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SUSSEX IN THE GREAT CIVIL WAR  
AND THE INTERREGNUM

1642-1660







*David Mylens, pinx.*

*W. Dooly del.*

*A. Graves sculp.*

JOHN ASHBURNHAM.



Sussex in the Great Civil War  
and the Interregnum  
1642-1660

BY

CHARLES THOMAS-STANFORD

M.A., F.S.A.



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## PREFACE

THIS book is the outcome of a lecture delivered at the Brighton Public Library in November 1909, under the auspices of the Sussex Archaeological Society. It was suggested at the time, in view of the interest now taken in matters of local history, that the lecture should be printed and issued in pamphlet form. But a mere lecture on so large a subject, hastily put together for a temporary purpose, and lacking any due distinction between the essential and the trivial, is perhaps not worthy to be clothed in the permanence of print. I have endeavoured to describe with more completeness and discrimination the part played by Sussex and Sussex men in what is perhaps the most momentous epoch of English history. It happens that the part so played was an important one. If the great campaigns of the Civil War were fought out elsewhere, Sussex nevertheless exerted a very special influence on the result of the struggle; and no county can show a lengthier list of men who had a leading share in it.

In addition to the ordinary authorities for the events of the period, general and local, I have made constant use of the fifty-two volumes of the Sussex

Archaeological Society's "Collections."<sup>1</sup> Since 1846, when the Society was founded, successive generations of antiquaries have laboriously gathered together a vast store of facts relating to the county. In such a series there will of course be some writers whose statements must be accepted with caution; and if the earlier contributors enjoyed a virgin field, they lacked the copious sources opened to us by the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and other Government publications. For every statement of local importance, it has been my aim to quote my authority; and I hope these references may be of use to any one who is tempted to inquire further into any branch of the subject. Among recent works, I am especially indebted to the valuable articles by Miss Phyllis Wragge, Mr. L. F. Salzmann, and Mr. M. Oppenheim in the Victoria County History.

I have not scrupled to quote at length such contemporary documents as Mr. Cawley's letter from Portsmouth, Dr. Bruno Reeves' account of the spoliation of Chichester Cathedral, Colonel Apsley's description of an episode in the Royalist invasion of 1643, Dr. Cheynell's Chillingworthi Novissima, the Springate letters, and the Danny papers. These present in their several ways a picture of the times not to be approached by any second-hand narrative. As a rule I have modernized the spelling and punctuation of these documents, for the reasons

<sup>1</sup> Quoted as S. A. C.

given by Carlyle in his Introduction to Cromwell's Letters. In certain cases, such as Cheynell's invective, where the ancient form seemed to add a certain force and interest to the language, I have preserved it. If some proper names are not spelt with a slavish uniformity, I have only followed the fashion of the time. Ryves and Reeves, Springet and Springate, Yalden and Yaldwyn, Gunter and Gounter—these are examples of the variations which constantly occur in contemporary records.<sup>1</sup>

History is for reading, and even a local history should not be a mere storehouse of facts; I have therefore striven, with however little success, to make this a readable narrative. It may be that in the attempt to weave the disconnected and often trivial details of county affairs into a coherent story, I have sometimes been tempted to wander astray into the general history of the time. To such lapses I can only hope that my readers will be indulgent.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. J. Horace Round, LL.D., Professor C. H. Firth, Mr. I. S. Leadam, and Mr. L. F. Salzmänn for valuable suggestions; to Colonel Campion for permission to reproduce some of the papers in his possession; and to His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon for a similar permission as regards the portrait of Sir William Waller which hangs at Goodwood House. To Mr. H. D. Roberts, Director of the Public

<sup>1</sup> For Brighthelmstone I have found Bredhemson, Brightsemson, Broadhemson, and Brathhampston.

Library, Museum, and Art Galleries at Brighton, I am very grateful for much advice and assistance, both literary and practical, continually and cheerfully given.

C. T.-S.

PRESTON MANOR,  
BRIGHTON,  
*September 1910.*

## CONTENTS

### I. BEFORE THE WAR . . . . . Page 1

War and county boundaries, Sussex and neighbouring counties—Conventional ideas and modern methods—Charles and Cromwell—the Civil War not a war of classes—the division in Sussex—the gentry—the inhabitants generally—agriculture—roads—the iron industry—destruction of timber—shipbuilding—decay of ports—Winchelsea—the pier of Hastings—continued importance of Rye—the passage—Ship-money—privateers and pirates—general social conditions—great houses—new families—the Parliament of 1640—the politics of Sussex—the Protestation—petition of 1642—Sussex men and the King—Sir Thomas Lunsford and the Tower—his early career—the five members—the bravos of Alsatia—the King leaves London.

### II. PURITAN SUSSEX . . . . . Page 22

The Marian persecution—heavy roll of Sussex victims—“the blood of martyrs” a stimulus to Protestantism—Early Puritans at Rye—progress of opinion—evidence of Puritan names—the Rev. John Frewen of Northiam—his opponents—Chichester Cathedral in 1616—parochial neglect—spread of Puritanical ideas—the Archdeaconry Court of Lewes and the Clergy—the laity—trivial offences—Laud and the visitation of 1635—Sir Nicholas Brent in Sussex—Chichester, Arundel, Lewes—Rye and the Bishop—Puritan magistrates—the country gentlemen.

### III. PORTSMOUTH AND CHICHESTER . . . . . Page 33

The raising of the Standard at Nottingham—its significance little understood—the forces to be engaged—the trained bands—infantry—cavalry—local troops of horse—Ford and Morley—Parliamentary weakness in cavalry—harquebusiers and dragoons—artillery—the county magazines—precipitate action of George Goring at Portsmouth—his previous career—and doubtful character—the position at Chichester—William Cawley—Surrender of Portsmouth—Colonel Morley's vigilance—defence of East Sussex—the Cinque Ports and the Continent—alarm at Chichester—Sir Edward Ford seizes Chichester—Cawley's letter to Speaker Lenthall—failure of relief from Portsmouth—Ford advances on Lewes—impressment of countrymen—defeat at Hayward's Heath.

#### IV. THE SIEGE OF CHICHESTER . . . . Page 50

Waller's advance into Sussex—a preliminary skirmish—Thomas, Earl of Arundel—daring attack on Arundel Castle—its success—Waller before Chichester—a parley—the trained bands—a sortie—assault commenced—the sixth day—a trumpet from the city—surrender on Waller's terms—attitude of the towns-folk—the prisoners—Sir E. Ford—Sir William Morley—Sir John Morley—Bowyer, May, Lewknor, Gounter—the Cathedral clergy—Bishop King—the Dean, Dr. Bruno Ryves—his account of the spoliation of the Cathedral—Sir Arthur Haselrig—the Cathedral records—the library—the ruin of the needle-makers—foreigners in Sussex—Anthony Stapley governor of the city.

#### V. THE ROYALIST INVASION . . . . Page 64

Herbert Morley—indifference of the common people—refugees from Sussex ports—Rye and Dieppe—Ford active again—an approaching cloud—"the neuter"—Waller appointed Major-General—his base at Farnham—Cawley's letter to the Speaker—Waller and the soldiers' pay—confidence of the cavaliers—raid on Petworth—fight at South Harting—Hopton's invasion of Sussex—the plan of campaign—Stanstead House—rally of Parliamentarians—Colonel Apsley—his account of his capture—fall of Arundel—a fight at Bramber—the defence of East Sussex—the Rye troop—Samuel Jeake—Captain Carleton—Thomas Middleton of Hills Place—Waller's preparations.

#### VI. THE SIEGE OF ARUNDEL . . . . Page 82

Waller at Alton—rapid advance—capture of Cowdray House—its contents—the situation at Arundel—Waller takes the town—attempted assassination of Waller—the Rev. John Coulton and his friends—the enlistment of prisoners—the Castle besieged—large reinforcements—a spy captured—incidents of the siege—Hopton's attempt to raise it—Irishmen and Cornishmen—a flag of truce—a flippant application—Waller faces Hopton—Hopton's retreat—Warblington Castle—heavy guns at Arundel—ladies in Waller's Camp—terms of surrender—Stanstead House captured—difference between Stapley and Waller—Sir E. Ford—his father's petition—sufferings of all classes—Ford's subsequent career.

#### VII. CHILLINGWORTH, CHEYNELL, AND SPRINGATE . . . . Page 101

Chillingworth at Arundel—his early career—at the siege of Gloucester—engines of war in the Roman method—a son of the Renaissance—his enemy Cheynell—Chillingworth at Oxford—Cheynell's history and book—Chillingworth being sick is removed to Chichester—Cheynell's arguments with him—the dying man continually harassed—"preached to death by wild curates"—controversy over his burial—unseemly scene at the grave—"The Religion of Protestants" buried with its author—the arrogance of the bigot—time's revenge—another victim of the siege—William Springate and his wife—her letters to



her grandson—Springate's up-bringing—a Puritan gentleman—Edgehill and Newbury—Arundel—fatal sickness—a brave woman's journey from London—Springate's death—his character and accomplishments.

### VIII. THE ROYALIST LANDLORDS . . . . . Page 119

Parliament and the delinquents—effect of threatened confiscation—the Sequestrating Committee for Sussex—John Caryll fined at Arundel—the Committee for Compounding—the terms of Compounding—the Earl of Arundel—Sir Thomas Bowyer—May, Sir J. Morley, R. Williams—the Earl of Thanet—reasonable reductions—Sir E. Bishop—a letter from the Colony of Virginia—surrender on Articles of War—Colonel Gounter and other Sussex men at Truro—a riot at Chichester—the hard case of John Lewknor—Lunsford, Alford, and others—augmentation of benefices from delinquents' fines—Lord Montague and William Yalden—the Gages and other recusants—Sir Charles Shelley and the Committee for Advance of Money—Peter Courthope and Danny.

### IX. THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY . . . . . Page 135

The Royalist clergy's case worse than the gentry's—clerical delinquents—the Chichester Chapter—the Committee of Plundered Ministers—lecturers—Mr. Chatfield at Horsham—local Committees—Dr. Francis Cheynell—the living of Petworth—the wives' fifth share—sufferings of ejected clergy—the case of Mr. Apsley of Pulborough—Mr. Oliver Whitby—the *Century of Malignant Priests*—Mr. Peckham of Horsted Parva—Mr. Taunton of Ardingley—Mr. Goffe of East Grinstead—"inadequacy"—Mr. Nutt's "scandalous curates"—the important case of Mr. Large of Rotherfield—his "bad life and good living"—his able defence—a picture of religious life at the time—hardships inevitable—Colonel Morley at Hastings—Mr. Hinson and Mr. Car.

### X. THE CLUBMEN . . . . . Page 151

The *St. James* of Dunkirk ashore at Hene—a valuable prize—Waller baulked—inadequate salvage—Sussex and wrecks—a compromising picture—the troubles of Rye—Arundel and Chichester—Waller and the gentlemen of Sussex—Cowdray House garrisoned—Royalist activity—Goring's design—Algernon Sidney at Chichester—impatience of the country folk—free-quarter—an incident at Nuthurst—the Berkshire meeting—a Royalist opportunity—the Sussex Clubmen—their dispersal—refusal to pay taxes—strong measures—the New Model—Independency—Fairfax—the iron-foundries—John Browne.

### XI. STEPHEN GOFFE AND JOHN ASHBURN- HAM . . . . . Page 179

The King and foreign intervention—the three sons of the Rector of Stanmer—Dr. Stephen Goffe sent to Holland—the letter of introduction—a proposal of

marriage—Mazarin's project—foreign troops to land at Hastings—prolonged scheming—Dutch diplomacy—an anti-English King—a faithful servant—the *ancienne noblesse* of Sussex—Jack Ashburnham's career—the flight from Oxford—surrender to Hammond—a barque at Hastings—Ormonde escapes thence—family divisions—the Danny letters—Morley and Campion—Major Shilbourne—humane conduct of the war.

## XII. HORSHAM AND HERSTMONCEUX . . . Page 196

A new phase of the struggle—Presbyterians and Independents—"the People"—change of opinion in the south-eastern counties—the Surrey petition—outbreak at Horsham—prompt measures of repression—a descriptive letter—the Earl of Pembroke—a day's fighting—Thomas Middleton—Anthony Norton at Rye—design on Chichester—Lord Norwich at Colchester—an invincible army—Finance—excise—wages—price of corn—Lord Dacre and Herstmonceux—servants—provisions—guests—sports—posting—a peaceful backwater—the Rev. Giles Moore of Horsted Keynes.

## XIII. THE REVOLUTION . . . . . Page 214

*The Remonstrance of the Army*—an address from Rye to Fairfax—public policy and local grievances—the King's trial and execution—Parliament purged—the High Court—Sussex men named judges—John Downes and the King's appeal—the Sussex regicides—Whitehall—Bishop Juxon—the King's speech—Juxon's career—a model treasurer—Bishops and sport—Albourne and John Juxon—the revolution—the godly and the ungodly—the Engagement—Rye—Dacre and Stapley—Colonel Morley—"the King's business"—Free-quarter abolished—Rye and aliens—Puritan severity—the Book of Sports—alehouses—the observance of Sunday—Cavaliers and horse-races.

## XIV. SOME SUSSEX MEN . . . . . Page 234

John Selden—Thomas May—Henry Parker—Accepted Frewen—Thomas Comber—Henry Gage—Thomas Gage—The Lunsfords—the Gorings.

## XV. WORCESTER AND BRIGHTHELMSTONE . . . Page 251

Charles II in Scotland—invasion of England—the Sussex Militia—the battle of Worcester—Charles' flight and wanderings—"William Jackson"—Colonel Gounter of Rackton—his narrative—Wilmot at Rackton—Mrs. Gounter—Mr. Mansel, merchant, of Chichester—Gounter and Mansel at Brighthelmstone—Captain Tetttersall's barque chartered—Charles at Hambleton—Thomas Symons—Colonel Phelips—the ride through Sussex—Captain Morley at Arundel—danger at Bramber—the "George" at Brighthelmstone—Charles reaches Fecamp—Mansel and Pepys—the legend of Ovingdean.

## XVI. THE SUSSEX COAST AND THE DUTCH

WAR . . . . . Page 264

The influence of sea power on history—the Parliament and the fleet—the Prince of Orange's views—the trade of London—the revolt of 1648—the harbour of Rye—trade with Dieppe—John Evelyn at Rye and Winchelsea—Trade in iron and horses—convoys for vessels with corn for London—pirates at Beachy Head—William Key—smuggling—exportation of wool—the North Sea fishery—the Dutch war of 1652—the Navigation Act—English success—Dutch raids on Sussex—the iron industry—Thomas Newbery's journey to the foundries—Yalden of Blackdown—the slighting of Arundel—gunpowder—ship-building—impressment of seamen—privateers in the Spanish war—the *Cat* pink—gallant Captain Pittock—the defences of Rye.

## XVII. MAJOR-GENERAL GOFFE AND JOHN

STAPLEY . . . . . Page 282

Royalist plots—reduction of the army—a new militia—the Major-Generals—William Goffe—extensive powers—fresh imposts on Royalists—Commissioners “for securing the peace”—Goffe at Lewes—John and Anthony Stapley—Colonel Morley's local activity—civil marriages—tobacco planting—the militia and its pay—numbers reduced—the Parliament of 1656—Morley's gout—the Quakers in Sussex—visit of George Fox—prisoners at Horsham—Cromwell's tolerance—the “public ministry”—augmentation of livings from sequestered estates—the plot of 1658—Dr. Hewitt and John Stapley—Sussex conspirators—Stapley and Cromwell—an abject recantation—the trial.

## XVIII. ANARCHY AND RESTORATION . . . . . Page 304

Death and funeral of Cromwell—his son's succession and failure—Herbert Morley returns to politics—his activity in the House—the Long Parliament restored—Royalist plots—measures of repression—Arundel, Chichester, Cowdray—Culpepper at Brighthelmstone—Failure of the rising—the grievances of Rye—Lambert and Morley—Morley's victory—the Restoration in sight—Evelyn and Morley—Morley as hero—the Restoration—Rewards and punishments—Sussex Baronets created—the Order of the Royal Oak—the fate of the regicides—trial of Temple and Downes—flight of Cawley and Goffe—Richard Cromwell and Edward Ludlow escape from Lewes—the curtain falls—what the “Great Rebellion” achieved.

APPENDIX A. LINKS WITH THE PAST . . . . . Page 325

APPENDIX B. A FRACAS AT LEWES . . . . . Page 326

INDEX . . . . . Page 331



## MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING  
PAGE

JOHN ASHBURNHAM . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From an engraving by R. Graves of the portrait by Daniel Mytens; from John Ashburnham's Narrative and Vindication. London, 1830.	
MAP SHOWING THE REPRESENTATION OF SUSSEX IN THE LONG PARLIAMENT . . . . .	16
GEORGE GORING . . . . .	37
After the portrait by Van Dyck at Petworth; from Lodge's Portraits.	
CHICHESTER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	52
From Speed's Atlas, 1610.	
MAP OF WEST SUSSEX, ILLUSTRATING THE OPERA- TIONS OF 1643 . . . . .	71
ARUNDEL . . . . .	87
From the print by Hollar.	
FACSIMILE OF RECEIPT FOR SIR WILLIAM CAM- PION'S FINE . . . . .	134
In the possession of Colonel Campion.	
SIR WILLIAM WALLER . . . . .	151
From the portrait by Lely at Goodwood House.	
FACSIMILE OF LETTER OF COLONEL HERBERT MORLEY TO SIR WILLIAM CAMPION . . . . .	191
FACSIMILE OF LETTER OF COLONEL HERBERT MORLEY TO SIR WILLIAM CAMPION . . . . .	193
The originals of the above are in the possession of Colonel Campion.	

	FACING PAGE
BISHOP JUXON . . . . .	220
From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.	
JOHN SELDEN . . . . .	234
After the portrait by Daniel Mytens in the Bodleian Library; from Lodge's Portraits.	
SIR THOMAS LUNSFORD . . . . .	244
From a print in the British Museum.	
CHARLES II AT THE AGE OF NINETEEN . . . . .	257
From <i>Tragicum Theatrum</i> , 1649.	

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# Sussex in the Great Civil War and the Interregnum 1642-1660

## CHAPTER I

### BEFORE THE WAR

HE who sets out to write the history of his county in a period of great national disturbance will be faced ere he has advanced far by the difficulty of delimiting his frontier. For ordinary administrative purposes, civil or military, a county may be a satisfactory unit, but county boundaries mean nothing to soldiers in the field; their proceedings are governed by other considerations. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the military operations, not in themselves very considerable, which took place in Sussex during the Civil War, were closely interwoven with similar operations in the adjoining counties of Hampshire, Surrey, and Kent. And no less than the movements of the armies were the motions and aspirations of the civil population determined by what was happening elsewhere. It is my purpose, while bearing in mind this relation to the main drift of events, to set forth as far as may be in ordered sequence the chief occurrences within the county, to glance at the state of its inhabitants at the time, and now and then to follow the fortunes of Sussex men who were playing their part upon a wider stage.

One advantage the historian of to-day enjoys. It is no longer expected that he should take a side. He need not speak of "rébels" or "malignants," and if he uses the term

“regicide,” it will be not as a stigma of reproach, but as a convenient label. The conventional idea of the eighteenth century, born on the day when Charles faced the block with placid courage, fostered by the sycophantic histories of the Restoration and by the attitude of the Church, and kept alive in romantic minds by the pathos which attaches to a fallen dynasty—the idea that the King was almost a demi-god and wholly a martyr, and that Cromwell and his associates were a set of bloodthirsty criminals, has not survived the investigations of a scientific age. The reaction of the nineteenth century went too far. The “usurper” found a strange medley of worshippers. He was hailed alike as hero by the advocates of resolute government, and as saint by peace-at-any-price dissenters. One party recalled with envy his “settlement” of the Irish question; the other with admiration that he helped to abolish bishops and brought a king to trial. Then at length the truth emerged. The painstaking, emotionless, scientific historian, concerned to co-ordinate facts rather than to bolster up a *parti pris*, in the full maturity of his unrivalled knowledge summed up the Civil War, not as the licentious uprising of ill-restrained ambition against divinely constituted sovereignty, but as “rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day to effect a reconciliation between opposing moral forces which derived their strength from the past development of the nation”;<sup>1</sup> and he pronounced Cromwell to have been “no divinely inspired hero, indeed, or faultless monster, but a brave honourable man, striving, according to his lights, to lead his countrymen into the paths of peace and godliness.”<sup>2</sup>

And although the echoes of that great convulsion have reverberated almost until our own time, the conditions of our existence to-day are too far divergent to colour, at all

<sup>1</sup> S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, ch. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Preface to the Second Edition.



reasonably, our views of it. We may feel some sympathy for the weak, if well-meaning, king, succeeding to the evil heritage of his father's "king-craft" and bad counsellors, and driven to desperate courses by his imperious wife;<sup>1</sup> we may respect the persistence with which he maintained "his own conception of government, that of a wise prince constantly interfering to check the madness of the people,"<sup>2</sup> even if the duplicity of his methods repels us, and we realize that his "habitual perfidy" (in Macaulay's phrase) made it impossible for men once strenuously in opposition to come to any terms which they could confidently believe to be binding on him; we may admire his patience in adversity, and especially the courage and dignity with which he met his end; but into the ideas and, especially, the religious enthusiasms of his opponents, few of us are able to-day to enter. Politically we live under something like the conditions for which at the beginning of the contest they were striving; in questions of faith and of religious organization the modern world is taking a wholly different line from theirs; for most of us their aspirations and their difficulties have little meaning; their very language is commonly distasteful to us.

With the decisive battles of Hastings and Lewes upon its records, the county of Sussex must ever hold a foremost place in English military history. But owing partly to its geographical position, partly to the general attitude of its inhabitants, it was left out of the main stream of contention in the great Civil War. Its cathedral of Chichester indeed suffered severely, its feudal castle of Arundel was partly destroyed, some of its great houses were battered, and it may be that some of its iron forges were damaged; apart from these the county endured little injury from the ravages of war. Yet the drain of able-bodied men, the

<sup>1</sup> "Go, you coward, and pull out those rogues by the ears," she said, to urge him to attempt the arrest of the five members.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, ch. lxxi.

finances and sequestrations which crippled the Royalist gentry, and the unprecedented taxation which fell heavily on all classes must have had a very depressing effect on the county's well being at the time.

The historian Buckle,<sup>1</sup> with his own theories to support, has represented the Civil War as a war of classes. It was certainly not so in its inception; it was rather a war of temperaments. If the majority of the nobility and gentry was for the King, and the majority of the yeomanry and townsfolk for the Parliament, there was a great and powerful minority in each class; the political cleft was far from coinciding accurately with the social cleft.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is also true that as time wore on the able men who rose from the ranks of the lesser gentry and the commercial classes on the parliamentary side pushed out the aristocratic leaders who owed their position to their birth; and it may be remarked that the flood-tide of parliamentary success was coincident with the rise of these new men.

In Sussex the dividing line was certainly not social. Of the great nobles, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, was on the Royalist side, but he resided abroad, busy with the collection of works of art, and took no part in the contest. Against him may fairly be set Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the lord of Petworth, "the proudest man alive,"<sup>3</sup> who held high office under the Parliament. Of the gentry, especially in West Sussex, numerous leading families, some of them Catholic, took the King's part; among them may be named the Gages, the Gorings of Danny, the Bishops, the Lunsfords, the Coverts, the Culpeppers, the Fords, the Bowyers, May of Rawmere, the Morleys of Halnaker, the Ashburnhams, the Carylls, and the Lewknors. It is noticeable that some of these, such as the Bowyers, the Mays, and the Morleys (to be distinguished from the Morleys of Glynde), were of the newer

<sup>1</sup> History of Civilization in England, vol. ii, ch. iii.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, Civil War, ch. i.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon.

class of gentry, who had purchased land with the profits of commerce or the law, and, as may be frequently observed in such cases, were perhaps especially inclined to take what seemed the more aristocratic side. In the parliamentary ranks will be found names no less eminent for descent or position in the county. The Pelhams, the Eversfields, the Gorings of Burton, the Gratwicks, the Burrells, Colonel Morley of Glynde, Sir John Trevor, Hay of Glyndbourne, Sir Herbert Springate, Anthony Stapley of Patcham, Thomas Middleton of Hills Place, William and Thomas Michelbourne, Peter Courthope, Henry Shelley, Anthony Shirley of Preston—these were among the Sussex gentry who, being members of the Long Parliament, took the Covenant, or at some time were in the military or civil service of the Parliament. And of many of the leading families some members took one side, and some the other.

If the gentry were divided, the burgesses, the yeomanry, and the inhabitants generally were for the Parliament, as in the other counties of the south-east and east. Sussex especially had become very Puritan,<sup>1</sup> and it may be that the slow, conservative, independent character of the Anglo-Saxon population inclined it to view political differences from a severely practical standpoint. The romantic attachment to a royal house, regardless of its merits or faults, especially in time of misfortune, which prevailed in the more impressionable west, had no great force in hard-headed Sussex.

In the seventeenth century forest covered a great part of Sussex, which is still one of the most thickly timbered counties in England. A contemporary writer<sup>2</sup> speaks of the weald as having formerly been a most unfruitful wilderness, and unfitted either for pasture or tillage until it be "holpen by some manner of comfort, as dung, marle,

<sup>1</sup> See ch. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Gervase Markham.

fresh earth, fodder, ashes or such other refreshments." In his day and for long after agriculture was in a backward state, the fields small, badly drained, and surrounded by woods or "shaws," which increased the general dampness of the county. These conditions and the exceeding badness of the Sussex roads made military operations within the county very difficult. It was only a hard and prolonged frost which enabled both Hopton and Waller to march considerable armies with great rapidity to Arundel in December, 1643; and later, the Parliament declined to demolish certain great houses in the county, which it was feared might be seized by the Royalists, on the ground that their situation would be their best defence.

The usual condition of the roads doubtless preserved the county from a very active share in the operations of the war. Their deficiencies at this time and long after have been the theme of many writers. In the spring of 1690 Lord Chancellor Cowper, then a barrister on the Home Circuit, wrote to his wife from Kingston-on-Thames excusing himself for not having written to her from Horsa-ham, since from that place letters had to be sent six miles to meet the post: "I write to you from this place as soon as I arrive to tell you I have come off without hurt, both in my going and return through Sussex ways, which are bad and ruinous beyond imagination. I vow 'tis a melancholy consideration that mankind will inhabit such a heap of dirt for a poor livelihood. The county is a sink of about fourteen miles broad which receives all the water that falls from two long ranges of hills on both sides of it; and not being furnished with convenient draining, is kept moist and soft by the water till the middle of a dry summer, which is only able to make it tolerable to ride for a short time."<sup>1</sup> Even in the eighteenth century such was the condition of Sussex roads and Sussex civilization, that the

<sup>1</sup> Lord Campbell's Life of Lord Chancellor Cowper, p. 267.

judges in the Spring Circuits dared venture no farther into the county than the border towns of Horsham and East Grinstead to hold their assizes.<sup>1</sup> A practical Sussex lady, Judith, widow of Sir Richard Shirley of Preston, who had remarried a judge in London, in her will dated 10th January 1728, expressed a wish "to be buried at Preston if I die at such time of the year as the roads thereto are passable, else where my executors think fit." Fortunately she died in the month of June, and her wish was carried out.<sup>2</sup> The learned pedant, Dr. John Burton, who wrote an account in Greek and Latin of his journey into Sussex in 1751, was anything but complimentary to the county and its inhabitants: "Why is it that the oxen, the swine, the women and all other animals are so long-legged in Sussex? May it be from the difficulty of pulling the feet out of so much mud by the strength of the ankle, that the muscles get stretched as it were and the bones lengthened?" He complains that the moment he left the old Roman causeway of Stane Street he "fell immediately upon all that was most bad, upon a land desolate and muddy, whether inhabited by men or beasts a stranger could not easily distinguish, and upon roads which were, to explain concisely what is most abominable, Sussexian."<sup>3</sup>

Sussex was doubtless regarded by Londoners as a savage and outlandish county. Their flesh was made to creep by such tales as the following of the existence of uncanny monsters in its purlieus: "True and Wonderful. A discourse relating to a strange and monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered and yet living to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent Poyson: In Sussex, two miles from Horsam, in a Woode called St. Leonard's Forrest, and thirtie miles from London, this present Month of August,

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xi, 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Stemmata Shirleiana*, 2nd ed., 1873, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., viii, 254-7.

1614.”<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet relates that “there is a vast and unfrequented place, heathie, vaultie, full of unwholesome shades and overgrowne hollows, where this Serpent is thought to be bred; but wheresoever bred, certaine and too true it is that there it yet lives. . . . He is of Countenance very proud, and at the sight or hearing of men or cattel will raise his necke upright and seem to listen and looke about with great arrogancy. There are likewise on either side of him discovered two great bunches so big as a large foote-ball, and (as some think) will in time grow to wings; but God, I hope, will (to defend the poor people in the neighbourhood) that he be destroyed before he grow so fledge.”

When tales of such prodigies were eagerly swallowed it is not surprising that a belief in witchcraft, which was held in the highest quarters, and survived until long afterwards, still prevailed. The papers of the Corporation of Rye record several cases. In 1608 Anne, wife of George Taylor, gentleman, was condemned to death for witchcraft, but on the interference of the Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, she was respited and apparently escaped. His lordship wrote with humanity and discretion: “As I like at no hand that authority be made a mark to revenge private injuries, so am I not credulous of every information I receive against the magistrates for due execution of justice, yet in this case I could be well contented in respect of her sex and her present state, being now with child, and grown very weak by reason thereof, and the loathsomeness of the prison, to afford her all favour warrantable by law.”<sup>2</sup> In 1645 the Mayor ordered that Martha, the wife of Stephen Bruff, and Anne Howsell, widow, being suspected to be witches, should be tried by putting them into the water.<sup>3</sup>

But if her agriculture was backward, and her means of

<sup>1</sup> London, J. Trundle, 1614. Harleian Miscellany, iii, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii 4), 137 *seq.*      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

communication inadequate—not an unmitigated evil in time of war—Sussex enjoyed other sources of wealth. From early times the richness of the deposits of iron ore and the abundance of fuel had occasioned a considerable iron industry, which in the reign of Henry VIII became of national importance. The first iron cannons made in England were cast at Buxted by Ralph Hoge or Hogge in 1543. This founder employed as assistant Peter Baude, a Frenchman; and about the same time Peter van Collet, a Flemish gunsmith, devised and cast mortar pieces from 11 to 19 inches bore.<sup>1</sup> Their English pupils would seem in course of time to have outstripped their masters. Shortly before the Civil War we find two Frenchmen proceeded against for “practising to allure into France Sir Sackville Crow’s workmen for casting ordnance.”<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the Civil War there were in Sussex about twenty-seven furnaces, at most of which guns and shot were made, and about forty-two forges or iron-mills. It was stated in a petition to Charles II, praying for protection against Swedish iron, that under the Commonwealth the iron works had employed “at least 50,000 lusty able workmen.” Even if this is an exaggeration, a large working population must have been engaged not only at the works themselves, but in the cutting, hauling, and preparation of fuel, and in the shipment of the finished product, which generally took place from Lewes, Newhaven, or Rye. The great landowners, such as the Pelhams, the Carylls, and the Nevilles, added to their wealth by engaging in the industry, or by finding in it a market for their timber; and newer families, such as the Burrells, the Gratwicks, the Fowles, and the Fullers rose by its aid to an important position in the county. In the Civil War the almost uninterrupted possession of Sussex and its iron-works must have been an asset of considerable value to the Parliamentary cause.

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), ii, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, lxx, 103; lxii, 28.

The wholesale destruction of timber as fuel at the iron-works was viewed with much disapproval in certain quarters. Drayton expressed a sentimental regret:

Jove's oak, the warlike ash, vein'd elm, the softer beech,  
Short hazel, maple plain, light asp, the bending wych,  
Tough holly, and smooth birch, must altogether burn,  
What should the builder serve, supplies the forger's turn.<sup>1</sup>

And other commercial interests raised objections. Shoreham, Hastings, and Rye had for centuries done a large trade in "billets" for firewood, not only coast-wise, but with French ports. With the development of the iron industry, the price of these rapidly rose. In 1580 the charge at Brighton for "billet or tale wood" had risen from 2*s.* 6*d.* the hundredweight to 8*s.*<sup>2</sup> The Corporations of Hastings and Rye conferred on the subject,<sup>3</sup> and pressed for legislative interference. Various acts were passed regulating the cutting of wood to make charcoal for the furnaces, and prohibiting the use of timber trees for that purpose, in the interests of the shipbuilding industry,<sup>4</sup> for which the excellence of Sussex oak made it especially valuable. Long afterwards it was noted that "the quality of the oak timber may be collected from the circumstance of the Navy Contractors preferring it in all their agreements and stipulating for Sussex before every other species of oak."<sup>5</sup>

For Sussex was not only an agricultural and a manufacturing county; its extended coast-line gave it some maritime importance, which in earlier times had been much greater. It has been shown that under Edward the Confessor there was a desire to make the Sussex ports, Winchelsea, Rye, and New Burgh (Hastings), "a strong link of communication between England and Normandy," by plac-

<sup>1</sup> Polyolbion, Song XVII.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., ii, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 247.

<sup>5</sup> Young, Agric. of Sussex, p. 164.



ing them under the control of Fécamp Abbey,<sup>1</sup> and that Steyning, then a port, was granted by Edward to the same body.<sup>2</sup> Sussex abounded in harbours adapted to the use of mediæval fleets—Rye, Winchelsea, Pevensey, Hastings, Cuckmere, Shoreham, Pagham, and others. Even Brighton had its little harbour, at the mouth of the Wellsbourne stream, which now flows underground. Andrew Borde, writing in the reign of Henry VIII, speaks of Bryght-Hempston as among the “noble ports and havens of the realm.”<sup>3</sup> In 1625 there were belonging “to Brightempston 300 mariners at least.”<sup>4</sup> By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the Sussex ports had fallen into decay, chiefly owing to the alterations of the coast-line and the silting up of the harbours. Winchelsea, once the great emporium of French wines, and in the reign of Henry VI the chief port of embarkation for France, had lost its harbour from this cause in the time of Elizabeth, and was now commercially ruined and almost deserted.<sup>5</sup> Hastings had suffered much from the repeated destruction of its pier, as appears in a very interesting memorandum preserved among the Corporation papers, which relates that “the pier of Hastings was begun to be re-edified by certain western men sent for of purpose from the Cobb of Lyme.”<sup>6</sup> And by them was built a high work without the old pier, full south, all of huge rocks artificially piled edgelong one close by another of a great height, but without any timber, yet to men’s judgement unremoveable it grew to so huge a pile;

<sup>1</sup> Professor Burrows, *Historic Towns; Cinque Ports*, pp. 26-9.

<sup>2</sup> J. Horace Round, *Feudal England*, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., xvi, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxxi, 170.

<sup>5</sup> See *post*, page 267.

<sup>6</sup> “In the very entrance into Dorset out of Denshire, the first place that showeth itself on the shore is Lime, a little town situate upon a steep hille; which scarcely may challenge the name of a Port or Haven towne, though it be frequented with fishermen, and hath a rode under it called the Cobbe, sufficiently defended from the force of winds with rocks and high trees.”—CAMDEN.

but notwithstanding, the first winter flow overthrew it in a moment and dispersed the huge rocks like thin planks. And so that cost was lost. But the next year after other workmen of better knowledge (as was thought) were called thence, and by general consent the like piece of work was begun to be again built with the like huge rocks. And for more surety, by advice of the master workman, it was thought best (because they judged the decay of the former was for want of some timber) to lay the foundation of this new work within the timber work of the old pier and so to continue with timber braces and bars, cross dogs and such like up to the top. And this work was with singular industry and art brought above the full, and by All Hallowtide 1597 well near finished, viz.:—thirty foot high and a hundred foot long at least, beautiful to behold, huge, invincible, and unremoveable in the judgement of all the beholders, amounting to a great charge, whereunto the whole shire and divers beholders were contributaries of benevolence, besides the Town's great expenses. But behold when men were most secure and thought the work to be perpetual, on All Saints' Day 1597 appeared the mighty force of God, who with the finger of his hand and one great and exceeding high spring tide with a south east wind overthrew this huge work in less than an hour, to the great terror and abashment of all beholders, to the great discredit of the like work hereafter with the Country, and to the manifest undoing of the Town which by reason thereof was left greatly indebted."<sup>1</sup>

Rye had also lost much of its earlier importance. It was stated in the draft of an Act of 1624 that the town of Rye had been of great consequence to the State, in that it had supplied his Majesty's house, and that part of the kingdom, with more plentiful store of fish than any two towns in England. Its trade and traffic had been so great that

<sup>1</sup> Hastings MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 357.

it had paid £2,000 a year Customs in Queen Elizabeth's time. Its shipping and mariners had done the King and the kingdom greater service than any of the Ports,<sup>1</sup> its harbour was not only a place of refuge for ships in distress, but the most convenient in England for passage to the heart of France. But of late years the harbour was much "swarved up" with sand brought in by the sea, for want of a sufficient fresh to drive it back; wherefore the town was impoverished for want of trade, and unpeopled, there being a hundred houses uninhabited.<sup>2</sup>

The efforts of the town authorities to keep the harbour open did not command universal respect. It was complained of John Allen, goldsmith, in 1611, that he had said that "the harbour makers were brewers and bakers, shepherds and silver-candlestick-makers, carters and hogshops," and had made "divers other bad speeches."<sup>3</sup> But Rye, though somewhat decayed, had managed to maintain its position as the chief port on the coast between Dover and Portsmouth. It was the recognized port for traffic with Dieppe, and a regular service of passenger boats was kept up, even during the Civil War. The Rye Passage-book, a few years before the outbreak of hostilities, gives a long list of passengers—of all classes—between the two ports;<sup>4</sup> and in 1641 Sir Francis Windebank recommended his son Thomas to cross the Channel by "a little ordinary vessel of Rye."<sup>5</sup>

As a maritime county, exposed to the depredations of hostile fleets, Sussex had not much ground for objecting to the imposition of ship-money, the attempt to levy which upon inland counties brought matters between the King and his subjects to a head. The first writs were issued on 20th October 1634, and addressed only to the ports and

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the Cinque Ports are referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> S. A. C., xviii, 170-179.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, cccclxxxii, 76-77; cccclxxxv, 116.

maritime places. The Cinque Ports were ordered to provide an 800-ton ship (which none of them possessed), or its equivalent in money, £6,375. The second writ of 4th August 1635, required from the Cinque Ports, coupled with the county of Kent, an 800-ton ship; and from the county of Sussex a 500-ton ship, or £5,000; towards which Hastings was rated at £410, Chichester at £200, Arundel at £30, and Shoreham at £20. The third and fourth writs of 1636 and 1639 required similar provision of ships, but the assessment of the towns was considerably reduced.<sup>1</sup>

But the sea-side counties had their own grievance, in that although they were called upon to pay for a navy it was used not for their protection, but for dynastic purposes, or "merely as a pageant."<sup>2</sup> The Channel was full of privateers from Dunkirk and Ostend, and Algerian pirates, who reaped a rich harvest. The master of a Rye fishing boat, which had been plundered by a Dunkirk privateer, deposed that he had seen thirty-four others on the coast, and that there was always one stationed permanently outside the harbour. It is no wonder that when war broke out the seaboard of Sussex, in common with most of the ports throughout the kingdom, stood solidly to the Parliament.

As regards the general social condition of the county in the period preceding the Civil War, there is plenty of evidence of a prevailing prosperity, in spite of occasional troubles, such as the great famine of 1630-31.<sup>3</sup> The building or rebuilding of such stately mansions as Wiston, Danny, Slaugham, Wakehurst, Gravetye, and Blackdown, attests the wealth of the gentry. At the greatest of them all, Cowdray House, Lord Montague kept an almost royal state. A house in which the "officers" and other male servants numbered at least sixty, and probably a great many more, must have given much employment to the surrounding country. When Queen Elizabeth visited Cow-

<sup>1</sup> See *Vict. Hist. Sussex*, ii, 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>3</sup> See *S. A. C.*, xvi, 20 *seq.*

dray she was "most royallie feasted; the proportion of breakfast was three oxen and one hundred and fortie geese."<sup>1</sup> And not only were the ancient families of the county housing themselves in splendid fashion, but wealthy Londoners were choosing Sussex, in spite of its bad roads and reputation for savagery, as a place of residence. Thomas May of Rawmere, in Mid Lavant,<sup>2</sup> was the grandson of a rich London tailor of the time of Elizabeth; Sir William Morley of Halnaker was the son of John Morley of Saxham, in Suffolk, who, having grown rich in his place of "Apposer of the Extracts" in Queen Elizabeth's exchequer, had purchased Halnaker and obtained a grant of arms somewhat similar to those of the more ancient Morleys of Glynde, with whom he does not appear to have been connected;<sup>3</sup> the gallant cavalier, Sir Thomas Bowyer, who, upon paying his enormous fine of £2,033 18s. 7d., said cheerfully that "he had gotten a cheap pennyworth to preserve peace of conscience,"<sup>4</sup> came of a family enriched by trade in the City of London.

John Evelyn, the diarist, records that his father's estate "was esteemed £4,000 per annum,<sup>5</sup> well wooded and full of timber." In 1634 "my father was appointed Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, before they were disjoined; he had 116 servants in livery, every one liveried in green satin doublets; divers gentlemen and persons of quality waited on him in the same garb and habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the high Sheriff) was esteemed a great matter."

On 3rd November 1640, the Long Parliament met at Westminster; that Parliament, "which indeed is definable as the Father of Parliaments, which first rendered Parliaments supreme, and has since set the whole world upon chase of Parliaments, a notable speculation very lively in

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 186.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., v, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xix, 94 n.



<sup>5</sup> Equal to £16,000 or £20,000 in the present day.

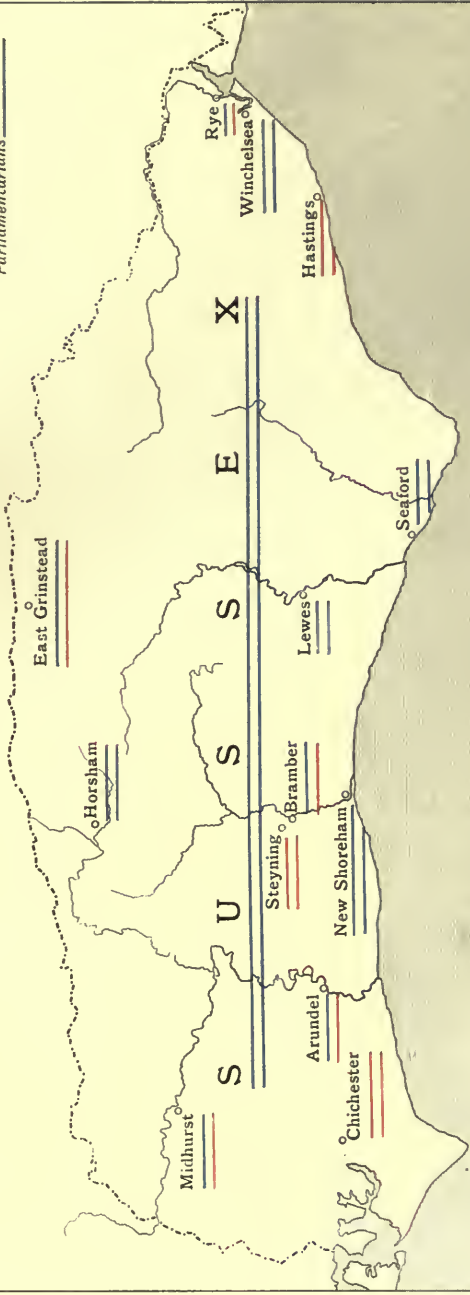
most parts of Europe to-day.”<sup>1</sup> Sussex returned to it twenty-eight members, who, judged by their subsequent conduct, may be classed as seventeen Roundheads and eleven Cavaliers. On the Parliamentary side, among those who were to be most prominent in county affairs during the war, were Anthony Stapley, of Patcham, who, being returned both for the county and for Lewes, elected to sit for the county; Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart., for the county; Herbert Morley, of Glynde, for Lewes; William Cawley, of Chichester, brewer, for Midhurst; Thomas Middleton for Horsham. Among the Royalists, who were all “disabled” in the early years of the war, were Christopher Lewknor and Sir William Morley, knt., returned for Chichester; Sir Thomas Bowyer, for Bramber; Sir Edward Alford for Arundel; and John Ashburnham—Charles’ faithful friend and attendant “Jack”—for Hastings.

This House of Commons of 1640, and the House as we know it, are two very different things. To us the House is the ultimate repository of the nation’s aspirations; its intentions may be delayed by the Crown or the House of Lords, but both forces will bow before what is held to be the national will decisively expressed in general elections. In the eventful two years between the election of the Long Parliament and the outbreak of war, the House was only feeling its way to a commanding position. The King was still the one permanent and guiding influence in the Constitution. The nation was accustomed to see parliaments summoned only at long intervals and for special purposes. This particular House, intent on substituting a limited for an absolute monarchy, and engaged on such momentous proceedings as the impeachment of Strafford, felt the need of a more precise popular mandate than its election had given it. Pym, the popular leader, who still clung to the idea that the King must be brought round by persuasion and not by force, that he had only to be sur-

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Cromwell*, iii, 244.

The Representation of  
**SUSSEX**  
in the Long Parliament

Royalists   
Parliamentarians 







rounded by good counsellors for all to be right, found a way to such a mandate in the "Protestation." This document, with its accompanying resolutions, expressed in a manner characteristic of the times the abhorrence felt by the nation alike of the Romish religion and of illegal taxation. It was ordered to be signed by all males aged eighteen and upwards, and was intended to be a "Shibboleth to discover a true Israelite," for "what person soever shall not make the protestation is unfit to bear office in the Church or Common-wealth." To the local historian, the signatures to the Protestation are perhaps even more important than the document itself. The returns for the western half of Sussex are very complete, and have been printed.<sup>1</sup> Alike to the genealogist and to student of social conditions they are invaluable. With some allowance for imperfect returns, they give a total of about thirteen thousand, four hundred and nineteen male inhabitants of West Sussex aged eighteen years and upwards. The Protestation was administered by the Justices of the Peace to the respective ministers, churchwardens, and other officers, who subsequently gave it to the inhabitants of their parishes. As a rule in addition to the names of those who took it, the names of absentees and those who refused it are noted. Doubtless its main object was not only to support the Protestant religion, but also to discover Roman Catholics; a fact which several of the Sussex clergy grasped. The return from Binderton states: "There is noe Recusant Papist, or any other, in this Parish, that refused to make this Protestation"; the Rector of Pagham, after giving the names of absentees, mentions: "We have no Papists nor other sectaries in our Parish." As regards the diffusion of population, the returns give a total male population for Chichester of about 772; for Horsham of 509; for Petworth

<sup>1</sup> Sussex Record Society, vol. v, 1906; West Sussex Protestation Returns, 1641-2; transcribed, edited, and indexed by R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.

of 419; for Kirkford of 309; for Midhurst of 271; for Westbourne of 236; for Billingshurst of 225; for Pulborough of 220; for Steyning of 204; for South Harting of 199; for Wisborough Green of 181; and for West Grinstead of 179. It is a piece of curiously good fortune that such definite information should be available.

Some evidence of the feeling of the county is given by the petitions of February, 1642, from the high sheriff, knights, ministers, and other inhabitants of Sussex to the Houses of Parliament. After thanking the Lords for passing the Bill for taking away the bishops' votes in Parliament, and the Commons for what they had done in that House, the petitioners proceed: "Our humble desires are that the laws of God may be truly maintained; government and discipline so settled that we may conform therein to the perfect rule of God's word; able learned and painful ministers may be encouraged, scandalous speedily displaced; pluralities and unwarranted orders and dignities of the clergy taken away; that the probate of wills may be referred to the cognizance of temporal courts; that places of concernment in the Kingdom may be in the hands of persons of ability, integrity and good conversation; Papists may be totally disarmed, their persons confined, their subtle conveyances of their estates discovered and prevented; secret evil counsels and counsellors taken away from his Majesty, and delinquents punished; sale of honour and offices restrained; that our county more than seventy miles naked to the sea may speedily be put into a posture of warlike defence by sea and land, seamen encouraged, fishing maintained; Ireland further relieved; the clergy and others disobeying your late orders in our Cathedral and other churches questioned; the universities thoroughly purged; the mass utterly abolished."

Although Sussex was by no means especially strong in Royalist families, yet of the men who were closely associated with the King at the most critical points of his career

quite a remarkable number were of Sussex birth or Sussex origin. Henry Gage, his governor of Oxford, John Ashburnham, his treasurer and twice his comrade in flight, Stephen Goffe his trusted emissary to the Continent, Accepted Frewen his favoured chaplain, William Juxon his companion to the scaffold: to these we may add the Gorings, father and son, of whom the younger perhaps did more to bring ruin on the royal cause than almost any of its enemies. And in those last stormy weeks before Charles left London, his promotion of and reliance on a Sussex cavalier of doubtful character helped to precipitate the hostility both of the Parliament and the City.

In pursuance, as it was commonly supposed, of his plan to arrest the leaders of the Commons, Charles on 23rd December 1641 dismissed Sir William Balfour, a man of staunch integrity, from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and appointed Colonel Lunsford in his place. "Lunsford was only known as a debauched ruffian, who was believed capable of any villany. If the talk of the seizure and execution of the leaders, of which so much had been recently heard, was to be carried into practice, Lunsford was the very man to keep a tight hold on his prisoners."<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Lunsford, of Whiligh in East Hoathly, at this time about thirty-two years of age, had already enjoyed a somewhat varied career. Eight years before, in 1633, he had been brought before the Star Chamber for poaching the deer and assaulting the gamekeepers of his neighbour and cousin, Sir Thomas Pelham, and fined £1,000 to the King and £500 to Sir Thomas. Becoming desperate, he "lay in wait and beset Sir Thomas Pelham, as he was returning from church in his coach on a Sunday, discharging two pistols into his coach."<sup>2</sup> This further outrage brought fresh fines of £5,000 and £3,000 upon him—the Star Chamber knew how to fine—whereupon he fled to France,

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-42, x, 108.

<sup>2</sup> City of London's petition for his dismissal. S. A. C., v, 81.

and taking service there, rose to be a colonel of foot. The Earl of Dorset, writing to Sir Thomas Pelham on 26th October 1633, speaks of him as "that young outlaw, Mr. Lunsford, who fears neither God nor man, and who having given himself over unto all lewdness and dissoluteness, only studies to affront justice."<sup>1</sup> Clarendon describes him more mildly as "of no good education." In 1639 he returned to England, became reconciled to his cousin, and obtained the King's pardon for his fines.

The appointment to the Lieutenancy of the Tower of "a man given to drinking, swearing and quarrelling, much in debt and very desperate," raised a furious storm. The Commons requested the Earl of Newport, Constable of the Tower, and therefore Lunsford's superior officer, to take personal charge of the fortress. Charles replied by dismissing Newport from the Constablership. On 26th December the Lord Mayor assured the King that unless Lunsford were removed he could not answer for the peace of the City, as the apprentices would try to storm the Tower. Charles yielded, dismissed Lunsford (with a knighthood), and appointed in his stead Sir John Byron, an honourable man of stainless character. But the mischief was done.

Next day Lunsford led an attack on a number of apprentices and others who had invaded Westminster Hall and saluted the bishops with cries of "No Popish Lords!" A week later the climax came. One of the most stirring and dramatic scenes in the history of England was enacted on 4th January 1642, when Charles, accompanied by an armed band of 300 gentlemen and servants, went down to the House, "stepped through the door which none of his predecessors had ever passed,"<sup>2</sup> and demanded the surrender of the five popular leaders, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazlerigg, and Strode. Baffled by their absence, and by the resolute dignity of the Speaker, William Lenthall, Charles

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-42, x, 139.

withdrew, but not before the Lunsfords of his armed following,

His bravos of Alsatia and pages of Whitehall,

had exhibited a strong desire to make short work of the members. "The Commons at once adjourned, with the sense that they had but just escaped a massacre. The orderly D'Ewes testified his opinion of the danger by stepping to his lodgings and immediately making his will."<sup>1</sup>

On 10th January the King, with Thomas Lunsford and his brother Herbert in his escort, left London, never to return but as a prisoner to hear his sentence of death.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, History of England, 1603-42, x, 139.

## CHAPTER II

### PURITAN SUSSEX

**I**F the blood of martyrs is the seed of churches, the Marian persecution, with its heavy roll of Sussex victims, doubtless bore in due time its inevitable fruit. Thirty-three men and women, about an eighth of the total number of victims in all England, perished at the stake in various Sussex towns. Lewes has not yet forgotten the day, three hundred and fifty years ago, on which Richard Woodman the ironmaster, and nine other Protestants, were done to death by fire in her main street. From our general knowledge of the futility of such methods of repression, we should infer that in the next generation or two there would be a sturdy growth of militant Protestantism of an advanced type, and with reason. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and still more in that of her successor, what came to be called Puritanism was advancing with great strides. Partly its strength was due to the deficiencies of the Reformed Church of England, whose ministers too often failed to satisfy the spiritual aspirations of their people, especially as regards preaching and the exposition of Scripture; partly to the influence of the Bible, then a new book to Englishmen, and the only book to which most of them had any access. Still the noblest example of the English language, the effect of the Bible on minds unoccupied with any rival literature was immense. It directed the whole trend of thought in the nation, it dominated the national speech, and it deeply affected the national character. A new and

unprecedented religious fervour, a fresh conception of man's life and destiny, spread through every class.

In 1591 the Mayor and Jurats of Rye were troubled about "a small secte of purytanes, more holy in shewe than in dede," who were putting the law in motion against Mr. Greenwood, the Corporation's preacher, for non-residence, and for that purpose had procured "certain mutinous fellows of the town who profess to be more pure than others, and are in deed much worse than in show" to lay an information against him, whereby he was very likely to be taken from them, and to bear the penalty of the law. By way of checking the proceedings of these troublesome persons, the Corporation held an inquiry and committed some of them to prison. Robert Rede, a joiner, deposed concerning a fellow tradesman: "I have hard Francis Godfrey say that my Lord of Canterbury is but the Pope of Inglande, and that the Booke of Comon Prayer which he alowethe to be sayde in the Church is but masse translated and dumdogs to reade it, for those ministers that do not preache they call them dumdogs."<sup>1</sup>

But the Puritans were not to be easily put down—in spite of James I's declaration that he would make them conform, "or else harrie them out of the land, or else do worse; only hang them—that's all." In Sussex records of the time we may note a progressive change of attitude on the part of the authorities towards them. Nineteen years after the magistrates of Rye had committed Puritans to prison as "mutinous fellows," Rye had a Puritan mayor. In 1610 Richard Colbrand of Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, musician, deposed that while lodging at the inn of one Daniell at Rye, he heard the said Daniell say: "We have a Puritan to our Mayor and therefore you may play as long as you will at his door, but he will give you nothing." And that was the occasion that they stayed from playing and showing their music unto Mr. Mayor.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

The prevalence of Christian names characteristically Puritan during the early part of the seventeenth century, points to the spread of Puritan doctrines. As early as 1588 the Rev. John Frewen, the Puritan rector of Northiam, baptized his eldest son "Accepted";<sup>1</sup> his second son he named "Thankfull." We are sometimes tempted to suppose that Barebone, the leather seller, who gave his name to the Parliament of 1653, assumed the Christian name "Praise-God" to be in the fashion. But the Sussex registers of a much earlier date exhibit plentiful examples of such names. A jury list<sup>2</sup> of the period includes the following: Be-courteous Cole of Pevensey; Safety-on-High Snat of Uckfield; Search-the-Scriptures Moreton of Salehurst; Increase Weeks of Cuckfield; Kill-sin Pemble of Westham; Fly-debate Smart, Fly-fornication Richardson, Seek-wisdom Wood, Much-mercy Cryer, all of Waldron; Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith White of Ewhurst; Small-hope Biggs of Rye; Earth Adams of Warbleton; The-peace-of-God Knight of Burwash. But perhaps Sussex has no name to show equal in strangeness to that of Humiliation Scratcher, which appears in the parish registers of Ware in Hertfordshire.

The Rev. John Frewen, a man of the highest character, and a thorough Puritan in heart and conduct, particularly excited the opposition of the orthodox party. Among the Rye muniments is a declaration touching one John Snepp, otherwise unknown to fame, "that he affirmeth it was a merrier world when ministers might not marry; that now they ought not to marry, and that their children are illegitimate; that he absented himself from church at Northiam for half a year, and was a profaner of the Sabbath in entertaining men's servants in playing of cards and dice. That he threatened to pull Mr. Frewen out of the pulpit and spit

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop of York, 1660-64, see *post*, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Burrell MSS., quoted by Horsfield, *Lewes*, i, 202 *n*. See also Salzman, *History of Hailsham*, 1901, p. 50.



in his face and make the said Mr. Frewen come to him on his knees; and threatened that songs should be made of him."<sup>1</sup>

In 1611 some of Mr. Frewen's parishioners preferred a bill of indictment for nonconformity against him at the Lewes summer assizes; but the grand jury ignored the bill.<sup>2</sup> In 1622 Mr. Frewen himself proceeded in the ecclesiastical court at Lewes against one of his parishioners, Robert Creswell, for insulting him on the open highway, "calling him old Fole, old Asse, old Coxscombe," and irreverently attacking certain doctrines which he had propounded the Sunday before. After due citation Creswell was excommunicated.<sup>3</sup>

To the Puritan propaganda of such men as Frewen, the slackness and inefficiency of many of the church clergy rendered powerful assistance. Among the interrogatories addressed to the Chapter of Chichester Cathedral by Bishop Harsnett in 1616 were the following:

(1) How often hath the Dean preached in the Cathedral Church, or any other Church of the Diocese, during the six or seven years last past?

(2) Is an Advowson of the Benefice of Amport passed or granted unto a layman for money?

(3) Do the Vicars or Singing men duly and diligently attend the performance of Divine Service in the Cathedral Church? Within these three years last have not all or most of them been absent at once at beginning of Divine Service?

(4) How cometh it to pass that the Church officers dwell without the close, and laymen inhabit within it? That alehouses have been lately suffered to be kept within your close, that laymen have keys to open the gates of the closes when they list? That boys and hogs do beastly

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 133. For the "making of songs" concerning ministers, *cf. post*, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Lower's Worthies of Sussex, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

defile the walls and yards belonging to the Cathedral Church, and that no reformation hath been had herein notwithstanding the often complaints and presentments of the same?<sup>1</sup>

If the condition of things here suggested prevailed in the cathedral city, we may suppose the case of many country parishes to have been no better. And from the records of the Archdeaconry Court at Lewes between 1580 and 1640 we have ample evidence of slovenliness and worse.<sup>2</sup> Not only were the fabrics of many churches kept in ill repair, the windows unglazed and the roofs leaky, the churchyard neglected or given over to the parson's cattle; but there are frequent cases of personal default on the part of the clergy. At Clayton it was alleged that "we have had no sermons in our parish church since Christmas now two years in the default of the parson." The parson was John Farley, evidently a "dumdog." Thomas Bide, rector of Crawley, was presented "for not preaching nor reading any monthly sermon, no, not a sermon in the whole yeare; for giving himself to base and servile labour; neither is his apparell grave decent or comely; hee weareth no surplice in tyme of divine service or ministering the sacraments; he catechizeth not at all; his houses are in decaye, the chancel untyled and is much decayed and in tyme will come to utter ruine."

Numerous complaints in this court against the clergy for neglect of ceremony and ritual exhibit the spread of Puritanical ideas among them. In 1605 John Batnor, rector of Westmeston, was presented "for that he doth not say the letany, nor ten commandments; neither doth he in baptisme signe with the signe of the Crosse, but with the signe of the Covenant; neither doth he weare the surplice"; and the vicar of Cuckfield for similar offences. In 1621 Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections, 1901, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> See the article on the Act Books of this Court by Mr. W. C. Renshaw, K.C., in S. A. C., xlix.

Warren, curate of Rye, "for the administering the Sacrament to many sitting and not kneeling." Mr. Warren seems to have been a very aggressive Puritan, and was several times before the Court in connection with disorderly scenes which took place at Rye, and one of his chief supporters, Joseph Benbrick, gent., was presented "for not bowing at the name of Jesus when the gospell is reading."

The Court seems to have taken notice of very trivial charges against the laity, especially in connection with the observance of Sunday and holy days. Some of these are interesting as evidence of the petty parochial tyranny which prevailed at the time. Among them may be noted the cases of Thomas Binnes of West Hoathly "for working on St. Luke's day last"; Thomas Ashbee of Maresfield "for working his oxen on the day of St. Michael"; John Heaves "for sittinge disorderly in the chancel with a dog on his knee"; James Payne of Eastbourne "for that he doth greatly offend the people in drunkenness being a manifest and vile drunkard, almost every day giving himself to that beastly life"; Edmund Hall of Lullington "for moweing of grasse upon Midsomer day"; William Bagant, of Alfriston "for that he is reputed to be a usurer"; William Fox of Hailsham, for being "a notorious breaker of the Sabbath day, running matches in the tyme of divyne service"; the wives of Edward Jones, senior, and Edward Jones, junior, of Rye, each "for a common skold"; John Naylor of Slaugham "for hunting of conies uppon a Sonday";—he confessed that "he did hunt conies uppon the Sonday; but was at both morning and evening prayers the same day"; Bridget Barret of Wivelsfield "for thrusting of pinnes in the wife of John Dumbrell in the church in tyme of divine service, and for other irreverent behaviour";—she admitted that "she did thrust a pinne into the wife of John Dumbrell by reason she sate downe in her lap."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xlix, 49-65.

On Laud's elevation to the archbishopric in 1633 he strove to check the growing flood of nonconformity by the curious policy of establishing absolute uniformity within the Church, without allowing for the diversity of the elements which formed it. He reported to the King in 1634: "the bishop of Chichester certifies all well in his diocese save only in the east part, which is far from him, he finds some Puritan Justices of the Peace have awed some of the clergy into like opinion with themselves, which yet of late have not broken out into any public nonconformity."<sup>1</sup> In 1635 Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar-general, held a metropolitan visitation of the diocese. His report is written in a humorous vein uncommon in such documents:

*Chichester*, 27th June.—It having been ordered that all should remove their hats during divine service, and that there should be no walking about or talking at that time, "Mr. Speed of St. Pancras confessed his error in being too popular in the pulpit; the mayor and his brethren are puritanically addicted, which caused me to admonish one of the aldermen for putting his hat on during the service."

*Arundel*, 1st July.—"Mr. Nye, rector of Clapham, Mr. Salisbury, curate of Warningcamp, Mr. Hill, vicar of Felpham, are so vehemently suspected to be nonconformitants that although nothing was proved against them I thought fit to inhibit them to preach until I could be better satisfied of them. . . . Mr. Hill in the pulpit spake unto four of his neighbours who sat before him in one seat that he was certain three of them should be damned. The fourth was his friend, and therefore he saved him.

"John Alberry churchwarden of Arundel having heard my charge in the morning, at night before he went to bed made a violent extemporary prayer, and pronounced it so loud that divers in the street did hear him;—the effect

<sup>1</sup> Laud, *Autobiog.*, 534; *Vict. Hist. Sussex*, ii, 32.

was, to be delivered from the persecution that was now coming upon them."

*Lewes*, 3rd July.—"Mr. Bunyard, Maynard, Russell and Gyles refused to bow at the blessed name of Jesus. After long conference, and late at night, they all submitted, confessing that they were convinced in their opinions and would hereafter observe the law of the Church.

"I inhibited one Mr. Jennings to preach any more for particularising in the pulpit. He called one of his parishioners 'arch-knave,' and being questioned by me answered that it was but a lively application. The man abused did think he had been called 'notched knave' and fell out with his barber who had lately trimmed him."<sup>1</sup>

The activity of Laud stimulated the energies of the Bishop of Chichester. In January 1637 he wrote to the curate of Rye with reference to a report that had reached him from Mr. Norton, one of the churchwardens, that against God's service, honour and reverence due to holy and consecrated places, and contrary to the laws, statutes and canons of the Church, the chancel of the church was used as an arsenal, a prison, and a place of execution of punishment. Mr. Mark Thomas, the Deputy Mayor, replied that no one remembered when this first began, but the south aisle of the chancel had long been used as a place to keep artillery sent from the Tower of London for the defence of the town, and the property of his Majesty; and he could not conceive that this use had commenced without the order of the Bishop of Chichester of the time. Bishop Andrews (1605-9), when he visited Rye, saw the use to which part of the chancel was put, and showed no dislike of it. This was all the profanation of the place, except that some "unruly servant" had been in times passed whipped there by the Mayor's orders. As for the complaint made against the curate for omitting to read the Church Ser-

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, 1635, pref. xliii; Vict. Hist. Sussex ii, 33.

vice, and for preaching sometimes two hours, the Bishop was informed that "though often times he doth read the Litany and ten commandments, yet sometimes he doth omit the reading thereof, through weakness of body, as he saith, and we truly believe; and for the accusation of preaching two hours long, we do assure your Lordship that the accusation is altogether false; for the mostly he keepeth himself to his hour, and sometimes preacheth less than an hour."<sup>1</sup>

An hour appears to have been the regulation length of a sermon. Mr. Large of Rotherfield was in the habit of "joining both his sermons for the day together, and seldom or never preached for less than two hours."<sup>2</sup> We may feel some sympathy for Thomas Brett of Cuckfield, presented to the Archdeaconry Court, for that "he usethe commonly to slepe in the sermon tyme."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps even "dumdogs" did not lack admirers.

The growing passion for preaching, combined with impatience of the set services of the Church, led to the appointment of lecturers, who were apparently maintained by the voluntary contributions of their flocks. This practice sometimes produced a good deal of friction, especially as regards the use of the pulpit. In 1623 the Mayor and Jurats of Rye wrote to the Bishop of Chichester, stating that under leave from the Archbishop of Canterbury they had, six years before, set up a lecture in their town, which had continued since; that of late Mr. Whitacre, curate to their vicar, Mr. Twine, had opposed it of his own authority, and would not suffer Mr. Warren, the lecturer, to go into the church, "of which thing we have thought good to certify your Lordship, humbly beseeching that so worthy a work, so much conducing to the honour and glory of God, may not be suppressed, but by your Lordship's leave and approbation, may still continue. Yet we dislike not Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), pp. 201-2.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., xlix, 51.

Whitacre for our curate, but desire his continuance here, for we hold him a sufficient preacher; who, being your Lordship's chaplain, you can a great deal better judge of his learning than we." <sup>1</sup> The last sentence seems a very pretty piece of studied impertinence. An unseemly disturbance took place in the church, and the matter found its way to the Archdeaconry Court. <sup>2</sup>

After the outbreak of war these lecturers sometimes obtained the benefices of ejected ministers. <sup>3</sup>

The Laudian revival came too late, and proceeded by wrong methods. It was a hopeless task to dragoon into conformity within narrow limits the seething elements of religious enthusiasms arising out of the new found study of the Bible. The movement was confined to no particular class. If our information as to the feelings of the labouring class, which did not seriously count in practical affairs, is small, we know that the yeomen and farmers of the county, the burgesses and tradesfolk of the towns, were ripe for a religious revolt. Apart from a few old Catholic families, whose sufferings had but confirmed their faith, the county gentry were Calvinist almost to a man; <sup>4</sup> the Elizabethan struggle with Spain had made Protestantism a patriotic virtue. In East Sussex the Puritan feeling of the Justices of the Peace was so strong that the moderately disposed were not able to withstand it. At the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions of 1639 Mr. Stapley, supported by Messrs. Rivers, Baker, and Hayes, delivered himself in his charge of the opinion that the altering of the Communion table altar-wise was an innovation detracting from God's glory. Mr. White, a justice, asked Mr. Stapley after the charge was done what he meant by meddling there with that business, which the bench had nothing to do with; to which Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), pp. 162, 170.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xlix, 60.

<sup>3</sup> See the case of Mr. Chatfield at Horsham, *post*, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, Civil War, xlvi.

Stapley answered that he was so pressed by other men to do it that he could not deny them. "The town of Lewes," wrote Dr. Edward Burton from Westham to Dr. Bray, chaplain to the Archbishop, "as well as the Sessions house, is tainted with him, for at this present, notwithstanding the Earl of Dorset's and Lord Goring's letter and intimations for their creatures to be parliament men, yet Mr. Stapley and Mr. Rivers have a strong party in the town, and it is much feared that they will be chosen burgesses for the town of Lewes. Lord forbid the greater part of a parliament should be of their stamp, if so Lord have mercy upon our Church. God, who knows my heart, knows it is not them I except against but their condition."<sup>1</sup>

What the Laudian revival failed to do, the Long Parliament in some measure effected. "It singled out the Royalist gentlemen and the anti-Calvinist clergyman for special penalties, with the result that every Royalist gentleman became not only a sworn foe to Puritanism, but a reverent admirer of doctrines and practices which ten years before he had pronounced to be detestable. Community of suffering draws friends more closely together than community of enjoyment."<sup>2</sup>

England was now to reap in pain and tribulation the crop sown by the unwisdom of her rulers, temporal and spiritual. The part to be taken by Sussex in the harvesting was determined mainly by the direction in which for two or three generations the religious opinions of an ever increasing number of the inhabitants had been tending. From the sacrifice of many lives, from the ruin of many homes, was to spring some germ of that tolerance of hostile opinion which was inconceivable to both parties at the opening of the struggle, but is essential to the idea of citizenship in our less self-confident age.

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, ccccxlii, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *loc. cit.*



## CHAPTER III

### PORTSMOUTH AND CHICHESTER

ON the 22nd of August 1642, in cloud and storm, King Charles raised the Royal Standard at Nottingham and formally opened the Civil War. The full significance of this step was perhaps not generally understood. It was almost universally supposed that the issue of a single field would decide the contest. The gallant gentlemen with the King believed that they had only to ride over the trained bands to bring His Majesty back in triumph to London; the parliamentarians thought they had only to show their mettle to reduce him to submission on the constitutional points at issue. Yet there were old soldiers among the leaders on both sides who had seen service with the Swedes and the Dutch, and who knew that once a shot is fired in anger, differences are less easily composed than before; knew, too, that open war was not a child's play, but a stern and serious business. In such a spirit did the veteran Sir Jacob Astley pray before Edgehill: "O Lord, Thou know how busy I must be this day. If I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me. March on, boys!"<sup>1</sup>

Before battle is joined, a word as to the constitution of the forces shortly to be engaged may not be out of place. Since the close of the Hundred Years' War with France, the nation had become very unmilitary. Each county possessed "trained bands" drawn from those liable to serve in the old militia, but they were only drilled one day a

<sup>1</sup> Warwick's Memoirs, p. 229.

month; they could not be compelled to serve beyond the boundaries of their own counties, and could seldom be induced to do so, except for some temporary purpose. The only trained bands which possessed any efficiency were those of the City of London, consisting chiefly of apprentices, from whose close-shorn heads the nickname of "Roundheads" took its rise.<sup>1</sup> These bands speedily became the best infantry that either side possessed, though the King's foot, derived from the mountainous parts of the kingdom—Wales, Cornwall, and the north—were remarkable for strength and endurance. The trained bands as units being unsuited for general campaigning, enlistment and impressment were speedily resorted to. The ordinary pay of 8*d.* a day (about 3*s.* 4*d.* in present value) was slightly higher than the current rate of agricultural wages; but it was subject to deductions for food, and was constantly in arrear.

The infantry were divided into two classes, the pikemen and the musketeers. They stood in ranks six deep; the musketeers of each rank having fired their pieces (with barrels four feet long and so heavy that they had to be fired from a crutch), fell back to reload. They wore no armour, and when charged retired behind the pikemen, who were protected by a half cuirass of steel and a steel cap over a leather bonnet. Both classes were very heavily laden, and thirteen miles a day was considered the limit of their marching powers. This was exceeded on occasion, as during Waller's march to Arundel in 1643.

But the issue of the war was to depend on cavalry. At the outset strenuous efforts were made by the gentlemen on both sides to raise troops of horse, in Sussex notably by Sir Edward Ford for the King, and by Colonel Herbert Morley for the Parliament; some, such as Sir William Springate, spent their whole fortune in this service. The

<sup>1</sup> See however a recent discussion in *Notes and Queries*, 11th S. i, 187, etc.

proportion of cavalry to infantry in the armies of the seventeenth century was far greater than in modern times; in 1646 it was laid down by an expert that there should be one horseman for every two footmen. At the outset the Royalists were far stronger in cavalry than the Parliamentarians; Essex in July 1643 complained that "the enemy's chief strength being in horse, and this army neither recruited with horses nor arms nor saddles, it is impossible to keep the country from being plundered; nor to fight with them but when and where they list; we being forced, when we move, to march with the whole army, which can be but by slow marches; so that the country suffers much wrong, and the cries of the poor people are infinite."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the evil reputation for plundering which the Royalist cavalry, especially under Rupert, soon obtained, was due in part to their superior numbers.

In the Civil War the cavalry consisted chiefly of two classes, harquebusiers and dragoons. The heavily armed cuirassier was becoming obsolete, owing to the difficulty of finding both men and horses equal to the weight of his cumbrous armour, and the light horseman wearing a coat of mail and armed with a spear had disappeared. The harquebusier—originally a foot soldier armed with a cross-bow—had become a horseman armed with a carbine. The dragoons were simply mounted infantry.<sup>2</sup>

Artillery was considered indispensable for sieges, but of no great use in battles. The Parliament enjoyed a great advantage in the possession of the forges of Sussex and Kent, especially those of the Brownes at Brede and Horsemonden, on which they relied almost entirely for guns both for the army and the navy.<sup>3</sup> Artillery for the Royalist armies was chiefly imported from France and Holland.

<sup>1</sup> Old Parliamentary History, xii, 328.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this subject see *Cromwell's Army*, by Professor Firth, London, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, p. 176.

Four or five different kinds of field guns were employed. The heaviest piece commonly used was the culverin, discharging a ball of from sixteen to twenty pounds in weight, which carried point blank about 400 paces, and had an extreme range of about 2,000 paces. The demi-culverin, more frequently employed, fired a ball of nine to twelve pounds, and had a somewhat lower range. The lighter pieces were called sakers, minions, and drakes. The saker fired a ball of about five pounds, the minion one of three and a half pounds, the drake was a three-pounder or less.

The opening proceedings of the war were attempts by both sides to secure control of the existing militia organization. The King issued his Commissions of Array, the Parliament its Militia Ordinance, to the leaders of the trained bands, and throughout England both parties endeavoured to secure possession of the county magazines in which the arms and ammunition of the trained bands were stored.<sup>1</sup> The struggle at Chichester, about to be related, was a typical instance of these efforts. The indecisive result of the first years of warfare was chiefly due to the insufficiency for the purposes of a campaign of the trained bands, which continually refused to fight far from their homes. When it came to the creation of professional armies, the resources and intelligence of the Parliamentary leaders prevailed—the New Model represented the evolution of an efficient army out of the pre-existent chaos.

In June the King had issued from his head-quarters at York a proclamation prohibiting the execution of the Parliamentary Militia Ordinance; and this proclamation had even been publicly read in the City of London by order of the Lord Mayor. It was also read at Chichester by order of the Mayor, Robert Exton;<sup>2</sup> who, on being summoned by Parliament to give an account of the matter, fled to join

<sup>1</sup> A statute of James I had established a magazine of arms and powder for each county.

<sup>2</sup> Not Eaton, as in S. A. C., v, 37.





GEORGE CORING.

the King. On 28th July James Gresham wrote from Chichester to his brother-in-law, Sir Poynings More: "The Mayor was sent for up to the Parliament about proclayming the proclamation my lord mayor is questioned for, and I heare hee hath mistaken his way and is gone to Yorke."<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that Charles was driven to his decisive step at Nottingham by the precipitate action of Colonel Goring, who was holding Portsmouth, ostensibly in the interest of the Parliament. This George Goring was the son of George Goring of Danny, who was created Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint in 1632, and later advanced to the earldom of Norwich. The father played an active and honourable part throughout the Civil War, and ruined his fortunes in the King's service; the son incurred the unmeasured censure alike of Cavaliers and Roundheads. Clarendon does not mince words: "Portsmouth was at the time of the raising of the Standard held for the King by one whose course from first to last, devious, uncertain, and unprincipled, shed disgrace upon the nobleness of his name and upon the honourable profession of a soldier. This man was Goring, than whom, on account of his private vices of drunkenness, cruelty and rapacity, and of his political timidity and treachery, scarcely anyone was more unworthy to be trusted with any important matters for counsel or execution."

For some time past Goring had been intriguing with both parties. He had been one of the witnesses against Strafford. He had betrayed the royal "army plot" of 1641 to the Parliament;<sup>2</sup> and in the same year, while holding Portsmouth, which was then the strongest position in the kingdom, as he pretended for the Parliament, he had offered it to the Queen as a place of refuge. Some report of his proceedings having reached London the Parliament ordered his attendance there, it being half expected

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., vii, 677.

<sup>2</sup> For his examination see Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 20.

that he would not comply. But he "came upon the summons with that undauntedness that all clouds of distrust immediately vanished insomuch as no man presumed to whisper the least jealousy of him."<sup>1</sup> And he stood up and spoke "with a countenance full of modesty and yet not without a certain mixture of anger" to such persuasive effect that not only was he confirmed by the whole House in his command, but was privately assured that he should be Lieutenant-General of their Horse in their new army when it should be formed. Shortly before the outbreak of war he received large sums from both parties to be spent on improving the fortifications of the town, most of which he is accused of having gambled away.

On 2nd August 1642 Goring openly declared for the King, and tendered an oath of allegiance to the Mayor and Aldermen of Portsmouth. The Parliament acted with promptitude. The Earl of Warwick was ordered to blockade the harbour with five ships, the Militia was embodied, and preparations were made for an attack on the land side by Sir William Waller. Goring had done little to put the town in a posture of defence, and had trusted to obtaining provisions from the Isle of Wight. But he had neglected to secure the small castles and blockhouses which guarded the passage, and the island having declared for the Parliament he was soon in extremity.

"It gave," says Clarendon, "no small reputation to his Majesty's affairs, when there was so great a damp upon the spirits of men, from the misadventures at Beverley, that so notable a place as Portsmouth had declared for him at the beginning of the war." It must have come with the greater shock to the King to learn immediately after he had raised his standard that Goring, whom he might reasonably have supposed capable of holding out for three or four months against any attacking force, was on the point of surrender.

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, v, 440.



The position of affairs at Chichester was closely connected with that at Portsmouth. The sympathies of the city were Puritan, but certain of the West Sussex gentry with the clergy of the Cathedral formed the nucleus of a Royalist party, which endeavoured without delay to aid the defenders of Portsmouth.<sup>1</sup> On 19th August the Recorder, Mr. Christopher Lewknor,<sup>2</sup> with Sir William Morley, Sir Thomas Bowyer, and others demanded the city magazine for the service of the King. Captain Chitney, an officer of the trained bands, refused to surrender it, and set a strong guard. Many attempts were made to get supplies and letters into Portsmouth, but Waller's soldiers were active in stopping communications. A woman was apprehended carrying what appeared to be a baby, but proved to be a bundle of letters. One Mr. Bellingham,<sup>3</sup> a young gentleman, rode fully armed from Chichester to Portsmouth. He afterwards tried to make his escape from the garrison, keeping a boat in readiness, for which he paid 5s. per diem.<sup>4</sup>

On 24th August Chichester, under the leadership of William Cawley, a rich brewer, and one of the members for Midhurst, declared openly for the Parliament, but the Royalists continued to intrigue, and the Cathedral clergy used the power of the pulpit energetically on their behalf. They also raised a body of light horse which was drilled daily in the Cathedral close, and "Dr. Hinsham,<sup>5</sup> a Prebendary," succeeded in sending a load of wheat to the

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's Civil War in Hampshire, ch. vi.

<sup>2</sup> "The man appointed by his Majesty to take in money and plate on his behalfe" (Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273). S. A. C., v, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Thomas, son of Sir Edward Bellingham, of Newtimber.

<sup>4</sup> Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire, ch. vi.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Doctor Joseph Henshaw, Canon of Chichester, and brother of Thomas Henshaw of Basset's Fee, in Billingshurst, a distinguished royalist, nominated by Charles II at the Restoration to be a knight of his proposed Order of the Royal Oak. He accompanied Charles II into exile. At the Restoration he became Dean of Chichester, and in 1663 Bishop of Peterborough (see Lower's Worthies of Sussex, p. 294).

Portsmouth garrison. Though no actual collision took place in the city at this time, the relations of the citizens must have been severely strained.

On the night of Saturday 4th September, Colonel Norton, the Parliamentary leader, took by assault Southsea Castle, reputed to be the strongest fort in England for its size. Immediately afterwards Goring surrendered on terms, in the settlement of which Christopher Lewknor was employed. The terms were the more favourable as the Parliamentarians were very much afraid that Goring would execute his threat of blowing up the powder magazines in the town. The garrison were to have free passes to any place except to an army in arms against the Parliament. Goring himself took ship to Holland, whence he shortly returned to join the King's forces at Newcastle.

The loss of Portsmouth was not only a severe blow to the King's cause in general, but it damped for the present the rising hopes of the Royalist party in West Sussex. In East Sussex the Parliament was having its own way without opposition. Colonel Herbert Morley of Glynde was perhaps the man of greatest influence in the county during this period, and his vigilance and activity on behalf of the Parliamentary cause were unceasing throughout the war. Even before the commencement of hostilities he had been making his preparations. By an order of the House, dated 1st July 1642, Mr. Cordell was directed to sell unto Mr. Morley twenty barrels of powder for the service and defence of the county of Sussex. In October it was ordered "that Mr. Morley do go with this message to the Lords, to desire their lordships to hasten the passing the instructions for the county of Sussex; and the clerk is ordered to give Mr. Morley a copy of the names already sent up, to the end a further addition of names may be added." In November<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Morley carried up to the Lords the order for provid-

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Journals, 18th November 1642.

ing for the safety of the town of Lewes." This has reference to two previous orders of the House. (1) "That Captain Ambrose Trayton shall have power to call in two hundred men, or more if occasion shall be, into the town of Lewes, volunteers or others, and to command the same for the defence of the said town"; (2) "That the receivers of the propositions, money and plate, raised in the town of Lewes, shall detain in their hands a fifth part of the said monies and plate to be employed for the defence of the said town." On 1st December it was ordered "That Mr. Morley do return thanks from this House to Captain Springate, and other Captains of the county of Sussex that have expressed their affection to the King and Parliament, in raising of forces for the preservation of the peace of the said county."

At this time four pieces of iron ordnance which had been sent to Newhaven and Brighthelmstone in 1597 were returned to Lewes; and of the three barrels of powder that had been kept in the town-house, one was sent to the Cliffe, one to Brighthelmstone, and one to Rottingdean.<sup>1</sup>

A matter which engaged attention at an early date was the securing of the Cinque Ports, the supervision of passengers to and from the Continent, and the prevention of the landing of foreign troops. These points having been considered by Parliament in the middle of August,<sup>2</sup> they were left to the care of Colonel Morley.

The King's advance towards London after the battle of Edgehill, on 23rd October, which caused such lively apprehension in the capital, produced similar fears in Sussex. The Royalists under Prince Rupert had already acquired an evil reputation for indiscriminate plundering. "Such was the care of the towns-men, yea, and of the cathedral men too (having heard of their plundering at Brainford) that they put themselves in armes, and out of their sub-

<sup>1</sup> Lewes Town Records.

<sup>2</sup> Perfect Diurnall, 15-22 August, 1642. S. A. C., v, 32.

scribed monies maintained a considerable strength.”<sup>1</sup> Early in November the inhabitants of Chichester under William Cawley, Edward Higgons, and Henry Chitney, having obtained permission from Parliament to fortify the city, procured guns and gunpowder from Portsmouth.

On the 21st the House passed an Ordinance “that Mr. Morley, Mr. Stapley, Sir Thomas Pelham, and Sir Thomas Parker, deputy-lieutenants for Sussex, Members of the House, should be sent down to put that County into the like posture of defence as is Kent, and to disarme all such as shall refuse to joyne with them in securing the County.”<sup>2</sup>

The King had endeavoured to detach the county from the Parliamentary leaders by a proclamation issued at Reading on 7th November, offering his Majesty’s grace, favour, and pardon to the inhabitants of his county of Sussex, with the exception of Herbert Morley, Esq., and Henry Chitney, citizen of Chichester.<sup>3</sup> This had no effect. But in Chichester the Puritan party was not to have it all its own way. The Royalist leaders were doubtless driven to action by the fact that Parliament had declared that the Commission of Array which had been sent down by the King to Sir Edward Ford,<sup>4</sup> the High Sheriff, was illegal, and had ordered the immediate arrest of Ford himself. On the night of the 15th of November, the Royalist gentry assembled in the town in considerable numbers, and under pretence of assisting to maintain order got possession of it. They forced the Mayor to deliver up the keys, and possessed themselves of the guns and magazine. The Parliamentary leaders fled to Portsmouth, and next day Sir Edward Ford with a numerous force, consisting of the trained bands of the county and 100 horse, marched into the city. Being apprehensive as to the loyalty of the trained bands, he

<sup>1</sup> Perfect Diurnall, Nos. 15-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-22 November.

<sup>3</sup> Broadsheet in B.M., pressmark 669, f. 5 (97).

<sup>4</sup> Dallaway, i, cxxix.

caused them to be disarmed. A small force sent by the governor of Portsmouth failed to retake the city.

As soon as the news reached Parliament such members as were concerned with Ford in the affair were expelled the House.<sup>1</sup> They were the two M.P.'s for Chichester, Sir W. Morley and Christopher Lewknor, Sir T. Bowyer, M.P. for Bramber, Thomas Leeds, M.P. for Steyning, and Thomas May, M.P. for Midhurst.

The report of these proceedings at Chichester, sent from Portsmouth to the Speaker Lenthall by Cawley and his associates, is a very lucid and interesting document.<sup>2</sup>

EDWARD HIGGONS, WILLIAM CAWLEY AND HENRY  
CHITTEY TO WILLIAM LENTHALL.

Portsmouth,  
*November 21, 1642.*

“On Tuesday last, being the 15th of this month, we called all the inhabitants of the City of Chichester together there, to let them understand wherefore we had fortified the city, which was to defend ourselves from being plundered by the King’s army, and to know if they would all join with us to secure one another from being destroyed by them. There was a general assent in it, not one contradicting, but with several vows and protestations resolved to live and die in it. Upon which agreement we went out of the Town Hall where the meeting was. When we came into the street we perceived some swords drawn at the north gate of the city—where one of the guns we had from Portsmouth was placed—which swords were drawn against the gunner. We endeavoured to pacify the rage of the people, but we could not, but they then overthrew the gun off from his carriage and possessed themselves of him, and from thence they went to the other parts of the city where

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 72.

the other guns were placed and possessed themselves of them also. When this was done the chiefest gentlemen in and about the city gave countenance to those that did this.

“After this the same night came Sir John Morley, Mr. Robert Anderson, Mr. William Wray, and Mr. Francis Shallett to the Mayor and demanded of him that Sir John Morley and twenty other gentlemen of the town might watch that night. The Mayor was unwilling to consent unto it, but they pretending it was for the settling of the town in quiet and to allay the fury of the common people, upon this it was agreed that there should watch twenty of the gentlemen and twenty of the citizens, and that Sir John Morley should have the command of the gentlemen and Mr. Higgons of the citizens, and that the keys of the city should be delivered to the Mayor. But when it came to the setting of the watch, there were at least thirty of the gentlemen and near fifty of the meaner sort of people gathered together, and Mr. Higgons demanding of Sir John Morley that there might be but twenty gentlemen watch and that the others should depart to their several homes. Sir John answered that it was not safe for him to speak and wished him to be quiet and denied that any should be discharged. He then gained the city keys into his hands and would not deliver them, but said they should be kept for the King.

“Upon the first combustion in the town there was a messenger dispatched to the High Sheriff to acquaint him how the state of the city stood, and to desire him to come thither and he should have free entrance. Upon this the Sheriff made warrants to the several Trained Bands that they should appear within half a mile of the city and aid him to go into it the next morning at 9 o'clock, at which time the Sheriff accompanied with a hundred horse met the Trained Bands and so marched into the city, where when he came he commanded the Mayor to proclaim the proclamation of pardon to all the county except Herbert

Morley, Esq., and Henry Chitney, citizen. The Mayor refusing they forced him to go to the Cross, and then the Sheriff commanded the Proclamation to be proclaimed. After that was done he made search in diverse well-affected persons' houses for arms and all they found they seized and took away, and put the Commission of Array in execution, and displaced Captain Chitney and in his place put Sir John Morley. Then Nicholas Wolfe took the charge of Captain Oglander's band and so settled the Commission of Array. To countenance and attend the Sheriff in this action there was Sir William Forde, Sir William Morley, who hath sent the Sheriff four horses completely furnished for war, Sir John Morley, Sir Edward Bishopp, Thomas Leedes, one of your House, who is made Captain of the horse for Arundel Rape—Sir Thomas Bowyer hath sent a horse—Robert Anderson a lawyer, Nicholas Wolfe a Justice of the Peace, Francis Shallett, William May, Thomas Gunter, who was [in command of] a troop in Portsmouth with Colonel Goring, John Apsley, William Rishton, two of Mr. Robert Heath's sons, Francis Pury, George Gunter, Philip King the Bishop's brother, and John King the Bishop's son, and Edward Osborne with divers others. They have seized the magazine which was for the county as likewise ten barrels of powder we had from Portsmouth by order from the Parliament.

“Upon Wednesday we came to Portsmouth and addressed ourselves to the Governor and the Committee making them acquainted in what condition we were, and how the guns and powder which we had from the Governor were wrested from us. The Governor being very sensible of the affront to the Parliament and to himself, and apprehending that if there were some expedition used in the business it would be very feasible to regain the guns and powder, so that it were done before the Sheriff could call in the country, and to that purpose he despatched Captain Swanley and Captain Winnford with seamen and landsmen upon the Thursday

to effect that service, but it pleased God so to turn the wind that they could not gain the harbour that night. The next day they gained the harbour, but before they could come near the place they intended to land the tide fell, so that they could get no further that night than an island called Thorney. When Captain Swanley found how contrary the wind had been to him he dispatched away his lieutenant with a trumpeter to demand the guns and powder of the Mayor, or any others that had the charge of them at Chichester. When the lieutenant came there demanding where the Mayor was it was answered he was not to be spoken with, and they told him he must go to the governor of the city, by which name the Sheriff was styled. He delivered his message: the answer was that he had a command from the King to detain the guns and powder to his use, and until he had a command from the King to deliver them he would keep them. With this answer the lieutenant returned to Captain Swanley, informing him likewise how the city was up in arms, and that he conceived there were eight hundred or a thousand soldiers in the city. Upon this Captain Swanley and Captain Winnford took into consideration whether it were fit for them being not above two hundred strong to venture into the city or no. In the close they resolved the Governor of Portsmouth should be made acquainted with the proceedings, as likewise to inform him what they heard the strength of the city was, which was that they had near a hundred horse and a thousand foot. The Governor being informed of these passages and knowing of what consequence Portsmouth is to the kingdom, and what a weakening it would be to the town if he should lose either landmen or seamen, therefore gave directions that the captains and their men should return back to Portsmouth.

“The Sheriff, having intelligence that there was some forces coming against himself from Portsmouth, made his warrants to all the country near the city, and commanded



all men instantly to repair to Chichester upon pain of death or of being plundered, pretending Prince Robert was coming and that if he were not resisted they were all undone. Upon this trick he gained the country to come into the city, where when he had them he locked the gates and set a strong guard at them so that they could not retire to their own houses, but were forced to abide in the city. The countrymen express that they have no hearts to the service, but they are kept in with hopes that there will forces come from the King and it is given out the city shall be made a garrison. We hear there are both foot and horse come from the King into the city, but we have no certain information of the truth thereof. Divers houses are threatened to be plundered within and without the city; the Sheriff, being abetted by the gentlemen before named, is extreme violent in the Commission of Array. They have taken and imprisoned some men, and have cast irons upon one and thrust him into the dungeon. They set two pistols to the Mayor's breast, and offered him to take an oath, but what the contents of the oath is we know not. We desire you to acquaint the House of all that has befallen us, and that Parliament will take into consideration what this may grow to.

*Postscript.* Captain Chitney and Edward Higgons were forced to fly to Portsmouth without any money, and the Sheriff will not suffer any goods to be brought out. They desire that for the present they may have some moneys out of the Contribution Money."

The House promptly sent instructions to its representatives in Sussex: "Whereas His Majesty for the furtherance and prosecution of this unnatural war against his subjects, hath appointed Edward Ford, Esq., son of Sir William Ford, to be Sheriff of the County of Sussex, who by pretext thereof, hath raised the power of the said County, and

strengthening himself with other forces, hath seized the city of Chichester, and in divers manners spoiled divers of his Majesty's good subjects, and forced them to forsake their dwellings: for more speedy suppression of this and all other such traitors and rebels, you shall seize upon the person of the said Ford, and upon the persons of all others who are aiding and assisting him, and shall send them up in safe custody to the Parliament; and you shall seize the houses, lands rents and other goods and chattels of the said person and all others who have taken up arms against the Parliament; and shall send up to the Speaker of the Commons' House a perfect schedule of such houses, lands, rents goods and chattels, and shall put the same into such hands as shall be answerable and accountable for the same.

"You shall take away the arms and horses of such as do refuse to contribute horsemen or arms upon the proposition: and you shall force all Papists, and persons disaffected to the Parliament, to contribute towards the maintenance of your army."<sup>1</sup>

But it was one thing to make such an order, and another to execute it.

Sir Edward Ford was not content with his easy success at Chichester. Regardless of the fact that Sir William Waller, having captured Winchester, was preparing to invade Sussex with a large force, he set out in company with the Earl of Thanet to attack Lewes. In order to obtain recruits he took the somewhat summary course of ordering all men capable of bearing arms to join his ranks under pain of death and of having their houses burnt.<sup>2</sup> A few recruits were obtained by these means, but they did not make zealous soldiers. At Hayward's Heath, Ford was met by a somewhat less numerous Parliamentary force. Neither party had any artillery. The Parliamentarians attacked with great fierceness, and after an hour's fighting, when

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Journals, 7th December, 1642.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire, ch. viii.

their reserves came up, completely routed the Cavaliers, who lost, it is said, not less than 200 men. The unhappy countrymen who had been pressed into service, threw down their arms and ran as fast as their legs could carry them to the neighbouring villages of Hurst and Ditchling, where we may suppose that their experience of the first fight on Sussex soil for many a long day lost nothing in the telling. The Cavaliers fled to the Downs and thence to Chichester. News of this engagement reached Parliament on 8th December.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SIEGE OF CHICHESTER

A FEW days later Waller's victorious forces were converging on Chichester. The main body came by way of Havant, losing many by desertion on the road, pay being much in arrear and discontent rife. It appears that their march was not unopposed. There are vague accounts of a fight "with a great party of the King's army in a great field for seven hours very courageously."<sup>1</sup> This was probably little more than a skirmish of advance guards. At length Sergeant-Major Skippon came up with eleven troops of horse and the Cavaliers fled, many of them being captured and some 200 slain. The victorious army is said to have lost about forty.

Waller himself, with Colonel Browne, his second in command, proceeded towards Chichester, but before arriving there he sent a small detachment of a hundred men to capture Arundel Castle. Its owner, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, had retired to the Continent in the previous year; but his son and heir, Lord Mowbray, had from the first attached himself to the King's cause, and he continued to fight in the royal army for three years. He then retired to the Continent, but having succeeded in 1646 at his father's death to his title and estates, he returned to England, and was allowed at his own request to compound for £6,000.<sup>2</sup>

It appears rather strange that so important a post as

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, ch. viii.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., v, 41.

Arundel, which, if well garrisoned and provisioned, could have been made almost impregnable, should have been left so ill-guarded. If Sir Edward Ford and his friends had concentrated their energies upon it, instead of vainly endeavouring to hold the city of Chichester with its disaffected population, they might have offered a much more serious resistance to Sir William Waller. Probably the absence of the Earl made any such arrangement difficult or impossible. At any rate, it was now in charge of a garrison of about a hundred men, who were not expecting the arrival of any hostile force.<sup>1</sup>

Waller's gallant attacking party rode into the town, and while the remainder held the Royalist townfolk in check, thirty-six daring spirits assaulted the castle. They blew in the gate with a petard,<sup>2</sup> and, dashing in, surprised and secured the garrison. Among the prisoners were Sir Richard Lechford and his son—"a great Papist"—and one Captain Goulding, who was employed in raising men and arms in Sussex for the Royalists in Chichester. The prisoners were sent to London. The victors, who had taken this important stronghold without the loss of a man, were rewarded by the capture of 100 horses, together with arms and stores.

<sup>1</sup> Vicar's *Jehoveh-Jirah, God in the Mount; or England's Parliamentarie Chronicle*, 1644, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> A favourite method of attacking fortified houses or castles unprovided with outworks, was to apply a petard to the gate and blow it in. The most lucid explanation of the process is given by Sir Henry Lee, in the thirty-third chapter of *Woodstock*, to his house-maid Phoebe, while Cromwell is attaching one to the front door of the manor house. " 'What can they be doing now, sir?' said Phoebe, hearing a noise as it were of a carpenter turning screw nails, mixed with a low buzz of men talking. 'They are fixing a petard,' said the knight with great composure. 'I have noted thee for a clever wench, Phoebe, and I will explain it to thee: 'Tis a metal pot, shaped very much like one of the roguish knaves own sugar-loaf hats, supposing it had a narrower brim—it is charged with some few pounds of fine gunpowder'" (see Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 166).

The fate of Chichester was now to be decided. Waller arrived before the town on 21st December 1642, his force amounting to about 6,000 men. He had been joined the evening before by three troops of horse and two companies of "Dragoneers" under Colonel Morley and Sir Michael Levesey.<sup>1</sup> The Trained Bands of Sussex, who had been disarmed a month earlier by Sir Edward Ford, the High Sheriff, expressed their resolve "to regain and fetch their arms from Chichester or else to lose their lives in the attempt thereof." And they were as good as their word.

When Waller appeared before Chichester, the garrison made a sortie, but were repulsed with the loss of one killed and one taken prisoner. Waller suffered no loss, and secured his position "upon a Downe called the Broils, the only commanding ground about the town"; and under fire from the guns of the town the rest of the day was spent in constructing siege batteries. With the approval of Sir Arthur Haselrig and the rest of his officers, Waller next summoned the city to surrender. A parley followed, the besiegers being represented by Major Horatio Carey and Captain Catre, for whom Colonel Lindsay and Lieutenant-Colonel Potter were sent as hostages. Waller's demands were as follows: An absolute surrender of the city, with the giving up of Sir Edward Ford, of all Papists, and of all persons considered by the Parliament as delinquents; the soldiers to depart without arms; the officers to retain their swords and horses under a pledge never again to take up arms against the Parliament.

After a long debate these terms were declined, but the garrison offered to give up any Roman Catholics within the walls. "Whereupon," says Waller, "the next day our battery played, but our cannoneers overshot the towne extremely." A report reached the city that Prince Rupert was ap-

<sup>1</sup> This account of the siege is taken from Waller's own account as given in a letter to the Earl of Essex, preserved by Vicars, *Jehoveh-Jirah*, pp. 234-240.

# CHICHESTER



A	S. Marys	I	S. Petrus	R	East Gate
B	The Palace	K	Paradise	S	S. Francis
C	Palace Street	L	Left lane	T	S. Bartholme
D	Blackpoore	M	Chancellors	V	S. Quary Bridge
E	S. Andrews	N	West lane	W	South Gate
F	S. Marys	O	St. Trilias	X	North Gate
G	Greyfriars	P	S. Nicholas man		
H	The Palace	Q	Our Ladyes chap.		

CHICHESTER IN THE SEVENTENTH CENTURY.





proaching, which encouraged the garrison, but also probably hastened the operations of the besiegers. On the following day Waller brought his guns nearer to the town. The suburbs of the west gate were occupied after a fierce struggle, but the burning with wild-fire of certain houses by the garrison obliged the besiegers to retreat. The east gate was also cleared by the burning of houses near to it. Waller then brought his ordnance to the almshouses within half a musket-shot of the north gate, and played through the gate into the market-place. Colonel Roberts, with fresh troops from Arundel, established his position at the south gate; and on the east side of the town the besieged on the walls were galled by a firing kept up from the church of St. Pancras outside. It was now the sixth day of the siege, and Waller was preparing to make a simultaneous attack upon the east and west, and also "to petard a back gate that issued out of the Deanery through the town wall into the fields, and was walled up by a single brick thick." But at ten o'clock at night a trumpet was sent out of the city with a request for a parley at nine o'clock the next morning, which was granted.

At the time appointed Sir William Balnidine and Captain Wolfe were sent from the garrison to treat for a surrender. Waller now declined to grant any more favourable terms than "Quarter and with it honourable usage." This was refused "not without hot indignation," and the besieged prepared to sell their lives dearly, and Waller "to proceed roundly and speedily with them." But at the last moment before the assault, a message was sent out from the city asking for a respite until seven the next morning, when a surrender on Waller's terms was agreed upon. Some of Lord Crawford's Scotch troopers within the city opposed the surrender, but it was carried out in the afternoon.

During the eight days of the siege no rain had fallen, which greatly assisted the operations of the besiegers, but

the surrender of the city was immediately followed by "continual incessant showers." The Puritan chroniclers saw in this "the good hand of Providence," and also noted with exultation that the surrender took place at the very moment of the monthly fast. Parliament had passed an Ordinance on 22nd August for a solemn fast to be kept on the last Wednesday of every month, the observance of which served as a ready test of political leanings; and a pretty severe test it was, for Clarendon tells us that it was "observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches."<sup>1</sup>

Waller's first care was "to release and fully set at libertie all the honest men of the towne whom they had imprisoned, who being thus enlarged, we employed in places of trust in the city." The great body of the townsmen was probably throughout on the Parliamentary side, and unwilling to take part in the defence of the city. Clarendon attributes the surrender to this cause, and to the disaffection of "the common people of the county, out of which soldiers were to rise; . . . their number of common men was so small that the constant duty was performed by the officers and gentlemen of quality, who were absolutely tired out." And in order to suppress active opposition within the city, Sir Edward Ford had doubtless found it necessary to keep the leading Puritans under lock and key.

"In the evening," says Waller, "I discovered a train laid of some barrels of gun-powder not farre from my lodging, whereupon search being diligently made, I apprehended the gunner that was suspected, but he would confess nothing, and all the gentlemen being questioned about it, utterly disclaimed it." The next business was to deal with the prisoners. Of these there were "fifty or three-score gentlemen of quality and officers of name," comprising

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 32.

seventeen captains, thirteen lieutenants, and eight ensigns,<sup>1</sup> who were for the most part Scotsmen—"with all their brave horses, which were dainty ones indeed."<sup>2</sup> About 400 "excellent dragoons" and three or four hundred infantry laid down their arms. By order of Parliament the prisoners were sent to London, the humbler captives being despatched by sea.

Many of the leading Royalist gentry of Sussex fell into Waller's hands. Chief among them were Sir Edward Ford, the High Sheriff, with his father, Sir William Ford, of Up Park. Ford was a man of some ability, as his subsequent career evidenced; but he seems to have excelled neither in strategy nor in tactics, and much of the disaster which now overtook his friends and associates was due to his ill-advised initiative. Ford was immediately sent up to London, but was soon released through the influence of his wife, Sarah, who was a sister of the Parliamentary General Ireton; and before a year had passed he was again in arms for the King.

Most of the gentry and some of the Cathedral clergy were dealt with in the following year by the Commissioners appointed to sequester Royalist estates, but some were fined comparatively small sums by Waller immediately. The gentry included Sir William Morley of Halnaker, and his nephew, Sir John Morley, of Brooms in the manor of Chilgrove, West Dean. Sir John Morley seems to have found some means to ingratiate himself with Sir William Waller, perhaps the payment of a fine of £300. He had a protection order, signed by Waller, on 11th January 1642-3, specifying that his house in South Street, Chichester, had been searched for arms, etc., and enjoining "that no person do presume to enter therein, for search, etc., or plunder the plate, goods or effects" of Sir John, Dame Katherine, his mother, Dame Mary, his wife, his

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, vi, 236.

<sup>2</sup> Vicars, *loc. cit.*

children or servants, he "having largely contributed to the service of the King and parliament, and standing well affected to them both."<sup>1</sup>

Others were Sir Thomas Bowyer of Leythorn in North Mundham, created a Baronet in 1634; Thomas May of Rawmere in Mid Lavant; Christopher Lewknor, the recorder and member for Chichester, recently expelled, a member of the well-known Lewknor family of West Dean; John Covert of Slaugham; Thomas and George Gounter, cousins, of Racton, who subsequently took a leading part in assisting Charles II on his journey to Brighthelmstone after the battle of Worcester; Thomas Gounter was now fined £100.

The Cathedral clergy suffered severely. They were not only deprived of the emoluments of their offices, but in many cases were fined as well. Chief among them was the Bishop, Dr. Henry King, "a proud Prelate, as all the rest are, and a most pragmaticall malignant against the Parliament, as all his cater-capt companions are."<sup>2</sup> He was allowed to retire to the residence of his brother-in-law, Sir Richard Hobart, in Buckinghamshire, where he remained in seclusion until the Restoration. He then resumed his see and the rich benefice of Petworth.<sup>3</sup> It is rather curious that according to Wood<sup>4</sup> "he was puritanically affected, and therefore to please the puritans he was promoted to the See of Chichester." But doubtless in the prevailing rage against bishops no distinction of High and Low Church was drawn. The bishop's palace, with the manor of the Broyll and its demesnes, was sold to Colonel John Downes for the sum of £1,309 6s.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Royalist Composition Papers, vol. A, 103, p. 113. S. A. C., xix, 104.

<sup>2</sup> Vicars, Jehoveh-Jirah, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Lower's Worthies of Sussex, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Athenae Oxonienses, iii, 841.

<sup>5</sup> Dallaway, Chichester, p. 32, on the authority of MSS. Lambeth, No. 951, entitled Lambeth Papers, No. 11.

The Dean, Dr. Bruno Reeves, was fined £120, and many of the Canons suffered severely. One John Gregory, the Prebendary of Bracklesham, a great Oriental scholar, and a friend of Selden's, was so reduced as to die in obscure poverty at an alehouse in 1646.<sup>1</sup>

It is sad to relate that irreparable damage was done to the Cathedral by the victorious soldiery, whom Waller was either powerless or unwilling to restrain. His officer, Sir Arthur Haselrig, took part in, and even appears to have instigated these disgraceful proceedings, of which a full account has come down to us from the pen of Dr. Reeves, the Dean. This account, which is instinct with a mordant humour, is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

“The rebels under the conduct of Sir William Waller, entering the City of Chichester on Innocents Day 1642, the next day their first business was to plunder the Cathedral Church. The Marshal therefore and some others, having entered the Church, went into the Vestry; there they seize up the vestments and ornaments of the church, together with the consecrated plate serving for the altar and administration of the Lord's Supper; they left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice for the Blessed Sacrament. The Commanders having in person executed the *covetous part* of sacrilege, they leave the *destructive* and *spoiling* part to be finished by the common soldiers: [who] brake down the organs, and dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said ‘Hark how the organs go.’ They brake the rail about the Communion Table, which was done with that fury, that the Table itself escaped not their madness, but tasted of the same fate with the rail, and was broken in pieces by them. At the east end of the Choir did hang a very fair Table, wherein were written the Ten Commandments, with the pictures of Moses and Aaron on

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Mercurius Rusticus, or the Countrie's Complaint, Oxford, 1646, p. 223.

each side of the Table. Possessed with a zeal, but not like that of Moses, they pull down the Table, and break it into small shivers. 'Twas no wonder that they should break the Commandments in their representation, that had before broken them all over in their substance and sanction. They force open all the locks, either of doors or desks wherein the singing-men laid their Common-Prayer-books, their singing books, their gown and surplices; they rent the books in pieces, and scatter the torn leaves all over the Church, even to the covering of the pavement; but against the gowns and surplices their anger was not so hot; these were not amongst the *anathemata*, but might be reserved to secular uses.

“In the south cross-aisle, on the one side, the history of the Church's foundation was very artificially portrayed with the pictures of the Kings of England; on the other side over against them, are the pictures of the Bishops, as well of Selsey as of Chichester, begun by Robert Sherborn, the thirty-seventh Bishop of that see, and the series brought down to his own time at his own charges; who as he made that of the Psalmist, *Dilexi decorem domus tui domine*—‘Lord I have loved the beauty of thy house’—his impress and motto, so he made it his work and endeavour. These monuments they deface and mangle with their hands and swords, as high as they could reach; and to show their love and zeal to the Protestant religion, established in the Church of England, one of those miscreants picked out the eyes of King Edward the Sixth's picture, saying ‘That all this mischief came from him when he established the Book of Common-prayer.’

“On the Tuesday following they had a solemn thanksgiving for their success in gaining that city. Men of cauterized consciences, and given up to a reprobate sense, thus not only to take the name of God in vain, but damnably to blaspheme it, as if He were the patron of rapine, blood and sacrilege. After the sermon was ended, as men not inspired

by the holy spirit, of which they so much boast, but possessed and transported by a Bacchanalian fury, they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn defacing the monuments of the dead, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, scratching and scraping the painted walls; Sir William Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers of these barbarous impieties; yet for fear lest in this schismatical frenzy the sword in mad men's hands might mistake, Sir William Waller, a wary man as he is, and well known not to be too apt to expose himself to danger, stood all the while with his sword drawn, and being asked by one of his troopers what he meant to stand in that posture, he answered that it was to secure himself. You know 'tis written 'The wicked are afraid where no fear is,' for though the people made him an idol in London, yet being no popish, but a puritanical idol (for they have their idols and their idolatry, as much as the Church of Rome) there was no danger to his person, to be mistaken for an object of their Reformation at Chichester. . . .

“Having therefore made what spoil they could in the Cathedral, they rush out thence and break open a parish church, standing on the north side of the cathedral, called the sub-deanery; there they did teare the Common-prayer-books; and because many things in the Holy Bible made strongly against them, and did contradict and condemn their impious practices, they marked it in divers places with a black coal. Here they stole the minister's surplice and hood, and all the linen serving for the communion; and finding no more plate but the chalice, they steal that too, which they brake in pieces, to make a just and equal dividant amongst themselves; for an engineer of theirs, Robert Prince, a Frenchman, with a wooden leg, afterwards showed the foot thereof broken off; and when complaint was made of these barbarous outrages, Captain Keely replied, that he knew not whether all this were not done by order or no.

“About five or six days after, Sir Arthur Haselrig demanded the keys of the Chapter-house; being entered the place and having intelligence by a treacherous officer of the Church, where the remainder of the church-plate was, he commanded his servants to break down the wainscot round about the room, which was quickly done, they having brought crows of iron for that purpose along with them. While they were knocking down the wainscot, Sir Arthur’s tongue was not enough to express his joy; it was operative at his heeles, for dancing and skipping, (pray mark what music that is to which it is lawful for a Puritan to dance) he cried out ‘There, boys: there, boys; heark, heark, it rattles, it rattles’; and being much importuned by some members of that church to leave the church but a cup for administration of the Blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman standing by that they should take a wooden dish. And now tell me which was farthest from a Christian, either this impure Scot, or that blasphemous atheist, who seeing the massy plate and rich ornaments wherewith the Christian altars were adorned in the primitive church, in indignation and scorn belched out *En quam preciosis vasis filius Mariae ministratur*—‘Behold with what costly vessels the Son of Mary is served.’ What further spoil and indignity they have since done to that house of God, and ‘the habitation where His honour dwelt’ is yet uncertain.”

Such is the indignant Dean’s account of these indecent outrages, and with every allowance for partisan exaggeration, there is no reason to believe that it is not substantially true.

Sir Arthur Haselrig was certainly the scourge of the city. It is said that he again visited it in 1647, on the invitation of Mr. William Cawley, to finish the work of destruction which it was alleged had been left incomplete, and that finish it he did.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 44. I can find no authority for this story, which has



The paucity of ancient records possessed by the Cathedral of Chichester is generally attributed to the destruction of the muniments of the see by Waller's soldiery. But there is some evidence that they had been lost before, perhaps during the negligent rule of Dean William Thorne, the Orientalist. Among the questions asked at the Bishop's visitation of 1616 is the following: "What is become of the Copes, Monuments and Vestments of your church? By whose default principally are your evidences wanting and lost?"<sup>1</sup>

Apart from wilful damage, no due care was taken of the Cathedral library. Years afterwards, in 1651, the County Committee for Sussex wrote to the Committee for Compounding: "There are in the Deanery House in Chichester a considerable number of books, long since sequestered by the former committee from the late bishop, dean, and chapter, and other delinquents, which belonged to the Cathedral. If you approve, a waggon should be hired to bring them up to London, so as to have them appraised and sold for the use of the state, as they have received much damage, and will do still more by lying where they are." The reply was that the books were to remain at the deanery to be inventoried and appraised there, and the certificate sent up.<sup>2</sup>

Damage to the Cathedral was not the only loss sustained by Chichester from the siege. The industry of needle-making had long been established there, and the town is stated to have monopolized the trade of England in needles during the early part of the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> The manufacture was carried on chiefly in the parish of St. Pancras, without the east gate, and at the time of the siege

apparently been copied by later writers—Dallaway, Blaauw, and Godwin—from Hay's History of Chichester, p. 344.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections, 1901, pp. 188, 201.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> Hay, History of Chichester, p. 366.

almost every house in the parish was occupied by a needle-maker. From the registers it appears that an almost complete demolition of houses took place;<sup>1</sup> the entries relating to a numerous population are followed by a hiatus, and thereafter the re-erection of houses seems to have proceeded slowly. The industry received a blow from which it never recovered. The production of cheaper, if inferior, needles in the manufacturing towns of the north no doubt completed its destruction.

This industry was perhaps one of those brought from the Continent by immigrants and refugees, with whom the coast towns abounded. Many of these were regarded as undesirable aliens, not only because from their poverty they were liable to become a burden to the parish—"to the great cry and grief of the inhabitants of Rye and other places about the same"—but because of their competition with established traders. But in spite of all restrictions numerous Frenchmen and Flemings became domiciled in the Sussex ports, as the names of their descendants bear witness. And as has happened throughout our history, these strangers brought with them a knowledge of trades and handicrafts in which the English were not previously proficient. Among foreigners resident at Rye in the reign of Elizabeth were Bonaventure Dusseville, a bookbinder, John Frottier, a locksmith, and Pierre Sommellier, a clock-maker.<sup>2</sup> *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. There were as yet no Jews; they had to wait for the tolerance of Cromwell.

Chichester was held by the Parliament as a garrison town until 2nd March 1646, when it was decided to dis-garrison it, and the ordnance was transferred to Arundel.<sup>3</sup> Waller left it in the hands of Colonel Anthony Stapley of Framfield and Patcham, Member of Parliament for the county, and his appointment as governor was subsequently

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxii, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., v, 53.

confirmed by Parliament. He seems to have been ill-provided with funds, as on 18th November 1643 we find him writing somewhat peremptorily to the Speaker, William Lenthall, in acknowledgement of his letter of the 16th, directing that the rents and estate of Sir William Morley were not to be taken, "if you please to discharge this estate or any other and not to provide otherwise to pay these men under my command, you will, I hope give me leave to provide myself and men as I can, and to quit the employment, when I cannot longer serve you in it."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 156.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ROYALIST INVASION

THE calm which followed Waller's capture of Chichester lasted through the greater part of 1643. The two most powerful men in Sussex were now Colonel Anthony Stapley, Governor of Chichester, and Colonel Herbert Morley. The common people, if they had no enthusiasm for the King's cause, felt little for the Parliament's. Recruiting was unpopular, and money, except from the sequestration of the estates of Royalists, was as difficult to obtain as men. On 23rd May Colonel Morley wrote to the Speaker concerning a riot at West Hoathly fair, when Ancient Streater was beating for volunteers, in which the Ancient was badly hurt, and the head of his drum beaten in.<sup>1</sup>

The seaport towns probably did a thriving business in carrying passengers and despatches secretly to and from the Continent. In another letter of Colonel Morley's to the Speaker, dated Lewes, 24th April 1643, he says: "About three weeks since the Earl of Thanet passed the seas into France. The barque that carried him belongs to one Hayne of Brighthelmstone, which I have made stay of till I receive your pleasure, for I conceive it no small crime to transport those that have made war against the Parliament without your warrant. Friday last a party of my horse took one of my Lord Montague's servants, that was

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 709.

ready to take barque for France. About him they found divers letters and scandalous pamphlets against the Parliament. I opened some of the letters, but finding the enclosed directed to himself and his lady, I send them to you sealed as I found them.”<sup>1</sup>

It would appear also that although the Sussex ports were all held for the Parliament, a certain trade was done from some of them in supplies for the Royalist forces. On 27th September 1643 Captain Tristram Stevens wrote to the committee at Portsmouth from aboard his ship the *Charles*, that a Frenchman, one Jerome, had arrived at Weymouth from Newhaven with 100 barrels of powder and other arms and ammunition for the garrison there, and urging the employment of one of the Parliament's ships to intercept this traffic.<sup>2</sup> Probably the supplies came originally from Dieppe. A reference to this traffic is to be found among the papers of the Corporation of Rye.

On 10th June 1644 the Mayor wrote to the Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral: “We have thought it our duty to signify unto you that our town of Rye being the ordinary passage for Dieppe, where divers merchants of London and their goods, merchant strangers and other passengers do weekly pass from hence thither, which brings in a considerable sum of money to the State for customs and excise, lately a barque of our town was surprised by one of the King's men-of-war of Weymouth, which had in her £3,000 worth of goods, and persons of quality, two of them Mr. Arundel's sons, a member of the House of Commons, and Colonel Browne's son and heir, and divers merchants of good worth. We beseech your Lordship to take this into your consideration and that you will be pleased to appoint a small man of war for the safety of our passage barques to lie between our town and Dieppe Road, which will do good service for the State, for there is store of

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 131.

ammunition weekly shipped from Dieppe for Weymouth by one Pinozeire."<sup>1</sup>

But the prevailing peace in Sussex had been brought about by the presence of Waller's army, and its withdrawal was the signal for fresh Royalist endeavours. The irrepressible Sir Edward Ford was soon at work again. On 3rd August Sir Thomas Pelham and other justices informed the Speaker that Mr. Thomas Cotton, a dangerous papist, had that day been brought before them. They enclosed the warrant found in his saddle which would clearly designate the nature of his employment. By this and many other pregnant circumstances they were very sensible of their more than approaching danger, which to prevent they would be willing to apply their utmost industry, but being conscious of their inability to stand of themselves, they humbly addressed themselves to the House, craving advice and assistance, and that London and the adjacent counties might associate with them for mutual defence. The enclosure was a warrant dated Oxford, 19th July, from Sir Edward Ford, High Sheriff of Sussex, to his kinsman Thomas Cotton, authorizing him to persuade the well-affected in Sussex and the parts adjacent, to contribute horses, arms, plate, or money for his Majesty's service, and to receive and give acquittances for such contributions "that I may more clearly distinguish the well-affected from cordial traitors and penurious neutrals."<sup>2</sup>

The danger to the Parliamentary cause was a very real one. Colonel Morley was at Farnham on 16th September and informed the Speaker that he had received intelligence that a large Royalist force, consisting of the Earl of Crawford and his men, Colonel Ford's, Colonel Bennett's, the Sheriff of Wilts', Sir Edward Deering's and Crispe's regiments were about to lay siege to Southampton; and that the garrison there was not above 300, the soldiers'

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 126.

pay in arrears, and the town abounding in malignants. He feared that unless immediate action was taken, such as sending him forthwith 2,000 horse and dragoons, the southern counties would all be lost and London itself in danger. "This approaching cloud," he said, "may raise a storm in Sussex, which county is full of neuters and malignants; and I have ever observed neuters to turn malignants upon such occasions."<sup>1</sup> This fear of the "neuter," the moderate man, who was not a partisan, but for the sake of peace was ready to shout with the side that was uppermost, continually appears throughout this period.

The state of Portsmouth was also causing anxiety. On 28th October Parliament was informed that it was in want of a governor, and also of men, money, powder, and match. Either Sir Robert Harley or Sir William Erle "stopped the relation of such things in the open house, 'for this is no place to mention the state of Portsmouth in, for 'tis likely his Majesty may come to the knowledge of it.'"<sup>2</sup>

On 4th November a Decree of Association united in the cause of the Parliament the counties of Sussex, Kent, Surrey, the Isle of Wight, and the town and county of Southampton. Sir William Waller was appointed Major-General of the Association. He had been mustering troops at Hounslow Heath, and now made Farnham his base of operations. His army seems to have been very badly equipped. On 23rd November 1643, William Cawley the Chichester brewer, and member for Midhurst, wrote to Speaker Lenthall from Farnham, acquainting the House "in what extreme sad condition I both hear and find Sir William Waller's army proceeding, especially from want of pay, whereby they are altogether disabled for the present to do the Parliament that service, which if supplied with moneys may be expected from them. The soldiers, both

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), i, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin's Civil War in Hampshire, ch. xiii.

horse and foot, want clothes, boots, shoes, and almost all necessaries for their subsistence, yea their exigency is such and so great that when they are commanded upon any service—be the expedition ever so emergent—many of them cannot stir for want of money to shoe their horses. If speedy course be not taken to supply this so considerable an army with a round sum at least 10,000*l.*—for a small sum will rather discontent than satisfy—it's much feared by those who best know that a sudden ruin of this brigade will inevitably follow. I find Sir William Waller very much troubled that he cannot punish the abounding vices and enormities of his soldiers for fear of mutinies and desertions to which for want of pay they are too apt, which not only produces a contempt of their officers, but great discontent also to the country, from they are sometimes necessitated to take that for their livelihood which the people can ill spare.”<sup>1</sup>

We may judge from this communication, as from his previous despatch on the occasion of his flight from Chichester to Portsmouth, that Mr. Cawley had a very happy turn for letter-writing.

On the same day Waller wrote to the House to a similar effect. He stated that he had presumed to send some parties to Godalming and Midhurst to take up some coarse cloths, linen, shoes, boots, and stockings for the soldiers, and if there might be an assurance given of the payment for these commodities, he was confident it would be best both for the soldiers and the country.<sup>2</sup>

Waller seems to have been a just and generous commander. In his “Vindication” he wrote: “And for the payment of arrears I may say I was for it to the uttermost farthing. I may not say, too, who were against it, but those who seemed to be pillars, or somewhat, whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me, contributed nothing,

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 160.



may, gave their flat negative to it. And truly herein I did but discharge my conscience, for I was ever of opinion that a soldier's pay is the justest debt in the world. For if it be a crying sin to keep back the wages of an hireling, that doth but sweat for us, it must needs be a roaring altitonant sin to detain pay of the soldier that bleeds for us. There is a cry of blood in it, and God will make inquisition for it!"<sup>1</sup>

In answer to Waller's urgent appeal for money the House voted an additional sum of £5,000.<sup>2</sup>

If the Parliamentary cause was to be saved in the south-eastern counties it was high time that something should be done. The Cavaliers of Sussex, says Clarendon, had "formed so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest that they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who upon advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great vigour and insolence."

The Royalists in Kent were also eager to make a move, and hoped that Hopton's forces, which were scattered along the borders of Hampshire, would be able to join hands with them. The position in Sussex therefore became of great importance. It was considered on the Parliament's side that the state of the roads at this season made the county impassable for an army, but the event showed that this was not the case. A Cavalier raid on Petworth, the Earl of Northumberland's house, had already been made, and the raiders had taken thence "twenty brave horse, and carried them to Oxford."<sup>3</sup>

On 23rd November<sup>4</sup> there was a fight at South Harting,

<sup>1</sup> Vindication of the Character and Conduct of Sir William Waller, Knight, London, 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Commons' Journals, iii, 319, 320.

<sup>3</sup> Scottish Dove, 27th October 1643.

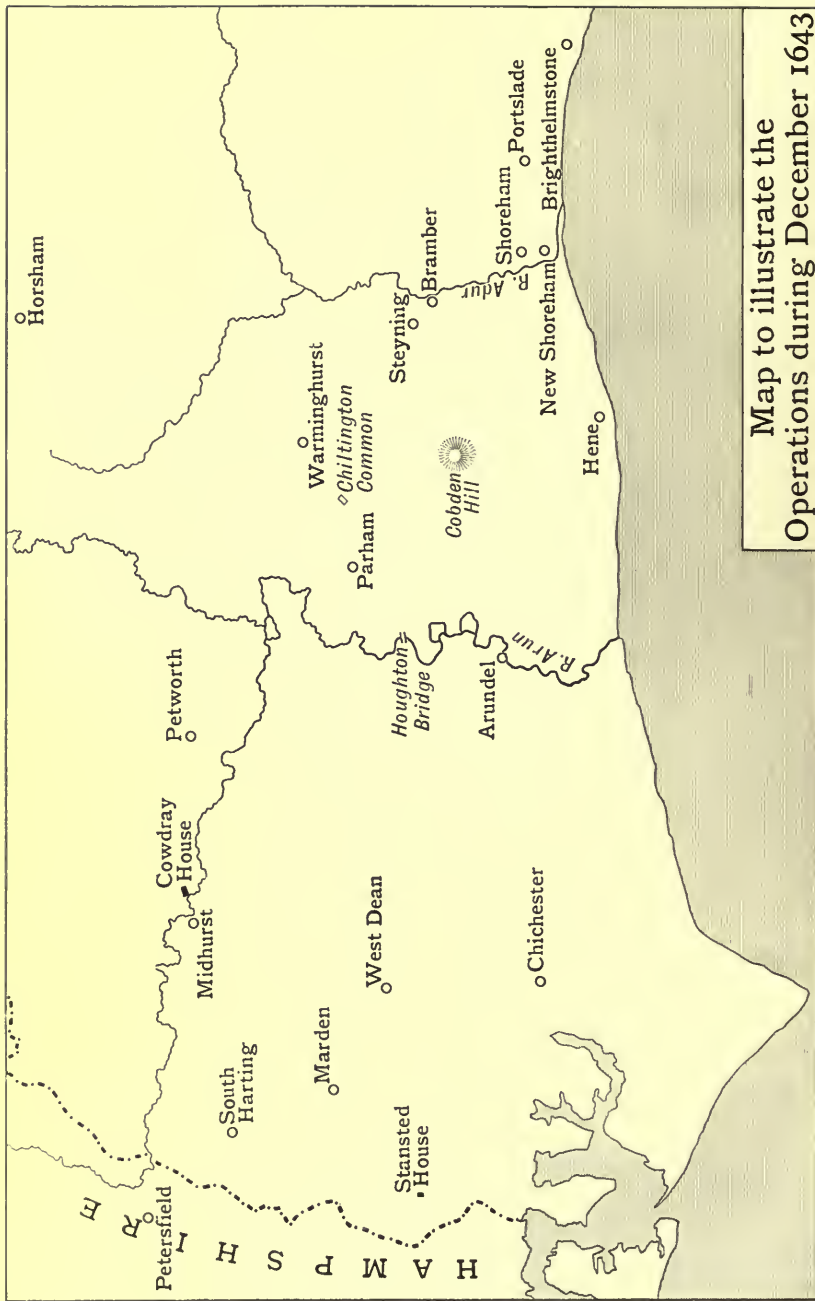
<sup>4</sup> In S. A. C., xxviii, 100, the Rev. H. D. Gordon states that Chichester was taken for the King on 22nd November, and recovered

a Sussex village on the borders of Hampshire, in which was situate Up Park, the residence of Sir William Ford, the High Sheriff's father. It seems that on that night about "six score of the Earl of Crawford's regiment entered the village very far spent with travel, want of sleep, and food, and extremely weather-beaten with a rainy stormy night."<sup>1</sup> They were quartered in the village, six of the principal officers and a boy being accommodated at the house of "the noble knight and brave housekeeper, Sir John Caryll." Within an hour Colonel Norton arrived with four hundred Parliamentary dragoons, not knowing till he was within the town that it was already occupied, "but having notice thereof he caused his men to rank themselves ten and ten, and so to make good every door and house of the town that none might escape; which being done the rebels cry 'Horse, Horse,' in the street, which the King's soldiers mistaking to be the call of their own commanders, offered in divers places to come forth, but were presently shot and killed, so that seeing no possibility of bringing forth themselves or their horses into the street, almost all of them fled by backways on foot to save themselves, leaving the rebels outrageously domineering in the town." But the tables were completely turned by the gallantry of the six officers and the boy quartered at Sir John Caryll's house. Mounting their horses they rushed out of a back lane upon the dragoons, shouting "Follow," "Follow," "Follow," as if they were leading a large force. The dragoons fled in disorder leaving some half-dozen of their number shot dead by the officers, about the same number, says the chronicler, as they had killed of the Royalist party. This incident naturally caused much delight and amusement in Cavalier circles. The number slain is probably exaggerated. The Parish Register of

by Waller on 29th December. He gives no authority for these statements, and appears to be confusing the proceedings of 1642 with those of 1643.

<sup>1</sup> Mercurius Aulicus, 10th December 1643.





Map to illustrate the  
Operations during December 1643

South Harting records "there were 3 souldiers buried Nov<sup>r</sup>. 24<sup>h</sup>, 1643."<sup>1</sup>

Those who had relied on the mud of Sussex as a protection against invasion were soon undeceived. At the beginning of December, taking advantage of a sharp frost, Hopton advanced into the county. "The exceeding hard frost," says Clarendon, "made his march more easy through those deep and dirty ways, than better weather would have done, and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in prospect."<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Ford was in command of a regiment of horse in Hopton's army, and had with him many of the gentlemen of Sussex. He had persistently urged the capture of Arundel, "which standing near the sea would yield great advantage to the King's service, and keep that rich corner of the country at his Majesty's devotion."<sup>3</sup>

But Hopton's invasion of Sussex was not a mere haphazard movement instigated by the importunities of Royalist gentry. It was, if somewhat belated, part of a great plan of campaign, in accordance with which the King's forces were to make a triple advance on London;—Hopton from the south-west, through Sussex and Surrey, Newcastle from the north, and the King himself in the centre, from Oxford. Hopton's part failed because he was unable to advance until too late, and then had no force capable of coping with Waller's army; Newcastle, after defeating Fairfax at Atherton Moor, was checked by Cromwell's victories of Gainsborough and Winceby; the King, after his failure to capture Gloucester and to defeat Essex at Newbury, abandoned his intended march on London, and fell back on Oxford. This was the turning-point of the war. The flood of Royalist success was over, and the ebb was running strongly.

Hopton's route was by Petersfield, Harting, and Marden,

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxviii, 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

and thence over the downs to Arundel; and in order to keep open the line of communication, Petersfield and Harting Place were garrisoned.<sup>1</sup> To guard the passes in the hills Ford's regiment of horse was quartered at his father's house, Up Park, throughout December.

Before reaching Arundel, Hopton sent a detachment of cavalry to attack Lord Lumley's house at Stanstead. There seems to have been a sharp fight there, but there is much uncertainty as to the details. The Royalist force was at first repulsed with loss by a Parliamentary force, probably under Colonel Stapley, and a son or brother of Endymion Porter, the diplomatist, was sore wounded and taken prisoner. But Stanstead shortly after fell into Royalist hands. It was at that time a castellated building with a turreted gateway and a courtyard.<sup>2</sup> Cowdray House, the magnificent mansion of Lord Montague, where an almost royal state had been kept up, and where Queen Elizabeth had been so sumptuously entertained, was taken from the Parliamentarians and garrisoned by Hopton, as also was Petworth.

The advance guard of the Royalist force under Sir Edward Ford and Sir Edward Bishop arrived before Arundel on 6th December. They captured the town and laid siege to the castle. "The place," says Clarendon, "in its situation was very strong, and though the fortifications were not regular but of the old fashion, yet the walls were very strong, and the graff broad and deep; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough in all respects to have defied all assaults, and might, with putting themselves to any trouble, have been very secure against all the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual or ammunition were not sufficient to have endured any long restraint; and the officer who com-

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxviii, 100; Royalist Compositions, ii, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire, ch. xv.

manded it had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy.”<sup>1</sup>

Meantime great alarm was felt by the Parliamentarians throughout Sussex. On 7th December the Committee at Lewes informed the House of the capture of the town of Arundel by Lord Hopton and of the danger in which the castle stood. Parliament immediately nominated John Baker of Mayfield as High Sheriff of Sussex, and directed the gentlemen of the four associated counties to withdraw to consider the question of sending relief to Arundel Castle, and of clearing the county of Sussex, and to provide for the security of that county in the best way they could, and to consult with the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Lieutenant. But for the energetic dispositions of Colonel Herbert Morley, “a gentleman of a nimble apprehension and vigilant spirit,”<sup>2</sup> and his subordinate Captain Temple, the Royalist forces would certainly have overrun the whole county. Temple saw to the “hastening of the works at Bramber and Shoreham,” and to the manning of them when completed.<sup>3</sup> The Mayor and jurats of Rye were ordered to despatch six of the biggest and most serviceable pieces of ordnance in the town to Shoreham.<sup>4</sup> At the same time steps were taken to remove the timber and lead from Camber Castle, near Rye; the castle being “soe greatlie ruinated and broken that any man may goe in there and purloigne and take from thence the tymber and leade.”<sup>5</sup> The corporation complained later that they had received no consideration for the £2,000 worth of lead which they had saved for the State. Their forwardness had exposed them to the very scorn and obloquy of the county.<sup>6</sup>

The efforts of the Parliamentarians in face of the unex-

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, viii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cheynell, Chillingworthi novissima, 1644.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., v, 58.

<sup>4</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

pected rapidity of the Royalist advance have found an unnamed historian, whom from the internal evidence of his manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> we may judge to have been Colonel Edward Apsley of Worminghurst, midway between Horsham and Arundel, M.P. for Steyning. His account is as follows:

“Wednesday night, December 6th, Colonel Ford and Sir Edward Bishop came to Arundel. About 5 of the clock in the morning Mr. Knight came to my house and brought the first alarm, whereupon I gave the first alarm to this part of the Country. By time it was day, Mr. Stanes came to me; finding I had no strength to rely on for the company I had formerly made use of was put into garrison at Cowdray House, he persuaded me to retire myself either to London or eastward. Upon his reasonable persuasions, as I was going to give order to have my horses made ready, I saw some twenty or thirty men in my hall, standing with their arms as ready for service. Whereupon turning to Mr. Stanes I told him that it should never be said that I should abandon the country so long as any would stand to me, and wished him to move me no farther, for I was resolved that—hap what hap could. Whereupon I gave order to Captain Leighton to exercise those men he had. As I was at dinner there came a report of 2000 of the enemy coming within two miles, viz., to Chiltington Common. I sent out to the men to bid them look to their watches, but before I had dined the report was contradicted. There were spies sent out, whereof one, Mr. Knight’s man, went into the town, and there lost me a man, but very honestly returned, and brought certain intelligence of the enemy.

“So soon as it was dark, I took horse and rode to Horsham, and sending for Mr. Shephard and some other gentlemen of the town, I inquired what strength they could make. They told me they thought 200. We resolved that they

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 57-9.



should come to my house the next day. I took horse again and with the help of Sir Thomas Siffeld's guide, got to Bramber by sunrise. There and at Shoreham I found Captain Temple, Captain Carleton, Captain Surrenden, and Captain Fuller; before night Colonel Morley came to us also from Lewes. Captain Morley<sup>1</sup> had sent him that had been employed as a spy with a letter to me to have a rendezvous appointed, for there were 200 foot and 120 horse assembled, and to let me know that Sir E. Bishop had driven away all my sheep. It was agreed the rendezvous to be at Cobden Hill by 12 of the clock. Next day between one and two Colonel Morley, Captain Temple and myself came to them with 200 dragoons, under Captain Carleton and Captain Surrenden. Captain Temple took order to hasten the works at Bramber and Shoreham by the pioneers, and Captain Fuller and his company to man them.

“Upon the information of the spy, Colonel Morley, Captain Temple and the rest of the council of war resolved to fall into Arundel, or if we were hindered of that by the breaking of the bridge by the enemy, to draw a breast-work at the head of the causeway, and so block them up at least on that side. Hereupon we drew the forces into several bodies. Now my Lord Hopton came into the town since my spy's coming out. Upon this resolution, we marched in our several divisions for Parham Park, and intended for Arundel we took the word ‘God with us.’

“The day was misty, especially on those high hills; so was the night; only now and then upon a gale of wind the mist brake up. In our march, false intelligence was given that the enemy had laid Houghton Bridge; it was then thought not fit to engage the body in those narrow ways from Parham Ash to Arundel in the night, till we knew whether the bridge were laid or no, doubting that the enemy had

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Herbert Morley's younger brother, William.

notice of our advance, and so might distress us in the way. Whereupon by the advice of the council of war, the forlorn hope was turned into a party, and sent, commanded by Lieutenant Burton, to see whether the bridge was laid or no. Before the party could return to the body, the light of the moon (which have much assisted us in the bottoms where the mist was not so thick, and the ways very narrow) would be so far spent, that it was not possible for the foot to march to Arundel, whereupon they were sent to quarter at Parham, with whom I was going till stayed by Colonel Morley. The horse were kept upon the hill to get intelligence of the enemy, and to do service upon their quarters, if we could find them out.

“Colonel Morley and myself with some others rode out upon the hills to discover the country and to see what became of the party sent out. In our absence the horsemen unbitted their horses, and turned them into a load of hay which they had taken from the cows. In our return there was one musket shot off, and some dags<sup>1</sup> that sparkled fire much like a match lighted with gunpowder. This was a party of the enemy upon our body, unsuspected by us. Colonel Morley was told it was not well to lie so openly; he said he would close them; one replied that they thought if he did but speak to them, it was enough. He rode towards them, and I rode on softly upon the way, till meeting this party of the enemy coming up from our own body, out of any road, taking it to be a party of our own, for the mist fell thick that I could not discern my horse length. I rode to them; they said, ‘who are you?’ I said, ‘a friend’; they said, ‘who are you for?’ I replied, ‘what! do you not know me?’ and gave them the word, ‘God with us.’ They asked me again, ‘who are you for?’ I returned the word again angrily, doubting that they might not know the word. With that, one of them caught hold of my horse, another

<sup>1</sup> Pistols.

of my sword, and asked, 'who I was for?' I said, 'for king and parliament'; and laying my hand upon my sword, they pulled and brake it. A third came up and caught hold of my rocket coat, and threw it over my head, when divers with their drawn swords rode about me, pulling by my coat that was about my head. I told the properest man that I could spy (this man I understood to be called Mr. Montague) that I was his prisoner. He replied that none should wrong me, but before they would let go my horse, caused me presently to alight. They took my coat and gloves, and told me they should search my pockets. I replied they should not need, for there was money for them, and so gave the silver that I had in that pocket, some to one, some to another, wherefore the one would not let the other rifle me; whereby I had the opportunity to convey away Sir William Waller's letters, and the Committee's, which I had then about me, and left a little money for myself.

"Mr. Montague gat upon my horse, and told me that I should get upon his. This was a poor tired jade. I was long ere I got up. They held their pistols to me, and said, 'shoot him, shoot him.' I pulling the saddle on my side, turned my breast to their pistols, and said, 'Why! shoot me then! for I cannot get up.' Then said one, 'Why do you not alight and help him up?' With that one alighted and helped me up. This I did delay, expecting relief. They asked how strong we were. I told them between 300 and 400. This was true but the rest I concealed, namely, that our men were unbitted and out of order, and unable to make any resistance. The fear of their number, the not knowing their disorder, caused the enemy to haste away almost in like disorder."

What happened to the writer of this interesting story does not appear, as his manuscript ends here. Probably he was taken to Arundel as a prisoner. Meantime the castle had fallen. On the third day after Lord Hopton's arrival he sent in a message threatening severe measures in case

he was driven to assault it, and the officer in command, Captain Capcot, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, surrendered.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Morley, having found it impossible to relieve Arundel or to hold Houghton Bridge, fell back on the Adur. Here Temple successfully defended Bramber Castle against a Royalist attack. Of this affair the voluble Puritan divine, Dr. Cheynell, says: "Upon the 12th of December I visited a brave soldier of my acquaintance, Captain James Temple, who did that day defend the fort of Bramber against a bold and daring enemy to the wonder of all the country; and I did not marvel at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of stratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of success as it is of dexterity."<sup>2</sup>

Another skirmish took place a little later at Bramber Bridge, as related in the very interesting letters of the Rev. John Coulton, Chaplain in the Parliamentary Army, to his "most dear loving and kind friend and brother in Jesus Christ," Mr. Samuel Jeake of Rye.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Coulton describes his personal experiences with the force hastily raised for the defence of East Sussex. "That Saturday I came from

<sup>1</sup> Mercurius Civicus, No. 29, December 7 to 14, 1643.

<sup>2</sup> Cheynell, *Chillingworthi novissima*.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., ix, 51. Samuel Jeake of Rye was at this time only twenty years of age. The Parish Register of Rye contains the entry: "1623, Oct. 12, Sammewell, son of Henry Jake." The Jeakes were a family of Huguenot origin, their name being doubtless derived from Jacques. At first a notary-public, and afterwards an attorney, he was also a most laborious student and a prolific writer. His most important work was "The Charters of the Cinque-Ports, two Ancient Towns (Rye and Winchelsea), and their Members, translated into English, with annotations historical and critical thereon." An active Puritan, and a preacher, he suffered persecution for nonconformity in Charles II's reign, and was excommunicated. He died in 1690. "Upon the whole," says Mr. Lower, "Sussex has produced few men more remarkable than the elder Samuel Jeake. He was a man of capacious intellect, a sound lawyer and municipal antiquary, and good mathematician and a student of every branch of human knowledge" (*Worthies of Sussex*, p. 125). See S. A. C., xiii, 60.

Rye, I marched to Robert Rolfe's house at Mayfield, where I quartered all night; the next day we marched to Portslade. On Christmas day we came to Shoreham, and about eleven o'clock Sergeant Rolfe shot off a carbine and withal his thumb. I stayed with him all Tuesday and saw him in good posture, and so I went to my colours." He found his regiment at Arundel, and with it executed some scouting operations, and discovered Hopton at Petersfield. "The return of us was the next day about ten o'clock; ourselves and horse had no meat but a piece of bread and cheese, and our horses, while we ate it, had hay not half an hour's time; prize your fireside comforts, you know not the hardships of war; nay, though it be in a flowing county as is Sussex. . . . The enemy attempted Bramber bridge, but our brave Carleton and Everden with his dragoons, and our Colonel's horse welcomed them with drakes and muskets, sending some eight or nine men to hell (I fear), and one trooper to Arundel Castle prisoner, and one of Captain Everden's dragoons to heaven, all this while the enemy held the castle, and a party seized Wiston house within a mile of Bramber bridge."

The Captain Carleton here mentioned was a son of Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, 1619-1628. He is described by Cheynell<sup>1</sup> as "the anti-prelatical son of a learned prelate, a man of bold presence, and fixed resolution, who loves his country better than his life." Captain Everden was, according to the same authority, "a man of slow speech but sure performance, who deserves that motto of the old Roman: *Non tam facile loquor, quam quod locutus sum praesto.*"

But although a Royalist advance east of the Adur was prevented, the prospects of the Parliamentary party looked black. Their only hope lay in the intervention of Waller, and he was known to be in difficulties. It is not surprising

<sup>1</sup> Chillingworthi novissima.

that one at least of the Parliamentary leaders should seem to have thought it advisable to curry favour with the other side. In August 1644 articles were formulated against Thomas Middleton, M.P. for Horsham, and one of the Committee for Sussex, alleging that in the previous December, when the King's forces invaded Sussex, pretending himself to be sick, he would not in any way show himself against the King's forces, but discouraged the countrymen that took up arms for the Parliament when the King's forces were within a few miles of Horsham, and that he was in all probability consenting to the bringing of some of the King's forces to take Horsham.<sup>1</sup>

Middleton, who resided at Hills Place, seems to have been absolved from this accusation, but he was arrested in 1648 on a charge of being concerned in the rising which took place at Horsham in that year. A somewhat ridiculous incident of an earlier date is related, in which he was the involuntary cause of alarming all London. The report of a plot was reading in the House of Commons (May 1641) when some members in the gallery stood up, the better to hear the report, and Middleton and Mr. Moyle, of Cornwall, "two persons of good bigness, weighed down a board in the gallery which gave so great a crack, that some members thought it was a plot indeed," and an alarm of fire, and of a malignant conspiracy, spread rapidly over the town, so that a regiment of trained bands was collected in the City upon beat of drum, and marched as far as Covent Garden to meet these imaginary evils.<sup>2</sup>

But while West Sussex was falling into Royalist hands, and East Sussex was with difficulty defending its border, the reports of Royalist successes were affording the stimulus which was wanted to induce the House to make due provision for Waller's army. Early in December Waller went to London "to be feasted and lectured," but he seems to

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Rushworth, v, 744; S. A. C., v, 87.

have done the lecturing himself, and to some effect. "Waller's journey to London answered his expectation, and his presence had an extraordinary operation to procure anything desired. He reported the Lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them; and the quick progress he had made in Sussex, and his taking Arundel Castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the King had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent and all other places, and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate sollicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil."<sup>1</sup>

The House requested the City of London to allow "the longer stay of their forces," which were to have been withdrawn, and 500 men were sent to Farnham from the Windsor garrison. Waggon's went from London laden with ammunition, and with leather pieces of ordnance, lately invented by Colonel Wems, General of Ordnance and Train. "These leather pieces are of very great use, and very easy and light of carriage. One horse may draw a piece, which will carry a bullet of a pound and half weight and do execution very far."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, viii, 9.

<sup>2</sup> True Informer, 9th December 1643.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SIEGE OF ARUNDEL

AFTER a successful attack on Alton,<sup>1</sup> in which he took several hundred prisoners, including numerous Irish, Waller marched out of Farnham on the afternoon of Sunday, 17th December, to meet the victorious Royalists in Sussex. It will be remembered that they were, in addition to smaller positions, in occupation of the great houses of Petworth, Cowdray, and Stanstead, and of the Castle of Arundel. The frost was still holding, and Waller was able to move with extraordinary rapidity. Occupying Haslemere on Sunday night, he "wheeled about" towards Midhurst on Monday morning in hope of surprising the garrison at Cowdray, consisting, as he says in his despatches, of four troops of cavalry and 100 infantry. He sent two regiments of cavalry to block up the various roads in the neighbourhood, but the Royalists were "too nimble" for him, and escaped to Arundel. An officer of his force wrote a letter, published at the time,<sup>2</sup> which well describes his subsequent proceedings: "[Cowdray] house is now possessed by the Parliament forces where we stayed that night, and furnished the said castle (for indeed it may well be called so in regard of the strength thereof) with all necessaries for defence to awe the Papists and malignants, wherewith the said town is much infested and infected. Tuesday morning we marched from Midhurst, sending out

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, cccxcviii, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Mercurius Civicus, 21st December 1643.



a party of horse to Petworth, having thought to surprise the enemy there, but they fled before our success, Hopton and the great ones to Winchester and the rest to Arundel with bag and baggage."

Cowdray seems to have been stripped of its contents, which were doubtless of great value. In the Journals of the House of Commons are the following entries:

"*1st April* 1644. Ordered, that Capt. Higgons do forthwith send up the plate, treasure, and other goods found in the Lord Montague's house.

"*18th May* 1644. Ordered, that the goods brought up from Cowdray House in Sussex, by order of this House, be forthwith stored up in the stores at Camden House.

"*6th June* 1644. Ordered, that the goods that are brought up, which were seized at the Lord Montague's house in Sussex, and particularly those goods remaining at "The Talbot," in Southwark, in Captain Higgons's custody, be carried into Camden House, and all the said goods be there sold to the best value."<sup>1</sup>

But these operations by the way caused little check to the rapidity of Waller's advance. He appeared before Arundel on the evening of Tuesday, the 19th, and the army lay that night "on a heath within a mile of the town."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "There was a constant stream of traffic in carts laden with goods seized in the counties and conveyed to the Guildhall in London, where the sale of these effects took place. These sales made a rare harvest for the dealers, who bought up valuable heirlooms 'dirt cheap.' The goods were 'sold by the candle,' and some of the more crafty ones got near enough the elbow of the auctioneer to control the flame. A large buyer named Fletcher was accused that he stood 'so near the candle that it goes out at the casting up of his hand, or the wind of his mouth at his last bidding, when others would have bidden more.' The reference is of course to the old fashion of burning a piece of candle and knocking down to the last bidder before the flame expired" (Kingston's Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War, p. 154 n.).

<sup>2</sup> The account of the siege of Arundel is mainly based on Waller's own despatches, which were promptly published (Full Relation of Late

After his capture of Arundel Castle on 9th December, Lord Hopton had left Sir Edward Ford in command, with more than 200 men and "many good officers, who desired or were very willing to stay there, as a place very favourable for the levies of men which they all intended, and it may be that the more remained there out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the rest of the winter with better accommodation. The Governor was a man of honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience of war than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command; many whereof were of natures not easy to be governed, nor like to conform themselves to such strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry as the exigence they were like to be in made necessary." Amongst them was "Colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfield; who being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor."<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless the garrison was much increased by the refugees driven in from Cowdray and other positions on the line of Waller's march.

Hopton had caused various entrenchments to be made for the defence of the town, which it was Waller's first care to capture. At dawn on Wednesday, the 20th, he surveyed the enemy's position and speedily found, he says, a place "to flank their line with our ordnance. We fell upon the north side of the works" while another detachment made a simultaneous attack on the south-west side of the town. After about half an hour's fighting, the outworks, with some eighty prisoners, were taken. About ten o'clock the

Proceedings of Sir W. Waller, John Field, 8th January 1664), and have been several times reprinted.

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, B. viii, 8.

Cavalier horse made "a brave sally" but was repulsed. The storming party "beat them into the Castle, and entered the first gate with them; the second they made good and barricaded, and there they are welcome." Scouring the streets, the Parliamentarians captured a captain, a lieutenant, and several other prisoners. Certain townsmen having taken refuge in the Church of St. Nicholas, preparations were made to smoke them out, whereupon they surrendered at discretion. Waller was now in possession of the town of Arundel. The garrison kept up a brisk fire of musketry from the Castle, but were not able to command any considerable portion of the town. Only three or four men are said to have been killed in the attack, but Lieut.-Colonel Ramsay, who was one of the first to enter the town, "whilst casting his eyes towards the Castle, was unfortunately slain with a musket ball from thence; he was interred on the following Saturday, six trumpeters going before the corpse with a mournful sound, his sergeant-major, to whom his place fell, following, and then all the officers of his regiment."

Immediately after the capture of the town Waller had a narrow escape. "A perfidious rascal for hire, or some other wicked end, would have killed our noble general; but it pleased God that his musket went not off, so that his wicked design was prevented, and himself deservedly hanged."<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. John Coulton, whose letter to Mr. Samuel Jeake has already been quoted, states that Sir William "took Arundel town with 140 prisoners to boot, whereof 60 bear arms for the Parliament, the rest are sent to London"; and he adds, "our Wiston Cavaliers left the house and fled for their lives, and in their march at Findon left 3 carts laden with plunder, the which we with a party of 12 horse fetched home and refreshed our weary soldiers;

<sup>1</sup> A wicked plot against the person of Sir William Waller, etc. London, printed for Robert Wood, MDCXLIV, January 11th.

these things being by the Lord's hand done, my Colonel [Morley] advanced to Arundel, leaving at Shoreham Capt. Temple, at Bramber Capt. Fuller and Capt. Everden. . . . Tell Widow Dod I eat and drink with both her brothers William and John, they are very well; only my uncle Pye wants his feather bed to sleep on."

The readiness of prisoners to take service with their captors, of which Mr. Coulton gives an instance, is a curious feature of the Civil War. It suggests that they were combatants rather from necessity than conviction, and that the division of the country into two well-defined parties was less thorough than we are sometimes tempted to assume. Of the prisoners taken by Waller at Alton on 12th December, a number, variously stated as being 300, 500, and 600, accepted the offer of freedom on condition of taking the Covenant, and engaging to serve the Parliament. During the following week they proved the groundlessness of the doubts which were freely expressed as to their fidelity by a fierce assault upon their former comrades at Arundel.<sup>1</sup> The day of Cromwell's East Anglian army, invincible from its combination of perfect military discipline with intense religious enthusiasm, was yet to come. It was not only on the Parliamentary side that this pressing of prisoners into service was practised. In November 1642 the King surprised the Red Trained Bands of the City of London at Brentford, and threatened to hang the prisoners if they did not join his army. "A smith was brought to burn them on the cheeks," whereupon 200 declared for the royal service, and "140 tendered their persons to be stigmatized rather than yield"; they were, however, released unhurt.<sup>2</sup> Considering that they were mere London apprentices, the number of those who elected to stand to their colours and take their punishment was very creditable.

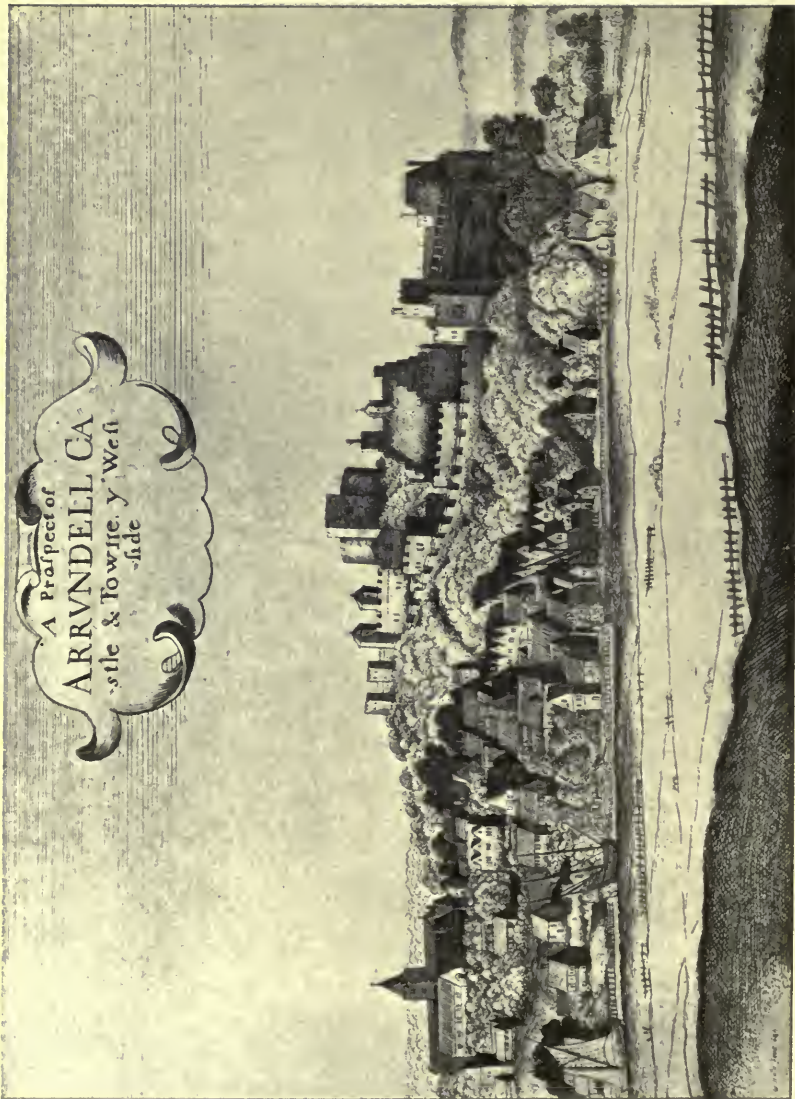
Waller now addressed himself to the siege of Arundel

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, ch. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *S. A. C.*, v, 64.



A Prospect of  
**ARRYNDELL CA**  
Castle & Towne. y West  
-side



Castle, which resisted him for seventeen days. As a token of defiance the garrison hoisted a red flag, for, says Whitelock, "the Earl of Essex's colours were a deep yellow; others setting up another colour were held malignants, and ill-affected to the Parliament's cause. So small a thing is taken notice of in the jealousies of war."<sup>1</sup> Waller's force consisted of not less than 6,000 men, and he was expecting large reinforcements. He says: "I am very weak in foot and my horse so hacknied out that they are ready to lie down under us. I expect Colonel Bayne here this day and Colonel Morley." The first-named officer was bringing up a cavalry reinforcement, 600 strong, sent to Waller by the Earl of Essex. On Thursday, 21st December, Colonel Morley arrived with his regiment, in which were, as we know, the two brothers of the widow Dod, the Rev. John Coulton, and his uncle Pye. A first consignment of six waggons of provisions, collected by well-wishers in the county, to be followed by others, also arrived. The long frost, which had made easy the marches both of Hopton and Waller, at length broke, and the besiegers were exposed to storms of wind and rain. As far as possible they were billeted in the town, but the musketry fire from the garrison continued harassing. In order to check this Major Bodley, "perceiving divers in the castle look forth in a balcony," posted himself "in a private place of advantage," and by a well-directed volley "slew and wounded divers of the enemy."

In addition two "saker drakes," or light field pieces, were mounted that night on the tower of Arundel Church, and next day, together with certain musketeers, they poured a continuous fire into the upper portion of the castle. Further reinforcements arrived from Kent, Sir Michael Livesay with a regiment of horse, and Sir William Springate with a regiment of infantry. Desertions from

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock's Memorials.

the castle began to be very numerous, and continued throughout the siege. A certain Richard Smith, a deserter from the army of the Parliament, was arrested by a guard four miles distant. He had been hired to go to Hopton for aid, for a sum of "twenty shillings of which he had twelve pence in hand." When questioned by the captain of the guard, he said he had lost the letter to Lord Hopton. Having been proved to be "an arch spy in our army," he was hanged on the bridge, within sight of the castle. He had described the state of the garrison; their strength was "1,000 foot and 100 horse, but no provender for them. They had store of oxen, but no beer or wine save water only, which was in the Castle well; that the common soldiers with him had that day half a pound of bread weighed out to them."

Steps were taken to drain off the water of Swanbourne Lake, which supplied the castle wells, and on Saturday this work was completed. On Sunday further reinforcements arrived from Kent, consisting of two regiments under Colonels Head and Dixie, which together with "divers regiments from Sussex" raised Waller's force to a total of not less than 10,000 men. On Monday a sortie was attempted from the castle, but driven back. Waller, sure of his prey, refused to exchange prisoners, or to promise quarter in case of surrender.

The only hope for the garrison lay in relief by Lord Hopton. But Hopton was a broken reed. At his headquarters at Winchester he was suffering much from dissensions in his heterogeneous army. The "English-Irish" contingent, which had been brought over to fight on the royal side, was continually at loggerheads with the Cornishmen, who were numerous in the force. From bandying opprobrious epithets, "Cornish Choughs, Puritans, and Roundheads" on the one side, and "Irish kernes and Popish dogs" on the other, they fell to fighting. Several Cornishmen were killed, and their comrades, variously



estimated at 500 to 1,500, deserted their colours and returned to their homes.<sup>1</sup>

The bringing over of Irishmen to fight on English soil was regarded with great indignation by the Parliamentarians, and with disfavour by many Royalists. It was looked upon very much in the same light as the employment of natives as combatants in the South African War. Whitelock says: "Divers of the Irish, about 1500, were cast away at sea coming to serve his Majesty. It was observed that these bloody Irish coming over hither never did any service considerable, but were cut off, some in one place and some in another. In all places the vengeance of God follows bloodthirsty men."<sup>2</sup> In the main the Civil War, considering its date, was conducted with remarkable humanity, and the presence of an Irish contingent, regarded as composed of irresponsible foreigners, lacking the restraints which influenced both English parties, was feared as likely to be the occasion of outrage and barbarity.

But in spite of his troubles, Hopton succeeded in marching out of Winchester with 2,000 cavalry and 1,500 infantry. He reached Petersfield on Wednesday the 27th. The news of his movement raised fresh hopes in the garrison, who "came forth to the balcony again," only to be shot down by Waller's musketeers posted in the ruins of an old chapel. The besieged had managed to keep in communication with Hopton, and Waller's men discovered an ox-hide boat in the river, which had been used to ferry over a messenger. Desertions from the castle were numerous, and continued to be so until the end of the siege.

On Thursday the 28th a flag of truce was hoisted, and an application was made by the garrison to Sir William Waller for a supply of sack, tobacco, dice, and cards, in

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, ch. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Whitelock, *Memorials*, March 1644.

return for which they offered beef and mutton. Waller was no bigot; and this message was probably in jocular reference to a pleasant passage between him and Lord Crawford at Alton on 12th December.<sup>1</sup> Lord Crawford had sent to him at Farnham asking for a rivulet of sack, and promising a fat ox in exchange. "Our worthy Sir William sent in a loving compliment to the Lord Crawford half a hogshead of sack, who mistrusting the matter and the messenger, caused the messenger and divers others to taste thereof, and then caused it to be carefully laid by for his own drinking." Sir William demanded the promised ox, whereupon Lord Crawford replied that he would bring it himself. Waller "fails not at nightfall to go in search of his ox, and, instead of a beast, brought away 565 prisoners." Crawford fled in haste, without his hat or cloak, and it was a standing joke that he had "left his sack at Alton." Next day he wrote a letter to Waller, which was read in the House of Commons on 18th December:

" TO SIR W. WALLER:

" SIR,

" I hope your gaining of Alton cost you dear. It was your lot to drink your own sack, which I never intended to have left for you. I pray you favour me so much as to send my owne chirurgion, and upon my honour I will send you a person suitable to his exchange. Sir, your servant,

" CRAWFORD." <sup>1</sup>

But however Waller took the ribald application of the Arundel Cavaliers, it was doubtless a stumbling-block and offence to some of his serious-minded adherents. The Puritans, with all their virtues, to some of which the greatness of England is chiefly due, were lacking in appreciation of the lighter side of human intercourse, and were in-

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, cccxcviii, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire, ch. xvi.

tolerant of pleasures, whether harmless or the reverse. To them the rollicking humour of the pleasure-loving Cavalier was anathema. His very appearance betrayed his wickedness, every species of vice and iniquity was thought to lurk in his long and curly tresses; while the Royalist for his part imagined the close-cropped Roundhead to be as destitute of wit and wisdom as of hair.

Hopton advanced rapidly to within a few miles of Arundel. On Friday the 29th, Waller left 1,500 men to continue the siege and marched to meet him. The armies faced each other on North Marden Down and at West Dean. Finding himself in the presence of a greatly superior force, Hopton, after the exchange of a few shots, retired in the direction of Havant. A few days later Colonel Norton, with his Hampshire dragoons, attacked a detachment of the retreating Cavalier army near that place, and took several prisoners.

The garrison was now very anxious to make terms of surrender, but as Waller required it to surrender "at mercy," no negotiations took place. The news of the approaching fall of Arundel gave great satisfaction in London. On 1st January 1644, Parliament requested the Earl of Essex to grant to Sir William Waller a commission as major-general to command the forces of the four associated counties of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, apparently in confirmation of the commission already given him by the House. This commission, which enabled Waller to command independently in the four counties, was at once granted by Essex, not without an energetic protest, and was delivered to Waller on 3rd January. At the same time such necessaries as he required were ordered to be delivered to him—a sharp contrast to the niggardly treatment accorded him when he was making his preparations at Farnham.

Lord Hopton, having failed in his attempt to relieve Arundel, endeavoured to create a diversion by laying siege

to Warblington Castle, between Chichester and Portsmouth, which was held by a small garrison. It appears that he took it "after long siege and with loss of more men than were there in garrison," but with no particular advantage to the Royalist cause.

On 4th January Waller opened fire on Arundel Castle with some heavy guns which he had procured from Portsmouth. The state of the garrison was now desperate; not only were they short of provisions, "they had no bread, only each soldier had 2 spoonfuls of sodden wheat a day, beef they had enough";<sup>1</sup> but discord, fomented by Waller, reigned within the walls. Clarendon says: "By some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means to send in again to them, by which he so increased their faction and animosity against one another, that after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter, the place being able to have defended itself against all that power for a much longer time."

Accordingly on Friday, 5th January, a message was sent out of the castle by a drummer, who, being hungry and seeing abundance of food in the besiegers' lines, surrendered on his own account as a prisoner. A second drummer was sent, with the result that three commissioners were appointed on either side to arrange terms of surrender. While these were being arranged, Waller courteously permitted some ladies to leave the castle and dine at his own table. They were Lady Bishop, daughter of the Earl of Thanet, and wife of Sir Edward Bishop, with her two daughters, one of whom, Diana, was the young wife (only fifteen years old) of Henry Goring.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Goring returned to the castle with the commissioners, the other ladies with their maids were provided with quarters by Waller.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Coulton to Samuel Jeake.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., v, 62.

The following were the propositions made by Sir William Waller to the besieged in Arundel Castle:

*First.*—I require the castle of Arundel to be delivered into my hands by to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

*Second.*—That all colonels of horse and foot, and all horse, arms, ammunition and military provision whatever be then delivered to me entire and unspoiled.

*Third.*—That all commanders, officers, and gentlemen have fair quarter and civil usage.

*Fourth.*—That all soldiers shall have quarter for their lives.

*Fifth.*—That for security of performance, Sir Edward Bishop and Sir Edward Ford be immediately delivered into my hands.

#### EXPLANATIONS

*One.*—By fair quarter, I mean giving life to those that yield, with imprisonment of their persons; but civil usage, which is sufficient security that they shall not be plundered.

*Two.*—Concerning the place they shall be sent to, I will not determine, but will be left to mine own freedom, without further capitulation.

*Three.*—The ministers are included in the articles, and are prisoners, as well as the soldiers.

*Four.*—When I send away the officers, I shall take care that they shall not want horses to carry them, but will not be bound to let them have their own horses.

At midnight Waller sent in an order to the garrison that Sir Edward Ford and Sir Edward Bishop must come forth at once if they desired a further cessation of hostilities. They gave themselves up at two o'clock in the morning, and the fortress was formally surrendered about nine o'clock in the morning of Saturday, 6th January 1644.

Seventeen colours of foot and two of horse were taken,

and more than 1,000 prisoners, including about a hundred officers and fifty gentlemen. A newswriter of the day says: "I never saw so many weak and feeble creatures together in my life, for almost all the common soldiers were half starved, and many of them hardly able to set one foot before another."<sup>1</sup> About 200 horses, 2,000 arms, many oxen both alive and dead, 20 barrels of powder, and £4,000 in money fell to the victors.

Waller immediately sent "2,000 horse and foot and two drakes to besiege my Lord Lumley's house in Sussex." This was Stanstead, in the parish of Stoughton; it had been sold after the death of the last Lord Lumley, in 1609, to Richard Lewknor, of the well-known Cavalier family. It surrendered at once. A force was also sent to destroy, or more probably to capture, the ironworks in St. Leonard's Forest, which, belonging either to the Crown or to the Royalists, had provided the royal ammunition.

On 8th January news of the fall of Arundel reached London. Parliament immediately voted its thanks to Sir William Waller, "much approving of all his proceedings herein; and they perceiving by the list that there are many gentlemen of the country, that are not soldiers, that are men of good estate, they do give power to him to ransom them for sums of money, the which they leave to his disposition upon account." Sir H. Vane, junr., and Sir Arthur Haselrig were directed to prepare a letter for Sir William Waller, to be signed by Mr. Speaker Lenthall, "to congratulate him on his great and good success, and to encourage him according to his intentions to prosecute the advantages it has pleased God to bless him with." The town of Lewes sent Waller a present of £50 "in acknowledgement of my poor service at Arundel," as he says in his *Vindication*. "It is worth noting," wrote Mr. Coulton to Samuel Jeake, "to see how our Eastern gentry come to comfort our poor Colonel, and to show their thankfulness

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 63.

to our noble Waller." The Rye troop, to which Mr. Coulton was attached, had apparently particularly distinguished itself; its Captain, Richard Cockeram, Mayor of Rye, was voted £100 by Parliament in testimony of his good services to the State.

So for the third time within little more than a year the castle of Arundel was captured. Of the 800 soldiers taken prisoners, 500 joined Waller's army; the rest were sent to London, guarded by four troops of horse, "some in carts, some on foot," and arrived there on 20th January.<sup>1</sup> Waller proceeded to repair the defences of the castle;—"we have fortified Arundel as strong as ever you saw a thing," wrote Mr. Coulton;—and having left it in charge of Colonel Morley and Colonel Springate, prepared to follow Lord Hopton, who had made a "nimble retreat" to Winchester. The following letter from Lord Hopton to an unknown correspondent, preserved in a private collection, shows that he was informed that Waller was concentrating the troops he had left at various points on his line of communications before advancing into Hampshire.

" Winchester, Jan. 25, 1644.

"The intelligence that came to me of Sir William Waller's advancing, prooves only two regiments of horse that was moved fro' neere Chichester to Stansheed, and the quarters where we were, I have dayly intelligence of him and do not find he doth yet move, the foot that were at Guildford and moved thence to Godliman I heare ar gonn on towards Petworth which makes me think he will joyn his whole body in Sussex before he advances."<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Stapley remained governor of Chichester, and in that capacity objected to quarter some of Waller's troopers in the city; but the Parliament, after much correspondence on the subject, and a reference to the committee of both

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Commons; S. A. C., v, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Morrison Collection of MSS., ii, 306.

kingdoms, desired him to yield obedience upon all occasions to Sir William Waller as commanding-in-chief.<sup>1</sup>

So ended the winter campaign in Sussex of 1643. It is by far the most interesting period of the war as far as the county is concerned, and its importance as regards the general result can hardly be over-estimated. Civilians may not always be competent to grasp the military value and results of any set of operations in the field, but the political effects of a Royalist dominance in Sussex, and the importance to the Parliament of its overthrow, may be obvious to all. By its final elimination the position of London was relieved of a great element of insecurity, and the Parliament was enabled to use to the full the enormous advantage which its hold of the capital afforded. The undisputed possession of the Sussex iron-forges may also have been an asset of greater value than is generally recognized. Perhaps an amateur may be permitted to suggest that Sir William Waller's stubborn persistence in the face of constant neglect and inadequate supplies, and his grasp of the essential points in the great game, have hardly received, either in his own day or since, their due meed of approbation.

The town of Arundel suffered very severely from these repeated attacks. It had been grievously pillaged by Lord Hopton's army, and many houses had been destroyed. Further damage was done during Waller's siege of the castle. In 1645 a Committee was appointed by Parliament to meet at Billingham, and inquire into and pay for damage done by the army. On the petition of Nathan Older, Mayor of Arundel, £3,772 was allotted to certain inhabitants of the borough for repair of damages.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Commons, January 10th, 16th, February 16th, 20th, March 7th, 1644; S. A. C., v, 66. See also Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, d, 45, 46, 47; di, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Arundel Corporation MSS., quoted by Dallaway, p. 210. See also Tierney's Arundel, p. 714.



Sir Edward Ford, a man "of honesty, courage and good meaning," as Clarendon says, had been the evil genius of the Royalist party in Sussex. His uncalculating zeal had brought on Chichester the calamity of a siege in 1642, and laid heavy burdens on the estates of his friends. A year later he had induced Hopton to occupy Arundel, and being left in command had neglected to furnish the castle with supplies sufficient to enable it to hold out against Waller for any useful period. His connection with Ireton seems to have insured him a continuance of lenient treatment when taken prisoner, for we find him once again in arms against the Parliament in 1645.<sup>1</sup> Taking part in the defence of Winchester Castle in October of that year, he assisted to draw up the terms of surrender, a task for which experience had qualified him. But so great was the interest he could command that the comparatively small fine of £500 was all that was laid upon Up Park.<sup>2</sup> For the part they had taken in the defence of Arundel, he and Sir Edward Bishop had been declared by the Parliament on 9th October 1644 "to be incapable of any employment"—perhaps a euphemistic way of letting them off easily. His father, Sir William Ford of Up Park, relying on the interest his son could command, was shrewd enough to throw the blame of his own proceedings upon him. There was in the old man something of the artfulness of the Simon Fraser of a later day. His petition, dated 24th October 1645, is an interesting document. "Your Petitioner humbly begs that Parliament would not punish him (the father) for the son's fault. . . . Two years since he was forced to go into the King's quarters, his land being sequestered, his house spoiled, and his personal estate taken from him. . . . And being at Winchester when Sir Ralph Hopton marched into Sussex with his army, your petitioner went along with him to see if he could get any rent of his tenants, but none of them paid him any money.

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, ch. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Com. for Compounding*, 932.

Yet he procured as many as spake unto him protections; and at the return of the army [Hopton's retreat from Arundel] the soldiers wanting bread were appointed to fetch the same from the countrymen's houses. But they fearing to be plundered of their goods under colour of fetching bread, divers of the country came to your petitioner and entreated him to be a means that they might send some bread, and not to have the soldiers to fetch it. And according to their desire he sent a note to have it done so (for their good) and he had not any of his tenants taken prisoners, nor any of their cattle taken away for his rent behind, as he might have done."

This petition helps us to a picture of the sufferings of all classes in West Sussex in that terrible winter of 1643: "the country far and wide ransacked for bread, rents unpaid, two sets of hungry soldiery in turn masters, church cottage mansion and park alike pillaged, the squires in gaol, the parson and the farmers fined."<sup>1</sup>

"Our country," said a letter-writer of the time, "makes as much haste as it can towards the miserable condition of Germany, contrary parties having been all this winter in many counties still acting hostilities against one another, to the undoing of the inhabitants that are forced to stand to the courtesy of both."<sup>2</sup>

Sir Edward Ford is said to have retired for some time to the Continent, but in 1647 the Queen, knowing his relationship to Ireton, sent him over "to discover the intentions of the army, and promote an agreement between his Majesty and them." Sir John Berkeley followed, and met him at Reading, with the same hopeless intrigue in view.<sup>3</sup> On the flight of the King from Hampton Court Ford was sus-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. H. D. Gordon, *History of Harting*, 1877, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, cccxcviii, 85. Mr. Harrison to John Bradley at the College of Tournay, Paris, 28th December 1643.

<sup>3</sup> Sir J. Berkeley's *Memoirs*, 1699.

pected of being privy to it, and was ordered by the Parliament to be arrested.<sup>1</sup>

When the war was over Ford acquired interest and favour with Cromwell and the Parliament. He was a clever engineer and projector; but some of his later schemes have an anticipatory flavour of the South Sea Bubble. In 1656 "being encouraged by Oliver, and invited by the Citizens of London, he raised the Thames water into all the highest streets of the city, 93 feet high, in four eight-inch pipes, to the Wonder of all men, and the Honour of the Nation, with a rare Engine of his own Invention, done at his own charge and in one year's time. He also built the Great Water Engine near Somerset House, which supplieth the inhabitants of the Strand, and adjacent parts with water."<sup>2</sup>

His projects took a wide range. On 22nd September 1663 Samuel Pepys records in his Diary: "This day my wife showed me bills printed wherein her father, with Sir John Collidon and Sir Edward Ford, have got a patent for curing of smoky chimneys."<sup>3</sup>

After the great fire of London he published "Experimental Physics how the King may have money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with ease to his people: London may be rebuilt and all proprietors satisfied: money to be at six per cent. on pawns, and the Fishing Trade set up, which alone is able, and sure to enrich us all. And all this without altering, straining or thwarting any of our Laws, or Customs, now in use."<sup>4</sup>

A year or two later he invented a mode of coining farthings. Each piece was to differ minutely from another to prevent forgery. He failed to procure a patent for this scheme in England, but obtained one for Ireland. He died in Ireland on 3rd September 1670, before he could carry his design into execution.<sup>5</sup> In some of the projects of his

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i, 469.

<sup>3</sup> Pepys' Diary, ed. H. B. Wheatley, iii, 286.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted *Harleian Miscellany*, iv, 195.

<sup>5</sup> D. N. B.

later days we seem to see a hint of the reckless daring which led him in earlier life, as High Sheriff of Sussex, to undertake the defence of Chichester and Arundel with insufficient means against overwhelming odds.

His only daughter, Catharine, married Ralph, Lord Grey of Werke, maternal ancestor of the second and third Lords Braybrooke.

## CHAPTER VII

### CHILLINGWORTH, CHEYNELL, AND SPRINGATE

THE clause in Waller's terms of surrender for the garrison of Arundel which provided that ministers were included in the articles, and to be prisoners as well as the combatants, was probably meant to cover the celebrated Church of England divine, Dr. Chillingworth, who was not only an inmate of the castle, but had taken a prominent part in its defence. Being in bad health he had perhaps selected it as a place of residence, with no warlike intent, but as offering comfortable winter quarters, protected by the supposed inaccessibility of Sussex from any possible stress of war. Although only in his forty-second year, Chillingworth had passed a life of considerable variety. Son of a mercer at Oxford, and godson of Archbishop Laud, he was a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and disputed against "John Fisher" [Percy] the Jesuit; in 1630 he embraced Romanism and went to Douai, returning to Oxford the following year, and reverting to Protestantism in 1634. In 1638 he published his best-known book *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*, and in the same year was appointed Prebendary and Chancellor of Salisbury. When war broke out he attached himself to the King's army, and was present at the siege of Gloucester. "He invented," says Dr. Calamy,<sup>1</sup> "engines after the manner of the Roman 'testudines cum pluteis,' which ran upon cart wheels, with a blind or planks musket proof,

<sup>1</sup> Dallaway, i, 173.

and holes for four musketeers to play out of, placed upon the axletree, and carrying a bridge before it. The wheels were to fall into the ditch and the bridge to rest upon the town's breastwork, so making several complete bridges to enter the city." At Arundel Castle he had under his charge two small guns, called "murderers," the only guns mounted on the works. "Some say that he was actively engaged during the siege in constructing machines after the Roman method, and that the vexation arising from their failure greatly hastened his death. He was a good logician and used his logic to some purpose in theology; but he left out an important consideration in his military elenchus when he forgot that the Romans did not employ 'villainous salt-petre' in their sieges."

Chillingworth was one of those "sons of the Renaissance" to whom neither party offered a sure abiding-place. His contention that the test of reason should be applied to revealed religion, and his hatred of dogmatism drove him to the King's side, and brought on him the unquenchable wrath of the Puritan divines, who accused him of Socinianism, and a denial of the divinity of Christ. "Learne," said Cheynell, "the first lesson of Christianity, Self-deniall; deny your owne will, and submit yourselves to God's; deny your reason, and submit to faith: Reason tells you there are some things above reason and you cannot be so unreasonable as to make reason judge of those things which are above reason: Remember that Master Chillingworth did runne mad with reason, and so lost his reason and religion both at once: he thought he might trust his reason to the highest points; his reason was to be Judge, whether or no there be a God? Whether that God wrote any Booke? Whether the bookes usually received as Canonically be the bookes, the Scriptures of God? What is the sense of those books? What Religion is best? What Church purest?" The day of liberty of conscience was not yet: if either faction used the phrase, it meant the triumph of its own

principles. At Oxford Chillingworth was as much out of place as at Westminster. He learned there that there were other sins as great as those of violence.<sup>1</sup> "Seeing," he declared in a sermon preached before the Court, "publicans and sinners on the one side, against scribes and pharisees on the other; on the one side hypocrisy, on the other profaneness; no honesty nor justice on the one side, and very little piety on the other; on the one side horrible oaths, curses and blasphemies, on the other pestilent lies, calumnies and perjury; . . . I profess that I cannot without trembling consider what is likely to be the event of these distractions." "How few," he said in another place, "of our ladies and gentlewomen do or will understand that a voluptuous life is damnable and prohibited unto them!" The men, too, came in for their share of blame: "They that maintain the King's righteous cause with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, but by their oaths and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and profaneness, fight more powerfully against their party than by all other means they do or can fight for it, are not, I fear, very well acquainted with any part of the Bible." The London newspapers had hardly worse charges to bring than this; and after such a sermon the Court at Oxford was no place for Chillingworth. He took refuge with Hopton, the stout soldier, the lover of peace, the enemy of all license and irregularity of life.<sup>2</sup>

It happened, apparently by chance, that when Arundel fell, Dr. Chillingworth's arch-enemy, Dr. Cheynell, was present with Waller's army. He, too, was a native of Oxford, the son of a physician; he was a fellow of Merton College, and in 1637 was appointed to the living of Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire. Being notorious for his Calvinistic opinions he was plundered and driven out by the King's troops in 1642; became a chaplain in the

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Parliamentary army, and a member of the Westminster Assembly in 1643; from 1643 to 1660 he was the "intruded" rector of Petworth. In 1643 he published *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme*, in which he particularly attacked Chillingworth and endeavoured to prove that "the Religion which hath been so violently contended for (by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents) is not the true pure Protestant Religion, but an Hotchpotch of Arminianisme, Socinianisme and Popery."

Cheyne wrote a very remarkable book, in which he recounted at length the somewhat extraordinary proceedings which followed; partly, it seems, in order to refute the accusation that Chillingworth was not well treated by his captors, and partly in exultation over his own outrageous proceedings at Chillingworth's funeral.<sup>1</sup> He states that he came into Sussex to exercise his ministry among his friends, in a place where there had been little of the power of religion either known or practised. About the end of November he travelled from London to Chichester, according to his usual custom, to observe the monthly fast. He was guarded by a convoy of sixteen soldiers who faced about two hundred of the enemy, and put them to flight. He arrived at Arundel on the 21st of December, and remained there until the castle was surrendered on 6th January. Finding that Chillingworth was sick, he represented his condition to Sir William Waller, who commended him to the care of his chaplain, who laid him on his own bed and supplied him with all necessaries which the place afforded.

<sup>1</sup> *Chillingworthi Novissima, or, The Sicknesse, Heresy, Death and Buriall of William Chillingworth (In his own phrase) Clerk of Oxford, and in the Conceit of his fellow Souldiers, the Queens Arch-Engineer, and Grand-Intelligencer. Set forth in a A Letter to his Eminent and learned Friends, a Relation of his Apprehension at Arundell, a Discovery of his Errours in a Briefe Catechism, and a short Oration at the Buriall of his Hereticall Book. By Francis Cheyne, late Fellow of Merton Colledge. Published by Authority. London. Printed for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brazen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1644.*



When the other prisoners were sent to London, it was evident that Chillingworth was not fit to take the journey, and at Cheynell's request he was sent to Chichester. The governor gave orders that he should not be handed over to the Marshall, but delivered to the charge of a Lieutenant Golledge. He was housed in the Bishop's palace, where he had very courteous usage, and every accommodation requisite for a sick man. Free passage was offered to any of his friends who might wish to visit him.

But poor Chillingworth was dying, and perhaps his end was hastened by the importunities of his enemy, moved, as he asserted, not only by pity for his bodily condition, but by concern for the welfare of his soul. Cheynell attributes his death to his great depression. "I entreated him to pluck up his spirits and not to yield to his disease; but I perceived that though reason be stout when it encounters with faith, yet reason is not so stout when it is to encounter with affliction; and I cannot but observe that many a Parliament-soldier hath been more cheerful in a prison, than this discoursing engineer and learned captive was in a palace." As one reason for this depression, Cheynell alleges that Chillingworth was disliked and abused by most of the officers in Arundel; they looked upon him as an intruder into their councils of war, and (one of them whispered) as the "Queen's intelligencer," who was set as a spy over them and their proceedings. An officer had said that they were bound to curse that little priest to the pit of hell, for he had been the ruin of them all; that he had so much credit at Court, and the Court-Council so much influence over their military Council, that they were over-awed and durst not contradict Mr. Chillingworth, for fear their own resolutions might succeed ill, and then his counsel be esteemed the better; that Mr. Chillingworth was so confident of his great wit and parts, that he conceived himself able to manage martial affairs, in which he had no experience, by the strength of his own wit and reason. There

was evidently some inclination to make him a scape-goat.

The poor man was not allowed to die in peace. "In compassion to his soul" Cheynell dealt "freely and plainly" with him, and told him that he had been very active in fomenting those bloody wars against the Parliament and Commonwealth of England, his natural country, and by consequent against the very light of nature. Chillingworth acknowledged that he had been active in the war, but that he had ever followed the dictates of his conscience; and that if Cheynell would convince him that he was in error, he would not find him obstinate. This was the occasion for a series of discussions, in which the aggressive Puritan seems to have browbeaten the dying man unmercifully. Cheynell put to him that the difference was not between the King and the Parliament, but between the Parliament and the delinquents; and indeed between the Queen and the Parliament: that the King's visit to the House on 4th January 1642 was upon the Queen's errand, and that the Queen was discontented because her bloody design was not put in execution. Chillingworth replied that he could not deny it, and would not excuse it. Much political discussion of a somewhat futile character followed.

"My heart," says Cheynell, "was moved with compassion towards him, and I gave him many visits after this first visit; but I seldom found him in fit case to discourse, because his disease grew stronger and stronger, and he weaker and weaker. When I found him pretty hearty one day, I desired him to tell me, whether he conceived that a man living and dying a Turk, Papist, or Socinian could be saved. All the answer I could gain from him was, that he did not absolve them, and would not condemn them. I was much displeased with the answer upon divers reasons."

Chillingworth being much troubled with a sore throat, which was "like to choak him," Cheynell rode over to Arundel to fetch a doctor who had previously visited him,

but found that he had been called out of the town to attend to Sir William Springate. During Cheynell's absence a religious officer of Chichester garrison followed his suit to Mr. Chillingworth, and entreated him to declare himself in point of religion. This seems to have been the last straw, and death came to relieve the poor man from his tormentors. It is excusable to recall Sydney Smith's conception of the most horrible of ends, to be preached to death by wild curates.

Controversy pursued him to the grave. Some of his enemies wished to deny him Christian burial. His friends urged that being Chancellor of a Cathedral, he should be buried in the Cathedral and in the chancel. A third and middle course prevailed—"to bury him in the cloisters, among the old Shavelings, Monks and Priests, of whom he had so good an opinion all his life." "There were," says Cheynell, "all things which may any way appertain to the civility of a funeral, though there was nothing which belongs to the superstition of a funeral. His body was laid in a convenient coffin, covered with a mourning-hearse cloth, more seemly (as I conceive) than the usual covering, patched up out of the mouldy relics of some moth-eaten copes. His friends were entertained (according to their own desire) with wine and cakes; though that is, in my conceit, a turning of the house of mourning into a house of banqueting. All that offered themselves to carry his corpse out of pure devotion, because they were men of his persuasion, had every one of them (according to the custom of the countrey) a branch of rosemary, a mourning ribband, and a pair of gloves."

At the grave was enacted the most surprising scene in all this strange story. Cheynell appeared carrying in his hand a copy of *The Religion of Protestants*. The author, he said, "hath left that fantasy which he called his religion upon record in his subtle book. He was not ashamed to print and publish this destructive tenet, 'that there is no

necessity of Church or Scripture to make men faithful men.' . . . I shall undertake to bury his errors which are published in this so much admired but unworthy book; and happy would it be for this kingdom if this book and all its fellows could be so buried that they might never rise more, unless it were to a confutation; and happy would it have been for the author if he had repented of those errors, that they might never rise for his condemnation; happy, thrice happy will he be if his works do not follow him, if they never rise with him nor against him."

Then suiting the action to the word, Cheynell flung the hated volume into the grave. "Get thee gone then," he said, "thou cursed booke, which has seduced so many precious souls; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten booke, earth to earth, and dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of rottenesse, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption." Whereupon he went from the grave to the pulpit, and preached on the text, "Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God."

He closes his account of the funeral in a passage of biting eloquence: "I dare boldly say, that I have been more sorrowfull for Mr. Chillingworth, and mercifull to him than his friends at Oxford: his sicknesse and obstinacy cost me many a prayer, and many a teare. I did heartily bewaile the loss of such strong parts, and eminent gifts; the losse of so much learning and diligence. Never did I observe more acutenesse and eloquence so exactly tempered in the same person: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat*; for he had eloquence enough to set a faire varnish upon the foulest designe. Howle ye firre trees, for a cedar is fallen; lament ye sophisters for the master of sentences (shall I say) or fallacies is vanished: wring your hands, and beat your breasts, ye Antichristian Engineers, for your Arch-Engineer is dead, and all his Engines buried with him. Ye daughters of Oxford weep over Chillingworth, for he had a consider-

able and hopefull project how to clothe you and himsele in scarlet, and other delights. O how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons, nay Engines, of warre perished!"

Mr. Gardiner is very lenient to Cheynell in respect of a scene which has usually excited the indignation of modern writers.<sup>1</sup> He urges in extenuation that Cheynell pronounced no positive sentence of damnation upon the heretic. Cheynell, he suggests, was not contending for the mere chips of orthodoxy: he saw, and saw rightly, that the contention between himself and Chillingworth involved deeper issues than those of the Civil War. Behind the death-bed of the divine who had lodged an appeal to human reason, he descried, dimly in the distant future, the shadowy forms of Voltaire and the commune of Paris.

To the present writer it appears from a careful perusal of Chillingworth's *Novissima* that Cheynell was seriously concerned neither for the bodily comfort, nor for the eternal salvation, of his opponent; rather that he was filled with the hateful arrogance of the bigot, with the conceit that the secrets of Divine truth were open only to himself and his fellows; and that the aim of his alternate coaxing and bullying was to win the triumph of a recantation even from the last dying gasp of his victim. That he failed to win it accounts for the bitterness he exhibited in the unseemly scene at the grave-side, and for the no less objectionable tone of his unpleasant book.

Time has brought its revenge. Not only have the writings of Chillingworth survived until our own day, but the principles for which he stood are dominant in the modern world. If Cheynell is remembered at all, it is for the virulence with which he opposed them.

Chillingworth sleeps in his cathedral cloister; Cheynell in the little old church of Preston, near Brighton, to which parish he retired at the Restoration. A simple slab on the

<sup>1</sup> Civil War, ch. xiv.

floor of the nave is the monument of the fiery divine who through those stormy years ruled the diocese with a stronger hand than any bishop's. Like many another, he lived long enough to see the setting up again of all that he had made it his life's work to destroy.

Poor Dr. Chillingworth was not the only victim of the unhealthy condition of Arundel Castle. It seems indeed that the conquerors suffered quite as severely as had the garrison. Many died of a fever, probably typhus, the most notable being Sir William Springate, or Springet, of Ringmer, nephew of Sir Thomas Springate of Broyle Place, who had been appointed joint-governor with Colonel Morley. His widow has left some exceedingly interesting letters written in 1680, for the information of her grandson as to his Springet ancestry.<sup>1</sup> This lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Preva, Knt.,<sup>2</sup> who brought her husband a dower of £1,600. After his death she married Isaac Penington, son of Sir Isaac Penington, Lord Mayor of London in the first year of the war—a vigorous and determined Puritan who secured the organization of the City for the interests of the Parliament. The son went further, and to the indignation of his father, joined the Quakers in 1657, and was imprisoned in 1660 for refusing the oath of allegiance. His wife followed her husband's religious course with enthusiasm, and although she writes with full appreciation of her first husband's strict Puritanism, she quietly laments his not having embraced the whole truth, as she conceived that she knew it later. Her daughter Gulielma married the

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 67. These letters were printed in 1821, and later appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1851, edited by Hepworth Dixon, who was apparently not aware of their previous publication.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Preva, Knt., Colonel in the service of the United Provinces under the Prince of Orange, married Anne Fagg, one of the co-heirs of Edward Fagg, of Ewell, near Feversham in the County of Kent, Esq. See inscription on monument to Sir William Springett, Knt., in Ringmer Church.

celebrated William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, and to their eldest son Springet Penn the letters above mentioned were addressed by his grandmother. They present an unrivalled picture of an aspect of the times not very commonly appreciated—the life of a country gentleman of good degree, a soldier and sportsman, “an artist in shooting and fishing and making of lines and ordering of baits and things for that purpose”—who was yet a Puritan of the strictest in up-bringing and practice, and spent his whole fortune for the service of the Parliament. Incidentally we get a glimpse of the trouble of the times, the almost insuperable difficulties of travel, the desolation at Arundel after the siege. From such a source a somewhat lengthy quotation does not seem out of place.

“A Letter from me [M. P.] to my dear grandchild Springet Penn, written about the year 1680, and left to be delivered to him at my decease.

“DEAR CHILD,—Thou bearing the name of thy worthy grandfather Springet, I felt one day the thing I desired was answered, which was the keeping up his name and memory, not in the vain way of the world, who preserve their name for the glory of a family, but in regard that he left no son his name might not be forgotten. . . .

“Well, dear child, I will give thee some account of him. Thy dear mother’s father was of religious parents; his father, thy great-grandfather (though a lawyer) was religious and strict, in those things wherein the administration of that time consisted, zealous against popery, scrupled putting his money to use, and was of a sober conversation, and in the exercise of what (in the dim light of that day) was accounted holy duties. He died of a consumption, leaving thy great-grandmother with two sons and with child of a daughter. She was married to him about three years, and left a widow about twenty-two or twenty-three.

She was an excellent woman and had a great regard to the well-being of her children, both in the inward and outward condition, and that she might the better bring up her children lived a retired life, refused marriage (though frequently well offered, as I have heard her say). She suffered pretty hard things from his two brothers, Sir Thomas Springet and a brother-in-law, who were his executors, through their jealousy that she being so very young a widow would marry. They refused her the education of her children, and put her upon suing for it, which she obtained with charge, and some years' suit. . . . She spent her time very ingeniously, and in a bountiful manner bestowed great part of her jointure yearly upon the poor, and in physic and chirurgery. She had about twelve score pounds a-year jointure, and with it she kept a brace of geldings, a man and a maid servant. (She boarded at her only brother's, Sir Edward Partridge's.) She kept several poor women constantly employed in simpling for her in summer and in winter, procuring such things as she had use of in physic and chirurgery, and for eyes, having eminent judgment in all these, and admirable success, which made her famous and sought to out of several countries by the greatest persons and by the low ones. She was daily employing her servants in making oils, salves, balsams, drawing spirits, distilling of waters, making syrups, conserves of many kinds, purges, pills and lozenges. . . .

“She kept an Independent minister in her house, and gave liberty to people to come twice a week to her house to hear him preach. She was a most tender and affectionate mother to thy grandfather, and always shewed great kindness to me; indeed she was very honourable in counselling her son not to marry for an estate, and put by many great offers of persons with thousands, urging him to consider what would make him happy in a choice. She propounded my marriage to him because we were bred



together of children, I nine years old and he twelve, when we first came to live together. . . .

“Now to come to thy grandfather; she having, as I said, educated him and the rest of her children in the fear of the Lord, according to the knowledge given in that day, and took great care in placing him both at school and university, she sent him to Cambridge (as being accounted more sober than Oxford) and placed him in a Puritan college called Katherine’s Hall, where was a very sober tender master of the house, and a grave sober tutor; as also she appointed one Ellis, who was accounted a Puritan, she having brought him up in his youth, and got the preferment of a Fellow in that college. Thy grandfather coming from Cambridge young, was placed at the Inns of Court, but he being religiously inclined, stayed not long there, but came into Kent, where his mother was, and he heard one Wilson, who had been suspended for not conforming to the bishops (for about three years); he was an extraordinary man in his day. Thy grandfather declined bishops and common prayer very early. When he was between twenty and twenty-one we married, and without a ring, and many of their formal dark words left out (upon his ordering it) he being so zealous against common prayer and such like things. . . . When he had a child he refused the midwife to say her formal prayer, and prayed himself, and gave thanks to the Lord in a very sweet melted way, which caused great amazement. He never went to the parish church, but went many miles to this aforementioned Wilson. Nor would he go to prayers in the house, but prayed morning and evening with me and his servants in our chambers, which wrought great discontent in the family (we boarded with his uncle Sir Edward Part-ridge). . . .

“In his zeal against dark formality and the superstitions of the times, he having taken the Scotch Covenant against all popery and popish innovations, as also the English

Engagement, when his child was about a month old, he had a commission sent him to be a colonel of a regiment of foot, when the fight was at Edge-Hill, and he raised without beat of drum eight hundred men, most of them professors and professors' sons, near six score volunteers of his own company, himself going a volunteer and took no pay. He afterwards was made a deputy lieutenant of Kent, in which employment he was zealous and diligent for the cause. . . .

"He went upon several services with his regiment, as at the taking of the Lord Craven's house in Surrey, when several of his own company of volunteers, men's sons of substance, were of the forlorn hope. He was also at the fight at Newbury, where he was in imminent danger, a bullet hitting him but had lost its force to enter. He lay some nights in the field, there being neither time nor conveniency to fetch his tent, which he had with him. He lay in the Lord Roberts's<sup>1</sup> coach. They had scarcity of salt, and so would not venture upon eating flesh, but lived some days upon candied green citron and biscuit. He was in several other engagements. Then he carried his regiment back into Kent. . . .

"Not long after his own native county, Sussex, was in danger of spoil by the Cavalier party, who had taken Arundel town, and fortified the town and castle; Sir William Waller commanded in chief against them, to whose assistance the associated counties were sent for. Amongst the several regiments thy grandfather's regiment was invited. He looking upon this engagement as a particular service to his own county, with great freedom went to Arundel; there they had a long siege before the town. After they had taken the town they besieged the castle; it was a very difficult, hard service, but being taken, thy grandfather and Colonel Morley had the government and

<sup>1</sup> John, Baron Robartes, 1606-85, a colonel in the Parliamentary army; created in 1679 first Earl of Radnor.

management of the castle committed to their charge. But few weeks after this the disease of the soldiers that were in the town and castle, called the calenture [or sun-fever, frequent at sea <sup>1</sup>] seized on him at his quarters, at one Wade's, near Arundel, whither he sent for me in the depth of winter frost and snow, from London, to come to him, which was very difficult for me to compass, being great with child of thy mother, the waters being out at Newington and several places, that we were forced to row in the highways with a boat, and take the things in the coach with us, and to horses to be led with strings tied to their bridles, and to swim the coach and horses in the highways; which things the coachmen were so sensible of, and the badness of the ways between London and Arundel at that time of the year, which made them refuse me almost throughout the neighbouring streets; only one widow woman that kept a coach, and had taken a great deal of our money, and had a very great respect for thy grandfather, undertook to have her servant go, though he should hazard his horses. So I gave him a very great price (twelve pounds) to carry me down, and to return, if not with him, within a day's stay. It was a very tedious journey, wherein I was benighted, and overthrown in the dark into a hedge, which when we came to come out we had hardly room to get out, for fear of falling down a very deep precipice that was on the other side, which if we had fallen on that side we had certainly broken ourselves to pieces. We had only a guide with us, that was the messenger from thy grandfather, who riding on a white horse was the only help we had to follow in the way.

"Coming by a garrison late at night, the Colonel whereof required the guard to stop the coach, and give notice to him by firing a gun, which he did; upon which the Colonel

<sup>1</sup> During the first cruise of the "ship-money" fleet in 1635 six hundred men died on board in a month from "stale water and stinking beef."

came immediately down to invite me to stay, and, to encourage me, told me that my husband was like to mend, and that he understood I was near my time, beseeched me I would not hazard myself. Upon which the coachman (being sensible of the difficulties he should undergo) would needs force me to lodge in the garrison, saying his horses would not hold out, and they would be spoiled; to which I replied that I was obliged to pay for all the horses if they suffered, and that I was resolved not to go out of the coach unless it broke until I came so near the house that I could compass it on foot; so finding my resolution he put on.

“When we came to Arundel we met with a most dismal sight: the town being depopulated, all the windows broken with the great guns, and the soldiers making stables of all the shops and lower rooms: and there being no light in the town but what came from the light in the stables, we passed through the town toward his quarters. Within a quarter of a mile of the house the horses were at a stand, and we could not understand the reason of it, so we sent our guide down to the house for a candle and lantern, and to come to our assistance; upon which the report came to my husband, who told them they were mistaken, he knew I could not come I was so near my time; but they affirming that it was so, he commanded them to sit him up in his bed, ‘that I may see her,’ said he, ‘when she comes’; but the wheel of the coach being pitched in the root of a tree was some time before I could come. It was about twelve at night when we arrived, and as soon as I put my foot into the hall (there being a pair of stairs out of the hall into his chamber) I heard his voice, ‘Why will you lie to me! if she be come, let me hear her voice;’ which struck me so that I had hardly power to get up stairs; but being borne up by two, he seeing me, the fever having took his head, in a manner sprang up, as if he would come out of his bed, saying, ‘Let me embrace thee before I die; I am

going to thy God and my God.' I found most of his officers attending on him with great care and signification of sorrow for the condition he was in, they greatly loving him. The purple spots came out the day before, and now were struck in, and the fever got into his head, upon which they caused him to keep his bed, having not been persuaded to go to bed no day since his illness till then, which had been five days. Before his spots came out, they seeing his dangerous condition (so many Kentish men, both commanders and others having died of it in a week's time near his quarters,) constrained him to keep his chamber, but such was his activeness of spirit and stoutness of his heart that he could not yield to this ill that was upon him, but covenanted with them that he would shoot birds with his cross-bow out of the windows, which he did till the fever took his head and the spots went in; and after that the fever was so violent, and he so young and strong of body, and his blood so hot (being but about the age of 23) that they were forced to sit round the bed to keep him in, but he spake no evil or raving words at all, but spoke seriously about his dying to my doctor, which I brought down with me by his orders."

For two days the devoted wife watched by the sick man, cooling his parched lips with her own cool lips, often for hours at a time, regardless of infection and of great pain to herself in her condition. At length he died, having a moment before called upon a kinsman of his "Anthony, come quickly"; who at that very instant came riding into the yard, being come many miles to see him.<sup>1</sup> "When he was dead," says the poor lady, "then I could weep."

<sup>1</sup> Probably his first cousin, Anthony Springett, third son of Sir Thomas Springett of Broyle Place, and younger brother of Herbert Springett, created a Baronet at the Restoration, of whom a tablet in Ringmer Church states that he "was a true sonne of the Church of England; and for his love and loyalty to his King and Country, his death was lamented by all that knew him."

His body was placed on his own ammunition waggon and taken to Ringmer, where he was born, and where some of his ancestors lay. There was no public funeral, as "it was found that things were not in a condition to admit of such a charge, which would have been some hundreds." He died in debt to the extent of two thousand pounds, having expended large sums, including his wife's portion, on contributions to the Parliamentary funds, and on fitting out and provisioning his own troop of volunteers; and he had but twelve pounds in money in his trunk, and many large sums to be paid.

His widow pays an eloquent and lengthy tribute to his religious zeal, and his generous charity; and adds: "He was of a most courteous, affable carriage towards all; most ingeniously inclined from a very lad, carving and forming things with his knife for his tools; so industriously active that he rarely ever was idle, but when he could not be employed abroad in shooting at a mark with guns, pistols, cross-bows, or long-bows, managing his horses (which he brought up and managed himself, teaching them boldness in charging) in such things as were needful for service; when he could not be, as I said, thus engaged abroad, then he would fence within doors, make cross-bow strings, placing the sight with that accurateness as if it had been his trade, or casting of bullets of all sorts, feathering his arrows that were for his carbines, or pulling his watch to pieces; training up his servants, and himself using the postures of war according to books he had for that purpose. He was also an artist in shooting and fishing, and making of lines and ordering of baits and things for that purpose. He was a great lover of coursing, but he managed his dogs himself; which things I mention to shew thee his ingenuity, but the vanity of those things his mind was out of when he was engaged in religion."

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ROYALIST LANDLORDS

WITHIN a month of the outbreak of civil war Parliament declared that all charges and damages which had fallen on the Commonwealth since his Majesty's departure from the Parliament should be borne by the delinquents and other malignant and disaffected persons; "and that all his Majesty's good and well affected subjects who, by the loan of moneys or otherwise at their charge, have assisted the Commonwealth or shall in like manner hereafter assist the Commonwealth in time of extreme danger, may be repaid all sums of money by them lent for those purposes, and be satisfied their charges so sustained out of the estates of the said delinquents, and of the malignant and disaffected party in this kingdom."<sup>1</sup> This declaration could only be justified on the grounds that the Parliament and its supporters were the nation, and the King's followers a mere handful of rebels and traitors. If it was unjustifiable it was no less impolitic. The threat of confiscation converted many a lukewarm Royalist into a furious partisan. Many who had hoped to avoid all fighting were now ready to fight to the bitter end.

A month later, on 15th October 1642, the Lords passed a further resolution of the Commons. All who refused to contribute to the charge of the Commonwealth were to be imprisoned and disarmed. The revenues of bishops, deans, and chapters, and of all notorious delinquents who had

<sup>1</sup> Lords' Journals, v, 341.

taken up arms for the King, were to be sequestered for the use of the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

The sequestrating Committee for the county of Sussex was at this time constituted as follows: Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart., Sir Thomas Eversfield, Sir W. Goring, Anthony Stapley, Herbert Morley, Thomas Whitfield, John Baker, Herbert Hay, Herbert Springett, Ralph Cooper, Hall Ravenscroft, Edward Apsley, John Downes, William Cawley, Edward Higgon, Thomas Chate, George Oglander, George Simpson, John Burbridge, Thomas Middleton, James Temple, Thomas Shirley, Henry Shelley, and Herbert Board, Esquires; Captain Thomas Collins, Captain Carleton, and Captain Everden.

One of these, Sir Thomas Eversfield of Den, Horsham, was shortly to be a victim of this very body; his own estate was sequestered on 28th September 1643, "for deserting on July 18th the service of the Commonwealth."<sup>2</sup>

In March of the following year an Ordinance declared that all who had directly or indirectly assisted the King were to be reckoned as delinquents, and that their property was to be sequestered by the Committee of the county in which it was situate; this being subsequently mitigated by a provision to set aside a fifth of the income of a sequestered estate for the benefit of the wife and children of the delinquent.

During the first part of the war these matters were managed by a Committee of the House, which exercised control over the County Committees, and sometimes gave powers to generals in the field to levy fines for the payment of their troops. At Chichester, in 1642, we have seen that Sir John Morley paid Waller £300. At the fall of Arundel John Caryll, of Harting, paid Waller £600 by way of composition for being in the Castle, although not in arms; he stated that his father Sir John Caryll's house lying

<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. i and ii.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., v, 54.



midway between Winchester and Arundel, Sir Ralph Hopton compelled him to accompany him when he marched into Sussex, and that he was detained at Arundel until its surrender to Sir William Waller. He hoped that this payment of £600 would save his estate from sequestration, but it was sequestered four months after.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1644, the Parliament being anxious to attract deserters from the King at Oxford offered pardon to Royalists who would submit before a fixed date, and should pay a sum to be assessed by way of compounding for their delinquency. In 1645, after the capture of Bristol, when all England was falling under the authority of the Parliament, this principle of compounding was made general. A Royalist who desired to free his estates from sequestration was to present himself before the Committee for compounding which sat at Goldsmiths' Hall. He was required to take the Covenant and the negative oath, which bound him never again to bear arms against the Parliament. He then had to declare full particulars with regard to the extent and value of his estate, any evasion or misstatement rendering him liable to a heavy fine. The matter was generally referred to the County Committee, especially with regard to any circumstance of extenuation alleged by the applicant. A fine was then imposed, varying in severity according to the position of the delinquent. Members of Parliament might be mulcted in half their estates—John Ashburnham was fined £1,270, half the value of his estate<sup>2</sup>—less distinguished Royalists might escape for one-sixth. The proceedings were often extremely complicated, and frequently lasted over several years, numerous petitions from claimants to estates and other persons interested having to be considered and reported on. A perusal of many of the cases gives the impression that, on the whole,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 917; see also West Grinstead et les Caryll, par Max de Trenqualéon, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1863.

the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall was more lenient than the County Committees, although in exceptional instances the latter may have been unduly favourable to their friends.

Of the great nobles, some, such as Thomas Earl of Arundel, submitted to the spoliation and sale of their estates rather than acknowledge the authority of the Parliament so far as to compound for them, though by so doing they forfeited the whole, excepting the fifth reserved to the families of delinquents.<sup>1</sup> But the great majority of the upper and middle-class Royalists took the course offered them—either to release their property from sequestration, or, on their own discovery of their delinquency, to avoid it. In the latter cases there was a mitigation of the fine.

In Sussex the leading Royalist gentry compounded for their estates, and particulars of their compositions are to be found in the proceedings of the Committee. The fines imposed were often enormous, when we remember that they must be multiplied about four and half times to bring them to the values of to-day.

Sir Thomas Bowyer, Bart., of Leighthorne, was one of the first to avail himself of the Ordinance of the 30th January 1644. On 27th February he pleaded that he had come in, not on account of sequestration, nor for the benefit of the declaration, but from his wish to serve Parliament. He had not been out of his house for fifteen months, and never sent horses, arms, or money to the King, except when the Sheriff of Chichester forced his servants to do it. No arrangement seems to have been come to at the time, for Sir Thomas appealed to the Barons of the Exchequer against his sequestration, and the case had not been decided at his death, in 1650, when he left thirteen children and debts of £8,000. His son Sir Thomas begged, and was granted, one-fifth of the sequestered estate. In

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, v, xii.

May 1652, the Barons of the Exchequer having dismissed the appeal, leave was given to compound, and the fine was fixed at one-third of the estate, £2,033 18s. 3d. It may be noted in this case that William Cawley of Chichester, the regicide, begged allowance of a rent of £50 on Runcton Farm, North Mundham, bought in 1637 for £625 from Sir Thomas Bowyer, Bart., for the lives of the petitioner's three sons, the premises having been sequestered for Bowyer's delinquency.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas May of Rawmere was also an early applicant to compound. He took the Covenant at Chichester on 20th February 1644. He stated that since he was in Chichester, when it was taken by Sir William Waller, he had lived at Rawmere, being tenant of his own sequestered estate; he had never assisted his Majesty with horse, money, plate, or arms. Fine imposed £900, on 24th February 1646.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Morley made a petition to compound. He urged that he had contributed nothing willingly to the King's forces at Chichester, as was proved by his voluntary payment of £300 to Sir William Waller, from whom he procured release and protection. The County Committee reported that he had a commission of array from "the late King," was with the High Sheriff of Sussex in Chichester, and was active in abetting the mutiny raised by malignants in the city, but that he had since taken the Covenant and was conformable; that he had £1,140 a year, all sequestered, and £500 a year fallen to him on the late death of his mother, but it was in the King's quarters, and he received nothing. In January 1645 a fine of £500 was imposed, and the estate released.<sup>3</sup>

Richard Williams, late Town Clerk of Chichester, petitioned in March 1644. He was led out of the way by threats and force, but returned as the prodigal, in repentance and with tears, resolved never thereafter to offend,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 833-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 834.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 837-8.

but to sacrifice his life and fortunes in the Parliament's service. He had a wife and six children, also six orphan children entrusted to his care. He had no lands. He begged restoration to such places as he formerly held, discharge of his sequestration, and restitution of his house and goods, lately taken for the quarters of Sir William Waller. The Committee proposed a fine of £40, it appearing that he was forward in executing the Commission of Array in Chichester; his estate was £33 6s. 8d. a year, of which £13 13s. 6d. was by his office.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Thanet, of Tufton, Sussex, represented his case as one of special hardship, because in December 1643 he paid £2,000 on pain of sequestration. Later he lost through the wars 6,000 oz. of plate, horses and sheep worth £2,000, a house which cost £32,000, woods and timber worth £20,000, beside his parks and deer, which were destroyed, and his household stuff, taken from his three houses at Windsor, Heathfield, and London. On these grounds his fine was first set at £4,000, but a remonstrance was made that as his real estate was worth £10,000 a year, and as he had not only been in actual war against the Parliament, but had sent plate and money to the King, his fine ought to be £20,000. His case came before Parliament on 19th October 1644, and he was fined £9,000—in spite of the County Committee's complaint that the discharge of the chief malignants was injurious to the Parliamentary cause.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee was by no means unreasonable with regard to reducing fines where due cause could be shown. In the case of Sir Edward Bishop of Parham it was reported to the House of Commons in August 1644 that he was taken in arms at Arundel Castle, and was a prisoner in the Tower; that he had been "very opposite" to the Parliament from the first; and that his lands were worth

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 838.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 839-40.

£2,500 a year, with a great personal estate. A fine of £12,300 was proposed. The House admitted him to compound at one-third of his estate at least; although the Committee for compounding requested that he might not be admitted to compound, being a "great malignant." A year later, in November 1645, he was brought before the Committee on a warrant, sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and informed that he was fined £7,500, his estate being found to be £1,500 a year. He replied that he could not pay, and begged to have one-third of his estate set out and sold. During the next few months he continued to represent that the fine was beyond his ability to pay; that he was loaded with his father's debts, and was but a tenant for life, whereas the Committee had supposed him to be seized of an estate of inheritance. The fine was then reduced to £4,790. In July 1648 he was ordered to be committed to custody for neglecting payment of his fine. He died shortly afterwards, and the composition not having been completed, the County Commissioners re-sequestered the estate. After prolonged representations by his family, the lands being claimed, part by his widow for jointure, and the rest as entailed or settled on his children, the estate was finally discharged on their behalf in 1654.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Bishop of Henfield, third son of Sir Thomas, begged on 1st October 1646 to compound for delinquency in bearing arms. In January 1645, being at Bristol, and resolved to make his peace with the Parliament, he got a pass to London for the wife of Mr. Netherway, a brewer with whom he was quartered, to use means thereto. She did not return within six weeks, so the petitioner took ship to Virginia, and lived on his plantation there, till he returned with a letter from the Council of that country to the Speaker. He was discharged by Order of Parliament on 13th February 1647 "on the earnest desire of the Colony

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 849-50.

of Virginia, signified in a letter from the Grand Assembly." There is no mention of a fine.<sup>1</sup>

On the occasion of surrender of towns or garrisons on Articles of War, these Articles commonly stipulated the rates of composition to be paid by persons surrendering, which were always below the usual rates. We find many instances of claims to the benefit of such articles. The usual rate under Articles of Surrender seems to have been one-tenth. Robert Anderson, Counsellor at Law, of Chichester, surrendered on Oxford Articles and was fined at one-tenth, £407 4s. 8d.<sup>2</sup> On 30th April 1646 Colonel George Gounter of Racton begged to compound on Truro Articles<sup>3</sup> for delinquency in bearing arms against the Parliament. He had a wife and many small children and was indebted £2,000. His estate yielded only £130 a year, and his dwelling-house was much defaced. Sir Thomas Fairfax pleaded for moderation in dealing with him; in the Treaty at Truro "Colonel Gounter was a hostage, and his fair demeanour deserves all civil respect. I desire you will please to consider him in a moderate composition, and consider the seasonable service done in the disbanding of those horse at that time." Gounter was fined at one-sixth, £870, reduced on the confirmation of the Truro Articles to £580, and further reduced subsequently to one-tenth, £520. Gounter pleaded that he had been obliged to sell great part of his estate to John Comber of Donnington, Co. Sussex, to satisfy the principal and interest of a mortgage created before the war, amounting to £1,625.<sup>4</sup>

Many other Sussex men surrendered at Truro. John Taylor of Itchenor was fined at one-sixth, £36, reduced on Fairfax's representation to £24. Richard Taylor of Earnley was fined £546, reduced to £364.<sup>5</sup> Richard Booker of Pulborough was fined at one-sixth, £37 10s. He was in arms

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1518.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1493.

<sup>3</sup> Hopton had surrendered to Fairfax at Truro on 14th March 1646.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1237-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1258.

again in 1648, and was fined a further £37 10s., although he begged discharge as not worth £200. In 1652 he was sequestered for non-payment. Thomas Craddock of Chichester compounded on Truro Articles. Sir Thomas Fairfax recommended him for a moderate composition, he being "a gentleman that hath fairly demeaned himself in this business."<sup>1</sup> He was fined £40.

The County Committee at Chichester seems to have been occasionally rather officious, and even to have provoked resistance. In January 1647, acting on an order of the House of Commons for securing delinquents who had not compounded, it arrested Gounter—doubtless either Colonel George Gounter or his brother Thomas—William Coldham, and one Rayman. There was an attempt to rescue the prisoners, "in which John Farrington was very forward, and gained over Captain Sydney an officer of this garrison; it was threatened that if the delinquents were not discharged by fair means, they should be by foul; the Captain sent for a file of musketeers to rescue them, but the mayor, at request of one of our committee, offered to assist and command the City trained bands."<sup>2</sup> The Committee for compounding ordered that Gounter and Rayman, who had petitioned, should be released on security, or they could not perfect their compositions.

William Coldham, junior, of Stedham, petitioned the local committee for his release; he was incapable of compounding, his stock having been taken away, and he being much in debt, with only an estate for life. But he was fined at one-sixth, £826 17s. 6d. His father was also fined £289 5s. on his own petition in 1649.<sup>3</sup>

The desire of applicants to put their case as favourably as possible sometimes led to strange expressions. In

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1131.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 55. County Committee of Sussex to the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1637.

October 1645 Thomas Sackville of Sedlescomb applied to compound, having been in arms for the King. Being a younger brother and a soldier of fortune, he had thrice listed at the Guildhall for service in Ireland, but was left out on the settling of the regiment. He went to York till his elder brother died, "which made him consider, that which he doth believe are your thoughts, that he had an interest in this Kingdom, which he would not have to be within an arbitrary power, or the disposal of any man's will." He left the King's employ when it was in its best condition. Went into France, and continued at Rouen, never seeing the Queen nor the Court; had done nothing against the State since his estate fell to him. Fine £400.<sup>1</sup>

The case of John Lewknor of West Dean seems a rather hard one. In April 1646 he begged to compound, and stated that in 1643, when quietly residing at home in perfect obedience to the Parliament, being then the King's ward, aged but nineteen, he was by a party of the Parliament's soldiers causelessly pillaged of his goods, stripped of his clothes, violated in his person, and so threatened with wounds and torments that he was forced to fly to the Royalist quarters, six miles distant. The soldiers had no other pretext against him save that he had some of his name on the adverse party, arguing that he was therefore a malignant. His narrative was notoriously known to all the country, and the County Committee had expressed much sorrow for the accident. But for this violence, he would never have taken up arms against the Parliament. He had been sequestered, lost many of his goods, and his woods had been felled at a loss of £2,000. He begged the benefit of Barnstaple Articles, but apparently failing to produce proof of his surrender there (the General stated that "he was only informed of petitioner's being at Barnstaple") he was fined at one-sixth, £1,440; "but if he

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 940.



settle £150 a year on the ministers of East Dean, Charlton, and Chilgrove, co. Sussex, the Committee will request the House to remit the fine."<sup>1</sup> His mother, Mary Lewknor, having been sequestered "for adhering to the King" was fined at one-tenth, £522.<sup>2</sup> Another Lewknor—Thomas Lewknor of Amberley—described as "Sir Edward Ford's menial servant," who had gone with his master into Arundel Castle, and "divers other garrisons of the late King," was fined at one-sixth, £84 in May 1649.<sup>3</sup>

This Thomas Lewknor was the son of Frey Lewknor, who held a lease of Amberley Castle from the Bishop of Chichester. With other episcopal property the Castle was seized by the Parliament. In September 1648 it was sold to James Butler of London, merchant, with all its appurtenances for £3,341 14s. 2½d.<sup>4</sup> Mr. John Goring, a connection of the Lewknors, was in trouble in 1651. William Short of Amberley, victualler, deposed before the County Committee for sequestrations that when the Sussex insurrection took place in 1648, Mr. John Goring of Amberley desired him to ride a horse with arms to the Lord Goring, and promised him great rewards if the King's forces should prevail against the Parliament's, telling him that he should then be made a colonel in the King's army. And further, that about half a year since Goring took a glass of beer and kneeling down drank a health to Prince Charles and to the confusion of the Parliament, telling the deponent that there were none in the parliament house but rogues, knaves and upstarts, and that he was a better man than any man sitting there. Another witness deposed that at the beginning of the troubles John Goring would have had the inhabitants of the parish of Amberley bring their goods into Amberley Castle, and that he would have secured it, and had said that if the parish would but join him

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1215 (see also *post*, p. 294).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1216.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2044.

<sup>4</sup> S. A. C., xvii, 217.

there was never a round-headed rogue should have his castle. According to Dallaway<sup>1</sup> Amberley Castle was plundered and dismantled by Waller's soldiery, but there seems to be no authority for this statement.

Among other cases which, on the petitioner's showing, appear hard, was that of Robert Exton, of Chichester.<sup>2</sup> He petitioned in 1645 to compound for delinquency in absenting himself from his dwelling under threats from the enemy. He never acted against Parliament by person or purse, but lent Parliament £50 on the Public Faith, and on the reducing of Chichester by Sir William Waller, he paid £90 to his soldiers, and had a house worth £9 a year pulled down for the better security of the town. He was indebted £500, and had five children. Fine £150.<sup>3</sup> Sarah Cox, widow, also of Chichester, begged to compound for delinquency in leaving her house, which she was forced to do, it being plundered by the Parliament's forces. She went to Sherborne, where her daughter lived; she had never assisted the King. Fine £120.<sup>4</sup>

Of well-known Sussex Cavaliers, Sir Thomas Lunsford of Lunsford was admitted to compound in 1649 at one-sixth, £300. He had no personal estate, and was much indebted.<sup>5</sup> Colonel John Apsley of Pulborough was returned as a delinquent in 1644, but no proceedings were taken. In 1653 he petitioned to compound, and was fined at one-third, £100, subsequently reduced on allowance for a mortgage to £50.<sup>6</sup> Sir Edward Alford of Offington, M.P. for Arundel, but "disabled" by Parliament, 22nd January 1643, admitted delinquency in leaving London for York in June 1642, living in the King's quarters, lending the King £200, and sitting in the first assembly at Oxford. His estate was much impoverished, had lain under sequestration for two

<sup>1</sup> Rape of Arundel, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Mayor of Chichester, 1641-2; see *ante*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 952.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1263.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1084.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 868.

years, and was heavily charged. His fine was set at £2,908 reduced in 1649 to £1,284 15s. on Exeter Articles, £1,000 to be taken off if he settle £100 a year from Cheltenham Rectory on the ministers. The case dragged on until 1653.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Compton of Brambletye was fined at one-tenth, £5,289 10s. 6d., but £3,675 to be abated if he agreed to settle various sums derived from rectories on the ministers thereof.<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry's daughter married John Lumley, son and heir of Richard, Viscount Lumley, the owner of Stanstead, both of whom compounded as delinquents. In September 1646 Lord Lumley was fined £1,980, and John Lumley £1,800, for his estate in reversion; the former on Bristol, and the latter on Winchester Articles. In October Lord Lumley complained that although the order of suspension, pending the payment of his fine, had been served on the County Commissioners of Sussex, they were carrying away his woods formerly felled, "and by proclamation in church and market, give all who have contracted for any woods, liberty to do the like."<sup>3</sup>

The estate of Lord Montague, the owner of Cowdray, a papist, was sequestered as to two-thirds by order of the House of Commons in 1643. William Yalden of Blackdown, "forty years servant to Lord Montague and his father," seems to have leased the two-thirds sequestered. He complained in 1655 that his rent was with difficulty raised, "by reason of the low price of corn and cattle."<sup>4</sup> Mr. William Gage of Framfield<sup>5</sup> and Sir Thomas Gage of Firle<sup>6</sup> also suffered as recusants. Sir Garrett Kemp of Slindon, had some difficulty in rebutting the charge of recusancy, his father having married a daughter of Sir Edward Gage, and himself a daughter of Sir John Caryll, both Catholics. The County Committee alleged on 31st

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1009 (see also *post*, p. 294).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1602.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 920.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 2543-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2211.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 3011.

October 1644, that in the time of the rebellion he sent two horses to Chichester, with two of his servants, armed with pistols and swords, who continued there about three weeks, and rode backwards and forwards from Slindon to Chichester; and further that he was "a reputed Church Papist, and bred up all his children Papists," and that he absented himself from his usual place of abode in the county by the space of two years. It was proved on his behalf, that he was not a Papist; and that his children had not been in his tuition for many years, the youngest being at least forty years old. He was fined at one-sixth, £2,931 10s.<sup>1</sup> On 11th June 1649, Dr. Wright and three other physicians certified that "being very infirm and aged, it would be efficacious for his ailments that he do repair to the Spa, for the benefit of the Spa waters." Three days afterwards a pass was signed by Fairfax for Sir Garrett Kemp and his servants to go beyond seas, for the above purpose, with a proviso that he should carry with him nothing prohibited by the State. His son Thomas, who "went into Arundel Castle when held against the Parliament, but never bore arms, nor assisted the king's party," was fined at one-tenth, £230.

Sir John Shelley, of Michelgrove, a "recusant Papist," died in 1641, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles, then three years old, who was taken abroad by his grandmother. In 1645 the Committee for the Advance of Money received information that much treasure, plate, money, etc., belonging to the late Sir John Shelley, a recusant, was walled up and concealed in his home at Michelgrove, and made an order that it be sought for and brought away and used for the service of the state, with leave to break down walls, and break open or dig in any place suspected.<sup>2</sup> The same Committee was informed in 1649 that Sir Charles was born and bred up in the Romish religion and was now

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Advance of Money, 2nd April 1645.

beyond the seas. His estate in Sussex, Kent, and Warwickshire was worth £3,000 a year, and Col. James Temple, M.P., held it as bailiff or guardian, but had rendered no account of it to the state.<sup>1</sup> As the estate was not sequestered, there does not appear to be any reason why he should have done so. In the matter of a certain farm sequestered as having belonged to Colonel Henry Shelley, "who was in the wars," Colonel Temple represented in 1650 that Sir Charles Shelley, being only thirteen years could not be called a Papist, as none were Papists under sixteen, that he was not Popishly, educated, and frequented church.<sup>2</sup> In 1651, Sir Charles, by his guardian, petitioned to enjoy the goods formerly sequestered; it appeared that they were valued at £200, and consisted of linen, bed-furniture, Turkey work, carpets and hangings, and at the beginning of the troubles had been hidden in a chimney near the kitchen.<sup>3</sup> There is no further mention of any plate.

The Committee for Advance of Money which sat at Haberdashers' Hall seems occasionally to have overstepped its proper function of levying a tax of one-twentieth on real, and one-fifth on personal property without distinction of party, and assumed the powers of the Committee for Compounding. In April 1645, an information was laid before it by Sir Robert Harlow, concerning John Butt, Thomas Pierce, and Edward Tremblett, all of "Bozom," near Chichester. It was alleged that in December 1642, the King's garrison being at Chichester, Tremblett and Pierce took John Mills, sent by the militia of London to Sir William Waller, as prisoner; railed at him as a Roundhead carrying letters for Parliament against the King; and sent for some Cavaliers to secure him and have him hanged at Chichester; but a friend of his sent to Waller for a party to redeem him, and that party arriving first he escaped. It was further alleged that all three were still in arms against the Parliament; and an

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Advance of Money, 2nd November 1649.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 2370.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2371.

order was made for seizing and securing their estates.<sup>1</sup> In December 1645, Thomas Peirce of Bosham, yeoman, applied to the Committee for Compounding to compound for delinquency, having been in arms against the Parliament with Sir E. Ford at Chichester. He had long since taken the Covenant. Fine £20.<sup>2</sup> Edward Tremlett, of Bosham, was fined £40 at the same time.<sup>3</sup>

Time sometimes works strange coincidences. In 1650, Peter Courthope of Isfield, Sussex, high-sheriff of the county, petitioned the Committee to recognize his claim to the Manor of Lamborn Hall, in Essex, which Sir William Campion of Combwell, in Kent, had sold to him for £1,700, whereof £1,400 or £1,500 went in payment of his fine. The claim was recognized in 1652 on payment of £81.<sup>4</sup> In 1652 Peter Courthope bought the estate of Danny, Sussex, from the assignees of George Goring, Earl of Norwich. Henry Campion, grandson of Sir William, married Barbara, daughter and heiress of Peter Courthope, of Danny (grandson of the aforesaid Peter Courthope), by his wife Philadelphia, daughter of Sir John Stapley, Bart., of Patcham.<sup>5</sup>

Sir William Campion was fined £1,354 on 9th October 1646, being one-tenth of his estate, on Borstall Articles.<sup>6</sup> The receipt for the payment of half this fine, here reproduced, is in the possession of his descendant, Colonel Campion, C.B., of Combwell and Danny.

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Advance of Money, 544.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1063.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1065.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1450.

<sup>5</sup> Pedigree of Campion. S. A. C., x, 34.

<sup>6</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1450.

Received by us, Richard Waring and Michael Herring, Treasurers of the Monies to be paid into Goldsmiths-Hall, of William Campion Esq<sup>r</sup> of the County of Kent the summe of Six hundred and thirty seven Pounds in full of thertea hundred and thirty four Pounds imposed upon him by the House of Commons as a Fine for his Delinquency at the Parliament. Wee say Received. This 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1646

677-

Wm Campion  
Michael Herring





## CHAPTER IX

### THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY

**B**AD as was the plight of the Royalist gentry, the Royalist clergy suffered still more severely. The gentleman might sell or mortgage part of his estate, or cut his timber to pay his fine; but the clergyman, deprived of his cure, not only lost his livelihood, but frequently was unable to earn it in any other way. The Cathedral Chapters and some other of the more important clergy very soon fell into the clutch of the sequestrating committees, who, not content with stripping them of their preferments, laid hands on their private estates. At Chichester, the estate of the Bishop, Henry King, was sequestered, and it does not appear that it was ever admitted to composition. The Dean, Dr. Bruno Ryves, had joined the King at Oxford after the fall of Chichester, and on 5th December 1646 begged to compound on Oxford Articles for delinquency in being there when it was surrendered. He was fined at one-tenth, £20. Being required to take the Covenant and the Negative Oath, he prayed exemption on the ground that a dispensation from both was granted to all included in Oxford Articles.<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Cox, the precentor, was at Exeter when it fell, and was fined on Exeter Articles one-tenth, £169.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Joseph Henshaw, a prebendary, also compounded on Exeter Articles, and was fined £177.<sup>3</sup> Dr. William Oughtred, another prebendary, a Fellow of Eton, and an eminent mathematician, is

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1593.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1299.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1366.

said to have died of excess of joy at the age of eighty-six, when he heard of the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hooke, Clerk, of Chichester, compounded in 1649 for delinquency in going into Oxford, then a garrison for the King, and was fined at one-third, £140.<sup>2</sup> John Edsawe, Clerk, of Chayley, compounded on Oxford Articles and was fined at one-tenth, £40.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after the outbreak of War, on 7th December 1642, the Parliament appointed a Committee to provide benefices for such of the Puritan clergy as had been driven from their livings by the King's forces. This Committee in its first resolution defined its duties as follows: "To consider of the fittest way for the relief of such godly and well affected ministers as have been plundered and likewise to consider what malignant persons have benefices whose livings being sequestered there may others supply their cures and receive the profits." Six months later it assumed the further power to consider informations against scandalous ministers, though no malignancy was proved against them, and on proof of scandal to put out such as were of scandalous life. This Committee, "the Committee of Plundered Ministers" as it was called, gradually acquired a practical supervision of the financial side of ecclesiastical affairs, and if a tithe of the allegations against it are true, it did a good deal of plundering on its own account.<sup>4</sup> At first Parliament did not delegate all control of such matters to the Committee. In December 1642 the inhabitants of Horsham sent up a petition asserting that one Mr. Conyers, who had been presented to that parish by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was a "disserving" man and unfit for the place, and the

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1972.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1568.

<sup>4</sup> The Proceedings of this Committee are contained in three MS. books, B.M. Add. MSS. 15669, 15670, 15671. The entries relating to Sussex were collected by Mr. F. G. Sawyer and printed in S. A. C., xxx and xxxi.

House of Lords ordered that the Archbishop should have notice that the House did not approve of the presentation.<sup>1</sup> Before the Civil War broke out it had been a common practice for parishes which were dissatisfied with the ministrations of their incumbents to maintain lecturers of their own, and it seems that these lecturers frequently obtained the livings of the dispossessed "malignant" clergy. The inhabitants of Horsham now sent a further petition that Mr. Chatfield, "a godly and painful preacher," their own lecturer, who had spent his time and taken great pains among them, should be appointed in Mr. Conyer's place. Parliament thereupon appointed Mr. Chatfield, and named a Committee of the inhabitants, including Thomas Middleton, Hall Ravenscroft, James Gratwick, Thomas White and others, to sequester the vicarage and pay the tithes to him.

The Committee of Plundered Ministers was, in a sense, a complementary body to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, established by Act of Parliament in October 1642 with the object of reforming the Church of England on the lines of Presbyterianism. The Sussex members of this Assembly were Dr. Francis Cheynell of Oxford, afterwards Rector of Petworth, Mr. Benjamin Pickering<sup>2</sup> of East Hoathley, and Mr. Henry Nye of Clapham. The last-named did not appear, and John Maynard, Vicar of Mayfield, was added by Parliament. The two bodies seem to have worked together in the task of filling the country vicarages with Puritan incumbents, and in Sussex Dr. Cheynell was particularly active.

<sup>1</sup> House of Lords MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., v), 61. See Hunt's History of Horsham, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pickering was a preacher of some eminence. He received the thanks of the House of Commons for a sermon preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 27th November 1644; and it was ordered to be printed. "A Firebrand pluckt out of the burning. By Benjamin Pikerling, Minister of Gods Word at Buckstead in Sussex; and a Member of the Assembly of Divines. London 1645."

The Central Committee appointed local committees in various counties to assist it in its work. The original Sussex Committee appears to have consisted of twenty members, all laymen, and chiefly Members of Parliament for the county and its boroughs. It was empowered to inquire "by the oaths of twelve lawful men" of the following offences: "Not preaching the word of God six times at least in the space of one whole year by any ecclesiastical person or persons under the age of sixty years, having cure of souls, and not being thereunto letted by sickness or imprisonment; or of blasphemy, wilful and corrupt perjury, and subordination of perjury, fornication, adultery, common alehouse or tavern haunting, common drunkenness, common profane swearing and cursing."

The county committees seem to have been subdivided, and we find committees sitting at Lewes, Chichester, Battle, and Brambletye. According to Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 118) the local committees consisted of not more than ten or less than five persons, who each received five shillings a day for attendance. They were "directed to take depositions of witnesses without the accused being present, but if he desired it they were to let him have a copy of the accusation at his own charge."

It was inevitable that in the bitterness of the struggle, most bitter of course on the religious side, much hardship should be caused, and injustice suffered by ministers of both parties. Dr. Cheynell himself asserts<sup>1</sup> that he was driven from his own house by force of arms, only (as the Cavaliers confessed) because he was nominated to be a member of the Westminster Assembly—not a very insufficient reason, one would suppose, from the Cavalier point of view. He speaks of "the visitation of Merton College, the denial of my grace, the plundering of my house and little library," and he boasts "I have not yet learnt

<sup>1</sup> *Chillingworthi Novissima*.

how to plunder others of goods or living, and make myself amends by force of arms. I will not take a living which belonged to any civil, studious, learned Delinquent, unless it be the much neglected *Commendam* of some Lordly Prelate condemned by the known laws of the land, and the highest court of the kingdom for some offence of the first magnitude." In the rich living of Petworth, which had been previously attached to the bishopric of Chichester, he was fortunate enough to find an agreeable ministry which did not violate his principles.

It was some slight mitigation of the lot of the clergyman who was ejected from his living as a Royalist, or as attached to Episcopacy or the Book of Common Prayer, and was thus deprived at one sweep of his livelihood, that a fifth of his late income was payable to his wife and children for their support by the incumbent who had succeeded him. This fifth was often grudgingly paid, and the payment could only be enforced by an appeal to the Committee of Plundered Ministers, or its local deputy, and although the Committee seems often to have insisted on the payment, it sometimes decided otherwise on a view of what appear irrelevant circumstances. Thus on 24th May 1645, the Committee took into consideration the case of the wife of Mr. Peckham, whose vicarage of Horsted Parva had been sequestered; and it having appeared that she had shown contempt of the sequestration by keeping possession of the house till she was expelled from it, and had "committed much wilful spoil upon the said house"; and further that the living was but small, and that Mr. Peckham practised physic and farmed land worth £18 a year, the Committee thought fit to relieve the living of the charge of one-fifth, and discharged Mr. Bigge, who had succeeded Mr. Peckham, from the payment thereof.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand Mrs. Ballow, wife of the ejected vicar

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxx, 120.

of Seaford-cum-Sutton, after much difficulty and expense obtained an order from the Committee in London requiring Mr. Saxby, to whom the living was sequestered, to pay the fifth part to her, and requesting the County Committee to set out and apportion the same, which the latter accordingly did, and allotted Mrs. Ballow £8 a year.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this provision the families of the ejected clergy must frequently have endured great suffering. The quiver was too often full. It was fortunate for Mr. John Boulte, who was inducted to the vicarage of Eastbourne in 1648, that he was on the winning side, for he was "blessed with 29 children by two wives."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Halsey, Rector of East Dean, was turned out of his living "on a pretence of insufficiency," and his family of nine children were only saved from starvation by the fact that he possessed some small property in London; notwithstanding which, a daughter of his complained to a gentleman that she was glad to feed on half an egg. "The poor man came with tears in his eyes and fell on his knees to Cheynell (that monstrous composition and villain) and desired the favour of him to let him teach an English school at a penny a week for each child for the support of his family; but was by the monster denied so reasonable a request."<sup>3</sup>

Cheynell was the *bête noire* of the Royalist clergy, and post-Restoration references to him must be accepted with caution. That he left no stone unturned to secure the most important vicarages for his own adherents is no doubt true, but for the charges of dishonesty and conspiracy brought against him there is probably no foundation. Hoadley, a great Whig bishop of the eighteenth century, said of him: "He was exactly orthodox, and as pious, honest, and charitable as his bigotry would permit."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxx, 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxix, 206. See also iv, 267.

<sup>3</sup> Walker's MSS., Bodleian Library.

<sup>4</sup> Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iv, 395.

Thus the account of the ejection of Mr. Apsley, Rector of Pulborough, contained in a letter of Mr. Newcomb, a later Rector,<sup>1</sup> seems somewhat exaggerated. It is stated that Dr. Cheynell, "sole judge in all matters ecclesiastical," sent for and commanded him to give an account of his election to himself and "four more elders"; Mr. Apsley, knowing their design, framed such an answer that they had nothing to object against him, and so for a time dismissed him. But his living being worth £400 a year, Cheynell was resolved to turn him out on some pretext or other. Having received information that Mr. Apsley had been seen in a public ale-house at Stopham bridge, they summoned him a second time on the accusation of being a common drinker and a scandalous liver, and without being permitted to make any answer, he was thrown out of his living to the almost utter ruin of his family. This story, written some sixty years after the event, does not carry the weight of contemporary evidence.

We do not often hear of personal violence to the clergy, but Mr. Oliver Whitby, who acted as curate to the Bishop of Chichester at Petworth, is an exception. According to Walker,<sup>2</sup> "being a loyalist he was often in danger of his life by the fanatics, one of whom shot at him with a pistol while he was preaching in Petworth pulpit, but missed him; upon which to avoid further danger he escaped to a poor house nigh Petworth, and lived there six months privately. But being discovered by the rebels, he was forced to take his lodging in a hollow tree, which the old woman had shewed him, and there fed by her a long time on pretence of her going to gather wood. He lived in great want until the Restoration, and was then preferred in Chichester Church."

There can be little doubt that some of the dispossessed clergy richly deserved their fate. In his *Century of*

<sup>1</sup> Walker's MSS., iii, 875-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Sufferings of the Clergy*, App., p. 424.

Malignant Priests,<sup>1</sup> Colonel John White included the incumbents of Horsted Parva, Dallington, Ardingley, Arundel, Cliffe, Storrington, East Grinstead, and Arlington. Allowing for the exaggeration of partisan animus, there was probably a serious case against each of them, and the evidence is at any rate contemporary. "The benefice of John Peckham, rector of the Parish Church of Horsted Parva in the County of Sussex, who giveth out that he is the King's Chaplain, is sequestered, for that he hath been very negligent in his cure, absenting himself from his parishioners, sometimes a whole month together, without leaving any to officiate for him, and hath refused to administer the Lord's Supper to those of his Parish that would not come up to the rails, and is a common drunkard, and notorious adulterer and unclean person . . ., and hath expressed great malignity against the Parliament and proceedings thereof, and hath affirmed publickly that a man might live in murder, adultery and other gross sins from day to day, and yet be a true penitent person." At Ardingley Richard Taunton's benefice was sequestered "for that he is a common drunkard and ale-house haunter, and

<sup>1</sup> "The first Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests made and admitted into benefices by the Prelates in whose hands the ordination of ministers and the government of the Church hath been; or a narration of the causes for which the Parliament hath ordered the sequestration of the benefices of several ministers complained of before them, for vitiousness of life, errors in doctrines contrary to the articles of our religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious innovations against the law, and for malignancy against the Parliament. Ordered to be printed by the Committee of the House of Commons, Nov. 1643." Colonel John White, known as "Century White" was Chairman of the Committee to inquire into the immoralities of the Clergy. An inscription on his tombstone in the Temple states:

"Here lies a John, a burning shining light,  
Whose name life actions all alike were white."

He was the grandfather of Susannah, mother of John and Charles Wesley.



in his sermons hath wished, that every knee might rot that would not bow at the name of Jesus."<sup>1</sup> At East Grinstead the benefice of Richard Goffe was sequestered "for that he is a common haunter of taverns and alehouses, a common swearer of bloody oaths, and singer of bawdy songs and often drunk, and keepeth company with papists and scandalous persons, and hath confessed that he chiefly studied popish authors, highly commended Queen Mary's time, and disparaged Queen Elizabeth's, as an enemy to learning, and hoped to see the time again that there should be no Bible in men's houses. And hath openly preached that such as go to other parish churches than their own are in the state of damnation, and that after the bread and wine of the sacrament is consecrated it is no more bread and wine but the body and blood of Christ. And in a funeral sermon at the burial of a woman said that she being regenerated in baptism did live and die without sin; and hath expressed great malignity against the Parliament, saying that he hoped to see it confounded, and that he cared not a fig for the Parliament."<sup>2</sup> It may be, as suggested by Walker,<sup>3</sup> that the last remark was his chief offence.

The sequestering committee was on less sure ground when it came to consider accusations of "inadequacy." Mr. John Nutt's living of Bexhill was sequestered for that he lived "wholly non-resident to the church and in his absence substituted to officiate for him scandalous and unworthy curates."<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the charge recoiled on those who brought it. The aged Dr. Aquila Cruso, having lost his Prebendary stall in Chichester Cathedral, "by the iniquitie of those times in the common ship-wreck of the Church," was visited in his rectory of Sutton, near Petworth, by three "noted triers" to examine his sufficiency. They begged him to give an account of his faith in writing,

<sup>1</sup> Century of Malignant Priests, 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>3</sup> Sufferings of the Clergy, ii, 257.

<sup>4</sup> S. A. C., xxx, 117.

whereupon he wrote it in Greek and Hebrew, which none of them could understand. "It was thought they suffered him to continue in his living, because he was then about seventy years of age, and could not live much longer. Neither could they with any colour of truth fix a charge of insufficiency upon him, whose faith soared in a sphere above their capacity."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cruso disappointed his enemies by living until November 1660.

The most important case in this connection is that of Mr. John Large, Rector of Rotherfield. The benefice was worth £300 a year,<sup>2</sup> and it was a joke of the time that Mr. Large was ejected not on account of his bad life, but for his good living. It was alleged afterwards that the proceedings against him were the result of a conspiracy between Dr. Cheynell and one Vintner, who were overheard to say that as they could not sequester Mr. Large for immorality they would do so for insufficiency. Mr. Vintner seems to have emulated the rapid conversion of the Vicar of Bray. In 1651 he was inducted to the living of Cowfold,<sup>3</sup> the patron being the "Hon. Col. Jn. Downes Esq."<sup>4</sup> At the Restoration he is reported to have preached as follows: "It is said the Common Prayer must be read again in our churches, but I do assure you that if there was a gallows erected in that place, and the Common Prayer book laid in this desk, I would choose to be trussed up on that gallows before ever I would read the Common Prayer." But he thought better of it, and conformed. In 1673 he obtained the "fat benefice" of Rotherfield, "where in his old age in King James II's reign he was preparing for another turn, even to Rome itself, if times had held, and previous to it

<sup>1</sup> Walker's MSS.

<sup>2</sup> "As late as 1675 the rector of Rotherfield kept a woodward or keeper for the 366 acres of wood pertaining to the rectorial manor" (*Vict. Hist. Sussex*, ii, 324).

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., xxxi, 194.

<sup>4</sup> "Recruiter," M.P. for Arundel, a regicide.

began to give out he never knew before that the papists had such good reasons for their religion."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Large himself alleged in his defence that the articles of accusation were presented against him "not so much through his demerits as through a secret plot and combination of John Russell, Edward Russell and John Calle, who having a minister to their kinsman wanting a living (brother unto two of them and nephew to the third) have used his help and assistance in drawing up these articles against him." In his long and interesting defence<sup>2</sup> he replies *seriatim* to the charges brought against him. This valuable document, which affords a remarkable picture of the religious life of the time, may be summarized as follows:

(1) He was presented to the living by a citizen of London, to whom the advowson had been lawfully passed long previously by Lord Abergavenny; he denied any intimate correspondence with Papists, whose errors he was known to hate, and to refute in his sermons as occasion offered; the like also concerning scandalous ministers, whose company he neither enjoyed nor desired.

(2) He had constantly had two sermons preached by himself or his curate every Lord's day, except between November and February. In the summer his accusers had seldom or never attended in the afternoon to hear the sermon. In the shortest days of winter he had usually preached but once a day; not (as his accusers would suggest) to spare his own pains, but for the convenience of his parishioners, many of whom dwelt three or four miles or more from the church, and in those very short days were unable to come thither again in the afternoon. At those times therefore he had been in the habit of joining both his sermons for the day together, and seldom or never preached for less than two hours, so that those who dwelt far off might have the benefit of the whole day's exercise as well

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxxi, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in S. A. C., xxxi, 173-7.

as the others. Yet notwithstanding this "double taste" in the morning, whenever he had seen any considerable number at church in the afternoon, he had not omitted to preach then also. And in his sermons he had delivered nothing but sound and orthodox doctrine, and that also in a manner suited to the capacities of the people, who all (except his accusers) generally professed to have derived no small comfort and edification thereby.

(3) The monthly fasts had ever been solemnly observed by him; but he had usually delivered all his meditations for the day together, and so preached longer in the forenoons, the reason being that in the morning he found himself more fresh and able to perform a double exercise, than to reserve part till the afternoon, when through fasting all day he had frequently found himself faint and feeble.

(4) He had kept all days appointed by Order of Parliament, except one thanksgiving of which he never knew or heard till the day was past.

(5) No warrant or other matter sent by the Parliament and directed to be read by the minister had ever been left unpublished. He had ever been forward, both by his ready contribution to all taxes and by his careful furnishing of those arms wherewith he was charged, to do his best endeavour for the safety of the county and the kingdom; and he had advised others to do the same.

(6) The unjust aspersion that he was a neuter or a "close enemy" to the State was only the uncharitable judgement of his accusers. He had produced a certificate and testimonial signed by over two hundred of the chief inhabitants, there being but few more householders in the parish. He had striven to live peaceably with all men, and had endeavoured often to gain the friendship of his accusers.

(7) In addition to the solemn taking and giving of the Covenant, as attested in the above-mentioned testimonial, he had publicly read the Covenant and the Exhortation

and obtained the signatures of the whole parish thereunto.

(8) In his most secret desires he had ever been a hearty well wisher to Reformation, but had been fearful of himself to innovate or alter anything established; any orders from the Parliament or others in authority he would be one of the first and forwardest to observe.

(9) He had permitted Mr. Goffe of East Grinstead to preach in his parish. Mr. Goffe was not at that time sequestered, and he did not know him to be obnoxious or offensive to any one.

(10) He had not himself appointed his Curate, and until this accusation he had no complaint concerning him.

Mr. Large's defence seems to have availed him nothing. He was further accused of "being a profane Sabbath-breaker in collecting tithes on the Lord's day, and of being superstitiously inclined for breaking a cake over a bride's head," and was sequestered.<sup>1</sup>

The Puritans were engaged in the endeavour to construct a new heaven and a new earth. In such a revolution, as in actual warfare, injustice may be done, and hardship is inevitably caused to innocent individuals. But it is impossible to-day to form a satisfying judgement on such a case as that of Mr. Large. The very fervour with which post-Restoration parsons wrote<sup>2</sup> of the excellence of his character, the base intrigues of his accusers, and the mercenary motives of his judges, has a suspicious ring. It suggests that perhaps Mr. Large was not so very earnest a friend of the Parliament he professed to serve, and that Cheynell may have been perfectly honest in his efforts to get rid of a secret enemy. If Cheynell's methods were devious (there is no real evidence that they were), that would be nothing new in the history of religious bigotry.

We have drifted so far from the ideal of the English

<sup>1</sup> Walker, *Sufferings*, ii, 279.

<sup>2</sup> Walker's MSS.; S. A. C., xxxi, 178-185.

Puritans—"a practical world based on Belief in God, such as many centuries had seen before, but as never any century since has been privileged to see"<sup>1</sup>—we comprehend so little of their ways of thought, that the inclination of mankind to distrust and dislike what it does not understand asserts itself continually. We have been trained in a repugnance towards the habitual expression of the facts of the world in the terms of religion, and this repugnance tends to warp our historical judgement of those who used no other language. We may do well to bear in mind Carlyle's advice, "by no means to credit the wide-spread report that these seventeenth-century Puritans were superstitious crack-brained persons; given up to enthusiasm, the most part of them; the minor ruling part being cunning men, who knew how to assume the dialect of the others, and thereby, as skilful Macchiavels, to dupe them. This is a wide-spread report; but an untrue one."

It was not only at the hands of the Committee of Plundered Ministers that the clergy of Royalist and Episcopalian sympathies suffered. As in the counties which stood to the King, and in the University of Oxford, the Puritan clergy were driven from their livings and employments, which was, as we have seen, the prime occasion of the Committee's appointment; so in Puritan Sussex an unsympathetic soldiery was disposed to make short work of "malignant" ministers. A Royalist account of certain proceedings at Hastings of this nature has come down to us, and there is no reason to suppose that its statements are, in the main, otherwise than true. It is related<sup>2</sup> that on the morning of Sunday, 9th July 1643, in time of divine service, Colonel Morley, described by the narrator as "the crooked rebel of Sussex," proceeded towards Hastings. Mr. Hinson, the curate of All Saints', was informed of his coming, and being aware that one end of the Colonel's Sabbath-day's

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Intro., v.

<sup>2</sup> *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 141.

journey was to apprehend him, broke off divine service in the midst, and fled into a neighbouring wood to hide himself. The Colonel occupied the town with his body of horse, secured the gates, and summoned the mayor and jurats. He demanded that all arms in the town should be given up to him, and having procured a waggon from one of the jurats, Fray by name, sent them away to Battle. That night some of the soldiers lay in Mr. Hinson's church, and one Wicker, a common soldier, got up into the pulpit and preached to his fellows. To show the fruits of his doctrine, either the preacher or one of his auditors stole the surplice. The parish clerk complained of this theft to their Captain, Richard Cockeram of Rye, but all the answer he got was: "Do not you think he loves a smock as well as you?"

Colonel Morley now levied a money contribution from the townsmen, Mr. Car, the parson of St. Clement's, and Mr. Hinson being particularly specified. Mr. Car was not at home, having fled at the news of Morley's approach, but hearing of his departure for Battle, and thinking the storm to be now blown over, he returned, and narrowly escaped arrest by Morley's agents. Mr. Hinson was less fortunate. Returning on Tuesday, he was arrested and confined in the Town Hall, where his friends did not dare to visit him for fear of being imprisoned themselves. A maid-servant, who was accused of having carried letters from him, denied having done so; whereupon she was told by one Barlow, "a factious schismatic, who because heretofore his neighbours of Hastings refused to concur with him in petitioning against Episcopacy, joined and subscribed with those of Rye," that she deserved to be put into the Ducking-house, a prison for women, for denying it. Next day Mr. Hinson was removed to the common gaol, and locked up in a most loathsome place, where there was but one short bench, and no company but a tinker. The tinker was "none of the joviallest," but a stubborn, sullen fellow, who, pleading

seniority in the place, took possession of the bench, and "most unsociably kept it all night." After three weeks' imprisonment, on the intercession of Master Besanno, a Counsellor-at-Law, Mr. Hinson was sent up to London under a strong guard, whence he escaped to Oxford, and put himself under the King's protection.







SIR WILLIAM WALLER.

## CHAPTER X

### THE CLUBMEN

TO return to Arundel. On the very day that Waller took possession of the castle, a large Spanish vessel, the *St. James* of Dunkirk, was stranded at Heene, "near Arundel." Heene is now a western suburb of Worthing, and is distant from Arundel about ten miles. It appeared that she had been chased by some Dutch men-of-war, and, to avoid capture, had tried to make either for the river Arun or the port of Shoreham. One account says that she actually entered the Arun, and took the ground within half a mile of Arundel Castle;<sup>1</sup> another that she lay "at a place called Shoarum";<sup>2</sup> but these statements were probably due to the imagination of journalists in London, who did not know where Heene was. Waller promptly took possession of the ship, and went on board himself. He reported the matter in a letter to the House, written at Broadwater, close to Heene, on 8th January, and asked for directions.<sup>3</sup> The *St. James* mounted 24 brass guns, and contained 100 barrels of powder, and 2,000 arms, supposed to be for the use of "the English-Irish that make havoc in Cheshire," together with a great quantity of linen cloth. Several Cavalier officers and persons of quality were on

<sup>1</sup> Mercurius Civicus, 11th January 1644. This error is copied by Mr. Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, and by Mr. Hillier, *The Sieges of Arundel Castle*; even by Mr. Blaauw, *S. A. C.*, v.

<sup>2</sup> The True Informer, 13th January 1644.

<sup>3</sup> House of Commons Journals, 10th January 1644.

board. The value of the ship and cargo was estimated to be £50,000 at least.<sup>1</sup> In reply to Waller's letter, the House ordered him to secure the ship; that the goods in her should be safely stored in Arundel Castle, and none of them embezzled or disposed of until it be known whether she were prize; that the soldiers be assured that if she proved prize they should receive a reward out of her; that inventories of her lading should be made and sent up to the Court of Admiralty and to the House.

This reply was no doubt a disappointment to Waller, who then wrote to the House setting forth the condition of his army and his prisoners, and requesting that the proceeds of the goods in the Dunkirk ship should be applied to pay the arrears due to his soldiers. But the House ordered that the goods should be re-shipped, and the vessel brought round to London; and that the Committee of the Navy, and the judge of the Court of Admiralty do take care for the speedy dispatch of the business. A letter was sent to Waller thanking him for his care in the matter.<sup>2</sup>

But there was no more "speedy dispatch" than is usual in such cases. A month later Messrs. Maurice Thompson and Co. laid an arrest on the ship "for reparation to be made to them for damages sustained by the Dunkirkers."<sup>3</sup> In August the House considered the matter, and also a representation from the Spanish Ambassador on the subject, and it was referred to the Committee of the Navy to decide what allowance should be made to Sir William Waller's soldiers for salvage and conservation of the ship and goods.<sup>4</sup> The result was that a sum of £4,000 was awarded to Sir William Waller and his forces, and the ship and her cargo were handed over to the Spanish Ambassador.<sup>5</sup> Waller's own share of the salvage was £700, and "a little

<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer, 16th February 1644.

<sup>2</sup> House of Commons Journals, 15th January 1644.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 10th February 1644.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 22nd August 1644.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 4th October 1644.

painted cabinet and some toys, worth £12 or £14" were presented to his wife by some of the merchants owning the cargo, as a token of their thankfulness for the care he had taken to preserve their goods.<sup>1</sup> It was no doubt only the presence of Waller's army which had saved the vessel from plunder. Not many years before, similar wrecks had occurred, as related in letters of Sir W. Covert.

November 1629. "From Slaugham. A Dunkirk ship was driven ashore at Worthing by the States men-of-war, the crew of 66 were saved, but the country people according to their inhuman custom had seized the goods and spoilt the ship."

February 1630. "From Slaugham to the Lords Lieutenant, the Earls of Arundel and Dorset. Another ship of Dunkirk has been chased on shore at Brighthelmstone, the inhabitants have saved the ordnance, and ask to keep them."<sup>2</sup>

Fifty years later the Sussex attitude towards wrecks was satirized by Congreve:

As Sussex men, that dwell upon the shore,  
Look out when storms arise and billows roar,  
Devoutly praying with uplifted hands,  
That some well-laden ship may strike the sands,  
To whose rich cargo they may make pretence  
And fatten on the spoils of Providence."<sup>3</sup>

Great scandal was caused among earnest Puritans by some of the pictures found in the *St. James*. A large picture of the betrothal of St. Ursula, painted for the church of Sta. Anna at Seville, was considered to have a political import. On 5th June 1644, Colonel Herbert Morley wrote from Arundel to the Speaker: "Amongst the goods taken from the Dunkirk ships we have found certain pictures which contain most gross idolatry; upon one, the Trinity

<sup>1</sup> Waller's Vindication.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xlvi, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Epilogue to *The Mourning Bride*.

pictured in monstrous shapes like giants; upon another is painted the Virgin Mary as sitting in heaven with her babe in her arms, underneath is the Pope, on whose left hand stands our King perfectly limned and completely armed, with his cavaliers attending him; on the Pope's right hand stands the Queen, accompanied with her ladies; the King tenders his sceptre to the Queen, she accepts it not, but directs it to be delivered to the Pope. This picture was intended to be set up in the chief church of Seville, in Spain, as appears by the direction on the outside of the box in which it is enclosed. I look upon this picture as an hieroglyphic of the causes and intents of our present troubles, and the opinion of the neighbouring nations concerning them, and if the House please to command the picture to London, and there permit it to the public view, I conceive 'twould very much convince the malignants, and open the eyes of all that are not wilfully blind."<sup>1</sup>

The picture was sent up to London, as Morley suggested, and exhibited in the Star Chamber. A rather ridiculous controversy of pamphleteers arose as to its significance, in which the Royalist side had distinctly the best. At Oxford, on 8th July 1644, was published a pamphlet entitled *The Sea-Gull, or the new apparition in the Star-Chamber at Westminster*. Being a true and accurate description of a large picture, exposed to public view, lively representing the story of Conanus and Ursula (taken out of the Golden Legend) most grossely mistaken for His Majesties tending the Scepter of his Kingdoms into the hands of the Queene and Pope.<sup>2</sup> The writer tells at some length the story of Conanus and Ursula, and urges that the picture was meant to represent their affiancing. "Thousands," he says, "have already swallowed this sea-gull . . . the picture itself was made by one Gerarde de la Valle at Antwerp, as is exprest in the bottom thereof, and intended to be set up in Saint

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 178.

<sup>2</sup> B.M., Thomason tracts: pressmark E. 54 (4).

Anne's Church in Seville in Spain, as appears by the super-  
scription (upon the wooden case wherein this picture drawn  
on cloth was rolled up, when it was taken near Arundel  
Haven about Christmas last, in a ship belonging to one  
Devoes, a merchant in Flanders). In which church, and  
the like hallowed places, no pictures, or images of the living,  
but only of departed saints canonized are hanged up. Unto  
which Romanists perform an inferior kind of religious  
worship.

"Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?"

This argument might fitly have been considered un-  
answerable; but it provoked a rather feeble rejoinder:  
The Sussex picture, or an Answer to the Sea-gull.  
London printed by F. N. July 29 1644.<sup>1</sup> The title is  
adorned with a rude cut of the three chief figures of the  
picture, which serves to support the Oxford writer's con-  
tention. The central figure wears a bishop's mitre, not the  
triple Papal crown; the gentleman on his left bears little  
resemblance to Charles, and the lady to whom he tenders  
a sceptre none whatever to Henrietta Maria. But the  
writer is not daunted. "Reader if thou hast viewed that  
stately picture which was lately sent up to the Parliament  
by Colonel Morley and was taken in a Flemish ship upon  
the Sussex shore: Thou hast beheld therein the weaker  
sex triumphing over the stronger, and by the help of a  
Mitre thou hast seen a sceptre doing homage to the distaff."  
It must be owned that for once Oxford defeated London,  
and that Colonel Morley's misplaced zeal brought some  
ridicule on his party. The nightmare of Popery, the  
tendency to attribute all the King's actions to the influence  
of the French-born queen, was partly genuine, partly an  
affectation for political ends.

Meantime the year 1644 was passing without any event  
of great moment occurring in Sussex; but the Parliament's

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Thomason tracts: pressmark E. 3 (21).

efforts to raise men and money were unceasing. On 25th January Lawrence Ashburnham,<sup>1</sup> who with Thomas Middleton, William and Thomas Michelborne, Henry Shelley, and Herbert Hay, had been appointed by the Parliament a deputy-lieutenant of Sussex in the previous month, wrote to the Mayor and jurats of Rye, informing them, on the authority of Sir Thomas Pelham, Sir Thomas Parker, and Colonel Morley, representing the Committee at Lewes, that the army was in great want "by reason that the provision money is not sent in according to the time appointed." They were requested with all possible speed to send the said money with all arrears to Mr. John Aylwine at Lewes. The corporation endeavoured to escape this contribution on the ground that they had not received £200 promised by the Committee for the fortification of the town, and drew a moving picture of the dangers to which their ships and trade, and even the town itself, were exposed from the King's privateers.<sup>2</sup>

The captured castle of Arundel was being used as a magazine; on 24th February the Committee of both kingdoms ordered 100 barrels of gunpowder to be laid into the castle for the store and use of Sir William Waller. The importance of fully securing Chichester against a surprise was realized, and in April Colonel Stapley, the governor, was ordered to increase the garrison to 800 men.<sup>3</sup> He was at the same time urged to hasten the despatch of the county contingent to Waller. This refers to an ordinance dated 31st March 1644<sup>4</sup> for raising 3,000 foot and 1,200 horse and 500 dragoons to be commanded by Sir William Waller, Serjeant-Major-General of the associated counties of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent. The money contingent for Sussex was £680 16s. In June Colonel Apsley,

<sup>1</sup> Cousin of John Ashburnham, the King's Treasurer and attendant; one of many instances of the political division of families.

<sup>2</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, di, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Dallaway, i, cxxix.



member for Steyning, was actively endeavouring to raise a regiment in Sussex, for and by authority of Sir William Waller, but the gentlemen of the county objected on the ground that the burden of supporting the officers would annoy the inhabitants; Waller was therefore desired to cancel his commission to Apsley, which he did willingly, "the rather because I would not have anything to do with the gentlemen of Sussex, from whom I have received nothing but constant incivilities."<sup>1</sup>

In September Sir William Waller requested the Committee of both kingdoms to send speedily to Arundel Castle a supply of sixty barrels of gunpowder, with match and ball proportionable. "In this extremity we must raise all the strength we can, though we think of paying them afterwards."<sup>2</sup> In October "the Committee of Arundel Castle" wrote to the House of Commons concerning the compounding with the principal delinquents of Sussex,<sup>3</sup> whose estates had been sequestered, and were being held by the Sussex Committee: "We gratefully acknowledge your favour in granting us our sequestered rents, to maintain our garrisons; but such are the deadness of the times and the malignity of the people, that much land lies waste, and none will use any but at very low rents, so that these rents do not rise to the value that is supposed. We hear that some of our chief malcontents are to be admitted to a fine, and enjoy their estates again; but we stand more in need than ever of their revenues; and if these should be so lightly discharged, upon the approach of the enemy we cannot expect to have any ill-affected continued under the notions of neuters or malignants; it would create great discontents and disheartenings in the best affected party. The names of the chief [delinquents] are the Earl of

<sup>1</sup> Dallaway, dii, 3, 7. One instance of this "incivility" was doubtless the action of Colonel Stapley after the fall of Arundel. See p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, diii, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, ch. viii.

Thanet, Sir Edw. Bishop, Sir Edw. Ford, and Col. Jno. Apsley." The House referred the letter to the Committee for Compounding at Goldsmiths' Hall.<sup>1</sup> The local committees naturally preferred sequestration, under which they held the estates and received the rents, to a composition, when the fine would be paid to the central authority, and used by it elsewhere. Of the fine of £5,000 first imposed on the Earl of Thanet, £3,000 was lent by the Goldsmiths' Hall Committee for the payment of Abingdon garrison on security of £3,000 worth of the King's plate, to be delivered to the Committee by Sir Henry Mildmay, and to be melted in three months if the money remain unpaid.<sup>2</sup>

During the summer of 1644 Colonel Morley, with "Sixe Colours<sup>3</sup> of Blew" from Sussex, was occupied at the siege of Basing, in Hampshire, the magnificent and strongly fortified house of the Marquis of Winchester. Morley's "pikes and muskets" were quartered in the park. With the other colonels present he received through Mr. Lisle, M.P. for Winchester, the thanks of the House for his "good service." Towards the end of June Colonel Norton, who had been in command of the besieging forces, was withdrawn, and instructed to place himself at the service of Major-General Browne, who was to co-operate with Sir William Waller in the intended siege of Oxford. Morley was left in command, and brought great energy to the conduct of the siege.<sup>4</sup> He mounted culverins weighing nearly 36 cwt. each, which poured 18 lb. shot into the house. By the first week of July he had brought the siege works within pistol shot. Having received reinforcements from Southampton on 11th July, he next day summoned the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Companies.

<sup>4</sup> *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 61, 17-25th July 1644. "The siege of Basing House is still closely continued by Col. Jones, Col. Morley, and Col. Onslow, and great probability there is daily of the taking or surrender thereof, the house being now very much battered and defaced in many places."

Marquis to surrender, sending "by a drum this harsh demand":

"MY LORD,

"To avoid the effusion of Christian blood I have thought fit to send your Lordship this summons to demand Basing House to be delivered to me for the use of King and Parliament: if this be refused the ensuing inconvenience will rest upon you. I desire your speedy answer, and Rest, my Lord, your humble servant

"HERBERT MORLEY."

To which Lord Winchester returned an answer marked "Hast, hast, hast, post hast."

"SIR,

"It is a crooked demand, and shall receive its answer suitable. I keep this House in the Right of my Sovereigne, and will do it in despite of your Forces. Your letter I will preserve in testimony of your Rebellion.

"WINCHESTER."

The besieging forces under Morley now numbered some 3,000 horse and foot. Some of the chimneys of the house had been battered down, and a few small breaches had been made.<sup>1</sup> On 20th July a captain in Morley's regiment was killed by a shot from the works. About the same time Colonel Norton returned and resumed command. During August the garrison suffered severely from small-pox. The King himself is said to have counselled surrender, but the stout old lord replied "that under His Majesty's favour, the place was his, and that he was resolved to keep it as long as he could." On 10th August Colonel Morley, while inspecting the works in the park, was wounded by a bullet in the shoulder, "which spoiled his clearship ever since."

After eighteen weeks' siege Basing House was relieved

<sup>1</sup> True Informer, 13th July 1644.

by a force from Oxford under Colonel Gage, with whom was a body of horse under Sir William Campion, which drove off the besiegers, and placed a fresh supply of powder and match in the house, and added 100 musketeers to the garrison. In Norton's retreat "we took," says Gage, "a colour or cornet of theirs, which I understand was Colonel Morley's, the motto of which was *Non ab Aequo sed in Aequo* ['Victory is not by Right but in Right'], a motto not so proper to theirs, as our cause, the equity of which gave us the victory with the true and genuine signification of the motto."<sup>1</sup>

Basing House held out until October 1645, when it was stormed and sacked by Cromwell.<sup>2</sup>

During the latter part of 1644 infantry raised in Sussex was employed in Dorsetshire, apparently under Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, where its services were not greatly appreciated. In some memoranda drawn up by Cooper for Governor Bingham of Poole, it is stated (1) "That if they cannot immediately send us a supply of Horse, orders be forthwith sent for the withdrawal of the Sussex Foot and the rest to be disposed into their several garrisons; the keeping them together in a body devours that provision which should be sent into the garrisons and destroys the country—besides the few Horse we have, not above 100, are wholly taken up with providing for them"; (2) "... we shall be better able to submit without than with the Sussex foot."<sup>3</sup>

The loyalty of some of the gentry and members of Parliament, who had hitherto adhered to the Parliamentary side, was now beginning to be called in question. Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Gage's Official Report.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of the proceedings at Basing see Godwin's Civil War in Hampshire.

<sup>3</sup> The Civil War in Dorset, 1642-1660, by A. R. Bayley, Taunton, 1910; a work of great research, the value of which is much diminished by the absence of an adequate Index.

Middleton had already fallen under suspicion;<sup>1</sup> and on 16th October 1644 a petition was delivered at the door of the House "by divers ministers and well-affected persons of Sussex," complaining of Sir T. Pelham and Sir T. Parker; and on 29th October John Ashford was denounced to it "in consequence of the resort and great meeting of people ill affected to this House." All these matters were referred to the Committee, and especially to W. Cawley.<sup>2</sup> There was a proposal at this time to demolish "many strong houses" in Sussex, especially Cowdray; but it was postponed on the ground that it would have a very bad effect on the county. When the proposal was made to the Committee of both kingdoms, strong objections to it were raised, and the Committee wondered at the Sussex Committee's intention.<sup>3</sup> But the obstinate resistance of Basing House doubtless made the Parliament nervous as to the possibility of similar proceedings elsewhere. It was accordingly determined to garrison Cowdray, and Mr. Cawley consented to be governor if he were granted 120 foot and 10 horse, with provision and ammunition necessary;<sup>4</sup> and later, Colonel Morley was instructed to put more or less men into Cowdray House as occasion required.<sup>5</sup> The decisive defeat of the Royal army at Newbury, on 27th October, relieved the pressure on the Southern counties, and it was decided that it was unnecessary either to demolish or garrison the houses previously discussed, the Parliament believing that "the situation of these places may be their own garrison."<sup>6</sup> It was also ordered that the county forces should not be assembled till further notice, and that the defence of the county should be entrusted to Colonel Morley's regiment. Having been much weakened by reason of its late service at Basing House, it was to be made up to its strength of 800 men

<sup>1</sup> See p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, diii, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>4</sup> S. A. C., v, 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

out of the trained bands until recruits could be sent up to replace them.<sup>1</sup>

But the calm was not long-lived. In January 1645 there was great Royalist activity on the western borders of the county; and on the 8th the Committee of both kingdoms wrote to the Committee of Sussex: "The forces of the enemy growing strong in the west, if they meet not with a speedy check are like to endanger the port towns, and so wholly subject that county as to be able to draw levies and supplies from thence to infest your borders lying next them and also lengthen out the war. We have designed a great party of horse and dragoons immediately to march thither for their removal, and therefore desire that 500 dragoons' horses may be had out of cos. Kent, Sussex and Surrey."<sup>2</sup> At the same time it was ordered that 1,000 foot should march from Reading to oppose the enemy about Sussex; and that Colonels Stapley and Morley, being deputy-lieutenants, should call the trained bands into Arundel and Chichester for the defence of those towns. These preparations were rendered necessary by the designs on Sussex of George Goring, recently appointed Royalist lieutenant-general of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent.<sup>3</sup> In December 1644 he was sent into Hampshire "upon a design of his own of making an incursion into Sussex, where he pretended he had correspondence, and that very many well-affected persons promised to rise and declare for the King, and that Kent would do the same."<sup>4</sup> In pursuance of this design he advanced as far as Farnham, attacked Christchurch and was repulsed, and then took up his winter quarters at Salisbury. He laid the blame of his failure on the defects of his army and the disobedience of his officers, and used these pretexts to obtain greater independence and larger powers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, diii, 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, dvi, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Black, Oxford Docquets, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon, Rebellion, ix, 7.

<sup>5</sup> D. N. B.; Warburton's Cavaliers, iii, 46, 52.

Its indecisive character is perhaps the most striking feature of the war during these first two years. In Sussex, Chichester had twice been captured, Arundel had thrice fallen, and still there was constant fear as to a repetition of such events. Either party was able on occasion to put into the field a sufficient force to effect much in the absence of its opponents; neither could organize an army adequate to bring a campaign to a triumphant and definite conclusion.<sup>1</sup> "Our victories," said a Parliamentary orator, in December 1644, "the price of blood invaluable, so gallantly gotten, and, which is more pity, so graciously bestowed, seem to have been put into a bag with holes; what we won one time we lost another. The treasure is exhausted; the country is wasted. A summer's victory has proved but a winter's story. The game however shut up in autumn has to be new played again next spring; as if the blood that has been shed were only to manure the ground for a new crop of contention. Men's hearts have failed them with the observation of these things."<sup>2</sup> Six months before Sir William Waller had plainly told Parliament that an army compounded of local levies would never do their business. "Till you have an army merely your own," said he, "that you may command, it is impossible to do anything of importance."<sup>3</sup> The army which Waller had foreshadowed was brought into being by the genius and perseverance of Fairfax and Cromwell. The scheme for the New Model passed the Commons on 27th January 1645, and the Lords on 15th February. The end was already in sight.

In February and March Parliament was taking steps to "raise, levy and impress men for the new army of Sir Thomas Fairfax." Sussex was directed to provide 600 men.<sup>4</sup> Orders sent out at this time enjoined that especial care be taken in the choice of able, full-grown and well

<sup>1</sup> See Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Rushworth, vi, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, ii, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, Chas. I, dvi, 72.

clothed men meet for this employment; that care be taken in the choice of conductors and assistance afforded them to keep their men from straggling and pilfering the country as they go, or from departing from their colours; and that the men so impressed be commodiously provided, as had formerly been the practice, with red coats faced with blue.<sup>1</sup> Sussex was also ordered to provide a money contingent of £3,927 15s. 6½*d.* to be paid by monthly instalments.<sup>2</sup>

The scare concerning the fortification of Sussex houses in the Royalist interest was not yet over. In April the County Committee was warned from London that the enemy had a design of fortifying Sir Richard Norton's house at Rotherfield, which if effected would be of very great inconvenience to those parts; and was desired to take means to prevent such mischief and to consult with the gentlemen of Surrey as to what steps were advisable.<sup>3</sup> There was a good deal of unrest in the south-eastern counties at this time, and a Kentish regiment was in open mutiny.<sup>4</sup>

On 10th May Algernon Sidney was appointed Governor of Chichester, in place of Colonel Stapley; and a month later he received instructions to put the town in a thorough state of defence, to resist an advance of the enemy either from Oxford or from the west; and to keep careful guard that he might not be surprised by any inconsiderable party which might make an attempt.<sup>5</sup> The famous Algernon Sidney, son of the second Earl of Leicester, was at this time only twenty-three years of age, and at the threshold of the remarkable career which ended on the scaffold after the discovery of the Rye-House Plot in 1683.

Critical as the position in West Sussex seems to have been considered, the exigences of the besiegers of Basing House overruled every other consideration. Colonel Sidney

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvi, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Dallaway, i, cxxix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.



was ordered to find 400 men for the siege, 300 from Chichester and 100 from Arundel;<sup>1</sup> and shortly afterwards an urgent demand for 100 musketeers was made; the Committee of Sussex at the same time to find 100 dragoon horses.<sup>2</sup> These contingents, we learn, were "sent forth with much cheerfulness."<sup>3</sup>

The cheerfulness was perhaps only a Parliamentary euphemism to encourage the other counties. There is evidence that after more than two years of indecisive warfare the country was getting thoroughly tired of the proceedings of both factions. The Royalists, especially the forces under Rupert and Goring, had acquired the worst reputation for plunderings and high-handed action, but the presence of either army was a great burden to the inhabitants. The county of Surrey took the lead in urging the great grievance it endured from the practice of free quartering, and used the very practical argument of its inability to quarter an army and to pay taxes at the same time. On 10th February 1645 the Committee wrote to Sir William Waller that they received a petition, presented by divers gentlemen and inhabitants of Surrey to the House of Commons, and recommended from the county in a special manner, representing the sufferings of that county, especially the western part, by the long free quartering of soldiers, both horse and foot, now under his command amongst them; who, notwithstanding former orders for their removal before this time, did yet continue there and commit many insufferable outrages upon men's persons and estates. They therefore earnestly desired him to command those forces speedily to remove into other quarters out of that county, that it might no longer be disabled from paying the taxes required from it.<sup>4</sup>

On 25th April a letter of similar purport was sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax. Some troops of Haselrig's were lying

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, dvi, 41.

in Surrey upon free quarter, and exorbitant warrants were being given out for provisions. Fairfax was requested to see that no more such warrants were given out; that what had been taken was paid for, and that the counties from which his contributions were to come should not have troops quartered upon them.<sup>1</sup> At a later date we shall find Sussex suffering from a similar grievance.

The discontent of the non-combatants in the southern counties was now ripe for an explosion. "The people in Kent and Sussex," it was said, "are very much given to dispute with their masters' taxes, and speak high and do some small matters."<sup>2</sup> Isolated instances of resistance by peasants to plunder or extortion had previously occurred. In February 1644 two soldiers were killed by the villagers of Nuthurst, near Horsham. The culprits were sent to Arundel to be tried by Court-martial, but Parliament, on a petition from Horsham, ordered them to be delivered to the Civil authorities.<sup>3</sup> In 1645 the smouldering fires of discontent broke into flame in the form of a rising of the country people on the plausible grounds of protecting themselves against the plunder and harassment of both armies. It seems to have originated in Wilts and Dorset, with a meeting, on 25th May, of 4,000 farmers and yeomen to appoint an organized body of watchmen to seize plunderers, and to carry them for punishment to the nearest garrison of the party to which they belonged.<sup>4</sup> But it was found impossible to get the officers to do justice on their own men, and on 30th June the farmers resolved to inflict the punishment themselves, and also to afford protection to deserters from any service into which they had been pressed unwillingly.

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvi, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Trevor to the Marquis of Ormond, 8th May, 1645 (Carte's Collections, p. 85).

<sup>3</sup> Carte's Collection, quoted in Hurst's Horsham, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, Civil War, ch. xxxii.

This movement of the Clubmen, as they were called because they were armed with rough and rustic weapons, rapidly assumed the proportions of an open revolt, directed in the main against the Parliament; but in Somerset, which had suffered from the depredations of the Royalist leader, Lord Goring, inclined to favour his opponents. The design was perhaps at bottom Royalist; the country folk, the great mass of whom were neutrals, being worked upon by the Royalist gentry and clergy.<sup>1</sup> The rapid extension of the movement emboldened its leaders, who presumed to send messages both to King and Parliament, demanding that peace should forthwith be made, and the armies dismissed to their homes. Holles, the leader of the Dorset Clubmen, told Fairfax that if their terms were not granted they were strong enough to enforce obedience. Fairfax would soon be engaged with Goring; if he got the worst of the fight, every fugitive would be knocked on the head without mercy. Fairfax pointed out with admirable temper that it was impossible to accept their demands. At all costs he must hold the port-towns to prevent a foreign invasion. The King had already made contracts to bring in 10,000 French and 4,000 Irish.<sup>2</sup>

The aspirations and designs of the Clubmen are well expressed in the manifesto of a "peaceable meeting" of the knights, gentlemen, freeholders, and others, the inhabitants of the county of Berks. This declaration expressed that the miserable inhabitants of the county, foreseeing famine and utter desolation for themselves, their wives, and their children, unanimously joined in petitioning his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament for a happy peace and accommodation of the present differences without further effusion of Christian blood. In the meantime they declared that they really intended to the utmost hazard of their lives and liberties to defend and maintain the true

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, Letter XXX.

<sup>2</sup> Rushworth, vi, 52.

Reformed Protestant religion; to join with and assist one another in the mutual defence of their laws, liberties, and properties against all plunderers and all other unlawful violence whatsoever; they resolved and faithfully promised each to other that if any person or persons concurring with them should suffer in his person or estate in execution of their objects, it should be the suffering of the generality, and reparation be made to the party suffering, and in case of loss of life provision should be made for his wife and children.<sup>1</sup>

According to Locke, the movement had been originated by Anthony Cooper, afterwards first Earl of Shaftesbury, then a young man of twenty-four. He had abandoned the King's cause in the previous year, but was perhaps not very enthusiastic for that of the Parliament. His influence was very great in Wilts and Dorset. In the latter county Cromwell himself was set the task of dealing with the trouble. Having failed to draw them into a discussion of grievances, he attacked a large body of Clubmen who had occupied an old Roman or British camp on Hambleton Hill, near Shaftesbury, and put them all to flight. In his letter to Fairfax he says: "We have taken about 300; many of which are poor silly creatures, whom if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and 'will be hanged before they come out again.'"<sup>2</sup> There was abundant evidence "how deeply Royalist this scheme of Clubmen had been: Commissions for raising regiments of Clubmen; the design to be extended over England at large, yea, into the Associated Counties"<sup>3</sup>—such papers were found on the person of Sir Lewis Dives at the capture of Sherborne Castle.<sup>4</sup>

From Wiltshire the revolt soon spread into Hampshire,

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, Letter XXX.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-96.

and thence into Sussex. On 18th and 19th September Mr. Cawley and the Sussex Committee reported "divers outrageous proceedings" of 1,000 Clubmen at Rowkeshill, near Chichester. On the previous day a meeting of 600 Clubmen had been held on Runcton<sup>1</sup> Down, and a meeting at Bury Hill, near Arundel, on the following Monday arranged for. Prompt measures were taken. Colonel Norton—Cromwell's friend "idle Dick"—was ordered to march into Sussex, where he was to be reinforced by 1,000 horse and by the county trained-bands, if their fidelity could be trusted.<sup>2</sup> The Committee for Hants, Surrey, and Sussex were directed to consult "how to prevent any inconvenience that may happen by reason of the Clubmen," and to sequester the estates of all recusants. Meantime, before daybreak on Sunday, 21st September, Colonel Morley and Captain Morley, then governor of Arundel, had sent Major Young to fall on the head-quarters of the Clubmen at Walberton, and dispersed them, as related by an eye-witness in a communication to Mr. Speaker Lenthall.<sup>3</sup> "This third party, not having the least show or pretence of any authority, and contrary to the chiefest power of this kingdom, the Parliament called by his Majesty at Westminster, tumultuously assembled themselves together, not only in the west, but also through their instigations have caused many thousands of the ignorant in the adjacent counties to rise up together with them as far as Hampshire. Divers of which county, not contented with their own preposterous courses, have proceeded to inveigle divers people of the next adjacent county of Sussex to follow their evil courses, amongst which they have prevailed upon one Aylen, son to one Mr. Aylen, formerly Captain of a trained-band, also

<sup>1</sup> ? Duncton.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dx, 128, 139.

<sup>3</sup> A true Relation of the Rising of the Club-men in Sussex, as it was related to William Lenthall, Esq: Speaker to the Honorable House of Commons, by an eyewitness of the same. Published by Authority. London: printed for John Field, Sept. 23, 1645. B.M. E 302 (18).

one Mr. Peckham, besides some of the Fords, and some others yeomen of the said county, to join together as ring-leaders in a confederacy with the vulgar multitude. Who, being ignorant of manners, much more of such things as concern their liberty and peace, did accordingly send for warrants into the several towns and hamlets next adjoining Hampshire, as also in and about Midhurst, to join with them in keeping of a general rendezvous upon Runcton Hill, which is between Midhurst and Chichester in the said county, which was accordingly done last Wednesday. Since which time they have further proceeded to call in the rest of the country betwixt Chichester and Arundel to join with them in a general rendezvous to be held at Bury Hill within one mile of Arundel upon Monday the two and twentieth of this present. Many people of the said places, especially about Eastergate, and Walberton, and so down to the sea-side, and upon the western side of the River of Arundel towards Petworth have joined with them, and drawing themselves into great numbers upon Saturday the twentieth of this present, they kept their quarters at Walberton and divers other places thereabouts. Their number being greatly increased, and they rendering no account of their said tumultuous proceedings, the honorable Colonel Morley, Captain Morley, Governor of Arundel Castle, and Major Young, upon consultation thought fit to fall on them in their quarters at Walberton, as being the next place to them, and within five miles of Arundel, hoping thereby to dishearten and disappoint them in continuing their tumultuous proceedings. And accordingly upon Sunday morning about three hours before day, Major Young with about ten horsemen and forty footmen fell upon them in their quarters at Walberton, killed him who went to ring the bells as the most dangerous man, by his doings, to call in the rest of their adherents to their aid, which by his death was prevented; whereupon the rest of them so far lost their courage, that everyone shifted for

themselves, and fled all save two malignant ministers, and some other stragglers of that place, who were taken prisoners, and are committed in safe custody unto Arundel Castle, where it is believed they shall receive, according to their demerits, such exemplary punishment as will give good warning to the rest of their tribe to beware how they follow them, and proceed in the like preposterous courses."

On 26th September Colonel Norton reported that he had put down the Hampshire Clubmen, and added: "I hope this will be a warning to Sussex; if not we shall be ready to serve them the like trick."<sup>1</sup> His troopers "cut and hackt many of them, took all their chiefs, ringleaders and about 1,000 arms, which made their neighbours in Sussex to shrink in their heads, and we hear most of them are departed to their own homes."<sup>2</sup>

Sussex, however, continued in a very unsettled state. On 7th October it was reported to Parliament that of the 400 men appointed from the county, only 269 had joined Fairfax's army. On 13th October William Cawley wrote to Robert Scawen<sup>3</sup> complaining that by reason of the Clubmen's insurrection they could raise neither men nor money for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army nor upon any other ordinance; they would not suffer the officers to impress, and if any were impressed they were forcibly rescued, a constable or tithingman being sometimes sent with the blood running about his ears. Wherefor of 67 to be impressed in Chichester rape, there were brought in only 27, whom they were forced to maintain at a great charge for fourteen days, and then sent to Lieutenant-General Cromwell at Winchester. The remaining 40 they would endeavour to raise if the House would authorize them to apprehend the principal fomentors, and so punish them that by their example others might be affrighted from attempting the like. And they were in

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. x (6), 163.

<sup>2</sup> Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer.

<sup>3</sup> M.P. for Berwick.

no better case for money. It was one of the Clubmen's articles to pay only such taxes as they pleased, the fruits of which were that of over £4,000 due less than £100 had been brought in since the first rising. No collector dared to distrain for fear of having his brains dashed out, the servants and women rising together to resist armed with prongs and other weapons, so that of eight months' due upon Sir Thomas Fairfax's army not two months' was yet brought in. All this would be easily remedied if the House authorized the Committee to sequester the ringleaders, fine the rest, and disarm all; but until that was done, it was in vain for them to issue their warrants, their persons being scorned and threatened and the House's authority abused and derided.<sup>1</sup>

The conferring of the powers requested no doubt terminated the trouble, of which we hear no more.

With the fall of Winchester and of Basing House in October 1645 the tide of war rolled away from Hampshire and Sussex. Cromwell, in urging the complete demolition of Basing, suggested that a strong post should be made of Newbury, not only as a check on Donnington Castle, which still held out for the King, but on account of its strategic importance, and to keep open the road between London and Bristol. Part of the garrison was to be composed of men taken from the garrisons of Farnham and Chichester. "I believe," he wrote to Lenthall, "the gentlemen of Sussex and Hampshire will with more cheerfulness contribute to maintain a garrison on the frontier than in their bowels, which will have less safety in it."<sup>2</sup>

Such appears to have been the opinion of Sussex. When the Scottish Convention undertook in 1643 to send an army into England to assist the Parliament, on the understanding that £30,000 per month should be found for its support, a loan of £200,000 was ordered to be raised for

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, Letter XXXII.



the purpose. Towards this loan Sussex was assessed at £13,500. In the early part of 1645 some correspondence passed on the subject of this assessment, a portion of which was still unpaid.<sup>1</sup> In the following January Colonel Anthony Stapley wrote from Lewes to the Speaker enclosing a petition from a considerable body of the inhabitants of the county asking repayment of part of the money lent by them towards the £200,000 for the Scottish loan out of the sequestrations of the county; and urging that the garrison of Chichester, which was maintained out of the sequestrations, might be dissolved as useless.<sup>2</sup> This request was granted, and on 2nd March 1646 an order was made "that the ordnance at Chichester be brought to Arundel Castle, that Chichester be disgarrisoned, and the fortifications made since the troubles demolished."

The garrisons had already been denuded of troops. On 8th November the Committee of both kingdoms had desired the Committee of Sussex to send a troop of horse and all the foot they could spare for the strengthening of the garrison at Abingdon, these forces to be entertained at the State's charge, and their arms, if damaged, to be made good out of the public stores.

Although, as we have seen, no event of the first importance occurred in Sussex during the year 1645 and the first half of 1646, there were many indications of the changing position of affairs. It was a period fraught with momentous consequences to the country at large, and therefore indirectly to the county. It marked the rise, organization, and complete success of the New Model Army, the gradual decay of the King's power, and his crushing defeat at Naseby, which lost him the Midlands as Marston Moor had lost him the North, and left the final issue of the struggle no longer in doubt. For a year more the royal flag flew over an ever-diminishing number of towns and

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 154.

<sup>2</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 347.

fortresses, but with the flight of Charles to the Scots in May 1646, and the surrender of Oxford a month later, the First Civil War may be considered finished. The New Model, the instrument by which this result was achieved, was destined to be a deadlier foe to Parliamentary independence than any sovereign, and to usurp the functions of government for many a year to come. Its inception was a phase in the struggle between the two parties into which Parliament was divided, the Presbyterians and the Independents. Taken in conjunction with the Self-denying Ordinance, requiring all members of either House to resign their commands, it got rid of the Essexes, the Manchesters, and other Presbyterian leaders, and placed the military power in the hands of new men, chiefly Independents, among whom Cromwell was rapidly rising to a pre-eminent position. This change amounted to a complete revolution in the civil and military executive. The forces of the Parliament, hitherto composed of separate bodies of local militia, were consolidated into a regular army of professional soldiers. As Cromwell himself explained in many speeches and letters, the New Model was simply his own troop of East Anglian horse enlarged. And it was more than an army. It was an organized body of radical reformers, with very definite objects both in the spiritual and the civil sphere. "In things spiritual they were Independent, or earnest for entire liberty of conscience; in things civil they were already tending to the Commonwealth, to political and social revolution."<sup>1</sup>

The scheme of the New Model provided for the establishment of a force of 21,000 men, with regular pay dependent on the monthly payment of taxes regularly imposed, and not on the fluctuating attention of a political assembly, or the still more doubtful goodwill of County Committees. These taxes were to be assessed on the

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, Cromwell, p. 85.

counties least exposed to the stress of war, whilst those in which the conflict was raging might be left to support the local garrisons and any special force employed for their defence.<sup>1</sup> We have seen how Sussex fared in this connection.

But though the Self-denying Ordinance eliminated the Presbyterian peers, who had hitherto commanded the Parliamentary forces, in the selection of officers for the New Model Army, the Independents were true to their principles, not only in making no inquiry into religious tenets, but in paying no attention to distinctions of rank unaccompanied by public service or personal merit. "I had rather," Cromwell had once written, "have a plain russet-coated Captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honour a *gentleman* that is so indeed."<sup>2</sup> The upper class did not come badly out of the test. Among the new military leaders were Hewson the cobbler and Pride the drayman; but the gentry were largely represented in the list of officers. It has been calculated that "out of thirty-seven generals and colonels" who took part in the first great battle, "twenty-one were commoners of good families, nine were members of noble families, and only seven were not gentlemen by birth."<sup>3</sup>

Of the new army Sir Thomas Fairfax was made Commander-in-Chief; and he laboured earnestly and with success to perfect its organization. "The voice was the voice of Fairfax; but the hands were the hands of Oliver."<sup>4</sup>

The control of the iron-foundries in Kent and Sussex was of great importance to the Parliament—a fact to which

<sup>1</sup> Com. of B. K. Day Book, 6th January 1645. Gardiner, Civil War, ch. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, Letter XVI.

<sup>3</sup> Markham, The Great Lord Fairfax, 199; Gardiner, Civil War, ch. xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, Cromwell, p. 84.

historians have not always given its due prominence. At this time it appears that the Parliament was dependent for its supply of ordnance on Mr. John Browne of Brede, in Sussex, and Horsemonden in Kent. The furnace at Brede had formerly belonged to the Sackvilles; it was sold about 1693 by the Brownes to the Westerns of Essex.<sup>1</sup> John Browne was very busy during the Civil War making guns and ammunition both for the army and the fleet. In the naval estimates of 19th March 1645, provision is made for the following iron ordnance and shot to be supplied by John Browne for "the next summer's fleet."

16 demi-culverins and 10 sakers . . . . .	£428	15	0
20 saker drakes and 4 demi-culverin cuts . . . . .	416	0	0
10 minion cuts . . . . .	115	10	0
Round shot for the several species of ordnance	1392	17	2
Bars of iron . . . . .	29	17	4
Hand grenades for demi-culverins and sakers . . . . .	125	0	0 <sup>2</sup>

In June of the same year a letter from Thomas Walsingham, of Kent, to Lord Digby, fell into the hands of the Parliament. Walsingham strongly urged a Royal advance into Sussex and Kent; "be assured," he said, "of the people there, especially Mr. Browne, the King's gun-founder who makes all the cannon and bullet for the Parliament's service. My advice is that his Majesty march thither with 4,000 horse and foot, and ten days before to send intelligence to Mr. Browne, so that he may come from London into Kent, where his works are, and against the King's coming he will provide cannon and bullet, so that his Majesty need not bring any with him. The rebels have no guns or bullets but from him, and that from hand to mouth, there being none in the Tower, which he is forced to provide, else they would put others into his works. He hath not provided half so much bullets as was

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., ii, 207.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dix. Letters and Papers relating to the Navy.

required for this expedition. If the King come into these counties he will deprive the rebels of all the ammunition and guns wherewith they fight against him. The King's forces should bring along with them musket moulds and he will provide lead, and then it cannot be doubted that the country will rise generally and be glad to express their true affection to his Majesty. By this means the King will not only gain this country, but all the works which now make the ammunition to fight against him, and so deprive the rebels of all their resources by sea and land to offend his Majesty any longer."<sup>1</sup>

The House naturally regarded this as a serious matter, and ordered the examination of Mr. Browne and his son before a committee. John Browne, sen., deposed that he dwelt in Martin's Lane, by the Old Swan, and had recently come out of Kent. He knew none of the Walsinghams but Sir Thomas, and did not know whether he had a son. He denied having received any letters from Mr. Walsingham, and knew nothing of bringing any of the King's party into Kent, nor of any direction to be given to him when the King came. He had received no letters or orders from the King or from Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

John Browne, jun., deposed that he knew none of the Walsinghams. He lived at Horsemonden, where his father and he had three furnaces for the casting of culverins, etc., and all kinds of round shot. His father by letters every week gave directions what should be cast. What was sent up for the market was sent to Richard Pierson, in Philpot Lane, but if for the Parliament it went through his hands and was delivered into the Tower. Guns for the market or merchant were delivered to Mr. Samuel Ferrers at the Half Moon in Thames Street.<sup>3</sup>

A former workman of Browne deposed that in 1643 he sent to the King four men to cast ordnance; and a servant

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

was called to testify that John Browne the elder was with the King when he went down to the House to arrest the five members.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Browne, re-examined, asserted that two or three years before, trade being slack, he had dismissed several of his servants, and one of them for misappropriating money. He seems to have cleared himself, for not long after it was ordered that the Commissioners of the navy do peruse the proposals made by John Browne, senior, gunfounder, for the furnishing of ordnance for three frigates intended to be built, confer with him and report whether in their opinion the prices he asked or what others should be given for the pieces.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, dxii, Navy papers.

## CHAPTER XI

STEPHEN GOFFE AND JOHN ASHBURNHAM

WHILE these events were taking place at home, a man of Sussex birth was conducting abroad a series of difficult and delicate negotiations on behalf of the King, which not only failed in their object, but in the result served to discredit the Royal cause in the eyes of friends and foes alike. Nothing revealed more plainly Charles's incapacity to understand the feelings and temper of Englishmen than his continual efforts to obtain foreign aid to bolster up his throne. The landing of a horde of ruffians from Germany, which he and his queen made such frantic attempts to procure, would have surely been the occasion of a sinking of domestic strife, and the united uprising of all men in defence of their homes, their goods, and their women.

Wars and revolutions offer many opportunities of advancement to able men. The commercial avenues to wealth and distinction common in our own day did not exist, or hardly existed, in the seventeenth century. The usual path to eminence lay through the Church, the law, politics, or the army. In the early years of the century there were born to the Rev. Stephen Goffe, rector of Stanmer, himself "a very severe Puritan,"<sup>1</sup> three sons, who all attained some celebrity, but by very different routes. The youngest, William, was the best known. Apprenticed to a London drysalter, he joined the Parliamentary army, and soon

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ii, 26.

became a prominent soldier. He was named one of the King's judges and signed his death warrant. His subsequent career will be dealt with later. The second son, John, went to Oxford and became a fellow of Magdalen. In 1634 he was accused before the deputy-steward of the University of having killed a member of his College, but was acquitted.<sup>1</sup> In 1642 he was presented to the living of Hackington, near Canterbury, from which he was ejected the following year for refusing to take the Covenant, and thrown into the county prison at Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> Through the influence of his brother, the regicide, he was in 1652 inducted into the living of Norton, near Sittingbourne. In 1660 he was restored to the vicarage of Hackington. He enjoyed a reputation as an able scholar and a thoughtful writer, but no works of importance by him are known.

The eldest son, Stephen, born in 1605, was educated at Merton College, Oxford. After taking his degree he went to the Low Countries as chaplain to the regiment of Colonel Horace Vere, and entered at Leyden University in 1633. Returning to England he was appointed one of Charles I's chaplains through the influence of Henry Jermy, and took the degree of D.D. in 1636. When war broke out he followed the fortunes of the King, and became one of his most trusted agents. "A dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good fellowship."<sup>3</sup> In August 1642 he was empowered by warrant issued at York to collect and give receipts for money or plate given or tendered for the King's service.<sup>4</sup> In 1644 Charles conceived the project of a match between his son, the Prince of Wales, then only fourteen years of age, and the youthful daughter of the Prince of Orange, as part of a scheme for obtaining assistance from the Continent against the Parliament, and Dr. Goffe was sent to Holland to carry

<sup>1</sup> Wharton, *Laud*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. B.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xi.

<sup>4</sup> Portland MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), i, 47.



on the negotiations. The autograph letter of introduction from Charles to the Prince was as follows:

Oxford, 24th May 1644.

“MON COUSIN,

“L'affaire dont ce porteur, le docteur Goffe, va instruire, vous donnera des preuves de l'affection que j'ay pour ce qui vous regarde j'ay fait choix de ceste personne à cest employ, non seulement pour l'avoir reconneu abile et fidelle, mais à cause aussy que sa condition rendra sa négociation moins suspecte le secret d'icelle estant pour le présent tout à fait nécessaire, tant à mes intérêts qu'au vostres. Je vous prie de luy donner parfaicte croiance, particulièrement quand il vous assurera que je suis véritablement vostre bien bon affectionné

“COUSIN & AMY.”<sup>1</sup>

Charles's project was that the marriage should form a link between England, France, and the Dutch Republic. The Prince of Orange was to give general military assistance to France, and to furnish fifteen or twenty ships of war for two months, and a sufficient number of other vessels to bring over to England 4,000 French foot and 2,000 French horse. He was also to pay his daughter's portion in ready money.<sup>2</sup> No great progress was made with these negotiations in 1644, but at the beginning of 1645 they were renewed with great vigour. The chief difficulty perhaps was that the Prince was not an absolute monarch, but the first magistrate and generalissimo of a republic which observed a strict neutrality as regards the contending forces in England. A long correspondence took place between Dr. Goffe, at the Hague, and Lord Jermyn, who was with the Queen at Paris. The letters, which were written in cipher, were transcribed by Jermyn, and transmitted to

<sup>1</sup> Preserved in the collection of autograph letters and historical documents of the late Mr. Alfred Morrison.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. xvii.

Lord Digby in England.<sup>1</sup> Many of them fell into the hands of the Parliament when Digby was defeated at Sherburn in Yorkshire in October 1645.

Henrietta Maria was now endeavouring to carry through a scheme suggested by Cardinal Mazarin, to obtain the assistance of the Duke of Lorraine. The Duke, who had been expelled from France by Richelieu, had transferred his sword to the service of the Emperor, and had fought with bravery and distinction at the head of a band of adventurers who subsisted on plunder alone.<sup>2</sup> If the Duke could be got to listen to Henrietta Maria's overtures, France would be freed from his troublesome presence on her borders, and Mazarin would have rendered effective assistance to Charles. The Duke's answer was favourable; he was ready to enter Charles's service with 10,000 men. Goffe was therefore instructed to revive the marriage project, and to endeavour to obtain from the Prince of Orange the use of sufficient shipping to carry over this army, and of a fleet of warships to be employed in an attack upon the Parliamentary navy in the Downs or in the Medway. The Sussex coast was considered favourable for the landing of foreign troops. In one of the King's letters taken at Naseby, dated Oxford, 30th March 1645, he mentions the ease with which they might "land at divers fit and safe places of landing upon the west coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Selsey near Chichester." And Hastings was suggested as the point at which the French troops the Queen was endeavouring to raise might be disembarked.<sup>3</sup>

This scheming continued throughout the whole of 1645 and the early part of 1646. The Parliament was kept well informed by its agents in Paris, Robert Wright and Sir George Gerard, of what was going on. In December and January, the former wrote to Oliver St. John with reference

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., 1644-5, Preface, xv.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, Civil War, ch. xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 157.

to the Queen's plans. The Prince of Orange was still holding out hopes to Dr. Goffe that he would transport the mercenaries to England in Dutch shipping. Wright urged that above everything the Parliament should endeavour to get possession of the Prince of Wales, to effect which even £100,000 would be well spent. General Goring might be wrought upon; both he and his father, the Earl of Norwich, were much dissatisfied with the Queen and she with them. Goring was at this time in Paris, ostensibly to recover from a wound, but in reality in the hope of obtaining command of the French troops, of which a first detachment was shortly to be shipped to Newhaven. "General Goring having now past his cure will make his flourish for twenty or thirty days in Paris, and so return for the west."<sup>1</sup>

If Charles thought he was going to get the best of a bargain with the Dutch, he ignored the national character, as expressed in a time-honoured distich. Self-interest not only was, but was avowed, the mainspring of Dutch diplomacy. A few years later, John Evelyn wrote in his diary: "Dined with the Dutch Ambassador. He did in a manner acknowledge that his nation mind only their own profit, do nothing out of gratitude, but collaterally as it relates to their gain or security; and therefore the English were to look for nothing of assistance to the banished King. This was to me no very grateful discourse, though an ingenuous confession."<sup>2</sup>

Some of Goffe's letters contain passages descriptive of persons who figured in the Court life of the period. In one of these is a pleasant reference to the Prince of Orange's children: "the young Prince is worthy of all honour and kindness from their Majesties, and grows a very proper and lovely person, as does Mademoiselle, more now than at first, perhaps difficulty adds beauty, but truly she has a

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 323, 335.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's Diary, 15th November 1659.

perfect good shape, white skin, excellently well-fashioned hands, neck and breast, the face is not ill indeed, all but very good for many proportions there."<sup>1</sup>

All the negotiations came to nothing. Perhaps the Prince was not very desirous in view of Charles's waning fortunes to mate his daughter with the Prince of Wales; and to the other side it became plain that any sum which he could be expected to give his daughter would not go far in supplying the sinews of war. So Charles, Prince of Wales, remained a bachelor until he married Catherine of Braganca seventeen years later. And the Dutch statesmen set their face strongly against the proposal that the Duke of Lorraine's army should pass through Dutch territory and be transported to England in Dutch shipping. Sussex and England were relieved from all fear of an invasion by a pack of German wolves, and the discredit of the King was deepened. "Irish, French, Dutch or Lorrainers were all one to Charles if only they would help him to regain his crown. Born of a Scottish father and a Danish mother, with a grandmother who was half French by birth and altogether French by breeding, with a French wife, with German nephews and a Dutch son-in-law, Charles had nothing in him in touch with English national feeling."<sup>2</sup>

The subsequent career of Dr. Stephen Goffe may be briefly noted here. Having returned to England, and being suspected of privity with the King's escape from Hampton Court, he was arrested and imprisoned, but found means to escape. While the King was at Carisbrooke, he employed Goffe to negotiate with the Scottish Commissioners with a view to their receding from the demand that he should take the Covenant.<sup>3</sup> After the King's execution, Goffe retired to Paris, where he became a Catholic and chaplain to Henrietta Maria. He rose to be the Superior of the Fathers of the Oratory, and died in their house in 1681. He had

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, Civil War, ch. xxix.

<sup>3</sup> D. N. B.

wandered far from his early Puritan up-bringing in the rectory of Stanmer.

From the tortuous and unpatriotic intrigues of this diplomatic churchman we may turn with relief to the service to his king of John Ashburnham, scion of a house which perhaps more fully than any other represents the *ancienne noblesse* of Sussex. Son and heir of Sir John Ashburnham of Ashburnham, he was appointed groom of the bed-chamber to Charles I in 1628. They had been on intimate terms previously, for in a letter written the year before, the King styles him "Jack," as he continued to do through life.<sup>1</sup> To the Long Parliament he was returned as member for Hastings, and Clarendon informs us that he was the person who reported to the King what passed in the debates. On 5th February 1643 he was discharged and disabled from being any longer a member of the House, for his adherence to the King's cause; and on 14th September it was ordered that his estate be forthwith sequestered.<sup>2</sup> In 1644 he was nominated one of the King's commissioners for the Treaty of Uxbridge. During the war he acted as the King's treasurer, styled "Our Treasurer at Wars." In 1646, when the Parliamentary armies were closing on Oxford, "it was judged necessary by all considering men (as well for the advantage of that faithful remnant within that place, as for His Majesty's safety) that His sacred Person should not be liable to the success of an assault (for Conditions or Treaties seemed vain to be expected where the King was) but that some expedient should be found by escape from thence to save His life, though nothing could be thought on in order to His flight, that in point of danger kept not equal pace with the hazard of His stay."<sup>3</sup> The courses open to him were to go to Newark, to the Scottish army, where he might be compelled to embrace Presbyterianism; to betake himself to London where he

<sup>1</sup> Lower's Worthies of Sussex, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Commons' Journals.

<sup>3</sup> Ashburnham's Narrative, p. 64.

would have to reckon with the Independents; or to endeavour to escape beyond the seas. But Oxford must be left at all hazards.

Still apparently undecided, at three o'clock on the morning of 27th April the King set out on his humiliating journey. Though perhaps determined to go to the Scots, he informed his council of his intention to go to London. With his hair and beard close trimmed, and disguised as a servant, he passed over Magdalen bridge at three o'clock in the morning, in company with John Ashburnham and Dr. Hudson, one of his chaplains. "Farewell, Harry!" called out the Governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, as he closed the gates behind him,<sup>1</sup> and the party took the London road. At Hillingdon they halted three hours, Charles perhaps still nursing the vain hope that some encouraging message would come to him from the City, if the City knew what was happening. But no message came. Abandoning all idea of entering London, Charles turned his horse's head northward, and rode through Harrow and St. Albans to Wheathampstead, where he halted for the night. The guards on the road had been kept in good humour by small presents of money, and satisfied by the exhibition of a pass signed by Fairfax in favour of some Royalist who was to go to London to make his composition.<sup>2</sup> Near St. Albans the party was alarmed by the clatter of horses' hoofs, and feared pursuit, but it proved to be merely "a drunken man, well-horsed, riding violently."<sup>3</sup>

To this pathetic pass had twenty years of sovereignty and four years of war with half his subjects brought the King. Born to a slightly lower station he might have lived admired and respected, a great noble of dignified presence and carriage, a judicious patron of the arts, a model husband and father, his faults of indecision and duplicity never

<sup>1</sup> Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War*, i, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, ch. xli.

<sup>3</sup> Kingston's Herts during the Civil War, p. 61.

leaping to the light; *omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset*. But Nature had not fitted him to ape with success the masterful Tudors; nor were the times propitious for such endeavours. And now, beaten in the field, involved in a web of fruitless scheming, he had taken the road which was to lead him to the scaffold.

Disregarding Ashburnham's advice to take shipping from Lynn to Newcastle, Charles, after some negotiations with the Scots through Hudson and Montreuil, the French ambassador, entered the Scottish camp on 5th May, and refusing to comply with Lothian's demand that he should sign the Covenant, was made a prisoner. Ashburnham was allowed to escape to Scotland, whence he made his way to France.

It is unnecessary to follow the tangled proceedings of the next fifteen months during which Charles was surrendered by the Scots to the Parliamentary Commissioners, conducted by them to Holmby House, taken charge of by Joyce's troopers and brought to Hampton Court, while the army occupied London. Through the interest of Sir Edward Ford with Ireton and Cromwell, who was now doing his utmost to arrange terms with the King, Ashburnham was allowed to rejoin him at Hampton Court. The King had written from Newcastle, whither the Scots had taken him, to the Queen on 15th May 1646: "I owe Jack nine thousand two hundred pounds, which I earnestly recommend thou wouldst assist him in for his repayment."<sup>1</sup> On 11th November the King, accompanied by Ashburnham, William Legge, and Sir John Berkeley, escaped unnoticed from Hampton Court, and two days later threw himself on the mercy of Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight. Ashburnham and Berkeley had been sent forward from Titchfield to sound Hammond, and though they obtained no satisfactory assurances from him they brought him to

<sup>1</sup> Ashburnham's Narrative, ii, 138.

the King. A vessel had been ordered from Southampton to convey the King, if necessary, to France, but owing to an embargo placed on all shipping as soon as his escape was discovered, it did not arrive. The King was much upset at his place of retreat being revealed to Hammond, and spoke to Ashburnham "with a very severe and reserved countenance, the first of that kind to me," as he says in his narrative.<sup>1</sup> Ashburnham promptly offered to murder Hammond and the captain he had brought with him; but the King, after "walking some few turns in the room," declined this expedient, and decided to go with Hammond to Carisbrooke. Several attempts at escape thence were made: Ashburnham left the island and kept a barque in readiness at Hastings for some weeks;<sup>2</sup> but they all proved fruitless, and the King remained a prisoner.

Various friendly persons in Sussex were prepared for possible events. Mr. Wilson of Eastbourne Place "was entrusted with the important secret of what was intended. A letter was sent to him, by an express from the Earl of Dorset, with a little picture of the King enclosed (for fear of discovery) informing him that he should prepare to receive the original; to which he returned this loyal answer, that he would do it with his life and fortune."<sup>3</sup>

Hastings appears at this time to have offered advantages to refugees. About the time that the King left Hampton Court, the Marquis of Ormonde, who had been concerned in the negotiations, and now found the country too hot to hold him, escaped from Hastings to Dieppe. "He in disguise, and without being attended by more than one servant, rode into Sussex and in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour put himself on board a shallop which safely transported him into Normandy."<sup>4</sup> This obscurity later attracted the notice of Parliament. On 22nd August 1648, a "clerk of the passage" was appointed at

<sup>1</sup> Ashburnham's Narrative, ii, 117.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson MSS.; S. A. C., xi, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon, x, 153.



Hastings, the House "having information that dangerous persons pass that way into foreign parts."<sup>1</sup>

At the Restoration Ashburnham, who meantime had suffered much hardship, including "five years spent in close imprisonment in London, and three banishments to Guernsey Castle, the cause being for sending money to His Majesty," was restored to his position of groom of the bed-chamber.

The estate of Ashburnham, which, according to a picturesque tradition, had been held by the family from Saxon times, and certainly for many generations, had been lost by his father, Sir John. By a fortunate marriage he was enabled to repurchase it. In 1629 he married Frances, only daughter and heiress of William Holland of West Burton in Sussex, nephew and chief heir of William Holland, Alderman of Chichester, who had amassed a considerable fortune in trade there, and was godfather of William Cawley the regicide.<sup>2</sup> The loss and recovery of the estate is mentioned on the monument of John Ashburnham in Ashburnham church, which he rebuilt: "Here lyes in the Vault beneath John Ashburnham Esq of this place sonn to the unfortunate person S<sup>r</sup> John Ashburnham whose good nature and frank disposition towards two friends in being deeply engaged for them necessitated him to sell this place (in the family long before the Conquest) and all the estate he had elsewhere, not leaving to his wife and six children the least subsistence which is not inserted to the least disadvantage to his memory (God forbid it should be understood to be a charge of disrespect upon him) but to give God the prayse, who soe suddenly provided both for his wife and children as that within less than two years after the death of the said S<sup>r</sup> John, there was not any of them but was in a condition rather to be helpful to others than to want support themselves. May God be pleased to add this blessing to his posterity that

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxvi, 81.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xliii, 60.

they may never be unmindful of the great things He hath done for them. . . . The said M<sup>r</sup> John Ashburnham married the daughter and heire of William Holland of Westburton in this County Esqre, who lyes also here interred, and by whom he had these eight children. She made the first stepp towards the recovery of some part of the inheritance wasted by the said Sir John, for she sould her whole estate to lay out the money in this place. She lived in great reputation for piety and discretion and died in the seven and thirtieth yeare of her age.”<sup>1</sup>

The matter of the escape of Charles from Hampton Court and his delivery to Colonel Hammond caused a good deal of controversy and recrimination. Ashburnham especially was accused of having betrayed him, an accusation from which he was freely absolved by Charles II. His descendant, George, third Earl of Ashburnham, considering that some statements of Clarendon threw doubts on his honesty, wrote: “A vindication of his character and conduct from the misrepresentations of Lord Clarendon.”<sup>2</sup> Samuel Pepys, writing in 1665, speaks of “my Lord Barkeley, one to whom only, with Jacke Ashburne and Colonel Legg, the King’s removal to the Isle of Wight from Hampton Court was communicated; and (though betrayed by their knavery, or at best by their ignorance, insomuch that they have all solemnly charged one another with their failures therein, and have been at daggers-drawing publickly about it), yet now none greater friends in the world.”<sup>3</sup>

A noticeable feature of the Civil War was the division of families; near relations not uncommonly took different sides. Perhaps at the outset the dividing line was a thin one; but the first step once taken, the subtle influence of party tended to widen it. In Sussex such leading families as the Gorings and the Ashburnhams furnished recruits to

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxxii, 19.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1830.

<sup>3</sup> Pepys’ Diary, ed. Wheatley, v, 162.



gr

As acquaintance needs noe appollage; all yo<sup>r</sup>  
Suff<sup>r</sup> friends in health, & continue their  
wonderfull affections towards you; equally  
valuing yo<sup>r</sup> welfare with their owne  
I could impart more, but trees are subject  
to misfortune; therefore I reserve my self  
to a more full opportunity, if yo<sup>r</sup> please in  
returne letters, to send me a character  
I shall gladly send in cipher that I am  
unwilling to divulge. If a conference  
might be had, I conceive it would be  
most for the satisfaction of us both. To  
prevent any possible hazard of yo<sup>r</sup> person  
if yo<sup>r</sup> please to send yo<sup>r</sup> lady with me  
at Warford or Barkhamsted or some other  
I will procure her a passe and make it  
evidently appear that I am

28<sup>th</sup> July 1645

yo<sup>r</sup> most affectionate servant

Ed: Brown of Buckingham  
at yo<sup>r</sup> Kings armes yo<sup>r</sup> carrier.

Robert Morley

both parties. Colonel Anthony Stapley, member for the county throughout the war, and one of the King's judges, was married to a sister of Lord Goring, the great Cavalier leader. Sir Edward Ford, the Royalist High Sheriff, was, as we have seen, brother-in-law to Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. And it was not always the case that political division sapped family affection. As an instance of the entire absence of anything like bitterness of feeling in a large group of men and women, amongst whom were warm partisans, Mr. Gardiner quotes from a letter of the Royalist Edmund Verney, to his brother, the Roundhead Sir Ralph: "Although I would willingly lose my right hand that you had gone the other way, yet I will never consent that this dispute shall make a quarrel between us. I pray God grant a sudden and firm peace, that we may safely meet in person as well as affection. Though I am tooth and nail for the King's cause, and shall endure so to the death, whatever his fortune be; yet, sweet brother, let not this my opinion—for it is guided by my conscience—nor any other report which you can hear of me cause a diffidence of my true love to you."<sup>1</sup>

And not only family affection, but the ties of friendship were sometimes strong enough to survive the estrangements of war. A number of letters which passed between the Royalist Sir William Campion, and Colonel Morley of Glynde, and are now preserved at Danny, the seat of Sir William's descendant, offer a pleasing picture of the kindly feeling of old friends who found themselves on opposite sides.

COLONEL HERBERT MORLEY TO SIR WILLIAM CAMPION

July 23rd 1645.

"SIR,

"Old acquaintance needs no apology. All your Sussex friends are in health, and continue their worthy

<sup>1</sup> Civil War, ch. iv.

affections towards you, especially valewing your welfare with their owne. I could impart more, but letters are subject to miscarriage, therefore I reserve myself to a more fit opportunity. If you please, in return hereof, to send me a character, I shall gladly send in cipher what I am unwilling to delineate. If a conference might be had, I conceive it would be most for the satisfaction of us both, to prevent any possible hazard of your person. If you please to let your lady meet me at Watford, or Berkhamsteed, or come hither, I will procure her a pass, and make it evidently appear that I am your most affectionate friend,

HERBERT MORLEY.

SIR WILLIAM CAMPION TO COLONEL MORLEY

August 1st 1645.

“SIR,

“I am glad to hear of my friends in Sussex. For any business you have to impart to me, I have that confidence in you, by reason of our former acquaintance, that I should not make any scruple to send my wife to the places mentioned; but the truth is, she is at present soe neare her time for lying downe, for she expects to be brought to bed within less than fourteen days, that she is altogether unfit to take soe long a journey. . . . Assure yourself that there is none living that shall be more glad to find out a way to serve you, than, Sir,

“Your true friend and servant,

“WILLIAM CAMPION.”

COLONEL MORLEY TO SIR WILLIAM CAMPION

“SIR,

“I beg I may love you without offence, although at Borstall,<sup>1</sup> and presume so far on our old friendship, as to

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Campion was in command of the garrison at Borstall House, in Buckinghamshire, which he defended with great resolution against the Parliamentary forces.



Sir

I hope I may love you without offence although  
at Bostall, and presume for farre upon our old  
friendship as to assure my selfe you stand  
for much upon yo<sup>r</sup> reputation, that you will use  
the bearer Lucas kindly bring an honest man  
whom yo<sup>r</sup> friends have perswaded to be the best  
inger to convey their regards to you I thinke  
it not safe to write and thus I shall there-  
fore only desire you to send yo<sup>r</sup> lady speedily  
amongst yo<sup>r</sup> friends here not knowing how  
soone Oxford and yo<sup>r</sup> Garrison may be blockt so  
I desire yo<sup>r</sup> will have my letter as soone as  
you read it, hast hereafter it may fall into  
such hands as may give some malice for to dimine  
correspondency with yo<sup>r</sup> In what I can serve  
you, assure yo<sup>r</sup> selfe yo<sup>r</sup> may command

Aug: the 9<sup>th</sup>  
1645

Yo<sup>r</sup> affectionat servant

Robert Morley

yo<sup>r</sup> bearer James Steadman



assure myself you stand so much upon your reputation, that you will use the bearer hereof, being an honest man whom your friends have persuaded to be their messenger, to convey their respects to you. I shall only desire you to send your ladye speedily among your friends here, not knowing how soon Oxford and your garrison may be blocked up. I desire you will burn my letter as soon as you have read it, lest hereafter it may fall into such hands as may question me for holding correspondence with you. In what I can serve you, assure yourself you may command

“Your affectionate servant

“HERBERT MORLEY.”

The Lady Campion referred to in the above correspondence was Grace, daughter of Sir Thomas Parker of Ratton, Sussex. The Campions were not at that time in possession of Danny, but resided at Combwell in Kent, on the borders of Sussex. By a curious coincidence, Sir William was killed in a sortie during the siege of Colchester in 1648, when George Goring, Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint, and Earl of Norwich, was in command. The Earl was son of George Goring of Ovingdean, the builder of Danny, and was at that time, or had been very lately, its possessor.

Two years before his death, when Sir William was defending Borstall, he had a pleasant exchange of courtesies with the Parliamentary officer, Major Shilbourne, which recalls Waller's present of sack to Crawford at Alton in 1643.

“FROM MAJOR SHILBOURNE TO SIR WILLIAM  
CAMPION

“SIR,

“I received a message by my trumpet, whereby I understand you desire a rundlet of sack. Sir, I assure you there is none in this towne worth sending to soe gallant an enemy as yourselfe, but I have sent to London for a rund-

let of the best that can be got, and so soone as it comes to my hands I shall present it to you. For the meantime, Col. Theed hath sent you a taste of the best that is in Brill. I should be very happy if wee might meete and drink a bottle or two of wine with you. If it be not allowed your condition to honour me with soe high a favour, the civilities I have received engage me to acknowledge myself to be,

“ Sir, your servant,

“ THOS. SHILBOURNE.”

Brill, 14th April 1646.

“ SIR WILLIAM CAMPION TO MAJOR SHILBOURNE

“ I did tell your trumpet, that if you would send us some sacke, we would drinke your health; but you have expressed yourselfe soe faire, that I am afraid I shall not suddenly be able to requite it, neverthesse I shall let slip noe opportunity for meeting of you. I should be glad to embrace an occasion, but by reason of the condition wee are in, I know it would not be consonant with myne honour. . . . But, if you please to favour me with your company here (which I am confident may be done without any prejudice at all to either) you and your friends shall receive the best entertainment the garrison can afforde, and a safe returne, and you shall much oblige him who is desirous to be esteemed of you, as

“ Sir, your servant,

“ W. C.”

This correspondence is not only interesting in itself, but valuable as evidence that after the stress of nearly four years' war, gentlemen on either side were still disposed to address each other in a friendly, even sometimes a frolicsome, spirit. The fact that as far, at all events, as the leading officers were concerned the war was not a war of classes; that they were drawn in the main from the same

social stratum, often from the same groups of families; that their upbringing, their connections, and, apart from religious and political differences, their ideas of conduct were similar, goes far to explain the great and remarkable humanity with which this war was conducted, in an age not generally distinguished by a too squeamish delicacy. The treatment by both parties of the native Irish affords a very sharp contrast to their dealings with each other.

The armed peace which succeeded the King's flight to the Scots and the surrender of Oxford lasted through 1647. But the revolution was entering a new phase. The struggle was no longer between the King and the Parliament, but between two sections of the victorious party,—the New Model Army and the Independents on the one side, and the Presbyterians on the other. The Presbyterians, who had borne the brunt of the earlier part of the war, were now chafing under the iron rule of the army, and were anxious to see the King restored on terms. The tendency of the advanced section of the Independents was to extremes; the "Levellers" were agitating for a new constitution with a "paramount law" establishing biennial parliaments, elected by manhood suffrage, to be supreme in legislation and administration; and there was much talk of the People (with a capital letter) in terms which seem a foretaste of the French Revolution. The great mass of the inhabitants having no taste for military rule, had come to believe that no relief from the strain of political uncertainty and the burden of excessive taxation could be found except in the restoration of the King, and the liberation of the Parliament from military control. No doubt the extreme religious severity of the army, and the growing intensity of Puritanism, as exemplified in the prohibition of lawful games and amusements, disgusted many who at the outset had ranged themselves on the popular side.

## CHAPTER XII

### HORSHAM AND HERSTMONCEUX

THESE factors combined to produce a good deal of discontent, and the accession of some Presbyterian support was sufficient to fan the smouldering ashes of Royalism into a fresh flame. Open revolt broke out first in South Wales, but the south-eastern counties, which in the First Civil War had been almost solid for the Parliament, gave the most trouble. Sussex followed the lead of Surrey.

In May 1648 a petition to Parliament from the latter county was prepared, praying for a treaty with the King; and on the 18th a procession of petitioners marched through the City shouting, "For God and King Charles!" Arrived at Westminster they sent in their petition to the Houses. The Lords gave a brief acknowledgement, but no answer came from the Commons. Exasperated at the delay, some of the petitioners attacked the sentinels and endeavoured to force their way into the house, with cries of "An old King and a new Parliament!" At this moment they were taken in the rear by a force of five hundred soldiers. An unequal struggle ensued, and the petitioners fled leaving Westminster Hall strewed with their wounded. Some took refuge in boats, whence they pelted the troops with any missiles that came to hand. The soldiers at length fired on them and so put an end to the riot. Of the petitioners about a hundred were wounded and some eight or ten killed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. lxii.

These proceedings do not appear to have daunted the malcontents in Sussex. On 9th June a petition was sent up to Parliament from the knights, gentlemen, clergy, and commonalty of the county begging that the King might be received to a safe treaty with the two Houses of Parliament, and that the army might be paid and disbanded, the kingdom governed according to the known laws of the realm, the estates of the petitioners freed from taxes, and no garrisons maintained in their county.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time the Royalists in the neighbourhood of Horsham were very active, and were threatening reprisals on all who had declined to join in the petition. As a precautionary measure the Parliament ordered the magazine at Horsham to be removed to safer keeping at Arundel; but this was prevented. On 22nd June the Parliamentary officers, William Freeman, Richard Yates, and Nicholas Sheppard reported that they had endeavoured to effect this removal on the 9th, but were resisted by the bailiffs and constables of the disaffected party there, who still kept the arms and magazine under a strong guard, and threatened with death and plunder those who endeavoured to remove them, using very high words against the Parliament. To a letter from Colonel Morley and Colonel Stapley, requiring the removal of the magazine to Arundel Castle, they had replied with a refusal. "The malignant party have given out speeches that they will arm themselves with the first arms and rise as one man against all such as have not joined with them in a petition called the Sussex petition; they likewise refuse to pay taxes or to yield any obedience to the ordinances of Parliament. Till your lordships remove the obstruction we cannot safely meet for getting in taxes for the army, or to do the Parliament any further service."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> House of Lords MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., Report vii), p. 30. For the full text of the petition see S. A. C., xix, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 465.

A week later Sir Thomas Pelham and others wrote from Lewes to the Speaker that the disaffected party at Horsham and its adherents were now employed in arming themselves from the magazine; "they continue together, and by beating of drum invite men unto them; what influence this disaster may have upon other parts of this county we know not, but have just cause to suspect the worst."<sup>1</sup>

Prompt steps were taken to crush this rising. On 29th June the Committee of both Houses wrote to the Committee of Sussex that they had ordered to Horsham as large a body of horse as could be spared from Kent, and directing that such force as could be raised in Sussex should join it.<sup>2</sup> And to the Committee of Kent: "Let two or three troops of Colonel Rich's regiment, or the horse with Major Gibbons, march towards Horsham, so as to surprise the enemy there risen; to the officers there we have written to that effect. The gentlemen of Sussex will send someone to confer with you about this affair."<sup>3</sup> The trouble was evidently regarded in London as rather serious, for on 1st July a draft ordinance providing that Sussex should raise £4,547 9s. 5d., two troops of horse, and a company of dragoons to suppress the insurrection there, was sent up from the Commons to the Lords, but negatived by them.<sup>4</sup>

The state of affairs at Horsham is well illustrated by a letter written at the time to an unnamed correspondent in London, and signed R. T.<sup>5</sup>

"SIR,

"I received yours of 27th June, and thank you for your intelligence. You tell me that upon the request of

Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 719.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxvi, 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> House of Lords MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., Report vii), p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> It seems to me not improbable that the writer was Robert Tredcroft, son of Robert Tredcroft of Horsham, and his wife Ann Middleton of Hills Place, born 1598. His son Nathaniel was vicar of Horsham from 1647 to 1696.

Colonel Morley, it was granted him of the House of Commons to raise our county of Sussex. Such are the sudden commotions of the times, that it is done already; so that the noble Colonel may now spare his pains unless he make extreme haste into this divided county. The country is generally risen about Horsham, and protest they will fight for the King and the country. At Pulborough they are in the same condition; for the people there are much exasperated to learn some of their neighbours are imprisoned by a warrant from Colonel Stapley and others for daring to petition the high and honourable Court of Parliament.

“With us at Horsum, we are now 500 men in arms; the reason was this: Upon Friday, June 16th the magazine which was laid up at this town was commanded by the Committee to Arundel; but our countrymen are generally so ill affected that they rose with one consent, and two or three hundred appeared in an instant, leaving their mattocks and ploughs to rescue the swords and muskets. To the market house they came immediately, and cause David (who thanks God he is well minded in these times) and the rest of the pious zealots who had loaded their carts with arms to carry them back into the market loft. Since then these stout rustics have endured watching every night, and by turns have attended the arms, some nights sixty at a time.

“On Tuesday night, at a full assembly in the market place, it was voted unreasonable (unreasonable, as Master Chatfield<sup>1</sup> said of the petition) to watch there any longer, and resolved, upon the question, that the following being Wednesday, at the sound of drums and ringing of bells, those men both in town and country, who were resolved to fight for the King and the liberties of the country against the encroachment of one Freeman<sup>2</sup> and his fellows shall come in and take what arms they pleased. About eleven of the clock yesterday there was a great appearance, two or

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> M.P. for Horsham 1659.

three hundred at least, every one chose his musket and other arms, and then they marched out to train on the Common.

“On this day, June 29th, there came as many more countrymen, expecting arms likewise; so that there are now five or six hundred well-armed, and many of them have very good horses. This we doubt will be the beginning of sorrow to our distressed country; for all the well affected begin to leave us; and then what can we expect but mischief?

“As soon as the drums beat, Capt. Sheppard felt himself not well; his belly ached as if he feared the Egyptians would make a drum of it; and he thought but to go to Lewes for some physic. Lieutenant Honeywood, that knocking agitator, left his forge and went to London for some forces. Mistress Chatfield advised her husband to withdraw, for fear they should do him more mischief than with songs. The soldiers say that if they had known of their going they would have held their stirrups; their words and demands are very high; as yet they hurt no man, but threaten to disarm three or four, which is the total number of us who are well affected. . . .

“To conclude, our fears are great; the country is risen both here and at Pulborough; and they pretend the bottom of the business to be because their petition was not answered. Bold varlets! had they been answered as their neighbours the Surrey men were, perhaps they would have been as they; but the better we use them the worse they appear. Their number is so great, and likely to increase so much, that unless a thousand be sent down presently they are like to be as high here as in Essex. For your coming down I do not know what to advise you; if you come, your person will be in danger, if you come not with your arms. Farewell,

“R. T.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A broadsheet preserved among the Thomason tracts in the British Museum (669 f. 12 [60]). “A letter from Horsum in Sussex, relating



Another letter from S. G., dated Steyning, 5th July 1648, was printed in London.<sup>1</sup> It describes the unrest of the peasantry: "They are yet most countrymen, none of any great quality assists them . . . parties are coming unto them from Bighthelmston, Shoram, Steining and other parts . . . they intend to make good Bramber and Beeding Bridge . . . this is a very malignant county." Truly a remarkable change from the attitude of the Sussex population at the commencement of the war.

The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, one of the peers who had remained faithful to the Parliamentary cause throughout, was appointed to the command of the horse in Sussex,<sup>2</sup> but he does not appear to have acted within the county. The style of this nobleman's conversation did not accord with the prevailing fashion, and was frequently burlesqued. A pretended report of his speech to the University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor, at his visitation in April 1648 runs as follows: "You know what a coyle I had ere I could get hither, Selden did so vex us with his law and his reasons, we could get nothing passed; my friends voted bravely, else Selden had carried it. 'Sdeath, that fellow is but a burges for Oxford and I am Chancellour, and yet he would have the Parliament hear his law,—and reasons against their own Chancellour. —I thank you for giving me a gilded Bible,—you could not give me a better book (dam me, I think so). I love the Bible, though I seldom use it."<sup>3</sup>

Early in July Sir Michael Livesay, with a regiment of the present estate of that county to his friend in London." By R. T. 1648.

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Thomason tracts, pressmark E. 451 (13).

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., v, 88.

<sup>3</sup> Speech of Philip Herbert, late Earl of P. and M. and M.P. for Berks, April 6, 1649, without Oaths, folio. News from Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Manchestered, as here it follows, Word for Word, and Oath for Oath, 4to, 1648,—alluding to the Visitation of Cambridge by the Earl of Manchester. S. A. C., v, 88.

horse, arrived at Horsham, and took the town with little trouble. The insurgents were driven from the streets into the outskirts, and desultory firing went on for some hours, with the result that one soldier and three citizens were killed. The Parish Register records the burial of "Edward Filder, by the soldiers thrusting a sword through the window of his house in the back lane; William Baker, in the hop gardens belonging to Nicholas Sturt; and Thomas Marshall, gent., was followed into East Street and killed near Thomas Michell's door." According to a family tradition, John Michell of Stammerham lost his life in this engagement, and his son was wounded.<sup>1</sup>

On 7th July the Committee sent their thanks to Sir Michael Livesay for his care and success in this business.<sup>2</sup> In Horsham his troops caused great dissatisfaction by their "disorders and plunderings without distinction of friend or enemy," and in the following year, being again quartered in the county, proved a great burden "both by their free quarter and their disorderly carriage."

After the outbreak was quelled, Thomas Middleton, who in an earlier year had been regarded with suspicion,<sup>3</sup> was sent up to London in custody; the other delinquents were allowed to compound for their estates by paying one-fourth of their value. Among them were William Marlett and John Shelley of Sullington. On 28th July the Commons ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Sussex, out of the compositions, fines, and sequestrations of the estates of such delinquents as were engaged in the late tumult at Horsham, not being formerly sequestered, to give reasonable satisfaction to such of the Parliament's friends as have been plundered and damaged by the enemy or others in the late tumult, as the said Committee should think fit, and that they had power to compound with such delinquents for that purpose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hunt's Horsham, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxvi, 61.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxvi, 76.

The cases of Thomas Middleton and his son John were before the Committee for compounding for a long time. The estate was sequestrated by the County Committee, but Middleton appealed to the Barons of Exchequer, by whom he was acquitted of delinquency on 16th November 1651; and the Committee for compounding ordered the Sussex Committee to refund to the father and the son the money received out of the estate.<sup>1</sup> The matter does not seem to have been finally disposed of till 1655.

The Committee was more successful with the smaller fry. Several persons of little means were fined in 1649 for "taking up arms in the late insurrection in Sussex." William Pearse of Nuthurst was fined at one-sixth, £3 6s. 8d.<sup>2</sup> Henry Wood of Horsham at one-sixth, £3 4s. 0d.<sup>3</sup> John Wood of Nuthurst at one-sixth, £1 13s. 4d. Wood complained in 1651 that the estate settled for his poor mother's relief and for payment of his debts was "sequestered or seized for his pretended delinquency"; and begged liberty to examine witnesses in proof of his innocence. He had nothing to live on but his work, being a day labourer for 6d. or 12d. a day, and was not able to appeal. He had sent up his fine, but it was rejected, for what cause he knew not.<sup>4</sup>

Another abortive rising occurred in East Sussex—an attempt by Major Anthony Norton<sup>5</sup> to seize the garrison at Rye. In an inquiry with reference to the sequestration of his estate in 1651, it was alleged against him that in 1648 he was in arms against the Parliament, and persuaded others to join the late King's forces; that he threatened to take away the lives and goods of friends of the Parliament, and to take the keys of Rye magazine, and have the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 2232-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1986.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the Anthony Norton, Gent., a brewer and freeman of Rye, who signed the "Engagement" of 1649-50 to be true and faithful to the Government as then established, without a King, or a House of Lords. See Mr. Inderwick on The Rye Engagement, S. A. C., xxxix, 16.

ammunition for the King. That he raised horses and arms, and in person directed the fortification of Blackwell Wall against Major Gibbons, the Parliamentary commander, and that having collected sixty men in arms he declared he would oppose the entry of the Parliament forces into Sussex, and encouraged others to assist in the Kentish rebellion.<sup>1</sup> Major Norton was easily routed by Major Gibbons, who on 14th August received the thanks of the Committee of both Houses for his good services in securing the town of Rye, where he was directed to remain until further orders.<sup>2</sup> Anthony Norton does not seem to have learnt wisdom. At any rate a person of that name was in trouble at Rye in August 1654, for using scandalous words. One Mark Hounsell deposed that walking in the highway from Playden in the previous May he heard Anthony Norton say, as they were talking of the fighting at sea, that there were none but rogues that fought against the King, and that Cromwell and all that followed him were rogues. The reason he did not disclose these words to the Mayor and Jurats before was that the said Anthony Norton owed him some money, and he wished to get his money first.<sup>3</sup>

These Royalist outbreaks, somewhat foolhardy as they appear now, were stimulated by the advance of the Scottish army under Hamilton into England, and occasioned much nervousness in London. On 19th August the Committee wrote to the Committee at Chichester that there was a design by some malignants to seize the city, which if effected would cause great prejudice to the kingdom, as shown in the case of Colchester. They were instructed to keep a vigilant eye on all motions in those parts.<sup>4</sup> With the crushing defeat of the Scots army by Cromwell on 17th August, and the capitulation of Colchester, which had

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Proceedings, Com. for Advance of Money, pp. 1350-1.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxvi, 81.

<sup>3</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dxvi, 81.

stood a long siege under the Earl of Norwich, to Fairfax ten days later, the Second Civil War practically came to an end. Its result was to throw the reins of power more fully into the hands of the army chiefs, especially Cromwell. They had at their command a superb and never-defeated force of nearly 50,000 men, irresistible in the strength of unrivalled discipline and religious fervour. It was composed for the greater part of a class superior to the rank and file of most armies—men who were anxious to return to their civil occupations, but could be depended on to obey a summons to arms if required. For the next ten years, with the exception of the short campaign of 1651, England knew internal peace, but it was peace imposed and maintained by the sword.

It was indeed high time that the land should have peace. Not only were the national finances in a hopeless state of disorganization, but the ever pressing need for more money caused the imposition of fresh and burdensome taxation. In the early days of the war the Parliament had to live from hand to mouth, and to pay its forces from such chance sources as occurred, such as Royalist fines and compositions. Later the assessment raised by monthly payments from the counties for the support of the New Model Army was estimated at £641,000 a year,<sup>1</sup> but in Sussex, at any rate, it does not seem to have been regularly paid. In an agricultural county like Sussex, the continual drain of able-bodied men to the colours must have tended to impoverishment, only partially mitigated by the excellent business done at the ordnance factories. The excise—"that Dutch divill, excise, that insensibly devoures the poore and will impoverish the rich"<sup>2</sup>—was levied not only on food and drink, but on goods of almost every description, and pressed

<sup>1</sup> R. O. Audit Office Declared Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> From A List of the Names of the Members of the House of Commons . . . together with such sums, etc. as they have given themselves for service done.

on all classes. And its collection seems sometimes to have been attended with great hardship. "When plundering troops killed all the poor countrymen's sheep and swine, and other provisions, whereby many honest families were ruined and beggared, these unmerciful people would force excise out of them for those very goods which the others had robbed them of; insomuch that the religious soldiers said they would starve before they would be employed in forcing it, or take any of it for their pay."<sup>1</sup>

The amount of the excise on food was generally five per cent.; "all beefs muttens veals porks lambs and other butcher's meat, to be killed for provision of victuals, shall pay one shilling in every twenty shillings value of the beast when he is living." Every butcher had to render a weekly account of his killings; in default of a true return he incurred a penalty of double the duty, and was prohibited from carrying on business for twelve months. The tax amounted to a halfpenny on each rabbit, and a penny a dozen on pigeons. Householders killing for their own consumption were bound to make a return and pay the duty.

The agriculturists no doubt did what they could to protect themselves. Rents were very grudgingly paid, even on the estates of the great landowners who adhered to the Parliament. In the five years ending in 1646, the Earl of Northumberland had lost either by actual damage or by the non-payment of rents £42,500.<sup>2</sup> The wages of agricultural labourers remained in the early years of the war at the same level as previously, that is, at 7*d.* a day, with a tendency to rise to 8*d.*<sup>3</sup> These wages were fixed by the justices of the peace, who seem to have acted fairly in view of the circumstances. The year 1646 was the first of a series of six years in which the harvest was uniformly bad.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., Report iii, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, Civil War, ch. xlvi.

The price of wheat, which in plentiful years averaged about 30s. a quarter, rose to an average of 65s. 3½*d.* in the three years from 1647-9; and oats, rye, and pease, the staple food of the labourer, in like proportion. Meat rose in price about 50 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Through this period agricultural wages were gradually increased, until in 1651 they were fixed at 1s. 2*d.* a day.

Yet in spite of the trouble of the times, the stress of war, increased taxation and diminished rents, it appears that some of the nobility and country gentry were still able to maintain their customary state and lavish expenditure. The household accounts of Lord Dacre at Herstmonceux Castle from August 1643 to December 1649 were carefully kept and have been preserved;<sup>2</sup> they give a remarkable insight into the economy of a large country house in Sussex at the time.

Francis Lord Dacre was born in 1619, and was therefore about twenty-three years of age when war broke out. He was nearly related to Sir William Waller, and himself took an active part on the Parliamentary side. In a letter to Lord Grey of Werke, the deputy Speaker of the House, written from Herstmonceux on 22nd January 1643, he says:

“On Wednesday night I received your lordship’s of the ninth of this month, and would have most gladly obeyed the commands of the House of Peers, by coming presently away to wait on the affairs of this kingdom on the 22nd, had not the ways ever since been so extremely clogged by a very deep snow, that men pass not without much difficulty and danger. I beseech your lordship to add to this reason the weakness of my own health, not being able to endure the rigour of the journeying on horseback in such

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, v, 205, 623; vi, 54, 286.

<sup>2</sup> See the interesting article by T. Barrett Lennard in *S. A. C.*, xlvi, from which the following particulars are drawn.

exceeding cold weather, as now it is; and to represent this to their lordships' favourable constructions; not that I intend to make long use of any way to excuse myself from that duty, which I shall ever owe to the Commonwealth, but very shortly shall give my attendance on their lordships with all willingness and readiness. And so I rest

“ Your lordship's

“ Most humble servant

“ FRANCIS DACRE.”

He strongly opposed the ordinance for the King's trial, and was one of the twelve Roundhead peers who attended the House of Lords in January 1649—among the others being Manchester, Northumberland, Pembroke, and Denbigh—and unanimously rejected it.

Considering the size of Herstmonceux and the constant entertainment of guests there, the number of servants is not remarkably large. About twenty indoor and outdoor menservants, including grooms, gardeners, falconers, etc., and about ten women seem to make up the total. Only two gardeners were kept, the chief receiving £2 10s. a quarter, the usual wages of the upper servants, and the under man only 15s. The regular servants were all given board and lodging. A woman who helped to weed in the garden was paid 4*d.* a day. Casual labourers seem to have received 1s. a day in 1644; four men were paid £1 4s. for six days' work in digging up young trees and planting them in the park. Thomas Edmonds, the cook, received £3 a quarter, the coachman and grooms half that amount, the postilion £1.

The cost of bread consumed by the household, which, of course, did its own baking, seems to have varied from £1 to £2 6s. 8*d.* per week. The amount of beer consumed was prodigious; it is calculated by Mr. Lennard at an average consumption of eight gallons per week to every man, woman, and child in the castle. But it is possible that a



good deal may have been given away to outside labourers. Claret was purchased at about 2*s.* a gallon, and sack "for my ladies use" at 3*s.* The variety of fare consumed was very great. About thirty different kinds of fish appear in the accounts, including crabs, 4 for 1*s.*; herrings, 4 for 2*d.*; lobsters, 5 for 2*s.* 8*d.*; mackerel, 40 for 2*s.* 8*d.*; oysters, 2*d.* to 3*d.* per dozen; fresh salmon, 5*s.* each; soles, 7 for 2*s.* 4*d.*; sprats, 300 for 1*s.* 6*d.*; mullet, unpriced.<sup>1</sup>

Game and poultry were also in great abundance and variety, nearly forty different kinds being enumerated. They include capons, 1*s.*; chickens, 3*d.*; ducks, 6*d.*; geese, 1*s.* 6*d.*; quails, four dozen for 24*s.*, bought from a French ship; turkeys, 2*s.*; wheatears, 3*d.* per dozen; and woodcocks, 4*d.* each.

The beef and mutton required for the castle were provided from the home farm, so that there is no record of their purchase. Of articles of grocery, sugar was bought at 10*d.* a pound, raisins at 4*d.*, cloves at 8*d.* per oz., and pepper at 1½*d.*

Among the numerous visitors to the castle were the Lords Nottingham, Westmoreland, Montague, and Stamford—peers of the same political convictions as Lord Dacre—and Sir William Waller, his kinsman. Lady Anne Waller seems to have brought an army of followers; in August 1647 she was staying at Herstmonceux with two sons and three daughters, one gentlewoman, a nurse, and four maid and six men servants. If the castle wanted many appointments now considered essential, there were, at any rate, feather beds and warming pans; and a cooper's bill for sundry work includes "putting 4 hoops to the bathing tub."

<sup>1</sup> "Arundel mullets, as they say here,  
Are the best in England for good cheer  
But at 6*d.* the pound 'tis pretty dear."

From Thomas Baskerville's *Journeys in England, temp. Chas. II.* Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), ii, 276.

War had not entirely killed sport. There are copious references in the accounts to hawking, coursing, and shooting. It is curious to read at this date of partridges being turned out: "Paid Mr. Shoarditch for 5 partridges to be turned abroad 2s. 6*d.*" But Lord Dacre's own favourite diversion was his "yought," which he kept at Pevensey. He was probably the first of English yachtsmen. The accounts show that the yacht sailed at times certainly as far as London. John Waters, "pillate," was paid £2 10s. for conducting her home from Gravesend.

Lord and Lady Dacre drove abroad in a coach-and-six; on one occasion his lordship hired a coach to travel down from London, and paid £4 7s. for it, with his "benevolence" for the coachman 5s. Considering the difficulties of Sussex travel this does not seem excessive, but it was in the month of June, when the roads would probably be in good condition. Under the Commonwealth the cost of coach hire was fixed at 20s. a day for four horses, and 10s. a day for two, to travel upon the roads to and from London thirty miles a day—"excepting in Sussex roads, which being worst and hardest for journeying, shall be travelled as far only as is reasonable, or as shall be agreed or undertaken by the coachman upon hire."<sup>1</sup> On one occasion 4s. 6*d.* was paid for "a jorneye to Rye after enquire of a box which my lady expected out of France."

It is indeed a refreshment to turn from the horrors of war, the sufferings of ejected clergy, and ruined Royalists and plundered peasants, to this smiling sketch of peace and plenty. It suggests that in our preoccupation with the great game of politics, and its results, we are apt to regard the stirring events which were seized upon by sensational pamphleteers, and were the daily bread of excitable politicians, as affecting the general life of the community more deeply than they actually did. And the rapid rise of Eng-

<sup>1</sup> Perfect Diurnal, 2nd January 1655.

land under Cromwell to a commanding position in Europe and at sea may point to the fact that the devastation wrought by the Civil War was less complete than we are sometimes inclined to believe. Fascinated by the lurid scenes which fill the foreground of the picture, we fail to observe that the surrounding landscape is but slightly clouded.

Yet even into the peaceful Eden of Herstmonceux the serpent entered. A few years later Major-General Goffe wrote from Chichester to Secretary Thurloe: "The Lord Dakers is gone beyond sea upon some discontent betwixt him and his lady."<sup>1</sup>

With these particulars of the economy of the household of a peer it may not be out of place to compare some items in the expenditure of a well-to-do country parson during the Protectorate. The Rev. Giles Moore was admitted rector of Horsted Keynes in 1655. The parsonage was in so ruinous a state that it cost him £250 to make it fit to dwell in. His "yearly servant" John Dawes received a wage of £5, and a maid-servant, Rose Colman, £3 per annum. Jobbing gardeners were paid 1s. a day. On one of Mr. Moore's visits to London he purchased some fruit trees for his garden—"an apricock tree 1s. 8d.; an orange tree 8d.; a pair of royal Windsor paires 1s. 8d.; two Kentish pippins 2s. 4d.; two Flanders cherryes 2s. 6d.; twenty six young roots of Provence roses 5s. 6d.; one gallon of strawberries 1s. 6d.; for 8 young apple trees I payd 7s." Mr. Moore went to London once or twice a year, and on each occasion bought a number of books. "I bought in London of Mr. Clarke at Mercers Chapel, Grotius de Jure Belli etc. 5s.; of a bookseller in Little Bretagne, Camden's Britannia, £1 14s." Soon after his induction he purchased a present for the wife of his patron. "I payed to Alderman Hinde, in Lumbard Street, goldsmith, for a faire silver

<sup>1</sup> 13th November 1655. Thurloe, State Papers, iv, 190.

tankard of 38 oz., which, at 5*s.* 7*d.* an oz., came to £10 15*s.* 3*d.*; for engraving thereupon Mr. Michelborne's<sup>1</sup> and his wyfe's arms, on whom it was bestowed, and for a cabinet given to Mistress Anne, at the same time that the other was given her mother, £1 5*s.*" He did not neglect his creature comforts during these visits to town. "5th Aug. I went to London, coming againe on the 8th. I spent on a fishe dinner at the Crowne and Harpe, Old Fleet St., 8*s.* 6*d.* Spent other wise 2*s.* 4*d.*; oastler 2*s.* 6*d.*; tapster 1*s.* 4*d.* I bought of my countryman Mr. Cooper a new hat costing together with the band £1 3*s.*"

Bed-furniture and other household stuff was purchased of "William Clowson, upholsterer itinerant, living over against the Crosse at Chichester, but who comes about the country with his packs on horseback." Mrs. Moore seems to have had little control over the family expenditure. "I gave my wyfe 15*s.* to lay out at St. James' faire at Lindfield, all which shee spent except 2*s.* 6*d.*, which shee never returned mee." But she seems to have done a little farming on her own account. "I bought of my wyfe a fat hog to spend in my family, for the which I payed the summe of 30*s.*; the 2 fitches of bacon, when dried, weighed 64 lb. I gave her to buy a qr. of lambe 3*s.* 6*d.*"

Considering the value of money at the time groceries and similar articles were exceedingly expensive. "I bought a Cheshire cheese of 13 lb. weight 5*s.* 8*d.*; for 2 dozen of lemons and basket I gave 2*s.* 2*d.*; 8 lb. of raisins at 7*d.* the lb., 4*s.* 3*d.*; 10 lb. of powder sugar at 7*d.* the lb., 6*s.* 3*d.*; 1 lb. of white powder sugar 10*d.*; 1 lb. of pepper 3*d.*; 1 lb. of cherries 10*d.*; 2 oz. of tobacco 1*s.*" With tobacco at 8*s.*

<sup>1</sup> William Michelborne, of Horsted Keynes and Stanmer, eldest surviving son and heir of Sir Richard Michelborne, was born about 1601, and married in 1631 Anne, daughter of Laurence Ashburnham of Broomham, Esq., by his first wife, Sybil, daughter of George Goring of Danny, Esq. Their daughter Anne was born in 1633. See Notes on the Family of Michelborne, by Col. F. W. T. Attree, F.S.A., late R.E., in S. A. C., 1.

a pound the labourer in receipt of 1s. a day can scarcely have enjoyed a pipe.

Clothing was also dear. "I bought at Sir G. Lr. Hunt's Sons partner, at the signe of the Ship in St. Paul's Church Yd., 2 yds. of blackish cloth, costing mee £1 2s.;  $\frac{1}{2}$  a yard of velvett, 2s. 6d.; a satin cap plaited 5s.; 13 yds. of grass greene serge at 3s. 3d. the yd., and for greene silke fringe at 1s. 8d. the oz.—in all £2 16s." "For 3 yards and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of scarlet serge, of which I made the library cupboard carpet, besydes my wastcoate made thereof, 15s." "For a payr of gray woollen stockings I payd 3s.; for a payr of worsted, which I bought in London 6s. 4d. Lent to my brother Luxford at the Widdow Newports, never more to be seene! 1s."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Journal of the Rev. Giles Moore; S. A. C., i, 65-127.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE REVOLUTION

THE events of 1648 strengthened the extreme party in the army which held that the King ought not to be restored on any terms whatever, but brought to trial and deposed as a public enemy. In October 1648 Ireton drew up The Remonstrance of the Army, in which he developed two theses, the danger of continuing to treat any longer with the King, and the justice and expediency of bringing him to trial. In addition, the "Sovereignty of the People," the moderate punishment of delinquents, and the advisability of paying the soldiers' arrears of pay were discussed. On 18th November the Council of Officers adopted the Remonstrance.

An interesting petition to Fairfax, the Lord-General, was sent at this time by Mr. Samuel Jeake and others of Rye:

"We earnestly crave that amongst the midst and multiplicity of your weighty agitations, these our few petitionary proposals may have admission into your serious thoughts, which out of our faithful affection to your honour and tender care of the weale of the Republic we as humbly as earnestly remonstrating both declare and desire;

"First, that as we do fully adhere to your late Remonstrance and are resolved to venture lives and fortunes in defence of the Army in the just prosecution of it; so do we desire that no delays (as conceiving them altogether unsafe) may be admitted thereon.

“2ly. Considering that want of care and vigilancy (as well as fidelity) in Committees and others be-trusted with public affairs hath been the seminary of many evils in this kingdom, we entreat that care may be taken to refine them, and that such as shall in any ways be obstructers of justice either by opposing it, or not improving their intrusted power to that purpose may be excluded, and also that the like sedulity may be used in removing the Committee of Accompts and appointing others in their places, they being such whose endeavours are more to ensnare than to advance the public good.

“3ly. The kingdoms groaning under the burden of free-quarter and unreasonable taxes, occasioned by the un-faithful dealing of those entrusted with the public treasure, requires (as we humbly conceive) some exquisite search, and those being found that have anyway abused the State by such fraudulent practices, as to design the public treasure to their own private advantage deserve to be severely dealt withal.

“4ly. Minding the nakedness of these marine parts and the great dangers we lie exposed to, if any new commotions (which God forbid) should break forth, we earnestly sue that some careful provision may be made for the sea-coast, and especially near this place, the better to strengthen the hands of the kingdom’s friends, and to prevent (at present) unthought-of mischiefs.

“5ly. Being grieved to hear the slanderous aspersions the Army is and hath been loaded with, notwithstanding its desert to the contrary: we heartily desire that all such as shall be known to asperse them or to act or speak against their proceedings in reference to the execution of justice and righteousness may be brought to condign punishment.

“6ly. The principal actors in and abettors of our miserable differences by reason of connivance in some, alliance in others, with other such wiseblinding bribes, have re-

gained strength to rally again and again, when we had well hoped they were irrecoverable: wherefore we humbly intreat your Honour that some Commissioners may be appointed to find out the actors and fomentors of the late war and bringing in of the Scots, and being found to secure them or otherwise, without superficial dealing in matters of this concernment, yet a special care be had of the non-oppressing their families.

“7ly. Because of the distance of this and many other garrisons from the head-quarters, and the necessity of intelligence from thence to animate the soldiery and well-affected residing therein, to join with and in defence of the just proceedings of the Army; we therefore humbly beseech that there may be an impartial communication of the actions of the Army to the respective garrisons that shall remonstrate with them by such actors as each garrison shall to that purpose appoint, and that all such of the country as either have or shall show themselves worthy to be confided in may be put in a posture of defence.”<sup>1</sup>

As an attempt to express an opinion on the burning question of the day, and at the same time to call attention to local grievances, this petition is ingenious. And that such a Puritan town as Rye should hail the army as saviour is a sign of the times.

This is not the place to discuss the justice or policy of the trial and execution of the King. We are concerned mainly with the prominent part which was played in them by Sussex men. And the different courses taken by Sussex members of Parliament in this crisis are examples of the varying shades of Parliamentary opinion.

The army chiefs who directed the transaction having once made up their minds that the King's removal was

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., ix, 54. Dr. Smart there expresses the opinion that the address, which is undated, was written in June 1647. But it seems obviously posterior to the Scottish invasion and the Remonstrance of 1648.



necessary to the safety of the State, or to their control of it, at least shrank from none of the consequences of their determination. They scorned to take advantage of such easier methods as assassination, and strove to clothe their acts in some semblance of a legal process, even though they could only do so by constituting a revolutionary tribunal. By this decisive act, deliberately planned and publicly done, they set the seal to their own proceedings; they converted what was before a successful insurrection into a definite revolution.

An apologist for the regicides might urge the personal ground that if the King had got the upper hand he would have given the Roundhead leaders a short shrift. The gist of the whole matter is to be found in Manchester's plea for peace four years before. "If we beat the King ninety and nine times, yet he is King still, and so will his posterity be after him, but if the King beat us once we shall all be hanged, and our posterity be made slaves"; to which Cromwell replied: "My lord, if this be so, why did we take up arms at first? this is against fighting ever hereafter, if so, let us make peace, be it never so base";<sup>1</sup> and in Cromwell's oft-quoted saying "that if he met the King in battle, he would fire his pistol at him as at another."

If there was one person whose reputation came out of the affair not only with credit but with glory, it was the King. He who through long years of intrigue had played the anti-national part, and had disgusted the better sort among his followers with his eagerness to invoke foreign aid against his own subjects, became at one stroke a national hero. Few men by the manner of their death have seemed to give a greater impetus to the cause for which they died. Yet that cause in its essentials was destroyed beyond resuscitation. Carlyle's exultant paean

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, diiii, 56, ix

over the blow struck by the English regicides at "Flunkeyism Cant and Cloth-worship"<sup>1</sup> seems strangely beside the mark. Flunkeyism and cloth-worship have flourished since with unexampled vigour. It was on the substance, not on the externals, that the blow fell. The Stuarts indeed came back, but on a very different footing from Charles's idea of sovereignty, and soon to be curtly dismissed almost without a struggle. The Church came back, but not the Church of Laud. If we regard the execution as at once an evil and a foolish deed, we yet must own that it heralded the birth of a new England, free at home, and great beyond the seas. And that these men should dare to treat a king as "a public officer who had criminally betrayed his trust," put a different complexion on kingship in the minds of countless thousands.

The Parliament which was to set up a Court to try the King was by no means the same Parliament which for six years had alternately waged war against and negotiated with him. In December the army, fresh from its victory over the Scots at Preston, had entered London and quietly filled the approaches to Westminster. On the 6th and 7th Westminster Hall was occupied by troops, and Colonel Pride, acting under the orders of Lord Grey of Groby, himself a member, "purged" the house of one hundred and forty-three members, whom he placed under arrest. The remaining members, who continued to sit, became by this act the mere creatures of military violence. The army was their master, and through them the master of the State.<sup>2</sup> On 6th January, after much discussion and some alterations, an Act was finally passed constituting a Court to consist of one hundred and thirty-five Commissioners, who were to be both judges and jury, to try Charles Stuart for having "had a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of the nation, and in

<sup>1</sup> Cromwell's Letters, lxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, Civil War, ch. lxxviii.

their place, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government," and on other counts.

Among the Commissioners were the following Sussex men, Colonel Goffe, one of the military members of the Commission, and nine Members of Parliament: Herbert Morley, John Fagge, Roger Gratwick, Anthony Stapley, Peregrine Pelham, James Temple, William Cawley, Sir Gregory Norton, and John Downes. Colonel Morley attended the trial on three days, including the opening, but declined to sign the death-warrant; Colonel Fagge, who had married Morley's sister Mary, also sat, but rather as assisting in the preliminaries than as a judge, and he also did not sign the death-warrant. Roger Gratwick did not sit.

The actual trial began on 20th January; when the roll was called sixty-eight of the judges answered to their names. On the 27th Charles was brought up to hear his sentence, sixty-seven Commissioners being present. A death-warrant had been drawn up some days earlier, but the signatures of less than half the sitting Commissioners had been obtained to it and some delay had been occasioned. On Bradshaw's stating that a sentence had been agreed upon, but that before it was read the Court was willing to hear what Charles wished to say, provided he did not question its jurisdiction, the King replied that he had acted on behalf of the liberties of his subjects and not in his own interests, and ended by asking to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber: he appealed in fact from the specially constituted Court to a political assembly.<sup>1</sup>

It was stated afterwards that John Downes, member for Arundel, excited Cromwell's anger by an intention to rise and to plead publicly that the King's request should be granted.<sup>2</sup> It was a critical moment, as there is little doubt

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. lxx.

<sup>2</sup> *State Trials*, vol. i, 210-3.

that a number of even the sitting Commissioners were anxious to clutch at any straw which would save them from passing condemnation. But the Court adjourned for half an hour to consider the King's request, and Cromwell's determination prevailed. Downes alleged at his trial in 1660<sup>1</sup> that he had been frightened into assenting to the judgement; and his case was no doubt the case of several others. The Court returned, and the formal sentence was read.

To obtain sufficient signatures to the death-warrant to give an appearance of unanimity among the acting Commissioners, the utmost pressure, including even, it is said, physical violence, was used. In one way or another fifty-nine signatures were procured. Among these figure the names of seven Sussex Commissioners:

WILLI. GOFFE.  
 PER. PELHAM.  
 JAMES TEMPLE.  
 WILLI. CAWLEY.  
 ANTH. STAPLEY.  
 GREG. NORTON.  
 JO. DOWNES.

On Tuesday 30th January the King was executed at Whitehall. He was accompanied to the scaffold by Bishop Juxon, a native of Sussex, who had been allowed to visit and to pray with him while he was lying under sentence of death. The press of soldiers, horse and foot, drawn up around the scaffold, made it impossible for his voice to reach the crowd of citizens beyond, and he therefore delivered his last speech to Juxon and Colonel Tomlinson, a Parliamentary officer of humanity and discretion. He expressed clearly and without reservation the absolutist theory for which he had fought and was dying. "For the people,"

<sup>1</sup> State Trials, vol. i, 212.



BISHOP JUXON.



he said, "truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government, those laws by which their lives and their goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining unto them. A subject and a sovereign are clean different things; and therefore, until you do that—I mean that you put the people in that liberty—they will never enjoy themselves."

Nothing could be more explicit or illuminating than this last dying declaration; it is worth volumes of disquisitions on the causes of the war.

Charles, having stated at Juxon's instance that he died "a Christian according to the Church of England," then divested himself of his cloak, and handing his George to the bishop, uttered the single "Remember." Of its import many theories have been held: it probably referred to the deliverance of certain messages to his family with which he had already charged him. The King then bowed his head to the block.

Juxon was permitted to bury his master's body in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, and the funeral took place on 8th February. He had prepared himself to read the burial service from the Book of Common Prayer, but the governor of the Castle, with wanton tyranny, forbade the use of any form but that of the Directory, a service book after the most approved pattern of Puritanism, prepared by the Westminster Assembly of divines.

As has already been noted, Dr. Juxon was a native of Sussex. He was born at Chichester in the year 1582.<sup>1</sup> His father, Richard, son of John Juxon, a citizen of London, was Receiver-General for the Bishop of Chichester's estates. Richard Juxon's brother Thomas is said to have "suffered for his religion at Chichester." In Foxe's Book

<sup>1</sup> "1582. Oct. 24, William, son of Richard Juxon, baptized" (P. R. St. Peter the Great, Chichester).

of Martyrs, where the name is given as Iveson, it is stated that he was apprehended and examined by Bishop Bonner at the same time as Derrick Carver, and burnt at Chichester in 1555.<sup>1</sup> Educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford, William Juxon became a student of Gray's Inn, but shortly exchanged law for divinity, and took orders. He was appointed vicar of St. Giles, in Oxford, and afterwards rector of Somerton. On Laud's elevation to the episcopate in 1621, Juxon was chosen at Laud's instance to succeed him as President of St. John's College. His rise thereafter was rapid. He became successively Chaplain to the King, Prebendary of Chichester, Dean of Worcester, Clerk of the Closet, and in 1633 Bishop of London, Laud having been advanced to Canterbury. He was not only an eminent churchman, noted for his plain and practical preaching, his fine presence, his moderation and power of avoiding offence, but a first-rate man of business. In 1636 the King took the unusual course of appointing him Lord High Treasurer, an office which had not been held by an ecclesiastic since the reign of Henry VII. Laud was greatly elated at this appointment. "Now," he wrote, "if the Church will not hold up themselves under God I can do no more."<sup>2</sup> He did not reflect that the umbrage given to the leading laymen of the country by this preferment of a divine might do the Church more harm than good. Juxon proved an excellent financier. Fuller says: "It was a troublesome place in those times, it being expected that he should make *much brick*, with very *little straw* allowed unto him. Large then the expenses, low the revenues of the Exchequer. Yet those coffers which he found empty he left filling; and had left full, had peace been preserved in the land, and he continued in his place. Such was the mildness of his temper that petitioners for money (when it was not to be had) departed well-pleased

<sup>1</sup> See Lower's Worthies, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Laud, Diary, 6th March 1635.



with his denials, they were *so civilly languaged*. It must justly seem a wonder that whereas few spake well of bishops at that time (and lord-treasurers at all times are liable to the complaints of a discontented people), though both offices met in this man, yet with Demetrius, 'he was well reported of all men, and of the truth itself.'"<sup>1</sup> Juxon was so highly respected by his religious opponents that he was not deprived of his temporalities until 1649, having lived tranquilly at Fulham throughout the war. He then retired to his manor of Little Compton in Gloucestershire, where he is said to have kept a pack of hounds. The fashion of clerical amusements changes as do other fashions. Even a retired bishop may not be a master of hounds to-day, though he may with perfect decorum play bowls, a game forbidden even to the laity in the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps he also passed some time at Albourne Place, in Sussex, which belonged to his family. There is a tradition that he lay concealed on the roof on one occasion when the house was searched by a party of Parliamentary soldiers.

Against his brother, John Juxon of Albourne, an information was laid in 1647 by one William Bedwell, that he had not paid his tax of one-twentieth to the Committee for Advance of Money, or had been assessed at too low a figure. "I know that my adversary Juxon is a neuter at best; he has had £430 a year of my estate since 1640, and now has the whole £620. He has £100 a year beside the estate of his late brother Thomas, leased lands worth £250, and has a great manor in Sussex worth £700 to £800; also an estate at Fulham, Middlesex, and most of the bishop's plate and goods, for all things are in common

<sup>1</sup> Worthies, iii, 250.

<sup>2</sup> "In 1567 a Lewes draper and five Brighton men were summoned for playing this popular game, while the constable of Brighton was called to account for not making search for bowling alleys and similar places of unlawful games" (Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 197).

between them." John Juxon, however, satisfied the Committee with regard to his assessment and his payment of it.<sup>1</sup>

At the Restoration Juxon was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in 1663, aged eighty-one, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford, by the side of his friend and predecessor, Laud.

Colonel John Downes, the regicide member for Arundel, acquired considerable notoriety at the time, not only by his action at the King's trial, but also for a dispute with John Fry, member for Shaftesbury, one of the King's judges who did not sign the death-warrant. There had been an altercation in "the Committee Chamber above the Parliament house," in the course of which Downes accused Fry of blasphemy and error. There was some colour for the accusation; it is stated that Fry was by turns "presbyterian, independent, Arian; courted and despised by all parties; his works were doomed by the Parliament to be burnt by the common executioner, as erroneous, profane, and highly scandalous."<sup>2</sup> Fry wrote a pamphlet entitled: "The Accuser sham'd or a pair of Bellows to Blow off that Dust Cast upon John Fry a Member of Parliament by Col. John Downes likewise a Member of Parliament."<sup>3</sup> In this he spoke of "those which have raised handsome estates out of nothing, and vast estates out of mean estates, since our general calamity upon the ruin of many, as well friend as foe." Downes appears to have been particularly open to this charge. Not only had he purchased the Bishop's palace at Chichester, but he had been especially busy in getting hold of sequestered estates of Royalists in Sussex.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Advance of Money, p. 838.

<sup>2</sup> Noble's Regicides, i, 247.

<sup>3</sup> B.M., Thomason tracts, pressmark E. 624 (2).

<sup>4</sup> For the proceedings which were taken in consequence of the alleged bribery and other illegal practices at Downes' election for Arundel in 1640, see Horsfield, History of Sussex, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 29.

The King's death brought about a change in the constitutional position. Hitherto the ancient constitution had remained intact, although its normal operations had been suspended. The Commons now proceeded to consummate a revolution. They began by excluding all members who had voted that the King's latest proposals had offered a ground of settlement. They next abolished the House of Lords, and finally the kingly office, as unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people. As an executive power they created a Council of State to be chosen by themselves, and to consist of forty-one members, to hold office for a year. Of the Sussex representatives, Morley, Stapley, Cawley, and Downes were members of this Council at different times.

The Puritan revolution was an attempt to reconcile two opposing principles; the first, that government should be by and in accordance with the will of the people; the second, that it is the right and duty of godly men to govern the ungodly. The godly men having organized an irresistible army and seized the reins of power, and being thoroughly convinced of their godliness, paid a lip service to the principles of popular government, and proceeded with all arbitrariness upon their godly way. From control by an Army Council the Government gradually passed into a despotism of one man. The rule of a benevolent despot has much to recommend it: unhappily the despotism is apt to swallow the benevolence. Cromwell, a man by nature of wide tolerance—he has even been blamed for his incorrigible clemency—was driven by the trend of affairs to the most despotic proceedings. Strong man as he was, political necessity was too strong for him. "No man goes so high," he once said, "as he who knows not whither he is going." It may be that with all his grip on business, civil and military, he was not endowed with any great power of foresight; his course at times seems almost a career of drift, broken by ineffectual struggles against the

overpowering stream. By the strange irony of events the absolutism to which Charles had vainly aspired was forced on Cromwell; "if nothing," he came to say, "should be done but what is according to law, the throat of the nation may be cut while we send for some to make a law." Its failure in such competent hands taught England that absolutism is near akin to anarchy, and insured her political development on other lines.

After the execution of the King, the need of preventing anarchy, and, as it was held, of preserving all that had been fought for, forbade the establishment of a democratic government. The survivors of the Long Parliament, now mere creatures of the army, took such measures as were possible to secure the *status quo*. In January 1650 an Act was passed that every person holding any office whatever should sign a solemn Engagement to be true and faithful to the government as then established, without a King or a House of Lords. Almost all the originals of these Engagements have disappeared, but it happens that the Engagement signed by 168 persons, including the Mayor and the Town Clerk, of the town of Rye has been preserved, and is of great local interest.<sup>1</sup> In January 1654, Cromwell issued an ordinance which, after reciting that promissory oaths and engagements were burthens and snares to tender consciences, repealed the Act for subscribing the Engagement, and declared that no such Engagement should be required of any person, nor should any one who had not already taken such Engagement be in any way prejudiced by his default.

Among those who refused to take the Engagement in 1650 was Lord Dacre. He was accordingly relieved of his office of Vice-Admiral for the county of Sussex, and Colonel Anthony Stapley was appointed in his place on 17th June. There was some delay over the carrying out of this busi-

<sup>1</sup> See The Rye Engagement by F. A. Inderwick, Q.C., in S. A. C., xxxix.

ness, for in the February Mr. Wynn, Registrar of the Admiralty was ordered to give in writing his reasons for not having prepared patents for making Colonel Stapley Vice-Admiral for Sussex.<sup>1</sup>

Stapley was reaping the reward of his consistent support of Cromwell. He was now a member of the Council of State, with lodgings in Whitehall supplied with "hangings and other accommodation" at the public expense.<sup>2</sup> In 1653 he was appointed a Commissioner of Somers Islands—the Bermudas—with a salary of £1,000 a year;<sup>3</sup> an office which does not appear to have interfered with his other activities.

Colonel Morley was a much less thick-and-thin supporter of Cromwell's policy. He had resisted all pressure to sign the King's death-warrant. The leading man in Sussex on the Parliamentary side throughout the war, he still enjoyed the greatest influence and popularity in the county; but in Parliament he was becoming "almost a malcontent." With Mr. Bond he acted as teller for the opposition to the bill brought in during November 1651, to provide that the House should be dissolved on 3rd November 1654, and counted forty-seven votes. Cromwell and St. John told for the supporters of the bill, who numbered forty-nine. Morley was a member of the Council of State during 1652 and 1653, but after the forcible expulsion of the House of Commons by Cromwell in 1653 he seems to have taken little part in public affairs until Cromwell's death.

The Royalists, though crushed for the time, were not idle. In 1650 there was a widespread organization throughout a great part of England "concerning an association in the King's business." One Thomas Coke travelled into several counties in connection with this plot, which aimed at a concerted rising in various places. In 1651 he was examined before the Council of State, and confessed his

<sup>1</sup> Council of State Proceedings, 5th February, 1651.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 21st May 1651.

<sup>3</sup> Thurloe, iii, 581.

proceedings at great length, revealing the names of all concerned. It did not appear that much had been arranged in Sussex, but Coke believed that among those engaged with Lord Gerard, in his "design for Kent, Surrey and Sussex," was Mr. Henry Howard, the Earl of Arundel's son; and stated that in Sussex Mr. Middleton was looked on as a person who would engage, as also Mr. Lewknor, Sir Edward Ford and Mr. Gunter. Coke visited Ford, who added the names of Lord Lumley and Colonel Norton, formerly Governor of Portsmouth; and advised Coke to consult Mr. Ashburnham, which he had not done.<sup>1</sup> Probably all this was, at least as far as Sussex was concerned, little more than brave talk.

One of Cromwell's first acts was to abolish the grievance of free-quarter, which had weighed so heavily on the county during the war.<sup>2</sup> With the inception of the New Model attempts had been made to remove this grievance. On 22nd May 1646, Fairfax issued an Order: "Forasmuch as the Army under my command have for some time past for want of pay practised free quarter, to the great scandal thereof, and to the extreme burden of the country, especially those parts which as yet do pay very great contributions to many garrisons, well nigh to the utter undoing of the inhabitants. In consideration whereof, and confidence of due pay for the future, I do hereby strictly charge and order all officers and soldiers whatsoever, horse and foot, duly to discharge their quarters, according to the several rates expressed in an Ordinance of Parliament;—4*d.* a night hay, 2*d.* a night grass, 4*d.* a peck oats, 6*d.* a peck

<sup>1</sup> Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 578, 582.

<sup>2</sup> In July 1652 Mr. Frost was ordered "to pay £25 to Anne Dennie out of the exigent money of the Council of State for quartering soldiers at Goring House for three months." Anne, daughter of Henry Denny, was the mother of George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and must have been at this date of very advanced age, as the Earl himself died in 1663, aged about eighty (see Cal. S. P. Dom., Interregnum, xxiv, 61).

pease and beans, and also 8*d.* a day for the diet of every trooper or horseman, 7*d.* a day for every dragoon, and 6*d.* a day for every foot soldier, pioneer, waggoner or carter that shall not be officers by Commission. Every Officer by Commission, or person of the Life-guard troop, shall pay the full value for his provisions, both for horse and man." If for want of pay it was impossible for them to pay at the time, they were to "give ticket" for such provisions as they required.<sup>1</sup> But this was a counsel of perfection, and had failed to remove the grievance. We have seen that the Corporation of Rye, in 1648, spoke of "the kingdom groaning under the burden of free-quarter."<sup>2</sup> Even after its abolition by Cromwell, it sometimes remained in fact.

The garrison of Rye, in particular, continued to be a severe incubus, and we find the corporation petitioning for its withdrawal, and also for the repayment of sums of money advanced to officers.<sup>3</sup> Later on, under the Protectorate, this grievance became very acute. It was complained that the strict enforcement of garrison rules, as to the disarming of strangers entering the town, had caused an "utter cessation of gentlemen's access" to it, whereby the trade of the town was abundantly decayed.<sup>4</sup> Another vexation was the number of disbanded soldiers, and other undesirable strangers, who were perhaps attracted to the seaport towns by the general adventurousness of life in such places. The established tradesmen complained of the competition of these strangers in setting up and exercising public trades and callings, and the authorities feared that if suffered to remain until they became by law inhabitants, they might in process of time become a parish charge.<sup>5</sup> These troubles, together with the increase of alehouses and brewers, are mentioned as among "the visible causes

<sup>1</sup> Perfect Occurrences, 22nd to 29th May 1646.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

threatening the destruction and ruin of this town if not prevented."

The case of the disbanded soldiers was a hard one—"who desiring to exercise manual occupations and other means to get themselves a livelihood are denied the same within several corporations."<sup>1</sup> In September 1654 Cromwell issued an ordinance dealing with the hindrances, such as by-laws and customs, imposed on them by such corporations as that of Rye. He ordered that any soldier, who had served in the army of the Parliament for not less than four years, between 1642 and 1651, should be free to practise his trade or occupation in any place in spite of any legal restrictions.<sup>2</sup>

With the establishment of the Commonwealth the practice of Puritan principles became more precise. Chief among these was the strict observance of Sunday. The proclamation of James I, renewed by Charles I, known as the "Book of Sports," provided for a Sunday which most people in our day would consider reasonable enough. After referring to "the complaints of our people that they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise on the Sunday afternoon, after the ending of all divine service," it proceeded to ask, "When shall the common people have leave to exercise if not upon the Sundays and holy days, seeing they must apply their labour and win their living in all working days? Our pleasure therefore is that no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people which shall not tend to the breach of our laws and canons of our Church, and our pleasure is that after the end of Divine Service our good people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other harmless recreation; or from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances, and other sports therewith

<sup>1</sup> Army Petition, 12th August 1652.

<sup>2</sup> Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, ii, 357, 389.



used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine service, and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to church for decorating it according to their old custom." This proclamation, to which was added a proviso that no one should engage in such amusements who had not previously attended Divine service, was ordered to be read in parish churches. To the Puritans such a practice as it enjoined was anathema, and with the establishment of the Commonwealth official prohibition was given to it; though doubtless it had actually ceased throughout the war. Every sort of amusement was forbidden on Sunday, and the most trivial infringements of this order were the subject of presentment by grand juries. In 1654 the Grand Inquest of Rye presented three boys for sliding on the ice on the Sabbath day.<sup>1</sup> Even the professional tramp, "rogue, vagabond or beggar" had to cease his tramping, and be bundled off to church by the parish constable, there to remain "soberly and orderly during the time of Divine worship."

Doubtless the unfortunate tendency of the English to flavour recreation with an excess of ale gave some colour of reason to Puritan severity. There is plenty of evidence of the increase of alehouses and brewers already mentioned; war is thirsty work. In 1652 the constables of the town of Rye were required carefully and diligently to make search and inquisition in all taverns, inns, alehouses, tobacco houses or shops, or victualling houses for the discovery and apprehension of those who shall upon the Lord's day profanely dance, sing, drink, or tipple contrary to the Act of Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

The penalties for using bad language seem to have been very severe. On 14th March 1656, the constables of Rye were ordered to levy a distress of £1 6s. 8d. on Alice, the

<sup>1</sup> Inderwick, *The Interregnum*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Rye MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiii, 4), p. 220.

wife of Robert Batten, seaman, for profanely swearing four oaths, and in default of finding goods to the value of the fine, to set the said Alice in the stocks for twenty-four hours.<sup>1</sup> If, as is not improbable, Robert Batten was one of the seamen impressed at the time for service in the navy,<sup>2</sup> his poor wife might have been excused for expressing her feelings strongly.

It was not only on Sunday amusements that the Puritan looked askance. The old recreations of the country folk—bear-baiting, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, dancing, boxing, quarter-staff—all these were gradually put a stop to. Race-meetings were frequently, though not altogether, forbidden,<sup>3</sup> sometimes on the ground that they served as a cloak for the meeting and training of seditious Cavaliers. There was certainly some reason for this; for example, in 1658, John Stapley, George Hutchinson of Cuckfield, and Captain Henry Mallory met “at Hangleton race” and discussed the details of the plot in which Stapley was engaged.<sup>4</sup>

Life under the Commonwealth must have been indescribably dull. And in running counter to the natural and healthy tendencies of the time in the matter of Sunday observance, the Puritans did England a very ill service. They dissociated the holy-day and the holiday, an error into which the Church of Rome, with her penetrating insight into human nature and its needs, has not fallen. The gloom in which the Puritans immersed the Lord’s day has survived almost to our own time; the reaction, now that it has come, is likely to go far.

With the exception of the Dutch war, which chiefly affected the maritime towns, little seems to have occurred

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Ordinances prohibiting horse-racing were issued in July 1654, February 1655, and April 1658. See Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 224; Clarke Papers, iii, 130, 147.

<sup>4</sup> See *post*, p. 297.

during the early years of the Commonwealth to ruffle the calm of Sussex. The battle was won; the principles for which in the main the county had stood throughout the struggle were victorious; and if there was some disappointment that the millennium had not arrived—that harvests were bad, and taxation higher than ever—there was no open disaffection.

## CHAPTER XIV

### SOME SUSSEX MEN

REFERENCE has already been made to the many Sussex men who in one way or another were closely connected with Charles I, and shared some of the most memorable incidents of his life. But they do not by any means complete the list of those who played a leading part in the great drama. Alike in Parliament and in the field, in divinity and in the law, men of Sussex birth or descent achieved careers of eminence and distinction. One at least has left an imperishable name.

John Selden, the greatest Sussex man of the time, some will say of all time—"the glory of the English nation," as he was named by Grotius, his literary antagonist—was born at Salvington, a hamlet of West Tarring, as his epitaph in the Temple Church records.

His father seems to have been of the yeoman class; his mother was daughter and heiress of Thomas Baker of Rustington, a connection of the gentle family of Baker of Sissinghurst, in Kent. He was born in 1584, and at an early age was sent to the free school at Chichester, whence, being fourteen years old, he proceeded to Hart Hall, Oxford. He is said to have owed an exhibition there to the patronage of Bishop Juxon. Four years later he removed to Clifford's Inn, and subsequently became a member of the Inner Temple. He does not appear to have practised much at the Bar, but to have devoted himself to the study of the literary and historical side of the English law and Constitution. In a very few years he attained a great



JOHN SELDEN.



reputation as an author, and became the friend and associate of the most eminent literary men of the time—Archbishop Usher, Sir Robert Cotton, Camden, Ben Jonson, Browne, and Drayton. His great work on Titles of Honour appeared in 1614, and four years later he first came into collision with the authorities through the publication of his History of Tythes. He approached the subject of tithes in a purely antiquarian spirit, and without impugning the divine right by which the Church claims them, he cited numerous authorities of weight which tended to invalidate it. The clergy were alarmed and the King offended, and Selden was compelled to retract his views in a formal document.

This is not the place to relate at length the part he played in the stormy Constitutional struggle now about to open; a few main points in his career must suffice. In 1621 he had attained the position of the chief Constitutional authority in the kingdom. King James having imprudently asserted in a speech to Parliament that the privileges of both Houses were originally grants from the Crown, both Houses consulted Selden on the subject. In giving his opinion he defended the fair prerogative, but wholly denied James's claims. James retaliated by committing Selden to the Tower, and with childish rage tore the Commons' declaration of protest from their Journals.

Selden was soon released, and in 1628 entered Parliament. The pretensions of the Crown were now becoming more extensive, and Selden took a great share in forming public opinion against them. He spoke on all the great subjects of the day, and his words were listened to as the dictates of an oracle. So formidable did he become, that he was arrested on a charge of using seditious language, and kept in prison for four years. To the Long Parliament he was returned as Member for the University of Oxford, and was again foremost among those who opposed the Court. In 1642 the King endeavoured to bribe him with

an offer of the custody of the Great Seal, but in a letter to Falkland declining it, Selden made it clear that he would never serve the King separately from the Parliament.

In the early days of the Civil War he was active in the House of Commons, but appears later to have become somewhat disgusted at its proceedings. For his fellow members of the Westminster Assembly he did not disguise his contempt. When they were disputing about a passage of Scripture, he observed to them, "Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus—and thus."<sup>1</sup>

He died in 1654. He left a fortune of £40,000, which he had received as residuary legatee of the widow of his friend the Earl of Kent. Of this he left each of his nephews and nieces a hundred pounds, and the balance to his four executors. "I have no one," he was wont to say, "to make my heir, except a milkmaid; and such people do not know what to do with a great estate."<sup>2</sup> His library of eight thousand volumes went to the Bodleian.

The unique position which, by his learning and integrity, Selden attained is well summed up by an anonymous author.<sup>3</sup> "He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a museum, or great public library, resorted to as a matter of course, and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council not so much as the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages; concerning whom, and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock's *Memoirs*, p. 68; S. A. C., v, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Lower's *Worthies of Sussex*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Lodge's *Portraits*, v, 57.



authority in the decision of questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs."

A literary man of a different calibre was Thomas May. Sussex has been fortunate in her poets. She can boast three or four stars of the first magnitude, and quite a constellation of minor luminaries. Among these May shines not the least. Son of Sir Thomas May of Mayfield, he was born in 1595, and after graduating at Cambridge, went to London to study law at Gray's Inn. But his father's lavish expenditure having left him in straitened circumstances he adopted literature as a profession, and had an immediate success. He frequented Court, and attracted the notice of Charles I and his queen. Encouraged by Ben Jonson, he wrote several plays, but his greatest work was his translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*; or the Civil Warres of Rome, between Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. The whole ten bookes, Englished, published in 1627. He also wrote in Latin a supplement to Lucan, and was pronounced in later times by Dr. Johnson the best Latin poet of England. By Charles's command he wrote in verse *The Reign of King Henry the Second in Seven Books*, and also *The Victorious Reign of Edward the Third*. It is said that he was disappointed in not being appointed Poet Laureate on the death of Ben Jonson, when D'Avenant was preferred. From this or some other cause his loyalty cooled, and, on the outbreak of Civil War, he sided with the Parliament. He was appointed Secretary for the Parliament in 1646, and the following year, by order of the House, wrote *The History of the Parliament of England*—a brief account of the civil wars, pronounced by Chatham "honester and more instructive than Clarendon's." He died in 1650. He was in perfect health though of a full habit, and took a "cheerful bottle" as usual before retiring one night; he was found dead in his bed in the morning, having tied the strings of his nightcap too tightly under his chin, which produced suffocation—a catastrophe which caused much

merriment in Royalist circles, and was the occasion of a poem by Andrew Marvell, full of bitter vituperation.<sup>1</sup> He was buried in Westminster Abbey, but Royalist spite at the Restoration cast down his monument, and removed his bones to a pit belonging to St. Margaret's Church.

Associated with Thomas May in the secretaryship of the House of Commons was Henry Parker, fourth son of Sir Nicholas Parker of Ratton, Sussex. Educated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and called to the Bar in 1637, he was at first a Presbyterian, but later inclined to the Independents, and is described by Anthony Wood as "a man of dangerous and anti-monarchical principles." In conjunction with May and John Sadler, he deciphered and transcribed the King's papers taken at Naseby, and published *The King's Cabinet Opened*. After spending three years at Hamburg as secretary to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, he was appointed in 1649 secretary to Cromwell's army in Ireland ("a brewer's clerk," says Anthony Wood), and died there in 1652.<sup>2</sup>

Sussex seems to have been no less prolific of bishops than of poets. Fuller, writing in 1662, remarks: "As to the nativities of Archbishops, one may say of this county, 'many shires have done worthily, but Sussex surmounteth them all,'—having bred five Arch-bishops of Canterbury, and at this instant claiming for her natives the two metropolitans of our nation"—Juxon and Frewen. Accepted Frewen<sup>3</sup> was born in 1588, the eldest son of John Frewen, the Puritan rector of Northiam, whose epitaph records that he was

ECCLESIAE ANGLICANAE  
CONTRA PONTIFICIOS  
VINDEX ACERRIMUS  
UT PLURIMA IPSIUS OPERA  
SAEPIUS TYPIS MANDATA ABUNDE  
TESTANTUR.

<sup>1</sup> Lower's *Worthies of Sussex*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. B.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 24.

The young Accepted received his early education at the free school at Canterbury, whence he proceeded to Magdalen College, Oxford, of which foundation he became a fellow in 1612. In 1617 he obtained leave of absence for a year in order to act as chaplain to Sir John Digby, Ambassador to Spain;<sup>1</sup> whom he also accompanied on a mission to Germany. In 1622 he was again in Spain with Digby, now Earl of Bristol, on the occasion of Prince Charles's visit to court the Infanta. Seeing the attempts made to convert the English prince to Romanism he preached before him, on the text: "How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him."<sup>2</sup> The sermon was a powerful plea in favour of the Church of England, and made a great impression on Charles, who on his accession added Frewen's name to his list of chaplains with his own hand. He became successively Canon of Canterbury, President of Magdalen and Dean of Gloucester, and Dean of Wells; and held also two livings in the gift of his College. In 1642 he was mainly instrumental in inducing the Oxford Colleges to send their plate to the King at York; and he provided out of his own purse £500, which was given as a contribution on the part of Magdalen to the Royal cause. The Parliament then ordered his arrest, whereupon he withdrew, and only returned to Oxford with the King after the battle of Edgehill. In 1643 he was preferred to the See of Lichfield, and the following year was consecrated by Archbishop Williams in Magdalen College Chapel. In 1652 his estate was declared to be forfeited for treason against the Parliament, but escaped owing to his being erroneously designated "Stephen Frewen, D.D., late of the University of Oxford." Stephen Frewen, Accepted's half-brother, was a furrier, a member of the Skinners' Company, and an Alderman of London, and seems to have kept in with both

<sup>1</sup> Registers of Magdalen College.

<sup>2</sup> Lower's Worthies of Sussex, p. 50.

sides.<sup>1</sup> Another brother, Benjamin, was a haberdasher.<sup>2</sup> A similar mistake as to his Christian name had enabled Accepted Frewen to escape a greater peril when Cromwell had offered a thousand pounds to any one who would bring him dead or alive.<sup>3</sup> The Bishop withdrew to France until the fury of the times abated, when he returned to England and lived in retirement. At the Restoration he was nominated Archbishop of York. Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, had been designed for this preferment, but he "withdrew himself into the country, and through his negligence and carelessness in not following it up as he ought to have done, Dr. Frewen, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, got it from him, and by this means he continues here, to his loss and my prejudice,"<sup>4</sup> as another clergyman complained.

Frewen died in 1664, and was buried in his own cathedral. He is described as a mild and peaceable man, of some eccentricity; he had an aversion to women, and would never allow a woman-servant in his establishment at any period of his life. A happy turn for holding pluralities enabled him to leave a large fortune.

While Archbishop Frewen was inducing the colleges of Oxford to melt their plate for the King's service, another Sussex ecclesiastic was endeavouring to persuade the Cambridge authorities to do their colleges the same ill service. Thomas Comber came of a family which claimed to possess the manor of Barkham in Fletching by gift from William the Conqueror, for the slaying of a Saxon lord at the battle of Hastings.<sup>5</sup> He is said to have been born at Shermanbury in 1575, the twelfth child of Richard Comber, Clarenceux King-at-Arms, and to have had his school-

<sup>1</sup> See *A History of Brickwall, etc.*, by A. L. Frewen, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *S. A. C.*, iv, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Lower gives no authority for this rather remarkable story, which is copied in the *D. N. B.*

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Dr. Edward Burton, rector of Broadwater, who through this mischance lost the bishopric of Chichester. *S. A. C.*, xi, 33.

<sup>5</sup> Lower, *Worthies of Sussex*, p. 307.

ing at Collyer's School, Horsham.<sup>1</sup> In 1593 he proceeded to Trinity, Cambridge, and four years later became a fellow and later Master of the College. On the outbreak of civil war, he espoused the King's cause, and incurred the enmity of the Parliament for urging the heads of the other colleges to the course above-mentioned. For this, and refusing to take the Covenant, he was deprived of all his preferments and imprisoned. He died in 1653.

Two divines of Sussex origin rose to eminence on the Puritan side. Philip Nye, the great Independent preacher, was the eldest son of Henry Nye, rector of Clapham in Sussex, and was born about 1596. John Pell, mathematician and diplomatist, was born at Southwick, near Brighton, in 1611, and educated at Steyning Grammar School. He was Cromwell's political agent to the Cantons of Switzerland from 1654 to 1658.

Samuel Gott, member for various Sussex constituencies throughout this period, was a man of varied activities and considerable local influence—a politician, an author, a man of business, and a country Justice of the Peace. Born in 1613, the son of an ironmonger of London, he was educated at Cambridge and called to the Bar at Gray's Inn. Shortly after his father's death in 1641 he married a daughter of Peter Farnden, ironmaster, of Sedlescombe, and went to reside at Battle. In 1645 Gott and Henry Oxenden became members for Winchelsea in the Long Parliament *vice* Sir J. Finch deceased and William Smyth disabled.<sup>2</sup> To the Parliament of 1656 he was elected for the county of Sussex, and to Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1659 for Hastings. In this House he spoke in faint praise of Cromwell's new lords.<sup>3</sup> The Latin Romance, *Nova Solyma*, previously attributed with some plausibility to John Milton,

<sup>1</sup> Hay, History of Chichester, p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> Return of Members of Parliament: ordered to be printed, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Burton's Diary, London, 1828, iv, 57.

has recently been shown to be his work.<sup>1</sup> He published two or three other books, of a devotional character. He died in 1671, and was buried at Battle.

Among the soldiers of fortune who hurried back to England from the continent when the King raised his standard was Henry Gage, a scion of the ancient Sussex family of Firlle, which had consistently maintained its adherence to the Catholic religion. His great-grandfather was the celebrated Sir John Gage, who was Constable of the Tower under Henry VIII, and again under Mary, when he had charge of the Princess Elizabeth. There was no more honourable and gallant figure than that of Henry Gage on the Royalist side, and his untimely death called forth a chorus of lamentation. He is thus described by Clarendon: "In truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction, his grandfather having been a Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the Arch-Duke and Duchess Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a very great and regular Court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a very wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it, which rendered him so ungrateful to the governor, Sir Arthur [Aston], that he crossed him in anything he proposed and hated him perfectly, as they

<sup>1</sup> The Library, Third Series, No. 3, Vol. i, July 1910.

were of natures and manners as different as men could be."

Gage's chief performances in the war were in connection with Basing House, which he twice relieved, and the capture of Borstall House, when he placed Sir William Campion in command of the garrison.<sup>1</sup> He was knighted by the King at Oxford in November 1644, and shortly after appointed Governor of Oxford, in place of the unpopular Sir Arthur Aston. But he was not destined to enjoy this honour long. The town of Abingdon, distant only some six miles, and strongly garrisoned by the Parliament, had long been a thorn in the side of Oxford, and with the approval of Prince Rupert, Sir Henry Gage proposed to construct a fort at Culham Bridge to keep the Abingdon forces in check. On 11th January 1645, he marched out of Oxford at the head of a party of horse and foot. Major-General Browne, the Parliamentary commander at Abingdon, was on the alert and a sharp skirmish ensued. Sir Henry Gage was wounded by a musket ball, and died a few hours afterwards.<sup>2</sup> "His body was afterwards interred at Oxford with funebrious exequies and solemnities answerable to his merits, who, having done His Majesty special service, was whilst living, generally beloved, and dead is still universally lamented."

Henry Gage's brother Thomas affords an example of those extraordinarily varied careers in which the time abounded. Having become a Spanish Dominican in early youth, he lived some time among the Indians of Central America; he crossed Nicaragua, reached Panama and traversing the Isthmus sailed from Portobello, reaching Europe in 1637. After a visit to Loreto he renounced Catholicism and came to England in 1641. He preached his recantation sermon in St. Paul's, and joined the Parliamentary party. He was appointed vicar of Acrise in 1642,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> See Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, ch. xxvi.

and subsequently vicar of Deal. In 1648 he published his great book, *The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land*. But he seems to have tired of the quiet life of an English vicar, for when Admiral Sir William Penn was appointed, in 1654, General and Commander-in-Chief to act against the Spanish West Indies, in conjunction with General Robert Venables, Gage joined the expedition as Venables' chaplain. After a repulse at San Domingo, Jamaica was captured. Gage died in that island in 1656. Venables returned to England to find himself in disgrace, the importance and wealth of Jamaica being imperfectly known: "Under Cromwell," says Captain Mahan, "the conquest of Jamaica began that extension of England's empire by force of arms which has gone on ever since."<sup>1</sup> He was lodged in the Tower and cashiered. Perhaps he was meant by nature for quieter times; he is chiefly remembered as the author of a treatise on the gentle art of angling, published in 1662, nine years after Izaak Walton's.

In a former chapter mention has been made of the early life of Sir Thomas Lunsford, and of the storm occasioned by his appointment to the Lieutenancy of the Tower.<sup>2</sup> Some further particulars of this extraordinary character may be noted here. Of him and his twin brother, Herbert, a contemporary wrote that they were "both the biggest men, though twins, you could likely see to, whereof Sir Thomas was feigned by the Brethren, a devourer of children."<sup>3</sup> The popular belief that he was a cannibal, and the use of his name as a bugbear, are alluded to by Butler in *Hudibras*, speaking of preachers, who

Make children with *their* tones to run for't  
As bad as Bloody-bones or Lunsford.

<sup>1</sup> *Influence of Sea Power on History*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> D. Lloyd's *Loyalists*, p. 581; S. A. C., v, 81.





I'll helpe to kill, to pillage and destroy  
All the Opposers of the Prelacy.  
(My Fortunes are growne small, my Friends are less  
He venter therefore life to have redress  
By picking, stealing, or by cutting throates.  
Although my practice crosses the Kingdoms votes.

SIR THOMAS LUNSFORD.



At the battle of Edgehill he was falsely reported killed, and a popular ballad of the day reported

The Post that came from Banbury  
Riding in his blue rocket,  
He swore he saw when Lunsford fell  
A child's arm in his pocket.

Sir Thomas was not killed at Edgehill, but made prisoner. He was exchanged in 1644, joined the King at Oxford, and distinguished himself at Bristol and at Monmouth. He seems to have retired to Virginia in 1649, and to have died there a few years later.<sup>1</sup> His twin brother, Herbert, rose to the command of a regiment, and was knighted in July 1644.

To relate fully the history of the Gorings of Danny, father and son, would almost be to tell again the history of the Civil War. It may be briefly sketched here.

George Goring of Ovingdean, a son of Sir William Goring of Burton, knight, married Anne, daughter of Henry Denny, Esq., of Waltham in Essex, and sister of Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich. He acquired the manor of Hurstpierpoint, and built the noble mansion of Danny. His son George, born about 1583, is said to have begun his life at Court as one of the gentlemen pensioners of Queen Elizabeth. He certainly became one of the most favoured courtiers of James and Charles. In 1628 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Goring. Offices were heaped upon him; and he was concerned in some of the King's most unwise and oppressive schemes for raising money. He was chief among the persons to whom, in 1636, the tobacco monopoly was granted; and his income in 1641-2 was estimated at £26,800 a year.<sup>2</sup> The Long Parliament put an end to his prosperity, and his fortune was expended in the King's service during the war.

His eldest son George, by his wife Mary, second daughter

<sup>1</sup> D. N. B.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. II, lxxvii, 19.

of Edward Nevill, sixth Lord Abergavenny, was born in 1608. His surrender of Portsmouth, of which he was in command at the outbreak of war, has already been recorded. Goring went to Holland, and having recruited there a number of officers and veteran soldiers for the King's service, landed at Newcastle three months later, in December 1642. The Earl of Newcastle made him master of his horse. In the following May he was taken prisoner by Fairfax at the storming of Wakefield, and imprisoned in the Tower until April 1644, when he was exchanged for the Earl of Lowthian. Meantime his father had been sent to France as ambassador to negotiate for a French alliance, and had received from Mazarin promises of arms and money. He had also pawned the Queen's jewels for large sums, and with the proceeds was sending a considerable store of arms to England.<sup>1</sup> A letter of his to the Queen fell into the hands of the Parliament, and he was promptly impeached for high treason. The King rewarded his zeal by creating him Earl of Norwich on 28th November 1644; the earldom having become extinct by the recent death of his uncle, Edward Denny.

George Goring the younger, now by courtesy Lord Goring, had been appointed in the previous August Lieutenant-General of the horse in the King's main army, in place of Wilmot, with whom he had been at enmity since his revelation of the "army plot" to the Parliament in 1641. Clarendon, who hates both, seizes the opportunity to make a masterly characterization by way of contrast. "Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to Prince Rupert than Wilmot had been; and had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity and preserving his respect with his offices. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business; and never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had much a better understanding and a sharper wit (except in the very exer-

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. xiii.

cise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired), a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented or warily declined it, and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory, and in one of those fits he suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable license. Neither of them valued their promises, professions or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself: Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit sake, and loved no man so well but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to the public mirth for having been cozened; and therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company, for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambitions of both were unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained by any respect to good-nature or justice from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through these pleasantly, and would without hesitation have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry (for he had wit and courage and understanding and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man) to have been as any man in the age he lived in or before. And of all his qualifications dissimulation was his masterpiece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him."

In December 1644 Goring was appointed Lieutenant-General of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent; and during the following year commanded the Royal army in the west. It is unnecessary to follow the course of his proceedings, an almost unbroken record of defeat, lost opportunities, and debauchery. When the King's army finally surrendered to Fairfax in March 1646, Goring was in France.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Norwich played an important part in the second Civil War of 1648. He had come to England at the end of 1647 with a pass from Parliament, under pretence of making his composition. He was appointed to the command of the King's forces in Kent. "He found," says Clarendon, "the assembly at Maidstone very numerous; he found them likewise very disorderly and without government, nor easy to be reduced under any command. . . . The earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always lived in the Court, in such a station of business as raised him very few enemies; and his pleasant and jovial nature, which was everywhere acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delighted in his company."<sup>2</sup> Foiled in his attempt to cause a rising in London, he crossed into Essex and occupied Colchester, where he was besieged by Fairfax. After a siege of over two months he was compelled by starvation to surrender on 27th August.

It was during the siege of Colchester that Sir William Campion of Combwell, ancestor of the Campions of Danny, was killed in a sortie, as has already been mentioned. Lord Norwich thus announced his death to his widow:

Colchester, June 26th 1648.

"MADAM,

"To offer you set comfort upon soe inexpressible a losse, would be noe less indiscretion in me, than im-

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon, xi, 55.

portunity to you. I shall therefore only begg this on favour from you, for his sake that your ladyship loved most; and I next, that if you can any waye finde wherein I may sacrifice ought to his memory, to the hazard of all I am or ever may be, your ladyship shall then see, by the passion wherewith I shall undertake it, how really I was his, and how sincerely, madam, I am, madam, your ladyship's all bound and faithful servant,

“NORWICH.”

“I most humbly pray your ladyship to let my wife know, I never was better in health and heart in all my life, and that I wrote to her twice very lately.”<sup>1</sup>

Norwich was tried before a high court specially constituted, and condemned to death. He was respited by the House of Commons—the casting vote of the Speaker, Lenthall, turning the scale—and set at liberty. He lived to see the Restoration, and died in January 1663, aged about eighty. His eldest son had died in Madrid six years before, in a very destitute condition. He appears to have taken service in the Spanish army, and was certainly present at the Siege of Barcelona in 1652. Two letters written by him in May of that year, “from the army before Barcelona,” to his father and his brother, Colonel Charles Goring, describe his necessities and infirmities, and are of considerable local interest from their references to the estates of Danny and Hurstpierpoint.<sup>2</sup> It appears that they were managed by two trustees, Tom Hipplesley and Timothy Butts, who managed to keep them out of the hands of the sequestrators, but paid none of the proceeds to the Gorings. Perhaps these were inconsiderable, as the properties had been mortgaged for large sums to meet

<sup>1</sup> Danny MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, vol. i, p. 597. They are also printed in S. A. C., xix, 98-100.

the extravagant expenses of George Goring, and his father's contributions to the King's chest.

The second son, Charles Goring, succeeded his father as Earl of Norwich, but on his death, without issue, the title became extinct.



## CHAPTER XV

### WORCESTER AND BRIGHTHELMSTONE

ON 1st January 1651, the younger Charles was crowned King at Scone with such splendour as the trouble of the times admitted. On his arrival at Speymouth in the previous June he had been compelled to swear to the Covenants, and he repeated the oath at his coronation. His position was far from pleasant or secure, and soon became untenable. An English army was in possession of Edinburgh and all the south of Scotland; and in August Cromwell, having crossed the Firth of Forth with his main body of troops, marched on Perth, which surrendered on 2nd August. As a last desperate stroke Charles resolved to throw himself upon England, and trust to the chance of a general rising. Breaking up his camp at Stirling, he marched rapidly southwards with an army of 20,000 men. He met with little opposition, but with small success in the raising of recruits. He had hoped to raise Lancashire, but Lancashire was indifferent. He reached Worcester on the 22nd August. His weary and dispirited army could go no further, and he decided to remain there and to fortify the city.

This invasion does not seem to have caused any great fear of Royalist risings in the south of England, such as had occurred in 1648, when Hamilton led a Scottish army into Lancashire. But some precautionary measures were taken. On 28th August the House ordered that the Sussex militia regiment was immediately to be made up to a

strength of one thousand men, and to march forthwith to Oxford; Major Young to have a commission as Major. It is significant of the calm which reigned in the county, that two troops of one hundred each, under Captain Stapley<sup>1</sup> and Captain Broughton,<sup>2</sup> were considered sufficient for the protection of East and West Sussex respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Meantime Cromwell was following "the Scots King" rapidly, and reached Warwick only two days after Charles entered Worcester. On 3rd September he attacked with an army of 30,000 men, probably twice the strength of the Royal forces. It was a desperate fight, "as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen," wrote Cromwell to Lenthall. The Scots made a fierce resistance, and were finally overwhelmed in Worcester streets. "His Sacred Majesty escaped, by royal oaks and other miraculous appliances well known to mankind: but fourteen-thousand other men, sacred too after a sort though not majesties, did not escape."<sup>4</sup>

The story of Charles's subsequent adventures has often been told. It is indeed no wonder that so brave a tale of hairbreadth escapes and unswerving loyalties should have caught the popular taste. The most romantic episode in the romantic story of the House of Stuart, it has been embroidered by the fancy of novelists, and many a village claims a share in it for its manor-house or inn, for which history gives no foundation.

Ostensibly no pains were spared by the Parliament to effect his capture. A proclamation issued on 10th September declared him a malicious and dangerous traitor to the peace of the Commonwealth, and offered a reward of one thousand pounds for his apprehension. Yet he disappeared so completely that, until news of his arrival in

<sup>1</sup> John Stapley, eldest son of Colonel Anthony Stapley.

<sup>2</sup> M.P. for Lewes in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 1659.

<sup>3</sup> Council of State Proceedings, 27th and 28th August 1651.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, iii, 155.

France reached London, it was commonly believed that in the flight from Worcester he had been killed by peasants ignorant of his rank. Perhaps the Parliament was not sorry to be quit of him. A repetition of his father's trial and execution would have been troublesome and damaging, and it would have resulted merely in setting his brother James in Charles's place. "Why should they kill Charles to make James King?" as Charles himself said at a later day.

The Stuarts seem to have had a special talent for wandering in disguise. Charles I rode out of Oxford and through several English counties disguised as John Ashburnham's servant; Charles II made so good a Will Jackson, that an inn-keeper who had delivered himself rather freely on the subject of Oliver Cromwell, mistrusted him as a Roundhead knave; and in the following century the young Pretender worthily carried on the family tradition. It is only necessary here to deal with that portion of Charles's journey in which Sussex is concerned. The following account is based on the narrative of Colonel Gounter of Racton, which was written before the Restoration, and is probably more trustworthy than the histories compiled later, some of which bear traces of a desire to enhance the deserts of certain of the actors. The original manuscript is in the British Museum, having been discovered in a secret drawer in an old bureau, when the ancient seat of the Gounters at Racton was dismantled about 1830. It has been several times printed. It is entitled "The last Act in the Miraculous Storie of His M<sup>ties</sup> Escape, being a true and perfect relation of his Conveyance, through many dangers to a safe harbour out of the reach of his tyranicall enemies. By Colonel Gounter, of Rackton, in Sussex, who had the happiness to be instrumental in the business (as it was taken from his mouth by a person of worth, a little before his death)."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Gounter's name does not appear in the Dictionary of National Biography, where it would certainly seem to deserve a place.

Colonel George Gounter, and his cousin Thomas, had served the King in the Civil War, and had been taken prisoners at the fall of Chichester.<sup>1</sup> In September 1651, the Colonel was summoned to appear before the Commissioners sitting at Haberdashers' Hall, London, and to pay a fine of £200, or in default to suffer sequestration of his estate. He went accordingly and got off £100 of the fine;<sup>2</sup> but his credit being much shaken he could not borrow the remaining £100 in all London, and was obliged to repair with all speed to the country, and to obtain the money from "his usurer," to whom his whole estate was mortgaged. Having settled this business he returned home on the night of 7th October. His lady met him at the door, and told him that a Devonshire gentleman was waiting to see him, whom, on entering, he recognized as Lord Wilmot. Wilmot was only slightly disguised, but sufficiently to prevent Thomas Gounter from knowing him, although he had seen service under his command. Colonel Gounter having requested his wife and his cousin to retire, Wilmot broke his business to him. He related how Charles, after the fight at Worcester, had fled northwards into Shropshire, and thence to Bristol in the hope of finding a ship to take him to the Continent. Having failed in this attempt, and also at the Dorsetshire ports, he was now lying at Heale House, near Amesbury. Dr. Henchman<sup>3</sup> had recommended that one of the Sussex ports should be tried, and that the assistance of Colonel Gounter, of whose fidelity he was very confident, should be obtained for this purpose. "Can you help us to a boat?" said Wilmot. The Colonel replied that for all he lived so near the sea, there was no man living so little acquainted with sea-faring

<sup>1</sup> See p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Gounter's narrative is here confirmed by the official records. The actual amount he was ordered to pay was £127. Cal. Com. for Advance of Money, 29th August 1651.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, 1660-3, and of London, 1663-75.

men, but that he would do his utmost to acquit himself of his duty. With this answer Wilmot was abundantly satisfied, and they parted for the night.

On reaching his chamber Gounter found that his wife had stayed up for him, and was very insistent to know who the stranger was, and what his business. He replied that it was nothing concerning her; but she declared that she knew there was enough in it to ruin him and all his family, and burst into a "great passion of weeping." He therefore went to Lord Wilmot, who desired him to inform her of the matter. Returning to his chamber he wiped the tears from his lady's eyes and unfolded the business; whereupon she smiled and said: "Go on and prosper, but I fear you will hardly do it."

Next day an attempt was made to find a boat at Emsworth and at other places on the coast, but with no success. Captain Thomas Gounter had been taken into his cousin's confidence, and he also tried to obtain a boat, but in vain. Then the Colonel bethought him of a merchant in Chichester, one Mr. Francis Mansel, that traded with France, whom he knew by sight. Him he called upon and asked him if he could freight a bark, "for," he said, "I have two special friends of mine who have been engaged in a duel, and there is mischief done, and I am obliged to get them off if I can."

Mr. Mansel was confident that he could do so at Bright-helmstone, and the Colonel promised him fifty pounds for his pains if he could effect the business, and pressed him to ride thither with him immediately. But it being Stowe fair day, and his partner absent, Mr. Mansel could not go until the next day, which was agreed upon. Meantime Lord Wilmot had returned to Mr. Laurence Hyde's house at Hinton Daubeny, and Colonel Gounter, according to promise, repaired thither to tell him all that was done, of which his lordship greatly approved. He rode home in the night, and next morning started from Chichester with

Mr. Mansel for Brighthelmstone. They arrived there about two o'clock to find that the shipmaster they expected to meet had left, but providentially he had touched at Shoreham, where they found him. He was a native of Brighthelmstone, by name Nicholas Tetersall. To him Mansel told the same story as Wilmot had told him, and next day they came to an agreement that Tetersall was to carry the passengers over to the French coast, and to be paid sixty pounds before he took them on board. He was to be in readiness to sail at an hour's warning, and the merchant was to remain on the spot, under pretence of freighting the bark, in order to see everything ready against the return of the Colonel with his two friends.

Colonel Gounter then rode back with all speed to Mr. Hyde's, where he found Captain Robert Phelips of Montacute, in Somerset, a devoted adherent of the royal cause, who, on hearing his story, exclaimed: "Thou shalt be a saint in my almanack for ever." Lord Wilmot being also informed how things stood, they consulted who should go to the King; and it was decided that Colonel Phelips should go, as Colonel Gounter was greatly in need of rest.

On Monday, 13th October, Wilmot and the two Gounters went out on the downs with a brace of greyhounds as if to have a course at a hare, and presently met Colonel Phelips conducting the King. It was decided to lodge that night at the house of Gounter's sister, the wife of Thomas Symons, in the village of Hambledon, who received the party cordially, and set wine, ale, and biscuits before them. Presently her husband came home, "a loyal hearty gentleman, but too great a lover of the bottle." And it plainly appeared that he had "been in company." He was inclined to be annoyed at finding so many visitors in his house. "This is brave," he said; "a man can no sooner be out of the way than his house must be taken up with I know not whom." But seeing his brother-in-law he made them all welcome. Then noticing the close-cropped head and plain attire of





CHARLES II AT THE AGE OF NINETEEN.



Charles, who passed under the name of Will Jackson, he said: "Here is a Roundhead; I never knew you to keep Roundheads' company before." But the Colonel, answering for him as his friend, he took him by the shoulder and drank a glass of strong ale with him, and called him "brother Roundhead," a character which Charles kept up by gravely reproving him for a profane oath.

Next morning Charles bade farewell to Colonel Phelips and to Thomas Gounter, with thanks for their fidelity and service, and continued his journey to Brighthelmstone with Lord Wilmot and his servant and Colonel Gounter. The first part of his ride through Sussex, and the aspect of the country at the time, is admirably described by Harrison Ainsworth in Ovingdean Grange.

"After quitting the forest and skirting Stanstead Park, the Royal party pursued their way through a lovely and well-wooded district, until they came to the foot of an eminence called Bow Hill, and entered the narrow and picturesque vale denominated Kingly Bottom—so called from a battle between the inhabitants of Chichester and the Danes—and Charles failed not to notice the group of venerable yew-trees—venerable in *his* days, though still extant, with the trifle of two centuries added to their age—that adorn the valley. After this, they passed Stoke Down, bestowing a passing observation on the curious circular hollows indented in the sod.

"From the acclivities over which the travellers next rode, the ancient and picturesque city of Chichester could be seen on the level land near the sea, the tall spire and pinnacles of its noble cathedral, the adjacent bell-tower, and the quaint old octagonal market-cross, erected in the fifteenth century, all rising above the crumbling walls still surrounding the city. As Charles looked towards this fine old cathedral, he could not help deploring to his companions the damage it had sustained at the hands of the sacrilegious Republican soldiers.

“ Avoiding Chichester, the king and his company pursued their way along the beautiful and well-wooded slopes of the Goodwood downs. If the journey had been unattended with risk, it would have been delightful; but, beset by peril as he was on all sides, Charles did not lose his sense of enjoyment. The constant presence of danger had made him well-nigh indifferent to it. Constitutionally brave, almost reckless, he was assailed by no idle apprehensions. The chief maxim in his philosophy was to make the most of the passing moment, and not to let the chances of future misfortune damp present enjoyment.

“ The fineness of the weather contributed materially to the pleasure of the ride. It was an exquisite morning, and the day promised to continue equally beautiful throughout. The trees were clothed with the glowing livery of later autumn, and, as the whole district was well and variously wooded, there was every variety of shade in the foliage still left, from bright yellow to deepest red. Corn was then, as now, extensively grown in the broad and fertile fields in the flat land nearer the sea, but the crops had been gathered, and the fields were, for the most part, covered with stubble. The prospect offered to the king, as he looked towards the coast, was varied and extensive. On the left, the ancient mansion of Halnaker, now in ruins, but at that time presenting a goodly specimen of the Tudor era of architecture, seemed to invite him to halt; and Colonel Gunter informed his majesty that over the buttery hatch in this old house were scrolls hospitably entreating visitors to ‘ come in and drink,’ assuring them they would be ‘ les bien-venus.’ Notwithstanding these inducements to tarry, Charles rode on, galloping along the fine avenue of chestnut-trees, the fallen leaves of which now thickly strewed the ground.

“ Halnaker was soon left behind, and ere long the somewhat devious course of the royal party led them through the exquisite grove of birch-trees skirting Slindon Park, the remarkable beauty of the timber eliciting the warm

admiration of the king, who would fain have loitered to admire it at his leisure.

“The proud-looking castle of Arundel was now visible, magnificently situated on the terrace of a hill, surrounded by noble woods, above which towered the ancient central keep. From the spot where the royal party surveyed it, about two miles off, the stately edifice looked the picture of feudal grandeur, but a nearer approach showed how grievously it had been injured. Though the interior of the ancient and stately fabric was mutilated and destroyed, though the carved tombs and monuments, stone pulpit, arches, altars, delicate tracery, and exquisite architectural ornaments of the church were defaced, though much of the fine timber growing near the fortress was remorselessly hewn down, the defences of the castle were still maintained, and it was even then looked upon as a place of considerable strength.”

As the travellers approached Arundel they met the governor of the castle, Captain Morley, going out to hunt. The better to avoid him they dismounted, and so escaped notice. Charles being told who it was, replied merrily: “I did not much like his starched mouchates.”

This incident appears to have caused the travellers to change their route; instead of crossing the Arun at Arundel, they seem to have ridden northwards, and crossed at Houghton Bridge. In the village they stopped at an inn for some bread and drink without dismounting. A ride of eleven miles brought them to Bramber, and as they entered the town they came suddenly on a party of soldiers. Lord Wilmot was for turning back, but Colonel Gounter said: “If we do we are undone. Let us go boldly on and we shall not be suspected”; and the King agreed with him. And so it turned out.

Gounter wished the King to make a halt at Beeding, where he had provided refreshment at the house of one Mr. Backshall; but Wilmot opposed this course in view of

the neighbourhood of the soldiers. Colonel Gounter's narrative seems to suggest a slight disagreement on this point, with the result that Wilmot "carried the King out of the road I knew not whither, so we parted—they where they thought safest, I to Brighthelmstone."<sup>1</sup>

Wilmot and Charles probably rode direct over the downs. At any rate the party met again at the "George" Inn, at Brighthelmstone, where they found Mr. Mansel and Nicholas Tetersall. After supper the landlord, one Smith by name, went up to Charles, and taking his hand kissed it, saying: "It shall not be said but I have kissed the best man's hand in England." The King merely laughed, and went into the next room, "not desiring," as he said himself, "any further discourse with him, there being no remedy against my being known by him, and more discourse might have but raised suspicion." Smith is said to have been previously one of Charles I's guards.<sup>2</sup>

After some difficulty with Tetersall, who at the last minute declined to start unless his bark was insured by Gounter at a valuation of £200, they took horse about two hours after midnight, and rode to the creek, probably at Southwick, to which for greater safety the vessel of thirty-four tons burden had been brought, Shoreham being at that time an important and busy place.<sup>3</sup> The King and

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason whatever to suppose that Charles broke his journey between Hambledon and Brighton, at Amberley or Houghton, as suggested in an article entitled *Route of Charles II through Sussex* in *S. A. C.*, xviii. The writer is very inaccurate; he confuses Captain Morley, governor of Arundel, with Colonel Herbert Morley, and even with Sir William Waller; and he exaggerates the distance. Colonel Gounter's narrative is a much safer guide.

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable diversity of detail in the accounts of what passed on this night at Brighthelmstone. The whole matter is treated exhaustively in Mr. F. E. Sawyer's *Captain Nicholas Tetersall and the escape of Charles the Second*, *S. A. C.*, xxxii, 81 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> There is some doubt as to the actual place of embarkation. We know from Gounter's narrative that the vessel, when chartered, was lying at Shoreham. Clarendon and other writers not acquainted with

Lord Wilmot, having said farewell to Colonel Gounter, climbed on board, and lay down in the little cabin till the tide came. At eight in the morning they set sail. Gounter remained on the beach with the horses ready, in case anything untoward should happen, till the afternoon, when they passed out of sight. Next morning Charles landed safely at Fécamp in Normandy. No sooner was he on shore than a violent storm came on, so that Tetersall was forced to cut his cable, and lost his anchor to save his boat, for which he required of Gounter eight pounds, "and had it."

Nicholas Tetersall seems to have been by no means lacking in astuteness. At the Restoration he took his vessel into the Thames and moored her opposite Whitehall, no doubt as a gentle reminder of his claims. Soon after she was entered as a fifth-rate in the navy, when her name was changed from the *Surprise* to the *Royal Escape*, and she appears in the Navy List of 1684 as a smack of thirty-four tons, ten men, no guns.<sup>1</sup> Tetersall himself was made a Captain in the Navy, and received a pension of £100 a year. Colonel Gounter, who had been chiefly instrumental in arranging the escape, died before the Restoration, leaving his estate encumbered with a debt of £3,000, chiefly expended in the King's service. It does not appear that anything was done to relieve his family of this burden, but his widow obtained a pension of £200 a year for twenty-one years, and there is extant a letter of Charles II, dated 4th May 1664, recommending his son, George Gounter,

the locality speak of Brighthelmstone as the place whence Charles set sail, but the King himself, in his account dictated to Samuel Pepys, definitely states that he and his companions "went toward Shoreham, taking the master of the ship with us on horseback behind one of our company." Finding the vessel lying dry, it being low water, he and Lord Wilmot "got up with a ladder into her." When it was high water "they went out of the port." This seems to render untenable the opinion that they embarked from Brighton beach.

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxxii, 90.

then a boy at Winchester, for a scholarship at New College.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Francis Mansel, the merchant of Chichester, was granted a pension of £200 a year. But it does not seem to have been regularly paid, and as he was taxed on the strength of it, may have been rather a burden than a blessing. Samuel Pepys met him in 1667. "And so away with the 'chequer men to the Leg in King Street, and there had wine for them: and here was one in company with them, that was the man that got the vessel to carry over the King from Bredhemson, who hath a pension of £200 per annum, but ill paid, and the man is looking after getting of a prize-ship to live by; but the trouble is that the poor man who hath received no part of his money these four years and is ready to starve almost, must yet pay to the Poll Bill for this pension. He told me several particulars of the King's coming thither, which was mighty pleasant, and shews how mean a thing a king is, how subject to fall, and how like other men he is in his afflictions."<sup>2</sup>

The legend that Charles visited Ovingdean Grange, of which Harrison Ainsworth made use, has no foundation in fact, but is of respectable antiquity. "When the Geers lived at Ovingdean Farm, Charles the Second lay concealed here, till he had an opportunity of embarking at Brighton for France. His person had such an effect on the good woman of the house that her next child (a very fine boy) was said to be the picture of the King."<sup>3</sup>

It was fortunate for Gounter and others who had assisted Charles in his escape that until the Restoration he gave no true account of his adventures. He is even said to have amused himself by concocting a fictitious story. He asserted that he owed his safety after Worcester not to the Penderels

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxxii, 103.      <sup>2</sup> Pepys' Diary, ed. Wheatley, vi, 188.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Mr. Morgan's letter to Sir William Burrell, dated March 1780. Burrell MSS. in British Museum, No. 5684, p. 93. S. A. C., xiii, 307.

and Jane Lane, but to a soldier who had formerly been a highwayman and knew every by-path in the neighbourhood. He further declared that after his concealment in the oak he had made his way to London, where he disguised himself as a washerwoman, and passed through the streets carrying a basket of linen on his head.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, Commonwealth, ch. xvii.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE SUSSEX COAST AND THE DUTCH WAR

THE advantage which accrued to the Parliamentary cause from the adhesion of the navy has not always been duly estimated. The influence of sea-power on history is somewhat of a modern discovery. In the case of the Civil War its effects were more negative than positive; it must be judged rather by what it prevented than by what it achieved. When war was imminent the Parliament appointed the Earl of Warwick as Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, a somewhat lukewarm supporter of the popular party, who readily acquiesced. There was some demur on the part of a few captains, but Warwick carried the fleet with him. Perhaps an incautious remark of Charles about "water-rats" helped to bring about this result. Even in great crises petty personal feelings sometimes have an undue influence.

The Prince of Orange at any rate understood what the command of the sea and the possession of London meant to the Parliament; he told Dr. Stephen Goffe<sup>1</sup> that if the King could preserve himself until he could by sea do something upon the rebels and their London trade, they would be instantly ruined.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the greater part of the war the Parliament was able, through its possession of the fleet, to keep open the trade of London and other ports of the kingdom, and to render difficult Royalist communications with foreign

<sup>1</sup> See ch. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dvii, 37.



countries. The continual failure of the attempts to bring over foreign contingents was partly due to the existence of a strong Parliamentary fleet. Such incidents as the wholesale drowning of Irish troops captured by Captain Swanley off the coast of Pembroke made projects of invasion appear hazardous.

And the Parliament was also able to communicate with, and send supplies to, its Generals in remote parts of the kingdom when intervening counties were held by the Royalists. In July 1644 Essex was in Devonshire and wanted pay for his troops. The committee of both kingdoms sent £20,000 through Surrey and Sussex to Arundel, Chichester, and Portsmouth, whence it was shipped to the west. It was convoyed by a troop of Kentish horse, assisted by Colonels Morley and Stapley.<sup>1</sup>

During the "Presbyterian-Royalist" outbreak of 1648 several ships revolted and formed the nucleus of a Royalist fleet under the Prince of Wales. But beyond a temporary occupation of the three castles in the Downs—Deal, Walmer, and Sandown—under cover of their guns, little was achieved.

To the Sussex coast towns the Parliamentary command of the sea was of great importance. The trade of Rye with the continent has already been mentioned.<sup>2</sup> A description of the harbour, dated 1652, states "there may lye afloat at lowe water 15 or 20 sayle of shippes, which draw 3 and 3½ fathome water and have more water than they draw by 4 or 6 foot; and at the same tyme further up in the Channell may ride afloat at lowe water 50 or 60 sayle of ships which draw 12 or 13 foot water, all without prejudice one to the other. There is a very good conveniency for ships to cleane and tallow, careeninge afloat or groundinge adry which they please."<sup>3</sup>

In spite of occasional trouble from the Royalist privateers,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. I, dii, 40.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 219.

a fairly regular service of packets was maintained throughout the war and under the Commonwealth between Rye and Dieppe. "We humbly certify that during the time of the late differences in this nation, there hath always been a fair correspondence between this town and Dieppe in France, the Governour thereof behaving himself very civilly and courteously towards the friends of this State and denying entertainment to pirates."<sup>1</sup> An example of the pleasant relations of the authorities of Rye and Dieppe occurred in 1557. The Mayor wrote to the Governor: "I am informed that a barque, whereof one George Broadbridge was master, being surprised by the enemy was by some Frenchmen of your town together with the help of the barque's men regained and brought into Dieppe, and for their salvage they intend to make her their prize. The enemy have taken the master prisoner, and intend to set a ransom on him. Wherefore on the poor man's behalf I desire your favour that what may be reasonable for your men's salvage of the barque may be allowed and the barque restored."<sup>2</sup>

Among notable visitors to Rye was John Evelyn, the diarist. After a long absence abroad, he had returned to London in February 1652, in time to see "the magnificent funeral of that arch-rebel Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westminster." Having decided to bring his wife over from Paris, he went to "Colonel Morley, one of their Council of State, as then called, who had been my school-fellow,<sup>3</sup> to request a pass for my wife's safe landing, and the goods she was to bring with her out of France, which he courteously granted, and did me many other kindnesses, that was a great matter in those days."<sup>4</sup> Having received a letter from Colonel Morley to the magistrates and searchers at Rye, to assist the lady at her landing and show her all civility, Evelyn set out on the

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 218. June 3, 1652.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> At Lewes Grammar School.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's Diary, 30th May 1652.

4th of June to meet her at the port, "where was an embargo on occasion of the late conflict with the Holland fleet, the two nations being now in war, and which made sailing very unsafe." He was kept waiting several days, the Channel passage being at the time a very uncertain affair. "On Whitsunday I went to the church (which is a very fair one) and heard one of the canters, who dismissed the assembly very rudely and without any blessing. Here I stayed till the 10th with no small impatience, when I walked over to survey the ruins of Winchelsea, that ancient cinque-port, which by the remains and ruins of ancient streets and public structures discovers it to have been formerly a considerable and large city. There are to be seen vast caves and vaults, walls and towers, ruins of monasteries and of a sumptuous church, in which are some handsome monuments, especially of the Templars, buried just in the manner of those in the Temple at London. This place being now all in rubbish, and a few despicable hovels and cottages only standing, hath yet a mayor.<sup>1</sup> The sea, which formerly rendered it a rich and commodious port, has now forsaken it. On the 11th, about four in the afternoon being at bowls on the green, we discovered a vessel, which proved to be that in which my wife was, and which got into the harbour about eight that evening to my no small joy. They had been three days at sea, and escaped the Dutch fleet, through which they had passed, taken for fishers, which was great good fortune, there being seventeen bales of furniture and other rich plunder, which I bless God came all safe to land, together with my wife, and my Lady Browne her mother, who accompanied her. My wife being discomposed by having been so long at sea, we set not forth towards home till the 14th, when hearing the small-pox was very rife in and about London, and Lady Browne having a desire to drink Tunbridge waters, I carried them

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn might have added that Winchelsea returned two members to Parliament.

thither, and stayed in a very sweet place, private and refreshing, and took the waters myself till the 23rd, when I went to prepare for their reception, leaving them for the present in their little cottage by the wells." Poor Lady Browne did not derive much permanent benefit from the Tunbridge waters, as a month later she was "taken with a scarlet fever and died."

Not only was the traffic of passengers to and from France an important affair, but the commerce of Rye at this time was also very considerable. It was the chief port of shipment for the iron produced at the Sussex ironworks. A curious circumstance is the large number of horses exported to France and Flanders, so large that it was thought to be harmful to the public service, and prohibited in 1653, except by leave of the Council of State. Even under this limited authority, the number sent was still great, the warrant books being filled with counterfoils relating to horses forwarded from Rye for persons of distinction on the Continent. In 1656 fifteen couples of hounds, and in 1657 twelve couples, were sent under a pass to Dieppe.<sup>1</sup>

Continual applications were made throughout the period for protection from the Dunkirk privateers in the King's service, of which Beachey Head was a favourite lurking-place.<sup>2</sup> During the war the Parliamentary fleet was too fully occupied to give much attention to such police work, but with the establishment of the Commonwealth strong measures were at once taken by the Government to protect the Sussex fishermen and traders. On June 9th 1649, Colonel Edward Popham sent an order to Captain Wheatley of the *Warspite*: "Hearing from some members of the House serving for Sussex and from the Governor of Rye that the coast has been much infested with pirates and picaroons since the surprisal of the *Robert* frigate, appointed for that service, you are to repair with your vessel to Rye

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxxix, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., ii, 17, 63; Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 157.

and Bredhempson, and other ports and creeks of Sussex, and acquaint the people that you are ordered to attend there and convoy vessels bound to London with corn, etc.”<sup>1</sup> Ten days later Captain Pierce was ordered to draw as near the coast of Sussex as he could so as to meet the picaroons which lurked under Beachey and thereabouts, annoying poor fishermen and others that trade to and from Sussex and London.<sup>2</sup> And in August the Council of State sent similar instructions to Captain Henley of the *Minion*.<sup>3</sup>

A very special privilege was obtained in 1652, the Rye-Dieppe service being exempted from the embargo laid on all French shipping.<sup>4</sup>

Great shot, guns, cables, anchors and other iron manufactures were constantly shipped from Rye to the fleet in the Downs, the Tower of London, and King's Lynn. The chief contractor for freight was William Key, shipowner, whose farthing tokens are well known to numismatists. They bear on one side a ship in full sail, on the other the initials W.I.K. The legend, commenced on one side and finished on the other, is “William Keye at the Sheepe Inn, Rye, 1652.”<sup>5</sup> He married Anne, sister of Samuel Jeake the elder,<sup>6</sup> and died in 1666.

Smuggling, which became so important a Sussex industry in the eighteenth century, was not unknown in the seventeenth. Lewis Gilliat, a French haberdasher and tradesman, who did a large business in shipping horses and other commodities to France, and was certified by the Mayor in 1654 as a professor of the Protestant religion, a resident in Rye for thirteen years, and a man of good report,<sup>7</sup> was charged in 1650 with being concerned in smuggling French silks.<sup>8</sup> “In 1658 his son Claude was indicted and convicted, on the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., iv, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> S. A. C., xxiv, 133; xxxix, 9.

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> S. A. C., xxxix, 10.

prosecution of an informer, of having exercised the combined mysteries of a haberdasher and grocer without being duly qualified by apprenticeship. His fellow townsmen, however, who probably had a constitutional and hereditary sympathy for the family of a suspected smuggler, were well disposed towards him, and the informer having recovered £1 of the fine imposed, viz., £12, the rest was remitted.”<sup>1</sup>

But in the seventeenth century, as for centuries before, the Sussex maritime population was busy not with “free trade” in imports, but with the export smuggling of wool. The export of wool was either wholly prohibited or only permitted under licence on payment of a heavy duty. The Sussex “owlers” set these provisions at defiance, openly brought down the woolpacks on horseback to the seashore and loaded French vessels with them. In 1656 it was affirmed that although the exportation was prohibited almost as a felony, there was nothing more daily practised.<sup>2</sup> All classes were concerned in this unlawful trade, even the magistrates were not ill-disposed towards it, and legal proceedings against “these caterpillars” when detected commonly failed. It was estimated that in two years no less than forty thousand packs were shipped from the coasts of Kent and Sussex to Calais alone. It was too much to expect that the landowners and their dependents in these counties would acquiesce in provisions made in the interest of the clothiers of Wilts, Worcester, Gloucester, and Essex. Restricted trade ever seeks an outlet, as water seeks a level.

The North Sea fishery was a great source of wealth to the Sussex seaports, especially Hastings, Rye, and Bright-helmstone, but was rendered somewhat precarious by the operations of the privateers. In August 1644 the Mayor and Jurats of Rye represented the great distress their poor fishermen were in, because they could not go about their calling for fear of being taken by the King’s men-of-war,

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C. xxxix, 10.

<sup>2</sup> The Golden Fleece, by W. S., Gent., 1656, p. 67; S. A. C., x, 73.

having already that summer lost one gainfull voyage to the North Sea to take fish, and not daring to adventure to Yarmouth to take herring; these two voyages being the chief means of the year for their maintenance, and if they should be deprived of both, it would prove their utter undoing, and they would not be able to subsist the next winter. Their necessities, therefore, being so great, and like to be greater, they determined to petition the honourable House of Parliament to let them have safe convoys to Yarmouth, and to stay with them all the fishing season.<sup>1</sup> The following year, while the fishing fleet was absent at Yarmouth, Colonel Morley was informed that two men-of-war had been lying for a long time in the bay, and that there was great fear that unless a frigate were at once sent, the fishing boats would be surprised and captured on their return.<sup>2</sup> A similar request was made to the Commissioners of the Navy in February 1659 for the protection of boats engaged during spring and summer in the mackerel fishery.<sup>3</sup> The Bright-helmstone fishermen also in July 1653, in the middle of the Dutch war, petitioned for a convoy for fifty boats sailing for the North Sea, and no doubt obtained it.<sup>4</sup>

Another fugitive of importance found his way to France through Sussex. In January 1652 Lieut.-General John Middleton, a prisoner in the Tower, escaped thence in his wife's clothes. The Council of State sent urgent letters to all the ports, and offered a reward of £200 for his apprehension;<sup>5</sup> but in vain. In May one Abel Tabret<sup>6</sup> gave certain information which the Council referred to Colonels Morley and Stapley and Messrs. Hay, Baker, Gratwicke, and Burbridge directing them to send for and examine any of the

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 157.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xxiii, 5.

<sup>6</sup> A Sussex name; see Sussex Marriage licences, Sussex Record Society, vol. vi.

persons mentioned in the information who should be found in Co. Sussex, and who had anything to do with Middleton's escape. Colonel Morley was requested to give special care to the business.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that anything important resulted.

The Dutch war of 1652 was the inevitable outcome of the increasing commercial rivalry of England and Holland, especially in the East Indian trade. The high-handed proceedings of the Dutch in the Spice Islands, and the massacre of Amboyna in 1623, had occasioned many fruitless demands for redress from James and Charles, but neither was willing to push his claims to the point of war. The new ruler of England was of different stuff. Sincerely anxious to avoid a war between the two Protestant republics, Cromwell yet knew that the time had come for England to make a bold bid for the trade of the world, and especially for the carrying of it. If we put Germany for England, and Great Britain for Holland, the conditions of the last quarter of a century have not been very unlike those which prevailed in the middle of the seventeenth.

Far and near the operations of the Dutch merchants had extended—China, Australia, the Cape, North and South America—no corner of the world was too remote for Dutch enterprise. "The carrying trade of Holland was at its zenith, and a source of great wealth to the whole country. Seven hundred ships were engaged in the Levant and Barbary markets: three thousand vessels plied between Hamburg and Holland, while many hundred craft were concerned in the home or Baltic trade. It was no wonder that to strangers the 'stems' in the harbour of Amsterdam seemed as those of the Ardennes forests in winter."<sup>2</sup>

The first step was a legislative one. In 1651 Parliament passed the Navigation Act, providing that no goods might be imported from Asia, Africa, or America save in an

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xxiv, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Anna van Schurman, by Una Birch, Lond., 1909, p. 93.



English ship, with a crew at least one-half English, or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. The Dutch protested, but the Act gave no pretext for war. War came a year later with the refusal of Tromp, the greatest of Dutch admirals, to strike his flag to Blake in acknowledgement of the English claim to sovereignty of the seas surrounding the island. On 18th May 1652 Blake, who had been lying in Rye Bay for a week previously, was off Fairlight, whence he proceeded to the Downs to encounter Tromp. In the battle which ensued on Tromp's refusal to obey Blake's summons, the Dutch were defeated with some loss. After the action Blake returned to his anchorage at Rye. Open war followed.

The Dutch were reputed the leading maritime nation of the age, and victory might have been expected to lie with them. But such was not the event. The Parliamentary navy had been brought to a great pitch of efficiency, largely through the exertions of Sir Henry Vane; the English ships were bigger and better armed than the Dutch; the crews more efficient; and the Government behind them possessed concentration of purpose and energy in a high degree—points in which the loose Dutch confederation was deficient. "Dutch War: cannonadings and fierce sea-fights in the narrow seas; land-soldiers drafted to fight on ship-board; and land-officers, Blake, Dean and Monk, who became very famous sea-officers; Blake a thrice-famous one. They doggedly beat the Dutch, and again beat them; their best Van Tromps and De Ruyters could not stand these terrible Puritan Sailors and Gunners. The Dutch gradually grew tame."<sup>1</sup>

To the Sussex coast-towns the conflict was of the first importance. Not only did many of the sea-fights take place within their sight or hearing, but their fishing fleets and merchant vessels were liable to capture, and the ports

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, Letter clxxxiv.

themselves were exposed to attack. Colonel Morley was authorized to raise forces for the defence of the county.<sup>1</sup> In August De Ruyter was off the Sussex coast: a letter from Lewes says "this day appeared at Brighthelmstone a great fleet of Holland men of war passing by, being in all about 80. . . . They took a Sussex bark near Hastings. They chased another fisherman ashore near Brighthelmstone, whom they plundered and so left her."<sup>2</sup>

A month later, on his way back up Channel, he was off Beachy Head, and the Council of State warned the Sussex ports to stay all shipping.<sup>3</sup> On 30th November the Dutch fleet defeated Blake off Dungeness. Blake retreated to the Downs, and the Dutch landed foraging parties in Kent and Sussex. The London journalists made a good deal of these incursions. "This day we understand by several letters from Romney Marsh in Kent, and several parts of Sussex, that the Dutch fleet (who now lie near Rye) have come ashore and plundered the people, and driven away much sheep and cattle of a considerable value, but for their preservation forces both horse and foot are drawn into these parts. . . . Further also by letters from Rye they write that the Dutch fleet being dispersed upon that coast, takes all vessels and boats that come there, and that the people are much amazed, and full of fears, the disaffected much heightened in their spirit; but a speedy care will be herein taken to curb their haughtiness."<sup>4</sup> Another paper stated that the raiders "drove away abundance of cattle and sheep and plundered divers houses, and so consequently put the country into a lamentable fear. Saturday night the army drew into those parts, and the foot from Sion College, and St. James's, to prevent the like invasions for the future."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xxiv, 9th August 1652.

<sup>2</sup> Mercurius Politicus, p. 1818, 14th August 1642.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., xxiv, 17th September 1652.

<sup>4</sup> A perfect account, etc., 1st to 8th December 1652.

<sup>5</sup> The Moderate Intelligencer, 1st to 8th December 1652.

In the early days of the Dutch war a somewhat unusual event occurred at Rye. On 21st September the *Marline* frigate entered at the port, and the officers informed the Mayor and Jurats that shortly before their arrival the captain, Peter Warren, had killed one John Wright, a passenger in the ship, and presented him as a prisoner, desiring that he might be secured until further order.<sup>1</sup> An inquest was held on the body of Wright, and the town authorities having committed the captain to custody, asked for direction of the Council of State. The Council immediately ordered three of the deputies of the Serjeant-at-Arms to go to Rye and take into custody "the late captain of the *Marline* [or *Merlin*] frigate." The action of the local authorities was approved; and they were ordered to send up three witnesses to testify to the killing of the man.<sup>2</sup> Captain Warren was committed to Newgate to be tried for murder.<sup>3</sup> It is significant that in a petition of Eleanor Warren, dated 21st October 1652, she is described as his widow.

The Dutch war gave a great stimulus to the Sussex iron-working industry, there being a pressing demand for shot for the navy. On 8th August 1653 Thomas Newberry wrote to the Ordnance officers describing a journey to various forges in Sussex, with the object of making contracts. He went to Colonel Stapley to discuss the matter with him, but found that he knew nothing of the business. Mr. Farrenden, an iron-master, said he had no water at present, but could make 100 tons by March, but he would not deliver it further from his furnace than Hastings or Rye, and his lowest price was £13 10s. per ton. Mr. Everden of Lewes, Mr. Akehurst of Warbleton, and some other mill-owners also wanted water. When they had it they would ascertain how much they could make, contract for a

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xxiv, 137, 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

considerable quantity, and deliver it in March, but none would deliver it further from the furnaces than "the water-side edge." Walter Burrell had set his furnace at work casting shot, and demanded £14 per ton, to be delivered in the Tower. Mr. Stendwick's men were casting shot, and he had fifteen tons ready; he would cast five tons weekly, and provide 100 tons by the end of November, and he was about supplying another furnace. Mr. Yalden of Blackdown had a stock of metal and water, and might send a quantity of shot to Portsmouth, only he was straitened for workmen at the time. As the previous week had been wet, it was probable that some of the works would be furnished with water soon. "I offered Mr. Burrell £12 per ton," concluded Mr. Newberry, "but conceive he will not like less than £13."<sup>1</sup>

The Mr. Yalden of Blackdown above-mentioned, sat for Midhurst in Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1659. He is said to have been a personal friend of Oliver Cromwell, and to have entertained him at Blackdown House.<sup>2</sup> William Yalden, or Yaldwyn, of Blackdown, was appointed High Sheriff of Sussex in 1656.<sup>3</sup>

In October 1653, with what object does not appear, unless it were to save the expense of a garrison, the Council of State decided that the walls and works of Arundel Castle should be slighted, and the place disgarrisoned. The Governor of Portsmouth was ordered to sell the salt and victuals then in the castle towards the cost of slighting, which was to be done with some of the powder stored in the castle, the rest being removed to Portsmouth; the keys to be delivered to Mr. Howard.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., xxxix, 31.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xxviii, 99. I can discover no authority for this visit. Dallaway speaks of the tradition that Blackdown was occasionally frequented by Oliver Cromwell in secret as "not well founded."

<sup>3</sup> The documents with reference to this appointment signed "Oliver P." are printed by Dallaway II, i, 363 n.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xli, 26, 153.

In spite of constant war the manufacture of gunpowder in Sussex does not seem to have prospered. In 1658 Captain Walter Everenden of Battle presented the following petition to the Protector, Richard Cromwell. "It is experimentally known that the best pistol and fowling powder was made at Battle; the maker is now fallen to decay and is unable to carry on the work, and has applied to me for a large loan of money; but I am unwilling to enter on the business without your consent. I beg an order licensing me to make 8 or 10 tons yearly, this being such a proportion as will defray my costs."<sup>1</sup> Whether Everenden established his business or not, the manufacture of gunpowder at Battle became an important industry. In the eighteenth century it was reputed "the finest gunpowder, perhaps the best in Europe."<sup>2</sup>

With the decline of its ports, and the increase in size of ships required for the navy, Sussex had ceased to have any importance as a ship-building county. But the necessity of turning out fighting ships as quickly as possible, and the great pressure on the Government yards, led to the employment of every private yard which was available. In 1654 the *Dover*, a fourth-rate, 533 tons, 48 guns, was built at Shoreham by a London builder,<sup>3</sup> the first and the biggest of the men-of-war built in that port. It was found that when launched there was hardly enough water to enable her to get out of the port to go to Chatham to be fitted out.

As the war proceeded there was an increasing difficulty in obtaining seamen for the navy, partly due to the superior attractions of privateering. To an order from the Council of State that men should be impressed for the service of the fleet, the Mayor of Rye replied that owing to the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., clxxxii, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Defoe's Tour, 182.

<sup>3</sup> Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 157; see also *The Ships and Mariners of Shoreham*, by Henry Cheal, Junr. [1910], p. 50.

number of men already so serving, the town afforded none but unserviceable men, aged or sick; and that the fishing masters were so short of crews that they had sent for men out of France, five or six apiece, to supply their wants for the fishing season.<sup>1</sup>

Two or three years later when the naval operations of the Commonwealth were extending into distant seas, the difficulty of procuring men for foreign service became very great; the loss of life from disease during the West India expedition of 1654-5 having rendered service in the tropics unpopular. In January 1656 Blake and Lambert applied to Rye requiring sixty able seamen to be impressed, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, each man to be furnished with "twelve pence press money and three halfpence a mile conduct to Dover," at which town they were to repair before the Mayor, who would take care for the sending of them on board the State's ships in the Downs. The Mayor and Jurats replied: "We have done our endeavours to impress the number of seamen required, but some of our vessels being abroad and others laid up at home for this winter time, few seamen are to be found in this town, and those that were, upon suspicion of a prest (the messenger that brought the orders coming in the daytime) fled out of our Liberties and hid themselves in the Foreign, so that though we presently endeavoured their taking and since have searched divers houses yet cannot meet with the enough to accomplish the number, nor believe the number of sixty can be found in town, unless masters themselves and others incapable to do service should be added to the complement."<sup>2</sup> An application to the Mayor of Tenterden to impress seamen who had fled thither from Rye, produced eleven men, who, he hoped, "would prove good seamen and serviceable to the State."<sup>3</sup>

During the war with Spain the channel was full of

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

privateers from Ostend and Dunkirk. The towns of Hastings and Rye sent a joint petition to the Protector in February 1656, stating that both merchants and poor fishermen were daily taken and made prize of, and begging that "whereas the maintenance of the fishery of this nation is very considerable for the nursery and increase of able seamen," some measures might be taken for their protection, and also that the French be impeded from any further fishing in English seas "with their unlawful nets and engines, whereby all our choice fish and the breed thereof are almost and will be (unless prevented) utterly destroyed."<sup>1</sup> The Sussex fishermen themselves do not appear to have been quite blameless in this matter of unlawful nets. Desborough and Lambert, on behalf of the Council of State, wrote to the authorities of the Cinque Ports in 1655 as follows: "We are lately given to understand that there is a sort of fisherman inhabiting within the Cinque Ports called trowlers and drawers by the water side who by reason of the smallness of the moakes in their nets take up and destroy all the young fish which they meet with, to the great prejudice of the public. We desire you will forthwith cause public notice to be given that no person do henceforth use any such unlawful nets."<sup>2</sup>

In response to the Hastings and Rye petition, the *Cat*, a pink, was told off to protect the fishermen. But she herself fell a victim to a frigate with 22 guns and 180 men.<sup>3</sup> Her captain, Richard Pittock, wrote the following letter describing her capture and his own plight to the Commissioners of the Navy from "Donkerke prison": "These lines is to certify your honors that upon the 20th day of March 1656 I did receive an order in the Downs from Capt. Whitehorn, commander in chief then, to ply to the westward all the coast along, until I came to Brighthelm-

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., cxxiv, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., cxxvi, 128.

stone,<sup>1</sup> and then to bring up all such fishermen as were to fish at the North Foreland this mackerel season; and according to his order I departed out of the Downs forthwith. The wind being westerly I plyed up and gave warning to all the fishermen off Hastings, if in case any of them should go up, when I should return back from Brighthelmstone, with me, I would see them to the North Foreland. And the 26th day we plyed to the westward, and betwixt Beachy Head and Pevensey<sup>2</sup> we see a sail that stood right with us, when we see that he was a Dunkirker; and he came up and engaged with us the space of an hour. And when he had spoiled and cut asunder all our rigging ropes, and shot our sails very much, he then laid us aboard, and entered into us, a hundred men or thereabout, which caused us to surrender up, having some men hurt, and forced off our deck. And now it is the pleasure of the Lords of Dunkirk to release all our men but myself; and for my part they keep me a prisoner in Dunkirk until they have received as many men of theirs from England as they have cleared of ours, the which is in number thirty and six men. And myself that remains here in prison is thirty-seven. The said Lords of Dunkirk do inform me that they have two captains of theirs in York prison, and all their companies, which they do desire if your honors be pleased to set their men at liberty; then they will ever hereafter set all English men at liberty that they have in Flanders.”<sup>3</sup> Poor Captain Pittock was as modest as he was courageous. Captain Whitehorn informed the Admiralty that he had defended the pink very bravely until his masts were shot by the board, and he was overpowered by the boarding party. He added that the poor fishermen were much dismayed at the capture of the *Cat*; and that he had ordered the *True Love* frigate to keep by the Rye and Hastings men, and the *Dartmouth*

<sup>1</sup> Spelt “Broadhemson” in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt “Pamsey.”

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., cxxvi, 118.



to ply to Brighthelmstone<sup>1</sup> to fetch from thence the fishermen to the North Foreland.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of the capture of the *Cat*, two guns were mounted for the defence of Hastings.<sup>3</sup> Although its six biggest guns had been sent away to Shoreham in 1643, Rye still possessed some ordnance, which from a request for powder in 1662, appears to have been put to various uses. The corporation then petitioned the Duke of York in the following terms: "That the town of Rye anciently had more great guns mounted than any other of the Ports (Dover excepted) which requiring a magazine as well of powder as of other ammunition, upon petition to the Lord Warden hath been favoured with supplies of powder out of the Tower. And whereas the said Town is so much impoverished and decayed that to maintain the carriages of the guns with other ammunition necessary is a very great charge, and yet it stands alike exposed to the often use of them, both for ornament upon festival and other public occasions, and for service as well sometimes for the stop of vessels which might otherwise steal out of the haven without payment of tonnage and customs, as for keeping of the peace when ships of war of several nations with their prizes happened to be together in the harbour, and otherwise might quarrel there, contrary to his Majesty's peace, the safety of the Town, and the law of nations. May it please you therefore to favour us with the procurement of some barrels of powder out of his Majesty's store in the Tower."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spelt "Brightsemson" in the original; the name seems to have been a stumbling-block to naval officers.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., cxxvi, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 362

<sup>4</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 244.

## CHAPTER XVII

### MAJOR-GENERAL GOFFE AND JOHN STAPLEY

THE Royalist plots of the early years of the Protectorate, organized by the Cavalier society known as "the Sealed Knot," and culminating in Penruddock's foolhardy rising in Wiltshire, seem to have found no great encouragement in Sussex. In the general movement which was intended to take place, the gentry of Sussex and Surrey were counted on to provide 500 horse.<sup>1</sup> But even this small force would probably have been found wanting. It was one thing for ingenious and enthusiastic conspirators from abroad to reckon every country gentleman who had shown Royalist sympathies as a supporter of their schemes, and another for men who had already lost much of their estates to risk the remainder and their lives in taking up arms against an established Government. But these projects of insurrection, together with continual plots to murder the Protector, countenanced, or not discountenanced, by Charles and the Royalist leaders abroad, had their effect in driving him to resort to measures which could not be justified by law.

The financial necessities of the Government were very pressing. They were met by reducing not only the soldiers' pay, but the number of the regular army. As a less expensive substitute a new local militia was created. To control this force, and for other purposes, England was divided into eleven districts, each of which was placed

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS., lviii, fol. 326.

under the command of a Major-General. William Goffe, a Sussex man, was made Major-General of Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire. The powers with which he was invested went far beyond a mere military command; they constituted him, in fact, a viceroy with almost unlimited powers in his own district. He was instructed to "suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellion and other unlawful assemblies"; he was to see that all Papists and Royalists were disarmed; to free highways of robbers; to permit no "horse-races, cock-fightings, bear-baitings, or any unlawful assemblies"; to send out of the Commonwealth all idlers and persons with no visible means of subsistence; to promote godliness and virtue, and discountenance all profaneness and ungodliness; to see that the justices put in force the laws against drunkenness and blaspheming; to inform the Council of any justices found remiss or unfit for their trusts.

Against the Royalists a new code was to be enforced. Politicians in all ages have not been slow to grasp the advantages of at one blow mulcting their enemies and filling their own exchequer. The principle had been adopted by the Parliament early in the war. It was now to be extended. Royalists who had taken part in any plot against the Protector were to be imprisoned or banished, their estates being sequestered for the payment of the new militia. Those who appeared "by their words or actions to adhere to the interests of the late King, or of Charles Stuart his son," were to be imprisoned or sent beyond the seas, but allowed to retain their estates. The third, the most important class in Sussex, was composed of those who, not being active Royalists, had their estates sequestered for delinquency, or had in former times fought against the Parliament; these were to pay a "decimation tax" of 10 per cent. on their rental from land if it amounted to £100 a year, or if possessed of little or no real estate, a tax on their personal property. No Royalist was to keep

in his house any of the ejected clergy as chaplain or tutor; and no such clergyman was to exercise any priestly function, or to keep a school, under pain of imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> The remaining instructions dealt chiefly with moral and social order, especially as regards the regulation of inns and alehouses. Justices had very wide powers to call in and suppress licences where an excessive number were in force, and those considered inconvenient and unnecessary.

Such were the duties which Major-General Goffe undertook in Sussex: to defend the State, to raise money, to encourage virtue and to discourage vice, vice being held to include many pleasures more or less innocent. He appears to have exercised his powers with much tact and moderation. But nothing could overcome the unpopularity of his office. The Royalist opposition was joined not only by the roysterers and drunkards, but by that innumerable class of good citizens and good fellows who care for the enjoyment of life and resent arbitrary interference with it. The enforcement of religious and orderly habits by a military authority greatly strengthened the demand for the re-establishment of Parliamentary government, and led in the end to the restoration of the monarchy, under which alone it seemed possible to secure it.

Goffe's voluminous correspondence<sup>2</sup> with Secretary Thurloe throws some light on the condition of Sussex at the time. The Major-Generals were to be assisted in their work by a body of Commissioners "for securing the peace of the country," who were to be named by the Government in each county, and to be concerned chiefly with the provisions touching the Royalists. One of his first duties was to prepare a list of suitable men. He arrived at Lewes at the beginning of November 1655, and wrote to Thurloe on the 5th: "Mr. John Stapley being in town when I came,

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., c and ci.

Printed in the Thurloe State Papers. The originals are among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian.

called at my lodgings, and in the intercourse we had, he seems very ready to serve in a public employment. I have assured some in this town that his brother, Mr. Anthony Stapley, is put into the Commission of the Peace, which I doubt not you will make good."<sup>1</sup> Two months later he added: "Mr. John Stapley was with us at Lewes and I am persuaded is very cordially resolved to serve the Protector; he hath said to some of his friends that he will venture his life and estate for him."<sup>2</sup> John and Anthony Stapley were the sons of Colonel Anthony Stapley of Patcham, member for the county in the Long Parliament and of the Council of State, who had recently died.<sup>3</sup> Their mother being a sister of George Goring, Earl of Norwich, it is possible that some doubts had been expressed as to their fidelity to the Protector, which Goffe set himself to dispel.

In his letter of 5th November Goffe had also referred to Colonel Morley. "I intend (if the Lord please) to give Col. Morley a kind visit this day, his house being within two or three miles. I hope such a civility whatever he thinks of my business will do no hurt." Since the expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653 Morley had been "almost a malcontent." To the nominated or "Barebones" Parliament Sussex had contributed three members, Anthony Stapley, William Spence,<sup>4</sup> and Nathaniel Stude-

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, iv, 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 394.

<sup>3</sup> The year of Anthony Stapley's death has sometimes been incorrectly stated. The Court Rolls of the manor of Preston show that it occurred between 17th April 1655 and 8th April 1656. John Stapley, his eldest son and heir, paid to the lord, Anthony Shirley, a heriot of one gelding in respect of certain freehold lands called Weeke Farm [Wick Farm in Hove].

<sup>4</sup> William Spence, barrister-at-law, purchased Malling House, Lewes, of Thomas Lucas, in 1656. He died without issue in 1671, and was succeeded by his brother John, whose son John (by Ruth Stapley) married Mary, daughter of Sir John Fagge, Bart., of Wiston, by Mary, sister of Colonel Morley.

ley, all of them members of the advanced party.<sup>1</sup> To the Parliament of 1654 Morley was elected both for the county and for Rye; but he seems to have lived quietly at Glynde, and busied himself with his duties as Justice of the Peace. These were multifarious, with a tendency to increase. The Marriage Act of 1653 provided that only marriages solemnized before a Justice of the Peace would be recognized by the State, the main object being to put an end to defective registration. Morley was much resorted to for this purpose. The Glynde Parish Register records the marriages before him of parties from twenty-six different parishes, as wide apart as Hangleton and Burwash, in the year 1655.<sup>2</sup> The Register book of Preston-cum-Hove records similar marriages before Mr. Anthony Shirley of Preston.<sup>3</sup> Fresh duties were continually being imposed on the Justices. In March 1655 Henry Lawrence, Lord President of the Council, wrote to the Justices of Sussex: "Lately the Virginia merchants have complained of their loss owing to the great quantities of English tobacco; trade, navigation and customs being impaired, and those plantations impoverished. You are therefore to execute the Act and not license the planting of any tobacco in England. But that persons may not suffer loss for want of reasonable warning you are to have this resolution published in all places in your county where you judge convenient, and in such way that no person can pretend ignorance; and such persons are to understand that his Highness expects conformity."<sup>4</sup> There is a characteristic touch in the last sentence.

Morley was also active in keeping watch over the traffic between the Sussex coast and the Continent. The Council had sent an order dated 24th March 1655 to Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, ch. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xx, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Numerous other examples are to be found in the volumes of the S. A. C.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xcv, 71.

Rivers, Bart., J.P. for Sussex, begging that "diligent watches be kept for taking a strict account of all strangers in your county and principally near the sea. . . . It will suppress loose persons and cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here to be apprehended."<sup>1</sup> Morley wrote to Thurloe referring to this letter and stated that he had given orders to an officer of customs, John Mullet, to search diligently in all vessels for letters and papers, especially in any vessel which should bring over from France one Rose of Lewes, who often went between England and France, and was suspected to be a Papist. He had found several letters and papers "directed to persons of great honour and quality" and enclosed them unopened. He had also examined Robert Anderton, gentleman, who had gone out of England on 8th March in a bark of Rye, belonging to one Keyes, landed at Dieppe and gone straight to Paris; and having made up accounts with some merchants there had returned from Dieppe in a French shallop and landed on the Sussex coast on 10th April; but he had discovered nothing compromising.<sup>2</sup>

Goffe lost no time in getting to work with his militia and preparing his list of Commissioners. On 7th November he wrote to Thurloe: "I hope that soon I shall have a better knowledge of these blades I am to deal with than yet I have. They do willingly acknowledge themselves (I mean the militia) as a new quickset hedge, that will for a while need an old hedge about it, and I hope his highness will be so good a husband as not to take away the old one, till the new be grown very substantial. The enclosed paper contains the names of those I have resolved for the Commissioners. I do see the stress of this business must lie upon the middle sort of men. Colonel Morley saith anything he can assist me in as a justice of the peace he will do to the utmost"—but from what he said Goffe concluded

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., xcv, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, iii, 369.

that he would not act as a Commissioner himself, and had therefore laid aside the thought of putting in his name, as likewise those of Mr. Hay and Mr. Fagge; "the one hath not lately acted in anything, and the other hath been for some time too gracious to disaffected persons, and besides will not stir a hair's breadth without Col. Morley." The names of the Commissioners were as follows. They represent in the main "the middle sort of men"; there are significantly few representatives of the great county families which had supported the Parliament in the war:

Colonel Bainbridge,	}	Captains of the Militia.
Captain Tho. Jenner,		
Captain Wm. Freeman,		
Captain Walter Everden, near Hastings.		
Mr. Nathaniel Studeley, now of Lewes.		
Mr. John Stapley of Patcham.		
Mr. Anthony Shirley of Preston <sup>1</sup> ("who I hear is a very honest gentleman").		
Mr. Richard Yates of Warnham.		
Major Fenwick.		
Mr. Richard Knowles of Waltham.		
Mr. Thomas Ballard, Mayor of Arundel.		
Colonel Richard Boughton of Chichester.		
Mr. Arthur Betsworth, near Chichester.		
Mr. Richard Manning, Mayor of Chichester.		
Mr. John Poling of Midhurst.		
Captain Edward Madgwick, near Chichester.		
Colonel William Goffe. <sup>2</sup>		

It did not take Goffe long to discover that the proceeds

<sup>1</sup> The Shirleys of Preston were a younger branch of the Shirleys of Wiston. Thomas Shirley, the last of the Shirleys of Wiston, was an adherent of the Royalist cause, and was knighted by Charles I at Oxford in 1645. The estate had been much encumbered by his father, and about this time he was compelled to sell it. The purchaser was Colonel Fagge.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, iv, 161.



of the decimation tax would be quite insufficient to meet the expenses of the militia. By the end of January he was expected to find six months' pay for troops levied the previous June. On 2nd February he wrote to Thurloe: "the truth is the money raised in this association will not amount to above three months' pay; for though I am not prepared to give an exact account, yet I do clearly find that Sussex will not amount to above £1,500 per annum, which is but just half as much as will pay the troops."<sup>1</sup> As a measure of economy it was decided to reduce the number of men in each troop from 100 to 80. On 19th March Goffe reduced the troops in Sussex, paying them in full for the first half, and was met with a demand for payment for another three months as well. He was told by the officer in command that "he could not hire servants at such a rate, to hire them for a year and put them off at three quarters' end with half a year's pay." So angry were the soldiers that they at first refused to touch the money, crying out that they would have all or none. It was only on Goffe's representation that the third quarter was not yet at an end that they quieted down. Goffe owed to Thurloe that their grumbling was not unreasonable, as many had spent more than they demanded in furnishing themselves with horse and arms.<sup>2</sup> To avoid such personal collisions between the Major-Generals and their militia, the responsibility for the payment of the men was transferred on 11th April to the Army Committee of the Council, which had previously provided for the pay of the regular forces.<sup>3</sup>

His increasing financial difficulties induced the Protector at last to consent to the summoning of a new Parliament. The election was held in the summer of 1656. The unpopularity of the Major-Generals seems to have more than counterbalanced any pressure they could bring to bear on

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, iv, 497.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 642.

<sup>3</sup> Council Order Book, Interreg., i, 77, p. 41; Gardiner's Commonwealth and Protectorate, ch. xlix.

the electors. Throughout the eastern and southern counties, which had been the main support of the Parliament in its struggle with the King, the candidates hostile to the Government that were returned were very numerous. The Protector's Council met this by the characteristically arbitrary method of excluding all to whom it did not give a certificate of approval. "Without this certificate no one was allowed to enter the House. Three colonels, backed by a guard of soldiers, kept the door, and examined the tickets."<sup>1</sup> Of nine members returned for the county of Sussex five were so excluded.

Herbert Morley wrote to Sir John Trevor, member for Arundel, whose daughter Morley's only son had married, that he and his brother-in-law, Colonel Fagge, would remain peaceably at their own seats, and requested him to say so much if he found them suspected; and concluded his letter by saying that he "could not enlarge at present, having been crazy this five weeks; which is now turned to a terrible fit of the gout,<sup>2</sup> accompanied with a feverish distemper."<sup>3</sup>

Justices of the Peace and others in authority were much vexed at this time by the extravagant and irritating proceedings of the new sect of Quakers. It is difficult to recognize in the conduct of some of these fanatics any resemblance to the dignified and orderly life of their successors, which secured for them the confidence of their fellow citizens, and made them pre-eminently the bankers of the community. It bore some likeness to that of the more lawless advocates of "Women's Rights" in our own day.

<sup>1</sup> Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i, 12.

<sup>2</sup> A broadsheet advertisement of this very year, preserved in the British Museum, offers a cure for the gout in singularly modern terms: "A foreigner, Peter Francesse, lately arrived from Persia, undertakes that the use of his preparation, for outward application only, will cure gout, sciatica and other diseases in a week." Thomason Tracts, press-mark 669, f. 20 (41).

<sup>3</sup> Noble's *Regicides*, ii, 89.

Quakers were in the habit of entering churches in time of divine service, and railing at the ministers "as hirelings, deceivers and false prophets," or exclaiming to the preacher, "Come down, thou deceiver, thou hireling, thou dog!"<sup>1</sup> Such brawling, and refusal to pay tithes, brought them into conflict with the justices, and in Court irritation against them was increased by their refusal to swear, or to show respect in such matters as the removal of hats. In consequence they were frequently treated with great severity and even cruelty. As one of their own writers has said: "It could not be expected that a testimony levelled both against the *darling Vices* of the *Laity*, and the *forced Maintenance* of the *Clergy*, should meet with any other than an unkind reception. The messengers of it were entertained with *Scorn* and *Derision*, with *Beatings*, *Buffetings*, *Stonings*, *Pinchings*, *Kickings*, *Dirtings*, *Pumpings*, and all manner of Abuses from the rude and ungovernable Rabble; and from the Magistrates, who should have been their Defenders, they met with *Spoiling of Goods*, *Stockings*, *Whippings*, *Imprisonments*, and *Banishments*, and even *Death itself*."<sup>2</sup>

The "Blessed Testimony and Joyful Tidings of Salvation" were first preached in Sussex in March 1655 by John Slee, Thomas Lawson, and Thomas Lawcock, who "declared the truth" in open market at Horsham; "this was to the great admiration of some, yet the most part reviled and some stoned them." They then repaired to the house of one Bryan Wilkason at Nuthurst, who was the first that "gave entrance as well to their persons as to their testimony."<sup>3</sup> Meetings were next held at Ifield, at the house of Richard Bonwick, a weaver, and at Twineham at Humphrey Killingbeck's. At Southover, Thomas Robinson "declared the truth to the conviction of Ambrose Gallo-

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 77, 116; Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ch. xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Bene, quoted *S. A. C.*, xvi, 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

way<sup>1</sup> and Elizabeth his wife, and Stephen Eager." George Fox himself shortly afterwards came to Sussex, to the house of Bryan Wilkason, where they met Thomas Lawcock, who "being moved to go into the Steeple-house at Horsham, was for the same committed to Horsham Gaol on the 24th day of the 4th Mo: 1655 by Edward Michell and George Hussy, called Justices, where he remained about a Quarter of a Year."<sup>2</sup>

Fox visited Ifield where a great meeting was held, "which was the first meeting that was Gathered in this County to Sitt Downe together in Silence to wait upon the Lord"; and subsequently Steyning, Lewes, and Warbleton, with the result that a large number of converts were obtained.

The actual offences for which Quakers were committed to prison were generally in themselves trivial enough, however irritating and provocative of disorder. It was natural that the Government should take a more lenient view of them than the Justices, charged with the maintenance of order on the spot. In January 1657 an order was made by the Council of State for the release of Thomas Patching, Bryan Wilkason, John Fursby, Ninian Brockett, Nicholas Rickman and his wife, who had been lying in Horsham gaol for various periods up to twenty-four weeks, on the grounds (1) that the evidence did not prove any crime: (2) that the committals were not in due form: (3) that the defendants had not been brought to trial in due course of law: (4) that the whole process was for matter of opinion in worship.<sup>3</sup> Later in the same year a memorandum was sent by Henry Lawrence, President of the Council of State, to the Justices of the Peace in Sussex and other counties. For the spirit of charity, tolerance, and good sense which it breathes it is perhaps almost worthy to be placed beside Trajan's letter to Pliny on the treatment of the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> A Lewes trader of good position.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xvi, 71.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., cliii, 11-16.

“His Highness and the Council have received several addresses on behalf of Quakers imprisoned for not finding sureties for good behaviour. Some have lain long in prison, and are not likely to get out by conformity. Though His Highness and the Council are far from countenancing their mistaken principles or practices, especially in disturbing godly ministers and affronting magistrates, yet as they mostly proceed rather from a spirit of error than a malicious opposition to authority, they are to be pitied and dealt with as persons under a strong delusion, who will rather suffer and perish than do anything contrary to their ungrounded and corrupt delusions. Therefore His Highness and the Council recommend them to your prudence, to discharge such as are in prison in your county (though discountenancing their miscarriages) so that their lives may be preserved, divers having died in prison. From tenderness to them you are, by causing their hats to be pulled off, to prevent their running into contempt by the not giving respect to magistrates, as those whose miscarriages arise from defect of understanding should not be treated too severely.”<sup>1</sup>

Since the establishment of the Protectorate efforts had been made to put “the public ministry,” as Cromwell termed the National Church, on a more satisfactory footing. The Protector had refused to interfere with private patronage, or to abolish tithes, until some other means of maintenance for the clergy had been devised. This was entirely in accordance with his dislike to further change in such matters than were necessary to secure efficiency. By an ordinance issued in 1654 he appointed thirty-eight commissioners, known as “triers,” to try the fitness of persons presented to livings. Whether they were Presbyterians or Independents or Baptists was a matter of indifference; “men who believe in Jesus Christ—men who believe the

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom., Interreg., clvii.

remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ. . . . Whoever hath this faith, let his form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other forms."<sup>1</sup> Another ordinance provided a body of Commissioners in each county with powers to eject incompetent or scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. It is admitted that both triers and ejectors did their duty honestly and well.<sup>2</sup> Great efforts were made throughout the period to provide fitting maintenance for ministers, whose stipends were often inadequate. The proceedings of the Committee for Compounding afford many instances of Royalists who were lay rectors being compelled to increase the allowance to the officiating minister as part of their scheme of composition. In the case of Sir Edward Alford of Offington, Sussex, the inhabitants of Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, represented that although the profits of the rectory were £600 a year, and their town a great market town, with 2,000 communicants, their minister (who "officiated on lecture days as well as Sundays") had only £40 a year; and petitioned for an increase to £100. It appears that the living was increased to £80 and afterwards to £90 a year.<sup>3</sup> In the case of John Lewknor of West Dean, Ellis Smyth petitioned on behalf of the inhabitants of Chilgrove, West Dean, Binderton, Singleton, Charlton, East Dean, and Didling. He represented that there had been but little preaching in those parishes and villages for sixty years by reason of the smallness of the vicarages, the tithes belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, who had demised them to the predecessors of John Lewknor for 99 years, of which about 30 years were to run. The value of the tithes was at least £500 a year, and the County Committee, seeing the extreme want of a

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, Cromwell, speech vi.

<sup>2</sup> See the admission of the Rev. Giles Moore to the rectory of Horsted Keynes, S. A. C., i, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1009, 1646-1653.

preacher, had granted for two years past to Mr. Daniel Curry, a godly and painful preacher of God's word, who was plundered of all his estate by the enemy, £80 per annum for his maintenance that he might preach in those parishes in the most convenient place; but he had returned to the western part, the place of his former abode. And as the inhabitants themselves could raise nothing, those villages having been extremely plundered by the King's forces, and being utterly destitute of any to preach or teach amongst them, although they contained about 500 families, the petitioner prayed that out of the estate of John Lewknor a competent maintenance might be allowed for an able and competent preacher.<sup>1</sup> From the same estate £70 a year was ordered to be settled on the church of East Grinstead.<sup>2</sup> John Ashburnham was ordered to pay £20 to Mr. Robotham, minister of Rumboldswyke, £20 to Mr. Wesby of Appledram, £20 to Mr. Abbot of Midhurst, £10 to Mr. Bothell of Merston, and £5 to Mr. Welborne of Funtington; and to settle £90 out of certain tithes to other ministers named. Also to settle £60 out of the tithes of Oving upon such ministers as the County Committee should appoint.<sup>3</sup> No less than 378 such grants are recorded between 6th October 1652 and 4th September 1655.<sup>4</sup>

From these and other sources a considerable number of small livings were augmented, especially between 1656 and 1658.<sup>5</sup> William Speed, who had succeeded John Corbett as minister at Chichester, was granted £80 in addition to a former sum of £90;<sup>6</sup> and the vicarage of Rye received an increase of £70.<sup>7</sup> With the same object many adjacent livings were united.<sup>8</sup> Patching was joined to Clapham, the parishioners of the latter certifying that their minister,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 1216, undated, but probably 1651.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1863.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v, xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> See Vict. Hist. Sussex, ii, 37.

<sup>6</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., cxxxi, 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, clvii, 85.

<sup>8</sup> Vict. Hist. Sussex, *loc. cit.*

Samuel Wilmer, had been "zealous in gathering the scattered saints into one body to enjoy gospel ordinances," but was overwhelmed with expense. The parishes of St. Peter-the-Less, St. Pancras, and St. Martin were united with St. Andrew's, Chichester, that of Earnley with East Wittering, and that of Climping with Ford;<sup>1</sup> Ovingdean was joined to Brighton,<sup>2</sup> Tortington to Arundel,<sup>3</sup> and Tangmere to Boxgrove.<sup>4</sup>

The loyalty of young John Stapley and his brother Anthony to the Commonwealth, of which their father had been so conspicuous a pillar, was not long proof against the pressure of family and social influence. Not only had his mother been a sister of George Goring, Earl of Norwich (she died in 1637), but he had himself married a daughter of Sir Herbert Springate of Broyle Place, by his wife Barbara, daughter of Sir William Champion. At old Lady Champion's house in London John Stapley made the acquaintance of Dr. Hewitt, an ex-chaplain of Charles I, who had been permitted to hold the living of "Gregory's near Paul's." Hewitt was a preacher of great eloquence; "doctor mellifluus, doctor altivolans, et doctor inexhaustibilis," a fervid admirer termed him. He employed his influence in the interest of Charles II, collected money for distressed Cavaliers, and in the winter of 1657-8 was busy hatching a plot. Charles was to land, either in Sussex or on the east coast, with a force of 8,000 men, under the command of Marsin; his landing to be the signal for a general rising, Hewitt's own business being with the City of London. But "the doctor," wrote Corker the Spy to Morland, Thurloe's assistant, "is rather a Tully than a Catiline, and hath been more prevalent with his tongue than his brains."<sup>5</sup>

Hewitt had no great difficulty in winning over John

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., cxxx, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cliv, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, clvi, 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, clxxx, 163.

<sup>5</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, i, 718.



Stapley to his side. Stapley seemed a valuable recruit; he was held a moderate man; "many would rise with him who would not follow the Cavaliers." Among the Royalists he was looked up to as the most influential man in the county of Sussex.<sup>1</sup> Hewitt played on his fears, representing that if he did not assist at the restoration of Charles II he was a lost man, his father having been so prominent on the other side; and on his ambition, by offering him a commission, made out to "Sir John Stapley, Baronet," for raising a regiment of five hundred horse, with supreme command in Sussex.

Armed with his commission, Stapley proceeded to Sussex, and sounded some of his friends. His brother Anthony readily joined the plot. Captain Henry Mallory was offered a commission. Stapley appointed a rendezvous with George Hutchinson of Cuckfield "in a great furzy field near Brighthempstead," and pressed him to be Major in his regiment. Stapley said he had two hundred arms, and had kept fourteen horses in his stable all that winter. Ten or fifteen days later, Stapley, Mallory, and Hutchinson met at Hangleton races. Stapley said he had been in London and seen Cromwell, who "gave him a severe look at first, but that they parted on good terms."

Mr. Thomas Woodcock of Newtimber met Stapley hunting, and they held some discourse concerning the raising of forces in Sussex. "It was but very little, because we were at that time in sport and had not time to speak of it." Subsequently at Patcham, in his "own house in his chamber," Stapley offered Woodcock a commission. Woodcock said he had no interest in the county to raise men, but would venture his own person in the service.

Anthony Stapley, who resided at Lewes, was also active. William Dyke of Frant subsequently deposed that towards

<sup>1</sup> Information of Henry Mallory, taken at Preston, 14th April. This and other depositions in this matter are printed in Thurloe, vol. vii.

the end of March, being in Clifford's Inn, he walked with Captain Anthony Stapley, who told him there was a design for Charles Stuart coming to England, and proposed to him that he should be of his party. Dyke replied that he did not believe he could come in, but Stapley said that he knew there was a great party for him. About a fortnight later Stapley came to his home at Frant and stayed a few days. He said the landing would shortly take place, and asked what horses and arms Dyke had. Dyke replied, two geldings and no arms. They went together to Tonbridge and stayed to dine there, and Stapley sent a messenger to Mr. Rivers, who lived near, asking him to come over to them. When Rivers came, Stapley took notice of the horse he rode, and told Dyke he intended it for a charging horse in the intended insurrection. Rivers asked £30 for the horse, and Stapley said if he would take his note of hand he would give it. Stapley then told Rivers that Charles Stuart was shortly to land, and Rivers agreed with Dyke that his attempt would be vain.

While the Stapley brothers were pursuing this very ineffectual course—Woodcock spoke of John Stapley's "imbecility in martial affairs"—Thurloe's spies were keeping him informed as to the progress of the plot. Chief among these was a clergyman named Francis Corker, formerly Vicar of Bradford, who pretended to be a devoted Royalist, and was admitted to the counsels of the party. At the Restoration he endeavoured to curry favour by asserting that he had often persuaded Thurloe to liberate Royalist prisoners. He then asserted that he had had little association with Stapley, but had received money from him, part of which he had lent to distressed Cavaliers. Corker wrote to Thurloe that he had seen the commissions in blank directed to several counties. There were six commissions for Sussex, to be delivered to Mr. Stapley, and issued by him to whom he pleased. Mr. Stapley was absolutely resolved not to act at all if either Colonel Morley or Lord

Dacre were put over him.<sup>1</sup> But he was willing to act under Sir Humphrey Bennet,<sup>2</sup> who had "maintained two hundred horse dispersed in Sussex this long time." Corker stated that officers were to be sent from London to Mr. Stapley when things were ready, "because he complains that Sussex is a country so little inured to war that it doth not afford them."<sup>3</sup> He also sent a list of the "active Cavaliers" in Sussex: Mr. John Stapley, Mr. Thomas Woodcock *et fratres*, Mr. Goring, Mr. Mallory, Mr. Nic. Gildridge, Mr. Thos. Foster, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Selwin, junior, Mr. Bishop, Mr. Sackvile, Mr. Will Markwick, Mr. Graves, Mr. Ashburnham, and Messrs. Car, Naylor, Hall, and Milnes, clergymen.<sup>4</sup>

John Stapley's proceedings were cut short about the end of March by a summons from Cromwell to attend him at Whitehall. In the presence of the Protector he at first denied all knowledge of the plot, but finding how much was known, and "cajoled by promises and threats,"<sup>5</sup> he broke down and confessed all. He then wrote the following abject letter:

"May it please your Highness,

"Your misled and unadvised and now distressed supplicant doth take the boldness to present his troubled and despicable estate, that he is now brought into, through the deceit and collusion of your and his enemies, that surprised him, and through the delusion infatuated his judgment and reason, that never was inclined to a compliance with yours, this nation's and his father's enemies; the consideration of which hath begot a sense of his folly which doth oppress me much; the thoughts of my enemies rejoicing; the trouble of my friends; and above all to be

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence whatever that either had any knowledge of the plot.

<sup>2</sup> Of Shalden, Hants.

<sup>3</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, i, 717.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 710.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon.

excluded from your Highness' favour; but confessing and forsaking with God persons find favour; and I believe your Highness is guided by the influence of his spirit, that I so doing from the sincerity and simplicity of soul, I trust through your Highness' clemency to find the same. And for the future, I do promise by the assistance of the Almighty, I will not only live peaceably, but with the utmost of my endeavours stand by your Highness with life and fortune, to preserve your Highness' person, interest and dignity; and if ever Charles Stuart should in my days, make any attempt against your present government, I will personally appear against him, though it be but in the capacity of a private trooper, if I may not be intrusted by your Highness, or your successors, with better preferment.

"My lord, I do humbly beg your pardon, that I did not at first declare to your Highness the whole business that I was concerned in. I was dashed at your presence, and astonished at the consideration of my sin; for which I have asked pardon of God, and do ask it of you. My lord, it is the glory of a prince to pass by an offence. I humbly beg pardon for this presumption, resolving to continue as I am, and ever shall be,

"Your Highness'

"Devoted and faithful servant till death,

"J. STAPLEY."<sup>1</sup>

The authorities were busy at this time searching Sussex houses for incriminating papers. On Good Friday a detachment of dragoons, under the command of Lieut. Hopkins, visited Eastbourne Place, the house of Mr. William Wilson. The search had scarcely commenced when Mrs. Wilson (her husband being confined by serious illness to his bed) ordered a large pie filled with wheatears to be placed before them. "The officer, it being quite a novelty

<sup>1</sup> Noble's Regicides, ii, 244.

to him, was equally amazed and delighted, and merrily insisted that all his military companions should taste of the rare repast, which they did with much jollity, going away much better pleased with their entertainment than the family were with their guests. Whilst they were feasting, Mrs. Wilson (such is her own account of the transaction) went up to her husband, then sick in bed, who desired her to bring him a file of letters out of his closet. He took off one or more, and ordered her instantly to burn them, and to stir the ashes, and then to call up the officer; which his wife accordingly did. No sooner was the officer come than he took hold of the file from which the burnt letter had just been taken, looked at the papers, and finding nothing, very complaisantly wished Mrs. Wilson joy that he had found nothing according to his expectations; 'for had I,' says the officer, 'found anything according to the information given in against him, my orders were to have taken him away.'"<sup>1</sup>

Stapley disclosed the names of all his associates and the details of the plot as far as he was cognisant of it. His brother Anthony also turned informer, and did not scruple to bear witness against his own brother. Numerous arrests took place, but the conspirators still planned a rising in the City of London. Active among them was "an ancient man in grey clothes," who sometimes called himself Carleton, sometimes Roberts:<sup>2</sup> this was Guy Carleton, an ex-fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and a relative of George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, 1619-1628, and his son Henry Carleton of Guyson's, Fairlight, a Captain of Horse in the Parliamentary army, and one of the Sequestrators for the County of Sussex.<sup>3</sup> At the Restoration Guy Carleton was appointed Dean of Carlisle, and subsequently Bishop of Chichester. The City rising fixed for 15th May

<sup>1</sup> Wilson MSS., S. A. C., xi, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, vii, 147.

<sup>3</sup> Lower's Worthies, p. 93.

proved abortive, and a few days later the conspirators who had been arrested were brought to trial before a Court specially appointed for the purpose. Dr. Hewitt and Sir Henry Slingsby, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who had endeavoured to persuade some officers of the garrison to betray Hull to Charles II, were found guilty and executed. Against John Mordaunt, son of the Earl of Peterborough, who had had control of the Surrey branch of the plot, the chief witnesses were John Stapley and Henry Mallory, who was to attest Mordaunt's efforts to arrange for the joint action of the Cavaliers of Surrey and Sussex. But the night before Mordaunt's trial Mallory fled, instigated and assisted by Mrs. Mordaunt, and the evidence of Stapley was held insufficient,<sup>1</sup> with the result that Mordaunt was acquitted. Mallory was captured on 5th June, and condemned to death but reprieved and imprisoned. Captain Thomas Woodcock was arraigned, and John Stapley gave evidence against him, but he was acquitted. The case against Sir Humphrey Bennet was dropped. John and Anthony Stapley were pardoned, partly for the value of their information, partly, it may be, from respect for their father's memory.<sup>2</sup>

John Stapley would seem to have been anxious to express his loyalty to the Commonwealth not only by words but by deeds. The valuable living of Rotherfield, of which he was patron, becoming vacant at this time, he made over the presentation to William Cawley, who presented his son John.<sup>3</sup> At the Restoration, John Cawley was admitted to holy orders in the Church of England by Bishop King at

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe, State Papers, vii, 88, 101.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this plot and trial see Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate*, ch. xii. See also *State Trials*, v, 871, 883, 907.

<sup>3</sup> 6th July 1658. Presentation by Wm. Cawley the younger, of Chichester, Esq. (in his gift by virtue of a gift and graunt of John Stapley of Patcham, Esq., the Patron) of John Cawley, Clerke to the Rectory of Rotherfield, void by the resignation of Paul Durand (Lambeth MSS., No. 946, m. 35).

Chichester. He subsequently became Archdeacon of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

The Marquis of Ormonde had been in London during the winter on business connected with the proposed landing of Charles, and by his discretion, and the perfection of his disguise had escaped the vigilance of Thurloe's police. He declined to have anything to do with Hewitt's attempt to organize a rising in the City of London, and left England about the end of February. He was assisted to escape from the Sussex coast by Mr. Sackville Graves, a Justice of the Peace, of West Firle.<sup>2</sup> The Government, it was said, seized the ship which lay next to Ormonde's, but missed that which actually carried him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., xxxiii, 270; xxxiv, 33.

<sup>2</sup> "Aegrè dilapsus est Ormondiae Marchio, scapham in Sussexiâ Sackvilli Gravesii operâ conscendens" (Bate's *Elenchus Motuum*, Lond., 1663, ii, 397).

<sup>3</sup> Firth, *Protectorate*, ii, 65.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### ANARCHY AND RESTORATION

THE Lord Protector died on 3rd September 1658, and was buried with a pomp which belied Milton's saying that the trappings of a monarchy will set up a commonwealth. John Evelyn writes of it in his diary: "Oct. 22. Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new lords; Oliver lying in effigy in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, etc., by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed cap-a-pie, and after all, his guards, soldiers and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster; but it was the joyfulest funeral I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went."<sup>1</sup>

Oliver's son, Richard, now thirty-three years of age, succeeded him without any disturbance, and was recognized as Protector both at home and abroad. But his reign was foredoomed to failure. Amiable and virtuous, but of no uncommon abilities, he lacked that power over the army which alone could make or unmake him, that

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's Memoirs, London, 1827, ii, 138.



his father, as the greatest captain of the age, had wielded. Conscious of his impotence to control the contending factions he retired into private life in the following May. "Tumble-down Dick" long figured on the sign-boards of village inns, and perhaps still survives.

Colonel Morley had lived in seclusion at Glynde since the establishment of the Protectorate, but to Richard Cromwell's Parliament, which met in January 1659, he was returned both for Sussex and for Lewes. His brother-in-law, John Fagge, was also returned for Sussex and for Bramber. Both chose to sit for the county. Among other members elected in Sussex were H. Pelham and W. Cawley for Chichester, William Freeman and H. Chowne for Horsham, W. Yaldwyn for Midhurst, Sir John Trevor and Anthony Shirley for Steyning.

Morley at once began to fill an active part in affairs; the day after he took his seat he protested against persons known to be Royalists being accepted as members of the House: "You have," he said, "vipers in your bowels, divers delinquents. I have taken an oath to be true and faithful to his Highness and also to the liberties of the people. If I admit Cavaliers to sit here, I break my oath in both."<sup>1</sup> On the question of excluding Mr. Jones, M.P. for Brecon, for this cause, he said: "I would have not only his discharge, but his crime entered upon your books."<sup>2</sup> On the debate of 18th February, with reference to the putting of bounds upon the arbitrary powers of the Protector, and restraints upon the revived House of Lords, he spoke strongly in favour of the authority of the Commons: "I see this bounding is a tender point. We are loth to come to it. We are now putting a negative upon ourselves, instead of bounding the chief magistrate, and now are setting up another house. So that when both those are set up, we shall have a negative upon neither."<sup>3</sup> Of the war with

<sup>1</sup> Burton's Diary, London, 1828, iii, 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

Holland he said: "My heart has bled for the blood already spilt, seeing how we were mistaken in what we fought for. I am against a war, unless upon clear grounds. . . . The Council has made a dishonourable peace and a worse war."<sup>1</sup> He expressed his enmity to military domination thus: "You have taken away the Major-Generals out of the field and from exercising their power in the country, and you are now making of them Major-Generals in Parliament; they are most of them military men, that have forced Parliaments before, and if you make them part of your Constitution, they will force your resolutions."<sup>2</sup>

In April this Parliament came to an abrupt end. The generals, headed by Fleetwood and Desborough, forced Richard Cromwell to agree to its dissolution, locked the doors and set a guard in the Court of Requests to turn back obstinate members.<sup>3</sup> The army was once more supreme, but the officers shrank from collecting taxes on their own authority, and after some negotiation with the republicans, agreed to restore the remnant of the Long Parliament, and to set up once more a Commonwealth without a Protector or a House of Lords.

The fall of the House of Cromwell raised afresh the hopes of the partisans of the House of Stuart. The weary round of revolution and military violence gave little prospect of settled order, or relief from burdensome taxation. All over England Royalist plots were formed; but the sources of information on which Cromwell had relied were still available for the service of the Parliament. How great the emergency was considered may be gathered from the activity of the new Council of State, to which Herbert Morley had been elected on 14th May.<sup>4</sup> He was also appointed an Admiralty Commissioner, and in that capacity was energetic in procuring seamen in his own county for

<sup>1</sup> Burton's Diary, London, 1828, iii, 478.

<sup>2</sup> Goddard MS., pp. 271-2.

<sup>3</sup> Clarke Papers, iii, 191-3.

<sup>4</sup> Commons' Journals, vii, 654.

the fleet. On 2nd July Captain Ambrose Smith wrote to him from Portsmouth: "here are 40 volunteers on board, and 10 more ready, but I have been at great charge in raising and conducting many of them from Brathhampston<sup>1</sup> and Shoreham, and other parts of the country; most of them are very able men, and I doubt not but speedily to fill up the number of 60 men without impressing any, and therefore desire you will move the Commissioners for conduct money, which the officers say here is 1½*d.* a mile."<sup>2</sup>

In view of the threatened insurrection, 2,000 troops were ordered to Arundel and Chichester on 9th July,<sup>3</sup> and Thomas Sowton and Major Clarke were commissioned to raise a company at each of those places.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Gibbons was ordered to march from Rye to Tunbridge, where a rising was expected about 1st August.<sup>5</sup> On 31st July Colonel Faggewas appointed to command the Sussex militia troop, formerly under Captain Freeman, and the whole militia forces of the county were placed under his charge. On the same day President Whitelock wrote to Captain Bremen, commanding at Chichester: "the Council hears that the enemy intends attempting Chichester to-morrow morning, and desires your utmost endeavours to prevent it. Colonel Fagge is bringing you reinforcements. Capt. Elsmore is concerned in this design, and was apprehended with horses and arms, defensive and offensive, and colours in his pockets, and having liberty on his parole to attend Council, he broke his word and is escaped; you are to try to hear of him and take him, and send him in safe custody."<sup>6</sup> These measures were sufficient to prevent an outbreak, but the danger continued. In Cheshire the Parliament was less successful in suppressing revolt. Sir George Booth and the Earl of Derby raised their standard at Warrington, gathered some 5,000 men, and seized

<sup>1</sup> Brighthelmstone.                      <sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., cciii, 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Chester. They made no mention of Charles, but declared themselves for a free parliament, and government according to law.

Active watch was kept in the Channel to prevent a landing from abroad. Admiral Lawson sent from the Downs the *Arcadia*, *Lily*, and *Swallow* to ply between Beachy and Chichester, and ordered them to search all vessels passing that way for persons suspected to be enemies to the Commonwealth, "in regard he has intelligence that Charles Stuart intends to make some part of that coast."<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been some such design. Whitelock informed Fagge on 11th August that Colonel Culpepper, of Kent, had lately been in Brighthelmstone conversing with persons living near there, who were formerly engaged in a like plot; and instructed him to take especial care of the safety of those parts, to inquire into Culpepper's doings, and his companions, to find out with whom he was tampering, and to secure all suspected persons.<sup>2</sup> Fagge made many prisoners, among them Lord Petre, concerning whom the Council "received such satisfaction from various well-tried friends," that Fagge was ordered to liberate him "if he will pass his honour to live peaceably, and not abet anything to the prejudice of Parliament."<sup>3</sup>

Cowdray House was once more a subject of anxiety, and Fagge was ordered to send a party to garrison it; and arms, powder, and shot were hurried to Lewes for the use of Colonel Gibbons' foot company. Mr. Sackville Graves<sup>4</sup> was seized with his horses and arms, and his papers examined; but he was shortly released by order of the Council, on giving security for peaceable conduct.<sup>5</sup> Bram-

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., Navy Papers, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cciv, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that his assistance to the Marquis of Ormonde in the previous year had become known to the authorities, and that he was therefore a suspected person.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., cciv, 7, 12.

bletye House, the residence of Sir Henry Compton, was searched for the Earl of Northampton, suspected of high treason in corresponding with Sir George Booth and other enemies.<sup>1</sup> Edmund Lane was removed from public employment in the city of Chichester for scandalous words spoken against the Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Meantime Lambert, with a large force, was marching against the insurgents in Cheshire. On 19th August he attacked them near Warrington, and dispersed them with little loss. Booth was captured and lodged in the Tower. The insurrection had failed.

The Parliament was now as desirous of disbanding its extemporized forces as it had been anxious to raise them. Colonel Fagge was ordered, if possible, to pay off some of his bands, to secure their arms and magazines, and to demolish effectually the walls of Chichester and Arundel.<sup>3</sup>

Colonel Downes, now a member of the Council of State, was requested to write to the officers of the company of foot raised by Major Clarke at Chichester, thanking them for their services, and desiring their readiness to serve again if occasion should require.<sup>4</sup> A careful watch was still kept on the coast. At Rye the Mayor was ordered to set a town guard, and the companies to be in readiness for any emergency.<sup>5</sup> "The Council having given order for the company of the army foot that quartered in your town to march to Sandwich, have thought good, although they doubt not of your care of your town, the security whereof, as it is of consequence to you, so of great concernment to the whole nation, to desire that in the absence of the aforesaid company you will give order for strict watch and ward to be kept, that all such persons as shall endeavour to come in or to go out at your port whom you shall suspect to be any way dangerous to the peace of the nation may be

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

stayed and secured.”<sup>1</sup> The Corporation of Rye had for some time been very importunate for the repayment of certain moneys advanced to Colonel Gibbons, and expenses incurred for his troops, “houses hired and paid rent for, candles and coals”; also of charges “for maintaining watch both for fire and candle, and for pay for drums to set the watch every night, and for a gunner and for powder match, and fixing of arms.” They had applied successively to Colonel Gibbons, Colonel Morley, Colonel Fagge, and the Council of State for the payment of these charges, “otherwise the people here are so poor, and the trading so much decayed, that we are not able to subsist, but must, as many already speak, leave the town and seek a livelihood elsewhere if no remedy therein can be had.”<sup>2</sup> The sum of £100 was now ordered to be paid to Thomas Marshall, the Mayor, “for the foot company under him,” which was perhaps in part satisfaction of these claims.<sup>3</sup>

On 12th September Captain Robert Vesey of the *Constant Warwick*, wrote to the Admiralty Commissioners from Plymouth Sound: “In sailing to my station I met off the Isle of Wight a small open French shallop, having no deck, that came out of Newhaven, co. Sussex, bound for Newhaven in France, and having bales of goods and 12 or 14 English gentlemen passengers. As the weather was bad and the wind contrary, they could not get over for France, neither did they make any way to the English shore, by which I supposed they were of the discontented party that were seeking to make their escape. They had no passes.” The boat sank, but the passengers were saved, and “being examined and found to be honest men, were permitted to follow their occasions.”<sup>4</sup>

The restored Parliament was most anxious for a good understanding with Holland, but it was not slow to push lawful claims. John Baldwyn of Newhaven, Sussex, having

<sup>1</sup> Rye MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., cciv, 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

petitioned, for himself and others—complaining that a small ketch laden with oysters, bound from Portsmouth to Colchester, had in April been surprised by an Ostender and taken to Zealand, and as was believed, sold to one Worts of Yarmouth, and praying restitution—it was ordered by the Council of State on 19th September, that Mr. Downing learn the truth therein, and if it be as alleged, represent the case to the States General, and press for compensation, and report to the Council; also that he do the same for all other similar cases, that the subjects of this State may have satisfaction for their losses and damages.<sup>1</sup>

The Royalist plot had failed, but a new danger faced the Commonwealth. The old schism between the Parliament and the army had broken out afresh. Two men, Monk, with his army in Scotland, and Montagu, in command of the fleet, held the future in the hollow of their hands, and no man could divine their real intentions. Monk had sent unreserved assurances of his loyalty to the Parliament, which felt emboldened to resist the demands of Lambert's officers that he should be made a Major-General, and second in command to Fleetwood. A body of seven commissioners, of whom Herbert Morley was one, was appointed for the government of the army.<sup>2</sup> Lambert retaliated by marching at the head of his troops through London to Palace Yard, where Morley, Haselrig, and Walton had drawn up forces to resist him.<sup>3</sup> Morley met him pistol in hand, and swore that if he stirred a foot he would shoot him. Lambert answered: "Colonel Morley, I will go another way, though if I please I could pass this."<sup>3</sup> He then faced about, marched into Old Palace Yard, and succeeded in occupying the Parliament-House, and denying all access to

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., cciv, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Commons' Journals, vii, 796.

<sup>3</sup> Clarke Papers, iv, 71, 85, Fleetwood to Monk.

<sup>4</sup> Carte's Collection, ii, 246.

members. The army appointed a Committee of Safety, with orders to draw up a new Constitution.

Morley, Haselrig, and Walton retired to Portsmouth, where they secured the garrison. "Yesterday came certain news that Colonel Whetham hath delivered up the government of Portsmouth to Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Morley and Colonel Walton, who have declared for the Parliament, and the navy there hath done the like. They intend to make orders about the army, and Colonel Morley's interest in those parts is very considerable."<sup>1</sup> Morley made "incursions into Hampshire and Sussex, where he had many friends."<sup>2</sup> The three then sent letters to the Lord Mayor and the Commissioners of the London militia, demanding their support, and entered into an acrimonious correspondence with Fleetwood. Troops were sent down to besiege them in Portsmouth, but on 20th December five companies of foot and five troops of horse went over to the besieged, and the rest of the besieging force submitted.<sup>3</sup> "A very worthy person" at Portsmouth, signing himself N. L., wrote to "a friend of his in London" that "Sir Arthur Haselrig and Colonel Morley have behaved themselves very gallantly . . . the siege is raised and the town at liberty without a drop of blood."<sup>4</sup>

The leaders then marched on London with a force comprising about fifteen troops of horse and a regiment of foot. They entered London unopposed on 26th December, and restored the Parliament.<sup>5</sup> On the 29th they received the public thanks of the House. "Haselrig, Walton and Morley came into the House in their riding habits, and Haselrig was very jocund and high."<sup>6</sup> But the shadow of Monk was over all their proceedings.

Morley was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower, and his

<sup>1</sup> Clarke Papers, iv, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon, xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Public Intelligencer, 19-26th December.

<sup>4</sup> Broadsheet in B.M., pressmark 669, f. 22 (30).

<sup>5</sup> Clarke Papers, iv, 170.

<sup>6</sup> Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 686.



friend John Evelyn thought the occasion fitting for an endeavour to induce him to anticipate the supposed designs of Monk, and to bring about a restoration of the monarchy. He has described his proceedings in his Memoirs.

“Dec. 10, 1659 [this date and the following are evidently erroneous]. I treated privately with Col. Morley, then lieutenant of the Tower, and in great trust and power, concerning delivering it to the King, and the bringing of him in, to the great hazard of my life, but the Colonel had been my schoolfellow, and I knew would not betray me.

“Dec. 12, 1659. I spent in public concerns for his Majesty, pursuing the point to bring over Col. Morley and his brother-in-law Fagge, governor of Portsmouth.

“Jan. 12, 1660. Wrote to Col. Morley again to declare for his Majesty.

“Jan. 22, 1660. I went this afternoon to visit Col. Morley. After dinner discoursed with him, but he was very jealous; and would not believe Monk came in to do the King any service. I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour; he was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave.”<sup>1</sup>

Monk crossed the Tweed on 2nd January 1660, and marched southwards at a leisurely rate. Along his route he received addresses calling for the election of a full and free Parliament. He entered London on 3rd February. On 16th March the Long Parliament dissolved itself after a chequered existence of nearly twenty years. A new Parliament, “thoroughly royalist and perhaps half presbyterian,”<sup>2</sup> known as the Convention Parliament, met on 25th April. On 8th May Charles was proclaimed King, and on the 29th entered London in triumph.

At Rye Henry Mildmay, one of the King's judges, was arrested by John Baker, corporal of the militia troop of

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's Memoirs, London, 1827, ii, 144-5.

<sup>2</sup> Political History of England, vii, p. 479.

horse under the Earl of Winchelsea. Baker received a gratuity of £10 for his "good service."<sup>1</sup>

On 24th May Evelyn wrote: "Came to me Col. Morley, about procuring his pardon, now too late, seeing his error and neglect of the counsel I gave him, by which if he had taken it he had certainly done the great work with the same ease that Monk did it, who was then in Scotland, and Morley in a post to have done what he pleased, but his jealousy and fear kept him from that blessing and honour. I addressed him to Lord Mordaunt, then in great favour, for his pardon, which he obtained at the cost of £1,000, as I heard. O the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands!"<sup>2</sup>

Evelyn, courtier and virtuoso, in playing the tempter's part, had failed to understand the character and constancy of his old schoolmate, who through twenty years had faced undaunted the stress of war and revolution. If a history may have a hero, Herbert Morley will fitly fill the hero's place in this one. A Puritan of deep convictions and of unwavering faith in them, he maintained an honest and honourable part amid the troubles and temptations of the time. No tinge of self-seeking sullies the fair record of his career. Opposed alike to the arbitrary pretensions of Charles and the despotic assumptions of Cromwell, he held throughout the revolution a consistent course, his single aim the furtherance of his principles for the welfare, as he conceived it, of his country and his county. With no prejudice for or against those principles, one may readily render due homage to the man who in the day of universal apostasy disdained to forswear them, and nobly rejected the wealth and honours which the crisis of the Restoration offered to his grasp. Active and eminent alike in war and

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Interreg., Warrants for Payments, 21st May, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, ii, 147.

in council, in the capital and in the southern counties, Morley of Glynde holds a distinguished place among the protagonists of the age, and the worthies of his own Sussex.

The Restoration was celebrated throughout the country in a becoming manner. At Hastings the Corporation accounts record payments "to the musketeers on the proclamation of the King £1 10s. 9d. More upon them in white wine the same day 10s. For half a barrel of beer and bread to the ringers 5s. 2d. More to the ringers upon the Thanksgiving Day 2s. Allowed and paid to William Bagg for the King's arms in the Court hall £3 5s."<sup>1</sup>

In the following August an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion was passed for the settlement and quieting of the kingdom. It was described by the wits of the day as an act of indemnity for the King's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends. The regicides and a few others were specially exempted from its provisions. The honours which were distributed certainly exhibit a strong desire to conciliate influential persons of the opposite party. The following Sussex men were created Baronets: Fagge of Wiston, Covert of Slaugham, Warner of Parham, Thomas of Folkington, Stapley of Patcham, Juxon of Alborne, Springate of Broyle, Shirley of Preston. Of these Colonel Fagge had been nominated one of the King's judges, and had acted throughout with his brother-in-law Herbert Morley; John Stapley was presumably rewarded for his share in the plot of 1658, his compromising letter to Cromwell being perhaps unknown; and it may be that his neighbour and relation, Anthony Shirley, was in some way privy to those proceedings, and was one of those with whom Colonel Culpepper negotiated during his visit to Brightelmstone in 1659.<sup>2</sup> Herbert Springate was one of the sequestrators appointed to deal with delinquents' estates in 1643, but seems to have taken no very active

<sup>1</sup> Hastings MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com., xiii, 4), p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 308.

part in affairs subsequently. The institution of an order of the Royal Oak, to commemorate Charles' escape after Worcester, was contemplated, but was never carried out. The knights, 617 in all, were to wear a silver medal with a device of the King in the oak at Boscobel. The scheme was laid aside as likely to revive animosities. The following Sussex men were intended to be made knights:<sup>1</sup>

	Value of his estate.
George Lunsford . . . . .	£600 per annum.
Thomas Middleton . . . . .	600 „
Walter Dobell . . . . .	1,000 „
Lunsford of Windmill Hill . . . . .	600 „
Edward Eversfield . . . . .	600 „
John Eversfield . . . . .	1,500 „
Henry Goringe . . . . .	2,000 „
John May . . . . .	600 „
Mitchelbourne of Stanmer . . . . .	600 „ <sup>2</sup>

The Sussex gentry had not been backward in offering the King an address of congratulation on his return.<sup>3</sup> John Evelyn records: "June 30th. The Sussex gentlemen presented their address, to which was my hand. I went with it and kissed his Majesty's hand, who was pleased to own me more particularly by calling me his old acquaintance, and speaking very graciously to me."<sup>4</sup> But the county generally was not easily turned from its attachment to Puritanism. Even in 1663 the towns of Lewes and Chichester were particularly "perverse"; so much so, indeed, that the trained bands had to be marched into Chichester to prevent an armed rising,<sup>5</sup> while a request was made for the justices to assist "the honest party" at Lewes, as there was no militia in East Sussex.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. A. C., v, 104.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of other names proposed see S. A. C., xxiii, 210.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. II, i, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs, ii, 150.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom., Chas. II, lxxx, 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 56; Vict. Hist. Sussex, i, 528.

Of the Sussex regicides, Sir Gregory Norton, Anthony Stapley, and Peregrine Pelham had died before the Restoration, *felices opportunitate mortis*. Of the remainder, William Cawley escaped to the Continent, and William Goffe to America. James Temple and John Downes surrendered and were brought to trial.

James Temple, member of the Long Parliament for Bramber, doubtless came of a branch of the ennobled family of that name; "but who shall identify a Temple at this time? when Dr. Fuller assures us that Hester, the widowed lady of Sir Thomas Temple of Stow, Bart., saw seven hundred descendants; and assures us he bought the truth of what he avers, by a wager he lost upon it."<sup>1</sup> He was governor of Tilbury fort or block-house in 1649.<sup>2</sup> He acted as guardian for Sir Charles Shelley of Michelgrove, an infant, and petitioned against the sequestration of that estate<sup>3</sup>—it was alleged by his opponents in his own interest.<sup>4</sup> He was tried at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey on 16th October 1660, and pleaded Not Guilty; but being shown his hand-writing to the warrant, withdrew his plea. He was condemned to death, but was suffered to remain in the Tower, where, it is supposed, he died.<sup>5</sup>

John Downes was tried on the same day as James Temple. He is said to have been "a Londoner of mean family"; but he rose to considerable eminence on the Parliamentary side. He sat for Arundel in the Long Parliament, and was a member of the Council of State in 1651 and 1659. At his trial, Downes made a powerful appeal for mercy on the ground that when Charles denied the jurisdiction of the Court appointed to try him, and claimed to be heard before the Lords and Commons, he had urged

<sup>1</sup> Noble's Regicides, ii, 263.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 2862; Cal. Com. for Advance of Money, 527.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Com. for Compounding, 2370.

<sup>4</sup> Mystery of the Good Old Cause.

<sup>5</sup> State Trials, v, 1217.

that this course should be adopted. "I remember," he said, "the persons between whom I sat, as it fell out, were one Mr. Cawley and Colonel Wauton; these two I sat betwixt; these were the very words I spake to them: 'Have we hearts of stone? Are we men?' They laboured to appease me; they told me I would ruin both myself and them; said I, 'if I die for it, I must do it.' Cromwell sat just the seat below me; the hearing of me made some stir. Whispering he looked up to me, and asked me if I were myself? What I meant to do, that I could not be quiet? 'Sir,' said I, 'no, I cannot be quiet.' Upon that I started up in the very nick. When the president commanded the clerk to read the sentence, I stepping up and as loud as I could speak, spoke to this effect these words, or to the like purpose: 'My lord,' said I, 'I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence, but have reason to offer you against it, and I desire the Court may adjourn to hear me.' Presently, he stepped up and looked at me; 'Nay,' saith he, 'if any of the Court be unsatisfied, the Court must adjourn.' Sir, accordingly they did adjourn into the inner Court of Wards; when they came there, I was called upon by Cromwell to give an account why I had put this trouble and disturbance upon the Court." Downes alleged that he urged that after the passing of the Act constituting the Court, Parliament had made an order that upon the arising of any emergency not contemplated at that time, the Court should immediately acquaint the House with it; and that this was such a case. "The King denied the jurisdiction of the Court, and yet with all vehemency desired to speak with his Parliament. Were not these emergencies? if not, I knew not what were emergencies." He further argued that such a sentence as was contemplated should only be given on the fullest evidence; "there was a great shortness in this, that not one member of the Court did hear one witness *vivâ voce*. I did press that if the Court did give judgment against the King without a fair examination, I said

it was such a thing as no judge at any assizes would do against a common person." Cromwell answered, "with a great deal of storm," that it was not fit that the Court should be hindered from its duty by one peevish man, and desired them without more ado, to go and do their duty. Downes further alleged that he had signed the death-warrant under coercion; "I was threatened with my very life."<sup>1</sup> He was condemned, but was not executed, and died in prison.

William Cawley, member for Midhurst in the Long Parliament, had been one of the most active of the Sussex members throughout the period. In 1629 he had compounded for knighthood, and had paid a fine of £14.<sup>2</sup> He was one of the few regicides who obtained a seat in the Convention Parliament of 1659; but being excepted both as to life and estate from the Act of Indemnity, he fled to the Continent, and appears to have resided at Lausanne. His life-history is summed up on the monument erected to his father in St. Andrew's Church, Chichester:

JOHN CAWLEY

Of the parish of St. Andrew, thrice Mayor of this City,  
Was buried in this Church May 3rd 1621.

His son William Cawley was baptised here in 1602.

In 1626 he founded the hospital of St. Bartholomew  
Without the North Gate, now used as the Workhouse of this City.

In 1647 he represented this city in Parliament  
And in the disputes which arose in the reign of  
King Charles he was one of those who signed the  
Death Warrant of that unfortunate monarch.

Upon the Restoration he was excepted out of the  
Act of Oblivion. He died at Bruges in Flanders  
At an advanced age.

<sup>1</sup> State Trials, v, 1212. Mr. Gardiner, *Civil War*, ch. lxxxi, falls into a strange error in this matter. He says: "Downes, indeed, who did not sign at all, described himself as having been frightened into assenting to the judgment, but he had nothing to say about any ill effects resulting to him on account of his refusal to sign." Yet he prints the death warrant with Downes' signature appended. At his trial, Downes was shown his signature and admitted it.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. C., xvi, 50.

But it would seem that he died in Switzerland. For a few years ago a tomb was discovered beneath the boarded floor of the Church of St. Martin at Vevay, bearing this inscription:

Hic jacet tabernaculum terrestre Gulielmi Cawley Armigeri Anglicani nuper de Cicestria in Comitatu Sussexiae qui postquam aetate sua insenivit Dei consilio obdormivit 6 Jan 1666 aetatis suae 63.<sup>1</sup>

Major-General Goffe was also excepted from the Act of Indemnity. Before the Restoration actually took place a warrant had been issued for his arrest, on 16th April 1660, probably on suspicion that he was concerned in Lambert's intended rising. On 22nd September a reward of £100 was offered for his apprehension;<sup>2</sup> but he succeeded in escaping to America with his father-in-law, Lieutenant-General Whalley.

Goffe had been high in favour with Cromwell, and had even been spoken of as his possible successor: "he is judged the only fit man to have Major-General Lambert's place and command, as Major-General of the army; and having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the Protectorship hereafter if he be not treated as Lambert was."<sup>3</sup> He was one of the persons summoned by Cromwell during his last illness to receive his declaration appointing his son Richard his successor, attested Cromwell's appointment on oath before the Council, and subscribed the proclamation declaring Richard Cromwell Protector. After Richard's fall his importance greatly diminished; but he was one of four Commissioners sent by the Council of the Army to Scotland in November 1659, to mediate with Monk for the prevention of a new civil war.

<sup>1</sup> The Consecration form of the chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, by Prebendary Deedes, Chichester, 1909, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> By the King. A proclamation for apprehension of Edward Whalley and William Goffe. B.M., Thomason Tracts, pressmark 669, f. 26 (9).

<sup>3</sup> Second Narrative of the late Parliament; Harleian Miscellany, ed. Park, iii, 483.



Goffe and Whalley landed at Boston, Mass. in July 1660, and were well received by the Governor, John Endicott. But the English Government sent peremptory orders for their arrest, and they were forced to fly. Some of their subsequent adventures have been the theme of novelists,<sup>1</sup> who have told the story of Goffe using his talents of leadership to defend the town of Hadley, Mass., from an attack by Indians. He died there about 1679.<sup>2</sup> He, too, like his brother Stephen, had travelled far from his birthplace, the Rectory of Stanmer.

The Sussex ports maintained their reputation as places of embarkation for distinguished refugees to the Continent. Richard Cromwell escaped from Lewes, and Edmund Ludlow by the same route a few weeks later. It has been suggested that perhaps Colonel Morley's protecting hand may be traced in these proceedings.<sup>3</sup> Ludlow has left an interesting account of his flight: "The time appointed for my departure from England being come, after I had settled my affairs in the best manner I could, and taken leave of my dearest friends and relations, I went into a coach about the close of the day, and passing through the City over London Bridge to St. George's Church in Southwark, I found a person ready to receive me with two horses, one of which I mounted and began my journey. My guide was so well acquainted with the country, that we avoided all the considerable towns on the road, where we suspected any soldiers might be quartered; and the next morning by break of day we arrived at Lewes without interruption. On the Tuesday following, a small vessel being prepared for my transportation, I went on board; but the wind blowing hard and the vessel having no deck, I removed

<sup>1</sup> Scott in *Peveril of the Peak*, and Fenimore Cooper in *The Borderers*.

<sup>2</sup> For particulars of his life in America, see D. N. B., and the authorities there quoted.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. C., v, 100.

into another that had been provided for me by a merchant of Lewes, and was struck upon the sands as she was falling down to receive me. This vessel had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwell some weeks before, and lay very commodiously for my safety on that occasion, for after I had entered into her to secure myself from the weather, till I might put to sea in the other, the searchers came on board my small vessel to see what she carried, omitting to search that in which I was, not suspecting any person or thing to be in her, because she was struck upon the sands. But the storm still continuing, and the men thinking not fit to put to sea, we continued in the harbour all that day and the night following; the master, who had used the ports of Ireland whilst I had been in that country, amongst other things enquiring if lieutenant-general Ludlow were not imprisoned with the rest of the King's judges; to which I answered that I had not heard of any such thing. The next morning we set sail, and had the wind so favourable that we arrived in Dieppe that evening before the gates were shut."<sup>1</sup>

With the reward, punishment, or disappearance of the principal actors, the curtain falls on "the Great Rebellion." It had apparently achieved nothing. A Stuart was again seated on the throne of the Plantagenets and the Tudors; the bishops returned to their palaces; the nobles embarked once more on the perilous seas of Court pleasures and Court intrigue. But at this distance we may perceive that much had happened to change the conditions of national existence, especially two very momentous things. The commercial pre-eminence of Holland had been successfully challenged, and the foundations of a British sea-power and of a world-wide British Empire had been laid. And the growth of an absolute monarchy had been stopped. Throughout Europe the limited monarchies of the Middle

<sup>1</sup> Ludlow's Memoirs, 1771, p. 398.

Ages were being replaced by military despotisms. In England alone the claim of the national assembly to the power of the purse gave it some continuance of vitality. Absolutism was the order of the time; in some European countries it has either persisted until our own day, or has been removed by very drastic methods. Perhaps nothing but the great wave of religious enthusiasm which rolled through England in the early part of the seventeenth century, and in such counties as Sussex carried all before it, could have availed to kill it here. The wave spent its force and subsided into a gentle current, but the edifice which it had destroyed has never been restored. Subsequent political struggles have been concerned with other issues.



## APPENDIX A

### LINKS WITH THE PAST

**I**F many of the leading Sussex men of the Civil War period have to-day no representatives in the direct line, there are notable exceptions. The Earl of Ashburnham is seventh in descent from John Ashburnham, the King's friend and companion in flight. The Earl of Chichester is eighth in descent from Sir Thomas Pelham, member for the county in the Long Parliament, and a consistent supporter of the Parliamentary cause. And the blood of Cromwell flows in his veins, as it does in those of so many prominent English families;<sup>1</sup> Lord Chichester's great-great-grandmother, Anne Frankland, was the Lord Protector's great-grand-daughter. Colonel Morley of Glynde left no heirs; the Brands hold Glynde through their descent from the widow of his son William, who re-married John Trevor. But Mr. Goring of Wiston is descended from Morley's sister Mary, who married Colonel Fagge, created a baronet at the Restoration.

Perhaps no existing Sussex family is so closely representative of the leaders on both sides in the Civil War as the Campions of Danny. Colonel Campion is not only eighth in descent from Sir William Campion, whose wife was a Parker of Ratton, and who was killed at Colchester while fighting under the command of George Goring, Earl of Norwich, then of Danny; but by the marriage of Barbara, daughter and heiress of Peter Courthope (grandson of Peter Courthope, who purchased Danny from Lord Norwich) by Philadelphia, daughter of Sir John Stapley, he descends not only from the Stapleys of Patcham, but from Sir Herbert Springate of the Broyle, Sir John Stapley's wife Mary being Sir Herbert's eldest daughter; and also from George Goring

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 34.

of Danny, whose daughter (sister of Lord Norwich) married Anthony Stapley, member for the county in the Long Parliament.

Sir Spencer Maryon-Wilson is a direct descendant of the lady who regaled the Parliamentary soldiers on wheat-ear pie to such good purpose. The Frewens of Brickwall still represent the Puritan Rector of Northiam, whose son became an Archbishop. If during the Civil War the Burrells were more busy with their furnaces than with public affairs, their descendants have made amends since. In some cases the generations connecting the reigns of Charles I and George V are singularly few. The present owner of the manor of Preston (long since passed from the possession of the Shirleys) is but sixth in descent from Edward Stanford, who as churchwarden of Slinfold signed the Protestation Return of 1641-2. And the present Sir John Shelley is sixth in descent from the young Sir Charles whose goods were hidden in a chimney at Michelgrove.

It is a pleasing testimony to the continuity of things in Sussex that among the representatives of the county in the House of Commons to-day are a Howard, a Courthope, and a Campion.

## APPENDIX B

THE following account of a fracas at Lewes in 1656 illustrates the indignation of the Royalists at the "decimation" tax (see page 283). It is printed in the Thurloe State Papers, vol. v, 779, and in S.A.C., xxxix, 62, where the identity of John Pellet is discussed. Thomas Woodcock was concerned with John Stapley in the Royalist plot of 1658 (see page 297), and Colonel Culpepper was at Brighthelmstone on similar business in 1659 (page 308).

"AN INFORMATION OF JOHN PELLET, SATURDAY, JAN. 10TH, 1656,  
AT THE BULL AT LEWES AT MR. RICHARDSON'S.

"Upon a discourse had betwixt J. Pellet of Arundel and Col. Culpepper, who curst the decimators and all the devisers of the decimation. H. Woodcock upon that discourse arising about decimation, which being defended as just in the Lord Protector

by John Pellet, the said Henry Woodcock did with many reproachful words enveigh against decimation and decimators. And being told by Pellet it was a mercy in the Protector and Council, in regard the Cavaliers had forfeited both life and goods, the said Woodcock cursed that mercy, and said if he had as many lives as he had hairs, taking himself by a lock of his hair, he would spend them all against such traitors and rebels, as were against the Cavaliers. And being told by John Pellet that the Cavaliers had had fighting enough, wherein God was always against them, and the said Pellet told him thus much, 'We have always beaten you,' the said Woodcock asked Pellet whom he meant by saying 'we'; the said Pellet told him he meant the Protector and those that took part with the late Parliament against the late King's party; who had conquered the Cavalier part at Marston Moor, at Naseby, Cheriton, Oxford, and all places else, where God had given signal testimonies of his power against the late King's party. To which the said Woodcock replied, saying 'You are all a company of traitors and rebels,' adding these words 'God confound me if, in case I had the power in my hand, there should never a rogue of you all have a bit of bread in the kingdom'; referring in his said speech to the Protector, and all that take part with him against the Cavalier party; adding more a report of two persons going forth to fight, the one at his going forth saying 'Lord bless me, Lord bless me'; the other whose name was Leonard, crying out with his arms cast out, 'God damn me, God damn me, God damn me'; commending the said Leonard, saying that he came off bravely when the other was slain. To the which the said Pellet replied, saying 'Where now are all your "God damn me's"?' Hath not the Lord trampled them as mire in the street under the feet of the present power?' Whereupon the said Woodcock, looking round about him to observe if any person heard him, the said Harry Woodcock spake of having a thousand men and five hundred horse, vowing he would cut them all (having relation to the Protector and present power) in pieces, and that before long time the said Pellet should see it and feel it. To the which the said Pellet replied, saying the said Woodcock showed what he would do, in case he had power in his hand, as the Protector and the present power had in theirs; the said Pellet adding, that in case he were of Council with the present government, such implacable cavaliers and enemies to

the state as would not be at peace in the nation, he would have them sent to Jamaica; telling the said Woodcock it was great mercy in the Protector and Council to let such irreconcilable enemies have a being. Whereupon the said Woodcock clapping his hand into his pocket, drew out somewhat, and clapped to the heart of the said Pellet, vowing he could afford to pistol him and calling him traitor and rebel, bidding the said Pellet to honour the King, demanding of the said Pellet which way he went home, vowing he would have an account of him very speedily. And Francis Woodcock, one of the brothers of the said Henry, coming into the chamber at that instant, it being the lodging chamber of the said John Pellet, the said Henry Woodcock began to repeat to his said brother part of the former discourse; and forthwith the said Francis Woodcock said, in case he had said so much to him, he would have thrown the beer in his face; and struck the said Pellet standing peaceably by the fireside with a glass filled with beer in the face, giving the said Pellet three wounds near the eye. And the said Henry did at that instant catch the said Pellet by the hair, and both of the Woodcocks did wound and violently beat and abuse the said Pellet, giving him six wounds in the head and face, tearing his clothes, and plucking much of his hair off his head and laming him in the leg, insomuch by effusion of blood running from the said wounds, two table-napkins were soaked in blood; the said Pellet's clothes being exceeding bloody, his wounds bleeding all night, although dressed by an able surgeon.

“And the said Pellet upon oath further saith that the said Henry Woodcock at the time of this discourse was very sober, and did well understand what he spake, and that during this discourse, which lasted about an hour in the said Pellet's chamber, where there was no person present in the said chamber, during the discourse aforesaid, but the said Pellet and the said Henry Woodcock.

“And the said John Pellet upon oath saith that at the time of the battery there was no person present, but William Gratwick of Torton; and that the said Pellet used not a word of provocation to Francis Woodcock nor to the said Henry; for truth whereof Pellet refers to the testimony of the said William Gratwick.

“I do upon this 12th of Jan. 1656 upon oath, testify the whole above written narrative and discovery,

“JOHN PELLET.”



This was given in to Mr. Boughton at Lewes the 10th January 1656.

Pellet subsequently made the following further deposition:

“The occasion of that controversy which arose at the Bull, Lewes betwixt Henry Woodcock and John Pellet was by means of one Culpepper, who being in the chamber of John Pellet, refused his part of the reckoning; and being thereunto requested by John Pellet, he answered he was decimated for his sins and demerits. Hereupon he cursed, ‘The plague of God take the decimators, and all that devised decimation.’ The said Pellet affirmed it was just in the Protector and his Council, since the cavaliers had forfeited lives and estates. And the said Pellet being asked if he would justify decimation, since it was after the act of oblivion and composition, Pellet replied and said, ‘the Parliament did not omit them to composition and pass the act of oblivion to render the Cavaliers able to cut the Parliament’s own throats.’ Hereupon the said Colonel Culpepper cursed the late parliament, saying they were rogues and villains and knaves, and pulled out by the ears for their knavery; which being denied by Pellet, and he telling the said Culpepper the Cavaliers were the conquered party, the company broke up; and presently after the within written Henry Woodcock laid hold of Pellet, telling him he would have an account of him for speaking against the Cavalier party; and thereupon ensued the within written discourse between Henry Woodcock and Pellet.

“JOHN PELLET.”

This was given in upon oath at Lewes the 21st January 1656 before the Commissioners.



## INDEX

- A** BBOT, Mr., 295.  
 Abingdon, Sussex troops for the garrison at, 173.  
 Adur, Morley falls back on the, 78.  
   Royalist advance east of the, stopped, 79.  
 Akehurst, Mr., of Warbleton, 275.  
 Alberry, John, churchwarden of Arundel, 28.  
 Albourne Place, 223.  
 Alford, Sir Edward, member for Arundel, 16.  
   fined on Exeter Articles, 131.  
   and the Rectory of Cheltenham, 294.  
 Algerian pirates, in the Channel, 14.  
 Allen, John, goldsmith of Rye, 13.  
 Alton, Waller's attack on, 82.  
   the prisoners taken at, 86.  
   Crawford leaves his sack at, 90.  
 Amberley Castle, seized for the Parliament, 129.  
 Anderson, Mr. Robert, at Chichester, 44.  
   fined, 126.  
 Anderton, Robert, 287.  
 Andrews, Bishop, 29.  
 Appledram, 295.  
 Apsley, Colonel Edward, his narrative of his capture, 74.  
   member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
   member for Steyning, endeavours to raise a regiment, 157.  
 Apsley, John, at Chichester, 45.  
   admitted to compound, 130.  
 Apsley, Mr., Rector of Pulborough, 141.  
 Archdeaconry Court of Lewes, 25.  
   records of, 26.  
 Ardingley, the incumbent of, sequestered, 142.  
 Arlington, the incumbent of, sequestered, 142.  
 Armies, components of the Royal and Parliamentary, 34.  
 Articles of Surrender, 126.  
 Artillery in the Civil War, 35.  
 Arundel, 3.  
   Sir Edward Alford elected member for, 16.  
   Sir N. Brent's visitation to, 28.  
   the castle captured by a Roundhead force, 51.  
   recaptured by Ford and Bishop, 72.  
   Waller advances on, 82.  
   attacks and captures the town, 85.  
   lays siege to the castle, 86.  
   incidents of the siege of, 88.  
   the terms of surrender of, 93.  
   the prisoners taken at, 94.  
   Colonels Morley and Springate joint governors of, 95.  
   the damage suffered by, 96.  
 Chillingworth's part in the siege of, 101.  
   victims to the insanitary state of, 110.  
   Lady Springate summoned to, 115.  
   the town's desolation, 116.  
   the incumbent of, sequestered, 142.  
   wreck of the *St. James* near, 151.  
   the castle used as a magazine, 156.  
   garrisoned by the trained bands, 162.  
   Captain Morley governor of, 169, 259.

Arundel—*continued.*

Ordnance brought from Chichester to, 173.

design to remove the Horsham magazine to, 197.

Charles II's narrow escape at, 259.  
the castle slighted, 276.

Arundel, Mr., his sons captured at sea, 65.

Arundel, Thomas, Earl of, 4, 50.  
his estates sequestered, 122.

Ashbee, Thomas, of Maresfield, 27.

Ashburnham, John, member for Hastings, 16.

treasurer to the King, 19.

fined half his estate, 121.

his early life, 185.

accompanies the King from Oxford, 186.

escapes with the King from Hampton Court, 187.

offers to kill Hammond, 188.

his projects of escape, 188.

restores the fortunes of his family by marriage, 189.

his descendant's vindication of his character, 190.

and Coke's plot, 228.

ordered to augment certain livings, 295.

his descendants, 325.

Ashburnham, Lawrence, appointed deputy-lieutenant, 156.

Ashburnhams, the, a Royalist family, 4.

Ashford, John, 161.

Association, Decree of, for the southern counties, 67.

Astley, Sir Jacob, 33.

Aylen, a leader of the Clubmen, 169.

Aylwine, John, receiver of contributions at Lewes, 156.

Bagant, William, of Alfriston, 27.

Bainbridge, Colonel, 288.

Baker, Mr. John, Justice of the Peace, 31.  
High Sheriff, 73.

member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.

Baker, John, Corporal, 313.

Baker, Thomas, of Rustington, 234.

Baker, William, 222.

Baldwyn, John, 310.

Balfour, Sir William, 19.

Ballard, Thomas, 288.

Ballow, Mrs., 139.

Balnidine, Sir William, 53.

Bamford, or Bamfield, Colonel, 84.

Barkham, in Fletching, 240.

Barlow, of Hastings, 149.

Barnstaple Articles of Surrender, 128.

Baronets created at the Restoration 315.

Barret, Bridget, of Wivelsfield, 27.

Basing House :

Colonel Morley at the siege of, 158.

effect of its resistance on Sussex, 161.

Sussex troops for the siege of, 165.

Batnor, Rev. John, of Westmeston, 26.

Batten, Alice, wife of John, 232.

Battle, local Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 138.

Samuel Gott at, 241.

Baude, Peter, ironfounder, 9.

Bayne, Colonel, at Arundel, 87.

Beachy Head, Dunkirk privateers at, 268.

Beeding, Charles II at, 259.

Beeding Bridge, 201.

Bellingham, Mr., rides from Chichester to Portsmouth, 39.

Benbrick, Joseph, of Rye, 27.

Bennett, Colonel, 66.

Bennett, Sir Humphrey, his preparations in Sussex, 299.

the case against him dropped, 302.

Berkeley, Sir John, with Ford at Reading, 98.

and John Ashburnham, 188, 190.

Berkshire, manifesto of the Clubmen in, 167.

Bessano, Master, a Counsellor-at-Law, 150.

Betsworth, Arthur, 288.

Bexhill, the incumbent of, sequestered, 143.

Bible, the influence of the, 22.

- Bide, Rev. Thomas, of Crawley, 26.
- Bigge, Mr., 139.
- Billingshurst, population of, in 1641-2, 18.
- Binderton, the Protestation return from, 17.  
the living of, 294.
- Bingham, Governor of Poole, 160.
- Binnes, Thomas, of West Hoathly, 27.
- Bishop, Henry, of Henfield: petition from Virginia in favour of, 125.
- Bishop, Mr., 299.
- Bishop, Lady, entertained by Waller, 92.
- Bishop, Sir Edward, of Parham, with Ford at Chichester, 45.  
at Arundel, 72.  
drives away Colonel Apsley's sheep, 75.  
hostage for the surrender of Arundel, 93.  
declared incapable of any employment, 97.  
a prisoner in the Tower, 124.  
sequestration of his estate, 125.
- Bishops, the, of Parham, a Royalist family, 4.
- Blackdown House, 14, 276.
- Blake, in Rye Bay, 273.  
defeated off Dungeness, 274.  
orders the impressment of seamen, 278.
- Board, Herbert, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Bodley, Major, at Arundel, 87.
- Bond, Mr., 227.
- Bonwick, Richard, 291.
- Book of Sports, the, 230.
- Booker, Richard, of Pulborough, fined, 126.
- Borde, Andrew, 11.
- Borstall Articles of Surrender, 134.
- Borstall House, defended by Sir William Campion, 192.
- Bothell, Mr., 295.
- Boughton, Colonel Richard, one of Goffe's commissioners, 288, 329.
- Boulte, Mr. John, 140.
- Bow Hill, 257.
- Bowyer, Sir Thomas, his origin, 15.  
member for Bramber, 16.  
at Chichester, 39.  
expelled from the House of Commons, 43.  
sends a horse to Chichester, 45.  
made prisoner by Waller, 56.  
his estate sequestered, 122.
- Bramber, Captain Temple's defensive works at, 73.  
the castle defended by Temple, 78.  
the bridge held by Temple, 78.  
Captain Fuller and Everden in charge of, 86.  
Charles II at, 259.
- Brambletye, local Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 138.
- Brambletye House, searched, 309.
- Brede, iron-works at, 176.
- Bremen, Captain, 307.
- Brent, Sir Nathaniel, his visitation, 27.
- Brentford, the King's treatment of prisoners taken at, 86.
- Brett, Thomas of Cuckfield, 30.
- Brightelmstone (Brighton), anciently a port, 11.  
ordnance sent from to Lewes, 41.  
the Earl of Thanet embarks at, 64.  
a wreck at, 153.  
unrest at, in 1648, 201.  
Charles II escapes from, 260.  
the *Warspite* ordered to, 269.  
importance of the North Sea fishery to, 270.  
the Dutch fleet off, 274.  
the *Cat* at, 279.  
dismay at, 280.  
Ovingdean parish joined to, 296.  
Colonel Culpepper at, 308, 315.
- Bristol Articles of Surrender, 131.
- Broadbridge, George, 266.
- Broadwater, Waller at, 151.
- Brockett, Ninian, 292.
- Broughton, Captain, 252.
- Browne, Colonel, second-in-command to Waller before Chichester, 50.  
his son captured at sea, 65.

- Browne, John, ironfounder, 176.  
 examined by a committee of the House, 177.
- Browne, John, Jun., 177.
- Browne, Lady, 267.
- Broyll, the, occupied by Waller, 52.  
 manor of, sold to John Downes, 56.
- Bruff, Martha, wife of Stephen, 8.
- Buckle, the historian, 4.
- Bunyard, Mr., 29.
- Burrell, Walter, his furnace, 276.
- Burrells, the, supporters of the Parliament, 5.  
 enriched by the iron industry, 9.
- Burton, Dr. Edward of Westham, 32.  
 and the bishopric of Chichester, 240.
- Burton, Dr. John, his journey into Sussex, 7.
- Burton, Lieutenant, 76.
- Bury Hill, the Clubmen at, 169.
- Busbridge, Thomas, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Butler, James, of London, purchaser of Amberley Castle, 129.
- Butt, John of Bosham, 133.
- Butts, Timothy, 249.
- Buxted, ironworks at, 9.
- Byron, Sir John, 20.
- Calle, John, 145.
- Camber Castle, 73.
- Campion, Henry, 134.
- Campion, Lady, daughter of Sir Thomas Parker, 193.
- Campion, Sir William, sells Lamborn Hall to Peter Courthope, 134.  
 fined on Borstall Articles, 134.  
 at the relief of Basing House, 160.  
 his correspondence with Colonel Morley, 191.  
 and with Major Shilbourne, 193.  
 killed at Colchester, 248.  
 his descendants, 325.
- Campions, the, of Combwell and Danny, 134, 193, 325.
- Car, Mr., parson of St. Clement's, Hastings, 149, 299.
- Carey, Major Horatio, 52.
- Carleton, George, Bishop of Chichester (1619-1628), 79, 301.
- Carleton, Guy, conspirator, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, 301.
- Carleton, Captain Henry, at Shoreham, 75.  
 his parentage and character, 79.  
 member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 123, 301.
- Carver, Derrick, 222.
- Caryll, Sir John, his house at South Harting, 70, 120.
- Caryll, John, of Harting, fined, 120.  
 his estate sequestered, 121.
- Carylls, the, a Royalist family, 4.  
 enriched by the iron industry, 9.
- Cat, the, 279, 280.
- Catre, Captain, 52.
- Cawley, John, the elder, 319.
- Cawley, John, the younger, 302.
- Cawley, William, elected member for Midhurst, 16.  
 leads the Parliamentary party at Chichester, 39.  
 procures guns from Portsmouth, 42.  
 takes flight to Portsmouth, 42.  
 writes to the Speaker concerning the Royalist capture of Chichester, 43.  
 his letter to the Speaker from Farnham, 67.  
 member of Sequestrating Committee for Sussex, 120.  
 his interest in Sir Thomas Bowyer's estate, 123.  
 appointed governor of Cowdray House, 161.  
 reports the outrageous proceedings of the Clubmen, 169.  
 writes to Scawen concerning the difficulty of raising men and money, 171.  
 one of the King's judges, 219.  
 signs the death-warrant, 220.  
 member of the Council of State, 225.  
 presents his son to the living of Rotherfield, 302.

- Cawley, William—*continued*.  
 member for Chichester in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 305.  
 escapes to the Continent at the Restoration, 317.  
 his career, and monument at Chichester, 319.  
 his death and burial at Vevay, 320.  
 "Century of Malignant Priests," the, 142.
- Charles I, conventional ideas concerning, 2.  
 his faults and virtues, 3.  
 his raising of ship-money, 13.  
 his misuse of the navy, 14.  
 his close connection with numerous Sussex men, 18.  
 appoints Lunsford to the Lieutenantancy of the Tower, 19.  
 attempts to arrest the five members, 20.  
 leaves London, 21.  
 raises his standard at Nottingham, 33.  
 his proclamation read at Chichester, 36.  
 effect of his advance towards London, 41.  
 Hopton's invasion of Sussex a part of his plan of campaign, 71.  
 threatens to hang prisoners, 86.  
 and the defence of Basing House, 159.  
 urged to advance into Sussex and Kent, 176.  
 sends Stephen Goffe to Holland, 180.  
 his letter to the Prince of Orange, 181.  
 his intrigues abroad, 182.  
 his want of sympathy with English national feeling, 184.  
 his flight from Oxford with John Ashburnham, 186.  
 his escape from Hampton Court, 187.  
 his trial, 219.  
 accompanied to the scaffold by Bishop Juxon, 220.
- constitutional change brought about by his death, 225.  
 and the "Book of Sports," 230.  
 his effort to win over John Selden, 235.  
 his patronage of Thomas May, 236.  
 and Accepted Frewen, 239.  
 and Henry Gage, 243.
- Charles II, project of marriage for, 180.  
 absolves John Ashburnham of alleged treachery, 188.  
 crowned at Scone, 251.  
 defeated at Worcester, 252.  
 his wanderings and ultimate escape from Brightelmstone, 252 *seq.*  
 project for his landing in Sussex, 296.  
 his restoration, 313.  
 receives a deputation of Sussex gentry, 316.
- Charles*, the, 65.
- Charlton, 129.  
 the living of, 294.
- Chate, Thomas, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Chatfield, Mr., preacher at Horsham, 137.  
 and the rising at Horsham, 199.
- Cheltenham, the rectory of, 294.
- Cheyneil, Dr. Francis, visits Temple at Bramber, 78.  
 his characters of Carleton and Everden, 79.  
 at the capture of Arundel, 103.  
 his early career, 104.  
 takes charge of Chillingworth, 105.  
 plies him with questions, 106.  
 his conduct at Chillingworth's funeral, 108.  
 member of Westminster Assembly, 137.  
 obtains the living of Petworth, 139.  
 post-Restoration references to him, 140.  
 and the case of Mr. Large, 144.
- Chichester, 3.  
 Christopher Lewknor and Sir Wm. Morley, elected members for, 16.

Chichester—*continued.*

- population of in 1641-2, 17.  
 state of the Cathedral in 1616, 25.  
 Sir Nathaniel Brent's visitation to, 28.  
 the King's proclamation read at, 36.  
 flight of the Mayor from to York, 37.  
 the city declares for the Parliament, 39.  
 cavaliers send aid to the garrison at Portsmouth, 40.  
 the city fortified, 42.  
 cavaliers seize the magazine, 42.  
 letter describing the proceedings at, 43.  
 Waller prepares to attack, 48.  
 the city besieged, 52.  
 surrenders to Waller, 53.  
 treatment of Royalist gentry and cathedral clergy at, 55.  
 the Dean's account of damage done to the cathedral, 57.  
 the cathedral library, 61.  
 the needle-makers of, 62.  
 Colonel Anthony Stapley, governor of the city, 62.  
 Chillingworth removed to, 105.  
 his death, and burial in the cloisters at, 107.  
 the County Committee of Sequestration at, 120.  
 the County Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 138.  
 Colonel Stapley ordered to increase the garrison, 156.  
 the trained bands summoned to, 162.  
 Algernon Sidney appointed governor, 164.  
 the Clubmen assemble near the city, 169.  
 the city disgarrisoned, 173.  
 Bishop Juxon a native of, 221.  
 Colonel Gounter visits Mr. Mansel, a merchant of the city, 255.  
 avoided by Charles II in his ride through Sussex, 258.  
 the parishes of St. Martin and St. Andrew united, 296.  
 troops ordered to in 1659, 307.  
 Royalist design to capture, 307.  
 Major Clarke's company at, 309.  
 "perverseness" of in 1663, 316.  
 William Cawley's connection with, 319.  
 Chichester, the Bishop of, Dr. Henry King, deprived of his emoluments, 56.  
 his palace sold to John Downes, 56.  
 his estate sequestered, 135.  
 designed for the Archbishopric of York, 240.  
 Chichester, the Dean of, Dr. Bruno Reeves, deprived and fined by Waller, 57.  
 his account of the damage to the cathedral, 57.  
 compounds on Oxford Articles, 135.  
 Chilgrove, 129.  
 the living of, 294.  
 Chillingworth, Dr., taken prisoner at Arundel, 101.  
 his birth and early life, 101.  
 "a son of the Renaissance," 102.  
 unpopular at Court, 103.  
 being sick is sent to Chichester, 105.  
 beset by Cheynell and other Puritans, 106.  
 his death and burial, 107.  
 unseemly scene at his graveside, 108.  
 Chilmington Common, 74.  
 Chitney, Captain Henry, holds the magazine at Chichester, 39.  
 fortifies the town, 42.  
 exempted from the royal pardon; 42.  
 his letter to the Speaker from Portsmouth, 43.  
 Chowne, H., member for Horsham in 1659, 305.  
 Christian names, Puritan, 24.  
 Clarke, Major, 307.  
 Clayton, parish church of, 26.  
 Cliffe, powder sent to, 41.  
 the incumbent of, sequestered, 142.  
 Clowson, William, 212.  
 Clubmen, the rising of the, 167.  
 in Sussex, 169.



- Coach-hire in Sussex, 115, 210.  
 Cobden Hill, 75.  
 Cockeram, Richard, Mayor of Rye, 95.  
   with Morley at Hastings, 149.  
 Coke, Thomas, reveals his plot, 227.  
 Colbrand, Richard, musician, 23.  
 Colchester, siege of, 205, 248.  
 Coldham, William, arrested at Chichester and fined, 127.  
 Collet, Peter van, gunsmith, 9.  
 Collidon, Sir John, 99.  
 Collins, Captain Thomas, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
 Colman, Rose, 211.  
 Comber, John, of Donnington, 126.  
 Comber, Thomas, 240.  
 Combwell, the Campions of, 134, 193, 325.  
 Commission of Array, the, 36.  
   for Sussex, 42, 45.  
 Commissioners for Securing the Peace, 288.  
 Committee for Advance of Money, 132.  
 Committee for Compounding, 121.  
 Committee of Plundered Ministers, 136.  
 Committee for Sequestrating Royalists' Estates, 120.  
 Compton, Sir Henry, of Brambletye, fined, 131.  
 Congreve, quoted, concerning wrecks in Sussex, 153.  
 Conyers, Mr., Vicar of Horsham, 136.  
 Cooper, Sir Anthony Ashley, 160, 168.  
 Cooper, Ralph, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
 Corbett, Mr. John, 295.  
 Cordell, Mr., 40.  
 Corker, the spy, 296, 298.  
 Corn, great rise in price of, 207.  
 Cornishmen in Hopton's army, 88.  
 Cotton, Thomas, arrested for levying contributions in Sussex, 66.  
 Coulton, Rev. John, Chaplain of the Rye troop, 78.  
   his letters to S. Jeake quoted, 85, 87, 94, 95.
- Council of State, Sussex members of the, 225.  
 Courthope, Peter, of Isfield, a supporter of the parliament, 5.  
   high-sheriff of Sussex in 1650, 134.  
   his claim to Lamborn Hall in Essex, 134.  
   purchases Danny, 134.  
   his descendants, 325.  
 Covert, John of Slaugham, taken prisoner at the fall of Chichester, 56.  
 Covert, Sir W., his letters concerning wrecks, 153.  
 Coverts, the, a Royalist family, 4.  
 Cowdray House, great state kept at, 14.  
   Hopton puts a Royalist garrison in, 72.  
   taken by Waller, 82.  
   stripped of its contents, 83.  
   sequestration of, 131.  
   its proposed demolition, 161.  
   William Cawley, governor of, 161.  
   Colonel Fagge ordered to garrison, 308.  
 Cowper, Lord Chancellor, 6.  
 Cox, Sarah, of Chichester, fined, 130.  
 Cox, Dr. William, fined on Exeter articles, 135.  
 Craddock, Thomas, of Chichester, fined on Truro Articles, 127.  
 Craven, Lord, his house in Surrey, 114.  
 Crawford, Earl of, his Scotch troopers at Chichester, 53.  
   threatens Southampton, 66.  
   some of his regiment at South Harting, 70.  
   leaves his sack at Alton, 90.  
 Crawley, parish church of, 26.  
 Creswell, Robert, 25.  
 Crispe's regiment, 66.  
 Cromwell, Oliver, exaggerated views of his character, 2.  
   Mr. Gardiner's estimate, 2.  
   his capture of Basing House, 160.  
   deals with the Clubmen, 168.

- Cromwell, Oliver—*continued*.  
 his letter to the Speaker concerning  
 Sussex garrisons, 172.  
 his share in the New Model, 175.  
 his argument with Manchester, 217.  
 overrules John Downes at the King's  
 trial, 219.  
 absolutism forced on, 225.  
 consistently supported by Anthony  
 Stapley, 227.  
 abolishes the grievance of free-quarter,  
 228.  
 regulates the position of disbanded  
 soldiers, 230.  
 the expansion of England begun  
 under, 244.  
 defeats Charles II at Worcester, 252.  
 his bid for the world's trade, 272.  
 tradition of his visits to Blackdown  
 House, 276.  
 he "expects conformity," 286.  
 his treatment of the Quakers, 293.  
 his dealings with the "public min-  
 istry," 293.  
 his summons to John Stapley, 299.  
 his death and funeral, 304.  
 his descendants in Sussex, 325.
- Cromwell, Richard, his succession,  
 304.  
 his abdication, 306.  
 escapes from Lewes, 321.
- Crow, Sir Sackville, ironfounder, 9.
- Cruso, Dr. Aquila, 143.
- Cuckfield, the vicar of, 26.
- Cuckmere, a port in mediaeval times,  
 11.
- Culpepper, Colonel, at Brighthelm-  
 stone, 308, 315.  
 at Lewes, 326.
- Culpeppers, the, a Royalist family, 4.
- Curry, Mr. Daniel, 295.
- Dacre, Francis, Lord, his letter to  
 Lord Grey of Werke, 207.  
 opposes the King's trial, 208.  
 his household at Herstmonceux, 208.  
 his guests, 209.  
 the first of English yachtsmen, 210.
- goes abroad, 211.  
 relieved of office of Vice-Admiral,  
 226.
- Dallington, the incumbent of, sequest-  
 ered, 142.
- Daniell, innkeeper of Rye, 23.
- Danny, the mansion of, 14.  
 purchased by Peter Courthope, 134.  
 the descent of, 134.  
 the Champions of, 134, 193, 325.
- Dawes, John, 211.
- Decimation tax, the, 283.
- Deering, Sir Edward, 66.
- Denny, Henry and Edward, 245.
- D'Ewes, the diarist, makes his will,  
 21.
- Didling, the living of, 294.
- Digby, Lord, 176.  
 his correspondence captured, 182.
- Disbanded soldiers, the hard case of,  
 230.
- Ditchling, 49.
- Dives, Sir Lewis, 168.
- Dixie, Colonel, at Arundel, 88.
- Dod, widow, 86.
- Donnington Castle, 172.
- Dorset, Earl of, 20, 32, 188.
- Dorsetshire, Sussex troops employed  
 in, 160.
- Dover*, the, built at Shoreham, 277.
- Downes, John, purchases the palace at  
 Chichester, 56.  
 member of Sussex Sequestrating Com-  
 mittee, 120.  
 patron of the living of Cowfold, 144.  
 regicide, his conduct at the King's  
 trial, 221.  
 his dispute with John Fry, 224.  
 member of Council of State, 309.  
 his trial and condemnation, 317.
- Dragon, fable of a, in St. Leonard's  
 Forest, 7.
- Drayton, his lament over the destruc-  
 tion of timber, 10.
- Dumbrell, John, the wife of, 27.
- Duncton. *See* Runcton.
- Dusseville, Bonaventure, 62.
- Dyke, William, of Frant, 297.

- Eager, Stephen, 292.
- Eastbourne Place, searched for papers, 300.
- East Dean, 129.  
the living of, 294.
- Eastergate, Clubmen from, 170.
- East Grinstead, Assizes held at, 7.  
the incumbent of, sequestered, 142.  
the living augmented, 295.
- Edmonds, Thomas, 208.
- Edsawe, Rev. John, of Chayley, fined on Oxford Articles, 136.
- Edward the Confessor, and the Sussex ports, 10.
- Elizabeth, Queen, at Cowdray, 14.
- Elsmore, Captain, 307.
- Engagement, the, of 1650, 226.
- Erle, Sir William, 67.
- Essex, Earl of, complains of their weakness in cavalry, 35.  
grants commission as Major-General to Waller, 91.
- Evelyn, John, his father's estate, 15.  
his views of Dutch diplomacy, 183.  
his visit to Rye, 266.  
at the Protector's funeral, 304.  
endeavours to persuade Morley to restore Charles II, 313.  
procures Morley's pardon, 314.  
and the Sussex gentry's address to Charles II, 316.
- Everden (or Everenden), Captain Walter, Cheynell's character of, 79.  
left in charge of Bramber, 86.  
member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
and the manufacture of gunpowder, 277.  
one of Goffe's commissioners, 288.
- Everden, Mr., of Lewes, 275.
- Eversfield, Sir Thomas, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
his own estate sequestered, 120.
- Excise, levied on goods of all kinds, 205.
- Exeter Articles of Surrender, 131, 135.
- Exton, Robert, Mayor of Chichester, 36.  
fined, 130.
- Fagge, Colonel John, a commissioner to try the King, 219.  
his reliance on Colonel Morley, 288, 290.  
member for the county in 1659, 305.  
in command of Sussex Militia, 307.  
governor of Portsmouth, 313.  
created a baronet, 315.  
his descendants, 325.
- Fairfax, Sir T., pleads for Colonel Gounter and others, 126.  
and the New Model, 163, 174.  
petition concerning free-quarter, 165.  
and the Clubmen, 167.  
difficulty of raising men for in Sussex, 171.  
Commander-in-Chief, 175.
- Families, division of, in the Civil War, 190.
- Farley, Rev. John, of Clayton, 26.
- Farrenden (or Farnden), Peter, iron-master, 241, 275.
- Farrington, John, 127.
- Fécamp Abbey, 11.
- Fenwick, Major, 288.
- Ferrers, Samuel, 177.
- Filder, Edward, 222.
- Finch, Sir J., 241.
- Findon, Cavaliers at, 85.
- Ford, Sir Edward, raises troop of horse, 34.  
High Sheriff, 42.  
seizes Chichester, 42.  
his arrest ordered by Parliament, 47.  
defeated at Hayward's Heath, 49.  
neglects defence of Arundel, 51.  
besieged by Waller at Chichester, 52.  
surrenders the city, 53.  
sent prisoner to London, 55.  
endeavours to raise troops in Sussex, 66.  
commands a regiment of horse under Hopton, 72.

- Ford, Sir Edward—*continued*.  
 captures Arundel, 72.  
 besieged by Waller, 86.  
 surrenders the castle, 93.  
 his subsequent career, 97.  
 "a chief delinquent," 158.  
 his interest with Cromwell through  
 his brother-in-law Ireton, 191.  
 visited by Thomas Coke, 228.
- Ford, Sir William, with his son Edward  
 at Chichester, 45.  
 taken prisoner, 55.  
 his residence, Up Park, 70.  
 petitions Parliament, 97.
- Fords, "some of the," 170.
- Foster, Mr. Thos., 299.
- Fowles, the, enriched by the iron in-  
 dustry, 9.
- Fox, George, visits Sussex, 292.
- Fox, William, of Hailsham, 27.
- Fray, Jurat of Hastings, 149.
- Free-quarter, the grievance of, abol-  
 ished by Cromwell, 228.
- Freeman, Captain William, 197.  
 member for Horsham in 1659, 305.  
 one of Goffe's commissioners, 288.
- Frewen, Accepted, 19.  
 eldest son of Rev. John Frewen,  
 24.  
 his early career, 239.  
 Archbishop of York, 240.
- Frewen, Benjamin, 240.
- Frewen, Rev. John, rector of Northiam,  
 threatened by John Snepp, 24.  
 indicted for non-conformity, 25.  
 proceeds against Robert Creswell for  
 insulting him, 25.  
 his epitaph, 238.  
 his descendants, 325.
- Frewen, Stephen, 239.
- Frewen, Thankfull, 24.
- Frottier, John, 62.
- Fuller, Captain, 75.  
 left in charge of Bramber, 86.
- Fullers, the, enriched by the iron in-  
 dustry, 9.
- Funtington, 295.
- Fursby, John, 292.
- Gage, Sir Edward, 131.
- Gage, Sir Henry, soldier of fortune, his  
 early career, 242.  
 governor of Oxford, 19, 243.  
 relieves Basing House, 160.
- Gage, Sir Thomas, of Firlie, 131.
- Gage, Thomas, his romantic career,  
 243.
- Gage, William, of Framfield, 131.
- Gages, the, a Royalist family, 4.
- Galloway, Ambrose and Elizabeth, 291.
- Geers, the, of Ovingdean, 262.
- Gerard, Sir George, 182.
- Gerard, Lord, 228.
- Gibbons, Major, ordered to Horsham,  
 198.  
 defeats Norton at Rye, 204.  
 in command of troops at Rye, 307,  
 310.
- Gildridge, Mr. Nic., 299.
- Gilliat, Lewis, and his son Claude,  
 269.
- Glemham, Sir Thomas, 186.
- Glynde, civil marriages at, 286.  
 the descent of, 325.
- Godalming, Waller's soldiers at, 68.
- Godfrey, Francis, of Rye, 23.
- Goffe, John, son of the rector of Stan-  
 mer, 180.
- Goffe, Mr. Richard, incumbent of East  
 Grinstead, sequestered, 143.  
 at Rotherfield, 147.
- Goffe, Rev. Stephen, rector of Stan-  
 mer, 179.
- Goffe, Stephen, D.D., 19.  
 eldest son of the rector of Stanmer,  
 180.  
 his early life, 180.  
 sent to Holland by the King, 181.  
 failure of his negotiations, 184.  
 his subsequent career, 184.
- Goffe, William, son of the rector of  
 Stanmer, 179.  
 signs the King's death-warrant, 220.  
 Major-General of Sussex, Hamp-  
 shire, and Berkshire, 283.  
 arrives at Lewes, 284.  
 and Colonel Morley, 285.

- Goffe, William—*continued*.  
 his Commissioners for Securing the Peace, 288.  
 exempted from the Act of Indemnity, 320.  
 escapes to America, 320.
- Goldsmiths' Hall, the Committee at, 121.
- Goring, Charles, succeeds his father as Earl of Norwich, 250.
- Goring, Diana, wife of Henry, 92.
- Goring, George, of Ovingdean, son of Sir William Goring, of Burton, 245.
- Goring, George, Lord, governor of Portsmouth, 37.  
 intrigues with both parties, 37.  
 declares for the King, 38.  
 surrenders on terms, 40.  
 his designs on Sussex, 162.  
 his reputation for plundering, 167.  
 in Paris, 183.  
 his career during the war, 246.  
 Clarendon's view of his character, 37, 246.  
 his service and death in Spain, 249.
- Goring, George, Earl of Norwich, his part in the Civil War, 37.  
 his estate of Danny, 134, 245, 249.  
 relations with the Queen, 183.  
 his connection with Anthony Stapley, 191.  
 at the siege of Colchester, 193, 248.  
 his mother, Anne Denny, 228 *n.*, 245.  
 ambassador for the King to France, 246.  
 his letter to Lady Campion, 248.  
 tried for high treason, 249.
- Goring, John, of Amberley, 129.
- Goring, Sir W., member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Gorings, the, of Burton, supporters of the Parliament, 5.
- Gorings, the, of Danny, a Royalist family, 4.
- Gott, Samuel, 241.
- Goulding, Captain, 51.
- Gounter (or Gunter), Colonel George, of Rackton, at Chichester, 45.  
 taken prisoner by Waller, 56.  
 compounds on Truro Articles, 126.  
 arrested at Chichester, 127.  
 and Coke's plot, 228.  
 his narrative of Charles II's escape, 253.  
 his family rewarded, 261.
- Gounter (or Gunter), Captain Thomas, at Chichester, 45.  
 taken prisoner by Waller, 56.  
 and Charles II, 254.
- Gratwick, James, sequestrator of Hors- ham vicarage, 137.
- Gratwick, Roger, abstains from sitting at the King's trial, 219.
- Gratwick, William, of Torton, 328.
- Gratwicks, the, supporters of the Par- liament, 5.  
 enriched by the iron industry, 9.
- Graves, Mr., 299.
- Graves, Sackville, 303, 308.
- Gravetye, the mansion of, 14.
- Greenwood, Mr., preacher at Rye, 23.
- Gregory, Rev. John, 57.
- Gresham, James, 37.
- Grey of Werke, Lord, 100, 207.
- Gyles, Mr., 29.
- Haberdashers' Hall, the Committee at, 133.
- Hall, Edmund, of Lullington, 27.
- Hall, Mr., 299.
- Halnaker, the mansion of, 258.
- Halsey, Mr., rector of East Dean, 140.
- Hampton Court, the King at, 187.
- Hangleton, horse-race at, 232.
- Harbours, decay of Sussex, 11.
- Harley, Sir Robert, 67.
- Harlow, Sir Robert, 133.
- Harsnett, Bishop, his interrogatories to the Chapter of Chichester, 25.
- Harting, Hopton at, 71.
- Harting Place garrisoned by Hopton, 72.
- Harting, South, population of, in 1641, 18.  
 a fight at, 69.

- Haselrig, Sir Arthur, with Waller before Chichester, 52.  
 takes part in the spoliation of the cathedral, 57.  
 revisits Chichester in 1647, 60.  
 his troops and free-quarter, 166.  
 acts with Morley in London and at Portsmouth, 311.
- Haslemere, occupied by Waller, 82.
- Hastings, shipment of "billets" from, 10.  
 destruction of the pier at, 11.  
 rated for ship-money, 14.  
 Colonel Morley at, 148.  
 Ashburnham holds a barque in readiness at, 188.  
 the Marquis of Ormonde escapes from, 188.  
 a clerk of the passage appointed at, 188.  
 importance of the North Sea Fishery to, 270.  
 the Dutch fleet off, 274.  
 port of shipment for iron-shot, 275.  
 the *Cat* ordered to protect the fishermen of, 279.  
 the *True Love* frigate, to do the same, 280.  
 dismay of, at the capture of the *Cat*, 280.
- Havant, Waller advances by, 50.  
 Hopton retires towards, 91.
- Hay, Herbert, of Glyndbourne, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
 appointed Deputy-Lieutenant, 156.  
 and Major-General Goffe, 288.
- Hay of Glyndbourne, a Roundhead family, 5.
- Hayes, Mr., Justice of the Peace, 31.
- Hayne, of Brighthelmstone, 64.
- Hayward's Heath, fight at, 48.
- Head, Colonel, at Arundel, 88.
- Heath, Robert, his two sons at Chichester, 45.
- Heathfield, 124.
- Heaves, John, 27.
- Heene, the *St. James* stranded at, 151.
- Henchman, Dr., 254.
- Henley, Captain, 269.
- Henrietta Maria, Queen, urges Charles to attempt the arrest of the five members, 3.  
 sends Ford to discover the aims of the army, 98.  
 Chillingworth accused of being her spy, 105.  
 Cheynell's view of her influence, 106.  
 her intrigues with Mazarin, 182.  
 her strained relations with the Goringes, 183.  
 Stephen Goffe her chaplain, 184.
- Henshaw, Rev. Dr., Canon of Chichester, 39.  
 fined on Exeter Articles, 135.
- Herstmonceux Castle, the household accounts of, 207.
- Hewitt, Dr., and the plot of 1658, 296.  
 tried and executed, 302.
- Higsons, Captain Edward, parliamentary leader at Chichester, 42.  
 his letter to the Speaker from Portsmouth, 43.  
 placed in charge of the contents of Cowdray House, 83.  
 member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Hill, Rev. Mr., vicar of Felpham, 28.
- Hinson, Mr., curate of All Saints', Hastings, 149.
- Hippesley, Tom, 249.
- Hoadley, Bishop, on Dr. Cheynell, 140.
- Hoge, or Hogge, Ralph, ironfounder, 9.
- Holland, William, of West Burton, 189.
- Holles, leader of the Dorset Clubmen, 167.
- Honeywood, Lieutenant, 200.
- Hooke, Rev. Thomas, fined, 136.
- Hopkins, Lieut., 300.
- Hopton, Lord, his forces in Hampshire, 69.  
 advances into Sussex, 71.

- Hopton, Lord—*continued*.  
 captures Stanstead, Cowdray, and Arundel, 72.  
 leaves Ford in command of Arundel Castle, 84.  
 dissensions at his head-quarters at Winchester, 88.  
 marches to attack Waller at Arundel, 89.  
 being outnumbered retires to Havant, 91.  
 besieges Warblington Castle, 92.  
 writes concerning Waller's advance, 95.  
 Chillingworth takes refuge with, 103.  
 Horsemonden, ironworks at, 176.  
 Horses, export of, from Rye, 268.  
 Horsham, assizes sometimes held at, 7.  
 a fabulous monster near, 7.  
 population of, in 1641-2, 17.  
 Colonel Apsley's ride to, 74.  
 Thomas Middleton, M.P. for, 80.  
 petition of, for removal of Mr. Conyers, minister, 136.  
 Mr. Chatfield, lecturer at, 137.  
 affray at Nuthurst near, 166.  
 rising at, 197.  
 letter from, describing events at, 198.  
 captured by Sir Michael Livesay, 201.  
 punishment of those concerned, 202.  
 Collyer's School at, 241.  
 Quakers in gaol at, 292.  
 Horsted Parva, the rector of, sequestered, 142.  
 Houghton Bridge, Charles II crosses, 259.  
 Hounds, export of, from Rye, 268.  
 Hounsell, Mark, 204.  
 Howard, Mr. Henry, 228.  
 Howsell, Anne, 8.  
 Hudson, Dr., 186.  
 Humanity, the, with which the Civil War was conducted, 89.  
 Hurst, 49.  
 Hurstpierpoint, manor of, 245, 249.  
 Hussey, George, 292.
- Hutchinson, George, of Cuckfield, at Hangleton race, 232.  
 concerned in Stapley's plot, 297.
- Ifield, Quaker meeting at, 291.  
 George Fox at, 292.
- Independents, the, principles of, 175.
- Ireton, his connection with Sir E. Ford, 53, 97.
- Irishmen in Hopton's army, 88.
- Ironworks, the Sussex, of national importance, 8.  
 number of furnaces and forges at the time of the Civil War, 9.  
 occasion great destruction of timber, 10.  
 the works in St. Leonard's forest captured by Waller, 94.  
 importance of, to the Parliament, 96, 175.  
 the Brownes of Brede and Horsemonden, 35, 175.  
 output of guns, etc., for the army and navy, 176.  
 activity of, during the Dutch war, 275.  
 visit of Thomas Newberry to, 275.
- Jeake, Samuel, of Rye, 78.  
 and the Rye petition to Fairfax, 214.
- Jenner, Captain Thomas, 288.
- Jennings, Rev. Mr., inhibited, 29.
- Jermyn, Lord, his correspondence with Stephen Goffe, 181.
- Jerome, a Frenchman, 65.
- Jones, Edward, senior and junior, of Rye, the wives of, 27.
- Jones, Mr., of Brecon, 305.
- Juxon, John, citizen of London, 221.
- Juxon, John, of Albourne Place, 223.  
 created a baronet, 315.
- Juxon, Richard, of Chichester, 221.
- Juxon, Thomas, 221.
- Juxon, William, Bishop of London, 19.  
 accompanies the King to the scaffold, 221.  
 a native of Chichester, 221.  
 his early career, 222.

- Juxon, William, Bishop of London—  
*continued.*  
tradition of his concealment at Albourne Place, 223.  
appointed Archbishop of Canterbury at the Restoration, 224.  
patron of John Selden, 234.
- Keely, Captain, 59.
- Kemp, Sir Garrett, of Slindon, fined, 131.  
his journey to Spa, 132.
- Kemp, Thomas, fined, 132.
- Key, William, shipowner of Rye, 269, 287.
- Killingbeck, Humphrey, 291.
- King, Dr. Henry. *See* Chichester, Bishop of.
- King, John, the bishop's son, 45.
- King, Philip, the bishop's brother, 45.
- Kingly Bottom, 257.
- Kirkford, population of, in 1641-2, 18.
- Knight, Mr., 74.
- Knowles, Richard, 288.
- Lambert, his encounter with Morley, 311.
- Large, Rev. John, Rector of Rotherfield, 30.  
the case of his sequestration, 144.  
his able defence, 145.
- Laud, Archbishop, 28.
- Lawrence, Henry, his letter to the Justices of Sussex, 286.  
his instructions concerning Quakers, 292.
- Lawcock, Thomas, 291.
- Lawson, Thomas, 291.
- Lechford, Sir Richard, 51.
- Leeds, Thomas, M.P. for Steyning, expelled from the House of Commons, 43.  
Captain of the horse for Arundel Rape, 45.
- Legge, William, 187, 190.
- Leighton, Captain, 74.
- Livesay, Sir Michael, joins Waller before Chichester, 52.  
at Arundel, 87.  
takes Horsham, 222.
- Lewes, shipment of iron from, 9.  
Herbert Morley elected member for, 16.  
Protestant martyrs at, 22.  
proceedings in Archdeaconry Court at, 26.  
Sir Nathaniel Brent holds a visitation at, 29.  
Anthony Stapley's influence at, 31.  
order for providing for safety of town of, 40.  
ordnance sent to, 41.  
Sir Edward Ford marches to attack, 48.  
letter to the Speaker from Colonel Morley at, 64.  
the Committee at, inform Parliament of the Royalist invasion, 73.  
a present sent to Waller from, 94.  
local Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 138.  
John Aylwine, collector for the Parliament at, 156.  
Sir Thos. Pelham writes to the House from, concerning the rising at Horsham, 198.  
Captain Shephard retires to, from Horsham, 200.  
letter from, concerning the Dutch depredations, 274.  
Mr. Everden, ironmaster, of, 275.  
Major-General Goffe at, 284.  
John and Anthony Stapley the younger at, 285.  
one Rose of, suspected a papist, 287.  
Quakers at, 287.  
activity of Anthony Stapley in the Royalist plot at, 297.  
"perverseness" of, in 1663, 316.  
Richard Cromwell and Edmund Ludlow escape from, 321.  
a fracas at, 326.
- Lewknor, Christopher, member for Chichester, 16.  
Recorder of Chichester, 39.



- Lewknor, Christopher—*continued*.  
 arranges terms of surrender at Portsmouth, 40.  
 expelled from the House of Commons, 43.  
 made prisoner by Waller, 56.
- Lewknor, Frey, 129.
- Lewknor, John, the hard case of; his estate sequestered, 128.  
 livings augmented by, 294.
- Lewknor, Mary, fined, 129.
- Lewknor, Thomas, of Amberley, fined, 129.
- Lewknor, Mr., and Coke's plot, 228.
- Lieutenancy of the Tower, Lunsford appointed to the, 19.  
 Morley appointed to the, 312.
- Lindsay, Captain, 52.
- Livings, augmentation of, 294.
- Lorraine, the Duke of, 182, 184.
- Ludlow, Edmund, escapes from Lewes, 321.
- Lumley, John, 131.
- Lumley, Viscount, fined, 131.  
 and Coke's plot, 228.
- Lunsford, Sir Herbert, accompanies the King from London, 21.  
 commands a regiment, 245.
- Lunsford, Sir Thomas, appointed Lieutenant of the Tower, 19.  
 his early career, 19.  
 dismissed and knighted, 20.  
 accompanies the King from London, 21.  
 admitted to compound for his estate, 130.  
 popular beliefs concerning, 244.  
 his later career, 245.
- Lunsfords, the, a Royalist family, 4.
- Lyne, pier-builders from, 11.
- Madgwick, Captain Edward, 288.
- Major-Generals, the, 283.
- Mallory, Captain Henry, at Hangleton race, 232.  
 and the plot of 1658, 297.  
 his trial, 302.
- Manning, Richard, 288.
- Mansel, Francis, his part in Charles II's escape, 255.  
 Samuel Pepys' account of, 262.
- Marden, Hopton at, 71.
- Marian persecution, the, 22.
- Markwick, Mr. Will, 299.
- Marlett, William, 222.
- Marriages before a Justice of the Peace, 286.
- Marshall, Thomas, Mayor of Rye, 310.
- May, Thomas, the poet: his birth, career, and untimely death, 237.
- May, Thomas, of Rawmere, 4, 15.  
 expelled from the House of Commons, 43.  
 at Chichester, 45.  
 made prisoner by Waller, 56.  
 compounds for his estate, 123.
- Mayfield, 237.
- Maynard, Mr. John, Puritan divine, 29, 137.
- Mazarin, Cardinal, 182.
- Merston, 295.
- Michelbourne, William, patron of Horsted Keynes, 212.  
 his wife Anne, 212.
- Michelbourne, William and Thomas, supporters of the Parliament, 5.  
 appointed Deputy-Lieutenants, 156.
- Michell, Edward, 292.
- Michell, John, of Stammerham, 222.
- Michell, Thomas, 222.
- Middleton, Lieut.-General John, 271.
- Middleton, Thomas, member for Horsham, 16.  
 articles formulated against, 80.  
 scare in London caused by, 80.  
 member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
 sequestrator of Horsham vicarage, 137.  
 appointed Deputy-Lieutenant, 156.  
 arrested and sent to London, 202.  
 his estate sequestered, but finally restored, 203.  
 regarded as possible Royalist conspirator, 228.

- Midhurst, population of in 1641-2, 18.  
 Waller's troops at, 67, 82.  
 the living augmented, 295.
- Mildmay, Henry, 313.
- Militia ordinance, the, 36.
- Mills, John, 133.
- Milnes, Mr., 299.
- Monk, General, 311, 313.
- Montagu, Admiral, 311.
- Montague, Lord, one of his servants  
 apprehended, 64.  
 his estate sequestered, 131.  
 a visitor at Herstmonceux, 209.
- Montague, Mr., takes Colonel Apsley  
 prisoner, 77.
- Montreuil, the French ambassador, 187.
- Mordaunt, John, 302.
- More, Sir Poynings, 37.
- Morley, Colonel Herbert, of Glynde,  
 parliamentarian, 5.  
 Member of Parliament for Lewes,  
 1640, 16.  
 raises troops of horse, 34.  
 his influence in East Sussex, 40.  
 entrusted by the House with the de-  
 fence of the county, 40.  
 exempted from the King's proclama-  
 tion of pardon, 42.  
 at the siege of Chichester, 52.  
 writes to the Speaker concerning  
 Sussex affairs, 64.  
 at Farnham, 66.  
 defence of East Sussex by against  
 Lord Hopton, 73.  
 at the siege of Arundel, 87.  
 joint governor of Arundel Castle,  
 95.  
 member of Sussex Sequestrating Com-  
 mittee, 120.  
 at Hastings, 148.  
 his letter to the Speaker as to the  
 picture found in the *St. James*,  
 153.  
 in command of the besiegers of Basing  
 House, 158.  
 his correspondence with Lord Win-  
 chester, 159.  
 wounded in the shoulder, 159.
- his motto, 160.  
 instructed to prepare for the defence  
 of Cowdray, Arundel, and Chi-  
 chester, 161.  
 suppresses the Clubmen, 169.  
 his friendly correspondence with  
 Sir William Campion, 191.  
 endeavours to remove the magazine  
 of Horsham to Arundel, 197.  
 a Commissioner to try the King, 219.  
 declines to sign the death-warrant,  
 219.  
 "almost a malcontent," 227.  
 assists John Evelyn at Rye, 266.  
 procures a frigate to protect the Rye  
 fishing fleet, 271.  
 inquires into Middleton's escape,  
 272.  
 visited by Major-General Goffe, 285.  
 his local activity, 286.  
 his "terrible fit of gout," 290.  
 returns to politics after Oliver's death,  
 305.  
 admiralty commissioner, 306.  
 a commissioner for the army, 311.  
 forcibly resists Lambert, 311.  
 retires to Portsmouth, 312.  
 marches on London with Haselrig  
 and Walton, 312.  
 Lieutenant of the Tower, 312.  
 urged by John Evelyn to bring in  
 Charles II, 312.  
 fined and pardoned at the Restora-  
 tion, 314.  
 his character, 314.  
 perhaps assisted Ludlow's escape  
 from Lewes, 321.
- Morley, Sir John, at Chichester, 44.  
 made prisoner by Waller, 55.  
 obtains a protection order on pay-  
 ment of a fine, 55, 120.  
 compounds for his estate, 123.
- Morley, Captain William, his rendez-  
 vous with Colonel Apsley, 75.  
 disperses the Clubmen, 169.  
 Charles II avoids encountering, 259.
- Morley, Sir William, of Halnaker, 4.  
 his origin, 15.

- Morley, Sir William, of Halnaker—  
*continued.*  
 member for Chichester, 16.  
 at Chichester, 39, 45.  
 expelled from the House of Commons,  
 43.  
 made prisoner by Waller, 55.  
 the treatment of his estate, 63.
- Moore, Rev. Giles, rector of Horsted  
 Keynes, extracts from his journal,  
 211.
- Mowbray, Lord, 50.
- Moyle, Mr., of Cornwall, 80.
- Mullet, John, 287.
- Mundham, North, 123.
- Navy, the, value to the Parliament of  
 its adherence, 264.
- Naylor, John, of Slaugham, 27.
- Naylor, Mr., a clergyman, 299.
- Needle-makers, ruin of, at Chichester,  
 61.
- Netherway, Mr., 125.
- Nevill, Edward, Lord Abergavenny,  
 246.
- Nevilles, the, enriched by the iron in-  
 dustry, 9.
- New Burgh (Hastings), 10.
- New Model, the, 36.  
 Sussex contribution to, 163.  
 the basis of, 174.
- Newberry, Thomas, 275.
- Newbury, battle of, its effect on Sussex,  
 161.  
 Sussex troops for the garrison at,  
 172.
- Newcomb, Mr., 141.
- Newhaven, shipment of iron from, 9.  
 ordnance removed from, 41.  
 trade in arms with Weymouth, 65.  
 French troops to land at, 183.  
 shipping belonging to, 310.
- Newport, Earl of, 20.
- North Marden Down, 91.
- Northampton, Earl of, Lord Warden  
 of the Cinque Ports, 8.  
 a search for, 309.
- Northiam, 24, 238.
- Northumberland, Algernon Percy, Earl  
 of, "the proudest man alive," 4.  
 his great losses, 206.  
 Lord High Admiral, 264.
- Norton, Colonel, takes Southsea Castle,  
 40.  
 at South Harting, 70.  
 attacks Cavaliers near Havant, 91.  
 at the siege of Basing House, 158.  
 and the Clubmen, 169.  
 his warning to Sussex, 171.
- Norton, Mr., churchwarden of Rye, 29.
- Norton, Major Anthony, his rising at  
 Rye, 203.  
 charged with using scandalous words,  
 204.
- Norton, Sir Gregory, signs the King's  
 death-warrant, 220.
- Norton, Sir Richard, his house at  
 Rotherfield, 164.
- Nottingham, Lord, 209.
- Nuthurst, affray at, 166.  
 Quaker meeting at, 291.
- Nutt, Mr. John, incumbent of Bexhill,  
 sequestered, 143.
- Nye, Philip, independent preacher,  
 241.
- Nye, Rev. Mr., rector of Clapham, 28,  
 137, 241.
- Oglander, George, member of Sussex  
 Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Older, Nathan, Mayor of Arundel, 96.
- Orange, the Prince of, letter from  
 Charles to, 181.  
 his negotiations with Stephen Goffe,  
 182.  
 his children, 183.  
 his views on sea-power, 264.
- Ormonde, Marquis of, his escape from  
 Hastings, 188.  
 escapes again from the Sussex coast,  
 303.
- Osborne, Edward, at Chichester, 45.
- Oughtred, Dr. William, 135.
- Ovingdean Grange, the legend of,  
 262.
- Oxenden, Henry, 241.

- Oxford Articles of Surrender, 126.  
include dispensation from taking the covenant, 135.
- Oxford, the King's flight from, 186.
- Pagham, a port in mediaeval times, 11.  
the protestation return from, 17.
- Parker, Henry, 238.
- Parker, Sir Thomas, of Ratton, charged with the defence of Sussex, 42.  
accused of disaffection, 161.  
his daughter, Lady Champion, 193.
- Partridge, Sir Edward, 112.
- Patcham, Stapley's house at, 297.
- Patching, Thomas, 292.
- Payne, James, of Eastbourne, 27.
- Pearse, William, 203.
- Peckham, Mr., vicar of Horsted Parva, 139.  
sequestered, 142.
- Peckham, Mr., a leader of the Clubmen, 170.
- Pelham, H., member for Chichester in 1659, 305.
- Pelham, Peregrine, signs the King's death-warrant, 220.
- Pelham, Sir Thomas, member for the county, 16.  
beset by Thomas Lunsford, 19.  
charged with the defence of Sussex, 42.  
his letter to the Speaker, 66.  
member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
accused of disaffection, 161.  
informs the Speaker of the rising at Horsham, 198.  
his descendants, 325.
- Pelhams, the, supporters of the Parliament, 5.  
enriched by the iron industry, 9.
- Pell, John, mathematician and diplomatist, 241.
- Pellet, John, of Arundel, 326.
- Pembroke and Montgomery, Earl of, 201.
- Penington, Isaac, 110.
- Penn, Springet, 111.
- Penruddock's rising, 282.
- Petersfield, Hopton at, 71, 89.
- Petitions to Parliament of February 1642, 18.  
from Surrey and Sussex in 1648, 196.  
from Rye to Fairfax, 215.
- Petre, Lord, arrested, 308.
- Petworth, population of in 1641-2, 17.  
Cavalier raid on, 69.  
garrisoned by Hopton, 72.  
Clubmen from, 170.
- Petworth, the living of, 56.  
Dr. Cheynell obtains, 139.  
Mr. Oliver Whitby, curate of, 141.
- Pevensey, a port in mediaeval times, 11.
- Philips, Colonel, of Montacute, 256.
- Pickering, Mr. Benjamin, Puritan divine, 137.
- Pierce, Captain, 269.
- Pierce, Thomas, of Bosham, 133.
- Pierson, Richard, 177.
- Pinozeire, a trader in ammunition, 66.
- Pittock, Captain Richard, 279.
- Plundered Ministers, Committee of, 136.  
appoints County Committees, 138.
- Poling, John, 288.
- Popham, Colonel Edward, 268.
- Population of parishes in West Sussex in 1641-2, 17.
- Porter, Endymion, 72.
- Portslade, the Rye troop at, 79.
- Portsmouth, held by George Goring, 37.  
besieged by Warwick and Waller, 38.  
surrendered, 40.  
its loss a blow to the Royal cause, 40.  
parliamentary anxiety concerning, 67.  
surrendered to Colonel Morley, 312.  
Colonel Fagge, governor of, 313.
- Potter, Lieutenant-Colonel, 52.
- Preston, near Brighthelmstone, Judith, widow of Sir Richard Shirley, buried at, 7.  
Cheynell buried at, 109.

- Preston, near Brighthelmstone—*continued*.  
 Anthony Shirley of, 5, 286, 305.  
 the Shirleys of, 288.  
 the Court Rolls of the manor of, 285 *n*.
- Preston-cum-Hove, civil marriages at, 286.
- Preva, Sir John, 110.
- Prince, Robert, 59.
- Prisoners of war, their readiness to take service with their captors, 86, 95.
- Protestation of 1641, 17.
- Pulborough, population of in 1641-2, 18.  
 rising at, 199.
- Pury, Francis, at Chichester, 45.
- Pye, Uncle, 86.
- Pym, his hopes of conciliation, 16.  
 Charles' attempt to arrest, 20.
- Quakers, the, disorderly conduct of, 290.  
 rise of, in Sussex, 291.  
 sufferings of, 292.  
 Cromwell's clemency to, 293.
- Racton, 253.
- Ramsay, Lieut.-Colonel, killed at Arundel, 85.
- Ravenscroft, Hall, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
 and the sequestration of Horsham vicarage, 137.
- Rayman, Mr., arrested at Chichester, 127.
- Rede, Robert, joiner, of Rye, 23.
- Reeves [or Ryves], Dr. Bruno, Dean of Chichester, fined, 57.  
 his account of the spoliation of the cathedral, 57.  
 compounds on Oxford Articles, 135.
- Regicides, the Sussex, 220.  
 fate of, 317.
- Rich, Colonel, 198.
- Ringmer, Springate interred at, 118.
- Rishton, William, at Chichester, 45.
- Rivers, Mr., Justice of the Peace, his strong following at Lewes, 31.
- Rivers, Mr., and Stapley's plot, 298.
- Rivers, Sir Thomas, Bart., J.P., ordered to keep watch on all strangers, 287.
- Roads in Sussex, notorious badness of, 6.  
 "deep and dirty ways," 71.  
 Lady Springate's journey over, 115.
- Robartes, Lord, his coach at Newbury, 114.
- Roberts, Colonel, 53.
- Robinson, Thomas, 291.
- Robotham, Mr., 295.
- Rolfe, Sergeant, 79.
- Rose, —, of Lewes, 287.
- Rotherfield, Mr. Large and the living of, 144.  
 Sir Richard Norton's house at, 164.  
 John Cawley presented to the living of, 302.
- Rottingdean, powder sent to, 41.
- Rowkeshill, the Clubmen at, 169.
- Royal Oak, proposed Order of the, 316.
- Rumboldswyke, 295.
- Runcton, 123.
- Runcton [? Duncton] Down, the Clubmen at, 169.
- Rupert, Prince, his reputation for plundering, 35, 41.  
 his advance on Chichester rumoured, 47, 53.
- Russell, Mr., 29.
- Russell, John and Edward, 145.
- Rye, trials for witchcraft at, 8.  
 shipment of iron and firewood from, 9, 10.  
 decay of harbour, 12.  
 traffic of, with Dieppe, 13, 65.  
 the passage-book, 13.  
 privateers watch the harbour, 14.  
 Puritans at, 23, 27, 29.  
 foreigners resident at, 62.  
 ordnance sent to Shoreham from, 73.  
 lead removed from Camber Castle, 73.  
 the Rye troop at Arundel, 78, 85, 87.

Rye—*continued.*

- abortive rising at, 203.
- petition to Fairfax, 214.
- the engagement, 226.
- grievance of as to free-quarter, 229.
- disbanded soldiers and other troubles at, 229.
- strict observance of Sunday at, 231.
- penalties for bad language at, 231.
- John Evelyn's visit to, 266.
- shipment of guns and ammunition for the fleet from, 269.
- smuggling at, 269.
- the North Sea fishery fleet of, 270.
- Blake in the bay at, 273.
- depredations of the Dutch fleet at, 274.
- imprisonment of seamen at, 278.
- petition to the Protector from, 279.
- Colonel Morley elected member for, 286.
- the vicarage augmented, 295.
- a town guard set at, 309.
- claim for moneys advanced by, to the garrison, 310.
- arrest of Henry Mildmay at, 313.

Sackville, Mr., 299.

Sackville, Thomas, of Sedlescomb, fined, 128.

*St. James*, the, of Dunkirk, stranded at Heene, 151.

disposal of, 152.

pictures found on board, 153.

St. John, Oliver, 182, 227.

Salisbury, Goring's winter quarters at, 162.

Salisbury, Rev. Mr., curate of Warning-camp, 28.

Salvington, 234.

Saxby, Mr., 140.

Scawen, Robert, 171.

Sealed Knot, the, 282.

Selden, John, his birth, career, and unique position, 234.

Selden, John, and the Earl of Pembroke, 201.

Self-denying Ordinance, the, 174.

Selsey, projected landing of foreign troops at, 182.

Selwin, Mr., junior, 299.

Shallett, Mr. Francis, at Chichester, 44.

Shelley, Sir Charles, of Michelgrove, his household goods, 133.

his descendants, 326.

Shelley, Henry, a supporter of the Parliament, 5.

member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.

appointed Deputy-Lieutenant, 156.

Shelley, Colonel Henry, 133.

Shelley, Sir John, 132.

Shelley, John, of Sullington, 222.

Shephard [or Sheppard], Nicholas, of Horsham, visited by Colonel Apsley, 74.

and the rising at Horsham, 197, 200.

Shipbuilding, value of Sussex oak for, 10.

Ship-money, assessment of Sussex ports for, 13.

Shirley, Anthony, of Preston, civil marriages before, 286.

one of Goffe's commissioners, 288.

member for Steyning in 1659, 305.

created a baronet, 315.

Shirley, Judith, widow of Sir Richard, 7.

Shirley, Thomas, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.

Shirleys, the, of Preston, 288 *n.*, 326.

Shoarditch, Mr., 210.

Shoreham, trade in firewood at, 10.

its early importance, 11.

assessed for ship-money, 14.

Captain Temple's defensive works at, 73.

the Rye troop at, 79.

Captain Temple left in charge of, 86.

rising of peasants at, 201.

the *Dover* built at, 277.

sailors enlisted at, 307.

Short, William, of Amberley, 129.

Sidney, Algernon, appointed Governor of Chichester, 164.

- Simpson, George, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- Singleton, the living of, 294.
- Skippon, Sergeant-Major, 50.
- Slaugham, the mansion of, 14.
- Slee, John, 291.
- Slindon Park, 258.
- Slingsby, Sir Henry, 302.
- Smith, landlord of the George Inn at Brighthelmstone, 260.
- Smith, Captain Ambrose, 307.
- Smith, Richard, 88.
- Smuggling in the seventeenth century, 269.
- Smyth, William, 241.
- Snepp, John, 24.
- Sommellier, Pierre, 62.
- Southover, Quaker meeting at, 291.
- Southwick, Charles II embarks at, 260.
- Sowton, Thomas, 307.
- Speed, Rev. Mr., of St. Pancras, Chichester, 28, 295.
- Spence, William, 285.
- Springate [or Springett], Anthony, 117.
- Springate, Gulielma, wife of William Penn, 110.
- Springate, Herbert, supporter of the Parliament, 5.  
member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
created a baronet, 315.
- Springate, Lady, 110.  
her letter to her grandson, Springet Penn, 111.  
her journey from London to Arundel, 115.  
her devoted attendance on her husband, 117.
- Springate, Sir Thomas, of Broyle Place, 110, 112.
- Springate, Sir William, raises a troop of horse, 34.  
receives the thanks of the House, 41.  
at the siege of Arundel, 87.  
left by Waller in charge of Arundel Castle, 95, 115.  
falls sick of a fever, 110.
- his wife's account of his parentage, up-bringing, and character, 113.  
his death, 117.
- Stamford, Lord, 209.
- Stane Street, 7.
- Stanes, Mr., 74.
- Stanford, Edward, of Slinfold, his descendants, 326.
- Stanmer, the Puritan rector of, 179.
- Stanstead House, captured by the Royalists, 72.  
surrendered to Waller, 94.
- Stapley, Anthony, the younger, put in the commission of the peace, 285.  
joins John Stapley's plot, 297.  
turns informer, 301.  
pardoned, 302.
- Stapley, Colonel Anthony, of Framfield and Patcham, Parliamentarian, 5.  
member for the county, 16.  
his aggressive Puritanism, 31.  
charged by the House with the defence of the county, 42.  
Governor of Chichester, 62.  
at Stanstead, 72.  
his disagreement with Waller, 95, 157 *n.*  
member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
ordered to increase the Chichester garrison, 156, 162.  
succeeded at Chichester by Algernon Sidney, 164.  
his letter to the Speaker from Lewes, 173.  
his connection with Lord Norwich, 191.  
endeavours to remove the magazine of Horsham to Arundel, 197.  
imprisons Sussex petitioners, 199.  
one of the King's judges, 219.  
signs the death-warrant, 220.  
member of the Council of State, 225.  
Vice-Admiral of Sussex, 226.  
Commissioner of Somers Islands, 227.  
visited by Thomas Newberry, 275.  
date of his death, 285 *n.*

- Stapley, John, at Hangleton race, 232.  
 in command of a troop, 252.  
 with Goffe at Lewes, 284.  
 one of Goffe's commissioners, 288.  
 influenced by his Royalist connections, 296.  
 joins Dr. Hewitt's plot, 297.  
 his confession to Cromwell, 299.  
 discloses the names of his associates, 301.  
 pardoned, 302.  
 made a baronet, 315.
- Stevens, Captain Tristram, 65.
- Steyning, anciently a port, 11.  
 population of, in 1641-2, 18.  
 rising of peasants at, 201.  
 Quakers at, 292.
- Storrington, the incumbent of, sequestered, 142.
- Streater, ancient, 64.
- Studeley, Nathaniel, 285.  
 one of Goffe's commissioners, 288.
- Sturt, Nicholas, 222.
- Sunday, the strict observance of, 230.
- Surprise*, Tetttersall's bark, renamed *Royal Escape*, 261.
- Surrenden, Captain, 75.
- Swanbourne Lake, 88.
- Swanley, Captain, 45.
- Symons, Thomas, of Hambledon, 256.
- Tabret, Abel, 271.
- Taunton, Mr. Richard, incumbent of Ardingley, sequestered, 142.
- Taylor, Anne, wife of George, 8.
- Taylor, John, of Itchenor, fined on Truro Articles, 126.
- Taylor, Richard, of Earnley, fined on Truro Articles, 126.
- Temple, Captain James, arranges the defences of Shoreham and Bramber, 73.  
 at Shoreham, 75.  
 defends Bramber Castle and holds the bridge, 78.  
 left in charge of Shoreham, 86.  
 member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.
- guardian to Sir Charles Shelley, 133.  
 signs the King's death-warrant, 220.  
 his trial and condemnation, 317.
- Tenterden, 278.
- Tetttersall, Nicholas, and the escape of Charles II, 256.  
 his reward at the Restoration, 261.
- Thanet, Earl of, advances with Ford on Lewes, 48.  
 passes from Brighthelmstone to France, 64.  
 fined by Parliament, 124.
- Thomas, Mark, Deputy Mayor of Rye, 29.
- Thompson, Maurice and Co., 152.
- Thorney Island, 46.
- Timber, Sussex thickly covered with, 5.  
 use of in the ironworks, 9.  
 wholesale destruction of, 10.  
 value of, for shipbuilding, 10.
- Tobacco, planting of, restrained, 286.
- Tomlinson, Colonel, 220.
- Trained bands, the, 33.
- Trayton, Capt. Ambrose, 41.
- Tremblett, Edward, of Bosham, 133.
- Trevor, Sir John, a supporter of the Parliament, 5.  
 member for Arundel, 290.  
 member for Midhurst, 305.
- Triers, the, 293.
- Truro Articles of Surrender, 126.
- Tunbridge waters, the, 267.
- Twine, Rev. Mr., vicar of Rye, 30.
- Twineham, Quaker meeting at, 291.
- Up Park, a troop of horse quartered at, 72.  
 residence of the Fords, 97.
- Venables, General Robert, 244.
- Vere, Colonel Horace, 180.
- Verney, Edmund, 191.
- Verney, Sir Ralph, 191.
- Vesey, Captain Robert, 310.
- Vintner, Mr., 144.
- Virginia, letter from the Grand Assembly of, 126.



- Wades, near Arundel, 115.
- Wages, fixed by justices, 206.  
gradual rise of agricultural, 207.  
of household servants, 208, 211.
- Wakehurst, the mansion of, 14.
- Walberton, the Clubmen's quarters at, 170.
- Waller, Sir William, attacks Portsmouth, 38.  
prepares to attack Chichester, 48.  
sends a detachment to capture Arundel Castle, 50.  
besieges and takes Chichester, 52.  
discovers an attempt on his life, 54.  
deals with the prisoners, 55.  
present at the sacking of the cathedral, 59.  
Major-General of the associated counties, 67.  
his preparations at Farnham, 68.  
his views on soldiers' pay, 69.  
visits London, 80.  
invades Sussex after his success at Alton, 82.  
rapidity of his advance, 82.  
after capturing Cowdray, takes the town of Arundel, 84.  
escapes assassination, 84.  
besieges Arundel Castle, 86.  
his correspondence with Lord Crawford, 90.  
faces Hopton, 91.  
his commission as major-general confirmed, 91.  
Arundel Castle surrendered to him on his own terms, 93.  
receives the thanks of the House, 94.  
his difference with Colonel Stapley, 95.  
his persistence and generalship not fully appreciated, 96.  
takes possession of the wreck of the *St. James*, 151.  
salvage awarded him, 152.  
a visitor at Herstmonceux, 209.
- Waller, Lady Anne, at Herstmonceux, 209.
- Walsingham, Thomas, 176.
- Walton, Colonel, acts with Morley, 311.
- War, the, indecisive character of the first two years of, 163.  
division of families in, 190.  
humane conduct of, 195.
- Warbleton, Quakers at, 292.
- Warblington Castle, besieged by Hopton, 92.
- Warren, Captain Peter, 275.
- Warren, Rev. Thomas, curate of Rye, 27, 30.
- Warwick, Earl of, blockades Portsmouth, 38.  
the navy secured for the Parliament by, 264.
- Waters, John, pilot, 210.
- Welborne, Mr., 295.
- Wems, Colonel, 81.
- Wesby, Mr., 295.
- Westbourne, population of, in 1641-2, 18.
- West Dean, 91.  
the living of, 294.
- West Grinstead, population of, in 1641-42, 18.
- West Hoathly, riot at, 64.
- Westmeston, 26.
- Westminster Assembly of Divines, Sussex members of the, 137.
- Westmoreland, Lord, 209.
- Weymouth, trade in arms with, 65.
- Whalley, Lieut.-General, 320.
- Wheathampstead, the King at, 186.
- Wheatley, Captain, 268.
- Whetham, Colonel, governor of Portsmouth, 312.
- Whiligh in East Hoathly, 19.
- Whitacre, Rev. Mr., curate of Rye, 30.
- Whitby, Mr. Oliver, curate of Petworth, his life threatened, 141.
- White, Colonel John, author of the "Century of Malignant Priests," 142.
- White, Justice of the Peace, 31.
- White, Thomas, sequesterator of Hors- ham vicarage, 137.

- Whitehorn, Captain, 279.  
 Whitelock, President, 307, 308.  
 Whitfield, Thomas, member of Sussex Sequestrating Committee, 120.  
 Wicker, a Parliamentary soldier, 149.  
 Wilkason, Bryan, 291.  
 Williams, Richard, Town Clerk of Chichester, fined, 123.  
 Wilmot, Lord, contrasted with Goring, 246.  
     and the escape of Charles II, 254.  
 Wilson, Mr., nonconformist, 113.  
 Wilson, Mr., of Eastbourne Place, 188.  
     his house searched, 300.  
     his descendants, 326.  
 Wilts and Dorset, origin of the Clubmen's rising in, 166.  
 Winchelsea under Edward the Confessor, 10.  
     its early importance, 11.  
     its decay described by John Evelyn, 267.  
 Winchester Articles of Surrender, 131.  
 Winchester, Marquis of, his defence of Basing House, 158.  
     his correspondence with Colonel Morley, 159.  
 Windebank, Sir Francis, 13.  
 Winnford, Captain, 45.  
 Wisborough Green, population of, in 1641-2, 18.
- Wiston, the mansion of, 14.  
     seized by Cavaliers, 79.  
     Cavalier flight from, 85.  
 Wolfe, Nicholas, at Chichester, 45.  
     treats with Waller for the surrender of the city, 53.  
 Wood, Henry, 203.  
 Wood, John, 203.  
 Woodcock, Francis, 328.  
 Woodcock, Henry, 326.  
 Woodcock, Thomas, of Newtimber, joins Stapley's plot, 297.  
     tried and acquitted, 302.  
 Worcester, battle of, 252.  
 Wray, Mr. William, at Chichester, 44.  
 Wrecks, the Sussex attitude towards, 153.  
 Wright, Robert, 182.  
 Wynn, Mr., 227.
- Yacht, the first English, 210.  
 Yalden [or Yaldwyn], William, of Blackdown, lessee of Lord Montague's estate, 131.  
     High Sheriff in 1656, 276.  
     tradition of Cromwell's visits to, 276.  
     member for Midhurst, 305.  
 Yates, Richard, 197, 288.  
 Young, Major, 169, 252.



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