BY WAPPLE WAY

Warnham: the story of a Sussex parish

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Map of Warnham, 1795

Preface

This booklet makes no claim to be an exhaustive account of the history of Warnham. Its aim is more modest - to serve as an introduction to what it is hoped will be a series of publications by the Warnham Historical Society.

It is customary for authors to express their gratitude to those on whose assistance they have depended. In this instance it is especially appropriate. But for the generosity of Miss G.W. Irwin, a member of the Agate family who were, for many generations, prominent in the parish, the appearance of this publication might well have been delayed indefinitely. Professor R.P. Dales has given invaluable editorial advice,and encouraged the author when he flagged. Miss Erica Lewis readily undertook the demanding tasks of production and printing. In particular, I am acutely aware of the debt I owe to Captain R.A. Villiers, C.B.E., Royal Navy, Chairman of the Warnham Historical Society, whose tireless researches have formed the backbone of this history. Only a quite unwarranted modesty restrained him from authorship. He is not, of course, responsible for any error or distortion which may be detected — for that the author must take sole credit.

In l8l6 a 24 year old Englishman in exile in Switzerland wrote:

Dear Home, thou scene of earliest hopes and joys,
The least of which wronged Memory ever makes
Bitterer than all thine unremembered tears.

For this exile, the poet Shelley, the first ten years of his life appeared as "a magic circle of freedom and love". But his sense of betrayal thereafter was too bitter for him to make more than scant reference to his early home.

Shelley was born in 1792 in Field Place. The house still stands on the edge of Warnham village. The surrounding countryside he peopled with the creatures of his imagination. In Warnham Pond lived the Great Tortoise; the nearby woods were the home of another of his boyhood monsters — the Great Snake. Shelley's accounts of their nocturnal wanderings used to terrify his younger sister. At the age of six he was sent to the small day school run by the vicar of Warnham Church. Under the eye of the Reverend Edwards, the young Shelley made his first acquaintance with those subjects considered in the eighteenth century to be an essential part of a gentleman's education - Latin and Greek. But these were the closing years of the century. They were years of upheaval, of radical ideas, of social and economic change. The country was at war with revolutionary France. In the North and Midlands were booming cities, their factories dedicated to manufacturing the products of the industrial revolution. Amongst their ever expanding populations, newly recruited from the countryside, the established political and social order was under attack. Shelley's youthful exploits with electricity, his experiments with explosive chemicals, the political passions of his adult life were, perhaps, more in tune with the age than his early wrestlings with the classics.

Yet, for the most part, little of these distant rumblings could be heard in Warnham. Cattle and corn, not cotton, were the concern of most villagers. Local loyalties and the authority of the squirearchy and the church encouraged stability. So, too, did ignorance. News still only travelled at the speed of a horse, and highways in Sussex were notoriously poor even by eighteenth century standards.

One such was the Wapple Way of the title. For many generations it formed a main line of communication north and south through the parish. Where it still exists, it offers convincing testimony to the barriers which impeded communications in earlier centuries. Today's walker may well echo the sentiments expressed by some of his predecessors.

THE MAKING OF A LANDSCAPE

Why is it asked one long-suffering traveller, a certain Dr Buxton, in 1751, that the men and animals of Sussex are so long—legged? The answer, he decided, was that their bones became stretched by constantly having to haul their feet out of the mud. For Dr Buxton the soggy Sussex clay which made many roads all but impassable in the winter was a temporary hazard. For generations of Warnham farmers it was a familiar enemy, one they confronted daily during their working lives. Over the course of many generations it had determined the pattern of agricultural development in this part of the county.

The clay remains, but the present landscape gives no more than a hint of the forest and scrub which once existed. Of the earliest stages in the transformation from forest land to farming community, we can catch only occasional glimpses. Despite the Anglo-Saxon origins of the name, the Norman guide to medieval England, the Domesday Survey of 1086, makes no mention of Warnham. The Roman builders of Stane Street must have passed nearby at Rowhook; there is evidence of a Roman iron industry in the Crawley area; Horsham appears in a charter of the mid—tenth century. But this is as close to Warnham as the archaeological and written record will take us before the thirteenth century. Where the evidence is sparse, the historian, like Dr Buxton, must travel warily.

It is possible to do little more than guess at how the name originated. It may be a combination of the Anglo-Saxon personal name - Werna - and — ham(m) — a settlement or dwelling place. Alternatively, "werna" has also been translated as Old English for stallion. As such, there would be an appealing coincidence with neighbouring Hors — ham. Regrettably, Horsham is most probably derived from an association with the Jutish leader, Horsa; or from Hurst — ham, the wooded place. There is nothing to support any connection with the horse.

The earliest settlements - temporary huts in isolated clearings in the forest — probably appeared towards the end of the eleventh century. They formed the outlying communities of a manor. Which manor this was is uncertain. However, as Warnham, or Werneham as it then was, is recorded as being part of the Hundred of Steyning in 1296, it is possible that these original settlements were attached to the manor of Steyning. Almost certainly their occupants were swine herders. Pigs, which fatten more quickly than other animals, were for long the main source of meat supply; although with a diet largely consisting of acorns and beech mast they must have been poor, lean specimens. That the origins of settlements in this area lay in the need to provide for this important part of the medieval peasant's economy gains some credence from later evidence. Part of the manor of Warnham, when it was established, was known as the manor of Denn in Warnham. "Den" is an Anglo-Saxon word denoting an area of swine—pasturing remote from the settlement to which it belonged, and still lingers in many place names in Sussex and Kent.

From a vantage point some nine centuries away, the transition from swine-herder to farmer appears only dimly. At some point the transient way of life was abandoned as man began to leave his mark on the surrounding forest. Families cleared and cultivated and built more permanent homes. There is no indication that the open fields, strip-farming and common land which were a feature of agricultural development elsewhere in England, existed in this part of the country. Here the right to land was established by direct agreement with the Lord. Each settlement developed as a largely self-contained, self-supporting unit - primitive subsistence farming extending in piecemeal fashion into the forest.

It was no easy task. The forest did not surrender easily to the axe and the plough. Where clearance was too difficult, thickets, or shaws, remained to impede cultivation. As late as the seventeenth century the average size of farms on the Weald was less than l00 acres, compared with the 350 acres of those on the Downs. Fields whose boundaries are irregular and curved provide evidence of their origins.

The emerging pattern of such forest settlements was unlike that of villages in open country. Forest and fen, mountain or marsh — each imposed a distinctive pattern on the surrounding rural life which contrasted sharply with the close-set villages and open fields of the long cleared and settled parts of England. Not until the twelfth century would there have been a recognisable focal point to the scattered settlements - a forest hamlet, a village in the making. The establishment of a church marked its beginnings. In 1204, Siffrid II, Bishop of Chichester, confirmed the impropriation of Warnham to the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene at Rusper. Thus, some time before this date, a church or chapel must have been erected here, most probably on the present site. A field church such as this almost certainly was, was built without a graveyard. It existed to serve the needs of the living in new settlements far removed from the parish church. But the parish church was careful to retain the burial fees of its dead parishioners. Around this nucleus the hamlet grew. Here people from the outlying farmsteads brought their tithes, paid their pannage so that they might continue to herd their pigs in the forest, and were relieved of their taxes. Their names are recorded in the list of those paying the tax demanded by Edward I - the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1296. Simon de Kyngesfolde, Rado de Stanstrete, John atte Sonde, Simon atte Blackstroode — sixty—four names in all assessed at varying sums between l/- and l0/0½.

In these accounts Warnham appears as the "Villat de Warnham and Shrottesfield" under the Hundred of Steyning in the Rape of Bramber. The total levy was £10-1-2½. Thirty years later, when Shrottesfield had disappeared from the Roll, presumably becoming part of Horsham, the levy amounted to only one fifth of this total. Yet by 1332 the Villat de Warnham raised a subsidy of £4—3-7½. Either the king's demands were more excessive, or the community was gradually growing more prosperous.

Timber—framed houses, outbuildings for stock, or resident workers, oxen plough teams - these were the hallmarks of the successful fourteenth century farmer. Not all can have triumphed over the ravages of nature — crop failure, cattle disease, and the endemic scourge of bubonic plague. The Black Death must have taken its toll in Warnham as elsewhere. But, for those who survived, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries offered the possibility of increasing security and wealth. There was profit to be made from the woollen industry and its valuable export trade. Thomas More had other parts of the country in mind when he wrote of "sheep devouring men", Warnham was poor sheep—rearing land compared with the Downs; but no doubt some of the fresh pasturage carved out in the fifteenth century provided grazing for these man—eaters.

From the surge of re—building and extending of the older houses which took place, it is clear that a major expansion took place in Tudor times. A new breed of farmer had appeared — the yeoman, Like the term "gentleman", the term "yeoman" never became a legal definition. Its precise connotations varied a good deal from place to place. But, shorn of their popular image of rotund ruddy-faced affluence, the stalwarts of "merrie England", the yeoman—farmers formed a middle stratum in rural society. Above them were the knights and gentry, and below, the ordinary husbandmen. "Let a peasant", writes Bindoff in his *Tudor England*, "farm enough acres, and farm them so that they yielded him ... a modicum of the comforts and pleasures of the age, and he was free to call himself a yeoman".

Alongside the locally—grown yeoman, came the men who brought imported wealth to Warnham. Men who had gained reputation and capital in the law, from office-holding, or through trade, wanted to acquire land. A landed estate was a symbol of status, the seal on a man's standing. John Caryll, Sergeant—at—Law in the reign of Henry VIII, bought land in the area in l5l3, and was buried at Warnham in l540. His heir, also John and also Sergeant-at—Law, and Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster under Elizabeth, had his mansion on a site close to the present Warnham Place.

In 1453 "William Thwaytes, William Stoute and Stephen Comber suit claimed for 1 messuage, 60 acres of land, l acre of meadow and 1 acre of wood, with 12/l0 rent and appurtenances in Warnham, against Thomas Hall, citizen and bowyer of London and his wife".

Land was no idle symbol. Even the clay of Warnham might be made to yield higher returns, and it was probably these Tudor landowners and farmers who made the first serious attempts at improvement. Ploughing was a difficult and arduous business. A plough-team of eight or ten oxen could plough little more than a quarter of an acre in a day. By the eighteenth century attempts were being made to lighten the soil by marling or liming. The extent to which this took place is shown by the field names given in the Tithe Award lists of 1840 - Marl Plat, Marl Croft, Lime Kiln Plat, Lower Kiln Plat - and by indications of the existence of the old lime kilns themselves. The lime was dragged by oxen from the chalk pits on the Downs. An inventory of the effects of a Warnham husbandman gives details of the implements used in liming. The chalk was heated in kilns fired by furze grown especially for the purpose. Again the Tithe records show at least five fields described as Furze, Old Furze and Furze field. Not until the early nineteenth century did furze give way to coal brought here along the Wey and the Arun.

Yet, despite these efforts, Warnham remained predominantly an area of pastoral rather than arable farming until the end of the eighteenth century. what cultivation of crops there was, was largely to provide fodder for the animals, particularly the draft animals on which so much depended. Sussex cattle were of a breed pre—eminently suitable for work and for beef, and were highly praised in the seventeenth century. Cows began their productive life at the age of three or four; oxen began work at two. They were used as draft animals until, somewhere between the ages of six and ten, they were fattened for beef. Horses of a fairly light breed were also used - the heavier cart—horse was liable to sink too deeply into the mud — but as they were not considered large enough for van work, oxen were, for a long time, extensively relied on for haulage.

A nineteenth century inhabitant of the Parish (name not known)

Even in the agricultural depression of the 1870s and the growing influx of cheap imported beef made possible by refrigeration, most local farmers persisted with their beef cattle. But towards the end of the century, a number of West Country farmers moved into the area, encouraged by the low rent of farms. They brought their dairy cattle with them. The good rail connection with the London market meant that they could get 2d. a gallon more for their milk than in the West Country. In Sussex as a whole, 40% of former arable land was turned over to grass, between 1872 and 1909, and no doubt Warnham corresponded to this pattern.

Cattle apart, the only animal kept on any scale was the hogge, a black, hardy breed, descendants of the original stock, which ran wild in the unenclosed woodlands. There was a lively trade in fat hogs. They were driven to the various Horsham fairs by the local farmers, and in 1591 it is recorded that 400 salted hogs were sent to the Navy at Southampton. Not all pigs went to market however. Some stayed at home. Generations of farm workers fattened

pigs as the family's main, often only, source of meat. They were said to fatten best on dry meal and beer - "if you can make him drunk now and then you will make him into a notable fat hog".

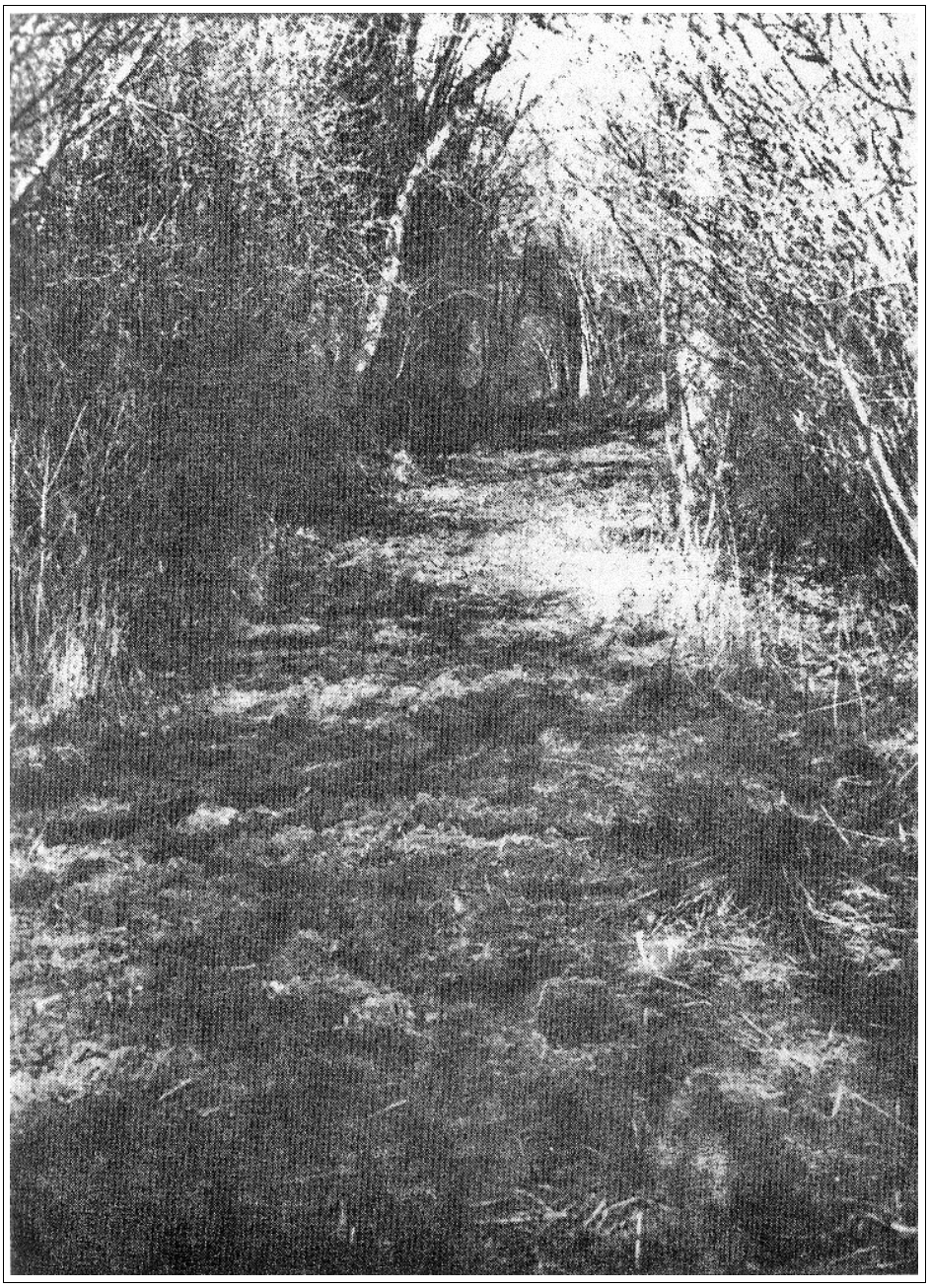
This pattern of farming did not remain undisturbed. As in so much else, war brought interruption and change to the agricultural landscape; changes which did not always long survive the peace. During the protracted struggle with Napoleonic France at the turn of the eighteenth century, there was a considerable increase in the demand for corn. Much new land was ploughed up. Even as late as 1840, twenty—five years after the war had ended, the Tithe records show 2893 acres of arable land in the Parish, 712 acres of pasture, and 1292 acres which were either woodland, waste, or unaccounted for. The Napoleonic War also brought more hidden changes. Many of the land drains in the vicinity of the village are believed to have been laid by French prisoners of war.

But land drains or no, the wheat grown on the soggy land was of inferior quality, and could not readily compete in the declining market of the nineteenth century. Surplus corn led to high unemployment, low wages and widespread disturbances. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 removed the protective barrier against foreign imports behind which arable farming had sought shelter. As with Argentinian beef, so the impact of the rich corn producing prairies of America was seen in the Warnham landscape of the second half of the nineteenth century. Not until the First World War, when the demand for home—grown corn again increased, was the trend away from arable farming reversed.

Whilst agriculture was the over-riding activity, the dominant factor in the man-made landscape which is the present Warnham, it has not been the only influence. The iron industry, and its related activity - charcoal-burning, was established in the Weald of Sussex at a very early date. There is little direct evidence of the industry in the immediate vicinity of Warnham, but it seems probable that the accelerated pace of land clearance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was in part attributable to the insatiable demands of the blast furnace. The Caryll family successfully exploited the industry in this part of Sussex, particularly after Sir John Caryll took over the lease of St Leonard's Forest following the execution of the fourth Duke of Norfolk in 1572. The Warnham Forge was almost certainly built in the early 1600s, presumably on the site of the present mill buildings, and the lease granted to Sir John Caryll in 1609. But it can only have enjoyed a limited period of prosperity, as it was ruined by 1664, its demise hastened by the new use of coke as a substitute for charcoal in the smelting process.

Unlike neighbouring parishes, however no evidence has been found of an early bloomery in Warnham.

Of greater significance in forming the present landscape, were the tracks and highways which crossed the area and linked it with the world outside — the ancestors of today's metalled roads. To the west lay Stane Street, the main line of communication across the Weald since Roman times, and many of the roads which appear in later records seem to have followed a similar north—south axis. In l6l2, at East Grinstead Assizes, it was claimed that "the highway from Warnham Bridge to a house called Sheremark is in great decay and is to be amended by the parish of Warnham". "Sheremark" was presumably the present Shire Mark on the border with Surrey. About 1637, the Water Bailiff to the Earl of Arundel mentions what he calls "the Wapple Way, leading from Surrey gate, between Denland and Rudgebrooke to the highway that goeth to Horsham, leading straight South by the East and Southside of the said Denlands to Earthenbridge between certain lands called Hoppes and Knells, part of Den aforesaid. Thence by the lands called Mayes, and so southward by the Mansion House of Mr. Richard Yeates, late William Young's and before John Eydes, called Eads, alias Edes, and so into the King's Highway that part of the said Mr. Yeates his lands called Endes and Stroodland in Slinfold Parish".



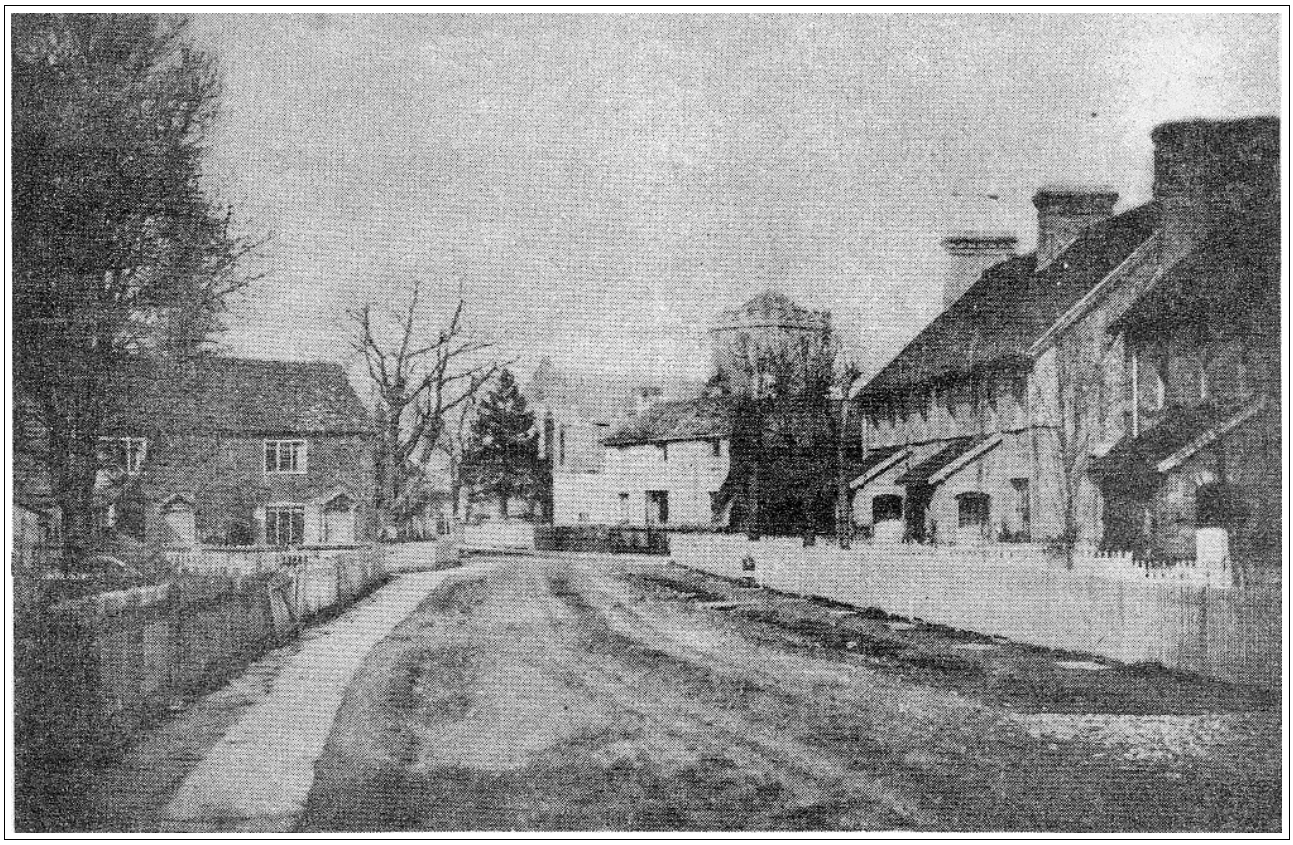
Wapple Way 1980

This "Wapple Way" was a bridle path, or pack road, and was a continuation of the so—called "Smugglers Lane" on the Surrey side. The path through Denne Wood, to the west of Ridgebrook Cottage, is obscure. But it emerges as a well- defined, grass—grown bridle path, entering Marches Road immediately opposite Mayes Lane. Evidently the old track turned west here for a short distance along the south side of Denlands. Beyond Stone Farm it swung south again by Hoopers Barn, to the track where the Council cottages now stand. Earthenbridge, apparently a lost name, was probably a narrow embankment with a wooden bridge carrying the path southwards over Sladebottom Gill and on past Maltmayes and Benland Cottages. Where the present road turns sharply eastwards, the old Wapple Way went through Benland Wood by the present bridle path, and so direct to Ends Place.

Communication between Warnham and Horsham seems to have been of secondary importance until quite a late date. As late as 1724, according to Richard Budgen's map, the highway through Warnham ran from the Surrey border to Billingshurst and Stane Street,

rather than through to Horsham. There was little more than a track across Broadbridge Heath to connect the village with its borough neighbour.

Such forest tracks, negotiable only on foot or on horseback, provided necessary, if unreliable, links between one community and another. The woods, wrote one Englishman in the thirteenth century, are "the place of hiding and of lurking". There "passing men come and are spoiled and robbed, and often slain". For the stranger, travelling was especially perilous. There were few signs to guide him on his way. "Therefore often knots are made on trees and in bushes, in boughs and in branches of trees, in token and mark of the high way, to show the certain and sure way to wayfaring men. But oft the thieves, in turning and meeting of ways change such knots and signs, and beguile many men and bring them out of the right way by false tokens and signs". Legislation attempted to curb the activities of the lawless, at least on the more important routes. The Statute of Winchester of 1285 commanded that "highways from one market town to another be enlarged, where there are woods, hedges, or ditches, so that there be neither ditches, underwood, nor bushes wherein a man may lurk to do hurt, near the road, within two hundred feet on the one side, and two hundred feet on the other side". There is little evidence that the forces of law and order prevailed! Marauders and mud continued to take their toll of travellers.



Nineteenth century Church Street

The increasing demands of trade in the sixteenth century brought efforts to improve the state of the roads. An Act of Parliament of 1534 for the "Amending of highways in Sussex" attempted to bring about an improvement "in every place in Sussex where the ways and streets are noyous to the King's said subjects". Acts of 1584 and 1597 required owners of ironworks to provide "one hundredweight of Sinder, Gravel, Stone, Sande or Chalk for repairing roads for every 6 loads of coal or ore and every ton of iron carried on roads between 12th October and lst May". But, as the many complaints at Assizes and Quarter Sessions testify, such efforts met with very limited success. Even as late as 1752, over fifty years after

the first Turnpike Act for Sussex, one traveller maintained that "a Sussex road is an insuperable evil".

Three years later, a petition of J.P.s, Clergy, Gentlemen, freeholders and other inhabitants of Horsham was presented to Parliament. They informed Parliament that "the main roads from the market place at Horsham through Warnham, Capel, Dorking and Leatherhead (to Epsom) by reason of the soil thereof, and of the many heavy carriages frequently passing the same, some parts thereof are become so ruinous and bad that in the winter season are almost impassable ... and very dangerous". They prayed leave to bring in a Bill to amend the same. The Bill was enacted in the same year, and the Horsham—Dorking-Leatherhead—Epsom Turnpike came into existence. With it, the gap in the Horsham to Dorking road between Lower Chickens and Westons was completed. Previously it had been necessary to go round by a track roughly on the line of Bell Road, via Daux.

During the next fifty years many other Turnpikes were established. The ` pace of travel, on these roads at least, was accelerating. By the end of the eighteenth century some mail coaches were averaging a speed of 10 m.p.h. and more, although such heady speeds were not achieved without some risk to horses and passengers. But the stage coaches could not compete with the railways. The line reached Horsham in 1848, and fourteen years later the Horsham, Dorking, Leatherhead Railway Act was passed. This line, running through Warnham, was opened in 1867. The way was open for that phenomenon of the twentieth century — the commuter.

Church Street in the early years of the twentieth century

DIVIDING THE LANDSCAPE

On the eve of the Norman Conquest the local divisions through which England was governed in the middle ages had already been drawn up in outline in all but the most remote parts of the country. England south of the Humber was divided into shires. With few exceptions, the shires of the eleventh century possessed the boundaries they were to keep until the administrative changes of modern times.

Apart from the Danish shires of north—east Mercia, each shire was divided into a number of smaller units - the hundred. As an administrative division, the hundred was far less stable than the shire. In the middle ages many new hundreds were created, and the boundaries of old hundreds were often modified. Thus Warnham which was included in the Hundred of Steyning in l296, subsequently formed part of the Hundred of Singlecross. This later creation consisted of Warnham, Rusper, Roffey and Nuthurst, but excluded Horsham, which had been incorporated as a borough in 1295.

A further complication in the more populous shires of the south, was the existence of divisions between the hundred and the shire - the lathes of Kent, and the rapes of Sussex. Almost certainly, the division of Sussex into six rapes had been carried out before the Conquest. Although the term "rape" is not mentioned in any Old English record, it seems to have been derived from the primitive Germanic custom of enclosing the precinct of a court with ropes. This suggests that it was an ancient institution which the Normans adopted primarily for the purpose of defending their new conquest. The rapes ran north from the coast to the Kent and Surrey borders, each based on a castle adjacent to a seaport. This part of the county fell into the Rape of Bramber under the overlordship of William de Braoze, one of William's commanders. His main base was the Castle of Bramber, close to what was then the port of Steyning.

Superimposed on this pattern of shires, rapes and hundreds, was the medieval manor. The word "manor" was introduced into the English language by the Norman clerks of William I, but it was obviously intended to denote an institution with which Englishmen were familiar. The nature of the institution however, is not always easy to determine with any precision. Like William's clerks, the historian finds himself with much material relating to the manor which is not easily understood. What a manor was varied both from one place to another, and from period to period. Some of them covered an appreciable part of a county, and included a number of dependent villages, hamlets, and farms. Such was the manor of Steyning of which it is presumed Warnham once formed part. As manors were broken up and changed hands either wholly or in part, so both the nature of the holding and the rights attached to it, shifted. Manor and village by no means always coincided. A village, as in the case of Warnham, might well be divided manorially between several unrelated lords.

The earliest known mention of a manor of Warnham occurs in 1272. The Inquisition post mortem of William de Say, who held the custody of the manor from Henry III, states that it should be delivered to John de Bretagne. Although the route is somewhat indistinct at times, it is possible to trace the ownership or custody of the manor, and of that part known as the manor of Denn in Warnham, from this point to the early part of the twentieth century. The last titular Lord of the Manor was Lt Col Thomas Faulkner Wisden of Broadwater, who died in 1904.

But the manors of Warnham and Denn in Warnham apart, at least two other estates styled as manors existed at one time or another within the parish of Warnham. One of these, the manor of Slaughterford, alias Powers or Poors, certainly existed from very early times. Whether it enjoyed an independent existence, or formed part of the manors of Broadbridge or Sullinqton which adjoined it, cannot be confirmed. It probably included, however, the land which now forms most of the Ends Place Estate. The other was known as the manor of

Hallamps or Hollands. This was of much later origin. Many new, or "reputed" manors were created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Hollands was probably one of these. It included land forming part of the village itself, and of the present Warnham Park lands. The manor house which is known to have existed in the seventeenth century, and quite possibly earlier, was on the site of what is now the Red House and Holland House.

Thus by the sixteenth century there are records of four manors within the present parish boundaries. The demesne and other lands included in the original Manor of Denn in Warnham in the northern part, perhaps centred on Denn Farm, and stretching southward to the village itself; whilst in the southern part were the Manors of Warnham and Hollands. In the western part of the parish, most of the land was now owned by the Manor of Slaughterford. But, three hundred years after we first know of its existence in Warnham, the function of the manor was much changed. As the power of central authority, the king, increased, that of his tenant in chief, the Lord of the Manor, diminished. Increasingly, the County Court and the Justice of the Peace, the local officer who held the king's commission, assumed the responsibilities formerly exercised by the Manor Courts. They became little more than land registering and rent collecting bodies. Their role in the administration of local agriculture lapsed, especially where there were no areas of common land to be administered. Services owed to the Lord of the Manor became more nominal; often the demesne lands too were sold off. As with the Manors of Warnham and Denn in Warnham, the Manor came to dispose of nothing more than the residual wastes, and to collect the purely nominal rents and dues on a few of the lands which had originally comprised the Manor. Titles to the manor became divided due to the conventions of feudal heritage, or by marriages. They might be lost altogether as a result of royal confiscation or disposal to a new tenant in chief.

Such changes, taking place throughout the country, can be traced here. In 1319 the Manor of Denn in Warnham, which had been sold seven years earlier to William de Taverner, passed through his wife, Margaret D'Oyley, to Sir John D'Oyley. In the absence of a male heir, the Manor passed through the marriage of their daughter, Joanne, with Sir Thomas Lewknor, to John de Lewknor in 1375. Thence, via his son in law, John Bartellot of Stopham, it came into the Bartellot family, where it remained until 1650. At this date the site of the manor house and the demesne lands were severed from the Manor by Deed of Partition, and passed to Christopher Coles of Pulborough.

In 1695 the Manor was successfully claimed by John Evershed of Evershed in Surrey. From the evidence of deeds of certain farms, notably Geerings (then known as Thecchers), this included the ownership of part of the land of the original Manor, but not the whole of it. It is probable that much of the land, with the moieties of the title to the Manor, had been split off at an earlier date; perhaps during the Bartellot lordship. This part of the title, at least, passed via inheritance and sale, to the Duke of Norfolk in 1814. It was finally purchased, together with the site of the original manor and several other farms in the northern and eastern parts of the parish, by John Schudi Broadwood in 1821. With large estates in Rusper and Surrey also, Broadwood was clearly a man of some substance; but although he is said to have owned the site of the original manor, no trace has been found of the manor house in Warnham itself. This would seem to confirm that Broadwood, like many of his predecessors, was a non—resident titular lord. They farmed the rents and hereditary dues, but only rarely undertook the regulating responsibilities of the ancient manor court.

A further title to the Manor of Warnham, and the last surviving one which can be traced to recent times, was bought by Henry Cowper of Strood Park, M.P. for Horsham, in 1690. This remained in the family until 1801, when it was sold, together with Strood Park, to John Commerell, High Sheriff of Sussex. The title ended with the death of Lt.Col. Wisden.

As the importance, both judicial and administrative, of the manor declined, the parish became increasingly prominent in the affairs of men both secular and spiritual. The church

had always played a prominent part in local matters. It collected taxes in the form of tithes, it was involved in numerous land transactions, it dispensed ecclesiastical justice. But, following the dissolution of the monasteries, into whose hands many of the old manors had fallen, a new form of local corporate jurisdiction based on the parish succeeded the manorial system. Local administration, secular and ecclesiastical devolved on the Vestry, under the Vicar and Churchwardens. Their duties were to serve the interests of both God and Caesar — the relief of the poor, the maintenance of the highway, the preparation of the electoral roll, the nomination for the appointment of Constables - all came to be part of the functions of the Vestry under the direction of the Justices of the Peace. The right to participate in this form of local government, as with the right to participate in national government, was not uniform throughout the country. Some vestries were more open than others. Some were open to all ratepayers, whilst others were closed to all but an appointed, even self —appointed, committee. In between membership could depend upon prescribed qualifications or the ownership of land. The Warnham Vestry meeting regularly, with or without the Vicar according to whether ecclesiastical matters were involved, often appear to have held their deliberations at the Sussex Oak. Not until 1862 was there a suitable meeting space in the Church. The minutes of that year record a vote of thanks to Sir Percy Shelley for allowing the South Chancel of the Church to be fitted up and used as a vestry.

Michael Turner, Parish Clerk and Sexton, 1830-80

Besides the two Churchwardens and usually two Overseers of the Poor, sometimes with an Assistant Overseer, and an Overseer of the Highways, two or three other local farmers served on the Vestry. By the nineteenth century, if not before, most of these posts seem to have been shuffled round between a number of tenant farmers whose names recur repeatedly in the records — Stephen and John Agate, the Muggeridges and Charmans, James Harding, Henry Wells and John Stanford. The governance of the parish was in relatively few hands.

This self—perpetuation was not necessarily the result of undue influence being brought to bear. The duties of office could be onerous; if elected, there were penalties for refusing to take up the appointment. It is not, perhaps, surprising that there were few volunteers for appointments which were often demanding, frequently unpopular and sometimes personally dangerous. The major landowners of the nineteenth century were wise to leave the daily administration of the parish to the tenant farmers, although they were generous in their contributions.

FIGURES IN A LANDSCAPE

Although we know something of their activities, our Saxon predecessors here must remain anonymous. They left no records from which we might come to learn their names. It is not until after the Conquest that anonymity begins slowly to fade. For this, as for much else, the present—day historian must be grateful for the efficiency of the Norman clerks and their successors — although, since many of their records were compiled for taxation purposes, it is unlikely that this gratitude was shared by the inhabitants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Whilst Werna may be no more than a figure conjured out of our imagination, of William de Braoze's existence we may be certain. He held 4l manors in various parts of Sussex and Wessex. This Norman commander, so handsomely rewarded by his monarch, is the first name we can attach, however loosely, to this part of the county. It was to the de Braozes that payment was made for the right to keep pigs in the forest. It was in the forests nearby that these Norman lords and their companions hunted. At Chennellsbrook near Roffey there is evidence of a motte and bailey fortification which almost certainly came to be used as a hunting lodge, a temporary base to be used at intervals in the chase. The fifth William de Braoze married the daughter of one of the most powerful magnates in the land - William le Marshal, second Earl of Pembroke — before being hanged by the Welsh in 1230. This was probably the de Braoze who, before he met his untimely end, founded the church in Warnham.

Warnham Church, 1880

By the end of the thirteenth century the records give up the names not only of the mighty, but of those lower down the social order — the freeholders obliged to contribute to the subsidies levied by the Plantagenet rulers of England. Such records show the relative wealth of the inhabitants, and the locality of their holdings. Many of these are already beginning to have a familiar ring — Simon de Kyngesfolde, Stephan de Sloghterforde, William de Weston, John de Langenhurst, Henry atte Rowehok. Others require rather more interpretation to translate them into familiar settings — William and Robert atte Rye — now Chatfolds; Richard atte Douwehok — Daux; John atte Sonde — Sands; Richard le Thecher - now Geerings.

Taxation records apart, there is another type of evidence which, though not always easy to understand, throws some light on who these medieval freeholders were and the size of their holdings. These are the Feet of Fines, or records of the voluntary conveyance of land. Thus from the Feet of Fines of 1280, we learn that William and Matilda le Fest received a messuage and ½-virgate of land in Warnham from William de la Laye for l lb of cummin at Easter for all services. A messuage was a house with land attached to it. Quite how much land comprised a virgate is uncertain. We know that it equalled a quarter of a hide, but since the size of a hide varied from one locality to another — from 120 acres in Cambridgeshire to 40 acres in Wiltshire and Dorset - this only helps us so far. On this reckoning, ½-virgate might range in size from l5 to 5 acres. In return for this land, William and Matilda were to make an annual payment of 1 lb of cummin, a herb similar to fennel. Such records, detailing the exchange of land in and around Warnham, continue for more than 500 years after this transaction between the le Fests and William de la Laye.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the isolated pieces of information which they provide begin to come together. Discernible patterns of relationships emerge as families intermarry, raise children, form separate branches of the family tree, buy and inherit property. Field Place, the early home of the poet, had been in the Shelley's possession for a little over a century when Percy Bysshe was born. But its history can be traced back for some two centuries before it was bought by Edward Shelley from John Michell.

The Michell family originally came from Stamerham near Horsham. It is John Michell, who died in 1474, who is the first recorded member of the family to own land in Warnham; and his grandson, Richard, is the first to be identified with Field Place. Richard died in l524, leaving £4O in his Will towards the cost of building the tower of Warnham Church where he is buried. By this time the family were clearly considerable property owners in the parish. Besides Field Place, Richard also owned property known as "the Sondes Lands" which passed to his eldest son; whilst his brother, John, owned Thecchers. This, and future generations of the family, are also shown as owning at various times properties known as Chekyns, Cocks, Swylls, and a considerable proportion of the land which now forms the nucleus of Warnham Park.

Much of this land was acquired, by purchase rather than by marriage, from another major landowning family, the Carylls. They arrived in the parish somewhat after the Michells, and their tenure here was much shorter lived. In the eighteenth century, the Carylls, heirs to the Sergeant—at—Law who had first bought land in Warnham in the reign of Henry VIII, were supporters of the Jacobite cause. But their connection with Warnham appears to have lapsed shortly after an earlier political upheaval - the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century.

There remained within the parish, however, suitable families into which the Michell offspring might marry. Marriage, accompanied as it frequently was, by the transfer of property, was not to be entered into lightly or to possible family disadvantage. Thus we find a network of connections between the Michells and other long—established landowning families in the area — the Pilfolds, the Rapleys, the Agates and the Shelleys. Even so, matters did not always go as planned. Percy Shelley was far from being a model son in his father's eyes, and Sir Timothy must have shared, albeit for different reasons, in his son's sense of bitterness. John Medwin, heir to a large part of the Pilfold estate, encumbered the property so heavily that he was shipped off to India with a cornetcy in the Army, the estate eventually being bought by Nathaniel Tredcroft in 1824. It was Tredcroft's son, Henry, who built Warnham Court and laid out the deer park.

A happier story is that of the Agate family. Formerly the atte Gates, they came originally from East Sussex. Although there is a record in the early 1500s of a certain Roger

Agate in Warnham who left a bullock to his grandson, the first real evidence of the Warnham branch is of Thomas Agate who, in 1611, married Mary Rapley, grand-daughter of Thomas Rapley of Chidingfold and Johane Michell of Field Place. Thomas Agate bought for £2OO from his father—in—law, property which appears to have included Broomlands and the southern portion of the present Warnham Park. This property passed via his bachelor son, to two of his younger sons. There were thus two branches of the family established in the Parish by the middle of the seventeenth century.

Thereafter, the succession is made hazier for the historian by the Agate's firm attachment to the Free Anabaptist Church in Horsham. Anabaptists rejected infant baptism, and hence there is no record of the families in the Parish Registers. Nevertheless, they are not entirely lost to view. Glimpses of them may be caught in, for instance, the Manor Rolls of the eighteenth century. By the middle of the century, much of the family property was in the hands of one branch, and their prosperity can be gauged from the Will of its last member, John Agate. On his death in 1824, he left his property together with £60,000 to his daughter Sarah, who had married John Wood of Twineham. In 1875, the land came into the possession of Mr. C. T. Lucas as part of the enlarged Warnham Park Estate. Although less prosperous in the second half of the eighteenth century, the other branch of the family survived, and, increasingly, thrived. In 1765, it was represented by Robert Agate, Yeoman, who owned a property of 20 acres known as Southford and Enhams (now incorporated in the south-west corner of Warnham Park adjoining Robin Hood Lane). His grandson, Stephen, founded the original timber works in Warnham about 1823, and several of his sons, notably John, Alfred and Albert, farmed in Warnham in the second half of the nineteenth century and played an active part in the life of the village; although the timber works moved to Horsham in 1860.

By this time, the figures in the Warnham landscape have emerged into the full glare of the historical spotlight. The first national census of population was taken in 1801, and thereafter, every ten years, we may know the inhabitants of the parish in increasing detail. Names, ages, occupations, residences — after eight centuries of uncertainty, all is recorded. In 1841, the population of the Parish passed 1000 for the first time - 523 males and 482 females — and remained little altered until the last decade of the century. Farming remained the dominant occupation — 28 farmers, 144 agricultural labourers and l shepherd. The number of male servants had increased from 5 in 1831 to 65 in 1841, whilst the number of female servants had declined from 61 to 51. Clearly there had been a social revolution below stairs! It was not the only place where there was upheaval in the 1830s.

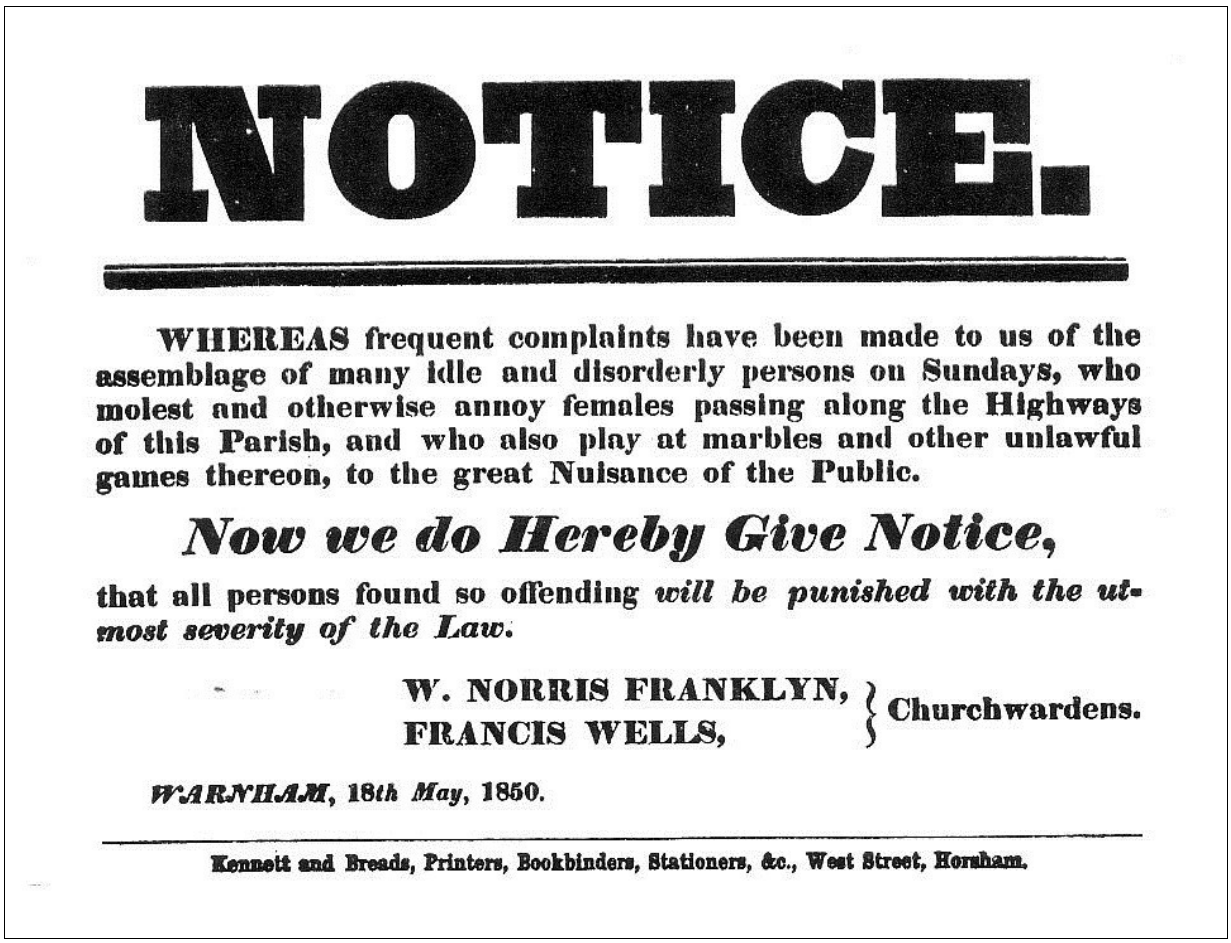
The early decades of the nineteenth century were years of considerable hardship and much unrest. In the majority of parishes poverty and unemployment were rife - and Warnham, isolated though it remained in many ways, did not escape. The price of a peck loaf of bread had risen from 1/1 in 1763 to as much as 6/8 in 1817. Although the price gradually fell to half that, for the agricultural labourer on a weekly wage of 8/- or 9/-, it remained beyond reach. He existed, perforce, largely on a diet of potatoes and what he could grow in his garden. Low wages and high prices bred a brooding resentment which constantly threatened to erupt. The local landowners were apprehensive; the local magistrates vigorous in their application of the law.

Violence was not a feature of society unique to the nineteenth century. Smuggling, once a major industry in Sussex, and robbery on the highway, had occasioned a number of notorious murders. There is no reason to suppose that Warnham had escaped unscathed. Indeed, Warnham is known to have featured on the route of a well known smuggler. Saucy Elliott ran loads of spirits via contacts in Robin Hood Lane to Friday Street. Here he had a regular customer, a certain Mr. Freeman, who hid the contraband in the woods behind his house. Rumour still insists that there was once a subterranean passage between the Greets and Byfleets. Nevertheless, the extent of popular unrest in the first half of the nineteenth century was, perhaps, unprecedented. In l830, the Mobbing Year, there was an outbreak of

agrarian violence throughout the South. Farm machinery was wrecked; farmhouses and hayricks set alight. In November there was a demonstration in Horsham, and the magistrates were forced to confront the rioters — Shelley's father, Sir Timothy, now an octogenarian, attended the meeting in Horsham Parish Church. Although relations between the Warnham farmers and their labourers appear to have remained relatively unstrained, these were troubled years. On 2 November 1832, a "Society for the Detection and Apprehension of Felons" was formed in Warnham. Its membership included most of the local farmers, and its rules set out a scale of awards for information leading to conviction for different types and degrees of injury. It remained in existence until well into the 1850s. In December 1835 there was a major disturbance over the decision to remove a number of orphan children from Warnham to the workhouse at Shipley. This workhouse had a bad reputation, which it appears to have fully deserved, and there were fears that the orphans were destined for the factories of the North. An angry mob, led by the women of Warnham, assembled in Horsham to protest. The Poor Law Guardians and the magistrates were threatened and pursued from Normandy up the Causeway to the King's Head Hotel. Troops were brought from Brighton to Horsham and special constables sworn in. When, a week later, the Poor Law officers arrived in Warnham to remove the children, they were man-handled and forced to retreat. Not until the following day, when they were accompanied by a detachment of Dragoons with drawn swords, were they able to carry out the magistrates' decision.

The care and regulation of the poor was the major concern of the Vestry. Until 1834, when the Poor Law Amendment Act replaced individual parish workhouses with Union workhouses serving a number of parishes, the Warnham workhouse stood on the site of the present butcher's shop and the cottages, 7 — 2l Church Street. There were three buildings, with a garden and orchard where those on poor relief were put to work. In this it was not dissimilar to many other houses in the village. Most had their gardens or orchards in which pigs were kept. These small cottages and tenements clustered on either side of the Church, along what was then known simply as — The Street — and at the top end of Friday Street. These main thoroughfares through the village were little more than lanes bordered by open sewers into which flowed much of the effluent from the privies and pigsties: not an untypical arrangement in nineteenth century England, but increasingly unacceptable.

In 1857 action was taken. A meeting of the Vestry appointed a Nuisance Removal Committee to carry out the provisions of the 1855 Nusiance Removal Act. Within a week the Committee had visited every dwelling in the village and "found it absolutely necessary for better drainage and removal of intolerable nuisances that a main drain of suitable sized pipes should be placed as deep as circumstances will allow, having due regard to sufficient falls". The work was to be paid for by a rate of 1/- in the £ on all properties which would benefit. Not all the ratepayers agreed with the Committee. Many preferred the existing arrangements, especially if it was going to cost them money to alter it. After some delay, the work was finally completed — 1,939 feet of main drainage at a total cost of £158.16s.4d. The benefits were apparently felt immediately. At a meeting on 1O October 1857, Mr. Thomas, the Sanitary Inspector, reported that never before had he known the village so free from diarrhoea. His figures actually show a decrease of only 5 cases from 1856, and an increase on the 1855 figure; but he may, perhaps, be forgiven his enthusiasm, and certainly the incidence of other diseases which he had noted in 1855 - fever, cholera and diptheria — seems to have fallen dramatically.



NOTICE.

WHEREAS frequent complaints have been made to us of the assemblage of many idle and disorderly persons on Sundays, who molest and otherwise annoy females passing along the Highways of this Parish, and who also play at marbles and other unlawful games thereon, to the great Nuisance of the Public.

Now we do Hereby Give Notice,

that all persons found so offending *will be punished with the utmost severity of the Law.*

W. NORRIS FRANKLYN,
FRANCIS WELLS, } Churchwardens.

WARNHAM, 18*th May*, 1850.

Kennett and Breads, Printers, Bookbinders, Stationers, &c., West Street, Horsham.

Notice published by the Churchwardens, 18 May 1850

The Church was, perhaps, more firmly at the centre of village life in the nineteenth century than at any previous time. But it was not without competition, both secular and spiritual. A broadsheet circulated in May 1842, following a meeting of the Rural Deanery reminded Churchwardens of their duty to visit public houses and beer houses during hours of divine worship. Householders and churchwardens were also requested to disperse noisy persons lounging about the streets and thoroughfares, especially the approaches to the Church on Sunday, and themselves to set a good example by regular Church attendance. In 1876, a community of the Christian Dependents Group (the Cokelers) was established in Warnham. This religious movement sought to practice community of goods and to run a business on co-operative lines, as part of their evangelistic faith.

The speeches made at the opening of the Village Hall at the end of the century, in 1892, encapsulate much of this desire to ensure stability in the face of incipient change. Mr. Henry Harben, donator of the building, was, he said, no enemy of the public house, or of any place that was properly and wisely conducted; he hoped that "all innocent recreation and amusement might ever be fostered and cherished therein", provided, "they did not allow the spirit of gambling to enter into it". Mr. C. T. Lucas, donator of the land referred to the growing want that had now been supplied, reflecting, no doubt the Vicar's view that "the time which was spent in amusement and games was far better than time spent on street corners in mere idle gossip". And the Vicar suggested that "much of the mischief between the Church and the Non—conformists was due to their not talking and meeting together". He hoped that this new opportunity "would have the effect of bringing them closer together ... of making them a more united family". Further, "he would even hope that in years to come people might look back upon the village hall and club as the scene where the foundation of a great many close, intimate and lifelong friendships was laid". Their views were greeted with prolonged applause

OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY.

AT A MEETING of the CLERGY of the RURAL DEANERY of HORSHAM, held at the VICARAGE, on Wednesday, 18th May, 1842, under the sanction of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Chichester, it came under the consideration of the Clergy assembled whether something could not be done towards ensuring a stricter observance of the Lord's Day in their respective Parishes, and a more general attendance on the ordinances of religion,

IT WAS ACCORDINGLY RESOLVED,

1.—That, by God's help, we will *ourselves* exhibit to our respective flocks a uniform example of sanctifying *His* day by personal and domestic observance of the fourth commandment;

2.—That all Shopkeepers, and Dealers of whatever kind, be recommended strictly to abstain from all worldly traffic on the Lord's day;

3.—That the Gentry, Farmers, and others, from whom the Labouring Classes derive their means of subsistence, be requested to pay their labourers their wages, as far as in them lies, on Friday instead of Saturday night or Sunday morning;

4.—That the Gentry, Farmers, and respectable Householders, be earnestly invited to co-operate with the Churchwardens in preventing or dispersing all idle or noisy persons lounging about the streets and thoroughfares, especially in the approaches to Church, on the Lord's day; and in promoting by their own example, and by the best means their judgement suggests, a regular attendance on the Church Services, and the scriptural observance of the Sunday in their respective Parishes, among those over whom they have authority or influence;

5.—That the Churchwardens be reminded of their duty to visit, more frequently than is commonly done, the Public Houses and Beer Shops in their several Parishes, during the hours of Divine Service; and that the Constables and Headboroughs be called on to pay due attention to such houses at other times of the day; and especially that they be closed in the evening at the time prescribed by the late Act of Parliament;

6.—That the keepers themselves, of such houses, be requested to use their utmost exertions, that no just offence may be taken at their conduct in these respects; assured that the diligent observer of the Lord's day generally thrives in this world; and the neglecter of it, very seldom, throughout the whole of his life; and above all, that "Them that honour God, He will honour;"

7.—That all persons engaged in the public conveyance of Goods, and driving of Cattle, on the Lord's day—as also persons sending off their Waggons and Teams in the evening of that day, be strongly urged to abstain from such sinful conduct; and that they and all our parishioners be affectionately solicited to forbear in future from all unnecessary employment of their horses, needless journeys, and such and every profanation of the day of sacred rest.

BELOVED BRETHREN,

We, the appointed ministers of Christ to you, commend to your serious attention the above suggestions, hoping they will be received as they are given, in a spirit of kindness. And that God's Holy Spirit may incline and enable you to carry them into effect, to *His* honour, who is the Lord of the Sabbath, and our only Saviour, is the earnest prayer of

Your sincere friends and servants, for Christ's sake.

JOHN FISHER HODGSON, *Vicar of Horsham, Rural Dean.*
EDWARD ELMS, *Rector of Itchingfield.*
GEORGE BLAND, *Rector of Slinfold.*
GEORGE MATTHEWS, *Vicar of Rudgwick.*
JAMES WOOD, *Vicar of Warnham.*
WILLIAM ADAMSON, *Curate of Slinfold.*
HENRY ALLEN, *Chaplain of the Gaol, Horsham.*
ALEXANDER H. BRIDGES, *Minister of St. Mark's, Horsham.*
JARVIS KENRICK, *Curate of Horsham.*

Lord Chief Justice HALE left this testimony behind him, and many could add their own experience to it—"I have found, by "strict and diligent observation, that a due observance of the Lord's Day hath ever joined to it a blessing on the rest of my time; "and, on the other hand, when I have been negligent herein, the rest of the week hath been unsuccessful and unhappy. This I "write, not negligently and inconsiderately, but upon long and sound observation and experience."

Broadsheet published by the Rural Deanery of Horsham, 18 May 1842

Acknowledgements

The maps on the inside of the cover are extracts from the original maps of Thomas Yeakell, William Gardner and Thomas Gream of 1795; and of Charles and John Greenwood of 1825. They are held in the County Record Office, Chichester, and are reproduced by courtesy of the County Archivist.

The notices on pages 25 and 38, and the photographs on the centre pages, are from the Warnham Parish Records, and are reproduced by kind permission of the Vicar of Warnham.

The Warnham Historical Society would also like to express their gratitude for the unstinting help given to them by the West Sussex County Archivist, Mrs P. Gill, and her staff at the County Records Office in Chichester, and by the staff of Horsham Library.

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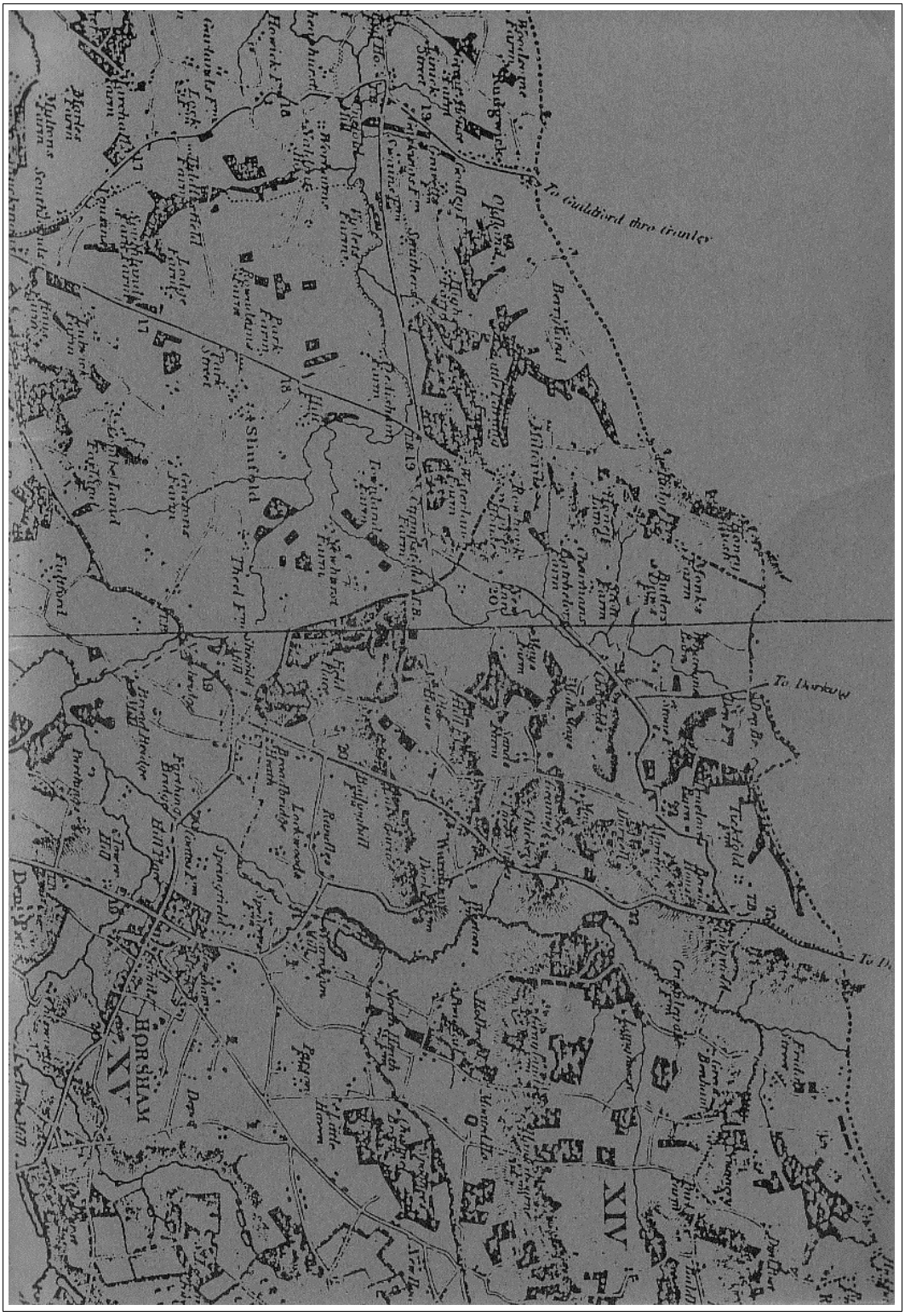

Map of Warnham, 1825