

PEVENSEY CASTLE GUARD AND ENDLEWICK RENTS

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AT the time of the compilation of Domesday Book the lordship of Pevensey Rape was held by Robert, Count of Mortain. A large proportion of the lands within the rape was held of the Count by other persons, the remainder being retained by the Count as his demesne. Coming back into the king's hands in 1101 by the forfeiture of William, Count of Mortain, Robert's son and successor, the lordship of the Rape was granted to Gilbert de Aquila and, with intervals of varying duration when it was temporarily resumed by the king, it remained in the de Aquila family until the death of a later Gilbert de Aquila in or prior to 1232.¹ Owing to this family association the name, the Honour of Aquila, became permanently attached to the lordship of Pevensey and the manors held thereof.

The grant to Gilbert de Aquila did not extend to all the manors formerly held of the Mortains as mesne lords, nor did it include those which they had themselves held in demesne; some of these became attached to the Honour of Leicester and were held in 1264 of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, as mesne lord;² others were granted by the king to various persons to be held in chief.

HECKAGE AND CASTLE GUARD

It will be obvious that when the lords of the Sussex Rapes established castles in their respective domains some provision for their maintenance and defence became necessary, and the responsibility for this to some extent was placed upon those who held lands within the rapes. In regard to maintenance the service exacted seems to have been concerned mainly with the enclosure of the

¹ For the later history of the rape see *S.A.C.* XLIX. 2-6.

² *Cal. of Misc. Inquisitions*, I. 2030.

stronghold or keep of the castle. At Bramber Castle the service had to do with stone walls and it is called 'murage'. At Pevensey, as Mr. Salzman has shown (*S.A.C.* XLIX. 3), the obligation was connected with the maintenance of the 'hay' or palisade on the earthen rampart forming the inner bailey of the castle, and the service is called 'heckage'.

The distribution of this responsibility in Pevensey Rape may be gathered from the names of the various holders of fees within the rape who in 1254 compounded with Peter of Savoy, then lord of Pevensey, for the release of their service by the payment of 12 marks for each heckage.¹ The names, to which we have added the probable fee or group of fees concerned, are given in the Appendix to this paper, and by a comparison with the other lists in the Appendix it appears that the names are nearly all of persons holding fees that were also chargeable with the service of castle guard. But there are possible exceptions, for Heighton, Beddingham, and Birling, whose holders occur in the heckage agreement, do not seem to have been liable for castle guard.

In regard to the defence of Pevensey Castle we find that there was due from most of the manors within the rape a yearly payment of 6s. 8d. on each knight's fee for castle guard. It is not clear whether this was a commutation of an earlier personal service, but, if so, the commutation must have been made as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. In a rental of Tilton and Otham (later the possessions of Bayham Abbey) in the Bodleian Library, printed by Mr. Salzman in his *History of Hailsham* and dated by him at about 1200, this due of 6s. 8d. is mentioned. A fine in 1242² dealing with this service leaves room for the suggestion that the money rent was due as well as the personal service. The fine is between the Prior of Lewes and William, son of Robert de Horsted, concerning the service which William claimed from the prior, i.e. 5s. yearly for castle guard and 25s. for sheriff's

¹ *Curia Regis Rolls*, 151, m. 18. The holders of fees in Bramber Rape, in 1270, compounded for both castle guard and murage at 12 marks for each knight's fee. *Sussex Fines* (Sussex Record Soc. VII), 721-6.

² *Ibid.* ii. 414.

aid and the finding of a horse of the value of 40s. for 40 days when castle guard had to be rendered in person. The prior, for a payment of 3 marks, was relieved of the part of his service that related to the finding of a horse. This may have been only a rearrangement between the parties following a commutation of personal service which made the provision of a horse no longer necessary.

In vol. XLII of our Collections the Rev. W. Hudson discussed in detail the knights' fees held of the Honour of Mortain and Aquila as they appear in three records, viz. : (i) Richer de Aquila's Carta of 1166 ; (ii) a list in the *Testa de Neville*, 1242 ;¹ and (iii) a list of Knights' Fees, 1302-3.² The first two of these lists comprise only the 35½ fees that were granted to the de Aquilas after the Mortain forfeiture. List (iii) includes, in addition, 5⅓ fees that were held in chief and 6 fees of the Honour of Leicester, representing—in part, at all events—Mortain fees. The total of these fees is 46½ and ⅓, whereas in a fine of the rape between the king and Peter of Savoy in 1260 it is stated that there are 63 fees in the county of Sussex belonging to the Honours of Aquila and Leicester.³

We give in an Appendix to this paper a copy of a list—believed to be the only one in existence—of the manors and lands chargeable with castle-guard rents and the amounts due in 1364-5, the total being £22 10s. At 6s. 8d. for each knight's fee this represents 67½ fees, but in the case of one of the manors, Charlaxton (i.e. Charleston in West Firle), which is charged with 50s., there seems to be either an over-assessment, or fees outside Sussex must be included, and, if 4 fees are allowed for this, we have as nearly as possible the number of fees mentioned in the grant to Peter of Savoy. It appears from this list that the manors which were held by the Mortains in demesne remained exempt from castle-guard service, even when at a later date they had ceased to be held by the lords of the honour, which suggests that the imposition of this service dates back to the time of the original grant of the lands to the various tenants.

¹ Since reissued as the *Book of Fees*, with dates from 1212 to 1242.

² Lay Subsidy, 189/2.

³ *Sussex Fines* (Sussex Record Soc. VII), 637.

LANDS OF THE WARDERS OF THE CASTLE

A further provision for the defence of the castle of Pevensey is revealed by Domesday Book, where certain lands are said to be held by the warders of the castle (*custodes castelli*). The lands were 2 hides in Borne (Eastbourne) and 3 hides and 20 acres in Ferle (West Firle near Lewes).¹ Both Eastbourne and Firle were demesne lands of the Counts of Mortain, and on their forfeiture they were not granted to the de Aquilas. It appears that these lands of the warders of the castle were treated as escheated lands, for when we next hear of them, in 1130, they are held at farm by William Fitz Richard, the grandson of Alvred, Robert of Mortain's butler, who is entered on the Pipe Roll for that year as accounting for 'the farm of the lands of the porters (*janitorum*) and warders (*vigilium*)'. He pays £19 4s. into the treasury and 16s. to the warder of the keep, making a total of £20.² From 1165 to 1169 the lands were in the king's hands, and the sheriff accounted for (a) 'the land of Richard Portarius', the render from which was ultimately fixed at £4 6s. a year, and (b) 'the land of the warders of Pevensel and of Montagu'.³

Dealing first with the D.B. 2 hides in Borne, we identify them with the Pipe Roll (a) 'the land of Richard Portarius', and we have no doubt that they are represented by the thirteenth-century holding of the Brade or Brode family in Eastbourne and Westham, who held in chief by the service of guarding the outer gate of Pevensey Castle.

Among the Lewes Priory charters is one by Richard Portarius de Pevensell granting to the priory, with the assent of his wife Cecily and his heir Robert, that the waters of the sea may have free course and recourse to the priory mill of Langney through the marsh of the said Richard in the neighbourhood of the said mill.⁴ This charter may be dated by the witnesses at about 1160-5,

¹ S.D.B. X a, 30, and XI a, 17.

² *Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I*, p. 68.

³ Pipe Rolls of these dates.

⁴ Duchy of Lancs., Misc. Bk. 112. (See also *S.A.C.* xxxv. 123.)

so it was probably made just before the lands of Richard came into the king's hands.

The lands of Richard Portarius ceased to be accounted for by the sheriff in 1173, and an explanation of what then happened is supplied by the terms of a grant made twenty-eight years later. This was a grant in 1201 by King John to Henry de Palerne of 'the custody of the gate of our castle of Pevensey' to be held 'by the service which John de Palerne his brother did to King Richard our brother and to the lord king our father'.¹ From this it appears that John de Palerne was holding this fee or office in the time of Henry II, that is before 1189 at the latest, and, if we are right in connecting this office with that previously held by Richard Portarius, the grant to John de Palerne will give the reason for the issues of the lands no longer appearing in the sheriff's accounts. Ayloff's *Cartae Antiqua*, p. 14, mentions a grant by Richard I to John de Palerne of the 'fee of the gate of Pevensel', and adds: 'He also granted to the same John the custody of the gate of the castle of Pevensey.'

Henry de Palerne, in 1209, paid 5 marks for having seisin of the serjeanty which belonged to the gate of Pevensey Castle as Henry (? John) his brother had it on the day he died.² From the *Book of Fees* (formerly called the *Testa de Neville*), p. 7, we learn that in 1212 Henry de Palerne was holding his tenement by the service of guarding the gate of Pevensey; and in the same record (p. 273), under date 1219, the particular gate is described as 'the gate outside the tower of the Bailey' (*portam extra turrim de Ballia*).

Returning for a moment to Richard Portarius, it will be noticed that his agreement with Lewes Priory was made with the consent of Robert his heir. There can be little doubt that it is the same Robert who as Robert Portarius is a witness to a grant by Sibyl de Dene to Lewes Priory (*ante* 1226)³ and as Robert Porter is a witness with Henry de Palerne and others to a charter of

¹ Printed *Rotuli cartarum*, p. 93.

² Pipe Roll, 10 John, quoted in Dodsworth MSS., Bodl. Lib.

³ *S.A.C.* xxxv. 121. Mr. Salzman assigns Sybil's death to the year 1226, *S.A.C.* LVIII. 181.

Robert de Ferles (c. 1230).¹ Finally, as Robert le Porter, in 1236 he quits claim to Henry de Palerne of and in 90 acres of land in Westham and 2 hides in Burne.² That these 2 hides are identical with the 2 hides named in Domesday Book as the holding of the *custodes castelli* in Borne can hardly be doubted, particularly as the lands held at a later date by the Brade family by the service of guarding the outer gate of Pevensey Castle comprised messuages, lands, and tenements both in Eastbourne and at Southey in Westham.³ Henry de Palerne gave to Hastings Priory the tithe of grain of his demesne lands of Langport (that being the name of the borowe of the Hundred of Eastbourne in which the 2 hides lay), reserving to the church of Bourne 2s. yearly.⁴

The Brade family must have succeeded the Palernes before 1278, for a record of that date states that 'Richard le Bod (*recte* Brode) holds 15 librates of land within the liberty of the Cinque Ports by the service of being the porter (*janitor*) of the outer (*forensice*) gate of the castle of Pevensey'.⁵ It is of interest to mention that just as there was a dealing with land between Robert Portarius and his successors, the Palernes, so there was a transaction between the Palerne family and Richard le Brade, although the lands may not be those that we have been considering. It was a grant by Helewis daughter of William Palerne to Richard le Brade of a messuage in Pevensey which came to her from her father or which might come to her by the death of her sisters (later named as Edith and Benedicta) and 2 acres of land in Pevensey and Westham. The witnesses include Philip de Hydenie, Robert de Estenovre, Giles de Hydenie, and Sir Robert Tut, Vicar of Hellingly.⁶

We need not follow further the devolution of these Eastbourne lands of the warders of the castle, which became the manor of Medes *alias* Brode, with its own view of frankpledge, entirely independent of the manor

¹ Compton Place Muniments.

² Sussex Fines, 336.

³ Inq. p.m., Philip le Brode, 4 Edw. II (1311).

⁴ S.A.C. XIII. 167.

⁵ Harl. MSS. 1192, f. 10 b, 11.

⁶ Compton Place muniments. For further particulars of the family of le Brade see *History of Hailsham*, p. 181.

of Eastbourne, the present owner being the Marquess of Hartington. We will only mention the service by which the lands were held at various dates, viz. *Inq. p.m.*, John le Brode 'guarding the outer gate of Pevensey Castle'. 1328, *Inq. ad quod damp.*, John de Shodewell: 'finding one man to guard the outer gate of Pevensey Castle'. 1442-3, Richard Shalston: 'by rent of 13s. 4d. to the outer gate of Pevensey Castle'. At this last date the lands in Westham, which had become separated from the Eastbourne 2 hides, were held by Sir Thomas Sackville by the rent of 17s. 6d. to the outer gate of Pevensey Castle.¹

THE LANDS OF THE WARDERS IN FIRLE

The identification of the warders' lands in Firle presents greater difficulty, partly because, after the Mortain forfeiture in 1101, the lands seem to have been divorced from any special castle service. But, having disposed of the warders' lands in Eastbourne, there should be no hesitation in recognizing the D.B. lands of the *custodes* in Firle as being the same as the Pipe Roll 'land of the *vigiles* of Pevensel and Muntagu' accounted for by the sheriff in 1165. The reference to 'de Muntagu', or as it appears later 'de Monte Acuto', must probably be dismissed as the result of confusion. Robert of Mortain the lord of Pevensey also had large estates in Somerset, including Biscopestone where his castle called Montagud was situated. Alvred the Butler was a considerable subtenant of these Somerset lands, among them 1½ hides near the castle.² There were also *portarii* of this castle who held 2 hides of land³ which seems to have escheated like the Eastbourne and Firle lands; possibly also William Fitz Alvred was holding these lands at farm in 1130-1 as well as the Sussex lands, but in 1164 the sheriff of Somerset accounts for the lands of the Montacute porters (called in the Pipe Roll '*vigiles*'),⁴ so there would seem to be no grounds for thinking that the Sussex Pipe

¹ Duchy of Lancs., Ministers' Accounts, No. 7117, Bdle. 442, m. 1.

² D.B. (Somerset), p. 93 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92 b.

³ Pipe Rolls, 1164-6.

Roll entry is concerned with anything but the land of the Pevensey warders. Some confirmation of this is also afforded by an entry in the same Pipe Roll of 1165 in the account for Kent, where Randolph de Broc, who was holding at farm the lands of the archbishopric of Canterbury, renders account of £9 14s. from 'the escheated lands of the *vigiles* of Pevensel', no mention being made of 'de Muntagu'. No explanation can be offered for the appearance of this item in the archbishopric account.¹ In the Pipe Roll for 1166 and subsequent years the Sussex entry runs: 'The farm of Hectone, land of the *vigiles*', &c.

Here it must be noted that the parish of Firle includes, besides Firle itself, the ancient townships of Heighton, Compton, and Charleston lying contiguously in an eastward direction and Preston Poynings on the west of Firle. Each of these townships became a separate manor and all, except Heighton, are given in Domesday Book in Totnore Hundred. Heighton (Hectone) only occurs in connexion with detached pieces of the manor lying in Hastings Rape, and the main part of the lands must be considered as included in the particulars of Ferles.

Now it is evident that the 'Hectone' of the Pipe Rolls stands for Heighton, but the exact identification of the warders' lands is complicated by the fact that both Compton and Charleston are sometimes mentioned in the records under the general heading of Hectone. The yearly issues from these Hectone lands, increased in 1167 from £20 to £22, continue to appear on the Pipe Rolls until 1169, but in that year only £11, for a half year's issues, was paid, the balance being accounted for 'in lands given to William Fitz John, £11 in Hecton, by the king's gift'. This can only mean that the lands hitherto in the king's hands had been granted to William Fitz John in the middle of the year of account. In 1185-6 this land, described as 'Heachton which was William Fitz John's' is back again in the king's hands, and the sheriff accounts for £13 0s. 2d. of the fixed farm and

¹ This was at the time when the Archbishop, Thomas Becket, had left his see owing to the trouble with Henry II.

75s. 10d. from the issues. In the following year he accounts for £21 10s. 5d., of which 20s. remained due from the Knights of the Temple for rent of land which they held in the same vill. In 1189 the sheriff accounts for the full issues of £22.¹ Then the lands disappear from the Pipe Rolls, evidently having been made again the subject of a royal grant. Without being beyond dispute, it seems very probable that the grantee in this case was Richard Fitz William, whose father, William Fitz Alvred, as we have seen, held the lands at farm prior to 1165. According to Mr. Salzman (*S.A.C.* LVII. 166) Richard Fitz William died in 1195, and in 1199 his son, John de Montacute, paid 400 marks to have (*inter alia*) an inquiry whether Richard his father was illegally disseised of the manor of Hectone and other lands. Mr. Salzman notes that he recovered these lands in 1201.² This manor later came to be known as Heighton St. Clere from the name of the family who held it from 1327 onwards, the St. Cleres being the direct descendants of Richard Fitz William and ancestors of Viscount Gage, the present owner. We conclude that this manor represents a part, if not the whole, of the lands in Firle held by the warders of the castle. An extent of the manor made in 1336, on the death of John St. Clere, gives its value as £25 11s. 3¼d.³ It should be observed that the manor did not pay castle guard.

COMPTON

As we have already stated, Compton was a township in Firle adjoining Heighton on the east. At the time of the Domesday Survey it was held by Robert, Count of Mortain, in demesne, so it is hardly possible that it can have formed part of the lands of the warders of the castle, but the association of Compton with Heighton makes it desirable to summarize its history.

We have no information as to the holder immediately after the Mortain forfeiture, but in 1165—at the same

¹ See the Pipe Rolls for these years.

² *Rot. de Finibus*, 117.

³ From a contemporary copy, Compton Place Muniments.

time that the Heighton lands were taken into the king's hands—Compton (Cuntona) was also seized, and the issues were accounted for by the sheriff until 1173-4.¹ At some date subsequently the manor must have come into the possession of the family of Fitz John, who, as we have seen, for a time held the Heighton lands of the warders, for when Compton was granted by Henry III to Theobald de Englecheville, along with lands in Devon belonging to Luke Fitz John, it is described as 'all the land which the said Luke held in the parish of Ferles in the county of Sussex which are our escheat from the lands of the Normans'.² Theobald de Englecheville gave Compton to the Knights Templars, and there is a charter—which, of course, must be previous to this gift—by which William Fitz John of Weston gave to the Templars 'all my land in Berewick which belonged to my manor of Hectone, namely the land which my lord king Henry gave me'.³

The reference in the last charter to Hectone (Heighton) is puzzling. The charter is apparently of the time of Henry III, and from one of the witnesses, Richard de Mucegros, it may be dated about 1235, but Heighton had been recovered by John de Montacute in 1201, and we can only imagine that Hectone here stands for Compton. At all events, lands in Berwick were so intimately and permanently associated with Compton that at a later date the manor came to be known as Compton Berwick otherwise Berwick St. John, the latter title arising from the long ownership by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, who succeeded to the estate on the suppression of the Templars.⁴ Compton was held from 1515 to 1542 by Sir John Gage under lease from the Hospitallers, and after their suppression the estate was bought by him from the Crown.⁵

¹ Pipe Rolls, 11-20 Hen. II.

² Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John, Cott. MSS. Nero E. 6, f. 164.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 150.

⁴ This manor is to be distinguished from Compton St. John in West Sussex, which owes its distinctive appellation to the ownership of the family of St. John. It is a coincidence that one manor should have belonged to the St. Johns and the other to the Fitz Johns, with a later association with the Hospital of St. John.

⁵ Gage Muniments, 10/10.

ENDLEWICK RENTS

The castle-guard rents of which we have spoken were collected by the holders of the manor of Endlewicke, comprising an estate of about 100 acres in Arlington and Wilmington. The services rendered for the land included the collection of various payments due to the Honour of Aquila, but it is doubtful whether the collection of the castle-guard rents formed part of the original services. In an Inquisition held in reference to a proposed gift by Philip de Enlenwyke to Michelham Priory in 1335 there is the statement that the said Philip had a messuage and a carucate of land in Wilmington, Arlington, and Middleton (in Arlington) which was held of the Queen as of her Barony of Aquila 'by the service of being the Bailiff of the said Barony for the making of summonses and attachments and for levying monies arising from pleas and perquisites of courts and hundreds belonging to the said Barony'.¹

The services are stated more fully in a Book of Tenures of the Manor of Enlewykes,² which was apparently compiled at the time when the manor was held by Robert Burton of Eastbourne and William Seger of Westdean, to whom it was conveyed by John Warnett of Framfield in February 1523-4. The statement is as follows:

'In Primis ye said mannour of Enlewykes doth hold of ye Duchy of Lancaster to make two bailiffs, one to serve ye court of Rype and another to serve the Court of Dudeswell within ye said shire of Sussex, which bailiffs do gather all ye ameracements and court suites yt are lost in ye said courts And also do receive all ye Common Fines of ye Hundreds of Wyllyngdon, Longbregge, Flexborough, Totnore and Dylle in ye Bailiff of Rype's charge, and Rushmonden, Grenested and Hartfield in ye Bailiff of Duddleswell's; also ye bailiffs of Duddleswell and Rype must receive all ye perquisites of ye Hundreds aforesaid of ye Aldermen of every Hundred . . . Also ye said Tennants of Enlewyke doth hold their land by ye service to gather certain Rents for ye Duchy of Castleward to ye sum of £24 4s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. as it doth appear in ye charge of their account.'

The sum above referred to comprises the first three items in an account of the charge on the bailiffs under

¹ Inq. ad quod damp., 8 Edw. III, 225/18.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6351, p. 85.

date 2 Hen. VIII (1510-11), as follows: From Rents of Assize, £4 10s. 8*d.*; New Rents, 4s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; Castle Guard, £22 10s. 0*d.*; Common Fines, £3 11s. 2*d.*; Perquisites of Court of Duddleswell, £2; Amercements of Hundreds, £2 16s. 4*d.*; Stallage in Haylesham Market, 17s. 6*d.* Giving a total of £39 9s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; from which allowances were made to the amount of £3 11s., leaving £35 9s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* due to the Crown.

The holders of the manor or bailiwick also collected by arrangement with the sheriff of Sussex a large number of small sums due from various lands within the rape, called Sheriff's Aid or Sheriff's Yield, amounting to upwards of £8 9s. In reference to this, the Book of Tenures says:

'The cause why the tenants of the manor of Enlewykes receive more money in their rental than they account for to the Dutchy or pay to the Sheriff is for because in old time all ye whole Hundreds within the precincts of the Enlewykes did pay to the Sheriff a gross sum of £8. 9. which sometime was gathered among them of the Hundreds within the precincts of the Enlywykes and not by the tenants of the manor of Enlewyke, for he doth hold his lands of the Dutchy of Lancaster by other services, as is above written. And then for because the Hundreds were greatly vexed and troubled for gathering of the same £8. 9. for sometimes the Sheriff distrained whom it pleased him for all within the Enlewykes, then the inhabitants there taking an order within themselves there to bring themselves out of trouble, charged their lands with many small particular sums of money above the sum due to the Sheriff to the intent the surplusage thereof should grow to the gatherer for his labour.'

At the end of an account of William Seger and James Burton as bailiffs of the Enlewyke—printed as an Appendix to this paper—this further explanation is given:

'And further we certefy the kyng our Sovereyn lord and his honourable counsell of the said Duche that tyme out of mynd hit hath been usyd that the Baylez of Enlewyke shall have of the said Sheriffe of Sussex for the tyme being for their labour for receyvng the said yeld for that the said Sheryffe might not enter the said libertye & franchez of the said Duche for the receyvng the same contrary to the Kyng's old graunte of the said libertye.'¹

The account—the date of which must be between 1525, when Robert Burton died, and 1545, when Seger's

¹ Duchy of Lancs., Depositions, vol. 24, f. 40.

interest ceased—is described as a rental of castle guard with Sheriff's Aid within the rape, but it also includes the rents of assize due to the Crown, as in the summary given above, and the total amount is £37 19s. 3½*d.*, of which £27 4s. 8¼*d.* is due to the Crown as before. The balance of £10 15s. is said to be due to the sheriff, he 'paying for our labor for receyvynge his said yeld'.

Between the date of these two accounts there had been trouble between the bailiffs of Endlewick and William Ashburnham, the sheriff, in regard to the amount payable for Sheriff's Aid. The sheriff and his son, John Ashburnham as under sheriff, not being content to receive the £8 9s. as customary, seized by way of distress 6 oxen and 400 sheep belonging to William Seger and impounded them and refused to deliver an obligation given by Seger for the payment of a larger sum. Seger and Burton took proceedings in Chancery for relief, and in these proceedings it transpired that through long continued receipt of these three items, Rents of Assize, Castle Guard, and Sheriff's Aid, they had become mixed together in one rental, 'so that no rental can be found to prove the sayd Sheryffes yeld sondry and severed from the kyngs sayd Castleward rent and rent of assize'.¹ We have not the conclusion of this suit, but from the statement in the second of the accounts above mentioned, it would seem that in future the bailiffs were to account to the sheriff for £10 15s.—they looking to him for their remuneration—instead of paying over £8 9s. and keeping the balance for themselves.

It will be gathered from what has been said that the name Endlewick rents became attached to the whole of the amount collected under three different heads, and there are manors and many tenements that paid Endlewick rents, no portion thereof being for castle guard. Happily, notwithstanding the statement quoted above, there does exist the copy of a rental giving the castle-guard rents separate from anything else, which is printed in the Appendix.

As to the origin of the bailiwick, the Book of Tenures

¹ Early Chancery Proc. Bdle. 566/44.

says: 'All the evidences proving the manor of Enlewyke to be the possession of William the son of Walter de Enlewyke in the reign of Henry the First and so in that name till Henry the Sixth did continue.' If this is an accurate statement, it carries us back to a possible arrangement made after the escheat of the Mortain lands at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The later devolution of the manor may shortly be told. We have seen that the manor and bailiffry of Endlewic were conveyed by John Warnett to Robert Burton and John Seger; this was in 1529.¹ In 1545 John Seger conveyed his moiety to James Burton, who had succeeded his father as owner of the other moiety, and in 1555 he sold the whole to Thomas Middleton and Edward Middleton, who conveyed to Thomas Playsted of Arlington.² In 1601 Richard Jefferay died seised,³ and at the date of the Parliamentary Survey in 1652 the holders were Colonel Anthony Stapley and Henry Shelley, Esq. The manor and bailiwick were purchased in 1664 by Sir Thomas Nutt from Sir John Stapley and Henry Shelley⁴ and ultimately came into the ownership of John Fuller of Rose Hill, and it was from documents in his hands in 1745 that the British Museum transcript of the Book of Tenures was made. The rents were being paid in 1862 to O. J. Augustus Fuller-Meyrick, Esq., and details of the amounts and the payers are given in *S.A.C.* xiv. 263, the total being £26 6s. 4½*d.*

A survey of the manor of Endlewicke is included among the Parliamentary Surveys of 1649-53 and is printed in *S.A.C.* xxiv. 218-23, and the amount of the Endlewicke rents is given as £29 10s. 11*d.*, which corresponds very closely to the amount, £26 6s. 4½*d.*, mentioned above as being collected in 1862. The detailed items from the earlier volume are given in the editor's useful notes and, with very slight discrepancies, these agree with the amounts in the account more than 300 years earlier printed in the Appendix to the present paper, excluding

¹ Inq. p.m., Robt. Burton.

² *Sussex Record Soc.* xix. 153, and Compton Place Muniments.

³ *Ibid.* xiv. 131.

⁴ *Ibid.* xix. 153, and Gage Deeds, 23/18.

the hundred rents and the small sums which follow in the account.

It may be noted that the Parliamentary Survey states that there is a rent paid out of the manor of Endlewick 'being a fee farm rent and answered to the Pipe' of £8 9s. and this evidently represents the amount before referred to as the sum collected for Sheriff's Aid.¹ It appears from deeds in the Society's possession (B. 669-73) that Anthony Stapley and Henry Shelley succeeded in getting this rent reduced to £5 0s. 5*d.*, which sum as a fee farm rent belonging to the Crown was sold, with many other rents in various counties, the only other Sussex rent being £6 8s. 7*d.* fee farm of the lordship or manor of Bassetts Fee, parcel of the Honour of Petworth. In 1686 these rents belonged to Edmond Clarke of London, and 100 years later, in 1781, they were sold by the Rev. Thomas Clarke, grandson of Edmond Clarke, to Benjamin Lethieuller of London.

APPENDIX

I

NAMES of those who compounded for heckage service at Pevensey Castle with Peter of Savoy in 1254, with the probable fee or group of fees concerned.

John de Gatesden (Heighton); Simon de Echingham (Peakdean); Abbot of St. Alban's (Beddingham); W. Bardolf junr. (Birling); W. de Excete (Excete); John la Ware (Excete); Andrew Peverel (Excete, Blatchington, &c.); W. Maufe in Heyhinton (Eckington); W. David (Davy) in Horsted (Horsted); Jordan de Sakeville and Ralph Haringod (Chalvington); Prior of Wilminton (?); W. de Ass'cham (? Beddingham); Abbot of Hyde in Suthlynton (South Heighton); Thos. de Audeham (Torrington); John la Ware (Folkington); Ralph de la Haye (Jevington); Walter de Rakeles in Estferles (Charleston).

II

ACCOUNT of W. de ENDLENEWYKE, bailiff of the Honor of AQUILA of the issues of Castle Guard of Peven-

¹ In this Survey, *S.A.C.* xxiv. 218, among the hundreds mentioned there occur 'Tillatts, Dell'; this seems to have puzzled the Editor, who says in a footnote: 'There is no such hundred in Sussex as Tillatts.' Obviously, however, there is a misreading and it should read 'Till als. Dill', that is, the hundred that includes Hailsham and Hellingly.

sey and also of the issues of the bailiwick of Endlenewyke from the feast of St. Michael, 38 Edw. III to the same feast in the 39th year, for one year. (1364-5.) [Translation.]

(The items are numbered here for reference)

1. He renders account of 106s. 8d. from divers dues to castle guard of Pevensey from Sir John Seynclere yearly.
2. Item of 5s. of this guard from the manor of Lagnye.
3. And of 6s. 8d. of this guard from the fee of Hertfeld.
4. And of 4s. 3½d. from the manor of Excete Seynclere.
5. And 15s. 8½d. from Excete Peverell.
6. And 6s. 8d. from Alfyrston Peverell.
7. And 11s. 1½d. from the manor of Blachington.
8. And 16s. 8d. from the manor of Torryng Seynclere.
9. And of 16s. 8d. from John Wathlyngton.
10. And 16s. 8d. from the heir of Gervas de Pygeferles.
11. And of 50s. from the manor of Charlexten.
12. And 50s. from the manor of Leuythle.
13. And of 15s. from the manor of Eghyngton.
14. And 2s. 1d. from the manor of Claverham.
15. And 2s. 6d. from the heir of Andrew Mafee.
16. And 40s. from the manor of Chalvington.
17. And of 13s. 5d. from the manor of Thoryng Cicester.
18. And of 23s. 4d. from the manor of Fokyngton.
19. And of 13¼d. from Thomas Batt.
20. And of 13¼d. from the tenement sometime John Evenyng.
21. And of 13s. 4d. from the manor of Pekeden.
22. And of 16s. 8d. from Thoryng Nevell.
23. And of 6s. 8d. from the fee of Hethfeld at Herthfeld.
24. And of 20d. due to the said guard from the tenement of Bircleden.
25. Nor of 6s. 8d. of the said guard due from the tenement sometime of John Davy, nothing because the said tenements are in the hand of the Queen as guardian, by reason of the minority of the heir of John de Lauderdale.

Total £22 10s.

Notes and suggested identifications in regard to the Manors named in the Account of Castle Guard rents, 1364-5

[The records referred to by Roman numerals are those mentioned (*ante*, p. 117) as used by the Rev. W. Hudson in his paper in *S.A.C.* XLII., viz. (i) Richer de Aquila's *carta*, 1166. (ii) *Testa de Neville*, now the *Book of Fees*, 1212-42. (iii) List of Knights' fees, now *Feudal Aid*, 1302-3.]

1. This is equivalent to 16 fees and represents the 15 Jevington fees held (i) by Richard Fitz William, (ii) by the heirs of John de

- Montacute, and (iii) by Nicholaa de Aldeham. It is not clear what holding is represented by the additional fee.
2. The three-fourths of a knight's fee held by Lewes Priory, part of 2 fees in Horstede held (i) by Robert de Horstede, (ii) by William Davy, and (iii) by Robert Davy.
 3. One of the 4 fees held (i) by William Malet, (ii) by Henry de Hertfeld, and (iii) by William de Brom and others, in Hertfeud, Beverington, Bourne, and Alvricheston.
 - 4 and 5. These two items (20s.) represent the 3 knights' fees held (i) by William Fitz Richard, (ii) by William de Exete in Exete and Bourne and elsewhere (*record defective*).
 6. Another of the 4 Hartfeld fees (see No. 3), now represented by Dene-place, Alfriston. It probably also included (a) the fee in Alfricheston held (i) and (ii) by Walter de Alfricheston, and (iii) included in the Hertfeld fees, and also (b) lands in Beverington in Eastbourne, held (iii) by Andrew Peverell, which later became the manor of Sessingham-Borne.
 7. This amount represents 1 fee and five-sixths of a fee. The 1 fee comprised the manor of Blatchington and Radmeld-Beverington in Eastbourne, which were held in 1166 by Robert Burnard and Norman de Normanville in chief.¹ In (iii) Thos. Peverell held in Blatchington two-thirds of a fee and John de Radmelde held in Beverington one-third fee. The remaining five-sixths fee is not identified.
 8. This doubtless includes the manors of Toring, Excete, and Lavertie which in the Feudal Aid of 1401-2 were held by Philip St. Clere as 2½ fees. Toringe was held in 1254 by Thomas de Aldeham (predecessor of the St. Cleres) of the Earl of Leicester as 1 fee,² but it does not appear in (iii), and in the Inq. p.m. of John St. Clere in 1336 it is half a fee. In (iii) Nicholaa de Aldeham held half a fee in Laverketye as a Leicester fee.
 9. This appears to be in part for the manor of Tollers in Frogfirl in Alfriston. In an account of the Endlewick rents, temp. Hen. VIII, John Wakelyn pays 30s. for Tollers and Watlyngton.³
 10. This represents 2½ knights' fees, but indications are lacking for the identification of the manors concerned. The associations of Gervase de Pygeferles seem to be mainly with the neighbourhood of Berwick.
 11. Charleston in Firl. The amount charged represents 7½ fees, and this heavy assessment is difficult to explain. Lands in Charleston, Fletching, and elsewhere, formerly belonging to the De Diva family, descended to three sisters who were respectively the wives of Saer de St. Andrew, Richard Mucegros, and Simon Mucegros. Nicholas de St. Mauro also held a fee in Charleston and elsewhere, but one cannot account for more than 3½ fees. The strongest evidence of a very unusual charge for castle

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 203.

² *Inq. Misc.* I. 2030.

³ Add. MSS. 6351, p. 88.

- guard is supplied by the Inq. p.m. of Thomas de Seymore (St. Mauro) which mentions among other lands 40 ac. in Charlaxton in Heighton charged with 40s. for castle guard, viz. 12*d.* per acre.
12. The manor of Ludlay in Selmeston, which at the date in question belonged to the Lewknors as successors of the de Kaynes. In 1254 Richard de Kaynes held 2½ fees in Selmeston, Itford, and Horsted Kaynes of the Earl of Leicester. In 1302-3 (iii) Robert de Lewknor held other Leicester fees, viz. 1 in Heghton (South Heighton), another in Shirenton (Sherrington), and a third held by the Abbot of Battle and the Abbot of (Bayham ?) probably in Tilton. In the Feudal Aid of 1324-5 Thomas de Lewknor appears as holding 3 fees in chief.
 13. This represents 2¼ fees, part of 3 fees held in 1166 (i) by William Malfed, in (ii) by William Engelfeld and the heirs of Walram Maufe, and in (iii) William Maufe held in his manor of Eghinton 3 fees, one being in Northampton. He also held 1¾ fees of the 15 Jevington fees included in (1) above.
 - 14 and 15. These two items constitute three-quarters of a fee, the balance of the 3 fees held by Wm. Malfed in 1166.
 16. For the 6 fees of the Honour of Aquila, held (i) by Ralph de Dene, (ii) by the heirs of Guy de Sakevill in Chalvington, and (iii) by Andrew de Saukeville and John de Heryngaud.
 17. In the Feudal Aid of 1401-2 1 fee of the Leicester fees was held by the Dean of Chichester, in Tarring, Bechington, and Westdene. This leaves one fee unidentified.
 18. In (ii) the heirs of Hugh de Diva are named as holding 3½ fees of the Honour of Leicester, and in 1361 John la Ware held these fees in Fokynton, Wannock, and Excete.¹ They do not appear in the Feudal Aids until the return for 1401-2.
 - 19 and 20. These two items constitute the one-third fee held as a Leicester fee in 1254, but described in (iii) as being held in chief.
 21. Pekedene in East Dean. Held (i) by William de Akingeham of the Honour of Aquila, (ii) by William de Echyngham, and (iii) by William de Eghingeham in Pegheton.
 22. In 1254 Robert de Neville held of the Earl of Leicester one fee in Torringe. 1½ fees unaccounted for.
 23. One of the 4 fees in Hertfeld. (See Nos. 3 and 6 above.)
 - 24 and 25. With the three-quarter fee (No. 2, above) these two items make up the two fees in Horsted held of the Honour of Aquila.

A comparison of the two accounts printed here seems to make it clear that the Leicester fees paid neither Sheriff's Aid nor Rent of Assize, but only Castle Guard rent.

¹ Partition of Fees of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, *Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-4*, p. 204.

III

The Answer and Certificate of William Seger and James Burton, Bayles of the Enlewyke within the Rape of Pevynsey within the Duchy of Lancaster in the county of Sussex according to the kynys letters to them directed & hereunto annexed.

(The rental is in Latin and is here translated)

A Rental of the lord king's Castle Ward of Pevensey, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster in the said county, with Sheriff's Aid within the Rape aforesaid.

From the manor of Jevington for both in the parish of Jevington	£6 18s. 8d.
From the manor of Langney for both in the parish of Westham	7s. 1d.
From the fee of Hartfeld in the parish of Borne late of Passhleys in the parish of Borne	11s. 2½d.
From Thos. Bate for Pockocks and other lands there with sheriff's aid	3s. 2¼d.
From Christopher Padyham als Symon Tompsett sometime of John Evenyng in Borne	3s. 2¼d.
From the heirs late Esb'e (Osborne) in Medys late of William Shodewell in Borne	20d.
From the heirs of Radmyll now Covert for sheriff's aid	2s. 1d.
From the manor of Lord Rose in Borne	16s.
From the manor of Pokedene in Estdene	19s. 2d.
From the same for Westburton als Westborne	5s.
From the manor of Byrlyng	10s.
From the tenant of the lands of Southcourt in the parish of Exet	6s. 8½d.
From the tenant of lands of Exet Peverel	23s. 4d.
From the manor of Fokynghon	23s. 4d.
From the manor of Ponyngs in Sutton	11s. 8d.
From the lands now Bolneys there	4d.
From the manor of Sutton	5s.
From the tenement of John Sutton in Sutton now the Prior of Mychelham	2s. 7½d.
From the same Prior for Bonetts in Sutton	2s. 2d.
From the manor of Blachyngton	16s. 2d.
From lands of the Abbot of Hyde in Heyton	5s. 5d.
From the manor of Torryng Chychester	13s. 4d.
From the manor of Torryng now Adam	16s. 8d.
From the manor of Torryng now of Master Gauge	16s. 8d.
From lands now Hennege in Frogfyrle	6s. 1d.

134 PEVENSEY CASTLE GUARD AND ENDLEWICK RENTS

From . . . Sandys for the manor of Dene Place and Peverells there	12s. 11d.
From the manor of Tollers now of Giles Fenys esq.	30s.
From the manor of Mylton	2s.
From the manor of Berwyk	3s. 4d.
From lands of la Brode parcel of the manor of Berwyk	2s.
From the manor of Charlokyston	50s.
From the manor of Lewdelay	50s.
From the manor of Egynton in Rype	22s. 6d.
From lands of Mapses (Maffes) now Robert Geoffrey's and sometime Selwyns	3s. 9d.
From the manor of Chalvyngton and Claverham now Master Sakefeld's	£3 5s. 5d.
From Humfrey Sakefeld for Chetyngly	7d.
From the same for Ombeford in Haylesham	6d.
From Henworth in Hellingly now Shepard	5s.
From the Alderman of Wyllonden for rent of the Hundred of Wyllonden	36s. 8d.
From the Alderman of Longbregge	58s. 6d.
From the Alderman of Flexborowe	13s. 4d.
From the Alderman of Dyll	10s.
From the Alderman of Totnore	4s.
From Henry Saunder of Haylesham	4d.
From Laurence at Ford in Waldern	12d.
From the manor of Byrchynden in Gromebrege	20d.
From the manor of Little Horsted	7s. 6d.
From the Prior of Lewes for Imberhorne in Grynsted	15d.
From Robert Brome now Skynner	2s. 4d.
From the manor of Bolbroke now Lewknor	2s. 7d.
From Thomas Sackeville now Wales	15½d.
From Thomas Sakefeld Chivaler	7d.
From the same for Flexregge	5d.
From Chartneys in Hartfeld now Hydneys	8d.
From Richard at Nash for 10 acres of land in Wytheham and Hartfeld	20d.
From Thomas Baker for 5 acres of land in Harte- feld within the liberty of the Forest	10d.
Sum total of Receipts with sheriff's aid .	£37 19s. 3½d.
Whereof paid to the kyng our sovereyn lord to his Duche of Lancaster	£27 4s. 8¼d.
And to the Sheryffe of Sussex yerely [he] pay- ing for our labor for receyvng his said yeld	£10 15s.

And so there remains nothing.