

SUSSEX  
Archæological Collections,

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archæological Society.



VOL. LIX.

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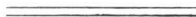
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## THE EARLY HISTORY OF NORTH AND SOUTH STOKE.

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BY J. H. ROUND, LL.D., *Hon. Mem.*

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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.

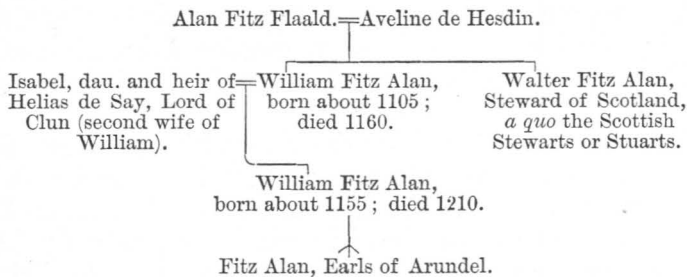
The foot note is incomplete. In the great heraldic pedigree at Fawsley, Rainald de Bailleul, as Rainald de Knightley, was made the founder of the Knightleys, and the late Sir Rainald Knightley, created Lord Knightley of Fawsley, actually bore the name of this supposed ancestor.

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 divisio 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 iiiij feoda militum in Brawat' Sedgwyk' et Garingle.

Stephanus le Poer tenet iiiij 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."

## CANTING ARMS IN SUSSEX.

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By L. F. SALZMANN, F.S.A.

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HERALDRY is essentially mediæval. Rising with the feudal system in the twelfth century, it fell with that system and at the end of the wars of the Roses was dead. Dead, but not buried. For even when it was most vigorous it was never so flamboyant as in its decay. The Tudor and Stuart heraldic writers, in their endeavour to give the poor mummy a similitude of life, decked it with an eccentric jargon and tied it up in a tangle of absurd little rules, but the spirit had departed. In recent years attempts have been made to disencumber the body of heraldry from its foolish trappings and to return to the dignified simplicity of the Middle Ages. But in spite of these attempts, and in spite of the absurdly futile efforts of certain people to make out that a modern coat of arms bought from the College of Arms for £76. 10s. is a sort of patent of gentility and superior to an ancient coat which has not been registered at the College, heraldry remains a dead language. To ignore it for that reason would be almost as foolish as to ignore Latin for the same reason. In certain ways heraldry is as illuminating and almost as essential for a proper understanding of the Middle Ages as Latin, and it is therefore well worthy of study. Among the branches of heraldry calling for consideration the origin of arms is one of the most important, and the subdivision of this branch dealing with arms that have their origin in puns contains much that is curious and interesting.

The number of these "canting" or punning coats is much greater than might be supposed. Puns, over which superior people such as Dr. Johnson are very scornful, were a peculiar weakness of our ancestors, who introduced them on the slightest provocation into their

poems, their sermons or their heraldry. Many heraldic puns are obvious, but others are far fetched and some, no doubt, so obscure that we overlook them. One leading modern authority even goes so far as to say that almost every unusual charge on a shield will be found to contain a pun, but a little caution should be used not to drag puns out of coats that were never intended to contain them.

Canting arms may be divided into three main classes:—  
 I. Those in which the arms, or crest, correspond closely with the name. II. Those in which a part of the name is contained in the arms or in some part of the arms. III. Those in which there is no direct pun, but an allusion to the name:—as in the case of the cups borne by several families of Butler. In a fourth class we may put a number of coats which really belong to the three groups, but are obscured by the pun depending upon a foreign or obsolete word.

The first class is, in Sussex, a small one, but contains the red eagle on a golden field of the ancient family of L'Aigle or de Aquila. The black lambs of Lamb of Beauport and the three rams for Ram (quartered by Alchorne) belong to families which have only a casual connection with Sussex, and the Towers family, who occur at Lewes in 1634 and used a gold tower on a blue ground, came from Lincolnshire. The Cottons, however, with their excellent device of three hanks of cotton, were long resident in West Sussex, and the Dobells, who bore a doe (stupidly blazoned by Berry as a hind) between three bells, were a purely Sussex family. Fetherstone—*gules* on a silver chevron between three ostrich feathers a pellet (obviously intended for a stone)—is only connected with the county through being quartered by the old Sussex family of Stonestreet.

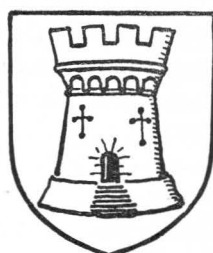
The second class, consisting of partial puns, is much larger. It may well start with the famous family of Shelley—*sable* a fess engrailed between three whelk shells *or*. The Heringauds, who flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, bore six herrings in allusion to their name and a seventeenth century vicar of



DE L'AIGLE. *Or* an eagle  
*gules*.



DOBELL. *Sable* a doe  
tripping between three  
bells *argent*.



TOWERS. *Azure* a tower  
*or*.



HERINGAUD. *Gules* crusily  
or six herrings *argent*.



SHELLEY. *Sable* a fesse  
engrailed between three  
shells *or*.



ALCOCK. *Argent* a fesse  
between three cocks'  
heads razed *sable*.



RAVENSCROFT. *Argent* a  
chevron between three  
ravens' heads razed *sable*.



PELHAM. *Azure* three  
pelicans *or*.



PEPPLESHAM. *Sable*  
three shovellers in  
pale *argent*.

Cuckfield of the name of Herring seems to have been so pleased with the pun that he appropriated the coat and had it put on his monument. Turning from fish to birds we find Alcocke bearing a fesse between three cocks' heads, and Ravenscroft a chevron between three ravens' heads. That the three pelicans of Pelham are intended for a pun on that name may seem far fetched, but is at least possible, and I am inclined to think that the three birds, usually called shovellers, borne by Pepplesham, were chosen because they make their home among the pebbles—in which case they should really be placed in our third class, that of "allusive" coats. As the old heraldic artists made little, or unsuccessful, attempts to represent their creatures in a lifelike manner, it is often difficult to be certain what bird is intended. This comes out in a remarkable way in the case of the arms of Henshaw. This family came from Cheshire and the branch that remained in that county blazoned its coat as a chevron between three moorhens: the Sussex branch, on the other hand, is always described as bearing a chevron between three hernshaws (*i.e.*, young herons, from the French *heronceux*). No such difficulty occurs in the case of the bird borne by Fauconer, an obvious falcon, but the pun was naturally lost when the arms were assumed by their successors the Michelgroves. In the same way the curious coat of Calverley of the Broad, with its orle of owls, is meaningless unless we know that they were a Lancashire family and came from Oulton. A place pun is probably contained in the hart which forms the crest of Carryll of Harting, but several animals figure in allusion to their owner's names. Berwick bears bears' heads, and Barham also puns on his first syllable with three bears, while Wolfe of Ashington naturally has wolves' heads. Possibly the curious coat of Wilson of Eastbourne—a rampant wolf and in chief three stars—may be a desperate attempt at wolf-sun = Wulson = Wilson. Human beings occur in a few cases, the crest of Wildegos being, not, as one might expect, a wild goose, but a wild man or savage, and a family of Marshall bearing as crest a demi-man in armour with a



HENSHAW. *Argent* a chevron between three herons *sable*.



FALCONER. Quarterly *or* and *azure* a falcon *proper*.



BERWICK. *Argent* three bears' heads *sable* with muzzles *or*.



WILSON. *Sable* a leaping wolf with three stars *or* in the chief.



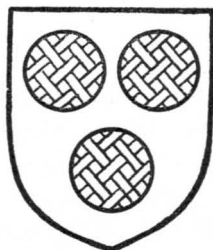
SARIS. *Gules* a chevron *argent* between three Saracens' heads *or*.



BLAKER. *Argent* a chevron *ermine* between three blackamores' heads.



FLOWER. *Ermine* a cinquefoil *ermine*.



GRATWICK. *Or* three roundels *azure* fretty of the field.



MILWARD. *Argent* a miller's cross *sable* between four crescents *gules*.

marshal's bâton in his hand. The families of Blaker and Saris each bear three men's heads on their shield, those in the first case being certainly blackamoors and in the second presumably Saracens.

With the exception of the three walnut leaves of Waller of Groombridge, a family which is, strictly speaking, more Kentish than Sussex, and the cinquefoil, or five-leaved flower, borne by Flower of Hastings, punning plants figure only in crests, of which the best known is the ash tree of Ashburnham. Threele bears "a tree proper," evidently by way of pun, and the crest of Wheatley is a wheatsheaf held up by two arms. Of inanimate objects there are many in this class. The ancient family of Shoyswell, or Shoeswell, bore *or* on a bend *sable* three horse-shoes *argent* and emphasized their shoeing ability by using a horse's head as crest. (Incidentally I should like to throw out the suggestion that the occurrence of ostriches, sometimes with horse-shoes in their beaks, in Sussex armory, as for instance the families of Alfrey, Fagg and Gratwick, might imply that they had made money from iron-works—the ostrich being notoriously nourished on iron.) The crests of Bowyer and Stapley are both good examples; the former having a demi-man holding a bow, and the other a demi-savage, with a chain attached to his waist, holding a staple. At first sight nothing could be less suggestive of a pun than the arms of Gratwick, blazoned as "*or* three hurts each charged with a fret *or*;" but remembering that the name is pronounced "Grattick" and visualising the golden shield with three blue disks, each covered with a golden lattice, we see that we clearly have three gratings and an excellent pun. Several allusions turn on technical heraldic terms. The cross with forking ends, known, from its resemblance to the iron which holds a millstone in place, as a "mill-rind cross," figures in the coat of Milward between four crescents, which may possibly refer to the watchfulness implied in the second half of the name. The same cross, under its other name of "cross-moline," constitutes the arms of Molineux. The T-shaped cross of St. Anthony, known as the "Tau Cross," figures on the shield of Tawke, while

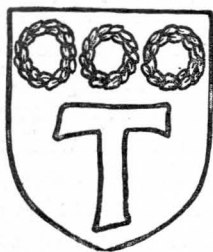
above it, in chief, are three green chaplets or wreaths, which I venture to suggest were made of the oak, or "t' oäk" as a Sussex man would say. The ancient family of Goring bears, according to heralds, "*argent* a cheveron between three annulets *gules*," but the annulets ought certainly to be called "rings" and preferably "gory rings." Merlott's three mullets are suggestive; but whether the "*argent* a bend between two engrailed cottises *sable*" of Whitfield is really intended to suggest a paling across a white field—such a snow-clad field as I can see from my windows as I write—I should not like to be positive.

Coming to our third class, "allusive arms," we may start with the three cups of Butler of Warminghurst. Gunter of Racton finds in the "gaunters" or glove-makers a suggestion for his coat of three gloves (*gants*), but adds an aristocratic touch by making them gloves of mail. Three families of Forster use emblems of the chase to signify their origin as foresters; the first, a cheveron between three pheons, and a stag's head as crest; the second, a cheveron between three bugles, with the crest of a stag; the third, three stags' heads on an engrailed bend. So also Parker of Herstmonceux has on his rather crowded shield, among other charges, three stags' heads. The three bells on the shield of Porter are also clearly allusive to the bell which hangs in the porter's lodge, while the crest, a portcullis, is a further reference to the porter's office of gatekeeper. Tredcroft bears "*argent* on a mount *vert* a cock *proper*," evidently a cock treading a croft, and there is a rather subtle connection between Frebody's name and his coat of a cheveron between three hearts. On the other hand the winged heart which is the crest of Alchorne is possibly due to a marriage with the heiress of Walter Hart in the fifteenth century. Incidentally, my friend the Rev. E. E. Dorling, F.S.A., to whose artistic skill I am indebted for the excellent illustrations to this article, suggests that the antlered stag's head on the shield of Alchorne stands for "elk's horn." The crest of Leche, a hand holding a serpent, must be a reference to the



serpent of *Æsculapius*, patron of "leeches" or doctors. Less certain than the examples already given are the coats of Springett, Thatcher and Bridger. In the last-named the black cheveron between three red crabs might stand for a bridge, and the grasshoppers which figure in the chief of Thatcher's shield are possibly not unconnected with thatch, but whether the wavy fesse between three crescents borne by the Springetts has any reference to the first syllable of their name I am not sure, for although a wavy fess is suggestive of water, the tinctures, red and white, are not suitable.

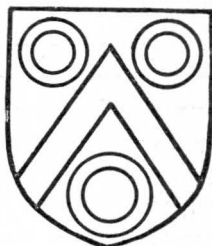
Finally we have a group of about a dozen shields in which the pun or allusion is obscured by depending on a foreign or obsolete word, or by an error in blazoning. Such an error is obvious in the case of Buckle, whose arms are given as "*sable* 3 chaplets *argent*," the "chaplets" being clearly intended for silver buckles. One is also inclined to suggest that in the coat of Pellett—*argent* two bars *sable*, on the first a bezant—the tinctures have somehow been changed and that the bezant must originally have been a "pellet." Similarly, when Dicker is said to bear a cheveron between three choughs, one feels that the birds were not intended to be choughs, but just "dickie-birds!" This may sound frivolous, but after all the northern family of Pusey certainly bore pussy-cats. Examples of obsolete words occur in the coats of Ernley—three golden eagles on a black bend—which turns on the old word "erne," meaning an eagle; de la Chambre, whose three cannons are "chamber-pieces," or breech-loaders; Willard, who bears three strange objects known as "weels," a kind of bag-net or trap for fish; and Delves, whose red cheveron with its gold fret lies between three black "delves" or sods—blocks of earth or peat delved from the earth. So also, no doubt the three maces of Pay point to the old word "pay," meaning to beat or strike; and so, possibly, the dolphin of Scrase refers to the old Norman-French "*craspeis*"—a term usually applied to the porpoise, of which the dolphin is the heraldic version. In two other cases I am inclined to detect French puns. The one is Chowne's



TAWKE. *Argent* a tau cross *gules* with three wreaths *vert* in the chief.



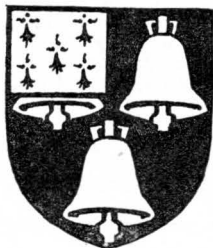
GUNTER. *Sable* three gauntlets *argent*.



GORING. *Argent* a chevron between three rings *gules*.



ALCHORNE. *Argent* a hart's head *sable* and a chief indented *sable*.



PORTER. *Sable* three bells *argent* and a quarter *ermine*.



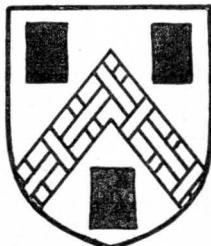
ERNELEY. *Argent* a bend *sable* charged with three eaglets *or*.



DE LA CHAMBRE. *Argent* a chevron *sable* voided *ermine* between three chamber-pieces *sable* firing to the dexter.



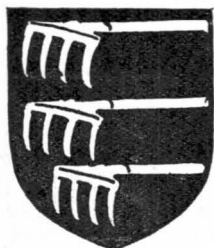
PAY. *Sable* a chevron between three maces *or* with three pales *gules* on the chevron.



DELVES. *Argent* a chevron *gules* fretty *or* between three delves *sable*.

PLATE III.

curious coat of "three thatchers' hooks;" surely there is here a reference to *chaume*, the French for thatch? The other is Morley's shield:—*sable* three leopards' faces *or* jessant de lis *argent*—that is to say three leopards' heads of gold with silver fleurs de lis, of which the tops come out of the leopards' heads, while the stems, if we may use the word, project from their mouths: the effect is of the leopards biting the fleurs de lis, or, to put it into French—the language of heraldry—*ils mordent lys*, a very pleasant pun on Morley.



CHOWNE. *Sable* three thatcher's hooks fesswise *argent*.



WEST. *Argent* a dance *sable*.



MORLEY. *Sable* three fleurs de lis *argent* coming out of leopards' heads *or*.

One coat remains to be dealt with which is almost by itself. It has been suggested to me that the black "dance," or fesse dancetty, of West, Lord Delawarre, was assumed because it formed the letter W. This seems not unlikely and, oddly enough, there seems some reason to believe that the pheons, or broad arrow heads, of the great house of Sydney were suggested by the W with which William Sydney, the founder of the family's fortunes, used to seal.\*

In conclusion, I may say that there are sure to be a number of canting coats in the county which have escaped my notice, and that I hope that the publication of this article may lead to their identification and attract attention to one of the most curious and interesting branches of the study of heraldry.

\* William Sidney, son of William Sidney of Cranlegh, sealed in 1453 with a pheon (not on a shield). William of Cranlegh, the father, used a W.

# COVERED WAYS ON THE SUSSEX DOWNS.

BY ELIOT CURWEN, M.A., M.B., B.C., AND  
ELIOT CECIL CURWEN, B.A.

THE term "Covered Way" is less a description of the earthworks with which this article is concerned, than an assumption as to the purpose for which they were constructed. In this it is open to objection. It is, however, a term that has been used to describe similar works in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire and elsewhere, and so it seems best to retain it, in default of a better, to denote that type of earthwork on the Downs which consists of a central ditch with a bank thrown up on *both* sides. We have been unable to find a record of the description of any example of this type from Sussex, but that it occurs is evidenced by the 16 examples which we have so far found and examined on our Downlands between Eastbourne and the extreme west of the county.

The 16 examples all conform to one type. They consist of a single ditch with a bank on each side, or else of a series of such works running more or less parallel with one another. Fourteen run directly athwart the main ridge of the Downs; the remaining two cross outlying spurs. Starting at the head, or side, of steep combes on the escarpment, they pass over the high and exposed crest, and either drop down to another scarp on the south, or else disappear in woods covering the more gentle slopes of the Downs.

## TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SERIES IN THEIR ORDER FROM EAST TO WEST.<sup>1</sup>

I.—ON WILLINGDON HILL<sup>2</sup> a Covered Way passes over the high ground north of Willingdon Hill Cottages. It

<sup>1</sup> Of the 16 earthworks only those at Highden Hill, Arundel Park, Heyshott Down and Bow Hill are shown on the 6-in. Ordnance Survey, while that on Newtimber Hill is represented as a foot-path. The remaining 10 examples do not appear on the map.

<sup>2</sup> In Willingdon Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) LXXIX. N.E.; between the 600 and 700-ft. contour lines. For more detailed description see "A Downland Discovery" by H. S. Toms in *The Sussex County Herald*, 16th December, 1916.

is most marked on the crest of the hill where the ditch and containing banks, with an overall measurement of 42-ft., can be traced among the gorse bushes. Flint digging and cart traffic have, however, much mutilated it even here. To the north-west of the crest it is lost in a strip of cultivated land, but can be traced as a ditch only for a short distance further on, in the uncultivated ground at the head of Harewick Bottom, a valley that opens out near Jevington. Taking a slightly curved course over the ridge towards the south, the earthwork slopes down the hillside towards the head of a valley, known as Mill Fields, which runs into Eldon Bottom and opens out at East Dean. Where the hill begins to drop towards the south, at the 600-ft. contour line, the earthwork is traced with difficulty for some distance. Further down the slope of the hillside along which it skirts, and in line with the earthwork above, two banks with a shallow ditch appear; the upper bank, which looks like the raised edge of a lynchet, is the more conspicuous, the ditch is shallow and the lower bank insignificant. Should the spade some day definitely determine that this is part of a Covered Way it will probably also show that it has been much levelled by the plough.

Just before the earthwork disappears on cultivated ground towards the south it is overlaid by the western vallum of a large "valley entrenchment" that occupies the floor of Mill Fields and appears to be a work of a later date.

II.—Another example, also much mutilated, starts from the edge of a steep and shallow combe behind Novington Farm, PLUMPTON, and passing athwart the escarpment a little to the west of Black Cap<sup>3</sup> is finally lost at the edge of a recent plantation behind the racing stable. Of the 520-ft. of its length the northern 60-ft. are quite marked and so are a 100-ft. to the south of a 40-ft. wide gallop; still further to the south it is obliterated by the hard greenway, and for the remainder of its course one bank or other is just traceable through

<sup>3</sup> In Chailey Parish (Det. No. 2); O.S. (6 ins.) LIII. N.E.; over the 600-ft. contour line.

broken ground and bushes till it abruptly disappears at the railing of the plantation.

III.—A Covered Way on NEWTIMBER HILL<sup>4</sup> is traceable for 1,250-ft. from Newtimber Holt on the north over the ridge southwards to the ploughed land known as North Laine (Plate I.). In the most part it is covered with gorse and very old hawthorn trees, and, though marked on the Ordnance Map as a foot-path, it has not been used as a track for many years.

This earthwork has suffered much from the hand of man; its northern end, sloping down to Newtimber Holt, has been considerably damaged by the flint-digging which was carried on here in the days of the turnpike roads, but notwithstanding this it can be traced to within 100-ft. of the trees which cover the steep fall of the hill towards the north. The bank on the west side is intact for most of its length, and on the highest part of the Down is 5-ft. 6-in. above the present level of the ditch; the bank on the east side, however, has entirely disappeared with the exception of two stretches of 140 and 90-ft., but these fragments—and the evidence furnished by the cutting at A—B, to be described later—are sufficient to show that at one time this bank also was continuous. The fact that for the greater part of its extent this earthwork marks the boundary between two properties, those of Lord Leonfield and of Viscount Buxton, may offer an explanation for the very different conditions of these banks, for if in time past the land on the east had been ploughed in up to the boundary the natural tendency would be for the bank to become obliterated and the ditch filled in. Of this power of the plough to obliterate banks there is ample evidence in the next earthwork to be described, and also in the southern extremity of this one, for 200-ft. from its southern termination both of the banks disappear at the balk of a lynchet, or cultivation terrace, and the ditch continues alone (C—D. Plate I.) till it sinks beneath the soil towards the lower edge of the terrace.

<sup>4</sup> In Newtimber Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) LII. N.E.; over the 600-ft. contour line.

An ancient borstall leads obliquely down the escarpment from near the northern extremity of this earthwork; of any track approaching its southern extremity all trace has been obliterated by the plough.

IV.—South of the road over SUMMER DOWN.<sup>5</sup> There remain but 100-ft. of a Covered Way that apparently ran from the side of the Devil's Dyke Valley over Summer Down towards the head of Ewe Bottom; the ditch can be traced for a further 100-ft. through bushes and beyond, but the plough has removed all other traces.

V.—A well marked Covered Way,<sup>6</sup> conspicuous from Warren Hill and the Storrington Road, runs over HIGHDEN HILL to the south of Washington Church. It starts near the steep wooded side of Biggen Holt, and runs south in a direct line for 780-ft. Here it takes a gentle sweep eastward, and descends the hill obliquely as it drops into the deep valley behind Highden House. After a further 50-ft. the east bank fades away in the hill side and the ditch spreads out like a terrace, the west bank continuing as a distinct but insignificant ramp for another 70-ft. At this point it, too, gradually disappears, but the rough terrace-way continues 600-ft. to the foot of the slope. The bottom of the valley is occupied by a considerable number of large beech and ash trees; these betoken the presence of clay, and it is not improbable that in earlier days, when the rainfall was greater than at present, this clay-covered valley may have collected and held the surface drainage from the surrounding heights.<sup>7</sup>

The west bank is less marked than the east throughout, and this is apparently due to the partial filling of the angle between it and the hill that slopes down to it from the west. On the crest of the Down the east bank stands  $4\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. above the present level of the ditch, which is here 6-ft. wide. The overall width is 52-ft. The ancient

<sup>5</sup> In Newtimber Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) LII. S.E.; over the 600-ft. contour line.

<sup>6</sup> In Washington Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) LI. N.W.; between the 500 and 600-ft. contour lines.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Williams-Freeman in his *Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire*, p. 6, states that "even in historic times the springs broke out of our own Chalk Downs 50 or 60-ft. above their present level." On p. 364 he depicts a fine specimen of the type of earthwork under consideration at Butser Hill.

greenway that follows all along the ridge of the Downs has breached this earthwork, and where it cuts the banks has filled in the fosse to its own level. A more modern track breaches it 220-ft. further south, and between these two tracks, and in contact with the west bank, stands a small barrow with depressed hollow centre and smooth regular edges of the type which has been said to be Saxon on the South Downs. A fragment of Bronze Age pottery was found in a rabbit-warren hard by on the southern slope of the hill.

VI.—Stretching east and west across the north end of ARUNDEL PARK, and in the adjacent Whiteways Plantation, is a most remarkable group of earthworks,<sup>8</sup> three in number, which for the sake of convenience we will designate Nos. 1, 2 and 3, starting on the north. [Plate II., which is based on the O.S. map.]

Nos. 1 and 2 are confined to Whiteways Plantation, which lies to the west of the road from Bury Hill to Arundel. These two are both of the nature of ordinary Covered Ways, that is they consist of two banks and a ditch between them. No. 1 appears abruptly at the edge of the road, and running in a west-south-west direction begins to descend the hill very gently slantwise, in the manner of a modern borstal. After a quarter of a mile it fades away. For the first 450-ft. where the ground is not steep, both banks are perfectly clear, the only remarkable thing being the abnormally large size of the banks and ditch, the overall width of this part being 73-ft., as opposed to the more usual 30 to 40-ft. for this type of earthwork. The banks here are also high and pronounced. Further westwards, where the ground slopes more steeply towards the north, the bank on the upper side disappears. The remaining bank is rounded and presents the appearance of an artificial rampart, rather than that of a square-cut bank left on the outer side of an ordinary borstal, by the wearing out of the hollow track-way by traffic and weather.

<sup>8</sup> In Houghton Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) L. S.W.; between the 300 and 400-ft. contour lines.



No. 2 is the smallest of the three. It lies parallel to No. 1 and about 95-ft. south of it (measuring between bottoms of ditches), and, like No. 1, it appears abruptly at the side of the modern road. It is only 240-ft. long, and presents two banks and one ditch not much above the usual dimensions. To make up however for its insignificant size, it has one very interesting feature, viz., a peculiar kink, like an abortive double right-angled bend, just before it disappears. At a point about 135-ft. from the road the northern bank curves northward for 15-ft., and then turning again gradually resumes its original line before it disappears. The southern bank likewise makes a turn northward at the same point, though a less marked one, for after 9-ft. it also turns westward again and resumes its original line. Both banks fade away about 95-ft. west of the kink. The eastern ends of these two Covered Ways terminate abruptly where they were shorn by the makers of the Bury—Arundel Road, and no traces of them are to be seen to the east of this road, as the ground here, which is in Arundel Park, has been a good deal disturbed in comparatively recent times.

No. 3 is the most peculiar of the group. It is by far the largest example of a Covered Way we have come across, its length being 4,740-ft., or about five-sixths of a mile, and its overall width 100-ft. where the section was taken (Plate II. A—B); while the present bottom of the ditch at the same spot is 10-ft. below the present top of the banks. The general direction of the earthwork is nearly east and west. At its western end it begins by running for 150-ft. south-eastwards, straight up the face of the same hill down which No. 1 ran slantwise. It is, however, entirely unconnected with No. 1, and there is no evidence that there ever has been any communication between the two. Then it turns abruptly north-eastwards, going more or less along the hill, and nearly parallel with No. 1. Bearing eastwards it runs within 120-ft. of No. 2, and is then cut by the Bury—Arundel Road. East of this road it begins to descend slantwise the southern side of a steep wooded combe, the same

# COVERED WAYS ON BURY HILL AND IN ARUNDEL PARK

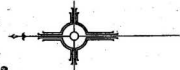
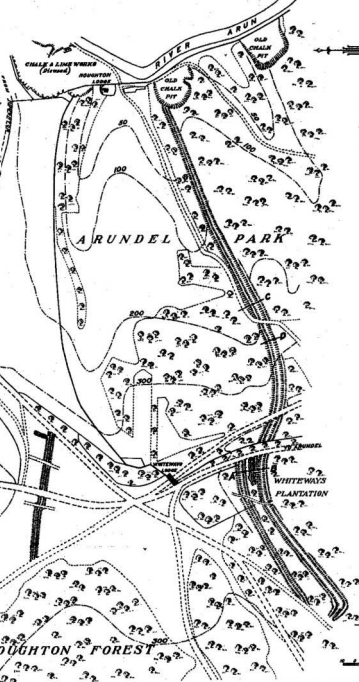
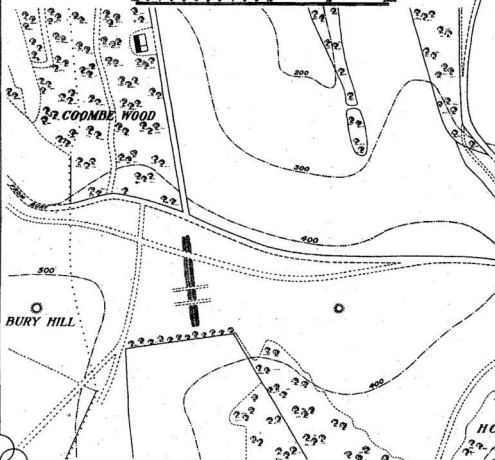
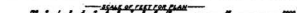


SECTION ON LINE A.B.

SCALE OF FEET



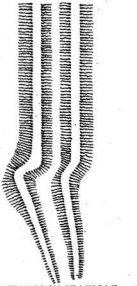
SCALE OF FEET FOR PLAN



SKETCH SECTION AT C

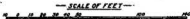


SKETCH SECTION AT D

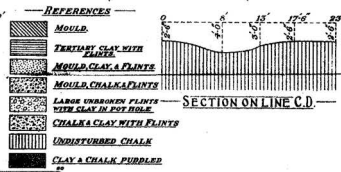
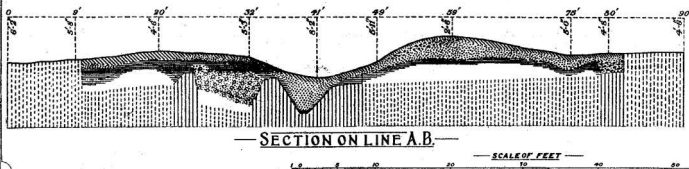
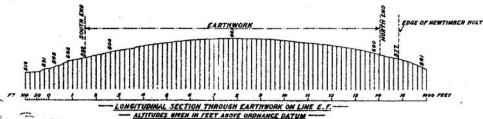
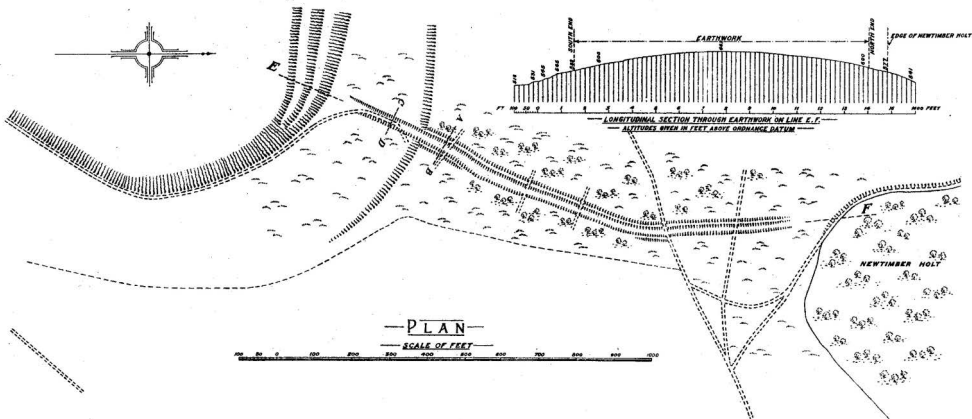
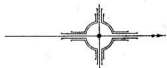


SKETCH PLAN OF MIDDLE COVERED WAY









SCALE OF FEET



# EARTHWORK. NEWTIMBER HILL.



## REFERENCES

-  MOULD.
-  TERTIARY CLAY WITH FLINTS.
-  MOULD, CHALK & FLINTS.
-  MOULD, CHALK & FLINTS.
-  LARGE UNBROKEN FLINTS WITH CLAY IN POT HOLE.
-  CHALK & CLAY WITH FLINTS.
-  UNDISTURBED CHALK.
-  CLAY & CHALK PUDDLED.

combe, towards the head of which the eastern ends of Nos. 1 and 2 were directed. It continues to descend this combe until, after 3,000-ft. from the road, it is finally obliterated by an old chalk pit on the bank of the River Arun, and at a height of 70-ft. above the river. The earthwork disappears at the top of the cliff of the chalk pit, and could therefore never have been used as a track for carting chalk from the pit.

On the top of the hill this remarkable earthwork is possessed of both its banks, and presents the appearance of a giant Covered Way. As, however, it commences to slope sideways down the hill towards the east, the southern bank gradually fades away, leaving a sudden steep drop of 10 to 15-ft. from the plateau into the bottom of the ditch, above which the northern bank rises only 2 to 3-ft. (D. Plate II.). A little lower down (C. Plate II.) the southern bank appears again high above the ditch and well below the level of the plateau.

Thus we see that this earthwork starts from a steep and wooded hillside, runs across a ridge, where it has its two banks and one ditch, and then descends a wooded combe, exactly as a borstal would. This would seem conclusive proof that the work was made for a road and not for defence only, and so justifies its inclusion in a list of Covered Ways, from which it at first sight appears to differ so much.

VII.—On BURY HILL,<sup>9</sup> five hundred yards to the north of the last example, another Covered Way runs athwart the ridge from Houghton Forest on the west to a point where the Amberley Road cuts it off from a strip of wood at the head of a combe, the lower opening of which is to the River Arun at Houghton Lodge. (Plate II.). It has a length of 930-ft., with overall width of 60-ft., and the banks rise in places 5-ft. above the present level of the ditch. On the very crest of the ridge, just where it is breached by the high road to Bury, the earthwork makes a double right-angled turn, first to the right and then after 30-ft. to the left, and continues

<sup>9</sup> In Houghton Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) L. S.W.; between the 300 and 400-ft. contour lines.

parallel to the line of its original course. This double turn occurs where the Down is open and smooth, and was not occasioned by any natural or artificial configuration of the ground. Unfortunately a cart track breaches the earthwork at this point.

Near the east end a bank with ditch on its western side runs northwards parallel with the Amberley Road for 140-ft.; the ditch, however, is not so deep as that of the Covered Way, nor does it communicate with it, and the appearance suggests that it is a late addition to the original work.

A low bank without marked ditch leads off from the southern bank of the Covered Way at the double turn; it passes southwards towards Whiteways Lodge, near which it becomes more marked, and then taking a broad turn towards the south-east enters Houghton Forest. Its appearance is that of a boundary.

VIII.—Yet another Covered Way crosses BURY HILL<sup>10</sup> nine hundred yards further north than the last (Plate II.). It is 690-ft. in length and passes in a more or less direct line from Houghton Forest on the west to just short of the road that dips steeply to Bury. Its direction is to the south-west corner of Coombe Wood and is in almost direct alignment with a road that skirts the south side of this wood and then drops rapidly to the flat lands by the River Arun—lands that were formerly marsh and are still liable to floods. The overall measurement of this earthwork is 35-ft.; and on the crest of the Down the present level of the ditch is 4-ft. below the banks.

IX.—The Covered Way on GLATTING DOWN,<sup>11</sup> by Bignor Down (Plate III.), runs almost due north and south for a distance of 1,650-ft., and consists of (*a*) a central fosse 5-ft. wide, the bottom of which is 2-ft. below the natural level of the hill, and (*b*) two parallel banks which are  $2\frac{1}{4}$ -ft. high, or 4-ft. 3-in. above the present floor of the ditch. The outline of each bank is

<sup>10</sup> In Houghton Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) L. N.W.; between the 400 and 500-ft. contour lines.

<sup>11</sup> In Bignor Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) XLIX. N.E.; over the 700-ft. contour line.

that of a smooth, even and convex ridge, and the total width of banks and ditch is 40-ft. in the northern and 50-ft. in the southern part.

The northern termination of this Covered Way is 6-ft. from the edge of Lamb Hanger, a very steep and wooded combe; it passes over the crest of the exposed Down to the east of Glatting Beacon and terminates at a point where woods begin at the junction of Dale Park and Gumber Farm, known as Gumber Corner; beyond this point its line is continued as a boundary between these properties.

Two hundred and ten feet from the northern end, and at the highest and most exposed part of the open Down, the earthwork, without any necessity referable to the configuration of the ground, takes a sudden turn to the east, and 40-ft. further on takes a similar turn to the south, and thence proceeds in a line parallel to its original course. In position and in measurement this double bend is very like that noted in the more southern Covered Way on Bury Down (No. VII.). Two large tumuli and an unfinished mist-pond are near this double bend, but had the earthwork been straight, and continued in a direct line from the top of the hill to its commencement at Lamb Hanger, it would not have come into contact with these barrows, so that the bend in its line cannot be attributed to the wish to avoid these tumuli. The earthwork has been breached at various times by roads of a later date, and unfortunately a track, long disused, was driven through it just where it makes this double turn; but though the continuity of the banks is broken the course they took is quite apparent. Two other roads, still used, traverse the earthwork, one near the northern limit and one in the stretch of 636-ft. omitted in the plan, and further south 140-ft. is entirely obliterated by the Roman Stane Street, which was carried across it at this point. South of Stane Street the earthwork is continued in the same direct line to its termination, but is much broken by tracks and by flint-diggings.

There are distinct traces of what appears to have been a terraced track leading from the northern end of the

earthwork obliquely down the escarpment in a north easterly direction. Half-way down the steep slope it turns north by east, and continues its descent along a low spur which runs out towards Coldharbour Farm. It is narrowest at the top of the hill, but broadens out lower down where the slope is less steep. Though distinct, the traces are too vague to be drawn or measured, and are best seen when looking down upon them from the edge of the escarpment above.

X.—A little more than a mile west of Glatting Down another Covered Way, 1,380-ft. in length, passes over UPWALTHAM HILL<sup>12</sup> (Plate IV.). Originating in the hillside that slopes down to Westwood Bottom, it rises in a south-westerly direction to near the summit of Upwaltham Hill; here it takes a turn of 137°, and thence continues almost due south till it is lost in North Wood.

The main peculiarity of this earthwork is that it is double and consists of two separate ditches with their retaining banks. Though separate and distinct they run roughly parallel to one another, and clearly belong to the same system. They are closest together in the centre of their length, and just east of the turn are separated by 8-ft. only. More to the north-east, beyond the track to Upwaltham Village, the eastern earthwork turns in the direction of the head of Westwood Bottom, and besides keeping at a higher level than the western, is continued for 150-ft. further. The western earthwork at its north-eastern termination is separated from the eastern by 75-ft. At their southern ends these earthworks turn slightly towards the east and terminate at about the same level, 50 to 60-ft. from one another.

The whole earthwork seems to pivot upon a mound 10-ft. by 7-ft. situated at the angle in the inner bank of the eastern element. It is higher than the banks which run into it, and encroaches on the ditch, which seems to

<sup>12</sup> In Sutton, Upwaltham and Slindon Parishes; O.S. (6 ins.) XLIX. N.E. and N.W.; over the 700-ft. contour line. For contour map showing relation of the Glatting Down and Upwaltham Hill Covered Ways to one another, and to other neighbouring earthworks, see plan of Stane Street, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. LVII., p. 136.

hug it. On the top are the remains of trees, but as the summits of the banks elsewhere when occupied by large trees are not higher than at other places, this mound cannot be attributed to their agency. In its comparative isolation, and encroachment on the ditch, it suggests a tumulus rather than the increase so often seen in the bank at the angle of an earthwork when the bend is more acute than in this case; there is no vestige of a similar mound in the bend of the western earthwork.

The overall width of each element is from 35 to 40-ft., but the eastern appears to be the more substantial of the two works, and that it originally was so is borne out by the section cut (E—F. Plate IV.). On the top of the hill the fosse is from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. below the level of the ramparts, but in the southern portion, where the slope of the hill has allowed of more silting, the present level of the ditch is only 18-in. below insignificant banks. (Section A—B. Plate IV.).

The earthwork is breached by two bridle tracks, and by a double cart-road that runs along the main axis of this part of the Down westwards to Benges Cottages. The southern portion of the western earthwork, cut off by this double cart-road, is not in direct line with the northern portion, though its direction is parallel with it, and it looks as if the cart track may have crossed and overlaid, and by so doing obliterated, a double right-angle turn with a short limb such as exists in the Bury Down (No. VII.) and in the Glatting Down earthworks.

A third element in this group runs along the hill side to the south-east at a lower level, and approaches the terminations of the eastern Covered Way. It is of the ordinary type of a defensive work, 936-ft. in length, and consists of a fosse with single bank thrown up on the north-west or uphill side.

The Parliamentary County Division and Union Boundary make use of this outlying part of the earthwork for 195-ft.; leaving it, it crosses the eastern Covered Way and passes to the outer bank of the western, along which it follows for 130-ft. to its termination, and thence turns northwards again by an old saw-pit.



XI.—West of the valley, through which runs the Chichester to Petworth road, the track to the main ridge of the Downs, ascending behind Littleton Farm, is crossed at several places by works consisting of a ditch on the lower and a bank on the upper side.

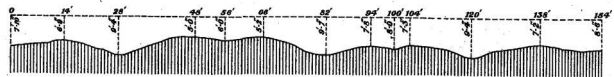
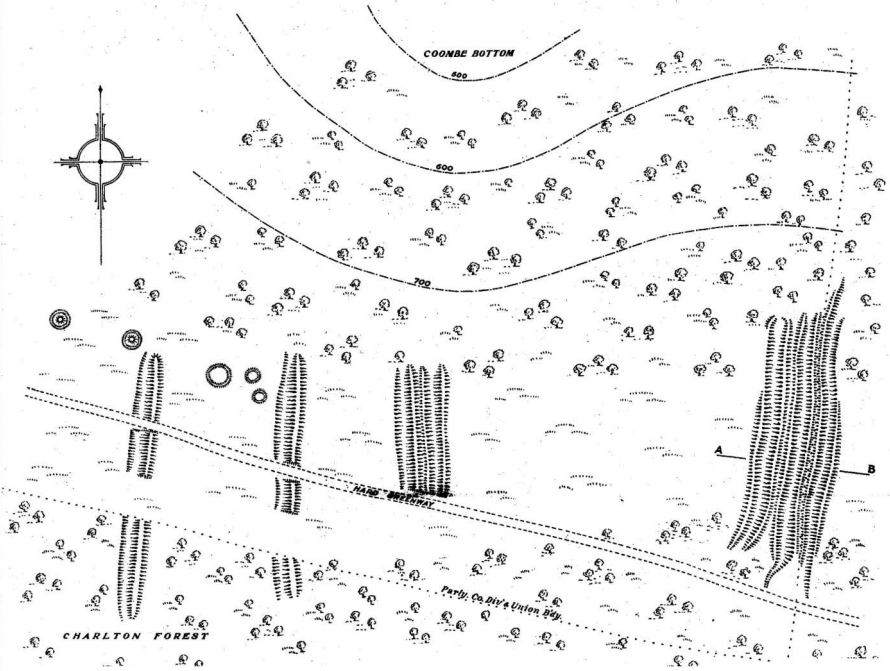
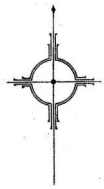
At the EASTERN END OF HEYSHOTT DOWN, and extending across the Parish Boundary to Graffham Down, there is a remarkable series of Covered Ways<sup>13</sup> and attendant earthworks arranged in four groups and covering a space of 1,140-ft. from east to west (Plate V.). They start from the edge of the northern escarpment, as in other examples described, and run athwart the bare crest of the Downs, which is unusually narrow here, and are lost in the southern slopes covered by the dense growth of Charlton Forest.

(1) The easternmost group consists of six distinct banks, *i.e.*, three ditches each with its two smooth and even banks (Section A—B. Plate V.); it is 520-ft. in length and has a total width of 140-ft. The ditches and banks run approximately parallel to one another, but at their terminations, more especially towards the south, they tend to diverge and spread out in a fan-shaped manner. The present surface level of the fosses are  $2\frac{1}{4}$ -ft. below the level of the surrounding Downs, and from 4-ft. 4-in. to 2-ft. 2-in. below the highest parts of the banks. The main part of this earthwork is singularly perfect, not being breached by any track, as the hard greenway passes to the south of it; but both its ends, terminating as they do in thick woods, have been affected by forestry operations. Along the space separating the eastern from the central elements of this group runs the boundary dividing the Parishes of Graffham on the east and Heyshott on the west.<sup>14</sup>

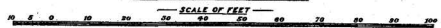
<sup>13</sup> In Heyshott and Graffham Parishes; O.S. (6 ins.), XXXV. S.W.; over the 700-ft. contour line.

<sup>14</sup> The place-name Heyshott is derived from O.E. (*ge*)*haege*, a boundary or fenced-in way, and O.E. *scēt*, a corner, angle, or nook. Graffham is derived from O.E. *graef* dat. *graf* or *graef*, a ditch, or trench, and O.E. *hām*, a homestead. See W. W. Skeat, *Berkshire Place-Names*, pp. 62, 87 and 52; also Roberts, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, pp. 85, 192 and 73, 187; *cf.* Ditchampton, in the Hundred of Underditch, Wiltshire, a village by an earthwork.

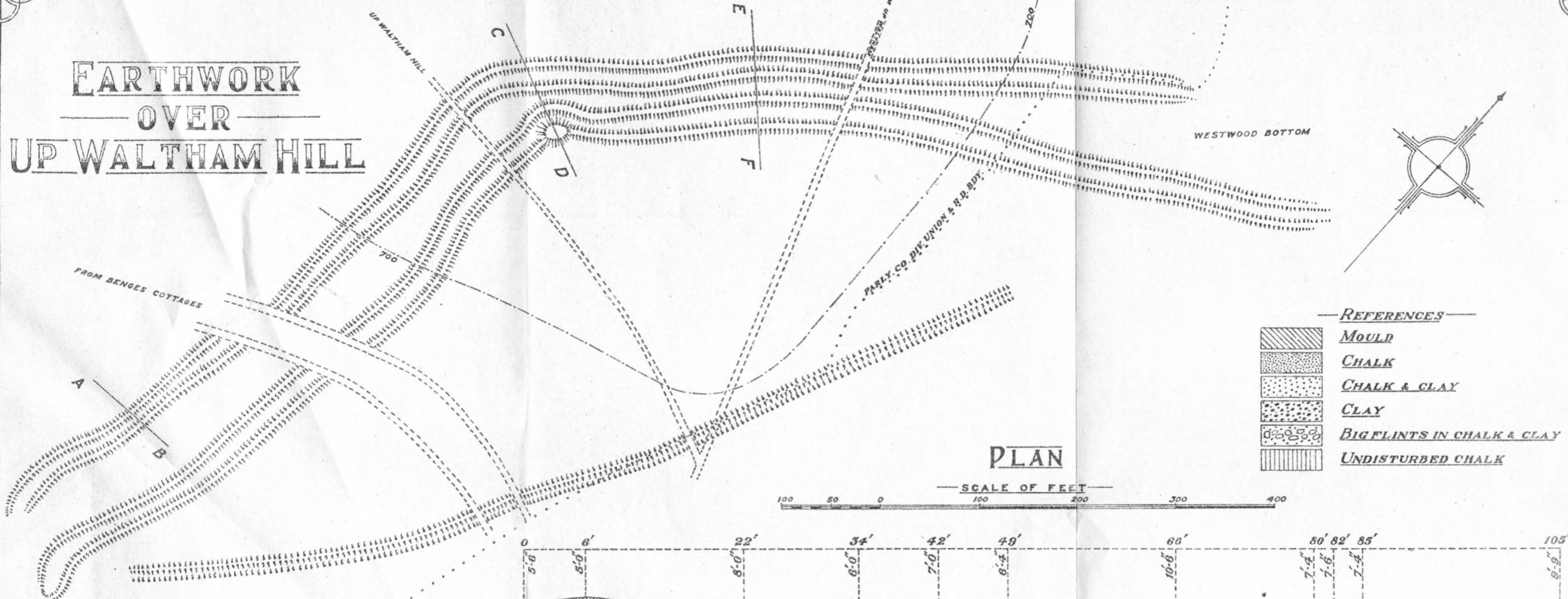
# EASTERN EARTHWORKS ON HEYSHOTT DOWN



SECTION ON LINE A.B.



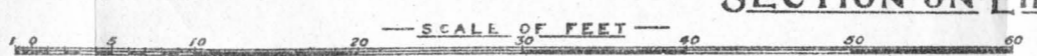
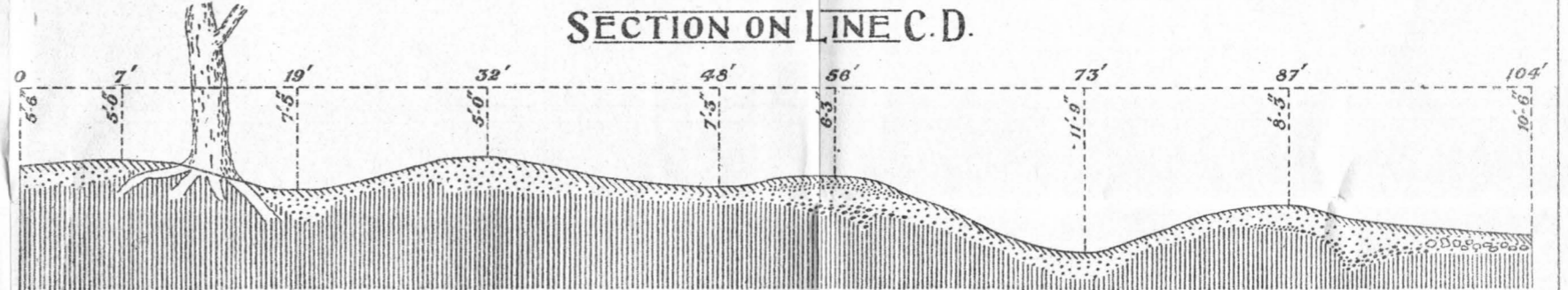
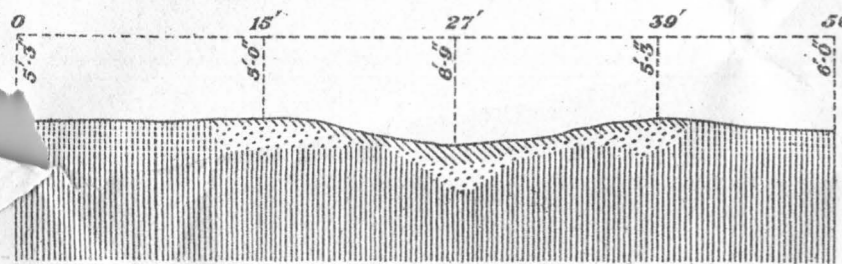
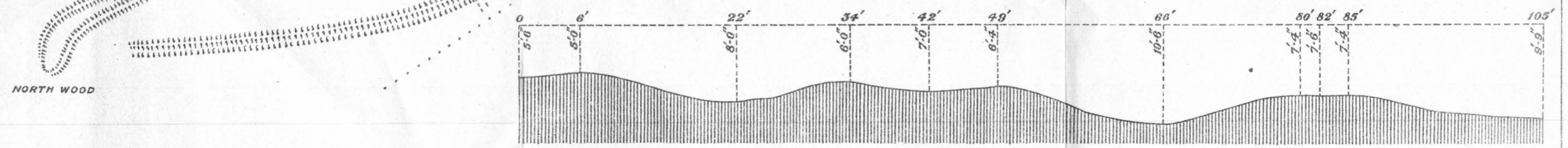
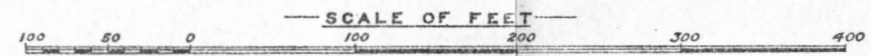
# EARTHWORK OVER UP WALTHAM HILL



**REFERENCES**

|  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
|  | <b>MOULD</b>                          |
|  | <b>CHALK</b>                          |
|  | <b>CHALK &amp; CLAY</b>               |
|  | <b>CLAY</b>                           |
|  | <b>BIG FLINTS IN CHALK &amp; CLAY</b> |
|  | <b>UNDISTURBED CHALK</b>              |

## PLAN



(2) Five hundred and seventy feet to the west is another group, consisting of (*a*) a fosse with double banks, and (*b*) a bank with a ditch on its west (downhill) side. It commences in the wood just as the ground begins to drop steeply into Coombe Bottom behind Hayland Farm, and passing almost due south is cut after 210-ft. by the old hard greenway; beyond this point it is not now traceable, because the ground has been much cut up by heavy cart traffic. The overall width is 85-ft.; the main ditch is 5-ft. below its banks, and the western ditch not now so deep.

(3) One hundred and forty seven feet still further to the west along the ridge a single bank with ditch on its west (downhill) side runs from the wooded escarpment into the thick forest on the south. It is 380-ft. in length and 48-ft. wide, and like the first group of this series crosses the whole width of open Down. The ditch is 6-ft. 6-in. below the bank. Near the centre it is breached by the hard greenway, and further south is completely destroyed for 66-ft. by the cart tracks and broken ground, in which is lost the lower part of the last described group. Beyond this it is traceable again, and for 63-ft. south of the Parliamentary County Division and Union Boundary is covered by forest and thick undergrowth.

(4) One hundred and seventy-eight feet west of this again another large earthwork, with bank on the upper (eastern) and ditch 6-ft. deep on the lower (western) side, is thrown across the ridge. As in the last case, it is completely obliterated by broken ground for 66-ft. north of the Parliamentary County Division and Union Boundary; here it enters the woods and is well preserved till its termination is reached 156-ft. further on. South of this boundary the trees and undergrowth are too thick to permit of an accurate survey of this and the previous earthwork (3) with the means at our disposal; their length, direction and character are however sufficiently correctly represented on the plan.

There are three fine "ring" tumuli on the crest of the Downs between the northern ends of the last two earthworks and five others of large size (three "bowls,"

one "ring" and one "bell") a little further west of the fourth and last line of works.

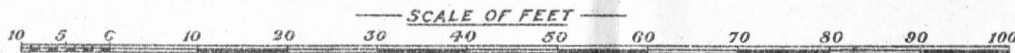
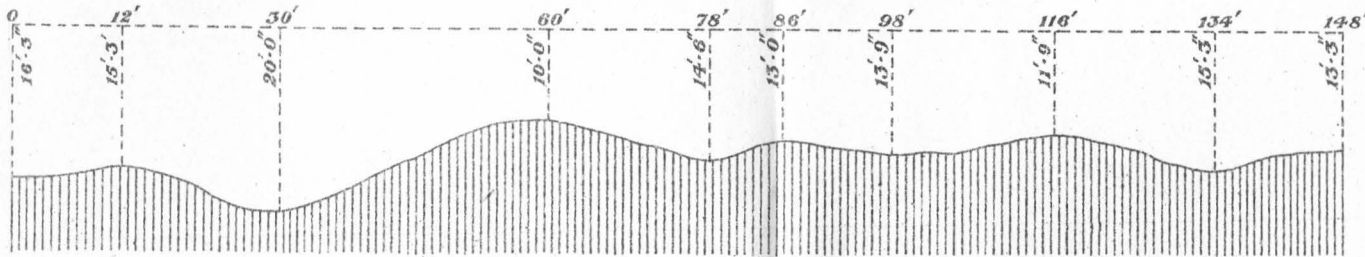
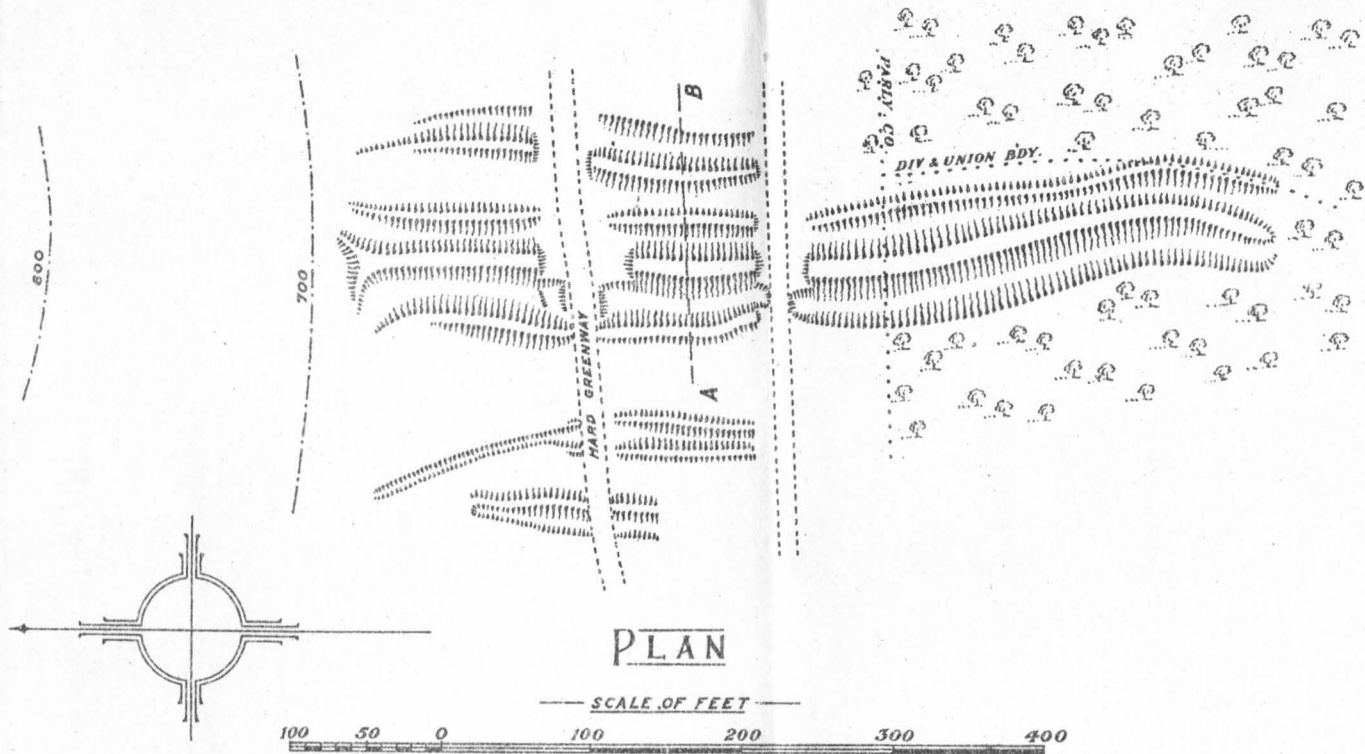
XII.—Four-fifths of a mile still further on, in the WESTERN PART OF HEYSHOTT DOWN, is another remarkable group of earthworks.<sup>15</sup> (Plate VI.). It begins at the edge of a deep combe in the escarpment, and passes almost due south across the bare Down, and in its main ditches and banks is continued for 250-ft. into the forest. These main ditches are 620-ft. in length. On the east there is a ditch with bank on its western side extending from the escarpment to the broken ground; this is separated by from 15 to 30-ft. from the main work, which consists of two ditches each with its outer bank, and with a very wide and high bank in common between them.

This central bank is of even outline and rises from 10 to 12-ft. above the ditch on its west side, the present bottom of which is 4-ft. 6-in. below the level of the surrounding country. Forty-five feet further west there is a single ditch with its containing banks; these banks are intact over the crest, but to the north disappear entirely, leaving nothing but the ditch (as was the case at the south end of Newtimber Hill earthwork), and to the south both banks and ditch are lost in ground broken by flint-diggings. Twenty-three feet west of this, on the downward slope of the hill, is another work with its ditch on the lower (west) side. The total width of the entire group of works from east to west is 280-ft.

The northern extremities of this group of earthworks are for the most part intact, and show the ends of the ditches tending to diverge. The group is, however, breached by the hard greenway, and both here, and where the softer cart-road passes through further south, trouble has been taken to make the tracks level by cutting back the banks to provide material with which to fill in the ditches up to the surface level. South of the soft cart-tracks the main ditches and banks alone remain, as these have been large enough to resist the interference of men, and are now protected by forest.

<sup>15</sup> In the Parishes of Heyshott, Cocking and Singleton; O.S. (6 ins.) XXXIV. S.E.; over the 700-ft. contour line.

# WESTERN EARTHWORKS ON HEYSHOTT DOWN



The Parliamentary County Division and Union Boundary runs for a short distance along one of these banks; and just as one of the banks in the last-named group (No. XI.) divides the Parish of Graffham from that of Heyshott, so in this group we find the meeting place of the Parishes of Heyshott, Cocking and Singleton.

XIII.—Over LINCH DOWN<sup>16</sup> a Covered Way rises at the head of a very steep combe in the escarpment, and passing southward is lost in the woods. It is 810-ft. in length, straight with wide and even banks. Where it passes over the crest of the ridge there are slight indications of a ditch to the outer side of the east bank.

XIV.—A Covered Way 330-ft. long, and with an overall width of 33-ft., runs from scarp to scarp across the ridge immediately to the south of Bow HILL Camp.<sup>17</sup>

It commences just short of the head of a juniper-covered combe which opens upon Crowshall Farm, allowing for the passage between it and the drop of the hill of a hard green terrace way which bears evidence of great age. Quite a number of earthworks on the Downs stop short of the actual edge of the escarpment,<sup>18</sup> but I know of no digging undertaken to clear up the question whether the gap thus left was part of the original plan of the builders, or is due to alterations made at a subsequent date. The western end, also, of this Covered Way stops short of the rapid drop of the hill towards Stoughton Bottom, and is lost in ground that has been much disturbed by recent cart tracks, beyond which it is not at the present day traceable. Immediately to the north of it, however, is a marked vallum with a fosse on its uphill side. This latter earthwork issues from the south-west corner of the ditch of Bow Hill Camp, and, with a break, slopes for some distance down the hill towards Stoughton in a south-westerly direction; it has no obvious connection with the Covered Way, but the

<sup>16</sup> In Bepton Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) XXXIV. N.W.; over the 700-ft. contour line.

<sup>17</sup> In Stoughton Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) XLVIII. N.W.; over the 600-ft. contour line.

<sup>18</sup> Major-General A. Lane Fox: *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVI., p. 472.

unusual feature of a bank sloping down a hillside, with ditch on its upper side, is reminiscent of the similar arrangement of vallum and fosse on the falling ground at the eastern end of the Covered Way in Arundel Park (No. VI.).

XV.—In the far west of the county a group of Covered Ways and attendant earthworks crosses the saddle between the two summits of HARTING DOWN,<sup>19</sup> from the escarpment of the chalk Downs on the north to the head of Whitcombe Bottom on the south (Plate VII.). The group consists of four elements, viz., two ditches each with double banks, and two ditches with banks on the eastern side only. All these works run roughly parallel to one another, and occupy an area 490-ft. long and 350-ft. wide. A hard greenway crosses the group from east to west, lowering the banks and filling the ditches of each element. The most easterly element of the group commences some little way down the escarpment, to the north of the greenway, where it is found as a fosse with a single bank on the eastern side only. On the southern side of the greenway a second bank appears on the western side of the fosse, and is well marked for 70-ft., when it disappears on the slope of the hill. The overall measurement of the two banks and the fosse is here 32-ft. The eastern bank and the ditch continue for a distance of 150-ft. south of the greenway, and, where the ground falls to Whitcombe Bottom, appear to be continued sloping down the hill side like a lynchet with a flattened track below it.

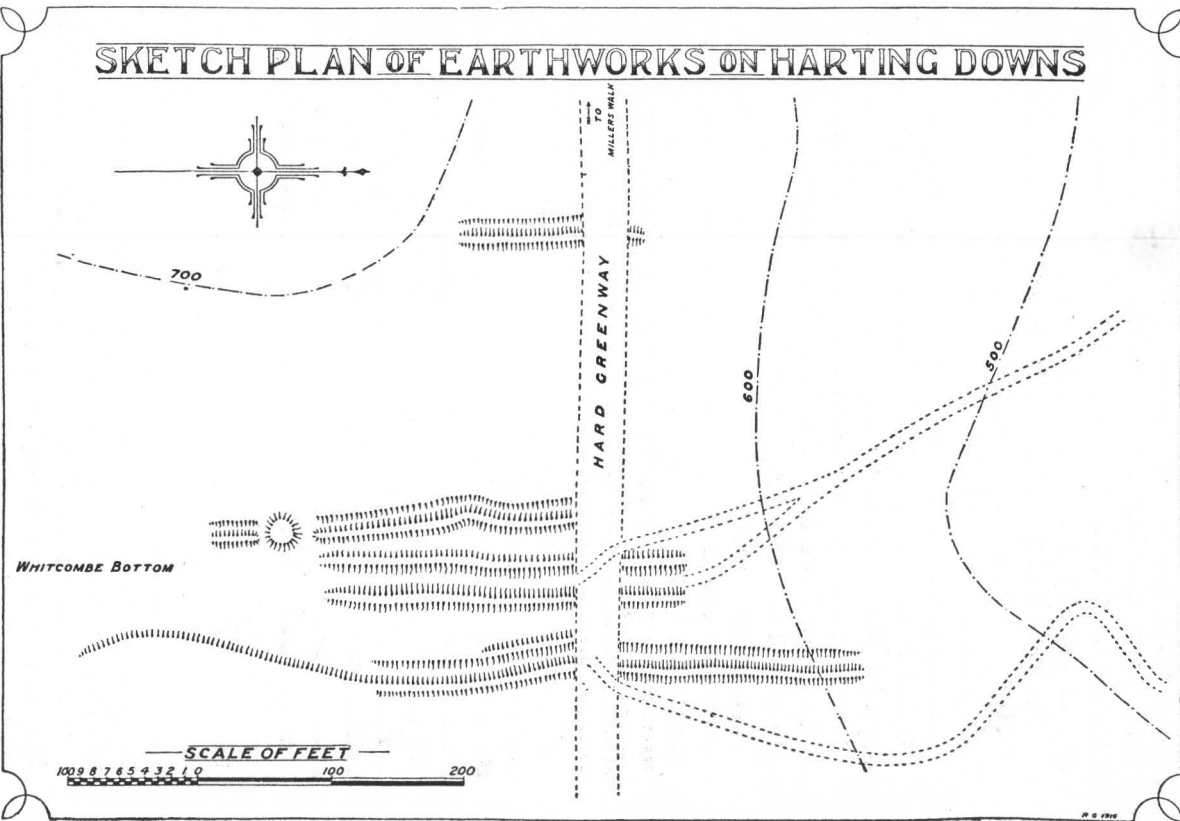
The second element, 30-ft. to the west of the first, consists of a central fosse with two well marked and broad banks. Forty-five feet of it lie to the north of the greenway and 180-ft. lie to the south.

Thirty feet still further west a bank with a ditch on its western side commences south of the greenway and runs 270-ft. towards Whitcombe Bottom. There is no trace of it north of the greenway, nor of a vallum to the west of the fosse, if one ever existed. Near its southern

<sup>19</sup> In Harting Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) XXXIII. N.E.; between the 600 and 700-ft. contour lines.



# SKETCH PLAN OF EARTHWORKS ON HARTING DOWNS



end this bank and ditch are interrupted for a distance of about 40ft., and in the middle of this space is a low and flat-topped circular mound 22-ft. in diameter. The impression given is that of a barrow made at a later date and at the expense of the earthwork.

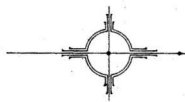
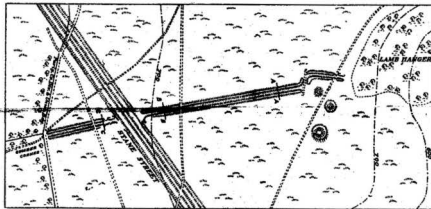
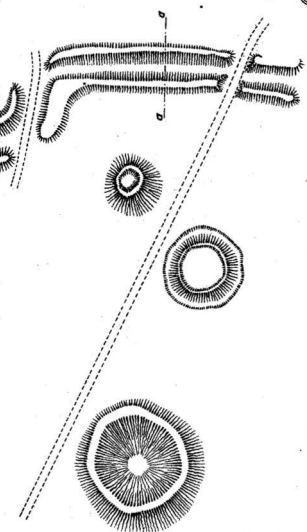
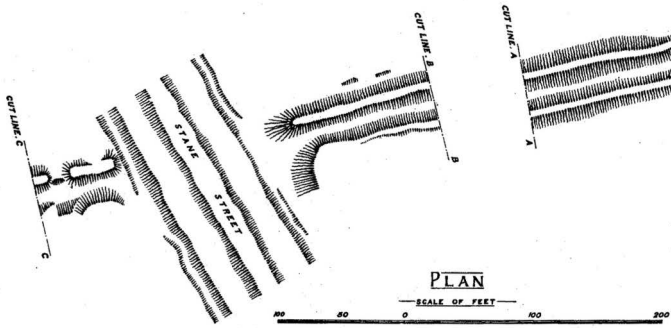
The fourth element is 200-ft. further west and consists of 70 to 80-ft. of bank with a ditch on its western side, facing the rise of the hill.

An irregular track winds up the steep escarpment from the north and enters the ditch of the most easterly Covered Way, not at its northern end, but at the point where it is cut by the greenway. Whether what appears to be a continuation of this element sloping down the side of Whitcombe Bottom is but a prolongation of this comparatively recent track, or whether it is part of the earthwork much ploughed down, is not quite clear, though the latter is the more probable. The plough has been much at work on the Downs, obliterating or greatly altering ancient earthworks, and the spade will be needed to elucidate many problems. A more regular and even track ascends the escarpment from Hill Lane to the north-west as a rough terrace way, and, reaching the crest of the Down, divides, one branch entering the second covered way at its northern extremity and the other at the greenway.

Parallel to this last-named terrace, and a little further to the west, is a beautiful and well engineered terrace, known locally as the Miller's Walk. Coming up from South Harting it reaches the top of the Downs close to the fourth element of this group of earthworks (*i.e.*, at the west side of the saddle between the two summits which constitute Harting Down), and is continued eastwards as the hard greenway that breaches this group of Covered Ways. In structure and character, and in its relations to the track on the top of the Downs, this terrace greatly resembles the "Rabbit Walk" on Firle Hill, recently described by Mr. Hadrian Allcroft;<sup>20</sup> his conclusion that this and other similar terrace-ways on the

<sup>20</sup> *Some Roman Roads in the South Downs*, *Arch. Journ.*, Vol. LXXII., No. 287; 2nd Series, Vol. XXII., No. 3, pp. 201-232.

# EARTHWORK. GLATTING DOWN.



South Downs are of Roman origin has its bearing on the date of the construction of this group of Covered Ways, which, as shown above, has been over-ridden by the greenway.

XVI.—A mile short of the Hampshire boundary, a vallum, 920-ft. long, with a wide and deep fosse on its western side, and but poor indications of a second bank, crosses WEST HARTING DOWN.<sup>21</sup> Starting on the north from a wood-fringed combe and running straight across the saddle which divides the two halves of the Down, it ends at the head of a long, narrow, wooded bottom, which leads southwards towards Ladyholt Park. Its single bank militates against the view that this earthwork is a Covered Way; the fact, however, that it connects the heads of combes on either side of a high ridge brings it into line with all the examples of Covered Ways examined; and the west bank, if it once existed, has not disappeared more completely than nearly the whole of the east bank of the earthwork on Newtimber Hill, which excavation shows to have been a Covered Way much reduced by the plough.

[The earthwork covering the south-east of the circular camp known as CHANCTONBURY RING<sup>22</sup> is not included in this list of Covered Ways pending further investigation, as it does not fall into line in all particulars with the earthworks just described.

While the approach to the camp is protected on the west by a defensive outwork, consisting of a bank with ditch on the lower (western) side, which crosses the ridge where it is narrowest, the corresponding ridge to the south-east of the camp is crossed by a work of totally different type, viz., a ditch with double banks. It appears to commence in the Chalk-pit Woods on the north escarpment, and, passing southwards, sweeps over the ridge in a bold curve, first towards the west and then

<sup>21</sup> In Harting Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) XXXIII. N.E.; between the 600 and 700-ft. contour lines.

<sup>22</sup> In Wiston Parish; O.S. (6 ins.) LI. N.W.; over the 700-ft. contour line.

to the north-west. Here it is breached by the greenway coming up from Cissbury, and, with a sudden turn at a right-angle, proceeds in a direct line down the slope to the south-west as a single bank with ditch on the downhill side; and after taking another sharp turn to the north-west ends just where, at the 700-ft. contour line, the hill falls rapidly into Well Bottom.

In total length this earthwork is 1,280-ft.; the double banks are broad and even, and on the ridge rise from 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. above the surface level of the ditch; the overall width of ditch and banks is 38-ft. Like these double banks the single bank of the straight section towards the south-west is low, broad and even, but rises only 2-ft. above the present level of the fosse; the width from centre of ditch to outer side of bank is 19-ft., or just half the overall measurement of the work where the banks are double.

It is not easy to understand the reason for the indirect course taken by this earthwork,<sup>23</sup> for from the ridge it takes the most direct line neither to the wooded escarpment nor to the steep sides of Well Bottom, yet its irregular course is not necessitated by the configuration of the ground. Moreover, it is not easy to explain the sudden change from two banks to one where the greenway crosses the line, except on the hypothesis that one bank has been ploughed into the ditch, as was the case at Newtimber Hill. It may be, of course, that the earthwork, as we see it now, was thrown up at different periods and for different purposes, the straight length of single bank and fosse having been added to an earlier work; and, seeing that there is an old well in Well Bottom, this portion may, as General Pitt Rivers suggests,<sup>24</sup> have "very possibly been intended to cover the communication with the supply of water." The General further adds: "Whether these outworks formed part of the original design of the camp, or were the subsequent additions of people occupying them at after

<sup>23</sup> The large pond within the curve of this earthwork was made about 50 years ago, and hence cannot have determined the course taken by the fosse.

<sup>24</sup> *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII., p. 43.

times, is a point which it may now be difficult to determine."

A further problem is presented by the fact that for a stretch of 120-ft. to the north of the crest, but for the faintest indication of a ditch, all sign of earthwork has disappeared from the smooth and even turf of the Down. It would look as if in some day long past the plough had been at work at this spot for a sufficient period to obliterate almost entirely every trace of bank and ditch. But in the centre of this area, situated just where the east bank would have passed it, supposing such bank to have once existed, is a raised circular mound like a flat table-topped tumulus, not unlike the raised circular areas nearer to the camp, which General Pitt Rivers concluded were not tumuli at all, but connected with the general scheme of defence; and, too, not unlike the flat-topped mound that interrupts one of the banks of the Covered Way on Harting Downs (No. XV.). If the disappearance of fosse and ramparts here is due to cultivation, the ploughing must have preceded the formation of the mound.]

## SECTIONS.

Through the kindness of Mr. Ernest Robinson, of Saddlescombe, Mr. F. W. Isaacson, of Slindon House, and Lord Leconfield, we have been permitted to cut sections through the Covered Ways which cross Newtimber Hill, Glatting Down and Upwaltham Hill.

I.—NEWTIMBER HILL.—The top of this hill is capped with a layer of Tertiary "clay-with-flints," and supports a thick growth of gorse and thorn bushes. The trench (A—B, Plate I.), 72-ft. long and 3-ft. wide, was taken along a foot-track which crosses the work near its southern end, at the only place that the condition of the east bank justified and the scrub permitted. The fosse, which had been cut 4-ft. into the chalk, has a flat bottom 1-ft. wide. The sides, even and cleanly cut, slope at angles of  $58^{\circ}$  and  $48^{\circ}$  down to the bottom, and are covered by a few

inches of clay that have slipped down from above. Notwithstanding their steep inclination this covering of clay has preserved the surface of the chalk from weathering and prevented the filling in of the lower part of the ditch with a large chalk silt.

The bottom of the ditch is occupied by 4-in. of clay and chalk intimately mixed and puddled. It is not however caked hard, as the clay in the silt absorbs moisture easily and retains it long. Above this are 4-ft. of silt consisting of a mixture of clay, mould and broken flint, and then 8-in. of surface mould and turf.

The east bank is low and wide, and rises at its present height 5-ft. 8-in. above the present surface of the ditch, and 10-ft. 3-in. above its original bottom. From its shape, and from the way the ditch has become filled with the flowing material of which the bank is composed, one may conclude that in its original state the bank stood two feet higher than it does at present. Under its crest this bank consists of 2-ft. 6-in. of mixed mould, clay and broken flint, lying on Tertiary clay-with-flints, and is covered by 3 to 12-in. of mould; the inner (western) side of the section shows a deposit of chalk thrown up from the ditch. On its outer (eastern) side there is a channel cut in the clay, 6-ft. wide and 1-ft. 3-in. deep.

The bank on the west side has been much reduced by the plough at the point where the section was cut; further to the north it rises 5-ft. 6-in. above the ditch. In consequence of this ploughing the west side of the ditch has silted up more than the other, as is shown by the fact that the bottom of the present ditch is well to the east of its original position. The layer of mould, clay and broken flint has largely been removed, and in parts the surface mould lies directly on Tertiary clay-with-flints. Unfortunately beneath this portion of the bank are two large and deep pot-holes filled with heavy clay, darkened by iron and manganese oxide, and with large unbroken flint nodules, so that the chalk level was not determined in the full extent of the section cut. No dark band indicating the original turf-line was found under the banks; absence of grass due to the presence

of forest or scrub may account for this, and the clay with which the whole hilltop is capped makes the existence of wood here probable. A few chipped flints only were found in the banks.

II.—GLATTING DOWN.—A trench (A—A, Plate III.), 65-ft. long and 3-ft. wide, was taken down to the undisturbed chalk.

The ditch (Plate VIII.) was found silted up to the depth of 3-ft. 3-in. At the bottom were 15-in. of large chalk; above this was a layer of small chalk with fine mould, 6-in. thick in the centre and 12 to 16-in. at the sides; and between this and 6-in. of surface mould and turf was a foot of mould with large broken flints in the centre, and 6-in. of fine chalk and mould on the western side. The surfaces of these several layers were not level but concave, as is usual with the natural filling of ditches.

The bottom of the ditch was found to be 24-in. wide, and nearly level from side to side. The sides are smoothly and evenly cut in the solid chalk, and slope downwards with a gradient which increases as they descend. The banks are broad and of even slope, and rise but 2-ft. 4-in. above the chalk; they consist of a layer of turf and mould, under which is a mixture of small chalk and mould with some flints, resting on large lumps of chalk. No dark line indicating the old turf-level was seen, and this is strange, seeing that a well-marked old turf-line was found when cutting a section through Stane Street not 200-yds. away.<sup>25</sup>

The west bank rises 7-ft. above the original level of the ditch, while the east bank, owing to the eastward slope of the ground, rises only  $5\frac{3}{4}$ -ft.; both must have stood at a considerably higher level when first made. Outside the bank on the upper (east) side runs a channel with shelving edges, 4-ft. wide and 1-ft. deep; in position and shape it resembles that seen in the section at Newtimber Hill and is quite unlike those beneath the banks on Upwaltham Hill.

<sup>25</sup> See "On Stane Street;" *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. LVII., p. 138, Section 2.



The lowest layer of silt in the ditch yielded nothing beyond a few rough scrapers, a hand chopper and some large white flakes; immediately above it, however, in the lowest part of the deposit of small chalk mixed with fine mould, were found a large number of small fragments of the upper and ornamented portion of a Bronze Age Cinerary Urn, not all together in one deposit, but scattered over the whole width of the section cut. Close by these, at a slightly higher level, were two pieces of Romano-British pottery, a piece of a Roman tile and a piece of charcoal; higher up in the same layer were two pieces of sandstone, and more fragments of the same Romano-British ware; while in that layer of silt which consists of mould and large flints were found two ornamented fragments of the urn, a number of pieces of the same coarse Romano-British pottery, together with a few pot-boilers and flakes. Another piece of tile was found in the fine chalk with mould.

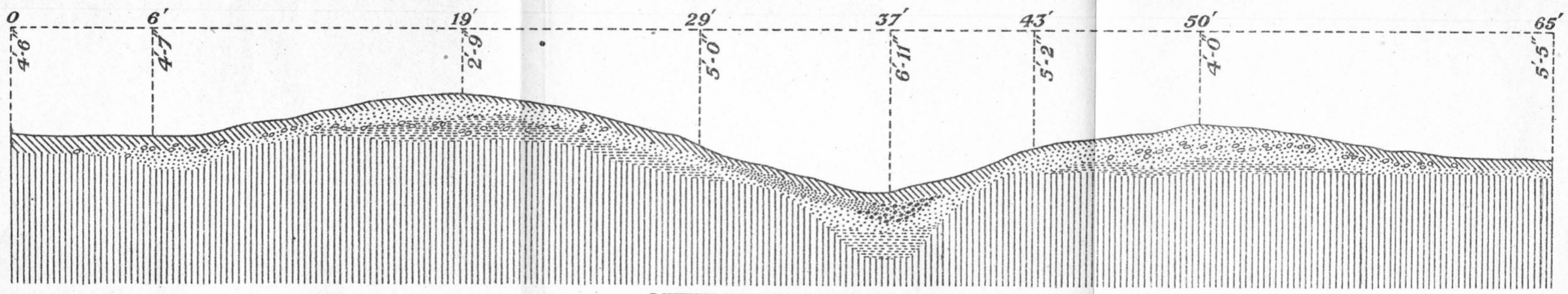
In connection with the distribution of these fragments it should be stated that in the ditch there is much evidence of the activity of both moles and earthworms.

In the banks nothing of note was found beyond a number of pot-boilers and flakes scattered through the layer containing flints.

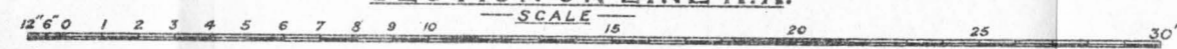
III.—UPWALTHAM HILL.—The ground traversed by this earthwork being covered with forest it was not possible to find a line through which to cut a section without encountering one or more trees. The line chosen was (E—F. Plan IV.).

(1) EASTERN WORK.—The bottom of the ditch of the eastern earthwork was found to be 4-ft. 3-in. wide and to be less angular in section than that on Glatting Down. Beneath 6-in. of leaf mould the silt was seen to consist of 15-in. of a mixture of chalk and clay, and to be of fairly even consistency throughout. The chalk of the north-west side of the ditch had been cut back to a gentle slope, but on the other side it dipped more steeply into the ditch. The banks are composed of chalk and clay intimately mixed, together with patches of larger

# SECTIONS THROUGH EARTHWORK. GLATTING DOWN.

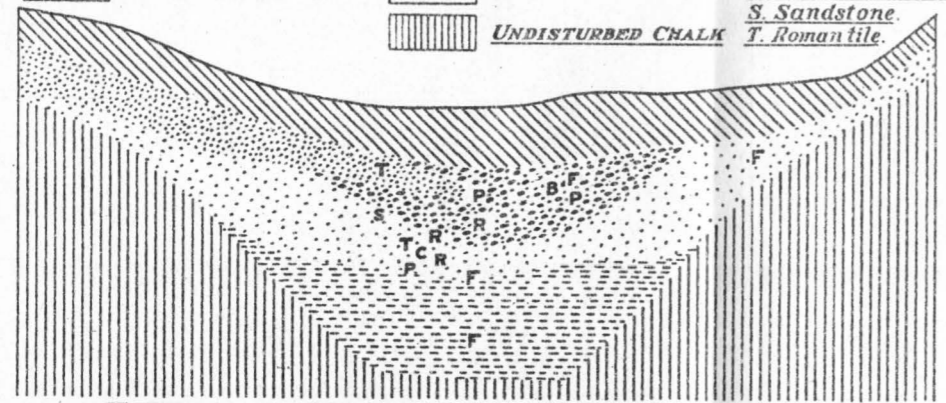


SECTION ON LINE A.A.

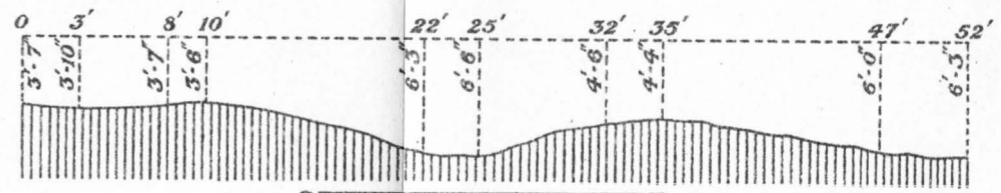
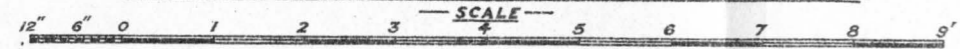


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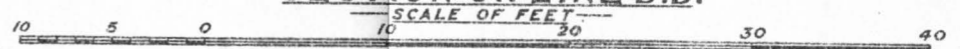
- |  |                                |  |                                     |                                   |
|--|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|  | <b>MOULD.</b>                  |  | <b>SMALL CHALK &amp; FINE MOULD</b> | <i>B. Pot boiler.</i>             |
|  | <b>FINE CHALK &amp; MOULD.</b> |  | <b>LARGE CHALK</b>                  | <i>C. Charcoal.</i>               |
|  | <b>MOULD &amp; FLINTS.</b>     |  | <b>FLINTS</b>                       | <i>F. Flint flakes.</i>           |
|  | <b>UNDISTURBED CHALK</b>       |  |                                     | <i>P. Bronze age Pottery.</i>     |
|  |                                |  |                                     | <i>R. Romano-British Pottery.</i> |
|  |                                |  |                                     | <i>S. Sandstone.</i>              |
|  |                                |  |                                     | <i>T. Roman tile.</i>             |



ENLARGED SECTION OF DITCH ON LINE A.A.



SECTION ON LINE D.D.



pieces of chalk which have been thrown up from the ditch. Beneath the banks, and running parallel with their length, are sharp-bottomed channels with sides that are very steep towards the ditch and much more shelving on their outer sides. They have been deliberately and evenly cut, and are now filled with clay, in which we could find no trace of organic remains. The channel under the eastern bank is 5-ft. wide at the top and some 2-ft. deep, and is situated under the outer side of the bank; that under the western bank is 3-ft. wide and 15-in. deep, and is situated under the bank as it slopes to the ditch.

(2). WESTERN WORK. — The ditch of the western earthwork is smaller and more completely silted up than that of the preceding. It is unlike it, moreover, in having a flat bottom, 16-in. wide, which makes distinct angles with the evenly cut sloping sides. The silt consists of 18-in. of chalk and clay covered by 9-in. of mould. The banks are made up of chalk and clay beneath a covering of mould, and under them also are channels running parallel with their length and having the same characteristics as those under the banks of the other work, namely, V-shaped sections, and sides steep towards the ditch and much more shelving towards the outer side. They have, too, the same positions relative to the banks, being under the outer part of the western bank and the ditch side of the eastern. They are from 6 to 7-in. deep and 18 to 27-in. wide. The purpose for which these channels were dug is not quite clear, unless it was to give a firm foundation and grip to barricades of boughs or other material, for which purpose they would in shape and position be well suited. No remains of organic matter, however, and no holes for stakes were found in the sections cut.

(3). A third section was cut through the southern limb of the western work at A—B to determine whether, notwithstanding their insignificant appearance, the banks and ditch revealed the characteristics found in the other sections. It was found that they did so. Being on the slope of the hillside the banks have weathered to a

greater extent than on the more level ground above, and chalk, clay and mould have "muttered down" and filled the ditch with a silt  $3\frac{1}{4}$ -ft. deep. The sides of the ditch are evenly cut in the chalk, and the bottom, about 12-in. wide, is flat. Two lateral channels were found, 6-in. deep and 15 to 18-in. wide; they have the same shape in section and bear the same relation to the banks as was noted before.

The soil turned over in cutting these sections contained very few broken flints, and of these only three or four showed signs of human workmanship. No dark line indicating the old turf-level was seen, and as a certain amount of clay overlies the chalk, this may indicate that here also, when the earthwork was dug, trees covered the top of the hill as they do now.

### PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION.

Earthworks of this type have always been regarded as of early date. Sir R. Colt Hoare<sup>26</sup> believed them to be "Covered Ways, or roads of communication, from one British village to another," and Mr. Warne,<sup>27</sup> Prof. John Philips,<sup>28</sup> General Pitt Rivers,<sup>29</sup> Canon Greenwell,<sup>30</sup> Dr. Guest,<sup>31</sup> Rev. E. M. Cole,<sup>32</sup> Mr. J. R. Mortimer,<sup>33</sup> Mr. E. Kitson Clark<sup>34</sup> and others agree in attributing them to the Britons of the Bronze Age.

Many observers have pointed out that, just as at a later date the Romans buried their dead alongside the highways, the men of the Bronze Age raised tumuli over their chiefs, and great ladies, along the line of early

<sup>26</sup> Sir R. Colt Hoare: *Ancient Wiltshire, South*, 1812, p. 244.

<sup>27</sup> C. Warne: *Ancient Dorset*, pp. 25-31.

<sup>28</sup> Philips: *The Rivers, Mountains and Sea Coast of Yorkshire*, p. 215.

<sup>29</sup> Pitt Rivers: *Report of Brit. Association*, 1881, p. 690.

<sup>30</sup> Greenwell: *British Barrows*, p. 111.

<sup>31</sup> Guest: *Origines Celticae*, Vol. II., p. 200.

<sup>32</sup> Cole: *Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society Proceedings*, 1888, p. 45.

<sup>33</sup> Mortimer: *Forty Years' Researches in the British and Saxon Burial Mounds in East Yorkshire*, p. 379.

<sup>34</sup> E. Kitson Clark: *Proc. Society Antiq. Lond.*, 2 S., Vol. XXIII., 309, *et seq.*

routes; and Dr. Sophus Müller,<sup>85</sup> Director of the National Museum of Copenhagen, avers that in Jutland the sites of early settlements and trackways are indicated by the presence of tumuli in clusters or in series. The presence of numbers of barrows on the ridge of the Downs, and along the crests of its main spurs, is patent enough, and is held to be evidence of the existence of a trail along the ridge of the Downs at a very early date. The barrows are found commonly on the ridge in exposed situations, and as the earthworks under consideration cut right across the ridge, and therefore across any ridge-way that may have preceded them—for the early trails are commonly supposed to have run along the high and exposed Downs, rather than along the dips between the hills—it happens that in nearly half the instances above described earthworks and barrows are found in close relationship. In only two, or possibly three, cases, however, does the relationship appear to be more than accidental. At Highden Hill a small barrow encroaches upon, and to some extent overlies, the west bank of the Covered Way; on Harting Downs what appears to be a flat-topped barrow interrupts one of the banks; and at Upwaltham Hill a mound that may prove to be a tumulus is incorporated in the easternmost bank, at the angle of the bend.

Mr. Mortimer<sup>86</sup> states that in East Yorkshire “in the 14 instances where the two have come into collision, the barrows have always been more or less cut or mutilated by the entrenchments in a manner that shows clearly that the latter are more recent,” and expresses the opinion that “it is probable that the introduction of these earthworks took place in late British times after the erection of most of the Barrows of the Bronze Age.” It would not, however, be safe to draw any conclusions as to the approximate date of these earthworks in Sussex from their relations to the barrows, for we have no means of being certain as to the age of a tumulus till it is

<sup>85</sup> *Routes et lieux habités à l'âge de la pierre et à l'âge du bronze.* Copenhagen.

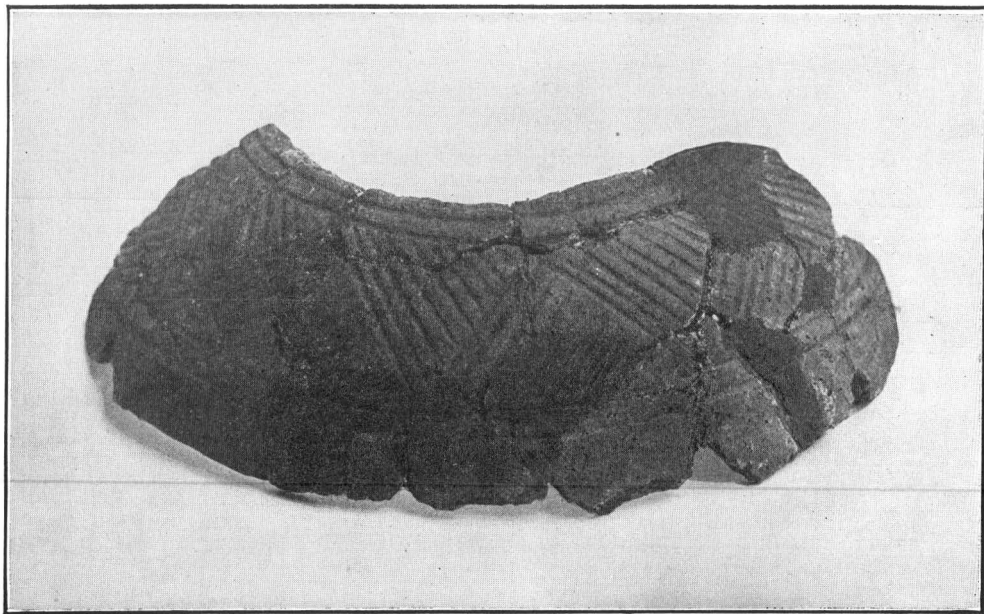
<sup>86</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

excavated; and much to our loss no record exists of the examination of most of the tumuli that have been opened on the Sussex Downs.

On Compton Down, Cranborne Chase, an earthwork of the Covered Way type comes into contact with a roundish camp. To quote Mr. Heywood Sumner<sup>87</sup>: "On the north side of the camp a ditch between two banks issues from the entrenchment and crosses the Down to its steep scarp edge where it dies away. On the south side a ditch issues from the outer bastion defence, and runs down to the Salisbury and Shaftesbury road as a ditch only. On the south side of this road it reappears, but now as a ditch between two banks and continues thus for the few intervening yards between the road and the bend of the abrupt combe, where it dies away." Either these ditches and banks were Covered Ways communicating with the interior of the camp through still existing breaks in the bank on the north and in the outer bastion on the south, or they are the remains of an earthwork that existed before the camp was built. In either case they are as old as the camp, or older; but of the age of the camp itself we know nothing.

In digging a section (A—A. Plate III.) through the Glatting Down earthwork many small pieces of Bronze Age pottery were turned up from the lowest layer of the small silt. When pieced together these were found to form part of the upper portion of a large hand-made vessel. (See Illustration.) The restored fragment measures 12-in. by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -in.; its upper edge is part of the arc of a circle 5-in. in diameter, and its lower one of a circle of 11-in. The walls are  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{8}$ -in. thick; the paste consists of a dark clay, somewhat reddish on the inner surface, mixed with numerous fragments of broken flint; the outer surface is much smoother than the inner, and appears as if covered with a thin slip. The ornamentation was made with a blunt-pointed instrument, and consists of two doubled incised lines encircling the

<sup>87</sup> Heywood Sumner: *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, p. 26 and Plate IX.



RESTORED FRAGMENT ( $12 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  in.) OF BRONZE AGE CINERARY URN,  
FROM SECTION CUT THROUGH GLATTING DOWN COVERED WAY.

vessel at an interval of 2-in.; this interval is occupied by a shaded line-triangle, or straight-line diaper, pattern.

According to General Pitt Rivers<sup>38</sup> this form of ornamentation is derived from the imitation of the impression left on clay by the binding of plaited grass-fibre, with which the earliest clay vessels were presumably held together; and he points out that it has been found at La Madeleine, and on several urns of the Stone Age, and was a common art motive throughout the Bronze Age.

With this view the Hon. J. Abercromby,<sup>39</sup> to whom we have submitted the fragment from Glatting Down, concurs. He thinks that it must be part of a Cinerary Urn of the Cordon type, a type that belongs to his Bronze Age Period IV. *c.* 900—650 B.C.

It is well known that when the sides of a cutting in chalk slope steeply, the bottom of the ditch fills up in the course of a few months to a certain level with a silt of large chalk, and that the finer and often thinner layer of silt on top of this represents the accumulation of a far longer period of time.<sup>40</sup> Hence we must conclude that the Bronze Age pottery found in the lowest layer of the small silt and scattered along the ditch over the whole width of the cutting, must have been deposited early in the history of the earthwork. (Plate VIII.) In this same layer of the filling, but at different levels, were found a few fragments of Romano-British pottery and a piece of Roman tile; and in the thicker layer of mould and flint above quite a number of pieces of pottery of the later date, and two ornamented pieces of the Bronze Age Urn which fit into their places in the reconstructed fragment.

That these two pieces of Bronze Age pottery should be found at so high a level is to be accounted for by the activity of moles and earthworms, and possibly rabbits; and in all probability it is to the movement of the soil

<sup>38</sup> Pitt Rivers: *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*. Vol. IV., p. 216 *et seq.* See also Plate CCXCIX.

<sup>39</sup> Abercromby: *Bronze Age Pottery*.

<sup>40</sup> Pitt Rivers: *Op. cit.* Vol. IV., pp. 24-25.



caused by these agents that we must attribute the fact that a few fragments of the Romano-British pottery were found so low in the ditch.<sup>41</sup> The intermixture of the Roman and Bronze Age fragments is unfortunate, because of the doubts to which it must give rise; but it is more likely that two fragments of the Bronze Age Urn should have been thrust upward than that a very much larger number of fragments—all but two—should have been carried downwards, by whatever agency.

The shards of Romano-British pottery include small pieces of the rims of four wheel-turned vessels. The great majority of the pieces are of dark grey paste and have a yellowish tint on the inner side and a dark leathery brown external surface; but a few are of the ordinary light grey ware. Some of the fragments are ornamented with a line lattice pattern, and some with parallel grooves made with a blunt-pointed instrument.

The fragments of Bronze Age pottery were found in a horizontal plane, and from their position were evidently deposited early; those of the Romano-British pottery were found distributed much more in a vertical plane. Most of the fragments of the latter were found in the upper part of the chalk-with-mould silt and in the lower part of the mould-with-flint layer, and it is probably here that they were originally deposited. If so, this indicates that the ditch was more than half filled up before they found their way into it.

The Roman Stane Street drives right across the earthwork and obliterates it for 140-ft. and, as can be seen from the inset in Plate III., there can be no doubt whatever that it was built subsequently to the construction of the fosse and ramparts of the earthwork; hence it is not unlikely that the grey pottery found in the section was left there at a time when the great Military Street was in use.

In like manner the Harting Downs earthworks have been breached and levelled by a hard greenway that

<sup>41</sup> See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. LVI., p. 24, for record of discovery of a Charles I. farthing, and of the stem of a clay tobacco-pipe, in Anglo-Saxon graves at Alfriston.

connects up with the head of Miller's Walk, an engineered terrace that comes up the north escarpment from South Harting, and, as pointed out above, such engineered terraces on the South Downs have been shown to be of Roman construction.

Nothing was found in the sections cut through the earthworks on Newtimber and Upwaltham Hills, save a few flakes of kinds common to the localities.

The conclusion, then, to be drawn, from the evidence offered by the Sussex examples of Covered Ways is that they were certainly dug before the Romans built their great military road across the Downs and before the present hard greenway was formed, and that in all probability they date back to a late period of the Bronze Age—about 900 to 650 B.C. according to Abercromby's provisional chronology. With this general conclusion both General Pitt Rivers<sup>42</sup> and Mr. J. R. Mortimer<sup>43</sup> are in agreement, for the former showed by excavation that Brown's Barn entrenchment, an earthwork of the Covered Way type near the road to Devizes, is crossed and overlaid by Wansdyke, the outer bank of which he showed to be Roman; and the latter, in addition to the evidence offered by the contact of earthwork and barrows referred to above, states that he found Roman or Romano-British pottery in several sections he cut through Covered Ways, but in no case below half the depth of the trench.

### PURPOSE OF CONSTRUCTION.

The difficulty of interpreting the purpose for which an earthwork was dug is well exemplified by these Covered Ways. Some of the authorities who have written about those found in Yorkshire, Dorsetshire and Wiltshire refer to them as tribal or other boundaries, some as lines of defence, others as barriers to prevent cattle from straying or to fence them from attack by wild animals; while

<sup>42</sup> Pitt Rivers: *Excavations in Bokerly and Wansdyke*, Vol. III., p. 260, and Plate CCXVIII.

<sup>43</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

others regard them as tracks sunk below the level of the ground to give concealment to wayfarers in their passage across exposed parts of their way. Owing to our ignorance of the manner of life and requirements of the tribes that constructed them, it may be quite impossible finally to determine their original use; and it may be that earthworks such as Grim's Ditch in Dorsetshire and the ditches with double banks in Sussex were, notwithstanding their superficial resemblance, constructed at the same or different periods for different purposes. Further, when in the course of time the habits of the county underwent a change, an earthwork constructed as a defence might be used as a fence, and one dug as a sunken road or Covered Way might become a line of boundary.

The best way to arrive at a probable interpretation is to review the ascertained facts to see how the several theories advanced fit in or run counter to them—to proceed, that is, from the known to the unknown.

To recapitulate then:—The characteristics of the Sussex specimens are two broad and even banks of approximately the same height flanking a central ditch, and passing over high and exposed ground from scarp to scarp, or from scarp to forest; at times there are two or three ditches, each with its separate two banks, running roughly parallel with one another; and when this is the case their ends sometimes terminate at different levels and generally diverge from one another. While some of the earthworks keep a direct course, others bend for a reason unconnected with the surface of the ground; and in some cases the earthworks are flanked by outlying defensive works, consisting of a single bank with ditch on the lower and outer side. The ditches are deep, with bottoms that, when constructed, were generally flat and narrow; and either under the banks, or outside one or other of them, is a channel of some kind cut in the chalk.

1.—It has been suggested that these earthworks were constructed as a defence against an enemy, and it is pointed out that, while of short length, their flanks are

generally well protected by steep escarpments or by the dense woods into which they sometimes run; and further that a series of ridges separated by ditches "would prove an effective barrier to stop a rush of raiding horsemen."<sup>44</sup> Against this suggestion it may be pointed out that a work is more effective as a defence if all the material dug from the ditch is thrown up in one high bank on the inner side than if it is divided between two banks of less altitude, and also that it ignores the fact that some of these earthworks are themselves protected by outlying bank-and-ditch defences of the ordinary type. That these latter earthworks were primarily defensive in character there can, we think, be little doubt, for when found on the slope of the Downs the ramp is almost invariably on the uphill side, and had the earthwork been intended for fence or boundary it would have been just as effective, and much less laborious to construct, had the earth been thrown down-hill.

If the Upwaltham earthwork had been intended for defence against a foe one would have expected it to pass in a straight line over the top of the hill, and if bent at all, to present its salient towards the enemy; while on the contrary it passes over the hill below the crest, towards which its salient is presented, and has its hollow side protected by a defensive work.

There is no doubt that parallel banks and ditches such as are found across Scamridge and at Wydal and Ampleforth Moor in Yorkshire,<sup>45</sup> and at Thickethorn Down in Cranborne Chase,<sup>46</sup> would be found effective in stopping a rush of mounted men, and prove a useful defence against them, after any palisading that may have crowned the banks had been destroyed; but separate yet related earthworks, as those on Upwaltham Hill and Heyshott Down, do not present that close alternation of vallum and fosse that would prove effective for such a purpose. The theory of defence moreover

<sup>44</sup> Heywood Sumner: *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 370; and *Victoria History of Yorkshire*; Vol. II., p. 59.

<sup>46</sup> Heywood Sumner: *Op. cit.*, p. 35 and Plate XVI.

does not offer any explanation of the curious double bend seen in the Bury Hill (No. VII.) and Glatting Down earthworks and in several of the Yorkshire examples.

Further, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where Mr. Mortimer<sup>47</sup> speaks of having seen 80 miles of these earthworks in an area of 75 square miles, "Their extent is too great and disposition too involved to permit the theory that they were used as defensible frontiers."<sup>48</sup>

2.—Another suggestion is that these earthworks were originally tribal or other boundaries, and as an example Grim's Ditch in Dorsetshire, which stretches across the country for 15 miles, is cited. We have but one example in Sussex more than 550-yds. long, and that is but five-sixths of a mile in length. Had it been deemed necessary to dig so deep a ditch over the high and exposed Down in order to delimit territory one would reasonably expect to find traces of the continuation of banks and ditches through the woods and valleys, but this we cannot do. The fact, too, that in some cases there are two or three parallel ditches and twice that number of banks, covering a wide area, suggests that some other explanation than that of a boundary must be sought.

The similarity in the construction of Grim's Ditch<sup>49</sup> and the Sussex earthworks, as exemplified by the presence of a channel on the outer side of one of the banks (see Plates I. and VIII.), suggests that they were dug for a common purpose by the same race of men. The purpose of this channel, 5-ft. wide and 1-ft. deep, is not easy to understand; it would certainly contribute to increase the height of the bank by providing material in addition to that yielded by the fosse, but the channel seems to be too evenly cut, and not deep enough, for this explanation to suffice; in shape and measurement it is unlike the ditches under the banks at Upwaltham Hill, which in position and character are well suited to holding in place a screen of boughs or wattle fence; and as a surface drain it would appear to be unnecessary.

<sup>47</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

<sup>48</sup> Kitson Clark: *Op. cit.*, p. 319, and coloured Map A.

<sup>49</sup> Heywood Sumner: *Op. cit.*, Plate XXXIV., section G—H.

3.—Others again hold that these banks and ditches may have been of use in keeping cattle from straying, or in protecting them from wild beasts. They may have done both of these things, but that they were made for these purposes does not seem to be likely, for they are in lines from scarp to scarp and in no way form enclosures; and whereas on Heyshott Down the forest might keep cattle from straying, it would form but a poor protection from the incursion of wolves. Moreover, the more natural places for the enclosure of cattle would be the valleys<sup>50</sup> and not the exposed hill tops, where alone this type of earthwork is found in Sussex; and, for the purpose, barriers of far less magnitude would, if surmounted by a stockade, be equally efficacious. Further, this theory is unable to give a satisfactory explanation of the multiple character of some of the earthworks, and the presence of defensive works in connection with them.

4.—There remains the possible explanation that they were, as Sir Robert Colt Hoare believed, "Covered Ways, or roads of communication." The fact that there is a bank on *both* sides suggests a desire to screen the ditch that lies between them, as if the fosse was the most important element and the centre of activity. Further concealment of the ditch would be obtained by a stockade on the banks, and that such existed at Upwaltham Hill is suggested by the ditches, with V-shaped section and steep sides towards the fosse, that excavation revealed there. The absence of such ditches elsewhere is no proof that other banks were not crowned by a screen, for a wattle fence would serve the purpose as well as a barricade of boughs, and would leave no trace behind it.<sup>51</sup>

That these ditches were of much consequence to those who dug and used them is shown by the great amount of labour that must have been expended in their construction, and, further, by the fact that four out of the five complex

<sup>50</sup> For cattle enclosures in valleys see H.S. Toms: "Excavations at the Beltout Valley Entrenchments," *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. LV., p. 41.

<sup>51</sup> Pitt Rivers: *Op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 261, referring to the entrenchment at Brown's Barn, says: "The Entrenchment had an inner and outer bank, like all early works . . . possibly there may have been a stockade on both banks."

examples found in Sussex are flanked by outlying defensive works, which evidently belong to them.

That they were carefully and purposefully dug, and are not the result of the haphazard cleaning of a track by the lifting of puddled slush after wet weather and throwing it to one or other side, is shown by the evenness and regularity of the banks in height and width, by the character of both the sides and the floors of the ditches cut in the chalk, and by the existence of the side channels. Further, that these earthworks were used as ways of communication across the ridge of the Downs, is suggested by the existence of tracks leading up the escarpment to some of them, to those for example on Highden Hill, Glatting Down and Harting Downs<sup>52</sup>; and additional evidence is afforded by the fact that both in Yorkshire and in Dorset similar earthworks are found radiating from early settlements. Mr. Mortimer<sup>53</sup> speaks of "six such roads radiating out from Fimber," and Warne<sup>54</sup> describes ten trackways, some single and some multiple, traceable for many miles, and leading to an early British settlement on Gussage Down. It is not easy to explain earthworks so arranged except on the hypothesis that they were made for trackways.

We are told<sup>55</sup> that in Yorkshire, at Wydale, Scamridge Slack, Givendale and on Ampleforth Moor, earthworks consisting of a single ditch with banks of equal height on both sides climb up from the lower levels, and on reaching the top of the ascent increase and pass over the high table-land as multiple ramparts and ditches. One of these, the Oxmoor Dyke on Scamridge,<sup>56</sup> is cut by a

<sup>52</sup> It may well be that the borstall ascending Newtimber Hill occupies the site of an early trail from the Weald to the earthwork that passes over that hill. The Roman Stane Street passes down the escarpment as a wide terrace, a considerable portion of which has been converted in recent years into a borstall by the heavy traffic of carting flints (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. LVII, p. 146); and Mr. Hadrian Allcroft has shown (*Antiquary*, June, July, 1915) reason to believe that not a few of the Sussex borstalls had their origin in terrace-ways constructed in far earlier times.

<sup>53</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>54</sup> *Ancient Dorset*, pp. 25-31.

<sup>55</sup> *Victoria History of Yorkshire*. Vol. II., p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

limestone quarry and a section of one ditch and two banks is exposed; the bottom of the ditch is flat,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. wide and 5-ft. below the level of the ground, and the banks must have originally risen 10 to 12-ft. above the fosse. These multiple ditches, then, have been purposefully dug, and hence are in origin quite unlike the multiple tracks often seen at the top of a borstall in Sussex, where the steep rise has given way to the more gentle approach to the top of the hill. These latter tracks are found on sloping ground only and fade away before the crest of the hill is reached, for, as Mr. Hadrian Alleroft has shown,<sup>57</sup> in chalk districts at any rate, while traffic may eat its way into the slope of a hill, it never does so into the flat surface of the hill top. Yet, unlike as they are in the method of their formation, the one engineered for use and the other the result of traffic, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that the single earthworks which ascend to the moors in Yorkshire and then pass over the table-land as multiple and parallel ditches and banks, like those on Heyshott and Harting Downs, were roads no less than are the holloways of the Sussex borstalls.

Mr. Mortimer<sup>58</sup> believed that these earthworks in the East Riding were foot-roads affording safe and sure guide to those who travelled in wild and wooded districts, and he refers to provision made for ingress and egress, to small camp-like enclosures along the entrenchments which suggest halting or passing places, and to hollows in the widened ramp between ditches as possible hiding places. He notes, too, the not infrequent occurrence of a short double bend at right angles, such as exist at Bury Hill (No. VII.) and on Glatting Down, and possibly existed also at Upwaltham Hill, and draws attention<sup>59</sup> to a Roman road between the Tees and the Swale, which presents a similar double bend for which the nature of the ground does not suggest a reason, and he ventures

<sup>57</sup> "The Age of Downland Holloways." *The Antiquary*, June, 1915, p. 207.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 369 *et seq.*

<sup>59</sup> *Archæological Journal*: Vol. VI., p. 217.



the opinion that they may "have been constructed for the purpose of limiting the sight along the ditches."

It might be thought that the narrowness of the floor of the ditch is not compatible with its use as a track-way for man or beast. At Newtimber the width is 1-ft., at Glatting 2-ft.; the western ditch at Upwaltham is 16 to 18-in., and the eastern 4-ft. 3-in.; the measurement given for Oxmoor Dykes, the parallel ditches on Scamridge, are  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ -ft., and for the dykes at Fimber  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3ft.; while the fosse of Grim's Ditch on Knoll Down is stated to be  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -ft., and that of the Brown's Barn earthwork only 1-ft. Narrow as are some of these widths, they are amply sufficient for the passage of the men and domestic animals of the Bronze Age and of the late Celtic period,<sup>60</sup> for it must be remembered that the men of the late Bronze Age were small people, the males averaging 5-ft. 3-in. and the females 4-ft. 11-in., and that the animals on which they mainly depended were all small—the horse but little larger than the New Forest pony, the ox about the size of Kerry cattle and the sheep little larger than the St. Kilda ram.<sup>61</sup> How narrow is the tread needed for the passage of a string of animals, even where there is room for lateral movement, is shown by a track from 1 to 2-ft deep and only 20-in. wide, worn into the chalk by the daily passage of six powerful cart horses of the largest size up and down the terrace roadway that runs on the south side of the Devil's Dyke valley; and a tread 14-in. wide is sufficient for the horses that have worn a track for themselves to the east of North Laine, north of the hamlet of Saddlescombe. If 14 to 20-in. suffice for our modern farm horses, the width of the ditches of the earthworks must have been more than ample for the tread of the small horses and cattle of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. It must, further, be

<sup>60</sup> Pitt Rivers (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV., p. 5): Describing the ditch of the South Lodge Camp, Rushmore Park, speaks of "The smooth flat bottom, about one foot wide all round, sufficient to enable a person to walk along it;" and in his "Excavations at Mount Caburn Camp" (*Archæologia*, Vol. XLVI., p. 454) he says "The upper ditch has a flat bottom, one foot wide, just sufficient to enable a row of men to stand abreast."

<sup>61</sup> Pitt Rivers: *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV., pp. 12, 123-135, 189.

remembered that the sides of the ditches slope outwards from the bottom, so that 18-in. above the floor the width of the ditch varies from 4-ft. at Newtimber to 5-ft. at Glatting Down and in the western work at Upwaltham, so that there was ample room for the body and possible pack of the wayfarer.

When cutting a section through the ditch at Ranscombe Camp, General Pitt Rivers found that "the silting of the ditch was divided into two parts, upper and lower, by means of a hard horizontal crust of rammed chalk 7-in. to 1-ft. in thickness, below which was a layer of loose chalk rubble. . . The crust of chalk was so hard as almost to require blasting, and it took two men half a day to cut through a superficial area of 5-ft. of it . . . it had evidently been formed by treading the surface in wet weather."<sup>62</sup> No such hard crust of puddled chalk was found in the five sections cut across Sussex Covered Ways; but Mr. Mortimer, describing one of the sections he made through an earthwork leading to Fimber, says "at its bottom we observed two or three inches of grit, hard and compact as if having been frequently walked upon."<sup>63</sup> At the bottom of Newtimber ditch we found 4-in. of chalk and clay intimately mixed and moist, as they would have been had they been puddled, but this appearance may have been simply due to the presence of a good deal of clay in the silting of this ditch, and to the consequent increase of moisture retained in it. That there should be no sign of puddle in a ditch on falling ground is what one would expect, for the scour of rain would sweep it clean from time to time; this is exemplified in the cart-horse track near the Dyke already referred to, where the ditch is kept washed free from silt and has a bottom as flat and as angular at its edges as any in the earthworks cut. On the other hand one would expect to find a layer of puddled chalk, compact and hard, at the bottom of a ditch on ground that was level, if it had been much used for traffic in all weathers; and after reading the above description of General Pitt Rivers' experience

<sup>62</sup> "Excavations at Mount Caburn Camp." *Archæologia*: Vol. XLVI., p. 473.

<sup>63</sup> Mortimer: *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

in the cutting at Ranscombe, we made a section through an old cart-road on the Downs in order to examine into the matter further. The road chosen runs on ground that is not quite level, but is as flat as that over which any of our earthworks pass; it has been used for the heavy work of carting chalk from a pit, and its rounded bottom had been worn several feet into the hill; and the fact that the removal of its  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -ft. of silt revealed no sign of puddled and hammered chalk at all has led us to the conclusion that while, under certain circumstances, such as existed at Ranscombe, a hard compact layer may be found, the absence of such a layer is not to be taken as evidence that a ditch cut, or worn down, into the chalk on nearly level ground was not used for traffic.

It is true that the extraordinary steepness of the slopes on or near which the Covered Ways of Sussex and Dorset terminate, and the further fact that they so often pass over the highest portions of the Downs rather than across the dips, tell against the theory that the earthworks were thrown up as Ways. Judging from the bones that have come down to us it is clear that, though small of size, the men and domestic animals of the last few centuries before our era were exceedingly muscular, and that for activity they are comparable with men of the hill tribes rather than with the dwellers in the towns and lowlands of England to-day, and with the Shetland pony and mountain sheep rather than with the developed horse and heavy Southdown of modern times; so that one must be careful not to base too much on the attribution to the ancient Briton of physical limitations too well known to ourselves.

The presence of trees on the Downs and its escarpments is certain evidence of the existence of a surface layer of clay or gravel, and there is every reason to believe that in bygone days the whole of the country capable of bearing trees was covered by a tangled forest and dense undergrowth, and hence that in all probability the slopes of the Downs were far more wooded, and offered much more cover than they do now. Through this forest early man would have his tracks, as primitive

man has to-day in the forests of Central Africa and Papua. On some parts of the ridge, as on Heyshott Down, the thin turf lies directly on chalk and can support nothing but short sweet grass; the ridge here is very narrow and thick woods creep up north and south to from 200 to 300-ft. of one another; across this intervening space the earthworks are thrown, and if intended to provide cover it is only just here, where there is not sufficient soil for the support of trees, that artificial cover was needed.

The important questions as to who made and used these ditches, and from whom it was hoped to hide, cannot be answered satisfactorily, nor will they be until we know much more of the life and social habits and needs of the men of the periods preceding the coming of the Romans, and of the history of that time. What we do know of Bronze Age man is largely based on remains associated with his burial customs. We know that he lived on the sea coast, on the Downs, and also on the strip of Lower Greensand and the Forest Ridge,<sup>64</sup> that his wealth was in cattle, and that he was acquainted with wheat. Mr. Abercromby<sup>65</sup> shows reason to believe that during his Bronze Age Period IV. (900-650 B.C.) South Britain was entered by new tribes who introduced a new form of entrenchment, the small nearly square camps with ramparts of low relief, and brought new forms of pottery with them—a poor people taking refuge in Britain on account of the westward pressure of stronger peoples on the Continent, and depending mainly on flocks of small cattle and pigs. What were the relations of these new comers with the older inhabitants we may never know, but whatever they were, their coming presents us with a political and social situation which would make the existence of Covered, or hidden, Ways very useful to those who had to drive their herds across the open Downs.

<sup>64</sup> For evidence of traffic between sea coast and Forest Ridge during the Stone Age see "Notes on Pigmy Flint Implements found in Sussex," by H. S. Toms. *Antiquary*: N.S., Vol. XI., 7 (July, 1915), p. 249.

<sup>65</sup> Hon. J. Abercromby: *Bronze Age Pottery*, Vol. II., pp. 91-113.

# THE SUSSEX PLACE-NAMES IN DOMESDAY BOOK WHICH END IN “-INTUN.”

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BY ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F. R. HIST. S.

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THE Old-English word *tun* occurs very frequently as the final element in English names of places. It indicates the existence of an enclosure which had originally been made for purposes of self-defence. In Old High Dutch the corresponding word *zun*, which is the forerunner of the modern German *zaun*, means a “hedge.” The O.E. verb *tynan* means “to enclose” and is derived from *tun*. In the additions made to the Saxon Chronicle at Canterbury we are told that when King Ida made Bamborough his chief residence it was first “betyned,” or “enclosed” by him with a hedge, and afterwards with a wall. The dative or locative case of *tun* is *tune*, and that is what we find in Domesday Book when the return of manorial particulars demanded by the surveyors was made by an English steward. When the steward of a manor happened to be a Norman, he wrote “*tone*,” for the simple reason that there was no long *u* in Norman French.

The ending *tune*, *tone*, is a frequent one in those parts of Domesday Book which relate to South-Eastern England. In “Chenth,” which has about 970,000 acres, there are about 50 examples. In “Hantescire,” which has about 1,048,000 acres, there are about 55. In “Sudsex,” with about 939,000 acres, there are no fewer than 115 instances.

If we refer to the map of Sussex prepared by Mr. Salzmann in order to elucidate the Great Survey of 1086, and published by him in the Victoria History of the county, we cannot fail to be struck by the fact that it would not be inexact to assert that one fourth of our

county was uninhabited in the reign of King Edward the Confessor. This reduction of inhabited acreage increases the disproportion of the endings in *tun*, when the figures for Sussex are compared with those for Kent and Hampshire.

This large disproportion appears to me to indicate that the degree of hostility shown toward the Saxon invaders by the Roman provincials was much greater in Sussex than it was in either of the neighbouring counties. Both the Saxon Chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon give us good reasons for supposing that this was actually the case. It is the fashion now-a-days to deny the authority of these documents, and to refer to them superciliously. But there is one fact with which, when we consider it in conjunction with its necessary consequences, all Sussex folks are concerned: I mean the definite statement that Ælle was opposed with such determination by the people of the Weald, and of Anderida, that when at length he succeeded in taking Anderida he put all its inhabitants to the sword. Now when we reflect that the invader either brought his thralls in along with him, or selected them from amongst the conquered population, the consideration should immediately present itself that if Ælle acted in this way he could not have acquired many thralls and serving-men. Well, some years ago I had occasion to examine the statistics of serfdom supplied by Domesday Book, and I found that, out of 283,000 persons enumerated therein, no fewer than 25,000 were *servi*, or thralls; that is to say, nine *per centum*. In "Chenth," I found the percentage was nine also. In "Sudrie," it was 10. In "Hantescire," it was 16; but in all "Sudsexe" there were only 420 slaves out of 10,410 persons enumerated; that is, only four *per centum*. Our phrase, "We wun't be druv," would appear, therefore, to have had full and honourable meaning in the county one thousand five hundred years ago, and the statement made about Ælle in the Saxon Chronicle obviously receives a considerable measure of support from the statistics given in Domesday Book some six hundred years later than the date of his invasion.

There is yet another circumstance revealed by the perusal of Mr. Salzmann's map. It is this: Stretching across the county from east to west there is a band of place-names ending in "*-intune*" which may be said to hug the line of the South Downs. Now the ending *-intune* is neither Old English nor Old Saxon, and the elucidation of it will lead to a much more curious and surprising result than the statistical examination we have just now made.

This ending is not confined to "Sudsex." It is found in several other counties, and one early and important instance of it occurs in Berkshire. I refer to "Afintune." This place-name was considered by the late Professor Skeat in his book on "The Place-Names of Berkshire." Professor Skeat said: "The nominative is Afintun; but I cannot explain it. As a guess I would suppose it to be short for Afingatun, *i.e.*, the *tun* of the Afingas, or sons of Afa . . . But the frequent absence of *g* in all the earlier examples suggests that Avin or Aven may have resulted from the simple form Afan, genitive of Afa. In this case the meaning of Afintun would be 'Afa's town.'" "The weakening of *an* to *en*," continues the Professor, "and again of *en* to *in*, are both rather common."

The course of phonological attrition in Sussex was really *an* > *a* > *e*. Elsewhere *in* was weakened to *en*, and *en* and *an* were corrupted into *ing*. Moreover, where Sussex phonology is concerned it would be quite unsound to suggest that *-intun* of Domesday is a corruption of *-ingatun*. There is no reason to suppose that the syllable *ing* led a precarious existence in our county in Anglo-Saxon times. The reverse would rather appear to have been the fact. In the Great Survey of "Sudsex" there are 33 names in *-inges*; 19 in *-ingeham*, *-ingeburne* and *-ingedune*, and seven in *-ingham* and *-ingore*. This means that 14 *per centum* of the whole number of Sussex place-names in the Norman record are compounded with the syllable *-ing*, and preserve it. In view of these facts there is no need to admit that the suggestion of corrupt pronunciation is even a possible explanation of the

eleventh-century form we are considering. Much less need we regard it as a real one.

There are only two or three instances of *-intune* in Berkshire, and their fewness countenances, if it does not justify, Professor Skeat's remark that it is not very material whether we equate *Afin-* with *Afan-*, or with *Afinga-*. In “Chenth” there are nine cases only. In “Sudrie” there are only four. In “Hantescire” there are 12. In “Sudsex,” however, there are no fewer than 28 instances of *-intune*, *-intone*; that is to say, one-fourth of our local names in *-tun* present the grammatical form *-in* which that master of Old English, Professor Skeat, admitted he could not explain. It should, I think, be admitted that these considerations set the question of the Sussex place-names in *-intun* upon a higher plane. It is not reasonable to regard them as casual or accidental; and it should, I submit, be recognised that we have a definite grammatical form to deal with. If we may reason from analogy, that grammatical form must be the possessive case of the personal name which furnishes the prototheme of the place-name itself: to wit, *Achin-tone*, *Alin-tune* and *Babin-tone*, would respectively mean at the *tun* of Aco, of Alo, and of Babo. But to which Germanic dialect are we to turn in order to discover therein a masculine possessive ending *-in*? The possessive singular masculine endings of proper nouns of the weak declension in the different Germanic dialects are: Gothic, *-ins*; Old High Dutch, *-in*, *-en*; Old Saxon, *-un*; Old English, *-an*; Old Norse and Old Frisian, *-a*. The reply to our question must therefore be that the Sussex genitive singular masculine *-in* belongs to an Upper German dialect which was either Suevic or Alemannic.

Again, in Domesday Book, the Middlesex name Kensington appears as “Chensitun.” There is a common scribal error here, and the *n*-stroke, which should appear above the *i*, was omitted from the transcript. We may, therefore, read *Chensintun*. Now the medial contact of *n* with *s*, which we find in “Kens-,” was not preserved in either Old English, Old Saxon, or Old Norse. All three dialects suffered this *n*.



to fall out. It was preserved, however, by the Goths, the Vandals and the Almain. In *Chensintun* we find it side by side with Alemannic *-in*.

Thirdly, in the work of the Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna, which was compiled in the seventh century from materials which are believed to have been collected in the sixth, we are told that there was a "Croucingo" in Northern Britain, near the Wall of Severus. This means the "Go" or "Gou" of Crouco, *i.e.*, his district or principality. This, also, is Alemannic, and the *-in* in "Croucingo" is the same as the *-in* in "Alintun."

Fourthly, in addition to the 28 names in "Sudsex" in *-intun*, we have seven names in *-enton*, *-endon*. These would appear to present the alternative Upper German ending of the masc. gen. sing., namely, *-en*. This presentation, however, is not quite certain.

When taken by themselves the reasons I have advanced furnish strong presumptive evidence that Sussex received a colony of Almain in the fifth century. It may be recalled that it was only in Sussex that a race of kings who did not derive their origin from Woden was ruling in those early times.

We must now turn from philological and linguistic evidence and address the necessary question to the historian, namely, Is there documentary evidence that the Almain reached the Britannias? The reply is in the affirmative. There is sound and unimpeachable testimony to the fact, but it has been neglected by students of our origins.

According to Sextus Aurelius Victor, who was consul in A.D. 373, and who wrote the "De Cæsaribus" about that time, Constantine the Great was proclaimed Emperor at York soon after the death of his father, Constantius Chlorus, which occurred on the 25th July, A.D. 306. Foremost among his supporters was an Almain king named Crocus, or Crogus. Crogus had been in alliance with Constantius Chlorus and there need be no doubt but that he was the leader of auxiliary Alemannic troops in the Britannias, and that Croucingo, Craucester (now Cra'ster) and the Cair Greu (or City of Crög) of the

Welsh Triads, preserve the memory of his name. The alliance with Crocus, and the introduction of the Almain into the Britannias, no doubt date from A.D. 300, in which year Constantius Chlorus defeated the Almain near Langres with great slaughter. About eighty years later Ammianus Marcellinus, who was contemporary with the Emperors Julian and Valentinian, tells us that the Almain of the Britannias were flourishing in numbers and in power, and that the Emperor Valentinian had put them under the rule of Framari, the king of another Almain tribe dwelling near the Rhine, and called the Bucinobantes. This took place in A.D. 372, and Ammian wrote his “History” in about A.D. 390.

But who were the Almain? it may be asked. They were really a conflux of Germanic tribes who had formed a league in the second century. Among these tribes were Germani, Alemanni, Suevi, Lentienses, Bucinobantes, Juthungi, &c. Ammian speaks of the last-named people as “pars Alamannorum,” XVII. vi. 1. The Juthungi were a very warlike tribe and in a fifth-century list of barbarian auxiliaries in the Roman armies, known as the “Laterculus Veronensis,” and published by Mommsen, they appear as “Jotungi.” Now Kent was conquered by Jutes and Saxons, and it will be remembered that the Venerable Bede described them, together with the Angles, as three of the strongest races of Germania. I cannot now discuss the Jutish question, but I prefer to trust Bede, on the one hand; and on the other I would add that the most recent, and apparently the most convincing, argument brought against his authority is really the most conclusive proof that he is right. Before turning to this argument, which is an archæological one, I will quote Layamon, a very curious writer of the reign of King John.

In his “Brut, or Chronicle of Britain,” which was written in about 1205, Layamon tells us that Horsa and Hengist led the Almain and the Saxons into the realm of Vortigern. He says nothing at all about the Jutes. Ammian’s report about the Juthungi prevents us, however, from supposing that Layamon and Bede are at variance.

Both are right, and Bede is the more exact. Layamon also tells us that Horsa's successor was the Kaiser Cheldric, who was of powerful authority, he says, in Alemannia, and possessed that country. In addition to this, Layamon gives us to understand that Cheldric had been, or was at the time, employed in the service of the Roman empire. Now the Alemannic tribe of the Juthungas, like the other sections of the confederation, regularly contributed some hundreds of its young men to the auxiliary forces of the Roman army. In the last decade of the fourth century the "Ala Prima Juthungorum" was quartered at Salutaria in Syria, and the "Cohors Quarta Juthungorum" was stationed in Upper Egypt at Aphroditum. In the Thebaïd the "Ala Germanorum" lay at Pescla, and the "Cohors Nona Alamannorum" at Burgo Severi. We get these facts from the fourth-century document entitled the "Notitia Dignitatum," and they establish a connection between the Almans and Juthungi, and Egypt. This explains the archæological mystery of the Egyptian beads of amethyst which are found in comparative abundance in Kentish graves of the fifth and sixth centuries, at Sarre and elsewhere in East Kent. In Mr. Reginald A. Smith's contribution to the Victoria History of the County of Kent notes of these finds of Egyptian amethysts occur on page after page. They are also found in Alemannic graves at Gammertingen and other places in the Rhineland. There is no need to question the authority of Bede. The tribe of warriors whom he calls "Juti" were called Giuthones, Juthungi, Jotungi, Eutii, and Euthiones by earlier writers in Latin than himself.

The wavering between *t* and *th* is no impediment to the acceptance of this equation. In East Sussex we approximate closely to the Kentish dialect and the Hundred we call Dill to-day, was called Thille by our forbears in Saxon times, and La Thille by the Normans. Moreover, not only was it *The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet*, that was compiled and published by Mr. John Lewis, of Margate, in 1736, but Nennius, who wrote in 837, called Thanet both "Tanet" and

“Tenet,” in his *Historia Brittonum*. The last of these is more truly Kentish in dialect.

The Juti, or Juthungi, formed part of the auxiliary forces of the Roman army under Aëtius and they acquired possession of Cantium between 428 and 441. In the next generation they overflowed into Sussex under Ælle and his sons. This name presents no determinative feature, but both Cymen (<\*Cūmin : \*Gūmin) and Cissa (<Cīs < Cēs < Cens-; cp. Gensing) are Jutish.

The Jutes were Alemannic by race and language, as we have seen, and the band of place-names in “Sudsex” which end in *-intun*, is the imperishable memorial of their inroad and colonization of our county.

The place-names in *-intun* and *-entun* are as follows, and I append those continental forms to which it seems to me the protothemes of these names approximate most nearly. They are drawn, through Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, from Paulus Piper's and Förstemann's lists:—

|              |       |             |       |
|--------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| Achin-tone   | Aco   | Lodin-tone  | Ludo  |
| Alin-tone    | Alo   | Lovin-tone  | Lubo  |
| Babin-tone   | Babo  | Odin-tone   | Udo   |
| Bolin-tone   | Bolo  | Ofin-tone   | Uffo  |
| Botin-tone   | Boto  | Radin-tone  | Rado  |
| Calvin-tone  |       | Rochin-tone | Rocco |
| Clotin-tone  |       | Semlin-tone |       |
| Dalin-tone   |       | Serin-tun   |       |
| Eschin-tone  |       | Sillin-tone | Sili  |
| Esserin-tone |       | Sirin-tone  | Sire  |
| Fochin-tone  | Folco | Tolin-tone  | Thola |
| Herlin-tone  |       | Tortin-tone |       |
| Holin-tone   |       | Totin-tone  | Tuto  |
| Horin-tone   |       | Wilmin-tone |       |
| Echen-tone   | Ecco  | Telen-tone  |       |
| Loven-tone   | Lubo  | Wigen-tone  | Wiggo |
| Sillen-tone  |       |             |       |

# FARNEFOLD OF STEYNING.

BY W. POWELL BREACH.

IN Volume XXIV. of our *Collections* the late Mr. Smith Ellis wrote, "a pedigree of this family is a great desideratum in Sussex genealogy." The following pages are an attempt to supply this want with the generous co-operation of Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., and Colonel F. W. T. Attree, R.E., F.S.A.—two never failing founts of genealogical knowledge—to whom I am greatly indebted for abstracts of many wills and for other information. The earliest references to this Saxon name—a very uncommon one—in the British Museum Catalogue of nearly 50,000 Charters, not one entry appears) occur in the Sussex Subsidies, Volume X., *Sussex Record Society*:—

|            |  |    |     |
|------------|--|----|-----|
| A.D. 1296. | Villat' de Sonde Haffold Eryngesham and Hurst. |    |     |
|            | Nich° de Farnefold . . . . .                   | s. | d.  |
|            |  | 2  | 0   |
| A.D. 1327. | Villat' de Wyseburgh.                          |    |     |
|            | Egid. de Farnefold . . . . .                   | 1  | 10¼ |
| A.D. 1332. | Villat' de Wyseburgh.                          |    |     |
|            | Eliza. de Farnefold . . . . .                  | 1  | 0   |

That the name is a place-name is confirmed more than two centuries later by the will of John Charman, March 4th, 1552, "My bodye to be buried in the Church yard of Wysborough Green. . . . William Furlonger, of Farnefold."

On August 12th, 1337, Edward III. appointed Robert de Farnefold, merchant, a Commissioner for the purchase of wool in the County of Southampton and the following entries are found in the Close Rolls:—

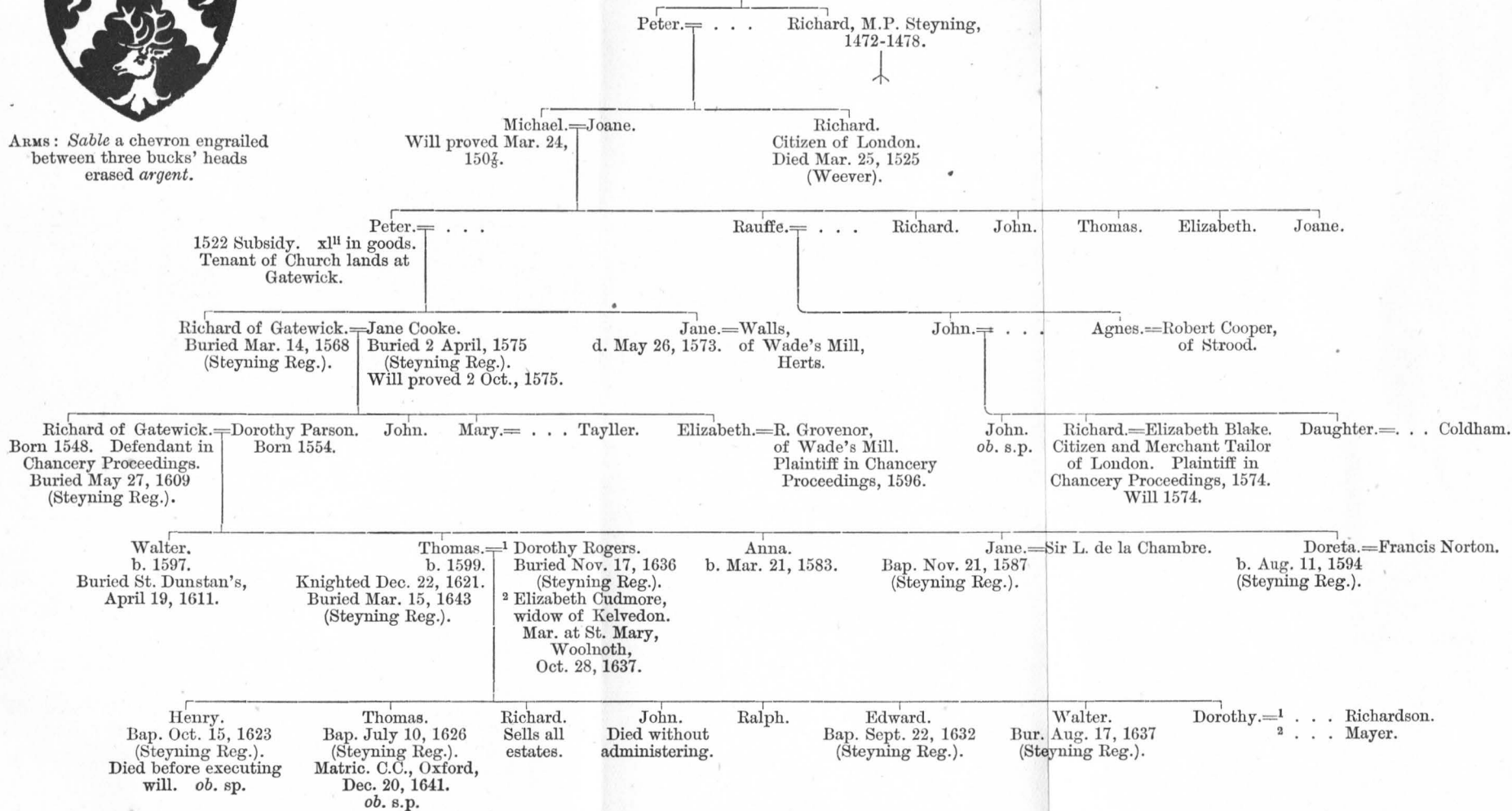
1337. October 7. Order to Robert de Farnfold and others to cause 500 Sacks of Wool to be bought in Co: Southampton and be made

# FARNEFOLD OF STEYNING (GATEWICK).



ARMS: *Sable* a chevron engrailed between three bucks' heads erased *argent*.

1399, JOHN FARNEFOLD, M.P. Steyning and Bramber Boroughs.



ready with all speed for the King's use and to be at London on the morrow of St Andrew next to give their counsel upon certain most urgent affairs touching the King the State of the realm and certain Merchants of the realm.

1339. September 30. Order to the bailiffs &c. of Winchester to elect a Mayor in place of Robert de Farnfold elected for the present year who came to the Exchequer at Westminster and besought the King and Council to discharge him of that office as he cannot resume it or govern it on account of the feebleness of his ageing body and he dare not take it on account of divers causes considering the changefulness of the time. They shall certify the King and Council without delay of the name of the one elected.

1340. October 26. Order to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer to discharge the Sheriff of Wilts and others, Except 29 sarplars of Wool which came into the Custody of Thomas de Bynedon and Robert de Farnfold late receivers of Wool in Co: Southampton and were carried away burned and plundered by Alien enemies.

Order to William de Edynton to pay Robert de Farnfold of Winchester £20 for four Sacks of Wool which he lent to the King of his own accord and delivered to Thomas de Hatfeld the King's Clerk in aid of the Expenses of the Chamber.

There is no proof that the above Robert was connected with the Sussex family, but as in 1425 we find, October 20th, 4 Henry VI., "Pardon to John Dodde, of Goryng, Co. Sussex, Woolman, for not appearing before the Justices of the Bench to answer Richard Farnfold touching a plea of 40<sup>s</sup>," and in 1480, 20 Edward IV., "Commission to John Wode and others and Richard Farnfould to enquire into the taking of Wools out of the county uncustomed," it would seem that the Farnfolds of Sussex had some interest in wool, one may perhaps presume that the two families were of the same stock.

In the most interesting papers on "The Rolls of the Manor of Wiston" (Volumes LIII. and LIV., S.A.C.) we find that Peter Farnfold held 18 acres in West Chiltington, and that in 1427 Richard Farnfold paid for Baventysland £2. 8s. 0d., and in 1555 Richard Farnfold was a freeholder in West Chiltington. This property, as will be seen from the subsequent wills, continued in possession of the family until the seventeenth century.

The earliest will is that of Michael Farnfold:—

(*Abstract of Will.*)

1507. 9 October. 23 Henry VII.

Michael Farnfold of Steynng gent.

To be buried in the Church of Stenyng before the roode where my fader lyeth. . . . To the High Aulter for forgotten tithes vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> . . . To the Church Workes vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> . . . for breaking the ground where I shall lie vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> . . . to every light of the Church vi<sup>d</sup> . . . I bequeth to John Spencer and Ric. Pachyng every one of them viii<sup>d</sup> To every child redyng a lesson at my buryng ii<sup>d</sup> To the Church of Chiltyngton the Chapell of Wormyngham (Warminghurst) the Churches of Boughton Wiston Botelles Fyndon Combes Bedyng Bramber and Henfeld also the Chapell of Ashurch xii<sup>d</sup> eche. To William Thorton, Richard White my servants Johane Semonds my servant Julyan my servant Isabell Brigger Johane Wolveregge of Bromholme . . . (sundry bequests). A stone of marbill to lay on me thereon pictured myself my wif and my Children in laten after their desire with the Sculpture thereupon. . . . Also I will myn Executors within short space after my decease bryng and lay xx lodes of Stone betwene the fullers broke and gret born to help the way. To Elizabeth my daughter and Johane my daughter xx<sup>ii</sup> . . . at marriage. I will Peter my son have of my detts v<sup>ii</sup> in the hands of Bure, silver plates, &c. . . . To my son Rauffe vi silver sponys &c. . . . To Richard my son ii silver sponys &c. . . . To my son John v<sup>ii</sup> of money &c. . . . To Thomas my son ii sponys of silver. . . . I make Rauffe and Richard my sonnes Executors. Mr. Richard Broke and myn unkill Richard Farnfold to have oversight.

Proved at Lamebith 24 March 1507/8 by John Stabard proctor for the Executors named.

The "stone of Marbill" was duly provided, for it is recorded in the Burrell MSS. (Steyning) that on a grave-stone (impaled coat of arms) is inscribed "Pray for the Souls of Mighell Farnfold gentelman and Joane his wife which Mighell decesed the 24<sup>th</sup> day of November the yeare of our Lord MCCCCCVIII. on whose souls Jhus have mercy." The stone of Petworth marble still lies on the east of the chancel door in Steyning Church; it measures 7-ft. by 3-ft. 6-in. and shows the matrices of the coats of arms at each corner, of the two apparently kneeling figures in the centre, and of the space for the legend below, in which a brass stud still remains.

Although no real estate is mentioned in the will of Michael Farnfold, he possessed considerable property



and probably had interests in all those parishes to the churches of which he made bequests.

At this period the picturesque Old Water Mill at Gatewick, which was demolished about 35 years ago, was among the possessions of the Abbey of Sion and was in the occupation of Michael Farnefold, as will be seen from the following:—

Ministers Accounts Hen. VII.

16-17 Henry VII.

A.D.

(1500. 1502).

Possessions of Syon Abbey in Charlton & Steyning Account of James Ansty deputy for John Fermor bedell there.<sup>1</sup>

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Of William Pellete for one Shop in Stenyng . . . . .   | viii <sup>d</sup>                                   |
| For a parcell of land called Bacons . . . . .  | x <sup>d</sup>                                      |
| For a cottage of Mathew Jope . . . . .   | xii <sup>d</sup>                                    |
| For a tenement called Paynes . . . . .   | xx <sup>d</sup>                                     |
| For the expenses of W. Pellet riding from Charlton to Syon in Dec 17 <sup>th</sup> year for the Audit. . . . . | ii <sup>ii</sup>                                    |
| Thomas Smith late bidell there. . . . .  | vii <sup>s</sup> vii <sup>d</sup>                   |
| Nigel Benete late bidell there . . . . .   | vii <sup>ii</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> |
| Richard Waller . . . . .   | vii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>                   |
| Thomas Person late bidell there . . . . .  | vii <sup>d</sup>                                    |
| John Furnor late bidell there . . . . .  | lx <sup>s</sup>                                     |
| Michael Farnefold for his fine for the Water Mill. . . . .   | vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>                   |
| Joan Langford late wife of Ch. Langford . . . . .  | lxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>                 |
| James Ansty late bidell for the issue of his office . . . . .  | ix <sup>ii</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>  |

This is ye Rentall of ye Borowe of Stenyng.

(Many names from which the following are taken.)

|  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Mychaell Farnefold for a burgage . . . . .                       | xii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup> |
| Richard Farnefold of London for a toft sometime Goldys . . . . . | v <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup>    |
| Richard Farnefold for a burgage now Pynders . . . . .            | vi <sup>d</sup>                   |
| Richard Farnefold for a burgage called Norcoms . . . . .         | vi <sup>d</sup>                   |

The family now divided into two branches, the descendants of Michael continuing in possession of the Gatewayck Estate and those of Richard, his uncle, becoming owners of the adjoining properties of Nash and Wickham. Michael was succeeded by his son Peter, of whom there seems to be no will or inquisition extant. He was the tenant of the four acres of church land situated in the midst of the Gatewayck fields, which still

<sup>1</sup> The obligation of the tenant of a Manor to serve as bedel was a mark of Villenage.

belong to Steyning Church, and in 1519 he paid 8s. for the rent of this, with two acres of arable in Peratt's furlong. In the Subsidy of A.D. 1522<sup>2</sup> Peter Farnfold is assessed at £40, in goods, in the Tithing of Charleton, in which Gatewick is situated, Thomas Farnfold at the same time being assessed on 53s. 4d., in land.

Peter Farnfold was succeeded by his son Richard, who married Jane Coke, as shown by the following will:

18 Sept. 1556. I Thomas Coke of Westburton in the County of Sussex gentelman . . . to be buried in the Churche of Barie. . . . Item to my Sister Farnfolde my golde ringe with ii stones in it. . . . To my brother in lawe Richard Farnfold my grey mare.

Richard Farnfold is mentioned in many wills, the following amongst them:—

In his will dated April 14th, 1548, John Fynche, of West Chiltington, desired Mr. Richard Farnfold of Steyning to be his overseer.

Marian Bennett, widow, of Hethers, in the Parish of Washington, desires in her will of July 11th, 1551, "M<sup>r</sup> Richard Farnfold, to be my overseer" and gives him "my cowe which Chapman keepeth."

Will of John Standred, of Steynynge, 12th March, 1553: "I make and ordeyn M<sup>r</sup> Richard Farnfold of Gatewaycks my overseer and I give to him iii<sup>s</sup> iiiii<sup>d</sup>."

Will 30th September, 1556: "I Robert Head . . . to be buried in the parish churche yard of Steynynge . . . I bequeathe to M<sup>r</sup> Richard Farnfold vi<sup>s</sup> viiii<sup>d</sup> to see mee to bee buried with my owne money. . . . I give to Mistress Jane Farnfold his wife the little cupp and the little geme spoone that she hathe in her kepinge in my caskett whereof I have the key." His neighbour at Wappingthorn appoints him one of his executors. August 2nd, 1558: "I John Leedys of Wappingthorn in the Countie of Sussex Esquyer . . . my Executors Edwarde Bellingham Richard Farnfold and Edward Leedys gent<sup>s</sup>." He was also one of the feoffees of the church lands.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., Lay's Subsidies, 189, 134.

In the Old Book of the Churchwardens of Steyning are interesting entries of the letting to John Langford, in January, 1535, of "to lyttle Croftes caullyd Carters Croft otherwise caullyd the lampeland pertaining to the Church of Steyning lying in the pshe of West Grinstead," to which the Churchwardens and others of the parish subscribe. The signatures are those of "Henry Robberts, John Ledys, Rychard Farnfold" and of "John Phylippe and Thomas Parson churchwardens," and in 1544 "Rychard Farnfold of Gatewyk, gent.," and "John Roberts of the Nashe, gent."<sup>3</sup> feoffees of all the lands called Georges and Garvys let them for a term of years to John Patchyng. These entries fix the dates and residences of the three most important Steyning families of the time. This Richard died without will or inquisition and was buried at Steyning, March 14th, 1568. His widow was buried at Steyning on April 2nd, 1575, and her will was proved on October 2nd, 1575:—

Chichester Probate Registry.

Farnfold, Jane, Widow, Steyning (orig. G 107), 1575.

(Abstract.)

30 March 1575. I, Jane Farnefolde of Steyninge in the Countie of Sussex, Widowe, being sicke in body . . . and my bodye to be buried in the Church of Steyninge. Item I give to the poore people of Steyninge to be distributed at my Funerall and by my Executors with the concent of the Church Wardens a quarter of wheate and a quarter of malte. Item I bequethe in lyke manner to be distrybuted bytwene the poor people of the pyshe of Chiltington vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> Item I bequethe to Richard Farnefolde gent my sonne all suche peells of household stuffe as are in his house and my greate cawdreane and the trevate that bellongeth to yt . . . I bequethe to my daughter Farnefolde his wyfe my wedding ringe. Item I bequethe to my Syster Yonge my lyttel ringe of golde w<sup>th</sup> the stone in yt. Item I bequethe to my daughter Gravenor one dubbell suffrante of golde of xx<sup>s</sup> Item I bequethe to Jane Gravenor her daughter vi<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>d</sup> to be delivered to her father to her use within one quarter of a yeere next after my decease. Item I geve and bequethe to Dorathie Farnefolde my daughter my blacke cheste in the lofte and my littell yrone bounde cheste w<sup>th</sup> all the goodes and things now in them my greatete pot, my greatete pane of bras too great drypping panes my christenenge shet my goblete of sylver a stone coupe covered w<sup>th</sup> sylver and gelte the

<sup>3</sup> M.P. for Steyning, 1554. Died January 21st, 1556. *Sussex Record Society*, Vol. XIV., p. 191.

whole garnyshe of newe vessell of pewter my beste fether bed y<sup>e</sup> best bedstedall a payre of shetes y<sup>e</sup> bolster too pillows. . . Item I bequethe to Mary Tayller my daughter all the olde pewter vessell that goythe abrode and the reste of my drippinge panes. Item I bequethe to Mary Hardinge a payre of sheetes. Item to Jane Staly one shete. Item to Father Elmes a payre of shetes. Item I bequethe to Margerye my mayde iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup> in moneye and mine old gowne. Item to Jacke my boye for his yurtres (?) wages vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> to Elizabeth Swyfte for maltinge of xx quarters barlye remaynenge in her house xx<sup>s</sup> . . . To Andrew Carter besydes that he oweth me halfe a quarter of wheat . . . to Jane Surye my old peticote and one of my winter smoks. Item I geve and bequethe to my brother Edwarde Cooke gent all that he oweth me. Item I frely forgive al such detts as are dewe to me by any inhabitante in Steninge towne . . . Residue of goods chattels &c to Marye Tayller Dorothe Farnefold my daughters equally to be divided bytweyne them . . . my sayde two daughters. I also ordeyne and make my hole and sole Executrices . . . and I desyer Sir Thomas Sherley Knight to be myne overseer . . . and I give to him for his paynes therein my gray geldinge, witness hereunto, Ric. Farnefolde, gent. Thomas Tayller, Thomas Belson Andrew Carter and William Tayller, script.

Proved 2 October 1575 by Mary Tayller one of the Executrices power reserved to Dorithee Farnefolde the other Executrix.

His sister Jane married — Walls, of Wades Mill, co. Hertford, and was left a widow of considerable wealth. In 1564 (De Banco Rolls, Easter 6 Elizabeth) she purchased lands (now the Church Mead) from Richard Pellett, and by her will of May 20th, 1573, made the following bequest: "19 acres of meadow towards the maintenance of the Poor of the Parish of Steyning in order of a weekly payment to them on every Sunday after service in the forenoon." She demised the property to her cousin, Robert Grosvenor, requiring him to demise the same to persons fitted for the full and perfect assuring of the trust. Robert Grosvenor appointed his brother-in-law, Richard Farnfold (who had succeeded his father, Richard, in 1563) co. trustee, and conveyed it by deed, November 21st, 1579, to William Farnfold and others for a rent charge of £7. 6s. 8d. To the Gatewick property, which it adjoins, this land was a very desirable addition. The transaction, which looks a somewhat questionable one, provoked much dissatisfaction in the parish, for without delay John Holland and Thomas Goff, collectors for the poor of the

parish of Steyning, and other parishioners, commenced proceedings against Robert Grosvenor and Richard Farnfold, complaining that the defendants had, by connivance, endeavoured to avoid the conditions of the trust. The complainants were not successful, and dissatisfaction slumbered in the parish for more than 250 years. But the question was finally settled by the report in 1836 of the Commissioners for Enquiry respecting Charities, who found as follows:—

An impression existed among many inhabitants that a fraud had been practised upon the poor and probably this would have been a fit case for consideration of His Majesty's Attorney General had there been any reason to believe it possible that the property could have been placed upon the footing evidently contemplated by the Deed. Seeing however that the Grant of the Rent Charge was made within a few years of M<sup>rs</sup> Walls' death with the concurrence of her trustee and the leading inhabitants of Steyning and has passed unchallenged for two Centuries and a half it would be useless and unjust to attempt to disturb an arrangement which at the time it was effected was probably considered the most beneficial disposition of the Property. Richard Barnard Comber proprietor with Gatewick in 1836.

The rent charge still goes to benefit the poor people of Steyning.

Mrs. Walls also left an Almshouse in Wades Mill and 19 acres of land at Thundridge, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres in Great Munden for the poor of those parishes.<sup>4</sup> She added materially to the possessions of the Gatewick Farnfolds, making Richard Farnfold, gent., "aged 25 in April last," son and heir of Richard Farnfold, gent., her brother, her heir, and so the Manor of Rannesley, in Standen, co. Herts, passed into possession of the Farnfolds.

In addition to the litigation already referred to, Richard Farnfold became defendant in three family Chancery suits and without the particulars given therein it would have been well nigh impossible to construct the pedigrees.

<sup>4</sup> Cussans' *History of Hertford*.

The first is:—

Chancery Bills and Answers—Elizabeth—Ff. 9/12.  
Farnefold v. Farnefold.

(Abstract.)

1574. June 9.

To the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Nycholas Bakon, Knight, Lord  
Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

In most humble wyse complayneinge. . . . Your daylie orator Richard Farnefolde citizin and merchaunt-taylor of London. That whereas one Raffe Farnefolde graundfather of y<sup>r</sup> sayde orator in his leftyme was seized in his demesne as of fee or of fee tayle generall of divers lands and tenements called Brokwoode *als* Monkswicke in the parishes of West Grenstede and Ayshurst co: Sussex and lands &c. called Pryors in Shermanbury, Westgrenstede and Stonystyle . . . in the occupation of one Thomas Farnefolde decessed and died seized thereof by and after whose decesse the same premisses discended accordinge to the Common lawes of this realme to one John Farnefolde cosine and next heire of the said Rauff. That is to saye sonne and heire of John sonne and heire of the sayd Rauffe after whose decesse the same discended to your sayd orator as brother and next heyre of John &c. So y<sup>r</sup> is if y<sup>r</sup> may please your hon<sup>r</sup> that divers and sunderie the wrytings deedes chfes and munym<sup>ts</sup> touchinge and concernynge the premisses bene by casuall meanes comen to the hands of one Richard Farnefolde of Steyning, gent, and Nicholas Segrave gent who have now of late conveide unto themselves sunderie secrett estatts of the premisses to certene uses to your sayd Orator unknowne to his utter undoinge unless your good Lordshipes pittie and favor be to hyme extendide. . . . Y<sup>r</sup> may therefore please your honor the premisses consydered to graunte unto your said Orator the quines maiesties most gracious Wrytt of subpena to be directide unto the sayd Richard and Nicholas commandinge them to appeare before your honor to answer the premisses . . . and your pore Orator shall daylie praye to God for the prosperous preservation of your honor longe to indure.

---

The answer of Richard Farnefold & Nicholas Segrave.

The sayd defend<sup>ts</sup> and eyther of them saye that the bill of compleynt against them Exhibytyd is uncertain and insuffeyent in law. . . . The said Richard sayeth that as to the lands called Brookwood alias Monkwyck that longe tyme before Raffe Farnefold grandfather of the compleynt anything had in the same one Mychell Farnefold father of the Said Raffe was thereof seased and about lxvii yeares past assured the same to the said Raff sayng the revercōn thereof to the said Mychell and his heyres and shortly after dyed. After whose death the revercōn thereof discendyd to Peter Farnefold as sonne and heyre of the said Mychell the which Peter dyed also in the lyffe of the said Raffe after whose death the revercōn discended to Richard Farnefold as son and heire of the sayd Peter and after that the said Raffe died after whose death the said Richard Farnefold

enteryd into the same as sonne and heire of the sayd Peter and cosyn and heire to the sayd Mychaell and dyed after whose death the said tenemts dycended to and came to the sayd defend<sup>t</sup> Richard Farnefold as sonne and heyre of the sayd Richard Farnefold deceasyd. . . . And the said Nycholas Segrave for Answer sayeth that the said Richard Farnefold as being thereof seasyd as aforesayd the xiii day of Julye XV. Elizabeth (A.D. 1573) demysed the same unto the sayd Nycholas for xvi yeres and was therof possessyd until one James Farnefold in the name of the sayd cōpleynent wrongfully put him out whereupon he hath brought his actyon before the Justices of the Coṃon place ageynst the said James the w<sup>ch</sup> actyon is yet dependynge And as to the rest of the lands &c. called Pryors or Stonestyle in Shermanbury the said Richard saith that his father the sayd Richard was seized thereof in his demesne as of fee or fee tayle and dyed thereof seased about five yeres now past after whose death the said tenements descended and came to the defendant as sonne and heyre And the evydence concerning the said lands doth kepe for safetye and defence of his ryght tittle. . . . Defendants pray to be dismissed w<sup>th</sup> the reasonable costs and charges herein wrongfully susteyned.

The Replication of Richard Farnefold M'chantaylor to the answers of Richard Farnefold gent & Nycholas Segrave.

The sayd compleynent sayth that his byll of complaynt and every-thing therein conteyned to be true as is therein alledged and further for replycaçōn saith that the said Michell Farnefold Father of the said Raff infeffed one . . . Lewknor and others of divers of the premisses to have . . . to the use of the said Michell and his heyres.

This suit was terminated shortly after its commencement by the death of the complainant, whose will is as follows:—

(Abstract.)

1574. July 5. Richard Farnefolde, cytezin and Marchaunttailor of London. I give to the poore of the Hospitall of Sainte Thomas in Southwark 40<sup>s</sup> . . . To my Sister Colham's Children tenne poundes apiece. To Johane my maide forty shillings. To Thomas Marsham my apprentice twenty shillings. To James Benne my brother six poundes thirteen shillings and foure pens and the residue of all my goodes and cattalls not bequethed. And also all my lands and tenem<sup>ts</sup> what and wheresoever with in this realme of Englande I give to Elizabeth my welbeloved wife whome I make my full and sole executrice. My father in lawe Michaell Blake and my brother in lawe John Marshall draper overseers.

In witness whereof . . . per me Richardum Farnefolde.

Witness hereunto, Michaell Blake, Elizabeth Blake,

By me John Marshall draper, Richard Wyndor.

Proved 16 July 1574 by the oath of Thomas Wheler notary public proctor for Elizabeth the relict and Executrice. (P.C.C. 31 Martyn.)

Thomas Parson, yeoman, of Steyning, who died 28th October, 1565, possessed of a very considerable estate, appointed Edward Mychelborn and Richard Farnefold his trustees. He left two daughters, Jane, aged 26, wife of Edward Mychelbourne, and Dorothy, aged 11, who jointly inherited the bulk of his estate.<sup>5</sup> As will be seen from the following Chancery suit, in which Richard Farnefold was one of the defendants, he made a very advantageous marriage with his ward Dorothy, adding by it considerably to the family estate:—

Chancery Bills and Answers. Elizabeth Ff. 2. No. 54.  
Farnefolde v. Michelborne and Farnefolde.

(Abstract.)

1579, Oct. 30. To the Right Honorable S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bromley,  
Knighte, Lorde Chauncellor of Englande.

In most humble wise complayninge . . . Your dayly Orator Willm Farnefolde of Steyninge co. Sussex gent . . . That whereas Richard Farnefolde your Orators father was in his lief tyme lawfully seased in the demesne as of fee of and in the Manor of Wickham &c. co: Sussex and of divers lands &c. And being so seized about 29 yeare of Henry VIII. (A.D. 1538) at the speciall desier of one Thomas Parson a very familiar frende and one that easelye might obtaine anythinge at his handes did by deed indented demise &c. unto the said Parson divers parcell of the demesnes of the said Mannor, that is to saie one close called Northover one feilde called the Batt one feilde called Saunders one other close or feilde called Westcrofts one medowe called Downehawes one parcell of marshe ground called Eastover two other parcell of marshe groundes called Gosmorehooke and Rowney one close or feilde called South furlonge fifteen acres of medowe in Wekeham one crofte called Markhedges one other close or feilde called Hill feilde one other close called Brodelands one other feilde called Aylinges one other close called Lanehill one other feilde called Falkehill one other close called Penne one other ciose called the Dole and one medowe called Saltmeade To have &c. to the said Thomas Parson his Executors &c for the terme of one and fiftie yeres paying therefore yerely unto the said Richard his heires sixe poundes and sixtene pence . . . And afterwards the said Richard Farnefolde died seized of the said estate after whose death it descended to your orator as sonne and heire of the said Richard . . . and afterwards the said Parson and your orator having made a bargayne together for certain landes the said Parson in consideraçon that he had a verye good bargaine was contented that your orator should have the said Meade called Saltmead for the remainder of the term soe that he might be abated of his rente eighte shillings yerely. And the said Parson being of all the residewe of the said premises and of the lease

<sup>5</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Sussex Record Society), Vol. III., p. 44.



aforesaid possessed aboute fourtene yeres laste paste made his last will . . . and made Anne his wife his sole executrix and died thereof so possessed And the said Anne being possessed of the said premises made her last will . . . and made Edward Michelbourne and Richard Farnfold the Elder her Executors and died so possessed. That the said Michelbourne and Farnfolde have entered into the said premises and the same ever since have held and enjoyed and have paid your orator the yerely rent aforesaid untill of late that soe it is if it maie please yo<sup>r</sup> honorable good lordshipp that the counterpaine (*sic*) of the said lease by casuall meanes is come to the handes of the said Michelbourne and Farnfold who do both utterly denye and refuse to paie unto yo<sup>r</sup> said orator the said rent as aforesaid agreed upon . . . In tender consideration whereof may it please your lordship to grant, &c.

The joynte and severall answers of Edward Michelbourne and Richard Farnfold thelder gents. defts &c.

These defend<sup>ts</sup> not acknowledginge or confessinge the most p<sup>te</sup> of the said bill of compl<sup>ts</sup> to be true say that the said Richard Farnfolde after of the compl<sup>ts</sup> on the 10 Sept. 29 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1538) by his indenture of lease did demise &c. to the said Thomas Parson the said severall parcell of land &c. for the terme of fiftie and one yeares &c. That the said Richard the father by good conveyance in the lawe redye to be showed to this honorable courte about 31 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1540) conveyed the parcell of lande containyng xviii. acres called South furlonge unto the said Thomas Parson & his heires for ever &c. Jane and Dorothee daughters of the said Thomas Parson named in his Will. The said Edward one of the def<sup>ts</sup> married the said Jane and the said Richard the other def<sup>t</sup> married the said Dorothee &c.

The Replicacōn of Will<sup>m</sup> Farnfolde gent to the answers &c.

The compl<sup>t</sup> maintains his said Bill of complaint. That the said Richard Farnfold in his lifetime with the assent of the said Thomas Parson did sell the parcell called Markehedge to one Richard Boad and his heires and the said Parson did release unto the said Boad all his right and interest in the same, &c.

The last Chancery suit in which this Richard engaged was that brought against him by his brother-in-law, Robert Grosvenor, and concerned his Hertfordshire property:—

In the Public Record Office, London.  
Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth. Gg. 7/20.  
Gravenor v. Farnfold.

(Abstract.)

1596, May 5. To the Queenes most Excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup> in her highe Courte of Chauncerie.

In most humble wyse complainyng Showeth, &c., Robert Gravenor of Wades Mill in the Countie of Hartford, gent. That whereas one

Richard Farne . . . Julie fifteenth yeare of yo<sup>r</sup> most gracious Reigne by deed indented [did] demise unto your orator and Elizabeth his wief . . . Lordshippe of Rennesley, co. Hartfford . . . now in the severall occupacōns of the seid Robert Gravenor and one John Lawrence . . . To have and to holde . . . unto the full end and terme of One and Twentie yeares from thence next and imediatelie ensewing yealding and payeing therefore. . . . By force of which said demise yo<sup>r</sup> said Subject and his aforesaid wief entered into the foresaid Mannor and the Demesne lands thereof. . . . And all the aforesaid premises notw<sup>th</sup>standing he the said Richard Farnfold entered into and upon one message Barne and garden plott in the possession of Richard Courtney being parcell of the demised premises [rest decayed away.]

The Answer of Rychard Farnfold to the byll of compl<sup>t</sup> of  
Robert Gravenor, compl<sup>t</sup>

The seid defendant saith that after the expiraçōn of the said first lease in the bill mençōned there grewe controversie betwixte this defend<sup>t</sup> and the saide Complayn<sup>t</sup> concerning certen debtes and dyverse other matters for the appeasing of all w<sup>ch</sup> controversies it was on 9 Nov. 1594 by the medyaçōn of John Chambers, gentleman, fullie agreed between them that the compl<sup>t</sup> should pay this def<sup>t</sup> £26. 13s. 4d. and assure to this def<sup>t</sup> and his heires one piece of land conteyning one acre and a halfe and a bedd of downe and a bolster and coverlett and all such shelves and paynted clothes as then were in the howse of the saide complayn<sup>t</sup> at Wadesmill aforesaide, &c. Prays to be dismissed w<sup>th</sup> his reasonable costs, &c.

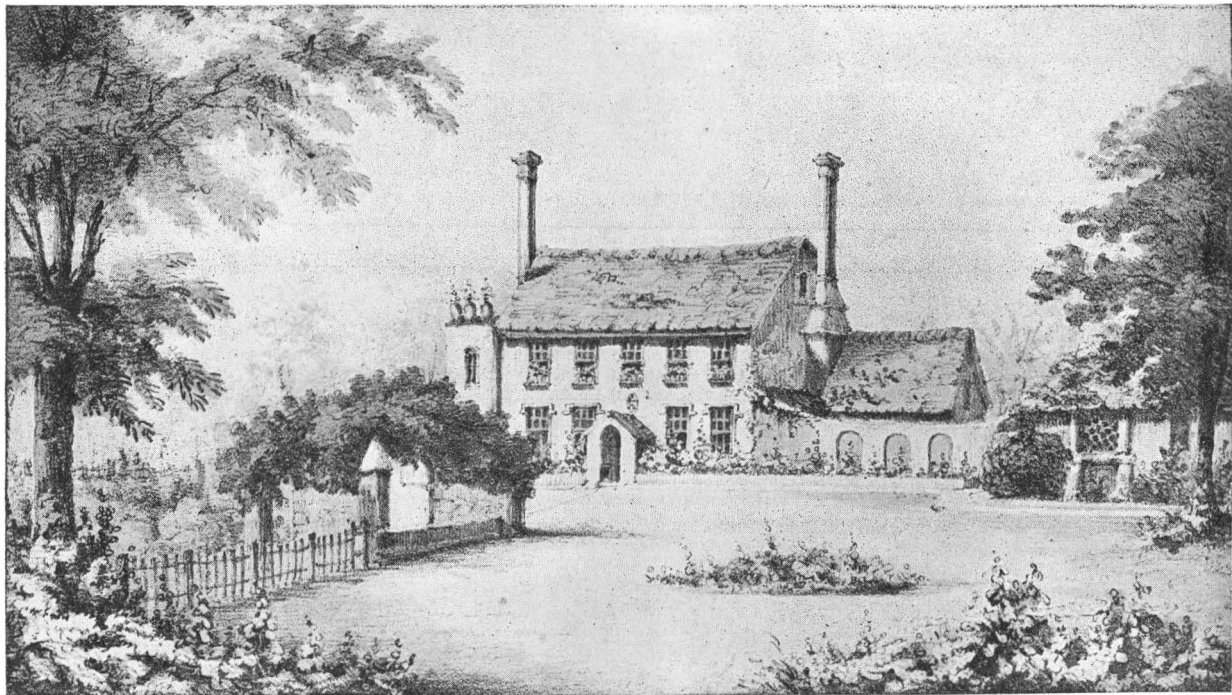
The second Answer of Richard Farnefolde, gent.

Denies that he ever entered into or dispossessed the complainant of any part or parcells of the said mannor contrary to the said lease . . . the love w<sup>ch</sup> hee this defend<sup>ts</sup> bare to [the compl<sup>ts</sup> wyffe] beinge this defend<sup>ts</sup> owne syster did make to the said Compl<sup>t</sup> a new lease for the term of eleven yeares . . . [end decayed away.]

Under this Richard the fortunes of the Gatewick family appear to have reached their highest point. In 1588 he contributes £30 to the Armada Fund. During his lifetime extensive repairs and restoration of Steyning Church were carried out. Frequent references to this work and to the Farnfolds are found in the old Churchwarden's Book. The following extract from the Special Commission in 1578 seems to point to the erection of the existing tower about this time:—

Exch: Special Commission 2290.

The chancel quyer steeple and other three chapels and iles adjoining to the said church be in great ruyne and decay and some part of them fallen down and the rest very likely to fall down shortly if present



GATEWICK, CIRCA 1820.

*From a Lithograph by R. Burfield.*

order be not taken thereon: the repairs thereof will amount to £100 by estimation of the Artificers. Item: the said three chapels and iles are superfluous and may very well be spared and taken down so as the stone iron and lead thereof may be employed toward the repairing of the said Chancel quire and steeple. All which stone lead and iron now remaining in or upon the said ruinous chappells and iles are by estimation worth £30.<sup>6</sup>

Assessments for the expenses were from time to time made upon the parishioners. One original assessment, of which the first sheet is here reproduced in *fac simile*, is of interest, giving the names of the parishioners apparently in the order of their importance. It is headed by the name of Mr. Thomas Leeds, of the Papist Wappingthorn family, followed by those of the Farnefolds. (*See next page.*)

Richard Farnefold died and was buried at Steyning on May 27th, 1609:—

Chancery Inquisitions post Mortem.

7 James I. Part 2. No. 115.

Richard Farnefold, Sussex.

Inquisition taken at Steaning 19th August 7 James I. after the death of Richard Farnefold esquire. The jurors say that the said Richard was seized of the Manor of Rannesley in the parish of Standon co: Hartford also of a capital messuage called Gatewick one water mill and 140 acres of land meadow and pasture adjacent and of a meadow called Churchmead containing 19 acres and of a messuage called Jervis a windmill and croft and 16 acres of land in the parishes of Steyning and Bramber and of two tenements in Steyning now in the several tenures of Richard Farnefold and John Paynett. And of three other tenements in Steyning now in the several tenures of Richard Owden and John Wood and . . . Joseph, widow. And of another messuage in Steaning in the tenure of John Washer and of a tenement in Steyning called the Swanne now in the tenure of Robert Cox or his assigns and of a tan house in the tenure of John Rochester and of four other tenements in Stening in the several tenures of Farnefold Taylor Thomas Farnefold Francis Allingham and John Humphrye and of a tenement and lands in the tenure of John Whitpen And of a tenement in the tenure of Thomas Carter and of a croft called Saffron croft in the tenure of Robert Cox And of certain lands and pastures in the common fields of Stening called Pepps Combe Godston and Chalkton in the tenure of James Collye with common of pasture for . . . sheep in Les Downes And of lands called Hillfield containing 24 acres in the tenure of James Collye And of a tenement called the prison house in the tenure of

<sup>6</sup> Kindly furnished by Mr. L. F. Salzmann, F.S.A.



the aforesaid James. And of a capital messuage and lands called Wolfehill, Goseseles and Howell in Chiltington in the aforesaid County containing . . . acres in tenure of Thomas Palmer, Knt. And of a messuage and lands in Chiltington containing 20 acres called Cook in the tenure of William Lover And of another messuage in Chiltington in the tenure of Thomas Flote. And Richard Farnefeld so being seized on 25<sup>th</sup> May the year above said at Steaning made his will part whereof as follows: "To his heir or heirs the Churchmead and of all other his lands and tenements, to Dorothy his Wife his house called Gatewick with all the lands &c. belonging to the same for term of life in recompence of her dower and a third of all his other lands with 40 loads of wood yearly out of his lands at Chiltington and sufficient timber for the repair of Gatewick but if she bring a writ of dower to be endowed of any other his lands then the gifts aforesaid to be void; his son Thomas at his age of 21 shall have his Manor of Rannesley and all other lands &c. in the County of Hartford To have and to hold to him and his heirs male and in default to remain to his son Walter and his heirs male and in default to remain to the right heirs of the said Walter for ever. Sir Walter Covert and Sir Thomas Leed Knts he appoints executors who for ten years after his decease are to have the residue of all his lands not held of the King by knights service to the intent that they shall employ the profits to the performance of his Will and on the same 25<sup>th</sup> May Richard died and the tenement called Gatewick is held of whom or by what tenure they know not and worth per annum in all issues beyond repairs 40<sup>s</sup> And the Manor of Ranesley is held of whom or by what services they know not and worth per annum in all issues 20<sup>s</sup> And Churchmead is held of the King in Chief by the fortieth part of a knight's fee and worth per annum in all issues 5<sup>s</sup> And the messuage and premises called Jarveis are held of Thomas Earl of Arundel as of his Castle of Bramber by a rent of 20<sup>d</sup> per annum but by what other services they know not, and are worth per ann. in all issues 5<sup>s</sup> And the aforesaid Watermill is held of Thomas Shurley, Knt. as of his manor of Charlton and Ashehurst by fealty and a red rose and worth per annum 10<sup>s</sup> And the parcels called Pepps Coombe Godston and Chalkton are held of Thomas Eversfield, gent, as of his Manor of Ewelme by fealty and a rent of 9<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> and worth per annum 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> And the messuage and lands in the tenure of Richard Paynett Richard Owden John Blackphan alias Joseph Thomas Wood, Smith, John Washer, Clerk, and the messuage called Le Swann in the tenure of Robert Cox and the tannery and premises in the tenure of John Rochester and messuage in the tenure of Richard Constable, Farnefeld Tailor, Thomas Farnefeld, *Thomas Allingham*, *Thomas Whitpeyn*, and Thomas Carter and the croft called Saffron Croft and the messuage in the tenure of Robert Barnes and a cottage in the tenure of John Jennings are held of Thomas Earl of Arundel in free burgage as of his Borough of Steyning by a rent . . . per annum and worth per annum 40<sup>s</sup> And the messuage called Cook is held of Joseph Shurley, Esq, serjeant at law as of his Manor of Broadwater by knight service but by what part of a knight's fee they know not and worth per annum 10<sup>s</sup> but of whom Woolfshill Gooselees and

Howell in Chiltington are held they know not and are worth per annum in all issues 20<sup>s</sup>. And Walter Farnfold is his son and next and at the time of the death of Richard his father was 12 years 8 months and 1 day old. And the aforesaid Richard held no more manors or lands in the County aforesaid at the time of his death. And the meadow called Churchmead is charged yearly with a rent of £7. 6. 8. for the use of the poor of Steyning.

Walter, the eldest son and heir, was buried at St. Dunstons in April, 1611. The Inquisition was taken at Petworth on July 19th, 9 James I. The particulars of the properties are given in the same words as the Inquisition of his father, Richard Farnfold, 7 James I. "The Jurors say that a third part of all the aforesaid manors and lands came into the King's hands by reason of the minority of the aforesaid Walter and Walter Farnfold 19 April 9 James I. of such estate died seized without issue and Thomas Farnfold is his brother and heir and was at the time of the death of the said Walter 12 years 2 months and 22 days old and no more, and the jurors say that the aforesaid Walter was seized of the Manor of Rannesley, &c." [recapitulation of manors and lands, &c., as in Richard Farnfold's Inquisition, 7 James I.]

The Lay Subsidy, 7 James I., records but one Farnfold—the owner of Gatewick, being a minor, would not appear in it.

A.D. 1609. Assessment of the first payment of one entire Subsidy granted 7 James I. on the inhabitants within the Rape of Bramber, co: Sussex

Steyning Hundred

|            |                       |            |                    |    |                    |                    |
|------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------------|----|--------------------|--------------------|
| Charleton. | George Gaywood gent   | in lands.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> | .. | x <sup>s</sup>     | viiij <sup>d</sup> |
|            | Thomas Gratwick       | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup>    | .. | ij <sup>s</sup>    | viiij <sup>d</sup> |
|            | John Swifte           | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup>    | .. | ij <sup>s</sup>    | viii <sup>d</sup>  |
|            | W <sup>m</sup> Ingram | in goods.. | v <sup>li</sup>    | .. | viiij <sup>s</sup> | iiij <sup>d</sup>  |
|            | Richard Bryan         | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup>    | .. | ij <sup>s</sup>    | viiij <sup>d</sup> |
|            | John Miller           | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup>    | .. | ij <sup>s</sup>    | viii <sup>d</sup>  |
|            | James Collye          | in goods.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> | .. | vj <sup>s</sup>    | viii <sup>d</sup>  |

The Hundred of West Grinsted

Wickam Tithing

|                                      |            |                    |    |                    |                    |                    |
|--------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|----|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| S <sup>r</sup> Thomas Leeds, knight, | in lands.. | xxv <sup>li</sup>  | .. | iiij <sup>li</sup> | vi <sup>s</sup>    | viiij <sup>d</sup> |
| John Halls gent                      | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup>    | .. | ii <sup>s</sup>    | viiij <sup>d</sup> |                    |
| Anthony Farnfold gent                | in goods.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> | .. | v <sup>s</sup>     |                    |                    |

|                  |            |                       |                                   |
|------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| John Leicester   | in lands.. | x <sup>l</sup> s ..   | v <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>  |
| Thomas Snelling  | in goods.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> .. | v <sup>s</sup>                    |
| James Langford   | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | ij <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> |
| Ockenden Roberts | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | ij <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> |

Walter Farnfold was succeeded by his only brother, Thomas, who upon his coming of age in 1620 and marriage to Dorothy Rogers suffered a fine and recovery of all his property, as is shown by the following endorsement on a deed of sale of later date :—

An indenture of Bargain and Sale dated 29<sup>th</sup> day of Maye Anno Dom. 1620 Betweene Thomas Farnfold of Steaning in the Countie of Sussex Esquire of th' one p<sup>te</sup> and Bartholomew Rogers of the Cytie of Westminster gent on thother p<sup>te</sup> whereby the said Thomas Farnfold did amongst other things graunte, bargain and sell unto the said Bartholomew and his heires the Manor of Gatewicke in Steaninge and all his messuages Lands tenements and hereditaments in Steaninge Bramber Bedinge and other places in the Countie of Sussex to the intent a recoverie might be had this is sayd to be invoked in the Chauncerie and thereupon a recoverie w<sup>th</sup> double voucher was had . . .

He was knighted at Theobalds on December 22nd, 1621, became Member of Parliament for Steyning in 1623 and entered upon a political career, which caused, or, at least, contributed to, his ultimate financial undoing.

The Subsidy, A.D. 1621, shows him in possession of Gatewick.

Assessment of the last payment of a second Subsidy granted  
18 James I. . . .

Hundred of Steaninge

Charlton Tything

|                            |            |                       |                                      |
|----------------------------|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sir Thomas Farnfold knight | in lands.. | x <sup>li</sup> ..    | xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> |
| James Collye               | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvj <sup>d</sup>                     |
| John Boode                 | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvi <sup>d</sup>                     |
| Edward Godsmark            | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvj <sup>d</sup>                     |
| Richard Bryant             | in goods.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> .. | ij <sup>s</sup>                      |
| Anne Ingram vid.           | in goods.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> .. | ij <sup>s</sup>                      |
| John Hunt                  | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvi <sup>d</sup>                     |

Hundred of West Grinsted

Wickham Tythinge

|                           |            |                       |                                      |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sir Edward Francis knight | in lands.. | xx <sup>li</sup> ..   | xxvi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>  |
| Sir John Ledes knight     | in lands.. | x <sup>li</sup> ..    | xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> |
| James Elsmar              | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvj <sup>d</sup>                     |
| Michael Godsmark          | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvj <sup>d</sup>                     |
| William Vagger            | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvi <sup>d</sup>                     |
| Thomas Parson             | in lands.. | xx <sup>s</sup> ..    | xvi <sup>d</sup>                     |
| Richard Gravett           | in goods.. | iiij <sup>li</sup> .. | ij <sup>s</sup>                      |



Sir Thomas was now the only member of the Farnefold family resident in Steyning; there is no entry of the name in the assessment of Steyning Borough.

He at once commenced to sell some of his property in Steyning.<sup>7</sup>

By Indenture made the 20<sup>th</sup> day of June 1622, between Sir Thomas Farnefold of Gatewikes in the p<sup>sh</sup> of Steninge Knight and Dame Dorothy his Wife . . . and Jonas Michael of Steninge Clark, he conveys to Jonas Michael who was Vicar of Steyning in consideration of the sum of One Hundreth fowerscore and nyne pounds all those fower messuages tenements or Burgages Gardens and orchards . . . in Steninge adjoyninge to one Streete there commonly called the Church Streete and are compassed and bounded with the Kinges heighwaye . . . and also all that close in the occupation of the said Jonas Michael which containes two acres or thereabouts compassed also with the said Heighwaye . . . And all that other Messuage Tenem<sup>t</sup> or Burgage and Garden . . . in or adjoyninge to the Heye (high) Chefe or Market Streete . . . Together with one close or field conteyning two acres of pasture in the tenure of Thomas Carter and also one other close to the last before specified close adjoyninge conteyning two acres of land . . . in the occupation of Robert Cox . . . To Have and to Hold . . .

In Witness  
Reade Sealed and del<sup>d</sup>  
in p<sup>s</sup>ence of  
John Gilbye  
Ezekiel . . .  
Fra. Stevens

Thomas Farnefould

Recor<sup>d</sup> corã R'co Moore  
Milit' et Cauç—12 Julii  
Anni Supp<sup>f</sup>  
Rych<sup>d</sup> Moore.

In his will, as will be seen, Sir Thomas states that he suffered through the King's Wars, but whether he actually joined Buckingham's ineffective expedition to Rochelle in 1627 I have been unable to ascertain. Possibly the reference is a financial one, for in 1628 he became bound in a sum of £4,000 to Sir David Watkins, as will be noticed later from the proclamation of an indenture of sale after his death by his son, Henry, in 1646. Dame Dorothy Farnefold died and was buried at Steyning, November 17th, 1636, leaving eight young children. On October 28th, 1637, Sir Thomas re-married, at St.

<sup>7</sup> Abstract of deed in possession of and kindly lent by Mr. C. Thomas-Stanford, F.S.A.



GATEWICK WATER MILL.

(DEMOLISHED IN 1878.)

*Smart, Photo. Steyning.*

Mary Woolnoth, Elizabeth Cudmore, widow, of Kelvedon. For eleven years Parliament had had no voice in the autocratic mis-government of the country. On the assembling of the Long Parliament in 1640 Sir Thomas Farnfold, as Royalist, again represented the Borough of Steyning; dying and being buried at Steyning on March 15th, 1643—the last entry of the Farnfolds in the Steyning Registers. He saw the opening moves in that great conflict which was to result in the defeat of his cause and the death of the King.

His will, written with his own hand, seems to me a truly human document. One pictures his affection for and confidence in his daughter, Dorothy (although those of her sex were then legally regarded as mere chattels); his hunting days with his neighbours and friend, to whom he leaves his hawks and best horse, and one opines that he lived in some awe of the second wife, who, as will be seen later, had a family by her first husband. The Will and Inquisition following bear evidence that his affairs were in a somewhat complicated condition:—

Copy of Will of Sir Thomas Farnfold, Knight.

P.C.C. Rivers, fo. 11.

In the name of God Amen I Sir Thomas Farnfold of Gatewicks in the Countie of Sussex Knight doe make this my last will and Testament written w<sup>th</sup> my owne hand as followeth. Imprimis I bequeath my soule to God my maker and I hope to be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ my redeemer and I desire to be buried at Stayning in Sussex as neere unto my wife as conveniently may be in the same buriall place that doth belong to my family in that Church First I give and bequeath all my goods plate jewells chattles and household stuff w<sup>ch</sup> is nowe at my house in Westminster and likewise at my house called by the name of Gatewikes in Sussex and all other my chattles whatsoever unto my eldest sonne Henry Farnfold and my daughter Dorotheie Farnfold to be equally devided betwixt them and my will is that my daughter Dorotheie Farnfold shall have in her custody all my psonall estate untill my sonne Henry Farnfold shall accomplish th<sup>e</sup> age of twenty and one yeares and then to be equally devided betwixt them. Item I give to my daughter Dorotheie cō<sup>l</sup> out of the Sale of Wickham lands and the judgm<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I have of m<sup>l</sup> against Sir Edward Bellingham landes I give to be equally devided to my daughter Dorotheie and the rest of my younger children and that my meaning is that my sonne Henry Farnfold shall have noe share thereof And if that y<sup>t</sup> shall happen that my daughter Dorotheie doe depart this world before that she be married or accomplysh the age of

twentie and one yeares then my intent is that my whole þsonall estate shalbe equally devided betwixt my sonne Henry Farnefeld and my son Thomas Farnefeld when they shall accomplysh the age of twentie and one yeares. Item I give & bequeath unto my sonnes Thomas Farnefolde Richard Farnefeld John Farnefeld Rāph Farnefeld & Edward Farnefeld cc<sup>ii</sup> a peece to be paied unto them when they shall accomplysh the age of twentie and one yeares And if any of them shall happen to dye before they accomplish the age of twentie and one yeares then my will is that my sonne Tho: Farnefeld shall have the two hundred pounds of him that shall dye before he come to th' age of xxi yeares. Item I give and bequeath unto my sonne Thomas Farnefeld and his heires one house & land called Jarvis house w<sup>ch</sup> nowe is in the occupaçon of Laurance Davenport w<sup>ch</sup> he shall enter upon at th'age of xxi yeares. Item my will is that if my sonne Thomas Farnefeld shall dye before he attain to th'age of xxi yeares then my will is that my sonne Henry Farnefeld shall have whatsoever I have given to my sonne Thomas Farnefeld. Item my will is that Wickham Farme in Stayning in Sussex w<sup>ch</sup> is now in th'occupaçõ of John Smith th'elder for which he payeth me fittie pounds p añ shalbe sould for the payment of Thomas Farnefeld Richard Farnefeld John Farnefeld Raph Farnefeld and Edward Farnefeld the cc<sup>ii</sup> formerly given to them to be payed at the tyme they should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeares. But if my sonne Henry Farnefeld shall pay unto my sonnes Thomas Farnefeld Richard Farnefeld John Farnefeld Raph Farnefeld and Edward Farnefeld or to soe many of them as shall accomplish the age of xxi yeares the sume of two hundred poundes a peece assoone as they shall accomplish th'age of xxi yeares That then I give the said landes called Wickham farm w<sup>ch</sup> I formerly bequeathed to be sould unto my sonne Henry Farnefeld and his heires for ever. Item my will is that the rentes and proffites of all my landes dureing the minority of my sonne Henry Farnefeld my Executors shall receave for the breeding of my children until they come of the age of twentie & one yeares and the overplus to be devided amongst my younger children at th'age of xxi yeares. Item I make and ordaine my sole Executors of this my last will and testament my daughter Dorothe Farnefeld and my very good frend M<sup>r</sup> Robert Marr of Westminster untill my sonne Henry Farnefeld shall accomplish the age of two and twentie yeares att w<sup>ch</sup> time I make my sonne Henry Farnefeld my sole executor And if my sonne Henry Farnefeld doe not live untill he accomplish th'age of two & twenty yeares then I make and ordaine my sonne Thomas Farnefeld my sole executor as soone as he shall accomplish th'age of twenty two yeares. Item I give to M<sup>r</sup> Robert Marr my executor ten pounds to be payed him out of my personall estate and I likewise give him my cast of Hawkes w<sup>ch</sup> are a mewing neere Colebrooke and also I give him my best horse w<sup>ch</sup> I shall have at the tyme of my death. Item I give unto my wife all the househould stuff w<sup>ch</sup> I had by her desireing her that shee will be good to my children and not to take the thirdes of my landes as M<sup>r</sup> Hanshet and M<sup>r</sup> Siphurpe can justifie that shee promised before I married her that shee would never clayme any Dower out of my Estate if so be that shee did

outlive mee My desire is if it may be conveniently done to be buried by my first wife at Stayning in Sussex and that M<sup>r</sup> Robert Marr may have the Wardshipp of my Eldest sonne and breeding of my younger children and I hope that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> wilbe favourable to me for my Sonnes Wardshipp by reason I have lost my life in his ma<sup>ties</sup> warrs In witness that this is my last will I have sett unto my hand and seale this first of June one thousand Six hundred thirty nine

In the psence of us

Thomas Farnefeld

M<sup>r</sup> Willis hath a note of mine for fiftie poundes for a ring M<sup>r</sup> Pickhayes sawe me deliver the ring to him againe nothing due to him. M<sup>r</sup> Edward Watkins and M<sup>r</sup> Daniel Colwell have my statute for five hundred poundes they were my bayle at Sir John Michells suite I have not that statute in & there is nothing due to them. Such debtes as Sir Tho. Farnefeld oweth To M<sup>r</sup> Almery and M<sup>r</sup> Norton by lease of mortgage five hundred and thirtie poundes. By bond to M<sup>r</sup> Churchman by bonde which is my brother Georges debt and I have his counter bond 50<sup>li</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Mildemay twenty five poundes To my Brewer — 4— eght poundes To my cozen Edward Culpepper fortie poundes.

Proved 17 Dec 1644 by Dorothy Farnefeld daughter of said deceased and one of the Executors (under limitation) power reserved to Robert Marr the other Executor.

The 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1655 ad<sup>co</sup>n with ye will annexed of y<sup>e</sup> goods of the said deceased was graunted to John Farnefeld sonne of deceased and legatary named in y<sup>e</sup> will The Executorship of Dorothy Farnefeld beinge expired by reason that Henry Farnefeld had accomplished his age of 22<sup>yr</sup> yeares yet he died likewise before he took upon him the Execution of said will.

13 Feb. 1660-1. Issued a commission to "Dorothee Mayer ats Farnefeld" natural and lawful daughter of said dec<sup>d</sup> [to administer goods of said dec<sup>d</sup>] according to the tenor and effect of the will of said dec<sup>d</sup> for that the aforesaid John Farnefeld late administrator now also deceased without fully administering.

Chancery Inquisitions post-mortem

Misc., 21 Charles I., Part 32, No. 11.

Thomas Farnefeld, knight, Sussex.

Inquisition taken at Horseham, co. Sussex, 30 Dec., 21 Charles I. after the death of Thomas Farnefolde, knight, deceased. The Jurors say that the said Thomas Farnefeld long before his death was seized in his demesne as of fee of 19 acres of meadow called Churchmeadow in the parish of Steanninge And of a capital messuage and 100 acres of land, meadow, and pasture called Gatewicks there And of one messuage, one water mill, and 62 acres of land in the said parish And of a messuage called le Prison house, two barns, 200 acres of land, and common of pasture for 300 sheep upon land called Steanninge Downes And the said Thomas Farnefeld being seized of the premises by Indenture dated 29 March, 18 Charles I, for the sum of £500 sold the premises to Roger Norton and George Almerie To have and to

hold the same for 99 years paying therefrom yearly one peppercorn at Michaelmas if demanded. And the said Thomas Farnfold, knight, was seized of another messuage and 120 acres of land called Wickham farme in Steaninge and of and in a messuage, a smith's shop, and one acre of land in the borough of Steaninge. And of and in the manor of Bidlington *alias* Magdalens Bidlington, one messuage, two barns, 120 acres of salt marsh, and common of pasture for all beasts in lands called Le common Brookes and Downes in Bidlington in the parish of Bramber. And being seized of the same the said Thomas Farnfold, knt., 1<sup>st</sup> June 1639 made his will. . . . and Henry Farnfold is his son and next heir. And at his father's death was 20 years old. And the jurors say that the premises called Churchmeadow were held of the King in chief by one fortieth of a knight's fee. And the capital messuage with 100 acres called Gatewicks, aforesaid messuage, water-mill, and aforesaid 62 acres of land in Steaninge are held of whom or by what services they know not. And the said premises are worth clear per annum 50<sup>s</sup>. And the messuage called the prison house and other premises in Steaninge of whom or by what services they know not. And worth per annum during the said lease a peppercorn but after the determination of the same they will be worth clear per annum £6. 13s. 4d. And the messuage with 120 acres called Wickham farm are held of whom or by what services they know not and worth clear per annum 40<sup>s</sup>. And the messuage, shop, and premises in the borough of Steaninge are held of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in free burgage and worth clear per annum 5<sup>s</sup>. And the manor of Bidlington *alias* Magdalens Bidlington and other premises in Bidlington are held of whom or by what services they know not and are worth clear per annum 20<sup>s</sup>. And Elizabeth, widow of the late Thomas Farnfold is still living and in full health at Steaninge and is dowerable of and in all the aforesaid premises.

In consequence of the coming of age and of the deaths of the sons there was a succession of grants in respect of the will, the last on the 13th February, 1669, to Dorothy Mayer, ats Farnfold, who had married her co-executor as her second husband.

The executors proceeded to realise all the property, as will be seen from the following:—

20 June 1646.<sup>8</sup>

To all people to whom this psent shall come. I Henry Farnfold of Steininge Esquire sonne and heire of Sir Thomas Farnfold late of Steininge Knight deceased send greetinge in O<sup>r</sup> Lord God everlastinge. Know yee that whereas the said Sir Thomas Farnfold in his life tyme by indenture dated the 29<sup>th</sup> day March in the 18<sup>th</sup> yere of the Raigne of our Sovereign Lord King Charles of England for good consideration . . . did graunte . . . unto Roger Norton of London

<sup>8</sup> Original in possession of, and kindly lent by, Mr. C. Thomas-Stanford, F.S.A.



THE JACOBAN PORCH, GATEWICK.

*Smart. Photo. Steyning.*

and George Almery of London gent for the terme of four score and nineteen yeares . . . at the Rente of one pepercorne a messuage and tenement called the Prison House and certain lands tenements and sheep downe . . . and whereas by the consent of the said Sir Thomas for the better protectinge of the said messuages &c. from incumbrances and the saving harmless of the said Roger Norton and George Almery . . . Sir David Watkins of London Knight by a writing did authorise . . . the said Roger and George . . . to have and to take full benefit of a recognizance in nature of a Statute Staple dated 26 June in the 3<sup>rd</sup> yere of the rayne of our Sovereinge Lord the King that nowe is wherein the said Sir Thomas became bounde to the said Sir David Watkins in £4,000. . . .

[H. Farnefeld agrees to assignment.]

Signed Henry Farnefeld.

Sealed and delivered by the within named Henry Farnefeld in psence of Will<sup>m</sup> Newbold Edward Tooley Sam Downes.

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Recovery Roll (Common Pleas) Hilary Term.

22 Charles I. (1646).

Henry Farnefeld, of Steninge, co: Sussex, Esquire came 17<sup>th</sup> December . . . before Peter Phesant one of the Justices of the Kings Bench and produced the following writing to be inrolled in these words: "To all people &c. I Henry Farnefeld of Steninge, Co: Sussex Esquire sonne and heire of Sir Thomas Farnefeld of Steninge Knight, deceased doe send greetinge. Know ye that the said Sir Thomas Farnefeld had and received in his life time of Roger Norton and George Almery of London gentlemen £500 and that I the said Henry since his decease att severall times att and before the date of these presents have received £300 more in full satisfaction and payment for the purchase of all that messuage &c called the Prison House in Steninge with appurtenances &c and meadows pasture land &c in Steninge late in the occupation of Robert Gravett deçd that is to say a field called Dunstalls containing 11 acres a field called Perrotts cont<sup>s</sup> 10 acres a croft of land on the west side side of the same field called Perrotts cont<sup>s</sup> 7 acres another field called Newfield cont<sup>s</sup> 4 acres a field called the Chanwyn cont<sup>s</sup> 10 acres a field called Patcheings cont<sup>s</sup> 7 acres a field called Pepperscoombe cont<sup>s</sup> 7 acres one headland acre lying on the east side of the field called Newfield 4 acres of land lying at the Portway &c 3 acres lying in the Godstalls next the highway a field lying at a place called the Washing Stoule cont<sup>s</sup> 6 acres 2 acres of land in the Sheepeland furlong and heading on a croft called Brookers &c 2 acres in the said Sheepeland furlong against the Ould Taiyte (?) &c ½ an acre in Mumbrells Meade a meadow called Broadlands cont<sup>s</sup> 24 acres a parcel of land called the Pepperscoombe bottom and all the sheepe downe late of the said Sir Thomas Farnefeld with their appurtenances lying in Steninge aforesaid . . . which in and by an Indenture of bargaine and Sale



demise and grant 29 March 1642 made between the said Sir Thomas of the one part and the said Norton and Almery of the other part were sould &c unto the said Norton and Almery their Executors &c for 99 years at a peppercorn rent the moyety of which the said Norton hath since granted to the said Almery and the said Henry Farnfold by an agreement made between him and the said George hath in Trinity term now last past by fine &c not only ratified and confirmed the Estate &c of him the said George of and in the said messuage lands &c but also hath conveyed &c the reversion of the said premises unto William Newbold and Edward Tooley of London, gentlemen, in trust for the said George Almery his heirs &c for ever And therefore I the said Henry in consideration of £800 so received hath and do rectify and confirm to the said George Almery the said premises &c To Have and to Hold &c &c. . . . In witness whereof . . .

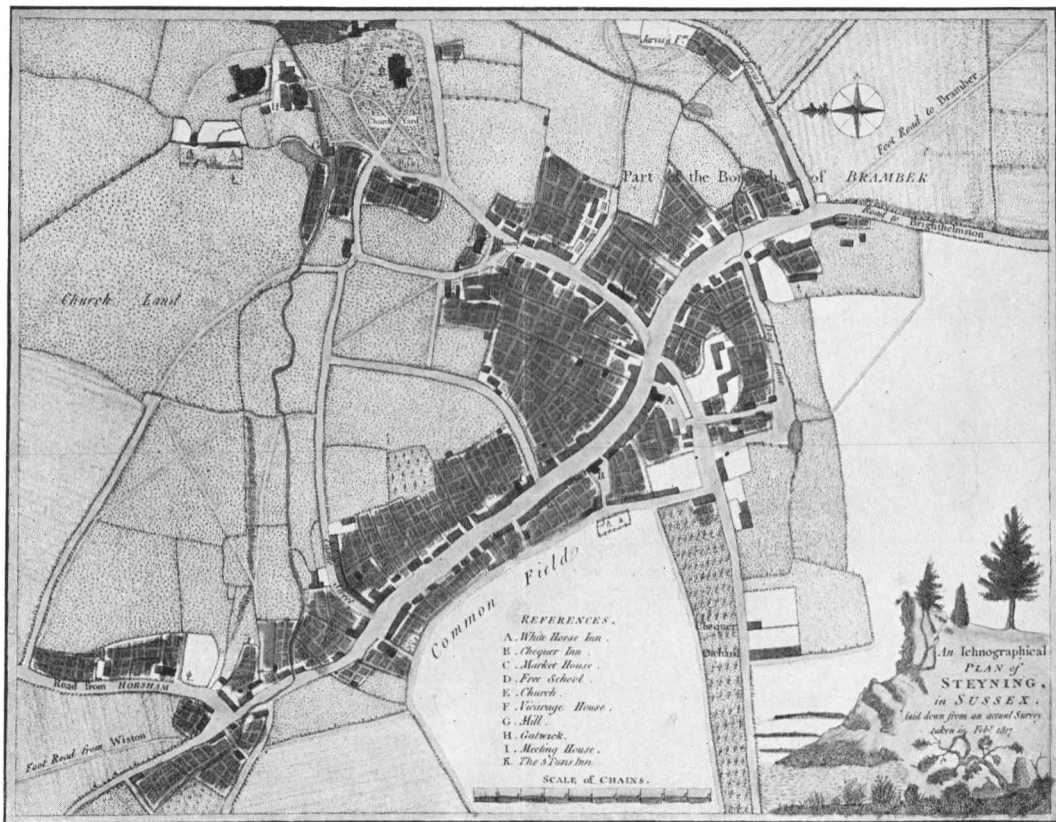
16 Dec. 1646

In the following year the whole of the property was disposed of:—

Recovery Roll, Hilary Term.

23 Charles I.

Henry Farnfold Esq<sup>r</sup> and Richard Farnfold gent came here in Court 29 January and desired the following writing to be inrolled and it was inrolled in these words—This Indenture made 5 Jan 1647 and the 23<sup>rd</sup> yeare of our sovereign lord Charles &c. Between Henry Farnfold of Steyninge co: Sussex Esq<sup>r</sup> sonne and heire of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Farnfold late of Steninge aforesaid Knight deceased Richard Farnfold gent, one of the sonnnes of the said Sir Thomas and brother of the said Henry and Samuel Richardson gent and Dorothy his wife daughter of the said S<sup>r</sup> Thomas and sister of the said Henry and Richard of thone p<sup>te</sup> and George Almery and William Newbold of London gent of thother p<sup>te</sup> Witnesseth that the said Henry and Richard by and with the consent of the said Samuel and Dorothy as well in parte of performance of certayne covenants &c specified in certayne Indentures tripartite bearing date the day before the date of these presents and made between the said parties and one Ralph Harteley of London Apothecary and Edward Tooley of London, gent, as also in consideraçon of a certain sum of money to them the said Henry Richard Samuel and Dorothy in hand by the said George Almery paid the receipt whereof the said Henry et al. do hereby acknowledge by these presents have given granted &c. unto the said Almery and Newbold their heires &c All that Capital Messuage or tenement and the farme lands and tenements commonly called Gatewicke with the rights members and appurtenances thereof wherever situate in Steninge and elsewhere in co: Sussex and the lands &c in Steninge to the said Capital Messuage belonging And all that Water Mill and Millhouse near the said Capital Messuage And all those Messuages lands tenements &c in Steninge or elsewhere in Co: Sussex heretofore sold &c by the said S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Farnfold in his lityme unto Anthony Mildmay Esq<sup>r</sup> for a long terme of yeres determinable upon the death of the said Anthony and also all that



Messuage called Wickham farme lyinge at Wickham in the parish of Steninge aforesaid lands called the severall Hookees containing 8 acres a parcell of land called the Furzey Eaton containing 12 acres 3 acres of meadow ground lying in the comon meade at Wickham heretofore in the tenure of John Smyth and also all those parcell of ground called the Hillyfields cont<sup>s</sup> 25 acres and the meadow cont<sup>s</sup> 12 acres sometime in the tenure of John H<sup>o</sup>bert and since in the tenure of the said John Smyth and all other messuages &c &c Whatsoever w<sup>ch</sup> by or after the decease of the said Sir Thomas descended or otherwise came to the said Henry Farnfold situate at Steninge or elsewhere in Co: Sussex Except all that Messuage &c called the Prison House and other the lands &c in Steninge heretofore granted &c by the said Sir Thomas in his lifytyme to one Roger Norton gent and to the said George Almery for 99 years at the yerely rent of a peppercorn and whereof the revercon and fee simple is since conveyed to the said William Newbold and Edward Tooley and their heires in trust for the said George and his heires And also except all that messuage &c called Magdalen ats Maudlyn farme and the lands &c thereunto belonging late in the tenure of John Smyth the younger or his assigns and all that close or parcel of meadow grounde called the Churchmeade containing 19 acres in Steninge lately conveyed and assured by the said Henry to one John Markall and Richard Markall gent or one of them their or one of their heires. To Have and to Hold &c unto the said George Almery and William Newbold and the heires and assigns of the said George for ever. In Witness whereof the p<sup>tyes</sup> first above named to these Indentures interchangeably have put their hands and seales the day and yere first above written.

And so the 250 years connection of this ancient and important family with Steyning is suddenly broken and the name of Farnfold is there no more known. My search of Sussex Poll Books and of old directories, both of Sussex and London, revealed not a single entry of the name.

The last Farnfold will is that of Sir Thomas's widow, in which no mention is made of her husband's family :

1659 July 18.

Lady Elizabeth Fernefold widdowe . . . to be buried under my pew in Kelvedon . . . my late husband John Cudmore . . . To my daughter Martha Latham all my household stuff . . . My Grandchild Thomas Cudmore, Dorothy Cudmore my daughter-in-law and her sonne Thomas Cudmore . . . Helena Latham my granddaughter £150 My granddaughter Elizabeth Latham £20 to all the other children of my said daughter Martha £20 a peece. . . My granddaughter Anne Boulton £50 . . . My granddaughter Dorothy Cudmore £20. My sister Churchman £10 . . . Francis Ireland £10. Unto my Nicholas a poore lame boy 10<sup>s</sup> Residue to daughter Martha Latham . . .

The Gatewick estate gave name to a family in early times. Exchequer of Pleas, A.D. 129 $\frac{5}{7}$ : "Manor of Steyning held by Johannes de Gateswyk;" and Cartwright mentions (page 209) that in 1363 John de Gatwyk sold lands in Steyning and Bramber.

In 1664 the Mansion House was tenanted by Robert Mawer and was apparently one of the most important in the neighbourhood. The following extracts from the Assessment to the Hearth Tax, 16 Charles II. (1664) enable comparison to be made:—

Stening Parish, Charlton Tything.  
(Charlton Court)

| £ | s. | d. |  |
|---|----|----|--|
| 0 | 8  | 0  | John Eversfield gent viii hearths.<br>(Gatewick)   |
| 0 | 13 | 0  | Robert Mawer gent xx hearths upon view decreased vii<br>Stening Parish. Hund. de Westgrinsted.<br>(Wappingthorn) |
| 0 | 15 | 0  | Charles Brett, Esq <sup>r</sup> xvi hearths decreased one.   |

Judging from the decrease of hearths it would seem that even at this date the house was falling out of repair. In 1679 the property was in possession of the Barnard family, as shown by the assessment on the opposite page.

Later it passed to Barnard Comber, from whose trustees it was purchased in 1855 by the Rev. John Goring and is now part of the Wiston Estate. Little is left of the original mansion. The Jacobean porch entrance, now detached from the house, and the east chimney stack remain. In one of the bedrooms is some oak panelling of different patterns, probably taken from other parts of the house. The accompanying old print shows the house as it appeared in the early part of the last century. About 50 years ago the two meretricious and useless gables were added, much to the disfigurement of the building.

The annexed plan of the Borough of Steyning, the earliest one I have met with, shows the position of Gatewick, within bowshot of the church, and of the mill stream dividing it from the Borough.

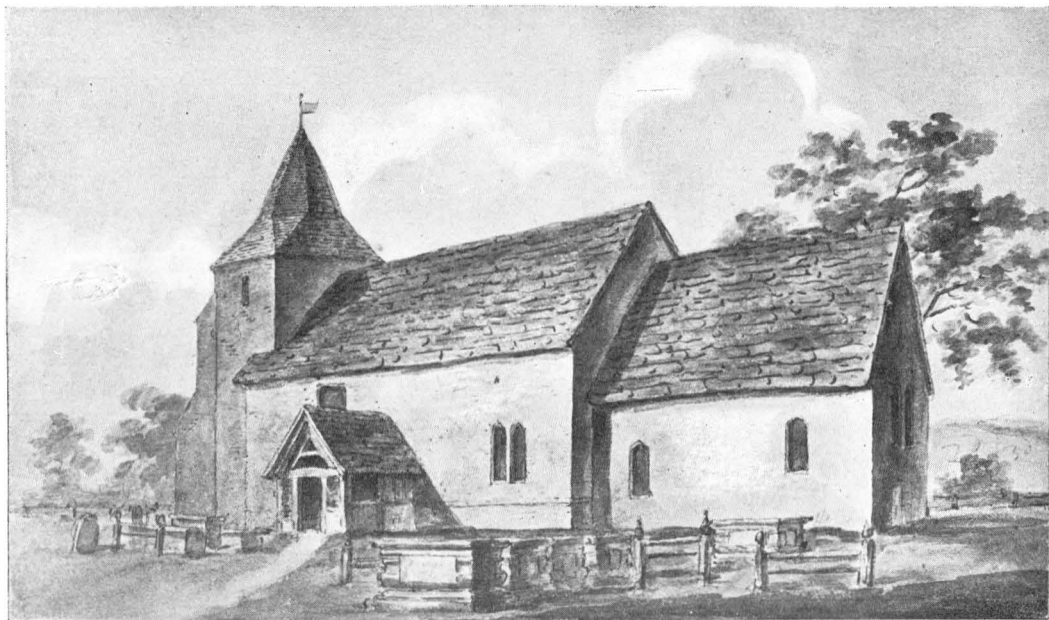
Charleston A tax made the 15<sup>th</sup> day of July 1679  
 Pythings for the raisinge of the sume of 5-15-6  
 Charged upon the said Pythings for  
 his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use for disbandinge of the  
 army & other uses

Valuation

| £   | s  | d |  | £ | s  | d                             |
|-----|----|---|--|---|----|-------------------------------|
| 120 | 0  | 0 | Mr Bartram for gate wicks                | 1 | 12 | 0                             |
| 70  | 0  | 0 | Nicholas Eury for the Egg                | 0 | 18 | 10                            |
| 04  | 0  | 0 | Captaine Street                          | 0 | 1  | 1                             |
| 04  | 0  | 0 | Mr Hottel for his house                  | 0 | 1  | 1                             |
| 04  | 0  | 0 | Of him for his land                      | 0 | 1  | 1                             |
| 13  | 6  | 0 | Mr Gallman for the 2 <sup>d</sup> forage | 0 | 3  | 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 06  | 0  | 0 | Mr Smith                                 | 0 | 1  | 7                             |
| 01  | 10 | 0 | Nicholas Eury for the Egg for house      | 0 | 0  | 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 06  | 0  | 0 | Rudik Swanson                            | 0 | 1  | 7                             |
| 10  | 0  | 0 | Mr Mills for the Chiquer                 | 0 | 2  | 8                             |
| 04  | 0  | 0 | Mr Rowson                                | 0 | 1  | 1                             |
| 02  | 0  | 0 | Mr Homroy and Cartwright                 | 0 | 0  | 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 68  | 0  | 0 | William Parker                           | 0 | 18 | 2                             |
| 06  | 0  | 0 | Thomas Howdman                           | 0 | 1  | 7                             |
| 05  | 0  | 0 | Of him for Edward Bluffmans land         | 0 | 1  | 4                             |
| 07  | 0  | 0 | Thos. Howman for the turning gate        | 0 | 1  | 10                            |
| 20  | 0  | 0 | Of her more for the same                 | 0 | 5  | 4                             |
| 03  | 0  | 0 | Richard Cook                             | 0 | 0  | 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 01  | 10 | 0 | Of him more                              | 0 | 0  | 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 03  | 0  | 0 | John Smith                               | 0 | 0  | 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 03  | 0  | 0 | Henry Barnes                             | 0 | 0  | 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 03  | 0  | 0 | Josiah Workham                           | 0 | 0  | 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 03  | 0  | 0 | John Martins                             | 0 | 0  | 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 01  | 0  | 0 | John Nye                                 | 0 | 0  | 3                             |
| 02  | 0  | 0 | of him for Mr Poynes land                | 0 | 0  | 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 01  | 0  | 0 | John Graves                              | 0 | 0  | 3                             |
| 17  | 0  | 0 | Thomas Aldredone                         | 0 | 4  | 7                             |
| 04  | 10 | 0 | Thomas Emans                             | 0 | 1  | 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 02  | 0  | 0 | of him more                              | 0 | 0  | 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> |
| 06  | 0  | 0 | William Oldman                           | 0 | 0  | 7                             |
| 01  | 0  | 0 | William Coxline                          | 0 | 0  | 3                             |
| 15  | 0  | 0 | Thos. N. Vrett for the large brook       | 0 | 4  | 0                             |
| 01  | 0  | 0 | Thos. Buffala                            | 0 | 0  | 7                             |
| 14  | 0  | 0 | Thomas Ingata                            | 0 | 0  | 0                             |
| 1   | 0  | 0 |  | 0 | 0  | 0                             |

The causes of the ruin and decay into which the mansions of the Farnefolds of Gatewick, of the Pellatts and Eversfield of Charlton Court, of the Bellinghams of Erringham, of the Coverts of Edburton, within a few miles of each other, with numerous others in the county, had so rapidly fallen about the beginning of the eighteenth century, present an interesting social-economic problem, not, however, suitable for attempt at solution in these pages.

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TWINEHAM CHURCH, IN 1809.

*(From a Water-colour in the Sharpe Collection.)*

## NOTES ON ST. PETER'S CHURCH, TWINEHAM.

BY J. F. GRAYLING, L.R.C.P.

THE ancient Sussex churches follow a distinctly primitive model, that is easily traced to the earliest examples, so many of which in an unaltered form still remain in the smaller villages.

A considerable variety in the general proportion of these buildings is observed, from the shortness and rather Italian appearance of Clayton, and the former nave of Hurstpierpoint, to the more lengthy nave and relatively shorter chancel of Lyminster; this latter proportion was generally still retained, even where, as at West Tarring, the whole building underwent complete transformation in the thirteenth century style. Single apartment churches, like Aldrington was and is again, are unusual. Hove Old Church, as badly re-designed by Bassevi, nevertheless still shows the common Sussex proportions.

Twineham Church is quite isolated, indeed a sign-post is encountered directing the traveller to "Twineham Church only;" the building consists of nave and chancel with western tower, and a modern annexe to the north; 74 feet in total length; the whole constructed of bricks of the small sixteenth century description, bonded in the English manner, with the use of closers at the angles; notwithstanding, the perpents are badly observed and led to straight joints in places, with consequent breaking of the bond; the whole fabric retains early mediæval proportions.

The manufacture of brick never entirely died out in the places where it had been carried on by the Romans; at Hull the fourteenth century brick chancel was looked upon as a luxury and not a structure of mean material.

Elaborated brick churches are found in Essex, as at Bricksmealy, with brick font; and Tonge Church, Kent, was repaired with bricks in the latest Tudor period.



After passing Guldford Church, in this county, which has become a singular object, the first of the Kent churches in that direction—Fairfield—is seen, having steep roofs, a long low chancel and western engaged turret. So essentially a mediæval outline was long mistaken for a comparatively modern fabric on account of its brick walls, but these were merely built up to the ancient roofs, which were originally supported by post and pane work, one of the posts being still retained, the inside turret entire with square framing.

Having wandered a long way from Twineham, let us return and see how it compares with Fairfield. Twineham, as already stated, bears a distinctly early mediæval outline, and yet its architectural forms, viz., the tower and chancel arches, window heads, &c., have a nondescript character approaching four-centre outline. The framing of the roofs is of the simple truss-rafter type with ashlar-pieces over the walls, which are thick; these roofs are probably not older than the walls; the cross tie over the chancel arch has been in previous use; the "thacking" is with Horsham slatts. The porch is post and pane work, and, together with its roof, is earlier than the church. The question arises, why was a new church required in the sixteenth century and where are the materials of the old church, which had a Rector in the thirteenth century? There are no old worked stones in the present church, or lying about in the hamlets that compose the parish; and we must always bear in mind the total demolition of a church was very rare indeed; an accidental fire would hardly injure the walls. In the absence then of any traces of a masonry church such as Hardham, &c., we may infer that, like the porch, the whole church was of post and pane work, such as the chancel at Newland and the entire church at Besford, both in Worcestershire; ancient timber churches also appear in Cheshire, *e.g.*, Nether Peover, &c., and until recent years Saunderton Church, Bucks, preserved its timber chancel arch, composed of two long curved beams, together with the septum wall and part of the roof, which had belonged to a timber-framed church



TWINEHAM CHURCH.

## THE SUSSEX MUSTERS OF 1618.

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BY C. THOMAS - STANFORD, M.P., F.S.A.

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IN the antiquarian literature of Sussex very little information as to the militia or trained bands of the county is to be found. In Vol. XI. of our *Collections*, in an article entitled "The Defence of Sussex and the South Coast of England from invasion, considered by Queen Elizabeth's Privy Councillors, A.D. 1596," reference is made to the memorial of James Colbrond, a deputy-lieutenant, in which he pleads for a better organisation of the forces of the county and suggests measures for maintaining a trained force 4,000 strong. In Vol. XL., in an article on the "Booke concerning the Deputy-Lieuetennantshipp," there are printed several papers referring to the musters of a few years later than those with which I propose to deal. These two articles, as far as I have discovered, exhaust the published literature of the subject.<sup>1</sup>

"By the Saxon laws every freeman of an age capable of bearing arms, and not incapacitated by any bodily infirmity, was, in case of a foreign invasion, internal insurrection, or other emergency, obliged to join the Army."<sup>2</sup> The institution of scutage caused this system to fall into some abeyance after the Conquest, but the national militia was restored by the Assize of Arms in 1181; every freeman, without regard to his tenure, simply because he was the King's subject, was bound to serve in war and to provide himself with the arms suitable to his social status.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written, my attention has been called to Mr. L. F. Salzmann's sketch of the subject in the *Victoria History of Sussex*, i., 516-8.

<sup>2</sup> Grose; *Military Antiquities*.

<sup>3</sup> The State Papers and the Harleian MSS. contain copious references to the County Musters, and it is probable that a fairly complete history of the subject could be constructed from them by someone with leisure to study the original documents.

exclusively till the fourteenth century. The south side of the chancel at Twineham has the sill of its westernmost window slightly lower than the other. The Reverend E. Creswell Gee, whilst Rector there, says he was informed that the shutter found in Priest's windows formerly existed; if this were the case, all traces of it have been cut away by the modern glazier.

The general effect of the interior is still very good, the Lord's table having been kept at its proper level. The rood screen and loft, when present, were lighted by a specially arranged obliquely splayed window on the north. Jacobean panelling of the usual arched form now encloses the south-east corner of the nave, where was formerly an altar enclosure. The window over this part contains a border-piece of painted glass, looking like fifteenth century work, charged with the coat armour de la Warr. The pulpit is in sixteenth century character. The more ancient bells are also sixteenth century (local tradition refers to A.D. 1516 as the actual date of the re-building). The font appears to be of the thirteenth century; its lead lining has an indent of the cross fylfot, or potent repotent. Over the chancel arch is a framed oil-painting presented of late years—The Holy Family, by Camillo Procaccini. Tracing church fabrics back to their wooden origins is perhaps a novelty; but now and again, even in large examples, some feature has survived which enables this to be done.

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I happen to possess a number of documents relating to the Sussex musters in 1618 and following years. They consist of the papers of the muster-master, Captain Matthew Parker. He was the second son of Matthew Parker, who was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and died in 1575. Among the papers is an account of the revenue of the Archbishopric in his time, and of the considerable estate in lands, money, &c., left by the Archbishop. It is pointed out in the account that this estate was of less value than those of Archbishops Grindal and Whitgift, but the compiler seems to consider that the Archbishop's piety was adequately rewarded, for at the end of a list of "what his eldest son had by him," the compiler has written:—

By al w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>vidence and mercy of God appereth towards  
al soche as put their trust in him as their staff.

But the most important of the papers are those which relate to Captain Parker's proceedings in Sussex. These consist chiefly of certain accounts and lists of names, which are no doubt in his hand-writing; days and places appointed for the assembling of the forces; lists of defaulters; letters to the muster-master from important men in the county; and instructions written and signed by deputy-lieutenants and others to the constables of certain hundreds.

Firstly, there are twelve sheets, which obviously formed part of a notebook, very neatly begun, but, as often happens, not continued with the same precision. Captain Parker begins by setting out that there are six Rapes in the County of Sussex—

|          |   |                          |
|----------|---|--------------------------|
| Hastings | } | the three Eastern Rapes. |
| Pevensay |   |                          |
| Lewes    |   |                          |

|            |   |                          |
|------------|---|--------------------------|
| Bramber    | } | the three Western Rapes. |
| Arundel    |   |                          |
| Chichester |   |                          |

He was about to enumerate the hundreds in each rape, but did not persevere.

He sets down the names of the three Lords Lieutenant—the Earls of Nottingham, Arundel and Dorset—and of the four Deputy-Lieutenants—Sir Walter Covert, Sir Nicholas Parker, Sir Thomas Bishop and Sir John Sherley. Then follows the number of the county forces:—

Of foot soldiers in each rape 2 select companies and 2 unselect.

Of horse in each rape 50.

In every company selected or unselected 168 men.

So in each severall rape 672 men and for the whole shire 4,032.

Besides for the City of Chichester one foot company of 150 men.

We know from the West Sussex Protestation Returns, 1641-2,<sup>4</sup> that the adult male population of the three western rapes thirteen years later was a little over 13,000. We may therefore conclude that a muster of something over 2,000 men was by no means an excessive or unreasonable call on the resources of West Sussex.

For his “entertainment” the Muster Master is to receive

|  | £     | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| From every select man 8 <sup>d</sup> . . . . | 67    | 4  | 0  |
| ” ” unselect man 4 <sup>d</sup> ..           | 33    | 12 | 0  |
| Of Chichester Co. . . . .                    | 2     | 15 | 0  |
|  | <hr/> |    |    |
|  | 103   | 11 | 0  |

not counting the horse, for which no entry is made.

On the verso of the same leaf are set forth the musters of this year, with the dates, places and names of the captains:—

| 1618      | Musters taken in Sussex |            |                              |
|-----------|-------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
|           | Rapes                   |            |                              |
| August 31 | } Hasting               | at Battell | Sel: Sr Jo. Wildgose         |
| Septeb 1  |                         |            | M <sup>r</sup> Walt. Roberts |
|           |                         |            | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> Ant: May |
|           |                         |            | M <sup>r</sup> Ri: Alfry     |

<sup>4</sup> Sussex Record Society, Vol. V., edited by R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.

|                      |               |                     |   |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------------|---|
| Sept: 2 }<br>3 }     | Pemsey        | at Alfrisson        | Sel: S <sup>r</sup> Ed. Burton<br>M <sup>r</sup> Fran: Jeffery                |
|                      |               |                     | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Crow<br>M <sup>r</sup> Jo: French          |
| Sept: 4 }<br>5 }     | Lewes         | At Dichling         | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> Tho: Sherley<br>M <sup>r</sup> Ric: Scrase                |
|                      |               |                     | Sel: S <sup>r</sup> Ben: Pellet<br>M <sup>r</sup> Jo: Stapley                 |
| Sept: 7 }<br>8 }     | Bramber       | Foilesfeild         | Sel: Mr. Tho: Middleton<br>M <sup>r</sup><br>M <sup>r</sup><br>M <sup>r</sup> |
| Sept: 9 }<br>10 }    | Arundell      | Bury Hill           | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> Miles<br>M <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Edmonds            |
|                      |               |                     | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> Ric: Standley<br>M <sup>r</sup> Hen: Hobš                 |
| Sept: 11 }<br>12 }   | Chichester    | Broylheath          | Sel: S <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Fourd<br>S <sup>r</sup> Geo: Gunter        |
|                      |               |                     | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> Rog: Michell<br>M <sup>r</sup> Tho: Bickley               |
| Sept: 12             | Chichester    | Citty               | Sel: M <sup>r</sup> Ed: Lawranc   |
| Sept: 15 }<br>Hors } | Pemsey Rape   | at Ucfild           | }   |
|                      |               | the 3 Estern Rapes  |   |
| Sept: 18 }           | Arundell Rape | at Bury Hill        | }   |
|                      |               | the 3 Western Rapes |   |

Then follow rules for the musters of the select bands :

20 Novemb: 1618 Delivered y<sup>e</sup> Er. of D<sup>r</sup>set.

For the Musters of the Select Bands.

1. That each Company be made even in number.
2. For the better ordering and instructinge of every Company: that each Company be distributed into Squadrons and files. Every 40 to have a Corporall, and under him 3 Leders: and each Leder to have 9 beside him selfe. And so to be ordered that each souldier may know his place in the file: And so to be chosen as the file may be made up of such men as dwell nearest together.
3. The corporalls and leders to be the most able and active freeholders.
4. So far as it is convenient each man to serve with his owne armes.

5. The day before every general muster the leders of each file with the corporals and sarjants of the Companies next day to be mustered to be assembled in some indifferent place to be exercised by the Muster M<sup>r</sup> from 1 of the clock in the afternoon untill 5 whereby they may be the next day the better able to instruct the rest of the file. That after such instructions given the captains of each deviation may have liberty that their Companies may be exercised by files in their severall hundreds and parishes not exceeding — at one meeting nor fewer than one file. The Captain, Lef<sup>t</sup> or Antient beinge in person with them.

It appears from contemporary evidence that even these brief trainings were not taken very seriously. They seem to furnish an example of the hereditary inclination of the English people to flavour both business and pleasure with an excess of ale. Colonel Ward, in his *Animadversions of War*, written in 1639, complained that the meetings were treated as "matters of disport and things of no moment." "As trainings are now used," he added, "we shall, I am sure, never be able to make one good soldier; for our custom and use is, nowadays, to cause our Companies to meet on a certain day, and by that time the arms be all viewed, and the Muster-Master hath had his pay (which is the chiefest thing many times he looks after) it draws towards dinner time. . . . Wherefore after a little careless hurrying over of their postures, with which the Companies are nothing bettered, they make them charge their muskets, and so prepare to give their Captain a brave volley of shot at his entrance into his inn; where, after having solaced themselves for a while after this brave service, every man repairs home, and that which is not so well taught them is easily forgotten before the next training." The god they worshipped in their training, as another writer put it, was not Mars but Bacchus.

But the right stuff was there, and only a few years later than the time with which I am dealing Cromwell's New Model showed what could be achieved by efficient training and strict discipline. One page of the note-book is occupied with Captain Parker's accounts for the musters of 1620.



He appears to have received £88. 13s. 4d., or about £15 less than he had estimated, and to have expended some £15 and to have "brought home" £72. 19s. 1d. This was apparently his personal profit on the business. The rest of the book is occupied with a list of names—about 430 in all—under different hundreds, of men mustered in September, 1620.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the leaves of his note book, Captain Parker's papers include a number of miscellaneous letters and accounts referring to musters from 1619 to 1623. Of the letters the first is from Sir Walter Covert, of Slaugham, one of the Deputy-Lieutenants. It suggests that the Lords Lieutenant were making some special demand that the musters should be regarded more seriously than had recently been the case and that Sir Walter found their insistence a little troublesome.

1619.

12 April. To the wor<sup>ll</sup> my verie lovinge friende Captaine Matthew Parker at the Bishop's Pallace in Canterbury w<sup>th</sup> speede

After my verie hartie comendations these are to lett you understande that wee have perfected the generall certificate of all the forces of this County both of horse and foote, as we founde the same at this last muster and review of armes and are ever ready to sende it to the ll. lieutenant together with our letters to their ll<sup>ps</sup> wherein wee signifie that besides that certificate we have reduced all the footebandes both selected and unselected in our rape under their severall captaines and under officers and have put them into fyles and inrolled them by indentures with the names of every person that doth finde anie of the weapons and those that served therewith being of the better sort as neere as we could making mention in our said letters to their ll<sup>ps</sup> that wee have delivered one part of those indentures to your selfe, and the other part wee keepe in our custodie; w<sup>ch</sup> we have allmost finished and will w<sup>th</sup> all speede sende unto you accordingly but because we are uncertaine whether you maie have anie occasion to repaire unto their ll<sup>ps</sup> before you shall receive these severall indentures, wee doe earnestlie entreate you to acknowledge soe muche that yf their ll<sup>ps</sup> should require to see them that you will make some excuse and delaye untill you shall receive them from us w<sup>ch</sup> wee will hasten with all conveniente speede; and thus much I have undertaken in the name of the reste to write unto you herein; hastelie I take my leave and reste.

Your verie lovinge frende assured

Slaugham this 12th  
of Aprill 1619.

Wa: Covert.

<sup>5</sup> As the list is fragmentary and incomplete, and many names are erased, it does not seem worth while to print it.

The following letter from Sir Nicholas Parker, of Willingdon, to Captain Parker, dated 26th July, 1619, not in itself important, is interesting because the writer, the head of one of the most ancient families in Sussex, addresses the Archbishop's son as "Good Cosin" and subscribes himself "Your kinsman and friende verie assured." Now the Archbishop was the son of a cloth-maker of Norwich, and in a MS. pedigree of the Sussex family, signed Wm. Camden, the herald and historian, which I possess, there is no hint of any such connection, and it is very improbable. Doubtless the social and political importance of Archbishops was so great that the head of a leading county family was glad to claim a cousinship with one:—

1619. Good Cosin, yo<sup>r</sup> servant came w<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> letter in verie fitt tyme, for the same day I received from S<sup>r</sup> John Shurley letters lately sent downe from the lords of ye Counsell to the lords lieutenants, and likewise from the lords lieutenants to us their deputies, for apointinge fitt tymes to trayne and disciplyne the bands of our Countie of Sussex before the ende of this Somer; and therefore the 29 of thys Julie (wh. will be Thursday next) we have apointed to mete at Slaugham Sir Water Coverts house, to have conference and consideration whate tyme and dayes will be fittest for pformance of that service; and so sone as we have agreed upon the dayes you shall shortlie be advertised thereof; but my opynion is, harvest will be ended before that service be apointed to begin. This with my kynde salutation and good wishes, I shall be glad to se you in Sussex. Hastelie scribbled the 26 of Julie 1619. By your kinsman and frende verie assured

Nicholas Parker.

My sonne Thomas Parker comends him gratelie to you.

To my worthie frende and kinsman Captaine Mathewe Parker musterm<sup>t</sup> of Sussex.

The following instructions to the Constables of Shoyswell (in the Rape of Hastings, containing only the parish of Ticehurst) are of the same year:—

To the Constables of the Hundred of Shoyswell.

Whereas the Lords Leieutents of this County have lately sent their Letters to their deputie Leieutents who have directed their letters unto us, for musters to be had and veiue to be taken of all the forces w<sup>h</sup>in this rape, And for the certifyinge of all defects therein. These are therefore in his Ma<sup>ty</sup> name to require & charge you to give warninge to all those which we charged to finde any Armor or furniture

to make their personall apparance before the said deputie Liuetenants and us at Battell on Tuseday the 14<sup>th</sup> of September next by eyght of the clock in the morning with their Armor very well fitted and Compleate . . . [deest] . . . charged, & any Shott to have halfe a pound of powder Six Bullets & A Roll of Match, there to bee trayned & to bringe the muster m<sup>rs</sup> wages, whereof if any fail we are to certifie their names to the said Lords Leiuetenants of this County who will cause them to receive punishm<sup>t</sup> accordinge to their deserts. Hereof fayle you not at y<sup>r</sup> pill. Given under o<sup>r</sup> hands this fiffthe day of August 1619.

John Wildegos. Jhon Sackvill. Anth: Apsley.

The following very peremptory letter to the Constables of the Hundred of Dill (Rape of Pevensey), written in July, 1622, indicates that the attendance at the musters of the previous year had been very inadequate:—

1622. To the Constables of the hundred of Dill & to everye of them.

Wee have latlie received letters from the Deputie Leiuf tents of this countie, mentioninge letters from the ll<sup>ds</sup> Leiuf tents of the same, signifying that they have received from the ll<sup>ds</sup> of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> privie counsell for the mustering of all the forces of this countie both of horse and foote: whereby their ll<sup>ps</sup> did expecte y<sup>t</sup> after soe longe continuance of yeerlie musters that all the bands before this time had been made soe perfecte that it would have proved a great ease both to us & the countie; which fell out otherwise for the last yeere, as appeareth by a certificate of manie defaulters both in the horse and foot bands. And their ll<sup>ps</sup> did wonder to see soe little respecte had of their serious admonitions from the state continued from yeere to yeere, w<sup>ch</sup> wee did usuallie acquainte you w<sup>th</sup>, for the suppliinge of such Defects, or of the service it selfe soe importante, for the good of the Kingdome, especiallie in the troubled times of other countries about us, the thought whereof stirreth men to a better consideration of their safetie: And therefore their ll<sup>ps</sup> doe signifie unto the said Deputie Leiuf tents their expresse purposses, that yf they shall find such neglecte still contineweth either in the horse or foot bands in the countie, upon information given to their ll<sup>ps</sup> by the said Deputies (w<sup>ch</sup> they cannott omitt upon just cause) their ll<sup>ps</sup> will call upon them in such a manner as shall bring everye Defaulter to a better knowledge of their Duties, w<sup>ch</sup> the Deputie Leiuf tenants are unwillinge should light upon anie of them; these are therefore by vertue of the sd. letters and in Discharge of our Dutie plane in that behalfe to require and in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> name to chardge & command you & everye of you within the s<sup>d</sup> hundred to give presente warninge to all within the same as find Corsletts, Musketts, Dril Pikes or oth<sup>r</sup> foote armor either for the selected or unselected bands within the said hundred, with their armor compleatlie furnished w<sup>th</sup> fitt men to serve therew<sup>th</sup> yf their selves be insufficient & that everye Musketeir doe bringe w<sup>th</sup> him one pound of powder, a rowll of match & some bullets, & to appeere before the Deputie

Leiuftenants & us at Uckfield on Wendsdaye & Thursdaye the last of Julie & first of August nexte by eight of the clocke in the forenoone the last of Julie and there to be called, trayned & disciplined both by the Captaines and Musterm<sup>r</sup> who will be there presente to attend that service, & that everye one doe bring w<sup>th</sup> him the Muster Masters entertainment accordinge to former directions as well for this yeere as alsoe for that was behind the last yeere, & that they doe make paym<sup>t</sup> thereof to the Clarke of everye band and not to trouble the times of the Master: And whereas the ll<sup>ds</sup> Leiuftents doe signifie that the Defaults in the horse Companies did in the last yeere returne most apparentlie appeare, manie of them coveringe their neglect w<sup>th</sup> a pretence that they had not order settled for their arminge after the modderne use w<sup>ch</sup> their ll<sup>ps</sup> will not yett alter from the former uses, but will have them shew their sufficient horses w<sup>th</sup> fitt riders and such furnitures as they now have in readinesse: And as touchinge the question heretofor moved to their ll<sup>ps</sup> about the Captaines of y<sup>e</sup> horses, whether they shall be charged w<sup>th</sup> anie furniture for the footbands, or the foot Captaines for the horsebands, their ll<sup>ps</sup> pleasure therein is, that the Captaines of the horsbands shall find furniture in the foote companies, & the Captaines of the foote companies shall find furniture in the horse companies according to former order & directons in the behalfe: And touchinge the horsbands these are alsoe to require you & everye of you to give warninge to all those y<sup>t</sup> find eith<sup>r</sup> launces or lighthorses within that hundred y<sup>t</sup> they make their personal appaerance before the Deputie Leiuftents & us at Peltdowne upon Thursday the xv<sup>th</sup> daye of August next by eight of the clocke in the forenoone, with their horses compleatlie furnished w<sup>th</sup> fitt riders according to former directions there to be veiued & trayned togeth<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> thother horse bands of Lewes & Hastings rapes on that daye: And also you the Constables to be presente at the dayes of Musteringe both of foote and horse, & to bring a certaine certificate of anie remove w<sup>th</sup>in yo<sup>r</sup> liberties eith<sup>r</sup> by Death or otherwise, as alsoe the names of all such as are come into yo<sup>r</sup> hundred since the last muster, fitt to be charged eith<sup>r</sup> for foote or horse, that the defects may be supplied & the bands made perfecte. In the due performance hereof faile you not as you will answer the contrarie at yo<sup>r</sup> uttermost perill. Given und<sup>r</sup> o<sup>r</sup> hands & seales the first of Julie 1622.

Thomas Pelham. John Shurley. Robert Morley.

The last of the papers is a list of defaulters in four of the Rapes at the musters of 1623. In Chichester Rape there were four, including Sir John Chapman, Kt. (a corslet and a musket); in Arundel Rape 34; in Bramber Rape 24; and in Lewes Rape seven, including Sir Edward Bellingham (a corslet and a musket) and Mr. Bisse, of Brighthelmston (a musket). Mr. Bisse seems to have been a troublesome fellow. On January 27th, 1620, the Deputy Lieutenants reported to the Lords

Lieutenant that there were improvements in the musters owing to defaulters having been called to account: "John Bish of Brighthelmstone always contemptuously refuses to attend the musters and his example does harm."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cal. D.S.P., James I., cxii., 37.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

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The Editor will be glad to receive short Notes on Discoveries and Matters of Interest relating to the Antiquities and History of the County, for insertion in the "Collections," such communications to be addressed to him at The Castle, Lewes.

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No. 1.

### THE HUNDRED OF EASTBOURNE.

There has recently come to light a document which forms an important supplement to Mr. Hudson's papers on "The Hundred of Eastbourne" (Vol. XLII., pp. 180-208) and "The Manor of Eastbourne" (Vol. XLIII., pp. 166-200). It is a return of an Inquisition made, apparently, in 1253 and, in any case, after the death of Ralf, Bishop of Chichester, who had held Eastbourne, and who died in 1244.<sup>1</sup> It is much fuller than the Extent on the Bishop's death, which was printed by Mr. Hudson (Vol. XLIII., pp. 186-7).

It is returned in this document<sup>2</sup> that "the heirs of Ralph de Esthally ought to hold 3 virgates in the said manor at a yearly rent of 20s., doing suit for the lord of Burne at the County Court of Sussex and finding an alderman for the hundred (*ad hundredum*) of Burne for the whole town of Burne." This is an extremely important statement and relates to that "Esthall" holding which was one, as Mr. Hudson has shown (Vol. XLII., pp. 191-207),<sup>3</sup> of the six "boroughs" of Eastbourne. For the mention of an "Alderman" as the officer of the Hundred, in this district, reference should be made to Mr. Cooper's paper on "The Hundred of Swanborough," which had three "boroughs."<sup>4</sup> The "Alderman" of that Hundred received, by custom, a certain number of sheaves of wheat "as a recompense of his paynes and in satisfaction of those moneys which he disburseth for the Hundred at the Shiriffes Torne twice every year." The antiquity of such a custom as this is obvious.

Another interesting statement is that of the villein's duty to provide carriage (*afragium*) "twice a year," at the lord's desire, "between the port of Pevenese and Sefford."<sup>5</sup>

The elaborate provision, in this return, for the management of the sheep flock is specially noteworthy. The earlier return (1244) speaks of four shepherds,<sup>6</sup> but gives no details. This later one tells us that "in the time of Maurice de Craon<sup>7</sup> ('Croum') four shepherds used to

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on "The descent of the Manor of Eastbourne," in *S.A.C.*, Vol. LV., pp. 307-310.

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellaneous Inquisitions* (1916), Vol. I., pp. 63-4.

<sup>3</sup> See also Vol. XLIII., p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. XXIX., p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLIII., for the road involved.

<sup>6</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLIII., p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> See *S.A.C.*, Vol. LV., pp. 308, 310.

keep 600 wethers and four hundred ewes; the shepherds were bound to find the 600 wethers for the lord's fold, but if the lord required the 400 ewes he found 6d. to buy each," &c., &c. The late Professor Maitland attached considerable importance to this right of the lord, which occurs frequently as *soca faldæ* in the Domesday Survey of East Anglia. "The man," he wrote, "must not have a fold of his own; his sheep must lie in the lord's fold. It is manure that the lord wants; the demand for manure has played a large part in the history of the human race."<sup>8</sup> At Eastbourne "they had to manure the lord's demesne from Hock-day to the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle" (21st December), but for part of the year "they had a fold to manure their own land."

J. H. ROUND.

<sup>8</sup> *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 76-7, 91.

No. 2.

THOMAS TURNER, OF KEYMER.

In looking through the *Collections* of the Society I find in Vol. XIII. an article by the Rev. T. Hutchins, rector of Ditchling, in which, on p. 252, I read:—

"Sonne of Thomas Turner who departed this life the 2nd of February, 1667." "He was incumbent of Keymer and Clayton, 'having begun his Rectory,' according to a memorandum entered in one of the Keymer Register Books, 'the 20th of November, 1653.'"

This is all wrong; the said Thomas Turner was only *Registrar*, as is shown by the following Note inserted in the Register (No. 1) of Keymer Church, for a copy of which I am indebted to the Rev. H. C. Bond, vicar of Keymer and Clayton:—

Whereas the inhabitants of the parish of Keymer have chosen Thomas Turner to be register for the sayde parish and to keepe the booke for regestring of all the publications, marrages birthes and burialls in the sayde parrish these are to nowtiffe that the sayde Thomas Turner hath bin sworn and aprooved of by me (one of the justices of the peace for the county of Sussex) to be register of the parish afforesayde upon the 3rd of Dēber 1653 in testimony where of I have heereunto sett my name

HENRY SHELLEY

N.B.—Magnus Byne was Rector of Clayton-cum-Keymer from 1640 to 1671, during which period he kept his baptismal register continuously, but most of the records of marriages and burials were kept apparently in another book by Thomas Turner.

No marriages were entered in the Keymer book between 1643 and 1653; four were entered in 1654 below the note appointing Th. Turner to be Registrar, but none others until 1661.

Baptisms were entered every year except 1649-50-52-55 and 57 and 59, but they evidently were not inserted systematically and probably some of them from memory after the Rector had regained possession of the book.

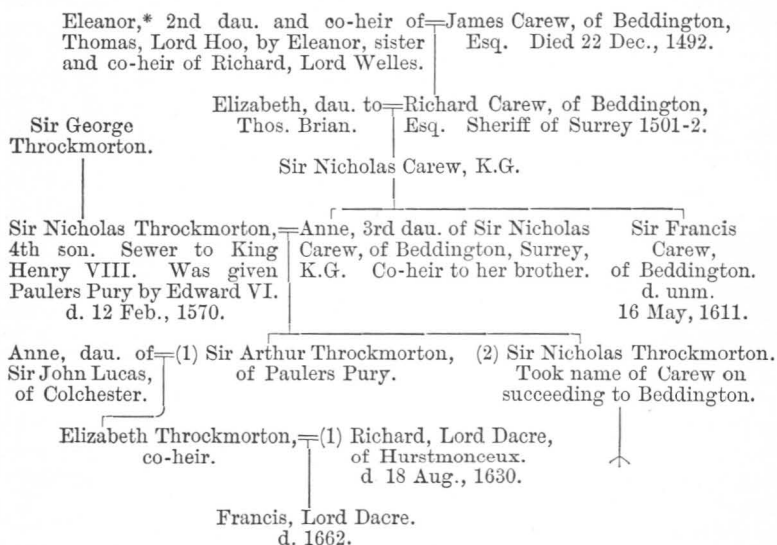
Thomas Turner's entries appear only in 1653-4 and 5.

C. J. BEETLESTONE.

## No. 3.

*THE LORDS DACRE AND THEIR HOO QUARTERINGS.*

In his valuable paper on "Herstmonceux Church and the Dacre Tomb," Mr. Ray has reproduced the wonderful quartered coat prepared for Thomas, Lord Dacre (d. 1786), by Joseph Edmondson, Moubray Herald, and invites explanation of the presence therein of the Hoo coat and quarterings.<sup>1</sup> To those who are familiar with the system on which these monstrous coats were produced by the heralds it is not a very difficult task. Francis, Lord Dacre, of Herstmonceux, was the son and successor of Richard, Lord Dacre, by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, of Paulerspury, Northants, a marriage which accounts for all the shields in the great quartered coat from 73 to 96, both inclusive. For Sir Arthur's mother was a daughter and co-heir of Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, whose grandfather, James Carew, had married a daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Hoo. In virtue of this descent, the Lords Dacre became, in the seventeenth century, co-heirs of Lord Hoo, and entitled as such to quarter his arms. I have drawn out a chart pedigree to make the matter clearer.



\* She seems to have brought the manor of Wartling to her Carew husband.

With regard to the quarterings, those for Carew are 79-85. These are also found in the coat of sixteen quarters with which (as with a spurious pedigree) Sir Peter Carew was fitted out by the heralds in the days of Queen Elizabeth. I have dealt with these in a paper on

<sup>1</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. LVIII., pp. 58, 61-3.



“The Origin of the Carews.”<sup>2</sup> For the Hoo quarterings (86 *et seq.*) we may turn to the important paper on “The Hoo Family,” in *S.A.C.*, Vol. VIII., and to Mr. Hamilton Hall’s paper on “The Pedigree of Hoo,”<sup>3</sup> where he is naturally incredulous as to the “Earl of Andeville” (No. 87).

Unfortunately, Mr. Ray’s account of the arms of Sir Thomas Hoo, Lord Hoo’s half-brother, is not only inaccurate, but impossible. He says of them:—

The arms borne by Thomas Hoo, his half-brother, and shown on his seal, of which an engraving is given in Vol. VIII., p. 126, of our *Collections*, would have been 1 and 4 Hoo (quarterly *sable* and *argent*), 2 and 3 Welles (or a lion rampant *sable*), and over all on an escutcheon St. Omer (*azure* a fess between 6 cross-crosslets *or*). The Welles lion is said to have been double queued, but this is not the case either on the seal or on the effigy on the south side (p. 50).

This is not so. Mr. Ray’s careful drawing of the coat shows that he correctly describes it on the page (p. 49) facing the illustration as “a chief and over all a lion rampant.” There is no chief in the Welles coat. Moreover, it is impossible that Sir Thomas Hoo’s coat could include a quartering for Welles. For the Welles co-heiress was the wife of his *brother*, Lord Hoo, so that he had nothing to do with her. There has been much confusion on the family pedigree, for which Dugdale was originally responsible, but this much, at least, is clear. The coat that we should have expected Sir Thomas Hoo to quarter for distinction would be that of his own mother, the only one which he could quarter and his half-brother could not. But she is said to have been an Echingham. The coat for her house was wholly different. Papworth’s *Armorial* (pp. 87-8) does not help us to identify the quartered coat.

J. H. ROUND.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancestor*, No. 5, pp. 42-6.

<sup>3</sup> *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLV., pp. 186-197.

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No. 4.

*BRITISH SILVER COIN FOUND AT SELSEY.*

The following letter, printed in the *Chichester Observer* of 28th June, 1916, deserves a place in our *Collections*, in view of the unusual nature of the find:—

Sir,—It is obvious that the silver coins of the early Britons must be much rarer than the gold, by the fact that silver perishes by oxidation, whilst gold does not. I have recorded many “finds” of gold coins of the years B.C.—B.C. 50, which are of the large dilapidated Stater type, and several of the small inscribed type dating from B.C. 50—A.D. 50, three at least of which were, and are, unedited and undescribed—but I have only found two silver coins in ten years. The second, a coin of Tincommius, which has just made its appearance, is very much worn, but has been identified by Dr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of Coins and medals at the British Museum, as identical with one described by Evans in *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (Suppl. (1890) p. 506, Pl. xix. fig. 2).

“Obv. Convex. beardless laureate, head to the left; behind, part of a star; Rev. Concave, bull, running to the left, his tail erect; above TIN; below, C. Silver 20·1 grains.”

The Selsey specimen is so worn that it only weighs 13·4 grains. The head on this coin is probably the same as that of the silver coins of Epillus, and the bull is probably derived from a Roman denarius of L. Thorius Balbus. The great interest attaching to this coin, which I have presented to the British Museum, is that its locus of origin—Selsey—is known. The only other specimen in the National collection is of unknown provenance.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD HERON ALLEN.

No. 5.

*A CASE OF BLACK MAGIC.*

The Vicar of a West Sussex parish sends the following interesting account of a remarkable survival of superstition in his parish. For various reasons it is not considered advisable to indicate the exact place of its occurrence:—

“A parishioner of — had been in ill-health for some years. She suffered from delusions and often told me that her husband was giving her a slow poison. In January, 1916, she showed me a rude figure cut out of a turnip. She pointed out two pins stuck into that part which represented the chest. She told me her husband had made it with the object of her suffering in the same places. She complained much of pains in the chest and finally died of diabetes in July, 1916.

“Is not this an interesting survival of a very common mediæval and more ancient belief?”

[The Editor would be glad to hear of similar instances of this or other superstitions occurring in Sussex].

No. 6.

*THE ANNE FORSTER GRAVE-SLAB.*

A specimen of the above has recently come to light at Fulling Mill Cottages, Ardingly. Although broken, it is particularly interesting, as being found on the site of Mr. Chaloner's forge, mentioned in the return of 1574 (*S.A.C.*, Vol. III., p. 242).

Anne Forster was a direct descendant of Richard Wakehurst, of Ardingly (d. 1454), through the marriage of his daughter Anne with John Gaynesford, of Crowhurst, Surrey.

It would be interesting to prove that all these fire-back grave-slabs were cast in Ardingly. In addition to the many already recorded, there are specimens at Stonelands, West Hoathly (*in situ*) and at Hurst-an-Clays, East Grinstead. A list is given in Prof. Starkie Gardner's article on Sussex iron (*Archæologia*, Vol. X.). Can anyone inform me which of the many Leighs is intended in his list? I cannot trace one at Leigh, Surrey.

Regarding the mistakes in the "F's" and "S's," it may be of interest to put on record that a fire-back exists at Edmund's Farm, Balcombe, close to the above forge, with the impossible date of 1279. It bears the Arms of England prior to 1603, and one can only suppose that a "2" was inserted in mistake for "5." This fire-back was originally at Naylands.

Are there any records of the S.A.S. meeting at Ardingly in October, 1864? If so, I should be grateful for details of the Roman road, which according to the *Illustrated London News* of October 15th, 1864, was regarded by the members with much "curiosity."

MARY S. HOLGATE,  
Ardingly.

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No. 7.

*ERRATUM.*

Vol. LVIII.—Additions to the Library and Museum during the year 1915, read:—

Mr. J. C. Stenning and Mr. Alan H. Stenning,  
Stewards' Accounts of Buckhurst Estate for 15 years, dated 1696 to 1704, 1706 to 1711.

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