

SUSSEX

Archaeological Collections,

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. XXVII.

SUSSEX:

GEORGE P. BACON,

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Annual Report	vii
Financial Statement	ix
Corresponding Societies	ii
List of Members	xi
Rules of the Society	xvii
Errata	
1. Suggestions for the Collecting and Printing of Records relating to the History of the County. By the EDITOR.	1
2. Findon (continued from Vol. XXVI.). By the EDITOR.	3
3. List of Knights' Fees in the time of Hen. II. Communicated by HUGH PENFOLD, Esq.	27
4. Sheriffs of Sussex. Communicated by HUGH PENFOLD, Esq.	34
5. Stopham. By the Rev. C. J. ROBINSON. From materials contributed by Sir WALTER B. BARTELOT, Bart., M.P.	37
6. New Shoreham. By BURTON GREEN.	69
7. Sussex Heronries. By Rev. F. H. ARNOLD, LL.B.	110
8. The late William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., and the late Mark Antony Lower, F.S.A. By HENRY CAMPKIN, F.S.A.	117
9. Remarks on the Probable Site of the British City and Roman Station of Anderida. By THOMAS ELLIOTT.	152
10. Remarks on the Ancient Course of the River Rother. By THOMAS ELLIOTT.	166
11. Discovery of Flint Implements near Horsham, in St. Leonard's Forest. By THOS. HONYWOOD, Esq.	177
12. The Journall of Master Nathaniel Courthop, with Notes by the late M. A. LOWER, F.S.A.	184
13. Catalogue of the Library of the S. A. S.	212

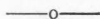
NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. Tortington Priory.	227
2. Discovery at Seddlescomb of Sussex Pennies of Edward the Confessor.	227
3. Phœnician Relics.	228
4. On the De Echyngghams.	229
5. Queen Elizabeth Sponsor to Lord Percy.	229
6. The Falls of Schaffhausen.	230

DIRECTIONS TO BINDER FOR ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Muntham	to face 3
Stopham House, E. front	" 37
Stopham Manor House	" 59
Stopham Bridge	" 60
Stopham Church	" <i>ib.</i>
Stopham Church Window	" 62
New Shoreham Church	" 75
Hospital Seal at New Shoreham	" 78
Borough Seal of New Shoreham	" 82
Plan of New Shoreham Harbour, &c.	" 98
Heronry (and Rookery) at Windmill Hill Place	" 110
Portrait of the late M. A. Lower	" 117
Flint Implements	" 177
Bronze Celts	" 183
Bay Window, Goddard's Green	on 184

R E P O R T .



In presenting their Report for the years 1875 and 1876, the Committee have the satisfaction of reminding the Members that the Society has passed another period of uninterrupted success since the last Report was issued in July, 1875.

The Annual Meeting for 1875 was held at Lewes, and the interest of the day's proceedings was enhanced by a loan exhibition at the County Hall, which displayed a variety of contributions from Noblemen and Gentlemen connected with the town and neighbourhood, and, combined with the local archæological features, afforded much pleasure to a numerous gathering of Members and their friends.

The dinner took place at the Priory ruins, in a tent, the chair being kindly taken by The Rt. Hon. John George Dodson, M.P.

The Autumn Meeting was held at Cuckfield, an excursion being made to Pickwell's and Bolney, the excursionists being entertained in the wood at Pickwell's by Capt. C. Borrer; luncheon being hospitably provided at Bolney Vicarage, by the Rev. H. Wyatt. At Cuckfield the Church was visited, and Cuckfield Place, by the kindness of W. Sergison, Esq., and Ockenden House, by the kindness of Sir Walter Burrell, Bart., M.P., were thrown open to all visitors; the day's proceedings closing with a dinner at the Talbot Hotel.

The Annual Meeting for 1876 had been appointed to take place at Wiston Park, by the invitation of the Rev. John Goring, when the sad death of Mrs. Trower, the wife of the Right Rev. Bishop Trower, and the sister of Mr. Goring, suddenly put a stop to the arrangements the Committee were making, and made it necessary to find another place of meeting; and owing to the kindness of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, they were able to hold the meeting at Arundel, the whole of the Castle being thrown open, by the liberality of His Grace, to Members and their friends, luncheon being provided in the Baron's Hall. A large party availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of visiting the Castle, with its valuable collection of paintings, and its noble library.

The dinner took place in a tent in the Home Park, when the chair was kindly taken by the Hon. Richard Denman, of Westergate House, and a numerous party assembled.

The Committee have to call attention to the less favourable nature of the financial statement, which is due to the large number of subscriptions in arrear, and Members are earnestly requested to lose no time in paying the sums due from them to the Treasurer, G. Molineux, Esq., or to the Clerk, Mr. M. Rudwick.

William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., and Mark Antony Lower, F.S.A., have both died since the last Report was issued, and the Committee take the opportunity of

offering an affectionate and grateful tribute (in addition to the fuller one which will appear in a subsequent part of this Volume¹) to the memory of two men greatly distinguished in the field of Archæology, and who, by their knowledge of Genealogy, Heraldry and Palæography, and the willing exercise of their talents in behalf of the Society, so largely enriched the volumes of its Collections, and so much promoted its success generally.

The Committee much regret that continued ill-health has deprived the Society of the valuable services of the Rev. William de St. Croix, who so well discharged the duties of Editor and Secretary, and deem themselves fortunate in having secured the services of Charles Francis Trower, Esq., for the Editorial work.

It will be seen that the present Volume does not quite equal many former ones in size. This is partly to be explained by the opinion of the Committee that the volumes were getting rather too lengthy, and that *some* abbreviation should be made; partly by the circumstance that a rather scanty supply of promises of papers was put into the possession of the present Editor, when he undertook the office, owing to the regretted illness of his predecessor; and partly by the Editor having been unexpectedly disappointed, by the illness of contributors, of some promises he had counted upon. It is to be hoped, however, that the Society will not find reason to complain of the more modest size of the present volume.

It may be added that hopes have been expressed in some quarters that a reprint should be made of some of the earlier volumes, especially Vols. 1 and 2, which are rare and expensive to procure, and for which enquiries are often made.

Members desirous of having copies of either Vol. 1 or 2 are requested to send their names to the Editor, as upon a sufficient number of applications being received, the Vols. could be reprinted.

WM. POWELL, Hon. Sec.

Lewes, Jan. 1st, 1877.

¹ See p. 117.

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				Rent	31	13	4
				Taxes, &c.	9	16	0
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JANUARY, 1877.

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Rules of the Society.

1. That the Society shall avoid all topics of religious and political controversy, and shall remain independent, though willing to co-operate with similar Societies by friendly communication.
2. That the Society shall consist of Members and Honorary Members.
3. That Candidates for admission be proposed and seconded by two Members of the Society, and elected at any Meeting of the Committee, or at a General Meeting. One black ball in five to exclude.
4. That the Annual subscription of Ten Shillings shall become due on the 1st day of January, or £5 be paid in lieu thereof, as a composition for life. Subscriptions to be paid at the Lewes Old Bank, or by Post-office order, to GEORGE MOLINEUX, Esq., Treasurer, Lewes Old Bank, or to any of the Local Secretaries,

N.B.—No Member whose Subscription is in arrear, is entitled to receive the annual volume of Collections, until such subscription has been paid.

5. That every new Member, upon election, be required to pay, in addition to such Subscription or Life Composition, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings.

6. That the Committee have power to admit, without ballot, on the nomination of two members, any Lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member.

7. That the general affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee, to consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretaries, the Editor of the "Collections," who (in accordance with the vote of the general annual meeting, held 17th August, 1865) shall receive such remuneration as the Committee may deem fit; Local Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Honorary Curator and Librarian, and not less than twelve other Members, who shall be chosen at the General Meeting in March; three Members of such Committee to form a Quorum.

N.B.—The Committee meet at Lewes Castle, on the Thursdays preceding the usual Quarter Days, at 12 o'clock.

8. That the management of the financial department of the Society's affairs be placed in the hands of a Sub-Committee, specially appointed for that purpose by the General Committee.

9. That the Finance Committee be empowered to remove from the list of the Society the name of any Member whose Subscription shall be more than three years in arrear, and who shall neglect to pay on application: and that this Committee shall at each quarterly meeting of the General Committee submit a report of the liabilities of the Society, when cheques, signed by three of the Members present, shall be drawn on the Treasurer for the same.

10. That the accounts of the Society be submitted annually to the examination of two auditors, who shall be elected by the Committee from the general body of the Members of the Society.

11. That at all Meetings of the Society, or of the Committee, the resolutions of the majority present shall be binding.

12. That two General Meetings of the Society be held in the year:—the one on the Second Thursday in August, at some place rendered interesting by its Antiquities or Historical Associations, and the other on the Thursday preceding Lady Day, at the Barbican, Lewes Castle, at 12.30; at which latter Meeting such alterations shall be made in the Rules as a majority of those present may determine, on notice thereof having been submitted in writing to the December Quarterly Meeting of the Committee.

13. That a Special General Meeting may be summoned by the Honorary Secretaries on the requisition in writing of five Members, or of the President or two Vice-Presidents, specifying the subject to be brought forward for consideration at such Meeting; and that subject only to be then considered.

14. That the Committee have power to appoint as an Honorary Member any person (including foreigners) likely to promote the interests of the Society; such Honorary Member not to pay any Subscription, nor to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

15. That the General Meeting in March be empowered to appoint any Member *Local Secretary* for the town or district where he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects of local interest; and that such Local Secretaries be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee.

16. That Meetings for the purpose of reading Papers, and the exhibition of Antiquities, be held at such times and places as the Committee may determine, and that notice be given by circular.

17. That the Honorary Secretaries shall keep a record of the Proceedings of the Society; such minutes to be read and confirmed at each successive Quarterly Meeting of the Committee, and signed by the Chairman then sitting.

ERRATA.

- Page 24, line 22, for "Serjeant," *read* "Mr."
Page 33, line 18, for "auxilis," *read* "auxilio."
Page 36, line 13, for "Stangreve" *read* "Stangrave."
Page 48, line 2, from end, for "Ashly," *read* "Ashby."
Page 60, line 19, *dele* "as."
Page 81, line 7, for "Thomas Howard, Duke of Sussex," *read*
"William Lord Howard, his son," (Pat. S. Jas. I. part vii.)
Page 112, note 3, for "poric," *read* "porc."

Sussex Archaeological Collections.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE COLLECTING AND PRINTING OF RECORDS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY.

BY THE EDITOR.

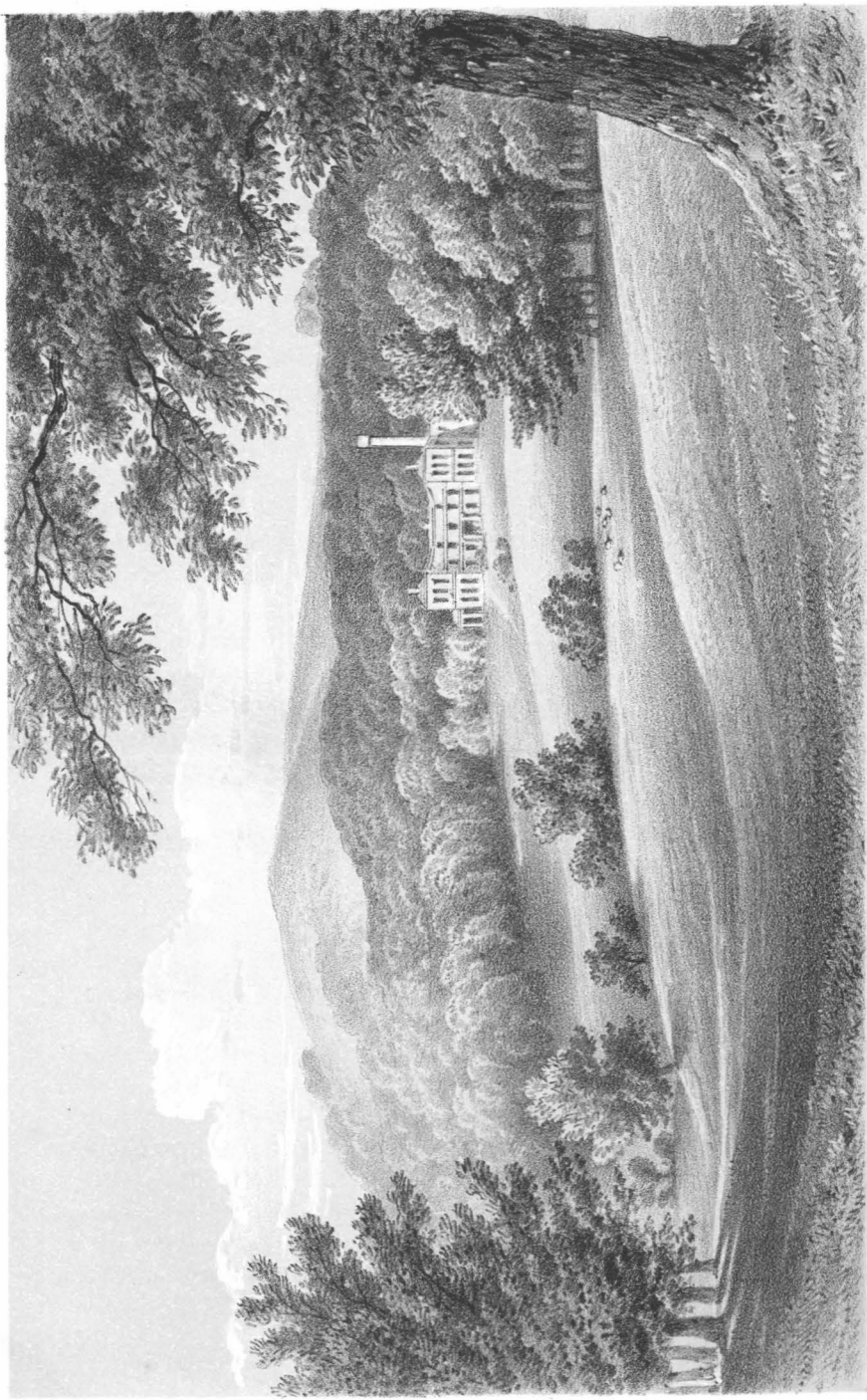
It has been suggested by some of our Members, who take an interest in such matters, that our "Collections" should be placed on an improved footing—that, in fact, instead of filling our annual volume with essays, more or less valuable, we should commence collecting and printing all the records that exist relating to the County, and that, till this has been done, we cannot expect a complete and accurate history of a single parish or family. To carry out this work satisfactorily, and in such manner that the materials may be most conveniently handled by the future historian would, of course, require some methodical plan, and the printing would fill a considerable amount of space—three-fourths, at least, of each of our present volumes would be required. The proposition is, that confining ourselves, say at first, to the period anterior to the death of Edward I., we should take in order the Charters both original and copies (including those entered on the Charter Rolls and existing in monastic chartularies), the Pipe Rolls, Lists of Knights' fees, Patent and Close Rolls, Oblate and Fine Rolls, Placita and Assize Rolls,

Pedes Finium, Inquisitiones post-mortem, Hundred Rolls, Placita de quo Warranto, Forest Rolls, Originalia, &c., and also the Episcopal Registers, if any exist, for this early period, printing everything we find (with the exception, perhaps, of the Pipe Rolls of the reign of Henry III. and since; of which, being lengthy, copious extracts will be probably thought sufficient), and observing all the contractions in as close facsimile to the originals as type will allow; each class of records to have its own separate paging and index.

The objections to this that may occur to the minds of some of our subscribers would probably be—firstly the expense, and secondly the dry and uninteresting nature of so much detail. With regard to the first it is estimated that an outlay of from £150 or £200 a year would pay for the cost of transcripts, and it is suggested that the Society might bear the expense of printing them, in lieu of a corresponding amount of the present matter. Is it too much to expect that thirty or forty Sussex men should be found willing to lay down £5 a piece a year, or double that number half that sum, in order to execute so perfect a work; and that a subscription list might be opened for that purpose, with every chance of success; subscribers to be entitled to one or two copies for every sovereign subscribed?

As to the other objection, it seems answered by the observation that our present essays are not, as a general rule, of a very high order of merit; and next, that whatever we might lose in colloquial or anecdotal interest, or *readableness*, would be amply repaid by the more exhaustive, scientific, and classified knowledge which we should then possess, of that which we must all agree is the chief object of our Association—a perfect History of our County. “Eyton’s Shropshire” has been not inaptly recommended to us as a model to work by.

Any subscriber who approves of these suggestions is requested to communicate with either of the Honorary Secretaries or with the Editor.



W.L. Walton lith.

Hambart imp.

MUNTHAM.
VIEW EAST OF THE MANOR HOUSE OF MATHIAS

FINDON.

BY THE EDITOR.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI.)

I proceed to redeem a promise, given in our last volume,¹ to finish Findon, though I rather fear my readers would have been better pleased with its breach than its observance; for a second glass of sherry seldom seems so well flavoured, or, another, cup of tea so refreshing, as the first. Still, a promise is a promise.

Before going further I must, however, correct the error in the pedigree² of the owners of Findon Place manor, of having placed the death of William Margesson in 1779 instead of in 1848, an anachronism patent, indeed, on the surface (and probably a typical one only), as it makes his son to be born twelve years after his death; still, it is one for which I am responsible, and for which I offer an apology to the family in connection with whom it occurs. The name also of Mrs. Lyall, who kindly contributed the beautiful drawing for our lithograph of Findon Church, should not have been omitted.

I spoke³ of Findon Park as an interesting appurtenance to Findon Place manor: and such I now hope to make it out to have been. Let us, therefore, follow out this branch of our subject, before proceeding to Muntham and Cissbury. And this leads us to ask ourselves, "What is a Park?" And I hope I shall not offend the susceptibilities of those who honour any country seat to which there is a paddock and a lodge with the title of park, and who would perhaps be affronted if that dignity were not bestowed on their own home—if I tell them that not one place in a thousand has any real claim to the appellation.

¹ Page 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

A park (*parcus*) had, and has, a well defined legal meaning; and there were four indispensable requisites to its existence. 1. An inclosure. 2. Vert. 3. Venison. 4. A Royal licence (or prescription that pre-supposed one) to impark (*licentia imparcandi*). The inclosure may have been either by pale, or wall, or hedge—and the *haice* of Domesday, which were really a species of park, must have had all three, and probably a ditch, dyke, or moat (*fossatum*) as well. I do not find the beasts of park mentioned by name, as the beasts of forest are, and which all the old writers on that “princely diversion” of the chase agree were—the hart (“the most stateliest that doth go upon the earth,” and that “which doth carry majesty in his countenance and gait”), the hind, the buck, the boar, and the wolf—but, as a Park is said to differ from a Chase *only* in its being enclosed, the beasts of park may be safely asserted to have been the same as those of Chase, and these were the buck, the doe, the roe, the martern, and fox. Of these the three former alone constituted “Venison,” and therefore I presume a park may have existed without containing the two latter. How they found their way into the protection of a park at all, it seems difficult to say, except that, being pursued in hunting, they may have been admitted to the privilege accorded more properly to those which united to this the property of “being good for food.” For although venison (*venatio*) etymologically comprises both classes, the better opinion is that it was applied only to animals which were edible, or, to use a homelier phrase, to “shooting for the pot;” and this, indeed, is the test of modern sport. The capture of a conger eel or a badger would seldom satisfy or gratify; but if it is a clean run salmon, which lays its spangled sides before us on the bank, or a “right and left” are well knocked over out of the whirring covey, we feel at once we have had “good sport.”

As the stag or hart represents the red-deer, so do the buck and the doe the fallow-deer, species. The roe is the smallest of the deer tribe. The martern, or martin, of which there never was great store in the forests south

of the Trent, was yet plentiful in Westmoreland in Martindale. Each species had terms of art applicable to itself. Thus, a buck was called the first year a fawn, the second a pricket, the third a sorel, the fourth a sore, the fifth a buck of the first head, the sixth a buck, or great buck. So, also, a doe was the first year a fawn, the second year a pricket's sister, the third a doe. A roe was the first year a kid, in the second a gyrle, in the third a hemuse, in the fourth a roebuck of the first head, the fifth a fair roebuck. A martern in the first year was a martern cub, and in the second year a martern. So, foresters and good woodmen, did say a brace or a leash of bucks or foxes, a bevy of roes, a *Richesse* of marterns.

And then as to Vert. As the green herb is "for the service of man," so is it required for the food, and to form the covert, for the lower animals. And there were nice distinctions here too. There was, or ought to be, the over-vert and the nether-vert, neither of which did, and the special vert which did, bear fruit of itself "to feed the deer withal." To the over-vert, or *haut boys* belonged all the great trees of the wood, including the ash and the holly; and to the nether-vert, or southboys, all underwood, bushes, thorns, gorse, and (according to some) fern, bracken, and heather; whilst special vert included pear-trees, crab-trees, hawthorns, blackbush, and such like.

Manwood, in his quaint style, gives three reasons why forest laws preserved the vert. 1. The very nature of the beasts is to resort to the woods; 2. because it bears fruit which is good for deer in winter; 3. *propter decorem* (for the comeliness and beauty of the same), for the very sight and beholding of the green and gracious woods and forest are not less pleasant and delightful, in the eye of a prince, than the view of the wild beasts of forest and chase; and therefore the grace of a forest is to be decked and trimmed up with a store of glorious green coverts as if it were green arbours of pleasance for a king to delight himself in, because that in the forests there are the secret pleasures and princely delights of kings, for kings and princes do resort unto the forests for their

pleasures of hunting, having for that time laid aside all cares, to the end that they might there be refreshed with some quiet, being wearied with the continual business of the Court⁴.

There is certainly truth in this, and before we are too hard upon the Plantagenet kings for the undoubted grievances of many of their forest laws, we should do well to place ourselves in their position, and consider how implanted in the breast of man is the love of wild sport. Does not every one, who has earned his autumn holiday after a busy session or season, feel this in our own day in a smaller way, and plunge into the same sort of distraction? Is he really less vindictive, in spirit at least, towards the poacher, who has ginned his hares, or even to an unfortunate gleaner who has unintentionally "put up" the "marked down" covey? We certainly have not, since the murderous days of sheep-stealing law, seen a brother's life taken for that of a brute; but have not many of us seen an ill-behaved pointer left for dead in a ditch for "running into" his game? Indeed, there is probably nothing which tries good temper more, and in which self-command is more beautiful and rare, than (take it throughout) a day's shooting.

And again, as there was a difference between a Forest and a Chase, so our ancestors saw, and graphically describe,⁵ a corresponding one between the character and habits of the beasts of the one and of the other. For the former do make their abode all the day time in the great coverts and secret places in the woods, and in the night season they do repair into the lawnes, meadows, pastures, and pleasure feedings for their food and relief, and therefore they are called *Silvestres*; according as the prophet David saith:⁶—

Thou makest darkness that it may be night, wherein all the *beasts of the forest* do move. The lions roaring after their prey do seek their meat from God. The sun ariseth, and they get them away together, and lay them down in their dens.

⁴ Laws of the Forest, p. 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Ps. 104, v. 20—22.

But the beasts of Chase, they do make their abode all the day time in the fields, and upon the hills or high mountains, where they may see round about them afar off, who doth stir, or come near them; and in the night season, when everybody is at rest and all is quiet, then they do repair unto the corn fields and valleys below, where the lawnes, meadows, and pleasant feedings are for their food and relief, and therefore they are called *Campestres*. And good King David is again made to vouch for this,⁷ when he says—

I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he goat out of thy folds, for all the *beasts of the forest* are mine, and so are the cattle upon a *thousand hills*.

And lastly, there must have been a Royal grant: for as all the wild woods and uncultivated land of the country which, in the original distribution, were not thought worth allotting, remained in the Crown, and as the right of a freeholder to kill game on his land⁸ did not extend to preserve and appropriate it, it required a special grant from the Crown to enable him to do so; and numerous, accordingly, in the older records are licences for this purpose.

Now, had Findon Park these requisites for a park? Though long since *disparked* (which happens when any of the above-named attributes of a park ceases), and, therefore, perhaps, not laying claim to a place among Mr. Evelyn Shirley's list of the Deer Parks in England (although Mr. Lower mentions it among them),⁹ there is indisputable evidence of its having once been one.

As early as 1298 Wm. de Braose VI. speaks of it as his park of Findon—

Nostro parco de Findon,

and prior to 1269 it was the park of the Abbey of Dureford.¹⁰ I have not been able to come across the *licentia imparcandi* for it in the Records, but the long prescriptive

⁷ Ps. 50, vv. 9, 10.

⁸ 26 S. A. C., p. 230.

⁹ 20 S. A. C., 232.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 225.

usage, implying a Royal grant, is as good proof of it as we need require.

The wall, though broken down, can still be traced, which enclosed its entire area. The *hautboys* and the special vert are still there, while the deep dells of Chanctonbury, in which it is situate, exactly afford that leeward retreat which the deer would require. In old maps there is still the "warrener's cottage," as it is called (behind the present farm-house), which I should, perhaps, dignify with the name of "lodge," for so it is described as far back as 1551, when we read (Add. MS. 5685, "Findon") of the park as

"In tenurá Johannis Tulley,"

and as parcel of the manor lands in this parish, and of

The lodge inside the same park, and a piece of pasture with pannage called *le Newparke*.

Here lived, doubtless, the Palliser or keeper of the Park, an officer who, we remind ourselves, has grown, like Parker and Forester, into a proper name of some celebrity, recalling to our minds a great metropolitan of the sixteenth, and admiral of the eighteenth, century. Of that functionary we do not say, that he must have equalled in splendour or picturesqueness of apparel the Forester of Chaucer, who

— was cladde in Cote and Hode of grene ;
 A shefe of Peacock arwes bright and kene
 Under his Belt he bare full thriftily :
 Well coude he dress his takel yemanly.
 His arwes drooped not with Fetheres lowe,
 And in his hond he bare a mighty Bowe.
 A not-hed hadde he, with a broune visage,
 Of wood-craft coude he well alle the usage.
 Upon his arme he bare a gay Bracer,
 And by his side a Sword and Bokeler ;
 A Cristofer on his brest of silver shene ;
 A horne he bare ; the baudrick was of grene—
 A Forster was he sothily, as I gesse.¹¹

¹¹ Canterbury Tales.

yet he certainly had some distinguishing dress to mark his rank, and (as that is the livery of even "George Ranger's" metropolitan staff of the nineteenth century) probably a "grene" one; for in 1363 John Mowbray

Granted the custody of his Park and warren of Findon to Robert Croak for life, with 2d. *per diem*, wages, and a robe, or silver mark, yearly.¹²

The next question is, to the lord of what manor did our Park belong? To Wiston or Findon Place? For whom was the venison fattened? For it must be remembered that though these parks were places for the *protection* of the deer, it was much the same sort of protection as unfortunate broods of modern pheasants experience at the hands of their lords and keepers, or that a Dorking fowl or Hampshire hog has to be thankful for, when crammed for the market. They were driven from the greater unenclosed spaces, the forests, to be there shot down (the enclosures prevented their being hunted with hounds) and packed off to adorn the larder, or improve the digestion, of the neighbouring baron.

The Lord of Wiston might not unnaturally lay claim to it as appurtenant to his fine old baronial demesne close under the great hill of Chanctonbury. But we cannot help thinking this question is set at rest by the evidence before adduced that W. de Braose VI., then Lord of Findon Place manor,¹³ distinctly called it *his park*,¹⁴ and that "Jno. de Mowbray III., of Axholme," who, in the fourteenth century gave the robe and silver mark to the Findon park keeper, was at the time Lord of Findon Place manor. Besides which it is in the parish of Findon, and it is not Wiston Park, but Findon Park. Moreover, Wiston was itself a park, and could, therefore, not require another, and is marked in Speed's map of 1610 as containing a herd of 300 head of deer.¹⁵

The parks of former times were always at a distance from the residence of the proprietor, and occupied the

¹² 5 S. A. C., p. 145, citing, Pat. 43 Ed. III.

¹³ 26 S. A. C., p. 262.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 225.

¹⁵ Shirley's Deer Parks in England, p. 50.

worst and wildest parts of the manor.¹⁶ There can be little doubt, therefore, that, like all uncultivated lands of that manor, it formed part of the demesnes of Findon Place, the descent of which it followed till the time of Henry Goring (*tempore* Chas. I.). He conveyed it in fee to Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer of James's reign, for £525. The misfortunes and impeachment of that nobleman are well known. Sprung from a somewhat obscure origin and suddenly promoted, with an unprecedented rapidity, to one of the highest posts in the kingdom, the temptations of which he found himself unable to resist, he was impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, for bribes and other misapplications of the public money, and sentenced to lose all his offices, be fined £50,000, imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure, and rendered incapable to sit in Parliament.

The privilege of the pulpit, sufficiently great in our own days, was much greater then, and more liable to abuse; and church going must have been a far from pleasant occupation when one was liable any Sunday to be personally *preached at*—a state of things which actually happened to the poor Treasurer, when in the beginning of his troubles, attending service with the King at Greenwich, the Royal chaplain—choosing St. Matthew iv, 8, for the text of his sermon—pointed with his finger at him as he sat below, exclaiming

“That man” (reiterating it), “that man that makes himself rich and his master poor, he is a fit Treasurer—for the d——!”

The Earl abashed drew his hat (men did not then “pray uncovered,” I suppose,) over his eyes. The King, in a pew above, seemed rather to enjoy the joke, and smiled maliciously!

Whether the fine was paid to the Crown I do not find, but I suppose not (it was a very large one in those days); and that the Park got into the King's hands in consequence on an extent, for it was appraised and sold to John, 4th Earl Thanet, then Lord of Findon Place, who,

¹⁶ Shirley's Deer Parks in England, p. 50.

on the petition of the Earl of Middlesex, obtained a grant of it in fee by letters patent from Chas. I., in 1634. Such, at least, seems the result of a somewhat intricate series of transactions connected with the Park, ranging from about 1623 to 1643. In 1643, Earl John conveyed it by feoffment to Sir John Fagg, of Wiston, in fee, in whose family it remained till 1749, when Sir Robert Fagg devised it to his sister, Lady Goring, from whom it passed to her son, the late Charles Goring, Esq., and still forms part of the property of his son, the Rev. Jno. Goring, under the more modest name of Findon Park Farm. The descent of Wiston and the pedigree of the Gorings, having already appeared in these volumes,¹⁷ I need not pursue it further here, as connected with this subject.

The outside admeasurement of the farm is about 550 acres and the inside about 300, the difference being to be accounted for by the former including 250 of tenantry Down. The only remains of the Park proper are some 30 or 40 acres of "Vert," the rest having long since been cleared for arable purposes; but these are enough, without more, to identify it with the park of 1269. While it formed part of the estate of Edw. Shelley, a former owner of Findon Place Manor, it was settled, as we have hinted,¹⁸ differently from the rest of that manor. The recovery "of all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments called or known by the name of Findon Park," having been suffered to the use of Edw. Shelley *for life*, remainder to the use of trustees for twenty-four years, remainder to the use of the heirs male of the body of Edw. Shelley; limitations which, as the event proved, made no difference in the eventual devolution of the Park (which followed that of the rest of Findon Place), as Edw. Shelley had sons. But the question was (as will be observed) distinctly raised in the above limitation, whether Edw. Shelley, to whom a *life* estate had been given, took an estate of inheritance by virtue of the grant in the same conveyance¹⁹ to the heirs of his body. A question which, as we have seen, was decided in the affirmative.

¹⁷ 5 S. A. C., p. 1 *et seq.*

¹⁸ 26 S. A. C., p. 245.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

I proceed to Muntham. Some confusion, or at least difficulty, in tracing the descent of this estate, arises from the fact that there is another freehold of the same name in the parish of Itchingfield in the same county, about twenty miles north-west of Findon, known as "Chitty's," and as paying to the lord of the manor of Thakeham "1d. for a Heriot, 1d. for Quit rent, 1d. for a Relief." Where the parish in which the particular Muntham is situated is named in the records, there is, of course, no doubt as to which is intended, but this is not always the case, as we shall presently see.

Another difficulty arises from the circumstance that our county historians, on the one hand, treat Findon Muntham as a subsisting manor, while the local stewards and practical men on the other, declare that they never heard of such a manor! (Truth, lying, as usual, half way between the extremes, and both sets of informants having some ground for their position.) It *was* indisputably a manor. It *has* from some cause ceased to be one. Cartwright, therefore, misleads us, when he says "The demesne lands" (which imply a manor) "attached to this estate" (*i.e.* Findon Muntham) "*contain* 1600 acres," and again, "the manor *extends* over a great part of Washington."²⁰ And Mr. W. Smith Ellis,²¹ and even Mr. Dudley Cary Elwes²² fall into the same mistake. Cartwright thinks also that, because the house of our Muntham ("house *on a hill*") is in a deep dell, it *derived* its name from, but that Itchingfield Muntham, because it is on high ground, *gave* its name to, its possessor,²³ and speaks of both a Findon and an Itchingfield family of de Munthams as having the same arms, a lion charged with a fess. He gives us²⁴ an engraving of those arms from a seal of John de Mundeham, who probably had land in Findon, as we shall presently see; and Mr. Ellis connects them with the Combes of Norfolk, and thinks they were branches of the family of Mundham, of Mundham in that county, who had resided

²⁰ Rape of Bramber, p. 89.

²¹ 24 S. A. C., p. 36.

²² Castles, &c., of West Sussex, p. 94.

²³ Rape of Bramber, 89 n. and 328.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

there for several generations.²⁵ Perhaps the earliest mention of our Muntham is in an agreement between the Prior and Monks of Sele and the Incumbent of Findon (referred to in our last Vol. in connection with Findon Place), whereby the Prior and monks conceded to the Church of Findon all the small tithes of sheep and other animals, and of all emoluments arising from four enclosures for sheep (*de quatuor bercariis*), in the same vill of Fyndon, two of which were in Mundeham (Muntham), a third in the tenure of H. Whitelofe, and the fourth in the furze (*de furse*) of the priory. It was further agreed that the Vicar of Findon should receive the tithes of any lands subsequently assarted (cleared), and the Priory those "of the lands *in Mundeham* now furze, but which may be hereafter cleared and tilled."²⁶ Where, however, it will be observed nothing is said of Muntham being a manor. And as the disputes between the Prior and Vicar arose out of doubts as to the boundaries of the demesne lands of Findon Place manor, the tithes of which W. de Braose VI. gave to the Priory, it would seem as if at that time Muntham was part of that manor, though it is difficult to reconcile this theory with that of its being a submanor of Thakeham, as we shall presently see it was.

In the 14th century Johannes de Mundham had lands in the parish of Sullington, which adjoins Muntham.

In 46 Ed. III. (1373), Thomas, the son of the above-named John de Mundham "released all his right"—without saying what it was—"in the manor of Muntham *in the parish of Findon*" (and which he probably inherited from his father), "to Thomas Cornwallis of London his heirs and assigns,"

relaxavit Thomæ Cornwallis de Londino et heredibus et assignatis suis totum jus suum in manerio de Mundham in parochiâ de Fyndon et tres acras prati in Wassingeton et Thakeham.²⁷

How it passed from Cornwallis to Edmund Mille, Milne, or Mulne, into whom we next trace it, I do not find; but

²⁵ 24 S. A. C., p. 31-36.

²⁶ 10 S. A. C., p. 121.

²⁷ Harl. MS. 1176. 24 S. A. C., p. 86.
Claus. 46 Ed. 3. m. 33.

in 12 Henry VI., 1434, *John Apsley*, whom Cartwright²⁸ erroneously calls *William* (being then lord of half the manor of Thakeham), by a deedpoll reciting that Edmund Mille held of him the manor of Muntham as of his share of the manor of Thakeham by fealty and the service of 2s. 3d.

ut de pro parte suâ manerii de Thakeham per fidelitatem et servitium duorum solidorum et trium denariorum

declared that he had granted and confirmed to the said Edmund, his heirs and assigns, the said manor of Munt-ham to be held of him and his heirs by fealty and the service of two cross bows (*catapultarum*).²⁹ Whether this was the Itchingfield or Findon Muntham does not appear for certain from the above record, but that it was the latter is pretty clear from the next one. Moreover, though the former was a freehold held of the manor of Thakeham, I do not find, from any authentic record, it was itself ever a submanor of that manor: yet Mr. Lower calls our Findon Muntham "an outlying portion of the *Itchingfield* Muntham manor."³⁰ Can it be that our county writers have not apprehended the distinction between a *freehold held of a manor*, and a *submanor*? Edmund Mille died in 1452,³¹ and by an Inquisition *post mortem*, 19 Ed. IV., 1480, taken upon the death of his son Richard Mille, whose death has been placed³² in these vols. in 1478, the jury find he was seised in his demesne as of fee "of the manor of Muntham and of certain lands and tenements called Palmer's Combe & Flood's in *Findon* in the said Co. & of certain lands & tenements called Cobden in Sullington" (the adjoining village to Findon, as we have said), and they further found that the said manor of Muntham was held of *John Apsley as of his manor of Thakeham*, in the said Co., by fealty and one *barbed arrow*: a change of services from the cross-bows which it is not easy to explain. In this record I think the juxtaposition of Muntham manor with the "lands in Findon," shews it was that manor which was intended.

²⁸ Rape of Bramber, p. 243.

²⁹ Claus. 12, H. VI., pars 1, m. 21.

³⁰ History of Sussex, p. 56.

³¹ 17 S. A. C., p. 111.

³² *Ibid.*

The atte Milnes or Mulnes of Greatham were a well-known family of that day, and Richard atte Mulle (for the "n" was now dropped), who died in 1504, was lord of Pulboro' manor as well as of Greatham.

The residence of the Pulboro' branch was Mille Place, probably in the manor of Nutbourne, of which Edmund atte Milne³³ possessed half in 13 H. VI., 1435 (not 1452, as Mr. Turner³⁴ has it.) Ann, his daughter, married William, son of John Apsley, and so carried the Pulborough manor into that family, and they had a son, Nicholas Apsley.

Dallaway makes Ann in one place³⁵ the heir of her brother Richard, but in another³⁶ attributes to Richard a wife and family! So in one place³⁷ he makes her marry Nicholas, in another³⁸ William, the father of Nicholas, Apsley!

By an Inquisition *post mortem*, 1 Ed. VI., 1547, the jury found that Nicholas Apsley was seised in his demesne as of fee of and in one messuage, and certain lands and tenements in Fyndon, with their appurtenances, called Mundham; and they say that the said messuage, lands, and tenements in Fyndon, called Mundham, are, and at the death of the said Nicholas were, held of John Apsley, as of his manor of Thakeham, by the service of one knight's fee and 2s. 3d. for the Sheriff's aid; and were worth per annum £15 10s. Where, it will be observed, Muntham is not expressly called a manor. In the next document, however, it is again described as such.

By an Inquisition *post mortem*, 35 Eliz., the jury find that John Apsley was seised of and in *the manor* of Mundham, *alias* Muntham, with its appurtenances, in the said County (of Sussex), and of and in divers lands and tenements with their appurtenances, *in Findon*, in the said County, called Muntham, and of and in one virgate of land in Fyndon aforesaid, called Flood's land, and of one parcel of land in Fyndon called Blackdown; and that George Apsley, Esquire, was the son and next heir of

³³ 17 S. A. C., p. 121.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Rape of Arundel, p. 320.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

the said John, and of the age of 28 years and upwards; and that the manor of Muntham, and the lands and tenements in Fyndon, called Mundham, are held, and at the death of the said John *were held, of Edw. Apsley, Esquire, as of his manor of Thakeham*, by fealty and other services.

Neither Mr. Blaauw³⁹ nor Cartwright⁴⁰ in their Apsley pedigrees make any mention of the above-named George, though Berry does; nor do either of them give us any Edward, of whom, as Lord of Thakeham, John could have held Muntham in 1593, as we see he did; for their Edward, son of Richard (whom Cartwright, however, calls Thomas) was his younger son; and there was no failure of the issue of Thomas, or at least of William, his elder sons, which could account for Thakeham manor being in the younger line.

In 1596 the property finally left the Apsley family; for in 38 and again in 41 Eliz. recoveries were suffered of the manor in favour of Henry Shelley; in both of which George Apsley appears as vouchee, and was therefore at the time, I presume, seised of it in fee simple or in tail. As the recoverers in the recovery Rolls were generally men of straw, and the real intent of the conveyance does not appear from them, we are left in ignorance what was the settlement thereby effected. The "uses" were generally declared in the deed to make a tenant to the *præcipe*, but as this deed now began to be done by "lease and release," which came into use about this time, but did not require the publicity of enrolment, the real nature of the transaction frequently does not appear. In the Inquisition, however, on the death of George Apsley, who died (4 James I.) 1606, Muntham is not mentioned among his possessions. He, and not Jno. Apsley, as Cartwright has it,⁴¹ must have sold it, therefore, to Henry Shelley in 41 Eliz.,⁴² and from Shelley it passed to Henry Goring in 1604, Thomas Shelley appearing then as vouchee.⁴³ In 1625⁴⁴ (1 Chas. I.) (Shelley being again vouchee), Sack-

³⁹ 4 S. A. C., p. 220.

⁴⁰ Rape of Bramber, p. 242.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 89.

⁴² Recov. Rolls Pasch. T. 1599.

⁴³ Recov. Rolls Hil. T. 2 Jac. 1.

⁴⁴ Recov. Rolls Pasch. T. 1 C. 1.

ville Crowe *armiger* "recovers" a property in Findon, Washington, and Sullington, which though neither called Muntham nor a manor, and described as "1 *messuagium*, 1 *columbarium*, 1 *gardinum*, 300 *acræ terræ*, 20 *acræ prati*, 250 *acræ pasturæ*, and 50 *acræ briuarii*," clearly included Muntham, as we shall presently see.

This Sir Sackville, however (for he was raised to a baronetcy in 1627), did not find the money for the purchase, and was not in fact the real purchaser. Indeed he was a needy man, and died an insolvent, in the Fleet Prison, in 1681.⁴⁵ The money was really John Middleton's; and accordingly 11 years later we find a deed (12 Chas. I.) between Sackville Crowe, Knight and Baronet, of London, of the one part, and Jno. Middleton, of the Inner Temple, Esquire, of the other part, whereby, after reciting that the said Sackville Crowe, by an Indenture tripartite, dated 30th May, 1625, between Thos. Shelley, of Steyning, of the 1st part, Sackville Crowe, of London, Esq., now Knight and Baronet, of the 2nd part, and Thos. Allanson, of London, gentleman, of the 3rd part (leading the uses of a common recovery had and suffered between the said parties in Easter Term, 1 Charles I), was seized of and in one *farm*, known by the name of Mundham, *alias* Muntham, in the County of Sussex, and the messuages, barns, stables, buildings, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, meadows, pastures, woods, and underwoods, to the same belonging, situate, lying, and being in the parishes of Findon, Washington, and Shillington (Sullington), to him and his heirs for ever in trust, and for the *commodité* of Jno. Middleton, of Horsham, Esq., and his heirs (the consideration of the conveyance being £500, mentioned to be paid by Sackville Crowe, whereas in truth it was paid by Jno. Middleton to the said Thos. Shelley) the said S. Crowe, by the appointment of the said J. Middleton, did grant unto the said J. Middleton, his heirs and assigns, all that *farm* called or known by the name of Montham, *alias* Mountham, to have and to hold the said

⁴⁵ See Burke's Extinct Baronetage.

farm and lands, and all other the premises, unto the said John Middleton, his heirs and assigns for ever, to the only use of the said John Middleton, his heirs and assigns for ever.

This Jno. Middleton was of a family, and a man himself, well known in the County. He sat as member for Horsham in 1614, and again in 1620, 1623, and 1625.⁴⁶

In his family Muntham remained for a century, passing under the will of Thomas Middleton in 1692 (who I think was a nephew of John, and was himself also conspicuous in the County, having been M.P. for Shoreham in 1639, 1640, and 1660),⁴⁷ to Charles Goring, as the surviving trustee of the will, and from him to his cousin and heir, John Middleton,⁴⁸ who had also served in three Parliaments, and who after having resided many years at Muntham, died at Dorking in 1743, at the age of 75, where a somewhat fulsome and lengthy inscription, with which I need not trouble the reader, adorned (or disfigured) a mural monument over the vault where he lies interred, representing him (as usual in those "good old days") as the personification of all the virtues, instead of a "miserable sinner," and as "sinful dust and ashes." The cousinship between Charles Goring and John Middleton was, I think, this: Mary, the daughter of Sir H. Goring, of Highden, married Thos. Middleton, of Hangleton; and the said John was their son. Mary's brother, Captain Henry Goring, had a son, who was Sir C. Goring.

In Sept., 1743, the said John Middleton granted to Sir Jno. Webb and John Webb, his eldest son, the *mansion* and *farm* of Muntham, to hold to such uses as Cowdray, and other Sussex manors comprised in the marriage settlement of Anthony, 6th Viscount Montague and Lady Barbara, his wife, daughter of the said Sir Jno. Webb, stood limited (such limitations being to Lord Montague for life, then to secure a jointure to the said Lady Barbara, and subject thereto to the use of the first son of the marriage in tail male).

⁴⁶ Cartwright's Rape of Bramber, p. 347.

⁴⁸ From Lady Bath's title deeds.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*; and 5 S. A. C., p. 86.

The Middleton pedigrees in Berry, Burrell, the Harl. MS., and Cartwright, all provokingly stop short with the John of 1635; and the mural monument to the John of 1743, which might have contained the connecting link between them, and which I have myself inspected in the crypt, where it seems to have been consigned during the recent restorations of the church, contains no clue to it. I am thus deprived of a means on which I had reckoned for filling up the *hiatus*. Genealogical difficulties are often cleared up by tombstones, and in the present instance I think we should have preferred the statement of the descent to the laudatory inscription.

In 1765 Lord and Lady Montague and Anthony Browne, their eldest son, released the mansion house and farm, "*theretofore the estate of the said Jno. Middleton,*" from the limitations of the deed of 1743, and conveyed them for £6,300 to William Frankland, Esq., in fee. By "having been the estate of John Middleton," seems to be meant that he was the real beneficial owner, and not merely legal owner, as the heir of a trustee (Charles Goring), who had died intestate; and we know *aliundè*, that he resided there many years.⁴⁹ This Lord Montague, who owned also the neighbouring princely property of Cowdray, built, it is said, the present house at Muntham for a hunting seat, and it was much added to by Mr. Frankland. We have delineated it as it was in 1830; but its present noble proprietor has, by heightening it with gables, and enfacing it with Bath stone, converted it from a plain red brick Georgian, to a far more important and ornamental Elizabethan, structure.

William Frankland (who was son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Bengal, and whose grandmother was the granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell), himself a great Oriental traveller, resided here on his return from India for many years, and died at 85, unmarried, in 1805. He cannot be said to have beautified the mansion by erecting the unsightly white wooden obelisk, so conspicuous in our drawing, but he was devoted to mechanics, and it

⁴⁹ Add. MS. 5685.

was connected with the apparatus necessary to carry on his favourite pursuit. The Muntham estate at that time included the Washington Manor (since sold to Chas. Goring, Esq., of Wiston), and passed by William Frankland's will to Admiral Henry Cromwell, who took the name of Frankland, and died in 1819, and then to the Admiral's widow, Mary, till her death in 1823; and thereupon to the Rev. Roger Frankland, Canon of Wells, till his death in 1826, when it devolved on his son Captain Frederic Wm. Frankland, who sold it in 1840 to Thos. Fitzgerald, Esq., of Binfield House, Berks, the father, if I mistake not, of the well-known secretary of the M.C.C., who doubtless imbibed on the table lands of these natural cricket fields that love for the "noble game," which he has so much assisted in promoting. Mr. Fitzgerald removed the obelisk bodily to the top of the Down, behind the house, to serve as a beacon at sea, although it has since disappeared also from that more conspicuous position, and in 1850 sold Muntham to the present possessor, the Most Noble Harriet, Marchioness of Bath, in fee. The estate so bought consists of about 377 acres in Findon, 30 in Sullington, and 2 in Washington, parishes.

Such is the history of Muntham. It is not altogether satisfactory. I have not been able to show what interest Cornwallis had in the manor. I should like to have traced how that right passed to the Apsleys, and also what interest Thomas de Muntham had in it, for it is observable he granted only all his *right*⁵⁰ in the manor, not the manor itself, which is consistent with his not being the actual lord; although, on the other hand, if his family gave the name to the manor, it looks very much as if it was his own. It would have been very interesting, too, to have had direct evidence of its creation, as well as of its existence, as a submanor of Thakeham. Above all it would have been desirable to know how, within a period of not more than five-and-twenty years after we find it called a manor, it comes to be described simply as a "farm."

⁵⁰ *Suprà*, p. 13.

“*Manerium*” was so well understood as being the legal description for a manor, that that word can hardly have been applied to it, as we have seen it repeatedly was, in several records, *per incuriam*, and the records are generally precise in accuracy of description. But the old books, even Sir M. Wright’s well-known one on Tenures, are sadly deficient in any minute information on the nature and incidents of subinfeudations. And the present lord of that half of the Thakeham Manor under which Muntam was held, assures me he has no materials from which these questions can be solved. Cartwright does not say whether Thakeham manor was held in chief of the Crown, but it is a remarkable fact connected with it, that, as it was owned four or five centuries ago, as we have seen, by Lords of undivided parts (derived from coheiresses of Stephen le Poer) so it is at the present time held by their respective descendants, or those who claim title through them, in undivided moieties also.

Such as it is, however, and whatever its history, Muntam is a singular and interesting place. Secluded more than the general run of country seats, shut in on three sides by hills, and shut out by them therefore from three-fourths of accessibility, it is a home which to many would seem unattractive: while to the lover of nature, or those who seek repose from the tumult of life, it possesses uncommon charms. As long ago as the Abbots of Dureford and Wm. de Braose coveted their rights of freewarren here,⁵¹ and Roger de Covert poached on Findon Place manor,⁵² and Anthony Lord Montague built his hunting box here, it was dear to the sportsman. But one must love the storm-swept old Downs, and the juniper-patched hill sides, for their own sakes, and to watch the habits, and to listen to the “ceaseless caw amusive” in “their airy city,” of the interesting and instructive tenantry of yonder beechwood rookeries, and be content to look sometimes on nothing for miles but a solitary Down barn or two,—one must not be offended by stiff rectangular plantations and steep banks rising

⁵¹ 26 S. A. C., p. 224, 228.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

sheer behind bay windows—before one can appreciate its beauties. Nay, time was when one had to endure a clipt yew avenue with its grassy alleys peering in at the drawing room balcony. The setting glories of a Western sun too never shine on Muntham, any more than they do on Wiston, Combe, or Danny, nor must you expect the cheery blue sea-line for your horizon, which enlivens the terraces of Arundel and Sompting Abbots, of Castle Goring, and Goodwood.

I must leave space for the estate of Cissbury, a name more venerable for its antiquity than any other in our parish, for it carries us back to the King of the South Saxons. I will not here dilate on the interests which attach to the hill itself. The works that have been carried on in former generations, and the light which modern researches have thrown upon them, are familiar to all our readers, and have already illustrated these and other volumes.⁵³ But I refer now to the estate, which very properly derives its name from it, lying as it does around and under its sheltering wing, its pleasure grounds straying into, and mingling with, its solitudes, with hardly a barrier of art between them.

This estate lies wholly within our parish, except so far as it includes that part of the manor or reputed manor of Sheepcombe, which extends into the parishes of Tarring and Broadwater. Of this manor I do not know as much as I should like. Mention of it occurs in very early records as part of the "*Feoda*" of Wm. de Braose, under the name of Shipcomb. It then passed, I think, by grant from the Crown (having got into Royal hands on one of the numerous attainders of the de Braoses and Mowbrays, to which we have adverted)⁵⁴ to the Principal and Vicars Choral of the Holy Trinity (*i.e.*, the cathedral church) at Chichester, a society which appears never to have exceeded 12 in number, and to have been originally mere deputies or proxies nominated by the prebendaries of the Cathedral (who, residing often on their parochial cures at a distance, were unable to attend in person to perform

⁵³ 24 S. A. C., p. 145, and the Journal of Anthropological Institute, for January, 1876. ⁵⁴ 26 S. A. C., p. 221.

the daily service of the choir of the cathedral) and they had a house of residence appropriated to their use in 1395. In process of time it was deemed expedient to institute them a Collegiate body, who should lead a conventual life, which they did till the Reformation, and they were accordingly incorporated in 1464.

When the tide of modern Church Reform set in, this little nest-egg of sinecurism was sure to attract, and soon did attract, the lynx-eyed Ecclesiastical Commissioners in Whitehall, who first gathered it remorselessly into their own net, and then sold it in 1869 to the owner of Cissbury, whose family had long had a beneficial Church Lease on it for lives, originally granted by the Vicars Choral in 1612, and renewed by them ever since. In 1812 the Corporation seems to have owned an acreage of 730 acres, and this manor figures among them in a terrier of their estates in that year, as "Shipcomb (a manor) in the parish of Findon, 90 acres." Its actual admeasurement is 150, but this includes some 60 of Tenantry Down.

As early, too, as 1305, John de Shipcombe and Matilda his wife sold to Roger Parrimer one messuage and 4 acres, and in 1306, to Wm. de la Clyne 7 acres and pasturage for 100 sheep, in Findon, and in 1309, to Thomas Coteman one messuage and 29 acres, in Sheepcombe. As the only district in our parish called Sheepcombe was that manor, and as the conveyances were since the statute which prohibited the further creation of manors, and as the vendors were of the same name as the manor, I gather from these conveyances that they were sales by the then Lord and Lady of the manor of part of its demesnes. The *nucleus* of the Cissbury estate was a farm which, in 1663, Englebert Leedes, of Whitford, Yorkshire (and not Sir J. Leedes, who had occupied the farm), a son of Robert Leedes, Esq., of Englebert Hall, Yorkshire, conveyed to George, James, and Charles Fagge (sons of Sir J. Fagge of Wiston), *successivè* in tail, remainder to Sir John (who as we have seen owned Findon park about this time), in fee;⁵⁵ and George and

⁵⁵ *Ex relations* H. Wyatt, Esq. Cartwright, however, gives no Charles in his Fagge pedigree.

James having died without issue, Charles, on his marriage resettled the estate, and in 1710, devised it to his son Charles, who (and not as Mr. Dudley Cary Elwes has it ⁵⁶ "Sir Robert the great grandson of Sir John") in 1730, sold it to Wm. Cripps (not Cripp), ⁵⁷ on whose death, in 1748, it passed to his son John and his grandson Wm. Groom, and so by marriage into the family of the present owner, as the subjoined pedigree will best show. For the Wyatt pedigree generally, however, I would, to avoid repetition, refer to Mr. Elwes' "Castles," &c., ⁵⁸ where it is fully set out. Round this *nucleus* has gathered from time to time by purchases, by successive members of the same family, of adjoining portions of freeholds and copyholds (being, there can be little doubt, at some time or other held, as the *nucleus* of the estate was, of Findon Place Manor) till the whole has swelled into a considerable and very enviable compact property, of some 800 or 900 acres, the fortunate owner of which is my friend Hugh Wyatt, Esq., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Recorder of Seaford and a magistrate of the county.

Serjeant Kinglake observed on the resemblance of the battle field of Inkerman to the configuration of our Findon valley, and a favourite artist is, I am told, while I write, visiting and adapting it for the landscape of that picture which will soon rival her "Balaclava Charge." So that ere long it may be said of Cissbury, that it has reappeared, *mutato nomine*, on the canvasses of Burlington House,

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

Better known by the truly Sussex name of Penfold, one surely not unsuited to the owner of a Sheepcombe (Valley of Flocks), and to a landlord of acres browsed on by the gentle denizens of our downs—Mr. Wyatt's father preferred to revive the patronymic of his maternal ancestors of Flansham and Court Wyke in this county, who claim through Richard Wyat, of South Haigh, Co. York, a common lineage with Sir Thos. Wyat

⁵⁶ Castles, &c., of West Sussex, p. 94.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

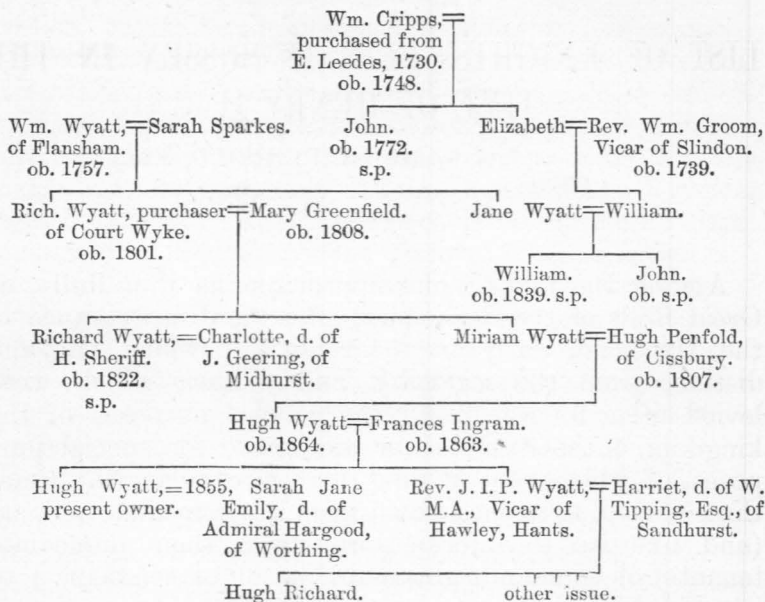
the younger (the name seems formerly to have been spelt with one "t"), of Queen Mary's reign, whom, I am afraid, we must call one of the clearest traitors that ever lived, however much one may sympathize with his hatred of the Spanish match, which, nevertheless, did not proceed from any religious animosity, for he was himself a Romanist. We think with more pleasure of his father, Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, the poet and diplomatist, who was never so happy as in his woods at Allington Castle in Kent; whose poetry, though he, of course, has never deserved the extravagant praise, which has been lavished on his productions, of a comparison with Dante and Petrarch, nor perhaps the idolatry which his more accomplished contemporary Surrey bestowed on him, when he

Honoured the place that such a jewel trod,
And kissed the ground wherein his corpse did rest,

may be said to have inaugurated, with his, a reformation in our English metre and style. It is true he frittered away his genius in frivolous love-songs and sonnets, but his mind occasionally takes a higher flight, and the following is not a bad specimen of his didactic vein, with which I will take leave of my readers, with the sincere hope that they may learn to extract from it in their hour of need—*quod longè absit*—the consolation which it seems capable of yielding.

Venomous thorns, that are so sharpe and kene,
Beare flowers, we see, full fresh, and fayre of hue;
Poyson is also put in medecine,
And unto man his health does oft renue;
The fyre that all things else consumeth clene,
May hurt, and heale; so then if that is true,
I trust some time my harm may be my health,
Since every woe is joynd to some wealth.

PEDIGREE OF THE WYATTS, OWNERS OF CISSBURY.



LIST OF KNIGHTS' FEES IN SUSSEX IN THE TIME OF HENRY II.

(Communicated by HUGH PENFOLD, Esq.)

Among the taxes which appear on the Pipe Rolls, or Great Rolls of the Exchequer, after the disappearance of the Danegeld, early in the reign of Henry II., and distinct from the *scutagium* and *donum*, which were levied either for war or for the general purposes of the kingdom, is the *auxilium* or aid, levied for special purposes, of which, says Madox, there were in ancient times three sorts due to the Crown from its immediate tenants (and likewise to inferior lords from their immediate tenants) of common right, or by reason of seignury; to wit, aid to make his eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to ransom his person when taken in war. The first notice on the Rolls of an aid of the second sort occurs in that of 14 Henry II., on the occasion of the marriage of the King's daughter, Matilda, to the Duke of Saxony. Previous to levying it, in consequence of the changes of occupation which had taken place since Domesday Survey, and the more recent introduction of knights' fees as a basis for assessment in lieu of hides, a new inquest was found necessary, and writs were therefore issued to all the tenants in *capite* of the Crown, directing them to certify to the King the number of the knights' fees for the services of which they were severally liable, shewing how many were of old feoffment, *i. e.*, of feoffment previous to the death of Henry I., and how many of new. Of the returns only one remained in Madox's time, that of Hilary, Bishop of Chichester; but they had at an early period been collected into a book, which still exists, and is known as the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, or Black Book of the Exchequer. A brief

account of the whole of its contents is given by Mr. Hunter, in the Report on Public Records, 1837, Appendix, p. 167; and he describes it as a small folio of eighty-five leaves bound in black leather, and apparently compiled about the same period with the original parts of the *Liber Rubeus*, that is, in the reign of Henry III. It has been printed by Hearne, but as he had not access to the original, and his book is scarce—considering, too, that next after the Domesday survey it contains the earliest and most perfect list of the great landowners that has come down to us—it is hoped that a new edition of the Sussex portion of it (with the contractions extended) taken from the original will not be unacceptable to Members. To those who have not made acquaintance with Mr. Eyton's *History of Shropshire*, I may as well mention that he has shewn (Vol. ii., 202 n.) that although the *Liber Niger* is mainly a return of the year 1165-6, yet that the recognition of knight service of the honour of Arundel, made by the four knights on occasion of the dispute which had arisen about a certain army of Wales, must be referred to the time of Henry I. and not Henry II. He argues that the army of Wales must have been levied in or before 1135, when Henry I. died, and that it could not have been the army of Wales of 1157, inasmuch as Savaric, one of the tenants of the honour, was dead in Stephen's reign, and his son and successor Ralph—dead before 1157; Alan de Dunstanvill also was dead before 1156, and Hugh de Faleise, a third tenant, was a man of great trust in Sussex fifty years before 1159, and that for an earlier army of Wales we must refer back to the reign of Henry I., who we know meditated an invasion of Wales in 1135, shortly before his death.

CARTA EPISCOPATUS CICESTRENSIS.

H. Dei gratia Regi Anglie et Duci Normannie et Aquitanie Comiti Andegavie karissimo domino suo Hilarius Cicestrensis episcopus salutem et fidele servitium. Domine sicut me precepistis distincte hoc scripto feffamenta militum Ecclesie mee vobis enumeravi.

Walterus de Clifton habet feodum unius militis et dimidium.

Robertus de Recham, Anketil, Willelmus filius Alardi et Wiardus tenent unum feodum militis.

Radulfus Fichet, Malgerus, Ricardus de Erham et Willelmus de Lancing tenent feodum unius militis.

Ernaldus Pincerna, Ricardus filius Odonis, Willelmus filius Radulfi tenent feodum unius militis.

Jordanus de Islesham, Aluredus, Willelmus Parcetes, Ricardus Murdac, Willelmus de Seleisia, Willelmus Falterellus, Willelmus filius Siwardi, Henricus Palmarius, Radulfus de Deverel, Radulfus de Dena tenent unum feodum militis et super est dimidia virgata.

Oliverus de Westring, Robertus de Dent, Ernaldus de Hanfeld tenent feodum unius militis.

Amfridus de Feringes, Robertus de Orham, Simo de Petraponte, Gervasius de Colewrtha tenent feodum unius militis.

Herebertus filius Hereberti, Robertus Peverel, Willelmus filius Johannis, Johannes de Bosco habent feodum unius militis.

Hugo de Almodinton, Robertus de Trubbewica, Franceis, Willelmus filius Nigelli, Willelmus de Hareflet tenent feodum unius militis.

Hec sunt novem feoda militum et dimidium et super est nona pars militis quam tenet Johannes de Brada, et hec sunt de veteri feamento, de novo autem feamento tenet Robertus de Denton feodum unius militis dimidia hida minus.

In Bixla sunt decem Hide quas antiquitus tenebat Episcopus Cices-trensis in dominio suo. Comes autem Augensis auferens terram illam Episcopo et Ecclesia feavit inde quatuor milites. Episcopus et Ecclesia recuperaverunt modo de terra illa quinque hidas in dominium, et duo milites tenent alias quinque hidas de Episcopo pro duobus feodis. Valent.

CARTA COMITIS DE ARUNDEL.

Dominus noster Rex H. quadam contentione que surrexit inter milites de honore de Arundel de exercitu quodam de Walliis elegit quatuor milites de honore de melioribus et legalioribus et antiquioribus, scilicet Humfridum de Sarall; et Radulfum filium Brun; et Willelmum de Favarches et Petrum de Hamton, et fecit eos recognoscere servicium militum de honore et super legalitatem et sacramenta eorum inde neminem audire voluit. Fuit autem hec recognicio eorum.

Pettewrtha duos et viginti milites et dimidium.

Garinges undecim milites.

Poleberga tres milites.

Philippus de Belmeis tres milites.

Alanus de Dunstanvilla octo milites.

Hugo de Faleisa quinque milites.

Stephanus duos milites.

Stokes duos milites.

Hugo de Calceo tres milites.

Avenellus quinque milites.

Morin de Chitehurst unum militem.

Trierferda unum militem.

Sunnewrtha unum militem.

Halnac duodecim milites.

Mesliers unum militem.

Pantulfus unum militem.

Savaricus tres milites.

Et Rex Henricus dedit de suo dominio quod Comes attornavit ad servicium militare, scilicet.

terram Reginator Harang:, pro feodo unius militis.

Et terram Ranulfi de Broc pro feodo dimidii militis.

Et terram Manasser Aguilun pro feodo duorum militum.

Et terram Alani filii Conani pro feodo unius militis.

Et terram Aluredi de Cumai pro feodo unius militis.

Et terram Roberti de Praeriis pro feodo unius militis.

Et terram Ricardi de Humez pro feodo duorum militum.

Et terram de freisne pro feodo unius militis.

Et Comes dedit Henrico Hosato quandam terram pro feodo duorum militum.

Et Roberto de Rupe quandam terram pro quarta parte militis.

Et Willelmo Rufo quandam terram pro quarta parte militis.

Comes et habuit in Candaura que est in Hamtescira servicium unius militis.

Et sunt tredecim qui per manum Comitis de dominio suo positi sunt ad servicium militare.

CARTA JOHANNES COMITIS DE AUGO.

H. Regi Anglie Duci Normannie et Aquitanie Comiti Andegavie Johannes Comes de Augo salutem.

Sciatis quod habeo de veteri feamento de tempore Regis H. avi vestri in Rapo Hasting:, quinquaginta sex milites. Sed sexaginta milites in eodem Rapo habere solebat pater meus tempore Regis H. avi vestri de quibus nunc habet quatuor milites Episcopus Cicestrensis unde habetis servicium Horum quinquaginta sex militum tenentium in predicto Rapo de veteri feamento nomina sunt hec.

Humfridus de Wilecheres septem milites tenet.

Willelmus de Akingeham septem milites.

Matheus de Baelun decem milites.

Thomas de Sancto Leodegario quatuor milites.

Rogerus de Bodiham quatuor milites.

Hurste de Warberton quinque milites.

Gilebertus de Baliolio tres milites.

Robertus de Ricarvilla decem milites.

Reginaldus de Osseburnham duos milites.

Walterus Morlai unum militem.

Willelmus de Wikeshull unum militem.

Hugo de Chekenora unum militem.

Et praeter hos milites habeo super dominium meum sex milites et dimidium quorum nomina sunt hec.

Aluredus de Sancto Martino unum militem,

Robertus Strabo unum militem.

Robertus del Broc unum militem.

Daniel de Crievequer unum militem.

Rogerus de Freat unum militem.

Willelmus de Bosco dimidium militem.
 Willelmus de Lancinges dimidium militem.
 Robertus de Hastings dimidium militem.
 De novo feofamento nullum militis feodum habeo.

CARTA ROBERTI PEVEREL.

Ego Robertus Peverel et Normannus de Normanvilla tenemus feodum unius militis de Rege in Capite in Sussex. Unde Ego Robertus facio Regi duas partes unius militis et ipse Normannus terciam partem.

CARTA RICCHERI DE AQUILA.

Dilectissimo domino suo H. Regi Anglie Richer de Aquila salutem & fidelia servicia. Sciatis quod habeo feodum triginta et quinque militum et dimidii. Et totum feodum habui die et anno quo Rex H. avus vester fuit vivus et mortuus. Nee post illum diem aliquem fefavi; de hiis vero Ricardus filius Willelmi tenet feodum quindecim militum.
 Radulfus de Dena sex milites.
 Willelmus Malet quatuor feoda militum.
 Willelmus filius Ricardi tres milites.
 Willelmus Malfed tres milites.
 Willelmus de Akingeham duos milites.
 Robertus de Horstude duos milites.
 Andreas de Alvricheston dimidium militem.

Comes Warenn habet feodum sexaginta militum.

In illustration of this Feodary, I give an extract from the Pipe Roll of 14 Henry II. of so much as relates to this aid. It is to be noticed that neither Earl Warren nor William de Braose, the lords of Lewes and Bramber, appear as contributors, and I can give no reason why they should have been omitted: their lands were not in the king's hands that I can find, although Lewes had recently been, and even if they had, the aid ought to have been paid notwithstanding by the respective *custodes*. Nor can I explain why the Bishop of Chichester, who held upwards of nine fees of old feoffment, claimed to be assessed only on four; but his claim seems to have been tacitly allowed, and the see in after times never pays more except when it is vacant and accounted for by the *custos*. Besides the great lords (of whom the Earl of Arundel is excused the whole of his aid 21 Henry II., and the Earl

of Ow the remainder of his in 23 Henry II.), we find Robert Peverel and Norman de Normanville entered as tenants in *capite*, and Geldewin fitz Savaric and others, who make their payments through the sheriff, claiming to hold of the king and not of the Earl. We have also Walter de Dunstanville, who complains that he is assessed by the Earl on three more fees than he ought to be, but yet pays and receives his quittance in 18 Henry II.; and John de Tresgoz and Philip, who likewise claim to have been surcharged by three and a-half fees, but who were more successful in their resistance, for we read in the roll of 27 Henry II. that respite is given them till inquest shall have been held by the Justices, and the result of this inquest was probably favourable to them, as the debt is entered as excused in the roll of 1 Richard I. The remainder of the extract gives the contributions of the manors, towns, and tenants on the king's demesnes. It will be observed that the Roll confirms Mr. Eyton's observation: neither Savaric, nor Alan de Dunstanville, nor Hugh de Faleise, appear as tenants of the honour of Arundel, but in place of the two former—Geldewin fitz Savaric and Walter de Dunstanville, their respective sons.

PIPE ROLL, 14 HENRY II.

NOVA PLACITA ET NOVE CONVENTIONES DE AUXILIO FILIE REGIS.

Episcopus Cicestrensis reddit comptum de 4 marcis de militibus quos recognoscit se debere Regi. In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est.

Idem debet 74.s. 9.d. de militibus quos non recognoscit se debere Regi.

Comes de Arundel debet 56.l. 6.s. 8.d. pro militibus suis.

Richer de Aquila reddit comptum de 14.l. 11.s. 8.d. de militibus suis, pro unoquoque 8.s. 4.d. In thesauro 12.l. 2.s. 6.d.

Et in perdonis per breve Regis Willelmo Malet Dapifero 33.s. 4.d. Et Quietus est.

Robertus Peverel et Normannus de Normanvilla reddunt comptum de 1. marca pro militibus. In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est. (*sic.*)

Comes de Auco reddit comptum de 44.l. 6.s. 8.d. pro militibus. In thesauro 37.l. 6.s. 8.d. Et debet 7.l.

Robertus de Praeriis reddit comptum de $\frac{1}{2}$ marca pro militibus. In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est.

Idem Vicecomes (Rogerius Hai) reddit comptum de 4.l. pro militibus Randulfi de Bealmes quos Comes de Arundel clamat esse de feodo suo. In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est.

Geldewinus filius Savarici reddit compotum de 1. marca pro 1. milite quem idem Comes clamat sed Geldewinus negat. In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est.

Idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de 2. marcis de Wepham de feodo Rollandi de Dinan pro 2. militibus quos idem Comes clamat sed Rollandus negat. In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est.

Idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de $22\frac{1}{2}$ militibus Gocelini Castellani de feodo de Petewurda quos idem clamat. In perdonis per breve Ricardi de Luci per breve Regis ipsi Castellano $22\frac{1}{2}$ marce. Et Quietus est.

Idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de 2 marcis de feodo Radulfi de Toeni de militibus quos idem Comes clamat sed Radulfus de Toeni negat In thesauro liberavit. Et Quietus est.

Walterus de Dunstanvilla debet 3 marcas de 3 militibus quos idem Walterus dicit esse de superdemanda Comitum de Arundel.

Johannes de Tresgoz et Phylippus debent $3\frac{1}{2}$ marcas pro $3\frac{1}{2}$ militibus quos ipsi dicunt esse de superdemanda Comitum de Arundel.

Homines de Boseham reddunt compotum de 6*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* de eodem auxiliis. In thesauro liberaverunt in 15 talliis. Et Quieti sunt.

Godwinus de Burdelada reddit compotum de 40*s.* de eodem auxilio. In thesauro 20*s.* Et debet 20*s.*

BURNA.

Ricardus de Lamport reddit compotum de 100*s.* de eodem auxilio. In thesauro 50*s.* Et debet 50*s.*

Hardingus reddit compotum de 20*s.* de eodem auxilio. In thesauro 10*s.* Et debet 10*s.*

Wulmarus reddit compotum de $\frac{1}{2}$ marca de eodem auxilio. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Commune ejusdem ville reddit compotum de 2 marcis de eodem auxilio. In thesauro 1 marca. Et debet 1 marcam.

Homines de Bedingeham reddunt compotum de 3 marcis de eodem auxilio. In thesauro liberaverunt. Et Quieti sunt.

Idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de 1 marca de terra Ricardi porcarii de eodem auxilio. In thesauro liberavit Et Quietus est.

At the end of the Roll are these two entries :—

Abbas de Fescampo debet 50 marcas de per missione ad maritandam filiam Regis.

Homines Cicestrenses reddunt compotum de 13*l.* de auxilio ad maritandam filiam Regis.

SHERIFFS OF SUSSEX.

(Communicated By HUGH PENFOLD, Esq.)

(Continued from Vol. xx. p. 223.)

N.B. Those after 56 H. 3. are taken from the list given in the Appendix to the thirty-first Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

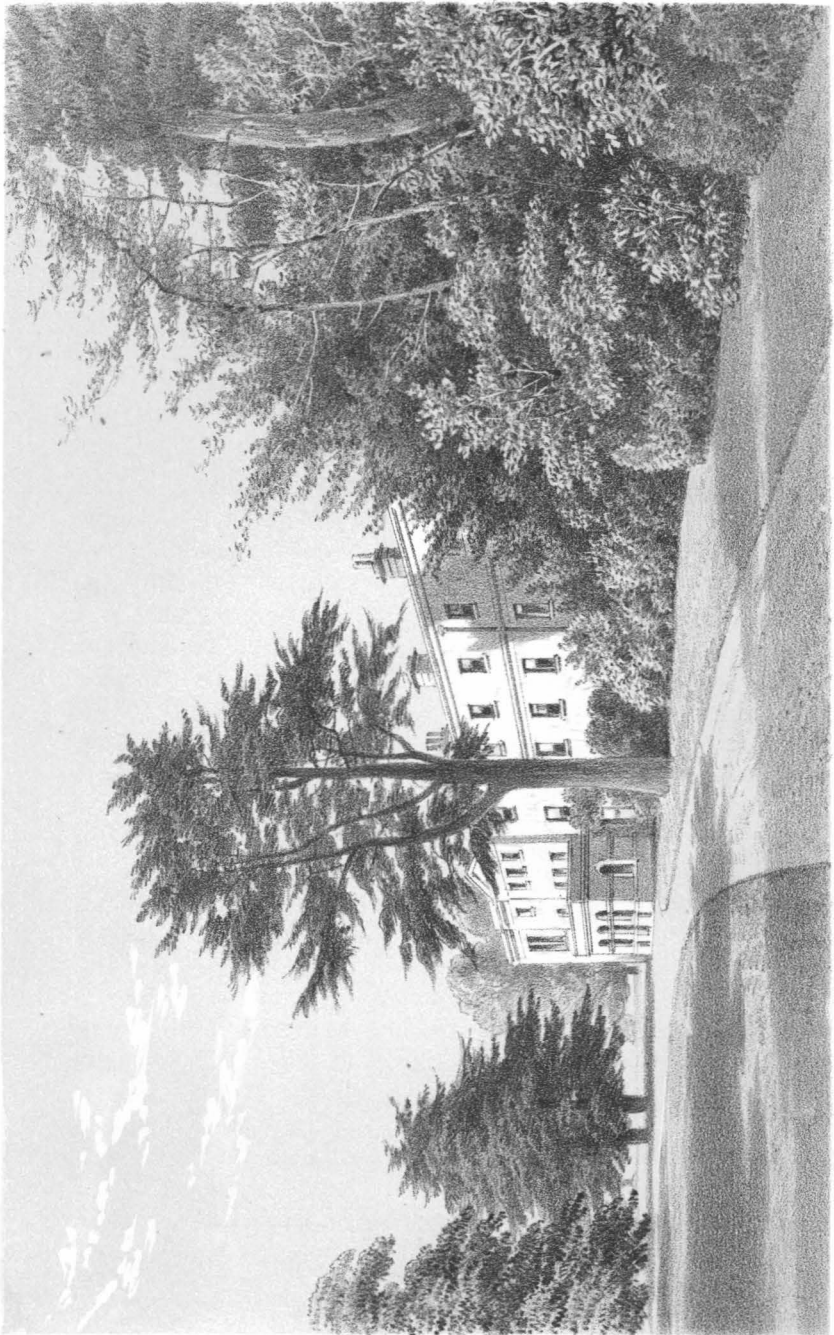
- | | | | |
|--------|-----------|--|--|
| 2— | 7. H. 3. | Matheus filius Herberti. | Gillebertus Barrarius pro eo. |
| | 8. H. 3. | Matheus filius Herberti. | Gillebertus Barrarius pro eo
ut Custos de tribus partibus anni. |
| | 8. H. 3. | Matheus filius Herberti. | Herbertus filius Walteri pro
eo ut Custos de una parte anni. |
| 9—12. | H. 3. | Matheus filius Herberti. | Herbertus filius Walteri pro
eo ut Custos. |
| 13—16. | H. 3. | | Johannes de Gatesden ut Custos. |
| | 17. H. 3. | Petrus de Rivallis. | Herberetus de Burghesse pro eo de
dimidio anno. |
| | 17. H. 3. | Petrus de Rivallis. | Hemicus de Cancellis pro eo de
dimidio anno. |
| | 18. H. 3. | Petrus de Rivallis. | Hemicus de Cancellis pro eo de
primo dimidio anno. |
| | 18. H. 3. | Simo de Echingham. | Joelus de Sancto Germano pro eo
ut Custos de ultimo dimidio anno. |
| | 19. H. 3. | Simo de Echingham. | Joelus de Sancto Germano ut
Custos. |
| | 20. H. 3. | { Simo de Echingham
Henricus de Bada
Johannes de Gatesdene } | Joelus de Sancto Germano
pro eis ut Custos. |
| 21—24. | H. 3. | | Johannes de Gatesdene ut Custos. |
| | | | Philippus de Croftis pro eo. |
| | 25. H. 3. | Philippus de Croftis. | |
| | 26. H. 3. | Philippus de Croftis | de primo dimidio anno. |
| | 26. H. 3. | Radulfus de Kameis | de ultimo dimidio anno. |
| 27—29. | H. 3. | Radulfus de Kameis. | |
| | 30. H. 3. | Radulfus de Kameis | de primo dimidio anno. |
| | 30. H. 3. | Robertus le Sauvage | de ultimo dimidio anno. |
| 31—32. | H. 3. | Robertus le Sauvage. | |
| | 33. H. 3. | Robertus le Sauvage | de primo dimidio anno. |
| | 33. H. 3. | Nicholaus de Wauncy | de ultimo dimidio anno. |
| 34—35. | H. 3. | Nicholaus de Wauncy. | |
| | 36. H. 3. | Nicholaus de Wauncy | de primo dimidio anno. |
| | 36. H. 3. | Willelmus de Micheldevere | de ultimo dimidio anno. |

37. H. 3. Willelmus de Micheldevere.
 38. H. 3. Willelmus de Micheldevere.
 39. H. 3. Amfridus de Ferenges de primo dimidio anno.
 39. H. 3. Galfridus de Cruce de ultimo dimidio anno.
 40. H. 3. Galfridus de Cruce.
 41. H. 3. Galfridus de Cruce de primo dimidio anno.
 41. H. 3. Gerardus de Evynton de ultimo dimidio anno.
 42. H. 3. Gerardus de Evinton.
 43. H. 3. David de Jarpenvill ut Custos.
 44. H. 3. Johannes de Wauton ut firmarius.
 45. H. 3. Johannes de Wauton.
 46. H. 3. Willelmus la Zusch.
 47. H. 3. Willelmus la Zusch de primo dimidio anno.
 47. H. 3. Rogerus de Loges de ultimo dimidio anno.
 48. H. 3. Rogerus de Loges de primo dimidio anno.
 48. H. 3. Johannes de Abernun ut Custos
 de ultimo dimidio anno.
 49. H. 3. Johannes de Abernun ut Custos.
 50. H. 3. Rogerus de Loges.
 51. H. 3. Rogerus de Loges de prima quarta parte anni.
 51. H. 3. Robertus Agwilon de tribus partibus anni.
 52. H. 3. Robertus Agwilon de prima quarta parte anni. Rogerus
 de Wyk pro eo.
 52. H. 3. Willelmus de la legh de tribus partibus anni.
 53. H. 3. Rogerus de Loges. Robertus filius ejus et heres pro eo.
 54. H. 3. Rogerus de Loges de primo dimidio anno. Robertus filius
 ejus et heres pro eo.
 54. H. 3. Matheus de Hastings de ultimo dimidio anno.
 55—56. H. 3. Matheus de Hastings.
- 1— 2. E. 1. Matheus de Hastings.
 3. E. 1. Willelmus de Henre.
 4— 6. E. 1. Johannes de Wautone.
 7. E. 1. Emericus de Chaunceus.
 8. E. 1. Emericus de Cancellis.
 9—12. E. 1. Nicholaus le Gras.
 13. E. 1. Nicholaus le Gras de tribus partibus anni.
 13. E. 1. Ricardus de Peveneseye de ultima quarta parte anni.
 14—15. E. 1. Ricardus de Peveneseye.
 16. E. 1. Willelmus de Pageham.
 17. E. 1. Willelmus de Pageham de primo dimidio anno.
 17. E. 1. Rogerus de Leukenore de ultimo dimidio anno.
 18—19. E. 1. Rogerus de Leukenore.
 20. E. 1. Rogerus de Leukenore de primo dimidio anno.
 20. E. 1. Robertus de Glomargan de ultimo dimidio anno.
 21—26. E. 1. Robertus de Glomargan.
 27—30. E. 1. Johannes Abel.
 31. E. 1. Johannes Harneys (Alicia Harneys, executrix testamenti
 ejusdem Johannis ; Willelmus de Crosfeld, attornatus

- ipsius Alicie propter imbecillitatem ejusdem pro eadem
Alicia) de primo dimidio anno.
31. E. 1. Walterus de Gedding de ultimo dimidio anno.
32. E. 1. Walterus de Gedding.
33. E. 1. Robertus de la Knolle (Petrus de Worldham attornatus
ejus pro eo).
- 34—35. E. 1. Robertus de la Knolle.
1. E. 2. Walterus de Geddyng.
2. E. 2. Walterus de Geddyng de primo dimidio anno.
2. E. 2. Willelmus de Henle de ultimo dimidio anno.
3. E. 2. Willelmus de Henle de primo dimidio anno.
3. E. 2. Robertus de Stangrave de ultimo dimidio anno.
4. E. 2. Robertus de Stangreve.
- 5—6. E. 2. Willelmus de Henle.
7. E. 2. Willelmus de Henle de primo dimidio anno.
7. E. 2. Willelmus Merre de ultimo dimidio anno.
8. E. 2. Petrus de Viene.
9. E. 2. Willelmus Merre.
10. E. 2. Walterus le Gras.
11. E. 2. Walterus le Gras de primo dimidio anno.
11. E. 2. Petrus de Worldham de ultimo dimidio anno.
12. E. 2. Petrus de Worldham.
13. E. 2. Petrus de Worldham de primo dimidio anno.
13. E. 2. Henricus Huse de ultimo dimidio anno.
14. E. 2. Henricus Huse.
15. E. 2. Nicholaus Gentyll.
16. E. 2. Petrus de Worldham.
17. E. 2. Petrus de Worldham de primo dimidio anno.
17. E. 2. Andreas de Medestede de ultimo dimidio anno.
- 18—19. E. 2. Andreas de Medestede.
1. E. 3. Nicholaus Gentyll.
2. E. 3. Nicholaus Gentyll de primo quarterio anni.
2. E. 3. Robertus de Stangrave de tribus ultimis quarteriis anni.
- 3—4. E. 3. Robertus de Stangrave.
5. E. 3. Robertus de Stangrave de primo quarterio anni.
5. E. 3. Johannes Dabernoun de tribus ultimis quarteriis anni.

The following corrections have to be made to the previous list in
Vol. XX. :—

2. H. 2. For "Maleuvenant" read "Malcuvenant."
16. H. 2. Transpose "Reginaldus de Warrenne" and "Rogerius
Hai."
3. R. 1. For "Phillippus" read "Philippus."
7. R. 1. For "Willielmus de Sancte Marie Ecclesia," &c., read
"Willelmus Marescallus. Stephanus de Puntfold
pro eo."
10. R. 1 }
—6. John. } For "Appeltricham" read "Appeltricham."



M & N. Harhart lith.

STOPHAM HOUSE.
EAST FRONT.

STOPHAM.

BY THE REV. C. J. ROBINSON.

(*From materials contributed by SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT, BART., M.P.*)

I.—THE BARTELOTS.

The Barttelots of Stopham are unquestionably among the most ancient families, not of Sussex only, but of England. They have also been remarkably stationary both in place and condition. The same roof-tree has covered generation after generation, and there may be timbers in it beneath which more than seven centuries of ancestry have successively assembled. To such a family, their motto "Mature" seems appropriate enough. Their name, of Norman origin, has been thought¹ to be clearly a diminutive of Bartholomew. It is still current in Normandy as "Berthelet," and exists in many Sussex parishes under the various spellings of Barttelot, Bartlet, and Bartlett. From time immemorial, also, the Barttelots have had a place among the landed gentry of Sussex, discharging the duties of their position with credit, but neither seeking nor obtaining, until recent times, any public recognition of their services to the State. The family doubtless owes its preservation in great measure to the fact that it has held aloof from those great contests in which many an ancient house has lost either fortune or existence; for the Roman poet's lines

*Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes ;
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies,*

were applicable enough in England during the Wars of the Roses and the later struggle between the King and

¹ 24 S. A. C., 14.

the Parliament. We may express our hope that the title lately bestowed by Her Majesty upon the present representative of the Barttelots may share in the same quality of durability which has hitherto distinguished the family. The Barttelot estates were at different times in Stopham, Fittleworth, East Preston, Ferring, Earnley, West Wittering, North Mundham, Warnham and Denne, Okehurst, Ertham, Billingshurst, Wisborough Green, Kirdford, Idehurst and Amblehurst, Slinfold, North Stoke, Coates, Rusper, Buthurst, Friersland or Fryern in Storrington, Littlehampton, Arundel, and other places, as will be seen, in part, by the following extracts :—

SUBSIDY ROLL.—SUSSEX.

24 Ed. I., 1295.

Rape of Pevensey.

Liberty of Leycestre	. . .	Walter Barttelot	4s. 4d.
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Rape of Arundel.

Townships of Kyngston and } Preston }		Adam Barttelot	18d.
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A.D. 1326-7.

Township of East Preston	. . .	Thomas Barttelot	6d.
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SUBSIDY ROLL.—1327-8.

Rape of Chichester.

Hundred of Box and Stokebrigge.

Township of Mundeham	Richard Barttelot	9d.
„ Eartham . . . .	. . .	Adam de Stopham	2d.

Rape of Arundel.

Hundred of Poling.

Township of East Preston	. . .	Thomas Barttelot & others	16d.
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Rape of Pevensey.

Hundred of Rishton and Denne.

Township of Sheffield	Nicholas Barttelot	17d.
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Rape of Hastings.

Hundred of Baldeslowe.

Township of Inlegh . . . Matilda Barttelot 12d.

5 Hen. V., March 16. Grant by Geoffry Wepham to John Barttelot of Stopham, junr., and John Barttelot of Cotes, of all his lands in North Stoke in fee.

Witness—John Barttelot & others.

3 Hen. VI., Aug. 20. Grant by John Barttelot, of the Denne, to Wm. Sydornie, Jun., John Barttelot, of Stopham, and others, of all his lands in North Stoke, which he, together with John Barttelot, of Cotes, now deceased, purchased of Geoffry Wepham.²

12 Hen. VI. John Barttelot, John Waleys, and John Pyke grant to Sir Hugh Hailsham, knight, and Petronilla his wife, lands in the parish of West Grynstede, Sussex. (Add. Charters 8877.)

Inq. p. m. Ed. IV., No. 43 (1482), Sussex.

William Barttelot, deceased. Indenture taken at Crawley (Thomas Stopham is one of the jurors). Ruspar 1 mess. 100 acres, land called Kyngesfold; 100 in Warnham, called Sloghterfold; 100 acres, lands in Slynefold, called Feeldelond. 12 messuages 1 toft 37 acres, lands in Arundel. 1 mess. & 12a. in Totyngton, 26 in Lytelhampton, 12a. in Warnecamp, and 16a. in Yapton, which are worth yearly 10 marcs. On his death the premises descended to Alice, Isabella, Agnes, Jane, Petronilla, daughters of Thomas Barttelot, and sisters & heirs of the same William: they entered into possession. The aforesaid Isabella and Petronilla have been idiots from their birth, for which reason the King ought to have custody of their persons.

IN CHANCERY AT WESTMINSTER.

20th Nov. (1482), 22 Ed. IV.

John Bull complains he had been removed by the Escheator from his 5th part of the (above) premises, & says that the said Wm. Barttelot held the premises of John Frye by fealty & rent of one red rose; & the said William died without issue; & he says that Petronilla enfeoffed him of her 5th part of the premises; & denies that she is an idiot; & prays it may be restored to him.

John Bull, of Horsham, grants to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, William Lord Maltravers, John Banister, clerk, and Richard Barttelot, a tenement, with garden, called Bolters, in Horsham, 19 Hen. VII. (1503). (Add. Charters 8936.)

43 Elizth. 1601.—William Barttelot, Esqre., died seised of land in Stopham (worth £2 3s. 4d.), & Richard Barttelot was found his grandson & heir, aged 38 years the 8th of March last past. This manor was holden of the Crown *in Capite* by $\frac{1}{100}$ part of a knight's fee. (Bod. MSS. V. 181 & 301.)

² Burr. MS., ff. 122-3, p. 268-9.

It was said in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the Barttelots could ride from Stopham to Horsham on their property.

Their present estates are in the parishes of Stopham, Pulborough, Fittleworth, Wigginholt, Hardham, Greatham, Wisborough Green, Bury, Appledram, and Coldwaltham.

There has been a constant tradition in the family that its founder was Adam Barttelot, who served as squire to a knight named Brian at the battle of Hastings, and that both of them shared in the ample grants of land with which their immediate leader, Earl Roger (de Montgomeri), was enriched by the Conqueror. The knight and squire are believed to have settled down side by side in the same parish of Stopham, from which the former took his name, and the descendants of both became, as we shall see, ultimately merged in the same individual. We give the tradition for what it is worth: but it must be borne in mind that the only evidence adduced for the existence of Sir Brian is the so-called Roll of Battle Abbey, some versions of which were evidently compiled at a comparatively late period,³ and contain names whose very occurrence throws discredit upon the entire document.

An old pedigree—apparently made in the reign of Elizabeth—is in the possession of Sir Walter B. Barttelot, but the statements in it, being frequently unsupported by official evidence, require to be received with caution, and we venture, therefore, sometimes to dissent from them in the annexed pedigree, which we adopt in the main. Sir Walter's record states that the above Adam Barttelot was buried in Stopham Church A.D. 1100, and was succeeded by his son William Barttelot. It is certainly an unusual circumstance to find at so early a date the transmission of a surname from father to son, but it is not altogether without parallel, and is at least incapable of disproof. Other pedigrees further state that William Barttelot lived at Stopham and had two sons, who fought in the Crusades, and are supposed to lie beneath the stone coffin lids, enriched with crosses,

³ See 6 S. A. C., I., *et seq.*

which may still be seen in Stopham Churchyard; that one of these sons, John Barttelot, married and left issue a daughter, Eve (who was wife to John de Stopham), and a son, Richard, born in 1216. The great grandson of the latter was, I think, Adam Barttelot, who is described in the Subsidy Roll of Sussex, 1295, as of East Preston—a parish in the extreme south of the county, with which the Barttelots were certainly connected. For in a charter, dated 31, Hen. VI. (1453), Wm. Ludlowe and John Barttelot, of Stopham, senr., and Rob. Horsham, demised certain lands in East Preston.⁴ This shows that even a century and a half after the date of the Subsidy Roll the Barttelot family, though then removed to Stopham, retained connection with that place, which may perhaps have been the "*cunabula gentis*." It was probably a descendant, lineal or otherwise, of this same Adam, and not he himself, who married Assoline, daughter of John de Stopham, and settled at Stopham; for it is obvious that if Adam Barttelot was old enough to be subsidized in 1295, he is not likely to have been alive in 1370, or, as a pedigree quoted in *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 107, and supported by the citation of a charter (48 Edw. III.) has it, in 1374. Adam Barttelot's son and successor was John Barttelot, of whom the old pedigree states that "he took the Castle of Fontenay in France, for which Edward the Black Prince gave him a castle" (or rather a tower) "for his crest." Of course, this statement involves, as it stands, various anachronisms, and, moreover, Froissart is silent as to the achievement which it commemorates—(Sir W. B. Barttelot thinks that it may refer to an earlier ancestor, perhaps to John, grandson of Richard Barttelot)—and I have ventured to explain the matter this way in the subjoined pedigree. Of this, however, we are sure; John Barttelot married about the year 1395 the eldest daughter and coheir of William de Stopham, and would be likely enough to have been the companion in arms of his paramount Lord, the Earl of Arundel. From his monumental inscription we further learn that he was

⁴ Add. Chart, 5664.

Treasurer of the Hospital of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and have, therefore, little doubt that he assisted that nobleman (whose executor he was) in the foundation and endowment of the Maison Dieu, or Hospital of the Holy Trinity, at Arundel. From "Tierney's History of Arundel"⁵ we gather that the actual founder of the Hospital was Richard, Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded 21 Sept., 1397, but that it was by his son and successor, Thomas, that the work was carried out. He settled the endowment of the Hospital, and by his will, dated Oct. 10, 1415, gave large estates for its benefit. Thomas Dene was Master and Steward of the Hospital from 1407 to 1439. A John Barttelot, as we have said, married Joan, daughter and coheir of William de Stopham, and his eldest son and heir as certainly fought at Agincourt, and is mentioned in the list of *armigeri* as "John Barttelot *le puyne* of Stopham."⁶ In later life the son, like the father, occupied some position of trust in connection with the great lords of Arundel, and served in Parliament as Knight of the Shire in the year 1434. His monumental brass in Stopham Church states that he was "prudens consul," or discreet adviser, to Thomas, John, and William Fitzalan, successively Earls of Arundel. The peculiar nature of his office we are unable to define, but it was obviously a confidential one—possibly resembling that occupied by Baron Stockmar in relation to the Prince Consort. He died in 1453, having married Joan, daughter and heir of John Lewknore, and thus allied himself to one of the most ancient families in Sussex. By this marriage, also, his descendants became entitled to quarter the arms of D'Oyley, Tregoz, and Camoys, and to share in the representation of those well-known houses.

His second son, Thomas, married Elizabeth, heiress of the Okehursts, and granddaughter of William Okehurst, who fought at Agincourt; and who stands on the roll of Sussex *armigeri* there, next above John Barttelot.⁷ A grandson of the last, Edward Barttelot of Okehurst, was disinherited for eating a pigeon on Good Friday! James

⁵ p. 662 *et seq.*

⁶ 15 S. A. C., 129.

⁷ *Ib.*

Barttelot was the third son of John, and Joan de Lewknore; he married Alice, and held the manors of Chicksand and Argenthuis in North Mundham, Sussex, which he had from his sister Catherine, who had married William Luntley, of North Mundham. He founded a chantry for himself and his wife in the parish of St. Martin's in the Vintry in London, and was there buried in 1474.

Richard—*secundùm* Dallaway,⁸ Robert—Barttelot, the eldest son of John and Joan, a justice of the King's peace, married Petronilla, daughter and heir of — Walton, through whom the quarterings for that name on the Barttelot arms are derived, and was succeeded by his son, John Barttelot, who married Olyff, daughter of John Arlote and Isabel Sykeston, of whom she was the heir general. This John died in 1493, leaving three sons, one of whom was imprisoned in the Tower. John, the eldest, married Katherine D'Alta Ripa or Dawtrey, sister of Sir John Dawtrey, of Moor House, Petworth, who was High Sheriff for Sussex in 1527. He died without issue, and was buried in Stopham Church. Richard Barttelot, the second son, died at Tournay, in France, having married a daughter of John Gates, Esq. The third son, Thomas Barttelot, was ancestor of the Barttelots of Gloucestershire. Richard Barttelot, who predeceased his elder brother, John, left issue, William Barttelot and three other sons. The third son, Edmund, was the ancestor of the Barttelots of Ernley, who were settled and had a good estate there for several generations. Their arms are still in the east window of Ernley Church. William Barttelot lived to be ninety-seven. He married Anne, daughter of Giles Covert, of Hascombe, and was an active magistrate for the county. He contributed considerably to the defence of the Sussex coast against the Spanish Armada; and had a son, Robert, who was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of John Apsley, Esq., of Thakeham, and secondly to Barbara, daughter of Thomas Onley, of Pulborough—and died in his father's lifetime, being buried at Hascombe, where his

⁸ Vol. I., lxxvii.

grandfather and grandmother Covert lived. He left issue by his first wife, Richard, the eldest son, John, the second (who died without issue), and Henry, who was Feodar⁹ of Sussex. Richard married twice—first Mary, daughter of Richard Covert, of Slaugham, and secondly, Rose, daughter of Richard Hatton, of Thames Ditton. A beautiful brass to him and his wives in Stopham Church shows that he was a soldier, as he is clad in the full armour of the period. He died in 1619, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Walter, an active county magistrate, whose name is found in many records in Sussex, and who was M.P. for Bramber in 1635. He repaired Stopham Church, and erected the east window, which is believed to have been taken from the old Stopham Manor House. Like his ancestors, he had the right of keepingswans on the river¹⁰—which right they had from the earliest times, and it is said to have given them the swan as their crest. He married Mary, daughter of John Middleton, of Hills Place, near Horsham, and had six daughters, co-heiresses. The second, Mary, married her cousin, Henry, eldest son of Henry Barttelot, Feodar of Sussex, by Anne Marlot, of Muntham, Itchingfield. In the old pedigree it is stated that he married his second daughter to Henry, who succeeded as heir to Stopham “to keep the estate in his name.” The Manor of Denne, in Warnham, was now severed from the Barttelot estates and settled upon Christopher Coles, who had married Jane, one of the co-heiresses. This deed of partition was executed in 1650. Henry and Mary Barttelot had issue—Walter, Henry, and two Richards. Walter married Anne, daughter of Thomas Bettsworth, of Halnaker, and kinswoman to Sir Peter Bettsworth. She was descended from King Edward III., through Thomas, of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Hereford and Essex. Walter died in 1702. His brother Henry had considerable property in Fittleworth, also in Surrey, was High Sheriff for Surrey in 1694, and died in 1710.

⁹ *i.e.*, I think, County Treasurer.

¹⁰ See 17 S. A. C., 216.

Walter Barttelot was succeeded by his son Walter, who was twice married—first to the daughter of the Rev. Edmund Barker, D.D., of Buriton, and by her he left a son, the Rev. Walter Barttelot, Rector of Rottingdean; he married secondly Mary, widow of John White, Esqr., of Steyning. The Rev. Walter Barttelot died in his father's lifetime, having married Barbara Smyth, daughter of George Smyth, of Binderton; her brother, Thomas Smyth, died unmarried, and her sister, Mrs. Hamilton, died without issue. She succeeded to part of the Smyth property at Appledram, known as the Church farm, with the fine old house and tower built by the Rymans, now the property of the present Sir Walter B. Barttelot. Humphrey Ryman made application to the King (Henry VIII.) to embattle his house at Appledram, which was refused, and the stones which had been prepared were sold, and the campanile, or bell tower, in Chichester Cathedral yard, was built with them.¹¹ Appledram Manor Farm was left by Mrs. Hamilton to W. Gerard Hamilton,¹² known as Single Speech Hamilton, from the circumstance of his having made one speech only in Parliament; while the Binderton estate was left by Mrs. Hamilton to her nephew, Walter Barttelot, of Stopham, who succeeded his grandfather at Stopham, was High Sheriff for the County of Sussex in 1754, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hooker, of Great Chart, Ashford, Kent. They were married at St. Paul's Cathedral, and had three sons, Walter, George Smyth, and Hooker. Walter, who succeeded his father in 1764, assumed the surname of Smyth, in compliance with the will and by the direction of Mrs. Hamilton, daughter of George Smyth, of Binderton. He subsequently obtained an Act of Parliament, dated 1774, to exchange his lands at Binderton with Sir James Peachey, who was created Lord Selsey, for New Place, in Pulborough, and the North Brooks in Wigginholt, Fitzlee, and other lands. Walter Barttelot Smyth married Philadelphia, only daughter of the Rev. Dr. Wickens, Rector of Pet-

¹¹ See 18 S. A. C., p. 79.

¹² Elwes' Castles, &c., of W. Sussex, p. 14.

worth and Tillington, who had married Philadelphia Mitford. The mother of the latter was an Osbaldiston, and her daughter heiress of half the Osbaldiston estates. Dr. Wickens's only son took the name of Osbaldiston, and was the father of the "Old Squire." Mr. Barttelot Smyth served for many years as an officer of the Sussex Militia, and was an active magistrate. He had ten children. His eldest son, Walter, served in the 35th and 39th Regiments, and died in 1814, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Sherret, of Galway, and left issue one son, Walter, who died in 1828. John Wickens Smyth Barttelot, the second son, served in the Madras Army, and died at Sealcote, unmarried, in 1812. Edmund, the youngest son died unmarried, in 1809. George, the third son, entered the Royal Artillery in 1803, went out to Corunna in Sir Hugh Ross's troop of Royal Horse Artillery in 1809, came off Corunna as the action was fought, returned to England, and re-embarked in the following year for the Peninsula in Sir Hugh Ross's celebrated chesnut troop of Royal Horse Artillery as senior lieutenant till the end of the war, when he left the service in the short peace of 1814. He was severely wounded at Salamanca, and received the war medal and five clasps for his services. He succeeded his father in 1837, and was for more than fifty years a magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Sussex, and married, in 1819, Emma, youngest daughter of James Woodbridge, of Richmond, Surrey. Mr. Barttelot Smyth resumed the family name of Barttelot only. He died in 1872, and had issue by his wife, who survives him, nine children, of whom six pre-deceased him—David, Emma, Georgina, Caroline, Maria, and George. His surviving children are—his eldest son, Walter Barttelot, of whom presently; Brian, of Bramblehurst, who married Dorothy, daughter of Frederick Bateman, Esq., of Moor Park, Farnham, and has issue; and Philadelphia, who married Lieut.-Colonel England, eldest son of General Sir Richard England, G.C.B., and has issue. Walter Barttelot Barttelot, the eldest son, succeeded his father. He was educated at Rugby, under Dr. Arnold; entered the Royal Dragoons as

Cornet in 1839, and left, having been eight years a captain, in 1853. He has been for thirty years an active magistrate for the county, is a Deputy-Lieutenant for Sussex, and has commanded what is now the 1st Administrative Battalion Sussex Volunteers since 1860. He married—first, in 1852, Harriet, fourth daughter of Sir Christopher Musgrave, of Edenhall, Cumberland, and by her has had issue—Walter George, a Lieutenant in the 5th Dragoon Guards, born in 1855; Edmund Musgrave, born in 1859; Amy, died an infant; Edith Harriet, Evelyn Fanny, Blanche, died March 28th, 1876, and Ada Mary. He married secondly, in 1868, Margaret, only child of Henry Boldero, Esq., of St. Leonard's Forest, Horsham. Lieut.-Colonel Barttelot was elected M.P. for the Western Division of the County of Sussex in 1860, on the death of the Duke of Richmond, and consequent elevation of his son, the Earl of March, who was one of the representatives of West Sussex, to the House of Peers. He was created a Baronet at the recommendation of Mr. D'Israeli by Her Majesty, in 1875, for his parliamentary services as a Conservative.

The following additional records relate to the Ford family:—

SUBSIDY ROLL.—SUSSEX.

24 Ed. I., 1295.

Rape of Pevensey.

Hundred of Totnore . . .	William atte Forde	14d.
Township of Salt . . .	Saver atte Forde .	£3 2s 0¼d.
Do. Wollaniton & Berlaunton .	John atte Forde .	2s. 8d.
Township of Stopeham . . .	Johnatte Forde .	18d.

A.D. 1327-8.

Township of Stopham . . . John atte Forde & others 18d.

Coram rege Roll. 2 Ed. III., 1327-8. Easter. No. 112.

Sussex. Mandate to Roger Bavent to send to the king record & process of plea which was tried before him & his associate justices (in Eyre) in 20 Ed. 2, 1336, respecting a trespass done to Wm. La Zouche of Ashby by Hy. Tallard & many others (including John Atte Forde) by hunting in his park at Trene.

No. 113. Similar Mandate.

Wm la Zouche of Assheby & Ralph his son, Plts, & John Atte See, Wm Atte See, Roger parson of the Church at Stopeham, John Atte Forde & Nicolas de Gate, Defts, for fishing in the fish ponds of the said William & Ralph at Stopeham. The said John Atte Ford was bailed by John Atte Combe & Thomas Atte Forde.

Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. 6, No. 62 (1433-4). Robert Lee of Fittleworth a debtor. Sussex—Dove-cote in Stopham, property in other places. Thomas Barttelot is one of the jurors. 8s issuing from certain lands & tenements which John Atte Forde then held of him there—i.e. in Petteworth. Lees' lands were seized till he paid the money for which he had become bound to John by Statute staple.

The following further extracts from records concern the family of Stopham :—

Fine roll 19 Ed. 1, m. 10. Order to seize into the kings hands all the lands of Ralph de Stopham, deceased. (June 6, 1291.)

(Ib. Oct. 19). Forasmuch as by the proof made by the escheator of the age of Eva daughter & heir of Ralph de Stopham deceased, it appears that she is of full age, the escheator is commanded to commit the lands of the said Ralph, to William, son of William de Echingham, to hold in the name of the said Eva until the next Parliament so that the said William shall till & sow the said lands & answer to the king for the issues thereof and so that the said Eva shall then appear before the king to do what she ought to do to the king for the premises.

(20 Ed. 1, m. 17. Dec. 2, 1292.) The king took the homage of William de Echingham who married Eva, daughter & heiress of Ralph de Stopham.

Inq. ad q. d. 7 Ed. 2, No. 107. (1314)

There remain to William & Eva, the Manor of Dene in Sussex held of the king &c.—the manor of Echyngnam held of John de Bretagne as of the Barony of Hastings, &c.—the manor of Oekam held of the same John, the Manor of Mundefield held of same. Manor of Bedingeham held of the Abbot of Greslyn and the Manor of Stopeham held of William la Suche by the service of one knight's fee. It is worth yearly £20.

Inq. p.m. (8 Ed. 2, No. 66. 1314-15.) Henry de Percy, deceased, Sussex. William la Sousse held five knights' fees of the said Henry in Chief in Trene Stopham Lymes Cotes & Yaberton & they are worth yearly £26 13s. 4d.

[These Suches or Sousches must, I think, have been connected with the (now) Parham Zouches, the earlier Barony being described like the Stopham Suches, *as of Ashly* (see Nicolas' Historic Peerage.) ED.]

Inq. (16 Ed. 3, 2 Nos. 49, 1342-3). Sussex—Inq. at Arundel on Friday after St. Martin 16 Ed. 3, 1342. It is not to the damage of the king or others if the king license John de Alresford & John de Stopeham to grant two messuages 78a. land and a half 10a. meadow in Byensted Leueminstre, Burgham, Arundel Yabeton and Walberton to the Prior & Convent of Tortinton. Richard Earl of Arundell is mesne between the King & the said John de Alresford & John de Stopeham. There remain to John de Stopeham one messuage 200a. land & 20a. meadow in Stopeham, worth yearly £15 held (with the lands remaining to John de Alresford in Quinyng) of the Earl of Arundel by the service of one rose. (William de Forde is one of the jurors.)

The following, though not alluding to the parish of Stopham, furnishes a valuable piece of pedigree:—

In Coram Rege Roll. (Michaelmas Term 33-4 Ed. 1, 1304-5). Suth. William de Echyngham & Eva his wife *versus* Isabella widow of Ralph de Stopham respecting advowson of the Church at Lydeschelne. Ralph de Stopham grandfather of the said Eva presented to same Church & the right of presentation descended to Ralph, son & heir of the said Ralph, and from said Ralph the heir to this Eva. A certain Eva who was wife of said Ralph the grandfather to whom the manor of Lydeschelne was assigned in dower in the reign of the present king (Ed. 1st) presented to said church. The said Isabella says that she holds the said manor in dower of the inheritance of Eva, wife of the said William de Echyngham; the aforesaid Ralph, formerly husband of the said Eva held certain tenements of the king, and on his death the king assigned the said manor to the said Isabella as dower, retaining the advowson. When the said Eva came to full age, the king restored her inheritance to her.

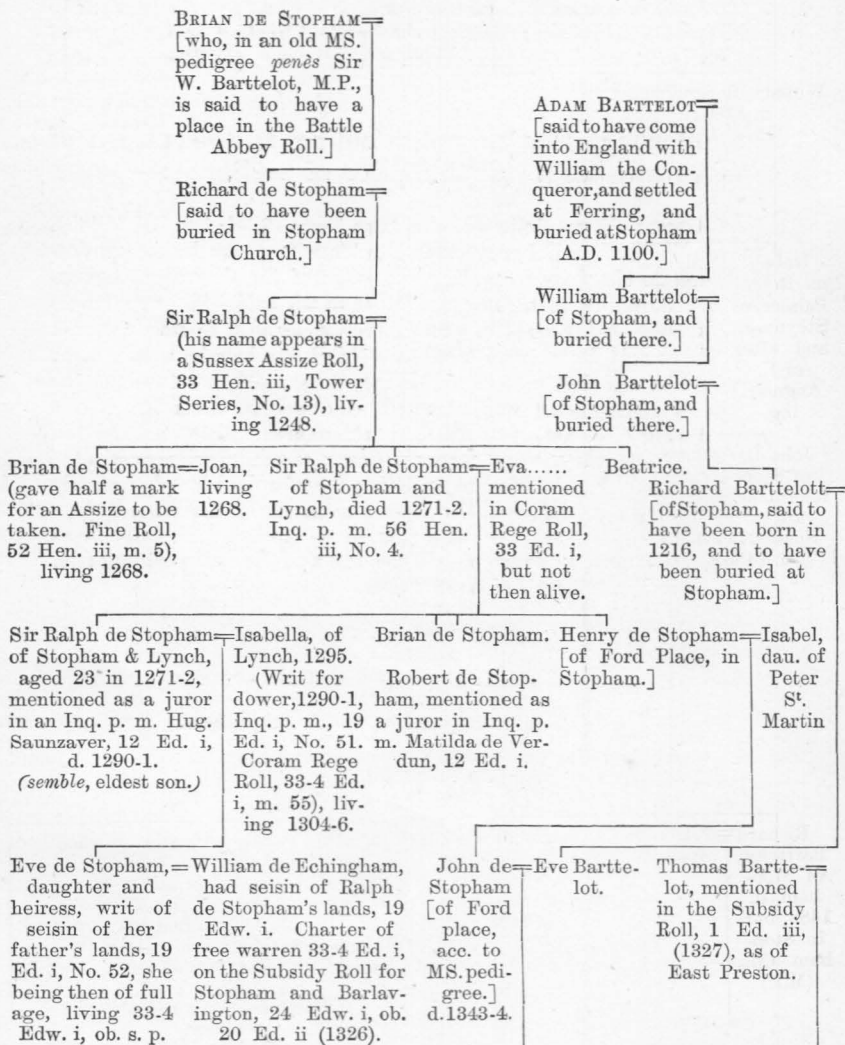
Ralph de Stopham = Eva.

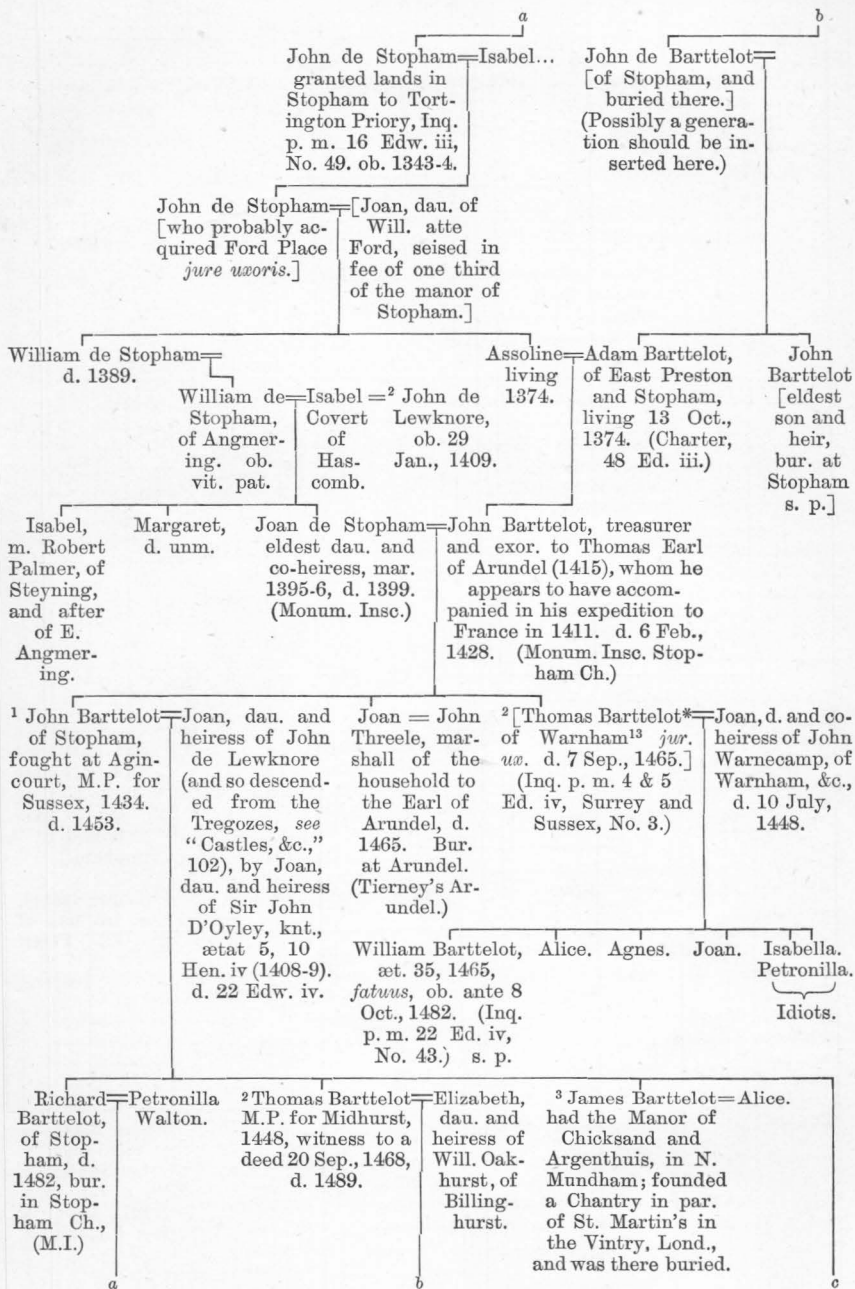
Ralph de Stopham = Isabella.

Eva de Stopham = Wm. de Echyngham.

PEDIGREE OF THE BARTTELOTS.

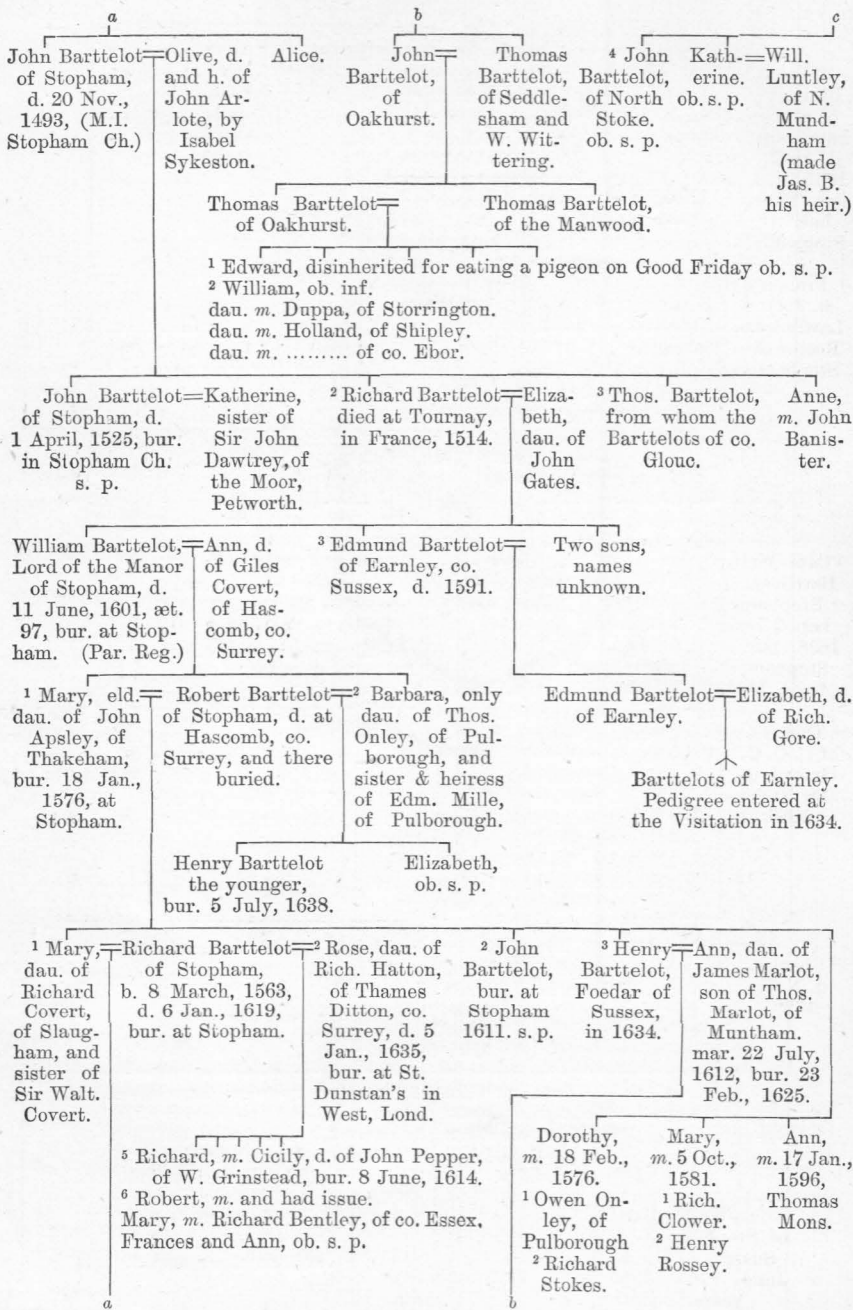
NOTE.—The early part of this Pedigree has been chiefly taken from a MS. Roll of the 16th century, in the possession of Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Bart. ; but its statements, except where substantiated by references to records, must be accepted with caution. *The unsubstantiated statements are enclosed within square brackets.*

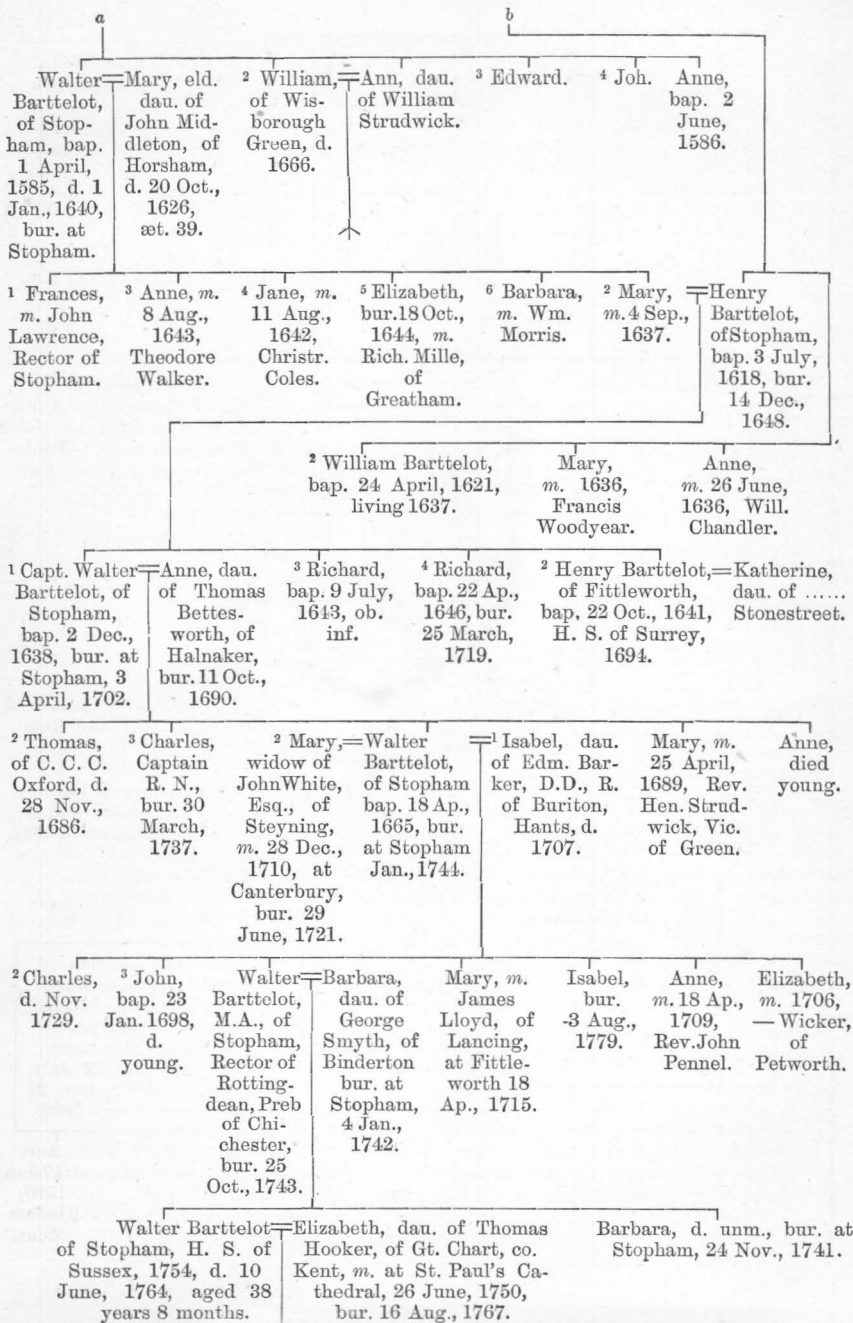




[SEE NEXT PAGE.]

¹³ He is inserted here rather on the evidence of dates, than of anything else. His name does not occur in the "old pedigree," nor does the Inquisition state his relationship with the Stopham family.





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² George Smyth Barttelot, b. June 1752, M.A. and Fell. of Clare Hall, Camb., d. Oct., 1778, bur. at Stopham.	Walter Barttelot, of Stopham, b. Mar. 19, 1751; assumed name of SMYTH in compliance with the will of his great aunt Mary Hamilton, sister of his grandmother Barbara Smyth, d. Feb., 1837, bur. at Stopham.	Philadelphia, dau. of Rev. John Wickens D.D., R. of Petworth and Tillington, m. 9 June, 1772, d. May, 1809.	³ Hooker Barttelot = Theresa Maria dau. of Capt. McDonagh, R. N. of Gt. Chart, co. Kent, Major N. Hants Mil. b. 2 Feb., 1754, d. 1838.
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¹ Walter Barttelot Smyth, Capt. 35th and 39th Regts., bap. 17 July, 1781, d. 1814.	Elizabeth, d. of Col. Skerret, of Galway, d. 1854.	² John Wickins Barttelot Smyth, b. Feb., 1786, d. unm. 8 Ap., 1812, in the East Indies.	³ George Barttelot Smyth of Stopham, b. Aug. 1788, resumed the name of BARTELLOT only, in 1837, d. 28 Nov., 1872. Served in R.H.A. during the Peninsular war, and received a medal and five clasps.	Emma, dau. of Jas. Woodbridge, of Richmond, co. Surrey, m. at Richmond 22 Nov., 1819.	⁴ Edmund Aug., 1790.
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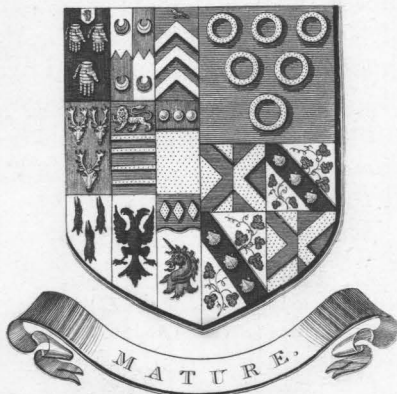
Walter Barttelot, d. 1828, aged 13. bur. at Stopham.

Philadelphia, b. 1773.	Georgiana, b. 1774.	Anna Maria, b. 1777.	Lucy Dorothea, b. 1779.	Elizabeth, beth.	Sophia Jane.
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² David, M.A. of C.C.C., Oxford, b. 1821, d. at Sydney N. S. W. 1852, s. p.	³ George James, Lieut. 21 N.B. Fus. b. 1829, d. 1849, at Edinbro'. s. p.	¹ Harriet 4th dau. of Rev. Sir Christ. Musgrave, of Eden Hall, co. Cumb., Bart., m. at Hove, Ap., 1852, d. 29 July, 1863.	Walter Barttelot, of Stopham; b. 10 Oct., 1820. J.P. & D.L. M.P. for West Sussex; cr. a Baronet 9 June, 1875. Sometime Capt. 1st R. Dragoons; Lt.-Col. 1st Adm. Battalion Sussex R. Volunteers.	² Margaret, only child of Henry Boldero, of South Lodge, St. Leonard's Forest, m. 30 Ap., 1868.	⁴ Brian Barttelot, of Bramblehurst, East Grinstead J.P. for co. Suss. b. Dec., 1833.	Mary Dorothy, eld. d. of J. F. Bate-man, of Moor Park, co. Sur.
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George Frederick b. June, 1865.	Brian Herbert Fairbairn, b. Dec., 1867.	Mary Philadel-phia.	Isobel Doro-thy.	Emma.	Georgiana Harriet.	Caroline. Anna Maria Lloyd.	Philadelphia Jane, b. May, 1835, m. Richard Eng-land, eld. son of Gen. Sir Richard Eng-land, G.C.B.
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² Edmund Musgrave, b. March, 1859.	Walter George, Lt. 5 Dragoon Gds., b. April, 1855.	¹ Amy, b. & d. 1853.	² Edith Harriet, b. Mar. 1856.	³ Evelyn Fanny, b. March 1857.	⁴ Blanche, b. Feb., 1858, d. 1876.	⁵ Ada Mary, b. Aug., 1862.



*Arms of
Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Bart.*

- CRESTS. 1. On a wreath, a tower triple turreted sable, portcullised or.¹⁴
 2. On a wreath, a swan argent couched with her wings expanded *in dorso*.¹⁵
- SHIELD. Sa. three falconer's sinister gloves pendant arg, tasseled or, with the following quarterings :
- (For Stopham) quarterly per fesse indented arg. and gu. four crescents counterchanged.
 - (For Lewknor) az. three chevronelles arg. A martlet for difference.
 - (For d'Oyley) gu. three bucks' heads caboshed arg.
 - (For Tregoz) az. two bars gemellès in chief; a lion passant guardant or.
 - (For Camoys) arg. on a chief gu. three plates.
 - (For Walton) arg. three cranes' heads erased sa. two and one.
 - (For Sykeston) arg. an eagle displayed double-headed sa. armed az.
 - (For Smyth) arg. an unicorn's head erased gu. On a chief wavy az. three lozenges or.

MOTTO. "Mature."

¹⁴ In the Herald's College the tower has bends or bendlets or. Sir Walter Barttelot thinks this crest was granted by Edward the Black Prince to John Barttelot, son of Adam, in commemoration of his services (see *suprà*) in France; but there is no evidence of this at the Herald's College. It is there simply called the "old crest."

¹⁵ At the Herald's College is added "beaked gules." The grant of this crest was made by Wm. Segar (Clarencieux), 27 Nov., 1616.

II.—DESCENT OF THE MANOR, AND THE MANOR HOUSES.

Stopham (or Stopeham) is described in the Domesday Survey among the possessions of Earl Roger de Montgomeri, under whom it was held by one Robert, whose tenant was Ralph. The chief lordship, therefore, was vested in the Earl, and formed part of the Honour of Arundel, passing with the latter to Robert de Belesme, and through his treason reverting once more to the Crown. Henry the First settled it upon his wife, Adeliza, daughter of Godfrey of Lorraine, who, upon the death of her royal husband, in 1135, married William de Albin (eldest son of William de Albin, a companion of the Conqueror, by his wife Maud, daughter of Roger Bigod). By his descendants Arundel and its appendant estates were enjoyed for four generations, when, upon the death of Hugh de Albin, 5th Earl, in 1243, without issue, the Castle and Honour devolved to John Fitzalan, son of John Fitzalan, lord of Clune and Oswaldestre by his wife Isabel, sister and coheir of the said Hugh de Albin. It is scarcely necessary to add that the ultimate heiress¹⁶ of the great House of Fitzalan married Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (beheaded 2nd June, 1572), and that the Duke's son and heir, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, *jure matris*, became attainted in 1589, and his estates forfeited to the Crown. It has been generally supposed that Stopham was included in this forfeiture. But this is certainly an error. For, by an indenture¹⁷ made in February, 1541 (32 Henry VIII.) between the King and William, Earl of Arundel, the manor of Stopham, with divers other lands, was transferred to the Crown in exchange for the site of Michelham Priory, and these exchanged lands remained with the Crown until Queen Mary re-granted Stopham to Henry, Earl of Arundel. The date of this transaction¹⁸ was 1555, and as William Barttelot settled the manor¹⁹ in 1584

¹⁶ Strictly speaking, Joan, wife of Lord Lumley, was coheir of the earldom with her sister, Mary Duchess of Norfolk. But the former died s.p. in the lifetime of her father, Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel.

¹⁷ Pedes Finium, Pasch. T. 33 Hen. VIII. No. 155.

¹⁸ Patent Roll, 1 and 2 Ph. and Mary, dated 15 July, 1555.

¹⁹ Tierney's Arundel, p. 19.

upon his grandson Richard at his marriage, it is obvious that it must have been acquired by the latter before, and independently of, Philip Howard's attainder. And it is stated in the Inquest at the death of the said William Barttelot, who held Ford manor too, that the manor of Stopham was held by the deceased of the *Queen*, and not of the Earl of Arundel. We know,²⁰ however, that although Henry, Earl of Arundel, in the year 1570, entailed the Castle and Honour of Arundel, &c., &c., upon Lord Lumley, in the first instance, the latter, upon the Earl's death, in 1580, conveyed only his interest in the entail to his nephew and next heir, Philip Howard, then Earl of Surrey. The remainder of the original Arundel estate had been granted to Lord Lumley in fee, and much of it was alienated by him during his life. Possibly, then, as Stopham was among the manors so granted to Lord Lumley, it was from him that William Barttelot purchased. We know, moreover, that about the year 1570 Henry, Earl of Arundel, was in pecuniary difficulties, and disposed of some of his estates. The close connection which had existed for so many generations between the Earl's ancestors and the family of Barttelot would suggest the latter, as the purchasers of the seignory of the estate they had long occupied. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that William Barttelot acquired the chief lordship of the manor of Stopham, either by gift or purchase, before the year 1584, and that it has descended from him without interruption to its present possessor, Sir Walter Barttelot.

The descent of the *mesne* lordship is more obscure. From the entry already quoted from the Domesday Book it appears that, at the date of the Survey, Robert was tenant of the manor, and Ralph the sub-tenant. It would be rash to assume that either of these was the direct progenitor of the Stopham or Barttelot families, but the probability of such a supposition may be safely left to the judgment of our readers. The earliest name which we find mentioned in connection with the *mesne* lordship is derived from the place itself. One Ralph de

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

Stopham²¹ (living 1248) appears to have enjoyed possession of it until his death,²² when he was succeeded by his son bearing the same name. He died in 1271,²³ leaving a son, Ralph, who, dying in 1291, left issue by his wife, Isabel, an only daughter, Eva, who married William de Echingham, and conveyed to him her interest in the manor of Stopham. He obtained a charter of free-warren in this and his other lordships in Sussex in 1295, and both husband and wife were alive in 1314,²⁴ when they are described as holding (with other estates) the manor of Stopham of William la Zouche or Suche by the service of one knight's fee. This entry suggests the question in what way was la Zouche—described as of Ashby and of Mortimer—the lord of Stopham, and to this we have no satisfactory answer to give. His name occurs in the Subsidy Roll for Sussex, in 1327, as first among the owners in Stopham, and various entries²⁵ imply the connection of his descendants with the place, until the commencement of the fifteenth century. Possibly there may have been a temporary alienation of the chief lordship from the Arundels; but the records are so confusing and contradictory, that we are unable to arrive at any safer conclusion than that while the owners of Arundel Castle and Honour claimed throughout a paramount lordship over the manor of Stopham, the interest thus involved was often more nominal than real. The manor formed part of the Honour of Arundel in the time of John Arundel, Lord Maltravers, in 12-13 Henry IV. (1412-13), and was then valued at £5.²⁶ The²⁷ diffi-

²¹ Ralph de Stopham occurs as amerced in the Assize Roll of Sussex, 33 Hen. III. Inq. p.m. 56 Hen. III. (*Cal. Gen.*, p. 152.)

²² Inq. 19 Ed. I. (*Cal. Gen.*, p. 757). Coram Rege Roll, 33-4 Ed. I.

²³ See Fine Roll, 19 Ed. I. m. 2 and 10 and 20 Ed. I., m. 17.

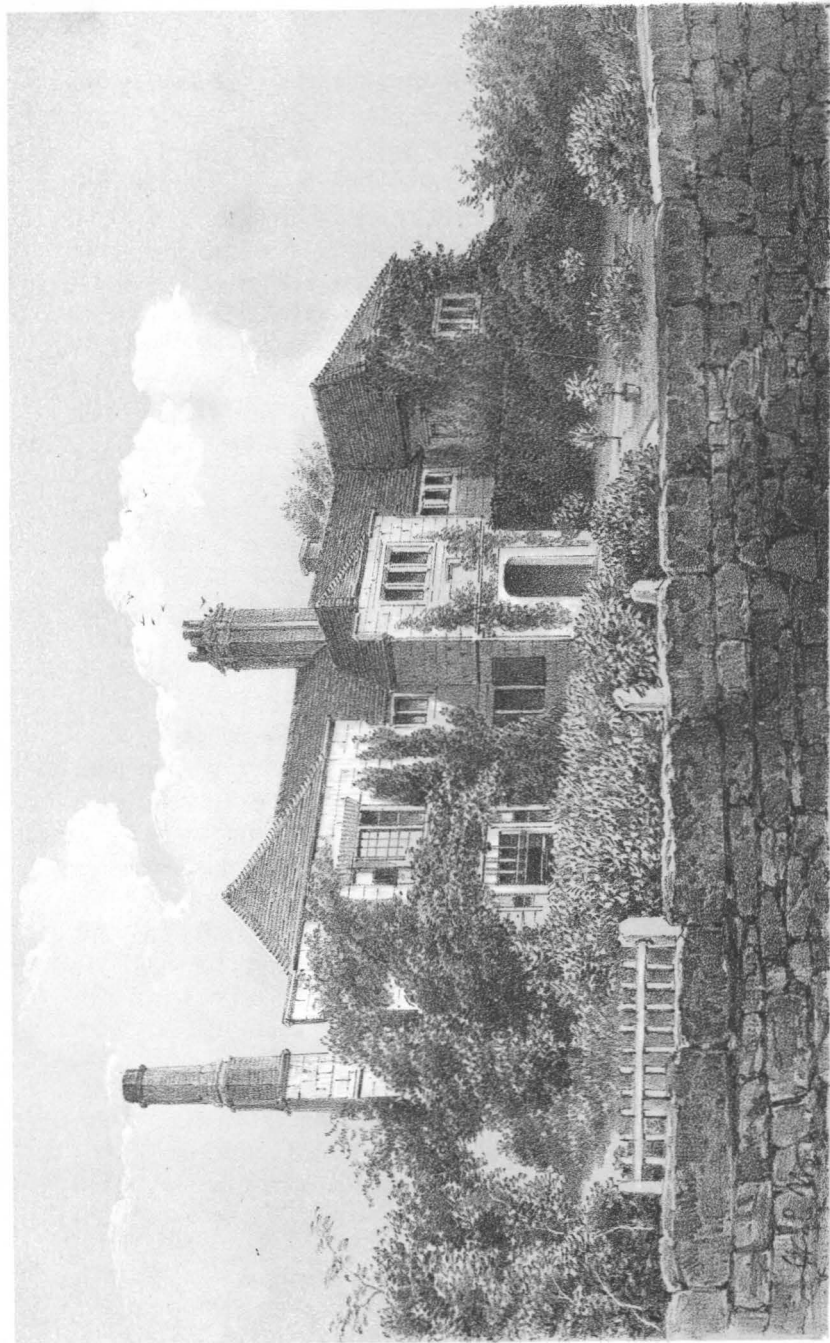
²⁴ Charter Roll, 23 Ed. I., No. 1. Inq. ad q. d. 7 Ed. II., 107.

²⁵ Inq. ad q. d. 9 Ed. II., 199. Inq. p.m. Will. la Zouche, 11 Ed. III., 1st No. 26. Inq. p.m. Alan. la Zouche, 20 Ed. III., 47. Sir W. Burrell (MS. 5688) refers to a deed (which we are unable to find) whereby Will. le Moyenne

grants and confirms to Wm. la Zouche, knt., and Ralph, his son, the manor of Stopham, which descended to him by right of inheritance on the death of Eve, wife of Wm. de Echingham, knt. The date of this deed is 1325-6, 19 Ed. II., when, from the evidence already given, it would appear that la Zouche was already in possession of the manor.

²⁶ 10 S. A. C., p. 135.

²⁷ Inq. ad q. d. 23 Ed. III., pt. 2, 2nd Nos. 35; and Inq. 27 Ed. III., 2nd Nos. 48. These inquests were held to ascertain whether license might be granted to Edw. de St. John, to grant property to the Abbot at Atherington. From



OLD MANOR HOUSE, STOPHAM.
(THE ANCIENT RESIDENCE OF THE STOPHAMS.)

M & N Harbhart lith.

culty to which we have alluded is not rendered less by the fact that we find in a document bearing date 1349 (23 Edw. III.) that Edward de St. John "le Neveu" had the manors of Lynche and Stopham, "which are held of the Earl of Arundel by knight's service." On the whole we are inclined to think that the Stopham interest was clearly in the *mesne* lordship, and that this passed by inheritance to Eva de Stopham, wife of William de Echingham. At her death some partition may have occurred which gave an estate in the manor to the la Zouches and the St. Johns, and ultimately the lords of Arundel obtained full possession of it.

The junior branch of the Stophams, the Fords, and the Barttelots were the chief tenants in the manor, and the last of these families gradually acquired the estates and submanors (including the manor of Forde, which was held of the manor of Almodington, by fealty and 4s. rent)²³ held by the other two, and, as has been already stated, added to them the chief lordship of the manor in the sixteenth century. Whether Sir Walter Barttelot owes any suit or service to the possessor of Arundel Castle, or whether, by the transfer of the head manor to his ancestor, the lord of Stopham, he became wholly independent, is a matter of little importance, inasmuch, as in consequence of the transfer merger probably ensued.

The Manor House, occupied by the Stophams and other *mesne* lords in succession—of which Sir W. Barttelot has kindly presented our Society with the engraving opposite—has generally been identified with an old building near the Church, which is now and has been for some two centuries used as a farm house. It was dismantled, more or less, in 1638, when Walter Barttelot transferred to the east window of the Church the painted glass taken from its hall. Several firebacks used in it are still in existence—one bearing the Barttelot coat of arms and the initials and date,

another entry in the Burrell MSS. it would appear that in 10 Ric. II. Edw. de St. John and Joan his wife had two

parts of the manor of Stopham. (Add. MS. 5688, citing Rot. Turr. 36.)

²³ Add MS., 5689.

“W. B., 1630.” The house is said to have been re-built, *circa* 1485.

Stopham House, the seat of Sir Walter Barttelot (for the accompanying engraving of which, as well as for that of Stopham Bridge, our Society is still further indebted to him), was known in earlier times as “La Ford,” or “Ford Place,” and is said to have been the residence of the ancient family of Ford, or atte Forde, so called from the “ford” of the river Arun in this parish. This was succeeded first by a ferry, known as Estoven Ferry, and afterwards by the present seven-arched bridge, built as early as 2 Edw. II.—a sufficient testimony, if one were needed, to the antiquity of the Forde family. Mr. Lower has described it²⁹ as one of the “most picturesque pontal edifices of the county,” and such it is. The Barttelots acquired the house by marriage with the Stophams, as the Stophams had by marriage with the Fords,³⁰ and made it their principal residence. Its date it is impossible to determine; and as in 1787 the oldest parts—which enclosed a paved court-yard at the back of the present house—were pulled down by W. B. Smyth, Esqre., and replaced by modern rooms. One most interesting vestige, however, of its high antiquity still survives in the shape of a very curious room, said to have been built before the Conquest. The hall and rooms adjoining it belong to the Tudor era, but the whole mansion has been twice re-modelled in modern times—once in 1842 by George Barttelot, and again in 1865 by its present owner—and has lost most of its ancient characteristics.

IV.—THE CHURCH, BRASSES, AND MONUMENTS.

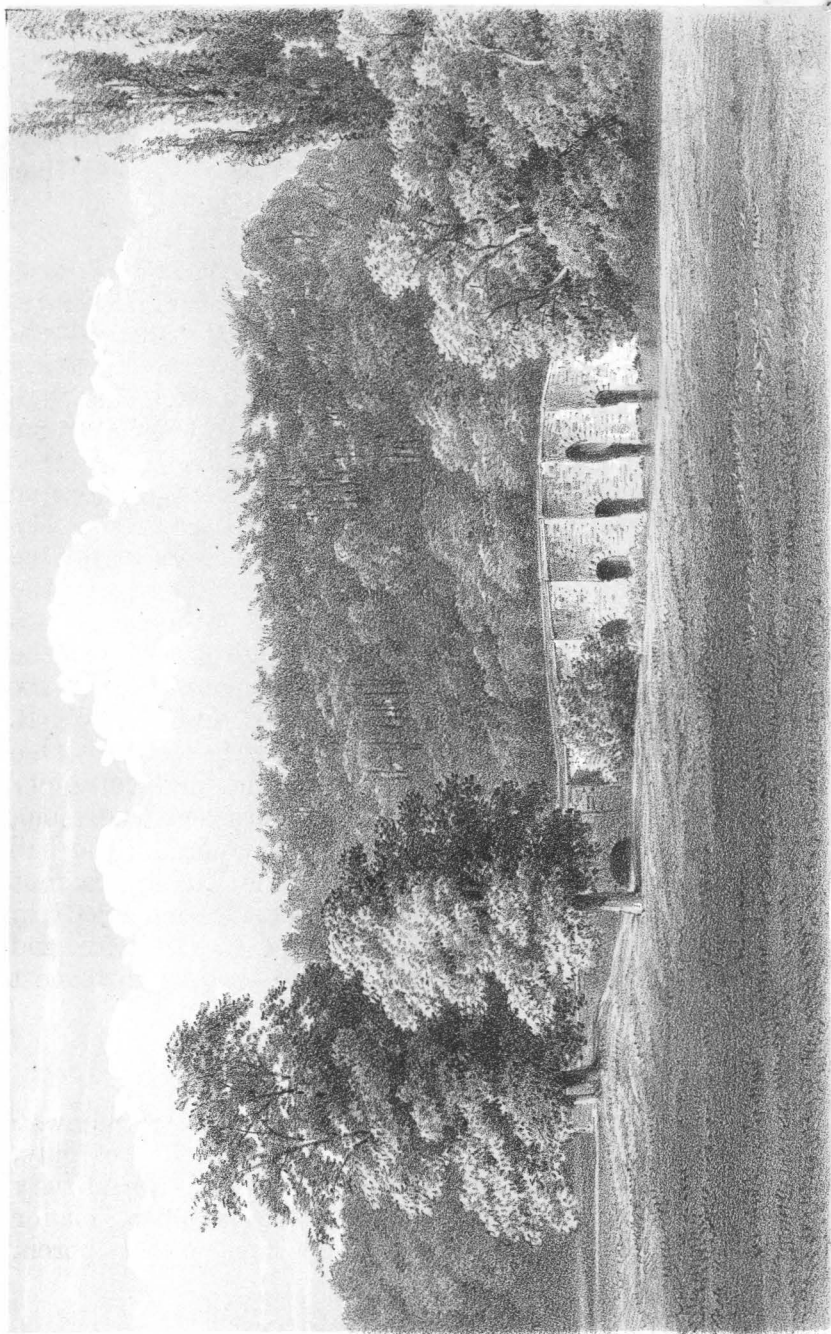
The church, dedicated to St. Mary,³¹ which Dallaway describes as having a nave, or pace, and chancel only, with a square tower³² at the west end, is beautifully situated on high ground, beside the Stopham manor house, and with a magnificent yew tree near its porch,

²⁹ 24 S. A. C., 15.

³⁰ See pedigree, *supra*.

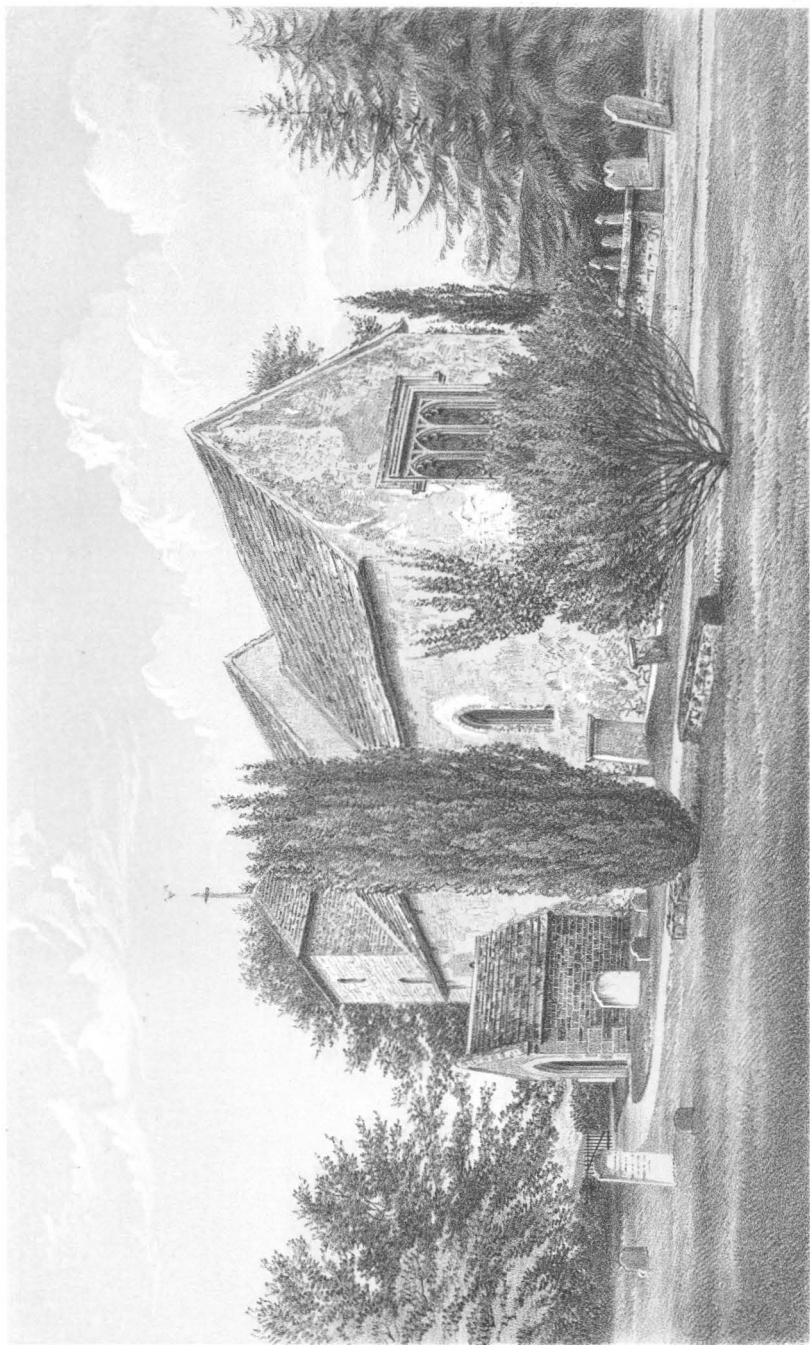
³¹ 12 S. A. C., 102.

³² Rape of Arundel, 349.



M & N Hanhart lith.

STOPHAM BRIDGE.



STOPHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

supposed to have been planted when the church was built. Its erection probably took place soon after the Conquest, for the north and south windows of the chancel, of which traces still exist, were undoubtedly Norman. The present windows are of a more modern date. The tower itself, and the arch leading into it, may be called early English; but they bear the marks of a greater antiquity. The font is octangular, ornamented with quatrefoils.³³ Upon the ancient door was a cross Fleury, in iron. The windows have been ornamented with stained glass. The eastern one, consisting of three lights, was taken from the hall of the old house, and replaced an apse which was supposed to have been there originally. It contains the following inscriptions and coats of arms of the Barttelot family:—

No. 1.—John Barttelot, married Johana de Lewknor de Warnham. Arms—Barttelot and Stopham, impaling Lewknor, D'Oyley, Etchingham, and Tregoz.

No. 2.—John Barttelot, married Katherina de Alta Ripa. Arms—*Dexter*: Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, Etchingham, and Tregoz. *Sinister*: Dawtrey (Alta Ripa).

No. 3.—William Barttelot, married Anna Covert de Hascombe. Arms—*Dexter*: Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, D'Oyley, and Tregoz. *Sinister*: Covert.

No. 4.—Robert Barttelot, married Maria Apsley de Thakeham. Arms—*Dexter*: Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, Camoys, Etchingham, and Tregoz. *Sinister*: Apsley.

No. 5.—Arms—Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, D'Oyley, Etchingham, Tregoz, Walton, and Sykeston.

No. 6.—Richard Barttelot married Maria Covert de Slaugham, first wife; second wife, Rose Hatton, of Thames Ditton. Arms—(*Male*) Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, D'Oyley, Etchingham, and Tregoz; (*Female*) Covert, and Hatton.

The date when this window was restored and placed in the church is 1638, but the arms, as will be observed by reference to the pedigree, are much older, the oldest coat being that of John Barttelot, who died in 1453. The window was again repaired in 1853. Under it is this inscription:—

Ad formam vetus hæc renovata fenestra priorem—1638.

³³ *Ib.*, p. 350.

The north window, consisting of two lights (of which, as well as of the church itself, we give engravings), repaired 1853, contains figures of the Stopham family. The arms in it are Barttelot, Stopham (very old ones), Lewknor, D'Oyley, Etchingham, Walton, Sykeston, and Camoys. The figures are—

1. A knight in armour, Brian, with Stopham arms below, and the Latin inscription :—

Brian de Stopham, Miles, Filius et Haeres Radulfi, Militis, Floruit Temp. Johannis et Henrici R. Angl. et, Radulfo de Stopham mil. Filio et Haerede relicto, obiit Edw. I. Anno secundo. A.D. 1273.

2. A kneeling figure of John Barttelot, with arms of Barttelot and Stopham.

3. A kneeling figure of Stopham (Sir Ralph).

4. Three figures of the three daughters of William de Stopham; eldest, Joan, married John Barttelot, whose figure is also in the window, and his brass in the nave; second, Isabella, married Robert Palmer; and third, Margaret, died unmarried. Mr. Turner³⁴ makes William de Stopham to have had only two daughters.

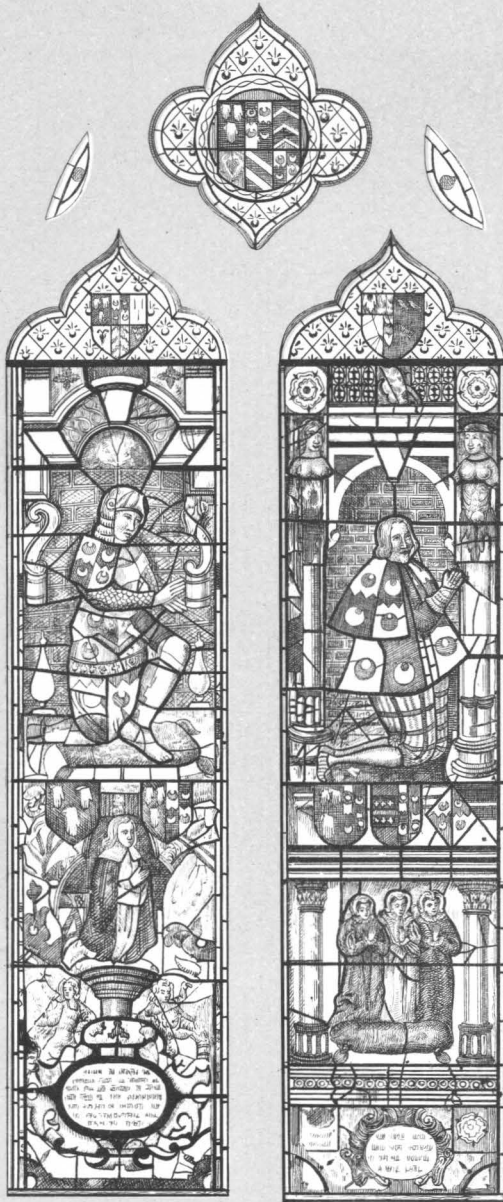
The window was the work of one Roeland, a Flemish glass-stainer.

In the west window, the first coat of arms is that of Stopham and D'Oyley; the second that of the Earl of Arundel. The crests of Barttelot underneath are modern.

The two south windows of the nave were placed there, one in 1853 by Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Brian Barttelot, and Mrs. England, to the memory of their brothers and sisters; and the other by Sir Walter B. Barttelot, in remembrance of his first wife, Harriet Barttelot, in 1863. The chancel one was placed by him in memory of his daughter Blanche, who died in 1876.

The nave and chancel are paved with Sussex marble, into which have been let brasses over the places where Barttelots have lain for very many generations. In this church it is supposed that there is the largest collection

³⁴ 23 S. A. C., 181.



OLD WINDOW_STOPHAM CHURCH.

and "most complete series of sepulchral brasses in the county,"³⁵ It will, therefore, be well to give a detailed account of them.

1. The date of the oldest is 1428. It has two brass figures; and the inscription on it is as follows:—

Illustrissimi quond' Thomae comitis Arundel Thesaurarius Hospitii, Johannes Barttelot hic requiescit humatus cum uxore sua Johanna quond' Willelmi de Stopham filia, qui quid' Joh'es, A.D. 1428, sexto die Februarii diem clausit extremum. Quorum a'i'abus p'picietur Deus. Amen.

Arms—Barttelot and Stopham.

2. Brass figure of a man in armour, and his wife, with the inscription:—

Illustrissimis quond' Thomae, Johanni et Wilhelmo comitibus Arundel consul prudens, Johannes Barttelot, isto sub lapide jacet, cui allocatur Johanna uxor ejusd' quae quond' fuit filia et haeres Joh'is Lewknor arm' qui quid' Joh'es anno. dm. 1453 mensis Junij die primo. ab hac vita decessit Quorum a'i'abus p'picietur Deus. Amen.

Arms—(Male) Barttelot and Stopham; (Female) Lewknor, D'Oyley, Tregoz, and Camoys.

3. Two brass figures in the close dress of the times, with the following partly illegible partly unintelligible lines, containing some *pun*, I think, on Petronilla's name:—

Hic O sarcophage, quid celas tegmine petrae,
Nobilis armigeri Bertlot dictique Ricardi,
Hic comitisque semel fuit aula martial (qu Martis?) Arundel.
Proque viro rogata circum getur sua spola?
Ossa sepultor' p'dent tibi carmina quor'
Ac Petronillae quae (quam?) desponsaverat ille.

Arms—(Male) Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, and D'Oyley; (Female) Walton and Sykeston.

4. A brass figure and the inscription³⁶:—

Orate pro a'i'a Johannis Barttelot filii & here' Rici Barttelot de Stopham, qui obiit die Novembris A° dm 1493 cuj a'i'e p'picietur de. Amen.

5. An inscription only:—

Here lieth John Barttelot of Stopham gent sonne of John Barttelot Esq^{re} who costantly depected this mortall life in y^e faith of

³⁵ *Ib.*, 180.

³⁶ Mr. Turner has not given this *verbatim*. *Ib.*, 181.

Christ y^e first day of April in y^e 16th year of the raigne of King H. VIII. Anno Dm. 1525.

6. Two brass figures and the inscription:—

Here lyethe William Barttelot Esq^{re} who took to wife Anne Covert, by whom he had issue, Robert Barttelot, and departed this life the 12th of June, 1601, after he had lived 97 years. Whose soul restethe with God.

Arms—(*Male*) Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, D'Oyley, Sykeston, and Walton; (*Female*) Covert.

7. Three fine brass figures and the inscription:—

Sub Hoc in Dno reqescit Marmor' (Ric?) Barttelot ar. Heres & Nepos Gulielmi Barttelot ar. ex filio svo unico Robto & Maria Conivge ei' (Filia Natu Maxima Joh'is Apsley de Thakeham ar.) Q. Ricvs. e Maria 1^a vxor' (Filia Natv m̄nā. Ricī Covert de Slavgham ar.) 4 Filios & unā. filiā. selt Gvalter'. Edv'. Gulielm'. Johem. & Annā et ex altera conivge Roesia (Filia Ricī. Hatton de Thames-ditton in com. Svrrey ar.) 2 Filios & totidem filias, viz. Ricūm Robtm̄. Mariā; & Franciscā svscēpit & ex Hac vita. 6^{to} Die Iunii ano aetat suæ 50^o Annoq Dmi. 1614 Verus huius Ecclesiae de Stopham in com. Sussex patronus Emigravit.

Arms—(*Male*) Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, D'Oyley, Tregoz, Camoys, Walton, and Sykeston; (*Female*) Covert, and Hatton.

8. An inscription only:—

Sub Hoc jacet marmore Maria (Filia Natu maxima Joh'is Middleton de Horsham in com. Svssex ar.) Gvalteri Barttelot ar. conivx cvi sex filias vidt. Franciscam Mariam Annam Janam Elizabetham & Barbaram peperit & ex hac vita 20 Octobris et Aetatis suae 39^o Anno Domini 1626 excessit.

Arms—Barttelot, Stopham, Lewknor, D'Oyley, Tregoz, Camoys, Walton, and Sykeston.

9. An inscription only:—

To the memory of Walter Barttelot Esq^{re} born 1584 died 1640; married Mary daughter of John Middleton.

(Restored.)

Arms of Barttelot and Middleton.

10. Two brasses and the inscription:—

To the memory of Henry Barttelot Esq^{re} son of the Feodar of Sussex, who married his cousin Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Walter Barttelot, Esq^{re}; he died 1648. Also to Mary his wife.

(Restored.)

11. An inscription only :—

Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth Mille, wife of Richard Mille of Greatham gent. one of the daughters and co-heiress of Walter Barttelot, Esq^{re} who died 16th October Anno Dni. 1644.
Arms—Barttelot and Mille.

12. An inscription only :—

S.
H. T. J.³⁷

Gulielmus Barttelot gen Filius secundus Ricardi Barttelot qui obiit Feb. 1666.

13. A brass and inscription :—

Anne, wife of Walter Barttelot, and daughter of Thomas Bettsworth. d. 16th Oct., 1690.

14. An inscription only :—

H. T. T.³⁸

Gualterus Barttelot ar. qui obiit 8^o die April. Anno Aetatis suæ 63.
Anno Dmni 1702.

15. An inscription only :—

Here lyes interred y^e body of Henry Barttelot Esq^{re} late of Fittleworth in this county, who departed this life y^e 31st of March 1710 in y^e 69th year of his age.
Arms—Barttelot.

16. An inscription only :—

Captain Charles Barttelot, 1738.

There are two more brasses in the aisle with no inscriptions to them, and Mr. Turner has remarked on the singular addition made to the ancient ones, namely, that other small figures in brass have been introduced into the slabs, representing the issue of later marriages, all of them in the dress peculiar to the reign of Charles I.³⁹; sculls being over the heads of those who predeceased their parents.

³⁷ Sub hoc tumulo jacet.

³⁸ hoc tumulo tegitur.

³⁹ 23 S. A. C., 182.

After the eighteenth century no brasses were laid down in the church, but monuments were put up instead, and the walls are covered with them, the first being to the memory of the above-named Captain Charles Barttelot, who was born on the 12th day of November, 1671, and died on the 28th of March, 1738, in the 66th year of his age.

The subsequent monuments are all to the memory of various members of the family who already figure in the pedigree, but contain no inscriptions worth transcribing; and important as they are, as genealogical evidences, to the family itself, are hardly of general archæological interest.

In 1410 John Barttelot was patron of the living, and presented it to John Tuppere; the Earls of Arundel had the two next presentations; after that William Barttelot, in 1564, presented it to Thomas Northiall, and the presentations have been in the hands of the Barttelots ever since.

The parish registers (beginning 1544) are full, as may be expected, of notices of the births, marriages, and burials of the Barttelot family; but as these sufficiently appear in the annexed pedigree, it would be superfluous to particularize them here; and with the exception of the entries relating to this family, they contain nothing of interest.

Some extracts from a terrier of the Church property may not form an uninteresting conclusion to our paper:—

A Terrier or boundary indented of the Glebe and Parsonage of Stopham & the Profitts & Tithes thereunto belonging, returned according to the Articles of the right reverend Father in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace given forth at his Visitation of the Diocese of Chichester in the County of Sussex in the year of our Lord 1635. Made by Walter Barttelot, Esqre. Patron of the said Church, William Chandler Clerke Parson or Incumbent then, Henry Strudwick senr. and John Goddard senr. Churchwardens, John Gardner senr. Sidesman, & the rest of the parishioners.

The Parsonage House, Barne, Gateroome, orchard & the Glebe thereto belonging lyeth together to the Highway over against the said Church on the West & to the Coppyhold Land of Edmund Smith called the Church-field *alias* the Church land on the West likewise & to

the land of the above said Walter Barttelot in the Occupation of Henry Barttelot, gent. called Assets on the North to the Comon Brook called the Aldes-brook or Sedge Brook on the East & to the land of the said Walter Barttelot Esqre. in the occupation of John Lansden *alias* Butcher, called Cumbers *alias* Gilmlines on the South.

Also there is a Tarr or little Island belonging to the said Parsonage and Glebe, called the Parsons Tarr, lying a little below Stopham Bridge on the South side near adjoining to the land of the said Walter Barttelot called Ford on the West, & to the High-stream on the East West & North, unto which Tarr there was anciently a Ware belonging.

Then follows a minute account of the boundaries of the glebe; after which the terrier proceeds thus:—

The Parson is to have for Whiteage as Milk Butter Cheese etc. one Penny at Lamas yearly for every cow or heifer milkt in the Parish.

For Tythe of Eggs & Poultry as hens ducks Turkeys Geese he is to have every Good Friday yearly of these houses in the Parish (*viz*) of the Manor House of Stopham called the Farm, of Ford Place, of the House in Brownes *alias* Gilmlines, of the house on the Pennes *alias* Braspert & Nichollsten eggs or a penny for every house & of the rest of the houses within the Parish, of every house five eggs or a halfpenny.

The Custom for Tything of Colts calves lambs piggs is, that if there be seven Colts the Parson is to have one, paying the owner Two pence, if under that number the owner to pay the Parson Two pence for a Colt, if seven Calves the Parson at a month old to take the third best and to pay the owner one penny halfpenny, if under that number the owner to pay the Parson a halfpenny for a Calf. So if there be seven Lambs the Parson at St Marks Tide to take the third best and give the Owner a penny halfpenny, if under that number the Owner to pay the Parson a half penny for every Lamb, likewise if there be seven Piggs at a Farrow, the Parson is to have one when they be fitt to be killed allowing the owner one halfpenny farthing, if under that number the owner to allow the Parson a farthing for every Pigg but if there be ten Colts Calves Lambs or Piggs the Parson to have one allowing one halfpenny to the owner.

The Parson is to find & maintain the great Bell rope as often as need shall require, he is also to give the Parishioners every Easter Day in the afternoon either in the Church or in the Parsonage House a Drinking (*viz*) Bread & Beer, in lieu whereof the Owners of Corn or Grass are to bear or bind & cock or pile their Corn and to Cock their grass the Parson being to have liberty to make it on their land.

The Parson hath no Tithes of after grass called Ruine grass neither of Pidgeons Fish nor of Peate Turfe Underwoods Broom Reeds Rushes Furze, nor Ferne but hath Comon of pasture to his Glebe land in the Wastes of the Manor of Stopham which is thus bounded on the E part by a navigable river running between it & the parish of Pulboro' now called the High Stream (known anciently to the

Saxon & Norman English by the name of Hought Key and called in Latin by the writers of the Middle times *Alta Ripa*) from the North East corner of a long little narrow Mead that lyeth to a Mead called Earles Mead in Wisborough Green on the North which little Mead belongeth to a house and Land in Stopham aforesaid called Comb House *alias* Comb Bush running under Stopham Bridge &c. &c.

Of this Bridge we may observe, in addition to what we have already said, that it is now a County Bridge, that it here crosses the Arun, which bounds our parish to the west, and is joined about half a mile lower down by the Rother, which forms its southern boundary; and that it was repaired and altered in 1865, partly by the County and principally by Sir Walter B. Barttelot, at whose expense the road was also turned, in order to make a better one, and enable him to have a handsome approach to the house. He considers that its repairs belong to the Rape of Arundel, but Mr. Lower thinks⁴⁰ they devolve on the 3 Western Rapes, and describes it as having the greatest number of arches of any in the County.

It is also noticeable that the family name of Barttelot, which is one so likely to have been misspelt in the course of a long series of records, should have been invariably, as I am told it has been, *correctly* spelt.

⁴⁰ History of Sussex, p. 188.

NEW SHOREHAM.

By BURTON GREEN.

It is strange no paper has hitherto appeared throughout our 26 vols. on this important place in our county. "A full history of it" (Mr. Lower pointed out in 1870) "is a desideratum in Sussex topography."¹ To supply this deficiency is the object of the following pages, in which, without pretending to add much to what has appeared in Cartwright, and scattered notices in our volumes, I have endeavoured to put together what is known of it, feeling that, at all events, a condensed account will be interesting to many of our readers. New Shoreham then is a seaport and parliamentary borough, in Fishergate hundred, in the rape of Bramber, and is situated on the river Adur. The soil is plastic clay and alluvial deposits. The parish, which is one of the smallest in the county, contains only 170 acres.² The harbour, in the extreme recess of the large bay which reaches from Selsey Bill to Beachy Head, is divided into two arms, that to the Westward being the deeper, that to the Eastward leading to the Dock, in which vessels drawing 15 feet can lie afloat at all times of the tides. From its easy approach and its situation, if it could be formed into a safe harbour of refuge it would be of great service to shipping; there being no good anchorage between the Downs and the Isle of Wight.

Shoreham—"the dwelling on the shore"—from the Saxon "Score" (Shore) and "ham" (a dwelling) has been spelt in many different ways: Scoreham, Soraham, Sorham, Shoram, Soresham, Schorham, and Shorham; but it must be remembered that in the early ages of this country, writers spelt their words without regard to rule;

¹ History of Sussex, 161.

² Cartwright says 66.

in one document alone, of the 13th century, De Braose occurs in no less than seven ways (De Braose, Breose, Breuse, Braiose, Breusa, Brewose, and Braiowsia). The Shoreham of the Saxon times was that which we now call Old Shoreham; but even during the rule of the Romans, Shoreham Harbour was of note, and was, I think, their "Portus Adurni," or "Port of the Adur," although Portsmouth (more probably "Portus Magnus"), Arundel, and even Pevensey (undoubtedly the Portus Anderidus) have been named as its site. Nor am I in this necessarily opposed to those two eminent authorities, Mr. C. R. Smith and Mr. Lower, who consider it to have been Bramber³; for that was then part of Shoreham harbour. Camden, writing of Shoreham, says in reference to this (edition of 1695, p. 173)—

That ancient port also called "Portus Adurni" as it seems, is scarce 3 miles off the mouth of the river, where, when the Saxons first infested our seas, the band of "Exploratores," under the Roman Emperors, had their station, but it is now choaked up with heaps of sand driven together. For both the name, as it were still remaining entire, as also some adjacent cottages called Portslade, that is "The way to the port," do in a manner persuade that this was Ederington (Aldrington) a little village which Ælfred granted to his younger son; to say nothing how easily they might land here, the shore being so open and plain. And for that very reason our men, in the reign of Henry 8th, waited chiefly here for the French galleys while they hovered upon our coasts.

In the year 1818 some Roman remains, evidently those of a "mansio," at the Portus Adurni, of a præfect or magnate, situated opposite Aldrington, were found at West Blatchington; and this discovery, coupled with that in November, 1875, of some more Roman remains near Portslade Railway station, and supported by the fact that the trackway to the old port is still observable at Hangleton and elsewhere, gives further evidence in favour of the theory I have advanced. In the times previous to the Norman Conquest, especially when the Saxons had firmly established themselves, Shoreham was doubtless a place of some importance. In A.D. 477, Ella, with his three

³ 16 S. A. C., 254 and note.

sons, Cymen, Wenchelng, and Cissa, and a large army, landed at Cymenes-ore⁴ now Kymor, a manor in the parish of West Wittering, from Germany, when they came to conquer this part of England. In a paper on "Seaford," printed in these volumes some years ago (7 S.A.C., 75) Shoreham is identified with Cymensora or Cymenes-ore, but after carefully considering the subject I have decided on holding the opinion expressed here. In our immediate vicinity there yet remains one trace of this invasion, in the name "slonk," a corruption of the Saxon "slaught" (battle), given to a hill on the N.E. of the town, which was probably the scene of some struggles between the Romanized Britons and the Saxon invaders, and this is confirmed by the fact of several "*tumuli*" or "barrows" having been found in the neighbourhood: one on the top of the hill, and two below to the E.N.E.

Even in these early times we find at work one of those causes which, by their continual action, have greatly impeded the prosperity of the port and town—the inundations of the sea, and the strong S.W. gales which so frequently rage along this coast, and of which, in November, 1875, and again in the following March, we had such disastrous repetitions. The first we find recorded was a great storm, which in the year 566 A.D., visited the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, doing serious damage, of which we have no details. Again in the Saxon Chronicle we read, A.D. 1014: "This year, on the eve of St. Michael's day, came the great sea flood, which spread wide over the land, and ran so far up as it never did before, overwhelming many towns and an innumerable multitude of people."

It was most probably between this and the end of the 11th century, that the town of New Shoreham came into existence. The exact causes which led to its origin are not known; by some it is supposed that it grew out of the decay of Old Shoreham, or, perhaps, that the decay of the old town was caused by the increase and prosperity of the new one; while it has been suggested also, that the old town increased so much, that it was found desirable to

⁴ 4 S. A. C., 69, Lower's Sussex, p. 72.

build a new one, and that the more eligible situation of the latter for commerce induced the inhabitants of the district to settle there. At the Norman Conquest the Manor of Shoreham, with that of Bramber and 38 others, was given to Wm. de Braose (so named from a small town near Falaise, in Normandy), and it has followed the line of descent of Bramber, passing from the De Braoses to the Mowbrays, and thence to the Duke of Norfolk, its present possessor.⁵ Cartwright thinks⁶ that, though not named in Domesday, it is included in the following description, which he applies to Old Shoreham:—

The same William (De Braose) holds Soresham. Azor held it of King Edward. It was then assessed at 12 hides; it is now rated at 5 hides and a half, and half a rood of land. The arable is 15 ploughlands. There are 3 ploughs in the demesne, and 25 villains, and 49 bondsmen, with 12 ploughs. There is a church, six acres of meadow, and a wood yielding pannage for 40 hogs. In the reign of the Saxon prince it was valued at £25; at a subsequent estimate £16, and it is now appreciated at £35, yet it was farmed at £50, but it could not produce that sum.

The Manor is co-extensive, inland, with the parish, but extends seaward from the Harbour mouth to Old Shoreham Bridge, being bounded on the South and West by the river bank, and formerly comprised the rights of Fishery, Anchorage, Boomage,⁷ and Meterage,⁸ for which officers were appointed, but in 1760, when a Board of Harbour Commissioners was instituted and authorised to levy tolls, the rights of Anchorage and Boomage ceased. There prevails in this Manor the custom of “borough english,” and the copyholds descend to the youngest son, daughter, brother, or collateral heir, as the case may be.⁹ The copyholds are somewhat numerous, and are held at small fines certain; and there are also some freeholds held of the Manor by quit rents and heriots: a rope walk has been held of the Lord of the Manor by the same family, under renewed leases, for over 200 years. The local government

⁵ Whose respective pedigrees have already appeared in these volumes.

⁶ Rape of Bramber, p. 50.

⁷ *i.e.* a tax on every ship, possibly at

so much per mast.

⁸ *i.e.* the right to license Meters, and taking a fee for the license.

⁹ 6 S. A. C., 181, 186, 187.

was formerly in the hands of two high constables, who, together with a headboro', two ale conners, two leather searchers and sealers, coal meters, and a pound keeper and town crier, were annually appointed at the Court Leet. The only officers now appointed are one high constable, and the town crier.¹⁰ Two edicts, dated respectively 1359 and 1369, addressed "Majori villæ Shoreham," have given rise to the erroneous impression that this was once a corporate town.

During the Norman period the town and port rapidly increased, and to provide for the spiritual wants of the inhabitants, the grand old church, generally acknowledged to have been one of the most magnificent sacred edifices in the country, was built.¹¹ The dates of its formation and construction are very doubtful, as its documentary history is imperfect; we have therefore to rely chiefly upon its architectural features, which are remarkably well defined. The first religious edifice in Shoreham was the Church of St. Nicholas, at the old town¹²; in the charter of the foundation of the Priory of St. Peter at Sele (Beeding), dated 30th January, 1075, Wm. de Braose bestows it with the Churches of St. Peter of Sele, St. Nicholas of Bramber, St. Peter Veteri Ponte,¹³ and other distant properties, upon the abbot and monks of St. Florentius of Salmur, near Fécamp. Philip de Braose, his successor, when abroad with the crusaders, confirmed this grant, and the confirmation deed further states "but the said Philip, returning on his way from Jerusalem, earnestly concedes and confirms to them (because the right of the aforesaid monks thereto existed) the Church of St. Mary of Haura, Soraham."¹⁴ In 1151 the Bishop and Archbishop confirmed this grant, but call-

¹⁰ From information kindly supplied by Messrs. R. and G. Holmes, Arundel, Stewards of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Lord of the Manor.

¹¹ For a short account of this Church see Mr. Bloxam's able article, 16 S. A. C., at p. 234.

¹² Of the condition of this Church, the Commissioners appointed by Bishop

Lake, in 1686, give a sorry account. See 4 S. A. C., 280.

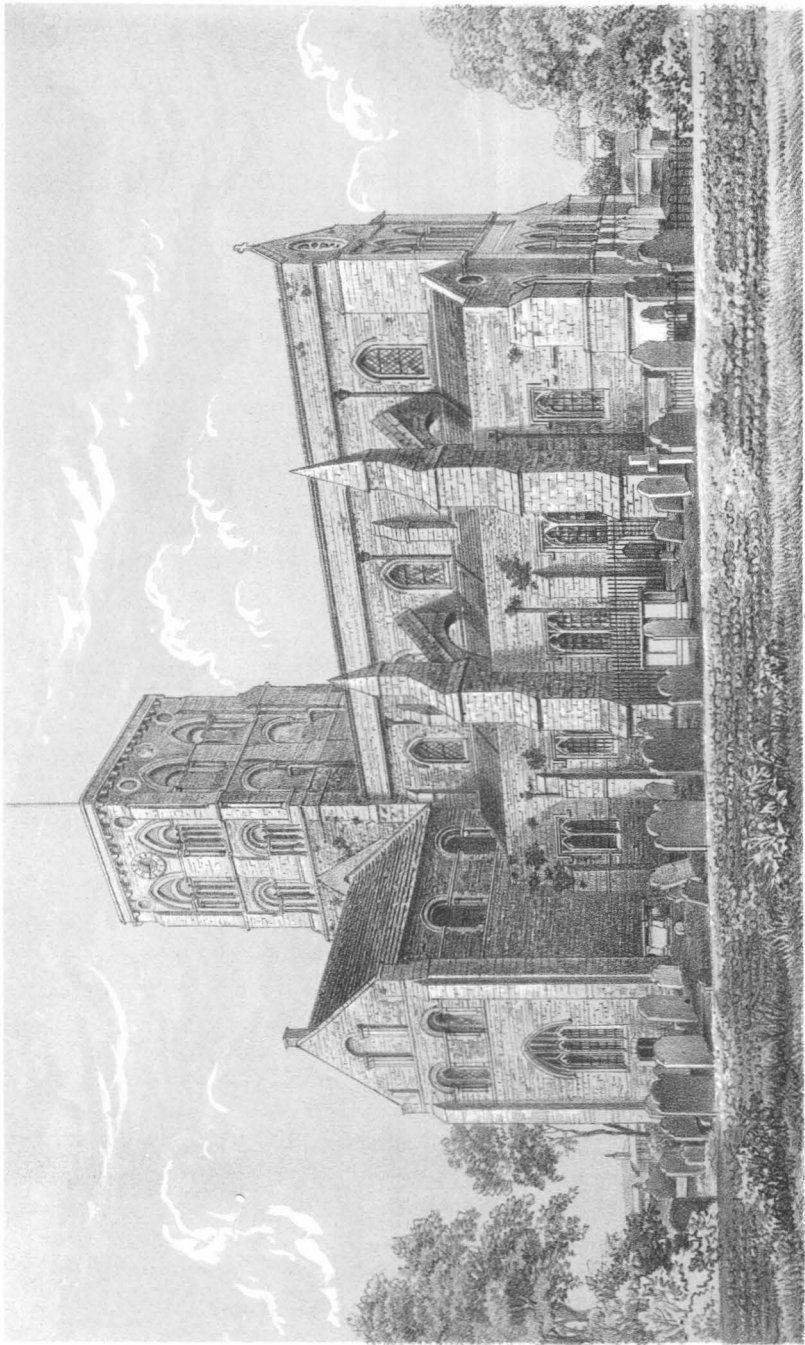
¹³ The Church of St. Peter Veteri Ponte, or Vipont, long since destroyed, was either at Botolphs, on Annington farm, or at Bramber.

¹⁴ 1 Dugd Mon., 582. Why was St. Mary called *de Haurá*?

ing the Church, St. Mary de Portu, obviously the same as St. Mary's, New Shoreham, probably built by the monks of Sele, between 1075, and Philip's return from the Holy Land not later than 1103, on land previously given them by the first Wm. de Braose, and perhaps a chapel of ease¹⁵ attached to the parish of St. Nicholas. This Chapel afterwards acquired distinctive parochial rights and privileges, and in 1397 was attached to the Priory of Beeding. The taxation of Pope Nicholas 4th, 1291, values the Church of Old Shoreham at £24, that of New Shoreham at £10. It is very probable that the original Norman Church was never completed. Building operations in those days were very slow, and during its erection the Norman style of architecture became refined, and from architectural evidence it has been urged that after the Choir and Transepts were built, the plan was changed, and the nave added on a grander scale than was originally intended. As regards the tower, it is tolerably certain, from its pointed arches, that the upper part was added in the Transitional period, and that it originally consisted of a square lantern formed by its lower stage, and capped with a low pyramid similar to that of Old Shoreham, and many of the same date yet to be seen in Normandy. Of this original Norman building, the date of which, on account of its characteristic Norman architecture, can be fixed at about the end of the eleventh century, there now only remains the central portion, consisting of the Transepts, or north and south limbs of the Cross, the Crossing, and the lower part of the Tower.

The Norman choir, together with the semicircular chapels of the transepts, was pulled down soon after the completion of the tower, and replaced by a more modern structure, built at various times, said to have been commenced between 1170 and 1175 by Wm. de Braose (the third), who also endowed largely the churches of Abergavenny and Lira (Normandy) by way of repentance for several murders he had committed. But the progress of its erection was slow, and up to the year 1200 little more was completed than the side walls of the aisles and the

¹⁵ Cartwright, Rape of Bramber, 57: *contra* Rev. E. Turner. 10 S. A. C., 102.



M & N Harbort, lith.

NEW SHOREHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

east wall of the choir. During these years the round arched style, besides becoming more elaborate in its details, gradually merged into the pointed or lancet, and in this style, the arcades, triforium, clerestory, and groining of the choir and its aisles were completed. Shortly afterwards, on account of a too great lateral pressure from the transverse vaulting ribs, it was found necessary to remove the small clerestory buttresses, and build on each side of the choir two massive flying buttresses. The Church, of which we have given a lithograph, now consists mainly of the large and magnificent Choir, with North and South aisles, a massive central tower, 83 feet high, carried on the four original arches of the Crossing, the North and South transepts, and a porch. Of the seven periods of architecture, four are to be found here, and it is by this means that we are enabled to ascertain approximately the age of the various parts of the present building.

To recapitulate :—The Crossing and its 4 arches, part of the tower, and the transepts, belong to the Norman period, and were therefore built between the Conquest and 1145. The ground story of the Choir, the North and South Aisles, the upper part of the Tower, and the font, belong to the Transitional period between 1145 and 1190. The blind and clere stories, and the flying buttresses, are of the Lancet period between 1190 and 1245. The Nave, which belonged to the Norman period, and which made up the length of the Church to 210 feet, was perhaps demolished, or allowed to fall into ruins, in the 15th century, when the fortunes of the port began to fail, to save the expense of repairing it, or it may have survived until destroyed either in the time of Henry VIII. or that of Cromwell. The windows of the North and South aisles appear to be Perpendicular, and added between 1360 and 1550; and the present west front of the Church was most probably built up when the Nave was demolished. Mr. Hoare has drawn attention to the small cross, perhaps a dedication cross, on one of the piers in the Church,¹⁶ and Mr. Slater to the smallness of

¹⁶ 9 S. A. C., 213. 10 S. A. C., 109.

its West window, probably on account of its exposure to South-westerly gales.¹⁷

The condition of the Church has at all times faithfully represented the fortunes of the port, and although like the latter it had been continually falling into a neglected state, the parishioners have from time to time made efforts to restore it. In the early part of the last century it was repaired at their expense; in 1808 one of the churchwardens, who was a master mason—and whose suggestions therefore may be considered to have been not wholly disinterested!—proposed to alter its east end, and to destroy that architectural beauty for which it is remarkable. A few years previous to this it had been restored, and about the year 1833 the windows were repaired. It is described at that time as having been kept in excellent order. A few years back its dilapidated state attracted the attention of the inhabitants, who appointed a Committee to take the steps necessary for its repair. Several thousand pounds were collected, but from various causes the attempt ultimately failed. Nor should I omit the debt of gratitude which the town owes to Mr. Dyer-Edwardes, of London, for his munificent gifts of £1000, of which it is now availing itself, for the restoration, and of a stone pulpit, lately belonging to Durham Cathedral.

The “Church rock” off here is supposed to have been so named from a tradition, which stated it to be the remains of a stone quarry from which the church builders of the neighbourhood obtained their materials.

There formerly existed here two religious hospitals, and a priory, and some even say a castle, but of the latter, although a writer a few years back positively affirms that the remains of a mediæval one were then to be seen, there is neither any tradition nor any trace, unless indeed it be in an *Inquis. p. m. W. de Braose* 19 Ed. II. (stating that he possessed Shoreham *man' et castr' de Brembre baron'*), or in the building known as the “Marlepins.” About this same building there is much doubt. Mr. Cartwright, in his “Rape of Bramber,”¹⁸ describes

¹⁷ 10 S. A. C., 350.

¹⁸ p. 57.

a building (perhaps the same) "chequered with Caen stone and flint work, of the age of Edward 1 probably a public work connected with the port"; while it has been suggested that it was built of the material of the Nave of the Church in more recent times. But it seems to me more probable that it is the remains of the priory of Carmelite Friars, which was founded in 1326 by Sir John Mowbray, Knight, a descendant of the Braose family, and Lord of Bramber. The Priors of Sele Priory, with which it was connected, became very reckless and extravagant, so that their priory was much reduced, until in 1480 there being only one monk left, he removed to Shoreham, and the Sele priory was granted to Magdalen College, Oxford. About this time the sea made some serious encroachments on the town of Shoreham, which damaged the priory there so much, that in 1493 the priory of Sele, being granted by the College to the Friars, they removed to it, and remained there until the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII., when it was granted to Nicholas Temple and Richard Andrews, who, in 1544, alienated the property to Owen Oglethorpe, President of Magdalen College, and his brother Clement, and they two years afterwards, gave it to the College.

By a deed addressed "*Religiosis viris ordinis Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli apud Novam Shoreham in comitatu Sussex Commorantibus*," and dated at Shoreham, 1330, John Kingswode, a large landowner of Findon, gave them a tenement and house which he held under the Temple, bounded on the west by some houses belonging to the Blaker family and others, on the south by some more houses, and on the north and east by a marsh belonging to the Templars, and called "*Le Temple Stead*."¹⁹

In 1346 Margaret Covert, of Sullington, willed to the Friars 1qr. of wheat, 2 qrs. of barley, and 15s. for six trentals for the souls of her late husband, Sir John Covert, herself and others. In 1364 they received a grant from the State; in 1374 Wm. Laxman

¹⁹ 9 S. A. C., 236.

left them a bequest of 20s. Dugdale in his "Baronage" says that Michael de Poynings, by his will dated 1369, gave £20 to the Carmelite Friars of Shoreham towards the fabric (*fabricium*) of their Church. It has generally been supposed that the priory stood on the site of what is now known as Cupola House, but to me it does not appear at all probable that the sea damaged whatever building stood here, while it left the Church untouched. I think that is much more likely to have been the site of the Hospital dedicated to St. James, especially as a number of human bones have been found near it at various times. We have, however, very meagre accounts of it. In the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of Henry VIII. (1535) it is valued at £1 6s. 8d., and charged the sum of 2s. 8d. for the tithes. Henry Marshall, Vicar of Wilmington, left 20d. to its funds in the year 1550. In 1574 it was granted by Q. Elizabeth to John Mersh.

The only trace that remains of the other Hospital is an oblong seal, of which an engraving is annexed, inscribed "The sele of o^r Saviour Jesus Christ of the 'ospital of Shoram in Sussex."

It is evidently somewhat modern, and as this hospital is not mentioned by Bishop Tanner in 1540, nor by Sir Wm. Dugdale in 1675, it is very probable that it was erected about the middle of the 16th century, and demolished by the parliamentary soldiers during the Civil War, at the time when they occupied Bramber Castle, and perhaps also Shoreham Church.

Besides these, there existed yet another religious edifice, the "Temple" or "Chapel of St. John," being a house and chapel, the property of the Knights Templars. In the 12th century Alan Trenchmere, for the souls of himself and all his friends, gave the Templars some land with a saltpan reaching from his house at Shoreham to the sea,²⁰ upon which they probably constructed the "Temple." In 1292 Brother Guido de Foresta, Grand Master of the Knights Templars of England, with the full consent of the chapter of his house, granted to John and Matilda Lote, the lease of a tenement, with a chapel, in New

²⁰ 10 S. A. C., 110.



SEAL OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. SAVIOUR.

Shoreham, called "La Temple," so long as they should pay to the Templars at Saddlescombe the sum of 20s. per annum, and should keep the tenement and chapel in repair.²¹ This is doubtless the same property, which 40 years before was let to William Bisshop on the same terms. On the death of her husband in 1336, Matilda Lote gave it "to God and the blessed Mary and the Carmelite Friars at Shoreham." The order of Templars having been abolished by the Pope in 1312, and their property granted in 1325 to the Hospitallers, Thomas Larchier, prior of that order, confirmed this grant of the property to the Carmelites absolutely. This chapel of St. John was long the subject of dispute between the Templars and the monks of St. Florent and Sele, and continued to be so when it had passed into the possession of the Hospitallers. The Abbot of St. Florent complained that "this oratory constructed within the parish of his Church at Schorham, which is situate on the port of the sea, was contrary to his privilege." The matter was finally referred to the Bishop of Chichester and others, who decided that the Hospitallers should not appoint one of their own order as priest, but should nominate a secular clerk to the ordinary to be by him appointed to minister in it, without detriment to the parish Church, which was to retain all its ancient rights and privileges; the Hospitallers were to take no tithes,²² and not to admit the parishioners to daily service or to burial. To a fulfilment of this decree each party was bound under a penalty of £5.

It is not known where this "Temple" was situated—perhaps it was near where Chantry House now is—but there being but very slight accounts of any of these establishments, it is quite impossible to assign any site to them with any degree of certainty.

Towards the end of the twelfth century Shoreham became a Royal Arsenal, and was of much importance for the transit of troops; indeed, it was a somewhat important military station until after the wars with Napoleon. It was here that King John landed with a

²¹ 9 S. A. C., 236.

²² 10 S. A. C., 109.

large army on Tuesday, 25th March, 1199, when he came to England to succeed to the throne. He also embarked hence on Sunday, 20th June following, for Dieppe, after a stay of four days, to hold a conference with the King of France. In proof of this we have a charter conferring certain immunities on the City of London—"Datum per manum predicti Hubert Cant: Arch: Cancellarii nostri apud Sorham 18 Junii anno regni nostri primo."

During the reign of this King, Shoreham was made a free port. The document proving this was found in the Exchequer, and is an acknowledgment of 30 merks, part of a payment of £70 by the burgesses of Shoreham to obtain permission to trade with foreign countries without special license for each transaction. It is dated A.D. 1210, and provides that no horse above the value of three marks—no dog, no unknown messenger, no burgess, nor messenger of the same, should be allowed passage without special license of the King.

Edward the First, on his accession, finding that the Crown revenues had much diminished, accordingly caused enquiries to be instituted into the causes, and also into the various sources whence those revenues were derived. From the Sussex return, it appears that although on account of the dispute with Flanders, with a view to cripple their manufactures, and encourage home trade, the English had been forbidden to sell them wool, then the staple product of this part of the country, it had been exported thither from Shoreham. Soon after this a duty was imposed on its export, the seal for which is now in the British Museum.

Five years afterwards some dozen of the inhabitants were fined for selling wine in large quantities against the assize.

From the "Placita de Quo Warranto," (Sussex) 2 Ed. I., p. 760, we learn that William de Braose possessed

The town and the port of Shoreham, with toll and other lawful customs belonging to that port, from time immemorial; and a free market on two days in the week, viz., Wednesday and Saturday, and a fair of two days at the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and at which he takes his accustomed tolls, also assize of bread and

ale, rights over the sea coast and sea-fishery, and by his own mariners of Shoreham from Beuchef (Beachy Head) as far as the Isle of Wight and to the middle of the sea.

This is the first mention of the market and fair; the latter is still held on the 25th July, but is not much frequented. The former was granted 9th June, 1607, to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, and Thomas Howard, Duke of Sussex, and afterwards altered to Saturday, with one for corn every alternate Monday; but since the rise of Brighton it has been discontinued, as that town has been found a more convenient rendezvous for the farmers and merchants of the district. Formerly it was held in the Market House, which no longer exists, and of the original of which we have no account. De Foe, in his account of the great storm which visited our coasts, 27th November, 1703, says—"At Shoram, the Market House, an antient and very strong building, was blown flat to the ground, and the town shattered." The loss of this building doubtless caused great inconvenience, and several years afterwards a new one was erected by Sir Nathanael Gould and Mr. F. Chamberlin, the Members for the Borough. It consisted of an oblong canopy of freestone embellished with Gothic ornaments, supported by eight columns, and stood in the centre of the town. The only remaining portions of it are two pillars now used as lamp-posts—one in front of the Post Office and the other opposite the Custom House.

In the year A.D. 1295 Shoreham was made a Borough, and was one of the first towns upon which the representative privilege was conferred; the right of voting was vested in the payers of scot and lot, and for a long time it returned two burgesses to Parliament. No returns for the years from 1474 to 1538, both included, having been found, it is conjectured not to have been represented, but since that time two Members have been regularly elected. The first members were Roger Beauchamp, or Bello Campo, and Thomas Portayse, both of Shoreham. The parliamentary elections were held in the North Transept of the Church, and as often as election time

came round, a scene of riot and confusion occurred within its walls. This sacrilegious custom was commenced about the middle of the last century, but happily was not allowed to continue, the last election held here being in 1826.

We give an engraving of the obverse and reverse sides of the Borough Seal: the inscription on the latter will, I think, puzzle our best antiquarians and scholars, to whom I commend it as a problem. The importance of the town during these two centuries (13th and 14th) is shown not only by the fact of its having been made a market town and parliamentary borough, but also by the number of orders (some of which I subjoin) addressed to it in common with the other great ports of the kingdom, although it was not itself one of the Cinque Ports.²³ Its prosperity was then at its greatest height, and the more closely we study its history of that time, the more we become convinced that it was then a thriving and wealthy seaport.²⁴

In 1205 the bailiffs of Shoreham were ordered to find "a good and secure ship, without regard to price, for Wm. de Aune, our knight, and twenty bowmen, to carry them over in our service."²⁵

In 1216 we have a letter of mandate from King John—"Redeatis ad fidem et servicium nostrum non obstante juramento a vobis licet invitis præstito a Lodovico filio regis Franciæ." This was when John had been dispossessed of his lands and crown by the Pope.

15th May, 1224.—Notice of truce with France.

5th November, 1226.—That vessels laden with wine, corn, and provisions may securely enter from France, notwithstanding the King's mandate to the contrary.

30th January, 1254.—Shoreham was ordered to join with some other ports in providing ships for the transport of the Queen and her suite.

²³ 16 S. A. C., 233.

²⁴ In passing, I might mention that although complaints of the depreciation of property here are very common just now, it was much cheaper at the time when Shoreham was enjoying a

run of prosperity, for in 1230 A.D., John Bemfield sold Robert Ingram a house for 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.), and 1lb. of wax!

²⁵ 4 S. A. C., p. 105.



BOROUGH SEAL—OBVERSE SIDE.



BOROUGH SEAL—REVERSE SIDE.

14th February, 1301.—Shorham, Bryghtelmston, and Portsmouth were summoned to send vessels to the King at Berwick.

In 1305, June 21st, Edward I. was here on one of his southern journeys.

1309.—A prohibition against any nobleman going to France during the war with Scotland, addressed to “Bristol, Exeter, Wareham, Waymouth, Suthampton, Portesmouth, Shorham, Seford, Winchelsea, La Rye, Gyppeswick (Ipswich), Sandwich, Gerennwich, and Hertlepool.”

In 1310.—Two orders to prepare vessels; the truce having been violated by Robert de Brus. In the account of wages paid to seamen at Carrickfergus, when it was re-taken from the Scots under Edward Bruce, we find the following entry:—“Shorham. To John Drake, master of the ship ‘Alysseta’ (Elizabeth?), 1 constable, and 34 sailors—£7 2s. 6d.”

10th May, 1324.—To prepare two ships for the expedition to Aquitaine.

1327.—That no religious person should depart from the kingdom without knowledge of the King.

1329.—To suffer no person whatever to pass over the sea without special license.

1336.—All ships of the western fleet were ordered to assemble at Portsmouth.

1338.—To Robert Honel to seek after the Count of Gebre, not only in the town of Shoreham, but in the other havens, towns, and places of Sussex.

1341.—To send masters of vessels to the Council; one to be sent from Shoreham; in 1342, a similar command; and in 1344 an order to attend a Royal Council for the purpose of enquiring into the state of navigation.

In 1342, an order to prepare vessels to convey the Earl of Northampton and his army into England.

In 1346, Edward 3rd (who was then at war with France) ordered two fleets, numbering in all 706 ships, to be fitted out by the ports of the kingdom, and of that number no less than 26, manned by 329 hands, were

supplied by Shoreham. The following is an extract of the number sent by other ports :—

Fowey - 47	Bristol - 24	Southampton 21
Yarmouth 43	Sandwich - 22	Newcastle - 17
Dartmouth 31	Dover - 21	Boston - - 17
Plymouth 26	Weymouth 20	Hull - - - 16
London - 25	Looe - - 20	

This shows that Shoreham was one of the leading ports of the day, and it is worthy of attention that it furnished more ships than London itself.

In 1349.—An order not to permit any person to go to the Continent, on account of the plague.

In 1361 and 1363, edicts prohibiting the exportation of horses, falcons, and woollen goods.

In 1366, Shoreham was again ordered to supply ships for the Royal Navy.

In 1421, Robert Poynings and others were ordered to conduct the Duke of Bourbon to Dieppe, and to take as many ships from Shoreham as should be necessary.

One of the articles of export at this time was iron, many horseshoes made at Horsham being sent to Newcastle : until the end of the 17th century Sussex was an iron producing county.

Much of this prosperity is to be ascribed to the influence of the De Braoses, who during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, by their extensive connections with Normandy, did much to render Shoreham the greatest port on the south coast, especially for the importation of wine and exportation of wool ; but unhappily they would not refrain from exacting exorbitant charges on cargoes and vessels using the harbour, and so ultimately greatly damaged the interest of the port. And their exactions began early : for in 1275 William de Braose was summoned in the Court of King's Bench, by Robert Arguillon, Sheriff of Sussex, for forbidding "the inhabitants of Shoreham to sell him provisions or other merchandize, whereby he suffered damage (Placit. Abbrevi, fol. 1811, p. 263). De Braose denied the

whole affair, but the jury found that it had been done by his order by Nicholas Dutton, his bailiff, and therefore William was "amerced." Damages 1 merk.

Four years later (1279), in the Hundred Rolls (vol. ii., p. 203), we read :—

Wm. de Braose takes his portion in the town of Shoreham, by means of his bailiffs, of wine, corn, and all sorts of merchandize brought into the town of Shoreham, against the will of the merchants, and he pays them a pecuniary recompense at his will, so that all foreign merchants avoid the port and town of Shoreham, to the great loss of the town and that of the neighbourhood, on account of such exactions.

Further :—

That Nicholas Dutton, when bailiff of Wm. de Braose, in the town of Shoreham, disobeyed the King's mandate, inasmuch as he took one penny from the people to allow them to export their wool to the parts beyond the sea.

Also, "that his bailiffs took bribes."

In 1288, Wm. de Giselham, the King's Attorney, complained against W. de Braose—

That he took of every cargo of wine one tun or 20s., also prisage of merchandize, against the will of the merchants, without warrant, and in contempt of our lord the King.

Braose, in defence, said that by ancient custom he took for each cask of wine 11d., for each bag of wool 11d., for each last of hides 11d., as did his ancestors, and he claimed it as his right.

In 1308, after a case in the King's Bench, a precept was issued to the bailiff of Wm. de Braose to prevent him from taking toll at Shoreham of the Bishop of Chichester and his dependants, they having been exempted by deed of King Henry (Placit. Abbrevi., p. 303).

These exactions, together with the very frequent inundations of the sea²⁶ caused the prosperity which had hitherto attended the town to collapse speedily, and it

²⁶ From Dugdale's "History of Imbanking and Draining" we learn that in 1359 a commission was instituted to repair some sea walls at a place called

Pende, between Bramber, Lancing, and Shoreham, which had been damaged by inundations, and the ravages of the French and Spanish.

declined so fast that in 1432 the burgesses petitioned Parliament :—

Forasmuch as by the encroachments of the sea, and other causes, which have reduced the number of inhabitants to 36,²⁷ they are unable to pay their assessment of 12s. for the tenth due to the Crown, which was fixed when the population amounted to 500, they pray that they may obtain a reduction of the same.

Shoreham did not soon recover from this state of extraordinary depression, and, together with other towns on this coast during the early part of the 16th century, suffered many attacks from the French. Among the State papers preserved in the Record Office is a letter, dated 15th August, 1545, from John Lisle, probably Lord High Admiral to Henry 8th, written at two “kennys”²⁸ length off Shoreham, from which it appears that the contending navies were manœuvring in the Channel until an indecisive conflict took place, when the French sailed away and anchored off Boulogne. In one of their descents on the coast, they burnt a part of the town, together with Aldrington and Hove. At this time the population amounted to some 80 families.

Camden speaks of Shoreham thus (vol. i., p. 173)—

Upon the shore a little lower appears Shoreham, anciently Scoreham, which by little and little has dwindled into a poor village called Old Shoreham, having given rise to another town of the same name, the greatest part whereof is ruined and under water, and the commodiousness of its port, by reason of the banks of sand cast up at the mouth of the river, wholly taken away; whereas in former ages it was wont to carry ships, under sail, as high as Brember, at a pretty distance from the sea.

Shoreham took an active part in the wars between this country and France during the reign of Charles I., the enemy continually hovering about off the coast. Several valuable prizes were brought in here, and letters of marque were granted to a few privateers belonging to the port. They did not all make proper use of this permission, and not content with making war on the French, hoisted the death's head and crossbones, and set to work to pillage any ship or cargo that was worth taking. In

²⁷ Probably families, or burgesses.

²⁸ The distance a person can see.

1631, the "Dolphin," Richard Scras, owner and master, was forfeited for piracy, and sold; she was bought again by Captain Scras for £230, who at once applied for and obtained a letter of marque. This may be accounted for by the fact that an influential person at court, named Nicholas, was associated with Captain Scras in the venture. As may be expected, the French made descents on the coast, and did so much damage that in 1626 (31st July) the inhabitants of Brighton and Shoreham petitioned the Lord Lieutenant that on account of these ravages, and the decay of their fisheries consequent on the hostilities, they might have more protection granted them.

King Charles made great use of the port as a Naval Arsenal, and in 1628 he had some dozen vessels built here for the Royal Navy, Shoreham having by this time become famous for shipbuilding.

During the Civil War, Shoreham appears to have taken the side of the King, and was several times ordered to join with other towns in providing ships for him. It appears to have paid Ship Money regularly at first (the assessments of a few neighbouring towns for the year 1636 will perhaps give some idea as to their respective importance at that time:—Hastings, £250; Chichester, £77 7s. 4d; Arundel, £20; Shoreham, £10;—although it must be remembered that that tax was not equitably adjusted), but after a few years it became somewhat in arrear, and the tax for 1638 not having been paid, a peremptory order was issued in May (27th), 1639.

After the battle of Worcester, in 1651, Charles II., as is well known, roamed about the kingdom for six weeks in disguise, passing through many adventures, and having more than one hairbreadth escape, Lord Wilmot and Col. Gounter or Gunter, of Racton, being foremost in their exertions on his behalf. After having tried unsuccessfully at Bridport, Bristol, and Southampton to obtain a ship to convey him to the Continent, Col. Gunter decided to take the advice of some merchant who traded with France, and accordingly consulted Mr. Francis Mansell (who was paid £50, besides his expenses), who made enquiries, and

introduced him to Nicholas Tattersall, master and owner of the ²⁹ coal-brig "Surprise," of Shoreham, and a direct ancestor of the Shiffners of Coombe,³⁰ who agreed, on the 11th October, to carry two of the Colonel's friends, said to have been fighting a duel, over to France, for the sum of £60, to be paid before he took them on board.

Charles (after lying, as one tradition has it,³¹ whilst arrangements were completed, at the little cottage at Portslade existing in 1866, and visible from the South Coast Railway) arrived in Brighton on the 13th October, and stayed all night at the "George" Inn, West-street, now called, from that circumstance, the "King's Head."³² In dictating an account of his adventures to Mr Pepys, he narrates his embarkation as follows:—

About 4 o'clock in the morning, myself and the company before named (Col. Gunter, Lord Wilmot, Robin Philips, and F. Mansell) went towards Shoreham, taking the master of the ship with us on horseback, behind one of our company, and came to the vessel's side, which was not above 60 tons. But it being low water and the vessel lying dry, I and my lord Wilmot got up with a ladder into her, and went and lay down in the little cabin till the tide came to fetch us off. But I was no sooner got into the ship and laid down upon the bed, but the master came in to me, fell down upon his knees, and kist my hand, telling me that he knew me very well, and would venture life and all that he had in the world to set me down safe in France. So about 7 o'clock in the morning, it being high water, we went out of the port.³³

What happened afterwards is related by Col. Gunter, who says ³⁴

At eight of the clock, I saw them on sayle, and it was the afternoone before they were out of sight. The wind (O! Providence) held very good till the next morning to ten of the clock brought them to a place of Normandie called Fackham (Fécamp), some three miles from Havre de Grace, 15th October, Wednesday. They were no sooner landed but the wind turned, and a violent storme did arise in soe much that the boateman was forced to cutt his cable; lost his

²⁹ 16 S. A. C., 265.

³⁰ 11 S. A. C., p. 42.

³¹ 18 S. A. C., p. 122.

³² 10 S. A. C., p. 189, 190. The Surprise had been pressed into the service of Charles 1st; she was, however, re-

leased by young Charles, who was then in command of the fleet.

³³ "An account of the preservation of King Chas. II. after the battle of Worcester," p.p. 66, 67.

³⁴ 18 S. A. C., 123.

anchor to save his boate, for which he required of mee £8, and had it. The boat was back againe at Chichester³⁵ by Friday to take his fraught.

There is a story which relates that while on the passage across the Channel one of the sailors was observed smoking, standing to windward of Charles, with whom he was chatting, and on being reprov'd for his familiarity, remarked, "A cat may look at a King, surelie," little knowing that their passenger was indeed the fugitive heir to the throne. Seven years later (1658) the Marquis of Ormonde, who had been making preparations for Charles' return, embarked here for Dieppe, when he returned to the exiled Prince.

Harrison Ainsworth's novel, "Ovingdean Grange," is founded upon the flight of Charles, and is well worth reading.

There are some who have said that Tattersall was not instigated by any motive of loyalty to risk his liberty and property to save the King, but simply by the magical influence of money. This is perhaps hardly fair, but it is certain that he got as much as he possibly could out of those who were desirous to make use of him, and remonstrated with Col. Gunter when he found out who his passenger was. After the Restoration, Mr. Mansell, who had been outlawed and ruined during the Commonwealth, received a pension of £200 a year for his services. Tattersall, finding that Charles, while rewarding those who assisted his escape, had forgotten him, sailed the "Surprise" up the Thames, and moored her close to the King's palace. James, who was then Admiral of his brother's fleet, took her into the navy as a fifth-rate, under the name of the "Royal Escape,"³⁶ and appointed Tattersall to the command. He was afterwards placed in command of the "Monk," when he seems to have occupied a position of some importance, and after some time gave the King a good deal of trouble. In 1663 a pension of

³⁵ Colonel Gunter made a slight mistake here, as he was bound to Poole with coal. This is easily accounted for, as he dictated the MSS. on his death-bed.

³⁶ Mr. Blencowe calls it (11 S. A. C., p. 42) the "Happy Entry."

£100 a year was settled on him and his family for 99 (Mr. Blencowe³⁷ says for 90) years. Charles granted him a coat of arms, and gave him a ring bearing miniatures of himself and his Queen,³⁸ and in 1670 he became High Constable of Brighton. He died on the 26th July, 1674, and was buried in Brighton parish churchyard, where a monument has been erected to his memory.

But we must now turn our attention to another of the principal historical events of Shoreham, the Borough, and the doings of the Burgesses, who seem to have addicted themselves early to those political crimes for which it has been notorious. To this Dr. Burton, in his "Iter Sussexiense," written about the year 1751, alludes in his usual humorous style. He calls New Shoreham

A village despicable in appearance, but nevertheless with a market and shipyards, and officers of the customs. The villagers have votes for two senators elected to go to the Great Council of 500. They are especially valued on this account, and it is said that they get rich every seven years by pocketing gifts for their votes.³⁹

We shall shortly see how they accomplished this.

On the 3rd January, 1701, Mr. John Perry, a defeated candidate, petitioned Parliament that Thomas Edwards had corruptly returned Nathaniel Gould, and on the 26th February, 1701, some of the inhabitants also petitioned:—

That their free right of electing Burgesses to Parliament hath been invaded by Mr Nathanael Gold, a mere Stranger in the said Borough; who, a few days before the last election, came down from London, and ordered the public Crier of the said Borough to give notice with his Bell to all the votesmen to come to the King's Arms, to receive a Guinea a man to drink Mr. Gold's Health; by which and other corrupt practices, he procured himself to be elected and returned; most of the Votesmen having received a Guinea a piece.

On the 13th March following, Gould petitioned the House in reply—

That through misadvertency and a mistaken apprehension of the law, he had done that before the *teste* of the writ which may justly render him liable to the displeasure of the House, and that the

³⁷ 11 S. A. C., p. 42.

³⁸ 17 S. A. C., p. 92.

³⁹ 8 S. A. C., p. 264.

thoughts thereof were so affecting that he rather chose to acknowledge his error, than seem to justify the same by a defence, and therefore, with the greatest humility, submitted himself to the justice and favour of the House, humbly professing that the expense which he so unfortunately made was on his own account.

The House expelled him, and directed that no new writ should be issued during that session. When it was, Mr. Gould was re-elected.

After this came a number of petitions: on the 2nd Nov., 1705, Mr John Perry petitioned against the return of Mr. Wicker; on the 25th Nov., 1708, some of the inhabitants petitioned against the return of Mr. Richard Lloyd, and on the 22nd December Mr. Gould petitioned against the return of Gregory Page. It appears that none of these petitions were proceeded with. On the 16th November, 1709, the return of Mr. Richard Lloyd was again petitioned against by the inhabitants, on the ground of "treating and undue practice." The matter was investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, and Mr. Lloyd was declared duly elected. Again in 1710, the defeated candidates petitioned against the return of Messrs. Page and Gould; this petition was committed, and likewise dropped.

It is evident from these frequent petitions, and their fate, that a very unsatisfactory state of affairs prevailed in the borough, and in the year 1771, the whole matter came out, and a remarkable system of corruption, which has made this borough more unenviably conspicuous than most others, was brought to light.

One of the seats having become vacant in the end of 1770 by the death of Sir Samuel Cornish, five candidates offered themselves for election. Three of them, Thomas Rumbold, John Purling, and Wm. James, went to the poll, which took place on the 26th Nov., and resulted in the following number of votes being given for each respectively:—Rumbold, 87. Purling, 37. James, 4.

Hugh Roberts, the Returning Officer (by virtue of his office as High Constable), queried 76 of Rumbold's votes, and returned Purling. This caused the former to petition, and a select Committee of 15, of which Mr. Richard

Fuller was Chairman, was appointed, who, after having investigated the matter, reported that:—

From the evidence it appeared to them that Mr Rumbold was duly elected. That the conduct of the returning officer, in taking the poll and making the return at the said election, was illegal. That in the borough of New Shoreham a Society has for many years subsisted, which has assumed the name of "The Christian Society," that none but voters for representatives in Parliament were ever admitted into the Society, and that a great majority of the voters for New Shoreham were members; that the society had a constant clerk (J. Partington, Jun.), that they held a regular monthly, and frequent occasional meetings; that whenever they met a flag was hoisted to give notice of such meeting; that the members of the Society, about three years ago, entered into articles for raising and distributing small sums of money to charitable uses, but that these articles were designed only to cover the real intent of their Institution. That the principal purpose of their meetings was for what they called "burgessing business;" that they all took an oath of secrecy, and entered into a bond in a penalty of £500, to bind them altogether with regard to burgessing, but that the condition of the bond does not precisely appear; that upon any vacancy in the representation of the borough, the society always appointed a committee to treat with the candidates for the purchase of the seat, and that the Committee were constantly instructed to get the most money, and make the best bargain they could; that the Society never appointed a committee for any other purpose; that on a false report of the death of Sir Samuel Cornish, in February last, the society was called together by the signal of the flag; that many of the members at that meeting (which was very numerous) declared they would support the highest bidder; that some, among them Hugh Roberts, Returning Officer, expressed themselves offended at such a declaration, and said that they were afraid of the consequences, for the Society was only a heap of bribery, and withdrew from the Society; that one of those who withdrew, going about two months ago to a meeting of the society, was treated with harsh expressions, and told he came amongst them as a spy; that the society continued to meet; that their meetings were frequent near election time; that a Committee was appointed after the death of Sir Samuel Cornish; that none of the members said to be of that Committee voted at the last election, though most of them were in New Shoreham on election day; that three days before that election the Society was reported to be dissolved, but that the members of it had since resumed their meeting, and that further inquiry into the transactions of the society ought to be made.

Thus, under the cloke of charity, a clique of the electors had carried on the most flagrant bribery, selling their oaths and consciences, and disposing of their borough

to the highest bidder, and by so doing had deprived the rest of the freemen of the benefit of their votes.

On the 29th January following, the House considered the report, and decided that further proceedings should be taken in the matter, and that it should be investigated at the bar of the House. Accordingly on the 8th February, Hugh Roberts was called to the bar, and charged with having made a false return to Parliament during his office of Returning Officer. In defence he alleged—

That a society, called "The Christian Club," existed in Shoreham, and that the Members were bound under an oath of secrecy and a bond, not to break it up; that he had been a Member, but, seeing the illegal lengths they had gone to, had desired to be voted out, but this was refused him. That an additional rule was made, which stipulated "That any member not paying his arrears for three months should be excluded the Society;" by means of this regulation, he and several others were enabled to leave it. He further stated—that on the death of Sir Samuel Cornish five candidates for the vacant seat came down from London, and that the agent of one of them inadvertently mentioned in company that the Club had appointed a Committee of five to make terms with the candidates; that General Smith had offered for the seat £3,000, and to build 600 tons of shipping at Shoreham, but that Mr. Rumbold had bid more, and that the Committee directed the person elected not to notice voters not of the Club. Further, that at the last election an affidavit was made and read that Mr. Rumbold's agent had agreed with the Club to give them £35 for each vote; and for these reasons he (Roberts) had disqualified these electors, although they had taken the bribery oath.

and he concluded by stating that if he had done wrong it was without intent, and by submitting himself to the decision of the House. The hearing was adjourned until the 12th February, when Mr. Roberts brought up witnesses in his favour, but the House judging that the assumption of such power by a returning officer, upon whatever principle it was based, would be a most dangerous precedent, came to the decision

That Hugh Roberts, the late returning officer for the borough of New Shoreham, having at the last election for the said borough received upon the poll 87 persons who voted for Mr. Rumbold, and who all, except one, had taken the bribery oath, and 37 who voted for Mr. Purling, and having, immediately on the close of the poll, declared Mr. Purling elected, and returned him accordingly, hath thereby acted illegally, and in breach of the privilege of this house,

and ordered him to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. The next day he petitioned—

That your petitioner, with all humility, acknowledging the offence by which he hath incurred the displeasure of your House and their justice in punishing him for the same, and begging their pardon, implores them to extend their wonted humanity and compassion to him by discharging him from his confinement.

In consideration of the circumstances in his favour, and of his having exposed so corrupt a combination, he was discharged on the 14th, after having received on his knees at the bar of the House of Commons a severe reprimand from the Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton.

The inquiry recommended by the Select Committee was held, witnesses were examined, and a full investigation made, and all the charges made in the Report of the Select Committee having been proved, it was decided to punish the members of the Society, but in what way it could not for some time be determined. Some proposed to disfranchise the borough—this, however, was not done—others urged that the culprits should be left to the punishment of the law; but though there was clear conviction of their guilt, it was matter of such a nature as made the establishment of legal evidence very difficult, and yet if they escaped without some signal punishment, it would be an encouragement to bribery, when it was seen that it could be practised with impunity.

At length an address was presented to the King, praying him to direct the Attorney General to prosecute the five members—Wm. Hards, Thos. Gear, Wm. Rusbridge, Henry Robinson, and Henry Hannington—who had formed the Committee which had transacted the sale of the representation at the last election. The prosecution was commenced, but was abandoned for want of evidence. At the same time a Bill was brought in to disfranchise the eighty-one freemen who had composed the Society, and for the prevention of bribery and corruption in the borough. The different transactions connected with the subject ran through the whole of the session. It was frequently postponed; several attempts to throw it out were made by Mr. Fox and others, and it

was not until the last day of the Session (8th May, 1771), that the Bill—the members of the Society having been heard by counsel against it—received the Royal Assent.

The Act (11 George III., cap. 55), after reciting that “a wicked and corrupt society calling itself ‘The Christian Society’ existed in Shoreham,” incapacitated and disabled by name 68 of its members “from giving any vote at any election for the choosing a member or members to serve in Parliament.” Nearly all the respectable voters were thus disfranchised, and a sufficient number was not left to enable the borough to continue to exercise the right of sending two representatives. It was, therefore, decided to extend its limits, and a clause was inserted in the Bill, enacting—

That from henceforth it shall and may be lawful to and for every freeholder, being above the Age of One and Twenty years, who shall have within the Rape of Bramber, in the said County of Sussex, a freehold of the clear yearly value of 40s., to give his vote at every election of a Burgess or Burgesses to serve in Parliament for the said Borough of New Shoreham.

The number of electors was thereby increased to about 1,200, and although a complete check was placed on bribery, great influence on the returns of the Members of Parliament was for some time vested in the large landed proprietors of the borough. Happily the borough is now free from aristocratic influences, and the voters return representatives of their own opinions.

At every election the Act of Disfranchisement is required to be read before the writ, and the laws against bribery and corruption. In former times this duty was performed by a Sexton, who had the unpleasant office of announcing himself as a voter disfranchised for bribery, concluding with the loyal response, “God save the King”!

That corruption, apart from that exercised by the Christian Society, was practised to a great extent cannot be doubted, for it is said that during the reign of George II. more money was spent at Shoreham and Bramber elections, than all the lands in the parishes were worth at

twenty years' purchase. On one occasion the landlord of the "Star" Inn boasted that during an election then just over he made £300 of one pipe of canary. Doubtless many other boroughs were quite as corrupt—indeed, at Seaford there was a club somewhat similar to the Christian Society,—but Shoreham had the misfortune to be found out in its evil-doing. The number of voters is now about 5,000, residing in 48 parishes, which comprise the whole of the Rape of Bramber, excepting the borough of Horsham. It was on account of the electors being thus scattered about that it, with four others—East Retford, Cricklade, Much Wenlock, and Aylesbury—was made an exception to the clause in the last Reform Act, providing that—

It shall not be lawful for any candidate, or anyone in his behalf, at any election for any borough to pay any money on account of the conveyance of any voter to the poll, either to the voter himself, or to any other person.

The export smuggling of wool, as also the illegal selling of wine, have been alluded to as being carried on at Shoreham, in the 13th century, and in all probability these illicit trades increased rather than declined, after its prosperity had deserted the town. The Sussex coast was a comparatively remote part of the country, being shut out, as it were, by hills from London and the country generally, and offering, in its shallow harbours and thick woods, great accommodation for smugglers, and for the secretion of their merchandize. Mr. M. A. Lower thinks that in the faces of Sussex seamen he can trace the features of the Danes and Norsemen of old. If, then, they are descended from rovers and pirates, is it to be wondered at, if they should, in some degree, follow the ways of their forefathers? Fortunately for themselves, although they extensively carried on their illicit trades in this county, the smugglers were rarely overtaken by the law; this is, perhaps, owing to the officials having either been bought over, or else themselves having an interest in the lawless adventures. Wool smugglers, or "owlers," as they were

called,⁴⁰ carried on their trade here until some fifty years ago, when it no longer paid them sufficiently for the risk, for in those days convicted smugglers were gibbeted on the sea shore, and it was no uncommon sight to see bodies hanging from the gallows until they decayed and fell down, or were devoured by the birds of prey.⁴¹ Before the establishment of the present coastguard system, the only preventives were the riding officers, who did from time to time succeed in capturing a few delinquents. There is only one account of a capture at Shoreham, viz., on the 27th May, 1703, when, after a slight affray, some eight or nine French and English sailors were taken. But the officers were not often this way: there was no county constabulary, and the smugglers carried on their trade without much discomfort. Of the manner in which smuggling was accomplished during the early part of this century, before the great reduction in the customs duties, I am enabled to give some account from one who himself was engaged in it. The vessels were of about 60 tons, and regularly employed in the trade. There were merchants in France and Flanders by whom they were regularly loaded with tea, silks, spirits, tobacco, &c.; while in the north part of the county were merchants who chartered the vessels, and hired men to convey the contraband goods from the sea, inland. These would come down in bands of forty or fifty, armed with various weapons, to Lancing or the Wish Barn, where they would lie in wait until, on receiving the signal from the local agent, who had information as to what cargoes might be expected, they proceeded down to the beach, whither the sailors rowed ashore in small boats from the ships, bringing their cargoes, which being loaded on horses and in carts, the party hurried off to St. Leonard's Forest, or some other woods where they had caves and barns, or to some haunted house or farm, where the goods could be stowed until taken away by the merchants. One local rendezvous and storehouse of the smugglers was the "Sussex

⁴⁰ 24 S. A. C., 141 n.

⁴¹ For an account of Sussex smug-

gling generally, see Mr. Cooper's paper, 10 S. A. C., p. 69.

Pad," which formerly had the river quite close to it, and under which are very extensive cellars, now useless. Bramber Castle again would probably be made use of, for the inhabitants of Bramber were like their neighbours of Shoreham. But, unfortunately, the seamen of Shoreham and the Cinque Ports were not content with carrying on one illegal trade. With the avocation of smuggler, they combined that of wrecker and pirate.⁴² In war time they frequently carried correspondence to their country's enemies, and conveyed spies.



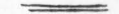


For more than a century Shoreham Harbour (of which we add a plan) has engaged public attention, and been a subject of frequent legislation. Originally it was a bay extending eastward as far as Aldrington (nearly the whole of which is now washed away by the sea), and bounded on the south side by a promontory now also submerged, on which the before-mentioned village of Pende⁴³ was probably situated. The river Adur, sometimes called the Alder or Beeding, was then free from sand-banks, and was navigable for the ships of the day as far as Bramber.⁴⁴ After the submerision of this promontory, probably in the 15th century, the harbour entrance and mouth of the river was just opposite Shoreham, so that the sea itself came close to the town, while the tides which destroyed the promontory also deposited large quantities of beach in the mouth of the river; the fresh waters brought down by the river naturally contained much soil from the country, the outflow of which would be impeded by the banks formed in the *embouchure*, which would thus be increased. The outflow of the backwater, which in those days, when dredging was practically unknown, was the only means of scouring a harbour, being thus obstructed, the harbour mouth speedily became choked up, and a number of small lagoons formed, having one entrance or more, which never remained open long. This had its natural effect on the

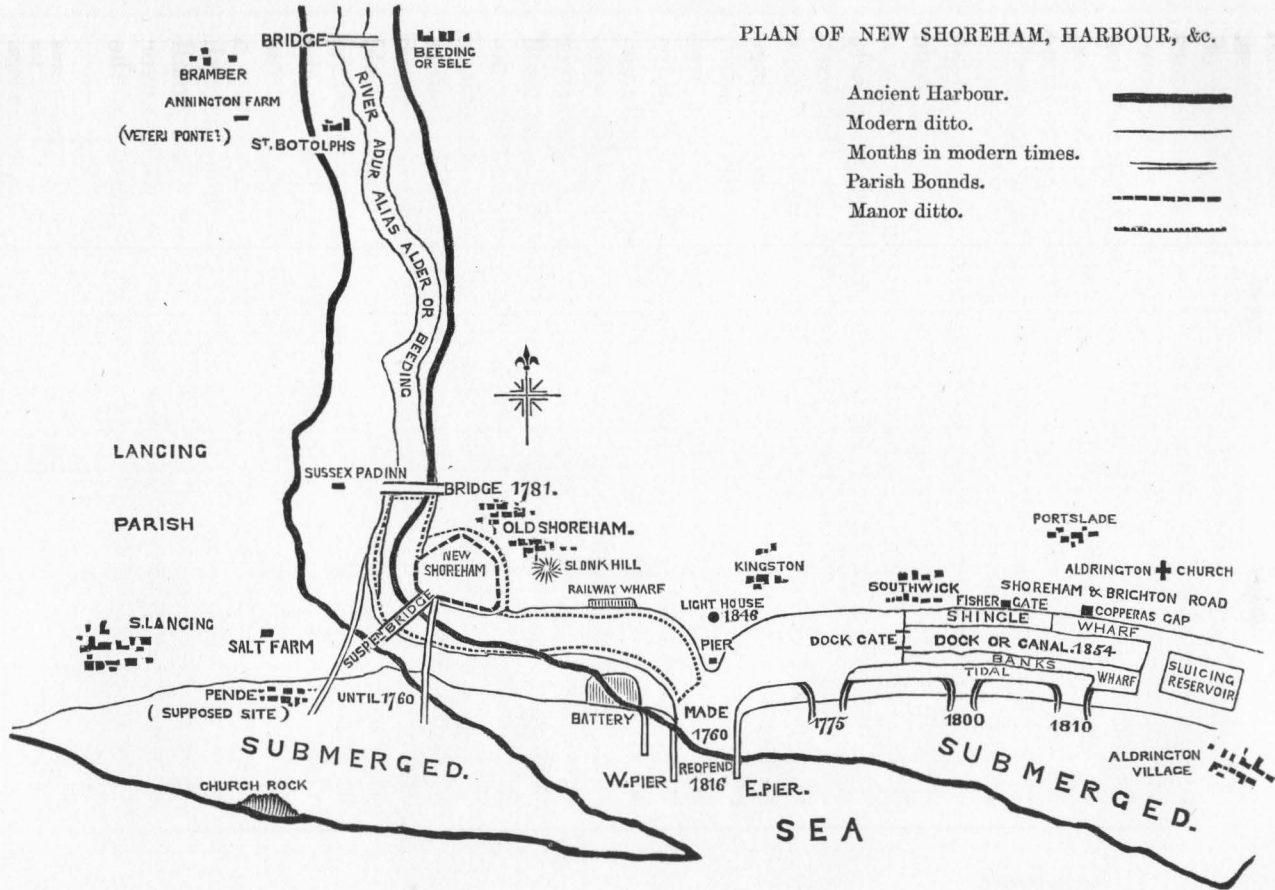
⁴² In 1227, the Sheriff of Sussex was ordered to find out the plunderers of a French ship, which had been wrecked at Shoreham. 4 S. A. C., p. 109.

⁴³ *Suprà*, note 26.

⁴⁴ By the Act passed in 1807 it was embanked and rendered navigable for barges and boats as far as Moate Bridge.

PLAN OF NEW SHOREHAM, HARBOUR, &c.

- Ancient Harbour. 
- Modern ditto. 
- Mouths in modern times. 
- Parish Bounds. 
- Manor ditto. 



prosperity of the port, and after many years the merchants, shipowners, and inhabitants of Shoreham and the neighbourhood, on the 3rd February, 1759, presented a petition to Parliament complaining of the state of the harbour, and the depression of their trade, and praying that leave might be given to bring in a Bill to effect improvements. An enquiry into the matter of the petition was accordingly held, at which one of the witnesses, a pilot, stated that the channel was so shallow he should not feel justified in taking charge of a vessel drawing more than 8 feet. The allegations of the petition having been proved, a Bill was ordered to be brought in—this, however, was not done. But on the 11th December, a new petition was presented, which being reported on in the following February, leave was given to bring in a Bill. No time was now lost, and in four days Sir Wm. Peere Williams, one of the Borough members, introduced a Bill, which was passed on the 24th March, 1760. It appointed fifty-one Commissioners; among them were Lord North, Lord Howe, the Borough Members, a number of local landowners, gentlemen, clergymen, and others, eleven of whom were to form a *quorum*, who were authorised to make “a new cut through the sea beach,” opposite Kingston, and to erect piers, and to do such other works as shall be necessary, “to make and maintain a new and more commodious entrance” to the harbour. It authorised them to borrow the necessary funds at a rate of interest not exceeding 5 per cent., to levy certain dues, and to assign them wholly or partially as security for loans. All moneys received under this Act were to be applied: 1st, in defraying the cost of obtaining the Act, and secondly in defraying the necessary expenses incurred in improving and maintaining the said harbour. The necessary compulsory and formal powers were given. The accounts were to be audited by the Justices of the Peace present at the Midsummer Quarter Sessions. As soon as all the loans raised under this Act were paid off, the duties were to be reduced by one-third. Ships belonging to Great Yarmouth were to be exempted from all dues, and double dues were to be

taken from foreign vessels and goods carried in them. The first meeting of the Commissioners was held, as directed by the Act, at the Star Inn, at Shoreham, on the 24th June, 1760, and they appear to have lost no time in fulfilling their duties. The total sum borrowed for the harbour works was £8,000—of which £1,000 was contributed by Sir W. P. Williams, and £3,000 by Lord Pollington, probably under the influence of the “Christian Club.” The improvements seem to have answered, in some degree, the purpose for which they were intended, and by the year 1770 the Commissioners were in a position to commence paying off their loans. But probably their works were effected with too great a desire to avoid expenditure, and were not sufficiently substantial, for they became undermined by the sea, and in some fifteen years after their construction the harbour entrance had begun to travel eastward, and the harbour rapidly silted up, and became almost as bad as it had formerly been. In 1789 the merchants and inhabitants of the district presented several petitions to Parliament, representing the need of repairs, and alleging negligence on the part of the Commissioners. These, however, not meeting with much support, were abandoned, another petition having in the meantime been presented by the Commissioners themselves. A Bill, which reduced the dues and empowered the Commissioners to effect certain repairs, was then brought in, and passed on the 19th May. It was under the powers of this Act, and with a view to the better regulation of the harbour, that the first Harbour Master was appointed at a salary of £35. After this the harbour dues were frequently reduced or raised, according as funds were required. By the year 1800 the entrance had, by the action of the sea, been moved still further eastward, to half a mile east of Southwick, and during the succeeding decade it had gone still further eastward, and during all this time was, as may be imagined, always choked up. In June, 1800, the Commissioners instructed Mr. Jessop, an engineer, to make a survey, with a view to the construction of new works. He made an exhaustive report, setting forth

the natural capacities of the harbour (western arm), and suggesting that the old mouth opposite Shoreham should be re-opened, so as to secure an uninterrupted flow of the waters of the river for scouring purposes; and calling attention to the quantity of suitable land available for dock and wharf space there. The report was received and entered on the minutes.

In 1806 a public meeting was held at Shoreham to take into consideration the desirability of applying to Parliament for another Act.

In 1810 a company of subscribers proposed to make docks. The scheme was supported by the Commissioners, and in February of the same year a petition for Parliamentary powers was presented, but, as it met with no encouragement, was abandoned, and the proposal for a Dock Company collapsed. On the 1st February, in the following year, another petition, complaining of the negligence of the Commissioners, and praying for leave to bring in a Bill to effect repairs, was presented. Leave was given, but no Bill was introduced, and the matter dropped. In 1814 Mr. Wm. Clegram, a shipmaster of Shoreham, at the wish of the inhabitants made a survey, with a view to suggest repairs and improvements. Another survey was made by Mr. Wm. Chapman (who was recommended by the Board of Trinity House) by order of the Commissioners, but it was not immediately acted upon. On the 4th April, 1815, the traders of the port represented to the Commissioners the state of the harbour as dangerous, and the accommodation as insufficient, and begged them to take some steps towards its repair. They replied that the tolls which they levied were insufficient to admit of any but the most limited expenditure on such works. However, on the 11th July following they decided to bring in a Bill giving them power to take higher dues, and to repair the harbour. This decision was not acted on, but early in the following year a Bill was introduced into Parliament, which became law on the 1st July, 1816, valuable services having been rendered it by Mr. Wm. Wigney, of Brighton, and Mr. Geo. Lyall, afterwards and for many years M.P. for the

City of London. This Act, which still remains in force, except such sections of it as are repealed by the Acts of 1873 and 1876, repealed both of the former Acts (1760, 1789), and vested the harbour in eighty-three Commissioners, chiefly landowners, gentlemen, and clergymen, whose qualification was £250 yearly income arising from landed estate, or the possession of personal estate of the value of £7,000—and seven of whom were to be a *quorum*, who were to appoint ten of their number to be a Committee of Survey, five being a *quorum*, who at least once in every year, attended by their engineer, were to inspect the harbour, and report fully thereon to the General Meeting in July. It empowers them to do all that is necessary to improve and preserve the said harbour, to make and enforce bye-laws for its regulation, and to repair the embankments constructed under the powers of the Adur Navigation Act of 1807, before the new entrance at Kingston was opened. During the agitation for this Bill a number of persons had agreed to subscribe funds to the extent of £40,000 for the use of the harbour, and power was also given to raise the sum of £10,000 on transferable mortgage. To provide for the repayment of these moneys, with the interest thereon, and for the general purposes of the Act, the Commissioners were authorised to levy certain tolls, from which all vessels belonging to the Royal family and those employed in the service of the country are exempted. All moneys received under the Act were to be applied: firstly, in defraying the cost of the Act; secondly, in carrying out the works authorised by the Act, viz., cleansing and enlarging the channel, making new piers and the necessary wharves, making the works necessary to sluice the Eastern arm and to close up the old entrance, and keeping them in repair, and in payment of the interest on all moneys raised on mortgage; and, lastly, the surplus was to be divided *pro ratâ* among the subscribers. The accounts, together with a report of the progress made in repairing the harbour, were to be presented to both Houses of Parliament within thirty days after the commencement of every Session. It provides also that if at

any time, from any circumstances whatever, vessels of 200 tons register should not be able any longer to pass in safety between the piers from the sea into the harbour, and from the harbour to the sea at high water, and that this state of affairs should continue for a year, the authorised dues should be reduced to one-fourth part thereof, until such time as it should be remedied. For the guidance of vessels bound to the port, when there was sufficient water to enable a vessel drawing 11 feet to enter with safety, a flag was to be hoisted at the pier-head by day, and a light exhibited at night. To provide for this expense, power was given to levy as local light dues the sum of 4d. per foot on all vessels drawing not more than 12 feet, and 6d. per foot on all vessels drawing more than 12 feet. It was further stipulated that this Act was not to be put in force until the whole of the probable expense "of making and completing the said harbour" was subscribed, and also that should the intended improvements not be effected within the space of five years from the passing of the Act, all its powers were to cease. The new Commissioners immediately set to work; they appointed Mr. Clegram harbour master, and Mr. Chapman engineer. A contract for the works was made, and on the 22nd April, 1817, the first pile was driven. The contractors, however, were much impeded by want of capital, and in November, 1817, found themselves compelled to relinquish their contract. The works were then temporarily carried on under Messrs. Clegram and Chapman, until a fresh contract was made in December with Mr. Hugh Macintosh, of Bloomsbury, London. By the 25th January, 1818, the works had so far progressed as to enable the new entrance to be opened, but the whole of the improvements were not finally completed until June, 1821. The Commissioners not being able to obtain sufficient funds to complete the works, found it necessary to go to Parliament to obtain further monetary powers, and an Act was passed on the 19th May, 1819, under which loans were effected, which were afterwards paid off. The monetary interests in the harbour now consist of the sum of £29,300, known as the

“first subscription,” and the sum of £10,000, known as the “second subscription”—the latter bearing interest at the fixed rate of 5 per cent. The total cost of the works executed under the Act of 1816 was £36,500, of which £3,500 was for steam dredging. These improvements had the desired effect, and in proof of the revival of the trade of the port we have the testimony of *Parry's Coast of Sussex*, p. 341, published in 1833, as follows:—

On approaching the port the scene is of a cheerful and active character, indicating no small degree of business and acquisition. There is perhaps no port on the South Coast, with the exception of the public arsenals, which displays this feature in a higher degree. The piers are humble in their appearance, and the entrance very narrow and difficult from the projecting shoal bank, which to the most inexperienced eye conveys the impression that great caution must always be necessary to avoid running aground. It is very celebrated for shipbuilding up to 700 tons, and sent to for orders from a considerable distance.

Some thirty years ago the piers were lengthened and the embankment greatly improved, at the time the Railway steamers plied here; and in 1846 a high light was constructed 300 yards in a line behind the middle pier head light, thus making not only a light to point out the position of the harbour, but also a valuable leading light for vessels entering at night. But the Commissioners were unable to agree with the Railway Company, and soon the steam lines were removed to the neighbouring ports of Littlehampton and Newhaven.

In 1851 a number of traders, shipowners, and residents of Shoreham and Brighton petitioned the Commissioners that by means of the facilities afforded by the Railway, and the use of steam colliers, London and north country merchants were enabled by sending coal by sea to Deptford and thence by rail, to supply Brighton at lower prices than they themselves could, and that thereby their trade was decaying, begging them to make such alterations in the eastern arm as would enable vessels to get close to Brighton. Consequently, the Commissioners contracted with Messrs. Jackson and Bean, and at a cost of £40,000 constructed the canal or dock, ex-

tending through Aldrington parish almost to Hove.⁴⁵ This extension was executed by the Commissioners, in order to enable the coal merchants to carry their coal at half the original cost of haulage, or from Aldrington to Brighton instead of from Kingston to that town, and to enable ships to lie afloat in the canal, instead of resting on the mud in the old part of the harbour at low water. It cost much more than was estimated by the engineer in its construction and also in its maintenance, and in protecting it from the sea. It has been, however, and is a great advantage to the shipowners and the public, though not so profitable to the shareholders of the harbour, who were obliged in consequence to submit to reduced dividends for a period. However, after a few years the trade of the harbour had so much improved that the Commissioners were enabled to pay off a large portion⁴⁶ of the loans effected to make this canal, and to return to their former dividend of 10 per cent. on the capital of the original subscribers of 1816. During the gale in November, 1875, and March, 1876, this canal suffered considerable damage, on the latter occasion being completely submerged. In October, 1856, a Mr. James Boyd, of London, proposed the construction of a ship canal hence to London. The scheme was laid before the Commissioners, but was abandoned. The construction of the first-mentioned canal or basin, however, was the cause of protracted litigation between Mr. Fuller and Mr. Ingram (who were successively owners of some property at Aldrington) and the Harbour Commissioners. When the latter body first entertained the idea, one of them wrote to Mr. Hugh Fuller, the then owner of some land over which the proposed basin was to be made, suggesting that the canal should be carried as near the Wish Boundary Gap as possible; and should be made by Mr. Fuller, because it would enhance the value of his property. Mr. Fuller, however, declined, and begged the Commissioners would not exceed their powers. Thereupon, they disputed Mr. Fuller's title to the lands in question, and proceeded to claim them as theirs, by

⁴⁵ See 16 S. A. C., p. 255.⁴⁶ £30,000 and interest.

destroying Mr. Fuller's notice boards, and by causing a row of pipe tiles to be driven where they considered the tide flowed. Having done this, and made contracts for the construction of the canal and basin, the works were commenced, notwithstanding Mr. Fuller's repeated remonstrances. He thereupon gave notice to the Commissioners of his intention to maintain an action for damages against them, in respect of the matter. Negotiations, with a view to an amicable settlement, were then entered into, which resulted in the offer by Mr. Fuller—

To give sufficient land in the parish of Aldrington for a new public road in lieu of the present one; the new road to be made from about the Wish Gap towards Copperas Gap, in such a position and of such height, width, or form as shall be agreed upon by Mr. Fuller, or his agent, and the Harbour Master. The site of so much of the existing road as shall not be included in the new road, and all the land to the north of the new road, to be retained by Mr. Fuller for his exclusive use, and subject to the above, the Commissioners to have the use of such part of Mr. Fuller's land, in the parish of Aldrington (being that which was, before the new works were constructed, or now is, flowed with water at high water and spring tides) for a floating harbour-basin and wharves, for the free use of the trading community, and the land eastward of the road at the east end of the basin for being flowed (*sic*) with water.

This proposal was referred to a Special Committee, who, in September, 1854, urged that it be not entertained; while the Committee of Management thought otherwise, and deeming it most desirable that the dispute should be settled, and that the offer was "substantially a compliance with all that the Commissioners required," recommended its acceptance. The Commissioners acted upon this recommendation, and Mr. Fuller's proposition was carried into effect. No quantity of land was specified, but it was understood that the Commissioners were to have so much only as was necessary for the wharves; and it was admitted that all not required for this purpose was Mr. Fuller's. In January, 1857, application was made by several firms for the Commissioners' permission to erect coal sheds at the basin, but the permission was not granted, as they considered it would be an infringement of Mr. Fuller's rights. In December, 1862, Mr.

Hugh Ingram, who, on the death of Mr. Fuller, in 1858, had become owner of the lands, being about to demise a portion south of the wharf, and therefore desirous of fixing the boundary, agreed with the Commissioners that a row of stumps should be driven 100 feet south of the wharf for that purpose, and this was done. A few years later some of the traders were in the habit of using the space next the wharves for the purpose of storing their goods, having first obtained the Commissioners' sanction; and this being detrimental to Mr. Ingram, as it prevented him from letting the land for such purposes, he requested the Commissioners to insist on the discontinuance of this practice. After some correspondence the Commissioners refused to do so, and continued to authorise it, and also claimed the lands, which at the time when the wharves were begun was overflowed by high water spring tides, as being vested in them by the 27th section of their Act of 1816, which defines the harbour limits as being from—

Old Shoreham Bridge to the Wish, and 160 yards on the west side of the intended western pier, and 160 yards on the east side of the intended eastern pier, and extending to the flow of the high water and spring tides on the north and south sides of the harbour, from the Wish to Old Shoreham Bridge.

Mr. Ingram having filed a Bill in Chancery seeking the specific performance of the agreement of 1854, and for relief consequent upon an alleged breach thereof, the Commissioners in their answer denied the plaintiff's title, and pleaded that the agreement was so vague as not to justify a decree for specific performance, and that whatever the agreement was they had not committed any breach sufficient to justify this suit. It was, however, conclusively proved by maps and evidence that the plaintiff had fairly acquired the property, and that he was entitled to the land down to the beach and sands, and had always used it as his own. Accordingly, on the 25th May, 1871, Vice-Chancellor Bacon gave judgment, with costs, in favour of the plaintiff.

A number of persons interested came forward in 1870, and commenced an agitation, principally by means of the

Shoreham Chamber of Commerce, which resulted in the introduction into the Parliament of 1873 of a Bill which contained some rather sweeping clauses. It received the Royal Assent on the 28th July, in the same year, after a hard contest before a Select Committee of the House of Lords, and a still harder one before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. Its principal provisions are the repeal of the monetary powers of the Acts of 1816 and 1819, the substitution for the eighty-three Commissioners of a representative body of thirteen Trustees having perpetual succession and a common seal, and appointed by various interests, and the repayment of the subscribers of 1816 within eighteen months at a price to be fixed by agreement, or, that failing, by arbitration, power being given them to send four representatives to the Trust until they are paid off. The Trustees are also empowered to borrow for the use of the harbour the sum of £25,000, in addition to the amount required to pay off the subscribers. The Trustees were unable to raise sufficient money to pay off the subscribers within the stipulated period, and were thus placed in a dilemma; to extricate them from which Mr. William Hall, of Lancing, in conjunction with several others, agreed to purchase as many of the harbour shares as the holders were willing to sell, at £40 per cent. premium, and to make them a deferred charge on the harbour funds, on condition that the Trustees should jointly with them promote in Parliament a Bill for the improvement of the Harbour and for other purposes. The Trustees assented, and a Bill was introduced last session, which, after passing the Select Committees—before which it was opposed by the South Coast Railway Company, the Brighton and Hove Gas Company, the Trustees of the Ingram Estate, and Colonel Carr-Lloyd—received the Royal Assent on the 11th of August. It repeals the Acts of 1819 and 1873, alters the qualification and mode of retirement of the Trustees, and raises the scale of ship-owners' and traders' votes. The works it authorises are a reconstruction and extension of the eastern and western piers, and the placing of a light at the head of each; a

new lock on the north side of the existing one, and a wharf on the north side of the canal; the whole to be completed within six years after the passing of the Act. The Trustees are authorised to provide, or license, steam tugs, to fix the charges for the use thereof, and to levy a tax of one shilling per head on every passenger landing or embarking within the limits of the port. Power is given to borrow £100,000, and when that is expended a further sum of £50,000. All moneys borrowed under the Act are to be applied—1st, to pay off the non-assenting holders of the £29,300; 2nd, to pay off the holders of the £10,000; 3rd, to the construction of the authorised works. The harbour revenues are to be applied—1st, in payment of the costs of obtaining the Act; 2nd, to the management and maintenance of the harbour; 3rd, in payment of 5 per cent. interest to the holders of the £10,000 until paid off; 4th, in payment of the interest on moneys borrowed under the Act; 5th, in providing for a sinking fund; 6th, in payment of a dividend to those holders of the £29,300 who have not been paid off. It remains to be seen whether or not any benefit to the port will result from these new legislative measures.

SUSSEX HERONRIES.

BY THE REV. F. H. ARNOLD, LL.B.

It is a noteworthy fact that Yarrell, our standard authority on British Birds, when enumerating the English Heronries (which are said to be 33 in number),¹ according to counties, omits Sussex altogether. Historically and otherwise, it will be seen, however, that Sussex possesses several of remarkable interest.

The recent establishment, or re-establishment, of a Heronry at Bosham, by Chichester Harbour, has led to the conjecture whether a heronry may not have existed there prior to the Conquest, and thus originated the following observations:—In the Bayeux Tapestry, Harold is represented as riding towards Bosham Church with falcon on wrist. In Saxon times, too, the gentler sex, as is well known, thus also hawked, as appears from an illustration in a British Museum MS., wherein are shown three Saxon ladies with their falcon striking a heron. The heron was probably the quarry sought at Bosham by the last Saxon King, and that heronries may have existed there at various times from the eleventh until the present century, is not unlikely. The situation would have always well suited the gregarious habits of this bird at the breeding season, and have afforded him also good fishing, when solitary, at other times, as he may be often seen, patiently watching at Copperas Point and other places along Chichester Harbour.

A few words preliminary, however, as to the heron himself, before adverting to his Sussex *habitats*.

Next to the *Raptors*, the heron is doubtless one of the finest indigenous birds in our *fauna*. In the days of falconry he was considered the noblest quarry. Old



HERONY (AND ROOKERY) AT WINDMILL HILL PLACE.

THE SEAT OF H. M. CURTIS, ESQ.

paintings, while they often bring before us the death of the heron, show us sometimes that of the falcon too, impaled on his bayonet beak.

At one time the heron was more strictly preserved than any other bird, and was considered royal game. In the list of prohibited birds he is not now included. "His fishy taste does not commend him;" it has been observed, "besides, he well knows how to take care of himself," yet this is not always the case, and one wonders why Bewick, who usually seizes on the graphic points of birds, did not engrave him, shot *flagrante delicto*, and nailed up against a wall, with his long legs dangling, and his wide pinions floating in the wind, as he is to be seen occasionally still on Sussex country walls, not unlike the gibbeted robber of yore on the banks of the Thames.

In his home, however, every one who looks at him pronounces him a noble bird. The beautiful pendant plume, long, strong, and compressed conical beak of the old male are remarkable, as well as the serrated claw, by which he so easily holds the slippery eel. His huge, lofty nest, his sweeping flight overhead, and the imposing rush with which he issues from his chosen haunts, commend him to all who visit them.

Bosham.—Old Park, skirting Chichester Harbour, is on the left bank visible from any high building in Chichester. It has always been considered as the site of the camp occupied by Vespasian's legions, and possesses, therefore, apart from its present heronry, many features of archæological interest. During the last four or five years a heronry has been observed there, to which the attention of members of the West Sussex Natural History Society was directed by the Rev. H. Mitchell, F.S.A., who did everything in his power to ensure its preservation. A lovely day in spring it was, when we went on a visit to the Heronry in Old Park. The pretty yellow flowers of *Lysimachia nemorum* starred the green walks; various orchids were peeping up, and the fronds of some lovely ferns were uncoiling, as we cautiously made towards a small pool, at the entrance of which the herons had been noticed fishing. We saw none there, but a horrid adder

made us start, as we watched it gliding at its ease into a hole in the trunk of a tree, where it unfolded itself and eyed us viciously. Proceeding, a snapping twig roused two birds from their large flat nest, and on *oaks* we soon saw several other nests with feathers and fish bones beneath them.

A heron plainly seen, just overhead, is worth many a walk; we noticed six or seven above us at Old Park, and several in the distance winging their way seaward, flying high and dimly visible. As Virgil says—

Altam suprà volat ardea nubem.

Bede speaks² of Bosham, as in his days, “encompassed by *woods* and the sea,” and in Domesday, it is mentioned as having *a wood and two fisheries*.³ Bosham eels are proverbially good, as may be confirmed by personal experience. Herons also, unfortunately, seem to be of the same opinion!

The year following my visit portions of the woods were cut down, and the herons migrated to another part. The disturbance thus occasioned—and their destruction by flight-shooters, appear to have now diminished them at Old Park; but that this interesting heronry should not be extirpated is the wish of many.

Parham—Heronries are usually situated in woods of oak or of fir. That at Parham is in one of the latter, partly of Scotch and partly of spruce. A visit to the Parham Heronry has been so vividly sketched by A. E. Knox, Esq., in his “Ornithological Rambles in Sussex,” that a description of it would be superfluous. Writing in 1849, he thus traces its origin:—

“The history or genealogy of the progenitors of this colony is remarkable. They were originally brought from Coity Castle, in Wales, by Lord Leicester’s steward, in James the First’s time, to Penshurst, in Kent, the seat of Lord De Lisle, where their descendants continued for more than two hundred years; from thence they migrated to Michelgrove, about seventy miles from Penshurst, and eight from Parham; here they remained for nearly

² Lib. iv. c. 13. ³ *Ibi* II piscariæ de viii. sol et x denar. Silua de vi. poric.

twenty years, until the proprietor of the estate disposed of it to the late Duke of Norfolk, who, having purchased it, not as a residence, but with the view of increasing his local property in the neighbourhood of Arundel, pulled down the house, and felled one or two of the trees on which the herons had constructed their nests. The migration commenced immediately, but appears to have been gradual; for three seasons elapsed before all the members of the heronry had found their way over the Downs to their new quarters in the fir-woods of Parham. This occurred about seventeen years ago."

Nearly thirty years have passed since Knox visited the beautifully wild park in which this heronry is situated. He then sketched the heron alighting on his nest, and saw the old birds disgorging fish and feeding their young. I lately had a good opportunity of supplementing his observations. Lord Zouche's head keeper came to me on his way to Bosham: looking on the heronry there as the offspring of that at Parham, he regarded it with a paternal eye. He told me that he well remembered Knox's visit, and that when the *Ornithological Rambles* came out, he sat up half the night to read them. Full of information on the subject, he very kindly imparted it.

The word "interview" is scarcely a classical one, but it best expresses what ensued, in the way of question and reply:—

"About how many herons are there now (1875) at Parham?"

"Three hundred."

"How many nests usually?"

"From ninety to a hundred and twenty."

"When does building begin?"

"The older birds, as early as the second week in January; the others later."

"I have been told that herons at pairing time make very strange noises. Is it so?"

"Yes—frightful—unless you heard them you would never believe it. Some years ago a rabbitier (*sic*), going one night to set his traps, was terribly scared. He thought he heard a woman murdering a child—the cries

and shrieks were fearful. He was so frightened that he ran off and cried 'Murder.' People came to see. After all, it was only the shrieking of the herons. He forgot his traps and lost them."

"How long are herons in hatching?"

"About a month."

"When do they go to fish?"

"Generally at dusk; and come back mostly about two in the morning; but in summer you may hear their cries all night."

"Some books tell of battles between herons and rooks. Did you ever know of one?"

"Yes. The late Lord Zouche once told me he knew of an avenue a mile long. The rooks and the herons kept to opposite sides. The herons fought the rooks and drove them."

"Hérons were at one time eaten. Do you know what they taste like?"

"Never tried one; *and shouldn't like to.*"

"Do they take large fish?"

"Not usually; but I once saw one flying with a very large eel."

The Parham keeper then left, and I was told, enjoyed his visit to Bosham greatly.

Brede.—I am not acquainted with this heronry, but a correspondent ("St. T. H.") in *Science Gossip* informs me that "it is one of the largest in England, situated north of Fairlight, in a lonely wood near Broad Oak, at Udimore, near Rye, on the property of E. Frewen, Esq. It is in a line of migration from Kent to Sussex."

In answer to enquiries respecting this fine heronry, the owner has kindly supplied me the following information:

"The heronry at Brede is situated in the north-east corner of the Great Sowden's Wood. About 20 years ago, some 400 nests could be counted in it; but at present there are barely 200 nests. I cannot in any way account for the decrease in their numbers, as the greatest care is taken to preserve them, and no timber or underwood in proximity to the heronry has been cut for a great many years, so as to avoid disturbing them. The trees in

which they build are, for the most part, large oak trees, underneath which nothing grows but brambles. The wood is about 80 acres in extent, and lies on the side of a hill facing the north. The Rye and Finchall turnpike road runs along the top of the wood, and by driving along the road the birds can be plainly seen on their nests in the spring time. The Tillingham, well stocked with fish, runs along the north side of the cover, and about half a mile to the south the Brede river flows.

“Yours faithfully,

“Brickwall, Northiam,
Sussex, Dec., 1876.”

EDWARD FREWEN.

Windmill Hill Place, Hailsham.—The above-named correspondent (“St. T. H.”) mentions, with respect to this, the remarkable circumstance confirmatory of what the Parham keeper said, that the heronry is accompanied by a large rookery, and that the rook and heron occasionally nest on the same tree. The trees here are of all kinds—oak, ash, beech, fir, chesnut and larch.

I have been favoured with a valuable account of this heronry, of which we give an engraving, by its owner, H. M. Curteis, Esq., in whose park it is situated. He thus writes:—“There has been a heronry at this House, ‘Windmill Hill Place,’ for some considerable time—probably dating with the century (this I am not certain about), but it seems they and the rooks have continued—or migrated—together.

“The herons were first in the Heron Wood, now cut down, in Herstmonceux Park. I do not know whether the rooks were at first there or not.

“The herons and rooks went, after the Heron Wood was cut down, to the Toll near the Castle; from thence, on the trees there dying and decaying, they migrated to the sheep-walk north of my house, a few hundred yards from their old habitation (leaving still a few nests near the turnpike road, from which they can be seen sitting on the trees). The curiosity concerning them was their building so close to the house, and in the trees almost overhanging. The nests are not visible

in the drawing, as the herons never build on the front trees."

The Bosham Heronry greatly resembles that at Windmill Hill, as regards situation in a long vista of woodland scenery.

Heronns occasionally build in other trees than oak and fir. Mr. W. Tate informs me, that the nests in Lord Portman's park (Bryanstone) are on elms; and the following notes supplied me from widely different quarters are to the same purport. An Irish correspondent from Strangford (Co. Down) observes:—"There is a wood near here composed principally of beech (no oak or fir), in which are two heronries. There are also two rookeries in the same wood;" and V. M. Celsson thus writes:—"There is a large heronry in North Germany, not very far from the town of Bremen, at a place called Stühe, where the nests are built exclusively on fine beeches. The birds find their food in the marshes on the western banks of the Weser, about twelve miles distant from the colony." At Fyvie, near Turriff, the heron's nests are described by Mr. W. Sim as on "spruce trees of a great height."

The generally received opinion as to an antipathy between rooks and herons may be taken *cum grano*. Mr. W. Sim has supplied the following curious fact:—"Heronns *do* sometimes have their nests in a rookery. One had its nest two years in succession in the Fyvie rookery, no other heron's nest being known of *within six miles*. The rookery and herony at Hatton were at one time connected."⁴

The Sussex heronries will well repay visits, both scientific and antiquarian.

⁴ Science Gossip, No. 116.



MARK ANTONY LOWER.

NAT. 14 JULY 1813. OB. '22 MARCH 1876.

THE LATE
WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.,
AND THE LATE
MARK ANTONY LOWER, F.S.A.

By HENRY CAMPKIN, F.S.A.

Within the brief space of a quarter of a year the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY has sustained a heavy loss in the death of two of its earliest, ablest, and most hard-working members. WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER died at his residence, 81, Guildford Street, Russell Square, London, on the 28th December, 1875; his old and intimate friend and fellow-labourer in the field of local and extra-local Archæology, MARK ANTONY LOWER, followed him to the grave in the ensuing March, 1876, dying on the 22nd of that month; and the remains of both are laid among their kindred, in two quiet churchyards in the ancient Sussex county town, where one of them spent so many of his early years, and the other, migrating from his native village, spent the prime of his life.

WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER.

The year 1812, in the very dawn of which the subject of this imperfect sketch first saw the light, was one of the most eventful, most memorable years of the nineteenth century. In that year, as is well known, "the scourge of Europe," the first Napoleon, was at last effectually checked in his career of conquest and confiscation. In England the high price of provisions and scarcity of work, and the distress and discontent consequent thereon, led to continuous local disturbances and riotings,

and the wholesale destruction of machinery. Unhappy rioters, or so-called rioters, were hanged, half-a-dozen or more at a time. On one occasion, eight poor ignorant wretches were thus disposed of at Manchester, one of them being a miserable woman, whose sole offence was the stealing of a few potatoes. In 1812, too, a cabinet minister—Spencer Perceval—was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. And if to this it be added that the United States of America declared war against England, and in several instances compelled English ships, after hard fights, to strike their flags to their transatlantic assailants, it will be seen that, taking it altogether, the year 1812 was as gloomy and unpromising a one as a human being could well choose—or have chosen for him—for his entry upon the theatre of life.

Mr. Cooper's ancestry may be traced back to Thomas Cooper, of Icklesham, a Sussex squire of the seventeenth century. Thomas Cooper, his eldest great-grandson, also of Icklesham, who married, in 1787, Mary, daughter of Thomas Collins, of Winchelsea, had six sons and two daughters. The second of these six sons was Thomas Cooper, who, born in May 1789, married Lucy Elizabeth, great-granddaughter of Samuel Durrant, of Cockshot, Hawkhurst, Kent; and the eldest son of this marriage was WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, who was born in High Street, in the parish of St. Michael, Lewes, on the tenth of January, 1812. The first cadet of this family, who settled in Lewes, would seem to have been William Cooper, the second of the great-grandsons of the first-named Thomas Cooper, of Icklesham. He became an eminent solicitor in Lewes, and dying in 1813, was succeeded in his practice by his nephew, Thomas Cooper, the father, as just stated, of the subject of this notice. This William Cooper was perhaps the only member of the legal profession who espoused the Liberal side of politics in Lewes. His residence was in Saint Anne's parish, and being well-nigh as independent in pocket as he was in politics, and endowed, moreover, with a spice of humour as well, he could afford to indulge in a prac-

tical joke upon his electioneering opponents, without counting its cost too nicely. In connection with Sir Henry Blackman, these two being the chief supporters of what was called the independent party in Lewes, he brought forward Mr., afterwards Sir James, Scarlett, and subsequently Lord Abinger, on the first occasion that eminent lawyer, then a flaming Whig, and afterwards a more flaming Tory, contested, unsuccessfully, the old parliamentary borough, which then had the privilege of returning two members. With no greater success Mr. Scarlett ventured on a second contest. On the first of these contests (1812) he lost his election by nine votes. On the second (1816) he was in a minority of nineteen.

After the 1812 contest Mr. William Cooper, incensed at the conduct of all the butchers of the town, who, like all the lawyers of the town, except himself, voted against his chosen candidate, hit upon the novel vengeance of opening an opposition butcher's shop in Saint Anne's, painting over it, in conspicuous letters, "WILLIAM COOPER, BUTCHER," and under-sold the blue-aproned trade in their own commodities, at the rate of one penny per pound—a consideration in those dear days—until they capitulated, and, as the story goes, promised to support his candidate at the next election; a pact which, if entered into, can hardly have been adhered to, as we see above that Mr. Scarlett found at that next election the majority against him had increased from nine to nineteen. Possibly, Mr. William Cooper having died in 1813, the butchers aforesaid deemed themselves released by his death from the performance of their forced promise.

William Durrant Cooper took his first Christian name, from his great-uncle, the just-mentioned practical joker, who was his godfather; his second name, being, as already stated, his mother's maiden name. He received his education at the Grammar School, Lewes, whose head-master, for all the latter time of his stay there, was Dr. George Proctor, afterwards principal of Saint Elizabeth's College, Guernsey, and now the venerable Chaplain to the Fishmongers' Almshouses at Bray, near Maidenhead, Berks. While subject to Dr. Proctor's direction, this local Gram-

mar School attained a high character, and under him, Mr. Cooper, for whom his tutor always entertained a high regard, early showed great intelligence, and made rapid progress in his studies. But from this ancient seminary, his only *alma mater*, he was perhaps too prematurely taken, for he was not more than fifteen years of age when he was articled as clerk to his father, and during his articles, although he may not literally have realised Pope's couplet, and have been—

“A clerk foredoomed his father's soul to cross,
Who pens a stanza, when he should engross,”

he yet exhibited an early bias towards literature, but the severer Clio—modern scholiasts write the name *Cleio*—rather than those of her sisters who dallied with poetry in its various forms, was the Muse to whom his youthful heart was vowed, and unto whom, through life, his multifarious labours were chiefly dedicated. History—history in its topographical and archæological phases—was the study in which he delighted, and he was not out of his teens ere the history and antiquities of his native town and county engaged his constant and serious attention, and as time rolled on, he made himself familiar with those of most of the Sussex families of any local importance. He not only materially assisted Mr. Horsfield in the compilation of his *History of Sussex*, but, while he was not an author on his own account, at so early an age as his friend Lower, still, by the time he had completed his twenty-second year, that is in 1834, he had contributed a valuable supplement to Mr. Horsfield's work, under the title of *The Parliamentary History of the County of Sussex, and of the several Boroughs and Cinque Ports therein*. This Parliamentary history of his native County, which was also issued in a separate form, compressed into fifty-three double-column quarto pages of very small type, would readily fill a respectable octavo volume, and, as to the way in which it is executed, would reflect credit, both for its painstaking and research, upon the most experienced historian.

In 1836 Mr. Cooper published *A Glossary of the Provincialisms in use in the County of Sussex*. This slim volume, which was "printed for private distribution" only, and probably first appeared in the columns of the *Brighton Herald*, from the office of which it emanated in its book shape, has since been thrown into the shade by the more comprehensive Glossary, issued a year or two ago, by the Rev. W. D. Parish, the learned Vicar of Selmeston, who, as a diligent labourer in the same field, would certainly be among the first to appreciate the efforts of his predecessor.

In 1842 he published *The Sussex Poets*, a lecture at Hastings. This little *brochure* has, in all probability, been long out of print. In the strict order of events, it ought to have been sooner stated, that—if the *Law List* be correct—previous to the completion of his twenty-first year, namely, in Michaelmas Term, 1832, he was duly admitted an attorney and solicitor.

It would have been strange if, with his peculiar bias, the disgracefully neglected state of our Parish Registers, so much excitement about which prevailed some forty or fifty years ago, had not, even from a professional point of view, forced itself on Mr. Cooper's attention. Accordingly, with his usual activity, he bestirred himself in the matter, and in April, 1833, when he had turned his twenty-first year by three months only, he was called before the House of Commons Committee, then sitting, on Parochial Registration, to give his young, but by no means immature, experience on the condition, mostly, of the registers of his own County; and the state of things disclosed in his evidence, which covers eight printed folio pages, reflected great discredit on the previous contemporary custodians of those precious records. He had seen, in the difficulties thus interposed in the clearing up of titles on the sale or purchase of landed property, proof positive of the evils of the existing system, or rather no-system, and he exposed them most unsparringly. In his evidence as to the reckless carelessness with which the registers were treated, he states that he recollected "an instance where the clerk was about

destroying the old register, saying it was of no use;" and he recollected also, "when a little boy, the parish clerk of another parish saying, that the clergyman used to direct his pheasants with the parchment of the old registers." And he was wont to relate that, once, when he went to make a search, the first sight that caught his eye, on entering the parsonage house, was a little boy riding cock-horse across a walking-cane, with a parchment cap on his head, made from a leaf of the Register. It cannot be concealed that among some of the old-school "clerics," and their deputies, Mr. Cooper's popularity was not increased by his denunciation of their disregard of the sacredness of their trust in this respect.

Emulating from the outset the conduct of his father and great-uncle, he at once heartily espoused the principles of the Liberal Party, and soon became associated with its local leaders, and no one, who was at all intimate with him, will require to be told that he became a most energetic participator in the numerous election contests of his time. He acquired so great a proficiency in election law as to be regarded as a safe authority therein, and always displaying great courage and talent, he generally won the applause of his opponents, even when they were on the losing side. Indeed, his old friend, and, practically, his first legal tutor, Mr. John Smith, then the managing clerk to Cooper *père*, and now the veteran actuary of the Lewes Savings' Bank, always lamented his pupil's too eager devotion to the interests of his party, as he thereby barred the way to that degree of pecuniary independence to which, with a less prominent intermingling in electioneering strife, his unquestionable talents and persevering habits would have conducted him. But, like Milton, his inborn predilections and too pronounced opinions would not allow him to

". take the beaten path and broad,
Which leads right on to fortune."

In or about the year 1837, Mr. Cooper went permanently to reside in London, chiefly, it is believed, at the invitation of the late Sir John Easthope, Bart. who

(then plain Mr. Easthope) fought a losing battle for the seat rendered vacant by Mr. Kemp's retirement. Sir John was the principal, if not the sole, proprietor of the now defunct *Morning Chronicle*, and Mr. Cooper, in addition to his endeavours to establish himself in his profession, accepted a post on the parliamentary staff of that (in its day) influential Whig journal. After a while he accepted similar employment on the *Times*, but some new division of labour in the corps of reporters on the establishment of that leviathan broad-sheet, which would have interfered with his allotment of the daytime to his professional practice, ultimately led to his severance from a journalistic career.

The branches of his profession in which Mr. Cooper was chiefly engaged, were conveyancing and parliamentary agency, but it may be added that his practice was at no time extensive, and he consequently never realised more than a modest income.

On the death of his uncle, Mr. Frederick Cooper, who was private solicitor to the then Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Cooper was appointed the Duke's steward of the Leet Court of the Borough of Lewes. It is not needful to say much here of the antiquity or jurisdiction of this "Lewes Leet," as it is curtly styled, but, it would seem, by descent or partition among coheireses, the lordship of the Leet has come to be divided among the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Abergavenny, and the Earl Delawarr, the Marquis holding two fourth parts, and the other two noble personages one fourth part each, and the annual holding of the Leet is presided over by their stewards alternately, the Marquis, in right of his two-fourths, being the lord for two years in succession. A jury is summoned at each leet, and this jury presents the names of the High Constables and Headboroughs for the ensuing year, and, according to ancient custom, the Steward accepts the nomination thus made, and the officers so nominated are sworn in by him. Other occasions also arise on which leets are held, and the small fees payable to the steward constitute the principal, if not the sole, emoluments of his office, and it may well be imagined

that the *prestige* attaching to the post is of quite as much importance as its pecuniary profits. Mr. Cooper, no doubt, valued this appointment for the periodical opportunity it afforded him of keeping up his connection with his native town, and with his old friends there; and as the business of the chief day was terminated by a pleasant dinner, the conviviality which then ensued, we may be sure, was not the least agreeable feature of the Lewes Leet.

Another post, not of a public character, to which Mr. Cooper succeeded in 1843, and upon which he set a high value, was the auditorship of an ancestral estate in the district of Cleaveland, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, whereon stands SKELTON CASTLE, "a noble embattled mansion presenting a very extensive front," on whose site formerly stood "an ancient fortress, built, soon after the Conquest, by Robert de Brus, from whom descended some of the Scottish kings." Readers of the Sussex Archæological Collections will hardly need to be reminded of the connection of the Brus family (with its various spellings of Braose, Braoze, Breuze, Brewes, Brewis, Brewose, Brewosa, Brewus, Brewys, &c.) with our southern county, and its large holdings therein. Adam de Brus, one of the early owners of Skelton Castle, on the marriage of his only daughter, Isabel, with Henry de Perci, lord of Petworth, gave to the latter a manor in Cleaveland, on the condition that "the said Henry and his heirs should repair to Skelton Castle every Christmas day, and lead the lady of that castle from her chamber to the chapel to mass, and from thence to her chamber again, and after dining with her to depart."¹ As Skelton Castle is distant from Petworth a good three hundred miles and more, Henry de Perci and his successors must have had many a perilous and weary winter jaunt, to fulfil the condition of the tenure of this manor. This custom has, of course, long ceased, but, although centuries have passed away, Skelton Castle is still possessed by a worthy descendant of its original owner, Robert de Brus, uncle of the just named Adam de Brus. Nor is this all. Skelton Castle

¹ 14 S. A. C., p. 3, note.

is a potent entity in the estimation of every admirer of LAURENCE STERNE, for it is the *Crazy Castle* of that most original (and, perhaps, most plagiaristic) of our great English authors, and his EUGENIUS was none other than the castle's then owner, John Hall Stevenson, himself the author of three humorous volumes—a shade too free, it may be, for the present generation—entitled “*Crazy Tales*.”

Mr. Cooper had not long taken upon himself the auditorship of Skelton Castle, before his good genius instinctively led him to its muniment room, where he soon dug down upon some precious relics of “poor Yorick,” which he printed, with annotations from his own critical pen, with this title page: SEVEN LETTERS, written by STERNE and his FRIENDS, hitherto unpublished. EDITED by WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A. London. Printed for *private circulation*, 1844. A happy Sterne-philist is he who possesses a copy of this rare *fasciculus*.

The most ambitious work, in a separate form, published by Mr. Cooper, is his *History of Winchelsea, one of the Ancient Towns added to the Cinque Ports*. This history appeared in 1850. Its value is testified to by the fact, that, although of so comparatively recent an issue, it is a volume rarely to be obtained. The two papers on Winchelsea, by Mr. Cooper, in Vols. viii. and xxiii. of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, form an apt complement to this volume.

On the 20th of December, 1858, Mr. Cooper was appointed to the office of Solicitor to the Vestry of Saint Pancras, Middlesex. He had previously approved himself a likely person for such an office, by the interest he had taken in, and the assistance he had given to, the passing of the Metropolitan Burials Bill, in 1852—a measure of great importance to so large and densely populated a parish as that of Saint Pancras. The emoluments of this post, consisting partly of a salary and partly of fees, although not very great, were yet not to be despised.

It need scarcely be noted that Mr. Cooper had long been a member of the Reform Club, ever since 1837

indeed, and some years before his death the appointment of Solicitor to the Club was conferred upon him. This was barely more than a graceful compliment to one who had always worked bravely for the Liberal cause, and as such he esteemed it.

Mr. Cooper's health began to fail him some three years before his death, when an attack of paralysis, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered, rendered him less capable of attending to his various professional and official engagements than before; but, save that his articulation had grown rather indistinct, his vigorous intellect survived with him almost to the last. At length, on the 28th of December, 1875, as before stated, he closed his eyes upon all that pertains to this world, to the deep grief of an only sister—his affection towards whom, and towards his mother, who died in 1867 (his father having died in 1841—26 years earlier), was of the most devoted and self-sacrificing character. Two of his brothers predeceased him. His second brother, Dr. T. H. Cooper, lives to lament his loss, while numerous friends, between whom and himself a warm attachment subsisted, will long remember one whose place in their esteem cannot in all respects be easily filled up. Mr. Cooper was ever ready to lend, and very frequently did lend, a helping hand to any historical student or enquirer, who, modestly confessing his shortcomings, sought his assistance. But, woe betide the shallow boaster or empty pretender, who should attempt to display his accomplishments in his presence! Small mercy got he. The daw in borrowed feathers was soon denuded of his false plumage, and he submitted as best he could to the scaring operation he had undergone. For the rest, like all men endowed with true humour, he was not only light-hearted but also large-hearted. Mr. Cooper was never married.

The interest taken by Mr. Cooper in the progress and success of the Sussex Archæological Society would, had he no further claims on its lasting remembrance, be sufficiently evidenced by the number and value of his contributions to its volumes, which, beginning in Vol. ii,

were, with the exception of Vol. xi, continued through the whole series to Vol. xxv, inclusive. In Vol. ii. we have a paper on *Papists and Recusants in Sussex in 1587*, and another on *Hastings Castle, Rape, and Town*. In Vol. iii, an elaborate paper on *The Lewknor Pedigree*. In Vol. iv, *Extracts from Account Books of the Everenden and Frewen Families*. *Queen Elizabeth's Visits to Sussex* supply him with material for his paper in Vol. v, and to Vol. vi. he contributes a paper on the *Liberties and Franchises within the Rape of Hastings*. Vol. vii. contains his interesting paper *On the Retention of British and Saxon Names in Sussex*. Vol. viii. is enriched by his exhaustive paper on *The Families of Braose (of Chesworth) and Hoo*; and another entitled *Notices of Winchelsea in and after the Fifteenth Century*. To Vol. ix. his contributions are *Annotations* on Dr. Smart's extracts from the *MSS.* of *Samuel Jeake*; and *Brambletye Chantry and Sedition in Sussex in 1579*. In Vol. x. is his paper on *Smuggling in Sussex*, a paper curiously suggestive of the contrast between a state of things, the latter days of which some of our old South Coast dwellers yet living can remember, and the present. Vol. x. also contains a paper on *Tokens Struck in Sussex in the Eighteenth Century*. A paper on *Proofs of Age of Sussex Families* will be found in Vol. xii, which is supplemented by a short paper on the same subject in Vol. xv. *The Oxenbridges of Brede Place, and of Boston, Massachusetts*, one of his best articles, will also be found in Vol. xii. Vol. xiii. contains a *List of Grants to Tipper and Dawe*; another on *Protestant Refugees in Sussex*; and a third on *Letters and Will of Andrew Borde*. Vol. xiv. contains *Notices of Hastings* (a partnership paper by himself and Mr. Thomas Ross) and one *On the Marriage Settlement of Isabella Poynings and William de Cricketot*. In Vol. xv. we have the *Poynings Pedigree*; a paper on the *Bonvilles of Halnaker*; and a third of considerable interest on *Sussex Men at Agincourt*. In Vol. xvi. are papers on the *Social Condition of the People in Sussex*; and on *Bramber, its Castle, Elections, &c.* In Vol. xvii. he edits Mr. Sharpe's *Notes on Ninfield and its Registers*; contributes a paper by himself on *Produce of*

and *Supplies from Sussex*; and is associated with Mr. Lower in a third paper, entitled *Further Memorials of Seaford*. In Vol. xviii. he has three papers, the first, one of considerable historical value, on the *Participation of Sussex in Cade's Rising*. The other two are respectively *Notes on Sussex Castles*, and *Extracts from the Passage-book of the Port of Rye*. This latter paper is followed up in Vol. xix, by one on *Aliens in Rye, temp. Hen. VIII.*, and the same nineteenth volume also contains a paper on *Royalist Compositions in Sussex during the Commonwealth*. Vol. xx. is led off by a paper on *Midhurst, its Lords and its Inhabitants*. Vol. xxi. contains three papers, viz., *Notes on Mayfield*; *Crown Presentations to Sussex Livings*; and *Additional Contributions towards the Parochial History of Hollington*. Vol. xxii. has a paper on the *Guilds and Chantries of Horsham*; and Vol. xxiii. *Further Notices of Winchelsea. Former Inhabitants of Chichester* are chronicled in Vol. xxiv. *Parham and its Collections* forms the commencing article in Vol. xxv; and this (save two inconsiderable notes in Vol. xxvi.) is the *final* contribution from the indefatigable pen which death alone could stay.

But the foregoing catalogue, full as it is, does not embrace all the printed communications of WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER to the volumes of, nor does it even refer to other valuable services rendered by him to, the SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Nearly a column, on pages 96 and 97, of the General Index to our volumes, is devoted to his *Minor Communications; Information to other Contributors, &c.*, while during the years that he officiated gratuitously as Editor of the Society's volumes, his multifarious foot-notes, as valuable as they are unobtrusive, attest at once to his industry, his critical acumen, and the large extent of his historical acquirements. On his retirement from the Editorship of our Society's volumes some of the members (by a separate subscription), in order to mark their sense of Mr. Cooper's services, resolved on asking his acceptance of some tangible memorial of their gratitude and esteem. The result was a handsome silver salver, engraved with a wreath of Sussex oak leaves and acorns,

the Sussex arms, and the family arms of Mr. Cooper." This memorial was presented to Mr. Cooper at the Society's Meeting, at Pulborough, in August, 1865, by the hands of the late Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Gilbert, and it, of course, bore a suitable inscription.²

To the CAMDEN SOCIETY'S publications Mr. Cooper contributed as under: To Vol. lv. *The Trelawny Papers*, extending in date from 1644 to 1711, and having reference to the famous West Country bishop, Jonathan Trelawny, of Cornish celebrity. To Vol. lxxii. he contributed *The Expenses of the Judges of Assize riding the Western and Oxford Circuits, temp. Elizabeth, 1596-1601*. From the MS. account-book of Judge Walmysley. Besides the expenses of the Judges, these extracts contain "lists of the numerous presents of provisions for their table, and of the places and persons which entertained them." And Vol. lxxxii. which was the only entire volume of the series edited by him, was, as Sussex readers know, on a subject he had already made his own: *Lists of Foreign Protestants, and Aliens, resident in England, 1618-1688*, from Returns in the State Paper Office. The Introduction to this volume contains much valuable information.

In commenting on the loss the Camden Society had sustained in Mr. Cooper's death, the Council speak of their departed colleague as a constant attendant at their meetings, "always ready to contribute valuable advice and criticism; his learning and his practical acquaintance with business will be often missed by those with whom he so heartily co-operated in the interests of the Society." Although a service-rendering member both of the PERCY SOCIETY, and the SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY, Mr. Cooper would seem not to have been a contributor to the Percy Society volumes, while one volume only of the kindred Society claims him as its editor. The truth is that the staple commodity with which these Societies dealt belonged rather to the region of fancy than of fact. Still, the one volume for which the Shakespeare Society is indebted

² See, for a fuller account of this interesting proceeding, the Report pre-

fixed to 17 S. A. C.

to him, *Ralph Roister Doister, a Comedy, by Nicholas Udall. And the Tragedie of Gorboduc, by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville. With Introductory Memoirs. Edited by William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A.* is one of the most valuable of the series, and the critical faculty is as well shown therein as in any of his historical pieces, while the *Memoirs of Udall, Norton, and Sackville*—this last a famous Sussex worthy—could hardly be improved upon.

To each of the four published volumes of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, of which he was a Vice-President, Mr. Cooper contributed a paper: In Vol. i. he descants on *The Parish Registers of Harrow-on-the-Hill, with special reference to the Families of Bellamy and Page. Notes on Uxbridge and its former Inhabitants* are the subject of his paper in Vol. ii. and the Churches and Parishes of *Saint James Garlick Hithe, and Saint Dionis Backchurch*, both in the city of London, are the topics dwelt on in Vols. iii. and iv.

To the KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S volumes he sent one paper only, which is printed in Vol. vii. of its series, but that paper, as a glance at its title will show, is an important one, *John Cade's Followers in Kent*: inasmuch as it dovetails in with his "Participation of Sussex in Cade's rising," in the eighteenth volume of the Sussex Collections. And it may be worth while to mention here that the late Mr. B. B. ORRIDGE, with Mr. Cooper's assent, reprinted these CADE papers in his "Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion, from Researches in the Guildhall Records, together with some newly found letters of Lord Bacon, &c., London, 1869."

To the SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, his one contribution is an *Additional Note on a Deed relating to John Evelyn*.

To THE RELIQUARY, for April, 1862, he furnished an elaborate paper of considerable historical interest, entitled, *Notices of Anthony Babington, of Dethick, and of the conspiracy of 1586*.

Besides, and beyond, the above extensive bead-roll of Mr. Cooper's literary labours, there are, doubtless, several Papers and Essays, of which for lack of information

and opportunity, no note has been, or can be, here taken. Enough, however, there is to show how continuously and conscientiously he worked. And the bulk of his several communications is in quite an inverse proportion to the painstaking research required for their production. No writer could possibly be more anxious than he was, even in his slightest contribution, to arrive at the absolute facts in any particular case. No second-hand authority satisfied him, if a primary one was to be got at, whatever the trouble it cost him.

Mr. Cooper's long connection with the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, and his communications to its ARCHÆOLOGIA, are so felicitously treated by FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq., the learned and popular President of the Society, that, premising his mention of Mr. Cooper's election as a Fellow in March, 1841, it would be treason not to quote his actual language, as given in his Annual Address in April, 1876, slightly abridging it here and there.

“In adverting to the death of WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, I speak of a friend of forty years' standing, of one whose many good qualities I warmly appreciated. He was one of the oldest, as he was assuredly one of the worthiest, members of our body. His first contribution to the *Archæologia* was laid before the Society in March, 1855. It is entitled *Further Particulars of Thomas Norton, and of State Proceedings in Matters of Religion in the year 1581 and 1582*. In May, 1856, he contributed *Notices of the Plague in England, derived from the Correspondence of John Allix, in the year 1664-1669*. In February, 1858, we find him reading a Memoir entitled *Notices of the Tower of London, temp. Eliz. and the Horse Armoury, temp. Charles I.* His most important contribution to the *Archæologia* closes the list. I refer to his *Notices on the Great Seals of England, used after the Deposition of Charles the first, and before the Restoration, in 1660*. The paucity of Mr. Durrant Cooper's communications to our pages must be attributed, not merely to the scanty leisure of an active professional life, but also to the large demands upon his time and pen, which were made by the Sussex Archæological Society, to whose volumes his contributions are at once abundant and valuable. Of the services, however, which he rendered to this Society, his contributions to our Transactions would give a very inadequate idea. It is in the records of our committees that we shall find the proof of his zealous attachment to our body. Speaking as an ex-Treasurer, I can bear testimony—which I am sure my successor in that office will endorse—to the thoroughness with which he executed his duties as a member of the Finance Committee, going carefully into every account submitted

for examination, doing his utmost to promote the financial prosperity of the Society, a friend to economy as distinct from parsimony, and ever ready with criticisms and suggestions which I felt were always entitled to respect, as they came from a cool head and a warm heart."

Any addition to the above eloquent tribute would be superfluous. All that need be added is, that this Memoir would have been much less complete, but for the valuable aid rendered by Mr. Cooper's only surviving brother, Dr. T. H. Cooper; the Rev. Geo. Proctor, D.D.; John Smith, Esq. of the Lewes Savings Bank; Frederic Ouvry, Esq. Pres. S.A.; Thomas E. Gibb, Esq. Vestry Clerk, St. Pancras, Middlesex; J. S. Smallfield, Esq. and his old Sussex friends, G. P. Bacon, Esq. Robert Crosskey, Esq. J.P. and John Clay Lucas, Esq. F.S.A. to all of whom the heartiest thanks are here tendered.

Mr. Cooper's portrait is unavoidably absent from these pages, for the too obvious reason, that none of a satisfactory character is in existence.

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

Every reader of Lockhart's Life of Sir WALTER SCOTT, and of Charles Cuthbert Southey's Life of his famous father, ROBERT SOUTHEY, has lamented that the fragments of Autobiography which occupy the preliminary pages of those popular works break off at so early a period in the career of the two illustrious *littérateurs* whose lives are therein chronicled. Mark Antony Lower, a far humbler light in the literary firmament, also, to use a word which was a favourite with him, "endeavoured" a sketch of his career. The fragment which he has thus left behind him, is, alas! too brief to do more than exhibit its hero's advent upon life's threshold; but brief as it is, it is sufficiently interesting to induce a regret that its writer proceeded no further with it. Doubtless, both in the case of the eminent men above named, and in Mr. Lower's, the task of self-anatomization proved to be too painful to be persevered in. However, the outline of his life can hardly be initiated in a better way than by the presentation of his own story of its commencement:—

"RECOLLECTIONS OF A LITERARY LIFE."

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER.

"*Eheu fugaces anni!* How have the years fled since my life commenced, and my literary career began! At first sight it seems almost absurd for any man to sit down to the serious and laborious task of his own biography. As years increase, our years, our months, our weeks seem to become shorter. We seem to be as 'of yesterday, and to know nothing.' Yet I never met with a man who, in spite of all his infirmities, his failures, his sins, would like to live his life over again: the probability being very strong that it would be merely a repetition of infirmity, of failure, and of sin. This is a wise arrangement of Heaven, for if the contrary feeling were indulged, and a *redivivus* were granted to men, ere long would the world become choke-full of Methuselahs, and forthcoming generations would have to migrate to the uninhabited planets, if, indeed, any such really exist.

"Still, the practice of writing men's lives, either autobiographically or by the pens of others, has prevailed from the very dawn of literature. The oldest written book extant informs us that 'there was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job,' and furnishes us with his history, and the opinions of himself and his contemporaries. Throughout the whole course of the Hebrew, the Classical, and the Middle Ages, down to our own days, a passion has existed for narrating the lives of men; and though the autobiographies are few in comparison with the 'memoirs' (as they are commonly called) yet by a critical examination of the works of poets and novelists we shall very often find, running through the thread of their writings, reminiscences of their lives, amounting almost to autobiographies. Of this we have eminent examples in King David's Psalms, in Horace, and in Oliver Goldsmith; perhaps, also, in Thackeray and Lord Lytton. Reminiscences will crop up in spite of ourselves, and we can no more prevent this phenomenon, than could the heroes of Trafalgar and Waterloo, of a few years since, be prevented from 'fighting their battles o'er again.'

“But what am I aiming at? Do I pretend to rank myself among the Davids, the Horaces, the Goldsmiths, the Lyttons, or with the hero of a hundred fights? Not so! My meaning is, as I advance to threescore years, to put upon simple record some of the events of a life which, though not altogether uneventful, has been that of a simple, unambitious man, a life which, though somewhat *queer* and picturesque, has not been marked by any deeds of a stirring or sensational character, though it may yet be worthy of record for the information of the coming generation. It contains incidents which may prove useful as lessons of what to do and what to avoid, and thus be regarded with some small amount of interest and profit.

“I was born in the obscure agricultural village of Chid-
dingly, in the Weald of Sussex, 14th July, 1813. My
father, Richard Lower, was a schoolmaster of the old-
fashioned middle-class of his profession. Without being
what is called a scholar, he was a man of varied attain-
ments. He had few associations except with farmers
and tradesmen. There was in the somewhat extensive
parish no resident squire or clergyman, and hence he
became the *factotum* of the district. He was an excellent
practical mathematician, and a land-surveyor of consider-
able note. He also held nearly every parochial office,
made wills and agreements, and was an acknowledged
authority in every local matter. Moreover, he was a
capital self-taught draughtsman, and although his Latin
was small, and Greek smaller still, he was one of the best
English grammarians I ever knew. Besides this, he was
no mean poet, and every local event was by him chronicled
in rhyme, and printed in local newspapers. In his
eightieth year he published a small volume entitled
‘Stray leaves from an Old Tree.’ Speaking without
prejudice, I can fairly say that few men in his sphere of
life lived more usefully and more unselfishly than he did.
Yet, with all his acquirements, which filled his rustic
neighbours with astonishment—though

‘ still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew,’—

he died at an advanced age as poor as when he commenced his useful existence.

“Under the guidance of this good father, I learned the rudiments of useful knowledge, and was soon an adept in most things that a young boy is capable of. Among the ‘accomplishments,’ I learnt music and drawing so early, that I cannot remember my first lessons in either science. I have not the slightest recollection of the hours when I learned my gamut, and a certain facility in sketching from nature. This I recollect, that I was a tolerable proficient on the flute, and a sketcher, before I was seven years old. The singing of sacred music was also one of our family amusements and recreations, and we frequently sang hymns set to music by my father himself. Those summer evenings that we spent in the garden, with our family, assisted by some musical neighbours and a few of the pupils, are a thing not easily ‘disremembered.’ A crowd of rustic neighbours behind the garden wall formed a well-pleased audience, and there we remained until the dews of nightfall warned us to retire to family prayers and to our peaceful couches—each and all as tranquil and happy, and as unmindful of to-morrow’s trials as ever the household of the Vicar of Wakefield could be.”

It has been said, over and over again, that the life of a student and man of letters seldom affords much to relate of a personal character, and the life of Mark Antony Lower can hardly be said to be an exception to this rule.

Taking up his story at the point at which he may be presumed to have laid down his pen, and, noticing in passing, that he was the youngest of six sons, four of whom died in infancy, it may be mentioned that his first essay in the vocation which he made the business of his life during the greater part of it, was as an assistant to his sister, who opened a school at Easttholy, in 1830. He remained with her but a short time, for we find him attempting to establish a school for himself in the same year at Cade Street, in the parish of Heathfield, where he lodged during the week, returning home to his father’s on the Friday or Saturday, as circumstances dictated. After

spending some eighteen months on this experiment in the tutor's art, he removed, in his nineteenth year, to Alfriston, and there ventured on a more ambitious effort at school-keeping. And it was during his tenure of this Alfriston school that he enlarged his qualifications for teaching. In his scanty leisure at this time he made himself master of the Latin tongue, having, as he informed one of his oldest friends, his 'Latin grammar for sauce, while discussing his dinner.'

His hands must, indeed, at this period have been the reverse of idle, for it was then that he managed to bring before the public the first of the long series of literary works that bear his name, the title of which, in all its comprehensive fulness, is here given :

"SUSSEX: Being an Historical, Topographical, and General Description of every Rape, Hundred, River, Town, Borough, Parish, Village, Hamlet, Castle, Monastery, and Gentleman's Seat in that County. Alphabetically Arranged. With the Population of each Parish, according to the Census of 1821, and other useful and curious Information. With a correct Map of the County. By MARK ANTONY LOWER. Printed for the Author, and sold by R. W. Lower, High Street, Lewes; W. Leppard, East Street, Brighton; and all Booksellers in the County. MDCCLXXXI."

Long years after this really well-compiled volume had been before the Sussex public, its author, grown fastidious by reason of his much larger acquaintance with topographic lore, has been occasionally heard to express his regret that he had ever published it. But it was, and even now is, although thrown into the shade by his larger and much more recent work on the same subject, still a very serviceable compilation, and one that the writer, however popular in his later days, need not have blushed at being identified with. And that he must even then, by some proofs given of literary aptitude, have acquired, comparatively speaking, considerable local repute, is evidenced by the patent fact that the subscription list appended to his book, comprises the names of upwards of 250 patrons.

Before he finally gave up his school at Alfriston, he set

about to establish a Mechanics' Institution there, a meritorious and successful work, in which he was largely aided by John Dudeney, a name never mentioned in East Sussex but in terms of esteem and admiration. It would be foreign to the purpose of this memoir to dwell here upon the character and career of this "hereditary Southdown shepherd;" but how, springing from humble parentage, taught merely to read by his careful mother, he ultimately lifted himself up from his pastoral occupation to become a successful schoolmaster, and the founder of a Philosophical Society in Lewes, a practical and accomplished naturalist, and an instructive and amusing lecturer on Astronomy, is told, not only in John Dudeney's simple English, in his own account of himself, in the Second volume of the Sussex Archæological Collections, but also by his attached friend, Mark Antony Lower, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for March, 1853. It is hardly needful to add that the friendship between these two, which began at Alfriston, was severed by death only, and that they were closely associated in continuous efforts towards the elevation and education of the working classes.

Somewhere about half way between Alfriston and Chiddingly there stood, and probably still stands, a pleasantly situated farmhouse, with the comfortably circumstanced occupants of which, in his weekly or more frequent walks to and from his home—for he had not cut himself entirely away from the parental roof—our handsome young *dominie* became acquainted; and there, on scorching July, or freezing January afternoons, a welcome rest of half-an-hour or more was often brought to a close by an acceptable cup of tea, with its appropriate accompaniments. Nor was the latter the sole or chief charm of his haltings at the domicile of this estimable family. A bonny, bright-eyed, flaxen-haired young maiden, who officiated as governess there, soon brought home to Mark Antony Lower the conviction that he possessed a susceptible heart. She who thus enmeshed that heart of his in golden and enduring fetters, was of a well-known and still flourishing Sussex family, the Holmans, and it may be well to anticipate chronological events, by noting

here that Mark Antony Lower and Mercy Holman became husband and wife at Bromley, in Kent, in the year 1838.

In or about the year 1835, Mr. Lower, by that time confirmed in his liking for his chosen vocation, and more fitted for it by his four or five years' experience in his village school ventures, removed to Lewes. He there "hired an old chapel or rather preaching room, close by the then Lancastrian School, but now the British School, in Lancaster Street." He soon gathered round him a goodly number of scholars, and made such satisfactory progress, that in due time he felt warranted in giving up his bachelor lodgings, and going into housekeeping, taking unto wife, as already mentioned, the above-named Mercy Holman: and fortunate was he, and fortunate he ever deemed himself, in drawing so unquestionable a prize in the matrimonial lottery.

Previously, however, to making this important jump in life, and full of enthusiasm, as yet uncooled, he took a prominent part in the establishment of "the Lewes New Temperance Society," the first annual Report of which, a document which need not be quoted here, proceeded from his pen. Subsequently, for reasons cogent enough to him at the time, he saw fit to secede from this body, but he did not relax in his other efforts for the mental advancement of the masses.

His successive removals from house to house, as both his school and family increased, require not to be chronicled in detail. But in connection with one of these dwellings an anecdotal incident may be related. In the garden of a next-door neighbour grew a handsome pear tree, which, in proper season, bore a full crop of fruit, and stood in tempting proximity to, in fact overhung, the dividing wall, between the school play-ground and the aforesaid garden. Where is the school-boy who would not covet his neighbour's goods when, day after day, they thus as it were stimulated the desire of possession and enjoyment? Stone throwing was resorted to, a fall of fruit resulted, but, unfortunately, broken windows resulted also. The neighbour complained of his fractured

glass ; the schoolmaster apologised, promised punishment of the offenders, and offered to send in a glazier to repair the damage done. "No!" said the good-natured sufferer, "I will take that charge upon myself, and, by way of truce with your young scapegraces, I will send in a basket of pears annually, and they shall covenant to do my trees and windows no further harm!" The point of the story is, that when the pears were sent in, as agreed on, the ringleaders in the mischief claimed the greater share, on the ground that but for their pluck at the outset, the gift of fruit would never have been made!

Most dwellers in, and many sojourners at, Lewes, have witnessed, or heard of, the mad pranks of the self-styled "Bonfire Boys," who, on the Fifth of November every year, startle the quiet old town from its accustomed propriety, and, by their uproarious proceedings, put nervous wayfarers in fancied danger of their lives. Mr. Lower was much opposed to this "*Saturnalia of the roughs*," and, on one occasion, under the signature of "A Young Inhabitant," he issued a printed manifesto, very earnestly worded, deprecating the continuance of the irrational and mischievous custom; especially warning its perpetrators against the consequences of their reckless flinging about of squibs and other fiery missiles, and noting that, "in cases of fire happening on such occasions, the insurance companies are not responsible for the loss." The authorship of this broadside was soon bruited about, and the mob threatened to throw its writer into the river; but he prudently kept out of the mob's way, and to this day the Lewes Bonfire Boys, now recruited by reinforcements from the riff-raff of Brighton, make "night hideous" once a year on poor Guy Fawkes's Anniversary, to the terror of all peaceable folk within hail of their doings.

About 1853 or 1854 Mr. Lower removed to Saint Anne's House, his last and longest inhabited dwelling in Lewes, an old red-brick edifice, of somewhat irregular character, formerly occupied by, among other local celebrities, some of the Shelleys, by Sir Roger Newdigate, founder of the Newdigate prize at Oxford, and other locally distinguished persons. Still earlier it was

the property and home of JOHN ROWE, whose name is held in reverence as that of the *Father of Sussex Archæology*. Such a domicile became, therefore, the appropriate abiding-place of so eminent a student of past times as Mark Antony Lower. The house has now disappeared, and on its site a modern, and doubtless much more convenient, residence rears its head, but the old Saint Anne's house was associated with times and men round which and whom the halo of Antiquity has long gathered. Mr. Lower occupied this ancient house until the year 1867. In it were written the greater part of his many papers and books, and within its walls he continued to pursue his scholastic vocation, limiting his pupils to boarders only, among whom were, generally, several young Frenchmen, for whose tuition he specially laid himself out. But, towards the latter years of his stay in Lewes, the establishment of public and semi-public schools and colleges for the sons of middle-class parents, as also the failing health of himself and his devoted wife, upon whom devolved the domestic superintendence of his modest academy, told upon the number of his inmates, and his consequent pecuniary returns, when, in the last-mentioned year, Mrs. Lower succumbed to the malady under which she had been suffering, and her husband, in the thirtieth year of his wedded life, a life which, in regard to his domestic happiness, had been all that he could have desired or anticipated, found himself a bereaved widower, at a season when he could ill spare so loved and loving a partner. To a man of his strong affections, this melancholy event was productive of considerable distress of mind, and a few months afterwards, under the altered circumstances in which he found himself placed, he sold his dear old house, broke up his school, and removed to Seaford, still taking a few French pupils.

Anxious to mark their sense, and appreciating the importance of Mr. Lower's long labours in connection with the history of his native county, his friends—members and non-members alike of the Sussex Archæological Society—organized a committee, and raised a subscrip-

tion, in testimony of the high esteem in which they held him and his services. The fund thus raised, amounting to about £400, was presented to him some short time before his removal to Seaford.

Some three years after this removal he took for his second wife a maiden lady whom he had long known—Miss Sarah Scrase—of an old and respectable family, originally Danish, long settled in Sussex. Soon after this second marriage, namely, in 1871, he left his native county entirely, to reside in London or its immediate neighbourhood, in order to apply himself, as far as his impaired health would permit, to literary pursuits.

In 1873, a trip to Denmark and Sweden was resolved on, partly under the hope that his health would be benefited by it, and partly with the object of pursuing some inquiries, of an archæological character, among a people so nearly allied to our own in several important particulars. His wife accompanied him. But the health-seeking pilgrimage failed of its object, and he was, after too short a sojourn for his literary purposes, ordered back to England by his physician, by the most expeditious route. A book, however, the last his hitherto active hand produced, was the outcome of his otherwise fruitless journey, and this book, *Wayside Notes in Scandinavia*. London, 1874, presented, it must be confessed, but a faint reflex of his usual lively style of composition.

In 1875 it was his misfortune to follow his second wife, who was affectionately attached to him, to the grave. After her death he removed from his abode in the southern suburb of London, Peckham, to the house of his youngest daughter, Mrs. Hawkins, at Enfield, Middlesex, where, surrounded by such of his six surviving sons and daughters as happened to be in England, he passed away, on the 22nd of March, 1876, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Mr. Lower took no active part in the municipal affairs of Lewes; he served as one of the Headboroughs in the year 1860-1861, but never held any other prominently public office.

It is as one of the originators of the SUSSEX ARCHÆO-

LOGICAL SOCIETY, and one of the chief co-operators in its valuable COLLECTIONS both by his *pen* and *pencil*, that the name of Mark Antony Lower will ever deserve to be remembered with the highest honour. And as he was one of the pioneers of the movement, so was he the last survivor of the six coadjutors, Messrs. Blaauw, Blencowe, Dudeney, Figg, Harvey, and himself, who, by their deliberations, gave currency to an idea first started, it is believed, and gradually worked out, in the frequent neighbourly meetings at each other's house alternately, of the last-named four. This view is borne out by the Report prefixed to the first volume of the Society's Collections, where it appears that "the first meeting which defined the objects and established the rules of the Society, took place on June 18th, 1846, at the suggestion of a few gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood of Lewes, who, observing the interest excited by some recent antiquarian discoveries, were anxious to promote a readier acquaintance among persons attached to the same pursuits, and to combine their exertions in illustration of the History and Antiquities of Sussex." So, with the Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of the County, as patron, and the Duke of Norfolk as President, the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY speedily became an "accomplished fact."

The first public meeting of the Society was held on July 9th, 1846, in an appropriate *arena*, the ruins of PEVENSEY CASTLE; and the first paper read there, was on the History of those venerable remains, by MARK ANTONY LOWER, which paper, under the title of *Chronicles of Pevensey*, was published by its Author as a separate work, and has since passed through several editions as a popular handbook for visitors.

Noting the fact, that the first volume of the Society's Collections opens with a paper on the germane subject of SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGY, from the scholarly pen of the late Mr. Blaauw, who then officiated as honorary secretary, the several contributions of Mr. Lower to those collections now claim especial notice.

In Vol. i. we have three papers, the subjects of which

respectively are:—*Seals of the Sussex Cinque Ports; Names of the Sussex Gentry in 1588*, a short, but very suggestive paper, as supplying the names of upwards of 100 Sussex contributors to the ‘extraordinary aid’ called for by Queen Elizabeth on the threatened invasion of England by Spain; and *An Ancient Leaden Coffin found at Willingdon*. Vol. ii. in addition to five shorter papers, namely, *Observations on the Landing of William the Conqueror; On Oliver Cromwell’s Pocket Bible; On a Congratulatory Letter to Sir Thomas Pelham; On Roman Remains at Eastbourne*, and *On the Monumental Brasses of Sussex*, contains his long, valuable, and remarkably able paper *On the Iron Works of Sussex*, copiously illustrated by drawings from his own hand. The universal interest excited in the Iron districts all over England by this paper, led to the speedy sale of all the copies of the volume containing it, and the second-hand booksellers print “*very rare*” against it in their catalogues, when lucky enough to get hold of a copy. Mr. Lower contributed two supplementary articles to Vols. iii. and xviii. on the same subject, Vol. iii. exhibits three articles: *On the Castle of Bellemontre, in Normandy; On Wills proved at Lewes and Chichester*; and *On the Pelham Buckle and De la Warr Badge*. In Vol. iv. we have his amusing papers *On Sir Bevis of Hampton, and his Horse Arundel; On some Wills of Inhabitants of Herstmonceux and neighbouring parishes*; and a third, prettily illustrated by his own careful drawings, *On the Star Inn at Alfriston*. Vol. v. opens with a paper by him *On the Descent of Wiston, with Anecdotes of its Possessors*; while a second is *On Miscellaneous Antiquities discovered in and relating to Sussex*; and a third *On Watermills and Windmills in Sussex*. His first paper in Vol. vi. is on the stirring theme of the *Battle of Hastings*. A second is entitled *Memoranda of the Boord or Borde Family, with a Memoir of Andrew Borde*—the original of all the Merry Andrews of our old country fairs—and the third is on a subject he had already made his own—*Pevensey Castle and recent Excavations there*. Vol. vii. contains his long and painstaking *Memorials of the Town, Parish, and Cinque-port of Seaford*, an account which is

supplemented in Vol. xviii. by a joint paper by himself and Mr. Cooper, entitled *Further Memorials of Seaford*. A *Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Scrase* is his only contribution to Vol. viii. Five articles from his fertile pen are to be found in Vol. ix. viz. *Notes of the Family of Miller, of Burghill, and Winkinghurst; On the Churches of Newhaven and Denton; Notes respecting Halnaker, Boxgrove, &c. temp. Q. Eliz.; On the Pillory and Cucking Stool at Rye*. But the gem of these five papers is that entitled *Bodiam and its Lords*, a charming contribution, and one which, some half-dozen years ago, he revised and republished, at the instance of the present owner of that dismantled stronghold of the Dalyngruges, still, in its ruins, a picturesque and majestic pile. A chatty paper *On certain Inns and Inn Signs in Sussex*, appears in Vol. x. and *Extracts from the Diary of a Sussex Tradesman 100 years ago*, edited by himself and Mr. Blencowe, is all that bears his name in Vol. xi. In Vol. xii. his paper *On the Hospital of Lepers at Seaford*, is followed by *Notices of Sir Edward Dalyngruge the Builder of Bodiam Castle*, a pendant to the Bodiam paper above referred to. In Vol. xiii. he gives us the *Will of a Sussex Clergyman 300 years ago*, and a paper on a subject he had made himself peculiarly master of, *Old Speech and Manners in Sussex*. To Vol. xiv. he contributed his *Parochial History of Chiddingly*, his native parish, be it remembered, and a model of the familiar style in which such a subject should be treated.¹ In Vols. xv. and xvi. we have an exhaustive account of *The Rivers of Sussex*. The author's masterly handling of his aqueous topic earned, in this instance, the praise of that most critical of critical journals, the SATURDAY REVIEW. *Notes on Jack Cade and his adherents*, an acceptable addition to Mr. Cooper's paper, is the first of four contributions to vol. xviii, the other three being, a *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Society's Museum, Lewes Castle* (jointly

¹ Mr. Trower's accounts of *Burwash* and *Findon*, in Vols. xxi. xxvi. and the present volume, ought to be mentioned commendatorily here, as excellent examples also of how parochial history

should be written. The human element is, in both these papers, admirably blended with the precision of a legally trained mind.—H.C.

with Mr. R. Chapman), *Notes on Sussex Castles* (in which Mr. Cooper was his coadjutor), and *On a "Kitchen Midden" at Newhaven*. His quota of papers in Vol. xix. also numbers four, namely, *On some old Parochial documents relating to Lindfield*; *Notes on the Family of Whitfield, or Whitfield, of Northumberland and Sussex*; an account of the tragic poaching affray which ended in the *Trial and Execution of Thomas Lord Dacre, of Herstmonceux Castle, for Murder*; and a brief essay *On the Tomb of Richard Burré in Sompting Church*. His single contribution to Vol. xx. is *On Sir William Springett and the Springett family*. He and the Rev. Edw. Turner together furnish *Parochial Notices of Horsted Parva* to Vol. xxi. In Vol. xxii. his pen is employed *On Deeds of the Ancient Family of Cobbe and others, of Sussex, relating to property in Arlington*. *Notes on old Sussex Families* supply him with an apt theme for two papers in Vols. xxiv. and xxv. In Vol. xxiv. he has two other papers; one entitled *Newspaper Cuttings relating to Sussex (1678-1771), with Notes and Observations*; the other *On the Norman origin of the Family of Pelham*. In Vol. xxv. appear *Some Notices of Charles Sergison (temp. William III. and Queen Anne)*² and (jointly with Mr. Elwes) *Additional Notices of South Bersted*. In Vol. xxvi. a *Translation of a Latin Roll relating to the Liberties and Immunities of Battel Abbey*, the joint work of himself and Mr. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen; and a short paper *On a Miniature of John Selden*, bring to an end the tale of his chief contributions to the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS.

For the smaller matters grouped under the head of *Minor Communications, Information furnished to other Contributors, &c.* seeing that Mr. Lower stands credited with an aggregate of items filling nearly two columns in the GENERAL INDEX, they cannot be enumerated here. Indeed, "their name is Legion." Nor must it be forgotten that as, in his own words, he "was a sketcher before he was seven years old," he was enabled to render good service in a double capacity, as his numerous, and at once faithful

² For a rectification of an erroneous inference in this paper, relative to Pepys, the diarist, see 25 S. A. C. 234, 235.

and effective drawings, in several of our volumes bear picturesque witness. Moreover, he not only supplied the pictorial illustrations to most of his own articles, but he likewise illustrated the articles of some of his fellow-contributors. Practically, he seldom had the heart to say "Nay!" to any call made upon him, in the direction of his favourite pursuit, whatever sacrifice of time or labour it might entail; and, too often, he allowed strangers to seduce him from his school interests, when a strict regard for them ought to have forced from his lips the utterance of the negative monosyllable.

On Mr. Cooper's retirement from the Editorship of the Society's Collections, in 1865, the Committee, "considering the propriety of appointing a Salaried Editor and Corresponding Secretary," resolved that "Mark Antony Lower, Esq. F.S.A., be appointed" to the joint office, "with such remuneration as the Committee may think his time and labour demand." In 1870 his continued ill-health compelled him to retire from this office, on which occasion the following resolution was entered on the Minutes of the Society's proceedings:—

"Having accepted the resignation by Mr. Lower of his office of Editor of the Society's Collections, the General Committee desire to place on record their appreciation of the services rendered by him to the Society. In the establishment of the Society Mr. Lower took a prominent and very useful part; in the general conduct of its affairs he was ever most zealous; and every volume of the Collections hitherto published, contains evidence of his wide knowledge and research, in his character both of Contributor and Editor. The Committee have great pleasure in knowing that though Mr. Lower has resigned the office of Editor, his valuable co-operation will not be wholly withdrawn."

Of his principal separate publications, the title of the earliest has been already set out in full, on a preceding page, as also that of his latest. For the remainder the following list may be taken as tolerably complete:—

ENGLISH SURNAMES. Essays on FAMILY NOMENCLATURE, Historical, Etymological, and Humorous. With Chapters of Rebuses and Canting Arms, the Roll of Battel Abbey, a List of Latinized Surnames, &c., &c. By MARK ANTONY LOWER. "What's in a name?" London. John

Russell Smith. MDCCCXLII. 8vo. A second edition being soon called for, the author issued one, revised and enlarged. This was followed by a third edition, still further enlarged, in two volumes, in 1849; and, not long before his death, a fourth edition, again with additions by the author, was published by Mr. John Russell Smith.

The CURIOSITIES of HERALDRY. With Illustrations from Old English Writers. By MARK ANTONY LOWER. With numerous Wood Engravings. From Designs by the Author. London: John Russell Smith. MDCCCXLV. 8vo.

The CHRONICLE of BATTEL ABBEY, from 1066 to 1176. Now first translated, with Notes, and an Abstract of the Subsequent History of the Establishment. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A. London: John Russell Smith. MDCCCLI. 8vo.

CONTRIBUTIONS to LITERATURE, Historical, Antiquarian, and Metrical. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A. F.S.A. London: John Russell Smith. MDCCCLIV. 8vo.

PATRONYMICA BRITANNICA, a DICTIONARY of the FAMILY NAMES of the United Kingdom; Endeavoured by MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A. F.S.A. London: John Russell Smith. MDCCCLX. This work has a portrait of the author, somewhat too *leonine*, perhaps, but still very like; and a gracefully engraved border on the title page, from his own design. The characteristic portrait, here referred to, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. John Russell Smith, who kindly lends the wood block for the purpose, forms the frontispiece to the present memoir.

THE WORTHIES OF SUSSEX: Biographical Sketches of the most Eminent Natives or Inhabitants of the County, from the earliest Period to the Present Time; with incidental Notices, illustrative of Sussex History. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A. F.S.A. Printed for subscribers only. Lewes: G. P. Bacon. MDCCCLXV. Large 4to.

A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF SUSSEX, Topographical, Archæological, and Anecdotal. Containing an Index

to the first Twenty Volumes of the Sussex Archæological Collections. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A. Lewes: G. P. Bacon. 1870. Two volumes. 8vo.

HISTORICAL and GENEALOGICAL NOTICES of the PELHAM FAMILY. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A. Privately printed. 1873. Folio. Of this handsome example of typography from Mr. Bacon's press, a very few copies only were printed.

Sundry smaller, but not unimportant, publications merit a short notice, such as his *Handbook for Lewes*, which, first issued in 1846, has since passed through several editions. Then, for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's renderings of the SONG OF SOLOMON into the various provincial dialects, he furnished a version in the Sussex vernacular, a task for which he was well qualified, and in which he succeeded to the full satisfaction of the Prince.

His *Stranger at Rouen, a Guide for Englishmen* (it can be bought in London, of Mr. Russell Smith) is a little book well adapted to its unambitious purpose. The descriptive text to Nibbs's *Churches of Sussex* is also from his pen.

Another little book bearing his name, and entitled *The Sussex Martyrs, their Examinations and Cruel Burnings in the time of Queen Mary*, comprising the interesting personal narrative of *Richard Woodman*, &c. &c. is a reprint of old John Fox's account, with a preface, and some elucidatory notes.

For his old friend, the London publisher of all his important works, Mr. John Russell Smith, he edited *The Lives of the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, by Margaret Duchess of Newcastle*, and *Camden's Remains concerning Britain*. And he contributed several articles to the same publisher's *Retrospective Review*, a meritorious periodical deserving a much larger share of patronage than, during its too brief existence, the wayward English public chose to bestow upon it.

A work on the *Bayeux Tapestry* remains in manuscript.

Peculiar to Mark Antony Lower, was his thorough *humanity*, and his sense of the humorous. Whatever the theme he enlarged upon, it went hard with him if he

could not find a human, or a humorous, side to it. His delight was to gather up, in the highways and byways, the nooks and corners, of his native county, quaint bits of character, anecdotes, and incidents of old times, such as were calculated to throw light upon the social history of past days. His humour, too, was a part of him, not an acquired faculty. The son of the author of "Tom Cladpole's Journey to Lunnun," and "Jan Cladpole's Trip to 'Merricur, in search arter Dollar trees," he unquestionably inherited from his sire his appreciation of the oddities and eccentricities of life in every phase in which they were to be found.

But he was too honest and too earnest a student of antiquity to subordinate reality to romance. Like his old friend Cooper, he was not over-enthusiastic upon the subject of *Prehistoric Archæology*. The "Flint flake" and "Kitchen-midden" theories found little favour in his eyes, and, in his paper on the discovery at Newhaven of a so-called *Kitchen-midden*, in the eighteenth volume of the Society's Collections, his incredulity relative to the deductions of the Anthropological experts on that occasion, is, perhaps, a little too pronouncedly expressed, and he recounts a dinner-table joke, got up at their expense, with evident delight. He had not the same facility as his *confrère*, above-named, who was domiciled in London, had, for consulting authorities, of every kind, at the fountain head, and, sometimes, his forced reliance on second-hand sources of information may have misled him, but he shared his friend's anxiety to be correct. He lived in, and he loved, the country; and so "racy of the soil" was he, that it was difficult to induce him to sleep more than a single night in London, except under pressing and unusual circumstances.

From a graphic article, entitled THROUGH SUSSEX, in the *Temple Bar Magazine* for January, 1866, the following passage will well bear transplanting to these pages:—

"LEWES has a famous Antiquary—the great authority on surnames—Mr. Mark Antony Lower. He is a gentleman with more poetry in him than most of the Dryasdust School: witness his picturesque presentment of the

Sussex villages—‘clusters of lowly habitations, some thatched, some tiled, some abutting the street, some standing angularly towards it, all built of flint or boulders. A barn, a stable, a circular pigeon-house, centuries old, with all its denizens (direct descendants of the old manorial pigeons which lived here in the days of the Plantagenets), and an antique gable or two, peer out among the tall elms.’ We fancied we met Mr. Lower close by Lewes Castle. I sketched on the margin of my *Murray* the ample forehead of the unknown, beneath an archaic hat, the keen observant eyes behind archaic spectacles; and shall leave it by will to the Sussex Archæological Society.”³

When in his prime, his constant devotion to his work, scholastic, literary, archæological, kept him too much, it may be, engaged; and, always talking about the holidays he meant to, but did not, take, when his school vacations arrived, one who knew his habits, Mr. Joseph Ellis, of Brighton, who, as his special intimates only know, is an admirable inditer of good-humoured flings at the amiable foibles of his acquaintances, “poked his fun” at his Lewes friend after the following facetious fashion:—

Mark Antony Lower enjoys his vacation,
 But says there’s no time in it for recreation!
 And then, for long months, he pursues his vocation,
 Like horse in a mill, without any cessation;
 Hence a problem involving no small botheration,
 Namely:—which is *V*ocation, and which is *V*acation?
 For the difference here between *vo* and *va*,
 Should value the same as between *work* and *play*,
 Or even as much as between *do* and *say*.
 But whether in *vo*, or whether in *va*,
 Or whether in *work* or whether in *play*,
 Or whether in *do*, or whether in *say*,
 The metamorphosis is with O and A:—
 So with Lower—a slave who ne’er kicks off his fetters—
 Call it work, call it play, ’tis a question of *Letters*!⁴

³ The author of this pleasant paper, “Through Sussex,” was the late MORTIMER COLLINS, who died in July, 1876, and whose vigorous, yet remarkably graceful, *vers de société* gave such a charm to the columns of *Punch*. H. C.

⁴ Mr. Ellis has since, and with marked success, turned his leisure to themes of a higher character. See *The Times* of 10th Feb. 1877, for a most appreciative notice of his “CESAR IN EGYPT, and other poems.” H. C.

A most obliging disposition; a sensitiveness well nigh feminine in its nature; a keen perception of the ludicrous; a ready hand at turning a pun or an epigram; and a happy way of rendering the anecdotes, wherewith his memory was copiously stored, made Mark Antony Lower always a welcome companion in the social circle.⁵ But less bright days came upon him. His closing years were darkened by impaired health, the sun of fortune shone but fitfully upon him, and continuous literary labour became at length an impossibility. The once robust figure had fallen away to such an extent, that some who knew him intimately, but who had not seen him for an interval of twelve months or more, failed to recognise at once their old friend in the wasted form before them. The date of his passing away has already been given. It may truly be added, that the void left in the ranks of Archæology by his death, cannot, in the many-sided gifts with which he was endowed, be easily filled up.

Mr. Lower was for several years a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He was Master of Arts of one of the United States Universities; a "Fellow of the Societies of Antiquaries of Normandy, America, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and a Member of the Academy of Sciences of Caen."

Thanks are especially due to Mr. John Dudeney, of Milton House, Lewes, as also to Mr. W. de Warenne Lower, second son of Mr. Lower, for their important assistance in furnishing materials for the foregoing memoir; as also to Mr. Lower's old pupil, Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A.; to Mr. Joseph Ellis, and to Mr. John Russell Smith.

⁵ His old associate, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. thus writes of him:—"During our alliance in excavating at Pevensey, I saw much of him. He was full of spirits, with an endurable flow of humour and wit, earnest,

and open-hearted." For the important part this eminent antiquary took in raising the fund for Mr. Lower's behoof, alluded to in a previous page, as well as the high esteem in which he held him, see *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1867. H.C.

REMARKS ON THE PROBABLE SITE OF THE BRITISH CITY AND ROMAN STATION OF ANDERIDA.

By THOMAS ELLIOTT.

“Where was Anderida, that city so strong, so fiercely fought for, and so utterly effaced? There is scope for the vigour of a fresh mind to decide this long disputed question, either by the production of new evidence, or the more careful scrutiny of the old, tested by the physical features of the country.”¹

The challenge thus thrown out in the very infancy of our Society by one who may be considered, if not its founder, at least one of its greatest lights, may be perhaps my best excuse for recurring to this *vexata questio* at this late hour of the day, notwithstanding that the invitation has been already largely responded to by Mr. Hussey in his able investigation of the subject.²

Historians inform us, that in the time of the Emperor Constantine the south and east coast of this country was infested by bands of Saxon pirates, and of the means taken by Constantine to check these depredations; how he created stations at different places on the coast for that purpose, under the command of an officer called the Count of the Saxon shore. At the time of the compilation of the “*Notitia Imperii*,” there appear to have been nine of such stations; the sites of which seem to be well ascertained, with the exception of Anderida, for which place many claims have been put forward, and varying opinions promulgated, but they appear to have

¹ See paper by Mr. Blaauw on Sussex
Archæology, 1 S. A. C., 4.

² See 6 S. A. C., 90.

been all disposed of, with the exception of Pevensey and Newenden, and it is to these places alone, therefore, that the following remarks are directed. We are told by the same historians that at this period the Roman Government were gradually withdrawing their troops from this country; how at the time of the compilation of the "*Notitia Imperii*" there were less than twenty thousand troops remaining; how after their final departure the Britons invited the Saxons over to assist them against the Picts and Scots, and the Saxons located themselves in Kent; and how when they became masters of that county by their oppression, the Britons were compelled to flee from the open country and seek refuge in the forest of Arndrede, from whence they became a constant source of menace to Hengist, in his kingdom of Kent; and how Hengist in his perplexity to relieve himself from this source of disquietude invited Ella over from Germany, promising him that if he succeeded in driving the Britons from their stronghold in the forest, he should have the kingdom of Sussex as his reward.

Ella, having accepted this offer, landed with his followers at Wittering, in West Sussex; and after nine years' hard fighting, having been successful in dislodging the Britons from the open country back into the forest of Arndrede, decided to make a final assault on them, and endeavour to drive them from their stronghold at Anderida, or, as the Saxons called it, Arndredescester, in the forest of Arndrede. The first attack was made at the battle of Mercedesburn, in A.D. 485, therefore the first thing is to ascertain the place where this battle was fought; as that appears to be the key to the site of Anderida. To this end it is necessary to arrive at a definition of the word or words Merc-credes-burn. The following is offered. Merc (*marsh*), credes—Saxon, creca (*creek*), burn (*river*); that is, that this battle was fought in the marsh between the creek and the river.

The hill of Newenden, one of the presumed sites of Anderida, has the Exden "creek" on its north side, and the "river" Rother on the south, the two uniting at a point lower down on the east. Anderida, at Newenden,

would be such a place as the Britons would be likely to occupy. It was not easily approached by an enemy through the forest, and would naturally be a strong position for them, and almost unassailable on that side. Ella having decided to attack the Britons in their stronghold of Anderida, and having the command of ships, sails up the Rother in preference to trying to force a way through the forest; lands his men in the marsh on the fork of land formed by the creek and the river, but is met by such a determined opposition that he is compelled to retire. Landing in the marsh at the eastern end of the hill at Newenden, between the Exden creek and the river Rother, would be at a place answering in every particular to the definition as given by us.

Mr. Hussey has omitted all mention of this battle of Mercresburn, yet it must have been fought for, and in defence of, this Anderida. No fact of such importance should have been absent from any inquiry on this subject, as through it there is a possibility of obtaining a little gleam of light as to the site of this Anderida.

Ella, failing in this his first attack, sends into Germany for reinforcements, obtaining which, he (A.D. 490) again attacks the Britons in this their stronghold of Anderida; with what success, history informs us; but not so as to the precise locality of the stronghold. Henry of Huntingdon says that the Britons "swarmed in it like bees," which can be readily understood. Hengist had compelled them to flee from the open country in his kingdom of Kent to seek safety in the forest, and Ella had now done the same throughout Sussex. Henry of Huntingdon, in speaking of the assault on Anderida, says: "always as they might assail, the Britons pressed on them from behind with archers and with darts thrown with thongs, wherefore, quitting the walls, the pagans directed their steps and arms against them. Then the Britons excelling them in fleetness, ran into the woods and again came on them from behind." Ella, in this his second attack on Anderida, again sails up the Rother, and landing with his men in the marsh on the open fork of land as before, and

being in much stronger force, drives the Britons back on their stronghold, some of whom would fall in behind their intrenchments, others into the woods to again emerge and assail the Saxons from behind. Anderida, at Newenden, would have wood on three sides, that is, on the north, west, and south; so that the Saxons, having driven the Britons into the wood in either direction, would be always liable to have the Britons, "who swarmed like bees," fall in, and again come on them from behind.

At Pevensey there could have been no woods, the high land on which it stands being surrounded by the Pevensey and Cuckmere marshes, which run back toward the forest a very considerable distance, and for the whole distance would have been overflowed by the sea on all ordinary tides, and could not have afforded the Britons any cover, so as to enable them to elude their enemies, whereby they could have fallen back and again assailed them "from behind." Mr Hussey admits³ "that nothing resembling *forest* now exists within several miles of Pevensey, but how greatly the condition of the country may have altered in nearly 1,400 years, we are able only to conjecture;" and again, "Besides, a small amount only of actual timber and copse would support the character of 'forest,' since a wide extent of reeds (indigenous, and alone an effectual cover), with thickets of alder, willow, or other bushes, and an occasional large tree, dispersed at intervals over the swampy plain, would have afforded ample concealment to the fugitive Britons."⁴ There cannot have been much difference in the marsh surrounding Pevensey Castle 1,400 years ago, and at the present time, beyond this; then it was probably one wide waste of water and mud, whereas now it is firm pasture land. The sea at that period having free scope, overflowed the whole of the marsh around Pevensey Castle several feet deep, and therefore no "alder, willow, or occasional large tree" could possibly have been found there, neither could any "wide extent of reed" have grown in the marsh, as reed will not flourish on land covered by the sea, unless in situations where it receives a large admixture of fresh

³ 6 S. A. C., 100.

⁴ *Ib.*, 101.

water, and if reed had grown there, it could not have given the necessary shelter in such a prolonged and severe contest as there was at Anderida. The very first struggle would have so trampled it down, that it would not have afforded any permanent refuge.

Mr. Hussey, at the beginning of his paper, says "that the former appellation (Anderida) was borne by one of the fortresses erected and maintained by the Romans." There would appear to be no other mention of this station of Anderida than that in the "*Notitia Imperii*;" it therefore becomes of importance to glean what information we can as to the time and purpose for which this document was compiled. By it we learn that the second Legion "*Augusta*" was then at *Richborough*. The permanent station of that Legion was, and had been for a period of 400 years, in the north of England, therefore if it was at this time at *Richborough*, it had been removed from the north, to embark probably from *Sandwich* for the continent, as it was on the eve of quitting the country. These facts go to show that the "*Notitia*" was compiled within the last year or two of the Roman occupation, and that being so would be another reason why no masonry or other sign of Roman domination would be found at Anderida. Mr. Hussey says,⁵ "We should likewise advert to the chronicler's observation that *Andredescester* was 'a strongly fortified city.'" This must be received with some qualification. That it was a *stronghold* of the Britons there can be no doubt, seeing the resistance they were enabled to make against the assault of the Saxons. Anderida, at *Newenden*, was naturally a strong defensive position, and one in which the defenders might be considered a match for any attack; as, from its situation, any discipline the enemy might have would be of trifling avail in the forest, and for this reason *Ella* would not attempt a march through it to assault this stronghold. On the other hand, the Britons would be quite at home there in any contest they might be engaged in. It was not, I think, a Roman fortress, in the sense spoken of by Mr. Hussey, but a post

⁵ 6 S. A. C., 93.

at which the "Prepositus numeri Abulcorum" (that is, of 100 men of the Abulci) was stationed, and he was there at the time of the compiling of the "Notitia;" these troops being placed at Anderida for a specific duty, and for a short time only, a station would not of necessity "possess marks of Roman occupation in the shape of walls composed of stone and lime."

Further on, Mr. Hussey goes on to say,⁶ "Wherefore, though positive information fails us, we perceive there is ground for believing that Andredescester was a large and regularly constructed Roman fortress: consequently that the spot where it stood is quite as likely to contain at the present day some signs of Roman domination, as any of those numerous places in this kingdom where, that such traces remain, is uncontested." It will be our purpose to show that this station of Anderida would not be a large and regularly constructed Roman fortress, but a large British settlement, and quite distinct from the Roman station; that from the policy adopted by the Romans, the native Britons were powerless to prevent the incursions of the Saxon pirates. And hence the necessity of creating this station, which was not in existence as a fortified place at the time the 100 men of the Abulci were stationed at Anderida. The Roman government was very jealous of the Britons, and would not allow them to have arms or fortified places; and the intrenchments at Anderida—Newenden—probably were partly cast up by them at the time of the battle of Mercredesburn, and afterwards enlarged, and further intrenchments cast up during the five years between the first attack and the final destruction of the place.

Mr. Hussey would appear to lay considerable stress on the word Andredescester, terminating in "cester." There are many places in Britain terminating in "cester," and yet no Roman masonry is to be found there; although the name would go to show that there may have been a Roman *camp* in the neighbourhood. The word is equally applicable to any form of stronghold; consequently the

⁶ 6 S. A. C., 93.

Britons' stronghold at Anderida might well be called by the Saxons *Andredescester*, although there would be no stone walls there. Mr. Hussey states that Mr. Baxter explains the word *Anderida* as signifying "The two passages." The situation of *Newenden* is appropriate enough to this explanation of the word—it has the *Rother* on its south side, and the *Exden* channel on the north: and again it is suggested that the Britons might have congregated *within* the walls of the Roman fortification of *Pevensay Castle*, but that *Ella* so entirely destroyed their habitations as to account for the fact that "*not a single habitation stands within the central area.*" Historians fail to give us a single instance in which the Britons in any contest with their enemies ever made use of the castles or forts left them by the Romans; their habits of life, impatience, and aversion to labour, made them unable to endure the delay and fatigue of defending or besieging strong places protected by stone walls; but when defeated, they preferred to fall back on their own intrenchments and fastnesses in the forests. The Britons might possibly have had a settlement at *Pevensay*, it being in many respects suitable to their habits of life; but as no remains of British entrenchments have been found there, it could have been no *stronghold* of theirs; and it would have been too easily assailed by an enemy, and therefore it would not have been there that *Ella* found the Britons congregated together "as thick as bees:" especially as he had already driven them off from the open country *all along the coast of Sussex*.

Pevensay being situate in the open country, and at too considerable a distance from the forest, for that to have been of much service in their defence of *Anderida*, the Britons at *Pevensay* would not have been a source of much immediate menace to *Hengist* in his kingdom of *Kent*; but at their stronghold at *Newenden* they would have been. At *Newenden*, from their manner of living, they would be in possession of all that, from their habits of life, they required. In the estuary of the *Rother* they would have their fishing, and from the forest on the other three sides their hunting; and had they been allowed to

remain undisturbed, they would have been a source of constant menace to Hengist in Kent, as likewise to Ella in his new-founded kingdom of Sussex; and, as a consequence, it was a necessity that he should dislodge them from any stronghold they might have formed there.

No great stress in relation to Anderida should, I think, be placed on the passage from Gildas. That writer merely mentions that there were certain forts placed by the sea-shore, but he does not mention the number or name of any of them; and it may be that he knew nothing of the locality, and therefore speaks generally in saying that they were on the sea-coast; nor would it be a great stretch of the imagination to say that Newenden was on the sea-coast—as several *hundred acres* of the valley immediately below (that is, on the east of the hill there) would, if the sea had its free course, be at the least twelve feet under water at every medium spring tide; and this would have been the state of the *whole valley* at the time of this station of Anderida. As the sea flowed from hill to hill all across the valley, it would look more like an inlet of the sea than a river, till it came to the “Two passages.”

With respect to Mr. Hussey's argument in favour of Pevensey derived from Gildas' description of Anderida as being “within view of the sea,” whilst I admit that Newenden does not *literally* fulfil this condition, a bend in the hill land there about a mile down the valley, preventing any actual view of the sea, yet it was just as much a necessity to watch and guard the arm of the sea which flowed up here, as the sea and shore itself.

The Rev. C. Merivale, in his *History of the Romans*,⁷ says of the Britons, “The places which we find dignified by the names of Towns or *Oppida*, were for the most part merely intrenched fastnesses on lofty eminences, or in woody coverts, whither a whole tribe might retreat in case of attack, with all its movables and cattle; but in the intervals of peace the people dwelt in hamlets, or detached habitations, in the situations most convenient for fishing, hunting, or husbandry.” Accompanying this

⁷ 1 S. A. C., 101.

with a note, he adds "that Cæsar's description of the 'oppida' implies that these were almost empty spaces: large armies manœuvred in them; as, at Avaricum, 40,000 Gauls assembled in it." The remains of the earthworks at Newenden agree with the description of the "*Oppidum*" here given; and they are of that extent, as to show that there must have been a very large assembly of men there to have been able to defend them, and to give that determined resistance which Ella experienced in his assault at the destruction of Anderida.

Mr. Beale Post, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1844, p. 578, in an article on the site of Anderida, in quoting Camden's extract from Richard of Cirencester, states: "As to Camden, the distances in the 15th Iter of Richard of Cirencester (which take from Dover to the Port of the river Lemana^s 10 miles, another 10 to the station he calls Lemanus, and from thence 25 to Anderida) appear to show that he is mistaken, notwithstanding some of these numbers may require trifling correction. Newenden is by no means at so considerable a distance from Dover." If the word "another" is read as from Dover to the *station* Lemanus, the 10 miles would be sufficiently correct.

In Richard's 15th Iter he states that from Anderida ad Lemanium is 25 miles—from Newenden to Lympne would be 25 miles. Then Richard's annotator *makes* him say "ad Lemanianum portum 10 miles." This, no doubt, is a mistake of the annotator, for 2 miles; and falls under the following explanation given in his work. "The numbers, which determine the distances, being written in Roman numerals, give great latitude for errors and substitutions. For example, these marks, *IIII* being mutilated parts of numerals, might have been easily transformed by the copyist into IIII., XIII., VIII., XVI., XIX., or XXI.;"⁹ and so II into X.

Taking the foregoing as the correct reading of Richard, it would go to confirm Camden's opinion in favour of Newenden being the site of Anderida.

⁸ [Should be *Lemanus*. ED.]

⁹ Rich. of Cirenc. Translated (ed. 1812), p. 107, and note.

In the *Notitia Imperii*, compiled on the eve of the departure of the Roman troops, it appears that the Count of the Saxon shore had but two thousand two hundred foot and two hundred horse soldiers under his command at this time, stationed as follows :—

At Orthono	...	...	...	100	of Foot.
Dover	...	...	...	500	„
Lympne	...	...	...	100	„
Brancaster	...	...	...	100	Horse.
Borough Castle	...	...	...	100	„
Reculver	...	...	...	300	Foot.
Richborough	...	...	...	1000	„
Anderida	...	...	...	100	„
Adurni Portu	...	...	...	100	„

These were stations on the South and Eastern Coast, to prevent the incursions of the Saxon pirates, and without a station at Newenden the centre of Kent would have been exposed to their ravages; who, by sailing up the estuary of the Rother, and landing at Newenden, would, by an easy march, find themselves in the very heart of that county, and far in the rear of the troops stationed at Dover, and the other stations on the coast; but one hundred men stationed at Newenden would be an effectual check to their depredations in that direction. Anderida would probably be only a *summer* station, when these pirates would be leaving their home after the winter frosts were over. And being only a summer station, and created at the latter part of the Roman occupation, it would not be a castle or fort built of stone and lime, but the troops would more probably erect a residence of the wood growing on the spot, or would have encamped out here. Antoninus, in his *Iter*, does not mention Anderida—this would show that it was created at a later period, and only for the purpose of preventing these pirates plundering the (Roman?) stores in Kent, and not for the especial protection of the Britons.

The province of Britain was placed by Constantine under three Commanders, somewhere about a century previous to its final evacuation by the Romans. The whole of the county of Sussex would be under the com-

mand of the Count of the Saxon shore, and he would have had, at the earlier period, troops at all the stations in Sussex; but so soon as the exigencies of the state required, they would have been withdrawn from Sussex.

The duty of the troops under the Count of the Saxon shore not being, as I have said, so much for the protection of the Britons, as for preventing the Saxon pirates from plundering the stores and ravaging the country in Kent, through which the Roman troops had to pass from the interior towards some port of embarkation—they were probably placed in detachments along the coast of West Sussex after the manner of the coast-guard of the present day—the one hundred “Scouts” stationed at “Adurni portus,” would prevent these pirates getting inland by the *west* end of the forest of Andreda. Landing on the coast of any part of Sussex, there would have been the thirty miles of forest for them to have passed through, before they could have been in the open country in Kent; and after pillaging there, and repassing the forest, on regaining their ships they would have found them carried away, and in the possession of these “Scouts,” and so their retreat cut off. But at Newenden they would have only a few miles of the forest to pass through to have been in the centre of Kent, and that small distance of forest would have been an advantage to them rather than otherwise; their ships would have been in the forest out of sight, and free from attack, and ready to receive the plunder. Hence it was a necessity that the Count of the Saxon shore should guard the passage into Kent by Newenden, and the one hundred men of the “Abulci” were stationed at Anderida for that purpose.

Too early a date has, I think, usually been assigned for the formation of this station. While the Romans occupied Sussex there would have been no necessity for it, the Roman troops having stations at various places in Kent—but so soon as the Imperial Government resolved on the final evacuation of this country, and withdrew their troops out of Sussex, it became a necessity to

guard Kent; then it would be that this station was formed. Anderida at Pevensy would have been of small service—at Newenden a necessity.

I quite agree with Mr. Hussey “that there were not two Anderidas—one British the other Roman.” Anderida is a Roman, not a British name, and therefore would not be used by the Britons as the name for any of their places. There was only one Anderida destroyed by Ella, and that is the one the site of which is sought for. The foregoing remarks have been based on the physical features of the country, the historical, political, and social condition at this period of its people; and these are the only *data* on which to found any correct opinion. Castles, forts, or luxurious villas are all out of the question, seeing the purpose for which, and the time when, this station of Anderida would have been created.

On the probable line of communication made use of by the Romans between Sussex and East Kent, Mr. Hussey¹⁰ suggests two different routes—neither of which I think he would have promulgated had he had the advantage of the information brought to light by the Government Ordnance Surveyors in 1870, when making the survey of Kent. Mr. Wright informs us in the “Gentleman’s Magazine” for 1852, p. 566, that he found traces of a Roman road extending from Lympne through Court, at Street, westward. This no doubt led to the Roman station at Colham, in the parish of Woodchurch. The Ordnance Surveyors fortunately found traces in continuation of this road at various places between Colham and the high land in Hemsted Park in a direct line, thus showing that the Romans possessed a road thus far into the forests of Andrede. Mr. Gathorne Hardy had this road followed out through his park and across his property westward. After leaving the high land in the park, I believe the road deviates slightly to the southward, in the direction of the Four Throws, and supposing it then to have passed straight on, it would have crossed on the south side of Hawkhurst parish, and then over Burg Hill in Etchingham, and on to the highland at Burwash, by Heathfield

¹⁰ 6 S. A. C., 105.

to Lewes in nearly a straight line. That the Romans possessed extensive encampments in the neighbourhood of Lewes, there are remains to show. Accepting Dr. Stukeley's route for the Ermyrn street as from Newhaven by Lewes, and so on to the north, the Romans, who were a centralising people, would possess this scheme of roads for Sussex—from the west by Bignor hill to Lewes; from Pevensey on the east to Lewes; and from Lewes by the Ermyrn street to the north; and from Lewes into East Kent by Heathfield, Burwash, Burghill in Etchingham, Hemsted park, Colham, to Lympne; and this would appear to be such a means of communication as they were likely to have adopted, and may be accepted as the probable route between Sussex and East Kent.

In these remarks on Mr. Hussey's paper, I trust I may not be considered to have commented unfairly. Others whose opinions are likewise entitled to every respect, have written on this interesting subject, but as they all more or less reflect, and take his line of argument, I have not thought it necessary to quote particularly from their papers in our Collection—but trust that some one of our many able Sussex Archæologists, casting aside all preconceived ideas, may weigh well all the matter that is here brought before him, keeping in mind the political position of the Roman Empire at the time of the compilation of the "*Notitia Imperii*," when, it may be said, the Romans were fighting for very Rome itself, and were for that purpose hastening the departure of their troops, as fast as it was possible for them to do, from this country; and I feel that he will arrive at the conclusion that the British Cær Andrede, the Roman Anderida, the Saxon Andredescester, and the Newenden of the present, are synonymous.

Mr. Hussey, at various places in his paper, would seem to have a doubt as to whether he was quite on the right track in pursuit of the knowledge he was anxious to place correctly before his readers; and applying to him the words which he uses in reference to Camden, we may "be permitted to conjecture that a dispassionate consideration of the objections to his theory might have

altered his view of the question," and that he would not only have been, with Camden, "almost persuaded," but would have arrived at the certainty, that he had to look elsewhere than at Pevensey for this Roman station of Anderida, "that city so strong, so fiercely fought for, and so utterly effaced."

REMARKS ON THE ANCIENT COURSE OF THE RIVER ROTHER.

By THOMAS ELLIOTT.

Mr. Lower, in his paper in these Collections on the Rivers of Sussex, says,¹ "from this point" (the alluvial district, near Newenden, in Kent) "the Rother has, throughout the whole of the historical period, at various times changed its course and its outlet;" and again, "The Rother now meets the sea at Rye harbour; but formerly had its outlet much farther eastward."²

In offering these remarks, it will be my endeavour to show that the Eastern Rother has not, during the historic period, "changed its course and its outlet," but that its waters, after leaving the hill, have constantly pursued a course under it almost due south, as at the present day. Fortunately, we have facts in the physical aspect of the country, and are not left to depend on theory, to prove what must have always been the course of the waters passing down from the Weald into the sea by the rivers Rother and Dour, viz., that they could not have emptied themselves into the sea, first at Hythe, then at Romney, and afterwards at Rye, as asserted by many of the earlier, and again promulgated by later, writers.

Further on Mr. Lower remarks that "to the eastward of Newenden the stream divides into two channels, forming an island known as the Isle of Oxney." The Rother does not divide itself into two channels at this point, but *receives* the water issuing out of the valley on the west and north of the Isle of Oxney, from as far back as Smallhithe, with the waters from Bores Isle on the north

¹ 15 S. A. C., 152.

² *Ib.*, 151.

of Tenterden, and from Halden (with the north part of the parish of Benenden); which all find their way down the Frizingham level, in the parish of Rolvenden, and into the channel on the north side of the Island, and then pass on by Potmanshoath, on the west end of the Island, into the Rother, at the point spoken of by Mr. Lower as that where the Rother divides itself. Therefore this channel on the north of the island is not the Rother, but a feeder to it. The land in the Frizingham level, and on the north and the west end, is nine feet higher than the land in the valley on the south side of the Island, commonly called the "Wet Level;" therefore the waters from Smallhithe and the Frizingham level would always *naturally* find their way into the lower land of the Rother valley, on the south side of the island. The surface of the land in the "Wet Level" is probably nearly the same now as it was all up the valley of the Rother at the time when Ella sailed up it to assault the stronghold of the Britons at Anderida, which would, on all medium spring tides, have been covered by the sea from twelve to fifteen feet deep. By the erection about the year A.D. 1600 of the embankment across the Rother valley from Peasmarsh to Wittersham, at Blackwall, the sea was prevented from flowing up the valley beyond Blackwall, consequently the original river Rother, and the valley below Blackwall, became rapidly silted up during the fifty or more years the embankment at Blackwall remained entire; hence the land below Blackwall is several feet higher than the surface of the land in the Wet Level, which is, probably, the same now or nearly so as it was previous to the erection of the embankment at Blackwall: and this indicates what would have been the state of the valley in early times.

The water of the Rother was first turned down on the north side of the Isle of Oxney by Geffry de Knell and Isabella Aucher, at the commencement of the reign of Edward III., by whose grant they cast a dam across the river which is to this day called Knell's dam, and cut a new river across the marsh to Potmanshoath, and by this means forced the water round on the north side of the

Isle of Oxney. This prevented the tidal water flowing up so high as Newenden, as from the greater distance round by Appledore the flow of the tide was not sufficient to reach so far before the tide was again ebbing out. However, the water flowed in that course but a very short time, as in the 22nd Edward III. (See Dugdale's Imbanking.) James de Echingham presented a petition to the King, complaining of the injury the turning of the channel had done to him in his market town of Salehurst. It was then by another order of the King directed that the banks should be destroyed, and a free passage again opened to the water up and down the valley on the south side of the island, and it continued so to flow till about A.D. 1600, when the channel on the north side had become so inefficient as a sewer to carry off the water arising on the land, that it was resolved to form an "Indraught," and an arrangement was made to rent all the lowland in what is now called the Wet level, to catch the water coming down from above, and by forcing these upper waters round on the north of the island to form a sewer, wherewith to cleanse, scour out, and keep open the channel of Appledore. This not sufficing, however, other "indraughts" were made alongside the channel on the north side of the island for the same purpose, but all these proving insufficient to keep open the channel of the Dour, or that of Appledore, this route for the flow of the upper waters was finally abandoned, and the dam at Blackwall cut through, allowing the water to flow down in its natural course on the south side of the island, as it has continued to do ever since. That the water of the Rother could not and would not naturally have flowed down on the north side of the island is evident; the natural fall in the drainage of the land from Smallhythe is round by the west end of the island, and all the water in the channel flows that way, and so down on the south side, and this must always have been its natural course.

Mr. Lower calls this channel on the north of the Isle of Oxney "the Tweed."³ This is the first time I have

³ 15 S. A. C., 153.

heard it called by this name, and I have had an intimate knowledge of the rivers of this district for the last fifty years. The name of the channel passing from the north side by the west end of the Isle of Oxney into the Rother is now called the "Otter," and anciently the "Rottier;" and the channel passing eastwards from Smallhithe to Appledore is the "Dour," but sometimes now called the "Smallhithe."

There is a small stream on the west of Leasam House, the residence of Major Curteis, which is called the "Tweed," and is one of the feeders of the Tillingham river; and this is the only river in this locality called the "Tweed."

Romney marsh, on its north and west side, has the hill of the Weald, on the south the islands of old Winchelsea and Broomhill, and on the east side Lydd and Romney, with the shingle spit from Romney on to the hill at Hythe. The rivers Rother and Dour, with other smaller streams arising in the Weald of Sussex and Kent, poured their waters into and over this extensive district, and into what at this early period on the rise of every tide might have been not inaptly called a salt water lake. That there was no opening in the shingle spit at Hythe is shown in the fact that the surface of the land at Hythe is very considerably higher there than that at Appledore.⁴ That Romney marsh was cultivated by the Romans is beyond all doubt, seeing that Roman remains are found, and that they had more than one pottery there; it will necessarily follow that Romney marsh proper was "inned" in their time from the overflow of the sea—if by them, is not our present purpose to enquire—and no question can arise but that the surface of the land in the marsh is the same now as at the time of the erection of the Rhee wall by the Romans from Romney to Appledore, which excluded the sea from overflowing this portion of the marsh.

The surface of the land in the marsh being higher

⁴ See James Elliott's communication to Mr. Lewin, published by Mr. Lewin in his "Reply to remarks of the Astro-

nomer Royal on the Invasion of Julius Caesar," p. 108.

under Hythe than on its western side next Appledore, is to be accounted for from there being no opening through the shingle spit between Hythe and Romney on the eastern side; the sea must have flowed into and over Romney marsh proper from its south-western side, thus carrying all its silt forward on to the east side, and depositing it there, leaving the surface of the land as we now find it. It is stated by many historians that the river Rother was called the Lemanus. The Lemanus was more probably the open expanse of the whole marsh within the bounds as before described. Mr. Lewin, in his work on the landing of Julius Cæsar, is of opinion, and puts it with great show of reason, that Julius Cæsar landed with his army in this country near to Hythe. That being so, we may suppose Cæsar standing on the hill at Lympne—the moon being at the full—and looking over this large expanse of water covering the whole marsh, and calling it, as he had previously called the Lake of Geneva, Lemanus, and again on the receding of the tide, exclaiming, “Limo,” from which word would be derived Lime, for Lympne. The Romans could have had no river flowing out of the marsh into the sea under the hill at Hythe, in connection with the Rother, not only for the reason previously given, but likewise because the marsh was “inned” in their time, and cultivated by them, and so would have been cut off from any conceivable connection with the Rother. From the long period of darkness as to all matters relating to the history of this country that followed its evacuation by the Romans, it is not to be wondered at that the name Lemanus, intended at first for what appeared a large lake, and continued probably as a name for the district, should come to be applied to a river pouring its waters on to and over a portion of this district. Cæsar, who informs us that he was not aware of the rise and fall of the tide on the coast of Britain, may reasonably be supposed to have felt and expressed surprise at the change from the large expanse of water on the rise of the tide to the muddy appearance of the scene presented at low water, and so called it Limo Lemanus—the Muddy Lake. The Portus

Lemanus would be the *port for* the Lemanus, and from which the surplus produce of the district would be shipped to Gaul and other places, and would, in all probability, be formed by utilising the water of the small streams flowing out from the hill near Hythe. *Limen* would apply more to such a port or harbour than to a large, and what at that time would have been a rapid, river like the Rother, as Mr. Lower thinks it did.⁵ It is not unlikely that the Lemana mentioned by Ravennas was the port and small streams at Hythe, and the Rovia the Rother.

Having shown that it was physically impossible that the water issuing out of the Weald by the Rother could ever have emptied itself into the sea under the hill at Hythe, we will now endeavour to show what its true course was. On the exit of the water of the Weald by the Rother and the Dour into the marsh, it is very evident, from the physical aspect of the hill land on the south-western side of the valley, that the flow of the water, after leaving the valley, must have been from all time to the southward, as the hill land on that side is worn away and rounded off, as it naturally would be from the friction caused by the constant flow of water pressing against it; whereas on the north-east side of the entrance to the valley the hill land stands boldly forward, thus showing again that the water did not at any time fall back to the eastward, as it must have done had it emptied itself into the sea under the hill at Hythe. Neither would the hill land have been so worn and rounded off had the water on leaving the valley gone away to the sea at Romney. Others have written that the bed of the Rother was along the route of the Rhee wall, and that it was cut by the Romans at the time they erected the Rhee wall. The Romans were eminently a practical people; and they could have had no use for such a river, for the drainage of the land they had "inned" from the overflow of the sea. They would more probably drain into the River Dour at Appledore, and along under the hill into the Rother, which lay close to them, and

⁵ 15 S. A. C., p. 153.

which at that time must have been a deep river, and a drainage such as they required.

And again, others have stated that the lowlands, or, as they are locally called, the "Fleets," by Brookland, were the original bed of the Rother; but for the reasons before stated, this could not have been so. No doubt a portion of the *overflow* in high floods would find its way into the sea by these "Fleets;" as when the heavy floods came down from the Weald they would (so to speak) run wild, and overflow their usual channel, for the time making a fresh one, and then abandoning it again, so soon as they subsided. That there was very deep water along under the hill, before the "inning" of Romney marsh proper, from Appledore to Rye, is shown at the present day, by the surface of the marsh in Appledore Dowles being from twelve to fifteen feet below the high water mark of spring tides; and this would have been the level of the bed of the water-way all along under the hill to Rye into the great "Camber" of Old Winchelsea. This "Camber" was no doubt a great inlet of the sea, extending from Old Winchelsea to Appledore, into which the waters of the Rother would empty themselves, and which would afford shelter behind the Island of Old Winchelsea to the great navy of the day.

From what has been before stated as to the physical aspect of the hill land at the entrance to the valley of the Rother and the Dour (and the same is to be seen on the south-west side of every stream all along the hill to Rye), it is, I think, evident that the flow of the water was to the south. The river Rother, after traversing along under the hill till near Rye, would probably empty itself into the sea by three mouths or outlets—one on each side of the Island of Old Winchelsea, and the other by the Wenway Channel at Romney. This outlet of the Wenway got stopped up by the great storms that caused the destruction of Old Winchelsea, and drove the sand and *débris* of the island forward up the Wenway channel; since which time Rye has been the only outlet of the Rother. The sea continued to flow up to near Romney, and over the land formerly the Wenway Channel, till

A.D. 1630, when Sir George Curteis (who was the owner of what is now termed Broomhill level adjoining) "inned" this large track of land, consisting of about 2,000 acres; which is now called the "Weinway watering of the Walland marsh."

Again quoting from Mr. Lower's paper,⁶ "But that the true ancient name of the whole river, and especially of the Eastern part, was Limen, is apparent from the fact that its easternmost, and, perhaps, its original outfall, was at Lymne, the Roman Portus Lemanus." That its original outfall could not have been at Lymne, for more than one reason, has been already shown. That the Romans might have used the haven at Romney, is not unlikely, and it might have been the Portus Novus of Ptolemy; but it could not have been *much* used by them, seeing that there are no Roman remains in the shape of stone and lime to be found there. The only purpose for which they could have wanted a port at Romney would have been for shipping the produce of the marsh; and if the port had been used for that purpose, there would have been found some such sign of Roman domination there.

The land on which Romney stands was an island, and above high water mark; and as no wood could have been obtained there, the buildings would have been of a more durable character; and if any had existed, some trace would at this day have been found. It is more probable that the port for the Lemanus was at Hythe (as has been before stated), where the produce could have been guarded till shipped. The Romans could have had no occasion for the Rother as a navigable river, as it passed into the heart of the forest of Arndrede; of which forest they appear to have made but little use.

In speaking of the Brede river, Mr. Lower remarks that, after passing Winchelsea, it "loses itself in the ditches and sewers eastward of the town," whereas the fact is, that after passing Winchelsea till it unites itself with the Rother on the east side of the town of Rye, it is a large and considerable navigable river. It may be here

⁶ 15 S. A. C., p. 153.

remarked that the Brede, after leaving the valley above the present town of Winchelsea, anciently flowed along under the hill to the eastward, and so by the town of Rye into the Camber of Old Winchelsea; as is evidenced by the physical aspect of the hill land of Cadborough Cliff, it being rounded off and worn away on the *east* side in the same way as has been already noticed with respect to the Rother on the *western* side. These several features in respect of the hill land can be seen by reference to a good Ordnance map, which distinguishes the hill land from the marshes.

In writing respecting the Rother, sufficient notice has not been taken as to what was the actual state of its valley in the early historic period. That a portion of the Rother from the entrance of its valley to Newenden was at this time more of an inlet of the sea than a river, is shown by the state of the valley at the present day. The rise of the tide in the Bay of Rye is 20 feet, and the present *surface* of the land in the valley is below that line—quoting from the figures of the Ordnance Survey of 1870—on the east of Blackwall, 5 feet, on the west of Blackwall, in the Wet level, 12 feet, and on the north side of the channel, at Potmanshoath, 3 feet, and above Newenden bridge, on the south side of the river, 9 feet, below the rise of the tide in the Rye Bay. There are now about two feet of soil covering the Peat in the Wet level, and the surface of the land in this level is a clear indication of what was the bed of this inlet of the sea before any embankments were cast up, and when the sea had uninterrupted flow up and down the valley—as the peat would have been the bed of this inlet in the early historic period, there would have been a depth of water at all the spring tides up the valley to Newenden, or to “the two passages,” of 14 feet, with a general width of half-a-mile, which would make it partake of the appearance of an inlet of the sea, rather than a river, whereas writers have written respecting it, as though it was then something like what it is at the present day. Dugdale, in his “Imbanking,” in the plan there given, calls the river above Newenden the “Roberts-

bridge Bay." There being a depth of 9 feet below the level of high water in Rye Bay, and a width of something like a half-mile, it would not be inappropriately so called.

The figures as to the water level given above would show conclusively that the valley of the Rother was at a much lower level—nine feet—than the valley on the north side of the Isle of Oxney, so that the flow of the Rother water could not naturally have gone down on that side.

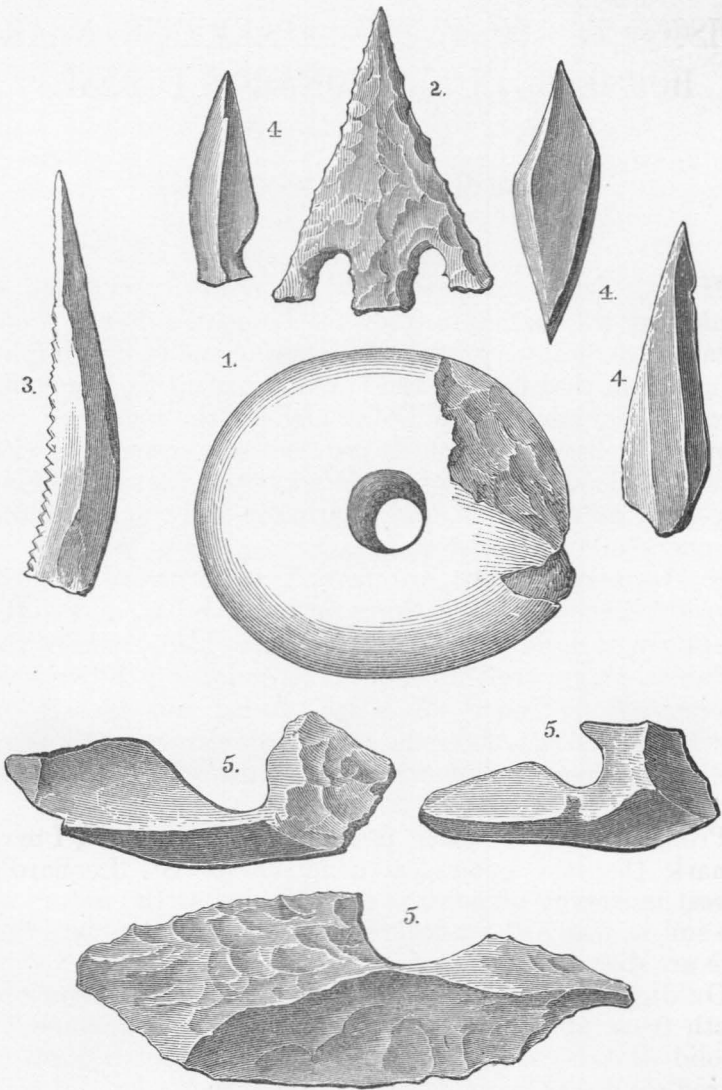
It has already been shown that the fall of the land in Romney marsh proper was from the east to the west. Again in that part of Romney marsh lying on the south side of the Rhee wall, called Walland marsh, the drainage is from east to west, or into the great Camber or channel under the hill, and in that part of Romney marsh called the East Guldeford level, the drainage is still from east to west into this same great Camber; this shows that originally there was a deep channel under the hill, so that these marshes all flowed their water that way, and united with the Rother.

I trust that sufficient has been stated to show that what has been commonly promulgated as to the flow of the waters, in the early historical period, issuing from the Rother, is fallacious, and that they did not find their way into the sea by the valley on the north side of the Isle of Oxney, and then under the hill to Hythe; that they were not diverted to Romney, or *afterwards* to Rye, but that Rye and Old Winchelsea always and from all time received the water of the Rother into their Camber, and after so receiving it, passed it to sea, some on each side of the Island of Old Winchelsea, and the remainder by the channel of the Wenway at Romney.

Mr. Lower, in concluding his remarks on the Rother,⁷ says: "Much more might be said respecting this river, but the most interesting features of its history and archæology are more connected with the County of Kent than with our own." That the Rother forms the boundary between the two counties for a portion of its course (which, however, does not of itself show that it is even

⁷ 15 S. A. C., p. 154.

here a part of Kent), and receives some of the Kent Wealden waters, may be admitted; but after performing its duty as a boundary line, which it does only for a distance of some 8 miles, it strikes westward, and thenceforth, during the remainder of its course till its rise at Rotherfield, lies entirely within Sussex, and must be considered to belong exclusively to that County, as much as the Arun, Adur, or Ouse, or its Western namesake.



FLINT IMPLEMENTS, FROM ST. LEONARD'S FOREST.

DISCOVERY OF FLINT IMPLEMENTS NEAR HORSHAM, IN ST. LEONARD'S FOREST.

By THOMAS HONYWOOD, Esq.

Having for some years past been busily engaged in exploring the Antiquities of St. Leonard's Forest, and obtained several very interesting specimens of flint implements from that part of the Forest adjacent to Horsham, through the kindness of Col. Aldridge, the owner of the property, I have been able to prosecute my researches with considerable success. A few remarks upon the subject may possibly, therefore, be read with interest by some of the members of our Society.

St. Leonard's Forest, as our readers are aware, extends over a tract of land reaching for many miles, and is exceedingly rich in natural products. Here, while the Botanist may revel for months in collecting the various interesting specimens of heath, ferns, and mosses in which the district abounds, the Geologist may think of the hidden treasures of other kinds also which lie buried beneath his feet.

Preparatory to entering further into my subject, I may remark that the geological condition of St. Leonard's Forest is worthy of note, as it will show us the nature of the soil in which those interesting specimens of the Flint Age are discovered.

On digging, I have invariably found the soil to vary in depth from about two feet to seven, when we come to a solid white sand rock, the soil above the rock consisting of red sand and loam, with here and there large black sandstone blocks cropping up. Before reaching the solid, compact, white sand rock, there is a layer of a white sand rock about two feet in thickness; and between this and

the compact rock we come upon a thin layer of loose sand about six or eight inches thick, in which we find a vast quantity of fossil wood, in broken specimens, which has evidently undergone the violent action of water.

It is in this stratum that I have recently met with many most interesting specimens of extinct animals, fossil bones of large size, and other objects of interest to the geological student, which are now in my possession.

While these, then, may be considered the older specimens discovered, yet upon this hard sandstone rock, and in the various strata above, we find the handiwork of man, the earliest workmanship of a race which has for ages passed away, leaving us evident traces of their ingenuity, skill, and design in the various flint implements they employed.

During the years I have followed out my researches in the forest, I have discovered thousands of specimens of antiquity connected with the Flint Age; and from what I can see from personal observation, I may fairly state that there must be many, many thousands of them yet undiscovered, scattered throughout the length and breadth of this large tract of country.

Among the various specimens which I have discovered, are flint chippings or flakes innumerable, arrow-heads, knives, spear-heads, saws, cores, and other interesting relics.

The soil in which the flint implements are found is that of the red sand and loam which I have above described, and on digging I have frequently discovered traces of burnt earth and charcoal at a depth of about four feet from the surface, and near this invariably I have found flints which have evidently undergone the action of fire; and near such spots I have generally discovered a larger number of specimens, also cores, from which the flakes were split off—and judging from this circumstance, we should naturally be led to conclude that our ancestors, after kindling a fire,¹ sat around it, and occupied their

¹ Their mode of obtaining fire might have been the same as all uncivilised races adopt, that of friction with pieces

of wood. The New Zealanders are well acquainted with that process of obtaining fire, even in the present day.

time in splitting off the numerous specimens of interest we discover.

As I have noticed, we find very large blocks of black sandstone rock, some measuring several feet in diameter, rolled into a round shape by the action of water. These rocks had evidently been used by our ancestors as a table on which they carried on their work of manufacturing the flint implements; for invariably I have found, where stones of this kind are met with, a very considerable quantity of flakes and cores lying by the side of the sand blocks.

In noticing particularly the specimens I have had the good fortune of digging up, I would mention especially those which have the appearance of saws. I have discovered several of these, and one especially, containing about 24 teeth, I should consider unique (Fig. 3). The teeth are extremely fine, and require a lens to see them to advantage.

As every specimen I dig up undergoes a minute examination with a high-power glass, nothing of any interest has, I think, escaped my observation.

The specimen that I have imagined to be a saw, might in all probability have been used as an instrument for tattooing (if, indeed, our ancestors practised that habit) by striking it on the flesh and filling up the punctures with carbon. Many other specimens, with teeth of much larger dimensions, I have discovered; which I think must have been used as saws.

Next we discover in this locality several beautifully manufactured flint arrow-heads (Fig. 2) and large spear-heads, the spear-heads measuring about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 2 inches wide; their use cannot be mistaken. They have a notch on each side for the purpose of fixing them to a shaft or handle.

In all the specimens I have discovered, there is evidently design, and an adherence to a certain plan or style of working them. For instance, we find numbers which are of round shape chipped into a round form; these, in all probability, were used as scrapers. Others take the form of drills, for making holes in the skins which probably formed their article of clothing.

Rude knives are very abundant; these were chipped off from large flints, and are about three inches and a half in length. Some were so split off as to be used with the left hand, but most we find are right-handed; some of them have been rubbed smooth at the top, and along the edge, and must have been used similarly to our bur-nishers, for smoothing down some object.

The next type (Fig. 4) is very curious. They are small, generally about one inch in length, some only half an inch, and about a quarter of an inch in width, and appear at first sight to be mere chippings or waste pieces, but, on examination, we find evident proof of design in their manufacture. Of this type I have dug up above 100 specimens, and every one alike, having a sharp point at the end, also a sharp cutting edge on the right side; but on the left side they are thick and chipped away, evidently for some special purpose. What their use was it is impossible to say, but as the manufacture of the barbed arrow-*heads* was a work of time and ran the risk of breaking, these specimens might have served as arrow-*points* in their stead, being fixed to a shaft of wood.

It is evident, then, that every portion of flint, however small it might be, was appropriated to the formation of some implement or other adapted to some special purpose; and if what we have hitherto considered to be waste pieces of flints or chippings, were carefully examined by the aid of a lens or powerful glass, I doubt not that we should find many most interesting specimens among them, which antiquarians might otherwise pass by as waste and useless.

Considering the distance our ancestors had to obtain the material upon which they had to work, they would naturally make every portion of it available for some useful implement or other. The nearest points from which they could obtain flint would be Reigate in Surrey, or from Findon in our own county, both places many miles distant from St. Leonard's Forest.

The flints found in the neighbourhood of Reigate are generally of a darker colour than those near Findon. Several of the flint flakes I have dug up are quite

black when first dug out, but it is somewhat curious that, after exposure to the atmosphere for a few minutes, they change from a deep black to a comparatively light grey colour; the extreme age that they may have been buried may have something to do with this change. I have noticed it in several instances, and when I have flattered myself on possessing a beautiful *black* flint knife, it has, like a dissolving view, passed off into a different tint altogether!

Among the thousands of specimens that I have dug up, there are three, represented on Fig. 5, which are curious, and differ from any which I have yet discovered; they are deeply cut in or notched, similar to one engraved in a former paper in our "Collections"² on the Cissbury Flint Implements. What their use could have been it is somewhat difficult to determine. They might have been used as small lance-points, or for the purpose of fishing, something similar to the fish-hooks used by the South Sea Islanders. This type is perhaps the rarest to meet with—I have only found three out of the great number of specimens I have dug up.

Stones with a circular hole through the centre are occasionally met with in this district, but are somewhat rare. I have only one from this neighbourhood (Fig. 1). These may probably have been used as hammers. The one from this district is rather a large one, and measures in its natural size, 5 inches in length by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in width; the circular hole is three-quarters of an inch.

It is somewhat remarkable that, out of the great quantity of earth that I have moved, no human bones have been met with. There is the workmanship (in abundance) of a race of human beings which at one time must have peopled this part of the country in great numbers, but not a single skeleton or fraction of human bone itself have I been able to discover. A few bones of animals I have dug up among the flint implements; a portion, for example, of the jaw of what I believe to be a wolf; also, nearly a perfect skull of some animal, the name of which I am not able to make out, but which is

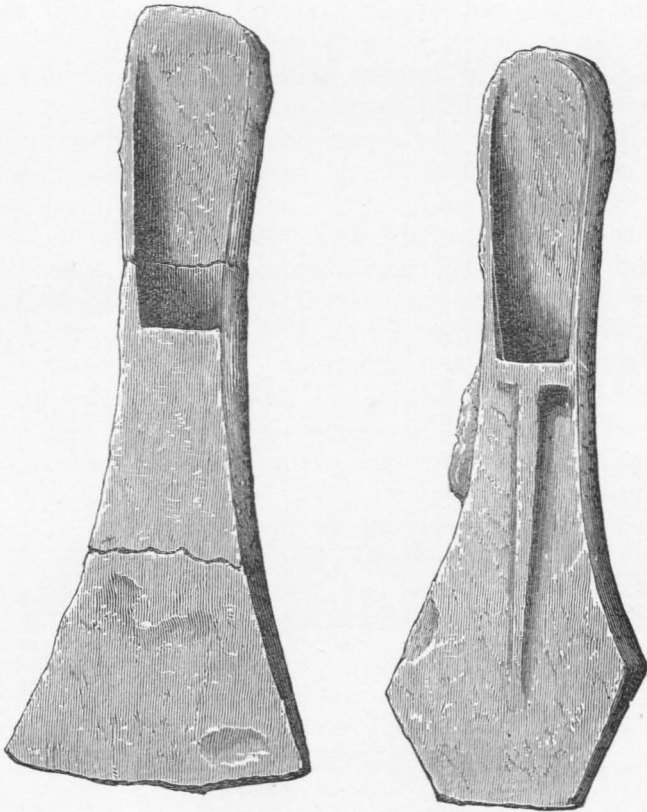
² 24 S. A. C., 157, Pl. No. 4.

evidently that of a ruminant. Consequently we may naturally infer that this animal was used as food by this ancient people; no other bones were found with it—the skull only.

In St. Leonard's Forest, about a quarter of a mile from where I have been carrying on my researches, are a number of round basin-shaped pits; these have the name in the neighbourhood of "*The Mine Pits*," in allusion to the time when the iron ore was dug in this forest; but my impression is that they were not made for that purpose, inasmuch as it would not be at all likely that in digging out the iron ore which abounds in the forest, the plan of working or digging should, in every case, be of a circular form, for in my diggings I have several times come across spots where the miners had excavated the earth, and the iron ore had been taken away, and on one occasion I came upon one of their tools—a pickaxe of curious shape—left by them in the earth. The socket or eye of the pickaxe, instead of being round or oval, as in ordinary ones, is square; the large, rude nail driven through the top into the handle, is still rusted in it: the shape of this pickaxe is well adapted for the use for which it was designed. Where this was found the ground was perfectly flat, and not basin-shaped.

My opinion with regard to the round pits so numerous in the forest is, that they were dwelling-places for our ancestors of the Flint Age.

During the present year I intend resuming my diggings, and shall particularly pay attention to these curious pits. Should I discover at the bottom traces of burnt earth, or any other objects of interest, it will, I think, establish the fact of their being (at a remote age) residences for that ancient race—a people who must have had their existence at a very early period of the world's history—and although it is impossible to define the exact time when they commenced their existence, a definition so perplexing to the antiquary, yet we may well conjecture it from the discovery of the immense number of flint implements manufactured and used by them at a time when the use of metal was entirely unknown to them,



BRONZE CELTS, FROM BILLINGSHURST.

for had they been conversant with the latter, they would gladly have availed themselves of it, and substituted it in the place of flint. Judging, then, from the incredible numbers of flint implements found in almost every country in the world—in England, America, Norway, Germany, Italy, Ireland, and many other localities—and considering, too, their entire ignorance of the various metals and their uses, and as we *can* define a period when metals were used by the ancients, we may reasonably conclude that this singular race of human beings may have had their existence at least 5,000 years ago.

And it is owing to the imperishability and indestructible nature of the material (flint) used in the manufacture of the various implements we find, that we have preserved to us the beautiful and interesting specimens of the handiwork of this most ancient race of people.

A few months ago, some workmen employed in draining some land at Hammer Farm, Billingshurst, came upon some Bronze Celts, five in number. They were brought to Horsham, and sold as old metal, and were finally purchased by me, and are now secured in my collection of antiquities. As their shape somewhat differs from the usual type of Bronze Celts, being broader at the end, we have given an engraving of two of them, reduced from their natural size, which is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in width at the chisel end, and 1 inch where fixed to the shaft. One was broken by the workmen.

THE JOURNAL OF MASTER NATHANIEL COURTHOP.

WITH NOTES BY THE LATE MARK ANTONY LOWER, F.S.A.



BAY-WINDOW, GODDARD'S GREEN (OR WARDS), CRANBROOK.
The Seat of the Courthopes of Kent (from whom the Sussex family are
descended).

[I think our Society cannot be too careful in confining their pens to matters purely *Sussexiensia*; and I would venture to request our kind contributors to endeavour to do so in future as far as possible. Our very name, "*Sussex Archæological*," seems to point to this as a duty. Let us strive to make the History of our County as perfect as possible. But we have no business to travel out of it.

Feeling this very strongly, I have naturally been reluctant in giving a place in our volumes to the following paper, especially as I had already been compelled to reject one of greater *general* interest from the same feeling. I hope, however, that the Society will agree with me that I could not act otherwise on the present occasion, and that circumstances have obliged, or at least justified me in making an exception in favour of Mr. Lower's paper. *It had been accepted by the Committee*, when I succeeded to the Editorship, and it was due, therefore, I think, to them, and perhaps to Mr. Lower himself, to respect their decision. Moreover, it is the compilation of one, and had, as I understand, been approved by another, of our most valued and energetic contributors, both of whom have been removed from us by death since our last volume appeared. It may, therefore, be regarded as a sort of posthumous work; and it seemed to me a fitting mark of respect to them, to give to the world one more, and the last, of the productions in which they were jointly engaged.

EDITOR.]

The following interesting narrative, though not relating to Sussex Archæology, will, probably, please many readers of our "Collections," since it was written by a gentleman of great enterprise and skill, who was a collateral ancestor of our ancient and highly-esteemed Sussex families, Courthope of Whiligh, and Campion of Danny.

"Master Nathaniel Courthop" was born in Kent, in which county his ancestors had flourished for many generations, though they originated at Lamberhurst, in Sussex, and took their name from lands in that parish, still called Courthope.¹ The accompanying woodcut represents his birth-place.

The MS. now before me is a copy of the autograph original, and was made by my late friend, William Courthope, Esq., *Somerset Herald*.

The full title of the MS. is "THE JOURNAL OF MASTER NATHANIEL COURTHOP, his Voyage from Bantam to the Ilands of Banda, being Chief Commander of the two

¹ See *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 72.

Ships, the *Swanne*, Admirall; Master Davis, Master; and the *Defence*, Vice-Admirall; Master Hincheley, Master; together with his Residence in Banda, & occurrences there; contayning the differences in those parts betwixt the English & Hollanders contracted." A note adds: "Let none accuse me for tediousnesse, or being too punctuall in this relation: seeing the Dutch pestilence grew principally from hence: and hence may his Majesty's right to these Ilands be knowne to future ages: for which I adde this witness after Spurway."²

I.

"English kindnesses to the Dutch: the surrender of Poolaroon to His Majestie, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch hostilitie, their taking the Swanne, Salomon, and Attendance, and keeping the Defence, betrayed by fugitives and other wrongs.

English kindnesses to the Dutch at Maccasser: of these things see before in Spurway, Chap. 3. Other kindnesses to the Hollanders: Good sown in ill ground.

"We set saile from Bantam the last day of October, 1616, and arrived at Maccasser 17th Novr. with the *Swanne*: the *Defence* came in the 19th, where I went on shore to get readie our provision of goods & rice, having no goods as then in Bantam, to serve those places; but had commission to take them here; where I found small store, the chiefest being 100 Quians of Rice. 5 Dec^r. I spyed a boate amongst the shore, being a Skiffe of the Hollanders come from their Ship (which was in the Offing) thinking that they had a factory here: but I soon certified them it was dissolved—the people their enemies. Whereupon they entreated me to stand their friend, & I forthwith went to the King & entreated him to dismisse them, in that they came ignorantly, who at my request let them goe, giving them warning not to attempt the shoare a second time. So being night I

² One might imagine that the frequent mention in these pages of "Spurway" implies a printed book; but it simply means that Spurway, like Master

Courthop himself, kept a Journall, which seems to have come into the latter's possession.

wished them to go aboard my ship to refresh themselves & to depart at their pleasure. That night their Pinnasse went out to sea, but missed their ship, which came the next day into the Road, and not understanding the news, sent their long-boat towards the shoare, which the King of Maccasser perceiving, sent a number of prowes, which surprized her, & slue every man of them, being sixteen in number.

“The 9 Dec^r. we set sail for Banda, with the Hollander in our Company, & being clear of Maccasser, relieved them at their request with fresh water, & sold them two quines of Rice with some few Hennes, & racke” (*arrack*, a spirituous liquor), “keeping company as far as Amboyne. Hence we proceeded, & the 23^d Dec^r. being neare Polarooone, sent my Skiffe ashore to understand the state of the Ilanders, who were glad of our comming, as beeing not able to hold out longer against the Hollanders’ oppression, keeping them from reliefe of victuals.

“The same day came to anchor at Polarooone: the Arankayes came aboard, & I enquired of them whether there had beene any former contract betweene them & the Hollanders, who certified me that there had beene none at all. Then according to my Commission, I required them to surrender their land to the King’s Majesty of England, which they presently did: Polarooone resigned to His Majestie. & drew articles of trade & conditions to be observed betwixt us, which they agreed on. We spread St. George upon the Iland³ & shot off most of our ordnance.

“The 25 Dec^r. we saw a Holland Ship Fortifying there. coming from the Westwards, & forthwith upon councill landed three peeces of ordnance out of the Swanne: & mounted them upon a cliffe fittest for the purpose, & made what haste we could to fit a platform for them. We landed three other peeces of Ordnance & mounted them on a point of land which commanded the Road: thus fitted I landed most of the goods & settled a factory.

³ That is, of course, the English red-cross banner of St. George. I dare say

“Master Admirall” felt very proud!

“Upon the 3rd Jan there came three Flemmish Ships into the Road, flourishing with their Trumpets, & came to anchor by us: Wee fitted our Shippes for fight & I sent Master Muschamp aboard the Admirall to certify them of the surrender, as also to demande if they could lay any claim to the said land. They answered, No. I further offered them water, or any thing the land affoorded: but they plainly told me they came for no such thing: whereupon I told them the Countrey people would not suffer them to ride there under their noses; and that they had been doing, but I caused them to forbear: & perceiving their intent to surprize us, & fearing they would lay us aboard in the night, I told them I could not stay the countrey people any longer, yf they were not gone before two glasses were runne. They thereupon weighed & departed. The 4th there came a Holland Boat & sounded all alongst the little Iland, at which Master Hinchley shot from the land, but hit her not, & they departed.

The Swan taken by the Dutch; see the manner of their unmannerlisse in Spurway.

Master Sophonia Cozack.

“The Swan being delivered, Master Davis would goe water at Wayre, obstinately contrarying my Command. I being then very sicke came aboard the Defence, & sent Sophonie aboard the Swan which departed January the 18th. I after had uncertaine newes, that the Hollanders had taken her, and sent the Sewes⁴ over to Lantore to heare the newes, which brought word that the Swan was in Nero Road.

“On the seven and twentieth of February I sent Robert Hayes to the Hollander with a flagge of truce, to demand the reason of taking her. Their reason was, wee came yeerly to make our voyage, and lade our ships, & be gone; they had the brunt of the warre, and wee came sneaking to doe them injurie. And further they said, that the States of Holland and the Lords of the Councell should conferre of this business: and being demanded

Dutch peevishnesse: *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes* (?)

⁴ Sewes, searchers or enquirers after news or intelligence.

the manner of her taking they said, 'Time should bring it forth.' And further threatned to bring the Defence out of the Road. They asked what men we had at Wayre and Rosingeng and said they would fetch them out of those places. They also sent a writing, the effect whereof was, That the wrongs wee offered them could no longer be endured, and that they would have one sent over to come to composition with them. Hereupon by councill it was agreed for the safety of our ship, lives and goods, to land all our provisions on the small Iland, with most of the men to manage the Ordnance, which being subscribed by Corthop, Spurway, Hinchley, Hayes, Stacy [and] Helmore, and the second of March to be put in execution, none else of the Ships companie would yeeld thereto, but would keepe the ship to death. The seventh of March a letter was brought from Xero by a Hollander with a flagge of truce from Master Davis part whereof I have transcribed: 'Master Courthop commendations &c. The admirall and the rest have settled their resolutions to have you off from Polarooone according to their commission, and I know that unlesse you doe talke together there will be much slaughter about it: For they are all double-mann'd from their Castles, and must fight it out as I have proved alreadie. For they did shoote at me twice before I began, although I was in the sea eight leagues off when they chased me. We faught almost boord and boord for the space of one houre and a halfe, untill they had killed five men, maymed three, and hurt eight. And when wee began wee had not thirty men able to doe any thing, nor no winde to work withall &c.'

"I answered by a letter to them that we doubted of their message and letter, except they would send an Englishman, one of the ship's companie, to notifie things unto us: that we heard they had murdered our men in cold blood: and as they pretended commission to beat us off, we had commission to maintayne the Kings Majestie's Right of England. We thus sought to prolong time for our better fortification: and the same night sent Ordnance and Muniton to the little Iland of Neylackey,

Neylackey, a little
Island by Polaroone,
fortified.

which maketh the Road: and if they had planted there as they pretended, they would have beaten all our ships out of the Road, and have kept all reliefe from the great Iland, so that we must have beene gone for want of food. The tenth of March came a Hollander with Master Davies' boy and a Letter from him, to signifie, that after the Flagge was furled, not one man was meddled with: Sophonie was the first man torn in pieces with a great shot &c. This letter came with other Dutch letters: but we being almost readie for them, wrote them an absolute answere, that if we should come into their subjection as they desire, we should shew ourselves no true subjects to his Majestie: and that our resolution was to stand to all hazards whatsoever, March 11th.

“On the fourteenth it was concluded by councell, to bring ashoare our Provisions and to bring the Ship about: her cables twice cut in two with the Rocks, and now having but two anchors to sea boord. But finding her leake, and unlikely to be brought about, wee agreed to bring her ashoare under the Defence's fort. Master Hinchley on the eighteenth came to an anchor neerer into the Bay, leaving aboard John King Boatson (boatswain) with some twenty more; and on the twentieth, in the morning, the ship was driven almost as farre as Lantore: which when they which were asleep in the ship perceived, and asked the reason, John King answered: Tell the Master, I had the watch, and being asleepe, the ship drove. Thus some went into the Long Boate, the rest, which were compacted, stayed behinde, and when the long boate was come away, they set their fore course and went into Xero road, and delivered the Ship to the Hollanders.”

II.

“THE *Defence betrayed by perfidious knaves to the Hollanders. King, Christmas, Howres, Harris, Bridges, Rockwell, Carter, Taylor, & Woodlocke. See what a Dutch prison will do; together with lying pretences of the Hollanders & fugitives.*

“The Devill was also a Lyer & Murtherer from the beginning.

“Thus did the Dutch with Generall Riall, Wry & all; I dare not say LYE ALL in pretence of Commission & the king’s letter.

“The first of April, 1617, the Flemmings sent over letters with a flagge of truce, one from Master Davis to urge a composition, advising very passionately, ‘If I lose any more men by your arrogance, as here I have lost by sicknesse already, their lives and blouds shall rest upon your heads and your faction, and this I will write with dying hand, God give me leave: for what they doe or have done, their Commission will beare them out in: and are contented to let the law decide betweene our Masters and theirs, or will come to any reasonable matter of friendship, that no more bloud may be spilt on either side: For I plainly see how you carry it. You have caused the Master of the Defence to land his peeces ashoare from his ship, and make wracke of her to drive up and down. Is it in our hands to defend an army that have order for what they doe?’ He proceedeth to an in-

(Take this as the fugitives’ & Hollanders’ reports.)

vective, that they would defend treacherous Bandaneses, who are at Banda daily, to make a peace with the Hollanders, that they may have time to cut your throates, &c.

“I made answeare to the Hollanders, promising upon such two stayes to come and conferre withall, redemanding the Defence with her men and goods. Those pledges came not, but two others, and on the 6th went to Nero.⁵ Where the next day the Generall and Councill offered me restitution of ships, goods, men, and all losses whatsoever, on condition I should take off my Ordnance from Polaroone, and Neylackey, and leave the Iland: to which I answered, I could not unlesse I should turn Traytor unto my King and Countrey, in giving up that right which I am able to hold; and also betray the Countrey people, who had surrendered up their land to our

⁵ This place is spelt indifferently name in the Atlas. Xero and Nero; but I find no such

King's Majestie, but promised to confer with my counsell, and send them an absolute answer. I returned the eighth and sent him his pledges: The next day I called a counsell, shewed my commission, where it was resolved to send word to Bantam, and a resolute answer to the Hollanders, that we could not give away the King's right without treason: and to betray the Ilanders his subjects were both unchristian falsehood, and unreason-

able folly to incur their fury. But if New proffers. Riall's threats.

the Dutch would restore the Defence with men and goods, and helpe to convey them to Bantam, giving under their hands that no attempt should be made against the two Ilands, till it be decided in England or Bantam, then &c. They returned the Messenger to advise mee, by writing to consider it, and send my full resolution in three dayes, or else he would bring all his forces and take us perforce. He not comming we fitted a praw⁶ to send news to Bantam, and demande ayde, wherein went Master Spurway, Master Hinchley, Christopher the Flemmish fugitive, whom doubting, I gave order to leave at Maccasser. I wrote a letter of occurrents to Bantam, signifying also the Dutch bravadoes (which they had made Master Davis believe) as that they

The copie of the letter for the length I durst not transcribe: a great part being the same that before you have read. — Reasonable offers made, if to reasonable men: but when conscience is removed from the hart to [the] hilt, & reason from the brain to the point of the Sword, Reason & Religion shall be no better dealt with, than the English & Bandan-eses here were.—And note that the Hollandt ers can shew no rights to the Ilands, but *ju- in armis*.

had our King's letters totake any of us to the East of Celebes: He offered, 'If they could shew such letters, he would give up all, or if they could shew any surrender made to them by the Natives, or if they would carry us to Bantam, and not meddle, till there or in England things be decided: that the Hollanders are hated of all nations in those parts: that they vaunt they have the Copies of the Companies Commission before any Ships come forth: that no English Generall hath the King's Commission: that they bring letters from Petty Kings (which are reputed as their slaves) as of

Amboyna and Hetto with the like, that if the Bandāneses

⁶ *Praw*, a message boat?

will have their Countries in peace they must submit themselves to the Hollanders, for that no nation can compare to them: (with request of supply the next winds) that he could have had all Lantore Ilands delivered to him, but did not thinke it fit, having no goods or victualls for them: which, if it come in two dayes, will be done: the small league they enter with the Hollander being but to sustayne their hunger all of them being agreed to have no other peace with them &c.'

"The fifth of June the Holland Generall, Laurence Ryall, in a small ship came within a shot of our fort, upon Neylackey, having heard by the Defence fugitives that most of our men would runne away, if they had opportunity: but he expecting them in the Skyffe was welcomed from me with fourteene Shot, that a man was not seene to trimme the Sails, but they bore up the helme & departed. I sent another Prow with advice for Bantam, lest the former might miscarry by Master Stacy, which departed the 8th July.

"The 24th December we had newes that the men of Lantore had detayned 7 Hollanders of their Chiefe & their goods killing one of them in the taking, the other ransomed for 85 Bandanases & so the league was broken: The 23 Feb^r I had newes that the Prow in which Master Stacy went was cast away & the King of Botton lent them another for Maccasser. The 12th March we felt a terrible Earthquake.

"The 25th March 1618 we saw two of our Ships about some 5 leages from Polarooone comming from the Westwards, with the very last of the Westerly Windes, & then being taken with an Easterly winde, which brought the foure Holland Ships (these we had seene looking out from the twentieth day) with them, the great Bantam, the Prow, the Star & the Swanne. These fought with them from 2 of the clocke till nine at night. The fight was in sight of Polarooone some legues off, & at midnight came the Attendance Skiffe ashore at Polarooone with 24 Bandanases, who told of three Ships, the

Fight of the Hollanders with the English, and taking two ships more, the Salomon and the Attendance, deepe laden with Rice, Clothes of divers kinds &c, as I have seen of Master Balls hand.

Solomon, the Thomas, & the Attendance; & how the Thomas had left them in the Streights of Desolam, & never was seene after, & that the Ships could no longer indure the Fight, because the Solomon could not use her lower teere, & their powder was naught. The 26th we lost sight of all the Ships, & on the 29th all six came into Nero Road, where the Hollanders wore our Colours under their Ships Sternes in a disgracefull manner.

*“THE Manner of the taking the Solomon & Attendance in divers letters described, Dutch abusive devices by lies to delude and dishearten our Men; divers extracts of letters of Maaster Corthop with other occurrents.”*⁷

“The first of April Robert Fuller brought newes from Lantore that the Bandanesees were most of them slaine by the Hollanders (in taking the Ships) & that they fezed (*sic*) the Hollanders twice over boord & slew many of them, but were oppressed with the number.

“On the 14th a Hollander with a flag of truce brought mee a letter from Master Cesarian David, Commander of the Three Ships aforesaid, in these words.”

(Then follows the letter dated Poolaway, 14th April 1618 stating the loss of his Ship, asking his advice & praying him to come over.)

Next follows a letter from George Jackson dated “aboord the Trow in Nero Road 26th April 1618,” giving an account of the engagement & signed

Your ever loving friend here now Prisoners
Geo. Jackson, in the behalfe of Jacob Lane,
Bartholomew Churchman & the rest.

Next follows a letter from Master Lane master of the Soloman now abroad the Trow of Amsterdam in Nero Road 12 April giving also an account of the battle & concluding “Thus with my love unto you with the rest of your Company, I cease, beseeching God to blesse you in your proceedings and deliver us

⁷ In Master Corthop's Journall are him. (An interpolation in another Copies of Letters sent by him or to hand.)

out of the hands of these Tyrants, & send us all a joyful meeting. Your friend to his poore power to Command

Jacob Lane.

Another letter from Geo: Jackson dated "Adie in the Prison of the Castle Pooloway" concluding, "Thus not willing to be over tedious, I beseech you good Sir, to consider our Misery, & doe what may be for our releavement. Your ever loving friend
to command

Geo Jackson."

"I sent an answer offering upon pledges to come over to Poolaway in the Vessell which they should come in.

"The 17th Aprill the Orrenkayes of Lantore came over to me to conferre about keeping the Iland another yeare, whiche they promised, to keepe out the Hollander from trading with them, onely relying upon our Forces the next yeare. The 18 by a praw that went to Bottoone, I sent a letter for Bantam, to be conveyed by that King (?) to our Factorie at Maccasser, signifying the taking of those Ships, the unadvisednesse of sending them so unseasonably (for one day sooner had brought them in, neither was there above half a day of Westerly winds to bring them to Nero) that many poore men were slaine, maymed or held in slaverie worse then Turkish Slaves; & had not four or five Java Junckes come in, for want of articles we must also have given up, & still live on Rice only with a little Fish, which in foule weather is not to be had, daily expecting an assault from the Hollanders & wish it not so much able to stand out, as willing to make them pay deare &c. We send another also for refreshment to the Factor of Maccasser.

Mr Courthop's letter
to Mr Ball.

"The 20th April we were advertized that within two days the Hollanders would assaile us, but they came not. The 30th they trained their Men, about seven hundred. I sent another letter to Master Ball (where in relating the Fight these words are used) The Attendance before they yeilded gave the Bandanezes their small Boat: so

they escaped to Polarooome. But the Salomon was so belayd that the Bandanezes could not goe out of her. Master Cessarion yeelded in that manner, that if I had beene in his place, before I would have done it, I would have sunke downe right in the Sea: Thus he did fore-tell his own death in the cause & manner. That was in this manner after they had fought from two till nine at night, being almost boord & boord. The Dutch called unto him to take in his colours, strike his Sayles & come himself aboard, which all hee did. They detaigned him & his Boat, so our men in the Ship played a good & wise part likewise, for they perceiving their Commander kept aboard the Dutch Shippes, went & got the Bandanezes Swords, & hid them from them, only two of them kept their Swords privately: nineteene had no weapons & stowed themselves in the Ship, & some eight or ten of them with their Creezes & two Swords at the Hollanders entring of our Ships killed the Hollanders, at least 40 of them, & hurt divers more of them; most of this slaughter being done by two of the Bandanezes only. For at their entering our men kept themselves in the fore-Castle apart, whilst the Bandanezes fought; but at last being taken the Hollanders killed some 12 & saved seven of the yongest. So farre as I can perceiue, they neither respect right nor justice, but stand altogether upon force & armes. I have but thirtie eight Men to withstand their force & tyranny, our wants extreme, neither have we victuals or drink, but only rice & Water. The have at present 8 Ships here & two gallies, & to my knowledge, all fitted to come against us. I look daily & howerly for them &c. He signified also both to him & in a letter to the Factor at Maccasser, that he had not since first he came into these Ilands received one letter or advice from any English.

“In a letter from Master Lane to Mr. Courthop, is written that he had sent away the Bandanezes, but one Richard Tawton Masters Mate of the Thomas would not suffer it, for feare of the Dutch severitie; & that they seeing no remedie, shot William Shopley, after Mast, & cut the eare of the Gunners mate neer off. Another

they ranne thorow the backe. This is like to be the cause of taking away their Swords.

“The 7th May the Salomon went from Nero laden. The 25th the Hollanders gave an assault on Lantore landing eight Companies of Souldiers, contayning about 500 Men, but were repulsed with losse of foure of theirs & one Bandaneze. The 22nd for further Certaintie I sent another letter to Master Ball.

“The 28th June I had a letter sent mee from Master Cassarian David, wherin he signifieth the Dutch threats of perpetuall imprisonment, if I came not to better Consideration; which I answered repelling the Hollanders lies Dutch lies to scare the English, and cawse their imprisonment. ‘touching the Attendant’s boat taken up by them with bloud,’ & another that I should send the Generall a letter to surrender the small Iland, & that I have but ten English here; also that the Blackes had possession of my Ordnance &c.

“The last of June Master Ball’s letter was sent me by Master Lane, which is as followeth”—

Here followeth M. Ball’s letter dated Bantam 7 Jan 1617, acknowledging the receipt of his (M. Courthop’s) by Master Thomas Spurway & 30 June by Master Stacy, exhorting to make good what he had, trusting for forces the next yeare.

“The 7th July I sent Robert Hayes to Lantore to view the Road, what convenient place our Ships might ride in, free from Shot of (the) New Castle, & what place wee might plant Ordnance to defend our Ship & endamage the Hollanders which returned with a draught of the Roads there on the 18th. The 22nd I wrote again by a Java Juncke to Master Ball touching the taking of the Ships, the Hollanders proud wearing our Colours at their sterne & a long time never ceasing shooting day nor night as though they had taken half the goodes in the World. The third of this present, the Generall with five Ships set Saile to the Westwards, sending me word some foure dayes before, that he would come by me, & send me some flying Messengers to know I did: but like a bragging, lying &c—

“The 2 Aug: I sent Master Muchamp in a Banda Praw, with the Sabander of Pooloway & Inche Fungall to give intelligence at Bantam; by whom I writ, touching the intollerable pride & tyrannie that the Hollanders useth in these parts upon us both, in bodies & name, & that with a good conscience we may proceed in regard to the outrage & infamie they have offered us in these parts, both in disgracefull speeches to our King & Nation, & in their barbarous tyrannie they have used to our weake forces being captivated by them; having written how we may offend them by planting Ordnance at Oretaton, &c.

“The 13th Aug. then came fiteene Portugals borne at Goa (which had been surprized by the Hollanders) from Nero in a Praw, & I gave them entertaynment. The 15th I received a letter from Master Cassarian David in the name of the English at Poolaway, urging ‘to right what was amisse⁸ & to call conscience to the Barre’ (words shewing what a hard imprisonment & faire glosses may doe with impotent & impatient spirits) which I answered the next day, both with best reason & sending them reliefe. I received also a letter from Master Willes as followeth.”

(Then follows a letter from Master Willes, dated Pooloway 15 Aug: 1618—& also a letter from Kellum Throgmorton.)

“The 19th, Master David sent me a letter from Master Ball bearing date 26th Jan: expressing his cares & endeavours for furthering the Banda businesse, ‘That it falleth out so late in the yeare⁹ before I send unto you hath been caused through discord betwixt Captain P. & myselfe, who of himself weake & extreame covetous, & instigated by his proud & insolent Masters did obstinately insist

Disagreement of the English, advantageous to the Dutch: I had the whole letter, which being long, I have expressed this onely.

⁸ (Interpolated note). M. Courthop’s magnanimous mind is not more seene in withstanding the Hollanders’ wrongs, than in bearing the impatience of his Countreyemen, impotently urging right.

⁹ It must be remembered that before the New Style was introduced the 26th of January was late in the year.—M. A. L.

to crosse our designs, thinking to bring us under his command. If this Captaine & his Masters had beene, they had this yeare come for Banda, to have made further tryall of these Flemmings, that threaten fire and sword, but have sent only two or three Shippes, that are worst able to hold out, which if not catched up by the Flemming will be sufficient. But if taken, the losse will be the lesse unto us. I shall not be able to send you Beefe, Porke or Powder for your reliefe, because I can get none from these new come Ships, how much it doth grieve us, that wee are able to doe no better &c.'

“The Commander Captain Derickson used the English Prisoners with some kindnesse, & more would, but for Rials strict command: Some of the Dutch kind to the English. Derickson's kindnesse. him therefore I did write unto, with thankses &c—who also passed on the 23rd Aug, by the Iland of Neylackey, & strooke his mayne top sayle & there was shot in kindnesse on either part some five or sixe peeces; he going for the Moluccas. The 26th the Hollanders' Frigate, fetching water at Salamor, was beset by Lantore men, one killed & divers hurt, & had beene all taken but for discovery by Salomon men.

“The 10th Sep: I sent William Newbegin with supply & two goates, twelve henns, Mackerell, Oranges & other trifles to the English at Pooloway. The messenger returned with a letter from Master Cassarian David, commending the usage of the Captain The Captaine, his kindnesse to the English. since the departure of the Commander, in what he might be bold without offending orders prescribed unto him, that the Salomon & Thomas were sent away with goods and Victuals, & 21 dayes after the Attendance wherein I was to shape my course directly for Poolarooke; but by reason the Salomon & Thomas both ware their flagges on the mayne top, & that in sight, in going out of the Road of Bantam, the President thinking English dissentions & vanity. it done in pride by the two Ships' Masters; as also shaping a forbidden course for Water at Pontang: therefore it was decreed that I should

first goe to Maccasser, then to take the government of the three Ships & dispose them after the order of a Fleet. If it had not been for striving for authoritie betweene Captain P. & Captain B. you should have benee visited last yeere with the Charles & the Unicorne, & other good Ships. But multitude of Commanders maketh a confused Government, which is the only cause of our & your faring the worse this yeare &c."

(Here followeth letter from the English at Amboyna to Master David.)

"I received Copies of certaine Notes, the first, a Petition of the English for shift of Clothes & to be freed of Irons in the daytime; which was in some sort granted. The second, that each Man might come before the Generall to speake for his Libertie, which would not be granted. The third, that the Dutch Generall might give us an Old Ship, Pinnasse or Prow to carry us to Bantam, or that he would sett a ransome upon the English Prisoners; which he would neither grant, nor hear of, but answered, that he would keepe us prisoners so long as any English were upon Polaroone; the 7th June we were sent for Pooloway: The fourth humble Petition of the Prisoners in Nero Road. The 4 June 1618, 'Humbly shewing unto your good Lordship that whereas your Lordship's poore Petitioners & Prisoners being altogether doubtfull of any speedie Releasement, & desirous to avoid the danger of sicknesse & Mortalitie, incident to all men in these unwholsom Cuntries, do therefore beseech your Lordship, that it may stand with your Lordship's pleasure to grant unto your Lordship's said Petitioners to go for Holland this yeare in your Lordship's Ships. And so your Lordship's poore Prisoners shall doe our best endeavours to doe your Lordship's service, in our passage, wishing there may be a good end of all these differences; & thus hoping of your Lordship's favourable charitie herein towards us poore prisoners; we will pray for the prosperous success

Petitions of the English Prisoners to the Dutch Generall cruelly rejected.

of your Lordship's affaires.' The Petition would be granted. The fifth, on the 2^d July: Humbly sheweth unto your Lordship, that we poore prisoners now in this Castle of Pooloway doe petition unto your Lordship, that we may be allowed such victuals as may sustaine our bodies without famishment, & that your Lordship will be pleased to spare us money to buy such things as are needfull for us, for our clothing at this time is but very bare; wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take some course for us before your Lordship's departure from hence. Likewise we beseech your Lordship that we may be suffered to walke abroad at severall times, as your Lordship shall be pleased to give order. And so your Lordship's poore Prisoners shall pray for the goode successe of your Lordship's affairs—which would not be (was not?) granted."

III.

"Other Acts of the Hollanders in divers places of the Indies: Encouragements from Sir Thomas Dale, Master Jordan & others, & various events in those parts till his Death.

"The 27th Sep^r: I sent Robert Hayes with a white flagge to visit the English Prisoners, & to carrie such refreshments as Polaroone affordeth, who being kindly used by the Hollanders returned that night. The 28th Oct: I likewise sent Arthur Atkinson to Pooloway with refreshments. The 10th Nov^r an ambushment ashoare at Oretaton, but caught one slave only whom they cut to pieces. The 13th Dec^r there arrived a Keydusa Prow laden with Coco Nuts: she brought Newes of the Thomas. newes that Sir Thomas was gone for the Moluccas.

"The 14th Jan: I had provisions from Lantore, with Abraham that went with Master Mustian for Maccasser, who by the unskilfulnesse of the Pilot fell with Rosinging an Iland sixe leagues to leewards to our great trouble, to fetch provisions in small Boats hither. He brought divers letters, one from Master Staver- M. Staverton's letter. ton, in which is mention of the Hollanders, that

through their brutish usage & rapine, taking of Junckes of all places, they have excluded themselves all Java & the Rice Countries except where they hold by force: for Bantam, Jacatra, & Japara I referre you to the Presidents Letter.

“The 22^d Nov^r last, here came three of their great Ships braving to this place & first came to an anchor off Tenna-cooke Castle without shewing any Colours. And at night it being faire moone light, they came neerer into the Road; and one of them went & rode under the Iland, under point Jantava. And in the morning they commanded two Java Junckes of Jacatra, having in them some 50 quoine of Rice, & by the Java Nochoda sent a letter ashoare to the King & great men of Macasser, pretending debts & required satisfaction for their mens lives murthered 2 yeares since, which they would balance with so many lives of men of qualitie at Maccasser: the King sent an answer, what I knowe not, & they writ again, but hee answered not. They burnt one of the Java Junckes, & on the 26th. set sayle as we conjecture for Amboyna. The last yeare I

The goods in the Ships which the Dutch took. wrote what provision I laded in the

Ship Salomon one hundred & one quoine, three hundred and seven q: of Rice, in the Thomas seventie five q: eightie four q:. On the Attendance sixteen q: five hundred and seventie six q: eight hundred sixtie five Jarres of Aracke, most upon the Thomas; also sending other provisions divided upon the Ships wiche with Racke (arrack) & Rice amounted to three thousand nine hundred & sixteen Mas.¹⁰ What provision was laded from Bantam & Jacatra I know not; and, but for prolixitie, I had added the Invoice of goods from theme.

“The last yeare happened great mortalitie: there dyed out of the Hope Captaine Newport, that worthy Sea-

Death of many; of man & Commander, also Henry Ravens, Captain Newport. Master and fortie more of that Ships

Company out of the James, Captain Childe &c. He sent

¹⁰ [This is the description of the goods, as given in the copy of the “Journall” presented to the S. A. S., by Charles F. Courthope, Esq., of Maplehurst, Hors-

ham. It differs slightly from that given in “Purchas his Pilgrimes” (Vol. i. ed. 1625). ED.]

to me Master Ball's letter to him wherein is relation of Master Jackson's losse with Juncke, goods & Slaves, except three which saved themselves by Swimming, as by writing from his father appeareth: For wanting Rice & necessaries he put into Jortan to the number of 23, under colour of bringing provisions aboard [qu., they? ED.] entered the Juncke, & killed him & all his Company, but three which leapt overboard, & carried the Juncke away. The rest of the Port remayning ashoare are Prisoners to the King to answeere for their fellows. The Flemmings landed at Japara by night, fired the Towne & 7 or 8 Junkes in the Roade. The People fled to the Mountaines, they have forcibly built a fort upon Mayne at Jacatra, & another upon the Iland over against the Watring place, which makes the Pangram of Bantam looke about him.

Spaniards and Portugals at Jortan kill M. Jackson.

Japara spoyled.

Jacatra abused. Bantam frighted.

“The 27th Jan: here arrived a small Pinnasse called the Francis with aduice from the Fleete & reliefe, Master Robert Jackson Master.” Then follows Sir Thomas Dale's letter, commencing

“Master Courthop, as unknowne I remember my love, which I will alwayes be readie to expresse in respect of your worthy service for the honour of our Countrey & benefit of our Honourable Employers; & doe desire you to proceede in your good resolution, with the rest of your honest Companie; nothing doubting but that the Companie will recompence your deserts in the full. I have sent you by this Bearer only to supply your present wants: the particulars are enclosed in the Presidents letter &c. &c.”

The President's Letter commencing

“Master Nathaniel Courthop—we heartily Salute you with the rest—we have thought it good at present to send you this smalle pinnasse, the Little Francis as an adviser with such provisions as she is

able to carry, thereby to comfort you & your Company in the interim, not dowing but as you have begun so you will continue with a constant resolution to defend the place”

goes on to detail various Wrongs sustained by (from?) the Dutch & to state that Sir Thomas Dale had gone against them with 11 Sayle of Ships, & concludes

“ Wee like very well of your former proceedings, & of your large advice concerning those parts; praying you to continue therein, & with a steadfast resolution, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatening to defend the place until wee sende further ayde. And no doubt but the Honorable Company will highly reward you and all those that faithfully & truly doe their endeavour in their affaires. Thus leaving [nothing] further to insert at present, referring all things to our next, in which God willing, we will write you more at large, praying God to prosper your proceedings to his glory & your hearts desire. Your loving friends

Bantam
23 Dec^r. 1618. }

John Jordan.
Augustine Spaldwin.
George Ball.”

(A Post Script states an engagement having taken place between the English & Dutch Fleets near the Iland of Jacatra, apparently without advantage to either party.)

“The 2nd Feb^r we by Councell ordered that the Francis should ride under the Fort to releev such Junkes as should come hither for reliefe, divers of which with some Praw or Curracorra they had intercepted, so to starve the inhabitants. The 5th came a Praw from Pooloway with

Letter from the prisoners complayning of many of them dead by misery of imprisonment.

letters from the English Prisoners ‘deploring that lying in misery & irons, many of them have lost their lives, who if they had beene at libertie might have been alive, & have done their King & Countrey good service & praying to supply their wants by that Praw with money & what else could be sent, not

knowing whether they might be suffered hereafter to send or no,' which I answered with Certificate of the Newes & provision.

“The 13th Feb: there were 3 Ships in Nero Road, one whereof had her beak-head shot thorow in fortie places. I ghesed it one of the Ships which were in the skirmish at Jacatra. The 18 I received a letter by a Prow from Wayra from Bartholomew Churchman, wherein with thankes for things sent, he certifieth that the Angell came from Amboyna that night, where they left their Generall to get all their forces together, which will be fourteene or fifteene Ships with the old Generall too, that cometh from Ternate; & shortly they looke for their fleete from the Maneelos (Manillas) which is 10 Ships. And they say they will goe all to Java together, & where they had the overthrow. There again they will set upon our Ships to recover their former losse & disgrace in sight of all the Javas. But I thinke they will be hanged before they meet upon equall tearmes. Three days after we had received your Letter, they brought us all to Nero where they doe allow us more Victuals & libertie than they did before (God be thanked therefore) & within 2 or 3 dayes we are to goe for Amboyna in the Angell &c.

“The 22^d Apr: 1619 I did write to Master Stavenson at Maccasser & also to Master President certifying that at that time there was neither Holland Ship nor Gally in Banda, & that the English Ships comme as they promised I verily thinke there would not at the end of this Monso(o)n been left an Hollander, enemie to us in Banda, by reason, I know, the World was never so hard with them: their wants being extreame, both for Men & Victuals: likely that few of their Souldiers but would have fled to us: wee having neither stocke nor victuals, but bare encouragement of Words &c.

“The 8th June the Pinnasse set Saile for Seiran, & returned the 14th July with 50,000 cakes of Sago.

“The 23^d August, I sent her thither againe: Shee returned the 25th Nov^r: so full of leakes, that the 3 Dec^r: we haled her on shoare, and found her so rotten that we saved what we could, and set fire on the Rest.

“The 5th Dec^r there came a Lantore Corocora, whiche brought Newes that foure dayes before they had taken a Holland Praw rowing from Nero to Pooloway, there being four Halland Praws in company, bound for Pooloway, who came by Lantore, daring the Banda Men to come forth : who manned two Prawes, & followed them almost to Pooloway, & tooke one of them, & killed all the Men, being twentie Blackes & 9 Hollanders. The Lantore Men are now in heart, and now I have gotten the Banda Men to reparaire the Fort at the Iland being much out of reparations. The 24th Dec^r heere arrived a Juncke from Maccasser, which brought us some provisions, but no Newes from the West. That day Master Jackson misse-behaving himselfe to the Captaine was censured.

“The 12th Jan: an Holland Coracora which came from Amboyna, with letters to the Captaine of Nero, put off by a gust, was taken by the Ilanders. The Letters con-
tayne their losing of Bachan to the Spaniards, & their troubles at Amboyna & Luho, but no Newes from the West.

“Jan^y 30th I sent over Robert Hayes with the priest
Surrender of Lantore of Pooloway to Lantore, to conferre
talked of. with the Orancaias there about the
surrender of their land to the King’s Majestie of Eng-
land, to which they all agreed that the Sabandar of
Lantore should be the man to come over and agree with
me about that Businesse. But that whatsoever he should
agree upon the whole Country should affirme unto. Also
Making Moores of I sent to them concerning their making
Christians. Islams of all such Hollanders as came
running from Nero, which caused so few to come. They
promised it should be no more so ; but hereafter as they
should see cause, they would either kill them or send them
to mee.

“The 28th Jan went by a Holland Ship & never touched
at Pooloway nor Nero, only a Boat came aboard her &
whither she went I know not. I ghesed they brought
me reliefe, & therefore would not stay for feare of Muti-
nies amongst the Souldiers, they being in great want &

distresse for victuals. Whiles Master Hayes was over at Lantore, the Hollanders brake league with the Salamon Men, taking 3 prawes of theirs.

“The 13th Feb. came in a Java Juncke & a Praw of this Iland, with Sago from Buro. The Javas could tell us no certaine newes of our Shipping, but they reported that thirtie foure Holland Ships were at Bantam, & that fifteene English Ships were gone thorow the Streights of Sunda and thought that no English Ship would be heere this yeare; which was Cold comfort to me, who had neither direction nor stockes. Many junckes arrived which could tell no other newes, one a Portugall Frigat, & in the Mattheus a Blacke, whom I had sent [during] the last Easterly Winds to Maccasser, which brought letters from thence, but Junckes & letters were cast away. He came in this Frigat which was bound for the Moluccas, but having stricken on a Rocke was perswaded to come to Poolarone: I took up all his lading, God made me able to pay him.

Holland Fleet reported, thirty foure sayle.

“20th March, I received a letter sent from Master Staverton at Maccasser dated 7th Feb: wherein is mentioned the report of the Hound and Samson, taken at Patania by the Dutch, the Beare, Rose, Hope, & Dragon at Tecoo; & at Bantam a Ship called the Starre, new come out of England; complayning also of wants there, by neglect at Bantam.

Seven English Ships taken in divers places by the Hollanders.

“The 22^d. here arrived a Praw from Maccasser with one Guilliam Gualtier, a Frenche Man’s goods sent mee to sell for him. The losse of the Ships aforesaid, I thought good to add out of a letter of Master Muschamp to Master Courthop.”

Here follows a letter from Master Muschampe, dated 9 March 1619, giving an account of the taking of the Ships, in which occurs the following:

“I doe not much value my life, and have every day lesse comfort, & courage to remain in these parts for either you or myselfe, howsoever I make no question, our honourable Masters will truly value

your deserts. God send you well home, to receive the guerdon thereof, & the Comfort of your friends, who, as I heare are very desirous to see you, and your elder brother wished the Pursers mate of the Starre to tell you, that you should come home with the first, and that while he had a peny, you should not want (fail) to receive it."

"28th Mar: 1620, here arrived a Juncke from Jortan laden with rice. 3^d Apr: three Holland ships sailed into Nero Road.

"This yeare I had no letter nor any advice from our Commanders at Bantam, nor any supply & am enforced to take up all my men's goods, to buy victuals, to pay fiftie per cento, per annum interest.

"The 30th I sent a letter to the President and Commanders signifying my wants, & if the Portugall Frigat had not come in, I must have given over the place, whome (?) yet I am enforced to send to Bantam for his payment on my Bill. 'God grant mee good getting out of these Countrie people's hands; for they have spent their Gold & estates beggering themselves; & divers of them losing some their lives, others their liberties in holding out in expectation of the English forces. Can the Heathens saile to & againe, as also all other nations, French & Portugalls, & only the English feare to adventure the Companies goods; passing over the matter will rub out another yeare. We have rubbed off the Skinne already & if we rub any longer shall rub to the bone: I pray looke to it &c.'

"The 3^d May the longe expected Jurotinge arrived with his juncke. Master West dyed of the Fluxe.

"The 20th June, I sent letters to Maccasser, with a letter inclosed to the President & Commander, advising to send a Ship with provisions, & of the Lantore Men holding out still in expectation, & that except some such course be taken they should see mee before they should heare any further from me.

"The 23^d Sep: Jurotinge set saile for Maccasser whom I sent to fetch rice & with him 3 China Men, which ran

from Nero to the Blackes at Lantore, which but for me would have forced them to turn Slammes.¹¹

IV.

“The Continuation of the former Journal by Master Robert Hayes, Contayning the death of Captain Courthop, succession of Robert Hayes, surrender of Lantore to his Majestie, newes of the peace & after the peace Lantore & Poolarone seized by the Dutch with abominable wrongs to the English.

“18th Oct^r: 1620, our Captaine Nathaniel Courthop came to me Robert Hayes & said that he heard say, there were two Praws gone into Lantore Yesterday which were Key Prawes, as he thought (yet were not) & in regard of former abuses to Jurotinge hee would go & revenge the same. I prayed him to stay till he heard from thence whether it were so or no: But hee refused saying if they were not of Key (?) it were so much labour lost, & now he might go with the Priest. Thus went he over that night with his Boy William; well fitted with Muskets & Weapons, promising to returne in five dayes, & bidding me send for Water on the 3 and twentieth at night. Hee came accordingly part of the way, the Priest staying at Lantore, because it was a great feast with the Blackes the next day. There were one & twentie persons in the Boate with sixe Muskets and Fowling Peeces of the Companies, & goods of the Captaine to the value of one hundred & fiftie Ryals of eight or upwards. Comming thwart of Poolaway about 2 or three a clocke of the morning, they met with a Hollanders’ Corocora & one Praw more with some fortie small shot, & comming up with them fought with them; where the Captaine behaved himselfe Courageously until divers of the Banda men were slaine. And

This Jurotinge, M. Staverton in a Letter of his which I have, calleth him an unluckie fellow (as here he proved) seeming a blacke Saint, being a blacke Devill (!)

¹¹ *Slammes*. I search in vain for the meaning of this word. It may be a cant sea term.—M. A. L. [Mr. C. F.

Courthope’s copy solves the difficulty by reading “Islammes.”—ED.]

the Captaine also receiving a shot in the brest sate downe, and with all his Peece being cloyed threw
Captaine Courthop wounded, leapes over-board. it over boord, & then leapt over boord
 in his Clothes the Prow being too hot to
 stay in, and what became of him I knowe not; but the
 Blackes say surely he there sunk by reason of his wounds,
 & his Clothes all about him. There came of those one
 & twentie persons, seven ashoare, who had not beene
 wounded, & were strong to swimme, the Shore being
 some five miles [distant.] The same night Riall a Dutch-
 man, (formerly turned Moore) ranne away to the Hol-
 landers with a small Prawe."

A letter from William Van Anthen dated Poolaway
 in the Castle of Revenge 9 Dec^r 1620, new stile, to
 Master Robert Hayes Factor for the English at Poolaroono
 giving an account of the Peace concludes—

"The Captaine Nathaniel is killed in the Prow
M. Courthop buried by the Dutch. for which God knoweth I was hearti-
 lie sorie; we have buried him so
 stately and honestly as ever we could fitting for
 such a Man."

& in a subsequent letter 8 Feb. 1621 written to the
 East India Company, in England, from the factours, is
 the following—

Nathaniel Courthop. "Moreover our Captaine of Pool-
 aroone who had defended the Iland
 foure yeeres together going to Lantore (at the re-
 quest of the Inhabitants) to receive the surrendry
 thereof for our kings Majesties use (as aforesaid)
 and returning backe againe about the beginning of
 November 1620, was slaine by the Dutch. And it
 is very probable they did it after the time they had
 intelligence of the accord at Bantam in March 1619.
 For presently upon the said publication, they sent
 secretly to the Ilands in those parts where they did
 trade, to prevent us of our part of the spices due
 unto us by the accord."

The surrender of the Ilands of Pooloway & Poolaroone; of the Country of Wayre & of the Iland of Rosingen, (the articles of which surrenders are printed at length) were severally made to Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock & Thomas Spurway: The articles for the surrender of Lantore, made to Robert Hayes "after the loss of Captaine Courthop" are dated 24 Nov. 1620.

Note by Mr. Courthope, "Somerset Herald."

In the March following the decease of Nathaniel Courthope, Lantore was seized by the Dutch, the town burnt, & the English "villanously abused." Afterwards they took possession of Poolaroone, which for four years had been so gallantly defended, Master Robert Hayes making no resistance, not being able (as he says in his Journal) to withstand them: on the twentieth they dismantled the fort and took away the English flag, and on the 2nd of May signed articles of agreement similar to those which Capt. Courthope had entered into with them.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE S. A. S.

Compiled by JOSEPH COOPER, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Curator
and Librarian.

It has been suggested by a member, whose opinion on these subjects is entitled to the highest respect, that, as our Library is a Lending one—and members in every part of the County, who have not the privilege of a residence in the ancient and beautiful head-quarters of our Society or its neighbourhood, should have equal opportunity with those who have, of knowing what Books our Library contains—a List of them should be printed, giving, as far as possible, the names of donors and dates of acquisition, and that every succeeding volume should give a supplemental list.

“The only time” (adds the member to whom I have referred) “I was in the Library, there were no means of knowing what books were there and what not.”

The suggestion will entirely commend itself, I think, to the good sense of every member, and I have, therefore, endeavoured, as far as possible, to act upon it by offering the following compilation :—

ABBEVILLE—Société d'Émulation à, Mémoires. 8vo. Abbeville. 1849-61.

Presented by the Société.

ABBEYS AND PRIORIES in the County of Sussex, Collection of Extracts relating to. 1 vol. Folio.

ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONY of laying the Foundation Stone of the Royal Dramatic College on June 1st, 1860, by the Prince Consort. By “A Pioneer.” 1 vol. 8vo. Lond. 1860.

AIREY (G. B.), “Essays on the Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar. The Invasion of Britain by Plautius and by Claudius Cæsar. The Early Military Policy of the Romans in Britain. And on the Battle of Hastings.” Printed for private distribution. 1 vol. 4to. Lond. 1865.

Presented by the Author. 1866.

ALFRED KING (*see* WILL).

ANDREWS (J. PETTIT, F.A.S.), "History of Great Britain connected with the Chronology of Europe." 2 vols. 4to. Lond. Cadell. 1794.

Presented by Charles Hicks, Esq. 1852.

ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON (*see* Society).

— OF SCOTLAND (*see* Society).

ARCHÆOLOGIA, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vols. 33-43. 4to. Lond. 1849 to 1871.

Presented by the Society on publication.

ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS—Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association. 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1846-1849.

„ New Series. 5 vols. „ „ 1850-1854.

„ Third Series. Vols 2-10 „ „ 1856-1864.

„ Fourth Series 1870-1873.

„ „ 1875.

Presented by the Association.

ARCHÆOLOGIA CANTIANA—Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society. Vols. 1-10. 8vo. Lond. 1858-1876.

Presented by the Society.

ARCHÆOLOGIA ELIANA—Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Vols. 1-4. 4to. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1822-1846.

Presented by that Society on publication.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE—Proceedings of the Meetings at Winchester, York, Norwich, Lincoln, Salisbury, Oxford, Bristol, Chichester. 1845-1853.

Presented by the Institute on publication.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL. Published under the direction of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vols. 9-26, 28, 29, 31, 32. 8vo. Lond. 1852 to 1869.

Presented by the Institute on publication.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRACTS (various). 1 vol. 8vo. 1840-1854.

AUBREY (JOHN, F.R.S.), Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey. 5 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1719.

Presented by Joseph Knight, Esq. 1852.

— The Natural History of Wiltshire. Edited by John Britton, F.S.A. Published by the Wiltshire Topographical Society. 1847.

Presented by the Editor. 1847.

- BADHAM (REV. C., M.A.), History and Antiquities of All Saints' Church, Sudbury, and of the Parish generally. 1 vol. 8vo. Lond. Hatchard. 1852.
Presented by Earl Waldegrave. 1852.
- BARTLETT (W. A.), History and Antiquities of Wimbledon. 8vo. Lond. Simpkin. 1865.
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- BELL (WILLIAM, PHIL., DR.), Thomas Sprott's Chronicle of Profane and Sacred History. 1 vol. 4to. Liverpool. 1851.
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MAPS.

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PHILIPOT, Somerset Herald, Survey of the County of Sussex. 1634.

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Presented by C. L. Prince, Esq.

JOURNALL OF MASTER NATHANIEL COURTHOP, and his Voyage from Bantam to the island of Banda, being Chief Commander of the two Ships, the "Swanne," Admiral, Master Davis Master, and the "Defence," Vice-Admiral, Master Hinchley Master; together with his residence in Banda, and occurrents there, contayning the differences in those parts betwixt the English and Hollanders contracted. 1616 to 1620.

Presented by — Courthope, Esq.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Tortington Priory.*

To C. F. TROWER, Esq.

SIR,—Not having any connexion with the county of Sussex, I have only very lately had an opportunity of seeing at the Athenæum Club the volumes of the Archæological Society of that county, of which I believe you are the present editor. In Vol. XXIII., p. 204 *et seq.*, there is an article in which my name is mentioned, containing some very serious blunders, which I should much like to see rectified as *corrigenda*, if it is not now too late.

Rohesia de la Pomeray is, throughout the article, erroneously called Roberia; and in p. 206 she is called *daughter* of Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, who is afterwards correctly described as her "*half brother*." There is an original charter, printed in the new edition of Hutchins's History of Dorset, showing that the latter is the true relationship in which he stood to her, for he calls her his sister. Then, in page 205, the Prior of Tortington is said to have been taken from the Rectory of Tyneham, Dorset, from the earliest recorded period; which is simply nonsense—the fact being, that in my letter I stated that he was from the earliest recorded period *patron* of the rectory of Tyneham, and it was upon this fact that the whole of my argument was based.

I much regret that Mr. Turner, who was then the editor, did not send me the proof sheet for correction, and thus have avoided the confusion in which his account of the information I sent has been involved.

I should very much like to obtain some further information, either corroborative or contradictory, of my theory that the Foundress of Tortington was the lady I suppose her to have been.

Apologising for giving you this trouble,

I am, yours faithfully,

THOS. BOND.

Tyneham, Dorset.

2. *Discovery at Seddlescomb of Saxon Pennies of Edward the Confessor.*

On Thursday afternoon, the 24th of August, 1876, a labourer, whilst digging a drain in a grass field, in the village of Seddlescomb, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Battle, struck his spade against some hard substance; on looking down he saw that which he took to be a hop tally; on further search, he discovered (in a small hole) the pieces of a small iron pot, and inside the pot, the pieces of a leathern bag with about a pint of coins—the iron is quite oxidised, and the bag quite rotten. The coins are of three or four different sorts and sizes, but apparently all of Edward the Confessor, who

reigned about 24 years—from A.D. 1041 to A.D. 1065. The coins are of very thin silver, and in tolerably good preservation, but are very common, and of no great value. But our late Editor called the attention of our contributors¹ to the desirableness of compiling a list of all Anglo-Saxon coins found in the county, with particulars of their discovery, and in compliance with his invitation I record this transaction.

There is no tradition of any public building in these parts. This money was doubtless buried just before the Battle of Hastings, where the owner, probably (from there being so many of one sort, and none gold) some Tax Collector, was killed. It is quite common in the present day, for the inhabitants of the East, whether Africa or Asia, who dwell in grass huts, to bury their moneys and trinkets in the floor of their huts, that being the only safe place in case of fire or plunder.

According to Mr. Lower, the manor of Seddlescomb formerly belonged to Earl Godwin and his son, Harold II.

The soil at the above-named spot is light sand, and very dry. The hole in which the coins were found is about two feet from the surface, and the field has been in grass for a great many years.

I find, on comparing these coins with those mentioned in Mr. Lucas's paper² on "The Discovery of Saxon Coins on Chancton Farm," in 1866, that the smaller ones were coined at Steyning, and were Hildebrand Type A,³ variety C, and the larger ones, with a cross on the reverse, were coined at Hastings. I am informed that the sums represented by them at that date would be equivalent to 7s. of the present coinage.

B. H. COMBE, F.S.A.

Oaklands, Westfield, Battle.

P.S. Not more than a quarter of a mile from the above-mentioned spot, in this Park, I have found among iron *scoriae* and cinders, Roman copper coins; and also several silver ones, *temp.* Elizabeth.

3. *Phœnician Relics.*

In "Chambers's Handbook for Eastbourne," the figure of an urn is given, which was found at Cuckmere in 1856, and a reference is given to "Suss. Arch. Coll.," IX., 368, where I presume the figure is also given. In Dr. Schlieman's "Troy," p. 63, an urn of as nearly as well may be the same pattern is portrayed, which was found at Hissarlik in the Troad. This gives rise to the question whether both may not be the production of the same people. I have no doubt that the Phœnicians traded with England; and it is equally clear that they had communication with Hissarlik; for there are several whorls (as they are called) which certainly have on them Phœnician letters. These were found at Hissarlik. Unfortunately the inscriptions on them were first copied in pencil, and then photographed, and consequently some of the letters cannot be deciphered. There are, however, sufficiently numerous letters left to show that there was intercourse with the Phœnicians. Consequently both urns may have been their manufacture.

CHAS. S. GREAVES, Q.C.

¹ 20 S. A. C., 221.

² *Ib.*, p. 212.

³ *Ib.*, p. 216.

4. *On the De Echynghams.*

Mr. Slater, in his interesting paper in a former vol.,⁴ on Echingham Church, treating of the De Echingham family, says⁵ that "the Simon de Echingham who succeeded his brother William died, it is considered, about 1268, leaving his son William his heir; who in that year had a grant of free warren on his several manors, as well in Sussex as elsewhere, and a market at Salehurst. *He married Eva, daughter and coheirress of Ralph de Stopham;* He died in 22 Edw. I. [1293], and was succeeded by his son William, then aged twenty-eight, under whom the family attained its greatest influence and importance."

Now this must, I think, be wrong: either these two last-named Williams are one and the same person, or else the son, and not the father, was husband to Eva de Stopham. I think the latter the more probable, from the reading of an Inquisition, 19 Edw. I., No. 53, which states that William (the son of William de Echingham) and Eva his wife, daughter and heir of Ralph de Stopham, defunct, has writ of seisin of lands of said Ralph. Again, in a Coram Rege Roll, 33-34 Edw. I. [1304-6] rot 55d M. T., is a suit between *Wm de Echyngham and Eva his wife, versus* Isabella, widow of Ralph de Stopham, respecting the advowson of a church, stating that "Ralph de Stopham, grandfather to the said Eva, presented to the same church," &c., thus proving that at this date, at all events, the husband of Eva de Stopham was still living. Again, in an Inquisition ad quod damnum, 7 Edw. II., No. 107, is a license from the King to Wm. de Echingham and *Eva his wife*, to grant their manor of Brianeston, &c. The Inquisition on this William's death is 20 Edw. II., No. 50. The Writ is dated 19 June, 1326, when his brother Robert is found his heir, of full age.

Again, on p. 345, Mr. Slater states that Sir James de Echingham "died in the 23 Edw. III. [1349], leaving two sons, William and Robert." The Inquisition is really 25 Edw. III. [1351], 1st Nos. 44, when William was found his son and heir, æt. 16. I mention this because, in the next page, 346, Mr. Slater records the tradition of Queen Philippa and her ladies anxiously awaiting, in the house at Echyngham, the return of King Edward and the Black Prince, when they went with the English fleet to engage the Spanish off Winchelsea, and he finds a difficulty as to the probability of the fact, on account of the date (1350) in which the engagement took place, and the youth of William de Echingham, the then assumed owner of the house; but we must change William's name into his father's, James, who did not die until 25 Edw. III. [1351], and the difficulty vanishes, and the tradition is probably a correct one.

DUDLEY CARY. ELWES.

Dec., 1876.

5. *Queen Elizabeth Sponsor to Lord Percy.*

The entries in our parish registers often bring us unexpectedly on unpublished facts worth noticing. Recently examining the Petworth Register, I came on the following:—"1596. Memorandum that on the 20th of June

⁴ 9 S. A. C., 343.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 344.

was borne Henry L. Percie who was baptised on the 8th day of July in the private chappell in my L. his house. The *witnesses* were, first for the Queen's Ma^{tie} the Lady Bückhurst, then the Earl of Shrewsburie, lastly for the L. Treasurer (Lord Burleigh) the Earl de la Warr."

This Henry, Lord Percy, to whom Queen Elizabeth was godmother by proxy, was son of Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland, who commanded a ship in person against the Spanish Armada, and was then in much favour with the great Queen. He had previously been very desirous that she should visit Petworth, but it is matter of doubt whether she was prevailed on or not to do so, although Lord Cobham's interest was made use of for this purpose. The Queen's godchild died in the following year, and a brief entry in the Petworth Register thus records his burial:—"1597 May 31. Henry Lord Percy." Can any reader inform me of another instance, *in Sussex*, of Queen Elizabeth acting as sponsor by proxy? In the last year of her reign, she thus stood godmother also to the infant of the French ambassador, as is quaintly stated in a contemporary record, "the queen christened the French ambassador's daughter, *by her deputy*, the lady marquesse; the countess of Worcester, and the lord-admiral, being her assistants."

F. H. ARNOLD.

6. *The Falls of Schaffhausen.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE S. A. C.

DEAR SIR,—I have just had placed in my hands a very curious book, containing a passage (p. 126) about the Falls at Schaffhausen, that I think may interest your readers. The book was printed in 1623; and its title is:

"Argumentorum,
Ludicrorum,
Et amænitarum,
Scriptores Varii."

If I had seen it before my paper on the *Death-place of Viscount Montague* was printed, in Vol. XXVI. of your Collections, I probably might have noticed it, as a good description of the perilous nature of the Falls.

If you think any notice of it is worth while now, you can make what use you like of the passage.

Yours faithfully,
C. S. GREAVES.

Feb. 5, 1877.

Columbetes, sive de arte natandi Dialogus et festivus et jucundus
lectu, per Nicolaum Wynman.

Interlocutores: PAMPIRUS et EROTES.

PAMPIRUS.—Cataractæ illæ Schaffhusianæ præcipiti inauditoque lapsu et fragore superant omnem prorsus natandi artem.

EROTES.—Multa sæpe de eo loco audivi, sæpiusque optavi coram videre omnia.

PAM.—Præcipitat se Rhenus de altissimis saxis, velut cum loci iniquitate pugnans, maximoque strepitu ita delabens, ut in vicinis molendinis tua ipsius verba non exaudias; itaque fit, ut perpetuo sono quidam illic etiam pœnè surdi reddantur.

EROT.—Oportet egregios ibi esse stentores.

PAM.—Jam ipsum tumultuantium aquarum horrendum murmur reductis rupibus exceptum atque inclusum, echo protrahente, æris instar Dodonæi, longum resonat. In præcipitio putares farinam decidere, non aquam, adeò totus fluvius in spumam resolvitur.

EROT.—Quid cum navibus, quæ illuc feruntur, agitur? Possuntne vel exoneratæ funibus illac demitti, quemadmodum alibi fit?

PAM.—Nihil minus; sunt aut frangendæ, aut adverso flumine reducendæ laboriose sanè. Quanta, Dii boni, pecuniarum vi illa redimeretur, si esset possibile, incommoditas, hoc est, uti ea quoque parte esset navigabilis Rhenus. Nunc bona, et merces, difficili via, terra aliquando, necesse est plaustris devehî, non sine magnis expensis, ac jactura priorum navium, donec in alia recipiantur multò inferius navigia.

INDEX.

A.

- Abel, Johannes, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Abergavenny church, why largely endowed by William de Braose, 74.
- Abergavenny, marquis of, one of the lords of Lewes leet, 123.
- Abernun, Johannes, sheriff of Sussex, 35. *See* Dabernoun.
- Abinger, lord, *see* Scarlett.
- Albuci, Roman soldiers stationed at Anderida, 157.
- Adeliza, queen of Henry I, Stopham settled on, 56.
- Adur, the, and the *Portus Adurni*, 70. 98. 161, 162. 176.
- Ælfred, Aldrington granted to his younger son by, 70.
- Agincourt, one of the Barttelots at, 42.
- Agwilon, or Arguillon, Robert de, sheriff of Sussex, 35. 84.
- Aid, or *Auxilium*, nature of the tax so called, 27.
- Ainsworth, W. Harrison, source of a novel by, 89.
- Akingeham, W. de, knight's fee, 31.
- Albert, Prince Consort, early parallel to the adviser to, 42.
- Albini, William de, Stopham held by the descendants of, 56.
- Alder, a name for the Adur, 98.
- Aldridge, Col. flint implements found on the estate of, 177.
- Aldrington, 70. 98. 105.
- Alfriston, M. A. Lower's school at, &c, 136, 137.
- Allanson, Thomas, 17.
- Allington, Sir Thomas Wyat the elder at, 25.
- Almodinton, Hugo de, knight's fee, 29.
- Alresford, John de, purport of license from the king to, 49.
- Alvricheston, W. de, knight's fee, 31.
- Amblehurst, part of the Barttelot possessions, formerly in, 38.
- ANDERIDA, remarks on the probable site of the British city and Roman station of, by Thomas Elliott, 152-165. Mr. Blaauw's challenge, 152. Points connected with the battle of Mercredesburn, 153. Mr. Hussey's views, and comments thereon, 154-159. 163, 164. *Dicta* of Mr. Merivale, 159. Mr. Beale Post's article, and Richard of Cirencester's *iters*, 160. Deductions from the *Notitia Imperii*, 161. Conclusion, 162, 163. *See* 167.
- Anketil, knight's fee, 28.
- Antiquaries, Society of, and the late Mr. W. D. Cooper, 131.
- Antoninus's Itinerary, Anderida not mentioned in, 161.
- Appledore and the Rother, 168-171.
- Appledram, Smyth property at, 45.
- Apsley family and Findon, 14, 15, 16. 20.
- Apsley, Mary, wife of Robt. Barttelot, 43.
- Aquila, Richer de, knight's fee, 31.
- Argenthuis manor, North Mundham, 43.
- Arguillon, *see* Agwilon.
- Arlothe, Olyff, wife of John Barttelot, 43.
- Army of Wales, Mr. Eyton on a question relative to the, 28.
- Arndrede, Arndredescester, 153. 173 *See* Anderida.
- ARNOLD, Rev. F. H, LL.B. on Sussex Heronries, 110-116. *See* Sussex Heronries. On Q. Eliz. as sponsor to lord Percy, 229, 230.
- Arun river, 176.
- Arundel, 22. 87. 41. 87. The Barttelots formerly land-owners in, 38. Founder of the Maison Dieu at, 42.
- Arundel, earls of, 31. 33. 56. 57. "Carta comitis de Arundel," 29. A "prudens consul" to the earls, 42.
- Arundel, honour of, 28. 32. 56, 57.
- Atte Forde, John, trespasses charged against, 47, 48.
- Atte Milne, 15. *See* Mille.
- Aucher, Isabella, and "Knell's dam," 167.
- Augo, Joh. comitis de, "carta" of, 30.
- Anne, W. de, Shoreham bailiffs ordered to find a ship for, 82.
- Auxilium*, *see* Aid.
- Avaricum, one of Cæsar's *oppida*, 160.
- Aylesbury, electoral privilege granted to, 96.

B.

- Bacon, vice-chancellor, judgment given by, 107.
- Bacon, G. P. 132. 148.
- Bada, Hen. de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- "Balaclava charge," 24.
- Barker, rev. Edmund, his daughter Walter Barttelot's wife, 45.
- Barrarius, Gillebertus, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- Barttelot, Edward, disinherited for a Good Friday sin, 42.
- Barttelot, John, exploit in France of, 41.
- BARTTELOT, Sir Walter B. Bart. M.P. materials for history of Stopham contributed by, 37 *et seq.*
- BARTTELOTS, unquestionable antiquity of the, origin and various spellings of the name, &c, 37. 68. Localities of the family estates, 38. Early subsidy rolls, &c, wherein the name appears, 38, 39. 47-49. Legend as to the former extent of their property, their present estates, &c. 40. *Family history*: Story of the founder at Hastings, earlier and later descendants, 40-47. Pedigree, 50-55. *Manorial and Church history*, &c. see Stopham.
- Bath, Harriet, marchioness of, Muntham purchased by, 20.
- Baxter's explanation of the word "Anderrida," 158.
- Bayeux tapestry, illustrative reference to the, 110. See 148.
- Beasts of park and chase, 4, 5.
- Beauchamp, Roger de, one of the two first members for Shoreham, 81.
- Bede's description of Bosham, 112.
- Bedingeham, homines de, knights' fees, 33.
- Beeding, a name for the Adur, 98.
- Belesme, Robert de, lost his lands by treason, 56.
- Belmeis, Phil. de, knight's fee, 29.
- Benenden and the Rother, 167.
- Berry's Sussex Pedigrees, references to, 16. 19.
- Bettesworth, Anne, wife of Walter Barttelot, 44.
- Bignor hill, Roman road at, 164.
- Bigod, Roger, Mand, daughter of, 56.
- Billingshurst, Barttelot lands formerly in, 38. Bronze celts found, 183.
- Bisshop, William, property let to, 79.
- Blaauw, W. H. one of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society, 16. 142. 152. *note.*
- Black book of the Exchequer, 27.
- Blackdown, land in Fyndon, 15.
- Blackman, Sir Henry, leader of the independent party at Lewes, 119.
- Blackwall embankment and the Rother, 167. 174.
- Blatchington, West, Roman remains found at, 70.
- Blencowe, Robert Willis, one of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society, 89 *note.* 90. 142.
- Bloxam, M. H. 73 *note.*
- Boar, a beast of forest, 4.
- Bonaparte, Prince Lucien, and the Song of Solomon, 148.
- Bond, Thomas, corrective note on Tortington priory by, 227.
- "Bonfire boys" of Lewes, 139.
- Bores Isle, supply received by the Rother from, 166.
- Borough Castle, *quota* of Roman troops stationed at, 161.
- Bosco, Will. de, knight's fee, 31.
- Boseham, homines de, knight's fees, 33.
- Bosham heronry, re-establishment of, one there before the Conquest, &c. 110. 111. 112. 116.
- Boston (*temp.* Edw. III.) number of ships supplied to the Crown by, 84.
- Bourbon, duke of (1421) conducted to Dieppe, 84.
- Boyd, James, ship canal from Shoreham to London projected by, 105.
- Brada, Joh. de, knight's fee, 29.
- Bramber, Wm. de Braose lord of, 31. Possibly the "Portus Adurni," 70.
- Bramber castle occupied by parliamentary soldiers, 78. And by smugglers, 98.
- Bramber rape, privilege granted to the electors of, 96.
- Brancaster, *quota* of Roman troops stationed at, 161.
- Braose, William de (several of the name) and his *park* at Findon, 7. 9. 13. 21. 22. Lord of Bramber, 31. His possessions at Shoreham, 72. 76. 80, 81. 85. Gifts and endowments for religious purposes, 73, 74.
- Braoses, *see* 70 84. 124.
- Brasses, monumental, at Stopham, 63-65.
- Brede heronry, 114. Brede river, 115. 173.
- Bremen, heronry near, 116.
- Brighton, Bryghtelmston, 83. 88.
- Bristol, 83. Ships supplied to the Crown, 84.

Britain, Constantine's dealings with, 161.
 Britons, result of the invitation of the Saxons into England by the, 153-155. Prohibition laid on them by the Romans, 157. Never made military use of forts or castles left by the Romans, 158. Their connection with Anderida, 163. 167.
 Broadoak, heronry at, 114.
 Broadwater, part of Findon estate in, 22.
 Broc, Ranulp de, knight's fee, 30.
 Bronze celts found at Billingshurst, 183.
 Brookland, the "fleets" by, 172.
 Broomhill isle and level, 169. 173.
 Browne, Anthony, release of Muntham joined in by, 19.
 Bruce, Edward, 83.

Brus, Adam de, curious condition attached to the gift of a manor by, 124.
 Brus, Robert de, truce violated by, 83. Castle built by him, 124.
 Bryanstone, lord Portman's park, nesting tress of the herons at, 116.
 Bucks in parks, 4. Their designations in successive years, 5.
 Burdelada, Godwinus de, knight's fee, 33.
 Burghesse, H. de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
 Burghill, Roman road at, 163, 164.
 Burna, knight's fees, 33.
 Burrell MSS. lapsus in the, 19.
 Burton, Dr. on the conduct of the Shoreham voters, 90.
 Burwash, Roman road at, 163, 164.
 Bury, Barttelot estates in, 40.
 Buthurst, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38.

C.

Cadborough cliff, physical aspect of, 174.
 Cade, Jack, 128. 130. 144.
 Cade Street, Mark Antony Lower's school-keeping at, 135.
 Cæsar, *see* Julius Cæsar.
 Calceo, Hugo de, knight's fee, 29.
 "Camber" of Old Winchelsea, what it was, 172. Its relation to the river Rother, 174. 175.
 Camden Society, Mr. W. D. Cooper's connection with the, 129.
 Camden, Wm. on the "Portus Adurni," 70. On Shoreham, 86. On Anderida, 160. 164. 165.
 Camoys arms quartered by the Barttelots, 42.
Camprestres, lands so called, 7.
 CAMPKIN, HENRY, F.S.A., Memoirs of William Durrant Cooper and Mark Antony Lower by, 117-151.
 Canals, actual and projected, in connection with Shoreham, 104, 105.
 Cancellis, or Chaunceus, Emericus de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
 Cancellis, Hemicus de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
 Carmelite friars of Shoreham, benefactors to the, 77, 78.
 Cartwright, West Sussex historian, on the derivation of Muntham, 12. On the Apsleys, 14. 16. On Shoreham, 72. 76. *See* 19. 21. 23 *note*. 69.
 Castle Goring, 22.
 CATALOGUE of the Sussex Archæological Society's Library, 212-226.
 Celts, bronze, found at Billingshurst, 183.

Chamberlin, F. M.P. for Shoreham, co-rebuilder of the market-house, 81.
 Chanctonbury dells, an apt retreat for deer, 8. The great hill, 9.
 Chapman, William, harbour engineer, Shoreham, 101. 103.
 Charles I, 10. Use made of Shoreham harbour by, 87.
 Charles II, particulars of the escape to France of, 87-89. His after-recognition of his helpers, 89, 90.
 Chases, difference between parks and, 4. The like as to a forest, 6. 7.
 Chaucer's portraiture of a forester, 8.
 Chaunceus, *see* Cancellis.
 Chichester, bishops of: *see* Gilbert. Hilary.
 Chichester cathedral, grant to the vicars choral of, 22. Later particulars, 23.
 Chichester city, amount of shipmoney levied on, 87.
 Chichester harbour, heronry in juxtaposition with, 110, 111.
 Chicksand manor in Muntham, 43.
 Chitehurst, Morin de, knight's fee, 29.
 "Chittys" in Itchingfield, 12.
 "Christian Society," electoral corruption practised at Shoreham by the, 92-96. 100.
 Cinque Ports seamen given to smuggling and piracy, 98.
 Cirencester, Richard of, and Anderida, 160.
 Cissa son of Ella, 71.
 Cissbury in Findon, 3. Its remote antiquity, 22. Site of the estate, its nucleus, owners, &c, 22-24.

- Cleveland, curious condition attached to the gift of a manor in, 124.
- Clegram, William, harbour master, Shoreham, 101. 103.
- Clifton, Walt. de, knight's fee, 28.
- Clyne, W. de, land sold to (1306) 23.
- Coates, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38.
- Cobden in Sullington, 14.
- Coity Castle, Wales, herons from, 112.
- Coldwaltham, Barttelot estates in, 40.
- Coles, Christopher, manor settled on, 44.
- Colewrtha, Gerv. de, knight's fee, 29.
- Colham, Roman station and road at, 163. 164.
- Collins, Mortimer, notice of, 150 *note*.
- Collins, Thomas, ancestor of W. D. Cooper, 118.
- Combe, 22.
- Combe, Boyce Harvey, F.S.A. on a "find" of Saxon pennies, 227, 228.
- Constantine, means taken against Saxon pirates by, &c, 152. 161.
- Cooper, Frederick, 123.
- COOPER, JOSEPH, F.S.A. Catalogue of the library of the Suss. Archæol. Soc. compiled by, 212-226.
- Cooper, Thomas Henry, M.D. 126. 132.
- Cooper, William, solicitor, Lewes, 118. His comical retaliation on the Lewes butchers, 119.
- COOPER, WILLIAM DURRANT, F.S.A. Memoir of, by Henry Campkin, F.S.A. 117-132. His ancestry and parentage, 118. Education, &c, bias of his studies, 119, 120. His first published works, 120, 121. Evidence on parish registers, 121. Settlement in London, journalistic experiences, 122, 123. Steward of Lewes Leet, 123. His Yorkshire auditorship, Sterne discovery, History of Winchelsea, &c, 124, 125. Last days, 126. Contributions to the Sussex Archæological Collections, 127, 128. Contributions to other Collections, &c, 129, 130. Mr. Ouvry's *eulogium* on him, 131. *See 97 note*.
- Copperas Point, Chichester harbour, 110.
- Cornish, Sir Samuel, M.P. for Shoreham, corrupt proceedings on choosing a successor to, 91-93.
- Cornwallis, Thomas (1373) Muntham assigned to, 13. Query as to his interest, 20.
- Coteman, Thomas, land in Sheepcombe sold to, 23.
- Count of the Saxon shore, duties assigned to the, 152. 162.
- Court-at-Street, Roman road at, 163.
- COURTHOP, MASTER NATHANIEL, JOURNAL of, with Notes by the late Mark Antony Lower, F.S.A. 184-211. Editorial Note, 184. Birthplace and ancestry of the writer, 185. His fightings and negotiations with the Dutch, reverses, &c, 186-190. "Betrayed by perfidious knaves," &c, 190-194. How certain ships were taken, &c, 194-201, Flag of truce, further hostilities, 201-208. Continuation of the Journal after, and the manner of, his death, &c, 209-211.
- Courthope, William, Somerset herald, note on the above "Journal" by, 211.
- Court Wyke, and the Wyatts, 24.
- Cowdray, 18, 19.
- Covert, Anne, wife of William Barttelot, 43.
- Covert, Margaret, bequest to the friars of Shoreham by, 73.
- Covert, Roger de, a poacher on Findon Place manor, 21.
- Cramming game, modern practice of, 9. "Crazy Tales," the author of, 125.
- Cricklade, privilege accorded to the electors of, 96.
- Cripps, William, estate sold to, 24.
- Croak, Robert, grant of park keepership to, 9.
- Croftis, Phil. de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- Cromwell, Admiral Henry, manor bequeathed to, 20.
- Cromwell, Oliver, a granddaughter of, 19.
- Crosfeld, Wm. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Crosskey, Robert, 132.
- Crowe, Sir Sackville, dealings with Muntham by, 17.
- Cruce, Galfridus de, Sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Cuckmere marshes, 155.
- Curteis, H. M. Esq. heronry in the park of, 115.
- Curteis, Major, stream on the estate of, 169.
- Curteis, Sir George, land "inned" by, 173.
- Cymen, son of Ella, 71.
- Cymenes-ore, Cymensora, and Shoreham, 71.

D.

- Dabernoun, Joh. sheriff of Sussex, 36.
 Dallaway, Sussex historian, at fault about the Apsleys, 15. *See* 43.
 D'Alta Ripa (Dawtrej) Katherine, wife of John Barttelot, 43.
 Danegeld, substitute for the, 27.
 Danes, a notion of Mr. Lower relative to the, 96.
 Danny, 22.
 Dante and Petrarch, poet Wyat compared with, 25.
 Dartmouth, *quota* of ships contributed by (1346) 84.
 David's Psalms, illustrative extracts relative to beasts of the forest from, 6, 7.
 Dawtrej, *see* D'Alta Ripa.
 Deer parks, 7.
 De Foe, on the destruction of Shoreham market house, 81.
 Delawarr, earl, one of the lords of Lewes Leet, 123.
 De Lisle, lord, migration of herons from the park of, 112.
 Dena, Rad. de, knight's fee, 29.
 Dene, Thomas, master (1407-39) of Maison-Dieu hospital, Arundel, 42.
 Denne, part of the Barttelot possessions, 38. When separated therefrom, 44.
 Dent, Robt. de }
 Denton, R. de } knights' fees, 29.
 Deveril, R. de }
 Dinan, Rolandi de, knight's fee, 33.
 DISCOVERY OF FLINT IMPLEMENTS near Horsham, in St. Leonard's Forest, by Thomas Honeywood, Esq. 177-183. Geological condition of the Forest; soil in which the implements are found, 177-179. Rare saw-toothed specimens, their probable use, &c, 179. Variety, object, abundance of other samples, 179-181. Peforated stones, absence of human bones, bones of lower animals, 181, 182. "The Mine Pits," round pits probably used for dwellings, 182. Remoteness of the flint period; bronze celts found at Billingshurst, 183.
 Does and bucks, species of deer represented by, 4.
 Domesday survey, 4. 27. 72. 112.
 Dour river in connection with the Rother, 166. 168, 169. 171.
 Dover, number of ships contributed by (1346) 84. *Quota* of Roman troops stationed at, 161. *See* 160.
 Downs, character of the, 21.
 Doyley arms quartered by the Barttelots, 42.
 Drake, John, master of the ship "Alyseta," payment to, 83.
 Dudeney, John, Southdown shepherd, interesting career of, 137. One of the founders of the Sussex Archaeological Society, 142. His son John Dudeney, 151.
 Dugdale, Sir William, 78. On the Rother, 168. 174.
 Dunstanville, or Dunstanvilla, Alan de, knight's fee, 28, 29. 32.
 Dureford abbey, park of, 7. 21.
 Durrant, Elizabeth, mother of W. D. Cooper, 118.
 Dutton, Nicholas, bailiff of W. de Braose, 85.
 Dyer-Edwardes, Mr. munificent gift to New Shoreham church by, 76.

E.

- Earnley, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38.
 East Guldeford level, 175.
 Easthope, Sir John, 122.
 Eastthothly, 135.
 East Preston, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38.
 East Retford, privilege accorded to the voters of, 96.
 Ecclesiastical Commissioners, manor sold by, 23.
 Echingham, James de, river dam removed on the petition of, 168.
 Echingham, Simo de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
 Echingham, William de, and Eva de Stopham, 48, 49. 58, 59.
 Echynghams, Mr. Elwes on the, 229.
 Ederington (Aldrington) Camden's reference to, 70.
 EDITOR (C. F. Trower, Esq. M.A.) Suggestions for the collecting and

- printing of records relating to the history of the county, 1. Findon concluded from Vol. xxvi.) 3-25.
- Edward the Confessor, discovery of Saxon pennies of, 227. Where coined, &c, 228.
- Edward I, 1. Enquiries as to decrease of revenue instituted by, 80. At Shoreham, 83.
- Edward III, Marriage of a Barttelot to a descendant of, 44. Fleets summoned by, 83. Grant made and afterwards revoked by, 167, 168.
- Edward the Black Prince, crest granted to a Barttelot by, 41.
- Edwardes, *see* Dyer-Edwardes.
- Edwards, Thomas, corrupt conduct as a returning officer of, 90.
- Eels, fondness of herons for, 112.
- Elizabeth, queen. grant of Shoreham Priory by, 78. Sponsor to lord Percy, 229.
- Ella invited to attack the Britons, 70. 153. His assault on Anderida, &c, 153, 154. 158-160. 167.
- Elliott, James, 169 *note*.
- ELLIOTT, THOMAS, Remarks on the probable site of the British city and Roman station of Anderida, 152-165. Remarks on the ancient course of the river Rother, 166-176. *See* Anderida. Rother.
- Ellis, Joseph, humorous lines on Mark Antony Lower by, 150. Recent poems by, 150 *note*.
- Ellis, W. S. mistake fallen into by, 12.
- Elwes, Dudley Carey, F.S.A. mistake fallen into by, 12. Pedigree by, 24. On the de Echynghams, 229.
- Epitaphs, general character of, 18.
- Erham, Ric. de, knight's fee, 29.
- Ermynt Street, Dr. Stukeley's route, 164.
- Ertham, Barttelot lands formerly in, 38.
- Evynton, Gerardus de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Exchequer, Black book of the, 27.
- Exden creek, or channel, and Anderida, 153, 154. 158.
- Exeter, prohibition addressed to, 83.
- Exploratores*, station of the, 70.
- "Eyton's Shropshire" a model history, 2. Point cleared up in it, 28. 32.

F.

- Fagg, Sir John, Findon park conveyed to, 11. Held by his sons and sold by the survivor of them, 23, 24.
- Faleise, Hugh de, a man of great trust in Sussex, 28. Knight's fees, 29. 32.
- Falterellus, Will. knight's fee, 29.
- Favarches, Will. de, knight's fee, 29.
- Fawn, a buck of the first year, 5.
- Feodar of Sussex, Henry Barttelot, 44.
- Feringes, or Ferenges, Amfridus, knight's fee, 29. Sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Ferring, Barttelot lands formerly in, 38.
- Fescamp abbey, entries relating to, 33. Its Shoreham possessions, 73, 74. Charles II. at Fescamp, 88.
- Fichet, Radulfus, knight's fee, 29.
- Figg, William, F.S.A. one of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society, 142.
- FINDON, by the Editor (Charles Francis Trower, Esq. M.A.) 3-26. Errors in previous paper set right, 3. The *Park*: evidences of its former existence, &c, 3-9. Question as to the manor it belonged to, its successive owners, &c, 9-11. *See* Cissbury. Muntham. Kingswode.
- Fittleworth, Barttelot lands in, 38. 40.
- Fitzalan, John, descent of the honour of Arundel to, 56.
- Fitzalans, earls of Arundel, their *prudens consul*, 42.
- Fitzgerald, Thomas, Muntham bought by, 20.
- Fitzlee, exchanged for other lands, 45.
- Flanders, wool illegally exported to, 80.
- Flansham, the Wyats of, 24.
- Fleets*, local name for low lands, 172.
- FLINT IMPLEMENTS, *see* Discovery.
- Flood's land in Findon, 15.
- Fontenay castle, taken by a Barttelot, 41.
- Forde, John atte, trespass, &c. joined in by, 47, 48.
- Forde, William atte, 49.
- Foresta, Guido de, grand master of the knights templars, 78.
- Forests and forest laws, 4-6. Chaucer's portraiture of a forester, 8.
- Fowey, number of ships contributed by (1346) 84.
- France, English noblemen prohibited from going to (1309) 83. Shoreham and the wars with, 86, 87.
- Frankland, William, estate sold to, 19. A descendant of Oliver Cromwell, *ibid*. Estate alienated by his descendant, 20.
- Frewen, Edward, Brede heronry described by, 114, 115.

Friersland or Fryern, part of the Barttelot possessions formerly in, 38.
 Frizingham level and the Rother, 167.
 Froissart, achievement not chronicled by, 41.

Fuller, Mr. dispute and subsequent negotiations between the Shoreham harbour trustees and, 105-107.
 Fyvie, near Turriff, Mr. Sim on the herons' nests at, 116.

G.

Game, beasts of chase, &c, 6, 7.
 Garinges, knights' fees, 29.
 Gates, John, his daughter wife of a Barttelot, 43.
 Gatesdene, Joh. sheriff of Sussex, 34.
 Gear, Thomas, prosecuted for corrupt conduct, 94.
 Gebre, count of, to be sought after, 83.
 Gedding, Walt. de, sheriff of Sussex, 36.
 Genealogical difficulties, use of tombstones in, 19.
 Geneva, lake of, paralleled, 170.
 Gentyl, Nich. sheriff of Sussex, 36.
 Gibb, Thomas Eccleston, 132.
 Gilbert, Dr. bishop of Chichester, 129.
 Gildas, passage relating to Anderida from, 159.
 Giselham, Wm. de, king's attorney, his complaint against W. de Braose, 85.
 Glomargan, Rob. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
 Gloucester, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of, 44.
 Godfrey of Lorraine, Stopham settled on queen Adeliza daughter of, 56.

Goldsmith, Oliver, 133.
 Good Friday, severe penalty inflicted for eating a pigeon on, 42.
 Goodwood, an advantage of the site of, 22.
 Gould, Sir Nath. co-rebuilder of Shoreham market house, 81. Corruptly elected, 90. Expelled the house, re-elected, petitioned against, &c, 91.
 Gounter, or Gunter, col. a chief agent in the escape of Charles II, 87-89.
 Gras, Nich. le, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
 Greaves, Chas. S, Q.C. on Phœnician relics, 228. On the falls of Schaffhausen, 230.
 Greatham, the atte Milnes of, 15. Barttelot estates at, 40.
 Great Sowden's wood, heronry at, 114.
 GREEN, BURTON, on New Shoreham, 69-109. *See* New Shoreham.
 Greenwich--Gerennwich--83.
 Groom, William, descent of Cissbury to, 24.
 Gunter *see* Gounter.
 Gyrle, a roe of the second year, 5.

H.

Haia, appurtenants of, 4.
 Halden, waters received by the Rother from, 167.
 Hall, Wm. of Lancing, and others, object of the purchase of Shoreham harbour shares by, 108.
 Halnac (Halnaker) knights' fees, 29.
 Hamilton, W. G. ("Single Speech") manor farm bequeathed to, 45.
 Hammer farm, Billingshurst, bronze celts found at, 183.
 Hamton, P. de, knight's fee, 29.
 Hanfeld, Ernaldus de, the like, 29.
 Hangleton, Roman trackway at 70.
 Hannington, H. } corrupt election con-
 } duct charged agst. 94.
 Hardham, Barttelot estates in, 40.
 Hardy, rt. hon. Gathorne, Roman road on the property of, 163.

Harelet, W. de, knight's fee, 29.
 Harneys, Joh. sheriff of Sussex, 35.
 Hart, "most stateliest" &c, 4. *See* Stag.
 Hartlepool, 83.
 Harvey, William, F.S.A. one of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society, 142.
 Hastings, Mat. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
 Hastings, amount of ship money assessed on, 87.
 Hatton, herony at, 116.
 Hatton, Rose, wife of Rich. Barttelot, 44.
Hautboys at Findon, 8.
 Hawkhurst parish, Roman road in, 163.
 Hearne, Thomas, old monument printed by, 28.
 Heathfield, 135. Roman road, 163, 164.
 Hemsted park, Roman road in, 163, 164.
 Hemuse, a third year roe, 5.

- Hengist, inducement offered to Ella by, 153. Routs the Britons in Kent, 154. *See* 158, 159.
- Henle, Wm. de, sheriff of Sussex, 36.
- Henre, W. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Henry I, 27, 28. Stopham settled on his queen by, 56.
- Henry II, aid levied for, knights' fees, &c, 27-30.
- Henry III, 28.
- Henry VIII, license to embattle refused by, 45.
- Henry of Huntingdon, on the tactics of the Britons in battle, 154.
- HERONRIES, *see* Sussex Heronries.
- Herstmonceux park, herons in, 115.
- Hilary, bishop of Chichester, return of knights' fees by, 27, 28, 29.
- Hoare, Mr, on a cross in New Shoreham Church, 75.
- Holman family, 137. Mercy Holman, 138.
- Holmes, Messrs. stewards of the duke of Norfolk, 73 *note*.
- Honel, Robert, ordered to seek after a foreign count, 83.
- HONYWOOD, THOMAS, on a discovery of, flint implements, &c, *See* DISCOVERY.
- Hooker, Elizabeth, wife of Walter Barttelot, 45.
- Horace, 133.
- Horsfield, Sussex historian, 120.
- Horsham, 18. 96.
- Horsham, Robert, lands demised by, 41.
- Horstude, Rob. de, knight's fee, 31.
- Howards, acquisition of the Fitzalan possessions by the, 56. *See* Norfolk.
- Howe, lord, a commissioner of Shoreham harbour, 99.
- Hull, number of ships contributed by, 84.
- Hunter, Joseph, on the *Liber Niger*, 28.
- Huntingdon, *see* Henry or Huntingdon.
- Huse, Hen. de, sheriff of Sussex, 36.
- Hussey, Mr, and the site of Anderida, 154-159. 163, 164.
- Hythe and the river Rother, 166. 170, 171. 175.

I.

- Idehurst, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38.
- Ingram, Hugh, litigation between Shoreham harbour commissioners and, 105. Result thereof, 107.
- Inkerman battle-field, compared with Findon valley, 24.
- Ipswich (Gyppeswick) prohibition sent to (1309) 83.
- Islesham, Jordanus de, knight's fee, 29.
- Itchingfield, Muntham in, and questions thereanent, 12. 14.

J.

- Jackson and Bean, contractors for Shoreham harbour works, 104.
- James II. great deal of trouble given by capt. Tattersall to, 89.
- Jarpenvill, David de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Jessop, Mr. report on Shoreham harbour by, 100.
- Job, autobiographic character of the book of, 133.
- John, king, his landings and embarkations at Shoreham, 78. 80. His mandate to the town, 82.
- Judges of Assize, paper edited by Mr. W. D. Cooper relative to the, 129.
- Julius Caesar, 169 *note*. Alleged site of his landings, &c, 170.

K.

- Kameis, Rad. de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- Kent Archaeological Society, 130.
- Kid a first year's roe, 5.
- Kinglake, Mr. on the similarity between Findon valley and Inkerman, 24.
- Kingston, new harbour entry at, 99. 102.
- Kingswode, John, a large land-owner of Findon, gift to the Carmelites of Shoreham by, 77.

Kirdford, the Barttelots formerly owners of lands in, 38.

Knell, Godfrey de, dam made by royal authority by, 167. Same destroyed by royal order, 168.

KNIGHTS' FEES IN SUSSEX, *temp.* Henry II. by Hugh Penfold, 27-33.

Knights templars, property in Shoreham held by the, 78, 79.

Knolle, Robertus de la, sheriff of Sussex, 36.

Knox, Mr. A. E. his visit to Parham heronry, 112. Supplement to his account, 113.

Kymor, formerly Cymenes-ore, in West-Wittering, 71

L.

Lampport, Ric. de, knight's fee, 33.

Lancing, a waiting place for smugglers, 97.

Lancing, Will. de, knight's fee, 29, 31.

Laxman, Wm. bequest to the Shoreham friars by, 77.

Leasom house, seat of Major Curteis, 169.

Lee, Robert, seizure for debt of the lands of, 48.

Leedes, Englebert, conveyance of the *nucleus* of the Cissbury estate by, 23.

Leicester, lord, herons brought from Wales for, 112.

Lemanus and Anderida, and the Rother, 160, 170, 171, 173. *See* Lympne.

Leukenore, Roger de, sheriff of Sussex, 35. *See* Lewknore.

Lewes leet, joint lords of the, 123. *See* 31.

Lewes, Roman road, adjacent to, 164.

Lewin, Thomas, F.S.A. on the landing of Julius Cæsar, 169 *note*. 170.

Lewknore, Joan de, 43.

Liber Niger and Liber Rubens, 27, 28.

Limo, Limen, 170, 171, 173. *See* Lympne.

Lisle, John, on a conflict between English and French ships, 86.

Littlehampton, the Barttelots formerly holders of property in, 38.

Loges, Roger de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.

London, charter conferring certain immunities on, 80. Number of ships contributed by (1346) 84.

London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 130.

Looe, number of ships contributed by (1346) 84.

Lorraine, Godfrey of, queen Adeliza daughter of, 56.

Lote, John and Matilda, tenement and chapel granted to, 78. Conditions of the grant, 79.

Lower, Mark Antony, on Findon park, 7. On Muntham, 14. On Stopham bridge, 68. On the physiognomy of Sussex seamen, 96. On points connected with the Rother, 166, 167, 168, 171, 173, 175. *See* 69.

LOWER, MARK ANTONY, F.S.A. Memoir

of, by Henry Campkin, F.S.A. 132-151. Autobiographic fragment, 133, 135. His earlier efforts at school-keeping, and first published work, 135, 136. Mechanics' Institution founded by himself and Shepherd Dudeney, 137. Other efforts on behalf of the working classes, 138. A pear-stealing anecdote; a brush with the "Bonfire Boys," 138, 139. Saint Anne's House: domestic affliction, 139, 140. Second marriage, removal to the Metropolis, death, 141. One of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society, 142. List of his contributions to its volumes, 143-145. Period of editorship, 146. Titles of his chief works, 146-148. His love for the human side of things, dislike of London, &c. 148, 149. Humorous lines on him, 150. His last days, 151. "Journall of Master Nathaniel Court-hop" annotated by him, 184-211.

Lower, Richard, of Chiddingly, father of the above, characterised by his son, 134. His stories in the Sussex *patois*, 19.

Lucas, John Clay F.S.A. 132.

Luci, Ric. de, knight's fee, 33.

Ludlowe, William, demise joined in by, 41.

Lumley, lord, 56 *note*. Estate granted to, 57.

Luntley, William, husband of Catherine Barttelot, 43.

Lyall, George, M.P. for London, services rendered to Shoreham by, 101.

Lyall, Mrs, drawing contributed to vol. xxvi. by, 3.

Lydd and Romney marsh, 169.

Lympne, Limen, Limo, Lemanus, in connection with Anderida and the Rother, 160. *Quota* of Roman troops stationed at, 161. Roman road, 163, 164. A suggestion relative to Julius Cæsar, 170. Not the original outfall of the Rother, 173.

Lytton, lord, 133.

M.

- Mackintosh, Hugh, harbour works contracted for by, 103.
- Madox on the object of the *auxilium*, or aid, 27.
- Maison Dieu hospital, Arundel, founder of the, 42.
- Maltravers, John Arundel, lord, value of the honour held by (1412) 58.
- Manerium*, strict meaning of, 21.
- Mansell, Francis, companion in the escape of Charles II, payment to, 87. Ruined by the commonwealth and pensioned by the king, 89.
- Manwood on the preservation of *vert*, 5.
- Margesson, William, rectification of an anachronism relative to, 3.
- "Marlepins," Shoreham, 76.
- Marlot, Anne, wife of Henry Barttelot, 44.
- Marriages, royal, aids formerly levied on the occasion of, 27.
- Marshall, Henry, vicar of Wilmington bequest to Shoreham priory by, 78.
- Martens, or martins, 4. A *richesse* of martens, 5.
- Mary, queen, Stopham re-granted to Henry, earl of Arundel, by, 56.
- Medestede, Andreas de, sheriff of Sussex, 36.
- Mercedesburn, question as to the site of the battle of in reference to Anderida, 153, 154, 157.
- Merivale, Rev. Charles, on the towns or *oppida* of the Britons, 159.
- Merre, Will. de, sheriff of Sussex, 30.
- Mersh, John, Shoreham priory granted to, 78.
- Micheldevere, Will. de, sheriff of Sussex, 34, 35.
- Michelgrove, migrations of herons to, 112.
- Michelham priory, Stopham manor exchanged for, 56.
- Middlesex, Lionel, earl of, rise and fall of; a pulpit fling at him, 10. Findon park granted to lord Thanet on his petition, 11.
- Middleton family, acquisition and conveyance of the Findon property by, 17, 18. A pedigree difficulty, 19.
- Middleton, Mary, wife of Walter Barttelot, 44.
- Mille, Milne, Mulne, Edmund, Munt-ham manor acquired by, 13. Inquisition *post-mortem*, &c, 14. The atte Milnes of Greatham and other branches of the family, 15.
- Mitchell, Rev. Henry, F.S.A. his efforts to preserve Bosham heronry, 111.
- Moate bridge, the Adur made navigable to, 98.
- Montague, lords and ladies and Munt-ham, 18, 19. Lord Montague's hunting box, 21.
- Montomeri, earl Roger de, the Barttelots sharers in the Conqueror's grants to, 40. *See* 56.
- Mowbray, John, grant of Findon park keepership by, 9.
- Mowbray, Sir John, priory founded by, 77.
- Muddy lake, Limo Lemanus the, 170.
- Much Wenlock, privilege granted to the voters of, 96.
- Mulne, *see* Mille.
- Mundham in Norfolk, and family named thereupon, 12. John and Thomas de Mundham, 12, 13, 20. North Mundham in Sussex, 38, 43.
- Muntham in Findon, 3. Acreage, once a manor, &c, 12. Earlier and later owners, 13-20. Present possessor, 20. Its aspect and surroundings, 21, 22.
- Muntham in Itchingfield, questions relative to, 12, 14.
- Murdae, Ricardus, knight's fee, 29.

N.

- Napoleon, 79. *See* Bonaparte.
- Newcastle, number of ships contributed by (1346) 84.
- Newdigate, Sir Roger, founder of the Oxford prize, Lewes mansion of, 139.
- Newenden, Mr. Elliott, on the identity of Anderida with, 153, *et seq.* *See* Anderida.
- Newenden and the Rother, 166, 174.
- Newhaven, route of the Ermyne street from, 164.
- NEW SHOREHAM, by Burton Green, 69-109. Site, small acreage, spellings of the name, &c, 69. Seafoods, origin of the town, &c, 71. The manor, local government, &c, 72, 73. Early increase

of the town and port, 73. The church, 73-76. Religious establishments, benefactions to same, &c, 76-79. Royal arsenal, 79. Grant of free port, market, fair, destruction of market house, &c. 80, 81. Parliamentary borough, 81. Town seal, 82. Early chronology, 82-85. Days of adversity, 85, 86. Privateers and pirates, attacks by the French, 86, 87. Shipmoney, Charles II. and his escape, 87-89. Electioneering enormities: the "Christian Society" and its doings, 90-94. Legislative changes for the better, 95, 96. Export and import smuggling, 96-98. Proceedings relating to harbour improvements, docks, &c, 98-104. Litigation with owners of the shore, arrangements come to, &c, 105-109. New Zealanders, their mode of producing fire, 178 *note*. Noblemen prohibited from going to France (1309) 83.

Norfolk, dukes of: Stopham not included in the forfeiture of the estates of the fourth duke, 56. Descent of Shoreham manor to the family, 72. Heronry got rid of by the late duke, 113. The duke for the time being joint-lord of Lewes leet, 123. First president of the Sussex Archaeological Society 142.

Normanville, Norman de, knight's fee, &c, 32.

Norsemen of old and Sussex seamen, 96. Northampton, earl of, order for ships for (1342) 83.

North Brooks, in Wigginholt, 45.

North Mundham, and North Stoke, Barttelot lands formerly in, 38.

Norton, Sir Fletcher, a Shoreham returning officer reprimanded by, 94.

Notitia Imperii, references to the, illustrative of the disputed site of Anderrida, 152. 153. 156, 157. 161. 164.

Nutbourne, Mille place in, 15.

O.

Elsson, V. M. on a German heronry, 116. Oglethorpe, Owen and Clement, gift to Magdalen college, Oxford, by, 77. Okehurst, 38.

Okehurst, William, at Agincourt, 42. His heiress wedded to a Barttelot *ibid*.

Old Park heronry, Bosham, 111, 112.

Old Shoreham, the Shoreham of Saxon times, 70. New Shoreham the supposed outgrowth of, 71. Old Shoreham bridge, 72. *See* New Shoreham.

Onley, Barbara, wife of Robert Barttelot, 43.

Oppida or towns of the Britons, 159, 160. Orham, Robert de, knight's fee, 29.

Ormonde, marquis of, and Charles II, 89.

Orthono, *quota* of Roman troops at, 161.

Otter, the, anciently the "Rottier," an affluent of the Rother, 169.

Ouse river, 176.

Ouvry, Frederic, Pres. S. A. eulogium on the late Mr. Cooper, by, 131.

"Ovingdean Grange," foundation of W. H. Ainsworth's novel of, 89.

Ow, earl of, 32.

"Owlers," a cant name for wool smugglers, 96.

Oxney, isle of, and the river Rother, 166, 167, 168. 175.

P.

Page, Gregory, election petition against, 91.

Pageham, Will. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35. *Palliser*, a park keeper, 8.

Palmarius, Hen. knight's fee, 29.

Palmer's combe, in Findon, 14.

Parceres, Will. knight's fee, 29.

Parham, 112. Migration of heronry to, a keeper "interviewed," &c, 113, 114.

Parish, rev. W. D. Sussex glossary by, 121.

Parish registers, stories told by the late Mr. W. D. Cooper of the neglect of, 121, 122.

Parks: What is a park? 3. Conditions needful to the constitution of a park, &c, 4-7.

Parrimer, Roger, land sold to, 23.

"Parry's coast of Sussex," Shoreham described in, 104.

Partington, J. clerk to the Shoreham "Christian Society," 92.

- Peachey, Sir James, lord Selsey, exchange with the Barttelots by, 45.
 Pear-stealing, a school boy anecdote, 138.
 Peasmarsh, river embankment at, 167.
 PENFOLD, HUGH, on knights' fees in Sussex, *temp.* Henry II; 27-33. On sheriffs of Sussex, 34-36.
 Penhurst, herons brought from Wales to, their migration, &c. 112.
 Pepys, the diarist, story dictated by Charles II. to, 88. *See* 145 *note*.
 Perceval, Spencer, shot, 118.
 Perci, Henry, curious condition attached to the gift of a manor to, 124.
 Percy, lord, queen Elizabeth sponsor to, 229, 230.
 Perry, John, petitions against Shoreham elections by, 90, 91.
 Petraponte, Simon de, knight's fee, 29.
 Petrarch, Sir T. Wyat compared with, 25.
 Petworth (Pettewrtha) knight's fees, 29.
 Pevensey, Ric. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
 Pevensey, "undoubtedly the Portus Anderidus," 70. Arguments to the contrary, 155. 158. 163. 165. *See* Anderida.
 Peverel, Robert, knights' fees, &c, 29. 31, 32.
 Philips, Robin, companion in the escape of Charles II, 88.
 Phœnician relics found at Eastbourne and Hissarlik, similarity between, 227.
 Pigeon-eating on Good Friday, a Barttelot disinherited for, 42.
 Pincerna, Ernaldus, knight's fee, 29.
 Pipe roll, 14 Henry II, return of knights' fees, 32.
 Piracy, Shoreham mariners given to, 86, 87. 98.
 Plantagenet kings and their forest laws, a word of apology for the, 6.
 Plymouth, number of ships contributed by (1346) 84.
 Poer, Stephen le, Thakeham manor derived from coheireses of, 21.
 Poleberga (Pulborough) knights' fees, 29.
 Pollington, lord, sum lent for Shoreham harbour works by, 100.
 Portayse, Thomas, one of the first two members for Shoreham, 81.
 Portman, lord, herons' nesting trees in the park of, 116.
 Portslade, Roman remains near, 70.
 Portsmouth and the Portus Adurni, 70. Prohibition sent to, 83.
 Portus Adurni, suggestions as to the site of, 70.
 Portus Anderidus, 70. *See* Anderida.
 Portus Lemanus, 173. *See* Lemanus.
 Portus Magnus, 70.
 Portus Novus of Ptolemy, 173.
 Post, Beale, on the site of Anderida, 160.
 Potmanshoath and the Rother, 167. 174.
 Poynings, Michael de, bequest to the Shoreham friars by, 78.
 Poynings, Robert, royal order to, 84.
 Praeris, Rob. de, knight's fee, 32.
 Preston, East, Barttelot property in, 38.
 Pricket and pricket's sister, a second year buck and doe, 5.
 Privateers fitted out at Shoreham, 86.
 Proctor, rev. Dr. George, formerly head master of Lewes grammar school, 119.
 Ptolemy's Portus Novus, 173.
 Pulborough, manor acquired by the Apsleys, 15. Barttelot estates in, 40. *See* Poleberga.
 Pulpit, a fling at a dishonest treasurer from the, 10.
 Purling, John, M.P. for Shoreham, result of a petition against the corrupt return of, 1-93.

R.

- Rabbiter* scared by herons, 113, 114.
 Recham, Rob. de, knight's fee, 28.
 Recovery rolls, character of the recoverors in the, 16.
 Reculver, *quota* of Roman troops stationed at, 161.
 Reform club, Mr. W. D. Cooper appointed solicitor of the, 125, 126.
 Reigate, peculiarity of flints found near, 180.
 "Reliquary," Mr. Cooper's paper on Anthony Babington in the, 130.
 Retford, East, privilege granted to the voters of, 96.
 Rhee wall, the, the Rother, and the Romans, 169. 171. 175.
 Richard I, excused debt entered in the Pipe roll of, 32.
 Richard of Cirencester's *iter* and Anderida, 160.
 Richborough, Roman troops stationed at, 156. 161.
Richesse of marterns, 5.
 Richmond, duke of, first patron of the Suss. Archæol. Soc. 142
 Rivallis, Petrus de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
 Roberts, Hugh, brought to his knees for

- corrupt conduct as a Shoreham returning officer, 91-94.
- Robertsbridge bay; river water so called by Dugdale, 174, 175.
- ROBINSON, REV. C. J. account of Stopham by, 37-68. *See* Stopham.
- Robinson, Henry, Shoreham, prosecuted for corrupt election conduct, 94.
- Roes and roebucks, technical terms applied to, 4, 5.
- Roman remains found: near Portslade, 70. At Romney Marsh, 169.
- Romans in Britain, 156-160. 163.165. 169. 171-173.
- Romney, Romney Marsh, and the Rother, 166. 169-173. 175.
- Rotherfield, the Rother at, 176.
- ROTHER RIVER, Remarks on the, by Thomas Elliott, 166-176. Mr. Lower's views called into question, 166. 168. 171. 173. 175. Effect of the embankment at Blackwall, 167. "Knell's dam" made and unmade, 167, 168. Construction and abandonment of "Indraughts;" Blackwall dam cut through, 168. The "Otter" and "Smallhythe" channels; 169. Features of the district in the time of the Romans; probable impression of Julius Cæsar, &c, 169-171. The "Fleets" and the original bed of the river, 172. Actual state of things in the early historical period; the river much more a Sussex than a Kent stream, 174-176. "Rottier," or "Otter," a channel passing into the Rother, 169.
- Rowe, John, "father of Sussex Archæology," Lewes residence of, 140.
- Rumbold, Thomas, wrongly ousted from his seat for Shoreham, 91. Corrupt conduct alleged against him, 93.
- Rushbridge, Thomas, prosecuted for corrupt election practices, 94.
- Rusper, part of the Barttelot possessions formerly in, 38.
- Rye, la, prohibition addressed to, 83.
- Rye and the Rother, 166. 172, 173, 174. 175.
- Ryman, Humphrey, license refused by Henry VIII. to, 45.

S.

- Sackville, Thomas, tragedy by, 130.
- Saint Anne's house, Lewes, distinguished occupants of, 139, 140.
- Saint Florent, complaint of the abbot of, 79.
- Saint Leonard's forest, smugglers' hiding places in, 97. Discovery of flint implements in, *see* Discovery.
- Saint Martin's in the Vintry, London, chantry founded by James Barttelot in, 43.
- Saint Pancras parish, Middlesex, office held by Mr. Cooper in, 125.
- Salehurst market town, Jas. de Echyng-ham's petition concerning, 168.
- Sancto Germano, Joelus de, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- Sandwich, prohibition addressed to (1309) 83. Number of ships contributed by (1346), 84. *See* 156.
- Sarall, Humfridum de, knights' fee, 29.
- Sauvage, Rob. le, sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- Savaric, father and son, knights' fees, &c, 28. 32, 33.
- Saxon pennies, "find" of, 227.
- Saxon shore, count of the, 152. 162.
- Saxons at Shoreham, 70, 71. Constantine's efforts to check their piracies, 152. Result of their invitation into Britain, 153. *See* 154-157.
- Scarlett, Sir James, afterwards lord Abinger, twice an unsuccessful candidate for Lewes, 119.
- Schaffhausen falls, curious extract relating to the, 230.
- Scott, Sir Walter, autobiographic fragment left by, 132.
- Seras, Richard, forfeits his ship for piracy, &c, 87.
- Seaford, prohibition addressed to (1309) 83. Electioneering club at, 96.
- Seddlescomb, Saxon pennies found at, 227.
- Sele priory, concession to Findon church by, 13.
- Seleisia, Will. de, knights' fee, 29.
- Self-command a rare element when out shooting, 6.
- Selsey, lord, *see* Peachey.
- Shakespeare Society, book edited by Mr. W. D. Cooper for the, 129.
- Sheepcombe, or Shipcomb, granted to the vicars choral of Chichester, 22. Sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 23. Apropos remark on the manor and its owner, 24.
- Shelley family and Findon, 11. 16, 17. One of their Lewes residences, 139.
- SHERIFFS OF SUSSEX, by Hugh Penfold, 34-36.

- Shiffners, of Combe, a notable ancestor of the, 88.
- Shipcombe, John de, land sold by, 23. *See* Sheepcombe.
- Ship-money, amounts assessed on some Sussex towns, 87.
- Shirley, Evelyn Philip, work on deer-parks by, 7.
- Shoreham, a conspicuous M.P. for, 18. The first two members, 81. *See* New Shoreham.
- Silvestres*, resorts of park feeding animals, 6.
- Sim, Mr. W. on herons nesting in rookeries, 116.
- Skelton castle, Yorkshire, antiquity of, particulars relating to, &c, 124, 125.
- Slater, Mr. on a peculiarity in New Shoreham church, 75.
- Slinfold, part of the Barttelot possessions formerly in, 38.
- Smallfield, Mr. J. S. 132.
- Smallhythe channel and the Rother, 167, 168. Its former name, 169.
- Smith, John, actuary of Lewes savings bank, 122.
- Smuggling by the men of Shoreham and the Cinque Ports generally, 96-98.
- Smyth, Barbara, wife of rev. Walter Barttelot; the name assumed by another Walter, 45.
- Sompting Abbots, 22.
- Song of Solomon translated into the Sussex vernacular by M. A. Lower, 143.
- Sorel*, *sore*, technical designations for a third and fourth year back, 5.
- Southampton, prohibition addressed to (1309) 83. Number of ships contributed by (1346) 84.
- Southey, Robert, autobiographic fragment left by, 132.
- Speed's Map, Wiston park in, 9.
- Sport, modern, the test of, 4.
- Stag or hart, species of deer represented by the, 4.
- Stangrave, Stangreve, Rob. de, sheriff of Sussex, 36.
- Star inn, Shoreham, boast of a landlord of the, 96. Meeting there, 100.
- Sterne, Laurence, epistolary relics of, published by Mr. W. D. Cooper, 125.
- Stevenson, John Hall, "Crazy Tales" by, 125.
- Stockmar, baron, a fifteenth century parallel to, 42.
- Storrington, part of the Barttelot possessions in, 38.
- STOPHAM, by the rev. C. J. Robinson, from materials contributed by Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Bart. M.P. 37-68. Descent of the manor and manor houses, 56. Domesday description, early owners, 56, 57. When acquired by the present possessor's ancestor, 57. Old manor house, 59. The present mansion, 60. The church, its brasses, and monuments, 60 66. The registers, extracts from terriers, &c, 66, 67. The bridge, 68.
- Strangford, co. Devon, heronry at, 116.
- Stuhe, near Bremen, heronry at, 116.
- Stukeley, Dr. his route for the Ermyn street, 164.
- Sub-infeudations, question about, 21.
- Suche, or Sousche, William la, knights' fees held by, 48. *See* Zouche.
- Suffolk, Thomas earl of, market granted to, 81.
- Sullington, owners of and dealings with lands in, 13, 14, 17, 20.
- Surrey Archæological Collections, paper contributed by Mr. W. D. Cooper to the, 130.
- Surrey, lord, the poet, on his brother poet, Wyat, 25.
- SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, origin and founders of the, 142. Catalogue of its library, 212-226.
- SUSSEX COUNTY RECORDS, suggestions for collecting and printing the, 1. Possible objections and answers thereto, 2.
- SUSSEX HERONRIES, by the Rev. F. H. Arnold, LL.B. 110-116. Yarell's omission: heronries in Saxon times, 110. The bird itself, its habits and aspect, 111. Bosham heronry, 110-114. 116. Parham heronry, Knox's description, a keeper "interviewed," 112-114. Herons and rooks, 114, 115, 116. Brede heronry, Mr. Frewen's description, 114, 115. Windmill Hill heronry, Hailsham, Mr. Curteis's note, 115. Heronries in Ireland, Germany, Scotland, &c, 116.
- "Sussex Pad," rendezvous and store-house of smugglers, 97, 98.
- SUSSEX SHERIFFS, by Hugh Penfold, 34-36.
- Sykeston, Isabel, her husband and daughter, 43.

T.

- Tanner, bishop, hospital not mentioned by, 78.
- Tate, Mr W. on the herons' nests at Bryanstone, 116.
- Tattersall, Nicholas, Charles II. conveyed France by, 88. His ruse on the king's neglect of him, pension and other favours granted to him, &c, 89, 90.
- Thackeray, W. M. autobiographic character of the writings of, 133.
- Thakeham manor, heriot, quit rent, &c, paid to the lord of, 12. Muntham a part of the manor, &c, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21.
- Thanet, John, fourth earl of, lord of Findon place, 10. Findon enfeoffed to Sir J. Fagg by, 11.
- Thomas of Woodstock, marriage of a Barttelot to a descendant of, 44.
- Tillingham river well stocked with fish, 115. The "Tweed" one of its feeders, 169.
- Tombstones, genealogical difficulties often cleared up by, 19.
- Tortington priory, corrective note by Mr. Bond on, 227.
- Tregoz arms quartered by the Barttelots, 42.
- Tresgoz, John and Philip de, knights' fees, 32, 33.
- Trower, Charles Francis, M.A. *See* Editor.
- Trubbewica, Rob. de, knight's fee, 29.
- Tulley, Joh. Findon park "in tenura," 8.
- Turner, rev. Edward, correction of errors of, 15. 227.
- "Tweed," channel so called by Mr. Lower, 168. Another channel so named, 169.

U.

- Udall, Nicholas, Mr. Cooper's edition of an early comedy by, 130.

V.

- Venison, animals constituting, its etymology, &c, 4.
- Vert, one of the requisites for a park, 4. Distinctions regarding it, 5.
- Vespasian's legion, site of the camp occupied by, 111.
- Virgil, illustrative quotation from the "Georgics" of, 112.

W.

- Wales, army of, *temp.* Hen. I. and II. questions concerning the, 28.
- Waland marsh and the Rother, 173. 175.
- Walton, Petronilla, wife of a Barttelot, 43.
- Wareham, prohibition addressed to (1309) 83.
- Warnham and Denne, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38. Severed therefrom, 44.
- Warren, earl, a non-contributor to a certain aid, 31.
- Washington, property "recovered" in, 17. Purchaser of the manor, 20.
- Wauncy, Nich. sheriff of Sussex, 34.
- Wauton, Joh. de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.
- Webb, Sir John, Muntham granted in trust to, 18.
- Wenchling, son of Ella, 71.
- Wenlock, *see* Much Wenlock.
- Wenway, or Weinway, channel, and the Rother, 172, 173. 175.
- West Blatchington, Roman remains found at, 70.
- Westmoreland, Martindale in, 5.
- West Sussex Natural History Society, 111.
- West Wittering, part of the Barttelot estates formerly in, 38. Origin of the name of Kymor manor, 71. Landing place of Ella, 153.

- Wet level, the, and the Rother, 167, 168. 174.
- Weymouth, prohibition addressed to (1309), 83. Number of ships contributed by (1346), 84.
- White, Mary, widow, second wife of a Barttelot, 45.
- Whitelofe, H. sheep enclosure tenanted by, 13.
- Wickens, Philadelphia, wife of Walter Barttelot Smyth, 45.
- Wicker, Mr. M.P. for Shoreham, petitioned against, 91.
- Wigginholt, part of the Barttelot estates in. 40. North Brooks in, 45.
- Wigney, William, M.P. for Brighton, good service rendered to Shoreham by, 101.
- Williams, Sir W. Peere, services rendered to and money lent for Shoreham harbour by, 99, 100.
- Wilmot, lord, companion of Charles II. in his escape to France, 87, 88.
- Winchelsea, prohibition addressed to, 83. Old Winchelsea and the Rother, 169, 172-175.
- Windmill hill place, particulars of the heronry at, 115.
- Wine-sellers at Shoreham fined, 80. *See* 96.
- Wisborough green, part of the Barttelot estates at, 38. 40.
- Wish barn, a smugglers' rendezvous, 97.
- Wiston park and Findon park, Speed's map, &c, 9. *See* 11. 22.
- Wittering, *see* West Wittering.
- Wittersham, river embankment at, 167.
- Woodchurch, road to the Roman station at Colham in, 163.
- Woodstock, Thomas of, 44.
- Wool, sale of, to the Flemish forbidden, 80. Wool smugglers of Shoreham, 96.
- Worldham, Petrus de, sheriff of Sussex, 36.
- Wreckers at Shoreham, 98. Early instance of wrecking, *ibid note*.
- Wright, Sir M. information wanting in his book on tenures, 21.
- Wyat, Sir Thomas, the conspirator, and his father, the poet, 24, 25.
- Wyatts of Cissbury, 24. Pedigree, 26.
- Wyk, Rogerus de, sheriff of Sussex, 35.

Y.

- Yarmouth ships exempted from harbour dues at Shoreham, 99.
- Yarrell, William, ornithologist, silent on Sussex heronries, 110.

Z.

- Zouches of Parham, probable identity of the Stopham Suches or Sousches with the, 48 *note*. Lord Zouche's heronry, 113. The late lord on rooks and herons, 114. *See* 58, *text* and *note*.
- Zusch, Will. la, sheriff of Sussex.

6/108