

# Sussex Archæological Society.

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## THE EARLY HISTORY OF NORTH AND SOUTH STOKE.

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IN the flat alluvial valley of the Arun, below the wooded slopes of Arundel Park, these two small villages, some five furlongs apart, are divided by the sluggish river of which the winding curves largely form the boundaries of their respective parishes. These parishes contain between them some 2,100 acres, but the bulk of this area is downland, which was mainly used for sheepwalks, and more than half of South Stoke, the larger of the two parishes, has been included in Arundel Park since the great changes involved in the making of the "New Park" about the close of the eighteenth century.

It is not too much to say that for some centuries after the Conquest the history of these parishes is a blank. We turn in vain for information to Cartwright's *Rape of Arundel*, and the Society's *Collections* will, I believe, be searched without result. Perhaps, however, the best proof of the lack of information on the subject is the fact that in those admirable *Calendars* of our mediæval records which have issued from the Public Record Office for many years it has frequently been impossible to determine which of the Sussex Stokes was referred to in a record, because there was no history of their descent available for the editor's guidance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the very latest volume of Close Rolls, issued only in the summer of 1916, the difficulty has been solved by omitting altogether from the index a very important entry relating to "Stoke."

I hope to show that it is possible to fill this blank completely with the assistance of materials that are now available in print, if they are used in the right way. But my object is not merely to trace the early manorial descents of these two parishes—although in the case of one of them this is of exceptional interest, but to illustrate the methods of research by which, even where the evidence is, at first sight, slight, it is possible to reconstruct the history with absolute certainty and precision.

The normal starting-point for local history is, of course, the Domesday Survey. But here we are faced at the outset with a difficulty too often forgotten. We think of local history in terms of the (ecclesiastical) parish; but, at least in such a county as Sussex, there are two other units, the township (*villa*) and the manor. Therefore, although a Domesday entry may refer apparently to a parish, the area which it describes may be by no means co-extensive with the modern parish. Domesday book contains, primarily, a survey of manors, and the manor might cover only part of the parish of which it bears the name, or might, on the contrary, extend beyond its borders. In the case of North and South Stoke there are two entries in Domesday under "Stoches" which must evidently refer to them, but the Society's edition of the Sussex portion of the Survey (1886) groups them together (p. 131) as referring to "North and South Stoke," without distinguishing which is which. As the two parishes, however, belong to different Hundreds, the Domesday equivalents of those Hundreds have afforded a clue which has led to their right identification in the text of the Survey as translated in the *Victoria History*.

According to this identification, the "Stoches" which "Rainald" held of "the earl,"<sup>2</sup> and which was assessed at eight hides and valued at £20, was North Stoke, while the "Stoches" which "Ernald" held of "the earl," and which was assessed at four hides and valued at only £4, was South Stoke, although the area of this parish is

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Earl Roger de Montgomery.

about half as large again as that of the other. This, however, is partly explained by that manorial nature of the Survey of which I have spoken above. For Offham, in South Stoke, was an entirely distinct manor, which was similarly assessed at four hides and valued, in 1086, at £4 a year. It was held of "the earl" by Azo. On the other hand, the hamlet and manor of Pipping, which is not mentioned in Domesday, was probably, we shall find, held with North Stoke, though actually lying in the parish of Burpham, which adjoins that parish on the south.

In a previous paper<sup>3</sup> I have dwelt on the importance of the feudal history of Shropshire for the study of the Honour of Arundel in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>4</sup> It is to Mr. Eyton's great work that we owe the identification of "Rainald," the Domesday tenant of North Stoke. He found him in Shropshire as the acting sheriff of Earl Roger de Montgomery, under whom he held in that county some seventy manors. As he was succeeded in almost all of them by the Fitz Alan family, Shropshire evidence enables us to show that he was also so succeeded in Sussex.<sup>5</sup> It is not, perhaps, fanciful to suggest that the earl gave this valuable manor to Rainald, his right-hand man and representative in Shropshire, that he might, when necessary, have a residence close to himself at Arundel.

It is not so often as we might wish that we can trace the great men of the Conquest to their former homes in Normandy. Roger de Montgomery derived his name from what is now St. Germain de Montgomery, adjoined by Ste. Foy de Montgomery on the north, in the "pays

<sup>3</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. LV., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> "The connection between the two counties is due to the fact that Roger de Montgomery, that mighty follower of the Conqueror, was earl at Shrewsbury as at Chichester and Arundel, Lord of Shropshire as of Sussex lands. Hence we find his knights also connected sometimes with both counties. Sussex antiquaries, therefore, should not forget Shropshire, the more so as we have for that county, in Mr. Eyton's great work, the finest feudal history, probably, that has yet been written."

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Eyton identified him also with the "Rainald" who is entered in Domesday as holding land, under the earl, at Somerley, in W. Wittering, and in an unnamed place, but neither of these holdings can be confirmed, and I am here concerned only with his tenure of "Stoches."

D'Auge," some 16 miles to the N.E. of Argentan, in the Department of the Orne, though itself just within that of the Calvados. But Exmes, as it is now named, to the west of Argentan, was the chief seat of his power, as *Vicomte* of the ancient *Comté* of l'Exmesin, l'Hiesmois, l'Oismeis, l'Oximin (*pagus Oximensis*), as it was variously styled. From his castled hill at Exmes he looked far afield. To the west his eyes ranged over the great forest of Gouffern, now much reduced, and there, some 10 miles away, near his *bourg* of Trun, lay Bailleul (en Gouffern), from which Rainald derived his name.<sup>6</sup> Again, to the south-west of Exmes and south-east of Argentan, at a few miles' distance, stood the Benedictine Abbey of Almenèches, of which his daughter Emma became abbess, and to which, as Lord of the Rape of Arundel, he gave valuable manors at "Nonneminstre," in Lyminster, and at Climping, on the opposite bank of the Arun, as an English endowment for its nuns.

Of this Rainald De Bailleul, to whom Mr. Eyton gave, for the first time, his rightful place in our history, he wrote with pardonable scorn:—

The truth is that the better class of Antiquaries have failed to discover who he really was, and so have been properly cautious as to what they said about him. On the other hand certain less wary and more ignorant Heralds, intent upon heading a genealogy with a good name, have fixed upon his without any apparent fear of detection. I cannot regret being able to expose their presumption.

This man, whose Fief, while yet he remained in England, was vast enough to grace any Earldom—whose after-fame, as a Crusader, was of European rather than provincial stature—whose prestige or whose pride was so great as that he dared to confront the ablest Monarch of the age in his own Court—this man has received no better treatment at the hands of our Antiquaries and Heralds than that his name should figure at the head of two respectable county pedigrees. (VII., pp. 206, 211).

[NOTE].—A pedigree by Henry Lily, Rouge-Rose Herald, makes Rainald de Balliole, Lord of Weston, to have been Ancestor of the Westons of Weston-under-Lizard. Other Heraldic Pedigrees make Rainald, the *Domesday* Sheriff of Shropshire, to have been father of one Hugh de Le, and so Ancestor of the Lees of Lea Hall, Roden, Langley, Coton, &c.

<sup>6</sup> See Eyton's *Shropshire*, VII., 206.

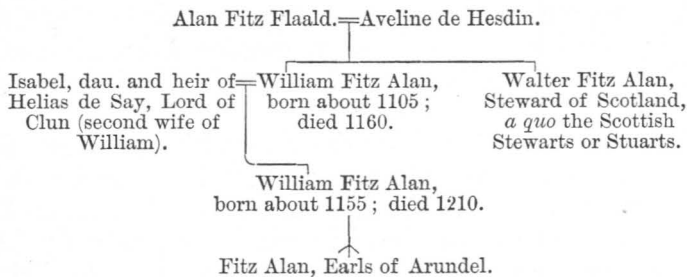
The foot note is incomplete. In the great heraldic pedigree at Fawsley, Rainald de Bailleul, as Rainald de Knightley, was made the founder of the Knightleys, and the late Sir Rainald Knightley, created Lord Knightley of Fawsley, actually bore the name of this supposed ancestor.

Although it is proved by the Shropshire evidence that Rainald's manors are afterwards found in the hands of the Fitz Alan family, the demonstration that Alan Fitz Flaald, the founder of that historic house, actually held them under Henry I. is somewhat slender. The Sussex evidence, therefore, is welcome as confirming that conclusion. But before I deal with this evidence it may be well to explain who this Alan Fitz Flaald really was. For the origin of one whose elder son founded the great house of Fitz Alan, afterwards Earls of Arundel, while his younger son was direct ancestor of our Stuart Kings, is a question, as Mr. Eyton observed, of no ordinary interest. Unfortunately, he himself, although he devoted to that problem 20 pages of discussion (VII., pp. 212-231), arrived at the wildly erroneous conclusion that Alan's father was a son of "Banquo, Thane of Lochabar," by the daughter of a Welsh prince, whose mother was the daughter of 'Algar, Earl of Mercia.'" The true origin of Alan and his house was established by me in my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, where, in my paper on "The Origin of the Stewarts" (pp. 115 *et seq.*), I have shown that they sprang from the stewards (*dapiferi*) of the Bishops of Dol in Brittany.

The proof of their connexion with Sussex, even in Alan's day, is found in the charters of Haughmond, the abbey which they founded in Shropshire, probably in that reign of Stephen, in which so many religious houses had their beginning. In that county they held a barony, of which the head was Oswestry ("Oswaldestre"), and acquired the Says' barony, of which the head was Clun. Hence the occurrence of "Clun, Oswaldestre" among the Duke of Norfolk's titles.

<sup>7</sup> It appears to me that this legend must have been concocted in order to provide a native origin for the Stuart line of Scottish Kings.

The pedigree of the house begins thus, so far as concerns us here.



This will explain the charter concerning Stoke and Pippingering to which we are now coming.

It is certain from the mention of the grantor's wife, Isabel, and of his mother, Aveline, that he must have been the first William Fitz Alan (son of Alan Fitz Flaald), who died in or about 1160, leaving his son and heir a child. But the first actual mention of the gift seems to be in a Haughmond charter—unknown, apparently, to Mr. Eyton—which must have passed in Normandy and in the period 1156-1162, as the witnesses' names prove.<sup>8</sup> The original is (or was) in the possession of Sir Walter Corbet.<sup>9</sup> In it Henry II. confirms, among William's gifts to the abbey:—

Terram de Pipingues cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et omnibus libertatibus ejus in campis et pascuis et aquis, liberam ab omnibus terrenis consuetudinibus, auxiliis, operacionibus, scutagiis, exercitibus, danegeldis, hidagiis, hidegeldis et placitis, et communitatem propriis animalibus suis in omnibus pasturis que pertinent ad villam de Stoches, in bosco et plano, et alneto, sicut animalia Aveline matris Willelmi filii Alani aliquo tempore eandem communitatem melius habuerunt, et ecclesiam de Stoches cum terra que ad eandem ecclesiam pertinent.

Peppering itself is a hamlet close to Burpham and is reckoned as in that parish, but this "land" must have been included in Rainald's manor of "Stoches," and the "pasture" may have been on adjacent downs. There is a Peppering Down, which rises to the north-east of Peppering. The church, that is the advowson, with the

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Eyton dates William's grant as 1155-1158 (VII., 222).

<sup>9</sup> Fifteenth Report on Historical MSS., App. X., p. 67.

glebe, was, clearly, included in the grant, and it was North Stoke Church which was entered in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas (1291) as worth ten marks (£6. 13s. 4d.) a year.<sup>10</sup>

A later charter of Henry II., which Mr. Eyton printed from the Haughmond cartulary and dated as “probably towards the close of 1176,”<sup>11</sup> renews the confirmation as follows:—

Et preterea concedo eis et confirmo quicquid Willelmus filius Alani rationabiliter eidem Ecclesie dedit, videlicet terram de Piperinges cum suis pertinentiis et libertatibus in campis, etc., liberam ab omni terreno servitio et auxiliis, operacionibus, scutagiis, etc., necnon et communitatem propriis animalibus in pasturis quae pertinent ad villam de Stokes, in bosco, in plano, et in alneto, sicut animalia Aveline matris ipsius Willelmi filii Alani eandem communitatem aliquo tempore melius habuerunt, etc. Et ecclesiam de Stokes quam ipse Willelmus eis dedit assensu Isabelle uxoris sue, etc.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, in a charter which, Mr. Eyton held, “probably passed about the year 1190,” the second William Fitz Alan confirmed to Haughmond Abbey, *inter alia*, “Ecclesiam de Stokes cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis; et terram de Piperinge cum pertinentiis suis.”<sup>13</sup>

It is true that we have had, thus far, no definite proof that the “Stokes” of these charters was North Stoke. Moreover, we cannot trace North Stoke Church as held subsequently by Haughmond; indeed there is a license of April 25th, 1337, to Richard, Earl of Arundel, for the alienation of its advowson to Tortington Priory and for its appropriation by that house.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it is with North Stoke only that we find the Fitz Alans associated; John Fitz Alan (the second), who died in 1267, dowered his wife Maud (le Botiler *alias* de Verdon), afterwards wife of Richard d’Amundeville, therein,<sup>15</sup> and his son John (the third), who died in 1272, was found by

<sup>10</sup> Eyton’s *Shropshire*, VII., 295, and *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, p. 135. The Peppering land is also given (p. 139) as worth £6. 13s. 4d.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VII., 292-3. The King’s style included the “*Dei gratia.*”

<sup>12</sup> Harl. MS. 2188, fo. 123.

<sup>13</sup> *Shropshire*, VII., 276.

<sup>14</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1334-8, p. 424.

<sup>15</sup> Inquisition of 1283 in *Cal. of Inq.* II., No. 536.

his *Inq. p.m.* to have held "Northstoke manor with the advowson of the church."<sup>16</sup> Still, Mr. Eyton, although insisting on the Fitz Alans' tenure of "Stoke," did not attempt to determine which Stoke it was. But when I come to deal with South Stoke, I shall show that its early history is so complete as to leave no room for a Fitz Alan tenure.

Let me now collect some miscellaneous references to the Fitz Alans' tenure of North Stoke. By a charter dated by Mr. Eyton 1150-60 William Fitz Alan (the first) "invested his brother Walter with Stoke."<sup>17</sup> On the Pipe Roll of 1187 (33 Hen. II.), William Fitz Alan paid scutage on one knight's fee among the knights of the Honour of Arundel (p. 111). His son, the second William, gave a rent charge on his manor of "Stoke" to Shrewsbury Abbey for lights for the high altar.<sup>18</sup> As John Fitz Alan (I.), on his succession (1215), sided with the barons against John in the struggle for the Great Charter, the King forfeited his lands, and, early (23rd February) in 1216, granted to Savari de Bohun (of Ford and Midhurst) during pleasure, 15 librates of land "que fuerunt Willelmi filii Alani in Stok."<sup>19</sup> When John Fitz Alan (the second) went with the King to Gascony in 1253, he pledged his manor of "Norstok" in Sussex for two years as security for a loan of £50.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of 1254 "Stokes" was among his manors in which he was granted free warren.<sup>21</sup> Finally, an unidentified "Stokes" (Sussex) which an early *Inq. p.m.* states Thomas de Erdinton to have held "of the gift of William, son of Alan,"<sup>22</sup> must have been this (North) Stoke. For Thomas had bought the wardship and

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I., p. 279.

<sup>17</sup> *Shropshire*, VII., 228, citing Harl. MS. 2,188, fo. 123d. Mr. L. F. Salzmann has kindly verified this reference for me, and finds that it is only a charter of William containing the words: "sicut eam donavi Ingenulfio abbati priusquam Walterus frater meus de Stoka investitus fuisset a me."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, VII., 245. Mr. Eyton dated this charter 1203-1210.

<sup>19</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*. William was his brother and predecessor. £15 a year may have been the value without Peppering.

<sup>20</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1247-1258, p. 219.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263. The manor is there unidentified.

<sup>22</sup> *Cal. of Inq.*, I., No. 827. It is not identified.



marriage of William Fitz Alan (who died in April, 1215) for his daughter Mary, a bad investment, as Mr. Eyton observed.

The reason why I claimed above that the early descent of this manor is of exceptional interest is that the great house of Fitz Alan, which held the Earldom of Arundel for some three centuries, can now be shown to have been connected, not merely with Sussex, but with the Arundel neighbourhood itself more than a century before it entered (May 24th, 1244) into possession of Arundel—Castle and Honour—when it has been supposed to have first come into the county. Indeed, it seems at least possible that the lucky marriage of John Fitz Alan to Isabel, sister and, in her issue, co-heir to Hugh, the last d'Aubigny (*de Albini*) earl—to which that possession was due—may have been due to the juxtaposition of these two magnates in Sussex.

Perhaps one may here mention, as of interest to Sussex antiquaries, that—in spite of the difficulty of identifying with certainty the cradles of our Norman houses—the d'Aubigny Earls of Arundel were named from St. Martin d'Aubigny in that Cotentin<sup>23</sup> which formed the dominion of our Henry I. as a cadet and in which they held goodly manors.<sup>24</sup> From that nursery of ancient houses came also the Hayes (*La Haye-du-Puits*) and the St. Johns (*St. Jean-le-Thomas*),<sup>25</sup> earliest lords in succession of Halnaker in the Honour of Arundel. Thence came also the Bohuns of Ford and of Midhurst in the same Honour, one of whose curious Christian names is preserved in *La Chapelle-Enjuger*.<sup>26</sup> Thence the names of

<sup>23</sup> The Diocese of Coustances, comprising most of the modern Department of La Manche.

<sup>24</sup> See, for this identification and for some which follow, my *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*.

<sup>25</sup> This lay to the south just outside the Cotentin.

<sup>26</sup> This name occurs seven times in a fine relating to Ford (*Sussex Fines*, Vol. I., No. 134), where it is read as "Evingerus (de Boun)." As it is often difficult to distinguish "u" from "n" in MSS. of that period, I should prefer to read it as "Eniugerus," which (treating "i" as equivalent to "j") would give us the Latinisation of "Enjuger." A lawsuit of 1212 records that "Erningerus" (*i.e.*, Enjuger) "tenuit duos honores, unum, scilicet, honorem de Boun in Normannia, quem tenuit in Baronia, alium in Anglia" (*i.e.*, Ford, &c.) held "in vavasseria" (*i.e.*, under the Earls of Arundel).

Carteret and Cantelupe (*Chanteloup*), Champernowne (*Camberton*) of the west country and Oglander (*Orglandes*) of the Isle.

Of *South Stoke* the early history appears at first sight to be plunged in darkness. The topographer, who has to rely, for the eleventh century, on Domesday, has often a difficult task when he tries to connect its evidence with that which the *Testa* returns afford for the first half of the thirteenth. For Sussex the *Testa de Nevill* has but poor returns, and the *Cartæ Baronum* (1166) for the county<sup>27</sup> do but little to bridge the gap. The Earl of Arundel's return (*carta*) in 1166<sup>28</sup> may be divided into two portions; of these the first records a return of earlier date, taken on the occasion of an (*quodam*) expedition against Wales when there was a dispute as to the quotas of knights due from the Honour. Stapleton assigned this return to 1159,<sup>29</sup> but Mr. Eyton considered that its date was 1135.<sup>30</sup> Mr. Hubert Hall, in his preface to the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, apparently rejects both dates and writes:—

The fact is that the whole document was obviously compiled at one time, and the occurrence of the names of earlier tenants is only another instance of the frequent practice, noted elsewhere, of entering a fee under the name of the former tenant, even after a lapse of more than one generation (p. ccvii.).

There is no question that this document, which is of great importance for Sussex history, was "compiled at one time;" but it is equally certain that the return which it incorporates was made at an earlier date.<sup>31</sup>

The earliest record of the tenure of *South Stoke* by knight service appears to be a return which the *Testa de Nevill* (p. 222) assigns to 26 Hen. III., *i.e.*, the scutage

<sup>27</sup> See, for these, Mr. Penfold's paper in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XXVII., pp. 27-32.

<sup>28</sup> *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 200-202.

<sup>29</sup> *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, Vol. II., p. xxxiii.

<sup>30</sup> *Shropshire*, II., 202, note.

<sup>31</sup> It is somewhat singular that Mr. Eyton should not have observed, in the other portion of this document, the fee "Aluredi de Cumerai," for its holder gave name to Lee Cumbrai (afterwards Lee Gomery), in Shropshire, and held little Dawley there (*Shropshire*, VII., 340-342).

of Gascony in 1242. We there read that John de Nevile held three fees, in Warningcamp and Southstoke, of the Honour of Arundel. But when we turn to the Arundel *carta* of 1166, we find no Nevile mentioned, and we consequently cannot detect a South Stoke tenure therein. The clue, however, is found in a "fine" of 1207 between Hugh de Nevill and Robert de Cauz<sup>82</sup> concerning the manor of "Stok."<sup>83</sup> The fact that this manor is there not identified confirms my statement that the early history of both the Stokes is a blank. By this "fine," which was made in the presence of the Earl of Arundel, chief lord of the fee, who took Hugh's homage for "Stok," he was to hold the manor—to himself and his heirs, of the earl and his heirs—by the service of *three knights*.<sup>84</sup> The pedigree of Robert de Cauz, the previous holder, is stated thus:—

Godfrey de Cauz.—Muriel.

Robert de Cauz.—Agnes, dau. of Richard  
de Chester.

With this clue we turn back to the *carta* of 1166, and there read:—

Stokes ij milites  
*Hugo de Calceo ij milites.*<sup>85</sup>

It is clear that Hugh de Cauz (*Calceo*) must here owe the service of three knights in respect of South Stoke, and I suggest, in view of the evidence, that the entry "Stokes<sup>86</sup> ij milites" refers to North Stoke. The Pipe Roll of 1168 (14 Hen. II.) enables us to follow up Hugh by two entries (p. 197), of which the first runs: "Homines de Heseburna reddunt comp. de xls. pro plac' Hugonis de Calz concel'." This probably refers to the Graffham outlier of South Stoke.

<sup>82</sup> *Sussex Fines* (Sussex Record Society), Vol. I., No. 115.

<sup>83</sup> Mr. Salzmann, our Hon. Editor, has kindly informed me of litigation which must have been the prelude to this fine, viz.: "Hugo de Nevill petit versus Robertum de Cauz feuda ij militum et dim. in Stokes unde Gillebertus Rufin proavus ejus fuit seisitus temp. Henrici regis avi" (Cur. Reg., 37, m. 1, 7 John).

<sup>84</sup> Mr. Salzmann also refers me to Curia Regis, 46, m. 2d. (9 John), for an entry to the same effect, viz.: "Hugo de Nevill concessit Roberto de Cauz manerium de Stokes tenendum de eo, et si Robertus obierit sine herede genito ex Agnete uxore ejus, manerium revertetur ad Hugonem."

<sup>85</sup> *Red Book*, p. 201.

<sup>86</sup> *Stok'* in MS. text of Red Book.

Let us now turn to the Pipe Roll of 26 Henry II. (1180). Under the heading, "Honor de Arundel" (then in the King's hands), we read, "Godefridus de Calz debet XXV. m. pro relevio terre sue" (p. 33). This is clearly Godfrey's relief on his succession to South Stoke, though the actual sum implies  $3\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fees. We have thus recovered the names of three generations of the Cauz family—Hugh, Godfrey and Robert—as lords of South Stoke. I shall now recover the name of a fourth, of even earlier date. A British Museum charter (Add. Ch. 19,586) granted by William, Earl of Arundel—as Earl of Lincoln (*comes Lincolnie*)<sup>37</sup>—has among its witnesses connected with the Arundel fief the name of Robert de Calz. As the date assigned to this charter is 1139-1140, we may look on this Robert as the predecessor of Hugh "de Calceo." Turning to yet another quarter, namely, the cartulary of Bruton Priory,<sup>38</sup> we find a confirmation by "Seffrid," Bishop of Chichester, of the settlement of a suit "concerning two parts of the tithes of the lordship of 'O. [*sic*] de Cauz'" (pp. 85-6). The place is not mentioned, but it was clearly South Stoke, to which place the two charters which follow it in the cartulary refer by name. The initial "O" must be an error for G(odfrey) or R(ober)t. Combining the bishop's date with those of the abbots who heard the suit, we obtain for the charter a date limit of 1180-1194. These tithes had been given to the Norman abbey of Troarn.

Hugh de Nevill followed up his acquisition of South Stoke Manor by adding to it the Manor of Offham, which lies in South Stoke. This we learn from a fine of 1212,<sup>39</sup> which shows that he here intruded himself as mesne tenant between the earl and the former tenant, Hugh Esturmi.<sup>40</sup> There is a well-known charter,

<sup>37</sup> See, for his use of this style, my *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 324-5, and *Facsimiles of Charters in the British Museum*, Vol. I., No. 14.

<sup>38</sup> Ed. Somerset Record Society (1894).

<sup>39</sup> *Sussex Fines*, Vol. I., No. 133.

<sup>40</sup> For Hugh (E)sturmi's land in Chichester, in 1212, see *Testa de Nevill*, p. 227, and cf. *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, I., pp. 34, 87, and *Bruton Cartulary*, No. 351. For his Offham tithes see *ibid.*, Nos. 341, 347.

reproduced by Cartwright in his *Rape of Arundel*, under Offham, in which the Esturmi holding at Offham is confirmed by an Earl of Arundel. But it is there obviously dated much too early. I shall refer to this Offham holding a little further on.

In Sussex we naturally associate the illustrious name of Nevill with the Lords Abergavenny and their historical estates in another part of the county. But the famous house of Nevill of Raby, from which all ennobled Nevills traced their descent, were only Nevills in the female line. Their true ancestor was Robert Fitz Meldred, living under Henry III., whose offspring took from their mother the name of Nevill, but inherited from their father, not only his arms,<sup>41</sup> but his great estates in the north country.<sup>42</sup> The Hugh, however, with whom we are dealing was one of the true Nevills of the old Lincolnshire stock. The task of his identification is of almost inconceivable difficulty, because there were at least two Hughs of some importance at the time who have been treated as identical, not merely by Dugdale,<sup>43</sup> but even by Stapleton, who is deemed the greatest of Anglo-Norman genealogists.<sup>44</sup> As for the admirable Dugdale, he seems to have made our Hugh into three different men.

The right method in these matters, although it is too rarely employed, is to prove the pedigree by the descent of lands. Now the inquest after death of John de Nevill in 1282<sup>45</sup> states that he held (1) South Stoke and Warningcamp; (2) "Unspecified," half a knight's fee, which must have been Offham, for it was "held by Hugh Sturmy of the said John;" (3) "Grefham," which is

<sup>41</sup> A notable seal of Robert, showing the Nevill saltire, was exhibited at the recent (1916) heraldic exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

<sup>42</sup> That very eminent man, Ralf de Neville, Bishop of Chichester (1224-1244) and Chancellor of England, is alleged to have been "born at Raby Castle" (*S.A.C.*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 26), apparently on the strength of one of the Chichester chapter books. But this is impossible, as the lords of Raby did not take the name of Nevill till after the death of Henry de Nevill in 1226-7 (11 Hen. III.). He is now known to have been of illegitimate birth.

<sup>43</sup> *Baronage*, I., 289.

<sup>44</sup> *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, II., cccxv.

<sup>45</sup> *Cal. of Inq.*, II., p. 256.

doubtless Graffham,<sup>46</sup> as half a knight's fee.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, the Hugh with whom we are dealing must have been the ancestor of John and the founder of the Nevills "of Essex." The members of this line were occasionally styled "the forester," from holding the offices of chief forester and of justice of the forest. Hugh himself is grandiloquently styled by Mathew Paris *prothoforestarius*, while Hoveden speaks of him as "summum justitiarium omnium forestarum regis in Anglia" (IV., 63). He seems to have been famed for his strength and valour. Long before he came into Sussex he had been in close attendance on Richard in the Holy Land, and, when Saladin tried to surprise the King outside Jaffa at dawn (5th August, 1192), Hugh was one of the ten horsemen who were all that Richard could muster about him.<sup>48</sup> In the next reign he adhered to John and was among his active supporters in the great struggle for the Charter. His son John succeeded him in 1234.

I must restrict myself, however, to his connexion with South Stoke. In 1227, 1228 and 1233 we read of the lease of that manor by Hugh de Nevill to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester<sup>49</sup> for ten years from Michaelmas, 1226.<sup>50</sup> In 1230 we meet with this interesting record, the bishop here also being Ralph Nevill, the Chancellor.

*Sussex*.—R. Cycestrensis episcopus attornavit Simonem de Seinlic' versus abbatem de Fiscamp' et priorem de Arundell, et Johannem filium Alani et Hugonem de Nevill' et Aufridum de Feringes, et divisis faciendis inter terram predicti episcopi in Amb'<sup>51</sup> et Feringes, et terram predicti abbatis in Biry, et terram prioris Arund' in Arundell', et terram *Johannis filii Alani in Stok'*, et terram *Hugonis de Nevill' in Stok'*, et terram Aufridi de Fering' in Fering' (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 403).

<sup>46</sup> This holding "did suit at the court of Suth Stok." I shall suggest below that it represented the two hides held there in Domesday by Ernald, for "Ernald" was the name of the tenant of South Stoke then (1086).

<sup>47</sup> Immediately preceding the Sussex portion of this Inquisition is a damaged fragment which is also, tentatively, assigned to Sussex. I think, however, it must have referred to Oxted (Surrey), where the Nevills inherited a holding from the Cornhills.

<sup>48</sup> *Itinerarium Ricardi*.

<sup>49</sup> One of Hugh's letters is addressed to the bishop, when Dean of Lichfield, as "carissimo amico et consanguineo suo domino Radulfo de Nevilla" (*Shirley's Royal Letters*, I., 68), but the bishop, as observed above, was of illegitimate birth.

<sup>50</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I., pp. 57, 87, 178. The manor is not identified.

<sup>51</sup> Amberley.

Here, again, neither Stoke is identified in the index to the *Calendar*, but that of John Fitz Alan must have been North Stoke, and that of Hugh de Nevill South Stoke. In 1240 (18th May) the Sheriff of Sussex was directed to see that Beatrice "de Fay" received £20 a year from the land with which her husband, Hugh de Nevill, had dowered her, till her divorce from Hugh de Playz should be "celebrated."<sup>52</sup> A subsequent entry (12th February, 1241) names the land as (South) Stoke.<sup>53</sup> In 1242 we have the *Testa* entry that John de Nevill was holding by knight service at South Stoke and Warningcamp, and the Inquisition of 1282 proves the same fact.<sup>54</sup>

Since this paper was written, the publication of the Close Rolls for 1242-1247<sup>55</sup> has brought to light the documents relating to the partition of the vast fief of Hugh, last Earl of Arundel of the d'Aubigny line (d. 7th May, 1243), and to the dower of his countess, Isabel. Of his co-heirs, John Fitz Alan, son of one of the earl's sisters, received Arundel and the largest share of the Sussex property, but to Roger de Sumery and his wife Nicholaa, a sister of the earl, there was allotted *inter alia* (in 1244) the South Stoke holding, as "servicium feodorum trium militum quod Johannes de Nevill tenet in Stok', Warnechamp', Waltham et Grafham." It is particularly unfortunate that the first of these places is not to be found in the index, for the entry is of great importance. It actually enables us to link up the holding which it thus records with that of "Ernaldus" in Domesday. This "Ernaldus" held in three places<sup>56</sup> :—

	Hides.	Value.
1. (South) Stoke <sup>57</sup> .....	4	.. £4
2. Graffham .....	2	.. —
3. Waltham .....	2	.. 10 sh
	8	

<sup>52</sup> "Quousque predictum divortium inter eos fuerit celebratum" (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1237-1242, p. 190). This lady was a daughter and co-heir of Stephen de Turnham, of Kent, and had married firstly Ralf de Fay, secondly Hugh de Neville, thirdly Hugh de Playz.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>54</sup> See p. 13 above. In 1283 we read of "mutual trespasses" between Isabel Mortimer, keeper of Arundel during the minority of Richard, son of John Fitz Alan, and Albinus de Bivery, keeper of the manor of Suthstok' during the minority of Hugh, son of John de Nevill (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1281-1292, p. 105).

<sup>55</sup> In the summer of 1916.

<sup>56</sup> He had also a "burgess" in Arundel.

<sup>57</sup> This holding must have extended into Warningcamp.

"Waltham" is not distinguished in the index to this volume of Close Rolls, and here, once again, we are confronted with the difficulty arising from the want of any decent history of the county. In spite of the labours of Dallaway and Cartwright, Horsfield was not able to distinguish between Up Waltham and Cold Waltham in Domesday.<sup>58</sup> Even the Sussex portion of the Survey, issued by the Society in 1886, could only identify the two entries relating to "Waltham" in Domesday (25b) as "Cold Waltham; or Up Waltham." Now these places are not only in distinct hundreds, but even in distinct rapes. Looking at the position in which these entries are found in the record, there can, I think, be no doubt that they are rightly identified in the *Victoria History of Sussex*, as relating to Up Waltham, which had been, before the Conquest, a typical "ten hide" vill, divided into two portions. Earl Roger had encroached on both of them by the formation of a park. As for Cold Waltham, as it is afterwards found as a manor of the bishops of Chichester, it probably lurks under the name, in Domesday, of the head manor of one of those groups of manors which are somewhat distinctive of Sussex in that record.<sup>59</sup>

That the Nevills had not only a formal, but a real association with South Stoke and Warningcamp, is clear from the Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332, which show us Hugh de Nevill as the chief payer of subsidy in these places.<sup>60</sup> In 1334 Adam de Sculthorpe, parson of the church of South Stoke ("Southstok"), was one of the feoffees under a family trust of these Nevills' Essex Manors created by Hugh de Nevill "the elder."<sup>61</sup> This

<sup>58</sup> *History of Sussex*, II., 62-3, 152.

<sup>59</sup> See my "Note on the Sussex Domesday" in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLIV., pp. 140-143. It should be carefully observed that the (South) Stoke fine of 1207 defines the entire holding (of three fees) as "totum manerium de Stok" (only), for here, as in several Domesday cases, the head manor includes the outliers. I have found great difficulty in dealing with "Waltham," as there seems to be so little in print about Up Waltham or Cold Waltham. The former is adjacent to Graffham.

<sup>60</sup> *Sussex Subsidies* (Sussex Record Society), pp. 136, 145, 254, 266. On the roll of 1296 his place is taken by "Awbyn de Benery" (or "Beveryns"), who is evidently identical with the keeper of the manor named in note 54.

<sup>61</sup> *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1334-8, p. 31. The Record Office is here again at fault and identifies the place as "South Stoke, co. Essex" (p. 734).



Hugh was summoned to Parliament from 1311 to 1335, as was his son John from 1336 to 1358, and the latter was one of those nobles who flew their banners at Crecy (1346). In earlier days, both Hugh de Nevill and his brother John (d. 1282) had fought on the barons' side at Lewes (1264), and although Hugh made his peace in 1266, he had to forfeit a portion of his lands.<sup>62</sup>

To sum up the results obtained, it has now been shown that *North Stoke* was held, at the time of the Domesday Survey, by Rainald de Bailleul, who was succeeded there, as in Shropshire, under Henry I., by the founder of the house of Fitz Alan. The Fitz Alans held it of the Honour of Arundel down to 1244, when, on becoming themselves lords of that Honour, they held it in demesne of the Crown. *South Stoke* was held of that Honour by the family of Cauz even before 1166 and continued to be held by them till 1207, when Hugh de Nevill, "the forester," replaced them as the earl's tenant there. From him descended the baronial house of the Nevills "of Essex."

Before finishing this paper I would venture on a slight digression, which arises legitimately out of the subject and which will afford an explanation of the hitherto obscure descent of certain Sussex manors.

The Sussex Record Society most wisely decided to include the early fines for Sussex among the first records to be dealt with.<sup>63</sup> Among these is a series of compositions for the castle-ward and wall work (*muragium*) due to William de "Breouse" at Bramber from the military tenants of his Sussex fief (*i.e.*, the Rape of Bramber). They belong to the years 1267-8 and are ten in number. When collated with the *Testa* returns of knight's fees on the Bramber fief in 1242<sup>64</sup> (*i.e.*, for the scutage of Gascony), they afford priceless information on the constituents of that fief. One of them, however,

<sup>62</sup> *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1258-1266, pp. 608-610.

<sup>63</sup> I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Society, which kindly made me an Hon. Mem.

<sup>64</sup> *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 222, 223.

puzzled me greatly, not only because the composition is for *eight* knight's fees, but also because the compounder is styled "Hawisia de Nevill."<sup>65</sup> The *Testa* returns reveal the fact that the Bramber fief was, for the most part, divided, feudally, into blocks of *four* knight's fees—neither more nor less—and that none exceeded that number. Moreover, in these *Testa* returns, there is no trace of Hawise de Nevill or, indeed, of any Nevill. How then came she to appear, in 1268, as holder of three principal manors, Broadwater, Durrington and Thakeham, and of twelve lesser estates?

The solution of this mystery, so far as her identity is concerned, is found in a British Museum charter of 1253 (Campbell Ch. VIII., 22), in which "Hawise de Nevill" grants an endowment to the Abbey of Beeleigh by Maldon (Essex) for the souls of Robert de Courtenay (her late father),<sup>66</sup> and John de Nevill (*her late husband*), and for the weal of herself and her husband John de Gatesden.<sup>67</sup> Returning to that mysterious fine, we find John de Gatesden spoken of as "*quondam viri sui*," so that she was then (13th January, 1267/8) his widow. In earlier fines from 1254 she is spoken of merely as "Hawise his wife"<sup>68</sup> but, now that she was his widow,<sup>69</sup> she styled herself by the name of her *former* husband.<sup>70</sup> For this was no other than that John Nevill whom we have seen holding South Stoke in 1242, and whose father Hugh was the first of his line in Sussex. When this John died, in the summer of 1246, Hawise was granted, as his widow, what was called her "*quarentene*," that is the right to remain in his house for 40 days, 8th June, 1246.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Sussex Fines*, II., No. 730.

<sup>66</sup> Robert had given her in frankmarriage Alphington, Devon, which descended to her heirs by John de Nevill (see suit of 1231 in Bracton's *Notebook*, case 516).

<sup>67</sup> See Mr. Robert Fowler's valuable account of the Essex religious houses in the *Victoria History of Essex*, II., 173.

<sup>68</sup> *Sussex Fines*, II., Nos. 536, 604, 730. The date of the first is 1254 (38 Hen. III.).

<sup>69</sup> There appears to be a difficulty here, because the inquest after death on her husband was not taken till April, 1269 (*Cal. of Inq.*, I., No. 706). But Foss (*Judges of England*, II., 347) rightly makes him die in the spring of 1262 (*cf. Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1258-1266, pp. 216-220).

<sup>70</sup> Her father-in-law's second wife (Beatrice) did the same.

<sup>71</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1242-7, p. 438.

The custody of his land and heirs was granted to John de Curtenay, and it was stipulated (28th August, 1246) that his wife Hawise was not to marry without the King's license.<sup>72</sup> A later entry (28th May, 1247) shows that John had "made fine with the King" for the marriage of Hawise, which set her free.<sup>73</sup> Dower from his lands was assigned to her, 22nd August (1246).<sup>74</sup> Meanwhile, John's son and heir had been sent to Windsor to be with other minors in the King's wardship.<sup>75</sup>

But I have now to explain how this "Hawise de Nevill" came, as John de Gatesden's widow, to be dealing, not with four, but with eight knight's fees. And, in doing this, I shall have to trace back their history. These eight fees are found in the *Testa* returns (1242) entered thus:—

Robertus le Sauvage tenet iiij feoda militum in Brawat' Sedgwyk' et Garingle.

Stephanus le Poer tenet iiij feoda militum de eodem Roberto in Tech'm et Cleyton.

Here the words to be observed are "de eodem Roberto" in the second entry. They are explained by a "fine" of 1218,<sup>76</sup> "de feodo quatuor militum in Thacham," to which Robert le Sauvage and Stephen le Poer are parties. This transaction was precisely similar to that by which Hugh de Nevill interpolated himself between Robert de Cauz, of South Stoke, and the Earl of Arundel, as mesne tenant, in 1207. In this case Robert le Sauvage interpolates himself as tenant between Stephen le Poer and Reginald de Braose, who was then the chief lord. In both cases the chief lord is recorded to have been present in person, doubtless because he had to receive the formal "homage" of his new tenant of the fees and to hear him swear his fealty. For it is carefully provided by this Thakeham fine that those four fees which had

<sup>72</sup> *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1232-1247, p. 487.

<sup>73</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1242-7, p. 515.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436.

<sup>76</sup> *Sussex Fines*, I., No. 138.

been held by Stephen le Poer, are thenceforth to be held of the chief lord by Robert le Sauvage in his place.<sup>77</sup>

The result of this transaction was that Robert le Sauvage thenceforth held *eight* fees of the chief lord, of which *four* were represented by his own inheritance, Broadwater (with Durrington) and its appurtenant manors, and *four* by Thakeham with its appurtenances, which continued, as before, to be held by the family of le Poer, but which they now held under him. Let us deal with Thakeham first. It is clear that the Thakeham group of manors is represented in Domesday by the holding of "Morin" on the Braose fief. This Morin I identify with that Morin de St. André (*Sancta Andrea*), who is found in 1093 at Briouze with William "de Braiosa," acting as witness on a solemn occasion.<sup>78</sup> He was succeeded by the Poer family, of whom Ranulf "le Pohier" attested a charter of William "de Braiosa" in 1141-1163,<sup>79</sup> and attested another in 1157-1160 as Ranulf "Puier,"<sup>80</sup> while Roger "Ponherius" does the same much earlier.<sup>81</sup> It is interesting to find that a Stephen Poer held a knight's fee of the Honour of Brecknock in 1212 (?),<sup>82</sup> for he must have accompanied thither his Braose lord. It is well known that the Thakeham holding passed, in the fourteenth century, to two co-heiresses of the Poer family, in whose respective representatives it continued.

As for the Broadwater holding, which included Durrington and Worthing, it had descended in the family of Le Sauvage (*Silvaticus*)<sup>83</sup> from the days of the Conqueror.<sup>84</sup> It had, as the *Testa* return reminds us, a

<sup>77</sup> "Presente et concedente Reginaldo de Brausa, de quo Stephanus prius tenuit tenementa predicta et de quo et de cujus heredibus Robertus et ejus decetero tenebunt."

<sup>78</sup> See my *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, p. 401.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>82</sup> *Red Book*, p. 602.

<sup>83</sup> This curious Latin equivalent may remind us of Dryden's line, "When wild in woods the noble savage ran" and of the "wild" or "savage" men with their clubs and oak trees found in the arms or crest of some families of Wood.

<sup>84</sup> See my *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, pp. 398, 401.

distant outlier in Sedgwick and its park, south-east of Horsham, which the family eventually disposed of to the chief lord. In 1248 they leased it for life to John Maunsel, Provost of Beverley (Minster), one of the wealthiest and most notorious men of his time.<sup>85</sup> His pluralities were astounding.<sup>86</sup> There seems to be no actual record of the transfer by the Savages of their eight fees to John de Gatesden, though their head manor of Broadwater itself passed from Robert le Savage to John de Gatesden in 1256,<sup>87</sup> and descended, as therein provided, to his heirs by his former wife as their actual possession. The fine, however, of 1268, which we are considering, shows that his widow Hawys was then holding, clearly as in dower, all eight fees, and further shows that John le Sauvage and Joan, his sister, recorded their "clamium" in the matter.

It further names the appurtenant estates as in "Worthing, Walecot, *Mondeham*, *Hechyngefeld*, Essington, Garyngeleye, Launcynges, Annyngedon, Bongeton, Changeton le Boys, Thornwyke, et Rowedell." Of these Worthing belonged to Broadwater, of which it was a hamlet, and so did Goringley.<sup>88</sup> "Walecote" is not identified by the editor, and might well be taken now for a lost place-name. It is not found as a place-name in either of the indexes to Vols. I.-L. of *Collections*. Nevertheless, it is to be discovered on p. 105 of Vol. XL., where we read of "9 acres of meadow in Walecote and Durinton" as named in a deed to which Lawrence "de Durinton" and William "de la Walecote" are witnesses. We have also mention of a messuage and land in "Derinton Clopham et Walecote."<sup>89</sup> We may, therefore,

<sup>85</sup> *Sussex Fines*, II., No. 450.

<sup>86</sup> Foss (*Judges of England* [1848], II., 396), correctly observed that he figures in Burke's *Peerage* as descended from a companion of the Conqueror and as ancestor of the Mansel baronets, though he was "an ecclesiastic." He continued, however, to figure therein as "Sir John Mansel Knt., Chancellor of London and Provost of Beverley . . . and afterwards Lord Chancellor" (which he was not). Mr. Barron in his history of the Northants Maunsels (V.C.H.) shows that he was of humble origin and left no heirs, but omits to mention Burke's *Peerage* as the work in which the above fantastic descent appears.

<sup>87</sup> *Sussex Fines*, II., No. 604.

<sup>88</sup> *Testa*, p. 222, 223; *Sussex Fines*, I., No. 450.

<sup>89</sup> *Sussex Fines*, II., 157.

look for "Walecote" on the border of Durrington and Clapham, where the two parishes join. A "Walecote," indeed, is not found there, but there is a "Cote" (a cluster of houses) just within the border of Durrington, which can hardly fail to be the place of which we are in search.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand there were "lands" called Walecote in Warminghurst and Redstone.<sup>91</sup>

Muntham and Itchingfield I have underlined because of the great difficulty of distinguishing between Muntham in Itchingfield and Muntham in Findon.<sup>92</sup> In this case the editor identifies "Mondeham" as the one in Findon, and in *Feudal Aids*, where Thakeham and Muntham are entered (v., 159), under the Hundred of East Iswrith, the latter is identified as Muntham in Findon (p. 435). It seems, to me at least, clearly established that both Munthams were held of the head manor of Thakeham. With Thakeham also, we have seen,<sup>93</sup> was held "Cleyton" (*i.e.*, Clayton in Washington), which, it seems to me, may well have been the hide in Washington which Domesday enters as held by Morin, the lord of Thakeham. As for Goringley, it was part of the Broadwater holding;<sup>94</sup> so also it would seem was Chancton (in Washington).<sup>95</sup> Ashington and its chapelry of Buncton are divided by Washington, in which lies another of these manors, Rowdell, which is also, I would suggest, the unidentified "Ruedelle" that occurs in 1241 in conjunction with its neighbour Clayton.<sup>96</sup> Annington, of course, is in Botolphs.

Itchingfield must have been included in the four fees which, under the collective name of "Thakeham," passed to Robert le Sauvage, as chief tenant by the fine of 1218.<sup>97</sup> It is important to observe that in his

<sup>90</sup> This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that "Lawrence de Durringtune" and "William de la Cote" (*sic*) are witnesses to another local deed (XL., 106-107).

<sup>91</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., p. 106.

<sup>92</sup> See *S.A.C.*, Vol. XXVII., pp. 12-17; Vol. XL., p. 96.

<sup>93</sup> *Testa*, p. 221.

<sup>94</sup> *Testa*, p. 221; *Sussex Fines*, I., No. 450.

<sup>95</sup> *Cal. of Inq.*, V., p. 236.

<sup>96</sup> *Sussex Fines*, I., No. 396.

<sup>97</sup> See p. 19 above.

elaborate papers on Itchingfield<sup>98</sup> Mr. Percy Godman writes (Vol. XLI., p. 123):—

The earliest ecclesiastical record we have of the church is in 1205, when a fine was levied, Robert le Sauvage, plaintiff, John de Keinin, deforciant, by which John conveyed the advowson of Hitchingfield to Robert for 40<sup>s</sup> sterling and a rent of 12<sup>d</sup> per annum out of his lands at Segwick (Ped. Fin., 6 John).

He also gives the date of this transaction as “1205” on p. 136. It is strange that Robert should acquire this advowson several years before he acquired an interest in Itchingfield, but the strangeness disappears when we discover that the fine was not of “6 John,” but of 6 Henry III.,<sup>99</sup> i.e., 1222. What has been said above will explain how the first known presentation to Itchingfield church was by Hawise “de Nevill” in 1270 (Vol. XLI., p. 136), for we have seen that Itchingfield was dealt with by her in 1268.<sup>100</sup> On her death, all that she held, in Sussex and elsewhere, in dower, from her second husband, John de Gatesden, would revert to Margaret de Gatesden, his heir, who married John de Camoys.<sup>101</sup> From the Camoys family the Sussex estates passed through co-heirs<sup>102</sup> to the Radmyll and Lewkenor families.

There is, I may add, a good deal of difficulty about the Gatesden pedigree, mainly owing to confusion in the official *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem* (1904). In Vol. I., No. 454, the Inquisition on “John de Gatesdene the younger” records him as having died 25th November, 1258, leaving, as his heir, his daughter Margaret, who was aged 13 on 22nd January, 1258. The Patent Rolls contain an entry of the grant to “Margery late the wife of John de Gatesden the younger” and Richard de Gatesden, of the wardship of John’s lands, heirs, &c.<sup>103</sup> So far all is right. But in April, 1269, we have the Inquest on “John de Gatesden and Hawis de Nevill,

<sup>98</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. XL., pp. 79-130; Vol. XLI., pp. 95-158.

<sup>99</sup> *Sussex Fines*, I., No. 172.

<sup>100</sup> See p. 21 above.

<sup>101</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. LV., p. 31.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLI., p. 136, and *Complete Peerage*, Ed. Gibbs, under Camoys.

<sup>103</sup> *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1258-1266, p. 46.

sometime his wife" (relating entirely to Sussex lands),<sup>104</sup> in which William is similarly indexed as John de Gatesden "the younger,"<sup>105</sup> though he was, on the contrary, the *elder* John, who had survived his son and who left Hawis "de Nevill" as his widow. Moreover, in spite of the dates on the Inquisition, he had died so far back as the spring of 1262.<sup>106</sup> Through trusting to the official *Calendar*, I was misled into stating that the *younger* John married Hawis "de Nevill," and I also made the elder John die in 1269.<sup>107</sup> The one difficulty which remains is that the Inquisition of 1269 goes on to speak of "the daughter and heir of John de Gatesden and 200 marks of his lands, saving to Hawis late his wife her reasonable dower, until the full age of the heir."<sup>108</sup> This seems to leave it very doubtful whether Margery was daughter of the elder or the younger John.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Cal. of Inq.*, I., No. 706.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>106</sup> See *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1258-1266, pp. 216, 220. The date is given rightly in Foss's *Judges*.

<sup>107</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. LV., p. 31.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1266-1272, p. 734, for the grant (10 Oct., 1262) of the wardship of John's daughter and heir, with 200*l.* (*sic*) yearly of land. The daughter's name is not given, but she must be a daughter of the elder John.

<sup>109</sup> Foss (*Judges of England*) speaks of her as the elder John's "daughter or granddaughter."