

The Sussex gentry and the oath to uphold the acts of the Merciless Parliament

by Nigel Saul

In June 1388 the Appellants, the coalition of magnates who had taken over Richard II's government, ordered the county sheriffs to make the gentry and greater townsmen of their bailiwicks swear on oath to uphold the legislative enactments of the Merciless Parliament, which had just ended. The sheriffs were ordered to return lists of the oath-takers to the council by the following month. Two of these lists survive, one for Lincolnshire, and the other for Sussex. The Sussex list is published here for the first time. The document is important because it provides a snapshot of contemporary local political society. Heading the list are the leaders of county life — the heads of monastic houses and the richer knights. However, a notable feature of the list is the presence of a large number of lesser esquires. The backgrounds and landholdings of these lesser figures are examined in the context of the debate over the extent of participation in late medieval local political life. Suggestions are also made as to how the process of oath-taking might have been organized. The internal arrangement of the return suggests that an oath-taking session was held in each of the rape courts, with the possible exception of Lewes. A high proportion of the deponents came from the western rapes of the county, and in particular from near Arundel. This points to the role of the Earl of Arundel, one of the leading Appellants, in bringing his powerful lordship to bear on the oath-taking process.

The extent of popular participation in local politics in late medieval England has become an issue of lively debate. One view is that, on the whole, such participation was limited. Local government, it is argued, was essentially oligarchical. Dominance was exercised by gentry elites who carved up the main offices and commissions between them. After the Black Death the involvement of those outside the elites was progressively reduced: a £20 income qualification was introduced for the sheriff and escheator in the 1370s and a 40-shilling qualification for the parliamentary electorate in 1429.¹ Thus government became the preserve of the few.² A contrary view is expressed by W. M. Ormrod. According to Ormrod, the lesser gentry — the freeholders or yeomanry — were regularly drawn into the processes of government as jurors and chief pledges; they were active at county level as suitors to the county court, and their political aspirations were expressed in the increasing number of petitions submitted to the crown from Edward I's reign onwards.

In Ormrod's opinion, the late Middle Ages, so far from seeing a shrinkage of the political community, witnessed its expansion and diversification.³

These contrasting arguments are in large measure rooted in the ambiguities and contradictions of the evidence. Different categories of source material point in different directions. On the one hand, the biographical profiles of the local office-holders suggest growing elitism; on the other, the evidence of attendance at sessions of the shire court hints at the possibility of relative openness. No overall picture emerges. Clearly, to attempt a general synthesis of the evidence at this stage would be premature; a good deal more work needs to be done in the field. Significant insights, however, can be gained from looking at some hitherto largely overlooked sources. One such is the list compiled by the sheriff of Sussex of those in the county who took the oath to uphold the acts of the Merciless Parliament. The document is printed here for the first time.⁴

The background to the document is to be found in the political crises of Richard II's middle years.⁵ By the summer of 1386 dissatisfaction with Richard's governance was moving rapidly to a climax. There was widespread alarm at the revival of French military power, while the prominence at court of such favourites as Simon Burley and Robert de Vere was producing dissension among the nobility. In October 1386 popular unease boiled over in the so-called Wonderful Parliament. The chancellor, Michael de la Pole, was dismissed from office and impeached, and a 'continual council' with comprehensive powers over matters of state and the king's household was appointed to hold office for 12 months. Richard responded to these events by withdrawing from London and consolidating his power-base in the north-west. In July and August he obtained a clarification of his powers from the judges. At two formal sessions, held at Shrewsbury and Nottingham, the judges declared that the 'continual council' had infringed his regality and that those who had proposed it ought to be punished 'as traitors'. When news of the judicial opinions leaked out, the king's opponents immediately realized the need to take swift defensive action. The three most senior of them — the king's uncle, the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick — mobilized their retinues and on 13 November formally 'appealed' (i.e. prosecuted) the king's favourites of treason — hence their title the 'Appellants'. On Richard's initiative, Robert de Vere raised a force in Cheshire to disperse them. In December de Vere marched southwards to London, but at Radcot Bridge, on the Thames, he was defeated by Henry, Earl of Derby, Gaunt's son, a new recruit to the Appellant cause. Richard's position was now untenable. At a tearful meeting with the lords he agreed to convene a session of parliament at which the appeal would be heard. The parliamentary session opened on 3 February with most of the appellees absent: Alexander Neville, de Vere and de la Pole had all fled, and Tresilian, the chief justice, was in hiding. When procedural difficulties were overcome, Nicholas Brembre, a former mayor of London, was put on trial and after lengthy hearings a jury from the city said that he was 'more likely to be guilty than not'; and on that flimsy basis he was convicted and executed. Tresilian, by this time, had been dragged out of hiding, and he too was tried and despatched. Next, on 6 March the seven judges who had given their

answers to Richard at Nottingham were condemned and sentenced to banishment in Ireland. Six days later, the final trials took place — those of four of the king's chamber knights, Simon Burley, John Beauchamp, James Berners and John Salisbury. All four were impeached on similar counts to those in the appeal, found guilty and executed. Once the trials were out of the way, the Appellants moved onto the second stage of their programme: the reform of royal government. As a result of the courtiers' conviction, a large amount of land was seized into the king's hands. A statute was passed at the end of the session laying down that this property was either to remain in the king's hands or to be sold off, and in either case the revenues were to be used to pay the king's debts. Members of the royal household and other persons about the king were prohibited from accepting any of the forfeitures as gifts. In the summer and autumn a grand auction was held, and over £10,000 was raised. Some of this sum was used to foot the Appellants' expenses, which had been assessed at £20,000.

In the four months of the Merciless Parliament the Appellants had achieved most of their principal objectives. The king's household had been purged, and the foundations laid for a new order in government. But the Appellants' ascendancy was insecure. Criticism had been voiced of the five peers by some of the nobility during the session, and Richard himself was a reluctant ally. By March the three senior Appellants felt the need to strengthen their position. On 20 March, at the end of the first session, they arranged for oaths of loyalty to be exacted. The members of the two houses were called to affirm their backing for the Appellants, and simultaneously letters were sent to the sheriffs ordering them to exact the same oath from the leading gentry and townsmen of their bailiwicks.⁶ A month-and-a-half later, at the very end of the session, the Appellants took similar measures to entrench their legislative enactments. On 3 June, probably in Westminster Abbey, the lords and commons again took an oath. They swore to uphold the acts and judgements of the parliament, and simultaneously writs were sent to the sheriffs requiring them to exact the same oath in their bailiwicks: on this occasion the clergy were included as well as the laity.⁷ In both March and June the sheriffs were ordered to make a return to the Government, listing those who had taken the oath and those who had refused. Only one return survives

to the March oath, that for Lincolnshire.⁸ The Sussex return is the sole survivor from three months later. It seems likely that the high rate of loss is to be accounted for by the passage of time. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out of deliberate destruction by the king. In the late 1390s, after his reassertion of power, Richard took every step to expunge the memory of his former humiliation.⁹ The returns sent in by the sheriffs could have been among the victims of his obsession.

The task of exacting the oaths was entrusted by the Lords Appellant to a couple of the leading gentry in each shire — one naturally enough the sheriff and the other a knight or esquire who was to assist him. The sheriffs were generally men sympathetic to the Appellants. Most of the sheriffs associated with the court had been dismissed when the continual council took over in November 1386 and those who had survived had been dismissed a year later. In Surrey and Sussex the sheriff since 1386 had been Thomas Jarydn of South Mundham, who was very likely, though not certainly, a dependant of the Earl of Arundel.¹⁰ Most of the knights associated with the sheriffs were also Appellant retainers or supporters; a few, indeed, were knights sitting in the current parliament. In the case of Sussex the knight appointed to help in March was Sir Edward Dallingridge, a close ally of Arundel's who was sitting for the tenth time, while three months later the man involved was his colleague Sir William Waleys, another Arundel dependant.¹¹ It would be wrong to suggest that in every county the role of the Appellants' retainers was as prominent as it was in Sussex. The Earl of Arundel's territorial dominance in the county meant that his supporters were bound to enjoy a high profile. But generally the Appellants appear to have taken few risks. A task which they considered so vital to their enterprise was given to men who fully commanded their trust.

If the returns for Sussex and Lincolnshire are typical, the Appellants had every reason to be pleased with the result. The sheriff of Lincolnshire sent in a list of nearly 400 names — 330 of them country dwellers, and another 66 townsmen. For Sussex, a smaller county, Jarydn and Waleys returned a list of 170 names. The Sussex list, like that for Lincolnshire, is divided into country dwellers and townsmen, but in accordance with the king's writ it is prefaced by a list of clergy. These clergymen number 35 in all. They comprise the heads of the monastic houses, three canons of Chichester, and a

group of country parsons. Unfortunately, since 'surnames' are not given, identification of the parsons is difficult.¹² The laymen are divided into three groups — the knights, the esquires or rural freeholders, and the burgesses. The knights are a small group — just seven men, but all of them substantial figures. The esquires or freeholders are much the largest group in the list, numbering nearly 90; no rank is given after names, nor any place of residence. At the end come the burgesses. The names are given of oath-takers for eight parliamentary boroughs: ten for Chichester, the largest urban centre in the county, six each for Lewes and Horsham, and fewer for the other places.

The sheriff noted on his return that no one had refused to take the oath, and in view of the length of the document it is tempting to take him at his word. However, closer inspection reveals some striking omissions. In the first place, while virtually all the heads of religious houses are represented, only a small proportion of the parochial clergy are. There are a dozen or so parsons from the west of the county, one or two from the middle, and few from the east. How Jarydn and Waleys decided which clergy to call on is unclear. There are signs that they identified those most likely to be sympathetic to the Appellants: this appears to be implied by the preponderance of clergy from the west of Sussex, where the Earl of Arundel was strong;¹³ it is possible that the more non-political clergy were left alone. A second group underrepresented in the return are the local lawyers. The poll tax returns of 1379 and other sources reveal a number of men of law resident in the county. One was John Brook of Rodmell, near Lewes, who was assessed at 6s. 8d. in 1379. Another was Thomas Blast, assessed at the same amount at Crawley, and a third William Holmestede of Cuckfield.¹⁴ Not one of these men makes an appearance in the return. The most likely reason for this is that they were overlooked when the process of oath-taking was organized. The Appellant council allowed the county officials remarkably little time to accomplish their task. The writs were sent out on 4 June and returns were expected by 26 July. The sheriffs had only 4–5 weeks to assemble all the local worthies and administer the oaths to them. The signs are that the oaths were sworn in the local (that is, in Sussex the rape) courts.¹⁵ Interestingly, all three of the lawyers resided in the Rape of Lewes. It is a reasonable surmise that no meetings of Lewes rape court were held in the brief time allowed.

There are half a dozen other obvious names missing from the list of laymen: those of John Salerne, a leading figure in Winchelsea, Sir John de Braose, lord of Wiston, Sir Roger Ashburnham, the builder of Scotney castle, and his brother John, the lord of Ashburnham; Sir Philip Mested and Sir Philip St Clere, two prominent landowners in the east of the county; Thomas Pelham, the coroner, and his son Sir John. It is tempting to speculate on the reasons for these men's omission. John Pelham, a retainer of the Appellant Earl of Derby, may have been in Cambridgeshire consolidating the territorial interests which he had recently acquired by marriage; and his father, by then an old man, may have been inactive.¹⁶ John de Braose, Philip Mested and Philip St Clere were all involved in the Earl of Arundel's expedition against the French at sea, which set sail on 10 June and did not return until 2 September.¹⁷ One or two of the others may have deliberately laid low. John Salerne of Winchelsea, for example, was later to reveal himself a keen supporter of the king: in November 1397, during the 'tyranny', he was Richard's choice to be sheriff of Sussex.¹⁸ Possibly he avoided taking the oath because he disagreed with it. Whether there were others in his position it is impossible to say. Jardyn and Waleys maintained that none in their bailiwick refused the oath. But very likely there were some who made sure never to be asked in the first place.

The chief interest of the list is to be found in what it reveals of the range and composition of Sussex political society. Generally, the historian has to construct a picture of local societies indirectly, by drawing on such material as lists of office-holders, knights of the shire, justices of the peace, and so on: at best a partial and inadequate way of accomplishing the task. What the present list provides is something altogether better: a contemporary's view of his world. Here are recorded the names of the 150-and-more men in the county whom the sheriff — a key figure in the administrative hierarchy — considered significant. Who were these men? And what can be said about them?

All the obvious people are here, of course: the knights, the richer esquires, the heads of religious houses, the leading burgesses. These were the men who were most active in the political life of the shire and who filled the majority of the local offices. But beneath them there are dozens of others who do not normally figure in definitions of the elite. These are the so-called parish gentry, the lesser lords and

gentry of minor significance. Relatively little is known about these people. Few of their archives have survived, and they rarely figure in feudal surveys. Yet an idea, however rough, of their standing needs to be formed if the extent of local political participation is to be assessed. Much useful information about them is to be found in the standard sources for gentry society — the feet of fines, inquisitions *post mortem*, poll tax returns and, among the secondary literature, the *Victoria County History*. For Sussex there is also material of value in the Fitzalan surveys and extensive deed collections. Between them, these sources help to illuminate the fortunes and standing of an often obscure rank of society.

The general impression given by the sources is that most of these men were lesser manorial lords. In economic terms, they ranked above the greater freeholders but below the knights and well-to-do esquires. A few of them held manors (usually single manors) that were coincident with vills — albeit small vills. John Dautre, for example, held the manor of Up Waltham, Henry Whussh that of Keynor, and John Ernle that of Earnley, all in the west of the county.¹⁹ But a far higher proportion held manors that corresponded to only parts of vills. John Lunsford and John Belhurst, for example, held manors in the large parish of Etchingham, John Elkham held a moiety of Chithurst and Henry Gotele a moiety of Goatley near Northiam.²⁰ These small manors or sub-manors had a variety of origins. Some of them were the product of the workings of the land market. The Gotele estate, for example, which had once been coincident with the vill, was reduced before 1360 when Henry's father had disposed of a moiety, presumably by sale, to the Winchelsea burgess Henry Alard.²¹ Other small manors had their origins in divisions between coheireses or sub-tenants. William Merlot's manor of Annington in Botolphs appears to have come into existence by this route. According to Domesday Book, in 1086, there was a single manor in Annington, but in or before 1214 this was divided, and a moiety passed through the Mauleverer family to the Merlots.²² Similarly, the small Mavesyn estate at Catsfield had its origins in a division of the manor among five daughters and coheireses around 1289.²³ Other manors again had their origins as members or outliers of larger manors. John Michelgrove's manor in Clapham can stand as an example. Michelgrove, as it was known, was an outlier of the manor of

Clapham, a few miles to the south, nearer the coast. The name suggests that it began as a clearing in the woods. By the 13th century it had acquired an identity of its own, and in the 14th the family which held it adopted the name as their own.²⁴

The natural assumption is that these lesser gentry — tenants of sub-manors or moieties of manors — were men of fairly humble standing. It is certainly unlikely they could have supported knighthood. In the late Middle Ages distraint for knighthood was fixed at an annual income of £40; the men under review here probably had incomes in the region of £10–£30. Because they could not support knighthood, or even pass as richer esquires, however, they should not be dismissed as of little consequence. Social standing is as much a relative as an absolute concept. If these lesser proprietors appeared humble in relation to the knights — the greater gentry — in relation to the tenantry, their neighbours, they must have appeared altogether grand. In the majority of Sussex villages, as elsewhere in England, there was no resident knight or esquire: only seven knights of the county could be found to take the oath in 1388. The ‘parish gentry’ were thus in a sense vicarious gentry; they took the place of the greater folk. There are indications that, like Chaucer’s Franklin, they took to their role and aped the lifestyle of their superiors.²⁵ Their houses, for example, were often smaller versions of those of the knights. The remains of John Clothale’s house, embedded in the fabric of present-day Clothalls Farm, near West Grinstead, indicate this.²⁶ The medieval dwelling was of a half-H plan, moated, and of timber-frame construction. Inside, as in the houses of the well-to-do, there was a screens passage with a hall on one side and service rooms on the other. The remains of the house of another 1388 oath-taker, James Byne, are also incorporated in a later farm at West Grinstead. Here, at present-day Bines Farm, nothing of pre-15th-century date is visible, but the house appears to have been of similar construction.²⁷ These were substantial properties. They invite comparison with, if they were smaller than, the Etchinghams’ Glottenham and Dixter.²⁸ Yet neither family came close to knightly rank. The Clothales were of obscure origin. Their name points to a possible Hertfordshire origin, but they are recorded in Sussex from 1308. A John de Clothale held a knight’s fee in the village in 1361, and John Clothale, the oath-taker, was probably his son.²⁹ The Bynes’ estate appears to have been smaller than the

Clothales’: in 1361 it was rated at only a quarter of a knight’s fee.³⁰ But the two families were of broadly comparable standing. They had more in common with each other than with the knights above or the rural tenantry below them.

This picture of a group of relatively minor but self-confident proprietors is reinforced by what can be learned of their dealings in the land market. It is fortunate that a small collection of charters survives for one of the families in the list, the Bradebrygs.³¹ The Bradebryg family took their name from present-day Broadbridge Heath, near Horsham. They appear to have been of well-to-do freeholder standing, with lands in the area of Slinfold, Warnham and Horsham. The charters, which begin in the 13th century and go through to the 16th, show them buying and selling parcels of land and arranging settlements within the family. In the middle of the 14th century Roger Bradebryg was particularly active. In 1352 and 1353 he acquired land in Slinfold, and in 1356 in Itchingfield.³² The impression is given by the charters that the Bradebrygs were a family on the make. Through sound management of resources they had money to spare, and like others in their position they invested it in land. By Henry VIII’s time members of the family had sufficiently consolidated their position to rank as ‘gentlemen’ and to seek commemoration in the local church.³³ Broadly the same story can be told of other families represented in the list, albeit more sketchily. A good example is afforded by the Abseles, who were based at present-day Apsley, in Thakeham. Stephen Absele, who took the oath, was a freeholder by background, but he acquired a moiety of Thakeham manor by marriage and was often appointed a tax collector. In the 15th century his descendants acquired lands in other manors, and Apsley itself was regarded as a manor.³⁴ The family were in the ascendant; within a century their menfolk would be dubbed knights.³⁵

The social and economic position of families like the Abseles, Clothales and Bradebrygs is thus fairly clear. But how did they stand in terms of rank? And how were their menfolk styled? This is an issue on which the poll tax returns shed a little light. In the returns to the second, the graduated, poll tax of 1379 the heads of these families were generally assessed at 6s. 8d. This was the rate set for esquires of lesser estate, sergeants and franklins and farmers of manors.³⁶ Unfortunately, the Sussex assessors rarely noted rank against payers’ names; perhaps they

found the whole issue too baffling. But the nomenclature, when it is given, is interesting. John Dautre of Up Waltham, a manorial lord, was described as a 'franklin'. William Burle of Hangleton, probably the father of John Burle in the list, was described as a '*firmaryus*', because he farmed the manorial demesne.³⁷ Others probably came into the same or a similar category. These were men of much the same standing as those who a couple of generations later would be styled 'gentlemen'. However, a sizeable minority of the oath-takers were probably of much humbler station. Simon Horham, for example, was a substantial freeholder and no more in Herstmonceux.³⁸ Several others — notably John Orry, Richard Herewerd, Stephen Botesham, Valentine Bromdene — have left virtually no mark in the documentary record. It is likely that these were people who came well down the ladder of freeholding society. Possibly some of them were magnate hangers-on; possibly, too, a few held lands which were burdened with suit to the county court. At any rate, they took the oath. Whatever their means, or lack of them, Jarydn and Waleys considered them members of the group styled in the writ '*generosi et validi homines*'.

The task of administering the oath to nearly 200 widely scattered people could hardly have been easy. But the mechanics of how it was done are hidden. The sheriff's endorsement to the king's writ is disappointingly uninformative; it simply says that no one refused the oath. A certain amount, however, can be learned from the internal evidence of the return. Within the broadly hierarchical ordering of names are embedded the outlines of an earlier arrangement — suggesting that the return was compiled from drafts. The point can be illustrated by reference to the opening group, the heads of monastic houses. The first four heads — the priors of Lewes and Michelham, and the abbots of Bayham and Robertsbridge — all come from the east of the county; the next three — the priors of Sele and Hardham and the bailiff of Worminghurst — come from the middle; and the last six from the west. In other words, the arrangement, apparently random, is geographically ordered. The point is reinforced by an examination of the largest group, the esquires and freeholders. There is a clear progression from east to west. The first 18 names, those from Batsford to Horham, are of men from the Rape of Hastings. The next seven, those from Musted to Delve, are of men from the Rape of Pevensey. Strangely there is

no group of oath-takers from the Rape of Lewes, perhaps because no oath-taking session was held there.³⁹ The next group, from Bradebryg to approximately Wolf, is of men from the Rape of Bramber. The final group, interestingly the largest at 35 names, is of men from the west of the county, from the rapes of Arundel and Chichester. What the arrangement suggests is that a number of oath-taking sessions were held: at least two in the east of the county, and two or perhaps three in the west. One possibility is that the oaths were sworn at the monthly meetings of the county court: the county court tended to move around between Chichester, Lewes and Horsham because of the awkward shape of Sussex.⁴⁰ However it seems more likely that they were taken at meetings of the rape courts.⁴¹ Indeed, there is a little evidence in the list that suggests this. One of the peculiarities of the list is the absence of any burgesses of towns east of Lewes: no oath-takers appear for Battle, Rye, Hastings or Winchelsea — or not, at least, under those headings; some were sworn in respect of lands held in neighbouring hundreds. This can only be explained in terms of the exemption of those towns from suit to the rape court. Battle was in the liberty of Battle, and the others were in the liberty of the Cinque Ports. The burgesses of those towns would not have been present when the oaths were taken, unless in respect of lands which they held outside the liberties.

The arrangement of the return also sheds light on another issue: namely, how so many people could have been successfully corralled into taking the oath. It is doubtful if the oath-takers were all regular attenders at the rape or county courts. It is not known how vigorous, or how regularly held, the rape courts were in the later 14th century;⁴² at the county court in this period, to judge by evidence from other counties, the normal attendance was a few dozen, although this could rise to over 200 in the event of a contested parliamentary election.⁴³ To produce the number of men who took the Sussex oaths, it would have been necessary to apply pressure. Under the circumstances, that pressure could only have come from the exercise of lordship. Significantly, the leading magnate in the county was one of the three senior Appellants, Richard, Earl of Arundel. Arundel was a powerful figure, active and highly committed to the Appellant cause. The bulk of his estates lay in Surrey, Sussex and the Welsh Marches. In Sussex his power was reinforced by his tenure of two of the county's six rapes, those of Arundel and Lewes. His

retinue and estate staff drew extensively on the county's gentry and sub-gentry. Among the knights, Edward Dallingridge, William Percy, Edward St John and Henry Hussee were his retainers.⁴⁴ Sir William Waleys, who assisted with the oath-taking, was very likely a retainer too, while the sheriff Thomas Jardyn was certainly of his circle.⁴⁵ Arundel's influence is particularly clear in the turn-out of freeholders from the west of the county. Richard Wiltshire was a retainer of his, while John Ernle, William Wyghtryng, Thomas Hunstan, John Gunter, Geoffrey atte Dene, William Inlonde, William Stedham and Richard Tille were all tenants in hundreds that he held.⁴⁶

Powerful backing for the Appellant cause also came from a second magnate with interests in the county, Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. Nottingham was a man of distinguished lineage and his wife was Arundel's daughter. He was a courtier by instinct, but he slowly lost Richard's favour and by December 1387 had joined the Appellants. His territorial interests were widely scattered across the midland and southern counties. He held estates in Bedfordshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. In Sussex his holdings were concentrated in the Rape of Bramber, of which he was lord.⁴⁷ It is surely the power of the Mowbray connection which accounts for the presence of so many oath-takers from the Horsham area. Horsham was a Mowbray demesne manor, and Walter Bradebryg, Stephen and William Absele, Henry Frenssh, Walter Randekyn and Robert atte Lee all came from the town or its vicinity; in addition there were the half-dozen burgesses of the town. One of the oath-takers from the town, John Wantele, was Mowbray's receiver in the rape. Wantele had aspirations to gentility and established himself, perhaps with his employer's assistance, as a landowner at Amberley.⁴⁸ Outside the Horsham area there were other Mowbray dependants. The most conspicuous was the ruffianly John Halsham, scion of a Yorkshire family. In the early 1380s Halsham had been prosecuted for the abduction of Sir Ralph Percy's wife, but with Mowbray's help he had secured a pardon and subsequently settled at West Grinstead.⁴⁹ In 1388 he seems to have been active in getting others to take the oath. John Clothale and James and Roger de Byne were also from the parish of West Grinstead. None of the three was a man of knightly or near-knightly standing, and Halsham probably drew them in on Mowbray's behalf.

With Mowbray and Arundel in the ascendant in

Sussex, it is hardly surprising that their retainees should have been mobilized to support the oath-taking. But there are signs that other lords in the county were active in mobilizing their tenantry too. The most prominent of these was the wealthy knight, Sir William Etchingham of Etchingham. Etchingham, the builder of Etchingham church, was the head of an ancient lineage whose members had once enjoyed individual summonses to parliament.⁵⁰ Although he was never politically active, he enjoyed many connections with the local gentry, and his influence is evident in the clustering of men from his neighbourhood in the list. He himself is grouped with three knightly neighbours, Sir Robert Passhele, Sir Thomas Sackville and Sir William Fiennes.⁵¹ A little lower in the freeholders' list come three of his closest associates — his younger brother Robert and two esquires, William Batsford and Robert Ore. Batsford was known to Etchingham through legal or local government connections, while Robert Ore's family had been connected with the Etchinghams for generations.⁵² After these come a small group of men who lived in the immediate vicinity of Etchingham. John Lunsford and John Belhurst were lords of sub-manors in Etchingham parish; Robert Bokesell senior and junior were members of a family with estates in the near neighbourhood; and four other oath-takers, Richard Hurst, Henry Mavesyn, Vincent Finch and Robert Oxenbridge all lived within a few miles of Etchingham, at Pebsham, Catsfield, Netherfield and Brede respectively.⁵³ A final oath-taker, John Londoneys, was witness in 1398 to a deed alongside Robert Etchingham and someone a little lower in the list, John Helde of Winchelsea.⁵⁴ The impression is given by this turn-out that the Etchinghams headed a fairly close-knit network of families. Doubtless the family's long residence in Sussex contributed to this: they had been seated at Etchingham since the 12th century. But to an extent they were also the beneficiaries of the relative weakness in eastern Sussex of magnate lordship. The Fitzalans were based at Arundel, far to the west, and the Mowbrays did not reside in the county at all. Thus local leadership fell by default to the gentry. A number of active knights in east Sussex established themselves as patronage brokers: Edward Dallingridge did so in the 1380s and John Pelham in the early 1400s. But Dallingridge and Pelham were self-made. William Etchingham was different; he was of good lineage. Local landowners deferred to him regardless of whether or not he

asserted himself. His political record suggests that his exercise of pre-eminence was sparing: and by the 1380s he was anyway elderly.⁵⁵ But it is clear that in the crisis of Richard's middle years his sympathies were with the Appellants. He took the oath himself, and he ensured that his friends and associates did the same.

The Sussex oath-takers list thus reveals a political society that was both broadly based and hierarchically organized. Roughly 170 men were convened to take the oath: some of them ecclesiastical, but most lay. The majority of the laymen were relatively minor figures, lords of single manors or fragments of manors, of squirearchical rank, and probably with incomes in the region of £30 per annum or less. For the most part, they came from below the main office-holding elite, although a number, like Apsele and Stedham, served in such minor capacities as

tax-collectors. Their speedy response to the Appellants' order owed a great deal to the exercise of lordship. Arundel and Nottingham, two of the five Appellants, were major proprietors in Sussex, and the sheriff and his partner were both members of their circle. There is no evidence that there was any open resistance to the oath. In June 1388 support for the Appellants was still running high. William de Etchingham gave his backing to the oath despite having little or no connection with the coalition. Lordship and free expression do not appear to have been in opposition here. The Appellants mobilized popular support because at this time at least they were in tune with popular opinion.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Christopher Whittick for his generous assistance with the preparation of this article.

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APPENDIX
SUSSEX OATH-TAKERS TO UPHOLD
THE ACTS OF THE MERCILESS
PARLIAMENT, JULY 1388
(PRO C 49/Roll 24)

A ROYAL WRIT WITH A MEMBRANE AND A ROLL ATTACHED

1. Writ from the king to William Waleys and the sheriff of Sussex. (330 mm by 69 mm)

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie dilecto et fideli suo Willelmo Waleys ac vicecomiti Sussex salutem. Quia prelati et proceres ac magnates necnon milites comitatum cives civitatum et burgenses burgorum regni nostri Anglie in instanti parlamento nostro presentes quoddam sacramentum coram nobis in eodem parlamento corporaliter prestiterunt et volumus de avisamento consilii nostri in eodem parlamento quod ceteri generosi et validi homines dicti regni nostri tam ecclesiastici quam seculares necnon maiores ballivi et aldermanni civitatum burgorum et villarum dicti comitatus qui in eodem parlamento minime interfuerunt sacramentum consimile faciant indilate vobis mandamus firmiter iungentes quod statim visis presentibus et excusacione quacunque cessante omnique dilacione postposita sacramentum huiusmodi de generosioribus et validioribus

hominibus dicti comitatus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus necnon maioribus ballivis et aldermannis civitatum burgorum et villarum eiusdem comitatus qui in eodem parlamento tempore presentacionis eiusdem sacramenti minime ut premittitur interfuerunt capiatis iuxta tenorem cedule presentibus intercluse eis que ac aliis ligeis et fidelibus nostris dicti comitatus ex parte nostra districtius inhibentes ne aliquibus locucionibus assercionibus dictis seu relacionibus per quoscunque in contrarium premissorum faciendis fidem seu credenciam aliquam adhibeant ullo modo. Nos et consilium nostrum de nominibus omnium et singulorum qui dictum sacramentum coram vobis sic fecerint et eciam illorum qui illud facere recusaverint vel recusaverit si qui fuerint vel fuerit sub sigillis vestris distincte et aperte in Crastino Sancti Jacobi Apostoli⁵⁶ proximo futuro [26 July] certificando. Et hoc sub incumbenti periculo nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium quarto die Junii anno regni nostri undecimo [4 June 1388].

Endorsement to writ:

Nomina generosorum et validiorum hominum tam ecclesiasticorum quam secularium nec non maiorum ballivorum et aldemannorum civitatum burgorum et villarum comitatus Sussex' qui suum sacramentum prout in cedula huic brevi interclusa patet prestiterunt patent in quadam cedula huic

brevi consuta nullos vero ad idem sacramentum faciendos minime recusantes.

Per Willelmum Waleys ac Thomam Jardyne vicecomitem

2. On another membrane are the terms of the oath.
(273 mm by 39 mm)⁵⁷

Vous jurez qe vous ne assenterez ne ne soeffrerez en quante qeu vous est qe ascun juggement <estatut>⁵⁸ ou ordenance fait ou renduz en cest present parlement soit ascunement adnullez reversez ou repellez en ascun temps avenir et enoutre qe vous sustendrez les bones leies et usages du roialme avant ces heures faitz et usez et fermement garderez et ferrez garder la bone paix quiete et tranquillitee en le roialme sanz les destourber en aucune manere a vostre poair si Dieux vous eide et ses seintz.

3. The list of oath-takers.

Nomina ecclesiasticorum hominum comitatus Sussex

Prior de Lewes⁵⁹
 Prior de Michelham⁶⁰
 Abbas de Roberdsbryg⁶¹
 Abbas de Bedehamme⁶²
 Prior de Sele⁶³
 Ballivus de Wormyngherst⁶⁴
 Prior de Heryngehamme⁶⁵
 Prior de Tortynton⁶⁶
 Prior de Calceto⁶⁷
 Ballivus de Atheryngton⁶⁸
 Abbas de Dureford⁶⁹
 Prior de Boxgrave⁷⁰
 Prior de Shulbred⁷¹
 Michael canonicus ecclesie cathedralis Cicestr⁷²
 Willelmus Petteworth canonicus ibidem⁷³
 Johannes Yernemouth canonicus ibidem⁷⁴
 Thomas vicarius ecclesie de Hanefeld⁷⁵
 Robertus persona ecclesie de Slyndefold⁷⁶
 Ricardus vicarius ecclesie de Bryghthelmeston⁷⁷
 Willelmus persona ecclesie de Rutherfeld⁷⁸
 Willelmus vicarius ecclesie de Estborne⁷⁹
 Robertus persona ecclesie de Slyndon⁸⁰
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Echynghamme⁸¹
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Warbylton⁸²
 Thomas persona ecclesie de Jevynton⁸³
 Johannes vicarius ecclesie de Aylesham⁸⁴
 Willelmus persona ecclesie de Selesy⁸⁵
 Robertus persona ecclesie de Almodyton⁸⁶
 Ricardus vicarius ecclesie de Westwyghryng⁸⁷
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Thorney⁸⁸
 Gilbertus persona ecclesie de Upmerdon⁸⁹
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Pulbergh⁹⁰

Willelmus persona ecclesie de Estlovent⁹¹
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Shorham⁹²
 Willelmus persona ecclesie de Cleyton⁹³

Nomina secularium hominum comitatus predicti

Willelmus Percy chivaler⁹⁴
 Willelmus Echyngham chivaler⁹⁵
 Robertus Passhele chivaler⁹⁶
 Thomas Sakevyle chivaler⁹⁷
 Willelmus Fynes chivaler⁹⁸
 Henricus Husee chivaler⁹⁹
 Edwardus Seintjohan chivaler¹⁰⁰
 Willelmus Battesford¹⁰¹
 Robertus Oure¹⁰²
 Robertus Echynghamme¹⁰³
 Ricardus Hurst¹⁰⁴
 Henricus Gotele¹⁰⁵
 Johannes Lonseford¹⁰⁶
 Henricus Mavesyn¹⁰⁷
 Johannes Belhurst¹⁰⁸
 Ricardus Crabb¹⁰⁹
 Vincentus Vynch¹¹⁰
 Robertus Oxenbrugg¹¹¹ (*Oxenbrugg over an erasure*)
 Johannes Londeneys¹¹²
 Laurencius Corbuyl¹¹³
 Robertus Bokesell senior¹¹⁴
 Robertus Bokesell junior
 Robertus Fletchier¹¹⁵
 Johannes Helde¹¹⁶
 Simon Horham¹¹⁷
 Willelmus Musted¹¹⁸
 Rogerus Gosselyn¹¹⁹
 Johannes Cokefeld¹²⁰
 Willelmus Hidenye¹²¹
 Ricardus Argentham¹²²
 Ricardus Halle¹²³
 Johannes Delve¹²⁴
 Walterus Bradebryg¹²⁵
 Thomas Newebryg
 Stephanus Absele¹²⁶
 Jacobus de Byne¹²⁷
 Rogerus de Byne¹²⁸
 Johannes Michelgrove¹²⁹
 Johannes Clothale¹³⁰
 Walterus Merewe¹³¹
 Johannes Burdevyle¹³²
 Johannes Vesque¹³³
 Johannes Geyng
 Willelmus atte Halle¹³⁴
 Walterus Randekyn¹³⁵
 Johannes Orry
 Henricus Frenssh¹³⁶

Johannes Emmory
 Johannes Covert¹³⁷
 Stephanus Botesham
 Johannes Turnour
 Ricardus Herewerd
 Johannes Boure¹³⁸
 Nicholaus Buyl¹³⁹
 Henricus Grove¹⁴⁰
 Johannes Halsham¹⁴¹
 Nicholaus Wilcombe¹⁴²
 Willelmus Merlot¹⁴³
 Willelmus Apsele¹⁴⁴
 Nigellus Wolf¹⁴⁵
 Robertus atte Lee¹⁴⁶
 Ricardus Wiltshire¹⁴⁷
 Johannes Ratford¹⁴⁸
 Johannes Dautre¹⁴⁹
 Ricardus Stroude¹⁵⁰
 Rogerus Brambeshute¹⁵¹
 Johannes Turgys¹⁵²
 Johannes Elkhams¹⁵³
 Willelmus Stedham¹⁵⁴
 Henricus Emmory¹⁵⁵
 Henricus Viteshale
 Johannes Barbour
 Ricardus Tille¹⁵⁶
 Ricardus Taillour¹⁵⁷
 Willelmus Scardevyle¹⁵⁸
 Johannes Gunter¹⁵⁹
 Willelmus Inlond¹⁶⁰
 Galfridus atte Dene¹⁶¹
 Willelmus Wyghtryng¹⁶²
 Johannes Erne¹⁶³
 Henricus Whussh¹⁶⁴
 Johannes Mot¹⁶⁵
 Willelmus Wethersfeld¹⁶⁶
 Johannes Fraunce
 Ricardus Cotes¹⁶⁷
 John Cotes
 Valentin' Bromdene
 Thomas Hunstan¹⁶⁸
 Nicholaus Ropere¹⁶⁹
 Henricus Blundell
 Johannes Burle¹⁷⁰
 Johannes Petifer¹⁷¹
 Johannes Taverner¹⁷²
 Laurencius atte Grove¹⁷³
 Johannes Scardevyle¹⁷⁴

Civitas Cicestr'

Johannes Hebbe maior¹⁷⁵

Willelmus Felix ballivus
 Johannes Loghteburgh¹⁷⁶
 Johannes Scherere¹⁷⁷
 Johannes Daubenev¹⁷⁸
 Johannes Foghell¹⁷⁹
 Johannes Frenssh¹⁸⁰
 Johannes Castell¹⁸¹
 Adam Dighere¹⁸²
 Johannes Lyndesev

Burgus de Arundell

Roulondus Covert maior¹⁸³
 Willelmus Colyn ballivus¹⁸⁴
 Thomas atte Berne
 Ricardus atte Wode

Burgus de Brembre

Rogerus Smyth ballivus¹⁸⁵
 Johannes Warrok senior

Burgus de Stenyng

Willelmus atte Legh ballivus
 Robertus Gold

Burgus de Shorham

Johannes Skelly ballivus¹⁸⁶
 Ricardus Tayllour
 Robertus Frye
 Ricardus Bokynham
 Ricardus Bernard¹⁸⁷

Burgus de Midherst

Willelmus Baggele ballivus¹⁸⁸
 Henricus Extone¹⁸⁹
 Thomas Sarcler junior¹⁹⁰
 Johannes Mary
 Thomas Sarcler senior

Burgus de Lewes

Ricardus atte Gate ballivus¹⁹¹
 Johannes Godeford constabularius¹⁹²
 Walterus Gosselyn¹⁹³
 Johannes Peyntour¹⁹⁴
 Johannes Meryot¹⁹⁵
 Johannes Godeman¹⁹⁶

Burgus de Horsham

Ricardus Coudenne ballivus
 Willelmus Shode ballivus¹⁹⁷
 Johannes Wantele¹⁹⁸
 Henricus Frenssh¹⁹⁹
 Henricus Boteller²⁰⁰
 Rogerus Wyldegoos²⁰¹

NOTES

Abbreviations used include:

BL British Library
 ESRO East Sussex Record Office
 PRO Public Record Office, London
 VCH Victoria County History

- ¹ J. Strachey (ed.), *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (hereafter *Rot. Parl.*) (6 vols, London, 1767–83) **II**, 308; A. Luders *et al.* (eds), *Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols, London, 1810–28) **II**, 243–4.
- ² The view of N. E. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), in particular, 163, and implicitly J. R. Lander, *Government and Community: England 1450–1509* (London, 1980), 46–8.
- ³ W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300–1450* (London, 1995), 40–44, 130–31.
- ⁴ P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice, London), C49/Roll 24. The document is noted by A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), 126 n.5.
- ⁵ The best contemporary accounts of these years are found in L. C. Hector & B. F. Harvey (eds), *The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394* (Oxford, 1982), 66–368; and G. H. Martin (ed.), *Knighton's Chronicle 1337–1396* (Oxford, 1995), 352–526. For discussion, see N. E. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), chs 6–9.
- ⁶ *Rot. Parl.* **III**, 244; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1385–9* (hereafter CCR), 405–6. On 20 March the session was adjourned to 13 April.
- ⁷ *Westminster Chronicle*, 306; PRO, C49/Roll 24. Note that the instructions this time were sent by writ, not by letters close.
- ⁸ *Rot. Parl.* **III**, 400–403.
- ⁹ In the parliament of September 1397 – January 1398 he overturned the judgements of the Merciless Parliament. It would be understandable if he had also destroyed the evidence of approval of that parliament's work.
- ¹⁰ For the details of Jardyn's career, see J. S. Roskell, L. Clark & C. Rawcliffe (eds), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386–1421* (4 vols, Stroud, 1992) **III**, 489. Jardyn was lord of the manors of South Mundham and Bowley, within Arundel's sphere of influence.
- ¹¹ For Dallingridge, see *History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 738–42; S. Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: a franchisal dispute in fourteenth-century Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *Suss. Arch. Coll.*) **121** (1983), 87–94. For Waleys, see *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 748–50. Dallingridge was not appointed in June because he was organizing, and providing shipping for, Arundel's naval expedition, which set sail on 10 June.
- ¹² A further problem is the absence of any Chichester episcopal registers before 1397.
- ¹³ However, only one of the clerical oath-takers was actually presented to his benefice by the earl — Robert, the rector of Almodington. Most of the others were presented by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Chichester or Lewes Priory.
- ¹⁴ PRO, E179/189/41. Brook was described as an attorney in the king's court, and the other two as apprentices.
- ¹⁵ For further discussion, see below, p. 226.
- ¹⁶ For Pelham and his background, see *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 39–44; R. L. Storey, 'Liveries and commissions of the peace', in F. R. H. Du Boulay & C. M. Barron (eds), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), 134–5.
- ¹⁷ PRO, E101/41/5. Mested and St Clere were with Arundel himself, and Braose with Thomas Camoys. For Arundel's expedition, which, for all its ambitious aims, involved little more than plundering around La Rochelle, see *Westminster Chronicle*, 350–52.
- ¹⁸ *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 286–7.
- ¹⁹ See below, nn. 149, 164, 163 respectively.
- ²⁰ See below, nn. 106, 108, 153, 106 respectively.
- ²¹ *Victoria History of the County of Sussex* (hereafter *VCH Sussex*) **IX**, 274.
- ²² *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 196.
- ²³ *VCH Sussex IX, 241.*
- ²⁴ *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 10, 11–12.
- ²⁵ For the Franklin, see N. E. Saul, 'The social status of Chaucer's Franklin: a reconsideration', *Medium Aevum III* (1983), 10–26.
- ²⁶ For Clothale, see below, n. 130; and for Clothalls Farm, *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92.
- ²⁷ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 93.
- ²⁸ For Glottenham, see D. Martin, 'Three moated sites in north-east Sussex, part I: Glottenham', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **127** (1989), 89–122. For Dixter, J. E. Ray, 'Dixter, Northiam: a fifteenth-century timber manor house', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **52** (1909), 132–55.
- ²⁹ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92.
- ³⁰ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 93.
- ³¹ W. H. Turner (ed.), *Catalogue of Charters and Rolls Preserved in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1878), 555, 558, 561–5. For Walter Bradebryg, see below, n. 125.
- ³² *Catalogue of Charters and Rolls Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, 558, 562.
- ³³ For the brass of Richard Bradbryg, who died in 1533, and his wife in Slinfold church, see C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **79** (1938), 125–7. Bradbryg is described as a 'gentleman' — that is, someone below the esquires but above the yeomen.
- ³⁴ See below, n. 126.
- ³⁵ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 35, 39. In the later 15th century Apsleys were sitting in parliament. John Apsley, Stephen's grandson, was MP for Arundel in 1459. John Apsley (d. 1507) was MP for Sussex 1472–5, and for Steyning 1478. Thomas Apsley was MP for Steyning 1491–2 (J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: biographies of Members of the Commons House 1439–1509* (London, 1936), 16–17.
- ³⁶ The schedule is printed in R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, 2nd edn, 1983), 107–11.
- ³⁷ PRO, E179/189/41.
- ³⁸ See below, n. 117.
- ³⁹ See above, p. 223.
- ⁴⁰ R. C. Palmer, *The County Courts of Medieval England 1150–1350* (Princeton, 1982), 12–13. See also J. R. Maddicott, 'The county community in fourteenth-century England', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 5th series **28** (1978), 35.
- ⁴¹ I am grateful to Christopher Whittick for this suggestion.
- ⁴² The rape, or castle, court of Lewes was still active in the 1350s. For a roll of the court for 28 March 1357, see A. J. Taylor, *Records of the Barony and Honour of the Rape of*

- Lewes (Sussex Record Society [hereafter SRS] **XLIV**, 1939), 50–61.
- ⁴³ For the level of attendance at parliamentary elections, see S. J. Payling, 'The widening franchise — Parliamentary elections in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), 175.
- ⁴⁴ For Arundel and his circle, see A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: the Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971), 105–21.
- ⁴⁵ *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 748–50; **III**, 489.
- ⁴⁶ *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1377–83* (hereafter *CFR*), 194; M. Clough (ed.), *Two Estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel* (SRS **67**, 1969), 126, 110, 111, 113, 112, 114.
- ⁴⁷ Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 156–64.
- ⁴⁸ See below, n. 198.
- ⁴⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*) 1381–5, 399, 423–4, 439. And see below, n. 141.
- ⁵⁰ For William Etchingham and his family, see N. E. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life. Knightly Families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford, 1986), 1–7, 63–6, 100–102, 140–60.
- ⁵¹ Passhele held an estate in Ticehurst, now Pashley manor, a couple of miles to the north-west of Etchingham; in 1366 a quitclaim to him was witnessed by William de Etchingham, two Etchingham associates who took the oath, William Batsford and Robert de Ore, and William Waleys' father, Sir John (*CCR 1364–8*, 289). Sackville held the manors of Chalvington and Claverham, east of Lewes, close to the Etchingham manor of Beddingham. Fiennes' principal seat was Herstmonceux, about 11 miles south of Etchingham.
- ⁵² See below nn. 101, 102, 103. For the Ores, see also Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 65.
- ⁵³ *VCH Sussex IX*, 213, 214, 220, 119, 241, 67, 169.
- ⁵⁴ See below, nn. 112, 116.
- ⁵⁵ He was '16 or more' when he succeeded his father in 1349 (*CIPM IX*, no. 601). Thus he was probably between 55 and 60 when he took the oath. He died on 18 January 1389 — 'entour mynoet' (around midnight), as the inscription on his brass puts it (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 155–6, and illustration opposite 164).
- ⁵⁶ The words 'Crastino' and 'Jacobi Apostoli' over an erasure. It is not clear whether the change was made as a result of scribal error or because the return date was changed.
- ⁵⁷ For a version with slightly different orthography, see *Westminster Chronicle*, 306.
- ⁵⁸ 'Estatut' interlineated.
- ⁵⁹ John de Caroloco (Cherlew), prior c. 1366–96 (*VCH Sussex II*, 70). A leading figure in east Sussex society. In 1375 he hunted with the Earl of Oxford and Sir John St Clere at the earl's manor of Laughton (Brit(ish) Lib(rary), Add. Roll 32141). In June or July 1377 he was captured by the French when, during a raid on the south coast, they landed at Rottingdean; Walsingham tells of the prowess of one of his esquires (H. T. Riley (ed.), *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 2 vols, 1863–4) **I**, 342). The Earl of Arundel says in his will of 1392 that he personally discussed his burial place in the priory church with him (N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta* (2 vols, London, 1826) **I**, 129).
- ⁶⁰ John Leem, prior 1376–1415 (*VCH Sussex II*, 79). Another prominent figure in east Sussex society. From 1379 to c. 1382 he was the Duke of Lancaster's receiver in Sussex, and from 1405 to c. 1415 receiver of the Lancastrian lordship of Pevensey (R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 2 vols, 1953) **I**, 379, 617). The great gatehouse of Michelham was built by him and is witness to his ambition. I am grateful to John Farrant for advice on Leem.
- ⁶¹ Probably Giles, predecessor of William Lewes who was elected in 1397 (*VCH Sussex II*, 73).
- ⁶² I.e. Bayham. No abbots are known by name between William, mentioned in 1355, and Robert Frenesbury, mentioned in 1405 (*VCH Sussex II*, 89).
- ⁶³ Stephen de Sauz, prior 1378–1429. Judging by his name, Stephen was of French origin. Sele was a dependency of the abbey of St Florent, Saumur.
- ⁶⁴ Warminghurst was a chapelry of the manor of Steyning, which King Edward the Confessor had given to the abbey of Fécamp. The abbots sent over one of their monks, as proctor or bailiff, to manage the property. This monk was referred to as the bailiff of Warminghurst from the place of his residence (*VCH Sussex II*, 124).
- ⁶⁵ I.e. Hardham, near Pulborough. John Baron was abbot in 1380 (*VCH Sussex II*, 75).
- ⁶⁶ I.e. Tortington, West Sussex. Probably John, who is known to have been abbot in 1380 (*VCH Sussex II*, 83).
- ⁶⁷ Listed as John in 1381 (PRO, E179/11/9). Calceto was the name by which Pynham priory, near Arundel, was generally known in the 14th century. The name was derived from the causeway which the monks built to link the priory to the castle and town (D. N. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), 171; A. Mawer & F. M. Stenton (eds), *The Place-Names of Sussex I* (English Place-Name Soc. **VI**, 1969), 171).
- ⁶⁸ The abbey of Seez in Normandy had estates near Littlehampton which were given to the charge of one of their monks settled at Atherington, where there was a grange with a chapel. This monk was generally called the bailiff of Atherington. One Richard occurs in 1376, and Oliver Miche in 1403 (*VCH Sussex II*, 120).
- ⁶⁹ Probably either John Heuerwyk, who occurs in 1380, or John, who occurs in 1400 (*VCH Sussex II*, 91). Durford is near Rogate, West Sussex.
- ⁷⁰ Probably either John de Londa, mentioned in 1376 and 1383, or Walter Marshal, the predecessor of John Chaworth who was elected in 1398 (*VCH Sussex II*, 59).
- ⁷¹ Probably William Harethorn, prior 1380–1404 (*VCH Sussex II*, 82). Shulbrede is near Linchmere, on the Surrey border.
- ⁷² Probably Michael Causton, prebendary of Wittering. A graduate of Cambridge; chancellor of the University 1363. Rector of Grundisburgh, Suffolk, 1361. Vicar of Aylesham, Norfolk, 1370. Rector of Dereham, Norfolk, on relinquishing Aylesham. Prebendary of Wittering in Chichester 1375, probably till death. Canon of Lincoln and prebendary of South Scarle, notwithstanding Chichester canonry (J. M. Horn (ed.), J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*, VII: *Chichester Diocese* (London, 1964), 48; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963) 128).
- ⁷³ Prebendary of Firle, 1388–1406 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 22). Rector of Elm, Cambridgeshire in 1370, and still in 1376 (Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 452).

- Almost certainly the uncle or other kinsman of Richard Petworth, canon of Chichester, 1415, rector of Findon, 1416, and secretary of Cardinal Beaufort, who died in 1458 (A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (3 vols, Oxford, 1957–9) III, 1471).
- ⁷⁴ Chancellor of the cathedral 1397–8; prebendary of Hampstead 1392–8 (*Fasti. Chichester Diocese* 9, 26).
- ⁷⁵ In 1386 an action of trespass was brought against one Thomas, vicar of Henfield, alleging that he had poached in the bishop of Chichester's warren (Index of Sussex Clergy, Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes, *sub* Henfield). The holder of the advowson of Henfield was the prebendary of Henfield in Chichester Cathedral.
- ⁷⁶ The rector of Slinfold until an exchange in 1389 was one Robert Copyn (G. Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists* (London, 1900), 138). The holder of the advowson was the bishop of Chichester.
- ⁷⁷ No vicars of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was Lewes Priory.
- ⁷⁸ This is probably William Waghm, rector in 1375; in 1389 the rector was Thomas Wysbeche (Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists*, 126). The holder of the advowson was the archbishop of Canterbury.
- ⁷⁹ No vicars of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the treasurer of Chichester Cathedral.
- ⁸⁰ No vicars of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the archbishop of Canterbury.
- ⁸¹ Probably John Bysshop, who was the parson of Etchingham in 1378–9 and 1383 (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Etchingham). The holder of the advowson was the lord of the manor, Sir William Etchingham.
- ⁸² John Mortimer, who had been presented to Warbleton on 21 Nov. 1384 (*CPR* 1381–5, 479, 548). John Brewode was presented, possibly by mistake, on 20 Feb. 1385 (*CPR* 1381–5, 534), and John Mortimer presented again on 18 April 1385 (*CPR* 1381–5, 548). Later in 1385 Brewode was presented to Pulborough (below n. 90). The holder of the advowson was the lord of the manor — in 1388 Katherine de Warbelton, who held the manor in dower.
- ⁸³ Thomas Coupere, who was rector in 1385 and still in 1409. Between 1396 and 1399 Coupere farmed the manor, which was held by the St Cleres (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Jevington). In 1402 and 1409 he was a feoffee of Sir Philip Mested (*Calendar of Early Charters Comprising Part of the Firle Place Muniments* (1892), nos 217, 226; M. Clough (ed.), *Book of Bartholomew Bolney* (SRS LXXIII, 1964), 37).
- ⁸⁴ I.e. Hailsham. He is possibly to be identified with John atte Downe who vacated the benefice by exchange in 1405 (Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists*, 76). The holder of the advowson was Bayham Abbey.
- ⁸⁵ No rectors of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the bishop of Chichester.
- ⁸⁶ I.e. Almodington, West Sussex. No rectors of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the Earl of Arundel.
- ⁸⁷ Probably Richard Hope, vicar in 1382 (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* West Wittering). The holder of the advowson was the prebendary of Wittering in Chichester Cathedral.
- ⁸⁸ John Lydford, who occupied the prebend of Thorney in the cathedral 1374–97 (*Fasti. Chichester Diocese*, 45).
- ⁸⁹ Gilbert Neel, rector until 1398, when he vacated the benefice by exchange (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Up Marden). The holder of the benefice was Lewes Priory.
- ⁹⁰ John Brewode, recorded as rector between 1385 and 1396. In 1389 Brewode was summoned by the prior of Bruton, Somerset, for the arrears of an annual rent of 5s. due from the rector of Pulborough, but Brewode denied his liability to pay (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Pulborough).
- ⁹¹ William Kockyng, previously rector of Beeston, Norfolk, who was collated on 10 Nov. 1383. The holder of the advowson was the archbishop of Canterbury.
- ⁹² Old Shoreham is meant. One John Larke was vicar here 1382–91 (Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists*, 135). The holder of the advowson was Sele Priory.
- ⁹³ Possibly William Reve, who was rector in 1375 (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Clayton). The holder of the advowson was the prior and convent of Lewes.
- ⁹⁴ Lord of Morley, Southwick and Woodmancote, where he resided, in Sussex, Wambrook in Dorset and Weston in Berkshire. Born c. 1337, the son of John Percy of Little Chalfield, Wilts., by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Hartridge of Hartridge, Berkshire, and Woodmancote; married, before 1354, Mary, daughter of William Filliol of Dorset. A leading retainer of Richard, Earl of Arundel, whose service he had entered before 1380. MP for Sussex 1377 (Oct.), 1379, 1380 (Jan.), 1383 (Feb.), 1383 (Oct.), 1384 (Nov.), 1390 (Jan.), 1390 (Nov.), 1391, 1393, 1394, 1397 (Jan.). Collector of taxes 1384. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1377–78, 1381–82. JP in Sussex 1377–82, 1385–97. Died in 1407 and in his will requested burial in Woodmancote church (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons* IV, 52–3).
- ⁹⁵ Lord of Etchingham, his main seat, Salehurst, Mountfield, Udimore, Beddingham, Peakdean, all in Sussex, Brenzett, Lullingstone and other lands in Kent. Married Elizabeth of the Kentish family of Crioll. Commissioner of array in Sussex 1371, and collector of taxes 1377, 1380, 1381, but never sheriff or MP. Undertook the rebuilding of Etchingham church, which was under way by the 1360s; commemorated by a fine brass on the chancel floor of the church. Died 18 January 1389 (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 1–7, 140–56).
- ⁹⁶ Lord of Pashley in Ticehurst, Fairlight and Leigh in Iden, in Sussex, and Evegat, Bilsington and elsewhere in Kent. The son of Robert de Passhele (d. c. 1362) and his wife Joan; married Anne, possibly the daughter of Sir Robert Howard of Norfolk. MP for Kent 1377 (Jan.) and 1379. In March 1381 sent with Sir Peter le Veel to Brittany with company of men-at-arms and archers, but departure delayed by outbreak of the Great Revolt (G. O. Sayles, 'Richard II in 1381 and 1399', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XCIV (1979), 820–22). Surveyor of tax assessments in Kent 1379 (*CFR* 1377–83, 163). Tax collector in Sussex 1392, 1393 (*CFR* 1377–83, 26, 72, 98). JP and commissioner of array in Kent in the 1380s. Dead by 1397 (N. H. MacMichael, 'Descent of the manor of Evegat in Smeeth with some account of its lords', *Archaeologia Cantiana* LXXIV (1960), 12–33).
- ⁹⁷ Lord of Buckhurst, his main seat, Chalvington, Claverham, Bowley and Amberstone, all in Sussex,

Debenham in Suffolk, Bures Mount and Bergholt in Essex, and Emmington in Oxfordshire. The illegitimate son of Sir Andrew Sackville (d. 1369) by Joan Burgess; married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Dallingridge. With Philip Mested, he supported Dallingridge's campaign against the officials of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster in the rape of Pevensey, and probably suffered brief imprisonment with his father-in-law after oyer and terminer proceedings in 1384. His Dallingridge connections may have drawn him into the Earl of Arundel's circle. An assessor of taxes 1379; MP for Sussex 1394, 1395, 1397 (Sept.); and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1406–7. In January 1400 he was interrogated before the council for alleged involvement in the rising of the earls, but discharged on bail. In later life resumed his Arundel connections. Died December 1432, and requested burial in Bayham Abbey, a family foundation (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 272–4).

- ⁹⁸ Lord of Herstmonceux, Sussex, his main seat, Lyneham and Ascot, Oxfordshire, Compton Monceux, Hampshire, Woolley, Berkshire, and Nash Hall, Essex (CPR 1381–5, 189–90). Married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of William Batsford (see below, n. 101) (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 70). Accompanied Richard II on expedition to Ireland in 1394–5. Tax collector 1384. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1398–99 (CFR 1391–9, 195, 278). Died 18 January 1403, and commemorated by a fine brass in Herstmonceux church (C. E. M. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses, III', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **78** (1937), 87–8). His son Roger was the builder of the present Herstmonceux castle.
- ⁹⁹ Lord of Harting, Sussex, his main seat, Sapperton and Rissington, Gloucs., Hascombe, Surrey, and South Moreton, Berks. The son of Sir Henry Hussee (d. 1383) by his second wife Ankarette; married one Margaret, before 1387. Inactive before the late 1380s probably because of his mother's occupancy of a large part of the family estates. Joined the Earl of Arundel's naval expedition in 1387. Very likely active with the Appellants in 1387–8: in 1398 he secured a pardon from the king for his Appellant involvement. MP for Sussex 1401, 1402; JP in Sussex 1401–3. Died 5 May 1409 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 462–4).
- ¹⁰⁰ Lord of Goring; probably the son of Sir Edward St John (d. 1385), a prominent retainer of Edward, the Black Prince, and the Earl of Arundel. Very likely an Arundel dependant himself: in 1387 he fought in the earl's naval expedition (Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 184). Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1388–9, 1394–5. Tax collector in Sussex 1393 (CFR 1391–99, 72, 98, 131).
- ¹⁰¹ Lord of Buckholt in Bexhill, his main seat, and a moiety of Ewhurst. JP in Sussex 1377–1388. Constable of Pevensey castle June 1380 – Dec. 1381. Frequently served as a feoffee and appointed to many local commissions (CPR 1377–88, passim; Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster I*, 380). May have been a lawyer. He was dead by 1402. His coheiresses were his daughters Elizabeth, who married Sir William Fiennes (see above n. 98), and Joan, who married, secondly, Sir William Brenchley, justice in King's Bench (VCH Sussex IX, 118–19).
- ¹⁰² Lord of Ore and Guestling, Sussex. Second son and eventual heir of John de Ore (d. 1361). Member of a family long associated with the Etchinghams; served on

numerous commissions in the 1370s and early 1380s, on some of them alongside Sir William Etchingham; collector of taxes 1377, 1379, 1380, 1383, 1384; MP for Sussex 1376, 1388 (Sept.). The fact that he held Ore of the duke of Gloucester may account for his election on the latter occasion. He died between 1405 and 1409. Very likely the canopied brass of a civilian and wife in Ore church is his (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 876; Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 1, 65; C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **79** (1938), 81–2).

- ¹⁰³ Younger brother of Sir William Etchingham. Married Joan, daughter and heiress of Hamo atte Gate of Great Dixter in Northiam, and probably resided there. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1390–91, and active in other office-holding capacities (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 6).
- ¹⁰⁴ Lord of the manors of Horselunges in Hellingly and Pebsham in Bexhill. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1385–6, 1399–1400. JP in Sussex 1382–9. Twice a tax collector in the county (CPR 1381–5, 249; CFR 1377–83, 225; 1383–91, 69). Married Margaret St Clere, either the sister or the aunt of his associate Sir Philip St Clere of Heighton, for whom he acted as feoffee (W. Budgen, 'The manor of Horselunges', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **LXVI** (1925), 18–33; *Calendar of Early Charters comprising part of the Firle Place Muniments*, no. 212). In 1365 witnessed a charter alongside Sir William Etchingham (CCR 1364–8, 178). Died in 1400.
- ¹⁰⁵ Lord of a moiety of Goatley in Northiam, a sub-manor of Herstmonceux. In or before 1360 the manor had been divided between John de Gotele, probably Henry's father, and Henry Alard (CIPM X, no. 629). In 1412 Henry was also in possession of the manor of Westfield, near Hastings (VCH Sussex IX, 91). Henry is last mentioned in 1416, when he attested a deed (Centre for Kentish Studies, U455/T117/9; I am grateful to Mark Gardiner for this reference).
- ¹⁰⁶ Lord of the manor of Lunsford in Etchingham; married Margaret in 1372 (VCH Sussex IX, 214). In 1412 his lands said to be worth £20 p.a. beyond reprises (*Feud(al) Aids (1284–1431)* (6 vols, London, 1899–1920) VI, 528).
- ¹⁰⁷ Held portion of the manor of Catsfield and presented to Catsfield church in 1397 (VCH Sussex IX, 241).
- ¹⁰⁸ Lord of the Belhurst estate in Etchingham (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (hereafter CIPM) **XVIII**, no. 21).
- ¹⁰⁹ Probably a scribal error for Cralle. Richard Cralle was lord of Cralle in Warbleton and Crowham in Westfield. In 1350 the Cralle estate was assessed at half a knight's fee; in 1412, when Richard held it, it was said to be worth £20 beyond reprises. Richard inherited Crowham through his mother Margaret, daughter and heir of Simon de Peplsham (VCH Sussex IX, 91, 207; *Feud. Aids VI*, 528). A collector of taxes in Sussex 1392, 1398 (CFR 1391–9, 26, 266). See also below n. 110.
- ¹¹⁰ Lord of Icklesham, Netherfield in Battle, and Kitchenour in Beckley. Scion of a distinguished Winchelsea family. Son of Vincent Finch of Winchelsea. He married Isabel, sister and coheir of Richard Cralle of Cralle in Warbleton (above, n. 109). Collector of taxes 1388; MP for Winchelsea 1395, 1397 (Jan.), 1402; mayor of Winchelsea 1398–9, 1405–6; sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1412–3 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 150–51). In 1398 he secured a pardon from Richard II for

- supporting the Appellants (PRO, C67/30 m.2). In 1412 his lands said to be worth £30 p.a. beyond reprises (*Feud. Aids VI*, 527).
- ¹¹¹ Steward of Sir John Pelham of Laughton and Battle abbey (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 46–7); a feoffee of Sir John Dallingridge in 1401 and 1408 (Brit. Lib., Add. Ch. 20049, 20087). He acquired the manor of Ford, *alias* Brede Place, from Sir Alan Buxhill (*VCH Sussex IX*, 169); acquired a messuage in Icklesham in 1377, and lands in Northiam and Beckley in 1404 (L. F. Salzman (ed.), *Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex, from 1 Edward II to 24 Henry VII* (SRS **XXIII**, 1916), nos 2478, 2766).
- ¹¹² Probably a member of the Winchelsea family of Londoneys: one Robert Londoneys was assessed for taxation in 1383 in Gostrow hundred as a baron (i.e. citizen) of the Cinque Ports (PRO, E179/225/12). In 1398 John Londoneys was witness to a deed of Sir Benedict Sely, a scion of another Winchelsea family, along with Robert Etchingham and John Helde (below, n. 116) (*CCR 1396–9*, 311).
- ¹¹³ A baron of Rye. Possibly the son of John Corbuyl (Corboyle) and grandson of a namesake; married before September 1366 Joan, possibly daughter of Walter Salerne of Rye. Collector of poundage in Rye, October 1371; commissioner of arrest in Sussex 1374; MP for Rye, Jan. 1377, 1385, Jan. 1390. Between 1375 and 1383 he acquired lands outside Rye at Udimore and Wivelridge in the hundred of Goldspur, on which as a portsman (citizen) he claimed exemption from taxation (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 659).
- ¹¹⁴ 'Bokesell' must be Bugsell in Etchingham. The de Buxhills were lords of the manor, but the head of the family at this time was Sir Alan; possibly the two Roberts were his kin.
- ¹¹⁵ Witness to a quitclaim of 2 Aug. 1381 for lands in Ewhurst and Brede (Centre for Kentish Studies, U455/T116/5).
- ¹¹⁶ Mayor of Winchelsea 1399–1401, 1404–5; MP for Winchelsea 1397 (Jan.). His service to the town is recalled by a contemporary inscription over the west gate (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 342).
- ¹¹⁷ A resident of present-day Court Horam, in northern Herstmonceux. Horham frequently appears in the Herstmonceux court rolls of the 1380s and 1390s essoining, or being essoined by, such leading free tenants as Thomas Thatcher and John atte Beche. Since at Herstmonceux the essoins were generally the social equals and neighbours of those whom they were excusing, it is likely that Horham was a substantial free tenant himself (East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), ACC 3616, 18 Feb. 1391, 13 Jan. 1392, 3 Feb. 1392). There is evidence that he held a few lands in other manors. In 1373 he made a grant of land in Brightling (ESRO, SAS/RF 1/211). In 1350 someone of this name was a tenant of Socknersh. One Thomas Horham, a tax collector in the county in 1386, was probably a kinsman (*CFR 1383–91*, 156).
- ¹¹⁸ Probably to be identified with William Mested, who witnessed an enfeoffment of Sir Philip Mested in 1391 (*Book of Bartholomew Bolney*, 37). Philip Mested held the manors of Heighton, Charleston, Southall and Manksey. William was probably a kinsman.
- ¹¹⁹ Wool merchant of Lewes. His house was broken into in 1383 and two sacks of lambs' wool carried off (*CPR 1381–5*, 231). Extended his interests into Pevensey rape. In 1364 he acquired lands and rents in West Firlle and Heighton St Clere and lands in Friston, and in 1376 a messuage in Jevington (and was presumably sworn in respect of his tenancy of these lands). With co-feoffees he was involved in the purchase of the manor of Sutton by Seaford in 1388 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, nos 2287, 2289, 2462, 2571). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 147; *1383–91*, 20, 46; *1391–9*, 139). But obtained an exemption from office-holding in 1385 (*CPR 1385–9*, 54). He was a benefactor of Michelham priory 1377 and 1395 (*VCH Sussex II*, 77). See also Walter Gosselyn, below n. 193.
- ¹²⁰ Several men of this name were active in Richard II's reign or just before. One was a controller of the wool custom at Chichester in the 1370s (*CPR 1374–7*, 193; *1377–81*, 7, 11). Another was a yeoman in the king's household from 1360 (*CPR 1377–81*, 225). A third was an east Sussex man who acquired interests in Herstmonceux and Hailsham held for life by William de Megham (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2196). Possibly the second and third are the same. The likeliest candidate for the oath-taker, given his position in the list, is the tenant in Herstmonceux and Hailsham.
- ¹²¹ Probably of Hidenye (Hidney) in Pevensey levels. In 1358 one William de Hideney, either this man or a forebear, was witness to an indenture of Lewes priory (*The Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras, Lewes*, ii (SRS **XL**, 1934), 11). A decade later, the sheriff of Sussex was ordered to distraint one William de Hideney, more likely to be this man, and other jurors, notwithstanding their residence in the honour of the Eagle (PRO, E159/144, Michaelmas recorda, unnumbered membranes). By the late 15th century the family's interests had moved north. In 1483 a John Hidney gentleman disposed of lands in Hartfield (PRO, C146/8983).
- ¹²² A family called Argentham had interests at North Mundham and Boxgrove, near Chichester, but Richard's position in the list, alongside the men of Pevensey rape, suggests that he is to be identified with the Richard who in 1383 disposed of rents in Rodmell to John Brook, and nine years later of rents in Ditchling to Edward Dallingridge (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, nos 2524, 2662). Possibly he was a burgess of Winchelsea, as he does not figure in county affairs. His name, however, does not appear in the tax assessments of barons of the Cinque Ports in PRO, E179.
- ¹²³ Held the Bentley estate in Framfield and lands in Laughton, and probably acquired manor of West Preston. An associate of Sir Roger Ashburnham of Scotney, Kent. In 1371 he took a lease of John Ashburnham's manor of Ashburnham, east Sussex (*CCR 1369–74*, 293, 295–6). In 1395 entered into a recognizance with John Godeman (see below n. 196) and his wife in the sum of £10 (*CCR 1392–6*, 412). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 147, 340; *1383–91*, 20, 46, 116, 268). Died before 1404, leaving a widow Alice (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 270–71).
- ¹²⁴ Feodary in the Sussex lands of the duchy of Lancaster (Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster I*, 380). Probably a resident of Ringmer or Isfield. In 1388 he was a co-feoffee of Richard Proutfot of Isfield for lands and rents in Ringmer, and in 1406 a co-feoffee of Michael Pettere for two acres in the same vill. In 1388 two of the

- witnesses to the enfeoffment were Richard Halle and Robert Oxenbridge, two other oath-takers in 1388 (R. F. Dell (ed.), *The Glynde Place Archives: a Catalogue* (Lewes, 1964), 125–6).
- ¹²⁵ Son and heir of Roger de Bradebrugg of Broadbridge, near Horsham; married Isabella (surname unknown). Member of a family long established in the Horsham area. Held lands, rents or tenements in Horsham, Slinfold and Warnham. Dead by 1408 and succeeded by his son John (*Catalogue of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, 555, 561–5).
- ¹²⁶ In 1379 assessed at 3s. 4d. at Dishenhurst in Itchingfield (PRO, E179/189/42; *The Place-Names of Sussex I*, 176). The Abseses held an estate at Apsley, in Thakeham, immediately to the south of Itchingfield. In or before 1377 Stephen acquired a moiety of the manor of Thakeham by marriage to Margaret, daughter and coheir of Stephen Power (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 35, 39). Stephen was said to be 58 and more in a proof of age in 1399 (*CIPM XVII*, no. 1318). He was frequently a tax collector (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 69, 217; 1391–9, 26). In the 15th century the Apsleys also held land at Stoughton, West Sussex (*VCH Sussex IV*, 123). For a 16th-century genealogy of the family, which significantly begins with Stephen, see W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The Visitations of the County of Sussex* (Harleian Soc. 53, 1905), 85–7.
- ¹²⁷ Held the manor or estate of Byne in West Grinstead; and said to be 54 and more in a proof of age in 1399. A tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1392, 1393, 1398 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 46, 156, 217, 268; 1391–9, 26, 72, 266). In 1389 a recognizer (juror) in an assize of novel disseisin brought by John Wantele (see below, n. 198) (G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V* (Selden Soc. LXXXVIII, 1971), 81). Died in or before 1399 (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92–3; *CIPM XVII*, no. 1318).
- ¹²⁸ Tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1388, 1395, 1398 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 268; 1391–9, 139, 266).
- ¹²⁹ Lord of Michelgrove in Clapham. Assessed at 6s. 8d. at Clapham in the 1379 poll tax (PRO, E179/189/42). He died in 1393 (*VCH Sussex VI*, i, 13). The family also held lands at Broadbridge in Bosham (*VCH Sussex IV*, 185). A tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1384 and 1393 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 69; 1391–9, 72). A John Michelgrove, probably his son, acquired the manor of Earnley near Wittering in 1427 (*VCH Sussex IV*, 202).
- ¹³⁰ Assessed at half a mark at West Grinstead for the 1379 poll tax (PRO, E179/189/39); said to be 56 and more in a proof of age in 1399 (*CIPM XVII*, no. 1318). Held an estate, later treated as a manor, in West Grinstead, and before 1377 acquired a moiety of Thakeham by marriage to Joan, daughter and coheir of Stephen Power (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 35, 92). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 147, 187; 1383–91, 46, 69). For Clothalls Farm in West Grinstead, see *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92; *The Place-Names of Sussex I*, 186).
- ¹³¹ In 1428 a William Merewe held a quarter of a knight's fee in Coombes (*Feud. Aids V*, 160).
- ¹³² Brought an appeal against one Laurence Ashford of Greatham in 1393 but failed to prosecute it (*CCR 1392–6*, 244). He may have resided at Chithurst, where in the 15th century the Burdevilles held property (*VCH Sussex IV*, 5).
- ¹³³ Possibly of Pulborough or thereabouts. In 1447 one Richard Rownore of Pulborough granted a later member of the family, John Veske, lands and rents in Pulborough and Wisborough Green (J. M. L. Booker (ed.), *The Wiston Archives* (Chichester, 1975), no. 2177).
- ¹³⁴ Probably William atte Hulle, tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1385, 1386, 1392 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 116, 156; 1391–9, 26).
- ¹³⁵ In 1369 Walter Randekyn and Amice, his wife, were involved in a settlement of lands at Slinfold (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2366). An earlier member of the family, Ranulph Randekyn of Horsham, had made a grant of a rent at 'Le Halle' in 1335 (*Catalogue of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, 554).
- ¹³⁶ Held half a virgate at Horsham (*CIPM XVIII*, no. 304). A feoffee of Sir Thomas de Braose of Bramber in 1395 (*CIPM XVII*, no. 592).
- ¹³⁷ The Coverts were lords of Ashington from the 13th century. A John Covert of Ashington was pardoned of outlawry in 1393 (*CPR 1391–6*, 395). In 1379 a kinsman, Baldwin Covert, had been assessed for the poll tax at 6s. 8d. at Sullington (PRO, E179/189/42). A century later the Coverts were more generally resident at their manor of Slaugham; for their brasses in Slaugham church, see C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 79 (1938), 120–25.
- ¹³⁸ Searcher in all the ports of Sussex 1385, and said to be 'of Wittering' (*CPR 1381–5*, 494). In November 1382 he and his wife Alice endowed a chantry in Pagham church; he was then said to be 'of Pagham' (*CPR 1381–5*, 211; *VCH Sussex IV*, 229–30).
- ¹³⁹ Acquired a messuage in East Grinstead in 1389 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2595).
- ¹⁴⁰ A juror at the court of Duddleswell in Maresfield in 1379 (W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Court of Chichester* (SRS 46, 1942–3), no. 884); and a feoffee of Walter Hoke in a settlement of the manor of Exceat before 1408 (*CIPM XIX*, no. 459). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 340; 1383–91, 46, 156; 1391–9, 26, 73, 98, 139, 266).
- ¹⁴¹ Lord of Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts., Brabourne, Kent, Applesham, Nutham and West Grinstead, his main seat, Sussex (*CIPM XX*, 345–8). Junior member of an east Yorkshire family. Robert Halsham, perhaps his father, had both Arundel and Mowbray connections and may have held land in Sussex (*CPR 1354–8*, 387; 1364–7, 198; 1367–70, 473); in the 1350s he was a JP, and in 1372 a knight of the shire for the county. In or before 1383 at Seamer, Yorks., John seduced and abducted the wealthy heiress Philippa, daughter of David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol, and wife of Sir Ralph Percy; subsequently the two married (*CCR 1381–5*, 452, 459, 571; 1381–5, 423; C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 78 (1937), 72–5). Halsham secured pardons for his offence at the initiative of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, lord of Bramber rape: an indication of his affiliations (*CPR 1381–5*, 399, 439). In 1387–88 he may have been active with Nottingham and the Appellants: in February 1398 he secured a pardon from Richard for his Appellant involvement (PRO, C67/30 m.3). In 1412 his lands in the county were said to be worth £33 p.a. beyond reprises (*Feud. Aids VI*, 525).
- ¹⁴² Lord of a moiety of East Chiltington; through his mother

- Alice, sister and heiress of William Bonet, he inherited Wappingthorn, which became his main seat, 'Woghwode' and Tortington, all in West Sussex. JP in Sussex 1375–80; MP for Sussex 1377 (Oct.), 1388 (Sept.); sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1372–3. A retainer of the earls of Arundel and close associate of Sir William Percy (above, n. 94). Died between 1392 and 1399 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 859–60).
- ¹⁴³ Possibly William Merlot the younger, who was assessed at 6s. 8d. at Broadwater in 1379 (PRO, E179/189/42). Another William Merlot, described as senior (perhaps his father), was assessed at 6s. 8d. at Annington, in Botolphs (PRO, E179/189/42); for the family estate at Annington, later known as Marlotts, see *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 196. In 1375 the elder William acquired Muntham, in Itchingfield, from his son's father-in-law John de Muntham (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 10). This William had been active in local government since the 1360s (*CPR 1364–7*, 202; *1367–70*, 191, 194, 200; *1377–81*, 581; *1381–5*, 78). He probably had Arundel connections, as he often appears with the earl: *CPR 1364–7*, 202; *1367–70*, 191; *1377–81*, 581; *CCR 1369–74*, 406–7. In 1383 he obtained an exemption from office-holding on grounds of old age: *CPR 1381–5*, 268. (The statement in *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 196 that he died c. 1378 is in error.) The younger William was active simultaneously with the father. He was attorney of the prior of Arundel (*CPR 1361–4*, 407), of the abbot of Seez (*CPR 1364–7*, 114; *1367–70*, 145); and of the abbot of Fécamp (*ibid.*, 189, 389; *1367–70*, 312). He was a mainpernor in 1379 (*CPR 1377–83*, 76, 161), and king's feodary in the counties of Sussex, Bedford and Bucks. the same year (*CPR 1377–81*, 357). His frequent appointment as an attorney suggests legal experience. William the elder had a bastard son, another William, by Emma atte Hurst (*CCR 1381–5*, 458).
- ¹⁴⁴ Possibly the son of Stephen Absele (above, n. 126). William presented to Thakeham church in 1407 (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 45).
- ¹⁴⁵ Lord of the small manor of Wolves in Ashington (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 66).
- ¹⁴⁶ Acquired 4 messuages, 87 acres of land and £2 of rents in Fittleworth, Billingshurst and Petworth in 1377 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2456).
- ¹⁴⁷ A free tenant of Lyminster, near Arundel (*Two Estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel*, 126). Appears to have had Arundel connections: he was a mainpernor for the earl in 1380 (*CFR 1377–83*, 194). Tax collector in Sussex 1384, 1385 (*CFR 1383–91*, 69, 116).
- ¹⁴⁸ A juror in a plea in King's Bench in 1402 between the bishop of Chichester and the prior of Hardham (*Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 894).
- ¹⁴⁹ Lord of Up Waltham. Assessed at 3s. 4d. in 1379, and described in the return as a 'franklin' (E179/189/40). Tax collector in Sussex 1380, 1393 (*CFR 1377–83*, 187; *1391–9*, 73, 98). Died in 1398, leaving a widow Alice (*VCH Sussex IV*, 174).
- ¹⁵⁰ Possibly a member of the de la Strode family of Strood in Slinfold. For 13th-century charters of the family, see *Catalogue of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, 560.
- ¹⁵¹ A William Bramshott, presumably Roger's son, was said to have lands worth £30 p.a. beyond reprises in 1412 (*Feud. Aids VI*, 523). William was listed as a tenant at Rustington and Lordington in 1428 (*Feud. Aids V*, 155).
- ¹⁵² A William Turgeys was listed at Up Waltham in 1379 and assessed at 6d. (E179/189/40).
- ¹⁵³ Assessed at 6s. 8d. at Chithurst and described as a 'franklin' (E179/189/40); a tax collector in Sussex 1380 (*CFR 1377–83*, 187).
- ¹⁵⁴ Suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 111). Tax collector in Sussex 1380, 1384 (*CFR 1377–83*, 147; *1383–91*, 69).
- ¹⁵⁵ Witness to a quitclaim relating to lands in Harting in 1396 (*CCR 1396–9*, 64).
- ¹⁵⁶ Suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 114).
- ¹⁵⁷ A Richard Taillour was assessed at 6d. at Southborough in 1379, but it is not clear whether he is to be identified with this man (E179/189/41).
- ¹⁵⁸ A tenant of lands (unspecified) in East Lavant (Brit. Lib. Add. Ch. 8994, a late-14th-century valor). A tax collector in Sussex 1380, 1386, 1388 (*CFR 1377–83*, 187; *1383–91*, 156, 268).
- ¹⁵⁹ A suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113). Possibly a woolman or shipman. In 1387 someone of this name laid claim, allegedly without foundation, to the wool cargo of a Hanse vessel shipwrecked off Winchelsea (*CPR 1385–9*, 392–3).
- ¹⁶⁰ A suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113).
- ¹⁶¹ Two men of this name were suitors to the court of Easebourne hundred, one resident at 'Pernestede' and one at Easebourne (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113).
- ¹⁶² Listed as a homager in Chichester in 1356 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2169). Also listed in a Fitzalan survey as a suitor to the court of Stockbridge hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113). Tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1388 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 217).
- ¹⁶³ Lord of an estate in Earnley (*Feud. Aids V*, 155). In 1370 John, son of John Ernie and Agnes, his wife, made a settlement of their lands in West Burton, Billingshurst and Hurstpierpoint (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2387). The same two made another settlement in 1380 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2494). In 1368 at Kennington he witnessed a grant to the Earl of Arundel (*CCR 1364–8*, 466). By 1412 John had been succeeded by his heir William (*Feud. Aids VI*, 522).
- ¹⁶⁴ Lord of Keynor in Sidlesham. Henry, son of Henry Whussh (or Whyssh) and Alice, his wife, made a settlement of the manor of 'Kynore' in 1356 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, 2172). Another Henry held the manor in 1428 (*Feud. Aids V*, 155). In 1385 one Henry Wyssh of Sidlesham, presumably the oath-taker, granted 2 acres of meadow in Camberwell, Surrey, which he had inherited from his father to Thomas Fyssh of Southwark (*Calendar of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office VI* (London, 1915), no. 5267). In 1368, alongside John Ernele, he witnessed a grant to the Earl of Arundel (*CCR 1364–8*, 466).
- ¹⁶⁵ Lord of the manor of Burton (*CIPM XVIII*, no. 224).
- ¹⁶⁶ Appointed controller of the customs in Chichester in 1385 provided that he continually reside there (*CPR 1381–5*, 547). He does not appear in the 1379 poll tax returns for the city (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁶⁷ Unidentified, but the name suggests a family connection with Coates, near Petworth.
- ¹⁶⁸ Lord of Hunston, near Chichester. Probably to be identified with the Thomas who was alive in 1365. A later Thomas held the manor in 1428 (*VCH Sussex IV*, 157).

- ¹⁶⁹ Probably to be identified with Nicholas Roper of Surrey, a mainpernor in 1411 (*CCR 1409–13*, 231).
- ¹⁷⁰ In 1379 a William Burle, possibly this man's father, was assessed at 2s. at Hangleton and described as farmer ('firmarius') of the manor (PRO, E179/189/41).
- ¹⁷¹ A Richard Petefyne, probably a kinsman, was assessed at 4d. at Hangleton in 1379 (PRO, E179/189/41).
- ¹⁷² Collector of a parliamentary subsidy, November 1382 (*CFR 1377–83*, 340). In 1412 he held lands or rents worth £25 p.a. beyond reprises in Kingsham, Grove, Chichester, Belsham and elsewhere (*Feud. Aids VI*, 522–3). His name suggests that he was a Chichester burgess by origin.
- ¹⁷³ Appointed pesager of wools in Chichester and adjacent ports, 1401 (*CCR 1399–1401*, 511).
- ¹⁷⁴ Assessed at 2s. in Chichester in 1379 (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁵ Mayor of Chichester 1378–9, 1383–5, 1396. Died 1406 (*VCH Sussex III*, 91; *History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 339). In the poll tax of 1379 assessed at 12s. and listed with wife Margaret, three servants and a serving-maid ('ancilla') (E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁶ Involved in a settlement of a messuage in St Pancras parish, Chichester (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2496). Involved in another settlement, this time of lands in North Mundham, but described as of Chichester (*ibid.*, no. 2642). Collector of the 1379 poll tax in Chichester (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁷ Assessed at 2s. in the 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Agnes and one servant (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁸ Collector of the 1379 poll tax in Chichester (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁹ Assessed at 6s. in the 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Edith and 5 servants (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁸⁰ Acquired a shop with a cellar in Chichester in 1403 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2749).
- ¹⁸¹ Assessed at 12s. in 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Matilda and one servant (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁸² Assessed at 12s. in the 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Joan and 4 servants (*ibid.*).
- ¹⁸³ Presumably a kinsman of John Covert of Ashington (*see above*, n. 137).
- ¹⁸⁴ A resident of Arundel by 1361. Constable of Arundel 1387–8. MP for Arundel 1382 (May), 1386 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 641).
- ¹⁸⁵ According to a rental of Battle Abbey lands in Bramber, c. 1430, a William Smyth held a hall, buttery and stable in Bramber and had the duty of lodging the abbot if he came to the town (PRO, E315/56, fo. 279v; I am grateful to Mark Gardiner for the reference). Presumably this William was an heir of Roger Smyth.
- ¹⁸⁶ Possibly John Skully, shipman of Shoreham, and MP for the town 1382 (Oct.), 1388 (Sept.), 1391, 1393, 1407. A tenant of the earl of Arundel at Knulle in Worthing (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 391).
- ¹⁸⁷ MP for New Shoreham 1377 (Oct.), 1381, 1382 (May), 1384 (Nov.), 1386, 1388 (Feb.), 1388 (Sept.), 1390 (Jan.), 1393, 1395. Shipowner engaged in the wool trade. Involved in privateering in the 1360s, and in the early 1390s a member of a smuggling ring. Died after 1403 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 204–5).
- ¹⁸⁸ MP for Midhurst 1384 (April), 1388 (Sept.), 1397 (Sept.). A ringleader of the men of Midhurst in their struggle for greater independence against the manorial lord, Sir John Bohun. He was killed at 'Wepnull' in Midhurst in December 1401 while leading an insurrection against Sir John (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 96).
- ¹⁸⁹ MP for Midhurst 1358, 1371, 1378, 1386. Member of a family with a tradition of parliamentary service for the town. Born c.1323, but date of death unknown (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 46–7).
- ¹⁹⁰ The Sarcellers were prominent in Midhurst in this period. One of the two Thomases was MP for the town in 1382 (Oct.) and 1397 (Sept.). John Sarceller represented the town in 1388 (Sept.). The family owned a burgage in North Street, which in 1422 was said to have belonged to Thomas Sarceller 'the younger' (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 305).
- ¹⁹¹ MP for Lewes 1388 (Sept.). Assessed at 20d. for the poll tax of 1379 and described in the return as a cloth merchant ('merc' pannorum') (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 163).
- ¹⁹² G' over an erasure.
- ¹⁹³ A weigher of wool at Lewes or Chichester intermittently 1378–97, and probably a wool merchant. Paid 12d. in Lewes in the 1379 poll tax; frequently attested deeds in the town (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 214). *See also* Roger Gosselyn, above n. 119.
- ¹⁹⁴ Assessed at 2s. in the 1379 poll tax and described as 'constabularius' (PRO, E179/189/41).
- ¹⁹⁵ MP for Lewes 1395, 1397 (Sept.), 1399, 1401, 1402, 1413 (May). An adherent of the Appellants in 1388, and pardoned for his involvement a decade later. Last recorded in 1424 serving as a juror in Lewes (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 698–9).
- ¹⁹⁶ In 1395 Richard Halle (*see above* n. 123) entered into a recognisance with him (*CCR 1392–6*, 412). In 1410 involved with others in a suit against one Thomas Larke (*CCR 1409–13*, 113).
- ¹⁹⁷ MP for Horsham 1385, 1393, 1399; a recognitor at the assizes at East Grinstead in 1392 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 572).
- ¹⁹⁸ Receiver of the honour of Bramber in 1381 (*Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 881); in that capacity an associate of Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, later duke of Norfolk, one of the junior Appellants of 1387. In 1398 he secured a pardon from the king in 1398 for supporting the Appellants, probably because of his association with Mowbray (PRO, C67/30 m.17). Held property in Horsham. In 1389 brought an assize against John White and others for disseising him of lands in the town, but lost the action because allegedly he influenced the jurors (*Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II*, 80–82). In 1403 did homage to the bishop of Chichester for lands in Amberley (*Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 864). Listed in a Fitzalan survey as a tenant at Sullington (*Two Estate Surveys*, 134; *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 22). In 1412 said to have lands worth £7 p.a. beyond reprises in Sussex (*Feud. Aids VI*, 524). Died in 1424 and commemorated by a brass in Amberley church (described and illustrated by C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'A list of monumental brasses in Sussex, part I', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 76 (1935), 49–50). An associate of William Merlot the elder (above, n. 143), for whom he witnessed a charter (*CCR 1377–81*, 459).
- ¹⁹⁹ A Robert Frenssh acquired 2 messuages in Horsham and Warnham in 1365 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2306).
- ²⁰⁰ MP for Horsham 1386, 1390 (Jan.), 1391, 1395, 1397

(Sept.). In 1398 was granted a pardon for supporting the Appellants, but almost certainly by the closing years of the reign a supporter of the king. In January 1400 he was interrogated before the council, along with Sir Thomas Sackville (above, n. 97) for alleged involvement in the rising of the earls, but quickly discharged on bail. A close associate of Sir William Burcester, a Kentish knight

(*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 303–4).
²⁰¹ MP for Horsham 1378, 1381, 1383 (Feb.), 1388 (Feb.), 1397 (Jan.). In 1398 was granted a pardon for adhering to the former Appellants. Tax collector in Sussex, May 1398. Frequent witness to deeds at Horsham. Last mentioned March 1412 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 924).
