

**HALNAKER.—SOUTH FRONT.**

*(From a Photograph by Mr. J. C. Stenning.)*

## HALNAKER HOUSE.

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BY J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

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IN the ruins of Halnaker we have an example of a manor house which, in its first state, appears to have been one of a numerous class, half castle, half mansion, and a building somewhat similar to the Sussex Castles of Bodiam and Hurstmonceaux. In the sixteenth century considerable additions and alterations were made, partaking of a purely domestic character, and when they were completed the house must have been an extensive pile, but one which was extensive, rather than imposing and dignified. In the eighteenth century further alterations were made and are said to have been improvements, but a change of ownership caused this large habitation to be abandoned as a lordly residence, and it was allowed to fall gradually into a state of desolation and decay, a process helped by the free use of the materials for building cowsheds and other farm buildings, and for metalling the adjacent roads; some of the wrought stonework, it is further said, found its way to Chichester, and a house there is reported to be entirely faced with stone from Halnaker Hall.<sup>1</sup>

The original plan appears to have comprised a series of buildings forming a quadrangle, the chief entrance being on the south side, and the great hall and residence proper, exhibiting a range of apartments, on the north, whilst an unusually large chapel was placed in the centre of the eastern side of the courtyard. From the state into which the ruins have at present fallen it is impossible to indicate precisely the disposition of the subsidiary rooms and offices.

The chief entrance forms a gatehouse and has an outer doorway under a well-proportioned pointed segmental

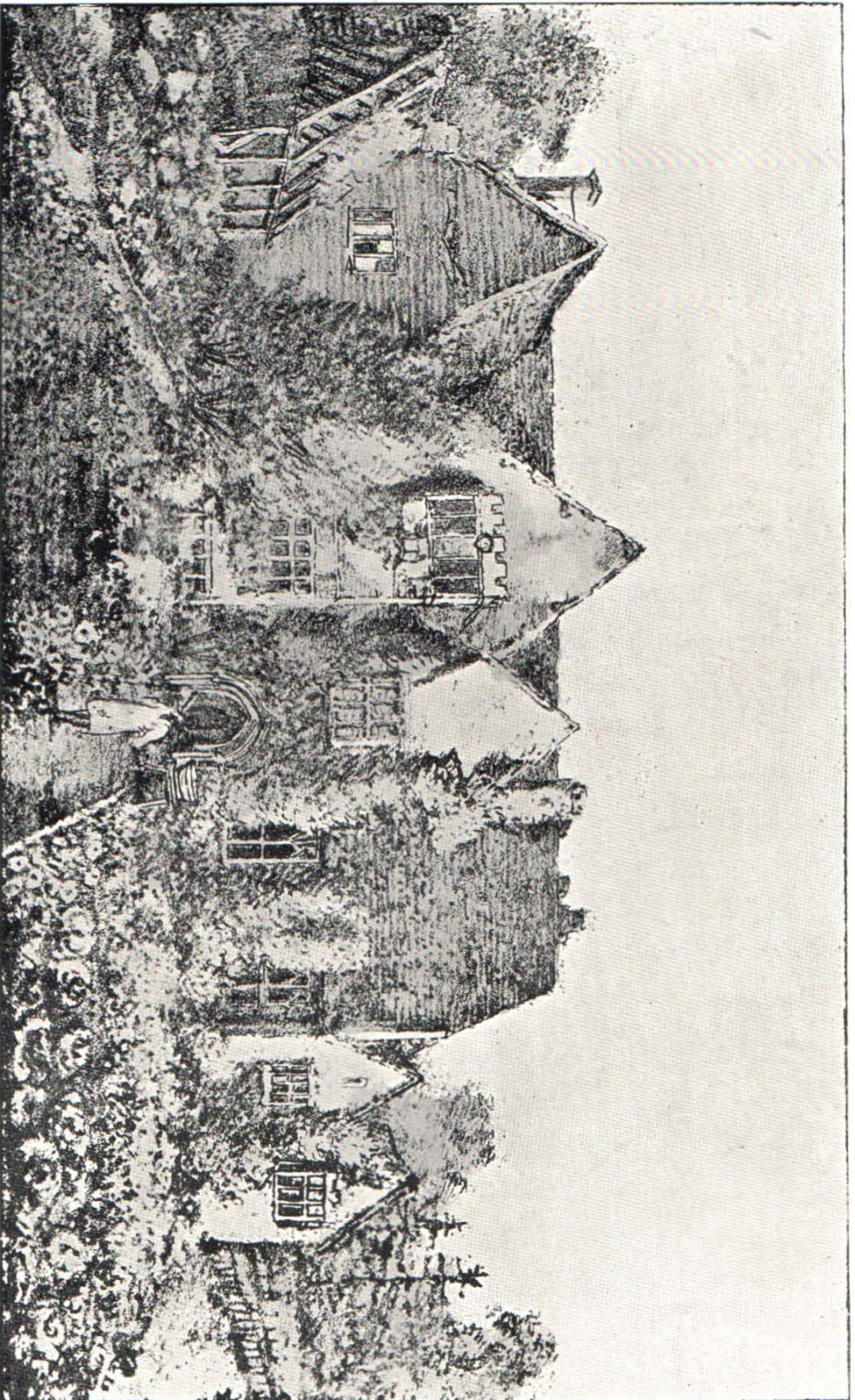
<sup>1</sup> Elwes and Robinson's "Castles and Mansions of Western Sussex," p. 43 *n.*

arch, a favourite form for castle doorway heads, as at Lewes. This was filled in with massive doors and had a portcullis; the inner gate has a one-centred arch, and possessed no second portcullis, such as is found in most castellated work. The space between the doorways was groined and had an apartment over it, with a large south window of sixteenth century date. Small octagonal turrets flanked the outer entrance, probably of the same period as the room above, and were Tudor additions. At the S.W. end of the S. wall are still the remains of a square tower, another indication that the house was not intended for a castle, for, had it been so, a circular tower would have filled in the angle of the junction of the south and west walls, as we find in both Roman and mediæval fortresses, the square form offering less resistance to the battering ram of a besieging force than a circular one. Probably a similar tower, demolished in the sixteenth century, stood at the corresponding south-east angle.

Passing from the entrance gateway across the courtyard the principal range of buildings was reached and entered through a doorway of fourteenth century date, which still remains perfect, and has continuous mouldings of Decorated character. Over this was a chamber reached by a newel staircase, part of which remains, and to the left of this approach were two gabled buildings, and to the right of it, placed east and west, was the hall, which was probably of fifteenth century date. It had two windows at the side with two lights each, transomed, and under square heads. Originally, no doubt, this hall had a high open roof, as in the one at Mayfield Palace; but, according to a drawing by Grimm, this was replaced by a flat ceiling and a chamber, facing the courtyard, with an ornamental gable raised over it.<sup>2</sup>

The additions and alterations made in the sixteenth century were the work of Thomas West, Lord La Warr, and Halnaker was probably his principal residence until circumstances compelled him to retire to his other West

<sup>2</sup> The gables were enriched with sculpture and armorial escutcheons. (See "Archæologia," Vol. XXIX., p. 381.)



SOUTH VIEW OF HAINAKER CASTLE, FROM THE COURTYARD.

*(From Rouse's Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex.)*

Sussex seat at Offington, in Broadwater. The hall at Halnaker appears to have been a part of the house which received his especial attention, and he panelled its walls from floor to ceiling with rich and elegant work, of which the grooves for the bond timber to which it was fixed still remain in some places. These panels, from descriptions left of them, must have been exceedingly intricate and beautiful, like much of the panel work executed during the earlier period of the reign of Henry VIII. Some of the carved work went to adorn houses in Chichester, and I believe still exists in Nos. 14 and 15, West Street. Other panels are reported to have been removed to Buckhurst, another seat of the De la Warrs, situated in East Sussex, and now a ruin. The panels were of the kind peculiar to England, called linen-fold ones, under cornices filled with medallions, or badges and monograms, whilst the screen at the west end of the apartment had on it two large circular panels charged with the arms of the De la Warre and Camoys' families, with many quarterings, and in this partition were two doors flanked by full length statuettes of warriors, whilst the cornice had similar crouching figures. The Royal Arms of England were also conspicuously placed at the east end of the room. Stained glass filled the windows, and was of a rich and beautiful character; one of these windows, it is said, was bought by the late Prebendary Holland and built into his house at Chichester.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of this hall will be seen in the accompanying reproduction of a plate by Rouse, given in his work on Sussex.

In this hall in later times was a portrait of one of the owners of Halnaker, Sir Thomas Morley, in his robes as a Knight of the Bath, and attended by his squire; there was also the portrait of a lady in a fanciful costume, and supposed to be the work of Sebastian Ricci.<sup>4</sup> These pictures are, I believe, preserved at Goodwood House, where there are two metal fire-covers, also from Halnaker, and of the time of James I.; these are

<sup>3</sup> Elwes and Robinson, p. 43 *n*.

<sup>4</sup> "Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. VIII., p. 319, where a short description of this picture is given.

erroneously called curfews, but were, there can be little doubt, used to cover up the embers of the hall or kitchen fires at night, and in this way in many places these wood fires were kept alight from day to day, as for instance at Moor Hall, Hadlow, Essex, where there is a tradition that the kitchen fire has never gone out. Over the hall doorway was carved in stone the great escutcheon of the La Warr family, with all its numerous quarterings.

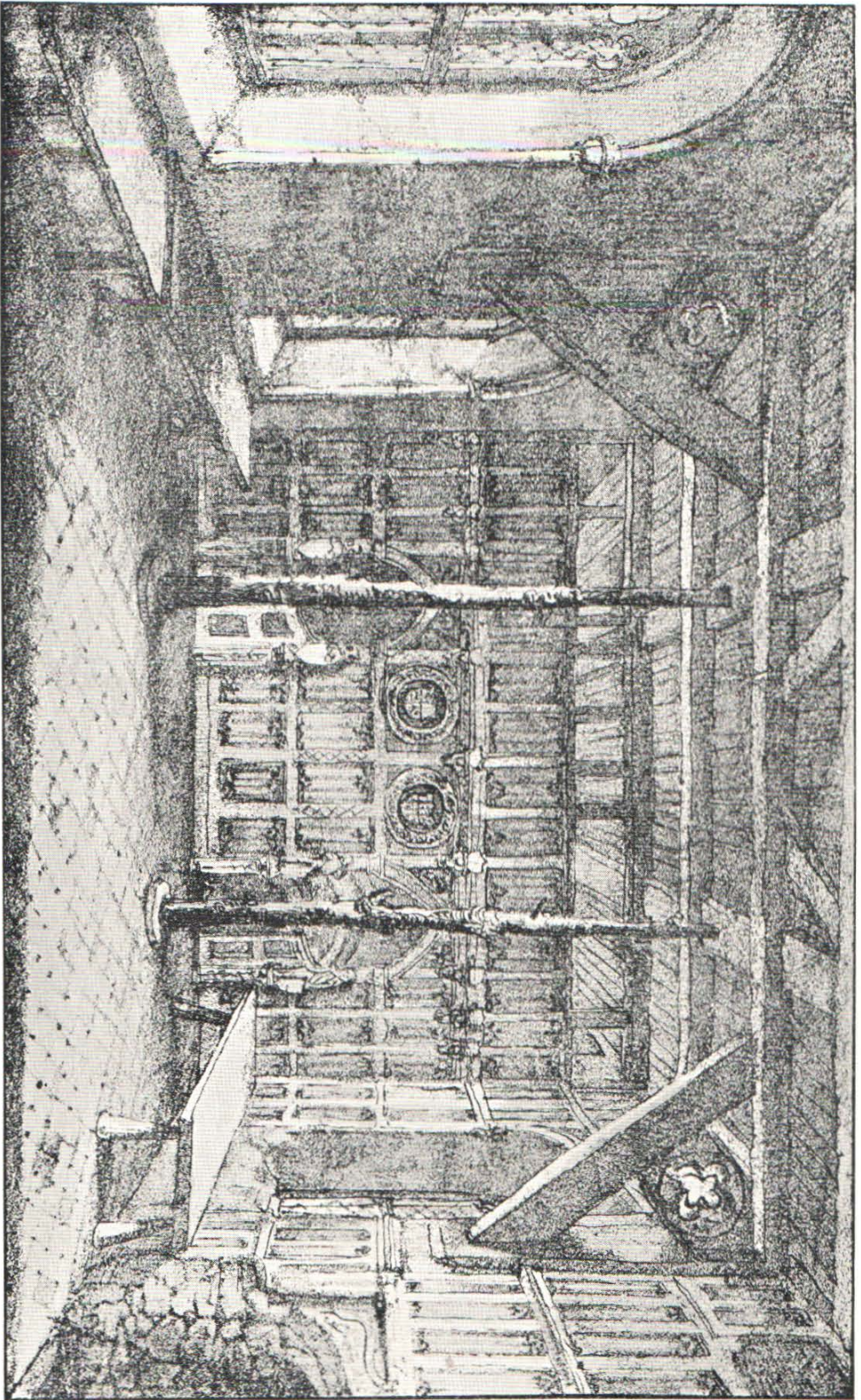
West of the hall was the kitchen, the entrance to which had the bust of a man, flanked by figures of a heron and a fowl, whilst over it was a label inscribed *Les Biens Venus*. A similar bust was on the entrance to the cellar, there being cups on either side, and with the legend on a scroll *Com in and Drynge*. A reproduction of a print in Rouse gives us a good idea of these quaint embellishments of a sixteenth century kitchen.

From the following account it will be thought probable that this apartment occupied the whole height of the building, and perhaps resembled the kitchen at Stanton Harcourt, Oxon, or the Abbots Kitchen, Glastonbury. The writer says: "At the extreme west end of the house is the kitchen, which is very lofty, and provided with luffer boards," and in 1840 "the spacious fireplace was surmounted with eight or ten spit-racks, and sundry hooks for salted meat. A rusty roasting-jack remained, and assisted once, annually, to cook the court-leet dinner. Here were likewise two large coppers; and, in the north-west corner, a crane for hoisting up the carcase of a sheep or pig—while from a small elevated casement near the north-eastern corner the housekeeper's directions were issued."<sup>5</sup>

It will be seen from the above how much more perfect this building was in 1840 than at present, and shows what desolation sixty years of neglect has brought about.

The east side of the courtyard had a sixteenth century range of buildings, consisting of ground and chamber stories, with tall moulded brick chimney shafts, with stepped gables. In this wing was a long gallery and

<sup>5</sup> Extracted from a letter written by William Bromley, M.D., F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, in 1840, and printed in "Archæologia," Vol. XXIX., p. 380.



INTERIOR OF THE ANCIENT HALL, HAINAKER CASTLE.

(From Rouse's *Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex*.)

south of it, standing duly east and west, was a chapel, now the oldest part of these remains. Its eastern end projects about two feet in front of the wall enclosing the quadrangle on its outer side. The dedication was to St. Mary Magdalene, and the structure is of 1st Pointed character throughout, being a good, though rather plain, example of that style. The dimensions are about fifty feet in length by about twenty in breadth, inside measurements, the plan being a simple parallelogram, entered by a western doorway, as shown in the accompanying illustration, the doorway being one of two plainly chamfered orders, springing from a moulded impost, which shows that it is early in the style. The walls are of flint, with stone quoins, which at the east end are double, the form being unusual, but it may be observed elsewhere in this neighbourhood. The east elevation shows that there has been a well-proportioned triplet of lancet windows, which has had shafts of either stone or marble, the bases still remaining which carried them. The way in which the east end projects beyond the enclosing wall of the mansion shows that Halnaker was only slightly fortified, and the lowness of the sills of this triplet is a still further proof of this. An internal string-course of plain character runs round the walls under the windows, which at the north and south sides were lancets, and one of these on the southern side has the sill lowered, probably to form a sedile, but no traces of a piscina exist, nor of any aumbry, holy water stoup, or image bracket.

When the house was altered in the sixteenth century, a gallery appears to have been formed at the west end of the chapel, and this was entered from the chamber floor through a doorway under the brick arch still remaining in the north wall; an arrangement to be noticed in the domestic chapels at Cowdray and Hurstmonceaux, and by which the owner and his family could attend service without mixing with the congregation in the body of the chapel.

At Halnaker this adjunct to the mansion is of considerable size for a domestic oratory, and it may be



mentioned here that Petworth House still retains a large chapel, incorporated with the modern work of that princely abode, and which has some beautiful arcading on its south wall of Decorated character.

Nearly every house of any importance had, in the middle ages, its private chapel, duly consecrated and licensed, and, although in a few cases the dining hall supplied its place, it was an irregularity, and severely reprobated by the bishops, as we see in a letter written by Bishop Grostete, of Lincoln, to one of the Earls Warren, and which is given in full in the sixth volume of our Society's "Collections." These chapels had in general neither bells, fonts, or graveyards, and, although the Eucharist was celebrated in them, the worshippers were bound to resort to their parish churches at the three great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas, and at death they were buried in their parish church or its graveyard. The owner of a private chapel appointed his own chaplain, but this cleric could be admonished or suspended by the bishop of the diocese, and in the middle ages to keep a chaplain was esteemed a privilege, whilst only noblemen were permitted to have more than one by an Act passed in 1529, and which is, I believe, still in force. At Halnaker this official appears to have been one of the monks from the adjacent Priory of Boxgrove, as the owners of the manor were considered the heirs and successors of the original founder, Robert de Haia. Richard de St. John seems to have been the first to choose a chaplain from the monks, and stipulated that when he was from home the monk was to return to the priory.

The chapel of St. Mary Magdalene at Halnaker seems in the early part of the eighteenth century to have been in sufficient repair to permit of the celebration of divine service in it, as in 1704 Mary, daughter of Sir William Morley, was here married to James, Earl of Derby;<sup>6</sup> but the writer of the letter to Sir Henry Ellis, before quoted, says that the long eastern gallery and the chapel fell down in 1804—just a hundred years after.

<sup>6</sup> Elwes and Robinson, p. 43 n.



SPECIMENS OF CARVED WORK, HALNAKER HALL.

(From Rouse's *Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex*.)

No indications exist of a principal staircase to the mansion, but it was probably of wood, as in the nobler house at Cowdray. Dallaway records that in connection with Halnaker there was a well of the great depth of 219 feet and where the water was drawn up by an ass within a wheel, as it is at the present day at Carisbroke Castle, in the Isle of Wight; and at a short distance north-east of these ruins there is a large excavation of an octagonal shape and which our Secretary, Mr. Michell Whitley, has identified as the reservoir to contain the water supply for the house, and which with other works seem to have been executed by Sir William Morley in 1633.<sup>7</sup>

In Domesday Book this manor is called Halneche, and in old writings it appears as Halnac, Halnaked and Half-naked, the last being the name by which it was most frequently known. The descent of the manor may be epitomised as follows. Originally it formed part of Boxgrove, or Bosgrave, and was separated from it early in the twelfth century, being given by King Henry I. to Robert de Haia, who had two sons, though this manor was inherited by his daughter, Cecilia, who married Roger de St. John, and from the family of St. John it passed through those of Poynings and Bonville into that of West, by the marriage of Elizabeth Bonville with Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, who exchanged it with King Henry VIII. for the lands of Wherwell Abbey, in Hampshire. It thus became Crown property and was given by Queen Mary to Henry, Earl of Arundel; but in 1586 it was acquired by Sir John Morley, whose great-grandson, Sir William Morley, had a daughter Mary, who carried the estate to James, Earl of Derby, by her marriage with him, and there being no issue from this union it was bequeathed by the Countess to Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, who in 1765 sold it to Charles, Duke of Richmond, whose descendants now hold the property.

As the crumbling ruins of Halnaker tell us so little, mayhap a few notes on some of the former possessors

<sup>7</sup> See "Archæologia," Vol. XXIX., p. 381.

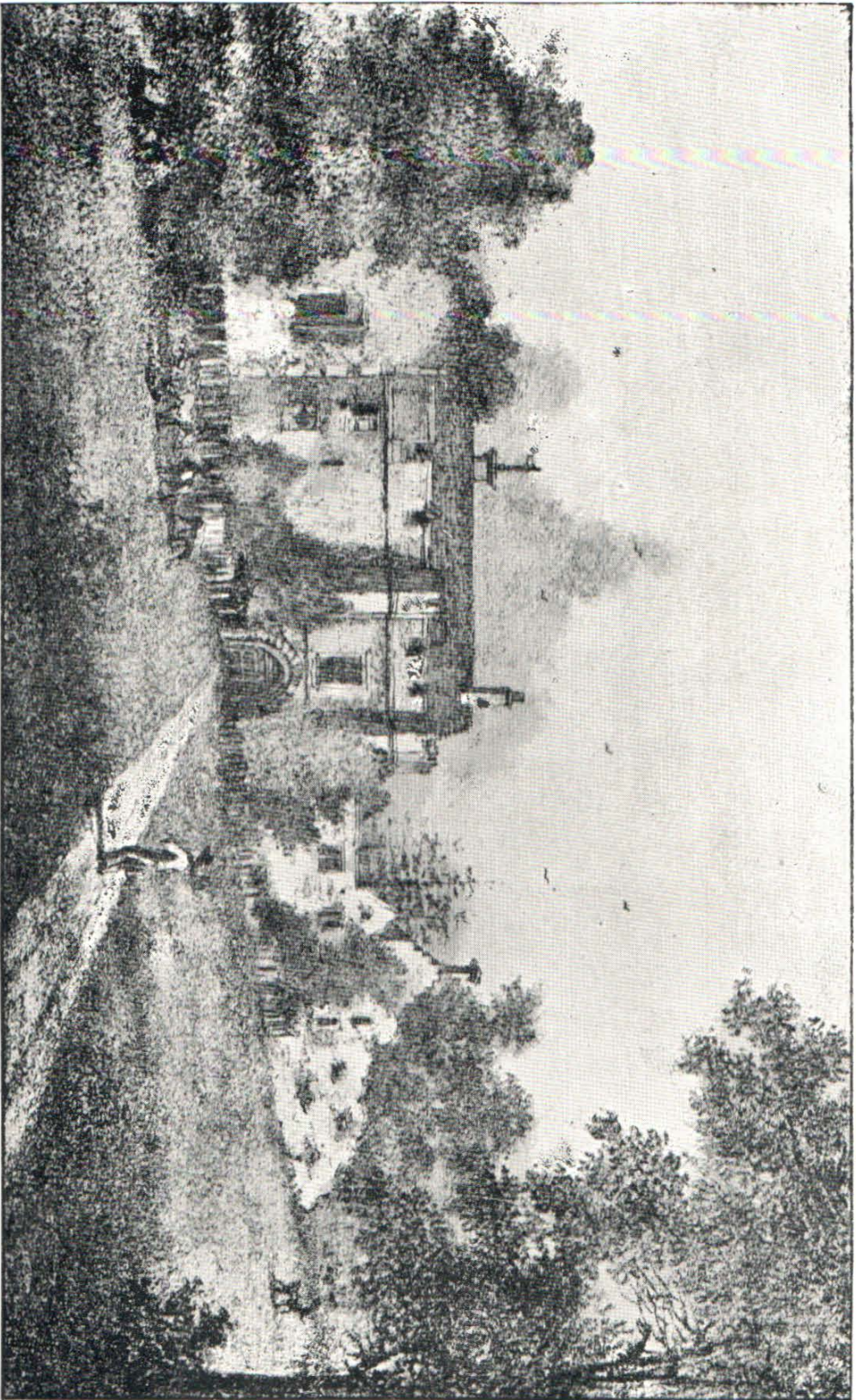
may enhance the scanty interest which the remains possess in themselves.

Robert de Haia, who died before 1165, was the founder of the once magnificent Priory of Boxgrove, as already stated, and his family of Haia, or Hay, became a numerous one in later times, and connected with many places in Sussex, as noticed in the account of Battle Church published in the forty-second volume of our "Collections."<sup>8</sup> The next owners of Halnaker, the St. Johns, were munificent benefactors to Boxgrove Priory, giving the monks a wood to supply them with fuel and timber. They also allowed them pasturage for cattle and pannage for swine in their woods at Halnaker, besides which they gave up several advowsons of Sussex churches, which they had formerly held.

Lucas de Poynings, younger brother of Michael de Poynings, who played a distinguished part in the wars of Edward III., according to Dugdale, married the widow of Henry de Burghersh, though some affirm that she was the relict of Bartholomew de Burghersh.<sup>9</sup> Luke, or Lucas de Poynings, confirmed the monks of Boxgrove in possession of all the properties and privileges which had before been given them. He died in 1375 and his will was proved at Southwark on July 4th, 1376. In it he styles himself "Dominus de Sancto Joanne," and leaves his body to be buried in the Priory Church of Boxgrove, "on the left hand side of the same church where the sepulchre of the Lord is wont to be made at Pascal tide." This disposal of his remains he afterwards rescinded, and directed them to be interred at Warneford, Hants, the Prior of Boxgrove, John de Londa, executing a deed by which he and his brethren solemnly renounced their right, under the will, to have Lord St. John buried in their church. The testator gave a set of red vestments for the use of the high altar at Boxgrove, and £XL. in silver towards the fabric of the same church, and to the

<sup>8</sup> "S.A.C.," Vol. XLII., p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> See "Archæological Journal," Vol. XI., p. 46, where the will of Luke de Poynings and an account of the miraculous legend of the finding of the relics of St. Gamaliel are given in full.



EXTERIOR OF HAINAKER CASTLE, FROM THE BUCK PARK.

*(From Rouse's Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex.)*

Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, he made the remarkable bequest of the head of St. Gamaliel and "towards the ornamentation of the said head," £xv. at the disposal of his executors. Concerning this relic, it may be stated that the remains of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, St. Gamaliel, and Nicodemus were discovered at the same time, and in the Sarum Use this event was celebrated on August 3rd as a feast of nine lessons with proper collect, secret and post-communion in the Mass. The relic is mentioned by Dugdale in his "History of St. Paul's," as follows: "Item caput S. Gamalielis, auripictum cum lapidibus circa humeros insertis."

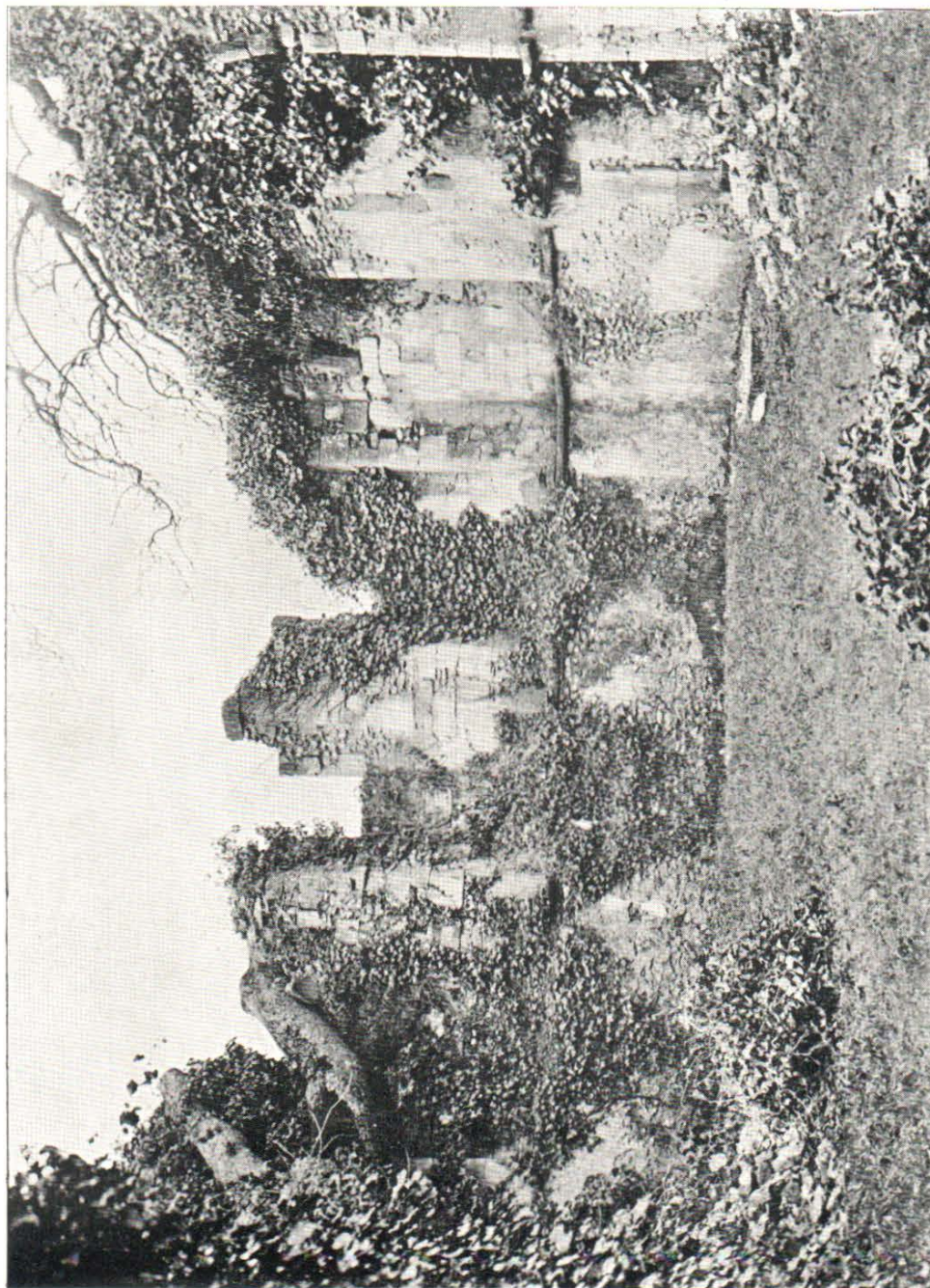
In the 15th volume of our "Collections" will be found many interesting particulars concerning the Bonvilles of Halnaker in a paper contributed by William Durrant Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., and by which we learn that John Bonville, who died at the ripe age of 81, by his will of May 31st, 1494, left his chaplain, Sir John Prestone, vi. viii<sup>d</sup>, and in it he says, "I bequeth to my chapell of Seint Mary Magdalene, within my place of Half-naked, a portuos and a processional to be had and kept for ever fastened with a chayne of iron to the lectern there."

Chained books, it is well known, were formerly very common, but probably it will be new to many to hear that there still exists a collection of books so fastened at the Grammar School at Guildford, and which, it has been stated, is only surpassed by the collections of manacled volumes at Wimborne and Hereford. Andrews says that "the finest specimen of a chained Bible in England is at the ancient church of Cumnor, near Oxford," and he gives illustrations of the manner in which volumes were so fixed.<sup>10</sup> John Bonville further left some goods in residue to his daughters, Florence and Elizabeth, under condition, he says, that they "will please my wyfe during ther lyfe accordyng to ther dewte." Katharine, the wife here mentioned, was the youngest daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield, of Leatheringham, Suffolk, and in her will of

<sup>10</sup> W. Andrews' "Curiosities of the Church," pp. 112 and 119.

25th September, 1497, left directions for her interment at Boxgrove and bequeathed certain articles of plate to be fashioned into two chalices, and says, "one therof I woll the Priour of Boxgrove shall have, and th'other the chapell of Halfnaked." To her chaplain, Sir John Prestone, she was more generous than her husband, as she left him forty shillings, instead of the six and eightpence bequeathed by him to the same priest. From various legacies mentioned in this will we learn that Halnaker House was remarkably well furnished with beds and bedding, like many other mediæval mansions. All her menservants, it states, were to be retained for a month after her decease, and each was to receive xx<sup>s</sup> on leaving; whilst her female domestics were each to have xxx<sup>s</sup> and to be conveyed home to their friends at the testator's expense, a kind and thoughtful provision on the part of their late mistress.

Considerable interest centres in the person of another possessor of Halnaker, Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, who, as before mentioned, became possessed of the mansion and manor by his marriage with Elizabeth Bonville early in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. By some writers he is credited with the erection of the whole of the northern part of the house, which is a mistake, though he, no doubt, added considerably to it and made extensive alterations in the existing buildings. He was with his father in Henry's French war and present at the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay, and in consideration of his services against Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was granted an annuity of £200. In 1535 the Priory of Boxgrove was dissolved, in spite of the remonstrances of Lord De la Warr, who wished that at least it should be refounded as a college. However, the buildings and lands became De la Warr's, as he was heir to the founder, Robert de Haia. The restoration of the property of monasteries to the successors of the original patrons was a rare event, but we have another instance in Sussex, at Hardham Priory, where Sir William Goring for this reason obtained the priory lands, the monastery having been founded by Sir William Dawtrey in the reign of



HALNAKER.—INTERIOR OF CHAPEL.

(From a Photograph by Mr. J. C. Stenning.)



Henry II., and whose estates Sir Wm. Goring inherited.<sup>11</sup> As a member of the Court, Lord De la Warr took part in its ceremonies, and was so employed at the baptism of the future King, Edward VI., in the year 1537, on which occasion another Sussex worthy was also present. This was Sir Anthony Broune, "master of the Kyngs maiestes horcys," as he is termed on his epitaph at Battle Church. To return to Lord De la Warr, we find that in 1538, for some unknown reason, he incurred the displeasure of Henry VIII., and it is certain that in 1540 this monarch compelled Lord La Warr to exchange the Manors of Boxgrove and Halnaker for the monastic lands at Wherwell, in Hampshire. Parting with Halnaker seems to have been much resented by Lord La Warr, and little to be wondered at, as he had so sumptuously improved and embellished the manor house; but having been compelled to relinquish it, he retired to another mansion of his at Offington, in Broadwater, and where he resided until his death. Edward VI. favoured him and created him a Knight of the Garter. He had no issue and his last years were clouded by the atrocious act of his nephew and heir, William La Warr, who made an attempt to poison him, and was for this cause disinherited by Act of Parliament, 2 of Edward VI. But the would-be assassin having joined the army in France and distinguished himself at St. Quintins, was restored to his heirship by another Act in the reign of Elizabeth. Thomas, Lord De la Warr died in 1554 and was interred at Broadwater, and not in the little chantry chapel he had erected on the south side of Boxgrove Priory Church. Machyn, the Chronicler, thus notices his burial in his usual confused manner: "The X day of October was bered the good Lord De La Warr in Sussex with standard, baner of arms, baner roll, coat armour, target, sword, elmet, with haroldes of armes, there cam the corse with four baners borne about hym [He] was the best howsekeeper in Sussex in thes days, and the mone

<sup>11</sup> The heirs to the founders of religious houses had "a share in the prayers and good works" of the communities endowed by their predecessors, and when any of these heirs visited their monasteries they were accustomed to be received by processions of the religious and led into the houses.

was greater for hym for he ded (died) without essue, and ther was a goodly herse of wax and pensels and viii dozen of skochyons and ther was a grett dole of money and mett and drynke, as was ever known in that contrey."<sup>12</sup>

Whilst Halnaker was in the possession of the Crown a royal visit was paid to it, and is noticed in some laudatory verses in Latin by Thomas Stapleton, the Wykehamist, a celebrated Sussex scholar, born at Streatham Manor House, at Henfield, and of whom a full account will be found in Lower's "Worthies of Sussex," p. 275. Edward VI. was the monarch who honoured Halnaker with his presence whilst on a progress in the year 1552. After having previously stayed at Petworth and Cowdray House he arrived here on July 27th, and the youthful King was pleased to note in a letter to a friend that Halvenaker was "a pretty house beside Chichester." The royal retinue was a large one, so numerous indeed that a part of it had been dismissed at Petworth. The Privy Council sat at Halnaker on July 30th and 31st, also on August 1st and 2nd, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Duke of Suffolk being present at these meetings.<sup>13</sup>

At this period the park was stated to be four miles round and to be capable of sustaining 800 deer, if some provision of hay was made for them in winter, when mast failed. The tenants of the manor were said to pay in coin, except a few, one of whom rendered up annually a broad arrow, another a pair of gilt spurs, and a third contributed a pound of pepper.<sup>14</sup>

Sir John Morley, Knight, who purchased Halnaker from Queen Elizabeth, became rich, as Mr. Blaauw informs us, by his place of "Apposer of the Extracts," in that monarch's exchequer, "and desirous of the outward marks of a gentleman, obtained from the Heralds of 1580 a grant of arms."<sup>15</sup> These arms, according to Berry, are

<sup>12</sup> "Diary of Henry Machyn," p. 71.

<sup>13</sup> See account of the royal progress in "S.A.C.," Vol. X., p. 195.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XV., p. 223.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 45.



HALNAKER.

WEST DOOR OF CHAPEL.

*(From a Photograph by Mr. J. C. Stenning.)*

also borne by the Morleys of Hants, Herts and Normanby, Yorkshire, and are *sa.* a leopard's head *ar.*, jessant-de-lis *or.* Crest, on a chapeau *gules* turned up *er.*, a leopard's head *ar.* jessant-de-lis *or.* These arms differ from those of the Morleys of Glynde and East Lavant.

Sir William Morley, another owner of Halnaker, was a Member of Parliament for the neighbouring town of Chichester, and he appears to have been a weak-kneed Royalist, whose estate having been forfeited by the Republicans, "seems," says Mr. Blaauw, "to have shrunk from the penalty of his loyalty, and on its being certified to Parliament, Nov. 22nd, 1643, that he had paid £1,000 fine, and had taken the covenant, recovered his estate, and does not re-appear in Sussex history before his death in 1658."<sup>16</sup>

He was buried at Boxgrove and left a son, also named William, who had no male issue, but a daughter, Mary, who in 1704 married James, Earl of Derby, as before noticed, and she inherited Halnaker from her father. In conjunction with her husband she is said to have made several improvements at the Manor House,<sup>17</sup> and, being of a charitable disposition, founded a hospital or almshouse, to be supported by the rents of various farms in Boxgrove, and to contain twelve poor widows, or, as she prettily expresses it, "aged maidens." Provision was also made for the teaching of poor boys by a resident schoolmaster, and one of the poor widows or maidens was to instruct girls in "reading and needlework."<sup>18</sup> The good Countess died in 1752, aged 84, and at her death the history of Halnaker House as a residence may be said to close.

My best thanks are due to our Honorary Photographer, Mr. J. C. Stenning, for the admirable photographs which so ably illustrate this paper on Halnaker House.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>17</sup> "A Description of England and Wales," published in 1770, says that "The late Earl of Derby made considerable additions to the house," *i.e.*, Halnaker (Vol. IX., p. 172).

<sup>18</sup> See "First Report of the Commissioners for Enquiring Concerning Charities," 1837, p. 136.