THE EARLY HISTORY OF WARNHAM

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THE ORIGINS OF THE SETTLEMENT

Warnham is not mentioned in the Domesday Book and it is doubtful if it existed as a settlement before that time (1086), though its name springs from Anglo-Saxon roots; perhaps a combination of the Anglo-Saxon personal name Werna, and ham(m), a settlement or dwelling place. But Werna has also been translated as Old English for Stallion - the Dwelling Place of the Stallion - and this would certainly seem coincidental, situated as it is, so close to Hors - ham. However there is no evidence that the origin of the latter is anything to do with the equine species. In fact the usual suggestions are that Horsham originated either from Horsa, the Jutish leader, or from Hurst - ham (the Wood place or dwelling).

Early settlement in the area

Although there is evidence of some development of an iron industry in the Crawley area in Roman Times which indicates that there was organised life in the northern part of Sussex in those times, and the makers of Stane street must have passed nearby at Rowhook, there is nothing to suggest that there would have been any lateral diversions from the latter passing through the forest and scrub of which most of this part of the country would have consisted at that time. During the later Anglo-Saxon period there was almost certainly a growth in isolated settlements in the forest and we know that Horsham was one of these as it is mentioned in the Charter of the Manor of Washington granted by Eadred of Sussex in 947 A.D. Denne in Horsham and Pict Hill are supposed to have been the site of an earlier battle between the Picts and the Danes.

The Manorial system before the Normans

The Manorial system of rule had evolved from a much earlier time and was consolidated about the end of the 9th Century by King Alfred, who absorbed Sussex into the kingdom of Wessex. With the organisation of the kingdom into Shires and Hundreds all, or almost all, the land that did not belong to the Bishops and the Church, belonged to the King and was held of him as Manors with their demesne lands by their Lords, usually Earls or Thegns. The villeins or cottars in their settlements (or vills) who farmed strips in the common fields and grazed the common pastures, nearly all held their land of the Lord and owed servile obligations of one sort or another to the Lord of the Manor, usually in the form of labour on the demesne lands. Those who lived in outlying areas with their own small holdings, usually in more isolated settlements, were known as bordars and also owed service to the Lord. All these peasants were bound together in Tithings under a system of law, known as frankpledge where each member of the tithing was held responsible for the good behaviour of the other members. Cases of law breaking were heard at what was known as a view of frankpledge, from which eventually derived the Manorial Courts Leet or Courts Baron.

But this simple and tidy administrative system could not persist as more and more land was opened up for habitation and cultivation and people became more dispersed. As in the case of Washington and Horsham, many Manors held land scattered over two or more hundreds and even in different shires, and the manors themselves might cover a number of vills, with their own demesne lands and common fields.

The Norman Occupation

There is no evidence however of such a settlement in Warnham before Norman times and there is no mention of Warnham in the Domesday Book. Neither, however, is there mention of Horsham which, presumably, was included under Washington. The Normans had difficulty in adapting this scattered system of government to their administrative needs which were primarily concerned with holding their new conquest and thus with their lines of communication. Accordingly they divided Sussex into six Rapes, running North and South from the coast to the Kent and Surrey borders, each based on a main castle or fort, adjacent to a seaport. Control therefore developed in a South-North direction.

This part of the County fell into the Rape of Bramber, under the overlordship of William de Braoze, one of William I's Commanders in the conquest of Britain. Besides Lordship of the Rape, he held 41 Manors in various parts of Sussex and Wessex. His main base was the Castle of Bramber, adjacent to what was then the sea port of Steyning, and subsequently he or his successors had castles at Knepp and Sedgwick near Horsham. There is also evidence of a motte and bailey, a typical form of Norman fortification, at Chennellsbrook, near Roffey, probably used later mainly as a hunting lodge.

The clearing in the forest

Thus Wernham or Werneham, as it first appears, probably started as a clearing in the forest about the end of the eleventh century, as an outlying part of another manor, perhaps Steyning, used for pasturing swine. Steyning is suggested as development under the Norman administration is likely to have spread northwards from the more populated southern part of the Rape. Certainly in the Subsidy Rolls of 1296 and later, as we shall see, Werneham formed part of the Hundred of Steyning. The Hundred of Singlecross, of which Warnham subsequently formed a part, was a later creation consisting of Warnham, Rusper, Roffey and Nuthurst with the Borough of Horsham, which became a borough in 1295, excluded. It is however also possible that Warnham may at some time have been part of the possession of the Manor of Sullington, through its connection with the Manor of Slaughterford, q.v. the Parish of Sullington to this day includes a detached portion of land adjoining Broadbridge Heath and Horsham.

This theory of a swine pasture is supported by the fact that part of the Manor of Warnham, when it was established, was known as the Manor of Denn in Warnham. Den is the Anglo-Saxon word for an area of swine-pasturing remote from the settlement to which it belongs. This is known to have been a common practice in Kent and Sussex, as still shown in many Kentish place names, such as Tenterden, Rolvenden, etc. Pannage, the payment, probably in kind as a number of hogs, for the right to feed pigs in the woods, would have been paid to the principal overlord; probably directly to the de Braozes who, with their Norman friends, certainly used this part of the forest, from their Manor of Chesworth, or the castles at Sedgwick or Knepp, for hunting, one of their main preoccupations.

first mention of Manor of Warnham

The earliest known mention of a Manor of Warnham occurs in 1272 in the Inquisition post mortem of William de Say who had held the custody of the Manor from Henry III (1216-72) during his lifetime. This states that the manor should be delivered to John de Bretagne "by reason of the custody of the lands and heirs of William le Marshal * granted to the said John by Henry III, because the Manor is of the same heirs".

* William le Marshal, first Earl of Pembroke was a favourite of Henry II & Richard I, and Regent of England 1216 in the reign of King John. He died in 1219. This reference probably concerns William le Marshal second Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1231. He married, as second wife, Henry III's sister Eleanor. His daughter Eva married William de Braoze (the 5th William), who was hanged by the Welsh in 1230, and was succeeded as Lord of Bramber by his cousin John de Braoze. The Manor was presumably passed to William le Marshal as part of the dowry by William de Braoze and later confirmed by Henry III.

A pedigree of the de Braoze family is included as Appendix I.

The existence of a Church in Warnham in 1204

It is also known that there was a church or chapel founded by the de Braozes, probably on the site of the present church, in Warnham before 1204 and that the impropriation of this, together with certain lands was given by Lord William de Braoze, the then Lord of Bramber, (and possibly he who was hanged by the Welsh) to the Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene at Rusper. This was founded of the Benedictine Order by Gervaise, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Richard I (1189-99) — see Appendix II.

The 12th and 13th Centuries

Thus there was almost certainly a small settlement centred on Warnham by the middle of the 12th Century, with outlying farmsteads, probably grazing swine in small pastures on the edge of the surrounding forests.

This pattern of outlying farmsteads probably housing bordars (as there is no evidence of common fields) is borne out in the Lay Subsidy rolls of 1296, 1327 and 1333 (See Appendix III) which give an indication not only of the relative wealth of the inhabitants but, by their names, show the locality of their holdings, such as John de Kyngesfolde,** Ad atte Shirmark, William & Robert atte Rye (now Chatfolds), Walter atte Farthing, Richard atte Bechette (Bitchetts), Stephan de Sloghterforde (now Endes), William de Weston, John de Langenhurst, Richard atte Douwehok (Daux), John atte Sonde (Sands) Richard le Theccher (Geerings), Simon & Ranulf do Blackstrod (Strood) Henry atte Rowehok, and others.

** In 1505 John de Kingesfolde originally held lands in Rusper, possibly including the site which is known as the Moated House, but having a dispute with the rector over the tithes he moved into the parish of Warnham, establishing a new settlement which is now Kingsfold.

In the subsequent centuries this pattern of farms outlying from the village is perpetuated and there seems to have been little problem or disagreement about enclosure of common lands in the later years. As these farms gradually expanded further areas were reclaimed from the forest until their boundaries became continuous, culminating in the pattern of farms much as it was in the nineteenth century. No doubt there were disputes about the boundaries, but the question of enclosure of large areas by the Lords of the Manor does not seem to have arisen.

It is not clear what was the status of those early farmers named above; whether they were freemen or villeins (cottars or bordars) though it is unlikely to have been the former if they were rated sufficiently wealthy to pay the subsidy in money, rather than in kind or service. But by this time the strict manorial structure had deteriorated and our records show that, although duty in kind or service was still payable to the overlord, the title or tenancy, both of manors and of many of the various messuages and lands, had become sub-divided between either a number of descendants or new purchasers, to an extent that it is not easy to determine who actually lived in the place or who collected a rent

on the property. As we shall see 1/5th moieties of the Manor of Denn in Warnham were being quit-claimed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The disintegration of Feudal rights and the Manor system

It has been possible to trace the custody and/or ownership of the Manor of Warnham and Denn in Warnham from 1272 down to the early part of the 20th century although somewhat indistinctly at times.

This disintegration of the Manor and its titles was common everywhere and was due to a number of causes which we need not go into here though it is appropriate to mention some of them - the main reason was the strengthening and development of the central authority of the King, during the reign of the Plantagenet kings and the institution of justice through itinerant Judges and the Assizes. Both these factors tended to reduce the authority of the tenant in chief, the Lord of the Manor, and of the Hundred Courts as more responsibilities were placed on the County Courts and the Justices of the Peace. As more land was opened up and brought under cultivation greater wealth was created and new landowners appeared on the scene. The Churches and Abbeys, the new Guilds and Chartered, as well as individual, owners, from the rising middle class engaged in commerce, became interested in the land. Lords aspiring to the heavenly life left property to the Church, while the more avaricious were tempted by the reward of profit on sales of their land. Titles became divided due to the conventions of feudal heritage, by marriages, and sometimes lost altogether by royal confiscations or disposals to new tenants in chief. The Manor Courts became little more than land registering and rent collecting bodies for the tenant in chief or the Lord, who lived elsewhere. The services became more nominal and often the demesne lands too were sold off. The role of the Manor lapsed, too, in the administration of the local agriculture, especially where there were no areas of common land to be administered. New so called, or "reputed" Manors were created as the new owners took over areas of land in the 15th and 16th century.

Eventually, and this was certainly the case with the Manors of Warnham and Denn in Warnham, the Manor disposed of nothing more than the residual wastes and collected purely nominal rents or dues on few of the lands which had originally comprised the Manor.

The Manor of Warnham and Denn in Warnham

Following the death of William de Say in 1272 the custody of the Manor of Warnham passed to John de Bretagne, and in 1311 John de St. John, to whom it had passed, sold it to William de Taverner.

In 1319 the Manor of Den in Warnham passed through his wife, Margaret D'Oyley, an heiress of the Tregoz family, to Sir John D'Oyley. There was apparently no son, so the Manor passed through the marriage of their daughter, Joanne D'Oyley, with Sir Thomas Lewknor and on to their son, John de Lewknor, in 1375, and then through the latter's daughter, Jane, who married John Bartellot of Stopham (who died in 1473). Thus it came into the Bartellot family where it remained until 1650 when the site of the manor, at present unidentified but possibly the site of the present Denn Farm, and the demesne lands were severed from the Manor by Deed of Partition and passed to Christopher Coles of Pulborough, a Son—in—law of Walter Bartellot (1585—1640).

By this time the status and holdings of the manor and their titles had changed very considerably, as from the records it is clear that there were then a number of substantial land holders, such as the Carylls and the Mitchells, holding by purchase or by lease, considerable properties in the parish of Warnham. There were also at least two other manors, Slaughterford and Hallamps (later Hollands) on the land which now comprises that parish.

Records show a number of plaintiffs in fines for the Manor of Den in Warnham or parts of it, particularly in the 17th & 18th centuries. These include:—

- 1616 John Younger of Capel & Warnham, (who also claimed the Manor of Slaughterford in 1622).
- 1635 Arthur Middleton.
- 1650 Philip Wilshere, who presumably claimed the residue of the manor after the partition of the demesne lands to Christopher Coles. The Wilsheres too were at one time claimants for a moiety of the Manor of Slaughterford. (See later.)

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, later Thatchers or Hills), 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 earlier Bartellot Lordship. In fact many of the suits in the Feet of Fines in 17th & 18th century concern moieties of 1/5th part of the Manor.

This part of the title, anyway, passed from John Younger to his nephew and devisee George Luxford, who conveyed it to John Collier of Hastings and thence, in 1794, to the latter's grandson Edward Milward. He sold it in 1806 to John Lanham of Horsham. The latter sold it in turn in 1814 to the Duke of Norfolk, and it was finally purchased with the site of the original manor in 1821, together with several other farms in the northern and eastern part of the parish, by John Schudi Broadwood, who also had large estates in Rusper and in Surrey. Most of these titular lords would appear to have been non-resident, but claiming the hereditory rents and other dues.

Another title to the Manor of Warnham, and the last surviving one which can be traced to recent times, was purchased by Henry Cowper Esq. Of Strood Park, M.P. for Horsham, in 1690. From him the Manor, but the ownership of only a small part of the Warnham parish land adjoining Strood, passed to his daughter Sara, who married Richard Upton, an East India Merchant Captain; and from them to their daughter Anne, who married General John Leland. He retained the title until 1801 when he sold it, together with Strood Park, to John William Commerell Esq., High Sheriff of Sussex. The last titular Lord of the Manor of Warnham & Denn in Warnham was Lt. Col. Thomas Faulkner Wisden of Broadwater, who died in 1904, and then his executors who, by 1914, had finally disenfranchised most of the residual land in ownership of the Manor, much of this having passed to the Warnham Court estates of the Lucas family.

Although Mr.Broadwood is said to have owned the site of the original Manor of Denn in Warnham, no trace has been found of any manorial domicile in Warnham itself, and this would tend to confirm again that the appointment was latterly a titular one, probably run by the Lord from elsewhere in the County, merely farming the rents and hereditary dues, but only occasionally undertaking the regulating responsibilities of the Courts through his steward or bailiff. This would almost certainly be the case during the Lordship of the Bartellots who would have resided at Stopham.

There are few traces of Manorial Rolls, though the Rolls for 1642 and 1793 are known to be in possession of the Sussex Archaealogical Trust. *

* There are also records in the Horsham Museum of two Summonses of Courts Baron of the Manors of Warnham and Denn in Warnham summoned by the then Lords, John William Commercell on 20th Oct.1828 and William Augustus Commercell on 8th Oct. 1851, at Nob House in Warnham, sometimes known as Court Hall, for the Manors of Warnham & Clympsfold, and at Court House, Field Place Lane, for the Manor of Denn in Warnham. These were only formal calls to "Persons owing suit and service to the said Courts" requiring them "personally to be and appear to do & perform the same - and the several tenants desired to discharge all arrears of quit rents up to Michaelmas". There are also copies of the Rent Rolls for 1720, 1807 & 1840.

The other Manors

There is, of course, no evidence to show that the area of lands covered by the Manors of Warnham and of Denn in Warnham, so far as they can be distinguished, corresponded with the present area of the parish - indeed the evidence is against it, for at least two other estates styled as Manors at one time or another existed within these boundaries. There are also indications from documents that Langhurst and certain other areas to the East may have originally been within the parish.

One of these other Manors, the Manor of Slaughterford alias Powers or Poors, certainly existed from very early times, though whether independently or as part of the Manors of Broadbridge or Sullington, which adjoined it, cannot be confirmed. This Manor probably included the land now comprising most of the Endes Place estate.

The Manor of Hollands

The other former Manor within the parish was known as the Manor of Hallamps or Hollands and was probably of much later origin as a "reputed Manor" perhaps early 16th century. It covered land forming part of the village itself and part of the present Warnham Park lands. There was a Manor House (of Hallamps) in Warnham in the 17th and 18th century on the site of what is now the Red House and Holland House, and perhaps earlier, as the Manor is listed as part of the lands held by John Caryll (or Carrell) Esq., who died in 1566, and later in the 18th century this land was in the ownership of the Michell family.

The assumption may be made that the demesne and other lands included in the original Manor of Denn in Warnham were in the northern part of the present parish, perhaps centred on Denn Farm and stretching southward to the village itself, whilst the Manors of Warnham, Hollands were in the southern part of the parish, with the Manor of Slaughterford owning most of the land in the western part of the parish.

The Manor of Slaughterford alias Powers or Poors

This comprised a portion of the Warnham lands covering a part of what is now the Endes Place estate, extending nearly to Rowhook and Strood. It is believed to have belonged in the time of King Henry III (1216-1272) and Edward I (1272-1307) to the Covert family, Sir William de Covert held two knights fees of William de Braoze, for the Manors of Bradebridge (Broadbridge) and Sullington. (These lands are reputed to have come to Sir William by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Thomas or Richard Aguylon*, and passed to their son Sir Roger de Covert).

* The Aguylons owned land in Warnham, as is shown by two fines in 1374, when Hugh Aguylon and his wife Joan, quit claimed a messuage and two acres of land each to Henry Wellere and Alice his wife and to John Godfrey and Alice his wife, for their lives for a rent of one rose per annum. It is possible that the Slaughterford land also came to Sir William Covert on his marriage to the Aguylon

daughter.

The Slaughterford land was given in marriage with Sir Roger's daughter Isabel, to Stephen de la Poer, or Power, who held it together with the Manor of Thakeham between 1296 and 1355, when he died, leaving the estates jointly to the two de la Poer daughters, Marget and Joan. They married, respectively, Stephen Apsley and John Clothall. One moeity of the estate, the Manors of Thakeham & Slaughterford remained with the Apsley family until the death of Edward Apsley in 1651. In 1407 John Apsley settled a messuage with 2 gardens, 10 acres of arable land, 4 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture on Roger Cradel and Alice his wife, probably a member of the family. This would be the beginning of Cradles Farm, which for so long formed part of the Endes estate. The other moeity passed through marriages from the Clothalls to the Wilsheres (or Wilsha) and to Ralph Bellingham in 1532, and then to Richard Boys of Haskhurst in 1605.

The Manor of Slaughterford with tenements in Warnham was quit-claimed to John Ide or Ede from John Apsley in 1547. It was held by this family until 1591 when James Ede died and was buried in Warnham. It was seemingly purchased by John Berde in that year and held until 1622 when it was claimed by John Younge who also claimed the Manor of Denn in Warnham and a view of frank-pledge (the right to hold a Court) in 1616. There were then a succession of claimants and in 1639 Slaughterford came into the possession of the Yates or Yeates family**, in which it probably remained until the end of the 18th century, though claimed in 1751 by Sir John Miller, Bart. and in 1763 by John Martyn, gent. (It is difficult to decide whether the property left the Yates family on these occasions as in both cases the Yates family and their connections are shown as deforciants. The fines might be concerned with mortgages or rearrangements through marriage. A daughter Margaret, of Sir John Miller, married Thomas Yates about 1710.

** The Yates had an interest in land including Warnham Place and Warnham Mill at the end of the $17 \mathrm{th}$ century.

About 1795 Endes Place and the estate with the Manor became the property of Matthew & Sarah Napper, probably by purchase, through Samuel Dendy, father of Sarah Napper.

The Old House, as it was known, at Endes must have been on the site from the earliest times. Knights of the Golden Spurs are reputed to have lived there in the time of Henry II. The building had a mediaeval hall, and was added to or rebuilt about 1660. During the early part of the 19th century the gateway of the Hall Court fell down and in the foundation was found a silver spoon with the date 1660 and a posy ring of gold with the inscription "The gift of a faithful friend."

Note. The Old House is shown as a Manor House on Richard Budgeons map of 1724.

At the beginning of the 19th century it was a self-contained establishment, almost a village on its own, with its stables, kennels, bakery, brew & slaughterhouses, forge, laundry and farm buildings with over 1000 acres including flax (from which its own linen was spun) and hops. Traces of the original carp ponds exist on the estate.

In the time of Dendy Napper (1778-1820), Matthew & Sarah's eldest son, the estate was run down, considerable parts were sold off on his death to meet debts.* The Old House was burnt down in 1830. A smaller farm house was built in replacement and became part of the estates of Mr. R.C. Barnett of West House, and later Mr. Edmund Farmer until, in 1908, it was bought by Mr. C.B. Gregson and extensively rebuilt and the estate again built up.

* When Dendy Napper died in 1820 he still owed the liability

for quit rent and heriots to the Lord of the Manor of Warnham, J.W.Commerell, for Benland, Betchetts, Cradles, Lower Poors, West House and Tullets, and surrendered a mare or gelding as heriot for each property.

The Fourteenth & Fifteenth Centuries

Little is known about the inhabitants of the Parish during the 14th and early part of the 15th century, but a pattern of holdings with messuages and land, varying from 40 to 100 acres, can be traced from the early records of fines between 1280 and 1500, although it is not possible to identify the actual holdings.

From the Feet of Fines and from certain of the Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls already extracted, the following are selected as examples, giving an idea of the size of the holdings, if not their site:-

- 1280 William and Matilda le Fest received a messuage and ⅓□\virgate of land in Warnham from William de la Laye for 1-lb of Cummin at Easter for all services.
- 1309 William atte More and Joan, his wife, were granted one messuage and 16 acres with appurtenances in Warnham.
- 1331 Alice, Juliana and Agnes, daughters of Michael atte Hill, received 3 messuages and 60 acres of land in Warnham.
- 1341 Richard le Feste and his heirs received from Walter Randolph a messuage, 80 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow and 3 shillings rent in Warnham.
- 1367 Philip and Joan le White received a messuage, 48 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow in Warnham from her Father, John Stott.
- 1379 Richard Sloghterforde and Giles atte Shyremark, claimed a messuage with 34 acres of arable land and 2 acres of wood from William Grayling and Alice his wife.**
 - ** Graylings was at one time the name of the property which is now Lower Chickens.
- 1429 Adam Tanner and William and Joan White claimed 3 messuages, 60 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow and 21 pence rent with appurtenances in Warnham from Philip Rumbern.
- 1444 Thomas & Agnes Ffulmere and John and Agnes Roo claimed a messuage, 54 acres of land, 2 acres of wood, and 2 acres of meadow with appurtenances in Warnham from William Clouser de Warnham.*
 - * The Clousers owned land in Warnham, known as the Farthingland, about this time. This had been inherited in Henry III's time, about 1250, and the Clousers were still the owners in 1637.

By the fifteenth century there is evidence of the arrival of the commercial interest and the ownership of some of the freeholds having changed hands, than being in possession of citizens and merchants of London.

1446 In 1446 William Staynford was successful plaintiff in a fine for 1 Messuage, 100 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 12 acres of pasture and six acres of wood and 2/- rent, with appurtenances in Warnham against Ralph Swekock, citizen and bowyer of the City of London, and John Dawe, citizen and draper of the City of London.

1453 In 1453 William Thwaytes, William Stoute and Stephen Comber suit claimed for 1 messuage, 60 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow and one acre of wood, with 12/10 rent and appurtenances in Warnham, against Thomas Hall, citizen and bowyer of London and his wife.

By the end of the fifteenth century, at the time of the accession of Henry VII (1485), the land-occupying society had changed considerably, the yeoman class was becoming established in the countryside, owning their own self-contained farms and the earlier manor estates, as we have seen, had been split up. These new owners might or might not be free-holders but they no longer owed service or dues other than payment of rent, and they enjoyed a reasonable degree of security of tenure. The new middle class, mainly from London, were also moving into the countryside and becoming large land owners, sometimes for commercial reasons, such as wool exporting and the manufacture of cloth (though it is doubtful if this part of Sussex was suitable for sheep farming on such a scale).

Villeinage was on the way out, but these changes in land use led to an increasing degree of unemployment and vagrancy.

The Church too had been weakened and there were abuses in its power and authority; the monasteries and abbeys were less preoccupied with the fate of the poor and needy and more concerned with the self interest of the priors and abbots. This was to lead to the dissolution of the monasteries and later to the reformation in the next century.

The Sixteenth Century and the Reformation

Exactly what happened at this time is difficult to determine but it certainly led to a change in the Rectory of Warnham and in some title to the Manor of Warnham.

According to the records - the Close Rolls of 31 Henry VIII (1540), Sir Robert Southwell ceded to the King the Rectory and Church in Warnham, and in a fine of 38 Henry VIII (1547) the King was the successful plaintiff against Sir Robert Southwell and Margaret his wife, for the Manors of Rusper, Pristwood, Warnham and Hewells and tenements in these places and Horsham which were quitclaimed to the King.

Sir Robert Southwell and his Brother, Sir Richard, were both active in the suppression of the Monasteries and it is possible to speculate, that the Nunnery at Rusper and its possessions were part of Sir Robert's spoils when it was suppressed in 1537. Sir Robert was knighted in that year and was made Master of the Rolls in 1542. The Rectory of Warnham and the impropriation of the Church were transferred to the Deanery Of Canterbury, but the explanation for the transfer of the Manors to the King is not at all clear and worthy of further research.

Moreover in a Post Mortem Inquisition of 3 Edward VI (1550), Sir Roger Copley, Knight, is shown as owning the Manors of Roughey, Warnham and Hurst and messuages and lands in Warnham, Rusper, Itchingfield, Roughey, Horsham and West Harting. His heir was his son Thomas, aged 9, and from another source we learn that his daughter Bridget married Richard Southwell, son of Sir Richard Southwell and Sir Robert's nephew, sometime between 1537 and 1559. (Note: Sir Roger Copley's second wife and Mother of Bridget Southwell was Elizabeth Shelley of Michelgrove). Suffice to say that at a later stage Sir Roger Copley appears to have been possessed also of the Manors of Warnham, Rusper, Roffey, etc. and the properties which presumably came to him from the Southwells. This was probably also the title which came to John Wicker in the 18th century - q.v.

About this time two new families settled in Warnham; the Carylls who became land owners and lessers over a large part of the County, taking over much

of the sequestered estates of the 4th Duke of Norfolk in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and actively and gainfully engaged in the exploitation of the iron founding industry in its peak period; and the Michells, a local family coming originally from Stammerham and Horsham, who settled at Field Place and elsewhere in the parish, notably at Theochers (now Geerings).

The Iron Industry

The iron-working industry had been carried on in the Weald of Sussex from early times but output was limited by the primitive furnaces producing blooms of molten iron at the bottom of the furnace which had to be reconstructed on each occasion. New methods incorporating blast furnaces worked by water power in permanent buildings allowed the smelting to be carried out as a continuous process. It needed water power and vast quantities of iron ore and charcoal with which this part of Sussex was bountifully supplied. The demand for iron continued to grow and by the mid-sixteenth century the wholesale slaughter of the woodlands was causing concern, though little was done at the time to replant new trees. Evidence of the industry, which reached its peak towards the end of the seventeenth century still remains in the hammer ponds but many of the scars of the former treeless slopes have recovered.

In these peak years several of the hereditary families, the Norfolks, the Coverts, the Gratwyks and de Sauvages grasped the chance to exploit this industry, and the ownership of the iron works became a prime issue during the Civil War. Most of the works at that time were owned by Royalist families and were a target for destruction by the Roundheads.

Probably one of the families most successfully to exploit the industry in this part of Sussex was the Carylls, particularly after Sir John Caryll took over the lease of St. Leonards Forest following the execution of the 4th Duke of Norfolk (1572). Sir Edward Caryll of Shipley (Sir John's Uncle), became engaged in protracted litigation with Roger Gratwyk over the ownership of the ore deposits at what is now Leonards Lee, almost to the stage which led to fighting between their supporters. In the end the Carylls seem to have prevailed and these works with the forges at the Hammer Pond in St. Leonards Forest also came into the possession of Sir John.

The Warnham Forge was almost certainly built early in the 1600s and the lease was grantee to Sir John Caryll in 1609. It only enjoyed a limited prosperity for it was ruined by 1664. It presumably stood on the site of the present mill buildings.

The other Forges in St. Leonards Forest in the ownership of the Carylls also seem to have become disused round about this time, probably following the Civil War, and this might possibly account for the removal of the family from Warnham to Harting by the second Sir John Caryll about that time.

The decease of the iron industry in Sussex by the end of the seventeenth century brought with it much unemployment and distress, which in turn led to the new and more widely profitable industry of smuggling and brigandage, which was to persist through the next century.

The Carylls of Warnham (see Appendix V)

The Carylls first appear to have come to Warnham at the end of the 15th century, John Caryll (2) (sometimes spelt Carrill or Carrell) was Sergeant-at-Law in the time of Henry VIII and purchased Cradyl Yelland,; (wherever that is) in 1513. He was buried in Warnham in 1540. He was succeeded by his second son John (3), also Sergeant—at-Law and Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He had large estates in Horsham, Nuthurst, Rusper, Rudgwick, Warnham and Wisborough Green. He died in 1566 in London, but is buried in Warnham, where he had his Mansion (on the site adjacent to the present

Warnham Place).

He was succeeded by his grandson, also John (5), (1557-1613), son of his own second son Thomas, who had predeceased him. He expanded the estates considerably, taking over the lease of virtually the whole of St. Leonards Forest, including the parks and lands of Chesworth, Sedgwick, Shelley and Bewbush, and his lands extended down to West Grinstead, Shipley, Billingshurst, Houghton, Goodwood and Somptinge. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth and is commemorated with his wife, Mary Cotton of Warblington, and his children in the distinctive memorial in the Caryll chapel in Warnham Church.

His Uncle Edward (1537-1609), the third son of John (3), who owned estates at Harting, was knighted in 1603 and started a cadet branch of the family there. These Harting estates reverted to the Warnham branch 3 generations later, in 1616, when his grandson, Sir Richard Caryll, died.

Sir John's successor, also Sir John (6), born 1583, became the heir to both estates, of Warnham and Harting and was probably the last of the family to live at Warnham, where his eldest son, Sir John (7) (1603-1681) was born. The family moved subsequently first to Harting and later to Goodwood. The next heir, again John, born 1625, was evidently involved in the religious controversies of the time and was attainted in 1674. He supported James II and departed abroad where he was later created Baron Caryll by the Old Pretender, James Edward, in 1701, dying abroad in 1711. His brother Richard carried on with what remained of the estates, moving to West Grinstead, but also retaining the Harting estates, where his son and grandson were both born. The succession ends with John Baptist Caryll who sold up the estates and retired to France, where he styled himself as an English Baron, having adopted the Jacobite title of his great uncle. He died in 1787.

It seems therefore that the Carylls connection with Warnham expired somewhere about 1650-60 when they moved to Harting. The land they owned, according to an Inquisition on John Caryll (3) in 1566 (see Appendix VI), comprised a very large part of the parish, as far as the names of the fields can be identified, mostly in the Southern half of the parish. Traces of the old Mansion at Warnham Place can still be seen. A description of it in 1788 calls it "a plain ugly erection with a central pediment surmounted by urns", evidently of more recent construction than the Carylls time, though there was still adjacent to it an old chimney stack with diagonally placed shafts and evidently of Tudor design.

This house is reputed to have been pulled down about as it was said to be haunted.

The Mychells or Michells

The Mychells, Michells or sometimes Mitchells, came to Warnham slightly before the Carylls and seem to have been contemporary land-owners at Field Place and Theochers in the parish, eventually acquiring much of the other land held by the Carylls in Warnham, though no connections by marriage to explain the transfers of the land have been discovered. It is however of possible interest that Thomas Mychel and Robert Younge, two of the largest local landowners, were appointed as executors of the estate of John Caryll (or Carrell, as spelt) in 1566.

The Michell family originally came from Stamerham, near Horsham, in the second half of the 15th century, where John Mychell (1), who first owned land in Warnham, died in 1474, leaving his lands in Stamerham to the eldest son John, and those in Itchingfield and Shipley to his second son Henry. It is this second John's eldest son Richard who first came to live in Warnham at Field Place and his brother John either bought or inherited a property called Thecchers. Richard died in 1524 leaving £40 to build the Church Tower in Warnham Church where he is buried. Besides Field Place he seems to have owned other land in Warnham,

including what was known as "the Sondes Lands" (could this be Sands?), which he passed on to his eldest son John (3), who married Mary Lewknor, whilst Stamerham, together with land in Rusper and Horsham, went to the next son Thomas (born 1518). He started a separate Stamerham line which, in the next generation, owned further land in Horsham, Rudgwick and Harting. Richard's fourth son Henry inherited Field Place and the Warnham lands, except for land at Blackstrode (Strood) which was left to Richard Pilfold, another family which was to be connected with Warnham over the next two hundred years. See Appendix VII.

Field Place itself remained in the Michell family until somewhere about 1700 when it was bought from John Michell by his stepson, Edward Shelley.

The lands which now form the nucleus of Warnham Park, originally in the possession of the Carylls, (and known as Willhaws or Rosers, Whitefield or Pittsfield, Bromehouse, Jeffreys or Le Lyon, Leghorn and Rudd, Townes, Stylers, Lakewood or Lakegarden and Le Street, Hallamps and le Rod) passed for a time to the Rapley family through the marriage of Henry Michell's daughter Joan to Thomas Rapley (d.1611) but returned to the Michell family through a further marriage as they formed the dowry of Sarah Rapley on her marriage to Edmund Michell (1645-1702). The Rapleys too owned other land in Warnham as Robert Rapley is mentioned as owner of Maltmayes about 1627.

These lands, including the Manor of Hollands, later passed to Sarah Michell's grand-daughters, and to their grand-daughters, by which time they were occupied by the Redford family who farmed these and other adjacent lands, which were finally purchased by Nathaniel Tredcroft of Horsham and were reunited in single ownership by his son, Henry, who built Warnham Court and laid out the deer park.

The second John Mychell's second son John of Thecchers, born about 1485, see Appendix VIII, came into a separate estate, Thecchers, Hills and Cocks (probably now Geerings and Cox's, and perhaps part of Durfold), and this branch later, about 1600, owned Chekyns (Chickens), also other areas which earlier belonged to the Carylls, Dennymeade, Nashland, Sladeland, Northland, alias Brookes and Ghylls.

The Rapleys in Warnham

It is evident that the Rapleys at one time owned several properties in the Parish, originally in the possession of the Carylls in their own right, and branches of the family lived there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Thomas Rapley of Chidingfold, as we have seen, married Johane, daughter of Henry Michell of Field Place as her second husband before 1560 and settled in Warnham where his two sons, Thomas and George, were born, and it was this latter Thomas who died in 1611 (see p.12) leaving the lands described. Besides this he sold a considerable property believed to include Broomlands and the Southern parts of Warnham Park for £800 to his son—in-law Thomas Agate, who married his daughter Mary (born 1585). Two other daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, married respectively Henry Michell and Anthony Middleton. Thus the Rapley family provided an important link with other Warnham families. In 1637 Robert Rapley owned the land called Mould Mayes (Maltmayes) and in 1670 Thomas John & Robert Raplie were living in the village.

The Agates of Warnham

The Agates were an old—established Sussex family, formerly the atte Gates, and came originally from East Sussex. In the sixteenth century a branch was established at Cowfold & Bolney and, at one time, held the Manors of Walhurst and Warninglid. Though there is an earlier record, in the earlier 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 a certain Thomas Gates or Agate who,

in 1611, married Mary Rapley, the grand—daughter of Thomas Rapley of Chidingfold and Johane Michell of Field Place.

As mentioned earlier Thomas Agate bought land in Warnham including Broomharnes, sometimes known as Broomhokes, Southland and Southworth from his father-in-law; also an area mentioned earlier, known as Townes which had formerly belonged to the Carylls and later to Thomas Rapley.

Thomas Agate and Mary Rapley had 4 sons, Thomas, John, Robert & William (See App. XII) and 2 daughters. Thomas, who inherited these Warnham lands did not marry and, in 1636, left Broomharnes and Southland to his brother John and Southworth to his brother Robert. There were thus two branches of the family established in the Parish by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The succession of these is difficult to follow as the Agates, in the second half of the seventeenth century became firmly established members of the Free Church (Anabaptists) in Horsham. They did not believe in infant baptism in Church and hence there is no record of these families in the Parish Registers. By 1700 there were still at least two branches of the original Agate family living in the Parish and in 1711, according to the Manor Rolls, John Agate, who was the current owner of the Broomharnes property, bought Broomhokes or Broomfield from Thomas Agate, but whether this was a separate property or Thomas was merely selling his share of the original property to John, or what their family relationship was, is not now clear. In 1707 John & Thomas had bought the property known as Dorks and Sands, of 20 acres (now the northern corner of Warnham Park) from John Borer (of Durfold), but in 1736 Thomas sold out his share to John. So John Agate became the sole owner of both properties which passed to his son John who, in 1780, made Dorks & Sands over to William Stanford of Ashurst on his marriage to John's daughter Elizabeth. By this time it is clear that this branch of the family was very well to do, later buying up Randalls, Chantry Farm and possibly Rookwood at various times. The last John Agate of this branch, however, died in 1827 leaving his property, together with £60,000, to his daughter Sarah who had married John Wood of Twineham. The latter and, later, one of his sons, took over and farmed this property until about 1875 when it came into the possession of Mr. C.T. Lucas as part of the enlarged Warnham Court estate.

The succession in the other branch is less clear for the reasons mentioned but, in 1765, it was represented by Robert Agate, Yeoman, who owned only a small property of 20 acres known as Southford and Enhams, which is now incorporated in the South West corner of Warnham Park adjoining Robin Hood Lane - thus opposite to Broomlands. It could be that this is the original Southworth property left to an earlier Robert Agate in 1636 as stated above.

This branch survives and thrives today, since Stephen Agate (1792-1878), a grandson of Robert Agate it was, who 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.

The Chantry Lands

Details of these are scarce but it is clear that certain lands in Warnham were endowed to provide income for one or possibly two Chantry guilds set up in the parish church of Horsham.

The first of these, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was licenced by Edward II for Walter Burgeys to found a chantry, to be endowed by him with fifty acres of land in Horsham, Warnham and Rudgwick. It was to pay a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily for the soul of Walter and his successors.

The other, known as Botelers or Butlers Chantry, was licenced to Richard Wakehurst and others in 1447 to found a perpetual chantry in St. Mary's Church,

Horsham, for a chaplain to celebrate daily for the welfare of the King, Duke of Norfolk, Wakehurst and others and their ancestors, and for the souls of Henry Boteler and his wife Maria. The lands by which this was endowed included the site of Hills Place in Horsham, as well as land in Warnham and elsewhere.

On the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent taking over of chantries in 1540, these lands passed to the Crown and they were given to Sir Roger Copley, and from him passed to Sir John Caryll, who also purchased the chantry lands of the Holy Trinity from one Thomas Ribley about 1541.

This is of interest because Sir Roger Copley is shown as holding the Manor of Warnham at one time, presumably from the title assumed by Sir Robert $\operatorname{Southwell}$ (see p.10).

In 1608 Sir John Caryll sold his land at Hills Place to Thomas Middleton, an M.P. for Horsham, whose family also had connections with Warnham, (as yet not clear). He however backed the Royalist cause in the Civil War and sold up Hills Place in 1654.

The lands concerned in Warnham would presumably be in the area of the Chantry Barn formerly standing in Robin Hood Lane.

The Church of Warnham

The first church or chapel on the site was probably built by William de Braoze, Lord of the Rape of Bramber, who about 1204 gave the impropriation of the Church to the Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene, Rusper, to which all spiritualities, tithes and rents became due.

The latter duly appointed Robert de Dorking as the first vicar in 1247. The endowment of the Bishop of Chichester confirming this is as follows:-

"To all Christian people who may see the present writing, Master Lawrence Somercote, official of the Lord Bishop of Chichester, sends everlasting health in the Lord. Be it known that Richard, Bishop of Chichester, has admitted Robert de Dorking, chaplain to the vicarage of Warnham on the presentation of the Prioress and Convent of Rusper, and has canonically instituted him in the same; and that by the authority of the same Bishop, we have taxed the same vicarage after this manner, viz. the same Robert and his successors for ever, shall receive entire all the tithes arising from the lands of Robert Blund and William de Dene, and all the tithes of hay and mills, and also all the small tithes of the parish, and all the offerings at the altar. The said nuns reserving to themselves "princip legat" and all other great tithes of the same parish. The said Vicar and his successors paying all procurations, synodals and other customary fees.

Dated at Horsham 18th July 1247."

Note: An early document states that the church was at the cross roads of two tracks, one from Dorking over Broadbridge Heath to Storrington and the other from Stane St. junction to Horsham across Warnham Park.

The Nona return in 1340/41*, taken by William le Whyte, Henry atte Rowe (Rye?), William de Lunges and William Hust, parishioners, who on oath "say that the ninth part of the sheaves, wool and lambs is valued this year at £8; they also say that the aforesaid ninths do not amount to more than the valuation of the church because the Rector of the same has lands, meadows, pasture, the tythe of hay and vetches and other small tythes and oblations valued at 40 shillings per annum. And they further say that there are no ecclesiastical lands in the aforesaid pish, nor any merchants, but such persons only as live by

* This record specifies the value of every benefice distinguishing how far it exceeded or fell short of the valuation of Pope Nicholas of 1291. Its purpose was in connection with a subsidy in the form of a ninth of the corn, wool and lands in each parish.

The Close Rolls of 31 Henry VIII (1540) shows the transfer of the Rectory and Church in Warnham to the King.

After the dissolution the title of the living of Warnham vested in the Crown and then the Dean & Chapter of Canterbury until, in 1874, it was assigned to Mr. C.T. Lucas.

The great tithes of Warnham would appear to have been vested in Sir Robert Southwell, as we have seen, and later passed to Sir Roger Copley. At a later stage they passed, apparently with the Rectory of Warnham, to one John Wicker, originally perhaps a brewer of Ockley, who became a large land owner and M.P. for Horsham residing at Park House, Horsham. He owned also Street Farm (now Old Manor). His estates were inherited by his daughter Charlotte Wicker, who married the Rev. Sir Thomas Broughton. The title to the Rectory was then disputed in a long and involved Law case, which we have not yet unravelled. Ultimately these tithes vested in Sir Timothy Shelley of Field Place.

A Terryer dated 1635 showing the "possessions and profits" of the vicarage states that it "owns a house, a barn or stable with a small cottage thereunto adjoining two herbe gardens and an orchard conteyning by estimation three roods of ground and it is bounded on the North & West with a field belonging to the Parsonage called the Minching Field, on the South it is bounded with a land which is the footway from the West point of the Parish to the Church, on the East with the Kings Highway or Streete.

It is endowed_with all the lesser Tythes, the Tythes of Hay and Mills and the Tythe of the Altar or Offerings, it hath all the Mortuaries or Corse presents and it is endowed with all the greater Tythes or Tythes of Corn growing on a Trench called or known by the name of Pines or the Pinyes being a pt of the Manor of Denn and all these Tythes are due in their kinds, neither is there any Custome or prescription in the Pish.

Signed Thomas Holland Vicar. ·
John Evershed Churchwarden

Mark of John Smith

Witnessed by John Michell, Thomas Lucas, John Boarer - his mark. "

The names of Vicars since Robert de Dorkyng, as far as they are known, are given in Appendix IX.

The Parish Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials complete since 1558 are in the County Record Office. They provide an interesting historical record in themselves, though difficult sometimes to interpret. So too, do the tombstones in the Churchyard, though unfortunately inscriptions have been deteriorating rapidly in recent years.

A reflection from history is shown in the Parish Registers during the Commonwealth period. The Rev. William Avery had been appointed Vicar of Warnham in 1647 but, in compliance with the Commonwealth Act of Parliament of Bath August 1653, this appointment by the Deanery of Canterbury was superceded and he was duly appointed as Register on election by the Parish, by two Justices of the Peace, Richard Yates and Edward Michell. But apparently he could not tolerate this and on 7th April 1656 Richard Clowser, a parishioner, was appointed in his

stead and took oath before the same two Justices (both of whom it will be noted were major landowners in the Parish). On the Restoration of Charles II, the Rev. William Avery was re-appointed as Vicar until his death in 1684.

An interesting sidelight on this is the interference with certain entries in the Parish Register of this period. In the Register of Baptism, two entries appear, viz. :-

1657 William, son of Robert Vannes, Vicar of Warnham, and 1659 William, son of Robert Dennis, Clerk of Warnham,

have both been defaced by the entry of the word "No" inserted in another hand immediately after the names Vannes and Dennis. It seems possible that these were intruding clerics of Puritan sympathies, and that the addition was inserted by the indignant Avery on his return to the incumbency.

Similarly in the Register of Burials, against two entries, viz.:-

in Oct. 1657, Richard Yates Esquire, and Dec. 1658, Henry Yates Esquire,

the word "No" has been inserted immediately after the name. Richard Yates, presumably of the Old House (or Endes) was one of the Justices of the Peace, who appointed Clowser as Avery's successor or Register, and Henry Yates was his son. It is probable that the Yates sided with the Parliamentary side in the Civil War and the "No" was inserted by Avery to show his distaste for the Cromwellian party, which caused his loss of the benefice.

In a survey of Sussex Estates of the Dean & Chapter of Canterbury in 1671, Dr. John Bargrove, Prebendary & Receiver General of Christ Church Canterbury (who complained very strongly on his visit to Horsham of the weather "and especially after the raynes very, very bad wayes, from whence it is said that the towne had its name, the steps to it being up to the horses hams") says "Warnham Rectory lyeth 2 miles North East (sic) of Horsham. There is no house on it, but only a barne on one floor at each end of a bay, that and the Chancell in tolerable repair" (Sussex Archaeological Collections Vol.53 P.197).

In 1712 a Bishop's visitation by Bishop Bowers, when Rev. William Harvey was the incumbent, the church was in indifferent repair, and the Church gate and porch needed attention. There were at that time 70-80 families in the parish including 5 Anabaptists and one Presbitarian woman (5 N.& R.Vol.15 pp.289-295).

The earliest part of the present church structure remaining is part of the north wall of the north aisle, the Caryll Chapel, which is of the fourteenth century. Part of the chancel wall and part of the North & South arcades also remain. The Tower and South Chapel were added in the 16th century, part of the cost being met from the bequest of £40 from Richard Michell of Field Place in 1524.

Considerable restoration and reconstruction was done in 1847/8 at a cost of £1830, as a result of pressure from the rural deanery. The nave was lengthened by 16 feet in a westerly direction, which necessitated rebuilding the west front. The south aisle and the roof of the North aisle, as far as the west end of the north chapel were rebuilt. A singing gallery over the chancel arch and the gallery pew over the north aisle were removed and a new western gallery was erected. The church was repewed. Heating by hot water system was added in 1855.

Major alterations were made again in 1885/6 at a cost of £9000, mainly at the instance of and by generosity of Mr. C.T. Lucas. The chancel was extended eastwards and the nest porch built on under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield, who had also been employed on alterations to Warnham Court and, later on, the rebuilding of the vicarage and the new school in 1872.

The Farming Community

Since farming was the main industry. indeed the very basis of existence of most of the inhabitants it is interesting to surmise how they lived in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

We have seen that the earliest settlers were probably engaged in swine—herding in the clearings. They probably lived in huts and were possibly rather transient, moving around from site to site, but gradually the settlement grew around the church which, no doubt, was the other strand of local life. There must have been some central place where they brought their tithes and paid their pannage. Perhaps there were common fields and grazing, but we have not found traces of this yet.

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we have seen from the Lay Subsidy Rolls that substantial homesteads had been set up in the outlying parts of the parish. This suggests that there would have been some more permanent housing of the earliest type with one or two rooms with an open hearth in the middle and the kitchen adjoining externally. These would probably have a small croft around them with perhaps a hovel or outbuildings for stock. By now these farmers would have their own oxen plough teams, and would be growing their own crops and feeding stuffs, besides grazing their hogs for the market.

The first Horsham Fair, a 3-day event, was authorised by Henry III in a Royal Charter_in 1233 and in 1449 Henry VI granted a new charter for the holding of two other fairs and a weekly market in Horsham. This would be, no doubt, the outlet for poultry and pigs but, due to the nature of the land for growing corn, it is doubtful whether there would be much to spare for the market. Farming at this time, and much later, "would have been largely a matter of subsistence. The oxen would be the principal source of energy both for cultivation and for transportation, and crops would mostly be for the support of these and the family.

The plagues, the Black Death in the second half of the 14th century, would have seriously reduced the population; as it did elsewhere, and caused, inevitably, further hardships in the countryside. Sussex seems to have been relatively uninvolved in that other plague, the ensuing Wars of the Roses, though here, too, there would inevitably have been calls on Manpower, so probably progress and expansion and what we today call productivity could have been low. Changes in methods too would be slow but, as we have noted, more land would have been opened up in the fifteenth century as a new breed of land holders began to arrive. Villeinage was on the way out and a new class of countryman, the yeoman farmer working for himself only was becoming an independent land-holder with a higher degree of security of tenure, whilst the new "gentry" from the universities and the law were also taking over larger country estates. The mercantile interests, too, became interested in the land, particularly the mercers, drapers and cloth-makers mainly with an eye to business, often the export business near the coast. At that time the heavily wooded land round Warnham was not however particularly well suited to sheep and woollen products, though no doubt the cottagers would have undertaken craft industries, such as spinning and weaving. More likely subsidiary industries in this area might have been lime-burning and charcoal burning.

By the end of the 14th century, several of the timber-framed buildings of which we can still see the elements today, would have been erected, either as great halls or cottages. By now these outlying farmsteads would have become small communities in their own right, with their resident workers, either living with the family, or in tenements adjoining. They would have been almost entirely self-supporting, baking their own bread from flour ground from their own wheat, either at home or at the nearest mill; brewing their own ale; making their own clothes from their own wool or flax; perhaps doing their own smithing or carpentering, if these tradesmen were not available in the village itself.

For the peasantry the demise of villeinage was not an unmixed blessing as, in his case, it meant the loss of his security of tenure, and destitution and vagrancy became a serious problem, against which for the first time social legislation became necessary.

For the Warnham inhabitants a temporary relief would have been the revival of the iron industry which reached its peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which must have resulted in a much more rapid opening up of new agricultural land. It seems to have petered out in the middle of the seventeenth century, accelerated by the Civil War and the discovery of the use of coke, as a substitute for charcoal in smelting, with the consequent removal of the industry from Sussex to the Midlands and North of England.

This again led to much distress and unemployment, and the growth of what became Sussex's second greatest industry — smuggling — in which we can be sure the inhabitants of Warnham played their part.

The Shelleys of Warnham

It has generally been thought that Field Place came to the Shelleys through the marriage of Mary Catherine Michell, daughter of Rev. Theobald Michell to Sir Bysshe Shelley as his second wife in 1752. She was thus the grandmother of the poet. The Rev. Theobald was in fact a member of the junior branch of Michelle of Stamerham, descended from Thomas q.v. He married firstly Anne Pilfold of Baylings and secondly Mary Tredcroft, sister of the builder of Warnham Court. (See Appendix X).

It is now established that Field Place was in fact bought from John Michell by Edward Shelley, born 1670, the son of Timothy Shelley of Champneys in Thakeham, by Mary Cheale of Findon, his second wife in 1670. He had earlier, in 1664, married Katherine Michell, daughter of Edward Michell of Stamerham, by whom he had one son, John Shelley, who married Helen Bysshe of Worth. Edward was thus John's half-brother. Timothy died when Edward was one year old in 1671. In 1687 his widow, Mary Shelley married, as second husband, John Michell, 1644—1706, of Field Place. The latter had 7 children by his previous wife, Joanne Wheatley, but they all predeceased him. Edward thus became his stepson. When John Michell died in 1706 he left two further sons and one daughter by his second wife; Edmund, who married Sarah Rapley, owner of 200 acres in Warnham, Thomas and Ann. His widow, nee Mary Cheale continued to live in Warnham and died there in 1731 an the age of 87.

Edward Shelley became a distinguished lawyer in the Middle Temple, and when he died in 1747 he left property in many parts of Sussex. He left the property "in his own occupation", Field Place & Stedmans, to his nephew Timothy Shelley (son of his half-brother John 1701-77) with provision for this to pass with other estates to Timothy's eldest son, Timothy, for life, and if no issue then to his second son Bysshe. These included his chambers in London which were left to his nephews directly. It was thus that the poet's grandfather, Sir Bysshe Shelley, came into the Field Place property.

Percy Bysshe Shelley, the poet, spent his youth in Warnham and is reputed to have sailed his boat on Warnham Pond, but after that his connection with Warnham was tenuous, and he never lived there. The property however passed to his son, Sir Percy Florence Shelley, 1819-1889.

The Pilfolds of Warnham

The Pilfolds were the other long-established family in Warnham which inter-married at various times with the Michells and Shelleys. Richard Pilfold of Warnham inherited an estate known as Blackstrode (considered to be Strood area of the Parish) under the Will of Richard Michell of Field Place sometime before 1558, when he died. The lands of his three sons, John Pilfold of Baylings

and Rusper, Ralph Pilfold of Pinkhurst, and Harry Pilfold of Wightes (in Warnham) and Staplehurst, passed to the descendants of Ralph, through his son John (the Elder) who died in 1580 and passed thence in the direct line to a great—great-grandson, Richard Pilfold of Dorks, who also owned the Rose in Horsham and half of Birdles in Horsham about 1630. Some of the family were still living at Baylings; the great—grandsons of that Richard of Dorks, another Richard (1677-1748), and John (1680-1745), are both identified as "of Baylings and Horsham" where John, and possibly both, were engaged in business as Mercers. This John married in 1716 Mary Michell, daughter of Walsingham Michell (of the Stamerham branch) and his youngest sister Anne (1686-1732) it was who married the Rev. Theobald Michell, and whose daughter Mary Catherine married Bysshe Shelley as his second wife. This family is commemorated in the large memorial on the outside of the North Wall of Warnham Church.

John & Mary Pilfold had three sons, John, Richard and Charles, and one daughter, Mary, who married James Wood of Cowfold. The second son of the third son, Charles (of Effingham) became Captain John Pilfold (1768-1834), who commanded the Ajax at the battle of Trafalgar, and his sister Elizabeth, born 1763, married Sir Timothy Shelley, the second baronet of Field Place, in 1791. (The half brother of Edward, who bought Field Place.)

One further connection of interest with Warnham - John Pilfold, eldest brother of Charles referred to above, left Great Docks & Broadfield, 80 acres, adjoining Warnham Park, to his son-in-law Thomas Charles Medwin, (a prominent Horsham lawyer and Steward of the Manor and of the Duke of Norfolk) who married his daughter Mary, for life and afterwards to his grandson John Medwin. Unfortunately this young man appears to have heavily encumbered the property and he was shipped to India with a Cornetcy in the Army and the estate was duly rescued by his father and sold to Nathaniel Tredcroft in 1824 when it added to the Warnham Court estate.

The Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth century saw the consolidation of the village in something like its present form. Most of the old houses of Warnham which still exist in the village and its outlying districts date from this time when they were "modernised".

We also get some picture of the inhabitants from official documents of the period, and it is interesting to see the names of families who existed in the village from the earliest times right down to the 19th century and, in some cases, until today.

In 1641 the records of administration of the Oath of Protestation, which was taken by all males of 18 or over, show that this was administered under the direction of two of the Justices of the Peace, Ralph Cooper of Strode (Strood) and Thomas Middleton of Hills Place, Horsham, through the Vicar, Thomas Holland, the Church wardens, John Agate and George Mower, and the Collectors of the Poor, Roger Hill and John Evershed. 113 males took the Oath. There were 4 Recusants, John Kempe and his two servants, Henry & William, and an old man reputed to be the Uncle of Mrs. Kempe. Amongst the inhabitants and land holders are included the following:-

Richard Yates, Gent.
John Weston, "
Richard Morrice "
John Michell de Field Place, Gent.
John Michell de Coxe and his Son John.
John Michell de Maies.
Henry Michell de Maies.
Henry Michell, Senior.
Richard Michell.
Phillip Michell.

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Francis Pilfould.
John Pilfould, Sen.
John Pilfould, Jun.
Thomas, John & Robert Raplie.
Henry, John & Thomas Clowser.
Thomas Boorer, Sen.& Jun., Henry & John Boorer.
John Worsfold, Sen.& Jun. & George Worsfould,
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and several other names which recur throughout our history, Edward Stedman, William Mose, James Mulford, Charman, Jupp, Lucas, Booker & Nie.

Later, in the period 1664 - 1670 when a Hearth Tax was imposed, based on the number of hearths in each house, we get some idea of the circumstances of these people. The largest mansion is that of Henry Onslow Esq., later Sir Henry of Drungewick, who paid tax on 25 hearths. (He at some stage married the widow, Jane, of Henry Yates — see App. IV and Manor of Slaughterford — and it is possibly through her that he became possessed of this property, which could conceivably be the mansion formerly of the Carylls on the site of the present Warnham Place, or equally the Old House of the Manor of Slaughterford, in both of which the Yates family had an interest about this time.

Other major householders (or hearth owners) were :-

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Edward Carrill (9), John Rapley (8),
Thomas Michell of cox (7), Richard Michell (6),
Henry Michell (5) and "Widow" Michell (1),
Aquila Simons (8), William Stiant, Gent. (7),
Thomas Elphicke (9), John Agate (6),
Richard Pilfold (5), Henry Clowser (5),
John Clowser (4) & William Clowser (2),
Richard Clowser (3), another Richard Clowser (2),
Thomas Borer (5), William Avery, Clerk (the Vicar) (5)
Edward Mulford (7), Robert Mulford (2).
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Other regular Warnham names who paid the tax include Charman, Naldrett, Booker, Batchelor, Nightingale, Steere and Stanford. At Michaelman 1664, 91 houses were assessed, but at Lady Day 1670 when some new names Jordan (9) & Taylor (8) appear, only 83 were levied for tax. (Photostats of these records are available). The Vicar's 5 hearths is somewhat at variance with Dr. Bargrove's report in 1671 (See page 16) when he says there is no house on the Warnham Rectory, but perhaps the Rev. Avery had his own private house elsewhere.

Transportation and Communication

Roads in Sussex had a traditionally bad name. Right up until the 17th century when Turnpike roads were instituted and generally developed, highways were largely cart tracks, rutted in summer and muddy up to the axles in winter. A traveller in Sussex in 1752 maintained that "a Sussex road is an insuperable evil".

Communication between Warnham and Horsham must have been on foot or horseback only until well into the seventeenth century.

Such roads as there were were primarily concerned with the movement of iron and coal and it was only as the need of trade outside local areas developed that highways as such were established. For the rest, communication was by track and footpath through the forests and across the Common. These tortuous and multifarious ways were of particular advantage to smugglers and felons.

Up to 17th century legislation was not concerned with the upkeep or condition of highways, but with security, viz. 1825 law that all trees etc., either side of highways between market towns must be cut back 200-ft. each side.

Earlier, an Act of Parliament in 1534 for the "Amending of highways in Sussex" which "shall and may for henceforth extend, take effect and be put in execution in every place in Sussex where the ways and streets are noyous to the King's said subjects in the said County of Sussex" - did little to improve their state or improve communication between places.

The first general Act for repair of highways passed 1555. ("Travel at this period was indeed a great adventure and only to be undertaken with a stout heart, for trading purposes, or under a strong personal obligation. (W.Alberry)").

An Act of 1584 & 1597 had to do solely with ironworks. Under the 1584 Act, it 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 1st May."

Up to 1663 roads were entirely the responsibility of parishes through which they passed and land holders, and not of those who used them. The Turnpike Acts relieved them of these parts of the road only. There were many complaints at Assizes & Quarter Sessions about the state of the roads. In 1612, at E. Grinstead Assizes, it was represented 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."

"Item, we further present that the greater part of this Wyld of Sussex is by carriage to and from the ironworks in the wintertime contrary to the said statute utterly spoilt by the carriage of iron and cole to and from the ironworks in the sayd Wyld of Sussex."

In 1628 jury returned a true bill against parishes of Horsham and Warnham "for the state of the highway called Broadbridge and of the bridge called Farthynge Bridge".

The Water Bailiff to the Earl of Arundel, about 1637, who describes all the waterways in this area, 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 South side of the said Denlands to Earthenbridge between certain lands called Hoppes and the 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 Kings Highway that part of the said Mr. Yeates his lands called Endes and Stroodland in Slinfold Parish."

This Wapple Way is a bridle path or pack road and is a continuation of the so-called Smugglers Lane on the Surrey side. The path through Denne Wood is obscure and passes west of Ridgbrook Cottage. It issues again as a well-defined grass-grown bridle path debouching on to Marches Road immediately opposite Mayes Lane (the Water Bailiffs "Highway which goes to Horsham"). Here evidently the old track turned west along the South side of Denlands for a short distance past Stone Farm where it swung South again between Hoppers Barn to the track where the Council cottages now are. Earthen bridge, apparently a lost name, was probably a narrow embankment with a wooden bridge carrying the path Southwards over Sladebottom Gill and so past Maltmayes and Benland Cottages and, where the road now turns Eastwards sharply, the old Wapple Way went through Benland Wood by the present bridle path and so direct to Ends Place.

The 1st Turnpike Act for Sussex was in 1696 and referred to highways between Ryegate and Crawley, being the road from Steyning and Horsham to London "in a ruinous and almost impassable condition".

Carriages, apart from crude agricultural carts, were introduced about 1564. Long waggons or wains were used for the carriage of merchandise between London and the principal Towns.

In mid-17th century these were supplemented by a few stage coaches on the principal highways and by privately owned coaches.

In 1693 there was an established waggon and pack horse system between $\mbox{Horsham}$ and $\mbox{London.}$

Towards end of 17th century fresh Acts of Parliament were frequently passed regulating traffic and the number of horses and widths of wheels used. Roads were still atrocious — "In some parts of Sussex none but the strongest horses in winter could get through the bog in which at every step they sank deep" (Macaulay).

In 1751 Dr. John Buxton describes a journey from Leith Hill to Shermanbury and refers to the roads as "abominable, Sussexian". He asks why it is that the oxen, the swine and the women and all other animals in Sussex are long legged? He suggests it is because of the exercise required to pull the feet out of so much mud by the strength of their ankles that the muscles get stretched and the bones lengthened.

By mid-18th century travel was increasing and there was a plethora of bills for new and improved roads and the introduction of new Turnpiked sections (not without local objections).

On 11th January 1755 a Petition of J.Ps., Clergy, Gentlemen, free-holders and other inhabitants of the Borough of Horsham was presented to Parliament, stating "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 for any manner of carriages and very dangerous for loaded horses and travellers and, in many parts, so narrow as to render them dangerous to passengers" and praying leave to bring in a Bill to amend the same. This was approved and the Bill enacted by March that year. Trustees were appointed and erection of toll gates and levying of tolls were authorised.

Tolls from Horsham to Dorking were :-

For every wagon, wain, cart or other carriage ... 1/-

For every horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass, laden or unladen and not drawing 2d.

For every drove of oxen or other neat cattle the sum of 10d. per score and in proportion.

For every drove of calves, sheep, lambs or swine, the sum of 5d. per score and in proportion."

Other Turnpikes were established :-

- 1764 Horsham to Shipley, W. Grinstead, Ashurst, Steyning, Bramber and Beeding. (1804 said to be best road in Britain.)
- 1771 Cuckfield to Horsham.
- 1792 Crabtree to Horsham connecting Brighton Rd.& Henfield.
- 1802 Worthing to W. Grinstead, connecting Horsham, Steyning.
- 1809 Horsham Guildford.
- 1811 Five Oaks to Broadbridge Hth. connecting Guildford Road.
- 1823 Horsham to Crawley London Brighton Road.

1835 Highway Act setting up Highway Board responsible for local roads and pavements.

Up to 1840 all roads except Turnpikes were still rutted and muddy, even up to the 1850s on local roads, walkers would sink in mud up to their calves.

In early Acts restrictions were put on width of wheels and number of horses permitted so as to prevent excessive loads, and extra tolls applied to those not conforming.

The road to Horsham

As late as 1724, according to Richard Budgen's map, the highway through Warnham ran from the Surrey border to Billingshurst and to join Stane street rather than through Horsham, petering out only as a track across Broadbridge Heath. The highway from Dorking to Horsham was incomplete between Lower Chickens and Westons, and it was necessary to go round by a track roughly on the line of Bell Road via Daux to get to Horsham.

That link in the road was not completed until 1755 when the Horsham - Dorking - Leatherhead - Epsom Turnpike was completed.

The communication between Warnham and Horsham appears to have been of a secondary order and, until quite a late date, it was limited to foot and horse traffic across the Common. Even in 1901, when there was a fire at Warnham Court, Mr. Morrison, the Coachman, rode to Horsham to summon the Fire Brigade.

Water Transport

Canals and rivers were, of course, a far smoother and more economical ride where they ran and there were many plans for canals recommended during mid-18 $^{\rm th}$ century.

As early as 1641 there had been proposals to link the Arun to the Wey, thus giving passage from London to Littlehampton via the Thames, Wey and Arun to the sea. This was overtaken by the Civil War.

In 1782. Discussions were held on possible connection of Arun from Newbridge, Wisboro' Gn. to Weald Close, Slinfold, and later the plan extended to Farthing Bridge but, despite subscriptions of up to £15,000, proceedings went into liquidation 1794.

Further schemes were projected in 1812 and 1827 for Canals through Horsham to join the Arun, but failed. Newbridge Wharf was the nearest point to Horsham as terminus of the navigable part of river — and later the canal system was extended to join the Wey at Guildford in 1820.

In 1813. Plans were considered to build a canal connecting London to Portsmouth. This would have passed through Warnham. A map of the projected route is in the County Record Office.

In 1826. Navigation of the Adur was extended to Baybridge Wharf, W. Grinstead, and this remained the nearest point for water transport to Horsham.

Coach Routes

1740-60 Weekly wagons ran to Horsham from Southwark on Wednesday and Thursday of each week.

After 1760 this was regularly continued and the number of services increased

until the railway from London to Horsham via Three Bridges opened in 1848.

By 1765 the service had increased to 3 waggons per week.

Regular Carriers from Horsham built up businesses which ran regularly and daily by 1810 and up to 1860. There were several Carriers, the last being Jupp, who finally had to give up in 1868.

1763 - A Passenger Stage Coach ran from Southwark to Horsham on Tuesday & Saturday and, in 1765, other coaches ran from other parts of London on Fridays.

By 1775 faster and more frequent Stage Coaches ran through from Steyning via Horsham to London, Gracechurch St., averaging, by 1750, about 8 m.p.h.

In 1784 a Mail Coach, organised by John Palmer for Post Office, averaged 10, and sometimes 12 m.p.h. - very crowded and uncomfortable and expensive in horses.

By 1810 Coaches ran through Horsham to Worthing and Brighton regularly.

By 1820 new Macadam roads came in but, by end of 1830s railways were taking over. In 1834 they took over mails.

In 1839 - 23 Coaches left Brighton for London daily.

In 1841 - Railway opened and only 4 Coaches ran.

By end 1845 only 1 left.

1833 Star Coach from Horsham, from Swan to Old Bell Inn, Holborn, and back daily, except Sundays.

Later traps ran to Three Bridges to catch trains. A pair horse bus ran from Storrington thro' Pulboro' & Horsham to Three Bridges. After 1848, when Horsham-Three Bridges rail connection was made, this Coach ran to Horsham only.

Lloyd, Carrier, continued with 4-horse wagon to London via Dorking, but he also lost trade to Dorking, which switched to Three Bridges and later, when Horsham Station (Three Bridges Line) was built, he too went out of business.

Other Traffic

By this time there was much other horse traffic through the Town. Most of this was private and hire post chaises (kept at Inns). The 4-horse coaches of the landed gentry and private chaises and carriages of local gentry, out visiting and shopping, filled the streets. Four-horse and six-horse farmers' and carriers' waggons, laden with coal, corn, barley, timber, stone, groceries and other commodities — some of which were fetching canal-borne products from West Grinstead & Newbridge Wharves, passed through Horsham. Farmers', tradesmen's and professional gentlemen's ridden horses also passed through. Also yoked oxen with heavy loads and dog carts (3 abreast) for individual transport (legally abolished 1854).

<u>Railways</u>

First agitation began in 1834 for Grand Southern Railway (London, Dorking, Horsham, Shoreham, Brighton), but this proposal was superseded by a proposal for a Branch line to Horley. Finally, in 1844 three schemes were considered - a through line, London-Portsmouth via Horsham, a branch line to Epsom via Dorking, and a branch line from Three Bridges. The last and quickest had its way and was opened in 1848. This was continued to Pulboro' and Petworth in 1857.

In 1860 an extension Horsham & Guildford Direct Railway Act was passed. In 1862 a Horsham, Dorking, Leatherhead Act passed and this line through Warnham opened in 1867, with a line from Horsham to Shoreham to connect with Brighton. In 1882 the last Toll Gate in the parish closed by Act of Parliament.

Posts & Telegraphs

From 1808 to about 1840 mail was conveyed to villages by special messenger from the nearest Town, or by a local penny post.

From 1843 to 1850 there was a great increase in free and guaranteed deliveries.

In 1900 the first house to house deliveries commenced.

Early telegraphic communication was handled by the railways until 1870 when the Post Office assumed responsibility for the telegraphs and extended the services.

In 1899 the first centralised telephone service commenced.

In 1875 the Post Office in Warnham, for mail only, appears to have been behind what is now the Warnham Stores, (presumably part of a shop later taken over by the Cokelers and built outwards with warehouse behind). The Sub-Postmaster in 1855 was Henry Mann. He was replaced by 1858 by William Tanner who was still there in 1875. (He was also shown as a French polisher and shop-keeper.) By 1882 it had moved to the present site and the Sub-Postmaster was Frederick Freeman, who then ran a Grocer's shop as well. By this time it was also a Money Order & Telegraph Office and, later, Savings Bank (by 1887). Freeman sold out to Walter Talmey about 1890 (before 1895) and the latter took over as Sub-Postmaster, with a delivery service and, also, Annuity & Insurance Office. By 1899 this was taken over by Mrs. Annie Talmey and shortly after that the business was apparently sold to Frederick William Freeman as Postmaster, who remained at least until the outbreak of World War 2. By this time the business appears to have expanded and included all household requirements and newspapers and periodicals.

Notes on Farming in Warnham

We have seen that Warnham probably evolved as a settlement from the coming together of a number of surrounding swine pastures of Saxon origins colonised from some larger settlement, perhaps Steyning, in the South of the Rape of Bramber. In the middle or late 12th Century these were brought together as a parish centred on the Church. What else existed in the village itself at this time is not known, but we do know that the vicar was entitled to the tithe on two holdings.

There is no evidence of any common land or central strip cultivation and pasturage adjacent to the village, which suggests that the outlying farms, as entities, may have preceded the settlement of the village itself, and that the early farms established their land by direct agreement with the Lord and gradually extended their cultivated fields from further clearances in the forest largely for their own subsistence and that of their stock. This seems to have been the established pattern by the end of the thirteenth century, as we can see from the Lay Subsidy Rolls, but on what condition or on what payment of dues to the Lord or to the Church, we do not know.

They would by this time have built their scattered mediaeval timber-framed houses in the woodland, of which we can still see the evidence today, and would have been keeping a number of oxen as well as their herds of swine. The irregular curved pattern of the boundaries in the fields and the roadways, and the residual shaws, provide evidence of the piecemeal extension of boundaries as

the forest was cleared.

In an analysis of the farms existing in the parish in the 1840s, 60% date from the 15th century or earlier, and 55% from the 12th or 15th century.

Whilst agriculture was the over-riding activity, and reason for opening up the land, there may have been some isolated areas where the clearance was attributable to iron-founding and forging activities in bloomeries, using large quantities of charcoal (and clay). This would have preceded the more widespread iron industry in the Weald of Sussex which grew up in the 16th & 17th centuries, with the introduction of the blast furnace needing vast quantities of both wood and water power, with which the area was well endowed. (Cider Mill Farm could well have been Cinder Mill, but no evidence has been obtained of an early bloomery there or elsewhere in the parish, but there are signs in some neighbouring parishes.

Farming in the 12th and 13th centuries was still very primitive, and it seems probable that each farm or unit would have been self-supporting; with little produce to spare for the wider and, more or less inaccessible, town fairs or markets, after providing for the Great and Small Tithes. The farmer would thus have been dependent on himself and his family. The incidence of the Black Death must have resulted in great hardship and loss for many of these families.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the wool industry became the source of growing wealth with a profitable export outlet to the Sussex Coast, no doubt sheep became a regular part of the farm stock, and this perhaps accounts for the opening up of more pasturage and small fields. However this was not as good sheep-rearing land as further South on the Downs nearer the Coast.

It is clear that a major expansion took place in Tudor times when there was a general growth in prosperity. It was at this time that most of the older existing houses were extended or rebuilt, with halls for the better off, and when the Carylls and the Michells became the major landowners. Despite this there does not seem to have been any major problem through any major enclosures by the landlords, and most of the farms remained on lease. This period saw the arrival of the Yeoman farmers and probably the beginning of real attempts to improve the land.

Even by the 17th century the average size of farms on the Weald was under 100 acres, compared with those on the Downs of 350 acres. Some were as small as 16-20 acres. The cultivation by that time consisted of approximately one third arable (wheat, oats or peas), one third pasture and one third woodland and waste.

Most of the land is wet soggy clay cut out of the forest and difficult to cultivate. The existence of shaws cause shade and poor soil near the boundaries of fields. It is thus not particularly suitable for growing cereals unless very competently drained. In the earlier times ploughing was extremely difficult. 8-10 oxen or 4 horses were needed to draw a plough, and it was only possible to plough half an acre in a day. Oxen were mainly used for ploughing and traction until the middle of the 19th century. Attempts were made to lighten the soil by marling or liming. The extent of this is shown by the field names given in the Tithe Award lists of 1840, e.g. Marl Plat, Marl Croft, Little Marl Field, Kiln Field, Lime Kiln Plat, Lower Kiln Plat, etc., and the indications of the existence of the old lime kilns themselves. The lime was dragged by toiling oxen all the way from the chalk pits of the downs along the terrible Sussex roads. This practice was continued in use during the 17th century and even later. An inventory of the effects of a Warnham husbandman gives details of the implements used in liming. The chalk was heated in the kilns which were fed by furze grown especially for the purpose. The Tithe Records show at least five fields described as Furze, Old Furze and Furze field. By the early 19th century the use of furze had declined due to the use of coal transported via the Wey and Arun rivers.

During the Napoleonic wars, there was a great increase in the demand for corn when much new land was ploughed up, and over 60% of the land in Warnham was turned over to arable. The Tithe records of 1840 show that in the Parish 2893 acres were arable, 712 acres pasture, leaving 1292 acres of woodland, waste or unaccounted for. Much of the land in the vicinity of the village is drained by land drains, believed to have been laid by French prisoners of war in the war years.

The other feature adversely affecting cultivation was the legacy from the clearance of the forests in the form of the residual shaws, often on the reverse and difficult slopes, which can still be seen today. This has not only, until quite recently, dictated the small average size of the fields, but had its adverse effect on adjacent crops and the quality of the land.

With these limitations, and with the difficulty of poor communications for getting crops to market, it seems that even as late as the end of the 18th century, except in wartime or emergencies, the growing of crops was secondary to the grazing and restricted to what was necessary for the survival of the farmer, his family and his stock.

In this latter regard oxen and horses have large appetites and the pretractor age was fuelled by crops grown to feed the draft animals on which so much depended. The Sussex cattle were of a breed pre-eminently suitable for work and for beef. In the 17th century they were highly praised by Mascall. Admittedly they did not produce much milk, but it was of excellent quality. The cows were not mated until 3 years of age, therefore their productive life did not begin much before four. The oxen did better and started work at two. They were used as draft animals until between six and ten years old, when they were fattened for beef. The fattening diet for steers was based on vetches, peas, boiled or dried barley, beans and elm leaves, surprising in a predominantly oat growing area.

Horses were of a fairly light breed, which could be used on the land, as the big heavy cart-horses were unsuitable for farm work owing to sinking deeper in the heavy clay soil. The lighter breed however were not considered large enough for van work, hence the reliance until much later, when the roads were improved, on the oxen for haulage.

Apart from the cattle, the only other animal kept on any scale was the hogge, which had been the original stock. These ran wild in the unenclosed woodlands. Nearly every farm worker fattened one. It was his only source of meat. Their diet was interesting. They were said to fatten best on dry meal and beer. To quote "If you can make him drunk now and then you will make him into a notable fat hog."

There was a considerable trade in fat hogs and this no doubt is what the Warnham farmers drove to the various Horsham fairs. They were a black breed, considered a good hardy species, equal to any other taking weight for age. In 1591 400 salted hogs were sent to the Navy at Southampton.

As already mentioned not many sheep were kept before the nineteenth century, and these mostly Southdowns or Kents for wintering.

Geese were kept by farmers for the Xmas market and, right down to the end of the 19th century many cottagers had the right to graze one or more geese on Broadbridge Heath.

According to Henry Smith, born at Southwater in 1827, quoted in "Causeway", from which much of the information in these notes is taken, the poultry kept in the village would mostly be Surrey or Dorkings, which used to be fatted by cramming - a cruel process - or caponned for the Xmas market. In many old leases it was laid down that the farmer had to supply his landlord gratis with two capons.

From quite early times a policy of rotation of crops seems to have been followed. Depending on the times, anything between one third or one half of most farms was cropped and the rest was meadow or woodland. The usual rotation, at the time that the Rev. Arthur Young wrote in 1813, was fallow, wheat, oats and ley, "as long as it will last". It is interesting to remember that, until the coming of artificial fertilisers and selective weedkillers in the 1930s, many farmers in this district found it necessary to leave their arable fields fallow every third year.

Writing of the early nineteenth century Henry Smith describes the farming implements in use (Causeway - Vol.V, p.94-95) "Ploughs were made of wood with wrought iron fittings, the shares being about 3-feet long and the boys who drove the ploughs used to take the shares to the blacksmith two or three times a week Horse harrows were for a pair of horses and drag harrows for four horses. Rollers were made of wood generally. Wagons and carts were usually made with six inch wheels to save the tolls and to avoid cutting into soft roads .." Of the smaller tools - "...the most useful at that time, viz. the flail, on which much depended, and which gave music to the farmers ear. An old fashioned farmer was asked by his daughter for a musical instrument. His reply was that there was no music equal to two flails and a cuckoo, as any farmer who could hold over his corn until the cuckoo came was prosperous and wheat at that time was usually at the highest price".

"Wheat, oats and barley were sown by hand; peas, beans also, unless a man could be hired to dibble them in. A man with a pair of dibblers three feet long with a sharp iron point, would walk backwards over the ploughed land, punching holes at the end of the furrows into which the peas and beans were dropped by five or six children who followed him having bags round their waists in which they carried the peas or beans. An active man in this way would dibble an acre of land in a day. The children were paid 4d. a day each and the dibbler was paid 6s. per acre."

"Reaping was the usual way of cutting wheat leaving stubble nearly a foot high to be cut after the corn had been gathered in. Reaping cost from 10-12s. per acre; stubble cutting 2s. or 2/6d. per acre. Oats, barley, etc., were mown with scythes. This was considered the hardest form of farm work. Hay-making too, like the cutting of corn, was without the aid of machines, the hay being tossed about by hand. This gave the women employment. They also did the weeding of the corn, and were a great help to the farmers They were paid 1/- per day, the men getting 2/- per day".

The first steam thrashing machine was not introduced to Warnham before about 1865 by Albert Agate, farming at Bailing Hill, where he also manufactured bone meal for the market. In the 1880s Moses Muggeridge ran a steam thrashing machine from Maltmayes.

"Little of the land was suitable for roots, not many were grown. Only a few acres of swedes and turnips \dots men were not used to hoeing \dots and did not like to hoe these."

According to Henry Smith "After the corn had been put into the barn or stack thrashing usually began and, in the course of a few days, new samples of wheat were put on the market. Wheat thrashing was paid for at the rate of 5d. or 6d. a bushel or 3/4d or 4/- per quarter unless the yield was very good. Men could not thrash more than four bushels per day. Thrashing oats 1/4d. To 1/6d. per quarter; other corn and pulse the same in proportion."

It will be seen that in this post—Napoleonic War period, arable cultivation had been considerably increased, and this increased output from the farms, but wages were miserably poor and there was much unemployment. During the 1830s, as described elsewhere, there were considerable agricultural disturbances

all over Sussex, and clearly the marketing of surplus crops presented considerable problems.

"Farmers who had difficulty in marketing their butter and poultry etc., used to sell to men who came with a cart and were called "hucksters" who took it to the market towns." (Henry Smith)

Wages were very low, only 10/- to 12/- per week by the day - farm labourers who occupied the cottages or farm tenements paid 1/6d. to 2/- per week, and found it difficult to make ends meet. Most of them, however, had a croft or large garden so they, or their wives, could keep their own pigs and poultry and grow vegetables. Most of the wives too had to help on the farm to increase earnings.

This "Golden Age" of corn was short-lived. The wheat grown on the soggy land was of inferior quality compared to that of other areas and could not compete with the influx of dry high quality wheat from the New World. The arable areas were continually reduced in favour of pasture and dairying but, the arrival of cheap refrigerated beef also from Argentina, Australia and New Zealand in the 1870s, followed by a series of bad harvests, led to very hard times. Most of the local farmers persisted with their beef cattle during the second half of the 19th century but, towards the end of the century, a number of West Country farmers moved into the area, complete with their dairy cattle, encouraged by the low rent of farms in the area (£1-50 per acre compared with £3-50 in Somerset) and the good communication by rail with the London market for their milk, for which they were able to get 2d. per gallon more than in the West Country. Thereafter dairy farming remained the most important aspect of farming until World War I when the demand for home-produced corn increased and arable farming again assumed priority. Between 1872 and 1909 40% of the former arable land in Sussex became grassland, and no doubt Warnham corresponded to this pattern. (Nationally between 1870 and 1914 the total corn area declined by 50%and permanent grassland doubled.)

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE OLDER HOUSES OF WARNHAM

The following pages attempt to put together what we have gleaned about the history of our older houses. The information is built up from such records as we

already know of. we hope, perhaps, to fill in a bit more about the owner- ship of properties in the late 17th century from the Hearth Tax Records.

Owners could provide more detail about the houses, particularly about the dates of construction and alterations.

WARNHAM COURT

Built by Henry Tredcroft about 1828 in a neo-Elizabethan style, about the time when Warnham Park and the Warnham Court estate began to assume its present form. The nucleus of it, consisting of the central part of the Park, 190 acres was bought in by his father, Nathaniel Tredcroft of Horsham, together with a moeity of the Manor of Hollands (or Hallamps), from the descendants of Sarah Michell, nee Rapley, and her son and daughter—in—law, John and Ann Michell (nee Shelley) in 1806. The earlier ownership of this land has also been traced back to the Carylls in the sixteenth century. The other moeity of the title to the land and the Manor was purchased by Henry Tredcroft in 1828 from the executors of Charles Child, who had bought it in 1821 from the descendants of the other grand—daughter of Sarah Michell. Thus the original estate of some 500 acres was re—united. (See Appendix VII).

Henry Tredcroft opened up the Park and started the Warnham deer herd about this time.

On his death, in 1844, the Court and the Estate, which now included further additions to the land both North and South of the original park (Great Dorks and Broadfield from T.C. Medwin) and Southford and Enhams (20 acres) from the widow of John Agate, was run for 10 years by trustees for Edward Tredcroft and then bought in 1855 by Sir John Henry Pelly. He added a further 20 acres known as Dawks and Sands (the area round Little Daux), and a number of cottages and tenements in the village, he increased the deer herd and also made further extensions to the House. Amongst these was the incorporation of some of the original wooden screening, removed from Slinfold Church, in the back porch of Warnham Court.

Sir John Pelly died in 1856 and the whole estate was purchased the following year by Mr. C.T. Lucas, who made considerable alterations and additions to the mansion. Over the next 30 years a number of farms and much of the land formerly owned by the Shelleys, was taken over. These included Warnham Mill (including Warnham Place), Rookwood, Broomlands, Roberts and Chantry Farms, Lower Chickens and Hollands Farms, part of Farthings Farm and Park Farm, Westons and Bailing Hill and Swans. In all the estate at its peak, in 1914, extended to about 1500 acres.

WARNHAM LODGE

Originally on the site of Benland Farm, an old Elizabethan farmhouse on to which was added a wing (including a dining room and, possibly, a study, with a new staircase to two or three bedrooms (one with dressing room above). This conversion was in a pseudo-Elizabethan (Victorian) style.

This extension was probably carried out by William Norris Franklyn, formerly of Northlands, between 1862 and 1866, and he lived there till about 1880. (Franklyn was a Churchwarden in 1847/8 and in 1862.)

In 1882 James Wheeler lived at Warnham Lodge and, in 1887, James Howie Macfarlane. (Dates can be checked by consulting Kellys Directories between those dates.)

Sir Henry Harben arrived between 1890 and 1895 and added a further wing connected by a glassed-in passage to a big drawing room and billiard room with 2 bedrooms and bathrooms above - adding two more bathrooms to the older parts. He also built a bachelors wing, for the visiting cricketers. (His main intention was to establish cricketing weeks and there is yet much more to discover about this aspect.) He also added the stables and clock-tower and coachman's cottage - also a gymnasium (possibly converted from an older building) and added to an old Farmhouse (Fowlers?) to make the Home Farm.

He died in 1911 and Warnham Lodge became the home of Mr.& Mrs. Thomas Wharrie (daughter) and, later, Henry Eric Southey Harben.

In 1939 a new house was built on an adjoining site facing northward over the Surrey border, to replace the old one, which became a store for ??? during World War II and was pulled down in 1961.

FIELD PLACE

The earliest parts of this, now the kitchens, forming 3 sides of a courtyard, are of the 15th century, but the first mention of it is as the home of Richard Michell who died in 1524, so possibly it was first built by the Michell family. A taller main block of two stories with heavy eaves and cornice, and a stone roof, was added in the late 17th century - perhaps by John Michell, the last member of the family to live there, or by his successor. He sold it to Edward Shelley (1670-1747) about the end of the century, and the additions could well have been made by him. The loggia between the wings of the new building was added in 1846. As stated elsewhere Edward Shelley left it to his nephew, Timothy, and it remained in the Shelley family until about 1930, although no member of the family appears to have lived there after about 1850, when it came into the ownership of Sir Percy Florence Shelley.

After this it was let successively to Adolphus & Thomas Briggs (1855-7), William Innes (1857-1870), Edred Curwen (1870-?), Lt. Gen. G.E. Baynes (1885-1900 approx.), Gen. Sir Edward Hutton (1900-1910), Christopher Stone (1913-20), and Admiral Sir Edmund Slade until about 1930.

In 1930 it was bought by Mr. Guy N. Charrington, who added a bay on the North side, to match the South, incorporating a shell hooded door from Ipswich. He also created the lake garden across the field in front of the house.

ENDES PLACE

The present house was originally rebuilt following the destruction of The Old House in 1830 (see Manor of Slaughterford). During this period it seems to have been a small farmhouse, forming part of the estate of Mr. R.C. Barnett, and in the occupation of Francis Wells until about 1860 when it was either leased or purchased by William Churchman, Churchwarden in the parish for many years. It was later owned by Mr. C.B. Owen from whom it was purchased by Mr. C.B. Gregson in 1908, when it was extensively modernised as a gentleman's country house in keeping with the estate which was now reconstituted within its original boundaries.

ROWHOOK MANOR

This appears originally to have been a farm cottage on Cradles farm of about 1730 vintage, but the early parts may be much earlier.

In 1407, John Apsley, Lord of the Manor of Slaughterford, settled a messuage with 2 gardens, 10 acres of arable land, 4 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture on Roger Cradel and his wife. The farm thus probably began at this time and the early parts of the house would have been built any time after that.

It was part of the Lands of John Carryll in 1566 and perhaps passed with their other lands to the Michells. In 1840 it was part of the property of Mr. R.C. Barnett of West House (who also owned Endes Place (Old House), Betchetts and Charmans Farms). Cradles was farmed by George Naldrett from 1840 to about 1850 and then by Benjamin Muggeridge from 1850 until about the mid-eighties, when most of the Barnett Farms were taken over by Mr. Edmund Farmer.

A drawing room and a Hall with a cellar were added to the cottage in the 1880s by Mr. Farmer and, by this time, it was known as Cradles Lodge, having earlier been the home of Francis Wells on his retirement from Old House Farm about 1871.

About 1897 it became the residence of Mr. Farmer, himself, and was known as Oakhurst. On his death, about 1905, it was sold by his widow to Mr. G.N. Dicken and it was probably at this time that it was further extended at the back, with a billiard room, playroom and 3 rooms above. It was renamed Rowhook Manor. Mr. Dicken lived there until after 1938.

CHATFOLDS

Formerly this property was known as the Ryelands from the name of the river Rhye, Rye or Ree (from the old English 'ee = water, stream), where, in the time of King John (about 1200), lived a yeoman family, de la Rhie or Atte Rye, who took their name from the river. It passed through 3 or 4 generations of Ryes to Roberto atte Rye about 1300-1320, when a female heir married one John Chatfold, whence it now takes its name. This family held it, paying rent to the Lord, possibly together with extensive lands including Benland (Benelands alias Gibschulfolds), Maltmayes (Mould Mayes) and Northlands and other lands to the West (later known as Scotts Bews & Dawes). Richard Chatfold owned lands in Warnham, taxed at £2 in Henry III's Lay Subsidy of 1523/4. He was the second largest landowner in this list. The family held Chatfolds at least until about 1609 when a modern Jacobean "mansion" was added to the old mediaeval hall of which traces remain to this day. It was extensively restored by Mr. Geoffrey Davis in the period 1928-??? and further by Mr. Neil Maclean in 1958?

The house, prior to this, had been a small farmstead since the beginning of the 19th century (Owned by James Landsdell, occupied by Thomas Muggeridge 1841 to about 1870; then to Mr. Benjamin Muggeridge but occupied by Henry Killenor until 1899). It was then bought, together with Northlands, Scotts & Dawes farms and a part of Stone Farm by Mr. John Pearman in 1913.

WESTON'S PLACE

There are traces of the Weston family in Warnham from quite early times.

They were descendants of Adam de Westmeston, the great grandson of Radolphus (Ralph) de Westmeston, who had the Manor of Wiston from Lord William de Braoze, Lord of Bramber 1086. (See App. XII.)

About 1160, Walter de Westmeston held 4 knights fees of Lord William de Braoze. His sons were William, Lord of Wiston, who held Ashurst and Ifield about 1180 and Adam de Westmeston, of Surrey, who had numerous descendants settled as far afield as Warnham, Sutton, Mayfield and Rotherfield, about 1200.

In the 14th Century, Walter de Weston was the Vicar of Warnham.

In 1442, an Agnes de Weston was the sub-Prioress of the Nunnery at Rusper.

The last entry under that name in the Parish register was in 1643. Very possibly this was the same John Weston of Warnham who was fined in the time of Charles I in a subsidy to compound for failure to appear in his coronation though qualified by his holding of land to take up the responsibility of knightshood.

In the late 17th early 18th Century, Westons may have been in the hands of the Middleton family when it passed to Denzil Onslow, son of Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow (1691-1768), Speaker of the House of Commons, on his marriage to Ann Middleton, daughter of Thomas Middleton, (a Horsham family). It remained in the Onslow family until 1809 when the property was bought by James Tshudi Broadwood, as part of his extensive lands in Warnham.

It was farmed by Benjamin Potter until about 1855 when it was taken over by William Nash until 1898.

It was subsequently purchased by Mr. C.J. Lucas, as part of the Warnham Court estate, in 1898.

GEERINGS

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Thecchers or Thatchers alias Hills, together with Cocks (or Cokkes) and Chekyns, belonged about 1500 to the second John Mychell, brother of Richard, of Field Place. He also seemingly owned land in the North of the Parish known as Northland, alias Brookes and Ghylls, Nashland, Sladeland and Dennymeade. These latter had "belonged" to John Carryl in 1566 but seem to have come back to John Mychell's grandson, John (1576- 1605) — see Inq.p.m. of John Carrill. App.

Thatchers, however, was sold by Henry Bartelot of Stopham and Walter Bartelot, Lord of the Manor of Denn in Warnham, in 1610, to John Evershed of Evershed, Ockley, and remained in the ownership of that family until 1741, being leased or mortgaged for various periods to a number of different tenants. It will be remembered that the Eversheds claimed the Manor of Denn in Warnham during this period.

The supposition is that both the Carylls and the Michells also paid dues to the Lord of the Manor for this estate, but were not resident. The original Theochers may possibly have been Durfold by its situation between Geerings and Chickens, and because it is more likely to have been the residence of the Michell family than is Geerings itself, which was originally nothing more than 2 or 3 farm cottages. (This might be further investigated when it is possible to date the original buildings.)

Edward Evershed sold the title of Thatchers & Hills to John Boorer of Durfold in 1741. In 1802 it was bequeathed by another John Boorer to William

Cooper, Innkeeper of Horsham, and it was bought by Nathaniel Tredcroft, through T.C. Medwin in 1810, becoming an early addition to the original Warnham Park estate. It was subsequently leased to Robert Steele and, later, became two more farm cottages until purchased by Mr. Shepherd.

GREAT DAUX

(formerly Docks or Dorks)

The earlier ownership of this has not been traced. It may be Tawkes, referred to in the Inq.p.m. of John Carrell in 1566.

It was in the ownership of the Pilfold family by the middle of the seventeenth century and remained with them until it passed from John Pilfold, who died in 1794, to his daughter and son-in-law, Thomas Charles Medwin, (who was Steward both of the Duke of Norfolk and of the Manor of Denn in Warnham, as well as being the Clerk of the Borough of Horsham, and a number of other posts), for his son John who, unfortunately, so encumbered it on his expectations that Medwin was forced to sell it to Nathaniel Tredcroft in 1826 to pay off the mortgages.

At this time the land was occupied, in common with much of the Warnham farmland and what is now Warnham Park, by Robert Redford, a Horsham butcher and his two sons.

It subsequently formed part of the Warnham Court Estate and the house was occupied as two tenements.

COX'S FARM

This also formed part of the Mychell of Thecchers estate in the 17th century, but the original building is probably of earlier date.

Rumour has it that it was a hunting lodge of Henry VIII where he had an affair with a serving wench but this is not substantiated. There is a possible connection with the Hall family, and this might be followed up.

It almost certainly belonged at one time to the Manor of Denn, and presumably with that came into the possession of the Broadwood estate about 1821, where it remained until bought by C.J. Lucas in 1907.

MALTMAYES

This is an early 15th century timbered house into which chimneys were built in the late 16th century. It was renovated in the late 19th century when it became the property of Sir Henry Harben as part of the Warnham Lodge estate.

The early history is not easy to establish and the name or anything like it cannot be established as part of the land of the Carylls.

It is reputed as Mould Mayes in the Water Bailiff's "High Stream in Arundel Rape" of 1657, and also as the land of the Mays. It was occupied at that time by Robert Rapley (no doubt one of the family of Thomas Rapley, who acquired a part of the Michells lands, about 1588, and which returned to them on the marriage of Sarah Rapley with Edmund Michell about 1680).

Walter le May appears in the Lay Subsidy of 1296 and this may be the original owner. There is, however, to confuse matters, Mayes Park, and at one time what is now Westbrook Hall was shown also as Mays Farm in the Tithe Award map. It appears as Little Mays in Gardner & Greaves map of 1745 and as Mays Farm in Greenwoods Map of 1825.

There are, alas, no title deeds to show the earlier occupation of Maltmayes. It was probably owned from 1832 onwards by Mr. R.C. Barnett until about the mid-eighties, when Mr. Edmund Farmer took over. For most of the first half of the nineteenth century it would appear to have been let off as three tenements. From about 1860 it was occupied by Daniel Muggeridge and, later, Moses Muggeridge who, latterly, owned a steam thrasher, and then by Michael Kilner who also farmed Chaffields Farm, until the property was purchased by Sir Henry Harben.

SANDS FARM

This is, a fifteenth century timber framed farmhouse.

One, Johanne at Sondes, is named in the Lay Subsidy of 1296, so the property was certainly one of the earliest of the outlying farmsteads.

Possibly known as Sondes in the 16th century, the Sondes Lands in Warnham were in the possession of John Michel, son of the first Richard Michell of Field Place. He married Mary Lewkenor, (probably a descendant of the Lewkenors, Lords of the Manor of Warnham c.1370-1425 so these lands might have come through her. John Michell died in 1555. However, the Sondes meade was amongst those properties shown in the will of John Carrell in 1566.

The title becomes obscured in the 17th century, though documents exist for a property known as "Dawks and Sands", transferred to the Warnham Court estate in 1857. The latest Indenture of this unsorted bundle of documents, refers to an area of 20 acres, now forming part of Warnham Park and including Little Daux, but not Sands itself which, by this time, is known to have been in the possession of Mr. Thomas Barnett, who also owned Cider Mill Farm, Joanland and ??? and it was farmed by Edward Stanford and, later, William Stanford between 1841 and 1871. It later became part of the Warnham Lodge estate, though whether it was bought in by Mr. W.N. Franklyn or Mr. Wheeler before the arrival of Sir Henry Harben is not yet clear. It was sold with the Warnham Lodge estate in 1961 to Professor Rodney Dales.

If we can assume however that Sands may have formed part of the same estate as Little Daux, we can go back to 1648 when it seems to have come into possession of Thomas Borer of Warnham (from John Rowlands of London) and remained in that family till 1707 when it was bought by John Agate, and remained with one branch of the Agate family (who owned other properties in Warnham) until in 1780 it became part of the marriage settlement of Elizabeth Agate on her marriage to William Stanford of Ashurst, and remained in possession of the Stanford family until the Daux property was sold to Sir John Pelly of Warnham Court in 1857. By this time clearly Sands had passed into the possession of Mr. Barnett, but it is of interest that it was still being farmed by Stanfords, but whether these were members of the same family we cannot say.

OLD MANOR

The early history of this is obscure but the earlier parts of the building date from the 15th century. No separate title exists before but, round about 1720, it was in the possession of John Wicker, M.P. for Horsham and a considerable landowner in Horsham and Roffey, also entitled to the Rectory of Warnham. The Title to Street Farm, 54 acres, which included Old Manor, although at this time it was only a farm cottage, passed to his daughter, Charlotte and, through her, to the Rev. Sir Thomas Boughton, in 1786. There was a long and complex lawsuit concerning the Rectory of Warnham and, in 1792, Street Farm was conveyed to Timothy Shelley Esq., later Sir Timothy.

In 1827 the farm was leased by Sir Timothy to James Harding and in the Tithe Award map it is shown as Gardens Farm. From 1855, it was leased to John Agate until 1876, and may have been used partly in conjunction with the timber works, hence the large barns.

There is however a possibility that Old Manor was at one time the demesne farm of the Manor of Warnham, and known as Court Hall or Nob House, according to summonses for a Court Baron in both 1827 and 1851, which might also account for the large barns.

In November 1888 Street Farm was leased from Sir Timothy Shelley by Mr. C.T. Lucas, who finally purchased it from Sir Charles Shelley in 1897, when it became an integral part of the Warnham Court Estate.

It was occupied firstly by Peter Paxton, former bailiff to Mr. Lucas and, in 1895, to James Garman, who also ran a wood and coal business there and at Cider Mill Farm. After one or two other tenancies, the last man to farm there, as such, at Knob Hill Farm, was William Stott from 1909 to ??? when it was sold to ??? and converted as at present to a gentleman's residence.

CIDER MILL FARM

Little is known about the origins of this property, sometimes known as Three Styles Farm and, in earlier documents, referred to as Highfield or Hilland, alias Suzzfield — probably referring to the fields rather than the farm.

It was evidently in the possession or occupation of Richard Redford, who also leased much of the Warnham land, including Lower Chickens, Great Daux and the main area of Warnham Park purchased by Nathaniel Tredcroft. In 1852 the property was transferred to Mr. Thomas Barnett who also owned Sands and, later, about 1875 it was purchased by Mr. James Wheeler of Warnham Lodge.

In 1845 the farm was extended by the purchase of a plot of waste land alongside Cider Mill Lane and the Ockley Road from the Lords of the Manor (J.W. & W.A. Commercell). It was purchased by C.T. Lucas about 1890.

BAILING HILL FARM

Built probably about 1400 this was the property and seat of John Pilfold of Baylings and Rusper who died in 1565 and remained in that family, which later owned also Daux and other land in Warnham, at least until the mid-18th century

and, possibly, until 1791 when Elizabeth Pilfold married Sir Timothy Shelley of Field Place. The house and farm was certainly part of the Shelley estate until 1914 when it was sold by Lord Abinger, the nephew and heir of Lady Shelley, widow of Sir Percy Florence Shelley, to Mr. C.J. Lucas. During the period 1850-1899 it was farmed by the Agate family, Albert Agate for most of the time and, from 1899 to 1914, by Henry Piper.

BROOMHALL

This must be one of the earliest independent properties in Warnham. The earliest reference to it however is possibly as Bottynges, otherwise Baxys Bromehokes in the Inquest P.M. of John Carrell 1566.

It is shown on Richard Budgens map of 1724 as a Manor house but the ownership is not known.

It would appear to have come into the ownership of John Agate together with Randalls and Chantry Farms by purchase from John Ayling of Tillington in 1786. John Agate owned properties at Bolney, in Horsham and elsewhere and he may be of the same family who owned Sands. He died in 1743 leaving 4 sons and a daughter Elizabeth, married to William Stanford (see Sands). John, the eldest son, inherited the Broomlands properties and passed these to his daughter Sarah Wood, wife of John Wood, who died in 1841. These properties were left jointly to their four sons William, James, Thomas and Edward, and the land was farmed first by John Wood until 1845, then William Wood until they were bought out by Mr. C.T. Lucas in 1877.

The earliest parts, including the Old Hall, now part of the kitchen, are of 14th or 15th century, but the house has been modernised by the addition of a 19th century block in front.

Since it became part of the Warnham Court Estate it was let to a succession of tenants right up until World War II when it became the home of Mr. $C.E.\ Lucas.$

DURFOLD

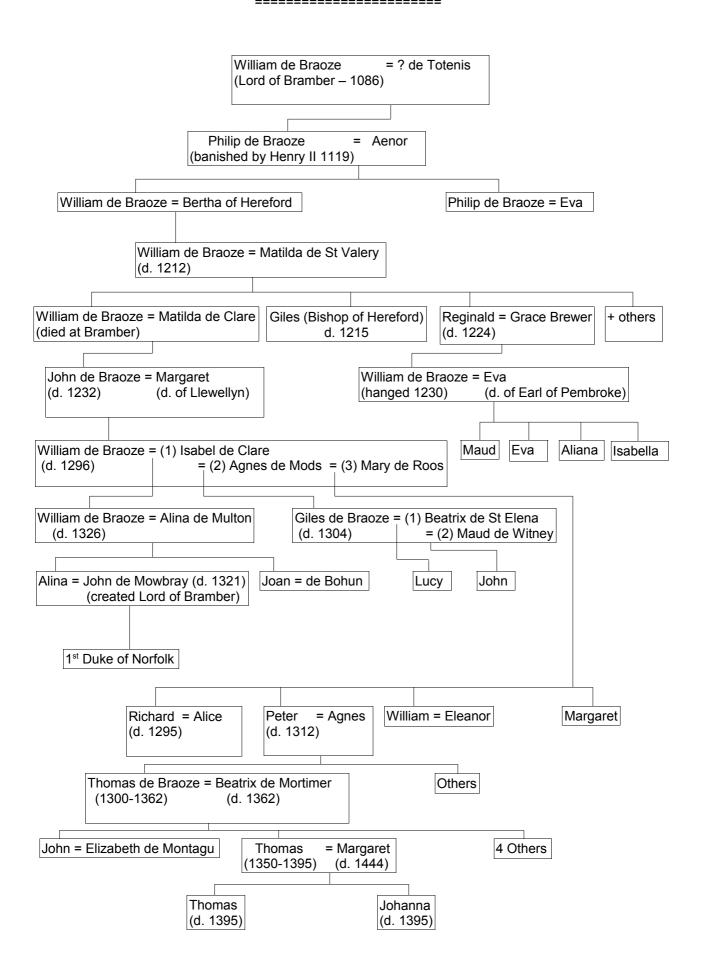
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(sometimes Darval or Durval)

UPPER CHICKENS

This may have been formerly known as the Skenches, Upper Skenches and Nether Skenches, in the time of the Carylls.

LOWER CHICKENS



THE NUNNERY OF ST.MARY MAGDALENE, RUSPER (BENEDICTINE).

Founded by Gervaise, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Richard I, (1189-99), who conferred on it the Manor of Prestwood. Before 1204, William de Braoze conferred on it the impropriation of Warnham, whilst two others gave the churches of Ifield and Selham. These were confirmed by Siffrid II, Bishop of Chichester in 1204. Later, in 1231, John de Braoze added the Church of Horsham.

The income from Warnham was small. The "spiritualities" in 1291 amounted to £31-6-8, whilst lands, rents, etc., only amounted to £13-1-1 $\frac{1}{2}$. The other rectories seem to have been of a similar wealth.

The wealth of the Nunnery seems to have grown little and various reports in the 14th & 15th century suggest that it was not very productive. In one presentation (Dallaway & Horsfield), it appears that more of the income went to the support of the Prioress's relations and little was done to advance the nuns in their religious professions.

The Nunnery was closed, as such, when Henry VIII suppressed the Monasteries in 1537. The last prioress, Elizabeth Sidney, was pensioned off and her sole remaining companion, Elizabeth Hays, was turned out with £5.

The rectory of Warnham, with the others, now vested in the King who bestowed it on Sir Robert Southwell, a tool of Cromwell in the suppression of the Monasteries and, later (1542), Master of the Rolls. He also later received the Manors of Rusper, Prestwood, Warnham & Hewells, with tenements in these manors and in Horsham, but how far this impinged on the rights of the Lords of the Manor of Denn in Warnham (the Bartellots of Stopham), is not clear.

The site of the Nunnery was later exchanged by Southwell with the Queen, who was in possession of it in 1582 and, in 1591, she granted it to John Cooper, Sergeant-at-Law, in consideration of £647-4-7, to be held as the Manor of East Greenwich by fealty only. Cooper sold it to Richard Haybourne, who settled it on his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Robert Stone.

EARLY WARNHAM INHABITANTS

Evidence from Subsidies & Taxes.
Reference Sussex Record Society - Vol.V, pp.57,154 & 269.

Special Taxes or Subsidies were levied by the King in 1296, 1327 & 1332. This gives some idea of the administrative set up in the Rape of Bramber, and also an opportunity to compare names of the freeholders at those times, which is interesting.

In the 12th Century the former Domesday fiefs began to break up into more or less independent units or villates.

The earlier division into counties, hundreds and tithings is ascribed to King Alfred. Originally tithings applied to the old English institution of Frankpledge, whereby every free adult of 12 years old or upwards was bound to enrol himself in association with 10 or 12 of his neighbours, each member of the association or tithing being responsible to the King for the production of any offender required for punishment. The tithing later came to represent a district and, later, these became Villates.

1296. In the 1296 subsidy Warnham appears as "Villat de Warnham and Shrottesfield" under the Hundred of Steyning in the Rape of Bramber. The Hundred of Single cross may therefore be a later creation.

The list contains 64 names assessed at anything from 1/- up to $10/0\frac{1}{2}$ (Willmo de Affold) giving a total levy for the Villat of £10-1-2½.

Other names which have a later Warnham or local connotation include

Willmo le Combre
Rico atte Pond
Ad.le Child
Simon de Kyngesfolde
Hen. de Lynins
Rado atte Rye (Chatfolds)
Ad. de Shyrmarke
Fuller

Palmer
Johan le Mose
Willmo le Fust
Rado de Stanstrete (Rowhook?)
John atte Sonde (Sands?)
Simon atte Blackstroode (Strood?)
Johan de Langhurst.
Robo Clymping.

1327. In 1327 the Villat evidently becomes more local and shows an increase in freeholders in the reduced area. Several of the 1296 Roll names disappear suggesting that they belonged rather to Shrottesfield, which disappears from the Roll, probably now being part of the Villat of Horsham, which later was included in Horsham as a district called Shortfield. (Horsham itself, in both rolls, was shown as the "Burgus de Horsham".) Two new Villats, Rouspar and Nothurst, appear under the Rape of Bramber in this Roll.

The assessments vary this time between 6d. and 3/1, giving a total revenue of £2-10-10 $\frac{1}{4}$ for this smaller area. The names of freeholders are

Thomas Duly
Johe de Sloghterforde
Henry atte Rowhook
Johe Combre
Rico le Thecher
Rico le Fust
Ad. Ede
Ad. Child
Thomas atte Hath

Willo de Weston
Willmo atte Lake
Walter at Farthing
Rich. le Frensh
Willo le Whyte
Cella atte Rye
Roberto le Monde
Rico Rykeman
Alicia Shirmark

John Palmer

In 1332 the Roll for the villat de Warnham produced a total of 1332. £4-3-7 $\frac{1}{2}$ with assessments between 5/- and 6/6 $\frac{3}{4}$. (This could be because of a higher rate, or it could show that the Villat was more prosperous.)

Many of the names were similar, and several suggest the modern localities of their holding, viz.:-

> Thom. Dollye Johe le Palmer Ad Ende

Rico le Theccher (Geerings?) Willo atte Rye (Chatfolds).

Willo Alpha Willo le White Thom atte Cluse Johe Ventre

Johe de Kyngesfold Rico. le Fust Ad. atte Shirmarke

Rico atte Becchette Walto. at Farthing (Farthings)
(Betchetts) Rico. Ende (?Endes)
Stepho de Sloghterford Johe le Langenhurst (Langhurst)
(Slaughterford) Willo Grauntpound.

Willo Weston (Westons) Johe Langenhurst Jun.

Reference Sussex Archaeological Collections Vol.X, p.129

A later subsidy of Henry IV in 1411 mentioned three other persons with lands in Warnham -

Jeffrey Inglere, who had manors and lands in Tadham worth £5, Little Hamptones £10-13-4, Warnham £1-6-8 and in Chichester £4.

John Warnecamp - lands in Arundel £10, Yapton £2 and Warnham £3, Rowsper £3 and Slyndefold £2.

Lady de Cheynes - Lands lately Juliana Romayns £8.

Sussex Archaeological Collections Vol.XVI, p.45.

In the time of Henry II or III a fine was imposed by the King on 1630. persons holding lands to a value of £10 or £15 p.a. to take up the liability for knighthood. This was raised to a value of £40 in the time of Henry VIII.

Charles I in 1629 decided to use this means of raising revenue and appointed a Commission to compound, with those concerned, for their nonappearance in his coronation.

Included in the list for Bramber Rape was John Weston, Gent. of Warnham, who compounded in 1630 for £10.

Subsidy on Income by Henry VIII

Subsidy imposed by Henry VIII, for the prosecution of the war with 1523/4. France. This was based on assessed income at various rates, to be paid over 4 years.

The roll is of interest as it shows the amount assessed together with the basis of assessment - Goods (G), Lands (L), Wages (W), Yearly Wages (A), Yearly Wages of day labourers (D); Profits (P), Fees or Salaries of office (F). (Where unmarked, basis not shown.)

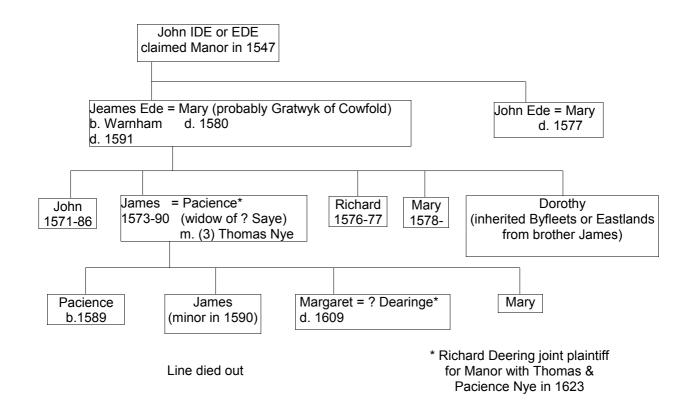
Walter Fuller, her		Thomas Chaundler	10
servant.	6	Thomas Hayn	3
Richard Blake " (A)	1	John Trower	4
Nicholas Rede " (A)	1	William Penfold	5
John Clawser	20	John Polyng	2-13-4
Robert Thornden	20	William Busse	5
John Ede	20	Rich'd Sloughterford(W)	1
Ralph Farnfold	40	William Hardyng	2
Wm.Love, his servant(A)	1	John Pykard	10
Thomas Charman	6-13-4	William Pykard	2
Thomas Stone	3	John Ede of Cokec	10
Richd.Mylle,the elder	6-15-4	Henry Trower (W)	1
Richd.Mylle, " younger		Richard Copar	5
(A)	1	Thos.Dunnyng	6-13-4
Richard Pylfold	13-6-8	Henry Bottyng	5
John Weller, his		Thomas Maye	2
servant (A)	1	Thomas Elyott	20
Thomas Weller	4	William Wright	10
John Sloughterford	2-13-4	John Gardner	6-13-4
Richard Roser	2	Robert Smyth, his	
William Hunt	5-6-8	servant (W)	1
Thomas Elyott	2	Thomas Mose	3
Richard Chatfold (L)	2	Robert Myllys	5
William Elyott	2	William Mann	10-13-4
John Myll	4	Richard Mychell	
Thomas Maye	2	of Colstaple	15
Alys Auxborne	3	Richard Wryght	10
Margaret Mose	2	James Fuller	10
Richard Mose	2d.	Wm.Westwode (W)	1
Thomas Nye	33	Stephen Polyngton	2
John Dary, his			
servant (W)	1		

and the following day-labourers all assessed at £1 - $\,$

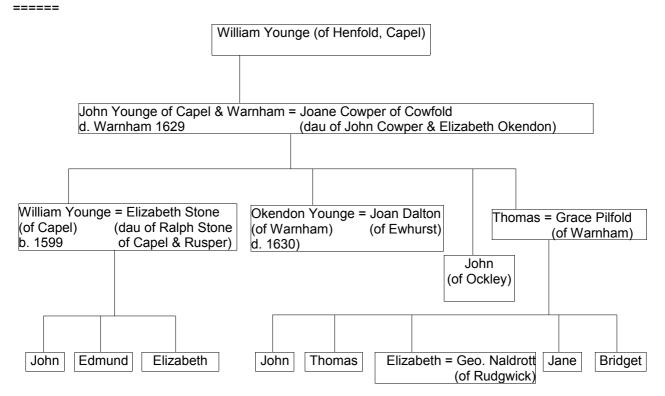
Richard Myll, junior	John Warsheford	
John Auxborne	John Gale	
Richard Charman	Henry Mose	
Thomas Wodden	John Hever	
John Somersale	Henry Cokke	
Richard Lydsey	Thomas Lever	
Thomas Elyott	Sparer.	

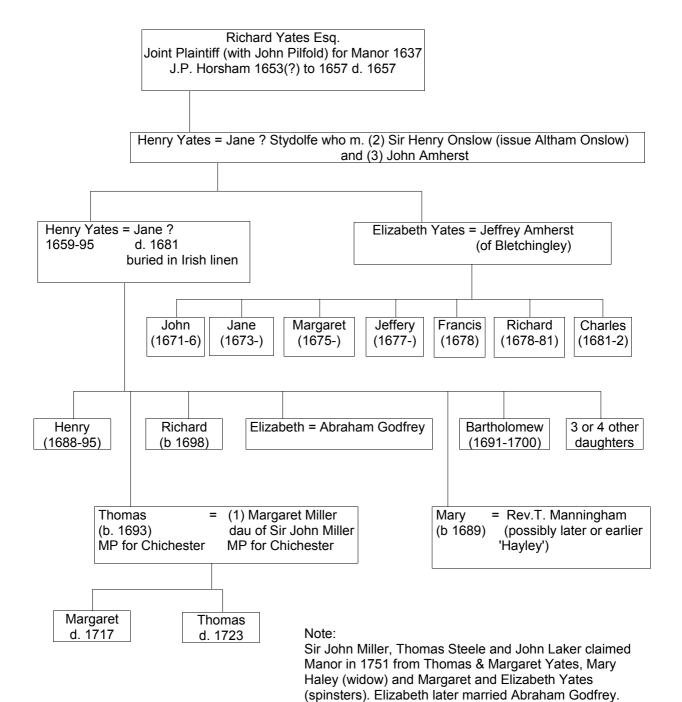
THE MANOR OF SLAUGHTERFORD CLAIMANTS IN THE SUCCESSION

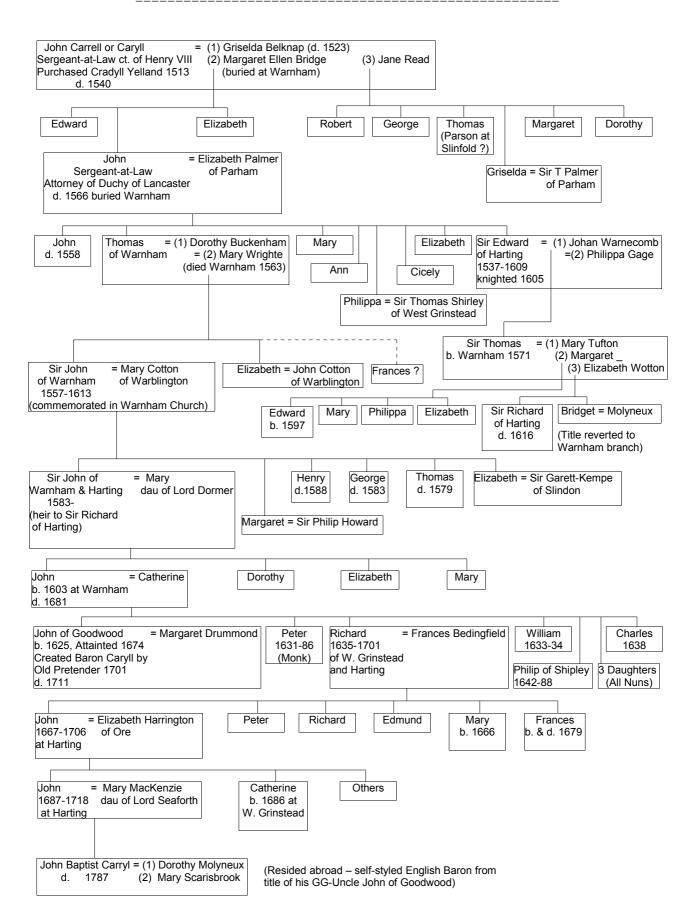
IDE or EDE



YOUNGE







INQUEST POST MORTEM

John Carrell or Cagyll, Esg., died - 10/3/8 Elizabeth (1566) in London.

Source - Sussex Record Society, Vol.III, Ing.PM.

Heir - grandson John Carrell - age 9.
Executors - Thomas Mychell and Robert Younger.

Digested summary of devised properties included in the Inquest :-

Amongst other properties mentioned, though not all appear to be in Warnham, are -

"The Manor of Nutham, the Theale Cosens, Kinges Fullers, Tusmans, Denland, Pargittes England, the Calcott, otherwise Foyces Calcott, Slaughterforde Langhurst, otherwise the heathye land, Tawkes (?Dawks), Upper Skenches (the Hookes, Kingesfolde meads), nether Skenches, the leame Wyllerouches, Collens, Hallamps, Hamonds, the Grete, Bardeseyes landes, Collens, Collens meads, Collens garden, Alysaunders otherwise Turnors, the Church felde with a garden and three acres of land formerly (Alysaunders called the) Lake, Cokerles otherwise Cokkes, otherwise Maunselles, and the Gyll in Horsham, Nuthurst, Rowsparr, Warnham, Rudgwyke and Wysborowghe Grene."

Note. Many of these names are similar to names in Warnham found in other sources, but it is difficult to place them.

.....; and all the manor or tenement of Justes and the capital messuage in which he (refers to deceased son John Carrell) (lived) in the parish of Warnham and all the messuages, houses, lands etc., in Warnham, called the Justes, the Eastfelde, Cobbcroftes, Northcroftes, Wythyottes (Furnings Warnehams) land, Warnehams garden, the Bryckhoste, Wallers Croftes, Kanyngmarshe, Brodefelde, Wardes, Stylars, Tanners, Brookers and the Northland (... and "Hilles" and various other lands in Horsham). (John Carell, decd., was evidently son of John Carril or Caryll, Serjeant-at-law.)

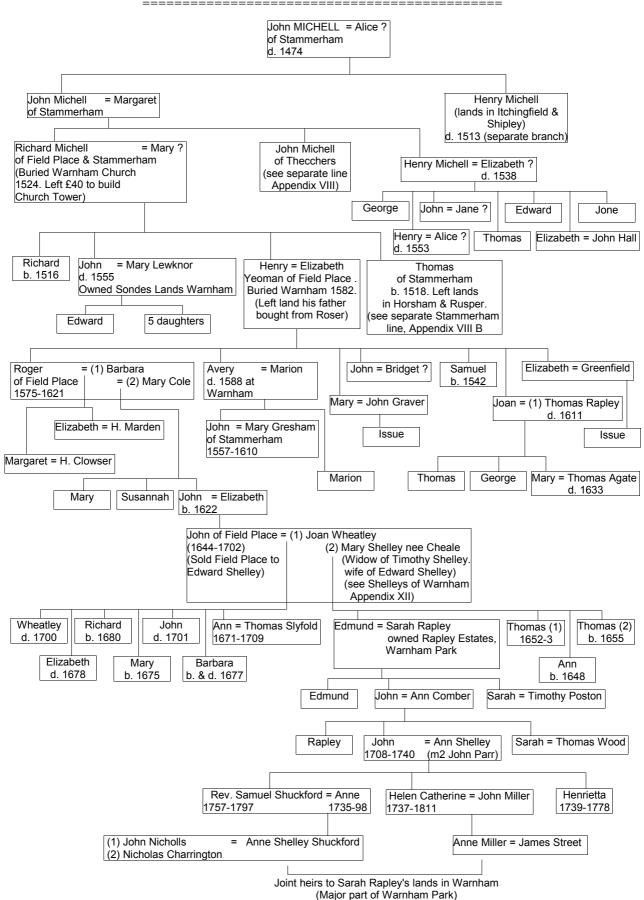
John Fuller and Thomas Churcher were appointed as trustees for the above.

They also held "a messuage and divers lands called Bottinges, otherwise Baxys Bremehookes, the (Lyons the Maplefelde) the Pytfelde, the Sandes meade; and a parcel of land in Warneham called the Lakeland, and of certain lands in Warneham called Fardingland and Chauntrye lands, and of certain lands there called Palmers, Towners, Oldhaynes and Brokes; and of certain lands in Warneham called the Rec, Cradells, Hornes, and Wylberhetts and of certain lands and tenements in Horsham called Stroode-land, otherwise Wardenland, the greatefelde otherwise Butlersfelde, Buttlers, Buttlers meads, Buttlers Chauntrye, Woodredan" etc., etc.

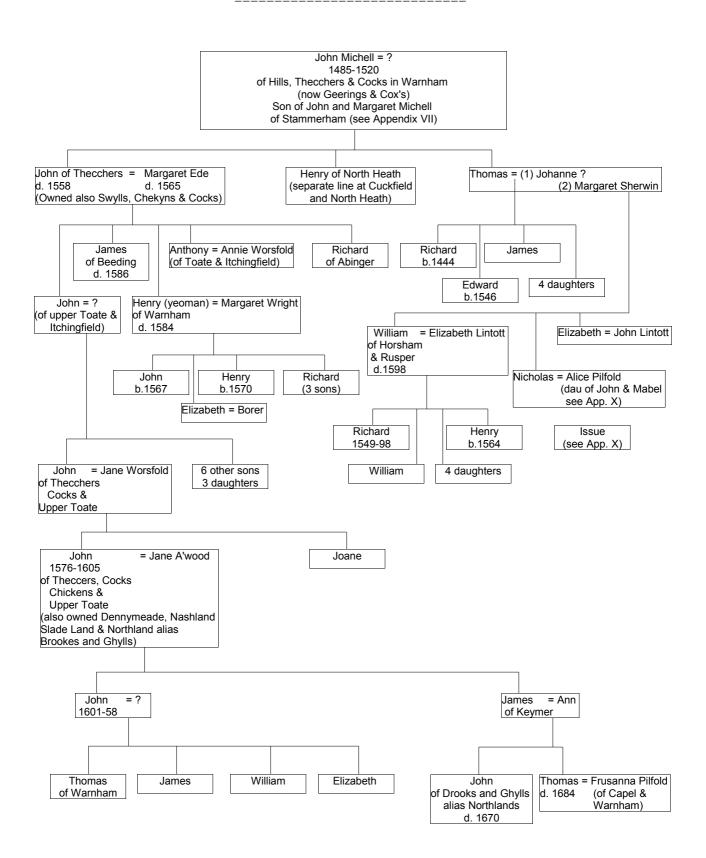
(The above are also mostly identifiable as being in Warnham but the whereabouts have not been established. He also owned various other properties in Byllingeshurst, Shipleye, Somptynge, Houghton and various other manors.

Note. The above properties passed to his grandson John, aged 9 at the time, son of his 2nd son Thomas, his eldest son John having predeceased him. This boy John, (1557-1613) became Sir John Caryll of Warnham. The estate of his cousin, Sir Richard of Harting reverted to the Warnham branch through Sir John's son.

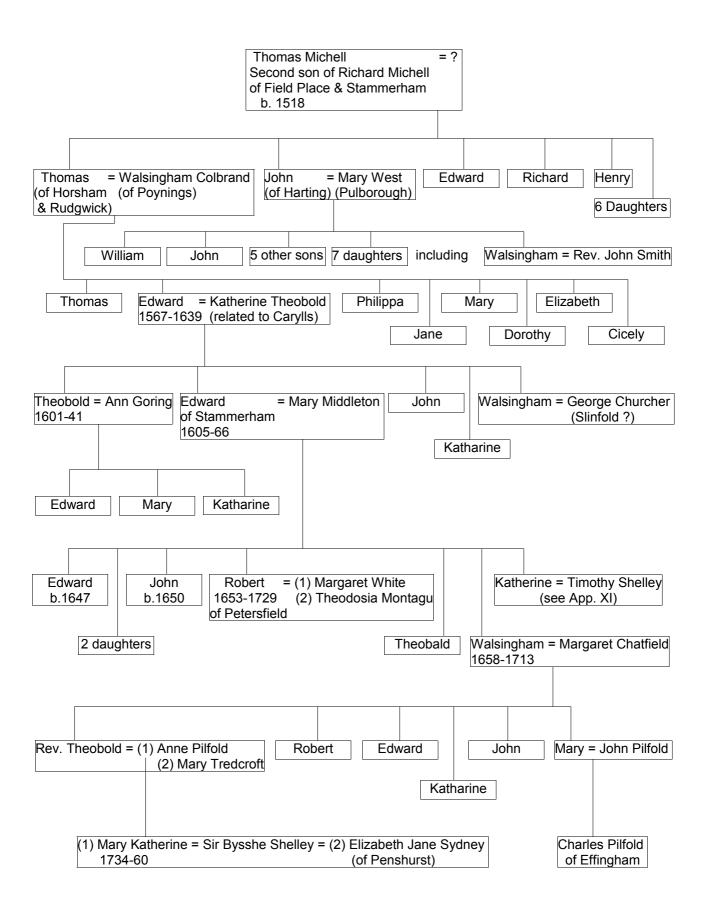
MICHELL of STAMMERHAM AND FIELD PLACE WARNHAM

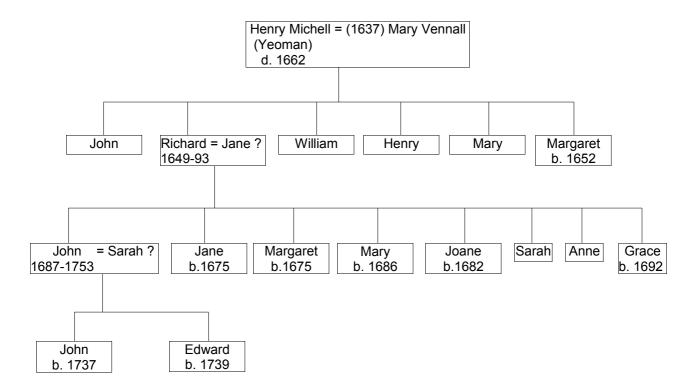


MICHELL OF THECCHERS, WARNHAM



MICHELL of STAMMERHAM Junior Branch

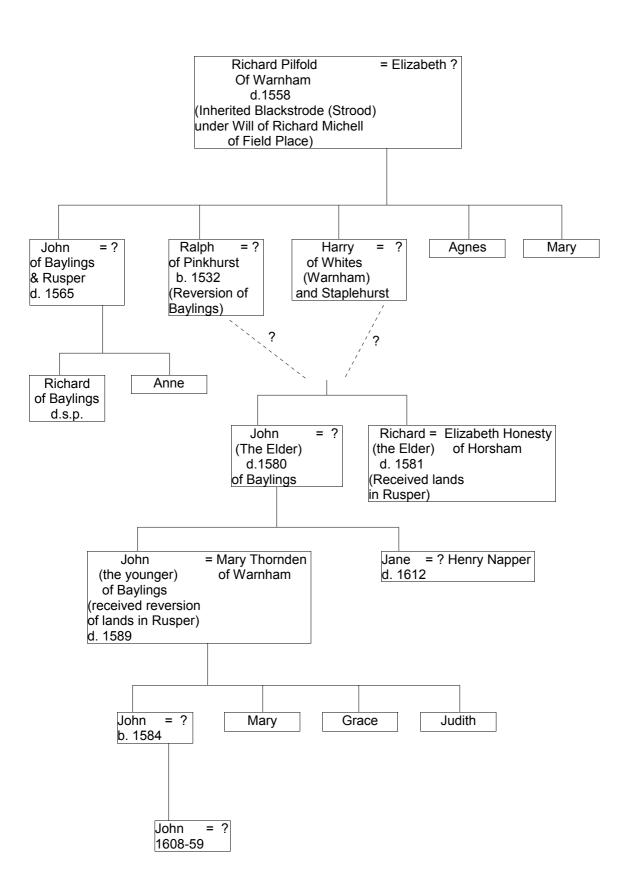


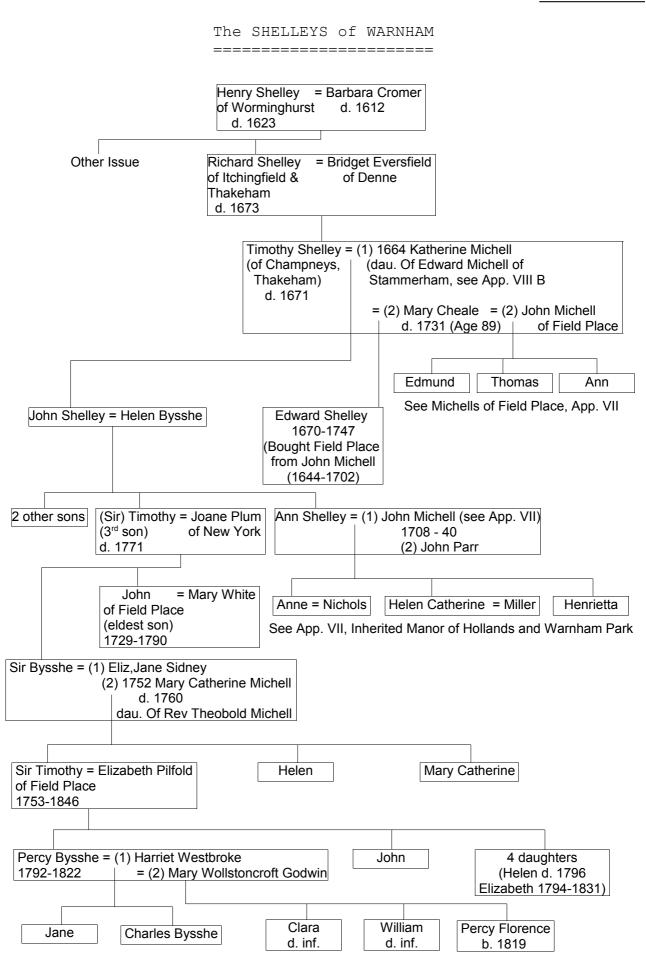


Note * This is probably Westbrook Hall and not the present Mayes Park

VICARS OF WARNHAM

1247	Robert de Dorking
	Richard Whitstead
1462	Matthew Warren
1485	John Swinoake
1490	Thomas Jellot
	Richard Patensly
1516	Robert Ball
1526	John Northcote
1567	Thomas Call
	John Shorter
	Henry Patchying (Sir Harry Pachinge, d.1560?)
1560	John Fowler or Fuller
1561	John Swynnerton
1564	2 2
	Matthew Allen of Horsham? Geo. Grange (Curate) d.1604 app.
	Michael Birkhedd
	Robert Hobbs
1626	Thomas Holland, M.A. -1645 (S.N.&, Vol.14, p.145)
	m. 1625 Joane Hobbs at Houghton.
1647-	
1653	William Avery, also of Kirdford, d.1684?
1684	Isaac Rushworth
1695	Thomas Pittis, m.Frances Pankhurst of Horsham.
1712	William Harvey
1738	John Bax, d.1748?
1746	Samuel Shuckford, D.D.
1753	Samuel shuckford, B.A.
1797	Richard Harvey. 1796-1803 John Asbridge, Curate.
1805 1839	
	James Wood C.F. Overton
	Richard Bowcott
	Felix Farebrother Michael Daniel
1961	Michael Newman
TAOT	MICHAEL MEMMAN





The AGATES of WARNHAM

SEE SEPARATE DOCUMENT

Explanation

These notes on the Early History of Warnham were compiled for the use of the Warnham Historical Society by Captain R.A. Villiers CBE RN Retired during 1977-8 as a basis for the formation of the Society, and the possible issue of a publication.

Sources from which this information was gathered include :

Warnham Parish Records held at Chichester

Sussex Archaeological Collections

Publications of the Sussex Record Society

Warnham Court papers on deposit at C.R.O. Chichester

Victoria County History Vol II

Dallaway & Cartwright - History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex Vol 2 Part II

Sussex Genealogies - Comber

A Millenium of Facts in the history of Horsham Sussex - William Albery

Tithe Map of 1842 and Apportionment

Enumeration of Schedules of Census Returns for 1841, 51 & 71

Directories (Kelly's) etc.