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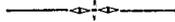
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in the really clearer Apostolic phrase, be treated as a body made up of members with a diversity of functions; and that all things should be done decently and in order."

One is tempted to refer to other points in this suggestive volume; but enough has been said to indicate its character and value, and to stimulate, I hope, in the minds of many an earnest purpose to study it. It is an irenic book. It is only upon the line of the great principles it contends for that Church union is possible. These principles must eventually prevail. A great advance towards the unification of Protestant Christendom will have been made when all see, as Professor Hort saw, "the futility of endeavouring to make the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents, to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place, thus turning the Gospel into a second Levitical code. The Apostolic age is full of embodiments of purposes and principles of the most instructive kind; but the responsibility of choosing the means was left forever to the Ecclesia itself, and to each Ecclesia, guided by ancient precedents on the one hand and adaptation to present and future needs on the other. The lesson-book of the Ecclesia, and of every Ecclesia, is not a law, but a history."

J. P. SHERATON.



## THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH SUSSEX.

### PART II.

IN 1070 Stigand was succeeded by LANFRANC, the Norman Abbot of Bec, and it was during his primacy that Domesday Book was completed, wherein, *inter alia*, the landed possessions of the See of Canterbury are scheduled. Under the heading "Terra Archiepiscopi" are entered brief descriptions of the acreage—or rather hidage—the nature of the lands, the churches, and mills, the tenants, the number of the villeins, and the value for taxing purposes both "T.R.E."—in the time of King Edward—and at the date of drawing up the survey. Here and there we find glimpses of ancient customs, little personal notes, and a variety of matter interesting to the historian, the economist, and the antiquary. The Sussex manors in the possession of the see are recorded as Malling, Odintune (an unidentified locality), Stanmere, Pagharn, Tangmere, Loventune (Lavant), Petchinges (Patch-

ing), and Terring (West Tarring). Some of these names of the great manors included by implication other smaller places, but it will be noticed that Slindon, by no means unimportant, and Hamsey are missing. Both of these had been granted away at the great redistribution of the Conquest, Slindon to Count Roger de Montgomery, Hamsey to William de Warenne, Lord of Lewes and son-in-law of the Conqueror. It is somewhat remarkable that such places as Lindfield and Mayfield have no mention among the Archbishop's possessions. Doubtless they were of comparatively recent origin as clearings from the vast Weald, but it is difficult to believe that at the time of Domesday's compilation they were of insufficient size or value to merit mention therein. Another parish not mentioned in Domesday as a possession of the see is Edburton, near Beeding, some few miles north of Shoreham. Yet it is, and has been for centuries, a *peculiar* of Canterbury. The place itself is nowhere entered in the great Book of Survey, though two place-names in the parish are mentioned, Perching and Trailgi (the modern Truly). Yet Edburton possesses an ancient church, consisting of chancel, nave, and a low tower at its west end, a church which, there is little doubt, is as old as Domesday, since its font, circular, arcaded, and made of lead, is of early Norman character. In the main the edifice is of Early English style. In 1319 William de Northo founded a chantry on the north side of this church.

Among the items of information which Domesday supplies in connection with the archiepiscopal manors is the reference to the valuation of "pannage." In the Middle Ages, when so many swine were kept, and such quantities of bacon and ham consumed by all classes, "pannage," which was the turning out swine to feed in the forests, and the modus of payment for it, was a matter of great importance. At Pagharn, Domesday tells us, the manorial tenant could turn out to feed in the forests one hog out of every seven he possessed, and it adds "similiter per totum Sudsex," a note of great interest. Little less important in mediæval days was the part played by the mills throughout the country. At Malling, according to the same record, there were eight mills, the manor being scattered and containing just as many vills. Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, in addition to the usual connection which a Primate must have with so important a portion of his province as the county of Sussex, had other concern with it. He had the superintendence of the removal of the episcopal seat of Sussex from Selsey, where twenty-two Bishops had sat, to Chichester, thenceforth to be the centre of the diocese. In addition, the Pope entrusted him with the business of determining the legality of Ægelric's election to the Diocese of

Sussex. The result of his inquiry was that the election was pronounced to have been uncanonical, for reasons that do not appear; and the venerable Ægelric was deposed, albeit he was, according to contemporary historians, "a man very skilled in the laws of the land and in interpreting ancient customs." Such was his reputation in those matters, that, when a meeting of notables, cleric and lay, had met on Penenden Heath to discuss alleged encroachments on the rights of the See of Canterbury, Ægelric's attendance and advice had been so much a matter of importance that, worn with sickness and old age, he was conveyed thither in a horsed vehicle.

In 1093 Lanfranc was succeeded in the primacy by ANSELM, one of the best of men and of Archbishops—so much so that Dante, exclusive as he was, admits him into Paradise. Alien as it was to his temperament, his life as Archbishop was a continual strife with his fierce Norman Sovereigns, who endeavoured to infringe or curtail the ecclesiastical power. In this connection William of Malmesbury tells us that, almost alone among the Bishops, Ralph of Chichester "stood up boldly for Anselm against William Junior." In 1094 we find Anselm in Sussex, Rufus having summoned him, with other Bishops, to Hastings, in order to give his blessing to the army assembled there preparatory to the invasion of Normandy. Availing himself of the long spell of waiting necessitated by contrary winds, Anselm consecrated the great church of Battle Abbey, then approaching completion, and the next day consecrated Robert Bloet as Bishop of Lincoln. Albeit the Archbishop found William II.'s successor little more pliable, he yet approached him sufficiently in season of mood and occasion to obtain from Henry I. a restitution to the see of the Manor of Slindon, that appendant vill to Pagham which, after belonging to the archbishopric for more than 360 years, had been detached from it at the Conquest for bestowal upon Roger Montgomery. This restitution was additional to that of the whole temporalities which the late King had seized in 1097. Three years after this Anselm died at Canterbury, and was succeeded by RALPH or RODOLPH, a Primate who possibly had a more particular association with Sussex than many of the Archbishops, since his brother, Seffrid I., was Bishop of Chichester. In 1121 he was at South Malling, doubtless on a visitation of the diocese, on which occasion he gave a confirmatory charter to the monks of St. Pancras' Priory, a monastery lying under the southern walls of Lewes—a charter remarkable as including among the possessions of that house the churches of Tangmere and Lavant, appendages of that Manor of Pagham devised by

Wilfrid to Canterbury, and included, as we have seen, among the Archbishop's property by Domesday. Since we find these churches again in the possession of the see in subsequent centuries, it must be supposed that this charter—and a similar one granted by King Stephen—refers to a temporary alienation. About the same time this Archbishop granted also to the monks of St. Pancras the useful if prosaic present of 36 *summa*, seams, or horse-loads of beans annually from his Manor of Pagham. This unit of measure, the horse-load, was equal to 8 bushels, and is very suggestive and reminiscent of the days when so much traffic and transport was effected without wheeled carriage, but on horseback.

WILLIAM CORBOYLE, the succeeding Primate, does not appear to have had any more particular connection with Sussex than that involved in the usual visitations. But THEOBALD, who attained the primacy in 1138, has left record of various associations of his name and deeds in the county. He was particularly concerned in the reorganization of the Benedictine College at Malling. At an uncertain date, but probably in the year 1150, he consecrated the re-erected church, and by a contemporary deed endowed it with all the tithes of corn, hay, lamb's-wool, cheese, pigs and goats, and other tithable articles, in his whole Manor of Malling and its vills, and he directed that the tithes of corn and hay should be cut and carried for the canons by his own people when they harvested his. By another deed, "for the love of God and the good of his soul and those of his predecessors," he gave "as a perpetual alms to the church and canons of the Blessed Michael of Malling" the tithe of the "pannage" money, together with "pannage" for twenty-four hogs in his Forest of the Broyle. This so-called forest, once the forest of the Saxon Kings, was an unenclosed tract of ground of several thousand acres in the parishes of Ringmer and Framfield, consisting of woodland and waste of the Weald, and harbouring, according to the tradition of early Stuart times, hardly fewer than a thousand deer, both red and fallow.

While still in Sussex the Archbishop confirmed by deed the grant of Sompting Church to the Templars' preceptory in the west of the county. He also about the same time addressed a letter of remonstrance "to his dear daughter Adela," widow of the Earl of Warenne, about "the astonishing complaint" of the monks of Lewes that she was withholding those tithes of her domains "which they had always without dispute possessed." "Wholesomely advising and admonishing" her, he ended his epistle with the stern warning, "Otherwise we cannot be deficient in doing them that justice which we owe to all." But the Countess remained

obstinate—and abroad—and never confirmed the charters of the monks or rendered them their dues of tithes.

In the year 1161 Theobald was succeeded by THOMAS BECKET, a prelate who had had a previous connection with Sussex by reason of his having been Dean—probably the first Dean—of the College of St. Mary in the Castle of Hastings. This college, whose origin was of great antiquity, was a free or exempt foundation, and as a consequence frequent disputes arose with Bishops and Archbishops attempting visitation, as we shall see later on. During his primacy Becket was doubtless resident upon occasion at some of his Sussex manors, and it was probably at one of these visits that he bestowed upon the canons of St. Michael at Malling his manse there. Becket's secretary, Herbert de Bosham, was a Sussex man, and was present at the dreadful scene of the Primate's assassination. He was made a Cardinal by Pope Alexander III., and wrote a life of the Archbishop. In connection with Archbishop Becket and Sussex we must not neglect to notice that he introduced the fig-tree at Tarring, where it still flourishes to-day.

RICHARD, Becket's successor, appears to have had but little concern with Sussex, but we find that the Templars obtained from him a confirmation of a gift of land, tithes, and pasture at Sompting, on some occasion when he was visiting his *peculiar*s in this county, probably while sojourning at the neighbouring Tarring. In 1175 he was at Malling, and in the college church there he consecrated Odo Abbot of Battle.

BALDWIN and REGINALD, succeeding Archbishops, have left little record of association with Sussex, but HUBERT WALTER, who attained the primacy in 1193, appears in one connection at least with the county; for in 1199 he was at Shoreham, at that time a seaport of some importance. On this occasion he was in the train of King John, whose Chancellor he was, and who granted a charter of certain immunities to the citizens while he was staying at this little Sussex port; a charter whose conclusion makes it as “datum per manum Huberti cancellarii nostri.” John was a much-travelled monarch, and as his Chancellor the Archbishop doubtless accompanied him on many of his journeys; while in 1206 the King was the guest of the Archbishop at Malling. Two years before this the Primate had obtained a royal charter for a fair and a market in his Manor of Pagham. It was in John's reign, too, that the Archbishop appears (from an Inquisition Post Mortem) to have possessed land at Seaford, for a certain William de Safford is returned as holding half a knight's fee—about four plough-lands—there as tenant of the Archbishop. Hubert Walter is said by historians to have been

one of the best men of his time, "as Primate, Legate, Chief Justiciary, and King's Vicegerent." His Chancellor, Simon de Welles, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, in his will left 100 marks for a chantry in commemoration of this prelate.

To Hubert Walter succeeded STEPHEN LANGTON, a Primate so little to the liking of King John that he violently opposed his election, and to such an extent that the Pope excommunicated the King for his obstinate resistance to his nominee. During his primacy Tarring was superseded as a residence for the Archbishops when sojourning in the extreme west of their *peculiar*s; for, having conceived a strong liking for Slindon, Langton built there a palace, or at least a mansion, sufficiently commodious to accommodate a "humble servant of God"—for such was the superscription of archiepiscopal letters. In the ninth year of his primacy it appears that some of his Sussex tenants were smitten with a Crusading fervour—the fourth Crusade being then in its inception—for we find a Patent Roll of Henry III. granting safe conduct for the Archbishop of Canterbury's men of his Manor of South Malling, "si sint ad fidem Regis et cruce signato in pectore ad eundem cum Rege in subsidium Dei et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ."

In 1223 Langton was at South Malling, and while there he ordained the payment of 4 marks from his Manor of Framfield to the sacrist of St. Michael's College. When again visiting his *peculiar*s in 1228 he was taken ill at Slindon and died there. He was succeeded in the primacy by RICHARD WETHERSHED, an Archbishop who seems to have been mainly concerned with Sussex by reason of the difficulties in which he was involved by the disputes of his tenants in Pagham with the Bishop of Chichester's men in Aldingbourne. At that time Ralph Nevill was the diocesan, and his interests in his various manors were zealously served by his steward, a certain Simon de Senliz, many of whose interesting letters have come down to us. From them it appears that in the matter of one of these disputes he wrote to the Bishop: "As to the pasture which the men of our Lord of Canterbury claim for themselves in your Manor of Aldingbourne, I have spoken with the Lord of Canterbury himself, whose answer was shallow and feeble (*cujus responsio fuit tenuis et debilis*). Wherefore, if you please, get ready our Lord the King's writ to appoint an attorney, so that I may be your attorney to make the boundary between him and you."

The result of the line of action indicated in this letter appears to have been that a perambulation of the disputed land was ordered to be made, but, very rightly, not by the prejudiced Simon, as he fondly desired, but by "good and lawful men of the country." Upon which the Archbishop

wrote direct to Bishop Ralph in these terms: "Richard, by the grace of God, etc., to his venerable brother Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, etc. You remember that you stated in our conference that there was a dispute between our men of Pagham and yours about certain boundaries, asserting that our men would be by no means content with old boundaries, on account of which, thinking that some small matter was comprised under the name of boundary, as a ditch or such like, we conceded that these boundaries should be defined by royal command; but since we have since learned by our bailiffs for certain that the matter is not small, but rather great, concerning things in peaceful possession of which the Church of Canterbury has stood for a hundred years and more, I cannot without heavy loss endure that the business should proceed for the present. Since you will have obtained the royal writ for perambulation by lawful men, we affectionately beseech your brotherhood that you will give orders to the sheriff to forbear to use the writ until we have had other conference upon it."

What was the upshot of this matter does not appear. It does not seem that any serious rupture occurred, but that a certain coolness resulted in their relations is probable, if we may judge from a letter which the astute Simon de Senliz indited to Bishop Ralph, urging him to *offer* hospitality to the Archbishop, who was about to visit the neighbourhood. The letter is worth quoting at length, translated from the Latin: "To his reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his devoted Simon de Senliz greeting, due obedience and reverence in all things. I am informed that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury about this coming Lent will come to Malling, and will go on one day from Slindon as far as his manor of Tarring, on the morrow being about to come to your manor of Preston, and to tarry there for one night, but he will provide himself there out of his own means, and wishes to accept nothing of yours; therefore, if you please, it would be as well that you should write to him that he should reside there at your cost, since I know well he by no means wishes it, but yet it will be to your honour, although he will by no means take anything from you. If you please, I will pay attention to him, so that it shall turn to your advantage and honour, and you may know for certain that as long as he has sojourned at Slindon attention was paid to him competently in presents from your manors of Aldingbourne and Amberly." History does not narrate whether the Bishop acted on the worldly wisdom inculcated by his steward.

On the death of Archbishop Wethershed the monks elected Ralph of Chichester as his successor; but the Pope refused

his consent, nominally because the Bishop was too much of a courtier, but actually, there is little doubt, because he feared he was a patriot before a prelate, and likely to prove too little docile to Roman intervention. Innocent III. therefore conferred the archbishopric on EDMUND, a distinguished preacher. His memory is chiefly connected with Sussex by reason of his friendship with Richard, Bishop of Chichester—better known as St. Richard—whom he made his Chancellor. As Lord of Tarring as well as Archbishop, he was concerned in a dispute between the Vicar of that parish and the monks of Sele as to the expenses of collecting and storing the tithes of Durrington, a chapelry of Tarring, a moiety of which Robert Savage had given to the Priory of Sele. After due inquiry, it was determined by the Primate that the tithes of the whole parish should be collected and stored in a barn standing in the churchyard of Durrington at the joint cost of the parties concerned, the corn when threshed to be equally divided, the costs of the whole business being shared equally. In 1234 this Archbishop was at Malling, when he granted an indulgence of forty days to all contributing by alms or prayers on the spot to the erection of Bayham Abbey, a beautiful Premonstratensian house of religion in the parish of Frant. Four years later he was concerned in a suit with William de Whithampton, Vicar of Heene (another chapelry of Tarring), who claimed the advowson of the church. The Archbishop in opposing this denied it to be a church, maintaining it to be a chapel dependent on the mother-church of Tarring, without right of baptism or sepulture. The Vicar alleged baptism to be usually administered, but admitted that no right of sepulture existed. Judgment in this matter was deferred, and no record exists of the ultimate result. About this time the Archbishop came into ill-odour with the King, and in 1240 he retired to the Continent, ultimately dying in exile in 1242 at Pontigny. In his will he bequeathed a goblet to Richard of Chichester, “my beloved Chancellor, whom I have long heartily loved.” In the year 1246, after being canonized by the Pope, his remains were translated, Richard journeying from Sussex to be present at the ceremony. In so great affection did the Bishop hold the memory of St. Edmund that he erected a shrine to his honour in the north part of his cathedral at Chichester, and left directions in his will for his own body to be buried in proximity to it.

St. Edmund was succeeded by BONIFACE, a Prince of the House of Savoy, who had been elected to the see even before its vacation by means of his strong Court influence, he being an uncle of Henry III.'s wife. He became associated in several ways with Sussex. Early in his primacy he rebuilt

the church of Framfield, a Wealden village, a subinfeudation of Malling. This church is of the later Early English style; but many of the features even of this date have been altered or replaced by Tudor and later additions, such as the east window of the chancel, which is now of early Victorian date. Gone, too, is the ancient chancel screen, which, as described by a comparatively recent writer, was an old screen of carpentry panelled to the height of 4 feet, above which an open arcade of carved and traceried work carried it to about 12 feet of total height. The doorway of the rood staircase and a few of its steps are still to be seen to the north of the chancel arch, which is lofty and well proportioned. Arcades of four bays divide the nave from the narrow aisles, the piers being octagonal, capped by abaci with the scroll moulding, above which rise chamfered arches and subarches. At the end of each aisle is a chantry with a hagioscope, giving a view of the chancel altar. In the chancel, piscina and aumbry occupy the usual position in the south and north wall respectively. The tower is quite modern, the old one having fallen in 1667. In this church thus rebuilt, and rededicated to St. Thomas Becket, Boniface shortly afterwards held an ordination. Again in 1257 he visited his Sussex *peculiars*, and there is a record of his sojourn at Slindon. Three years later he was at Mayfield, and there by deed endowed the vicarage with altarage, tithes at Hyordherst, arable land, and 7 acres of wood, engaging also to supply books and vestments, while the Vicar was to provide lights and other necessaries. In 1254 the Archbishop obtained a charter for a market and fair at Wadhurst, and another for the same privileges at Mayfield in 1261. In days when so much trade and commerce was transacted in fairs and local markets that a special court called *Piedpoudre* was instituted to try offences therein committed on the spot, the tolls accruing to the Lord of the Manor were of some considerable value. Although St. Richard of Chichester appears to have had a real regard for him—so much so that he desired him to be executor of his will—Boniface was by no means a popular Primate. To this—in Sussex at least, still the most wooded of English counties—may have contributed the great waste which he made in the woods of his manor, with the attendant strictness of supervision by his bailiffs and parkers of the amount of *house-bote* and *hedge-bote* to be taken by the tenants. These words indicate the wood allowed by custom of the manors to tenants for the erection and repair of their houses—so largely built of wood in the Middle Ages—and their hedges. In conjunction with the Prior of Lewes, he instituted a suit against Robert de Denton and other land-holders in the valley of the Ouse to

oblige them to repair the banks of the river. But by evidence produced it appeared that by custom the tenants of the Archbishop in Malling, of William de Warenne in Piddinghoe and Meeching—*hodie* Newhaven—and of the Prior in Southover, had been wont to repair these embankments time out of mind.

Boniface, who died in 1270, was succeeded by ROBERT KILWARDBY. In the first year of his primacy he visited his Sussex *peculiars*, and resided for a time at Mayfield. He early became involved in dispute with Sir Richard Waley and Joanna his mother, who held lands of the Primate at Tarring and elsewhere; and in 1273 the King (Edward I.) issued a writ to the Sheriff of the county to take the manor into the King's hands pending a settlement of the question. An amicable termination was ultimately arrived at, and particulars of the whole question may be found on a Patent Roll of the fifth year of Edward I., in which very interesting details on the manorial customs and the prices of various articles of rural use and produce in the lordship of Tarring are contained. In 1278 Kilwardby was created a Cardinal, and "gat him into Italy" (as Somner says), where he died.

(*To be continued.*)

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### RELIGION ON BOARD SHIP.

"RELIGION is out of place on board ship" was, not so long ago, a common saying even in the Royal Navy and amongst intelligent men, who were themselves worshippers of God, afloat as well as ashore. This did not mean that the regulation Sunday service was not good for naval discipline, but that personal devotion to a living God and Saviour, with special spiritual nourishment, were for the shore, and not for ship life. If there were any truth in that adage, then no baptized boy should have been sent to sea, and no baptized man should have served on board ship.

It was, no doubt, a practical outcome of the thought that "Religion is out of place on board ship" that "the custom of the service" forbade men afloat kneeling in individual prayer daily, or communicants "showing the Lord's death," even when there was a clergyman on board. True, on Trafalgar Day, 1870, the Admiralty issued an excellent circular requiring monthly administrations of the Lord's Supper on board that fourth part of His Majesty's ships which carry chaplains. Old prejudices, however, die hard, and this one