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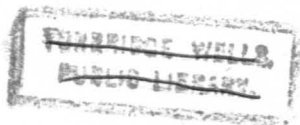
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Annual Report	ix
List of Members	xiii
Rules of the Society	xx
1. Paxhill, and its Neighbourhood; with Extracts from the Manuscripts of the Wilson Family. By ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, Esq., M.A.	1
2. Descent of the Manor of Hurstpierpoint, and of its Lords. By WILLIAM SMITH ELLIS, Esq.	50
3. The Priory of Pynham, or De Calceto; with some Notices of the Priors of Tortington, Hardham, and Leveminster. By the Rev. EDWARD TURNER, M.A.	89
4. Notice of certain Plea Rolls of Edward II., relating to the Abbey of Bayham. By the Rev. GEORGE MILES COOPER, M.A.	121
5. Some Recollections of a Part of the "Stane Street Causeway," in its Passage through West Sussex. By PETER J. MARTIN, Esq., F.G.S.	127
6. The Defence of Sussex and the South Coast of England from Invasion, considered by Queen Elizabeth's Privy Councillors, A.D. 1596. By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	147
7. Sussex Tradesmen's Tokens in the Seventeenth Century. By WILLIAM FIGG, Esq., F.S.A.	171
8. Extracts from the Diary of a Sussex Tradesman a Hundred Years Ago. By R. W. BLENCOWE, Esq., M.A., and M. A. LOWER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	179
9. Notes and Queries. (<i>See Contents</i>).	221
INDEX	231

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Directions to Binder.

	PAGE
<i>Paxhill</i>	<i>to face</i> 1
<i>Old House at Lindfield</i>	— 6
<i>Holmesdale</i>	9
<i>Chaloner</i>	13
<i>Hurstpierpoint Old Church</i>	<i>to face</i> 76
<i>Monuments in Hurstpierpoint Church</i>	76, 77
<i>Calceto De Priory</i>	90
<i>Seal of Pynham, or De Calceto</i>	107
<i>Hardham Priory Chapel, East End and West End</i>	<i>to face</i> 115
<i>Map of the Course of the "Stane Street Causeway," from Halnaker to Pulborough</i>	<i>to face</i> 127
<i>Signor Hill, Section of Roman Way at</i>	131
<i>Wooden Culvert</i>	134
<i>Plan and Section of the Culvert at Hardham</i>	<i>to face</i> 134
<i>Sepulchral Vessels found at Hardham</i>	— 138
<i>Roman Urn found at Hardham</i>	138
<i>Holmstreet, Pulborough, supposed Mausoleum</i>	141
<i>Tokens of Mary Akehurst and Ambrose Galloway</i>	171
<i>Holland House</i>	220
<i>Mediæval Pottery and Encaustic Tiles made at Hastings</i>	229

NOTICE.

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

REPORT.

IN presenting their Annual Report of the proceedings of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY in 1858, and in publishing their Annual Account of its present condition and future prospects, the Committee have the satisfaction of stating that the Society is in every way prosperous and flourishing.

The number of the Members of the Society has exhibited a steady increase ; and on January 1, 1858, it amounted to seven hundred and twenty-six.

The Annual Meeting, which took place at Bayham Abbey on August 5th, was more fully attended than on any previous occasion. The weather was delightful, and the beautiful ruins of the Abbey were seen to the greatest advantage. An able and interesting lecture was delivered on the spot, by Mr. Beresford Hope, upon the character and peculiarities of the building ; which was followed by another valuable paper, by the Rev. G. M. Cooper, referring to the habits and history of the Monks who dwelt there in olden time ; and, to complete the enjoyment of the day, the large party collected were greeted with the most liberal and courteous hospitality by the noble owner of the place, the MARQUIS CAMDEN, who kindly and ably presided over the Meeting, which was afterwards transferred to Tunbridge Wells.

The Committee are enabled to refer, with pleasurable recollection, to a Quarterly Meeting, held at Lindfield on September 30th, which was also largely attended. They were again favoured by the finest weather; and on this occasion they visited those interesting old places—Pax Hill and East Mascalls: at the former of which houses the Members of the Society again experienced from Mr. and Mrs. KEITH BARNES, that large and courteous hospitality which they have so frequently met with at other places. The following Papers were read on the occasion:—

Paxhill and its Neighbourhood; with Extracts from the Manuscripts of the Wilson Family.—By ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, Esq.

On the Ancient History of Lindfield.—By M. A. LOWER, Esq.

On the Tradesmen's Tokens of Sussex.—By W. FIGG, Esq.

* * * Contributions intended for Vol. XII. should be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary as early as convenient, in order to prevent unnecessary delay in the publication of that volume.

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Balance, Jan. 1, 1858		67 16 8	Illustrations of Book	103 19 6
Subscriptions		269 10 0	Printing	102 5 4
Books sold		13 9 0	Expenses of Bayham Meeting	16 8 8
Interest on Consols		3 19 8	Advertisements	3 7 6
Rent		1 5 0	Carriage	2 13 10
			Purchase of Books	1 8 0
Receipts		£356 0 4		
Payments		230 2 10		£230 2 10
Balance, Jan. 1, 1859		£125 17 6		

LEWES CASTLE ACCOUNT FOR 1858.

1858.	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1858		18 4 1	Wages	26 0 0
From 3425 Visitors		79 3 6	Rent	16 0 0
			Sundry Expenses, Taxes, &c.	17 17 11
				£59 17 11
			Balance, Jan. 1, 1859	37 9 8
		£97 7 7		£97 7 7

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Rules.

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

2. THAT the Society shall consist of Members and 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 MOLINETX, 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.

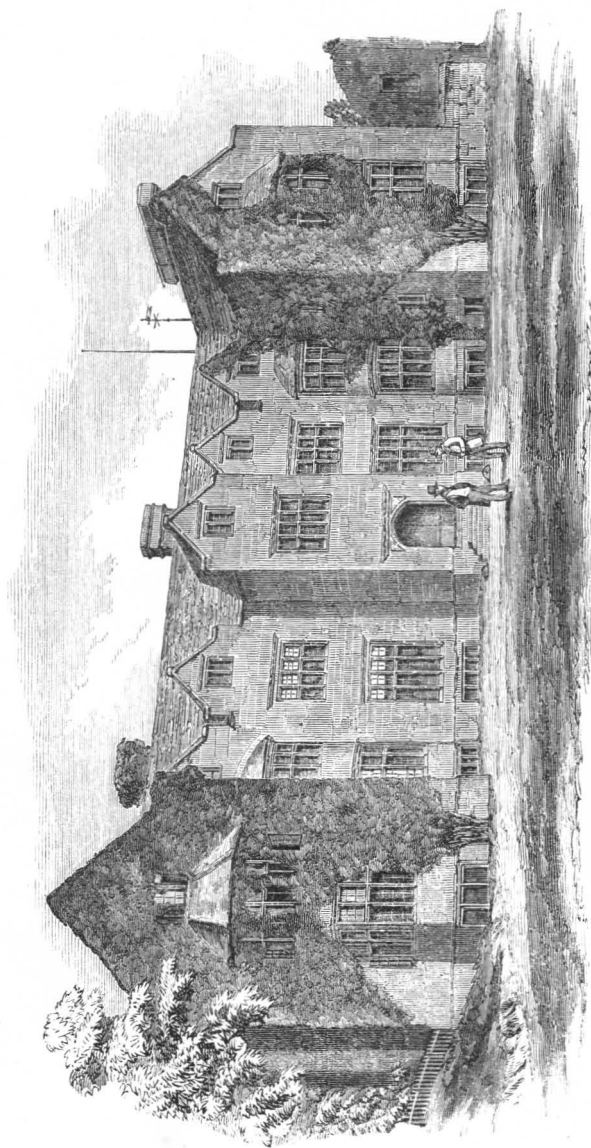
11. THAT the Committee have power to appoint as Honorary Member any person, including foreigners, likely to promote the interests of the Society, such Honorary Member not to pay any Subscription, and not to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

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.



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

Sussex Archaeological Collections.

PAXHILL AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD ;

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
WILSON FAMILY.

BY ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, ESQ.

THERE are periods in the history of nations analogous to those which occur in the human constitution, which are remarkable for great progress and development; and such a period was that which includes the reign of Queen Elizabeth, during which time the general improvement of the nation, as compared with that of any previous age, was very extraordinary. Nor was this advance confined to cities and towns: it was very decided in the country also. In the preamble to an act of Parliament, passed in 1565, it is stated, that the counties of Sussex and Surrey, Essex and Hertford, Somerset and Devon, Nottingham and Derby, and several others, had but one sheriff to serve for the two counties, "the occasion being that these counties were not then so well inhabited with gentlemen of good ability to serve the said office then, as, thanks be to God, they are at present." It then enacts, that henceforth each of those counties should have its own sheriff. One of the happy results of this improvement was, as Camden quaintly calls it, that great bravery of building which marvellously beautified the realm. It appears, from the date over the porch at Paxhill, that it was about thirty years later when that fine old house, the seat of the ancient family of Board, and now in the possession of their descendants by the female line, was built; and there is another very interesting place close by, called East Mascalls, of decidedly older date. It is a very curious

specimen of those timber houses which are fast disappearing ; and in close proximity we have realised to our view that change, described by Harrison in his Preface to Hollinshed, which he saw taking place in the style and character of our domestic buildings about the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century. "Although," he says, "the antient manors and houses of our gentlemen are yet, for the most part, of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthily preferred before those of other nations, howbeit such as are lately built are commonly of brick or hard stone, or of both ; the rooms are fair and comely, and the houses of office are further distant from their lodgings. If ever," he exclaims, "curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our years !"

The opinions of after ages has fully justified this boast. Many of the finest houses in England bear the Tudor character, as it is called ; and modern architects are well inclined to imitate them in many points : in their bold projections, giving full effect to light and shadow ; in their clustered and richly moulded stacks of chimneys, their large and lofty halls, and their long galleries, with their deep bay windows. We have many such houses in Sussex, built about this period, of which we may be justly proud. Glynde, Danny, Street Place, Wiston, Parham, and Wakehurst, are all good, and some are fine specimens of that age ; and, though Paxhill cannot compare in size and importance with those just mentioned, it has this peculiarity and advantage, that it stands upon an eminence, commanding a fine view, boldly fronting the west, defying the wind, which blows so strongly and frequently from that quarter. Such, it is well known, is not generally the case with our houses of that age : most of them lie immediately under the Downs, and look to the north and east. Shelter was, of course, in some degree, their object ; but there was a prevalent notion in those days, and long afterwards, that the south wind brought sickness on its soft wings, and that the north and east winds were the harbingers of health, which probably had much more to do with it. Tusser, in his *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, says,

The south, as unkind, draweth sickness too near ;
The north, as a friend, maketh all again clear.

Hentzner, a German, who visited England in those days, speaking of Oxford, observes, "Its site is wholesome, being situated in a plain, encompassed with hills, and shaded with woods, so as to be sheltered from the sickly south on the one hand, and from the blustering west; but open to the east, that blows serene weather, and to the north, that preventer of corruption." This idea prevailed at least a century later. In a work published in 1655, called "*Health's Improvement*, written by that ever-famous Thomas Moffat, doctor in phisic," this passage occurs: "Consider how any house or city is situated; for the air is qualified accordingly. If they be placed south-east, south, and south-west, and be hindered from all northern blasts, by opposition of hills, they have neither sweet water nor wholesome air." We will not follow the doctor through his list of diseases incident to these respective winds, but merely mention catarrhs in adults, and convulsions in children, as amongst the most prevalent.

To account for peculiarities and changes in buildings, we must look to the habits and tastes of those who dwelt in them; as every change in their form and arrangement is indicative of corresponding changes in the manners and tastes of those who formed and used them.

At the time when these Elizabethan houses, as they are called, were built, the arm of the law had been strengthened, and men could then rely upon it with some confidence for the defence of property and person. The fortress character of these houses was given up; for it was a very inconvenient one, obliging them to have their windows generally opening into an inside court, instead of the open face of the country. The castle, with its proud keep, its gateway guarded with towers, its portcullis and drawbridge, had long before been left to the bats and owls, and there they are, beautiful in their ruins. We have many such in our county. The buildings, too, which followed, half fortified, with their moat, their towers flanking the corners of the building, and their loopholed walls—such as that noble specimen at Hurstmonceux—were deserted, and those fine old places, of which Paxhill is one, open in front and behind, happily supplanted them. And a fortunate thing it was that so good a fashion prevailed; for we know what followed—what miserable taste succeeded.

Our ancestors of the higher and wealthier classes, in the time of Elizabeth, and long before, were remarkable for their fondness for a rude sort of state and pomp; for hunting and the sports of the field generally, and for large, coarse feasting. These characteristics of our English nature influenced the style of their buildings—the large and lofty hall, and kitchen with its immense fireplaces, became the most important features in their houses. In the hall they lived; what little business was done, was done there; and there, with their kinsmen, retainers, and servants, they dined and supped; and many of their followers no doubt, filled with beef and ale, slept upon the rush-strewed floor. As to the bedrooms—the lord and lady, the master and mistress, cared not, so long as there was room for them to lie down. And as for a comfortable fireside, and our own quiet room, they never dreamt of such a thing: these are the results of more civilized taste.

And now, with respect to the fare of our forefathers. They had no fresh meat during at least half the year. It was well if they could keep their oxen and sheep alive during a long and hard winter; as to fattening them, when turnips, mangel-wurzell, and other green crops were unknown, that was quite out of the question. So that, before winter set in, there was a great destruction of animals. Tusser says—

At Hallow-tide slaughter time entereth in,
And then does the husbandman's feasting begin.

Then followed an immense amount of pickling and preserving; and beef and mutton were salted as pickled pork and bacon now are. On this they lived till the happy time in May and June came round, when they could revel on what they called grass beef.

The diet of the poor, particularly in winter, was very low, and very unwholesome; and fully accounts for those diseases, particularly that of leprosy, to which they were subject; and how much they were subject to it, the many leper-houses in England sufficiently show. They lived almost entirely upon coarse rye-bread and salted fish; the latter being stacked up and preserved between layers of pease-straw for winter use.

Choose skilfully salt fish, not burnt at the stone;
Buy such as be good, or else let it alone;
Get home what is bought, and go stack it up dry,
With pease-straw between it, the better to lie.

Those who could afford it, varied their diet of salt meat as best they could. No railroads, in those days, brought the aristocratic turbot and salmon, or the more plebeian mackerel and herring, good and fresh, to our doors; but they had their fishponds and their stews, such as present themselves to our view as we enter the gate at Paxhill, in which were stored those quiet fish, the carp and tench. Rabbits were a great resource; hence we find the warren a constant appendage, near at hand. Pigeons, too, were much depended upon; and the large round dovecot rose in the immediate neighbourhood of the abodes of the great and wealthy—of the castle, the convent and the manor-house.

Paxhill probably had its *columbarium*, though, with many other outbuildings, it has disappeared. Within a mile or two, at Trimmens, the ancient seat of the family of Wyatt, there is a curious specimen of an old dovecot. It is a square building, roofless, and falling into decay, but in the internal walls there are not less than seven hundred cells, built of brick, ranged in tiers. But this is nothing to one which belonged to the Priory of Lewes, which was a cruciform building, looking very much like a church, and having no less than 2500 cells for pigeons. These receptacles for such vast flocks, are a strong proof of the importance attached to them as an article of food.

A particular account of the families which have at different times possessed the house and estates of East Mascalls has been given, in a full and able paper, in a former volume of our work, by Thomas Herbert Noyes, Esq. Suffice it now to say, that it was held by a family of the same name of Mascall, whose ancestors had been settled there for many generations before the time of Edward IV. Of them it was purchased by the Middletons, who again sold it, after a short possession of ten years, to a Newton,¹ one of an ancient Cheshire family, in 1560; and it now belongs to Thomas Herbert Noyes, Esq., a descendant of that line. There is reason to suppose that

¹ We may be forgiven if, in speaking of the Newtons, we refer to one—another descendant of that ancient line, which numbers Sir Isaac Newton among its sires—the late Mrs. Mabbot, of the Priory at Southover, who bore the maiden name of Elizabeth Newton. That lady joined our

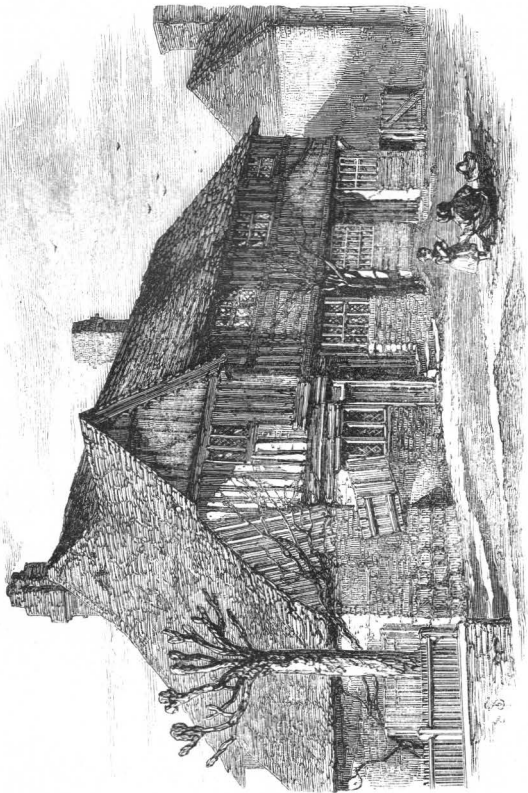
society when eighty years of age, ten years ago. Her name appeared in the first list of our members, and in our last; a faithful and intelligent supporter of our society, to which she on several occasions contributed some very interesting materials.

the old house was, soon after that, pulled down ; and that the present one, which bears the same type and character with the old timber houses of Cheshire, rose in its stead ; and a small pane of painted glass, with the arms of the family, bearing the date of 1578, strengthens this conjecture.

Nor is this the only striking picturesque old building in the neighbourhood. In the village of Lindfield, close by, there are several still remaining, one of which will be readily recognised in the accompanying woodcut.

At the distance of less than two miles, lies one of the prettiest villages in England—Horsted Keynes ; which, independently of its natural beauty, has peculiar attractions of its own. Here it was that Archbishop Leighton passed the latter years of his life ; and his remains are laid in the churchyard. A plain blue stone only, inserted into the wall of the church, had till lately marked the place of his sepulture ; but within a year or two, a more fitting memorial has been placed over his remains. One hundred and seventy years had passed away since the good archbishop was called to his rest ; but so potent is the charm of his name, that the public mention of it directed to a practical and sacred purpose—that of raising a fit monument to his memory, and assisting to support the parish schools, excited the liberality of many who had found a blessing in the study of those writings, in which, though dead, he yet speaketh. There, too, is Broadhurst, where he lived with the Lightmakers, once the residence of that old but now extinct family of the Michelburnes, reduced, as is the case with many a fine old mansion, to a farmhouse ; but where may still be traced the foundations of buildings and terraces fit for the abode of that distinguished family.

Such was the character of the buildings in which our ancestors lived, in the times of Elizabeth and her two successors ; and if these are interesting to us, far more so are those genuine family records which occasionally turn up, found in some old family chest, in reading which we are carried back to the days in which they were written, and are made acquainted with the habits, manners, and feelings of our forefathers. Such an opportunity has been afforded to us by the kindness of Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart., who has again given us the



OLD HOUSE AT LINDFIELD.

freest access to his family papers, extracts from which are now presented to our readers.

Of the old House in Sheffield Park, in the adjacent village of Fletching, no vestige remains. But in the time when Paxhill was built, it was occupied by the first of the Wilson family who became connected with our county; and to him the first portion of the following memoirs refer.

In the first page of one of the books of manuscripts there is this note:—

“N.B. The collections that I have made here, relating to the Wilson family, are from the original MSS. in the possession of Sir Thomas Wilson, Bart.; and they are what I could procure a sight of, though no doubt there are many more much more worth transcribing than what are here inserted. There are many more, indeed, than ever he had in his possession, which, upon the death of Sir William Wilson, who died in the year 1723, were left in custody of Anthony Tremble, of Hailsham, Gent., which are now either secreted from the family, or have been, the more’s the pity, destroyed.—E. WILSON. 1743.”

The ancient family of Wilson came originally from Elton, in Yorkshire, where they may be traced as resident so far back as 1250. One of the most distinguished of their line was Thomas Wilson, Doctor of Laws of the University of Padua, Master of St. Catherine’s Hospital, and, though a layman, afterwards Dean of Durham. Queen Elizabeth, who had a remarkable faculty for selecting able men to do her service, sent him as her ambassador to Mary Queen of Scots, and to the Low Countries; and appointed him one of her Secretaries of State, for which office, it is said, “three things completed him: quick despatch and industry, constant intelligence and correspondence, and a large and strong memory.” It is also said of him, that his peculiar knack was a politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and keeping men in suspense, as one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontent:¹—a lesson which he had learnt from his great mistress, of whom it is stated by a contemporary, that “she suffered not, at any time, any suitor to depart discontented from her; and, tho’ oftentimes he obtained not that he desired, yet he held himself

¹ *State Worthies.*

satisfied with her manner of speech, which gave hope of success in a second attempt; and it was noted of her, that she seldom or never denied any suit that was moved unto her, how unfit soever to be granted; but the suitor received the answer from another.”¹

Dr. Wilson was the author of several works: the *Lives of Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolke*, to whom he had been tutor; the *Art of Rhetorick*; the *Rule of Reason*; and a work upon *Usury*. For some free opinions contained in the *Art of Rhetorick*, he was thrown into prison at Rome, and tried for heresy. “He stoutly maintained his Protestant principles; and when pressed to submit himself to the Holy Father and College of Cardinals, he refused to make any submission. At length, being without hope of life, he was rescued by plain force (an example hardly to be found) by the citizens of Rome.” He died in 1581, and was buried in St. Catherine’s, “leaving this conclusive character behind him: that, although he made not so much noise as other men, yet he as effectually promoted the three main supporters of the nation—its native commodities, its artificial manufactories, and its vecture and carriage.”²

He left one son, Nicholas, of Sheepwash, in the county of Lincoln, who married a daughter of William Heneage, of Benworth, by whom he had two sons, Charles and Thomas. Charles was a major of horse in the service of King Charles, and fell at the battle of Naseby Field, at the early age of twenty-six.

Another member of this family—Master John Wilson, Esq., as it was the custom to call an esquire in those days—settled in Sussex, at Searles, in the parish of Fletching, in 1589. He was the son of John Wilson, of Tockwith, near York, and followed the profession of the law in London. Having the management of the property of “Richard Leach, Esq., a Sussex gentleman of good fortune, having large estates in Kent, Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex, and whose town house was in Coleman Street,” he was induced by this connection to purchase land there. He married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Gardener, Master of the Fine Office. She was a lady of very high spirit, several of whose letters are preserved, and they are very

¹ *Ellis Letters.*

² *State Worthies*, and Collins’s *Baronetage*.

amusing ; but, having been written under a sense of real or fancied wrong, they give vent to her feelings in terms too coarse and strong for modern ears.

After his marriage, he quitted Searles, and removed to Holmesdale, a place belonging to Sir Richard Michelbourne, described by one of the family, who wrote the chronicles of the Wilsons in an after age, and who is our chief authority in the following memoirs of the Wilsons “as in his time, owing to the mutations and vicissitudes of time, become worn out, and reduced by gradual diminution to a common farmhouse.”



Holmesdale—From a Photograph by Sir T. M. Wilson, Bart.

Whilst living here, Mr. Wilson, with several others, became the proprietor of iron furnaces at Ashurst and Cowden, in Kent, and at Hartfield and elsewhere, in Sussex, “where, by his agents, great quantities of iron were cast, which was converted into guns and other implements of public utility.” He afterwards became connected with the Earl of Argyle and Sir George Hay in more extensive works in Argyleshire. The Scotch speculation proved a very unprofitable one, and he was glad to escape from his connection with his northern friends with the loss of above £500.

The following letter from his uncle, Mr. William Smythe, of Dringhouses, near York, with the account of his mother's death, is curious and interesting; it is headed "JESUS":—

"Verie lovinge Nevie,—I ame nowe to sende unto you heavie newes, that is of the deathe of your mother, who is departed from this worlde, God pardone her soule, I praie God. She died the 29th of August last, being Sundaye, in the morninge; and was buried upon Mondaie. I also, myselfe, your uncle, was verie sicke at that time, but more soe after; for indede I thought I should have diede; but it pleased God to spare me as yett, I hope to a good ende." He then enters upon some matters of business and concludes: "I praie you nowe, good nevie, if you cannot come downe, write unto me your minde, for I thinke my time will not be longe nowe. Your mother was but sicke one nyght, for shee was so olde, that she departed lyke a childe. Much more matter have I to speake with you for; but these shall suffice at this tyme; and so with my hastie commendations to yourselfe and to your good bedfellowe, and to all your childeringe, I take my leave of you this 24th daye of September, anno Domini 1613, your uncle,

"WM. SMYTHE.

Superscribed—"I praie you in Sussex leave this letter."

In 1620, he removed to Sheffield House, which he hired of the first Earl of Nottingham, who became possessed of it in 1597, by his marriage with Charity, the widow of Richard Leach, Esq. In the church at Fletching there is a stately monument of alabaster, raised to his memory by his widow. He died in 1596, and it bears this inscription: "Here lyeth buried the body of Richard Lache, Esquire. Coming out of his office of High Sheriff for the counties of Sussex and Surrey, having no issue of his body living, he gave all his lands in the county of Sussex unto Catherine his wife, and made her sole executrix of his last will;—in regard whereof, and for a perpetual memorye of divers other charitable deeds which he willed should be done, she, of her own account, caused this monument to be made, and herself living, to be pictured lying by him, as you see." An unwise thing for any young widow to have done; and so she probably thought when, in the fol-

lowing year, she found herself by the side of a living husband in the person of the Earl of Nottingham.

During a portion of the time he lived there, the Lady Margaret Leveson, his daughter, and widow of Sir Richard Leveson, came and boarded with him, herself and servants at the rate of £100 a year. There she died in 1642, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Fletching. "Six years afterwards," says the same family chronicler, "a very memorable affair occurred to him. Sir Christopher Nevill, Knight of the Bath (direct ancestor of the present Lord Abergavenny), wishing to purchase some estates in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, applied to Mr. Wilson for his advice; and was thus enabled to discover some frauds which were practised upon him, by which he drew upon himself the ill will of some mean persons, which discovered itself by several causeless aspersions and false and scandalous reflections upon Mr. Wilson's worth. A certain fellow, John Tye, the most notorious of his slanderers, was selected for punishment. He proceeded, in the first instance, to indict him at the sessions before the justices of the peace; but, as this was not his own county, and consequently his gentility not so well known by all the justices as to his descent, which in those days was much regarded and esteemed, he applied to the Earl of Nottingham and Mr. Serjeant Amherst¹ to vouch for his gentility."

The following letters, the first of which is written by the Earl, and addressed to the Earl Marshal of England, were the result of his application:—

"After my hearty commendations, theis are to certifie you, that the bearer I knowe to be a gentleman well descended, and, ever since I came to be an Earle, he was, and yett is, towards me in the place of an esquire;² and soe in his port and carriage, where he liveth, he demeaneth himselfe. . . . Where-

¹ Mr. Serjeant Amherst, here mentioned, was the seventh in descent from John Amherst, in the parish of Pembury, county of Kent, who flourished 25th Richard II. —He was a collateral ancestor of Earl Amherst.

² The title of Esquire, according to Selden, was given as early as Henry IV.'s time, "without any reference to wars, but only by service on great persons;" and he mentions the case of one John Lee, of

Buckinghamshire, who was witness in a great case between the Lord Gray of Ruthven and the Lord Hastings, who was titled Esquire, as many more are, of whom it is said, as from his own mouth, that he was a gentleman by birth, and had land of twenty marks yearly by descent. So that there was no occasion for him or for his father before him to labour in the wars, or to learn the use and practice of arms. —Selden's *Titles of Honour*.

fore it much distastes me that soe base a fellow, as I knowe Tye to be, should any way goe about to disparage and disgrace him with his foule mouth and slanderous tongue; therefore I heartulye desyre you to take this into your consideration, and let him be punished according to his desart."

"Mr. Serjeant Amherst writes to his loveing cosen and friend Robert Foster, Esq., to say, that Mr. Wilson hath always lived and carryed himselfe as a gentleman (as he is), of a good and antient descent; I pray you let him not be abused in so base and false a manner, and Tye be suffered to escape without punishment; you knowe how irksome it is for a gentleman to be abused by a clowne."

Notwithstanding these letters, Mr. Wilson met with no redress at the sessions, and was obliged to have recourse to the Court of Honour; and here, says the writer, "I may observe, that at this time this court was in great vigour, much to the satisfaction of the nobility and gentry in such cases as were not to be redressed by the strict rules of common law. . . . But here I must take notice, that this court did not exert itself in favour of persons who were not truly gentlemen, I mean by birth, or an office legally entitling them to that title." Mr. Serjeant Amherst, his friends and neighbours, Mr. Thomas Challoner,¹ and Mr. Anthony Fowle,² were appointed by the Earl Marshal, to inquire into the case: Tye, as might easily be supposed, was soon convicted. He begged for mercy, and was forgiven, upon condition that he made his humble submission and a public recantation of the calumny before the inhabitants of the parish, in the porch of the church at Fletching. The reproachful words which gave rise to all this matter were, "As for this Wilson, I am as good as he is; nobody knows where

¹ The family of Chaloner settled at Lindfield in the fifteenth century, and gradually acquired lands and interest there. Their original seat was the small mansion near the church, delineated in the accompanying woodcut. On the chimney-piece of one of the apartments the arms of the family—Azure, a chevron Argent, three muscles Or—are still remaining. At a later period they became possessed of the mansion of Kenwards, as well as of Broadhurst in Horsted Keynes, and of Stantons and Chapel Hayes in Chiltington.

² Anthony Fowle was a member of the old gentry family of Fowle of Riverhall in Wadhurst, and of Rotherfield. (See *Suss. Arch. Coll.* II. 54.) The representative of the family, a wheelwright, emigrated to America in 1839. Other descendants, carrying on the trade of bakers, are resident at Lewes. The Fowles of former days formed alliances with the Isteds, Fermors, Staples, Michelbournes, and many other good Sussex families. So lately as 1763, Thomas Fowle was sheriff of the county.

he came from," accompanied by some certainly very coarse and offensive terms of contempt.

The dignity of the Wilsons was established in the following year, to the immense satisfaction of our annalist; and as some of our readers are probably unacquainted with an old ceremonial, long fallen into disuse, we give it in his own words:—

“A commission was granted by his Majesty to the Provincial King at Armes to visit the county, which was performed in a very solemn manner. Sir Richard St. George, Knight, was then Clarencieux; and pursuant thereto, in the year 1634, in person, he visited the county. The end of these visitations was to take an account of all the familys of the nobility and gentry of the county lawfully bearing armes; and also to take notice of all such persons who bore arms that had no right, and of others, who assumed and usurped the title of a gentleman or esquire, having no right to be so called according to the laws of the land. A jury was usually summoned *ad inquirendum*. . . . Those who assumed arms were obliged to prove their right before the Lord Marshal; and those who suffered themselves to be styled gentlemen or esquires, not



Chaloner—From a Drawing by Miss Wilkinson.

having lawful right thereto, were (according to the words in the commission, in the last visit to this county in 1668), to be made infamous: their names were usually posted up in the market-places of the chief towns there, with a signification that they were not what they were called; or otherwise stigmatised according to the laws of honour and the Earl Marshal's authority." And then he adds—"Mr. Wilson's birth, descent, and degree, were all solemnly allowed and established, together with his coat armour belonging to his ancestors."

Upon this coat of arms our annalist, who was an enthusiastic herald, is quite eloquent:—"The disposition of the coat evinces its antiquity:—A wolf rampant; its natural position when seizing its prey; and in chief, in the upper part of the shield, three estoiles or stars, the place where we should naturally assign to those heavenly luminaries, and of what colour are those stars? Or—I need not have said Or—for the heralds, when a star is Or, say no more than an estoile, that being its proper colour; and in the night stars are seen (to carry on this natural hieroglyphick) clearest. Here 'tis so, for Sable or Black represents the night, so that by this colour the stars are seen to advantage, and it is then that the roaming wolves seek their prey."

He died in 1640, at the age of seventy-five; and great was the ceremonial of his funeral. Twelve escutcheons of his arms, and the thirteenth of his coat and crest, all that the laws of heraldry allowed to a private gentleman under the degree of knight, were carried before his hearse; 150 pair of gloves, implying the attendance of as many mourners, were distributed; and, by the light of 50 torches, the long procession wound its way at night-time, through the park, from Sheffield House, to the church at Fletching, where he was buried in the chancel, close to his own pew-door. To his wife, who survived him only three years, he left, in his will, the following bequest:—"I give to my deare and loveing wife, Mrs. Mary Wilson, all my plate and household linen, and two of my best beds all furnished, and the chamber wherein we usually lodge; with the trunkes, chestes, and chymney furniture therein; and the green chamber next unto it, with the hangings and sheetes, with free libertye of accesse, egressse, and regressse, in and to and from the said roomes, at all tymes, for her and her ser-

vants ; with lyke libertye to walke and recreate herselfe at all tymes in the gallerye, great chambers, gardens, and walkes, at her will and pleasure, during the terme of my lease of Sheffield, if she soe long live."

"He was," says our old authority, "of a nature formed for action, a genius very enterprising, a person of great capacity and knowledge, in business and the affairs of life very active and industrious, and of great dispatch. . . . The letters that I have seen, and the manuscripts of his composure, are very good monuments of his good sense and ingenuity. His words are properly applied, and his sentences well composed ; and by them it appears, when occasion was, he could and did show forth that generosity of spirit which becometh a gentleman. . . . His death happened a small time before the troubles broke forth which made such terrible devastations in these kingdoms, and which ended in that common ruin in which so many very worthy families were miserably involved." When "occasion did show forth,"—when, for instance, he visited London—his attire was costly and magnificent ; he had his coat "lined with velvet every way," which cost him more than £10 ; his silk stockings, for one pair of which he paid £1. 15s. ; the dressing of his sword and dagger came to 6s. ; and two yards and a half of broadcloth, at 11s. a yard, were worked up into a coat, trimmed with lace, silk, and goldlace ; and his jerkin and his scarf "were worth a copyhold."

His eldest son, Charles, to use the words of the chronicler, "was a youth of great promise, and in 1621, being designed for the study of the lawes, according to the custom of the age was entered at Clifford's Inn. But he had not been in London a twelvemonth before he became infected with that fatal distemper the smallpox, with which he was seized at Godstone, on his way to his father's house ; there he, and the servant who was sent to take care of him, both died of the disease, and were buried the following day, in the chancel of the church there.

His second son, John Wilson, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Amongst the articles of expense for his outfit there were a violet-coloured or purple gown, and a holland surplice. His father designed him for the Bar, but he chose the Church for his profession. He married Cicely,

daughter of Francis Shirley ; and became rector of Arlington. He was, in Cromwell's time, complained of for his scandalous life and manners ; and, according to the account of Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, he was very justly turned out of his living. He died without children.

The friendship of the Earl of Nottingham and his Esquire seems to have continued without abatement to the last ; and they died within a year of each other. The praise which was usually lavished upon the subjects of funeral sermons in olden times was, probably, generally speaking, about as trustworthy as that which was and is still inscribed upon the monuments of the dead. But the sermon which was preached at the funeral of the Earl of Nottingham, in the church at Reigate, by his chaplain, the Rev. William Hampton, rector of Bletchingly, and nephew of Dr. Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, on October 3, 1642, is of a different stamp from others, and it gives us evidently a truthful account of the character and the last moments of a good and pious man. Speaking of his high descent, he says :¹—

“For his birth and descent, you all know, it was most noble ; he came of one of the most ancient and honourable families of this kingdom, and from that branch or line of it which was never tainted with the least disloyalty to prince or country. From that great and good Duke of Norfolk who foyled the Scots in Flodden Field, he was third in descent, and sonne to that thrice-honoured father—the great admiral and general of our sea forces, who quelled that huge water giant, the invincible Armado of Spain ; whose noble blood, running in those heroic, now shrivelled veins, made that natural goodnesse so inherent in him, that it gained him love and honour from all that knew him.

“Not long before his dissolution he desired to receive that *viaticum animæ*, as the fathers call it, that provision of his soule for her heavenly journey, the holy sacrament, which he received with such signs and expressions of inward joy and comfort, as was wonderful in soe weake a body. The worke

¹ The sermon from which this extract is taken, is in the possession of Arthur Weekes, Esq., of Exeter College, the descendant in the maternal line from the preacher, Mr. Hampton ; and to him, to

Mrs. Weekes, and the Rev. Carey Hampton Borrer, Rector of Hurst Pierpoint, another descendant of the worthy chaplain, we are indebted for this and for other valuable assistance.

being finished, he broke forth, saying, ‘ Now, I thanke God, who with this pledge hath sealed my pardon and salvation, whereof I was before assured ; and I firmly trust in the precious blood and passion of my deare Jesus, and by his glorious resurrection, to obtaine redemption, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified.’ ” Speaking of his previous life, he says :—“ Look upon him in his relation to God, there you shall find him a true Theophilus, as beloved of God, so a lover of God and godliness, of good men and of goodnesse ; of Christ’s sacred word, and of faithful ministers ; religious, zealous, patient in affliction, constant in his devotions, instant in prayer—for, beside publicke prayers twice a day with his family, he never came out of his chamber but first, for a good space, he committed himself to God upon his knees in secret prayer.”

Another of Mr. Wilson’s friends was the Rev. Dr. Swale, rector of Hurst-Pierpoint ; he had been chaplain to King James and King Charles, and tutor to Prince Henry. A handsome marble monument, in the chancel of the church there, tells us that he was the son of Solomon Swale, of Swale, in Swaledale, Yorkshire ; and two of his three wives were of the lordly races of Sackville and West. The following letter to Mr. Wilson, promoting the marriage of his daughter with his friend’s eldest son, shows us how such delicate matters were handled in those days :—“ As for your son’s coming, I confesse I have expected it ever since my coming from London ; and for his sake I have kept off all other suitors, although for some I have been importuned for accesse, and yet I will keepe off any other that I can until your sonne hath the precedence, soe that he come before Christmas ; but if he does not come before that time, I must be free from any engagement to him. Your son’s long delay shall not prejudice him, if I can helpe it. But marriages must be first concluded in heaven, before they can be consummated on earth ; therefore that and all other affayres must be referred to the good pleasure and providence of God.” This marriage, however, was not destined to be.

The universal rage for gaming, and for extravagance in dress, which prevailed in the times of Elizabeth, was carried even to greater excess in those of James and Charles I. Francis Wilson,

another younger son, did not escape from the contagion. There are many letters, chiefly addressed to his father, in the collection, which are not devoid of interest. In one of them, written from Lewes, and addressed to "his most careful and indulgent parents—too, too careful, I must confesse, for such a son as I am," he says:—"I do undoubtedly resolve in myselfe not to use that tormenting life of a gamester any more. If I tell you that my going to play was an unfortunate disaster, sent unto mee for an affliction, to make me thinke of myselfe the better, and noe desyre of gameing which possessed me, you have no reason to believe it, though I avow it was more my miserable destiny, and God's appointment, than any desire in mee."

The next letter, written about a year later, is dated from the Inner Temple, where he had entered himself as a student of law, a profession little suited to his taste:—

"Sir,—Had I thought that you would have beene soe highly displeased at my goeing to the dancing schoole, I would have forborne to have beene admitted there, although I know there is never a young man in our house, be he eyther a clerke or an attorney, that doth live in towne allways, that doe not at convenient tymes visit the dancing schoole for their honest recreation; therefore I hope you will not be too vehemently angry with me for it." Applying for an advance of money, he says:—"The case is not with mee as it is with other men, that have been brought up under attorneys, and soe have the ready course of practice; for I must attayne to it by my studye and industry; but if (God knows) being destitute of meanes, whilst I study to get knowledge and skill and practice as an attorney, I must study to get money to buy bread for my belly or starve With my humble duty to yourselfe and my mother remembered, and beseeching you to take no such heynous displeasure at mee; with my prayers to Almighty God for both your healths, I commit you to God, resting in all humility, your dutiful sonne, "FRANCIS WILSON.

"*Inner Temple, March 5, 1631.*"

“Kildare House, August, 1633.

“Most kind and loving Father,—Let Heaven assist me in the extraordinary remembrance and acknowledgements of your most unspeakable expressions of your fatherly love and bounty. Let me now relate unto you my travelling estate, and therein how, being abused by time and misfortune in London, I did not returne so happily to my brother Beard’s chambers as to find you there.” [The misfortune to which he alludes was no uncommon one either then or since. Being unable to pay his tailor’s bill, and threatened with arrest, he took his departure suddenly from London.] “But for this,” he adds, “I had come over the water for your blessing; the hope that I have it, and Heaven’s best performance, hath conveighed me to the coast of Dublyn, in Ireland, where I am now residing, and, God willing, I shall be till next spring, with a very noble lord, the ancientest of all the earles of Ireland—the Earl of Kildare. He is a very noble-minded man towards all his followers I, coming over with my Lord Deputy, did see that he was very full of followers, insomuch that many of them, seeing little benefit to accrue, grew weary of their service; so I thought good to try my fortune some other way, and it hath pleased God so to befriend mee as to make me knowne to my Lord of Kildare, and to find such favour at his lordship’s hands as to make mee of his bedchamber, and nearer to himself. The first day I came to him, he called me into his study, and afterwards into his library (being very faire), and told me what books were Lattyne, and what divinity; and he gave mee the keeping of the key, bidding me make use of them at my leisure. He doth discourse very often privately and familiarly with me, soe that I doubt not to reape benefit, credit, and preferment in his service. Therefore I desyre you to bestow £20 more on mee as soone as you possibly can, and to lay out £10 in a scarlet coate, a slashed white sattin doublet, a scarlet payr of hoase, a payr of silk stockingnes, and to buy mee four ells of holland to make me some bandes and half-shirtes. Pray, good sir, doe as I entreate you, and you shall thinke it the best money you ever bestowed on mee.

“I borrowed £20 of Mr. Ralph Ramsden, which I desyre you to paye, and to commend mee to him.

“Kildare House, August 28.”

The money and the fine clothes arrived, but in the mean time he had quarrelled with his patron and parted from him—“ My Lord of Kildare having been no more judicious than he should be, and commanding things unreasonable, not fitt for any gentleman to perform, but violating his promises” He concludes his letter in the usual strain :—“ Moreover, I must tell you, that my tallent, in lying here soe long, at a very great charge, is altogether expended, so that I desyre you, if you tender my welfare, to renew my store. There is noe newes here but that my Lord Deputy governs with much dread and respect, both of gentry and commonalty.” He ends his letter by signing himself, “ Your honest but poore sonne,
“ FRANCIS WILSON.

“ *Dublyn, Feb. 29, 1633.*”

The Deputy alluded to was no other than Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. It was about this time, that, being resolved to humble the spirit of the old English nobility in Ireland, he selected for one of his victims this Earl of Kildare, who, provoked at the neglect with which he had been treated, had sent his proxy, and abstained from attending Parliament in person. The King commanded his attendance there. He obeyed; but either from resentment, or through the influence of his father-in-law, the Earl of Cork, warmly opposed every measure of the Deputy. Wentworth showed his resentment by his imperious treatment of the earl. Impatient of such insolence, he hurried secretly to the court of England, determined to seek redress from the throne; but Charles had been effectually prepossessed against him, and his precipitate and fruitless adventure ended in regaining the royal favour by a submission to the Deputy, and a promise of future service.¹

Disappointed in his hope of gaining admission into the household of the Lord Deputy, he determined to enter as a volunteer into the service of the Hollanders (the refuge of many other gallant English and Scotch adventurers), engaged in their long wars with Philip of Spain. His military career in the armies of the Dutch and Swedes, which lasted five years,

¹ Leland's *History of Ireland*.

and which partook very much of the Dugald Dalgetty character, was one continual course of hardship and disappointment. In his passage to Holland, when off Flushing, the ship was boarded by a man-of-war from Dunkirk. He was taken prisoner, and carried to Ostend, and, being promised his freedom speedily, he writes to his father to say, "I hope in God, I shall doe well. I feare nothing. Vale." These cheery words had scarcely been written, when the authorities at Ostend took from him and his fellow-prisoners, their money, coats, and swords, and almost all they had. "They detained us," he writes, "eight days, soe that wee were forced to pawne all the residue of our cloathes, compelling those who had money to pay for those who had none, and they restored back to us not one pennyworth of our money or our goods."

Wilson made his escape by means of an Englishman, who had a ship lying at Newport. They passed through the Dunkirk fleet, as it lay at anchor, in the middle of the night, and arrived safely at Rotterdam, from whence he went to the Hague. On Dec. 2, he writes:—

"I came there and delivered my letter to my Lady Goring, who used me very kindly, and would have had mee stay supper; but I, thanking her, did for that night take my leave. . . . The Queene hearing by her solicitor, who was with my Lady Goring when I first came to her, that an English gentleman was newly come to towne, that had been taken by the Dunkirkers, asked what and where he was; soe that I was told I could see her, and that it was fitt I should, and that I must buy mee a sworde and belt, and make myself handsome; soe I was driven to buy myselfe a hat, having lost my best at sea, and a clean shirt, and bandes and ruffles; and I put on my scarlet suit, and went and kissed the Queen's hand, and the Princes and Princesses' hands; and the Queene did discourse with me, and I stayed about an hour. The night following, I supped with my Lady Goring at her own table, and the Coronel's Captayne being in towne, and dayly with my lady, she did speak to him in my behalfe; and he saluted me kindly, and bade me goe to his Aynçient at Dorte; but for any preferment, it must be by your speaking to the Coronel when he comes out. When I goe to the company, I shall be admitted a gentleman of the same, and I dare say the poorest one there."

He concludes with a request to his father to send him £10 and his Bible, "which will be found in my trunke, and some history books, that might serve to better my knowledge, and pass away my time when I lay in garrison."

In another letter he says:—"Because this is like to be my second year's service, wherein I may possibly, by desert, merit a fortune, and by the help of my friends obtayne it, I desire to go accordingly furnished into the field like a gentleman, that I may not disparage my Coronel for bestowing it, nor my friends for desyring the same. I beg you, therefore, to be pleased to make mee a buff coate, and a buff suite, lined through with oyled skinne; a doublet and hose, with a payr of oyled leather stockyngs fastened to the drawers of the hose; and also a scarlet coate, with all kinds of good playne linen, boots, shoes, and stockayns, and a Munmouth capp to lye in my hutt in the night, that I may preserve my health, soe that, if I live to come to garrison agayne, I may not spend soe much money, and endure soe much miserable sicknesse, as I have done this year, for want of knowledge of the things which are necessary for a leaguer."

His father, writing to his eldest son, says—"Let the Coronel understand that I will allow him (Francis) 4s. every eight dayes, to be added to his paye; and do you, in my behalfe, engage yourselfe to the Coronel to paye it; for, if it please God to grant him a religious harte, I would have him live like a gentleman, for the good of himselfe and the reputation of his family. Send him," he adds, "his Bible, if you have it, which is the best history, and some other history fitt for a religious soldier."

Much need there was for such comforts. In a letter to his brother, Mr. William Wilson, gentleman of the horse to the Earle of Suffolke, Suffolke House, near Charing Cross, he speaks "of the dreadful marches they had made, and the hard leaguer, such as the oldest soldier in the army had never seen or felt the like; so that it was not to be believed what hunger, cold, misery, and disease, the poor soldiers had endured, which had caused a multitude of them to starve and perish."

"Our first march," he writes, "was from Virmingham to Maestrike, where we met with 27,000 foote and 6000 horse of the King of France, who had come to ayd the Prince of Orange,

and to join with us against the King of Espagne, for the purpose of bringing Little Brabant under contribution to the States of Holland. We first marched to a towne called Teenen, which the States and French tooke, plundered, and burnt, and used such murderous cruelty and inhumanity, that is beyond exposure and beliefe, taking the infants out of theyr mothers' arms and dashing out theyr braynes, ravishing theyr mothers, and then killing them, not spareing goods or churches, or undefended houses. From thence we marched up to Lobin (Louvain), the principal University of all Flanders We entrenched and made approches to the towne of Battersyes, where we lost many men, particularly of the English, especially Colonel Morgan, who lost his Captayne, Ayncient, and almost all his gentlemen, by a sally made upon them when they were watching in the trenches. Wee, thank God, lost not a man, and had but one hurte. The bullets, where I lay, came in as thicke as hail. I pray you send by Mr. Coffe a payre of bootes, shoes, and stockaynes, for all myne are worne out with marching. Mr. Coffe is chaplayne to my Coronel, a Sussex man, born at Arundel, and one very gracious with him, and my great friend; for by his instances my Coronel did supply my necessities; or otherwise, in this hard march, I had utterly perished."

Shortly after this, he was attacked by a burning feaver and pleurisy, consequent upon fatigue and unwholesome food, and very nearly died. In the following spring he returned for a short time to England, to recruit his health. Scarcely had he returned to the seat of war, when he was laid up by a severe wound in the head, received in a quarrel with a company of Dutch villains, as he calls them. The letter mentioning this accident concludes with the usual application to which fathers have in all ages of the world been subject:—"You knowe," he says, "that though £20 *per annum* may mayntayne a man when well in health, yet if hee be hurte, sicke, or lame, as many tymes falleth out with soldiers, it will be very hard for him to subsist."

A quarrel with a brother officer, who gave him the lie, and who was beaten on the spot by Wilson, and the importunities of a woman to marriage, which he tells his father he "would by no means condescend unto you," induced him to join the

Swedish army. But here his evil fortune followed him. The force to which he was attached was attacked on its march to join the main army by superior forces, at a towne called Shettenpen. Most of the men were killed, and he was taken prisoner. "When I was taken," he says, "I was with my captayne and lieutenant, a corporal, and some musqueteers, on the top of the Porte Tower, which we kept all that night when the towne was taken; but the next daye, on promise of good quarter, we yielded to the enemy. I was carried whithersoever the regiment went, and am now where it abideth, in Lune, in Westphalia Mr. Creswell, the young man that wayted on Colonel Goring, was cornet to General Ranso's own troope with us; but whether he was killed or fled, I know not; certainly he was not taken prisoner; for they gave no quarter to those that fled." He tells his father, that unless he "will ransom him, which would cost at least one hundred guilders, he must turne and serve the Emperor, to which he was daily importuned; for they gave him nothing to eat but bread and water, and that very sparingly."

The ransom was paid, and he returned to England. Upon the breaking out of the troubles in Scotland, in 1630, he and his elder brother accompanied the King to Berwick; upon which occasion, he calls upon his father to come forward handsomely:—"I desire that I may be furnished out in all poynts in a warlike equipage, that soe I may fight the Lord's battle with a good courage, and return victorious."

The following letter from his elder brother, William, describes the cheering prospects of that expedition, which, as it is well known, ended in the disgraceful rout of the English at Newburn, and the occupation of Newcastle by the Scotch.

"I came hither this day. The King goes from hence towards Berwicke upon Sunday come se'nnight, and doth resolve after his going from hence to lie in the fields in his tent. He hath sent a proclamation of grace into Scotland; but the Lords of the Covenant will not permitt it to be proclaymed. My Lord Hamilton is, with twenty-six saile, in the Roade of Leith, and hath beene there tenne dayes. Mr. Brookes sayth Sir Richard Grinfield is heere in Newcastle, and that he came and spake to him; but his equipage was but meane. Yester-

day the five regiments, consisting of four thousand five hundred men, did passe this towne, the King being present, to his great content, they being all very able men of body."

There being no occasion for his services at home, Francis Wilson, by his brother's assistance, was again fitted out, and he joined the French army, then engaged in the siege of Arras. And this is all we know of his military career; for it does not appear that either he or his brother was engaged in active military service in the Civil Wars. In 1643, however, we find him a prisoner in the Gate House, and thus addressing his brother:—

"I thanke you for your advice and money. I had been discharged upon my several petitions to the Parliament, if the rogues had dealt trewly with me. I heare you and Kent are upp in armes. I shall not fayle to see you as soone as I am out of prison. In the mean tyme, I acknowledge the receipt of £5, and rest your loving brother,

"From the Gatehouse."

"FRANCIS WILSON.

It appears, however, from the following passage from Dugdale's *Troubles of England*, that he had been present at the battle of Edgehill, and the cause of his imprisonment is there explained:—"To the end that their party might not be disheartened, they took care to suppress any bad tidings, but to puff up the people with strange imaginations of victory and conquest, by producing forged letters, counterfeit messengers, and the like, as was manifest in the commitment of certain persons to prison, which came from Kinton battle, and reported the very truth of the King's success, namely, Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Witney, and Mr. Banks, who were all sent to the Gatehouse."

The following account of the last days of Francis Wilson will not be read without some feeling of interest. In September, 1653, he wrote this his last letter to his brother:—

"On Wednesday last I wrote to you for £5, and whether I shall live to see it or not, God knows; but whether I doe or not is not soe much questionable, for I conclude myself not a man for this world . . . Wherefore I humbly entreate you that you will be helpful to my wyfe for the bringing up of my

daughter, and herein doe as the Almighty shall direct you ; it is an act of pietie ; and being the request of your dyeing brother, and the last, I believe, that ever I shall make to you, I hope you will accomplish it with chearfulness, which is prayed and earnestly desired by your dyeing brother,

“ FRANCIS WILSON.”

His forebodings were true, as the following letter shows :—

“ Worthy Sir,—It pleased God, on the 23rd of August last, early in the morning, to deprive you of a loveing brother, and me of a deare and tender husband ; he died very penitent, and I doubt not but the Almighty hath received his soul into the armes of his mercie. He desired his body might be buried at the church of Roods,¹ a place which he much honoured, for the sake of those worthy divines he often heard there. I take my leave, craveing your answer, and conclude, a disconsolate widow,

“ *Sept. 1658.*”

“ MARY WILSON.

This poor lady was probably of humble birth, for her name is altogether omitted in the family pedigree ; and her daughter was not long dependent upon her uncle’s generosity, for she died very young.

William Wilson, the third son of John Wilson, who eventually became his heir, was born in 1605. He was placed early in life in the household of the Earl of Suffolk, and filled the office of Master of the Horse to that great nobleman. We may imagine the hearty good will with which he must have executed the following commission from his patron’s daughter, the Lady Catharine Howard.

“ Mr. Wilson,—I did write to you before, but it seems that my letter came not to your hands, which I wondered at, seeing it was sent to George Smith. It was about a saddel, which

¹ This must have been the old church in Rood Lane, which was destroyed by the Fire of London. It was called St. Margaret Pattens, from the great number of pattens which were sold there. It was called Rood Church, on account of a rood which was placed there, and which was broken in pieces in the night-time in 1538, together with the tabernacle in which it

was placed. There is nothing attractive in the exterior of the church of St. Margaret Pattens ; but the interior is very handsome, and in admirable order, and it possesses a picture, an altarpiece, representing Our Saviour in his agony in the garden, and the angels ministering to him, painted by some great master, full of beauty and feeling.

my Lord bid me send to you, to speake to Mr. More, to furnish you with things for it. I would have it made of vilvet, with a small gold fringe about the seat; and the cage, which should come no lower than the leather uses to come, and a light bite, and a crope and woelen girths. You knowe beter than I can direct howe I should have it made for a hunteinge sadel; and if you can find a horse that may bee for my turne, for this cuntry will afford none, my Lord would have you buy me one, if you can get money for it; for I am forste eather to gooe daly in the coche, or stay at home when they all go a hunting I pray, if my Lady Arundell be in towne, do me the favonr to see her from me. My ante Howard hath a good piece of clothe for you, and wished you at her house, where we were very much made of. Your friend,

“ R. HOWARD.

“ *Lulworth Castle, July 12th.*”

Soon after the death of his father, he married Mary, a daughter of Mr. Haddon, a merchant in London, of an old family, long seated at a place of the same name in Northamptonshire. Soon after their marriage they removed to Eastbourne Place, which his wife's stepfather, Dr. Burton, first relinquished, and afterwards sold to him. An old account book states its rental at £999 a year, 3 lb. of pepper, and 1 lb. of cumin-seed; the last two items are set down as worth £25 a year, and the following additional minutes of the property are not without their interest:—“There belongeth to the said manor, wreck of sea by the space of four myles, as also wayfes and strayes, all which being granted by patent under the great seal of England, may happen to be worthe £10,000 in an hower, as it hath beene in other places on the coast, but in the meanest yeare we have, it is worth £20 or £30. Item: there belongeth to the sayd manor one warren of conyes worth £40 a yeare. Item: belongeth to the sayd manor the royalty of hawking, hunting, fishing, and fowling. We take yearly within the sayd manor ten dozen or twelve dozen of sea gulls, worth 30s. a dozen, £18; besides puetts and sea pyes.” The next item will hardly be discovered at Eastbourne in the present day:—“The lord of the manor of Eastbourne hath 700 acres of ground, which have long since been overflowed with the sea, which in sum-

mer will keepe 200 swyne and 300 sheepe, with two great ponds with carpes and good fish."

X With two great exceptions, the battles of Hastings and Lewes, the county of Sussex has been as little disturbed by war as any county in England. The wretched roads through that Weald, which is now traversed at such extraordinary speed in every direction, prevented, in days gone by, the passage of troops and artillery; and to this cause it owes its happy exemption from the troubles of war; and any one disposed to be quiet during the conflict between the King and the Parliament, might manage to do so. This was generally the case with Mr. Wilson; but his loyalty was put to the test at the time of the meditated escape of Charles from Carisbrooke Castle. "He was entrusted," says our authority, "with the important secret of what was intended. A letter was sent to him, by an express from the Earle of Dorset, with a little picture of the King inclosed (for fear of discovery), informing him that he should prepare to receive the original; to which he returned this loyal answer, 'that he would do it with his life and fortune.' But this unhappy prince was destined for martyrdom, and all these salutary measures proved ineffectual; certain it is that this noble lord (the Earl of Dorset) never stirred out of his house after the King's murder, and Lord Clarendon informs us that the Lady Aubigny had a principal share in all these schemes."

Some years afterwards he had a narrow escape. His attachment to the royal cause being well known, on Good Friday, 1658, a detachment of dragoons, commanded by a Lieut. Hopkins, came, by command of Cromwell, to search his house at Eastbourne. The search had scarcely commenced, when Mrs. Wilson (her husband being confined by serious illness to his bed) ordered a large pie filled with wheatears to be placed before them. "The officer," so says the account, "it being quite a novelty to him, was equally amazed and delighted, and merrily insisted that all his military companions should taste of the rare repast, which they did with much jollity, going away much better pleased with their entertainment than the family were with their guests. Whilst they were feasting, Mrs. Wilson (such is her own account of the transaction) went up to her husband, then sick in bed, who

desired her to bring him a file of letters out of his closet. He took off one or more, and ordered her instantly to burn them, and to stir the ashes, and then to call up the officer; which his wife accordingly did. No sooner was the officer come, than he took hold of the file from which the burnt letter had just been taken, looked at the papers, and, finding nothing, very complaisantly wished Mrs. Wilson joy that he had found nothing according to his expectations; 'for had I,' says the officer, 'found anything according to the information given in against him, my orders were to have taken him away.'"

Independently of her own prompt resources, Mrs. Wilson was not without interest with some of the party in power, and to one of these, her cousin, she thus appeals; but who that cousin was, does not appear. After giving an account of the visit of the soldiers, she writes:—

"They said they came by order from the Lord Protector, but what my husband's offence was they knew not, which made him extreemly wonder, haveing never acted or done any thinge against the present government. As I am a Christian, he hath lived retired at home all these times, and avoyded all publicke and private meetings, because he would not give cause for the lest suspition, and whatever information has been given againste him is malitious and false; for, as I am a Christian, I write nothing concerning him but truth; therefore, pray consider the sad condition I and my six children should be left in, if he should by force be taken awaye and miscarrye. Dear cousen, triale of a friende is in time of need, and therefore my husbande's and my earnest desire to you is, that you will make some address to his Highness in his behalfe, and so inform him of the condition of his life and the state of his body; and procure something under my lord's hand, that he may remain quiet without disturbance. Sweet cousen, let me begg the utmost of your indeavours and impertunity with all your friends about his Highness.

"Your obliged kinswoman and servant,

"MARY WILSON.

"He that came for my husband was Lieutenant Hopkins, of Colonel Inglesby's Regiment."

Her daughter, then a girl at school at Hackney, thus writes to her mother, describing a scene which she had witnessed, and which she probably never afterwards forgot:—

“Deere and ever-honoured Mother,—I desire to know whether you received my last letter. I have bin at Whitehall to wait on my cousin Gardener, and I see the Lord Mayor’s show, and by her command we saw the Protekter lying in state, which is the most stately sight that ever I did see.—Your most obedient daughter, “PHILADELPHIA WILSON.”¹

At the time when the sequestrators were busy in bringing forward accusations against what they termed scandalous ministers, Mr. James Graves, the vicar of Eastbourne, was charged by them with many misdemeanors, the account of which shows us that the same feelings were fretting and working in men’s minds in those days as in our own. Mr. Wilson came forward, and was examined in his defence; and to the several charges brought against him he asserted in his favour, “that he had heard Mr. Graves, in some of his sermons, preach against factious sectaries and Papists; but that he did not at any time remember that he called any by the name of Puritans, and that he had observed him to be a great adversary to the Popish tenets of the Church of Rome, and of such as by venting erroneous doctrines had disturbed the peace of the church.”

“That he heard the sermon mentioned in the charges against him, and that he denied, to the best of his remembrance, that he did in all his sermons once name the King’s standard; neither did he speak these words—‘God be thanked, he is not come to bonds.’

“He believed that he was unjustly charged with superstition, because he had heard him in his sermons always show dislike to such persons as so offended, and he never saw him bow to any altar.

¹ With regard to this young lady and her sister, the lady who presided over the school, with whom they were placed, takes credit to herself that in dancing they were inferior to none of their time, nor in their music upon two several instruments; and she promises their mother that she shall receive in the course of a fortnight a well-

finished frog purse, and a table-book. A friend—a Mr. Keynes—who had been requested to inquire about them, reports well of the school, and of the discipline there; but adds—“their diet is somewhat short and slender, but such as doth most preserve their health, and best fits them for their exercises.”

“That he did not wear a tippet, nor had he worn for two or three years last past a surplice, and he denied that the parish ever layd out a penny to buy him one. Mr. Graves,” he added, “did constantly preach in the forenoon on Lord’s day; and in the afternoone he made expositions on the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, or Creed; that he had maintayned the morality of the sabbath; and that he did, years ago, find fault with a butcher for selling meat on the Lord’s day.”

“Sensible,” says our chronicler, “that his principles rendered him suspected and obnoxious to the prevayling powers, he led a closer and more wary life, and it was with difficulty that he saved his estates from sequestration; but he lived to see the King with our ancient government happily restored, which he forwarded to the utmost of his power, and proclaimed him at Eastbourne with the most cordial affection, celebrating that solemnity, amongst other demonstrations of joy, with bonfires, and on the links, on hillocks or rising ground, betwixt Bourne-town and the place of his seat, sending to his own house for an hogshead of claret and a pipe or two of strong beer, where all the loyal townspeople and the adjacent neighbourhood met him; he generously entertained them; and immediately after drinking the King’s health, with himselfe, his lady, children, and the rest of his own family, out of pure zeal, and upon their knees, he there publickly declared that now, God be thanked! he thought his estate his own, and he hoped that every man of them around him would thinke the same.”

His lady, to whom he was evidently deeply attached, died soon after this ebullition of happiness in 1661; and in trusting their care and education to a clergyman at St. Mary’s Cray, he thus alludes to his sad loss:—

“Sir,—It hath pleased God, for my sinnes, to take from mee my dear wife, one of the best of women, as being too good for mee The high character which some of my friends have given of you, makes me resolve to deliver all my sonnes to your great care, painful industry, and tuition, not only for their learning, but to desire that you will have an exceptional regard that they may be instructed in the fundamental grounds of the true Protestant religion as it is established by the laws

of this kingdom ; in which they have had their entrance from their deceased religious mother. That God would be pleased to dispense his blessing upon yours and their endeavours, is, and shall be, the prayer of

“ WILLIAM WILSON.”

In the coat of arms of the Wilsons, well do the wheatears deserve a conspicuous quartering. The finest and fattest birds were found on the Downs, about Beachy Head ; and, alas ! in far greater numbers than is the case now-a-days. They were a great card in Mr. Wilson's hand, and he played it freely and ably. Who shall say whether his loyalty or his wheatears had most to do with his elevation to the rank of a baronet, which took place almost immediately after the Restoration ? And a costly honour it was ; for he paid £1095 for it, that sum professing to be for the support of thirty soldiers of the militia in Ireland for three years: certain it is that Charles II. was exceedingly fond of them, and equally certain is it that Mr. Wilson supplied his Majesty very freely.¹

His nephew, Francis Beard,² secretary to the Earl of Norwich, writes to his uncle :—

“ Hon. Sir,—I must acknowledge that both yourself and my good aunte have bin never wanting in heaping multitudes of favours upon me ; but especially, among the rest, in presenting my Lord with this noble present, which hath made such a deepe impression in his Lordship's thoughts of yourself and mee. For our greater honour, his Lordship carried your present in his own hands, and presented it to his Majesty, and told his Majesty from whence they came, and his Majesty was pleased to say, that he never eat such fat birds in his life before.”

To quiet his fears on another occasion, lest the King should not have been told from whom they came, he writes to say—

¹ Dr. Burton, writing to his daughter, tells her he had heard, that at a dinner given by the Earl of Dorset to the King and the Duke of York, they had eaten twenty dozen of them.

² The Beards were of a very old Sussex family, and many of them are buried in the churchyard of Hurst-Pierpoint. “One of them,” says an old pedigree, “John

Beard, had lands in Cuffold [Cowfold], and served the Duke of Norfolk when his Grace lived at Chisworth, in Sussex, and was ranger of St. Leonard's Forest in the tyme of Queen Mary, and lyeth buried in the parish church of Cuffold, under a fayre marble.” They were connected by marriage with the Coverts and Tichbornes and other distinguished families.

“I have made inquiries after the birds, and find that the King had them as from you; for the messenger delivered them at the Dutchess’s back stairs to the controller, Sir Charles Bartlett, and they were delivered to his Majesty as from you.”

Scarcely less grateful was Lady Wilson’s stepfather, Dr. Burton,¹ the rector of Broadwater, who having a little business of his own to look after in town, wrote to ask him for thirty dozen of them; and what that business was, may perhaps be guessed at from the following letter to his daughter:—

“I find they have made me Bishop of Chichester in the country, but not at court; for Dr. King,² our bishop that now is, was designed to be Archbishop of York; and the same was stronge, both in court and city, for a fortnight. He treated with diverse noblemen and gentlemen about renewing of leases, and with the two chaplains to goe with him into the North. The Bishop told me himselfe he was to remove, hearing that I was to be his successor; and, after all this, he withdrew himselfe into the country, and, through his negligence and carelessness in not following it up as he ought to have done, Dr. Frewen, the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, got it from him, and by this means he continues here, to his losse and my prejudice. I should have had very good preferment in another county, but being old, I only desire it in my own.—I am, your loveing father, “EDWARD BURTON.”

“I heare,” writes the Earl of Dorset, “that my old friend, Mr. Dr. Burton, is nott at Bourne; but, understanding you dwell there, I am hopeful to procure the same friendly respects I was wont to receive from him. My request is, that when wheatears are best, you would, for the short time they last, now and then oblige mee with some of them. I would not bee a beggar, as poore as I am, if they weare provisions to be

¹ This Dr. Burton is thus described by our chronicler:—“The second husband of Lady Wilson’s mother was the worshipful and reverend Edward Burton, some time of Magdalen College, Oxford, Doctor in Divinity, son and heir of Sir Edward Burton, of Eastbourne Place, Knight. He was rector of Broadwater, in the county of Sussex; a loyal divine, of eminent note for his learning, and chaplain in ordinary to the royal martyr, King Charles I.; to whose successor, King Charles II., he re-

mitted several considerable sums of money during his exile, and upon whose return he was offered a bishoprick in Ireland, which he declined; and, dying soon after, in May, 1661, lies buried in the church of Broadwater, being the last male heir of a very ancient family.”

² Wood, speaking of Dr. King, says, that he was discontented, because he was not removed to a better see, and, as it was reported, became in consequence a favourer of the Presbyterians in his diocese.

bought for money in these parts ; but, since you are thereabouts a great, if not sole master of them, I am very willing to bee beholdinge to you, with assurance that, whensoever it is in my power, you shall finde me

“Your very affect^{ed} friend,

“DORSET.

“*July 30, 1646.*”

This was the Earl of Dorset who, when he was young, and then Sir Edward Sackville, fought the well-known desperate duel with the Lord Bruce, in which that nobleman was killed, and himself severely wounded. His allusion to his poverty was no figure of speech, as we are told by Clarendon, in his striking sketch of his character:—“His elder brother,” he says, “did not enjoy his grandfather’s titles many years, before they descended, for want of heirs male, to the younger brother. But in those few years the elder, by an excess of expense in all the ways to which money can be applied, so entirely consumed almost the whole great fortune that descended to him, that when he was forced to leave the title to his younger brother, he left nothing to him to support it, which exposed him to many difficulties and inconveniences ; yet his known great parts, and the very good general reputation he had acquired, inclined King James to call him to his Privy Council before his death. And if he had not too much cherished his natural constitution and propensity, and been too much grieved and wrung by an uneasy and straight fortune, he would have been an excellent man of business ; for he had a very sharp discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, and great generosity, and of most entire fidelity to the crown.”

Sir William Wilson appears to have had very delicate health, and on that account he applied to the Bishop of Chichester for permission to eat flesh-meat during Lent. The license was readily granted, and the Bishop, feeling the importance, in a sanitary point of view, of pleasant social enjoyment, generously extended it to his wife, and to any other four persons whom he might wish at any time to ask to dinner. The license, which is in Latin, omitting all the formal parts of it, ran thus :—“Nos, partim ex relatione tuâ, partim ex aliorum fide dignorum testimonio intelligentes piscium essum sanitati

corporis tui adversum esse, salutem tuam ex animo exoptanti permittimus et indulgemus tibi, et una cum uxore tuâ, et quatuor quibusvis aliis ad mensam tuam invitandis, et carnibus cum debitâ gratiarum actione et tempore quadragesimali prox. futur vesci possis volumus, tamen quod sobriè id et frugaliter, Cautè itidem et ad evitandum publicum scandalum quod fieri possit, tecte, non palam facias."

The following letter from Sir William Thomas, Baronet, member for the county, prepares him for the coming of the fox-hounds, and shows us how such things were managed two hundred years ago :—

"Sir,—I designe to hunte the fox at Bourne to-morrow ; but if there be not people to watch the cliffs, and to be there about three o'clock in the morninge to prevent their going downe, I can do noe good with them. I desire, therefore, that you would be pleased to order some persons to watch the cliffs, and to stop the earths that are nere you. I will be there, God willing, by six o'clock in the morninge, where I should be glad to have the happiness of your good company. This comes from, sir, your faithfull friende and humble servant,

"WILLIAM THOMAS."

Sir William Wilson is represented by the historian of the family as "a person endowed with very good natural parts, who had acquired much knowledge in the business and the affairs of life, of which he had seen not a little, having been conversant in the court, the camp, and the country ; so that he had the reputation of a wise and understanding man. To the needy and necessitous he was ever disposed to do good and humane offices, particularly to the orphan and the poor, several of whom had for many years together a constant weekly reliefe at his gates. He was especially bountiful at the anniversary festival times, particularly at Christmas. He was a good manager and a notable economist, as well a generous gentleman ; and he always lived in every respect suitably to his quality. As to his religion, he was a hearty Protestant of the Church of England, and a constant attendant on her ordinances and services ; and he took especial care that his children should be brought up in the same religious principles." Of his liberality to the poor there are many proofs in the papers

giving an account of his domestic expenses. During the Christmas week, as many as one hundred and fifty were regaled in each year; and there are symptoms of his good management and prudent economy in the following letter of his agent, with whom his grandchildren were living:—

“*London, 16th Oct. 1680.*”

“Hon. Sir,—I have been with the man concerning your lambs’ wool; and he hath promised, if your worship sends up two packs of the same fine wool, he will give 7*d.* a lb. for it; but if your worship’s wool doe not prove so fine as the sample (which my chapman wishes it may), then he will give me but the market price for it, which he believes will be about 6*d.* a lb. I hope your worship will be pleased to order it as to send no worse wool than the sample formerly sent, and to mix no worse wool amongst it. I hope your worship will not send up your wool till Wednesday come se’nnight, by reason of the fast day in the next week, which I believe every good Protestant will endeavour to keepe solemnly. My mistress doth say, that your worship, when my mistress and your grandchildren, Sir William Culpepper, Misse Mary, and Misse Judith, were last at your worship’s, you was pleased to bestow on each of your grandchildren half a penny; but as yet I have not charged your worship with the sayd sume of one penny and a halfe. Will your worship order me to doe the same? I am, your worship’s obedient servant,

“MATTHEW CROUCH.”

The Sir William Culpepper here alluded to was the son of his eldest daughter, Judith. Her husband, Benjamin Culpepper, had died in his father’s lifetime, leaving one only child, this boy; left a widow at an early age, she married her second husband, Captain Mason, without the consent or the knowledge of her father; and exceedingly indignant he was, and refused to see them. The Duke of York, however, under whom the gallant officer had served, stepped in; and the following letter, signed with his own hand, had probably its due effect:—

“Sir William Wilson,—The relation which Captain Mason hath now unto you, by the marriage of your daughter, makes me willing to tell you my knowledge of him whilst he had rela-

tion to me. He served as my eldest lieutenant in the late warr, and there behaved himself with much gallantry, as he hath done in all his other employments in his Majesty's service; soe that I thinke your daughter hath made a good choice, and the gentleman will deserve your favour.

"I am your loving friend, "JAMES."

The following letter, written many years afterwards to another head of the family of Wilson, gives the history of the issue of this marriage:—

"Sir,—I am much obliged for your kind inquiry after the small remains of my family. My father had several children by Sir William Wilson's daughter, the late Sir William Culpepper's mother; and I believe that my brother Christopher, that was cleft down by a pole-axe whilst boarding a French man-of-war, was the eldest. However, there is no surviving issue of that marriage. I am the only surviving son of Christopher Mason by a third wife. I have one son only, a child of four years old; but as this is in no ways relative to you, I shall trouble you no farther than to acknowledge the great esteem I shall always retain for a family to which my father was honoured with so near an allyance.

"Believe me to be, with much esteem, your most obliged and obedient servant,

"CHRISTOPHER MASON.

"August 3, 1749."

In another letter to him, written a few months earlier, he asks:—"Did you feel anything like an earthquake in Sussex, that shook the houses in London and many miles round in so surprising a manner? At my little habitation upon the summit of Croom's Hill, as my wife was sitting by the fire, it shook the room, flung down the poker and tongs, rattled the chayney upon the cabinetts, but did no other damage than frighten the inhabitants into a panic. I myself was walking over Tower Hill, and I heard the noise, which resembled a proof of guns, but felt no motion of the earth."

Among the noble and knightly houses of England, few ranked higher than that of Culpepper. Leeds Castle, standing proudly within its wide moat, was their chief hold; but their possessions extended widely over Kent, Surrey, and

Sussex ; and many a belted knight and lady lie mouldering under the brass tablets in the church at Ardingly, the parish in which one of their finest seats, that of Wakehurst, is situated. It was of the last of this distinguished race, the grandson of Sir William Wilson, then a youth, that his step-father, anxious for his welfare, thus wrote to his grandfather :—

“ I have discoursed his mother and himself about his speedy going to Eaton Schoole, but I find they are much more inclinable for a tutor in the house. . . . For my owne parte, sir, I have so great value for your sense and knowledge in the affairs of the world, that I will not and dare not act so critical and difficulte a parte herein as the breeding of an heire who has had his swinge for fifteen years, without your prudent advice and direction. You know that in this month he is fifteen years old ; and the Culpeppers grow stubbornly ripe betimes. I am fearful, by takeing a tutor into the house, that his mother’s blind fondness will prejudice his learning. I doe fully agree with you, that it is absolutely necessary he should make himself master of the Latin tongue ; for, as ’tis the foundation of almost all our Christian languages, it is the key to unlocke the cabbins in which are contayned the quintessence of all human learning. I doe easily believe that neither you nor any of your domestic family have insinuated any ill principles into your grandson Culpepper ; but there are those in Sussex who have done it, and my wife tells me that they are Thomas Beard and his wife, and old Freere, more of which my sister Phil can tell you, and how they gott him from my son Fagge pointe-blank against his mother’s commands, and told him he was a foole to be governed by his mother or by anybody. Pray, let me desire you to send me your opinion, whether we had best send Will to Eaton, or to take a tutor in our house. I am your obedient son-in-law,

“ *Greenwich, 8th Nov. 1634.*”

“ CHRISR. MASON.”

Age had not quenched the interest which he felt in his grandson, nor his energy in trying to control and direct him. He tells him “that he had reason to believe that he was addicted to vain pleasures, and to listen to sycophants, rather

than to submit to any discipline. He calls upon him to give a promise in writing to continue two years longer at Eton, to study close, that he may have the Latin tongue as fluently as the English, and then to go to the Academy in France, to learn the French tongue, and such other exercises as gentlemen are instructed in." And he thus concludes:—"Submit yourself to the orders of your guardian; serve God with a perfect heart, and keep orderly company."

Nothing more is said in our family history of Sir William Culpepper, than that he died in London, in 1740, unmarried, and that he was buried at St. James's, Westminster; and with him the male line of that old and distinguished family became extinct.

In the following letter of excellent advice, but not such as is usually offered by a younger to an elder brother, we are introduced to the second Baronet, Sir William, of the Sussex line of Wilsons. He had lately lost his wife; and his brother John thus writes to him:—

“ East Grinstead, March 11, 1686.

“ Good Brother,—I can no less but condole with you in so great affliction which God hath been pleased to lay upon you; and no question but your wife is in heaven. My advice to you, in your domestic affairs, is this, follow as nigh as you can the footsteps of our dear father. Neglect not your prayers with your family, and often petition God, in bed and up, for to shower down His blessings upon you and yours; and if he grant not your petition presently, yet he will give you a patient will. Be sure you keep your children to their books, that they may be taught the fear of the Lord; for they are those for whom you must give an account to God, if you neglect your duty in bringing them up, and your servants likewise. Keep them to their devotion on the sabbath, if, with David, you intend that you and your house should serve the Lord. Avoid all suites of law with your neighbours, or any other persons whatsoever, except in cases of great concern. In small matters, rather lose your just due, than goe to suite for it, for it will not satisfy the charges; and be sure that God will avenge your cause, for ‘vengeance is mine, and I will repay it,’ sayth the

Lord; by that meanes you will gaine a contented life to yourselfe, and the love of our neighbours, which was one of our father's principles. Be sure to live within rather than above yourselfe. Remember what our father, and his father before him, used to say: that he that spent three parts of his estate, should dye a beggar. Call your bayliffe and your servants, that you repose any trust in, to a dayly, weekly, and monthly account; by so doing you will make them more careful to serve you, and more fearful to wrong and cheat you.

“Your assured and loving brother till death,

“JOHN WILSON.”

What effect these prudential maxims thus urged upon this Sir William Wilson, may have had upon him, we know not; certain it is that they were utterly disregarded by some of his successors, and large possessions which had been accumulated by the care and prudence of their fathers, the result of successful speculations in iron works or of marriages with heiresses, including the fine property at East Bourne, were, according to the traditions of the family, dissipated and lost.

The Rev. Edward Wilson (another brother of this Baronet) was, “says the writer,” one of the primitive and steady Non-juring clergyman of the Church of England on the Revolution. He was born at the Place, in Eastbourne, on the 2nd of July, 1652. He took his name from his godfather, that learned and loyal divine, Dr. Edward Burton. About the month of May, 1670, he was admitted into Queen's College, Cambridge, where he lived in the quality of a pensioner, and was educated under the tuition of Mr. Robert Needham, A.M., and Dr. Henry James, both fellows of that house, and of note for their learning. He was elected scholar of that house, and took both his degrees of A.B. and A.M.

In 1675, he wrote to his father to get the King's mandate for a fellowship. Sir William engaged a friend in his son's service; and the following letter shows the way in which those matters were managed. After the usual salutations he says:—

“My Lord of Suffolk is at Court, whither I am going to-morrow, and will acquaint him with your request, which I no

ways question the obtaining; but, because I would be well satisfied what benefit may accrew by a *mandamus*, I have consulted Mr. Cooke, secretary to Mr. Secretary Coventry; a very honest and ingenious gentleman, who tells me the King will not deny the grant to my Lord at the first word, but will refer the matter to one of the secretaries, whose answer will be that his Majesty has promised the Vice-Chancellor, and Heads and Fellows of Colleges of both the Universities, to impose none upon them, but leave them to their own elections, unless recommended by a certificate. Now, sir, if you think your sonne's meritt will obtain a certificate from popular hands, there will be no difficulty in this matter. The Duke of Monmouth is Chancellor, who, I am also informed, is the first and properest steps to climb by. I doe assure you I will serve you in what I can.

“ I am, sir, your most humble servant,

“ *August, 1675.*”

“ JO. JEFFS.

To recur, however, to our authority, he says:—

“ Better preferment was in design for him (he was then rector of Blatchington); but when a majority of those members of both Houses of Parliament, in 1688, since called the Convocation (not without a long and warm opposition, on King James withdrawing, or, as others say, being frightened from his metropolis,) had voted the throne to be vacant, and that it should be filled with the Prince of Orange, and when they had taken possession, in consequence thereof, of their father's throne, he judged that matters were carried to too great lengths; and, out of regard to the constitution of the kingdom, and a conscientious regard to the allegiance which he had sworn to his undoubted Prince, King James, whose unhappy conduct, or that of his minister, did not, as he thought, dissolve that allegiance, and thinking that expedients more agreeable to the constitution might have been found out for the quiet establishment of Charles II., who was unhappily perverted to the Roman religion, when he was forced to exile by the rebellion in his tender years (the great source of most of our troubles), he utterly refused to take the oaths then required to be taken to the new-made King and Queen, as did divers of his reverend brethren the inferior clergy. Mr. Wilson

was suspended, and in 1690 was deprived of his living by the new Government—one John Hind taking possession thereof, on Friday, the 18th July, in that year, after which this reverend gentleman retired to the parish of Buckstead, in Sussex, and lived with a relation of his wife, and spent the remainder of his days there, adhering to his political principles to his death; never afterwards accepting of any preferment in the Church; and there he died. He was a firm Protestant, an honest man, and a good Christian, and was handsomely interred the night following—his pall supported by six of the clergy—in the chancel of the church, according to his own desire, close to the remains of his wife, who was a daughter of S. Graves, of West Firle, in Sussex, one of the justices of the peace, a gentleman memorable for being a principal instrument in safely conducting that great and loyal subject, the gallant Marquis of Ormond, from London into Sussex, when he was so vigilantly sought after by that arch-traytor the Lord Protector, as he was then called, and his fellow-rebels, and procuring him a safe passage into France from that coast.”

It was to a direct ancestor in the maternal line of the late lamented Admiral Sir Henry Shiffner, Bart., that Charles II. owed his escape from Brighton after the battle of Worcester; for such was Captain Tattersall, who conveyed him away in his vessel, called the *Happy Entry*, and for which he afterwards received a pension of £100 a year, to continue for ninety years. A ring, with the portraits of Charles and his Queen, presented by the King to Captain Tattersall, is preserved in the family.

The history of another brother, that of Thomas Wilson, the fifth son of Sir William, is singular; and we give it in the words of our chronicler:—

“An unfortunate accident befel this gentleman, which, as it is very notable and extraordinary, it will not be impertinent to relate. When a young man, and in London, about the year 1675, he happened to be out one night very late in the streets, having been at a taverne near Temple Bar, and, being drunk, he lay down on a tradesman’s bulk in the street, and there fell asleep, and was seized upon by a gang of kidnappers; and in that dead sleep he was carried insensible on board of a ship in the Thames, which was soon to sayle for the West Indies; there they transported him, and sold him as a slave

to a planter in Jamaica, in the northern and then most wild and uninhabited part of that island. The planter soon died, and left a widow, whom Mr. Wilson served so well, that she made him an overseer of a gang of Negroes, and her bayliff and steward; and he so far ingratiated himselfe, having good parts and an agreeable person, with a good education, that she became enamoured with him, and would have married him, and so warm was she, that he not affecting her, to avert her solicitations, had recourse to the expedient of telling her that he was married. However, he continued a considerable time in this servitude, unknown to his family, who had deemed him lost; but he sent them notice as soon as he could, in the following letter:—

“ *Jamaica, 17th October, 1675.*

“ Hon. Sir,—These may serve to advertise you of my condition, that I am a servant for four years. You are not ignorant of my imbecility to doe any laborious worke, especially in this hot country. I humbly crave your assistance in this my necessity; for unlesse you send me money by the first ship, to the value of £20 or upwards, the servitude that is laid upon me will quickly bring me to the grave; and therefore, as you desire to see me againe, pray fail not to comply with my desire. I am living at the little river in the north side.’

“ On the arrival from England of Captain Francis Scarlet, a native of Eastbourne, the son of one Mr. Benjamin Scarlet, of that parish, who had an estate in the island, he was engaged by Sir William to make himself fully acquainted with his son’s condition and circumstances, and to undertake a journey up into those unfrequented parts of the island, to the very plantation where he was. He soon espied him, and presently knew him; and upon conference with him, he speedily wayted on Sir Thomas Modyford, Bart., Governor under King Charles II., and was by him put into a method, and dispatched with money and other requisites for his redemption; which the Captain by his prudence effected, but not without difficulty. As soon as he had paid his ransom, he is said thus to have saluted him—‘ Sir, I congratulate you upon your freedom; Sir William, and the rest of your family, were all well when I left England.’ No sooner did the widow

know that he was the son of a person of quality—discovering, too, that the story of his marriage was an artifice to deceive her—is said to have burst into a furious passion of rage and anger, swearing that, had she known as much before, no money should have bought him. But, howsoever this was, the material parts of this relation are confirmed by the letters of Sir Thomas to Sir William Wilson, and his son Mr. Charles Modyford; and afterwards Mr. Wilson continued a good while with Sir Thomas; and in gratitude to the Hon. Baronet, it must be said he took a great deal of care of him, and was very obliging to him in the good offices he did him when he returned to England.”

When, after recovering his liberty, he resided with the Governor, he does not appear to have been the most agreeable of inmates. To a grateful letter from his father,—thanking him for all he had done for his son, telling him, too, that he had put him to a merchant, and that he was prompt and quick in the use of a merchant’s book, and he would approve of his staying with him if he should think him capable of any employment by which he might demonstrate his gratitude,—the Governor thus replies:—

“*Jamaica, Dec, 9th, 1677.*”

“Yours of the 13th of August found me on the 23rd of November; but your son had been on my plantation some months before, where, with the goodness of the air and better dyets, he soon recovered; but after that he fell sicke of the ague and feaver. I employed him as an overseer to a gang of blacks; but he grew careless, and did little, and I found him unfit for my service. I fitted him with all necessaries, as you will perceive by the inclosed account. He was somewhat displeas’d with my steward for charging too much for the striped suites, which he told me lasted him not twenty days. On enquiring into the matter, I found that on his recovery he had taken too much ale with the servants, who fought him and tore his suit off his back. However, I wrote to Captain Scarlet, that if he resolv’d to go home, I would supply money for the passadge, and all other necessaryes; since which I have heard nothing from him. He seem’d displeas’d with mee that I would not give up his indentures,

and declare him a freeman. I told him, if he went off, it needed not; and if he stayed he could not runne into debt so long as I kept them, because all contracts with servants are, by a law of this country, voide.

“Your faithful friend and servant,

“THOS. MODYFORD.”

The sum paid for his ransom was £20. This Thomas Wilson, whose shirt was thus unceremoniously torn from his back, on his return to England from his captivity, married Ann, the daughter of George Courthorpe, Esq., of Wadhurst, and it was his son Thomas, who succeeded to the baronetcy, who, in the year 1723, sold the property at Eastbourne to Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards Earl of Wilmington. Of his son William, who was born at Eastbourne in 1705, it is said that he was a hopeful youth, and had offers of places at Court suitable to his birth and quality, which he declined in favour of a military employ, which he more affected, and was accordingly educated at the Academy in King Street, near Golden Square, in Westminster, of the late Major Henry Foubert, Esq., riding-master, &c., to the present Royal Family,¹ where he was initiated in the exercises befitting the profession of a soldier, as well as in the polite accomplishments of a gentleman; but an early death put an end to the progress he had made on the 23rd of January, 1723, having on the day before his death been presented to the post of a cornet in the Royal Horse Guards. He was interred in a vault in St. James's Church, Westminster, and removed some years afterwards, and reinterred with his ancestors in the family vault at Eastbourne. His death carried the title to Thomas, as we have before said, who married a daughter of Mr. William Hutchinson, of Uckfield, and he was succeeded by his son, Sir Edward Wilson, the fifth Baronet.

In the *General Evening Post*, of Saturday, Oct. 20, 1759, there is a rather long obituary article of Sir Thomas Wilson, Baronet, in which much of the genealogy of the family is set forth, very much as it is in the *Baronetages*. It was supplied by Sir Edward Wilson, F.S.A., and the article attracted the

¹ Those who recollect London before Street was built, will well remember Swallow Street disappeared and Regent Major Foubert's Passage.

attention of John Wilson, of Bromhead, ever inquiring into the antiquities of his family, and supposing himself to be descended from a branch of the Wilsons of Elton, from whom Sir Edward traces his descent. He wrote on the subject to Sir Edward, who replied at considerable length, in a letter dated the 18th of December, 1759. Mr. Wilson had it directed to him at Bourn Place; but Sir Edward says, "this seat, which is a very fine one, did belong to my family, together with a capital lordship and four other manors, with their respective demesnes and several other lands and tenements lying adjacent thereto, the tenants, I mean customary, all finable at the lord's will, and heriotable in kind for every several tenement; and this as well for free as copy hold, a free warren by grant from the crown, and wreck of sea by the space of more than four miles under that noted promontory and cliffs adjoining, called the Three Charles' or Chorles, and Beachy Head. This seat with some of the manors and lands, came to my late father by virtue of entail, whilst a part of it was inherited by the late Sir William Wilson's sister and heir; but the part of this estate coming to my father being encumbered, he was pleased (though against the consent and approbation of the rest of his family) to convey it to the late Earl of Wilmington, whose principal seat it was, and who before he purchased it, during the minority of Sir William, resided in it, holding it by a lease from his guardians; and as he had an extraordinary liking to it, he used extraordinary means to persuade and procure him to sell it to himself, leaving no stone unturned to effect it; and well he might, for from the description I have now mentioned, and its most delightful situation for prospect and everything that may add to its beauty, it may vie with most in this country—the wild, the sea, the Downs, all at once viewed; and for the excellency of that bird, by some called the English ortolan, the wheatear, is famed even to a proverb, a Bourne wheatear being the best of the kind in this county or anywhere." . . . "After his death it came to his nephew, Lord Northampton, who made it his residence in this country, and he dieing, his brother, the late Consul Compton, had it, whose son, now Earl of Northampton, possesses it, who lately married the Duke of Beaufort's sister, with whom he got acquainted whilst at Bourne, at BRIGHTHELMSTONE, in this county, of late so

much resorted to in this county for the sea-water, as Scarborough is in yours; and at Bourne Place he lives when in this county. These things, in regard to this seat and part of our estate, were done whilst I was an infant, which are such that no man (so nearly concerned as myself, on whom it was entailed) could bear regretting; but 'what cannot be cured,' according to the common saying, 'must be endured.'

"Thanks to God I have some lordships and their demesnes and other lands still left, the remains of a much greater estate, though not so suitable to my rank as I could wish; but, as I am a bachelor, this circumstance is an incentive to me (out of a decent regard to decorum in this respect, and at the same time only mindful of my ancestors and posterity) never to think of continuing this line of our family, but upon such a foundation in respect of fortune as may be at least somewhat adequate to their condition in other respects."

The above passage respecting Brighton is probably one of the earliest notices we have of the rising popularity of that extraordinary town as a watering-place.

The worthy Baronet adhered to this resolution, and died a bachelor not long after the date of this letter, viz., June 1, 1760.

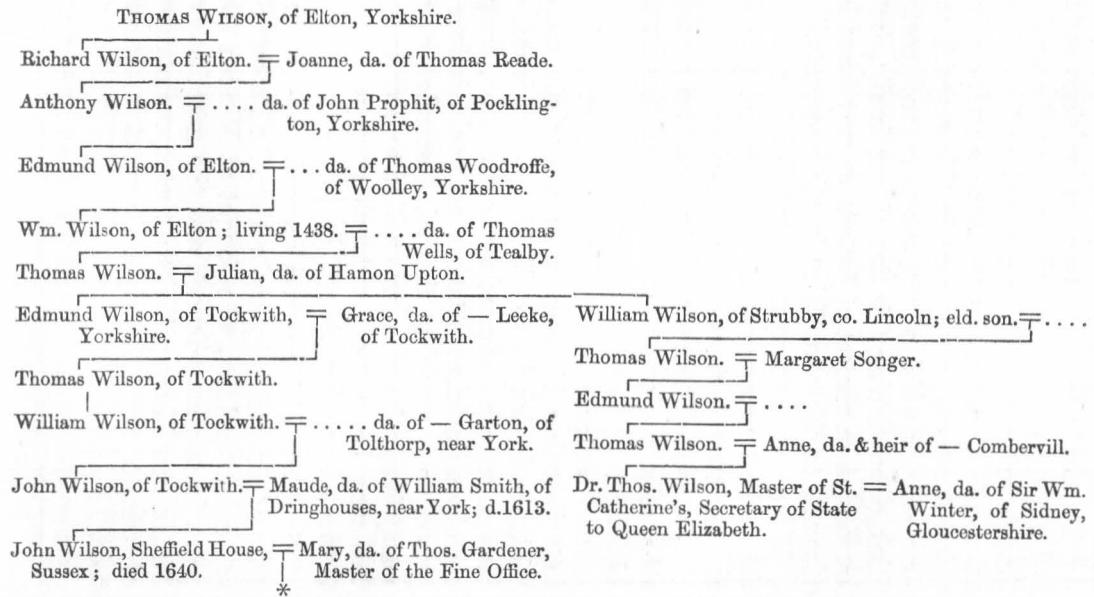
In a pedigree which Sir Edward sent to Mr. Wilson, he thus describes his mother in a tone of excellent feeling:—"Elizabeth, daughter of William Hutchinson, of Uckfield, in Sussex, mercer. According to tradition, supported by such corroborating circumstances as would induce any impartial person to a credulity thereof, descended of a good gentlemanly family, bearing and entitled to bear arms; but, however this may be, a most virtuous good wife and mother, and (I thank God) now living."¹

Sir Edward Wilson was succeeded in his title and the remnant of his estates by his brother, Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, the gallant soldier, who fought at Minden (the subject of a paper in our last volume), and the grandfather of the present Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, the representative of a long line of ancestors, and the eighth Baronet in the succession to the title.

¹ For the matter contained in the last two pages, the Editor is obliged to Joseph

Hunter, Esq., F.A.S., who kindly communicated it to him.

PEDIGREE OF THOMAS WILSON, ESQ.



*

*

Sir William Wilson, = Mary, da. of Rev. John Wilson, = Cecily, da. Charles Thos. Wilson, Francis = Mary. Cassandra = Ralph
of Eastbourne Place; Thos. Haddon, of London, A.M., of Trinity College; of Francis Shirley, of West Grinstead. Wilson, eldest son; unmarried. an East India Merchant; d. 1657, *s.p.* 4th son. Wilson, 5th son. Frances; died unmarried. Beard, of Hurs- Pierpoint, Sussex.

Sir William = Rechar, 2nd John Wilson, = Elizabeth, d. of Robert Edw. Wilson, A.M., = Catherine, da. of Thomas = Anne, da. of
Wilson, 2nd da. of Richard Counsellor of Law; Pickering, of Table- of Queen's College, Sackville Graves, Wilson; George
Baronet, of Peacock, of Eastbourne; died 1718, at 74. North End, Middlesex; died 1718, at 74. 2nd son. 1700. 2nd son. in the Great Chancel at Buxted. 5th son. of Westfire, Sussex; died 1711, at 58: bur. in the Chancel at Buxted. bur. at Eastbourne. 4th son. of George Courthope, of Wadhurst, Sussex.

William = Jane, da. & heire Philadelphie; Rechar. = William
Wilson; of Nicholas married, 1st, John Nutt, of Exeter.
2nd son: Towneley, of the Marshalls, in Maresfield; died 1713. Inner Temple. 2ndly, Joseph Feners, of Isleworth, Middlesex.

Sir Wm. Wilson, Elizabeth; Sir Edward Wilson, Sir Thos. Spencer = Jane, da. and
Bart., 3rd Baro- mar. James Feners, of 5th Baronet; Wilson, Colonel of the 50th Foot, John Waller, of
net; died a mar. James Feners, of 5th Baronet; of the 50th Foot, Knt. of the Shire Hornchurch,
batchelor, mar. James Feners, of 5th Baronet; of the 50th Foot, Knt. of the Shire for the County. Essex.
at 19. Carolina.

Sir Thomas Maryon = Elizabeth, da. of Margaretta Elizabeth; Jane; married, 1st, the Rt.
Wilson; James Smith, mar. Charles George, Hon. Spencer Percival;
died 1824. Royal Navy. Lord Arden. 2ndly, Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Carr, K.C.B. & K.T.P.
7th Baronet.

Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, John Maryon Wilson, = Julia, da. of Jane Elizabeth; d. 1838. Mary; mar.
the present and eighth Fitz-Johns, George Wade, Caroline; died 1821. John Trevelyan, Esq.
Baronet. Essex. Esq. Margaretta Maria; m. the Rev. A. Drummond: d. 1854. Julia; mar. the Rev. Spencer Dod Wilde.

DESCENT OF THE MANOR OF HURST-PIERPOINT,
AND OF ITS LORDS.

BY WILLIAM SMITH ELLIS, ESQ.

THE following is the account given of Hurst-Pierpoint in the Domesday Survey :—

“ In Botingelle (Buttinghill) hundred, Robert holds Herst of William. Earl Godwin held it. It was then assessed at 41 hides. It is now not rated, because it was always exempt from the land-tax. At the time it was transferred there were only $18\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There are $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides in the rape of the Earl of Moreton, and 19 hides in the rape of William de Braiose. The arable is 25 plough lands. There are two ploughs in the demesne, and thirty-five villains, and eight bondsmen have $21\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Here is a church, eight ministers, three mills of nine shillings, eighty acres of meadow, and a wood of fifty hogs. William holds three hides of this land; Gilbert $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides, which villains formerly held. The total value in the time of King Edward was £36; it was subsequently reduced to £9, and the whole is now estimated at £12.”

This is one of the largest manors, if not the largest, in Sussex, mentioned in Domesday as held by a mesne tenant, the more extensive ones being possessed by the great baronial tenants in chief, and ecclesiastical corporations. Several subinfeudations of so considerable a lordship were no doubt made, the greater number of which have either ceased to exist, or from early desuetude, or extinction of dependent suit and service, have continued to the present day as independent manors, and cannot be identified, except conjecturally, from circumstances of ownership and locality. However, the manor of

Howcourt, in Lancing, Domesday Book itself testifies, was held of or included in the manor of Herst. In addition to this, the manors of Pakyns and Hautbois,¹ the demesnes of which are in the parish, are the only two besides, with perhaps that of Hixted, that can be clearly presumed to have been members; though it is probable that the manor of Oathall in Wivelsfield, of which the manor of Leigh in Cuckfield and Hurstpierpoint is a subinfeudation, was originally another. It is not often that a manor and a parish are conterminous; still less so, that a parish does not contain lands belonging to more than one manor: this double position was that of Hurstpierpoint: the manor, from its large area, extended into several parishes, and the parish, though not extensive, contains lands that are parcel of the adjoining manors of Sedlescombe and Pangdean, and perhaps of others.

The preceding extract from Domesday does not inform us who the "Robert" was who was the under-tenant of the manor, though elsewhere the lord paramount is mentioned as William de Warren. It is only by circumstantial evidence we know his surname was De Pierpoint; for no deed, recital, or any document of a later date, describes, as is often the case with other families, the Domesday tenant as ancestor, direct or indirect, of any subsequent owner of the name of Pierpoint; and in early deeds, as in the cartulary of Lewes Priory, down to the time of Henry the Third at least, the place is mentioned as "Hurst" simply, though it might probably at one time have been called West-Hurst, in contradistinction to East-Hurst, before it got the appellation of Hurst-Monceux. There can be no question, however, that the Pierpoints enjoyed the possession of the manor which received their distinctive name, in unbroken male descent from the Conquest till the period when it passed out of the family by a female heir, an interval of about three centuries. But it is so often assumed by topographers that the Domesday tenant of a manor is the ancestor in the male line of subsequent owners, when we know that a female

¹ This manor (according to Sir William Burrell), though now only a small farm, called "Abbeys," took its name from the family of Hautbois, many of whose deeds are to be found in the Lewes Cartulary. The place which gave this family their

name, or received it from them, if a corruption of *Haut-bois*, was Hobbesse, a parish in Norfolk, as it is spelt in the Domesday Survey, being then held by William de Warren.—See an account of the parish and family in Parkins' *Norfolk*.

inheriting, even at that early period, frequently imposed her patronymic on her husband and son, that truth requires extreme caution in admitting prevalent statements of this nature, which arise from conclusions too hastily formed. In the case before us, though the Robert of Hurst is not called by his surname in Domesday, yet that document, in giving the undertenants of William de Warren in Suffolk, mentions Robert, Godfrey, and Rainald "de Petraponte," as owners of lands which appear by subsequent deeds to be possessed by the Pierpoints of Hurst; and other their possessions in Sussex can be traced up to their Domesday owners, "Godfrey" and "Robert." In the *Gallia Christiana* (vol. ii., Appendix) a charter is cited, dated 1059, by which Robert de Petrapont and his brother Godfrey gave the tithes of Cuverville to a monastery.¹

There can be little doubt that these are the same persons as the Domesday tenants. Where a mesne tenant holds largely of his superior lord, he is often found to be his son or other near relative; such was undoubtedly the case with the Pierpoints and Warrens. In Sussex, Robert de Pierpoint held 58 hides of land, and Godfrey 24—together 82 hides, or about 9000 acres of land. To this enumeration should be added the possessions of William Fitz-Reinald, who had Poynings and other manors amounting to 30 hides, nearly 4000 acres; for this person also held land in Wretham, in Suffolk, the manor of the Pierpoints; and it is probable he was son of Reinald de Pierpoint before mentioned. In order to ascertain *what* relation the Pierpoints might be to the Warrens, an inspection of the pedigree of the latter² makes us acquainted with a "Godfrey," uncle of the William de

¹ "Gilston of Gileston, to which there was a manor or lordship attached, was so called from Sir Giles Pierpoint, one of Bernard Newmarch's knights. Joyee, daughter and heir of John Pierpoint *alias* Parkville, married Walter or Watkin Gunter, eighth in descent from Sir Peter, a contemporary of Sir Giles."—(Jones's *Hist. of Brecknock*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 593.) In the pedigree of Gunter, in Vincent's *Sussex*, quoted in Dallaway's *Chichester Rape*, Richard Gunter, seventh in descent from Jenkin Gunter, *temp.* William I., marries *Maud*, daughter and heiress of John de Pierpoint.

² Mr. Watson's handsomely embellished volumes, *Memoirs of the Earls of Warren*, are generally resorted to for information on this family; but that work is well known to be, in many respects, quite untrustworthy: abounding with hasty conclusions, false deductions, erroneous statements, and quotations from bad or doubtful authorities. The pedigree of the Warrens at the end of this paper is compiled from deeds and other documents by the late Mr. Stapleton (a very safe authority), and brought together by Mr. Eytton, in his excellent *Antiquities of Shropshire*.

Warren of Domesday, who might have been, and probably was, father of Robert and Godfrey de Pierpoint, and perhaps, also, of Reinald, and who might have fought at the battle of Hastings, and died before the Domesday Survey.

We shall now endeavour to give an account of the successive lords of the manor, and of their families. The account given by Collins in his *Peerage*, of the Pierpoints, is probably in the main correct, and doubtful chiefly in the early part. It professes to be compiled from authorities that are cited, amongst others a pedigree of the family. But such pedigrees, whether to be found in visitations, or made out irrespectively by heralds, are in the early parts now so generally found to be fabulous, or put together upon insufficient evidence, and often upon none at all, that they are never to be relied upon, unless confirmed by unquestionable testimonies. And such pedigrees, and most genealogies, until the advent of a more sceptical race of genealogists, were characterized by a frequent absence of all criticism, and an utter confusion and inconsistency of dates. Thus Collins, in the account before us, states that the Robert de Pierpoint of Domesday held ten knights' fees of Earl Warren in Sussex, giving as his authority the *Testa de Nevill*, a document compiled in the time of Henry III., full 150 years afterwards. But when, in citing a French genealogy of the family, he says this Robert was a lieutenant-general in the Conqueror's army, it is possible he may be correct.

As to the place which gave name to the family, Collins, giving as his authority, "family evidences at Holme-Pierpoint," says that they continued their possessions, viz., the castle of Pierrepoint, in the south confines of Picardy, and diocese of Laon, in 35 Henry I., 13 Henry II., and 2 Richard I., and were benefactors to the Abbey of Thionville, for lands in the territory of Sornicourt and Veel. Mr. Eyton, however, states that the family took their name from Pont St. Pierre, a vill in the diocese of Rouen, situate at the confluence of the rivers Andelle and Seine. But this seems simply a conjecture. Pont St. Pierre is evidently a bridge, or a town clustering near a bridge, named after the family of St. Pierre, as Pontdelarch, called also Pont-Arches, was after the family of Arches, and others, as Pont-Audomare, Pont-Cardon, similarly named.

Collins, following the pedigree he mentions, says that Robert left a son William, who had a son Hugh, whose issue were Simon and Robert. This may be true; but we shall content ourselves with such notices as are to be obtained from genuine documents.

The next notice, then, after Domesday, that we obtain of the family, is in a deed from the Cartulary of Lewes Priory (quoted in Watson's *Memoirs*, i. 126), in which Hugh, Robert, and William de Pierpoint, occur as witnesses to a charter of William, third Earl of Warren, who died 1148, the charter itself being proved to be dated about two years before. These might have been sons of the Robert in Domesday.

By the *Liber Niger*, it appears that in 1166, Robert de Pierpoint was owner of a knight's fee in Lincolnshire. By the same document, it appears that Simon de Pierpoint was coparcener of some land held of the Bishop of Chichester. Unfortunately the tenants of the Earl of Warren for the rape of Lewes are not specified in this valuable record.

Fuller, in his *Worthies*, gives the name of Richard de Pierpoint as sheriff of Cheshire, 35 Henry II. Watson says that Beatrix, who married William de Warren, lord of Wormegay, who died 1208, was daughter and heiress of Hugh de Pierpoint, probably the before-mentioned Hugh. Dansey, in his *Crusaders*, says that Robert and Simon de Pierpoint were with Richard I. at the siege of Acre. This is highly probable. About 1175, Simon de Pierpoint and William de Pierpoint were witnesses to a certificate of John Le Strange. 1194-1203, Simon de Pierpoint appears as a knight. At the same time occur Alan de Pierpoint and William de Pierpoint, brothers, probably sons of Simon. Guy de Pierpoint *alias* de Glazeley, probably son of Alan, and father of a second Alan his heir, had three sons, Harry, Alan, and William, by Juliana, who survived him. Juliana, in a cause, names Adam de Pierpoint her attorney. 1238, Wydo de Pierpoint was witness to a feoffment of John Le Strange. 1255, Alan de Pierpoint was lord of Glazeley. All these notices are from Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. i. p. 211, where there is a pedigree of the Glazeleys of five generations, from Alan of 1225 down to 1353, but no arms are assigned to the

family. There cannot be much doubt that this Shropshire branch of the Pierpoints came from Hurst. During the reign of Henry III., we meet with scattered members of the family whom it is impossible to affiliate. In a dateless deed of this reign, Simon de Pierpoint grants and confirms to Walter, son of Randolph de Pierpoint, all the land which Randolph held in Hurst, Wyke, and Wrandham (Wrentham, in Suffolk), the witnesses to which are Peter de Hurst, and Simon, son of Peter of Hurst.¹ Richard de Pierpoint, and Ralph his brother, are witnesses to a dateless charter of Gilbert de Ockley. Edmund de Pierpoint was witness about 1275 to a charter of Sir Robert de Pierpoint.² John de Pierpoint, of Hove, had a daughter, Helewisha, married about 32 Edward I., to John de Bolney. And a Walter de Pierpoint, of Hove, occurs 28 Edward III.³ Another Walter, of Ovingdean, is met with much later, viz., 14 Henry VI. (Gainsford Deeds, Harl. MSS., 392, p. 88.) From the *Testa de Nevill* we learn that Simon de Pierpoint, *temp.* Henry III., held ten knights' fees of the Earl of Warren; and that John de Perpunt held land by serjeanty in Nottinghamshire. The former was probably the Simon who, 23 Henry III., had a suit between William Earl of Warren, concerning free warren in Hurst and Goldbridge. This Simon, Collins says, died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Robert, who sided with Henry III. against the Barons, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Lewes, 1264. According to the same authority he was succeeded by Sir Robert,⁴ his son and heir, who married Annora, sole daughter to Michael de Manvers (who died 39 Henry III.), and sister and heir to Lionel de Manvers, whereby he became possessed of several lordships in Nottinghamshire, and among them the lordship of Holme-Pierpoint. This Sir Robert was dead before 1292; and by Annora his wife, who had survived him, he had two

¹ A facsimile of this deed is in the Burrell MSS., and is given at length in p. 56 of the *History of Hurstpierpoint*, 12mo, 1837. The deed is supposed to comprehend the farm called "Randells," part of the Danny estate.

² Lewes Cartulary. ³ Plea Rolls.

⁴ According to the pedigree in Davy's Suffolk Collections in the British Museum,

it was a Sir Henry who married Annora. This pedigree in other respects differs from Collins, as also does much more materially the pedigree in the Visitation of Notts, which seems in many respects to have no foundation whatever, but in the imagination of the compiler. Collins's account is supported by the pedigree in the Plea Rolls.

sons, Simon and Robert. Simon was one of those who were summoned as barons to Parliament, 22 Edward I.: his daughter Sibilla marrying Edmund Ufford, whose descendants were owners of the Sussex property, including Hurst; whilst Robert, his brother, who carried on the line, and was progenitor of the Barons Pierpoint, Dukes of Kingston, had the Nottinghamshire estates. Further information of the lords of Hurst at this period is supplied from other sources, which confirm Collins's account. In Suckling's *Suffolk* (ii. 369), we are told that Henstead was attached to the great manor of Wrentham, held by Godfrey de Pierpoint at the Domesday Survey. To distinguish it from another manor of the same name, it was called Henstead-Perpounds, which in 1349 was owned by Alan de Henstead, who was also then patron of the living; in 1301-1316, Simon de Pierpoint holding the patronage. In 1271, Sir Simon obtained license of free warren for his estates in Benacre, Wrentham, and Henstead. John, son of Sir Simon, married Ela, daughter of Sir William de Calthorp, who on their marriage, 5 Edward III., had settled on them the manor of Hurst-Pierpoint. Soon after this period, their interests ceased in Henstead. From the *Plea Rolls*, 28 Edward III. (*Coll. Topog. et Geneal.* part iii. p. 272), it appears that Simon, son of Sir Simon de Pierpoint, Chevalier, son of Robert, sought to recover from Walter de Pierpoint, one messuage, one carucate of land, and 100*s.* rent in Hove. From these additional particulars it would seem that John and Simon were brothers of Sibilla, and left no issue, their sister becoming their sole heir.

It would be irrelevant, now our notices of the Pierpoints of Hurst, indeed of Sussex, are brought to a close, to pursue a branch of the family who had no connection with the county; but in the spirit of that feeling of interest and affectionate remembrance which follow the departure of those with whom we have been long associated, a very concise account of the descent and fortunes of that more distinguished line of the Pierpoints, who became extinct only at the end of the last century, may be excused and welcomed.

Sir Robert, brother of the last Sir Simon, of Hurst, attended Edward in his Scottish wars, and was succeeded by several generations, who maintained their knighthood in every

reign, till in the time of Charles I., Robert Pierpoint was raised to the peerage, by the titles of Baron Pierrepont, Viscount Newark, and Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull, whose son obtained the further dignity of Marquis of Dorchester. This last title, however, became extinct in the person of its first occupant, he dying without male issue. The other titles passed to his male heir, in whose successor Evelyn Pierrepont, 1706, the marquise of Dorchester was revived, and who in 1715 was advanced to the highest grade in the peerage, by being created Duke of Kingston. This and all the other hereditary dignities, however, became extinct with the death of Evelyn Pierrepont, grandson of the first Duke, in 1773.

But the name of Pierrepont and some of the titles were subsequently revived. Charles Meadows, being son of Philip Meadows, by Frances, sister and heir of Evelyn, last Duke of Kingston, assumed the name of Pierrepont, and was created Baron Pierrepont of Holme-Pierrepont, and Viscount Newark, 1796; and Earl Manvers, 1816, ancestor of the present Earl Manvers, &c.

Before we proceed to notice the successors of the Pierpoints, we may well pause to indulge in a few observations on a race who for so many generations occupied a foremost rank among those proud and potent vassals of a long feudal and warlike period, those Anglo-Norman Sussex knights and warriors—the Echinghams and St. Legers, the Poynings' and Kaynes', the Savages and Percys and Bohuns. Whether one race is really more prolific than another—not within the narrow limits of a county and a century, but comprehending all the male descendants in a direct line of some one progenitor for four or five centuries—would be a curious genealogical inquiry, and not without much ethnological and physiological interest. But certainly there are families who flourish so numerous for a few generations in certain districts, and then almost entirely disappear, as if struck down root and branch by some curse or plague; whilst others never cease from the land, but, pushing deep and wide their roots, keep up their numbers with unfailling fertility on their native soil. There were Chatfields and Luxfords and Cruttendens, in Sussex 500 years ago; and there are probably as many Chatfields and Luxfords and Cruttendens in the county now,

as would furnish a battalion for the militia. - In the days of Elizabeth there were Coverts and Culpepers enough in the county to have formed a grand jury ; in the days of Victoria it is doubtful if a Covert or Culpeper is to be met with from Chichester to Rye. Is the race then extinct, or is its fecundity kept up on the banks of the Severn or the Humber, in the wilds of Connemara, or among the Cheviots and Grampians? Or did the *Mayflower* carry across the Atlantic the surviving scions of the stock, and does a new race of Coverts and Culpepers rank high among the planters of Virginia and the merchants of New York? Such problems may be classed with the curiosities of genealogy, and may one day receive a solution.

To return to the Pierpoints. At the Conquest, they seem to have had as large a share in the partition of Sussex as any other under-tenants. A century and a half afterwards, at the time of Henry the Third, they were among the most extensive landholders of the county, Simon de Pierpoint then holding, as we have seen, ten knights' fees, his neighbour and cousin, Thomas De Poynings, holding the same number. Here, however, a difference seems to have arisen in the fortunes of the two families—a difference that seems to have grown in the same direction for some generations afterwards. A knight's fee is said to have been equal to about 600 acres ; we have seen that the two Pierpoints, at the Domesday Survey, held about 9000 acres (the lands of Godfrey passing by some means to the successors of his brother Robert). The possessions of the predecessor of the Poynings' amounted to about 4000 acres. The family of Poynings then, so early as Henry III.'s time, had added to their manors, whilst the Pierpoints seem to have parted with many of theirs without acquiring new ones ; and this disparity seems to have gone on widening till the Poynings', at the time when the last Pierpoint was gathered to his fathers in their ancestral place of sepulture, had attained a height of rank and wealth that eclipsed all the Pierpoints had gained two centuries before or after,—at the time when they were ranked among the barons of the realm, had built a stately castle, had gained laurels on every battle-field, had made splendid alliances, had acquired manors and parks and forests stretching across the county,

and had achieved a reputation and a position that placed them on a level with the most renowned dukes and earls of the kingdom. The fame, indeed, of the Poynings' seems to have rose as that of the Pierpoints fell; for we do not read of a Poynings going to the Holy Land, and being afterwards commemorated by a Crusader's effigy remaining to this day, as was the case with the Pierpoints; nor does it appear that a Poynings as well as a Pierpoint was at the battle of Lewes, and got noticed in history; nor could the annals of Poynings' or Pierpoints match what is recorded of their neighbours the Kahaigues and Cheneys, who before the close of the fourteenth century had founded several distinct houses, all bearing their hereditary Norman name, but distinct armorial bearings, indicating alliances with heiresses; and, while no branch lost its original position, some attained more exalted rank. So wide-spread, indeed, was their name, that it is affixed to more than twenty towns or manors; and Fuller, writing in the sixteenth century, observes of it—"The name of Cheney is so noble and diffused through the catalogue of sheriffs, that it is harder to miss than to find them in any county." But the proofs of the wealth, populousness, and consequent extended fame of a *race* or a *house*, are often delusive. The Cheneys showed evidently a proud tenacity of their *name*, though they frequently changed their coat armour; such was the case in both points with the Nevills, perhaps the greatest of all the great *houses* of England; yet, who by their Norman name would appear to be also of Norman blood, are in reality, in all their distinguished branches, direct descendants in the male line of the Saxon Earls of Northumberland. The Pierpoints and Poynings', therefore, we may fairly presume, from the infrequency of their names, did not keep up their patronymics in the persons of their younger sons, whose descendants are doubtless to be found named after their manors or offices, or fathers' Christian names.

Some remarks on the armorial bearings of the Pierpoints must conclude this digression from our otherwise matter-of-fact narrative.

The arms borne (according to Dansey's *Crusaders*) by Robert de Pierpoint at the siege of Acre, were *Azure, a chief chequy or and gules*, and by Simon de Pierpoint, *Chequy or*

and gules, a chief azure. The roll whence these arms are taken is of rather doubtful authority—at least the blazonry of arms, which may have been subsequently added. That the Pierpoints of Hurst, however, did bear the former coat, we have the best testimony, viz., a brass memorial of Edmund Ufford, who married Sibilla Pierpoint, whereon are the arms of Ufford impaling *Azure a chief chequy or and gules*, for Pierpoint.¹ This chequy character of the coat of arms, of course, denotes a connection with the De Warrens. According to the prevalent but certainly erroneous notion, of families in feudal times adopting, wholly or in part, the bearings of their superior lords, *as vassalls*, the Pierpoint coat would indicate a feudal dependence on the De Warrens. But if so, how is it that, at a period not a generation after the time when it is contended armorial bearings became general, viz., during the reign of Richard I., out of the nineteen tenants of the Earl of Warren in the rape of Lewes *anno* 26 Henry III., not a single coat can be found in the heraldic dictionaries containing chequy assigned to any one of the families of these nineteen under-tenants, except that of Pierpoint? The source in fact, as a general rule, of a new coat of arms, which any material modification is, even of tincture, was *family*, not feudal relationship, the two being often, it is true, identical. The son adopted with some change the arms of his father or mother or wife. It will be concluded, therefore, that the Pierpoint coat, resembling the Warren, is a confirmation of the former being a branch of the latter family. But in this case, the confirmation is only apparent. The well-known chequy coat of the Warrens was not adopted by them till the marriage of William, the second Earl of Warren, who died 1138, with Isabel de Vermandois, whose coat that was, Waleran Earl of Mellent, her first husband, having also borne it, as appears on his seal engraved in Watson's *Memoirs of the Earls of Warren*. This, was, therefore, three generations subsequent to the time when the Pierpoints branched off from the Warrens. The early Pierpoints, consequently, bore (unless they had relinquished it for another) the ancient arms of the Warrens. The old genealogies of this family affirm their original patronymic to have been St. Martin; their first known ancestor the

¹ Bloomfield and Parkins's *Norfolk*, ix. 392.

Bishop might, indeed, have been of that family, for the Warrens had property at *St. Martin*; but no known coat of *St. Martin* resembles the presumed ancient coat of De Warren, viz., a bend, for such a charge was combined with the early blazonry of the Vermandois coat, and would indicate a reluctance, as was often shown, altogether to abandon the paternal arms.¹ The question then arises, when and by whom was the chief chequy of the Pierpoints adopted? This at present cannot be ascertained; but there can be little doubt that some alliance with a descendant of the house of Warren was the origin of the assumption of this coat of arms.² The armorial bearings, however, borne by the Pierrepoints of Holme-Pierrepoint, from Robert de Pierrepoint, who married Annora Manvers (as appears by a seal on a deed of Robert de Rasen and the said Annora his wife, to Robert, son of Henry Pierpoint, whereon is the figure of a woman habited in a coat of the arms of Manvers, viz., six annulets, holding in her right hand a shield containing the arms of Pierpoint, viz., a lion rampant semée of cinquefoils, and in the left the shield of Rasen;³ and also by two deeds of Sir Robert de Pierpoint, dated 11 Edward II. and 2 Edward III., to which are affixed seals with the lion and cinquefoils), down to the present day, *Argent semée of cinquefoils gules, a lion rampant sable*; and also it will appear by the later Pierpoints of Hurst, as evidenced by the altar tomb in the church, and the shields on the carved oak ceiling, were not adopted till long after the chequy chief had been in use, probably by the father of Sir Robert, who married Annora Manvers, and who may have married a Clifton, a Nottinghamshire family,⁴ whose arms resemble these in all but tinctures.

¹ In a window of the chancel of Dewsbury Church, Yorkshire, the manor of which belonged to the Warrens, is the usual coat of *chequy or and azure*, and also *argent a bend gules and a bordure goboné or and azure*. Also in the windows of Kirk-Burton Church were formerly these shields:—1. *Chequy or and azure*. 2. The same with a *bordure argent*. 3. *Argent a bendlet gules and bordure comboy or and azure*.—Watson's *Earls of Warren*, i. 10.

² In the *Testa de Nevill*, Sir Robert Bonet, Knight, who is a witness to the deed quoted, conveying "Raudells," is

recorded as owner of Wappingthorn, in Steyning. This family and the Bonwicks bore *chequy or and gules, a chief azure*, and the same with variations. This was probably adopted on marriage with a Pierpoint. The name of Bennet would seem to have become the modern spelling of this family, of whom many particulars may be found in Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*.

³ Visitation of Notts, 1596-1614, Harl. MSS., 1555, p. 43.

⁴ Gervase de Clifton, who lived 30 Edw. III., married, first, Margaret Pierpoint (*Baronetage*).

We now resume the narrative of the descent of the manor. Sibilla, the hieress of Sir Simon de Pierpoint, married Sir Edmund de Ufford, Knight, a member of an ancient family. His son, Sir Robert de Ufford, who died in 1400, left two daughters and cohieresses, who carried the ancient inheritance of the Pierpoints to their respective husbands, Sir William Bowett, Knight, who married Joan or Amy, and Richard Bowett, who married Ela.

The Bowetts are said to be an *ancient* Cumberland and Westmoreland family; but all that we can learn of their antiquity in those counties is, that Thomas Bowett, subsequent to the reign of Edward II., married one of three cohieresses of Le Brun, who had lands therein.¹ It is probable that they came in with the Conqueror, though their family name does not appear in Domesday, nor for three centuries afterwards in any published public record; for Ordericus Vitalis (iv. 158) mentions Robert Boet as archer to Richard De L'Aigle; and in a charter cited in the *Gallia Christiana* (xi. 336, Appendix), dated 1217, the fee of Boet is mentioned, and also Roger Boet.² They emerged from obscurity, evidently through wealthy alliances, about the same time as the Wakehursts and Dallingridges in our county; and their fame seems to have been equally as shortlived, and to have ended, as it began, by female heirs.

The descendants of Richard Bowett and Ela cannot be traced, except conjecturally, and only partially. In the chancel of the church of Hurst is a mural monument to the memory of Elizabeth, wife of John Thorp, of Cudworth in Newdigate, Esq., who died *æt. suæ* 29, A.D. 1624. On her monument are the arms of Bowett, *Argent three stags' heads caboshed sable*. This is, doubtless, the John Thorp who occurs in the Subsidy Roll, 19 Jac. 1 (*Sussex Arch. Collections*, IX. 82) as the largest taxpayer in Hurst; and according to the pedigree in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies* (p. 348) he was grandson of John Thorp of Cudworth, who married a daughter and heir of — Bowett. A John Bowet of Bookham-Magna, in

¹ Banks's *Baronage*.

² A pedigree of Bouet, from the sixteenth century, is to be found in Hozier, *Armorial de la France*, their arms being

three boars' heads in pale; and there is an Admiral Bouet at the present time in the French navy.

Surrey, occurs as one of the gentry of that county, 6 Henry VI., who might have been son of Richard Bowett and Ela. A moiety of the property of the Pierpoints then seems to have passed from the Bowetts to the Thorps, and from the Thorps to William Saxby, Esq., of Lingfield, who married Ann, daughter and heiress of the aforesaid John Thorp and Elizabeth his wife,¹ who was a daughter of Sir Anthony Culpepper, of Bedgebury; but what constituted this moiety cannot be identified.

The other moiety, comprehending the manor, demesne lands, and Danny, passed into the family of Dacre, through the marriage of Sir Thomas Dacre, son and heir of Sir Thomas Dacre, of Gillesland, with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir William Bowett and Amy Ufford. Joane, their daughter and heiress, married Sir Richard Fienes, who became Lord Dacres *jure uxoris*. Thomas Fienes, Lord Dacre, was his grandson and heir, being son and heir of John Fienes, who died *vita patris*. On the death of this Thomas, on the 9th of September, 35 Henry VIII., an extent was taken of his manors and lands, the particulars of which are as follow:—

Manor of Wrentham, of the annual value of . . .	£77	19	10
Manor of Ewhurst, ditto	31	12	1
Manor of Buckholt, ditto	23	6	8
Manor of South-Berwyk, ditto
Lands and tenements called Knights and Dolhams, do.	10	0	0
Compton-Monceaux, ditto	17	6	8
Manor of Herst-Monceaux, ditto	137	13	6
Manor of Herst-Perpoude, ditto	50	0	0
Manor of Westmeston, ditto	24	4	1
Manor of Street, ditto	20	8	8
Hundred of Buttinghill, ditto	0	0	0 ²

This large annual rental, however, was subject to the payment of considerable debts and annuities. Thomas Fienes was found by the Inquisition to be his grandson and heir, of the age of nineteen years, being son of Thomas Fienes, who died *vita patris*. This young nobleman, however, only five years after, met with an ignominious end, having been executed for a murder committed in a fray in Sir Nicholas Pelham's park, at Laughton, the particulars of which need not be repeated here, as they are narrated in the full account of the family, in

¹ Preface to Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*.

² Burrell MSS.

vol. iv. of our *Collections*, in the paper on "Hurstmonceaux and its Lords." Gregory, son and heir of this unfortunate young peer, succeeded to his father's property and honours. He was the last Baron Dacre of the name of Fienes, his sister and heir carrying that dignity to her husband, Henry Lennard, from whom descends the present owner of the title. And now, after an uninterrupted continuance for 500 years, an end is put to the hereditary succession of the manor of Herst, and the estates that seemed to have always clustered around and to have passed with that inheritance. By deed dated the 24th of January, 1582, Gregory Fienes, Lord Dacre, and the Lady Anne, his wife, conveyed to George Goring, of Lewes, Esq., the manor of Hurst-Pierpoint, and the park and grounds called Danny Park and Hurst Park, with the royalties of the hundred of Buttinghill, and all their other estates in Bolney, Twineham, Slaugham, Newtimber, Cuckfield, Worth, West-weston, Street, Newick, Ditchling, Albourne, Chailey, Lindfield, Ardingly, and West Hoathly, for the sum of £10,000.¹ This transaction is thus noticed in the parish register:—"1582. Mr. Goring, Esq., did take possession of the manor of Hurstpierpoint."

This cessation of the reign of a long race of lords, who could boast of inheriting the blood and possessions of the first Norman owner of the soil, must have been looked upon by the minor proprietors and inhabitants of the day as the commencement of a new era in their annals and associations. Probably the last Sir Simon de Pierpoint was the last resident lord; for it is doubtful if the Uffords or Sir William Bowett resided at Hurst; the latter was buried, at least, elsewhere. And the stately castle of Hurstmonceaux was, we may be sure, preferred, except for an occasional visit, to the more humble manor-house of Hurst. This, we know, stood immediately north of the church, for the foundation walls, of great thickness, were some years since discovered there; but as it is not mentioned in the survey taken of the manor in 12 Elizabeth, which notices that "Herst Park was on the north side of the church," it had probably been suffered to go to decay after the Dacres and Fienes' came into possession. This circumstance probably induced the new owner, in carry-

¹ Burrell MSS.

ing out his intention of residing on his estate, to build the new manor-house in a situation of more sylvan seclusion and greater distance from the village—considerations that in the more intellectual and refined age of Elizabeth seem, for the first time, to have been studied. Thus in a few years the villagers and tenants were gratified to find a resident proprietor amongst them; and must have been amazed at the magnificence of a mansion that could not have been matched in any neighbouring parish, and that must have excited the envy and admiration of every squire in the county, even of the builders of Wakehurst and Gravetye, of Paxhill and Street-Place, and whose only rival for miles round, and that a later period, could have been what was undoubtedly once the splendid residence of the Coverts at Slaugham.

12 Elizabeth, a Survey was taken of the manor, wherein it is stated that Herst Park was on the north side of the church, one mile and a quarter in circuit, and contained 80 head of deer, and 18 antlers. The pannage was worth five pounds *per annum*. There was also a pond of two acres, containing two hundred carp and tench, fit for the lord's house. Herst Park, afterwards and now called Little Park (though long since disparted and divided into enclosures), is depicted as existing in the reign of James I., on the map of Sussex published in Speed's *Thesaurus*, as also southward the park of Danny. The old house at Danny, and the park, are thus described in the Survey:—

“A fair mansion-house of timber, where the keeper lieth, who hath the custody thereof, the same being moated, two parts with water, the other part dry. The house and scite within the moat, 180 feet long, and 80 feet broad. The entry of the house on the east, at a porch containing 12 feet long, and eight feet broad, of four stories; the hither story used for a lodging, newly built, and so entering the hall, lyeth on the south, 43 feet long, and 24 feet broad, having no other story; at the highest end is a fair parlour, 28 feet long and 20 feet broad, of two stories, the lower story has two fair bay windows, with transoms, embowed with timber-work, containing 21 lights, 7 below each transom, each window containing 10, and nine feet long, adjoining to which are certain other edifices, used for lodgings, of two stories, having a

kitchen with scullery and larder, and an outhouse of two stories, all covered with tiles in good repair, and on the south side, half a furlong from the house, is a spring of water, always continuing but slow, but with little charge may be carried to the house. The park is paled; there have been impaled of the lord's demesnes within five years, 100 acres, called Broomfields, Danny Lands, and Bablands, wherein burrows for conies are now made. The parks are $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, well covered with oak timber. The herbage by the year, besides feeding 300 head of deer. The pannage is worth in a mast year, £6. 13s. 4d. In the park are 40 deer of antlers, 260 rascals [lean deer], and 40 couple of conies."¹

The "fair mansion-house of timber"—for "fair" it evidently must have been—was probably a hunting-seat built by one of the Dacres; and, though not apparently from decay, but being unsuitable to the tastes and requirements of the new owner, was razed to the ground, and gave place, about 1595, to the present grander mansion, built of brick, and somewhat to the east of the old building, whose site is said to be marked by a difference in the verdure of the grass.

The Park of Danny was enclosed by the last Sir Simon de Pierpoint, who in 1355 received from the King a license, "*includere boscum suum de Danehich et dominica sua vocata Danye in comitatu Sussexiæ, sic ei concessum per comitem Surriæ.*"²

The builder of Danny, George Goring, Esq., of Ovingdean, was son of Sir William Goring, of Burton, Knight, and by Anne, daughter of Henry Denny, Esq., of Waltham, in Essex, had a son of the same name. This second George Goring was bred in the Court, under his father's care, one of Elizabeth's gentlemen pensioners, and was placed in the household of Henry Prince of Wales, by his father, James I., to whom he became a familiar companion, and by whom he was knighted in 1608. Buckingham prevailed on Charles I. to raise him to the peerage; in 1629 he was created LORD GORING of Hurstpierpoint; and in 1645 was advanced to the dignity of EARL OF NORWICH, which had then lately become extinct by the death without male issue of his maternal uncle, Edward Denny, the first and last of his name by whom the

¹ Burrell MSS.

² Cal. Rot. Pat. 28 Edward III.

title had been borne. He married Mary, daughter of Edward Neville, Baron Abergavenny, by whom he had a son, George Goring, whose strange exploits, eccentric genius, and eventful life, are fully narrated in *Lodge's Portraits*,¹ which contains a portrait of his father. He died without issue in the lifetime of the latter, whose death took place in 1662, when he was succeeded by his second son, Charles, who also dying without issue, with him the titles of Earl of Norwich and Baron Goring became extinct.

The extravagance of Colonel George Goring obliged his father, the Earl of Norwich, to mortgage his estate, and at length to sell it. Peter Courthope, Esq., of Cranbrook, in 1652, became the purchaser of Danny, together with the manors of Hurstpierpoint and Horndean.

By whom or when the demesne lands, called Little Park, were first alienated does not appear; but in 1644 this estate was sold by Sir William Juxon, of Little Compton, Gloucestershire, to Anne Swaine, of Hurstpierpoint, whose son, Richard Swaine, of Horsham, gentleman, 22 Car. II. disposed of it to Thomas Marchant, of Albourne, yeoman, in whose family it remained till recently, when it was purchased by Mr. C. Smith Hannington, of Hurstpierpoint and Brighton.

In the reign of Charles II., however, the manor, or a part of it, came into the possession of Sir John Shaw, of Eltham; and the late Sir John Gregory Shaw, Bart., sold it at the end of the last century to the late William John Campion, Esq.

The purchaser of Danny Place was of a family long settled upon the confines of Kent and Sussex, of which numerous branches existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although now, but one remains in those counties, that of George Campion Courthope, Esq., of Wyleigh, who resides in the mansion which he and his ancestors have occupied for three centuries and a half; anterior to this period (that on which they settled at Wyleigh) the family had long resided in the immediate neighbourhood, and so early as the reign of Edward I., Adam de Courthope, William de Courthope, and

¹ An abridgment of his biography will be found in the *History of Hurstpierpoint*, before quoted.

Peter de Courthope, were amongst the principal inhabitants of the adjoining parish of Wadhurst.¹

The numerous branches of the family, originally settled at Cranbrook, have all become extinct in the male line, the last of them having been Alexander Courthope, Esq., of Sprivers in Horsmonden, who died in 1779, *æt.* 82.

A brother and great-uncle of the purchaser were both individuals of considerable note in the time at which they lived. James Courthope, his great-uncle, was Dean of Peterborough in the reign of Queen Mary, and is notorious for his connection with Bishop Bonner, in his persecution of the Protestants, although under Edward VI. he had been a great favourer of the Reformed Religion, the defender of Peter Martyr, and the friend of Jewell; his friendship with the latter eminent man must have continued after his forsaking the party which he at first upheld, for we are told that Jewell, when in Switzerland, dreamt that one of his grinding teeth fell out, and that on the morrow he told it to Peter Martyr, who said he would hear of the death of certain of his friends. Jewell noted the day and hour; and from his next letter discovered that his friend and patron, Dr. Courthope, had died at the same hour in which he had dreamt the dream.

Nathaniel Courthope, brother of the purchaser, was amongst the earliest of those adventurous spirits who proceeded to India, as pioneers in the conquest of the vast empire now under the dominion of the English crown. In 1616, he left England as commander of two ships, the *Swan* and the *Defence*, established a factory in the Banda Islands, and gallantly held his position there in spite of every effort made by the Dutch to dislodge him, till slain in battle with these, his constant enemies, in October, 1620.²

¹ From Thomas Courthope, of Courthope in Goudhurst, third and youngest son of the first settler at Wyleigh, descended a branch resident at Wadhurst, from which branch is descended William Courthope, Esq., *Somerset Herald*, who indirectly has been a valuable contributor to the publications of this society, and has furnished these particulars and the annexed pedigree of his family.

² This connection with India was probably owing to his relative, Sir George Cour-

thope, of Whiligh and Leadenhall Street, who was Commissioner of Alienations, and knighted at Whitehall 1641. This Sir George had a son, another Sir George, who was also of Whiligh and Leadenhall Street, and was M.P. for Sussex and East Grinstead at the Restoration. From him descended, in unbroken lineal succession, six more George Courthopes, the present George C. Courthope, Esq., being the eighth of the name. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, all married

The estate of Danny, at the time of its enjoyment by the Courthopes, shorn of the manor and advowson, and not comprehending many surrounding farms and contiguous properties, which by comparatively recent acquisitions have made it more compact and extensive, was again destined, after the lapse of about three quarters of a century, to pass into the possession of another family. Peter Courthope, Esq., grandson of the first proprietor, dying in 1724, at an advanced age, without male issue, his only surviving child and hieress, Barbara, carried his inheritance to her husband, Henry Campion, Esq., of Combwell, ancestor of the present proprietor, William John Campion, Esq.

This alliance was the occasion of the first introduction of the Campions into Sussex; though in the time of Charles I., as appears by the Subsidy Roll, a family of that name resided at Broadwater, probably an offset of that stock who were settled at Champions, or, as it is written in Budgen's *Map of Sussex* 1724, Campions, an estate in West Grinstead. The Campions of Danny had for some generations been seated at Combwell, in Kent, whence came Sir Henry Campion, his brother, the gallant Sir William Campion, who was slain at Colchester, and his son, Sir William Campion. The Campions of Combwell were a junior branch of the Campions of Campion's Hall, in Essex, which estate was carried by an heiress into the family of Mathew, of Stanstead, in Sussex.

The arms of the Campions of Combwell and Danny are *Argent, on a chief gules an eagle displayed or*; which, though not the ancient arms of the family, must have been borne by them at least as far back as the time of Edward Campion, of Campion's Hall, in Essex, which would be at the end of the fifteenth century, as the Mathews' of Stanstead quarter that coat in the Visitation of Sussex. The ancient coat borne by them, as blazoned on the sepulchral monuments of the family in the Danny chancel, were *Azure fretty argent, on a canton of the last a fleur-de-lis or*; but as depicted on Budgen's *Map of Sussex*, the fretty is charged with ermine spots, the arms of the Champaignes of Leicestershire being *Or fretty sable, on each joint a cross crosslet fitchée of the first*. For it must be observed

a Campion of Danny. A conjecture as to the origin of the name and arms of

Courthope will be found at page 87 of Vol. VI. *Sussex Arch. Collections*.

that the name has been variously written, viz., De Campania, Champagne, Champion, &c. The family under the former appellation flourished from the time of Henry II. for several generations, in knightly rank, in the county of Kent; branches of equal pretensions being settled from very early periods in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Essex, in which latter county alone the family seems to have survived the period of the Wars of the Roses, and to have kept to the English orthography of the name, Campion, and sometimes Champion. The name in any form does not appear in Domesday Book, though there is no doubt the family came in with the Conqueror.¹

As no account of the Norman or French origin of the family has hitherto been published, it will not be altogether out of place to supply it in this paper.

Chesnaye-Desbois, in his voluminous *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, art. *Champagne*, thus speaks of the origin of that house:—

“HUBERT, sire d’Arnay, might have been a cadet of the ancient Counts of Maine. Such, in fact, is the opinion of Abbé Le Laboureur, in the second volume of his *Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau*. He was living 980-5-97, and died before 1002, during the reign of King Robert, son of Hugh Capet. His wife was Eremburga, or Ermengarde, lady of Vihers, daughter according to some, according to others niece, of Alberic, Sire de Montmorency, Constable of France. She was married in 997, and had for her dowry from Fulke-Nerva, Count of Anjou, her cousin-german, the estate of Vihers, situate on the confines of Anjou and Maine, which comprehends the barony of Champagne, the first in Anjou, with the seigneuries of Peschesval, Avoise, Bailleul, and St. Martin de Parcé, which the descendants of Hubert D’Arnay have constantly possessed, down to John, lord of Champagne, in 1576. Eremburga remarried in 1002, Hervé de Sablé. Her son,

“HUBERT II., named Rasorius, after Hervé de Sablé, who was so styled, and in whose household he was educated, was

¹ As a full pedigree of the Campions of Danny has been published in Horsfield’s *History of Lewes*, Berry’s *Sussex Genealogies*, and in Vol. X. of *Sussex Arch. Coll.*,

it is unnecessary to reproduce it in this paper; it is also given in the *History of Hurstpierpoint*, 12mo, 1837.

killed at the battle of Pontleroy, 1016. He married Ildeburga de Beauvoir-Mayenne, a younger daughter of Isamberg de Beauvoir-Mayenne, sovereign lord of Beaufort de Pethiviers, in Beauce. By her he was father of

“HUBERT III., who founded, in 1059, the priory of St. Leonard, near Durnetal, the castle of which he received from the Count of Anjou. He abandoned the surname of D’Arnay, to take that of Champagne. He married, in 1080, Elizabeth de Mathéfelon, lady of Mathéfelon, in Anjou, who required that the eldest son should take the name of Mathéfelon, the younger ones that of Champagne. By her he had HUBERT IV., called the ‘illustrious Hubert de Champagne,’ from whom descended a long line of distinguished descendants.”

The following is an abridgment of Desbois’ account of the Norman family of Campion, as contained in vol. xiii. (Supplement):—

“This is an ancient Norman family. Du Moulin mentions a Sir Nicolas de Campion, Knight, who, in 1096, accompanied Robert Duke of Normandy to the Holy Land. La Roque, in his *Histoire de la Maison de Harcourt*, mentions a Mahy de Campion, and others of the same name, who in the fourteenth century had the honour to preside at the Exchequer of their province.

“One of the principal branches of this house now existing is that of Campion, of Montpoignant, near Elbeuf, in Upper Normandy, and which estate belonged to them, from father to son, from Sir William de Campion, Knight, seigneur d’Esquaquelon and of Thiussimé, who married, in 1480, Françoise de Montpoignant, heiress of that property. This branch is now represented by three brothers.

“The branch of St. Martin de Percy, in Lower Normandy, of which the present representative has but three daughters, has existed from 1300, when William de Campion married the heiress of that property; but he has a cousin-german of the same name, lord and patron of Buisson, Election de Carentan, and another, lord of Lengrie.

“The various branches of the family differenced their shields by a label, bordure, &c.; but all the existing branches bear *d’or au lion d’azur rampant et lampassé de gules.*”

The arms of the Champagnes of Maine were, according to

the *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 3 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1757, *Sable fretty argent, on a chief of the last a demi-lion rampant issuant gules*. As these arms substantially were the ancient arms of the Champaignes and Campions of England, there can be little doubt that the Campions of Normandy were cadets of the Champaignes of Maine, the coat of the latter containing their lion rampant; and that the Campions of England came from either the main stock or the Norman branch, but probably from the latter.

At first sight, it might be presumed that this ancient and distinguished family sprung from the Counts of Champagne. Desbois, without the slightest authority, attributes to them the arms of the latter; but is totally silent as to their supposed derivation from that royal race. The *Dictionnaire Généalogique* begins its account of the family with an allusion to it, but does not pretend to connect them, and gives for their arms the fretty coat, as does also a more modern authority, De Courcelles. The account in Hozier (*Armorial de la France*) pretends to derive them from the Counts of Champagne, and attributes to them their arms, but without the slightest proof.

The fact is, the country whence the name is derived, and in which the estates constituting the barony are situated, is an open *champaign* country or district, and many places therein, as may be seen on a good map, are distinguished from others of the same name, *aux bois*, by the suffix *en champaigne*, as our Weald is distinguished from the Downs, and has, moreover, the signification of district, as Champaign d'Alençon, &c.

Desbois says that the name of Champagne, however, was first assumed by Hubert III., it is to be presumed not before his marriage in 1080. It may be, that the first mention of the family with that designation which happens to be met with is in the person of this Hubert; but its use must unquestionably have been much earlier, for the Campions of Normandy were evidently not descended from this Hubert, but from some earlier ancestor.

THE MANOR OF PAKYNS.

To complete the manorial history of Hurst, it now only remains to narrate the descent of the principal subordinate manor, that of Pakyns. This, if not existing at the Domesday Survey, must have been an early subinfeudation. There can be little doubt that it takes its name from Paganus, Sheriff of Sussex, 3 Henry II. (1157), who occurs as witness to a charter in the Lewes Cartulary, along with Robert de Pierpoint, Bartholomew de Kaines, Ralph de Chiltington, &c. A Paganus occurs in Domesday as under-tenant in Western Sussex, who may have been ancestor of the Sheriff. The manor of *Wickensands*, in Woodmancote, extends into the parish of Hurst. This word is compounded of Wyke and Sandes, which were either two manors or one manor of the name of Wyke, with the distinctive appellation of Sandes, from some owner of that name. For in the *Testa de Nevill*, Paganus de Mare is said to hold half a knight's fee in Sandys, of the honour of Warren. In the *Inquis. Post Mortem*, vol. 1, John de la Mare is said to have died seized of Wyke and Sonde; and by the same description, the property is recorded among the possessions of the family of Poynings, *temp.* Edward IV.¹ By the deed conveying *Randells* (*ut ante*) it appears that Randolph de Pierpoint held land in [the manor of] Wyke, doubtless the Wyke in question. These circumstances are brought together to show the connection of this Paganus with the Pierpoints, and to afford materials to assist in ascertaining its precise degree. *Temp.* Henry III., a charter of Walter de Legh (in the Lewes Cartulary) is witnessed by Walter Pakyn, Simon Pakyn, and Hugh Pakyn. A William Pakyn also occurs about the same time; a Simon Pakyn in 1304, and a Walter Pakyn in 1341. The Pakyns, it is probable, if not derived in the male line from the Pierpoints, were descended from them by a female ancestor. The name is met with as late as Henry V., when Thomas Pakyn of Chailey, constable of the hundred of Street, is mentioned as having Richard Hyder, of Westmeston, in his custody, for murdering Richard Okley.²

¹ *Coll. Top. et Gen.*

² *Inquis. ad. quod damnnum*, p. 374. In a Subsidy Roll, *temp.* Henry VIII., the

names of Roger and Richard Pakyn occur in the hundred of Street.

No owner after the Pakyns' can be ascertained till the time of Edward VI. Richard Holden, of Herstperpoint, yeoman, in his will dated and proved 1553, recites that he enfeoffed Thomas Luxford, whom he mentions as his father-in-law, and another, with his manor of Pakyns. He left three daughters and cohieresses, Mary, Agnes, and Joan, who were all very young at his death. Agnes married John Fienes,¹ of Claveringham, who died May 12, 5 Car. I., possessed of the manor of Pakyns (as appears by the inquisition taken at East Grinstead on his death), leaving John, his son and heir, aged six years and upwards. John Threele, of Bexhill, son of William Threel, also married Ann, daughter of Giles Fienes, of Arlington, and sister of Edward Fienes, father-in-law of Agnes Holden, remarried the latter, after the death of her husband, and thereby acquired the manor of Pakyns; for his descendant, Lawrence Threel, of Lewisham, Esq., in 1675, makes a settle- of the estate, whereby certain annuities are, *inter alia*, secured to his brothers, Henry and Maurice. The next known owner is Richard Scrase, of Pangdean and Hurstpierpoint, grandson of Tuppin Scrase, of Blatchington, who by his will (1730-3) leaves the manor of Pakyns to his grandson, Richard Whitpayne, by Mary Scrase, his daughter and heir, who in 1705 married at Clayton, Richard Whitpayne, of Hurstpierpoint. Mr. Thomas Butcher was the next owner, who died March 12, 1767, *æt.* 58; from whose heirs the estate was purchased by Mr. Philip Soale, who died in 1780, and whose trustees sold it to William Borrer, Esq., grandfather of the present owner, William Borrer, Esq., of Henfield.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The earliest ecclesiastical record of this place that we have after that of Doomsday, is that in 1291, the church, with the vicar's portion, was taxed at £13. 6s. 8d.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 28 Henry VIII., the following valuation is made:—

Rectory—clear value per annum above reprisals	£ xv	ix	iiij
Portion of tithes belonging to Lewes Priory	.	.	xiiij iiij

¹ In Berry's *Sussex Gen.* his father Edward is erroneously said to marry Agnes Holden.

Bishop Bower's Visitation took place in 1724; and the following relates to the living of Hurstperpoint:—

Patron, Sir John Shaw, of Eltham, Knt., Bart.—*Rector*, Jeremiah Dodson, A.M., instituted in Feb. 1701-2.—Six bells, one a little cracked.—The chancel repaired by the rector.—Mr. Litchford, some time rector, gave £100 to purchase land, the rent to be divided amongst ten industrious persons with large families.—The parsonage-house rebuilt by the rector.—An annuity of £4 given by Mr. *alias* Dog Smith to the poor.—100 families, of which two are Quakers, and one Anabaptist.—*Glebe Land*, about five acres, including the parsonage garden.—A portion of tithes, granted to Lewes Priory,¹ now in the hands of Mr. Richard Whitpayne, of Hurstperpoint, about £24 per annum.

Date of Induction.	Rectors.	Patrons.
31 May, 1397	John Eyles (resigned)	
2 Nov. 1402	John Welles (exchanged for Ardingly)	Richard Bowett
4 Sept. 1408	William Dumbrell	The Bishop (by lapse)
3 June, 1413	William Urry	Sir William Bowett
7 July, 1440	Thomas Hammond (died) Wm. Stanesmore (resigned)	Sir Thomas Daere
3 Jan. 1440-1	William Wynton	The same
1478	{ Thomas Legard { Robert Barry (died)	
21 June, 1513	Richard Idon (resigned)	

¹ This was taken from the following estates, and was two parts in three of the tithe corn:—

	Aces.
Danny lands	250
Two closes of land, adjoining the Fox-Hole pond	25
Randell's, <i>alias</i> Randolph's fee	10
The Barr's Breath	22
The Owbreath, <i>alias</i> Wanbarrow	60
Three closes, heretofore parcels of Wanbarrow	15
Pacon's garden,—the Broomfields }	6
The Lyes, <i>alias</i> Leewith }	
The Peascroft, <i>alias</i> Peas Garden	10
The Bushes, <i>alias</i> Court Bushes	72
The Pitts, <i>alias</i> East Garden	24
Rickmans	35
Hurst Park, <i>alias</i> Little Park	130
(Hay in lieu of corn) Haboys, <i>alias</i> Hautboys	75
The Culver Croft	3

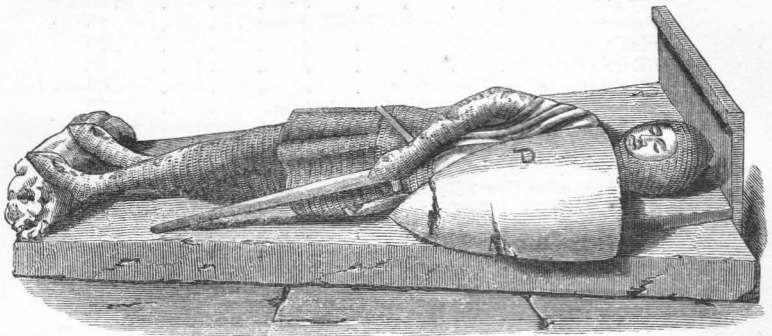
The tithes from these lands were possessed by the owners of Pakyn's estate, until the Rev. Dr. Dodson, the late rector, purchased them of Mr. Soale's executors, and annexed them to the living.

Date of Induction.	Rectors.	Patrons.
24 Dec. 1513	Thomas Duckley	Thos. Feneys, Lord Dacre
5 March 1545,	John Savage, clerk (died)	The King
4 July, 1561	Thomas Michell	Gregory Fynes, Lord Dacre
12 Oct. 1593	John Snell, clerk (died)	George Goring, Esq.
13 May, 1607	Chris. Swale, S.T.B. (ejected)	George Goring, Esq.
1645	Leonard Lechford (died)	
30 Jan. 1673-4	Minhardes Shaw (died)	Sir John Shaw, Bart.
25 Feb. 1701	Jeremiah Dodson (resigned)	Christopher Todd
4 Feb. 1736	Christopher Dodson (died)	Sir John Shaw, Bart.
9 Sept. 1784	John Dodson, D.D. (died)	Sir Edw. Winnington, Bart.
18 Sept. 1807	J. Kenward Shaw-Brooke (d.)	The same
18 Jan. 1841	Carey Hampton Borrer	Nathaniel Borrer, Esq.

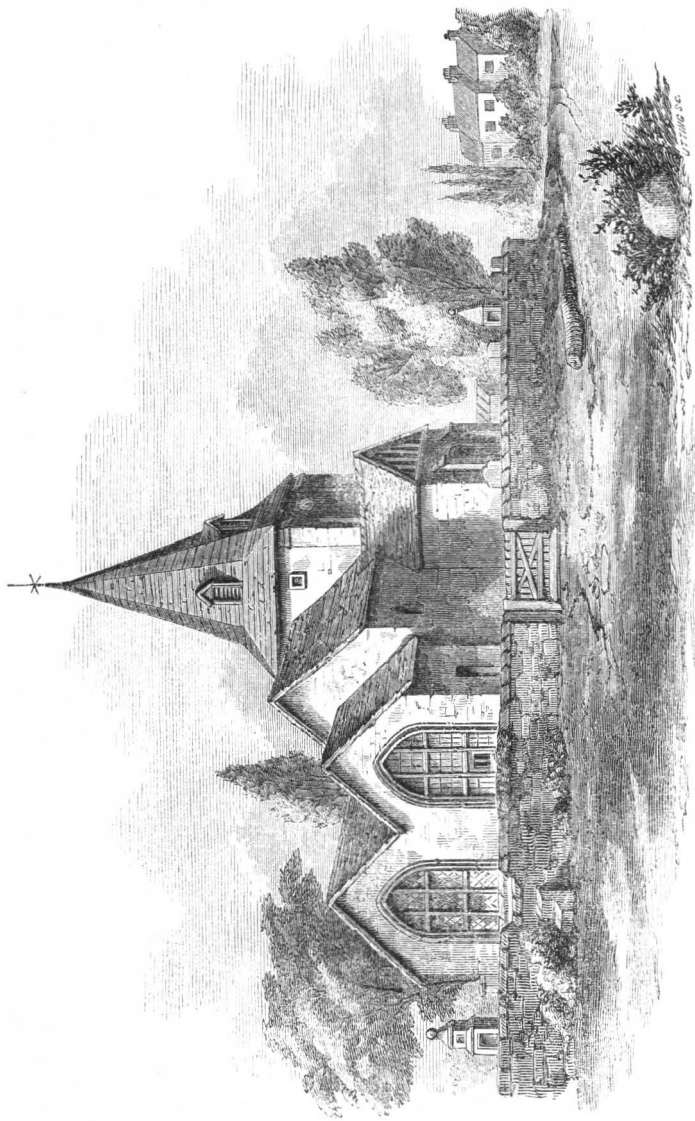
The old church is supposed to have been built by Simon de Pierpoint in the time of Edward III. Mr. Hamper thinks the only relic of the church mentioned in Domesday is the font, which is very ancient.

“The existing edifice,” to use Mr. Hamper’s words, written thirty years ago, “consists of a nave with gallery at west end, south aisle and gallery, a small north transept, and two chancels; that which ranges with the south aisle is called the Danny Chancel. At the west end is a substantial tower containing six bells, a clock, and a set of chimes (but this last harmonious musician, through age and infirmity, is now silent), above which rises a wooden shingled spire of considerable height.

“The roof is curiously ornamented with various devices, carved in wood, of lions, eagles, fleurs-de-lis, keys, arrow-heads, portcullises, true-lovers’ knots, crowns, circular arches, compasses, cinquefoils, and the arms of the Pierpoint family.

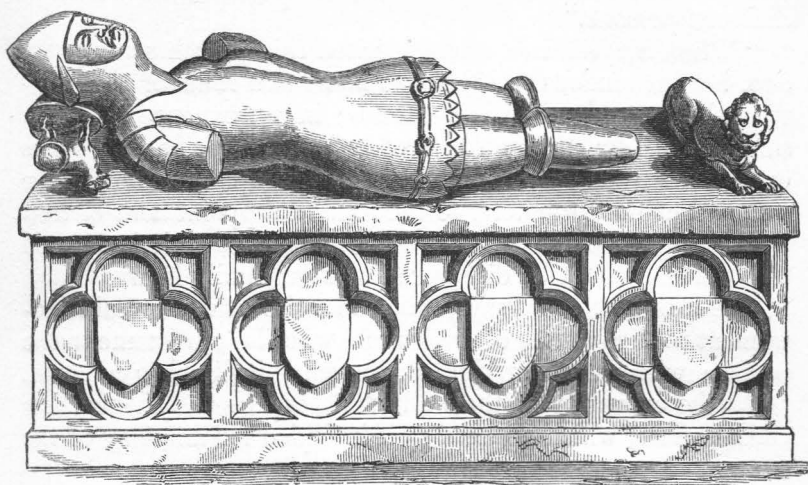


“Under an arch in the Danny Chancel is the effigy of a Knight Templar in chain armour, with his long and taper



OLD CHURCH, HURSTPIERPOINT.

sword on his left side, his plain shield placed over his left shoulder.



“In the same chancel was an effigy in stone of a warrior, represented in plated armour of the fourteenth century, his head resting on his helmet, visor lifted up, at his head a lion, at his feet a dog. It had been gilt, and the gilding appeared fresh in many places, and the colours, red and green, were vivid in various parts; at the head of the tomb was a shield of arms which appeared to be *Or, a chief gules*. There are also slight traces of a *lion rampant*. This would seem to indicate that the effigy represented Simon de Pierpoint, who died *temp.* Edward III., and whose arms were *Argent, a lion rampant sable, semée of cinquefoils*.¹”

In the Burrell MSS. is an extract from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Beard to Sir William Burrell, dated “Danny, May 3, 1777,” in which, speaking of the two stone effigies, he says:—

“There are no arms upon either, though there have been upon the monument surrounded by iron rails, but being only emblazoned, not engraved, they are obliterated.—N.B. On taking down the side of the pew which obscured the altar part of the monument, I observed the third shield from the head to be *a lion rampant, arg.*; and on examining the figure minutely there appears to have been depicted on the breast

¹ The engravings are from drawings obligingly furnished by the Rev. C. H. Borrer.

an eagle displayed gules. I have some suspicion that the figure and the monument on which it rests originally belonged to different persons."

"When Sir William Burrell visited this church some years ago, he was anxious to know the name and rank of the warrior who was deposited in the tomb; in consequence of which, some boards, &c., that were placed before it were removed by his orders, when three shields were discovered upon one side of the tomb; but unfortunately, to the great disappointment of that eminent antiquary, the arms and colours were so entirely defaced that nothing could be discovered of what family he was."¹

The Rev. Mr. Beard says, tradition assigns the aforesaid monument to the founder of the church, who also gave name to the parish; with which Sir William Burrell is inclined to coincide.

At the extremity of the wall which divides the chancel, is a vacant space, which appears as if intended for an effigy of the saint to whom the church was dedicated.

There is a piscina and stone seat on the south side of the chancel, representations of which and the font were given by Mr. Hamper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1806, as also an east view of the church. There is a good drawing of the church in Sir W. Burrell's collection, and a coloured engraving on a map of Hurstpierpoint published some years ago. The present handsome edifice was erected about fifteen years ago, from designs of Sir Charles Barry.

Some short account of other families connected with Hurstpierpoint, not hitherto mentioned, may appropriately conclude this paper.

The WHITPAYNES were a family of considerable note in the time of Queen Elizabeth; one of them contributed £25 for the defence of the kingdom during the Spanish invasion. A Captain Whitpayne and a Lieutenant Whitpayne, of Hurstpierpoint, are noticed as officers of the trainbands in the time of Charles I.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the LUXFORDS flourished in the parish, as a wealthy and numerous yeomanry

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxv. page 1112.

family. It is probable that this populous Sussex race derived its name from Loxfield, an extinct parish in Buttinghill hundred, and which gave name to the hundred of Loxfield-Dorset. Persons of the name are mentioned in the Subsidy Roll. *temp.* Edward III.

The family of NORTON possessed property in the parish from the time of Elizabeth, and perhaps earlier, to the end of the last century, and bore the rank of gentry, sealing with a coat of arms (three swords ending in a point). There was a family of this name, which might have been akin, in West Sussex, in the fifteenth century, a deed of one of whom was found in the church chest of Portslade, and is given in Cartwright's *Bramber Rape*, to which was attached a seal with armorial bearings.

The family of WICKHAM at one time occupied a good position among the yeomanry of the parish, and the name is still common. It is scarcely doubtful that they derived their name from the Wickham (now styled Clayton-Wickham and Hurst-Wickham) in Domesday Book, which was held under William de Warren, by the family of Wattville, from whom they may be descended; and as the latter family bore two chevrons for their coat armour, which was the basis of that of William de Wykeham, it is not improbable that the ancestry of that celebrated personage might be found in the early Wickhams, a clue worthy the attention of genealogists in the elucidation of a much-controverted and obscure subject.

A branch of the ancient and wide-spread Sussex family of BEARD, of the rank of gentry, flourished here for several generations. In later times they lived at Mansion House, in Hurst Street, the property and residence of the late Richard Weekes, Esq., F.S.A.

The connection of the family of DODSON with Hurstpierpoint has subsisted for five generations—from the Rev. Jeremiah Dodson, rector, to the present John George Dodson, Esq., M.P., who is a considerable landowner in the parish, and son of the late Right Hon. Sir John Dodson, Knight, Judge of the Prerogative Court, Dean of Arches, and formerly M.P. for Rye, who lies buried in the church.

The family of BORRER¹ have now for several generations had considerable interest in, and been prominently connected with, Hurstpierpoint; before which they flourished, for two centuries at least, in the neighbourhood of Horsham.

There are several early wills of the family at Chichester. George Boorar, of Warnham, was buried there, 1570. His eldest son, Hamlett Borer, was progenitor of Mr. Hamlett Borer, who recently alienated the family property there. From a second son, William, descended his great-grandson, William Borer, of Rusper Place, who had two sons, 1. William Borer, M.D., of Rusper, now represented by his great-grandson, William Borer, Esq., of Crowhurst Place, Surrey, and William Borer, Esq., of Park Crescent, London; 2. John Borer, of

¹ The name of Borrer, or, as it was originally spelt, Borer, is formed in the same way as Fenner, viz., at Fenn; Grover, viz., at Grove; Croucher, viz., at Crouch, &c. Bore is a Saxon word signifying Hill. A family styled De Bore, or Atte Bore, according to the rank of the parties, and eventually Bore or Boare, resided at Bore Place, in Chiddingstone, in Kent, as high as the time of Henry III., whose armorial bearings were *gules a boar passant argent* (vide Hasted's *Kent*, 8vo, ed. iii., 152-221). In the Visitation of Kent by Benolt, Clarencieux, in the College of Arms, is a pedigree of Bore, of Rochester, Gravesend, and Oxenham, Berkshire, of six descents; probably a branch settled in Sussex, though the first, of the name met with in this county is as early as those of Chiddingstone, William Atte Bore, occurring as witness with Richard de Pierpoint, and Ralph his brother, to a charter of Gilbert de Ockley, temp. Henry III. Thomas Atte Boure was M.P. for Horsham, 1320, who was, perhaps, ancestor of the Borers, who were so early settled in that neighbourhood. Temp. Edward III., Robert Atte Boure occurs in a Subsidy Roll for the hundred of Framfield, and William Atte Boure and John Atte Boure, for the hundred of Hartfield; and 14 Edward IV., John Bower, jun., of Hartfield, occurs in a fine. John Bower and Alice his wife, in 1383, founded a chantry, which was formerly at the end of the north aisle of the church of Pagham, in the rape of Chichester (*Dallaway, and Inquis. P. M.* iii. 53). We have seen that one form of the name is Bower: this word, in Saxon, has the meaning of Chamber, and, as a

personal name, would be equivalent to Chamberlain; though this official origin would not seem to be so probable as the local one, when we consider that at the period of the origin of surnames, the French word *chambre* was commonly, if not invariably used, and the consequent present prevalence of the surname Chambers. The word Bower may in one instance be traced to an origin, that without explanation would appear far-fetched and absurd. Temp. Richard II., there was a manor called Bower Hall, in Horseheath, Cambridgeshire (Lysons's *Camb.*). The family of Boures held land in this parish at that period (pedigree, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5937, p. 63), and probably gave name to the place, and not *vice versa*; for temp. Edward I., we find the name in the county, in the person of Roger Borers (*Hundred Rolls*, ii. 375), who occurs also in the county of Bucks (*ibid.*). Now, this orthography is unique, and obviously a corruption. What may be its source we will inquire. In the latter county flourished, at an early period, the knightly family of Borard. William and his brother Roger de Boscroard (*sic*) at the Domesday Survey, jointly or singly held the manors of Clifton, in Bucks; Stathern, in Leicestershire; and Oakley, in Bedfordshire. A descendant, Simon de Borard, was owner in 1166. In the thirteenth century the family ended in an heiress. (*Lipscomb's Bucks*, iv. 105, and Nichols' *Leicestershire*, ii. 306, where the pedigrees are wrong in stating that Sir Simon de Borard came in with the Conqueror, for which there is no authority, the first of that name known living a century after). The name is clearly a *crasis*

Rusper, whose second son, John Borer, was ancestor of the Borers of Ditchling; and whose eldest son, William Borer, purchased Pakyns manor, and married, in 1750, a cohieress of the only remaining Sussex branch of the Kentish baronetical family of Hardres or Hards, of Hardres Court. William Borrer, his eldest son, inherited Pakyns manor, and was High Sheriff of Sussex, 1801; John Borrer, the second son, married a coheirress of the Hamlyns of Sunt, in Lindfield, whose great-grandson, a minor, John Hamlyn Borrer, the third of that name, is his representative. William Borrer, Esq., who died 1832, left three sons. 1. William Borrer, Esq., of Barrow Hill, Henfield, F.R.S., F.L.S., whose eldest son, William Borrer, Esq., of Cowfold, J.P., D.L., and F.L.S., has issue

of Bosco-Ruald, or Bosco-Ernald; in Domesday we have Bois-Herbert and Bois-Norman, and we are reminded of Scott's Brian de Bois-Gilbert. That Bosco or Bois-Ernald is the original form of the name is the most probable. In the College of Arms is recorded an old coat of arms as that of Bora, viz., two bars and a canton; these being the bearings of the knightly family of De Bosco or De Bois, as early at least as the thirteenth century. Chesham-Bois, in Bucks, derived its distinctive name from this family, to whom the manor belonged *temp.* John or earlier; and Ernald de Bois founded Bitlesden Abbey, in that county, in the reign of King Stephen. Bowrah, in many Sussex parish registers, is or was the synonyme for Borer. Bora, therefore, from what we have seen, may well have been once Borard. It is true the arms of Borard do not resemble those of De Bois; but there are sufficient reasons for believing the early identity of the families. Ernald was the Christian name for several generations of the De Bois family (Ped. Nichols' *Leicestershire*, iv. 102, and ii. 365). Ernald de Bosco occurs in 1131, in the *Pipe Roll* for Leicestershire. An Ernald was a considerable tenant in that county at the Domesday Survey, *inter alia*, in the parish of Newbold-Verdun, in which is a small hamlet called Brascote, but anciently *Brocardescote*. As Boscroard is one variation of the name, Brocardes may consistently be another. The family of De Bois, at an early period, had considerable possessions in Essex. An Ernald occurs several times in the Domesday for that

county, as also William de Bosco, who, on the hypothesis advanced, would be identical with William de Boscroard. "Ernald" occurs also in the Devonshire Domesday, where the family of Boys subsequently flourished; and is met with twice in West Sussex: in the one case as holding two hides in Graffham; and in the other as tenant of the manor of Stokes. In the *Liber Niger* of 1166 (omitted in Dallaway) John de Bosco is returned with three others as holding one knight's fee of the Bishop of Chichester, and William de Bosco as tenant of half a knight's fee under the Earl of Eu; whilst Ernaldus Pincerna and Ernaldus de Hamfeld (Henfield) were also under the feudal dominion of the Bishop of Chichester, and were probably descended from the Ernaldus of Domesday. In the adjoining county of Kent the well-known, wide-spread, and ancient family of Boys were settled at an early period; and *temp.* Edward IV., or previously, Simon de Boys held land in the episcopal manor of West Wittering, in the rape of Chichester (Dallaway). The feudal chiefs of the Borards in Bucks, and of the successors of Ernald in Sussex, were the potent family of De Albini. It will be seen it follows as a corollary from the reasoning based on the foregoing facts, that the arms of De Bosco and Bora must have been borne at or before the Conquest; and it will also be seen that the family of Borer of Warnham, John Bourer of Pagham, and Thomas Atte Bourre, M.P. for Horsham, may as reasonably be descended from an ancestor of the Borards and Bois' as from any other person.

William Borrer; 2. John Borrer, Esq., of the Manor House, Portslade, who has issue; and 3. Nathaniel Borrer, Esq., of Pakyns Manor, and patron of the advowson of Hurstpierpoint, whose son, the Rev. Carey Hampton Borrer, M.A., is rector, and whose eldest son is Cary Hampton Borrer, an officer in the Rifles.

ARMS—as borne by William Borrer, Esq., being a variation of the arms of his mother, Barbara Hards, and confirmed by the College of Arms to his descendants—Azure a lion rampant erminois, holding in his forepaw an auger proper, debruised by a chevron argent charged with three escutcheons of the field, the centre one having a white rose. CREST—a stag's head erased proper fretty argent, holding an auger in his mouth. MOTTO—*Fide labora.*

The family of WEEKES,¹ for nearly a century, has been closely connected with the parish. Richard Weekes, Esq. (descended from Richard Weekes, living at Ewhurst, in Sussex, in 1640, who was progenitor of Henry Weekes, Esq., sculptor to the Queen) married Charity, sole heiress of the Rev. William Hampton, rector of Plumpton, descended from a brother of Christopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, and from six clergymen who held the livings of Bletchingly,

¹The Saxon word *Wyke*, a village, alone and in composition, has furnished a name for numerous localities in England, and, consequently, for numerous families. The names Wyke, Wykes, Wix, Wickes, Weekes, &c., are all thus derived. The manor of Wyke, in Worplesdon, Surrey, was held at the Domesday Survey by Pigot. The family of Wyke of Wyke flourished there, records prove, as early as *temp.* John. A.D. 1166, William de Wike held a knight's fee in Kent; and Hugh de Wyke, one in Devonshire (*Liber Niger*). The latter was progenitor of the ancient family of Weekes, recorded in the Visitations of that county, who bore for arms, *Ermine three battle-axes sable*. It is probable William de Wike was his brother, and was of the family of Wyke, of Worplesdon, who were doubtless descended from Pigot. The allusive and earliest arms of this latter family were three axes, which would make it highly probable that the Wykes, descendants of Pigot, were ancestors of those Weekeses

whose device was the same. Gerard de Wike of Kent occurs in the *Testa de Nevill*, *temp.* Henry III.; and the name is frequently met with in deeds and other documents at subsequent periods, though not sufficiently connected to form a pedigree. It is probable that the chief line of the Wikes of Kent had ended in an heiress before the period of the heraldic visitations, as the name is not to be found there; and that the three axes, if borne by them, were adopted by their representatives, very possibly the Halls of Kennington. The Weekeses of East Sussex were, two and three centuries ago, very numerous, and most of them it is probable descended from the Kentish race. Richard Weekes, of Mountfield, *temp.* Elizabeth, was one of the principal ironmasters of the county. The Weekeses of Westfield were settled there several generations, and ended in an heiress married to a Broomfield. Other families of the name lived at Northiam, Peasmarsh, Wadhurst, &c.

in Surrey; Worth, Plumpton, or Street, in Sussex. By that lady he had issue Richard Weekes, Esq., F.S.A., and Hampton Weekes, Esq., M.D., who by Sarah, daughter of William Borrer, Esq., sheriff of the county, left Richard Weekes, Esq., of Hampton Lodge (representative of the Hamptons); Frederick Weekes, Esq., of Bolney Lodge; George Weekes, Esq., of Carey Hall, deputy lieutenant of Sussex; and Rev. F. A. Weekes, rector of Aston-upon-Trent, Derbyshire. The family bear for arms, *Ermine three battle-axes sable* quartering Hampton, Carey, and Mace; *crest*—an arm in armour embowed holding a battle-axe.

The MARSHALLS¹ are an old Sussex family: a branch in more modern times settled at Hurstpierpoint. William Marshall (son of John Marshall) of this parish, and of Oaken-dean in Cowfold, married Ann, daughter of William Borrer, Esq., the purchaser of Pakyns, and had issue William and John. The latter was rector of Ovingdean, as was also his son John. William, who died 1837, had issue William, of Bolney Place, Esq.; Elizabeth, who married Frederick Weekes, Esq., of Bolney Lodge; and Mary, who married Richard Weekes, Esq., F.S.A.

¹ Geoffry (de Bec-Crispin) le Marshal, mentioned in Domesday Book, a presumed member of the family of Le Marshal who owned the fief of Venox in Normandy, in the eleventh century, is supposed to have left two coheresses: one marrying Robert de Venuz (or Venox), the other Gilbert le Marshal. The latter is presumed to be identical with Gilbert Norman, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, and brother of William Fitz-Norman, the Domesday owner of Combes, in Sussex, and ancestor of the baronial family of Kilpec. Robert de Venuz is supposed to have been another brother. John Marshall, grandson of Gilbert, was sheriff of Sussex, as was also

his brother and heir, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. It is highly probable that one of this family gave name to the manor of *Marshalls*, in Maresfield: at the end of the fourteenth century lived William Marshall, of Maresfield, whose daughter and heiress, Alice, married Nicholas Selwin, progenitor of the Selwins, of Friston. In the thirteenth century the Marshalls were considerable landowners in Kent. They also spelt their name Marescal; and there is little doubt that the family of Mascall in Lindfield were descended from them. Their arms were six *fleurs-de-lis*, which were substantially the bearings of the Venuz' of Normandy.

PEDIGREE OF WARREN AND PIERPOINT.

HUGH, Bishop of Coutances, 990; living 1120 = Niece of Gunnora, wife of Richard I., Duke of Normandy.

(a)
p. 86.

² Roger, fil. Episcopi R. de Mortemer; born before 990: living 1055-74. = 1. Odain. = ² Howisia; probably d. of Ralph de Montdidier: living 1074. = ¹ Rodolphus, fil. Episcopi, *alias* R. de Warren; 1066. = 1. Beatrice. = ² Emma. 1053. 1059.

(b)

page 85.

¹ William de Mortimer, *s.p.* = ² Hugh de Mortimer; 1066, *s.p.* = Ralph de Mortimer; 1074-1104: mar. Hawisia. = ¹ Ralph de Warren; 1055-66, *s.p.* = ² Wm. de Warren, 1055-66; Earl of Surrey: ob. 1089. = Gundrada, da. of Matilda, wife of William I. (c)

Wm. Mortimer, of Sedbury and Chelmarsh. *s.p.* = Hugh de Mortimer; 1140, ob. 1181. = Hawise. = *a quo* Mortimer, EARLS OF MARCH.

Reginald de Warren, 1090. Taken prisoner at Dive, 1106: mentioned in the foundation-deed of Lewes Priory. Watson places Reginald, who married Alice de Wirmegay, here; but he does so erroneously, through confounding the two Isabels, Countesses. Vide *Coll. Top. et Gen.* vii. 380.

William, = Isabel de second Vermandois, widow of Robert Earl of Mellent. = Earl of Surrey: ob. 1135.

(d)
p. 85.

Radulphus de Warren; testis 1146. = Reginald de Warren; gave the Church of Plumpton to the Monks of Southwark; testis 1146. = Alice; d. & h. of Wm. de Wirmegay. = William, 3rd Earl of Surrey: ob. 1148. = Adelaide, d. of Wm. Earl of Ponthieu.

William de Warren; ob. 1208. = Beatrix, d. & h. of Hugh de Pierpoint. = Beatrix; da. and heir.

William; son of King Stephen: ob. 1159. = Isabella; d. & h.: ob. 1199. = Hamelin; nat. brother of Henry II. ob. 1202.

(b) p. 84.

Gilbert de Warren;
1088.
(*Wace-Roman de Rou*, by
Edgar Taylor.)

Roger de Warren.

Richard de Coutances,
brother of Roger de Warren,
1081; had eleven sons and
four daughters.
(*Ordericus Vitalis*, ii. 251,
Bohn's edit.)



(c) p. 84.

Philip de Burnham de Warren held the manors of Burnham-Thorpe and Harpley, in the county of Norfolk, *temp.* Stephen; which were held by "Walter" at the Domesday Survey, under William de Warren. As Philip's wife held part of the manor of Harpley, it is probable she was heiress of Walter. A pedigree of the Burnhams is given in Gurney's *Record of the House of Gournay*: the heiress of one branch married a Gournay, and of another a

Calthorp; the latter bore a coat of which chequy was the basis, and the Gournays quartered two coats of chequy with differences.—Mr. Gurney thinks Philip descended from Reginald, son of William and Gundrada; but dates render this improbable, if not impossible. As the descendants of Philip bore the chequy coat, it was doubtless derived from marriages with cousins descended from Isabel de Vermandois, from whom that coat was obtained.



(d) p. 84.

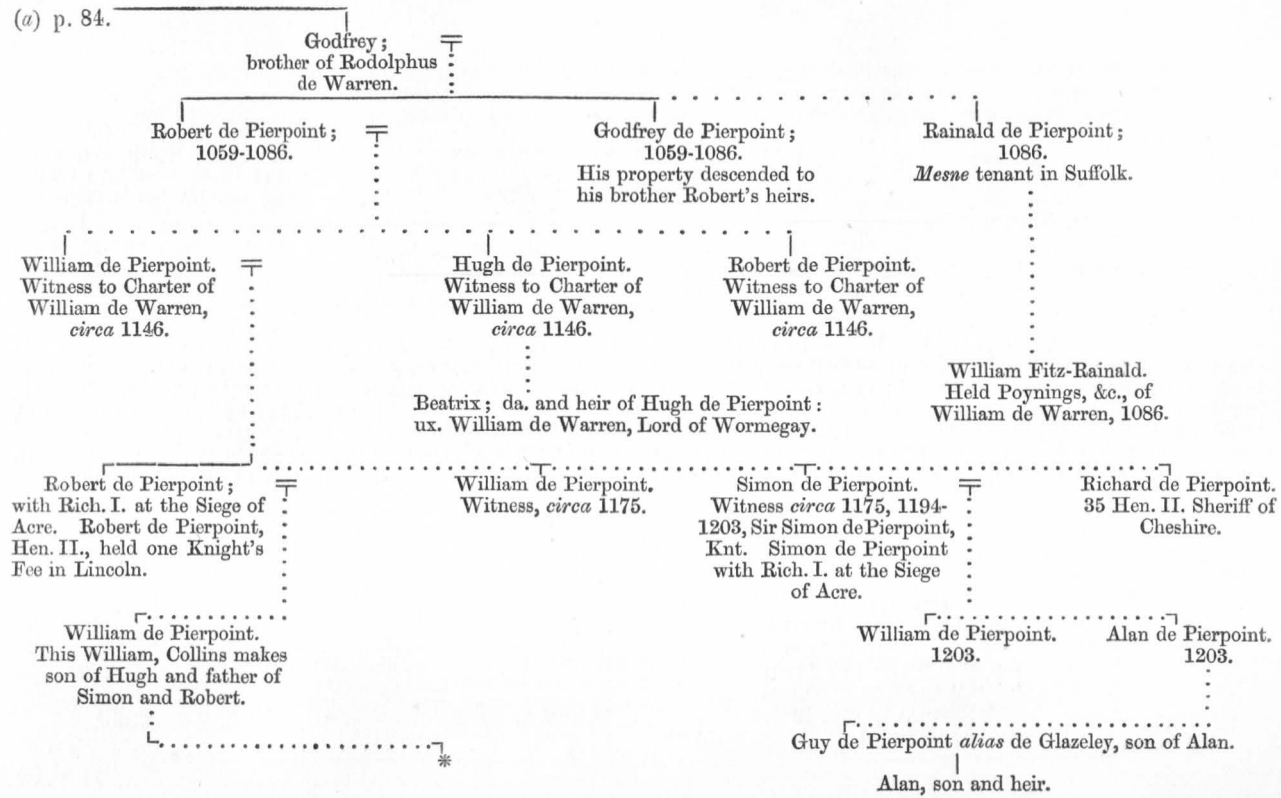
Daughter, ux. William Fitz-Philip de Warren; living 1141-8; whose descendants, the Burnhams, bore chequy.



Daughter, ux. Reginald Fitz-Philip de Warren de Burnham; whose daughter and heir married — Gournay.



(a) p. 84.



*

PEDIGREE OF BOWETT.

THOMAS BOWETT;
after Edw. II. *jure uxoris*,
lord of lands in Westmore-
land and Cumberland.

== One of the three
coheirs of
— Le Brun.

ARMS.—Argent, three Stag's Heads,
caboshed Sable.

(On the Monument of Archbishop Bowett,
and in Hurst-Pierpoint Church.)

Thomas Bowett. 10 Rich. II., a fine was levied between Henry Bowett, Clerk, then Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Sir Robert Parnyng, whereby the manors of Blackhall, Staynton, and Bocharaby, in Cumberland, were settled on — Parnyng in tail, remainder to Thomas Bowett, senior, and Margaret his wife, in tail. (Parkins's *Norfolk*, ix. 421.)
— Rich. II., Sir Adam Parnyng, Knt., died seized of these manors.

Sir William Bowett,
of Wrentham. A prisoner
at the battle of Beaujé, in
France, 22nd March,
9 Hen. V., 1421:
buried at Langley.

== Joan;
d. & coheir
of Sir Rob.
de Ufford:
bur. at
Langley.

== Sir Henry Inglose,
of Inglose, in Loddon,
Norfolk; married before
10 Hen. V., 1422. Will
dated 20th June, 1451;
proved 4th July: to be
bur. at Horsham Priory,
Norfolk.

Richard == Ela; d. & coh.
Bowett. of Sir Robert
de Ufford;
died 1400:
bur. at
Wrentham.

Henry Bowett, Archdeacon
of Lincoln; Bp. of Bath and
Wells, 1407; Abp. of York:
ob. 1423. A handsome monu-
ment to his memory in the
Cathedral there, with his arms.
(Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 440.)

Elizabeth;
da. and heir.

Joane, da. and heir;
ux. Sir Richard
Fines;
jure uxoris
Lord Dacre.

== Sir Thomas
Dacre.

John Bowett, of Bockham Magna; one
of the Gentry of Surrey, 6 Hen. VI.

Sir Nicholas Bowett, Knt.,
of Ripplingall, co. Lincoln;
represented a coheir of
Zouche, of Haringworth.

— Bowett. Edith; d. of J. Bowett, of Surrey; ob.
10 Sept. 1444; *ux.* Wm. Newdigate, lord
of Harefield. (Burke's *Commoners*.)
— Bowett.

Elizabeth, da. and coheir;
ux. Sir Wm. Chaworth, Knt.,
whose coheir Joan ob. 1507.
(*Coll. Top. et Gen.*, part 32,
pp. 340-60.)

— d. & h. of == John Thorp, of Cudworth,
— Bowett. in Newdigate.

PEDIGREES.

THE PRIORY OF PYNHAM, OR DE CALCETO;
WITH SOME
NOTICE OF THE PRIORIES OF
TORTINGTON, HARDHAM, AND LEVEMINSTER.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

PYNHAM, OR DE CALCETO, was a small alien priory of Augustine canons, which, possibly from a misconception of its situation with reference to the town and castle of Arundel, is often described either as *in the parish of Arundel*, or *at Arundel*; but incorrectly, as it stood in the adjoining hamlet of Warningcamp, once a separate chapelry, but now a part of the parish of Lyminster, into which it merged rather more than two centuries ago; when its chapel, the site of which is still known, was suffered to go to decay. Calceto itself was anciently extra-parochial, its priory church forming the nucleus of a small district, coextensive doubtless with its own surrounding domain. But little of the original buildings are now to be traced; sufficient, however, to mark the site, though not to indicate the arrangement and extent of this priory. What remains will be found converted into a cottage almost shut out from public view by the high hedges and trees which surround it; and which stands on the left-hand side of the road leading from Worthing to Arundel, in a small enclosure at the foot of the hill, still called the "Causeway Hill," the descent of which leads down to the low lands of the river Arun. From this point burst strikingly on the traveller's view the town of Arundel, situated on the opposite acclivity, at the distance of something more than half a mile, the magnificent modern-built ducal castle of the Howards, standing on a projecting platform to the east of it, embosomed in fine trees, and surmounted by its lofty Saxon keep; and the spacious and beau-

tiful church, with the ivy-mantled ruins of the ancient College of St. Nicholas attached, standing *above* the town; and *below*, the interesting remains of its Maison Dieu, or Hospital of the Holy Trinity, founded by a pious owner of the castle, and from the windows of which it is now a most picturesque object; its handsome stone bridge; the vessels riding at anchor in its port; the river itself meandering through its



Remains of Calceio Priory.

beautiful valley, until it is lost in the sea on the one hand, and among the distant chalk hills on the other; and the rich pasture land of the levels themselves, once a vast expanse of turbulent waters, but now covered with the most luxuriant verdure, on which may be seen quietly grazing some of the finest cattle bred in the county; with here and there a village church lifting up its unpretending head in the distance,—the

whole forming a picture which those who have once seen it cannot easily forget.

From the peculiarly square form of this cottage, and its disproportionate height, Dallaway was led to imagine that it had been erected on the foundation of a tower of that shape. That it stands on some part of the ancient edifice, does not admit of doubt; and the unfinished tall buttresses supporting the external walls, on the west and north sides, would seem to indicate that it was constructed out of the tower of the priory church, which was once much higher: all that was sound of the ancient walls being suffered to remain. This church was erected at a somewhat subsequent date to the priory itself, and was dedicated to Saint Bartholomew, the Apostle and Martyr, who is usually considered the patron saint of hospitals; and (which is more especially worthy of notice, as we shall presently see, in the consideration of this small religious house) of causeways and bridges.

The priory itself owed its origin to the piety and munificence of the good Queen Adeliza; who was a liberal benefactor to Boxgrove Priory, and other monastic establishments in Sussex and elsewhere, as well as to the cathedral church of Chichester; in which she is said to have founded the prebends of East and West Dean. Her first husband, Henry I., having seized the castle and rape of Arundel upon the defection and banishment of Hugh de Montgomerie, settled it in dower upon the Queen, who with her second husband, William de Albini, hereditary *pincerna regis* by virtue of the lordship of Beckingham, which he held, and, *jure uxoris*, Earl of Arundel, made it their principal place of residence. The account given in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* of this priory is very short—being a transcript only of Dallaway's brief notice of it, with the addition of the foundation charter of its most gracious foundress, the deed of confirmation of this charter by the Bishop of Chichester, and some grants made to it by the Earl her husband, and their son. From these we are able to obtain an interesting account of the causes which influenced her liberal and pious mind in the foundation of this priory, which are stated to have been a desire to provide an asylum for two canons, whose duty it should be to officiate in the chapel of St. Martyn, in the upper part of the square tower of the keep

of the castle, of which an interesting window is all that now remains. After its discontinuance the number of resident canons was increased to six, who officiated in the chapel of St. George. This chapel, which stood at the south-west angle of the castle, and is very conspicuous in Hollar's view of the town, continued until the destruction of the old castle in 1796. The former was endowed with £4—the latter with 1000 marcs per annum. The canons of Calceto were also the custodians of Arundel bridge and causeway. The exact date of the foundation of the priory is not known; but it must have been prior to 1151, in which year the Queen is supposed to have died. It was probably established soon after her marriage with her second husband. The foundation deed is very short, and is addressed "to the Bishop of Chichester, and all barons and their vassals in France as well as in England, belonging to the honour of Arundel, and to all the faithful of God's holy church." By it she gives to William and Reinbroke, her chaplains, a parcel of land *beyond* the bridge of Arundel (on the opposite side, that is, of the river from the castle), near to the highway, called Pynham, and hence one name of the priory, for the support of two chaplains, who were constantly to pray for the soul of her late lord and husband, King Henry. To this was afterwards added by William Earl of Arundel, her husband, and by their son bearing the same name and title, three canons more, William, Peter, and Walter. The deed of the son confirms in the first place to the canons and their successors the land given them by his august mother, to build a church upon in honour of God and St. Bartholomew, with all the edifices erected upon it, and requisite to constitute a regular monastery. And for the good of the souls of his illustrious lord, King Henry, and of the excellent Queen Adeliza, and their heirs, and for the salvation of his own soul, and of the souls of his heirs and successors, to his mother's endowment he adds a bushel of corn annually from his mills at Swanbourne, to be received by them and their successors, and applied to the same pious purpose. He also gave to them, towards the endowment of their church, and their own support, thirteen loads of wood¹ annually, from

¹ Tres decem caruscas bosci annuatim in foresta nostra de Arundel ad focale; et etiam maeremium ad reparandum sive resartiandum ligni pontem, &c.

his forest at Arundel, for fuel, and a sufficiency of timber to enable them to repair and keep up the wooden bridge, described as being in the middle of the bridge of Arundel (*qui est in medio pontis de Arundel*) as often as, and whenever his forester for the time being, should, after due inspection, deem such repairs to be needful.

To understand the position of this wooden bridge, and the nature of the causeway from which the priory took its name of Calceto, we must bear in mind, that at the time of its foundation, the whole of the levels forming the valley of the river Arun were covered by water every tide, and not confined in a comparatively narrow channel as now, and that, to facilitate a passage through this valley without interruption at all times, a causeway was thrown up its whole width, having, as was the case with the causeway across the valley of the Adur at Bramber,¹ a wooden bridge, or perhaps, more properly speaking, a part of the causeway raised on wooden piles, and possibly so carried a considerable distance, that there might be no impediment to the flux and reflux of the water. The bridge had been built by Queen Adeliza upon her taking up her residence at the castle. The road across the lowlands still bears the name of "the Causeway," and the cottage occupying a part of the site of the priory, "Calceto Cottage."

William de Albini gave also to the canons and their successors the right of fishing on both sides of Arundel bridge, for the space of a furlong on each side, and of pasture in common with the burgesses of the town, for fourteen cows and two bulls; and quiet pannage for all their hogs, without restriction as to number or kind, in any part of his demesne lands, whether in his park, or in the forest of Arundel; and also common pasture with his vassals for all their animals and their kine in Wepham, a considerable hamlet in the parish of Burpham, in liberal, pure, and perpetual alms, and free from all secular service and exaction, due to himself or his heirs. And he concludes by the expression of an earnest desire and command, that the canons and their successors should have such free and quiet possession of his own and his mother's gifts, as not to be responsible to any man for their application, but to God only. The witnesses to this deed are not given in

¹ See Vol. II. p. 63.

the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, nor in any other copy of it that I have met with. The original is supposed to be among the muniments of the Cowdrey estate.

These gifts and grants of the foundress and her son were ratified and confirmed by the seal of Ranulf Bishop of Chester, "a humble minister," as he calls himself, "of the Church of Christ," and to whom, as I have already said, the foundation charter is addressed, after a full inspection and approval of the deeds by which they are made, "trusting," as the deed goes on to state, "that on this account the mercy of God, the intercession of the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, and the merits of all the saints, will be extended to *them*, and their successors, and to all other pious benefactors, in consideration of the donations and alms they themselves have made, or may at any time hereafter make, or which may be made by others through their influence and instrumentality; and also to the truly contrite and confessed, who shall hereafter assist in adding to its means of support." And as a further encouragement to the benevolent to do so the more willingly and effectually, he relaxes forty days of the penance at that time enjoined. And in conclusion he pronounces an anathema on any one that shall deliberately infringe, or in any way attempt to disturb, any of the matters and things thus confirmed by his episcopal sanction and authority.

What was subsequently given to these canons towards the support of themselves and their house, I am enabled to give in part from about thirty unpublished deeds, more or less perfect and legible, which are to be found, with many other monastic charters, in a small box in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. They are most of them without date; but have the appearance of being original documents, or, at all events, of decided antiquity—the greater part of them, judging from the character of the writing, being of the period of King John, and perhaps the four subsequent reigns. I obtained a knowledge of their existence by an allusion made to them in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, who, in speaking of *them* and their history, describes them as "cartas quasdam originales, ad hunc prioratum" (Calceto) "spectantes, in pixide, quas Mus: Ashmol: Oxon: legavit insignis: Antiquarius Anth: Wood." Besides the deeds relating to this priory so described, there is the tran-

script of another deed catalogued, "MS. Wood, 32—9," and marked by him, when alluding to the original, as "in thesaurio ædis Christi Oxon:" the date of which he gives as "circa finem Henrici III." The original is now in the box referred to by Tanner. Of these deeds, and those of twenty-one other monasteries suppressed at the same time as Calceto, Anthony Wood says—"Note, that the writings to the said twenty-two religious places, were by the Cardinal (Wolsey) transferred to Oxon, and there layd till his fall; after which divers of the said lands coming into the hands of the King, and by him granted to laics, the writings that belonged to those places lay in a manner subject to wet and the mercy of the rats, and none of them, except those that concerned lands and churches that were confirmed to King Henry VIII.'s College, were carefully preserved; soe that the rest, viz., charters of gifts, leases, accounts, terriers, rent-rolls, &c., being cramp'd altogether in a little study or bye-room in the said treasury, as alsoe in an olde worm-eaten box, have lay'd so long neglected, that most, or the chiefest part of them, are consumed to dirt, and noe piece of them bigger than a shilling is remaining." Other Calceto deeds, then, have perished from neglect, which is much to be regretted. As Calceto and Bayham were two of the Sussex alien priories suppressed, together with thirty-six in other counties, by Cardinal Wolsey, under the authority of a Bull obtained in 1524, of Pope Clement VII., that he might apply their revenues towards building his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, the deeds of these two houses would naturally be transferred to Christ Church, even though his banishment from court prevented his intentions, as far as Calceto was concerned, from being carried into effect; the land with which this priory was endowed having, after his disgrace, been resumed by his offended master the King, and afterwards, in 1607, given to Anthony Brown, Viscount Montague; and their transfer to the Ashmolean Museum may be charitably accounted for upon the supposition, that they were borrowed by Wood for the purpose of transcript, and omitted to be returned. As we find a copy of one of them only among his voluminous papers, he might have died before his object in borrowing them had been fulfilled. But, whatever was the cause of their being in old Ashmole's Museum, to this circum-

stance—without wishing to be severe on the college officer to whose custody the archives of Christ Church are entrusted—we may possibly attribute the existence of what now remains of them.

From these deeds, which, for want of dates, I shall arrange alphabetically, the following account of the possessions of the Prior and Canons of Calceto are drawn up :—

In ARUNDEL they possessed—1. A messuage described as in the borough, and in the occupation of Noel, at a rent of *3d.* per annum, in full of all claims; with land called le Hooe, lying near to the meadow of William de Avenel. This was given by Gilbert de Winton to God, and the Church of St. Bartholomew on the causeway leading to Arundel, with the full assent and consent of William, third Earl of Sussex (c. 1222), as is testified by a confirmatory deed, witnessed by Ralph de Arden, Robert Villiers, W. de Milors, W. de Mara, Thomas de Sanderville, T. de Westdene, Reginald Aguilun, and John his brother, Roger Porter, three clerks, and others.

2. All the right and claim which Emma de Kingestone, relict of William de Brooke, late of Arundel, had, *nomine dotis*, in a messuage and curtilage near the bridge, which formerly belonged to her husband. This gift to brother Thomas, prior, and the canons of Calceto, was made subject to the payment of 40*s.* out of the goods of their church. This deed is witnessed by Richard Dodins, Mayor of Arundel; Thomas de Burpham, William de Prevet, Thomas de Habitone,¹ Nicholas Hereward, Thomas Prill, and others.

3. All the interest of Hugh, formerly servant to William de² of Liminster, in a messuage with its curtilages formerly held under the prior and canons by Richard Nown, and situated between the houses of Reginald the baker and Reginald Hotot. This, too, was made subject to the payment of four marcs of silver. The witnesses to this deed are Peter de Hotot, Nigel de Broke, William Payne, William Avenel, Robert le Mestre de Hampton, and others.

4. The name of Simon de Calceto appears as one of the attest-

¹ Yapton.

² It may here be mentioned, that where-

ever blanks occur the deed is imperfect or illegible.

ing witnesses to a deed by which William Lucy, of Arundel, gave to Ateline, mother of Robert, one acre of land lying to the north of the chapel of St. Mary at Arundel,¹ and the land of William Loyenz. The other witnesses, as far as they can be deciphered, are Richard Doddyngge, Warin le Bobe, William de Prevets, William Pope, Gilbert Begone, Richard Gurdon,² Richard le King, John de Billingham, William Legate Pethard, and others.

5. The same name occurs again in a deed by which John, son and heir of Peter Bagge, of Arundel, gave to Matilda, wife of de Calceto, and to their heirs, a tenement without the bridge, standing between the houses of Robert le Brockhere and Richard le Hoke. The other witnesses are Henry Doddyngge, Robert le Sapiere, William de Prout, William de Dyx, William le Sclatere, Richard le King, Robert Long, Warin le Bobe, Thomas Forst, and Richard Green.

6. Isabella, daughter of Robert le Potir, of Arundel, gave to John, the son of David Siccor, of Calceto, a part of a garden, lying to the west of the Oven (*furni*) which he and his father, Robert le Potir, occupied, and between the park of Richard Earl of Arundel and the premises of John Fitzdavid. This deed was executed in the presence of Richard Jordan, Gilbert Cok, Thomas de Abertone, Simon le Bobe; other names are not legible, and the deed is in other parts imperfect.

7. William Ascenham, of Nicetimber, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his ancestors, gave to the prior and canons of the same church, an annual rent issuing out of a messuage in Arundel, and payable at Easter. The exact situation of this messuage, though described in the deed of gift, is not to be made out, it being in a very tattered condition. Of the witnesses the only legible names are William de

¹ This chapel was built in accordance with directions prescribed by the will of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who died *s.p.* in 1415, in which his executors are required to cause a chapel to be built at the gate, called Mary Gate, at the northern entrance of the town, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. This part of Arundel still retains the name.

² Possibly a member of the family of Gurdon, of Selborne, of which Sir Adam de Gurdon was, White tells us, "a lead-

ing and accomplished malcontent in the Mountfort faction, and who distinguished himself by his daring conduct in the reign of Henry III." Late in life he became a liberal benefactor to Seleborne Priory, as did some others of his family after him. Edward I., out of gratitude to him for assistance rendered to himself and his father, made him "custos," or warden of Wolmer Forest. He appears to have been actively engaged in public service for the long period of sixty-three years.

Hampton, Richard Dodd, Robert Hereward, Richard and William le King, and William de Calceto.

8. William de Lucy, of Arundel, for a message held by him in Potente Street, between the houses of William de Lucy his father, and John le Cartere, paid 9*d.* annually to the church and canons of Calceto, on the feast of St. Margaret. This deed is dated 5 Edward II. (1312), and witnessed by John Alessandre, Mayor of Arundel; Robert Sweyn, William de Yaberton, John Hereward, John de Gate, Thomas de Yabertone, William le Clerk, and Simon le Coke.

The canons possessed in BILLINGSHURST—1. Certain pieces of land called Westerzonfield, Isterzonfield, Garstone, and Littlesondfeld, and the homage and service of Adam de la Fenne, due for the field called Puriham, and also an annual rent of 12*d.*, the gift of John de Palyngfaud to their church. He also released to them, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, another annual rent of 28*d.*, and two annual suits which they were accustomed to do, free of all manumission and exaction, except the suffrages of the monks (preter monachorum suffragiis). This deed is witnessed by Robert Hotot, John de Kingestone, John la Spere de Billingshurst, Daniel and William deTottington¹, William de la Sparre de Billingshurst, William de Hastfold de Wysberge, and Henry de Slywicke. This deed is headed "Carta Johannis de Palyngfold de terra de Wodesham."

2. There is another deed referring to the same land, by which Robert le Franceys, of Billingshurst, confirms it to the same church, adding to the homage and service of Adam de la Fenne, those of Dominus Bartholomew, chaplain of Billingshurst, for a field called Littleham; Ralph Rymer, William de la Spiere, William de la Frier, Peter le Wilde, John of the Park, Richard Diggenn, Roger le Petewood, William Dram, William Hunt, and others, attesting the deed.

3. For the salvation of himself and his ancestors, William de Arundel, clerk, quit-claimed to his brother Stephen, prior, and the canons of Calceto, an annual rent of 12*d.* which had been

¹ Tottington, which is mentioned in Domesday (vol. i. fol. 24*b*), and is there valued at 70*s.*, its value having been 60*s.* in the time of the Confessor, was a hamlet in that part of Lyminster which borders

on Littlehampton, with which it now forms one manor. In 1380 it contributed towards the support of Arundel College. In 1343, the Abbot of Seez had 140 acres of land in Tottingtune.

given him by Robert le Franceys, of Billingshurst, and which he had formerly received from them, for the land above mentioned. This deed was sealed, and witnessed by Robert de Yelfhang, steward of Arundel; William and Richard Paris, Robert the Baker, William Merchant of Calceto, and others.

4. Roger, called le Henry's, of Billingshurst, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, gave to Thomas, prior, and the same canons, an annual rent of 3*d.* issuing out of land at Newbridge, in that parish, formerly belonging to William de Wodesham; Henry de Niwicke, Robert Cophurst, and Robert de Howicke, being among the attesting witnesses.

In CHICHESTER, they possessed—1. By the gift of John Stokenham, a citizen, the messuage and curtilage, which had been given to him by Richard Champel, chaplain of the parish of St. Peter, and which was situated opposite to the cemetery of the Friars Minor, together with all its rights and privileges. This deed was witnessed by Henry de Doncheton; Simon de Hamptonett, chaplain; Burtin Taberner, William de Dyke, John Bishop, and Thomas Stretegold.

2. Nicholas, son and heir of the late Roger Plokat, of the same city, released for ever, for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors, all his right in, and claim to, an annual rent of 14*d.* which the prior and canons were accustomed to pay him out of a messuage standing in the street called Bakele's Lane, and which was given them by Gunhilde Hechemell. This deed was sealed in the presence of William de Wythsonde, Mayor of Chichester; Walter le Spicer, W. Barber, Godfrey Clere, Ely de Mene, Richard de Somerlye, Godfrey Gengyure, and Robert Fitz-ray.

The only deed having reference to property possessed by the prior and canons in CHITHURST, relates to a dispute which appears to have arisen in the year 1285, between John, prior, and the canons of Calceto, and John de Wessilyr, rector of the church, touching an annual pension of 5*s.* claimed by them as due for the tithes of land held by Roger Kyngesham, the particulars of which are stated to be fully set forth in a deed produced in evidence to Ivo, archdeacon of Chichester, the arbitrator in the cause, and showing that the same dispute had before arisen, and been referred for amicable adjustment to William Kaynesham, the Bishop's official specially appointed

in the matter, and by him decided that the tithes in question were the property of the prior and canons, and held by the rector of Chithurst, under them, at a rent of 5*s.* per annum, to be paid half-yearly, by two equal payments at Easter and Michaelmas; and that in default of such payments, the rector, by agreement, was liable to the penalty of one besant. To this decision the rector submitted; and to the fulfilment of it both parties were bound by an oath imposed upon them in the chapel of Midhurst. The deed embodying this arrangement was farther confirmed by the Bishop of Chichester, and witnessed by Richard de Eseborne; Ralph, dean of Linces (decano de Linces); William Clerk, archdeacon of Chichester; Alseline James, clerk, parson of Hetsete; Robert Tratitone, Arthur de Graffham, Andrew de Budeketon, and others. The production of this deed led at once to the settlement of the second dispute, by an arrangement voluntarily entered into by both parties, to the effect, that the right and title to this pension was clearly vested in the prior and canons, but that for the future a rent of 4*s.* only be paid them, by the rector and his successors, half-yearly, as before. To this deed the seals of the Archdeacon and the Bishop of Chichester were set by William de Cruceroys, the Bishop's official.

In DURRINGTON, Stephen de Offington, from charitable motives, and for the salvation of the souls of himself and his heir, and of his ancestors generally, releases to the church of St. Bartholomew at Calceto, and to the canons worshipping God therein, the annual pension which they had customarily paid to him for the land which they possessed in the vill of Offington, and which he directs them to apply for ever towards the expenses of his anniversary. The only legible witnesses to this deed, the whole of which is very imperfect, are Thomas, rector of Terringes; William, rector of Brauwater; William la Civile; Walter de Felde;¹ William le Fre, of Salvington; William, Simon, and Thomas Culin; Adam de la Felde, Gilbert Heliser, and William, clerk, of Offington.

In POLINGES, the prior and canons possessed—1. By the gift of Johanna, formerly the wife of Ralph le Tayller, one acre and

¹ Walter and Adam de la Felde were members of a family taking their name from an estate in Goring, still called "Field Place." The Nonæ Roll of this

parish, in setting forth the rights of the rector, states, "item habet decimam unius gardini et unius columbariæ apud le Field, valens per annum ijs."

a half of land, with its appurtenances, which she and her late husband had given to William and Christiana de Wodesham, subject to the payment to her or her representatives of 3*d.* and one marc of silver annually on the day of the Ascension in full of all demands. This deed is attested by Peter de Hotot; William de la Spere, clerk; Nicholas le Maystre; John la Fre, of Billingshurst; William and Daniel Cok, William de Faufharches, John le William Bulling, and Thomas de Wyke.

2. Herbert Fitz-Osmund gave to the church of the Apostle and Martyr, St. Bartholomew juxta Calceto, and to the brethren of the eleemosynary house there serving God, the land of Anedelle, with the adjacent meadow, in the hundred of Palinges, which he held of William de Harenge, in the same free and peaceable manner that his father, who was an assenting party to this gift, had done before him; and free also of the payment of 3*s.*, which he was accustomed to discharge. In this gift, made for the salvation of the souls of Reginald Harenge, senior and junior, his father and mother, and all his friends and relatives, his brothers William, Ralph, and Randolph, joined; the witnesses to it being Hugh, Walter, and Thomas Sacer; Hendry Clerk, Peter Clerk, Adyan Fitz-Richard, William Avenell, Gilbert the Physician, Ralph Harenge, Reginald Harenge, William Fluiry, and some others, whose names are illegible.

3. William Wykes, chaplain, released to the same brethren, all his interest in an acre of land in Palinges, called Wakeham's, of which, with its appurtenances, he became possessed by the gift of William Snell. This deed was sealed in the presence of William de Hotot, William Fry, John de Kingestone, John le Maystre, William Daniell de Tortyngtone, William Bulling, John and William le Justur, and Robert Gildewyne.

It is worthy of note, in the history of our Sussex monastic institutions, that the Knights Hospitallers had a commandery at Poling, but a short distance from Calceto Priory, which Dallaway supposes to have been originally founded and endowed by one of the Fitzalan family.

In PRESTITONE, the prior and canons of Calceto had, by the gift of William de Prestitone, for the salvation of the souls

of himself and his ancestors, a virgate of land, with the messuage standing upon, and the gardens, meadows, pastures, and other appurtenances attached to it, and which had before belonged to Sir John de Palingfaud, Knight, by the gift and grant of Thomas, called le Burgess, of Arundel, in pure and perpetual alms; but subject to the payment of 2*s.* 6*d.* by the prior and canons half-yearly, at Christmas and Midsummer, in lieu of all demands. They were also to pay at once 20*s.* sterling; the witnesses to it being Sir John de Vilers, Sir Robert de Hotot, and Sir Henry de Lynns, Knights; John de Mildebre, Thomas de Westdene, Simon de Singleton, Richard de Hundreton, and William de Cherleton.

IN SHOREHAM, Matilda, the wife of John de Beauchamp, gave and confirmed to the prior and canons of Calceto, all the rents which they had received from Bernard de Hagia, her husband's father, and, in addition, the plain with a messuage thereupon, of which he became possessed in the vill of Shoreham, by marriage with her mother, Matilda, for the express purpose of providing a lamp to burn constantly before the altar of St. Mary, in the church of Calceto, as a perpetual alms; the canons paying 6*d.* out of them to the lord of the fee at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, in lieu of all secular claims. The witnesses to this deed are Peter Hotot, Walter de Kingestone, William de Totintone, William Gynar, Reginald the Baker, William Paris, and Robert the Baker.

IN WARNINGCAMP—1. Peter Fitzansell, for the salvation of the souls of himself, and of his predecessors and successors, gave and confirmed to God and the church of St. Bartholomew, in pure and perpetual alms, four acres and a half of land, with their appurtenances; three acres and a half of which were directed to be applied for the support of the canons in the service of God; and one half of the remaining acre for the sustentation of the Hospital¹ of Calceto, and the other towards keeping up the bridge and causeway. Of this land, one acre is described as lying next to the land of Gilbert de la Lake, to the north; a second, in "the Hamme," between the land of William Dawtrey (*de hault rey*—in Latin, *de alta ripa*) and the land of Richard Fitz-Stephen; a third, in the eastern part of

¹ Et unam dimidiam acram ad sustentationem Hospitalis Calceti.

the plain, called Ho, between the land of the same William Dawtrey and that which Johanna Garbe held, and the remainder at Merslade, in Westfurlong, between the land of the same William Dawtrey and that of Gilbert Tredgold. The witnesses to this deed, which is in some parts of it very imperfect, as far as their names can be made out, are William Gynar, William de Hegwood, Robert Bregham, Richard Yong, William Paris, Robert Philip, and Walter Pollard.

2. He also gave to the same church and canons, his messuage and the whole of the tenement which he himself had in Warnecamp, as well as a garden and croft called "the Vineyard," and all his lands in the same vill, with their appurtenances, upon the same free holding as he and his ancestors had enjoyed. The witnesses to this deed are Peter de Hotot, William de Hegwood, John de Park, William de Hamptun, William de Tortyngtune, Robert le Mestre, and Elichius Bulin.

3. William Camville gave to John de Palinges, and Alicia his wife, the garden and one acre and a half of land in the same vill, which lay between the land of Richard Earl of Arundel, and of the prior and canons of Calceto; and the half acre lying in the furlong, called Shortforlong, between the land of William Brugham and Roger Roter. This deed was sealed in the presence of Richard Wiltshire, Robert Forst, Adam Sambouche, John Geudwine, William Brugham, and William Deddinge.

In WESTBOURNE, John le Dutelor, from pious motives, gave to the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew, at Calceto, all his tenements, lands, rents, meadows, pastures, and everything appertaining to them. This deed is no farther legible.

One deed has only reference to transactions which took place with parties resident within the extra-parochial district annexed to the priory church, and tenants possibly of some of its demesne lands; and the occurrence of such deeds among the priory records may be accounted for upon the supposition, that they were so placed for safe custody. By this deed, Henry de Wysberge makes over to Robert Mulet, of Calceto, all his interest in a certain area at Calceto, which Adam Fitz-Robert, the tanner (*peliparus*¹) gave to him, charging it with

¹ This designation occurs frequently among the Battle Abbey endowment deeds.

an annual payment to the lord of the fee for the time being of 6*d.*, half to be paid at Ladytide and the other half at Michaelmas; and to himself and his representatives, of one marc on the feast of St. John the Baptist. In consideration of which, he was required to pay down at once 5*s.* sterling. This deed originally bore the seal of the donor; and was witnessed by Robert de Doddinge, Mayor of Arundel; William and Simeon de Calceto, William de Privet, David Sutor de Calceto, William Pistor de Calceto, John Cymentare de Calceto, and Amisius Tabor de Calceto. The Priory of Calceto also possessed one knight's fee in SELHAM, which must have included the greater part of the parish. The precise date of the grant is not mentioned, either by Dugdale or Tanner; but in an inquisition taken the 6th of Henry VI. (1428) it is stated to be a part of the endowment of the house at that time. It is also alluded to in the Nonæ return, which states that "Prior de la Cause habet terras in parochia de Suleham, quæ non dant decimas, quarum decime valent xv*s.* Item idem prior habet lan', et agn', percell', et aux', quæ non dant decimas, quæ valent per ann. iij*s.*"

There are also among the Ashmolean deeds relating to this priory, three leases: one from Henry, prior, and the canons, to Thomas le Croucher, Johanna his wife, and John their son, of a tenement at Calceto, situated between the tenements of Ralph Cobbard and John Power, for the term of their lives, at a reserved rent of 3*s.* per annum, to be paid quarterly in full of all services and demands, except suits of the Court of Calceto, due to the canons, and such services as the canons may require of them in autumn for getting in their corn, &c., and at other seasons of the year, which they were to continue faithfully to discharge, as long as the prior and canons should pay to them the same wages as were customarily paid for such work in the neighbourhood of Arundel. This demyse, which is dated at Calceto on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, 30 Edward III. (1357), is witnessed by Thomas Conseler, Mayor of Arundel; William Woodland, Adam le Prest, John Herewood, and Thomas Mercer. The second lease is from John Giffard, prior, to John Fisher, of Wodeman-cote, in the parish of Westborne, and Joan his wife, and Richard and Alicia, their son and daughter, of a piece of

pasture land, called Halfyerdlond, lying within the lands of William Earl of Arundel, for the term of their lives, at a reserved rent of 4*s.* of British money, to be paid quarterly, and the liquidation of all charges upon it. This lease, which was executed in the chapter-house of the priory, is dated 13th Edward IV. (1474.) The third lease is from John Charney, prior, and the Convent of Calceto, to Philip atte Aldre, of Wysberge, of a tenement called West Wodesham, in the parish of Billingshurst, for sixty years from the date of the lease, at a reserved rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, to be paid half-yearly, on the feasts of St. Thomas the Apostle and St. John the Baptist. The date of this lease is, "Calceto on the eve of the Sabbath preceding the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, 2 Richard I." (1379.) The common seals of the priory and the respective seals of the tenants, which are stated to have been originally fixed interchangeably to each of these leases, no longer remain. Each contains the usual covenants and restrictions. The prior and canons reserve to themselves the right of peaceable entry on the lands demised, for the purpose of distraint in case of non-payment of the different reserved rents by the tenants at the time specified; and the tenants are required to leave the land in a good state of cultivation at the expiration in each case of the term of the demise; to discharge all liabilities on the property demised; and not to cut oaks, or other timber trees, upon any of the demised lands, except for the purpose of heybote or housebote;¹ and the prior and canons reserve to themselves the farther right of entering upon any of such lands for the purpose of converting and selling such timber.

Dallaway, in his account of Rustington,² alludes to "about forty-eight acres of marsh land, lying between Liminster Church and the river Arun, formerly parcel of the Cowdry estate, but now the property of Bernard Edward, Duke of Norfolk," as "part of the original demense lands of the priory of Calceto;" and he mentions a *computus* of Richard Earl of Arundel, among the castle archives, which states, that the

¹ The tenants of a manor had the privilege, whether reserved by lease or not, of taking timber out of the lord's woods; which, when it was wanted for repairs of buildings, palings, or fuel, was called

housebote; but when required for making or keeping up hedges, fences, &c., *heybote*, from *hay*—*haia*, a hedge or fence.

² Vol. ii., *Western Sussex*, p. 22.

priors of the priories of Tortington and Calceto, as tenants of the manor of Wyke in Liminster, pay half a pound of pepper each to the lord, the former for Broomhurst, the latter for Canonbernes, the land doubtless to which Dallaway refers. And he farther states, upon the authority of the same castle records, that considerable lands were held by the same priors in Binstead, and other parishes in their immediate neighbourhood.

From several Episcopal Visitations which took place between the years 1440 and 1500, we learn some particulars of the condition of this priory, at the time it was approaching the period of its discontinuance as a monastery, which appears to have been far from satisfactory. In 1441, John Parker, the prior, in reply to questions put to him, stated, that their house and its revenues were at that time under sequestration; the Bishop having placed their goods, movable and immovable, in the hands of certain parties, under whose control they were to remain, until the house was freed from debt. And in 1478, Prior Gifford stated, that he was not in the habit of rising during the night, for the performance of divine service, nor, as he was informed, had his predecessors been, owing to the paucity of resident canons in the house; the services of two, viz., Richard Yngram and William Fox, being required elsewhere,¹ and who, in consequence, had resided but little with them for the last six years, being excused, as they themselves stated, by the license of the preceding prior; that at that time, there were two resident canons only in the house, himself and his chaplain; that they had for their use, three men servants and a boy, two of whom, with the boy, had no other remuneration than their food and clothing; and that the common seal of the priory was kept at the College at Arundel, under the charge of Dominus David, the precentor, by command of the visitors and presidents of his order (*et hoc de et ex precepto visitatorum et presidencium sue religionis, ut dicit*). He also stated that Thomas Bellyngham, as steward of the priory, kept, at the charge of the house, one superior servant (*unum nobile servum*), the expense of which was valued at 6s. 8d.; but that

¹ It appears from the Bishop's registers, that a Richard Yngram was at this time officiating as chaplain of the chapel or

chantry of the manor of Bradehurst, in Horsted-Keynes.

this privilege was not exercised under the sanction of the common seal, nor with his consent as prior ; but rather with his express and entire disapproval ; and that, in addition to this, he unjustly retained for his own use a tenement, the rent of which was 10*s.* per annum, and had done so for two years, thereby causing a loss to the priory of 20*s.* The following persons were reported by him to be life pensioners on the house, under the common seal :—Edward Bartelot, Master



Common Seal of the Priory of Pynham.

John Staury, and Richard Danyell, who received 33*s.* 4*d.* per annum each ; Thomas de Calceto, 26*s.* 8*d.* ; John Apsley, 6*s.* 8*d.* ; and John Dudley, 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The prior then stated that he did not owe more than four marcs, nor was there owing to him of the last quarter's rents more than 40*s.* ; that the stock of the house consisted at that time of twenty-three heads of cattle—cows, heifers, and yearlings (*vaccas, et juvenecas, et buttas*) ; that the annual income of the house did not then exceed forty marcs, £40 being its value at the time the priory was founded ; that they then possessed one gold and one silver cup, a silver saltceller, and two silver

spoons (*cochlearia*). As was the case with monastic buildings generally at this period, those of his priory were reported to be in a very ruinous and defective condition. It was also stated that they had but few sacerdotal vestments, and still fewer books.

The seal of this priory having fallen into the hands of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, an eminent antiquary, and great benefactor to the University of Oxford, F.R.S. and F.S.A., was by him bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. It represents St. Bartholomew standing in a canopied niche, with a Bible in his left hand and a broad knife in the other, probably in allusion to his being flayed alive previous to his crucifixion. An engraving of it (on preceding page) is from a book of seals in the possession of Mr. Bellingham, of Brighton.

The following is a list of the Priors of Calceto, taken from the *Monasticon Anglicanum* and other authentic sources. From 1285 to 1390 it is evidently imperfect.

Stephen	date unknown	Ashmol. deeds.
Thomas	ditto	ditto.
Robert	ditto	ditto.
John Michell	ditto	ditto.
John Costune	ditto	Monast. Angl.
John	1285	Ashmol. deeds.
Robert	1346	ditto.
Henry	1346 and 1347	ditto.
John Champney	1390	ditto.
John Hormere ¹	1402	Episc. Reg.
John Champneys	1415 ²	ditto.
Edward Dene	1434	Monast. Angl.
John Chamberlayne	1438	ditto.
John Bakere	1440	Episc. Reg.
John Parker	1441	ditto
Nicholas Elmere	1452 ³	Monast. Angl.
John Gifford	1468-74-78 ⁴	Episc. Reg. & Ash. deeds.
John Berriman	1478	Monast. Angl.
Elias Parker	1488 ⁵	ditto & Ashmol. deeds.
William Froumound (died)	1504	Episc. Reg. & M. A.
Richard Abell	1504	Episc. Reg.
Robert Ayling	1521	Monast. Angl.

¹ Canon of Tortington; elected on the resignation of John Charney.

² *Monast. Angl.* 1400, which is evidently an error.

³ Without date in the *Monast. Angl.*

⁴ Said in the *Episc. Reg.* to have been elected upon the death of William Fromond.

⁵ Canon of Tortington.

The Priory of TORTINGTON was another small establishment of Augustine Canons, standing on the banks of the river Arun, about one mile and a half below Arundel, and about the same distance from Calceto. All that now remains of it will be found in a barn near to Tortington farmhouse, which is supposed to have been originally a part of the refectory. This priory was dedicated to Mary Magdelene; its foundress being Lady Alicia Corbet, of whose history nothing more is now known. Dallaway is probably right in his conjecture, that she was a widow at the time, as no mention is made of her husband, and that she was a member of the illustrious house of De Albini, the heads of which were the patrons of this priory. The date of its foundation is not left upon record; but that it was erected prior to the time of King John, is certain, as we find it included in the list of Sussex priories in his reign. Four or five canons only resided in it. The vicar of the parish, according to the Nonæ Return, was entitled, by the ordination of the vicarage, to a corrody, or board and lodgings in it for himself and a servant boy; the value of which is stated to be five marcs. That this was an alien priory there can be no doubt; and as the Abbot of De Sagio, or Seez, one of two priories founded by Earl Roger, in Normandy, exercised the right of free warren over the manor of Tortington, and possessed also the advowson of the living, it was probably a cell of this house. From reports made of the results of different episcopal visitations we learn, that this priory had fallen into a dilapidated and inefficient state as early as the end of the fifteenth century. In 1478, the prior reported to the bishop's commissary, that some of their granges and buildings were very defective and ruinous in their healings, timbers, and walls. Female servants, too, appear to have been employed in the house, contrary to the injunctions previously given to the prior; one of whom, Faith Lucas, is stated to have held the office called "Day," the duties of which were to make cheese, butter, &c. This name, which was sometimes written "deie," is derived, Jacob tells us in his *Law Dictionary*, from the Saxon *dag*, milk; and hence arose "dayeria," a dairy, or place for the reception of the daily yield of milch cows; and "dairymaid," as applied to the person that had the charge of it. At the same visitation, Elias

Parker, who afterwards became prior himself, accused the prior of idolatry, in honouring and adoring the sacramental elements, and the relics of saints, by placing them on the high altar; thereby occasioning an unseemly strife between them. And in 1527 the state of the house appears not to have been much improved; for the priory church and brew-house are still reported to be ruinous; the choir to be without books, and the access of females to the house to continue. And the canons generally complained of their not being supplied with wholesome meat and drink, owing to the unskilfulness and dirty habits of the butler, cook, and brewer. They were, too, without a grammar master. Considerable alienations of the revenues of this house must have taken place about this time, as the whole of its endowment at the time of its dissolution is stated only to be £101. 4s. 1d. Its principal sources of income arose from assize rents, and other profits in Arundel, Angmering, Billingshurst, Binstead, Blakehurst, Chidham, Cudlow, Eartham, Eseborn, Goring, Hangleton, Heene, Ichenor,¹ and other parts of the Manhood,² Poling, Prestone, Pypering, Thornwicks, Tortington, Westdene, Wiggonholt, Worthing, Woughton juxta Lewes, Upwaltham, and Yaptone; by whose gifts is not known, as its chartulary has probably ceased to exist. They also possessed the advowsons of Tortington, by gift of the abbot of Seez; Islesham,³ by gift of Robert de Aquilon; Northstoke, Madehurst, and Binstead, in Sussex; of Tyneham, in Dorsetshire; and of St. Swithen, in London, where the prior had a house in which he occasionally resided, the gift of Robert de Aquilon, when he bequeathed his body to the canons to be buried in the priory church. The prior also, according to the Bishop's Registers, presented to East Ichenor, now consolidated with Birdham, the patronage of which Dallaway assigns to the priory of Boxgrove. He gives a list of six priors of this house, taken chiefly from these registers. Rouse, in his *Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex*, published in 1825, in speaking of this

¹ Prior de Tortington habet unum mesuagium et terras in Ichenore, cujus nonæ valet ad duas marcas et dimid.—*Nonæ Roll.*

² The Manhood is that extensive tract of country lying to the south of Chichester, between it and the sea. No satisfactory

reason has been as yet assigned why it is so called.

³ *Episc. Reg.* Islesham is a manor farm in the parish of Clymping, parcel of the manor of Fourpartners.

religious establishment, says, but without giving his authority for so doing, that the priory buildings were anciently very spacious, traces of its walls extending over eight acres of land; within which many vaults and passages have been discovered.

PRIORS OF TORTINGTON.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1346. Henry. | 1438. John Loscroft, elected May 7. |
| John de Dytton. | 1478. Elias Parker. |
| 1376. John Palmer. | 1478. John Page. |
| 1382. John Michel. | 1534. John Gregory. |
| 1404. Richard Lee. | 1536. John May, who resigned the |
| 1438. Robert Atte Lee (died). | priory into the King's hands. |



External View of the East End of Hardham Priory Chapel.

Among the Ashmolean Calceto charters, is a discharge from John de Dytton, prior of HERRINGHAM, to Henry, prior of Calceto juxta Arundel, for 33*s.* 4*d.* in full of 100*s.* due from

the latter to the former, for the board and lodging of John de Heryngham, brother of the prior of Calceto, for three years and part of another year. This deed was sealed and dated Heryngham, 1346. This was a small priory of Augustine Black Canons, standing in the parish of Hardham, anciently called Heryngham, on a precipitous bank sloping to the river Arun, on the south and east sides of it. It is supposed to have been founded by the Norman family of Dawtrey, who, as I have already said, had considerable possessions in the neighbourhood, and who subsequently settled at Moorhall, in Petworth, some time during the reign of Henry II., and to have been endowed by them, with the manor of Hardham, and with other manors and lands in the neighbourhood. The establishment was afterwards increased by Sir William Paganell, or Paynell, in the time of Edward III.; and a confirmatory charter of all its possessions and privileges having been at the same time obtained by him from Henry IV., he has sometimes been represented as its founder. The Gorings of Burton Park, and the St. John's of Barlavington, descendants of the Dawtrey's, were also considerable benefactors to this priory. Of its endowment but little is known, owing to the destruction of the foundation deed by fire, as was generally believed, and as was pleaded in evidence at an episcopal visitation made in 1524, as an excuse for its not being then forthcoming when called for. The record of the same visitation lets us into the light of the surreptitious means occasionally adopted by the canons for subsistence, at a time when their legitimate resources are reported to have been very scanty. Robert Pryklowe, prior, having in his examination reported the conduct of the fraternity over which he presided to be satisfactory, was then asked, whether, since he had held his present office, then three years, he had not, with a man named Jefford, entered the park of the Earl of Arundel at Bignor for unlawful purposes, and in a scuffle wounded a man named Bager? To which he replied that it was not so. He acknowledged, however, that Jefford had with another person at his request met him a few days before at a place called Waterlake, near Bignor Park, at about nine at night, and from thence proceeded to the park, where he, the prior, and two others, one a servant of the house, watched at the gate while Jefford and his companion

entered the park for the purpose of hunting the deer,¹ and that, after the absence of about an hour, they returned, and reported to him that they had killed two does, and wounded another; and that whilst this conversation was going on, and they were delaying a little before they proceeded to secure their spoil, a keeper named Bager came suddenly and unexpectedly upon them, attended by other persons; but that no scuffle ensued between Jefford and Bager; for as soon as they saw Bager and his companions approaching them, they all fled to the priory; nor before their flight were they ever nearer to each other than a furlong. The prior was then farther asked, whether the Earl of Arundel had been made acquainted not only with this, but with a previous invasion of his park a short time before? To which he replied that he had; and that he would accept of no pecuniary compensation for the damage done, but had freely forgiven them. Forty shillings, however, were afterwards demanded of them by Master Prestall, which they paid, but which the Earl refused to take. Dallaway, following the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, whose extract from the Bishop's Register, giving an account of this poaching transaction, is very incorrect, calls this Jefford a "a monk," which I do not find elsewhere stated to be the case; nor does his name occur among the canons of this, or any neighbouring priory at the time. Far more likely is it that he was an expert deer-stalker of the neighbourhood; and as such occasionally employed by the Hardham prior in these marauding expeditions.

The profits of the ferry over the river Adur, at Shoreham, was part of Sir William Paynell's endowment of this priory. He also gave to it the manor of Woolbeding; which gift was con-

¹ Although this was not the case at Hardham, the canons of some of the religious houses in this country indulged freely in field sports, but more particularly in hunting. The canons of Selborne kept a pack of hounds for their amusement and profit: Wolmer and Aliceholt forests, on the borders of which their priory stood, and which was well stocked with deer, affording them an extensive and successful hunting range. This we learn from the Injunctions issued by Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in 1373; in the eleventh of which he expresses his indignation with

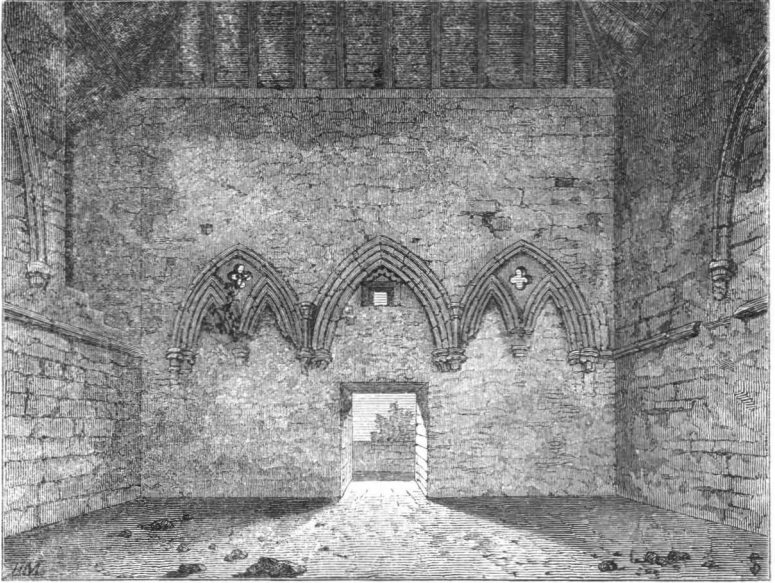
some of the canons whom he found to be professed hunters and sportsmen, keeping hounds, and publicly attending hunting matches. These pursuits, he tells them, occasion much dissipation, bring danger both to soul and body; and lead to much expense. Wishing, therefore, to extirpate this vice from the convent, he absolutely enjoins the canons never intentionally to be present at any tumultuous, noisy huntings; or to keep hounds, by themselves or by others, openly or by stealth, within the convent or without.

firmed, 1 Henry IV.¹ (1400). The Harleian MSS.,² refer to lands and tenements possessed by this house in the same parish, called "Cotes at Hill," which were valued at 13s. 6d. The only deed referring to this priory which I met with among Wood's papers at Oxford, was a lease from the prior and convent of Herryngham, demising to John Gylons, clerk, and William certain lands in Warningcamp, parcel of the ancient demesne of William Dawtrey, for a term of twenty years, at a rent of 10s., to be paid by four equal quarterly payments, under the usual covenants and conditions. This lease, which was executed in duplicate, and signed and sealed by each party interchangeably, is dated Herryngham, 15 Henry II. (1437). From a deed in the chartulary of the priory of Lewes it appears that Herryngham priory was dedicated to St. George. By it Joceline of Louvaine, lord of the honour of Petworth, and brother of Queen Adeliza, gave to it a meadow formerly belonging to William Fitzalan; and a close called Chelworth, for the good of the soul of Joceline, his uncle. A deed of inspeximus among the Patent Rolls, recites a charter of Edward III., appropriating the Hospital of St. Anthony de Coukham, in his patronage, to the same house, and confirming the manor of Cokeham, now a part of the parish of Sompting, but formerly a hamlet with a chapel, to the priory, which had been given by the same Sir William Paynell, to enable them to find four secular chaplains to officiate in the priory church. And by a deed of indenture, dated 5 Henry VIII. (1514) John Pricklowe, prior, demised all his lands in the parish of Lodsworth, called Fitz-Heriz-lands, which were formerly held by Aylwyn, to Edward Fielder, for a term of sixty-five years, at a yearly rent of 5s. In 1475, the priory buildings were reported to the Bishop, at a visitation held that year, to be in a very ruinous state. The exact period of its dissolution is not known; but it was certainly before the general dissolution of monasteries; Sir William Goring,³ at its abandonment, taking possession of the lands it then possessed as the heir-at-law of the founder. The site of the priory is now occupied as a farmhouse; in which, and among the contiguous farm buildings, many interesting remains are still to be found. The

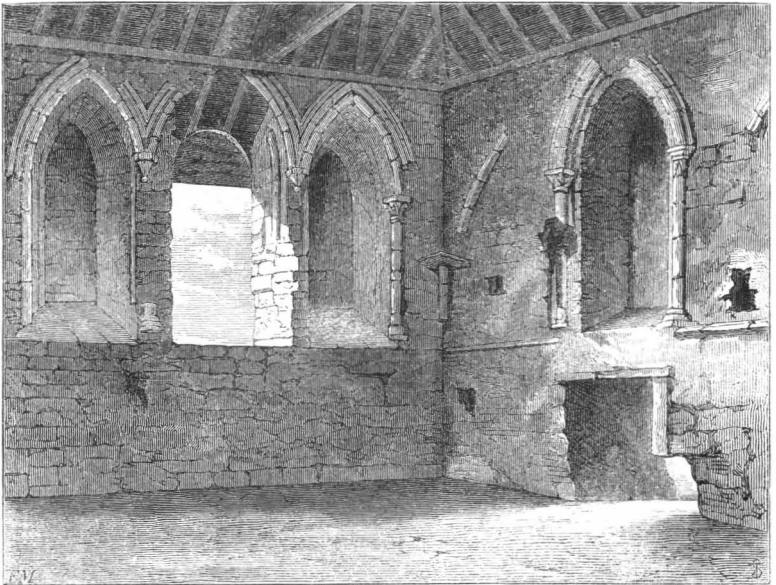
¹ Pat. 1 Henry IV., p. 6, m. 12, *per inspeximus*.

² MSS. Harl. 606.

³ Master of the horse to Henry VIII.



INTERNAL VIEW OF THE EAST END OF HARDHAM PRIORY CHAPEL.



INTERNAL VIEW OF THE WEST END OF HARDHAM PRIORY CHAPEL.

outside walls of its small but very attractive chapel, with its arches and mullioned windows of the date of Edward I., or thereabouts, still stand, but are beginning to display manifest symptoms of decay.

This chapel, of which two internal views are given, one taken from the west looking eastward, and the other from the east looking westward, possesses many features deserving the notice of archæologists. In strange contrast with its former use, this chapel is now made the receptacle of every kind of refuse and rubbish which the tenant of the farm desires to keep out of sight; its present contents appearing to be the aggregate accumulation of more than a quarter of a century. These, together with the dim but not religious light which its obstructed windows admit, make the obtaining a satisfactory view of its well-proportioned interior very difficult.

The details of this chapel are very interesting. They consist, first, of the arrangement of the shaft-capitals, and the form of the arches which spring from them, at the south-east angle of the east end, with which those of the north-east angle correspond, the intermediate capitals being somewhat different; and, secondly, of the moulding of the eastern entrance; a small portion of which is seen in the engraving of the east end, in the angle of the centre arch, over the present low square entrance. This moulding is chiselled in the thickness of the doorway, and gives to it a light appearance and finish. These arches are also shown in the external view of the west end of the chapel. They are in an excellent state of preservation. The capitals, too, from which they spring are deserving of notice. The moulding which runs round these arches gives them a finished and ornamental appearance at the top.

The refectory crypt, supported by plain circular pillars, and slightly pointed arches, is the cellar of the present house, and runs under the whole of it. The arms of William Pricklowe, the last of the priors, still remains on a Sussex marble chimney-piece in one of its bedrooms. By his will, dated 1521, besides other bequests, John Goring of Burton gives to the priory of Hardham, 40*s.*, "for sixty masses, and one solemn dirge;" and he directs "his evidences" to be kept in the priory, until his son, then a minor, should come of age. And at a visitation of this priory, held by Bishop Story in the year 1478, the

first year of his episcopacy, Dom. Henricus Coombe reported, that for the last seven years he had received £40 from William Welborne, a canon of St. Paul's, for which he and his brethren, canons of the priory, had bound themselves and their successors, by an agreement under the common seal of the house, to pay 8*s.* annually to the rector of Welborne (in Norfolk?) for the time being; and after his death to pray for his soul and for the souls of all the faithful in Christ. Also, that Thomas Cohnes received as a life pension, under the sanction of the same seal, 20*s.* per annum; that Peter Weske held a farm valued at sixteen marcs; and Nicholas Goring two farms, one called Merryfield, and the other Bukerton Rectory. He also stated, that there was no truth in the current report, that John Drake, the then rector of Coldwaltham, but who was under an engagement to resign the incumbency to the Bishop at his next visitation of Tortington priory, was in possession of the plate, jewelry, and other property of a like nature belonging to the house, which he refused to give up. The priory buildings were declared to be at this time in a very ruinous state, and the services of the church to be very negligently performed, owing to the canons being much away from the house; nor had the prior rendered any account to his brethren for more than three years; his excuse being his inability to say whether the house was in debt or not. And at a subsequent visitation in 1527, the same irregularity of residence and of church duty is represented as still prevailing.

There are also among Wood's Ashmolean Records two deeds referring to the monastic church or convent of LEVEMINSTER¹ (Liminster), an establishment of nuns of the order of St. Benedict. By one of these, Katerine, prioress, and the sisterhood, resign into the hands of Robert, prior of Calceto, five acres of land near Abedell, in the same parish, with all its rights and privileges, which had been leased by him to Johanna, her predecessor in the same office, and the then sisterhood for a certain number of years, at a certain reserved rent, the particulars of which are not mentioned, but stated to be fully set

¹ The parish of Liminster has been variously designated: Lullingminster, as in King Alfred's will; Leveminster, as here; Leóminster, and Lyminster. It is supposed to derive its name, whether

right or not I shall not pretend to determine, from Sancti Leonis Monastorum, the saint to whom the nunnery was dedicated in Saxon times.

forth in other memoranda referring to them and their house, then in their possession, the term of the demyse having expired. This deed of resignation was ratified and confirmed by the seal of the convent, and witnessed by John Mitchel, prior of Tortington; Robert, vicar of Leveminster; Richard Wiltsame, Thomas Warnecampe, and John Polyn. It is dated the vigil of the Blessed Mary, 5 Richard II. (1382.) By the other deed, William Chalyng, lord of Liminstre, grants to Ralph le Taylere, for the service of himself and his wife Christiana, and his legitimate heirs, a tenement situated between his garden and the tenement of Nicholas le Winter; and one acre and a half of meadow, parcel of the land of the prioress and convent of Leveminstre, in fee, and by inheritance, as long as he should pay to him and to his heirs half a pound of cinnamon in full of all secular service and demands. The witnesses to this deed are Herbert, priest of Leveminstre; Walter, priest of Warnecampe; Gernegame and Ralph Hareng, Herbert Fitzosmonde, Manastorius Aquilan, and Gilbert, Henry, and Peter, clerks.

The Nunnery of Liminster was originally a Saxon establishment, which, after its discontinuance and decay, Roger de Montgomerie, one of the Conqueror's Norman companions to this country, and the leader of the central division of his army at the battle of Hastings, or his son Roger, for this is uncertain, rebuilt soon after the Conquest, and gave to the nuns of Almanesches in Normandy, which he or his son had also refounded, and of which it thus became a cell; the three or four nuns at first supported in it being sent over at his request from this foreign house, and afterwards from time to time supplied from thence, as vacancies occurred. In an old MS. book in the Bodleian Library, which treats, among other monastic subjects, "de Abbatibus et Abbatiis Normanorum, et edificationibus earum," this nunnery, and its existence in Saxon times, is, after mentioning two other monasteries, founded by Earl Roger, thus alluded to, "Fundavit etiam, immo restauravit, predictus Comes Rogerus, monasterium feminarum apud Almaneschas; ubi olim sancta Opportuna fuerat Abbatissa, antequam Normanni in regnum Franconum venirent." To whom the Liminster nunnery was dedicated, is not now known. By some it has been attributed to St. Mary Magdalene, and by others to the Virgin Mary; nor have we any record of the

exact date, either of its discontinuance as a Saxon convent, or of its reconstruction by an Earl Roger. The earliest authentic notice of its post-Norman existence that has come down to us, is of the date 1178, in which year all its possessions in England and France were confirmed to it by a bull of Pope Alexander IV., and their lands in this country exempted from the payment of tithes. Besides the church of Liminster, they appear to have possessed that of Rosintone, and the churches and manors of Clymping, Ford, and Poling, together with the half hundred of Illesart, and their appurtenances. This appears from an official return made by Georgia Glovenestre, one of its prioresses, in 1248, of the property then possessed by the house, and given in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Having been seized by the crown after the French war in the time of Henry V., it was, after a few years, granted to the college at Eton, a part of the endowment of which it still continues.

This convent must have been much enlarged in the time of Henry II., as twenty-six nuns are stated to have been then resident in it, who were all ladies of rank and station, and who paid each of them two hundred mares for the privilege of their admission. They were not called upon to perform any menial services—six lay-sisters being kept to do the necessary work of the house. Nevertheless, the discipline they submitted to was of the severest kind, the strictest abstinence from flesh, and from fires in their cells, being practised by them, and silence rigidly observed. They were, too, in the constant habit of rising for midnight service.

In 1409, the prioress presented to the living of Liminster. No traces of this convent now remain; but it is supposed to have stood to the south of the church, upon a site now occupied by the house of Mr. Duke, in whom, after passing through several families, the nunnery demesnes in Liminster are now vested. Dallaway, upon the authority of Jorval's Collections,¹ states, that Suane, son of Godwin Earl of Kent, enticed Edgwina, one of the abbesses of this nunnery in the time of Edward the Confessor, whom he had seduced, away from this house, with the intention of marrying her—an offence for which he was obliged to fly into Denmark. Tanner mentions that there are deeds referring to this convent in the treasury

¹ Collection 939, n. 30 and 40.

of Eton College.¹ Whether they are numerous or not, and of what they particularly consist, I am unable to say, not having succeeded in obtaining access to, or any account of, them. Dallaway, in his biographical sketches of the Earl of Arundel,² makes Roger Montgomeri the father, and his wife Mabel, daughter and heiress of William Earl of Alençon, Belesme, and Seez, the refounders of this priory, between the years 1050 and a 1060, as well as of the abbies of Almanesches and Seez; and states that Emma, their eldest daughter, was the first prioress of Almanesches; which seems not improbable. We have no account of any other prioress until the year 1409, when Nichola de Hercez was admitted to this office by Bishop Rede,³ at Amberly, upon the nomination of the Priory of Almanesches, a vacancy having occurred by the death of Georgeta de Glotiere, who had been appointed in 1400 upon the death of Katterine Lille.

In the summary of Sussex monasteries which Dallaway gives in vol. i. of his *Western Sussex*, he mentions, upon the authority of Tanner, a priory in Littlehampton, called Atherington, which he describes as alien to the Norman Abbey of St. Martyn of Seez. It is represented as possessing lands in Littlehampton, Tortington, Fishborne, and Islesham, the dates of the grants of which are stated to be 1334 and 1335, and its value in 1374, £63. 18s. 4d. This house seems scarcely deserving of the name of a priory, nor is it included in any other list of Sussex monasteries that I have ever met with. Its history is simply this. The prior and monks of the Abbey of Seez possessing, as we have already seen, considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Littlehampton and Arundel, among which were lands with a house, anciently called Farm Place, in Clymping, prudentially established a monk of their house here, to act as their bailiff, to receive their rents, and to practise that general supervision over them, which, from their situation in a foreign country, they themselves were precluded from exercising; from which circumstance the house derived its present name of Bailie's Court. Atherington is the appellation of the tithing in which it was situated. Though surrounded

¹ His reference is, "Cart. ad hunc prioratum spectantes in Thesaur. Coll. Eton. capsula 18."

² *History of Sussex*, vol. ii., part 1, p. 116.

³ *Reg. Episc.*

by, and originally a part of, the parish of Clymping, it is now a portion of that of Littlehampton; its annexation to this parish having, at some time or other, been effected, probably as a matter of convenience, by the foreign abbey to which it belonged. Although Tanner speaks of monks occupying this priory, I do not find more than one monk to have ever been resident here at a time; who, in all taxations and other references to the house, is invariably spoken of as a servant of the foreign abbey, and designated "Balivus de Atherington;" and the lands over which his jurisdiction extended are usually spoken of as "the bailiffry of Atherington." These lands were confiscated by Henry V., upon the breaking out of the French war in 1415, and subsequently transferred by him to his newly founded Nunnery of Sion.

For the drawing from which the engraving of Calceto Priory is taken, I am indebted to Mr. George Fry, of Arundel; and for those of Hardham Priory, to Mrs. Gore, of Ruspar, and her sister, Miss Martin, of Pulborough.

NOTICE OF CERTAIN PLEA ROLLS OF EDWARD II.,
RELATING TO THE ABBEY OF BAYHAM.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILES COOPER.

THE meeting of the Sussex Archæological Society at Bayham, in August last, called for some short popular statement of its bygone history. A meeting which everything conspired to favour—where the courtesy and hospitality of the noble owner of the abbey threw an additional grace over those venerable ruins, so picturesque in themselves, and so full of touching reminiscences of the skill and taste, the piety and the errors, of our forefathers—would still have been incomplete if not a word had been said of its origin and fortunes, to the large and distinguished assembly which the occasion had drawn together. It was unavoidable, in supplying this want, to mention several things already known to the readers of our *Collections*; but, besides what had been previously published, a few not uninteresting particulars were then for the first time brought forward, which may now find a permanent place in these volumes, in order to render as complete as may be our record of this ancient abbey.

A singular conjecture had suggested itself with respect to its original name of Beaulieu, appearing to carry with it much plausibility, and to furnish a remarkable instance of the tenacity with which ancient names are retained under slight disguises. Not far from the site of the monastery is a hamlet where the receiving-house for letters is situated, bearing the name of “Bell’s Yew Green”; to which my attention was drawn by the postmark on a letter. It can hardly be doubted, I think, that “Bell’s Yew” is Beau (or Bel) Lieu, slightly altered; *bel* being the old form of *beau*, as in the instance of

Philip le Bel, and others which need not be specified. Those who remember how strangely the "Belle Sauvage," and other names of French origin, have been metamorphosed by the English genius, will perhaps not deem this an extravagant conclusion.

But the most curious addition to our previous knowledge of this abbey was kindly supplied to me by the Rev. Lambert Larking, Honorary Secretary to the Kent Archæological Society, in the shape of certain extracts from the Plea Rolls of King Edward II., which present a striking picture of the state of society in that disorderly reign. These extracts¹ refer to three suits at law instituted by the Abbot of Begeham against divers parties, for personal injury and abstraction of property; two of which at least, and probably the third also, have more or less connection with a contest then going on between two rival candidates for the abbacy.

1. The first is an action brought against Sir Henry de Leyburne, charging him with an outrage attended with great violence, and committed in 31 Edw. I. (1302-3), when he, on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Edmund the King (Nov. 20—also the day of Edward I.'s accession) appeared, with an armed multitude of persons unknown, before the gates of the abbey, assaulting the inmates with arrows and other weapons, and closely beleaguering the house for the space of three days, with threats that any one who attempted to leave it, would do so at the peril of his life: till at last the abbot, intimidated by this violence, was fain to compound matters by paying the knight a fine of £20; suffering upon the whole (as he alleges) loss to the amount of £100.

The defence set up by Sir Henry was, That he went to the abbey in the company of one Solomon, who claimed to be the true and lawful abbot (for the purpose, it would seem, of instating him in his office); That the present complainant, the abbot *de facto*, did there, in the presence of Edmund de Maulee and others then in the house with him, entreat defendant to stay his hand, and give him time for deliberation and consultation; That, at the abbot's request, he granted such delay; and for that reason received the £20, which the abbot freely and

¹ The references given are to Placita de Juratis et Assisis, 1—6 Edward II., m. 2, 35; and m. 156 (new number).

of his own will offered, without any assault, siege, or trespass, by him (the defendant) committed. Upon these points both parties join issue, and appeal to the laws of their country.

On the day fixed for the trial, the abbot failed to appear in court, conscious perhaps of having weakened his cause by an injudicious compromise, and the prosecution seems to have fallen to the ground.

2. In the second case the same Sir Henry de Leyburne and one John de Lisle are charged with having, on Sunday after the Feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11) in 5 Edward II. (A.D. 1311), seized and carried off two horses of the value of 50*s.*, from the manor of Matfield, belonging to our abbey, in the parish of Brenchley; and done other unlawful acts contrary to the King's peace, &c., whereby the abbot had sustained damage to the amount of £3.

The report of this trial, as put into my hands, is incomplete; nor can I tell what was the defence, or what the issue. Probably the defendants would allege some plausible arguments, to clear themselves from the accusation of vulgar robbery, and show that they were only vindicating some assumed right. At any rate, like the first case, it is a specimen of the manner in which the wealthy feudalists of those times were disposed to take the law into their own hands, and attempt to coerce those whom they thought weaker than themselves.

Sir Henry de Leyburne, who played so conspicuous a part in these transactions, seems to have been an apt instrument, from his turbulent and rapacious character, for supporting the pretensions of an intrusive and contumacious monk, who, if we may trust the assertion of the plaintiff, had been canonically ejected by virtue of a Papal bull. One must regard him as a restless, unscrupulous man, ever ready for a fray, and intent upon securing his own advantage, though gained by a marauding invasion upon his neighbour. Mr. Larking informs me that his name occurs frequently in these Rolls, and always in some equivocal position. At a later period (A.D. 1322), he suffered imprisonment, if not death, for the part he took in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion against Edward II., which terminated in the battle of Boroughbridge.

His niece, Juliana, daughter of Sir Thomas de Leyburne, the great heiress termed for her wealth the Infanta of Kent,

inherited her uncle's estates, as well as those of her father; and had for her first husband the Lord Hastings, for her second, the Earl of Huntingdon.

3. In the third of these suits, the defendants were William, Abbot of St. Radegund's (a Premonstratensian house near Dover), Nicholas de Someter, Henry Clereband, Clement de S^{ta}. Radegunda, Richard de Wyngate, Nicholas le Fevre, John le Clere, John the Tailor (le Taillour), John de Upchurch, and Ralph de Portslade,—who are accused of a trespass—for that they, on Sunday the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (July 7), in the 31 Edw. I. (1303), did seize and carry away *vi et armis*, that is to say, with hatchets, swords, bows and arrows, in the King's highway at Ash, near Wingham, certain chattels belonging to the Abbot of Begeham, then and there in the custody of one John de Arundel, his brother canon,—to wit, one horse with saddle and bridle, one portable book of prayers, a girdle with a purse, (in all?) of the value of £10; also a Papal bull concerning the removal of Solomon de Wengham, canon of St. Radegund, out of the Abbey of Bayham, and certain letters executory of the said bull, publicly signed under the hand and seal of the Prior of Southwark, the Judge-delegate of the Lord Pope in the bull aforesaid, together with 48*s.* in money: all these they are charged (in a great deal of bad Latin, not easy to render into tolerable English) with taking by force, and committing other enormities, whereby plaintiff declares himself to have incurred loss to the extent of £200.

But here the accused parties make a successful defence. They plead that they were acting in pursuance of a mandate from the Abbot of Premonstre, the immediate superior both of the Abbot of Bayham and of the Abbot of St. Radegund's, and head of the whole Premonstratensian order. They affirm that they took brother John of Arundel, a canon of the same order and profession as themselves, then being at Ash,—as rebellious, wandering, and disobedient to his monastic superiors,—that he might be punished for his demerits, according to the rule of the said order. That they found with him a horse with saddle and bridle, a prayer-book, a girdle, and purse in which were (not 48*s.*, but) 4*s.* 9*d.*: which chattels the Abbot of St. Radegund's forthwith sent and offered to the Abbot of Bayham,

who refused to receive them. They say, however, that the said Abbot of Bayham did afterwards receive the horse, but the saddle and bridle, by reason of their age, had rotted and perished. The prayer-book had been given back to J. of Arundel upon the spot, for his use in celebrating divine service; but the girdle and purse, with the 4s. 9d., they now hand into court, to be delivered to the Abbot of Bayham..

The jury, being satisfied of the truth of this statement, find for Abbot William and his fellow-defendants; and the Abbot of Bayham is left, for his false claim, *in misericordia, i.e.*, at the mercy of the court, who inflicted upon him, we may fairly suppose, exemplary costs.

The dates of these three suits are nearly coincident [1312-13], two of them some ten years after the offences were alleged to have been committed (1302); whence we may infer, that the struggle for the abbacy had been going on all this time, and was not yet terminated.

It will be observed that the Abbot of Bayham seems to ground the extrusion of Solomon de Wengham upon the authority of a Papal bull; and this Papal bull he affirms was stolen with other things from the person of John of Arundel. If this Papal bull had any real existence, then, as everything else was given back, we may suspect that to obtain possession of the bull was the chief object of the Abbot of St. Radegund's in making the seizure complained of; since he was evidently a partisan of Solomon.

But the bull may possibly have been altogether a monk's or a lawyer's fiction, for we cannot learn that it was ever produced in court.

The Abbot of Bayham at this time was a canon of the name of Laurence,¹ as we know from another source; who continued to hold his office, in spite of all efforts to displace him, till 1315—about two years after the date of these trials. He was then obliged to resign, in consequence (it must be presumed) of incompetency or misconduct, or perhaps some real flaw in his title, and was succeeded by one Lucas de Coldone. This resignation was the result of a visitation of the abbey by the Abbot of Langdon, the particulars of which are preserved in a

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. IX. p. 179.

MS. now in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. By a comparison of dates it appears that it was during this dispute that Bayham was not represented, either by its abbot or his proxy, in the general meeting of the order at Lincoln, in the summer of 1310.¹

Of Coldone I find nothing more; he probably held office for a short period: but his successor was *certainly* of the name of Solomon; and it is not unlikely that this was no other than *Solomon de Wengham*, who, after his first violent and abortive attempt, had at last succeeded in the object of his ambition. If so, he continued abbot for a long time, since I find him party to a deed executed in 1352—forty-nine years after H. de Leyburne's ineffectual effort to place him at the head of the abbey.

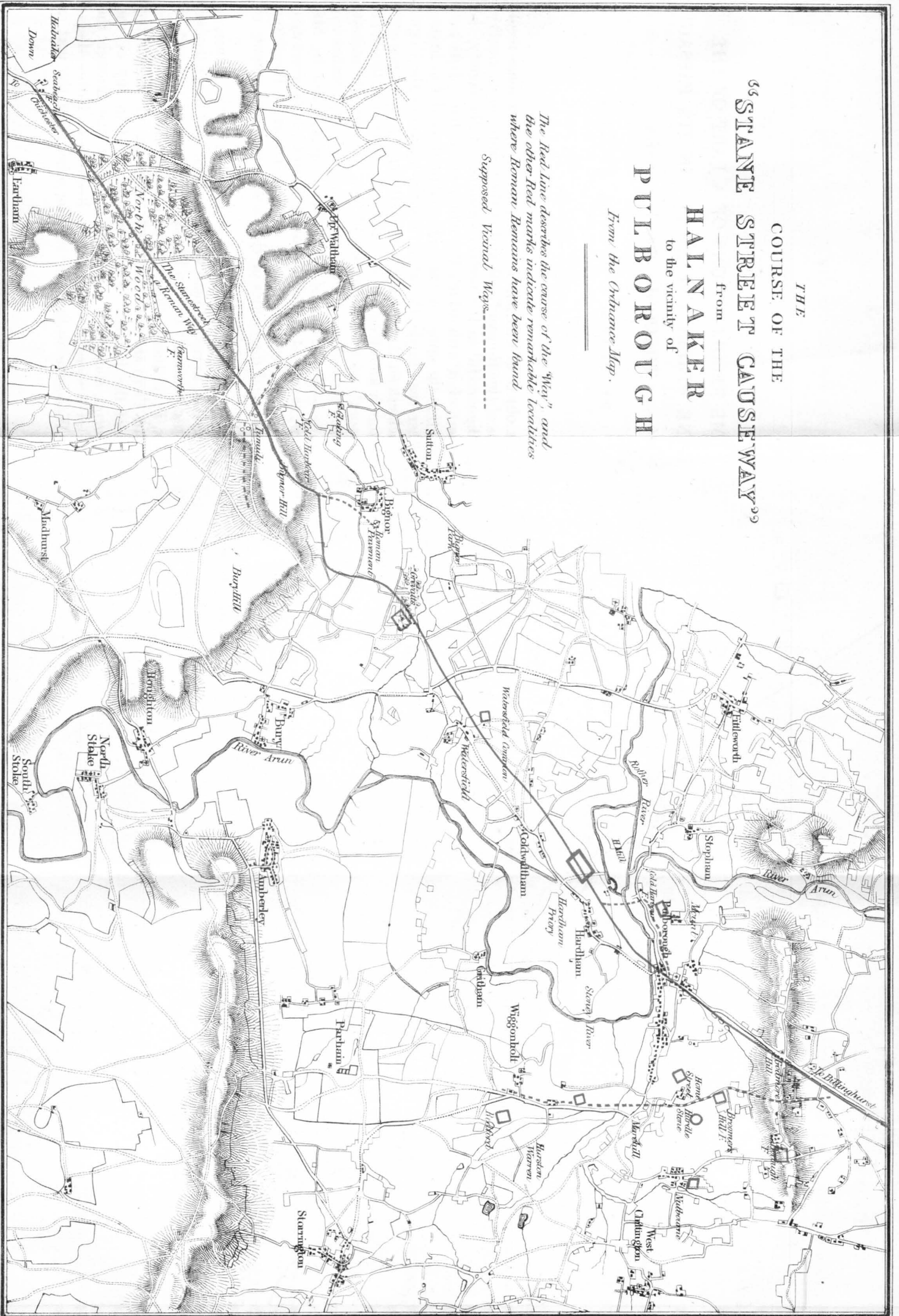
These singular documents console us much that our lot was not cast in those *good old times*, to which the human mind has a natural disposition to look back with fond regret; and may reconcile us to the present state of things, as yet not invested by age with a like poetic interest, but exempt at any rate from such lawless outrages as befell the unfortunate Abbot Laurence. It is thus we draw wisdom from the past, and, looking upon the poor remains of his once flourishing house, with the beautiful grounds, of which they now constitute a principal ornament,—

Find tongues in trees, books in the running streams,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. IX. p. 171.

THE
COURSE OF THE
"STANE STREET CAUSEWAY"
FROM
HALNAKER
TO THE VICINITY OF
PILBOROUGH
From the Ordnance Map.

The Red line describes the course of the "Way", and the other Red marks indicate remarkable localities where Roman Remains have been found
Supposed Vicinal Ways-----



SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF A PART OF THE
“STANE STREET CAUSEWAY” IN ITS PASSAGE
THROUGH WEST SUSSEX.

BY PETER J. MARTIN, ESQ., F.G.S.

THE object of this paper is to put on record some recollections of this Roman Road, and of the country in its vicinity, from Bignor Hill to the northern confines of the county, the only part of it with which the writer is familiar. It is well known that the same *via* was continued on through Chichester, or rather the Broyle, the great military station of the Regni, to Bracklesham Bay, or the port of Itchenor; and a research to restore a knowledge of its exact course through the Manwode south of Chichester, would not be without interest. Materials for such a research are not wanting: the author has in his possession coins of the Lower Empire, found by Mr. Cartwright (one of the historians of Sussex), forty years ago, when he was rector of Earnly; and Mr. Dixon, of Worthing, has published discoveries of the same sort, in the vicinity of Selsea or Bracklesham.

Before entering on the immediate object of this paper, it may be well to recapitulate what has been said by Dallaway, the latest authority on the Roman antiquities of this part of Sussex, in relation to the subject in question:—

“But there are two great military ways, the undoubted works of the Romans, which are unnoticed in any of the *Itineraries*, and which penetrate in a right line through the forest of Anderida: the one from Regnum to Novio Magus (near Woodcote, in Surrey), and the other from the port or

city of Anderida to Holwood Hill, and through Bromley to London. It is probably owing to there having been no intervening station of consequence established in the Weald, that these lines of road have never been exactly specified, and that they are now known only by remains detached from each other, but to be with certainty connected in the course of accurate investigation."¹

Dallaway is often rather obscure, and a hasty reader of this passage might suppose that the lines here described might have some connection with each other. But, in fact, they are distinct and far apart: the one intersecting the eastern, the other the westernmost part of the *Silva Anderida*. By as much as is known, the "way" in question here was direct and simple; and although doubtless intersected, between the coast and the proper "Weald," by the vicinal ways which led along the coast, and from post to post, east and west, along the line of the Chalk Downs, it cut directly, and without interruption, through the forest country, with nothing habitable in much of its course, from the verge of the sand country at Pulborough to Ockley or Dorking, but such *hospitia* or *mansiones* as will by-and-bye be spoken of. And it is probable that it may be owing to such absence of notable strong places, military stations, or *castramenta*, as said by Dallaway, that the otherwise remarkable and direct road from Regnum to Londinium did not enter into the *Itinerary* of Antoninus.

Dallaway, who had doubtless consulted Camden, Stukely, Gale, and other best authorities, goes on to say:—

"The first, or Western Stane Street, commences at the east gate of the city of Chichester, and takes a northern direction to West Hamptonet, through Strettington, to Sea Beach and Bury Farms, about a mile from Halnaker. It then pursues a direct course over the fields, where the traces are now obliterated by the plough, through the North Wood, winding afterwards under Glating Beacon² (probably a Roman earthwork), and opposite Coldharbour Farm, down Bignor Hill."

These names are to be found in the Ordnance Map; and in all probability the line of Roman way was exactly that now occupied by the turnpike road from Maudlin to Halnaker. In

¹ *Preliminary History of the Rape of Chichester*, p. xvii.

² There is no such earthwork on the hill above Glating. (P. J. M.)

a note, the historian explains that Strettington and Seabeach have reference to the gravel supposed to be transported there for making the Roman road. In this he was mistaken: the locality in question is full of natural shingle-beds, most probably of two, if not more, distinct geological epochs. The same mistake is made about a shingle-bed at Slinfold, hereafter to be mentioned. The writer of this notice has not been able to satisfy himself that sea-gravel was ever made use of in the construction of the road in question. It would be unreasonable to suppose that so practical a people as the Romans, or their pupils the British artificers of that era, would not avail themselves of the nearest "hardware" procurable, to finish the surface of their roads. The chalk districts afforded flint; the sandy, their own iron and sand stones; and in the depth of the Weald, the flat coarse paving-stone dug from the clay of the vicinity, would serve this purpose: all in consonance with the Saxon name of "Stane Street," afterwards imposed on this important "way."

Leaving the present turnpike-road, as above mentioned, at Halnaker, the Roman way may be found, in some places, forming the boundary of fields or properties, and is distinctly traced in a more or less perfect state all through the North Woods, as mentioned by Mr. Dallaway, and marked in the Ordnance Map. These woods are locally called "The Gumber," and adjoin the Gumworth Farm, not improbably the Coomb-wood and Coomb-worth?

The exact point at which the Roman way leaves the Halnaker road, or crosses it, to enter the wood-country, has not been ascertained; and it has always appeared probable to the writer that a strict examination of the flat country between Chichester and Halnaker, and attention to its traditions, would prove that the military way took its course from the Broyle, farther north than the turnpike road, and nearer to Goodwood. However this may be, there is sufficient reason for believing that, as far as the Seabeach Farm, the "way" never rose much above the level of the champaign country, and did not assume the remarkable triple arrangement, to be more distinctly observed at the top of the Downs, above Bignor. Within these woods tumuli are to be found, in the vicinity of the "way," some of which having been concealed and protected by the

Beeches, are likely to be yet in a virgin and undisturbed state. Before leaving this part of the object of research, and in the absence of more accurate information on the many interesting indications of Romano-British occupation in the line of country connected with the "way" south of Halnaker and Eartham, and toward Arundel, it may not be uninteresting to notice the sepulchral deposits brought to light at Avisford and Westergate. The writer had the good fortune to see the sarcophagus figured in Dallaway's *History*, with all its contents, a few days after the discovery. Everything was then fresh, and in excellent order. The sandals were unbroken, and the leather so little decayed, as to admit of their being handled. The cyst,¹ now so much mutilated, had a coffer-like lid, being counter-sunk, like the lid of a common band-box, to the depth of two or three inches.

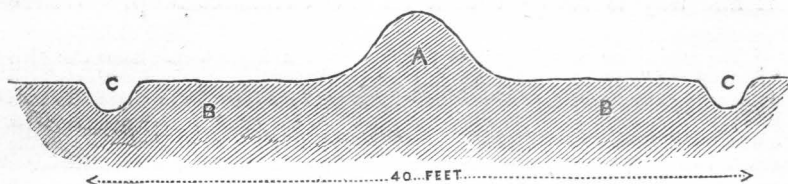
The excellent preservation of the sandals and vessels within was probably mainly owing to the form of this covering, so well adapted to exclude water. But the most remarkable feature in the interior of the chest itself, was the four brackets in the four angles, on each of which stood a lamp of very rude construction. One could not but be struck with the conviction, that these lamps had been left burning when the coffer-lid was finally closed; as though (if it were not indeed a part of the religious ceremony) the piety of the survivors made them averse to leaving the urn and its sacred contents in utter darkness. The stone of this remarkable sarcophagus, as may still be verified, was brought from the escarpment of the sandstone overlooking the Weald, most probably from Pulborough (where quarries, worked by the Romans, are still in existence), as will again be observed, when treating of the last-mentioned place, necessitating a land carriage of twelve miles by our "Stane Street," supposing this military way was used for ordinary traffic, which may be doubted. It is more than probable that the Avisford sarcophagus was buried in the immediate vicinity of the eastern or coast line of way leading to Arundel, knowing as we do that the Romans were addicted to placing their sepulchres by the roadside. From some observations made a few years ago, the writer thinks it probable that interesting disclosures of the like kind might be effected by

¹ In the Chichester Museum.

the side of the "Stane Street," in the North Woods, as before alluded to.

Emerging from the entanglements of the woods, and arriving at the top of the Downs, the "way" is to be found apparently almost as perfect as when turned out of the hands of the workmen. The turf has sufficed to preserve it from the wear of wind and weather; and the outlines or profile of the work serve, most probably, as a type of all similar constructions under similar circumstances. Mr. Hawkins, of Bignor Park, has been so obliging as to furnish the writer with the draft of a section of it, as it appears on the crest of Bignor Hill. The "way" measures here about forty feet from side

SECTION AT BIGNOR HILL.



- A Central Mound.
- B Stoned Road each side.
- C Shallow Ditches, of uncertain width.

to side, bounded on each side by shallow ditches. Within these ditches there are three distinct platforms, the central one rising into a sharp vallum, on which it does not appear possible that more than two or three men could march abreast.¹ This crest or vallum rises about ten feet above the surface of the surrounding country, the lateral platforms not so much as half the height. The materials to form these elevations seem to have been taken from the shallow *fossæ* above mentioned, and in an irregular way from the surrounding plain. This arrangement ceases at the top of the Down, and the whole is bevelled off northward, and the greater part of the escarpment is passed over by a formed road of little or no elevation. But the triple elevation with central vallum is resumed near the bottom of the hill, as the "way" takes off eastward toward West Burton, is continued for about half a mile through a

¹ Perhaps, with accoutrements, two only.

coppice, and then ceases again at the bottom of the hill as it enters the ploughed grounds.¹

For what follows regarding the exact line of the "way," in its passage from Bignor Hill, through the West Burton grounds, and into the adjoining parish of Coldwaltham, the writer is entirely indebted to the researches of Mr. Hawkins, of Bignor Park. His long residence on the spot, and possession of some part of the ground through which it passes, have made him perfectly familiar with its details. About one-third of the way down the declivity of the Downs, the "way" divides into two, or rather the main "way" sends off a branch bearing north-westerly, and pointing directly to the "Roman Pavement" (the well-known mosaics of the villa at Bignor). This vicinal way is faintly drawn on the Ordnance Map. Where

¹ The mechanism of this part of the "Stane Street" has been more minutely dwelt on, because it involves a curious consideration as to the original purpose of the central ridge. The author has always been satisfied with speculating on its utility for marking strongly the line of march when snow was on the ground, in fogs, or for protection from the weather to the troops in marching order on the platforms on each side. Mr. Hawkins inclines to the opinion that this elevated ridge gave opportunity to a line of scouts, marching in single file, for a wider field of observation on either side. This conclusion is much strengthened by observing, that this arrangement obtains only through the country, which, at the time the road was made, in all probability was overgrown with brushwood, in which an ambush might lurk unseen, but for this elevated line of observation. It was the writer's purpose, if his health permitted, to consult some authorities on the practice of the Roman engineers, and their rules of guidance in these matters, but he has been disappointed by ill health, and must leave the research to abler hands.

It is worthy of remark, and it strengthens the hypothesis of Mr. Hawkins, that in being carried through the champaign country, which intervenes between Chichester and Halnaker (a country, it may be presumed, that was corn-growing and well cultivated before the Roman invasion), the "way" could not have had the elevation it has in crossing the Down country, or it could not have been so entirely ob-

literated, as it has been. Some elevation would have been observed, either of the turnpike road—which we suppose to have been its line of progress—or in the fields on either side. So soon as it enters the woods which occupy the southern slopes of the Downs, it assumes the remarkable shape, of which we see the farther development in perfect preservation at the top of Bignor Hill.

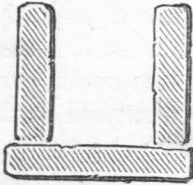
On leaving the wood at the foot of Bignor Hill (as in great part of the descent of that hill), this arrangement seems to have been abandoned, and through the more champaign country of West Burton, Watersfield, and Hardham, a moderate elevation and moderately thick distribution of stone and gravel, constituted the body of the "way," assimilating, as might be expected, to the modern turnpike road.

To a person viewing the ground in its present aspect, it would appear certainly that the high central ridge was not required for the purpose of a good "look-out," and a wide enough field of observation. But it is to be remembered that there were then no sheep-walks, or, if any, they were not so extensive as they now are; and the presumption is in favour of the existence of brushwood from the bottom to the top and very verge of the Downs. It is not likely that any forest trees would be allowed to grow there, firewood being the great requirement of the country at that time, when oak timber for building purposes was easy of access.—See Section of the "Stane Street Causeway," at the top of Bignor Hill.

the turf of the Down ceases, it disappears, but a public foot-path follows the line till it merges in the public road towards the villa, and is lost in it.

The main line, or original *via*, takes off, as before said, eastward, and sinks down in the ploughed fields about half-way between Bignor and West Burton. Here, just when it leaves the declivity of the Downs, it turns suddenly due north, and has been traced by Mr. Hawkins through the ploughed fields to a copse called the "Grevatts," on the northern slope of the *plateau* of the malm-rock, on which Bignor and West Burton stand. The test by which Mr. Hawkins is able to trace the exact line of the Roman road, through ploughed fields, and in places where it would hardly be observable otherwise, is a curious and interesting one. The flint gravel used for making it here, has a reddish tint, and could only have been obtained from the ferruginous sand and gravel beds in the adjoining parishes of Coates and Coldwaltham; the flint of the exact locality and of the adjoining Downs being all chalky, white on the surface, and black within. The descent of Bignor Hill was remarkably well chosen: the slope is the easiest the country affords, and the escarpment is here prolonged and made more easy by a spur of the Downs, affording a gentle descent toward West Burton. The sudden deflection northward, as before mentioned, on quitting this *talus* of the Downs toward the cover called the "Grevatts," Mr. Hawkins conjectures, with very good reason, was made to attain the point of easiest descent of the declivity north of Bignor, and the narrowest part of the swamp at the bottom; which swamp is everywhere interposed between the high grounds of Bignor and of Coldwaltham. In the coppice called the "Grevatts," the *via* appears in great force in the shape of a slightly elevated causeway, which may be traced for some distance by the test of the coloured gravel. Here, in draining his land a few years ago, Mr. Hawkins discovered, in a springy part of the slope, a wooden trunk or culvert, obviously put down to drain that part of the road, when it was originally made, and to form a conduit of pure water. Mr. Hawkins has lately dug it up, and has favoured the writer with this description of it. The cover is lost, or rotted away, and does not appear to have been secured by nails; the planks of the sides measure sixteen feet

in length, eleven inches in width, and four in thickness, and they were set eight inches apart. The under side on which these planks rested was less perfect, and remains imbedded in



the blue clay, the subsoil of the place. The plank of the sides is like bog-oak, a state of preservation which it owes to the boggy nature of the soil, common to the line of the escarpment, of which the Grevatts form a part.¹ As the coppice is still in a state of nature, and there are no signs of habitations or of any more modern human agency near at hand, there can be no question that this culvert was a piece of Roman carpentry. By the annexed drawing it will be seen that it passed transversely under the road, collecting the water on the upper side, and discharging it upon a rude kind of platform on the lower. It is thus described by Mr. Hawkins, to whom the writer is indebted for the illustration:—"The lower end was supported by a foundation of flint-boulders, some of them of very large size, large pieces of sandstone, some of them neatly squared, and chalk. The water as it issued from the culvert fell upon a platform or floor of irregular shape, compounded of chalk, flint, and gravel, rammed hard. It 'tails off' in an irregular form as it runs down the hill. It has much the appearance of a washing place. That it was also used as a drinking place is proved by our finding the lower portion of a small vase on the edge of the floor or platform. There were no other fragments on the spot, but it seems to have been left in the broken state in which it was found." Rudely shaped tools, hammers, mallets, and one of a spear-head shape, to be used as a trowel or a wedge, broken tiles and drain-pipes, were also discovered here. This curious relic tells its own story. There was hard by a pottery, to be presently spoken of, and perhaps some manufactory beside; and, although a stream ran through the bottom of the valley, the water in the summer time must there have been swampy, and partially stagnant, and seldom fit for domestic use. Here, to a natural spring was added a conduit, a drinking and a

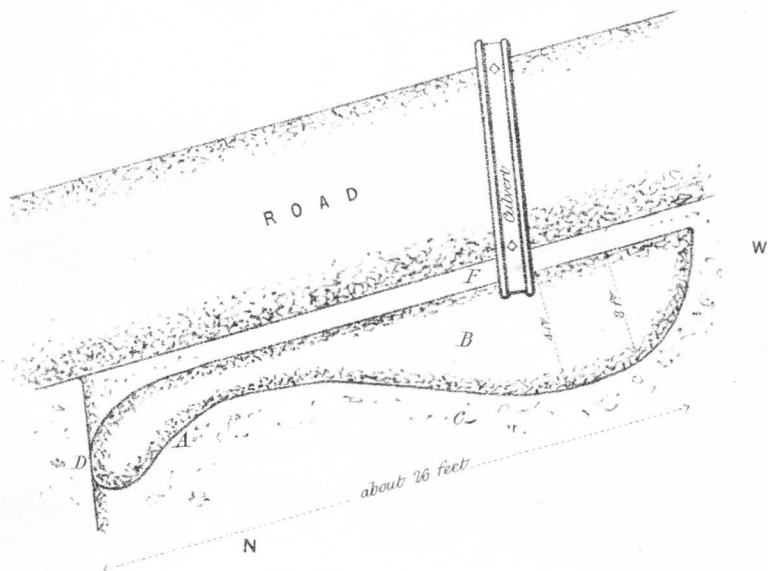
¹ More properly it is that semi-carbonized state we observe in canoes and other nautical vessels found in swamps in

various parts of the kingdom, and in the oak-trees imbedded in the silt of the levels of this county.

PLAN

S

E



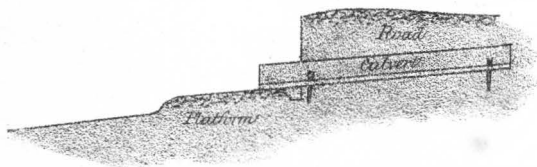
The Platform B is about 4 inches higher than the Floor C. How far C extends, has not been ascertained. Both follow the natural slope of the Ground, which falls from South to North. The Platform B and the floor C are cut through and destroyed at D by a modern drain. At F the Vase was found

BROKEN VASE

FOUND AT THE MOUTH OF THE CONDUIT



NORTH



SOUTH

SECTION AT CULVERT

washing place. The absence of masonry shows that the whole was not a station of much importance, and that the inhabitants were lodged in wooden erections; the whole perhaps a private establishment. The culvert was sixteen feet in length; the road under which it passed seems to have been about twelve feet wide. The distance from the site of the brickyard or pottery may be roughly estimated at three or four hundred yards. The measurements here specified are not strictly accurate, but approximate to the truth.

Leaving these primeval woods, the "way" now issues into some pasture lands, with an obvious swell of the surface, proceeds north-easterly towards a millstream, on both sides of which Mr. Hawkins's drainers brought to light much broken pottery and hewn stone, as of buildings. Broken and excavated ground, and other signs of a Roman pottery and brickfield, are also visible. Here, and all through the clay country hereabout, the same test of the presence of red gravel marks the exact line of progress. Since the foregoing was written, a closer examination of the ground, under the guidance of his tenants, who pointed out spots in the ploughed lands of diminished fertility, has enabled Mr. Hawkins to conclude that all this part of the line was "stoned," from the gravel-pits in Coldwaltham and Coates, a distance of two miles, up to the foot of the Downs, so as to warrant the inference that the work of roadmaking was carried on from Hardham toward Chichester, rather than from Chichester northward; or, rather, it seems that the preliminary survey of the Roman engineers had made them acquainted with the gravel-beds of the sand country, and of the greater facility of procuring the necessary "hardware" from that quarter than from the flint-beds, which are occasionally found on the Downs. In connection with this part of the subject, Mr. Hawkins also comes to this sound conclusion, that if the high central mound or vallum which is seen in the woodlands of the Downs, had been continued on in the low grounds, there would have been a wider dispersion of the gravel over the arable plain, and the lines of demarcation would not have been so well defined; another negative proof also, if any were required, that in this line of country the "old Roman road" was the type of the modern turnpike.

With regard to Bignor itself, it is not to be expected that

the writer should have much to say in correction of what is already in print; but to those persons who take interest in the social habits, the architecture of the Romans in Britain, and their commercial resources, it may be worth knowing, that besides the great profusion of brick, which they may be supposed to manufacture near at hand, they used at Bignor the limestone rock (locally called *malm*) dug on the spot, for their walls, some of the Pulborough sandstone, very probably for quoinage, and, for their columniation, the Bath or Oxford oolite. The shafts and capitals dug up there, are not of such close texture as Portland or Caen stone. The grain is coarse, and decidedly oolitic, and more like the Oxford freestone than any other. Mr. Hill, the curator of the Museum, has shown that the "Chichester marble" at Goodwood (described first by Herne) is not Sussex but Purbeck marble; and there is much reason to suppose that this was brought coastwise, and the above-mentioned freestone also. There is an additional reason for supposing that the Dorsetshire coast was open to these people for economical purposes. When the baths at Bignor were first explored, a small apartment between the cold bath and the room now containing the tessellated pavement with the Medusa's head, was found, paved with tiles about four inches square, alternately black and white, chequered like a chessboard. The white tile was of burnt ware, or at least of the same material as the white tesserae common to the building; but the black proved to be a natural production, a bituminous shale, containing fossil impressions, and burning like cannel-coal, with a strong smell of burning animal matter. This was conjectured to be the slaty shale of the Dorsetshire coast, and called in geological language *Kimmeridge clay*. This conjecture has been confirmed by a reference to Sir C. Lyell, and it is only reasonable to infer that it was brought up with the above-mentioned freestone. If the transport was made coastwise, it would most probably be by the port of Chichester, for in its natural and unimproved state it is not likely that the mouth of the Arun would admit vessels of tonnage sufficient for the carriage of such ponderous and bulky materials.¹

¹ Although a preference is here given to the Bath or Oxford oolite, it cannot be denied that the difficulties of a long land carriage render it much more probable

that Portland furnished the quarries from whence the freestone was taken. The slaty beds of the "Kimmeridge clay" are, moreover, found underlying the Portland stone;

To return to the course of the "way." Crossing the mill-stream between West Burton and the New Woods (see Ordnance Map in the vicinity of Bignor Park), at what may be called the Pottery Field, the "way" may now still be traced, by the same test of coloured flint gravel, in a north-easterly direction to the back of the windmill on Watersfield Hill. From thence also, by faint traces of the same kind, across the newly inclosed fields, and through a remarkable gap in the sandhill, into the corn-fields behind Cold Waltham Church.

In the vicinity of Watersfield a "find" of coins was made, about forty years ago, by a labourer in digging gravel. The exact spot could not be ascertained, because in this instance, as in many others, the imperfect and conflicting laws of "treasure trove" made workmen shy of disclosing the exact scene of their good fortune. These coins were three or four hundred in number, mostly third brass, of Claudius Gothicus, the Tetrici senior and junior, and Gallienus; some of the latter have good figures of animals in their reverses. Amongst them are also found a Salonina and a Quintillus. From a field at Waltham the writer obtained a solitary Antoninus Pius, with a Britannia for reverse. It has been figured by Pinkerton, who speaks of it as the most frequent of the Britannias.

The criterion of red-flint is here lost, so that for the short distance from thence to the camp at Hardham, reliance must be had in the traditions of the farmers, who point (as at Bignor and West Burton) to lines of aridity and comparative barrenness, and speak of the practice of drawing materials from "the old Roman road" for the repair of their modern parish roads.

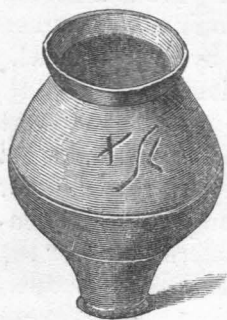
It now enters the camp at Hardham, in which, although much has been said of it, there is but little to engage the interest or regale the imagination of the antiquary. It is one of three earthworks which seem to have entered into the ori-

but Bridport, or any other accessible part of the Dorsetshire coast, would furnish the Roman builders with both these materials, and the land carriage from the vicinity of Bath, or from the freestone quarries in the intermediate districts, would be no great matter. In regard also to the Kimmeridge clay-slate used at Bignor, antiquaries will observe in it the same material as the roundles, which have

been called "coal money." In all probability these roundles are not of an earlier date than the Roman era. They are the chuck or waste pieces from the turning-lathe. See *Archæological Journal*, vol. i. p. 347; *Transactions of Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. i.; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. iv. p. 169.

ginal plan of the Roman engineers, at equal distances between Bignor and Ockley,—*hospitia, mansiones, or castra-æstiva*,—resting-places for travellers, or more properly, if it was maintained as a military way only, temporary barracks for soldiers on the march.

The greater part of this earthwork is still entire, owing its preservation apparently to its being maintained as pasture from the time of its being in the priory grounds down to the present era. It measures 360 feet along the crest of the vallum, and contains an area of about an acre and a half. It was never supposed to contain any masonry; and the railway cutting, which has lately been carried through it, has verified the supposition, although there are broken tiles and other evidence of human occupancy. The "way" entered through the west wall, where the railway now does, and passed through the camp. Before the railway cutting was made, it was pretty well known that the ground had been disturbed and rifled of any valuable contents it might have ever had. Much broken



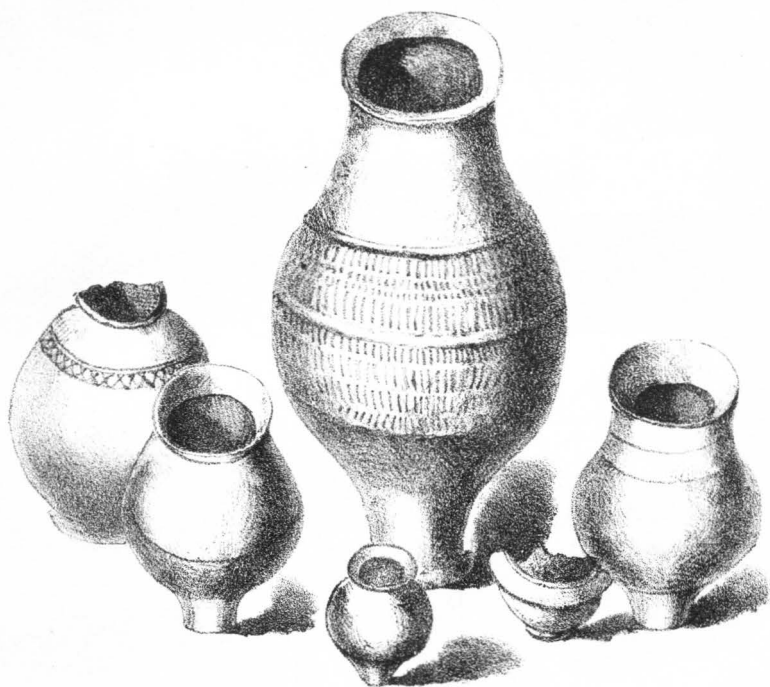
pottery has been found, and some cinerary urns, of which the figure in the margin may serve as the type. These vessels were filled with black earth, containing ashes, but they appeared all to have been taken up, deprived of their original contents, and then thrown in again.¹ Along with these the writer has obtained a brass fibula, which appears to have been gilt, a flint arrow-head or two, and three coins (third brass) of the

third or fourth century. On quitting the ground, it may be observed, that viewed as an earthwork of an early age, the Hardham camp looks weak and small, partaking little of the vigorous aspect of the strong places of the Romans, and of their immediate predecessors.

Within bowshot of the camp, and a hundred yards north of the line of the "way" as it issued from it, in digging the foundation of the mill-house, some pottery was discovered thirty

¹ That so many of these have been turned up entire, may be accounted for from the natural repugnance of the first

discoverers to make use of pots which had been the recipients of human remains.



SEPULCHRAL VESSELS FOUND AT HARDHAM IN 1859.

The large Vessel is the ordinary red ware, the rest are black and of coarser texture

years ago, and is now in the possession of the miller, Mr. Sharp. It has the character of the before-mentioned, but contained bones, and appeared not to have been rifled of its contents. The whole country here being a bed of gravel, it is impossible to determine exactly what direction the "way" took, and whether it forded the Arun at Coldharbour at the confluence of the Rother, or in the line of the modern causeway and Pulborough Bridge. The former is the narrowest part of the swamp; farther east it is extremely wide. If the ford were at Coldharbour, the "way" must have made a great sweep eastward to fall again into the direct line toward Billingshurst. A consular coin, in the possession of the writer, was ploughed up at Coldharbour some years ago, which tends to strengthen the connection always allowed to exist between Roman roads and the name of Coldharbour.¹

The swamp through which the Arun runs is narrower at this place, and it is better fording-ground than the line of the present causeway and Pulborough Bridge. The strongest presumption in favour of the latter and more direct line, is, that in putting down an arch to the south end of Pulborough Bridge, some thirty years ago, an old gravelled causeway was uncovered, leading down to the water as if for fording, and that too not in the exact line of a wooden bridge which was the precursor of the present one of stone, and therefore of earlier date than that ancient bridge.

It may not be in print, but some archæologists, amongst whom we may reckon Douglas, the author of the *Nenia Britannica*, and Cartwright the historian of Sussex, have been of opinion, and it is a tradition in the country, that another *via* took off eastward from Hardham, and forded the river at a place called "Stoney River," to Wiggonholt, and afterwards was carried on toward Steyning, or perhaps to the camps at Chanctonbury and Cisbury.² A silver *denarius* of Antoninus Pius was found in digging a hole for a gatepost near Stoney River. This Wiggonholt is the adjoining parish east of Pul-

¹ The Coldharbours of this vicinity mark the location of bends of the way, favouring the derivation of the word from *coluber*, the snake-like flexure of roads, which had always most tendency otherwise to run in straight lines.

² The farmers at Hardham do not trace

out any indications of such a vicinal way; and it is probable that the Houghton ford, and the subordinate line of road along the crest of the Downs to Chanctonbury and Cisbury, have been confounded with the tradition of Stoney River.

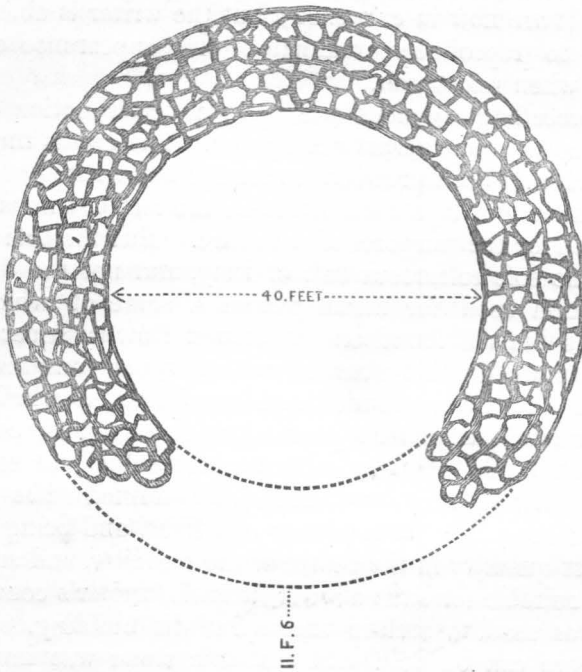
borough, and has been found rich in Roman remains. Some specimens of pottery found there are now at Parham House, and others are in the possession of the former rector, the Rev. E. Turner; some have also been in the possession of the writer. A coin of Commodus, also in his possession, second brass, was ploughed up there, and human bones with the signs of cremation, have been discovered here and there in the parish. But the most remarkable sign of Romano-British occupancy at Wiggonholt, was the discovery, four years ago, of a hoard of coins of third brass, at Redford.¹

Redford is a small property close to Wiggonholt, though in the parish of Storrington. The cottage there is supplied with water from a spring in the garden. The reservoir of this spring was being cleared out in the autumn of 1855, when in the bank, and a short distance from the surface of the ground, a mass of small coins was discovered, loosely adherent with their own rust, and ranged in the manner of rouleaux, as if they had been packed in a box which was rotted away. They were found to be 1800 in number, all of third brass, and some of them in good preservation. They were sent to the British Museum for inspection and to be catalogued, and a few were retained to enrich the cabinet of that institution. They were remarkable more for the variety of their mint marks than for their rarity. The prevailing obverses were Claudius Gothicus, Tetricus senior, Tetricus junior, Gallienus, Constans, Crispus, Constantius, Constantinus I. and Constantinus II., Licinus, and a few of Flavia Helena and Flavia Maxima Fausta: all of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. This was obviously a *cache*, most probably made in haste and in a time of danger, and the place was chosen because of the natural and indestructible landmark of the spring. Several loose coins of the same mintage have, some years ago, been brought to the writer from the ploughed fields of that vicinity.

To return toward the Roman way at Pulborough, we pass by a farm called Homestreet or Holmstreet in the map; and, if this is taken as a central point, it will be found surrounded by signs of a remarkable township, or assembly of Roman

¹ Some account of this "find" has been given by Mr. Figg, Vol. VIII., p. 277.

buildings. The most notable of these was a circular building, a short account of which is given in Cartwright's *Rape of Arundel*, p. 357. The writer assisted Mr. Cartwright in his discovery. The locality was marked by a slight elevation in a field by the roadside called Huddlestone, or Hurdlestone.



Supposed Mausoleum at Holmstreet, Pulborough, as it appeared when the soil was removed.

In his book, Mr. Cartwright has called the building a mausoleum, and many circumstances conspired to confirm the supposition. The enormous thickness of the walls, eleven feet six inches, compared with the area of forty feet, makes it appear unfit for a theatre. The copious use of tiles, and the grouted mortar, determine it to be Roman. Its being placed by the vicinal way from Wiggonholt to another Roman station at Borough (to be presently described), and its detachment from other buildings, are also circumstances strongly favouring the supposition of its being a sepulchral monument; if so, as said by an experienced traveller at the time the remains were

exposed, "there are few to equal it in Europe, out of Italy." The gap on the south side, as described by Mr. Cartwright, showed it had been used as a stone quarry, and walls are still to be found near at hand exhibiting the Roman tiles and tufous stone found there. It is not known that any of the original plans and drawings of this monument made by Mr. Cartwright are now in existence; but the writer is able, from memory, to reproduce proximately the appearance of the masonry when uncovered.

The preceding woodcut will give a better notion of its importance than any verbal description. The gap is that part of it which had been grubbed up for the materials.

Mr. Cartwright lays some stress on the fact of tufous stone being used for the purposes of sepulture. But the tufa found here is the soft calcareous tufa of Italy, and not the durable volcanic tufa used for burial purposes, some of which the writer has himself found on the Sussex Downs, squared for use, and most probably turned out of some tumulus hard by. The tufous stone found in this building, of which specimens are in the writer's possession, is a modern *calc-tuff* with vegetable impressions, a freshwater stone like some of the travertines of Italy, and the recently formed tufas in the vicinity of Pæstum. It is porous and light, and being found in greatest quantity in the centre of the building, and squared to forms suitable for such a work, it is the writer's conviction that it was used to arch-in the roof of the building. At all events there can be no doubt that this stone was imported from Italy.

About a furlong west of these remains, on an eminence overlooking Holmstreet Farmhouse, a waste¹ was grubbed up a few years ago, and the foundations of Roman habitations were discovered, of which a perfect exploration was not made, but sufficient evidences were obtained to show that there were there buildings of some importance. Following the before-mentioned vicinal way northward about a furlong, at the top of Broomer's Hill we arrive at the spot where four Roman pigs of lead were discovered just under the surface. This discovery was made after the publication of Cartwright's *History*.

¹ A natural underwood or "scrub."

A detailed account of these pigs will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824-25, and some speculations on the meaning of the inscription, or, rather, stamps on them, by J. T., who dates from "Greys." This communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine* has been copied into Horsfield and Baxter's *Sussex*. The author reads the inscription, ICLTRPVTBREXARG—*Tiberius Claudius Tribunitiæ Potestatis Britanniaæ Rex*,—and gives reasons for such reading.

A short half mile north of Broomer's, where the lead was found, is Borough Farm. Here, and on the crest of the escarpment overlooking for many miles the line of the Stane Street Causeway, and the then thick oak woods of the Sylva Anderida, very extensive buildings have been traced out, of which the dimensions, roughly estimated, are given by Cartwright. At the time Mr. Cartwright wrote this account of his exploration, no signs of tessellated pavement had been discovered; but since that time, in the north-west corner of the buildings, considerable fragments of pavement and coloured stucco have been turned up. There are no signs of circumvallation, but the site for a station was singularly well chosen—on a salient angle of the hills ranging east and west, with two copious and perennial springs within a few hundred yards. Near at hand, too, is a stone quarry of very ancient date, from whence it is said the stone of Pulborough Church, built early in the sixteenth century, was taken, and from whence, there is little reason to doubt, twelve centuries earlier, the Romans drew materials for Bignor, and for the sarcophagi found at Avisford and elsewhere.

Again, about a quarter of a mile east from the mausoleum at Hurdlestone, and a mile from Wiggonholt, some fragments of Roman building were discovered at Nutbourne, but no great research was made there.

Returning to Pulborough and the close vicinity of the "Stane Street," we find that, in digging foundations about the village, fragments of Roman tile have been occasionally turned out. Both here also, and at Billingshurst, coins have occasionally been taken of the labourers by the grocers, for halfpence.¹

The remarkable eminence called the "Mount," mentioned

¹ They range from Vespasian and Commodus to Constantine.

by Dallaway, overlooks Coldharbour, and has a double line of circumvallation. But these appear to be of more modern date, and have the character of a Norman fortification—the inner and outer ditches of Keep and Barbican.

All the foregoing details, on the whole, prove that within the compass of about two miles from the camp at Hardham to Borough, and from thence by Nutbourne to Wiggonholt, there were many stone and mortar buildings; and there remain all around signs of early cultivation, and a very populous Romano-British country, of which Pulborough and the Stane Street Causeway were the centre; and in which, if the conjecture respecting the circular tower be correct, stood one of the most remarkable Roman sepulchral monuments in Britain.

Leaving the important sites of Hardham, Pulborough, and Wiggonholt, and the dry and fertile country just spoken of, the causeway now dipped into what was then the swampy and thickly wooded district of the western *Sylva Anderida*, and took the exact line indicated in the Ordnance Map, as the public road from the above-named places by Billingshurst to Slinfold. This line has been a stoned parish road for about a century, as far as within half a mile of the last-mentioned village; but from Park Street to Aldfoldean Bridge, the proper line of the causeway had fallen almost into a state of nature, till it was introduced into an act for making a turnpike road from Horsham to Guildford, and was restored under the auspices of Charles Duke of Norfolk, in or about the year 1809. This restoration brought into notice a Roman station at Aldfoldean Bridge, which gave its name to the "Roman Gate," on the forementioned Guildford road. In approaching this bridge over the Arun, which is here an inconsiderable stream, the roadmakers found they were passing through a bed of gravel. This gravel, Mr. Dallaway, who was then the rector of Slinfold, mistook for sea-gravel, and conjectured that it was imported thence by the Romans, for the construction of their road. It has been already said, that this is no other than a natural bed of drift, rare of its kind, and is an object of great curiosity in what may be called the topographical geology of the Weald.

The modern road here runs directly through the station,

the boundaries of which, although broken down by the plough, are still discernible. It seems to have been about the size of the fellow-camp at Hardham, and only differs from it in having afforded ample evidence of the existence of mortared walls, coloured stucco, and both roof and flue tiles of Roman manufacture. A few coins have been turned up, which are in the possession of the proprietor of the ground, Mr. Briggs, of Slinfold, and Mr. John Honeywood, of Horsham. They are of Vespasian and the early Constantines, and not in good preservation.

Mr. Dallaway has described the progress of the causeway, directly northward from Aldfoldean Bridge to Rowhook, on the borders of Sussex; some fragments are still to be seen in the woods of this part of the country, and it becomes a public road again within a mile of Ockley, as indicated in the map, by the name of "Stane Street Causeway." The distance from the *mansio* at Hardham to that at Slinfold, is little short of twelve miles; the writer has, therefore, made anxious inquiry after an intermediate station at Billingshurst. Mr. Honeywood is in possession of some tesserae, found at this place. In converting a pasture-field into a nursery-garden, some forty years ago, by the roadside near the Dissenters' Chapel, the proprietor came across some gravelly soil, and here these tesserae were found, but without any remains of masonry. This gravel was conjectured to belong to the "Old Roman Road," and the site is not an unlikely one for a station, there being a good spring, and a rivulet running through the inclosure. Mr. John Blagden, of Petworth, is in possession of two copper axes, of superior make, probably Romano-British, found near Billingshurst; and flint celts have also turned up in the same locality.

The speculation which connects this place and Billingsgate, in London, and the whole of the Stane Street Causeway with Belinus, the Romano-British worthy, may go for what it is worth.¹

In conclusion, the writer ventures to assert that the Stane Street Causeway, whatever might have been the general practice of the Romans, was reserved for military purposes only. In the Gumber country, over the ridge of the Downs, the

¹ See Horsfield's *Sussex*, on the authority of Budgen and Higden, vol. ii. p. 165.

surface of the crest of the road is as smooth and perfect as if it had just been turned out of hand; moreover, it is too narrow for the purposes of general traffic, and, being cast up so high, would soon have been cut down had it been permitted to be so used. In many parts of the Weald, this elevation has been preserved to this day; and through the lower part of Pulborough parish, in Billingshurst, by Fiveoaks, and in Slinfold, the present public road is still a "causeway." The writer is not sufficiently read in the military history of this wonderful people, to say that this segregation of their military ways to purely military purposes was the universal practice; but in this instance, and in consideration of the nature of the country it was made to traverse, the supposition is not unreasonable or extravagant.

Of the date to be assigned to the construction of the "Stane Street Causeway" we cannot speak with certainty; but there is good reason for believing that it was as early as any of the great *viæ* of the southern part of our island: as early, at least, as the establishment of the Romano-British kingdom of the Regni. The Villa at Bignor, we are told, is of the age of Titus, and it is most probable that when it was built the road was already in existence. The coins found at Pulborough, Billingshurst, and Slinfold, range from the first to the fourth century; and the mausoleum and other specimens of masonry about Pulborough must be of very early date—before the decline of the Roman arts in Britain. The expediency of opening a direct line of military-way from Chichester to London, must also be reckoned amongst the earliest promptings of the Roman settlers.

THE DEFENCE OF SUSSEX AND THE SOUTH
COAST OF ENGLAND FROM INVASION,
CONSIDERED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PRIVY
COUNCILLORS, A.D. 1596.

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

WHEN England had no permanently organized army, Sussex was frequently exposed to sudden attacks, and though no enemy attempted to penetrate far inland, or to remain long, yet the many hostile landings at Rye, Winchelsea, Rottingdean, and Brighton, must have caused much alarm and general damage, before they could be repelled by the gallantry of the people suddenly summoned to arms and led by the barons, knights, and priors of the districts. The country was at length, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, aroused into a more extensive system of defence, by the conviction that there was a deliberate intention on the part of Spain, then the greatest military and naval power of Europe, to invade and conquer the whole kingdom; and it must have taxed the wisdom of the great statesmen of the day to make adequate preparations in so dangerous an emergency.

Spain had been provoked into bitter enmity by several events quite recent: the change of religious opinions, and the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the assistance given to her revolted provinces in the Netherlands, the plunder of Spanish ships and towns, both at sea, in South America, and on the coast of Spain, especially at Cadiz, by bold adventurers, were not sufficiently counterbalanced by the favourable circumstances of the French King's abjuration of Protestantism, the seizure of Brittany, and the capture of Calais; so that the memorable Armada was sent out in 1588, to take full revenge.

The danger of similar circumstances, in the year 1798,

led the English Government to inquire into the measures of defence taken both before and after the Armada; and various extracts from the archives of the State were directed to be made and reported to Henry Dundas, then the confidential colleague of William Pitt. These were distributed in print to the members of the Government only; and their secrecy was then thought so important, that the printed copy in the British Museum (*Grenville Library*, No. 16,245) has the following notice written on the fly-leaf opposite the title-page:¹—

“The accompanying Report, though printed for facilitating perusal, is neither published nor intended for publication; and it is, therefore, requested that it may not be left open to common inspection. “HENRY DUNDAS.””

As this restriction has, in fact, shut out the contents from general knowledge, some extracts from them will have a novel and fresh interest even now; for the defence of the country is an ever-present and no antiquated question. While avoiding the historical details of such well-known events and persons, it may be well briefly to mention some of the measures taken during the previous alarms of invasion at the time of the Armada, and we may afterwards listen to the very words of such men as Lord Burleigh, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, when debating in 1596, and one by one giving an opinion on the probability of invasion, on the points most liable to attack, and on the best means to defend the coast of England. The immediate cause of alarm was the arrival of news that a great armament was hovering on the north coast of Spain at Corunna. Being eight years after the great Armada, they now, therefore, had some experience to guide them.

By an order, 16th of February, 1586, the maritime counties had been charged collectively to provide military stores and ammunition to the value of £2636. 11s. 6d.; Sussex and Hampshire were to provide 800 men each; Kent, 1500; while Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, had also their proportions assigned them.

¹ “Report on the Arrangements which were made for the internal Defence of these Kingdoms, when Spain, by its Armada, projected the invasion and conquest of

England; and application of the wise proceedings of our ancestors to the present crisis of public safety.”

	Value.
<i>Gunpowder</i> —(Sussex and Hampshire, 4800 lb. each; Kent, 9000 lb.); the six counties, 34,020 lb.	£1417 10 0
<i>Lead</i> —(Kent, 900lb.; Sussex and Hampshire, 4800lb. each); all six, 17 tons 20 lb., at £10 a ton	170 1 9½
<i>Store matches</i> —34,020 lb., at 22s. per cwt.	374 3 11½
	£1961 15 9
<i>Cast iron ordnance</i> —36 pieces from these counties, amounting to 46,800 lb., at 10s. per cwt.	£234 0 0
<p>(It is remarkable that more was not required, from the mineral wealth of Sussex, than from other counties); the share of each being alike six pieces; two sacres, weight of each 1600 lb.; two mynions, 1400 lb.; two fawcons, 900 lb.</p>	
<i>Store of bullets or shotte for said pieces, 720, viz. :—of eche sort twenty to a piece, weight 25cwt. 2qrs. 24lb., at 8s. per cwt.</i>	£10 5 9
<i>Carriages</i> to serve the same, wheels shod with iron, 36; all furniture to travel, at £6	216 0 0
<i>Spare wheels, 18 pair, at 53s. 4d. a pair</i>	48 0 0
<i>Spare extrees (axletrees), 36, at 20d.</i>	3 0 0
<i>Ladles, with sponges, heddles, and rammers, with 18 spare, 54, at 5s.</i>	13 10 0
<i>Canon corne powder, to discharge and serve the said ordnance, viz. :—6 cwt. for every county, being for the six 1½ last</i>	150 0 0
	£684 15 9

A note to this estimate of “*summa totalis*, £2636. 11s. 6d.,” in Lord Burleigh’s own hand, remarks, “inde out of the store, £1951. 15s. 11d.; warrant for emption, £684. 15s. 7d.” The relative importance of Sussex to the other counties is shown by the proportion of this sum of £2636. 11s. 6d. for which each was liable.

Kent	£631	9	4	Dorset	£378	17	0
Sussex	399	5	4	Devon	527	13	4
Hampshire.	399	5	4	Cornwall	320	1	2

The proposal, at such a crisis, to defend the whole southern coast, from the Land’s End to Kent, thus cheaply, with thirty-six small guns, would suit the ideas of the most pacific economist of modern times.

Orders had been given by Queen Elizabeth, in 1586, to the lieutenants of the counties, to make up the musters of their

forces, to place batteries at proper posts, to dig pits, plant stakes, and prepare bars across roads, so as to obstruct the passage of the enemy; to assign stations for horses and field-pieces, and to place gunpowder in magazines. A similar order followed in February, 1587; and every justice of the peace, being of the quorum, was then required to furnish two horsemen, other justices one; the towns were to provide ammunition; beacons were to be erected on the seacoast, with men stationed near them; and for the defence of Sussex and the southern coast, five regiments of 500 footmen were to be formed, each to be attended by 700 horsemen, besides those furnished by the justices—all to be under the command of a general appointed by the Queen.

In order to ascertain how far the coast of Sussex was prepared for defence, a survey was made in 1587, by Sir Thomas Palmere, Knight, and Sir Walter Covert, Knight, two deputy lieutenants of the county, a copy of which is now in the British Museum (*King's Library*). It points out the positions of the fire-beacons, and the places where the nature of the shore required additional forts. It seems carefully drawn up, according to the engineering views of those days, but the batteries recommended would now gain little respect from an enemy, or give much confidence to friends.

At the extreme west of the county, at "Cakāmsstone, at the east point of Dell Mouth," a battery, with one demiculverin and two sacres; and similar ones at Selsey and Pagham were considered necessary, as between these points the coast is "for the most parte good landinge, and therefore not sufficiently guarded with the forces there, but have nede of trenches and flankers, artificially sonke, to be reared in most convenient parts for small shot." Eastward, to Little Hampton, "there is no good landinge, because that yt is rockie, but at sundry stades, and that at full sea;" but a fort, with two demiculverins and two sacres, should guard the entrance of the Arundel river. Onwards to the east, "there is good landing for the most part, as at Kingston Stade, and so to Goring Beacons;" and it should therefore be flanked and trenched, but the coast is said to be "reasonably well guarded by a water between the beech and firm land," and by a marsh between Lancing beacons and Shoreham. Between this and Brighthelmstone there is

“good landing, for defence of which two demiculverins and two sacres should be kept in some good house, to be ready at sudden, and in sundrie places trenches, with sunk flankers for small shot, and the towne may be well strengthened with like flankers ; there is one demiculverin, three sacres, one minion, and one fawlcon, mounted and furnished with shotte, and wante powdre.”

The report speaks of the “ordinance at Newhaven as unmounted and littell worthe,” and says, “a bullwarke of earthe were needfully to be raised there for the planting one demiculverin and two sacres ;” and eastward, “at Bletchington Hille, where an entrie was made by the French, two rampiers of earth, to plant one demiculverin and one sacre in each ; they have there one sacre, mounted and furnished.” At Bishopton Hill there should be trenches with flankers ; “at Anster Church they have two peces, mounted and furnished.” At Seaford were one faulcon and two faulconets, mounted and furnished, and some more trenches should be made. Chinting Farm has need of two demiculverins on the cliff, where there is “a sacre, the carriage and wheels of which are utterly decayed, and the rampier also in decay.” There are here “two miles of good landing, and water of three or four fathoms deep at low water, within five miles of the shore.” Eastward is no landing, being a high cliff, till Cuckmere Haven, where “they have one sacre, one minion, one robinet, all unfurnished ;” and ramparts should be made. “Birling Gappe either to be fortified or rammed uppe ; we holde it best to be rammed uppe.” No landing onwards to Borne, where is a decayed earthen bulwark, which should be mended with flankers, and “they have one demiculverin, two sacres, three robinets, and three bases with them, the chambers unfurnished with powdre and shotte.”

From hence, twelve miles to “Fayrelee Point, there is good landing on the beech ; but they cannot enter into the land, partly for marsh and high land, but must of necessity march along the sea.” At Cooding Down Beacons, some trenches and flankers should be made, and at the Haven mouth ; beyond there should be two rampiers placed for one demiculverin and two sacres each, “and it is needful for a captain there to have six peces aptly mounted for field, to defende against any sudden landing upon the seaside, the least to be a sacre. The Castle

of Pemsey to be re-edified or utterly rased ; there is two demiculverins, of small value."

At Bulver Hyde Point, being a place fit for landing, there should be "a rampier, to bere one demiculverin and one sacre." "Hastings town is furnished with three Portugall bases of brasse, with four chambers of bras to each, one culverin of iron unmounted, two sacres, two minions, and one robinet mounted, three quartre slinges stocked, and powdre and shott sufficient ; the town is strongly seated, and easily to be fortified." Winchelsea is "strongly seated, and a dangerous platte if the enemy should posses it, and therefore needful to have one demiculverin and two sacres at least." "There are but three people dwelling at Camber Castell ; her Majesty's castell is in good repayre, and is well furnished with ordinance and munition, viz., one canon, two curtall canone, one demy canon, one culverin, two demiculverin, and two sacres."

"Rye is walled, having two portecolesses, and furnished with good ordinance of her Majesty, and of their owne also good munition, viz. : of great ordinance of brass thirteen peces, and of iron ten peces."

It will be remarked, that the points within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Points were rather better provided for defence than those in charge of the county, and all Sussex antiquaries must rejoice that the proposal to "utterly rase" one of the grandest Roman forts left in England, was not adopted.

The lords-lieutenant of the counties were again, on the 2nd of April, 1588, urged to require reports of the state of preparation ; and on April 6, the Queen gave Sir John Norreys full powers to arrange the defence of Sussex, together with the other seaboard counties, enjoining all persons to give him every information and obedience. Post-horses were to be kept on the coast ready to spread the news of the enemy's landing, and, with the beacons, form a curious contrast with the electric telegraph of modern times. Beacons, however, had then, and would still retain, the merit of more diffusive conspicuousness, when all around were in anxiety and watchfulness.

An order in Council, April 25, 1588, called for an account from the lords-lieutenant of the moneys levied ; and, as each nobleman and gentleman paid a fixed sum on requisition,

the taxation, though cheerfully paid, cannot be considered voluntary.

Sussex, in this manner, contributed £4535; Kent, £5025; Surrey, £1625; and Hampshire, £2875.

An order dated August 11, 1588, required returns not only of trained and untrained men mustered, but of all able-bodied men from the age of eighteen to sixty, "should the danger become extreme," and even the non-combatant clergyman was called upon to furnish a horseman, if his income was £100 a year, or, if unable to do so, to pay £25 for a horse.

The result is notorious: the Armada sailed along the south coast, but no enemy landed; and in the next year, March 15, 1589, Lord Burleigh gave a remarkable opinion as to the sort of men best fitted to serve in the forces lately mustered, during the great apprehension of invasion. In England, 87,281; in London, 20,696; and in Wales, 45,408: a total of 132,689 has been thus collected in arms. What he wrote as the Queen's lieutenant of Essex, to his deputies, would of course be applicable to Sussex and elsewhere. He remarks, that whereas in obedience to former orders, there commonly appeared "farmours and others of the best and wealthiest householders to be soldiers, as supposed to be versant and ready to serve at their own charge; now, as by late experience at Tilbery, it was found that small or no benefit grew thereby, but also that those rich men, which having been daintily fed and warme lodged, when they came thether to lye abroade in the fielde, were worse able to endure the same than any other;" and, moreover, their crops suffered by their absence, so that in future no personal service of such men should be required, but each should supply his place "by one of their own sons, or some such able man," adding in a note, the discreet hint, that "any principal persons fit to be spared" should be so dismissed after private conference with the captains, to avoid giving offence.

The patriotism and zeal of the elderly farmers and rich householders are sufficiently apparent; but the characteristic caution of Lord Burleigh shows clearly that the defence of the country could not safely rest upon them.

Pioneers were appointed in every county "with spade, mattock or shovell, and black bill," and the number and residence

of all able smiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, and armourers, were to be noted, so as to find them readily.

The Lord Admiral Howard and Lord Buckhurst had special charge of Sussex at the time. Years of expectancy passed over, until, in the autumn of 1596, news arrived of a great Spanish fleet having left Lisbon and arrived at Corunna, or the Groyne as it was commonly called, with rumours of more ships expected there. This assembling a hostile fleet on a point so convenient for invasion, induced the Privy Council to meet, and the opinions delivered on the subject by the Earl of Essex, Lord Burleigh, Lord Willoughby, Lord Burrough, Lord North, Sir William Knollys, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir George Carew, form important extracts in the officially printed volume, in which a pencil memorandum directs "the orthography to be modernised." No exact date of the day of the meeting appears, but it was probably on or a few days after Nov. 13, 1596. In the following pages the substance of the opinions delivered has been given, necessarily abbreviated, but often in the very words used.

The Earl of Essex, then in the zenith of his favour at court, and with the people, having announced that the enemy's fleet were on the 18th of last month at the Groine, or at Ferrol, and that more ships were expected, said,

"Upon this advertisement may grow two questions:—

- I. The first, whether they will come presently, hoping to take us unprovided; or stay till the spring, when they may come in greater strength, and have a better season of the year?
- II. The other, whether they intend an invasion or only an incursion?
- III. If incursion (though it be impossible to provide everywhere), yet how is he to be impeached from making any dangerous incursion to us, or greatly prejudicial to our state?
- IV. If invasion, which are the ports he is likeliest to seek to lodge in?
- V. Whether any places that are of importance near to those parts, being now undefensible, should be fortified or not?

- VI. How, if the Spaniards be lodged in any port, we shall seek to dispossess them?
- VII. How we shall keep them from making any great progress, or far march into the heart of our country?
- VIII. Whether, if they be on foot with great forces, we shall hazard a battle with them? and, if at all, at what time?
- IX. What must be our stores of ammunition and magazines of victuals, and where are they to be kept?
- X. What may be added to our former directions for the disciplining or training of those men? Who shall make the body of the army that shall first encounter the enemy?
- XI. Whether said numbers, that were appointed in '88 to be assembled, and make head, may not be changed, lessened, or increased, by the discretion of him unto whom her Majesty gives her commission?"

On these queries the *Earl of Essex* gave his own opinion:—

- 1. That, as the enemy's ships are already at the Groyne, he means to come presently, but even in doubtful cases, let us not be unprovided.
- 2. He means to invade, not an incursion—1: Because "no incursion will be a sufficient revenge for that which was made upon him." 2: Because, "knowing with what loss he once came upon our coast, he will never hazard the like again, but for a *coup de partie*." 3: Since we are the more populous nation, have more mariners, and by ourselves or our neighbours, the Low Countries, find shipping to run over every day unto his coast; "yea, since so little is to be gotten by them in England by any incursion, and so much by us in Spain, they will think incursions or playing at base (as I may term it) to be to their great disadvantage." 4: As to the season, if he should come in the spring, we should be more ready to fight by sea; if now, "I say he dare not go burning and spoiling all along our coast with his unnimble and unwieldy great ships,—no, though we should give him passport," he durst not do it in winter.

3. We can prevent all incursions. St. George's Channel coast is too dangerous and out of the way, and little would be won or lost by incursions there, for poverty, I may say, as to Cornwall—from Land's End to Plymouth, only Plymouth is to be feared. Dartmouth may perhaps be of some consideration, but from thence to the Isle of Wight there is no place, "for the good towns are far into the land." Portsmouth is fortified, so only Southampton is to be feared. "From that quarter eastward, our channel grows narrow and the coast more dangerous, besides, it is near London and our greatest forces."
4. The enemy will never lodge in the West, for he had better be in Brest; "for he were as good cross over as come along the coast, and here he should find unquiet dwelling, and there were safe." He will come to Hampshire and Isle of Wight, and try Portsmouth; if he stay till spring, he will be reinforced from the Low Countries, and come to Shepey and the Thames.
5. Plymouth should be fortified, for it is one of our richest port towns, and fittest for all sea provisions; but there is no time to do it, only it may be well garrisoned. Southampton is strong by nature, and if once possessed by the enemy, it would hardly be recovered; "two or three ravelines of earth may be quickly made there, and with little charge." Portsmouth is our only place fortified in these parts; but if not better garrisoned, "it will be in as much danger as any place else. If, besides, we had a great fort over against Hurst Castle, we need not fortify nowhere else."
6. We could only harass him in his trenches, and starve him out.
7. We must impede him on his march, cut off all relief, make him spend his victuals, and so win time and waste his numbers, "forcing him every day to stand in battle without engaging ourselves to fight, and let him go forward no faster than a snail."
8. As, by beating the Spaniards here, "we can get but their cloaths and their skins, and, by being beaten, we should lose all," we must avoid battle; for, "to

defeat an enemy without fight is the praise of our conduct."

9. Our store of ammunition should be great ; " of powder, 400 or 500 lasts at least ;" matches and lead, and arms sufficient for an army of 20,000 foot and 5000 horse ; tools for pioneers, 20,000, and all other necessaries for two armies, allowing 20 pieces to each. Half should be kept at London ; the other half at Exeter, Portsmouth, and Southampton.
10. All the men should be trained and disciplined alike, else there will grow infinite trouble and confusion.
11. Leave all to discretion, for some come unarmed and insufficient in numbers.

William Lord Burleigh then gave his opinion.

1. Agreeing with the Earl that we must prepare, " that the old word of *non putarem* may not have place."
2. Invasion is not to be expected at this season ; but we must prepare in either case.
3. Agreed to fortify Plymouth ; as Falmouth Haven, notwithstanding the two forts there, may be taken, the ordnance, if pressed, must be withdrawn, and the same at Dartmouth. Portsmouth must have a sufficient garrison. " The Isle of Wight, with the aid of 900 men, could stay the possession of an enemy, as proved in the last year of Henry VIII., when all the French navy was at St. Helen's, and their forces were repulsed by land by the forces of the isle, with the aid of the two bands of Sir F. Knollis and Sir Richard Blunt." Southampton is unlikely, unless Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight were taken ; " yet make there some sconce and ravelings of earth."
- 4, 5. The enemy is rather to be expected to Hampshire and Isle of Wight—fortify Portsmouth and place a fort opposite Hurst Castle, at " Sharpwood, as I remember, there is a place there that hath been fortified in former times."
6. I agree to weary and waste the enemy out.
7. " I think the opinion very good, by forcing the enemy to march slowly and thereby to spend his victuals, and

to make every place difficult for him to pass; and I agree also, that by overmatching him with numbers of horses he may be stayed from entering far into the land, in places where horsemen may be used; and in other places of streight and inclosures, many impediments may be given unto him to stay him from far entry into the land."

8. I agree not to fight but only to skirmish both by day and night.
9. Yes,—provide stores, "but the charges exceed my understanding;" as for arms, there are sufficient people trained in each county.
10. There must be one manner of training and discipline for all—some one or two should be sent into every county.
11. The levies must be ordered by the General-Lieutenant, or such officer as he may appoint.

Peregrine Lord Willoughby's Opinion.

1. "If the enemy's ships were at Groyne, on October 18, he would have been discovered on our coast before November 13, by their style; but I fear they may pass the ocean on the backside of Ireland and Scotland. They must look out for fit landing-places and complices rather than our narrow seas and shelves, deathful in long winter and tempestuous nights. It may be by the practice of James Steward, Earl of Errol, lately from Spain, trying to insinuate into the King's favor."
2. There is no present appearance of invasion; if incursions are to be made, Flushing and Walcheren may be feared.
3. We must resist by sea and land—"if they come by sea, we are likely to beat them, and at least retire orderly home, and give us time to be ready; if by land, if county preparations be in numbers, arms and training so perfect and fair as is delivered in good books, there wants no more but sound practiced harquebusiers on horseback, that may with speed repair from county to county to second where danger is eminent. The

- manner of the fighting and marshalling such, would be directed by a man of some judgement, which conceiveth the true use of them in such services."
4. If the enemy invade, they will go to the Thames, the right way to Rochester and Gellingham, and so then forward to London, and to the fairest work without delays or long marches to spoil and waste their men.
 5. "It is necessary indeed to fortify with flanks and curtains, but with *caglioni* as the Italians do term them, which would be numbers of the best and stoutest men." Magazines of all necessaries, and the troops always marching and shifted and on convoys, "to enable them in soldiery exercise to clear the ways, and hinder the enemy's forays. If they come in gross, they will try to recover some fortified town. In fortifications it would be considered who he is that should keep them"—he should not be ignorant, and "had need to busy his head to find his end that did it," as in Hungary a fresh man, not understanding the design of the fortification, lost it to the Turks.
 6. Examine the ground adjoining ports, and where to raise platforms and mount pieces; to shoot at shipping far off, culvering, demy-culvering, and minion, are very good, but if near and against entrenchments, "the cannon *incamerato* batters more and consumes less powder." Try to use our old ships, to burn theirs, as in 1588, and by "artificial fire to burn in water," and by engines purposely prepared.
 7. Answered in 3 and 4.
 8. Before we fight any battle, the enemy must be weakened by want, weather, and former blows—we must choose well good cannoniers. "It is true, if we beat him, we make short work, but if we lose, we are not so happy as we took ourselves for. Our seconds will not, peradventure, be so forward. When the flower of our army, which doubtless would bear the brunt, should be beaten, it would be an excuse for colder blood to be beaten also. Second retreats or battles, where the first be ruined, hardly succeed well."
 - 9, 10. Add better practice to your discipline and training,

“more waste powder allowed to make shot withal, since that is the weapon we are only inferior in.” The lieutenants to assemble the forces of our counties, but the Queen’s High General to command them.

11. “Whoever commands the greatest charge and wealth of a crown and country, the hearts and hands of so many valorous subjects, should also command” the lesser matters of assembling and supplying such an army as should “fight for such a Queen, and such a cause.”

Opinion of Thomas Lord Burrough.

1. As the enemy has assembled so great a force with no avowed object, and “as his malice is not against any as against this kingdom, he means to journey here, and will neither consume his provisions in idleness, nor dissolve without some attempt speedily.”
2. “Invasion all the more likely, because less looked for, and our ships at this time of the year commonly out of trim.” With the facility of the markets of the Low Countries for supply, the ports and principal city are the scope of the enemy’s mischief—his navy is too great for an incursion. “I take it few coast towns in England are defensible against 200 soldiers suddenly arriving, and since there needs no siege to possess such or burn any of them, I should judge Spain would think it the work of ten ships, and so fight us, as the counties would scarce gather; but howsoever we owe to our Queen and country the care against the worst they may pretend.” The same provision must be made against invasion or incursion—“an order may be directed and made facile by well applying it,” by understanding the strength of the counties, the aptness of each to second others, experienced soldiers to assist the gentlemen of the shires, rendezvous to be fixed, alarms to be answered, directions when to arm, and how intelligence between one and another is to be kept up, sending out light-horse discoverers.
3. The best havens are guardable by fortifications so as to be safe against incursions, but the expense would be insupportable to place guards in all places of dangerous

access, except to some select harbor, but we may give hinderance to a fare entry, though some must suffer in the plague of war.

4. The ports nearest the Thames would be the most likely points for invasion—the enemy would not serve himself by touching others far off, nor could he pass clear through the land “where a realm is in arms watching for an opportunity,” and our fleet might cut them off from supplies, “therefore, I conjecture towards this southern coast, where there is in the eye the butt they shoot at, and hope for speedy trial.”
5. It would be bootless to fortify Portsmouth, “where other liberty of the shore is given to arrive.”
6. Much should be left to the discretion and watchfulness of the general commander.
7. We must incommodate the enemy’s convoys by our light horse, “who know all passages,” and keep him guideless, with all ruined and made desert around him by us.
8. “Our policy is to let him cool the warmth of his fury.” “I would defer battle and wait on him,” skirmish at every passage—every meeting would consume some of his—amaze him by having sundry armies on foot in front, flank, and rearwards; the foresight of this is proper to the general.
9. “I have seen for the siege of two or three towns and a summer’s service in field, a provision of 150 lasts of powder and an agreeable rate of match, bullets, and all sorts of ammunition”; double this, disposed in four or five cities, in London as much as in all the rest.
10. I know not how to alter the former directions.
11. “I know not the numbers in ’88,” but the form of the army must be left to the Queen’s general.

Opinion of Roger Lord North.

1. If the news be true, the enemy will not delay coming, for his losses kindle his malice and great fury; he will come now rather than in spring, as now he may hope to find us unprepared.
2. It will not be an invasion, but an incursion, for the season serves not, and 10,000 men would not suffice to march

- far into land; he has only eighty ships, and cannot bring more men, for Lord Essex could only transport 6000 soldiers with his 150 ships.
3. It is impossible to fortify all landing-places, but the most needful places, if unwalled, should be garrisoned. "An incursion will be of more loss to particular subjects than of damage to the realm. His landing will be sudden and uncertain, and prosecuted with fury in some small circuit." Impeach his landing, stop his further march, leave him little spoil of victuals, corn, cattle, or goods, as can be carried away.
 4. Southampton and the Isle of Wight would be most hurt to us and good to him.
 5. Make some fortification at Southampton, and over against Hurst.
 6. If the enemy is firmly planted, let him be blocked up with sconces or fronted with a great army near him, giving him little rest.
 7. Answer as in 6.
 8. Encounter the enemy with a great army to amaze and win time of him, for time will wear and weary him, while our strength will increase, and avoid battle, if with honor it can be refused.
 9. Four hundred lasts of powder and great store of victuals, in Southampton, in some town in Devon or Cornwall, in Lynn or Ipswich, and in London for Kent, Sussex, and Essex.
 10. Add directions to practice discipline, to enable the army to meet the enemy with skill.
 11. Review the directions of '88.

Opinion of Sir William Knollys, Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household.

- 1, 2. "My answer is subscription to Lord Essex without further reasons, in order not to spend time, for it is more than time our consultations were put in practice; we had better prepare six months too soon than a day too late."
3. "I take it out of question that our shipping and sea service is our best and safest defence, as being the only

fortification and rampart of England." Set as many as possible to sea with all speed; appoint fiery beacons and rendezvous not less than six or seven miles from the sea, so as to give us time to consider; yet give the enemy continual alarms both at his landing and afterwards with horsemen in the plains, that they straggle not, and some at every straight and place of advantage to win time.

4. Spain will not engage his fleet too far within the Sleeve, until he possess some good harbor, of which Plymouth is nearest to Spain, easy to be won, speedily to be fortified, and convenient for succours; but that being so far off, I judge his purpose will be rather to settle his army in the Isle of Wight, if he can win it, because it is more easily defended and convenient to receive succours from Spain, France, or, Brittany, especially in winter, when our great ships dare not keep the narrow seas.
5. The approach of the enemy is likely to be sudden, the best fortification must be men and store of pioneers, but, if time permit, I think Plymouth, some place in the Isle of Wight, Southampton, Dover, Rye, and some places in the Thames, should be fortified.
6. Lodge as near to the enemy as safely we may, stopping him from ranging abroad and getting fresh victories, more annoying him than attempting him.
7. Answer as to 3,—keep the enemy from straggling, entrench his passage, and stop him for a time.
8. "A battle is not fit to be hazarded, being a trial dangerous and desperate. Invaders by hazard may win a kingdom; we, as defenders (especially in England, where we have no towns or places fortified to retire unto) loosing a battle, adventure a crown: so that a battle must be our last refuge when we are equal numbers."
9. Be not sparing of magazines, yet the chief store should always be in the heart, and four places to be appointed by better judgement.
10. Not being able to add to former directions, I only wish for their execution; and as the order is to arm good subjects, if an enemy land, "some sufficient gentle-

man should be appointed as marshal, with authority of martial law upon all ill-affected persons, as rogues, masterless men, or known Papists, that may assemble to assist the enemy."

11. Uniform order, following the rules of '88 at discretion, should be observed, "knowing disorder breedeth confusion, and confusion ruin." The Queen should settle authority in some person, whose valor, virtue, judgement, and religious love to her Majesty, may deserve so great a trust; "and fearing least the country colonels and captains be not of knowledge sufficient to discharge this service, I could wish that some special men be sent to every army as assistants to them," and the lieutenant of the shire or other worthier to command under the general. "I think it a necessary policy with diligence to draw all victuals, cattle, carriages, and corn, behind our backs," and rather consume the remainder than leave it for the enemy. "I doubt not the general, accompanied with men able to resist, instructed with knowledge how to use them, and fortified with good order, shall be able with God's assistance to repel the enemy."

1. *Sir Walter Raleigh* was not so sure of the enemy coming before spring. He may be at the Groine perhaps, either for better supply from Biscay, there being a scarcity at Lisbon, or as more convenient to get out from, Lisbon mouth being dangerous for wrecks, or they may wait for more ships from Andalusia.
2. "There is no instance of an invader without two requisites—able power, and party. I conceive not how Spain can gather large forces in so short a time after his late losses. It took him three years to prepare for Portugal, and yet there he had a party, and it was on the same continent. The enterprise of '88 required no less time, and we do not hear of the garrisons of Naples and Milan now as then; but, on the other hand, he will not undertake any small affair, and it is safe to provide for the worst." I think late in summer will be the time for invasion, if any; but if his army receive loss in France,

- “I do then, under correction, assure myself there will be no invasion; if his army draw down to the coast, then an invasion may be very much doubted.”
3. Order has been already taken for interchangeable succours between lieutenants; provide forts on the coast with ammunition, keep up full numbers all armed, with a sufficient fleet to lie in the entrance of the Channel.
 4. “The enemy will not seek to possess any port in the West, for the ways are impassable, and the march long—nor in the Isle of Wight, nor any port or place in the South; the enemy is not so ill advised as to hold any place on the coast where we should have command of the sea; he will enter by the Thames, and make descent near, or even at, London itself; the fleet must not be sent out in twos and threes, for so victuals will be spent before all ready.”
 5. No fortification required, but on the Thames.
 6. “*De hoc in campis consultabimus.*” When the commander sees the enemy’s intentions, he can best judge of counterworks.
 7. “Hinder the enemy by taking away all victuals by carriage, or alive. It has been the manner to make head upon bridges, passages, and rivers, but it is not successful. The Swiss could not impeach Francis I., nor could the Spaniards the Constable of France, at Suze. The Duke of Guise passed Behamby, with Spaniards on the other bank; the Duke of Lancaster forced his passage upon the Dyrne, in spite of the Earl of Nemours; Duke of Bepont came over the Loire in my own time, in spite of the Duc d’Aumale; Charles V. on the Elbe, and many more.”
 8. To hazard a battle would be very dangerous. The invader can lose nothing but his men, but the defender may lose the kingdom.
 9. “For my poor conceit, we have few places guardable, Portsmouth excepted. ‘*Celui qui ne donne point d’ordre à la munition des vivres, veult estre vaincu sans cousteau,*’ as has been said by those who have writt of wars.”

10. Use the form such as the Earl of Exeter did, in the journey to Calais.
11. It would be dangerous to wait for a second order from the Queen, in any sudden emergency; but if the enemy land in the west, and we draw the forces of Sussex, Dorset, and Hampshire, to the west, they, on change of wind, could come east, and find the coast disfurnished. "I think, under correction, that it is very inconvenient that all such colonels and captains, as now hold command in counties, should hold so in the army, because it will take away employment from such of our best captains who follow the wars abroad, so will it also breed confusion, because most of all these gentlemen have never seen the wars in any sort." Leave all this to the discretion of the lieutenant of the army, to appoint fit lieutenants,—I think it a very wise and honourable allowance and consideration.

Sir George Carewe, Lieutenant of the Ordnance.

1. "Speaking under reformation as well in this, as in answer to all the other questions, considered that, though the spring would be the best time for invasion, yet, as the King of Spain gathers up commodities for a winter war, "he cannot counsel himself better than attempt us now, when we are unprepared, and our harvest in barns ready to give him relief, without tarrying till we are more prepared."
2. "The example of '88 plainly shows that the King of Spain then meant conquest. His ambition, his desire of revenge, and his riches, are now more than before. We must now expect invasion, though he can at all times annoy us by incursions, "be we ever so watchful," but Ireland would be fitter for such—nothing less than the conquest of England, for I do not believe he wants to reinforce his army in the Low Countries, for that is usually done in a safe way, and at least charge from Italy.
3. The nearer he comes to narrow seas, the greater his peril, so we must strengthen our West, especially Plymouth, whence all our fleets have gone to do them grievance.

Dartmouth, Poole, Hampton, Portsmouth, and Isle of Wight, are also to be carefully regarded. Let the orders of '88 be followed, not altered. His invasion will be by a descent on a place which may most accommodate him, and most annoy us. "Milford is an excellent good haven, but seated in a poor country, and a blow so far from the heart is not mortal. Bristol is not to be feared, as the Severn is full of dangers, and no good harbour in neither side." Plymouth yields many good commodities, but, as the country is unfit for invaders to march in, I believe he will pass by the west, and come to anchor before Southampton or Portsmouth, and these once taken, he will then pass inland on to London, "a fair way for an army to march."

4. The Isle of Wight is most needful to be respected. Though it is not possible to prevent a descent in all places, yet we should fortify one place there, to secure our supplies of men and ammunition, otherwise, "a small island, if taken by the enemy, is hardly to be recovered. Portland, an island strong by nature, which by a little help of art would be made impregnable, if once gotten by the enemy, would give them command, and annoy us;" strengthen it therefore.
5. "If the enemy should have a commodious port and fortress, we must send out the royal fleet to forbid supplies by sea, and an army to keep him from relief by land. The cannon will make a speedier dispatch, but this other way (where better leisure may be taken) I hold to be a course more honorable, safe, and wise. Impede the enemy by breaking the bridges, fight him at every straight, harass him by horse on all sides, so he shall be enforced, every half or quarter hour, to make halt. Nothing is more hazardous than a battle. The enemy must waste away; let us have no battle, unless enforced, or the general finds such apparent reason as (unless God fight against us) we must of necessity be victors."
9. The store of powder had need to be very great, for if (as in '88 was intended) we levy two armies, each would require not less than one hundred lasts, and one hundred lasts for the fleet, one hundred in store for Ireland,

Berwick, the islands and castles on the coasts. Victuals in Portsmouth, London, Rochester, and Exeter.

10. Not being well acquainted with the order of 1588, I forbear to speak.
11. Do not limit the general as to numbers or change. As he is known to be a man of faith, judgement, and being such an one in martial affairs, what may be doubted, or what more can be required?

The summary of these opinions of such well-known statesmen, seems to be the expectation, generally, of an immediate invasion, principally because the enemy would find the Queen's navy not ready. Though, in fact, the Spanish fleet had been prepared to invade Ireland, yet no actual attempt took place. Nearly all concurred in storing magazines with plenty of powder and victuals, and that some few points on the southern coast should be fortified. They all talked familiarly of their experience in '88, and were impressed with the proud feeling that England "needs no bulwarks, no towers along the steep." Although, in spite of the peculiar danger of those times, now happily obsolete, of English "Papists assembling to assist the enemy," they nobly looked upon "the hearts and hands of so many valorous subjects, as the greatest wealth of a crown and country," yet they took precautions against the defence of the country being entrusted only to "rich men daintily fedd and warme lodged," however zealous to bear their own expenses. It was clearly seen that "country colonels and captains" would need the direction of more experienced soldiers, and improvement in their skill, in order effectually to impede or skirmish with an enemy.

The result of all these preparations does not seem to have entirely satisfied the gentlemen of the county, and there was such a delay in meeting any sudden alarm, that soon after one of the deputy lieutenants, James Colbrond, addressed his suggestions of remedy "to the right honorable my singular good lordes, the Lord High Treasurer, and the Lord High Admiral of England, the Quene's most excellent Majestie's Liuetenauntes of this county of Sussex." This is now found in MS. in the British Museum, with an outline map of the county, in which each rape is divided into four parts.

Dating his remarks on "this last of Januarie, 1599," he says, "the duty I owe to my sovereigne and love to my country hath caused me to wright, as moved thereto the rather by reason of my observation of the countrye's unreadiness to marche forwarde in August last, when, as for defence of her Hignes person royall, they were hastily called for." He urges that the forces of the county should stand in continual readiness by a previous organization, so that their duty of mustering should be with ease, "well or better performed in one day if need be, more than in seven or eight daies it was upon the last and great call for souldiers for her Majesty's service of speciall importaunce."—"I wish I could doubt, if, four days after any of our musters, five hundred of the enemy were heard of as marching towards the city of Chichester, that the forces of that city, and the forces of the whole rape of Chichester added, with twenty-four hours warning beforehand, would have kept that city from spoyle and burning, the walles thereof being so decayed through fault of the citizens of that city, to whom yt belonged, and still doth belong (as I can prove) to repaire and maintaine the same;—thieves, after their felonious doing, pass over the decayed walls, and hide themselves in that city, and thereby be the safer." James Colbrond observes, that it "often came to pass that lusty, loitering bodies did fly and lurke out of sight till the muster was past;" and he complains that the Queen was ill served in "hews and cries," important messages having been brought from Hampshire to Sussex, and delivered to petty constables, without being properly forwarded. "All our hope restyth now upon our muskettes and calivers, and good weapons they be if kept in readiness," but this had not been the case since 1588. His proposal, therefore, was to subdivide each rape into four quarters, and that the justices of the county should appoint a mete captain to each part, with not more than 150 men to his company, besides his own officers; the captain looking out, and taking note of all other able men in that quarter, so as to supply others without great trouble. Each quarter in due series was to be mustered for one day, 100 of every trained company to be of the better sort, "for weapons of war are not to be put into the hands of dangerous men;" and so, when all are well and skilfully trained, by exercise in the four summer

months, with the allowance of $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of powder for a musket per day, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. for a caliver, "the captain may be as ready to march forward with his band in one day as any captain was in seven days when the last hasty call was made."

One of his hints to maintain the efficiency of these companies savours much of trick, for he advises the justices to take 25 men of the trained bands occasionally to meet the captains of companies, and then they are to press twelve or thirteen of them into their own service. The number of soldiers in each rape being thus 600, and in the whole county 3600, besides the soldiers of Chichester, Arundel, Brighton, and Lewes, which will make 400 in the whole; a total of 4000 strong would thus be obtained, "besides the forces of Hastings, Rye, and Pevensey, which be porte townes."

James Colbrond alludes to the abuses he had often seen when "working long as a Commissioner of Subsidy; the rich were often rated, in fixing their tax, much too low, at not a fortieth part of their wealth."—"I knowe the exercise of warre fit for good men in time of peace, as therebie they may get knowledge to use armes for glory, when necessitie may thereto inforce either for defending or invading." In this spirit he thus brings his remarks to a close:—"Now, to conclude, I am thene of opinion that this service will best get forward, and the charge and expense of time be least regarded among all them that serve and finde armes, whene the trayned have justices of peace and gentlemen of the better sorte to be their leaders."

ON SUSSEX TRADESMEN'S TOKENS, IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM FIGG, F.S.A.



W. FIGG, F.S.A.

IN this country, at a very early date, it was found necessary to have a currency of small value for the use of the people; this appears to have been generally of silver: the small coins in use among the Saxons were called *sceattas*, and were worth about four farthings; and *stycas*, worth about half a farthing each: these latter were of mixed metal, principally copper. During the reigns of the Anglo-Saxon kings, halfpennies appear to have been coined, but in very small numbers; as "but a few solitary specimens exist at the present day in the cabinets of our collectors: *pennies* of Edward the Confessor are common to excess; but only *two* examples of the *halfpence* of that king are known to exist." (Akerman.) After the Conquest the Norman Kings issued pennies in silver. Henry I., A.D. 1100, is said to have coined halfpennies and farthings, the fourth of a penny; but few coins of smaller value than a penny are now to be met with of earlier date than the reign of King John, 1199-1216. Some time during this reign the halfpenny and farthing, in addition to the penny, were in circulation; but of these, such only as were current in Ireland are now known. After this time, with scarcely any exception, these three sorts of small money continued to be minted, but they do not appear to have been common until the reign of Henry III., 1216-1272; after which they continued to be plentiful down to the time of Queen Mary, 1553-1558. It is uncertain, however, whether any farthings were coined during this Queen's reign. Elizabeth issued pieces of the value of

three halfpennies and three farthings, as well as pennies and halfpennies; James I. and Charles I. issued the two latter, and they continued in use during the Commonwealth, and for some years later.

Henry VIII. lowered the standard of the coinage; some of the monarchs, however, issued small money in debased and some in inferior metals. Snelling (*Silver Coinage of England*) says, under Henry VIII., "Hitherto the pound sterling has been lessened or debased seven different times from the Conquest, which was always done by lessening the weight each time, and leaving the standard untouched." In consequence of this diminishing the weight of the small moneys, the farthing became so small that it could no longer be minted of good silver, and this led to their being struck of debased metal or of copper. Those having the management of the royal mint appear to have had little or no solicitude about this matter, and a small coinage being essential for the use of traders and others dealing in the ordinary necessities of life, this class of persons were, for want of a legal currency, compelled to issue *tokens* of small value, on their own account; some of the earliest of these were of "lead, tin, latten (a mixed metal resembling brass), and even of leather, for farthings and halfpence." It is not exactly known in what reign this practice commenced, but in the time of Queen Elizabeth it gave rise to repeated murmurings, for by it the regal dignity became degraded, and the poor suffered great wrong, as these tokens could only be received again at the same shop from which they were originally issued. Of this the Queen was fully aware, as well as of the great need there was of small moneys. Proposals were made to the Queen (who had always felt very unwilling that the coin should be debased) for the issue of copper pledges for farthings and halfpence, and a proclamation was drawn up to give them currency, but which appears never to have been published.

Mr. Burn, in the preface to his *Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders, Tavern, and Coffee House Tokens current in the Seventeenth Century*, says:—"On the accession of King James I., the prevalence of leaden tokens among traders and shopkeepers must have been very general." Between 1603 and 1613, several schemes were proposed for coining small money (farthing tokens) in copper, until at length, in the latter

year, "John Harrington, whom the King had created Baron Harrington, of Exton, in the county of Rutland, July 21, 1603, obtained a grant on terms highly discreditable to the British Solomon, for the issue of these royal tokens, which were forced into circulation by the King's proclamation, May 19, 1613;" and they appear to have been issued by several succeeding patentees. On March 1, 1634, royal farthing tokens were directed for the future to be made with such a distinction of *brass* as will make them known from all others, and thereby prevent the people from being deceived by counterfeits. Snelling says:—"The great quantity of royal tokens uttered by the patentees, the number of counterfeits which were also mixed with them, at last put an entire stop to their currency."

In the reign of Charles I. the peculiar state of political affairs prevented the Government from paying due attention to the currency, and the necessity continuing for a coinage for small change, caused the private tradesmen to issue their own *tokens*; and soon afterwards they began to be struck also for the use of whole cities, towns, and villages.

No pieces of this description appear to have been put into circulation earlier than about 1648, a few in 1649, but after this the yearly issue seems to have increased up to the year 1672, when they were forbidden by a proclamation of the King, dated August 16 in that year, in which the following passage occurs:—"His Majesty, therefore, to the end that all offenders to the premises, who are now left without excuse, may know the danger they daily incur, and desist from any proceeding in the like kind, hath thought fit, by his royal proclamation, to publish and declare his royal will and pleasure to be, that a strict and severe inquiry shall be made, of all persons that shall after the second of February (1674-5) next ensuing, stamp, vend, utter, or in any way make use of, in payment or exchange, any halfpence, farthings, or pieces of brass, copper, or other base metal whatsoever, other than the halfpence and farthings by his Majesty's royal proclamation authorized and allowed; and whosoever shall be found culpable therein shall be severely punished." After this proclamation the demand for his Majesty's halfpence and farthings appears to have increased, while that for the tradesmen's tokens proportionably decreased.

The Government, however, determined that there should be no misunderstanding as to their intention in the matter, advertized in the *London Gazette*, February 25th and March 1st, 1674-5, as follows:—

“Whitehall, Friday, February 19th. His Majesty was this day pleased to order in Council, that copies of his Majesty's late proclamation about farthings be sent to the sheriffs of the respective counties, to be published, and that the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper do direct the judges of assize to give in charge to the grand juries, and other juries, in their respective circuits at this next assizes, to present and prosecute all offenders against the said proclamation, that they may be punished according to law. And it was further ordered, that the said proclamation, and this order of his Majesty in Council, shall be inserted in the *Gazette*, to the end that all persons concerned may take notice thereof.”

From this time the town and tradesmen's tokens seem to have disappeared from circulation.

“The tokens struck by private tradesmen and shopkeepers, were either farthings, halfpennies, or pennies, but not near so many of the last as of the two first sorts.” (Snelling.)

The large portion of these tokens are of copper, some are of brass; a leaden one is a rarity. The woodcut at the head of this paper will give the reader an idea of their general character and size.

Snelling, in his *View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England*, 1766, has a “list of places which struck a common token,” eighty-seven in number; Midhurst¹ and Rye² are the only Sussex towns among them: they are both engraved in Boyne (pl. 32).

It is a curious fact, and a remarkable proof of the great comparative activity of trade in the West of England generally, but particularly in the county of Somerset, that there were no less than thirteen towns in that county which issued this currency. In Dorsetshire there were eight, five in Devonshire, only one in Kent, and not one in the whole of Yorkshire. As Macaulay says, speaking of Convocation and of the Pro-

¹ *Ob.* A Midhurst farthing in Sussex (in one circle), for ye use of ye poor (in an inner circle), a shuttle, 1670; *rev.*, two saints near a palm-tree.

² It bears on the *obverse* a three-masted ship, and on the *reverse* a sketch of the church. Inscription: *ob.*, “For ye Corporation;” *rev.*, “of Rye, 1668.”

vinces of Canterbury and York, "till the eighteenth century was far advanced, the province of York was generally so poor, so rude, and so thinly peopled, that in political importance it could hardly be considered as more than a tenth part of the kingdom."

In Snelling's list of the names of places where tradesmen issued their tokens, I find the following in Sussex:—

Alborn.	Eastborne, in Sussex (2).	Pulburrough (2).
Angmering (1).	East Grinstead (1).	Rye (3).
Arlington.	Hallsham, in Sussex (2).	Seaford (1).
Arundell (5).	Horsam (3).	Steyning (2).
Battell (3).	Mayfield (1).	Tarring (? West) (1).
Bolney (1).	Pemsie (Pevensy) (1).	Uckfield, in Suss. (2).
Broadwater (1).	Penhurst.	Watlington.
Chichester (24).	Petworth, in Sussex (5).	

In William Boyne's list (1858) are 39 places and 93 specimens: the following are the additional places to Snelling's list:

Ardingly (1).	Henfield (1).	Storrington (3).
Balcombe (1).	Horsted Keynes (1).	Thakeham (1).
Billingshurst (1).	Lewes (3).	Ticehurst (1).
Brighthelmston (2).	Loxwood (1).	Turnham Hill (1).
Cliff (1).	Midhurst (5).	Westham (4).
Cuckfield (1).	Shoreham (1).	Wisborough
Hellingly (1).	Slaugham (1).	Green (1).

Specimens of most of those mentioned by Boyne are in the British Museum. To which I can now add,—

Alfriston,	Crawley,	Hurst,	Robertsbridge,
Burwash,	Framfield,	Lindfield,	Waldron,

and I give specimens in other places, marked with an asterisk, not given by Boyne. The twenty-two Sussex tokens here described, which I have examined, all bear dates between 1652 and 1669.

Clem. Read. In the field, a wheatsheaf; *rev.*, of Mayfield, 1652.

John Hide. In the field, a wheatsheaf; *rev.*, Seaford, 1656
—in the field, I. H.

George Ford, 1658. In the field, the Grocers' arms; *rev.*,
at Pemsie, Grocer—in the field, G. F.

John Pellett, 1659. In the field, a shield, with a crowned
head; *rev.*, Aroundell, Mercer—in the field, I. P.

- Frances West. In the field, a shield, Grocers' arms; *rev.*,
Lindfield, 1659—in the field, _{F. F.}^{W.}
- Samvel D—t. In the field, 1666; *rev.*, Waldron, Sussex—
in the field, _{S. M.}^{D.}
- John Stone, 1666.* In the field, a griffin segreant; *rev.*,
Cuckfield, in Sussex—in the field, _{L. M.}^{S.}
- Thomas Lintott, of Bolney, 1666. In the field, a hart
lodged; *rev.*, T. L.
- Edmund Middleton.* In the field, arms; *rev.*, Lewis,
in Sussex, 1666—in the field, _{E. E.}^{M.} Middleton was
Constable of the borough of Lewes, 1666.
- Mary Akehurst.* In the field, Her Halfpeny; *rev.*, Cleft
neare Lveist—in the field, M. A., 1667.
- James Mathew. In the field, a lion rampant; *rev.*, in
Hurst, 1667—in the field, _{L. M.}^{M.}
- Ambrose Galloway. In the field, 1667; *rev.* in Lewis, in
Sussex—in the field, _{A. E.}^{G.}
- Robert Grove, Draper. In the field, arms of Grove; *rev.*,
of Robertsbridge, 1667—in the field, His Halfpeny.
- Samuel Gilles. In the field, _{S. E.}^{G.}; *rev.*, of Helsham, Mercer
—in the field, 1657.
- George Jenings.* In the field, a shield, with Cordwainers'
arms; *rev.*, Chichester, 1667—in the field, _{G. A.}^{I.}
- John Lish. In the field, chequers; *rev.*, in Slavgham,
1667—in the field, His Halfpeny.
- Thomas Tvtty, 1668.* In the field, two men bearing a barrel;
rev., in Rye, in Sussex—in the field, His Halfpeny.
- Will. and Henry Bingham. Three fleurs-de-lis, in the
field; *rev.*, of Ardingly, in Sussex—in the field, His
Halfpeny, 1669.
- Thomas —ham. In the field, the Grocers' arms; *rev.*, in
Franfield, in Sussex, His Halfpeny, 1669.
- Nicholas Arcoll. In the field, a pair of scissors; *rev.*,
Turnem (Turner's) Hill, Sussex, 1669—in the field,
His Halfpeny.
- Edward Austen. In the field, a man dipping candles over
the figure _{E. C.}^{A.}; *rev.*, of Burwash, 1669—in the field,
His Halfpeny.
- Arthur Rowland, 1669. Field obliterated; *rev.*, in Horsom,
in Sussex—in the field, His Halfpenny.

* Not in Boyne's list.

The following twelve tokens are without date, but are of precisely the same character as the foregoing:—

John Groomes in; in the field, a rod of candles; *rev.*, Stening, Chandler—in the field, I. ^{G.}E.

John Henty of; * in the field, I. H.; *rev.*, Lewes, Pewterer—in the field, a fleur-de-lis.

Joseph Russell.* In the field, St. George and the Dragon; *rev.*, in Arundell, in Sussex—in the field, His Half-peny.

John Draper, in Lewis. In the field, a lion rampant; *rev.*, by the Market-place—in the field, I. ^{D.}F.

Richard Glyd, of New; in the field, a griffin; *rev.*, Shoram, in Sussex—in the field, R. ^{G.}A.

Joseph Patricke. In the field, a harp; *rev.*, of Crowley, in Sussex—in the field, R. ^{P.}A.

John Gunter of; * in the field, the arms of Gunter of Racton (three sinister gauntlets); *rev.*, Brighelmstone—in the field, I. G.

Thomas Hurst, of Cuckfield.* In the field, a crowned figure; *rev.*, in Sussex, his Halfpeny—in the field, T. H.

Henry Forster in; in the field, a still; *rev.*, Brightelmston—in the field, H. ^{F.}E.

Thomas Dunstall. In the field, a comb; *rev.*, of Hurst, Mercer—in the field, T. D.

William Chitenden. In the field, a shield with a regal head; *rev.*, in Alfriston—in the field, W. C.

John Medhurst of; in the field, a shield, arms obliterated; *rev.*, Battell, Sussex—in the field, I. ^{M.}I.

The halfpenny and farthing tokens of Mary Akehurst and Ambrose Galloway, engraved at the head of this paper, were selected for that purpose on account of there being some slight historical interest connected with those persons. Ambrose Galloway resided at the "Grey Friars," in the parish of All Saints, in Lewes.

In *Notes of Inscriptions in All Saints Old Church*, by the late Thomas Woolgar, Esq., is the following, on a pew about the middle of the south wall.—"Mr. William Pellatt, his seat, 1692, belonging to Ambrose Galloway's house at the Grey

* Not in Boyne's list.

Friers." This was probably the house afterwards occupied by Sir Henry Blackman.

Mary Akehurst is described as living in the Cliff, and the family appear to have continued to reside there for some years later. Mr. M. A. Lower has a document in his possession, endorsed "A Record of a Conviction of a Conventicle in the parish of All S^{ts}. in Lewes, the 10th day of Octob: 1682," from which we learn that "*Ambrose Galloway, Sen^r* of the parish of All Saints, in Lewes, salesman; Henry Agate, of Cuckfield, yeoman; Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Robinson, of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Cliff, near Lewes, feltmaker; Thomas Mosely, of the same place, draper; and *Thomas Akehurst*, of the same place, mercer, were brought before Henry Shelley, Esq., for assembling at the house of Jane Kidder, called Puddlewharfe, in the parish of All Saints (not being of her household) under the colour of religious exercise, in a manner not according to Liturgy of the Church of England, then and there held, contrary to the statute for the prevention and suppression of seditious conventicles; and were convicted and fined: Henry Agate and Jane Kidder each £20, and the others 5s. each."

The word *Token* seems to have been used rather curiously in connection with the Great Plague in 1665-66:—"For ye spotts or *tokens*, w^{ch} most generally are forerunn^rs of certayne death, they doe more generally this yeare then formerly, appeare in divers parts of the body, formerly usually and allmost onely to be found upon ye region of the hearte and liver, or the brest, or agst it on the backe; but now on ye necke, face, hands, armes, almost any where as well as there; sometimes as broad as farthings, therefore called *tokens*; sometimes this yeare as broad as an halfecrown; sometimes smaller; but always of more colors than one."¹

I am indebted to T. W. Erle, Esq., Mr. William Harvey, and J. T. Auckland, Esq., for the loan of tokens in their possession; and to the Ven. Archdeacon Otter, and several other members of our Society, for descriptions of tokens which they have had the kindness to send me.

¹ *Notices of the Last Great Plague*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 14, 1665-6, by W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.,

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A SUSSEX
TRADESMAN, A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

BY R. W. BLENCOWE, ESQ. M.A.,

AND

M. A. LOWER, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

THE graver subjects discussed in the ten published volumes of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, have occasionally been relieved by the introduction of Diaries kept by various Sussex men, at different periods. The first which appeared was the "Diary of Giles Moore, rector of Horsted Keynes." Then succeeded some interesting extracts from that of Richard Stapley, the methodical proprietor of Hickstead, by the Rev. Edward Turner. This was followed by the curious Account-Book of the Ockenden Squire, Timothy Burrell. Mr. Durrant Cooper gave us the Account-Books of the Everenden and Frewen Families. Mr. Blaauw's Notices of the classical *Iter Sussexiense* of Dr. Burton, dealing, as it did, very much in personal narrative, claimed a place in the same category. And lastly, the "Diary of Walter Gale," the Schoolmaster and Factotum of Mayfield, has furnished us with some curious illustrations of life and manners at a later period. We have now to submit to the notice of the Society some passages from the Diary of a Sussex Tradesman in the last century, which, though not strictly archæological, contain a few notices which appear worthy of preservation in our pages.

And here we take leave to remark, that should the objection be raised, that a paper which records the thoughts and actions of men who lived little more than one hundred years ago, is no fair subject for a work professedly antiquarian,—in other words, that the subject to be treated is of too modern a date,—it seems a sufficient answer, that it is our province to fix and

realize habits and customs, which have in many cases changed very much, and in some instances quite passed away, wherever we can find them sufficiently certified; and as what we call time is, in fact, only a succession of events, and as those events succeed one another much more rapidly now than heretofore, and thus, measured by this standard, we live more in one century than did our forefathers in several centuries before us, we may consider ourselves justified in disregarding the mere question of years, if we adhere to the principle of recording altered habits and conditions of men and things. We must bear in mind, moreover, that notwithstanding its vicinity to the metropolis, and its proximity to the Continent, Sussex was, until a recent period, one of the most secluded and uncivilized districts in England. The "*Iter Sussexiense*," though written in a spirit of humorous exaggeration, sufficiently attests this. And, now that we have touched upon this point, we may be permitted to refer to one or two curious proofs of the then rude condition, contrasting very strongly with that of our now highly civilized and prosperous county.

In the year 1728, the same year in which the writer of our diary was born, commissioners were appointed to survey the coasts of Great Britain. Their report to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty lies buried in a massive folio, called the "*Atlas Maritimus*," a quarter in which the readers of the *Sussex Collections* are not likely to search for it. What is said of the Sussex coast, its towns and its harbours, 130 years ago, is interesting, when contrasted with its present state:—

"Rye is a fair well-situated town, well built, and, by the addition of abundance of French refugees, who settled here at the time of their flight from France, is very populous, and, were it not for the badness of their harbour, it would be a town of great trade. Their harbour, from being once able to receive the whole navy of England, is now so choked up with sand, for want of a strong back-water, that it is almost useless. All this is occasioned by the gentlemen of the country inclosing the low grounds upon the river, and so keeping the tide from spreading itself upon the flood, which prevents a quantity of water coming in to make a strong ebb. The inhabitants have applied themselves several times to the Parliament, and some relief they have had, but not sufficient. It is said, they addressed the King when his Majesty landed there, and that he promised to favour their request as much as was possible. If so, we may hope, perhaps, to see the port of Rye restored to its former goodness, which would be a great convenience to merchant ships, in case of the like distress which the King himself was in, either going up the Channel or down; for there is not one harbour where any ships of burden can

put in for safety between the Downs and Portsmouth, if the storm happens, as it did in the King's case, to make a lee-shore—that is to say, blow off sea.”¹

“A little beyond Rye we see the ruins of Winchelsea, once a flourishing city and seaport; but, with its trade, it has lost even the very appearance of a city, except in the rubbish of it; and this loss has evidently happened by the sea forsaking it; for whereas they show you the vaults and warehouses where the merchants' goods used to lie, and the very wharf and cranes where they were landed, and where the ships lay with their broadsides to the shore, you now see the green marshes extended where once the ships might sail, the sea gone back, and not coming within almost three miles of the place.

“West of this we have nothing of note but Hastings, a small town, and though the chief of the Cinque Ports, yet of no other consideration, having neither trade nor harbour, fort nor castle, nor need of any. Here we saw the effects of the unhappy fight with the French off Beachy, when Admiral Herbert, then Earl of Torrington, retired with the whole confederate fleet, English and Dutch, from the French, who were superior to him in number to a very great degree;² and the Dutch, who were eager to fight, lost some ships, one of which went on shore near this place, and was burnt by the French, and there some of her bones were lately to be seen.

“From Hastings, the shore still lies east and west, with a long ridge of beach and a hard sand, which we travel on for near twenty miles, to Bourn, a small village near the shore. About the middle of this coast, namely, near Pemsey, or Pevensey, William the Conqueror, then Duke of Normandy, landed with his army of Normans, consisting, according to some, of 45,000, according to others, of 65,000 men, for the conquest of this country; and the town of Battle, called so from the place where the decisive action happened between him and King Harold, is not far off, about ten or twelve miles within the county. This high ridge of beach runs on to a point of land a few miles beyond Bourn, west, and there ends, which point, for that very reason, is called Beach Head, or Beachy Head.

“We have nothing of note on this shore from hence, till we come to St. Helen's, Spithead, and Portsmouth. There are some small towns on the coast, as Shoreham and Arundel, two places eminent for building of ships, hoys, and ketches—the first at Shoreham, the latter at Arundel; and they are great builders, because of the vast quantity of large timber which this part of England produces more plentifully than elsewhere. Shoreham, as the name implies, stands on the very shore of the sea; but Arundel is a small market town, about eight or ten miles up the river.³ It is famous for an old castle,

¹ It was on New Year's-day, 1726, that George I. embarked for Harwich, having been detained at Hanover longer than was expected. On the voyage a terrible storm arose, the King's yacht was separated from her convoy, and it was not till after two days of danger and distress, that she made the port of Rye. On shore the weather was so bad, and the snow so deep, that he could not reach St. James's before the 9th of January. Had the King perished in the storm, we should probably have had a good harbour of refuge on the Sussex coast long ago. So argued Sidney Smith, when he said that nothing short of the casualty of

a bishop being burned in a railway carriage, would induce the authorities of the Great Western Railway to unlock the doors of their carriages.

² The English and Dutch fleet numbered sixty men of war, the French eighty: a disproportion of force which, in later days, would have been utterly disregarded.

³ The commissioners must have been satisfied with very careless information respecting distances. The sea is certainly not three miles distant from Winchelsea, and Arundel not much more than half the distance here stated.

belonging to the noble family of the Howards, Earls of Arundel, and now to the Duke of Norfolk, the chief of that name. The castle is out of repair and decaying; but the monuments of the family are preserved with great care, and are worth any traveller's seeing.

"The city of Chichester lies a little higher up the country, and has a small navigable creek, which goes up to it; but, as it is rather an inland than a sea-coast town, I omit it, as out of our design. Nor is the town itself considerable, either for trade or any other thing remarkable, except its cathedral and a fine spire upon it."

What a contrast have we here to the present state of the Sussex coast! We see at this moment in Rye, a thriving port with the additional advantage of a railway; Winchelsea remains the same lonely, deserted, but interesting place as described above, but Hastings, "the small town," united to St. Leonard's, has become the resort of wealth and fashion, and numbers some 20,000 inhabitants. Eastbourne is growing into a large town, having swollen out of all the proportions of a seacoast village. Not a word, in the Report of the Commissioners, is said of Newhaven, which now daily imports and exports, by means of powerful steamboats, a crowd of passengers to and from the Continent. Brighton is not even mentioned—the most luxurious of English towns, with a population exceeding that of several of the royal capitals of Europe. Nor Worthing, Bognor, and other minor places, the resorts of those who seek after health and pleasure on our favoured shore. The truth is, that almost within the memory of living men, a series of maritime cities have sprung into existence, presenting to our notice a sudden growth of wealth and civilization unequalled, perhaps, in the annals of this or any other country eastward of the Atlantic.

A little before the time of our Diarist (whom we had almost forgotten in this long digression), such was the condition of Sussex roads and Sussex civilization, that the judges, in the spring circuits, dared venture no farther into the county than to the border towns of Horsham and East Grinstead, to hold their assizes, leaving it to jurymen, prosecutors, and witnesses, to find their way to those distant places as best they could. Whereas at the present day, the same functionaries, borne on the wings of steam, may without inconvenience leave their West-end residences, and be at Lewes, twenty miles more southward than those towns, within the space of ninety minutes:

a journey which, "one hundred years ago," occupied two long days.

If the southern boundary of Sussex in old times was in a desperate condition, the northern was not much better. Lord Chancellor Cowper, when a barrister on the Home Circuit in the spring of 1690, wrote from Kingston-upon-Thames a letter to his wife, excusing himself for not having written to her from Horsham, since from that place they had to send their letters six miles to meet the post.

"I write to you," he says, "from this place as soon as I arrive, to tell you I have come off without hurt, both in my going and return through the Sussex ways, which are bad and ruinous beyond imagination. I vow 'tis a melancholy consideration that mankind will inhabit such a heap of dirt for a poor livelihood. The country is a sink of about fourteen miles broad, which receives all the water that falls from two long ranges of hills on both sides of it; and, not being furnished with convenient draining, is kept moist and soft by the water till the middle of a dry summer, which is only able to make it tolerable to ride for a short time. The same day I entered Surrey, a fine champagne country, dry and dusty as if the season of the year had shifted in a few hours from winter to midsummer.¹

It was in the centre of this district, girt in by the sea on one side, and by a moat of mud on the other, that our Sussex Tradesman, the writer of the Diary, Mr. Thomas Turner, a "general shopkeeper" at East Hothly, lived. And what a world of traffic does this phrase suggest! This individual was in old times, and to a certain degree is still, an embodiment of the whole circle of trade. The old Sussex mercer was grocer, draper, haberdasher, hatter, clothier, druggist, ironmonger, stationer, glover, undertaker, and what not!² From memoranda supplied by a descendant, it appears that Mr. T. was born in the year 1728, and that his native place was Groombridge, in Kent. From a carefully painted and well-preserved coat of arms, which accompanies the manuscript, there is some reason to believe that he claimed descent from the gentry family of

¹ Lord Campbell's *Life of Lord Chancellor Cowper*, p. 267.

² There is a Weald-of-Sussex story, that a Londoner, astonished at the wide range of a country shopkeeper's trade, determined to ascertain what there was that his shop could not supply. The following dialogue was the result:—"Londoner: Well, Mr. Smith, you sell everything,

don't you?—*Mr. S.*: Not everything, sir, but a good many things.—*L.*: Well, I want a second-hand pulpit; you can't supply that, I suppose?—*Mr. S.*: Well, sir, yes, I can, for our church has been new pewed lately, and, as I'm churchwarden, I happen just now to have a second-hand pulpit in stock."

Turner of Tablehurst, in East Grinstead. The diary itself was originally in at least 116 stout memorandum books. These, with the exception of a few, have been preserved, and they extend over a period of more than eleven years, from Feb. 21, 1754, to July 31, 1765.

The entries are very multifarious, and, for the most part, trivial and uninteresting. The writer tells us, day by day, what he had for dinner; where he went; how trade prospered in his shop; what were his domestic griefs, conjugal quarrels, and social pleasures; what books he read; what parish and other public transactions he was concerned in; and nothing can exceed the candour and openness with which he records in the plainest terms his many lapses into the sin of drunkenness—an offence which appears to have been freely shared in by those of both sexes with whom he associated, which he heartily laments, resolves to resist, but to which he continually yields: the whole exhibiting a picture of habits and manners, such as we should scarcely conceive possible, if they had not been thus faithfully portrayed in the pages of his Diary.

Though very deficient, as it will be seen, in the science of spelling, his orthography being, like Lord Duberley's, "a little loose," it is clear that Mr. Turner was a man far superior in intellect and attainments to the generality of his social equals and companions. He is still traditionally remembered for his knowledge and independence of mind, and country octogenarians speak of him as "a very learned man." The dread of approaching poverty, and the protracted illness of his first wife, with whom he did not live quite comfortably, but whose virtues he recounts, and whose memory he reveres when taken from him, and, more than all, the consciousness of his besetting sin, give a gloomy tinge to the greater part of the diary. The first cause of uneasiness seems to have been more imaginary than real; for he sustained his credit as a man of business up to the time of his death in 1789; and he stood so well with the world, that his son and successor in trade became one of the most flourishing mercers or general dealers in the county, his annual commercial returns being for a series of years £50,000, while in one or two exceptional years they reached the large sum of £70,000; and this in a village of some five or six hundred inhabitants. It is certainly a fact

that several county families in Sussex can, if they are so disposed, trace their pedigree up to the mercers of bygone times.

The best mode, perhaps, of introducing Mr. Turner to our readers, is to present him to them as he describes himself:—

“*Sunday, Feb. 8, 1754.*—As I by experience find how much more conducive it is to my health, as well as pleasantness and serenity to my mind, to live in a low, moderate rate of diet, and as I know I shall never be able to comply therewith in so strict a manner as I should chuse, by the unstable and over-easyness of my temper, I think it therefore fit to draw up Rules of proper Regimen, which I do in the manner and form following, which I hope I shall always have the strictest regard to follow, as I think they are not inconsistent with either religion or morality.”

He determines to rise early, to breakfast between seven and eight, and to dine between the hours of twelve and one; eating sparingly of meat, but plentifully of garden-stuff; his supper to consist of weak broth, water-gruel, or milk pottage, varied occasionally with a fruit pie.

“If,” he says, “I am at home, or in company abroad, I will never drink more than four glasses of strong beer: one to toast the King’s health, the second to the Royal Family, the third to all friends, and the fourth to the pleasure of the company. If there is either wine or punch, never upon any terms or persuasion to drink more than eight glasses, each glass to hold no more than half a quarter of a pint,”

He concludes with the resolution, “always to go to bed at or before ten o’clock.”

It will be seen in the sequel how he adhered to these good resolutions.

“*June 26, 1754.*—This day made an end of instructing Miss Day. Read part of the *Spectator*; prodigiously admire the beautys pointed out in the eighth book of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, by the *Spectator*’s criticism, wherein is beautifully expressed Adam’s conference with the Almighty, and likewise his distress on losing sight of the phantom in his dream, and his joy in finding it a real creature when awake.”

Mr. Turner’s reading was quite multifarious. In the course of five or six weeks, we find him recording his perusal of Gay’s *Poems*, Stewart *On the Supreme Being*, the *Whole Duty of Man*, *Paradise Lost and Regained*, *Othello*, the *Universal Magazine*, Thomson’s *Seasons*, Young’s *Night Thoughts*, Tournefort’s *Voyage to the Levant*, and *Peregrine Pickle*.

“*Clarissa Harlow*,” he says, “I look upon as a very well-wrote thing, tho’ it must be allowed it is too prolix. The author keeps up the character of every person in all places; and as to the manner of its ending, I like it better than if it had terminated in more happy consequences.”

On one occasion he says,—

“My wife read to me that moving scene of the funeral of Miss Clarissa Harlow. Oh, may the Supreme Being give me grace to lead my life in such a manner as my exit may in some measure be like that divine creature’s.”

“July 27.—At home all day. Read part of Boyle’s *Lectures*, and Smart’s *Poem on Eternity and Immensity*.”

“Sunday, Aug. 11.—This day, the public day at Halland, the two judges came from Lewes, and dined there. There was in the whole but a small company. I came home a little past nine, with several of the parishioners, a little matter enlivened by liquor, but no wayes drunk. Not at church all day. My wife went down to Halland to see the turtle.”

“Monday, 11th.—This day the assizes at Lewes, and only one prisoner.”

By a subsequent entry it appears that the one prisoner was a boy, and that he was acquitted. A melancholy contrast to this almost maiden assize, was exhibited in Sussex thirty-two years later, as thus recorded by the Rev. Mr. Poole:—“I preached before the judge in the College Chapel, at East Grinstead, the church being in ruins. A very full assize and heavy calendar: twenty-six prisoners—nine condemned, and six left for execution,”

“March 13, 1755.—I went to Mr. Millar’s at Burg Hill. Mr. Millar promised me his son should come to me to school. I received of him 18*d.* due to Mr. Tomsett, for schooling Henry.”

Mr. Millar of Burg Hill was a small country gentleman, of ancient family, who paid 3*d.* a week for the education of his son!

“June 20.—This day being my birthday, I treated my scholars with about five quarts of strong beer, and had an issue cut in my leg.”

The practice of limiting an auction by the burning of a candle—the precursor probably of the minute-glass now sometimes used—prevailed at this time. In 1756, Mr. Turner attended a sale of some property in the parish of St. Michael, Lewes. The Diary contains an entry of the conditions of sale by the candle, one of which is, that the last bidder at the expiration of the flame of the candle, is the buyer. The candle was lighted before four o’clock, and burnt till eight—four hours being spent in the disposal of property worth £420.¹

¹ This practice is thus alluded to in the *Diary of Pepys*:—“Sept. 3, 1662.—After dinner we went and sold the Weymouth, Success, and Fellowship Hulkes, where it was pleasant to see how backward men are at first to bid, and yet when the candle is going out, how they bawl and dispute afterwards who bid the most first. And

here I observed one man cunninger than the rest, that was sure to bid the last man, and to carry it; and inquiring the reason, he told me, that just as the flame goes out, the smoke descends, which is a thing I never observed before, and by that he did know the instant when to bid last.”

"*Fryday, 22nd.*—In the evening I read part of the fourth volume of the *Tatler*; the oftener I read it the better I like it. I think I never found the vice of drinking so well exploded in my life, as in one of the numbers."

"*30th.*—This morn my wife and I had words about her going to Lewes to-morrow; Oh, what happiness must there be in the married state, when there is a sincere regard on both sides, and each partie truly satisfied with each other's merits! But it is impossible for tongue or pen to express the uneasiness that attends the contrary."

On another occasion he exclaims,—

"Oh, was marriage ever designed to make mankind unhappy? No, unless by their own choice it's made so by both parties being not satisfied with each other's merit. But sure this cannot be my own affair, for I married, if I know my own mind, intirely to make my wife and self happy; to live in a course of virtue and religion, and to be a mutual help to each other. Oh! what am I going to say?—I have almost made, as it were, a resolution to make a sepperation by settling my affairs and parting in friendship. But is this what I married for? How are my views frustrated from the prospect of an happy and quiet life, to the enjoyment of one that is quite the opposite! Oh! were I endued with the patience of Socrates, then might I be happy; but as I am not, I must pacify myself with the cheerful reflection that I have done my utmost to render our union happy, good, and comfortable to ourselves and progeny."

"*April 10.*—I carried down to Mr. Porter's some shagg, for a pair of breeches for Mr. Porter."

The Rev. Richard Porter, M.A., had been inducted to the rectory of East Hothly in 1742. He was possessed, as his predecessors in the benefice had long been, of a certain piece of woodland, attached to the glebe, and called the "Breeches Wood." The tradition runs, that on a time a benevolent lady of East Hothly, having noticed that her pastor's nether garments were (to use a Sussexism) "out of kilter," kindly presented him and his successors in office, for ever, with the aforesaid wood, for the reparation and renewal of his garments.

"*April 19, 1756.*—I went down to the vestry, there being a public vestry at Jones's to chuse new officers; those chosen for the years 1756-7, was Jo. Fuller, churchwarden; John Vine, electioner;¹ myself, overseer; Edward Hope, electioner.

"*April 21.*—I went to the audit, and came home drunk; but I think never to exceed the bounds of moderation more."

"*Sunday, 25th.*—As soon as prayers were ended, Mr. French and I went and searched the public-houses. At Francis Turner's we found a man and his wife; they seemed to be very sober sort of people, and not a-drinking, so we did not meddle with them."

¹ Electioner was the assistant and deputy of the overseer in case of absence or sickness.

"28th.—I read several numbers of the *Freeholder*, which I think is a proper book for any person at this critical juncture of affairs. Read Homer's *Odysseys*. I think the character which Menelaus gives Telemachus of Ulysses, when he is a speaking of his warlike virtues, in the 4th Book, is very good. Read the 13th Book, after supper; I think the soliloquy which Ulysses makes when he finds the Phœnicians have in his sleep left him on his native shore of Ithaca, with all his treasure, contains a very good lesson of morality."¹

"*Sunday, March 21.*—I was at home all day, but not at church. Oh fy! No just reason for not being there."

"*Sunday, 28th.*—I went down to Jones, where we drank one bowl of punch and two muggs of bumboo; and I came home again in liquor. Oh! with what horrors does it fill my heart, to think I should be guilty of doing so, and on a Sunday too! Let me once more endeavour never, no never, to be guilty of the same again."

Mr. Turner's career as a schoolmaster was a brief one.

"*May 15, 1756.*—This day I resigned up my school to Francis Elless."

The great earthquake which destroyed Lisbon, and was felt in this country, excited much alarm. A day of public humiliation was very generally observed throughout the kingdom, and Mr. Turner makes several allusions to the visitation, in his reflections upon the degeneracy of the times. For months afterwards, a sort of panic on the subject of earthquakes prevailed.

"*May 3, 1756.*—Saw, in the Lewes paper of this day, that on Saturday last there was several expolsions heard in the bowels of the earth, like an earthquake, in the parishes of Waldron and Hellingly."

"*July 9.*—Mr. French cal'd me to go to Laughton with him, in order to see a funerall there—to wit, the Hon. Lady Frances, Dowager of Castlecomers, sister to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. She was brought to Halland about eleven o'clock, but not taken out of the hearse, and was intered in their family vault at Laughton, about thirty minutes past one, in the sixty-ninth year of her age. The pall was supported by the Hon. Col. Pelham, Sir Francis Poole, —Campion, Esq., T. Pelham, Esq., John Pelham, Esq., and Henry Pelham. The funeral service was read by the Bishop of Chichester. There were three mourning coaches, Mr. Pelham's, and Colonel Pelham's, and the Bishop's."

"*July 18.*—I this day heard of the lost of Fort St. Philip, and the whole island of Minarco (Minorca), after being possessed by the English nation forty-seven years, and after being defended ten weeks and one day, by that truly brave and heroick man, General Blakeney, and at last was obliged to surrender for want of provision and ammunition. No man, I think, can deserve a brighter character in the annals of fame than this. But, Oh! he was, as one may justly say, abandoned by his country, who never sent him any succours. Never did the English nation suffer a greater blot. Oh, my country! my country!—oh, Albion, Albion!—I doubt thou art tottering on the brink of ruin and desolation, this day! The nation is all in a foment upon account of loosing dear Minorca."

¹ The passages which he admires are given at full length from Pope's translation.

"*Sunday, Aug. 15.*—In the morn we got up about five o'clock, and my wife, Sally, Tho. Davy, and myself, set out for the camp on Cox Heath, where we arrived about ten o'clock, just as they were all got to their devotions—to wit, twelve congregations, and 1000 in each congregation. They seemed to be very attentive at their devotions, and minister seemed to have a fine delivery. I think the camp as fine a sight as I ever see."

"*Sunday, Dec. 26.*—In the morning the Rev. Mr. Hamlin, of Waldron, preached at our church. We had an excellent sermon—Mr. Hamlin, in my opinion, being the compleatest churchman of any clergyman in this neighbourhood, and who seems to take a great deal of pains in the discharge of his duty."

"*Friday, May 20.*—This day I went to Mr. Porter's to inform them that the livery lace was not come, when I think Mrs. Porter treated me with as much imperious and scornful usage as if she had been, what I think she is, more of a Turk and Infidel, than a Christian, and I an abject slave."¹

"On Sunday, Jan. 9, 1757, died suddenly the Rev. Mr. Lyddell, rector of Ardingly, aged fifty-nine; a gentleman, who for his extensive knowledge, unlimited charity, general behaviour, and other amiable qualities, was an ornament to his profession, and yet so little publicly taken notice of, that he never enjoyed any church preferment except a small family living of one hundred pounds a year; he was possessed of a good paternal estate, above one thousand pounds a year, and tho' he lived in the most retired private manner, the yearly income of it was disposed of in assisting his friends in distress, and in charity to the poor. He dy'd a bachelor; the name is extinct. His estate devolves to Richard Clarke, Esq., of Blake Hall, in Essex."

About this time Mr. Turner speaks of the general dearness of all provisions: wheat being 10s. a bushel, barley 5s., beef 2s. a stone, mutton 3d. a pound.

"Oh," he exclaims, "how dull is trade, how very scarce is money, never did I know so bad a time before. What shall I do! work I can not, and honest I will be, if the Almighty will give me grace."

"*May 7.*—Perusing an abridgement of the *Life of Madame de Maintenon*, I find the following advise given her by her mother, Madame d'Aubigné, viz., to act in such a manner as fearing all things from men, and hoping all things from God."

"*22nd.*—This afternoon there was a funeral sermon for Master Marchant, text—'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.' From which words we had a very good sermon, tho' whether it was a funeral sermon, they that preached it, and they that pay for it, alone must know; most of us thought it to be a sermon made before the death of Master Marchant."

"*June 14.*—Master Durrant and I set out on foot for Lewes, to-day being the visitation. After church time, I was sworn with many more into my office of churchwarden, for which I paid 4s. 6d. After dinner we smoked our pipe. I came home about ten P.M., thank GOD, very safe and sober."

"*June 20.*—This is my birthday, in which I enter the twenty-ninth year of my age; and may I, as I grow in years, so continue to increase in goodness; for, as my exit must every day draw nearer, so may I every day become more

¹ This lady was the daughter and coheirress of a Yorkshire gentleman of fortune.

enamoured with the prospect of the happiness of another world, and more entirely dead to the follies and vanities of this transitory world."

"June 21.—Attended the funeral of Master Goldsmith at Waldron; this was the merriest funeral that ever I saw, for I can safely say there was no crying."

"June 22.—This day I saw in the *Lewes Journal*, that our troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough had landed at St. Maloes, and had burnt and otherwise destroyed 137 vessels of all denominations; and after destroying these vessels, he reembarked his men without any loss. This success of our arms must doubtless greatly weaken and distress the French, who I believe are already in a very poor way; but I do not imagine this to be a loss to the French nation adequate to the charge which our nation has been at in setting out and equipping such a fleet as ours; and yet I think it is acting a more humane part than burning and destroying a town, and thereby probably destroying, ruining, and taking away the life of many thousands of poor innocent wretches, that perhaps never did, nor thought of doing, any hurt to the British nation."

"Sunday, July 10.—The Right Honble. Geo. Cholmondely, Earl Cholmondely, Viscount Malpas, joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, lord lieutenant, cust. rot., and vice-admiral of Cheshire, governor of Chester Castle, lord lieutenant of Anglesea, Caernarvon, Flint, Merioneth, and Montgomery, steward of the royal manor of Sheen in Surrey, and Knight of the Bath, being a visiting at Mr. Coates's, was at church this morning."¹

The record of the events of this month is occupied with the sad story of a poor girl who had been seduced, and who evidently was poisoned by her seducer. She was seen at night in a wood, in conversation with him; came home, and was seized with all the agonies and symptoms of one who had taken arsenic, and died; the man never leaving her till she became speechless. Strong suspicion having been excited, the body was examined by a medical man from Lewes; and the full details of the inquiry, given in the Diary, prove the extreme ignorance and carelessness with which such investigations were then conducted, and the little trouble that was taken to bring the criminal, one of the principal men in the parish, to justice.

Mrs. Turner's inclination to visit her friends in Lewes was a sad subject of domestic irritation.

"Saturday, 30/h.—I cannot say I think it prudent of my wife to go to Lewes now, as I look for the Duke of Newcastle down at Halland. I have several journeys to go next week, which I must postpone, on account of her absence. But, alas! what can be said of a woman's temper and thought? Business and family advantage must submit to their pride and pleasure; but tho' I mention this of women, it may perhaps be as justly applied to men; but most people are blind to their own follies."

¹ The *Peerage of England* was a favourite study of Mr. Turner.

Matters, however, were not always quite so bad.

"This is the day," he says (Oct. 15), "on which I was married, and it is now three years since. Doubtless many have been the disputes which have happened between my wife and myself during the time, and many have been the afflictions which it has pleased GOD to lay upon us, and which we have justly deserved by the many anemosities and desentions which have been continually fermented between us and our friends, from allmost the very day of our marriage; but I may now say with the holy Psalmist, 'It is good for us that we have been afflicted;' for, thanks be to GOD, we now begin to live happy; and I am thoroughly persuaded, if I know my own mind, that if I was single again, and at liberty to make another choice, I should do the same—I mean, make her my wife who is so now."

The "fermenting parties" referred to included his mother-in-law, Mrs. Slater, whom he calls a very Xantippe,—

"having a very great volubility of tongue for invective, and especially if I am the subject; tho' what the good woman wants with me I know not, unless it be that I have offended her by being too careful of her daughter, who, poor creature, has enjoyed but little pleasure of her life in her marriage state, being almost continually, to our great misfortune, afflicted with illness."

The general, and almost the only, mode of getting about in Sussex in the days of Mr. Turner, was on horseback—the husband riding with his wife on a pillion behind him. There was generally a narrow slip of road made hard, usually by the refuse slag of the extinct iron-works, along which they jogged in winter, the rest of the road being available only in summer. About this time he says:—

"My wife and I having fixed to go to Hartfield, my wife endeavoured to borrow a horse of Jos. Fuller, Tho. Fuller, Will. Piper, and Jos. Burgess, to no purpose, they having no reason for not doing it, but want of good nature and a little gratitude; tho' I make no doubt but they will, some or other of them, be so good natured as soon to come and say, 'Come, do write this land-tax or window-tax book for us;' then I always find good nature enough to do it, and at the same time to find them in beer, gin, pipes, and tobacco; and then, poor ignorant wretches, they sneak away, and omit to pay for their paper; but, GOD bless them, I'll think it proceeds more from ignorance than ill nature. My wife having hired a horse of John Watford, about four o'clock we set out on our journey for Hartfield, and as we were riding along near to Hastingford, no more than a foot's pace, the horse stood still, and continued kicking-up until we was both off, in a very dirty hole (but, thanks be to God, we received no hurt). My wife was obliged to go in to Hastingford House, to clean herself. My wife and I spent the even at my father Slater's. We dined off some ratios of pork and green sallard."

"*Sunday, Aug. 7.*—This being a publick day at Halland, I spent about two or three hours there in the afternoon, in company with several of our neighbours. There was a great company of people, of all denominations, from a

duke to a beggar; among the rest of the nobility were his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the Hon. Lord Cholmondely, Lord Gage, Earle of Ashburnham, the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, and Mr. Justice Dennison, and a great number of gentlemen. I was there three times this day. What a small pleasure it is to be in such a concourse of people!—one hour spent in solitude being, in my opinion, worth more than a whole day in such a tumult; there being nothing but vanity and tumult in such public assemblies, and their mirth being rather obstreperious than serious and agreeable. Oh! how silly is mankind, to delight so much in vanity and transitory joys!”

“*Fryday, Aug. 12.*—This day being the first race-day at Lewes, my sister Ann Slater and I, upon a horse borrowed of Mr. French, rode to Lewes, where we arrived just as the people came from the hill. We went to see the ball, which, in my opinion, was an extreme pretty sight. The King’s plate of 100 sovereigns was run for by Mr. Warren’s horse Careless, and Mr. Rogers’s horse Newcastle Jack, which was won by Careless, the other being drawn after the first heat. ’Tis said there were £100 laid by the grooms, that Careless beat the other six score yards, which he did.”

“*Aug. 22.*—I sett off for Piltdown, where I saw Charles Diggins and James Fowle run twenty rod for one guinea each. I got never a bet, but very drunk.”

“*Tuesday, 23rd.*—Came home in the forenoon, not quite sober; at home all day, and I know I behaved more like an ass than any human being—doubtless not like one that calls himself a Christian. Oh! how unworthy am I of that name!”

“*Sunday, 28th.*—My whole family at church. I think we have had too as good sermons to-day as I ever heard; Mr. Porter preached. Tho. Davey at our house in the even, to whom I read five of Tillotson’s *Sermons.*”

“*Sept. 18.*—My whole family at church—myself, wife, maid, and the two boys. We dined off a piece of boiled beef and carrots, and currant suet pudding; and we had, I think, too extreme good sermons this day preached unto us.”

The commencement of the hop-picking season is always indicated by a memorandum of the purchase of a neckcloth for the pole-puller.

“*Sept. 20, 1756.*—In the even, Mr. Porter’s hoppers bought their pole-puller’s nickcloth.”

The article was of some showy colour, to make him more conspicuous in the hop-garden, and its purchase seems to have been attended with some convivialities.

“*Sept. 23.*—Halland hop-pickers bought their pole-puller’s nickcloth; and, poor wretches, many of them insensible.”

“*Oct. 6.*—This day how are my most sanguine hopes of happiness frustrated!—I mean the happiness between myself and wife, which hath now continued for some time; but, oh! this day it has become the contra! I think I have tryed all experiments to make our life’s happy, but they have all failed. The opposition seems to be naturally in our tempers—not arising from spitefulness, but an opposition that seems indicated by our very make and constitution.”

"Oct. 26 (Sunday).—This day, the holy sacrament being administered, my wife, self, and maid, all staid—my wife and I taking up a resolution, in the presence of Almighty God and Saviour, with his divine grace and holy Spirit, to forsake our sins, and to become better Christians, and to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in peace with all mankind. Tho. Davey came in the evening, to whom I read six of Tillotson's *Sermons*."

"Tuesday, Oct. 11.—My brother and I set out for Battle market. I think Battle to be a pleasant situated town, and there seems to be a considerable market for stock; and the Abbey—which belongs to the family of the Websters, and which was built just after the Conquest, in memory of the battle fought near that place between the Conqueror and Harold, in which the latter, his two brothers, most of the English nobility, and 97,974 common men (!) were killed—is the remains of a fine Gothic structure."

"Monday, Oct. 17.—Tho. Durrant and I set out on our journey to Steyning, and arrived there in the even. Next day I settled with Mr. Burfield; after this we must needs walk up to Steyning town, where he had us about from one of his friend's houses to another, untill we became not very sober; but, however, we got back to Mr. Burfield's, and dined there. After dinner, thinking myself capable to undertake such a journey, I came away, leaving Tho. Durrant there, who actual was past riding, or amost any thing else. I arrived at home, through the providence of GOD, very well, and safe, about seven; and, to give Mr. Burfield his just character, in the light wherein he appears to me, he is a very good-tempered man, a kind and affectionate husband, an indulgent and tender parent, benevolent and humane to a great degree, and who seems to have a great capacity and judgment in his business; but, after all, a man very much given to drink. When I came home, Dame Durrant was like to tare me to pieces, with words, for leaving her son behind; but it all came to rights with the assistance of two or three drams of her beloved Nantzy. Steyning, I think, is but a small town, tho' both a borough and market town, and also a free grammar school there."

"Oct. 24.—I went down to Jones's, to the publick vestry. It was the unanimous consent of all present to give to Tho. Daw, upon condition that he should buy the house in the parish of Waldron for which he hath been treating, by reason that he would then be an inhabitant of Waldron, and clear of our parish, halfe a tun of iron, £10; a chaldron of coals, &c., £2; in cash, £8; and find him the sum of £20, for which he is to pay interest, for to buy the said house: a fine present for a man that has already about £80; but yet, I believe, it is a very prudent step in the parish, for he being a man with but one leg, and very contrary withall, and his wife being entirely deprived of that great blessing, eyesight, there is great room to suspect there would, one time or other, happen a great charge to the parish, there being a very increasing family; and I doubt the man is none of the most prudent, he having followed smuggling very much in time past, which has brought him into a trifling way of life."

"Oct. 31.—In the morn, Fielder brought our herrings, but could get no pandles; I paid him for 1100 herrings, 33s."¹

¹ The good old Sussex word *pandle*, now becoming obsolete, means a shrimp. The etymology of the latter word is very obscure, and the word itself is compara-

tively modern. The former is said to be derived from a low Latin word, *pandalus*, and is undoubtedly the more ancient term. Pevensey shrimps enjoy a wide and an-

"Nov. 2.—Oh! how transient is all mundane bliss! I who, on Sunday last, was all calm and serenity in my breast, am now nought but storm and tempest. Well might the wise man say, 'It were better to dwell in a corner of the house-top, than with a contentious woman in a wide house.'"

Sunday, Nov. 27.—This day I completed reading of Tillotson's *Sermons* over the second time. So far as I am a judge, I think them to be a complete body of divinity—they being written in a plain familiar stile, but far from what may be deemed low."

"Dec. 4.—This day completed the reading of *Sherlock On Death*, which I esteem a very plain good book, proper for every Christian to read—that is, rich and poor, men and women, young and old."

"Dec. 5.—Mr. Gibbs paid me in full, £1. 3s. 9d. When he paid me, Mr. French and Tho. Fuller was in company of him; so that common civility obliged me to ask them all to walk in, which they did, and staid till near nine o'clock; but I think nothing can be more frothy than these men's discourses. Let us only think that they are all masters of families, and fathers of many children, and yet their whole discourse seems turned to obscenity, oaths, gaming, and hunting; nothing to the improvement of the mind, nor the honour of God or man."

"Dec. 12.—This day, died Mary Shoemith, a child-maid at the Rev. Mr. Porter's, after about ten days' illness. This poor girl was cut off in the prime of her youth, not being seventeen. Oh! let mankind consider that no age nor sex is exempt from death! What is it that makes men so humble at the approach of death? Only their vices. Would they but refrain from evil and do good, and return unto the Lord their GOD, who hath promised mercy and forgiveness unto them that truly and sincerely repent, then the prospect of death would be but as a translation from a life of misery to an eternal state of happiness."

"*Sunday, Dec. 25.*—Myself, the two boys, and servant, at church; I and the maid staid the Communion. This being Christmas-day, the widow Marchant, Hannah, and James Marchant, dined with us, on a buttock of beef and a plumb suet pudding. Tho. Davey at our house in the even, to whom I read two nights of the *Complaint*, one of which was the 'Christian's Triumph against the Fear of Death:' a noble subject, it being the redemption of mankind by Jesus Christ. I think the author has treated it in a very moving and pathetic manner."

"1757. *Jan. 9.*—Mr. Elless, Marchant, myself, and wife, sat down to whist about seven o'clock, and played all night; very pleasant, and, I think I may say, innocent mirth, there being no oaths nor imprecations sounding from side to side, as is too often the case at cards."

"*Jan. 11.*—This day I gave a man 6d., who came about a-beggin for the prisoners in Horsham Gaol, three of which are clergymen, two of them in for acting contrary to the laws of men, but not, in my opinion, to the laws of GOD—that is, for marrying contrary to the Marriage Act. The other is for stealing some linen; but I hope he is innocent."

"*Jan. 20.*—In the even I read a pamphlet, entitled *Primitive Christianity Propounded*, which I imagine was written by a Baptist preacher, in favour of

cient reputation, though perhaps it would be going too far to say, as has been suggested by an ingenious friend, that the

cohorts of Anderida, in the days of Constantine, gave the name of *pandalus* to the savoury morsel.

preaching without notes. I must say I can find no harm consequent on our method of reading, as the author is pleased to call it; but I must acknowledge that the idle, lazy, way of preaching which many of our clergy are got into, seems rather to prove self-interest to be the motive of the exercising their profession, than the eternal happiness and salvation of mankind."

"*Jan. 26.*—We went down to Whyly, and staid and supped there; we came home between twelve and one o'clock—I may say, quite sober, considering the house we was at, though undoubtedly the worst for drinking, having, I believe, contracted a slight impediment in my speech, occasioned by the fumes of the liquor operating too furiously on my brain."

"*Jan. 28.*—I went down to Mrs. Porter's, and acquainted her I could not get her gown before Monday, who received me with all the affability, courtesy, and good humour imaginable. Oh! what a pleasure would it be to serve them was they always in such a temper; it would even induce me, almost, to forget to take a just profit. In the even I read part of the *New Whole Duty of Man.*"

"*Feb. 2.*—We supped at Mr. Fuller's, and spent the evening with a great deal of mirth, till between one and two. Tho. Fuller brought my wife home upon his back. I cannot say I came home sober, though I was far from being bad company. I think we spent the evening with a great deal of pleasure."

Our friend was not always thus amiable in his cups: there were times when he became very quarrelsome; as, for instance, when, on his return from Lewes, in company with a friend, he lost his way on the Broyle, and at last, arriving at a public-house, found Dr. Stone there as drunk as himself. They quarrelled and fought, and he was much puzzled the next morning to recollect what it was they fought about.

"*Feb. 17.*—This being the day appointed for a general fast and humiliation, myself, the boys, and servant, was at church in the morning. This fast-day hath, to all outward appearance, been observed in this parish with a great deal of decorum—the church in the morning being more thronged than I have seen it lately. Oh! may religion once more rear up her head in this wicked and impious nation!"

"*Wednesday, 22nd.*—About four P. M., I walked down to Whyly. We played at bragg the first part of the even. After ten we went to supper, on four boiled chicken, four boiled ducks, minced veal, sausages, cold roast goose, chicken pasty, and ham. Our company, Mr. and Mrs. Porter, Mr. and Mrs. Coates, Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Piper and wife, Joseph Fuller and wife, Tho. Fuller and wife, Dame Durrant, myself and wife, and Mr. French's family. After supper our behaviour was far from that of serious, harmless mirth; it was downright obstreperious, mixed with a great deal of folly and stupidity. Our diversion was dancing or jumping about, without a violin or any musick, singing of foolish healths, and drinking all the time as fast as it could be well poured down; and the parson of the parish was one among the mixed multitude. If conscience dictates right from wrong, as doubtless it sometimes does, mine is one that I may say is soon offended; for, I must say, I am always very uneasy at such behaviour, thinking it not like the behaviour

of the primitive Christians, which I imagine was most in conformity to our Saviour's gospel. Nor would I be thought to be either a cynick or a stoick, but let social improving discourse pass round the company. About three o'clock, finding myself to have as much liquor as would do me good, I slipt away unobserved, leaving my wife to make my excuse. Though I was very far from sober, I came home, thank GOD, very safe and well, without even tumbling; and Mr. French's servant brought my wife home, at ten minutes past five" (probably upon his back).

"*Thursday, Feb. 25.*—This morning about six o'clock, just as my wife was got to bed, we was awaked by Mrs. Porter, who pretended she wanted some cream of tartar; but as soon as my wife got out of bed, she vowed she should come down. She found Mr. Porter, Mr. Fuller and his wife, with a lighted candle, and part of a bottle of wine and a glass. The next thing was to have me down stairs, which being apprized of, I fastened my door. Up stairs they came, and threatened to break it open; so I ordered the boys to open it, when they poured into my room; and, as modesty forbid me to get out of bed, so I refrained; but their immodesty permitted them to draw me out of bed, as the common phrase is, topsy-turvey; but, however, at the intercession of Mr. Porter, they permitted me to put on my —, and, instead of my upper cloaths, they gave me time to put on my wife's petticoats; and in this manner they made me dance, without shoes and stockings, untill they had emptied the bottle of wine, and also a bottle of my beer. . . . About three o'clock in the afternoon, they found their way to their respective homes, beginning to be a little serious, and, in my opinion, ashamed of their stupid enterprise and drunken preambulation. Now, let any one call in reason to his assistance, and seriously reflect on what I have before recited, and they will join with me in thinking that the precepts delivered from the pulpit on Sunday, tho' delivered with the greatest ardour, must lose a great deal of their efficacy by such examples."¹

"*Sunday, March 3.*—We had as good a sermon as I ever heard Mr. Porter preach, it being against swearing."

On Tuesday, March 7, the same party, with the addition of Mr. Calverley² and Mrs. Atkins, met at supper at Mr. Joseph Fuller's:—

"We continued," he says, "drinking like horses, as the vulgar phrase is, and singing till many of us were very drunk, and then we went to dancing and pulling of wigs, caps, and hats; and thus we continued in this frantic manner, behaving more like mad people than they that profess the name of Christians. Whether this is consistent to the wise saying of Solomon, let any one judge: 'Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and he that is deceived thereby is not wise.'"

¹ This Mr. Porter is the same person who engaged Walter Gale, the school-master of Mayfield, seven years before this scene occurred, to transcribe "A Translation from Longinus, of Sappho, which he had anew translated into Sapphic verse to the sound, time, and metre with the original Greek."—*Suss. Arch. Coll.* IX. 190.

² Mr. Calverley, who seems at this date to have been a parishioner of Eastthothly, was a descendant of the Calverleys, whose chief abode in Sussex was The Broad, in the parish of Hellingly. They were a proven offshoot of the great and ancient family of the same name in Cheshire.

March 10.—They supped at Mr. Porter's, where the same scene took place, with the exception that "there was no swearing and no ill words, by reason of which Mr. Porter," he says, "calls it innocent mirth, but I in opinion differ much therefrom."

Saturday, March 11.—At home all day. Very piteous."

This series of orgies was wound up by the same party meeting at Mr. Turner's house on the following Friday, where the same scenes were repeated; and he sums up the whole in these words:—

"Now, I hope all revelling for this season is over; and may I never more be discomposed with so much drink, or by the noise of an obstreperious multitude, but that I may calm my troubled mind, and sooth my disturbed conscience."

March 23.—A very melancholy time occasioned by the dearness of corn, tho' not proceeding from a real scarcity, but from the iniquitous practice of ingrossors, forestalling, &c. My trade is but very small, and what I shall do for an honest livelihood I cannot think; I am, and hope ever shall be, content to put up with two meals a day, and both of them I am also willing should be of pudding. As I am mortal, so have I my faults and failings in common with other mortals. I believe, by a too eager thirst after knowledge, I have oftentimes, to gratify that insatiable humour, been at to great expense in buying books, and spending rather too much time in reading; for it seems to be the only diversion that I have any appetite for. Reading and study (might I be allowed the phrase) would in a manner be both drink and meat to me, was my circumstances but independent."

Recruiting for the navy was a cheaper and simpler matter in those days than it is at present.

Sunday, April 2.—In the even, Master Hooke and myself went and searched John Jones's and Prawles', in order to see if there was any disorderly fellows, that we might have them to the setting to-morrow, in order to send them to sea. We found none that we thought proper to send."

May 22.—As soon as I had breakfasted, I set out for Lewes, to commit the management of the debt due from Master Darby to me into the hands of Mr. Rideout. Oh, what a confusion and tumult there is in my breast about this affair! To think what a terrible thing it is to arrest a person, for by this means he may be entirely torn to pieces; but, on the other hand, this debt hath been standing above four years; they have almost quite forsaken my shop; I have just reason to suspect they must be deep in debt at other places, for no people of £200 a year go gayer than Mrs. Darby and her two daughters, and I at this time am so oppressed for want of money that I know not which way to turn."

Sunday, June 4.—About four o'clock, my wife and I set out for Lewes, on our roan mare, where we arrived about twenty minutes past seven. We went to see the Castle Mount, which I think a most beautiful sight, it being so well adorned with a great variety of shrubs and flowers, and so exceeding

high that you have a command of the prospect of all the circumjacent country round. We came home, thank GOD, very safe, sober, and well, about thirty minutes past eight."

"*June 8.*—A very melancholy time with me: my wife very ill, and I am prodigious uneasy about Master Darby's affair, for fear I should have been guilty of any harsh or inhuman usage. Oh! that I lived in solitude, and had not occasion to act in trade, but still I hope and think I have done nought but what is consistent with self-preservation and the laws of equity."

"*June 10.*—I went to Lewes on foot to know the result of Counsellor Humphrey's opinion of Mr. Virgoe's will; and now what I am going to relate makes me shudder with horror at the thoughts of it. It is, I got very much in liquor; but let me not give it so easy a name, but say I was very drunk, and in consequence no better than a beast. I got on horseback at the Cats, and proceeded on my way home, and met Mr. Langham and several more, but who they were I cannot remember. There was formerly a dispute between Mr. Langham and I, about a bill, and I imagine I must tell him of that. Whether they, seeing me more in liquor than themselves, put upon me, I do not remember; but Mr. Langham pulled me by the nose and struck at me with his horsewhip, and used me very ill. Mr. Adams told them he thought there was enough for a joke, upon which they used him very ill, and whilst they were a-fighting, I, free from any hurt, and like a true friend and bold hearty fellow, rode away upon poor Peter's horse, leaving him to shift for himself, and glad enough I got away with a whole skin. What can I say in my own behalf, for getting drunk? Sure I am a direct fool."

"*Monday, June 12.*—A melancholy time, my wife at home very ill, trade very dull; but this is the hand of GOD, therefore I hope to bear it patiently."

"*Wednesday, June 14.*—In the afternoon, at work in my garden; in the even, read the twelfth and last book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and which I have now read twice through, and in my opinion it exceeds anything I ever read, for sublimity of language and beauty of similies; and I think the depravity of human nature entailed upon us by our first parents is finely drawn.

"*Tuesday, June 20.*—This is my birthday, on which I enter my thirtyeth year. How many, ere they have arrived at this age, have been cut off, probably in the midst of their sins! How careful should I be that I live not in vain—that, as I daily increase in age, so may I also improve in all virtue and godliness of life! If we only look back and reflect upon the time that is past, we shall find him that lives to the greatest age will have room to say with holy Psalmist, that our days are past as it were a tale that is told; therefore my sincere wish is, that I may endeavour to lay hold on the present minute, that when my exit may be, I may ever more live a life of happiness and bliss."

"*Thursday, June 29, 1758.*—This day we had a rejoicing by ringing the bells, &c., for a victory gained over the French by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, near the Lower Rhine. Mr. Coates¹ gave me an invitation to come down to-morrow night, to see him, and to rejoice on this occasion. I think this is not the proper way of rejoicing, for I doubt there is little thoughts of returning thanks to Him that gives success in war."

"*Friday, June 30.*—I think I have a very great dread upon my spirits about to-night's entertainment; for, as I so seldom drink anything strong, I am

¹ Mr. Coates, so often named in the Diary, was the Duke of Newcastle's stew-

ard and man of business, and lived at Halland.

thoroughly sensible a very little will make me drunk. Oh! a melancholy thing it is to deprive oneself of reason, and even to render ourselves beasts! But what can I do? If I goe, I must drink just as they please, or otherwise I shall be called a poor singular fellow. If I stay at home, I shall be stigmatised with the name of being a poor, proud, ill-natured wretch, and perhaps disoblige Mr. Coates."

The party consisted of the Rev. Mr. Porter, the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Robert Turner, and seventeen more.

"We drank health and success to his Majesty and the Royal Family, the King of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, Lord Anson, his Grace the Duke of Newcastle and his Duchess, Lord Abergavenny, Admiral Boscawen, Mr. Pelham of Stanmore, the Earle of Ancram, Lord Gage, Marshall Keith, and several more loyall healths. About ten I deserted, and came safe home; but to my shame do I mention it, very much in liquor. Before I came away, I think I may say there was not one sober person in company.

"Now, let us seriously reflect upon this transaction, and look upon things in their proper light; and I doubt we shall find it a very improper way of rejoicing, instead of rejoicing in spirit and giving thanks and praises to Him who hath given our armies success in battle."

The ale was strong at Halland, and it flowed as freely there as it did in other old halls in what are called the days of the "fine Old English Gentleman." Upon another occasion, thirty guests sat down to supper, and Mr. Turner says—"I may safely say there was not one of us who was thoroughly sober."

"*Sunday, July 2.*—There was a brief read for to repair the groins and fortifications of the town of Bighthelmstone, against the incroachments of the sea on that coast, which, if not timely prevented, will in all probability eat in and destroy the town, several houses having in a few years been swallowed up by the sea. Sadly disordered all day, not having recovered Friday night's debauch."

"*July 15.*—A most prodigious mellancholy time, and very little to do. I think that luxury increases so fast in this part of the nation, that people have little or no money to spare to buy what is really necessary. The too-frequent use of spirituous liquors, and the exorbitant practice of tea-drinking, has corrupted the morals of people of almost every rank."

Yet tea was very dear in those days—14*s.* a pound, and even more, was paid for the best green tea, and 12*s.* and 10*s.* for bohea.

"*July 25.*—Oh what a misfortune it is upon me my wife's being lame again, but let me not repine, since it is the Divine will. This is the twenty-ninth day on which he have had rain successively."

"*Wednesday, Aug. 2.*—I compleated the reading of Gay's *Fables*, which I think contains a very good lesson of morality; and I think the language very healthy, being very natural."

"*Thursday, Aug. 3.*—In the even, the Duke of Newcastle came to Halland, as did Lord Gage, Sir Francis Poole, Mr. Shelley, Colonel Pelham, Mr. Pel-

ham, and several more, and stayed all night. What seems very surprising to me in the Duke of Newcastle, is, that he countenances so many Frenchmen, there being ten of his servants, cooks, &c., which was down here, of that nation."

"*Saturday, Aug. 5.*—Mr. Blake's rider called on me, and he and I rode together to Lewes, when I think I see the finest horse-race that ever I see run on that down or any other. There was four horses started for the purse, £50. There was a numerous, but I think not a brilliant, company. I came home in company with Mr. Francis Elliss, about ten; but, to my shame do I say it, very much in liquor."

"*Sunday, Aug. 6.*—Pretty bad all day, with the stings of a guilty and tormenting conscience."

"*Aug. 14.*—At home all day, and, thank God, extremely busy. Was every day to be productive of as much busyness as to-day, I should in no wise envy the rich and great their continual rounds of ease and pleasure. No, it would add fresh vigour to my drooping spirits, and give an agreeable elasticity to my ardent desire of carrying on my trade with vigour; then would I exert my utmost power in buying in my goods, that I might run them out with a quick return."

"*Aug. 19.*—I entertained my sister Sally, and my brother's wife, with the sight of the modern microcosm, which I think is a very pretty curious sight, for we see the whole solar system move by clockwork, in the same manner they do in the heavens."

"*Aug. 23.*—About four P.M., I walked down to Halland, with several more of my neighbours, in order for a rejoicing for the taking of Cape Breton, &c., where there was a bonfire of six hundred of faggots, the cannon fired, and two barrels of beer given to the populace, and a very good supper provided for the principal tradesmen of this and the neighbouring parishes, as there had been a dinner for the gentlemen of Lewes and the neighbouring parishes. After supper we drank a great many loyall healths, and I came home in a manner quite sober. There was, I believe, near one hundred people entertained at Halland this day, besides the populace, and, so far as I see, everything was carried on with decency and regularity; tho' I must think the most proper way of rejoicing is by having a general thanksgiving, that the whole nation may give thanks to Him that gives success to our armies, both by sea and land; and I think, to shew our outward joy, it might be more properly done by distributing something to the poor."

"*Tuesday, Sept. 12.*—At home all day. In the even I finished reading Salmon *On Marriage*, which I think to be a very indifferent thing, for the author appears to me to be a very bad logician."

"*Sept. 27.*—In the morn, my brother and self set out for Eastbourne. We dined on a shoulder of lamb, roasted, with onion sauce—my family at home dining on a sheep's head, lights, &c., boiled. We came home about ten P.M., but not sober. I may say, by the providence of God, my life was preserved, for, being very drunk, my horse took the wrong way, and ran into a travase¹ with me, and beat me off; but, thanks be to God, I received no damage. . . . Oh, let me reflect how often, when I have been in liquor, I have been pro-

¹ A *travase*, or *traviss*, in the vernacular of Sussex, is the shed adjacent to a blacksmith's shop, where horses are shod.

Mr. Cooper, in his *Sussex Glossary*, derives the word from the Spanish language.

tected by the providence of Almighty GOD, and rescued from the jaws of death, and received no hurt; and how many instanties do we almost daily see of people's receiving hurt when in liquor; nay, even death itself has often, too, too often, been their unhappy lot!"

In all petty matters of dispute, Mr. Turner acted as arbitrator, and what follows is a specimen of his mode of disposing of such matters.

"Oct. 4.—In the forenoon I walked down in the park to look at an old pollard, from whence a swarm of bees had been taken. In the even, went down to Jones's, to make up the following trifling affair. Some time in the summer, Master Ball and a little boy of Riche's found a swarm of bees in Halland Park, which they agreed to divide between them, and they sent a person to Mr. Gibbs, to ask his consent to take the bees at the proper time for taking them. The fellow never saw Mr. Gibbs, but told them Mr. Gibbs gave his free consent. They, knowing no other than that they had the keeper's free consent, innocently enough proceeded to action. Some one told the keeper, and he before night committed it into the hands of an attorney. It was agreed that the men should pay 2s. 6d. each, the value of the honey and wax, spend 1s. each, and pay the lawyer's letter, which they did; but sure it must appear hard in the keeper to use his power in so arbitrary a manner, for he owned that he was persuaded the men were honest; but he was determined to show his power, that no one for the future should dare transgress, or at least, if the law be open against them, they must expect to know something of the charge of law. But however, I think that, if shewing of power tend only to oppress the honest and industrious poor, as it did in the aforegoing cause, happy is the man that hath the least of it."

"Oct. 7.—Oh, how happy must that man be whose more than happy lot it is to whom an agreeable company for life doth fall,—one in whom he sees and enjoys all that this world can give; to whom he can open the inmost recesses of his soul, and receive mutual and pleasing comfort to sooth those anxious and tumultuous thoughts that must arise in the breast of any man in trade! On the contrary,—and I can speak from woful experience—how miserable must they be, where there is nothing else but matrimonial discord and domestic disquietude! How does these thoughts wrack my tumultuous breast, and chill the purple current in my veins! Oh, how are these delusive hopes and prospects of happiness before marriage turned into briers and thorns! But, as happiness is debarred me in this affair, I sincerely wish it to all those that shall ever tye the Gordian knot. Oh woman, ungrateful woman!—thou that wast the last and most compleatest of the creation, and designed by Almighty GOD for a comfort and companion to mankind, to smooth and make even the rough and uneven paths of life, art often, oh too, too often, the very bane and destroyer of our felicity! Thou not only takest away our happiness, but givest us, in lieu thereof, trouble and vexation of spirit."

"Dec. 23.—At home all day. In the even I read part of Addison's *Evidences for the Christian Religion*. My wife a good deal indisposed with the pang in her side, and an ulcer on one of her legs. Oh, heavy and great misfortunes! But let me not repine, since it is the will of the Almighty."

"Monday, Dec. 25.—This being Christmas-day, myself and wife at church in the morning. We stayed the Communion; my wife gave 6d., but they

not asking me, I gave nothing. Oh, may we increase in faith and good works, and maintain and keep the good intentions that I hope we have this day taken up!"

"*Fryday, Dec. 29.*—Mr. French and I set out for Buxted Place. We were prodigious civilly entertained with some bread and cheese, wine and beer. We was showed the house all over, which undoubtedly is a very fine place, built in the modern taste.¹ This even a meteor was seen in this neighbourhood, which appeared like a ball of fire falling from the clouds to the earth; it seemed as if it fell about Waldron, leaving a train of sparks behind it as it descended; its bigness was at last about the size of a large ball, tho' at first almost like a moon, and extremely light. I imagine fear and surprise hath exaggerated many of the above circumstances."

"*Monday, Feb. 5, 1759.*—In the even I went down to the vestry; there was no business of moment to transact, but oaths and imprecations seemed to resound from all sides of the room; the sounds seemed to be harsh and grating, so that I came home soon after seven. I believe, if the penalty were paid assigned by the Legislature, by every person that swears that constitute our vestry, there would be no need to levy any tax to maintain our poor."

"*Feb. 7.*—Molly Bell, Nanny Fuller, Frances Weller, Molly and Sam. French, and Lucy Durrant, together with Joseph Fuller and John French, supped at our house. We played at bragg, in the even, and I and my wife won 19*d.* They staid till thirty minutes past one, and went away all sober and in good order; and, what is very remarkable, there was not, that I could observe, one oath sworn all the even. Huzza! The keeping Christmas I hope is now over, and I think I was never more overjoyed; for, besides the expences attending it, there is something in it that is quite foreign to my taste or inclinations, I rather chusing a recluse and steady way of living, that may allow time for Reason to exercise her proper faculties, and to breath, as it were, into the mind of man a serener happiness, which, in my opinion, never can be enjoyed when it is so often disjointed and confused by such tumultuous or, at least, merry meetings."

"*Sunday, Feb. 11.*—This I believe is as mild a time, considering the season of the year, as hath been known in the memory of man—everything having the appearance, and carrying with it the face of April, rather than of February (the bloom of trees only excepted); the meadows now are as verdant as sometimes they are in May, the birds chirping their melodious harmony, and the foot-walks dry and pleasant."

"*Fryday, Feb. 16.*—This being the day appointed for a general fast, myself and servant went to church. The fast in this place hath seemingly been kept with great strictness, and I hope with sincere, unaffected piety, our church in the morning being crowded with a numerous audience. I think no pation had ever greater occation to adore the Almighty Disposer of all events than Albion, whose forces meet with success in all quarters of the world. There now seems to reign a spirit of unity in our national councils; a king sitting upon the British throne, whose whole intentions seem to be that of making the happiness of every individual of his subjects, the same as his own. Let us all with sincerity and pure devotion, with one voice, continue to supplicate the blessing of the Almighty on this our happy Isle."

¹ Buxted Place, which has been visited during the year by the Members of the Sussex Archaeological Society, was com-

menced by Edward Medley, Esq., and finished by his nephew, George Medley, Esq.

"*Sunday, April 22.*—We had a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Hurdis, and again in the afternoon; and in my opinion he is as fine a churchman as almost I ever heard."

"*Sunday, May 13.*—I went to church, and in the day and evening read two of Tillotson's *Sermons*, and part of the second volume of Harvey's *Meditations*. Oh, what a most delightful time it is, the birds tuning their melodious throats, and hymning their Creator's praise; whilst man, frail, degenerate man, lies supinely stretched on a bed of luxury and ease, or else is so immersed in the vain and empty pleasures of this world, that he is utterly forgetful of the goodness of the Supreme Being, that showers down His blessings upon him, and sheds plenteousness around his table!"

"*Wednesday, May 30.*—My wife very ill all day. Oh, melancholy time; what will become of me I cannot think! Very little trade, and she always so afflicted with illness; but let me not repine; possibly it is good for us that we have known affliction."

"*Saturday, July 7.*—This day received by the post the disagreeable news of the French being landed at Dover; but yet I hope it is only a false report, set about by some credulous and fanciful people, without any real foundation. My wife very ill all day, and I think somewhat dangerous."

"*Monday, 9th.*—I saw in the paper, that instead of our being invaded by the French, we have a fleet under the command of Admiral Rodney, now lying before Havre-de-Grace, bombarding the town, and had set it on fire in two places; so we have a sudden transition from sorrow to joy."

"*Sunday, July 29.*—My family all at church in the afternoon. The text is the 24th verse of the 24th chapter of the Book of Joshua—'And the people said unto Joshua, The Lord our GOD will we serve, and his voice will we obey.' From which words we had an excellent sermon as I think I ever heard."

"*Wednesday, Aug. 1.*—What quantities of people begin to come down to Halland, and only to prepare and make ready a provision for luxury and intemperance against Sunday next, when, perhaps, hundreds of poor creatures are lamenting for want of sustenance, and here shall be nothing but waste and riot!"

"*Sunday, Aug. 5.*—I spent most part of to-day in going to and from Halland, there being a public day, where there was to dine with his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Ashburnham and Northampton, Lord Viscount Gage, the Lord Abergavenny, and the two judges of assize, and a great number of gentlemen, there being, I think, upwards of forty coaches, chariots, &c. I came home about seven, not thoroughly sober. I think it is a scene that loudly calls for the detestation of all serious and considering people, to see the sabbath profaned, and turned into a day of luxury and debauchery; there being no less than ten cooks, four of which are French,¹ and perhaps fifty more, as busy as if it had been a rejoicing day. There was such huzzaing that made the very foundations (almost) of the house to shake, and all this by the order and the approbation of almost the next man to the King. Oh, what countenance does such behaviour in a person of his Grace's rank, give to levity, drunkenness, and all sorts of immorality!"

"*Aug. 15.*—This day his Majestie's purse of £105 was run for, on Lewes Downs, when only Lord Portman's horse, Bosphorus, started for the same. There was also a bye-match run, for a considerable sum, between the Duke of Richmond's grey horse, Muli Ishmael, and Sir Mathew Featherstonhaugh's

¹ There was a room at Halland House known by the name of the Frenchman's Room.

grey mare, Sally, which was won by the former with great difficulty, he not beating by above half a length, and at the same time the knowing ones was very much taken in."

"Oct. 20.—In the even, read the *Extraordinary Gazette* for Wednesday, which gives an account of our army in America, under the command of General Woolf, beating the French army, under General Montcalm, near the city of Quebec, wherein both the generals were killed, as also two more of the French generals; and the English General Monkton, who took the command after General Woolf was killed, was shot through the body, but is like to do well; as also the surrender of the city of Quebec. Oh, what a pleasure is it to every true Briton, to see with what success it pleases Almighty GOD to bless his Majestie's arms, they having success at this time in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America! I think in this affair, our generals, officers, and common men, have behaved with uncommon courage and resolution, having many and great difficulties to encounter before they could bring the city to surrender."

"Sunday, Oct. 28.—Both at Framfield and Hothly we had a thanksgiving prayer for the success with which it has pleased Almighty GOD to bless his Majestie's arms; and, in my opinion, it was extremely well composed."

"Thursday, Nov. 15.—After dinner set out for Allfriston, in company with James Marchant, Durrant, and Tho. Davy—they on foot, myself on horseback; the intention of our journey was purely to see Mr. Elliss. We supped with him at his lodgings, and plaid at brag in the even; and, though we plaid as low a game as possible, it was my unhappy lot to loose 3s. I think almost to give over ever playing at cards again. If we reflect how much more service this 3s. would have done, had it been given to some necessitous and industrious poor, than fooled away in this manner, I was not a-doing right when I was a-losing it. We spent the evening and night, till past three o'clock, and, excepting my lost, extreme agreeable; for we had plenty of good liquor, and a hearty welcome, and no swearing or quarrelling, but all seemed prodigiously delighted with each other's company, and at the same time we went to bed sober."

"Saturday, Dec. 8.—I walked down to Halland, there being rejoicing, on account that Admiral Hawk hath dispersed a fleet which was preparing to invade this nation. This engagement is looked on as a great advantage, as it has intirely dispersed the fleet, and wholly disconcerted their schemes, so that probably their thoughts of invading these nations must be laid by for some time. We drank a great many loyal toasts. I came home after eleven, after staying in Mr. Porter's wood near an hour and an half, the liquor opperating so much in the head that it rendered my leggs useless. Oh, how sensible I am of the goodness of the Divine Providence, that I am preserved from harm!"

"Fryday, Dec. 21.—We arose at three, to perform our task, viz.: some of the ancestors of the Pelham family have ordered that, on this day (for ever), there should be given to every poor man or woman that shall come to demand it, 4d.; and every child, 2d.; and also to each a draught of beer, and a very good piece of bread. I believe there was between seven and eight hundred people relieved, of all ages and sexes, and near £9 distributed, besides a sack of wheat made into good bread, and near a hogshead and half of very good beer."

"Wednesday, Jan. 2, 1760.—Joseph Fuller and Mr. Thornton smoked a pipe with me in the even. Oh, how pleasant has this Christmas been kept as yet; no revelling, nor tumultuous meetings, where there too often is little

else but light and trifling discourse; and it's well if it is not intermixed with some obscene talk, and too often with vile and execrable oaths. Not that I am any ways an enemy to innocent mirth; but what I protest against, is that which is not so."

"*Thursday, Jan. 24.*—Went to Mr. French's, where I plaid at brag till supper; I and my wife lost 3s. 7d. Thank God, very sober, as was all the company (except Dame Durrant)."

The winter did not pass away without the revellings which he so much dreaded; one of the worst took place at his own house. A sumptuous supper it was: a roasted turkey, salt fish, tongue, potted pigeons, chicken-pasty, potted beef, and all sorts of puffs and tarts.

"We plaid at brag in the evening, and staid (the usual party) till twenty minutes to two, and not a person in company sober; and I am sure, to my own shame, I was as bad as any one . . . the company seeming to be wonderfully pleased with their entertainment, exhilarated my spirits, so that I was transported beyond the natural bounds of my temper, and by that means I was left destitute of reflection and caution."

"*Saturday, March 8.*—This day a melancholy affair broke out in this neighbourhood. Lucy Mott, servant to Mr. French, last night absconded herself from his service, privately, and quite unknown to any one in the family, and, from many corroborating circumstances, there is great probability that she hath committed the rash act of suicide. She went off in her worst apparel, and left behind her all her money, and had taken more than common care in laying up all her cloths, and collecting them together, so that it might be the more easy to find them by her relations. There is also the greatest reason imaginable to think that she was pregnant."

"*Monday, April 7.*—After dinner I went down to Jones, to the vestry. We had several warm arguments at our vestry to-day, and several vollies of execrable oaths oftentime redounded, from almost all parts of the room. A most rude and shocking thing at publick meetings."

"*Fryday, June 21.*—This day hath been my birthday, and that on which I enter into the thirty-second year of my age; and may the God of all mercy and goodness pour into my heart the graces of his holy Spirit, that, as I grow in years, so I may increase in goodness, and daily be renewed in the inner man."

"*July 9.*—In the afternoon my wife walked to Whitesmith, to see a mounty-bank perform wonders, who has a stage built there, and comes once a week to cuzen a parcel of poor deluded creatures out of their money, by selling his packets, which are to cure people of more distempers than they ever had in their lives, for 1s. each, by which means he takes sometimes £8 or £9 of a day."

"*Sunday, July 27.*—In the even and the day read six of Bishop Sherlock's *Sermons*, which I think extremely good, there being sound reasoning in them, and seem writ with an ardent spirit of piety, being mostly levelled against Deists."

"*Saturday, Aug. 13.*—At home all day, and, thank God, pritty busy. Oh, what pleasure it is to have some trade; how does it enliven one's spirits!"

"*Fryday, Oct. 3.*—At home all day, and, thank God, pretty busy, but my wife very ill. Oh, how mellancholy a time it is! quite destitute of father and mother, and am in all probability like to loose my wife, the only friend, I

believe, I have now in this world, and the alone center of my worldly happiness. When I indulge the serious thought, what imagery can paint the gloomy scene that seems just ready to open itself, as it were, for a theatre for my futer troubles to be acted upon!"

"*Tuesday, Oct. 7.*—In the even there was a rejoicing at Halland, and a bonfire, for our army under the command of General Amherst having taken Montreal and all Canada from the French. All the neighbourhood were regaled with a supper, wine, punch, and strong beer. To-day I sent Thomas Durrant to Brighthelmstone for Dr. Poole, who came to my wife in the even. She is prodigiously ill. At home all day, and, thank GOD, pretty busy."

"*Sunday, Oct. 26.*—To-day we had the melancholly news of the death, by a fit of the apoplexy, of his most august Majesty George II., king and parent of this our most happy isle; had his Majesty lived to the 10th of November, he would have been seventy-seven years of age. He has sit upon the British throne thirty-three years the 22nd of last June."

"*Sunday, Dec. 21.*—No service at our church in the morn, Mr. Porter preaching at Laughton; Dr. Poole, coming to see a child of his, paid my wife a visit, and charged me 10s. 6d.: really, a fine thing it is to be a physician, who can charge as they please, and not be culpable according to any human law."

"*Sunday, 28th.*—We had a sermon preached by a young clergyman just come to be curate at Laughton, and I imagine this to be the first time of his preaching. We had, in my oppinion, a learned sermon; and I think, if the young gentleman's morals are good, he will in time make a fine man.¹ My wife, thank GOD, something better; in the even I read Gibson *On Luke-warmness in Religion*, and a sermon of his, intituled *Trust in God the best Remedy against Fears of all kinds*: both of which I look upon as extreme good things."

"*Jan. 4, 1761.*—No service at our church in the morning, on account of the death of Mrs. Porter. In the even I read three of Tillotson's *Sermons to Tho. Davey*."

"*Saturday, Jan. 17.*—We dined on the remains of yesterday's dinner, with the addition of some sausages, broiled. Oh, my poor wife is most prodigious bad! No, not one gleam of hope have I of her recovery. Oh, how does the thought distract my tumultuous soul! What shall I do?—what will become of me!"

"*Sunday, Feb. 21.*—I called on Mr. Verral and Mr. Scrase, and came home at thirty minutes past six. Oh, could I say sober! Oh, how weak is nature—at least corrupt and fallen nature! But what I most stand aghast at is to think how miserable must my unhappy lot speedily be, should I sleep never to open my eyes again in this world when ever I am in liquor."

¹ Mr. Turner was a great reader of that well-known paper the *Tatler*, and in No. 66 he may have read the following account of a popular preacher of that day:—"There cannot be a greater instance of the power of action than in little Parson Dapper, who is the common relief to all the lazy pulpits in town. The smart youth has a very good memory, a quick eye, and a clean pocket handkerchief; thus equipped, he opens his

text, shuts his book, shews he has no notes, opens both palms, shews all is fair there too: with a decisive air, my young man goes on without hesitation; and, though from the beginning to the end of his pretty discourse he had not used one proper gesture, yet, at the conclusion, the churchwarden pulls his gloves from off his hands, with—Pray, who is this extraordinary young man?"

“*March 30.*—This day died John Brown, after a few hours’ illness, aged thirty. Oh, what a lesson of mortality! What poor negligent and heedless creatures too many of us are, that we cannot learn, from such striking instances, to live in such a manner that we may not be affraid to meet death whenever it may happen!”

“*April 6.*—Oh, how glad am I that the hurry and confusion is over at Halland, for it quite puts me out of that regular way of life which I am so fond of, and not only so, but occasions me, by too great hurry of spirits, many times to comit such actions as is not agreeable to reason and religion!”

It is curious in these days to read of such open interference in elections practised by peers one hundred years ago, as is implied in the following passage:—

“In the morn, down at Halland, where there was, I believe, near five hundred people to attend his Grace to Lewes—the election being there for the county, to-day, but no opposition.”

“*April 19.*—My wife somewhat easier to-day, tho’ still very bad, and dangerous.”

“*April 28.*—There being at Jones’s a person with an electrical machine, my niece and I went to see it; and tho’ I have seen it several years agoe, I think there is something in it agreeable and instructing, but at the same time very surprising. As to my own part, I am quite at a loss to form any idea of the phœnomena.”

“*Sunday, May 17.*—This day was buried at our church, Francis Rich, aged forty-five years, who died after a few days illness, and has left a wife and seven children. What a moving spectacal it was to see an industrious and sober man, the only support of his family, followed to the grave by his widow and fatherless infants, whose tears and lamentations bespoke their inward and sincere grief!”

“*June 10.*—Was fought this day, at Jones’s, a main of cocks, between the gentlemen of Hothly and Pevensey. *Quere*, Is their a gentleman in either of the places that was consernd?”

“*June 17.*—This day Mr. Porter administered the communion to my wife, and self, and servant; this, in all human probability, will be the last time we shall ever commemorate together, in this world, the death of our Blessed Saviour and Redeemer.”

“*June 23.*—About five o’clock in the afternoon, it pleased Almighty God to take from me my beloved wife, who, poor creature, has laboured under a severe tho’ lingering illness for these thirty-eight weeks, which she bore with the greatest resignation to the Divine will. In her I have lost a sincere friend, a virtuous wife, a prudent good economist in her family, and a very valuable companion. . . I have lost an invaluable blessing, a wife who, had it pleased God to have given her health, would have been of more real excellence to me than the greatest fortune this world can give. I may justly say, with the incomparable Mr. Young, ‘Let them whoever lost an angel, pity me.’”

“*July 26.*—After dinner we all walked down to Halland, where there was a public day. We staid and walked about till near eight o’clock. I lodged at Joshua Durrant’s, and my brother and Mr. Tomlin lodged at my house, tho’ not one of us went to bed sober; which folly of mine makes me very uneasy. Oh, that I cannot be a person of more resolution!”

"*July 27.*—Very bad all the even. Oh, my heavy and troubled mind! Oh, my imprudence pays me with trouble!"

"*July 28.*—I am intollerable bad: my conscience tears me in pieces."

"*Aug. 5.*—Almost distracted with trouble: how do I hourly find the lost I have sustained in the death of my dear wife! What can equal the value of a virtuous wife? I hardly know which way to turn, or what way of life to pursue. I am left as a beacon on a rock, or an ensign on a hill."

"*Nov. 24.*—At home all day, and very busy. Oh, what pleasure is business! How far preferable is an active busy life, when employed in some honest calling, to a supine and idle way of life; and happy are they whose fortune it is to be placed where commerce meets with encouragement, and a person has the opportunity to push on trade with vigor."

"*Dec. 11.*—This day was brought home by two men, whom the parish had sent on purpose, Will. Burrage, who had absconded about five years ago, and left a wife and six small children as a burthen to the parish. Now, as the affair makes a great noise, and the inhabitants seem much divided in their opinion about the treatment which he deserves, I shall for the futer satisfaction of any one who may happen to see my memoirs,¹ deliver my own sentiments on the affair. First Mr. Porter, Mr. Coates, and Mr. French, are desirous he should suffer the punishment due to so atrocious a crime as deserting his family, by which means they have cost the parish upwards of £50, and the poor woman become a lunatic, through grief, in the most rigorous manner; the rest of the people all are desirous that he should escape without any further punishment, and they plead that it will be of no service to the parish to confine him in the House of Correction. This I think savours too much of a contracted and self-interested mind. Neither of these methods do I approve of. I would then advise that justice should take place in such a manner that strict eye may be had to mercy, and not in the height of executive justice to forget the bening virtue. . . . In my opinion justice with humanity should first be executed, and then let mercy and benevolence open their extended wings, and close the scene."

"*Monday, Jan. 25, 1762.*—Employed myself to-day part of the day in sawing of wood. Oh, melancholly time! what to do I hardly know. I am come as it were to a resolution to leave this place."

"*Jan. 27.*—The wife of Tho. Davy was this day delivered of a girl, after being married only six months; two people whom I should the least have suspected of being guilty of so indiscreet an act. But what can be said of this passion?—how careful should we be of ourselves in this particular, when we daily see people of the strictest virtue apparently guilty of it."

"*Feb. 20.*—In the even I walked down to Tho. Davy's (by whom I had been earnestly solicited to come), his infant daughter being baptized in the afternoon; I staid and spent the even there in company with Tho. Durrant, Ann Dallaway, James Marchant, Elizabeth Mephram, and Mr. John Long. Came home about three minutes past twelve—sober. Oh, how comfortable does that word sober sound in my ears!"

"*Feb. 22.*—At home all day. A more melancholy time in trade I never

¹ It is clear, from several passages in Mr. Turner's Memoirs, that he entertained a hope that his work would be read and known hereafter: little, however, did he

foresee the immortality which was prepared for them in the pages of the *Sussex Archaeological Society!*

knew in my life, and I believe it to be the same throughout the county; and, what still renders it the more unpleasant, no friend, no not one, with whom I can spend an hour to condole and sympathize with me in my affliction."

"*Sunday, Feb. 28.*—Myself and both servants at church in the afternoon; at home all the day, read part of Drelincourt *On Death*,¹ and in the even, one of Tillotson's *Sermons*."

"*Fryday, March 12.*—This being the day appointed for a General Fast and Humiliation before Almighty God, myself and both the servants were at church in the morn; we had a very crouded audience, and undoubtedly a very good sermon."

"*March 25.*—Joseph Fuller, Tho. Durrant, and Tho. Long, came and smoked a pipe with me in the even. Oh, how does the memory of that ever-valuable creature, my deceased wife, come over my thoughts as it were a cloud in May! Who is that man that has once been in the possession of all this world can give to make him happy and then to lose it, but must ever and again think of his former happiness?"

"*Sunday, March 28.*—In the morn I set out for Hartfield, and dined with my father Slater, and came home at five minutes past six; I cannot say thoroughly sober—I think it almost impossible to be otherwise with the quantity of liquor I drank . . . But, however much in liquor I was, my reason was not so far lost but I could see a sufficient difference at my arrival at my own house between the present time and that of my wife's life, highly to the advantage of the latter. Everything then was serene and in order; now, one or both servants out, and everything noise and confusion. Oh! it will not do. No, no! it never will do."

"*Sunday, April 4.*—We had a Thanksgiving Prayer read to-day, for the success attending his Majesty's armies in the reduction of that important island of Martinico, which has lately surrendered unto his Majesty's generals employed in that expedition."

"*Sunday, May 16.*—No service at our church in the afternoon; myself and one of the servants walked to Little Horsted church, where we had a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Philips, curate of that parish and Maresfield, from the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th verses of the second chapter of the Song of Solomon. We had, I think, as good if not the best sermon I ever heard, both for eloquence of language and soundness of divinity—the gentleman discoursing on the words in a very spiritual manner, so that I really think it quite a masterly performance. A very fine, pleasant day. Oh, how pleasant is this season of the year; all nature wears the livery, as it were, of gayety."

"*Sunday, Aug. 1.*—There being only prayers in our church, Sam Jenner and I took a ride to Seaford, where we took a walk by the seaside, and took a view of two forts newly erected there, one of which has five 24-pounders mounted, and the other five 12-pounders. We came home about ten p.m.; oh, could I say thoroughly sober! I was not so far intoxicated to-day as to be guilty of any indiscretion, but still, tho' we only took a ride with no other design than an innocent, inoffensive amusement, and with an intention of reaping the advantage of serious and improving conversation, yet, being guilty of this one folly, the whole of our journey must become contaminated."

¹ This heavy dull book had no sale till Defoe set it in motion by that best of all ghost stories, "A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day

after her death, to one Mrs. Bargrave, of Canterbury." It ran through forty editions after it had been strongly recommended by the ghost of Mrs. Veal.

"*Sunday, Aug. 8.*—Myself and servant at church in the morning and afternoon. How much more pleasure is it to be at home all day of a Sunday, and to attend the service of the church, than to be rioting about as I have been too much of late; but may I never more offend in that point."

"*Thursday, Aug. 12.*—This morning about thirty minutes past seven, her Majesty Queen Charlotte, consort of our most gracious Sovereign, was safely delivered of a Prince, and are both like to do well."

"*Aug. 13.*—This day the King's plate of £100 was run for on Lewes Downs, by Lord Grosvenor's horse, Boreas, and Mr. Howard's cross mare, Sukey, which was won by Boreas distancing the mare the first heat."

"*Aug. 14.*—This day the purse of £50 was run for, when Mr. Wildman's horse, Lincoln, Mr. Tod's gelding, Janus, Mr. Blackman's mare, Slouching Sally, and Mr. Wilson's mare, Harmless, started; which was won by Lincoln, he getting the two first heats."

"*Aug. 23.*—Thank God I have been very busy all day, I may say the busiest day I have known this many a day. Oh, what pleasure it is to be busy; it quite charms the spirits and chases away the gloom that hangs on a melancholy brow! My old, I wish I could say my worthy, friend, Mr. Tucker of Lewes, came to dine with me.

"*Oct. 31.*—No service at our church in the morning or afternoon. I dined on a roasted goose and apple sauce; I drank tea with Mr. Carman and his family. This is not the right use that Sunday should be applied to. No, it is not."

"*Jan. 29, 1763.*—The frost began to thaw to-day, after having continued very severe for five weeks; the ice was seven inches thick."

"*March 24.*—I went to Jones's, there being a vestry holden there to make a poor rate. We staid till near one o'clock, quarrelling and bickering about nothing. The design of our meeting was to have made a poor rate, every one to be assessed to the racked rent. But, how do I blush to say, what artifice and deceit, cunning and knavery, was used by some to conceal their rents. I look upon that man, be him who he will, that endeavours to evade the payment of his just share of taxes, to be a robbing every other member of the community that contributes his quota."

"*Thursday, May 5.*—This was the day appointed by authority for a general thanksgiving for the late peace. No service at our church in the morn, Mr. Porter being on a journey. We have had no kind of rejoicing in this place; tho' it is the day for the proclamation of peace. I think almost every one seems to be dissatisfied with this peace, thinking it an ignominious and inglorious one. Read Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, and *Taming of the Shrew*, both of which I think good comedies."

"*June 23.*—This day two years ago was the day on which it pleased Almighty God to take from me my dear wife, during which interval of time the world has many times discovered that I have been on the point of marriage; but I am clear in this, that I have never yet made any offers of love to any one woman; no not anything like courting; not that I have made any resolution to live single. If ever I do marry again, I am sure of this, that I shall never have a more virtuous and prudent wife than I have been already possessed of; may it be the will of Providence for me to have as good an one; I ask no better."

"*June 28.*—In the even, Joseph Fuller and myself plaid a game of cricket with Mr. Geo. Banister and James Fuller, for half a crown's worth of punch,

which we won very easy, but it being hot and drinking a pretty deal of punch, it got into my head, so that I came home not sober."

"June 29.—Very stiff and disagreeable to myself upon my game of cricket last night. In the even read part of Beveridge's *Thoughts*."

"July 13.—In the even read several political papers called the *North Briton*, which are wrote by John Wilks, Esq., member for Ailsbery in Bucks, for the writing of which he has been committed to the Tower, and procured his release by a writ of *Harbus Corpus*. I really think they breath forth such a spirit of liberty, that it is an extreme good paper."

"Saturday, Sept. 17.—In the afternoon, about three minutes past five, died Mr. French, after a long and lingering illness, which its to be doubted was first brought on by the to frequent use of spirituuous liquors, and particularly gin. If it was possible to make any estimate of the quantity he drank for several years, I should think he could not drink less, on a moderate computation, than twenty gallons a year. Let me from such instances fly the habit of drinking, and think upon final consequences. Mr. French was aged fifty-five years."

"Sept. 26.—I never knew any place so much gone of for trade as this is, since I have lived in it, most of the principal inhabitants, as we esteem them, being dead, and those remaining so reduced, that trade is got to be very triffling. Custom has brought tea and spirituuous liquors so much in fashion, that I dare be bold to say, they often, to often, prove our ruin, and I doubt often, by the too frequent use of both, entail a weakness upon our progeny."

"Nov. 10.—Let me once more describe my uneasy situation, but at the same time acknowledge the many blessings of Providence which I enjoy, far superior to many of my fellow creatures, perhaps far more deserving of them than myself; but, alas! what afflicts me is the loss of my dear Peggy. . . . For want of the company of the more softer sex, and through my over much confinement, I know I am become extreme awkward, and a certain roughness and boisterousness of disposition has seized on my mind, so that, for want of those advantages which flow from society, and a free intercourse with the world, and a too great delight in reading, has brought my mind to that great degree of moroseness that is neither agreeable to myself, nor can my company be so to others."

"Nov. 24.—Mr. Banister having lately taken from the smugglers a freight of brandy, entertained Mr. Carman, Mr. Fuller, and myself, in the even, with a bowl of punch."

These seizures of smuggled spirits by this active officer of excise were frequent, and were always followed by such celebrations as this, which cost Mr. Turner many a dreadful headache the next day.

"Nov. 25.—Mr. —, the curate of Laughton, came to the shop in the forenoon, and he having bought some things of me (and I could wish he had paid for them), dined with me, and also staid in the afternoon till he got in liquor, and being so complaisant as to keep him company, I was quite drunk. How do I detest myself for being so foolish!"

"Dec. 7.—I think since I have lived at Hothly I never knew trade so dull, or money so scarce, the whole neighbourhood being almost reduced to poverty."

“*Dec. 26.*—Jno. Vine and Edwd. Hope were elected surveyors for the ensuing year; and I think, had we try’d all Sussex, or even England, for to have found two such, we could not have done it: people very improper to serve the office, being litigious in the extremest degree, and withall very ill-natured, executing law to the utmost; but in the midst of law they quite forget justice, equity, or charity.”

“*Jan. 11.*—This morn was found dead, in our parish, William Ludlow, belonging to Chiddingly, supposed to drop on account of his being in liquor, and to have perished by the inclemency of the weather. How should such instances as these teach mankind to shun that hateful vice of drunkenness—a crime almost productive of all other vices!”

“*Sunday, Feb. 19, 1764.*—I read to my friend Sam. Jenner, a part of three discourses, wrote by James Walker, a Baptist preacher, the last of which I esteem the best performance, it being, in my judgement, wrote with a true spirit of piety, and in a pretty modest stile; and what may, I presume, be proper to be read by any sect whatsoever, there being nothing more in it than what it is the duty of all Christians both to practice and believe. Perhaps it may appear odd, Sam. Jenner being so much at my house; but he being a good-natured, willing person, who oftimes does my gardening, &c., for nothing, he is undoubtedly a worthy companion. I must own that my friend Joseph is rather too fruitful in his invention to contrive some way to get a little liquor, or a pipe or two of tobacco.”

“*April 12.*—In the afternoon I walked to Uckfield, to pay my friend Mr. Elliss a visit, with whom I drank tea, and spent the even, and came home very safe and well, and pretty sober, about ten; and I think I never was entertained in so polite and genteel a manner by any one person I ever paid a visit to—everything being conducted with the greatest politeness imaginable, and yet with the greatest freedom and friendship!

“*April 28.*—After breakfast, Mr. Hill and I set out for Maidstone. We went to see Mereworth Place, and Church: the first, the seat of the late Earls of Westmoreland, but now Lord Despencer’s, and I think the seat as beautiful a little seat as I ever see, there being a great deal of extreme good painting, some very fine marble, and everything of ornament very noble. The church is modern built, and excessively handsome, but small.”

“*May 2.*—This day was fought a main of cocks, at our public-house, between the gentlemen of East Grinstead and the gentlemen of East Hothly, for half-a-guinea a battle and two guineas the odd battle, which was won by the gentlemen of East Grinstead, they winning five battles out of six fought in the main. I believe there was a great deal of money sported on both sides.”

“*Sunday, May 13.*—Myself, Mr. Dodson, and servant, at church in the morn. During the time we was at church, Mr. Richardson and my brother came to see me. We dined on a calf’s heart pudding, a piece of beef, greens, and green sallet. Mr. Joseph Hartley came to bring me a new wig. Paid him in full for a new wig, £1. 15s., and new mounting an old one, 4s.

Some years before, Mr. Turner having suffered much from inflammation in his eyes, for which, to use his own phrase, his “temple arteries” were more than once “incised,” records

his resolution never to eat anything but light meats, such as a chick, or plain boiled or roast mutton, and that sparingly ; but having recovered, this, like some other resolutions, was revoked, and his favourite dishes, when alone or in a small family party, were these :—calf's lights, boiled ; skirt pudding, that is, a pudding of the true old Sussex make, containing, instead of beef-steaks, small pieces of the skirt or midriff of a bullock ; hog's heart pudding, boiled tripe, duck pudding, and such-like dainties.

" *Sunday, May 20.*—We had a vestry called, and we stayed in the church-yard to consult whether we should lend Francis Turner the sum of six guineas, on the parish account, in order for him to discharge a debt for which he is threatened with an arrest, if the same is not paid to-morrow ; when it was the unanimous consent of all present to lend him the said sum. After church-time, Mr. Dodson and I walked down to ask Sam Jenner how he did, with whom we staid and drank tea ; a very fine pleasant day ; but when I consider the nature of my circumstances, that there is no one person to whom I may entrust the management of my affairs, it almost drives me to distraction."

" *Saturday, May 26.*—My brother Moses came to acquaint me of the death of Philip Turner, natural son of my half-sister, Elizabeth Turner (the boy we had the care of, as also his maintainance, according to the will of my father) ; he died this morn about five o'clock, of a scarlet fever, aged fifteen years."

Natural children, one hundred years ago, were considered the most natural things in the world. Having given an account of the death of one, the following is the record of the funeral of another, which took place a few years before :—

" In the morn I went over to Framfield, and, after taking an account of the gloves, hatbands, favours, &c., I set out for the funeral of Alice Stevens, otherwise Smith, natural daughter of Ben Stevens, at whose house she died. The young woman's age was twenty-eight years, and I think I never saw any person lament the death of any one more than Ben Stevens did for this poor girl, his daughter. As soon as it was possible we set out for Buxted Church, where she was to be buried, with a large company of people, she being carried on men's shoulders ; we arrived about twenty minutes past four, and where we heard an excellent sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Lewson, curate of Buxted, from the 27th verse, 9th chapter, Epist. Heb.—' And it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgement.' The young woman was laid in the ground about fifty minutes past five."

This appears to have been the most stately funeral in which he was professionally engaged. There were distributed, nine hatbands, twelve favours, twenty-four pair of shammy and thirty-five pair of lamb gloves.

" *Tuesday, May 29.*—In the afternoon, there was plaid at Hawkhurst Common, in this parish, a game of cricket, between this parish and that of

Ringmer; but it was not plaid out, Ringmer having three wickets to go out, and thirty notches to get; so that in all probability, had it been plaid out, it would have been decided in favour of Hothly."

"*Fryday, June 1.*—In the even, Mr. Banister and myself smoked a pipe or two with Tho. Durrant, purely to keep Mr. Banister from quarrelling; his wife, big with child, lame of one hand, and very much in liquor, being out in the middle of the street, amongst a parcel of girls, boys, &c. Oh, an odious sight, and that more so to an husband!"

"*Sunday, June 3.*—We had a brief read for the rebuilding the parish church of Sittingbourn, in Kent, burnt down by the carelessness of workmen; the expence of rebuilding which, exclusive of the old materials and the parson's chancel, amounts to the sum of £2086, and upwards. The brief was to be gathered from house to house, in the several counties of Kent, Surry, and Sussex."

"*Fryday, June 8.*—My old acquaintance Mr. Long (now an expectant in the excise) calld on me in the even, and took part of my bed."

"*Whitsunday, May 10.*—Myself at church in the morn; I staid the Communion; gave 6*d.* Myself and servant at church in the afternoon. Sam Jenner and Tho. Durrant drank tea with me, and after tea we walked over to Chiddingly, to see a house which was repairing there. Walked into Mr. Robert Turner's, where we staid and smoked two serious pipes, and came home about nine. As pleasant an even as I ever walked in my life."

"*Fryday, June 15.*—I set out for Newhaven, where was to be a sale of foreign brandy at the custom-house. I dined at the White Hart, in company with five gentlemen (or, at least, other men). I bought three lots of thirteen gallons and a half each, for £12. 0*s.* 9*d.* I then rosined down my casks, and came home about twenty minutes to nine, very safe and sober."

"*Sunday, June 24.*—In the morn, at thirty minutes past five, Tho. Durrant and I set out for Newhaven, to see my very worthy friend Mr. Tipper, where we arrived at fifty minutes past seven, and breakfasted with my friend Tipper; after which we walked down to the sea, where we entertained ourselves very agreeably an hour or two. We also had the pleasure to see a lunet battery, erected there to guard the entrance of the harbour; it consists of five guns, 18-pounders, mounted, and everything ready for action. There is a very neat house and magazine belonging to the fort, and a gunner resident there. We dined with my friend Tipper, on a legg of lamb boiled, a hot baked rice pudding, a gooseberry pye, a very fine lobster, green sallet, and fine white cabbage. We staid with my friend Tipper till thirty minutes past four, and then came away, and came home safe and well about three minutes past nine."

Mr. Turner's "friend Tipper" was the well-known Newhaven brewer, who gave name to the ale of peculiar flavour now so widely renowned. His tombstone in Newhaven churchyard is inscribed with laudatory verses, one of which informs us that— "He knew immortal Hudibras by heart."

Mr. Tipper paid occasional visits to Easthothly, and our Diarist mentions that during one of these, he "set" with him awhile, and played him a few "tuens" on the violin.

“*Saturday, June 30.*—After breakfast, John French and I set out for Eastbourne; the reason of my journey was this:—Mrs. French’s waggon, with her son and servant, was yesterday a-bringing a cord of wood to my house, and as they was before my door, came by Mr. Samuel Becket’s post-chaise and four horses,¹ in the road from Uckfield to Eastbourne (their home), and in driving a great pace, with a sufficient degree of carelessness and audacity, they in passing the fore horse of the team, drove against him, and, I presume by accident, drove the shaft of the chaise into the rectum of the horse, of which wound the horse died in about seven hours. Now, as I see the accident, Mr. French desired I would go with him to Mr. Beckett about it. We called at Mr. Fagg’s on our journey, Mr. French wanting his advice, being a justice of the peace,² who soon informed him, what he had been before told, that it was not justice busyness. Mr. Becket behaved extremely civil and agreeable, and Mr. French and he agreed to leave it to Mr. Fagg and Mr. Porter to appoint what he should pay for the damages, &c., sustained.

The first appearance of a licensed hawker, so much detested by the regular shopkeeper, tried our friend’s philosophy; but it stood the test well.

“*July 6.*—This day came to Jones’s a man with a cartload of milinery, mercery, linen-drapery, silver, &c., to keep a sale for two days, which must undoubtedly be some hurt to trade; for the novelty of the thing (and novelty is surely the predominant passion of the English nation, and of Sussex in particular) will catch the ignorant multitude, and perhaps not them only, but people of sense, who are not judges of goods and trade, as indeed very few are; but, however, as it is it must pass.”

“*July 11.*—At home all day; busy in my garden all the forenoon; in the even I read part of Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, which I esteem a very impartial history, as the author has everywhere treated his subject with moderation and coolness, which is, in my opinion, always a sign of learning and virtue.”

“*Monday, July 30.*—We had a tempest of thunder and lightning, and a great deal of rain; the storm here was not very severe, but it was excessive dark. I do not remember ever to have seen the heavens in so seeming a tempestuous a situation as they was to-day, the whole element seeming in a commotion. It did not last a great while.”

“*Aug. 11.*—Very unpleasant and irksome to myself to-day; the punch taken in to great a quantity last night, occasions my head to ach violently. A very fine pleasant day.”

“*Monday, Aug. 13.*—I spent the even till near ten o’clock in company with Joseph Fuller’s family, Mr. Banister, and Tho. Durrant, but I cannot say I came home sober. How do I lament my present irregular and very unpleasant way of life, for what I used to lead in my dear Peggy’s time. I know not the comfort of an agreeable friend and virtuous fair; no, I have not spent an agreeable hour in the company of a woman since I lost my wife, for really there seem very few whoes education and way of thinking is agreeable and suitable with my own.”

¹ The parish roads in Sussex were deep in sand in summer, and a strong motive power was required to traverse them.

² Mr. Fagg resided at the old mansion of Glynley, in the parish of Westham.

“*Aug. 23.*—Mr. Banister dined with me on some hashed venison, and after dinner we set out for Lewes races, where his Majesty’s plate of £100 was run for on Lewes Downs, when Sir John Moore’s grey horse, Cyclops, and Mr. Bowles’ horse, Cyrus, started for it, which was won by Cyclops. I don’t know I ever remember the King’s plate being run in less time, they performing it in eight minutes and twenty-five seconds. Came home about three o’clock; but happy should I be if I could say sober. Oh, my unhappy, nay, I may say, unfortunate disposition!—that am so irresolute, and cannot refrain from what my soul detests. See several London riders upon the downs, with whom I drank a glass or two of punch.”

Mr. Turner was not so bad but that he was on the downs the next two days of the races, on the first of which he saw Mr. Verral’s mare, Swish-About, beat Mr. Smith’s horse, Jack of the Green, by “about the length of her nose only,” and on the third day, Smiling Molly, Cleveland, and Slam-maker, were beaten easily by Gift, the course being run in nine minutes.

“*Saturday, Sept. 29.*—Mr. friend Mr. Elliss staid all night with me; I think my friend is as agreeable a companion as any amongst my acquaintance, he being sober and virtuous, and a man of a great deal of good sense, and ended with good nature, and has improved his natural parts with a great deal of useful learning.”

“*Thursday, Nov. 1.*—I this day heard of the mellancholly news of the death of my old acquaintance and worthy friend, Mr. John Long, who died last night of the smallpox, under inoculation; a very sober and worthy young man, but from a bad constitution had the smallpox excessively full, and which proved mortal.”

“*Sunday, Nov. 11.*—During the time they was singing psalms, James Hudson, headborough, and myself, went out and searched the alehouses and the barber’s shop; the barber we found exercising his trade,¹ but, as it was the first time, we forgave him. The alehouses was clear of tiplers. I think of all the company I ever spent the even with in my life, that of James Fuller is the most disagreeable, he being stupidly ignorant, and withall prodigiously abusive.”

“*Nov. 14.*—This day was married, at our church, Mr. Simonds Blackman and Mary his wife (*alias* Mary Margenson). She being under age, some months agoe they went into Flanders, and was married at a place called Ypres; but as this marriage was not in all respects agreeable to the laws of England, in regard to their issue enjoying the gentleman’s estate, they was married this day by a licence, which styled her Mary Margison, otherwise Blackman. In my own private oppinion, I think, instead of making laws to restrain marriage, it would be more to the advantage of the nation to give encouragement to it; for by that means a great deal of debauchery would, in all probability, be prevented, and a greater increase of people might be the consequence, which, I presume, would be one real benefit to the nation; and I think it is the first

¹ In 1711, the barbers of Seaford were fined 2s. 6d., for shaving on Sundays.—*Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. VII., p. 107.

command of the Parent and Governor of the universe, 'Increase and multiply,' and the observation of St. Paul is, that 'marriage is honourable in all men.'"

"*Fryday, Nov. 23.*—At home all day, and, thank God, very busy. Oh! how pleasant was the even spent, after a busy day, in my dear Peggy's time; but now it's all unpleasant—nothing to sooth the anxious mind, no pleasing companion, no sincere friend, no agreeable acquaintance, or at least amongst the fair sex."

Some of the later entries in the Diary may have prepared our readers for an event which led to the sudden termination of the Journal; and, it is to be hoped, put an end to all further lamentations for the loss of "dear Peggy."

"*Sunday, Dec. 9.*—After dinner Jenner and I walked to Lewes, in order to see a girl which I have long since had thoughts of paying my addresses to, and he for company. I was not so happy, shall I say, as to see her, or was I unfortunate in having only my walk for my pains, which, perhaps, was as well?"

"*Dec. 19.*—In the afternoon my brother Moses and cuz. Thos. Ovenden came to see me; they staid, spent the even, and supped with me. I think I never see a more stupid young fellow in my life than my couz. Thos. Ovenden: his discourse is one continued flow of oathes, almost without any intermission."

"*Feb. 19.*—Mr. Coates shew'd me to-day an original letter, wrote from one of the Pelham family to another of the same, in the year 1620; the writing a very neat pretty hand, and the spelling much the same as we use now, and the colour of the ink hardly altered in the least; and I think a prettyer letter could not be wrote."

"*Ash-Wednesday, Feb. 20, 1765.*—After breakfast I walked with Mr. Burgess to Lewes; the reason of my journey to-day was this:—About four years ago, Mr. Porter bought of Mr. Burgess a farm; the house he has just now taken down; in doing of which, a bricklayer, in digging up the foundation, found several pieces, about four of old gold coin, of which one was a piece called a Jacobus, which I bought the 14th instant, for 20s., and some few pieces of silver, which I think is all that I have heard of been found. Now, Mr. Porter, as proprietor of the premises, and I doubt spurred on by self-interest (a vice very predominant in the breast of too many of us) claimed the same; but however, upon more mature deliberation and perswasion, has been brought over to think it belonged to the lord of the mannor, as undoubtedly it does by the common law. It appears that about thirty-seven years agoe, the father of the present Mr. Burgess, who then lived in the house, was robb'd of several such old pieces of gold and silver, several gold rings, and about £5 in crown-pieces, none of which could never be found or heard anything of to this day, notwithstanding several people was at the time of the robbery taken up on suspicion; therefore it is conjectured the money now found was, in all probability, a part of that which was taken; and it appears, from many circumstances, to be so. Mr. Burgess therefore applyed to a justice, to try if he could obtain any of this treasure trove; but, alas! all in vain. As there could be no oath made to anything that has hitherto been found, no warrant could be granted; but Mr. Shelley, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, did grant a summons to have the man examined: a good-natured action, indeed, but what Mr. Justice had no business to grant; for I assure him it was common-law business, and his worship had no business with it. Mr.

Burgess paid all expenses, and thankd me for my company, so I sped well enough. Sam. Jenner coming in the even, and being very much in liquor, staid all night."

"*Fryday, March 22.*—I dined on some salt-fish, egg-sauce, parsnips, and potatoes. In the even read part of Homer's *Odyssey*, translated by Pope, which I like very well; the language being vastly good, and the turn of thought and expression beautiful."

"*March 28.*—In the afternoon rode over to Chiddingly, to pay my charmer, or intended wife, or sweetheart, or whatever other name may be more proper, a visit at her father's, where I drank tea, in company with their family and Miss Ann Thatcher. I supped there on some rasures of bacon. It being an excessive wet and windy night, I had the opportunity, sure I should say the pleasure, or perhaps some might say the unspeakable happiness, to sit up with Molly Hicks, or my charmer, all night. I came home at forty minutes past five in the morning—I must not say fatigued; no, no, that could not be; it could be only a little sleepy for want of rest. Well, to be sure, she is a most clever girl; but however, to be serious in the affair, I certainly esteem the girl, and think she appears worthy of my esteem."

"*Good Fryday.*—In the even met with Molly Hicks, by appointment, and walked home with her, where I staid with her, the weather being excessive bad, till past five in the morning, and then came home."

"*Saturday, April 7.*—In the even very dull and sleepy; this courting does not well agree with my constitution, and perhaps it may be only taking pains to create more pain."

"*Sunday, April 15.*—After dinner I set out for Malling, to pay Molly Hicks, my intended wife, a visit, with whom I intended to go to church, but there was no afternoon service. I spent the afternoon with a great deal of pleasure, it being very fine, pleasant weather, and my companion very agreeable. Now, perhaps, there may be many reports abroad in the world of my present intentions, some likely condemning my choice, others approving it; but as the world cannot judge the secret intentions of my mind, and I may therefore be censured, I will take the trouble to relate what really and truly are my intentions, and the only motive from which they spring (which may be some satisfaction to those who may happen to peruse my memoirs). First, I think marriage is a state agreeable to nature, reason, and religion; I think it the duty of every Christian to serve God and perform his religious services in the most calm, serene, and composed manner, which, if it can be performed more so in the married state than a single one, it must then be an indispensable duty. . . . As to my choice, I have only this to say:—the girl, I believe, as far as I can discover, is a very industrious, sober woman, and seemingly endued with prudence and good nature, with a serious and sedate turn of mind. She comes of reputable parents, and may perhaps, one time or other, have some fortune. As to her person, I know it's plain (so is my own), but she is cleanly in her person and dress, which I will say is something more than at first sight it may appear to be, towards happiness. She is, I think, a well-made woman. As to her education, I own it is not liberal; but she has good sense, and a desire to improve her mind, and has always behaved to me with the strictest honour and good manners—her behaviour being far from the affected formality of the prude, on the one hand; and on the other, of that foolish fondness to often found in the more light part of the sex. For myself, I have nothing else in view but to live in a more sober and regular

manner, to perform my duty to GOD and man in a more suitable and religious manner, and, with the grace of the Supreme Being, to live happy in a sincere union with the partner of my bosom."

"*Wednesday, April 24.*—A very pleasant even, and quite delightful; nothing wanting to make it so, except the company of my dear Molly and an easy mind."

"*Fryday, June 7.*—In the even took a ride to pay my intended wife a visit, with whom I took a serious walk, and spent the even, till about ten o'clock. After parting with her, I went to take my horse, and, happening into company, I staid till ten minutes past twelve, and came home about four o'clock."

"*Wednesday, July 3.*—From the day last mentioned (*Sunday, June 16*), I have been so embarrassed with a multiplicity of business, that I was not able to continue my journal, being, on the 19th day of June, married, at our church, to Mary Hicks, servant to Luke Spence, Esq., of South Malling, by the Rev. Mr. Porter;¹ and for about fourteen days was very ill with a tertian ague, or, rather, an intermitting fever; then the ceremony of receiving visitors, and again the returning of them, has indeed, together with the business of my trade, taking up so much of my time, that I was obliged to omit that which would have given me the greatest pleasure imaginable to have continued; but, however, thank GOD, I begin once more to be a little settled, and am happy in my choice. I have, it's true, not married a learned lady, nor is she a gay one; but I trust she is good-natured, and one that will use her utmost endeavour to make me happy. As to her fortune, I shall one day have something considerable, and there seems to be rather a flowing stream. Well, here let us drop the subject, and begin a new one."

Molly Hicks, Mr. Turner's second "choice," was the daughter of a substantial yeoman at Chiddingly, whose family were connected with that parish for several generations. The last individual of the name resident there, a few years since, possessed the farms called Hilder's and Chiswell's.

Whether or not Mr. Turner ever began a new journal, after having made this second experiment of married life, we know not; certainly none has been preserved, nor have we any traditions as to whether he conquered the sad habit which caused him so many stings of conscience, or whether he was as happy with Molly Hicks as, after her death, he imagined himself to have been with Peggy. One record more he left, and that is an account of the stately funeral of the Duke of Newcastle, who was interred in the family vault at Laughton, on Nov. 18, 1768. "Achievements very large, embellished and emblazoned, were placed on Newcastle House and Clearmont House; two more, of smaller size, on Halland House

¹ Mr. Porter is still remembered by some of the aged inhabitants of East Hothly, who say that he was much liked

by his parishioners, being a kind-hearted man, and certainly of a convivial nature.

and Bishopstone House." Twenty-four escutcheons, twelve stars with garters, twelve crests, and a very large ducal coronet, glittered among the funeral trappings. The Bishop of Norwich read the service; four mourning coaches, each drawn by "six full-tailed horses," followed the hearse, which "was finely dressed with escutcheons, pendants, shields, stars and garters, and banners," but with the exception of the first, in which sat John Pelham, Esq., chief mourner, the Bishop of Norwich in his rochet, the Rev. Dr. Hurdis, his Grace's chaplain, and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Hurdis, they were all filled with domestic servants. "His Grace's tenants and the principal inhabitants of East Hothly and Laughton, as also many others of the adjoining parishes, on horseback, two and two, closed the procession;" but not one of the many noble and gentle guests who, as we have seen, had been so often partakers of his noisy but splendid hospitality, followed to the grave the remains of the first and last Duke of Newcastle of the ancient line of Pelham.

[The best thanks of the Editors are due to Mr. Henry Turner, grandson of the Diarist and possessor of the manuscript; as also to Mr. Baxter, for the loan of the subjoined woodcut of Halland; and to the Rev. Edward Langdale, rector of Easthothly, for several communications.]



Halland House, from a drawing in the Burrell Collection.

SUSSEX NOTES AND QUERIES.

CONTENTS.

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|---|--|
| 1. The Sussex Knight, whose motto was
<i>Omnia Vanitas.</i> | 4. Sussex Inn Signs: meaning of Balls Hut. |
| 2. Note to Inquiry after the Site of
Anderida. | 5. The Names of Sussex Hundreds. |
| 3. A Roll of the Armor furnished by the
Clergy of East Sussex in 1612. | 6. Monumental Inscriptions in Churches
and Churchyards. |
| | 7. Pottery for Encaustic Tiles, &c. in
13th Century, at Hastings. |
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1. *The Sussex Knight whose Motto was OMNIA VANITAS.*

IN the account of the "Progress of King Edward VI. into Sussex," which I contributed to the tenth volume of our *Archæological Collections*, I introduced at p. 204, from the *State Worthies* of David Lloyd, an anecdote of the witty comment made by Sir Anthony Cooke on the motto of a Sussex knight, who, "having spent a great estate at court, and reduced himself to one park and a fine house in it," on new painting his gates, placed under his arms, in great golden letters, this motto,

OMNIA VANITAS.

I made the remark that David Lloyd, in relating the anecdote, was evidently correcting some former version of it, when he wrote "a Sussex, not a Kentish, knight,"—"not the Queen, but her brother," and "Sir Anthony Cooke, not his son Cecil." I was, at the same time under the impression that I had formerly met with the same story elsewhere; and I have now to state that it was in the volume of *Anecdotes and Traditions*, edited for the Camden Society, by Mr. W. J. Thoms, in the year 1839. The witticism is there, sure enough, attributed to Cecil, under the designation of "Old Burleigh the Treasurer," and the Sussex knight is turned into a Suffolk gentleman. The anecdote is penned by Sir Nicholas LeStrange, on the authority of Sir Edward Coke, the lord chief justice; and, in order that it may be compared with Lloyd's version, I will transcribe it.

"Old Burleigh the Treasurer, hearing much fame of a gentleman's house in Suffolke, for the rarities to be seene there, went to visit him, and had presented to his view varietie of pretious gemmes, meddalls, birds, a wedge of Ophir gold (which certainly was an imposture, for the gentleman was but shallow and credulous, and easy to be deluded, for he had payde dear for many sophisticated things), choice of pictures, statues, and every roome embroidered with mottoes and devises; but at last he brought Burleigh into a

room where he would shew him a piece of infinite vauw for the antiquitie, and that was Solomon's statue, *cap-à-pié*, cut while he lived (but it appear'd plainly to be an old weather-beaten statue of some ancient Philosopher), and his owne motto under, but thus written: 'OMNIA VANITAS'; which when the Treasurer observed in so different a character, and purposing to put a grave slye squibbe upon him, 'Sir,' sayes he, 'this does not well; I would advise you to alter by any meanes; for methinks OMNIA is very little and VANITAS exceeding greate.' 'My Lord,' sayes the gentleman, (not apprehending the acute dilemma of his speech,) 'it shall be done; for to speake truly, *Vanitas* hath beene thus here a long time, and I crowded in *Omnia*, but I'le have my painter make them all one before your Lordshippe comes againe."—*L' Estrange*, No. 119. *My L. Cooke*.

Another version of this story may be found, where it was scarcely to be looked for, in the private correspondence of the American philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, who, writing to Mrs. Bache respecting a proposed order of American knighthood, and commenting upon a suggested motto, adds, "Every thing makes me recollect some story. A gentleman had built a very fine house, and thereby much impaired his fortune. He had a pride, however, in showing it to his acquaintance. One of them, after viewing it all, remarked a motto over the door, OIA VANITAS. "What," says he, "is the meaning of this OIA, 'tis a word I don't understand?" "I will tell you," said the gentleman. "I had a mind to have the motto cut on a piece of smooth marble; but there was not room for it between the ornaments to be put in characters large enough to be read; I therefore made use of a contraction, anciently very common in Latin manuscripts, whereby the *m*'s and *n*'s in words are omitted, and the omission noted by a little dash above, which you see there, so that the word is *omnia*, OMNIA VANITAS." "O," said his friend, "I comprehend the meaning of your motto, it relates to your edifice; and signifies, that if you have abridged your *omnia*, you have nevertheless left your VANITAS legible at full length."—*Priv. Corresp. of Franklin*, i. 136.

On the conclusion that David Lloyd's is the amended and more accurate version of this story, it has been kindly suggested to me by Mr. Blaauw, that the locality may probably have been Burton Park, which lay on King Edward's road between Petworth and Cowdray. Sir William Goring, then of Burton, had been a courtier, for he is styled in his epitaph (*Dallaway's Rape of Arundel*, p. 253), "one of the Gentlemen of the Prevy Chamber to Kynge Edward the Sixth." He died on the 8th of March, 1553, very soon after the period in question.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

2. *A Note to An Inquiry after the Site of Anderida, or Andredesceaster.* By Rev. A. HUSSEY. (*Suss. Arch. Coll.*, VI., p. 94, l. 28.)

It is rather remarkable, that Camden, studious as he was of antiquities, and widely as he appears to have traversed the country to collect materials for his *Britannia* (which, moreover, he commences with a dissertation on "The Romans in Britain"), does not notice the undoubted Roman remains at Pevensey. Though we learn incidentally that he travelled through Sussex, and it must be inferred that he was at Pevensey, he mentions merely¹ that the castle had belonged to Robert Earl Moreton, half-brother to William the Conqueror, and that its old walls only then existed; so that he (most probably) passed through the place without pausing for an examination of what was still to be seen. The quotation from the *Britannia*, and the subsequent observations (*Inquiry*, pp. 93, 94), intimate, without indeed asserting so strongly as might have been done, the purely conjectural character of Camden's opinion that Newenden was the site of Anderida. Two very similar instances shall now be produced from his great work, relating to other parts of England, but having some concern with the county of Sussex.

1. Of Yarmouth, in Norfolk, it is said (*Britannia*, i. 465), "When that old Garianonum was gone to decay, and there were none left to defend this shore, Cerdick, the warlike Saxon, landed here, from whence the place is called by the inhabitants *Cerdicksand*, and by other historians *Cerdickshore*."² If Camden had no other proof of the identity he so positively claims for Yarmouth with Cerdicesora, than the name he found popularly attributed to the former place, his opinion cannot be deemed of much value, especially since, as his translator and editor, Bishop Gibson, remarks (*Britannia*, i. 136), Matthew of Westminster declares the same landing to have occurred "in occidentali parte Britanniae," which the *Saxon Chronicle* fixes at Cerdicesora. Where this last-named spot may be is a matter of speculation, though it is very generally, I believe, supposed to lie in either Sussex or Hampshire, Charford, on the western side of the latter county, being recognised as Cerdiceford, the scene of a severe defeat inflicted by Cerdic and his Saxons on the Britons.

2. Again: under Hampshire we may read (*Britannia*, i. 133) "Regnewood, or Ringwood, in *Domesday Book* Rincewed, which was that Regnum (a town of the Regni) mentioned by Antoninus; as is plain from the course of the *Itinerary*, the remainder of the old name, and the signification of the present. For Ringwood, with the Saxon addition, seems to signify *the wood of the Regni*." Camden's first reason, the agreement of the position of Ringwood with the distances in Antoninus's *Iter* from Regnum to London, I shall not enter into. A necessary preliminary would be to determine the site of Clau-

¹ *Britannia*, i. 207. The references throughout this note will be to Bishop Gibson's translation of the *Britannia*, 2 vols. folio, 2nd edit. 1722.

² This passage is referred to by Mr. John Hodgson Hinde, in the *Archaeological Journal* (vol. xiv. p. 308, line 14), but in such a manner as to leave the impression that the authority for Cerdic's landing in Norfolk was the *Saxon Chronicle*, whereas

in reality that record simply states him to have disembarked at "Cerdicesora," without a hint where that spot was situated. It might be asked, too, of Mr. Hinde, what ground he possesses, beyond the dictum of Camden, just quoted, for affirming (*ut supra*) that Cerdic's "first attempts were not directed against the western coast, where his kingdom was ultimately established, but against the shores of Norfolk?"

sentum, the first stage from Regnum, which I believe not to be accomplished yet, and I much doubt whether the spot, where Camden would place that station, would answer his purpose. As to the argument from the name, that appears to me quite futile. Some stretch of imagination is required to discover such a similarity of sound between the first syllable of the word Ringwood and Regni as would countenance a conclusion that the former name was derived from or compounded with the latter. Moreover, the *Domesday* name, Rincewed, as quoted by Camden himself, differs so materially from that in modern use, as to militate very strongly against the hypothesis he has advanced.

But the strangest feature of the case remains to be exhibited. According to Camden, the Regni occupied Sussex and Surrey, together with the seacoast of Hampshire, while the Belgæ possessed the interior of Hampshire, spreading thence westward through Wiltshire into Somersetshire. This distribution we will not contest, though it may at least *be doubted* whether the Belgæ, who are acknowledged to have been immigrants from the continent of Europe, would have relinquished such convenient access to the sea, as that afforded by the inlets east and west of Portsmouth, and by the Southampton Water. Ringwood, being situated not far from the western border of Hampshire, is about thirty-five miles in a direct line, but farther for a land-journey, from the western limit of Sussex; so that Camden would have us believe a chief town of one tribe (*nation* we may term it) to have been placed at the very extremity of a narrow strip of the country to which it belonged, some forty miles from the main portion of that country, and for that distance bordered by, almost *within*, the territory of another nation! Since Ringwood is nine or ten miles from the sea, it cannot very correctly be called on "the coast"; granting, however, that it is, so as to be arranged according to Camden's assignment of the several districts, and assuming the inner edge of the coast line of the Regni to have preserved nearly the same parallel, on two sides certainly that town must, if it were the ancient Regnum, have been very closely approached by the dominions of the Belgæ; and all communication *by land* of its inhabitants with their countrymen to the east, in what is now Sussex, *must* have been carried for about forty miles but a very short distance behind their own frontier, and within a few miles only of at least *one* considerable place, *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), of another race of people. A singular position certainly for the capital of any country, and clearly designated without consideration of the jealousies and hostilities continually arising between near neighbours among uncivilized nations of all periods!! No comment can be required to ensure the rejection of this theory, even had we not conclusive proof of its baseless character, since the exhumation, subsequent to the eras of both Camden and his editor, Bishop Gibson, of inscriptions at Chichester, have determined that city to be the representative of Roman Regnum.

The errors now pointed out, having been casually discovered, and being now brought into notice for a special object, are not designed to, and need not, invalidate generally the authority of Camden's great work. As Horace remarks, "Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus." They are however, it is conceived, a very sufficient justification of those who, as in the Anderida controversy, presume to dissent from Camden's dicta, when they are grounded solely upon conjecture, and unsupported, perhaps even contradicted, by whatever evidence may be attainable upon the subjects in question.

3. A ROLLE of the severall Armors and furniture, with their names of the Clergie within the Arch Deaconry of Lewes and Deanery of South Malling, with the Deanry of Battell, in the County of Sussex. Rated and appoynted the 11th day of March, A^o. Dⁿⁱ. 1612, by the Right Reverend father in God Samuell [Harsnet] Lo. Bishoppe of Chichester. (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. No. 703, ff. 150, 150^e, 151.)

LEWES DEANRY.

<i>Ardingley</i>	Mr. Richard Kitson, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Hangleton, Glynde</i>	Mr. Boone (double beneficed) . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Barkham</i>	Mr. Stephen West, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Hamsey</i>	Mr. Edward Wood, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Newtymber</i>	Mr. Richard Edwardes, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Alborne</i>		
<i>Hurst per point</i>	Mr. Doctor Swale, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>St. Martin's in Lewes</i>	Mr. William Imaus, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Plompton</i>	Mr. Higanbotham, parson . . .	
<i>Pycomb</i>	Mr. Bish, parson	A musquet furnished
<i>Rodmell & West Firle</i>	Mr. Anthony Mattock (double ben.)	A musquet furnished
<i>Westmiston</i>	Mr. John Batnor, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Estgrinsted</i>	Mr. Edward Topsell, vicar . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Balcomb</i>	Mr. George Scott, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Woorth</i>	Mr. Nicholas Whiston, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Slaugham</i>	Mr. Thomas Comber, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Cowfold and</i>	Mr. Doctor Andrewes	Nothing heere, in respect hee is sett a light horse at Chichester
<i>Cuckfield</i>		
<i>Aldrington</i>	Mr. English, parson	A musquet furnished
<i>Blechington</i>	Mr. Jo. Sysson, parson	
<i>Kingston Bowsye</i>	Mr. John Postelthwayt, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Southweeke</i>	Mr. Cornelius Thisly	
<i>Meeching</i>	Mr. Owen Vaughan, parson . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Tedlescomb</i>	Mr. Seth Rose, parson	
<i>Peedinghoo</i>	Mr. Willm. Cole, vicar	A musquet furnished
<i>Iford, Kingston, neare Lewes</i>	Mr. Anthony Garway, vicar . . .	
<i>Ovingdeane</i>	Mr. Willm. Dimbleby, vicar . . .	A musquet furnished
<i>Rottingdeane</i>		
<i>New Shoreham</i>	Mr. Robt. Wood, vicar	A corslet furnished
<i>Old Shoreham</i>	Mr. Jo. Foukes, vicar	
<i>Porteslade</i>	Mr. Jo. Bridge, vicar	A corselet furnished
<i>Clayton, &c.</i>	Mr. Willm. Wane, parson	
<i>Poonings and</i>	Mr. Frauncis Killingbeck	A musquet furnished
<i>Troyneham</i>		
<i>Streate</i>	Mr. Jo. Tillinghast	A musquet furnished
<i>Newick</i>	Mr. Jo. Dod, parson	
<i>Petcham</i>	Mr. Jo. Sadler, vicar	A corslet furnished
<i>Southees and Fletching</i>	Mr. Jefferey Amherst (double ben.)	
<i>Ifield</i>	Mr. Benjamyn Browne	A musquet furnished
<i>Cracley</i>	Mr. Thomas Bye, parson (at his own desire)	A musquet furnished

<i>Shermondbury and</i>	}	Mr. Franckwell, parson, 1 pte.	}	A corslet furnished		
<i>Beeding</i>		Mr. Isaac Pocock, vicar, 2 ptes.				
<i>Henfield and</i>	}	Mr. Willm. Belcher, vicar			}	A corselet furnished
<i>Woodmancote</i>		Mr. Richd. Holney, parson				

HASTING DEANRY.

<i>All Saints in Has-</i>	}	Mr. William Parker (double ben.)	}	A musquet furnished
<i>ting and Foukington</i>		Mr. Jeremy Woodman		
<i>St. Clements in</i>	}	Mr. Doctor Bridgman, vicar	}	Sett nothing, in respect of his benefice small, him selfe poore
<i>Hasting</i>		Mr. Robt. Adams, parson		
<i>Bevill</i>	}	Mr. Robt. Adams, parson	}	A caliver furnished
<i>Farligh</i>		Mr. Henry Peerson, ij. ptes.		
<i>Gestling and</i>	}	Mr. Robt. Thomson, parson, the 3d.	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Winchelsea</i>		Mr. Edward Martyn, vicar		
<i>Iclesham</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Bracegirdle, vicar, ij. ptes.	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Rye and</i>		Mr. Willm. Smyth, parson, the 3d.		
<i>Ore</i>	}	Mr. Willm. Smyth, parson, the 3d.	}	A musquet furnished

DALLINGTON DEANRY.

<i>Ashborneham</i>	}	Mr. Abraham Franck, vicar	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Dallington</i>		Mr. Tobias Ferrall, vicar		
<i>Beckley</i>	}	Mr. Tho. Sharpe, parson	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Bread</i>		Mr. Geo. Potter, parson		
<i>Boderham</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Ellingdene, vicar	}	A caliver furnished
<i>Brightling</i>		Mr. Jo. Lyttell, parson		
<i>Burwash</i>	}	Mr. Rafe Smyth, parson	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Chattesfield</i>		Mr. Tho. Harryson, vicar		
<i>Hollington</i>	}	Mr. Thomas Large (double benef.)	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Hoo and</i>		Mr. Marmaduke Burton, parson		
<i>Crowhurst</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Gilmore, vicar	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Etchingham</i>		Mr. Edward Polhill, parson		
<i>Ewhurst</i>	}	Mr. Edward Muddell, parson	}	A calliver furnished
<i>Heathfield</i>		Mr. Reginald Burden, vicar		
<i>Westfield</i>	}	Mr. Thomas Mawdesley, vicar	}	A corselet furnished
<i>Hurstmounceux</i>		Mr. Doctor Dickenson, parson		
<i>Iden and Pett</i>	}	Mr. Thomas Mawdesley (dbl. ben.)	}	A corselet furnished
<i>Wattling</i>		Mr. Lawrence Chatterton, parson		
<i>Mounfeild and</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Rolfe, vicar	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Penherst, Nenfield</i>		Mr. Jo. Steele, parson		
<i>Whartling</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Giles, vicar	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Norham</i>		Mr. Jo. Bartin, vicar		
<i>Pleydon</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Freeman, parson	}	A corselet furnished
<i>Est Gilford</i>		Mr. Richard Greenwood, parson		
<i>Salehurst</i>	}	Mr. Jo. Waylett, parson	}	A musquet furnished
<i>Warbleton</i>		Mr. Thomas Lord (dbl. beneficed)		
<i>Tisehurst</i>	}	Mr. Doctor Hull, vicar	}	A corselet furnished
<i>Sellscombe</i>		Mr. John Bell, parson		

BATTELL DEANRY.

<i>Battell</i>	}	Mr. Doctor Withines, vicar	}	A mus. and cors. fur.
<i>Westothkley</i>		Mr. Allan Carr, vicar		
<i>Bolney</i>	}	Mr. Thomas Boxell, vicar	}	A corselet furnished

- Brightelmstone* . . Mr. Doctor Drury, vicar . . . Is sett nothing heere,
in respect he is seassed at Chichester
- Chayligh* . . . { Mr. Robte. Scott, parson . . . A corselet furnished
Mr. Lawrence Awcock, vicar . . . Is set nothing heere,
in respect that he is seassed els where

SOUTH MALLING DEANRY.

- Buxted and Uckfield* . Mr. Jo. Tichborne, Doctor, parson A corselet furnished
- Clyffe* Mr. Anthony Hogat Nothing, the bene-
fice being meane and his substance not much
- Isfield and* . . . } Mr. Willm. Atterson, parson . . . } A musquet furnished
- Framefield* . . . } Mr. Edward Samson, vicar . . . }
- Edburton and* . . } Mr. Robert Spalden, ij. partes } A musquet furnished
- Stamer* } Mr. Cutbert Lancaster, the 3rd. }
- Maighfeld* Mr. Jo. Luke, vicar A corselet furnished
- Ringmere and* . . } Mr. Symon Aldrich, vicar . . . } A musquet furnished
- Wadhurst* } Mr. Jo. Hackley, vicar . . . }

PEVENSEY DEANRY.

- Est armsted (sic)* . Mr. Topsell, vicar A musquet furnished
- Hartfield* Mr. Taylor, parson A musquet furnished
- Chidingligh* . . . } Mr. Willm. Storkey, vicar . . . }
- Hellingligh* . . . } Mr. Tho. Lancaster, vicar . . . }
- Est hotkly* Mr. Robte. Blewett, parson . . .
- Pevensey* Mr. Jo. Acheson, vicar A musquet furnished
- Horsted Keynes* . . Mr. Nicho. Rooth, parson A musquet furnished
- Estdeane, Friston, &* } Mr. Arthur Pollard, vicar A musquet furnished
- Westdeane* } Mr. James King, parson A musquet furnished
- Willington,* . . . } Mr. Maline Marten, vicar . . . }
- Lettington, and* . . } Mr. Samuel Clerck, parson . . . }
- Alciston* } Mr. Nicho. Culpep }
- Berwick and* . . . } Mr. Jo. Jeffery, ij. ptes . . . }
- Chaunton* } Mr. John Wood, the third pte. }
- Hartfield* Mr. John Bowman, parson & vicar A musquet furnished
- Denton & Southdigton* Mr. Jo. Hochekes (dble. beneficed) A musquet furnished
- Witheham* Mr. Jo. Walwyne, parson A corselet furnished
- Willington and* . . } Mr. Edmond Hall, vicar . . . }
- Estborn* } Mr. Richard Vernon, vicar . . . }
- Fraunt and* } Mr. William Dike, vicar . . . }
- Little Horsted* . . } Mr. Jo. Bantry, parson . . . }
- Jebington* Mr. Robte. Wheeler, parson . . . A musquet furnished
- Selmeston* Mr. Henry Rogers, vicar
- Arlington* } Mr. Caleb Burdet, vic. . . . }
- Laughton* } Mr. Willm. Clark, vicar . . . }
- Ripe and Bletchington* Mr. Robte. Goffe (double beneficed) A musquet furnished
- Seaford* Mr. Robert Hide, vicar
- Bedingham* } Mr. Jo. Petter, vicar }
- Tarring Nevell* . . } Mr. Jo. Newton, parson . . . }
- Rotherfield* Mr. Doctor Langworth, parson . A musquet furnished
- Westham & Haylesham* Mr. Miles Hodson (dble. beneficed) A musquet furnished

4. *Sussex Inn Signs: Ball's Hut, &c.*—*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. X. page 192.

I have been favoured with the following communication from W. Holloway, Esq., of Rye:—

“DEAR SIR,

“April 8, 1859.

“In the last volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* I had the pleasure of reading an amusing article, written by you, on Sussex Signs, where, after giving the origin of several, you confessed your inability to account for the name of ‘Ball’s Hut.’ Being acquainted with the locality of the house in question, and having a brother residing in the neighbourhood, which is between Arundel and Chichester, I asked him to make some inquiries, which he did, and the result of them I now send you. Some years ago the locality was an open common, on which was a small hut, occupied by a man whose name was Ball, and who sold beer therein. The common was afterwards inclosed, the old hut pulled down, the present public-house erected, and named, in remembrance of the old one, ‘Ball’s Hut.’

* * * * *

“Out of the turnpike road leading from Rye to Battle is a branch running by Staple Cross in Northiam. Here is a small public-house, called at the present time *The Cross*; but, on perusing one of the original acts relating to this road, I find it was then called the ‘*Red Cross*.’

“I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

“WILLIAM HOLLOWAY.”

The last note is interesting, as the “Red Cross” was doubtless a compliment to the lords of the neighbouring Castle of Bodiam, the coat armorial of the Dalyngruges being—“Or, a *Cross* enrailed *Gules*.”

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

5. *The Names of the Sussex Hundreds.*

Having it in contemplation to prepare an article for a future volume of the *Collections*, on the Hundreds of East Sussex from *Domesday* downwards, I shall be glad of the assistance of gentlemen who have paid attention to the subject in different parts of the county. I am particularly desirous of ascertaining the precise spots from which the Hundreds have received their existing designations.

In many instances the Hundred bears the name of one of the parishes of which it is composed, as in the cases of Barcombe, Poynings, Alciston, Bishopston, Eastbourne, Battel, &c. In other instances the trivial locality or topographical feature which gave name to the Hundred is known, as in the case of Longbridge, Swanborough, Shoyswell, Burleigh-Arches, Baldsloe, and Walesbone—formerly “Well’s-bourne.” The last had its name from the rivulet which, springing from a well at Patcham, traversed the parishes of Preston and Brighton, and passed into the sea through Pool Valley. The hundred of Younsmere is identified by “Younsmere Pit,” near Falmer, where, on the open down, the hundred-courts, within the memory of man, were held.

Of the localities which gave name to Buttinghill, Dean, Holmstrow, Totnore, Fishergate, Shiplake, Rushmonden, Dill, Flexborough, Foxearle, Goldspur, Gostrow, Henhurst, and Hawkesborough, I am at present ignorant, and it is respecting these, in particular, that I desire information. Most probably they will be found identified with extinct manors, or farmhouses, or perhaps with open fields, the meeting-places of the leet or hundred-mote from the days of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. In some cases the name of the "hundred-house" is preserved.

The *Rotuli Hundredorum* of *temp.* Henry III. and Edward I. will furnish some instructive historical materials, and also some curious illustrations of manners and customs in those early times.

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

6. *Monumental Inscriptions in Churches and Churchyards.*

Will our members, and particularly the clergy and their families, kindly copy, on sermon paper, the inscriptions (either with or without any poetical lines), as well in the churches as in the churchyards of our county? The latter are fast going to decay, and may soon be lost, especially where the churchyards are closed against future interments. If these copies are transmitted to me, I will most willingly arrange them for preservation in our library. Many of the inscriptions relate to persons of lowly origin, and yet may be most valuable, since not only are families constantly rising into the rank of gentry, but the great emigration to America and the Australian colonies, which took place in Sussex a quarter of a century ago, has laid the foundation for many inquiries in after years. I may mention that the inscriptions up to 1790 in the following churches, were printed by Sir Egerton Bridges, in his *Topographical Collections*, but none from the churchyards, where many families had their tombs, viz., Friston, East Dean, Jevington, West Dean in Pevensy rape, Folkington, Wilmington, Alciston, Glynde, Laughton, Firle, Berwick, Stanmer, Seaford, Eastbourne, Clapham near Arundel, and Willingdon. I am aware that a proposal has been made by the Society of Antiquaries of London, to make a general collection for the whole of England; but the task is too heavy to be completed for many years; and it seems to me that the great zeal and antiquarian knowledge of our clerical and other members may be able, during the ensuing spring, to make a Sussex collection, and that, following our example, other county societies may be induced to complete their district.

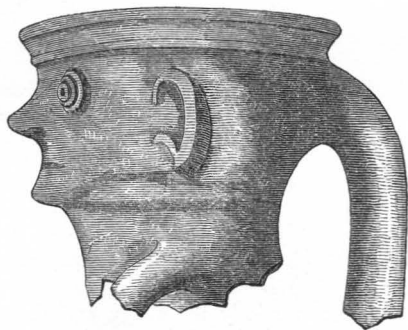
WM. DURRANT COOPER.

81, *Guilford Street, Russell Square, London.*

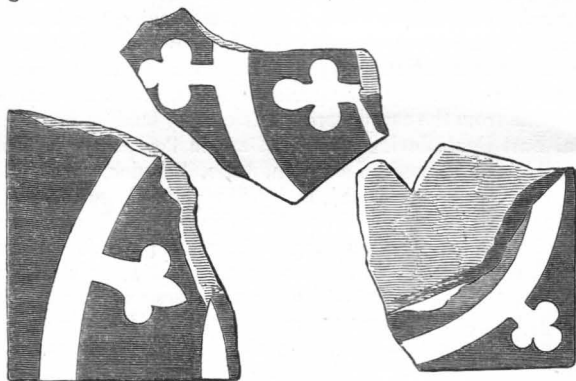
7. *A Medieval Pottery at Hastings.*

Some years since our respected local secretary, Thomas Ross, Esq., called my attention to a large quantity of broken pottery, apparently of early date, which he had observed in a field at Bohemia, near Hastings. Quite recently, Mr. Ross has again examined the spot, and found traces of fictile works of

large extent. The subjoined woodcut shows a portion of a vessel of grotesque form, and apparently the workmanship of the thirteenth century. In rudeness of design it bears some resemblance to Mr. Figg's "Pottery Knight" and the "Seaford Stag," figured in Vol. X. of the *Collections*, p. 194.



The large number of kilns already found by Mr. Ross sufficiently attest the magnitude of the works. The most interesting feature of the remains is a kiln which has been employed for the manufacture of *encaustic tiles*. Many fragments of tiles were found, though none were of sufficient size to develop the pattern. The woodcut below will show the simple and early style to which they belong.



It is interesting to learn that the tiles which remain in many of our Sussex churches were manufactured in the county.

I hope Mr. Ross will be induced to pursue his researches, and to contribute the result to our next volume.

It may be mentioned here, that Mr. Ross has, during the late dry weather, traced the foundations of the extinct town or village of *Northey*, in Pevensy Marsh. Hitherto, the place, once a member of the Cinque Ports, was only to be identified by a fragment of the walls of the Chapel. Excavations here would probably result in discoveries of some interest.

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

INDEX TO VOL. XI.

A.

ABBOTS of Bayham, 125; of St. Rade-
gund, 124.
Adur, ferry over, at Shoreham, 113.
Agate, Henry, fined for attending conven-
ticle, 178.
Akehurst, Mary, token of, 170; notice of,
and of Thomas Akehurst, 178.
Alborne token, 175.
Ale, good at Halland, 199; Tippers, at
Newhaven, 214.
Alford-dean Bridge, Roman station at,
144; coins found at, 145.
Alfriston token, 175.
Alien Priory in Littlehampton, 119.
All Saints' Church (Old) inscriptions, 177;
Puddlewarfe, conventicle at, 178.
Amherst, Mr. Serjeant, 11, 12; General
taking of Montreal, rejoicings at, 206.
Anderida, Roman road from, 128; wood
of, 143, 144; site of, 223.
Angmering token, 175.
Arcoll Nicholas, token, 176.
Ardingly Church, monuments of the Cul-
pepers, 38; token, 175; Rev. Mr. Lyd-
dell, rector, death and character of, 189.
Argyleshire, iron furnaces of Duke of
Argyle and Sir George Hay in, 9.
Arlington, rector, complaints of, 16; to-
ken, 175.
Armada, Spanish, 147, 153.
Armor, furnished by clergy in 1612, 225.
Arms of Chaloner, 12; Wilson, 14, 48;
Pierpoint, 61; in Dewsbury church,
61; of Bouet, 62 n.; Campion, 69;
Champaignes of Leicestershire, 69; of
Maine, 71; in Hurstpierpoint Church,
77; Weekes, 82; Borrer, 82; Grocers,
175, 176; Grove, 176; Cordwainers,
176; Gunter, 177; Dalynggruge, 228.
Arras, siege of, 25.
Arun, Roman ford over, 139; Alfoldean,
bridge over, 144.

Arundel, possessions of Prior and Canons
of Calceto in, 96; St. Mary's Chapel at,
97; Roman road leading towards, 130;
tokens, 175; description of in 1728, 181.
Ashurst, ironworks at, 9.
Assizes at Horsham and East Grinstead,
182; Lewes, 186.
Atherington, an alien priory in Little-
hampton, 119.
Aubigny, Lady, 28.
Auckland, J. T., tokens belonging to, 178.
Austen Church, ordnance at 1587, 151.
Austen, Edward, token, 176.
Avisford, Roman cyst and remains found
at, 130.
Axes, copper found near Billinghamurst, 145.

B.

Balcombe, token, 175.
Balls Hut, meaning of, 228.
Banks, Mr., 25.
Barbers fined for exercising trade on Sun-
days, 216.
Baronetcy, cost of, 32.
Bartholomew, Saint, representation of on
seal of De Calceto Priory, 108.
Battle, token, 175; town in 1756, 193;
Deanery, armour furnished by clergy in
1612, 226.
Baxter, W. E., 220 n.
Bayham Abbey, notices of Plea Rolls of
Edw. II., relating to, 121, 126; abbots
of, 125.
Beachy Head, Downs near, famous for
wheat-ears, 32; fight off, 180.
Beacons, 151, 152, 163.
Beard, Francis, Secretary to Earl of Nor-
wich, 19, 32; notices of the family, 32 n.,
79; Thomas, 38.
Beaulieu, ancient name of Bayham, 121.
Begeham—see Bayham.

- Bell's Yew Green, modern corruption of Beaulieu, 121.
- Berwick, South, value of manor, 1543, 63.
- Bigon Hill, Roman road at, 127; Coldharbour, farm at, 128; section of Roman wall at, 131, 132 n.; Roman villa at, 146.
- Billingshurst, possessions of Prior and Canons of Calceto in, 99; Roman road at, 139; coins found at, 143—145; token, 175.
- Bingham, William and Henry, token, 176.
- Birling Gap, 151.
- Bishopston Hill, ordnance at, 1587, 151.
- Blauw, W. H.—The Defence of Sussex and the Southern Coast of England from Invasion, considered by Queen Elizabeth's Privy Councillors, 1596, 147—170.
- Blagden, John, possessor of Romano-British axes, 145.
- Blatchington Hill, ordnance at, 1587, 151.
- Blatchington, rector of, 41.
- Blencowe, Robert Willis, on Paxhill and its Neighbourhood, and MSS. of the Wilson Family, 1—49; Notices of the Diary of a Sussex Tradesman One Hundred Years ago, 179—220.
- Board Family build Paxhill, 1.
- Bolney token, 175.
- Bonfire at Halland, 200.
- Borough Farm, Roman road at, 143.
- Borrer, Rev. Carey Hampton, 16 n.; family own Pakyns manor, 74; notices of, 80.
- Bouet family, 62 n.
- Bowett, Sir Wm., married Ela Ufford, and possessed half Hurstpierpoint, 63, 88.
- Boyne's, W., list of tokens, 175.
- Bragg, game of, played, 205.
- Brasses at Ardingly Church, 38.
- Briefs for Brighton groins and fortifications, 199; Sittingbourne Church, 214.
- Briggs, Mr., possesses Roman Coins, 145.
- Brighton, notice of its being frequented for sea-bathing in 1759, 46; tokens, 175; brief for repair of groins and fortifications, 199.
- Broad in Hellingly, 196 n.
- Broadhurst, house of Archbishop Leighton, 6; chapel or chantry at, 106 n.
- Broadwater, rector of, 33; token, 175.
- Broomer's Hill, Roman pigs of lead found at, 142.
- Broyle, near Chichester, military station of Romans, 127—129.
- Bruce, Lord, duel with Sir Edward Sackville, 34.
- Buckholt, value of manor, 1544, 63.
- Buckhurst, Lord, has charge of defence of Sussex, 154.
- Budgen's map of Sussex, 1724, 69.
- Bulverhithe, 152.
- Burleigh, Lord, 149, 153, 154, 157; bonmot ascribed to, 221.
- Burn's catalogue of London tokens, 173.
- Burrough, Thomas Lord, on coast defences, 160.
- Burton, Dr., rector of Broadwater, house of, at Eastbourne, 27; notice of, 33; family of, 33 n.
- Burton, West, Roman road near, 131; park, 222.
- Burwash token, 175.
- Burcher, Thomas, owns Pakyns manor, 74.
- Butting Hill hundred, value of, 1544, 63.
- Buxted, 42, place visited, 202.

C.

- Calceto de Priory, notice of, 89, 108; view of remains, 90; seal of, 107; priors of, 108.
- Calverleys of the Broad, in Hellingly, 196.
- Camber Castle in 1587, 152.
- Camp at Cox Heath, 189.
- Campion, William John, owns Danny and other lands, 67, 69; family of, 69.
- Campions in West Grinstead, 69; hall in Essex, 69.
- Candle, sale at auction by, 186.
- Carew, Sir George, on coast defences, 166.
- Cartwright, Rev. Edmund, 127.
- Castlecomers, Dowager Lady, funeral of, 188.
- Castle Mount, at Lewes, 197.
- Chaloner, Thomas, of Lindfield, 12; notices of the family, 12 n.; house, view of, 13.
- Champaigns of Leicestershire, 69; notices of the Maine family, 70.
- Chanctonbury, camp at, 139.
- Chapel Hayes, house of the Chaloners, 12 n.
- Charles I.'s expedition to Scotland, 1630, 24; meditated escape from Carrisbrooke, 28; tokens struck in reign, 173.
- Charles II., present of wheat-ears to, 32; escape in Captain Tattersall's boat, 42; prohibits issue of tokens, 174.
- Chichester, Dr. King, Bishop of, 33; possessions of prior and canons of Calceto in, 99; Roman road from, 127; tokens, 175; description of in 1728, 182.
- Chiltington, houses of the Chaloners in, 12 n.
- Chinting farm, ordnance at, 1587, 151.
- Chisworth, seat of Duke of Norfolk, 32 n.
- Chitenden, William, token, 177.
- Chithurst, possessions of prior and canons of Calceto in, 99.

Cisbury, camp at, 139.
 Clergymen to furnish horseman armed, 1588, 153; armour and furniture provided by in 1612, 225; in Horsham gaol, 194.
 Cliffe, next Lewes, token, 175.
 Clifford's Inn, Chas. Wilson entered at, 15.
 Coates, Mr., Steward of Duke of Newcastle, 198, &c.
 Cocks, main of, fought in 1764, 212.
 Coffe, Mr., of Arundel, chaplain in Holland, 23.
 Coins, Roman, found, 137, 139, 140, 143, 145.
 Colbrond, James, suggests improvement in musters for officers, 169.
 Coldharbour Farm at Bignor Hill, 128; meaning of name, 139.
 Cold Waltham, Roman remains near, 137.
 Columbarium at Paxhill, 5; at Trimmens, 5; Lewes Priory, 5.
 Commandery of Knights' Hospitalers in Poling, 101.
 Compton-Monceux, valuation of lands in 1544, 63.
 Compton Spencer, afterwards Earl of Wilmington, purchases Eastbourne Place, in 1723, 45.
 Conventicle at Lewes, 178.
 Cooding-down beacons, 151.
 Cooke, Mr., Secretary to Mr. Sec. Coventry, 41.
 Cooper, Rev. Geo. Miles, notice of certain Plea Rolls of Edward II., relating to the Abbey of Bayham, 121—126.
 Cooper, William Durrant, notices of last great plague, 178 n.; Sussex, Glossary of, 200 n.; proposal to collect copies of monumental inscriptions, 229.
 Cordwainers, arms of, 176.
 Cornwall, charge for military stores, 1586, 148.
 Corslets furnished by clergy, 1612, 225.
 Courthope, Ann, daughter of George, married to Thomas Wilson, 45; Peter, buys Danny and Hurstpierpoint, 67; family of, 67; Barbara, heiress of, carries estate to Campions, 69.
 Covert family, 32 n.; Sir Walter, 150.
 Cowden, Kent, ironworks at, 9.
 Cowfold Church, burials at, 32.
 Cowper, Lord Chancellor, letter on Sussex ways, 183.
 Cox Heath, camp at, 189.
 Cranbrook, family of Courthope at, 68.
 Crawley token, 175.
 Cresswell, Mr., Cornet in General Ranso's troop, 24.
 Cricket in 1763, 210; 1764, 214.
 Cromwell's lying in state, 30.
 Crouch, Matthew, letter from, 37.

Cuckfield token, 175.
 Cuckmere haven, ordnance at, 1587, 151.
 Culpeper family, notices of, 36, 37.

D.

Dacre, Sir Thomas, of Gillesland, married Elizabeth Ufford, and possessed half Hurstpierpoint, 63; execution of Thos. Fienes, Lord Dacre, 63; descendants sell it to Gorings, 64.
 Dallington Deanery, armour furnished by clergy, 1612, 226.
 Dalyngruge, arms of, as a sign, at Staple Cross, 228.
 Danny, in Hurstpierpoint, survey of, *temp.* Elizabeth, 65; built, 66; sold to Court-hopes, 67.
 Defence of Sussex and Southern Coast from invasion, *temp.* Elizabeth, 1596, 147—170.
 Devon, charge for military stores, 1586, 148; town tokens, 174.
 Dewsbury, Yorkshire, arms in church, 61.
 Diary of a Sussex Tradesman, One Hundred Years Ago, extracts from, 179—220.
 Diet of Gentry and Labourers, *temp.* Elizabeth, 4.
 Dixon, Richard, 127.
 Dodson, Rev. Jeremiah, rector of Hurstpierpoint, 75; purchases great tithes, and annexes them to living, 75 n.; family of, 79.
 Dorset, charge for military stores, 1586, 148; town tokens, 174.
 Dorset, Earl of, 28, 32 n., 33; letter of, 34; duel fought by, and notice of, 34.
 Draper, John, token, 177.
 Dress, extravagance in, 18, 19.
 Drinking bouts in 1756, 196.
 Duel between Sir Edward Sackville and Lord Bruce, 34.
 Dundas, Henry, friend of Pitt, prints reports as to defence of Sussex, &c., *temp.* Elizabeth, 148.
 Dunstall, Thomas, token, 177.
 Durrant, Samuel, token, 176; Martin, 189; Thomas, and family of, East Hothly, 193, &c.
 Durrington, possessions of Prior and Canons of Calceto in, 100.

E.

Eartham, Roman remains at, 130.
 Earthquake in 1749 felt at Croom's Hill, Greenwich, and Tower Hill, 37; in 1756, felt at Waldron and Hellingly, 188.

Eastbourne Place, the house of Dr. Burton, 27; sold to Comptons, 45; manor of, 27; search by Commonwealth dragoons, 28; vicar of, charges against, 30; fox-hunting at, 35; sea-bathing at, 47; earthen bulwark at, 1587, 151; tokens, 175; description of, in 1728, 181.

East Hothly, diary of a tradesman at, 181; Rev. Richard Porter rector of, 187.

East Mascalls, timber house of, 1, 5.

Ecclesiastical history of Hurstpierpoint, 74-Edgehill battle, 25.

Election for Sussex, 1760, 207.

Electioneerer or sidesman chosen, 187.

Elizabeth, Queen, appoints Dr. Wilson as ambassador to the Low Countries, to Mary Queen of Scots, and secretary of state, 7; her councillors consider defence of Sussex and Southern Coast, 1596, 147.

Elizabethan houses in Sussex, 2; general features of, 4.

Ellis, Wm. Smith, on the descent of the manor of Hurstpierpoint, and of its lords, 50-72.

Elton, Yorkshire, old seat of the Wilsons, 7, 46.

Encaustic tiles of thirteenth century made at Hastings, 228.

Erle, T. W., tokens belonging to, 178.

Essex: Burleigh's orders to deputies for defence of, 153.

Essex, Earl of, on coast defences, 154.

Esquire, title of, 11 n.

Eton school in 1634, 38; college, 119.

Ewhurst, value of manor, 1544, 63.

F.

Faggs, of Glynley, in Westham, 215 n.

Fairlight Point, 151.

Fast, General, 195, 219.

Fienes, John, of Claveringham, 74.

Figg, William, description of Roman coins found at Redford, 140 n.; on Sussex tokens in the seventeenth century, 171-178.

Firle, West, 42.

Flesh, licence to eat in Lent, 34.

Fletching, old house of the Wilsons, 7; Searles, their present seat, 8, 9; monument of Leach, 10.

Ford, George, token, 175.

Foster, Richard, 12; Henry, token, 177.

Foubert, Major, riding master to Royal Family, 45; academy in Foubert's Passage, Westminster, 45 n.

Fowle, Anthony, of Wadhurst and Rotherfield, 12.

Fox Hunting at Eastbourne, 35.

Framfield token, 175.

French, reported landing of, 203; cooks and servants of Duke of Newcastle, 203.

Frewen Accepted, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, made Archbishop of York, 33.

Friars, grey, house of, at Lewes, 177.

Frost severe, 1762, 210.

Fry, George, drawing by, 90.

Funerals, 188, 189, 207, 213, 219.

G.

Galloway, Ambrose, token, 175; notice of, 177.

Gardener, Mary, daughter of Thomas, married to John Wilson, 8.

Gatehouse, prisoners at, 1643, 25.

George I. driven into Rye, 181 n.

George II., death of, 206.

Gilles, Samuel, token, 176.

Gilston, manor of, 53.

Glating beacon, a Roman earthwork, 128.

Glossary Sussex, 200 n.

Glyd, Richard, token, 177.

Goodwood, Roman road near, 129.

Gore, Mrs., drawing by, 111.

Goring, Lady, 21; Colonel, 24; family purchase Hurstpierpoint, 64; build Danny, 66; notice of family, 66; sell estate to the Courthopes, 67; family take possession of Priory of Hardham, as heirs to founders, 113; Sir William of Burton, 222.

Graves, Rev. James, Vicar of Eastbourne, charges against, 30; S., of West Firle, 42.

Greenwich, earthquake felt at, 1749, 37.

Grevatt's copse, Roman road near, 133.

Grey Friars, Lewes, inhabited by A. Galloway, 177.

Grinstead, East, token, 175; assizes at, 182.

Grinstead, West, Campions in, 69.

Grocers, arms of, 175, 176.

Groomes, John, token, 177.

Grove, Robert, token, 176.

Gumber country, on ridge of the Downs, 145.

Gunter, John, token, 177.

Gurdon family, notice of, 97 n.

H.

Hackney, school at, 30.

Haddon, Mary, wife of Wm. Wilson, 27.

Hailsham, 7; tokens, 175.

Halland, judges dine at, 186; public days at 191, 203, 207; feast at, 198, 199; rejoicings at, 200-204, 206; French servants at, and Frenchman's room, 203; view of, 220.

Halnaker, Roman road through, 123, 129.

Hamlin, Rev. Mr., of Waldron, good sermon, 189.

- Hampshire, charge for military stores, 1586, 148; money levied for defence, 1588, 153.
- Hamptnet, West, Roman road through, 128.
- Hampton, William, rector of Bletchingly, 16; nephew of Archbishop of Armagh, 16; his descendants, the Weekes and Borrers, 16 n.
- Hannington, C. Smith, 67.
- Hardham, or Heryngham, Priory, view of, 111; notices of, 111; Roman road near, 137; camp and pottery at, 138.
- Hartfield, ironworks at, 9.
- Harvey, William, tokens belonging to, 178.
- Hastings, ordnance at, 1587, 152; description of in 1728, 181; mediæval pottery and tiles made at, 229.
- Hastings deanery, armour furnished by clergy, 1312, 226.
- Hautbois manor, in Hurstpierpoint, 51.
- Hawk's, Admiral, victory, rejoicings for, 204.
- Hawkins, J. H., of Bignor, notices of Roman road by, 131, 136.
- Hay, Sir George, ironworks in Argyleshire, 9.
- Hellingly token, 175.
- Heneage, William, of Benworth, daughter married Nicholas Wilson, 8.
- Henfield token, 175.
- Henty, John, token, 177.
- Hentzner's description of Oxford, 3.
- Hicks, Mary, married to Thomas Turner, 218, 219.
- Hill, John, token, 175.
- Holden, Richard, 74.
- Holland, service of English in army of, 20, 22.
- Holloway, William, on Sussex inn-signs, 228.
- Holme-pierpoint, 53, 87.
- Holmesdale, seat of the Wilsons, view of, 9.
- Holmstreet farm, Roman road and circular building or mausoleum, at, 141; Roman foundations at, 142; and pigs of lead, 143.
- Honeywood, John, possesses Roman tesserae and coins, 145.
- Hopkins, Lieut., of Col. Ingleesby's regiment, 28.
- Hop-picking, purchase of pole-puller's neckcloth, 192.
- Horsham tokens, 175; assizes held at, 181.
- Horsted Keynes, old house at, 6—12; chantry at, 106 n.; token, 175.
- Hospitalers, knights commanders of in polling, 101.
- Hounds, fox, at Eastbourne, 35; kept by canons of Hardham Priory, 112; of Selborne, 113 n.
- Howard, Lady Catherine, 27; Robert, 27; Lord Admiral, 154.
- Hind, Rev. John, of Bucksted and Blatchington, 42.
- Humphreys, Counsellor, of Lewes, 198.
- Hundreds in Sussex, names of, whence derived? 228.
- Hunter, Joseph, V.P.S.A., communication from, 47 n.
- Hurdis, Rev. Thomas, sermon, 203.
- Hurst, Thomas, token, 177.
- Hurstmonceux manor, 51; value of, 1544, 63.
- Hurstpierpoint, rectors of, 16 n., 17; burials at, 32 n.; descent of the manor and its lords, 50—72; Little Park in, 67; ecclesiastical history of, 74; monuments, 76; families, 78; token, 175.
- Hussey, Rev. A., on the site of Anderida, 223.
- Hutchinson, William, of Uckfield, married a Wilson, 45, 47.

I.

- Infanta of Kent, Juliana de Leyburne, 123 (further notice of and inventory in *Arch. Cantiana*, vol. i. p. 1).
- Inner Temple, Francis Wilson at, 18.
- Inscriptions in All Saints' Church (Old), Lewes, 177; proposal to collect copies of all monumental, 229.
- Iron, furnaces of the Wilsons at Ashurst, Cowden, and Hartfield, 9; and speculation of Duke of Argyle and Sir George Hay in Argyleshire, 9; cast-iron ordnance, 149—151.
- Islesham manor in Clymping, 110 n.
- Itchenor, West, Roman port of, 127.

J.

- Jamaica, Thomas Wilson an overseer in, 43.
- James II., 32 n., 37, 41.
- James, Dr. Henry, 40.
- Jeffs, Jo., letter from, 41.
- Jenings, George, token, 176.
- Juxon, Sir William, 67.

K.

- Kent, infanta of, 123; charge for military stores, 1586, 148; momes levied for defence, 1588, 153; town tokens, 174.
- Kenwards, house of the Chaloners, 12.
- Kidder, Jane, fined for conventicle at her house, 178.
- Kildare, Earl of, 19.
- Kimmeridge clay, 137 n.; roundles called coal money, the waste pieces of the lathe, 137 n.

King, Dr., Bishop of Chichester, 33.
Knollys, Sir William, on coast defences,
162.

L.

Langdale, Rev. Edward, 220 n.
Langham, Mr., 198.
Larking, Rev. Lambert, B., communication
from, relating to Bayham Abbey, 122.
Laughton Church, funerals of the Pelhams
at, 188—219.
Lawson, Rev. Mr., Sermon by, 213.
Leach, Richard, property in Sussex, 8—
10.
Lead, Roman pigs of, found at Broomer's
Hill, 142.
Leeds Castle, Kent, house of the Culpepers,
37.
Leighton, Archbishop, house of at Broad-
hurst, and monument to at Horsted
Keynes, 6.
Leveson, Margaret, widow of Sir Richard,
11.
Lewes tokens, 175; Grey Friars at, 177;
inscriptions in All Saints' Church, 177;
Assizes, 186; visitation, 189; Journal,
188, 190; races, 192, 200—203, 210,
216.
Lewes Castle, mound at, 197.
Lewes Deanery, armour furnished by
clergy, 1612, 225.
Leyburne, Sir Henry de, suits with abbots
of Bayham, 122; his niece Juliana, the
infanta of Kent, married to Lord Hast-
ings, 124. (*See also Arch. Cantiana*,
vol. i. p. 1.)
Lightmaker, family of, 6.
Lindfield, timber houses at, 6; Chaloner
family, 12; token, 175.
Lintott, Thomas, token, 176.
Lish, John, token, 176.
Littlehampton, Alien Priory at, 119.
Little Park, in Hurstpierpoint, descent of,
67.
Lower, M. A.—Diary of a Sussex Trades-
man One Hundred Years Ago, 179—
220; Sussex inn-signs, 228; names of
Sussex hundreds, 228; pottery at
Hastings, 229.
Loxwood token, 175.
Lulworth Castle, letter from, 27.
Lyddell, Rev. Mr., of Ardingly, notice and
death of, 189.
Lymminster, Priory of Pynham, or de Cal-
ceto, in, 89; wooden bridge at, 93;
Tottington hamlet, 98; Benedictine
nunnery at, 116, 119.

M.

Mabbot, Mrs., 5 n.
Malling, South, deanery, armour furnished
by clergy, 1612, 227.
Manhood district, 110 n.
Marchant, Thomas, of Alborne, 67; Mas-
ter, 189; family, of Easttholy, 190, &c.
Marriage, proposal for, 17; clandestine,
216.
Marshall, family of, 83.
Martin, Miss, drawing by, 111.
Martin, P. J., F.G.S., recollections of a
part of Stane Street Causeway, in its
passage through West Sussex, 127—
145.
Mary, Queen of Scots, ambassador to, in
Netherlands, 7.
Mary's, St., Chapel, at Arundel, 97 n.
Mascall, family seat of, 5.
Mason, Captain, Lieutenant to Duke of
York, married to Judith Culpeper, 36;
his children, 37, 38; Christopher, let-
ters from, 37, 38.
Matthew, James, token, 176.
Mayfield token, 175.
Mayor's, Lord, show, 30.
Medhurst, John, token, 177.
Medleys, of Buxted, 202 n.
Mereworth, place and church, 212.
Meteor seen, 202.
Michelburne, family of, 6—9.
Middleton, Edmund, token, 176.
Midhurst town token, 174; other tokens,
175.
Military stores, charge for, on Sussex and
Maritime counties, 1586, 148.
Modyford, Sir Thomas, Governor of Ja-
maica, 43; letter of, 44.
Moffat, Dr. Thomas, "Health's improve-
ment" 3.
Monies levied in Sussex, and other coun-
ties, for defence, 1588, 153.
Montreal taken, rejoicings at, 206.
Monuments of Richard Leach at Fletching,
10; Culpepers at Ardingly, 38; at
Hurstpierpoint, 76.
Motto of a Sussex knight, *temp.* Edw. VI.,
221.
Muskets furnished by clergy in 1612,
225.
Musters ordered, 1586, 149; 1587, 150;
total in arms in 1588, 153; in 1599,
169.

N.

Natural, or illegitimate children, common,
213.
Nedham, Mr. Robert, A.M., 40.
Neville, Sir Christopher, 11.

Newcastle, Duke of.—*See* Pelhams.
 Newton, family of, 5; Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of Colonel Newton, 5.
 Newhaven, ordnance at, 1587, 151; fortifications at, 214; brewery of Mr. Tipper, 214.
 Nichols, John Gough, on motto of the Sussex Knight, *temp.* Edw. VI., 221.
 Norfolk, Duke of, conduct at Flodden Field, 16; residence at Chisworth, 32n.
 Norreys, Sir John, 152.
 North, Roger, Lord, on coast defences, 161.
 Northey, in Pevensey, foundations of, 230.
 Norton, family of, 79.
 Norwich, Earl of, 32.
 Nottingham, Earl of, owns Sheffield Place, by marriage with widow of Richard Leach, 10; funeral sermon on, 16.
 Noyes, Thomas Herbert, description of East Mascalls, 5.
 Nunnery at Lyminster, 116.
 Nutbourne, Roman remains found at, 143.

O.

Ockley, Roman road at, 145.
 Ordnance, cast-iron to be furnished, 1586, 149; in Sussex, 1587, 151.
 Otter, Venerable Archdeacon, tokens belonging to, 178.
 Oxford, Hentzner's description of, 3.

P.

Pakyns Manor, in Hurstpierpoint, 51; notice of its descent, 73, 74; family of, 73.
 Palmer, Sir Thomas, 150.
 Pandles (shrimps), supposed derivation of name, 193.
 Patricke, Joseph, token, 177.
 Paxhill House, and its Neighbourhood, notices of, 1—49.
 Peace of 1763, dissatisfaction at, 210.
 Pedigree of Wilson, 48; Warren and Pierpoint, 84; Bowett, 88.
 Pelhams, notices of, 63, 188—192, 199—203, 204, 207—217, 219.
 Pellett, John, token, 175; William resides at Grey Friars, Lewes, 177.
 Penhurst token, 175.
 Petworth tokens, 175.
 Pevensey, Castle in 1587, 152; token, 175; Northey village foundation, 230.
 Pevensey Deanery, armour furnished by clergy, 1612, 227.
 Phillips, Rev. Mr., of Little Horsted, sermon by, 209.
 Pierpoint family, notices of, 51—61; pedigree of, 84.
 Plea Rolls, *temp.* Edward II., relating to Bayham Abbey, 121.

Poling, possessions of Prior and Canons of Calceto in, 101; commandery of Knights Hospitalers in, 101.
 Porter, Rev. Richard, rector of East Hothly, anecdotes of, 187; Mrs., 189.
 Portsmouth in 1596, 156—167.
 Pottery, mediæval manufactory of, at Hastings, 229.
 Preston, possessions of Prior and Canons of Calceto in, 101.
 Priors of Pynham, or de Calceto, 108; Tortington, 111.
 Prisoners at Horsham Gaol, collection for, 194.
 Provisions, price of, in 1756, 189.
 Pulborough Bridge, 139; Roman road near, 139, 140; circular building at, 141; coins found at, 143; tokens, 175.
 Pynham Priory, notice of, 89—108; view of remains, 90; seal of, 107; Priors of, 108.

Q.

Quebec, taking of, thanksgiving for, 204.
 Queen's College, Cambridge, 40.

R.

Races, foot, at Piltown, 192.
 Races, horse, at Lewes, 192, 200, 203, 210, 216.
 Radegund, St., Abbot of, and others, accused of Trespass against Abbot of Bayham, 124.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, on coast defences, 164.
 Ramsden, Ralph, 19.
 Read, Clement, token, 175.
 Reason, rule of, by Dr. Wilson, 8.
 Red Cross Inn, at Staplecross, arms of Dalyngruges, 228.
 Redford, in Storrington, Roman coins found at, in a well, 140.
 Rhetoric, Art of, by Dr. Wilson, 8.
 Riverhall, in Wadhurst, house of the Fowles, 12n.
 Roads, bad in Sussex in 1690, 183; state of, 1756, 191; 1764, 215.
 Robertsbridge token, 175.
 Roman roads and remains found in West Sussex, 127—146; coins, 137, 139, 140, 143, 145; pigs of lead, 142.
 Rood Lane, London, church of St. Margaret patters in, 26.
 Rother, Roman ford over at junction with Arun, 139.
 Rotherfield, house of the Fowles in, 12n.
 Ross, Thomas, on mediæval pottery and tiles made at Hastings, 229.
 Rowland, Arthur, token, 176.
 Russell, Joseph, token, 177.

Rustington, possessions of prior and canons of Calceeto in, 105.

Rye in 1587, 152; town token, 174; other tokens, 175; description of in 1728, 180; George I. visit to, 181 n.

S.

Sackville family, 17, 34, 154.

Salt meat, use of, *temp.* Elizabeth, 4.

Scarlets of Eastbourne, 43; Benj. and Francis, 43—44.

Serae family own Pakyns manor, 14.

Sea beach, form of Roman road at, 129.

Seaford, ordnance at, 1587, 157; token, 175; fortifications in 1760, 209.

Seal of Calceeto priory, 108.

Searles, in Fletching, seat of the Wilsons, 9.

Selborne, hounds kept by canons of, 113 n.

Selden's Titles of Honour, 11 n.

Shaw, Sir John, 67.

Sheepwash, co. Lincoln, seat of Wilsons, 8.

Sheffield park, residence of the Wilsons, 7; house, 10; monument of Richard Leach, 10.

Shelley, William, 178.

Sheriffs of certain counties made separate, 1565, and this leads to building mansions, 1.

Shiffner, Sir Henry, 42.

Shirley, Cicely, daughter of Francis, married John Wilson, 16.

Shoreham token, 175; description of in 1728, 181; possessions of prior and canons of Calceeto in, 102; ferry at, 113.

Signs, Inn, Sussex, 228.

Sittingbourne church, brief for, 214.

Slaugham token, 175.

Slinfold, Roman road at, 145.

Smugglers, brandy taken from, 211.

Smythe, William, of Dringhouses, York, letter on death of his mother, 9.

Snelling's view of the copper coinage, 174.

Soale, Philip, owns Pakyns manor, 74.

Somersetshire town tokens, 174.

Spaniards, opinions of privy councillors for defence against, 154.

Stane Street causeway, in its passage through West Sussex, 127—146.

Stantons in Chilington house of the Chaloners, 12 n.

Steyning, Roman roads towards, 139; tokens, 175; state of, 1756, 193.

Stone, John, token, 176.

Stoney River at Wiggonhall, 139.

Storrington token, 175.

Street, value of manor in, 1544, 63.

Strettington, Roman road at, 129.

Suffolk, H. and C. Brandon, lives of Dukes of, by Dr. Wilson, 8.

Suffolk, Earl of, William Wilson gentleman of horse to, 22, 26, 40.

Surrey, monies levied for defence in, 1588, 153.

Survey of defences on coast, 1587, 150.

Swaine, Ann, of Horsham, and Richard her son, 67.

Swale, Dr., Rector of Hurstpierpoint, 17.

Swedes, service of Francis Wilson in army of, 20—24.

T.

Tarring, west, token, 175.

Tattersall, Captain, of the "Happy Entry" in which Charles II. escaped, 42.

Tea, drinking supposed to corrupt morals, 199; price of, 199.

Thomas, Sir William, letter of, 35.

Threelce family own Pakyns manor, 74.

Tichborne family, 32 n.

Tiles, encaustic pottery for mediæval, at Hastings, 229.

Timber houses, 2—6.

Tipper, Mr., Brewer of Newhaven, 214.

Tockwith, co. York, 8.

Tokens, Sussex, in 17th century, 171—178; plague spots so called, 178.

Tottington, hamlet in Lyminster, 98; priory notice of 108—111.

Travase, meaning of word, 200 n.

Tremble, Anthony, of Hailsham, 7.

Trimmens, seat of the Wyatts, 5.

Trinity College, Cambridge, John Wilson entered at, 15.

Turner, Rev. Edward, notices of the priory of Pynham, or de Calceeto, Tottington, Hardham, and Leyminster, 89

—120.

Turner, Thomas, of East Hothly, Diary of, 179—220; Henry, his grandson, 220 n.

Turnham (Turner's) hill token, 175.

Tusser's 500 points of good husbandry, 2—4.

Tutty, Thomas, token, 176.

Tye, John, 11—12.

U.

Ufford, Sir Edmund, married heiress of Pierpoint, 62.

Usury, work on, by Dr. Wilson, 8.

V.

Veal, Mrs., true relation of her apparition, by De Foe, 209 n.

Vineyard in Warningcamp, 102.

Visitations, episcopal, 106, 189.

Visitations, heralds, of Sussex, 1634, 13.

W.

Wadhurst, house of the Fowles in, 12 n.
 Wakehurst, seat of the Culpepers at, 38.
 Waldron, token, 175; earthquake felt at, 188; good sermon of Rev. Mr. Hamlin, 189; meteor falls at, 202.
 Warningcamp, possessions of Prior and Canons of Calceto in, 102.
 Warren and Pierpoint, pedigree of, 84.
 Watersfield, Roman road at, and coins found at, 137.
 Watlington token, 175.
 Weekes, Arthur, 16 n.; Mrs., 16 n.; Richard, 79; family of, 82.
 Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy, 19, 20.
 West, family of, 17; Rev. Reginald W. Sackville, on armour furnished by clergy in 1612, 225.
 West, Frances, token, 176.
 Westbourne, possessions of Priors and Canons of Calceto in, 103.
 Westergate, Roman remains found at, 130.
 Westham token, 175.
 Wheat-ears, 32; presented to Charles II., 32.
 Whiligh, the Courthopes of, 68 n.
 Whitpayne, family of, 74, 78.
 Wickensands, in Woodmancote, manor of, 73.
 Wickham, family of, 79.
 Wiggonholt Roman road, and coin found at, 139.

Wilkinson, Miss, drawing by, 13.
 Wilks, John, *North Briton*, 211.
 Willoughby, Peregrine Lord, on coast defences, 151.
 Wills of John Wilson, 14; Richard Holden, 74; Mr. Virgoe, 198.
 Wilson family, MSS. of, 1—49; lent by Sir Thomas Maryon, 6; Sir William, 7; notices of the family, 7; Dr. Thomas, of Padua, 7; Nicholas, of Sheepwash, Lincoln, 8; Charles fell at Naseby, 8; John settled in Sussex, 8; his wife, 8; will of, 14; his family, 15; Francis, letters of 18; created baronets, 32; Sir William, 34; second baronet, 39; Rev. Edward, 40; sell property at Eastbourne, 45; pedigree of, 48.
 Winchelsea, ordnance at 1587, 152; description of in 1728, 181.
 Wisborough Green token, 175.
 Witney, Lieutenant, 25.
 Wooden bridge of de Calceto, 93.
 Woolgar, Thomas, notes of inscriptions, 177.
 Wyatt family, seat at Trimmens, 5.

Y.

York, Archbishops, 33.
 York, Duke of (James), present of wheat-ears to, 32 n; letter from, commending his eldest Lieut. Chris. Mason, 37—41.

35/125