, saffron, &c. (A) were thus provided; and we also find the charge for 33 ells of stuff made up into sacks and pokes (*saccis et pokettis*) to pack up these luxuries, and some sugar loafs, in order to forward them to divers places for the use of the king's household (B).

After leaving London, the king received some presents on his road at Otteford, and at Bromle (2 pikes and 60 pears) from his old friend Walter Reynolds, then Archbishop of Canterbury (D); and he was at Tunbridge from August 23d to Monday the 27th.

Edward II seems to have been especially fond of fruit, and while living with his mother at Langley in 1300, “Nicholas de Gocham, fruiterer, sent him from London pears, apples, nuts, and other fruits, at the price of 20s. 11d.” (C.R.—W.N. 2469, xvii). From Tunbridge he dispatched a messenger, Maurice de Hothlegh, with letters under the privy seal to the sheriffs of London, for the expenses of which journey he was paid the very moderate sum of 4d. (E.F.).

On Monday, August 27th, the king went to ("Begehamme Bayham Abbey, where three pikes were offered him, one from the abbot, two from John de Grovehurst³ (D). A horse had been hired to bring down from London 600 pears, and 60 large nuts in one day to this abbey, and a lad was paid 8s wages for accompanying it (c). As only fish and fruit are mentioned, it must be supposed that the king went on for his more substantial meal to Robertsbridge Abbey (F), where the abbot had provided two carcasses of oxen (*carcas' boum*), and 6 cheeses, from the court of Rudham (*de curia Rudhami*). Rudham cheese may have been then famous—a fair of three days in July was established by Henry III in 1227, in the manor of Rudham, county Norfolk, which belonged to the prior of Cokesford. This priory had been founded in the time of Henry III by William Cheyney (de Querceto), and the manor of Rudham was a gift to it from Hervey Beleth, whose mother was a Cheyney. It is probable therefore that these cheeses had been sent to Bayham through the good offices of the Cheyneys, who held land in Sussex. Here he dated the appointment of Henry de Hanbury as justice of the Common Pleas, and Nicholas Fastolfe as chief justice of the same court, besides granting a safe conduct to James Beauflor (F).

On Tuesday, August 28th, the king came to Battle (*la Battail*), (F), and was doubtless welcomed in the abbey with due honour as the descendant of the great founder, after a journey which the hilly nature of the country and the bad roads must have made tedious and difficult.⁴ The first duty on his arrival was to attend divine service, with an offering of gratitude. The following is the entry in his officer's accounts:—

"For the offering of our Lord the king at the great altar of the conventual church of Battle, at the great mass celebrated in presence of the said lord king at Battle, 28th day of August, in money 7s., and in the price of one cloth of gold of red silk of Raffat purchased, offered there by the same on the same day, 50s., total 57s." (E).

³ This knight, besides other possessions, held forty acres of land at Horsemonden, in which church a fine effigy of him remains in brass. The inscription records his gift of Leueshotte manor to Bayham Abbey. He died about 1330—40.

⁴ In King John's expenses the charge of conveyance of goods in Sussex is frequently recorded. Hiring seven carts to

carry weapons, &c. from Arundel to Lewes, one day, *vs. xd.*—one cart with 2 horses from Chichester to Arundel *vid.*—carts with 5 horses from Odiham to the Abbey of Battle in 6 days, for hay and oats *viis. vii½d.*—6 carts with 2 horses each from Lewes to Battle in one day, *vs.*"—Rot. Misæ, 14^o Joh. in Cole's Documents of 13th and 14th Century, 1844.

For the refectory, numerous presents of good cheer had been sent in from the neighbouring landholders, as well as the abbot of Battle, who seems to have been Alan de Etling, appointed in the preceding March, as successor to John de Pevenese deceased.

The presents recorded are the following :—

“From Robert Acheland, 4 rabbits, 6 swans, 3 herons.

“From Stephen Acheland, 3 rabbits, 10 flagons wine, 2 flagons of (*vernach*)⁵ sweet wine.

“From Edmund Passelewe, 3 carcasses of oxen, 12 carcasses of muttons.

“From William de Echingham, 2 carcasses oxen, 6 muttons, 3 peacocks, lucern,⁶ 12 bream.

“From the abbot of Battle, 20 score and 4 loaves of bread, 1 cask wine, carcasses of oxen, 3 pigs, 6 carcasses mutton, 2 swans, 2 rabbits, 3 herons, fessantes, 1 dozen capons, 2 pike, 12 bream.” (D)

Besides which, the king while at Battle appointed Peter de Monte Pesulano to buy spicery and other matters by the aid of the bailiffs (F) of Sussex, who were also charged to assist John de Denne, as deputy to the king's butler (pincerna), Stephen de Abyngdon, in providing things relating to his office, in the port of Sefford. (Rot. Pat.)

The king remained at *Battle* also on *Wednesday, August 29*, and during his stay he made a handsome present of—

“A double-gilt silver cup, carved outside with baboons (*unius cippi argentei deaurati duplicati et taliati extra de Babewynis*), with foot and a cover, of the weight of 52*s.*, and price 104*s.*, from the store in the Tower of London, to Sancius de Sabell', master of a vessel called *La Juliana* from Bermeio in Spain, who came to him in the Abbey, and returned towards his own country the same day.” (E)

What the motives were for this gift, nearly double that offered on the altar, does not appear, but from Bermeio, a small fishing town six leagues N.E. of Bilbao, perhaps a cargo of some luxuries had been brought to the king. There was a project, however, at this time of marrying the Prince of Wales to the daughter of James II, King of Arragon, and this Spaniard may have earned his cup by bringing the king some news relating to the progress of the treaty. (See Rot. Pat. Porchester, Oct. 1.) Another gift of 100*s.* was also made to John Pain, master and factor of the king's ship, *la Nicolas de Winchelsea*, who had come to announce the completion of the works of the said ship (E).

⁵ Vernach or vin de Garnache, a sweet white wine.

⁶ Lampreys?

Elias, clerk of Pevensey, here presented two pikes and bream. (D) A horse had been hired in London to carry to Pevensey in two days' journey, 500 pears and 1000 large nuts, and a basket of filbert nuts (*nucēs de Sancto Philiberto*).

The derivation of the word 'filberts' has been variously stated. The old poet Gower derives it from Phillis, who hanged herself on that tree.

“And after Phillis, Philberd

This tree was cleped in the yerd.”—*Confess. Amant.* 4.

Skinner supposes it to mean “full beard.” Philibert, a French saint of the seventh century, abbot of Jumieges, and founder of Nermoutier on the small island of Heis, though many miracles are imputed to him, is not recorded to have swollen the size of nuts, and it is therefore probable that these filberts were imported from one of the many villages or towns in Normandy and Brittany, bearing the name of St. Philibert, where the climate may have been propitious to their growth. There was a family of the name in England. King John and Henry III frequently employed Hugh de St. Philibert, who held land in fee in Cornwall and Norfolk, to transport arms and men to garrison Jersey and Guernsey. (Rot. Claus).

The king dated at *Pevensey*, on *Thursday, August 30th*, the appointment of Edmund de Passelewe as warden of the port of Rye, and also that of William de Echyngnam for Winchelsea, alleging as motive that, “as all the vessels of the Cinque Ports had been appointed to be at Portsmouth on the Monday after the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, against the arrival of the French king, during the absence of the Winchelsea vessels from their own port, various damages might arise, which God forbid, by foreigners coming there, in which port on account of its large space (*propter amplitudinem portus*) many ships may ride at the same time (*insimul applicare*)” (F); a description which sounds fabulous to modern ears.

On the same *Thursday, August 30th*, the king was at “*Bourne*,” East Bourne, and considerable presents were made for the king's use, the donors of which are not named:

“1 Cheese, 14 sext. 1 picher, 3 qu. wine, 15½lbs. wax, 1 qu. 6½ bushel oats, 3 quarters beef, 3 carcasses mutton, 1½ hog, 5 rabbits, 1 bream. (G) And from the prior of Wymondsle, 2 carcasses oxen, 6 muttons, 25 flagons of wine, 4 score and 3 flagons beer.” (D)

The Priory of Black Canons at Wymondesley, co. Herts, had been founded by Richard Argentin in the time of Henry III. It possessed 400 acres of land round it, of which the oxen and sheep thus presented were the produce.

The expenses paid by the king's household officers at Bourne were:—

“For the kitchen 30s. 4½*d.*—wages 59s. 6½*d.*,—alms 4s., dispensary 17s. 4½*d.*—butlery 7s. 10*d.*—wardrobe 5s. 3¾*d.*—scullery 4s. 2*d.*—saucery 9*d.*—hall and chamber 9*d.*—stables 71s. 9¾*d.*” (G)

Messengers were sent off from Bourne to Bristol with letters from the king to his treasurer the Bishop of Exeter, Walter Stapleton (who was so barbarously murdered by the mob in London two years afterwards), and to Robert de Kendale, constable of Dover Castle, and the chief officers of the other Cinque Ports with the greatest haste (cum summa festinatione.) (H).

It is noted in Domesday that Bourne, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, was liable to the dues of one night, (reddebat firmam unius noctis), and perhaps the king exacted his feudal rights on this occasion.

On *Friday, August 31st*, and *Saturday, September 1st*, the accounts of the king's household show him to have been at *Bishopstone*, and presents were made similar to those at Bourne. Some of the items, as 4s. for alms, and 59s. 6½*d.* for wages, appear as fixed daily charges; the expenses of the stables were always the heaviest, being here 71s. 6¾*d.* and 64s. 7¾*d.* (G. H.) Royal letters were again despatched from hence by William de Wotton, who was allowed 12*d.* for his expenses to the Cinque Ports with the greatest speed (F).

From *Bishopstone* King Edward II must have made a somewhat rapid journey for those times; for we trace him next day, *Sunday, September 2d*, and *Monday, September 3d*, at *Thele*. There is no parish of this name, but judging from the direction of the royal journey and the donors of provisions there, the place visited was probably *Theelelands*, in *Slynfold*, originally owned by the abbey of *Fescamp*.

The expenses of the household here, on *September 2*, were altogether £11. 6s. 0¾*d.* and similar presents were made. (G. H.)

“Sept. 2. From the bailiff of *Fescamp* at *Bramber*, 2 carcasses oxen, 3 hogs, 6 muttons, 6 swans.

“From the Lady de *Breause*, 2 carcasses oxen, 4 hogs, 2 muttons.” (D)

On *Monday, September 3d*, the household expenses at Shipley (*Shippeleye*) amounted to £10. 10s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* They are thus detailed:—

“Dispensary 18s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*—butlery 33s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*—wardrobe 4s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*—kitchen 20s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*—scullery 2s. 5*d.*—saucery 2s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*—hall and chamber 5*d.*—stables 64s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*—wages 59s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*—alms 4s.—total £10 10s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*”

“Presents: 1 cheese, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. wax, 1 quar. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ bus. oats, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ carcasses oxen, 3 carcasses mutton, 2 pigs, 1 mullet, 14 rabbits.” (G)

Sir Edward de St. John also presented at Shepele—

“2 carcasses oxen, 2 swans, 9 pikes, 13 bream, 1 tench, 6 large eels.” (D)

On *Tuesday, September 4th*, the expenses of the royal household were £10. 19s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* at *Horsham*. (G) In another MS. the king dates on this day at “*Chesworth*” a permission to Stephen de Power, who was employed in his service, to delay his compliance with a late proclamation which had ordered him and all persons who possessed £40 in land, or rent, or fief, worth £40 a year, to take up arms fit for knights before Michaelmas. (F) It was in fact probably at Chesworth, now called Chedworth, that the king was lodged on this occasion, half a mile from Horsham, the ancient residence of the lords of Bramber. The Bishop of Oxford’s claim of free warren in this manor by grant of Henry III had been allowed in 1279. Peter de Braose in 1306 claimed the manor as heir of William de Braose, to whom Amicia, Countess of Devon, had granted it. (Placit. quo warr. 754.—Abbrev. Placit.) William de Braose, who held the manor in 1363, entailed it on his three sons (Cartwright’s Rape of Bramber, p. 180). According to a survey in 1608, when held by lease under the crown by Sir John Caryll, it is described as then—

“Very dilapidated, notwithstanding 100 loads of wood have been yearly assigned by his majesty’s woodward for the ayring of the same, besides timber for repaying. The situation hereof is upon a marsh ground, unhealthy, obscure, and the foundation sunk at the least one foot and more.” (p. 335.)

The king here granted a pension of £70 to William de Brewosa, who had given to him and his heirs the castle and vill of Brembre and Shoreham, valued at the same sum. (F)

On the following day, *Wednesday, September 5th*, the expenses of the king’s household were £10. 5s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* at ‘*Neubrigge*.’ (G)

Newbridge, in the parish of Pulborough, seems to have been the place visited. Alard le Fleming had possessed it, and his daughter Florence, with her husband Walter de Lisle, had obtained, in 1279, a grant from Edward I of free warren in Pulborough, with a fair of three days at Newbridge in this parish, on the vigil, feast, and morrow of St. Simon and Jude, (Oct. 27, 28, 29). See Cartwright's 'Rape of Arundel,' p. 353 : Placit. de quo Warr. 7^o Edw. I, rot. 62. d.

At Newbridge the king gave a silver-gilt cup, enamelled at the base (in fundo), with an image carved in the shaft (in pummello) with a foot and cover, worth 50s., to Michael de la Bottellerie, the esquire (scutifer) of John de Brittany, earl of Richmond, who brought letters announcing his master's deliverance from prison. (H)

John de Dreux, the father of this earl, had married in 1275 Beatrix, daughter of King Henry III, aunt to King Edward II. The earl, whose release from an imprisonment of five years by the Scots, is here announced, was forced to pay a large ransom, for which the king in vain endeavoured to persuade the parliament to levy a subsidy. He had been taken prisoner in 1321 by the Scotch invaders in Yorkshire, and had been equally unlucky in 1292 at Bordeaux, where the French had taken him, and King Edward I had then sent £1000 "to his beloved nephew" until better provision could be made. He held large possessions in Sussex.

On the next day, *Thursday, Sept. 6th*, the household charges at "*Petteworth*" amounted to £11. 2s. 3d. (F).

From hence royal letters were dispatched to the Earl de Warenne and the Archbishop of Canterbury, at an expense of 16d. (E H)

The rector of the church at Petworth made a present of seven score pears, and William de la Zouche sent for the royal table 4 score and 16 nuts of St. Philibert, 28 flagons of wine, 2 flagons of beer, 2 carcasses of oxen, 4 swans, 6 herons. (D)

William de Zouche of Haringworth, co. Northampton, held lands in Sussex at Chilington and elsewhere: he had been knighted on the same day as the king; but, notwithstanding his present apparent friendliness, he pursued and captured his unhappy sovereign in North Wales a few months later.

On *Friday, September 7th*, the expenses at *Petworth* were

£8. 17s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (G), and the presents consisted of bread, 3 eels, 1 trout, 3 large pikes, 3 bream, 4 mullets,—a fish dinner for the Friday; but the day was not passed in gloom, for there is an entry of “20s. paid to Nicolas the Harper, minstrel of Sir Ralph de Camoys, coming to the king, in the suite of the Lady de Camoys, and playing before the said lord king, as a gift by his own hands.” (H E)

Ralph de Camois, son of John and Margaret (whose strange history is notorious), had lands in free warren at Hampton et Wolbedyng, Trotton, and other places in Sussex, and was frequently summoned to parliament. His wife’s name was Elizabeth, and perhaps she is purposely described as the “wife of Sir Ralph” in the Record, in order to distinguish her from the disreputable wife of John, who was however dead.

The king was fond of music, and his trumpeters even accompanied him when he went in 1301 to bury the heart of the Earl of Cornwall at Ashridge. He was fond also of games of chance, and there are several items in the household accounts for “*tabulæ eburneæ, disci argentei,*” &c.—Sometimes “the fool of the Count de Savoy” was brought in to amuse the prince and rewarded.⁷

The entry of *Saturday, September 8th*, is imperfect; the MS. being torn, the name of the place remains only as . . . *eford*, and the expense there at £10. 6s. $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (G) This was probably *Dureford Abbey* near Petersfield, which lay not far out of his route to *Porchester* Castle, where he arrived on *Sunday, Sept. 9th*, and at which place he continued till October 9th.

A parliament which had been summoned to meet on Oct. 20, sat twenty-one days, to Nov. 10, and it may illustrate the mode of travelling at this time to mention that the knights of Cornwall, when claiming their expenses of attending, state that they had been seven days going to it, and seven days on their return, spending 2s. 6d. a day.

The anxieties of the king soon increased. A parliament met in June 1325, and he had reason soon after to apprehend an invasion, in consequence of the dispute with France. Orders were issued accordingly, and on June 18, Henry de Chardon, Thomas de Feversham, and William de Robertsbridge

⁷ C. Ride MSS. 2254, E.B. 29^o Ed. I.—2052. E.B. 29^o Ed. I.—983. 33^o Ed. I.—W.N. 2469, 28^o Ed. I.

were appointed (Rot. Pat.) to organise resistance in Romney Marsh; and on learning the neglected condition of its embankments, he commissioned, on July 4th, "Giles de Breauzon, John Fillol, W. de Robertsbridge, and John de Dallyngrygge to superintend the repairs of the banks, ditches, guttere, sewere, portes, and pools on the seashore near Pevensey and Hastings, which the force of the sea, the reflux and inundations and quantities of fresh waters (aquar' daleium) had so burst and broken, that inestimable damage might ensue." (Pat. Rot. Tower MSS.)—On August 6th, a royal order was also sent to the Bishop of Chichester (John Langton), to assist Ralph de Camoys, and Robert de Kendale, and also Nicolas Gentil and John de Ifeld (*arraiatoribus*), his marshalmen in Sussex, in levying forces to resist invasion. (Rym. Fœd. p. 563).

The doubts and troubles of the king were now evinced by irresolute orders; on August 30, he formally appointed the Prince of Wales to exercise royal authority in England during his own absence, and then soon revoking his act, resigned to him for ever his continental domains, so that he might do homage for them.

The young Prince, already under the influence of his mother, the "she-wolf of France," left Dover on September 12th for France in order to do so. The king dated several documents in the autumn from (*Mersefeld*) Maresfield; on September 22d, and October 2d, he there wrote "concerning the business arising from the death of the Countess Armagnac."⁸ Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, was watching the court of France for his master, as ambassador, and reported that King Edward II's conciliatory letter to the French king met with no response, and soon afterwards warned the king of his queen's plots, which he had detected. (Rot. Pat. Edw. II, p. 1, m. 23). On September 23d, he here confirmed the charter of Bayham Abbey (Dugd. Mon. ii, 160, xix.) On September 24th, he addressed a dutiful letter to the pope concerning the Scots having kept Berwick contrary to treaty, humbly beginning his letter:—"The king to the pope, devout kisses to the blessed feet (*devota pedum oscula beatorum*)." On September 30th, he desired the officers of the Cinque Ports to be ready with their levies, and

⁸ Gaston d'Armagnac, Vicomte de Fezensaguet, died in 1310, holding the county of Armagnac in Gascony under the English king. His line ended in 1403.

to stop letters from abroad, prejudicial either to the king or the kingdom, as also any suspicious persons (Rymer, *Fœd.* 2, 610. *Parl. Writs*, 2, 428). October 12th, the king authorised Peter de Worldham and Stephen Power⁹ to remove, with the sanction of the bishop of Chichester, all alien monks from the coast to places more inland; and October 15th, Edmund de Passele was appointed to overlook the goods of foreigners in Surrey, Sussex, and Kent. (*Close Rolls*).

The king, however, had not renounced his voyage to Gascony, and in November he ordered his ships to be victualled, and commissioned Robert de Ethingham, and Robert de Bavent to be ready with their forces to embark within seven days after Candlemas, "as he had arranged to go, by the aid of God, next summer season, (a *procheine saison d'este personelment*) (*Pat. Rot.* 18° *Edw. II*, p. 1. m. 1. 3.)

In the following year 1326, there was an increasing alarm of invasion, both from the French, and from the open intrigues of Queen Isabella, who was gathering forces abroad to dethrone her husband. On August 10th, an order was given to establish beacons of fire along the southern coast in order to assemble the inhabitants in case of emergency—(*signum de igne vel alia re competenti quod a longe videri posset—quod homines vicinarum partium trahere se possent ad ignem, vel ad signum de nocte si opus foret*). (*Rym. Fœd.* t. 2, p. 610.)

In vain did the king now send out his complaints from Porchester (Sept. 2d) against the French king for detaining his son "whom he had lately sent to him in the confidence of love," and for encouraging his queen with her armed rebels. In vain he ordered ships of 30 tons to assemble speedily at Orwell in Suffolk, as well as a general levy of his liegemen, commanding Sussex to contribute to it 200 men, with their haketons and basinets (*cum aketonibus et bacinettis*), and 500 archers. (*Rot. Pat. Edw. II*, 20°. p. 1, m. 18.)

The queen, however, in spite of these precautions, landed in Suffolk on September 22d, and although the king, on September 26th, issued strict orders to arrest all Frenchmen (*Gallos*), yet having neither capacity nor energy sufficient to compete with the daring profligacy of his queen, his ruin and death soon followed.

⁹ See Lists of these possessions in *Sussex Addl. MSS.*, 6164, 6165.

A brief reference to some subsequent royal visits to Sussex may be here added:—

For an account of King Edward III's visit to Rye and Winchelsea in August, 1350, see Vol. IV, p. 118, *Sussex Arch. Coll.*

In August, 1355, King Edward and his sons Lionel and John (then in his 16th year) embarked in the Thames for Sandwich, where they remained till August 15, when they went to Winchelsea and Isle of Wight, after which they were again driven back to Winchelsea. (Rot. Parl. 2, 264.)

May, 1360, Edward III landed at Rye in the evening, and started immediately on horseback for London, where he arrived at 9 o'clock the next morning. (Fœd. iii, 490. Cooper's Winchelsea, p. 82.)

October 6, 1372, Edward III was at Winchelsea, and from thence adjourned Parliament to Nov. 3, after the defeat of the English fleet at La Rochelle. (Cooper's Winch. p. 84.)

1479. King Edward IV was at Chichester, when he constituted many Justices of the Peace. (Dallaway's Chichester, p. 21, note, from Lansdowne MS. in Brit. Mus.)

1487, King Henry VIII visited Rye. (Holloway's Rye, p. 604.)

1551, July 20-25, and 1554, Aug. 1, King Edward VI visited Petworth. Burnet's History Reform. See *Sussex Arch. Coll. V*, 185.

1573, Aug. 12, Queen Elizabeth was at Rye for three days, and from thence went to Winchelsea. (Holloway, p. 308; Cooper, p. 107; also *Sussex Arch. Coll. V*, 190.)

1673, King Charles II was at Rye, "when his royal navy lay in the bay, in sight of the town." (Holloway, p. 341.)

FUNERAL PAGEANT OF SIR ANTHONY BROWNE.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

READ AT THE MEETING AT BATTLE, JULY 23, 1852.

THE following programme of the pageant connected with the obsequies of Sir Anthony Browne, Kt., standard-bearer and personal friend of Henry VIII—to whom his royal master gave the Abbey of Battle, with all its extensive rights and possessions, and whose monument¹ is among the objects of Archæological interest in Battle Church,—is taken from Dodsworth's MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The MSS. of this indefatigable antiquary, a fellow-labourer with Dugdale, occupy 162 folio volumes, given to the University of Oxford, by H. Fairfax, dean of Norwich, in 1673. Unluckily the MSS. got so wet in their removal, that it took A. Wood a month to dry them on the leads of the school tower, and they are in some parts illegible. It appears to have emanated from the Heralds' College,—and is a fair specimen of the ostentatious pomp and display with which the funeral ceremonies of the higher ranks were conducted at the period in which he died. A list of the different appointments held by Sir Anthony under the king (who, as a mark of his regard, left him at his death a legacy of £300) will be found in Vol. V. p. 183, of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*. "He endyd his lyfe"—says the continuation of the inscription there given, (which is taken from his portrait by Isaac Oliver, once at Cowdry—but now in the possession of Charles Browne Mostyn, Esq. at his seat, Kiddington, Oxfordshire,) "the 6th of May, in the second year of King Edward VI, 1548—at Byfleet House in Surrey, by him buylded, and lyeth buried at Battle in Sussex, by Dame Alyce, his first wyfe; where he began a stately edifice, synce proceeded in by his sonne and heyre, Anthony, Viscount Montague," &c.

¹ A full description of this monument will be found in Blore's *Monumental Remains*.

The programme of the ceremony of his Interment is as follows:—

“The way from London to Battle, when Sir Anthony Browne shall be buried.”

Then follows the route of the possession; which is directed to be—

“ffrom London to Croydon;—ffrom thence to Godestoune;—ffrom thence to Grynstede;—ffrom thence to Buhstede;—ffrom thence to Cattstrotte;—ffrom thence to Dallyngton;—ffrom thence to Battel.”

“The way from London to Cobham;—ffrom London to Kingestone;—ffrom thence to Cobham. . . .”

“Mem:—to speake to the paynter to bring to Cobham ij staves for the conductors.”

The account then proceeds to state the expense of the provision of the gorgeous accompaniments of the procession.

“The Paynters Charge.

ffurst—The Standard,

xxxiijs. iiij*d.*

Item—the Banner of Armes,

xxxiijs. iiij*d.*

Item—iiij Gwydons and Pennons,

iiij*li.*

Item—a Cote of Armes,

xxx*s.*

Item—a Crosse with Mantells and Helmet

v*li.*

Item—a Targe of armes,

xx*s.*

Item—a Sword,

x*s.*

Item—ij dousen of Scouchens in Buckram at ijs the pece, iiij*li* xij*s.*

Item—ij dousen Scouchens of Paper in Mettall, at xx*d* the pece, iiij*li.*

Item—iiij dousen Scouchens of Paper in Collor, at x*d* the pece, ij*li.*

Item—Shafferons for the Horses heads,

vij*s.*

Item—Brasses of Iron,

x*s.*

Item—vj banner staves and a hamper to trusse the sayd stuffe in, iijs.

Summa, xxv*li* xvij*s* viij*d.*

The Charges of the Officers at armes,

To Mr. Garter for his dutye,

xl*s.*

And for his Black Gowne and Clothes,

xl*s.*

And for the Herauld for to give a tendauce, everye daye

vs.”

“The standards, banners, &c.” are directed to be borne in the solemnities” as follows:—

“The banner of armes between the standarde and the corps.”

“At the iiij corners the ij Pennons and the two Gwydons.”—

“And without that, iiij Tapers, borne by iiij poore men,

in gownes and hoodes, gornyshed with Scouchens of armes.”—

“The derege done”—enquiry is then to be made “to knowe whether theye wyll bury hym over nyght or no.”

“If he be buried over nyght, the mourners to returne to the place appoynted, where thaye came fro”

The continuation of this sentence is not intelligible. The words illegible seem to refer to some place near to Battle, to which the mourners were to return.

“The standerde, Banner of armes, Pennons, and Guydons, to be holden about the grave untill the earth be caste upon hym.”

“The corps to be covered over with a paulle after the buryall; with iiij lyghtes durynge the divyne Service.”

“The nexte daye to come to the Masse of the Communyon in lyke order, as before placed.”

“At the offerynge tyme”

“The cheffe mourner with the nexte pryncipall” is directed “to offer the cote of armes, the herauld going before to knowe whether they shall offer to the aulter, or to the crosse.”

“Then they are to come downe agayne to the head of the corps; and there to stand.”

“Then ij other are to offer the terge.”

“Then ij other to offer the swourd.”

“Then ij other to offer the helmet and creste.”

“Then everye man to be placed as afore, with the barrers.”—

In the offerings thus directed to be made at the conclusion of these funeral solemnities, may we not trace the origin of the suspension of military armour in our churches?—Might they not have been first presented at the altar upon the occasion of the interment of the owner having been first carried in procession, as in the instance before us; and afterwards suspended over his tomb by means of braces fixed in the wall? The “Brasses—(braces) of iron” charged “in the [preceding] Paynters”—account, probably had reference to the ultimate disposal of these military offerings.

LIBERTIES AND FRANCHISES WITHIN THE RAPE OF HASTINGS.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

READ AT THE MEETING AT BATTLE, JULY 23, 1852.

THE entire rape of Hastings consists of thirteen hundreds, exclusive of the Cinque port of Hastings with its liberties, and the two ancient towns of Rye and Winchelsea. Of these hundreds the lord of the rape, the Earl of Chichester, is still lord of nine, viz., *Baldslow, Goldspur, Guestling, Hawkesborough, Henhurst, Netherfield, Ninfield, Shoyswell, and Staple*: for them, as did the Earls of Eu, from the time of the Conqueror's grant, he holds the courts leet; he also claims the wastes in them as chief lord; he receives, for various lands, the castle guard rents for Hastings Castle; and he appoints the coroner for the whole of the rape not included in the *Cinque ports* or *Battle*. Of the hundred of *Foxearle* the Earl of Ashburnham is lord, it having been sold 17th Henry VI, by Sir John Pelham to Sir Roger Fynes Knight. The three remaining hundreds have peculiar rights and privileges; they are,

1. **BATTLE**, comprising the parishes of Battle and parts of Bexhill, Sedlescombe, and Whatlington.

2. **BEXHILL**, containing that manor, formerly the possession of the see of Chichester and afterwards of the Earls of Dorset; and

3. **GOSTROW**, comprising the parishes of Brede in part, Iham, and Udimore, formerly the possession of the abbot of Fécamp and, on the suppression of the alien priories, of Syon Monastery.

All three hundreds are exempt from shires and hundreds, and free of all tolls, markets, and amerciements; Bexhill and Gostrow from the Saxon times, and Battle by the

St. Mary Bulverhithe and the parish of St. Leonard's next Winchelsea, and includes part of the parishes of Ore, St. Mary in the Castle, St. Margaret, more recently called St. Mary Magdalen, St. Leonard, and the Liberty of the Sluice, in the parish of Bexhill; the remainder of these parishes being within the county.

I proceed, therefore, to notice the other exempt jurisdictions within the rape, and of these by far the most important is :

1. BATTLE, which under its charters was not only made "free and quit of every custom of earthly service," but also as the old chronicler tells us, "of all subjection of bishops, especially of the bishop of Chichester," and was declared to be as free as the metropolitan church of Christ Church, Canterbury.⁵ I must refer those, who would seek a vivid description of the difficulty with which this spiritual exemption was maintained, to Mr. Lower's translation of 'The Chronicle of Battle Abbey.'

The peculiar privileges of the Abbey extended over the Leuga or Lucate, the boundaries of which are defined in that Chronicle.⁶ This Leuga was at first divided into four, and subsequently into five boroughs, named respectively, *Mydyl*, now subdivided into *Middleborough* and *Uckham*, *Santlake*, *Monjoye*, and *Telham*, and it appears by the Chartulary at Carlton House ride, that parts of Whatlington and Sedlescombe⁷ are within the borough of Monjoye.⁸ There are also the outboroughs of Barnehorne, Glazye, Bucksteep, Whatlington, and Sedlescombe, within the hundred and the jurisdiction of the Leet.

The *civil jurisdiction* of the Abbot included the ordinary jurisdiction of the court leet, and the Abbey had a right of free warren in all its manors ;—treasure trove ;—the right of inquest ;—sanctuary first in cases of murder and homicide extended by the charter of Hen. III to all cases whatsoever ;—by the same charter the abbot was empowered to hold pleas of his tenants before his own steward, and by the charter of

⁵ Chron., p. 82. ⁶ Chron., p. 14.

⁷ The Knights Templars had estates in this parish, the particulars of which are to be found in Addl. MS., No. 6165, f. 365.

⁸ There was also a tenement called Wisshouse, in Ylkhurst, within Mount-

joye, although locally situated in the hundred of Staple. The relative values of the property in these boroughs, temp. Henry VIII, was Mydyl 30s. 6d., Sandlake, 51s. 8d., Monjoye 48s. 4d., and Telham 29s. 3d.

Edw. I, he had a right to all fines and amerciements of his tenants in the town, and cognizance of all trespasses committed within a certain limit of the abbey precinct. After these charters courts of gaol delivery were duly held in the town before the seneschal and justices itinerant, in the same manner as the gaol deliveries in towns that are counties of themselves; but I can find no authority for the statement that the abbot or his seneschal or steward ever alone exercised or had the power of capital punishment or licence to erect a gallows.

The customs of the manor are these:—

The Manor of Batell in Sussex.—Articles wherein is contained the whole Custom of all the Copyholders within the Lordship and Manor of Battell, as hath been used and accustomed time out of mind, confirmed, ratified, and allowed, by the Right Hon. Anthony Visct. Montaigne, Lord of the said manor and his tenants there the Wednesday in Palm Week, Anno Domi. 1564, in the presence of John Skinner Esq. High Steward of the said manor, John Jeffery Esq. one of his Lordships counsel, and William Denton Gentleman, his Lordships surveyor:

(Presented and enrolled again at a court holden 2d. June 1772).

First. All those tenants, which hold lands by copy of Court roll within the aforesaid manor, hold the same lands and tenements to them and to their heirs at the will of the lord after the custom of the manor, by which custom time out of mind, those copyholders which have not by copy of court roll their fine and heriott stinted to a certain sum of money, pay to the lord of the manor, after the death of every tenant, dying seized heriott (that is to say,) for every several tenement, the best beast, (except the lands lye within the Borough English), and the heir at his admission a reasonable fine.

Item. None that holdeth copyhold lands and tenements within the Watch Crosses of the town, pay heriott at no time for the said lands; but fine only as is aforesaid, because it is within the Borough English and within the same Watch Crosses the youngest doth inherit, as well the freehold as the Copyhold, (except there be any act done to the contrary).

Item. By the same custom the widow of the tenant dying seized may have the third part of his copyhold lands during her widowhood, agreeing with the lord for the same.

Item. By the custom of the said manor, if a tenant die seized of his lands and make no surrender, his child being under the age of fourteen years, the mother of the child shall fine for the lands with the lord, until the child come and be of age of fourteen years, and then the child shall take it in court and chose his keeper till he come to the age of one and twenty years, and then must they both be accountable to the child; and if the child have no friend alive to be his guide, then shall the next of kin to the child and farthest from inheritance make fine in the court, and keep the lands to the use of the child as is aforesaid.

Item. By the aforesaid custom the tenant may take upon his copyhold lands timber sufficient for the repairing of his copyhold, (so that it be not ridge-bone), being appointed by the lord's officer.

Item. By the aforesaid custom the tenant may not build nor repair any ridge-bone house with timber growing upon his copyhold, but with underwood, unless he agree with the lord.

Item. By the said custom the tenant may burn in his copyhold tenement all underwoods, and top the oaks that hath been used to be topped.

Item. By the aforesaid custom the tenant may digg up all manner of wood upon his copyhold land, so that he make the ground arrable to be sown, and sell those woods where he listeth, being appointed by the lords officer aforesaid.

Item. By the aforesaid custom the tenant may slope and top all manner of wood (except timber) growing in the hedges and for the maintaeance of his hedges, or in the copyhold lands, to take sufficient hedge-boot and stacke-boot for the maintenance of the same hedges, and if there be any wood left in making the said hedges the tenant may burn it in his copyhold house.

Item. By the aforesaid custom if two copyholds lying together, being two mens, the one having a good hedge and the other naught between them; the partie grieved must present it to the homage at the tenant's court, and the homage must present it to the steward, and then it shall be paind untill it be amended.

Item. By the aforesaid custom if there lye copyhold lands and freehold lands together, the one being one man's and the other being another's, if the freeholders marke between them be not sufficiently kept, the remedy for the copyholders is by way of action, and the freeholder to present the copyholder to the homage as aforesaid.

Item. By the aforesaid custom if any tenant having freehold and copyhold lying together, and taketh away the inclosure between them and have not a sufficient senture of the division of the copy and of the free, he shall be paind in likewise.

Item. By the aforesaid custom the homage at every tenant's court must present the death of every tenant that happeneth between court and court and what advantage the lord ought to have thereby, and who is his next heir, as also every alienation and sale that hath happened between court and court, with all other profits belonging to the lord.

Item. By the aforesaid custom, if the copyholder have not upon his own copyhold lands timber for the necessary reparations of his tenement (being no ridge-bone) the officer aforesaid shall appoint him timber upon some other copyhold lands, and in likewise plough-boot and wesne-boot.

Of surrendering copyholds.

First. If a surrender be made out of the court it must be delivered to one tenant in the presence of two tenants, or to the steward alone, and be brought in at the next tenant's court, or otherwise the surrender is void.

You may surrender your copyhold lands by the licence of the lord after the custom of the manor to the use of the last will, or to any other person for term of life, years, in fee or fee tayll, after the custom of the manor, as by record it doth appear.

Also if you surrender to the use of your last will by which will you intail

your copyhold, the surrender is good untill your will be accomplished according to your meaning, unless he which hath the first property of the will by surrender have any heir of his body lawfully begotten; that heir if he live to be of full age may surrender the same lands to some other use, then that the intail by the will aforesaid be clearly extinguished; and if the heirs of all those die which have the benefit of the said will before they do any lawful act, then shall the youngest to him, which had the last property, enjoy the same by our custom.

Also if you have made a surrender to the uses before-named, and he which shall receive the comodity of the same surrender do come to the next tenant's court to claim property thereof, or else do procure a court to be kept before the tenant's court, the lord ought to grant him the comodity of the surrender; and if he come within the proclamations made by the lord, (that is to say) at the several tenants' courts, the lord ought not to deny him the comodity of the surrender by our custom, whether it be in fee or fee tail, for years or for term of life: and if the surrender be in fee to him and his heirs, if they come not within the proclamations made by the lord as is aforesaid, then is the lands fallen into the hands of the lord. And if the surrender be but for term of life or years, and no property claimed, the surrender is void, and the youngest heir of him that made the surrender is heir to it, and not the lord. And if it fall among sisters, they divide it equally among them by the custom aforesaid.

Forfeitures and advantages growing to the lord.

First. If the tenant of copyhold fell by ground any other woods than underwoods to burn in his copyhold houses or otherwise, he doth forfeit his copyhold land to the lord, which forfeit ought to be taken: if it be well approved to be true by the bailiff of his liberty in this court, the bailiff must go to the lands, and set thereupon a white wand, and say these words or such like in the presence of two tenants: "In the name of the lord, I have seized this land to the use of my lord untill such time as the owner that was or his heir come and fine and agree with the lord for the same."

Item. If any man let his copyhold lands for years otherwise than from year to year, and agree not with the lord for the same, he maketh the like forfeiture.

Item. If any tenant hold copyhold lands to be freehold, and hath not the lord's license to shew it, he maketh the like forfeiture.

Item. In likewise the homage ought to present at every tenant's court if any copyhold houses are going to decay or ruin for lack of repairing, the steward ought then to give a day for the repairing thereof by a fine.

Item. If any man have a copyhold house and no ridge-bone blown down with the wind or otherwise, he shall be likewise pained by a fine to build it again, or else to agree with the lord for it, or else to let it fall into the lord's hands for lack the reparations be not done.

The *ecclesiastical jurisdiction* of the abbot, which still exists, includes all the rights of visitation, of holding courts, of granting probates, and administrations, and licenses for marriage, within the Leuga, in as ample a form as was possessed

by the Bishop of Chichester himself. The chief of this jurisdiction is styled "*the Dean*," although the church of St. Mary is parochial only, and not collegiate. The authority for the title is not very clear, but the following account is given of its origin in the Abbey Chronicle:⁹ Whilst the Abbey was without an abbot, after the death of Walter de Lucy (1171), Humphrey, a priest and parson of the church of St. Mary, died, and the prior and convent took the church into their own hands, received the revenues, and assigned a vicar, but without any fixed appointment, to perform the duties. There were many eager applications for the church; and writing in reply to one, Poitou, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, the prior and convent having conferred together, said, that the church was a chapel to the abbey, so that its altar was reckoned as one of the abbey's own altars; and that the chaplain therein ministering ought to be acquainted with the affairs of the monastery as if he were one of its monks; and in the margin it is written, "of which he ought to be Dean." The court, till the present century, was in active operation for all the ordinary purposes of ecclesiastical courts, such as determining church-rate disputes, punishing for brawling and defamation, citing and punishing parties for living together without matrimony, &c.; and several wills were proved. Latterly, however, the business has fallen off, the suits have ceased, and it appears by the return made to the ecclesiastical commission in 1830, that there had been only two probates, and two administrations granted in three years; the average annual emoluments of the judge were only £5. 8s., and of the registrar £3. 3s. 1d.

The earliest register of wills now preserved in the registry commences in 1531, and contains forty-four pages of the reign of Henry VIII: there are no wills entered during the reign of Mary: the entries commence again 3 Edward VI, and continue till 1616; the next book, from 1616 to 1731, is missing: but the original wills, from 1685 to 1728, were found by me tied up in a bundle: from 1731, the entries in the register are continuous. A reference to very few of the earliest wills is interesting.

The first entry is in 1531, of the will of *Nicholas Morant*, who directed his body to be buried in the parish church of

Battle, if he should die there. He gave to the high altar of that church, for tithes and oblations neglected and forgotten, 20*d.* : to the light before the crucifix, 8*d.* : to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester, 4*d.* ; to the shrine at Battle, 4*d.* : to the Lord Abbot of Battle, to offer the Holy Sacrifice according to his intention, and in satisfaction for his offences if he had in any way offended him, 10*s.* : to the convent there, to celebrate mass for his soul, 10*s.* : and the residue to his two sons.

The next entry is the will of *Julyan Apreese* in 1535 ; and on the 8th March in that year is the will of *Margaret King*, widow, of Battle, and of the exempt jurisdiction there, which contains these devises : “ I bequeath to the high altar there for my tythes and oblations negligently forgotten, 2*d.* Item, to St. Richard’s shrine of Chichester, 6*d.* Item, at my burial, 3*s.* For my month’s mynd, 3*s.* Item, to John Iden’s daughter, a calf ; and to every child of the said John Iden, a calf of the same size. Item, a calf to Mildred Kemp. Item, to Johan Iden, my black kyrtyll. Item, Alice, Iden’s wife, all my moveable goods in Battle.”

In the same year, *John Sykyll*, after making 4*d.* provision at the high altar for his tithes and oblations negligently forgotten, and bequeathing 2*d.* to the shrine of St. Richard, proceeds :

“ Item, I wyll at my buryall, fyve masses. Item, at my month’s mynde, fyve masses. Item, at my yery’s mynde, ij masses. Item, I gev and bequeth to Rychard Lucas, my daughter’s sonne, foure markys of good and lawfull money of Ynglond, to be delyveryd to the forsayd Rychard Lucas withyn ye space of iiij yerys next and immedyat after my depertyng of thys present lyfe. Item, I bequeth to ye same Rychard, a brasse panne, conteynyng iiij gallons. Item, a brasse potte of ij gallons. Item, a cawdorne of ij gallons, bounden with yron, to hang on the fyr. Item, a fether bed, with ye bolstyr and ij payer of flaxen shets, a chest, a spytt, and a payer of pothokys, with an andyron. Item, ij plattes, a pewter dyshe, a pewter bason, a chafyng dyshe, and a canstyck.”

And if Richard Lucas should die within the four years, then the property was to go to William Kent and Alice his wife.

These bequests show the social position of the townspeople just before the dissolution of the abbey ; but the most interesting entry is the will of JOHN HAMOND, the last Abbot of Battle, who had surrendered the abbey on 27th May, 1538, on a pension of £100 a year, which he only lived to enjoy for some eight years.

“ In Dei Nomine. Amen. The first of December, in the year of our Lord God, 1546. I, John Hamond, priest of the parish of Battle and of the peculiar jurisdiction there, make this my present testament and last will, in form following: First, I bequeath my soul unto Almighty God, to our Blessed Lady, and to all the holy company of heaven; and my body to be buried within the ile called St. Katherine’s Ile, within the parish-church of Battle, aforesaid. Item, I bequeath to the high altar there, 6s. 8d. Item, I will that myne executors shall bestow and cause to be bestowed at my burying months’ mind, and years’ mind, and so forth, in the space of six years, as the money will endure, to alms to poor people and scholars, and in divers masses and other works, charitable and necessary for the welth of my soul, and all christian souls, £40. Item, I bequeath to the church of Battle before said, to preserve in the chapel of St. Katheryn there, my two chesybyls, and that belongeth to them, and a chalyce with a patent double gilded, and a stochyn of silver in the foot of him, the space of six years next after my death, and after to remain to the said church of Battle for ever. Item, I will that Sir Bartholemew Barwyche, priest, shall sing in the said church of Battle, and in the said chapel of St. Katherine for my soul and all christian souls for six years next after the feast of St. Chrystyne, that is to say, the 24th day of July, the which shall be in the year of the Lord God 1547, provided that if it fortune him to die, or to come to any other promotion, so that he cannot or will not do the same service, then I will that mine executors [provide] another priest to do the same service, and he that shall do the same service shall have for his labour and business every year during the same feast £6. 13s. 4d. Item, I bequeath to the marriage of fourteen poor maidens to every of them 10s. Item, I bequeath to Richard Bushe the younger, the son of Richard Bushe of Hastings, £10 of the money that Henry Coldewell of London, Goldsmith, oweth me, if all the same money may be received, and else not to be paid to the same Richard at twenty-five years of his age if he demandeth it. Item, I bequeath to Richard Meryan, my servant, all my household stuff and also all my plate to the only use of the same Richard for ever; the residue of all my goods and my debts, I give and bequeath to John Wygsell and the said Richard Meryan my servant, whom I ordain mine executors of this my testament and last will. This witnesseth Edward Afold, Christopher Wygsell, Gregory York, and others.”

He also gave to the said Richard Meryan, his servant, and the heirs of his body, the house that he dwelt in in Battle, and also a croft of land, and for lack of heirs of his body, to John Hamond, son of Thomas Hamond, his kinsman, and his heirs; and to his servant, John Wygsell, his other croft of land in Battle, in Middleborough, there.

2. BEXHILL. The whole of the parish is exempt from shires and hundreds, &c.; part (the *Liberty of the Sluice*) being within the Cinque-port of Hastings; another portion (*Barnhorne*) being in the hundred of Battle; and the remainder being in the hundred of Bexhill. In the days of Edward the

Confessor, this manor, then called Bexelei, and subsequently Bixle, belonged to the see of Selsey. Immediately after the Conquest, the Earl of Eu claimed it as part of his grant from the Conqueror; the Bishops of Chichester, however, regained the estate; and in return to the quo warranto 7 Edward I¹⁰ the bishop claimed by the charter of King Stephen, granted to Hilary the bishop, the manor of Bexhill, with the hundred and churches which had belonged to the see from the time of the Conquest, whereof the memory of man was not to the contrary, together with wreck of the sea, and freedom from all shires and hundreds. The bishops had a residence here; and by inquisition,¹¹ taken at Bixle, before John Olyver, the king's escheator, 15th June, 11th Richard II (1388), on the oaths of John Brekellesham and others, it was found that Thomas (Rushoke, late) Bishop of Chichester, held the manor of Bixle with the appurtenances, in which was a messuage worth nothing beyond reprises. One hundred acres of land, of which there were that year sown¹² with corn, twelve acres; with beans, six acres; with rye, four acres; and with oats, twenty-six acres; worth per acre to let to farm 3*d.*, and no more. There were also eighty acres of pasture, worth 12*d.* an acre; also eight acres of thick woodland, worth nothing beyond reprises; also 110*s.* a year rents of assize payable quarterly; and the profits of the court, worth beyond reprises 10*s.*; also thirty cocks to be rendered on the feast of the Nativity, worth 2*d.* a head; also one hundred eggs to be rendered at Easter, worth 5*d.*; total, £8. 6*s.* 9*d.*

3. GOSTROW hundred includes nine-tenths of the parish of Brede, the whole of Udimore, and the parish of Higham, next Winchelsea.¹³ Brede was a portion of the grant of Edward the Confessor to the alien Abbey of Fécamp.¹⁴ It must have been part of the same grant as included Rye and old Winchelsea as appendages of the manor of Steyning. The abbey contended for the latter, when in 7th Edward I,¹⁵ the abbot

¹⁰ Plac. de quo warranto, p. 759.

¹¹ Addl. MS. No. 6165, p. 213. Collated with original at Carl. Ho. Ride.

¹² These proportions of crops are curious. Only forty-eight acres out of the one hundred were cropped, and more than one-half were in oats.

¹³ Not as Mr. Hussey supposes Northiam, which is in Staple hundred.

¹⁴ Plac. de quo warranto, p. 749.

¹⁵ As to the descent of this hundred see *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. ii, p. 167.

had to show his title, and though this was denied on the part of the crown, the claim appears to have been correct.

“ Henry III, by letters patent, dated at Windsor 15th May, in the thirty-first year of his reign, (1247), granted to the abbot, &c. of Fécamp, the manors of Cheltenham and Slaughter, &c. &c. &c. in exchange for the villes of Winchelsea and Rye, which had been granted to the said abbot, &c. by Edward the Confessor; to hold them—‘adeo libera et quieta sicut antea tenuerunt Winchelsea et la Rye ratione donationis eis facte a felicitis memorie sancto Edwardo, et concessionum ac confirmationum postmodum abitarum a Willelmo et Henrico Regibus Anglie de terra de Staniges cum omnibus apendiciis suis. Inter que reputabantur Winchelsea et la Rye. In cujus regis Willelmi carta continebantur hujusmodi libertates; videlicet, quod predicti abbas et monachi Phiscanenses habeant terram de Staniges, cum omnibus omnino apendiciis suis et cum omnibus legibus, libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, quietanciis, placitis, querelis, et causis que sunt vel fore possunt, absque ulla inquietudine et diminutione cujuslibet secularis vel judiciaria potestatis sicut res ad Phiscum dominicum pertinentes et quod predicta terra cum omnibus apendiciis suis libera sit et quieta ab omni consuetudine terrene servitutis et ab omni dominacione et subjeccione Baronum et principum et omnium aliorum. Et quod prefati abbas et Monachi Phiscanenses et eorum ministri habeant omnem regiam libertatem et consuetudinem et omnem justiciam suam de omnibus rebus et negociis que in terra sua evenient vel poterunt evenire, nec aliquis nisi per eos se inde intromittat. Quia hoc totum regale beneficium est et ab omni servitute quietum. Et quod si aliquis quicquam contra hujusmodi concessionem presumat, ad Phiscum dominicum coactus auri libras centum persolvat.’ ”¹⁶

Edward I alleged that the patronage of the church of Brede was in the king, King John having presented one Laurence; to which the abbot replied, that Laurence had been presented by his predecessor, at the instance of John. The abbot was also called upon to show by what title he claimed the right of having a prison in his manor of Brede, with view of frankpledge, exemption from shires and hundreds, the goods of felons, assize of bread, &c., and wreck of the sea. The abbot denied that he claimed the right to a prison, though he had erected a house of detention for the safe custody of thieves captured, and alleged that the other liberties had been granted by Edward the Confessor as appurtenant to Steyning; and moreover that his tenants were only compellable to attend at the law day at Hastings and Guestling.¹⁷ In the 2d Edward I it had been found that the men of the abbot ought not to be amerced except in his own courts;¹⁸ and in 18th Edward I,

¹⁶ Rev. Lambert B. Larking, Notes and Queries, vol. v, p. 236.

¹⁷ Plac. de quo warranto, p. 758.

¹⁸ Cal. Inq. post. m., vol. i, p. 54.

it had been declared that Steyning Church and its appurtenances should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop.¹⁹ In the 18th Edward II. (1324), when the crown had seized the property of the alien priories, an extent of the possessions of the abbot of Fécamp in Brede was taken at Brede,²⁰ the Sunday after the feast of St. Andrew, 18th Edward II (1324), before Peter de Worldham and Stephen Power, the custodians of the religious houses of France in Sussex, by the oaths of John Martyn, Will. de Potter, John Sterne, John Fryldy, Will. de Ichyngton, Vincent Puntneys, John de Sodyngton, John de Helde, John de Brede, John de Burghton, Richard le Turnour, and Sampson de Stonlynk, of the hundreds of Gestling, Gosetrowe, and Baldeshuld.

“*Manor of Brede.*—A house worth nothing beyond reprises—a house and stall beyond the court gate worth 6s—45 a. of land worth 15s., or 4d. an acre—65½ a. worth 16s. 4½d., or 3d. an acre—33 a. worth 16s. 6d., or 6d. an acre—19 a. worth 19d., or 1d. an acre—6 a. of pasture, worth 8s. 3d.—a wood containing by estimation 60 a. and worth for pasturage and pannage each year 3s. 4d.—rents of assize, payable at the feast of St. Martin 26s. 1d.—St. Andrew £11. 0s. 10d.—Easter 30s.—feast of St. John the Baptist 10s. 1½d.—St. Peter ad vincula 9s.—and St. Michael £12. 2s. 9d.—total rents £26. 18s. 8d. There were also rents of assize payable, viz., 463 sheaves of oats estimated at 8qrs., worth 10s. 8d., or 16d. per qr.—also at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 42 qrs. 2 bushels of malted oats²¹ worth yearly 56s. 3d., or 16d. per qr.—at Xmas 10 cocks worth 10d. and 60 hens worth 7s. 6d., or 1½d. each—also at Easter 800 eggs, worth 2s. 8d., or 4d. per hundred—also customary ploughings, worth 16d.—also 2000 red herrings at the purification of the Virgin Mary, worth 8s., or 4s. per 1000²²—and the perquisites of the court and hundred, worth 20s. Total £35. 12s. 0¾d.

“It was also found that the parson of Brede rendered yearly to the abbot 23s. and the abbot had also a certain portion of the tithes worth 20s. per annum.”

The parson of Brede at that time was Bartholomew Morel, an alien;²³ his parsonage was worth £8 a year, and he had also a messuage, and thirty acres of land, worth 6s. 3d.; whilst the parson of Ihan at that time was Nicholas Pochin, another alien, whose parsonage was only worth five marcs a year. In the returns of Brede manor,²⁴ made 16 & 17 Henry

¹⁹ Cal. Inq. p. m., p. 103.

²⁰ Addl. MS. 6164, p. 338. Collated with the original Carl. Ho. Ride MS. See as to the appointment of Worldham and Power, ante, p. 52.

²¹ Malted oats were at that time in general use in this district; no mention is made of barley.

²² This was a high price compared with the rent of the best land, and the price of the oats, poultry, and eggs.

²³ Addl. MS. 6164., p. 340. Collated with the original among the Carl. Ho. Ride MSS.

²⁴ Carl. Ho. Ride MSS. F.G. 14,477.

VIII (1501), after the grant to Syon Monastery, it appeared that the manor was in *Brede*, where the Londeneys and Oxenbridges held lands, and the annual rents were £8. 1s. 8d. half a farthing;—in *Odymer*, where Frebody and Oxenbridge were the principal persons, and where the annual rents were £9. 12s. 2½d.;—in *Hastings*, where the total rents were 35s. 4d. a year, of which the bailiff of Hastings paid 5s.;—in *Tham*, where the total yearly rents were 11s. 10d., including lands of Cheyney, Oxenbridge, the chantry of Godfrey Pulham,²⁵ for the well, and the castle lands;—in *Southbroke*, where the Oxenbridges, the abbot of Battle, and Henry Fynche held lands, and the total annual rents were £5. 15s. 2¼d.;—in *Northbroke*, where Oxenbridge and Fynche held lands, where five several rents were paid for lands belonging to the hospital of Pleyden, and where the total yearly rents were £4. 15s. 8d.;—and in *Were*, where the yearly rents were £13. 11s. John Williams, beadle, accounted for 37s. 11d. estreats of court, and John Lower, alderman there, for estreats of court, 10s. 4d. There was also received for the toll of Spital fair, 6d.; and 8d. for a load of hazle rods.

Dr. Diamond has lent me a sheet of vellum MS., beautifully illuminated, containing numbers 37 to 42, cut from some copy, of the charters of the Kings of England to the Abbey of St. Mary of Fécamp.²⁶ The first part is a portion of a charter from the king (probably Henry II), dated at Bureford, and witnessed by Robert de Brêtoil, Theobald Walter, and William de Buchecot, affording the abbey the utmost protection. The next, No. 38, is a charter, dated at Burton, 23 April, temp. Richard I, witnessed by the Bishop of Durham, acquitting the monks everywhere of all toll, passage, pontage, stallage, mastage, and all other customs. No. 39 is another charter from King Richard, dated at Longcamp, 10 September (no year), receiving the house, and the monks and their possessions into his hands, custody, and protection. No. 40 is a charter, dated at Doncaster, 28 March, 1 John (1200), witnessed by the Archbishop of York, taking the monks and

²⁵ This is the only notice I have found of this chantry.

²⁶ I have not been able to find the volume from which this leaf was cut. It

has the autograph of Henry George Oldfield, to whom it was given by Richard Julius, December, 1786.

all their possessions under the royal protection. No. 41 is a charter from Henry III, directed to all places in England and Normandy, and the Cinque-ports, and especially Hampton (Southampton), Hastings, Dover, Barbefleet, Caen, Ostreham, and Diepe, witnessed at London by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, and others, but without date, exonerating the monks and their men from toll, passage, pontage, and all other customs; and No. 42 is another charter from Henry III, witnessed at Worcester, but not dated, also receiving the monks and their possessions into his hands, custody, and protection.

These exclusive privileges of the men living within these exempt jurisdictions are, at the present day, of little more value than to save the inhabitants the trouble of serving on juries at the assizes and county sessions.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ARMS OF SOME SUSSEX FAMILIES.

BY W. S. ELLIS, ESQ.

THE origin of the armorial bearings of a family is not only a most interesting and curious inquiry in itself, but never fails considerably to illustrate family and territorial history. It is amazing what difficulties are cleared up, what unexpected relations appear, what clues to further discovery or conjecture are afforded, by successful researches of this kind; and what speculation, and often a bold application of general rules, working on but few materials, will lead to, in the shape of results equally unlooked for and gratifying.¹

The occasions of the assumption of armorial bearings have been such as to invest them with circumstances of honour and poetical interest. The associations connected with them are many and diversified. When one had been displayed for the first time in the Holy Land, and its owner had earned the rewards of valour and prowess, this symbol of renown would be transmitted to posterity as a cherished family emblem; and when we find thousands of them thus or equally honourably acquired, we need not wonder at the reverence with which they were considered, that by succeeding generations they were looked upon proudly, and guarded with jealousy. They are accordingly commemorated in various ways. They garnish in beautiful emblazonry the vellum page of the mediæval chronicler; engraven on stone and on brass, in the "long drawn aisle and fretted vault," they are often the only memorials left of warrior-knights and valiant squires, whose names and whose deeds have perished: they are symbols so high in honour, as to be placed by the crown on the tomb of the monarch; and on the sepulchral monuments of archbishops and lordly abbots, they appear beside the mitre and the crosier.

¹ It would probably throw much light on the early genealogy of the family of Howard if the pedigrees were traced of all

families who bear similar arms. Houard is a Norman name.

On the battlements of the castle, on the portals of the church, on the walls of the abbey and the priory, they are sculptured as appeals to reverence and time-honoured feelings. In the apprehension of the admirer of the heroic actions of the past, in the mind of the descendant of an ancient and honourable race, these speaking emblems of history have an eloquent significance: their presence may be traced from age to age, and from clime to clime; in the tournament, and on the battlefield, on banner and shield, in the castle, the hall, and the sanctuary. Fix upon the escutcheon of any knightly family, and enumerate the scenes and places it has visited, among what glories it has shone, and on what expeditions it has been displayed! Take the achievement of Poynings, *Barry of six gold and green, with a crimson bend*, and track its presence. It is not improbable that their banner waved on the ramparts of Acre, and witnessed feats of valour against the Saracen; it was certainly seen in the ranks of the rebellious barons under Simon de Montfort; its bearer was conspicuous in the retinue of Earl Warren, in Scotland: Sir Nicholas Poynings, at the head of eight knights, twenty esquires, and thirty-five archers on horse, bore these arms on his shield, in company with his sovereign, at the siege of Calais, in the twentieth year of Edward the Third's reign; another of the family, Sir Michael de Poynings, is recorded, in 1277, as a knight banneret with the above bearings, whilst his brother, Sir Thomas, bore, for difference, three silver martlets on his bend; and these escutcheons were, with their wearers, at Cressy and Poitiers. Richard de Poynings, in the reign of Richard the Second, accompanied John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster into Spain to claim the crown of Castile; there he died, and wished, as a memorial, "a stone of marble to be provided, with an escutcheon of his arms, and a helmet under his head." This now time-honoured coat was borne by Robert de Poynings, fifth and last Baron of Poynings, in the wars of Henry V and VI, and he himself was slain at the siege of Orleans. The splendour of this once powerful and distinguished house did not survive the personal use of coat armour, though there lived subsequently, one eminent and the last individual of his race, an historical personage, Sir Edward Poynings, Henry the Seventh's viceroy in Ireland; *his* banner is mar-

shalled, as knight of the garter, with the blazonry of the noblest of his countrymen. But the churches of Slaugham and Poynings, erected by the pious munificence of this opulent family, to this day perpetuate their armorial ensigns; in the former, the coats of Poynings and Warren, in stained glass, in the chancel window, the colours still bright, though mellowed by the touch of time, look down on the tarnished, but more modern achievements of the Coverts, the Mortons, and the Sergisons; and any wanderer among the green mounds of the ruins of the castle of Poynings, who strays into the adjoining churchyard, will behold on the north porch of the church, on a single sculptured shield, without ornament or indication of colour, the simple charges, *barry of six and a bend*.

If these Collections had not been restricted to topics of a local rather than a general nature, arguments might be brought forward to refute the prevailing opinions as to the antiquity of heraldry: it might be shown that charters, with arms on seals attached, prove its existence in the eleventh century in Spain and France; that armorial bearings are spoken of by historians of the time of Charlemagne, and subsequently; and that even Tacitus speaks of the parti-coloured shields of the Germans. The coats of some of the most ancient and noble European families answer precisely to that description (as checquy, lozengy, &c.), and are probably the ancient ensigns of the Teutonic chieftains. The Anglo-Saxon kings and nobles, as their descendants, bore arms on their banners and shields, some of which have probably come down to us, although the majority of them became extinct, along with the families who bore them, or with their subjection. The omission of allusion to arms in what remains of Anglo-Saxon literature is not more remarkable than a similar silence in the general literature and newspapers of the present day. The Bayeux tapestry exhibits obvious though rude representations of these devices, and although, for some political reasons, William the Conqueror discountenanced their display, yet they were borne notwithstanding by his barons and knights, as is proved by many families a hundred and fifty years afterwards, descended of a common ancestor living at the conquest, using the same bearings. Unless this deduction be allowed, the absurdity

follows of supposing that distant relatives, in remote counties, and even countries, holding under distinct feudal chiefs, would, in hundreds of cases, have strangely adopted the same devices ; or the equal absurdity of their wholesale fabrication, by a collusion of heralds of different ages and lands. If heraldry had originated in the twelfth century, the devices selected would, reasoning *à priori*, have been different from what they were. Modern family heraldry is not a new and distinctive science from the ancient, but a continuation of it, and the ordinaries are not "refinements" of modern growth, but ancient independent charges ; and, indeed, no charge or "difference" (excepting canting arms) was arbitrarily assumed, but *adopted* from the maternal or uxorial coat ; because family relationship alone, and *not* the feudal connexion (which was a coincidence, not a cause), was the source of each new coat. Arms seem to have been always hereditary, from the earliest times, except in certain cases, and canting arms were taken by *novi homines* only, and necessarily, in default of paternal arms. Probably the greater part of significant ensigns were originally of this kind. The Greeks and Romans had undoubtedly family arms, which were hereditary, and probably the Welsh heraldry is partly an inheritance from the British Romans. The military standards, borne in all ages and lands, were originally personal, afterwards, in some cases, national, and modern European blazonry is, for the most part, derived from these by composition, augmentation, and variation of display, analogously, in the same unbroken though irregular continuity, as religion, laws, language, manners, and customs. Reserving the fuller development of these arguments to an independent essay, the immediate purpose of this paper will now demand our consideration.

Of the half-dozen great families who held sway in Sussex during the Anglo-Norman periods, perhaps that of WARREN is on many accounts the most interesting to the members of the Society. Without entering into Watson's speculations as to the origin of this family, in his elaborate history of that house, there can be little doubt that they first adopted the well-known *chequy or and azure* (No. 1), which they bore, from the princely race of Vermandois, whose coat it was, on the marriage of William, second Earl of Warren, with Isabel, daughter

of Hugh the Great, Earl of Vermandois ; and this origin of their coat is countenanced by similar examples, that will be noticed hereafter, of the adoption of the arms of another family, on marriage, if of superior rank. The Warrens, it must be remembered, were not descended from any scion of the Vermandois family, or their *chequy*, though identical in every respect with the arms of the latter, would be differenced in some way. And it might be supposed, that though that were not the case, yet any difference that had been assumed would be relinquished, as being unnecessary, in a country where the Vermandois bearings would never be seen. This distinguished blazon having once been introduced into the heraldry of the English nobles seems to have been speedily adopted by those who could make out any claim to it. Roger de NEWBURG, created by the Conqueror Earl of Warwick, having married Gundrada, daughter of the second Earl of Warren, relinquished his paternal coat of arms, and took the new Warren coat, adding *a chevron ermine* (2) to denote his descent from the Earl of Perche, who bore *three chevrons*. The various coats of the baronial family of CLIFFORD, that have *chequy* for their basis, seem to be derived from the same source ; the fess and bendlet (3, 4) which the early branches added, being taken from Wm. Fitz-Osborn their ancestor, who bore those charges combined, and from whom they inherited Clifford Castle. The derivation would have been indirect, through Toni a heiress, whose father probably married a Warren. The crest borne by the Cliffords, a wyvern, is the identical crest of the Warrens, and greatly strengthens this derivation. Of the nineteen knights who, in 26 Hen. III, held their fees of the barony of Lewes or honour of Warren, only one is known to have borne arms that are derived from the Warren coat, viz. Hugh de PIERREPOINT, who bore *azure a chief chequy, or and gules* (5).

It appears from the instances mentioned, that it was not only the custom to adopt the arms of a heiress, though by no means general, but also of a wife's family, though no heiress, if of superior rank. Thus William de Beauchamp on marrying Bertha, sister of Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford, took that family's arms, which were *vaire* ; and — DE MAMINOT (7) took the arms of DE VERE (6), changing the colours, on the occasion

of an alliance with that eminent family, which the SAYS (7) adopted entirely, on marrying the heiress of Maminot. The arms of the distinguished Sussex family of SACKVILLE (8) were chiefly derived from the De Veres, Sir Jordan de Sackville, who died in the ninth of King John's reign, marrying a daughter of the Earl of Oxford.

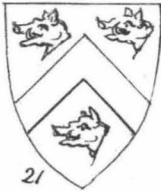
Adelisa, widow of Henry I, gave to her brother, Josceline de Louvaine, the honour and manor of Petworth. He married, A.D. 1122, Agnes de PERCY, the heiress of that noble house. "Before his nuptials," says Collins (v. 318), "she covenanted with him that he should bear the arms of the Lords Percy and omit his own, or continue his own arms, and take the surname of Percy, to him and his posterity for ever; and he chose the latter alternative; which is taken notice of in the following lines, under the picture in the pedigree at Sion House :

"Lord Percy's heir I was, whose noble name
By me survives unto his lasting fame;
Brabant's Duke's son I wed, who for my sake
Retain'd his arms, and Percy's name did take."

The arms of Louvaine, henceforth of Percy, were *or a lion rampant azure*. This being a simple ancient device, and of the colours, supposed to be the privilege originally of noble families, and their eldest sons, it is probable they were the ancient hereditary ensigns of the Dukes of Brabant for centuries. As Josceline de Louvaine was only a younger son, he ought, according to the laws of heraldry to have borne some difference on his shield, but probably it was the custom, in order to render the charges as few and as simple as possible, to abandon marks of cadency on settling in another country, where the same coat might not occur, just as an elder son dropped the label generally put on his escutcheon, on succeeding to the paternal honours. But the old arms of Percy—*az. 5 fusils conjoined in fess or*—were perpetuated in the family of DAWTREY, of West Sussex, whose ancestor, Josceline de Alta Ripa, was nephew of Josceline de Louvaine.

The FITZALANS, Earls of Arundel, adopted the arms of the De Albinis, whose titles and estates they inherited. These, as attributed to "John le Fitz Aleyne" in the Roll of Arms, A.D. 1240-45, were "de goules a ung lion d'or rampant." This

Lunsford.



21

Luxford



22

Luxford



23

Playsted



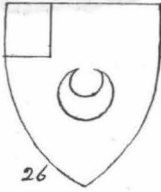
24

Copyn. (? Cobden.)



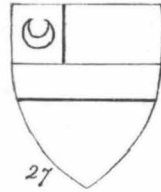
25

Stopham.



26

Colbrand?



27

Stopham.



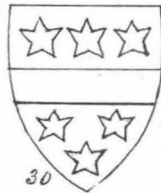
28

Penhurst.



29

Ashburnham.



30

Penhurst.



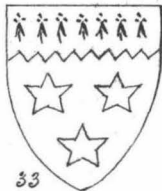
31

Eversfield.

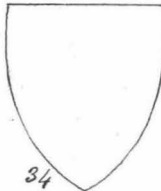


32

Randoll.

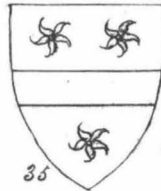


33



34

Courthope.



35

Cruttenden.



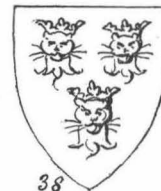
36

Wistoneston or Weston.



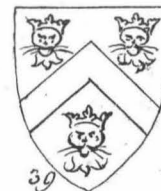
37

Weston.

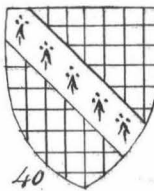


38

Weston.



39

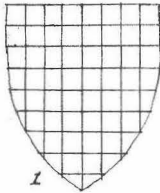


40

SUSSEX HERALDRY: DERIVATIVE ARMS.

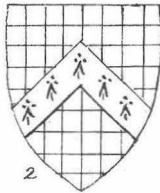


*Vermandois
(De Warren.)*



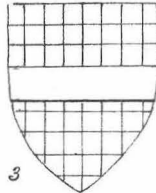
1

*Newburg
(E. of Warwick)*



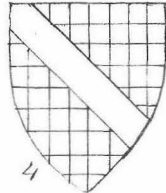
2

Clifford.



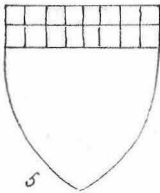
3

Clifford.



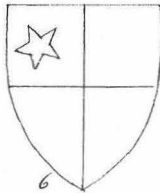
4

Pierpoint.



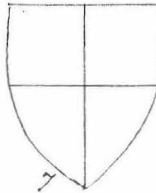
5

De Vere



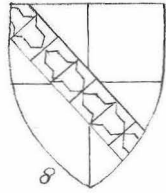
6

Marmion & Say.



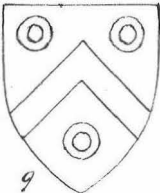
7

Sackville.



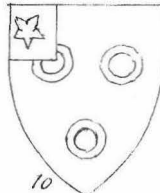
8

Goring.



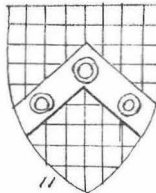
9

Brembre.



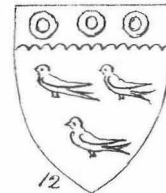
10

Gilderidge.



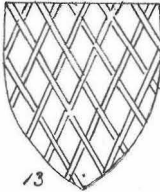
11

Cowper.



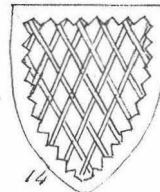
12

S^r W^r Echingham.



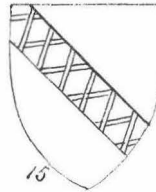
13

S^r Rob^t Echingh^m



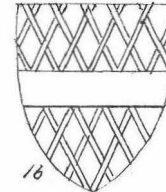
14

Ore.



15

Parker.



16

De Boxhulle



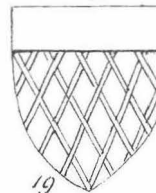
17

Warnelt.



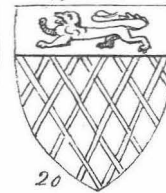
18

St. Leger.



19

Jefferay.



20

SUSSEX HERALDRY: DERIVATIVE ARMS.

man's son and heir, Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, is thus described in the Roll of the knights at the siege of Car-laverock, in June, 1300 :

“Richard le Comte de Aroundel
 Beau chevalier et bien aime
 Et bi je richement arme
 En rouge au lion rampant de or.”

The Fitz Alans bore previously *barry of 8 or and gules* ; and a controversy is noticed in the last-mentioned roll as having sprung up between this family and that of Poyntz respecting their each bearing the same arms.

LUNSFORD.—This ancient family took its rise at Lundresford, in Echingham, in the time of Edward the Confessor. The arms borne by them are *a chevron between 3 boars' heads couped* (21) ; but these are probably a variation made by a younger branch, or an adoption at some early period of a coat borne by some family into which they had married ; for there cannot be much doubt that, like as in the case of the Wistons and others, the *original bearing* was three boars' heads, many of the derivatives being now unknown, or to be met with in other names and counties, though four of them there is strong presumption for assigning to Sussex families, viz., LUXFORD, PLAYSTED, and COBDEN. A monumental inscription to the memory of one of the Luxfords of Wartling, states that that family had been buried in the parish for some centuries. Now Luxford, as a corruption of Lundesford, is not so violent a change in sound and spelling as many that are proved to be the same name ; the name of Luxford is not to be found in the county in early records, and the preceding statement coupled with the fact of the arms having an evident cognate origin with those of Lundresford, leaves little room to doubt that both families come of one and the same stock.

In Budgen's Map of Sussex, published in 1724, *3 boars' heads argent on an azure field* (22) are given as the arms of George Luxford of Windmill Hill, Gent., and also of — Luxford of Nessington. The same charges occur on a pile (23) as the coat of one of the name on a monument in Clayton Church in the eighteenth century. The arms of Playsted, *ermine 3 boars' heads couped gules* (24), there seems sufficient reason to trace up to the same source as that of the Luxfords and

Lunsfords. This family owned property at an early period in East Sussex. Henry de Pleystede occurs in a Calendar of Sussex Fines anno 33 Edward III. There is a pedigree of this family in the Visitation of Sussex for 1634.

One other family, though not taking their name from any place in East Sussex, there seem to be good grounds for believing to have borne the charges under consideration, viz., that of Cobden. Godfrey de Coppdene (in Sullington) was one of the manucaptors of Roger de Covert, in 1278, (Parl. Writs.) In 1314, Adam de Coppdenne was M.P. for Chichester. 9 Edward IV, Ralph Playstede holds the *Manor of Cobden* by knight's service of the manor of Wartling, (Burr. MSS. Brit. Mus., 5679, p. 222.) As it is probable that every owner of a manor in early times was ranked among the gentry, though many would occupy the lowest class, and that they bore coat armour, the first Cobden of Cobden might reasonably be supposed to have had that distinction, and was probably a cadet of some armigerous family, and assumed, as was the custom, the name of his estate. No arms of "Cobden" are to be met with in the heraldic dictionaries, but *Copyn* and *Cobbin* are said to bear *party per pale 3 boars' heads* (25). Now Thomas Cobbin was M.P. for Horsham in 1385, and considering the various orthographies of that age, and the place, there need be no scruple in regarding this individual as one of the Cobdens. The manor of Cobden seems to have very early passed away into another family by sale or marriage, but others of the race would disperse, and some of them, who were of sufficient consideration, would still in other counties perpetuate their arms, though varying their name. The above suppositions countenance this view of the case,—that the first Cobden of Cobden was a cadet of Playsted, and varied the paternal coat armour by giving the field *party per pale*, the charges remaining the same,—that Ralph Playstede, in 9 Edward IV, or his ancestor, had married the heiress of his kinsman, and that the *Copyns* and *Cobbins*, who bear *party per pale 3 boars' heads*, derive both male descent and arms from the Cobdens of Cobden. But the name of Cobden nevertheless seems to have kept unchanged for centuries in western Sussex. In 1588, Thomas Cobden subscribed £25 to the defence of the kingdom. In 1734, five or six of this name recorded their votes

at the county election as freeholders of west Sussex. Edward Cobden, D.D., Chaplain to George II, and Archdeacon of Middlesex, was of a family long seated at West Dean, and he is a collateral ancestor of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.

The STAPLEYS of Hixted and Framfield are supposed to have sprung originally from East Sussex: in the catalogue of the Battle Abbey deeds, the name occurs frequently in the fifteenth century. As they bore *three boars' heads*, it would seem, at first sight, that their use by them arose in the same way as those we have been speaking of. But these are arms evidently of appropriation, and not of inheritance. The Stapleys of Battle and the neighbourhood were tanners, and smiths, and yeomen; and on their rise in the social scale in the sixteenth century, they assumed a coat of arms (it does not appear by any grant or exemplification from the College of Arms), which are an obvious plagiarism from the ancient family of Staplegh of Staplegh, in Cheshire, who bore *3 boars' heads*, and which were intended, as indeed some pedigrees assert, to create the belief that the Sussex family was an offshoot of the Cheshire stock. But the Sussex Stapleys surrounded *their boars' heads* with a bordure engrailed, either as a mark of original cadency, or to cover, by an ambiguous variation, the assumption. Indeed the baronetical family of Patcham seem to have been aware of the apocryphal origin of their coat-armour, for they had a grant from the heralds of different charges altogether.

GORING. This name was first assumed by the owners of the lordship of Goring, in the time of Henry III, (Cart. W. Suss., ii, 36.) The heiress of the elder line carried the lordship of Goring to her husband, Henry Tregoze, temp. Edward I. The arms now borne by the Goring family, *a chevron between 3 annulets* (9), are probably one of several similar coats, borne by different offsets, who took the names of the estates they inherited or acquired.

Sir John de BREMBRE, who lived in the reign of Edward III, it may reasonably be presumed, was of this family from his name and arms, the latter being *argent 3 annulets sable, on a canton of the second, a mullet of the first* (10). (Vide Hasted's Kent, v, 74.)

The family of TREGOZE, according to the Roll of arms,

1240-5, bore *gules 3 bars gemels or, a lion passant in chief of the same*. The following remarks on the changes made in their arms, will be appropriate, as illustrating the subject in general. They are from *Nichols's Topographer and Genealogist*, from the pen of Mr. D'Oyley Bayley, whose numerous contributions have enriched that publication, and are characterised by a spirit of critical sagacity and acumen, that must be applied in connection with a more learned and sceptical investigation of existing records, both accessible, and such as shall be from time to time disclosed, to the dissection of old pedigrees, before *authentic and truthful* genealogies can be compiled.

“Sir Henry de Tregoze, or his progenitors, had differenced the family armorial ensigns of gemel bars and the passant lion, by placing them on a blue, instead of a red shield, and the Roll of Arms compiled between 2 and 7 Edward II, proves the coat borne by Sir Henry de Tregoze to have been “*de azure a 2 barres gimyles de or, en le chef, un lupard passant de or;*” but it is a curious fact, that soon after the final extinction of the above senior branch of the family, Sir Henry handed over this coat to the younger branches of his own family, and he or his son and heir resumed the old colours of red and gold, but bore them reversed, viz. on a golden shield, with the charge *gules*. This was possibly intended to mark, that though chief of his house, he was not lineally descended from its originally elder line, which bore the field *gules*, and the bearings *or*, and which the La Warrs and Grandisons would be entitled to claim.” (p. 130).

The arms of GILDERIDGE, of Gilderidge, in Withyham, seem to be compounded of Warren and Goring, being *chequy on a chevron 3 annulets* (11). The *3 annulets on an engrailed chief* (12) in the arms of COWPER of Strood in Slynfold, point to a connection with the Goring family.

The WESTONS or Wistonestons of Wiston bore, according to Cartwright, *ermine on a bend gules three leopards' heads erased or, langued azure* (37). But according to an elaborate pedigree of this family and its numerous offsets, in Brayley's 'History of Surrey' (ii, 81), their arms at the time of the Conquest were *sable, three leopards' heads erased arg. crowned or, langued gules* (38), the bend being a variation taken by Thomas

Weston of Albury and his descendants, whilst at an early period, Adam de Weston bore *sable a chevron or between three leopards' heads* as above (39). And in Vincent's ordinary of arms in the Heralds' College, a coat is ascribed to this name, which obviously belongs to this stock, and indicates a derivation from the Warren family, viz. *chequy or and gules a bend ermine* (40).

Ralph de DEANE whose heiress married into the Sackville family, bore *three leopards' faces* for his arms, which were also borne by Sir Alured de Deane, who, according to Hasted, was of the same family, and of whose descendants there is a long pedigree in Berry's 'Kentish Genealogies.' This Ralph had an uncle of the same name, who was probably the same Ralph de Wiston whose father, also named Ralph, was the Domesday owner of Wiston and other manors in west Sussex, whose arms, as above, essentially resembled those of the Deanes. Wantley, in Henfield, was one of these manors. In 1199, this was possessed by Philip de WANTLEY; one of his descendants, John Wantley, who died in 1424, lies buried in Amberley church. A brass memorial of him has engraven on it these arms, *vert three leopards' faces, argent, langued gules*. William Fitz-Ralph was the Domesday tenant of the manor of Morley, in Shermanbury. "Fulco de Morle" was a witness to a charter of William de Braose, dated circa 1150. The MORLEYS of Glynde, who were descended from the Morleys of Morley, in Lancashire, temp. Edward III, bore *Sa, three leopards' faces or, jessant a fleur-de-lis arg.* Now, arms as well as names have been *corrupted*, and an inspection of the coat of Wiston (No. 38) will show that the bearings there, might, by a careless transcription and rude drawing, be converted into the perplexing charges borne by the Morleys, and whose origin has puzzled the conjectures of heraldic students. Though the Lancashire Morleys are styled "de Morley," which generally indicates that the place gave name to the family, yet in this instance it was probably the reverse, the sign of the possessive case being omitted, which was a common practice. The arms of Morley, were also those of Cantalupe, who were of baronial eminence in the time of King John. Might not then Ralph de Wiston, the ancestor of the Deanes, the Morleys, and the Wantleys, be a cadet of Cantalupe (Comte le Loup), whose arms are veritable *armes parlantes*. If all these coats have

not a common origin, then they who first assumed them, being third or fourth cousins, and holding lands in different parts of England, and under different feudal chiefs, must all have singularly hit upon the same devices; *or*, under the former supposition, they must have been borne by a common ancestor at or before the conquest.

The ECHINGHAMS and ST. LEGERs, from their large possessions in Kent and Sussex, had not only a feudal, but probably a close family relationship to the Earls of Eu, whose arms, it may be presumed, they copied; Maltravers, a Domesday tenant of theirs, in Dorsetshire, bearing also the fret. In the Roll of Arms temp. Edward II, printed in the *Parliamentary Writs* (i, 410), the following arms are assigned to different members of these families:—

Sire William de Echingham—*de azure fretty d'argent* (13).

Sire Robert de Echingham—*meisme les armes, od la bordure endente d'or* (14).

Sire Rauf de St. Leger—*od le chef d'or* (19).

Sire Johan de St. Leger—*od le chef de goules*.

Sire Thomas de St. Leger—*de azure frette de argent ove le chef d'or, od un molet de goules*.

The PARKERS of Ratton, who bore *fretty a fess* (16), derived their coat, undoubtedly, from the Echinghams: from whom they took the fess is unknown. The *bend fretty* (15) of ORE of Ore, is from Etchingham, and perhaps Mounceux, who bore *or a bend sable*, which latter seems to have been the basis of SHOYSWELL of Shoyswell, the super-addition being *on the bend three horse shoes of the field*. In the roll just mentioned, "Sire Alleyne de BOXHULLE" who bore *d'or et un lyon d'azure frette argent* (17), occurs among the Sussex knights. The fretty here is of course from Echingham; and the lion perhaps from Burghersh of Burwash. The same coat is given to Ralph Boxhill amongst 700, in what is called "Charles's Roll" in the time of Henry III, the earliest roll of arms extant. This family, which still exists and is very numerous in Sussex, under the modern spelling of Boxall, took its name from a place near Salehurst, now called "Bugsill." The arms of WARNETT² of Framfield *fretty, over all a stag salient*, are in

² This name is probably a corruption of *Warrenwick*, just as Smithett is corrupted from *Smithwick*, and Dennett from *Denne-*

wick (the street in the valley). Many names ending in *ett* or *att*, are said to be formed from the particle *at* as a suffix,

the latter part, without much doubt to be derived from the Echinghams; the stag may be taken from Whiligh of Whiligh in Wadhurst, who bore *arg. a stag statant, gules charged with stars arg. horned or* (Burr. MSS. 5691, p. 822), which may have had a common origin with an ancient coat of Byshe *Gu. a hind trippant arg.* The coat of Jefferay of Chiddingly *fretty on a chief a lion passant guardant* (20), Mr. Lower, in his 'Curiosities of Heraldry,' considers to be a derivation of Echingham, because the family held an estate in Bletchington of the Barons of that name; but as it more nearly resembles the St. Leger bearings, and as Jefferay was not an uncommon name of their race, it seems more likely that the Jefferays sprung from one of its scions, taking, as was frequently the case, the Christian name for a Surname, and charging the chief with a lion as a distinctive bearing.

DE LA LYNDE and DALLINGRIDGE are identical. Sir Walter de la Lind, one of the bannerets before mentioned, bore *de argent a une crois engrele de goules.* His heiress married Sir John Dallyngridge, who adopted these arms, which was probably the first occasion of the use of any by this family, as they were previously of little note, taking their name from their property, called Lang-ridge, in West-Hoathly. There is no authority for the *Sir John*, his father, as given in the slight pedigree in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. III, p. 93, nor for the statement that they came from Hampshire, which error arose from some of the family afterwards settling in that county, Richard Dallingridge being sheriff there, 28 Hen. VI.

The name of Dallingridge is formed similarly to that of Dallender. This was vulgarly corrupted from De la Ryver, a Yorkshire family, settled at Buckland, in Surrey. (Vide Manning and Bray.) A branch of the Dallenders lived at Chichester, and afterwards at Poynings, and bore *vaire gules and arg. within a bordure az. bezantée*, which were the arms of Sir — de la Ryver,

as it undoubtedly does enter into the formation of many names as a prefix, as Att-wood, &c.; but it is very questionable if it is ever so employed. Thus Cartwright, in his Hist. of Bramber Rape, says, Dennett was formerly written *Denne-at*; and Collins, in his Peerage, makes Leggatt equivalent to *Legg* or *Legh-at* (at the meadow); whereas the name is probably the same as legate, the pope's representa-

tive. The sylvan term *Warren* is disguised in a great many names having *Warn* for the first syllable, as Warnford (the ford at the Warren), Warnham (the ham in the Warren), Warner (warren-er, *i.e.*, one who lives at the Warren), &c. The ancient castle and town of Warwick may have grown from a rural street in the Warren, to their present size and importance.

as mentioned in the before cited Roll. As no one would, as a purely etymological conjecture, derive Dallender from De la Ryver, so no one would suspect Sydney to be a contraction of Sutton-heath, yet such, it is probable, is the fact. Analogously, Stepney, near Blackwall, is a crasis of Stephen's-heath, by which name it is designated in the Nonæ Rolls. Now, the first Sidney on record is Sir William Sidney, Chamberlain to Henry II (who was buried at Lewes, A.D. 1188), to whom that monarch gave the manor of Sutton, in Surrey. Probably his ancestors were of obscure origin, and lived at Sutton-heath. And thus Sydenham, in Kent, may have been originally Sutton-ham, and Sittingbourne, Sutton-bourne.

ASHBURNHAM. The earliest allusion to the arms of this family is in the Roll of Arms, before cited, of Knights Bannets, among whom occurs "Sir John de Aschebournham," who bore *de goules a une fesse et six rouels de argent* (30), which are used by his descendants at this day. As the possessions of this family in early times were limited (as appears by the Testa de Nevill, compiled temp. Henry III), to two knights' fees, it is not probable that any individuals of sufficient importance to bear coat-armour held under them.³

Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' speaks of the Ashburnhams as "a family of stupendous antiquity, a family wherein the eminence hath equalled the antiquity, having been barons, temp. Henry III; and Collins, in his 'Peerage,' says that Bertram de Ashburnham was constable of Dover Castle, under King Harold. These statements are unwarranted by evidence, but are probably true in great part, concerning the ancient Norman family of Crioll, which had great possessions in Kent and Sussex, at the time of the Conquest, if not before. Bertram, as a Christian name, was a common one in this family. Now, Robert de Crioll was the Doomsday tenant of Ashburnham: in the Visitations of Sussex, the first quartering given to the family, is that of Crioll; in the pedigree of the Ashburnhams this name however does not appear as a match, though the alliances of the family are given from a very early period. The probability therefore is, that the early

³ "Know," said a tenant-in-chief to Henry II, "that I hold of you a very poor fee of one knight, nor have I enfeoffed

any other therein, because it is hardly sufficient for me alone, and my father held it in the same manner."

Criolls took the name of Ashburnham, or that a family bearing the present Ashburnham arms married the heiress of the Criolls, or of their descendants who had taken the name of the estate.

Mr. Drummond's magnificent work, 'Noble British Families,'⁴ begins with an account of the Ashburnhams. The seal used by Sir Richard de Ashburnham, temp. Hen. III, is there given: and it is the coat of his mother, who was a daughter of Sir John de Maltravers, who bore *Sable, a fret or*. Whether the coat, since used by the family, and as early as Edward II, the fess and mullets had not then been assumed, or was laid aside for that of a higher family, and afterwards resumed; or whether, as was then probably the case, sometimes, though not so often as in the present day, from the proper seal not being at hand, *some other family seal* was used instead,—it is impossible to say.

The following extracts from Burke's 'Armoury,' it is believed, all refer to this family and its branches. The contractions and corruptions of the names are not so great as in many proved instances. The prevalence of the fess and the mullets in nearly every coat warrant this supposition. They are probably all variations from the original Ashburnham coat, formed analogously with the variations in other families; the original arms not being the fess and *six* mullets. The blazonry is probably incorrect in many cases; and considering the sources through which ancient heraldry has come down to us, it would be strange if many errors had not arisen; for instance, in the Roll of Edw. II, martlets are written "merelos," and mullets "moles;" this, though a distinction, might be easily confounded by an ignorant or a careless transcriber; and there seems good reason for thinking was actually the case in the Roll in question; for Sir John de Ashbornham is there said to bear a fess between six mullets, whilst Sir John de Ashborne, of Worcestershire, bears the same coat and colours, except that we must read *martlets* instead of *mullets*. Now, knowing how names were curtailed and altered in those early times, and remembering the liability to the error just alluded

⁴ In these profusely embellished volumes (which the writer had not seen till after this paper was written) Mr. Drummond, though he does not insist on such an early origin of heraldry as is claimed

in the foregoing pages, yet holds the same theory of the formation and composition of armorial bearings as has been here advanced, illustrating and proving it by numberless examples.

to, it is not at all unlikely that this Sir John Ashborne was of the Sussex family, and bore the arms of the Sussex Ashburnhams. There is no pedigree of either Ashborne or Ashburnham in the Visitations of Worcestershire.

ASHBOURNE —Argent, on a fesse between 3 crescents gules, 3 mullets or; another, the mullets arg.

ASHBORNE OR ASHBURY, Worcestershire.—Gules a fesse between 6 martlets ar; another, or; another, the fess or, &c.

ASHERBURN OR ASHBURNER, Cockermouth.—Arg. on a fess between 3 crescents gules, 3 mullets or.

ASHBURNHAM, Sussex and Suffolk.—Gules a fess arg. between 6 plates.

ASHBURNHAM.—Gules a fess between 3 mullets arg.

— Arg. on a fess between 3 crescents gules, 3 mullets arg.

— Azure a fess between 3 martlets or; another, the fess or.

ASHBURY, Worcestershire.—Gules a fess between 3 mullets arg.

PENHURST of Penhurst, bore *sable a mullet arg.* (29). EVERS-FIELD of Hastings and Denne, bore *ermine on a bend three mullets* (32). RANDOLL of Herrings in Warbleton, bore *Sa. three mullets arg. a chief dancette ermine* (33). PENKHURST of Buxted, bore *ermine a fess between six mullets* (31). All these seem to have a common origin.

The arms of EVERSLED are *three mullets on a chief*, which, with the name, would seem to have had a common origin with the name and arms of Eversfield. The great Kentish family of Hever, settled first at Northfleet, and afterwards at Hever Castle, ramified very extensively. A branch settled at "Hever's Wood," in Horley, co. Surrey, whence came the Hevers of Cuckfield; another branch gave name to *Hersham* (Hever's ham), in Walton-on-Thames. Two other branches might have settled on localities named after them, *Hever's-field* and *Hever's-stede*, and bearing mullets on their arms (which were not the bearings of the chief line). These branches might end in heiresses, whose husbands took their arms and the name of their estate. The Falconers of Kent thus, on removing to Michelgrove in Sussex, changed their name for that of their residence. The name of Hever was often spelt

Ever; a family of this name was ennobled in the sixteenth century. The great Norman family of Yvery might be the stem whence sprung the Kentish Hevers; Iver, in Buckinghamshire, is supposed to be named from the former.

COURTHOPE and CRUTTENDEN bore each three *estoiles*, the former with a fess, the latter with a chevron (35, 36). These names, it is not improbable, are corruptions of *Covert's-thorp* and *Covert's-den* (Crotyn den in Ticehurst). The district of "Courthope" in Lamberhurst is mentioned as early as 1168, as paying tithes to Leeds Abbey (Hasted's Kent, 8vo ed. v, 308). Crotyn den occurs in Budgen's Map of Sussex in the vicinity of *Maplesden, Hammerden, Withernden, &c.* The Courthopes and the Cruttendens possessed property in that and the neighbouring parishes in Kent and Sussex. There is no resemblance in the arms of the Coverts and these families, nor any known ownership of lands, &c., supposed to be named after them, to warrant the etymology hazarded; but knowing most localities ending in -hurst, -den, -combe, &c., received their distinctive prefix from their owner, as Lamberhurst from Lambert de Scotney, Hershams, *i.e.* Hever's-ham, in Walton-on-Thames (v. Manning and Bray's Surrey *in loco*), from the family of Hever, etymology points to the great landed south Saxon family of Covert as the probable origin of the compound names in question.

The ancient family of STOPHAM of Stopham and of COLBRAND of Boreham, exhibit arms which clearly denote a family relationship. The two coheiresses of William Stopham of Stopham, married at the end of the fourteenth century, into the families of Palmer and Bartelott, the coat which they both quarter in respect of those matches, being *quarterly per fesse indented arg. and gules four crescents counterchanged*. Sir William Echingham, knight, M.P. for Sussex, 1290, married before 1265 Eva daughter and heiress of Ralph de Stopham: her arms, *a crescent in the field and a canton*, with his own and two others are on his seal ("Echyngham of Echyngham" by Spencer Hall, p. 22). This coat is probably the older, as it is the simpler of the two; the quarterly arrangement being formed by the elder line remaining at Stopham, on the occasion of some alliance with a family whose bearings were thus in part, if not wholly, incorporated with the Stopham arms. In the Visitation of 1570, the pedigree of Colbrand is entered, with a shield quar-

terly, viz., one and four, az. 3 carpenters' levels or ; 2 arg. a fess and on a canton gules a crescent of the field ; 3 vaire two bars gules. The first is the modern, the second their ancient coat. The latter occurs in juxtaposition with the Pelham arms in the spandrils of a doorway in Laughton church. Agnes, daughter of Sir John Pelham, married John Colbrand of Boreham ; and the Colbrands had lands in Laughton previous to the time of Henry V, and a manor farm bearing their name has been in the possession of the Pelhams for about four centuries.⁵

It may not be irrelevant to notice here a similar and interesting instance of the extension and varied manner of the perpetuation of another great family whose influence this county once acknowledged. The distinguished family of Acquila, lords of the honour and barony of Pevensy, or, as it was named after them, of the Eagle, Mr. Lower says, was the source of the two Sussex families of Michel and Eagles. And it would appear that the manors of Michelgrove and Eglesden, in the parish of Angmering, and Icklesham (Eglesham), near Winchelsea, were named after this great baronial race. The two latter belonged to the abbey of Fescamp, in Normandy, to whom the Aquilas were great benefactors. And there was a connection between the family of De Icklesham and the Aquilas which supports this supposition. Gilbert was the prevalent Christian name of the Aquilas, and seems to have originated an offshoot, with that surname, in the family of Gilbert of east Sussex, one branch of which bore for their arms a chevron between *three eagles*. The Michel-bournes, too, bore a cross between *four eagles*. Michel-ham priory was founded by Gilbert de Acquila ; Michel-bourne does not occur in any of the maps of the county, but there was probably such a locality in Sussex which gave name to the family so called.

Here this list must close. It is intended merely as a brief and imperfect introduction to the subject, and is the result of desultory and incomplete research. But it is hoped hereby to draw attention to a mine of interest little known, and less worked ; and wherein labour may be very profitably and pleasingly employed. The 'Curiosities of Heraldry,' indicate

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, III, 222.

a *Philosophy of Heraldry* that has yet to be written.⁶ Like Philology, Zoology, Ethnology, and other sciences, it illustrates the sublime law of Development. Investigated in the spirit of Geology, combining the discovery of isolated facts with speculations as to their relation and common origin, it will render no small service in contributing to prove the connection of families and races up to remote and obscure periods, and thus throw a light on the history of mankind that might be obtained from no other source. The studies and tastes of the age happily tend to advance this kind of knowledge, and they could have received no grander homage than is presented in that magnificent temple of heraldry, the New Palace of Westminster.

Many of the arms blazoned have not the colours given, for authorities differ about many of them so much, that it would be very difficult to give them accurately; and in the derivation of arms it is the charges and not the tinctures which prove the affinity.

⁶ The excellent work of our valued member, Mr. M. A. Lower, 'The Curiosities of Heraldry,' which enters more into the philosophy of the subject than any other, contains a very interesting appendix, illustrating the causes and modes of change in coat armour at early periods. But unfortunately for the doctrines enunciated in the body of the work, the heraldic genealogy of the Cobham family there given, completely contradicts them, and supports the views advanced in

this paper. The arms there given were borne (though not so stated), it will appear, from critical examination of the document, assisted by a reference to the Kentish historians, *at the time of the Conquest*, and for several generations afterwards unchanged. If not, the same singular coincidence will appear, or the same wonderful ingenuity of the heralds must have been at work, as we have seen must characterise the whole ancient blazonry of England and Normandy.

AN INQUIRY AFTER THE SITE OF ANDERIDA OR ANDREDESCEASTER.

BY THE REV. ARTHUR HUSSEY.

READ AT THE QUARTERLY MEETING, JANUARY, 1853.

At a Meeting of the Sussex Archæological Society in May, 1847, a paper on the above subject was read, and subsequently printed in the Archæological Journal for that year (vol. iv); but new matter bearing upon the debated point having since arisen, it appeared desirable here to revise the entire question, rather than merely continue the former discussion, which could not be conveniently referred to by many persons.

Among the various topics which have excited, and more or less baffled the curiosity of antiquaries, one is the position of the ancient city, Anderida or Andredesceaster. But since the name even may be only partially known, it seems expedient to premise that the little information we possess respecting it amounts only to this: that the former appellation was borne by one of the fortresses, erected and maintained by the Romans, till just after A.D. 400, upon the southern shores of this island; and that, under the second title, many of our early historical records mention the siege, capture, and destruction of it, some time after the Romans had relinquished their British dominions, by the Saxon invaders. From that period the above names appear to have been totally disused: the natural consequence of which is, that now, after the expiration of nearly 1400 years, with numerous intervals of confusion and obscurity, it is left to conjecture and probability alone, whereby to identify the spot, which that long-forgotten settlement may have occupied. In our endeavours to ascertain this fact, we will begin by reviewing the circumstances attending the final extinction of the city by the Saxons, from which principally its notoriety has arisen.

The Saxon Chronicle¹ and others of different dates allude to the fall of Andredesceaster, but, since they merely narrate its total overthrow, they are too concise to suit our present purpose so well as the copious statement of Henry of Huntingdon, which therefore we will quote :

“The kingdom of Sussex begins, which Ella governed long and most ably; but auxiliaries had joined him from his own country. . . . Relying, therefore, upon (his) large forces, he besieged Andredcester, a strongly fortified city. The Britons then collected like bees, and beat the besiegers in the day by stratagems, and in the night by attacks. No day, no night occurred wherein unfavourable and fresh tidings would not exasperate the minds of the Saxons; but, rendered thereby more ardent, they beset the city with continual assaults. Always, however, as they might assail, the Britons pressed them behind with archers, and with darts thrown with thongs; wherefore quitting the walls, the pagans directed their steps and arms against them. Then the Britons, excelling them in fleetness, ran into the woods, and again came upon them from behind, when they approached the walls. By this artifice the Saxons were long annoyed, and an immense slaughter of them was made, until they divided the army into two parts, so that while one part should storm the walls, they might have behind a line of warriors arrayed against the charges of the Britons. But then the citizens, worn down by long want of food, when they could no longer sustain the multitude of assailants, were all devoured by the sword, with the women and little ones, so that not an individual escaped. And because the foreigners had suffered such losses there, they so (utterly) destroyed the city, that it was never afterwards rebuilt. Only the desolate site as of a very noble city is pointed out to those who pass.”²

Such is the relation of Henry of Huntingdon, a writer of the twelfth century. He does not give the precise date of the event, but places it somewhat after A. D. 490. The Saxon Chronicle assigns the year 490; others of our ancient authorities vary in some degree, though slightly. It may, and

¹ Gibson's ed. p. 15.

² “Regnum Sudsexe incipit, quod Ella diu et potentissime tenuit; venerant autem ei auxiliares a patria sua. . . . Fretus igitur copiis ingentibus obsedit Andredcester, urbem munitissimam. Congregati sunt igitur Britanni quasi apes, et die expugnabant obsidentes insidiis, et nocte incursibus. Nullus dies erat, nulla nox erat, quibus sinistri et recentes nuntii Saxonum animos non acerbarent; inde tamen ardentiores effecti, continuis insultibus urbem infestabant. Semper vero dum assilirent, instabant eis Brittones a tergo cum viris sagittariis et amentatis telorum missilibus. Dimissis igitur mœnibus, gressus et arma dirigebant in eos pagani. Tunc Brittones, eis celeritate præstan-

tiores, silvas cursu petebant: tendentibusque ad mœnia rursus a tergo aderant. Hac arte Saxones diu fatigati sunt, et innumera strages eorum fiebat, donec in duas partes exercitum diviserunt, ut dum una pars urbem expugnaret, esset eis a tergo contra Brittonum excursus bellatorum acies ordinata. Tunc vero cives diuturna fame contriti, cum jam pondus infestantium perferre nequirent, omnes ore gladii devorati sunt cum mulieribus et parvulis, ita quod nec unus solus evasit. Et quia tot ibi damna toleraverant extranei, ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea reœdificata est. Locus tantum, quasi nobilissimæ urbis, transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus.”—Hen. Hunt. Hist. Angl. lib. 2.

probably will, be objected, that the above lengthened and circumstantial account, in those respects differing greatly from the more nearly contemporary histories, being penned many hundred years after the occurrence it narrates, must at the least have been largely indebted for its details to the imagination of the writer. This certainly *may* be, though it by no means necessarily follows that it *is*, the fact; because we have good reason to believe, that many historical records formerly existed, even at very early periods, which have long ago perished. And thus it is beyond a *possibility*, that Henry of Huntingdon may have derived the statements he has preserved from documents which have not descended to us. However that may be, neither his diffuse description, nor the much more concise ones of other English chroniclers contain any clue whereby to ascertain the situation of Andredesceaster, except that it must have been contiguous to a forest and within easy reach of Ella's kingdom. This forest we may safely infer, even from the preceding long quotation, to have been the immense one of Anderida or Andredesweald, which extended completely through Sussex; for it is immediately after mentioning the commencement of the south Saxon kingdom, that our author recounts the fall of Andredesceaster, as if there was a close connection between the city and the district. General consent admits the locality to be either on the southern coast of Kent or on that of Sussex, though various opinions have prevailed as to the precise spot, in favour of which the probabilities preponderate. In the discussion of this question no less than eight places have been named, but of six the claims do not seem sufficiently important to require our present attention, which may be confined to the other two, namely, Newenden in Kent, and Pevensay in Sussex.³

But before proceeding further, a few remarks may be offered upon the character of that ancient settlement, of which the position is thus disputed. From the very name, then, whereby it is usually spoken of, we are assured that it was, if not originally founded, yet certainly adopted and retained

³ The other places are Arundel, East Bourne, Chichester, Hastings, Newhaven, and Seaford, all in Sussex; and for a brief

consideration of the pretensions advanced in their behalf respectively, the Arch Journal, iv, 208, may be consulted.

by the Romans, since the termination, *cester*, from the Latin *castrum*, a camp or fort, is deemed always to imply such a fact with regard to any locality thus distinguished. And if it was a stationary Roman garrison, which is proved by the record of the troops maintained there, we may be sure it possessed marks of Roman occupation, in the existence there of walls composed with stone and lime. We should likewise advert to the chronicler's observation, that Andredesceaster was "a strongly fortified city—*urbem munitissimam*," which, indeed, is to be gathered from the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants to their Saxon assailants. And lastly, that the city was extensive is a conclusion equally clear from the statement of the numbers, which collected for the defence, of whom it may be noted, that the historian expressly styles them "*citizens*," as if they consisted mainly of parties fighting for their own families and homes, not simply of men assembled from the surrounding country to repel a foreign enemy. Wherefore, though positive information fails us, we perceive there is ground for believing, that Andredesceaster, was a large and regularly constructed Roman fortress; consequently, that the spot where it stood is quite as likely to contain at the present day some signs of Roman domination, as any of those numerous places in this kingdom, where that such traces remain is uncontested.

The idea that Newenden possesses the site we are inquiring after, appears to have originated with Camden, who writes thus: "Newenden, which, I am almost persuaded, was the haven so long sought for, called by the Notitia Anderida, by the Britons *Caer Andred*, and by the Saxons *Andredeceaster*: first, because the inhabitants affirm it to have been a town and harbour of very great antiquity; next, from its situation by the wood *Andredswald*, to which it gave the name; and lastly, because the Saxons seem to have called it *Brittenden*, that is, 'a valley of the Britons;' from whence *Selbrittenden* is the name of the whole hundred adjoining." After an account of the destruction of the place, "as *Huntingdon* tells us," he adds, that for many ages after only ruins were visible, "till under *Edward I* the Friars *Carmelites* had a little monastery built here, at the charge of *Thomas Albuger*, knight; upon which a town presently sprung up, and, with respect to the old one that had been demolished, began to be

called Newenden, that is, 'a new town in a valley.'"⁴ The opinion of Camden deservedly carries great weight; still he was not infallible, and since he is decidedly in error in attributing to Sir Thomas Albuger's monastery the rising of a town at Newenden and the derivation of the name the parish bears, he may have been mistaken in other points likewise. The notion just alluded to is clearly erroneous, because Domesday Book, nearly 160 years previous to the period assigned by Camden for the above foundation, not merely designates the place under the name "Newedene," but also declares it to have then possessed a market of such value ("yielding forty shillings less by five pence—mercatus de xl solidis, v denariis minus,") as proves it to have already attained considerable importance in the reign of King William I, very much greater in fact than it now enjoys. Moreover, the expressions of Camden imply, that the positions of the supposed site of Andredesceaster, of the "little monastery," and of the "new town in the valley," are identical, or nearly so; whereas, the truth is, that *they are all separate and distinct spots*, the first being above half a mile (speaking from recollection) from the second, and the latter nearly as far from the church, where are congregated the few houses now composing the village. It should be remembered, too, that after all Camden speaks doubtfully, his words being, "*I am almost persuaded,*" so that he had not arrived at a positive conviction; wherefore we may be permitted to conjecture, that a dispassionate consideration of the objections to his theory might have altered his view of the question.

The principal or only real argument, by which the opinion in favour of Newenden is supported, is the certainty that there has been in the parish an ancient settlement, which, though faint traces of it only now remain, must formerly have been both extensive and of much account; and that this settlement had a direct communication with the sea,—was a port, in short.⁵ The following is the description of these relics in Harris's

⁴ Gibson's ed., i, 274.

⁵ That Newenden, in very early times, communicated directly with the sea is indisputable, but it was a port, to compare small things with great, very much of the same kind as London is now, namely,

standing upon a river several miles from the open ocean. This matter will be noticed below in the discussion of a frequently quoted passage from Gildas's History.

History of Kent.⁶ "Castle Toll. This is a raised piece of land, containing, I guess, about eighteen or twenty acres, and situated on a point of land between the river Rother and Haydon "[Hexden]" sewer; it lies about one mile and a quarter nearly east-north-east from Newenden street, and about two miles south-west from Rolvenden. On the east side it hath the remains of a deep ditch and bank, which seems to have gone quite round it. Near this Toll towards the north-north-east lies a piece of ground raised much higher than the Toll is; this was encompassed with a double ditch, the tracks of which are still to be seen in some places; and within the line is, I believe, about five or six acres of land." It being expressly declared, that the above account was given after a personal inspection, we must either admit the existence about 150 years ago of much which has now disappeared, or else pronounce the historian unworthy of credit. Dr. Harris prepares his readers to expect the gradual obliteration of the vestiges he describes through the usual effects of agricultural operations. But an intimate acquaintance on my part with both the spot in question and the late proprietor having commenced about forty years ago, I believe that, instead of the marks of early occupation becoming effaced by slow degrees, they were purposely levelled with the object of improving the general aspect and convenience of the farm. The only portion of the works noticed in the above quotation which is now traceable, or has been within my recollection, is what is there stated to have been "raised much higher than the Toll," and "encompassed with a double ditch." This is a high mound of earth of only moderate diameter, manifestly, at least in part, if not wholly, artificial, the depressions of the ditches having been much diminished through cultivation of the land during my own familiarity with the spot.

The only ostensible reason why this has been deemed the site of Andredesceaster is, that it once contained, as we have just seen, a considerable and elaborate fortification; but neither does it now exhibit, nor has it ever displayed, so far as our intelligence reaches, any evidence of that extraordinary constructive skill and care, for which the Romans were remarkable, and of which evidence examples even now remain, it must be

⁶ Folio, 1719, p. 215.

observed, at others of those stations, whereof Anderida was one. Dr. Harris himself, who adopted the suggestion of Camden, remarked the entire absence of stones in and around the embankments of the Castle Toll, which circumstance he attempts to account for by supposing the place to have been resorted to as a quarry for building materials, to supply the natural deficiency of stone in the district. But innumerable proofs exist throughout the country, that in such cases the ashlar or hewn stone alone is commonly appropriated for working-up again; and although the whole should have been designedly swept away, yet most assuredly walls surrounding a far smaller space than "eighteen or twenty acres" could not possibly have been removed so completely, as not to leave in the soil some fragments of masonry, whether stone or brick, together with numerous vestiges of mortar; of which testimony we may safely challenge the production by the advocates of the Newenden theory.

In inquiries of this nature the support of our early historical writers is of course much to be desired, and accordingly for this purpose we sometimes find the first words, *but no more*, of a passage from Gildas adduced, when the context, as will presently appear, would give a very different aspect to the authority. Dr. Harris asserts distinctly (*ut sup.*), "Gildas places Andreds Chester *in litore oceani ad meridiem*," the real fact being, that that historian makes no allusion to Anderida or any particular place, but, speaking generally of the proceedings of the Romans preparatory to withdrawing finally from Britain, says, "In littore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, qua naves eorum habebantur, et inde barbariæ feræ bestiæ timebantur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant.—And on the sea-coast southward, where their vessels were kept, and thence the barbarous wild beasts were feared, they place forts at intervals in view of the sea."⁷ It has been argued that the expression "on the sea-coast southward" is sufficiently indeterminate to admit of being applied to Newenden; which place, it is granted, stood on the border of an estuary during the existence of Anderida. At that period however the mouth of the river flowing through the estuary was at some distance eastward from Newenden,

⁷ Hist., c. xiv. Mon. Hist. Brit. 11. B.

originally under or very near where the town of Hithe now stands, though then most probably the channel had been diverted from the neighbourhood of Apledore toward Romney. But no weight can be laid upon this consideration, because the array of Roman coast-guard towers extended certainly from Norfolk to Hampshire.⁸ A vastly more formidable objection is couched in the concluding clause of Gildas's statement, wherein he declares the Roman fortresses to have been erected, not simply "*on the sea coast southwards,*" but even "*ad prospectum maris—in view of the sea.*" Now the spot whereupon it is proposed to fix one of those coast towers is the very extremity and *lowest* edge of what alone could have been dry, sound land some 1300 or 1400 years ago; and I affirm, without fear of contradiction, that no possibility exists of obtaining from thence a view of the sea, which, at the nearest point, the modern mouth of the Rother beyond Rye, must be ten or twelve miles off, while the outlet of the ancient estuary, which was coeval with Anderida, must have been distant not less than from twenty to twenty-five miles. Moreover, a position here *commanding a view of the estuary* can by no means be equivalent to *commanding a view of the sea*, because the position would NOT overlook even the estuary, the ancient course of the river making a sharp turn to the left, or more eastward, immediately after passing Newenden, so that, from the elevation of intervening ground, three miles will be a *very liberal* allowance for the extent of the prospect down the water, and very probably nothing could have been seen beyond less than half that space. And if a navigable channel should have existed (which is very likely) in the valley under the Isle of Oxney, through which the Rother now flows seaward, the prospect in that direction would have reached but little further than on the other side, because the course of the valley speedily

⁸ It may be and is doubted by some, that the above cited passage of Gildas refers to the Roman fortresses, of which such extensive ruins yet remain, from the improbability that such considerable works should have been undertaken by the Romans when the abdication of their dominion was decided upon, and because some of the forts, which we can still trace, seem to have been built before the departure of that people. But we now

behold no other vestiges of Roman military structures on our coast beside those above-mentioned, so that if they are not included under the term "*turres*" used by Gildas, his constructions must have vanished entirely. Wherefore I conceive that Gildas's expression is designed to embrace Pevensey, Limme, Richborough, and others already in existence at the period spoken of, together with some perhaps of smaller size and less durable materials.

inclines to the right, so as to be completely concealed behind the uplands on the southern, or Sussex, bank. It is therefore submitted to any unprejudiced judgment, whether the passage we have been discussing is not a tolerably conclusive argument *against* the soundness of the opinion, which has been maintained by Camden and his followers.⁹

Our next object is to inquire upon what grounds Pevensey is considered the site of Andredesceaster; to which the first and most obvious answer is, that the place displays strong proof of having been formerly an important Roman fortress. Of the walls not merely detached fragments exist, but throughout the circumference the greater portion is yet standing, generally

⁹ Since the above was written I have met with a suggestion, which, if admitted, and it appears entitled to at least some consideration, will decide the question now before us. The subjoined quotation attributes to Newenden an ancient settlement, which has been supposed (merely from *conjecture*) to belong to Sussex. Very possibly Baxter may be correct, since in the original record the name follows Anderesio (Anderida) and immediately precedes Lemanis and other Kentish towns, this connection being the only clue to its situation. Moreover we have, I contend, sufficient evidence, that defensive works of importance have existed within the parish of Newenden. "Mantantonis: Levi mendo in Anonymo libro Mutuantonis legitur, et in Vaticano Mantuantonis, nullo cum Etymo; cum Mant et Ment Britannis sit Os vel Ostium, et An ton isc Tenti fluminis. Ista civitas olim de Britannorum nomine Brittenden sive Britannodunum appellata est; postero vero tempore de novis incolis Newenden sive Noviodunum. Sita est ad Odaram flumen, quod Britannico vocabulo Rother dicitur, verum vitiose pro er odar, vel hodiernâ loquelâ Yr odr quod est Limes; cum veteribus diceretur Antona. Hic fluvius Regnos sive Rencos a Cantii dividebat. Oportuit hæc omnia nescisse Camdenum.—Mantantonis. By an easy blunder it is read Mutuantonis in the anonymous book [of Ravenna], and in the Vatican [copy] Mantuantonis, with no derivation; since Mant and Ment is to the Britons mouth or entrance, and An ton isc of a river stretching outwards. This city formerly was called Brittenden or Britannodunum, from the name of

the Britons; but subsequently Newenden or Noviodunum from new inhabitants. It is situated on the river Odara, which in British is called Rother, but corruptly for Er odar, or in modern language Yr odr, which is Boundary; when the ancients would have said Antona. This river divided the Regni or Renci [men of Sussex] from the Cantii [men of Kent]. Camden must have been ignorant of all this." (Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, Autore Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Svo, London, 1719, p. 168). Of Baxter's etymology others must judge, but the meaning he assigns to the name of Mantantonis agrees most precisely with the locality of the old site at Newenden, and it is not very probable that a native of Shropshire could have been quite aware of the accuracy of the correspondence. The Rother does indeed divide the counties of Kent and Sussex, but for a short distance only. When in very early times the river turned to the left, immediately eastward of Newenden, toward Apledore and Limme, it could have formed the boundary only for a very few miles, unless the limit of Sussex was different then (as probably it was) from what it has now been for many centuries. Since the river deserted its old channel to run on the southern side of the Isle of Oxney, it has been deemed to separate the two counties till it enters the Marsh, but before reaching the town of Rye, and thence to the sea, it is entirely within the county of Sussex, which is likewise the case with regard to its upper course from two miles, or less, above Newenden to its source.

speaking of the original height, and in unusually perfect condition, the construction of the walls being by almost universal consent acknowledged to exhibit the distinguishing characteristics of Roman masonry. The internal area, though much less than that of the earthworks in Newenden, as estimated by Dr. Harris, comprising nearly ten acres, would have contained a sufficiently large body of men to account for the obstinate resistance, which Andredesceaster is stated to have offered to its Saxon besiegers. Moreover the situation of the Roman station at Pevensey answers Gildas's description of that selected for the Roman coast towers. Now indeed it is remote from the shore, but originally the sea closely approached, if it did not actually flow up to, the very walls, the place continuing to be a port for many centuries after all connection of the Romans with Britain had ceased.¹⁰ That these reasons are a powerful presumption in favour of Pevensey is shown by the many persons of repute in such inquiries, who have espoused that side of the question; which, however, cannot be decided *by authority* merely. We will therefore only mention, Camden being cited in behalf of Newenden, that a modern antiquary of superior information on similar subjects, because he had profited by the researches of his predecessors, the late Mr. Petrie, keeper of the records in the Tower, urged an argument, which has always seemed to me highly deserving of attention; that, inasmuch as every Roman station on our coast from Burgh Castle in Norfolk southward and westward to Portchester in Hampshire can be and is identified by both the ancient and the modern name, *with only a single exception in each case*, it necessarily becomes a strong probability, that the ancient name of the missing Roman station ought to belong to the Roman remains, which we know only by their modern appellation, the consequent conclusion being, that Pevensey alone can be the site of the long lost Romano-British city.

Against this conclusion two objections are raised, of which a brief notice must be taken: they are, first, that the district around Pevensey does not agree with Henry of Huntingdon's account of Andredesceaster being closely surrounded by forest; secondly, that the same writer expressly declares the site of

¹⁰ This assertion is proved by Domesday Book, which mentions "port dues" as accruing in Pevensey about A.D. 1086.

the ancient city to have been "desolate" in his time, whereas Pevensey was a town even previous to and at that period, and long subsequently a castle of the lords of that place was occupied within the Roman walls.

1. It is perfectly true, that nothing resembling *forest* now exists within several miles of Pevensey, but how greatly the condition of the country may have altered in nearly 1400 years we are able only to conjecture. History informs us that during the irruptions of the Danes the native inhabitants sought refuge in the woods, which then covered the fens of Cambridgeshire and of the neighbouring portions of our island, the date of those events being not earlier than the ninth century, perhaps later.¹¹ But at this day those parts are more perfectly denuded of natural timber than the Sussex district, while the latter has vastly the advantage as to solidity of soil. Moreover the actual situation of Pevensey, (that is of the old Roman station, which, it must be remembered, though adjoining to, is entirely distinct from, the town of that name, intervening between it and the contiguous village westward, of Westham): the actual situation of the ancient settlement is by no means so remote from (comparatively) elevated and absolutely firm land, as may be imagined by those, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the locality. Most probably Westham was always on the same level with Pevensey, which seems to have been the case with ground northward of the former place, and certainly at no great distance to the west we reach an ascent, where, though the soil may be a wet clay, marsh and floods could not possibly extend, whatever might be the condition of the Level below. Here, therefore, we may safely conclude, would be woods of more or less density, which must have spread in every direction, if permitted to do so undisturbed, which assuredly would be

¹¹ "The Danes now proceed to Croyland, . . . the abbot Theodore . . . sent his monks to seek refuge in the marshes." About A.D. 870. Lappenberg's Hist. of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, by Thorpe, ii, 37. "Est autem palus illa . . . multis etiam silvis et insulis florida: intra quam sunt ecclesia Helensis, abbatia Ramesiensis, abbatia Chateric, abbatia Thorneie, abbatia Crulande. —But that fen flourishes with even many

woods and islands: within which (fen) a. the church of Ely, the abbey of Ramsey, the abbey of Chateric, the abbey of Crulande." (Hen. Hunt., lib. v, anno 964 Mon. Hist. Brit., 747, E). Utter inability to consult distant authorities prevents any addition to these two quotations, which, it is confidently believed, might be largely increased, especially by the documents in the Monasticorum relating to the above-named religious establishments.

the case at the present time. Besides, a small amount only of actual timber and copse would support the character of "forest," since a wide extent of reeds (indigenous, and alone an effectual cover), with thickets of alder, willow, or other bushes, and an occasional large tree, dispersed at intervals over the swampy plain, would have afforded ample concealment to the fugitive Britons. Wherefore the chronicler's statement, that the Britons, when repulsed by the Saxon besiegers of Andredesceaster, "ran into the woods," speedily to return to the attack, is far from being so unsuitable to the circumstances of this district, as may on a cursory consideration be imagined.

2. Secondly, we are to answer the objection that Pevensey does not fulfil the condition of "desolation," ascribed to the site of Andredesceaster. And here it is necessary to repeat, what seems to be generally forgotten, what perhaps is quite unknown to many, that by the two names, Anderida and Pevensey, we do not designate one and the same spot. To arrive at positive certainty with regard to events and circumstances of remote ages, whereof no records survive, is impossible; but if the *Caer Pensavel Coit* of the Britons¹² be the place now called Pevensey, it is a presumption, if not quite a deduction, that the appellations, *Pensavel* and *Anderida*, were in contemporaneous use. But, whether this was actually the case or not, it is undeniable, that the existing little town of Pevensey, though it stands side by side with, is perfectly distinct from, does not even encroach upon, the enclosed space formerly occupied, we contend, by the Romans as a fortified station, which they styled *Anderida*. The only English historian, it is believed, who affirms the *continued* desolation of Andredesceaster is Henry of Huntingdon, who flourished in the twelfth century, and his statement that "it was never

¹² Baxter however understands this name to intend Ilchester in Somersetshire, interpreting the meaning as "At the head of a river mouth in a wood (*Ad caput fluminis oris in silvâ*)," that wood being the Forest of Selwood. (Gloss. *Antiq. Britan.*, p. 141). The same authority also (ut sup., p. 176) considers Pevensey to be the "Miba" of the Ravenna geographer, wherein he may not improbably be correct, as the word immediately follows *Anderesio* or *Anderelio*,

which is supposed to imply *Anderida*, and if *Miba* be a separate name, the fact will remove some perplexity as to the reading of the original. But in this instance Baxter is less happy in arguing from etymology, than is often the case. Elsewhere he is clearly wrong, it is conceived, in suggesting Chichester as the site of *Anderida*, though he too takes *Anderesio* to mean that place. He explains the word *Anderida* as signifying "The two passages," (ut sup., p. 17).

afterwards rebuilt," combined with the acknowledged fact of a castle erected within the Roman walls having been long inhabited by the lords of the place, is urged as a clear confutation of the claim for such walls to have been those of Anderida. But, while the repairs of the outer defences do exhibit some traces of Norman masonry, the visible ruins of the castle seem to be not earlier than the thirteenth century, consequently that portion would have been constructed *after Henry of Huntingdon wrote*. And although the result of recent excavations appears to afford good reason for believing that a baronial residence had previously existed here, yet the reported Norman character of the remains thus brought to light, being of late date, may well imply even that the erection took place only in the very era of the historian, consequently perhaps *not within his knowledge*, if during his life. Moreover, notwithstanding the town of Pevensey, as already observed, closely adjoins the Roman position on the eastern side, and the village of Westham is equally near on the western, *not a single habitation stands within the central area*, nor are there perceptible indications that houses have ever stood there within any conceivable period. Wherefore we may, with much justice, apply to this locality now the expressions of the old chronicler respecting the city destroyed by Ella and his barbarian army, and say, that "only the site is pointed out desolate to those who pass."

With the view of easily and amicably terminating all debate upon the Anderida question, in 1851 the hypothesis was published,¹³ that there were two Anderidas, one British, the other Roman! Of this idea the sole foundation is the imagination of the author, who, without advancing the shadow of a proof in its support, gratuitously "*assumes*" the fact. For such a theory therefore, the mere allusion to it will suffice.

No direct evidence upon the matter before us is supplied by those early records, which enumerate the Roman possessions in this island. Though more than one Roman road certainly existed in that portion of Sussex, the Itinerary of Antoninus describes no route through the district between Regnum (Chichester) and Kent, which omission will sufficiently account for its not containing the name of Anderida.

¹³ In *Consuetudines Kancie*, by Charles Sandys, F.S.A.

The name is likewise absent from the small surviving fragment of the Peutingerian Tables. The Notitia simply states that the commander of the cohort of the Abulci was stationed at Anderida, without further intimation of the locality of the place, than that it belonged to the defensive works of the "Limes Saxonicus per Britanniam." The anonymous geographer of Ravenna mentions Anderesio, or Andereliomiba, by which it is supposed that Anderida is intended, and this probably is the fact; but these scanty notices comprise all the authentic information, which those documents afford on the subject. There is another professed authority, which I would gladly believe to be deserving of confidence, because its testimony would go far towards definitively *settling* the point. I allude to the work first made known and printed about a hundred years ago as the composition of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster in the fourteenth century. But such grave suspicion has long attached to this production, that I would on no account place any reliance upon it, greatly preferring to leave the cause now advocated with some appearance of weakness, rather than try to strengthen it by knowingly adducing *any* evidence, the reputation of which is not, like that of "the wife of Cæsar," untainted. Still I readily own myself indebted to Bertram's fabrication (which I sincerely believe the above-named work to be) for a suggestion, which I will proceed to offer as merely a conjecture.

That Limme in Kent is the site of a Roman station will be undisputed, more especially after the excavations so successfully carried on there in 1850. At Pevensey again we have in Sussex the remains of a fortress, which very few deny to be also Roman. Now between these two important garrisons there must of necessity have been some regularly established line of communication, unless the Romans departed both from every principle of military science, and from what we know to have been their constant practice in other instances. The direct distance between the extreme points, as a bird might fly, appears to be thirty-two or thirty-three miles, while, allowing for the very numerous and often great inequalities of the surface, actually it must be almost forty miles. Where such a line of communication passed has never yet been ascertained, perhaps not even sought after, but still existing traces of a Roman road

running from the ruins at Limme *in the direction* of Pevensey have recently been observed by a competent judge.¹⁴

From the intervention of marshy vallies of greater or less extent, it is hardly possible that this road could long have preserved the usual straight course, but may have inclined to the west, through what is now the main street of the town of Tenterden. From the probably moist condition of Pevensey Level during the original occupation of the Roman fort there, it is uncertain what means of egress that garrison possessed toward other posts eastward and north-eastward. In different parts of this tract are numerous eyes or islands, that is, plots of sounder soil rising somewhat above the surface of the vicinity (of which islands indeed Pevens-ey is one); and if the juxtaposition of some of these elevated spots should have enabled the Romans to form a causeway, even with the addition of a ferry, northward to Wartling, it would have rendered unnecessary a most inconveniently wide circuit westward, and thence northward through Hailsham perhaps. And when Wartling was reached, it became possible to take the most direct line for meeting the road, which pointed from Limme south-westward. For this purpose, I will venture to assert, from my own long acquaintance, more or less intimate, with the intermediate country, that the Romans, from the necessity of, in military language, "turning" the many intervening ravines, could scarcely have selected a more practicable route than that of the roads now in use, which may represent, nearly if not precisely, the ancient trackways, by Boreham Street, Ninfield, Battle, Watlington, Cripp's Corner, Staple Cross, passing the Rother at Bodiam, and thence to Sandhurst in Kent. Strangers to the district may inquire, why the supposed route might not follow the coast? To which question the reply is, that, even admitting that to have been feasible from Pevensey by Hastings to Rye, yet from Rye the then state of Romney Marsh¹⁵ and the adjacent parts would unavoidably have brought the road again into the direct line, with the

¹⁴ Mr. T. Wright, "Rambles of an Antiquary" in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1852.

¹⁵ I gladly acknowledge my obligation to and concurrence in Mr. James Elliot's ingenious suggestion respecting the "An-

cient State of the Romney Marshes," and the alterations therein during the connection of the Romans with Britain, appended to Mr. C. R. Smith's "Report on the Excavations at Limpne in 1850," 4to, London, 1852.

additional objection of crossing the Rother at a more unfavourable spot.

The entire length of road between Pevensey and Limme being thus forty miles, and, allowing for inevitable digressions, more probably forty-five, that would be beyond a single day's journey for any body of soldiers under ordinary circumstances, in the regular routine of change from one station to another. Some halting-place therefore between the post in Kent and that in Sussex must have been requisite in order to complete the chain of communications, essential to maintaining the military occupation of the country; and for such an outpost the supposed site of Anderida at Newenden, previously described, is not unlikely to have been selected; with the manifest advantage of finding there defensive (British) works already provided, together with roads, such as they were, diverging thence on every side, counterbalanced only by the inconvenience of adding a few miles to the march. Possibly Newenden might have been reached from Staple Cross by Northiam, or if, as conjectured above, the Roman intercourse from Pevensey with Limme passed through Sandhurst, it would thence (most directly) proceed toward Tenterden either partially or entirely along still-existing bye-lanes from Ringle Crouch Green at the eastern extremity of the village to the western side of that of Rolvenden, or else by some other line long since obliterated. Again, from Sandhurst the distance is about three miles, very nearly straight, and as nearly level, to Newenden Castle Toll, whence however the road must have retrograded in some degree through Rolvenden in order to reach Tenterden, unless it should have been practicable, which is doubtful, to cross the adjoining marshy valley north-eastward, and pursue the left bank of the old channel of the Rother by Small Hithe and Reading Street to Apledore, or rather to Apledore Heath, the remainder of the route being then free from serious obstructions by Ham Street, Aldington, and Court at Street to Limme.

And here the question for consideration occurs, whether the names Reading Street, Ham Street, Court at Street in Kent, and Boreham Street in Sussex justify the inference, that the Roman road passed through those places? That this is actually the fact with regard to Court at Street is affirmed by

Mr. Wright.¹⁶ Beside those just enumerated, there is also Brook Street between Ham Street and Tenterden, as well as Gardiner Street between Hailsham and Boreham Street.

It might be an inquiry of much interest, and certainly the field of research is hitherto untrodden, to endeavour to ascertain the course of the Roman road between Kent and Sussex. The vestiges still observable in the neighbourhood of Limme would afford a most favourable starting point, and, should the clue anywhere fail, it is confidently presumed that the recovery of it must be sought in one or the other of the two lines now indicated. If Newenden Castle is not recognised as the probable intermediate post between Pevensy and Limme, or if two such posts are deemed more likely than one, the site or sites are yet to be discovered. Beside that at Newenden, and two others a little northward in Rolvenden, (of the character of which, having never visited them, I cannot speak), neither my own knowledge, nor acquired information, whether public or private, lead me to imagine the existence of any vestiges of military works in that district.¹⁷ If such vestiges should ever be found, it can hardly fail to be solely in woodland, which still covers a very large proportion of the Wealds of Kent and Sussex, the undisturbed remnant of the ancient Grand Forest of Anderida.

¹⁶ Gentleman's Magazine, already alluded to.

¹⁷ After this dissertation was completed I have learned the positive existence, twenty or thirty years ago, of a (rather vague) rumour of ancient works still visible in a wood upon Burg Hill, very high ground in the parish of Etchingham on the border of Sussex, though my informant had no opportunity of searching for the reported remains. Arguing merely from a knowledge of the name "*Burg Hill*," Professor Airy suggests this locality for the storming of the British for-

trass by the Romans, shortly after Cæsar's landing, on his second expedition, in the neighbourhood, as the astronomer-royal supposes, of Pevensy, whence the direct route to London would pass very near Burg Hill along the present Hastings and London road. The same spot *might* have been included in the Roman line of communication between Pevensy and Limme, though I consider it would have been too far to the west, and that the natural features of the country render the course already proposed much the more probable of the two.

WARENNIANA—ANCIENT LETTERS AND NOTICES
RELATING TO THE EARLS DE WARENNE.

PARTLY FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

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

PARTLY READ AT THE ARUNDEL MEETING, AUGUST 9, 1849,
AND SUBSEQUENTLY ENLARGED.

THE prominent and intimate connection of the Earls de Warenne with the history of Sussex, and the enduring traces of their influence, still represented by the descendants of their family, justify the contribution of any fresh notices of them. Among the long series of earls from the Conquest, the usual proportion of loyalty and violence, of enterprise and failings, has been put on record; but it is not intended here to dwell on their genealogy or general biography, which have been amply illustrated by Dr. Watson in his 'History of the Warennes.' It will be readily remembered that the first Norman Lord, on whom so much Sussex wealth was bestowed, the husband of the royal Gundrada, had only two male lineal successors of his power and title, after whom the heiresses of two generations, in 1148 and 1163, carried them to members of the royal family, by whose descendants they were enjoyed until, in 1347, the title became secondary when absorbed by the Fitz Alans, Earls of Arundel.

The following scattered notices, necessarily miscellaneous, only purport to add any incidental light, derived either from printed documents little known, or from manuscripts, among which are some letters, now six hundred years old, offering genuine evidence of the manners and feelings of the times.

The first letter here introduced has been frequently printed in Latin,¹ but the spirited reproaches of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the widowed Countess de Warenne, deserve to form

¹ By Selden, in his *Hist. of Tythes*; by Vincent, p. 517; by Watson, p. 139; and by

Sir H. Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 35, i, 23, from the original in Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xiii, f. 3.

part of the more familiar history of Sussex. Adela, daughter of the Earl of Belesme, had lost her husband, William, the third Earl de Warenne, the last male of his line, in 1148, and not choosing to acknowledge any claim of tithes upon the lands of her dower, though they had been granted to Lewes Priory by its founder, received this reproof from the archbishop. The writer has been supposed by some, from his initial T., to be Thomas à Becket, but as the matter arose soon after her widowhood, and as she afterwards married Patrick D'Evreux, first Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1167, he was more probably Theobald, archbishop from 1138 to 1160. In an age when superstition and violence coexisted, when, as Gibbon² observes, the wealth of the church "was alternately bestowed by the repentant father, and plundered by the rapacious son," it is not surprising to find a widowed foreigner of high rank refusing their dues to English monks. The lady persisted in not paying, and never confirmed the grants to the Priory. The only mention of her in the Lewes Chartulary is as a witness to her husband's grant of Nereford Mill, in Norfolk, to the monks (f. 34), and finally that "she died on the fourth of the ides of December, in the year of grace 1174, twenty-six years after her husband: where she is buried is unknown." (f. 108).

"T(*heobald*), by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of the English, and Legate of the Apostolical See, to his dear daughter Ala, Countess Warenne, greeting.

"An astonishing complaint of the religious brethren, the monks of Lewes Church, has come to our ears, that, whereas they, by the ancient donation of the Earls Warenne, namely, the grandfather and father of thy husband, and by his own also, before thou hadst succeeded to thy dower, they had always without dispute possessed, as the endowment of their church, the tithes of the rents from all domains of the earl, thou, after receiving the investiture of thy dower, hast withdrawn from the said brethren the tithe appertaining to thy dower. At which, if so it is, we vehemently wonder, since of those things which have been notoriously contributed in alms to God and the church, thou neither oughtest or canst claim anything. For it is cruel, and next to sacrilege, again to reclaim and transfer to secular uses what has been once devoutly offered on the Divine altar. Wherefore we wholesomely advise and admonish thee in the Lord, that, as thou mayest wish thy right to be freely preserved to thee by God, in like manner thou shouldest conscientiously restore their right to the monks, and on no account hold back the tithes of the rents of thy dower granted to them. Otherwise we cannot be deficient in doing them that justice which we owe to all. Farewell."

² Hist., chap. lxix.

Passing over more than a century and a half, the next letter is one of William Plantagenet, the sixth Earl de Warenne, excusing himself from attendance on King Henry the Third's coronation in 1216. This must have been written a few months only after he had done homage to the French Prince Louis, as king of England, and his alleged illness may only represent a natural reluctance to appear so soon afterwards as the bearer of the sword of state, before the young king, however anxious he was to uphold his privilege. His grandson John, the next earl, exhibited his loyalty at the next coronation in a singular manner, by "turning out loose five hundred great horses, for any one to catch."

"To his revered Lord Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, Count of Anjou, Sir William Earl de Warenne greeting, and due reverence.

"Your Highness (*vestra celsitudo*), Sire, will have learnt that I am detained by grievous sickness, on which account I am unable to be present at your coronation, as would be my duty and wish, which saddens me more than my sickness. May it please my lord to know, that if I could have been present there at that time, I should be entitled by the right of my predecessors, which they received from your predecessors, to carry the sword before you. Wherefore, I devoutly implore you, as my excellent Lord, not to permit my privilege to perish or be diminished on account of my absence, but that you will cause it to be preserved uninjured and entire. Know moreover, my lord, that, agreeable to what you have signified to me, if God shall grant me recovery of health, I will willingly go towards the King of Scotland to escort him. I have indeed already sent him my letters patent [to acquaint him] that, as soon as ever God shall have restored me to health, I will come to meet and escort him, with your envoys. May your health flourish for many seasons."—*In Latin, printed in Fæder.* i, 160, *from the Tower MSS.* 628.

The King of Scotland here alluded to was Alexander II, who married, in 1221, Joan, sister of King Henry III. The records of Henry the Third's second year exhibit a safe conduct for six weeks given him for his homeward journey, and mention his doing homage to the English crown at the time.

The summary account of this Earl de Warenne's possessions in 1218, gives us an idea of his extended power. "The Earl de Warenne owes £43. 15s. for 35 fiefs of the fiefs of Gilbert de Aquila, and the fiefs of Moriton, and £120. for the 60 fiefs of his own barony."³

³ Mag. Rot. 2^o H. III, in Maddox, *Baronia Angl.*, p. 33.

The system of restrictions to which commerce was then subject is exhibited by the royal license required before a liegeman of this earl could take a cargo of goods from Lewes across the channel.

“Our Lord the King has granted to the Earl de Warenne, that the vessel, in which the goods and merchandize of the said earl’s liegeman, Bartholemew of Poictou, are loaded, may for one voyage be carried across from Lewes to Flanders, and to other places, except those within the power of the King of France, with the goods and merchandize of the said Bartholemew; and the bailiffs of the port of Sefford are commanded, after receiving security from the same, that he will not turn aside with his goods and merchandize into the power of the King of France, to allow the said vessel freely and without impediment to pass. Westminster, February 8, (1225).” *Rot. Claus.* ii, 15^b.

Hubert de Burg, to whom the next letter is addressed, and who experienced so many vicissitudes of court favour and disgrace under Henry III, was allied to this sixth Earl de Warenne, by his marriage with Beatrix de Warenne. The letter seems to have been written before his creation as Earl of Kent, in 1227. The Earl de Warenne was one of de Burg’s bail, in 1232, when the king was persecuting him.

The Countess d’Eu, whose arrival the letter announces, was Alicia countess in her own right, as sole heiress of Henry, Count d’Eu, and Matilda, daughter of Hamelin, Earl de Warenen. She mentions the writer of the letter as her uncle (*avunculo meo*) in a charter dated 1219,⁴ being then widow of Ralph d’Issoudun, a brother of Hugh de Lusignan, who married King John’s widow. A writ was issued in August, 1219, to give her possession of “Tikhull,” co. York, and she quitted England in 1225. Her seal, on a Norman deed, exhibits the arms of “barry, a label of sable points.” Her niece, Alice de Lusignan, became, in 1247, the wife of John, the seventh Earl de Warenne, then a minor.

“To his most dear friend, Hubert de Burg, Justiciary of England, his in all things (*suus in omnibus*), William, Earl de Warenne greeting, and the fullness of entire love.

“As I think you will be rejoiced at the arrival in England of the lady

⁴ *Rot. Scacc. Norman*, ii, 231.

Countess d'Eu, my niece, and your kinswoman, (*Comitisse Auge neptis nostre et cognate vestre*), I inform you that she is come here, and I and she (*ego et ipsa*) have already spoken with my lord the king, and he, readily and kindly receiving us, has appointed us a day on the Octaves of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, wherever he may be. We affectionately implore therefore your love, on which we place the greatest possible reliance, that you would be present on the day appointed, because I believe the affairs of our lord the king, and my own, will be brought to a happy and prosperous conclusion, by the intervention of your council and assistance. And this, as you love us and the said countess, both for the sake of our lord the king, and of ourselves, on no account omit to do. Farewell."—*Orig. Latin, Tower MSS. 629.*

The importance attached to deeds being expressly witnessed by every party interested, is well shown in the following application to the feudal lord of Sussex, and William, the sixth Earl de Warenne. The writer, W. de Avrenches, having been taken and imprisoned as a rebel by King John in 1216, was released on payment of a large ransom, to raise which, he and his mother, Cecilia, had sold the manor of Sutton, near Seaford, to the Abbey of Robertsbridge, and their seals remain affixed to the Latin original.⁵

"To his most dear Lords William, Earl de Warenne, the Lord William de Aubeney, Earl of Sussex, and Sir Gilbert de Aquila, William de Avrenches (Abrincis), and Cecilia, his mother, greeting.

"Since we cannot have your presence at the drawing up the deeds between us and the abbot and monks of Robertsbridge, concerning the manor of Sutton, near Seaford, we beg and earnestly intreat that you will be pleased to be witness as to these our deeds, on which your names have been put in writing (*ascripti*) as witnesses, in order to ensure certainty. Farewell."

The next letter is a curious exhibition of the urgent needs occasionally experienced by feudal chiefs of wide domains and high connection. No tradesman striving to keep up appearances, by offering large reduction in prices, could use greater urgency to raise ready money than this great earl.

It will be observed that three distinct debts are alluded to in the letter: one due to the Earl of Arundel, probably arising from his guardianship of Hugh de Albini when a minor; another thankfully acknowledged of money lent on a former occasion by the Justiciary to Earl de Warenne; and a third, the main subject of the letter, of money lent by the earl at the request of the Justiciary and William the Marshal, on which he offers discount for prompt payment.

⁵ Sir H. Ellis's Orig. Letters, 3 Ser. 1 v. p. 25.

“To his most dear lord and friend, Hubert de Burg, Justiciary of England, William, Earl de Warenne, greeting, and sincere love.

“I request and most earnestly beseech you, as my dearest lord and friend, now to assist me in my straitest need with the monies for which you and Sir William the Marshall were sureties (*plegiū fuistis*). For I owe a hundred pounds to the Lord Earl of Arundell, which it behoves me necessarily to pay him on this his demand at the Feast of St. John. I am bound to you also in a similar manner for a long time past for monies, with which, thanks to you, you accommodated me in my great trouble. Learn, however, that in my present necessity I have no refuge but with you, for if I could have got assistance from either Jews or Christians, I would not set out any complaint about it before you. Be pleased, therefore, so to act in this matter that you may derive honor from it, and that I may be bound in more abundant gratitude towards you. And be pleased to call to mind that I lent the money at your request and that of Sir William the Marshall. If, however, it would please you that I should forego something of it, know that I am willing to forego as much as you please, on condition that I may receive the residue more promptly. Be assured also that I have never, on any occasion, applied to you in so strict a necessity, for I owe very great debts to those who have taken the Cross, to whom I must both pay their own and give of my own. Wherefore I beseech you so much the more earnestly, by the mutual friendship between us, to act so that I may know you love me. Moreover, be assured that you will have done more for me, and I shall be more grateful to you, if only you will afford me this assistance, than if, after the feast of St. John, you should have given me a thousand pounds. Let me know by Sir Elyas de Marevill, and by Sir Mainard, his brother, what you will be willing to do in this matter. Inasmuch, however, as I have not my great seal with me, I have caused those letters to be sealed with my private seal. I beg you also to give credence to what Sir Elyas de Marevill and his brother, Sir Mainard, may say to you on my behalf. Farewell.”—*Latin, Tower MSS.* 228.

The brothers Mareville, here acknowledged as the earls' agents, were well known at the English court, having received repeated gifts from Kings John and Henry III, from 1216 to 1222. One was a grant of land in Lincolnshire, which is described as having belonged to the king's enemies, and was avowedly given for the express purpose of supporting Sir Elyas in the royal service.

What was the result of the earl's entreaties, whether the cash was thus obtained or not, is unknown. It was not the last occasion, however, on which this earl was pressed for money. The executors of a Suffolk knight, whose guardian he had been, summoned him into court, in 1232, for not paying his debts.⁶

The next letter, which must have been written between 1232 and 1240, to the same earl, was from one of the most

⁶ Excerpta e Rot. Finium, i, 227.

distinguished men of his times, Robert Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln, and the mediæval clergy rise in our estimation when we see them, as here, exercising the strength of their exclusive power of knowledge with the courage to reprove and restrain the physical strength of the armed chieftains around them. It will be seen with what a stately courtesy the bishop maintains his episcopal rights, and how vivid a picture he draws of the riotous manners of a baronial hall. When the Norman estates of the Warennes were confiscated by the French king, the manor of the Sock of Graham (now Grantham), within the diocese of Lincoln, had been given to the earl, in 1205, by King John in compensation, and confirmed by Henry III, in 1217.⁷ It was here that the earl had encouraged his own chaplain to use the hall of his residence as a chapel for divine service.

“To the noble man and most dear friend in Christ, William Earl Warenne, Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Lincoln, greeting, and sincere love in the Lord.

“You have written to us, that you are much astonished, because we have decided that you and your chaplain N. should be summoned to answer and submit to the law before us and our official, adding, that the said N., your chaplain, had been suspended without any monition. The astonishment, therefore, of Your Discretion is a manifest insinuation that we have been wrongful to you and your chaplain in the said summons, and you clearly enough insinuate the same as to the manner of suspension. You appear, however, in these, your insinuations, to have wronged us, saving your reverence, since you have not yet established that we have wronged you in anything, and a father’s weaknesses should be veiled rather than revealed. But what Your Discretion may know that we have not wronged you, as you insinuate, we inform you that information was brought to us by good and trustworthy persons that you caused mass to be celebrated by the said N., your chaplain, in your hall (*in aula vestra*) of Graham, that you even authorised him to do this by your writing, adding as a reason, that this was done necessarily, owing to the sickness of your body. Since, however, your hall is not a dedicated place, but a common habitation of men, the receptacle of eaters and drinkers, conversing frivolously, scurrilously, and perhaps often filthily (*immunda*), and perhaps sometimes even acting filthily, with dogs also running about it, and sleeping and often leaving their dirt there, no Christian should be unaware how unfitting it is to consecrate (*consecrare*) and to handle there the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who was born of a most pure Virgin, suffered on the cross, was glorified in resurrection, and raised above heaven—especially since the precepts of the Old and New Testament, and canonical authorities most evidently prohibit the solemnity of masses to be celebrated elsewhere than in places dedicated and consecrated to God, unless on compulsion of the

⁷ Rot. Claus.—Turnor’s Grantham, Henry III temporarily resumed the grant 4to, 1806. It was valued at £110. a year. in 1249, but restored it.

strongest necessity. Do you therefore yourself judge if it belongs to my duty to take judicial cognisance if such things have been done, and if done, by what authority, and by whom done, and whether they have any reasonable excuse of necessity; which, when you have well considered, we believe you will not think our summons wrongful. Neither has your priest (*sacerdos vester*) been wrongfully suspended without previous warning, but on account of his repeated contumacy, the due course of law has been most justly observed. As an obedient son, therefore, as you profess yourself, and as we believe you to be, do not despise obedience to the law, in order to show your innocence, to clear away any stain of guilt (*delicti*), if there should be such, and to earn favour from God and praise from men on this matter. Since obedient sons, when summoned according to canonical authorities, even by one who is not their judge (*a non suo iudice*), ought to appear and plead the privilege of their own court (*fori sui*). Nor let any one suggest to Your Discretion, that it is an indecorum for your Excellency to be summoned by Bishops, and to appear before them, and to submit to law, because such a suggester does this that Christ may be despised in his Bishops, though Jesus Christ says, 'he who despises you despises me,' Luke x, 16; and Moses, speaking of himself and his brother Aaron, in the character of high priests to certain children of Israel, says, 'Your murmur is not against us but against the Lord.' Exod. xvi, 8. Nor let Your Discretion suppose that there was any other motive for summoning you than the duty of our office and your own salvation, which you may know us to care for with a sincere and special love. May your love always prosper in the Lord."—*Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*. Fol. 1690, t. 2, p. 345, *Epist.* 56.

The following letter in French, which still prevailed among the descendants of the Normans, even after the French had deprived them of all their Norman estates, must be referred to the three years' absence in France (1286-9) of King Edward the First, it being addressed to his cousin, son of Richard, king of the Romans, then exercising by his appointment the authority of a regent in England. There must have been great difficulty in such times to restrain nobles, like John the seventh Earl de Warenne (1240-1304) from settling their disputes by the force of their own feudal vassals. Having succeeded his father when only twelve years old, and being immediately married to King Henry the Third's half-sister Alice, the lands of this Earl John were, on paying a fine of £542, put into the custody of his mother, who undertook to devote £200 a year to his support till he came of age. During a long life he had many opportunities of displaying not only his military energy, but also the violence of his character. His assault in 1269 on Alan de Zouche in a court of justice, and the subsequent exhibition of his old sword, when his title deeds were called for, are well known.

The proud and encroaching spirit with which he exercised his feudal rights in Sussex has been put on authentic record by the numerous complaints against him, embodied in the answers of the juries in each hundred⁸ to King Edward the First's inquiries in 1274. Although the king's chief motive for thus probing the social wrongs inflicted on his subjects was probably the maintenance of the rights of the Crown, more than the repression of his nobles' excesses, yet by the stringent questions he put throughout his kingdom, much feudal oppression and some striking traits of the state of society were brought to light, of which some specimens from Sussex may be adduced. To the inquiry whether any new chase or free warren had been recently appropriated, the hundreds of Steyning, Poynings, and Fishersgate, &c. report that the Earl de Warenne had, without warrant, extended and established such over his whole barony of Lewes. Fishersgate adds, with respect to Portslade, that this had been going on "for twenty-two years, to the great damage of the country who used to enjoy the right."

Poynings states that the earl, for the sake of his hares and wild game (*pro leporibus et feris suis*), imprisoned and fined at will other persons who hunted, that he had seized the oxen of Richard Aguylun, at Edburton, for that cause, and confined his servants in Lewes Castle, where he asserted a right to imprison persons at his pleasure for a period of three days, and had refused entrance there to the king's writ commanding their delivery, acting with so much contempt of law that even the sheriff in person was afterwards with difficulty able to effect it. The hundreds of Brightford (Broadwater and four other parishes) and of Bottinghill (Hurstpierpoint, Worth, and ten other parishes) complain that the warrens of the earl are so full of game that they destroy nearly all the corn grown near them, which they nevertheless dare not protect by any hedge or fence for fear of imprisonment, and that neither knight or freeman dare hunt at all, to the inestimable damage of the country. The canons of South Malling had been thus illegally ousted in the hundred of "Lokesfield" from their right of chase at Stanmere and Baldesden. The earl is charged also with claiming all wrecks on the coast without the liberty of redeeming the

⁸ Rotuli Hundredorum.

goods ; with levying fines at will on bakers, brewers, butchers, tanners, and others ; of making encroachments (*perpresturas*) on the king's highways at Cuckfield, Balcombe, Worth, Barcombe, and other places ; of exacting 100*s.* from every military fief in his barony, to inclose the town of Lewes with a stone wall without warrant ; that his bailiffs had broken down the "vivarium" of Richard de Pleyz after his death, and had destroyed his wood at Werplesburn in the hundred of Street ; that the inclosed parks claimed by him at Ditchling, Cuckfield, and Worth, were so strictly watched that even the Sheriff Mathew de Hasting's horse, which he had sent to be shod at Ditchling, had been stopped by Walter the park-keeper with his men, when the groom was beaten, wounded, and robbed by them. These and sundry other complaints the earl was summoned to answer in open court, a few years later, in 1279, before John de Reygate and other justices at Guildford. It is most probable that his behaviour on this occasion gave rise to the current anecdote of the earl having produced his best title from his scabbard.

Whether the incident occurred or not, he did not, however refuse to answer ; but boldly and frankly avowed all imputed to him, as appertaining to his feudal rights, "by the same warrant as all his ancestors had held them from time immemorial, and that neither he or his ancestors had ever incroached upon or usurped the king's rights." The jury, formed on his demand to inquire into the truth of this assertion, returned for their verdict that it was true, and the earl was honourably dismissed from all suit (*eat sine die*).⁹

It would appear, therefore, that the grievances and oppressions complained of by the Hundreds were legally justified by the comprehensive grasp of feudal jurisdiction.

What occasioned the dispute referred to in the following letter of the Earl of Warwick (whose mother was third in descent from a daughter of the second Earl de Warenne) does not appear. As Reginald Grey de Wilton, the justice in Chester, was concerned in it, it probably related to the earl's lands in North Wales. During the king's absence in France, the Earl of Cornwall marched into Wales, and there destroyed Droselan Castle, and, as the king's lieutenant, he had strictly

⁹ *Placita quo Warr.*, 7^o Edw. I, 751.

enjoined the Earl of Warwick, to whose command the army in Cheshire had been entrusted, as well as other nobles, "to take especial care to keep all things quiet, and on no account to allow any one to move with armed force, to the terror of the king's lieges, and to the disturbance of the peace."¹⁰

Notwithstanding these cautions, however, the king, on his return from abroad, found the social state of England in great confusion.

"To his very dear Lord, Monsire Edmund Earl of Cornwall, his William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, greeting and all reverence.

"We have before us the transcript of your letter, which the Earl de Warenne has sent us, concerning the quarrel arisen between him and Sir Reynaud de Grey, at which we are amazed and troubled. But inasmuch as you, Sire, hold the place of our Lord the King, as long as he is abroad, and as we were directed by his own self to be observant of you and your command, so we do not wish, without your command and your advice, that horses or arms should stir anywhere on the territory of our King. On which matter we beg you therefore, dear Sire, to be pleased to signify to us your pleasure. And it appears to us, Sire, that you should strictly forbid persons from stirring at all in such a manner, and should devise how the quarrel might be abated by other means, so that more serious damage may not arise, and that no one may be found to raise up more serious impediments, which would be more difficult to appease. Adieu, dear Sire."

"A son tres cher seigneur mun Sire Edmund, Comte de Cornewalle, le soen William de Beauch', Cunte de Warrick, saluz e tute reverences.

"Nus avoms enveu, sire, le transcrit de votre lettre, ke le Cunte de Warenne nous envea de cuntele aleve entre li e sire Renaud de Grey dunt nous sumes esmerveillet e annuyet: mes pur ceo, sire, ke vous tenet le Lyw nostre segnur le Rey taunt cume il est hors de terre, e nous fumes par li memmes assigne de estre entendant a vous e a vostre commaundement, si ne volums saunz vostre commaundement e vostre conseil nule part a chevaus e armes en la terre nostre le Rey aler. Dunt nous vous prioms, cher sire, ke vous nus voillet vostre volunte de ceo maunder. E il nous semble, sire, ke vous endevet ben defendre ke genz ny ayllent mie en celle maniere e purveer coment le cuntel pusse par autre veye estre abessee. Issi ke greyvaur damage ny aveyne e ke auchesunz ne pussent estre trovez de greyvurs baretz alever ke plus forts sereyent de apeser. A deu, cher sire."—*Tower MSS., No. 1136.*

The Earl de Warenne about the period of this letter had endured the sudden loss of his only son William, at a tournament, January 15, 1286. More than five months afterwards a posthumous grandson, afterwards the eighth earl, was born. Many years later, in 1299, Edward I expressed his sympathy with the father when at Lewes, by making

¹⁰ Rot. Claus., 16^o Edw. II. m. 3.

offerings there during a mass celebrated in his presence, for the repose of his son's soul. (C.R. MSS. EB. 2033.)

The honours and estates of the Warennes were destined in the next century to be absorbed by the heirs of the Albinis, whose descendants still hold an eminent place in Sussex history. Deriving its origin from the village of St. Martin d'Aubigny, in the Norman district of Le Cotentin, the family early divided into two branches, the oldest of which became Earls of Arundel, holding the office of king's butler (pincerna) by the barony of Bekeman in Norfolk, and from the younger brother, Nigel, came the Mowbray branch. A golden lion is attributed to the shield of the former, and a silver one to the latter; but the seal of Bertrand d'Aubigny (de Albiheio) attached to a Norman deed of gift (c. 1150-1200) to the Abbey of Savigny "for the soul of his father Aleman d'Aubigny," bears "trois pots, deux et un." William d'Aubigny, pincerna, retained his Norman fiefs in Bougey and Dampvou under the Bishop of Bayeux, and confirmed the grants of his ancestors to the Abbey of Montebourg when his brother Humphrey became a monk there, but in the time of King Philip Augustus, the fiefs of the Albinis were held by the Counts de Ponthieu.¹¹

The writer of the following letter was probably the son of the Earl of Arundel, third of the name of William, and became himself the fourth earl in 1221.

"To the noble man his Lord (*nobili viro Domino suo*) Henry, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, his in all things, William de Aubigny, son of the Earl of Arundell, greeting and all manner of reverence.

"May your Excellency know that I shall be in all things obedient to your injunctions as much as possible, and that according to your injunction neither I nor my knights will in any way approach the tournament, and have entirely remained away. Wherefore I beseech and most earnestly request your Excellency, that you will be pleased to signify your pleasure in all things to me, as to your servant prompt and ready to follow and perform all your commands. May the Lord alway preserve you."—*Latin, Tower MSS. 67.*

The prohibition to attend tournaments was very frequently, perhaps forty times, issued to the young knights during the

¹¹ See 'Recherches sur le Domesday,' p. 96; and 'Extrait des Chartes et autres Actes Normands ou Anglo-Nor-
mands,' Caen, 1835, pp. 160-427; both works by Léchaudé d'Anisy.

troubled reign of Henry III, as such assemblages were often the pretext for indulging private feuds, or for carrying on political conspiracies.

No such reason existing to render such a gathering of armed force dangerous at the time, in February, 1305, Edward I being then at Bamburgh, of which castle the old warrior John Earl de Warenne had been governor in 1294-5, dispatched John the young earl, his grandson, expressly in order to attend a tournament at Guildford, a portion of the tolls of which town the earl held in capite as parcel of his barony of Surrey.¹² The wardrobe accounts of the period preserve to us the record of numerous payments made to him while thus employed in the king's service. The sums thus paid, from 40*s.* to £30, amounted in a short space to £79. 10*s.* 2*d.*

The earl was but eighteen, when the king arranged his marriage with his grand-daughter Joanna. Her father Henry, the third of that name, Count de Bar,¹³ had married, September 20th, 1293, the king's eldest daughter Eleanor, and on March 15th, 1306, this second marriage was publicly announced, though the bride was not much more than half the age of her young husband. Discord, sorrow, and disgrace were the eventual results of this union; but the early days of welcome and festivity in the court betrayed no augury of such a fate, and the childish bride was probably too much delighted with the strains of the royal minstrels, the sports of falconry, and the pomp of her new chariot to heed the future. From her landing at Dover in April, 1306, entries of numerous large payments for her reception are recorded.

"In oblations of the king at the altar in his chapel, on account of the good news he heard from France by the Lady Johanna de Baar, viis. April 12."
—*EB.* 2038.

"For the expenses of the daughter of the Count de Bare coming from Dover to the king, April 13, *xxli.*—On the 20th April, *xxli.*—On the 28th April, *cs.*—On the 29th, *cs.*—Again, *xls.*—On May 4, *cs.* and *xli.*"—*Wardrobe Acc. EB.* 983-1912.

All this was preparatory to the marriages of the two orphaned grandchildren of the king on successive days—Hugh

¹² Madox, Bar. Angl., p. 250.

¹³ The princess and her husband are erroneously styled duke and duchess in Mrs. Wood's *Lives of the Princesses*, 2, 305, usually so accurate; but the county

was not raised to a duchy till 1334. The appearance of the family in England was also long anterior to the date of 1290, assigned by her.

le Despenser (who with his father was beheaded twenty years later), to Eleanor de Clare, daughter of the Princess Joan of Acre, Countess of Gloucester; and the Earl de Warenne to Joanna de Barr. The king's youngest daughter had been also recently married to Humphrey de Bohun, when the festivities at court, including ten casks of wine and 302 lbs. of wax on the wedding day had swelled the week's expenses to £335. 18s. 9d. (*Carl. R. 734, W. N. 33^o Edw. I.*) On the present occasion there are also some details recorded.

"25th day of May, in money lent and disbursed in the presence of the king, at the nuptials celebrated in the king's chapel at Westminster, between John, Earl de Warenne, and the Lady Joanna daughter of the Count de Barr, xls."

A similar entry on May 26 records Despenser's marriage.

"Paid to divers minstrels, by command of the king, on the days of the nuptials of the Countess de Warenne and the Lady Le Despenser, as appears under the head of gifts, xxxviii iiiiis."—*EB. 983, Wardrobe Acc.*

"For letting fly the king's girfalcon.—For letting fly the king's falcon called Berewyk,—another called Drogenesse,—another called Hereford, on same day.

"To Thomas the coachmaker (*le charrou*), advanced on the making a chariot for the Earl de Warenne, June 28, lxs.

"To Walter de Bardeney, advanced on harness—making for the said earl,—on the same day, cs.

"To Walter de Bedewynde, to pay for a new carriage (*pro uno novo curru*) for the use of the Countess de Warenne, by the order of the treasurer, by the hands of John Flambard, Emeric Frescobaldi, and Marchio Gerardi.

"July 4.—For three horses bought for a chariot for the use of the Countess de Warenne, grand-daughter of the king, by order of the Treasurer, xlii. 1^m.

"July 5.—To Sir Peter de Tolyngburn, by the hands of Edmund Suthese his valet, for cash paid by him for the expenses of the Countess of Hereford, the Countess de Warenne, and other ladies dwelling in their suite in the month of June this year (1306), by order of the treasurer."—1912 *EB. 34^o Edw. I.*

What the quality of the music may have been we know not; but the sum of £37. 4s. given above to the minstrels, seems nearly on a scale fit for modern times, and far beyond what was usual at this period, as may be observed by some other examples:

"To John Symphonista, the elder and the younger, dwelling at Canterbury, and to 12 other minstrels, for performing their minstrelsy in the cathedral church before the king several times while he was there, xls.

"To Master Elias, the harper (citharista) at Lincoln, xxs."

“To the lady Ada, wife of Saracen, the minstrel, by the king’s gift, because she played on the psaltry (salteria) before the king, 20s.”—*EB.* 2668, 27° *Ed. I.*

“To Thomasina Vithal, and Janett, trumpeters (*trompar*) of the prince, performing their minstrelsy in presence of the Lords Thomas and Edmund, sons of the king, by their gift, to each of them 5s.

“To Richard and John, being boys and trumpeters with the Countess of Hereford, in presence of the same two princes, iiis.”—*W.N.* 1955, 33° *Ed. I.*

“In 1306, ‘To little William, the organist of the Countess of Hereford, 5s.’ Other payments to the harper—le Taborer—le croudere—tromptours—‘Guillaume sans maniere.’

“To Gillot, fidler (*vidulator*) of the Earl of Arundel, half a mark.

“To Geoffry, the harper of the Earl de Warenne, 11s.—to Matilda Makejoye, xii^d.”—*Roll of Exec. Q. Elean.*, p. 144.

So little has been mentioned by English genealogists concerning the family of Bar, with which King Edward I accepted an alliance for the second time on this occasion of the Countess de Warenne’s marriage, that a few words on the subject may be here allowed. Their territory formed le Barrois, a country between Champagne and Lorraine, with which it was ultimately united in 1418. King John, in 1212, had corresponded with Thibaut I, then Count de Bar, and his son Henry, urging them to come over to England for permanent service under him. (*Rymer’s Fœd.* i, 106.) The grandson of this Henry was the husband of the princess Eleanor, who with his brother John was frequently employed by Edward I. On the marriage of the princess, the castle of Bar among other places was settled upon her in dower, and the king instructed his commissioners to take seizin of it, April 15, 1294, the king giving her 1000 marks (£666. 6s. 8^d.) “pur son atir” payable in seven years. This payment not being completed at the time of his son-in-law’s death, in 1302, the king again bound himself and his heirs in 1306 to fulfil the engagement. (*Rymer’s Fœd.* i, 798, 944, 998.)

From this marriage, promising so much honour and happiness, there ensued calamity to all the parties and their children. The Count de Bar was induced by his high alliance to adopt the quarrel of the English king against the French,¹⁴ and, in 1297, he fell a prisoner into their hands at Comines. After being carried to Paris in chains, he was detained at

¹⁴ The king wrote to Adolphus, king of the Romans, urging him to defend Bar against the French, and he interested

himself also with the pope in favour of Theobald de Bar, brother of his son-in-law, for the bishopric of Metz. *Rym.* 863-867.

Bourges, until after four years' captivity he purchased liberty by doing homage for his county to the French king, against which his own liegemen protested. At Christmas he went on a crusade, and died on his return at Naples, in 1302, leaving two orphan children (for the princess Eleanor had died previously), Joanna, who became Countess of Warenne, and Edward, under the care of his brother John. Almost as soon as the young Count Edward attained manhood, he was involved in misfortunes similar to his father, from his zeal against the French. Having been taken prisoner, and redeemed after five years' confinement by the payment of a large ransom and the surrender of many of his towns, he soon afterwards was shipwrecked in Cyprus, and there died. Before reverting to Joanna, we may remark that John de Bar alone seems to have prospered in the English service, and he was much trusted by the king. He was, in 1282, one of the forty knights' sureties for Charles d'Anjou, and is recorded as feasting at Odiham with Prince Edward: he went as an envoy to Flanders in 1297, and accompanied the king in his Scotch wars. He there appeared as a witness to a deed on the breach of the truce, dated "in the camp or tent of the king of England near Maidens' Castle (*castrum puellarum*), commonly called Edenburgh." A later document, in 1299, appointing him an envoy to treat of peace, describes him as "Monsieur Johan de Bar, chivaler, de notre conseil;" and another deed, dated Dumfries, October 30, 1300, mentions him as "chivaler, ditz Piau de Chat," a nickname apparently derived from his mother Jeanne de Foy's territory of Puisaye.¹⁵ John was among the knights at Carlaverock, and the poem of that siege thus records his bearing:

"Johan de Bar iloez estoit
 Ken la baniere inde portoit
 Deus bars de or et fu croissillée
 O la rouge ourle engraillee."

Sir H. Nicolas states, in a note, p. 174, that there is an effigy in mail armour in the church of Berwick St. John, co. Wilts, whose shield bears Bar, apparently within a bordure.

The subsequent life of Joanna, the young Countess of

¹⁵ Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. i. *Diet. de la Noblesse*—*L'art de Verifier les Dates*, iii, 49

—*Pere Anselme*, v, 509—*Devon's Issues of Exchequer*—*Moreri*, *Diet. Hist.*, t. 2.

Warrenne, so early bereaved of both her parents, and at so childish an age consigned to the care of a profligate husband, though it began so brilliantly in courtly pomp, can be afterwards traced chiefly by the results of her husband's scandalous conduct. His almost rebellious siege of Piers Gaveston in Scarborough Castle had, in 1311, earned for him the displeasure of the king, and a few years later he incurred the sentence of excommunication from the Bishop of Chichester for adultery, and on assaulting that prelate's officers was even imprisoned.

Possibly local circumstances had led to the scene being so soon changed. Matilda de Neirford,¹⁶ the partner of his guilt, appears to have belonged to an ancient knightly family in Norfolk, where the earl had such wide domains, and this vicinity may have led to his early familiarity with her. She was the wife of Sir Simon de Derby, at the time when she supplanted the Countess Joanna in the home and affection of the earl. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert de Winchelsey, previous to his death, which occurred May 11, 1313, had sent the earl, from a provincial council held in London, a solemn monition on the scandal of his disorderly life with this lady ("de vostre desordené vie que vous mesnez gardant et retenant Maude de Neyrford"); but this not having produced any effect on him, the succeeding archbishop, Walter Reynolds, with eleven of his suffragan bishops, again, May 23, 1314, admonished him to amend without delay, as otherwise they could no longer suffer such contempt of holy church. The earl's answer seems to have been an application for a divorce on account of consanguinity, a convenient plea often used in those lax times. The archbishop informing him in reply that such a suit could only be carried on by consent of the bishops in whose dioceses his lands lay, again urged him to have more regard for his soul, and for his lineage, and noble personal qualities, than to continue to grieve all his clerical and lay friends to the heart. ("Comme vus estes estret de si noble linage, et vos mesmes si bealx et si nobles par la grace que Dieu vous ad donné.")

¹⁶ A family of the name of Nerford held extensive manors in Houghton Hundred and elsewhere in Norfolk. At Wrenningham the manor was held of the Earl de Warrenne, by Richard de Nerford, who sealed with "3 fusils in fess ermine." Sir

John de Nerford, who was summoned to Parliament, died 29^o Edw. I, holding 324 fiefs. His arms were "Gules, a lion rampant ermine." Inq. p. mort.—Blomefield's Norfolk.

Disregarding these reproofs the earl had in the meanwhile procured a bull of divorce from the pope, which he now communicated to the prelates, but they treated it with less respect than documents issued by such an authority usually commanded, and again (London, May 26) formally repeated their conviction that the "Countess Joanna, that good lady, his consort, who so languished in expectation of his good pleasure and favour, was nevertheless his true and lawful wife, and that he could never be legally separated from her while she lived, for any reason that they had heard."

"Veismes bien, sire, et avisames la tenour de la bulle par la quelle nostre sente pere le pape dispensa sur le mariage entre vus, et savoms toutz et creoms pour tant que la dite contesse est votre droite femme, et que jamais, tant comme elle est en vie, vus ne purrez estre departi de li pour nule cause que nus avoms entendu—cele bone dame vostre compaignie et vostre vraie et droite femme qui tant languist en attendant vostre bone volunte et vostre grace.

As there was indeed a remote cousinship between the parties, each being connected with the royal family, this pretext seems to have prevailed at Rome, however sternly the English prelates rejected its efficacy, and refused to recognise such foreign jurisdiction.

Maud de Neirford had attempted to procure the divorce of the earl and countess on this plea of nearness of blood,¹⁷ probably in the diocesan court of Norwich, and a citation in this suit was even served on the countess in the king's palace, for which audacious breach of privilege the officer was immediately sent to the Tower. The earl on his side showed similar imprudence, for the king in council with the Bishops of Norwich and Hereford, the Earl of Lancaster,¹⁸ and other nobles (optimates) charged John Langton, the Bishop of Chichester, to consider whether it was not "time to draw the sword of the Lord to pluck out and destroy such vice," inasmuch as the earl, "unlike a true Christian or son of holy mother Church, had no ways blushed to lead such an odious and execrable life, disregarding all good counsel, and had broken into parks" (this offence is put first), and, moreover, on the day

¹⁷ There is no mention of any plea of previous contract with herself in the Lambeth Register.

¹⁸ This earl's wife was, in 1317, perhaps in revenge, forcibly abducted by the Earl

de Warenne from Canford to Reigate, and after a divorce married to Richard St. Martin; the Earl of Lancaster was afterwards defeated, and executed in 1322 by his orders.

when Maud de Neyrford was to appear in court, he had boasted with threats that it should ill betide any one who should gainsay her. The bishop, on the earl's petition, granted his licence for the suit of divorce to be carried on, and several hearings took place in April before Gilbert de Middleton and William de Bray, canons of St. Paul, and the Prior of Trinity in Southwark Church. One of the archiepiscopal citations describes the earl as "imitating the obstinacy of Pharaoh, and closing his ears like a serpent (more aspidis), degenerate from his high ancestry, regardless of his salvation, and prodigal of his fame and honour, while he lived in notorious adultery with Matilda de Neyrford, who had been duly married to Sir Simon de Derby" (*domino Simoni de Dribi nuptiis ex more celebratis et matrimonialiter conjuncta*).

The earl's French letter to the archbishop, dated from Sandal in Yorkshire, exhibits him as apparently anxious to prove himself blameless.

"To the honourable father in God and our dear friend Walter, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, his (le soen) John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, greeting and due honour. Sire, in respect to that which we have learnt by your order, be pleased to understand that we are and shall be ready to do every thing that holy Church can demand by law and in reason, and upon divers other points we will answer you in time in such a manner that no man shall be able to blame us rightfully or with reason; and, sire, if you wish us to do anything that we can, be pleased confidently to command us, and we will do it to the utmost of our power. Adieu, sire, and may God preserve you. Given at our castle of Sandale, the 10th day of June."

A few days later (June 18th) the earl in another letter urged that the matter was so serious (*la chose et si haute en sei*), that it behoved him to be well advised in his answer, and that he should require for that purpose a more distant day than the Quinzaine of St. John (June 24th) which had been fixed.¹⁹

King Edward II must have been anxious to put an end to

¹⁹ I am much indebted to the Rev. Mr. Thomas, now Librarian at Lambeth Palace, for the facility of consulting and copying the MSS. Registers of Archbishop Reynolds concerning this matter. The extracts above given are in the ori-

ginal volume at pp. 52, b.—72, a. b.—73,—106. a. b.—107, a.—125, a. An abstract of all the Lambeth Registers was made by Dr. Ducarel, in fifty-two volumes folio, now in the British Museum, Addl. MSS. 6065.

such a scandal in his court, where his cousin the countess was living, and at Lincoln, February 20, 1316, consented to a sort of compromise, allowing Maud's suit of divorce to be commenced afresh, on condition that all previous proceedings before the Archdeacon of Norfolk should be annulled, and that, if the Countess Joanna should do nothing to delay final sentence or to appeal from it, all her costs should be paid, and the earl would grant her 740 marks a year for her life, secured on his Lincolnshire estates. (*Rot. Pat. p. 2, m. 32, original MS. in French.*)

Aymon de Juvenzano was appointed by the king to carry on this suit, and was paid *xivli. ivs.* for his expenses, and this arrangement seems to have been carried out by the consent of all parties. A species of legal separation, *a mensa et thoro*, was thus at least effected, though Joanna never lost her title as Countess de Warenne; and after surrendering his estates to the king, and receiving them back by a fresh grant, the earl was enabled, on August 4, 1316, to settle Coningsburgh and his Yorkshire estates on Maud de Nereford, and her sons John and Thomas in succession. As early as Nov. 20, 1312 (6^o Edward II), "John de Nerford, Thomas, son frère,"²⁰ appear as witnesses to the earl's grant of some tithes in Norfolk to Lewes Priory (*Chartulary, f. 32*). If these were Maud's sons, they must have been infants. There is no record of any complete divorce, however, and that none took place is proved by Earl John's charter, confirmatory of the grants to Lewes Priory, to which her assent had been carefully procured many years later. It is dated from his castle at Lewes, on the last day of May, 1331, and decorously alleges one of the motives of his grant to be "for his own soul and that of the Countess Joanna de Baar, his consort." Among the seals of the witnesses are expressly recorded those of "the Lady Joanna de Barr, Countess de Warenne, William her chaplain, and of Richard Russell, who, by direction of the lord the earl, wrote this charter, and saw all the above-placed seals affixed." (*MS. Chartulary, Vespas. xv. F. f. 36.*)

²⁰ These names frequently occur in the earl's grants as "sons of Matilda," but in a grant to the priory of Thetford, in 1315, they are described as "*puerorum*

nostrorum." Watson, volume ii, p. 56. The name is found variously spelt as Nerford, Nereford, Neirford, Neyrford, in documents even of the same date.

There is a seal of her arms in Watson's Hist. of the Warrens, vol. 2, 44, and in Sandford's Royal Genealogies, p. 122. The seal is remarkable as exhibiting all the coats of England, Castile, Leon, and Bar, arranged round that of Warenne, each in a separate lozenge. Bar, "azure, semé of cross crosslets fiché, or. two *barbels* endorsed of the same, over all."

How little was known of her at the residence of her husband, appears by the brief and erroneous entry concerning her in the chartulary of the Lewes monks, who confused her brother Edward with her father Henry, when enumerating the Countesses of Warren, so many of whom lay under the tombs in their priory.

"The lady Joanna de Bars, Countess of Surrey, daughter of Edward, Count de Baars, wife of John, the last earl, died on the last day of August in the year of grace 1361. She is not buried in England (*non jacet in Anglia*)." *f.* 109.

The countess had probably dwelt little in England during her latter days, but before she carried to a foreign grave the title of a husband who had repudiated her, full retribution had fallen on him in a manner which must have deeply mortified the representative of so noble a line. There were no children from his own unhappy marriage with Joanna: Maud de Neirford's sons, and Maud herself, were all dead. King Edward III, esteeming him as a soldier,²¹ had entrusted him with the defence of the Sussex coast in 1339, and with more covetousness than propriety, in disregard of his own cousin's rights, had strangely authorised the earl's second marriage with Isabel de Houland, though the Countess Joanna was yet living, on the condition formally expressed in the king's license, that the heir of such union should contract a royal marriage, in order to transfer all the Warenne estates to the royal family. The earl, however, had died in 1347, without any male issue, and was therefore the last who bore the title of Warenne. Edward III, by a deed dated June 30, 1359, agreed with the Countess Joanna to pay her £120 yearly, in

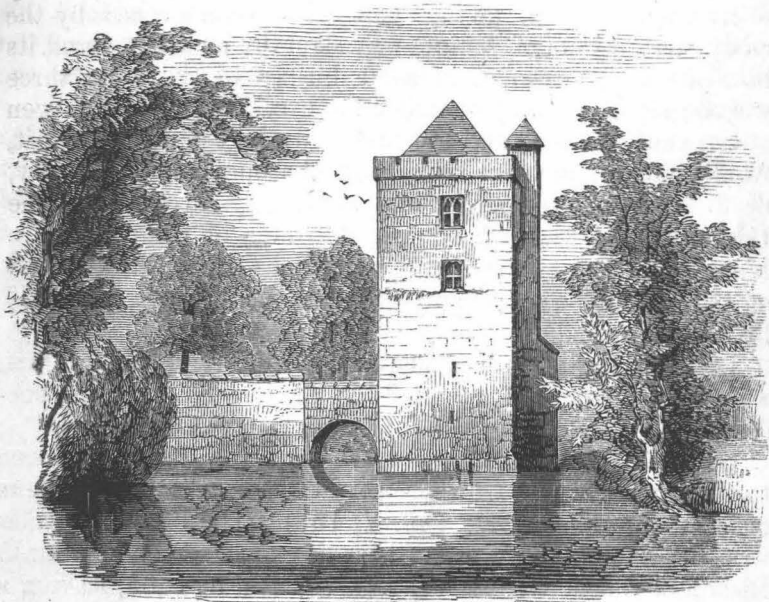
²¹ The gateway tower of Lewes Castle, was probably built by him in the year 1334. lately opened to view by this Society,

lieu of the Yorkshire estates settled in dower upon her, which at the same time he granted to his son, Edmund de Langele. (*Rot. Pat.* 33^o *Edw. III.*, p. 1, m. 1.) The remaining wealth and honours of the Warennes had passed away, and had been added by the last earl's sister, Alice, to those of the Fitz-Alans, by whom the Arundel earldom of the Albinis had been already acquired by another alliance. It was thus, under circumstances discreditable and inglorious, that the great name of Warenne became at length lost or at least overshadowed;—a name, originally derived from an obscure river in Normandy, raised to honour on its first transference to England by alliance with the Conqueror's daughter, and enriched by the spoils of his conquest, distinguished by martial prowess and its full share in the great events of English history during three centuries;—a name in many successive generations so interwoven with royalty, that two princes did not disdain to assume it, was thus finally destined to be obscured and made secondary, when death stilled the passions and the pride of John, the eighth earl of an heroic race.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MICHELHAM PRIORY,
IN ARLINGTON.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILES COOPER.

READ AT THE QUARTERLY MEETING, APRIL 2, 1853.



THE Austin Priory of Michelham was founded shortly before the year 1229,¹ by Gilbert de Aquila, one of a noble family settled at Pevensey, who styles himself, in the deed of foundation, "Lord of the Eagle." He was the third lord of the same name, being great-grandson of the first Gilbert, upon whom, when the possessions of William, Earl of Moreton, became escheated by his rebellion and attainder, the castle and town of Pevensey, with the lands and privileges attached

¹ Rot. Pat. 13^o H. iii, m. 7.

to the lordship, were conferred by King Henry the First. This portion of the honours and vast estates of the Earls of Moreton then took the name of the "Honor of the Eagle," from the Norman title (de Aquila) of its new possessor. In addition to the slight notice of some members of this family given at p. 42, vol. IV, of the *Sussex Arch. Coll.* I may here succinctly state the little that is known of them in connection with the early history of England. The first who, to his cost, took part in our affairs was

ENGENULF,² a companion of the Conqueror in his invasion, who perished in the fight at Hastings, A.D. 1066.

RICHER, his son, taking part with William against his rebellious subjects of Maine, was slain by an arrow from the bow of a boy, concealed in some bushes by the wayside, the weapon striking him just under the eye, Nov. 18, 1085.

GILBERT, his son, and the first lord of Pevensey of the De Aquila family, engaged actively in the opposition to Robert de Belesme in Normandy, and stood high in the favour of Henry I. He married Juliana, daughter of Geoffrey Earl of Mauritanie; lost two sons, Engenulf and Geoffrey, in the wreck of the "White Ship;" and was succeeded about A.D. 1112 by his eldest son,

RICHER II, a great benefactor to the Priory of Wilmington, who, after a long and troubled life, died in 1176; being succeeded by his son,

GILBERT II, who confirmed the grants of Ralph de Dene to the canons of St. Laurence of Ottenham, and added others of his own (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* V, 158). His brother Nicolas was dean, and afterwards (there is some reason to think) Bishop of Chichester, 1210-15.³ He died in 1205, leaving a son and successor,

GILBERT III, the founder of Michelham, and last lord of Pevensey of his race; all his lands and honours being forfeited in 1235, upon his passing into Normandy without the king's

² The Anglo-Norman poet, Robert Wace, calls him Engerran de l'Aigle, and says, in his *Rom. de Rou*, "Engerran de l'Aigle came also, with shield slung at his neck; and, gallantly handling his spear, struck down many English. He strove hard to serve the duke well, for the sake of the lands he had promised him." Mr.

Taylor, in his edition of Wace (Pickering 1837), in a note (p. 218), supposes that Engenulf or Engerran to have been the son of Fulbert, founder of the Castle de l'Aigle, on the Rille, arrondissement of Mortagne; and affirms that he was killed in the pursuit, after the battle was over.

³ Dallaway, i, 43.

licence, and granted away to others (*Additional MS. Brit. Mus.* 6359, fol. 15).

The house at Michelham⁴ was designed for the use of the Augustines, or Black Canons, as they were called, from the colour of their habits. The canons were an intermediate class, between the monks or *regular* clergy, and those called *secular*, because resident on cures, and managing their temporalities, as well as exercising spiritual functions. To a certain extent they adopted the mode of life usual in monasteries, having a common dwelling and table, an abstemious dietary, accompanied with the abnegation of many ordinary comforts, and stated hours for the joint performance of divine service; they had sometimes also churches committed to their pastoral care. Unlike the monks, however, they did not renounce the possession of private property, nor take upon themselves a formal vow of celibacy; but appropriated to their own use the proceeds of benefices belonging to them as individuals, and retained at first the right to marry, though from their habits of life it was probably but seldom exercised. And whereas monks universally adopted the tonsure, canons suffered their beards to grow, and wore caps upon their heads.

In the eleventh century, having fallen into some disorder, they were themselves divided into *secular* and *regular*; the former continuing upon their original plan of freedom from monkish vows, but observing the decree then made by Pope Nicolas II (A. D. 1059) for their better discipline; the latter devoting themselves to perpetual chastity and poverty, and adopting in its full extent the austere mode of life for which monasteries in the first ages were remarkable.

Proposing as a pattern the strict rule of Augustine, they acquired the title of regular canons of that celebrated saint. Their dress consisted of a white rocket, over a long black cassock, with a black cloak and hood.

This order of Black Canons regular of Saint Augustine, introduced into England in the time of Henry I, by his confessor, Adelwald, had so far increased that fifty-four priories belonged to them in the reign of Edward I; and at length

⁴ Michel (retained in the Scottish mickle;") signifies in Saxon "great," whence some suppose that this place, as one of his possessions, derived its name

from the first Gilbert, who is said to have been styled Gislebertus Magnus, or Gilbert Michel.

there were a hundred and seventy-five houses of these canons and canonesses (a later creation) in England and Wales.

Upon certain brethren of this order, Gilbert de Aquila, the third of that name, bestowed his donations, with the assent and goodwill of his Lord, Henry III, King of England, for his soul's health, and that of Isabella his wife, his children, brothers, and sisters, predecessors, and heirs. The charter (as given in the Monasticon) conveys to them all his lordship of Michelham, and his park of Pevensey,⁵ with the men, rents, escheats, and other appertenances, together with twenty-four acres of marsh land in "Haylsham," and twenty acres of meadow in "Wilendune;" pasture in the Dicker, the Broyle,⁶ in Legton (Laughton), and other woods in Sussex, for sixty beasts, and pannage for one hundred hogs; with timber for constructing and repairing their church and other buildings, wood for fuel and fences, and bushes to make their hedges: also the advowsons of the churches of Haylesham and Legton.⁷ All these he gives for a pure and perpetual alms.

To this charter, which is without date, Gilbert sets his seal in the presence of many witnesses, among whom are named Simeon de Echingham, Wm. de Munceux, Jordan de Saukevill, Walrond Maufe,⁸ John Gulafre, Robt. de Horstede, Robt. de Manekesye, Richd. de la Gare, and Simon de Burgedse.

He afterwards added, by a separate deed, the manor of Chintinges, in the parish of Seaford.⁹

In the Roll to which I have referred, as fixing the date of this priory, it is said that the founder "amortizavit" these lands, &c. to the Prior of Hastings; *i. e.* "gave them in mortmain," for the purposes of his new foundation; as land so alienated to a corporate body of spiritual persons could never revert to the lord, the donor lost in consequence all the customary

⁵ The manor is now styled that of "Michelham Park Gate," with some allusion doubtless to the park here granted.

⁶ Ancient names still remaining; the latter (Broleum) signifying a chase, or tract of open woody ground, something between a forest and a park, the harbour of wild animals preserved for sport.

⁷ In the Episcopal Reg. of Chichester is a deed giving Bishop Ralph de Neville's formal consent to this appropriation. He styles himself "by the mercy of God the humble minister of the church of Chiches-

ter." Lord Campbell, however, in the Lives of the Chancellors, vol. i, p. 127, gives a striking instance of his extreme arrogance and insolence towards a superior.

⁸ The knightly families of Echingham, Herstmonceux, and Saukevill, appear frequently in these ecclesiastical transactions. One of the Maufes (William) was a benefactor to Ottenham; another (Andrew) is presently a donor to Michelham.

⁹ A fine farm belonging to the Earl of Chichester, still called Chinting.

services, escheats, &c., which it before yielded. In this Roll, the land in Michelham, and the marsh in "Heilesham," are stated to be each eighty acres, and the "wood of Pevense" is valued at 38*s.* rent.

These gifts were farther confirmed by Henry III, in the sixteenth year of his reign, in two charters; one dated at "Windlesore" (Windsor), on the 8th of January, the other at "Lameth" (Lambeth), January 20th, and both by the hand of Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, his chancellor.¹⁰

By a third charter, passed under the great seal by the same chancellor, he grants the canons freedom, for their manors of Michelham and Chintinges, "from shires and hundreds, suits of shires and hundreds, and from sheriff's aid," *i.e.* he exonerates them from the duty of attending or performing any services at the county or hundred courts, and also from the customary payments to the sheriff towards defraying his expenses in keeping the peace.

The whole of these documents are again recited and confirmed by his grandson, Edward II, in a deed given under his own hand at Westminster, November 20th, in the fourteenth year of his reign (A.D. 1320), wherein this king also ratifies the benefactions of several later donors.

These repeated confirmations were rendered necessary by the insecurity of the original grants, arising from the nature of the feudal tenure. The things granted were liable by forfeiture to revert to the lord of the fee—in this instance the king, of whom de Aquila held his estate "in capite." Notwithstanding, therefore, the founder bestowed his charity "in perpetuum elemosinam," and bound his heirs as well as himself, yet to give permanency to the endowment the consent of the crown was requisite. Subsequent royal confirmations gave additional strength to rights previously attained, and in times of so much disorder and violence as under our early Norman kings, every possible security must have been desirable; besides which they were needed to give validity to grants not included in former confirmatory charters. The earlier documents are usually recited in them at length, and then the new gifts are

¹⁰ This Ralph de Neville in 1233 had the unique good fortune to enjoy at the same time the Chancellorships both of England and Ireland, of which also he

succeeded in obtaining a grant for life; he was afterwards Bishop of Winchester. Vide Lives of the Chancellors, vol. i, p. 129.—*Suss. Arch. Collections*, III, 36.

specified; and in this way we now learn, from the *Inspeximus* charter of Edward II, of various acquisitions made by the canons of Michelham, beyond what was conferred on them at their first foundation.

Of these the following is a brief account:—

SIR JOHN DE HAYA (Hay), tenement of “la Knocke,” with lands, woods, meadows, escheats, &c. (now Knock-Hatch, in Arlington, a farm belonging to the Earl of Burlington).¹¹

ROBERT DE BLACHINGTON, clerk, a tenement in Kelle, given him by William de Wrotham, and Joan de Kelle, his wife.

WILLIAM DE BRACKLESHAM, Dean of Chichester (1280 to 1296), his land of “Spelterche,” in Arlington, with land given him by Richard Caperun, and a meadow, the gift to him of Thos. Bodington.

WM. DE MONTACUTE, the chapelry of “Joington,”¹² with lands and rents attached.

HUGH BAUDEGAR, land in Brithelmston, bought by him of John de Berners.

WM., SON OF GEFREY DE DITTON, his estate of Ditton, in West Ham, (now belonging to the Earl of Burlington).

RALPH DE MANEKESIE, twenty acres and a half of land, and half an acre of meadow, on the south side of the road leading from Pevensey to Lewes and reaching as far as “Wilendon” Brook (brocum), with half an acre of meadow adjoining that which belonged to the lord of Willindon.

THOMAS DE BURTON, and JOAN, his wife, the tenement called “Isenhurst,” in Maghfeld, including capital messuage, woods, mills, &c.

SIR ROBT. DE MANEKESIE, all his land of “Windebeche,” near Horsted Keynes, in the forest of Heseldon, which he held by gift of Gilbert de Aquila; allowing the canons to have during the whole year, as often as needful fencing in the aforesaid forest, to inclose the said land, under the inspection

¹¹ The date of this gift is ascertained to be A.D. 1267, from the Rot. Hund. 3^o Edw. I (1275), where the prior is said to have held “la Knocke” eight years.

¹² This name, which appears also as Jewington and Levynton, has undergone more mutations than fall to the lot of names in general. In writing formerly of Wilmington Priory, I was at loss to identify with any place in the neighbourhood “Gonington,” where it had part of its early endowment (circa 1150); see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. IV, p. 40. In the progress of my inquiries I found named as its temporalities, A.D. 1324, four manors, three of which are perfectly well known, but about the fourth, “Nunington,” as it would have been too bold a guess that this could represent the Gonington of the charter, I was obliged to make the best conjecture I could, *Ibid.* p. 49. Lately, however, I have

seen the enumeration of the prior of Wilmington’s ‘Temporalities’ in Pope Nicolas’ Taxation, (A.D. 1291), where, with the three manors about which no doubt is entertained, the fourth is given as “Kynington (rotulo originali, *Geninton*). Now *J* and *G* are so exactly equivalent in phonetic power, *n* and *u* so absolutely incapable of being distinguished in writing of that period, being each represented by the same two minims, and *Geninton* therefore has so strong an affinity to *Jevington* on the one hand, and to *Gonington* on the other, that I cannot doubt these are all, through clerical errors of transcription, but different disguises of the word now spelt, and always pronounced “*Jevington*,” where we know, from other sources the prior had manorial rights. *Gonington* having once lapsed into *Kynington*, would easily go a step further, and become *Nunington*.

of his woodreeves. Also pasture for their animals near the forest, with the other men of Bradhurst.

AGNES DE MONTACUTE, her demesne land in Hertfeld and Cuden, with a capital messuage, rents, and all other appertences.

SIR WALTER DE LETTON, and GUNNORA, his wife, land called "Greggeslond," in Cowden, with meadows, woods, and all things else thereto belonging; also all that land belonging to them in fee, which had been previously granted by A. de Montacute, quit of the court service which the said land had been accustomed to render at their court of Tiches (Ticehurst?).

WM. RUSSEL, and LUCY, his wife, a tenement in "Holewyche," with capital messuage, lands, woods, rents, meadows, and other appertences, in Hartfield, (now "Hollywish Farm," the property in 1835 of Lieut. Gen. Maitland).

THOS. DE WICKENDEN a field called "Warefeld," in Cowden, as it is enclosed with hedges, ditches, and water."

Warefield—now called Warelands—consists of twenty-five acres, chiefly meadow, at Kent-water, on the stream which there separates Kent from Sussex; where banks and sluices show that it has formerly been irrigated. It pays to the collége in East Grinstead a small sum yearly, a proof that it belonged to the Sackvilles in 1608. Wickenden is still a common name in that vicinity, but confined to the labouring class. There is now in Cowden no chief manor, but only some subinfeudations of little value. Two farms, called the Upper and Lower Priory, are beyond doubt the gift of Agnes de Montacute and the "Greggeslond" given by Sir Walter de Letton and the Lady Gunnora.¹³

In the seventh year of Edward I, to put a check upon the excessive accumulation of property in the hands of the clergy, —who are computed to have possessed according to some accounts a third, according to others nearly a half of the whole lands of England,—was passed the statute of Mortmain, whereby it was rendered unlawful to give lands to ecclesiastics, or for the latter to receive them, without license from the crown.

From this time all such grants required that license to give them validity; and in the following patents, extracted from the Tower Records,¹⁴ it is always formally given,¹⁵ to various

¹³ The whole of this Cowden property now belongs to the Rev. Thomas Harvey, incumbent and patron of the rectory, by whom the above information respecting it was courteously communicated in answer to my inquiries.

¹⁴ I owe Mr. Blaauw many thanks for the trouble he has kindly taken in making these extracts for me from the ancient Patent Rolls preserved in the Tower of

London. Some of these MSS. are ten yards long, consisting of several skins of parchment joined together, and requiring great care in the unrolling; while from the crabbed writing and pale ink, being six hundred years old, they are difficult and tedious to decipher.

¹⁵ "Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante."

benefactions not mentioned in the Monasticon; this being understood, I shall only cite so much of them as relates to the description of the gifts. (Rot. Pat.)

9^o Edw. I, m. 20.—The king allows Master Richd. de Pageham (Pagham),¹⁶ chancellor of the church of Chichester, to assign by deed to the prior and Convent of Michelham, 50 acres of land in Horsye. Dated at Westminster, May 15.

9^o Edw. II, p. 1, m. 29.—The king grants leave to the prior, &c., to hold land to the yearly value of 20 marks, and allows Nigell Payn to give 5 acres in Erlington, which Wm. de Sessingham (held?), worth 10*d.* rent. Langele,¹⁷ July 18.

16^o Edw. II, p. 2, m. 24.—Gives licence to the prior, &c. to hold from John de Hydenye 26 acres in Haylesham—from Henry Paulyn 5 acres in the same place—from John, son of John de Redemale (Radmill) de Berington, 27 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow in Erlington—from Simon Lewyne 32½ acres, of rent of 3*s.* 6*d.*, in Haylesham and Erlington—from Nicolas de Holewych 4 acres in Sefford—from Laurence de Chillye¹⁸ 11*s.* 2¼*d.* rent in Manekesye—from John Hobbes 4*s.* 11*d.* rent in Haylesham. Wynton, March 14

16^o Edw. II, p. 1, m. 27.—Having allowed the prior and convent to hold lands “tam de feodo suo quam de alieno,” to the value of 20 marks rent, he permits John atte See to give 24 acres in Erlington—Simon Lewyne 8 acres in Haylesham—Nich. le Longe 12 acres in Haylesham—John de Dallyngeregge 20 acres in Westhame, “not held of us in capite,” of value 13*s.* 10*d.* a year—and allows the prior and convent of Michelham to have and hold them, reserving to the head lords of the fee all services due. Newcastle, August 4.

17^o Edw. II, p. 2, m. 10.—Allows Andrew Maufe to give 40 acres in Fokynton, and 10 acres in Haylesham, towards the above-mentioned 20 marks, and orders it to be enrolled. Westminster, June 7.

18^o Edw. II, p. 2, m. 30.—Recites leave to hold 20 marks, and then, wishing to give due effect to his permission, allows Andrew Maufe again to give to the prior and convent, 100 acres of land in Westhame, value 20*s.*, towards the said sum of 20 marks. Tower of London, February 20.

6^o Edw. III, p. 1, m. 18.—After the usual preface, the king allows Philip de Endleuewyke¹⁹ to give to the prior and convent of Michelham 28 acres of land, and 1 acre of meadow in Westhame, Haylesham, and Wylington (Wilmington)—and Thomas atte Wode 7 acres in Haylesham, of rent valued 5*s.* 7*d.* Westminster, March 16.

14^o Edw. III, p. 2, m. 31.—He allows Ph. de Endlenewyke to give a

¹⁶ It was customary in those days even for persons of good birth to drop their family name upon entering into holy orders, and assume in its stead that of the place of their nativity.

¹⁷ King's Langley, near Hertford, where was a royal palace.

¹⁸ Chilley Bridge and Green are in the parish of Pevensey.

¹⁹ For a brief notice of this family, who resided in Wilmington near its confines with Arlington, and of their ancient Bailiwick, see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. IV, p. 64.

message, with 12 acres and 1 rood of land in Haylesham and Manekesey, valued rent 18s. 1*d*. Westminster, May 16.

39^o Edw. III, p. 1, m. 28.—Allows the prior and convent of Lewes to give to Michelham the advowson of the church of Eghynton,²⁰ taxed at 12 marks, to be appropriated to their own uses. Westminster, February 8.

I do not find evidence of any material accession of property after this date, excepting in the year 1398 the appropriation of two churches. Indeed it is apparent that, for a considerable period before the Reformation, there was generally a striking abatement in the public disposition to augment the wealth of religious incorporations. The corruptions which had crept into them, the increase of knowledge which made men more quick-sighted to discern such evils, jealousy on the part of the laity of the ecclesiastical power, by degrees grown to so great a height, the inconveniences also which were found to result from having so large a proportion of the real property of the kingdom in the "dead hand" of the church, all these causes conspired to cool the ardour of benefactors, whilst the very fact of so much having been already given, necessarily abridged the power of giving more.

In 1398, however (21^o Ric. II), Robert Reade, a prelate of great vigour and activity, who had been first Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and afterwards translated first to Chester, and then in the same year (1396) to Chichester, in answer to a petition from the prior and convent of Michelham, bestowed upon them the churches of Alfriston and Fletching. The allegations upon which his assignment of these churches was founded, are stated to be—the ruinous condition of the conventual buildings, some in part actually fallen down, which their own means were utterly inadequate to restore; the great damage done to them by inundations of the sea, by which much of their arable land, meadows, pastures, and other fertile grounds, from whence great part of their sustenance was derived, had been suddenly swallowed up; the heavy burthen of debts already incurred, and the daily expenses they were put to in keeping out by embankments the ravages of the sea, and maintaining the hospitality imposed upon them by

²⁰ The rectory of *Ripe*, anciently called *Eckington*. This appropriation seems never to have been carried into effect,

as no mention is anywhere made of it in the valuations of the convent property.

their proximity to the king's highway,²¹ frequented by the nobility of the kingdom and other travellers. Upon these grounds the appropriation of the two churches is made to them in the usual form.²²

The conventual lands exposed to such a disaster as is here described were chiefly situate in Pevensey and Willingdon, with some portion in Hailsham and Hellingly; and the extent of the calamity shows how imperfect at that time were the defences of the levels in tempestuous seasons against inroads of the sea, which flowed on such occasions much further inland than from present appearances we are apt to suppose.

In the Patent Rolls of Ric. II, Hen. IV, V, and VI, are many records of commissioners appointed, who had a local interest in the matter, to repair the sea-banks along the coast from Bourne, through Pevensey to "Bixle" (Bexhill) and Hastings, and inland as far as Hurst (*Monceaux*), Hoo, Helyng, Aylesham, and Wylingdon. In several of these the *Prior of Michelham* is associated with others, as Roger Ashburnham, the Abbot of Begeham, John Devereux, and Thos. Erpingham, constables of Dover, Sir Wm. Fienles (Fiennes), John Pelham, and Wm. Manekesye. They are also directed to look to the "bekyns" (beacons), and array "hobelers," to defend the coast; the latter being certain tenants, bound by their tenure to keep a light nag (a *hobby*), and be on the alert to give alarm in case of invasion or any sudden danger from the sea-side.²³

The benefaction of Bishop Reade did not, in the unsettled state of the times, receive the royal confirmation without delay, expense, and trouble. In Rot. Pat. 21^o Ric. II, p. 3, m. 32 (A.D. 1398), is given at full length that king's assent to the proposed appropriation, on the ground that the revenues of the priory were so slender that, without assistance from some other quarter, the prior and convent were unable to pay their

²¹ The road past Michelham, now comparatively so private, was then the principal thoroughfare between Lewes and the towns of Hailsham, Pevensey, Battel, and Hastings; deserving doubtless to share the bad character which attached generally to Sussex roads of the period; a part of it beyond Arlington Hide has only

been rescued from its native mud within the last fifteen years, by the addition of some hard materials.

²² Episc. Reg. C., fol. 68. We learn from this deed that *John Leme* was then prior.

²³ Dugdale's Hist. of Embankments.

debts or support their burthens. The king, therefore, "of his favour, and *in consideration of forty pounds paid down,*" grants and allows them to have the advowsons of the churches of Alfricheston and Fflechyng to their own uses:—but with a proviso that "the vicarages of the said churches be sufficiently endowed according to the order of the diocesan, and some competent sums be every year distributed among the poor parishioners of the aforesaid churches according to the statute in that behalf made and provided." The king witnesses his own deed, "at the town of Salop," (Shrewsbury) February 3.

It would seem that the £40 thus extracted from the canons (notwithstanding their alleged poverty) was thrown away, owing to the deposition of this unfortunate sovereign. For in the next year, when the prior and convent state that the appropriation was not yet executed, and supplicate his successor to order execution, the king, in consideration of the premises, and "*also of ten pounds paid in our hanaper*"²⁴ by the said prior," consents to their request, and orders the appropriation to be carried into effect.²⁵

Even when possession had been obtained, from Roger Gosselyn, Thomas "Enlewyk," Richd. Sessingham, and Richd. Parker, acting under the authority of the pope and bishop, it was thought necessary to apply once more for an indemnity to those persons, who had no deed to exempt them from the penalties of the Mortmain Act. This is granted by the king, "*de uberiore gracia,*" by writ of privy seal, and made a pretext for exacting another £10 paid, as before, into the royal "hamper."²⁶

Finally, this same King Henry IV granted the canons, in 1411, the fullest confirmation ("*peramplissima confirmatio*") of their manors, lands, and liberties, as recited and sanctioned in the charters of his predecessors.²⁷

Thus at length endowed with an adequate revenue, the priory seems to have received no further accession of property, nor do we find any more complaints of poverty.

Passing now from property to income, the first valuation

²⁴ "Hanaperium" was originally a basket in the King's Chancery for receiving the fees paid for the sealing of briefs, charters, and other such documents.

²⁵ Rot. Pat. 1^o Hen. IV, p. 7, m. 11. Westminster, 26 May, (1399).

²⁶ 3^o Hen. IV, p. 1, m. 16. He speaks of the unhappy Richard as "*carissimum dominum et consanguineum nostrum nuper Regem predecessorem nunc defunctum!*"

²⁷ Rot. Pat. 13^o Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 5.

attainable of the estates belonging to our priory occurs in the taxation of Pope Nicolas, A.D. 1291, when the temporalities of the prior were estimated as follows:—

PRIOR OF MICHELHAM.

	£.	s.	d.
At Michelham	7	0	0
Chintinges	20	0	0
Marsh (marisk), with appertenances	17	0	0
Isenhirst	2	0	0
Land of "la Corie"	2	0	0
Egglesdon	2	0	0
Brichelmston	5	0	0
De Kyminton (in the original Roll, Gumiton), <i>i. e.</i> Jevington	1	6	8
Holewyk	3	0	0
What Lucy Russel receives for life from her tanyard	4	0	0
An annual payment from the canons of Bekham (Begham)	16	13	4
Sum total	80	0	0

From whence it appears that, anticipating the £4. a year they would receive from her tanyard after the death of Lucy Russel, the whole income of the house from temporal sources was at that time £80. The only specifications in the above schedule which can occasion perplexity are those of "Egglesdon" and "Terra de la Corie." The first must be intended to represent what is written in the charters "Heseldon," which in the "Peramplissima Confirmatio" just mentioned is called "Esschedoun," *i. e.* in modern orthography, Ashdown, the general name of the forest. In this confirmation mention is made of the prior's right of "pasture for his animals in the common near the forest of Esschedoun with the other men of Bradhurst," a description, it will be seen, exactly applicable to Heseldon. Bradhurst is the present Broadhurst, in Horsted Keynes, the property of Lord Dacre, where are the remains of an Elizabethan mansion, with a fine sheet of water below the church, to the north of which "Hazledown" must have been a part of the adjacent forest. With respect to the "Terra de la Corie," I can only conjecture that as the Russels gave various things in Hartfield, including (as appears here) a *tanyard*, this may have been land attached to it, "Corie" having a strong resemblance to "Corium" (a hide), whence "Currier;" the word itself I can nowhere find. It will be observed that the prior received annually a rent-charge of £16. 13s. 4d.

from the abbey of Begham (now Bayham), respecting which see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, v. V, p. 163, n. 22. The donations before separately mentioned are many of them here put together, either as marsh land, or as included in the general estate of Michelham; Jevington exhibits some further variations in the spelling. The donation of Hugh Baudefar, in Brighton, valued at £5., is what is now called the manor of Brighthelmstone-Michelham, comprising a portion of West Street and the King's Road, near the Battery, part of the site of which is held of this manor.

Next, in the Inquisition made A.D. 1340, with a view to ascertain the value of the ninth of sheaves, fleeces, and lambs, granted by Parliament to Edward III, the prior is returned as having, in the parish of "Erlingtone," one manor and three carucates of land, from which the ninth part of the corn was worth ij marks per annum, of the fleeces 1s. 6d., but of lambs he had none. This would make the annual value of the corn and wool, £12. 12s. 6d., an increase of £5. 12s. 6d. over the £7. at which the Michelham estate was valued fifty years before. One of the jurors is William de *Hemstede*, a name still attached to a farm in Arlington and the lane which leads to it.

Finally, in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, taken A.D. 1535 (the time of its suppression), the net income of this house rises to double its amount in 1291, viz. £160. 12s. 6d., chiefly, no doubt, from the advance of money-rents, and partly from certain benefactions not specified in previous valuations. For in this income are included the *churches* belonging to the convent, viz. those of "Laugton, Alfryston, and Fleechyng," valued respectively at £5. 6s. 8d., £16. 13s. 4d., and £5. 6s. 8d. That of Hailsham is altogether omitted; it had, in fact, been long before claimed and obtained by the abbey of Begham, as a chapel of ease to their church of Hellingly. In the Year Book of 36^o Henry VI, reference is made to a disputed question of form as to a jury in the King's Bench, in a suit of the Abbot of Begham against the Prior of Michelham, but no explanation is given of the nature of the trial. Perhaps it might have been in settlement of some such previous disputes that, by a compromise between the contending parties, Hailsham Church was transferred to Begham, and the rent-charge of £16. 13s. 4d.

assigned to Michelham. The rental in this valuation is given much more in detail, and what is comprehended in the "Taxatio" under the general head of Marsh is here given in its several detached portions, as Shaldmershe, Fothermershe, Brode (broad) mershe, &c., names which, so far as I can find, are no longer recognized.

The annual profits of the priory mill are put at £2. 13s. 4d., and the mill at Mayfield let for one pound.

It would be too much to suppose that the brotherhood were left in quiet enjoyment of their possessions during those turbulent times, when kings and potent barons, and even their powerful subordinates, had little scruple in laying hands upon ecclesiastical property on any plausible pretext. So early as 1249 (33^o Henry III) Robert de Fulham, Constable of the Exchequer, obtained a writ of distringas on the lands and goods of the Prior of Michelham and Robert le Hus' for a debt of 40s., which (as is alleged) ought to have been paid in the octaves of St. Peter and St. Paul, and is now ordered to be forthcoming within three weeks from the feast of St. John the Baptist.

In 1275 complaint was made that the Prior of Michelham had withdrawn the suits and services of twenty-five tenants in his manor of Chyntyng, which tenants were accustomed to do suit and service for the hundred of Faxberewe (Flexborough); that these services were worth vs. per annum, and had been withholden vj years, to the detriment of the said hundred. Also that the prior had the assize of bread and beer in the manor of Chyntyng, by what warrant was unknown.²⁸

In consequence of this probably it was that in 1279 the prior brought forward his claim before the Judges of Assize, John de Ryegate and others, on circuit at Chichester, on the day after St. John Baptist, to have exemption from shires and hundreds and their suits, &c., pursuant to the charter of Henry III, as he and all his predecessors had therefore enjoyed it; when the verdict was in his favour.²⁹

During this reign of Edward I also the Prior of Michelham had to bring his action against Johanna de Caunvil, lady of

²⁸ Rotuli Hundred, 3^o Edw. I.

²⁹ Placita de Jurat. et Assis. Coram J. de Ryegate, &c., 7^o Edw. I.

the manor of Laughton, for the restoration of his forest rights, unjustly withholden by her, exhibiting in support of his claim the charter of Gilbert de Aquila, his founder.³⁰ The prior claimed to have pannage and herbage in all the outlying woods of the Honor of the Eagle, viz. in Wilmeton, Clavregge (in Waldron), Hawkehurst (E. Hoathly), Dicker, Broyll, Wandern (Waldron), and in a place called Bromeknoll in Eshedonne, and also in the woods of the manor of Lecton (Laughton).

In the year 1318 a more formidable antagonist enters the lists against the prior, in the person of King Edward II, who sues him for disobedience to a royal mandate in not admitting one Robert Henry to a corrody in his priory; a corrody being an allowance of victuals and clothing to be annually furnished by the convent, reserved by a benefactor in consideration of his grant, and to be enjoyed by himself or other person upon his nomination. In this case the prior defended himself by pleading that he held his priory by the foundation of Gilbert de Aquila, with the assent of the king's grandfather, Henry III, "in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam," a form of grant which barred all claims for corrodies. It is not said what was the result of this suit, but certainly the prior seems to have had law and justice on his side.³¹

Thirty years later the prior had to submit to a forced loan, one of those arbitrary exactions which afterwards, casting aside all pretence of repayment and assuming the ill suited name of benevolences, acquired such great and well deserved unpopularity under the Tudors and the Stuarts. Probably it is only one out of many by which he, his predecessors, and successors, were oppressed. As these loans were seldom repaid, and never but after a long interval, this was, in fact, a mode of levying taxes by prerogative alone, without the consent of Parliament. In such a case it can hardly be contended that "taxation" was "no tyranny." The prior had to produce "one sack of wool."³²

We have already seen that he had at least one litigation, and probably more than one, with the Abbot of Begeham. There is, however, no evidence on which we need disbelieve

³⁰ Vide *Suss. Arch. Collections*, IV, 53.

³¹ *Abbreviatio Placitorum* 11^o Edw. II de term' Pasche.

³² 21^o Edw. III. Hayley's MSS., Addl. MSS. 6343, p. 199.

that the canons of Michelham latterly held a tolerably tranquil course till they were overtaken by the dissolution.

Before that fatal event a few incidents of miscellaneous character, and of more or less interest, are recorded to have happened.

On the 26th of June, 1283 (11^o Edw. I), John de Kyrkeby (the modern Kirby), who had been chosen Bishop of Rochester, renounced his election at Michelham before the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Peckham).³³

On the 14th of September, 1302, the canons were enlivened by the presence of royalty. Edward I, in passing from Hampshire through Sussex into Kent, came from Lewes and spent the night at Michelham, proceeding onward next day to Hurstmonceaux and Battel.³⁴ A writ dated from the priory is in existence, giving the living of "Sneyeswell" (Snailwell, R. Cambr.), in the diocese of Ely, to John de Echingham, perhaps prior, and thus requited for his hospitality.

The next incident we meet with is rather discreditably to the then head of our venerable house, but luckily for his reputation, his name has passed into oblivion. At a general chapter of the Black Monks (or Benedictines), held at the monastery of St. Andrew, Northampton, July 5, 1423, at which William, Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, and John, Prior of the cathedral church of Worcester, were presidents, "was read a long letter rhetorically written by the Prior of Michelham, canon of the order of St. Augustine, levelled against the present Abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury; but because, as is most truly conjectured, it is not thought to have sprung from the root of charity—nay, rather has been maliciously worked up (*peractizata*) into an immoderate censure of the aforesaid venerable father—for this cause our lord presidents have decreed *that it be buried among them that sleep.*"³⁵

³³ Angl., Sacra, I, 352.

³⁴ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, 153-5. "It puzzles us much to understand," says Lord Campbell, "how not only the king and his court, but the king and both houses of parliament were anciently accommodated in a small town; but it appears that a great many truckle beds were spread out in any apartment, and with a share in one of these a luxurious baron was contented; the less refined not

aspiring above straw in a barn. Both Charles I and Cromwell slept in the same bed with their officers. By the statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford, each chamber on the first floor in ordinary times was to contain two truckle beds." (*Life of Waynflete*). The difficulties at Michelham must have been surmounted in a similar way.

³⁵ "Ipsam inter dormientes decreverunt sepeliri," equivalent, in modern language,

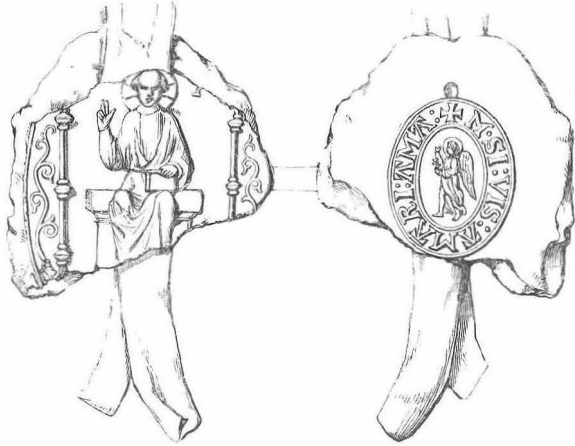
In the Lewes Chartulary, Vespas. XV F., f. 120, mention is made of an exchange of a rood and a half of land at "Bristhelmstone," between Roger, Prior of Michelham, and William, Prior of Lewes, to which Amfrid de Fferyng, H. de Hertfield, Simon de Herbeting (Harebeating, in Hailsham), and others, are witnesses. A reference to the list of Lewes priors (*Suss. Arch. Collections*, III, 196-7), shows that this must have been either William Russinoll or William de Foville, and so fixes the date as between A.D. 1248-68.

It seems that negociations of this kind were not unusual between these two houses, for we learn from the same authority (f. 92) that an indenture was made, "dated at our chapter-house of Michelham, March 14, 1376" (51^o Edw. III), binding John de Cariloco, Prior of Lewes, to give to John Leme, Prior of Michelham, "all the land called La Wallond, in the manor of Langenaye, extending in length from the common pasture called La Hake on the west, to the grove (*grovam*) called Okelyng on the east; in breadth bounded on the north by the king's highway leading from La Hake towards Haylesham, and on the south by the Prior of Wilmington's wood, with other lands running east as far as Sirstreet." Michelham covenants to do service at the court of Langney, and to pay Lewes priory, on every vacancy of Michelham, 10*s.* relief and 13*s.* 4*d.* for heriot, to be distrained for if not paid. The original indenture has been discovered by Mr. Blaauw among the deeds of Lewes priory in the Star Chamber of the Chapter House, Westminster, being doubtless the counterpart of another kept by Michelham. The seal of brown wax, very imperfect, and with the inscription effaced, remains affixed to the deed, and appears to represent our Lord seated under a canopy, of which the side shafts only are left; near his head is the foot of an Omega, and around it a nimbus, within which a cruciform radiance is discernible; the left hand holds a book on his knee, the right is raised as in the act of blessing. The counter-seal, at the back of the parchment slip, is oval and much smaller, showing an angel in motion, holding what seems to be a flower in his hand, as in the Annunciation; the whole

to its being sent to the dead letter office, or perhaps rather to the parliamentary phrase, that it be "ordered to lie on the

table." This curious account is taken from Clement Reyner's *De Antiquate Ordinibus Benedictorum in Anglia*, Append., p. 175.

is encircled with the motto, ✠ M. SI: VIS: AMARI: AMA: where, whether the M stands for Mariam, or Memento, or Me, or Michelham—alluding, perhaps, in punning fashion, to *much*-loving (Michel-ama)—must be left to the reader's judgment or imagination. I have much satisfaction in exhibiting a representation of this seal, the existence of which was unknown when the last edition of the *Monasticon* was published.³⁶



Again, (f. 99), Prior de Cariloco is stated to have given license to the same John Leme to acquire the manor of Sutton the latter agreeing to pay annually for the former 100*s.* to Reginald Pympe de Nottlestede (Nettlestead), in the county of Kent. This is “given in our Chapter House at Lewes the Friday next before the feast of St. Michael Archangel, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard II” (1392).

The following lease of the property thus acquired is preserved among the Bayham Abbey deeds in the Ashmolean library at Oxford, though it is not easy to see what connection it has with Bayham:—

“Mychelham. Know all men by these presents that we, Laurence, Prior of the House and Church of the Holy Trinity of Mychelham and the Convent of the same place, have delivered and demised to Master Simon Berneval (Barnewell?)

³⁶ That this is the seal of Michelham (not Lewes) appears from the conclusion of the deed. “In testimonium, &c. . . . predictus prior et conventus de Michel-

ham sigillum suum apposuerunt. . . . Datum quo ad nos priorem et conventum in domo nostro capitulari apud Michelham 14 mensis Marcii, 1376.” (51^o Edw. III).

our farm of Sutton, for twenty shillings of lawful money lately paid for the farm aforesaid, all and singular our dues from the commencement of the term even to its end being reserved as below." [Alluding, I presume, to some schedule annexed.] "Given at Mychelham aforesaid, the 8th day of the month of December, in the 19th year of the reign of Henry the 6th after Conquest, King of England."³⁷

The following perhaps may, and I am afraid does, relate to some other Michelham (it may be Mickleham, in Surrey), but as it is short and curious, I will venture to cite it:—"Ralph de Belvoir holds two carucates of land in Michleham of Roger de Moubray, rendering annually *certain red stockings* (quasdam caligas de scarleto) at Xmas day in lieu of every service."³⁸

Two visitations of this house are to be found in the Episcopal Registers of Chichester, the one made during the episcopate of John Arundel, M.D. *Physician* to Henry VI, as well as confessor and domestic chaplain; the other during that of the munificent Robert Sherburne. The principal facts elicited by the first of these inquiries shall be briefly stated:—

Visitation of Mychelham, 1478.—"Edward Marley, prior, saith (among other things), that Dominus de Dacre hath a fee for the term of his life of v marks, under the common seal of the convent;" (Thomas Stanaker adds "and hath (had?) it for xij years"). "Also that Thomas Marley, the prior's father, hath v marks under the C. S. for the term of his life; Thomas Exbrigge xxvjs., and N. Eylrygge xiijs. ivd., in like manner." Dominus³⁹ Thomas Stanaker, canon and cellarer,⁴⁰ confirms the above, and adds, "That at the time of their lawsuit with the abbot and convent of Bigham the jewels (jocalia) of the house were sold to pay the expenses, as will appear by the inventory. It is also said that there are two mills belonging to the priory in utter ruin (in toto ruinosa). Item, the dormitory house, with other houses, buildings, and granges, are in bad condition (defectiva)." "He also saith that the prior hath given no account of their transactions for xxviii

³⁷ I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. E. Turner for the use of his transcripts of this lease and the visitations presently noticed.

³⁸ From Blount's *Ancient Tenures*, 121.

³⁹ This title appears to be applied to the canons much in the sense in which it

is still used of Bachelors of Arts at Oxford and Cambridge, for which it is difficult to supply an exact English equivalent.

⁴⁰ It was the office of the "Cellerarius" to procure provisions and other accommodations for the monks and all strangers resorting to the convent.

(years), nor revealed the state of their affairs to deponent or his brethren, excepting once only. He also saith that there are six canons besides the prior, whereas in old time there used to be nine. And that Dominus Thomas Helberne was absent for xv years, and after his return poisoned (toxicavit) the whole convent with his strange (diversis) and perverse humours. Dominus John Helberne saith, That the prior hath rendered no account (as is affirmed above) for xx years. Item, that Symon Smyth hath for life, for himself and his wife, under the common seal, as much in victuals as two canons have, for which he hath paid xl marks. Item, the Rector of Hothles (E. Hoathly) hath for life, under the C. S., victuals, for which he paid x pounds." He then confirms what had been said of Dominus Dacre, the prior's father, and the state of the mills and buildings, and adds:—"Item, Alyce Ford hath food and clothing from the monastery, to its hurt and damage. Dominus Thomas Andrewe saith there is one good religious canon named Dominus Elyzeus, who hath sojourned (moram habuit) at Tortington,⁴¹ of which he wished to be superior. He also saith they are without a sacrist,⁴² and that the vestments and other ornaments of the church, for want of a sacrist or keeper, are growing much out of repair. He also saith that the said prior had certain sums of money for 'obits,' left by ancient benefactors, which were due to the convent."⁴³

The troubles which thus infested what ought to have been an abode of peace and uprightness seem to have been in a measure amended in consequence of this visitation, for on the next similar occasion we find the number of canons (if we may include the prior in the nine) complete, and no further disorder alleged.

Visitation, 1521.—Dominus Thomas Holben, prior; Alan Morfote, subprior; Matthew Blackyndon, sacrist; Thomas

⁴¹ Tortington, a parish adjoining to Arundel, where was a priory of black canons, founded before the reign of King John, by the Lady Havisia (or Avise) Corbet—probably of the Albini family.

⁴² "Sacrista." This officer took care of the vessels, books, and vestments of the church; received and accounted for the oblations made at the great altar, and other altars and images; provided also bread, wine, and wax for the celebration

of Divine offices; and superintended the burial of the dead.

⁴³ "Pro obitibus ab antiquis eis debitis," an obscure phrase. "Obits" were solemn services for the dead, performed either before interment, or on the anniversary of a person's death, to pay for which, gifts and bequests were made. It looks as if the prior was putting the proceeds of some such ancient benefactions into his private purse.

Luche (Luck), preentor; Edmund Pellam, master of the novices;⁴⁴ Martin Cater and Robert Forde, novices who have professed (*i.e.* taken the canonical vows); Robert Mote and William Cooper, novices not professed.

We here see the authority on which was founded Bishop Tanner's assertion (quoted in the *Monasticon*), that "Not long before the dissolution, herein were eight canons." In 1553 the estate remained charged with annuities to the amount of £8. 6s. 8d., payable to such of the above dispossessed canons as then survived.

To the four priors named in the *Monasticon*, distinguished thus (*), I am enabled from the foregoing documents to add five more:—

PRIORS OF MICHELHAM.

A.D.			
1248-68		Roger	
1273	2 ^o Edw. I.	*William	Occurs as a witness to Queen Eleanor's foundation of the Hospital of St. Katherine, near the Tower of London.
1381	4 ^o Ric. II	*John	
1398	21 ^o Ric. II	John Leme ⁴⁵	
1441	19 ^o Hen. VI	Laurence	
1478	17 ^o Edw. IV	Edwd. Marley	
1521	12 ^o Hen. VIII	Thos. Holben	
1533	24 ^o Hen. VIII	*John	
1533	24 ^o Hen. VIII	*Thomas	Mentioned in Fiddes' Life of Cardinal Wolsey.

If some worthy chronicler of the old house had bestowed part of his leisure upon framing a record of events connected with the conventual history, or the domestic proceedings of the brotherhood, so far as might inform us of the habits of their daily life, we should have felt ourselves greatly his debtors. No doubt, according to the strictness of their rule, their time was divided between devotional exercises and

⁴⁴ "Magister Noviciorum." Every convent had a teacher not only for the younger members of the society, but for such also of the children of their neighbours as desired gratuitous instruction in grammar and church music. In the greater abbeys or nunneries the sons and

daughters of the nobility and gentry usually received their education.

⁴⁵ Thomas de Leme is one of the jury-men in the inquest of the hundred of "Wilindone" on the rebels of the barons' war, 1265.

humble but useful labours. And if human infirmities had gradually relaxed somewhat of its pristine rigour, infirmities are at all times too common to justify in us any excessive severity of censure. As no document exists alleging any grave charge against them, and as it is no uncommon thing for the innocent to be involved in the punishment of the guilty, we are at liberty to conclude, what it is far pleasanter to conclude than the contrary, that our canons fell a sacrifice to the general determination to suppress all conventual societies, rather than to any especial faultiness of their own.

But in the absence of any memorial of Michelham transactions, I may perhaps be allowed to present the reader with a lively picture of monastic life, applicable more or less to all such institutions, left us by Ælfric Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 994, and preserved in the British Museum, MS. Cotton, Tib. A. 3.⁴⁶

It purports to be a colloquy carried on in Latin for the purpose of teaching that language to Saxon boys, with an interlinear version in their own tongue. The interlocutors are a master and a young monk, accompanied by certain labourers and artizans attached to the monastery, who are all successively interrogated as to the nature and utility of their several pursuits. The novice in his part of the dialogue gives us a minute insight into the manner in which he spent the day and the discipline he was under.

Being asked what was his occupation, he answers, "I have professed the monastic life and sing every day, at the seven assemblies (synaxes) with the brethren, and am occupied with reading and chanting; but yet I could wish to learn how to reason in the Latin tongue." When it is further inquired what he had done that day? he replies, "Many things have I done to-day. In the night as soon as I heard the signal, I rose from my pallet and went out to the church and there sang the night-song (nocturnam) with the brethren, next we sang of all the saints and the matin lauds,⁴⁷ after this prime, and the seven psalms, with the litanies and early mass,⁴⁸ then (we sang) the third laud (tertiam) and performed the day-

⁴⁶ Published by B. Thorpe, London, 1846.

⁴⁷ The first service between midnight and six o'clock.

⁴⁸ Six o'clock.

mass ;⁴⁹ after this we sang the mid-day service, and ate, drank, and slept ; again we arose and sang the nones (nonam) ;⁵⁰ and now we are here before thee ready to hear whatever thou hast to say. *Mag.* When will you sing vespers⁵¹ and compline ?⁵² *Nov.* When the proper hours arrive. *Mag.* What is thy daily food ? *Nov.* Vegetables, eggs, fish, cheese, butter, and beans, and all clean things, I eat with thanksgiving. *Mag.* And what dost thou drink ? *Nov.* Beer, if I can get it ; if not, water. *Mag.* Dost thou drink wine ? *Nov.* I am not rich enough to buy wine ; besides wine is not the beverage of boys and simpletons, but of the aged and the wise. *Mag.* Where sleepest thou ? *Nov.* In the dormitory with the brethren. *Nov.* Who waketh thee for nocturns ? *Mag.* Sometimes I hear the signal and get up ; sometimes my master⁵³ rouseth me sharply with the rod. *Mag.* Oh good boys, and well-behaved scholars, your teacher exhorts you to obey Divine discipline and conduct yourselves gracefully (elegantè) wherever you may be. Go with a desire to please (morigeratè), when you hear the church bells, and enter into the oratory, and bend in suppliant guise before the sacred altars, and stand in comely order, and sing together with one accord, and seek pardon for your faults,—then go forth without rudeness to the cloister or the school.”

Such was monastic life, or such it professed to be, before it sank into disrepute and ruin.

This priory was planted on a rich alluvial soil, high enough in situation to be removed beyond the reach of floods, but so as to have an appearance of lowly sequestered comfort. At its origin it stood at the edge of that extensive common known then, as now, by its ancient title of the Dicker, comprehending many hundred acres of waste to the west of the convent and finally enclosed within the memory of many persons now living.⁵⁴ On the other side was the primæval forest, bounded to the south-west and south by the downs and the morasses of Pevensey, and stretching away north and north-west, far into the interior, the remains of the grand “Coit Andred,” or “Silva Anderida.” Called in this eastern part the forest of

⁴⁹ Nine o'clock.

⁵⁰ Three p.m.

⁵¹ Six p.m.

⁵² Nine p.m. Making, with the midday service, the seven “synaxes.”

⁵³ The “Magister Noviciorum.” See p. 149, n. 44.

⁵⁴ It was completed, I am informed, so lately as 1815.

“Ashdowne,” a name now restricted to a more limited portion, and sometimes, for many miles inland, the forest of “Pevensel,” it has taken centuries to clear it ; and even now a few scattered and stunted pollard oaks, some of which may be seen not far from the priory, having on them the stamp of remote antiquity, bear testimony to its former existence. The names of villages, too, in this Wealden district, so many of which end in “field,” or in the Saxon “legh,” give a similar attestation, for they were established in the *open spaces* which the forest presented ; whilst those terminating in “hurst” explain themselves, as marking by their prefixes the particular portions of the *wood* in the immediate vicinity of which they arose. The termination “den,” of such very frequent occurrence in the adjoining weald of Kent, has a like woodland origin ; “Den” (in low Latin “Dena”) signifying a portion of the forest, though the meaning of the word has not been very exactly ascertained.⁵⁵ In the unwooded parts of the country, naturally better fitted for human habitation, these villages were preceded in point of time by the “burghs” or boroughs, the “tons” or towns, the “dons” or downs, the “hams” or hamlets, and we find accordingly in such parts a much greater prevalence of this latter class of names.

At the western extremity of this extensive forest, close to what was then called the “Park of Pevensy,” Gilbert de Aquila, as almost the final act of his family, raised his priory of Michelham. Vestiges of this ancient park may even yet be traced in the earthen embankment, about twenty-five feet wide, and six feet high, by which it was once enclosed, and which still remains entire to a very considerable extent. Beginning at the Upper Dicker it runs westward to Wick Street, and after some interruption resumes its course to the south at Sessingham Bridge⁵⁶ till it reaches Cane Heath ; there turning eastward, it

⁵⁵ The old Kentish family of Twisden (De Fractâ Dennâ) took its name from a property of this kind so called, in the parish of Pembury, and many other families of note have derived their names from a similar source.

⁵⁶ A family of some importance formerly derived their name from this part of Arlington, and there are still visible

appearances to the east of the bridge, in a low insulated spot, of a moated mansion, in all likelihood their residence. William and Robert de Sessingham were donors of land to Ottenham (*Suss. Arch. Collections*, V, 159), and some of them have been already mentioned in connection with Michelham.

skirts Milton Hide to the stream which separates the demesne from Tilehouse farm;⁵⁷ this stream, running north till it joins the Cuckmere, forms the northern and north-west boundary as far as the priory. A small remnant of the forest is still called Park Wood; and an old house placed at the south-west corner of the park, and known from time immemorial as the "Keeper's House," was pulled down so lately as thirty years ago; in front of which stood (and still remain) some of those venerable trees to which I before alluded. The whole of the present estate lies within these boundaries, and comprises altogether in wood, arable, and pasture, about 819 acres. Adjoining are a few patches of enclosed land, lying within the manor, and subtracted at various times from the common.

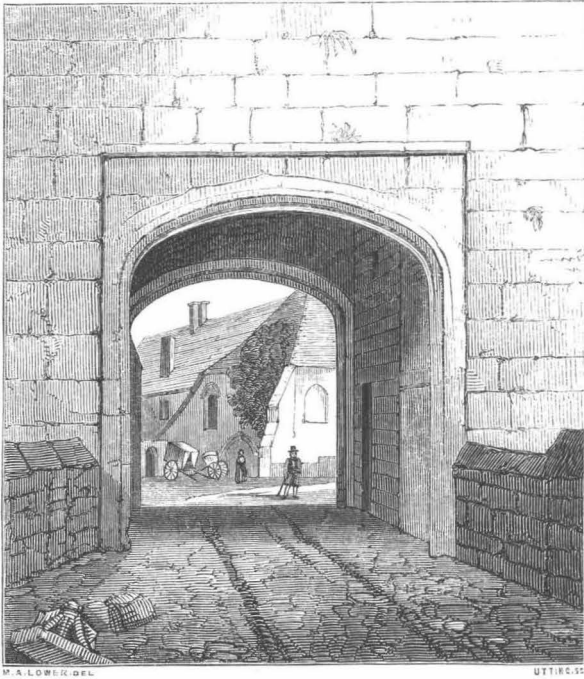
The conventual buildings occupied a quadrangular area of nearly eight acres, surrounded by a moat averaging in breadth say forty yards, now fringed with underwood, and spangled in summer with flowers of the water-lily.⁵⁸ This, though incapable of withstanding any very vigorous or sustained attack, must yet have been sufficient to protect those within it against sudden and desultory assaults from nightly marauders, or bands of lawless vagabonds roving the country in times of civil commotion. Doubtless, when the strong bars of the fine old gateway, through which alone access could be gained to them, were closed for the night, the brotherhood slept the more soundly for their sense of comparative security.

Within this comfortable entrenchment stood their dwelling-house and chapel, their barns and stables, sheltering the produce of their fields as well as the sturdy hinds and teams that cultivated them. A bridge of solid masonry leads across the moat, having a small single arch next the island, where the different character of the work shows it to be of later date, and justifies us in supposing that there was here originally a draw-bridge, a supposition which I find confirmed by the tradition of the place. This bridge communicates with a gateway much in the condition in which we may imagine it to have been 300 years since—a square embattled tower rising some fifty feet above the ground, with four square-headed trefoil windows,

⁵⁷ An alienated portion of the priory property in Hailsham, belonging, with Sessingham farm, to Mrs. Woodward.

⁵⁸ It is computed that there are in all about six acres of water.

the mullions of which are partly destroyed. It has three stories, the one below being called the dungeon, descending beneath the entrance to the level of the water; the two above are now used as store-rooms, and connected by winding steps of stone which conduct to the parapet of the roof; the stair,



roof, and floors being nearly perfect. This gateway opens into a spacious court-yard, with the house in front and the farm buildings around it; about the house are the gardens, orchards, and closes, affording all such conveniences as this little community could require. Three fish-stews, communicating by narrow channels with the moat, still exist in a condition fit for use.

The house itself presents externally on the south side a handsome elevation, though stopped windows here and there tell of rooms no longer used except for lumber; in the rear of the edifice, which has the oldest look, broken arches and unsightly junctures give proof of violence done to it at various



periods. Two mutilated arches of early English near the present back door, having columns of roll moulding with richly ornamented capitals, are represented in the subjoined woodcut.⁵⁹



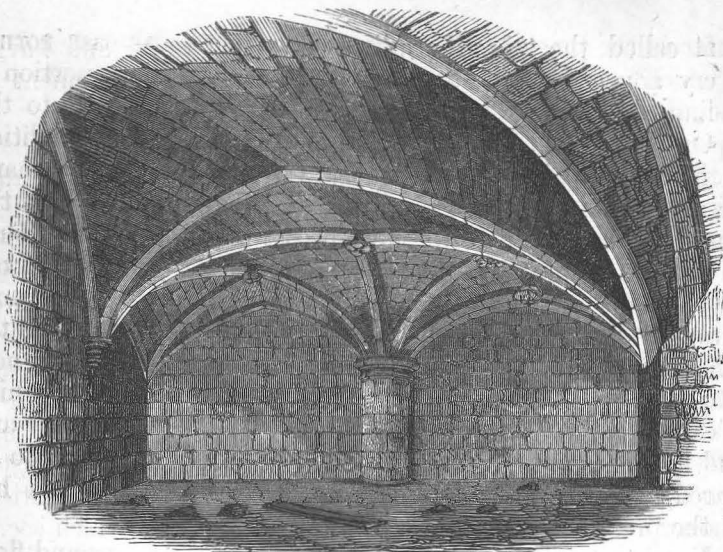
It was here on the north side unquestionably that the chapel stood, which, as no longer wanted, and, as obnoxious to the spirit of the times, was most likely to encounter the hand of the spoiler. So completely has that hand done its work, that were it not certain there must have been such an appendage to the convent, its very existence might reasonably have been matter of doubt. To a diligent inquirer, however, enough remains to show that it extended northward at least

⁵⁹ I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. which these three cuts and those at the M. A. Lower, for the drawings from beginning and end of this essay are taken.

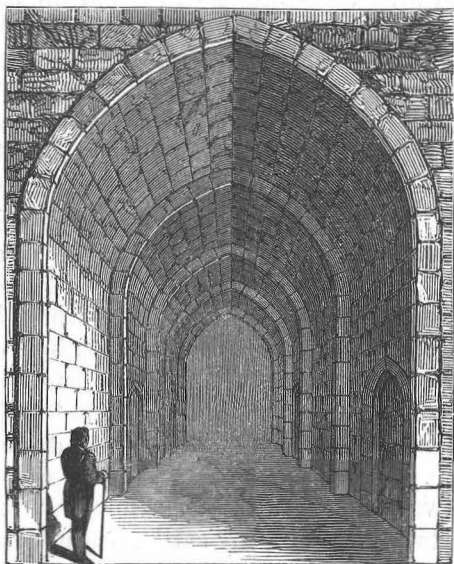
as far as the present modern stable, in the north-east corner of which may be seen, beneath the manger, a broken portion of one of its arches, the soil having been raised nearly to the tops of the pillars from which they sprang. The demolition of the ancient building has been carried so far, and so many changes and adaptations introduced to accommodate it to the purposes of a farm-house, that it is extremely difficult to form any satisfactory judgment of the original design; but an old plan, dated 1667, shows it to have been at that time much more extensive towards the north, having the principal front to the west, with three chimneys instead of the solitary one now remaining, and a roof much higher than the present, of which a small part still exists. This remaining chimney, a fine and lofty piece of stone-masonry, about sixty feet high, is to all appearance a portion of the original structure, which has undergone little, if any alteration.

In the interior the most habitable room on the ground-floor is a large light parlour, with a wainscot of oak and square windows of the later Tudor period, apparently an addition to the original structure made since its devotion to secular uses. Early in the seventeenth century, as I am informed by Mr. Lower, the house was occupied as a gentleman's residence by one Mr. Thomas Marshall. The crypt, however, which is here above ground, on account of the surrounding water, has evidently continued unchanged since its first construction, and is probably the only apartment of which this can be strictly affirmed. It is divided, like that at Wilmington,⁶⁰—which it much resembles, excepting that it is larger—into four equal compartments in all respects similar, with a complete groined roof over each, and is now made use of as a dairy. Over this is a large room, with its floor of brick and a massive stone fireplace surmounted by a funnel projecting from the wall and divided into two distinct and equal parts, having a flat stone bracket on either side of the funnel. A pointed arched doorway, opening outwards to a flight of steps, led to the chapel, and there seems to have been an entrance from without through a similar doorway at the western end, where indications of an external stair of stone may be perceived. To this also a

⁶⁰ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, IV, 62.



narrow passage below,⁶¹ running parallel to the inner side of the crypt and ribbed over with short pointed arches, conducted



from the lower apartments. Out of this passage, on the left, goes a curious recess, nick-named "Isaac's hole," much like

⁶¹ For the drawings of the crypt and passage, copied from those by Grimm in the British Museum, and also for that of the seal, I am indebted to Mrs. Blaauw.

that called the "Lanthorn" at Lewes Priory, and having every appearance of a cell for the solitary confinement of delinquents.

On the ground floor were, as I conjecture, the private apartments of the prior; that over the crypt with its double fireplace being the common-room of the canons, from which a staircase ascended to the dormitory on the floor above.

The moat is fed by the little river Cuckmere, which rising in the hills of Heathfield and following its humble course through Hellingly, performs many useful offices, this amongst others; and then, flowing onward through Arlington and Alfriston, it finds its way at last into the sea in the parish of West Dean.⁶² The old bridge which crossed it at Michelham, and had braved the fury of many a flood, has just been (it is feared) irretrievably ruined by the extraordinary inundations of the present winter, (1852-3.) Otters, a race which seems destined to become soon as extinct as the Austin canons themselves, are sometimes found, but rarely, to haunt its silent waters and hollow banks.⁶³ Owls, too, I cannot forbear to mention, frequent the capacious roofs of the old buildings, not only unmolested, but protected by the present worthy occupant, to the credit of his good taste both for the useful and the picturesque.

Among the mills turned by this stream "unknown to fame," is the ancient mill of the priory. It stands on the outside of the moat, not far from the manor pound and entrance gate of the demesne, a lowly structure, venerable in its simplicity and shaded by the relics of a few trees as venerable as itself, and too worthless, happily, to tempt the woodman's axe. Like other humble things that survive the storms by which loftier neighbours are overthrown, it continues to ply its honest vocation as merrily as when every man in the manor was obliged to bring thither his grist for the prior's gain, and notwithstanding the competition of modern rivals still distributes its benefits within a limited circle. There is even in the large space which lies before the gateway and looks like a natural common, though long inclosed, with its pound for stray cattle, its antique mill, a high

⁶² Whilst this account was in hand, a pike of eight pounds weight was caught at Michelham, in which was found one of its own species weighing three quarters of a pound, and *in this* a small roach—all perfect!

⁶³ A few years since three of these animals were seen at one time in the moat, one of which was afterwards captured.

roofed cottage called the Mill-house, clad in the grey livery of time, and backed by some pendant elms, an air of faded consequence which at once makes an impression upon the mind of a visitor. Seen under favourable circumstances these half ruined remains excite a deep interest, and are certainly amongst the most remarkable of their kind to be met with in our south-eastern counties.

It now only remains for me to say a few words about the descent of the property of this religious house.

In doing this, I have no intention of going into very minute details, but of giving, as a matter of some curiosity and interest, the broad general outlines of the course by which the bulk of the estate has come down to its present noble owner, with a short notice of some considerable portions which have been alienated from it at various times. For the first of these objects my authorities are chiefly the Burrell MSS., with a few additional particulars gleaned from other sources.

In the twenty-ninth year of Henry VIII (A.D. 1538) that monarch granted Letters Patent to Thomas Lord Cromwell, his most active agent in suppressing the monasteries, and then standing high in his favour, enabling him to hold the possessions of this dissolved priory of the king, in chief, by the tenure of military service.

Upon the attainder and execution of that nobleman, after a brief possession of two years, these estates reverting to the crown were again granted, in the way of a compulsory exchange, to William Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel. By an indenture dated February 4th, 1541, the earl, for divers causes and good considerations, "bargained and sold to the king his manors of Shyllyngle, Hibernhoo, Woollavington, and other property in the west of Sussex; and the king on his part granted to the earl "the scite, circuit, and precinct of the late monastery or priory of Michelham," with a portion of the estates lately pertaining to the priory of Lewes; to hold the same "in capite, per servicium militare," *i.e.* by the suite of half a knight's fee, paying yearly £4. 19s. 9d. for Michelham Park Gate, £2. 3s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for Sharnefold, £3. 17s. 6d. for Downeash, 4s. for Cowdean, 4s. for Holwech, £5. 7s. 2d. for Swanborough, £1. 6s. 6d. for Horsted, £2. 6s. 6d. for Imberhorne Felbridge; the last three formerly belonged to Lewes priory.

The king further covenants, that the said premises are worth £206. 13s. 7½*d.* yearly value, besides woods and underwoods to be sold, estimated at £131. 2s. 2*d.* And whereas the earl's premises exceed those granted by the king in the sum of £580. 6s. 7*d.*, the latter agrees to pay over that amount.

Michelham did not remain long in possession of the Arundel family, for in the first two years of Philip and Mary (1554-5) Henry Fitz Alan, son and heir of Earl William, and the last Earl of Arundel of that name, in exchange for other lands, conveyed this manor and its appurtenances to the queen; especial mention being made (inter alia) of "the tenements called Sextrie lands in Michelham, belonging lately to the office of sexton (sacrista)," and lying in "Hellingly, Willington, Jevington, and Hailesham."

By this queen they were granted in the next year to John Fote; and by him aliened in 1574 to Ambrose Smyth; who ten years afterwards transferred them to John Morley (afterwards Sir John Morley of Halnaker), and his wife Elizabeth.

On the 31st October, 1587, an indenture was made between John Morley of Halnaker, Esq., and his wife Elizabeth on the one part, and Herbert Pelham of Hellingly, Esq., on the other, whereby the former confirm to H. P. and his heirs the "scite of Michelham priory (within the moate seven and a half acres thirty-two perches) together with 767 acres of land," and its manor and messuages; excepting by name Wannock (in Jevington), Shaldmershe, Le Tylehouse land, Knockhatch, and Lowe Wall, amounting to 220 acres; and excepting also other lands aliened by Morley at sundry dates assigned, viz., certain lands to Thomas Selwyn; "Harmons, &c.," to Robert Sackville, son and heir of Thomas Lord Buckhurst; and other lands to Thomas Tyndall. All the residue was assigned to Herbert Pelham and his heirs for ever.

Mr. Pelham, it appears, soon fell into pecuniary difficulties, for in 1590 we find him granting to John Mitchel of Cuckfield an annuity of one hundred marks for fifteen years, "to be paid at the manor house of Michelham," in consideration of £400. advanced. And nine years later his whole interest in this property was made over by him to Thomas Pelham of Laughton, James Thatcher of Priest-hawes (in Westham), and Thomas Peirse of Hastings; in trust to sell the same, and out of the proceeds reserve an annuity of £400. during his life

for the maintenance of himself and family ; the residue to be applied in discharge of his debts, and the surplus (if any) paid over to him or his heirs. This he did, it is said, "because by reason of his great debts he was not able to travel about the sale of his lands for the satisfaction of his said debts, yet intended they should be paid as soon as they conveniently might."

In fulfilment of this trust, the above parties, on the 6th April, 1601 (43^o Eliz.), sold the property to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, Cecilie his wife, and heirs, for the sum of £4700, and it has ever since continued with the Sackvilles.

For the long space of fifty-one years this manor formed part of the jointure of the Lady Anne Clifford, only child of George, third Earl of Cumberland, who "at the age of eleven years and five months [as his daughter records with affectionate particularity] was then lying in the house called Battell Abbey, in Sussex," when by the death of his father he succeeded to his title and estate. Devoting himself to a seafaring life he terminated a most adventurous career at the early age of forty-seven, and left Anne his sole heir. When very young she was married to Thomas Richard, third Earl of Dorset ; and on the 1st July, 1623 (20^o Jac. I), an indenture was made between them and certain other parties, to enable the earl and countess to levy a fine of the manor of Michelham Park Gate and advowsons, in order to secure the site of Lewes Priory and buildings "enclosed within the walls thereof," to the use of the said earl and his heirs ; the rest (including Michelham) to the use of the earl, and (after his death) to the use of the countess for life as her jointure.

The earl died next year, leaving his widow in possession of Michelham. Anne entered a second time into wedlock, being united 3d June, 1630, to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who appears in the Court-rolls as Lord of this manor from that date till his death, in January, 1649-50. After this event, the countess, who lived in great state at her six hereditary castles of Brough, Brougham, Pendragon, Appleby, Barden, and Skipton, enjoyed, during her second widowhood, the manor of Michelham and its appendages, until she died at the advanced age of eighty-five, on the

22d March, 1675, leaving a name famous for all time in Westmoreland and Craven.⁶⁴

It has since descended in regular succession by the heirs male until the decease of John Frederick, third Duke of Dorset, in 1825, and was carried in marriage, in 1839, by his grace's eldest daughter and co-heir, to William Pitt, the present Earl Amherst.

It will be observed that several portions of the ancient estate of the priory were alienated by Mr. Morley during his ownership; and in the sale to Mr. Pelham reservation was made of Wannock and other farms, which have never since been re-united to the main estate. The manors of Down-Ash and Sharnfold were doubtless among the lands of which the quantities only are mentioned in the deeds of gifts before cited, without notice of the names by which they were known; the former is in the parish of Hailsham, and belongs to the Earl of Waldegrave; the latter, with Ditton in Westham, to the Earl of Burlington.⁶⁵ Chinting, Knockhatch, Cowden, and Hollywish, it has been already remarked, have also passed into different hands; and though the manor of Bright-helmstone-Michelham belongs to the noble owner of the demesne lands of the priory, yet I believe it is in consequence of a re-acquisition, after it had been early separated from the other appendages of the monastery. It appears that this small manor in Brighton was one of those allotted for the maintenance of Anne of Cleves after her divorce from Henry. Upon her death in 1557, being resumed by the crown, it so continued till granted by Queen Elizabeth to Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst, who, as we have seen, became also possessed by purchase of the site and manor of Michelham, and thus again brought these properties together.

There is one considerable manor mentioned among the early endowments which was severed from the rest not long after the dissolution, the manor of "Isenhurst" or Isinghurst, as it is now called, given by Thomas de Burton and his wife. This manor comprises parts of Mayfield and Waldron; and, next to Bivleham, is the most important in that half-hundred of Loxfield-Camden, both being holden of the crown in chief.

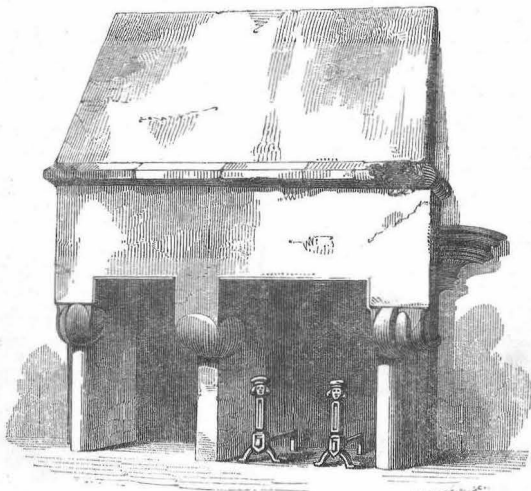
⁶⁴ A very interesting account of this remarkable woman may be seen in Hartley Coleridge's *Lives of Distinguished North-erns*, London, 1833.

⁶⁵ Mr. Figg informs me there are lands in Westham, belonging to Lord Burlington, which bear the name of "Michelham Marsh."

Anciently it was the property of the Archbishops of Canterbury, who seems to have been forcibly deprived of it. After Cromwell's attainder it was at some time (probably temp. Eliz.) granted to the Sackvilles, who sold it to the Bakers, from whom, by marriage, it passed into the Kirby family, and was sold by the late Rev. John Kirby to Morgan Thomas, Esq., the present possessor. There is, in the Burrell Papers, a visitation of the borough of Isinghurst [adjoining to the manor] giving in very full detail its boundaries in the parishes of Heathfield, Waldron, and Hellingly, and stating that it is within the Duchy of Lancaster, and has no church or town within it.⁶⁶

In the multitude of manors, farms, rectories, &c., assigned to Anne of Cleves, which may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, mention is made of Brithelmstone, Broughton [supposed to be in Jevington], and *Maresfield*. Now there is nowhere in the records of this priory the slightest allusion to any property possessed by it in Maresfield. I cannot help thinking the manor intended was that written in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' "Mafeld." In which case there can be little doubt that, being resumed by the crown on the death of Anne, this *Mayfield* manor of Isinghurst was—like the manor of Brighthelmstone-Michelham, and probably at the same time—granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst.

⁶⁶ This information was kindly communicated by the Rev. H. T. M. Kirby.



ON THE
CUSTOM OF BOROUGH ENGLISH, AS EXISTING
IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

BY GEORGE R. CORNER, ESQ., F.S.A.

PREPARED FOR THE BATTLE MEETING, JULY, 1852.

THIS singular custom prevails so much more extensively in this county than in any other part of the kingdom, that it may almost be considered as the common law of Sussex with respect to the descent of copyhold lands and tenements; and on that account, as well as for the general interest which the subject possesses, I venture to lay before the Sussex Archæological Society the following observations, being the result (as far as respects the county of Sussex) of inquiries which I have been prosecuting as to the origin, history, and extent of this remarkable and hitherto unexplained custom.

“Borow-English is a customary descent of lands or tenements in some places, whereby they come to the youngest son, or if the owner have no issue, to his youngest brother, as in Edmunton.”¹

“Also, for the greatest part, such boroughs have divers customs and usages, which be not had in other towns; for some boroughs have such a custom, that if a man have issue many sons, and dieth, the youngest son shall inherit all the tenements which were his fathers, within the same borough, as heir unto his father, by force of the custom; the which is called Borough English.”²

There are, however, variations of the custom in different manors: in some, for instance, the custom is confined to sons, and does not extend to prefer the youngest daughter, youngest brother, or collateral heir; while in other manors the youngest daughter would inherit, if there were no sons, and the

¹ Kitchin on Courts, fol. 102, Terms de la Ley.

² Littleton, on Tenure in Burgage, lib. ii, cap. 10, sec. 165.

youngest brother or collateral heir if there were no issue; whereas if the custom does not extend to prefer the youngest daughter, or youngest brother, or collateral heir, all the daughters would be entitled to the inheritance; or for want of daughters, the eldest brother would succeed, as at common law: "for the custom is strictly confined to the youngest son, or his lineal representative," "and does not extend to the youngest brother without a special custom of the place for that purpose," for customs ought always to be taken strictly.³

As to the name of the custom, Robinson says,⁴ "the name itself guides us to judge of its antiquity, and teaches us that this custom had its rise among the Anglo-Saxons; indeed it is probable that it was not known by this title until the Normans, who were strangers to any such kind of descent in their own country, on their settlement in this kingdom gave it the name of 'the custom of the Saxon towns,' to distinguish it from their own law, and this may be collected from 1 Edw. III 12a,⁵ where it is said that in Nottingham there are two tenures, 'Burgh Engloyes' and 'Burgh Frauncoyes;' the usages of which tenures are such, that all the tenements whereof the ancestor dies seised in Burgh Engloyes 'ought to descend to the youngest son, and all the tenements in Burgh Frauncoyes to the eldest son as at common law.'"⁶

As to the origin of the custom, Littleton says, "this custom also stands with some certain reason, because that the younger son (if he lack father and mother) may least of all his bretheren help himself, &c."⁷

The editor of 'Modern Reports,'⁸ in his preface to part 3, says of Borough English, "It is a custom contrary to the positive law of God, and which inverts the very order of nature;" and he attributes the origin of the custom to a supposed right of the lords of certain manors, on the marriage of their tenants.

Nathaniel Bacon—whose work on the Laws and Government of England (fol. 1739) is entitled to respect, as having been compiled from MSS. notes of the celebrated Selden, who was a native of Sussex—gives us an amusing, if not very luminous account of this custom. He says, "another custom of

³ Robinson's Gavelkind, 3d ed., pp. 118 and 391, citing Co. Litt. 110 b.

⁴ On Gavelkind, p. 385.

⁵ This reference should be Year Book, 1 Edw. I, p. 12, No. 38.

⁶ Bacon of Government, 66, Co. Litt. 110 b.

⁷ Littleton, on Villenage, lib. ii, cap. 2, sec. 211.

⁸ Date 1700.

inheritance was catched I know not how, it is called Borough English, and by the name may seem to be brought in by some cynical odd Angle that meant to cross the world, and yet in a way not contrary to all reason : for where nature affords least help, the wisdom of men hath used to be most careful of supply ; and thus the youngest became preferred before the elder in the course of descent of inheritance according to this custom. There is no further monument of the antiquity hereof that I have met with than the name itself, which importeth that it sprang up whiles as yet the names of Angles and Saxons held in common cognizance ; and might arise first from the grant of the lords to their tenants, and so by continuance become usual. And by this means also might arise the custom of copyholds of this nature, so frequent, especially in those eastern parts of this island where the Angles settled, and from whom that part had the name of the East Angles.”⁹

Blackstone, after citing the reason assigned for the custom by Littleton, and referring to its supposed origin from the custom of certain manors as stated by the editor of *Modern Reports*,—says he cannot learn that ever this custom prevailed in England, though it certainly did in Scotland, (under the name of *Mercheta* or *Marcheta*) till abolished by Malcolm III ;¹⁰ adding that, according to *Father Duhalde*, this custom of descent to the youngest son also prevails among the Tartar tribes ; and that amongst many other northern nations it was the custom for all the sons but one to migrate from the father, which one became his heir.¹¹ “So that possibly this custom, wherever it prevails, may be the remnant of that pastoral state of our British and German ancestors, which *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* describe.”¹²

Robinson says, “Concerning the cause and original of this custom there are two several conjectures.”¹³

First, the supposed right of the lord on the marriage of his villein tenant, “and particularly in the northern counties, who it seems drew this barbarous usage from their neighbours the Scots, among whom, by a law of their King *Evenus III*,¹⁴ ‘*Rex, ante nuptias sponsarum nobilium, nobiles plebeiarum prælibabant pudicitam,*’ which continued to be the practice till

⁹ Page 66.

¹⁰ *Seld. Tit. of Honour*, ii, 1, 47, *Reg. Mag.*, lib. iv, cap. 31.

¹¹ *Walsingh. Upodigm. Neust.*, cap. 1.

¹² *Blackstone's Com.*, vol. ii, b. 2, cap. 6, page 83.

¹³ *Gavelkind*, p. 386.

¹⁴ *Buchan. Hist. Scot.*, lib. iv.

Malcolm III, 'Uxoris precibus, dedisse fertur, ut primam novæ nuptæ noctem, quæ proceribus per gradus quosdam lege Eveni debebatur, sponsus dimidiatâ argenti marcâ redimere posset: quam pensionem adhuc Marchetas¹⁵ mulierum vocant;' a term as well known to our law, for a fine due to the lord on the marriage of a son or daughter of his villein."¹⁶ But Robinson says he believes on inquiry it will be found that the custom of Borough English does not particularly obtain in those manors where such fine is paid: and this reason, though perhaps sufficient to exclude the eldest, would only if taken in its full force convey the inheritance to the second son as the next worthy, and not to the youngest; and he inclines to the reason given by Littleton, that the youngest son, after the death of his parents, is least able to help himself, and most likely to be left destitute of any other support: and therefore the custom provided for his maintenance by casting the inheritance upon him; considering in what places this custom prevails, which are for the most part, either ancient boroughs or copyhold manors. In the former was exercised the little trade that was anciently in the kingdom, and tradesmen would find it most for their own ease and the benefit of their sons, as they severally grew up, to send them out into the world, advanced with a portion of goods, thereby enabling them to acquire their living by art and industry: and for this purpose the old law was very indulgent to the son of a burgess, supposing him to be of age, "Cum denarios discrete sciverit numerare, pannos ulnare, et alia negotia similia paterna exercere."¹⁷ But as the youngest son was most likely to be left unadvanced at the death of his father, the custom prudently directed the descent of the real estate (generally little more than the father's house) where it was most wanted. But as it might happen that the youngest son was, in his father's life-time, placed out in as advantageous a way as the rest, the custom of most boroughs gave a power unknown to the common law, of devising the tenements by will.¹⁸

"In copyhold manors the demesnes were generally divided among the tenants in very small parcels, holden on arbitrary

¹⁵ Buchan. Hist. Scot., lib. vii.

¹⁶ Co. Litt. 117 b., cap. 140 a, Bract.

lib. ii, f. 26.

¹⁷ Glanvil. lib. vii, cap. 9, Bract. lib.

ii, cap. 37, f. 86^b.

¹⁸ Litt., sec. 167. Rob. Gav. 388, 9.

finer, large rents, and hard services, so as to be little more beneficial than leases at rack-rents; and the elder sons at a proper age either applied themselves to husbandry, or in those manors where all the demesnes were not already parcelled out, might obtain estates on the same hard terms; and the small advantage of their father's tenement was left to descend to the youngest son, the only, though a mean support of his infancy."¹⁹

Among the supporters of the fancied origin of this custom, in the supposed right of the lord on the marriage of his villein tenant, is the learned antiquary, Dr. Plot.²⁰ Blount, also, in the original edition of his 'Fragmenta Antiquitatis or Jocular Tenures,' in a note on Berkholt, Suffolk, (where there was a custom, that when the tenants would marry their daughters, they used to give to the lord for license so to do two ores,²¹ which were worth thirty-two pence), says, "this fine for the tenants marrying their daughters was without doubt in lieu of the mercheta mulierum."²²

Blount's last intelligent editor, however, in a note to "Ammobragium" (of which hereafter), says, "I believe there never was any European nation (in the periods this custom is pretended to exist)²³ so barbarous as to admit it," and Dr. Whitaker, the learned historian of Lancashire, says that the "Mercheta (of the Scottish feuds in particular) is certainly British. This term is apparently nothing more than the merch-ed of Howel Dha, the daughterhood or the fine for the marriage of a daughter."²⁴ But I apprehend that at this period it is hardly necessary to attempt any refutation of that theory; although the subject is curious, and has given occasion to some learned dissertations, amongst which I will refer to a very elaborate essay "of the law of Evenus and the Mercheta Mulierum" by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., Lord Hailes, appended to his Annals of Scotland, wherein he not only treats Evenus and his supposed law as fabulous and scandalous, but he expresses strong doubts of the authenticity of the laws

¹⁹ Rob. Gav., p. 389.

²⁰ Plots Natl. Hist. of Staff., cap. viii, sec. 20.

²¹ An Anglo-Saxon coin, of which there were two sorts, the larger containing 20 peningas, which, according to Lye,

would be about 60 pence, and the other 16 peningas, about 48 pence.

²² Blount by Beckwith, p. 483.

²³ *Ib.*, pp. 474-5.

²⁴ Whitaker's Manchester, lib. i, cap. 8, sec. 3, p. 265.

of Malcolm III, by which the supposed law of Evenus is said to have been abrogated.

The notion of the prevalence of such a custom may be attributed to a vulgar error, arising from the fact of a fine called "Mercheta" having been payable in some manors to the lord on the marriage of his villein's daughter to a freeman, or to any person out of the lordship,²⁵ the reason of which was, that as the villeins with all their progeny were the lord's property, and belonged to the soil, if the villein's daughter was married to a freeman, or to the serf of another lord, the lord of the manor to which she belonged was entitled to a fine, as compensation for the loss he would sustain of the woman and her issue, as if he had lost a heifer or a brood mare. This fine was generally a mark, or half a mark, hence the term mercheta, and it is very evident that the vulgar mind, always accessible to the marvellous, might easily understand this customary payment on such an occasion, as composition for a gross and indecent custom, which I am happy to believe existed only in imagination. And this was the opinion of Mr. Astle, in his Essay on the Tenures and Customs of Great Tey, Essex, in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xii, p. 36.

Those who are curious to follow up this subject should read Sir David Dalrymple's Essay, and they may also see a very interesting paper on the same subject, by M. J. J. Raepsaet, entitled, 'Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des Droits connus anciennement sous les noms de droits des premières nuits, de markette, d'afforage, marcheta, maritagium et burmede,' 8vo, Gand, 1817.²⁶

M. Raepsaet agrees with Lord Hailes in treating the supposed law of Evenus as fabulous, and in questioning that of Malcolm III. And he considers the mercheta as an indemnity to the lord for the alienation of his female serf; and after tracing the droit des premières nuits to a fine paid to the clergy, for breach of an injunction of the fourth council of Carthage, (Can. 13,) held in the year 398,²⁷ he concludes:—

²⁵ Manor of Wivenhoe county Essex. "Ric Barre tenet unum messuagium, &c. et debet Tallagium, Sectam Curie et Merchet. hoc modo; quod si maritare voluit Filiam suam cum quodam libero homine extra Villam, faciat pacem Domino pro maritago: et si eam maritaverit alicui

Custumario Ville, nihil dabit pro Maritago." Extent Manerii de Wivenho, 40 Edw. III, Watkins' Cop., by Vidal, vol. ii, p. 358.

²⁶ There is a copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, Q. 3-15.

²⁷ Abolished, 1409.

“Voilà donc l’histoire de l’origine, du progrès et de l’abolition d’un droit spirituel, que le défaut de critique avoit fait provenir d’un droit fabuleux et révoltant, et avoit confondu avec un droit d’indemnité dû à un propriétaire pour l’aliénation d’une fille serf. Ce n’est pas le seul que la prévention et l’ignorance ont attribué à des causes illégitimes, et qu’une critique sage et impartiale retrouve, en remontant à la source, fondé sur de plus jûstes titres.”

In Wales, and on the Shropshire border, a similar custom to the mercheta existed under the name of amabyr or amvabyr. It existed in the honour of Clun, formerly belonging to the Earls of Arundel, and is mentioned in Cunningham’s Law Dictionary, and also in Jacob and Tomlins, as “*Præmium virginitatis domino solvendum*,” referring to “*L.L. Eccl. Gul. Howeli Dha Regis Walliæ*.” This custom was released to his tenants by Henry, Earl of Arundel, anno 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, by the name of the custom of amabyr and chevage.”²⁸

If the reference given by these writers be to the “*Cyfreithieu Hywel Dda ac erail, seu leges Walliæ ecclesiasticæ et civiles*, by Gul. Wotton, s.t.p. adjuvante Mose Gul. A.M. R.S. soc. fo. 1730,” that authority does not justify the above definition; but I find in the glossary to that work, “*Amobr contracte pro Amwobr ab Am (of) et Gwobr (a maid or virgin) Dicitur de pecunia quæ vel pro maritandis puellis, vel pro pudicitia violata Domino pendebatur. In libro censuali Arvonensi, appellatur ‘Amobragium.’ Vid. Dav. Dict. in voce. Dicitur etiam Gobr merch.*”

In the manor of Buell, in Radnorshire, a noble paid by every tenant at the marriage of a daughter, is called maiden rent. Vide Cowell in voce.

Amabyr was in fact the same as mercheta, a fine payable to the lord on the marriage of his niece, or a penalty for the violation of her chastity.

The reasons assigned by Littleton, Blackstone, and Robinson are all virtually the same; all resting upon the disadvantage of position of the youngest son; and they are all equally unsatisfactory, for they are grounded upon the supposition that the youngest son alone is unsettled in life, or left with his

²⁸ I cannot think that the terms of this charter will justify the above definition.

I have made considerable efforts to find the charter, but hitherto without success.

father at his decease, in which case alone the custom would have an appearance of justice; and they overlook the very constant occurrence of one or more of the elder sons being set forward in life during their father's life time, leaving several at home; and the not unfrequent case of a father dying early, and leaving all his sons young and equally helpless and unprovided for; in which cases it would seem to be most inconsistent with justice and equity, as well as most inconvenient to the family of the deceased tenant, that the inheritance should go to the youngest son in preference to his brothers, as unprovided, and except by a few years more or less of age, not more able to help themselves than he is.

It seems to me, therefore, that the real cause of the origin of the custom of Borough English has not yet been ascertained; and although venturing to differ from such learned authorities as I have cited, I propose to give my own views on the subject. I am by no means so confident as to say, or to think, that I have discovered the sure and very cause and reason of this singular custom, and I submit what I have to say as to its origin, with very sincere deference to the opinions of those who are much better qualified to decide upon questions of legal and antiquarian research.

With these preliminary observations, I beg to say that I consider the custom of Borough English took its rise from the period when copyhold lands were held really and substantially, and not, as now, nominally "at the will of the lord," when the lord's will, uniformly exercised, made the custom of the manor, and was not, as now, controlled by the custom. And in no instance was the lord's will so likely to be exercised as in determining which of his tenant's family, on the decease of the tenant, should succeed to the tenement held by the lord's will.²⁹

The custom of Borough English is in fact to be accounted for in the same manner as the various other customs which exist in different manors. In some manors the lands descend

²⁹ "If the villein behaved himself well, was industrious, and faithful in his returns, he often continued in the possession of the lands, and even when he died his children were frequently permitted to succeed him. This, however, depended upon the pleasure

of the lord; and if the lord consented that some of the posterity of the deceased tenant should again occupy the lands, it was for him to select the individual. Hence the variety of customs as to descents." *Watkins' Cop.* vol. ii, p. 210.

to the eldest son, in others to all the sons equally, as in Gavelkind. "Custom of some manor is, that if the tenant dies seised of five acres or less, then the youngest son ought to inherit, but if above, then all the sons, as in Gavelkind, ought to inherit it."³⁰ "Custom of some manor is, that the youngest son, or youngest daughter of the first wife, being married a virgin, ought to inherit."³¹ In other manors, the sons and daughters inherit equally, as at Wareham in Dorsetshire.³² In others the eldest daughter alone succeeds to the inheritance if there be no sons, as at Yardley in Hertfordshire.³³

As great a variance exists in different manors as to the wife's dower. In some the wife is entitled to the whole of her husband's copyhold lands for her life, as at Cuckfield, Ditcheling, and Rottingdean: in others to a moiety, in others to a third as at common law, and in some manors she is not entitled to any dower or freebench in respect of the copyhold lands of her husband, as at Rotherfield: and I have been informed of one manor where daughters are preferred in respect of inheritance to sons.³⁴ Thus it is, I think, owing to the caprice of the several ancient lords, that these different manorial customs have arisen and been established.

This opinion is in accordance with those of Sir Martin Wright, in his introduction to the Law of Tenures,³⁵ and Mr. Watkins, in a note on Chief Baron Gilbert's work on Tenures.

And as to the reasons which would induce the lord to prefer the youngest son to succeed the father in the inheritance of the tenements held of his manor, we may suppose that the barons and lords being liable to furnish certain numbers of men for military service, in many instances, took care to secure the elder sons of their tenants as military retainers; and that the villenage or copyhold lands, being generally held by agricultural services, were left to the younger sons or youngest son to cultivate, and render the services due to the lord for the land. And another reason may be attributed to the avarice, or love of patronage of the lords, for as the lord was entitled to the wardship of his infant tenants, which allowed the infant only a decent maintenance during his minority, (all

³⁰ Kitchin, p. 203.

³¹ Kitchin, p. 202.

³² Blount's Ten. 288, Watkins' Cop. by Vidal, vol. ii, p. 441.

³³ Salmon's Herts, p. 323, Watkins' Cop. by Vidal, vol. ii, p. 444.

³⁴ Penrith, in Wales.

³⁵ Wright on Tenures, p. 221.

the surplus profits going to the profit of the guardian) the lord had a direct interest in long minorities, and therefore might have willed that the youngest son should be the heir.

It is true that the lord would not frequently trouble himself with such small matters, but there was generally some retainer of the lord, or uncle or near relative of the minor, who begged the wardship of the lord; who in exercise of his patronage, and in imitation of greater men, granted the wardship of his infant tenant to his own dependant, as he himself would have asked and gladly received a more important wardship from the king or his own superior lord.

A very remarkable instance of the exercise of the lord's will, as respects the descent of lands holden of him, is extant in a charter of that very remarkable man, Simon de Montfort; a name historically connected with this county and the town of Lewes (to whom this nation is more indebted than is generally known or acknowledged), dated in 39th Henry III (A.D. 1255), whereby, as a great favour to his burgesses of Leicester, at their earnest supplication, for the benefit of the town, and with the full assent of all the burgesses, the earl granted to them that thenceforward the eldest son should be the heir of his father instead of the youngest, as was then the custom of the town. This charter is more remarkable as it was the act of a subject by his own will altering the local law of inheritance, without any legislative authority or even royal sanction; and that sixty-five years subsequent to the period of legal prescription.

To revert to the name of the custom, my opinion is that it originated with the Norman lords, who imposed this custom as a peculiar mark of serfdom on their English vassals, which their Norman followers, who were accustomed to the law of primogeniture as attached to freeholdings, would not submit to; hence the distinction of tenures at Nottingham, of Burgh Engloyes, and Burgh Frauncoyes, which although not now known in that town, are kept in remembrance by the two parts of the town having been not long since distinguished as the English borough and the French borough. It is worthy of observation, as corroborative of this view of the subject, that the Earls of Warren and Surrey, who soon after the Conquest possessed the barony and rape of Lewes, where the custom of Borough English is almost universal as regards copyholds,

possessed also Reigate, Dorking, Betchworth, and Kennington in Surrey, and Stamford in Lincolnshire; in all which places we still find the same custom prevailing.

To show that the customary descent to the youngest son was not unknown to the Norman and Flemish followers of William, as a peculiarity of serfdom or villeinage (although Robinson says they were unacquainted with it in their own country, and Blackstone was obliged to go so far away as to the Tartar tribes for any similar custom) I can, thanks to the improved facilities of international communication, and to the general desire among enlightened nations to receive and impart knowledge, refer to the 'Coutumes locales du Baillage d'Amiens,' by M. Bouthors, Greffier en chef de la Cour d'appel d'Amiens, &c., published by the Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, where we find that the same customary descent to the youngest son prevails in that province of France, and in Artois, under the name of *Maineté*,³⁶ viz, in the Seigneuries of Gouy et Bavaincourt, Rettembes, Croy, Lignieres, Warlus, Rezencourt, Brontelle, Hornoy, Selincourt, Adinfer, Blairville, Wancour, Guémappes, Hebuterne, Pays de Callieu, Temporel du Chapitre, d'Arras, and Rassery.

M. Bouthors, in a letter to me, says, that in the environs of Arras and of Douai the law of *Maineté* was the general custom. In Ponthieu and Vivier it was the exception.

M. Bouthors also says that it is found likewise in Flanders, under the name of *Madelstard*; ³⁷ and Ducange tells us it prevailed among families at Hochstet in Suabia. "Quametiam locum habuisse in faunlia Hochstatana Auctor est Ludovicus Guicciardinus in Descr. Belgii."³⁸

But I must not forget that this paper was to relate to the custom of Borough English as prevailing in the county of Sussex, and hitherto I have said but little as to that county. I will only defer adverting to it more particularly by stating that in this kingdom the custom is much more extensive than would be generally supposed. In Cornwall I have found one manor subject to the custom; in Derbyshire, the town of Derby; in Devonshire, two manors; in Essex, eight manors;

³⁶ Moins né—Moins agé.

³⁷ Merlin Repertoire de Jurisprudence, en mot *Maineté*.

³⁸ This I take to be Hoogstraat. I cannot, however, find any such passage in Guicciardini's *Belgium*, 2 vols. 16mo, Amsterdam, 1660.

in Glamorganshire, one manor; in Gloucestershire, the city of Gloucester, where it governs the descent of freeholds; in Hampshire, nine manors; in Herefordshire, four manors; in Hertfordshire, one manor; in Huntingdonshire, three manors; in Kent, one manor; in Leicestershire, one manor; in Lincolnshire, the borough of Stamford; in Middlesex, sixteen manors; in Monmouthshire, one manor; in Norfolk, twelve manors; in Northamptonshire, one manor.

In the town of Nottingham, this customary mode of descent is now unknown, but it exists at Scrooby and Southwell, and in three other manors; in Shropshire, three manors; in Staffordshire, part of the borough of Stafford and two manors are subject to the custom. In Suffolk I have found thirty manors; in Surrey, twenty-eight manors; in Sussex, one hundred and forty manors; and in Warwickshire, two manors; in which the custom of Borough English is the law of descent.

It is worthy of notice that this custom is found to prevail more extensively in the counties anciently called Southfolk, Suthrey, and Suthsex, than in any other part of the kingdom.

From the preface to Nelson's 'Lex Maneriorum' I extract the following passage relating to Wadhurst in Sussex:—

“It is true some of these customs are very strange, such as that which was mentioned by Chief Justice Anderson,³⁹ which he knew in the manor of Wadhurst, in Sussex, where he tells us there are two sorts of copyhold tenures, ‘Sokeland’⁴⁰ and ‘bondland.’ And the custom is, that if the tenant was first admitted to sokeland, and afterwards to bondland, and died seised of both, his heir-at-law should inherit both; and if he was first admitted to bondland then his youngest son should inherit both; but if he was admitted to both at the same time then his eldest son should inherit both.”

From John Hoper, Esq., of Lewes, to whose liberal kindness I am indebted for a communication of forty of the following list of Borough English manors in Sussex, I have also received a very curious extract from the customs of the manor of Framfield, as settled by a decree of the Court of Chancery, dated 4th July, 4 James I.

³⁹ Kemp v. Carter, 1 Leon. 55.

⁴⁰ Sokeland is evidently freeland as contrasted with bond land, which was

held by servile tenure, and this distinction is very significant as to the origin of the custom.

“That if any man or woman be first admitted tenant of any of the ‘Assert Lands,’⁴¹ and die seized of Assert lands and bondlands, then the custom is, that the eldest son be admitted for heir to all; and if he or she have no son then the eldest daughter likewise. And if the said tenant, be it man or woman, be first admitted to bondland (that is to say) yardland, the youngest son or youngest daughter shall be likewise admitted for heir to all his customary lands; and the like course is to be observed for brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and cousins, if there be neither son nor daughter.

The custom of Maresfield⁴² is also similar to that of Framfield; and in Warbleton, assert land descends to the eldest son, while other copyhold lands of the manor go to the youngest.⁴³

In the manor of Bosham⁴⁴ there are three sorts of land, called respectively Forrep land,⁴⁵ Board land,⁴⁶ and Cot land.⁴⁷

At Rotherfield there are also three sorts of land, called respectively Farthing land, Cotman land, and Assert land. As to Assert land the eldest son is heir, and the wife is not entitled to dower; but as to Farthing lands and Cotman lands, the youngest son is heir, and the wife is entitled to dower during chaste widowhood; but a difference exists between Farthing land and Cotman land, in respect of the descent to daughters if there be no sons, as the custom is that Farthing lands descend to the youngest daughter, and Cotman lands are divided among all the daughters.

I annex a list of all the manors and places in the county of Sussex that I have been able to collect in which the custom of descent to the youngest son exists, with the names of the

⁴¹ Assert or assart (Fr. *essarter*), to grub up or clear land of bushes, &c., and fit it for tillage. Assart was anciently used for a parcel of land assarted or cleared of wood. (Blount’s Law Dictionary.)

⁴² Per Mr. Hoper.

⁴³ Per R. Bray, Esq. (steward).

⁴⁴ Dallaway, R. of Chichester, p. 88.

⁴⁵ Forrep land means the same land as is elsewhere called sook or soc, and assart; it is doubtless land taken from the forest,

as distinguished from the old yard lands or cultivated lands. W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.

⁴⁶ Board lands or bord lands—the lands which lords keep in their hands for the maintenance of their table—and the bordarii were such as held those lands which we now call demesne lands. (Bract. lib. iv, tract 3. *Antiq. de Purveyance*, f. 49.)

⁴⁷ Cotland—*Coth sethlandum hic intelligo cotæ sedem, et prædii quid piam ad eandem pertinens.* (Spelman.)

possessors mentioned in Domesday, and the present owners, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, the particulars of the customs, and the authorities ; which list, although far from perfect, and doubtless containing many inaccuracies, will I hope be found useful.

I cannot conclude this imperfect paper without expressing my thanks to the stewards of manors, and other professional gentlemen, for the liberal kindness and attention which has been given to my inquiries, and for the readiness with which they have furnished the information required. To John Hoper, Esq.; F. H. Gell, Esq.; J. E. Fullager, Esq.; and W. P. Kell, Esq., of Lewes; Robert Young, Esq., of Battle; Messrs. Freeland, Raper, and Johnson, of Chichester; H. G. Brydone, Esq., and Messrs. Blagden and Upton, of Petworth; Thomas Johnson, Esq., of Midhurst; S. Waller, Esq., of Cuckfield; Frederick Cooper, Esq., of Arundel; E. N. Dawes, Esq., of Rye; Richard Edmunds, Esq., of Worthing; C. J. Longcroft, Esq., of Havant; H. R. Homfray, Esq.; R. Bray Esq.; and J. Maberley Esq., of London, I have to return my thanks in an especial manner for the valuable assistance and information they have so kindly and disinterestedly given me: nor must I omit to mention that I have received important assistance from that excellent antiquary and most energetic member of this society, W. Durrant Cooper, Esq. F.S.A., to whom also I desire to express my most sincere acknowledgments.

I do not profess to have given a perfect list of all the manors in this county in which the custom prevails, as I have reason to believe there are many others, and I should be much indebted for any further information respecting the nature, extent, origin, and history of the custom, with which any of the members of the Sussex Archæological Society may be so good as to favour me.

Eltham, Kent.

A List of Manors and Places in the County of Sussex

Names of Manors.	Parishes in which situate.	Possessors in Domesday Book.
Allington	Chailey Hamsey, &c. . . .	Ralph, of William de Warene
Alciston	Alciston, Hellingly, and East Blatchington.	Battle Abbey, of the King
Arlington	Arlington	Not mentioned in Domesday
Amies . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Agmershurst	Ashburnham and Ninfield . . . .	. . . . .
Brightelmstone	Brighton	Ralph, of William de Warene
Brighton Michelham . . . .	. . . . .	William de Watevile, of William de Warene
Barcombe	Barcombe, &c.	Earl de Warene
Beddingham	Beddingham	The Earl of Moreton, in mesne.
Berwick	Berwick and Hellingly, Alfriston, Arlington, and Hailsham	Not mentioned in Domesday
Bexhill	Bexhill and St. Mary, Bulver- hythe, (part of)	Osbern, of the Earl of Eu
Bidlington	Bramber, Cowfold, Steyning, Beeding, and Shoreham	. . . . .
Byworth	In Petworth . . . . .	. . . . .
Byworth and Warning- camp.	Egdean and Fittleworth	Nigel held Warnecham, in of Earl Roger.
Brede	In Brede, Udimore, Guestling, Fairlight, Icklesham, Pitt, Win- chelsea, Iden, and All Saints, the Castle, and St. Clement's, Hastings.	The Abbot of Fécamp, as a of Steyning.
Bedham	In Kirdford and Fittleworth . . . .	. . . . .
Bepton	In Bepton	Earl Roger
Balcomb Rectory	In Balcomb . . . . .	. . . . .
Battle	Battle, Beckley, Seddlescombe, Westfield, and Whatlington.	Abbot of Battle
Boxgrove	Part of Boxgrove . . . . .	. . . . .

which the Customary Descent is to the Youngest Son.

Present Owners.	If the Custom extends to Females and Collateral Heirs. Special Customs and Observations.	Authorities.
Heirs of the Earl of Liverpool.	Youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest collateral heir.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes, by Mr. Rowe. Horsfield's Lewes, p. 178. J. Hoper, Esq., of Lewes.
Account Gage	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally. The same The same	J. Hoper, Esq., of Lewes. Ibid. Ibid.
Heirs of J. R. Kemp, Esq., one divided moiety; and Charles Scrase Dickens, Esq., of the other.	Youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest collateral heir.—Divided by decree, dated 25th March, 1761, in the cause of Sparrow <i>v.</i> Friend.	R. Young, Esq., of Battle. Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes. Horsfield, <i>supra</i> .
.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	J. Hoper, Esq., and Doe dem. Parker, <i>v.</i> Thomas, 11 Law Journal (N.S.), C. P., 124 Sc. Scott (N.S.), 449. J. Hoper, Esq.
The Heirs of the Earl of Liverpool.	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
and Daere	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
Account Gage	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
Countess Amherst	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
.	The same The descent is both lineally and collaterally to the youngest son or youngest daughter.—Widows pay a fine of 1 <i>l.</i> , and are admitted to their freebench during chaste widowhood. The same	J. Hoper, Esq. H. G. Brydone, Esq., of Petworth, Steward. Ibid.
Frederick Langford, Esq.	The same	Court Rolls, per W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.
William Townley Mitford, Esq.	The same	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females and collateral heirs.	Thomas Johnson, Esq., Midhurst.
.	The same	S. Waller, Esq., of Cuckfield.
.	Copyholds and the freehold lands between the watch crosses are subject to the custom.	R. Young, Esq., of Battle. Robinson's Gavelkind, Third Edit., p. 392, <i>n. 2</i> . Messrs. Freeland, Raper, and Johnson.

Names of Manors.	Parishes in which situate.	Possessors in Domesday Book.
Barnehorn	In Hooe, Bexhill, and Ninfield	Formerly belonging to the Abbot of Battle, and a Subinfeudation of Bexhill.
Balneth	Principally in Chailey, part in Chiltington	. . . . .
Bosham	Bosham	King William, in demesne
Bury	In Bury, Fittleworth, and Wis-boro' Green	Abbot of Fécamp
Bletchington	East Blatchington and Willingdon.	Not mentioned in Domesday
Beverington Radmell	Eastbourne, Hellingly, Arlington, and Hailsham.	. . . . .
Birling	Eastbourne and East Dean	Not mentioned
Cuckfield	In Cuckfield, Bolney, Clayton, and Worth.	Not mentioned in Domesday
Cuckfield Vicarage Clayton	In Cuckfield Clayton	Wife of William de Watevill, of William de Warene.
Camois Court	Barcombe, Ditcheling, and Newick	. . . . .
Cokeham	In Sompting, Lancing, and Broadwater.	Not mentioned
Cowdray or Cowdrey	In Eastbourne, Fernhurst, and Midlavant.	Not mentioned
Chiltington and Nutbourn	West Chiltington and Pulborough	Ossulf, tenant of Robberd, who held of the Earl of Montgery.
Ditcheling	Ditcheling, Chailey, Ardingly, Balcomb, and Worth.	William de Warene, in demesne
Ditcheling Garden	Ditcheling . . . . .	. . . . .
Eastbourne Wilson, other-wise Burton.	Eastbourne	Earl of Moreton
Eastbourne nether Inn	Eastbourne . . . . .	. . . . .
Eastbourne Gilredge	Eastbourne	Earl of Moreton
Eastbourne Parker	Eastbourne	Earl of Moreton

Present Owners.	If the Custom extends to Females and Collateral Heirs. Special Customs and Observations.	Authorities.
. . . . .	. . . . .	R. Young, Esq.
r H. D. Goring, Bart.	Youngest son or youngest daughter, brother, nephew, or niece—The widow is admitted to the whole estate of her husband for her freebench.	Watkins on Copyholds, by Vidal, App. vol. ii, p. 366. Richard Edmunds, Esq., Worthing.
Admiral Berkeley . . . . .	. . . . .	Dallaway's Western Sussex, vol. i, p. 89.
Duke of Norfolk	The descent is to the youngest son, youngest daughter, youngest brother, or collateral heir.	Frederick Cooper, Esq., of Arundel, Steward, King v. Turner, 2 Law Jour. (N.S.), 188, Ch.: S. C. 2 Sim. 549; 1 Myl. & Cr. 456.
n King, Esq.	Youngest son	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Burlington	Youngest son	F. H. Gell, Esq.
D. Gilbert, Esq.	Youngest son, daughter, brother, sister, or collateral relative male or female.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Abergavenny and the Rev. W. Sergison.	Youngest son, youngest daughter, or collateral heir.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes, <i>supra</i> . S. Waller, Esq.; H. R. Homfray, Esq.; F. H. Gell, Esq., Steward.
.	The same	J. Maberley, Esq., Steward.
W. J. Campion, Esq.	The same	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes.
.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	Horsfield, <i>supra</i> . J. Hoper, Esq.
.	The descent is both lineally and collaterally to the youngest son or youngest daughter.—Widows pay 1 <i>d.</i> for each tenement, and are admitted during chaste widowhood.	H. G. Brydone, Esq., Steward.
Lord Egmont	The custom extends to female and collateral heirs.	Thomas Johnson, Esq., Midhurst.
Earl of Abergavenny	Youngest son, brother's youngest son.—Widow for her bench <i>dum sola</i> .	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Abergavenny	Youngest son, youngest daughter, or collateral heir.—Widow entitled for life, or widowhood, for dower.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes. Horsfield, <i>supra</i> . F. H. Gell, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
Earl of Burlington	Youngest son, youngest daughter, youngest brother.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Lessees under the Dean and Chapter of Chichester.	Youngest son, youngest daughter, youngest brother, youngest sister.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
I. D. Gilbert, Esq.	Youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest brother, sister, or collateral male or female.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Peeman Thomas, Esq.	Youngest son, daughter, brother, or sister.	F. H. Gell, Esq.

Names of Manors.	Parishes in which situate.	Possessors in Domesday Book.
Eastbourne Medsey . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
East Dean	East Dean . . . . .	. . . . .
East Hampnett	Parts of Boxgrove and West Hampnett	. . . . .
East Lavant	East Lavant, and part of Mid Lavant.	. . . . .
Eighington or Eckington	Ripe, Eastbourne, Firle, and Wil- lingdon.	Not mentioned
Falmer . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Framfield	Framfield, Uckfield, Buxted, part of Isfield.	. . . . .
Frant or Frant	Frant	Not mentioned (originally a S infeudation of Rotherfield.)
Glynde	Glynde	Not mentioned
Hamsey . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Houndene	Chailey, Newick, Wivelsfield, and Kingston, near Lewes, St. Ann's, Lewes.	William de Warene
Highly	Chailey	Not mentioned
Heathfield	Heathfield . . . . .	. . . . .
Heighington, St. Cleere	Heighton	Not mentioned (a Subinfeudation of the Man of Southease with Heighton)
Horsted Keynes Broad- hurst.	Horsted Keynes	Ralph, of the Earl of Moreton
Hurst per Point or Hurst- pier Point.	Hurstperpoint	Robert, of William de Warene
Hova Villa et Hova Eccle- sia.	Hove and Bolney	William Fitzhouard, of William De Braiose.
Hartfield Pashley	Eastbourne	Not mentioned
Imberhorne	East Grinstead	Not mentioned
Jevington	Jevington, and parts in Alfriston, Arlington, Chiddingly, East- bourne, East Dean, Firle, Hel- lingly, and Wilmington.	Not mentioned
Tham als Higham	In Winchelsea, Guestling, and Icklesham.	The Earl of Eu in person
Keymer	Keymer, Balcombe, Bolney, Cuck- field, and Worth.	William de Watevile, of William de Warene.
Lewes Burgus	All Saints, St. John sub Castro, St. Michael, St. Peter, and St. Mary, Westout, otherwise St. Ann, in Lewes, and Ardingly.	William de Warene
Langley	Pevensey, &c.	Ralph, of the Earl of Moreton
Lullington	Lullington	Not mentioned
Lurgashall	In Lurgashall	Part of the Honor of Petworth

Present Owners.	If the Custom extends to Females and Collateral Heirs. Special Customs and Observations.	Authorities.
.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
.	Youngest son, brother, or nephew .	Messrs. Freeland, R. and J.
.	Youngest son and youngest daughter.	Messrs. Freeland, R. and J.
.	Youngest son, daughter, brother, or sister	Messrs. Freeland, R. and J.
Viscount Gage	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
.	Youngest son, youngest daughter . . .	J. E. Fullagar, Esq.
Earl De la Warr	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.—See special customs as to assert land and bond land as before-mentioned.	John Hoper, Esq. Watkins' Copyholds, by Vidal, vol. ii, p. 289.
Marquis Camden	The same	William Durrant Cooper, Esq.
Lord Dacre	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
Sir H. Shiffner.		
Earl of Abergavenny	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest collateral heir.—Widow entitled for life for widow's bench.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes. Horsfield, <i>supra</i> . F. H. Gell, Esq. F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Abergavenny	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	Trash v. Wood, 9 Law Journal (N.S.), 105 Ch.; S. C., 4 Myl. & Cr. 324.
Viscount Gage	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
Lord Dacre	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
W. J. Campion, Esq.	The same	J. Hoper, Esq.
William Stanford, Esq.	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, youngest brother, or collateral heir.	W. D. Cooper, Esq., and F. Cooper, Esq., Steward.
.	Youngest son	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl De la Warr	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
The Earl of Burlington.	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, brother, nephew, niece, &c.—The tenants, of certain lands are to be reeves.	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
Herbert Mascall Curteis, Esq.	The custom does not extend to females or collateral heirs.	E. N. Dawes, Esq. of Rye.
Rev. H. Bayntun	To the youngest son, or youngest daughter, or youngest collateral relative.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes. Horsfield, <i>supra</i> .
Duke of Norfolk $\frac{1}{4}$, Earl of Abergavenny $\frac{2}{4}$, Earl De la Warr $\frac{1}{4}$.	The same.—Widow for life for her widow's bench.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes. Horsfield, <i>supra</i> . F. H. Gell, Esq.
Heirs of the Earl of Liverpool.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
Lady Amherst	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
.	The same	Thomas Johnson, Esq.

Names of Manors.	Parishes in which situate.	Possessors in Domesday Book.
Leigh	In Cuckfield, Bolney, and Hurst-perpoint.	Not mentioned
Meeching cum Piddinghoe	Meeching, otherwise Newhaven and Piddinghoe.	Not mentioned
Middleton . . . . .	. . . . .	William of Earl Roger
Maresfield	Maresfield, Nutley, Buxted, Withyham, Hartfield, East Grinstead, West Hoathly, and Fletching.	Not mentioned
Mitchelham Park Gate	Arlington, Hailsham, and Hel-lingly.	Not mentioned
Milton	Arlington	Not mentioned
Muncklow, otherwise Monkencourt.	Withyham	Not mentioned
Mayfield	Mayfield, Wadhurst, and Lam-berhurst.	Not mentioned
Meads, otherwise Broads	Eastbourne	Not mentioned
Meads, otherwise Lamport	Eastbourne	Not mentioned
Northese cum Iford	Rodmill, Iford, and Newick	Not mentioned
Newick	Newick, Chailey, &c.	Probably included in Allintune.
Nutbourne	West Bourne	Robert, of Earl Roger
Nytimber . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Otham	Hailsham, Westham, and Arling-ton.	William de Warene, in demesne.
Piecomb* or Pingdean†	Piecomb	*William de Warene, in demesne †William Fitz Rainald, of Wil- liam de Warene.
Peckam . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Preston	Preston, Patcham, BRIGHTHELM-stone, Westmeston, Hove, Mid-dleton, Slaugham, and Bolney.	Bishop of Chichester
Poynings	Poynings	William Fitz Rainald, of Wil- liam de Warene.
The Honor and Manor of Petworth.	In Petworth, Tillington, North Chapel, and Lurgershall.	Robert, of Earl Roger
Pallingham	In Petworth, Kirdford, and Wis-boro' Green.	. . . . .
Portslade	Portslade	Oswald, of William de Warene. Oswald, who held in the time of Edward the Confessor.
Playden	In Northiam and Beckley [Peas-marsh, Rye, and Iden.]	. . . . .
Plumpton	Plumpton, Chailey, &c.	William de Warene

Present Owners.	If the Custom extends to Females and Collateral Heirs. Special Customs and Observations.	Authorities.
The Rev. W. Sergison .	The custom extends to females lineally and collaterally.	H. R. Homfray, Esq.
Earl of Sheffield . . .	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest collateral relative.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes, <i>supra</i> .
.	The same	Ibid.
Earl De la Warr . . .	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.—See special customs as to assert land and bond land as before-mentioned.	Horsfield's Lewes, p. 178.
Lady Amherst . . .	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
Lady Amherst . . .	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
Earl De la Warr . . .	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
Marquis Camden . .	The same.—The same as at Framfield.	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
.	Youngest son	Watkins' Copyholds, by Vidal, vol. ii, p. 274.
.	Youngest son	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Abergavenny .	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest relative collaterally.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes, <i>supra</i> .
. . . . .	. . . . .	F. H. Gell, Esq.
J. H. Slater, Esq. . .	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
.	Youngest of sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, uncles, or aunts.—Fine at will of the Lord Heriot, best cloven footed beast.	Horsfield's Lewes, p. 178.
.	Youngest son living at death of the father, youngest brother, and youngest sister.	Customs presented, 1764.
The heirs of the Earl of Liverpool.	To youngest son, daughter, &c.	C. J. Longcroft, Esq., of Havant.
.	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest relative collaterally.	Customs presented, 1738.
.	The same	Messrs. Freeland, R. and J.
William Stanford, Esq.	. . . . .	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
The Crown (formerly Earl of Montagu.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes, <i>supra</i> .
Colonel Geo. Wyndham.	The descent is both lineally and collaterally to the youngest son or youngest daughter.	Ibid.
Colonel Geo. Wyndham.	The same.—Widows are admitted to freebench during chaste widowhood, and are not liable to any fine.	Ibid.
John Borrer, Esq. . .	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, &c.	John Hoper, Esq.
H. M. Curteis, Esq. .	The custom does not extend to females or collateral heirs.	H. G. Brydone, Esq.
Earl of Chichester . .	Youngest son, &c.—The tenure is <i>socage</i> in chief.	H. G. Brydone, Esq.
. . . . .	. . . . .	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
. . . . .	. . . . .	J. E. Fullagar, Esq.

Names of Manors.	Parishes in which situate.	Possessors in Domesday Book.
Prinstead	West Bourne . . . . .	. . . . .
Patcham Pevensey	Patcham Pevensey, Westham, and Hail- sham.	Earl de Warene Earl of Moreton
Rodmell	Rodmell and Barcombe	William de Warene, in demesne
Rottingdean	Rottingdean	Hugh, of William de Warene
Rainscombe	South Malling . . . . .	. . . . .
Ringmer River	Ringmer In Tillington	Not mentioned
Robertsbridge	Salehurst	Included in Salhert, belonging Robert Earl of Eu.
Rotherfield	Rotherfield, and the greatest part of Frant.	A Royal demesne
The town and port of Sea- ford	Seaford	An appendage of Hastings
Siddlesham	Part of Siddlesham . . . . .	. . . . .
Sompting Peverell	Sompting	Ralph, of the King
Southeast Street Swanborough Saddlescomb	Southeast and South Heighton Street Iford In Newtimber, Hurstperpoint, Twineham and Bolney.	. . . . . Ralph, of William de Warene Not mentioned Ralph, of Earl Roger
Slaughbam	In Slaugham, Bolney, Crawley, Beeding, Southwick, Ifield, Cuckfield, and Twineham.	Not mentioned
Sullescombe	A farm of about 100 acres in	Ralph, of William de Warene
Somerleigh or Somerley	. . . . .	Rainald, of Earl Roger
Storrington	In Storrington and Billingshurst	Robert, of the Earl Roger
The Boro' and Manor of New Shoreham	New Shoreham . . . . .	. . . . .

Present Owners.	If the Custom extends to Females and Collateral Heirs. Special Customs and Observations.	Authorities.
.	The heirs are the youngest of sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, uncles, or aunts.—Fine at will of the Lord and Heriot, the best cloven footed beast.	C. J. Longcroft, Esq. Customs presented, 1764.
Earl of Abergavenny	Youngest son	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Burlington	As to portreeve service and burgage tenure lands to youngest son.—Free portreeve service lands to eldest son.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Abergavenny	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, or youngest collateral relative.	Customs of Manors in the Barony of Lewes. F. H. Gell, Esq. F. H. Gell, Esq.
Earl of Abergavenny	The same.—Widow entitled for life for widow's-bench.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
Lord Viscount Gage	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
Earl De la Warr	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females and collaterals.	Thomas Johnson, Esq.
. . . . .	. . . . .	Robinson's Gavelkind, Third Edit., p. 392, n. a.
Earl of Abergavenny	As to farthing lands and cotman lands, the youngest son is heir. Farthing lands to all the daughters. Cotman lands to the youngest daughter.—As to assart lands, the eldest son is heir. Wife entitled to dower as to farthing lands and cotman lands during chaste widowhood.	F. H. Gell, Esq.
. . . . .	. . . . .	F. H. Gell, Esq.
.	Youngest son, daughters equally, youngest brother, and sister.	Messrs. Freeland, R. and J.
Rev. P. G. Crofts	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
Rev. John Harman	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
Heirs of H. T. Lane, Esq.	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
Earl De la Warr	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
Earl of Egmont	The descent is both lineally and collaterally to the youngest son or youngest daughter.	H. G. Brydone, Esq.
Rev. W. Sergison	Youngest son, youngest daughter, brother, sister, nephew, niece, or collateral relation, male or female.	H. R. Homfray, Esq.
. . . . .	. . . . .	Notes and Queries, vol. iv, No. 235.
. . . . .	. . . . .	Preface to Nelson's Lex Man.
. . . . .	. . . . .	Kempe v. Carter, 1 Leon, 55.
. . . . .	. . . . .	Parliamentary Survey, MS. D. and C. of Chichester.
. . . . .	. . . . .	Dallaway's Western Sussex, vol. i, p. 21, R. of C.
Duke of Norfolk	The same as Bury	Frederick Cooper, Esq., Arundel.
Duke of Norfolk	The same	Ibid.

Names of Manors.	Parishes in which situate.	Possessors in Domesday Book.
South Malling Totlington alias Woodood	Lindfield. In Beeding, Cowfold, Twineham, Hurstperpoint, and Cuckfield	William, a Knight in demesne, but it is included in the lands of William de Braiose.
Tillingham	In Udimore and Peasemarsch	Not mentioned
Treyford	Treyford	Robert Fitz Tebald, of the Earl Roger.
Telscombe	In Telscombe, with certain rights in Southease.	. . . . .
Udimore	Udimore and Rye	Beinbert, of the Earl of Eu . .
Verdley	In Eastbourne	Not mentioned
Walehurst or Walhurst	Cowfold, Slaugham, Nuthurst, and Crawley.	Not mentioned
Westfield	. . . . .	. . . . .
Westmeston	Westmeston and Chiltington . .	Robert, of William de Warene.
Wickham	Clayton	Alwyn, of the Wife of William de Watevile, but comprised in the lands of William de Warene
Wiggenholt	In Pulborough [Storrington], Billinghurst, Wigginholt, and Slinfold.	. . . . .
Wanworth	In Graffham	Four Foreigners held Graffham, of Earl Roger.
Woolavington	In Woolavington	Iva, of Earl Roger
Wilmington	Principally in Wilmington, and parts in Arlington, Bedding- ham, Friston, Hailsham, Heath- field, Laughton, Ripe, and Wil- lingdon.	The Abbot of Grestein, of the Earl of Moreton.
Woolbeding	In Woolbeding	Odo, of the King
Worth	In Worth	Not mentioned
Warbleton	In Warbleton	Countess Goda, of the Earl of Moreton.
Westbourne	Westbourne	Earl Roger
Wadhurst	Wadhurst	Not mentioned
Warningore	Newick and Chailey . . . .	. . . . .
Walstead	Lindfield . . . . .	. . . . .
Watton	. . . . .	. . . . .

Present Owners.	If the Custom extends to Females and Collaterals. Special Customs and Observations.	Authorities.
.	The descent is both lineally and collaterally to the youngest son or youngest daughter.	H. G. Brydone, Esq.
.	The custom does not extend to females or collateral heirs.	E. N. Dawes, Esq.
Miss Cordelia Shelley . . . . .	. . . . .	Dallaway's Western Sussex, R. of Ch., p. Customs presented, 1711. W. P. Kell, Esq.
Fred. Langford, Esq. . . . .	. . . . .	R. Young, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females and to collaterals.	Thomas Johnson, Esq.
Mrs. Wood	Copyholds descended to the youngest son, daughter, &c.—All now enfranchised.	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females lineally as well as collaterally.	John Hoper, Esq.
Heirs of H. T. Lane, Esq.	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
W. J. Champion, Esq.	The same	John Hoper, Esq.
.	The descent is both lineally and collaterally to the youngest son or youngest daughter.	H. G. Brydone, Esq.
The Bishop of Oxford	The same	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., and Messrs. Blagden and Upton, of Petworth.
The same	The same	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
The Earl of Burlington.	To the youngest son, youngest daughter, &c.	W. Durrant Cooper, Esq.
.	The custom extends to females and collaterals.	Thomas Johnson, Esq.
— Bethune	The same	S. Waller, Esq.
The Trustees of Henry Smith's Charity	To the youngest son.—Except assert land, which descends to eldest son.	Court Rolls, per R. Bray, Esq., (Steward) to J. D. Norwood, Esq., of Ashford.
C. S. Dickens, Esq.	The heirs are the youngest of sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, uncles, or aunts.—Fine at will of the Lord and Heriot, best cloven footed beast.	C. J. Longcroft, Esq. Customs presented, 1674.
.	The youngest son is heir if the tenant is first admitted to bond land, but if first admitted to soke land the eldest son is the heir.—See special custom as to bond land and soke land.	Watkin's Copyholds, by Vidal, vol. ii, p. 246. Kemp v. Carter, 1 Leon, 55.
.	Youngest son, youngest daughter	J. E. Fallagar, Esq.
.	The same	J. E. Fallagar, Esq.
.	The same	J. E. Fallagar, Esq.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF CORNELIUS
HUMPHREY, OF NEWHAVEN, 1697.

BY THE REV. F. SPURRELL.

READ AT THE QUARTERLY MEETING AT LEWES, JANUARY, 1853.

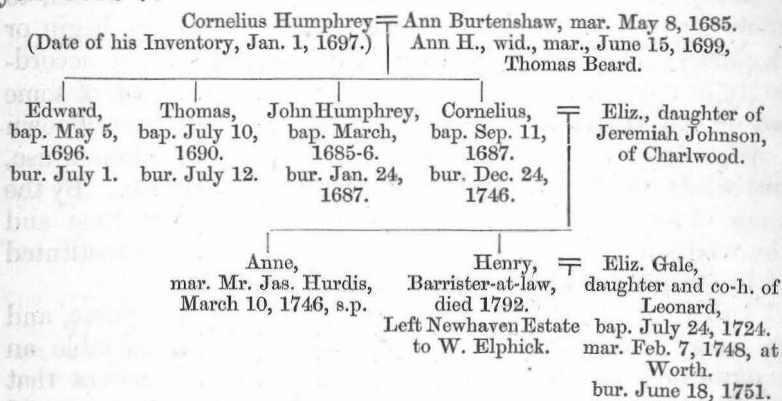
THIS inventory, apparently made for the purposes of taxation, is here printed, not because of its rarity, but because it gives a very good idea of the household property of a substantial yeoman landowner or small country gentleman 156 years ago. Besides this, it is always interesting, if not actually useful, to trace the employment of words and phrases, as they begin or decline in the progress of the English language: and accordingly interest attaches here, where there is the mention of some words and articles used in earlier times but which are unknown now; as also of provincial words, even now in common use, but which to the general reader require explanation. By the value of money also, mid-way between the present time and the mediæval ages, a profitable comparison can be instituted as to the prices of corn and stock.

To have had such a large sum of money in his purse, and so many "desperate debts," together with so valuable an amount of property in "stock and good debts," proves that Mr. Cornelius Humphrey was at least of some standing, and certainly importance, at Newhaven. The house in which he lived, and where these goods were, was the best house at Newhaven, and is still standing, having been built some 100 years before the time, 1697. The family of Humphrey can be shown from various parish registers to have lived in Sussex the last 300 years. Mention of the name more or less connected with Lewes (the Humphrey town house being yet there, like as the country house is at Newhaven) repeatedly occurs in the marriage and burial registers of Worth, Bodiam, Brighton, as well as Newhaven; and it is known that also at

Hartfield and Lingfield, as well as at Laughton and Cuckfield the family held landed property.

There have not been sufficient data collected, to connect all the names of the Humphreys in these different parishes, so that even if properly part of this paper, to draw up a pedigree is at present impossible. But after stating that the earliest mention of the name is ¹ John Humphrey of Linfield, who married Anne, daughter of Richard Gratwick of Cowfold, and whose marriage settlement is dated 6 Edward VI (1553), it may be justly interesting to trace the descent of our Cornelius Humphrey, whose [Newhaven] house and estate, together with this inventory, have come down to their present owner, grandson and third of the name of counsellor Humphrey's heir, Mr. William Elphick.

It is not known in what year Cornelius Humphrey was born, but it seems probable that he died at the close of the year 1696-7.



The inventory is a roll six feet six inches long by five inches wide, of sheets of paper sewn together, bearing no maker's name but a water mark of fleur-de-lys; the lines for writing are ruled in by a blunt point, and the writing is the style of the then declining legal hand commonly used in the middle ages. Capital letters are placed indifferently, and there are no stops. It was formerly amongst the papers of another member of the family who received some Laughton property of the counsellor Humphrey; but it may be well to remark that

¹ For the facts of the Humphrey names and dates in Sussex, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. S. Ellis.

besides this inventory, it is believed no other papers of public interest of the Humphrey family are now in existence.

“ A True and Perfect Inventory of y^e Goods and Chattels of Cornelius Humphrey late of Newhaven āls [alias] Meeching in the County of Sussex yeoman taken by Samuel Peirce of Bishopston and William Ffryer of Peddinghooe in the County afores^d yeoman and Thomas Beard of Denton in y^e said County Mercer the First day of January In the ninth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King William the Third of England & Anno qe Dni 1697

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimus his wearing apparrell	07	00	00
Money in his purse	383	17	02½
Money due to him	60	00	00
Upon bond	40	00	00
<i>Item.</i> —Due to him from Thomas Bucke	07	00	00
In y ^e chamber over y ^e Kitchin			
<i>Item.</i> —Plate and Rings	58	18	10
One high Bedstedle five feather Boulsters two feather pillowes one Blankett one Rugg Curtaines & Vallance }	05	10	00
<i>Item.</i> —One trundle bed one feather bed one boulder one Counter pann	01	10	00
<i>Item.</i> —Three Boxes one Chest brandjrons three Chaiers one Cupboard	00	10	00
Earthen ware and one payer of Bellowes	00	07	00
In the Middle Chamber			
<i>Item.</i> —One high bedstedle two feather Boulsters two flock boulsters one feather bed one Blankett one Rugg Curtaines Vallance & one window Curtain }	03	10	00
One Looking-glass & one Chest of Drawers	01	04	00
One payer of grates one payer of Brandjrons one fire- shovell one Box one Chest & one Chair	01	00	00
Ffourteen payer of Sheets	04	11	00
Nine table Clths	00	14	00
One duzen of Napkins	00	06	00
Ffifteen towels	00	07	00
two pillow Coates	00	02	00
In the Chamber over y ^e Little Parlour			
<i>Item.</i> —Nine payer of Sheets	03	12	00
Six table cloathes	00	15	00
Two Duzen of Napkins	00	15	00
two payer of pillowcoates	00	05	00
One high bedstedle three feather pillowes one feather boulder one feather Bed two Blanketts one Coverlett Curtaines Vallance rodde one Chest	03	04	00
In the Malt Chamber			
<i>Item.</i> —One feather bed two feather boulders two Blanketts one Coverlett	02	00	00

Item.—One feather bed & two blankets 01 00 00

In the first Chamber over y^e great Parlor

Item.—One high bedstidle three feather pillowes one feather
bed one Rugg one blankett two feather boulders } 05 00 00
vallance Curtaines & rodts

two Looking Glasses 00 06 00

Two chaires three Cushions one joynt stool &
three Chests 00 12 00

Three pewter Chamber potts 00 04 06

In y^e Inward gr^t Parlor Chamber

Item.—One high bedstidle one feather bed one feather
boulster three feather pillowes two blanketts Cur- } 10 00 00
taines vallance & one Carpett

One Side Board & Cloath one Deske two window
Curtaines & two Rodts 00 10 00

One dozen of tire² 00 05 00

Nine payer of fine sheetts 04 10 00

Eight payer of midling sheetts 03 04 00

Four dozen of napkins 01 16 00

Fifteen payer of pillowcoates 01 00 00

Fifteen towells 00 13 00

Eight Damaske table cloathes 01 18 00

Three diaper table Cloathes 00 17 00

Six table Cloathes 01 04 00

In the great Parlor

Item.—Eighteen Turkey chaires 01 16 00

Item.—One great round table and Side Board 00 15 00

One payer of Bellowes tongs one fire shovell one
payr of brandjrons 00 05 00

In the little Parlor

Item.—Six joind stooles 00 06 00

Two tables & one Carpett 00 12 00

One side Board and Cloath 00 09 00

Earthen ware 00 05 00

Linnen yarne & one Baskett 00 16 00

In the Kitchin

Item.—Eight spitts two cases of andjrons a chopping knife
one toasting Iron six skivells,³ one Iron forke, & j
gridjron 00 14 06

Two payr of pot-hangers one payer of brandirons⁴
one payer of Creepers two payer of tongs two fire } 00 11 00
shovells two forks one slice one fender

² Flax prepared for use.

³ Skewers.

⁴ The "brandirons" were bars for burning wood in large chimneys before grates for coal were invented. Perhaps the two uprights were the brandirons,

and the cross bar was the andiron or handiron. See samples, (*Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II.) or the "handiron" was a flat heater for ironing linen, after washing.

One table and one firme ⁵	00	07	00
Six Chaiers and one old Chest	00	03	00
One racke one cake Iron two trimming pans one tin hoop one pan one fish plate two Iron dripping panns one frying pann four Iron porridge potts	}	01	16 06
one brass mortar and one stew pann			
One Looking glass one drinking Copper pott and a Clocke	00	15	00
One Sawce pann.	00	02	00
Pewter new and old ⁶	05	18	00
Two bell Brass potts ⁷	00	15	00
Brass of all sorts	02	07	06
One warming pann and an old cover	00	03	00
One Brass kettle	00	12	06

In the Milke-house

Item.—One Dozen of truggs⁸ six Cheese hoops and vallowes⁹
one Churne two Milk pailles one Lead 3 Sives one
Meal Bagg 3 small flower tubbs

	01	12	00
--	----	----	----

In the Wash-house

Item.—One furnace or Copper

	01	10	00
--	----	----	----

One Cheese press three tubbs one Tunnell¹⁰ two
keelers, one baking trough two trayes two water
bucketts one meal bagg one pair of tongs one
old brandjron one treft¹¹

	01	03	06
--	----	----	----

In the Brew-house

Item.—One Copper eleven old hoggsheads two pipes
twenty four kilderkins & four Coolers

	12	00	00
--	----	----	----

In the Cellar

Item.—Eight kilderkins two rundletts two powdering¹²
tubbs 2 small tubbs

	02	04	00
--	----	----	----

Two leather Bottles

	00	05	00
--	----	----	----

One payer of Slings

	00	01	00
--	----	----	----

Three Stallages¹³

	00	04	06
--	----	----	----

Seven dozen of Botles

	00	18	00
--	----	----	----

⁵ Apparently the same word as "form," a long seat without a back.

⁶ There would be a good stock of pewter utensils for this money, and, which probably consisting of plates and dishes for the family use, were placed with some pride round the kitchen.

⁷ The mixture of metals of which church bells were cast.

⁸ Trug is the peculiar Sussex name for a wooden basket made of all sizes, and for every use, but of a distinctive shape. Trog is Saxon for a boat such as the Britons used, or the coracle, hence pro-

bably the pure old word, trug, meaning boat-basket.

⁹ Cheese or butter pressers, hollow trencher-like boards, to squeeze the milk out.

¹⁰ The same as funnel, for running liquids into bottles or casks; or a small tub or tun-dish. "Keelers" the ordinary term for washing-tubs even now in Sussex.

¹¹ The same as trivet, a moveable hob of a fireplace.

¹² Pickle or salting tubs for meat.

¹³ Wooden frames on which casks rested: stalder is the word used now.

In the Malt house

<i>Item.</i> —Ten quarters of Mault	.	.	.	.	.	.	12	00	00
One Oast hair ¹⁴	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	10	00
One Scier ¹⁵	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	06	08

Without Doors

<i>Item.</i> —Two Courts Ready to runn and three old wheels	.	.	.	.	.	.	03	10	00
One Roller	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	10	00
Two plowes Ready to Runn	.	.	.	.	.	.	01	10	00

In Tuppens Barne.

<i>Item.</i> —Seven quarters of pease	.	.	.	.	.	.	08	08	00
One Rick of Oates of 30 quarters	.	.	.	.	.	.	18	00	00

In Stonehams Barne¹⁶

<i>Item.</i> —Thirty five quarters of Barley	.	.	.	.	.	.	33	05	00
Two Ladders	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	10	00
Three Harrowes	.	.	.	.	.	.	01	00	00

In the Tower Barne

<i>Item.</i> —Twenty five quarters of Barley	.	.	.	.	.	.	23	15	00
Five quarters of Tares	.	.	.	.	.	.	05	00	00
Tenn quarters of wheat	.	.	.	.	.	.	28	00	00

In the Close

<i>Item.</i> —Four Oxen	.	.	.	.	.	.	28	00	00
Four steers	.	.	.	.	.	.	22	00	00
Fourteen small hoggs or Sheathes	.	.	.	.	.	.	09	02	00
Six Cowes & two young Beasts	.	.	.	.	.	.	28	00	00
four fatting hoggs	.	.	.	.	.	.	07	00	00
One horse & three mares	.	.	.	.	.	.	18	00	00
One wagon Ready to Runn	.	.	.	.	.	.	05	00	00
Six yoakes	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	12	00
Five wippins ¹⁷	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	05	00
Five Chaines or Tithes	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	15	00
Three Shovells one spade 7 prongs	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	11	00
Two ricks of hay & one stack of tares for fodder	.	.	.	.	.	.	15	00	00
Two wagon Ropes three Rakes	.	.	.	.	.	.	00	04	00
Thirty wattelles	.	.	.	.	.	.	01	10	00
Twenty Eight quarters of Barley ready Clean	.	.	.	.	.	.	26	12	00
Two quarters of Oates Ready Clean	.	.	.	.	.	.	01	04	00
Three quarters & seven Bushells of Pease ready Clean	.	.	.	.	.	.	04	13	00
Five quarters of wheat Ready Clean	.	.	.	.	.	.	14	00	00
Two quarters of white pease	.	.	.	.	.	.	03	04	00

In the Fold

<i>Item.</i> —Fifty eight weathers	.	.	.	.	.	.	26	00	00
Sixty six Ewes	.	.	.	.	.	.	26	08	00
Wheat upon ye ground tilling & dunging	.	.	.	.	.	.	38	12	00

¹⁴ The hair sieve used in an oast-house.

¹⁵ A large wire sieve for screening the malt.

¹⁶ This, and Tuppen's barne, were

so called from persons of those names, working there.

¹⁷ Parts of harness, cross bars of wood, to keep traces apart at the horse's tail.

	In the Stable		
<i>It.</i> —Three Shawles ¹⁸	00	03	00
Four sives three scuppets ¹⁹ and an Iron Barr	00	13	06
Four harrowing harnesses	00	04	00
	In the Wild ²⁰		
<i>It.</i> —Sixty Taggs	15	00	00
	At Tarring nevill ²¹		
<i>It.</i> —Seventyseven sheep 9s.	34	13	00
Five steers and two heifers	26	00	00
Thirty quarters of Barley	28	10	00
One Rick of hay	06	00	00
Four small hoggs or sheathes	02	00	00
One wagon Ready to Runn	06	00	00
One plow three harrowes one water trough two shoots one water bucket and a Rope	02	10	00
Twenty watles	01	00	00
One horse	01	00	00
One Chaine	00	02	06
Wheat upon y ^e Ground tilling & dunging	06	08	00
Things unseen and forgotten	01	10	00
	Parts in vessells		
Due from Thomas Ayers	22	01	03
	Uncertaine debts		
A part of the Isabella Flyboate John Humphrey } master }			
An Accompt of Mathew Ayers Concerning a shyp } lately lost }			
An accompt with $\frac{r}{m}$: Mountague			
Earnings due from Thomas Ayers Vessell			
	Desperate Debts		
<i>Item.</i> —One Bond of Joseph Deane	03	07	03 $\frac{1}{2}$
One Bond of Abraham Peirey	30	00	00
One Bond of Thomas Humphrey	293	00	00
One Rond of William Brapple	10	12	00
A Judgment upon John Humphrey	70	00	00
Due from Holmes of Hasting	10	00	00
One Bond of William Vphill	19	15	09
Sume tottall of <i>Desperate</i> debts	436	15	00 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sume Tottall of Stocke & Good Debts.	j226	00	09
Samuel Peirce. } The mark of William Ffryer } Apprizers. Thomas Beard. }			
Thomas Barrett, Reger Deput: ”			

¹⁸ Wooden shovels, large and broad.

¹⁹ Hollow boards without handles, to shovel corn with, narrow and shallow.

²⁰ That is, these sixty taggs or tegs had been put out to keep, in the Weald

²¹ A small village, close to Newhaven.

MEMORANDA RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF
BOORD, BORDE, OR BOARD.

WITH A MEMOIR OF ANDREW BORDE, M.D.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A.

PRODUCED AT THE LEWES QUARTERLY MEETING, JANUARY, 1853.

By the kindness of our member, G. R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A., I have been favoured with the loan of an early printed book, the fly-leaves of which contain some notes written by a Sussex gentleman in the sixteenth century. Besides being in themselves somewhat curious, they afford us an opportunity of recording some memoranda relative to the family of the writer, which, although now extinct in the elder line, was for a lengthened period, of considerable influence and importance in the county.

The book referred to is a small folio, and comprises two distinct works, which have both been copiously annotated by some diligent juriconsult. The first work is 'Natura Brevium, Emprynted by Richard Pynson,' which occupies the larger portion of the book; the second is 'Tenores Novelli,' in a much smaller type, "Impressi per me Wilhelmum le Tailleur, in opulentissima civitate Rothomagensi . . . ad instantiam Richardi Pynson." The back of the heraldic frontispiece of the former work is thus inscribed in MS. :—

"GEORGE BOORDE.

"This booke was geven to George Boorde by his
Mr., Johon Sakevyle, the fyrst yere of Kynge Edwarde ye Syxt."

The donor of the book is easily identified with a direct ancestor of the present Countesses De la Warr and Amherst, John Sackville, Esq., of Chiddingly Park in this county, who died in 1557, and was buried at Withyham. His will printed by Collins (vol. ii, p. 274, edit. 1768), is exceedingly interesting.

It is difficult to decide upon the sense of the expression "his Mr." above employed. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many persons of gentle birth were accounted the "servants" of others, especially of noblemen. (See *Retropective Review*, 1853, p. 242) but in the present instance Mr. Boord's patron may have been his "magister," rather than his "dominus," although I am not aware that Mr. Sackville was learned in the law.¹ Between the first and second parts of the 'Natura Brevium' is a fly-leaf, upon the middle of which is written—

"George Boorde berythe name to
be owner of this Booke, 1556."

Below are the following verses :—

"Sidera non tot habet Celum, nec flumina pisces,
Quot scelera [*scelerata*?] gerit femina mente dolos.
Dixit Boordus "

Which, for the information of our lady members, I venture to translate (though under the strongest protest in regard to the sentiment) thus :—

Quoth Boord, with stars the skies abound,
With fish the flowing waters ;
But far more numerous I have found
The tricks of Eve's fair daughters !

Our lawyer probably penned these lines as a disappointed suitor in the court of love ! He ultimately came, however, to a more favourable view of the sex ; since, if I am correct in my identification, he ventured upon a matrimonial engagement, and had two sons and six daughters.

At the end of the 'Natura Brevium' is drawn an open hand with a slashed sleeve. From the thumb and middle finger proceed these two lines written perpendicularly—

"Ffortune be ffrendly,
Qd. Thomas Gryffith."

At the top of the same page is a rude tricking of the arms and quarterings of Pelham. 1 and 4. *Azure, three pelicans vulning themselves argent.* 2. *Ermine, on a fesse gules, three*

¹ Unless indeed we may infer as much from the fact of his having made his own will—"my very true and last will and

testamente, as in this paper written, every worde with my own hande."

coronels, or. The third quartering cannot be made out, as it has been cancelled by a later pen. The crest is a cage (allusive to the captivity of John of France, who was taken at Poitiers by Sir John Pelham) which is no longer borne by the family. (See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. III, page 216.)

Opposite the last page of the Tenores is this memorandum :

“Md. I was Admyttyd yn Grey’s Inne ;”

but as the name of George Boorde is not to be found in the records of that inn, this note was most probably made by Thomas Griffith, a former owner and annotator of the book. There are other pen sketches and scraps of Latin on various leaves, which do not require particular notice.

A George Boorde occurs in the index of Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.*, but on referring to the specified page, I cannot find any mention of the name.

I think there is no doubt of this gentleman’s identity with the George Boorde, whose name stands second in the sub-joined pedigree.

I have not met with the name of Borde in connection with Sussex earlier than the sixteenth century. It seems not improbable that up to the beginning of that period the family had occupied but an obscure position;² in fact, there is pretty satisfactory evidence that it was only then that they emerged from the bondage of feudalism. “George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, by deed, dated 27 June, 2 Hen. VIII (1511), enfranchised Andrew Borde, son of John Borde, his native or villain belonging to his manor or lordship of Dychening (Ditchling), in the county of Sussex, and him, the said Andrew, made free from all bondage, villainage, and servile condition ; so that neither he, the said lord, nor his heirs, nor any one else on their account, should, for the time to come, have any right or claim in or upon the said Andrew, nor on his goods or chattels.”³ It is probable that the father of the manumitted person was an inhabitant of Cuckfield,⁴ where we soon after find the family rising into opulence and importance.

² The name appears to have been originally Norman ; “de la Borde” being a well-known patrician patronymic. I have elsewhere had occasion to show that many a proud Norman family sank, in the lapse of ages, to the ranks of plebeianism.

³ Madox, *Form. Angl.*, No. 765, quoted in Horsfield’s *Lewes*, vol. ii, p. 80.

⁴ The manor of Ditchling extends over a considerable portion of the parish of Cuckfield.

Somewhat more than a quarter of a century subsequently to the date of this deed, namely in 29th Henry VIII, and again in the 38th of the same reign, Nicholas Boord held of the manor of Portslade, one messuage and lands called Brantridge, in Cuckfield,⁵ now an estate of considerable value. We next find the Boords giving name to Boord—or Board Hill in the same parish, where, and at Paxhill in the parish of Lindfield, they continued for many generations to reside.

Other persons of the name, but who are not brought into the pedigree, may be here mentioned, especially the far-famed Andrew Borde, the physician and humorist, whose life, as one of the worthies of Sussex, has never received sufficient attention. According to Anth. à Wood, he was born at Pevensey, but Hearne corrects him, and gives, as the place of his nativity, Bound's Hill, in Sussex, by which he probably means Bourd's or Boord Hill, in Cuckfield,—a statement which, if correct, would make "old Andrew" an immediate connection of the principal family. But that Andrew was connected with Pevensey by residence and property is well established. Contemporary with him, and probably a near kinsman, was another Doctor Borde, who held the vicarage of Pevensey, the vicarage of Westham, and the chantry of the chapel of Northye in the adjacent marsh. In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' of Henry VIII, his valuable preferments are thus stated :

	<i>" Pevensey.</i>	£ s. d.
" Ricus. Bord, doctor, vicarius ibm. valet clare per annum, &c.		18 6 8
	<i>" Westham.</i>	
" Ricus Bord, doctor, vicarius ibm. valet clare, &c.		21 10 10
	<i>Cantaria de Northyde (sic).</i>	
" Ricus Bord, doctor, capellanus ibidem valet, &c.		2 13 4

Reserving some notices of Andrew Borde as a sequel to this paper, I return now to the Boords of Cuckfield and Lindfield.

Stephen Boord or Borde, whose name stands at the head of the pedigree as of "the Hill" in Cuckfield, is described in his will, dated 10th February, 1566, as "of Lindfield." He directs his body to be buried in the church of Lindfield, and gives to the repairs of that church and of Cokefelde, ten

⁵ Burrell MSS. cited by Horsfield, Sussex, vol. i, p. 253.

shillings each.⁶ He was interred in the south transept at Lindfield where, on a marble slab, were formerly to be seen brasses representing himself, his wife, and their four sons and three daughters, with the following inscription :—

“ Stephen Boorde and Pernell his wyfe resteth here after the troubles of this world, in assured hope of the resurrection : which Stephen decessed xxij day of August, in y^e year of our Lord MCCCC lxxij, and the said Pernell decessed xvij day of June, in the yere above, engraven ; whose souls we commende to God’s infinite mercy.”⁷

Of the children of the pair thus commemorated, George (the presumed owner of the book previously mentioned) and Thomas became the progenitors of the two branches settled respectively at Board Hill, and at Paxhill Park.

At the time when the threatened Spanish invasion excited the patriotism and the liberality of our gentry, we find Thomas Boord of Paxhill, and Stephen Boord of Boord Hill (afterwards knighted), contributing the sum of thirty pounds each towards the defences of the country.⁸

From that period the two branches of the family seem to have pursued the steady and comparatively undiversified career of country gentlemen, forming respectable alliances, and continuing the name by a rather numerous progeny, as will be seen by the following pedigree. The Board Hill branch I have been unable to deduce below the year 1720 ; but the Lindfield branch I have traced down to its extinction in the male line on the death of William Board, Esq., in 1790. From that gentleman, through his youngest daughter and coheirress, the Lindfield estate passed to the Crawfurds. The late William-Board-Edw.-Gibbs Crawford, Esq., who died in 1840, left two daughters and coheirresses, the elder of whom is married to Arthur W. W. Smith, Esq., now of Paxhill, the old family seat of this branch. Both the lines produced several younger sons ; and the name is by no means extinct in other counties, though it seems totally so in this.

⁶ Will registered at Chichester.

⁷ Burrell MSS.

⁸ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. I, p. 33, and p. 37.

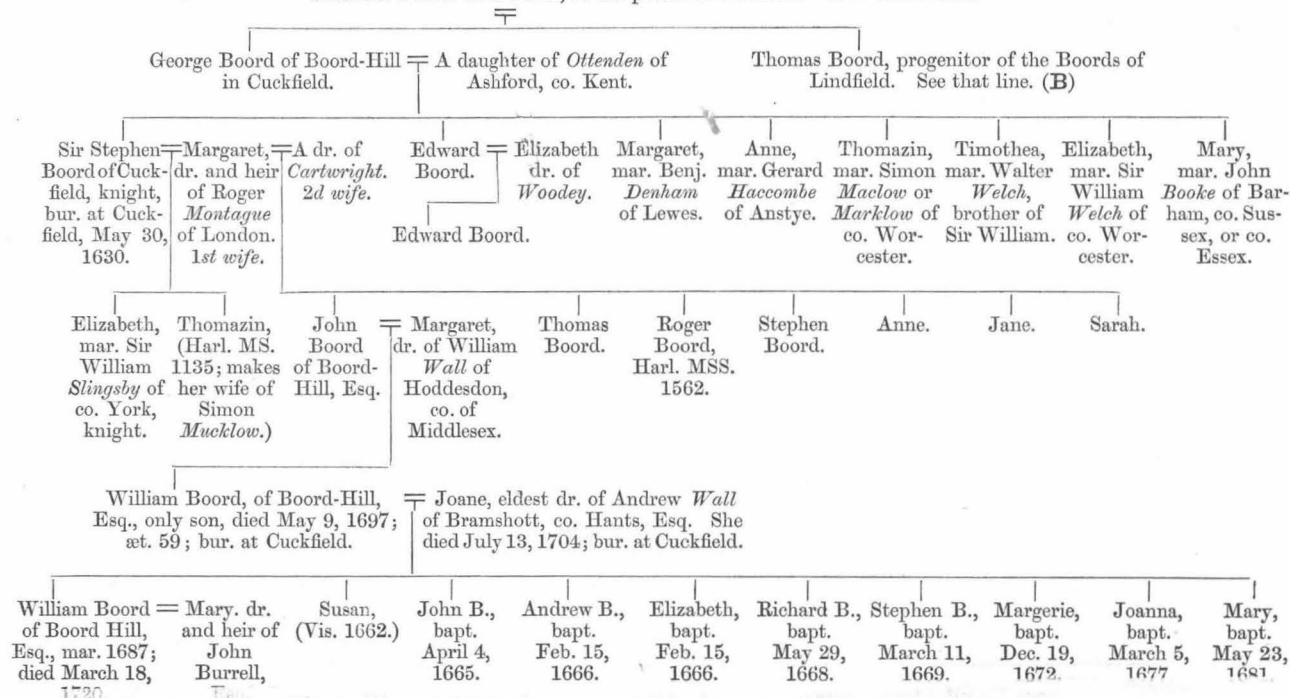
PEDIGREE of the Family of BORDE, BOORD, or BOARD, of Cuckfield and Lindfield,

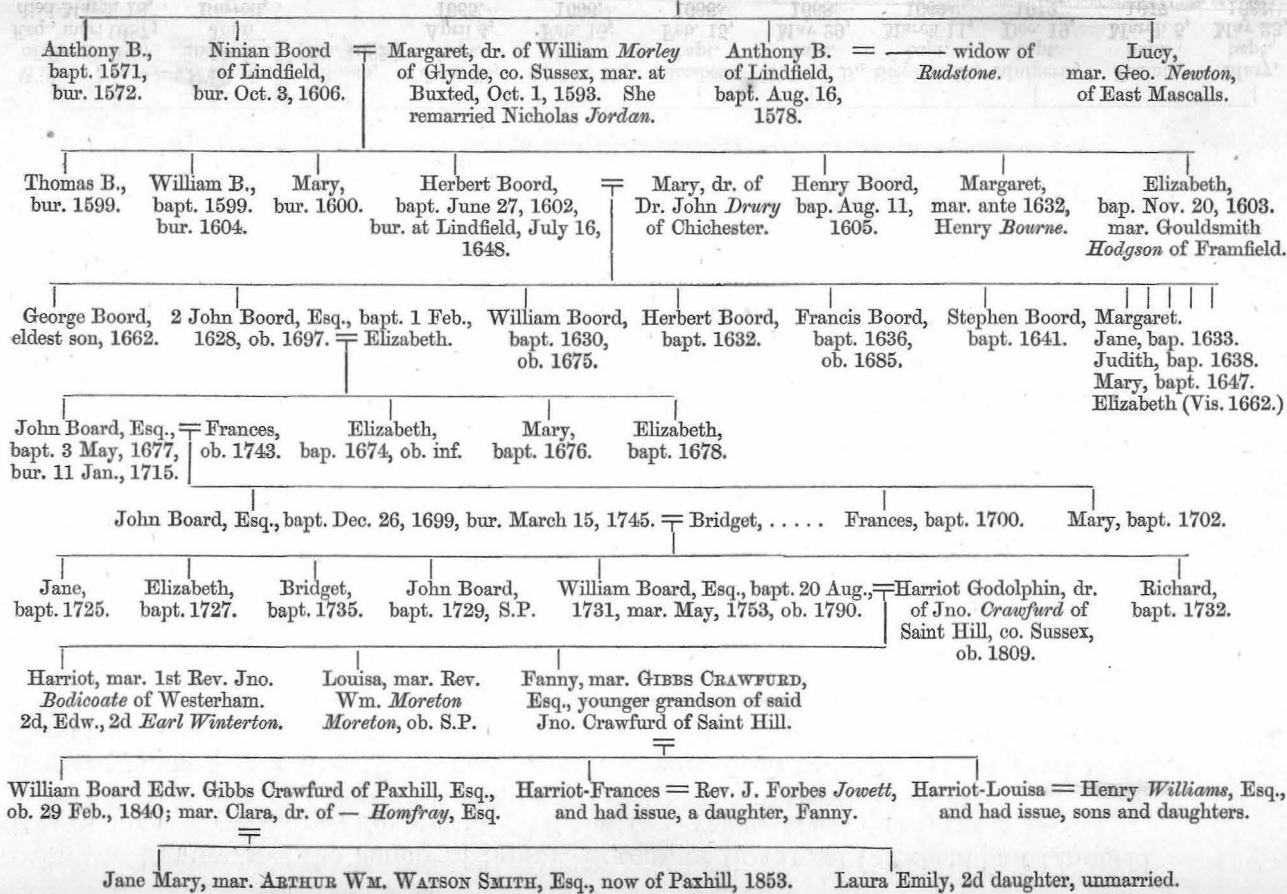
Compiled from Harl. MSS. 1084, 1135, 1406, 1562; Visitation of Sussex, 1662; Coll. of Arms;
Extracts of Parish Registers, Burrell MSS.; Berry's Sussex Genealogies.

Arms of Boord.—Per fesse, Gules and Azure, an inescoccheon within an orle of martlets Argent.

Crest.—A goat statant, Ermine, horned Or.—*Vis. of 1662.* An “orgazill” Ermine.—*Harl. MS. 1084.*

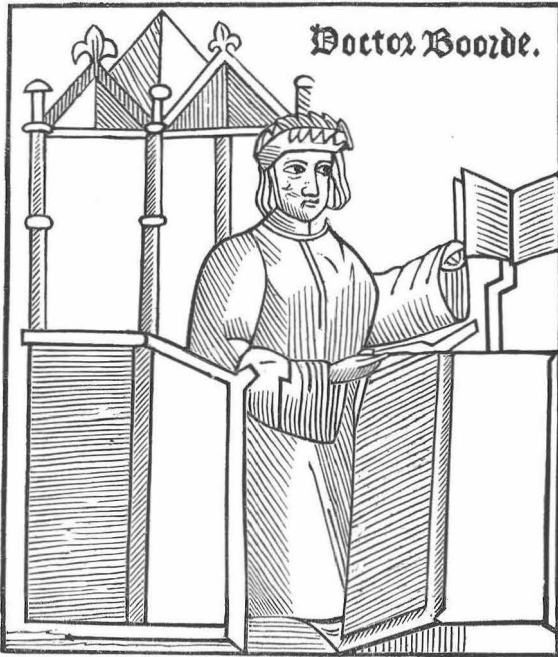
STEPHEN BOORD of the Hill, in the parish of Cuckfield. Will dated 1566.





BOARD, BORDE, OR BOARD.

NOTICES OF ANDREW BORDE.



THE same uncertainty exists with regard to the early education of this remarkable individual, as in relation to his birth-place. (See ante, page 200.) Anthony à Wood, from whose account the published notices of him have all been chiefly drawn, thinks he was educated at Winchester College and thence removed to Oxford, probably to Hart Hall.¹ Borde himself names Oxford as his Alma Mater, but without specifying his college. He left the university before taking a degree, and became a brother of the Carthusian order at the Charter House, London. At length wearied with the discipline of that body, he abandoned it, and devoted himself to the study

¹ A notice of Borde, in Hay's 'Chichester,' says he was of New College.

of medicine at Oxford. After this he practised his vocation in Scotland, as appears from a work which I shall presently mention; but he seems to have been in no great favour among the northerns. "I being there," he says, "and dwelling among them was hated, but my sciences and other policies did keepe me in favour." Troubled, as Wood thinks (and with great apparent justice), with "a rambling head and an unconstant mind," he next appears in the character of a traveller. "I have traveylyd," he tells us, "specyally about Europ, and part of Affrycke . . . thorow and rounde about Christendome, and out of Christendome." The result of his journeyings he committed to writing in two separate works. The first was a kind of itinerary of Europe—"a booke of every regyon, cuntre, and provynce, shewing the miles, the leeges, and the dystaunce from citey to citey, and from towne to towne, and the cyties and townes names with notable thynges within the precyncte or about the said cities or townes, with many other thynges longe to reherse."² The manuscript of this work with a view to his own advancement, he lent to the king's vicar-general, whom he styles "*one* Thomas Cromwel," by whom it was mislaid and lost. It would appear that Borde regarded this powerful minister as his patron. During his continental tour, he addressed to him the following somewhat important and hitherto unpublished letter:³

ANDREW BOORD to Secretary Thomas Cromwell,
20th June, 1536.

"After humble salutacyon,

"Accordyng to my dewte coactyd I am (causeys consideryd) to geve to yow notycyon of certeyn synystrall matters contrary to our realme of Ingland, specyally ayenst our most armipotent, perprudentt, circumspecte, dyscrete, and gracyose soveryng Lord the King. For sens my departyng from yow I have perlustratyd Normandy, Frawnce, Gascony, and Leyon, y^e regions also of Castyle, Byscay, Spagne, paarte of Portyngale, and returnyd thorow Arogon, Naverne, and now am at Burdoyse (Bourdeaux). In the whych partyes I hard of dyvers credyble persons of y^e sayd countryes and also of Rome, Itale, and Almen, that y^e Pope, y^e Emprowre, and all oyer Crystyn Kynges, with ther peple (y^e French Kyng except) be sett ayenst our sovereyne Lord y^e Kyng; upon the which in all the nacyns y^t I have travellyd a grett army and navye is preparyd, and few frendys Ingland hath in theys partes of Europe. As Jesus our Lord knowth, who ever have your Master,

² Boke of Knowledge.

R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A. by R. Lemon, Esq.,

³ Obligingly transmitted through G.

F.S.A. from the State Paper Office.

and yow with y^e hole realme undyr hys wynges of tuyssyon. From Burdoyse the xx day of June, by y^e hand of your sarvantt and bedman (beadsman).

ANDREW BOORD.

“I humbly and precordyally desyre yo^r Mastershepp to be good Master (as you ever have byn) to yo^r faythfull bedmen, Mast^r Prior of the Charter howse, of London, and to Mast^r Doct^r Horde, Prior of Hynton.

“To hys venerable Master, Mast^r Thomas Cromwell, Secretary to our Sovereynge Lord the Kyng be yis byll del^d.”

There is deep meaning in the postscript. The lesser monasteries had already been suppressed. The larger ones, such as the Charter House and Hinton, were in imminent danger, and the following year witnessed their extinction also.

In a second work which resulted from Borde's travels:—“The Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge; the which doth teache a man to speak parte of all maner of languages and to knowe the usage and fashion of al maner of countreys, and for to knowe the moste parte of all maner of coynes of money, y^e which is curraunt in every region,” &c.—we have many curious details of the subjects set forth in the title-page, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer. It is dedicated to the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, in an epistle dated from Montpellier, 3d May, 1542. It was probably at that seat of learning that he took his degree of Doctor of Physic, in which he was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. But we are anticipating his history; for in the interval between his travels and the publication of his ‘Boke of Knowledge,’ he settled—if that expression can be considered appropriate to one of such vagrant tastes—at Winchester, where he practised as a physician with great success. Here he continued to enjoy the favour of Cromwell, who, though he lost his manuscript, befriended him in other ways; and it is probably to his influence that he owed his subsequent appointment as one of Henry's physicians. His next remove seems to have been to Pevensey, whither he was most likely attracted by his influential kinsman, the wealthy pluralist to whom I have already alluded. The length of his stay here was probably not very great, though he is still traditionally remembered in the district. Here, as elsewhere, he is said to have been in the habit of attending markets and fairs, and of haranguing the crowd for the purpose of recommending his nostrums and increasing his practice. These addresses were

interlarded with witticisms and buffoonery, *ad captandum vulgus*, and brought him the sobriquet of "Merry Andrew"—a title which was assumed by many of his imitators, and perpetuated till within memory by the companion and ally of the mountebank or quack-doctor. Overlooking the simplicity of the age, and the peculiar character of the man, we might well doubt the possibility of a person of respectable family, and a member of a learned profession, so far forgetting what was due to his position; but there is sufficient evidence of his aptitude for anything of the kind in the bombast and rhodomontade with which his writings abound.

It would seem that it was at Pevensey that Borde wrote the "Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham," though this is a disputed point. Mr. Halliwell, in his edition of the brochure,⁴ appropriates these antique jests to the inhabitants of Gotham, an obscure village in Nottinghamshire, which has been for centuries proverbial for the ignorance and simplicity of its inhabitants; but a Sussex tradition connects them with Pevensey, and it is pretty clear that if Borde had any hand in their production he had the Sussex, rather than the Nottinghamshire Gothamites in his eye.⁵ The origin of this collection of lampoons is stated by Mr. Horsfield as follows:⁶

"At a *last*⁷ holden at Westham, October 3rd, 24 Henry VIII, for the purpose of preventing unauthorized persons "from setting nettes, pottes, or innyances," or any wise taking fish within the privileges of the marsh of Pevensey, the king's commission was directed to John, prior of Lewes; Richard, abbot of Begeham; John, prior of Mychillym; Thomas, Lord Daere; and others . . . Dr. Borde (the original Merry Andrew) founds his Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham upon the proceedings of this meeting—Gotham⁸ being the property of Lord Daere, and near his residence" [at Herstmonceux Castle.]

The many jests still told to the disadvantage of the authorities of Pevensey, are doubtless traceable to the satirical humour of Borde, whom the officials of the day had perhaps

⁴ London, 1840, 12mo, pp. 24.

⁵ See this subject discussed in my communication to the 'Archæologist, and Journal of Antiquarian Science,' 1842. p. 129.

⁶ History of Lewes, vol. i, p. 239, note. No authority cited.

⁷ "Last, in the marshes of Kent [and Sussex] is a court held by the twenty-four jurats, and summoned by the bailiffs;

wherein orders are made to lay and levy taxes, impose penalties, &c., for the preservation of the said marshes."—*Jacob's Law Dict.*

⁸ Gotham still possesses manorial rights. Gotham marsh is a well-known spot in the parish of Westham, adjacent to Pevensey: but the manor-house lies near Magham Down, in the parish of Hailsham.

in some way offended. The 'Merry Tales' were widely circulated as a chap-book, in times long subsequent to the author's death. Mr. Halliwell sought in vain for an edition printed earlier than the commencement of the present century. Like Joe Miller's Jest-book, probably no two editions were alike, portions being inserted or abstracted to suit the tastes of different ages and localities. Anth. à Wood bears unhesitating testimony, however, to the antiquity of the original work, which he says was printed in London, in the reign of Henry VIII, at which period "it was accounted a book full of wit and mirth by scholars and gentlemen;" but he adds, "afterwards being often printed, it is now sold on the stalls of ballad singers."

In the edition of Mr. Halliwell (which exhibits satisfactory evidence of some interpolating hand having introduced local names and circumstances, for the purpose of accommodating the anecdotes to the Nottinghamshire village) there are several jests which are still current as belonging to Sussex. A mayor is alluded to, though the first mentioned locality never had such an official; and proximity to the sea is implied in one of the tales; but that which seems most distinctly to point to Pevensey is, the story of some men, who having stocked a pond with red herrings and other dried fish, and finding nothing in the water, next year, but a large eel, came to the conclusion that he had eaten all the fish, and resolved to put him to death by casting him into another pond—a sufficiently broad allusion to the practice of drowning criminals, which formerly prevailed at Pevensey.⁹ The joke moreover was formerly told in East Sussex, as having occurred at this place. The tale is as follows:—

"When that Good Friday was come, the men of Gotham did cast their heads together, what to do with their white herrings, red herrings, their sprats, and salt fish. Then one consulted with other, and agreed that all such fish should be cast into the pond or pool which was in the middle of the town, that the number of them might increase against the next year. Therefore every one that had got any fish left did cast them into the pond. Then one said, 'I have as yet gotten left so many red herrings.' 'Well,' said the other, 'and I have yet left so many whittings.' Another immediately cry'd out, 'I have as yet gotten so many sprats left.' And said the last, 'I have got so many salt fishes.' Let them all go together into the great pond without any distinction, and we may be sure to fare like lords the next year. At the

⁹ See 'Custumal of Pevensey,' in *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. iv, p. 210.

beginning of the next Lent, they immediately went about drawing the pond, imagining that they should have the fish, but were much surprised to find nothing but a *great Eel*. ‘Ah!’ said they, ‘a mischief on this Eel, for he hath eaten up our fish. What must we do with him?’ said one to the other. ‘Kill him!’ said one to the other. ‘Chop him into pieces,’ said another. ‘Nay, not so,’ said the other, but *let us drown him!*’ ‘Be it accordingly so,’ replied they all. So they immediately went to another pond, and did cast the Eel into the water. ‘Lie there,’ said these wise men, ‘and shift for thyself, since you can expect no help from us.’ So they left the Eel to be drowned!” (Halliwell, p. 13.)

According to Wood, Borde left Pevensey and returned once more to his “beloved city of Winchester;” but amidst all his wanderings, and in spite of his natural facetiousness of temper, he retained much of the asceticism of his cloistral life. “It was his custom,” says Wood, “to drink water three days in a week, to wear constantly a shirt of hair, and every night to hang his shroud and socking at his bed’s feet, according as he had done, as I conceive, while he was a Carthusian. He always professed celibacy, and did zealously write against such monks, priests, and friars, that violated their vow by marriage, as many did when their respective houses were dissolved by King Henry VIII.” There was, however, a scandalous story propagated against him by Dr. Ponet, the Protestant bishop of Winchester, who, in his ‘Apology for Priests’ Marriages,’ published in 1555, asserts that he maintained in his house in that city three women of abandoned character, and that profligate unmarried priests often resorted thither. “This thing,” adds the bishop, “is so trew, and was so notoriously known, that the matter came to examination of the justices of peace, of whom divers be yet living, as Sr. John Kingsmille, Sr. Henry Seymor,” &c. So grave a charge, attested by such evidence, could hardly be without some foundation, although allowances must be made for the virulence of party spirit which actuated the bishop, who had himself, prior to the Reformation, been under a vow of celibacy, which he had now broken. I am not acquainted with the book in question, but Wood characterises it as containing “a great deal of passion,” and treats the charge lightly, as also a similar tale propagated by Bale, whom he designates “foul-mouthed,”—an epithet to which he is certainly entitled. He adds that he has elsewhere read that the three

women were only patients who occasionally resorted to his residence. Wood seems to hold Borde in higher estimation than a perusal of his writings would justify, styling him not only "a witty and ingenious person," but a "*noble poet.*" As to the latter accomplishment, however, let us hear honest Andrew's own opinion, as expressed at the beginning of the seventh chapter of his 'Boke of Knowledge:'—

"Of noble England, of Irland, and of Wales,
And also of Scotland I have told som tales;
And of other Ilandes I have shewed my mynd;
He that wyl travell the truthe he shall fynd.
After my conseyence I do wryte truly,
Although that many men wyl say that I do lye.
But for that matter I do not greatly pass,
But I am as I am, but not as I was.
And where *my metre is ryme dogrell,*
The effecte of the whiche no wyse man wyl depell;
For he wyl take the effecte of my mynde,
Although to make metre I am full blynde."

When I assure the reader that although this 'Boke' contains many poetical attempts, the one now cited is incomparably the best, he will hardly acquiesce in the judgment of Borde's apologist.¹⁰

Borde was a member of the College of Physicians in London, and, as we have already stated, one of Henry the Eighth's physicians. He wrote several medical works. The principal of these is, 'The Breviary of Health, wherein are remedies for all manner of sicknesses and diseases which may be in man or woman, expressing the obscure terms of Greek, Latin, Barbary, and English, concerning physick and chirurgery.' It is addressed to the members of the College of Physicians: "Egregious doctours and maysters of the eximious and archane science of physick; of your urbanitie exasperate not yourselves against me for making this little volume of physick." Of this work Fuller remarks, "I am confident his book was the first written of that faculty in English," Latin having hitherto been

¹⁰ In Notes and Queries, vol. v, p. 482, there is a Latin song attributed by Dr. Rimbault to A. Borde, and found written in the fly-leaf of a copy of his 'Breviary of Health.' It begins:—

"Nos vagabunduli
Læti jucunduli,— *Tara, tantara teino,*"
The burthen would appear to be a Latinization of the vernacular, "*Down, derry down.*"

the exclusive language of science. He adds that "it contains plain matter under hard words; and was accounted such a jewel in that age (things, whilst the first, are esteemed the best in all kinds) that it was printed 'cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum,' for William Middleton."¹¹ It was originally printed in 1547, and there were subsequent editions in 1548, 1557, and 1587. He also published in connection with his profession, the 'Compendyouse Regimete, or Dietary of Helthe,' which, like the 'Boke of Knowledge,' was "made in Mounte Pyllor." The second edition of it appeared in 1576. He also wrote 'Of Urines.'

We are not surprised that such a man as Borde, living at a period when judicial astrology was reckoned a respectable science, should have dabbled in that occult and recondite lore. Hence his treatise on 'The Princyples of Astronomical Prognostications.'

Beyond the 'Merry Tales of Gotham,' he does not appear to have written any work of an exclusively facetious character; for the tale called 'The Mylner of Abingdon, with his wife and his fair daughter, and of two poor scholars of Cambridge,' mentioned by Wood, is clearly neither more nor less than Chaucer's 'Reve's Tale.' Borde's name is not given in the title, and Wood only attributes it to him on the authority of a mere opinion.

It is not within the scope of this article to give any summary of these singular productions; but there are two or three paragraphs in the 'Boke of Knowledge'¹² which may be noticed as relating to Sussex matters.

The first chapter (the one by which the book has acquired a sort of popularity among people who have never seen it, from its exhibiting a figure holding a piece of cloth in one hand, and a pair of shears in the other, and exclaiming—

"I am an Englysh man, and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mynd what rayment I shal wear")

gives some account of the "noble realm of England." Among the many other advantages which it possesses, he notes the following:—

¹¹ Worthies of England, ii, 372, ed. 1840.

¹² An analytical notice of this work

was printed in the Retrospective Review for February, 1853.

“There is also in Englande more noble portes and havens than in any other region: there is Sandwich, Dover, Rye, Wynchelse, Hastynges, Pensey, Bryght-Hemston, Arndel, Chychester, Porchemouth, Southampton, Dartmouth, Exmouth, and Plommouth. . . . and dyvers other portes and havins long to reherse.”

Thus from Sandwich to Plymouth, both inclusive, there were fourteen “noble portes,” exactly a moiety of which lay in Sussex. It will be observed that no mention is made of either Newhaven or Shoreham. The river Ouse, indeed, in Borde’s time, debouched near Seaford, and it was only on the application of engineering skill, many years later, that it was straightened and made to find its outlet at the village of Meeching, which thenceforth assumed the name of “the New Haven.” Shoreham was in existence ages before as a very considerable port, and it is possible that Borde in his *currente calamo* enumeration omitted it accidentally. But what shall be said of some of the other “noble ports” of Sussex? What of Winchelsea, innocent of sea-craft?—of Hastings, without a single ship (except the three “demi” ones of its armorial shield)?—of Pensey, where the river now steals noiselessly beneath the strand?—and of Bright-Hemston (Brighton), with its elegant but sinecure pier, that has no ships to shelter, no haven to preserve?

Another passage of interest to Sussex people is the following:—

“In the forest of Saint Leonardes in Southsex *there dothe never singe nightingale*, although the foreste rounde aboute in tyme of the yeare is replenvshed with nightyngales; they wyl syng round aboute the forest, and never within the precincte of the foreste, as divers keepers of the foreste, and other credible parsons dwellyng there dyd shew me.”

I believe the same fastidiousness is still retained by “sweet Philomel” with regard to the forest in question. It is accounted for by a traditionary statement that in the holy days of saints and hermits, a recluse who had fixed his cell in some sylvan recess there, was disturbed in his devotional exercises by the bewitching melody of the bird, upon which he pronounced an execration that has had the effect of silencing all its descendants within the holy precinct from that day downward!

Our author’s Latinization of his surname as given in this book is quaint and characteristic enough:

“ Andreas *Perforatus* est meum nomen ! ”

The woodcut at page 206 is a facsimile of one given in the Boke. It exhibits Borde standing in a kind of canopied pulpit with a lectern and book before him : he wears a chaplet of laurel to denote his academical honours.

To return from these desultory observations to the few remaining notices of Dr. Borde's history, we next find this eccentric personage “ prisoner in the close wards of the Fleet in London.”¹³ The cause of his imprisonment, and the length of its duration, I have been unable to discover ; but there, in the month of April, 1549, he died. Wood thinks he was buried in the church or churchyard of St. Bride, Fleet Street. Bale gives another account of his end, affirming that on the discovery of his alleged immorality he “ took physical poysion to hasten his death,” an event which he places in the year 1548. — But this, as Wood shows, is incorrect, for his will was dated in the Fleet the eleventh, and proved the twenty-fifth of the April of the subsequent year. By this instrument he constitutes one Richard Mathew his heir, without stating the consanguinity, if any, between them, and bequeaths to him, *inter alia*, his two tenements in the Sooke, in the town of Lynn in Norfolk, his house and chattels in and near Winchester, and his tenements with appurtenances which he had *by the death of his brother in Pevensey*—who was probably no other than the well-beneficed priest already more than once referred to.

The foregoing pages contain the substance of all that is known of this very extraordinary man, whose life and writings manifest so strange a mixture of respectable and unworthy characteristics—who was “ everything by turns, and nothing long ”—and who united “ the apparently opposite qualities of scholar and pedant—authorized physician and quack doctor—ascetic friar and good fellow—man of genius and buffoon ! ”¹⁴ The times in which he lived were well adapted for the production of such a character, and no subsequent phase of our

¹³ Wood's Athenæ Oxon.

¹⁴ Retrospective Review, February, 1853.

social history could have produced it. Adhering firmly to the old faith, while so many, more from policy than principle, forsook it, he exposed himself to the censure of bigots, who found in the natural levity of his temper a sufficient pretext for their accusations. In spite of these, however, we cannot but entertain some degree of respect for one whose memory is associated with so much that appeals to the joyous part of our common nature.

INQUESTS CONCERNING THE REBELS OF SUSSEX,
AFTER THE BARONS' WAR.

FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

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

AMONG the MSS. Records at the Tower of London, there is a collection of 335 slips of parchment, not arranged in counties, which are the original returns from juries, who had been sworn in the year 1265 in various parts of the country to inquire into the property of those, who during the Barons' war, had taken part against the king either at Lewes or Evesham, or at the sieges of Rochester or Kenilworth, *Inquisitiones de rebellibus* 49^o *Hen III.* Some of these relate to Sussex, and though not embracing the whole extent of the county, have some historical interest as pointing out those who were considered as rebels in that violent disturbance of England then just concluded. Some local value is also due to the preservation of the names of so many jurymen of Sussex at so remote a date.

The hundred of Guestling now comprises Fairlight, Icklesham, and Pett.

No. 162. "Inquest by twelve jurors of the hundred of Gestling, that is to say, by Walter le Hane, Vincent de la Stokke, John Covert, Oliver Hered, Philip de Esse, Elyas l'arblaster, Stephen le Hesel, Warin de Ffarnlee, Nicholas de Stanyng, Henry de Sneylhame, John de Bromham, and William, son of Godeleve, who say upon their oath, that Henry de Oores is one of the Lord King's enemies (*est de inimicis Domini Regis*) and holds land in Gestling, which is worth 50s. a year in all issues (*omnibus exitibus*), and the rent of which at St. Michael's term amounts to 10s., which the wife of the said Henry has taken. Collectors and wardens, John de Bromham, and Henry de Sneylhame."

The hundred of Netherfield includes Brightling, Penhurst, Dallington, and Mountfield.

No. 202. "Inquest held by the undersigned jurors of the half hundred of 'Neddrefelde,' namely, by Henry de Panehurst, Robert de Bromham, John de Smalefelde, Adam de Britling, Walter the Turner, William de

Tonstal, who say that the Lord Earl of Gloucester has taken seizin of the lands and tenements of Sir Mathew de Hastings in the manor of Neddrefelde. The extent and yearly value of the same in rents, issues, and other matters, 9 marks (£6); by the rent at the term of St. Michael, 26s. 8d., also the jurors say that the Lord Earl of Gloucester has taken seizin of the manor of 'Mundefelde' of Roger de Sthokenhurst. Its yearly extent and value, all things computed, £4; rent at the term of St. Michael, 28s.

Fellow jurors, William de Hasting, Geoffry de Huckestepe."

Gilbert de Clare, the Earl of Gloucester here referred to, had been the principal companion of Simon de Montfort at the battle of Lewes; but by changing sides, and becoming a leader of the royal army against him at Evesham, had obtained many profitable grants from the king.

Milo de Hasting was, at an inquest of the hundred of Dunstone, reported as having been against the king, and one of the meyney of Simon de Montfort the younger, but that he was not at Evesham or Kenilworth, but for two years continued to follow Simon de Montfort the younger.

The hundred of Ninfield comprises Hoo, Catsfield, and St. Leonards.

No. 247. "Inquest held in the hundred of 'Ninefeld' by Hugh de Goding, Simon de Catsfield, John de Odecumb, Ralph de Swynham, Thomas de ho, Robert Ingeram, Gregory de Chelilond, Andrew Ingeram, Geoffry Frauncis, and Andrew de Thorne, William de Broc, and Symon the Turner, jurymen, who say on their oaths, that the Earl of Gloucester, has taken seizin of the manor of Ho, which is worth 30 marks a year in all issues, and nine marks, 3s. in rent at St. Michael's term. Wardens, Thomas de Ho, Gregory de Chelilond."

No. 172. "Inquest of the liberty of 'Pevenise,' namely, by the undersigned, Nicholas de Horseye, Walter de Bosco, Michael Stunt, John Herdant, alexander atereldechurche (*at the old church*) Ralph Prior, Robert de Glinde, Le Ingeram Atere, Adam de Radeine, Walter ate Dune, William Gaungy, and John Perching, who say on their oaths, that Thomas de Aldeham, has taken seizin of the land of John le Poer, in Lempham, and the land is worth 10^m. in all issues, and they also say, that the said Thomas has taken seizin of the land of Robert de Westenovere, in Lempham, sixty aeres, worth 60s. a year. Also they say that the Earl of Gloucester has taken seizin of two hundred and fifty acres of the land of William de Westenovere, worth £12. 10s. a year. Also they say that the Earl has taken seizin of the land of William de Westenovere, in Hovore, six score and five acres, worth 12^{li}. 10s. a year. Wardens, Michael Wyland, Thomas Stunt."

The hundred of Willingdon comprises East Dean, Friston, Jevington, West Dean, Willingdon.

No. 30. "Inquest held in the hundred of 'Wilingdone,' by Alexander de Retteton, Robert Gaschoyne, Simon Payn, Thomas de Leme, Richard de

la Brack, Ralph de Hammes, Richard Saget, Peter de Jetteslescumbe, Thomas Jop, William Turgys, Robert de Bremburgh, Andrew de Croubirge, jurymen, say on their oaths that the men of Thomas de Audeham, took seizin of the lands and tenements of William de Goldingeham, in the parish of Wilindone, and yet hold them, their yearly valuation £10, and rent at Michael's term 3s. 8d. Also the men of the said Thomas de Awdeham, took seizin of the land and tenements of Richard de Estferles in Burghtone, and hold them. Their yearly valuation 14s., rent at St. Michael's term 14½d. Also the men of the Lord Earl of Gloucester took seizin of the land and tenements of William de Westenovere, at Wannack, and hold them, valued at 20s. a year, and 3d. rent at St. Michael's term."

The hundred of Longbridge comprises Arlington, Berwick, Folkington, Wilmington, and Littlington.

No. 16. "Inquest held by the hundred of 'Langebregge,' that is to say by the undersigned jurymen, by Richard de Estferles, Henry de Alvircheston, Nicholas le Drove, Richard le Drove, Eustace de Messingeham, Robert de la Hale, William le nenne (*nain* ?), Richard de la Denne, Thomas Prat, Robert the Bedel, Thomas Cardon, John le Ffader, who say concerning William Marmyon's¹ manor, of Berwick, that the first seizin was taken (*prima seisinā facta fuit summo mane*) early in the morning, on the day of St. Laurence, by the men of Sir William de Say on behalf of the Lord Earl of Gloucester, and they took nothing from it, and afterwards on the same day came Sir William Maufe, with many men and violently ejected a certain man dwelling there, on behalf of William de Say, seized the manor on behalf of the Lord John Earl Warenne, and the men of the said Earl Warenne took profits therefrom, and afterwards the men of the said Earl of Gloucester returned there, and yet sojourn there, and keep the said manor together with the men of the said Earl Warenne. The annual valuation of the lands, meadows, pasturage, and customary works, 24^{li}. 9s. 7½d., the annual rent of fowls and eggs 6s., the annual rent agreed upon 24^{li}. 12s. 3½d., the annual rent of the mill 66s. 8d., and the money-rent at St. Michael's term 7^{li}. 0s. 2½d. The same jurymen also say, concerning the manor of Midelton, that John de la Hay and the Lord Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, took the first seizin (*habuit primam seisinam*) of two parts of the said manor, and took the fief of the tenants; and afterwards came Sir William de Rosseham and seized the said two parts of the said manor. Valuation of the lands, meadows, pasturage, customary works, and mill, 17^{li}. 7s. 9d. a year, the annual rent of fowls and eggs 15d., and the money rent 6^{li}. 13s. 10d., and the rent at St. Michael's term, 33s. 10d. and [*imperfect*] . . Midelton and Thomas Cardon, keep the manor of Berewyk and Midelton."

The hundred of Totnore comprises West Firle and Bedingham.

¹ A letter of an earlier date in Henry Third's reign (*Tower MSS.* 73) from the Sheriff of Sussex, complains that Robert Mortimer and Ralph Tirel, constables of Pevensey, had prevented him from giving seizin to Robert Marmyon, junior, of the

lands of his father, Robert. By the inquest of 1275, the manor of Berewyk is stated to have been formerly in the hands of King Henry I, and then was held by William Marmyon, but they knew not the nature of his tenure. *Rot. Hundred.*

No. 114. "Inquest of the hundred of 'Toltinore' concerning the manifest adversaries of our Lord King, and their adherents in the time of the disturbance (*turbationis*) and war lately arisen in the kingdom, who they are, and where they are living, and with whom they stood. Sir William de Munchenes, and Sir William de Clovile his knight, William de Hadestoke of London, Reginald de Mildeneke stood against the Lord King in the disturbance, inasmuch as they were at the battle of Lewes, and at the siege of Rochester Castle, and Sir William de Ifeld was not there nor at the Rochester siege.—The land of William de Ifeld at Ifeld is worth £5. a year.

The hundred of Hartfield comprises Hartfield and Withyam.

No. 226. "Inquest held by twelve jurymen of the hundred of "Hertefeud," that is to say, by Thomas de Yvedale, Richard Ffransy, William Cocheworth, Richard the turner, Geoffry Hamun, Thomas de ffysherigg, Gilbert Bassett, William atte Hame, Walter de Balneseye, Gervase de Byrickdenn, William Pertrych, and Roger Attewyk, who say on their oaths that William de Maufe and Roger de Horn have seized (*seisiverunt*) the manor of la bothurst, which belonged to Jordan de Saukevill in Wythyhame, which is worth 20^{li} a year in all issues; the rent at St. Michael's term amounts to 50s. Also they say on their oaths that Maunde de Paille seized (*seisivit*) the land of Richard de Sutton, which is called ffryston in Hertefeud, and is worth one mark a year in all issues, there is no rent at St. Michael's term. Also they say on their oaths that Roger de Horne has seized a certain piece of land which is called Were copesland, which belonged to the parson of Hertefeud, and is worth in all issues 12d. a year. Collectors, Thomas de Hyndedal and William atte Hame."

The hundred of West Grinstead comprises the parishes of Ashurst, Ashington, Shipley, and West Grinstead.

No. 241. "Inquest made by the jurymen of the hundred of Grensted by John de Dennefeud, Walter de Waldis, Ralph de Heseldenn, John de Brochurst, John de Scheelvestrod, Robert the potter, John of the mill, William de la Medewaye, Robert le lynetier, who say upon their oaths that Robert de Horn seized the land of Robert le Poer in Walesbech, the annual value of which in all issues is 38s. 7d. the rent at St. Michael's term from which amounts to 19d. Collectors, John de Dennefeud, Walter de Waldis, and the tenants of Walesbech are in seisin of the said St. Michael's rent."

No. 36. "Inquest held in the town of Lewes by the undersigned, Richard Dod, John Bever, William Bever, Thomas de Ponte, John de Mallinges, Geoffry Scrase, William Axe, John Page, Richard Conibare, William fnot, Gervase the tailor, and Robert Hoter, being sworn, say upon their oaths that Arnald de dipe was against the king, and that the Earl Warenne took his tenement into his own hands, of annual value 15s. concerning William Wybur they say that the Earl has seized his tenement, worth 20s. a year. Wardens, Thomas de Ponte and John Page.

The hundred of Fisbergate comprises Shoreham, Kingston, Portslade, Hangleton, and Aldrington.

No. 323. "Inquest made by the half hundred of 'fisheresgate' by the undersigned, namely, by William de Middleton, William Snelhals, John Novenden, and Godfrey le Prat, together with the undersigned of Whalesbone. The jurymen say upon their oath that the Earl of Warenne has seized (*seisivit*) the manor of Porteslade, namely, the land of John de Burgo, and the value of the demesne land is, 12 marks, and the yearly rent £18. 12s. 8½d., namely, at the feast of St. Thomas, with the rent of Lewes and the shepherds' leases, (*firme bercariorum*) 21 marks a year, namely, at the feast of St. Thomas, 7 marks; at the Nativity of St. John, 7 marks; and at the Nativity of St. Mary, 7 marks; and a windmill in such bad condition (*adeo debile*) that no one holds it on lease; and no rent comes from the said manor at St. Michael's term. Wardens, William Snelhalls and John Novenden."

The hundred of Whalesbone comprises Brighton and Blatchington.

"Inquest held of the hundred of 'Walesbone' by the undersigned, namely, Walter de Radingden, John de Erlye, Roger Attewyk, Hugh Cler, jurymen, say upon their oaths, that the Lord Earl Warenne has seized the land of . . . de Bevendene, that is to say, the land of Nigell de Brok, and the land of Hawisia de Nevill, rent of the land of Nigell de Brok there 33s. 4d. a year, at the four terms, namely, at the feast of St. Michael 8s. 8d., and at the Nativity of our Lord 8s. 8d., and at the Annunciation 8s. 8d., and at the Nativity of St. John 8s. 8d., and the demesne with pasturage worth 20s. a year, and the land of Hawisia de Nevill there in demesne and pasturage is worth 4 marks, because she has no rent from it; but the said Hawysia de Nevill and Nigell were never against the king. Wardens, Roger de la Wyke and Walter de Radingdene."

In the inquest of 1274-5 from the hundred of Brightford, Nigel de Brok is mentioned as having the right of wreck on the coast by ancient tenure, such articles to be kept for a year and a day, liable to surrender to the owners on expenses being paid.

No. 270. "Valuations and inquests made in the half hundred of la Danne and Ristone, by William de Hettone, William de Sirington, Walter de Sirington, Richard Silverlock, Richard Elys, William Atebernethe, Adam de Rusparre, William Attevell, John Steury, and John Cuparin, jurymen, who say concerning the manor of Siffelde, (*Sheffield*) which was Simon de Montfort's, that John Earl de Warene first seized it by Richard de Walesberghe and Sagar de Roseto, also the land of John de Mucegros by the same, which is in Flessinges, (*Fletching*); and there was in the demesne of the land of the Earl of Leicester sixty acres, each of which was worth 2d., total 10s. Also they say on their oaths, that there are there in rents £4. 13s. 4d. a year, of which Richard de Walesberghe has received 3s. 4d. at St Michael's term. Wardens of the manor, Henry de Walesberghe and Robert de la Bure."

The hundred of Typenoke comprises Alborne, Henfield, and Woodmancote.

No. 183. "Of the valuations and inquests in the hundred of Typenoke, namely, by Robert de Wifely, John de la felde, Robert de la felde, William Scruthe, William de Cotteslonde, Thomas de Kingesforde, John de Wantely, Martin Wombe, Ralph Wastepaille, John Norhays, Symon de Mattstone, Adam Hene, the aforesaid jurymen say that the manor of Nigel de Broc, namely, Alburne, has been seized by Sir William Grandin, and they say that the valuation of the land of the said manor is set at 300 acres of arable land, and pasture and wood, namely, 4*d.* per acre, total £5., also of meadow sixteen acres, at 18*d.* each acre, total 24*s.*, and of rent 20*s.* at the four terms of the year, namely, at the feast of St. Michael 5*s.*, and at the feast of St. John Baptist 5*s.*, and at the Nativity of our Lord 5*s.*, and at Easter 5*s.* Names of the wardens, William Wernethe, William de Cotteslonde. The said Nigel was never against the king."

The hundred of Eseborne comprises Midhurst and ten other parishes. The hundred of Rotherbridge comprises Petworth and six other parishes. Boxgrove and Avisford are now distinct hundreds, each comprising twelve parishes.

"Valuation and inquest made in Sussex of the Hundred of 'Eseburne and Rutherbruge,' and Boxe-avesforde, namely, by the undersigned William Penarthe, William Albid, Adam le Boys, William de hiburdene, William audat, Thomas le frye, William Russell, Robert West, Richard de Howyk, Ralph de Wudeham, Henry de Wytelingeton, Andrew Drocfort, William de la Rode, Stephen de la Gripe, John de Nywode, and Henry de la Wyk, who say on their oaths, that half the manor of Codeslawe, has been seized by the Earl of Gloucester, and the Wardens of the said manor, that is, Luke de Wyam, William Byaudesert, who hold seizin for the said Earl of Gloucester, do not permit the king to have seizin or entrance in the said manor."

The hundred of Manwood comprises Selsey, and six other parishes.

No. 189. "Inquest made in Sussex of the hundred of Manewude, Boseham, and Pageham, by the undersigned, namely, by Geoffry de Gudeyerewude, John de Sumerleie, William de Liperinge, John de Boys, Robert de Willenale, Mathew the tailor, Geoffry the farrier, William de Lond, Henry de Suth Wude, John Adam, William de Beynham, Henry de Chaldecote, who say that Oiremesham land belonging to William de Everlye, namely, sixty-four acres, was taken into the hands of the Earl of Gloucester, and now is in the hands of the Lord King. Wardens of the said lands, Bartholemew de Ormesham, Andrew le Bedel."

We have also records of "the lands of rebels given to those who were faithful to the king in the time of K. Henry III, in the fifty-second year of his reign." (1267-8) *Rotuli selecti ad res Anglicas spectantes*, ed. Rev. J. Hunter.

Among those thus rewarded for their fidelity, William de St. Leger recovered full seizin of his lands in Farleigh and

Icklesham, of which the king had taken possession as a security for lands confiscated in Normandy, p. 260.

Imbert de Salvus received Burn, Hamme, Waleton, and Awell in a similar manner, p. 264.

Walter de Scoteny had confirmation granted to him of the manor of Bynelesham, and all the fiefs in the rape of Hastings which he held of the Bishop of Chichester, and the manor of Orsham in the honor of Clare, and all the land which John de Freamville held in the rape of Hastings, p. 264.

It was many years after these searching inquiries concerning rebels had troubled the land and landholders of Sussex, that one more inquest of a very different nature, the last probably relating incidentally to the barons' war, was held in the cellars of Dover Castle, to describe which we must venture to step beyond the limits of Sussex to that neighbouring Cinque Port. The rapid events of the war had caused some wine, which had been "sent for the use of the garrison" there before the late disturbance in the kingdom," as King Edward I describes it, to be overlooked during the frequent transfer of authority within the castle which ensued. When these forgotten stores were reported to the king, he wrote letters, dated March 29, 1278, commissioning those whom he considered the best judges of wine in the neighbourhood "personally" to examine and decide, together with the constable of the castle, whether the wine in question "could be in any way made available for the king's use." These chosen critics were John the Abbot of the Præmonstratensian White Canons of St. Radegund, three miles from Dover where the king frequently sojourned, and of whose good cheer he had experience, and A(nselm) the Benedictine prior of St. Martin at Dover. Though probably flattered by the king's choice of themselves as judges in this matter, yet these trustworthy monks wished to back up their own opinion by that of others and selected those whom they knew to have a competent appreciation of wine. These men of good taste, who met the white abbot and the black prior in the cellars of the castle on this inquiry, perhaps expected with some relish to take the usual means of testing good liquor. Their report to the king, however, will show how different was the result, and how sufficient was their sense of smell to

convict the wine, as unfit for any palate, royal, military, or monastic, without resorting to their sense of taste.

No. 1166, MSS. Letters. "We therefore most devotedly submissive to your commands went in person to the said castle on the morrow of Palms, where in the presence of the most faithful man, the constable of the said castle, Stephen de Penechester, we diligently examined your wines in question, having likewise summoned for this purpose others faithful to you, prudent and of good judgment as to the trial of wines, (*circa vinorum probationem*). We found accordingly twenty-seven casks of wine altogether putrid and spoilt (*omnino putrida et corrupta*), to such a degree that no use whatever can be made of them except the vessels (*exceptis vasis*), more especially since by their look alone they gave such evidence of their putridity that any one would dread touching them to taste, (*ut ea quilibet gustu contingere formidaret*). We have therefore, by the advice of the said constable, and other honest men, given orders that this wine may be dealt with in the manner that putrid and wholly useless things usually are. May the dignity of your kingdom eternally prosper, flourish, and increase."

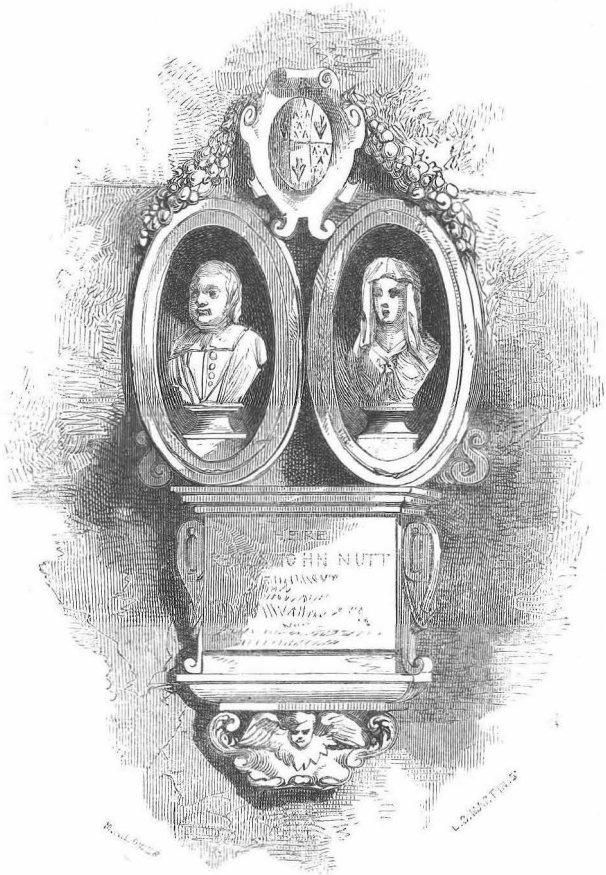
BERWICK PAROCHIAL RECORDS.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILES COOPER.

It is to be wished that, in addition to a dry record of those three great events in human life, birth, marriage, and death, the parochial clergy had noted down more freely than they have done, remarkable occurrences or matters of fact, less important, indeed, to individuals, but of more general interest, as throwing light upon local history or the manners and customs of bygone times. The principal remains of this nature which are left us in the registers and other parish documents of our own county, have been brought before the public by Mr. Blencowe, in the fourth volume of the *Suss. Arch. Collections*. But by the kindness of the Rev. E. B. Ellman, the rector of Berwick, I have had an opportunity of inspecting a MS. volume of miscellaneous intelligence relating to that parish not included in previous researches; and with the aid of that gentleman's local knowledge I propose to select for notice such portions as seem likely to interest the general antiquary.

This manuscript, entitled 'Remembrances for the Parsons of Barwick,' was commenced in 1619 (15⁰-16⁰ James I), by the Rev. John Nutt, B.D., Prebendary of Chichester, and Rector of Bexhill as well as Berwick. He writes a clear legible hand, and is very exact and methodical in remarking everything connected with the parsonage which he considered of moment. His incumbency lasted from 1618 to 1653 (4⁰ Car. II), when he died, and was buried in the chancel of of his church, where two marble busts perpetuate the good man's features, and those of Anne his wife;¹ whilst below, an inscription records simply his death in December, 1653, and hers in May, 1661.

¹ To this lady the parish is indebted for a Communion service of silver gilt, presented in 1630.



Perhaps, through the medium of the Sussex Archæological Society, this MS. may prove his most durable monument, and exhibit his character with more fidelity than the exaggerated panegyrics too frequently inscribed on brass or marble by the partiality of mourning relatives or grateful legatees.

He appears to have been no sooner settled in his living than he applied himself thus to put on record whatever he deemed important for his successors to know. His memoranda are arranged in paragraphs, and numbered; I purpose to append to them such few remarks as seem required for their elucidation.

Remembrances for the Parsons of Barwick:—

1. "There is a portion of tithes to be paid out of Barwick, w^{ch} was due to the Priorie at Lewis and now to the Exchequer of eleven shillings. tis paiaible at St. Thomas. Mr. Stempe of Lewes is now receiver, anno 1619. he is to have 4*d.* for his acquittance. he is to come and fetch it, or send his seruant wth an acquittance to you. or else give notice to you of the day of receipt.

2. "The tenths are to be paid upon St. Thomas vid^{t.} £1. 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Bishop's collector, when he shall give notice. and 4*d.* for the Acquittance, Mr. Thomas Register of Lewes is now collector.

3. "The procurations are to be paid at the Archdeacon's visitation to himselfe or his deputie vjs. 8*d.*, three weekes after Easter, w^{ch} is now the custome of this Archdea: Mr. D^o Buckenham. And for your yeerlie Synodalls w^{ch} comonlie is at Michaelmas 1*s.* 6*d.* to him that supplies the Bishop's place, or his collector. Now Bishop D^o Carleton, Anno Primo Transl.

4. "The Bishop is to have his procurations everie third yeere vid. 4*s.* paid at the day of his visitation at Lewes, in w^{ch} Deanerie Barwick is reckned."

Upon reference to the 'Monasticon,' v, 2, I do not find in the index to the MS. Lewes Chartulary any mention of Berwick as a place where the priory of St. Pancras had property. But in the enumeration of lands, rectories, &c., granted to Lord Cromwell, in the Originalia Roll, "South berwyke" occurs, as it does again in the 'Abstract of Fines' (A.D. 1537), as one of the places where the prior had "tenements and rents." In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' also, we find "Berwicke. Porcio decimarum ibidem per annum 0. 13*s.* 4*d.*" These, no doubt, all relate to the portion of tithes referred to in the text, which had at last settled into an annual payment of 11*s.* to the crown, upon Henry the Eighth's seizure of the possessions of the priory. The payment has long been discontinued altogether.

Synodals, the annual payment due from every parochia minister to the bishop, in honour of his cathedral church, his *see* or seat, and in token of subjection to it, were originally paid at the bishop's synod, or assembly of his clergy. *Procurations*, intended to defray the expenses of visitations, and chargeable upon the inferior clergy, were anciently paid in kind, the clergy "*procuring*" victuals and other accommodations; afterwards they were commuted into a fixed money payment.

5. "The Church of Chichester pretends a certain right to a portion of tithes, or rather pension of monie, to be paid by the Parson to them. But

as yet I neuer paid it, nor my Predecessor, nor haue seene from them, as yet, anie euidence, shew of right, conuaince, guifte, or anie thinge for the clerking of this doubt, twas onse formerlie called in question by Arch. Bucknam, in the last visitation of Samuel" (*Harsnett, translated to Norwich and afterwards to York.*) "Bishop of Chichester, and Mr. Jeffrie² was called, (then Parson and my Predecessor), but he returned and clered himselfe from the paiment thereof (as I thinck), for he paid not the Pension, or the demand of the church, that I am sure of: the Pension w^{ch} they demand is xxs. per annum."

The Priory of Wilmington had a grant from Roger Marmion of tithes in Berwick; and such grants were frequently changed into stated annuities, called pensions. Among the possessions of that priory which passed to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester (see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, IV, 41, 55), was this shadowy claim to a pension of 20s. from Berwick, which seems never to have been substantiated. In the Nonæ returns of 1340, there is mentioned as the property of religious incorporations in this parish, £1. 6s. 8d. belonging to the Prebend of Petiferl (in Chichester Cathedral); 8s. 10d. to "Wilington" (Wilmington); and 10s. 2d. to Lewes. Here again we trace the claims of the two religious bodies.

6. "The Parsonadge of Berwick was parte of the Mannor of Berwick, w^{ch} is now Sir Edward Sackvill's, which tenure is knights service from the Castle o. Pemsie, w^{ch} castle was Duchey land. and soe the Parsonadge w^{ch} I have now bought of Sir Edward Sackvill, wth too akers of the Mannor land called the Wren Wish, is Wardable as the Mannor is, but whether. to the King or anie inferior Lord: I know not yet.

"Postscript.—The Parsonadge is wardable to the King, but not in capite, but in knights service houlding of the honor of the Eagle. as the Mannor of Berwick dothe."

The Marmions, a Norman family, were the first lords of Berwick after the Conquest. From them it passed by marriage to the Greys of Rotherfield. In the reign of Henry II, Adam de Port was lord, whose lands having escheated to the Crown (8^o Joh.), this manor was granted to Allen Basset whose grandson (apparently) fought on the side of Henry III at the battle of Lewes, and is said to have been the last to quit the field. The lordship of Berwick passed by heir general to the family of Deyncourt, and Lords Lovell and Cromwell. We here find it in the hands of the Sackvilles.

² This Mr. John Jeffray (Mr. Lower informs me) was a near kinsman of Sir John Jeffaray, Knt., Chief Baron of the

Exchequer, who lived and was buried at Chiddingly. The name is thus spelt in the will of Edward J., the rector's son.

For more than a hundred years it belonged to the Dyke family; of whom, towards the end of the eighteenth century, it was bought by the father of Viscount Gage, the present possessor. (See Horsfield's 'Hist. Suss.')

Sir Edward Sackville, who thus alienated the advowson of the rectory from the manor, was younger son of the second, and brother of the third Earl of Dorset. He succeeded to the title, as fourth earl, in 1624. Clarendon describes him as a man of considerable abilities, and distinguished both in the House of Commons and in the Lords; but of dissipated and expensive habits, which brought him into many difficulties. He received his estate impoverished by his brother's extravagance, and still further diminished it by his own. Hence, doubtless, the alienation by sale of the advowson.

The *Wren Wish*, so called probably from a former owner—for a family of the name of Wren appears in a list of rate-payers in 1627—though bought by Mr. Nutt at the same time with the advowson, was never attached to the rectory. This land, like so much of the territory around the castle of Pevensey, was *wardable*, or liable to contribute to its defence.

7. "The first frutes of Barwick are £13. 6s. 8d. payable in two yeeres, deductis decimis of £1. 6s. 8d. w^{ch} is payed yeerelie to the Bishops collector ad festū Thomæ.

8. "The tithes of the Parsonadge are all paide in kinde, there is no custome whatsumeuier for anie thinge, and soe I desire it should be continued, for all customes pretended for payinge of tithe have crepte in through our one negligence, and sloth of our Predecessors in that kinde, to the wrong of the Church and losse of there successors in that w^{ch} is there due and inheritance. Et anathema sit qui alienaverit.

9. "The Parsonadge gleabe is freehould of the Mannor of Berwick soe first held from the foundation, for (I have it by tradition) twas made and builte (I mean the Church) by a Lord of the Mannor, and he laied out a wist of land for the Parsonadge gleabe and a Cottage, wth 3 akers and a Cowlease, as to the rest of the tennants, but they are finable at the Lords will, upon euerie death or change, but this free, wthout anie deede to shew for it or conuayance, but onlie custome, the Lord allwaies presenting, w^{ch} perpetual right of presenting to the Church is now seuered from the Mannor, and most part of the coppie-houlders freed by Sir Edward Sackvill now owner thereof, to the greate preiudise of soe fine a Mannor."

The Nonæ returns of 1340 show the ninth of corn, wool, and lambs, to be worth £5. 14s. 4d., which may be considered as nearly the value of the tithes of those articles to the rector. Besides these, he is stated to have:—

	£	s.	d.	
One Messuage with Curtilage, valued at	0	3	4	yearly
21 Acres of arable land	1	1	0	„
Assessed Rent	0	5	0	„
Oblations	0	13	4	„
Tithe of Hay	0	11	0	„
Do. of Hemp	0	4	0	„
Do. of Calves, Geese and Pigs	0	10	0	„
	<hr/>			
	£3	7	8	

making his whole living to be worth £9. 2s. 0d. In 1535 we have seen it valued at £13. 6s. 8d., the tenth of which is £1. 6s. 8d. The very great difference between the present value of livings and these ancient estimates arises in part from the higher money-price of commodities in modern times, but still more from the vastly increased amount of produce raised, both from additional land brought into tillage and from improved methods of farming.

10. "There is to be paid to the Lord of the Mannor of Barwick for the Lord's rent of the Cottage, y^t is the Houseplott and croft behind the house and one aker in the Cott-leases and herding money 2s., w^{ch} one of the Tenants allwaies gathers for the Lord, and calls for it at Hollantide, the Receiver now is William Sussan of Clauerham, and alsoe one hen and 6 eggs at Shroftide."

There can be no doubt but the present rectory-house, like its predecessors, is built upon the piece of land originally granted by the founder. Its convenient proximity to the church, and its agreement in extent, now measuring 2 acres 3 roods 8 poles, sufficiently prove this. The term "lease," which occurs here, and frequently afterwards, is the Saxon "lese," a pasturage; the quantity not being of exact measurement, because dependent in some degree upon the richness of the pasture. The cow-lease here mentioned is about 3 roods 33 poles. The term "wist" will be noticed presently.

The ancient residence for the rector upon the glebe land, the "messuage" before mentioned, is called, no doubt with strict propriety, a *cottage*, like several old glebe-houses in this neighbourhood, those for instance at Alfriston, Chalvington, and West Dean, which still remain. The "cot-leases" are a piece of common land, in which is the cow-lease belonging to the rector. "Herding-money" seems to be a relic of the ancient "horn-geld," the tax paid in the forest for horned

cattle: "Hollantide" answers to Holymas or All Hallows, November 1: "Claverham" is a manor farm in the adjoining parish of Arlington. This quit-rent and herd-money have long ceased to be paid.

11. "There lieth six akers of the Parsonadge glebe in the Parish of Alfriston and in Wineton Lanes which hath allwaies paide tithe to the parish of Alfriston. howe it was conuaied to the Parsonage of Berwick non patet, only custom prescribes for the quiet enjoying of it and possession."

This is a long slip of ground contiguous to the south boundary of Berwick, the exact measure of which is 4 acres 37 poles. Here, as in the case of other pieces of land, named of old from the quantity they were supposed to contain, it is observable that the estimated, or tenantry measure, is usually about one-half more than the real measure. Thus the piece in Winton is called the six acres, being in fact only about four; and another piece of glebe in Berwick, also so called, measures little more than four acres. The word Laine, in this neighbourhood, is applied only to uplands, on the hill-side, and those *arable*.

12. "Quod fælix faustumque sit.

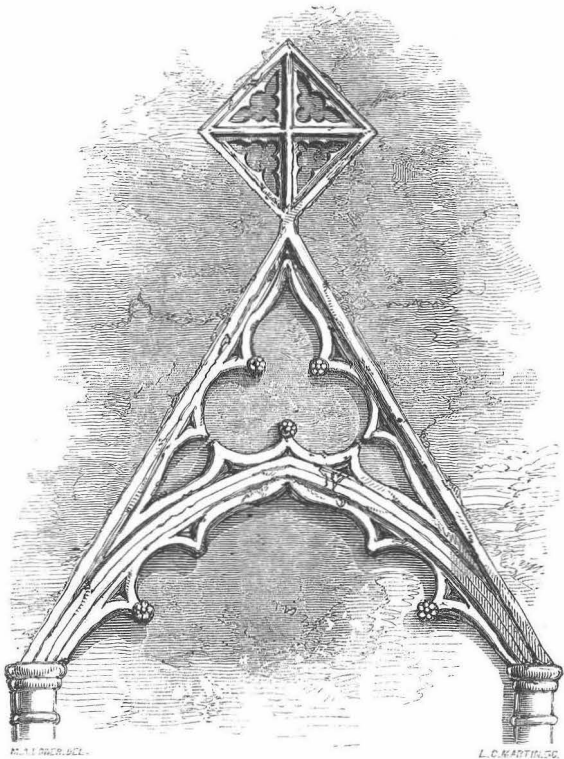
"I built the Parsonadge house in the yeere 1619. and the yeere followinge 1620 I built the new Barne y^t standes upon the north side of the house."

Mr. Nutt's parsonage house, after its completion in the years 1635-6, formed three sides of a quadrangle, with a court-yard in the centre, the two wings having their gables towards the church, and being connected by a low wall, in which was the entrance gate. The south wing was pulled down about eighty years since, and the rest in 1847 when the present parsonage was built. The lower portion of the north gable, and the wall of the court-yard, with the entrance, still remain.

13. "The Wanscoate pues in the Chancell I built up for the Parson's familie, there being before y^t time noe seate y^t he could challenge as of right belonginge to his house, those other seates y^t are upon the south side thereof, excepte that of the Lord of the Mannor, are for his men seruants, the vppermost of them having bin the seate to reade the Praiers in, until I caused it to bee remoued in to the boddy of the Church where now it is."

Great latitude was left at the Reformation as to the position of what is now called the reading desk; whilst many parts of the service, now confined to the desk, were then delivered from the pulpit; and some, indifferently, from either; an evidence of which still exists in the rubric for the Commi-

nation service. The 82d canon only requires, in general terms, that a convenient seat shall be made, at the charge of the parish, for the minister to read the service in; leaving, it would seem, a large discretion to the clergyman and churchwardens as to its form and position. Here we have an instance of the minister's removing the reading-pew, apparently on his own authority, from the chancel into the nave of the church. About the same time (A.D. 1626), George Herbert, when he restored the church of Layton, in Huntingdonshire, using a like freedom, ordered the desk and pulpit to be placed a little distant from each other, and made of the same height, to intimate that neither prayer nor preaching should be exalted above the other. (See 'Life,' by Walton.)



These wainscot pews, on the north side of the chancel, obscured a beautiful mural canopy of early English,—the founder's tomb, perhaps, or the Easter sepulchre.

14. "The rates y^t I take for the sheepe y^t pasture upon the lease and for the calfe and milke of a Kowe are vide^t: For a calfe, if there be not a tithe calfe due, (that is lesse than seven) is 8*d.* and for the milke 16*d.* in all too shillings. I take none in kinde, but agree wth all after this rate, bothe those y^t goe upon the lease and those in the in landes, but, if you please, you may take all in kinde.

15. "For every dry bullock that depastures upon the lease I take 8*d.* in regard y^t they are all bred up, either for the yoke, or the pale. I doo give the pasturage of the working oxen tithe free.

16. "For the sheepe y^t goe from Michellmas until our Lady day, upon the lane and lease, I receiue xij*d.* the skore and for every lamb y^t falls in that time 3*d.* or the lamb in kinde, if you please, and halfe the woll if you please. I haue receiued in kinde of summ of the parishioners after this proportion.

17. "But those y^t goe in the lease only, y^t is from St. Andrew until our Lady day I haue but viij*d.* a skore for the woll, but for the lamb of them if they be ewes, if any fall, as for the rest, towitt 3*d.* the lamb, for as many as fall in the parish."

The custom of the common leases now is that a bullock for each lease be turned out from May 12th to December 11th, *i.e.* from St. Philip and St. James's day, to St. Andrew's day, old style—and three (formerly five) sheep from December 12th to April 5th, old Lady day.

18. "I receiue of forraners³ y^t use land in the parish for there rowens 4*d.* the aker, if it be tennant measure, but vj*d.* if there land be measured land, if they be home dwellers I receiue nothing if they keepe oxen and kine for they are allowed in to the pasturage of there kine, w^{ch} they pay me for at 1*s.* 6*d.* the kowe, and for there oxen against wheate season or there dry bullocks w^{ch} I am satisfied for. The hay I receiue in kinde.

19. "I receiue my hay, cutt, and teded, and cocked vp in grasse cock, the most of the parish make it vp for good alsoe. but y^t they say is more then they ought to doo. but if I will allow them a halfe-penny for every aker y^t is meddowed. that is the Parsons custom, he may make them make it up for good. this is the custom of boath sides, as I am soe informed by those of the most credit in the parish living at my cūming thither which was in the yeere 1618.

20. "There has bin demanded of me a bushell of wheate for the King's prouision of wheate, by Williā Tomkin Constable of the hundred of Long-bridge. I refused to pay it, as an inchroachment upon the Parsonadge. because for as farr as I could be informed by those of the parish. it was neuer used to be seased. this demand was in the yeere 1622, and the like demand was made by Tooby Giles of Auson (*Alfriston*) being Constable, to Mr. Jeffry my predecessor, for this weeate. but he likewise refused it, and by the advise of his counsell was warranted for soe doing. Ould Robert Dabson his farmer carried vp the wheate to the Puruayer and upon advise brought it home againe.

³ "Forraners" is the term yet in common use in Sussex for persons who do not live in the parish.

21. "And the demand of Tooby Giles was made in the yeere 1606, Mr. Jeffry having bin parson of Berwick fifty and odd yeeres and neuer was demanded it before."

The prerogative of Purveyance, being the right of taking everything which the king or his household needed for their convenient accommodation, without the consent of the owner, and at an arbitrary valuation, was a source of endless oppression and complaints. Many statutes were passed to regulate its exercise, but with very imperfect success. In the instance before us the claim was defeated, and the age was now ripe for the extinction of this odious prerogative. A few years later the civil wars suspended it, and it was legally abolished in 1661.

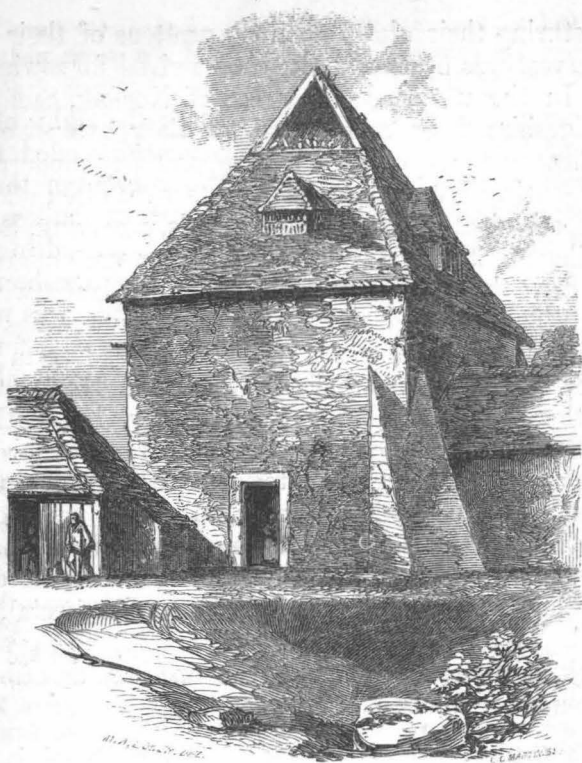
22. "The mill paies me 40s. a yeere for the tithe of her. soe much I receiued of Mr. Edmund Brooke farmer to the manor of Berwick. And when the mill did not grinde but lay still, I had the pasturage of a mare and coult in the pond, in vallew of the tithe. it being all ruff ground and full of quagmires and reede. But if it should be moed by any, then you are to haue tithe of the fodder y^t arises from it, for soe ould Paine reseued tithe thereof from them y^t moed it (in) to halfes. he being both farmer to the mannor and farmer to the Parson of his one tithes, and this he did in right of the parson. Williã Wauker did affirme this to me, that his father had paied it.

23. "The Piggeon house has paied mee tithes and doth this yeere 1622 by Nicholas Dabson now farmer thereof. it is rented at £5 a yeere. but I take them in kinde, and stand to the truthe and conscience of the farmer in the paying of them."

That habitual appendage to a manor house, the Dove-cote, was often a substantial structure, and not unfrequently survived the mansion. In the present instance it still remains, little altered in all probability since it paid tithe to Mr. Nutt; but of less consequence than when it was let for so considerable a sum as five pounds. It is a large square building (*see engraving on opposite page*), with buttresses at the angles, the whole of the interior being fitted up for the reception of the birds, and now stocked with a great number.

24. "The Parsonadge gleabe at Wineton, is to have fould tare according to the rest of the tennants there, proportionably to his quantity of land, because the tennant flock doth eate vp the pasturage upon the land after the corne is of from the ground. and if they deny to you the sheepe fould, you may deny them the gratten thereof."

"Fould-tare" signifies the manuring of the land by the flock whilst folded.



This was one of the two objects sought in reserving the right of foldage. Mr. Albert Way has obligingly drawn my attention to the explanation given by the French glossarists, of "Faultrage" (otherwise "Faudrage") as "Droit qu'un seigneur avoit de faire parquer ses moutons sur les terres de sevassaux," which points out the other object, viz., the provision of food for the flock. Both these are included in the low Latin term, "Faldagium," quasi faldæ-agium or fold-course, which occurs so often in ancient documents, as a privilege retained by the lord to the exclusion of his tenants. The origin of this "liberty of foldage" (*libertas faldagii*) seems to have been this. In the first institution of manors, when portions of land were allotted to villein tenants, the lords kept in their own hands the right of having all the sheep in the manor penned at night where they pleased, for the purpose of fertilizing their demesne lands; they also reserved the right

of depasturing their sheep upon the grattens of their tenants when harvest was over until the time arrived for sowing them again. In the unenclosed districts of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, long remarkable for their extensive sheep-walks, these customs prevailed to comparatively modern times. In more enclosed counties, the tenants were often allowed to have the sole feeding on their own fields, reserving, however, the privilege of the fold, into which they were obliged every night to drive their sheep, to enrich the lord's lands, with their manure. This privilege of the lord is in law writings termed "falda libera;" the obligation of the tenants, "secta faldæ." "This secta faldæ" (says Spelman, writing in 1625) "the lord enjoys there (*i.e.* in Norfolk) to this day, but with some innovation upon the ancient custom. For now the sheep of the lord and his tenants feed together in one flock, under a shepherd appointed by the former, to whose pay the latter contribute; and that shepherd, taking equal care of the sheep of both parties, encloses them all every night in the lord's fold, thus fulfilling the obligation, the suit or service (secta), of the tenants." We shall have occasion presently to speak of a joint flock in Berwick resembling the one here described, but under somewhat different conditions.

25. "The Grattens or after pasture of y^e six akers of grounde in Wineton lanes, the tenant flock of Wineton hath usually had it, for the fould tare. but not otherwise, for if they denie to fould tare it, you may eate it yourselfe, or let it out for a rent. As I this yeere 1623 doo forbid them the pasturage of it, because they denie me my right of sheepefould. Ould Dabson the farmer of y^e Parsonadge for manie yeeres before I came to it, was neuer denied it. his sonne Nicholas Dabson can testifie it if euer in his life time it be questioned.

26. "I did new steene the well from the bottom, and sett on a greate new well curbe it neuer having bin steaned before. at Michaell: 1623.

27. "I have had tithe for the Mill and Mill-pond 40s. p^r annum, the Mill is now sould from the ground. at our Ladie day 1624, the water was let goe and the flud gates taken away. and all y^t summer the pond was part of it meadoed and mowed: part pastured by horses and bullocks. Therefore the pond must be tithable in kinde, although they pretend it to be wast ground, and soe tithe free for 7 yeeres, according to the statute: but reade the statute you shall finde it to be ment of such barren heath and waste as by reason of its barrenness yelde noe profit to y^e honor. this is now rented at 10s. 6d. per aker. I haue hired it of Nicholas Dabson: according to that rate. and therefore is noe such land as that statute implies: land of that prise not being to be accounted barren wastes, which yeld noe profit to the honor."

The mill thus demolished in 1624, had existed from the days of the Conqueror, being one of those mentioned in the Domesday Survey. (See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, V, 266.) A very fine meadow on the south side of the manor house is called the Mill-field, from its proximity to the ancient structure; but the pond was evidently to the north of the house, where the ground is of a low irregular surface and imperfectly drained, requiring no great stretch of imagination to depict it in the state described by Mr. Nutt, "all ruff ground and full of quagmires and reede." The statute alluded to is 2^o and 3^o Edw. VI, c. 13, exempting waste or barren lands from tithe; and giving an exemption for seven years to such land when brought into cultivation.

28. "I have bin allwaies enformed that one halfe of the Pett-lands hath bin in the Parish of Berwick, the whole feild having bin deuided by a greate stone,⁴ which is there yet 1624 July 30. but it hath bin detayned from me and from my predecessor in the latter end of his time, because he let out his tithes to a farmer, and being ould, was loath to make a suite of it against the lay Parsons of Auson, they being great and rich men.

29. "There is three akers and sum odd measure, in the comp, in the parish of Auson, diuided by a great stone⁵ in the lower hedge, from which you must goe katering vp to Auson steeple and all wthin that track toward the sheepe downe is in that parish. which is three akers and odd poule. Mr. Edmund Brooke hath measured it out.

30. "I have now compounded with James Brooke, the owner of most part of Winton village, to be paied yeerely from him 4s. at Micha: for the gratten of my 6 akers of Winton; to end all strife betwixte me and the Tennants there about the pasturage thereof. This composition I made at Micha: 1625: and received my first 4s. of him."

Here follows "a Terrier of all the gleab land belonging to Berwick parsonadge;" the last particular of which only is worthy of remark, as shewing how church-lands have sometimes been lost by the carelessness of incumbents or their inaptitude for business.

"Item, newly discouered, which was purloyned away from the Church 60 years a Rood upon the Hege where Blunts house is.

31. "Anno domi: 1625. I did set vp the Pigeon house, which frame of wood I brought from a farme of mine one: and set vpon the Parsonadge land for the vse of the Parsons, and for there better prouision of house keeping, which I hoope they will maintaine.

⁴ Rather more than a fourth of the Petlands is now allowed to be in Berwick: the boundary stone was removed some forty or fifty years ago.

⁵ This stone cannot now be found. The "Comp" is an arable field in the south-west part of the parish.

32. "Memorandum that your Procurations to the Bishop in his Triennial visitation is but 4*s.* 0*d.*, although the Archdeacons be *vjs.* 8*d.* p^r annum.⁶

33. "Memorandum that whereas, I doo feast at Christmas all the Parishioners: Yet you are to knowe that there is noe such custom to requier it of the Parsons hereafter as a duty or custom, for I was the firste that did beinne it: and may leave it of when I please.

34. "There is noe custom for the taking but 8*d.* for the herbage of a dry bullock, upon y^e lease. I haue recouered more by a sute in lawe against William Susan, of Clauerham: I haue likewise receiued more, especially of forrayners. videlicet the tenth penny that they pay for there leases: for there hath bin payed in the memory of man but 4*d.* for a dry bullock, when a bullock lease was let at 3*s.* 4*d.* and Mr. Jeffry my Predecessor liued to raise the prise to *vjd.* for the tithe of a dry bullock, when as a lease was let at *vs.* 0*d.*, and soe to 8*d.* when a lease was let at *vjs.* 8*d.*: And at that rate I found it: But now they be risen to 9*s.*, and 10*s.*, and 12*s.* a lease. and therefore the Parson may raise his tithe accordingly if he please.

35. "I doo allowe tithe free, to my Parishioners, for euey Wist of land that they till, one oxe pasture upon the lease, if they keepe oxen: not otherwise."

There is much vagueness in ancient measures of land, as of other things. A "wist" in Berwick, according to a subsequent rector, the Rev. John Hawes, was ordinarily 16 acres; but he afterwards found that in some of the farms it was 18 acres. In Saxon times the wist was 4 virgates or 60 acres. "Octo virgatæ unam Hidam faciunt, Wista vero quatuor virgatis constat."

But inaccuracy of measures, whether linear, superficial, or of capacity, is characteristic of a rude state of society. Nothing can be more vague as measures of length than a hand, a foot, an ell, a cubit, all originally derived from portions of the human frame, differing in different individuals; nor are all barley-corns (of which three are supposed to make one inch) by any means of equal dimensions. To reduce such rough measures by a fixed standard to accuracy, is the work of a more refined age, when civilization and science have made some considerable progress. It is not surprising, therefore, that antiquaries are not agreed as to the exact quantities contained in the Saxon hide, or the Norman carucate, the ploughland or the yard-land; which probably, like these wists in Berwick, contained very different quantities in different instances.

⁶ There seems to be a lurking inuendo here against the Archdeacon, as if it were

unreasonable that he should exact more than the Bishop.

“Memorandum that the charge of y^e Building of the Parsonadge dwelling house as now it is: the new Barne: the Pidgeon house: the Well: the garden making: cost me in pecuniis numeratis beside my labor and my seruants in riding vp and downe to buy and prouide materialls, as I can make every penny appeere in my little booke of y^e seuerall particulars payed: to whome, when, and for what, the summe of £337. 17s. vjd.

“Memorandum that whereas a Bullock lease upon the Lease of Berwick is now this yeere 1633 rented out to those that cum to hier them at 12s. p^r lease and hath bin soe this 3 foregoing yeeres when Mr. Grattwick hired my Parsonadge of Berwick of me in farme: I haue taken of all those that occupie them (for tithe of a bullock lease) xijd. Mr. Grattwick hauing don soe before me for the precedent 3 yeeres in which he was my farmer.

“And whereas I haue added a second building to the former, that is the great parlor end with the sellers, and a new timber hed to the ould Parlor, and the brewhouse, the sayd new buildings and brewhouse have cost me too hundred pounds more besides the first building, this being don the yeere 1635 and 1636. As the particular disbursements apeere in my little booke of my tithes, where in euery sum is entred as I paid it, and the parties to whom, and for what materialls the sayd summs were payd. the aforesayd part of the house being built by me at my first entrance in to the Parsonadge Anno 1619. Soe as the house hath cost me in all £537. 17s 6d. Besides many odd summs not reckned, and my labor and seruants and carriages belonging there unto: and mutch of the timber and other materialls brought by my freindes. and a greate part of the Timber I tooke from my land at Ripe.

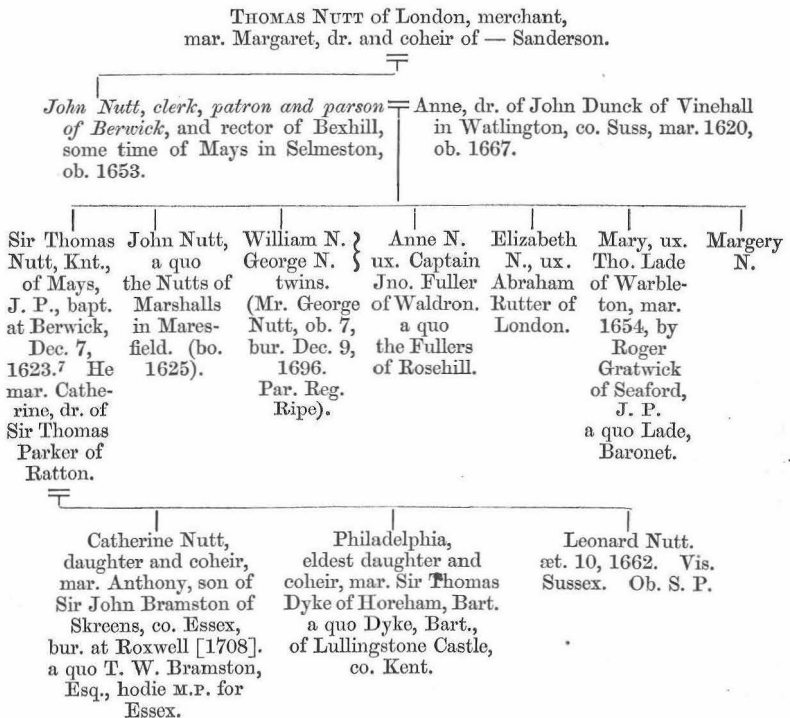
“Memorandum that since theise first and second buildings, I have built up the stone walls about the cloose, courts, Parlor gardens, the Kitchin garden, which cost me £200.”

It appears from these memoranda that the house and premises, first and last, cost the builder £737. 17s. 6d. in hard cash—a large sum in those days. Indeed the house was for its date a good one. It survived in great part till 1847, a period of 228 years from its commencement, when it was removed to make room for the present more commodious edifice.

Here ends the record of this honest punctilious man. That he was wealthy appears from the incidental mention of his private property in addition to his two substantial livings and his stall at Chichester, as well as from the costly character of his house. Of his care for the interests of his successors we have abundant proof in the minute attention with which he registers all the rights and privileges of the “Parsons of Berwick:” he would hand down to them those rights unimpaired and well defined, whilst he is careful not to impose upon them as a matter of right, hospitalities easy to himself,

but which might prove burdensome to them. Yet, desirous that they should be able to follow the example of his liberality, he erects and bequeaths to them a pigeon-house for "there better prouision of house-keeping," which he "hoopes they will maintaine." All credit to him for having in his quiet sphere been a busy and (we will "hoope") a useful member of society, careful of his own and not unmindful of his neighbour's welfare.

Mr. Lower has favoured me with the following pedigree of Mr. Nutt's family; and to that gentleman's kindness I am also indebted for the drawings illustrative of this paper:—



(From a pedigree in MSS. Burrell, Brit. Museum, with additions by M. A. Lower, Esq.)

⁷ An active enforcer of the laws against non-conformity, 1670. See a rare tract on this subject reprinted at the end of Horsfield's 'Lewes,' Vol. i. Sir Thomas Nutt

is also referred to in Palmer's 'Nonconformist's Memorial,' as rather regretting his acts on this behalf.

Possibly some of Mr. Nutt's memoranda may have perished, for a gap now occurs in the MS. from folio 6 to 20, where we find "An Account of Leases, &c., of the Parish of Berwick as they belong to each farm, for the benefit of the Parsons for ever: set downe Anno Dom. 1696." This is the work of John Hawes, who was rector from 1696 to 1743.

Meanwhile three incumbents had intervened, George Hall, Augustin Metcalfe, and Wm. Nowell, of one at least of whom, George Hall, we could have wished that he had left us some specimens of the wisdom and learning ascribed to him on his tombstone:—

GEORGE . HAL^L . RECT^{OR} . OF . THIS . CHVRCH .
 HIS . NAME . SPEAKS . ALL . LEARNING . HVMANE .
 AND . DIVINE . HIS MEMORY . PRECIOVS . BOTH . TO . THE .
 MVSE^S . AND . THE . GRACE^S . HIS EXTRACTION .
 FROM . TWO . ROYAL^L . COLLEGES . THE . ONE . AT .
 ETON . THE . OTHER . AT . CAMEBRIDG . TOGETHER .
 WITH . HIS . SON . GEORGE . BOTH . OR^IGEN^{AL} . AND .
 TRANSCRIPT . ARE . HERE . REPOSED . IN . HOPE .
 OF . A . JOYFV^L . RESVRRECTION . THE . FIRST .
 VNBORNE . IENVA^{RY} . THE 15 . 1668 .

Mr. Hawes contends stoutly against the *tenant-flock* (of which more hereafter) having any right to pass through the parsonage-ground; subjoining this memorandum:—

"October y^e 2^d. 1697. *Item*: that then John Reed the tenant of Mr. Giles his farm came to me, wth John Cane who was shepherd for that year, and in the presence of my wife, and Thomas Tasker, and my maid Susan Hustle, ask'd me leave to let the tenant-flock go thro' my ground, and I gave 'em leave to go thro' y^e barn croft.

"Witness my hand,
 "J^{no}. HAWES, Rect^r."

He also throws light on the manner in which the dole-lands were used—lands of which several persons were entiled to a portion (from the Saxon "dole," a part). Shermon's Brook, a field now cut asunder by the turnpike road from Lewes to East Bourn, contained 20 doles; and the Rector observes,—

"The custom of these doles is, that when it is mowed they are to be equally set out; and then so many lots are put into a Hat, and every one is to take his lot, as it happens. This is the Ancient way of dividing it, excepte the Parsonage dole w^{ch} lies by the dike side." ⁸

⁸ One is here reminded of the di- by Mr. Figg, *Suss. Arch. Collections*,
 vision of the "Drinker Acre," described IV, 307.

This Mr. Hawes seems to have been an assiduous observer of everything connected with the parish of Berwick; he continued the "Remembrances" and wrote a few marginal notes explanatory of Mr. Nutt's memoranda. Amongst other things he has recorded that "The Churchyard was formerly walled round with flint, but after the Restoration it was set up with posts and rail as now it is, being about the year 1662; and it hath been all new set up, and this account hath been own'd by every farmer as here followeth." He then states precisely the several lengths "*own'd*" by the occupier of each farm, the Parsonage "finding the two gates next to the Rectory House." This arrangement of "Church Marks" is still not uncommon in the neighbourhood.

An agreement made in 1721 for the regulation of the tenant-flock is now perhaps becoming a curiosity from the long discontinuance of such associations. In Berwick, as in many other open parishes, a large portion of the arable soil was what is called tenantry-land, consisting of narrow slips, sometimes not more than a few feet wide, lying side by side, the property of which was often mixed up in a very confused manner. Berwick Laine, which contains 154 acres, 3 roods, 13 perches, was divided (according to an old terrier) into 228 such pieces. These were tilled by their respective farmers; but, being without fences, could not be depastured in the autumn except in common. Each farmer therefore contributed a certain number of sheep in proportion to his holding, and the joint flock thus formed, called a tenant flock, was fed and folded upon those slips of land, subject to such rules as afforded a fair share of advantage to all parties concerned. It is obvious that the conflicting interests of the persons engaged in this primitive species of joint stock company would render some regulations necessary for its equitable management: and it is in reference to the tenant-flock in Berwick, as it existed in the year 1721, that we find as the last thing given in this MS., "A Copy of the Articles of Agreement made and concluded this 26 Day of September, A.D. 1721, between us whose names are under-written, which are as followeth."

Perhaps in the annals of South Down farming, it may be worth while to preserve one specimen of the manner in which a flock of this nature was managed.

“*Imprimis.*—It is agreed that from Michaelmas Day next to a Lady Day there shall be no more sheep stock'd upon the Lanes than upon the Common namely three Sheep to every Bullock Lease and from Lady Day to Michaelmas Day following four Sheep to every acre of Green land and two sheep to every acre of Grattan that shall be laid off for the Summer Vallow [*fallow*], and that the sheep that are stock'd for the Tye shall be stock'd in this proportion namely Mr. Hawes sixteen for his Priviledges there, Widow Godly sixteen, Samuel Stace eight, Thomas Susan fourteen. And those which have no land but their priviledge shall keep only three ewes to their Priviledge and no more. *Item.*—It is agreed that each party shall stock two parts in three of Ewes to each Priviledge and one part in three of Dry sheep. And It is also agreed that whosoever stocks more than what is before specified shall pay for each sheep that is overlaid five shillings besides keeping to the other parties concern'd, and so toties quoties as often as any one is found to overstock the said flock either in Lanes or Common. *Item.*—It is agreed that all the Faggots that shall be yearly required to make ways for the sheep shall be found by each party according to the Proporcon of the sheep that he keepeth and that the Faggots when done with shall be divided among them according to the same Proportion. *Item.*—It is agreed that each Party shall have his Part and Share of the Fold according to his Proportion of sheep: And if in that part that is laid out any one hath not his Part and Share of the Fold according to his number of sheep, then any such Person after the said Vallow hath had its course shall have the fold upon any other of Ground until he hath had his Part or Share. *Item.*—It is also further agreed that if at any Lady Day during this Agreement the Ways should be so bad that the Flock cannot be had up to be folded in Vallow that in that case a Fold shall be pitched in the Lower Lanes, or the Ley Sands, Ley Crofts, and shall go cross and cross upon each Person's Ground during the said bad weather. *Item.*—It is also agreed that if any person shall at any time presume to order the Flock into any of his enclosed ground or anywhere else without the Consent of the other Parties, He shall forfeit ten shillings for every time that he so offendeth, And if the Shepherd consent to any such order or connive at any one overstocking the flock without giving notice to the other Parties He shall forfeit for each offence a Month's pay. *Item.*—It is further agreed that these Articles shall oblige each Person and continue in Force and Virtue the whole Terme and Time while they shall stand possessed of the Farmes which they now enjoy. But in case any of their successors refuse to come into this Agreement, then none of the Parties aforesaid shall stand any longer engaged to each other. In Witness whereof we have severally set our Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above written.”

A considerable mass of Churchwardens' accounts still exists in this parish, having escaped the destruction to which such documents are generally doomed; but for the most part the matters to which they refer are of no public interest. I must, however, mention that amongst the things thought deserving of reward, in April, 1690, from the parish funds of this South

Down village were (*horresco referens*) FOXES' heads as well as badgers,—the former at 2*d.* a head, and 6*d.* each for “young badgers.”

In a somewhat long list also of collections made in church for various charitable objects appear the following entries:—

“Dec. 25, 1670. Collected in the preceding week the sum of sixteen shillings and ten pence for a brief towards the redemption of Christian slaves in Turkey.”

And “1673. Collected for the Theater Royall in London the sume of 2*s.*”

This last might square very well with the notions of the “Merry Monarch” and his courtiers, and (it would seem) with those of society at large at that period, but it would now be thought a strange proceeding to raise money by church-brief for the rebuilding of a playhouse. The theatre alluded to was that of Drury Lane, burnt in January, 1671-2. It is fair, however, to add, that the conflagration destroyed also about sixty dwelling-houses, so that a more legitimate cause existed for appealing to public charity than appears upon the face of the record.

Another of these documents, a pleasing evidence of early benevolence towards the poor, is an indenture made in 1663 (14^o Car. II) for binding out as an apprentice to a yeoman of the parish “Ellinor Walnett, a poor child of the age of twelve yeeres untill the age of one and twenty yeeres, or daie of marriage, which shall first happen.”

This is duly signed, sealed, and delivered by the contracting parties, and witnessed by three justices of the peace, viz., Sir Wm. Wilson, Bart., a noted cavalier, who lived at East Bourne; Geo. Parker, Esq., of Ratton; and Sackville Graves, Esq.

Articles of agreement also still exist, dated 24th October, 1698, between John Wood of Bishopstone and the churchwardens and overseers of Berwick, for the new casting of a bell and delivering for that purpose a cord of wood at Alfriston parish church.

In 1774 the spire of the church was destroyed by lightning, and it has never been restored.

In the history of this living we see the origin and progress of private patronage. The church was first built and endowed

by a lord of the manor, whose successors continued patrons till its alienation by sale some centuries afterwards to Mr. Nutt. From him it passed to the Rev. John Hawes, who was succeeded by two rectors of his own name. From the family of Hawes the advowson was transferred by purchase to that of the late Rev. Jeremiah Smith, rector; of whose grandson, Mr. Delves, it was bought by the present owner, John Ellman, Esq., of Landport.

EXTRACTS FROM CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS
AND OTHER MATTERS BELONGING TO
THE PARISH OF BOLNEY. 4

CONTAINED IN A MS. BOOK OF THE TIME OF HENRY VIII.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH DALE.

THE MS. from which the following extracts are taken had been lost sight of for many years—its last authenticated whereabouts being at the ancient inn of the Eight Bells, at Bolney, of which the then parish clerk was the host.

After a careful search, about three years ago, in the two large parish chests, it was, in the Spring of 1852, discovered at the bottom of a smaller one (which was in some degree concealed under the seat of a pew in the chancel), in a most dilapidated condition from the damp and former ill usage, some of the final leaves being reduced to a pulp—which on being dried turned to powder; and all the leaves of the volume are so tender that though turned over with the greatest care, they lose a portion of their substance each time the book is opened.

“THYS be the Holebredds¹ of the parych of Bolney.

John Bolney pays for blast wayseld and v acres of land iii Holybredds, iis. iii½*d.* for taper and treyndell.²

¹ It is directed in ‘The Booke of Common Prayer’ of King Edward VI, in 1549, that “in such Chapels annexed, where the people hath not been accustomed to pay any *holy bread*, there they must either make some charitable provision for the bearing of the charges of the communion, or else resort to their parish church.”—“Forasmuch as the pastors and curates within this realm shall continually find at their costs and charges in their cures sufficient bread and wine for the holy communion . . . it is therefore ordered that, in recompense of such costs and charges, the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday . . . the just valour and price of the holy loaf (with

all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of their pastors and curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf.”—This arrangement was, however, soon changed; for by ‘The Boke of Common Prayer,’ 1552, “the bread and wine for the Communion shall be provided by the curate and churchwardens at the charges of the parish, and the parish shall be discharged of such sums of money or other dues which hitherto they have paid for the same *by order of their houses* every Sunday.”

² Probably a circular stand for candles. See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, 319, n. 7.

William Lang for iii lands pays iii holybreds.
 John Gratwek pays for on land on holebred.
 Hare Costredell pays for Wyloom land on holybred.
 Rychard Byrtynewshaw for Barnards land pays on holybred.
 John Dunstall,³ on holybred." *With forty-one other payers of holybred.*

"The Howsys of the parryshe of bolney for the Clark's wages.

furst. John Bolney's hous xvii*d.*—Richard Homwood's hous viii*d.*—John Gratwyk's hous viii*d.*—John Harpar's hous the copper vi*d.*—Thomas Wekes' hous iiiii*d.*—Richard Gravely's hous v*d.*—John Harpar's hous the carpenter iiiii*d.* (*with many others*). Summa xv*s.* xd."

"M. that Raf Coke hath orderyd ii quarters of barle malt and a quarter of wet, the prys of xxis. for his for sayd det, and xiii*d.* he hows of mony the whych xiii*d.* he had alowd for hys costs for gatheryng of the corn.

Ther ys yn the hands of Raf Coke of corn geven, a bochell of wet, and a half and a pek and vi bochells of barle malt.

Ther ys in the hands of Wyllyam Martayn a bochell of wet and xi*d.* of money, both of geft.

Payd to Gell for xij *l.* of wex for the Chyrcch viii*d.*⁴

It. Ther ys yn the hands of Raf Cooke and yn the hands of Giles Wade. xiis. vi*d.* a loud be Corker and hys felos."

Resyetyes that we Rychard Cooke and Rychard Hassylgrove, churchwardens of bolney.

Homfery Stone iii*d.*—Rychard Wekes *ob.*—Gravely's wedowe *id.* *ob.*—Mysterys Bolleny xiii*d.*—John Gaston *ob.*—John Costedell *ob.*—(*and many others*).

It. For the Cherche goods.⁵ first, shold to Edward Bachely a cloth that hangyth before the hauter iii*d.* It. shold Wyllym Tyndall a sakeryng bell and a calle and a foote of canstke, iiiii*d.*—It. shold to Robard Wensent a strenner cloth

³ See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. V, p. 279.

⁴ Immediately before this entry is written in very good clerkish characters, probably by the "fryer" Jhu maria—anna Joshep.

⁵ This sale of church goods (altar-cloths,

sacring-bell, call-bell, broken candlestick, old vestment, cope, little bell, pyx, and two tabernacles) strongly denotes the period of religious change, though not of spoliation, the proceeds being carried to the churchwardens' accounts.

and hauter cloth and a noldd vestment, xv*id.*—It. for a cope and a letle bell and a pekys viii*d.*—It. for ii tabernakylls iii*id.* Somma monete totalys, xxii*s.* iii*id.* ob.

It. leed out for wynne, vii pentys of wynne	
It. pollyng done of the hauters,	vi <i>d.</i>
It. goyng to the wesetacyon of Lewese,	ii <i>s.</i> i <i>d.</i>
It. for goyng forth wyth the bokys to Lewese,	vi <i>id.</i>
It. iii pyntys of wynne,	ix <i>d.</i>
It. for a boke,	iii <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
It. ii byllropys,	ii <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
It. a quart of wyne,	vi <i>d.</i>
It. iii pyntys of grese,	vi <i>d.</i>
It. for ii tabernakylls (<i>erased</i>)	iii <i>id.</i>
Som' mone' totallys	xx <i>s.</i> iii <i>id.</i>

The following entries, relating to the building the steeple in 1536-7-8, seem to be in the handwriting of John Bolney. One entry thus records his receipts.

“Mem. that I, John Bolney, hath ressevyd of Raf Cooke for the ynress⁶ of the chyrch of Bolney of Maremaudelyn ayell, xxii*s.* i*d.*”

“payd to John Gaston for v days work for dyggyn of ston for the stepyll, v*d.* the day, ii*s.* i*d.*

payd to John Smeth otherwys harpar for vi days working at the delf,⁷ ii*s.* vi*d.*

payd to Nicholas Tulle for iiiii days labor at the delf, xx*d.*

payd to John Gaston for v days labor yn the quarye, ii*s.* i*d.*

payd Thomas Wekes for v days labor yn the quare, ii*s.* i*d.*

payd to John Harper the carpenter for iii days labor for making of a trokyll⁸ and watylls, xviii*d.*

payd to Edward Smeth for v days labor for makyn of the way to care ston and making of watyl, ii*s.* i*d.*

payd to Edward Smeth for ii days labor upon the breg for to care ston, x*d.*

payd to Edward Smeth for hys cart half a day, he the holl day, vii*d.*

⁶ The increase or interest for money lent. See n. 1, p. 317, vol. II, *Suss. Arch. Collections* on “the cres”, and here seems

to belong to a chantry in the aisle or “ayell.”

⁷ The digging. ⁸ A pulley and hurdles.

It. for a day's labour Thomas Garland with hys tym and himself to mak the breg.

It. John Gratwek for ii days and a half carag of ston.⁹
payd to Rougway for the yron that whent to the trokyll and for hys labor setting, ix*s*.

payd to Luk Tulle for yexyn of the trokyll, ii*d*.

payd to John Gratwyk for careyng x lod of ston, xx*d*.

payd on Maremaudelyn day to Pokyll and Gills yn the xxviii yere of Kyng Henry the VIII [1536-7] for bargenyng to mak the stepyll of Bolney be the fot, for xviii*s*. the fot, in earnest payd xx*s*.

payd to John Gaston for ii days and a half whereof he gave the half day and so had but x*d*.

payd to Mentell for leader for the pole rop and for the bell, iiiii*d*.

payd to to of Pokyll servants for oteryng¹⁰ of the chyrch wall to the stepyll, xviii*s*.

Wytnes of John Smeth, Rychard ffelder, Flusstger, and the fryer.

Resseved of the Hognel¹¹ Wardayn at the Annuncyacion of ower lady yn the xxix yere of Kyng Henry VIII [1537-8] xxx*s*. viii*d*., ob. whereof ys payd to the Church Wardayns for wex, iiiii*s*.

payd to bell for mendyng of the funt, viii*d*.

payd to Garland for rops for the bels, xx*d*.

payd Garland for strekyng of wex, vi*d*.

It. Wyllyam Langford and Thomas Garland hath delyverd yn to the hands of the parechans,¹² the xxx yere of Henry VIII, [1538-9], the Sondag after Mychelmas the sayd yere, iiiii*l*. vis. 0½*d*.

also resseved for the cross of Rychard Emson, vi*d*., and takyn from the cros¹³ also, iii*s*. ii*d*.

wherof payd to Roger ffrogbrok for ii days labor for coveryng of the kok and weel¹⁴ viii*d*.

payd to ffelder for hys labor to the same work, iiiii*d*.

⁹ There being no sum to the last two entries denotes perhaps that the work was gratuitous.

¹⁰ Altering.

¹¹ See a subsequent entry and note ¹⁵.

¹² This seems to approach nearer the French, *paroissiens*, than parishioners.

¹³ Offerings at a cross, or alms-box.

¹⁴ Weathercock, and wheel on which it turned. (?)

It. delyvered to John Smeth and Thomas Ryg, Chyrch Wardayns, iiii Nobyls.

Resseved at London for brokyn sylver of the cherchys, iiii Nobyls, iiis. iiiid.

payd to the Cherch Wardayn for a month's bord of ii masons, xs. viiid.

Ressevyd of the ognell wardens, v Nobyls, xxiiid.

payd to Roger frogbrok yn earnest for makyng of the tymber work of the stepyll, xxd.

payd to John Gaston for vi days labor whereof he gave on, so had, iis. id.

Ressevyd of John Smeth and John Harper cherchwardans, vii nobyls, vs. iid. of the cherch ale.

Ressevyd for a lod of ston of Mother Emson, vis. viiid.

Ressevyd of Harpars wedow, her bequest, iiis.

It. the cherchwardens has yn ther hans xvis. iid. and half a pound of wex o the whych they gatheryd for the hognel tym,¹⁵ that ys to say, fro crystemas to candelsmas at the lep yere, yn the xxxi yere of Henry the viii. [1539-40].

payd to the masons to Wyllyam Holmys and to John Corkey for ix fet setting of the stepyll, viiid. and yn thys sum afor sayd the sayd Wyllyam and John hath aloud vii nobyls of forston hewyd afore they tok the sayd stepyll.

payd to the sayd masons for lettynge down of the furst flower, viijs.

payd to parsons for makyng of a plat for the cran, iid.

It. Wyllyam Martayn hath payd hys xxs. he graunted.

Ressevyd for the trokyll lendyng to John bather, xiid.

Ressevyd of Thomas Harland for the stock¹⁶ he howyd to the chyrch, viiis.

payd to Corker the mason, xL. iiiis.

payd to Corker for iii fott setting, for my part John Bolney, l. iiiis.

¹⁵ *Hognel tym* is here so clearly defined as a Christmas occurrence, that it can have no relation with Hock-tide, which began after Easter. The word *hognel* is the corrupt form of "hogmenay," a term applied to the ancient custom of collecting gifts at Christmas time, from house to house, with carols. This ancient practice was general in France also, especially in

Normandy, where the original words of the petition of the singers were, "*au gny Van neuf*;" a happy new year to the misletoe; and as this phrase often assumes in French books the form of *aguilanteu*, *haguillennes*, *hoguinanno*, the Cowfold churchwardens might fairly take refuge in *hognel*. See Brand's Popular Antiq.

¹⁶ See *Suss. Arch. Coll.* II, 317, n. 1.

payd to Corker for certayn labor as wagys, xxii*d*.

payd to John Corker for certayn money behynd, xii*s*. whereof he gave xii*d*. and ii*s*. that was behynd, the said Corker ys allowyd.

It. John Gaston help lod sand and skaffoll pols, carting and halyng of lym a day, the whych he gave.

It. for xiiii lods of lym *l. vis.* whereof payd xxvi*s*. viii*d*.

payd to Wyllyam Bonyfas v days labor ii*s*. i*d*. whereof he gave iiiii*d*., and so he had but xxi*d*.

payd to Corker for another fot setting the moro after relyksonday.¹⁷

payd to Corker for another fot setting, xviii*s*. thys payd a pon Peters evyn kela.

payd to John Ffrogbrok for goyng to the yll of Whyt iiiii*s*. vi*d*.

payd to Luk Tulle for makyng of lath, 2 cwt. and a half viii*d*.

payd to Corker for another quarter of fot a pon Crysts yevn, iiiii*s*. vi*d*.

payd to Corker for half a fot setting and makyng, the Sondag next after Sent Gregore, ix*s*.¹⁸

payd to Corker the Sondag after the Assencyon ix*s*.

payd to Corker for my part and last ending of the stepyll *xs.*, and so I am behind but iiiii*s*. for all my graunt of the sayd stepyll.

John Smeth hath brought yn a stok of the gefst of John Cook the sum of *vis*. viii*d*. wereof he hath pay to Corker *vs*.

payd to Corker the iiiii*s*. behynd, and so I have fenesched my part of the stepell.

ressevyd of the Parychchions of bolney vii noblys.

It. payd to Raf. Cook for the careag of the led from Lewys to Brygh hemson xv*s*. i*d*.

payd to hym for costs xii*d*.

payd to Thomas Gravele for the plummers.

payd to Roger Ffrogbrok the sum of iii*s*. iiiii*d*. half a nobyl, the whych the sayd Roger was behynd the holl nobyl and so he has comyng iii*s*. iiiii*d*. for all works mad and covanthyd between hym and the parys—the sayd Roger has geven viii*d*. he was owd with the sayd nobyl.

¹⁷ Relic Sunday, for the exposition of relics, was the third after Midsummer-day.

¹⁸ St. Gregory's feast, March 12.

It. that Raf Coke payd to the mason for reward *xiiid.*
 payd for a cord for the lent cloth, *iiid.*
 payd for makyng of the tapers, *id.*
 payd to John thergell for making of the Cherches wax, and
 for a pound boughth of hym, *iis. viiiid.*
 payd to Edward benet for makyng of ghols¹⁹ of elm for ii
 days labor, *xiiid.*
 payd to Harpor for setting on of the axsys of the trokyll,
iiiiid.
 payd to my mother for kart rope, *id.*
 payd to the chyrch wardens for makyng of wex agayn
 Maudelen tyd.²⁰
 payd to Rowgway for nayls and a prog²¹ *iiid.*
 payd for the vesetatyon *iiiiid.*
 payd for the mendyng of the great bell to Harper, met
 and drenk *iiiiid.*
 payd to Luk Tulle for making of stols and a hand baro for
 the masons ii days labor *xd.*
 payd to Thomas Smeth for the masons bordyng, they to
 alow yt yn ther wagys *xvs.*
 payd to Thomas Pokyll a pon Sent Thomas the a postyll *xxs.*
 payd to Thomas Pokyll the *iiiiid* day of February in the
 xxvii yere of Kyng Henry the viii [1535-6] *xxs.*²²
 payd to Pokyll a pon Sent Mathews the *xxs.*
 payd to Hennere Colman for felyng of tres to remoff the
 stepyll *xd.*
 payd to Gorg ffluster for dryvyng²³ of the stepyll *xxs.*
 payd to Chesman for pollyng down and hangyng up the
 bells *iis. iiiid.*
 payd for hewyng of a pes of tymber for stocks²⁴ for the bels *iid.*
 payd to Thomas Pokyll the xvii day of March yn the
 xxviii yere of Henry the viii [1536-7] *iiiiid.*
 payd to the sayd Chesman for fehchyng of a pole from
 erst,²⁵ *id.*

¹⁹ Wooden pipes for drainage.

²⁰ July 22.

²¹ A prog or sprog is a linchpin to keep the wheel of the "trokyll" on the axle.

²² The leaves of the MS. have been displaced: this entry should precede those of later date.

²³ Dryvyng—This, according to the in-

terpretation of modern masons, is the process of smoothing the roughness of the stone work when finished, by driving the chisel by blows of the mallet. The line so made by the chisel is still called "a draught."

²⁴ See *Suss. Arch. Coll.* II, 320, n. 15.

²⁵ Hurst Pierpoint.

It. the sayd Thomas Pokyll hath resseyvd at certain tymes the full sum of ix*l.* as it aperys be parsels afore wrytyn.

payd to John Gaston for v days and a half's labor iis. iiiid. ob. whereof he gave iii days labor and so he had but xiid. ob.

payd Roger ffrogbrok for iiiid. days labor and a half with a man on day to mak bossys for the masons iiis."

Among the Burials in the Register are entered some licenses for workmen to leave their masters.

"1564, Richard Wyband, servant of William Selder, departed from his master, the 27 day of May; John Agat, servant to the sayd William departed from his master, the sayd xxvii day.

1566. John Tuck, servant to Thomas Culpeper Esquire, is licensed to depart from his sayd master, the 22 day of March.

1599. It. buried the xxi day of April, Thomas Gray, vicar.

1640. John ffowkes, minister, buried January 16."

During the civil wars entries occur of Civil Marriages before the justices of the peace.

"June 10, 1654, John ffield appointed Register of Marriages, Births, and Burials, by Robert Spencer Esq. one of the Justices of the Peace for Sussex, the Inhabitants of the parish having first chosen the said John ffield to be the Register.

Francis Nye, the sonne of Richard Nye, was married to Mary Vincent the Dather of Stephen Vincent by Justice ffreeman of Cowfould the Tweententh daye of June, 1654.

Richard Bartlee and Mrs. Jane Mitchell were married the 19 daye of October by Justise Mitchell of Horsham.

Doritheus Wilder of Dunsfould and Sara Moore of Bolney were married at Master Challoner's the 27 day of November, 1655."

The ceremony of Marriage was a little more religious in a year or two afterwards.

"1658. James Sha and Ann Steere of Tynham were married at Bolney by Mr. John Peito²⁶ the tenth day of June, 1658, and there bands of matrimony published in the parish-church of Bolney."

²⁶ "John Peito, Cler' and Susanna Holford were married January 14, 1647."

Mr. Hall was the minister succeeding Mr Peito, 1658, and in 1659 Mr Saddeler officiated.

In 1662 Mr Gratwick officiated, and at length in 1664 he is stiled vicar; and, having taken regular orders, he held the living till his death.

“John Gratwick, vicar of Bolney, and Mrs. Margaret Butler of Cuckfield were married the 24 August, 1669;” she was buried 25 May, 1678, he was buried Feb. 7, $\frac{1713}{1714}$.

Drury Bird succeeded and died in 1734.

Drury Bird's successor, Mr. Hopkins, who held the living 50 years, in the fly leaves of his Tythe account, speaking of Mr. Gratwick, writes, “who possessed the living near sixty years, having got it in the Oliverian times: after the restoration of Charles the Second, upon taking Episcopal ordination and conforming to the Liturgy of the Church of England, he was secured in the possession of the living; but a great number of Ministers who refused to comply with these terms was ejected by virtue of the famous Bartholomew act passed in the beginning of that reign.”

Then follows a scrawl, probably in the handwriting of some of the jokers carousing at the hostelry of the eight Bells, where the MS. lay, probably for years, and within the memory of man, for the amusement or information of the customers of successive Bonifaces, one of whom I learn was the parish-clerk.

“I ask y^e baynnes of matterymone betwene Thomas gravely off thys paryshe on y^s onto Joanne hawll of thys same parys. I ax the baynnes,” &c. &c.

on the other side of the leaf is a rude sketch of a church tower, and nave, and chancel (all patent), *i. e.* a transverse section, with an array of ringers upon 4 bells—a gallery of singers, and (perhaps) a parson.

A minute perambulation of the parish bounds follows, finished in Rogation week 1632.

ARCHITECTURAL RELICS OF LEWES PRIORY.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION.

BY THE REV. F. SPURRELL, M.A.

CURATE OF BARCOMBE.

"History in Stones."

ARCHITECTURAL relics (true Reliquiæ, "pieces left," when the greater, the better, and the more perfect parts of an edifice have been swept away) may be of the greatest value to the archæologist, the fact of their existence being evidence of the past, such evidence indeed to confirm written history as he chiefly needs. It is not assuming too much to say, that when an archæologist examines an ancient building in ruins, the purpose is not merely to extol its picturesque character, but, as the one principal object, to comprehend if possible the age of the whole, the proper relation of every separated part, and to realise in idea the original edifice. The greater amount of evidence, therefore, which can be gathered as to the construction, the truer data there will be wherewith to build up the restoration, and that, without any regard to its rumoured antiquity.

Now with extant descriptions in the hand, restoration may be comparatively easy; yet even without documentary evidence architectural relics are the truest guides both for fixing the original date, and for creating a restoration. And the reason of sculptured stones thus speaking their own historic language is that, from the well-known precision of the styles of architecture observed in various succession by the architects of mediæval times, a true judgment as to the style of any particular ruin, leads directly to the knowledge of its date, and hence to a comparison with perfect extant examples of the style, and hence to a restoration. To the archæologist, therefore, and especially to the restoring *one*, a strict personal inspection of architectural relics on the spot is the real opportunity for obtaining truer facts of evidence than any description or oral

tradition can give him ; and he will find that besides the age, there is obtained from the relics a direct clue to the general character and degree of magnificence of the ancient building : so that whether it be a house, or church, or castle, the original construction or the restored creation of which is required, the relics themselves are the only satisfactory books of genuine evidence.

A distinction must indeed be made as to the degree of value in this evidence, arising from the character of different parts of architectural relics. It may be that mere walls,¹ or irregular masses of masonry, and the prominent large features of a venerable edifice, retain none of the characteristic details of a style ; so that with such large relics only, there is a possibility that, beyond tracing out the ground plan, the most acute and imaginative archæologist cannot proceed any further.

This seems at first sight to limit the asserted practical value of architectural relics ; but the deficiency is able fortunately to be made up : and it only remains now that there should be shown what is the especial link so necessary in the chain of evidence.

More commonly than in the case previously put, an ancient ruin retains, in addition to the prominent features of walls or irregular masses, remains of carved windows, arches, and mouldings all in their places, as the constituent characteristics of the style of the building ; and in such a case, the different parts of these relics unite to exclude any doubt ; and their value is seen in the triumph of the restorer, who can now proceed with elevations in addition to the ground plan, and the more complete the building the less his labour. He has but to apply to the mutilated fragments the complements characteristic of the same style from other more perfect examples of coeval work, and when the fact of the date is once fixed, the restored complete building may grow almost mechanically under the skilful copyist's hand.

Sometimes, however, an ancient ruin retains but few carved details amid the massive piles of its masonry, as indeed is the case at Lewes priory, and it is then the superior importance of *small* architectural relics will be seen. It is clear that the

¹ The allusion is to mediæval walls, not to Roman, which are so well known to give conclusive evidence as to date, nor even to Tudor masonry.

rarer the fragments of detail in the large features, the more important each small relic becomes ; and as the restoration, in order to test the historic date of the original foundation, becomes more difficult by the absence of many details, so it is only by the strictest appliance of the archæologist's imaginative but trained judgment he can hope for success, when he investigates the largest ruin for even a solitary carved fragment. With a hope of finding a clue to the style and consequently age, the eye and the hand work together in and about the ruin, so that no heap is left unsorted, no corner left unvisited. Perhaps in different parts there may be even various examples of styles indicating the later additions to the original edifice ; or scattered throughout there may be fragments of one coeval style, but the conclusion which will be arrived at is this, that the sole evidence of a date may have to be derived from even one relic only, the true type of an architectural style. Indeed (and *this* is our point) it is by the finding of a small piece of quaintly carved stone, whether it be corbel or moulding, boss or panel, cap or base of pillar, or curved segment of an arch, that the whole theory of a style may be seen at a single glance and practically applied to the most mutilated ruin.

Let the creative archæologist, therefore, once obtain a single small architectural relic, and he thankfully recognises its value, as if the sculptured stone could speak : in it he has received a key to the age of the ruin, and real authority for the facts of the building's history ; the truest evidence of the original erection, and the clue to every characteristic detail.

With respect to the relics of Lewes Priory, which are drawn on the accompanying lithographs, it may be difficult to make pleasing and profitable a mere "table of contents" of "old stones" in the Museum at Lewes Castle. By the non-archæological reader, drawings of architectural relics, and more especially the dry explanatory notes upon them, are at once passed over unnoticed, as presenting dull features of interest. It seemed therefore desirable, in order to secure a rightful appreciation of these relic treasures of our own Lewes, first to procure respect for them by pointing out their important value in common with architectural relics generally, and afterwards to give the descriptive catalogue of them, however necessarily dry, briefly exemplifying the use of the

above principle. It must be confessed, however, there was this object also in view, in thus pressing the subject into notice, to urge it as a duty binding upon every member of our Society to protect architectural relics generally, both at home and abroad; and to request, on the part of the Committee, any member possessed of carved stone fragments, to send them as an addition to the Museum. And in truth, another object also was to instigate by these remarks every member of our Society to take up the study of mediæval architecture, since not only will it produce the gratification of being able to add, in every walk or ride, an immense amount of personal archæological information, but the result must be, that the objects and interests of the Society will be most extensively promoted.

Accompanying this paper are three lithographs of interesting and curiously carved pieces of stone-work, which, after a wide dispersion, and during many years, from the Cluniac priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, have now for the most part been collected within their kindred walls of Lewes Castle. And it is right to mention that since Lithographs Nos. 1 and 3 were prepared, the valuable accession of other examples, drawn on No. 2, have taken place by the liberality of the Trustees of the British Museum, who, on the application of the Committee of the Society, have restored to their natural resting-place a considerable collection of architectural details from Lewes Priory, formerly part of the purchased museum of the late Dr. Mantell. These, therefore, in addition to the relics drawn on Nos. 1 and 3, and many other pieces, duplicates of those drawn in this collection, are now safely added to our Museum.

In Sussex "relics of Lewes Priory" cannot fail to be of interest at the least, and it is probable that the varied uses of the fragments here drawn will suggest much creative thought to the Archæologist, who may attempt to replace them in an imaginative restoration of the priory, but it is not the intention here to attempt this. To trace out the actual former position and use of these relics would be to write again the account of the priory, its foundation, and original construction and subsequent magnificence, which may be found elsewhere.² It will now be sufficient to regard these relics, not so much as

² *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, 7; III, 185; Horsfield's *Antiq. of Lewes*, &c.

indicating the size and beauty of the ancient building, but as affording proof of the facts of foundation and enlargement at the particular times alleged in ancient documents, and thus exemplifying, though only in part, the principle above asserted of the practical value of architectural relics.

A glance then at these lithographs points out first of all, that there are certainly two essentially distinctive styles of architecture manifested by the carved stone-work. And therefore it must be fairly assumed that there were two great eras in the construction of the Lewes Priory; these eras the archæologist determines to have been, the Norman period from A.D. 1066 to 1189, and the early English from 1189 to 1272. Thus then we arrive at the fact that some of these stones were carved as we see them, and placed in an elaborately adorned edifice which had its existence on the present well-known site nearly 800 years ago; while the other stones of early English work show that more than 600 years ago the priory received in addition much new work and enlargement. An inspection of the actual ruins at the present time will fully confirm this inference.

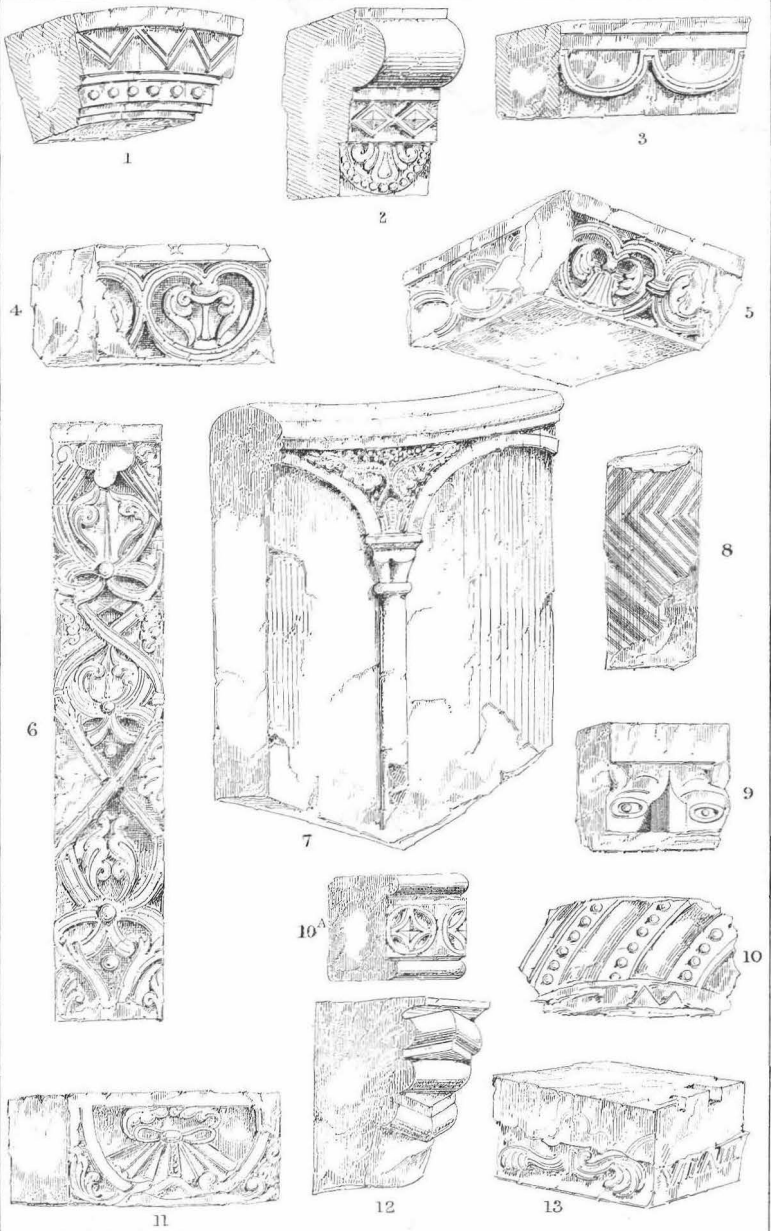
But a more careful examination of lithographs Nos. 1 and 2 lead the archæologist to the conviction, not only that the priory was of Norman foundation, but that from the variety in the workmanship, its Norman portion was not built all at one time, and that it received repairs or enlargement at intervals during the Norman period, and when the style became richer in its details. In the same way No. 3, in conjunction with Nos. 1 and 2, leads to the proof that, besides the Norman buildings having been thus increased in succeeding years, the early English parts of the edifice were also really added, not substituted; and therefore that the priory, retaining in some parts the original earliest work, had its newer parts in the Early English style: and must have so increased in size and magnificence by the addition of the later work, that, as by making a comparison of these relics with the extant masses of ruin, which are chiefly of early English date, the inference may be drawn that Lewes Priory must have been at the middle of the thirteenth century a very large building and of great beauty, and by necessity very richly endowed and of great importance. A reasonable question therefore arises, *was* this so? If true, the valuable evidence for history of these "old stones" is proved.

But a closer discrimination enables certain relics in lithographs Nos. 1 and 2 to be assigned as very early Norman work, while others appear to be middle Norman, and the rest late Norman. In order therefore to show how these assumptions are verified by extant charters and histories, a sketch of the recorded building dates of Lewes priory is now given. William Earl of Warenne came into England with the Conqueror, and received, amongst other grants, the barony of Lewes. He being determined, together with his wife Gundrada, to build a religious house, they built, at Lewes, a stone³ church instead of the ancient wooden one dedicated to St. Pancras, and endowed the monastery with lands sufficient for the maintenance of twelve monks. The first prior, Lanzo, came from Clugny to a stone building in 1077, and as this is the assigned date of this early work of the priory, probably therefore some of the relics, as Nos. 1, 3, 9, formed part of that Norman edifice. The Countess Gundrada died in 1085 and the earl three years later, after which Gundrada's well-known tomb-stone was carved, which, from its similarity in style of workmanship to the relics 4, 5, 7, &c., proves that they formed part of the new buildings erected by the second earl in completing the priory. While probably Nos. 6, 11, and nearly all those on No. 2, are of the foundation by the third earl, who during 1136 to 1147 was a splendid benefactor to the priory. So much then for coincidence of date. Without, therefore, going so far as to say that each of these relics can be placed in its own cloister or chapel, or refectory or dormitory, the principle laid down must be conceded as proved true beyond dispute. These relics clearly show that at the times mentioned certain building took place; and therefore fix the accuracy of the date, which as has been already claimed, is the first step to check history, and the only safe guide to work by when studying any building.

The descriptive catalogue of the relics must now be given. It is to be noted that all these relics, except those described as marble, are of Caen stone.

³ In the charter of foundation, William Earl of Warenne mentions this. "Et ideo . . . requisivimus a domino Hugone abbate et a tota sancta congregatione quod concederent nobis duos vel tres vel quatuor monachos de sancto grege suo, quibus

daremus ecclesiam unam quam de lignea lapideam fecimus sub castro Lewiarum, quæ fuit ab antiquo tempore in honore sancti Pancratii, et illam daremus eis. . . —Dugdale's Monasticon, Appendix of Charters, No. 2.



Lithograph No. 1 Fig. 1, is a segment of an arch, the diameter of which was about 7 or 8 ft.; the moulding consists of a top band, with a row of double blunt-pointed table chevrons, and beneath a row of small pellets, on the second of three square sunken mouldings. It is about 1 ft. long and 8 in. high, and it may be noted here once for all, the other drawings are of about the same proportion. Unfortunately, the artist has not shown the blunt points.

Fig. 2 is perhaps a segment of a very large arch, or a piece of rich string course: the moulding consists of 1, a bold semi-circle, projecting from two facets, the lower slightly sunk: 2, a row of lozenges richly cut; and 3, a semi-circular band, ends upward, studded with pellets, and enclosing a broad leaf of stiff foliage.

Fig. 3 is part of a string course, bearing the scalloped moulding.

Fig. 4 is part of the capital of a much mutilated pier; it is sculptured with tracery of heart-shaped scrolls, which unite at the intersection, and enclose an open, flat, shell-like leaf.

Fig. 5 is a much injured capital, which from three sides of it being carved has formed part of a projecting column; the sculpture is broad heart-shaped tracery, the ends of which turn into an open rounded shell, and the tracery being joined by a banded tie.

Fig. 6 is a representation of a three quarter shaft (in reality broken in two), here drawn on a larger scale than the other relics, in order to show clearly the elegant intertwining tracery, knots and leaves. It is late Norman, about 2 ft. 6 in. high, and 5½ in. in diameter.

Fig. 7. This (which is one of the most interesting, and certainly the most indefinite of the relics in our Museum), is a sectional fragment of a circle or oval, with a diameter of 10 or 11 ft., about 2 ft. 8 in. high, and 6 in. thick. It is of black marble, the top is rounded, the concave or interior vertical surface is smoothed, and the convex surface is carved into an arcading of round arches, divided by shafts, and having the spandrils carved with elegant broad leaved foliage which springs from a shell-like leaf, and covers bunches of berries. What was its original purpose or use it is difficult to say? Probably it formed part of a lavatory, and stood in the cloisters of the priory like the square lavatory at Gloucester Cathedral now. This idea is borne out by the height, plainness inside, rounded top, and general character. Certainly it is of the same material, and bears the same character of ornament as Gundrada's tomb-stone, and is therefore of the same date.

Fig. 8 is a piece of a black marble column, enriched with chevrons cut in grooves, about 12 in. long, and 6 in. in diameter. Two other pieces of similar work have been brought from the British Museum.

Fig. 9 is a corbel sculptured into the shape of the head of a cat or leopard.

Fig. 10A is a piece of a string course or panel, the ornamental moulding consists of circles enclosing lozenges.

Fig. 10 is a fragment of either a capital or base of a shaft; it is a kind of cable moulding, with alternate bands charged with pellets.

Fig. 11 is perhaps a capital of a pier; the sculpture is a curious mixture of band tracery and foliage, growing out of a kind of shell.

Fig. 12 is probably a segment of an arch, having bold deeply recessed mouldings, an upper and lower, round and flat chevron, enclosing a roll.

Fig. 13 is a mutilated capital or base of a pier, once richly sculptured with foliage.

The Lithograph No. II contains the Norman relics which have been part of Dr. Mantell's collection, and beautiful as every example in this page is, it is to be much regretted, by us in Sussex at least, that six of them, viz., from Fig. 14 to 19, have been retained at the British Museum, as fine specimens illustrative of ancient sculpture.

Figs. 14, 15, 16, and 17, are the representations of Norman carving, certainly the most interesting of all the relics hitherto discovered of Lewes Priory. They represent four sides of a capital, about 10 in. in height, by 11 in. in breadth, square at the top, and round at the base. Where this capital originally stood, thus open on all four sides, it is now impossible to state, but from the sacred character of the history sculptured upon it, the probability is that it formed part of a single shaft, possibly part of an arcading or screen, which divided an aisle or chapel in the great church of the priory. The Caen stone has retained much of the freshness of the carver's skill, and the deeply-cut sculpture is still in good preservation. Good in design, and fairly correct in proportions, it must be considered on the whole, to be a good example of the condition of art in the latter part of the Norman period.

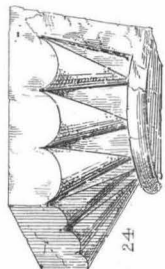
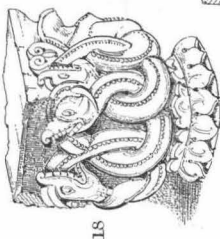
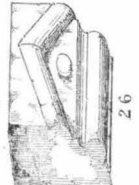
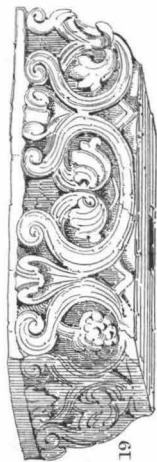
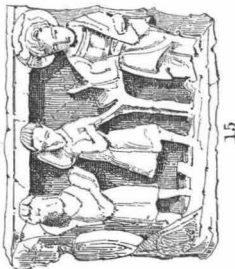
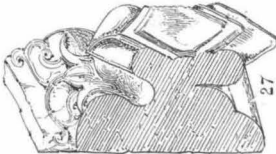
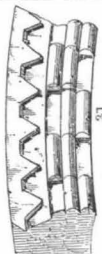
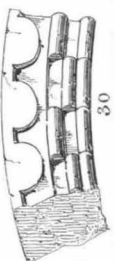
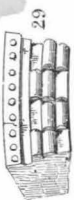
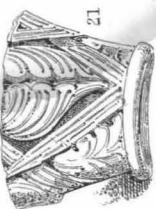
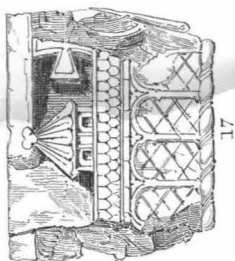
As to the meaning of the sculptures, though it is probable the monks of Lewes understood many plain lessons from the story, there is some difference of opinion as to what all the subjects appear to be now. Forming sides of a square, the figures visible in some degree on more than one side appear to intimate that the four subjects were connected in a somewhat continued story; and it seems to be at least clear that one of the figures can be identified with all the sides.

In Fig. 16 the figure represented carrying a key, seems literally to present a key which is able to unlock the probable interpretation of the whole sculpture. This personage can be no other than St. Peter; and since that apostle was one of the patron saints of Lewes Priory, it seems very reasonable to conclude that there was a chapel dedicated to him in the church there, and that the shafts of the screen which separated it were sculptured with events in his life.

Assuming the series are in their right order, the first to be noticed is No. 14, which represents two men in a boat, hauling up a net of fish; over their heads is part of a sail, though not exhibiting any mast.

In Fig. 15, the right hand figure is Jesus, as proved by the peculiar cross, never given to less than Deity, cut in the nimbus of glory around the head. What the upright post was seems impossible to say, but the Saviour appears addressing the two figures on the left hand. These two persons seem to be those previously in the boat, since there is an obvious connection between the sides by the extremest left figure in Fig. 15 appearing to be descending from the boat and the water. Probably, therefore, Figs. 14 and 15 represent in continuation the sacred narrative, "Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And He saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left their nets and followed Him," St. Matt. iv, 18-20. It should be noticed the supposed Andrew and Peter have not the nimbus, which had they been apostles at this time they would have had round their heads; and this seems to corroborate the idea that these sculptures represent their "call" to discipleship only.

Fig. 16 appears to represent St. Peter now an apostle, because surrounded



by a nimbus of glory, and holding the key, the mediæval emblem of his mission. Connected with the figure on the right is a crutch plainly perceptible in the original, and seemingly dropping from under the arm. Upon the supposition that Figs. 16 and 17 are also connected together, these two sculptures may represent St. Peter curing the lame man at the beautiful gate of the Temple, where "Peter said . . . in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk," Acts iii, 6.

If it be objected that Fig. 17 could scarcely represent, even to a Norman artist's imagination, "the gate of the Temple," it becomes difficult to say what it does represent, the only other likely explanation being this: the cross at the right hand may signify the fabric building, or the actual living Christian Church, with which in those days the supremacy of St. Peter was so indissolubly connected, as being the founder.

Perhaps it is only right to mention, that these four subjects have been also understood to mean, Fig. 15, the call of St. Peter and St. Andrew; Fig. 16, *Christ* giving St. Peter the key, the emblem of his apostleship; Fig. 17, the Roman hall, the scene of St. Peter's denial of Christ; and Fig. 14, the miraculous draught of fishes which preceded St. Peter's restoration to Christ's love.

Fig. 18 is a capital of a shaft $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and 8 in. square; the sculpture of intertwining serpents is full of graceful curves, and on one surface end in that heart or shell shape which appears to be so common a type in these priory ruins.⁴

Fig. 19 is a part of a capital three sides of which projected and were richly carved, the length is $17\frac{1}{2}$ in., the breadth $11\frac{1}{2}$, and the height 6 in. The carving, which retains its sharp and perfect character, is open scroll tracery shell-shaped, enclosing leaves of the acanthus, and at the angle a bunch of berries.

Fig. 20 is a square capital 10 in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$, and nearly 10 high, each side quaintly carved with an owl sitting with expanded wings. The neck of the capital presents six strands of cord on each side, each cord divided by an incised line.

Fig. 21 is a round capital of black marble, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at top, $7\frac{1}{2}$ at lower, the height being $5\frac{1}{2}$. Apparently imperfect, the sculpture consisted formerly of bands crossed lozenge-ways enclosing shell-like leaves.

Fig. 22 is a small fragment similar in style to Lith. I, Fig 2.

Fig. 23 is probably part of a string course, $18\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, $5\frac{3}{4}$ high, the moulding on its surface consists of squares set angularly, charged with pellets.

Fig. 24 is a capital, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. at top, 9 in. at neck, by $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; it is boldly carved into projecting cone-shaped rolls.

Fig. 25 is evidently a voussoir or wedge-shaped stone, forming part of a semi-circular arch; it bears a band and chevron enclosing a flower.

Fig. 26 is also part of an arch or panel; it also bears a chevron enclosing an angular pellet.

Fig. 27 is a segment of an arch, probably part of a richly carved archivolt moulding round a doorway; there are several duplicate pieces more or less carved like it, and plainly part of the same arch. It consists of two members—

⁴ Since this was written it has been found that Fig. 18, though part of Dr. Mantell's collection, never formed part of Lewes Priory.

1, a string with the face carved into a broad opening bud with flowery tracery; and 2, a large lozenge of rounded moulding, enclosing another flat lozenge frequently carved or ornamented in other specimens. It is 12 in. high by $8\frac{1}{4}$ broad.

Fig. 28 is a small beautiful fragment of the head of a helmeted warrior or female with a curious cap, cut within the lozenge of a stone like Fig. 27.

Fig. 29 is a piece of a string-course, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, the moulding consists of 1, a band with pellets; 2, three rows of segmental billets set two and two together, so that the second row is perpetual.

Fig. 30 is a segment of an arch 9 in. long by 5 in. high; the moulding consists of 1, scallops; 2, three rows of segmental billets set two and two together, so that the lowest or third row is perpetual.

Fig. 31 is a similar segment of an arch $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, by 5 in. high, the moulding consists of 1, indents; and 2, three rows of segmental billets set two and two together, so that like Fig. 29 the second row is perpetual.

Lithograph No. III contains drawings of the Early English relics from Lewes Priory. Some minute distinctions might certainly be made as to the difference of age in some of them, but as this style was in use from 1189 to 1272, during which time the increasing wealth and number of monks required large additions of early English work at the priory, and as mention is actually made in a Cotton MS.⁵ that in 1218, 1219, 1229, and 1243 much new building was erected, it may be sufficient to say here, without further classification, that these relics generally prove themselves to be of the date of the early half of the thirteenth century. Possibly some of them formed part of the large new church which was there deemed necessary and was begun in 1243, and since that was not finished for some nearly thirty years afterwards, the latest relic in this page, as Fig. 43 may even have formed part of those two towers of the west front for which Prior William Foville left 200 marks on his death in 1268.

Fig. 32 is the capital of a square pier, elegantly sculptured with bands of tracery fastened together by an incised tie, and forming at their ends a kind of fleur-de-lys. Perhaps this is almost as early as transitional Norman.

Fig. 33 is a piece of a capital of a round shaft, showing early stiff foliage.

Fig. 34 is the segment of an arch possibly of window or door, richly carved with dog-teeth moulding, and resembling that seen in the gateway of the priory, No. 38.

Fig. 35 is a mutilated capital of a respond or semi-shaft, projecting from a wall; the sculpture round the neck is tall stalk foliage.

Fig. 36 is a segment of an arch presenting a good example of Early English moulding.

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Collections*, II, 22.

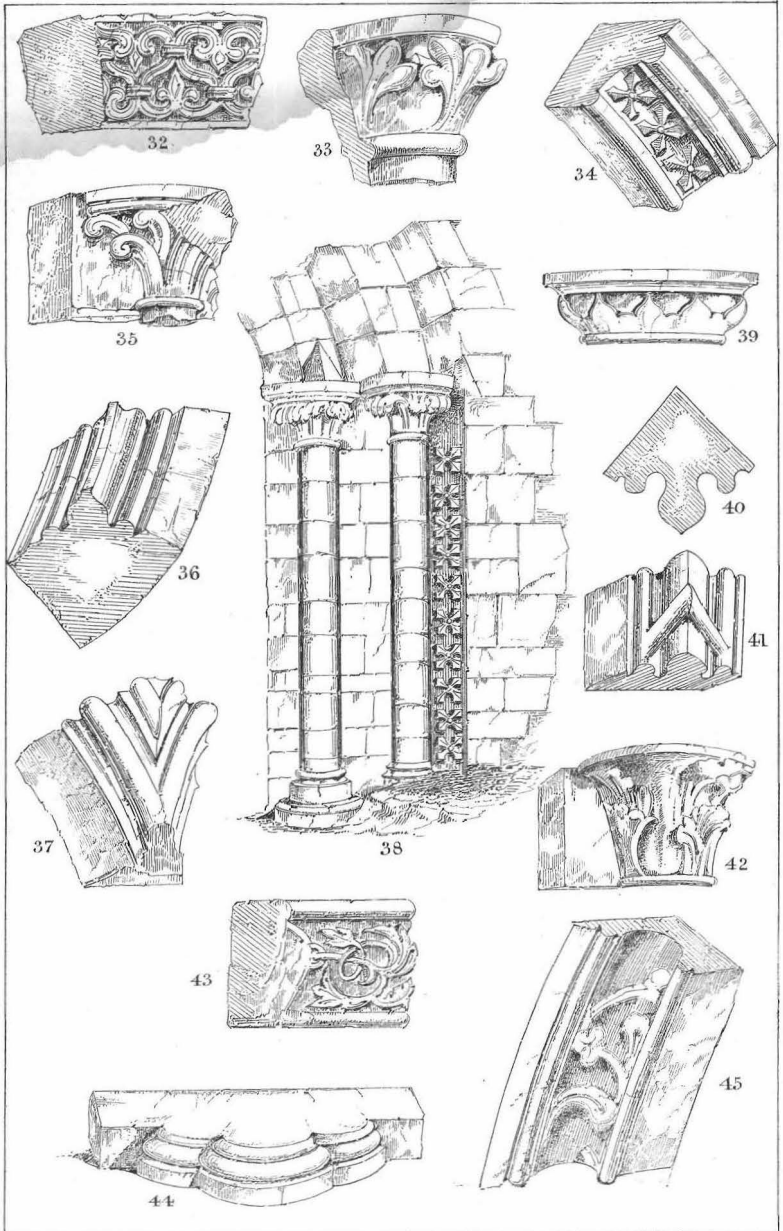


Fig. 37 is the place of intersection, or rather the spring, of two arches. It has probably been part of the rich label of some arcading or arches.

Fig. 38 is a group of Early English work not in the Castle Museum, but which was built up a few years ago from the remains of the smaller arch of the principal gateway of the priory adjoining Southover church. The shafts have been restored to the mutilated capitals and bases in the drawing as well as the dog-tooth mouldings, which mouldings should be noticed as being of an unusually large size. This group was added here to give some idea of the style of the Early English work of the priory.

Fig. 39 is a small capital of a column with a tre-foiled sculpture round it.

Fig. 41 is a piece of the jamb of a doorway or window, a chevron rests upon a centre pear-shaped moulding. The drawing, Fig. 40, immediately above, is a section of this, showing the peculiarly deeply cut hollow of the moulding with their alternate projections, some of the chief characteristics of Early English work.

Fig. 42 is a semi-circular capital or respond, it is much mutilated, but parts of the beautiful acanthus foliage yet remain.

Fig. 43 is the latest piece of carved work represented in these plates, it being probably Early Decorated work, or even later. It may have been a piece of a string course or of a pier, the sculpture appears to represent a sprig of stiff foliage growing from the ear of the human face.

Fig. 44 is the base of some shafts clustered in a triplet.

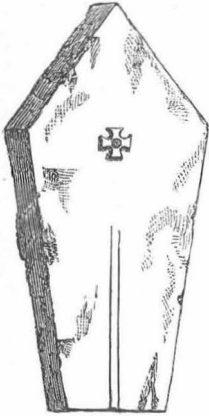
Fig. 45 is the segment of a doorway or window arch, much mutilated, but it is yet remarkable for the broad and very deeply cut hollow moulding which is beautifully adorned with a running pattern of leaves with stalk, bearing a trefoiled flower.

Figs. 42 and 45 are the only two noticeable pieces of Early English work which have come from the British Museum.

At the close of these remarks, which only profess to consider these relics of Lewes Priory as they are, having previously pointed out their value as evidence of date, and the best clue to a possible restoration, it is not to be expected, that their various transitions from the magnificent building of the thirteenth century to the present time, need be traced at all, but by way of conclusion, it may be right briefly to sketch how they fell from their "high estate" to being mere curiosities in a Museum. In 1538 the last prior, Robert Crowham, surrendered the priory into King Henry VIII's hands, when it was granted to Lord Cromwell. His servant, John Portinari, in a well-known letter, describes the almost total destruction of the priory, apparently for the sake of the materials. On Lord Cromwell's attainder, the site of Lewes Priory with the relics reverted to the crown, and were then leased to different parties.

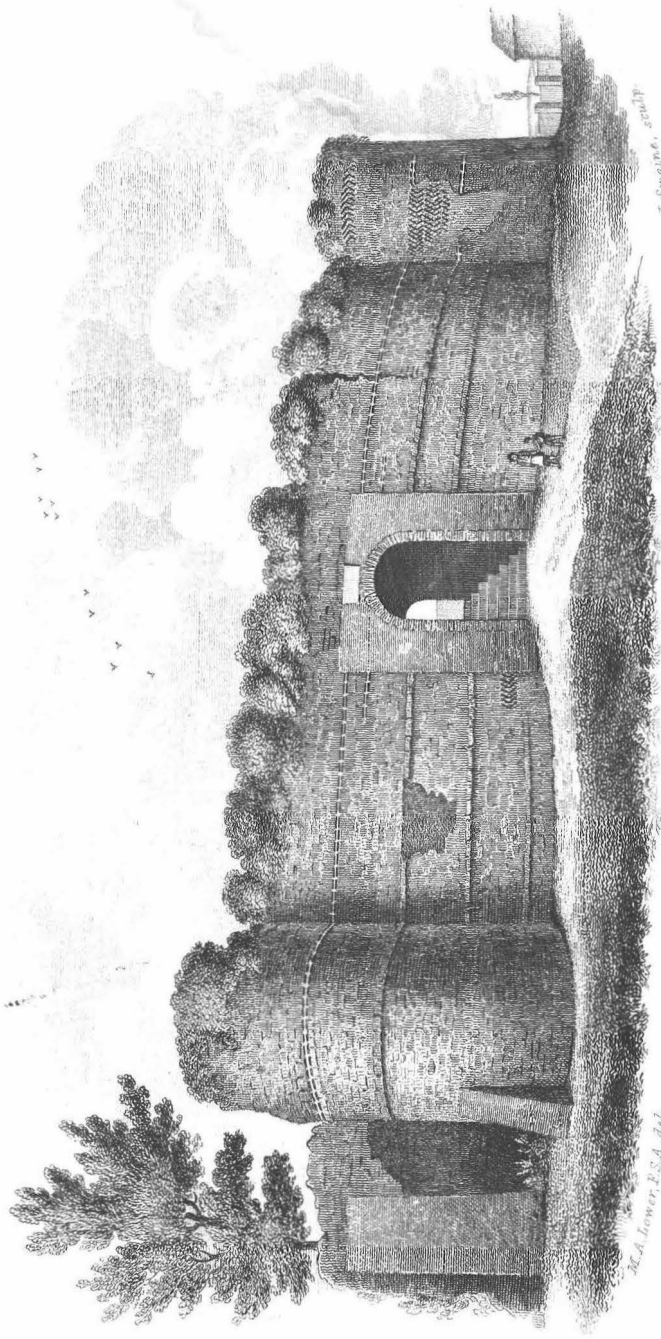
In the early part of the seventeenth century, however, Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, appears to have repaired the priory,

and to have lived there. A century afterwards parts of the site had been sold to different persons, and as may be supposed, the final dispersion of the glorious old Norman and Early English relics then took place. Since that time nothing has been done by the owners to prevent the entire abstraction of every relic moveable by any one who could obtain permission to take what he liked; and hence in truth is the present collection.



The stone represented in the woodcut is not one of the relics of Lewes Priory, but being one of the most interesting curiosities in the Museum, is here given. It is a sepulchral slab or gravestone of Sussex marble, found, in 1850, in digging the foundation of the new Grammar School, which is the site of the ancient churchyard of the parish of St. Peter West-Out, one of the two parishes (St. Peter and St. Mary) which formerly existed on the western exterior, outside of the town walls of Lewes. The upper surface of the slab is much worn from its probable position, as

part of the pavement of the church, the under side being rough and unhewn. It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad at the shoulder, and 1ft. at the base. The small Greek cross on it is in relief, though much worn down, and may originally have been worked as a quatre-foiled circle, and at the intersection of the cross is a circular star cut in. The two parallel lines are incised, but disappear entirely before reaching the cross, showing probably that they are of later origin. The slab is Early English in date, and probably marked the burial place of an ecclesiastic.



J. Swaine, sculp

J. A. Lower, F.S.A. del.

EASTERN VIEW OF THE ROMAN WALLS - PEVENSEY CASTLE.

ON PEVENSEY CASTLE, AND THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS THERE.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A.

(WITH A PLAN OF THE CASTLE AND DISCOVERIES,

BY WILLIAM FIGG, F.S.A.)

PARTLY READ AT THE QUARTERLY MEETING AT LEWES, OCTOBER 5, 1852.

AMONG the pleasurable modern uses of this venerable relic of other times, there is one event which has peculiar interest for the originators of the Sussex Archæological Society:—its inauguration, under the happiest auspices, within the walls of this, the oldest structure remaining in the county, on the 9th of July, 1846. It is by no means my object in the present paper to enter upon the history of Pevensey. I have already done so in an essay which was read on the occasion above referred to, and which has subsequently been printed as a brochure, under the title of ‘Chronicles of Pevensey.’¹ Fortunately, too, it will not be necessary for me to advance any arguments in proof of the identity of this fortress with the Romano-British city of Anderida—a fact amply proved in a paper in this volume by the Rev. Arthur Hussey. This long and needlessly vexed question has, I think, received its determination; for of all the Roman forts on the line of south-eastern coast, called the Saxon Shore (*Littus Saxonicum*), only Anderida remained to seek, while at the same time the important and indubitably Roman structure known as Pevensey remained the only one on that coast that was unappropriated to any ancient name. Mr. Hussey has been successful in reuniting the designation and the locality, and no future divorcement of the two can reasonably be apprehended. It will be necessary, however, for the better understanding of

¹ Lewes, 1846. 12mo, pp. 56.

the subjoined remarks, to adduce such historical facts as relate to the structure itself—its origin, dilapidations, repairs, and additions—and to give a concise description of its existing features and peculiarities.

The map which accompanies this paper has been carefully prepared from actual survey by Mr. Figg, and, for the first time, presents a trustworthy representation of the ground-plan. The walls coloured *red* show the Roman portions; while those given in *grey* represent the medieval additions. The members of our Society, and the subscribers to the Excavation Fund, will know how to appreciate Mr. Figg's gratuitous labour.

The congeries of walls and towers forming what is popularly, though inappropriately, called *Pevensey Castle*, occupies a slight elevation caused by one of those geological undulations not uncommon in flat and marshy districts. Before the draining of the marsh of Pevensey, and when what is still known as Pevensey Bay was a much deeper watery indent into the line of Sussex coast than at present, several eminences must have appeared above the surrounding waste of waters, forming a cluster of low rounded islands. These are still recognisable by their names, the termination being uniformly *ey* or *eye*, a softening of the Anglo-Saxon *í* or *íg*, island, morass. Here we find among many others, Hidney, Chilley, Mankseye, Horseye, Northeye, Langney, Rickney, Mountney. Foremost in importance in this little archipelago stood the insulated or peninsulated spot which was seized upon by the Romans as a site for the station which was afterwards known as the *Civitas Anderida*, and which, after its total destruction (excepting only the external walls) by the Saxons, assumed the name of *Peofnesea*—probably from some early proprietor called *Peofn*. A glance at the map will show that the builders of the wall which encloses the Roman station were influenced in their plan by the peculiar form of the ground chosen for a site, and that they followed the outline of the rising ground. In order to make the most of the site, they neglected the rectangular arrangement so usual in Roman *castra*, and hence the irregular oval and island-like form of the enclosure. At that time the southern and eastern sides doubtless occupied a sort of low cliff, washed at every tide by the waters of the ocean, or at least of a considerable arm of the sea. On the

other sides the ground, though not so precipitous, rises more or less from the general level of the surrounding marsh.

The general thickness of the walls is about 12 feet; their height ranges between 24 and 30 feet, and, wherever they remain standing, which is the case throughout about two-thirds of the entire circuit, they retain their original altitude, and present in fact (ivy and occasional scars in the masonry excepted) very much the same appearance as they must have done in the days of Constantine.² They are supported and strengthened at irregular intervals by solid buttress towers of peculiar plan, approximating to a semi-circle attached to a square, and of equal height with the intervening walls. They differ somewhat in size, but taking the average of the eleven now standing, they measure (inclusive of the thickness of the wall), 30 feet in *depth*, by 20 feet in width. They everywhere stand singly, except at the principal entrance on the west, which is flanked by a pair, not only for additional dignity, but also for strength, which seems from the frequency of the occurrence of towers here to have been specially cared for in this part.

The material of the walls is flint, with sea-sand mortar of great strength. The facing is of small squared sand-stones running in regular courses, and ornamented and strengthened at intervals with bonding courses of red tiles; while the joints of the masonry are pointed with mortar, having for one of its ingredients pounded tile, which imparts to it that red tint so characteristic of Roman work. In some places the bonding-courses of tile are only two in number, in others three, while occasionally the deficiency is supplied by another material, a dark brown flag stone. At the tower marked G in the plan, and there only, the tile courses are four in number. The use of tile throughout the whole structure is much more sparingly introduced than at Dover, Richborough, Lymne, and other places. From some excavations carried on in the year 1710, for the purpose of supplying the town of Pevensey with water from the moat of the interior or medieval castle by a channel

² In a paper on Pevensey Castle, by Mr. Wright, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1852, that accomplished antiquary remarks: "The Roman masonry is wonderfully perfect; although it has

been exposed to the changes of a great part of two thousand years, the mark of the trowel is still visible on the mortar, and many of the facing stones look as fresh as if they had been cut yesterday."

beneath the Roman walls, it was found that the latter, which were ten feet thick, had rested upon a foundation consisting of piles planked over with slabs of extraordinary substance. Notwithstanding the length of time they had lain in the earth, these timbers exhibited no symptoms of decay, and even the leaves of some brushwood which had been thrown in were found equally well preserved. The external facing stones at the bottom of the walls have everywhere been removed for building purposes. For ages Pevensey Castle served as a quarry for the neighbouring country; and it is only within the last eighteen or twenty years that this almost sacrilegious abuse has been discontinued. Massive but unsightly buttresses of brickwork have been applied for the purpose of remedying the danger which had accrued from this spoliation, and it is to be hoped that henceforward these venerable walls, associated as they are with so much that is grand and interesting in our history, will remain uninjured, at least by human agency. Nature in general deals kindly and tenderly with the works of man, but, alas! how few architectural remains can be said to have been

“*Religione patrum multos servata per annos.*”

Certainly at Pevensey, the ravages of time have been slight compared with those wrought by the hands of man.

The great entrance, or Decuman gate, with its strong weather-worn flanking towers (B and C) is the first object that strikes the eye of the visitor on his approach to the ruins from the west. These towers expand outwardly, and have a south-westerly aspect; the view from within them, embracing the masonry of the entrance itself as a foreground, the venerable church and picturesque village of Westham embowered in trees a little in advance, and the bold background formed by Beachy Head, constitutes a picture which for its varied elements of beauty can hardly be surpassed. Our business, however, is not to dwell upon the picturesque, but to “mark well the bulwarks, and to tell the towers” of this wonderful structure. Leaving the gateway, therefore, and pursuing the external circuit of the walls in a northerly direction we pass three other towers of similar character. Beyond the third tower the walls take a north-easterly direction and are here undefended for a considerable distance by any

such addition. At a distance of about 560 feet from the gateway and 220 from the tower F, we meet with an hiatus almost 200 feet in length where the wall has fallen outwards and lies in massive fragments now overgrown with trees. Another 150 feet bring us to tower G, one of the most perfectly preserved in the series. This originally measured about 32 feet in height, but an addition made to it in the Norman period raises it to the altitude of about 50 feet. From its position relatively to the medieval castle, and the extensive view which it commands to the north, east, and west, over the marshes and the weald of Sussex, there can be little doubt that it was made use of as a watch-tower. Only the western side of the superimposed work (which is as base in its masonry as the Roman portion is excellent) remains, and this is perforated by a very rude opening with a semi-circular arch turned upon imposts in the Norman fashion. Still following the circuit of the walls by the high road we pass tower H, and making a sudden curve to the south-east arrive at I, which presents some features worthy of observation. This tower was originally of similar workmanship to the rest, with its facing stones and brick bonding courses; but it must have been much dilapidated, apparently by the brunts of war, at an early period, and has undergone extensive patchings and repairs, strongly but not very neatly carried out. The inserted stones are mostly laid herring-bone fashion, and the joints are of ordinary gravel mortar, without any admixture of pounded tile. A few yards more bring us to a postern-gate communicating with a footpath crossing the inner area and with the high street of the town of Pevensey. Just southward of this is tower K, at 120 feet from which the Roman work forms a junction with the medieval castle.³

I apply the epithet *medieval* to this structure in preference to *Norman*, because, although there is no doubt of a Norman fortress having existed upon the spot, a considerable portion of the existing remains points to a date considerably subsequent to what is recognised as the Norman period—probably to the days of the earlier Edwards. This medieval work is curiously engrafted upon the Roman, as will be seen on reference to the

³ The object marked *d* is a mass of the Roman wall and rolled down the declivity to the position indicated.

plan. The area is 1 acre, 1 rood, 35 perches. In addition to one Roman tower remaining in the eastern wall, there are five of the subsequent era. The connecting walls will, I believe, be found to be Norman, and the towers themselves not earlier than the close of the thirteenth century. The great gateway (3) is flanked by two ruined towers, has an aspect nearly due west, and looks towards the principal entrance of the Roman work from which it is distant nearly 550 feet. Mr. Wright, in the article previously alluded to (*Gent. Mag.*, Aug., 1852), remarks that "in this gateway, and more especially in the external forms of the towers round the castle, the medieval architect imitated the Roman models before him." The arrangements for the portcullis and drawbridge remain very distinct, and the addition of what I will call the Edwardian work to the Norman gate, as originally constructed, is sufficiently distinguishable. The towers, which are in some instances of two, in others of three stories, and the walls 9 feet thick, are constructed of what is locally called Eastbourne stone⁴ with immense loop-holes. The lower stories have been vaulted, and the arches of the north-western tower (2) are still almost complete in the circumference of the wall. This is considered with some probability to have been the residence of the governor.

The Roman tower marked M has fallen from its original position and lies or stands (for I do not know which is the better expression), at a considerably inclined angle—the "leaning tower" of Pevensey! Curiously enough, the top of this tower has been made to form, in a way very difficult to describe, the "landing-place" or platform of a sally-port obliquely cut through the Norman work.

It is difficult to contradistinguish by proper terms the Roman fortifications at Pevensey from those of medieval date, although the disparity between the two is obvious to the most incurious observer. It has been customary to call the vast Roman enclosure—in other words the city walls of Anderida—the Base-court; and the Norman and post-Norman work, the Keep. Now in truth the latter is an independent castle complete in all its parts—the enceinte, moat, and other usual

⁴ The green sand of geology. The material for Pevensey Castle was quarried place at Eastbourne from whence the is still traditionally pointed out.

accessories of a castle of the middle ages, albeit upon a small scale. The remains of its keep (and a keep within a keep would be an utter absurdity) are still recognisable, upon the elevated though irregular and ill-defined mound on the eastern side of the enclosure (5).

The interval (going west) between the medieval castle and the Roman gateway, at which our topographical survey commenced, is precipitous ground, faces the sea (at the distance of about a mile), and retains upon the surface few traces of ancient masonry of any kind. Until our recent excavations it was always doubted whether any continuous wall had ever existed here, as the natural declivity, defended as it is by water at the base, seemed a sufficient natural fortification. The Roman tower A is in ruins.

To this survey of the existing remains, a few words on the architectural history of Pevensey may be added.

It would be useless to conjecture at what period of the Roman dominion in Britain the station of Anderida rose into importance and was surrounded with walls. From a misconception of a passage in Gildas it has been imagined that Pevensey was one of the forts on the sea-coast which the Romans, on withdrawing their forces, hastily erected for the Britons as a defence against the irruptions of continental barbarians. But whoever but for one moment contemplates this structure with its solid towers and walls twelve feet thick, thirty feet high, and enclosing an area half a mile in circumference, will perceive that it could neither have been a work of haste, nor the undertaking of a people about to abandon a long-possessed province. It has far more the air of having been constructed at a time when the Conquerors of the World were extending and consolidating their dominion in Britain. It bears no marks of haste, but everywhere evinces a well-matured plan and a leisurely execution.

The capture of Anderida by Ælla, the founder of the South Saxon kingdom, is the next historical epoch; but that the structure itself suffered any considerable damage when its unfortunate occupants fell beneath the *seaxes* of the invaders seems improbable, considering the simplicity of their military operations. Such buildings as they found suitable for strongholds the Saxon people occupied during war; but they built

no castles,—at least none of sufficient strength to have survived till our times. We look therefore in vain amongst the walls of Pevensey for any trace of Saxon building.⁵

At the Norman Conquest Pevensey became the property of the Conqueror's half-brother Robert, Earl of Mortain, and as it was the head of a great barony, there can be no doubt that that potent noble soon fortified the ruined works by extensive repairs and by the addition of a new castle at the south-eastern corner of the Rôman area. To him and to his successors in the barony we may then reasonably assign the medieval fortress. That a castle of considerable strength existed here in those times is evident from the following historical data :

A. D. 1088. The Earl of Mortain and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, held the castle of Pevensey on behalf of Duke Robert. Odo surrendered after a *six weeks' siege* to William Rufus.

A. D. 1144. Pevensey was held by Henry Fitz-Empress afterwards King Henry II. It was entrusted to Gilbert de Clare, and besieged by Stephen in person, who finding it *too strong to be taken by storm*, left a body of men before it to reduce it by famine.

A. D. 1216. William 6th Earl of Warenne held Pevensey, but taking part with Louis, Dauphin of France, against King John, the latter ordered him to surrender his castle of Pevensey to Matthew Fitz-Herbert, who was commanded to demolish it. What steps Fitz-Herbert took on the occasion is not recorded.

A. D. 1264. John Earl of Warenne and other barons, basely deserting the standard of King Henry III at the battle of Lewes, took temporary shelter in Pevensey Castle.

A. D. 1265. The castle was held for Henry III by the troops of Peter de Savoy, and besieged by Simon, son of Simon de Montfort, the baronial leader.

After the final seizure of Pevensey Castle by the crown in the thirteenth century, it seems to have been less exposed to the injuries of war. It had, however, already undergone enough ; and in 2 Edw. II (A. D. 1309) was reported to be in a very ruinous state. At that date an inquisition was taken at

⁵ It is true that some of the antiquaries of the eighteenth century imagined the small arch in the fragment standing upon the mound near the south-east corner of

the medieval castle (8) to have been Saxon—I believe, however, for no better reason than that it has a semicircular head.

Horsham before John de Foxlee and William Merrè, on the oath of certain jurors of the rape of Pevensey and the hundred of Loxfield, who deposed that the king held in the said rape the castle of Pevensey,—that the said castle was dilapidated and badly kept (*confractum et male custoditum*), and that they did not know how much it could be repaired for. Being asked by whose default the said castle was so overthrown and broken (*ita dirutum et confractum*), they declared that it was by the default of King Edward, father of our Lord now king, who declined to take any measures for the necessary reparations, although often advised and desired to do so by the sheriff, and the keepers of the said castle.⁶

Out of that Inquisition doubtless arose those repairs so distinguishable in various parts of the castle, and the addition of the great towers 1, 2, 3, 4, which retain many features of this precise period.

A. D. 1399. That ever-to-be-remembered lady, the wife of Sir John Pelham, sustained a siege here, in support of the Lancastrian cause, against the Posse Comitatus of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. The touching letter written on the occasion by this heroine to her absent lord has been printed by Collins and Hallam, and in my 'Chronicles of Pevensey.' Then and subsequently it must have been a place of great strength, as it was often used as a prison for captives of distinction, among whom may be enumerated King James I of Scotland, *circ.* 1414; Edward, Duke of York, 1405; and Joan of Navarre, the last queen of Henry IV, 1419. The appointment of Constable

⁶ Add. MSS. 6165, Brit. Mus. transcribed by Mr. Blaauw. Mr. W. D. Cooper likewise sent me another transcript from Carlton Ho. Ride. The names of the jurors will be interesting to many Sussex readers:—

Will. de la Chaumbre.
Richard Hamond.
Ralph atte Broke.
Robert Partrich.
Roger Ballard.
Jocce Urry.
Robert atte Stable.
Hen. de Shobrigge.
Ralph atte Doune.
Andrew Gobioun.
Gilbert de Okelinge.
Walter le Bat.
John de Horseye.
Ranulf Wodeland.
Philip atte Welle.

William Algar.
Richard le Frost.
Philip Lytteman.
Simon le Sem'.
Ralph le Potter.
Ralph at Nasshe.
Simon atte Chaumbre.
John le Palmer.
Geffry atte Welle.
Gilbert Erth.
Nicholas de Wonbourne.
John le Hemestede.
Adam de Courtelhope.
John de Bochurst.
Roger le Bost.

of Pevensey Castle with a salary of £22. 16s. 3d. existed so lately as 1553.

A. D. 1587. A survey of the Sussex coast was made with a view to its defence against the threatened Spanish invasion. Against the "Castle of Pevensey" there is a suggestion that it be either "re-edified or utterly rased;" but, as we know, neither alternative was resorted to.

The subsequent history of Pevensey Castle involves little beyond that which the tooth of time and the pick-axe of the spoiler have inscribed upon its venerable towers.⁷

My friend and colleague, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., M.R.S.L., &c., whose knowledge of Roman antiquities has earned for him a European celebrity, and whose successful researches at Richborough, Reculver, Lymne, and other stations on the "Saxon shore" have qualified him *præ cateris* for the undertaking, had long entertained the wish to make excavations at Pevensey.⁸ At his instance, therefore, I was induced in the month of July 1852, to apply to the Earl of Burlington, the owner of the castle, for permission to make the desired explorations, and his lordship with his usual urbanity cheerfully acceded to the request. A subscription list was opened, and we soon succeeded in raising funds for the commencement of the work. The Brighton Railway Company also seconded our views by granting to Mr. Smith and myself free conveyance to the scene of operations.

We commenced our labours in the month of August by excavating within the great western gateway of the Roman work. By clearing the incumbent soil (the accumulation of many centuries) we found that the massive flanking towers of this entrance, twenty-eight feet apart, (*a* in the plan) had originally been connected by a wall, and that this had been pierced by an archway which formed the first porta or entrance. Within this we disclosed the solid foundations more than five feet in thickness, of an apartment of about

⁷ See fuller particulars of the history and descent in *Chronicles of Pevensey*.

⁸ It may be as well to mention here, that this report is drawn up independently of Mr. S. for the information of our

Society. The result of my friend's observations will be embodied in the future numbers of his *Collectanea Antiqua*, or probably in a separate report.

eighteen feet, the eastern side of which had had an inner arch of entrance $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The stones are of very large size and somewhat displaced. Fragments of Roman imbrices from the original roof of the gateway were found, together with a third brass coin of Constantine, one of the amulets of Kimmeridge coal so often occurring with Roman remains, and within a yard of it, though at a higher level, a penny of Canute. Two large bases of cylindrical columns of a whitish friable stone were also found. The earth was next removed from a portion of the inner facing of the walls, and the masonry was found to be in a fine state of preservation.

A singular feature presented itself here and in various other places in the course of the excavations. The original *floor* or area has been covered with a bed of stiff red clay to the depth of five, six, or even eight feet, and this with the debris of the masonry and a superincumbent mass of animal and vegetable matter has so elevated the surface, that the walls, which on the outside are upwards of twenty-five feet high, are at some places internally little more than a breastwork. This applies more particularly to the eastern part of the area, and the only way of accounting for it seems to be that the Normans, when they took possession of the ancient fortification and built their castle within it, found it expedient for some purpose not very obvious to us to elevate the soil. Part of the accumulation may be accounted for by the removal of the earth necessary for the formation of the deep wide moat surrounding the northern and western sides of their work; but there must have been some other and weightier motive for the procedure.

After having developed the interior of the great gateway, we proceeded to excavate the earth in the vicinity of the little postern-gate *b*. This gate was first noticed by Mr. Roach Smith about two years since. It does not pass at right angles through the wall, but by a singular winding course, obviously for better defence. Nothing of importance was discovered here. The wall from this point in a north-easterly direction for about 200 feet has fallen, whether from some defect in the foundation or from violence we could not form a conjecture. From the end of the fallen wall in the direction of tower G we caused a deep trench to be sunk, disclosing the inner

facing of the wall in a good state of preservation, from a thick bed of clay having been laid against it.

The next point examined was the gate *c*, which fronts the main street of Pevensey, into which it leads by a flight of ten steps. The exterior of this entrance is shown in the accompanying view. From the modern air given to it by a brick archway, it had been doubted whether an ancient gate had existed at this point. Our excavations, coupled with certain appearances above ground, have, however, proved the fact beyond all doubt.

Our attention was next given to an examination of the ground within a short distance of the walls, where some traces of the foundations of houses or other buildings were anticipated. The dotted lines in the plan, represent the trenches made. The results were very inadequate to the labour bestowed, for with the exception of a few Roman coins, minute fragments of Samian and other pottery, tiles, and animal remains, nothing was brought to light. No regular foundations occurred, and it almost follows as a consequence of this, that notwithstanding the great strength of the external walls, the buildings within them must have been of slight and temporary character.

An opening was made at *g*, to the depth of several feet, through a bed of sand-stone chippings, apparently the refuse of the medieval work. Near the two cannons at *h*, some trenches were made, and one or two Roman coins were found.⁹

A foolish tradition connects Pevensey Castle with the ancient house in Westham called Priesthawes, by a subterraneous passage. As the two places are between two and three miles apart, so preposterous an idea could not for a moment be entertained; but since an elderly inhabitant of the neighbourhood vouched for the fact of his having in his youth accidentally discovered some kind of passage a few perches to the south-westward of the great gateway, we thought it worth while to examine the ground. The *locus in quo* is a small field

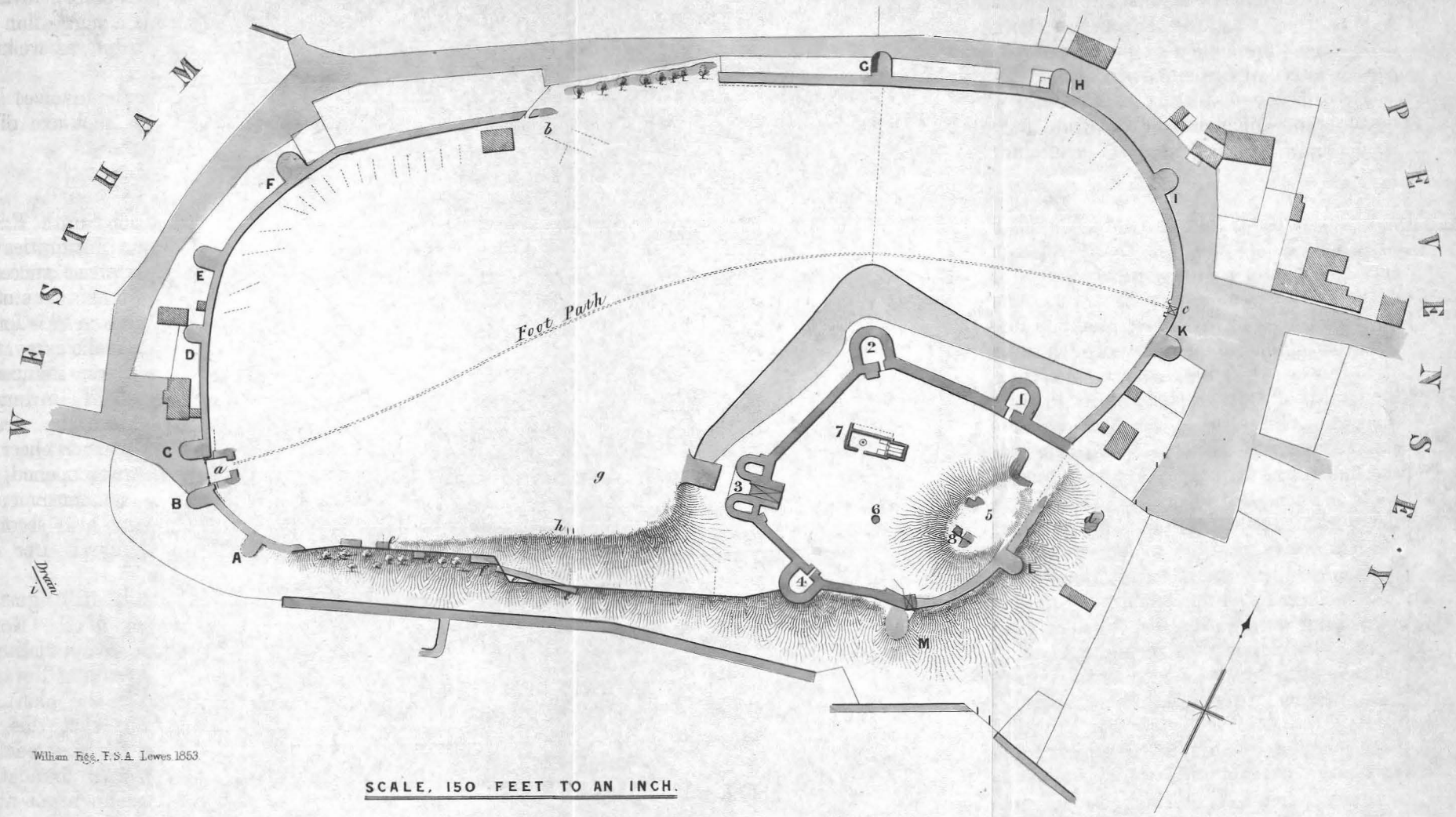
⁹ These two pieces of ordnance are apparently of the sixteenth century. One has the initials W. P. (William Pelham?), and the other the Tudor badge, the rose and crown, and E. R. for Elizabetha Regina. These are probably the two

pieces mentioned in a Survey of the Sussex Coast made in May, 1587, in anticipation of the Spanish invasion:—

“The Castle of Pemsey to be reedified or vtterlye rased: there is ij dimy-culverings of small value.”

PEVENSEY CASTLE

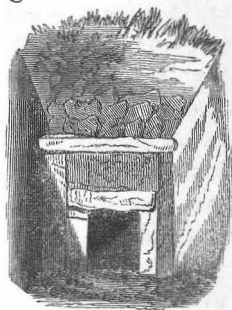
from actual Survey made during the Excavations. 1852.



William Figg, F.S.A. Lewes 1853

SCALE, 150 FEET TO AN INCH.

belonging to the Rev. John Grace, vicar of Westham, who kindly permitted us to dig there. Openings were therefore made at the point marked *i*, where at the depth of two feet and a half, we succeeded in exposing a large drain, carefully constructed with large stones, as shown in the annexed woodcut. It runs about north-west and south-east, but of its purpose, or the period of its construction, I cannot hazard any conjecture. The opening was about 18 inches high.¹⁰



Our next point was to solve the problem, whether the south side of the area had been originally defended, like the other portions, with a Roman wall. Few traces of one remain upon the surface, and I confess that it had always been my own opinion, that the precipitous ground on this side, flanked as it was by the sea—or at any rate by water and impassable bogs—formed a sufficient natural defence. The notion, however, after several laborious trenches had been sunk, was rendered untenable, for at the points marked *e, e, e, e*, walls exhibiting every characteristic feature of Roman masonry were discovered; and but for a land-slip (of which even a glance at Mr. Figg's map will furnish sufficient proof), at some unknown era, the continuity of the wall in this part would no doubt be still traceable. At *f* there were traces of a very narrow postern-gate.

The land-slip referred to must have taken place since the erection of the medieval castle, as it carried away one of its best defences, the southern branch of its moat—leaving the ground southward of the drawbridge dry, thus rendering the gateway which ought to have been the strongest, one of its most vulnerable points. By this convulsion the massive walls and

¹⁰ Priesthaves is presumed to have been originally some kind of religious establishment—perhaps a monastic *grange* with its chapel and priest. Wherever, throughout East Sussex, a castle and a monastery or other religious foundation stand in moderate proximity to each other, an underground communication according to the popular notion always exists. Lewes Castle and Priory, Hastings Castle and Priory, Burlough Castle (near Al-

friston) and Wilmington Priory, and Bodiam Castle and Robertsbridge Abbey, may be named as sites connected with this whimsical "folk-lore." Considerable disappointment was felt by some of the rustic inhabitants of Pevensey at the non-realisation of the popular theory in the present instance. "Why, Sir," said one of them to me, "so this here subterreaneous passage as we've so long heard an, turns out to be nothin' but a gurt dreen!"

towers must have been undermined, and hurled into the morass below, to a depth which would probably render any search after them a perfectly thankless task.

Considering the number of Roman coins that have been found at various time in Pevensey Castle, it is rather singular that our extensive excavations should have yielded so few. The following is Mr. Roach Smith's note of them :

"The coins found during the excavations are few, and without any particular interest. They are all in small brass, and do not exceed 20 in number. They range from Gallienus to the sons of Constantine, as follows :—

	No.		No.
Gallienus	1	Constantine	2
Posthumus	1	The Constantine Family	8
Maximianus	1	Magentius	2

"The penny of Canute [mentioned at page 275] is of the type Ruding, pl. xxiii, No. 17."¹¹

In the month of November, we gave directions for uncovering the foundations of a building which had stood within the medieval castle. My attention was called during the summer of 1849 to the burnt appearance of the turf to the southward of tower No. 2, and I hazarded a conjecture that it indicated the site of the "free chapel within the castle of Pevensey," which is named in a grant of this fortress to John of Gaunt, by his father, King Edward III. Our excavations have shown the truth of this surmise. The site of the chapel is marked 7, in the plan.

It consisted of a nave, north aisle, and chancel. The general thickness of the foundation walls was 2 feet 5 inches. The interior dimensions of the edifice were as follows :—

Length of Nave . . . 40 ft.

Breadth of ditto . . . 16 ft. 8 in.

Length of Chancel . . 12 ft. 8 in.

Breadth of ditto . . . 11 ft. 6 in.

¹¹ In the 'Numismatic Chronicle,' iii, 66, Mr. Smith published an account of a discovery of Roman coins at Pevensey Castle. They range from Carausius to Gratian. The late Mr. Charles Brooker of Alfriston, had nearly 100 third brass coins. My friends, Messrs. Charles Ade, William Harvey, and John Macrae, possess others. Nearly all these are of the reigns of Constantius Chlorus, Constantine, and Constans. I will not include in this note the "find" in 1848, of 866 silver and brass coins boasted of by an individual to whose name I would gladly give a well-deserved "setting-down" were it not for the pain which I should thereby inflict upon his respectable relatives who reside in the county. Suffice it to say that I have documents to prove that a more shameful fraud was never

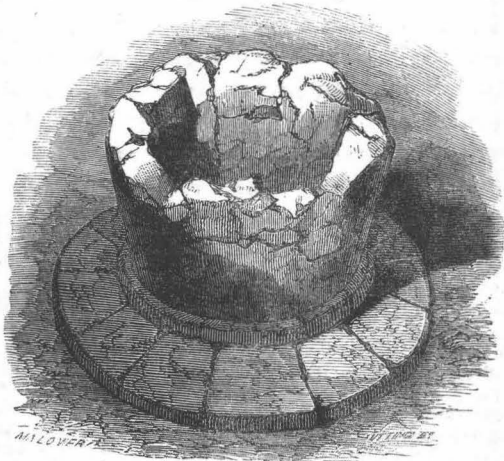
attempted than that of digging up these hundreds of Roman (? *first-brass Birmingham*) coins, from a tower built in the reign of Edward II (!) where they had been deposited by the digger himself not many hours previously!—See *Suss. Arch. Coll.* I, 5.

Mr. Harvey and Mr. E. Miller of Hailsham have in their cabinets several *Bactrian* coins found (as I have good evidence to show) among the ruins of Pevensey. These coins are on all hands admitted to be genuine, but a doubt of their having been found here has been entertained. For my own part, I see nothing more wonderful in their discovery than in the indisputable fact that many Saracenic coins of the ninth century have been found in the shingle and sand at Eastbourne.

The flooring, which has been removed, appears to have been laid upon a bed of sea-beach or shingle. A single stone step forming the ascent into the chancel remains. A few fragments of Roman tile from the *old* work were found imbedded in the foundation walls.

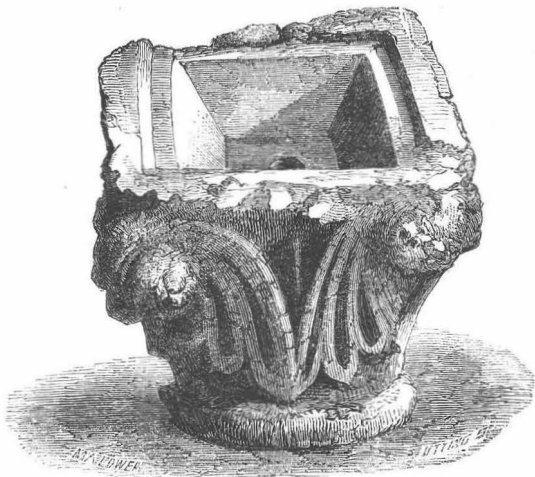
Below the level of the floor of the chancel several skeletons were exhumed. This part of the edifice had been divided longitudinally into three cells or graves. In the northernmost of these was the skeleton of a man five feet below the surface. The fore-arms were crossed over the breast, perhaps indicating a priest. At the feet of this skeleton was another of a child. The middle compartment was occupied by a skeleton with the arm-bones parallel with the body; this interment was only two feet below the floor. In the southernmost compartment there were three skeletons at the depth of five feet—one adult and two children. To the right and left of the chancel step were two small irregular inclosures of stone which may have supported the pulpit and reading desk.

Opposite the south door, at the distance of 11 feet 6 inches from the west end of the building, erect, and *in situ*, but much fractured, we found the *font*. It consists of a plain



basin of rude workmanship raised upon a circular step 4 feet 10 inches in diameter, as shown in the above wood engraving; the material is a rough, friable, white stone resembling

Caen, but of an inferior grain. Care has been taken to preserve this venerable relic from destruction. At the east end of the nave a remarkable object was brought to light. This is a piscina adapted for a pillar perforated throughout its entire



height. With the exception of (the shaft of) one found some years since in the free chapel within the castle of Hastings, I am not acquainted with any examples of the pillar piscina in Sussex, and they are everywhere uncommon. They seem peculiar to Norman architecture. The workmanship of the present specimen is very rude, and the design resembles a capital of Early English, or rather transition-Norman date: Its rough and "Ruskin-ish" character is faithfully conveyed in the engraving given above.

The font, and an abacus with Norman ornaments, sufficiently attest the period to which the "free chapel of Pevensey" belongs. Of its destruction we have no record, but there is sufficient evidence that it was *burnt down*—whether by accident or design it would be idle to conjecture. The font bears evident marks of the action of fire, such as will be remarked by any curious visitor to Rye Church, where the evidences of conflagration are alike afforded by present appearances and by historical record. The roof was of *slates*, very thick, marked with broad red veins, and unlike any other slate I have ever seen. A large mass of the roof seems

to have fallen in upon the font, which may account for its comparatively well-preserved state. It is a rather curious fact that many iron arrow-heads, from four to six inches in length were found among the *debris*.

It ought to be mentioned, that not long before our excavations, Mr. Gurr, the worthy tenant of the ground (who at this moment holds, in *plurality*, the offices of constable, port-reeve, overseer, market-clerk, and custodian [of the castle] of Pevensey), accidentally discovered the well of this redoubtable fortress. It lies within the enclosure, southward of the chapel, and near the foot of the mound of the ancient keep (6 in the plan). Lord Burlington having liberally contributed the funds, Mr. Gurr opened the well which is of very remarkable construction. It is seven feet in diameter, and *steined* with solid ashlar. After descending forty feet it gradually contracts and is continued to the depth of fifty, where it is further narrowed to a frame-work of solid oak of square form, and little more than two feet across. It is to be regretted that this well has been filled to within a few feet of the top by rain-water, so that the peculiar structure of the lower part of it cannot be more accurately noted without the laborious removal of this large body of water. I must not omit to state that among other objects brought up during the emptying of this well there were several of those large spherical masses of green sand-stone—generally supposed to be catapult balls¹²—which have so often been found in the castle, and some skulls which upon examination by competent persons have been pronounced to be those of *wolves*.

If our labours have yielded no results of very striking interest, I trust that they will still be deemed of a nature to repay the cost of time and money expended upon them. At all events we cannot be censured for not having brought to light objects which might reasonably have been expected to be met with on such a site. Sculptured marble, and votive altar, and polished column have been there, and have alike perished in the lapse of ages, as the natural result of *continuous occupation*; so that little now remains of the once

¹² They are of various sizes from nine to fifteen inches diameter. Many of them are still lying in different parts of the castle.

renowned city of Anderida, except its time-honoured walls,—walls which have borne the storms of some sixteen hundred winters, besides the hostile attacks of the soldier and the pilferer, and which nothing but some convulsion of nature, or some intentional spoliation by human agency, can for ages yet to come destroy.

I ought to have mentioned a discovery made during the progress of our operations—namely, that the Roman walls have been in many parts heightened by a breastwork of subsequent date, probably Norman, so as to afford the defenders, while passing along the top of the wall a screen from the assailants without. This parapet is most observable between towers C and E, and upon tower L, but is everywhere almost concealed by that picturesque but destructive weed, the ivy.

In 4^o King John, Hugh Dyve, lord of East Haddon, co. Northampton, claimed against Henry Dyve, his mesne tenant, the service of *inclosing a certain hay upon the vallum of the king's castle of Pevensey* in Sussex, being the alleged tenure pertaining to a knight's fee which he held of him in Brampton in the former county. What this hay or inclosure was I cannot conjecture. [Placit. 4 Joh.]

* * * The dotted line southward of tower G does not indicate a trench, but an inequality, probably resulting from a wall which anciently stood there.

LEWES, June 15, 1853.

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ERRATA.

At page viii, in the receipts for 1852, the Annual Subscriptions are considerably understated in error, the total being £371. 15s. 4d. ; and to the payments a sum should be added for the repairs of Lewes Castle, making with the balance in hand £66. 7s. 9d. as correctly stated, the corresponding total of £371. 15s. 4d.

Pages 75 and 76, for "De Maminot," read "De Magneville." Hasted is the authority followed for the statement in the text ; but though there was an alliance between the families of Maminot and Say, as mentioned by him, yet that match did not, as he says, originate the change of arms in question. The Maminots bore entirely different arms, which were *not* adopted by the Says.

Page 109, line 2, read "more than half a century."

Page 189, 3 last lines and passim in the article, read "J. E. Fullager, Esq."

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