

## EARLY LORDS OF GLYNDE

by

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### Introduction

Anglo-Norman society was "essentially a military society which, if not actually engaged in war, had to be always prepared for it" (1). Almost all the barons and the bishops held their estates of the king by knight-service. The archbishop of Canterbury, for example, had to render the service of 60 knights to the king for his estates in Kent, Sussex and other counties (2), those estates including the manor of South Malling which comprehended the parishes of Ringmer and Glynde.

There were various ways of providing for the knights. In the years immediately following the Conquest many lords kept their knights in their own households, and lay lords continued to do this well into the twelfth century. Ecclesiastical lords, however, soon found this arrangement unsatisfactory. The professional soldier could prove to be an embarrassment in such a household and by the end of the eleventh century the enfeoffment of knights with land, thus enabling them to settle on their own estates, was well under way. Within the archbishop's manor of South Malling, Glynde was so granted, and for centuries afterwards the manor of Glynde was held of the archbishop by knight-service (3).

The later lords of the manor of Glynde from Richard Waleys in the late twelfth century to the Brands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are well known (4), but there is some uncertainty regarding the earlier twelfth century lords. This uncertainty is not born of dispute between rival claimants. Previous writers have expressed the view that the de Mallings were very probably the early Lords (5) but there is a lack of evidence that unquestionably links the de Mallings with Glynde. The following notes will show that the lack of evidence is apparent rather than real and that, unbeknown to previous writers, there may indeed have been rival claimants to the title of lord of Glynde.

### The de Mallings and Glynde

The evidence of a link between the family and the parish is provided by an original confirmation charter, dated sometime between 1139 and 1154, of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, of a grant to the abbey of Bec in Normandy of the church of Glynde (6). It records that Philip, a canon of the collegiate church of St. Michael in South Malling, has granted possession of the church to the monks of Bec, this to come into full effect after his death. To make the

grant more binding he obtained the consent of his brother, William de Malling, and of William's son, Godfrey. Another charter of Theobald's, recorded on an early thirteenth century charter roll, confirms William's gift of the church of Glynde to Bec after the death of his brother, Philip (7). For the present purpose the latter charter merely confirms the family connection between William and Philip and the de Malling interest in the church.

The ownership of the church by the de Mallings suggests a very close involvement in the parish that the church served, and it would not be unreasonable to argue on the evidence of the two charters alone that the de Mallings were lords of the manor of Glynde. In addition to this charter evidence, however, it has been noted by previous writers that there is a marked similarity between the estates in Kent and West Sussex held by the de Mallings of the archbishop in the late eleventh and mid twelfth centuries and those held by the Waleys in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (8). Thus it would seem that the Waleys came into the possession of the de Malling estates - estates in which Glynde may now be confidently included.

#### A rival claimant?

Between 1210 and 1212 a list of the archbishop's tenants by knight-service was compiled. Godfrey Waleys (no surprise here) holds one and a half fees in Glynde, but it is recorded also that Robert son of (fitz) Walter holds one fee in Glynde (9).

It seems that Robert fitz Walter was the grandson of Robert fitz Richard who had been granted the lands of William Baniard by Henry I in 1110, William having forfeited his lands. It is considered likely that Robert fitz Richard was granted not only all the estates that Baniard held directly of the king (which included Baynard's castle, one of the Norman defences of London), but also the military tenures that he held of other lords (10). In the light of a late eleventh century document that records a certain Baynard, thought to be of the Baynard's castle family, holding two knights fees of the archbishop (11) (unfortunately the location of the fees is not stated), it is possible that the knight's fee held in Glynde in the early thirteenth century by Robert fitz Walter was one of those held by Baynard at the end of the eleventh century.

In support of this the Sussex portion of the Domesday survey of 1086 may be cited. It records that Baynard held five hides of the archbishop's manor of (South) Malling (12). Glynde is not mentioned by name in the survey but it may be that the 'Baynard' entry relates to the parish. That a person called

Baynard had a close connection with the parish at some time prior to the late thirteenth century is certain. A Glynde manor rental of 1290 lists a number of tenants who hold land called 'Bainardisland', while another of 1298-9 lists tenants of the manor holding of the fee of Baynard (13). Could it be that this fee was one and the same as the five hide holding of Baynard's recorded in the Domesday survey and the knight's fee held by Robert fitz Walter in 1210-12? How it became incorporated into the Waleys' manor of Glynde is not known, but it is, perhaps, worth noting that fitz Walter was outlawed late in 1212 and his lands were seized by the crown. At this time also Baynard's castle was destroyed (14). Further research on the medieval documents of the Glynde archives may afford an explanation.

In the end, however, a cautionary note must be sounded. A list of the archbishop's knights of the late twelfth century makes no mention of the Glynde fee of Robert fitz Walter (15). Robert's father, Walter fitz Robert, owed two knights for Graveney in Kent and it has been suggested that these fees are the same as those held by Baynard in the late eleventh century (16). In 1210-12 these fees were held by one Richard of Graveney (17). If this is the case there is obviously a question mark against the fee in Glynde in 1210-12 as having been one of the two held by Baynard. Nevertheless the evidence that Baynard had a connection with Glynde is convincing and cannot be ignored.

### Conclusions

That the de Mallings had a close association with Glynde prior to the Waleys coming into possession of the manor during the latter half of the twelfth century seems certain. They can be now more confidently referred to as early lords of Glynde. Yet there is evidence that there was another fee in Glynde, also held by a knight of the archbishop, until some time in the thirteenth century when it appears to have been absorbed into the manor of Glynde that was in the lordship of the Waleys family. This other fee was probably at one time in the possession of the Baynards of Baynard's castle.

### References

1. POOLE, A.L., "From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216", Oxford, 1915, p.12.
2. ROUND, J.H., "Feudal England", London, 1964 (repr.), p.199.
3. For detailed study of the archbishop's enfeoffments see :  
DU BOULAY, F.R.H., "The Lordship of Canterbury - an essay on medieval society", London, 1966, pp.55-75;  
for knights and their fees generally at this time see :

POOLE, A.L., "Obligations of Society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", Oxford, 1946, pp.35-56, and HARVEY, S., "The knight and the knight's fee in England", Past and Present no.49 (Nov.1970) - reprinted in HILTON, R.H.(ed), "Peasants, knights and heretics. Studies in medieval English social history", Cambridge, 1976, pp.133-173.

4. DELL, R.F.(ed), "The Glynde Place archives - a catalogue", Lewes, 1964, pp.ix xxxvii.
5. Ibid, p.x. COLVIN, H.M.(ed), "A list of the archbishop of Canterbury's tenants by knight-service in the reign of Henry II" in DU BOULAY, F.R.H. (ed), "Documents illustrative of medieval Kentish society", Kentish Records, vol.18, Ashford, 1964, pp.19-20 and DU BOULAY, op.cit.("Lordship"), pp.100 and 370. These three writers make reference to Godfrey of Malling. He is known to have been a Domesday tenant of the archbishop in Kent and is thought to have been so in Sussex as well. The evidence for his Sussex tenure is not totally convincing - for a discussion see WARD, G., "Godfrey of Malling", Sussex Notes and Queries vol.5, 1934-5, pp.3-6. Also of importance is Denise, who is thought to have been the link between the de Mallings and the Waleys. She was the wife of Richard Waleys in the late twelfth century and it has been argued that she was the heiress of the de Mallings as well (see DELL op.cit.p.x. and Sussex Record Society vol.II, 1903, no.130). The present writer can add nothing to what has been written already about these two people and their possible connections with Glynde. For information on them readers are referred to the sources cited in this footnote.
6. CHIBNALL, M.(ed), "Select documents of the English lands of the abbey of Bec", Camden Society, Third Series, vol.73, London, 1951, pp.1-2 and SALTMAN, A., "Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury", London, 1956, pp.399-400. The full latin text is printed in both these publications and yet it seems to have escaped the attention of previous writers concerned with the early lordship of Glynde. (It did not, however, escape the notice of E.H.W.Dunkin, that seemingly indefatigable collector of material relating to the ecclesiastical history of Sussex - see Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol.26, 1875, pp.46-7). There is some dispute regarding the date of the document - Saltman suggests 1138-48, Chibnall 1148-54. (It is hoped that translations of these charters will appear in a future 'Ringmer History' with other documents relating to Glynde church and parish).
7. CHIBNALL, op.cit. p.7 and SALTMAN, op.cit.pp.401-2.
8. As for note 5, especially Dell and Colvin.

9. HALL, H. (ed), "Red Book of the Exchequer", Rolls Series No.99, London, 1897, pp.469-473.
10. DOUGLAS, D. "The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury", London, 1944, p.61.
11. Ibid, p.105.
12. MORRIS, J. (ed), "Domesday Book: Sussex", Chichester, 1976, 2/1b.
13. E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice)/GLY 954(iv) and 1059. (There are fifteenth century copies of both these rentals - respectively E.S.R.O./GLY 1058 and 1060).
14. POOLE, op.cit. ("Domesday Book ...."), p.455.
15. E.S.R.O./GLY 954(i) - printed in Colvin, op.cit. pp.6-8.
16. COLVIN, op.cit. pp.20-21.
17. HALL, op.cit. p.471.