

SUSSEX

Archaeological Collections,

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. X.

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JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Annual Report	ix
List of Members	xvii
Rules of the Society	xxiv
1. Extracts from the Manuscripts in the possession of William John Campion, Esq., at Danny; and of Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart., of Charlton House. Edited by R. W. BLENCOWE, Esq.	1
2. Notices of Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester, 1570 to 1582. By Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.S.A., &c.	53
3. Notice of the South Doorway of the Church at Bolney. By the Rev. JOSEPH DALE	59
4. Observations on the Earls of Eu, and some of their Presumed Descendants. By WILLIAM SMITH ELLIS, Esq.	63
5. Smuggling in Sussex. By W. DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.	69
6. Commissions of Sewers for the Lewes Levels. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.S.A., &c.	95
7. Sele Priory, and some Notice of the Carmelite Friars at New Shoreham, and the Secular Canons at Steyning. By the Rev. EDWARD TURNER.	100
8. Roll of a Subsidy levied 13th Henry IV., 1411, 1412, so far as relates to the County of Sussex. Transcribed by T. HERBERT NOYES, Jun., Esq., B.A.	129
9. Account of an Ancient Canoe found at Burpham, near the River Arun, on the Property of Thomas Spencer, Esq., of Warnicamp	147
10. Wakehurst, Slaugham, and Gravetye. By. W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., F.S.A.	151

	PAGE
11. An Account of certain Roman Sepulchral Remains lately discovered at Densworth, in the Parish of Funtington, Sussex. By the Rev. HENRY SMITH, M.A.	168
12. On certain Inns and Inn-Signs in Sussex. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A.	181
13. Mediæval Pottery found at Seaford. By WILLIAM FIGG, F.S.A. . . .	193
14. The Progress of King Edward VI. in Sussex. By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A.	195
15. Notes and Queries. (<i>See Contents</i>).	205
INDEX	215

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Directions to Binder.

	PAGE
<i>Danny, East Front</i>	1
<i>North East</i>	22
<i>Bolney Church Doorway</i>	60
<i>Sussex Smugglers, "Finis"</i>	94
<i>Seals of Priors of Sele</i>	103
<i>Seal of Richard de Peshale</i>	119
<i>Ancient Canoe found in the River Arun</i>	150
<i>Ancient Wooden Anchor</i>	150
<i>Wakehurst Place, South Front</i>	<i>to face</i> 155
<i>Interior of Hall</i>	<i>to face</i> 157
<i>West Wing</i>	— 158
<i>Slaughman Manor House, South Front</i>	<i>to face</i> 160
<i>West Arch</i>	— 161
<i>East Front</i>	— 162
<i>Dog's Head</i>	162
<i>Lion's Head</i>	163
<i>Carved Staircase</i>	<i>to face</i> 163
<i>North Front</i>	— 165
<i>Benfield</i>	165
<i>Gravetye</i>	<i>to face</i> 166
<i>Roman Earthworks near Chichester</i>	170
<i>Three Glass Vases found in Roman Cemetery</i>	173
<i>Glass Stopper and its stamped Top</i>	173
<i>Plan of Roman Cemetery at Densworth</i>	175
<i>Two Earthen Vases</i>	177
<i>Ancient Hand-Post</i>	182
<i>Ancient Cross at Alfriston</i>	183
<i>Vaulted Cellar at the Lamb, Eastbourne</i>	184
<i>Ancient Vessels of Pottery in the form of Animals</i>	195

NOTICES.

The General Annual Meeting of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY will be held on Thursday, August 5, 1858, at Bayham Abbey, under the Presidency of the MARQUIS CAMDEN, K.G.

The reprint of Vol. I. at 10s., and Vols. IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX., at 7s. each, may be had, on application, by Members. Vols. II. and III. are out of print.

REPORT.

IN publishing a Tenth Volume of SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, the Committee cannot but repeat their satisfaction that the zeal and intelligence of the Members of the Society have thus enabled them to add another proof of its continued prosperity. The General Annual Meeting at Arundel, on August 13, 1857, was numerously attended, under the patronage of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, though their noble President was himself unable to be present, and passed off successfully. So comprehensive a summary of the Society's proceedings was on that occasion read by Mr. M. A. Lower, one of the Committee, that it is hoped its republication here may be excused, as likely to gratify the Members by the condensed record of their exertions during eleven years.

“We may fairly ascribe the origin of the Society to the discovery, in the autumn of 1845, of the remains of Gundrada and De Warenne at Lewes Priory. That remarkable exhumation of the illustrious and long-buried dead, excited a deep and long-sustained interest, not only in the history of those noble personages, but also in the annals of the monastery they had founded, and in many cognate but hitherto much-neglected matters of research. The grave of the Conqueror's Child became for a season not only a trysting-place for studious antiquaries, but the favourite resort of intelligent persons of every grade. Much old, forgotten lore was dug up from ancient histories and monkish chronicles, and by its publication in various forms, a taste for this species of inquiry was widely diffused. Two or three persons, who had long addicted themselves to the study of the Past and its monuments, asked each other the question, whether it would not be possible to form a Society for the prosecution of researches not only into the antiquities of Lewes, but also into those of the whole county of Sussex? An impulse had been recently given to antiquarianism by the formation of the Archæological Association and the Archæological Institute, and in several counties of England local societies were

springing into existence. Should Sussex, which had long ago been characterised as the 'Holy Land of Gothic Abbeys and Castles,' be left behind in such a pursuit? Assuredly not; and the project once conceived was speedily carried into effect. We were not wanting in zeal, but our ambition was limited. Mr. Blaauw, who has from the commencement so energetically and so intelligently executed the office of Honorary Secretary, thought we might succeed in enlisting thirty or forty persons in the scheme, who could hold periodical meetings, visit castles and churches, and read papers about them. Anything like the printing of those papers in goodly, well-illustrated volumes; anything like the gay and agreeable annual gatherings which have distinguished and popularized the Society, was never dreamed of in those infantine days of our existence. Infantine, I said; but we scarcely had an infancy; for no sooner was our scheme fairly broached, than we sprang into a sudden and well-developed adolescence and a vigorous manhood! At the formation meeting, held in the County Hall, at Lewes, on the 18th of June, 1846, we enrolled about fifty members, comprising a representation of nearly every social grade in the county. Three weeks later, July 9th, when we held our first general meeting in the oldest building in Sussex, Pevensey Castle, our number had risen to ninety, and, including visitors, 150 persons were assembled. Many now present well remember that agreeable field-day, as well as the minor or quarterly meetings subsequently held at Brighton and Shoreham. Every meeting brought an accession of new members, and when the annual meeting which opened the second year of the Society's existence was held at Chichester, July 1, 1847, our numbers had more than doubled. The Committee then resolved on publishing the result of the Society's researches, and the first volume of the *Archæological Collections*—a tangible evidence of vitality—was presented to the members at Christmas, 1847, when the Society was just eighteen months old. It was but a little one, of less than 200 pages, but still it was looked upon by all as rather good fruit from so young a tree; in the language of nurses, 'it was a fine child for its age,' and those of us who assisted at its birth were not a little proud of the literary bantling. Eight sister volumes of larger bulk have since been produced, all more or less attractive in personal appearance, and more or less clever and intelligent, but still we cannot but attach a sort of fond preference to our firstborn. I will not trouble you with a dry catalogue of our meetings, annual and quarterly, nor with a table of the contents of our nine volumes—the meetings are in your memory, the books upon your shelves. Our annual meeting, and our nearly annual volume, have been the great features of the Society's operations. The two questions in every Member's mouth have been—the first, 'Where do we meet this year?' and the second, 'When does our volume come out?' To the great majority of you the duties of membership are not onerous; for they consist simply of enjoying a summer day's ramble among picturesque scenery and ancient buildings, and of perusing by your firesides the now familiar octavo

called the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. Upon a few of us, namely, the acting Committee, and the paper-writers, heavier exertions devolve. Meeting after meeting has to be held to devise, and plan, and arrange, and the midnight oil is occasionally wasted in the production of essays and dissertations. But while you, the great body, are pleased, we, the working head and palpitating heart, are content to exert ourselves for the general benefit, and to carry on the good work of illustrating olden manners and forgotten histories.

“A few words on our annual meetings, which have so happily brought together persons from remote parts of the county of different social grades, and various pursuits in life, each vying with each in the promotion of archæology and good fellowship. What a glorious day had we once before in this time-honoured and beautiful town! Who forgets Wiston and Battle Abbey, and our reception by their hospitable owners? Who does not remember the cordial welcomes of Rye and Bodiam and Horsham? If *Jupiter Pluvius* prevailed at Herstmonceux and Goodwood, who amongst our visitors did not make the best of it, and set at defiance the watery element, by hilarity and good-will? Some of the hypercritical sort taunt us with undervaluing archæological science by this cheerful conviviality—they think forsooth that we ought to be constantly plying the spade and pickaxe, or turning over the musty leaves of chartularies and chronicles. But while the pickaxe and the spade are at all due places and times in requisition by those who can wield them—while the chronicle and the chartulary are by no means neglected, why should we obstinately repudiate picturesque scenes, the joyous expressions of kindly feeling, the wine and the venison, and, above all, the benign influence of bright eyes and sunny faces which are ever the concomitants of our charming anniversary?

“The objects of this Society, as embodied in our original prospectus, embrace ‘whatever relates to the civil or ecclesiastical history, topography, ancient buildings, of works of art, within the county; and for this purpose the Society invite communications on such subjects, especially from those noblemen and gentlemen who possess estates in the county, and who may materially assist the completion of the county history, now very imperfect, by the loan of ancient documents, relating to estates, manors, wills, or pedigrees, and of any other object generally connected with the ancient history of Sussex. The Society will collect manuscripts and books, drawings and prints, coins and seals, or copies thereof, rubbings of brasses, descriptive notices and plans of churches, castles, mansions, or other buildings of antiquarian interest; such collections to be preserved and made available for the purposes of the Society, by publication or otherwise.’

“Such was the task we originally prescribed to ourselves—such the promise we held forth to the people of Sussex at the outset—such was the tenor of the very first paper published in our *Collections*. Mr. Blaauw, who wrote that paper, must experience singular satisfaction in observing how literally his suggestions and anticipations, as to the work our Society was to do, have been

realised! Let us briefly review the real achievements of the Society, and see how far its objects have been accomplished. We have ransacked almost every conceivable branch of archæological inquiry, and investigated the customs and manners of all sorts and conditions of men, in relation to our beloved Sussex. And, although a hundred volumes would by no means exhaust the diversified topics, yet I venture to assert that there is scarcely any subject, proper to an archæological society, that has not received some attention from our various contributors. I hope I shall not be considered as carrying self-glorification, as to the Society, too far; but, since a line of proof is preferable to a page of assertions, I will proceed briefly to recall to your recollection the varied matters handled in our nine volumes. Castles, religious houses, and churches, suggest themselves to antiquaries as prominent objects of curiosity and interest, and, accordingly, our pages present, for the first time, a tolerably full and accurate account of the time-honoured remains of the Castles of Pevensey, Knepp, Herstmonceux, Bramber, Sedgwick, and Bodiam, their annals and their lords—of the monastic institutions with which Sussex once abounded—of Lewes, Wilmington, Malling, St. Mary's Hospital at Chichester, Otham, Ruser, Michelham, Durford, Robertsbridge, Bosham, Easebourne, Sedlescomb, Shipley, and Bayham, their founders, abbots, priors, preceptors, and benefactors—of the churches of Bishopston, Chalvington, West Dean, Wilmington, Fletching, Framfield, Steyning, Berwick, Seaford, Worth, Buxted, Denton, Rottingdean, Newhaven, Bodiam, and Etchingham, some of which possess features of extraordinary rarity and interest. To the ecclesiologist there are few counties more attractive than Sussex—not for the splendour and magnificence of its edifices—not for their vast extent or towering altitude—but for simple forms and peculiar arrangements. Some, at least, of these have received the attention of our members. Other architectural subjects have also engaged our attention, including Chichester Cathedral and Cross, the Lantern at Lewes Priory; Street Place, Laughton Place, Cowdray House, Crowhurst Hall, the Star Inn at Alfriston, the ancient Rectory-house at West Dean, carved fragments from Lewes Priory, encaustic tiles from many places, and mural paintings at Portslade, Lindfield, Stedham, and St. Olave's, Chichester. In the last instance the painted wall concealed some Roman materials worked up into a very early church. The same thing has been remarked at Bunton Chapel in this county, and elsewhere. This reminds me that our Society has not been inattentive to the Roman remains of Sussex. Among other objects in this department of archæology, our volumes contain papers on some remains of a villa at Eastbourne, on a Roman building at Wiston, on Roman remains at Newhaven, on the far-famed votive inscription to Neptune and Minerva at Goodwood, on various urns, coins, &c., of that period, and, above all, on the identification of our favourite Pevensey with the Anderida of the Romans, together with a report of excavations carried on there, which, though they failed in any very successful illustration of the Roman remains, issued in the

discovery of the foundations of a very curious Norman chapel, with its font, piscina, and the graves of its chaplains remaining in *statu quo*. Nor must we overlook that curious circular Roman cemetery at Bormer, on the South Downs, excavated at the Society's expense, the results of which, in objects of pottery, metal, and glass, are now in our Museum. In the more uncertain region of Celtic antiquities our researches have brought to light many interesting objects, which have been duly described in the *Collections*. It will suffice to mention the urns from Alfriston, now in the British Museum, the similar objects from the neighbourhood of Chichester, the primeval remains in the same locality, the earthworks of the South Downs, and now recently the remarkable tumulus at Hove, with its unique amber cup. Various other barrows have been examined and described; and among other discoveries our Society has been instrumental in bringing forward some of the best specimens in existence of the bronze instruments known as Celts. In the department of Numismatics, some valuable discoveries have been made in British, Roman, Cufic, and Saxon coins. The collection of our friend Mr. William Harvey is rich in Sussex specimens, which but for his vigilance might have been lost to the county. Among monuments of the illustrious dead described in our volumes, are those in the College Chapel which we have to-day seen, and those of a De Braose at Lewes Priory, of a Keynes at Horsted, of Sir David Owen at Midhurst, and of many other personages, both lay and ecclesiastic. Several brasses have been figured at the expense of the Society, and it is hoped that eventually the whole series may be completed. Some of the papers published by us form respectable monographs upon local topography, and have been separately published from our *Collections*. One of the best town histories ever printed, Mr. Durrant Cooper's *Winchelsea*, was originally written for us, but, being found too bulky for our volume, was published as an independent work. Local history is always more or less illustrative of that of our country; but some of the papers we have published are really chapters of no inconsiderable importance in English history. It will suffice to mention the papers on the Battle of Hastings, the Roll of Battel Abbey, the Royal Journeys in Sussex, the Letters of Prince Edward (subsequently King Edward II.), the Notices of the Barons' Wars, a little earlier in date, Queen Elizabeth's Journey in Sussex, and the incidents of the Civil Wars in relation to this county. The mention of this last topic reminds me that two highly interesting relics of that troublous period, namely, the Pocket Clock of King Charles, and the Pocket Bible of Oliver Cromwell, have both been exhibited at our meetings, and described in our proceedings. Happy are we who can survey with equal interest, and without one element of strife, these relics of two such antagonistic Englishmen! Legendary history has not been neglected by us, as witness the curious memoirs of our Sussex Saint, Lewinna, and the story of Sir Bevis of Arundel. In personal biography something has been done in regard to the Earls of Warenne; St. Richard and Ralph de Nevill, Bishops of Chichester; Andrew Borde; Dr. Kidder, Bishop of

Bath and Wells, and several others. In Genealogy we have produced either new pedigrees, or great rectifications of old ones, for the various families of Lewknor, Stapley, Borde, Scrase, Wyborne, Braose, Miller, Kidder, Newton, Bodiam, Wardeux, Dalyngruge, Elphick, Harrison, and Hurdis. Few papers in our volumes have proved so generally acceptable as those which treat of the manners and customs of different periods. We have attempted alike to illustrate the mode of living pursued by the great, as exemplified in the rules and orders of Viscount Montague of Cowdray, and by the humble, as shown in the sketches of Southdown shepherd life, or in the simple records of many a parish register. Several curious feudal tenures, now or lately subsisting, have also been ably described. Of Dr. Burton's amusing and scholarly *Iter Sussexiense*, abstracted in a late volume, I can only say that Sussex squires seem to have vastly improved in recent times. Various branches of industrial art have also been attended to, especially the labours of the iron-maker and the miller in long bygone ages. But, perhaps, of all our productions none have afforded more gratification to a retrospective taste than the curious diaries and memorandum-books which have been edited for our use. One and all of those painstaking men who recorded their daily sayings and doings in ordinary life deserve our best thanks, from Giles Moore, the country parson, whose name Mr. Blencowe has made as familiar to us as any household word, down to Walter Gale, the poor village schoolmaster, whose many enemies, but especially the one that he so often put into his own mouth, finally effected his ruin! All these things, and many more, have claimed and secured the attention of the Society in such a manner as effectually to silence cavillers, if such there be, as to the fulfilment of the promise originally held out by the Sussex Archæological Society.

"The present summer has witnessed a little episode in the history of our Society, which is, I believe, unexampled in that of any similar body. Some of us—a little detachment of our army—have crossed the seas—have entered Normandy; and if in our visit to the two capitals of that ancient province, and other famous sites, we failed to reannex the duchy to the English crown, we at least won something, for we won 'golden opinions from all sorts of men,' both French and English, as witness the glowing reports in both languages which the newspapers (especially the French ones) have afforded. I trust that another year will witness a still larger undertaking of the same sort, with still more satisfactory results."

An agreeable Meeting of the Society, J. G. Dodson, Esq., M.P., in the chair, was also held at Cuckfield on Oct. 16, 1857, at which the Rev. Mr. Dale read a paper on a recently reopened Doorway in Bolney Church, which he considered to be Saxon. Several celts of mixed metal, found a little below the surface at Danny, were exhibited by W. Champion, Esq., and appeared to have been the contents of some artificer's tool-bag, as they were worn and ground down like

common modern chisels. Two antique wooden bowls were exhibited by Mr. Dale, which appeared to have been in use as measures: on their exterior the arms of the city of Chichester were imperfectly branded; and the same gentleman alluded to some ancient iron chimney-backs in the neighbourhood, which exhibited the Royal Arms of Charles II., and those of James II. when Lord High Admiral, with a ducal coronet and an anchor. Mr. Blencowe read some interesting letters of the seventeenth century, which related to Sir William Campion, and others. These form part of the contents of the present volume. Interesting visits were paid by the Members present to Cuckfield Church, and afterwards to Ockenden House, so well known as the former residence of Timothy Burrell, whose memoranda are found in a former volume; and also Cuckfield Place, the ancient mansion of Warden Sergison, Esq., which a modern writer is supposed to have adopted as the scene of his novel. The heraldic history of many of the distinguished families of the county may be read on one of its curious ceilings, which is of great beauty and interest.

The Committee now present, as usual, their Annual Financial Account, and in doing so, would beg to impress strongly upon their Members the great advantage which would be derived from punctual payments of the subscriptions at the beginning of the year, either by transmitting them to the Treasurer direct, or to the gentlemen who have so kindly undertaken to act as Local Secretaries in the various districts, as now recently remodelled. From want of attention to this, an amount of arrears due often accumulates, so as to cripple the immediate action of the Society, even when it is really entitled to a considerable balance.

SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S ACCOUNTS FOR 1857.

1857.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1857		51	8	4	J.R.Smith, balance of Vol.VIII.	60	0	10
Dividends on Consols		3	19	8	Advertising and printing	9	11	11
Rent of Garden		2	0	0	Stationery, stamps, &c	6	4	0
Books sold		5	7	0	Engraving	15	0	0
Subscriptions		217	0	0	Bodiam Meeting	3	1	6
					Arundel Meeting	11	2	0
		279	15	0	Excavation	2	0	0
					Carriage and postage	2	3	1
					Sundry small payments	2	15	0
					J. R. Smith, on account of			
					Vol. IX.	100	0	0
Payments		211	18	4		£211	18	4
Balance in Treasurer's hand,								
Jan. 1, 1858		£67	16	8				

LEWES CASTLE ACCOUNT FOR 1857.

1857.	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1857		0 14 7	Wages	26 0 0
From 3175 Visitors		72 14 3	Taxes	7 2 0
		<u>73 8 10</u>	Carriage and postage	0 8 0
			Percentage to Hanley	2 17 2
			Bithell	0 7 0
			Davey and Son	0 15 7
			Lowdell and Co.	1 15 0
			Rent	16 0 0
				<u>£55 4 9</u>
Payments		55 4 9		
Balance, Jan. 1, 1858		£18 4 1		

LEWES, *July*, 1858.

Sussex Archaeological Society.

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 Rev. T. S. Vogan, Walberton.
 Earl Waldegrave. [Place.
 Lady Victoria Long Wellesley, Albourne
 Hon. and Rev. Reginald Sackville West,
 Withyam.
 Dowager Lady Webster, Battle.
 Sir T. Maryon Wilson, Bart., Searles.

Mr. Joseph Waghorn, Buxted.
 G. H. M. Wagner, Esq., St. Leonard's.
 John Henry Wagner, Esq., Seddlescombe.
 *W. S. Walford, Esq., F.S.A., London.
 *W. H. Wall, Esq., Pembury.
 Rev. W. Wallinger, Tunbridge Wells.
 William Wansey, Esq., F.S.A., Bognor.
 Rev. W. Watkins, Chichester.
 James Watts, Esq., Battle.
 Edward Waugh, Esq., Cuckfield. [Manor.
 *Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., Wonham
 G. Bish Webb, Esq., London.
 Frederick Webster, Esq., Battle.
 Mrs. Weekes, Hurst-Pierpoint.
 *Richard Weekes, Esq., Hurst-Pierpoint.
 George Weekes, Esq., Hurst-Pierpoint.
 Harrison Weir, Esq., Peckham.
 Rev. Joseph Weld, Tenterden.
 Rev. H. Wellesley, D.D., Principal of New
 Inn Hall, Oxford.
 G. F. West, Esq., Horham Hall, Dunmow.
 Captain Rd. Wetherall, Tunbridge Wells.
 Mr. Henry Whitley, Tunbridge Wells.
 Rev. W. Wheeler.
 E. Webster Whistler, Esq., Bembridge.
 Richard Whitbourn, Esq., Godalming.
 H. W. White, Esq., London.
 Rev. Benjamin Whitelock, Groombridge.
 T. Whitfield, Esq., Lewes.
 George Whitfield, Esq., Lewes.
 Rev. Spencer D. Wilde, Felching.
 Rev. W. Downes Willis, Elsted.
 J. Hewetson Wilson, Esq., Worth.
 R. Wollaston, Esq., Reigate.
 H. Wood, Esq., Ovingdean.
 Henry Wood, Esq., Tunbridge Wells.
 John Wood, Esq., Hickstead Place.
 Rev. G. H. Woods, Shopwyke House.
 Joseph Woods, Esq., F.S.A., Lewes.
 Mrs. Woodward, Hellingly.
 Miss P. Woodward, Uckfield.
 Mrs. Woolgar, Lewes.
 Mr. Wm. Wren, Tunbridge Wells.
 Rev. J. C. Wrench, D.C.L., Salehurst.
 Thomas Wright, Esq., F.S.A., Brompton.
 Rev. John J. P. Wyatt, Hawley, Bagshot.
 *Hugh Penfold Wyatt, Esq., Cissbury.
 Rev. Henry Wynch, Tunbridge Wells.
 Percy Wyndham, Esq., Petworth.
 Thomas Young, Esq., Camberwell.
 Edmund Young, Esq., Steyning.
 Rev. Julian Young, Fairlight.
 William Blackman Young, Esq., Hastings.

Honorary Members.

R. Breton, Esq., Pevensey.
 M. Charma, Président des Antiquaires de
 Normandie, Caen.
 M. l'Abbé de Corde, Bures, Neufchatel.
 Hugh Welch Diamond, Esq., M.D., Hono-
 rary Photographer, Wandsworth.

Mr. Thomas Huson, Lewes.
 M. l'Abbé Cochet, Dieppe.
 Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., Strood,
 Kent.
 Rev. F. Spurrell, Faulkbourne.
 Mr. Thomas Wells, Hurst-Pierpoint.

Rules.

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

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

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 GEORGE MOLINEUX, 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 the Patron, the 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.

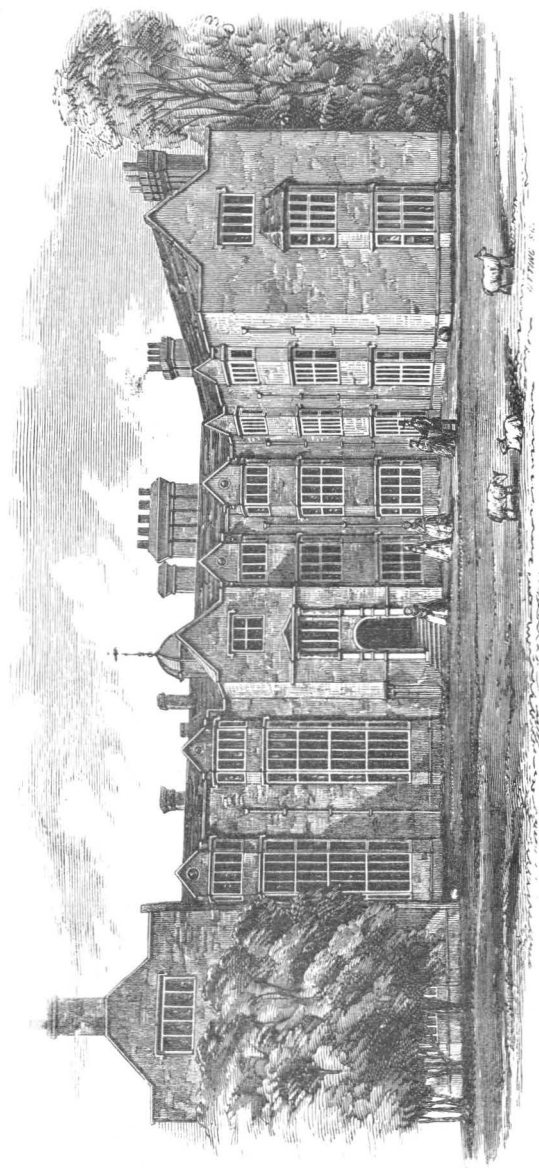
11. THAT the Committee have power to appoint as Honorary Member any person, including foreigners, likely to promote the interests of the Society, such Honorary Member not to pay any Subscription, and not to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

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



DANNY—EAST FRONT.

From a Photograph by Sir T. Maryon Wilson, Bart.

Sussex Archaeological Collections.

EXTRACTS FROM MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE POSSESSION OF
WILLIAM JOHN CAMPION, ESQ., AT DANNY;
AND OF
SIR THOMAS MARYON WILSON, BART.,
OF CHARLTON HOUSE.

EDITED BY ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, ESQ.

At the time when the following series of Letters, which, through the kindness of Mr. Campion, are now presented to the public, were written, the fine old house and estate of Danny did not belong to the ancient family of Campion. They resided at that time at Combwell, in Kent, a handsome old place, now much reduced, and converted into a farm-house, on the borders of Sussex; but they were intimately connected with our county. Combwell, which is still in their possession, is not their original seat; Essex is the county to which they can be first traced, to a place bearing their name, "Campion's Hall," near Epping, though it does not now belong to them. They still, however, retain a satisfactory connection with that county, by the possession of property therein.¹

The first letter in the series is written by William Campion, when a youth of about fifteen, to his father, Sir William, in the year 1633. It was much the custom in those days to send young men of family to finish their education in France: a practice which Milton, in his *Treatise on Education*, alludes to in strong terms of reprobation, recommending the youth of England "to ride out in companies, with prudent and staid

¹ A part of their estates in Essex was liable to provide the celebrated Flich of Dunmow Bacon. From a paper preserved at Danny, sent to the steward of the manor, giving all the particulars of the ceremony, it would appear that spinsters only

were selected as jurors or homagers to try the merits of the claim. On this occasion there were five of them—all designated as spinsters. Their selection is curious, but probably they were the most impartial judges.

guides, to all the quarters of their own country." He says, as a reason for so doing,—“We shall then not need the Monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodie, and send them over back to us formed into mimicks, apes, and kickshawes.” In obedience to this custom, Sir William Campion sent his son to the Continent under the care of a Mr. Mouatt; and certainly in this case no such results as those alluded to by Milton, followed; for William Campion proved himself, in after life, to be a gallant soldier and a worthy gentleman.

At the time when these letters were written, the cruel severity¹ practised by parents in the education of their children, had much abated. The Earl of Northumberland, in his instructions to his son Henry Percy, written in 1608, alludes to the change that had occurred then, and speaks of the ill effect the contrary system had produced upon himself. But this austerity had not been superseded by the free-and-easy customs of the present day. There was always a reverential tone of intercourse on the part of children towards their parents; and in that spirit the following letter, addressed “To the Right Worshipfull his very loving Father Sir William Campion, Knight, at Combwell,” is written:—

Kinde Father,—As my duty bindes mee, by these few lines I will give you to understand how all thinges have gone with mee and my companion until this present time. How we got to Roanne you have heard by our former letters, from whence wee went to Paris, where wee stay'd eight dayes, in which time wee saw the chief places of Paris; from thence wee went to Orleans, where wee lay three dayes; there wee took boat: wee were a day more than ordinary on the water, because the wind was very strong against us, but by that means wee saw all the townes which lie upon the river: wee are here now at last (thankes be to GOD), safely arrived at Sommer, a very deare town, because of the many strangers that are in it, and the smalness of it. I can heare of no gentlemen that are pensioned here under ten crowns in the month. * * * * We are pensioned in a private house, and our host is a pothecary. Thus with my earnest duty remembered unto you, and with earnest prayers to Almighty GOD for your health and safety, I rest your ever obedient son to his utmost power,

WILLIAM CAMPION.

April 28th, 1633.

In a letter from Mr. Mouatt, addressed to “The Worship-

¹ A writer, alluding to the times before the Reformation, says, that “the child loathed the sight of his parents as the slave does that of his master; they were

never allowed to sit in their presence, but stood like mutes, bareheaded, before them.”—*Antiquarian Repository*.

full and his much-renowned friend Sir Wm. Campion, Knt.," he says :—

If Mr. Campion had some more entrance of the languages, I would take a course that is cheaper, but as yet I will not venture to remove. We lodge with one Lizer, an apothecary, a very honest man of our religion. French and Italian and Latin is our speech; as for English, it is banished out of our commonwealth. * * * For the present wee lacke nothing but language, and that wee study unto painfully, and I beseech God to grant us His blessing upon our endeavours. I suppose you neede not feare to finde your son steadfast in religion at his returne; for the more he seeth these fopperies, the worse he loveth their courses and wayes. I trust in God he shall never frustrate your expectations; and so, praying for your Worshipp's good health and prosperitie, I reeste, and ever shall continue yours in all submissive service,

JAMES MOUATT.

From Saumur they removed to Angers; but at the approach of Lent, Mr. Mouatt writes that they are about to return to their old quarters, "for the Protestant townes smell best then, and the doctrine of abstinence from meates is not agreeable to our tastes."

Sir William Campion, when in London, lived in Barbican,¹ and thither came, as Christmas approached, hampers filled with good things, announced by a letter from his "steward and lovinge servante, William Tetsall":—"Master Roberts has sent no deare yet. There is sent up a motten (mutton), a barrel of eggs, fower ribspares, two chaynes (chines), a goose, three drest poultrie, four live poultrie, four hogges cheekes and feet and hames (hams) of two hogges mustered, one bottel of meade, three brace of partridges, and a brace of veasants (pheasants)," the letter concluding with the satisfactory intelligence that "all thinges is well at home."

The exact date of Sir William Campion's death has not been ascertained. The youth whose letter we have transcribed, married, when just of age, Grace, the daughter of Sir Thomas Parker, of Ratton, near Eastbourne; and in an old family Bible we find the following record of the births and deaths of several of their children, in her handwriting:—

"My eldest son, William Campion, was borne at Hollington, in Sussex, and was baptised February 6th, 1639.

"My third sonne, Edward Campion, was borne the 11th of

¹ Several houses in that neighbourhood still remain in the possession of his descendant, and a very remarkable tenement

is his, namely, the Condemned Cell, in Newgate, the rent for which (£50 a year) is paid to him by the Lord Mayor.

August at three or four of the cloke on Tuesday morning. His godfather was Mr. Edward Sackville, my Lord of Dorset's second sonne, and Mr. Edward Campion, my husband's brother; his godmother, Mrs. Mary Parker. I praye GOD blesse his life to mee!

“My second sonne was Henry Campion; and one daughter, Philadelphia Campion; these it pleased GOD to take from me.”

When the Civil War broke out, Sir William Campion, who had succeeded to his father's estates, attached himself heartily to the King's cause. In 1645, we find him a colonel in the Royal army, in command of the garrison of Borstall House, in Buckinghamshire. This fortified old mansion he defended with great resolution against the Parliamentary forces, to the last; nor would he surrender it, till all further defence was hopeless, till Oxford capitulated, and the fortunes of Charles were desperate. In the course of the siege, a long and interesting correspondence took place between Sir William Campion and several officers of the Parliament's army, and others, of which the original letters are preserved at Danny. The whole of the correspondence has been published in Lipscombe's *History of Buckinghamshire*, in his account of Borstall House; but, as his work is not very accessible to many of our readers, it is hoped that we shall be excused if we draw largely from it. The letters which passed between them are honourable to all parties, and are written in a gallant, humane, and courteous spirit.

The first letter which we have selected, is from Secretary Nicholas to Sir William, written by the King's order:—

March 9th, 1644.

“Sir,—I have acquainted his Majesty with the letter I received this afternoon from you, which speaks of the success you have had against the rebels; and I am commanded to return his royal thanks both for that good piece of service, and your just and faire carriage in returning those plundered teames to the proper owners, which were recovered from the rebels. This kind of treating the country will not only win reputation to yourself, but heartes to his Majesty, and affection to his service; and therefore he desires you to continue to protect and guard them and theirs from the injury and spoile of the rebels, as far as you are able. * * *

Your affectionate friend and humble servant, EDWARD NICHOLAS.

To a summons sent by Sir Thomas Fairfax to surrender the place, he replies:—

You have sent unto me a summons to surrender this house for the service of the kingdom. I thought that cant had long ere this been very stale, considering the King's often declarations and protestations to the contrary, and now sufficient only to cozen women and poore ignorant people. For your curtiesies, so far as they are consonant to my honour, I embrace them. In this place I absolutely consider them destructive, not only to my honor, but also to my conscience. I am therefore ready to undergo all inconveniences whatsoever, rather than submit to any, much less to these so dishonorable and unworthy.

The following letter, written the same day, must have been in answer to some application from Sir William Campion to allow his lady to quit the place, which was on the point of being besieged.

Sir,—It is much against my mynde to bee thought guilty in the least measure of any act that hath but the color of denyall to a request that is so civil, and which to many may seem most reasonable; but being at present soe farre engaged in a designe upon your house, which I hope speedily to effect, I cannot, without much prejudice to the encompassing thereof, grant what you desyre; but if your lady, or any other gentlewoman there should fall into my power, I assure you I shall take care that the like civility may never be used by any of this army which hath lately been executed by some of yours at Leicester; and shall remayne,
Your servant, FAIRFAX.

The next letter is from Colonel Herbert Morley,¹ one of the most active and distinguished officers of the Parliament's army connected with the county of Sussex:—

July 23rd, 1645.

Sir,—Old acquaintance needs no apology. All your Sussex friends are in health, and continue their worthy affections towards you, especially vaueling your welfare with their owne. I could impart more, but letters are subject to miscarriage, therefore I reserve myself to a more fit opportunity. If you please, in return hereof, to send me a character, I shall gladly send in cipher what I am unwilling to delineate. If a conference might be had, I conceive it would be most for the satisfaction of us both, to prevent any possible hazard of your person. If you please to let your lady meet me at Watford or Berkhamptstead, or come hither, I will procure her a pass, and make it evidently appear that I am your most affectionate friend,

HERBERT MORLEY.

SIR WILLIAM CAMPION to COLONEL MORLEY.

August 1st, 1645.

Sir,—I am glad to hear of the welfare of my friends in Sussex. For any business you have to impart to me, I have that confidence in you, by reason of our former acquaintance, that I should not make any scruple to send my wife to the places mentioned; but the truth is, she is at present soe neare her time for lying downe, for she expects to be brought to bed within less than

¹ For a further account of Colonel Morley, see Mr. Blaauw's paper entitled "Passages of the Civil War in Sussex,

from 1642 to 1650."—Vol. V. *Sussex Arch. Collections.*

fourteen days, that she is altogether unfit to take soe long a journey. * * *
Assure yourself that there is none living that shall be more glad to finde out
a way to serve you, than, Sir, Your true friend and servant,

WILLIAM CAMPION.

COLONEL MORLEY to SIR WILLIAM CAMPION.

Sir,—I beg I may love you without offence, although at Borstall, and presume so far on our old friendship, as to assure myself you stand soe much upon your reputation, that you will use the bearer hereof, being an honest man whom your friends have persuaded to be their messenger, to convey their respects to you. I shall only desire you to send your ladye speedily among your friends here, not knowing how soon Oxford and your garrison may be blocked up. In what I can serve you, assure yourself you may command

Your affectionate servant,

HERBERT MORLEY.

To which he replies :—

Sir,—I thanke you for your kind letter, especially for the courtesie you proffer my wife. I would willingly have made use of your proffer, but that she is absolutely incapable, being soe neare her time. * * However, if it ever lie in my power, as I doubt not but it may be, I shall study to deserve your favour.

As to the subject proposed for discussion together, he sends this, “his absolute answer” :—

I did not rashly or unadvisedly put myself upon this service, for it was daily in my prayers, for two or three months together, to GOD to direct mee in the right way, and, besides, I had conference with divers able and honest men for advice, who confirmed mee in my judgement. When I first came to the King, hee, to my knowledge, was in a far worse condition than now; but I see and feele, that GOD oweth a judgement to this land, and is now repaying it for our sins; but I am as confident as I am alive, that the King or his posteritie at length will be restored, which I am bound to assist to my power by my oath of allegiance; but rather than fayle I had rather die a beggar, than wittingly and willingly to violate my conscience towards my GOD and my King. I believe that you thinke not that I fight for Popery; GOD knows my heart, I abhor it. GOD prosper mee no further than my desires and endeavours tend to the preservation of the Protestant religion settled in Queen Elizabeth's days, the just prerogative of the King, and just privilege of Parliament. However, I heartily thank you for your desire of the preservation of mee and mine, and if ever it lie in my power to doe any courtesie for you, it shall not be wanting in your faithful friend and servant,

Borstall, August 9th, 1645.

W. CAMPION.

It appears, from a subsequent letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, that a vigorous attack was made upon Borstall, in consequence of the refusal to surrender the place, and that the

assailants were beaten off with considerable loss. Clarendon alludes to it more than once, and says that Fairfax lost both officers and men there. The place still held out when Sir William Campion received the following letter from Mr. D'Oiley, with an appeal for the release of a servant of the Lady Temple, which we may well believe was not to be resisted:—

CHARLES D'OILEY to SIR WILLIAM CAMPION.

Newport Pagnell, Sept. 13th, 1645.

Sir,—I am desired by the Lady Temple to write to you for the release of her man, which was taken by some of your forces in Buckinghamshire. I shall desire you will not detain him, least it be made a pressident. When I was in the army, my Lord Generall sent home the King's servants when he took any, and other men's servants who are now in arms against us; therefore I think it reasonable that this man should be enlarged, seeing he never bore arms, nor his lady, that I can understand. If you shall refuse this, we shall sett all the ladies of your side upon your backs, for I know they can as ill spare their gentlemen ushers as ours can, which I leave to your serious consideration. Remaining, Sir, Your servant in what I may,

CHARLES D'OILEY.

It was a serious matter in those days—and indeed, when is it not so?—to have the “ladies sett upon a man's back,” for their influence was very great, from the Queen downwards: too great, as Clarendon intimates as clearly as he dared to do. Oxford, he says, “was at that time full of lords and ladies, and the last liked their quarters in the fine old colleges and halls so well, that they prevailed upon the King to stay there,” when, according to his opinion, it would have been far wiser to have left a strong garrison there, and to have moved with his court into the west, where his party was much stronger than in the central parts of England.

From MAJOR SHILBOURNE to SIR WILLIAM CAMPION.

Sir,—I received a message by my trumpet, whereby I understand you desire a rundlet of sack. Sir, I assure you there is none in this towne worth sending to soe gallant an enemy as yourselfe, but I have sent to London for a rundlet of the best that can be got, and soe soone as it comes to my hands I shall present it to you. For the mean time, Col. Theed hath sent you a taste of the best that is in Brill. I should be very happy if wee might meete and drink a bottle or two of mine with you. If it be not allowed your condition to honour me with soe high a favour, the civilities I have received engage me to acknowledge myselfe to be,

Sir, your servant,

Brill, April 14th, 1646.

THOS. SHILBOURNE.

SIR WILLIAM CAMPION *to* MAJOR SHILBOURNE.

I did tell your trumpet, that if you would send us some sacke, we would drinke your health; but you have expressed yourselfe soe faire, that I am afraid I shall not suddenly be able to requite it, neverthelesse I shall let slip noe opportunity for meeting of you. I should be glad to embrace an occasion, but by reason of the condition wee are in, I know it would not be consonant with myne honour, and, besides, some detracting villains (upon what ground I knowe not) have raised in the country such scandalous reports, that, should any thing happen amisse to mee or the garrison, it would be ill construed. But, if you please to favour me with your company here (which I am confident may be done without any prejudice at all to either), you and your friends shall receive the best entertainment the garrison can afforde, and a safe returne, and you shall much oblige him who is very desirous to be esteemed of you, as

Sir, your servant, W. C.

The "detracting villains" to whom he alludes, had entirely failed to shake the confidence of his royal master in his faithful servant, as is clear from the following letter:—

SECRETARY NICHOLAS *to* SIR WILLIAM CAMPION.

April 7th, 1646.

Charles R.—Trusty and well-beloved, wee greete you well. Wee have seene the letter dated this day, to Secretary Nicholas, who, by our command, hath examined the reports given out concerning you, which by him wee understand to be very frivolous, and such as deserve our own and your scourne rather than farther inquisition. Yet wee have appointed him to make what more enquiry may be requisite, and to endeavour that satisfaction may be given you therein, by punishment on the persons that shall be found faulty in that slander. Wee assure you no misreport shall take place with us to the lessening of the good opinion and full confidence which your many faithful services have fixed in us of your loyalty and honest resolutions, which, whenever it shall please GOD to bring us out of these distresses, we shall remember and recompense. In the mean time wee desire you to use your utmost endeavours to defend the garrison wee have entrusted to your charge, and not to part from it, on any terms, till you hear farther from us, or from our commissioners at Oxford.

Given at our Court at Oxford, the 7th Aprill, 1646.

By his Majesty's command,

Governor of Borstall.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

May 12th, 1646.

Sir,—I doe by these summon you to deliver upp Borstall House into my hands, for the use of the Parliament. You may have honourable terms for yourself and all within the garrison, if you seasonably accept thereof. I desire your answer this day.

FAIRFAX.

In reply to this summons, Sir William Campion desires the favour to be allowed to send to his Majesty, to know his will, or to the commissioners at Oxford, to know their resolutions, and concludes,—

If you please to grant mee either of these requests, you shall oblige mee, and receive a satisfactory answer, as farre as may be with honor. If otherwise, I shall endeavour, to my utmost, to perfect the trust his Majestie hath imposed upon me, and remain,

Sir, your humble servant,

Borstall, May 12th, 1646.

WILLIAM CAMPION.

From SIR WILLIAM CAMPION to the KING.

May 26th, 1646.

Sir,—The enemy hath blocked us up almost eight weeks. On the 12th of this month, I received Sir Thomas Fairfax his summons. I have had several parlies with the enemy, who have told me I shall have very good conditions if I would surrender your garrison—withall, that your Majestie was in their hands, and I could have no hopes of reliefe. My answer to the one and the other was, that if your Majestie were in their power, it could be no prejudice to them to suffer mee to send a messenger to know your Majestie's pleasure and command; that being refused, we were resolved to sell ourselves as deare as we could, and, though what they told me were true, I could not part with my trust without orders. The bearer hereof, Capt. Dykes, of whom I beseech your Majestie to take notice, hath been content to hazard himselfe, to fetch unto me your Majestie's will and pleasure. I shall not value my life, fortune, or posteritie, to serve your Majestie, and I thank God, the gentlemen and others of this garrison are well resolved, as I doubt not of your Majestie's care of us; my resolution is to keep it unto the ende.

Your Majestie's most faithful servant and humble subject,

W. CAMPION.

His friend Major Shilbourne, writing to him to say that he could not persuade the General to allow him to send to Oxford, adds:—"I could heartily wish you would make no more niceties of a businesse that you and the gentlemen with you are so much concerned in. I am confident you may have good conditions, and should be very sorry if you shall still denye them. It is conceived they will not stande long ere they conclude upon these propositions, and I assure you, upon the word of a soldier, it will be too late for you to expect such conditions as now you may have." "My Lord Wharton," he says, in a postscript, "was here yesterday, and he is much sett against you, because you are so obstinate, and soe are divers others, there being no possibilitie of any reliefe. The Scots and the Parliament are very well agreed, Montrose disbanded, and those garrisons in Scotland are to be delivered to the Parliament forces there; this I can assure you is true."

"I pray you," says Sir William Fairfax, in a letter to Major Shilbourne, dated from Haddington, "shew him this letter

from Sir Thomas Glenham,¹ and if he knows his hand, I believe the sight of it will satisfie him. * * * * What can he expect by holding out longer, but an impossibility of ever making any termes for himselfe, either to the saving of his person or estate, and of those with him.”

Sir Thomas Glenham's letter being shown, convinced them that Oxford was about to surrender, and a council of war was held. The place capitulated, honourable terms were granted, the officers and gentlemen and their servants marched away with their horses, arms, and goods; and all others were allowed to go quietly to their own homes. The sick and wounded had liberty granted them to remain in some adjacent village, under proper care, till they were cured, when they received passes to take them home.

Sir Thomas Fairfax's earnest intercession with the Speaker of the House of Commons, in favour of his gallant enemy, does him honour.

August 3rd, 1646.

On the siege of Borstall House, which was rendered by composition, amongst other things in that capitulation, it was agreed that such as desired to make composition with the Parliament, should have my effectual recommendation, that their fines should not exceed the rate of two yeares of their real estates, and proportionable for their personal estate. Sir, my earnest request to the honorable House of Commons is, that they please to order it accordingly. I might possibly, with expense of time and blood, have freed myselfe from the engagement, but I had rather save your friends' blood, than win your enemies' money; and truly we could not have hoped to force the place without great hazard, having had experience of the strength thereof, and the courage of the defenders, in a former attempt, which was forcibly but ineffectually made. Besides, the countrye gives the governor, Sir William Campion, the report of a very faire enemye, and that he had often protected them from plunder and violence. However, I make it my humble suite, that it may appeare that my intercession may be, as I undertook, effectual, and you will more deeply oblige,

Sir, your most humble servant,

FAIRFAX.

Bath, August 3rd, 1646.

Pass from WILLIAM LENTHALL, Speaker.

According to a pass under the hand of his Excellency Sir Thos. Fairfax, dated 1st August, 1646, these are to will and require you to permit the bearer hereof, Sir Wm. Campion, to imbarque himself at Rye² or Dover, to

¹ Sir Thomas Glenham, called by Clarendon, "the vigilant," commanded the garrison at Oxford.

² Rye was at that time, and had been

for many years, a main point of departure for the Continent: Sir Guldefride and his party embarked here for Palestine.—See *Camden Society's Publications.*

be transported, with his necessaries, beyond the seas (he not carrying anything prohibited or prejudicial to the state), for which this shall be your warrant.

Dated this 19th Aug. 1646.

WM. LENTHALL, Speaker.

To all Customers, Searchers, Officers,
and others, whom it concerns.

It is probable that Sir William Campion took advantage of his pass, and quitted England; the Earl of Norwich, under whom he subsequently served at Colchester, certainly did, and returned as soon as there appeared to be a chance for the royal cause. They were together gallantly engaged, with many other gentlemen of Kent, in that unfortunate enterprise, in which so many chivalrous lives were uselessly thrown away; and among those that fell, there was no braver, no worthier gentleman than Sir William Campion. He was killed in a sally from the town, and the news of his death was thus announced to his poor widow:—

Colchester, June 26th, 1648.

Madam,—To offer you set comfort upon soe inexpressible a losse, would be noe less indiscretion in me, than importunity to you. I shall therefore only begg this one favour from you, for his sake that your ladyship loved most; and I next, that if you can any waye finde wherein I may sacrifice ought to his memory, to the hazard of all I am or ever may be, your ladyship shall then see, by the passion wherewith I shall undertake it, how really I was his, and how sincerely, madam, I am, madam, your ladyship's all bound and faithful servant,

NORWICH.

I most humbly pray your ladyship to let my wife know, I never was better in health and heart in all my life, and that I wrote to her twice very lately.

The writer of this letter, George Goring, Earl of Norwich, was at this time, or had been very lately, the possessor of Danny. He was brave and faithful to his master, but, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, “a man fitter to draw a body of men together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them to any enterprise. His pleasant and jovial nature, which was everywhere acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delight in his company.” It was this cheerful nature which, after the fall of Colchester, saved his life, when Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, were shot. He was saved only by the casting vote of the Speaker.

Sir William Campion was buried in one of the churches at Colchester, and the following inscription is written on his tomb :—

Here lyeth Sir Wm. Campion, Son of
Sir Wm. Campion, of Kent, who was slaine
In the yeare of our LORD 1648, of his age 34,
Upon a sally out of this town,
in June 18th.

He was pious, valiant, constant to his Prince, whose cause he chose, and in whose service he died.

Disturb not his ashes. Reader, if thou likest his judgement, thou wilt praise his action.

The armour which he wore is preserved with religious care in the old hall at Danny, and treated as a sacred heirloom in the family of Campion; and among many other family portraits there is a good picture of him, which represents him such as we should have imagined, with features young and handsome and ingenuous, with that profusion of hair which the Cavaliers affected, and by which they were distinguished from the Roundheads.

Among several portraits of his royal master at Danny, there is one very remarkable. His head is covered with one of those plain, black, high-crowned, broad-brimmed hats worn by the Puritans of those days, such as we now and then meet with in these times, when fancy or a wish for notoriety indulges in such whims, and which, according to the tradition attached to it, was placed there in scoffing and mockery.

Sussex, with the two great exceptions, those of Hastings and of Lewes, has been perhaps the scene of fewer battle-fields than any other county in England. Chichester and Arundel, in the west, were the only places where any blow was struck in the course of the Civil War; and it owes perhaps this happy exemption to the depth of the soil in the Weald, and the wretched condition of the roads there in former times, which unfitted it for military operations.

It is said that a traveller passing through the village of Culbone, near Porlock, one of the most secluded places in England, where all the houses are nestled within a cleft of the rocks which overhang the Bristol Channel, in Somersetshire, found the clergyman of the parish praying for King James and his family, long after William the Third had come to the

throne, in total ignorance of the revolution which had taken place. It is hardly too much to suppose, that in some of the nooks and corners of the Weald many of the esquires of Sussex and their tenants may have lived and died without having heard of the battle of Naseby Field.

We are now arrived at another series of original letters preserved at Danny, of a very different character from the last, written in quieter times, and occupied with more peaceful subjects; indeed, many of them are devoted to the most tranquil, perhaps, of all pursuits, that of Botany. Ten years had passed away, Cromwell was about to descend into the grave, and the posterity of Charles I., as Sir William Campion had predicted, were on the point of being restored to the throne, when the first of the following letters was written. The possessor of Danny then was Mr. Peter Courthope, one of the ancient family of the Courthopes of Whiligh, who had lately succeeded, on the death of his father,¹ to the property and place; and much the most interesting of these letters were written to him by his friend and college tutor, the distinguished natural philosopher, John Ray. There are a few from his friend Mr. Willoughby, the companion and assistant of Ray in all his studies and pursuits, and his constant associate in many a ramble, when they went forth what they called "simpling" together. Ray is one of those satisfactory cases in which a man rises from a very humble station (his father was a blacksmith at Black Notley, in Essex), entirely by his own worth and talents, to distinction. Educated at the grammar school at Braintree, he found his way to Catherine Hall, Cambridge; and at the time the correspondence begins, he was a distinguished fellow of Trinity College.

Among the earliest letters there is one from Mr. Willoughby to Mr. Courthope without any date, in which, after the usual salutations, he says, in the spirit of a true archæologist,

It has been part of my work since I came home, to take great notes out of Campden of all the monasteries, castles, families, old Roman towns, and other remarkable things, which I would fain have you do too, and, if we ever travel together again, it will be very profitable to confer notes. * * * * I doubt not you will be gone from London before I shall be there, which I intend not

¹ Mr. Peter Courthope, the first of that family who possessed Danny, died in 1657.

until I have resolved upon a little expedition into Kent; and, if it be not possible to meet you otherwise, I shall not value the riding of forty miles to Danny. I should be glad to hear where and how you mean to spend the summer. * * * * I think it would be best for the Eruca, when warm weather comes, to be exposed to the sun; for her diet and other things, I leave her wholly to your discretion.

Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

J. L. WILLOUGHBY.

The usual course of transmitting letters in those days was to leave them at some place in London, and the country carrier, calling for them, took them on; and it often happened that the letter reposed for a week or a fortnight in its quiet abode at some shop or inn, till called for to pursue its further course. Mr. Ray's letters intended for Mr. Courthope were always deposited at the Red Lion, in Thames-street, near Billingsgate, frequently with injunctions that they should be delivered with "care and speed." Mr. Willoughby's letters were directed to "his most honored coson, Peter Courthope, Esq., to be left at Mr. Faye's, an apothecarie's shop at the sign of the Sugar Loafe, neere the Conduit in Fleet-street, London."

Mr. WRAY ¹ to Mr. COURTHOPE.

January 3rd, 1858.

Sir,—I have little good news to acquaint you with, which made me the slower in returning you an answer. Our friend Mr. Nid is so farre from losing his ague, that he is brought exceedingly low, and is very much weakened by it; indeed, so ill is he at present, that if there be not some speedy amends in him, I shall not be very sure of his life. He is now come to physick and a nurse. If you stay long in the country, possibly, though I hope otherwise, you may never see him in this world any more.

Having mentioned to his friend that he was thinking of taking a college living—Cheadle, in Staffordshire, worth £100 a year—he says:—

My present condition is such that I must of necessity enter into orders, or else live at great uncertainties, and expose myself to the mercy of men for my livelyhood and continuance here. I am not resolved to enter into orders, if so be I stay here, but rather the contrary, it consisting not with those designs which I intend to pursue. Now, if I shall bid farewell to my beloved and pleasant studies and employments, and give myself up to the priesthood, and take to the study of that which they call divinity, I thinke it were the best way to throw myself into the country, and make such provision for this world as other men doe, and make it my business to execute the priest's office. I

¹ This was the manner in which he spelt his name in the earlier part of his life; he dropped the first letter afterwards, having

ascertained that such had been the practice of his family before him.

have sent to you to learn your opinion concerning this affaire, being resolved to be ruled by the concurrent suffrages of my friends, of whom, sir, I esteem you among the principal and of the prime magnitude. That you may not think me a drone, and "inutile telluris pondus," I shall tell you that which I am now very busy in doing. Mr. Pockley and myself have resolved to performe all the easie and useful experiments which we find in bookes, &c., so we thought to have sent to you to procure an iron retort, like to Glauber's in the second part of his philosophical furnaces, but knew not how to find you a model of it. It would be useful to us for many operations if we had it.

Mr. Nid, who is spoken of by Ray, in the preface to one of his many works, as his "amicissimus et individuus comes," and again as a "operum Dei admirator, probitatis studiosus," died of this illness, and his friend preached his funeral sermon. It was the custom then for young men of talent, though not in orders, to deliver sermons, and what were called "common-place readings," not only in the chapels or halls of their own colleges, but before the University, at St. Mary's Church. Mr. Ray was a distinguished preacher, and, according to Dr. Tennyson, celebrated in his time, at Cambridge, "for preaching solid and useful divinity, instead of the enthusiastic stuff which the sermons of that time were generally filled with." There was good reason why Ray should feel anxious as to his future prospects: he foresaw the coming changes, and when they came, the following letter proves how distasteful they were to him:—

Sept. 26th, 1660.

Sir,—Last night, as soon as I was returned out of Essex, I received yours, by my pupill, T. Burrell, wherein you do rightly guess that I did accompany Mr. Willoughby in his travels this summer. * * * * * During my absence, Dr. Fern,¹ who is made master of this colledge, by C. R. (Charles Rex?), having obtained a letter from the said C. R., to restore the old Fellows, and fill up the remainder of the fellowships with such of the new Fellows as should be found worthy, came down hither, about the beginning of August, with 14 or 15 of the old gang; who, having constituted, among themselves, a seniority, swore again, and then forsooth readmitted all the new Fellows, except Dr. Pratt, Mr. Disney, Scott, Davies, Senior, Long, White, Wilkes, Castle, West, Oddy; and, at that time, Hutchinson was also omitted, whom since, I hear, they intend to admitt. I being then out of towne, and they having information that I should refuse the Common Prayer, surplice, &c., they had well near passed me by; but by the mediation of some, they were content to reserve my place, in case I would promise conformity. I wish they had spared themselves that trouble. About a month after that, I came hither, but

¹ "Afterwards Bishop of Chester. As one of the King's chaplains, he attended, with others, the Commissioners at the abortive Treaty at Uxbridge. Their duty

was to assist them in their devotions, and advise with them for the service of the church, as the management of the treaty might require."—*Clarendon.*

am not as yet admitted; Dr. F. hath been ever since out of towne. He returneth hither on Thursday next, they say, when I must expect my doome. I have long since come to two resolutions, namely, no promise of conformity, and no orders, "rebus sic stantibus," whence you may easily judge where I am likely to be. They have brought all things here as they were in 1641: viz., services morning and evening, surplice Sundayes, and holydays, and their eves, organs, bowing, going bare, fasting nights; they have abrogated the common chamber, &c. Jammy, who is now Doctour, hath put one of the old fellowes, Chamberlain by name, into your chamber, so that your cousin, coming in my absence, was fain to shift as well as he could for a lodging. If you come you will see a new face of things. You must get a sarke, if you intend to continue any while; but I believe you will thinke it now seasonable to break off, and depart. * * * I had much more to write, but I hope I shall see you before I remove, which will be about the beginning of December.

Your obliged servant and orator, JO. WRAY.

During the two following years, Ray resided at Trinity College, having a great reputation as a tutor; and the next letter proves the affectionate interest he felt for his pupils:—

June 11th, 1661.

Sir,—Since my last letter to you, there hath befallen me a very lamentable accident, which, though it concerns not you much to know, I am sure you will commiserate my calamity, and condole with me, and see in my conceit at least ease me of some part of the burden which I shall be bold enough to communicate to you. A gentleman, your countryman and neighbour, and not unknown to you, by name, Mr. Goring, of Hydon, lately brought hither his eldest sonne, and by Mr. Lynnell's direction, and upon his commendation, admitted him, under me, fellow-commoner, on Saturday was seven-night last. The gentleman himself, whom, by the way, I must needs commend for his ingenuity and sweetness of disposition, went away on the Monday following, and left his sonne with Mr. Lynnell and myself, who, within an hour of his father's departure, I cannot say fell sick, but began to complaine. His disease proved to be the small-poxe, which, notwithstanding all the care and diligence which could happily be used, through the mere malignity of the disease, heightened by the sudden change and excessive heat of the weather, he died about one o'clock on Saturday night. This gentleman never came into the hall, nor wore his gowne. He was of a handsome countenance, of his father's temper and disposition, and great hopes. This dismal event makes me far more willing to abdicate my pupils and knock them off, than before. * * * All my study now is to contrive how his father may be satisfied of what is most certaine, the care and tendernesse I had of his sonne, and the great earnestnesse I used to preserve his life, had Providence favoured me.

In the same kind spirit did he write, to tell him of the sickness of our old friend, Timothy Burrell,¹ his pupil:—

Sir,—I render you most hearty thanks for your kind expression of good will and affection. I had scarce half concocted the grief and perturbation attending the calamity mentioned in my last, but a new trouble assaults me, I

¹ See *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. III.

mean the sickness of your cousin. He fell into a feverish distemper about nine weeks since, which, after about a fortnight's space, he hardly got quit of without either phlebotomy or purgation. But now again, to my great sorrow and disquiet, by a very little error, he is fallen into the like distemper. Now, sir, I have thrust myself into such a necessity of beginning a journey into the North to-morrow, that I know not how to deferre it, and so must be forced to leave him in this feverish condition, which I am most heartily loath to doe. I pray, sir, speedily acquaint his friends with what I write to you. Had I not engaged myselve before I knew of his illness, I would by no means have left him, though I doe not conceive any great danger, the distemper being not violent; I hope he will doe well again, but he hath a very nice and ticklish constitution of body, and is easily put out of order. I should be glad he were with his friends in the country, but he is not in a fit case to travel at present. My mind is full of this businesse, so that I have neither will nor leisure to write about anything else.

When, however, it came to the point, he could not resolve to leave him.

Honoured Sir,—The continuing distemper of your cousin, with his unwillingness that I should leave him in that condition, caused me to alter my former resolutions, and to defer my journey northward till I might see him in a probable way of recovery, or at best under the care of his most tender relations, which is now in part come to passe. For he is both in a fair way of convalescency, unlesse his voyage sets him back, and also coming under the care and nurture of his indulgent mother. I intend now to set out on Monday next; too late in the year, I confesse, in relation to the inquisition of plants, but a more convenient time to travell, in regard to the temperature of the weather and season of the year. My company is only Mr. Skippon and a servant; the utmost terme which we propose for our journey is Edinburgh; the time we intend to spend is at most six weeks. Our stages we have contrived to be Peterborough, Boston, Lincoln, Hull, Yorke, Knaresborough, Gisburgh, Durham, Newcastle, Alnwick, Barwick, Edinburgh. We have this year made a more narrow search into the countrey about Cambridge for plants, and have discovered in all about twenty-six that are not in our catalogue—some such as I had not seen before, nor are mentioned to grow wild in England.

After giving a long list of plants, with which we will not weary our readers, he concludes,—

God willing, I shall give you an account of our travels northward. In the mean time I shall not be unmindfull of you upon all occasions, nor omitt my most ardent votes and oraisons daily, for a confluence of all blessings and felicities upon you. * * * *

Your most obliged and devoted servant,

J. WRAY.

The journal which he kept of this expedition into the North has been published. He and his friend Mr. Skippon started together on horseback, the way in which almost all journeys

were performed in those days; and, forgetting themselves so far as to enter the chancel of Peterborough Cathedral during the time of service, with their spurs on, they were fined by the choristers. They rode to Lincoln, York, Scarborough, and Whitby, "simpling" as they went, and were delighted with the people of Gisborough, whom he describes as civil, cleanly, and well bred, contrasting strongly with those of Whitby, who were rude in their behaviour to them, and "sluttish"; a term which he applies very freely to the Scotch. The good fare of Trinity, and its comforts, had spoiled them for that of Scotland. Ray, though a man of very abstemious habits,¹ could not help exclaiming against their treatment in those respects. "They have," he says, "neither good bread" (and this is true at the present day), "cheese, or drink; and they cannot make them, nor will they learn; one is puzzled to think how they can contrive to make their butter so bad." He was much struck with the fact, which is as true now as it was two hundred years ago, that the Scotch people "frequented their churches much better than they did in England;" he adds farther, that "they have their ministers in more esteem and veneration, and that they appeared to perform their devotions with much alacrity."² At Dumfries they listened to the preaching of a young man named Campbell, "who prayed for the preservation of the church government and discipline, and spake openly against prelacy, its adjuncts and consequences." This is one of the first intimations we have of those trumpet calls to strife, which followed so freely and so fully, with such serious consequences, afterwards. As they entered Edinburgh they saw the ghastly

¹ His friend Mr. Lister, writing to him in Latin—a language much used in the correspondence with his friends—says, "De valetudine tuâ incommodâ vehementer movebar, etenim cum summam tuam temperantiam atque abstinentiam tam probè scirem, omnia de te pejora metui, idque eâ de causâ loquor, quod mihi non parum errare de victûs ratione videbaris." In reply, Ray says, "Absit ut ego temperantiæ laudem, quæ mihi nulla debetur, affectem, aut delatam ultro amplectar." Comparing the case of animals whose food is simple, "nullo mangonio stuprata," he says, "Hinc feræ et sylvestres animantes raro ultra modum pinguescunt, sunt que admodum vivaces et morborum plerumque expertes.

*** Nos certè (me JUDGE) valetudini nostræ melius conuleremus, si illorum exemplo victu simpliciori et viliori uteremur, iisque cibis quibus ventriculum implere, modiceque distendere fas esset." Mr. Lister speaks of Ray as being "rarissimi corporis habitus," and so his portraits represent him.

² This is fully borne out by Burnet, in those chapters of his work where, in his best style, he describes the character of the Presbyterian clergy and their congregations. Their virtues and their faults, their strength and their weakness, are very fairly and strongly portrayed. — Burnet's *History*, vol. i. p. 264, Oxford edit.

heads of Argyle and Guthrie fixed upon the gate and the Tolbooth; and he coolly mentions the atrocious fact, that "at the time we were in Scotland, there were divers women burnt for witches; they reported to the number of 120."¹

The truth probably was, that Ray himself shared in the general belief in the existence of witches, and in their sorceries. Such, at all events, must have been the case with his friend Mr. Jessop, who, in 1668, wrote to him as follows:—

Richard Wright has come from London, and hath done little there; only the judge hath advised him to indite the man and the maid, if Stephen trouble him any more. This only is observable, which I was not acquainted with when you was with us—that Kurlaw, the foreman of the jury, who, the spirit saith, was bribed by Stones, died raving mad within three days after he had passed his verdict, crying out that he saw the devil, and such-like expressions. This is very true, for I had it from one who was at his burial. The coroner also hath lingered away, ever since the assizes, and died about the time that Wright went to London.²

This wholesale destruction of witches in Scotland had gone on for many years: in the following year it was frightful. In the Appendix to Pitcairn's *Reports of the Trials in the High Court of Justiciary*, there is the most astounding and perplexing history of the examination of several women, and the confession of Isabel Gowdies and Janet Breadhaid, extorted by no torture, implicating forty others, men and women, but chiefly women, whose blasphemous and disgusting dealings with the devil, for the destruction of the lairds of Park and Lockley, and their male children and posterity, and others, are detailed, "with a great many more terrible things, which the attesting witnesses and notary heard them confess, and most willingly and penitentially speak forth of their own mouths," and for which they, with many more, were strangled at the stake, and then burnt.

The prevailing disorder of that time seems to have been ague. Ray speaks of it as affecting many of the students at Cambridge; and Mr. Courthope was suffering from it when he wrote to his friend, to ask his advice as to taking the Jesuit's bark as a remedy. Ray had written to him for his advice, whether he should take a living, and to this he alludes in the

¹ Had they been passing by the Town Moor of Newcastle, ten years before, on the 21st of August, 1650, they might have witnessed the execution of fourteen women,

convicted of the same charge.—*Chronicon Mirabile*, by Sir C. Sharpe.

² Ray's *Correspondence*.

next letter. After complimenting him upon his style, telling him "that he wrote like a master of the English language, which he accounted no mean accomplishment," he says:—

Your advice concerning the living came too late for my direction, although not unseasonably to confirme my choyce. I have let go the living partly for those reasons you alleage, and partly because, upon further inquiry, I find the yearly value to be lesse than it was at first represented.¹ One great motive to have induced me to take it was, because of its vicinity to the Yorkshire Alpes, and especially Ingleborough Hill, which is not above sixe or seven miles thence distant. Indeed the whole countrey of Westmoreland, for variety of rare plants, exceeds any that I have travailled in England; perhaps Carnarvonshire, in Wales, may vie with it. You desire my opinion as concerning the *pulvis de cortice Per.*: truly I am not competent to give you advice, as having never made or had any experiment of it myself. I have indeed read and heard often of it, and so can give you the opinions of other men about it, of which I suppose you are not ignorant. Chiffletius (who hath written a book about it) tells us that the use of it is disallowed by the plurality of the physicians of Italy and the Low Countries; for that, though it prevents or removes the fits, yet ofttimes it gives occasion to other more dangerous diseases, so that it is not safe. I have heard that it hath been beneficial to some ancient people, by taking away their fits for the present, till they could recover strength enough to conflict with the disease. Few that I have heard of, have been so relieved by it as to get quit of their agues without danger of a relapse, or contracting a more malignant and perillous distemper; and therefore your friends here, to whom I communicated this your purpose, dehort you from the use of so slippery and ambiguous a medicine, unless yourself hath better experience of it than we. Mr. Budgen, your countryman, who is not only a pretender to, but lately a practitioner of, physick, thinks it most advisable, proper, and convenient for you to permitt your quartan to have its course. I have known many cured by the use of the antimioniall cup, but yet would be loath to counsel you to use it. Mr. Lynett thinks that the country whereabout you live, is an aguish place, and that it would be convenient to remove to London awhile; but I cannot persuade myself to be of this opinion. I see that quartanes seize upon citizens as well as those that live in the countrey. Mr. Budgen talkes of a sneezing powder that he used himselfe, which he thinkes might be proper and convenient for you to use. I should not promise you any great relief or advantage from such a medicament.² * * * We have lately had here an election for Fellowes; of seventeen that sate, thirteen were chosen, whose names I have sent, in the inclosed, to T. B. They have elected six super-numeraries. I am at present resolved to discontinue from the colledge so

¹ The living was Kirby Lonsdale, supposed to be worth £120 a year.

² There were many curious recipes in vogue in those days, and very quaintly recommended. Dr. Gerard, writing in 1633, of a plant called "Solomon's Seal," says, "It taketh away in one night, or two at most, any bruise, blacke or blue spots gotten by falls, or by women's wilfulness in

stumbling upon their hastie husband's fists." Ray attributes his recovery from the jaundice to a nostrum too coarse for modern ears; and when one of his daughters died of the same disease, nothing, he said, afflicted him so much as that he had not tried the remedy which had been so effectual in his own case.

soon as I shall have made even my accounts therewith. * * * I thought to have written something of our voyages and adventures in Scotland, but it's high time to break off; all that I shall add, is that

I am your most obliged devoted servant,

Coll. Trin. Oct. 14th, 1661.

JOHN WRAY.

A very small matter would, in those days, affect the character of a medicine.¹ This Chiffletius, who was physician to the Archduke Leopold William, administered the Jesuit's bark to his patron at the wrong time of his attack of ague. It did no good, and he tried to write it down. Alderman Underwood having died whilst using it in 1658, it was, for a time, much out of fashion in England. In 1686, its reputation was established: it became very dear, and the usual consequences followed. Sir Hans Sloane, writing in that year to Ray, says, "We are now mightily solicitous about the Jesuit's bark, it being so good a thing, they begin to adulterate it with black cherry and other barks, dipped in a tincture of aloes to make it bitter."

The best advice and prescription was that of Mr. Willoughby, who writes to him thus:—

I never heard a word of you since I saw you at London, till just now, in a letter from Mr. Wray, that brings me the very ill news of your ague, for which I am most heartily sorry. I doubt not but your youth and courage will bravely overcome it: the best course is, no physick, a verie spare diet, warmth, and to cheere up your spirits as much as you can.

To a letter, written probably under the depressing influence of illness, he replies:—

Sir,—Since the writing of the enclosed, which should have been sent you last week, I had the happiness to see your old chamber-fellow, Mr. Campion, who is, in my judgement, since his departure hence, very much improved, not only in growth and stature, but also in discretion and understanding. * * * I doe intend the next yeare, "Deo vires et valetudinem largiente," to accompany Mr. Willoughby into Wales; and, if you could soe order your affaires as to find time enough to goe along with us, there could, in my opinion, nothing be added to the pleasure and contentment of such a journey. I cannot entertain myself better than to meditate on such a congresse. He writes me word that you complain much of the cares of the world. I wonder you should be serious in such a complaint—a person so able and fit for businesse, that methinks it should be rather a diversion and pastime to you, than any burden or trouble. * * I have sent enclosed a Latin letter to Tim Burrell; I pray you be pleased to convey it to him with all convenient speed, and acquaint him that, if he be in health, he may with safety enough come up hither, the

¹ Dr. Thompson's *Materia Medica*, p. 316.

sickness much abating, and all the people growing well apace. For my own part, I doe not intend long to reside in the Coll., and while I doe, I shall be soe full of businesse, that I shall have but little time to spend with my pupills. * * I doe not expect long letters from you: a word or two shall suffice.

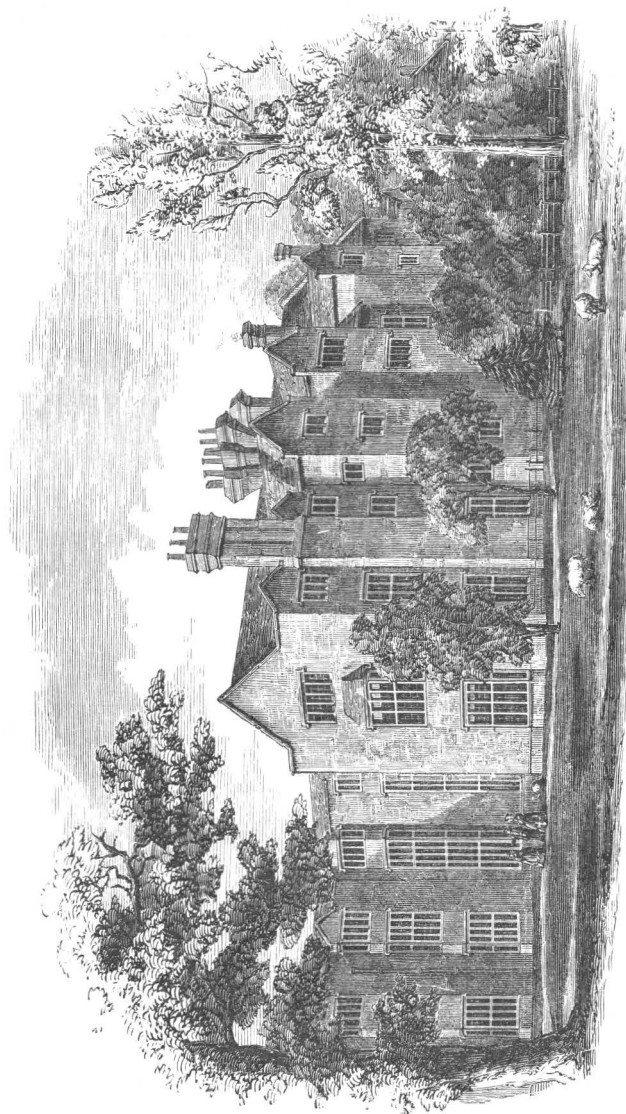
Ray was too honest and simple-minded to attempt to conceal from his friend the struggle which was going on in his mind between his conscience and his interest. It was a sad trial to him to give up his fellowship and to leave his beloved college. In one of his letters he says:—"If I doe concoct this subscription, it will be certainly contrary to my inclinations, and purely out of fear;" and in relinquishing the living, we may well suppose that its vicinity to the Westmoreland mountains, with their sides covered with curious plants, their rocks green with ferns and mosses, and their dells and clefts gemmed with many a bright and beautiful flower, disturbed his mind and increased his regrets sadly.

It ended, however, in his refusal to subscribe to the Act of Conformity. Ray and, as it is said by the Presbyterians, two thousand others (though, according to Burnet, these numbers were much controverted), were deprived of their preferments. Before, however, this was finally done, he wrote to his friend from Black Nottley, to say:—

I am now in Essex, where I intend to continue till Bartholomew Day be past. I am as good as resolved not to subscribe the declaration in the Act of Uniformity, and soe can expect no other than the deprivation of my fellowship. I must stay hereabouts to make up my accounts, and to dispose of my goods, till about Michaelmas. Many of our ministers in this county will be deprived upon this act, and those too the most able and considerable. * * * I shall now cast myself upon Providence and good friends. Liberty is a sweet thing. * * * I have not heard from you or of you any way since I took my leave of you at Danny; and therefore, if this comes to your hands, I must entreat you to write to me. * * I shall expose mysele to much trouble and inconvenience by this refusall, but "*Quicquid erit, superanda omnis Fortuna ferendo est.*" I doubt not but I shall be, some way or other sustained, and it may be more to my satisfaction than if I should swallow the declaration, and continue still in Trinity Colledge. * * * It remains that I render you my most hearty thanks for your many late and former favours and kindnesses, and professe my deep sense of those ingenuous expressions and testimonies of love and good will you have always shewne me, "*instinctu proprio, nullo meo merito.*" * * *

Your most devoted servant, and debtor, JO. WRAY.

In another letter, written from the same place, he says:—
Your countryman, Mr. Carre, is settled our neighbour here at Braintree.



DANNY—FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

From a Photograph by Sir T. Maryon Wilson, Bart.

The living is but small, I believe; *viis et modis*, not worth one hundred a year.¹ I hear he finds a great auditory, it being a large market-towne, only some like not well that he is so punctual in reading all the Common Prayers. I am told that the Bishop of London hath bound him in a great summe of money to read it all himselfe once a month, as the Act for Uniformity requires. I should be glad to hear from you. My prayers and good wishes shall always attend you: wherever I am, I shall glory in the title, sir, of

Your most devoted servant,

JOHN WRAY.

Sir,—Your cousin, Tim. Burrell, arrived safe at Cambridge about a fortnight since. He brought me a letter from you, wherein you are pleased to invite me into Sussex, when I shall have laid down the steward's office. My time is now ready to determine. In about a fortnight I shall give up my accounts, and then I hope to be at liberty, though I cannot certainly promise myselfe, for it may be they may continue me another yeare, which yet I desire not. I intend seriously to come and waite upon you at Danny, and spend some time there. I have one sad piece of news to tell you, that is the death of your, but especially my, very good friend, Mr. Pockley, at Dunkirk. His disease, as I hear, was a squinancy, which dispatched him in lesse than two dayes. I received not long since a letter from Mr. Willoughby, wherein he condoles with you for your ague. Here are many still sick, some of quartane, among the rest, my pupill.

Your most devoted servant,

JNO. WRAY.

Coll. Trin., Nov. 26th, 1661.

¹ The following is a list of the Livings and their value, in the year 1650, within the rape of Lewes, taken from a paper at Danny, entitled "A Valuation of the Rectories and Vicarages within the Rape of Lewes, taken upon the oath of several persons, by virtue of a Commission out of the High Court of Chancery." It appears that there were only three which exceeded £100 a year in value:—

"All Saints, in Lewes, per an. £8. St. Michael's, in Lewes, £14. St. John's, in Lewes, £50. St. Mary Westout, £50. St. John Baptist, in Southover, £11. Iford vic. £40. Kingston vic. £29. Rodmeal pars. per an. £150. Southover pars. £70. Piding Hove vic. £38. 15s. Meeching pars. £60. Falmer vic. £7. Rottendeane par. inappropriate, restored to the church, per ann. £60. The vicarage there, £35. Ovendeane pars. £10. Brightelmstone parsonage is worth by the year, £100. Henry Jenner receives the profits by lease from the Bishop of Chichester; the yearly rent reserved is £20. Brightelmstone vicarage, £50. Patcham vic. £40. Preston parsonage and vic. £40. Hove pars. or prebend, Scras, gentleman, receives the profits by lease from the Prebendary, £40.

Hove vic. £10. Bletchington pars. £40. Aldrington pars. £30. Portslade pars. worth by the year, three score and ten pounds; Mr. Bellingham receives the profits by a lease from the Chapter of Chichester, £70. Portslaid vic. £20. Hangleton pars. £70. Poynings pars. £64. Pycombe pars. £70. New Timber pars. £61. Barcomb pars. £120. Hamsay pars. £100. Newick pars. £53. Street pars. £50. Ditchling pars. appropriate to the Church of Chichester, £40. Ditchling vic. £40. Westmeston pars. £80. Chiltington Chapel, belonging to Westmeston pars. £45. Plumpton pars. £80. Chayley pars. £90. Wivelsfield pars. inappropriate, £100. Thos. Moon, gent., receives the profits, and pays a curate £10 yearly and his board. Ardingly pars. £75. West Hothly, £38. Cuckfield vic. £130. Slaugham pars. £70. Crawley pars. £20. Worth pars. £100. Balcomb pars. £100. Hurst P. Point, £100. Bolney pars. part of the prebend of Hove, worth yearly £38; Wm. Scras, gent., receives the profits by lease from the late Prebendary. Bolney vic. £28. Twineham parsonage, £50. Clayton pars. £75. 12s. Keymer's annexed to Clayton, £57. 13s. 4d.

In a letter written probably from London, dated April 28th, 1662, he says:—

* * Since I returned hither, I have made a ride as far as Kingston Wood in quest of plants. There I discovered, what I never before saw in its pride, growing wild, *Herba Paris*, in many places, and not in Kingston Wood only, but also in Eversden Wood, in great plenty. I found also there, that sort of hairy wood-grass, of which I desired T. Burrell in my last, to preserve me a pattern, so that I now can ease him of that trouble. I found there also that *Musocus pennatus filicinus*, I first observed in Sussex. After you parted from us at Cuckfield, I discovered growing about there, *Anagallis aquatica surrector J. B.*; *Cardamine impatiens*, a different sort from that we sowed in our gardens (I found it all along the ditches as I rode to London); *Pilosilla siliquosa Thalii*, *Astragalus sylvaticus Thalii*, *Bulbocastanum*, *Gramen nemorosum hirsutum*, mentioned above, and another pretty sort of grasse; also a plant which I had often found in the North, and took to be a kind of *Hermimum*, but now I am assured it is called *Siderites loto obtuso*. I desire that, if you go to Hurston, you would view the ranunculus growing there, which I believe to be a distinct species from that which hath two sorts of leaves. * * * Our new master is gone to London, to the Westminster election; he pretends a great deal of good will to me, and promises faire to doe me all the service he can. He can stand me in stead in no way that I know of but in the matter of pupills, which I have not put mysef out of. Possibly I may resume that trade about Michaelmasse next, when I shall have performed all my visits. * * *

Sir,—I wrote a proluxe letter to you last week, and therefore may now seem somewhat importunate to set upon you with another; but being on the point of my departure into Warwickshire, in order to the intended expedition into Cambria Brittanny, and not knowing when I shall have the opportunity again to salute you, I hope you will excuse the present trouble. * * * * At Middleton, Mr. Skippon meets me; I hope his company will not be unacceptable to Mr. Willoughby; however, I know not how to reject him. I know he would have been a great deal better pleased with yours. I was in hopes to have heard from you before, being desirous to know something of the free school at Lewis, whether or not it be as yet disposed of, and to whom. I wrote to Mr. Hunt about it, who refers himself wholly to me, but I do not find him very inclinable to leave Pontefract; he finds so good acceptance and entertainment there, and the parishioners promise and undertake to procure him his patent, and to do for him anything else that is reasonable.

Having sent his respects and acknowledgments to all Mr. Courthope's worthy relations, particularly to the most honoured his mother, he says:—

I hope I may say it without ostentation, I am deeply sensible of, and most kindly affected with, every courtesie done me, every civilitie shewn me; this is the best quality that ever I perceived myself to have. Since my letter to you I have been out again, in pursuit of plants as far as Gamlingay; there I discovered some that I have elsewhere found in England, others that I never saw before. * * * *

[Here follows a long list of plants, which it would be wearisome to give.]

I found there one of those sorts of fernæ which we observed about Danny, coming out at several seasons. I have a collection now of more than forty plants growing wild in Cambridgeshire, more than we have put down in our catalogue. In my last I acquainted you with the death of Dr. Martin, and now I can tell you who succeeds him in the deanery of Ely—Dr. Wellford, Master of Bennett College. In the mastership of Queen's, by virtue of a mandate from the R. Dr. Sparrow,¹ the *Rationale* man, the junior Fellows would have chosen Mr. Patrick,² of my year, a deserving person, and one that wants nothing but yeares to qualify him for such preferments. The old and new University will never kindly mingle, or make one piece.

I am your most devoted and obliged,

JS. WRAY.

The *Itinerary* to Wales, and from thence westward to the Land's End, has been published. He speaks of the Welsh people as being generally "extremely civil and well bred, and very honest and courteous to strangers," and such is certainly their character at present, wherever the influx of visitors has not perverted the genius of the people. It seems that the Cornish language was well-nigh lost two hundred years ago. They inquired after it, and at St. Just's they found that Mr. Dickan Gwyn, who lived not far from the Land's End, was the only man they could hear of who could write it; and they met with none who were able to speak English, and very few of the children could speak Cornish: "so," he adds, "that language is like, in a short time, to be quite lost."

The following letter to Mr. Courthope, on the death of his sister, concludes in good Latin with the intimation of his own gloomy prospects, and his hopes of assistance and support from his friend:—

August 28th, 1662.

Sir,—I was much surprised at the unexpected and unwelcome newes of the death of that virtuous gentlewoman, your sister, and doe most passionately condole with you for so great a losse. Your letter brought me the first intelligence thereof. As for Tim Burrell, I have not heard from him since I departed Sussex. I will not refresh your grief (which by this time I suppose you have pretty well concocted) by recounting, from my litle knowledge

¹ Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards of Norwich, died in 1685. He was the author of the *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*.

² This was the celebrated Bp. Patrick. The account of this election, given in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, is,

that Patrick was elected, by a majority of the Fellows, Master of Queen's College, in opposition to a royal mandate, appointing Mr. Sparrow; but the affair, being brought before the King and Council, was soon decided in favour of Sparrow, and some of the Fellows, if not all, who sided with Patrick, were ejected.

and observation of her, those excellent qualities and accomplishments which I judge could not but much endear her to yourselfe and the rest of her worthy relations. I know it must needs aggravate your trouble that she should be cut off "in ipso flore juventæ, præmature fato," and, as usually falls out in such diseases, suddenly, before her friends were aware, or could arm themselves by consideration against the force and dint of so sad a blow, "improvisa siquidem gravius feriunt." But all this notwithstanding, as philosophers, we must not indulge any passion beyond decorum, and as Christians we must not grieve like men without hope. The only use of sorrow is to attest our affections and demonstrate tenderness of disposition, it being otherwise unprofitable to the deceased or ourselves. It's a signe of good nature and very becoming a man (Stoicis nequicquam reclamantibus) to give way to a moderate expression of any good affection [*ἀγαθὸν δ' ἀριδιάρκους ἀνδρες*]; but to permit it more scope than may serve to a good end, or to be transported by it, and disturbed in one's businesse, is an argument of feminine weakness. As for myselfe, Jam præterit Aug. 24 nec dum ego Cantabridgienses reversus sum: jacta ergo est alea sodalitia excidi sine postliminii spe ullâ, mihi istic amplius nec seritur nec metitur, victus aliunde quærendus est, tu tuique similes, afflictis rebus succurrite nostris, subsidium unicum, unicum estis solatium; me nondum incepti pœnitet, nec in posterum spero pœnitebit, illud potius dolendum, quod in tot laqueos timidus homuncio me jam jam induerim, unde evadendi nulla spes, nulla ratio superest. Video me posse carere sodalitia idque æquiore quam speraveram animo. Calamitas iste hæc plus habet terroris in fronte quam in recessu mali. Splendide an obscure vivam mihi perinde esse incipit, verum quid si subducant sese paulatim qui amicissimi crediti sunt; si deserant extorem; si humilitatis nostræ vos pudeat, si (quod Naso olim quæritabat). "In mediis lacerâ puppe relinquitur aquis." Non demittam animum, utcumque quoad possum annitar ut sit in omnem eventum bene præparatum pectus. Et quamvis nihil tale subvereor aut suspicor quidem (nefas id esset de viris tantæ fidei, pietatis, virtutis, tam de me semper optimè meritis) attamen si id præter omnem spem et expectationem acciderat, (liceat hoc mihi fingere et imaginari), dabo operam ne tanto oneri succumbam penitûs divinâ innixus providentiâ. Supremi Patris familias curâ, "meâ virtute me involvam, piamque pauperiam sine dote quæram."

But I will not be too liberal of my Latine; indeed you had not had so much, but that I am now *vacuus negotiis*. You are pleased to put a compliment upon me concerning my company, which I cannot imagine, from the late experience you had of it, can any way be desirable to you; but yet I had determined to have taken up my quarters with you the best part of this winter, after that I had settled my affairs, and disposed of my goods at Cambridge; but Mr. Barnett coming over hither on purpose to see me, and making a strong invitation to Bacton, I could not avoid to engage myself to wait upon him, and spend some time with him this winter, though I must confesse, were I free, I should in many respects preferre Danny. * * I pray present my service to all your honoured relations, but especially Τῇ πάνυ. On Saturday next I set forward for Cambridge, where you shall again hear from me. Sir, your obliged servant, and humble orator,

JO. WRAY.

Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, gives a melancholy account of the sufferings of the Nonconformists. "It is im-

possible," he says, quoting the *Conformist's Plea for the Non-conformist*, "to relate the number of sufferings, both of ministers and people: the great trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journies, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death: great disquietments and frights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. * * * Though they were as frugal as possible, they could hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese: one went to plow six days, and preached on the Lord's day; another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood." The many kind and wealthy friends whom Ray had secured to himself among his pupils at Trinity College, saved him from such sufferings, and, indeed, from any distress at all. The grateful feeling with which they regarded him is shown by an entry in a subscription towards his monument, in the Journal of Timothy Burrell:—"Erga monumentum Johannis Raii, tutoris olim mei apud Cantabridgienses, sed colendissimo, £5;" and this is followed by the symbolical drawing of a Bible.¹

The next letter, written a few days later, and on the same sheet of paper, shows how few of the Cambridge Fellows followed his example, in sacrificing their preferments.

Cambridge, Sept. 4th, 1662.

Sir,—Partly businesse and partly the weather hindering me from delivering this into the post, I brought it hither in my pocket, and have something now more to adde * * * I find not many in this University that have refused to subscribe, in all twelve Fellows, whereof three are of Emanuel, and the rest—two of St. John's, of our College not one besides myselfe, two of Magdalen, one of Bennet, two of Pembroke Hall, one of King's; one Master, Dr. Dillingham, of Emanuel College.² I am now dispatching here, and shall be quite removed by the end of the next week. I had this morning a motion made to me of a preferment in Suffolk—such an one as I am capable of, that is, living with a gentleman in his house (one Bacon, by name); no duty at all enjoined;

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. III.

² Emanuel College was a thoroughly Protestant, not to say Puritan, College. It was founded in the reign of Queen Eli-

zabeth, by Sir Walter Mildmay, as a refuge for those who adhered to the new faith. Dr. Dillingham wrote a life of the founder in good readable Latin.

the terms £40 per annum : but I shall balke it, though a very good offer, because I have the designe of travelling hot in my head. My tutor,¹ T. B., and the rest of my friends here, are very well, and very jolly ; Mr. Senior now is quite routed, yet the face of things not much altered."

Ray, however, did not "balke" the engagement altogether ; he went to Friston Hall, the seat of the Bacons, and remained there about six months, and several letters were written from thence to his friends at Danny.

Friston Hall, Nov. 3rd, 1662.

Sir,—It hath not been my happinesse of a long time to hear from you, or of you. I hoped to have seene you at London, when I was last there, on my returne out of Kent. I desire much to know what was the result of your conference with Mr. Willoughby, for I presume you obeyed his summons to give him a meeting, viz., whether you consented to embarke in the same bottome with him the next spring? I suppose he then acquainted you that I have now explicitly obliged myself by promise to accompany him, if he really desire it, and not in compliment only. * * * Now, sir, to give you some account of myselfe. I have lived about three weeks in the family of Mr. Thomas Bacon, at Friston Hall, near Saxmondham, in Suffolk. I am deceived if I did not formerly acquaint you with my invitation hither, and the quality of my employment. I have been very kindly entertained and civilly treated here, and may have my own terms if I will consent to stay. But I have not, nor will I engage myselfe any longer than till Annunciation next, that I may then be free to wayte upon Mr. Willoughby.

On Saturday last I rode forth to Aldburgh, to see those famous Sea Pease, noted by our historians and herbarists to grow between Orford and Aldburgh, upon the shingle or beach of stones by the seaside. Some I found, not far from Aldburgh, growing by batches upon the stones ; but about six miles further southward, at the extremity of that long bank of stones which runs from Aldburgh towards Orford, at least seven miles into the sea, near the haven's mouth, is this famous and remarked place, where (as all the people hereabout affirme, and I believe) they cover the whole shingle for half a mile together. So that I cannot guesse the yearly crop of pease to be lesse than 100 combs or half-quarters. For a full and particular description I referre you to Parkinson, where also you have a figure of them ; only I do not find in them now ripe that bitterness he mentions ; indeed, to me and others they seem not so bitter as our common vetches, though they are smaller, which is, I conceive, the reason why they are altogether neglected by the country people hereabout. When they are ripe they are of a darke olive colour, not round, but shrunke or crumpled like our ordinary gray pease. Some of the stalkes and leaves still continue green, but the most were seare and withered, abundance of pease still hanging upon them. I wonder, though men neglect them, that pigeons and other wild fowls should not devour them.² * * *

¹ Dr. Duport, Regius Professor of Greek, and afterwards Master of Magdalen College. "The pious and learned Mr. Brokesby," says Dr. Derham, "informed me, that in a discourse with Dr. Duport, reckoning up several gentlemen of worth

that the Doctor had been tutor to, the Doctor said the chief of all his pupils were Mr. Ray and Dr. Barrow, to whom he esteemed none of the rest comparable.

² A correspondent in *Notes and Queries* has kindly communicated the following

Friston.

* * * Nothing is to me more pleasant, in this retirement and distance from my former friends, than to heare from, and to write to them. I cannot entertain my time more pleasantly, nor spend my thoughts upon a more gratefull subject. * * * I have now spent about halfe the time I have to bestow in this place, and I am not sorry for it, not because I mislike any usage or entertainment here, that is unexceptionable; nor could I hope to be treated more civilly, or gain more kindnesse and respect anywhere, but because I am somewhat overcharged with businesse of another nature than what I should spontaneously and of my own instinct pursue. I have consented to bestowe upon the family a short discourse in Divinity every Sunday. Some reason they have to desire it of me, their pastor being a weak old man, somewhat below the elevation of yours, and his sermons are jejune. He likewise exactly repeats the same words in the afternoon, without addition or alteration, daily. The young gentleman with whom I am charged hath very good parts, and a quick wit. He hath broken into some extravagancies at Cambridge, which caused his father to take him home: he is impatient of labour, and indeed his temper will not admit long study. I must needs with gratitude acknowledge and commend his kindnesse, civility, and respectful carriage towards me, whom he studies, as much as he can, to please, gratify, and oblige. I busie myselfe in enquiring out and describing such birds as frequent the channel near us. I have gotten some and cased them, among the rest a bittern and a curlew, and a yarwhelp; the fourth was like a duck, with a bill hooked at the top, for which we had no name. The yarwhelp is a name that I never read or heard of before or since, and therefore imagine it was coined by William Bates. * * * I long since received a letter from Mr. Willoughby, wherein he assures me of his firme adherence to his resolution for travel, and that he hath almost conquered all opposition of his friends, and made his way clear; he despairs of your company, and relies upon me, and I intend not to frustrate him. I am told your house's old master, the Earle of Norwich, is dead; it falls out well for Mr. Willoughby (as I remember), his father paid him a considerable annuity out of the estate. If you be resolved to sell Danny, I wish you may meet with a chapman to your content that will come up to your terms, which I presume are not unreasonable. I should be glad to hear of the health and welfare of your relations known to me, especially the much honoured your mother, not omitting the little child: my humble service to them all, and thankes for their civilities and kindnesse when I was in Sussex.

Nothing could be worse than the manner in which the cures were filled, and the services of the church performed, in those days; the writer of the article, the "Parish Priest," in the *Quarterly Review* for October last, describes it thus:—

information with respect to these peas:—
"The plant is not confined to that locality, but is said to grow at Hastings, Rye, and Pevensey, in Sussex; near Lyd and Walmer Castle, Kent; Sandown Beach, Hampshire; near Penzance; in Lincolnshire, Shetland, and Ireland, and probably in

many other places. Ray and Gerard called the plant *Pisum maritimum*; Linnæus, *Pisum maritimum*; but modern botanists have removed it to the genus *Lathyrus*, and it is now called *Lathyrus maritimus*."
—No. 98, 2nd Series, Nov. 14, 1857.

“Sermons were seldom preached in the country parishes. In the village where Baxter lived, the incumbent, who was eighty years of age, and blind, repeated the prayers from memory, and had a thrasher one year to read the Psalms and Lessons, and a tailor the next; his successors were no better: * * * In the adjoining parish there were two incumbents, one of whom got his living by cutting faggots, and the other by making ropes.”

Mr. WILLOUGHBY to Mr. RAY.

Sir,—I was very glad to heare from you, and that you have any inclination towards travelling. I doubt not but you have friends, as your Uncle Burrell and others, who would willingly undertake the trouble of looking to your affaires in your absence; ours cannot so well be settled at Wollaton, but something will be lost; but that does not move me at all, when I consider that time and youth are not to be bought, and that we are sufficiently secured against poverty, as you are too. It would be hugely inconvenient, in a great many respects, to defer it halfe a yeare. If you cannot possibly despatch to goe with us, I hope you will come to us. If you will meet us at London at the end of March, we will mutually agree upon the time and place. The King of France's designs will not at all obstruct us, there being enough of the world that wont be in his power to disturbe.

Your faithful and affectionate friend,

J. L. W.

The next letter from Mr. Willoughby had no date of the year; but, as he married in 1668, it was probably written in the course of the following year. His condolences on account of the disappointed hopes of his friend are very amusing.

London, May 8th.

Sir,—Your very kinde letter has renewed a dying friendship, and I am much beholden to you, that you take such care to know my concerns. God has blest us with a boy and a girle worth both the Indies, and I hope there is a plentiful ovarium left still, and not only *familia*, but *res familiaris aucta, ces alienum extinctum*, and all things have prospered beyond our deserts: this great glut of mines having caused a great losse in our coalworkers being but a small matter. I heartily condole the losse of your young ladie, who would have claimed beauty and wit as her inheritance from both sides; you cannot be too carefull and prudent in preventing all premature births, of which the jumbling of coaches is the most common cause amongst the better sort. I shall expect, about seven months hence, that you will favour me with the newes of an heir, and that you will take care that he use his parts better, and be a greater virtuoso than his father, though it will be no small matter, *prodire tenus*. With my humble service to your virtuous ladye and relations,

I am your faithfull servant,

F. WILLOUGHBY.

Mr. Willoughby died, after a short illness, in the year 1672,

leaving Mr. Ray one of the guardians of his three children; he bequeathed him an annuity of £60. The next letter is dated from Middleton, where he resided watching over his charge, and employing himself in preparing his friend's papers for publication. There is an interval of ten years in the correspondence.

Middleton, Jan. 17th, 1673.

Sir,—I return you many thanks for your letter which I received last week, and doe most gladly embrace the proffered correspondence. The news of the death of Mr. Monk,¹ I received from Mr. Burrell a good while since; I know the losse of so good a friend and near relation must needs trouble you not a little, besides that, it was like to involve you in a great deal of businesse, and bring the whole care and burthen of that family upon you. The sudden death of Mr. Latchford is indeed to me a very strange thing, especially if he went to bed well, instances of that nature being very rare. The other newes your letter imparts, viz., that God hath sent you a young son, and likewise given you hopes of enjoying him, was to me very welcome. I doe really rejoice with you, and pray God grant you many more. I was bold to dedicate a small trifle² to you, which I printed chiefly to gratifie your cousin, Thomas Burrell, and at his instance. He writes me that they have sold very well, and that he had disposed of almost the whole impression, which, for his sake, I am glad of. I am at present, and have been a twelvemonth, almost wholly engaged in reviewing and preparing for the presse, Mr. Willoughby's *Ornithology*, for which his relict is content to be at present at the charge of engraving brasse figures, though I doubt not that the work, when published, will reimburse her. I believe we shall hardly get it abroad this twelvemonth yet. The death of Mr. Willoughby hath cast more businesse upon me than I would willingly have undertooke. I love my ease too well; but he hath given me sufficient encouragement, by settling upon me an annuity for life, of £60 per annum. I am like now to set up my staffe here, at least so long as my old lady lives, who returns her service to you, as also does Mrs. Winstanley, who, since her husband's death, lives here with us. A friend of mine, Mr. Martin Lister, of York, hath desired me to procure him a small parcel of the ironstone of Sussex. I should thinke myself beholden to you, if you would get and send up to London to Mr. Burrell such a parcell, and I shall send him directions by what means to send it to York; but if you cannot do it without trouble, I will not be importunate, but had rather be without it. Please to tender my very humble service to your much-honoured mother, Mr.

¹ This was probably one of the Monks of Houston, in West Sussex, a gentle family. I do not find his relationship to the Courthopes.

² This was his *Collections of English Words*—provincialisms, which he had picked up in his travels in different countries. It is usually appended to his *English Proverbs*, a well-known book. This small work was the first attempt made to gather up the old and vulgar English,

which lexicographers had ignored or neglected. It seems to have become so popular as to have required a second edition the following year, 1674. Ray was upon terms of friendship with many members of the Burrell family. At the end of his work he gives an account of the ironworks of Sussex, furnished him by his honoured friend Walter Burrell, of Cuckfield, Esq. —*Sussex Arch. Coll.* II. 200.

Oliver and Mrs. Oliver, Mr. Bill,¹ Mr. White and his lady,² your honoured sister, Sir John and my Lady Stapley,³ and the rest of your honoured relations known to me as though I had named them, but principally to the puerpera, to whom I heartily wish a good beginning and the comfort of many a fair son and daughter of her own bringing forth and breeding up. And so I rest
Your most devoted servant and orator, JOHN RAY.

And here the correspondence ends with Mr. Courthope. The good wishes of Ray expressed in this letter were not realised. One only child, a daughter, lived, and she married the son of Mr. Courthope's old friend and chamber-fellow, alluded to in a former letter to Mr. Campion, and carried the property and mansion of Danny into that family.

To many who are unacquainted with the history of Mr. Ray, it may not be uninteresting to know that he continued to be for several years the careful and kind guardian and instructor of his old friend Mr. Willoughby's children; one of them died young, but the other, having first been created a baronet when he was only thirteen years of age, survived and became the first Lord Middleton. In the year 1673, Ray was bold enough to marry a lady not half his own age, the daughter of Mr. Oakeley, of Oxfordshire; but the marriage seems to have turned out happily, and with her he retired to Falbourne Hall, not far from his native place, Black Nottley. During his abode there, to quote the words of Dr. Derham, his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Ray, died at Black Nottley. She was a very religious and good woman, and of great use in her neighbourhood, particularly to her neighbours that were lame or sick, among whom she did great good, especially in chirurgical matters. Her death was much lamented by all sorts of persons in her neighbourhood. Ray thus records her death:—

March 15th, 1698, being Saturday, departed this life, my most dear and honoured mother, Elizabeth Ray, of Black Notley, in her house on Dewlands, in the hall-chamber, about three of the clock in the afternoon, aged, as I sup-

¹ Mr. Bill was Henry Bill, Esq., of Reigate. He was son of John Bill, king's printer to Charles I., and married Jane Courthope, Peter Courthope's sister. Mr. Bill was buried at Laughton, where there is an inscription to his memory.

² Dorothy, wife of Dr. White, was another sister of Peter Courthope. Dr. White practised physic at Lewes, and his daughter, or grand-daughter, the heiress of the family, was married to John Bridger,

Esq., of Coombe, and was the mother of Sir John Bridger, the maternal grandfather of Admiral Sir H. Shiffner, Bart.

³ Peter Courthope's wife was Philadelphia, daughter of Sir John Stapley, of Patcham, Bart.

The Editor is greatly obliged to M. A. Lower, Esq., for his valuable assistance in tracing out for him these Sussex families, and for the Campion Pedigree with which he has enriched this paper.

pose, seventy-eight, whose death, for some considerations, was a great wound to me ; yet have I good hope that her soul is received to the mercy of God, and her sins pardoned, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, in whom she trusted, and whose servant she hath been from her youth up, sticking constantly to her profession, and never leaving the church in these times of giddiness and distraction.

He became a distinguished member and correspondent of the Royal Society, and, as is well known, a very voluminous author, chiefly upon subjects connected with his favourite studies of natural history ; but his great work is the *Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation*. In his latter years he was afflicted with a most painful and distressing disorder—ulcers in his legs, which he seems to have borne with Christian patience and resignation. Among the many friends of his later life, Sir Hans Sloane appears to have been most kind and generous to him, and there is something very affecting in the last letter which Ray ever wrote to him.

Black Nottley, Jan. 7th, 1704.

Dear Sir, the best of Friends,—These are to take a final leave of you in this world. I look upon myself as a dying man. God requite your kindness expressed any ways towards me an hundred-fold, bless you with a confluence of all good things in this world, and eternal life and happiness hereafter, and grant us a happy meeting in heaven.

I am, Sir, eternally yours,

JOHN RAY.¹

He lingered on for ten days, and died Jan. 19, 1704-5. His character is thus summed up by Derham, who wrote his life :—

“In his dealings there was no man more strictly just ; in his conversation, no man more humble, courteous, and affable ; towards God, no man more devout ; and towards the poor and distressed, no man more compassionate and charitable, according to his abilities.”

¹ Ray's *Correspondence*.

PEDIGREE OF CAMPION,

Copied from a Roll at Danny; with Continuations by Harriet Campion (1810), and Additions by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.

THE GENEALOGIE OR DESCENT OF THE WORSHIPFULL FAMILY OF THE CAMPIONS, of Campion's Hall, neare Epping, in the county of Essex, together wth there Matches and Armes as the are Registered in severall Visitations remaining in y^e Office of Armes, there in shewing how and when there antient Seate at Campion's Hall went from the name by y^e Female heire, and who do quarter these Armes of Campion.—Carefully extracted out of the said Bookes: 1640.

ARMS OF CAMPION.—Ar. on a chief Gules, an eagle displayed Or.

CREST.—A Turkey-cock in his pride, Proper.

SIR SYMON CAMPION, of Campion's Hall, in the county of Essex, Knight.

Edward Campion descended from Sir Symon Campion, of Campion's Hall.

Thomas Campion; second son.

Edward Campion, of Campion's Hall.

Henry Campion.

Margaret, da. of William Cordall.

John Campion, of Campion's Hall; mar. Elianor, daughter and heir of John Knotsford, Serjeant-at-Arms, by the daughter and heir of Knightley, of Northamptonshire, widow of George Lumley.

William Campion, of Combwell, in Kent, eldest sonne; mar. Rachell, da. of Richard Duffield, of London.

Sarah Campion; mar., 1st, Francis Gifford; 2d, Sir Francis Leyton, of Shropshire.

Henry Campion, of Newton Valence, in Hampshire, 3d sonne; mar. — Stone, and had issue, Mary and Anne.

Abraham Campion, of London, 2d sonne; m. Hellen, da. of R. Duffield, of London.

A da. or da.-in-law of Henry Campion; mar. Robert Gardner.

Elizabeth Campion; da. and heir.

Richard Mathew, of Stansted, co. Sussex.

Sir Wm. Stone, of London, Knt.; mar. the da. and heire of — Thorne, of London.

Henry Campion, of Newton Valence; m. Anne, da. of J. Willet, of London.

Wm. Campion. Abrah. Campion. Rich. Campion. James Campion.

Margaret, mar. Sir Wm. Craford, in Mongeham, in Kent, Knt.

Mary, married, 1st, Gabriell Wright, of Bookham, in Surrey; 2d, Sir Edw. Gresham, Knt.

Francis Mathew, of East Woodford, co. Dorset, 2d son; mar. Bridget, da. of Giles Fathers, of E. Woodford.

Geo. Mathew, of Stansted; mar. Mary, da. of Thos. Peacock, of Chichester.

Richard Mathew.

Rd. Mathew (aged 11, 1633).

Cordelia; mar. Sir Rd. Michellborne, Knt.

Rachell; mar. Thos. Chowne, Esq.

Sir William Campion, of Combwell, in Kent, Knight; eldest son.

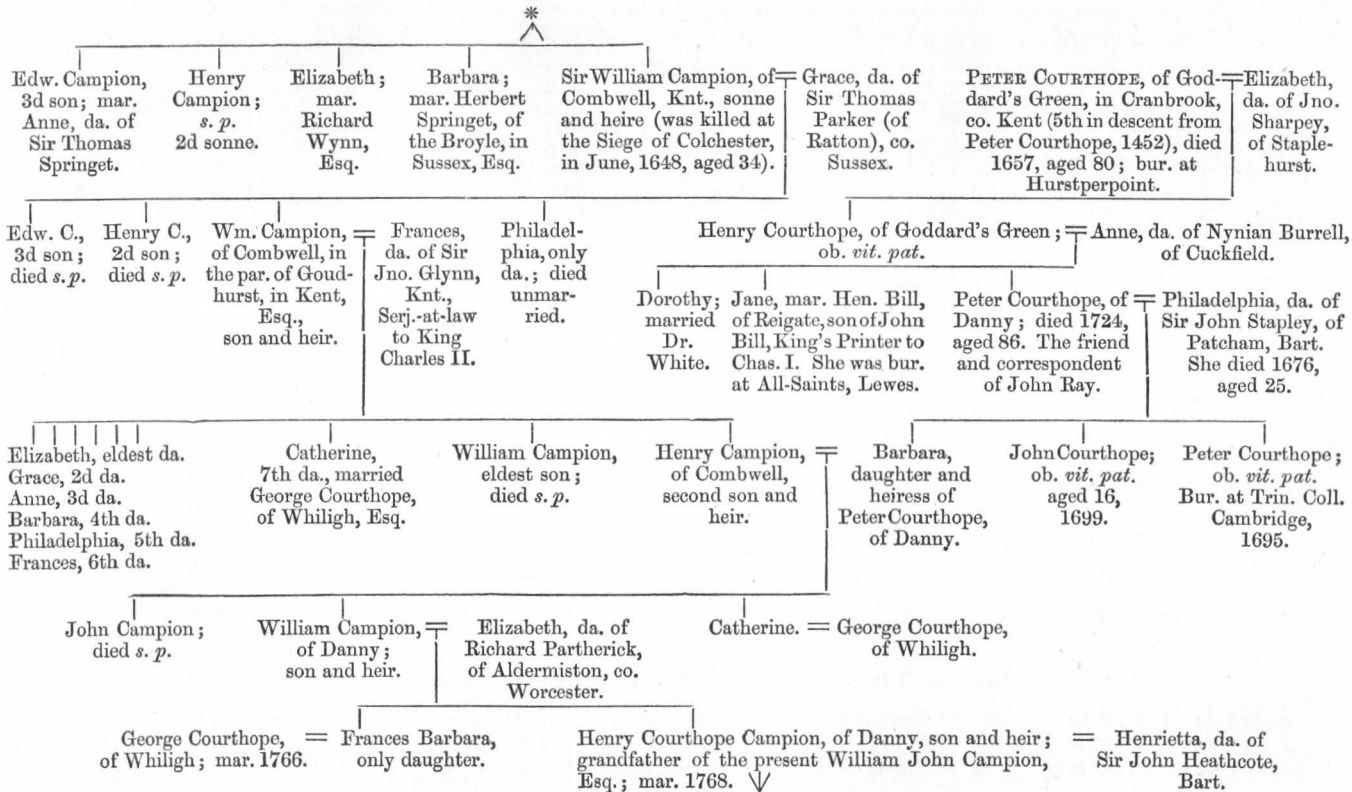
Elizabeth; eldest da. and coheir of Sir Wm. Stone.

Sir Hen. Campion, 2d sonne; had one da., Elizabeth.

Anne; 2d da. and coheire of Sir Wm. Stone.

Edward Campion, of Lincolne's Inne, 3d sonne.

Judith, da. of William Neffield.



CHARLTON HOUSE PAPERS.

AMONG the other papers in the storehouse of manuscripts at Danny, there is one, written many years later than the last now published, by a young and gallant soldier of Sussex, giving a very interesting account of the Battle of Minden, in which he had been engaged. The discovery of this letter induced further inquiries, and the original, of which that at Danny is only a copy, was found among the papers of Sir Maryon Wilson, Bart., the grandson of the writer, with many others of great interest; and to him we owe the privilege of publishing those which follow. The author of that letter, and of several more, who succeeded to his father's title and estates in 1760, was Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, Bart. He entered the army at an early age, and served with great distinction in various parts of the world.

The best account of his services is that given by himself, in a letter to Lord Chatham, in the year 1766. He had at that time a company in the Guards, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and he thus applies to his lordship to use his interest to obtain further promotion for himself:—

I have always remembered with the greatest gratitude, my obligation to your Lordship, in appointing me Adjutant-General to the expedition under General Hodgson, by which, after nineteen years' service, I obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. I have now strictly attended my duty as commissioned officer near twenty-three years in the war in Flanders, the rebellion in Scotland, most part of the war in Germany (where I was Aide-de-Camp to Lord Waldegrave, commanding the British Infantry at the battle of Minden), and in three expeditions on the coast of France, and have been four times wounded. Having no Parliamentary connection, and therefore nothing to recommend me but my past service, such as it has been, I am emboldened, from your former goodness to me, to solicit your Lordship to obtain for me a regiment, or the rank of Colonel, by being appointed King's Aide-de-Camp; which request I should by no means presume to make if I did not see, in the list of the army, such numbers of superior rank to myself *who were not in commission till many years after I served*. If there is any one man, high or low, that can *with truth* accuse me of ever having acted, in the minutest circumstance, in a manner unbecoming the character of an honest man, a gentleman, or an officer, I do not wish to be favoured by your Lordship, or any other person; for I have ever thought that a scoundrel is a disgrace to his patron, and therefore I have always endeavoured to do honour to those that have countenanced me, as I have to preserve my own inviolably.

The EARL OF CHATHAM *to* SIR THOMAS WILSON.

Bath, Dec. 29th, 1766.

Sir,—I was sorry I had no opportunity of seeing you before I left town, to have expressed to you the sense I have of your obliging remembrance of any little good offices of mine in behalf of service and merit. I desire now, sir, to assure you of my sincere regard, though obliged at the same time to suggest to you, that I wish not to interfere in matters of the army—Lord Granby being the only proper quarter where applications of that nature are to be made. I doubt not that services will point you out on some proper occasions, better than any other recommendation, to a due share of the King's favour.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem and consideration,

Your most obedient,

CHATHAM.

SIR THOMAS WILSON *to the* EARL OF CHATHAM.

* * I think myself highly favoured by your Lordship's letter of the 29th ultimo. About the time I troubled your Lordship I wrote to Lord Granby on the same account, who, whilst in Germany, did me the honour, particularly after the battle of Minden and Campen Broik,¹ more than once, not only to approve of my conduct, but to express an inclination to assist me; but I never troubled his Lordship till now, and believe me, my Lord, as I have endeavoured constantly and conscientiously to discharge my duty properly for near twenty-three years, I would not even now have begged preferment of any one, however ardently I may wish for it; but, being a soldier of fortune, I am exceedingly hurt in this reflection (which any man with a degree of spirit above that of a weak worm must sensibly feel), that in the next war, unless assisted by some one of disinterested principles, it must ever be my lot to be commanded *by much my juniors*. * * * I should be happy, as a soldier, for the sake of my brother officers in general, to see your Lordship's remark verified, "that service would point a man out for preferment, on proper occasions, better than any other recommendation;" but, my Lord, from what I have seen in the service since the war, I should, if your Lordship had not prevented me by saying you do not wish to interfere in military matters, have ventured to pronounce that one favourable word from your Lordship would be of more real service to me than all my service, even suppose it had been much longer and more essential. I ask ten thousand pardons for the liberty I have taken in my application to your Lordship. * * *

The wished-for promotion came six years afterwards, and was thus graciously communicated to him:—

Cavendish Square, Dec. 31st, 1772.

Lord Barrington presents his compliments to Sir Thomas Wilson, and is very sorry he gave himself the unnecessary and ceremonious trouble of calling on him. Lord Barrington cannot, however, assume the least merit on that account, for it arises entirely from the King's knowledge of Sir Thomas's merit, and from the rank he bore among the Lieutenant-Colonels.

Let us, however, turn back to the earlier days of his career, when, after the battle of Culloden, he was quartered at Fort

¹ He, with 500 others, was taken prisoner in that action, and plundered of all he had.

St. George; and when, in the light and careless spirit of youth, he told his mother¹ of his doings, and described the geographical position of Fort William, as though it had been a newly discovered island in the Pacific Ocean: so little were the Highlands of Scotland at that time known to Englishmen.

Fort George Camp, July 29th, 1753. (Recd. Aug. 14th. Pd. 1s. 2d.)

Honoured Madam,—I received your favour, with my brother's, in due time, but deferred answering it sooner, because the very post before I got that, I had wrote to my brother. It gives me great concern to hear you are obliged to go to the sea for recovery of health; and I sincerely pray it may, by the blessing of God, work the desired effect, which I am more encouraged to hope for, knowing you have great confidence therein, and believing half the cures wrought by medicine proceed from that effect.

As I have already given Sir Thomas a description of our present encampment, I scarce know what to write, for you may imagine, in this out-of-the-way place, we have very little news; but, as I have often heard you say you like to hear of meloncholy things, I shall send you what this place affords. One of our young soldiers hanged himself (I suppose to get rid of the hard work of the fort), and went about it very methodically, by cutting his spatterdashes into thongs, and weaving them up together, to answer the end. Another man or two we expect will be shot soon for desertion. A young woman made an attempt to drown herself, because her husband was unkind; but the silly slutt forgot to take off her hoop, which kept her floating on the waves like a mermaid, in spite of her teeth, till (unluckily for her husband) some fishermen took her up. Our provisions now begin to be tolerably cheap:—Beef, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.; mutton, $1\frac{3}{4}d.$; full-grown chickens, $3d.$ apiece; salmon, $1d.$ per lb.; cod, rather cheaper; turbot, 4 lb. weight, from $1d.$ to $3d.$ As for haddocks, whiting, plaice, and those sort of fish, they are food for the soldiers only. Milk, butter, and bread, are the dearest articles we housekeepers have to buy. Now the shooting season is come in, we have game in great plenty. I killed, the day before yesterday, eight brace of grouse; but it is a little fatiguing. I walked, the night before, about fifteen miles, to the Moors, lay at the foot of them that night, in a cloak, upon straw; began to sport at three in the morning, and continued hunting till one, and then came home; so that I am sure, in the evening before and in the day's hunting, I went neare threescore miles; but I find myself much the better for it, and, I thank God, in perfect health. * * The company I belong to will go to Fort William, situated on the west coast of Scotland; latitude, 56-48: by all accounts a very bad place, where, for the whole winter, you are locked up by the snow, and have no provisions but what is laid up in this season. Begging my duty to Sir Thomas, and love to my brother,

I am, Madam, your most dutiful and obedient son,

THOMAS SPENCER WILSON.

P. S.—I hope the Duke of N. (Newcastle) will be attacked for me before the election.

To the Lady Wilson, at Rottendeau, near Lewes,
in Sussex, South Britain; by Brighthelmstone bagg.

¹ Lady Wilson was one of the Courthopes, of Whiligh. The old family mansion was then at Uckfield.

The writer of the letters which follow, was no less a person than the celebrated scholar, Jacob Bryant, the author of the *New System of Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, and other works. It appears from several of his letters that Bryant served for a short time in the army,¹ a fact not known to his biographers. One of his letters is dated from Cypenham, near Windsor, "his lodge in Buckinghamshire," where he lived many years, and where he died, at the age of ninety. Allusion is made, in Chalmers's account of him, to his great talent for humour, and his pleasant social qualities. He says of him, that, "In his ordinary habits of life, he was remarkable for his temperance, and, though his time and studies were principally devoted to literature and the pursuit of truth, yet his conversation with those he received and conversed with, was uncommonly sprightly, as he never failed to mix entertaining anecdote with instruction. * * His liberality was often conspicuous, and the spirit of religion diffused itself through all his actions." He left his valuable library to King's College, Cambridge; £2000 to the Society for Propagating the Gospel; and £1000 to the superannuated Collegians of Eton College, where he had been educated, to be disposed of at the discretion of the Provost and Fellows. He was a Worthy of whom Eton may be justly proud. His opinion of that newly constituted force, the militia, is very freely given in the following letter:—

JACOB BRYANT, ESQ., to CAPTAIN WILSON.

London, May 31st, 1759.

My dear Wilson,— * * * Give me leave, in the first place, to return you my thanks for all the intelligence I have, directly or otherwise, received from your hands. Your letter was the most particular of any I saw relative to the last affair. The enemy seem to have little reason to brag: I make no doubt you will be able to stand your ground. In England we think ourselves very secure, tho' the Ministry are under some apprehensions of an invasion. The French coast is said to be lined with troops, and their fleet is within three sail-of-the-line as many as we have. We are, however, very confident, and it

¹ "Since I came to England," says Bryant, writing to his friend, in January, 1759, "I have lived so dissipated a life, that I have not had the opportunity of thinking so often as I ought, of my very best friends I left behind. * * When last we parted, I little thought our separation would be of so long duration; but a cruel misfortune sent us far away, and, after hopes of great happiness and pleasure, we concluded the campaign in a melancholy manner. Yet,

however untoward the appearance of things was to me, and great as my loss might seem, I have had the good fortune to have my grievances lightened, and every thing done in my favour, beyond my most anxious expectations. Let it suffice to tell you, my dear Wilson, that the Duke of Marlborough has contributed, in every respect, to my ease, quiet, and independency, and has behaved in the noble manner that is so peculiar to his family.

is not upon nothing that we ground our security. Lend me your patience, and I will tell you a circumstance little thought of in the circle of Westphalia, a thing which the Bishop of Paderborn has no notion of, nor any one prince of the empire. You must know, sir, that, beside our shipping and a few battalions that are left, we have, in several counties, a new kind of corps called the Militia; these are a set of desperate fellows, I assure you, consisting of bold tallow-chandlers, resolute journeyman bakers, high-spirited weavers, bloody-minded tailors, and trusty ploughboys, headed by commissioned and non-commissioned apothecaries and attorneys, and colonels who know every inch of their ground, having fox-hunted in every corner of it; they are followed by many sheep-biters, coney-catchers, and poachers, so that the camp can never want necessaries. Believe me, they are a very formidable band, as intrepid at a review almost as a new-raised regiment, and as brisk at a charge as the Trainbands in Smithfield. Of these last you must have heard how, in the year 1692, they marched through Islington, and had liked to have taken Pancrass by storm; and what an opinion of them once prevailed, may be gathered from Sir Richard Steele. "I have known," says that sagacious writer, "one of these daring fellows clap his nose within an inch and a half of a touch-hole, fire his piece, and huzza, as if it was nothing extraordinary." The same may be said of the Militia, who have a way too of shutting their eyes, to prevent anything diverting their aim, and shoot away with as much unconcern as if they were killing fieldfares and starlings. * * * * Add to this, the noble spirit that prevails in the nation, that contempt for money. There was fifty thousand guineas absolutely depending on one match at Newmarket; there was in town eight thousand depending among ladies on a single hand at cards. What a poor figure would the French make if they were to come! The young Club at Arthur's¹ alone would win all their money at betting, and I should be proud to know what an army would do without cash. In respect to the Militia, there is one untoward circumstance, that, whenever they take the field, they are to be subject to military law, which makes many people think they will be cunning enough to run away before it comes to that pass, if such be the consequence; but I believe this is an idle surmise, for how can officers that are patriots suffer it, or men of anti-Gallican principles be so base to attempt it? I am confident I could swear for one-half of them, that, if there was only a French cat to come on shore, they would clap squibs and crackers to her scut, and worry her to the devil. Why, sir, there are some of them that don't scruple to aver they would take the wall of the Dauphine himself, and collar the King of France if they met him in Gloustershire. Oh! noble hearts! what pity it is that such brave fellows should ever be hung for sheep-stealing! * * * * *

Most faithfully and affectionately yours, JACOB BRYANT.

¹ Arthur's Club is one of the few venerable institutions, of that kind, which can boast of an existence of more than one hundred years. Brookes's, White's, and Boodle's, are of about the same age. It is thus described in Cunningham's *Hand-Book for London*:—"Arthur's Club-house, 69, St. James's Street, derives its name from a Mr. Arthur, the master of White's Chocolate-house, in the same street. Arthur died in June, 1761. Mr.

Mackreth married Arthur's only child, and Arthur's Chocolate-house, as it was then called, became the property of this Mr. Mackreth.

"Every thing goes on as it did, luxury increases, all public places are full, and Arthur's is the resort of old and young, courtiers and anti-courtiers, nay, even of ministers, and at this time."—*Lady Hervey's Letters*, June 15, 1756.

P. S.—Yesterday his Majesty thought proper to acquaint the House, that the nation was threatened with an invasion. A loyal and warm address was voted, and that notice be sent to the Lieutenants of Counties, that the Militia hold themselves in readiness, that is, the Militia of Kent, Surrey, Dorset, Norfolk, and part of Yorkshire.¹ No news from the East Indies; no certain accounts from Guadaloupe.

Most faithfully and affectionately yours, J. B.

The following letter to his mother was written on the plains of Minden, the day after the battle:—

To LADY WILSON, of UCKFIELD.

August 2nd, 1759.

I thank God that it is in my power to acquaint you, that yesterday we gained a victory over the French. The English Foot, where I had the honour to be posted, are greatly smashed, and have sustained by far the severest attacks I ever saw from cavalry, four or five batteries, with grape-shott, and their flanks attacked by infantry, all at the same time, in an open plain. However, it pleased God to support us in it all, and give us the day. Not one of our regiments have brought off two hundred men alive and well, and some not a hundred and fifty. The Prince is sensible of their good behaviour, and has given them publick thanks this day. We are now encamped upon the field of battle, and the town of Minden is surrendered to us.

I have lost the best good dear lad I ever contracted a friendship with, Captain Cowley, of Kingsley's regiment, about twenty years old; he was shot in the belly with a grape-shot. After the battle was over, I found him among a heap of poor wretches, tossed upon some straw in a hovel; his ball cut out of the back, but no wound dressed. I got him a little wine and water, the best I could, and then left him to perish, poor dear soul! I hope God Almighty will receive his soul.

About half an hour after the battle began, my poor horse was shot in the knee. Some time after that I received a shot upon my cheek, which did but just raise the skin near the jawbone, and so passed along my ear to the back of my head. My jaw is swelled, and pains me a good deal, but is no other-ways the least troublesome. About one hour after, another shot grazed upon my spur, and entered my horse's breast, by which wound the poor creature died, but not till he had carried me till the battle was quite over.

I hope, as it has pleased God to give us this victory, Prince Ferdinand will follow the French whilst there is a man of us left to pursue them.

We have taken forty pieces of cannon, and many hundreds.

My duty to Sir Thomas, love to my brother, and compliments to all.

From your dutiful son, THOMAS SPENCER WILSON.

You may tell my brother, as I know 't will please him, that in the publick orders given this day to the whole army, Prince Ferdinand is pleased to order my name to be mentioned amongst those he was pleased to think distinguished themselves. If I had any merit, I thank GOD for enduing me with courage to show it. Tell my brother I will send him a copy of this day's orders, as I think the English gain honour by them.

¹ The seven regiments embodied in 1759 were:—The Devon, 1600 strong; the Dorset, 640; Norfolk, 960; Somerset,

840; Surrey, 800; Warwick, 640; and Wilts, 800; in all, 6280 men.—*Notes and Queries*, Oct. 1857.

In a letter to his brother, written nearly a fortnight later, he gives the following more particular account of the battle, one of the most remarkable for the gallantry and endurance of our soldiers recorded in history:—

About nine in the morning our flanks were exposed to several batteries of cannon, with round shot, which carried us off very fast, because we had neither cavalry nor cannon to cover us. In this situation (upon a bowling-green), we had nothing for it but to hasten the attack, which our men did with great briskness; but this brought us so near their cannon, as to be immediately carried off by grape-shott. Our men still pushed on, and were charged by thirty-six squadrons of cavalry, commanded by Duke Fitz-James (my general's cousin). Some of them pierced us, and got to our rear. At the same time that they made their charge, the infantry attacked our open flank; but the true gallantry of our men cleared all. They made two more attacks in the same manner, all this time working us with grape-shott. Yet notwithstanding all this, it pleased God to give us the advantage over them—to the immortal honour of our Foot. The carnage was the most dreadful I ever saw. I am just now looking at the returns of the regiment, and find that very near one-half of the men brought into the field are killed or wounded, and near two-thirds of the officers. Our right wing of Cavalry, commanded by Lord George Sackville, 'tis said were sent for more than once, but never came till the day was ours. Had they come, this would have been the completest victory ever gained, for I suppose you are soldier enough to know that infantry cannot pursue. Notwithstanding our want of cavalry, the consequences of this victory are great. The French have evacuated Minden, Bielfelt, Paderborn, Osnaburg, and given over their attempts on Lypstat, which they had for some time invested, and, what is not to be credited by aftertimes, we are now in full pursuit of an army a great deal above double our numbers.

The Duke de Lutzenburg, made prisoner in the action, who I breakfasted with at the Duke of Richmond's the day after the battle, told us that they had no less than eighty-one battalions and eighty-six squadrons in the field of battle; and we had thirty-six battalions and forty-seven squadrons; and they are now, thank God, flying before us, but not so fast but I hope we shall overtake them by our continual marches.

Poor Captain Cloudsley, of Chichester, is most terribly cut in many places, by the cavalry that got through; and Mr. Fletcher's son, of Chichester, got a shot in at his eye, of which wound I hear he is since dead. He was very bad when I saw him the day after the battle.

Our cannonade was so severe and so close that, I give you my word, I saw many single shotts from their great guns that carried off seven or eight men at a shot, knocking them all to pieces; yet, amongst all this, it pleased God to preserve me, for which I hope I shall always be most truly thankful, for I am certain that nothing but the immediate hand of Providence can save from such imminent danger. We have been in pursuit of the French ever since the 4th instant; they are at Cassel, and we are within nine leagues of them.

My duty to Sir Thomas and my Lady, and compliments to all. If the French will stand us, I hope soon to acquaint you of our having drubbed them a second time. God bless you. Adieu.

Your most affectionate brother, THOMAS SPENCER WILSON.

Camp at Stadtbergen, August 14th, 1759.

The following extract from the orders of Prince Ferdinand contains that reflection upon Lord George Sackville, which led to such well-known results:—

His Serene Highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, for their great courage, and the good order in which they conducted their brigades.

His Serene Highness further orders, that it be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of the day more compleat and more brilliant. His Serene Highness orders, that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired, be named, viz., the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitz-Roy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson, Aid-de-Camp to General Waldegrave: his Serene Highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct.

A solemn and striking act of worship must that have been, which was celebrated on the day after the battle, on the plains of Minden, when the English and Hanoverian troops, with wasted ranks, offered up to God their thanksgivings for the victory which had been vouchsafed to them. The orders of Prince Ferdinand, from which the following extracts are taken, thus begin:—

On the Field of the Battle of Minden, August the 1st, 1759.

At nine o'clock to-morrow morning the army will return thanks to Almighty God for the victory gained this day; and at five in the evening the army will be under arms, in the front of the camp, to fire a *feu-de-joie*. The heavy artillery, with that taken from the enemy, will be drawn up in the front. Each regiment to make a strict search in the boor-houses and on the field, for the wounded, as well of the enemy as of our army, that they may be dressed, and sent in waggons to Petershagen.¹

“*Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,*” may be said of his poor friend young Cowley. A proof of this is the following letter from his friend Lord Tavistock to Sir Thomas Wilson:—

Woburn Abbey, Aug. 22nd, 1759.

Sir,—I beg pardon for having so long deferred congratulating you on the glorious success of your arms, and the honour General Waldegrave and yourself, as well as the English in general, have acquired; but, indeed, sir, the loss I suffered in my poor friend Cowley, hurt me too much to let me write much sooner. He had the pleasure of your acquaintance, and you must have known how excellent a young man he was. Believe me, the loss of him is to me irreparable. The account you was so good as to send me of the manner

¹ A pleasant proof of the courtesy shown by the enemy in these wars, is given in the following passage, indorsed upon one of Wilson's letters:—“A Letter from Colonel Fitz-Roy, 1760.—This letter was directed

to me in Germany. It was taken by the French, who, after perusing it, sealed it with the seal within, and sent it by a trumpet to the Allied Army.”

of his death, though it shocked me to a degree, yet at the same time afforded me no small comfort, by the resigned, I think I may say noble, manner with which he met his fate : an unfortunate event, that did honour both to himself and to all who were happy in his friendship. In case any of his affairs should be unsettled, or any of his servants, &c., in any distress, I must trouble you to lett me know it, as I shall be happy in being of any service to the memory of one whom I must always love and admire ; and I hope, sir, I shall never forgett your kindness to him, even in his last moments ; and if at any time I can be of any service to you, I shall be happy to do it, both on my own account, and for the desire my dear Cowley always had for your welfare.

Believe me, your most obedient and humble servant, F. TAVISTOCK.

A lively writer was Jacob Bryant. In a letter, dated from Cypenham, he says :—

Whilst you have been pursuing the dictates of honour abroad, I have been cultivating a little spot at home, having taken a house in Buckinghamshire. * * How happy shall I be to see you at my little lodge ; indeed, doubly happy, if I see you crowned with those honours which it will be injurious to withhold from you. * * To-morrow I go into the country, where I have already been imitating, in miniature, what you daily practise at large. I have formed a large body of cabbages, supported by another of colly-flowers, behind which is a brigade of carrots, rank and file, three hundred effective. At a distance are some irregular artichokes, not to mention plenty of nettles and thistles, more embarassing to their neighbours than hurtful to their foes. The whole is guarded, to the right, by a quickset, with an epaulment of hurdles to the left, to prevent the horse breaking in. The horse has made several attacks, but has been repulsed every time.

Aug. 18th, 1760.

Believe me, &c.

In a letter, dated 2nd of January, 1762, he says :—

You tell me that if my wishes for peace prevail, there will be but little prospect of a regiment for you ; if that be the case, circumstances are so altered, that you never had a fairer view, if war can afford it : for at the eve of a heavy and most tiresome war with one power, we have entered into another, which may not cease, as far as I can see, till all Europe be in flames. At the same time, we have not one ally. I do not know whether there be one that wishes us well. The Foreign States seem as jealous of our maritime success as they were formerly of Louis the XIV.'s victories in the field. All look upon us with an evil eye, at the same time we are ourselves surfeited with good fortune, and expiring under our trophies and streamers and badges of conquest. We have served France as the Israelites, in Scripture, are said to have served Adonibezek : we have wounded him in the thumbs and great toes ; but in effecting this, I wish he has not bruised us in our vitals. All that France has suffered has been in its colonies, which are only extremities, and can hardly be called parts of the great body : a hurt there is no more than a Dutch skipper being wounded in the breeches : while we have been bleeding at every pore, and are brought into a sad consumptive state, that requires an able hand to remedy. In the mean time, Prussia is gasping for life, but, as they say at Tiburn, he dies hard—he dies like a cock ; and when you have

said that, you have said every thing of him. Pass some few months, and I think you must have his last dying-speech. There is but one thing that can be favourable to Prussia, and take off somewhat of the Queen of Hungary's bitter resentment, which is the late treaty between France and Spain, which may possibly disgust Vienna.¹ It is the most barefaced and impudent attempt for the aggrandizing the House of Bourbon that ever was made. It is an offensive and defensive alliance for the intimate union of the two great monarchies, to which Naples and one or two petty States are admitted on account of relation, and all the rest of the world excluded. If Europe is not totally blinded with party, rancour, prejudice, and pride, this must make the several Princes look about them. As to Portugal, it seems to have neither money, nor arms, nor men. It has a powerful enemy abroad, and a worse enemy in itself at home. There is not a nation on earth the Portuguese hate more than the Spaniards; and yet one-half of them are ready to put themselves under the Spanish yoke. Whether Lord Albemarle is ordered to Portugal for certain, I cannot say. It is generally supposed he is to command there. I think it would be no bad scheme to assist the Moors in taking Oran and Ceuta, and then to land twenty thousand of them in Granada. We have an embassy at Mequinez at this instant. I wish you had a regiment upon such an expedition. Some of the girls in Andalusia are pretty brunettes; and I know there is no complexion but at times is agreeable to your tastes. Fare thee well, my dear Sir Thomas, and believe me to be ever

Most faithfully yours,

JACOB BRYANT.

The following letter is from a distinguished officer, Major-General la Faussille, one who had been at Fontenoy; and a kind-hearted old man he must have been. He gives his opinion in favour of a milder system of discipline in the army than that which then prevailed; and it is very curious, in these days of Enfield and Minie rifles, as showing the greatest achievements of the English musket one hundred years ago. After expressing his delight at his having escaped with life, and earned great honour at Minden, he says:—

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sept. 7th, 1759.

You know pretty much the way of thinking my experience during the late war led me into, viz., that as much discipline as can be enforced by the help of the drill, depriving men of the benefit of working, or any thing but the cudgell, breaking the spirit of a Briton, is better, and more likely to succeed in battle, than the scheme in fashion when you and I last parted. I should be very glad to know from you, if you happened to be near the Patron Corps, whether that shewy discipline answered the end; whether they were either cooler or kept their ranks or fire better than the other corps: if they did, though old, I will give up my sentiments to you, as I know you had coolness to remark, if opportunity put it in your way to compare, and I know you will candidly advise me. I have a young corps, and am not prepossessed with my own opinion:

¹ The King of Prussia was saved by the simple accident of the death of the Empress Elizabeth, his determined foe, and

the accession of his friend Peter III. to the throne of Russia.

My sole view while in the army, is, I assure you, to be useful; and for that purpose I have not strived or desired to go from my regiment this year past. I have endeavoured to imitate action in all the variety of evolutions I teach them; and further, I have, I will venture to assure you, made them, without exception, the very best marksmen in the British army, which my quarters on the seacoast has enabled me to do, at all distances. I have fired them man by man the whole winter, and only a few rounds by platoons. Sixty will, in five rounds, hit a target of about two feet in diameter, at three hundred yards, eight or ten times, and throw forty or fifty balls close enough about it to do execution if a platoon was before them; and I will be answerable that, at two hundred and one hundred and fifty yards, they would thin an enemy considerably. I have made various experiments, and ascertained them beyond doubt: 5lb. of our common powder for exercise, sixteen drams to the pound, throws a ball as far out of one of our muskets or, rather, firelocks, as any larger quantity which I have tried, as far as ten drachms. I find that a ball fired out of a musket, ever so near, cannot enter an oak plank four inches thick, recoils from it, and makes hardly any impression; that one of our firelocks, with five drachms of powder, carries five hundred yards point blank, and knocked off at eight hundred and sixty the corner of a stone; and it seemed to have force enough to kill a man at that distance. A firelock, cut down to even twenty inches, carries as far as at its full length. Judge, then, of the absurdity of their being so long in the barrel, which prevents our men from taking sure aim, but also, by their length in the stock which makes them so difficult and troublesome to be presented by the low-sized men we are obliged to take at present.

Another experiment I have repeatedly made this last winter, with one of the large sea blunderbusses, which I am persuaded might be improved to a great degree, and used with cannon. Having brought it to an elliptic form, fixed it as a cannon, and loaded it with three dozen musket-balls, we drove them at three hundred yards' distance against a cliff, and they answered my expectation so well, that not one ball would have rose over a man's head. On the contrary, we were all satisfied, by their spreading sideways, and not elevating, that they would have mowed down any platoon opposite to them within that distance. This is matter for improvement; elliptic from breech to muzzle. * * * * *

Adieu, my dear sir. May Heaven be your shield and buckler, and send you home to your family and friends crowned with laurels, and rewarded with preferment, for which you have my ardent prayers. * *

Your faithful friend and humble servant, JOHN LA FAUSSILLE.

In another letter he calls himself his "grey-headed old friend, forgotten by the world, and making daily strides towards quitting it, in spite of which," he says, "I would not have grudged an arm or leg to have seen and outlived Thornhausen." The manner in which he recommends a young officer to the notice of his friend, is a model for others who have the same duty to perform, to follow:—

I have this moment finished a letter of recommendation to my old friend Rufane, in favour of the third Ensign of his regiment, his name Le Grand.

His father was a Lieutenant in the 19th Regiment of Foot, and was killed at Fontenoy, with whom I was intimately acquainted; and his grandfather, now alive, is the oldest friend I have living; he has lately wrote, to beg my recommendation of the youth, and I shall be much obliged to you, if you find he is a youth of merit, if you will take notice of him, and shew him some countenance, on my account; and be so kind as to recommend him as the child of a father and family I have great regard for, to my old friend John Craufurd, and even to General Hodgson, if an opportunity offers. I had a good character of him two years ago, when I intended him for my regiment, and that he had some tincture of fortification or engineering business. If he is one of the good-for-little, take no notice of him or of my letter.

I cannot conclude without telling you another well-wisher of yours (my better half) wrote to me with infinite joy, to know whether it was Wilson, one of my children, who was mentioned in Prince Ferdinand's orders the day after the battle, and I have not disowned the title in my answer. She enjoys good health, and our heiress makes her as happy as any mortal can be. If I can credit her accounts, she is as beautiful as an angel, and, though just two years old, is a prodigy of wit and judgement. She furnishes her subject for three folios a week to me, and neither of us, I may venture to affirm, are tired with writing or reading on that subject.

Another friend, Mr. John Pitt, of Gloucester, recommends a wild young gentleman to his notice, whose thoughts had been turned from trade towards the army, on different grounds. "I am told," he says, "that the lad is very personal, with his own hair, about sixteen, and they say about five feet seven."

To redeem our pages from the imputation of being too purely military, we will give another letter, though anterior in its date to those preceding, on a very different but yet interesting subject—the question of the Game Laws. It was addressed to Edward Wilson, Esq., Uckfield, in Sussex, by his relation, probably a lawyer, in London:—

Dear Sir,—I was favoured with your agreeable present of an hare, and I having been for some little time past in better health than for a twelvemonth before—I eat very heartily of it; and for which kind present I return you hearty thanks. You mention that it was the first hare you had seen this season, makes me surprised that the gentlemen of your county do not come into associations for the preservation of the Game, as is done in other counties; for, to my thinking, if diligence was pursued in yours as it is in other counties, the Game must so increase as rather to become troublesome than scarce. But yet I think it very arbitrary and cruel, that an honest farmer should be punished for killing the Game which his grass and corn nourishes and feeds; nay, more, that his own landlord, if qualified, shall, by engrossing the Game to himself, furnish his own table at half the expense, and at the same time hinder his tenant having a hare or partridge, or perhaps afflict him with fine or imprisonment, if there is not harmony between them, though fed on the farm for which and to whom he pays rent; and the honest farmer (for I do

not speak of common poachers) not daring to have so much as a scut of a hare at his table. * * * I have for many years been a member of an Evening Club, at a tavern to which I very frequently go, and some time since, this affair of the Game became a topick of discourse amongst us, over our wine; but, different opinions arising, I should be glad if, in your next letter, you would give me your sentiments upon it: for I think a respectable farmer would rather protect his Game against poachers than destroy it.¹

I am, Sir, with great respect, your obliged cousin and servant,
New Inn, Oct. 6th, 1758. TH. WILSON.

We have heard much of the Oriental fortunes made in those days in India; his friend, Colonel Watson, gives this account of his success, under the seal of secrecy, which time has broken. He went out in 1764, having a military command offered him at Calcutta. Four years afterwards he writes to his friend, thus:—

If you were not in such independent circumstances, I should advise you to solicit the appointment of Commander of the Forces in Bengal, and third in command of the Board of Council. * * Fortune continues to smile upon me, and I am at present worth near thirty thousand pound sterling. I wish I may be able to purchase some dirty acres adjoining to your territories. If Miss N——m is still a virgin, desire her to remain so for three years, or to come to Bengall with all dispatch. You may engage, on my part, that I shall wait for her.

Two years afterwards, he says:—

When I come to England, which I apprehend will be in the year 1774, I shall depend upon seeing your house full of boys, and, if all things answer, I may, perhaps, bring with me almost a plumb. Don't be surprised, it is not only possible, but even probable; however, I do not wish such a circumstance to be known.

Sir Thomas did not act upon his friend's suggestion on his own account, but the following letter from Lord Shelburne shows that he was looking towards the East for the welfare of another:—

Dear Sir,—I am afraid you will think me something particular, when I tell you that I have neither interest with our Ministers nor with those of the India Company; not that I think there is any comparison, for the first, I believe, are perfectly well-intentioned towards the publick, and I am afraid I cannot say so much of the last; the fact is, it's some time since I have known somewhat of the India Company. Friendship for Mr. Sullivan, and a conviction of his publick merit, made me first attend to their transactions. Since which, it has become such a scene of faction and inconsistency, that I cannot properly

¹ It is a striking proof of the tenacity with which a great and unjust grievance will cling to life, that the evil complained

of in this letter, and the subject of discussion at his club, remained without a remedy for some eighty years longer.

entertain any communication with them, at least as long as the present managers continue their influence. Else I do assure you, I should most readily act in consequence of your recommendation, as I am sure you would not say so much for a person that had no merit.

I am, with great regard, your faithful servant,

March 4th, 1766, Hill St.

SHELburnE.

Whatever progress he may have made in his profession, it certainly could not be attributed to his qualifications as a courtier. It is probable that the Duke of Newcastle, in the course of a long life, never received such another letter as the following, which was written in reply to a request grounded upon former acquaintance and old family connections, that he would attend at Lewes, to support Lord George Lennox in his election. The Duke was at that time Prime Minister.

To HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Fludger St., Jan. 29th, 1767.

I was honoured with your Grace's favour of yesterday, in which you are pleased to flatter me with the appellation of a former acquaintance, and at the same time to mention a friendship between my ancestors and your family. Whilst I was known to your Grace, I thought it an honour, and believe me, my Lord Duke, you or any man's being in or out of public employment, would not in the least degree make my attention more or less, that trimming conduct being fit for nothing but scoundrels; but finding (I presume), because my family estate was wasted, for I know of no other reason, defying all mankind to accuse me of ever having acted in any way unbecoming the character of an honest man, a gentleman, or a soldier, that I was treated in a trifling manner, I neglected waiting on your Grace.

I am happy that my intentions of attending the election in favour of Lord George Lennox correspond with your Grace's request.

I have the honour to be, your Grace's, &c., T. S. WILSON.

Sir Thomas Wilson was engaged in active service in the American War, and in one of the actions there he was again severely wounded, being shot through the body. At the general election in 1774, he stood for the county of Sussex, in opposition to Sir James Peachey, and succeeded, after a long and very severe contest. The spirit of the freeholders of the county, particularly of the eastern part of it, was roused in his favour, and by their subscriptions the great expenses attending it were defrayed—Sir Thomas having declared, from the beginning, that, to use his own words, "he would not be at any expense, either in carrying, supporting, or ornamenting any voter, or on any other account, except the legal expenses of the poll;" the whole sum, however, expended by himself

amounted to £720.¹ The poll was kept open from the 20th of October to the 16th of November, and the numbers at the conclusion were—For Lord George Lennox, 3589; for Wilson, 1969; for Peachey, 1856. Mr. Harben, of Lewes, writing to Sir Thomas, to invite him to a public dinner, to celebrate the triumph, says, no doubt, with perfect truth, “Since the glorious news of your election, we have been nothing but one continued scene of mirth and jollity and sweet content.”

On the 20th of January, 1780, the noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders of Sussex, met at Lewes in great force, and, after an animated discussion, they came to the conclusion, that England was on the very brink of ruin. They stated, in their petition to Parliament, “that they could not view the rapid decline of the British Empire, without calling upon the Honourable House, by every tie of honour; justice, and religion, to avert the ruin that menaced their lately prosperous and happy nation.”

They spoke in strong language, and with much reason, of the excessive expenditure by the Government, of the exorbitant salaries of public men, and the extravagant pensions and sinecures which were, in many cases, very unworthily bestowed; and then, without any reason at all, they denounced the undue influence of the Crown, with its uncontrolled possession of the public purse, as the chief cause of all our national calamities, and highly dangerous to the liberties of the people.

They spoke also—and here, too, they probably made some great mistakes—of the decay of trade and manufactures, of the high price of money, and the diminished value of land; and—where, too, they were clearly wrong—they declared that the national debt could no longer be supported by the diminished resources of the nation;² and they concluded their petition by praying that no fresh supplies be granted, and no new taxes laid upon the subject, until their just grievances were redressed.

To a letter requesting Sir Thomas Wilson to support their

¹ Some of the items of the accounts are curious; as, for instance:—“Paid a fee of £52. 10s. to council, for assisting the sherriff and his deputy. Bad heads!—N.B. A council is of no use. To some fools, dressed in white, with blue ribbons, who ran before my horses into Findon, and some old women there, £1. 18s. 6d. To

a woman, who, dressed in men’s cloaths, carried a standard before the musick and runners, when the poll closed, £1. 1s. To some hallowing fools at Rottendeau, £1. 1s. For other fools at Uckfield, £1. 1s.”

² The national debt amounted at that time to one hundred and thirty millions.

petition, he replies in a tone somewhat stronger than would suit the constituents of the present day :—

Sir, — Your favour, dated January the 20th ult., inclosing the Sussex Petition to Parliament, being directed to Bond Street, did not reach my hands till yesterday, which, I hope, will apologize for a seeming inattention that would have been unpardonable.

I have a very high respect for the signers of that petition, and never condemning any one for differing in opinion with me on political or other matters, and always presuming that principle alone is the guide, I have a right to expect the same indulgence from others. I most undoubtedly should wish to have every part of my conduct approved of by those whose judgment and principles I respect; but, as I connect myself with no party whatsoever, I will, in matters which I think myself competent, judge for myself, always most heartily adopting a good measure, though it should come from my greatest enemy; and rejecting an improper one, though proposed by the person I most esteem. Some grievances urged in the petition to exist, are what every man not benefitted by their existence must wish reformed, *and no man more so than myself*. Part of the resolutions (if my health had permitted me to attend the meeting) I never could have joyned in, and the latter part of the prayer I most undoubtedly should have objected to. I trust, sir, that this letter, expressing my sentiments, will by you be made known to the county of Sussex at large.

I am, Sir, with the highest respect for the Signers of the Petition, and the Noblemen and Gentlemen composing the Committee, their and your most obliged and very humble servant,

Welbeck Street, April 7th, 1780.

THOMAS SPENCER WILSON.

To William Frankland, Esq., Chairman of a Committee appointed by a Meeting of Noblemen, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others, Inhabitants of the County of Sussex, held at Lewes, January the 20th, 1780.

The feelings with which Sir Thomas Wilson entered Parliament were not such as would keep him there long. In a note appended to the account of his election expenses, he says :—

I was at this expense merely as a point of honour, to stand forth in compliment to those who so singularly honoured me with their nomination. I never had the least intent to offer myself as a candidate, having a hearty contempt for the House of Commons, which is at present not much abated.

June the 1st, 1777.

He retired from the representation of the county at the general election, on the plea of ill health.

He was certainly a man of very high spirit, and honest, independent character. General Elliott, the defender of Gibraltar, wrote to him thus, on the occasion of his success :—

After many thanks for so early a communication of the wished event, I must join with you in congratulating the county on such spirited behaviour. * * 'Tis a mode of election quite agreeable to my real (though perhaps unrefined) notions of Government; 'tis a rally to the antient custom, which I little expected to see in our day; 'tis the very best of lessons to the gentleman and

to the freeholder. I can't help transmitting to you an anecdote which evinces how nearly our sovereign observes his subjects and servants. The King, at his levée, speaking of your contest during the poll, said to me, in the hearing of many, *Sir Thomas Wilson I know to be an honest man.*

He was a man, too, of a hasty, impatient spirit. His friend Bryant was well aware of this. In one of his letters he tells him that "As the Duke of Marlborough was purchasing some things in a shop in Paris, a ragged footman came in and brought an officer's sword-knot to be perfumed, which was done by clapping it once or twice between two sweet-bags. The ragamuffin had it then returned to him, upon which he laid down a few sous, and, with a bow and a smile, retired. I would not have had you, my dear Wilson, a witness to this foppery for the world. You would certainly have kicked the fellow out of the shop, and I would not answer for your behaviour to his master." Lord Downe, Colonel of the 25th Regiment, and one of the most distinguished officers in the British army, who was killed in the early part of his career, at the battle of Camperdown, thus writes to his friend:—

In the midst of the dissipation of Munster pleasures, you, who are wont to be immutable, will not, I hope, take it ill if one whom you used to favour with your smiles, even in your hottest moments, desires you immediately to send, by estafette to Steinfort, any letters or packets that arrive from England for me or for the regiment. Are you (he adds) the haughty gallant Wilson, or are you the gallant sentimental philosopher over the fireside?

And his faithful old friend General La Faussille, writing to him from Wells, in 1761, implores him to give way a little more to the foibles of other men than to his own:—

Though I honour your honest and fair plain dealing, I cannot down with the thought of your missing preferment, and perhaps throwing away your services, and the little you have earned at the hazard of your life, rather than bridle an unruly member. * * Would to God you would be a little of a courtier; I am satisfied I should then have the great satisfaction, if this war continues, in a couple of years more to see you Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant and Brigadier on some expedition or other. Excuse the freedom of the advice of an old man, who wishes you well from his heart, and success wherever you go.

In spite of this Hotspur temper, he had many warm and attached friends, and among them there was Lieutenant-Colonel Corbett Parry, who, upon his deathbed, bequeathed to him a ring, with the following plaintive inscription:—

This ring is presented to Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, Baronet, as a memorial of one who found him a true friend. Happy for us had he met with such friendship from those who ought to have rewarded him for his long and faithful services.

Sir Thomas Wilson died in 1798.

NOTICES OF RICHARD CURTEYS, BISHOP OF
CHICHESTER, 1570 to 1582.

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

IN the Note Books of Bishop White Kennett, among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, is a memorandum from the work of Richard Coortesse, D.D., Bishop of Chichester, published in 1577, which, in a Preface to the Reader, has a bearing upon the state of Sussex, in regard to the great body of its inhabitants at that period. He was a Lincolnshire man, and of St. John's College, Cambridge, whence he wrote, 17th Dec., 1565 (MSS., State Paper Office), reporting the names of the tutors and students, and that nearly all had conformed in wearing the surplice, pursuant to the Queen's injunctions; but in January following, being discouraged by the strange proceedings at Cambridge, he was advised by Sir H. Cheney to remove. He became chaplain to Archbishop Parker, and in November, 1566, was made Dean of Chichester. On 26th November, in that year, the Archbishop wrote to Cecil, saying he was glad of the appointment, and wishing that a prebend in Canterbury, then vacant, should be given to Curteys, "for his better furniture." (Parker, *Corr.* p. 291.) He was also chaplain to the Queen. On the death of Bishop Barlow, in August, 1568, Parker recommended Curteys for the vacant see of Chichester, saying, "the choice is not great elsewhere, and, he being an honest learned man, I would trust that he should well supply it to God's honour and to the Queen's contentation. He is now but a poor man, and wanteth living; his age is competent." (*Ib.* p. 332.) No appointment then took place; the Queen, however, granted him the prebend in Canterbury, which he does not seem ever to have occupied,

and at length, on 15th April, 1570, the vacant see of Chichester was filled up by his election.

Among the MSS. Coll. Arms (Vincent 162, p. 120), is a grant, in 1569-70, by Gilbert Detheycke, Knight, Garter, of the following arms to Richard Coorteyes, D.D. (without any description to show his descent):—Palé of Or and Az., a fess chequy Ar. and Sa., three martlets of the first.

The bishop's name in the title-page of his own work is written Coortesse; Le Neve, in his *Fasti Eccl. Angli.*, calls him Curteys; Bishop Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca*, Curtoys. In Herbert's *Ames*, the bishop, in one place, stands as Richard Curtis.

The work, the title of which follows, was unknown both to Ames and Herbert: *An Exposition of certayne Wordes of St. Paule to the Romaines, entituled by an old writer, Hugo, a Treatise of the Workes of thre Dayes. Also, another Worke of the Truthe of Christ's naturall Body.* By Richarde Coortesse, Docter of Divinitie, and Bishop of Chichester. *Imprinted by H. Jackson, for William Brome. 1577.*

Preface to the Reader, in commendation of the Author:—

First, over and beside his ordinary preaching upon Sondays and Holidays, he hath gone three times through this whole diocese of Chichester, preaching himselfe at the greatest towns, and many learned preachers with him, in other places. And this last sommer was accepted of the substance both of gentlemen, preachers, and people of the whole shire exceeding well, and in suche sorte as the like hath not been seen in the memory of man, to any of the calling in this country. And whereas it was a rare thing before his time to heare a learned sermon in Sussex, now the pulpittes in most places sound continually with the voyce of learned and godly preachers, he himself, as *Dux gregis*,¹ giving good example unto the rest in so grave and learned manner, that the people, with ardent zeale, wonderfull rejoicing, and in great number, take farre and long jorneyes to be partakers of his good and godly lessons.

We are assured that the rooting out of bad and unlearned curates, and the planting of zealous and learned preachers, hath been occasion to him of great expenses and charge. And so, within these six yeares, he hath brought into

¹ Strype states that some of his sermons were printed. Four are preserved in the Library of the British Museum, viz., 14th March, 1574, preached before the Queen, at Greenwich, from Eccl. xiii. 1—7, edited, with MS. notes, by T. Browne, and published on request; a second edition appearing in 1579, and the editor excusing himself for not being able to reproduce in

the printing the eloquence and force of the speaker: 6th March, 1575, preached before the Queen, at Richmond, from Judges i. 1—13: 4th March, 1576, at Paul's Cross, from the Apoc. xii. 1—9; and on the third Sunday in Lent, in the same year, before the Queen, at Westminster, from Acts xx. 28—31.

this diocese, and preferred, or been the meanes of the preferring, of twenty preachers, which be well able to preache in any learned audience in this realme.¹ And by the diligent preaching and other exercising of himself and these in the Scriptures, hath trayned up a xl. more in such sort that they be sufficient enough to preach to any ordinary audience.—He hath travelled in the suppressing of Machevils, Papistes,² Libertines, Atheists, and such other erroneous persons; in the maintayning of poor fatherless children against the oppressor; the protecting of widows from the violent; the releasing of strangers for the Gospel's sake; the punishment of fornicators and adulterers; the withstanding of robbers and pyrates; the restrayning of such as unnaturally carry away grayne,³ victuals, and other the commodities of this realme, and in the meeting with simoniack practises, &c.: for the which good deeds (such is the malice of Sathan and his lims), most bitter and bad speeches are throwne out agaynst him: yea, and certaine hyred and suborned to go from nobleman to nobleman, from justiciaries to justiciaries,⁴ from common table to common table,⁵ and, to be brief, from place and person to place and person, to carry such tales and surmises as the informer knowith to be false, and the reporter is meer ignorant of.

“But the scholler is not above his master,” &c. And surely we, for our partes, have often times wondred at his constancie and patience, that whereas we see others so overcome with importunity of slaundersous and infamous reportes and great enemyes, when he heareth any lewd and opprobrious speeches spread of him, he is no whit moved, but onely answereth, “It is for

¹ He had been one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, at the head of whom was Parker, who, on 7th June, 1571, issued their instructions to churchwardens and others, in no wise to suffer any minister to minister any sacrament or say any public prayers, except as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer and the Queen's laws, or any person, publicly or privately, to teach, read, or preach in any public place of worship, or private house, unless licensed to preach by the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of the diocese.—Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 382.

² In March, 1576-7, he cited several before him at Chichester (see *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. III. p. 90, and *Strype's Annals*, pt. ii.), and he wrote to Walsingham on the same day (State Paper Office), stating that those who were backward in religion, grew worse and worse, and recommended the administration of the oath of supremacy at the next sessions. In reporting his examinations on 6th April, he declared that he found, on his late visitation, that many were unsound; and on the 13th, answering the complaints made by Sir Thos. Palmer and others against him to the Council, he declared that what he had done, had been done plainly and uprightly.

³ James Hore, of Waterford, had sought

his permission to export grain, and complaint was made of his compliance with the request; whilst the Council authorized Michael Hoare, at the same time, to transport 90 quarters of wheat to Ireland.—MSS. State Paper Office.

⁴ On 26th April, 1577, a series of articles were exhibited by the Justices of Sussex, declaring the injuries and wrongs done to them. Commissioners were appointed to examine him; and at the conclusion of the conferences, they prescribed conditions for his observance.—MS. State Paper Office.

⁵ He was obliged, in June, 1577, to procure a testimonial, under the hands and seals of several gentlemen, that he was not drunk at Mr. John Sherwin's house, as by some he was most unjustly slandered. (MS. State Paper Office.) In 1579, however, he was called upon to deprive his brother, Edmund Coortesse, of the vicarage of Cuckfield and canony in Chichester, as a “lewd vicar, void of all learning, a scoffer at singing of psalms, a seeker to witches, a drunkard,” &c. The bishop adroitly waved the delicate task, and, on Jan. 5th, 1581, the Bishop of London was directed to proceed to the deprivation of the vicar.—MS. State Paper Office; *Strype's Annals*, ii. b. ii. pp. 277-8.

doynge my duty. My master, Christ, escaped not evill tongues, and St. Paul counselleth us to go on by good reportes and evil reportes, *et a malis vituperari et laudari est*; and *Benedicit mihi Deus propter maledictiones istas*. GOD will bless me for these curses;” and never thinketh more of the matter.

It is also apparent to the eyes of men, what cost he hath, and doth from tyme to tyme bestow, in repaying of his houses, and hospitalite to men of all degrees, and especially upon the poor, whom he doth often and in great numbers feed in his hall after his sermons, &c.

In Sussex, 16th December, 1576.

Your beloved in the Lord, the Preachers of the Diocese of Chichester:—

HENRY BLAXTON, M.A., of Clarehal, in Cambridge, and Preacher.

THOMAS GILLINGHAM, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, Preacher.

DANYELL GARDYNER, M.A., of Clare Hall, in Cambr., and Preacher.

WILLIAM COALL, of St. John's Coll., in Cambr., M.A.

RICHARD FLETCHER, S.T.B., nuper Socius et Præses Coll. Corporis Christi, Acad. Cant. nunc Minister Ecclesiæ.

(And above thirty more.)

After the Bishop's death, an Inventory (partially printed in Strype's *Annals*, iii. b. i. p. 482) was taken of the Bishop's goods, and is to be found in Lansd. MS. LIV. art. 44.

A Collection made of the Goods of the late Bisshopp of Chichester, according to the Retorne made by Tho. Bowyer, Richard Lewkenor, and George Bynyon, Commissioners.

At Aldingborne.—Imprimis, viij oxen, xxli. Item, viij steares, xvjli. It. xxij kyne, xxviiijli. It. ij bulls, lvjs. It. ij sucklinge calves, xvjs. It. j weyner, iijs. iiij*d.* It. v stone horses, xli. It. v geldings, xvli. viijs. iiij*d.* It. v colts, cs. It. iij suckinge coltes, xxxs. It. ij naggcs, xls. It. xxxj wethers, ewes, and lambes, vjli. It. xxxj hogges, vjli. viijs. iiij*d.* It. xxxiiij loads of hay, xiiijli. xvs. It. xxv q^{rs} of wheate, xxvli. It. iij loads of pease, xxxs. It. certeine planks of okes, xvjs. It. xxx^{tie} tonne of rough tymber, vli.—Sma. ciiij^{xx} xjli. iijs.

*At Chesworth.*¹—Item, vj drawinge oxen, xvli. It. iij ffatt oxen, xivli. It. viij weyners, lxivs. It. lx loads of wood, cs. It. ij paire of iron-bound wheles, liijs. iiij*d.* It. iij ploughes, w^t their furniture, xvs. It. vij plough cheynes, xjs. viij*d.* It. vj yokes, xs. It. ij dounge carts, w^t j paire wheles, xiijs. iiij*d.* It. iij weynes, xijs. iiij*d.* It. j cart, viijs. It. ij nebbes for dounge carts, ijs. It. j paire of doble start ropes, xi*d.* It. x bushels of salt, xs. It. iij paire of shott harneys, and harness for a tiller, xxxs. It. iij harrowes, xs.—Sma. xlviijli. viij*d.*

At Aldingborne.—It. iij great bowles, gilt, xvijli. It. iij lesser bowles, gilt, w^t ij covers, xiiijli. It. j gilt bowle, chased, lxvjs. viij*d.* It. j great salt, with a cover, gilt, cs. It. j silver salt, not gilt, lxvjs. viij*d.* It. a treacher salt, gilt, xxs. It. ij litle bowles, gilt, cs. It. ij litle cupp bowles, thone white, thother gilt, lxs. It. ij gilt cups, xli. It. ij stone

¹ Qu. Horsham.—See *Sussex Arch. Coll.* VIII. p. 36.

potts, cou'ed w^t silver, xs. It. xxiiij^{tho} sylver spones, vj*li*. It. the bedding, with the furniture, the lynnenn, and the diaper, lxxvi*li*. xiijs. It. walnuct-tree planks, xls. It. Doctor Ffleetcher endebted, xiiij*li*. It. the bishopp's seale, xxxs. It. a garnish and halfe of pewter vessell, xls. It. the bishopp's books, xx*li*. It. the rent of *Amberley Castell*, due at th' Annunciation, 1582, xxvij*li*. It. for soile that was solde, xs. It. vj mares, xxx*li*. xs. It. x saddles, ls. It. grasse sould for xxs. It. j brasse caldron, vs. It. j ffetherbedd, xiijs. iiij*d*. It. bricces, xls. It. j lease, xiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*. It. iiij acres of wheate, liijs. iiij*d*. It. otes, xxxs. It. v plankes, vs. It. j load of ynch board, xs.—Sma. cxlvij*li*.

In the Kitchen at Chesworth.—Item, j brasse pott, xs. It. j brasen ladell, xij*d*. It. j beife pricke, vj*d*. It. ij paire of pott-hangeres, xd. It. ij paire of pott-hooks, xvj*d*. It. j gridiron, xij*d*. It. j paire of iron dogges, xd. It. v spitts, vjs. viij*d*. It. ij dripping-pannes of iron, iijs. It. j brasse pann, vs. It. j paire of cobirons, xiijs. iiij*d*. It. j musterd querne, iiij*d*. It. j mortar and pestell of iron, xij*d*. It. ij skymers, ijs. It. ij brasse potts, vjs. It. j iron oven, xs. It. j ffryinge-pann, viij*d*. It. j tryvett, xvj*d*.

In the Mylke House.—Item, ij brasse kettells, xiijs. vj*d*. It. j brasse pann, viijs. It. j greate chaldron, xijs. It. j tryvett, xvj*d*. It. j warmyng-pann, ijs. It. tubbs, and other necessaries, xs.—Sma. cxiijs. viij*d*.

Sma. tot.—cccc.iiij^{xx} xix*li*. xvijs. iiij*d*.

Percell of the Bishopp's Goods, and not valued.—Item, ij mares. It. j geldinge. It. iiij loads of hay. It. ij tonne of tymber. It. iiij new sylu' potts. It. ij old sylu' potts. It. his parlament robes. It. j veluet quishon, embrowdered with gould and tassaed. It. j silk grogrian gowne, faced with veluet. It. a veluett cassock. It. j other grogrian gowne, faced with veluet. It. j night-gowne of buffyn. It. j cloke lyned with bayes. It. j veluett hatt. It. j bason and ewer, of syluer, layde to paune. It. a mapp. It. ij standing cupps, gilt; and his new yeare's giftes, the nomber not certified. It. ij litle standing cupps. It. a younge sorrell mare, conveyed a way by William Turner. It. vj corsletts, and vj hedd peaces. It. xij calyuers, xij flasketts, xj touch-boxes, and xij chardges. It. vij armed pykes, iiij unarmed pykes. It. xj jackes, x bowes, xij halbeards. It. sheaffe arrowes, powder, and matches; xviiij^{tene} caps and skulles. It. chese. It. iiij dossen and j pece of old pewter vessell. It. vj new great platters. It. vj lesser platters. It. vj dishes, and vj fruit-dishes. It. iiij pewter chamber-potts. It. j pewter still. It. vj porringers, and vi sawcers. It. xij trencher plates. It. iiij pewter candelsticks. It. j bason, j washing pott. It. iiij chargers. It. iiij washing basons. It. j colender, and ij pewter potts. It. j fflaggon of pewter. It. ij pewter pottell potts. It. v pie plates. It. j mynsing-knyfe, a cleaver, and ij chopping-knyves. It. a lead before the rang, ij yardes long, and halfe a yard broad.

In the Parlor at Chesworth.—Item, ij tables, and j side board. It. ij fourmes, and xviiij joined stooles. It. x foot stooles. It. ij cobirons, and j fire-shovell. It. (sic)

James Allen deposeth, that he carried away certeyne bedding, bouldsters, pillowes, and blanketts, by Mrs. Courteis' appointment, ij dores being broken open.

Will'm Acon deposeth, that ther was conveyed by night from Chesworth, certeyne stuff, and that Roger Robinson, Mr. Mervyn's servant, carried from Aldingborne House a cloake-bagge full of stuff, at the comaundment of his master.

Will'm Bryan deposeth, that a young mare was conveyed by Will'm Turnor, or his assignes; and that John Mervyn conveyed ij stone horsse, ij mares, and j geldinge, and j blagge nagg, before the inventory was taken by the sheriff, and not praised.

Humfrey Pevrell deposeth, that Mrs. Couerteis hath the lease of Chisworth.

Will'm Turnor deposeth, that Mrs. Courteys hath a bond, made by Mr. Coppinger unto the Bisshop.

Strype adds, "Item. No hope to recover anything, the bishop's widow being left very poor. So that the weight thereof is to fall upon the next bishop" (Dr. Thos. Bichley). "The woods are so spoiled that there is scarce sufficient for firewood."

The Inventory was, no doubt, taken in 1582; for in the Kennett MSS. is a memorandum, apparently from Archbishop Grindal's own register:—"Spiritualia Episcopat. Cicestr. post mortem Ricardi Epi. ab Archiepiscopi seisita sunt 1 Sept. 1582."

The Sheriff's valuation probably gives a fair estimate of Sussex prices at the date of the Inventory.

By the kindness of Mr. Romilly, the registrar of the University of Cambridge, I am able to give the dates of the Bishop's degrees. He was A.B. 1552-3; A.M. 1556; B.D. 1565; and D.D. 1569. In the grace brought in to enable him to take this degree before the usual time, the name is spelt Coortesse. The degree was to be conferred either within the University or elsewhere, by the Vice-Chancellor, or some other Doctor of Divinity acting as his deputy; and there is a memorandum that he was actually admitted to his degree by Gabriel Goodman (acting as deputy for Vice-Chancellor Young), Dean of Westminster, in that room of his ordinary habitation commonly called the Jerusalem Chamber. Dr. Curteys was Fellow of St. John's College.

NOTICE OF THE SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE CHURCH AT BOLNEY.

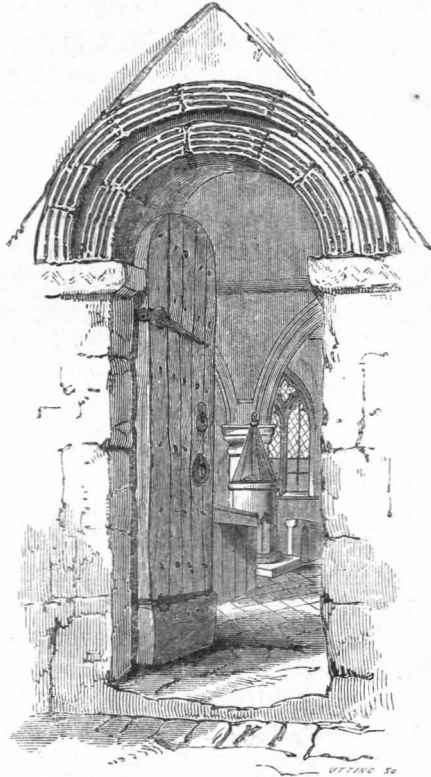
BY THE REV. JOSEPH DALE.

ON coming into residence at Bolney, in the autumn of 1849, I observed, in passing through the porch, that the outside of the lofty and very ancient door of the church had, when shut, very little more than two-thirds of its height visible, the upper part being concealed by a large beam, resting on the extremity of the side walls of the porch, and by a flat ceiling, about two feet below the apex of the pointed roof of the same. It was not long, however, before I detected a series of grooves, about two or three inches in length, behind the top part of the beam and the ceiling.

I was aware that the porch was a comparatively modern structure, for on the gable, over its entrance, is the date of 1718, with the names of the minister, churchwardens, and sidesmen—perpetuating their memory with a specimen of as bad taste and barbarous mutilation as ever a village convocation could boast of, and we know that they were too generally disposed to magnify themselves on such performances; so I determined to have a look behind this beam and ceiling; for, though warned by a conceited mason that the removal of the beam would endanger the walls, I felt satisfied that I should find something well worth the pains of searching; and sure enough I at once exposed to view, after a concealment of one hundred and thirty years, the arch of the doorway, as it appears in the annexed engraving, which too plainly shows that the two south chamfers of the stones, or *abaci*, from which the arch springs, have been roughly chiselled, or rudely knocked off, to admit of the beam being laid flush on the outward church wall.

It is also apparent, from the sketch, that the very contracted ideas or sheer purblindness of the builder could not observe plenty of space on the church wall to carry the roof

clear of the circles over the arch, though he had plainly before him the marks, evident to this day, of the loftier pitch of a former porch, which had allowed of a fair and ample display of the arch.



Arch of Doorway.

The former porch is said to have been of timber, probably like those at Cowfold and elsewhere; and my neighbour, Mr. John Wood, of Hickstead, informs me that some portions of it were used in the building of a dovecot (since taken down) at Bolney Place, and that he has inserted one of the rather ornamental front rafters over the porch of a house he has lately built at Hickstead Westover.

But to the character and probable date of our church doorway, and its liberated arch.

Though I cannot at once refer to the passage, I have a distinct recollection, that in the last or penultimate volume of

our *Sussex Collections*, it is mentioned by one of our members, I believe Mr. Sharp, that there are portions of Saxon workmanship in the church at Bolney. I had for some time before been inclined to consider the arch in question, as well as all the walls of the nave, to be ante-Norman, for in the north wall of the same, which was taken down in 1853, to allow of the extra accommodation of a capacious north aisle, there was a doorway, built up, as it would seem, many years ago, which, though it had no decoration in its arch, was rather lower than the south door, and of the same outline.

I am far from professing a decided opinion on the subject, yet, as far as my own limited experience goes, I do not remember to have seen any so-called Norman doorway of similar proportions to the one at Bolney; for, from the pavement to the centre of the arch, it measures nearly nine feet, whilst its width does not exceed three feet.

In regard to the original windows of the church, they bore quite as ample testimony of Saxon masonry. There are now only two of these windows existing, and they are in the chancel, north and south; their measurement, outside, being only 28 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, whilst the interior of the splay is, in height, 4 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 3 feet in width. I find that all the windows of the nave and chancel were at first of this character, for (before the late extension and alterations) there were such window-places, built up, in the north wall; and in converting a large *mullion*-less churchwarden's window, on the south, into a becoming Early English, we found, close to it, the remains of one of these Saxon window-places.

I think, then, it may fairly be assumed that the walls of the nave and chancel, with the south doorway and two windows in the chancel, are of Saxon masonry.

But now, though our archæologists may probably congratulate me on the discovery of the arch, with its semicircular decorations, I feel that I shall have their condolence, when I inform them that a very few years before I came to Bolney, a fine old *zigzagged* chancel arch, flanked by two smaller ones, was taken down, and replaced by a tall staring pointed arch, *plain to ugliness*. I was careful, however, to have this great unseemly gap reduced to decent dimensions, by the erection, during the late alterations, of an Early English opening, in

good keeping with the new arches between the old nave and our new aisle.

I am inclined to think that part of one of the simple columns from which the Saxon arch sprung, has found a resting-place at the south-west angle of the manse, stationed there, I conclude, to keep off the carriage-wheels. The massive *abaci* are degraded to *stepping-stones*, on each side of the upright stile at the south-east corner of the churchyard. This notice of their "whereabouts" may be interesting to my successors here.

There was, too, in those days of devastation, as I am told by an eyewitness, a fine old Norman font of Purbeck marble, a little dilapidated, but very mendable. This, also, was discarded for a tall and slender bottle-shaped article, fitter in its proportions for the style of a garden sundial than for any other use. I have removed this, and replaced it with a handsome and becoming font (the gift of Mrs. Marshall), from the design of our talented architect, Mr. Woodyer, of Guildford.

It would appear that when the aforesaid abominations were perpetrated, there could not have been any one amongst us competent to form or offer an opinion on subjects connected with church architecture; nor can we therefore be astonished that, when Mr. Horsfield was preparing his valuable *History of Sussex*, and seeking information from persons whom, from their residence on the spot, he thought most likely to afford it, he should have received the following account, so very "wide of the mark":—

"The church is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. The tower appears to be the most ancient part, and is supposed to have been built in the early part of the reign of Henry VII.; the other *parts are of later date.*"

An announcement this, involving the trifling error of some five hundred years, it may be, in calculating upon the relative dates of the church and its tower. The Tudor style of the latter speaks in some degree for itself—besides that, the Bolney churchwardens' accounts, as inserted in the sixth volume of our *Archæological Collections*, fix the date of its building in the 29th year of Henry VIII., whereas the church, as has been shown, is an ante-Norman structure.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLS OF EU, AND SOME OF THEIR PRESUMED DESCENDANTS.

BY WILLIAM SMITH ELLIS, ESQ.

I PROPOSE, in this brief paper, to bring together some facts, and to offer some speculations, that may serve to elucidate a very obscure period in genealogical history, namely, the first hundred and fifty years after the Conquest, and that may assist those who have occasion to investigate the genealogy of East Sussex; and furthermore, for that purpose, to give a pedigree of the Earls of Eu, compiled chiefly from the best authority on the early Noblesse of France, viz., *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*.

The two chief feudal tenants of the Earls of Eu in the rape of Hastings, were the St. Legers and Echinghams, who, from their large holdings, were doubtless near relatives of their feudal chiefs; and as the arms they bore, viz., a fret or fretty, were very prevalent in some form in that part of the county, and moreover were borne by the family of Maltravers,¹ who, in other counties, were under-tenants of the great Barons of the rape of Hastings, it may be fairly presumed that this bearing was that which was used by one, at least, of the early earls, and was assumed by scions of his family.² In the case of the three families just mentioned, there are no data to determine more particularly their affiliation; but there are coats containing fretty, borne by the families of Dene and Ore, which may be fairly traced to one of the early earls, and, with other cir-

¹ See a very full account of this family in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. vi. pp. 334-361.

² The fret would seem to have been the ensign of the earldom of Eu: it was borne by the Vernons, presumed descendants from the first race of the Earls of Eu.—(See pedigree *ad finem*.) Duke Robert of Normandy deprived the sons of Gilbert

Earl of Eu, of Brionne. William the Conqueror, on his marriage with the daughter of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, restored them Orbec and Bienfaite, and Mole and Sap; and, whilst Duke of Normandy, gave Vernon sur Seine and Brionne to his kinsman Guy of Burgundy, which again fell into his hands after the battle of Val-es-Dunes, 1047.—*Ord. Vit.* and *L'Art*, &c.

cumstances, appear to throw light on the descent of some manors and families.

Ralph de Dene, whose name occurs so often in previous volumes of our *Collections*, father of Ela de Sackville, sealed with the heraldic bearing fretty, the tincture of the charge and shield being ascertained from its blazonry in the windows of Withyham Church, and its occurrence in the quarterings of the family of Bysshe along with that of Marcy, who remarried Ela.¹ We might therefore suppose this Ralph a descendant of the Earls of Eu; and so most probably he was, in the female line; for, from the circumstance that the rest of his family, that is, the descendants of his father, bore three leopards' faces, it is pretty clear that the latter were his paternal arms, and, from that and other circumstances, it is scarcely doubtful that he was descended, in the male line, from Amfridus de Hastings, governor of the town which gave name to his family, in the time of the Conqueror, brother of Turstain de Gouiz (grandfather of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester), and progenitor of the families of Tilly, Hastings, Hastang, Despenser, &c., who bore indiscriminately leopards' faces and *fleurs-de-lis*.² But Mr. Lower's comprehensive paper on the Lords of Bodiam, in our last volume, has suggested to me an inquiry that seems to lead at once to the explanation of the use of the fretty coat by Ralph de Dene, and the origin of the family of De Bodiam.

The following are the notices under the name of "Osbern," from the Sussex Domesday:—

Osborn holds *Penherst* of the Earl of Eu.

Of the land of the villains of this manor (*Hou*, held by the earl in domain) Osbern holds two yokelands.

Osbern holds two roodlands of this district, viz., *Francwelle*, held by the Earl of Eu.

Osborn holds *Bexlei* (Bexhill) of the Earl of Eu. Under the Saxon Prince it was rated at twenty hides, and so it continues. Osbern has ten hides of the same district.

In this hundred (*Hailsaliede*) Hugh holds a manor from the earl. * * The same Osborn holds a roodland of the earl in *Beche*.

Osbern Fitz-Geoffrey holds five hides, in *Lestone*, of the earl.

In *Stochingham* Osborn has a cottager paying 12*d*. In *Achingewurde*

¹ See *Historical Notices of Withyham*, by the Hon. and Rev. Reginald Sackville West; and Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, pedigree of Bysshe.

² See D'Anisy's *Récherches sur les Fa-*

milles de Domesday, p. 249; and Wiffen's *Memoirs of the House of Russell*, i. 119. On this origin of the family of Hastings, &c., I purpose, at a future period, to offer a paper for publication in these *Collections*.

Osborn has one plough in the demesne, a villain with one plough and two acres of meadow. In *Echenton*, Osborn has three villains with three ploughs. In *Waldene*, Osborn has a villain with five oxen.

Osborn Fitz-Geoffry holds half a hide in *Willedon* of the earl. In *Farle*, Osborn has a villain with one plough.

In *Hecton*, Osborn has two villains with a plough.

In Staple hundred :—

Osborn holds a hide and three roodlands, in *Bodeham*, of the manor of *Werste*.

Osborn holds two roodlands in *Waliland*.

Osborn holds *Basingeham* of the earl ; the value is 8s.

The following are held of the Earl of Moreton :—

Osborn holds four hides of the earl in *Telentone*; the value is 20s.

Osborn holds four hides of this territory, viz., *Willendone*.

Osborn holds *Dene* of the earl ; the value is 20s. Ralph holds eight hides of the earl in *Dene*.

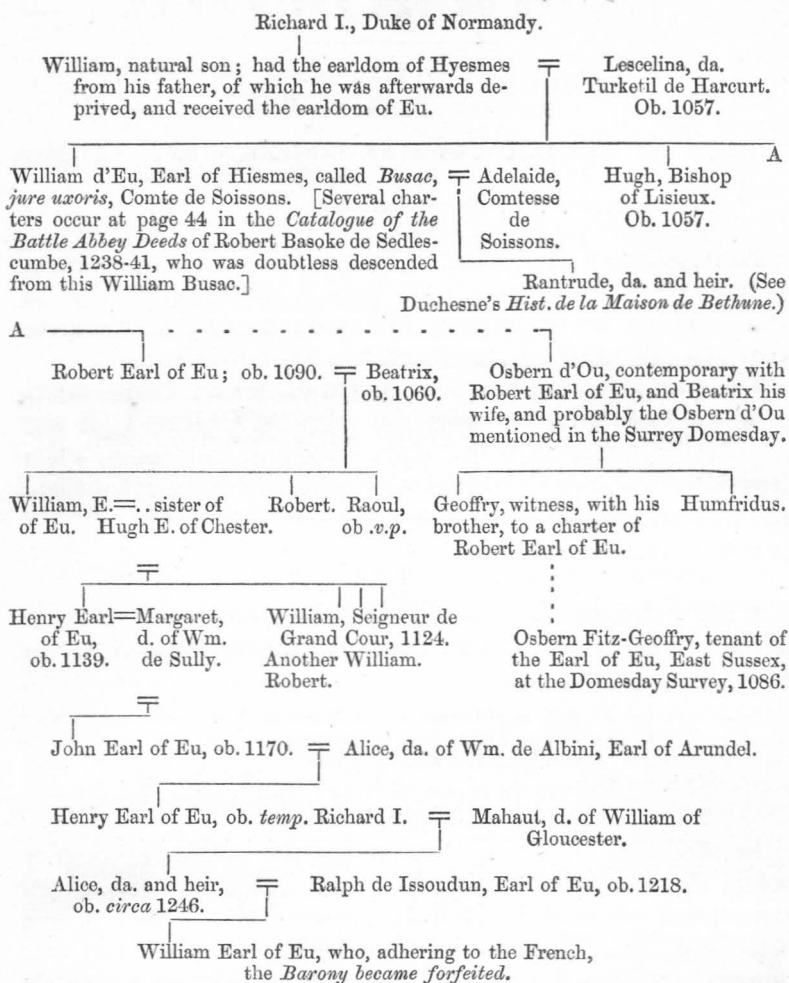
From which it appears that Osbern holds Dene of the Earl of Moreton, one Ralph holding eight hides of land in [the manor of] Dene. Now, in the *Pipe Roll* of 1131, a Ralph de Dene occurs, and in the *Liber Niger* of 1166 the same name is met with, but evidently a different person, probably son of the former, the first, it may be, the Ralph of Domesday, or a son of that name. It would seem, therefore, that in 1131 the possession of Osbern had centered in Ralph, doubtless by marriage. Various hypotheses may now be indulged. The Osbern in the foregoing notices may fairly be presumed to be one and the same person, though sometimes the suffix of "Fitz-Geffry" is added, which, however, is of great assistance in assigning him his parentage. For, in the *Collection des Cartulaires de France*, edited by M. Guerard, in page 126 of vol. iii., containing the cartulary of the Abbey of St. Trinity, at Rouen, is a charter of Robert Earl of Ou, and Beatrix his wife, the witnesses to which, amongst others, were Geoffry, son of Osbern de Ou, and Ansfridus his brother. Here, if we have not the Osbern in question, we have probably a very near relative, at least a proof that Osbern and Geoffrey were family names of the Earls of Eu. If the Osbern, then, who held a hide and three roodlands in [the manor of] Bodiham, of the manor of Werste (Ewhurst), held by the earl in domain (nothing being said of the tenant of Bodiham itself, which was held by the earl, it would seem as a subinfeudation of Ewhurst), be the same as the Osbern who held Dene, either he must have left two or more coheireses, one of whom married Ralph de

Dene, and another the next lord of Bodiham after Osborn (who we learn, not from Domesday, but from the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, was actually its lord at one time), although Mr. Lower assumes a son to be the next nameless lord; or, a son of Osborn left a heiress, who carried Dene to Ralph. On either supposition, the assumption of the fretty coat by Ralph de Dene will be accounted for. But a difficulty, yet unnoticed, presents itself. The monks, speaking of Osborn, call him Fitz-Hugh, not Fitz-Geoffrey. If their designation be correct, then there were two distinct Osborns, or the Domesday designation is erroneous. But neither one nor the other is so likely as that the *Chronicle*, written long after the time, should be incorrect in this particular; for monastic statements, except of contemporary occurrences, are well known to be frequently untrustworthy.

By a dateless deed in the *Catalogue of Battle Abbey Charters* (page 8), it appears that Henry Lord of Bodiham enfeoffed Robert de Ore of all his lands, called Ore, and Kemehethe, &c., in the parish of Battle. The arms of the family of Ore were a bend *fretty*; and this circumstance, along with the grant of land, may justify the belief that the Ores were a branch of the Bodiams. Among the witnesses to the deed cited, are Richard de Esburneham and Henry de Penehurst. Now, Penhurst, it will be seen, was one of the Domesday manors of Osborn, and the family so named was, doubtless, descended from him, though their arms, resembling those of the Ashburnhams, would appear (especially from the above juxtaposition of names) to denote a connection with that family.

Another heraldic circumstance may be mentioned that countenances the foregoing view: one of the coats of the family of De Dene is a *fess dancetté*; this, charged with bezants, is the coat of the later De Bodiams, which might have been obtained on marrying with a De Dene, who would have equally relinquished the paternal coat for the new bearing. In fact, till the practice arose of impaling and quartering arms, hereditary arms were so frequently abandoned for the arms of the wife, if an heiress, that it is generally supposed coat armour was not hereditary at an early period, but that the different bearings met with in the same family, showed an arbitrary and irregular adoption.

II.



indicate the *families* to be identical, or of common origin. Mr. Stapleton does not identify the William de Vernon of 1053 with the William de Reviere of 1060, but they were doubtless the same person. Four Vernons are mentioned in Domesday Book, who are supposed to be of this family. Their descent is given in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. iii. Mr. Stapleton derives the Reviere from the vill of Reviere in the Bessin; but there was a fief called De la Reviere, in the Cotentin, whose owners bore a FRET. (*Mem. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie*, xiv. 200.) The latter are mentioned as far back

as 940. The bearing of the Vernons of Vernon was the same. Such, too, was the ensign of the baronial family of Verdun (mentioned in Domesday). They were probably derived from the Counts or Viscounts of Verdun (vide *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, xiii. 444), and, from heraldic reasons, it would seem the two families and places had a common origin; though both Verdun and Vernon are mentioned as early as the ninth century, and both in the next century at least, if not earlier, had distinct Counts and Viscounts.

SMUGGLING IN SUSSEX.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

THE system of smuggling in Sussex, and the neighbouring counties on the seacoast, dates from a period long prior to that in which heavy customs duties on imports encouraged, what is locally and technically called, "the free-trader."

The southern counties were first used for an illicit export trade in wool; and, till after the reign of Charles I., it was only during our wars with France, Holland, and Spain, when the products of those countries were prohibited here, that there was an illicit import trade of any magnitude.

EXPORT SMUGGLING.

A few notes on the wool trade will best illustrate the origin of the illegal export of that article, of which Dryden, in his *King Arthur*, says:—

Though Jason's fleece was famed of old,
The British wool is growing gold:
No mines can more of wealth supply.
It keeps the peasant from the cold,
And takes for kings the Tyrian dye.

In the reign of Edward I., among the articles of inquiry before the jurors on the hundred rolls, 1274, was the illegal exportation of wool;¹ the Sussex return shows that it had been sent from Shoreham.² Soon after an export duty was imposed, on English wool, of 20*s.* a bag (or £3 of our money), increased to 40*s.* (or £6) in 1296; then lowered to half a mark a bag; and, ultimately, the higher duty was again imposed. At this time the price of English wool was 6*d.* a pound (or 1*s.* 6*d.* of our money), and many English merchants transported themselves with it.

Attempts to prohibit the exportation of wool were however

¹ Henry III. had been advised to permit the export to Holland and Brabant, at a duty of 5 marks the sack; and it was calculated that this duty, willingly paid,

would yield 110,000 mks. (£66,333. 13*s.* 4*d.*), implying an export of 22,000 sacks) in six months.—BLAAUW'S *Barons' War*, Ap. p. 2.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 203-209.

made by Edward III. That monarch had offered great facilities to the Flemings, to establish the woollen manufactures in this country: in 1336, the mayors and bailiffs of Winchelsea, Chichester (and twelve other ports out of Sussex), were directed not to allow the export till the duty had been paid;¹ and he had so far succeeded, that the cloth produced in the year 1337 was sufficient to enable him to prohibit the wear of any clothes made beyond seas, and to interdict the export of English wool, under the penalties, which then attached to capital felonies. His anticipations, however, were not realised. The merchants of Middlebourg, and afterwards of Calais, had great facilities for evading the English law; they clandestinely exported foreign cloths to England, and imported the wool smuggled out of this country.² The law was so severe, that it became useless; the punishment of loss of life and limb was soon repealed. In 1341, Winchelsea, Chichester (and thirteen other ports not in Sussex), were named, from which wool might be exported, on payment of a duty of 50*s.* a sack;³ and licenses were granted for all who should give 40*s.* upon a pack of wool of 240 pounds, beyond the due custom of half a mark a pack. The next step taken by Edward was, to regulate the price of wool; and accordingly, in 1343, an act was passed, fixing, for three years, the price of Kent, Sussex, and Middlesex wool—the best wool being fixed at nine marks (or £8. 3*s.* 6*d.* of our money), and marsh at 100*s.* (or £13. 14*s.* 6*d.* of our money), showing the distinction between the two breeds of short and long woolled sheep in this country. Similar attempts at regulating the price were, from time to time, made by the Legislature. In 1353, they gave the King the duty of 50*s.* a sack⁴ on exported wool; and, by the same statute, Chichester was one of the ten towns in England appointed as staples for weighing the wool. Ten years later, the staple was established at Calais, and there was a prohibition on exportation elsewhere; this so lowered the price of wool, that in 1390 the growers had three, four, and five years' crop unsold; and, in the next year, liberty was given

¹ Rymer's *Fœd.* (1821), ii. p. 944.

² In 1340, the greatest store of wool was conveyed by stealth.—John Smith's *Memoirs of Wool*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1747; vol. i. p. 30.

³ Rymer's *Fœd.* ii. p. 1158.

⁴ A sack was to contain twenty-six stones of fourteen pounds each, or 364 pounds.

to export generally, on payment of a duty. In 1363, it was declared that all merchants and others, for their ease, might ship wools at Lewes, where the customers of Chichester were directed to take the customs.¹ In 1368, Chichester was still among the places for the staple; but in 1402 (4th Hen. IV.), the Lewes burgesses prayed² that wool might be again weighed, for home consumption and for shipment, at that town as well as at Chichester, because they were near the sea, and a great part of the wool was grown near there, and the town and neighbourhood were inhabited by many great merchants.

At this period, licenses were freely granted for the export of wool, to any part of the Continent, on payment of a heavy duty to the crown. It was to evade this duty that the smuggling trade was carried on. When, in 1423,³ it was enacted that no license should be granted to export the "slight," *i. e.*, the short "wools of Southampton, Kent, Sussex, and York," except to the staple at Calais, a still more direct encouragement was given to the men of the coast to evade the law; and, in 1436, wharves⁴ were assigned for the shipping of wool, to avoid the damage done to the King by those who shipped their wools in divers secret places and creeks, "stealing and conveying the same, not customed, to divers parts beyond the seas, and not to Calais." The shippers were required to find sureties, and to bring back from Calais certificates of unloading there.

The price of wool fell considerably; and, in 1454, it was not much more than two-thirds of its price 110 years previously; the wool-growers were alarmed, and their representatives in the Commons complained of the great "abundance of wools, as well by stealth as by license, uttered into the parts beyond the sea,"⁵ and prayed that wool might not be sold under certain prices; Shropshire marsh wool was fixed at fourteen marks; Kent at £3, instead of 100*s.*; Sussex at 50*s.*; and Hants at seven marks a sack; whilst in the next reign of Edward IV., it was enacted that no alien should export wool, and denizens only to Calais.

In 1547, under Edward VI., complaints were made as to the falling off in the amount of duty due to the crown; the

¹ Prynne's *Records*, 37 Edward III.

² *Rot. Parl.* iii. p. 497.

³ Act 2 Hen. VI. c. 4.

⁴ Act 15 Henry VI. c. 3.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.* v. p. 274.

irregularity with which it was paid; and the mode in which the price was artificially raised by the merchants. An inquiry was directed into the rate of subsidy due to the King, and the weight and quality of the wool in England and Calais;¹ and a bill was introduced for regulating the buying by staplers and clothiers. In the year 1548, the act against regrating was continued.

About this time, it would seem that the woollen manufacture existed, both in the counties of Kent and Sussex.² In 1551, renewed attempts to improve the English manufacture were made. A body of Flemish weavers was settled at Glastonbury,³ and supplied with wools; and the Legislature passed a very stringent act for regulating the times of buying wool—so stringent, indeed, that several of its clauses had to be repealed in 1553. Queen Elizabeth also favoured still more the immigration of foreign weavers. Although licenses were granted for the export of wools on payment of duty, and in October, 1560, we have an account of wools shipped legally to Bruges,⁴ yet, practically, the merchants of the staple had obtained a monopoly of exportation.⁵

The loss of Calais, however, and consequently of the staple there, had most materially injured the English wool-grower and the merchants of the staple. The latter laid their complaints before Queen Elizabeth, in 1560, representing the injury they had sustained since the loss of Calais,⁶ and obtained such redress as was within the power of the crown, namely, by license to export wool generally, on payment of export duty. A similar license had been granted to Lord Robert Dudley, which was renewed in 1562;⁷ and in 1571, the act of Edward VI., putting restrictions on the home trade, was extended.

The Parliaments of Mary, Elizabeth, and James granted the high duty of £1. 13s. 6d. a sack on wool exported by natives, and double the amount by foreigners. It is noticeable that, at this time, short wools had become of still less value; and that the long Cotswold wool had come into the most favour.

¹ Act 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 6.

² MSS. State Paper, *Lemon*. pp. 4-5. A weaver is among the victuallers of Rye, 1626, Dom. 44.

³ *Ib.* p. 37.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 161.

⁵ By the act 27 Henry VIII. c. 15,

they had acquired the sole right of buying wool in Sussex, and twenty-seven other counties.

⁶ MSS. State Paper, Domestic. *Lemon*. p. 168.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 199.

These restrictions operated very prejudicially on the trade ; and, in 1572, the Company of Woolmen petitioned the Queen to take off the restraints imposed by the act of the preceding year and by Edward VI. ;¹ and, five years afterwards (1577), the scarcity and high price were so great, as to give rise to grave complaints against the merchants of the staple from the clothiers of Wilts, Worcester, Gloucester, and Essex² (then the principal seats of the woollen manufacture). In August of that year, commissioners were appointed, in sundry counties, to have the special oversight for the restraint of the unlawful buying and engrossing wool ;³ and, towards the close of the reign of James I. (in 1621-24-26), bills were introduced prohibiting all exportation of wool.⁴

On April 17, 1630, Charles I. also published a proclamation against the export of wool, but still granted licenses. In 1647, in consequence of the high price, an ordinance passed wholly prohibiting the exportation of wool and fuller's earth.⁵ Again, on November 18, 1656, a further proclamation was issued against the exportation ; yet it was avowed, by an authority writing in that year,⁶ that, though the exportation was prohibited almost as a felony, there was nothing more daily practised. Nor was the loss, said he, in this case all the injury ; for when honest men did "detect these caterpillars," and endeavoured, by due course of law, to make stoppage thereof and to have the offenders punished, so many were the evasions—such combinations and interests in the officers who ought to punish ; such favour had they in the courts of justice, and, in general, such were the affronts and discouragements—that the dearest lover of his country, or most interested in trade, dared not to prevent that mischief which his eyes beheld to fall upon his nation.

After the Restoration, in 1660, an act was passed entirely prohibiting the export of wool ; and in 1662, the illicit export was made felony. The severity of the punishment had no effect in discouraging the active spirits along the southern coast, and they readily risked their necks for 12*d.* a day. Seven years after the last enactment, it is stated that from

¹ MSS. State Paper, Domestic. p. 456.

² *Ib.* p. 550.

³ *Ib.* p. 554.

⁴ It was prohibited, without license, by proclamation, July 20, 1622.

⁵ Fuller's earth was found at Nutley Common, in Sussex.

⁶ *The Golden Fleece*, by W. S. Gent, 1656, p. 67.

Romney Marsh the greatest part of the rough wool was exported, being put on board French shallops by night, with ten or twenty men well armed to guard it; whilst in some other parts of Sussex, Hants, and Essex, the same methods were used, but not so conveniently.¹ In 1671, Mr. W. Carter declared that the misery of England was the great quantity of wool stolen out of England. Holland drew from Ireland whole ship-loads of wool, besides what came from England, being stolen out from the Kentish, Essex, and Sussex coasts. In the town of Calais alone, there had been at least, within two years, brought in forty thousand packs of wool from the coasts of Kent and Sussex; for Romney Marsh men were not content only with the exportation of their own growth, but bought wool ten or twenty miles up the country, brought it down to the seaside, and shipped it off;² and all attempts at effective prosecution of the offenders were defeated.³

In 1677, the landowners endeavoured, without success, to obtain a direct sanction for a legitimate export trade; and *Reasons for a Limited Exportation* were published. Andrew Marvel, writing in this same year, describes the owners as a militia, that, in defiance of all authority, convey their wool to the shallops with such strength, that the officers dare not offend them.⁴

After the revolution of 1688, the penalty of felony, imposed by the act of Charles II., was thought too severe. Very few convictions had taken place under it; and, in 1696, a milder punishment was inflicted;⁵ whilst, in 1698, a direct blow was aimed at the Kent and Sussex men by an enactment, which lasted till our own day,⁶ that no person living within fifteen miles of the sea, in those counties, should buy any wool before he entered into a bond, with sureties, that all the wool he should

¹ *England's Interest Asserted*, 1669, p. 17.

² *England's Interest in Trade Asserted*, by W. C. 1671.

³ Joseph Trevers, in 1675, says (p. 40): "It is well known that smugglers are not of the meanest persons in the places where they dwell, but have oftentimes great interest with the magistrates; and, being purse-proud, do not value what they spend to ingratiate themselves with persons of authority, to distrust all such as discover their fraudulent dealings, or else by bribes to stop their mouths. * * * * The smug-

glers are not only well acquainted with some attorneys and clerks, but they make good interest with the under-sheriffs in the counties where they drive their trade; and these have strange tricks and delays in their returns, in which some of them will take part with the offenders instead of executing the law against them."

⁴ *Letter from a Younger Brother in Ireland to an Elder Brother in England*. Published anonymously. 1677.

⁵ 7 and 8 William III. c. 28.

⁶ 9 and 10 William III. c. 40, secs. 2 and 3.

buy should not be sold by him to any persons within fifteen miles of the sea; and growers of wool within ten miles of the sea, in those counties, were obliged, within three days of shearing, to account for the number of fleeces, and where lodged.

All the care of the Legislature had been to no purpose; the coast men had set the law at defiance—openly carrying their wool, at shearing-time, on horses' backs to the seashore, where French vessels were ready to receive it—and attacking fiercely any one who ventured to interfere. Mr. W. Carter himself was sharply attacked, in 1688. Having procured the necessary warrants, he repaired to Romney Marsh, where he seized eight or ten men, who were carrying the wool on horses' backs to be shipped, and desired the Mayor of Romney to commit them. The Mayor—wishing, no doubt, to live a peaceful life among his neighbours—admitted them to bail. Carter and his assistants retired to Lydd, but that town was made too hot to hold them—they were attacked at night; adopting the advice of the Mayor's son, they next day, December 13, came towards Rye. They were pursued by some fifty armed horsemen, till they got to Camber Point; so fast were they followed, that they could not get their horses over Guilford Ferry; but, luckily, some ships' boats gave them assistance, so that the riders got safe into the town, which had been "put into much fear;" and "had they not got into the boats," says one of the witnesses, "Mr. Carter would have received some hurt, for many of the exporters were desperate fellows, not caring what mischief they did."¹

The new law was not, at first, much more efficient. Mr. Henry Baker, the supervisor of these counties, writing on his tour from Hastings, on September 18, 1698, refers the customs department to some observations he had made in relation to the *owling*² and smuggling trades; and in his letter of April 25, 1699, he states that, in a few weeks, there would be shorn in Romney Marsh (besides the adjacent parts in the level) about 160,000 sheep, whose fleeces would amount to about three thousand packs of wool, "the greatest part whereof will be immediately sent off hot into France—it being so designed, and provisions, in a great measure, already made for that purpose."³ All that the new law seems to have done at

¹ *An Abstract of the Proceedings of W. Carter: being a Plea to some Objections urged against Him.* 1694.

² Wool smugglers were called *owlers*.

³ Treasury Papers; Customs. Rolls House.

first was, to send the wool grown by the Sussex and Kent men some fifteen miles up the country, to be thence recarried to the sea and shipped.

Under the new act, seventeen surveyors were appointed for nineteen counties; and 299 riding officers, whose salaries and expenses came to £20,000 a year. They seized only 457 packs of wool, got only 162 packs condemned, and had 504 packs rescued. In Kent, sixty-five packs were seized, and eight only condemned; in Sussex, twenty-six were seized, and twelve condemned.¹

The illicit exportation of wool was never stopped; and, in 1702, Mr. William Symonds, of Milton, near Gravesend, in his *New Year's Gift to the Parliament; or, England's Golden Fleece preserved, in Proposals humbly laid before the Present Parliament*,² makes twenty-five proposals to prevent the exportation of wool, which was illicitly carried on to a great extent; and, by the first, he suggests six staples or register offices at Ashford, Faversham, Maidstone, Tunbridge, Gravesend, and Dartford, for the prevention of clandestine export from those places.

In 1717, an act passed directing that smugglers of wool, who should be in prison and should not plead, might have judgment against them, and, if they did not pay the penalty, might be transported;³ and yet, on May 19, 1720, it was necessary to issue a proclamation for enforcing the law.

In 1731, and in the five following years, the manufacturers petitioned for greater vigilance against the clandestine exportation of wool; it being alleged that the great decay of the woollen manufactures was, beyond dispute, owing to the illegal exportation of wool, of which 150,000 packs were supposed to be shipped yearly; and it was "feared that some gentlemen of no mean rank, whose estates bordered on the sea-coast, were too much influenced by a near but false prospect of gain," to wish for the application of a remedy proposed, viz., the registration of all wool at shearing-time, and a complete system of certificates till it was manufactured; "so that no smuggler or owler would venture to purchase it, by reason he would have no opportunity of sending it abroad in the dark."⁴

¹ Smith's *Memoirs of Wool*, ii. p. 166.

² London: 4to, pp. 45.

³ 4 George I. c. 11.

⁴ *The Golden Fleece*, 1736.

In the preamble to the act of 1739,¹ it is expressly avowed that, notwithstanding the penalties imposed for eighty years, the exportation of wool, unmanufactured, was “notoriously continued.” The stringent law of 1698 had failed in its object; and when, in 1787 (in opposition to the demands of the Lincolnshire wool-growers, for power to export their produce), the manufacturers brought in a bill to prevent the illicit exportation, because of the then increasing practice of smuggling British wool into France, and the inefficiency of the laws to prevent it; and when, as a remedy, it was proposed to extend the restrictions imposed upon Kent and Sussex to the entire kingdom, the opponents of the bill shrewdly asked:—“How it was the manufacturers could act so absurdly, to demand an extension of the laws relating to those two counties, when it was supposed that the greatest quantities of wool were smuggled from those parts?”²

The habit of export smuggling, then, has been, for some hundreds of years at least, part of the system under which the middle and lower classes in Sussex have been trained. Large fortunes were made by it in East Sussex, and it came to an end only during the last war with France.

IMPORT SMUGGLING.

The wars with France, in the time of King William and Queen Anne, revived and increased greatly the custom of *import* smuggling, for which the existing *export* system, already well organised, gave every convenience.

It was in Romney Marsh that Hunt, in the year 1696, ran cargoes of Lyons silk and Valenciennes lace sufficient to load thirty pack-horses; and, under cover of these proceedings, kept a house of resort for men of high consideration among the Jacobites—of “earls and barons, knights and doctors of divinity”—and established a clandestine post to London, and frequent communications, by means of privateers, with the Court of St. Germain.³

The vigilance necessarily used during the next war, to prevent these clandestine communications with the enemy, will

¹ 12 George II. c. 21.

² In 1770, only thirty-two pounds of wool were seized; in 1780, there were 12,383 lb.; and in 1782, there were 13,916

lb. seized.

³ See Lord Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 650.

be best seen by the following account of some persons, as well English as French,¹ seized by the riding-officers appointed for the guard of the coast of Kent and Sussex, coming out of France; and of some other particulars relating to correspondence, &c., on those coasts, since her Majesty's declaration of war in May, 1702, to December 20, 1703:—

July 25, 1702.—Some French letters sent from a privateer, and others found in the beach near Seaford, all delivered to the Secretary Hedges's office.

October 8.—Near Seaford, two persons seized and sent to the Secretary, (by) Mr. Pelham and J. Goldham.

Jan. 4, 1703.—At Newhaven, five Frenchmen and a boy taken. Hawkins.

March 5.—At Felpham, two French prisoners. Parratt.

May 3.—A Frenchman from Calais, with letters and papers, under Beachy Head in the night, sent for. Messenger, Fowler.

May 6.—Three French prisoners at Pagham.

May 27.—Five or six French prisoners more, near Shoreham. Clark.—Captain Toosloe sett on shore, by Cleavell, from Diepe. Ditto.—Shoreham, three French prisoners more. Mose.—Three came on shore in long-boat, and made their escape through the country. Ogilvie.

October 2.—Mr. Herne seized: brought up per messenger—Seaford.

December 12.—Major Boucher, Captain Ogilby, and five more out of France, seized at Beachy Head, by express: brought up by messengers. Out of a small hoy, near Selsea, seized five Frenchmen: committed to Chichester Gaol, broke prison, and retaken by J. Field.

Seizures of silks, and other French goods, &c.—Convictions and compositions made and obtained by the said officers, within the time first above mentioned, amounting to about six thousand five hundred pounds—as per records in her Majesty's Court of Exchequer may appear. £6500

The public records of this period give us other evidence of the calling to which the smugglers betook themselves in time of war, viz., the conveyance of letters and correspondence to the enemy.² Thomas Owen, on January 3, 1703, reported the capture of William Snipp at Lydd, and John Burwash and George Fuller—described in Mr. Baker's letter of 6th of the same month “as part of the old gang of those who were *owlers* in the late war”—as openly in communication with French sloops which came to the coast; and hoped that the law would take hold of their carrying correspondence with these sloops, “else there would be more wool transported than there has been for many years;” whilst Mr. Baker declared that the “practice, if permitted, would very much encourage

¹ Egerton MS. 929, p. 38.

time of Elizabeth. See *Sussex Arch. Coll.*

² A custom as early, at least, as the Vol. V. pp. 195-6.

and contribute to the exportation of wool, and also the running or smuggling of French goods.”¹

This system of carrying on correspondence with France, in time of war, lasted down to and through the last war, during which the daily newspapers and correspondence were regularly carried to Buonaparte, by a family then resident at Bexhill.

From the following report, made by Mr. Baker in December, 1703, it appears that the new law had, by that time, abated, though it had not quite stopped, the *owling* trade along these coasts, but that import smuggling still flourished:—

May it please your Honours,²—In obedience to your Honours, commanding me to consider how the charge of the ryding-officers appointed for the guard of the coasts of Kent and Sussex may, in some measure, be reduced without prejudice to her Majestie’s service, in preventing the exporting of wool, &c., from these coasts. Upon consideration thereof, and from observations I have made of the state of that and the smuggling trade, as they have been carried on since the present warr, I have observed and do beleave that the neck of the *owling* trade, as well as the spirits of the *owlers*, is, in a great measure, broke, particularly in Romney Marsh; where I have, in several of my late reports and papers laid before your Honours, observed unto you, that in the latter end of the last warr, and the beginning of the last peace, wool used to be shipped off from thence and from other parts of that county by great numbers of packes weekly, there are not now many visible signs of any quantities being transported. But for fine goods, as they call them (*viz.*, silks, lace, &c.), I am well assured that trade goes on through both counties, though not in such vast quantities as have been formerly brought in—I mean in those days when (as a gentleman of estate in one of the counties has, within this twelve months, told me) he had been att once, besides at other times, at the loading of a wagon with silks, lace, &c., till six oxen could hardly move it out of the place: I doe not think that trade is now so carried on as ’twas then. Therefore, upon consideration of the whole matter, since your Honours are of opinion that it is for her Majestie’s service to lessen the charge, I humbly propose:—That whereas there are now, for the security of those coasts, fifty officers appointed from the Isle of Sheppy, in Kent, to Emsworth, in Hampshire, which is coastwise more than two hundred miles, att 60*li.* per annum, with an allowance to each of them of 30*li.* per annum for a servant and horse, to assist them upon their duty in the night, the whole amounting to about 4500*li.* per annum, including the old salary of the port-officers, &c., my opinion, upon consideration as aforesaid, is, if your Honours shall approve thereof, that the said allowance of 30*li.* to each of them, for a servant and one horse as aforesaid, may be taken off, which will completely reduce one-third part of the whole, and leave it then at about 3000*li.* per annum: and for some kind of supply in their

¹ Treasury Papers; Customs. Rolls House.

² Egerton MS. 929, fol. 40.

nightly duty, instead of their servants, and that the course of that may not be broken, especially in Romney Marsh, where the mischief has most prevailed, I further propose that the dragoons now quartered in Kent, and, by her Majestie's order of the 11th August last, to be detached into severall parts of the Marsh, to assist the officers in the exportacon of wool, &c., as from time to time I shall direct (as per said order may appeare), may, if your Honours shall see please, be made useful in this service, pursuant to the Order in Councell by his late Majestie, bearing date the 23rd June, 1698, wherein it was ordered that, for encouragement of the said souldiers and the landlords of the houses that quarter them there (being an allowance of two pence per diem to each dragoon upon such service, and to the officers in proportion, the whole not exceeding 200*li.* per annum, to be paid by me—which was for about two years constantly paid them myself) being revived, I can see dispose those soldiers that the nightly duty of the officers shall not be interrupted, and every one of them shall always have one or more of them in the night upon duty: I mean all those in the Marsh, that is, from Folkestone inclusive to East Guldeford the same; and, this being soe ordered, your Honours do reduce the charge from what it now is full 1300*li.* per annum. The same use may be made of them upon the coast of Sussex (if it be thought for the service, as, in my opinion, it would very much be), as well in other respects as in those afore-mentioned. To all this, if your Honours can obtain the guard of cruizers, as they are appointed by the 7th and 8th of the late King, for those coasts from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight, and shall be pleased to remove your weak and superannuated officers, as soon as you can provide otherwise for them, and, for the future, resolve to admitt none into the service; but that the officers (according to proper and apt instrucons to be prepared for them) be kept to a strict and diligent discipline in the performance of their duties. These methods being taken, I am humbly of opinion both coasts may be ventured with a single guard, see as aforesaid, during the warr, or for one year's tryall, &c.

December, 1703.

HEN. BAKER.

The new force was utterly inadequate to the suppression of the trade. In the next forty-five years the daring of the smugglers grew with the impunity with which they were enabled to act. Large gangs, of twenty, forty, fifty, and even one hundred, rode, armed with guns, bludgeons, and clubs, throughout the country, setting every one at defiance, and awing all the quiet inhabitants. They established warehouses and vaults in many districts, for the reception of their goods, and built large houses at Seacock's Heath in Etchingham (built by the well-known smuggler Arthur Gray, and called "Gray's Folly"), at Pix Hall and the Four Throws Hawkhurst,¹ at Goudhurst, and elsewhere, with the profits of their trade.

¹ *Ex inf.* Miss Ann Durrant, æt. 89, 1858.

We have in the Treasury Papers¹ many particulars of the daring and desperate acts of these companies or gangs of men in both parts of Sussex, during the first half of the last century, principally in the smuggling of tea.

In an engagement between the custom-house officers and upwards of sixty armed men, at Ferring, on June 21, 1720, William Gouldsmith, the custom-house officer, had his horse shot under him.²

In June, 1733, the officers of the customs at Newhaven attempted to seize ten horses laden with tea, at Cuckmere; but they were opposed by about thirty men, armed with pistols and blunderbusses, who fired on the officers, took them prisoners, and confined them whilst the goods were carried off.³

In August of the same year the riding officers observed upwards of twenty smugglers at Greenhay, most of them on horseback, armed with clubs, and their horses laden with tea, which the officers endeavoured to seize, but the smugglers fell upon them, and with clubs knocked one of the officers off his horse, wounded him, and confined him for an hour, whilst the gang carried off the goods.

On December 6, 1734, some officers of Newhaven, assisted by dragoons, met with a large gang of smugglers, well armed, who surrounded the officers, and confined them for about an hour and a half. The smugglers were afterwards met by three other officers and six dragoons, whom the smugglers attacked, but the officers got the better, pursued them, and seized five smugglers, armed with pistols, swords, and cutlasses, and twelve horses.

In July, 1735, some of the officers of the port of Arundel watched on the coast, expecting goods to be run out of a smuggling vessel, but being discovered by upwards of twenty smugglers, armed with pistols and blunderbusses, the officers were confined till two or three boat-loads of goods had been landed and conveyed away on horses; and in the same month, some other officers having received information that a parcel of brandy was to be run at Kingston, and going in pursuit of it, met with ten smugglers, one of whom presented a pistol, in

¹ Notorious instances of riots and assaults in running tea and other goods.—Customs: Rolls House.

² Letter of Francis Briggs, July 26, 1733.—Customs: Rolls House.

³ Notorious instances, &c.—Ibid.

order to rescue the goods ; but the officers, getting the better of the smugglers, seized the brandy, and carried it to the custom-house.

In the natural course of events these affrays must end in bloodshed ; and in March, 1737, a fatal engagement took place at Bulverhithe, with one of the then numerous gangs of Sussex smugglers, an account of which is given in a letter, dated March 10, from a person writing under the assumed name of Goring, to the Commissioners of Customs :¹—

May it please (your) Honours,—It is not unknown to your Lordships of the late battle between the smuglers and officers at Bulverhide ; and in relation to that business, if your Honours please to advise in the newspapers, that this is excepted off, I will send a list of the names of the persons that were at that business, and the places' names where they are usually and mostly resident. Cat² (Morten's man) fired first, Morten was the second that fired ; the soldiers fired and killed Collison,³ wounded Pizon, who is since dedd ; William Weston was wounded, but like to recover. Young Mr. Brown was not there, but his men and horses were ; from your Honours

Dutifull and most faithfull servant, GORING.

There was no foreign persons at this business, but all were Sussex men, and may easily be spoke with.

This (is) the seventh time Morten's people have workt this winter, and have not lost any thing but one half hundred (of tea) they gave to a dragoon and one officer they mett with the first of this winter ; and the Hoo company have lost no goods, although they constantly work, and at home too, since they lost the seven hundred-weight. When once the smuglers are drove from home they will soon be all taken. Note, that some say it was Gurr that fired first. You must well secure Cat, or else your Honours will soon lose the man : the best way will be to send for him up to London, for he knows the whole company, and hath been Morten's servant two years. There were several young chaps with the smuglers, whom, when taken, will soon discover the whole company. The number was twenty-six men. Mark's horse, Morten's, and Hoad's, were killed, and they lost not half their goods. They have sent for more goods, and twenty-nine horses set out from Groombridge this day, about four in the afternoon, and all the men well armed with long guns. * * There are some smuglers worth a good sum of money, and they pay for taking. * * The Hoo company might have been all ruined when they lost their goods ; the officers and soldiers knew them all, but they were not prosecuted. * * Morten and Boura sold, last winter, someways, 3000 lb. weight a week.

In fact the smugglers overawed most of the riding-officers, and bribed many others, so that the peaceable inhabitants of the villages were completely at the mercy of these lawless bands.

¹ Treasury Papers.—Customs : Rolls House.

² The family names will be familiar to

many in our own day, as very active and bold men.

³ Another well-known name.

On June 13, 1744, the officers of the customs at Eastbourne, having intelligence of a gang of smugglers, went, with five dragoons mounted, to the seashore, near Pevensey; but one hundred smugglers rode up, and, after disarming the officers, fired about forty shot at them, cut them with the swords in a dangerous manner, loaded the goods on above one hundred horses, and made towards London.¹

In *Seasonable Advice to all Smugglers of French Cambricks and French Lawns, with a brief State from the Honorable Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs of Smuggling, in the year 1745*,² it is said, that before the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1745, to inquire into the causes of the most infamous practice of smuggling, it was in evidence:—"From Chichester it is represented that in January, 1745, nine smuggling cutters sailed from Rye, in that month, for Guernsey, in order to take in large quantities of goods, to be run on the coast; and they had intelligence that one of the cutters had landed her cargo." The remedy suggested was the annexing the Isle of Man to the Crown of England, by purchase, and the employment of 2060 sea officers and men, in sixty vessels, to be stationed on different parts of the coast.

The most formidable gang, however, that had hitherto existed, and that which luckily furnished the climax to these scenes of crime, was known throughout our own county and Kent, as the "Hawkhurst Gang." In the year 1747³ the smugglers in these parts were grown so numerous and so formidable, by their daring and repeated attacks on the persons and properties of the inhabitants, and the cruelties exercised on some who had opposed their extravagancies, that the people of Goudhurst found themselves under the necessity either of deserting their houses, and leaving their property wholly at the mercy of these marauders, or of uniting to oppose by force their lawless inroads. The latter alternative was, at length, embraced; a paper, expressive of their abhorrence of the conduct of the smugglers, and their determination to oppose them, was drawn up and subscribed to, by a considerable number of persons, who assumed the appellation of

¹ *Gentleman's Mag.* vol. xiv. p. 334.

² *King's Pamphlets*, Brit. Mus. Lond.

³ *Dearn's Weald of Kent*. 8vo. Cranbrook, 1814, p. 100.

“The Goudhurst Band of Militia”; at the head of whom was a young man of the name of Sturt, a native of Goudhurst, who had recently received his discharge from a regiment of foot, under the command of General Harrison, and by whose persuasions they had been principally induced to this resolution. Intelligence of this confederacy soon reached the ears of the smugglers, who contrived to waylay one of the militia, and, by means of torture and confinement, extorted from him a full disclosure of the plans and intentions of his colleagues. After swearing this man not to take up arms against them, they let him go, desiring him to inform the confederates that they (the smugglers) would, on a certain day named, attack the town, murder every one therein, and burn it to the ground. Sturt, on receiving this information, convened his little band, and, having pointed out the danger of their situation without exertion and unanimity, engaged them in immediate preparation for the day of battle. While some were sent in quest of fire-arms, others were employed in casting balls, making cartridges, and taking every means for resistance and defence, which time and opportunity afforded. At the time appointed, the smugglers, headed by Thomas Kingsmill, made their appearance before the entrenchments of the militia,¹ and, after some horrid threats and imprecations by their leader, a general discharge of firearms was given by the smugglers, and returned immediately by the militia, by which one of the smugglers fell; but it was not till two more had lost their lives, and many had been wounded, that they quitted the field of battle; they were pursued by the militia, and some of them taken and executed.²

Thomas Kingsmill escaped for a time, and became the leader of the desperate attack made in October, 1747, by thirty smugglers, on the custom-house at Poole. This man was a native of Goudhurst, and had been a husbandman; but, having joined the smugglers, he was distinguished and daring enough to become captain of the gang—an honour of which

¹ My great-grandfather, Wm. Durrant, afterwards of Lamberhurst and Boreham, M.D., was, at that time, resident with Mr. Hunt, a surgeon in the town; and (like Mr. James, in his novel of *The Smuggler*)

laid the scene of the attack at Goudhurst Church.

² “General” Sturt was, for some time prior to his death, master of the poor-house of Cranbrook. See also *Gent. Mag.* vol. lv. p. 679.

he was so proud, that he sought every opportunity of exhibiting specimens of his courage, and putting himself foremost in every service of danger.

Perin, another of the gang, was a native of Chichester, where he had served his time as a carpenter, and had successfully practised his trade, as a master, for some years, till a stroke of the palsy had deprived him of the use of his right hand; he then became connected with the smugglers, and used to sail to France as purchaser of goods for them. In this capacity, he, in September, 1747, bought a large quantity of brandy, tea, and rum,¹ which was loaded on board a cutter ("The Three Brothers"), with the view of running it on the coast of Sussex; but intelligence reached the revenue officers, and Captain Johnson, of the revenue cutter, at Poole, on September 22, caught sight of the loaded cutter, took her, and carried her and her cargo into Poole—Perin and the crew escaping in the boat.

On Sunday, Oct. 4, the whole body of smugglers assembled in Charlton Forest, to consult on the possibility of recovering the goods, when Perin proposed that they should go in a body, armed, and break open the Poole Custom-house; this was agreed to, and a bond was signed to support each other. The next day they met at Rowland's Castle, armed with swords and firearms; at the Forest of Bere, adjoining Horndean, Kingsmill and the Hawkhurst gang met them; they concealed themselves in a wood till the evening of the following day, and then proceeded to Poole, which they reached at eleven at night. A report, from two who were sent to reconnoitre, stating that a sloop of war lay opposite the quay, so that her guns could be pointed against the door of the custom-house, led some of the gang to falter; but Kingsmill and Fairhall (a native of Horsendown Green, Kent, of no business, inured to smuggling from infancy, and remarkable for his brutal courage)² addressed them, saying: "If you will not do it, we

¹ The tea was 41 $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt., packed in canvas and oilskin bags; and thirty-nine casks of spirits, slung with ropes, in order to be loaded on horses.—*History*, p. 132.

² He had been arrested and sent to London by James Butler, Esq., near Lewes, but escaped and rejoined his companions. It was proposed to burn down

Mr. Butler's house; but that not meeting with general assent, Fairhall, Kingsmill, and others of the gang, determined to way-lay him, near his own park, and shoot him; but, by accident, he did not return home that night, and the matter becoming known, a watch was kept, and the design laid aside.—*History*, p. 147.

will do it ourselves." Then a fresh report was made, that, owing to the ebb-tide, the sloop could not bring her guns to bear. Animated with this intelligence, they all rode to the seacoast; Perin and another of the gang took care of the horses, whilst the main body went down to the custom-house, taking with them a boy they chanced to meet, to prevent his alarming the inhabitants. The door was forced open with hatchets and other instruments, the smuggled tea was carried off on the horses, to Fordingbridge; the band, after having travelled all night, there stopped for a time; but continued their journey to Brook, where the tea-booty was divided, in the proportion of five bags of twenty-seven pounds each per man.

A reward was offered for their apprehension, but it was months before any were taken. A man named Diamond was captured, and lodged in Chichester Gaol, when a portion of the gang committed murders in West Sussex to prevent evidence being given against their fellows. The victims were William Galley the elder, a custom-house officer at Southampton; and Daniel Chater, a shoemaker of Fordingbridge. The murderers were Benjamin Tapner, a native of Aldrington,¹ who had worked as a bricklayer; John Cobby, an illiterate son of a Sussex labourer; John Hammond, a labouring man, born at South Berstead; William Jackson and William Carter, natives of Hampshire; Richard Mills the elder, a native of Trotton, where he had been a horse-dealer, but, failing in business, commenced smuggling, and had become one of the most hardened of the gang; and Richard Mills the younger, who lived at Stedham, and had been with his father in business. It seems that, on Feb. 14, 1748, Galley and Chater were on their road to Major Batten's at Stanstead, to have Chater's evidence taken, when they were induced to stop at the White Hart, at Rowland's Castle, the landlady of which, being afraid that they were going to hurt the smugglers, sent for Jackson and Carter, and communicated her suspicions to them; others of the gang came in, and Carter soon got from Chater the real business. The men were then made nearly drunk and put to bed, from which they were awoken to be tied to one

¹ Trial of Benjamin Tapner and others, at Chichester, Jan. 1749.

horse, with their legs under the belly, and to be whipped till they fell twice, with their heads under. They were then taken to a well in Lady Holt Park, where Galley was taken from the horse and threatened to be thrown into the well; this, however, the smugglers did not do, but putting him again upon the horse, whipped him to death on the downs, and then dug a hole and buried him. Carter was then chained in a turf-house, from which, after being maimed in his nose and eyes by a knife, he was taken, in the dead of the night, to Harris's Well, and Tapner, having fastened a noose round his neck, bid him get over the pales to the well; they tied one end of the rope to the pales, and pushed him into the well; the rope, however, was short, and, he being some time without becoming strangled, they then untied him and threw him head-foremost into the well; and, to stop his groans, threw upon him the rails and gateposts round the well, and large stones. Galley's body was found by Mr. Stone whilst hunting; and six miles off, in the well, the body of Chater. The murderers were tried at a special assize for smugglers, holden at Chichester, before three judges—Sir Michael Forster, Knight, Sir Thomas Birch, Knight, and Mr. Baron Edward Clive¹—Jan. 16, 1749. The sermon, which has been printed,² being preached by Sir William Ashburnham, then Dean, but afterwards Bishop of Chichester, from Job xxix. 14-16. The first three were convicted as principals, and the others as accessories before the fact to the murder of Chater; and Jackson and Carter for the murder of Galley. Jackson died in prison the night he was condemned. The others were hung on Jan. 18—the two Mills not in chains; but Carter was hung in chains, near Rackley; Tapner, on Rook's Hill, near Chichester; and Cobby and Hammond, on Selsey Isle, on the heath where they sometimes landed their smuggled goods, and where they could be seen a great distance east and west.

John Mills, another son of Richard Mills, and one of the gang, who, with some of his associates, saw the judges travel-

¹ *A Full and Genuine History of the inhuman and unparalleled Murders of Mr. William Galley, a Custom-house Officer, and Mr. Daniel Chater, a Shoemaker, by Fourteen Notorious Smugglers; with the Trials and Execution of the Seven*

Bloody Criminals at Chichester. Written by a Gentleman of Chichester. Fifth edition, 8vo. London: W. Clowes, 20, Villiers Street, Strand. N.D.

² *History, &c.* p. 150.

ling over Hind Heath, on their way to the special assize at Chichester, and proposed to rob them;¹ but his companions refused to concur with him. Soon after his father's execution he met with Richard Hawkins, put him on horseback, and carried him to the Dog and Partridge on Slindon Common, where Mills and his companions accused him of having stolen two bags of tea; and, on his denying it, flogged and kicked him to death, and then carrying his body twelve miles, tied stones to it, and sunk it in a pond in Parham Park. Mills was entrapped to the house of an outlawed smuggler named William Pring, at Beckenham, and there betrayed. He was tried and convicted at the assizes holden at East Grinstead, and there hung on Aug. 12, 1749, being conducted to the place of execution by a guard of soldiers, as a rescue was feared from the smugglers; and, after execution, he was hung in chains on Slindon Common. Others of the gang were tried at the same assizes, as highwaymen, and executed.

At length two of the smugglers, who had been evidence against the men hanged at Chichester, gave information as to the place of meeting of Kingsmill, Fairhall, Perin, and Glover; they were arrested for the breaking open of the custom-house at Poole, tried at Newgate, and convicted,² Glover being recommended by the jury to the royal mercy. Fairhall behaved most insolently on the trial, and threatened one of the witnesses; Glover exhibited penitence; but Kingsmill and Perin insisted that they had not been guilty of any robbery, because they only took the goods that once belonged to them. Perin's body was directed to be given to his friends, and he was lamenting the fate of his associates, when Fairhall said: "We shall be hanging up in the sweet air, when you are rotting in your grave;" and the night before his execution, Fairhall kept smoking with his friends till he was ordered by his keeper to go to his cell, when he exclaimed: "Why in such a hurry,

¹ The judges set out from London on Friday, Jan. 13th, and arrived at the Duke of Richmond's house, at Godalming, that evening. The next day they set out for Chichester, and were met by the Duke at Midhurst; and he entertained them with a dinner at his "hunting-house," near Charton. They reached

the Bishop's Palace at Chichester, at five that evening. The report that they were guarded there and back by a party of horse is erroneous; the judges, counselors, and principal officers, were in six coaches, each drawn by six horses.—*History*, p. 32.

² *History*, &c. p. 131.

cannot you let me stay a little longer with my friends? I shall not be able to drink with them to-morrow night." Kingsmill was only twenty-eight, and Fairhall only twenty-five years of age, at the time of their trial.

Glover was pardoned; the other three were hung at Tyburn on April 26, 1749, and the body of Fairhall was hung in chains on Horsendown Green, and Kingsmill's on Goudhurst Gore.

This most formidable gang was thus broken up; but Horace Walpole's letter of August 5, 1752, and the diary of Walter Gale,¹ show that, to Sussex men, the profits of the illicit trade were too great a temptation to allow it to be given up.

The habit of smuggling, wrecking,² and privateering led to the perpetration of many other crimes; amongst others, to a revival of those acts of piracy which disgraced the Cinque Ports in the thirteenth century.³

On Aug. 11, 1758, Nicholas Wingfield and Adams Hyde, of Hastings, masters of two privateer cutters, piratically boarded the Danish ship "Der Reisende Jacob," on board of which was the Marquis Pignatelli, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Catholic Majesty to the Court of Denmark; assaulting Jurgan Muller, the master of the vessel, and stealing twenty casks of butter. The Lords of the Admiralty offered a reward of £500. Nicholas Wingfield and Adams Hyde, with four others, having been betrayed by some of their accomplices, were arrested; and on Jan. 15, 1759, were brought under a strong guard of soldiers, and lodged in the Marshalsea. They were tried at the Admiralty sessions, March 9, 1759, when Nicholas Wingfield and Adams Hyde were found guilty; and on the 28th of the same month, were hung at Execution Dock. The four others were acquitted. The punishment did not operate as a sufficient warning to the Hastings men. For seven years a gang known as Ruxley's crew, most of whom lived at Hastings, boarded and robbed several ships coming up the Channel; and in particular, in 1768, they boarded a Dutch homeward-bound hoy, called "The Three Sisters,"⁴

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. IV. p. 185; Vol. IX. p. 194.

² Congreve, in his Epilogue to *The Mourning Bride*, alludes to this habit of the Sussex men. See also *A Descriptive Narrative of the Wreck of the Nympha*

Americana, near Beachy Head, Nov. 29, 1747," with the tailpiece by Mr. J. H. Hurdis: Lewes, Lee and Co. 1840.

³ *History of Winchelsea*, p. 18.

⁴ The usual method was to go alongside, under the pretence of trading; they

Peter Bootes commander, about two leagues from Beachy Head, and chopped the master down the back with an axe. In November, 1768, the Government sent a detachment of two hundred of the Inniskilling Dragoons to Hastings, to arrest the men, who had been betrayed by their bragging to one another how the Dutchman wriggled when they had cut him on the backbone; and a man-of-war and cutter lay off Hastings to receive the men.¹ The soldiers had strict orders not to allow their mission to be known; but, the day after their arrival, the Mayor (who was supposed to have aided in the evidence) was assaulted in the town, because he would not tell what the soldiers came for; the soldiers were thereupon called out, and several arrests made of parties, who were conveyed to the Marshalsea. At the Admiralty sessions holden on Oct. 30, 1769, Thomas Phillips, elder and younger, William and George Phillips, Mark Chatfield, Robert Webb, Thomas and Samuel Ailsbury, James and Richard Hyde, William Geary *alias* Justice *alias* George Wood, Thomas Knight, and William Wenham, were indicted for the piracy of "The Three Sisters," and capitally convicted; and of these Thomas Ailsbury, William Geary, William Wenham, and Richard Hyde, were hung at Execution Dock, Nov. 27.

So great was the panic occasioned by these arrests, that a shopkeeper, reported to be worth £10,000, absconded on information of having bought goods of the smugglers.²

In 1779, it became necessary to pass another act against smuggling; and, in a pamphlet making the new law known,³ it is stated that the practice of smuggling had made such rapid strides from the sea-coasts into the very heart of the country, pervading every city, town, and village, as to have brought universal distress on the fair dealer; that the greater part of the 3,867,500 gallons distilled annually at Schiedam, was to be smuggled into England; that a distillery had lately been set up for making Geneva, for the same pur-

frequently mastered the crew, clapped them under hatches, and then plundered, and afterwards scuttled the ship.—*Public Advertiser*, Nov. 16, 1768.

¹ The man who had given information had arrested one of the gang, upon which the others swore they would murder the informant, unless their colleague was re-

leased.—*Public Advertiser*.

² *Public Advertiser*, Nov. 10, 1768.

³ *Advice to the Unwary*, 1780. The well-known "Smugglers Act" was passed in 1736: it was modified in 1779 and 1784; and a review of all the statutes relating to the subject was made January 5, 1826.

pose, at Dunkirk; that the French imported five or six millions of pounds of tea, the greatest part of which was to be smuggled here;¹ that the trade of Dunkirk (where, and at Flushing, the Sussex smugglers, so late as thirty years since, had regular resident agents) was mostly carried on by smugglers, in vessels not only large, but so well constructed for sailing that seldom one of them was captured; that in many places near the sea, the farmer was unable to find hands to do his work, whilst great numbers were employed in carrying smuggled goods from one part of the country to another; and that the smugglers paid for what they bought in cash, or by the illicit exportation of English wool, no other articles of any consequence being carried abroad by them.

Although the illicit trade in the bulky article of wool came to an end with the commencement of the war of 1793, yet the trade in tea, silks, tobacco, and spirits continued; and, after the close of the war, was largely carried on. By degrees, tea was not easily got, and the duty on silks left little profit to the smuggler. Spirits, increased in value, by being some forty per cent. over proof, and tobacco, still, however, gave a profitable return, and lives were freely risked.²

In such a society as the Sussex, it would be improper to enter into any details which might involve the characters of persons still alive; but I may glance briefly at some of the encounters which have taken place within my own time. The trial, for murder, and conviction at Horsham, on March 28, 1821, of George England, a preventive man, for shooting Joseph Swaine, a fisherman of Hastings, in a scuffle, is in the recollection of many fishermen still alive there. On Feb. 11, in the next year, three hundred smugglers went to Crow Link, near Eastbourne, to land a cargo, but were stopped by a signal from the sentinel; four nights afterwards, they landed at Cliff Point, Seaford, three hundred half-ankers, losing only sixty-three and a horse. On the 13th, they attacked the sentinel at Little Common with bats;³ he, however, shot a smuggler with his pistol; the boat made sail from the land, and a coach-

¹ When Pitt first lowered the tea-duty, it was averred that the smuggler was so great a rival with the open trader, that the tea-trade was then shared between them nearly equally.

² For epitaph in Patcham Churchyard, on Daniel Scales, a smuggler shot on Nov. 7, 1796, see *Sussex Archæol. Coll.* Vol. IX. p. 195.

³ Thick ash-poles, about six feet long.

and-six, which was waiting at the back of the beach, drove off empty to Pevensey. In September, 1824, a run was attempted at Bexhill, when seven smugglers, with one hundred tubs of spirits, were taken; and one of the blockade-men named Welch, having jumped into the boat, the smugglers pulled off with him, and his dead body was found on the sands in the morning, with the head and face bruised and lacerated. In May, 1826, a smuggling galley, chased by a guard-boat, ran ashore near the mouth of Rye Harbour, and opened fire on the guard. The blockade-men from Camber Watch-house came to the spot, and seized one of the smugglers, when a body of not less than two hundred armed smugglers rushed from behind the sand-hills, commenced a fire on the blockade, killing one and wounding another, but were ultimately driven off with the capture of their galley, carrying off, nevertheless, their wounded. On another occasion, four or five smugglers were killed whilst swimming the military canal at Pett-horse Race, having missed the spot where it was fordable. On April 13, 1827, about twenty smugglers went down to the eastward of Fairlight; a struggle ensued; the smugglers wrested some muskets from the blockade-men, beat them with the butt-ends, and ran one through with a bayonet: the smugglers at length retreated, leaving one of their number dead; another was found afterwards, having been apparently dropped by the smugglers; a third, some distance on the way to Icklesham, the body scarcely cold; the rest of the wounded men were carried off by their companions; and I have been informed, that one of the party alone carried one of his fellows on his back, from the scene of the conflict at Fairlight to his residence at Udimore, a distance of six miles at least.

Another, and nearly the last of these bloodsheddings, took place on Jan. 3, 1828, near Bexhill. A lugger landed between that village and the little public-house at Bo-peep; a party of smugglers, armed with bats, rushed to the beach, landed the cargo, and made off with it in carts, on horses, and on men's backs, straight to Sidley Green; here they were come up with by the blockade, reinforced to about forty men; the armed portion of the smugglers drew themselves up in regular line, and a desperate fight took place. The smugglers fought

with such determination and courage, that the blockade-men were repulsed, after many had been severely bruised and the Quarter-master Collins killed. In the first volley fired by the blockade, an old smuggler named Smithurst was killed; his body was found the next morning, with his bat still grasped in his hands, the weapon being almost hacked in pieces by the cutlasses and bayonets of the blockade-men. Here again, as was their invariable habit, the smugglers carried safely away all their wounded.

At the spring assizes at Horsham, in 1828, Spencer Whiteman of Udimore, Thomas Miller, Henry Miller, John Spray, Edward Shoemith, William Bennett, John Ford, and Stephen Stubberfield, were indicted for assembling armed on this night, for purposes of smuggling, and were removed for trial to the Old Bailey, where, on April 10, they all pleaded guilty; as did Whiteman, Thomas Miller, Spray, Bennett, and Ford, together with Thomas Maynard and William Plumb, for a like offence on January 23, 1828, at Eastbourne. Sentence of death was passed on all, but the punishment was commuted to transportation. They were, with three exceptions, young men under thirty years of age.

Other, but minor, affrays took place on Jan. 3, 1831, two miles east of Hastings, when two of the smugglers, William Cruttenden and Joseph Harrod, were shot dead; on Feb. 22, 1832, at Worthing, between two hundred and three hundred men there assembled, when one William Cowardson was shot dead, and several more were carried away wounded; and on January 23, 1833, at Eastbourne, when the smugglers, having killed the chief boatman, George Pett, formed two lines on each side till the cargo was run, and then left—not, however, without having several of their party wounded; but on no one of these occasions was any of the gang discovered. The last occasion on which a life was sacrificed was, on April 1, 1838, when Thomas Monk, a poor fiddler of Winchelsea, was shot by the coast-guard, in an affray at Camber Castle.¹

The Abbey ruins, the dismantled Castles,² the “haunted”

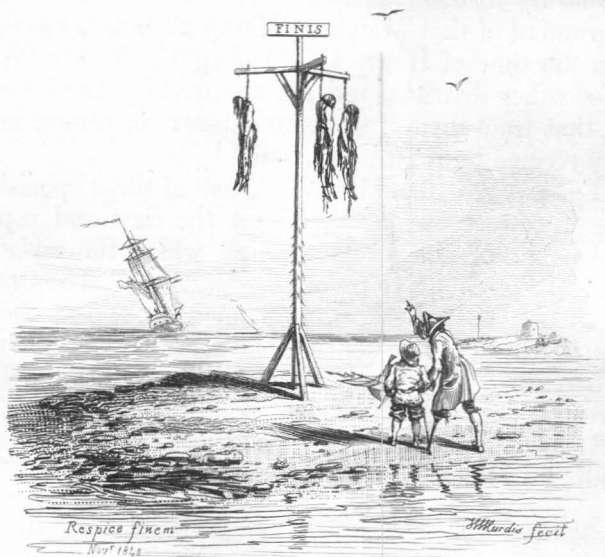
¹ *Ex inf.* E. N. Dawes, Esq., Deputy Coroner.

² Addison's play of *The Drummer* was

founded on the scheme of a French gardener to conceal the doings of the smugglers at Herstmonceux Castle.

houses, were all used without interruption by the smugglers, as depositories for their goods. I have been present, in a house at Rye, when silks, for sale, were mysteriously produced from their hiding-places; and it was the custom of the farmers, in that neighbourhood, to favour the smugglers so far as to allow the gates in the fields to be left unlocked at night; and to broach, without a scruple, the half-anker of Schiedam, which was considerably left in some hayrick or outhouse, in acknowledgment of the farmer's accommodating and kindred spirit.

The vignette, which shows with such spirit the end of those pursuits, is the work of our late most able friend J. H. Hurdis, Esq., whose talents have often adorned and enriched our volumes. For the use of the plate I am indebted to the continued kindness of his widow.



COMMISSIONS OF SEWERS FOR THE LEWES LEVELS.

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

COMMISSIONS OF SEWERS were granted from very early times, as Blackstone expresses it, *pro re nata*, at the pleasure of the Crown. A large number of these commissions, granted for marshes in the district of Romney Marsh, and in other marshes in the eastern portion of Sussex, is to be found in Dugdale's *History of Embanking*, and in Mr. Holloway's *History of Romney Marsh*; as well as the ordinances framed for the government of that Marsh by Henry de Bathe, a venerable justice in the time of Henry III. (1258), which have been the model for other districts, and are declared by Lord Coke to be such, that from them "all commissioners of sewers in England may receive light and direction."¹

In the year 1421 (9th Henry V.), one of these special commissions of sewers was granted,² for the view and repair of the banks, &c., of the levels through which the river Ouse runs, "from Flechyng to Seford *juata Mare*." The Commissioners, as was customary, were named from the principal landed proprietors of the district, and were eleven in number, viz., Robert Lord Poynings, Thomas (Nelond) Prior of Lewes, John Preston, Sir John Pelham, Knt. (of Laughton), John Darell, Richard Wakehurst (of Ardingly), Robert Oxenbregge, John Hall³ (of Halland in Easthoathly), John Nelond, Thomas

¹ Fourth *Inst.* 276.

² Pat. 9 Henry V. pt. 1, m. 13 dors.
Dugd. *Emb.* 2nd edit. 1772, p. 100.

³ Pelham, Darell, Wakehurst, Oxen-

bregge, and Hall, were also commissioners for other districts. John Nelond was, probably, related to the Prior.

Hayton, and Thomas Joop, who were to perform all things therein according to the custom of the Marsh, and the law and custom of the realm.

In the reign of Henry VI., more general commissions of sewers were granted, in pursuance of an act passed in 1427, and continued by acts in 1439 and 1444, passed in consequence of the great danger and losses which had often happened by the excessive rising of waters in divers parts of the realm, and it being likely that much greater would ensue, if a remedy were not hastily provided.

At length the statute of 23rd Henry VIII. c. 5, placed this obvious benefit, for any county that might require it, at the discretion and nomination of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Chief Justices; the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, in the individual instances, being confined to such county or particular district as the Commission should expressly name. Their duty is to overlook the repairs of sea-banks and sea-walls, and the cleansing of rivers, public streams, ditches, and other conduits, whereby any waters are carried off, and their powers of taxing the owners for the expenses are very large. In pursuance of this act, a Commission for the whole County of Sussex was issued, Nov. 16, 1534,¹ to the following fifty-four persons:—

Robert (Sherburne), Bishop of Chichester.
 Henry Mautravers, Lord Mautravers.
 George Neville, Knight, Lord Burgavenny.
 Thomas West, Knt., Lord La Warr.
 John (Hammond), Abbot of Battell.
 William Fitzwilliam, Knt.
 William Shelley, Knt.
 Robert (Crowham), Prior of Lewes.
 Thomas (Tayler), Prior of Robertsbridge.
 Thomas, Prior of Tortington.
 Thomas, Prior of Michelham.
 Thomas, Prior of the Newe Priory.²
 John Gage, Knt.
 Geoffrey Poole, Knt.
 William Pelham, Knt.

John Dawtrey, Knt.
 Richard Shirley, Knt.
 Edward Bray, Knt.
 William Goryng, Knt.
 Harry Owen, Knt.
 John Sackvile.
 Richard Covert.
 Edward Scott.
 Thomas Devenysh.
 Giles Fenys.
 Thomas Thetchier.
 John Parker.
 John Palmer.
 John Shelley.
 John Couert.
 William Erneley.
 Richard Bellyngham.
 Richard Sakvile.

¹ Pat. 26 Henry VIII. pt. 1 dors.

² Of Hastings, removed to Warbleton.

Nicholas Tufton.
 Thomas Shirley.
 Thomas Michell.
 John Shirley.
 John Stapley.
 Robert Oxenbridge.
 Thomas Assheborneham.
 William Cheyney.
 John Bellyngham.
 John Ledys.
 John Gunther.

Thomas Onley.
 Edmund Lewkenor.
 John Dawtrey.
 John Delve.
 James Burton.
 Edward Markewike.
 William Wybarne.
 Richard Chamber.
 John Appesley.
 John Stanney.

The following letter is from one of the Commissioners (Sir John Gage of Firle) to Lord Cromwell,¹ and exemplifies the care with which the first movement of a Commission of Sewers in the county of Sussex was attended. From some other papers near it, I believe the date of year in which the Commission was moved may be fixed to the 28th Henry VIII.

The details are curious, at least so far as to show the then state of Lewes Level, the great pains taken to procure the best advice and aid, and the resistance with which this most salutary exertion for the general benefit was received by some of the inhabitants of the Level of Lewes.

Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord,—After my most humble recommendations vnto y^r Lordship had, it may please you to be advertised that wher the Kyng's Heignes hath addressed his Commyssion of Sewers into this Counte of Sussex, and thervpon, according to the tenor therof, the Commyssioners have devydyd theym selfs into sundry parties, as by theym was thought most requisite and convenyent; and among other my Lord Pryour of Lewis, Sir William Pelham, Gylys Ffynes, John Delve, Richard A. Chaumber, and I² were lymited to the Levells of Lewis and Cukmere; and forasmuch as the Levell of Lewis, wherein is v.m. (2500) acres and odd, were and yet be in great rewyn and continually vnder water in wynter, and for the most parte lykwyse in somer, we thought it thfore convenyent to sett earnestly in hand with the same, and to th'entent the thing by Gode's helpe shold cum to good effecte, wold not take vpon vs to devise remedies for the same, onely vpon our own heddes, but also dyrected a waraunt to the sherif of the said shere; whereupon he hath impaneled xxiiiijth honest and wise men for skewers to the Levell of Lewis, and ouer this we have takyn advise of my Lord of Northfolke, who is a great lord within the levell, and toke the payn to cum, vewe, and se the same, at the whiche tyme ther was assembled many noble folks and other wise and well expert men, bothe of knowlege of the see and lond; and sens that tyme the said Duke sent thether the Master of the Maisondeiu of Dover, whose advise we have lykwyse hadd;

¹ Thomas Lord Cromwell's Papers, vol. xiii. fol. 10.

² They were all locally interested in the level.

and over and above all this, my Lord Pryour of Lewis this barer, at his own cost and charge, went into Pflaunders and toke with him Syr Edward Braye, and not only to vewe and se things ther whereby they might lerne experyens, but also brought over with them too the wysest men and of most experyens that they cold hire of in thos parties whose advyse was lykewise hard in the premisses; and also we sent for him that inned the Marshe beneath Sayncte Katherins,¹ and had his advise; and upon all these consultacions we have kept dyvers water courts, and according to the acte have caused all the lond that is ons in the yere drowned with freshe water to be vewyd by ij sworyn men of euery parishe wherein eny suche lond lyeth; and, vpon their presentments, gevyn the same in charge to the xxiiijth skewers, who have found the same lond to be within the levell, and to contrybute to suche charges as shold grow for the sewing of the same; and hereupon we have, at sundry courts, sett dyvers skotts as the necesseties have required, wherby every acre is charged at xvj^d, and in maner all the same mony levyed and imployd according to such devyses as hafe byn made, and of thos summes that now be to gather, dyvers persons deny to make payment, and have made reskewes vpon distresses takyn, and what they wold do farther if they shalbe attempted I can not tell. Wherefore in asmuch as my Lord Pryour of Lewis, for certen busynes of his howse, is now at London, I thought it good to advertise yo^r Lordship summe perte of this matter by my wrytyng; and for by cause I wold be loth to trouble your Lordshipe with my long and rude wrytyng, I shall most humbly beseche your Lordship to here him speak in the premisses, who is a man of such knowlege and experyens in this busynes as can much better declare the circumstance and necessiteis of this matter unto your Lordship than I can put it in penn. I send the baylyf of the levell aganst whome the reskewes were made with this letter, to th'entente your Lordship may examyn hym as well of the nombre of the persons and their names, as also ther demenor in doying the same, if so it may stand with your pleasure. And thus the blisshed Trynyte preserve your Lordship. Wrytyn in my power house at Ffisle, the xxth day of April, by your moste bowndeyne,

JOHN GAGE.

The Right Honorable and my most singular good Lord
Syr Thomas Cromwell, Knight, Lord Cromwell and Lord Prevye Seale.

There are, in the collection, several other letters of Sir John Gage; and one relating especially to property in the Lewes Level.² After the dissolution, the site of the Priory, and the other possessions in and about Lewes, were granted to Lord Cromwell (Feb. 16, 1538), who seems to have commenced by

¹ The Marshes extended from the mill of St. Katherine's, near the Tower of London, to the Chapel of St. Mary Matfelon; thence to the Church of St. Dunstan, in Stepenhithe; thence to the Church of St. Leonard, in Bromley; thence to the river of Leye; thence to the Thames; and thence to the said mill.—*Dugd. Imb.* 2nd ed. p. 72. The Master of St. Katherine's,

from 1527-36, was George de Athequa, a Spaniard, who came over with Queen Katherine, and was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1516, and so continued till his death in 1536.—*Ducarel's Hist. of St. Katherine's, Bibliog. Britan.* vol. ii.

² Lord Cromwell's Correspondence, xiii. fol. 13.

holding the lands in his own occupation, and then to have changed his intention; Sir John Gage offers to become the tenant of what are still known as the Two Rhies, which turn out to have been the Rabbit Warren of the Priory, and other property. The letter is without date, but was probably written in 1538.

In my most humble wise, pleasithe yt your Lordshyp to be advertised, that, sens the wryting of my last letter vnto your Lordshyp, I was informed that your pleas^r ys to lett to ffarme all yo^r londes nowe beyng in yo^r handes at Lewes. My Lorde, if your pleas^r so be, I wold gladly be yo^r ffarmer of bothe the Ryes wherin yo^r conyes be, and the broke lying to the said Ryes; and also the feldes that lye between the place and the ffryers, and in lykewise the brodwater the whiche yo^r Lordshyp hathe of my Lorde of Caunterbery. My Lorde, your Lordship knowys I kepe a power howse here, the whiche I haue good will to contynewe if my power wold extend to the same; and yo^r Lordship knowys also that I have a small thing to bere my charges withall; wherefore if yo^r pleasyr be to lett thes things to ffarme, I most humbly beseche your Lordship that I may be yo^r farmer to the same before another man, geving as another will. My Lorde, I desyer not this for covytys to make my selfe riche, but onely to have relyve by the same for the better provysyon of my power howse, beseching yo^r Lordship that I maye know your pleasyr herein by my seruaunte this berer; and that it will please yo^r Lordship to take in good perte this my rude and bold wryting at this tyme. And thus the blessid Trynyte preserve yo^r good Lordship. Wrytin in my power house at Firley, the xvijth daye of December,

By yo^r moste bowndeyne, JOHN GAGE.

To the Right Honorable and my most singler good Lord Cromwell
and Lord Privy Seale.

This letter also shows that the land of the Priory extended to and adjoined the lands of the Gray Friars, whose broad-water had passed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

SELE PRIORY, AND SOME NOTICE OF THE
CARMELITE FRIARS AT NEW SHOREHAM, AND
THE SECULAR CANONS OF STEYNING.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

WHEN giving an account of the remains of the *Vetus Pons* discovered in 1839, near Beeding (*Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* Vol. II. p. 66), my knowledge of the neighbouring Priory of Sele was derived chiefly from what had already been published in the *Monasticon* and Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*; but having since been obligingly permitted by the late venerable President and the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to inspect and make extracts from the ancient deeds and charters in their possession, I am now enabled to give a much more enlarged history of it. These very numerous documents are, for the most part, in a legible condition; many of them are original, and, thanks to the care that has been taken of them, the seals of some of them remain in a fair state of preservation, adding much to their value. But, besides the separate charters, there are two folio volumes of transcripts: one containing upwards of one hundred leaves of parchment, in which many other charters are entered; and the other, of as many paper leaves, of a much later date, in which deeds are only referred to, such references being numbered and arranged under the heads of the parishes and places in which the property is situated.

The foundation charter of the Priory of Sele, dated from the Church of St. George de Bocherville, in A.D. 1075, will be found in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (iv. p. 668), copied from a long roll among these records; and this, with the confirmatory charters of the founder's son and grandson, and two extents in 1324 and 1370, is all which the editors of that valuable

work have given us. From this we learn that it was founded by William de Braose, taking his name from his residence a few miles south-west from Falaise, now called Briouze, where his family had been long settled. He was one of the most powerful of Duke William's Norman companions in his invasion of this country, and received from him the barony and Saxon castle of Bramber, with forty-one manors in that part of Sussex—a territory nearly conterminous with the rape itself. In accordance with the piety of the times, and the example of his patron, he had already founded a priory at Briouze, as a cell to the ancient Abbey of St. Florent, at the place of this saint's death, in the seventh century, a quarter of a league from Saumur, in Anjou; and in his foundation charter¹ he gives to the Church of the Martyrs, St. Gervais and Protais, at Briouze, the churches of Shipley (*ultra mare*), of St. Nicholas, of his Castle of Bramber (*de castello meo*), of Washington, and Ashington; and this deed is witnessed by King William, Queen Matilda, Henry the Earl, Archbishop Lanfranc, Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, and William de Braose. He afterwards became desirous of establishing a monastery near his English residence, in connection with the same Abbey of St. Florent de Saumur. To accomplish this, he placed at the disposal of the monks of that religious house, three of whom were present at the signature of the grant, the four churches of St. Peter, at Sele; St. Nicholas, at Bramber; St. Nicholas, at Old Shoreham; and St. Peter de Veteriponte, to enable them to found a priory in the immediate vicinity of his newly acquired castle. In obedience to his wishes, three or four monks were sent over, who settled themselves at Sele, where a suitable residence was provided for them. The place is named as Bedinges in Alfred's will, and Domesday; and why it acquired the name of Sele is unknown. Being a cell of Saumur, it followed the same Benedictine rule as did the other cells of Saumur established in England, such as St. Mary, at Andover, founded by William the Conqueror; St. Mary, at Monmouth, in the time of Henry I.; and Sporle, in Norfolk, founded by Henry II., as Earl of Anjou. (See *Alien Priories*, by Warburton and Ducarel, vol. ii. p. 81.) The

¹ Cartulaire Blanc de St. Florent. *Memoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 3^e serie, vol. ii. p. 119.

Priory Church of Sele is generally spoken of as dedicated to St. Peter; but in one or two charters relating to it, I have found it called the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul.

From an *Inspecimus* of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, we learn that all the grants to this priory, up to the year 1151, were ratified by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Apostolical See, having been previously confirmed by Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, including the four churches just mentioned, and in addition that of St. Mary of the Port (*de Portu*), which is the earliest mention we have of the Church of New Shoreham, it having been built and given to the priory since its foundation. Cartwright (p. 57) thinks this church of much older date, and included in the grant of the founder, though not particularly mentioned by name, as being at that time no more than a chapel belonging to Old Shoreham; and he refers to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., in 1291, which mentions a church at Shoreham, *with a chapel*; but this chapel could not have been the church of New Shoreham: the mixed style of architecture so observable in it showing that it is of a date later than the first establishment of the Priory of Sele. Possibly, as a new town was springing up about the port of Shoreham during the twelfth century, the spiritual wants of the inhabitants induced William de Braoze, grandson of the founder, to build and give it to the Priory of Sele.

The Benedictine order, to which this small priory belonged, prevailed very extensively among the religious houses in Sussex. In Saxon times, the secular clergy of this order were assembled in colleges founded for the purpose, and called prebendaries or canons—as at Bosham, near Chichester, and South Malling, near Lewes.¹ But, under the Norman rule, a different arrangement was made, the endowments being appropriated chiefly to priors and monks, an arrangement which met with episcopal and royal sanction. Unlike the independent Priory of Lewes, which elected its own superior, managed its own estates, and exercised a free jurisdiction, the greater part of the Sussex monasteries, including Sele, were cells only to some of the greater abbeys, at home or abroad, from which they received their instructions, by which their

¹ For an account of these two colleges, see Vols. III. p. 51, and VIII. p. 189.

superior and monks were chosen, and on which they depended for their subsistence.

The site selected for the Priory of Sele was on the north side of the present church, the ground on which it stood falling, like that of Hardham Priory, precipitously on its west side to the alluvial levels of the river Adur, about twelve feet below it. As four, or at the most five, monks only were to be provided for, the buildings themselves were not very extensive. Of these not a vestige, I believe, now remains; but from the recollection of an aged relative of mine, lately deceased, but who lived to attain the great age of one hundred years and eight months, and who knew the place previous to the year 1790, when the present vicarial residence was built, I have been able to collect the following particulars:—The vicarage-house was then a part of the ancient priory, and the dining-room the refectory of the monks. The house was, at that time, connected with the church by a cloister, and there were fragments of old walls of flint and stone, and ruined arches, standing in and about what is now the kitchen garden, lying between the house and the church. These began to be removed in 1785, and their total demolition was effected upon the erection of the present house. Many doubts exist as to whether the present was the original church of the priory or not, but it appears to me not to have been so. It is a plain structure, consisting of a small nave and chancel—the two being separated by a screen, no part having any pretensions to architectural notice. From an indulgence granted, in 1308, by "*Gilbertus Enarchduniensis Episcopus*,"¹ of forty days to those who should contribute towards ornamenting the fabric of the Church of Sele and its altars, and from other authentic sources, we know that attached to the conventual church were two chapels, one on the north, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and another on the south, to the Virgin; but no traces of these two chapels remain. Cartwright thinks the two Early Norman arches in the south wall, now closed up, led formerly to a side aisle.

¹ The See of Enaglidoen, or Enachdoen, in Ireland, was subsequently absorbed into the diocese of Tuam. Concerning this Gilbert, who appears to have acted as coadjutor to Bishop Langton, and the

frequent usage of Irish bishops acting as suffragans to English bishops at this time, see *Archæol. Journal*, vol. ix. pp. 358-9. Cartwright erroneously names him Francis (pp. 226, xxv.).

Domesday mentions two churches here—alluding, probably, to the priory church as distinct from the parish church; and two churches are also mentioned in a deed, dated 1150 (*Chartulary*, p. 50), setting forth their privileges, “*Ecclesia S^{ti} Petri de Sele*,” and “*Ecclesia de Sele*.” Both may have gone to decay, and the present church been erected on the site of that of the priory. That the parish church did not long continue in a fit state for use, and that the parishioners were accustomed to attend the conventual one, is shown by a deed, among the priory records, setting forth the judgment of certain commissioners appointed by the metropolitan to decide a dispute which had arisen between them and the priory, as to the obligation to contribute towards the expense of its necessary sustentation. The decision was that they were liable to the immediate reparation, when needed, of the nave, the belfry, the bells, the bell-ropes, and the clock, under a penalty of 40*s.*; and with this, after some resistance, the parishioners reluctantly complied. There is no date to this deed, but, as the arrangement was confirmed by Archbishop Peckham in 1283, it must have been of that period.

Sele shared the fate of other alien priories in this country, by having its revenues seized by the Crown during the French wars of Edward III. and Henry V. (Rymer, *Fœdera*, 12th Edward III.) These and other exactions reduced the priory at times to much distress, but it was made denizen in 1396, by letters patent of Richard II., upon the payment of a sum of £40 into the King’s hanaper, and the prior and monks agreeing to pay eleven marks annually to the Abbey of St. Florent of Saumur, as an acknowledgment for, and in lieu of, the dependence from which it was thus released. In 1459, Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, obtained its annexation, as well as that of the Priory of Selbourne, in Hampshire, to Magdalen College, Oxford, which he had just founded; the college, at that time, being inadequately endowed for so large an establishment. The process of impropriation may be found fully set forth in White’s *History of Selbourne*. The suppression of these two priories, and the appropriation of their revenues to Magdalen College, were confirmed by a bull of Pope Innocent VIII.; and also, as far as Sele Priory was concerned, at a later period, by Richard, Duke of York, second

son of Edward IV., who had previously disputed the right of the college to the property thus obtained, maintaining that it either belonged to the King, as heir of the line of the founder, or to himself, in right of his wife Anne, heiress of her grandfather, John Duke of Norfolk, the undoubted patron of the priory. Upon the claim being referred to commissioners, specially appointed by the King, it was decided, however, in favour of the college. Bishop Waynflete died a few months after.

That the irregularities of some of the later priors of this house, as well as its diminished revenues, tended to bring about its early dissolution, we have abundant evidence to show. Those whose delinquencies were the most scandalous and notorious were the four last priors:—William Lewis, John Grig, and two priors of the same name, though in no way related to each other—Ralph Alleyne and Richard Alleyne. Among the records in the Episcopal Registry, at Chichester, there are accounts of two visitations of this priory, made by Bishop Praty, one in October, 1441, and the other in the January following. On the first occasion, four monks appeared in obedience to the citation—William Lewis, the prior; John Lewis, John Grigge, and ——— Harper. Some of the irregularities complained of appear in the Episcopal Injunctions which were the result of the visitation:—That the common seal¹ of the house be kept under the security of two keys, one to be in the possession of the prior, and the other in that of the senior monk; that the prior refrain from granting any more corrodies, under pain of deposition; and that he render a faithful account of the receipts and expenditure of the house before the seniors of the chapter once in every year, under a penalty of 100s., to be applied to the support of the fabric of their church.

The second inquiry was made by the bishop in the course of a general visitation of his diocese, which, as it took place in winter over bad roads, was a work of no ordinary labour. (See *Rape of Bramber*, p. 355; *Sussex Collect.* IX. 9.) On his return from the more eastern parts of his diocese, he passed

¹ For the strict manner in which a monastic seal was directed to be kept, and the mischiefs arising from a contrary

course, see "*Injunctions given to the Prior and Convent of Boxgrove*," A.D. 1518. Vol. IX. p. 63.

January 25th at Lewes, and on Friday, the 26th, dined at Bighthelmstone and slept at Sele, which he visited the following day, going on to Broadwater for his Sunday's halt. Four monks again appeared, but Harper's place was then filled by John Twyford. Other charges were now brought against the Prior Lewis:—1. That he was seldom present at the celebration of matins:—2. That he often left the church without bread and wine, so that the monks could not celebrate the holy eucharist so often as they wished:—3. That he was guilty of the grossest personal vice:—4. That by symoniacal means he had obtained the dignity of Prior:—5. That he alone had the custody of the common seal:—6. That through his negligence, the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin was omitted:—7. That he wasted and consumed the goods of the house, and had run it greatly into debt. After a full investigation of these charges, the evidence in support of which fills two folios of the register, he was pronounced guilty, and a sentence of deprivation was issued against him by Walter Eston, canon of Chichester, the bishop's commissary in the matter. This investigation took place in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, upon the bridge at Bramber.

John Grigge, his successor, was charged principally with wastefulness and extravagance. During the fourteen years he was Prior of Sele, he is represented as having consumed, and not replaced, or, in the terms of the accusation, "devoured 11 shepe, 26 draught oxen, 80 young wether beastes, 80 swyne, 10 pounds in honey, 2 macers bounde with sylver uncovered," together with many salts, chalices, and cruets of silver, granges full of corn, the household furniture, carts, &c., besides running the house into debt more than 300 mares, and reducing the revenue to £8. (Cartwright, p. 230, xxxvi.) The Bishop of Chichester prevented further diminution, by at once sequestering the remainder of the property.

John Grigge seems to have persisted in the office of prior, in spite of its annexation to the newly founded college at Oxford; and whatever may have been his faults, for fourteen years, from the 26th Henry VI. 1446-7, to the 2nd Edw. IV. 1463 (see Cartwright, page 230, xxxvi.), he may have considered the surrender of his convent illegal as well as inexpedient, and may have felt justified in resisting it. After the

bishop's interference, however, he resigned in favour of Ralph Aleyn, a monk of the house, whose delinquencies were still more bold and glaring. As his predecessor had disposed of the greater part of the goods of the house, and had encumbered it with debts, Ralph Aleyn turned his attention to an alienation of its lands; to facilitate which, he forged a conventual seal, which he carried about with him wherever he went, and used for this purpose; and deeds ratified by impressions of this spurious seal, occur among the Magdalen Archives. A representation of the evil consequences of this having been made to the bishop, he issued an injunction, directed not only to the vicar of Sele, but to all rectors and curates throughout his diocese, to be read publicly in their several churches during divine service, on Sundays and holidays. This is dated Amberley, February 15, 1463, and denounces "Raffe Aleyne, pretending himself Priour of the Priory of Sele," as having forged a new convent seal, without his license, and bearing it about with him at his pleasure, in order to alienate the goods and livelihood of the priory.

It will be observed that the bishop does not acknowledge Ralph Aleyn to be lawfully prior, and he had but just succeeded to the office; so that this charge of forging a seal may, perhaps, be interpreted as a protest against the legal use of any seal at all, after the annexation of the priory in 1459 to Magdalen College. The prior and monks of Sele evidently resisted this transfer, and refused to surrender the priory to the new claimants. It was owing to this obstinacy, indeed, which law could not overcome, that Magdalen College did not obtain possession of Sele for fifteen years after the grant by Waynflete, not until July, 1474. Indeed, although we find John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, as patron of Sele, formally giving up all his rights to William de Waynflete, on August 3, 1459 (Cartwright, p. 230, xxxv.), and that bishop immediately appropriating the priory to his own college, yet even as late as February 20, 1479, the King's Council found it necessary to make a declaration, adjudicating the right to Magdalen College (Cartwright, p. 34, lx.); and the Bishop of Chichester's final confirmation is dated Dec. 11, 1480. The conventual seal of John Grigge, and the disputed one of Ralph Aleyn, having been engraved for Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*,

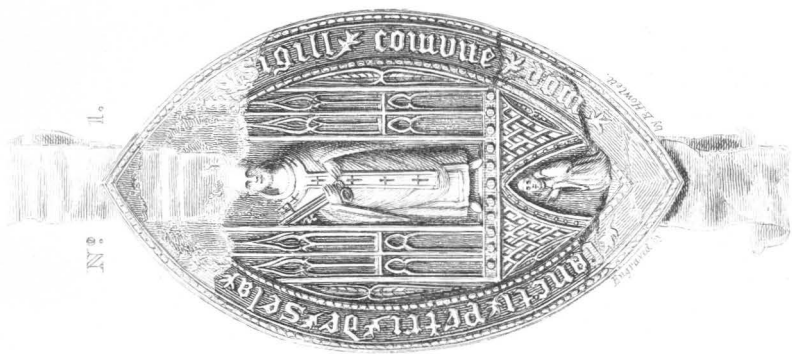
page 235, the use of the plate has been obligingly permitted by Mr. W. E. Baxter, of Lewes, the present proprietor of that valuable work. The thanks of the Society are also due to him for a similar use of the woodcut of the Peshale seal, in page 119.

Ralph Alleyn having been dismissed from his office by Bishop Story, the administration of the affairs of the priory was intrusted to Richard Alleyne, who had been a monk of Battle Abbey. It was alleged afterwards in the articles exhibited against Richard Alleyne, in 1473, that he had obtained the bishop's sanction to his election as prior in March, 1463, by promising a bribe of £10 a year to Thomas Tofts, and that he afterwards agreed to resign in 1464, receiving twenty marcs from Ralph Alleyn, who was to succeed him as prior; that on the said Ralph's resignation, March 3, 1467, he again became prior, by again bribing Thomas Tofts; and though the monks of the priory, J. Gryg, I. London, J. Lewys, and R. Gryg, had not been summoned to the election, he acted as prior for eight years, wasting the property of the house, and suffering all buildings to fall into decay, and, moreover, that he unjustly detained the priory from the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, after it had been assigned to them and annexed to their house. The Pope had issued a bull, February 8, 1472, confirming the right of the college; but Richard Grig, who alone held possession of the priory, refused to give it up; and the Pope was obliged to issue another bull, on Christmas Day, 1473, appointing commissioners to examine into Richard Aleyn's conduct. (See Cartwright, p. 231, xlv.) A definitive sentence in July, 1474, at length deprived "Richard Aleyn, styling himself Prior of Sele," and condemned him to pay the costs of the suit (p. 233, xlvii.). The bishop had made previously, April 15, 1466, an ineffectual attempt to discharge Richard Aleyn, and committed the care of the priory to John Joy, prior of Boxgrove, and Ivo Darrell, rector of East Lavant, on condition of allowing him sufficient pension for his sustenance (p. 230, xxxix.).

Two inventories of the goods of this house, taken, the one in 1412, and the other in 1470 (Cartwright, p. 227, xxix., and p. 229), are interesting, as showing not only what the furniture of a small religious house consisted of, both as to quantity and

COMMON SEALS OF SHELFE PRIORY.

No. 1.



Seal used by John Grigge.

No. 11



Seal used by Ralph Aleyne.

kind, but how great the wastefulness and extravagance of these four priors must have been during that period. At the time the last was made, the income of the house was reduced to £60. 9s. 3d.

In 1480, one monk only remained, then receiving a pension ; and the house was unoccupied until 1493, when it was appropriated to the use of the Carmelite Friars of Shoreham, whose house had been founded by John de Mowbray, whose mother, Aliva, was daughter and one of the coheiresses of William de Braoze. Of this order there were but two houses in Sussex—this at Shoreham, and another at Chichester. At the time these friars removed to Sele, their house at Shoreham was not only falling into a state of decay, but in danger of being entirely washed away by the sea, which had made considerable inroads upon it. Here they remained until their final dissolution in the year 1544.

Of these friars and their house, previous to their removal to Sele, but little is known. Possibly a deeper search among the Magdalen archives than I was able to make, at Oxford, might have led to the discovery of the chartulary of their house, which, doubtless, would be removed to Sele with the friars themselves. From the documents incidentally met with among the Sele records, we learn a little of their endowment. By a deed, dated Shoreham, 1330, John Kingeswode, of Findon, a considerable landed proprietor, gave them a tenement, with a house standing upon it, in the ville of New Shoreham, which he held under the Temple. In this deed they are addressed as “*Religiosis viris ordinis Beatæ Mariæ de Monte Carmeli, apud Novam Shoreham, in comitatu Sussex, commorantibus.*” This tenement had the house of Simon Crabwych on the south side of it, and that of Robert Herryngs, and other houses, the property of John de Blaker,¹ and John de la Knauc, John le Ferur, and Simon Trenchmere, on the west ; and the marsh of the Templars, called “*le Temple Stead,*” to the north and east. The seal which is appended to this deed is of red wax, and in a very perfect state. On the face of it is the impression of a squirrel, with tail erect, clinging to a leafless branch,

¹ No doubt an ancestor of the ancient family of Blaker, who originated at Shoreham, but who, in more modern times, resided at Kingston and Portslade, and one

of whom, John le Blakere, is returned in an assize roll dated 1279, as a defaulter, for selling wine contrary to the assize.

and at the back "S' IONIS DE KINGESWODE." Nigel de Combes, Robert Mitchell, John de Bokyngham, were among the witnesses to this grant; and William de Northo, who founded a chantry in 1319, in the north transept of Edburton Church. (Cartwright, p. 239.) Kingeswode also gave them, at Christmas, in the same year, by the hands of their prior, brother Nicholas de Bedinges, six marks sterling of good and lawful money, in addition to twelve marks due to him upon the purchase of the house above alluded to. The separate deed for this gift has the same seal.

Whether the houses of the two establishments of Carmelite Friars and Knights Templars in Shoreham, were near to each other or not, we have now no means of discovering, all knowledge of their sites having long passed away; but when the Templars were suppressed, their property there passed into the hands of the friars. In 1292, Brother Guido de Foresta, grand master of the Knights Templars in England, with the full consent of the chapter of his house, granted to John Lote and Matilda his wife, the lease of a tenement, with a chapel, in New Shoreham, called "le Temple," so long as they should pay to the Templars at Seddlescombe 20s., and should keep the tenement and the chapel in a good state of repair. This tenement and house were evidently the same which were let in 1253, on the same terms, to William Bisshop. (See *Sussex Arch. Coll.* IX. p. 236.) This deed is witnessed by some of the brothers of the order, including Thomas de la Fenne, preceptor of Shepele; Thomas de Bray, William de Mere, chaplains; Brian de Saye, John de Kirkstone, Roger de Bolling, John Fitz-John, brothers. The seal is circular, and of green wax, with the impression of the arms of the Knights Templars—a lamb, with its head encircled in glory, holding a flag, upon the top of the staff of which is impressed a cross, around which is "✠ SIGILLVM TEMPLI," and at the back is a small head, the inscription of which is quite illegible. This house and chapel, Matilda, who is called in the deed of gift "de Templo," gave, after the death of her husband, "to God and the blessed Mary, and the Carmelite Friars at Shoreham." The deed is dated 1336, and witnessed by John de Yfeld, W. Petyt of Crauley, Thomas Moraunt, and Richard Serle; both the latter of Shoreham, which place was represented in Parliament by persons

bearing their names in 1326 and 1360. The grant was confirmed by Thomas Larcher, prior of the Hospitallers, by a deed quoted in Vol. IX. p.237. The seal is of green wax, on which is impressed a very bold and beautiful face of our Saviour; all that remains of the legend is "PRIOR NGLIA." There is also an imperfect deed of Ralph, vicar of Shoreham, having reference to the same Carmelite Friars, but in what way cannot well be made out. The seal is oval, and of green wax, and the impression a small foliated cross, with the letters "RAD" under it, and round the seal "✠ SINGNVM ECCE CRVCIS." Another, not very legible deed, but, as far as it can be read, having some reference to the removal of these friars to the abandoned Priory of Sele, has a seal of red wax, on which is the impression of a bird, with expanded wings, and head turned back, and the motto, "VAV A VAV." The Chapel of St. John, at Shoreham, called "le Temple, is probably that which Cartwright confounds with New Shoreham Church. It had been a source of dispute between the Templars and Sele (see Vol. IX. p. 236), and continued to be so when the Hospitallers succeeded them, and complained that this chapel was a serious injury to them, as patrons of the church of New Shoreham. This dispute having been referred to the bishop, the precentor, and the prior of Southwyke in Hampshire, it was by them decided that the Hospitallers should no longer appoint one of their own order to officiate as a priest in this chapel, but should nominate to the ordinary for the time being a secular clerk, to be by him appointed to minister in it, but without detriment or loss to the parish church, which was to retain all its ancient rights and privileges; and the same canonical obedience was to be paid to the Bishops of Chichester, by the chaplain, as was due from the incumbent of the parish church. To a fulfilment of this decree each party was bound under a penalty of 100s. The seal of this deed of arrangement remains in a perfect state; it is of dark green wax, oval in shape, 3 inches in breadth by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in width; the impression is a building, in the ecclesiastical style of architecture, under which are the words "TEPLŪ S' IVSTICIE," with a cross at each end of them, and around the seal "SIGILLVM : SANCTE : CICESTRENSIS : ECCLESIE:" This decision was subsequently confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Chi-

chester, and by all the parties interested in it. The deed of confirmation has two seals, both round, and of white wax: on the face of one is the figure of an ecclesiastic, with a staff in one hand and a Bible in the other, and at the back a head, apparently of our Blessed Saviour, with this motto, “✠ FIDELIS IN DOMINO;” on the other is the half-length portrait of a bishop, with a pastoral staff, the inscription being broken away.

Besides the property already mentioned, the Carmelite Friars possessed three roods of land in the meadow of Burstall, as proved by no less than five deeds extant, tracing it down from William Brum, in whose possession it was in 1295, through Robert Lindon and Thomas Thurmaston, to Richard Stapleton, the donor. In the earliest of these deeds its situation is represented as near the land of Amicia le Wayte, and as running from that belonging to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, probably belonging to the Templars, to the water's edge (*usque ad aquam*). Robert de Lindon also gave to the Carmelite Friars a meadow adjoining this land. By her will, dated 1346, Margaret Covert, of Sullington, bequeathed to the Carmelite Friars of Shoreham one quarter of wheat and two quarters of barley, and 15*s.* for six trentals, for the souls of her late husband, Sir John Covert, herself, and others related to them.—(Cartwright, p. 120).

The property with which the Priory of Sele was endowed was not at any time very considerable, but at the time of its appropriation to Magdalen College it had been reduced more than half. To the founder's gifts of four churches to enable the Abbey of St. Florent to found Sele, I have already alluded; this was confirmed by his son Philip, both on his departure for and on his return from Jerusalem, and by his grandson William. It was also confirmed by Bishop Seffrid, who invokes an anathema on all those that should attempt to violate it, as well as by Archbishop Theobald and by the Dean and Chapter. The foundation charter and all the gifts, up to this time, were farther confirmed by King Henry I., and Philip, the founder's son. They were also sanctioned, at a later period, by Reginald de Braoze (who died in the year 1222), for the souls of William his father, Matilda de Haia his mother, his brothers William and Giles Bishop of Hereford, his own, and those of his wife Griselda de Bruere,

and their children. The very interesting seals appended to this deed and that of the founder, as well as many other seals of this priory, are engraved by Cartwright, in his *Rape of Bramber*, p. 173.

But, notwithstanding the anathema denounced by Bishop Seffrid and the founder on such as should attempt to deprive the monks of any of his gifts, an endeavour was made, soon after the foundation of their house, by Nicholas, a priest, to show that the churches of Southwick and Bramber did not belong to them. The matter was brought to issue before the court of the Lord Philip de Braoze, sitting at Washington, and the certificate of his having failed in his proof is attested by Buci the sheriff, Robert Salvage, W. Halsard, W. Bishop, Almeric de Laci, Edwyn de Anningdon, and others. About this time William, the son of Philip de Braoze, exchanged with the monks the rent of one virgate of land, in his manor of Bedinges, for 46 acres (*tres solidatas et decem denariatas terre*), part of his park of Kneppe, given to them by William de Bernehus, paying them, in addition, 5s. annually. He also gave them in perpetuity 14*d.*, to purchase a light to burn before the altar of St. Peter, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his wife, and of those belonging to or in any way connected with him. The first witnesses to this deed are Philip his brother, and Odo de Damartyn his grandson, members of the Braoze family, not noticed in Cartwright's pedigree, and W. Bernehus, Robert de Tregoz,¹ W. de Hivetaus, Thomas de Monzeaus, William, parson of Bradewater, and Godfrey de Bedinges. To the monks of St. Florent he gave the land at Shoreham, of Ulnare the clerk, which Saracenus formerly held, seizin being given to David, a monk of the house, in the presence of his court. This gift, the deed states, he and his brother Philip made at the altar of St. Peter, in the Church of Sele (a significant mode of dedicating the benefactions of the pious to God and the church), in the presence of Richard de More, a Cluniac monk; Robert Salvage, Simon le Count, Augo de Cumbes, William Buci, W. and Nicholas Bernehus, and others. He also gave to the monks of the Priory of Sele, in honour of the blessed Mother of God,

¹ Robert of Lydiard Tregoz in Wiltshire, was sheriff of that county in the time of Richard I. His eldest son became Baron Tregoz. This ancient family was long set-

tled at Goring in Sussex, and the name is still to be found among the labouring class in that neighbourhood.

a house (*unam mansuram*), situated on the north side of the Church of St. Mary at Shoreham, free of all customary payments. The first witness to this deed of gift is William the prior, by whose counsel and advice it is particularly stated, the business was entered upon, and brought to a satisfactory conclusion; also an acre of land in the vill of Bidlington, called "Ableacre." He confirmed to them the whole of his bridge at Bramber; and gave them five salt pans and three vassals (*tres homines*), with their lands; and also a mill and all the fisheries from Old Shoreham to Bedney. Although other members of the founder's family were, we may reasonably suppose, interred in the Priory Church of Sele, this William de Braoze, the founder's grandson, is the only one recorded to have been buried there. That he was a man of a very haughty and vindictive temper, and guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, as he is said to have been, seems inconsistent with the piety and goodness which his munificence to this and other religious houses, both at home and abroad, displays.

The next benefactor of the Braoze family, was John, the son of William, the fourth in descent from the founder, who was killed by an accidental fall from his horse at Bramber, in 1232. By a deed, dated 1220, after reciting the grants of the founder, he gave to the monks of Sele the tithes of his demesne lands, both great and small, in Findon, Clayton (a farm still so called in Washington) Washington, Buddington, Kingsbarnes, Bramber, Bidlington, Anningdone, and Hazleholt; of his villenage of Southwicke and Brembledon; of three pieces of arable land in Southwicke; of Yhurst; of de Veteriponte; and of all moneys arising from New Shoreham, and from the rents of his whole barony of Bramber; and from the pannage and herbage of all his lands in Bramber; also three weighs of cheese (256 lb. each) (*tres pesas casei*) in the vill of Bramber; timber for building purposes, and brushwood for fuel; pannage for their swine and other animals in his woods and pastures in his barony of Bramber, and five salt pits; both the bridges of Bramber, and three vassals with their land, situated on the east side of the little bridge, and five messuages next the greater bridge of Bramber to the west; and a sufficiency of timber for their completion from his woods and forests; also for their sustenance, the mill and fisheries, and all profits that can possibly arise from the water at Bramber; six houses

at the port of Shoreham free from tallage, &c., and the fourth part of the fairs held there; also the tithe of such land as had been recently cleared of wood. The deed also confirmed all the previous grants of his ancestors, and gives permission to his homagers, or those that held lands or houses under him, to bestow on the priory, for the use of the monks, anything they might feel disposed to give. Among the attesting witnesses are Robert Salvage, W. Bernehus, Robert Boneth of Steyning, John le Count, Hugh de Cumbes, Robert de Buci, Henry de Wisteneston, Adam Talcurteys, Robert le Faulconer; John de Buckyngham, at this time seneschal to Lord John de Braose; Adam, and Swetman, of Bedinges.

All the grants up to this time were confirmed by Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, and the Dean and Chapter. Besides the grants of the churches of Sele and New Shoreham, which was appropriated to the priory in the year 1397, by letters patent of the 21st of Richard II., pensions are mentioned which the prior and monks were accustomed to receive from the churches of Old Shoreham and Bramber; and the tithes of the parishes of Suthwicke, Old Shoreham, Bramber, St. Peter de Veteriponte, Wassington (which Philip de Braose had exchanged for Shipley), Esshyngton, Syremanburie, Findon, Thacheham, Durrington,¹ Cloppham, Horsham, Hechengefeld, Sillington, Wistenestone, and Staninges; of the pannage of St. Leonard's Forest, and of Crochurst, all which they had peaceably possessed. They were also subsequently confirmed, in 1247, by Richard de la Wych, then Bishop of Chichester.

William de Braoze, the son and heir of John, was the next benefactor of this family, who, for the salvation of his own soul, and the souls of his wife Agnes, of John his father, and Margaret his mother, and of all his predecessors and successors, gave to the monks 229 acres of the land, with its appurtenances at Crochurst, in the parish of Horsham, as then fenced in. The different parts of this land, and their quantities, are very minutely described in the deed, as well as the name of each piece, and of the person by whom it was originally enclosed and cultivated. This land was given to them in exchange for an annual rent of ten marcs, which the monks

¹ There is no longer a church at Durrington; it is now a part of Terring parish. A small portion of the church only re-

mains. For an account of it, see Hussey's *Churches, &c.* p. 223.

were accustomed to receive as tithe accruing in the vill of Shoreham, from the hands of his bailiff there; also, the liberty of fishing in his water as far as the bridge of Bramber; and, when the bridge from any cause became impassable, a boat to carry over their men and cattle; also, an annual customary rent of 5s., paid by David de Stanford for the land held of him, called Stanford in Westgrinstead, which he had already given to them, with pasturage for their cattle in the Forest of St. Leonard's; also, certain land near the park of Bewbush, and other land adjoining Crochurst, free from the payment which William de Changeton conceded in fee to him, and of all service to the King. The deed is dated Knappe, 1237, and witnessed by W. de Wisteneston, Robert Boneth, Richard de Braose, Ralph de Broc, W. de Covert, Thomas le Tayllyer, Hugh de Buci, Robert de Burdeville, Michael de Cumbe, Philip Talcurteys, Godfrey de Bray, Simon de Hortune, clerk, and others.

This gift of David de Stanford was afterwards confirmed by William de Braoze. Besides the family of the founder, other benefactors were not wanting, among whom (to omit many smaller gifts) the following may be mentioned, in chronological order, as far as their dates can be ascertained:—Robert, son of William de Thornle, who gave to the blessed Peter and the monks of Sele all the land which he had in Anningdon by inheritance from his uncle, William de Mandeville, together with the capital messuage and garden belonging thereto, with all its rights and privileges, and all his right and claim in the land which the Lady Bibeheres held in the same vill in dower, and all escheats and issues at any time arising in the same vill by the death of any of his tenants. The first witness to this deed is William de Braoze, whom he designates as “my Lord”; after whom follow, Walter de Clifford, Henry de Sullia, W. de Wisteneston, William de Covert, Ranulf de Broc, Hugh de Buci, Robert de Bordeville, Michael de Cumbe, Andrew de Lychpole, William le Dunz, W. Scyrett, and others.—Walter de Burlunz gave to the same monks, for himself and his heirs, all his right and claim in a messuage, with its appurtenances, formerly held of them in the vill of Shermanbury. It is described as situated between the land of John Beauchamp to the north, and the shop (*shoppam*) of the prior and monks to the south. This gift his widow afterwards continued, charging it with an annual payment of 4s. to herself for her

life, and after her decease to her son and his heirs for their lives.—William Pallinger, a former vicar of Sele, gave to his successors in the same office, land measuring 102 yards in length, and 31 in width, in the vill of Bedinges, with the buildings thereupon lying on the west side of the house of Robert de Blake. Ralph de Auden gave to the monks a moiety of the tithes of his assarts lately made in Clopham, and of all his lands aforetime under plough and tillage; also a saltpit at Anningdon; John de la Kneppe and Emma, the daughter of Philip Hoel, his wife, a meadow at Kneppe; Philip de Brembre, an annual rent-charge of 3*s.*, issuing out of an acre of land in Bidlington; John le Turner, six acres of land at Crochurst, lying in three pieces, north of the land of Godfrey de Crochurst, and south of the highway leading to the house of Simon Terry; John de Flaxland, a small piece of land to the north of the King's highway, leading from the village to the Marsh of Bedinges; Alicia de Colville, 2*s.* rent in the vill of New Shoreham, which she purchased of Robert Odo; Ralph le Clerc¹ of Anningdon, her tenant, and Alicia his wife, in consideration for the payment of thirty pieces of silver, three acres of land in Old Shoreham. William de Colville, Prior of Sele, on the day of the anniversary of his father and mother, gave to God and the Convent of St. Florent, to enable them duly to celebrate it, one mark of silver annually as a pittance, to be paid out of the proceeds of his land at Bynam, in Ashurst, purchased of his predecessor. Ralph de Mandeville confirmed all the gifts of tithes arising from Anningdon, which his ancestors had made, namely, 2*s.*, ten *ambras*² of salt, half a weigh of cheese, and all the tithes of corn land. William de Lancinges gave to the Church of St. Peter, at Sele, the land which he had at the port of Shoreham, and which formerly belonged to Grimbald, the son of Bonard. This gift is stated to have been made when, with the full consent of William de Braoze, he gave up his son Robert to the prior, to be instructed by him in the rule of the blessed Peter. Margery, relict of Richard Brumman, of Shipley, released to the monks all her right in, and title to, certain lands held by her late husband in Crochurst.

¹ The family of Le Clerc lived at Of-fington.

² A Saxon measure, used not only for

salt, but for butter, meal, beer, &c., as well.

A family of the name of Byne, no doubt the ancient owners of Bynes, in West Grinstead, were also benefactors to the Priory of Sele. Amia de Byne, daughter of Roger de Byne, gave to the monks the land at Strete¹ (*Strata*), in the parish of Shepele, which was given her *in libero maritagio*, and which was formerly held in villenage by Godfrey de Strete; also Godfrey de Strete himself, her native, with all his goods and chattels; Julyana, the wife of Philip de Byne, all her lands and tenements in Byne, in the parish of West Grinstead; and Jacob de Byne, who was one of the jurors in making the *Nonæ* return for West Grinstead, a right of way through his field, called "Hammesfeld," to the land called "Morgen Mead," which had been given to the monks by his sister Anna, to enable them to get to it for the purposes of cultivation, and to bring away the produce. Others of this family were also benefactors to the priory, and the names of Bine Farm, Bine's Bridge, Priors' Bine, still preserve their memory in the locality.

Jordan, the son of Jordan, gave a mill at Burton. John de Ulnard, of Crochurst, gave nine acres of land at Crochurst, lying between the King's highway leading from the gate called Woodgate, towards Horsham to the west, and his own land to the east: the witnesses were, Robert Bordeville, Walter Bernehus, Matthew de Apslye, Godfrey de Lotenhurst, Henry de Eryngham, John de la Denne, Simon de Colestaple, and others. The Prior and Monks of Sele granted to Henry de la Quarere two virgates of land, with pasture in Anningdon, upon condition that he paid to them 10s. towards the anniversary of the prior, on the day on which he died.

Besides the preceding deeds, which are in Latin, there are a few in French, the earliest of which is of the date of Edward I., and the latest of Edward VI. They are, for the most part, warrants issued at different times by William de Braoze and John de Mowbray to the stewards of Bramber, and other parties concerned, to pay over money to the Prior and Monks of Sele, in satisfaction of divers complaints, or any claims they may have upon their estates. Among these are enumerated the tithes of underwood of all their Forest of St. Leonard's, and of colts falling within it; also timber for the sufficient

¹ The name still remains in Shipley.

reparation of the priory. There is also a mandate in the same language, dated 3rd of Edward III., Jan. 4, 1330, from Richard de Pechale, lord of the honour of Bramber and Gower, who had married Oliva, the widow of John de Mowbray, and heiress of William de Braoze, to his officers, to pay to the monks the arrears of Deandeniers due to them, the tenth, that is, of his rents and herbage in Beding, Findon, Horsham, Brembre, and Kneppe. On the curious seal of Richard de Peshale, which still remains attached to the original deed in the Magdalen College Archives, the lady's arms are seen borne upon his own, in an escutcheon of pretence.



The records abundantly show that the monks of Sele were frequently involved in disputes, arising from a variety of causes, among which may be specially noticed, the uncertain tenure of land, and ill-defined boundaries, which naturally engendered strife; and, as additional lands were brought into cultivation, other questions regarding the tithes of such lands arose in the parishes over which the prior and monks exercised the rights of patronage. There was also a growing feeling of dislike to the arbitrary exercise of power which religious houses were beginning to display. But, perhaps, the most fertile source of dispute was a measure which was intended to put, as far as possible, an end to such differences. I allude to the ordaining and endowing vicarages in the thirteenth century. For some time, the secular clergy had been loud in their complaints against the monasteries for appropriating the corn tithes of their parishes, although, as an excuse for their doing so, the sanction of the Papal See was pleaded. Some of the petitions claiming such tithes are in the Episcopal Registers at Chichester, in which various reasons are assigned in extenuation of requests so palpably unjust, the most usual of which, in this maritime county, were the expenses incurred by hospitality to strangers, and damage sustained by irruptions and encroachments of the sea, by fire, or by loss of crops through bad seasons. By whatever cause, however, such exactions were justified, they were severely felt by the secular clergy. They were often compromised by the establishment of annual

pensions to be paid the convents by the incumbents ; while, in other cases, they were permitted to retain the tithes by conceding to the incumbents a fixed pension, of small amount, for maintenance—£8 per annum being usually thought sufficient for this.

Of the churches in the patronage of the Priory of Sele, the ordination and taxation of the vicarages of Sele and New Shoreham by John, Bishop of Chichester, in 1261, are to be found among the Magdalen records. In those of Sele, the prior and monks assign to the vicar and his successors in perpetuity, as a competent manse without the priory, the house, with a garden, in the vill of Bedinges, which is situated between the house of Robert Ludiard to the south, and that of Matilda à Northtune to the north ; and for his sustenance, and to enable him to uphold the honour of his church, twelve marks, at specified times. The great and small tithes, oblations, and obventions, are directed to be paid over to the prior and monks for their own proper use, for ever. The witnesses to this arrangement were the Archdeacons of Chichester and Lewes, and John de Coreluto, Robert de Hastings, Robert de Purley (whom we also meet with in another deed as rector of Chaglegh), canons of Chichester; Walter, our chaplain; Thomas, vicar of Clymping; W., rector of Ovingdene; and W. de Hortune, our clerks. By the ordination of the vicarage of Old Shoreham, the vicar, besides the vicarage-house, was entitled to receive all the tithes of grass, hemp, flax, wool, milk, lambs, calves, and pigs, of the whole parish, and all the bread offered in the church. All other tithes, oblations, obventions, &c., were directed to be divided into three parts, of which the Prior and Monks of Sele were to take two, and the vicar and his successors one. The oblations made on the vigil, night, and day, of the exaltation of the Holy Cross were not to be included in this division, but to belong wholly to the prior and monks, together with rents, assizes, &c.

Disputes arose often from misinterpreted covenants respecting leases of tithes, or from their reservation, as to the amount or time of settlement of a pension covenanted to be paid, or as to withholding such pension altogether. These differences were sometimes amicably arranged, but at other times referred to the Arches Court, or to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester.

In a dispute between the prior and monks of Sele and the vicar of Terring, about the expense of collecting and housing the tithes of Durrington, a hamlet of that parish, a moiety of which Robert Savage had given to the priory soon after its foundation, it was determined, with the full approbation and concurrence of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, the patron, that the tithes of the whole parish should be collected and housed in a barn standing in the churchyard of this chapelry, at the common expense of both parties; that the corn, when threshed, should be equally divided, each party paying half the expense so incurred. This decision was attested by Guaro, Prior of Sele; Robert, a monk; Bono, priest of Wassyngtone; Robert, chaplain of Sele; Robert, priest of Suntinge; Gusus de Selvington; W., chaplain of Terringe; Avicus de la Cote, and others.

William de Braoze, having given to the priory all the tithes of his demesne lands in Findon, a dispute as to their boundary arose in the course of time, which was referred to arbitrators; but, prior to decision, it was amicably arranged by the prior and monks agreeing to concede to the church of Findon, of which William Baudeford was the incumbent, all the small tithes of sheep and other animals, and of all emoluments arising from four enclosures for sheep (*de quatuor bercariis*) in the same vill, two of which were in Mundeham (*Muntham*), a third in the tenure of Henry Witelofe, and the fourth in the furze (*de furse*) of the priory. It was further agreed, that the vicar of Findon should receive the tithes of any lands subsequently assarted; and the prior and monks those of the lands in Mundeham, now furze, but which may hereafter be cleared and tilled, with the exception of a part, which, from some cause or other, was under sequestration at this time.

In Wisteneston (*Wiston*) the rector of the parish, in 1320, was directed by a mandate from Geoffry, Archdeacon of Chichester, to restore to the Prior of Sele, "twenty-five schocks of wheate, parcel of their tithes of the parish," which he had unjustly taken and carried away from a field called "the Cleys." Not obeying this, he was afterwards cited into the archdeacon's court for contempt, where sentence was given against him, which was confirmed in an appeal to the Arches Court.

A dispute having arisen between Sele and Joceline, presbiter of Old Shoreham, about the division of the tithes of the parish,

it was agreed, in the presence of Stephen, treasurer of the cathedral; Master Robert de Bosenham, Godfrey the seneschal, and others, that for the future, instead of the usual division, there should be granted to the vicar, for the term of his life, a lease of the portion belonging to the monks, except the tithes of cheese, lambs, and wool, of Erryngham; and also 3*s.* paid from a mill, and a like sum from the gabel of the lord in the same vill, for which he was to pay them 5½ marcs per annum. Similar disputes arose in almost all the parishes in which they claimed any portion of tithes. In Wiston it was determined, after much altercation, that all tithes of the lands called Northevre and Suthevre belonged to the prior and monks (with the exception of three roods lying under Lalyneche, and in Southwick); that they were entitled to the tithes of all the lands held in fee by Roger de Clare, Matilda de Condere, Julian de Celario, and Richard de Covert, out of which they were to pay to the vicars 40*s.* annually.

A difference as to the tithes of a much larger extent of property arose, in 1255, between our monks and the secular canons of Steyning. Of these canons but little is known, but the old vicarage-house¹ is supposed to have been their collegiate residence. They were a cell of the Abbey of Fecamp, in Normandy (see Vol. V. p. 117). By a *Breve Regium* issued in 1501-2, for the purpose of certifying for exemption what lands, &c., belonged to the abbess and convent of Syon, the church of Steyning, with the chapels of Warmingherst and Ashurst, lately belonging to the Abbey of Fecamp, is mentioned. A copy of this writ will be found in the Bishop's Registers, D. folio 151. And in a deed immediately following, this foreign abbey is stated to possess *spiritualia* in Washington, Bury, and Goring, in the archdeaconry of Chichester, and in the archdeaconry of Lewes, in Brede, Southwicke, and Sele; and *temporalia* in Steyning, Sumpthing, Wormyngherst, Eglesden, Bury, and Brede. The *Nonæ* return for Southwick states, "that the receipts of the Prior of Sele, and the Abbot

¹ Drawings of the ornamented ceiling in a room of Steyning vicarage, with a lion rampant, a spread eagle, a dolphin, a double W on the knots of the square panels, are in the Burrell collection (*Add. MSS.* 2673, p. 37), drawn by Grimm, 1781;

and also of a stained glass window there, representing a nun, dressed in white and grey, with black sleeves, and her head crowned, holding a rosary, and kneeling before a desk in a chapel, inscribed "Sca Brigitta ora pro nobis."

of Fecamp were valued at £10." An extent of the possessions of Fecamp at Sompting, taken in 1379, rates them at £9. 9s. 9¼*d.* per annum. The rectory of the church was then in the hands of the Knights Hospitallers. The return in the *Nonæ* as to Steyning states, that "the Abbot of Fecamp is lord and rector of this parish, and his land, &c., are valued at 126 marcs; and the Prior of Sele has a certain portion of the tithes of sheaves, valued at 2½ marcs." In Pope Nicholas's Valuation, the sum total of these is stated to be £462. 4s. 11½*d.*, a large sum for those days. The secular canons of Steyning were, no doubt, monks sent over from the foreign abbey to perform the duties of the churches belonging to it, and they appear to have been settled there previous to the Norman conquest. At the time of the dispute between them and the monks of Sele, Nicholas de Plumpton was the master of the college. The canons complained that the great and small tithes of the demesne lands of William de Braoze in Bramber and at Kingsbarns, and of Philip de Talcurteys in Wickam, as well as of sixteen acres of land lying in two marshes in the North Brook of Robert Gervays, and of two marshes, one belonging to Robert Bron, and the other called Godescroft, to which they considered themselves entitled, were unjustly withheld from them by the monks of Sele. The matter was referred by the Court of Arches to the Prior and Dean of Horthun, and Master Thomas de Watertune, as arbitrators, who, examining the privileges of both parties, and their muniments from the foundation of their houses, decided in favour of the Prior of Sele. The witnesses of this decision were, Master Walter de Gloucester, canon of Chichester; Master Thomas de Bridham, and others.

In 1259, an inquiry took place in the cemetery of the church of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, at Bidlington, into the grounds of a contention, which had been for some time going on between the Abbot of Fecamp and the Prior of Sele, concerning the tithes of 3¾ acres of land in Steyning, which, after peaceable possession by Sele for thirty years, Master Nicholas de Plumpton, formerly a canon of the church of Steyning, had then taken and carried away. He afterwards, however, restored them, and the bailiff of Steyning had taken possession of them the next year, since which time the Prior of Sele had been

allowed to receive them unmolested. A judgment was given, that the tithes belonged to the Priory of Sele; and in the church itself of Bidlington, in 1262, Hamo Boneth entered into a solemn engagement, before divers witnesses, to account to the monks of Sele, without giving them further trouble, for the tithes of his land at Tottyngton, and in other parts of Sele, as his father had done before him. Although this church no longer exists, the name of its patron saint is still identified with that of the principal farm in Bidlington, on some part of which the church probably stood. That there was a hospital at Bidlington at the close of the thirteenth century, is shown by a deed at page 61 of the Chartulary, by which Philip de Brember, after giving to William de Scuret, the son of Simon, for his faithful services, a burgage house in Brember, built by his father, charging it with the payment of 4*d.* to the Abbot of Battle, and a rent of 2*s.* from the house of Philip de Halvenuyst, out of which he was to pay 1*d.* at Easter to the Priory of Sele, adds to them a virgate of land, less by three roods, formerly held by John Palmer, upon condition that 2*s.* 6*d.* be paid annually to the Hospital of Mary Magdalen at Bidlington, in moieties, on the feasts of St. Thomas and of St. John the Baptist, it being specially covenanted that this deed shall remain in the hands of John Flaxlond. Margaret Covert bequeathed to it a small legacy of corn. The endowment of this hospital was so small, that it was excused from taxation by Bishop Langton in 1320. It was standing as late as 1553, as we learn from a lease granted to William Hunt, of land called "Cornwick," by Lord William Howard, with the consent of Mallen Cooke, the Prioress of the Hospital of Bidlington Magdalen, in Bramber. As Bidlington was just under the castle walls to the south, this hospital was probably founded by some of the Braoze family. Might not the church have been in some way connected with it? No traces of either now remain. Hospitals of this kind were monastic institutions, founded for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims and poor travellers, at a time when but little other accommodation could be found for them; and on this account they were, as in the present case, generally situated by the side of a main road. They were, for the most part, of the Augustine order, and monastic discipline was very strictly observed in them.

A dissension having arisen between Thomas Peveral, of Ewhurst, in Shermanbury, and the Priory of Sele, as to their right to pass over Mockbridge, a few miles higher up the Adur than Sele, with their carts and cattle, free from toll, the privilege of so passing was, by consent, conceded to the monks, but not to their tenants, who were to pay 1*l.* per annum for a waggon, and $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for a cart.

In 1248, the same monks agreed to pay to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester six marcs and 5*s.* annually, towards the support of a chaplain, to minister perpetually for the dead at the altars of St. Cross and St. Augustine, in the greater church of Chichester, in consideration of a donation of 30*s.* made to them by the dean, from the goods of Thomas (Lychfeld), formerly dean of Chichester; they agreed also with the prioress and nuns of Rusperre to divide the tithes of the assarts of Crochurst equally between them. The amicable agreement between the Templars of Shipley and the Priory of Sele, as to Knappe, has been mentioned in Vol. IX. p. 248, by which 6*s.* a year was henceforward to be paid by the Templars to Sele.

In 1282, the monks of Sele were guilty of some offence against the person and property of William de Braoze, of so serious a nature as to induce him to withdraw from them his patronage and support, which it cost them £40 to regain. The deed states, that, in consideration of this sum received from them, he forgives them the offence committed against him, and all injuries done, except so far as the forest and his house at Findon were concerned; and that he again takes them under his protection, and restores them to his favour.

Among the priory deeds is one showing the mode in which the monks remunerated old and faithful servants. It states that, in 1256, the prior and monks of Sele unanimously agreed to bestow on Robert Curtelinges, for his past services to them and their house, the office of gatekeeper of the priory, and to assign to him daily from their cellar, so long as he should continue in office, one loaf of white and one of black household bread, and one gallon of conventual beer, and from the kitchen as much flesh and fish as was customarily consumed by the servants of the house, with 5*s.* a year for clothing, to be received by him in the chamber (*camerá*) of the Priory on the feast of St. Michael. The office of *portarius* was, for the most

part, committed, as in the present instance, to old and well-tried servants of the establishment. It was the business of this officer, upon the arrival of a visitor, to attend to him, and to announce the event to the superior. He was also the medium of communication with the kitchen, the refectory, and the infirmary. His post was at the gate, night and day, which he locked at curfew, delivering the key over to the cellarer, and receiving it from him again in the morning. In the larger monasteries there were porters of the cloister and of the hall as well. The list of the attesting witnesses to the preceding deed includes Robert Lucas de Lancynges, Nicholas the monk; Thomas, rector of Palinges; Robert de Purley, rector of Chag-legh; William, perpetual vicar of Liminster; Robert, chaplain of Portslade; Henry, chaplain of Southwick; Walter, chaplain of Henville; W., chaplain of Wivelsfield; Simon de Gatewyck, John de Beauchamp, John de Blake; and to other deeds, besides those of the founder's family, most of those who held lands under them in the rape of Bramber, as well as elsewhere.

Among the deeds of *iaspeximus* is one reciting a mandate to Albert, Prior of Lewes (1236-44); Anketellus, Prior of Boxgrove (1217-1222); and Garnerius, Prior of Arundel.

In 1368, an indulgence of forty days was granted by John, Bishop of Chichester, to all those who contributed in any way towards the repair and sustentation of Bramber Bridge. From an early period, many houses appear to have stood on the causeway of this bridge (*super calcetum pontis de Brember*), which may have extended from the castle to Beding, reference to such houses being frequently met with among the priory deeds.

At the dissolution of monasteries in 1544, Richard Andrews, of Hayles, in the county of Gloucester, gent., and Michael Temple, in consideration of 6s. paid by them into the Hanaper, were empowered to alienate the dissolved Priory of Sele, with its appurtenances, to Owen Oglethorpe, clerk, president of Magdalen College, and his brother Clement Oglethorpe, yeoman, by whom, two years afterwards, peaceable possession was given to the college, after half a century of litigation and dispute. The priory during this time is described as held of the crown *in capite*. Of this grant there are the usual episcopal and other confirmations, dated in 1480. Under that of Edward,

Bishop of Chichester, a pension of 6*s.* 8*d.* was granted as an indemnity on the appropriation of Old Shoreham Church. The vicarages of other appropriated churches, the right of institution to both vicarages and rectories, presentation in case of lapse, and all accustomed rights and jurisdictions, were reserved; and under that of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, an annuity of 3*s.* 4*d.*, and six marcs, and 5*s.* to the chaplain of the chantry of St. Cross and St. Augustine, heretofore paid by the priory. The first lessee under the college was Edward Shelley, of Warminghurst, at a reserved rent of 26*s.* 8*d.* The church of Findon was not annexed to Magdalen College until 1502. The deeds relating to this annexation occupy six folio pages of the Bishop's Registers, D. p. 166.

There is a curious memorandum endorsed, apparently by a college officer, on one of the Sele records, having reference to certain tithes due from Thomas Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, to the college, out of the lands held by him in Bramber, Horsham, Knepe, the Forest of St. Leonard's, and the hundred of Bramber, formerly belonging to the Priory of Sele, and which might possibly have been urged by his agent as an excuse for the nonpayment of such tithes. It is as follows:—"Mem. That there is communication that the lorde admirall aforesaide will buylde a towne wthin the foreste of St. Leonarde, wher increase of p'vie tythes may grow to the college, or els a composition betwene the said lorde and the college for the tythes; wheras now we have but 3*s.* for the herbage of the forest, and 8*s.* for the parke of Bewbushe, sometyme p'cell of y^e foreste;" a prospect of increase of the college revenues which was never realized. Seymour-town was never built; but that the admiral went so far as to fix upon the site of his town, is plain from another memorandum immediately following the preceding, which states "that when Standishe was sent for to demande these parcells, he saw a plot drawen and delivered to y^e said lorde of Knepe; of y^e which the sayde lorde is resolved to have but parcell for his p'she, and th'other he will turne to vses wherby like condicions may in sew herebye, as before is said of St. Leonarde."

By a certificate from John, Bishop of Chichester, to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, it appears that the value of the Priory at the time of its dissolution was £26. 8*s.* 4*d.*

The following is a list of the Priors of this house, as far as I have been able to discover them :—

- c. 1100. Robert, mentioned as being "then Prior," in the confirmatory charters of the founder's son and grandson.
- c. 1200. William, witness to a grant of the founder's grandson William, who died A.D. 1210. *See* p. 114.
1256. Walter de Colville. *See* Cartwright, pp. 225, 229; xiii, xv.
1257. Guaro —, in Chartulary, p. 17, "*Litera domini Ricardi.*"
1288. David —. *See* Cartwright, p. 224.
1304. P. de Habynaux, in Chartulary, p. 102, from a deed apparently relating to the repairs of the chapel on the bridge.
1324. Ralph de Bedyng. *See* "Extent," in Dugdale's *Monast.* iv. 669.
- 13... Thomas —, in a confirmatory charter, in Chartulary, p. 15.
- 1378—1396—1412. Stephen de Sens, in Chartulary; *see* Cartwright, pp. 226, xxvi, xxvii; 227, xxix.
1429. John Wells, in Chartulary.
1438. William Lewis, resigned. Episcopal Reg^r; *see* Cartwright, pp. 229, xxxiv.
- 1438—1449. John Twyford, appointed. Episcopal Reg^r; *see* Cartwright, pp. 229, xxx.
- 1447-8—1463. John Grigge. Episcopal Reg^r; *see* Cartwright, pp. 230, xxxvi.
1463. Ralph Alleyn, resigned.
- 1463—1464. Richard Alleyn, resigned.
- 1464—1467. Ralph Alleyn, resigned.
- 1467—1474. Richard Alleyn.

} Episcopal Reg^r.
See Cartwright, p. 229.

ROLL OF A SUBSIDY
LEVIED THIRTEENTH HENRY IV., 1411, 1412,
SO FAR AS RELATES TO
THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

TRANSCRIBED AND TRANSLATED BY
T. HERBERT NOYES, JUN., ESQ., B.A.

IN the Rolls of Parliament for the 13th year of Henry IV., which were then written in Old French, it is recorded that at a Parliament held on the morrow of All Souls in that year (Nov. 3, 1411), his poor Commons granted to the King a subsidy of 6s. 8d. from every man or woman having, in lands or rent, £20 a year beyond charges and reprises, except for lands held in mortmain before the prohibitory act of 20th Edward I., and except for lands held in free alms since that year by the Lords Spiritual, or the *Religious*, for which they pay tenths with the clergy, and for every additional £20 a year 6s. 8d. more; to be paid on the morrow of the Purification; with a proviso that no member of Parliament should be collector, assessor, controller, or commissioner of the subsidy.

IN pursuance of this grant, there were issued letters patent for the collection of the subsidy, dated Jan. 2, 13th Henry IV. (1412). They were drawn up in Latin, but they quoted textually in Old French the parliamentary authority for the collection, and commissioned Robert Knyvet, John Warnecamp, the Sheriff of Sussex (John Walton), and the Eschætor (John Yerde), to inquire, upon the sworn testimony of honest men, the names of those who were liable to assessment, and to ascertain, upon their own oaths, or by other reasonable ways and means, at their discretion, the amount that each should pay

according to their lands and rents, either in their own hands, or in the hands of others (trustees) for their use and profit; the result to be certified to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, on the morrow of the Sunday after Easter (*clausi Paschæ*). The letters patent further authorized Commissioners to empanel juries to learn the truth, and threatened them with punishment if they negligently exonerated any person liable to the tax, promising them withal satisfaction for their expenses and trouble if they diligently performed the duties entrusted to them.

The four Commissioners for Sussex accordingly pursued their inquiries, held their inquests, and having engrossed the result on a parchment roll, to which they attached a copy of the letters patent, returned it into the Exchequer, headed with a certificate, in Latin, as follows:—"The certificate of Robert Knyvet, John Warnecampe, John Walton, Sheriff, and John Yerde, Eschætor, in Sussex, to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer of our Lord the King, at Westminster, concerning divers inquests held by the aforesaid, according to the tenor and effect of the letters patent of our Lord the King, directed to them, and attached (*consutas*) to this certificate."

The remainder of the roll is also written in Latin, with numerous contractions, abbreviations, and repetitions, which it has been thought undesirable to reproduce in these pages; we have therefore taken the liberty of translating it, and putting it into a shape, in which the valuable information it contains will be accessible to all who feel any interest in the subject. The orthography used in the original roll for the names of places and manors has been retained.

Henry Prince of Wales has the manor of Old Shorham, worth *xli.* (10*l.*) a year beyond reprises; and what manors, lands, and tenements he has elsewhere, in other counties, although we have caused diligent inquiries to be made, we have not been able to ascertain.

[The above formula, expressing ignorance of property elsewhere, is so often repeated in the roll after each name, that it may be conveniently omitted.]¹

¹ It will also be convenient, for the sake of brevity, to use an "&c." after the word "lands," to denote *tenements and appur-*

tenances;" after "manor," to denote *with appurtenances;* after "yearly," to denote *beyond reprises.*

Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey has Arundel Castle, which is worth nothing a year beyond reprises; and he has manors, lands, and tenements, with their appurtenances, in Sussex, which are worth, beyond reprises, per ann. £370 6 8 viz., the manor of Borne with Stanstede, Waldirton, and the hundred, members of that manor, 53*l.*; the manor of Upindon, and three parts of the lands and rents there, 12*l.*; manor of Cockyng, 20*l.*; manor of Aldisworth, beyond a certain annuity of 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* paid to John Scardevile, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; manor of Notbourne, 4*l.*; manor of Sengilton, with its appurtenances, in West Dene, Est Dene, and the hundred there, 54*l.*; manor of Wulavington, 25*l.*; lands and tenements in Cumpton, 4*l.*; manor of Wulbedyng, 5*l.*; lands and tenements in Westmerdon, 6*l.*; places with lands in Northwode, 3*l.*; lands and tenements in Preston, 4*l.*; lands, &c., in Lovente, 3*l.*; manor of Leomynstr, 12*l.* 10*s.*; manor of Polyng, 13*l.*; lands, &c., in Tortyton, beyond a certain annuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to be paid to John Clerkisson, 3*l.*; manor of Palyngham, 30*l.*; manor of Bygenevere (Bignor), with its appurtenances, in Madherst, Mertham, Roughgate, Racton, 33*l.*; manor of Storweton, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; lands, &c., in Islisham, 4*l.*; lands and tenements called Ertham Rowdons, 1*l.*; lands, &c., in Hiberden, 1*l.*; hundred of Polyng, 8*l.* 10*s.*; Esirwyth, 7*l.*; Bury, 5*l.*; Rothirbrigge, 7*l.* 10*s.*; Avisford, 7*l.*; Boxe, 4*l.*; Stokebrigge, 3*l.*; the (*turnus vicecomitis*) Sheriff's Court, held at Normanneslond, with 11*l.* of Sheriff's aid, 12*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

He has also Lewes Castle, with its appurtenances, in the town of Lewes, which is worth nothing beyond reprises; and

He has also manors, lands, &c., which are worth, beyond reprises, per annum . . . £120 0 0
 viz., the manors of Brighthelmyston and Pecham, with Whalisbon hundred, 30*l.*; manors of Dichenyng and Middelton, with the hundred of Strete, 12*l.* 10*s.*; the manors of Rademyle and Mechyng, with Holmestrowe hundred, 23*l.*; Rutyndene manor, with Yonysmere hundred, 10*l.*; manors of Clayton, Kymer, and Cokefeld, with Buttyng-hill hundred, 30*l.* 10*s.*; the manors of Kyngiston and Northese, with Swanbergh hundred, 9*l.*; the manor of Alyngton, with Bercomp hundred, 5*l.*

He has also the manor of Worth, with the parks and chaces, and the manor of Houndydene, which are worth nothing beyond reprises, &c.

Rowland Lynthals has, in right of Margaret his wife, by the assignment of the aforesaid Earl of Arundel, manors, lands, &c., which are worth yearly, beyond reprises . . . 100 0 0
 viz., Southstoke manor, 15*l.*; Wepham manor, 5*l.*; Warnecamp manor, 10*l.*; Piperyng, 8*l.*; Ofham, 8*l.*; Pynkherst, 20*l.*; Clympisfold, 12*l.*; manor of Lye, 8*l.*; manor of Hasfold, 9*l.*; and Colstaple, 5*l.*; &c.

Robert Publowe, John Tauk (trustees of Earl of Arundel), have, to the use of the Earl of Arundel, manors, lands, &c., which are worth yearly, beyond reprises . . . 36 0 0
 viz., the manor of Shapewyk, 20*l.*; manor of Eggele, 5*l.*; manor of Westhamptonet, 8*l.*; Croftlond, 3*l.*

Also they have, in conjunction with the Rev. Thomas Harlyng, manors and lands, &c., which are worth yearly, beyond reprises . . . 20 0 0
 viz., the manor of Sullyngton, 12*l.*; Felde, 5*l.*; lands, &c., in Hyen, 2*l.*; lands, &c., in Knolle, 1*l.*; &c. &c.

Thomas Camoys has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, beyond reprises £100 6 8
 viz., manor of Tratto, 20*l.*; manor of Ellistede, 8*l.*; Dedelyng, 6*l.*; lands, &c., in Fenyng, 6*l.*; lands, &c., in Bercamp, 5*l.*; lands, &c., in Bevyngden, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; lands, &c., in Alkisbourne, 2*l.*; a manor in Bradwater, 45*l.*; lands, &c., late William Grene's, in Goryng, 5*l.*; &c.

John Pelham has manors, lands, &c., which were lately the Earl Marshall's, and are now in his custody by virtue of a grant of our Lord the King, which are worth yearly, beyond reprises 138 0 0
 viz., manor of Bosham, 80*l.*; manor of Stowghton, 22*l.*; manor of Stoke, 10*l.*; manor of Funtytton, 20*l.*; manor of Thorney, 6*l.*

Also he has the manors which were lately Philip St. Clere's, by reason of the minority of John, son and heir of the said Philip, by grant of our Lord the King, and which are worth yearly, beyond reprises 52 13 4
 viz., manor of Jevynton, 16*l.*; manor of Heghton,¹ 20*l.*; manor of Lampham, 7*l.*; manor of Notbourne, 5*l.*; manor of Newnham, 2*l.* 13*s.*; manor of Bembilte, 2*l.*; manor of Lanertye, nothing beyond reprises.

Also he has the manors of Pelham, Ryvere, and Nutbourne, which are worth yearly, beyond reprises 66 0 0
 viz., manor of Pelham, 10*l.*; Ryvere, 40*l.*; Nutbourne, 16*l.*

Also he has the lordship of Pevensey, with the manors of Marsefeld (Maresfield) and Wilyngdon, which are worth yearly, &c. 80 0 0
 viz., beyond annuities payable to Sir John Cornewaill, Knt., 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to Matilda Halsham, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Hugh Fraunces,

¹ Heghton, in West Furies.

13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Notyngnam Herald, 5*l.*; and Derby Herald, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Also he has, by grant of our Lord the King, the manor of Berlyng,¹ which is worth yearly, &c. £12 0 0

Also he has the manor of Laughton and West Dene, and (pays) rents for the same to the Countess of Oxford, yearly, &c. 70 0 0
viz., for Laughton manor, 60*l.*; and for the manor of West Dene, 10*l.*; and they are worth nothing beyond.

Henry Husee has two-thirds of the manors of Hertyng, Wenham, and Ypyng, and also the manor of Pulbergh, subject to an annuity of 38*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to Richard Biterlee and Margaret his wife; and likewise an annuity of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to one Mark Husee, of Kent; which two annuities are charged as below:—
The two-thirds of the manors of Hertyng, Wenham, and Ypyng, are worth nothing beyond reprises, but the manor of Pulbergh is worth yearly, beyond reprises 13 6 8

Richard Biterlee has, in right of Margaret his wife, lands, tenements, and annuities, which are worth, beyond reprises, yearly 59 2 10
viz., one-third part of the manor of Hertyng, 15*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; one-third of the manor of Wenham, 1*l.* 15*s.* 6½*d.*; one-third of the manor of Ypyng, 3*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; and a certain annuity from the manors of Pulbergh, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and an annuity from two-thirds of the manor of Hertyng, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Mark Husee has an annuity from two-thirds of Hertyng, Wenham, and Ypyng, which Henry Husee has as above 26 13 4

Thomas Haket has lands, &c., in Sussex, which are worth yearly, beyond reprises 20 0 0
viz., two-thirds of the lands, &c., which were

¹ Berlyng appears in *Inqs. P.M.* of the Bardolfs and their heirs, from 1290 to 1464.

lately Walter Haket's, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and half the manor of Russeyton, which is worth beyond an annuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, payable to one John Cook, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

<i>Juliana Haket</i> has one-third of the same lands, &c., late Walter Haket's, which are worth yearly, beyond reprises	£ 3	6	8
<i>Prior of Sulbrede</i> has the manor of Rawmere, which is worth yearly, beyond reprises	20	0	0
we are ignorant whether he pays tenths or not.			
<i>John Arundell, Lord Matravers</i> , has manors, lands, &c., which are worth yearly, beyond reprises	70	0	0
viz., the manor of Almoditon, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Codlawe, 26 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; manor of Dere Court, 3 <i>l.</i> ; Wildebrigg, 5 <i>l.</i> ; Lynche, 9 <i>l.</i> ; Tadham, 11 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Stopham, 5 <i>l.</i> ; lands and tenements in Old Shoreham, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Thomas Ponyng, Lord St. John</i> , has manors, lands, &c., which are worth yearly, beyond reprises	60	0	0
viz., manor of Bridham (P Birdham), 10 <i>l.</i> ; Halnakers, 20 <i>l.</i> ; Walburton, 20 <i>l.</i> ; Middilton, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Thomas, son of the said Thomas Ponyngg</i> , has the manor of Wodecote, with its appurtenances, worth yearly, beyond reprises	20	0	0
<i>William Ernele</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, beyond reprises	22	13	4
viz., lands and tenements in Manwode, near Ernele, 20 <i>l.</i> ; and lands, &c., in Menesse, 2 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>			
<i>William Cheyne</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, beyond reprises	27	6	8
viz., lands, &c., in Manwode and Livesey, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Houghton, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; lands, &c., in Dalyn Gregg, near Est Grenstede, 4 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Foale</i> has the manor of Rumboldiswyke, with its appurtenances, worth yearly, beyond reprises	20	0	0

<i>William Ryman</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	£20	0	0
viz., manor of North Stoke, 16 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ;			
and lands, &c., in Apuldresham, 3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			
<i>Richard Stukele</i> has the manor of Merston, &c., worth yearly, &c.	26	13	4
<i>John Taverner</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	25	0	0
viz., the place, &c., called Kynggisham, 10 <i>l.</i> ;			
lands, &c., in Grove, 2 <i>l.</i> ; and rents in Chichester, 2 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Belsham, 5 <i>l.</i> ; and tenements in Benstede, 2 <i>l.</i> ; Warbulton, 2 <i>l.</i> ; Bernham, 2 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Alice Dautre</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Waltham, 11 <i>l.</i> ; and lands, &c., in Bykewell, 9 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Richard Blundell</i> has lands, &c., in the village of Allyngbourne, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>John Tauk</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Berkstede, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Esthamptonet, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Loughburgh</i> has the manor of Hunston, charged with an annuity of 8 <i>l.</i> to one John Hunston, which is worth, besides the said reprise, yearly	20	0	0
<i>John Norbury</i> has manors, lands, &c. worth yearly, &c.	120	0	0
viz., the manor of Borwerssh, 16 <i>l.</i> ; Bevyng-hame, 10 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; Crowherst, 13 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; manor of Petworth, 40 <i>l.</i> ; Dunketon, 15 <i>l.</i> ; Sutton, 5 <i>l.</i> ; Highshete, ¹ 20 <i>l.</i> , &c.			
<i>Thomas, son of the King</i> , has an annuity of 100 <i>l.</i> from the same manors of Petworth, Dunke-ton, Sutton, and Highshete	100	0	0
<i>John Waterton</i> has a certain other annuity charged on the same manor of Petworth	13	6	8
<i>John Bohun</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	150	13	4
viz., manor of Cowdray, with the borough of Medhurst, 40 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Forde, 50 <i>l.</i> ;			

¹ Heyshete manor appears in *Inq. P.M.* of Henry de Percy, 7 Edw. II.

manor of Newtymber, 20 <i>l.</i> ; and in right of his wife, the manor of Preston, 14 <i>l.</i> ; Hamme, 12 <i>l.</i> ; Berkham, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; Beausy, 8 <i>l.</i>		
<i>John Ask</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly	£25	0 0
viz., lands, &c., in the hundred of Esbourne, 20 <i>l.</i> ; and lands and tenements called Shelvistrode in Est Grenstede, 5 <i>l.</i>		
<i>John Tirell</i> has the manor of Belton, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0 0
<i>Jeffrey Inglere</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	21	0 0
viz., lands, &c., in Tadham, 5 <i>l.</i> ; manor in Little Hamptonet, 10 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; lands, &c., in Warnham, 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; lands, &c., in Chichester, 4 <i>l.</i>		
<i>William Bramshot</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	30	0 0
viz., lands, &c., in Lordyton, 10 <i>l.</i> ; and half-the-manor of Rustyton, 20 <i>l.</i>		
<i>Nicholas Carew</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	80	0 0
viz., manor of Goryng, ¹ 50 <i>l.</i> ; Daddisham, 20 <i>l.</i> ; Gretham, ¹ 10 <i>l.</i>		
<i>John Warnecamp</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0 0
viz., lands, &c., in Arundell, 10 <i>l.</i> ; Yapton, 2 <i>l.</i> ; Warnham, 3 <i>l.</i> ; Rowsparr, 3 <i>l.</i> ; Slyndefold, 2 <i>l.</i> ; and in Yxnyngs (Exning), in county of Suffolk, 2 <i>l.</i>		
<i>Robert Lewkenor</i> has lands, &c., in Pulbergh, worth yearly, &c.	20	0 0
<i>Thomas Monpilers</i> has lands, &c., in Childyngton and Notbourne, worth yearly, &c.	8	0 0
<i>Robert atte Melle</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	24	0 0
viz., lands, &c., in Gretham, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; lands, &c., in Pulbergh, 5 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; lands, &c., in Mundham, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Kyrdeford, 2 <i>l.</i>		

¹ Goryng and Gretham manors belonged to John Tregoz in 1404.

<i>John Andrew</i> has manors, &c., worth yearly, &c. £ 20 0 0 viz., manor of Overfold, 8 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Racton, 2 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in the village of Hanefield, 1 <i>l.</i> ; and elsewhere, in the county of Wilts, 9 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Wyntersele</i> (or <i>Wyntershull</i> , in a duplicate of the Roll), has lands, &c., called Lovis, in village of Wisebergh, worth yearly, &c.	4	0	0
<i>John Wantelye</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c. viz., lands, &c., in Sullyngton, 3 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Ambirle, 2 <i>l.</i> ; and in Stenyng, 2 <i>l.</i>	7	0	0
<i>Hugh St. John</i> has the manor of Bernham, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Alice St. John</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c. viz., manor of Berlavynghon, 35 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Beaujonet, ¹ 15 <i>l.</i>	50	0	0
<i>Thomas de Bernham, Richard Sterrissake, John Wilcotis, Nicholas Ludwyk</i> (? trustees of John Duke of Norfolk, in whom these manors were vested in 1433— <i>vide</i> his <i>Inq. P. M.</i> of that date), have, by grant of the King (<i>ex dimissione R.</i>) the castle, &c., of Brember, and the borough of Brember, with its manors and appurtenances, and one-third part of the borough of Horsham, manor of Beaubussh, manor of Wasshyngton, manor of Redyng, and manor of Kyngesbernes, charged with a payment to our said Lord the King of 80 <i>l.</i> yearly; and also an annuity to Richard Fitz- Nichol of 20 <i>l.</i> , which the said Richard has by a grant (<i>concessione</i>) of our said Lord the King, and with which the said Richard is to be charged	20	0	0
<i>Gerard Ufflete</i> has, in right of his wife Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk, one-third part of the said lordship of Brember, which is worth yearly, beyond reprises	62	18	0

¹ In the *Inq. P. M.* of Eva, wife of Edward St. John, 28 Edw. III., mention is

made of *Berlavynghon manor, with its member Beaujonet.*

viz., manor of Knap, 5*l.* 18*s.*; West Grene-
stede, 8*l.*; Fyndon, 25*l.*; two-thirds of the
borough of Horsham, 10*l.*; and the hundred
of Grenstede, 5*l.*; Burbeche. 5*l.*; half the
hundred of Wyndham, 2*l.*; half the hundred
of Fisshgate, 2*l.*¹

Thomas Arundell, Esquire, has the manor of
Changeton, &c., worth yearly, &c. . . . £20 0 0

John Mochegrove has lands, &c., at Mochegrove,
worth yearly, &c. 20 0 0

*John Brewis*² has manors, lands, &c. &c., worth
yearly, &c. 36 13 4
viz., manor of Wisshyston, 20*l.*; manor of
Maudelayn, 10*l.*; manor of Hyen, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
&c.

John Kirkeby and others (no doubt trustees of
the West family, in whose *Inq. P. M.* these
manors afterwards appear) have manors,
lands, &c., late Thomas West's, worth
yearly, &c. 26 13 4
viz., manor of Offynton, 12*l.*; Ewherst, 6*l.*;
Suntynge, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Salvyngton, 3*l.*

Also they have manors, lands, &c., lately
the said Thomas West's, worth yearly, &c. 49 0 0
viz., manor of Blachyngton, 21*l.*; Sabirton,
8*l.*; and Ripe, 20*l.*; to pay their value to
Joan Queen of England.

Ralph Radmyle has manors, lands, &c., worth
yearly 33 0 0
viz., manor of Launsyng, 13*l.*; manor of
Beveryngton, 20*l.*

Thomas Skelton has manors, lands, &c., worth
yearly, &c. 30 0 0
viz., manor of Kyngeston, 20*l.*; Shirmannys-
bury, 10*l.*

¹ These manors, &c., also appear in the
same *Inq.* of John Duke of Norfolk.

² Brewis appears in the *Inq. P. M.* of
an earlier date, as Brewosa, Braose. The

manor of Manningford Bruce, in Wilt-
shire, was held by and doubtless took its
name from this family.

<i>Richard Bannebury</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	£31	0	0
viz., half manor of Threwle, 11 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Wodmancote, lately William Percy's, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Halsham</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	33	0	0
viz., manor of Grenstede, 13 <i>l.</i> ; Applisham, 20 <i>l.</i> , &c.			
<i>George Brewis</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	10	0	0
viz., manor of Cherisworth, 5 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Segwick, 5 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Merbury</i> has the manor of Clopham, &c., and lands in Yslisham, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Heirs of Philip Mabank</i> have manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	13	6	8
viz., manor of Horton, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c. in Hasilholt, 3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			
<i>Lord Hungirford</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	12	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Fyndon, 8 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Horsham, 4 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Lady de Cheynes</i> has lands, &c., lately Juliana Romain's, in Warnham, worth yearly, &c.	8	0	0
<i>John Norton</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	15	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Stenyng, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Bolne, 5 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Peter Wilcombe</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Stenyng, 5 <i>l.</i> ; and lands, &c., in Weppynghorn, 15 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Robert Lord de Ponyngg</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	143	13	4
viz., manor of Yfeld, 10 <i>l.</i> ; rents in Crawlee, 3 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Slawgham, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; manor of Twynem, nothing beyond reprises; Great Perchyng, 20 <i>l.</i> ; Little Perchyng, 5 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Ponyngg, 20 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Hangilton, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; manor of Penkeden, 20 <i>l.</i> ; Asshcombe, 3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Preston Ponyng, 20 <i>l.</i> ; Waldern, 4 <i>l.</i> ; Westdene, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; Chyntyng, 5 <i>l.</i>			

<i>William Bardolph</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	£40	0	0
viz., manor of Plumpton, 25 <i>l.</i> ; Bercomp, 15 <i>l.</i>			
<i>William Bowet</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	40	0	0
viz., manor of Pierpointisherst, 23 <i>l.</i> ; and manor of Westmeston, 17 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Richard Weywils</i> has manors, lands, &c., and annuities, worth yearly, &c.	50	0	0
viz., manor of Radmyld, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Blachyngton, with lands called Knollond, 20 <i>l.</i> ; and an annuity from the lordship of Lewes, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Benyfeld</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	40	0	0
viz., manor of Hangilton, 22 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Twynem, 18 <i>l.</i>			
<i>William Clynton</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	26	13	4
viz., manor of Bokstede, 4 <i>l.</i> ; Hammes, ¹ 16 <i>l.</i> ; Strete, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>			
<i>Thomas Lord Delaware</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	100	0	0
viz., manor of Portslade, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Aldirton, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Middilton, 30 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Fokyngton, 30 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Ysefeld, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Wakherst</i> has lands, &c., at Wakherst in Erdynglyghe, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Thomas Lord de Grey de Codnor</i> has the manor of Rothirfeld, lately Lord de Spenser's, by a grant of our Lord the Kings, subject to an annuity of 40 <i>l.</i> to Joan, who was the wife of Sir John Dalynregge, Knt., with which annuity the said Joan is charged as below; and the manor is worth, besides the same annuity and other reprises, yearly	60	0	0
<i>Joan Dalynregge</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	100	0	0

¹ Called Hammse in a duplicate of the Roll.

viz., the manors of Bodyham, 15 <i>l.</i> ; Wiltyng, 2 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; Holyngton, 2 <i>l.</i> ; Wennyngore, 7 <i>l.</i> ; Yvord, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Warpisborne, 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Sheffield, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Bolbrook, 6 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; and the annuity aforesaid, 40 <i>l.</i>		
<i>Thomas Sakevile</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	£45	0 0
viz., manors of Bokherst, 16 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; Chidynglyghe, 10 <i>l.</i> ; Chalvyngton with Claverham, 12 <i>l.</i> ; Buggelygh and Ambeford, 6 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		
<i>John Halle, Sen.</i> , has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly	44	13 4
viz., lands, &c., in Hodlygh, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Gore, in Alviston, 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; in Russevell, 2 <i>l.</i> ; Yapton, 4 <i>l.</i> ; Ore, 8 <i>l.</i> ; Genesyng, 5 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; manor of Charleton, with a corn windmill, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; and Gestelyng, 4 <i>l.</i>		
<i>Nicholas Selwyn</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	23	6 8
viz., lands, &c., called Southalle, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Virle, Selmeston, &c., in Ripe, Alvis- ton, and Jevynton, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Nor- thyhame, 3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> , &c.		
<i>Thomas Joop</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0 0
viz., lands, &c., in Hertefeld, 12 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Torryng, 8 <i>l.</i>		
<i>William Weston</i> has lands, &c., in Bokstede, worth yearly, &c.	20	0 0
<i>Walter Sandes</i> has the manor of Berkham, &c., worth yearly, &c.	14	0 0
<i>Robert Knyvet, William Fitz-Richard</i> (? trustees of Lewkenor family) have manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	60	0 0
viz., manor of Bradherst in Horstede Kaynes, 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Selmeston, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; Iteford, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; and elsewhere in other counties, but of which we are ignorant.		
<i>John Brook</i> has lands, &c., in Est Grenstede, worth yearly, &c.	20	0 0

<i>Thomas Seint Clere</i> has lands, &c., in Est Grenstede, &c., worth yearly, &c.	£30	0	0
viz., lands in Est Grenstede, 10 <i>l.</i> , and a certain annuity receivable from the lordship of Lewes, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Elizabeth Lady Roos</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	68	0	0
viz., manor of Borne, 60 <i>l.</i> ; and manor of Eghynton, 8 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Richard Levet</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	26	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Virle, 8 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Borne, Medham, and Glynde, 8 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c. in Cattisfeld and Yelding, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Henry Fitz-Hugh</i> has the manor of Berewyk, worth yearly, &c.	60	0	0
<i>Richard atte Dene</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Pydynghoe, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; and lands, &c., in Wymondisworth and elsewhere in the county, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			
<i>Roger Waltham</i> has the manor of Blakhame, &c., worth yearly, &c.	10	0	0
<i>John Waleys</i> ¹ has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	46	13	4
viz., manor of Glynde, 30 <i>l.</i> ; Patching, 10 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Hawkisbergh hundred, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>			
<i>John Ykelyngton</i> has lands, &c., called Plasshettislond, worth yearly, &c.	5	0	0
<i>Reginald Cobham, of Saint Hill</i> , has the manor of Northye, worth yearly, &c.	36	0	0
<i>William Lord de Echyngname</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	58	13	4
viz., manor of Echyngname, 30 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Edmere, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Pette, 8 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ; manor of Pekedene, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Robert Owebregge</i> has lands, &c., in Brede, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0

¹ Waleys is probably Walsh.

<i>Vincent Fynche</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	£30	0	0
viz., manor of Eclyshame, 30 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Nedirfeld, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Lady de Knell</i> has the manor of Knell, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Elizabeth Kiriell</i> has the manor of Kechenor, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>William Swynbourn</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly	51	6	8
viz., one-third of manor of Mote, ¹ with lands, &c., at Borne, 11 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; and manor of Passhelee, 40 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Joan Brenchisle</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	37	0	0
viz., manor of Godyng, 7 <i>l.</i> ; Bokholt and Bixle, 10 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Vernthe, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Joan Asshebournhame</i> has manors, lands, &c.; worth yearly, &c.	40	0	0
viz., manor of Ewherst, 20 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Lamberherst, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Asshebournhame</i> has the manor of Asshebournhame, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>William Marney and William Marchant</i> (? trustees of Swinborne) have one-third part of the manor of Mote aforesaid, worth yearly, &c.	8	0	0
<i>John Salerne</i> has the manor of Lye, &c., worth yearly, &c.	40	0	0
<i>John Chidecroft</i> has lands, &c., at Pesemersh, worth yearly, &c.	10	0	0
<i>Richard Prat</i> has the manor of Ydene, subject to an annuity of 8 <i>l.</i> to the Countess of Kent, with which the said countess is charged as below; and the manor is worth, besides the annuity	66	8	0
<i>Countess of Kent</i> has a certain annuity from the said manor of Ydene as aforesaid	8	0	0

¹ Mote, elsewhere called De la Mote, in Iden, Pesemarsh, and Rye.

<i>William Breton</i> has lands, &c., at Borwerssh, worth yearly, &c.	£30	0	0
<i>John Lunsford</i> has lands, &c., in Borwerssh, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Richard Crall</i> has lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	30	0	0
viz., lands, &c., in Walburton, 20 <i>l.</i> ; lands, &c., in Crowham, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Lord de Walburton</i> has the manor of Walburton, &c., worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Joan de Echyngame</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	40	0	0
viz., manor of Bedyngame, 24 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Monefeld, 16 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Henry Gotlee</i> has the manor of Westfeld, &c., worth yearly, &c.	13	6	8
<i>William Harbotel</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	30	0	0
viz., manor of Filsham, 20 <i>l.</i> ; manor of Hamyldene, 10 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Robert Echyngam</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	40	0	0
viz., manor of Diksterbe, 20 <i>l.</i> ; and manor of Gatecourt, 20 <i>l.</i>			
<i>John Hall, Jun.</i> , has the manor of Poplisham, &c., worth yearly, &c.	10	0	0
<i>Gerard Fyenlees</i> has manors, lands, &c., worth yearly, &c.	100	0	0
viz., manor of Oldecourt, 18 <i>l.</i> ; and 500 acres of land in Herst Monceux Marsh, and 100 acres of land in Horsye, and 80 acres of land in Wildemersh, 42 <i>l.</i> ; and the manor of Herst Monceux, which was William Batisford's, 40 <i>l.</i>			
<i>Lady de Hoo</i> has the manor of Wortlynge, and rents, lands, &c., in Warbulton and Bokstepe, worth yearly, &c.	60	0	0
<i>John Colbrond</i> has lands, &c., in Wortelynge and Bokstepe, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0
<i>Isabella Playstede</i> has lands, &c., at Playstede, worth yearly, &c.	20	0	0

SUMMARY.

The sum total of the lands and rents belonging to men and women, to the value of 20 <i>l.</i> , contained in this roll, amounting to 211 (sums of) 20 <i>l.</i>	}	£4220	0	0
On which the sums of 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> payable, amount to 70 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>				
The sum total of the lands and rents belonging to men and women, further, and below the value of 20 <i>l.</i> , contained in this roll, amounts to	}	621	13	11½
		<hr/>	£4841	13

ACCOUNT OF AN ANCIENT CANOE FOUND AT
BURPHAM, NEAR THE RIVER ARUN,
ON THE PROPERTY OF
THOMAS SPENCER, ESQ., OF WARNINGCAMP.

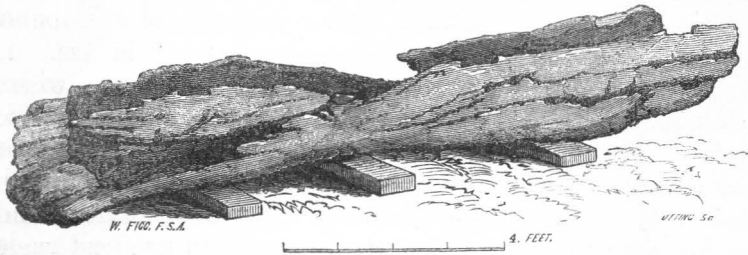
IN the muddy creeks of our rivers many ancient canoes and boats have been found from time to time, and their simple rudeness of construction contrasts marvellously with the vast and skilful specimens of naval architecture which now leave or approach our shores. Sussex has had its ample share in the discovery of this antiquarian navy; and the curious example of it lately discovered in the neighbourhood of Arundel, is one of the most remarkable testimonies to the uncivilized state of the former inhabitants, when the hollowed trunk of a tree, in which to creep along the muddy banks of a river, satisfied the few wants and exhausted the ingenuity of the simple native.

Two canoes of this description, seven and eight feet long, one with a paddle, have been found in Scotland; several in the Medway, in the year 1720; and in Lancashire, eight canoes, each of a single tree, have been found at one spot. In the Rother, the boundary river of Kent and Sussex, a vessel was dug out of the mud in 1822, of which a full account was given in *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 553. This was sixty-three feet eight inches long and fifteen feet broad, had been fitted with a fixed mast, a bowsprit, a rudder, and an arched cover to its deck. It was built with thick clumsy planks of blackened oak, and calked with moss, and was not at all of the same remote age as the small canoes, but a sea-going Dutch vessel. It had some letters, in old characters, part of its name probably, stamped on pewter at the sides, of which **Þ. H.** remained.

There was a much nearer resemblance to the canoe recently found in the one discovered in 1834, near the left bank of the Arun at North Stoke, which was afterwards sent, by the liberality of the late Earl of Egremont, to the British Museum. This was sketched and described in *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 257-264, and consisted of "half of the stem of a large oak, hollowed and cut into the shape of a canoe;" it was thirty-five feet four inches long, four feet six inches wide in the middle, and one foot ten inches deep. The thickness of the sound blackened wood was four inches and a half at the bottom, where three bars crossed it, five inches wide, rising four to six inches only, intended apparently to give firm footing to the rowers. Three similar bars were also inserted in the ancient boat found in 1842, about two hundred yards from the beach opposite Heene Lane, near Worthing. Our late eminent member, Mr. Frederick Dixon, described it as "a British boat made out of an oak-tree, without any metal fastening, eighteen feet long by three feet wide," in his *Geology and Fossils of Sussex*, p. 36, where there is a sketch of it. Another small boat was also found in the Rother, near Bodiam, lately.

There are some peculiarities in the boat discovered in the beginning of January 1858, which entitle us to claim it as perhaps the most curious of all those hitherto found in Sussex. It had been lying, like most of the others mentioned, in the mud of a creek. This communicated with the left bank of the river Arun, the course of which is there extremely winding, and about two miles due south from where the North Stoke boat was found. It lay upside down, about eighteen inches below the surface, and four feet within a meadow, in the parish of Burpham, the church of which is a mile distant. There was a large quantity, about a cartload, of wood, in excellent preservation, dug out near it—brambles, gorse, thorn, and hazel—which may have been the cargo of the canoe when swamped, or may have formed a rough stockade near what appears to have been a small creek or harbour, or may have been placed so as to drag up the boat upon it from the water across the mud. Half of an oak of the great forest of Anderida must have supplied the simple owner of this vessel with his material, and by roughly bevelling off both ends, scooping out the middle to the depth of about a foot, and putting across the

sides into flat niches three narrow boards, five to seven inches wide, as seats, at proper intervals, his boat was ready for three men to ply the oar. It was thirteen feet nine inches long and one foot seven inches wide inside; the seats differ from those in the North Stoke boat, being adapted to fit into notches cut out on the opposite upper edges of the canoe, and near one end a cut groove remains where the stern-board was inserted;



about three feet from one end is a round hole (four inches diameter and four inches deep), for the foot of a mast, part of which was found lying under the boat. Many a modern observer probably would sooner risk himself alone in one of the small round coracles of wicker work covered with ox hides, described and imitated by Cæsar, than embark in such a narrow clumsy vessel, with two other persons, especially if a sail, probably of skins, as used by the Gauls of the opposite coast, was to be raised, even though the voyage was only within the muddy banks of a quiet river. To have entrusted so frail a bark to the sea, would indeed have required the heart of oak and triple courage imputed by Horace to such an adventurer. That the ancient Britons kept up an intercourse with Gaul, and that they were often visited by trading vessels, is certain; but on the coast of Sussex the arts of life advanced slowly, and Bishop Wilfrid long afterwards had to teach the fishermen of Selsey the use of nets. Although to none of these boats can a fixed date be assigned, all circumstances warrant us in supposing them to be the work of native Britons, either before or during the occupation of the Romans, for we have no proof that they advanced under the civilized Italians, in the art of boat-building.

A few bones were found with the present canoe; but the

most novel and singular object which the discovery brought to light, was a complete anchor of wood, rude indeed, and but imperfectly shaped, with bevelled edges, from its original form of a knotted branch, apparently of yew, but, as the only specimen known, well deserving our attention. The woodcut will best explain its appearance, and its spreading shanks. The upper end is curved considerably, and its knob has been



W. FIG. F. 3. A.
1. FOOT.

roughly carved into the head of an animal, and round this was probably fastened some cord when in use. It is four feet long, the part from which the two shanks project on each side occupying eighteen inches, one being ten inches, the other five and a half inches, long. This very curious and unique anchor was from its slenderness more liable to injury, but is in most parts sound, like the other wood of the canoe. A rudder seems to our modern ideas a thing of course, but no such thing was known in medieval times, till long after the Norman conquest, and indeed the very name of *rudder* is only the representative of the Saxon word which signified an oar, it being

clear that vessels were then only directed by an oar or paddle at the stern. The object in question, therefore, could not be a rudder, but must have been used either as a means of mooring the boat to the bottom of the river, or to its muddy banks; and for such purpose, this rude wooden holdfast was sufficient under ordinary circumstances, until some gust of wind or a rush of flooded water swamped it.

After rescuing it from the mud, with all the care possible, assisted by the Rev. Richmond Powell, Mr. Spencer, on whose land it had been found, liberally presented it to the Museum of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, at Lewes, where it was safely removed, and may long continue to gratify the notice of the curious.

WAKEHURST, SLAUGHAM, AND GRAVETYE.

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

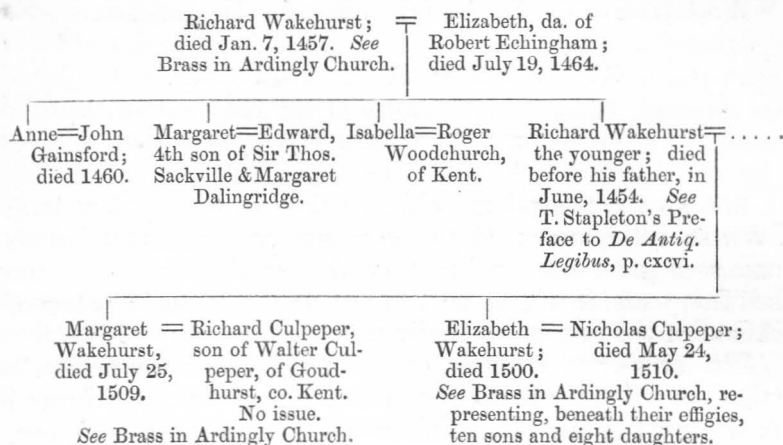
AMONG the many large old mansions of Sussex, few have been so little known to topographers as Wakehurst Place; and as a great portion has been destroyed, even within the last few years, it will be well to put on record some notice of it, and of the important family which built and inhabited it.

The lordship of Ardingly, or Erthingleigh, as it was anciently called, in which the house is situated, appears to have belonged to the great family of Bardolf in the thirteenth century; but, after the attainder of Thomas Bardolf, in 1405-6, to have been given by Henry IV. to his brother, Thomas Beaufort. (Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. pp. 681, 683.) It is stated in Horsfield's *County History*, i. p. 259, by some error, that "Richard Wakehurst was knighted at the siege of Carclaverock, by King Edward;" but the name certainly does not appear in the well-known poem or any other chronicle of that siege. An early record of the family bearing the same name as the manor of Wakehurst, within the parishes of Ardingly, Balcombe, and Worth, is in the Subsidy Roll of 1412, now first published in this volume, p. 141:—"John Wakherst held lands and tenements, with appurtenances, at Wakherst, worth xx*li*. a year." Richard Wakehurst, who was probably his son, was, in 1410-11, one of the attorneys for Thomas Earl of Arundel, on his departure from England. (Rymer, *Fæd.*) In 1415, he was commissioned, together with John Coke, mayor of Chichester, and others, for the gaol delivery of that city. (MS. Memoranda Rolls, m. viii.) At his death, Jan. 7, 1457, he was possessed

of the church of Ardingly and 200 acres of land. It is probable that the "messuage" was his residence; but, as no portion of it remains, it is uncertain whether it occupied the same spot as the present building.

The brief Pedigree, therefore, would stand thus:—

JOHN WAKEHURST, 1412.



The above marriage of Elizabeth Wakehurst carried the estate to the Culpepers, of whom Dugdale says: "that this family hath, for many ages past, flourisht with great esteem in the counties of Kent and Sussex, I need not here stand to give instance." (*Baronage*, i. 472.) It will be seen, by the following pedigree of the Sussex Culpepers (which has been compiled from the Visitations in the Harleian MSS. 1076, 1484, and 1562), that the family settled at Wakehurst, which alone it is here necessary to trace, branched off from the main Kentish stock, by Walter, of Goudhurst, the younger brother of Sir John Culpeper, and father of Richard and Nicholas, who married the Wakehurst heiresses. This Walter was probably the same who, at the siege of Harfleur, previous to the battle of Agincourt, resisted so valiantly a sally of the enemy. He and Edward Colepeper were then serving under Sir William Bourchier, and carried with them five archers to the field. (Nicolas's *Agincourt*, pp. 203, 361, 376.) This was not the

only victory where the banner of the Culpepers was displayed, of which Drayton speaks in his *Barons' War* :—

“And Colepeper, with silver arm inrailed,¹
Bare thereupon a bloody bend engrailed.”

Dugdale mentions that the arms of two of the family were set up in Whitehall, by King Henry VIII., for their valour at the battle of Spurs. The name of one of the Kentish Culpepers appears in a less enviable situation, cut into the stone wall of the room in the Tower of London supposed to be Sir Walter Raleigh's prison :—“Be faithful to the end, and I will give you a crown of eternal life. 1554, T. Fane, J. Culpeper, of Ailsford, Kent.” The loyalty of the elder branch in Kent obtained a peerage in 1644, their own surname being retained for the baronial title, which became extinct in 1719. The baronetage conferred in 1628, on the younger Culpepers, of Wakehurst, lasted a little longer, but became extinct on the death of the fourth holder of the title, in 1727.

There are two interior views of the hall and staircase of Wakehurst Place, in Nash's beautiful folio of *Ancient Mansions in the Olden Time*, 1st part, pl. 6 and 7; but it is surprising that his text should have described it as “a brick building of one story,” when the whole exterior is of stone, and three stories in height. It was built by Sir Edward Culpeper in the year 1590, as is recorded outside a small door on the west front. The notes of Sir W. Burrell (Add. MSS. 5684, f. 151) state “that it was of considerable extent, and was originally a square, the south front of which has been taken down a considerable time.” On what authority this is asserted does not appear, and there were no signs left of such partial destruction when the accompanying views were taken² on the spot, fourteen years ago; but unbappily since that time both the long wings have been shortened three-fifths of their length, and their now stunted frontage is faced by replacing the same gables which terminated formerly the more extended wings. The heavy roofing of Horsham stone had so pressed upon the beams of

¹ In the Roll of Arms *temp.* Henry III., the same shield is assigned to “Robert Walronde—d'Argent ung bend engrele de Goules.”

² It is to the kindness of Mrs. F. Davies

that the Society is indebted for the permission to use her drawings for the woodcuts, and also for those of Slaugham and Gravetye.

SIR JOHN CULPEPER, of Bay Hall, Pembury, co. Kent.

Sir Thomas Culpeper, of Bay Hall, Kt.; executed at Winchelsea, for treason, 1321; married Margaret.

Sir John Culpeper, High Sheriff of Kent, 43 Edw. III.; m. Elizabeth, da. and coheir of Sir John Hardreshull, Kt.

Sir Thomas Culpeper, High Sheriff of Kent, 18 Rich. II.; = Elizabeth, da. and heiress of Nicholas Greene, co. Rutland.
(Elenor, in MS. 1562.)

Sir John Culpeper, Kt., of Bedgebury. Walter Culpeper, of Goudhurst; died 1462. = Anne, da. of Edmund Roper, of Canterbury.

Richard Culpeper, summoned as Homager in = Margaret Wakehurst, *Nicholas Culpeper, of Wakehurst, d. May 24, 1510. = Elizabeth Wake-*
manor of Ifelde, A.D. 1484, as also Nicholas. died July 25, 1509. Had 10 sons & 8 drs. See Brass in Ardingly Church. *hurst, d. 1500.*

Richard Culpeper, of Wakehurst, = . . . da. of Alderman Thomas, m. Joane¹ Fenner. George, d. Jan. 30, 1542,² m. Alice, Edward, Margaret, Edward: & others.
of Wakehurst. Naylor, of London. issue a son, William.

John Culpeper, of Wakehurst, = Emma, da. of Sir Jasper, m. Anne, William. Thomas, m. Anne John,³ m. Margaret. Edward, Elizabeth, Anne, Alice, Richard.
died March 28, 1565. John Erneley, Knt. widow of Richard Clifford. Asheborneham, widow of John Bolney, d. Jan. 15, 1600, aged 70.

Thomas Culpeper, of Wakehurst, held advowson = Philippa, da. of John Thatcher, William. Edward. Jasper? Dorothy. Jane.
of Ardingly, and lands in the manor of Walsted. of Priesthawes.

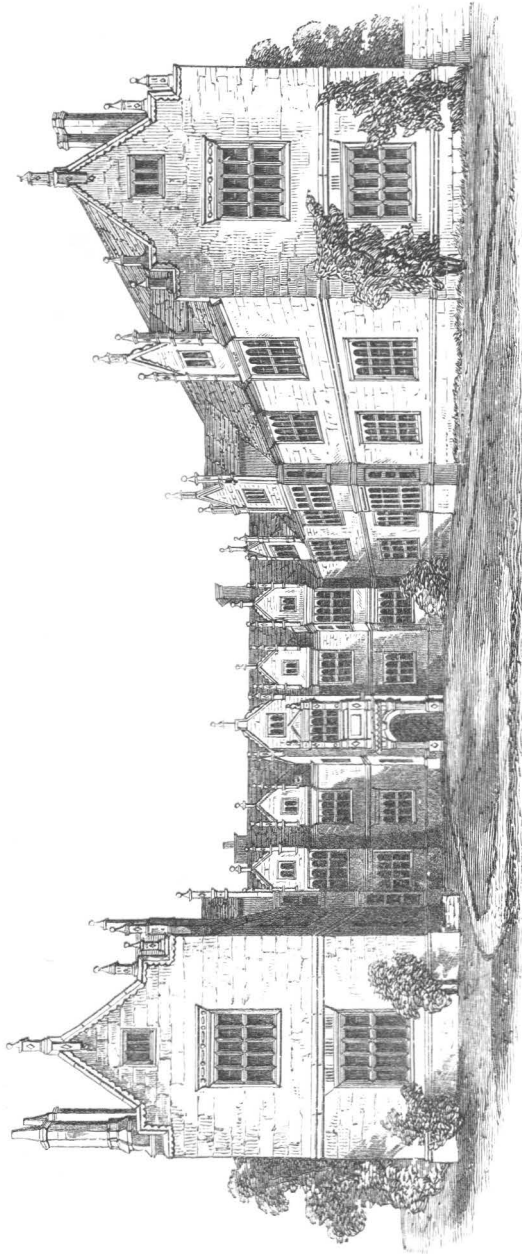
Sir Edward Culpeper, Knt., of Wakehurst, builder = Elizabeth, da. of William Farnefold, of Steyning;
of Wakehurst Place in 1590: living 1628. died Sept. 10, 1633. See Brass in Ardingly Church.

Elizabeth, Timothy, m. Dorothy, Margery, Anne, m. Sir John Katherine, *Sir William Cul-* = Jane, da. of Edward Culpeper,
m. John 1. George m. John m. Anthony Thomas, Culpeper, d. Oct. 1623; *peper, of Wake-* Sir Ben- living in 1634;
White- Phillips, of Theobalds, Bickerstaff, Woode, died in his m. Richard *hurst: created* jamin m. Mary, da. of
field, of Tenterden; 2. of Stoupitt, co. Surrey. Hoathly. lifetime. Infield, of *Baronet, 1628;* Pellett, of Sir Edward
Roughfant. Thos. Turner. co. Kent. Hothly. Gravetye. bur. Dec. 6, 1678. Bolney, Kt. Bellingham, Kt.

Elizabeth, Anne, m. Ninian *Sir Benjamin Culpeper,* = Catherine, da. *Sir Edward Culpeper,* = Jane.
died Dec. 6, 1634, Burrell, of *of Wakehurst, 2nd Bart.* and coheir of *of Wakehurst, 3d Bart.* Dorothy.
aged 7. See Brass Cuckfield. b. 1629. Goldsmith Hudson. Benjamin, died = Judith, da. of Sir William Catherine.
in Ardingly Church. Elizabeth. before his father. | Wilson, of Eastbourne, Bt. Mary.

Sir William Culpeper, 4th Bart. Sold Wakehurst, 1694; died unm. 1727.

(For the Notes see next page.)



WAKEHURST PLACE—SOUTH FRONT.

the roof, that the expenses of repair were alleged as necessitating this lamentable destruction of one of the most stately and ornamented houses of the Elizabethan period in Sussex.

Previous to this sad alteration, the south front extended one hundred and ten feet eleven inches from east to west, each wing being twenty-five feet wide, leaving an open court between them; and the fronts to the east and to the west, facing the garden, were one hundred and nine feet six inches in length. The many dormer windows, with their enriched crocketed gables and pinnacles, gave a peculiarly noble air to the interior court, when approaching the great central porch, ornamented by two stories of columnar architecture. The hall, though a handsome room, is not of those proportions often found in such mansions absorbing half the house, but is of one story, with an embossed stucco ceiling, and a deep frieze running under it round the room of mermaids and other devices, and the family crest (a falcon argent, with wings extended, beak and tassels or, on the breast a crescent, standing upon the trunk of a tree, with a branch issuing from it, proper) is seen between E. C. at the west end. On the north side is the large chimney-piece, of

Notes to Pedigree in preceding page.

¹ Joane, as widow of Thomas Culpeper, of Crawley, Esq. (*temp.* Hen. VIII.), desired her body to be buried in Crawley Church. Her will gives to her youngest son, John Fenner, "a saltzeller with a cover, and halfe a dozen of the best sylver sponys, and a bede, together with all her waynes and carts, with such other thyngs that appertainyth unto husbandry;" to her second daughter, Alice Fenner, *xxi.*, which John Fenner, her grandfather, gave her by his last will; to her youngest daughter, the same; "to my daughter Fenner, my best beads of corroll gawdye with gold;" and to Elene, her daughter, a little cope, gilt. Will witnessed by Edward Shurley, John Fenner the younger, &c.; proved at Lewes.—MSS. of Mr. M. A. Lower.

² George Culpeper, of Balcombe, gent.; was buried in the church there, "before the alter or memoriall of our Lady:" his land in Balcombe, called Neeland, was bequeathed to his son William. His widow, Alice, gave benefactions to the poor at Balcombe and Erdingly. Their sons were, William of Worth, deceased at the date

of her will, leaving Jane, Charles, and Edward; Thomas, and Richard. The will, dated Jan. 12, 1571, was written by her cousin, John Culpeper, parson of Ardingly, witnessed by Richard Culpeper of Onstye, and proved at Lewes.—MSS. of Mr. M. A. Lower.

³ John, parson of Ardingly, by his will, dated Sept. 8, 1589, and proved August 21, 1590, bequeathed "xxs. to six of the poorest and most nedye of Erdingleigh; to each of his godchildren, *xii.*; to every one of his servants, *vs.*; to my brother, Richard Culpeper, yf he be lyvinge, and doe come hymselfe and demaund the same, *xls.* Item. I will that a sermon be made at my buriall, by Kellinbacke, or some other learned and discrete mynister, and that the said preacher have for his paines, *vis. viiij.*" He appoints his wife Margaret and his son Richard executors, and his cousin Thomas Culpeper, of Neland, in Balcombe, and Mr. Thomas Board, of Lyndfeld, overseers of his will.—MSS. of Mr. M. A. Lower.

heavy design and rude execution. In painted stone carvings are groups of flowers, intermixed with strange allegorical figures, grotesque types of abundance, representing two clumsy females pressing milk from their breasts, and two Virtues, placed in niches, which they crowd up with their awkward bulk. Between the latter is an escutcheon, with twelve quarters of arms:—

1. Culpeper: arg. on a bend engrailed gules, a crescent for difference.
2. Hardreshull: arg. a chevron sable between ten martlets gules.
3. Hawte: or, a cross engrailed gules, in dexter chief a mullet sable for a difference.
4. Greene: azure, three stags tripping or.
5. Iwardby: arg. a fret sable, on a canton of the second a mullet of first.
6. Bruce: azure, a saltire, and chief or.
7. Anguish: arg. an inescutcheon within a double tressure fleury counterfleury gules.
8. Waltheof, or Walthers: arg. a lion rampant azure, a chief gules.
9. Randolphus, Earl of Chester: az. three garbs or.
10. Hugo Lupus, Comes Cestriæ: az. a wolf's head erased arg.
11. Wakehurst: arg. a chevron sa. between three parrots (?) gules.
12. Erneley: arg. on a bend sable, three eagles displayed or.

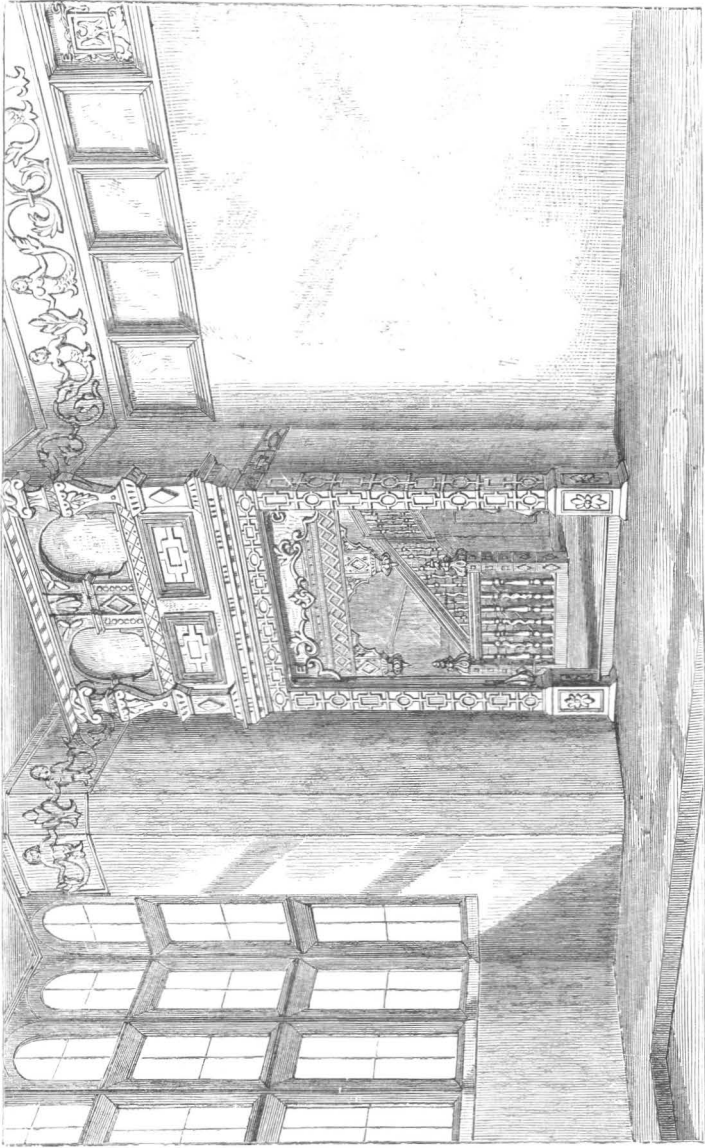
Along the cornice above is a series of fourteen shields of arms with names beneath each, now nearly illegible, mostly the same as above. The fresh ones introduced are:—

Montfort, Comes Evreux: per pale dancetty arg. and gules.
 Guglielmus, Comes Warren and Surrey: chequy or and az.
 Harrington and Culpeper quartered: first and fourth, sable, a fret argent; second and third, Culpeper.

Culpeper and Roberts: second and third, az. on a chevron arg. three mullets sable.

Culpeper and Ernly: arg. on a bend sable, cotted gules, three crescents or cups (?) or.

Culpeper and Thatcher: second and third gu., a cross moline arg.; on a chief or three grasshoppers proper.



WAKEHURST PLACE—HALL AND STAIRCASE

Culpeper and Fernefold: sable, a chevron sable, between three stags' heads erased arg.

It will be remarked, that some of these coats refer to the alliances of the Kentish stock of the family, of which this younger branch, bearing a crescent on the family arms, to denote their cadetcy, was evidently proud. The same numerous coats are also found recorded in the *Heraldic Visitations*, Harl. MSS., 1076, f. 172 *b* and 1194, f. 21.

The view of the doorway opening to the staircase, is very pleasing, as seen in the woodcut; and Nash remarks that "the staircase, from the ornamented case in which it is enclosed, looks as if it had been forgotten, and added by partitioning off part of the lobby." It is indeed of unusual aspect, and blocks up part of a window, having a sort of carved tester with pendants over it, and massive carved newels. If there is any truth in a south front having been long ago taken down, the small size of the hall, and the interpolated position of the stairs, may have been the result.

The west wing contained, till lately, on the ground floor, a large room, forty-one feet by nineteen feet three inches, opening into a square room of nineteen feet five inches, at the south end of the wing, and two similar rooms were over them. These were of course the principal ones, and were decorated with panelled walls, and stucco designs and pendants on the ceilings. In the lower room, the opening of the chimney-piece was six feet wide, and the quatrefoils of the ceiling had numerous drops, the larger ones charged with a rose, others with crests, and fleurs-de-lis. A broad frieze of intertwined mermaids went all round above the oak panelling. The ceiling of the upper room was divided into geometrical figures, having crests and other ornaments in the spaces.

The east wing was occupied by various offices, the brewhouse, the bakehouse, &c., and on this side only was there a passage giving separate access to the rooms. This was not thought necessary by the habits of the times as to the large rooms in the west wing, which are passage-rooms to those beyond.

There are drawings of the south front and of the porch of Wakehurst Place, by S. H. Grimm, taken in 1780, in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 5672, f. 39. The fourth and last Baronet of the Culpepers sold Wakehurst Place, in 1694, to

Dennis Lyddall, Commissioner of the Navy under William III., who married Martha, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Haddock, Knight, Comptroller of the Navy, and died in November, 1717, leaving two sons: Richard, of Blakes Hall, Essex, who died in June, 1727; and Charles, to whom the estate then passed, but who died without issue in January, 1757. By the will of the original purchaser, his great-nephews, Richard and Dennis Clarke, LL.D. (sons of John Clarke, who had married Elizabeth Haddock, a sister of Martha), then came into possession successively; and on the death, in 1776, of Dr. Clarke, without issue, the estate, by the disposition of Charles Lyddall, who had cut off the entail, became the property of Joseph Peyton, Captain, and afterwards Admiral, R.N., and in his descendants it continues. At intervals it has been stripped of furniture and abandoned; at other times it has been let to various occupants.

The stately remains of Slaugham Manor House, though not much known to topographers, attest the importance of the Covert family, which formerly raised and occupied it, leaving carved upon its ruined arches more of "the pomp of heraldry" than usually falls to the lot of such half-destroyed mansions. Having been built in the reign of James I., within a park of 1200 acres, in less than two centuries and a half, its own grandeur has utterly passed away, as well as the ancient and proud family which once filled its spacious courts with a retinue, it is said, of seventy persons.

The Coverts claimed for their Norman ancestor a fellow-soldier of the Conqueror, and seem to have established themselves, by a marriage with the heiress of the Aquilons, in considerable territorial dignity during the thirteenth century, at Sullington, in the rape of Bramber, where an old farmhouse near the church is considered to have marked their residence, and the broken effigy of a mailed knight, representing one of the family, remains in the church. The names of various members of the family very frequently occur in local history, as witnesses, benefactors, and owners of land.

Slaugham was for many generations in the hands of the Poynings, and did not come into the possession of the Coverts



WAKEHURST PLACE—WEST FRONT.

G. H. & S.

till the latter part of the fifteenth century. It will not be necessary here to repeat the pedigree of the Coverts, which has been fully published in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, pp. 18, 19, and 321-323, and may be also referred to in Harl. MSS. 1562 and 1076, from the Visitation of 1633-4. It will be sufficient to note that William Covert, who died in 1494, is the first whom we find connected with Slaugham. His son John, who died in 1503, married a Pelham, and was succeeded by his cousin Richard, who died in 1547, after marrying four wives of the families of Fagge, Neville, Ashburnham, and Vaughan. Richard's eldest son, John, died at the siege of Boulogne, in 1558, and was followed by a son and grandson, who died in 1614, of the name of William, when we meet with Sir Walter Covert, of Maidstone, who married Ann, the heiress of the Coverts of Slaugham, and was probably the builder of the noble manor-house, whose ruins we are now considering. She died in 1632, surviving her husband; and their only son, John,¹ was created a baronet in 1660, but, dying in 1679, left no male issue to inherit his title. His daughter Ann carried the estate by marriage into the Morton family, by whom it was, in the year 1784, sold to the ancestor of the present proprietor, Warden Sergison, Esq.

Extracts from the will of William Covert, dated Sept. 29, 1494 (Add. MSS. 5684, ff. 218 *b* and 221 *b*), show that he bequeathed 40*s.* for the repair of Slaugham Church, where he desired to be buried, and for service to be said there. Three monastic houses were to have 20*s.* each "for reward for doing 3 trentalls of masses for him," and "a vertuous priest, graduated Dr., M.A., or B.A.," is to have £8 yearly to sing for his soul at Slaugham Church for five years after his death; but "if noe such can be gotten for that money, then another vertuous priest and well understanding to have 10 marcs" for such service. "Every poor clerk or priest known of good living and disposition, abiding within five miles of Slaugham, disposed to goe to the University of Oxford or Cambridge to learn, within seven years after his death, to have 6*s.* 8*d.* towards his school; and everie poor maiden to marrie, lacking friends, here abiding within the same distance, to have 6*s.* 8*d.* towards her marriage."

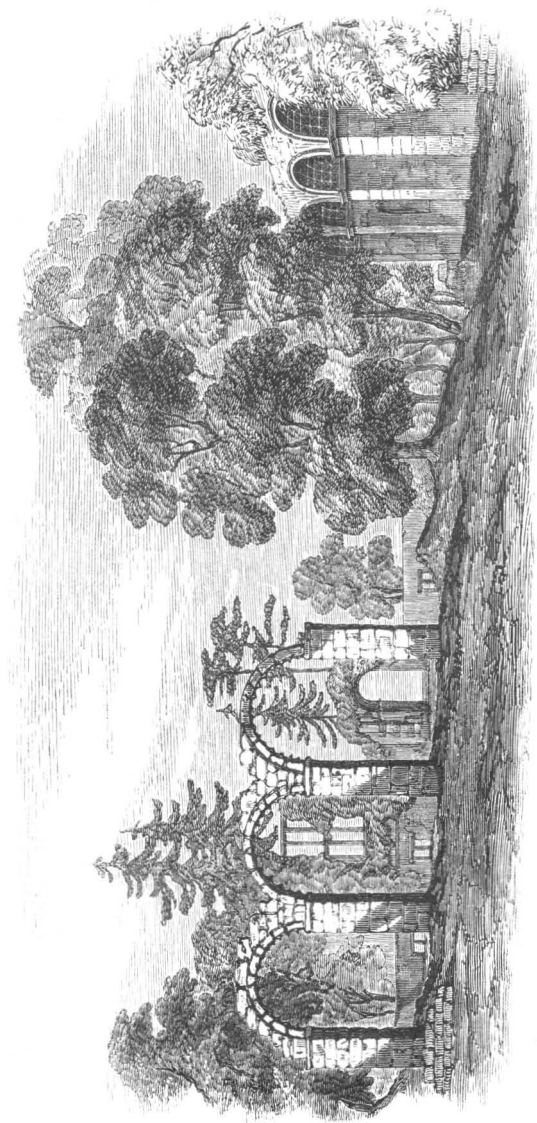
¹ See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. V. pp. 39-49.

His son, John Covert, who died seized of the manor of Slaugham, by his will, proved March 20, 1503, directed his body to be buried in Slaugham chancel, where accordingly his brass monument is to be seen. It appears from the will that his widowed mother, Ann, had a jointure of £50 a year in land, and his own wife, Isabell, one of £30. Having no sons, he directed his cousin and heir Richard to pay 400 marcs to each of his three daughters, "if ruled in marriage by their mother and cousin; and if not, then 200 marcs, provided they be married to men of 100 marcs in land at the least, or such as have virtue and cunning which seemeth to their mother and cousin as good as 100 marcs worth in land." The result of these restrictions seems to have been, that the three ladies did not marry at all.

The successor Richard, by his will, proved Nov. 2, 1547, also desired to be buried in Slaugham chancel, in which his monument is still extant, recording his three former wives. This must have been put up by his widow, Blanche Vaughan, whose will, proved May 12, 1553, expressed her desire to be buried in Twyneham chancel, "if her son, John Covert, parson of Twyneham, will so grant." Her husband had left his granddaughter Jane, "300 marcs to her marriage, to be ruled in her marriage by Sir Edward Shelley, Justice of the Common Pleas."

John, son of Richard Covert, by a nuncupative will, proved March 9, 1559, made probably when lying on his deathbed at Boulogne, appears to have had ten baseborn children by his second wife, Ann Beard; and to each he directed small payments, bequeathing to his son and heir, Richard, by his first wife, Elizabeth Cooke, a chain of gold, a gold ring of his arms, and the residue of his property.

The situation of Slaugham Place is low, at the foot of the sloping hill on which the village and church stand. The buildings of the house itself occupied a space of 175 feet in length by 133 feet broad; but these were enclosed, in a manner unusual at the period of its construction, within a much larger area, confined by a square stone wall with turrets at the angles and on the sides, and an outside moat, which still retains some moisture on the south side, where the pier of a bridge across it remains opposite an open passage of the ruins. A large sheet of water, near at hand, was no doubt connected with the



SLAUGHAM—FROM THE EAST.

moat. The north wall was widened into a broad terrace of twenty feet, about 300 feet long, opposite to the most ornamented front of the house; and the whole ground, now occupied by fruit-trees and a rabbit-warren, was probably devoted to a garden, and the offices commonly placed near a mansion. The style of architecture was a rich graceful Palladian, and there are yet seen the decorated centres of the three principal fronts, or, rather, the lower stories of them. The south side, which abuts on the wall, was occupied at the south-west corner by the spacious kitchen, measuring thirty-five feet by twenty-five feet, having two fireplaces, one thirteen feet wide, separated by an oven from a second, which is seven feet wide, and by other passages and offices now gone. The plan seems to have comprised an interior square court of eighty feet; and on the west side are still considerable remains of a hall, fifty-four feet by twenty-three feet in dimensions, and of dwelling apartments



of two stories with bay-windows and stone mullions. Perhaps some portion may have belonged to an older and smaller house

previous to Sir Walter Covert's grander structure. The approach to the court through the centre of the west front, is very pleasing, from the perspective effect of two arches seen together. The outer one, which rises from two pilasters, and is vaulted by plain caissons, and a diamond drop in the centre is separated by semicircular recessed seats with a shell heading from the inner arch, of which a woodcut¹ is given. This is flanked by two half-columns, rusticated by broad bands at intervals, standing upon tall pedestals, and the vaulting is divided into triple rows of diamonded caissons with a central pendant. The opposite or eastern front has only preserved three semicircular arches resting on piers of a plain character, the inner vaults being adorned by square caissons with projecting diamonds. Perhaps these formed the face of a recess, or perforated colonnade of entrance on this side. The principal and most decorated front, however, was evidently on the north, and even in its now ruined state is strikingly majestic and picturesque.

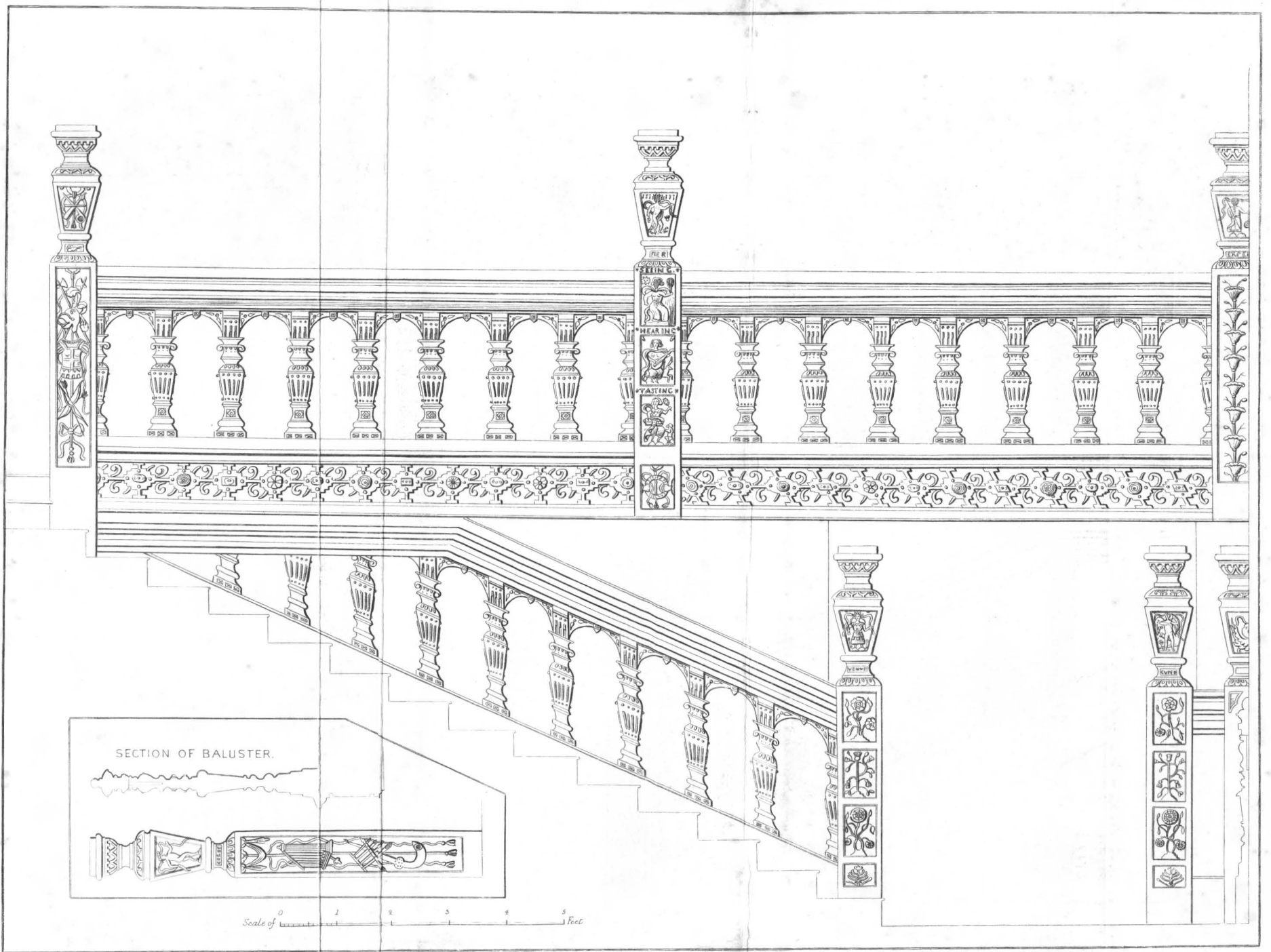
Four arches remain, of eight feet each, one of which, formerly the centre, advances six feet six inches, admitting in its breadth semicircular recessed niches with shell heads; and each pier, four feet broad, is relieved by fluted pilasters on tall pedestals. The style seems to be a Palladian approach to the Doric, with guttæ above the pilasters, and triglyphs over the keystones, but with no metopes in the frieze, which is, however, enriched profusely by an alternation of armorial shields with heraldic



double roses, and faces of greyhounds, so as to give something of the effect of the usual divisions of a Doric frieze. The spandrels also are used for the display of family blazonry. The inner vaulting of these arches is highly adorned, the smaller ones ones by three, the larger arch by eight, rows of diamonded panels of eight facets, with central drops and carved projecting keystones displaying

¹ This, and those of the small ornaments of the north front, are copied from S. H. Grimm's drawings taken, in 1787, Add. MSS. 5672, ff. 1 and 2, where views of the north front, of the ruins from the east, and of the west front, may be found. The

"Arms in the Remains of Slaughter Place" are also at f. 57 of Add. MS 5677. The north front, as before explained, is from a drawing of Mrs. F. Davies, kindly lent for the purpose. The one from the east, is from a drawing by Mrs. Blaauw.



NYNIAN H. LOWER DEL.

W. J. ALAIS SC' 1

GRAND STAIRCASE OF SLAGHAM PLACE, NOW AT THE STAR HOTEL LEWES, MDCCCLVIII.

the leopard's face, which was the crest of the Coverts. These arches seem to have formed an open portico in front of the house, and, though opposite the garden terrace, and marking the most important side, do not appear to have been intended for the entrance of carriages. Modern architects would probably have placed this best front towards the south; but there seems to have been no appreciation



of the benefits of full sunshine among the builders of former times, when choosing the aspects of many of the great houses of Sussex; for Glynde, Danny, Wiston, &c., faced the east. When nearly all the house was pulled down in the last century, the carved oak staircase, which formed the grand communication to the upper rooms, was removed to Lewes, and, though somewhat maimed in its proportions, was put up in the Star Inn, where it still remains an object of admiration. The quaintly carved devices on its newels and friezes are very curious, and characteristic of its period. There are no means on the spot of determining what its position was at Slaugham. It has not hitherto been engraved, and the view of it now presented, from the careful drawing of Mr. Nynian Lower, will be gratefully welcomed.

The alliances of the Coverts may be studied in the numerous shields on the frieze and spandrels of the north front. The armorial bearings of the Coverts, "gules, a fesse ermine between three martlets or," of course appear in almost every coat impaled with some other.

On the partly deficient frieze of the first eastern arch, with double roses and greyhounds' faces, are two shields—one, Covert, impaling, "... on a chief three lioncels rampant;" the other, Covert impaling "... a fesse ermine," (Waleys). The two spandrels exhibit—1, "a fesse between six mascles," impaling "... a cross, in chief two cross-crosslets fitché;" and 2, "... three crescents, a canton ermine," (Cooke,) impaling, "... a fesse between six mascles."

The second arch has in its frieze alternate with roses and greyhounds' faces, four shields:—1, Covert, impaling "... on

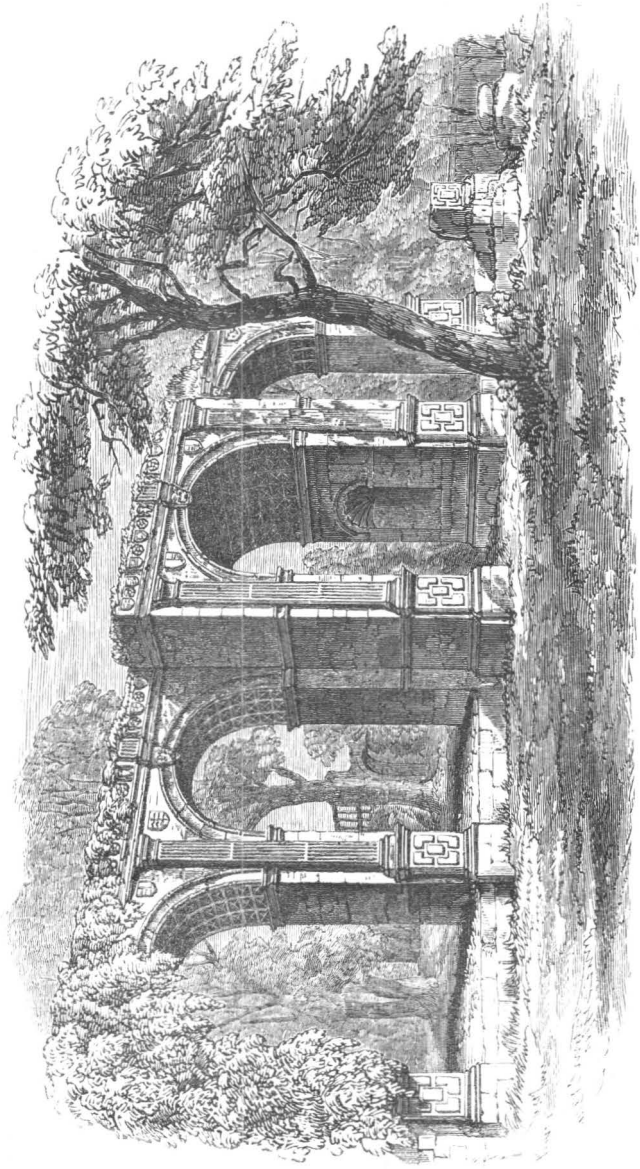
a chief three birds ;” 2, Covert, impaling “six lioncels, 3, 2, 1,” (Savage) ; 3, Covert, impaling “barry on a bend five annulets or plates ? (Pellett ?)” 4, . . . Covert, impaling “ermine a lion rampant,” (Poole). The two spandrels have—1, “three bars ermine” impaling Covert ; 2, “a cross patée between six cross-lets” impaling Covert.

The projecting arch, which was the centre, has its frieze defective ; but there remain on its eastern half :—1, Covert, impaling “. . . a crescent and a chief ;” 2, Covert, impaling “. . . three eagles displayed ;” 3, Covert, impaling “a fesse between three leopards’ faces ;” 4, Covert, impaling “. . . a pheon,” (Sydney). On the spandrels are “. . . fretty, a chief” impaling Covert, and “. . . three pelicans,” (Pelham) impaling Covert. The east and west sides of this projecting arch are also filled with coats : on the east, Covert, impaling “. . . three crescents, a canton,” (Cooke) ; and Covert, impaling “. . . an eagle displayed, on a chief two fleurs-de-lis.” On the west return of the arch, Covert impaling “Quarterly ; 1 and 4, . . . on a fesse three cinquefoils or fleurs-de-lis ?” 2, “Quarterly ; *i.* and *ii.*, a double-headed eagle displayed ; *iii.* and *iv.*, blank ; 3, “vairy.”

The arch to the west of the centre has only retained one of the shields of the frieze, Covert, impaling a coat of which only a crescent at base remains. The spandrels, however, are perfect, one bearing “a lion rampant crowned,” impaling Covert ; the other, “a chevron between three annulets,” (Goring) impaling Covert.

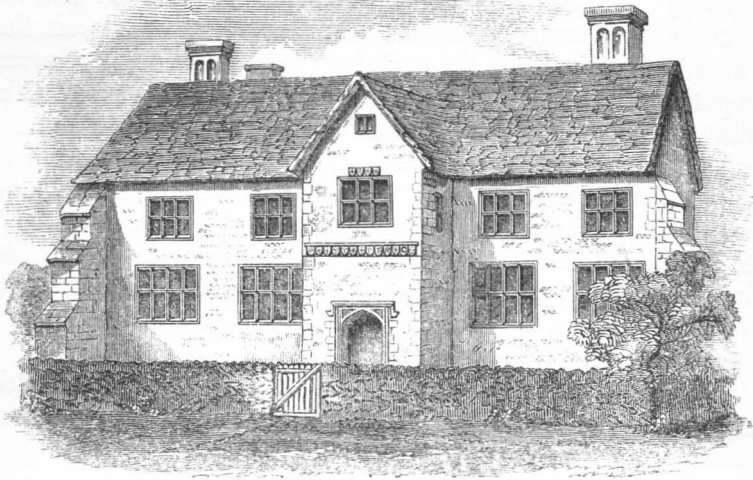
Another arch to the west remained in Grimm’s time, though now gone. On the spandrels were “two chevrons” impaling Covert, and “paly” impaling Covert.

This catalogue of shields would be a sufficient proof of the fondness of the Coverts for the display of heraldry ; but there is another example extant of the same feeling, at a small house situated on the sloping hill above an old manor-house, called “Benfield,” in the parish of Hangleton, which may fairly be added. Early in the fourteenth century the manor was held by a family named Benfield ; and in the Subsidy Roll of 1412 we also find John Benyfeld having the manors of Hangleton worth £22 a year, and of Twineham worth £18. It has not been traced when or how this passed into the possession of



SLAUGHAM—NORTH FRONT.

the Coverts, but John Covert died seized of the manor of Hangleton in A.D. 1503.



It is a small building of flints, with plinth and coigns of brick, with a frontage of sixty-six feet, all very much in decay. The window frames, doorway, and the carved entablature of the porch, are of stone. The old door inside the porch remains, divided into small panels of oak, with mouldings springing from roses at the sides. In the woodcut, copied from James Lambert junior's drawing in 1782 (Add. MSS. 5677, f. 41), a long line of armorial shields will be seen over the porch, and a few more over the window above. Many of these are the same coats as at Slaugham; and, as they are now much dilapidated and indistinct, some record of them should be taken. Over the window were four shields:—1, Covert, impaling "a pheon," (Sydney); 2, two cinquefoils in chief, a crescent in base," impaling Covert; 3, Covert impaling "ermine, three feathers, on chief a bird, apparently a swan or goose;" 4, the date 1611.

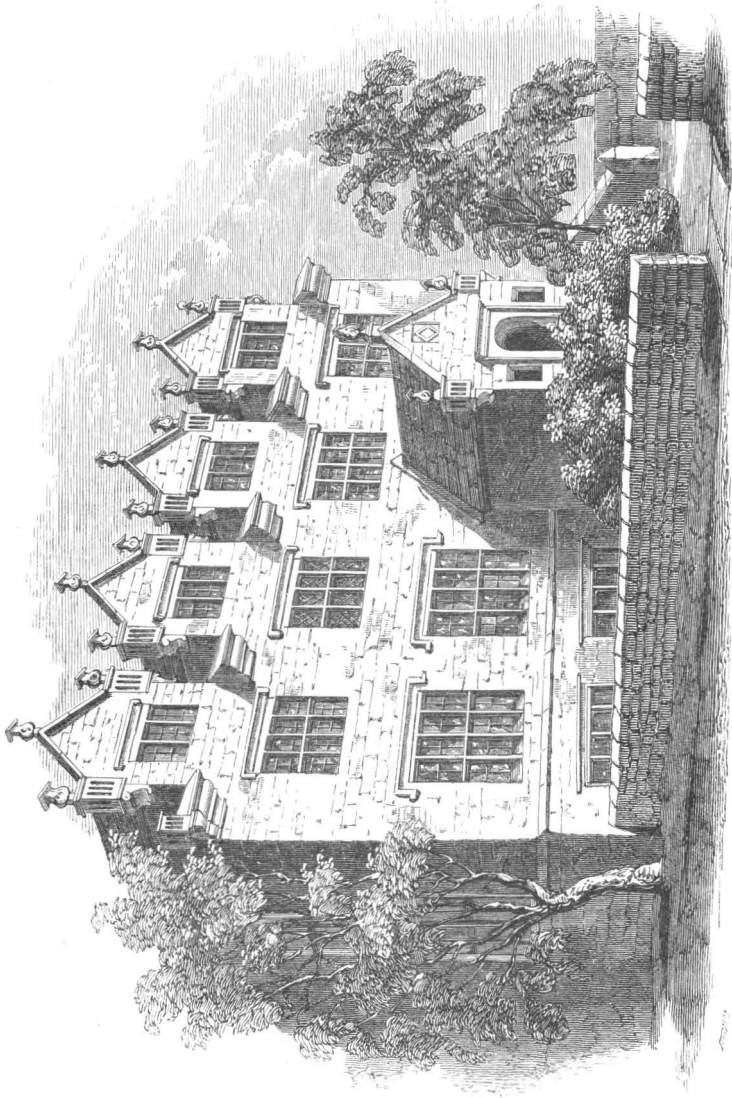
Across the whole of this projecting part of the building, about twelve feet broad, runs a row of shields, which now looks a strange mockery, found as it is on the ruinous cottages of

some labourers :—1, the Covert arms, now missing ; 2, Covert, impaling “a fess between three leopards’ faces ;” 3, Covert, impaling “barry, over all a bend, on a chief three bezants ?” 4, Covert, impaling “a chevron between three animals’ (?) heads erased ;” 5, Covert, impaling “quarterly, 1 and 4, a cross, 2 and 3, three crescents, and on a canton a bird ?” 6, Covert, impaling “a fess between six mullets,” (Ashburnham) ; 7, Covert, impaling “quarterly, (1) a saltire charged with a rose” (Neville), (2) checquy, a chief, (3) quarterly, *i.* and *iv.*, two chevrons, *ii.* and *iii.*, ermine, a bend or saltire, (4) on a fesse a crescent between six cross-crosslets ; 8, is effaced ; 9, appears to have been Covert, impaling “a chevron between three garbs ;” 10, 12, the letters R. C. ; 11, Covert, impaling “quarterly, *i.* and *iv.*, paly bendy, *ii.* and *iii.*, a saltire engrailed between four roses ? on a chief a quadruped ?” 13, the crest of the Coverts, a leopard’s face on a wreath.

So many of the arms sculptured at Slaugham and Hangleton are now indistinct in outline, that the above account of them is only offered as an imperfect list of them.

The old Elizabethan stone mansion of Gravetye, in the parish of West Hoathly, retains much of its ancient appearance, as when built at the close of the sixteenth century, with its broad mullioned windows and terraced garden. Its series of tall dormer windows grotesquely breaking up into fragments its ponderous cornice, and the Doric triglyphs supported on corbels, and upholding pinnacles at the angles, give the architecture a very peculiar character. The stone porch has the initials H. F. on it ; and in the spandrels of the west door are the initials R. I. and K. I., all relating to the family of Infield, who, for a brief period, possessed the property. The ceiling of the hall is ornamented with a number of devices in stucco :—a ram’s head erased ; an oak-leaf, with acorn, as a crest ; a bunch of grapes, with vine-leaves ; a rose, with leafy branch ; a pelican vulning itself. An iron chimney-back, in the hall, exhibits again the same initials, “*R. I., anº Do. 1598, K. I.*”

The family name seems to have been gradually changed from Hanningfield to Infield. According to the information of W. Smith Ellis, Esq.—who has kindly supplied other notices



GRAVETYE, IN WEST HOATHLY.

—in the Subsidy Roll (printed in our Vol. IX. p. 87), the family of Infield was descended from the Haningfields, of Haningfield, in Essex, one of whom bore for his arms, “or, a chevron sable,” and was at the battle of Boroughbridge, in the time of Edward II. A knight’s fee was held in 1350, in the manor of Sheffield, in Lingfield, Surrey, by William de Inningfield and Nicholas de Malmeyns; and, in 1351, William de Inningfield died seized of a property there, leaving Adam his son and heir, aged twenty-four. We find the name again in 1437, when Elizabeth Inningfield released all her rights in Lingfield to William; and, in 1483, William de Inningfield held a tenement in Lingfield, called “Le Lynde Place.”

At the death of James Infield, in 1596, it was proved that he died holding certain messuages in Lingfield. He appears to have been succeeded by Richard Infield, who built the house. (Manning and Bray’s *Surrey*, ii. pp. 282, 284, 351.) It appears from the tombstones in West Hoathly Church, that Richard Infield married “Catherine, daughter of the right worshipful Edward Culpeper, of Wakehurst, Kt.” She died Oct. 16, 1623, and he on March 11, 1624. “Richard Infield, of Gravetye, gent.,” probably their son, appears to have married Catherine Compton, and their eldest daughter, Agnes, who died September 1685, aged thirty-nine, seems to have carried the property to her husband Henry Faulconer, son of Infield Faulconer, Esq.; and this explains the initials of H. F. on the porch.

AN ACCOUNT
OF
CERTAIN ROMAN SEPULCHRAL REMAINS
LATELY DISCOVERED AT
DENS WORTH, IN THE PARISH OF
FUNTINGTON, SUSSEX.

BY THE REV. HENRY SMITH, M.A.

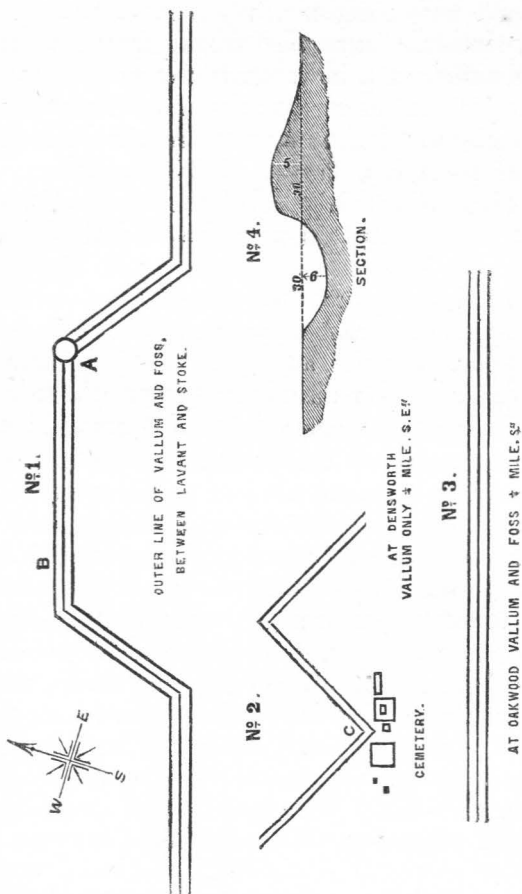
THE Roman occupation of the country surrounding the ancient city of Chichester, Regnum, the capital of the Regni and Belgæ, was probably far more extensive than has hitherto been conjectured. History gives but slight assistance to the investigation. The roads leading through the district are almost untraced in the itineraries; a peaceful rule and quiet settlement afforded but few facts to be recorded; so that the only relics of this once-powerful dominion are to be found in the earthworks extending over the surface, and in the various remains that, from time to time, are disinterred, either by the care of the antiquary, or the accidental discovery of the cultivators of the soil. Little has hitherto been attempted towards any systematic survey of such materials as remain, for the delineation of this period of history; indeed, attention has been drawn only by incidental notices to the traces of the Roman power which are scattered over the district. At the meeting of the Archæological Institute, at Chichester, in 1853, in conjunction with the Sussex Archæological Society, the notice of the assembly was directed to the British antiquities of the neighbourhood in the barrows on Bow Hill, and also to medieval art and workmanship, while the remains of the Roman period were almost unmentioned; and yet, not to speak of the city itself, where traces of its founders have of

late years been frequently brought to light, the surrounding country has proved rich in subjects of interest. At Fishbourne, the remains of a bath and pavements; at Walton, in the parish of Bosham, intrenchments; at Donnington, earthenware; at Bognor, Wittering, and Lavant, coins; at Westergate, Avisford, and Chilgrove, interments; and at Chilgrove also, the foundations of a small residence have been discovered. The most obvious mark, however, of the Roman occupation is the extensive system of earthworks or intrenchments, vallum and foss, which extends for many miles over the country, both to the north-east and north-west of Chichester.

To a certain portion of these I desire to direct attention, as they appear to be connected with the subject of the present paper.

An outline of the course of some of these banks may be found in Hay's *History of Chichester*, p. 539; but it is clear that neither Mr. Hay nor any other antiquary has ever yet fully investigated and reduced to system these interesting remnants of the Roman empire. It appears that a bank or rampart, defended by a ditch, leaving Chichester in a northerly direction, may be traced at the back of the present barracks to the village of Mid Lavant, where it probably divided, one portion going eastward through the village of East Lavant, in the direction of the Valdoe Coppice, and thence across Goodwood Park towards Bignor; the other, turning to the west outside Rawmere Coppice, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile from Chichester, proceeds in a nearly direct line for about a mile, when, upon emerging from the wood called Little Tomlins, it presents such strongly marked features, that I desire to place them on record as denoting the probable character of the work. At this point the bank turns suddenly from west to north-west by north in an oblique direction, for a distance of 135 yards, when it again turns to the west. At the angle marked A on the plan, a mound remains, rising at the present time ten feet above the level of the surrounding fields. The line proceeds west for 242 yards; and, as this portion of the bank appears to have suffered less injury from time and the improvements of agriculture than many other parts of the work, it seemed that measurements might be most fairly taken at the point marked B, which are traced in the accompanying section. The ditch

remains, thirty feet across, sloping gradually from the north to a depth of six feet below the present surface, terminating on the south side with a steep bank of the same breadth as the ditch, thirty feet, and rising to a height of about five feet.



After proceeding in this manner 242 yards, the work turns south-west by south at a corresponding angle to the opposite side, and, after running obliquely for 135 yards, turns again to the west, and proceeds further for nearly a mile, when it is lost or untraced in Ashling Wood. Sections of this work show

that it is composed of hard gravel of the country, and the oak flourishes along its course.

Now, the question arises, for what purpose was this great expenditure of labour? The portion I describe, if it returned to Chichester, without reckoning the branches from Lavant to the east, must have extended fully eight miles; and a work which now measures sixty feet across, with various internal parallels extending at regular distances, could not have been undertaken without some very important object in view. It has been suggested by a competent authority, that such could only be some territorial division, or civil boundary, similar to that marked out by the three extensive dykes, each with a foss to the north, in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, which are supposed by Dr. Edwin Guest, the learned Master of Caius College, Cambridge, to have been raised by the Belgæ (see Salisbury volume of *Archæological Institute*, 1851, p.28); and again it is proposed as a solution, that one portion of these works was a road from the camp to the springs, for a supply of water during a summer encampment. But why such breadth and depth of ditch, such height and strength of bank? why such labour in the apparent work of fortification, if it were not to defend as a military work the city of Regnum? It may be urged, on the contrary, that to hold such a line of defence would have required a far larger body of troops than could have been spared by the Romans for such duty, indeed, that it would have been impossible to guard such outworks; but, on the other hand, the number of inner works that extend between this outer line and the city, appear to strengthen the argument for the military nature of the work. These may be traced over the late common called the Broil; and at the point where they have particularly come under my notice, they are found extending, line behind line, over an extensive district.

Thus, the first line extends between Stoke and Lavant. The second, a quarter of a mile to the south, is the work at Densworth, which will afterwards be noticed. The third, about the same distance again to the south, leaves the line from Chichester to Lavant behind the barracks; passing just to the north, it is to be found at the side of the lane running from the barracks to the Stoke road, crosses the Broil till it

meets the road leading to Ashling, a short distance to the entrance of Sennicots. Here it must have crossed the high road; but the remains at this place are not to be traced. At a short distance to the west, it may again be found in Oakwood, where, with deep ditch and high bank, it forms the third line of defence. And a fourth may be traced still further to the south, near the line of the South Coast Railway. Here are to be found vallum and foss, line behind line, marks of a strongly armed occupation of the country.

The second of these lines is to be found on the lands of Densworth. The present remains are formed in three portions, each extending north-west and south-east for 135 yards. There are little remains of a ditch, although, part of the bank being in Densworth Coppice, the plough has not done its work of effacing the hollow, had it existed. The vallum is about six feet high in the most elevated part. At the spot C marked on the plan, on Dec. 9, 1857, a discovery was made of a stone cist, containing the four glass vessels figured in the accompanying plate. A young man, pitching hurdles for sheep, struck his crowbar on a stone of unusual size; not but that such a circumstance had before occurred in the field; still, on this occasion, his curiosity was excited, and he determined to discover the nature of the obstruction. The cover of the cist was soon laid open, being only fourteen inches below the surface; the crowbar, together with a horse and chain, were employed to remove the lid, but with unfortunate result, as the violence was the cause of the fracture of the contents. I was then informed of the discovery, and at once proceeded to the spot, which I reached in time to find a quantity of fragments of glass lying under the hedge, and many more mixed up with the soil. All were collected, as far as possible, and have carefully been reformed. The cist, consisting of two portions, each hollowed out, measures 3 feet 2 inches in length by 2 feet in breadth; the under portion 17 inches deep, the upper 13 inches; the thickness of the sides, 4 to 4½ inches. Its material is taken from the lower green sandstone formation. The lid or upper stone presents the peculiarity, that while three sides are bevelled off, the fourth is left square. At the north-west corner of the lower stone, a slight projection is left, as though it had been intended to form a bracket for a lamp,

the stonecutter preserving the conventional arrangement in forming the cist, whether or not a lamp were provided.



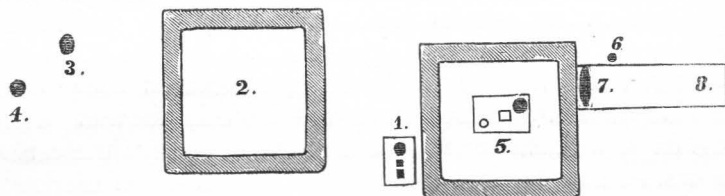
The contents were, four glass vessels, with fragments of a fifth. The largest, in which were deposited the calcined bones of a child, is formed of green glass, and is of uncommon form, remarkable, at the same time, for beauty of design and roughness in the execution. It measures 12 inches in height, by 10 inches in diameter; the lower part very thin, thinner, indeed, than ordinary window glass; while the handles present a strong contrast from their solidity. This does not, like the smaller vessels, appear to have been formed in a mould, but to have been blown and shaped by hand, the handles fixed on afterwards in a careless manner, as in the instance of one that was broken, no junction had ever been made with the upper part of the vase. As a stopper to this vessel, was placed the glass No. 2; this is hollow, of lighter coloured glass than the vase, bearing somewhat the appearance of a lachrymatory. At the bottom is rudely stamped the maker's mark, a human

figure, robed, with the arm extended, surrounded with the letters RIM, with parts of others, one apparently an O. The cist also contained two square glass bottles, which were placed in line with the vase; these, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, had been formed in a mould, as appears from the mark at the bottom. They are of an ordinary form, with the reeded handle; one was empty, the other contains a brown pasty substance, clearly of vegetable origin, and resembling the lees of red wine.

In addition to these four vessels, were found some small pieces of glass, that evidently had formed parts of a bottle of small size, which must have been interred in a fractured state. This is remarkable for the perfection of the material; the finest glass of the present day does not exceed in whiteness, brilliancy, and purity, these morsels; from their imperfect condition, no idea can be formed as to the object of this addition to the funeral remains.

This discovery led me further to investigate the spot. Its marked position at the angle of the Roman earthwork, with the fragments of stone mixed with the soil near the cist, was an inducement at once to commence excavations, and the results are traced on the plan at p. 175. At a distance of about twenty-five feet from the angle of the vallum, the first coffin was found. Our digging proceeded towards the west, where we came to a quantity of large flint stones, from the chalk of the downs, laid in order without any appearance of mortar or cement. It was some days before we were able to fix any plan for this building (for such it evidently was); but its nature was difficult to determine, the more so, as the enclosure upon which we were at work had at some former period been disturbed, and the contents removed; sufficient, however, could be traced to prove that a wall had been built of flints, twelve feet square outside measurement, two feet thick, and thus enclosing a space eight feet square. This we were led to conjecture had contained a cist formed of thick tiles, such as have been discovered in the neighbourhood of York. These tiles had all been broken into small fragments; still, their rounded form, thickness, and shape of rim, exactly agreeing with the description of those at York, serve as evidence that such an interment had here formerly taken place. This enclosure we

found filled with remains of these tiles, pieces also of other pottery, and stone which had been cut and employed for building. This was brought from the malm rock, which occurs immediately beneath the chalk, and is to be found at Cocking, the nearest point from our discoveries; mixed with this, was the substance called coneybury, from the fondness of rabbits to burrow where they meet with it. It is chalk mixed with clay, and, as none occurs near the spot, must have been brought from some of the hollows in the downs to fill the grave. In addition to this, were a few pieces of what would have been the most important part of the discovery, could sufficient be brought to light to record who it was that had been laid with such care in this place, fragments of a slab of Purbeck marble mixed up with the debris; the letters, however, were so few, that no connection could be made, and no meaning drawn from the remains. It is to be hoped that more of this inscription may be hereafter recovered. The letters are beautifully cut, with great regularity, and are two inches in length.



1. Cist containing bones of child, and four glass vessels.
2. Enclosure, 12 feet by 12, supposed to have contained a tile cist.
3. Urn of earthenware, buried in the ground without protection.
4. Ditto. Both these have been broken by the plough.
5. Cist containing decayed glass vessels, with bones, earthen urn, and fragments of iron.
6. Urn broken, containing bones, with coin of Hadrian.
7. Stones on which fire had been lighted.
8. Charcoal bed, 9 feet by 2, at the depth of 14 to 16 inches.
9. Excavations proceeded thus far. All made ground, with pieces of the coffin, stone, and a fragment of iron coated with lead.

To the west of this enclosure, at the spots marked 3 and 4, two interments were discovered. In these instances the bones,

after incremation, had been roughly collected, mixed with charcoal and clay, and placed in an earthenware urn. The urns had not been deposited more than eight inches below the present surface, and consequently had been broken by the plough in the tillage of the field. Portions were collected sufficient to form the figure, showing that the shape had nearly resembled that of the perfect urn found in the second cist. No coin was met with in connection with these interments; indeed, the only trace of metallic substance we had hitherto observed, was the oxidized remains of a small piece of iron in the glass vessel with the bones of the child. Further researches in this direction proved that all the earth was made ground to a depth of eighteen inches, and contained many fragments of stone (lower green sand) chipped in the process of formation from the cists.

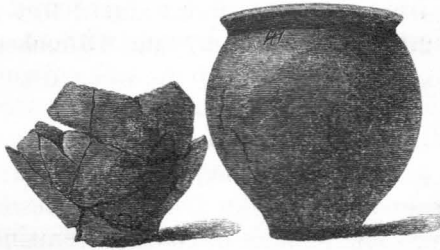
Our researches next extended in an easterly direction. Commencing from the site of the first-found cist, we met large chalk flints, placed side by side without mortar, which shortly resolved themselves into a wall surrounding an enclosure of similar dimensions with that on the west side. This was filled with gravel, so hard and closely compacted, that for a time we passed it by as hopeless for any fruitful results. It differed so much from the made ground in every other direction, that it appeared never to have been moved. After some days, we determined to cut a trench through the centre, and were well rewarded. A flat slab of lower green sandstone was found, about fourteen inches below the surface, not in the exact centre of the enclosure, lying a little towards the north, as if the wall had been built after the interment, when all the soil had been filled in, and the exact position of the coffin forgotten.

Great interest was excited as the excavation proceeded; several friends had visited the spot with some ladies. We stood round anxiously expecting the moment when the cover could be with safety removed. Seventeen centuries had elapsed since the funeral pyre had burned, and friends standing round had consigned the remains to the tomb.¹ There was a breath-

¹ It may here be stated, that while the cists with the urns and glass vessels are intended to be preserved in the Museum

at Chichester, the bones will all be carefully reinterred.

less silence when the lid was raised. At the east corner stood an empty urn (figure 1), perfect as upon the day when it came from the potter's hands; in the centre, a mouldering mass of bones mixed with fragments of glass. Time had done its work; and, while the bones were in structure unchanged, since they were collected from the burning, the vessel in which they had been deposited had perished. It was with difficulty that sufficient fragments could be collected to show that originally the cist had contained a vase of dark green glass, of considerable thickness, square, and large enough to have contained the quantity of bones, probably similar to the central vase in the Avisford cist, now preserved in the Museum at Chichester. It is remarkable, that while the thin glass in the first cist remained almost unchanged, this thick glass, of the substance of a quarter of an inch, had mouldered to dust.



1. Urn from second cist, with potter's mark.
2. Urn from the ground, found at figure 4 in the plan.

At the north-east corner, another heap of perishing remains appeared, clearly of metallic origin; some few long pieces were on the surface, in length from three to six inches, most carefully manufactured. The iron had been pierced with rivets, having on one side knobs placed side by side about half an inch apart; the other side of these rivets had been formed into screws; the whole had been fastened to some substance non-metallic, probably wood. What could this have been? Was it armour? The Romans never buried defensive armour with their dead, otherwise it might have been the remains of the warrior's helmet, or his shield, or the fragments of his greaves. We were in difficulty: either it was a unique dis-

covery, or we were mistaken in our appropriation of these remains.

A visit from Mr. Roach Smith offered a solution for our doubts. In several instances, among the debris of Roman London, shoes or sandals have been found; these much resemble what we discovered; and so it seemed probable that not the armour of the soldier, but his shoes, had been placed in his coffin. If this be so, more than one pair had been given him, for at any rate the toes of three shoes remain, and nails or rivets enough to furnish the modern half-boots of a family of Sussex labourers. Sandals were discovered in the Avisford cist, although not remaining at the present time; but an engraving of the late Mr. King, kindly forwarded to me by Mr. Roach Smith, depicts a form bearing a resemblance to my discovery. These relics were contained in a deep cist of the lower green sandstone, the outside measurement being 3 feet 2 inches by 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and 2 feet deep; inside measurement, 2 feet 6 by 1 foot 7, and 16 inches deep. The cover was a closely fitting slab of the same dimensions, eight inches thick.

Proceeding still towards the east, at the spot (No. 7) were some large flint stones, extended beyond the wall; on these a fire had formerly been lighted, as they presented a burnt appearance, and some morsels of charcoal remained. This led us to a bed of charcoal, about the usual depth of fourteen inches below the surface, nine feet long by two feet wide. And here again was a mystery: for what purpose this pyre? It could not have been the remains of a funeral pile; this must have been far larger, and the remains more extensive; the space over which the charcoal extended, could never have contained the pile of wood necessary to consume a human body; and in instances of Celtic pyres which have come under my notice in Ireland, the entire form of the fire could clearly be traced. But, be this as it may, adjoining this bed we met with a broken urn, of ruder manufacture and thicker pottery than those hitherto discovered. The bones in this had been more completely burned than in the others, and were mixed with earth and charcoal. At the bottom of the urn was found the only clue which hitherto has presented itself to the age of these sepulchral remains—a coin of Hadrian, brass, in very

bad condition : the reverse quite obliterated, the legend gone, the emperor only to be recognized by the head ; still, sufficient remained to enable us to fix the period of the interments, and to prove that 1700 years must have passed since they were consigned to the tomb.

These five interments, two in stone coffins, and three in urns buried in the ground, are at present the results of our investigations ; but it may be fairly conjectured, that more remain as yet unopened ; the fragments of various kinds of earthenware, some unconnected with anything as yet discovered ; the various sources whence the stones¹ mixed with the remains have been derived, point out some larger occupation of the ground than is as yet apparent ; added to this, the report of the tenant, that he has met with obstruction to his crowbar in other places in the vicinity, lead to the hope that this is only a first instalment from a source of much interest, and that it may be hereafter my pleasing duty to relate further disinterments to the Sussex Archæological Society.

Since the foregoing was placed in the printer's hands, a visit to the British Museum, aided by the kindness of A. W. Franks, Esq., has enabled me to add the following references, which may not be without interest.

A two-handled vase (*diota*), of glass, similar to that found at Densworth, was discovered, in 1849, at Gelderstone, in Norfolk, by Mr. Yates ; it is figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi. page 109. A coin which accompanied the interment gives a date very closely coincident with that at Densworth, the legend being "Sabrina Aug. Hadriani Aug." Iron nails, much resembling those placed in the cist No. 5, occurred at Shockerwick, near Bath, in a stone coffin containing a skeleton, mentioned in the proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society.

¹ Lower green sandstone in the cists ; nearest quarries in the parish of Fittleworth. Malm rock in the cut corner-stones, &c. ; nearest site at Cocking. Flints from the chalk of the Downs.

Flint boulders from the seashore. A lump of ironstone from the Wealden formation. The marble in the slab appears to be from Purbeck, it may, however, be Sussex.

A fragment of iron, about six inches long by two inches broad, thickly coated with lead, found during the excavations, to which I have not hitherto alluded, from uncertainty as to its object, appears, by reference to a stone sarcophagus containing a leaden coffin, dug up on the site of Trinity Church, Minories, London, in 1853, now deposited in the Roman Gallery, British Museum, to have been a clamp for joining the upper and under parts of such a sarcophagus.

As we hitherto have met with no coffin to which this could have belonged, it may perhaps lead to the supposition that there may have been further interments of importance in the vicinity.

It may also be here observed, that the potter's mark, as seen on the earthenware urn in cist No. 5, p. 177, occurs also on pottery lately dug up near Chichester, by W. H. Freeland, Esq.

ON CERTAIN INNS AND INN-SIGNS IN SUSSEX.

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

THE Archæology of Inns is a subject which merits more attention than it has yet received. It offers several illustrations of the manners and habits of our ancestors which have become obsolete. The Signs too by which these houses of entertainment are distinguished are in many instances connected with religious symbolism and with heraldry. In *English Surnames*, edition 1849, vol. ii. pages 133-153, I have treated somewhat largely of Inn Signs; and I shall therefore make no general remarks on the subject, but simply quote the classification I there adopted.

“There are seven principal classes of Signs, each of which is susceptible of subdivisions, viz.:—I. Those of a Religious Origin; II. Those derived from Heraldry; III. Those referring to Distinguished Persons; IV. Those which are emblematical of Inns; V. Those referring to particular Trades; VI. Those allusive to Sports and Pastimes; VII. Miscellaneous.”

Following this arrangement, I shall first allude to such Sussex Inns as refer to religious symbolism. The Cross, the great but simple and common symbol of Christianity, is frequent in Sussex as elsewhere. For instance, Chichester, our episcopal city, presents us with a Golden Cross, Rotherfield with a Red Cross, Ansty in Cuckfield with a Green Cross,

and Waldron with a Cross-in-Hand. Sometimes the name of a particular saint is associated with this symbol, as Mark-Cross near Rotherfield, and St. John's Cross at Mountfield. In conjunction with these signs, most, if not all of which date from time immemorial, I may mention that before the Reformation, wayside crosses were commonly placed at the intersections of public highways, where they served the double purpose of exciting the devotion of wayfarers, and of directing them on their road. They were thus the precursors of the modern "hand-post." Indeed they were literally "hand" or "finger"



posts, as will be seen in the accompanying woodcut, copied from a representation of one in Barclay's *Ship of Fools*.¹ The Mark-Cross and St. John's Cross signs doubtless hand down to our times the remembrance of wayside crosses of this sort. Other localities are also known by this symbol, as Stone Cross in Laughton, High Cross in Framfield, Hand-Cross in Slaugham, New Cross in —, and Wych Cross in East Grinstead, perhaps so named in honour of the great county saint, St. Richard de la Wych, Bishop of Chichester. Sometimes these wayside or intersection crosses were called

Crouches, from the Latin *cruæ*; and we have several traces of them in Sussex, as the Crouch at Seaford, High Crouch, Katty's² Crouch, Fair Crouch, and Crow Crouch. The pedestal of a wayside cross with a part of its shaft still remains in the garden of the toll-gate at Stanford Pound, in the parish of Firle. A

¹ The cut has been kindly lent by Mr. J. Russell Smith.—*Eng. Surv.* i. p. 70.

² St. Catherine's.

word or two may also be said of market crosses. Chichester Cross, a fine medieval structure, has already been described in these *Collections*.¹ There was also, long since, a market-cross in the middle of the town of Hailsham; and the mutilated remains of another still exist at Alfriston. The annexed cut shows this object as it stood in the year 1833, before the so-called "restorations" took place.

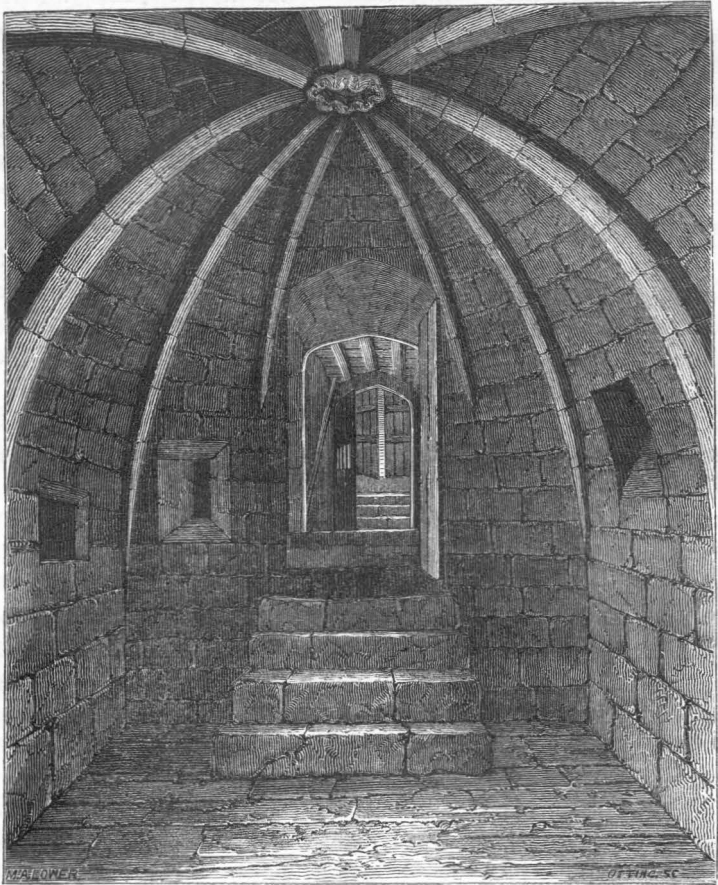


Market Cross, Alfriston.

The *Lamb*, everywhere a common sign, was formerly the "Holy Lamb" bearing a cross and banner. The Lamb Inn at Eastbourne, the property of our active member, Mr. William Harvey, is probably one of the oldest houses of entertainment in the county. It has a crypt or vaulted cellar of the Early English period, with lofty ribs and a central boss, as shown in the subjoined woodcut. It is in excellent preservation. Tradition connects it by a subterraneous passage with the old

¹ Vol. I. p. 193.

parsonage-house at the north side of the parish church ; but, although that edifice has marks of high antiquity, there is not the least ground for the tradition.



Crypt, Lamb Inn, Eastbourne.

At Uckfield the *Maiden's Head* occurs as a sign. Whether this refers to the Virgin Mary, or to the Roman Catholic legend of the eleven thousand virgins, is unknown. Sussex is not very rich in saintly signs ; there are, however, several Georges (George and Dragon); and at Burwash there is a St. Catherine

and her Wheel, though the religious origin of it is lost to popular apprehension, and the wayside hostelry is known only as the "Burwash Wheel."

The *Star* and the *Half-Moon* (crescent) are of semi-religious origin, and abound everywhere. They probably go back to the times of the Crusades. Sussex possesses two rather remarkable Star Inns. The Star at Alfriston, with its curious carved ornaments of the sixteenth century, I have already described in Vol. IV. of these *Collections*, where a plate of it is given. The Star Hotel at Lewes bore that designation so far back as 1555, when it acquired a considerable degree of local-historical celebrity from its association with the Marian persecution. It was in the High Street of the town, immediately in front of this inn, that many of the "witnesses" of the Protestant faith heroically met their doom. The first recorded victim immolated "at the signe of the Starre," was Dericke Carver, "bere-brewer," of Brighthelmston, in the month of July, 1555. A detailed narrative of the event is given, with singular pathos, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and reprinted in the *Sussex Martyrs*, page 7 *et seq.*¹ I may add parenthetically that the trade of "bere-brewing," in the modern sense of the word, was then of recent introduction from Flanders, of which country poor Carver was a native; and also that the descendants of that individual continued to exercise the same calling at Brighton for two or three generations, for in the Lewes Registry there is a will of a Dericke Carver, of Brighthelmston, "beere-brewer," dated Dec. 6, 1628; so that the testator was probably a grandson of the martyr. He mentions his eldest son, Dericke Carver, a minor, whom he directs to dwell with his mother, "keeping forward her business of bruinge." His testamentary charge to his young wife, then with child, is affecting. "I desire my said wife," says he, "in the feare of God, and as ever shee loved me, shee will be a carefull and lovinge mother unto all my children, and to see that they bee brought up in the feare and nurture of the Lord; that soe after my decease the Lord may bee a husband unto her, and a father unto my little ones, as I doubt not that hee will."

It was also in one vast funeral pile in front of this inn, that on the 22nd June, 1557, Richard Woodman and nine other

¹ Published by Baxter and Son, Lewes.

persons (men and women) were put to death for their religious opinions.

There is strong reason to believe that the Star Hotel stands upon the site of the original county jail.¹ Tradition affirms this, and it is probable that the great vaulted cellar beneath it was at least the temporary prison of the martyrs. This cellar, which measures about forty-five feet by twenty-one, has a plain vaulting without ribs. It is reached by a winding stair from the hall of the hotel, and is also accessible from the High Street by a flight of steps. The entrance arch, which has been much mutilated, has some mouldings of early character, and there are remains of three obtusely pointed openings of later date, by which it was of old dimly lighted. A curious piece of iron frame-work is preserved in the cellar, and popular tradition connects it with the martyrs—it being, according to some, the gridiron whereon they were partly broiled preparatory to the *dernier supplice*, while others make it a rack for torture of another kind. To an ordinary observer it has more the appearance of a rack for the stowage of good liquor—but its uses are not obvious.

II. The Inn-Signs derived from Heraldry abound everywhere, and there are some in Sussex which have a quasi-historical origin. The two favourite badges of the House of Lancaster were the silver *Swan* and the white Antelope, which latter is often confounded with the *White Hart* of Richard II. Their progenitor, the celebrated John of Gaunt, “time-honoured Lancaster,” possessed great feudal rights in East Sussex, and Ashdown Forest was called, from him, Lancaster Great Park; and it is really curious to note how many inns are still known by these badges. There are Swans at East Grinstead, Forest-Row, Chailey, Falmer, the Cliffe, Southover, Dallington, Hastings, &c.; and White Harts at West Hothly, Buxted, Crawley, Lewes, Horsebridge, Cuckfield, Newhaven, Wadhurst, Catsfield, and Guestling. There are other Swans and White Harts in West Sussex.

A similar trace of the ancient influence of the greatest house of West Sussex is observable in the inn-signs of that division. The *White Horse* is the sinister supporter of the Howards, and the *White Lion* is the dexter supporter of the same noble

¹ See Baxter's *Lewes Guide*, 1847.

house, as well as the charge of their ancestors the Mowbrays. This NORFOLK ascendancy is manifest in the White Horse signs at Steyning, Slaugham, Bury, Chichester, East Dean, Easebourne, Graffham, South Harting, Oving, Rogate, Storrington, Sutton, and Westbourne, as well as at Hurst and Ditchling, locally in East Sussex; and the White Lions at Bramber, Shoreham, Thakeham, and South Bersted. I may add also the White Lion and the White Horse (the latter now destroyed) at Lewes, in immediate proximity to Lewes Castle, where the Duke of Norfolk, as representative of the Mowbrays, still holds a coparcenary interest in the ancient fee of De Warenne. The White Lion has also a *locus standi* in the armorial shield of the borough of Lewes.

Many of the inns of Sussex bear as their signs the arms of noble and gentle families of influence in the vicinity, existing or extinct, as the Norfolk Arms at Arundel and Horsham, the Pelham Arms at Lewes and Brighton, the Sheffield Arms at Fletching, the Abergavenny Arms at Frant, the Egremont Arms at Birdham, the Winterton Arms at Boxgrove, the Selsey Arms at West Dean, the Newburgh Arms at Slindon, the Trevor Arms at Glynde, the Fuller Arms at Brightling, the Sergison Arms at Hayward's Heath, the Frankland Arms at Washington, the Shelley Arms at Horsham and Maresfield, the Burrell Arms at West Grinstead, the Hurst Arms at Horsham, the Hollist Arms at Lodsworth, the Board Arms and Bent Arms at Lindfield. The Dorset Arms occur at Lewes, East Grinstead, and Hartfield. This sign is known at Lewes as "The Cats," from the supporters of the Dorset shield being two cat-like figures called in heraldry spotted leopards, and it was so known in 1670.¹ The Cat at West Hothly is probably derived from the same source. The house now occupied as the Lewes post-office is described in old deeds as the "Three Pelicans"—the arms of Pelham.

Besides these "whole coats," several parts of family armorial ensigns are found as signs; as the "Buckle," the Pelham badge at Bishopston; the Bull's Head, part of the Curteis arms, at Boreham; the Ram, the crest of Gage, at Firle; the Red Lion, a charge of the Thomas arms, at Willingdon; the Ash-tree, part of the Ashburnham crest, at Ashburnham;

¹ Horsfield's *Lewes*, i. App. xxvii.

the Tiger, the crest of the Michelbornes, at Lindfield, where the family resided *temp.* Edw. IV.—so that this is a very ancient sign; the Griffin, at Fletching, from the demi-griffin, the Earl of Sheffield's crest; and the Spread-Eagle, in and near Midhurst, the crest of the Lords Montague. The Turk's Head at Frant may be a misnomer for the Saracen's Head, the crest of Darrell of Scotney. There are probably several other instances of this kind which have escaped my observation.

The Black Lion, a defunct inn, gave name to one of the ancient streets of Brighton, while the Black Boy and the Boar's Head, equally heraldic, have conferred their designations upon two hamlets situated respectively in the parishes of Framfield and Rotherfield.

Somewhat analogous to these, are the signs which form puns or "rebuses" on the names of places, as the "War-Bill in Tun"—a battle-axe stuck into a barrel of foaming ale—at Warbleton; the "Crow and Gate," at Crowborough Gate; and the "Runt and Tun"—a young cow stationed by a beer barrel—formerly at Runtington, a hamlet of Heathfield. The "Bull's Head" rejoices in its proper sphere at *Goring!*

III. The signs referring to distinguished persons have no marked peculiarity in Sussex. We have the usual number of Kings' Heads, Queens' Heads, Dukes of Wellington, *et omne hoc genus*; but the *Royal Oak* has in this county more than usual significance. This loyal sign, well known in various parts of England, alludes of course to the escape of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, and his concealment in the oak at Boscobel. This sign was formerly given with some absurd peculiarities which are humorously commented upon in *The Microcosm*, by, I believe, the (afterwards) eminent statesman, George Canning. These consisted in making the curls of his sacred majesty's wig more voluminous and more numerous than the leaves of the oak, and in securing the fugitive monarch from all observation by sticking three regal crowns of large dimensions on as many prominent branches of the tree! But, as the same writer facetiously observes—

"—— Pictoribus atque poetis,
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas;"

and this may be reckoned a very allowable poetical license,

inasmuch as it lets the spectator into the secret "*who is in the tree.*" But it is apt to make him, at the same time, throw the accusation of negligence and want of penetration on the three dragoons, who are usually depicted in the foreground cantering along very composedly, with serene countenances, erect persons, and drawn swords very little longer than themselves"! The Royal Oak became a favourite denotement of Sussex inns about a century ago, when Mr. Charles Pendrell, a lineal descendant of one of the brothers Pendrell who preserved the king's life, settled as a respectable medical practitioner at Alfriston. This gentleman enjoyed his hereditary pension of one hundred marks, and right of universal free-warren, as conferred July 24, 27 Car. II. He was proud of the allusive coat of arms which had been granted, with more than his usual gratitude, by the "merry monarch" to his family; and, as he bore the loyal name of Charles, he made it a condition, whenever he became sponsor for a baptized child, that Charles should be the Christian name. Hence the frequency of that appellative in the Ade and other families, to whom he stood in the relation of medical attendant or personal friend. The little roadside public-house at Longbridge, near Alfriston (now destroyed), was so named at his suggestion; and his grandson, John Martin Pendrell, was landlord of another Royal Oak at Lewes. John Richard Pendrell, the son of that person, is now a policeman at Rottingdean. He succeeded, a few years since, in establishing his claim to the pension, which for some time had been withheld, in consequence of a suit in chancery as to right heirs. He lately possessed, but has now unfortunately sold, a large drinking-bowl, an heirloom of several generations, and said to have been carved from a branch of the Boscobel oak. I saw it some twelve years since, and I am not without hopes of offering a representation of that and other relics connected with Charles's escape in an early volume of the *Collections*. There are other Royal Oaks at Barcombe, Ditchling, Mayfield, Hastings, Shermanbury, Flimwell, Walberton, West Wittering, Pett, and a newly erected one close to the Roman walls of Pevensy.

In connection with this subject must be mentioned the King's Head in West Street, Brighton, so named from the

fact of King Charles having taken temporary shelter there after his circuitous and secret journey from Worcester to that town, from whence, in the night of Oct. 14, 1651, he took his voyage to Fécamp, in the coal-brig of Captain Tattersal. This inn had previously been called the "George." The statement of the Boscobel Tracts is, that "the King arrived at last at the George Inn in Brighthelmston."

IV. The Sussex signs emblematical of inns present us with no speciality. The Chequers (absurdly derived by old-school antiquaries from the chequy bearing of the De Warennes, but traceable to Pompeii and Roman times), the Barley Mow, the Three Cups (perhaps heraldic), and a few others of the same sort, require no remark.

The Leather-bottle near Angmering gave name to "Leather-bottle Lane"; and it reminds us of a quaint old song and its curious refrain:—

"I wish in heaven his sowle may dwell,
That first found out the *leather botel*."

V. The signs allusive to employments are principally of the agricultural or the maritime description, as the Plough, Harrow, Wheatsheaf; and towards the coast, the Ship, Old Ship, Cutter, Schooner, Anchor, &c.

The "Gun" at Chiddingly, Eridge, and Netherfield in Battel, refers to the great ordnance cast in those localities in the days of the Sussex ironworks; and there is a tradition that the first-named of these hostelries was established by a man who was, or had been, head workman at Stream foundry, so long and profitably carried on by the gentry family of French.

VI. Those relating to sports, are the Greyhound, Stag, Fox, Fox and Hounds, Hare and Hounds, and such like, common to most sylvan districts. The Roebuck at Laughton is a reminiscence of the ancient afforested state of that locality, as is also the "Green Man" near the Broyle, an ancient chase or park at Ringmer. According to tradition, this house was formerly kept by the ranger or keeper of that enclosure. An early proof of fondness for the "noble" game of cricket is found in the change, above a century ago, of the Broad Oak at Chiddingly into the "Batt and Ball." The more ancient

pastime of bell-ringing is referred to in several signs, which represent the number of bells in the neighbouring steeples, as the Five Bells at Chailey; the Six Bells at Chiddingly, Northiam, and Lymminster; and the Eight Bells at Bolney and Salehurst. There is also an Eight Bells at Jevington, though the tower now contains but one fourth of that number. The Inn at Iden is called simply the Iden Bells.

VII. With a few words on Sussex inn-signs of a miscellaneous character, I shall conclude a paper which, though perhaps, in the opinion of some, falling short of the dignity of archaeological science, doubtless contains a few facts not unworthy of preservation; especially at a time when a great revolution is going on in inn-sign nomenclature.¹ Among these miscellaneous signs may be mentioned those which refer to the old sylvan condition of a great portion of the county. There are in the Weald two or three "Sussex Oaks," a couple of "Broad Oaks," and a "Friar's Oak"—the latter associated, in all probability, with some forgotten legend. At Mayfield there is a "Five Ashes," but this must not be confounded with the Five-Ash Down of a neighbouring parish. At Chalvington the "Yew Tree" derives its name from a venerable tree of that species. The "Old Tree" at Seaford stands near the site of the pillory, and it would appear, from the corporation records, that a tree called the "Pylorie Tree" formerly stood hard by. The "New Inns," like the New Houses, New Bridges, and New Places, are generally the *oldest* in their localities. Thus the New Inn at Pevensey has borne that name for two centuries, and perhaps much longer.

There are two very unusual signs in West Sussex, of which I am not prepared to offer any elucidation; viz., the "Sussex Pad" at Lancing, and the "Bal's Hut" at Walberton. It

¹ The beer-houses present us with some very curious "new-invented denotements." Heraldry seems to be in the ascendant, especially in Lewes and its vicinity, where we have, or have had, the Railway Arms, the Postboy's Arms, the Tunnel Arms, the Navigator's Arms, the Revenue Arms, and the Priory Arms—"arms" being apparently, to the apprehension of the natives,

a mere synonym of—"Licensed to be drunk on the premises." The high court of chivalry no longer exists, and the power of heraldic kings is crippled, or we would fain call in their authority, and make the Postboy and the Railway, the Navigator and the Tunnel, exhibit and give proof of their respective bearings!

has been suggested that Pad means a cob or small riding-horse—but why *Sussex* Pad? Again, who and what was Bal—why and when did he build his Hut—and lastly, wherefore did such hut become the sign of an inn and the name of a hamlet?

MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FOUND AT SEAFORD.

BY WILLIAM FIGG, F.S.A.

ON Saturday, the 22nd of May, 1858, a remarkable piece of mediæval pottery was found at Seaford, in digging the foundations for a new school; it is in character precisely similar to that of a mediæval knight discovered at Lewes in 1846 (see *Sussex Collections*, Vol. I. p. 45), and evidently designed, as in the former case, for holding liquids.

In the present instance the figure is intended for that of a stag; on each of the sides are rude figures representing boars, attacked both before and behind by animals of which it is difficult to give a description; they may be intended for griffins or dogs. It is covered with green glaze of a somewhat lighter colour than that found in 1846. The workmanship is so similar as almost to lead to the supposition that they were both made by the same individual. In that recently found the workmanship is more elaborate, and therefore, probably, a later production from the same manufactory, if not from the same hand. The general outlines, and the rude representation of the legs, are alike in each.

It is certainly very singular that no examples having any resemblance to these have been found in England, except in this neighbourhood; this would lead to the supposition that these curious relics are the production of some resident artificer, whose fancy produced these remarkable grotesques.

The specimen found at Seaford is in height $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and in length $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches; it was much broken, but has been so well restored, that nothing is wanting except a few small

pieces, the loss of which in no way interferes with the perfect understanding of the whole design. Several fragments of pottery, apparently portions of a similar figure, were discovered amongst the earth.

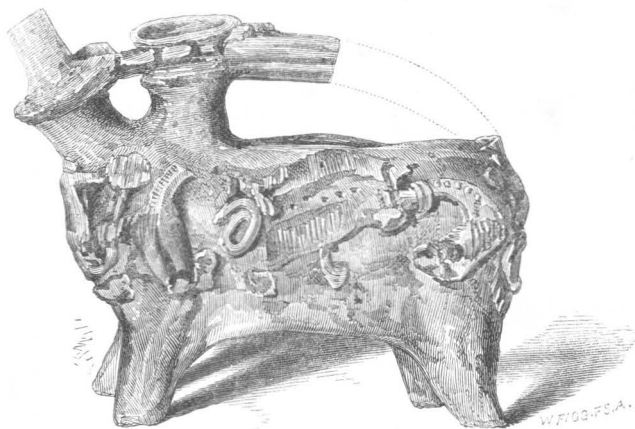
The characteristics of the two specimens found in Sussex are very peculiar, that from Lewes pointing to chivalry, while the one from Seaford is, with the stag and boars, so strongly allusive to the chase: these having formed almost exclusively the business and the pleasure of the higher classes in England at the period when these objects were probably produced.

The members of the Sussex Archæological Society will, I am sure, feel grateful to our local secretary at Seaford, Henry Simmons, Esq., and several other members there, for the great pains taken for the preservation of this second singular example of mediæval pottery, which will form part of the Society's Museum in Lewes Castle.

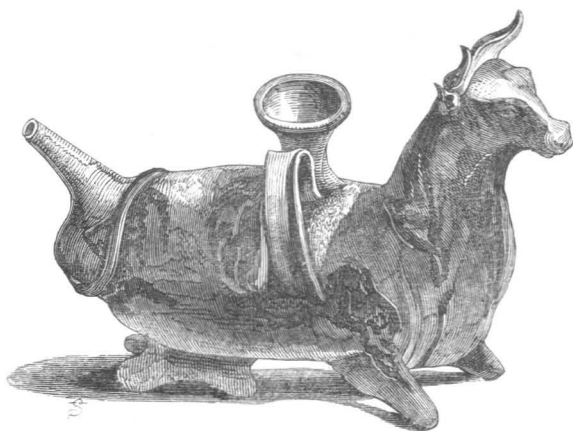
Some time since I met with a loose plate, No. 23, vol. ii. of Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*, representing the figure of a cow, described as "a curious specimen from Agrigentum," which must have been intended to be used for the same purpose as those discovered in Sussex. As I have not the work to refer to, I am unable to give any account of it, but the general resemblance is such that I have been induced to have it engraved, for comparison with our Sussex examples.



LEWES—1846



SEAFORD—1858.



AGRIGENTUM.

THE PROGRESS OF KING EDWARD VI. IN SUSSEX.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

“Inde Guilfordam, Petwoorthaque transit in arva ;
Commodat inde suos Coudria villa lares.
Non fuit immunis tanti Halfhakera triumphii,
Non Warblingtono proxima ripa freta.”

THOMAS STAPLETONUS, in *Collegii Wychemensis
Carminibus Gratulatoriis.*

OUR monarchs, in the middle ages, were of necessity migratory. Their large households, and the concourse of suitors which attended their courts, not merely for extraordinary favours, but for the ordinary administration of justice—the numerous retainers attendant both upon the suitors and the courtiers, and their troops of friends and witnesses—all occasioned a demand for extensive supplies of provisions ; whilst the badness of the roads, at least in certain soils and seasons, and the imperfect means of conveyance, conduced to render those supplies, after a time, scarce and inadequate. Thus, when the products of one neighbourhood were nearly exhausted, it became expedient to remove to another locality. That this inconvenience was felt, as much as ever, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, we have his own testimony ; for he tells us in his Journal, that in his progress of 1552, when he was at Petworth, it was found necessary to send away the greater part of his train, for “they were enough to eat up the country.”

In the days of our earlier kings the royal manors and castles were scattered over the whole area of the realm, and they would generally pass from one to another without taxing the hospitality of their subjects ; but, if the intermediate distance was

such as to require some entertainment by the way, there was always some well-revenued abbey, bound by its religious duty to afford lodging to all wayfarers, and bound by loyalty as well as religion to receive the royal train. The equivalent was returned, when required, in lands and privileges; and, when the church was satiated with riches, she was content to be repaid with the royal countenance and protection, and the customary offerings upon her altars.

The dissolution of religious houses destroyed these capacious and ever-open hostelries. The civil wars had previously dismantled many castles, or a change of manners rendered them disagreeable for residence; whilst improvident grants and reckless favouritism alienated many royal manors. In numberless cases both castles and manors became hereditary possessions in the families of those who had been appointed their keepers for the crown. When the sovereign now made his progresses, he could only occasionally occupy his own castles or palaces; but in most of his stages he was lodged under the roof of the wealthy among his subjects. This mode of passing a summer arrived at its height of splendour and enjoyment in the reign of Elizabeth, who put her nobility to enormous and sometimes ruinous expense in her entertainment, and whose "princely pleasures" at Kenilworth, at Theobalds, at Cowdray, and other mansions too numerous to recount, were largely celebrated by chronicler and poet.¹ The same custom was continued in the reign of James I.,² in whose piping times of peace the dramatic talents of Ben Jonson, Dekker, Marston, and Chapman, with all the galaxy of minor poets, were frequently invoked, to give grace and spirit to the sylvan interludes and the more gorgeous domestic masques, enacted with the most splendid scenery and costume, and the magnificent architectural conceptions of Inigo Jones, with which the monarch was welcomed and amused. These gay doings continued during the reign of Charles I., until the royal progress was merged in the march and countermarch of Cavaliers and Roundheads.

Some memorable progresses were made by Henry VIII.;

¹ See *The Progresses and Public Pro-
cessions of Queen Elizabeth*. By John
Nichols, F.S.A. 3 vols. 4to. 1823.

² See *The Progresses, &c. of King
James I.* 4 vols. 4to. 1828.

but I am not aware whether with him they were customary year by year. At any rate, they have not hitherto found an historian, except in one instance, which is of the year 1541, shortly after a great rebellion in Lincolnshire. The King then passed through that lately disturbed county, and afterwards proceeded as far as York. In the volumes of the Archæological Institute, Mr. Hunter has given, in two portions, a very interesting account of this progress of King Harry.

His youthful successor made only one progress, properly so called, which was in part through the county of Sussex, and which therefore, I venture to believe, offers an appropriate subject for the attention of this Society. This occurrence has been already twice mentioned in the Society's *Collections*, but, as it has happened, in both places with wrong dates. In our fifth volume, at page 185, it is said to have taken place in the year 1547; in our sixth volume, at page 53, it is stated that King Edward VI. visited Petworth in 1551, and again in 1554. In fact, he was only in Sussex once, and that was in the year 1552.

I have said above that this was King Edward's only progress, which must be understood to mean that it was his first and only progress in which he went any distance from home; his former journeys, probably on account of his youth, having scarcely exceeded the round of his own palaces. Thus, two years before, on the 8th of June, "the gests of my progress," he writes in his Journal, "were set forth, which were these:—from Greenwich to Westminster, from Westminster to Hampton Court, from Hampton Court to Windsor, from Windsor to Guilford, from Guilford to Oatlands, from Oatlands to Richmond."

These were all the King's own houses; and in the following summer Edward's removes were to Hampton Court, Richmond, Windsor, thence to the Bishop of Winchester's at Farnham, to Windsor again, to Oatlands, and to Hampton Court again.

The gests of a progress were its prearranged stages, drawn up in the form of a calendar, noting, together with the places, the days on which the King was to remove, and the distances he would have to travel. I have not found any gests for the progress of 1552, but all its stages are precisely recorded, and may be described without hesitation.

On "the 27th of June the King's Majesty removed from Greenwich by water unto Putney, and there he took his horse unto Hampton Court, on his progress."¹ On the 7th of July he removed thence to Oatlands; on the 15th to Guilford; and on the 21st he entered Sussex, and came to Petworth; on the 25th he proceeded to Cowdray; on the 27th to Halmaker; and on the 2nd of August (quitting Sussex) he came to Warblington. He afterwards visited Bishop's Waltham, Portsmouth, Titchfield, Southampton, Beaulieu, Christchurch, Woodlands in Dorsetshire, Salisbury, Wilton, Mottisfont, Winchester, Basing, Donnington Castle, Reading, and so came to Windsor, where he arrived on the 15th of September.

Some time before the commencement of the progress, it had been arranged that the King should be accompanied by a considerable armed force, in addition to his own yeomen of the guard. It was to be composed of detachments of the bands which were then maintained (with allowances from the crown) by the principal nobility. Under the 23rd of May, the King entered in his Journal:—

"It was appointed that theis bandes of men of armes should goe with me this progresse:—

Lord Treasourour . . .	30	Lord Admiral	15
Lord Great Master . . .	25	Lord Darcy	30
Lord Privy Seale . . .	30	Lord Cobham	20
Duke of Soffolk	25	Lord Wardein	20
Earl of Warwike	25	Mr. Vice Chamberlein .	15
Earl of Rutland	15	Mr. Sadler	10
Earl of Huntington . .	25	Mr. Sidney	10."
Earl of Penbroke	50		

A month after, on the 23rd of June:—

"It was agreed, that the bandes of men of armes appointed to Mr. Sidney, Mr. Vice Chamberlein, Mr. Hobby, and Mr. Sadlier, should not be furnished, but left of."

But still it was found, when the King was staying at Petworth, that his troops of followers were more than the country could support:—

"Because," he writes, "the nombre of bandis that went with me this progresse, made the traine great, it was thought

¹ Machyn's *Diary*.

good they should be sent home, save only 150, wiche were pickt out of al the bandis. This was bicause the traine was thought to be nier 4,000 horse, wiche ware inough to eat up the country; for ther was litle medow nor hay al the way as I went."

The following is the record of the same change of arrangements, as entered in the Register of the Privy Council:—

"At Petworth, the xxiiijth July. The King's Ma^{tie} being enformed that the nombres of his bandes of horsemen that are presently following his Highnes' trayne by his Ma^{ts} appointment, are more than, havinge regarde to the want of provision and forrage, may well be continewed without some hinderaunce to the cuntrie, and pestering of the trayne, his Ma^{tie} this day resolved that the sayd numbers shold be deminished, and divided in sort as followeth:¹—The Lord Treasurer, xx.; the Lord Privie Seal, xv.; the Duke of Suffolke, xv.; th' Erle of Huntingdon, x.; the Lord Admyrall, x.; the Lord Chamberlayne, xv.; the Lord Cobham, x.; the Lord Warden, xv.; th' Erle of Warwik, xxv.—Total, Cl."

Thus the bands of the great lords, at first amounting to 345, were reduced to 150; but the King was besides attended by his own guard, to whom, by warrant dated the 5th of June, had been delivered cxxvj. liverie bowes and iiiij^{xx} guilt javelinges, for their furniture for this year, and cxxv. sheaves of arrows, which with their cases and girdles cost xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.² Nor do these figures represent the numbers of the men; for, in anticipation of the progress of 1550, there was "a warrant to Sir Philip Hobie, Knight, master of the ordonance, and to his deputies, to deliver unto John Pers, clerke of the checque, ccc livery bowes, ccc sheefs of arrows, with girdells and cases to the same, and also ccc halberds, for the furniture of ccc of the King's majesties yeomen extraordinarie, to attend on his Highnes' person during his pleasure;" and on the 6th September following, "a warrant to Sir Edward Peckham, for vjCxx li. to the yomen of the garde extraordinarie, for wayting this progresse for Julie and August."

The King was also accompanied, for greater state, by several

¹ So the numbers appear in the copy of 14,026, but one item appears to be deficient, to complete the total of 150.

² MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 219 b.

of the heralds, who, by a warrant dated the 9th of October, "were allowed for their diet, in their attendance on his Majestie during his progress, from the 5th of July to the 7th of October:—to Garter King of Arms, x s. per diem; to Clarenceux and Norroy, each vj s. viij d.; to Somerset, iiij s.; to Rougedragon and Bluemantle, each ij s.; and to Ulster the same as the other provincial Kings, to the 2nd of September only."¹ Besides these allowances, they also received a gratuity of xx s. from each of the great towns into which the King entered for the first time; which were Guilford, Portsmouth, Southampton, Salisbury, Winchester, and Reading. He did not visit the city of Chichester, though staying at Cowdray and Halnaker.

The King's sixteen trumpeters had also received their accustomed liveries shortly before the commencement of the progress. On the 3rd of May the sum of iiiC xv li. iiij s. had been issued, for the provision of red cloth for liveries for the yeomen, gromes, pages, and others belonging to the privy chamber; and on the 5th of June was issued "a warraunt to th' Exchequier to pay to Edmond Standon, clerk of the stable, the summe of C li. towards the furniture of things necessarie for the King's Ma^{tie} agaynst this progresse."

Such were some of the preparations made for those who constituted the King's personal servants and guards. But, together with the King, the greater part of the council, who were the real governing body of the kingdom, also went this progress. One of them, Sir Philip Hoby, was left in the Tower of London, with special charge of the metropolis, and a weekly allowance of xx li. for his diets;² and in consequence he caught a fit of ague in that moat-encircled fortress. The rest were, more or less, attendant upon their sovereign. On examination of the Privy Council Register, I have found that seven counsellors accompanied him throughout the whole progress, viz.:—the Lord Treasurer (Winchester), the Lord Privy Seal (Bedford), the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain (Northampton), the Lord Chamberlain (Darcy), the Vice-Chamberlain (Gates), and Secretary Cecill. The Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Admiral (Clinton), and Sir John Mason, joined the cavalcade at Salisbury: Secretary Petre came to Basing.

¹ MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 261.

² Privy Council Book.

The houses at which the King sojourned in Sussex were three only—Petworth, Cowdray, and Halmaker. I have no new information to give respecting either of these well-known mansions, but may beg for indulgence in making a few remarks upon the state of each at the period in question.

PETWORTH was the principal southern manor of the great house of Percy, Earls of Northumberland. But they had ceased to occupy it for some time before Leland was there; for he says, "The market towne of Petteworthe, in the wold of South Sax, is right well encreasid syns the yerles of Northumbreland used litle to ly there." Their ownership had in fact temporarily ceased for some fifteen years before King Edward's visit; for Petworth was among the estates vested in the crown by act of Parliament 27 Henry VIII., in the event of the decease of Henry sixth Earl of Northumberland without issue, which happened in 1537. During the reign of Edward VI. this honour remained in the hands of the crown,¹ and Henry Earl of Arundel was master of the game there; we may therefore presume that the charge of the King's entertainment in great measure fell on that nobleman. In the next reign Petworth was restored to the Percies, by letters patent of 4 and 5 Philip and Mary.

At Petworth the King slept four nights; and, on the 25th of July he removed to Cowdray, where he remained until the 27th.

In a letter which Edward soon after wrote to his friend Barnaby Fitz-Patrick (who was then in France, accompanying the French King in his campaign against the Emperor), he thus pleasantly alludes to the difference in their recent occupations:—

"For whereas you al have been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in pained journays, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaltes, we have been occupied in killing of wild bestes, in pleasant journeyes, in good fare, in vewing of fair countries, and rather have sought how to fortifie our own [*i. e.* at Portsmouth] then to spoile another man's. And, being thus determined, came to Gilford, from thens to Petworth, and so to Coudray, a goodly house of Sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvelously, yea

¹ In the MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 17, is a paper containing "The Names of the Lordships of the Honour of Petworth,

with the Members of the same," from a Survey dated Sept. 3, 1552.

rather excessively, banketted. From thens we went to Halvenaker, a prety house besides Chichestir. From thens to Warblington," &c.

COWDRAY, when Edward was so sumptuously entertained there, was still in its early splendour. It had been built by Sir William Fitz-William, Earl of Southampton, shortly after 1533, when he received a license for its embattlement, and proceeded to surround with his new and magnificent towers the ancient pile of his predecessors, the Bohuns, within which he formed his kitchen. I need not enter into further details of the architecture of Cowdray House, which has been already so fully described in our *Collections*; but I cannot omit to remark that its paintings—those historical paintings by which Cowdray was distinguished beyond any other house of its own or even any subsequent time—were also presented in their fresh colours to the eyes of the youthful monarch.

They consisted of some of the most memorable scenes in the reign of Henry VIII., in which the late Sir Anthony Browne (who died in 1548) had taken a part; and among them was one of King Edward's own procession from the Tower of London to Westminster, on the day before his coronation.¹

The King perhaps slept at Cowdray, as his sister Elizabeth subsequently did on her visit in 1591, in what was called the "velvet bedchamber," which was then painted in fresco, with the naval battle fought in the harbour of Brest, in the year 1513, in which Sir Edward Howard was killed. Subsequently the same chamber was hung with tapestry worked from the cartoons of Raffaele.

Sir Anthony Browne (the second of that name), who entertained King Edward, remained, like his cousins, the Poles, and as his father had been before him, an adherent to the ancient faith, and he consequently was highly favoured by Queen Mary, who created him Viscount Montague. His first wife, Lady Jane Ratcliffe, daughter of Robert Earl of Sussex, died at Cowdray² within a year after King Edward's visit, viz. on the 22nd of July, 1553,—not 1552, as printed in Dallaway's

¹ Engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, in a large size, in 17 . . . and described in *An Account of some English Historical Paintings at Cowdray, in Sussex*. By Sir Joseph Ayloff, Bart., V.P.A.S. and F.R.S. London: 1774. 4to.

² See, in Machyn's *Diary*, p. 39, the funeral, on the 4th of August, 1553, of "my Ladé Browne, the whyche she ded in chyld-bed, the wyff of Ser Anthony Brown in Sussex."

Rape of Chichester, an error the more remarkable on the present occasion, as, if that date had been correct, her corpse would have been in the house during the "marvellous banquetting" with which the King was entertained. She was only twenty at her death, and therefore only nineteen at the King's visit.

HALNAKER, OR HALVENAKER, as King Edward wrote the name, and which he described as "a pretty house beside Chichester," was the seat of Thomas Lord de la Warre, by whose father, Thomas the eighth lord, it had been erected early in the reign of Henry VIII. In its great hall, on the wainscot paneling, among the arms and cognizances of the family of West, were placed the royal arms of England and Aragon, which denoted the period of its decoration. To this lordly hall was attached a kitchen of suitable capacity, but which would have furnished but a small portion of the requirements of Edward's numerous train; of whom probably the greater number was lodged in the town of Chichester itself.

That the concourse attendant on the royal progress continued to be inconvenient, in its latter as well as its earlier stages, is shown by the titles of two proclamations which were issued during the following month:—

"Aug. 8. A proclamation for th' advoyding of sutche as have taken up thaire lodging at Southampton without th' order of th' arbengers, with a commandement that other hereafter doe not attempt the like either theare or any other place, upon paine of the Kinges greate indignation," &c. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 250 *b*.)

"Aug. 30. A proclamation to avoyde all manner of persones infected with pestilence or other contagious diseases, or having any persons in their houses therewithall infected, from the courte and other places whereunto the Kinges Ma^{tie} shall repaire in this his Ma^{ties} progresse, And also forbydding any th' inhabitantes of Poole or Wynborne Mynster, by reason of the plage theare, to resorte to the courte at Woodland or Canford during his Ma^{ties} abode theare." (Ibid. p. 252.)

Such were the fetters imposed upon anything like popular enthusiasm or spontaneous exhibitions of loyalty in the reign of Edward VI.

These documents, however, take us out of the county of

Sussex, and are only to our present purpose as general illustrations of the circumstances with which the King's progress was attended. With the three names already noticed, Petworth, Cowdray, and Halnaker, the stages of the progress in this county are concluded; and we are unable to guess the name of the place intended in the following anecdote, though the house in question, if really in this county, must have been situated somewhere near the line of the royal travels:—

“A Sussex (and not a Kentish) knight, having spent a great estate at court, and reduced himself to one park and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain, not the Queen [Elizabeth], but her brother, at it; and to that purpose had new painted his gates, with a coat of arms and a motto over-written—

O I A V A N I T A S,

in great golden letters. Sir Anthony Cooke (and not his son Cecil¹), offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by O I A? who told him it stood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, ‘Sir, I wonder, having made your *omnia* so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your *vanitas* so large.’” (David Lloyd’s *State Worthies*, 1670, p. 385.)

In this passage the parenthetic remarks, “not a Kentish,” “not the Queen,” and “not his son Cecil,” must be in correction of some former relation of the same story; but whether they refer to the first edition of Lloyd’s book, in 1655, or to some other writer, I have not been able to ascertain.

¹ Sir William Cecil, afterwards the one of the daughters of Sir Anthony great Lord Burghley, married Mildred, Cooke.

Note.—The Privy Council sat at Petworth on the 23rd and 26th of July; at Cowdray on the 27th, 28th, and 29th; at Halnaker on the 30th and last day of July, 1st and 3rd of August. On the first day named there were two sittings, unless one of the dates is miscopied in the MS. Addit. 14,026. At the first sitting were present the Lord Privy Seal (Bedford), the Lord Cobham, Mr. Treasurer (Sir Thomas Cheney), Mr. Vice-Chamberlayne (Sir John Gates), Mr. Secretarie Cecill, and Mr. Gage (Sir John Gage); at the second, the Lord Chamberlayne (Darcy), in addition. The Lord Treasurer (Winchester) and the Duke of Suffolk were present in council at Petworth on the 26th, and at Halnaker; and the Lord Great Chamberlain (Northampton) at Cowdray and Halnaker. A grant to Sir John Cheke, the King’s schoolmaster, that one of his household servants, at all times, might shoot in the cross-bow, hand-gun, hack-butt, or demy-hack, at certain fowl and deer therein mentioned, notwithstanding the statute of 33 Henry VIII., was dated at Petworth on the 23rd of July.

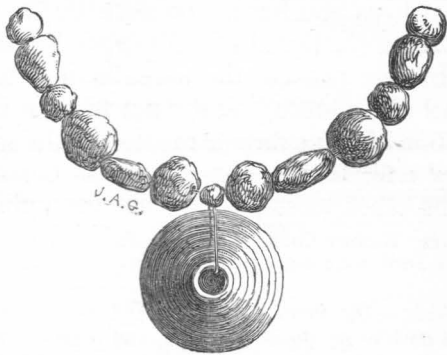
SUSSEX NOTES AND QUERIES.

CONTENTS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Part of an ancient Necklace found at Crowlink.</p> <p>2. Sir John de Braose's Epitaph at Wiston.</p> <p>3. Burial of John Fitz-Alan.</p> <p>4. Sussex Tokens.</p> <p>5. Buxted Brasses.</p> <p>6. Echingham Brass.</p> | <p>7. Roman Pavement at Danny.</p> <p>8. Worsted.</p> <p>9. Property of the Pelhams in Sussex.</p> <p>10. Manor of Court Wick.</p> <p>11. Lewes Castle the County Prison.</p> <p>12. Lindfield Nunnery.</p> <p>13. Corrigenda, Vol. IX.</p> |
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1. *Part of an Ancient Necklace found at Crowlink.*

My pupil, Mr. John Auckland Guy, the youngest member of the Sussex Archæological Society, having noticed several lines of intrenchment on Crowlink Farm, Friston, devoted some of his Christmas holidays to an examination of them. His excavations resulted in the discovery of some fragments of pottery of a very coarse and brittle nature, and the stones here represented, which have evidently formed part of a necklace. The larger or supposed pendent stone (perhaps an amulet), which like the others is of a greyish colour, bears evident marks of having been turned in a lathe. A similar ornament, probably of Saxon date, exists in the Faussett Collection. See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. v.



Mr. Guy's drawing represents the objects at about half their actual dimensions.

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

2. *Sir John de Braose's Epitaph at Wiston.*

THE fine "powdered" brass of Sir John de Brewys or Braose at Wiston, contains, besides the name, date, &c. of the deceased, the following metrical epitaph:—

Es testis Christe quod non iacet hic lapis iste,
 Corpus ut ornatur, sed spiritus ut memoretur.
 Hinc tu qui transis, medius, magnus, puer, an sis,
 Pro me funde preces quia sprs.

The date of this memorial is 1426. Curiously enough, the epitaph was plagiarised upon the tomb of one John Rust, chaplain of Faversham in Kent, where in the time of Weever it existed, with the date 1464; and this copy supplies us with the few words wanting in the Wiston brass. Weever's transcript contains several obvious blunders, the following being a literal copy from the *Funerall Monuments*, 1631, page 276 :—

“Es testes Christe, quod non jacet hic lapis iste,
Corpus ut ornetur, sed spiritus ut memoretur.
Hum tu qui transis, magnus, medius, puer ansis,
Pro me funde preces, quia *sic mihi fit venie spes.*”

—“Be thou witness, O Christ, that this stone lies here, not that my body may be adorned, but that my soul may be remembered. Wherefore thou who passest by, be thou of middle age, or old, or young, offer prayers for me, because thus is procured for me the hope of pardon.”

A still earlier plagiarism from the Wiston inscription is found on the monument of William Scot, Esq., at Braborne in Kent, dated 1433 :—

“Sis testis, Christe, quod non jacet hic lapis iste,
Corpus ut ornetur, sed spiritus ut memoretur.
Quisquis eris qui transieris, sic perlege, plora;
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es; pro me precor, ora.”

(*Weever*, p. 269.)

The fourth verse of this inscription reminds us strongly of the very favourite Sussex epitaph :—

“All you who come my grave to see,
As I am now you soon will be;
Therefore prepare to follow me.”

Whether it is strictly just to charge the men of Kent with having stolen a Sussex epitaph I cannot say. It is more probable that all the three were borrowed from some common source, and that there were popular tombstone inscriptions in the fifteenth century as well as in the nineteenth.

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

3. *Burial of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel.*

The Committee much regret that, owing to the indisposition of the Rev. M. A. Tierney, it has been necessary to postpone his proposed report of the identification of the bones of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1534, in the chapel of Arundel College, when he visited the crypt there, in November, 1857. By the kindness of our member, J. K. Walter Eyton, Esq., F.S.A., a copy was procured from his brother, the Rev. R. W. Eyton, the eminent historian of Shropshire, of the very curious will of Fulke Eyton (dated Feb. 18, 1451, and proved Dec. 14, 1454), who played so remarkable a part in bringing over the bones of his lord, the earl, after his death in captivity in France, for their destined burial at Arundel, according to the earl's wish in his will.

4. *Sussex Tokens.*

TOKENS STRUCK IN SUSSEX, IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY; IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR GEORGE CHETWYN, BART, 1850.

P E N N Y.

Battle.

- O. View of a church with trees (Hollington); leg. "Battel Abbey, Sussex;" ex. Jacobs.
 R. Globe standing on the rose and thistle; "British penny, 1797."

HALFPENNIES.

Battel.

1. O. Remains of Battel Abbey, surrounded with trees; leg. "Halfpenny"; ex. 1796.
 R. Inscription, in five lines, "Battle Promissory Halfpenny, payable in Susex."

Brighton.

2. O. Profile of the Prince of Wales; leg. "George, Prince of Wales."
 R. The Prince's crest and motto; leg. "Halfpenny"; date below, 1794.
 E. "Brighton Camp Halfpenny * * *."
 3. O. and R. as No. 2.
 E. "Brighton Camp Halfpenny, MDCCXCIV."
 4.* O. and R. as No. 2, but the date 1795.
 E. "Payable at London or Brighton * * *."
 5. O. An officer standing with drawn sword; behind him a distant view of camp; leg. "Brighton."
 R. A city besieged, shells being thrown into it, and a mounted officer and artillery in the foreground; leg. "Halfpenny."
 6. O. as No. 5.
 R. Divided into two compartments: in the upper, ships of war, and in the lower, trophies and implements of war: ex. "1795."
 7.* O. Inscription in the centre, "Honor the King;" leg. "Payable at W. Mighell's."
 R. In the centre, "1796," and leg. "Brighton," and lower leg. "Halfpenny."

Chichester.

- 8.* O. Front face and bust of Queen Elizabeth; leg. "Queen Elizabeth."
 R. Chichester Cross; leg. "Chichester Halfpenny;" ex. 1794.
 E. "Payable at Dally's, Chichester. * * *"

Eastbourn.

- 9.* O. Front view of a house; leg. "Fisher's Library;" just under the building, "and Lounge, 1796."
 R. Inscription, in five lines, "Prosperity to the Gentry who visit Eastbourn."
 E. "Celebrated for pure air and sea-bathing."
 10. An impression with new obverse die.

Frant.

11. O. A cipher "G. R.," formed of small leaves and flowers; crest, "a Lamb;" leg. "For the Public Good," date below, "1794."
 R. Arms (said to be of county), but in truth a shield, surmounted by three castles, and arms of Tregoz or Fuller, on an escutcheon of pre-
 tence; leg. "Sussex Half-penny Token," and on a label beneath
 the arms, "1794."
 E. "Payable by G. Ring, Frant. * * * *," bronzed.
 12. Another impression, unbronzed.
 13. An artist's proof, but, as usual, with an incorrect edge.

East Grinstead.

14. O. The Freemasons' arms, supporters, crest and motto; leg. "Pro bono
 publico."
 R. A cipher "J. H. B.," a pair of scales, above and below, "1795";
 leg. "East Grinstead Halfpenny."
 E. "Payable at J. H. Boorman's * * *."

Hastings.

- 15.*O. A cutter under sail, with oak branches beneath; leg. "Success and
 Safety attend the Endeavour."
 R. Arms of the Cinque Ports, between palm and laurel branches; leg.
 "Hastings Halfpenny"; date below, "1794."
 E. "Payable by James Tebays, Hastings *."
 16. Another impression, with a new reverse die, distinguishable by the
 ribbon above the shield almost touching the legend, "G. S.,"
 and approaching much nearer to the *H* in Hastings on the oppo-
 site side.

Horsham.

17. O. A laurelled bust of George III. in profile; leg. "Long live the King."
 R. An anchor entwined by a cable; leg. "P. Pintosh, Horsham"; date
 below, "1791."
 E. Milled.

Northiam.

18. O. Arms (of Fuller) surrounded by oak branches; leg. "For the con-
 venience of Society *."
 R. A cipher "J. F.," crest a wheatsheaf; leg. "Halfpenny token, pay-
 able at"; date, "1791"; a sprig above.
 E. "Payable at John Follers, Northiam."
 19. Another specimen, with a different reverse die, the cipher and crest
 being longer than in No. 18.
 20.*O. Arms (of Gilbert) between palm and oak branches; leg. "Unanimity
 is the bond of Society."
 R. An ornamented cipher "E. G.," crest a squirrel; leg. "Northiam
 Halfpenny"; date below the cipher, "1794."
 E. "Payable at G. Gilbert's, Northiam * * * *"

Rye.

21. O. An open tea-chest between sugar-loaves, and a pair of scales above; leg. "G. Bennett, Grocer, Rye, Sussex"; ex. "1796."
 R. An ornamented cipher, "G. B."; leg. "For the use of Trade."
 E. Milled.

Winchelsea.

- 22.*O. A beehive with bees, and a rose-bush, &c. within a circle; leg. "Industry the source of content."
 R. Arms of the Cinque Ports, between palm branches; leg. "Winchelsea Halfpenny," date below, "1794."
 E. "Payable at Richard Maplesden's, Winchelsea * *."

M U L E S.

49. O. A city besieged; leg. "Halfpenny" (Brighton), as the R. of No. 5.
 R. Ships at sea, and beneath military trophies, date "1795," as R. of No. 6.

I have specimens of those marked with an asterisk, and the two following, not in Sir George's collection:—

Brighton.—O. St. Paul's Cathedral; leg. "London and Brighton Halfpenny."

R. Arms of Brighton, between laurel branches; leg. "Payable at the warehouse of J. Spittle, London, 1795," above arms, "or of I. Kirby, or R. Lashmar," below "Brighton."

Chichester.—O. Portrait of J. Howard; leg. "John Howard, F.S.A., Philanthropist."

R. The sun and moon, a castle below, with an escutcheon of the arms of Chichester.

E. "Payable at Sharp's, Portsmouth and Chichester."

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

5. *Buxted Brasses.*

At page 216 of Vol. IX. is a copy of the lost memorial brass of "Johannis Warnett, Benobs, unius Sociorum de Furnivall Inn." The original not being now extant, the inscription was copied from the Burrell MSS. and from a MS. book in the Rectory. The unintelligible word "*Benobs*" is obviously erroneous, though it has been conjectured to be contracted from "*pernobilis*"; but as the word is underlined with dots in the Burrell MSS., as if the reading were doubtful, it may with great probability be assumed to have been misread, from the contraction of "*generosi et*," *Genosi &*, which would make the sense at once clear. Another error occurs also at the bottom of page 214 in the copy of the inscription to Sir John de Lewes, who built *all* the chancel, "*tut crest Chancellor fit*," the word *tut* in the Burrell MS. is misprinted *fat* in the text.

W. S. WALFORD.

6. *Echingham Brass.*

Since the notice of the brasses of the Echingham family, in Vol. IX. p. 355, was published, the Rev. J. H. Rush has discovered an earlier inscription on the back of the small brass plate in the south chantry of the nave of Echingham Church, which records the deaths of Elizabeth Echingham in 1452, and of Agnes Oxenbridge in 1480. The kinsmen, therefore, who wished to preserve the memory of these ladies, appear to have thought it fit and becoming to devote to this purpose the sepulchral brass of a worthy London citizen and mercer, Thomas Austin, as testified by this inscription:—

Hic jacet Thomas Austin, filius Thome Austin,
quondam civis et merceri London qui obiit xxvi die
mens: Maii A^o. dni M^occc^o xij aie p^occiet d^os amen

It will be observed, that owing to this pious fraud, the termination of each line was clipped of a few letters.

7. *Roman Pavement at Danny.*

A considerable extent of Roman pavement and hypocaust has been lately, in 1857 and 1858, uncovered in a field about a quarter of a mile north-west from Danny, in the parish of Hurst-Pierpoint, by William Campion, Esq. It occupied the summit of some rising ground, and lay about a foot below the surface of the soil. The pavement was composed almost wholly of red brick tesserae, one inch square, with a few smaller ones of a grey stone, but without any artistic arrangement, and was traced to an extent of eighty feet by a breadth of about thirty feet. The most southern part was the first accidentally discovered, and evidently displayed the remains of a hypocaust, the end of which was occupied by a heap of wood-ashes, two feet six inches deep. The floor seems to have been supported by thick walls of flints mixed with large flat tiles. The apartments were divided by some walls of flint, with some chalk foundations, the most northern room being four inches lower than the level of the others. Besides various fragments of coarse pottery and Samian ware, one small Roman brass coin was found, but too imperfect to afford a clue to the date. Other previous discoveries of Roman relics had been made in the parish; and the situation of this pavement on the lower ground beneath the north sides of the South Downs, within sight of the Roman camps at Chanktonbury and Devil's Dyke on their prominent points, seems to furnish an interesting connection with similar antiquities found at Edburton three miles south-west, and at Clayton one mile and a half south-east, from the locality. Future excavations may perhaps lead to further discoveries.

8. *Worsted.*

In addition to the various forms in which the word appears—*Wircato*, *Wosted*, *Worstyd*, *Worstede* (as mentioned, Vol. IX. p. 11, n. 14)—may be adduced “a gowne of *Worset*,” and “a kirtle of *Wosset*,” in a will, A.D. 1566, printed by the Surtees Society, p. 253.

9. *Property of the Pelhams in Sussex.*

The following letter, written by Arthur Collins, and, from internal evidence, I conclude, addressed to the Right Hon. Harry Pelham, gives some references not made in Collins's *Baronage* (4to, 1727), and appears of sufficient interest to be added to the *Sussex Archæological Collections*.

FREDERIC OUVRY.

“ St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, Dec. 11th, 1753.

“ MOST HON^{BLE} SIR,—As I was very intimate with Mr. Anstis, the late Garter King of Arms, I lately applied to his son, the present Garter, for the loan of some manuscripts that I had references to, and he knowing how I was favoured by his father, very readily supplied me with what I desired.

“ In one of them, in the handwriting of Francis Thynn, Lancaster Herald in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who, with great judgment and diligence having long studied the antiquities of this kingdom, was an admirable antiquary, as his collections testify, and as Camden informs us, in several parts of his *Britannia*. I find in his collections a copy of a deed of Simon de Pelham, in the reign of King Henry III., whereby he sold the manor of Cowling with the appurtenances, in Kent, to John de Cobham, for four hundred marks, a great sume in those days.

“ I also find that the manor of Laughton, in Sussex, was in jointure to the Lady Joan Pelham, in 9 Henry VI., as also the manors of Swansey, Trevese, Noteborne, Chiltington, Bevyllham, Burgherse, and the Rape of Hastings. She was the widow of the famous Sir John Pelham, living in the reigns of King Richard II., King Henry IV., King Henry V., and died in 7 Henry VI.

“ But, notwithstanding Sir John Pelham and his lady were possesst of that manor, yet John de Veer, Earl of Oxford, gave some trouble to Sir John Pelham, his grandson, in the reign of King Edward the IVth, as appears from the enclosed. I have a succession of the lords of the manors of Laughton from the reign of King Henry the IIIId, who in his thirty-first year, 1st April, granted free warren therein to Peter de Savoy, lord of the honor of Richmond. If you please to have an account thereof, I will draw it out from my collections; and will attend at the Treasury to-morrow for your commands.

“ It troubles me that now my necessitys oblige me to ask your favour in ordering the warrant for my last half year's pension, the last I received being before Midsomer's day; and tho' I am as good an oeconomist as possible, and live in a poorer way than I was born to, yet find a want as soon as the half year is expir'd. I wish, sir, you would make some provision for me, that I might not be further troublesome to you, which I should remember with the utmost gratitude, and do all in my power to deserve, who am, with the greatest regard,

“ Sir, your most faithfull and most devoted humble servant,

“ ARTHUR COLLINS.”

“ I have two rooms full of books, manuscripts, and collections, purchased by me, whereby I am obliged to have a larger house than otherways would be

needful in my present circumstances. I have made indexes to all our historians, books of antiquities, and many miscellanies, that I am confident no man in the kingdom has the like."

ENCLOSURE.

Ex collect. Fr. Thynne, Lanc. Feical.

"Simon de Pelham dat Johanni de Cobham, manerium de Cowling, &c., pro 400 marcis præ manibus solutis. Hiis testibus Rogero de Northwood, D. Fulcone Paiferer, D.W. Sentclere, D.Will. de Valonis, militibus."

It is transcribed literatim as Thynne wrote it, and it was customary before the reign of King Edward I., for deeds to be without date; yet it is evident from our records that John de Cobham was living in the reign of King Henry III., as was William de Valonis, one of the witnesses.

(1419). Margaret de Hoo, 1 June, 7 Henry V., acknowledges herself indebted to Sir John Pelham, sen., Knt., Sir John Pelham, jun., Knt., and Robert Wrytele, £1000, to be paid at Christmas next.

(1429). Joan Lady Pelham, lady of the manor of Laughton, appoints John Halle, Esq., steward of her said manor of Laughton and hundred of Shepelake, and grants to him, for executing the said office, five marks per annum during her life. Dated at Laughton, Thursday after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 8 Henry VI.

(1430). Claus. 8 Henry VI. in dors. m. 1, in Turr. Lond. Sir John Pelham, Chevalier, recites, "Whereas Sir Roger de Fynnes, Chevalier, held of him the manor of Herstmonceux, in com. Suss., with its appurtenances, by homage, fealty, suit of court, castle-guard, and other services; he now releases to the said Sir Roger, his heirs and assigns, all his right in all the said services, excepting only the fealty. Dated 20 April, 8 Henry VI."

(1436). Claus. 14 Henry VI. Sir John Pelham, Knt., son of Sir John Pelham, Knt., recites, Whereas "Joan, late wife of Sir John Pelham, his father, held in dower *inter al.* the hundred of Foxherle, in com. Suss., with its appurtenances, remainder to the said Sir John the son and his heirs: and whereas the said Joan granted her right in the same to Sir Roger Fenys, Knt., for life; now the said Sir John confirms the said grant, and remises and releases to the said Sir Roger and his heirs his right in the premises for himself and his heirs. Dated 8 January, 14 Henry VI."

(1466). Claus. 6 Edw. IV. By indenture 17 July, 6 Edw. IV., between John de Veer, Earl of Oxford, of the one part, and Sir John Pelham, Knt., on the other part, witnesseth, that "whereas divers disputes have happen'd between the said partys touching the title of the manor of Laughton and hundred of Shepelake, with the appurtenances, in the county of Sussex: it is hereby agreed, that Sir John Pelham, Knt., for his right and title in the premises, shall pay to the said Earl of Oxford 1000 marks, and giving security for the payment of the said sum, the Earl covenants to make him a title." On the 20th of August following the said Earl of Oxford acknowledges to have

received of the said Sir John Pelham, by the hands of Hugh Fenne, in the church of St. Thomas of Acon, London, 350 marks sterling, in part of the said 1000 marks: and by indenture, dated the 25th of the said month, the said Earl of Oxford releases all his right and title to the premises to the aforesaid Sir John Pelham, Knt.

10. (?) *The Manor of Wyke or Court Wick,*

in the parish of Leominster, Sussex, was, A.D. 1539, in the possession of the Monastery of Tewkesbury. I am desirous of ascertaining whence and in what year it came into the possession of that house. The chartularies in Dugdale's *Monasticon* give no information; and Dallaway's notices of the descent of the manor are singularly incorrect. One moiety of it had descended from Stephen le Power to the Apsley family; and from the fact of its being charged with a small annual payment, "hered' de Apsley" (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. ii. p. 475), it probably was granted to the monastery by some member of that family.

HUGH P. WYATT.

11. *Lewes Castle the County Prison?*

Although under the commissions of gaol delivery down to and including that of 22 Henry VIII. (1530), the assizes were holden at East Grinstead or Horsham, yet the commissions were to relieve or deliver the prisoners in Lewes Castle, which was then the prison, like York, Lancaster, and other castles, at this day. In the town records of Lewes, 1565, is an entry of 13s. 4d. disbursed by the constables, "for making a place for the justices of assyse to sit yn, who kept the assyses yn the town yn somer last past." What part of the castle was used as a gaol? was it to the north-west of the gateway? when was its use for this purpose discontinued? and was 1565 the first year that the assizes were held at Lewes?

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

12. *Lindfield Nunnery?*

At the corner of a map of the parish of Lindfield, a view is introduced of some ruins of old buildings, not far from Lindfield Bridge, named as Lindfield Nunnery. Holland's Notes to Camden's *Britannia* mention indeed that there was a religious establishment there; but, as no ancient document alludes to such, any suggestion is invited to account for this name.

13. *Errata in Vol. IX.*

- Page 233, l. 24. —The misnomer of "Jeffery" was quoted from Tanner's *Notitia*, and was not an error of Rev. A. Hussey. The reference should have been to pages 259 and 283 of Hussey's *Sussex Churches*.
- Page 317, l. 5, *for* St. Blastus, *read* St. Blasius.
- Page 326, l. 41, *for* East Mascall son, *read* East Mascalls on.
- Page 341, *for* bapt. *read* born, in last line of Noyes Pedigree, from Nos. 1 to 7.
- Page 362, l. 2. The cucking-stool at Rye Church had fallen nearly to pieces; it has been put together again, and is still preserved in the disused northern chancel.
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INDEX TO VOL. X.

A.

Albert, Prior of Lewes, 126.
 Aldingborne, 56, 57.
 Alfriston, cross, 181; the Star, 183.
 Alleyne, Ralph, Prior of Sele, 107; Richard, Prior of Sele, 108.
 Anchor, wooden, 150.
 Andrew, John, 138.
 Anketellus, Prior of Boxgrove, 126.
 Anningdon, 118.
 Appesley, J., 97.
 Ardingly, 151, 154.
 Armorial shields at Wakehurst Place, 156;
 at Slaugham manor-house, 163, 164;
 at Benfield, 165, 166.
 Arthur's Club, 40.
 Arundel and Surrey, Thomas Earl of, his
 manors in, in 1412, 131.
 Arundell, Thomas, Esq., 139.
 Ask, J., 137.
 Assheborneham, T., 97.
 Asshebournhame, Joan, 144; John, 144.

B.

Bannebury, R., 140.
 Bardolph, W., 141.
 Bedinges, 101.
 Bellyngham, R., 96; John, 96.
 Benfield, 164, 165; armorial shields at,
 165, 166.
 Benyfeld, John, 141.
 Bernehus, W., 113, 115.
 Bewbushe Parke, 127.
 Bidlington, church at, 123, 124; hospital,
 124.
 Biterlee, Richard, his manors in 1412, 134.

Blaker, John de, 109.
 Blundell, R., 136.
 Bodiham, 65, 66.
 Bohun, John, 136.
 Bolney Church, Saxon doorway at, 58—
 62.
 Boneth, Robert, 115, 116; Hamo, 124.
 Borstall House, siege of, 4, 10.
 Bowet, W., 141.
 Boxgrove, Priors of, John Joy, 109; An-
 ketellus, 126.
 Bramber, 101, 115, 116; bridge, 126.
 Bramshot, W., 137.
 Braose, William de, founder of Sele Priory,
 101; Philip, his son, 112, 113; William
 grandson, 112; buried at Sele, 112;
 Reginald, 112; John, 114; William,
 son of John, 115; Sir John, epitaph at
 Wiston, 205.
 Brasses, Buxted, 209; Echingham, 210;
 Wiston, 205.
 Bray, Edward, Knt., 96.
 Brenchisle, Joan, 144.
 Breton, W., 145.
 Brewis, John, manors in 1412, 139;
 George, 140.
 Briouze, 101.
 Brook, John, 142.
 Bryant, Jacob, 39, 40, 44, 45, 52.
 Buci, Sheriff of Sussex, 113; Robert de,
 115; Hugh de, 116.
 Budgen, Mr., 20.
 Bulverhithe, 82.
 Burgavenny, Lord, 96.
 Burrell, Timothy, pupil of J. Ray, 15, 16,
 23, 25, 27, 31.
 Burton, J., 97.
 Byne, family, benefactors to Sele, 118.

C.

- Campion, pedigree, 34, 35.
 Campion, Sir William, 1, 2, 3; his son, Sir Wm., 3; his letters at Borstall, 4 to 10; killed at Colchester, 11; tomb, 12.
 Camoys, Thomas, his manors in 1412, 133.
 Canoe, ancient, in river Arun, 147—150; anchor, 150.
 Carew, Nicholas, 137.
 Carmelite Friars of Shoreham, 109—112.
 Cemetery, Roman, near intrenchments at Densworth, 172.
 Chaglegh, rector of, 120, 126.
 Chamber, R., 97.
 Chatham, Earl of, letter, 37.
 Chesworth, 56, 57.
 Cheyney, W., 97.
 Cheyne, William, 135.
 Cheynes, Lady de, 140.
 Chichester, seal of chapter, 112; canons of, 120, 123; Geoffrey, Archdeacon of, 121; chantries of St. Cross and St. Augustine, 127.
 Chidecroft, John, 144.
 Cists, Roman, found at Densworth, 174, 176, 177.
 Clerc, Ralph de, 117.
 Cloudsley, Captain, of Chichester, 42.
 Clynton, W., 141.
 Cobham, Reginald, 143.
 Colville, W. de, Prior of Sele, 117.
 Colbrond, John, 145.
 Commissioners for Lewes Levels in 1534, 96.
 Coortesse, Edmund, vicar of Cuckfield, deprived, 55, n. 5.
 Cornish language, 25.
 Count, Simon le, 113; John le, 115.
 Courthope, Peter, 13; family, 32.
 Cooke, Sir Anthony, on inscription in Sussex, 202.
 Covert, Richard de, 122; Margaret, 124.
 Covert family, 158; wills, 159, 160; Margaret, bequest, 112; W. de, 116; Richard, 96; John, 96.
 Cowdray, 191, 196; pictures at, 200.
 Crall, R., 145.
 Crochurst, 115.
 Cromwell, Lord, 98.
 Crowlink, necklace found at, 205.

Cuckmere, 81.

- Culpeper family, 152, 153; pedigree, 154; bequests of, 155, n. 1, 2, 3; Catherine, 167.
 Curteys (Curtis, Coortesse), Richard, Bp. of Chichester, 53; his sermons in Sussex, 54; diocesan discipline, and slanders, 55; inventory of his goods at Aldingborne and Chesworth, 56, 57.

D.

- Dalynregge, Joan, manors in 1412, 141, 142.
 Damartyn, Odo de, 113.
 Danny, 1, 11; picture of Charles I. at, 12; J. Ray at, 22.
 Dautre, Alice, 136.
 Dawtre, John, Knt., 96; J., 97.
 Delaware, Thomas Lord, 141.
 Delve, J., 97.
 Dene, Ralph de, 64, 65.
 Dene, Richard atte, 143.
 Densworth, in Funtington, Roman sepulchres at, 168—179; glass vases, 172, 173; cists, 174—177; slab of Purbeck inscribed, 175; urns, 176; iron fastenings, 177; charcoal, 177; coin of Hadrian, 178.
 D'Oiley, Charles, 7.
 Devenysh, T., 96.
 Durrington church, 115, 121.

E.

- Earthworks near Chichester, 169; plan of three lines, 170, 171; Roman cemetery near, 174.
 Eastbourne, vaulted cellar at the Lamb, 182.
 Echinghams, 63.
 Echynghame, William Lord de, manors in 1412, 143; Joan de, 145; Robert de, 145.
 Edward VI. th's progress in Sussex, 195—204; his only Sussex journey in 1552, 197—Petworth, Cowdray, Halnaker, Warblington, 198; suite diminished to 150 at Petworth, 199; heralds, trumpeters, seven councillors, 200.
 Elliott, General, letter from, 51.

Enarchduniensis episcopus (Enaglidoen, Enarchdoen) indulgence to Sele, 103.
 Erneley, W., 96.
 Ernele, William, 135.
 Errata in Vol. IX., 214.
 Eu, Earls of, 63—68; their arms and feudal tenants, 63, 64; pedigree, 67, 68.
 Export duty on wool, 69, 70, 71, 72.

F.

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, his letters, 5, 8, 10.
 Faulconer, H., 167.
 Faussille, Major-General la, 45, 52.
 Fecamp, Abbey of, 122, 123.
 Fenne, Thomas de la, Preceptor of Shipley, 110.
 Fenys, Giles, 96.
 Findon, 121, 125, 127.
 Fitz-Alan, John, Earl of Arundel, burial of, 206.
 Fitz-Hugh, H., 143.
 Fitzwilliam, W., Knt., 96.
 Fletcher, Mr., his son, of Chichester, 42.
 Florent, St., 101, 104, 112, 113.
 Foxle, John, 135.
 Fyenlees, Gerard, 145.
 Fynche, Vincent, 144.

G.

Gage, Sir John, 96; letters, 97, 99.
 Game laws, 47.
 Garnerius, Prior of Arundel, 126.
 Gest of King's progress, 195.
 Glass, Roman diota and other vases at Densworth, 172, 173, 174; stopper to diota, stamped with letters and figures, 173.
 Goring of Hydon, his son's death, 16.
 Goring, George, Earl of Norwich, 11.
 Goryng, W., Knt., 96.
 Gotlee, H., 145.
 Gravetye, in West Hoathly, 166, 167; chimney-back, dated 1598, 166.
 Grey, Thomas Lord de, de Codnor, 141.
 Grig, John, Prior of Sele, 106; Richard, 108.
 Guaro, Prior of Sele, 121, 128.
 Gunther, J., 97.

H.

Haket, Thomas, 134; Juliana, 135.
 Halle, John, sen., 142; jun., 145.
 Halmaker, 191, 196, 200.
 Halsham, J., 140.
 Harbotel, W., 145.
 Hawkhurst gang of smugglers, 83—89.
 Henry, Prince of Wales, 130.
 Hoo, Lady de, 145.
 Hospitallers, seal of Prior, 111.
 Hungirford, Lord, 140.
 Husee, Henry, his manors in 1412, 134; Mark, 134.

I.

Infield family, 166, 167.
 Inglere, Jeffrey, 137.
 Inns and Inn-Signs in Sussex, 179—190; classified, 179; handposts, 180; cross at Alfriston, 181; Lamb at Eastbourne, 182; Star at Lewes, 183; Swans, 184; arms of families, 185; rebuses, 186; Royal Oak, 186; King Charles I. at Brighton, 187; Leather Bottle, Gun, Bells, 190, 191.
 Inventory of Bishop Curteys's goods in 1582, 56, 57, 58; of Sele Priory, 108.
 Irish Bishops, 104, n. 1.
 Ironstone of Sussex, 31.

J.

Jesuits' bark, 19, 20, 21.
 Joop, T., 142.
 Joy, John, Prior of Boxgrove, 109.

K.

Kent, Countess of, 144.
 Kingeswode, John de, benefactor to Sele, 110.
 Kingston, 81.
 Kingsmill, Thomas, a smuggler, 84—89.
 Kiriell, Elizabeth, 144.
 Knell, Lady de, 144.

L.

Loughton manor, 211, 212.
 La Warr, Lord, 96.
 Ledys, J., 97.

- Levet, Richard, 143.
 Lewes Castle the County Prison? 213.
 Lewes Levels, 95—97.
 Lewes, the Star Inn, Protestants burnt,
 183; vaulted cellar, 184.
 Lewkenor family, manors in 1412, 142.
 Lewkenor, E., 97; Robert, 137.
 Lewis, William, Prior of Sele, 106.
 Lindfield Nunnery, 213.
 Livings in Sussex, value of, A.D. 1650, 23,
 n. 1.
 Loughburgh, J., 136.
 Lunsford, J., 145.
 Lynthals, Rowland, his manors in 1412,
 132.
- M.
- Mabank, Philip, 140.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, Sele annexed
 to, 104, 108, 126.
 Maltravers, Lord, 96; manors in 1412,
 135.
 Manors held in 1412, 130—146.
 Markewike, E., 97.
 Melle, R. atte, 137.
 Merbury, John, 140.
 Michell, T., 97.
 Minden, battle of, 37, 41, 42, 43.
 Mohegrove, John, 139.
 Mockbridge, 125.
 Monk, Mr., 31.
 Monpilers, T., 137.
 Morley, Col. Herbert, his letters, 5, 6.
 Mundeham, 121.
 Muskets in 1759, 45, 46.
- N.
- Necklace found at Crowlink, 205.
 Neland, 155, n. 2, 3.
 Newhaven, 81.
 Newcastle, Duke of, letter to, 49.
 Nicholas, Sir Edward, 4, 8.
 Norbury, J., 136.
 Norfolk, John Duke of, 105, 107, 138.
 Northumberland, Percy Earls of, at Pet-
 worth, 199.
 Norton, John, 140.
- O.
- Onley, T., 97.
 Ore, Robert de, 66.
 Osbern, 64, 65.
 Owen, Harry, Knt., 96.
 Owling, owlers, 79.
 Oxebregge, R., 143.
 Oxenbridge, R., 97.
- P.
- Palmer, John, 96.
 Pallinger, vicar of Sele, 117.
 Parker, John, 96.
 Pavement, Roman, at Danny, 210.
 Pedigrees of Campion, 34, 35; of Earls
 of Eu, 67, 68; Wakehurst, 152; Cul-
 peper, 154.
 Pelham, John, his manors in 1412, 133.
 Pelham, W., Knt., 96.
 Pelhams, Property of, in Sussex, 211.
 Pendrell, Charles, 187.
 Peshale, Richard de, benefactor to Sele,
 his seal, 119.
 Petworth, 191, 196; "little medow nor
 hay," 197—199.
 Peveral, Thomas, his dispute with Sele, 125.
 Pirates, Sussex, 89.
 Pisum maritimum, 28.
 Playstede, Isabella, 145.
 Plumpton, Nicholas de, 123.
 Poryng, Thomas, Lord St. John, manors
 in 1412, 135; Thomas, his son, 135;
 Robert, Lord de, manors in 1412, 140.
 Poole, Geoffrey, Knt., 96.
 Portarius, of Sele Priory, 125.
 Pottery, medieval, a hunted stag, 189, 190.
 Praty, Bishop, visitations of Sele, 105.
 Prat, R., 144.
 Priors of Lewes, 96, 99; Robertsbridge,
 Tortington, Michelham, Newe Priory,
 Abbot of Battle, Commissioners of
 Sewers, 96; Boxgrove, 109, 126; Arun-
 del, 126.
 Priors of Sele, list of, 128.
 Proclamation against resort of strangers
 during King's progress, 201.
 Progress of King Edward VI. in Sussex,
 195—204.

Publowe, Robert, 132.
 Purley, Robert de, rector of Chailey, 120,
 126.

R.

Radmyle, Ralph, 139.
 Ray (Wray), John, 13; letters, 14;
 journey in Scotland, 18; witches, 19;
 Nonconformist, 22; plants in Sussex,
 24, 25; at Friston Hall, 28, 29; at
 Middleton, 31; death, 33.
 Rhies, 99.
 Roman occupation of Regnum, 168; traces
 of Romans, 169.
 Romney Marsh, 75, 77, 79.
 Roos, Elizabeth Lady, 143.
 Rye, 10.
 Ryman, W., 136.

S.

Sackville, John, 96; Richard, 96.
 Sackville, Lord George, at Minden, 42, 43.
 St. Clere, Thomas, 143.
 St. John, Hugh, 138; Alice, 138.
 St. Legers, 63.
 Sakevile, Thomas, manors in 1412, 142.
 Salvage, Robert, 113, 115, 121.
 Salerne, J., 144.
 Sandes, Walter, 142.
 Saumur, 101.
 Scott, E., 96.
 Seaford, medieval pottery found at, 189.
 Seffrid, Bishop, anathema, 112.
 Sele Priory, 100—128; foundation, 101;
 situation, 103; indulgences, chapels,
 103; made denizen, 104; annexed to
 Magdalen College, 104; Priors, William
 Lewis, 106—John Grig, 106—Ralph
 Alleyne, 107—Richard Alleyne, 108;
 visitations in 1441 and 1442; finally
 annexed, 108; inventories, 108; occu-
 pied by Carmelites of Shoreham, 109;
 benefactors to, 113—119; disputes, 120
 —125; dissolution, 126; list of Priors,
 128.
 Selwyn, Nicholas, 142.
 Seymour, Thomas Lord, his projected
 town in St. Leonard's Forest, 127.
 Shelley, W., Knt., 96; John, Knt., 96.

Sherburne, Bishop, 96.
 Shilbourne, Major, 7, 8, 9.
 Shipley, Preceptor of, 110; Strete, 118.
 Shirley, R., Knt., 96; Thomas, Knt., 96;
 John, 96.
 Shoreham, Old, church, 101; ordination
 of, 120, 127; dispute, 121; manor, 131.
 Shoreham, New, church, 102, 115; Car-
 melite Friars at, 109—112; tolls, 115.
 Skelton, T., 139.
 Slaughman manor-house, 158—164; situa-
 tion, 160; west side, 161; east side, 162;
 north front, 162; armorial shields, 163,
 164.
 Smuggling in Sussex, 69—94; export of
 wool, 69—77; imports, 77—94.
 Stapley, J., 97.
 Stanford, David de, 116.
 Stanney, J., 97.
 Steyning, secular canons of, 122, 123.
 Strete in Shipley, 118.
 Stukele, R., 136.
 Subsidy in Sussex in 1412, 129—146;
 summary, 146.
 Sulbrede, Prior of, 135.
 Sullington, 158.
 Sussex knight, inscription over gate, 202.
 Swynbourn, W., 144.

T.

Talcurteys, Adam, 115; Philip de, 123.
 Tauk, John, 132, 136.
 Tavistock, Lord, letter on death of young
 Cowley, 43.
 Taverner, J., 136.
 Templars, 109, 110; T. de la Fenne, Pre-
 ceptor of Shipley, 110; seal, 110.
 Thetchier, T., 96.
 Thomas, son of the King, 136.
 Thornle, Robert, 116.
 Tirell, J., 137.
 Tokens, Sussex, 207.
 Tregoz, Robert de, 113 and n. 1.
 Tufton, N., 97.

U.

Uckfield, 39.
 Ufflete, Gerard, 138.
 Urns, Roman earthenware, at Densworth,
 176.

- V.
- Veteriponte, St. Peter de, 101.
- W.
- Wakehurst Place, 151—158; family of, 151; pedigree, 152; shields of arms in hall, 156.
- Wakherst, John, 141.
- Walburton, Lord de, 145.
- Walton, John, sheriff of Sussex, 129.
- Waltham, Roger, 143.
- Waleys, J., 143.
- Wantelye, John, 138.
- Warnecamp, John, 129, 137.
- Washington church, 115, 122.
- Waterton, J., 136.
- Waynflete, Bishop, annexes Sele, 104, 105, 107.
- Weighs of cheese, 114.
- West family, manors in 1412, 139.
- Weston, W., 142.
- Weyvils, R., 141.
- Wilcombe, Peter, 140.
- Willoughby, J. L., 14, 15, 21, 28, 30.
- Wills of Culpepers, 155, n. 1, 2, 3; of Coverts, 159, 160.
- Wilson, Sir Thomas Spencer, his letters, 36, 37; in the Highlands, 38; at battle of Minden, 41, 42, 47; election for Sussex, 49, 50, 51; the King's opinion of him, 52.
- Wistoneston, Henry de, 115; William de, 116; rector of, 121, 122.
- Wool, export of, 69—77.
- Worsted, 210.
- Wray, see Ray.
- Wybarne, W., 97.
- Wyke, or Court Wick, the manor of, 213.
- Wyntersele, J., 138.
- Y.
- Yerde, John, eschaetor, 129, 130.
- Ykelyngton, J., 143.