

SUSSEX
Archaeological Collections,

ILLUSTRATING THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY
The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. I.

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REPORT.

THE Committee of the Sussex Archæological Society, on presenting this first portion of their Collections to the members, take the opportunity of briefly recapitulating the origin and progress of the Society, and at the same time of congratulating them on the satisfactory state of the Society as to its finances, and as to the number and importance of its supporters.

The first meeting, which defined the objects and established the rules of the Society, took place on June 18th, 1846, at the suggestion of a few gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood of Lewes, who, observing the interest excited by some recent antiquarian discoveries, were anxious to promote a readier acquaintance among persons attached to the same pursuits, and to combine their exertions in illustration of the History and Antiquities of Sussex. The result of this first meeting was successful in attracting the favour of the Sussex public, and besides enrolling many others of the highest distinction, both ecclesiastical and civil, was especially fortunate in the ready acceptance of the office of Patron by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and in the kind acquiescence of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, to the request of the Society to become its President.

The Society already numbered 90 members three weeks after its formation, and at a General Meeting in the ruins of Pevensey Castle on July 9, 1846, as many as 150 persons, including visitors, were assembled. A paper on the history of Pevensey Castle, prepared at the request of the Committee, by Mr. M. A. Lower, was there read, and has since been published separately by him as 'The Chronicles of Pevensey.'

Among other objects of attraction were exhibited numerous rubbings of Sussex brasses. Copies of fresco paintings lately discovered in Battle Church by W. H. Brooke, Esq. *Drawing of a marble effigy lately found in Lewes Priory, by Mr. W. Figg. Roman coins, found at Pevensey Castle, belonging to Mr. M. A. Lower.

Having thus ascertained that they had secured popular support, the Committee appointed the next General Meeting to be held at Brighton on

September 25, 1846. The Dean of Chichester presided over the meeting, which was attended by 36 members and many visitors. Among the objects of archæological interest exhibited were—

Several very fine rubbings of brasses, including some rare foreign ones, by Rev. C. Boutell, who pointed out and explained the peculiarities of costume belonging to successive periods.

Book of the customs of the fishermen of Brighton, confirmed in 1579, and again in 1618; by T. W. Attree, Esq. (*The Committee hope to be able to publish this on a future occasion.*)

Drawing of glass armilla, from Malling Hill.

Celt, torque, four armillæ, and three spiral rings, from Hollingbury Castle, near Stanmer.

Gold Saxon earring, found near Stanmer.

Bronze statuette of Cupid, from the Downs near Stanmer.

Ball of flint with enamelled pattern, found with an urn containing bones, from near Brighton race-course.

Drawings of contents of tumuli opened on Cliffe Hills.

Rubbing of brass effigies of Sir Worth and Lady Mantell, A.D. 1474, in Heyford Church, Northamptonshire, from the Museum of Dr. Gideon Mantell, who addressd the meeting in explanation of the numerous objects exhibited by him.

A small instrument of brass, discovered in 1845 in the east wall of East Dean Church, by Mr. Richardson.

Drawing of a crypt under the Lamb Inn, Eastbourne.

Ancient gold British coin, and gold Saracenic coin of the 8th century, found near the sea, at Eastbourne, by Mr. W. Harvey.

Leaden matrix of the seal of John de Bruges, found at Littlington, and silver coin of Edward the Confessor, struck at Lewes; by T. Dicker, Esq.

Roman pottery—two very light and thin glass vessels, bronze bracelets, and ring, from skeletons exhumed from the chalk, near Chilgrove; by Rev. W. D. Willis.

Various papers were then read to the meeting. Those marked with * are printed in the present volume.

*On Sussex Archæology; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

On the History of Mayfield Palace; by Wm. Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix.

*On some Romanised British Urns found near Worthing; by F. Dixon, Esq.

*On the Seals of the Cinque-Ports of Sussex; by Mr. M. A. Lower.

On the Tomb of Queen Matilda, at Caen, with a copy of the inscription; by Dr. Pickford. (*Since privately printed by that gentleman.*)

Extracts from the MS. Accounts of the Churchwardens of Cowfold Parish in 1460; by the Rev. W. Otter. (*The Committee hope to publish this in the next volume.*)

On some Encaustic Tiles lately found at Keymer; by the Rev. E. Turner.

After this meeting at Brighton the Committee thought it inexpedient to hold any General Meetings during the winter, and the next General Meeting accordingly took place on May 5, 1847, at New Shoreham. Colonel Davies was in the chair, and 23 members, besides many visitors, attended. The churches of New and Old Shoreham were visited by the company. At the meeting were exhibited—

Drawings of New Shoreham Church; by John Britton, Esq.

Gold armilla found near Patcham, in 1847; by Colonel Paine.

*Ancient earthen vessel in the form of a knight on horseback, lately found at Lewes; by Mr. W. Figg.

Some rare Saxon coins found in Sussex, including those of Plegmund and Athelstan; by Mr. W. Harvey.

Map on vellum of the coast of Sussex, drawn in 1587, showing the defences against the expected invasion; by Mr. M. A. Lower.

Ancient Roman pottery, mosaic, &c., from the Roman villa, at Southwick, belonging to Mr. N. Hall; exhibited by the Rev. C. Gaunt, who explained the plan and situation. (*The Committee hope to publish some details on a future occasion.*)

Various papers were then read to the meeting.

On the Situation of Anderida; by the Rev. A. Hussey. (*This antiquarian problem having been avowedly suggested to the author by this Society and some critical discussion on the question having arisen at Shoreham, it is to be regretted that the application of the Committee for the use of the MS. was not acceded to by the author.*)

*On the Agriculture, &c., of Sussex, in 1341, as shown in the Nonarum Inquisitiones; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

*On some Ancient Coins found on the Coast of Sussex; by F. Dixon, Esq.

*On the Translation of Saint Lewinna from Seaford in 1058; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

The General Annual Meeting, commencing the second year of the Society's existence, took place at Chichester on July 1st, 1847, under very favorable auspices, his Lordship the Bishop of the Diocese having consented to preside. The large room at the Dolphin Inn, engaged by the Society, was

filled by about 100 members, besides a considerable number of visitors. There were exhibited here—

A large model of Chichester Cathedral, and several drawings of parts of the cathedral; by J. Butler, Esq.

*A large British Urn found at Storrington; by F. Dixon, Esq.

Various specimens of Roman pottery, &c., from Southwick; by Mr. N. Hall.

Three gold armillæ of various sizes, found on the Downs near Patcham; by Col. Paine.

An ancient granite quern.

An iron casket of fine Gothic work, with inscriptions; belonging to Mr. Thatcher.

Brass rubbings, from Miss Slater, Mr. Paget, and others; from Bristol, Warwick, Hever, &c. From Sussex were those of the Bartelot family at Stopham; of Thomas Gage and his two wives, at Firle; of T. Parker, at Willingdon; of Prior Thomas Nelond, at Cowfold; of priests, &c., at Arundel.

A Report was read announcing the continued accession of members during the past year, so as to amount to 190. The following statement of accounts was submitted:

Receipts during the year 1846-7:

	£	s.	d.
108 Members' subscriptions,	54	2	6
3 Members' composition,	15	0	0
	<hr/>		
	69	2	6
Deduct payments,	22	11	0
	<hr/>		
Balance in hands of Treasurer,	46	11	6
Besides a considerable arrear of sub- scriptions unpaid.			

Payments during the year 1846-7:

	£	s.	d.
Printing circulars, advertise- ments, &c.	10	7	0
Stationery and postage	3	17	6
Meeting at Pevensy	1	5	0
„ Brighton	0	12	6
„ Shoreham	1	10	6
Wooden exhibition frames	4	18	6
	<hr/>		
	22	11	0

Various Papers were read to the meeting:

* On the Characteristics of Chichester Cathedral; by the Rev. Philip Freeman, Principal of the Diocesan College.

* On Chichester Cross; by John Britton, Esq.

* On Celtic Antiquities near Chichester; by the Rev. Levison Vernon Harcourt.

On St. Mary's Hospital at Chichester; by the Rev. G. Shiffner, Warden of the Hospital. (*The Committee hope to publish this in their next volume.*)

* On the Will of Richard de la Wych, Bishop of Chichester, 1253; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

During the day members were admitted to an inspection of the private chapel of the palace, by permission of the Bishop. All parts of the cathedral, by permission of the Dean, were also thrown open, and its architectural peculiarities were explained to a numerous party by Mr. Crocker, the Verger. The Museum of the Chichester Philosophical Society was also liberally opened to members, as also the Hospital of St. Mary, where the Warden explained on the spot the nature of the establishment.

The Committee desire to express their thanks for the friendly reception of the Society, with the free use of their rooms given by the local authorities at all their meetings, both at Pevensey, Brighton, Shoreham, and Chichester, and they have also to acknowledge the receipt of the following presents :—

A collection of rubbings from brasses, principally in West Sussex ; by F. Malleon, Esq.

Two coloured engravings of a chapel, and of a fresco recently discovered at St. Albans Abbey, from the St. Albans Architectural Society ; by the Rev. C. Boutell, Secretary.

An earthen vessel, with handles, supposed to be Flemish ; from the Rev. H. Legge.

On the discovery of the remains of William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada, at Lewes ; from Dr. G. Mantell.

The Winchester volume of the Archæological Institute ; and

The Map of Roman and British Yorkshire, by C. Newton, Esq. ; from the Central Committee of the Archæological Institute, to whom the Society is further indebted for the use of three woodcuts.

Drawing of the Goldstone near Brighton ; by Dr. Bromet.

Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire ; by John Britton, Esq.

Antiquities of Hoylake, Cheshire ; by A. Hume, LL.D., F.S.A.

Soon after this Chichester meeting, the Committee considered it expedient to promote the restoration of Chichester Cross, and communicated to the Mayor of the city their willingness to contribute £10 towards any subscription that might be raised for effecting that object on a well-considered plan.

Another General Meeting during the autumn had been contemplated, principally with the intention of more readily distributing to the members the present Volume, but it was found impracticable to complete the publication in time, owing to the delays incidental to the preparation of the illustrations, and to the proper revision of the papers by the various authors.

On issuing this first Volume, consisting chiefly of Papers read at previous meetings of the Society, the Committee wish it to be understood that the opinions expressed in any Essay are those of the individual author alone, and that the Society is not responsible for them.

It must be remarked that the expenses of publication have been very considerable, and have been made in reliance upon the continued support of the members, and in the hope that their punctual payment of the small annual subscription will enable the Committee, with the economy they have hitherto exercised, to renew the publication from time to time, as well as to conduct the general meetings. It is right also to mention that the expense of printing the two longest papers in this volume, "Journal of the Rev. Giles Moore, by R. W. Blencowe, Esq.," and "Will of Bishop Richard de la Wych, by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.," have been respectively defrayed, at their own request, by those gentlemen.

The number of members at present amounts to 217.

It is proposed to hold a General Meeting for the reading of communications at Hastings or elsewhere, in May or June 1848; and that the General Annual Meeting should take place at Lewes, in July or August, 1848.

21st December, 1847.

Copies of this present Volume will be reserved for Associates, and also for future Members at 5s. each. The price to the public will be 10s.

Sussex Collections.

ON SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGY,

READ AT THE MEETING OF THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AT THE
TOWN HALL, BRIGHTON, SEPT. 25, 1846.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., HONORARY SECRETARY.

THE first meeting of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, at Pevensey Castle, having been attended with so many evidences of ready welcome, and of the extended interest created in the county by the attempt to make the examination of its antiquities an object of united efforts, it may not be uninteresting at this second meeting (though, in fact, it may properly be considered the first held to carry out the purposes of the Society) to make a few general remarks on the Archæology of Sussex, and to point out in what direction, and by what means the Society may best exert its energies.

The establishment of such a Society may well seem to have been called for by the active spirit of the times, so willing to adopt things new, but yet so resolute to maintain the old, when worthy of its veneration. Within a very few years we have seen in this county the gradual decline of other opportunities of social meeting, which attracted the crowds of a previous generation; while, on the other hand, the first invitation to form this Archæological Society was, within one month, met by the accession of 130 members of all classes of society, willing to co-operate in the study and elucidation of the history and antiquities of the county. As chemistry proves to us that nothing in nature is annihilated, and that, though matter is seen to decay and escape from our notice into thin air, yet, in fact, it only assumes a new, perhaps a more spiritual form,

so we may hope that this new Society may absorb to its own uses, in a transmuted form, the zeal and activity which hitherto animated those other associations for pleasant purposes, which seem no longer to satisfy the requirements of the age.

It is well known that in England the State has never assumed any care of the historical monuments of the country, and has left to private exertion what in almost every other country has been considered the duty of the State. In France, very recently, the minister has established a medal to be given to those who help to preserve the national monuments; and in Prussia the king exerts, in every direction, his influence in the same spirit. Every one knows with what a catholic spirit he, a Protestant king, promotes the completion of Cologne Cathedral; but it may not be known to all, that he, a military sovereign, is at the same time removing the barracks from the vast ruins of Constantine's palace, at Treves, and about to restore its great hall, so as to establish a Protestant church in the very building once occupied by the first Christian Emperor.

In England numerous societies have sprung up to supply the office abandoned by the State; and, while some have stretched their sphere with great advantage over the whole country, there have also arisen in many counties societies on a more limited scale, similar to our own, enabling its members to act no longer as insulated observers, but as organized members of one body—ready, by mutual help and communication, to advance with greater facility the knowledge of the antiquities of the county. There have been good and earnest labourers before us, working individually in the same pursuit, but without this benefit. One name of a great antiquary has been, indeed, held in esteem in Sussex for two centuries; and many a pilgrimage to the lowly birthplace of John Selden, at Salvington, has kept alive the local memory of one of the greatest men who ever devoted his learning to the study of antiquity, though without any special application to his native county.

Contemporary with him was John Rowe, perhaps the earliest investigator of Sussex antiquities, whose valuable collection of manorial rights and customs is yet referred to as a standard authority; and it may not be ill-timed to remark, that one of the first practical effects of the zeal of the members of this

Society has been to rescue from the earth, into which it had sunk, the tombstone of this John Rowe, who died at Lewes in 1630.

Passing over many others, it would be impossible, even in this hasty notice, not to allude to the diligent and long continued exertions of the late Sir William Burrell, whose voluminous materials, of the greatest interest and value relating to Sussex antiquities, were so liberally bequeathed to the British Museum. This collection has ever since been the storehouse to which all Sussex antiquaries have resorted with gratitude, and from it, within the last few months, many of the drawings of old Sussex mansions have been copied and published by Mr. E. B. Lamb. From the MSS. of Sir W. Burrell, and those also of Mr. Hayley, have been principally constructed the well-known histories of the Western Rapes, by Dallaway and Cartwright, and the comprehensive work of Horsfield, the only history of the whole county. These are excellent contributions, and are most useful foundations on which may be placed the additions which this Society is well adapted to make.

The field of antiquities, even within the limits of a county, is so wide, that all antiquaries must feel, when consulting these meritorious volumes, that much remains to be done in full elucidation of the civil and ecclesiastical history, topography, and ancient buildings within the county.

The most cursory glance will suffice to prove this, and that many points of the early history of the county remain in obscurity.

Are there any traces left here of that wide-spread system of the Druids, which so long influenced the minds of men? Are there on the surface of our Downs, or elsewhere, any of those simple mounds or colossal stones which spoke to them with awe, and to us with mystery? A few years ago a vast mass of breccia, well known under the name of Goldstone at Hove, and referred to by the Rev. S. Douglas, F.S.A. as connected with a circle of similar stones, was deliberately buried in a pit dug on purpose. Our distinguished member, Dr. Mantell, who has long paid as much attention to the antiquities as to the geology of Sussex, has noticed this and other large stones of similar character. Are we to suppose that, in our vast forests, the Druids found at once temples and dwellings? After the

rude natives had given way before the civilized invaders from Rome, have antiquaries well ascertained what traces these mighty colonists have left? Can we know whether, with their usual policy, they incorporated into their religious system any objects of former veneration among the conquered people? Among the mosaics of Bignor, some have thought they perceived a Druid, shrouded in his cloak, and holding a sacred branch. It is worth inquiry how soon and to what degree did the Roman customs prevail among the British? We see many of our hills capped by deep intrenchments, outlasting, like all earthworks, nearly all their cities. Has the connexion of these scattered points been well considered, so as to throw light on their system of military occupation, and the numbers of the garrison by which they kept their hold against an adverse population? Were their summer forts all on the hills, and none on the more pleasant plains? Their great lines of communication, those wonderful roads, so bold, so enduring, from what ports did they issue, and to what cities did they lead? The journeys of the Romans might be compared, as a matter of curiosity as to their route, with those of King John in after times, who seems often to have traversed the county at the rate of 35 to even 50 miles a day, a speed which seemed so marvellous to Matthew Paris, that he doubted (*citius quam credi fas est*) its possibility. His resting-places were Battle, Malling, Pagaham, Ludgarsh, Seaford, Bramber, Cansted, Hasel, and especially Crap and Audingbourn.

The situation of the Roman towns still remains a problem to be solved by renewed inquiry. Where was Anderida, that city so strong, so fiercely fought for, and so utterly effaced? There is scope for the vigour of a fresh mind to decide this long-disputed question, either by the production of new evidence, or the more careful scrutiny of the old, tested by the physical features of the country. Nor, indeed, have the other cities and stations of the Roman itineraries been well determined; and the Roman origin of the broad tiles and brick-pounded mortar of Pevensey has been unnecessarily questioned. We know what changes have been made on our coast by the uncontrollable action of the sea; have we considered in what state the ports were in the time of the Romans, compared with their modern condition? One hundred and fifty years

ago was published a posthumous work of the learned antiquary, William Somner, 'On the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.' The same task would well employ some skilful hand in Sussex. There is no collected account of the coins found, though their evidence might often be of importance. At Bignor, there can be no doubt that Sussex possesses one of the most beautiful specimens of a Roman villa, with its luxurious baths and fanciful mosaics, already investigated by Lysons. By fresh inquiries, a map of Roman Sussex might ultimately be produced, similar to the elaborate one of Roman Yorkshire, constructed lately by Mr. Newton, of the British Museum.

A similar extent of inquiry lies open to the researches of the Anglo-Saxon scholar to lessen the obscurity in which whole centuries of Sussex history have been wrapped. To what age are we to ascribe those fine armlets of pure gold, and to what casualty those extraordinary gold coins with Mahomedan inscriptions of the 8th century, lately found near Beachy Head? The history of Ella and Cissa, and others, who established their sway here, should become better known to us. It is difficult to explain why Sussex, so open to continental intercourse, should be among the last parts of the island to receive Christianity. Its introduction by the energetic Wilfred is well known; and there seems nothing improbable in the story of his teaching the rude fishermen of Selsey to make nets, when it is considered that, at the present time, the natives of Australia, though skilled in catching fish by other means, have no knowledge of the use of nets.

Perhaps among the converts of this remarkable man was one named Lewinna, the earliest Christian lady of Sussex whom history has recorded; unless, indeed, we consider Mr. Hay to have proved the Claudia mentioned by St. Paul to be identical with the Claudia of Martial, and Pudens, her husband, to be the Pudens of Chichester, according to an inscription found there. Lewinna must have acquired considerable renown by her virtues; for after she fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the Pagans, her bones were long preserved at Seaford near high honour as a virgin martyr and saint; and when, in the eleventh century, her remains were piously carried over to Belgium, they were paraded through its towns, in order to spread the

miraculous efficacy imputed to them. Her history may probably, on a future day, be brought before you by a member of this Society.

One singular monument of wood has been preserved by the mud of the river Arun, at North Stoke, to the present day, and the British Museum now, by the liberality of the late Earl of Egremont, exhibits this, perhaps the oldest boat in existence. Another very ancient vessel was found in the Rother at Northiam, in 1822, supposed to belong to a Danish fleet of the ninth century. The wooden churches of the Saxon period have long perished, but it would be interesting to ascertain, if possible, their number and situations, or to bring forward any instances of stone churches prior to the Norman conquest.

It may be worth mentioning, at Brighton, that though only one church is mentioned in Domesday, yet very soon afterwards there is proof that Brighton was considerable enough to have two churches, the gift of which by John de Keynes to Lewes Priory was confirmed by the second Earl de Warrenne.

The scholar may point out to us the possessions, perhaps the dwelling, of the great Alfred among us, and may enable us, by the testimony of his companion Asser, and by the particulars in Alfred's will, to linger with increased interest on the spots he visited.

It may be permitted here to caution antiquaries from drawing too hasty conclusions from similarity of names. This has led Horsfield to claim for the Sussex locality of Ashdown Forest the scene of the interesting battle fought by Alfred against the Danes in 871. An attentive reader of the vivid description of Asser, as an eye-witness of the "single low thorny tree" around which the contest raged on the open breadth of Ascendun, with all the accompanying circumstances, will be convinced that it took place on the chalk hills of Berkshire, at a place of the same name.

It is quite enough distinction for Sussex to have been the undoubted witness of two of the most important battles in British history, at Hastings and at Lewes; the one changing the dynasty of the sovereign and disturbing all the social relations of the inhabitants, the other prelude to the most momentous change in the constitutional government of this kingdom.

The recent visit to Pevensey must have explained to many present the nature of the shore on which the Conqueror landed, and there is every probability that he had given out a general description of its appearance as a guide for his fleet, inasmuch as some of his ships mistook the very similar position of Romney for the point intended, and landing there, were killed by the fierce inhabitants (*fera gens*), who were afterwards so cruelly punished for resisting the invaders.

Why Sussex alone should have been parcelled out into Rapes, each with a port and a castle, a division of land only known elsewhere in Iceland, and what the word imports, awaits explanation, and here it may be remarked in reference to one of the objects of the Society, the genealogy of families, how steadfastly some Sussex names, as well as many provincial words, have adhered to the soil from very remote times, amid all the revolutions of the state, and in this number are still found some noble, as well as many names of humbler station. This subject has already been ably treated, it is well known, by a member of the Society, Mr. M. A. Lower, in his 'English Surnames,' and as we have many members eminently qualified to collect genealogical information, they will perhaps turn their attention to an enlargement and more methodical arrangement of Sussex genealogies than is found in Berry's volume. In such a vast field, it would probably be wiser at first not to attempt to bring down the pedigrees below the time of Queen Elizabeth, or the Revolution of 1688, or some such limit.

There is one striking circumstance relating to the ruined buildings scattered over England, in contrast with those found in most parts of Europe. Destruction there has been the work of foreign violence, principally indeed of one single nation,—France; but in England, and even in Sussex, though its coasts lie so exposed to foreign attack, and have been in fact frequently subject to it, we cannot point out one building ruined by an invader. We cannot shift off to others the charge which lies upon ourselves—English ruins have been self-made, and have unfortunately been the work of English hands. The deliberate violence of civil wars, the over-hasty zeal of religious changes, the tasteless neglect of accumulated property, such causes, wholly English, have effectually converted so many of our castles, our mansions, and our churches to their present state.

Though some have been entirely destroyed, yet we have the remains of many castles still left within our bounds; among the forms of which the gradual development of society may be watched, from the earth intrenchments which scar our Downs to the Roman masonry of Pevensey, and the feudal strength of so many others—Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Hastings—each in itself deserving a history, to the moated defences of Bodiam and Scotney, and the palatial fortresses of Amberley and Hurstmonceux, till we come down to the coast forts, erected by Henry VIII. An interesting document bearing on this subject, though previously printed, has been again brought to your notice by a member, Russell Gray, Esq., and many will be glad to see the list of those men of Sussex who came forward with their ample subscriptions, in the year of the Spanish Armada, to contribute to the national defence. In this roll will be found honorably recorded many a name still dwelling among us—both among the rich and noble, or fallen among the lowly. We may rejoice that, at the present happier time, we have less need of builders of fortresses than of calm antiquaries to examine their ruins; but already has Arundel, Bodiam, and Pevensey each attracted its historian, in works by members of this Society.

We must not think slightly of the beauty and variety of the houses of prayer which, whether in ruins or in use, adorn the county. From the shingles of Selsey, where the beacon of Christianity was first erected, the light of religion found for itself many noble resting-places here, some now only to be traced by scanty ruins, as in the monasteries of Sele, Tortington, Warbleton, Lewes, Robertsbridge, and others, while some have preserved better their stateliness of old, as at Battle, Winchelsea, Bayham, Boxgrove, &c. It would be desirable for the Society to procure and embody all the information possible on these points, before the work of destruction advances. Within a very few years the fine old gateway of Lewes Priory has been removed, and partially destroyed; indeed nothing but the interference of one of our zealous members, John Hoper, Esq., prevented its total demolition.

I by no means wish to offend in charity towards other societies similar to our own, but I must take the opportunity

of noticing the strange example set by the Cambridge Camden Society as to Sussex antiquities, which it is to be hoped our own members, in their search after novelty, will not follow. In No. 4 of their Monumental Brasses is a copy of the brass at Cowfold of Thomas Nelond, Prior of Lewes, and in the text annexed to it that Society has published a long letter, regularly dated—"atte Lewes, the ffeſt of Seynt Austyn, 1433," and signed by the Prior's brother, Peter Nelond, a London goldsmith, giving a detailed description of his funeral and procession to his distant grave, without a word to indicate that the whole letter is purely fictitious, the mere creation of a modern writer's imagination. This may possibly have been a well-intended fraud, but as it might get mixed up with genuine Sussex history, and has not before been openly exposed, though in print some years and not disavowed by that Society, I trust its mention here will be excused.

Besides the conventual ruins, we have many churches, which are among the most curious specimens of their styles, including the round towers of Piddinghoe, &c., evidently designed for better defence. We have, above all, the Cathedral of Chichester, which is every year resuming its old beauty and acquiring fresh ornaments under the anxious care of those who have it in charge. Besides the numerous windows of stained glass contributed by private feeling, a beautiful instance has recently occurred in the restoration of the tomb of Bishop Richard de la Wyche, afterwards canonized by Rome, a prelate highly interesting from his connexion with Sussex history, and who must ever deserve respect for the firmness with which he asserted his rights under oppression, and dared to speak truth in the palace of an angry sovereign with as much freedom as in quieter times he reproved the nobles around him. The sculptor, Mr. Richardson, employed to effect the restoration has dealt with it as a labour of antiquarian love as well as with the skill of an artist.

The now almost universal practice of rubbing brasses will render easy the acquisition of a complete set of all those remaining in the county, and it is to be hoped that a stop will be put to their removal. Within a few miles of Brighton, on a visit to a church lately, I found that a brass inscription had been carried off to a neighbouring farmhouse, with the view

of sending it to a Sussex nobleman, whose tenant the farmer was : I doubt whether it has been replaced to this day. A member present, the Rev. C. Boutell, who is preparing an elaborate work on the subject, will give us the benefit of some remarks on brasses, which may guide others in their collections of them. I will only observe that Sussex contains as good a collection as most counties.

The great churches of Shoreham, Steyning, Rye, and Arundel are too interesting to be unknown ; and at Sompting, we have a remarkable example of a spire with pediments, very uncommon in England, but the type of which is very common in the churches of the Continent, especially near the Rhine, as may be seen by some bas-reliefs of German churches on the table. The frescoes at Preston and Battle are among the most curious that have been of late rescued from the white-wash of churchwardens.

The county perhaps was never rich in painted glass, but even of our little we have been occasionally plundered, as in the case of the two portraits said to be those of Henry III and his Queen, which found their way out of Hoo church into the museum of Horace Walpole, and were lately sold at Strawberry Hill.

The mansions of ancient architecture in Sussex have been fine and numerous, but as they are necessarily at the uncontrolled disposal of their proprietors, the number is constantly diminishing. On Mayfield Palace a paper will be presently read to you ; but mere fragments are now left of Brambletye, Halland, Slaugham, Chiddingly, Laughton, and others. Even last year, half of the fine mansion of the Culpepers, at Wakehurst, was pulled down, without any record being taken of its spacious rooms and elaborate ceilings. There still remain, however, besides others, the mansions of Parham, Wiston, Danny, and Glynde, all so curiously similar in their situations under the shelter of the Downs.

With one more subject only will I trouble the Society—that of the former manufactures of the county, which once formed its main occupation, and of which so little is now known. How interesting would be an account of the great iron-works, of which there now only remain a few names to recall the memory locally where the cinders were heaped or the hammers of the forge were worked. Many of the gentry of the

county owed their wealth to this source, and a late member of the county, John Fuller, Esq., recorded his gratitude by inscribing near his house "carbone et forcipibus." The first maker of cannon in Sussex was John Owen, in 1535; but one of the most curious pieces in the Tower of London, a flat cannon with three tubes, beautifully adorned with the badges and titles of Henry VIII, bears on it the maker's name, "Petrus Baude Gallus operis artifex," who established his foundry at Buxted in 1543, with Ralph Hoge, the latter of whom still gives a name to "the Hog House" there. A servant of Baude, John Johnson, is said to have "succeeded and exceeded his master," making his cannon cleaner and more perfect, in 1595. There were other manufactures, so entirely extinct that they are forgotten, and yet it is certain that some of the Flemish cloth-weavers, whom Edward III encouraged to come over, settled in Sussex; and in 1423, in the time of Henry VI, an act passed forbidding, except by way of Calais, the export of "les sleightes laines de Sussex," as they are termed, implying some particular merit, the memory of which has passed away.

Many notices, too, exist of the glass-works in Sussex, though they seem not to have produced the best quality. In 1557, Thomas Charnock says, in some rude verses,

"As for glass-makers they be scant in the land,
 Yet one there is, as I do understand,
 And in Sussex is now his habitation,
 At Chiddingsfold he works of his occupation."

Another notice says, "Neither can we match the purity of Venice glasses, and yet many green ones are blown in Sussex, profitable to the makers and convenient to the users thereof." Camden refers in similar terms, and Evelyn also, as to Sussex being the only county for glass-works. A severe proclamation of James I forbade the "melting of glass with timber, or wood or fuel made of the same," but as the glass-works increased subsequently, this was probably disregarded. Wisborough Green is the only locality known to me of these glass-works.

In the inquiry as to the value of the different parishes for the purposes of taxation in 1342, the return, which is signed, among others, by John de Mitford, says of Greffham, that

“the rector has the easement, to the value of XIId. from men who make there earthen vessels.” A pottery in good repute exists there at the present day.

It would employ some members fond of statistics to calculate the population at different periods and its means of producing food. By a paper on the table it appears that in 1738, upwards of 45,000 quarters of wheat were exported from the ports of Sussex, under the artificial impulse of a bounty upon such export.

I have endeavoured thus to indicate to others these various points of inquiry, hoping that much illustration might thus be gained upon the social condition of Sussex in former times by diligent research, and though we have no medal to reward them, there is ample occupation ready for all the labourers which this Society is likely to send forth; but in order to effect this, I would earnestly invite the members to form themselves into local committees, each in his own neighbourhood, or in the division of Rapes, under the direction of some local secretary, who might methodize their exertions, and distribute to each member some appointed duty, such as his own inclination would select, so that every one might be found working at once and in concert with all. One might undertake to collect brasses, another the genealogies, another the plans and descriptions of churches and other buildings, another might consult MSS., and draw up histories of these objects, another might make catalogues of the prints and drawings relating to the district, as a guide to their future collection by the Society, another might keep a jealous watch over any threatened destruction or injudicious alteration, until in a few years a complete body of information might be collected, enabling some future antiquary to complete in a worthy spirit the history of the county.

In suggesting these topics of inquiry, it is not necessary to explain that truth only is sought for, and not controversy, especially on religious or political subjects, which is expressly forbidden by our rules; and if, in communications from members, any expressions of individual opinion should be accidentally used, liable to offend others, the Society must distinctly disclaim all responsibility for such, though the good feeling of the

members will assuredly lead them to avoid any such occasions for offence, and each will respect in those who differ from him that liberty of private judgment which he himself assumes and exercises. With these sentiments, so encouraged by the enlightened activity of the present age, the Society cannot fail of success, after having enlisted in its favour so much of the noble, the learned, the pious, and the enterprising zeal of the county of Sussex.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

SEALS OF THE SUSSEX CINQUE-PORTS.

READ AT BRIGHTON, SEPTEMBER 25, 1846,

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER.

EVERYTHING connected with the municipal towns known as the Cinque-Ports should possess interest not merely for the archæologist, but also for the student of English history, and, indeed, for every one who prides himself on the 'Wooden Walls' of Old England. Originating at a period beyond the date of any existing records relating to them, these towns enjoyed the distinguished honour of guarding the most exposed portion of our maritime frontier, and for the services thus rendered our early monarchs invested them with many eminent privileges. That these places—supporting as they did a large proportion of the ancient navy of England, and becoming in consequence the nurseries of nautical talent—laid the foundation of the present naval glory of our empire is a position which cannot be controverted; and although from the geological changes to which the south-east coast of this country has ever been peculiarly exposed, these venerable towns for the most part now possess no available ports, yet it would be ungrateful for Englishmen to treat with neglect or contempt places once so necessary to the well-being of the kingdom, merely because the hand of Nature and of Time seems to have gone out against them.

On the decline of their empire in Britain, the Romans found it necessary to protect their coasts opposite the continent from the invasions of the marauding tribes of the north; and for this purpose, garrisons of regular troops were established at nine favourable posts on the south-eastern shores, under the command of an officer, who was styled *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, 'the Lieutenant of the Saxon Shore.' The stations,

which were designated respectively Othona, Dubris, Lemanis, Branodunum, Gariononum, Regulbium, Rutupium, Anderida, and Portus Adurni, have mostly been satisfactorily identified with places on the southern and eastern coast, and many of them to this day present ruins of Roman fortresses, which anciently commanded convenient harbours. That the Cinque-Ports of later times were the representatives of those ancient stations scarcely admits of any doubt.

In the charters of *Inspeximus* granted to the Ports by King John, that monarch refers to charters of all his predecessors up to the time of Edward the Confessor, who is generally regarded as the first who bestowed the privileges and immunities still enjoyed by them. The Ports, it is true, are not collectively mentioned in Domesday Book: only Dover, Sandwich, and Romney occur there as privileged ports; but that the league existed at an earlier period is tolerably clear, from the fact that Hastings has always been considered the chief of the Ports, an honour which certainly would not have been conferred upon it, had its privileges been of more recent donation than those of the three alluded to.

The five head Ports, from which the appellation *Cinque-Ports* is derived, are Hastings, Dover, Sandwich, Hythe, and Romney. In course of time various intermediate towns and places were added, as members, or 'limbs,' of these five; particularly Winchelsea and Rye, which, from their importance, were styled, as early as the year 1247, *nobiliora membra Quinque Portuum*, and which at the present day are often designated by the additional style of 'Ancient Towns.'

In the year 1229 the members of Hastings are thus described:

"HASTYNG. Ad quem pertinent tanquam membra unus vicus litus (*sic*) maris in Seford, Peivinsæ, Bulwareth, Hydonye, Iham, Bekysborn, Grenetha et Northye. Servicia inde debita domino regi xxi naves, et in qualibet nave xxi homines, cum uno garcione qui dicitur *gromet*.

"Wynchelsey et Rye, tanquam membra; viz. Wynchelsey x naves, Rye quinque naves, cum hominibus et garcionibus ut supra."—*Jeake's Charters of the Cinque-Ports*.

'Hastings, to which belong, as members, one town on the sea-shore in Seaford, Pevensey, Bulverhythe, Hidney, Iham,

Beaksbourne, Grenhithe, and Northye. The services due from them to our lord the king are 21 ships, and in each ship 21 men, with a boy called a *gromet*. Winchelsea and Rye as members, to wit, Winchelsea, 10 ships, and Rye, 5 ships, with men and boys as above.' 'Gromet' seems to be a diminutive of 'grome,' a serving-man, whence the modern groom. The provincialism *grummet*, much used in Sussex to designate a clumsy, awkward youth, has doubtless some relation to this cabin-boy of the Ports' navy.

Some of these members were never of much importance, and can now scarcely be identified. Hidney, between East-Bourne and Pevensey, has not a single house; Northeye, in the parish of Bexhill, is in the same desolate condition; Bulverhythe contains but three or four houses; and Iham, which stood near the site of the modern Winchelsea, has lost its very name. Bekesbourne and Grenhithe, otherwise called Grench, Grange, or Grenocle, are obscure places in Kent.

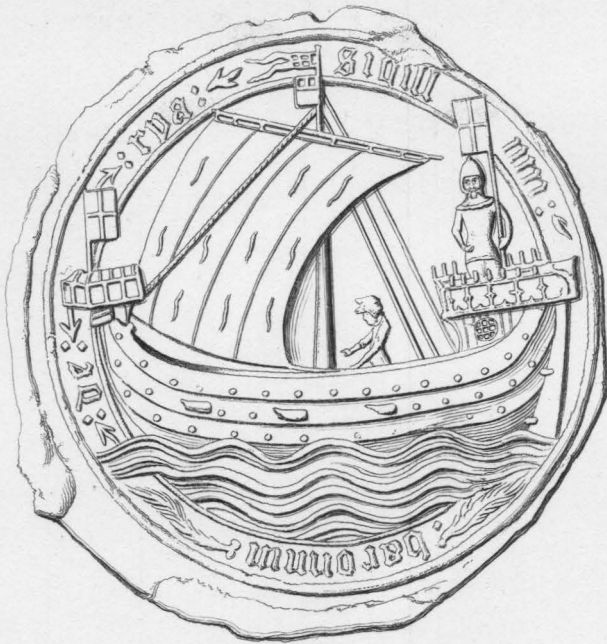
The design of the present paper, is to illustrate the Seals of those of the Cinque-Ports which are situated within the county of Sussex, namely, Hastings, Rye, Seaford, Pevensey, and Winchelsea.

The common seal of the port of HASTINGS (Plate No. 1) bears on its obverse a representation of an ancient one-masted vessel with a square sail set, 'running down' an enemy's vessel of similar form, which it has completely divided, separating stem from stern. Protruding from the billows is seen a mail-clad head which—*pars pro toto*—stands as the representative of the discomfited crew. On board the victorious ship, on the embattled poop, or stern-castle, beneath which sits the steersman, is a quadrangular banner of the royal arms of England, three lions passant, which shows the seal to have been executed prior to the year 1339, when Edward III set up his claim to the throne of France, and quartered the arms of that kingdom. Before the mast is another man with his hands elevated in the attitude of exultation or thanksgiving. At the head of the vessel is a banner charged with the armorial ensign of the Ports, viz. "Per pale, *dexter*, Gules, three demi-lions passant Or; *sinister*, Azure, three semi-ships Argent."



Nº 1





Nº 2





N° 3





№ 4





N^o 5



6



7



8



9



10



This is probably one of the greatest heraldic curiosities extant. The original device was doubtless three ancient ships, white, in a field of azure, and these—upon some occasion of importance now forgotten—were united to the royal ensign of the lions passant by what is called in the language of heraldry *dimidiation*, that is, the suppression of one half of each coat, and the combination of the remaining halves, producing most absurd *hybrids*, namely, lions with ships' sterns!* There is reason to believe that this singular bearing was originally the peculiar property of Hastings, though it afterwards became the common ensign of the whole league. It must have been such before the 34th Henry VI, when it was granted "that Robert Cooke of Romene, shall were and beare the whole armes of the Portes." (Boys's Sandwich, p. 777.) This is perhaps one of the earliest instances of a corporate body empowering a family to bear its armorial distinctions. In 5th Henry VIII it was ordained that "everie person who goeth into the naby of the Portis shall have a cote of white cotyn, with a red crosse and the arms of the Portis underneath; that is to say, the halfe Lyon and the halfe shippe." The legend in the circumference of the seal is in Gothic characters of the thirteenth century, and reads—

SIGILLVM : COMMVNE BARONVM : DE HASTINGGIS.

'The Common Seal of the Barons of Hastings.' The freemen of the Cinque Ports have ever been styled Barons, and it is supposed on good authority that they anciently ranked among the actual nobility. It must not be forgotten that by a celebrated law of Athelstan it was enacted that every merchant who should have made three voyages over the seas with a ship and cargo of his own should have the rank of a nobleman or thane. The ancient right, still enjoyed by the barons of the Ports, of supporting the canopy over our monarchs at their coronation, and of walking in certain processions, into which none below the rank of barons of the realm, except the king's

* By a similar dimidiation, the seal of Great Yarmouth exhibits the royal lions with the tails of *herrings*, which forcibly reminds one of Horace's monster—

"turpiter atrum

Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne."

A burges of Yarmouth would have written *rubrum* for *atrum*!

more immediate domestics, are admitted, also supports this idea.

The reverse or counter-seal contains a bold and spirited representation of the familiar religious myth of St. Michael and the dragon. The archangel stands erect, with his wings expanded and a nimbus around his head. In his left hand he holds a circular shield such as was sometimes used during the reign of Henry III, charged with a cross, and having in the centre a large hemispherical boss, while the right hand grasps a long and slender cross, the foot of which is thrust into the mouth of the wyvern he tramples beneath his feet. The costume of the figure is very simple and well designed. Around the device is the Leonine hexameter verse—

DRACO CRVDELIS : TE VINCET VIS MICAELIS.

“The power of Michael shall overcome thee, oh cruel Dragon.”

Hence we may infer that St. Michael was regarded as the patron of the Port of Hastings. There were anciently at Hastings a church and parish of St. Michael; and it may be remarked that the saints invoked in the legends of the Cinque-Port seals are generally those to whom the churches of the respective places are dedicated.

The seal of the Mayor of Hastings (No. 6) exhibits a shield containing the arms of the Ports, incorrectly giving the middle lion his entire form, without the ship's stern. The inscription is, ✕ SIGILLVM · OFFICII · MAIORIS · DE · HASTING., in characters not older than the time of Queen Elizabeth, who elevated the style of the chief officer of this port from bailiff to mayor, and the seal was most probably devised on that occasion.

The common seal of RYE (No. 2) has on its obverse a very boldly-designed ship of one mast with a square sail. There are two men on board, one of whom, standing on the poop, and holding a banner charged with a cross in his left hand, is clad in the jupon, camail, and pointed basinet of the time of Henry V. On the prow is the plain cross banner of St. George. The inscription is in old English characters—

sigillum : baronum : de : rya :

The counter-seal exhibits a splendid church, probably intended for that of St. Mary of Rye. In the centre is a large tower supporting a spire and crocketed pinnacles. The eastern and western gables are decorated with crosses, and have pinnacles at the angles. There are six windows with ornamented hood-mouldings, and over them in the clere-story are six others. The upper portion of the tower is made to form a kind of canopy under which are figures of the Virgin and Child, the former holding in her right hand the usual emblem of a cruciform branch of lilies. Above the roof of the building, for the purpose of filling up a vacant space in the field of the design, are the sun, moon, and fourteen stars, and the lower part of the building is encompassed with a strong wall. In the circumference are the words of the Salutation—**ave : maria : gracia : plena : d(omi)n(us) : tecum : benedicta : tu : in : mulieribus :** This interesting seal was probably executed in the reign of Henry V, and the ship upon it may be regarded as a good specimen of the vessels which conveyed the armies of that king to the triumphs of Agincourt.

The mayoralty seal of Rye (No. 7) has the Cinque Ports' arms and the legend, SIGILLVM · OFFICII · MAIORIS · VILLE · DE · RIA · In the spaces between the shield and the inscription are three rude wyverns. This seal, which was engraved in the year 1574 at the expense of 'Master Gaymer formerly mayor' (as appears by an inscription upon it), was copied from a more ancient one with the same inscription and device, a representation of which is given in Boys's Sandwich.

X The seal of SEAFORD (No. 3) is of less dimensions than the preceding. Its device is an eagle in the attitude of rising to fly, with its head *reguardant* or turned back. The legend is in Gothic letters intermixed with Roman—

✠ SIGILLVM · BVRGENSIVM : DE SAFFORDIA.

The occurrence of *Burgensium* in the place of *Baronum* is peculiar to this seal, and it must be observed, to account for this difference, that although Seaford enjoyed the privileges of a Cinque Port as member of Hastings, and even sent members to parliament from the 26th year of Edward I, it did not become an independent port and a corporation until a much

later period. The matrix of the reverse or counter-seal is not of the same kind of brass as that of the obverse, and is of much more recent date. It exhibits a ship of three masts and the legend in Roman characters—

WITH SUTTONII · · ET · CHYNGTON.

This odd mixture of Latin and English is doubtless meant to read in continuation of the inscription on the obverse, thus making altogether, 'The Seal of the Burgesses of Seaford with Sutton and Chinting.' Sutton and Chinting, now single houses, were anciently vills or townships within the jurisdiction of the Port, and are still dependent upon it. The manor of Chinting and other possessions in Seaford belonged in the time of Henry III to Gilbert *de Aquila*, lord of Pevensy and founder of the priory of Michelham; and the *eagle* on the obverse may be his rebus or badge. The disparity in age of the counter-seal may be accounted for on the supposition that, when Henry VIII in 1544 gave Seaford a charter of incorporation making it independent of Hastings, the burgesses adopted a new counter-seal, with the ship, emblematical of their newly acquired privilege. I think the obverse may be safely assigned to the 13th century, and the reverse to the time of Henry VIII.

The official seal of the Bailiff of Seaford is very small (No. 8), and has the device 'an eagle displayed with his head to the sinister,' with the inscription *Sigillum · ballivi · de Seforde*. It is very rudely executed. X

The most antique seal of our series is that of PEVENSEY (No. 4), which was probably engraved in the early part of the 13th century. The obverse exhibits an ancient ship with a poop and an embattled forecastle, both very lofty. On the latter is a banner and abaft the staff of it a fleur-de-lis. The crew consists of eight men, one of whom is steering; over his head upon the poop are two others with immense speaking-trumpets, like those observable in many seals of this period; four others are engaged in drawing in a cable and squaring a yard, and the remaining man is ascending the backstay. Above the yard are a crescent and a star, and beneath it the royal arms of three lions passant. The legend is

SIG(ILLV(M) : BARONVM DOMINI · REGIS · ANGLIE DE PEVENES.

‘The Seal of the Barons of our Lord the King of England of Pevensey.’ The reverse has two ships most rudely designed, with their sails torn into shreds. In the hindmost vessel stands a mitred figure holding a crosier in his right hand, while his left is raised in the attitude of benediction. This is probably intended for St. Nicholas, the patron at once of mariners and of the parish church of Pevensey. The inscription stands—

☒ SCE · NICOLAE · DVC · NOS · SPONTE · TRAHE : PEV.

The ‘PEV.’ seems to have been inserted to fill up space. The sense of this Leonine verse seems to be

O Saint Nicholas, willingly guide and convey us!

The port-reeve’s seal of Pevensey (No. 9) is in the possession of Inigo Thomas, Esquire. It bears upon a diapered ground *two ostrich-feathers erect*, surmounted by a ducal coronet, the badge of the duchy of Lancaster, surrounded by the legend—

☒ : the · custum · selle · of · the · porte · of · pemse.

It was probably executed during the period that Pevensey was the fee of the Dukes of Lancaster—John of Gaunt, and his son, afterwards Henry IV,—namely, between the 44th year of Edward the Third when that monarch granted it to the former, and the accession of Henry when his title of Duke of Lancaster merged in that of king of England.

The obverse of the WINCHELSEA seal (No. 5) is a copy of that of Pevensey, but of rather later date and superior workmanship. The legend is

SIGILLVM : BARONVM : DOMINI : REGIS : ANGLIE : DE :
WINCHELLESE.

‘The Seal of the Barons of our Lord the King of England of Winchelsea.’

The counter-seal is a modern imitation of the original, which is said to have been stolen during an electioneering squabble in the last century, and to be still in the possession of an in-

habitant of Winchelsea, though I have been unable to trace it. We have, fortunately, the testimony of Mr. Boys, in 1792 (Hist. Sandwich, p. 815), to the accuracy of the copy. This applies to the device only—not to the legend, which the artist, in the absurd taste of his day, thought would look much better in Roman than in Gothic letters, and cut them in Roman letters accordingly.* Had he at the same time translated the inscription, he would have spared the antiquaries of a more recent date much trouble, and prevented a multitude of erroneous conjectures. But before citing and discussing it, let us describe the device, which is of a very elaborate kind. It principally consists of a rich Gothic church with an embattled tower, two spires, and an infinity of crocketed gables and pinnacles. On the central tower stands a figure, in a habit somewhat resembling that of a cardinal, holding out a lantern, as if to guide benighted mariners into port. In front of this personage, on a shield, are the three lions-passant of England, and behind his back is a banner charged with *three cheverons*. This coincides with the arms of the old Sussex family of Lewknor, and I have searched in vain for any other family in this district, bearing similar arms, more likely to have been connected with the Port, though I am not aware of any evidence that they had local influence here. More to the left, perched upon a pinnacle, is a bird, which appears to have been introduced merely for the purpose of filling up a blank space in the design. At the base of the church are three or four buildings, and below them, waves of the sea. The church itself has six divisions, or niches; one in the tower, two to the left, and three to the right. In the central or tower compartment is a doorway, approached by several steps; in the opening are three human figures, which I cannot appropriate; and in a small niche above there is a crowned or nimbed figure, which may be intended for the Virgin. In the left hand niche is a representation of St. Giles caressing that faithful hind by whose milk his life is reputed to have been sustained; and the second niche has a repetition of the same design.† The three niches

* Since the above was written, the engraver has discovered an impression of the original seal, from which he has made the accompanying representation.

† The legend of the abbot St. Giles states that while living the life of a hermit, in a cavern, in the kingdom of Naples, he was nourished by wild herbs and by the

to the right of the tower exhibit the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket. In the central compartment the archbishop in his pontificals is seen kneeling before an altar, while an attendant priest elevates a crucifix above his head, as if to ward off the sword of one of the assassin knights, who from behind is aiming the fatal blow. On the left another is seen armed with his shield and a drawn sword; and to the right a third is in the act of unsheathing his weapon. These representations of SS. Giles and Thomas refer to the dedications of the two principal churches of Winchelsea, and the surrounding legend contains an invocation of these joint patrons of the Port, viz.

✕ EGIDIO : THOME : LAUDVM : PLEBS : CANTICA : P(RO)ME :
NE : SIT : IN : ANGARIA GREX : SVVS : AMNE : VIA.

The precise meaning of the second verse has long been a matter of enquiry and discussion. Mr. J. D. Parry, in his 'History of the Sussex Coast,' tells us that he vainly endeavoured to get a translation, and as nobody could or would give it him, he himself attempted one, which, before printing, he submitted to the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, who says,—“The inscription on the seal of Winchelsea is very obscure, and I question whether it was understood by him who cut it or by those who used it. (!) Your interpretation seems to express the meaning as nearly as it can be made out.” The translation which has this *imprimatur* of the historian of the Rape of Bramber is as follows :

“To Giles' and Thomas' praise, ye people chaunting pray;
Lest in the Angarian road their flock be washed away.”

Though this rendering is obviously absurd, it is not very easy to arrive at the true sense; and the subjoined attempt to do so is submitted with great deference to the Society.

Angaria, in which lay Mr. Parry's chief difficulty, is a word of very common use in medieval Latin; it means in law “any vexatious duty or service paid by the tenant to the Lord” (see

milk of a hind, which providentially resorted to him every day for that purpose. It happened that this hind was scented by the royal hounds, and having been wounded, retired into the cave. This circumstance brought the king to an acquaintance with the holy man, who thenceforward enjoyed his protection. He lived in the first half of the eighth century. His festival is Sept. 1st.

Cowel's Law Dict.), such as a pressing of horses, teams, men, ships, &c. for the public use. The system of the Persian couriers, who had authority to command relays of horses for the king's use, is described by Herodotus (viii, 98) as *αγγαρηιον*, from which the word originates. Æschylus speaks of the transmission of news by fire-beacons, *αγγαρον πυρ*. (Agam. 273.) It was afterwards applied to any pressed or compulsory service, and from thence came to mean anxiety or distress of any kind.* 'IN ANGARIA' then simply means, 'in a strait,' or 'in distress.' AMNE again is 'sea,' not 'river.' These terms accepted, the whole will read thus :

*Give forth, O people, songs of praises to Giles and Thomas ;
Lest their flock be in distress by sea or land.*

Or, more paraphrastically :

“ Pour forth your songs ye people all
To Giles' and Thomas' praise ;
Lest evil should their flock befall,
By land, or ocean's ways.”

I have some doubt about AMNE VIA. If this phrase be, as I rather conjecture, an ablative absolute, the “sea being their way” would be the correct reading. If, on the contrary, it be a simple ablative, *vel* or *aut* may be understood between ‘amne’ and ‘via,’ and the phrase will read, ‘by sea or by land.’ Mr. Boys (Hist. Sandwich, p. 815) is of this opinion. His translation is this : “Address, ye people, songs of the praises of Thomas to Giles, lest his flock be in danger by water or land.” The address to the Patron Saints is by no means inappropriate in relation to the far-wandering mariners of Winchelsea, whose trade was in a great degree a foreign, and consequently (at the period when the seal was engraved) a dangerous one.

The Winchelsea mayoralty seal (No. 10) has the Cinque Ports' arms very incorrectly designed, and bears the inscription—

✻ *sigillum : maioratus : ville : de : wynehelse,*

in Old English characters of the 15th century. In the inter-

* “Naves eorum angariari possere scriptum est.”—Ulpian. “Legentibus innotescit quot angariis et injuriis nos miseros Anglos exagitat Curia Romana.”—Mat. Paris.

vals between the shield and the legend are three figures, which are not very intelligible, but which on a comparison with the corresponding seal of Rye may be intended for wyverns.

The foregoing Paper was read at the Society's meeting at Brighton in September, 1846, when the impressions of the seals from which the accompanying plates have been engraved were exhibited. I have to add my thanks to those gentlemen by whose kindness I was furnished with the impressions for my use—viz. to

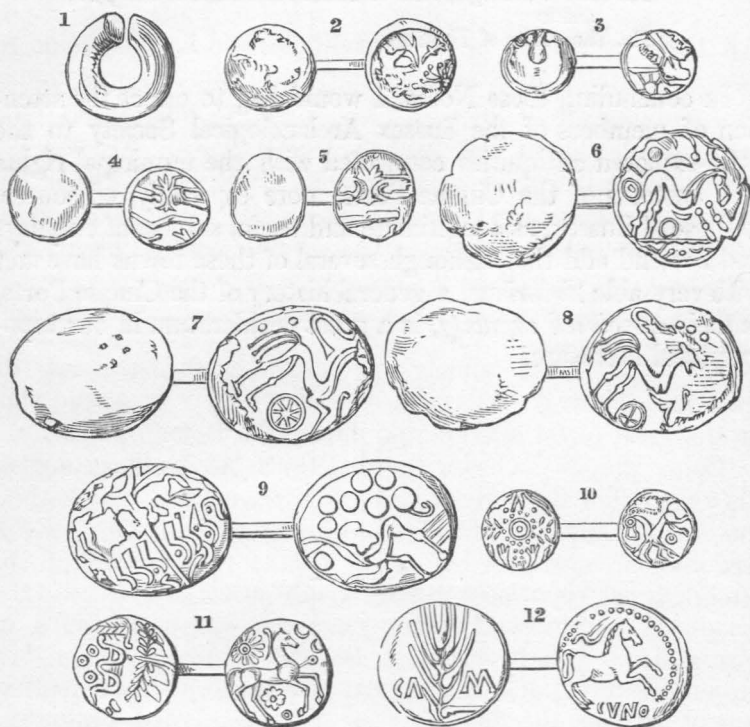
John Phillipps, Esq. town-clerk of Hastings;
G. S. Butler, Esq. clerk of the peace of Rye;
Messrs. Terewest and Whiteman, town-clerks of Pevensey;
The Rev. I. Carnegie, vicar of Seaford and bailiff of that port;
and to
Mr. Thos. Ross of Hastings.

In concluding these Notes, I would beg to direct the attention of members of the Sussex Archæological Society to the little-explored antiquities connected with the municipal rights and customs of the Cinque Ports, more especially, of course, to those of Sussex, as a legitimate and useful subject of enquiry; and I would add that although several of these towns have met with very able historians, a general history of the Cinque Ports, in their *associated capacity*, is a great desideratum in our topographical literature.

ON
 ROMAN COINS, ETC., FOUND NEAR WORTHING;
 AND ON
 BRITISH GOLD COINS FOUND IN SUSSEX.

READ AT THE MEETING OF THE SOCIETY AT SHOREHAM, MAY 5, 1847.

By FREDERICK DIXON, Esq.



A SHORT distance to the east of Worthing, where a blockade station formerly stood, within the last two or three years the sea has gained on the shore more than a hundred

feet, and the following curious Roman remains have been washed out :

1	large brass coin of	Hadrian.
2	„ „	Marcus Aurelius.
1	„ „	Faustina, senior.
3	„ „	Faustina, junior.
1	„ „	Severus Alexander.
1	second	Vespasian.
1	small	Gallienus.
4	„ „	the Constantine family.
1	denarius	Sabina, wife of Hadrian.
1	„	Gratian.
2	„	Posthumus.

All these coins are in poor condition, and have common reverses; portions of Samian pottery with the maker's name; perfect and broken urns of various shapes and sizes; large parts of millstones; the horns of the red deer (*Cervus elephus*) and roebuck (*Cervus capreolus*); and the bones of one or two species of oxen (*Bos primigenius* and *longifrons* of Owen). Discoveries of this character are peculiarly interesting, as they show how time and civilization have scattered the animals whose remains are frequently found associated with the Romans during their stay in this country. I have in my collection bones of the above animals, besides the horse, the boar, the goat and the wolf, that existed most probably in a wild state in the great forest of Anderida during the Roman period.

Coins are to the historian what fossils are to the geologist: they are often the only record of great events, and without them many important facts would have escaped notice. Every art and circumstance belonging to the early history of this kingdom has been most eagerly sought after, and British coins have been within the last few years the subject of much investigation. I have several in my own cabinet, some of them unpublished, found during my geological pursuits, washed out of, or near, the shore of West Sussex. I shall confine my observations to the places where they were found, their weight, colour, and purity, which is adding, in my opinion, more to the advancement of a true knowledge of the first coinage and coins of this country than any other method; for by so doing we are enabled to select the different coins of each county,

that in all probability passed as money in their respective districts.

The often-quoted passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, speaking of the early inhabitants of this island—"they use either brass or iron rings adjusted to a certain weight for money," prevented our early antiquaries, the Rev. Dr. Pegge, Dr. Pettingal, &c., from investigating the subject in its proper manner; for I cannot think, however much the name of Cæsar may raise our minds to wonder and admiration, that in his inquiries on this subject he could have procured accurate information, as is also now well known respecting his account of British pearls.

"Montfaucon has expressed his belief that the Gauls coined money before the time of Cæsar; and of this there can scarcely be a doubt: and but for the passage in the Commentaries of Cæsar, the class of coin distinguished as ancient British would doubtless have been assigned to a much earlier period by our English antiquaries.

"Strange, indeed, would it be, if the Britons were unacquainted with the art of coining money, when the Gaulish merchants were constantly trading with them; and stranger still, that Cæsar should, amidst the occupations of war, gather correct information respecting a people of whose habits he had hitherto been so ignorant, that he was compelled to make inquiries of those very merchants previous to his setting sail for that island."—*J. Yonge Akerman, Numism. Journ.* Sept. 1836, p. 94.

"I contend that we cannot, and indeed ought not, to rely on the authority of Cæsar, who, minute as he is in some particulars relating to the Gauls, cannot be accredited when he says, that the Britons at the period of his invasion did not use stamped money."—*Ibid.* April 1837, p. 226.

The learned Camden, the delight of all antiquaries, speaking upon British coins, observes: "But for my part, I freely declare myself at a loss what to say to things so much obscured by their distance and antiquity, and you, when you read these conjectures, will plainly perceive that I have only groped in the dark." Time, the Arbiter of Truth, has pronounced the 'Britannia' one of the most valuable books ever published in this country, and the plates of British coins are peculiarly interesting to all numismatists.

It may be useful to remark that British coins are generally

more or less concave and convex, and are of nearly pure gold, of electrum (a mixture of gold and silver*), of gold alloyed with copper, silver, copper, and tin. Most of the British coins which have fallen under my inspection have been of gold and electrum, considered by Ruding of the earliest period, having the convex surface smooth, and without any impression.

Those interested on this subject, I beg to refer to the works of Ruding, Hawkins, Akerman, C. R. Smith, Birch, Vaux, &c., and to some recent remarks published in the Journal of the Archæological Association, by the Rev. Beale Post. The figures here engraved are the size of the originals.

Fig. 1. Ring of pure yellow gold, weighing 104 grains, supposed to have passed as money, and perhaps worn also as an ornament by the early inhabitants of this country before the introduction of coins. These rings, or nearly circular relics, are frequently found in Ireland of various shapes and sizes, and weighing several ounces, but are rarely discovered in England. I have seen one similar in form and weight to this discovered in Kent.

Found at Bracklesham Bay.

Fig. 2. Yellow gold, weight 21 grains. *Worthing Shore.*

Fig. 3. Yellow gold, 19 grains, in the possession of Frederic Edwards, Esq. G. A. Coombe, Esq. has a coin precisely similar to this: both from *Bracklesham Bay.*

Fig. 4. Yellow gold, 20 grains, found by Mr. Henry Adames. I am much obliged to Mr. George Dale, of Chichester, for procuring me this, as well as some other coins found in the neighbourhood; also to Mr. Hill, the curator of the Chichester Museum. *Pagham Harbour.*

Fig. 5. Yellow gold, 23 grains, in the possession of W. Harvey, Esq., of Lewes. *Eastbourne.*

The last four coins, with a little variation, are similar to eleven gold coins found at Bognor, and engraved by Mr. C. R. Smith in his 'Collectanea Antiqua,' No. I, 1843, and he considers the type common to England, France, Germany, and Belgium, and more particularly abundant on the coast of

* Pliny states that most gold was found mixed with silver, and when the latter amounted to one fifth, the metal was called electrum.

France. This is quite in accordance with my own observations, as I have seen 20 or 25 of these coins from Sussex.

Fig. 6. Pale gold, or electrum, weight 93 grains, belonging to W. Harvey, Esq.; this coin, in its general character, of a supposed horse, or mythological symbol, resembles the two following, but it is more ornamented, the legs of the horse are in two divisions with pellets, and a large pellet or bead between the legs, and no wheel; it is very like one figured in Ruding, Plate I, Fig. 4, from Dr. Hunter's cabinet, weighing also 93 grains.

Eastbourne.

Fig. 7. Pale gold, or electrum, weight 89 grains; similar to one in Ruding, Plate I, Fig. 2, weighing $88\frac{1}{2}$, in the Tyssen cabinet.

Worthing.

Fig. 8. Red gold, alloyed with copper, 79 grains, greatly resembling, in its ornamented character, Fig. 7.

Heene, near Worthing.

The last three coins are not similar in the detail of workmanship. They are considered by some antiquaries as Gaulish; but finding coins of a like description on the opposite coast is not a sufficient reason, in my opinion, for discarding them as having been of British fabrication.*

Fig. 9. Very pure yellow gold, weight 95 grains. The obverse may represent a rude attempt at the delineation of the human head and hair, and the reverse may possibly mean a horse with beads or pellets at the top. Unpublished.

Heene.

Fig. 10. Beautiful coin in red gold, weight 15 grains. Unpublished.

Bracklesham Bay.

Fig. 11. Yellow gold, 20 grains, like one figured in Ruding, Plate I, Fig. 16, from Dr. Hunter's cabinet, weighing also 20 grains, and one from Bognor, Fig. 14, of Mr. Smith's Plate. This is not an uncommon type on the Sussex coast. I have seen several: two in the possession of R. Elliot Esq., surgeon, at Chichester, and three or four more found at

* In the very interesting Museum of Antiquities at Rouen there is a large collection of Gaulish coins, but the only one precisely similar to any of these is Mr. Harvey's type.

Selsey or on the Sussex coast. I have, besides, a portion of a coin, in my own cabinet, of a very similar type, but larger size, which, if perfect would weigh more than 30 grains. This type was probably struck and passed in the southern district.

Bognor.

There are also two other coins from Bognor in Mr. Smith's engraving. Fig. 12 is very rare, and Fig. 13 unique; these last coins have letters on them, and are in the unrivalled collection of J. D. Cuff, Esq. On the same plate of Mr. Smith's are four gold British coins, discovered at Alfriston. Three of them were unpublished, and Fig. 4 resembles the coin from Eastbourne belonging to Mr. Harvey.

Fig. 12. Coin of Cunobeline, found near Chichester harbour, of a pale reddish colour, weight 76 grains; similar to one represented in Ruding, Plate 4, Fig. 2, from Dr. Hunter's cabinet, weighing 81 grains. The obverse, an ear of corn, with *Cam.* abbreviated for *Camulodunum*, Colchester, the capital of Cunobeline's kingdom. Ruding remarks that this symbol of plenty is not found on any Gaulish coins, and was probably copied from a Greek coin of Augustus. Reverse, *Cuno.*, for Cunobeline, with a horse in good workmanship. This coin was executed in all probability by a Roman artist settled in Britain, and the horse copied from the coins of Philip of Macedon; for it is now generally supposed that the moneyers of Cunobeline imitated Greek and Roman coins. The last four coins may be certainly considered British. The *Bibliothèque Royale*, at Paris, contains, as a general collection of coins, the finest in the world; there are, however, but two coins in it similar to our British coins, they are both of red gold; one of them of small size, very rude, and different to any type I have seen found in this country—the other a coin of Cunobeline, of bad workmanship, with a very poor horse, and *Cuno.* under it, like the above coin.

Worthing, 1847.

SUSSEX GENTRY IN 1588,

WITH NOTES, BY MARK ANTONY LOWER.

At the meeting of the Society held at Brighton in September 1846, Russell Gray, Esq. presented an extract of so much as relates to Sussex, from the work printed in 1798, 4to, London, entitled, 'Names of the Nobility and Gentry who contributed to the Defence of this Country, at the time of the Spanish Invasion, 1588.' "It is taken from a manuscript written in that year," according to the Introduction, p. v. "Queen Elizabeth directed Sir Francis Walsingham, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to inform the Lieutenant of each County, that 'for the better withstanding of the intended invacon of this Realme, upon the great preparacons made by the King of Spaine both by sea and land, the last yere, the same having been suche as the like was never prepared yet anie time against this realme,' she required from her loving subjects an extraordinary aid by way of loan, for the defence of the country." The manuscript gives an account of the money raised in each county in consequence of this requisition.

This list, so interesting to many Sussex families, being little known, is here republished with some genealogical remarks. To the additions within () now made, where any doubt as to the identity of the parties exists, ? is affixed.

		£	s.	d.
1588.				
March 2.	Henrie Goringe (Sir Henry, of Burton, Knt. He was high sheriff in 11th Eliz., and died in 1594)	100	0	0
„ 5.	Geo. Goringe (of Ovingdean; high sheriff in 1578, grandfather of George, first Lord Goring, and ancestor of Sir H. D. Goring, Bart.)	100	0	0
„ —	Edward Gage (of Ifield, a collateral ancestor of Lord Viscount Gage)	60	0	0
„ 7.	John Eversfield (of Hollington, ? ancestor of the Eversfields of Denne, in Horsham)	100	0	0
„ 10.	John Damrell	25	0	0
„ 19.	Edward Goodwin (of East Grinstead. He obtained a grant of arms Nov. 12, 1597)	50	0	0

1588.		£	s.	d.	
March	19.	Edward Paine, jun. (of East Grinstead ?)	25	0	0
"	—	William Holland (of Steyning; founder of the grammar-school there, 1614?)	100	0	0
"	—	John Farrington (alderman of Chichester, a direct ancestor of the first baronet of that name)	25	0	0
"	21.	Walter Edmondes (of Yapton)	40	0	0
"	26.	Thomas Bowyer (of Leighthorne in North-Mundham, father of the first baronet of that family)	30	0	0
"	—	Thomas Mitchell (of Horsham)	50	0	0
"	—	Thomas Greene	25	0	0
"	31.	Thomas Bourde (of Paxhill in Lindfield)	30	0	0
"	—	John Watersfeild (of Ferring ?)	30	0	0
April	1.	John Shelley (of Michelgrove, father of Sir John, the first baronet)	40	0	0
"	—	William Bartelott (of Stopham, who died in 1601)	25	0	0
"	—	William Aylewyne (of Treyford)	40	0	0
"	—	Thomas Peirse (of Westfield)	40	0	0
"	2.	Edward Covert (son of John Covert of Slaugham; he died at Twineham, of which place his mother Anne, daughter of Wm. Beard, was a native)	30	0	0
"	—	Thomas Luxford (of Westmeston, ancestor of the Luxfords of Windmill-Hill, in Wartling)	30	0	0
"	—	Robert Whitfeild (of Worth, collateral ancestor of the Whitfelds of Lewes)	100	0	0
"	7.	John Stidman	25	0	0
"	—	Robert Whitpaine (of Hurstperpoint)	60	0	0
"	—	Edward Luxford (of Hurstperpoint, a relative of the Westmeston family)	25	0	0
"	—	William Coldman (? Coldham, of Stedham)	25	0	0

1588.		£	s.	d.	
April	7.	Edward Grey (probably of the Wolbeding family)	25	0	0
„	10.	John Awman (or Alman of Pevensey)	50	0	0
„	—	John Whetley (or Wheatley of Pevensey. He died in 1616, and there is a monumental effigy to his memory in Pevensey church)	30	0	0
„	—	Dorothee Lewknor (of Kingston Bowsey,—viv. 1557 ?)	40	0	0
„	—	John Rose (of Eastergate)	40	0	0
„	—	Thomas Wyatt, sen. (ancestor of the Wyatts of Trenmontes in Horsted Keynes ?)	25	0	0
„	11.	Richard Cooke (of West Burton)	25	0	0
„	—	Thomas Taylor, sen.	25	0	0
„	—	John Cowper (probably of the Slinfold family)	30	0	0
„	—	John Bynwyn (or Benion, probably of the Aldingbourne family)	25	0	0
„	—	Thomas Betesworth (of Fyning in Rogate)	30	0	0
„	—	Peter Betesworth (of Fyning, brother of Thomas; he died in 1589)	50	0	0
„	—	Walter Double (or Dobell, of Falmer, ancestor of the Dobells of Street)	50	0	0
„	—	Thomas Pelham	30	0	0
„	—	Jacob Plummer	25	0	0
„	—	William Newton (of Southover, direct ancestor of the late Col. Newton of Southover)	25	0	0
„	—	John Lynton	25	0	0
„	—	Ellice Smith	25	0	0
„	12.	Edward Maninge. (A gentleman of this name was grantee of the manors of Bersted and Shripney in 1608. Dall.)	25	0	0
„	—	Thomas Cobden. (A local surname of some antiquity in West Sussex)	25	0	0

1588.		£	s.	d.
April 12.	Robert Harrison? (In Bishopstone church there is an inscription for 'the wief of Hen. Dallindear, the dafter of Robt. Hanzsone,' obt. 1639)	25	0	0
„ —	John Baker (of Battel, ancestor of the Mayfield family)	25	0	0
„ 13.	John Chambers (or de la Chambre of Hall Place in Rodmill)	50	0	0
„	John Cowper (M.P. for Steyning in 1572?)	25	0	0
„ —	Benjamyn Pellet (or Pellat, of Bolney and Steyning; knighted in 1603)	25	0	0
„ —	Robert Grey	25	0	0
„ —	Adam Rackton (a gentleman of this name held the manor of Walberton about 1580. Dall.)	25	0	0
„ 15.	Richard Earneley (of Cackham, great grandson of the celebrated Judge Ernley)	30	0	0
„ —	Robert Younge (perhaps of the Ambresham family)	30	0	0
„ —	Thomas Christmas	25	0	0
„ 10.	Thomas Glyde	40	0	0
„ —	William Burdett (of Southover?)	25	0	0
„ —	John Davey	25	0	0
„ 20.	John Dunton	25	0	0
„ —	John Carrill (of Warnham, ? high sheriff at the date of these contributions)	100	0	0
„ —	Thomas Alfrey (probably the T. A. who died in 1589, and to whose memory there is a brass in Battel Church)	30	0	0
„ —	Nicholas Fowle (of Riverhall)	40	0	0
„ —	Edward Elphicke	25	0	0
„ —	Thomas Sherley, miles, (of Wiston; knighted at Rye, in 1573, by Queen Elizabeth; he was father of the celebrated "three brothers")	100	0	0

1588.		£	s.	d.	
April	20.	Walter Covert (of Slaugham Place; he was high sheriff in 1583)	100	0	0
"	21.	John Smith	25	0	0
"	—	Frauncis Garton (of Billinghamurst, mayor of Arundel 1585)	30	0	0
"	—	William Wintershall	50	0	0
"	—	Thomas Stilliaurde	50	0	0
"	—	William Morley (of Glynde; he was high sheriff in 22 Eliz.)	60	0	0
"	—	Anthonie Kempe (of Slindon)	100	0	0
"	—	William Davie	25	0	0
"	—	John Fraie	50	0	0
"	—	Richard Iden	25	0	0
"	22	Edward Carrell (afterwards Sir Edward of Harting, knighted 1603; he was high sheriff in 12 Eliz., and died in 1609)	100	0	0
"	—	John Selwyn (of Friston Place; he died in 1594)	50	0	0
"	—	Alexander Sheppard (of Peasmarsh)	40	0	0
"	—	John Bynde (of Rowdell in Washington; he died in 1600)	25	0	0
"	—	Richard Farnfold (of Steyning)	30	0	0
"	23.	Frauncis Challinor (of Stantons in Chiltington)	40	0	0
"	—	John Lover	25	0	0
"	24	Richard Leatch (high sheriff in 37 Eliz.)	40	0	0
"	—	John Levett (of Salehurst?)	40	0	0
"	25.	John Relf	25	0	0
"	—	George Maie (of the Franchise in Burwash, father of Sir Thomas May of Mayfield, and grandfather of Thomas May the historian and poet)	50	0	0
"	—	Edward Hawes	30	0	0
"	26.	Anthonie Stapley (of Framfield, grandfather of Sir John Stapley of Patcham, Bart.)	40	0	0

1588.		£	s.	d.	
April	26.	Thomas Pelham (of Laughton, high-sheriff in 1589, created a baronet in 1611. He was a direct ancestor of the Earl of Chichester)	100	0	0
"	28.	Jacob Hobson	40	0	0
"	30.	John Bullman (of Hartfield)	25	0	0
"	—	William Alferey (of Hartfield, died 1592)	25	0	0
"	—	John Howell	25	0	0
May	1.	Edward Culpepper, armiger, (of Wakehurst, in Ardingly)	100	0	0
"	—	Robert Vincent	25	0	0
"	6.	Thomas Collins (of Brightling)	25	0	0
"	7.	John Leedes (he died in 1606, possessed of Wopingthorne, in Steyning)	100	0	0
"	12.	John Sherley (afterwards Sir John, of the Friars', in Lewes; he died in 1611, and was buried at Isfield)	30	0	0
"	—	Richard Gefferey, or Jefferay (of Malling, brother of Sir John Jefferay, C. B., of the Exchequer)	40	0	0
"	—	John Freebodie (of Udimore?)	25	0	0
Aug.	6.	Thomas Comber (of Allington; died in 1612, and was buried at St. John's, Lewes)	25	0	0
"	—	Richard Bellingham (of Newtimber)	25	0	0
Sept.	1.	Richard Woulgar	25	0	0
"	21.	George Greene	40	0	0
"	25.	Thomas Culpepper (of Folkington?)	30	0	0
Oct.	3.	Richard Mitchelborne (of Broadhurst in Horsted Keynes; he died in 1607)	100	0	0
"	7.	Stephen Borde (of Board Hill, in Cuckfield)	30	0	0
"	11.	Roger Gratewick (of Ham, in Angmering, ancestor of William Kinleside Gratwicke, now high-sheriff of Sussex)	100	0	0

ACCOUNT OF
THE DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS AT
MILTON STREET, NEAR ALFRISTON.

IN A LETTER TO W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ. HON. SEC.

FROM MR. CHARLES ADE, A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

SIR,—As I have been requested to give some account of my discovery of Anglo-Saxon pennies, which has been denominated by numismatists the “Alfriston Find,” I beg to state as follows :

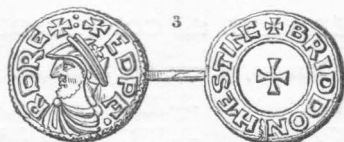
In the spring of the year 1843 one of my workmen brought me a small silver coin which he had picked up in his garden, on examination of which I perceived that it was a penny of Edward the Confessor. It immediately recurred to my memory that, about fifteen years before, I had had two silver pennies, of the same reign as the above, brought to me, which were discovered in the same garden by a former tenant of the premises. As I had long been a collector of such coins as were from time to time found in this neighbourhood, my curiosity was very naturally raised by the circumstance, and the remarkable coincidence induced me to have the garden very carefully searched. This I did by having the mould sifted a small portion at a time, the result of which was that about sixty of the pennies were found, nearly all of them in the finest state of preservation. They were discovered singly, here and there one, many of them no doubt having been often before turned over in digging the garden, unnoticed or unperceived, although the probability is that, when they were at first deposited in the earth, they were in some form or other placed altogether.

The reigns to which these coins belong include a period

of about fifty years prior to the Conquest, as among them we find the regal names of Cnute (or Canute), Harold the First, Harthacnute, and Edward the Confessor; this may be seen by referring to the list hereafter given, for which I beg to acknowledge myself indebted to the labours of Charles Roach Smith, Esq., secretary to the Numismatic Society.

Of the pennies found there were twelve of Cnute, two of Harold the First, and one of Harthacnute. The remainder were of Edward the Confessor, of various mints and moneyers, there being more than fifty varieties out of the total number. The specimens which are here represented are among those struck at the Sussex Mints, namely—

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--|
| No. 1 | Cnute (or Canute) | PVLFNOD ON LI
Wulfnoth at Chichester. |
| 2 | Edward the Confessor | OSPOLD ON LÆPEE*
Oswold at Lewes. |
| 3 | Do. | BRIDD ON HÆSTING
Bridd at Hastings. |



* It may not be improper to remark that the letter P reads for W, and D for TH.

The very rare (or unique) coin of Harthacnute was also struck at Hastings, and by the same moneyer (Bridd) as the above No. 3. Several other varieties of Cnute and the Confessor were struck at Lewes and Hastings.

CNUT (or CANUTE)

RUDING, pl. XXIII, figs. 7 and 8.

+LNVT REX ANGLORV	+PVLFNOD ON LI (Chichester)
+ Do.	+ÆLPINE ON LROL
+LNVT REX ANGLOR	+PVLFFEN MM LEC
+LNVT REX ANGLORV	+OSLVT MO LINLO

RUDING, pl. XXII, figs. 1 and 4.

+LNVT RELX	+ÆLFFERD ON HÆS (Hastings)
+ Do.	+ Do. LÆP (Lewes)
+ Do.	+PVLFFINE ON LINL
+LNVT RELX A	+BRIHTPINE ON LV
+LNVT RELX	+ALFPOLD ON ðEO
+ Do.	+LEODMÆR ON PIN

RUDING, pl. XXIII, figs. 22 and 23.

+LNVT REEX AN	+EDPARD ON LÆVE EDPAR (Lewes).
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HAROLD I

HAWKINS, 214.

+Obscure	+ESTAN ON PINL
HAWKINS. The pattern described p. 70, with reverse of Cnut, p. 211.	
+HAR-OLD RE ^L	+PIDILE ON LVNDE

HARTHACNUT

RUDING, pl. XXIV, fig. 1.

+HARÐALNVT RE	+BRIDD ON HÆS (Hastings).
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EDWARD the CONFESSOR

RUDING, pl. XXV, figs. 33 and 34.

+EDPERD REX A	+ÆLFFINE ON ELXEL
+EDPERD REX	+BRIDD ON HÆSTIN (Hastings)
+ Do.	+ Do. HÆSTING (Do.)
+ Do.	+OSPOLD ON LÆPE (Lewes)

+EDPERD REX A	+PVLFRIL ON LEHRA
+EDPARD REL	+ELARD ON LVNDE
+EDPERD REX A	+ELFLAR ON LVNDE
+EDPERD REX	+LODPINE ON LVND
+EDPERD REX A	+PVLLAR ON LVND
+ Do.	+OSMVND DO NORÐ
+EDPED REX AN	+LEOFPINE ON SADP
+EDPERD REX A	+LODRILL ON PINLE

RUDING, pl. xxiv, fig. 12,

+EDPHRD RELX	+BOLE ON DOFERAN (XLAP reversed.)
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HAWKINS, 221.

+EDPARD RELX	+ÆLSILE ON GLE
+EDPERD REXA	+LIFINL ON LVNDE (PALX)
+EDPERD REX	+PVL MÆR ON RVN (PALX)
+ Do.	+PVLSTAN NO LV (PALX)

RUDING, pl. xxiv, fig. 4.

+EDPERD REE	+LODRIL ON LVNDN
+EDPERD REX	+SPETMAN ON LVND

RUDING, pl. xxv, fig. 20.

+EDPERD RE	+ENSTAN ON DOFER
+ Do.	+ENSTAN ON DOFERE
+EDPED REX	+ÆLFPI ON HEREFOR
+EDPERD REX	+EDPINE ON LÆPE (Lewes)
+ Do.	+OSPOLD MO LÆPE (Do.)
+EDPAD REX	+ Do. LÆPEE (Do.)
+EDPED REX	+ÆLLDINE ON LVN
+ Do.	+BRIHTPINE ON LVND

RUDING, pl. xxv, fig. 18.

+EDPERD REX	+LEOFSTAN ON LENT
+EDPERD REI	+BRID ON HÆSTING (Hastings)
+EDPRD REX	+DVNNINL ON HÆSTIE (Do.)
+EDPERD REI	+ALDLAR ON LVND
+EDPERD REX	+ELFRED ON LVNDE
+EDPERD RE	+LEOFRIL ON LVNDE
+EDRARD RI+	+OSMVND ON SVNL
+EDPARD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON PILTV

+EDPERD RE

+ÆSTAN ON PINCESTI

RUDING, pl. xxv, fig. 19.

+EADPERD REX

+LODRILL ON BADANN

On the above catalogue Mr. C. R. Smith observes "that it presents us with several new moneyers' names, and new readings of the names of some towns. On the coins of Edward the Confessor, the moneyers Enstan, Elard, Bridd, and Elfgar are new. The spelling of the words Dover, Exeter, and Hastings are new, as is that of Sandwich, 'SADP.' Mr. Cuff has a coin of the same moneyer, 'ON SAN.' On the coin of Harthacnute the town of Hastings is now, for the first time, added to the places of mintage in England of this prince; and Bridd (whom we first find on the coins of the Confessor struck at Dover) to the list of his moneyers."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

C. ADE.

*Milton Court, Alfriston;
September, 1847.*

ON TWO RELICS FOUND AT LEWES

BY MR. WILLIAM FIGG.

DURING the excavations for the Brighton and Hastings Railway within the ruins of the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, on February 13, 1846, a portion of a cross-legged effigy was found; it was nearly at the top of the slope on the northern side of the cutting, in which the leaden cists containing the bones of William De Warrenne and Gundrada were discovered in the autumn of 1845. Unfortunately the head and lower part of the legs are gone. This portion of the figure is two feet nine inches long; it is of Purbeck marble, and represents a knight of the time of



EFFIGY.

Henry III; the left leg is passed over the right; in general character it bears a strong resemblance to the effigy in the Temple Church, supposed to represent Robert de Ros, surnamed Fursan, who died in 1227, particularly in the position of the right hand and arm. The hauberk of ring mail has been gilt; the surcote was first covered with a white ground, and the proper colour, blue, was laid over this ground, the lining is scarlet. The hip-belt, which sustains the sword, and the guige, supporting the shield, were both coloured vermilion, and ornamented with gilding, a small portion of which still remains. The shield retains small portions of the blue colour, it covers the left arm, and is much broken; between it and the body is the sword, the pommel of which is placed so unusually

high, that it nearly reaches the armpit; in a fold at the lower part of the surcote on the left side is a cross botone, which was outlined with black, and coloured with an ochrey yellow, as a ground for gold.

It has been conjectured, from the tincture of the surcote and the cross, that this figure is intended for one of the family of Braose, lords of Bramber, and we find that Philip de Braose was among the earlier benefactors of Lewes Priory, giving them four saltpans (*quatuor salinas*) at Bramber; the arms of Beauchamp would also agree, Dionysia the widow of the Lord Robert de Beauchamp having, also been a benefactor to the Priory; the portion of the arms remaining would also agree with those of the Barrs, and we find that John, the eighth Earl of Warrenne, who died in 1337, married Joanna, daughter of Henry Comte de Barr, and bore the arms of Barr on his seals.

The costume appears, however, somewhat too early for this earl, and, from the small remains of colour and of the armorial bearings on the effigy, though any opinion as to the individual intended to be represented must be conjectural: he may more probably have been of the Braose family.

The following singular, and it is believed *unique* specimen of mediæval pottery was found at Lewes, within the ancient circuit of the walls of the town, in the early part of 1846, in excavating for the southern entrance to the tunnel under the town, on the Keymer Branch Railway. It is of coarse clay, glazed of a dark-green colour, and is in height ten inches, and in length ten inches and a half; had the head of the horse remained entire, it might have been thirteen or fourteen inches long.

It has been conjectured that it is not earlier than the time of Henry II, and is probably a century later. It seems adapted for holding liquor at table; but "it is possible that this remarkable grotesque may have been intended rather to make disport in the festive hall, than as a recipient for exhilarating drinks dispensed to the guests." There are more

remarks on this subject in the fourth vol. of the 'Journal of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,' pp. 80, 81, 82. This curious relic is still in my possession.



It is a common idea that railways are destructive in their tendencies, and *can* be but of little use to archæology or the arts; but the exhumation of the above-described effigy, and this singular specimen of fictile manufacture (within a few hundred yards of each other), not to mention the still more valuable discovery of the relics of William De Warrenne and Gundrada, was brought about by a railway project, and it is but due to the directors, and the persons employed in carrying it out, to say that every facility was afforded and every assistance rendered to those engaged in rescuing from destruction the various relics and fragments discovered in the interesting localities, through which the works were carried on in the neighbourhood of Lewes.

ON THE TRANSLATION OF SAINT LEWINNA
FROM SEAFORD, IN 1058.

READ AT THE SHOREHAM MEETING, MAY 5, 1847.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

THOUGH many pages are devoted by the Jesuits in their great work the *Lives of the Saints* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Julii xxiv, p. 608, folio, 1727, Antwerpiaë) to the account of St. Lewinna, yet the facts of her real history are extremely few, and would not be worth referring to, had not the narrative of the subsequent translation of her bones, in the eleventh century, contained a few particulars relating to the topography of Sussex and the customs of the times, which may be interesting.

Lewinna was a British woman, probably a native of Sussex, and may have listened in person to the preaching of Bishop Wilfrid, on his first introduction of Christianity in these parts. As she is said to have lived in the reign of Egbert, king of Kent, who died in 674, and to have fallen a victim, as a virgin martyr, on account of her faith, to a heathen Saxon, while the Archbishop Theodorus was living, who died in 690, we may assume the date of her martyrdom to have been between A.D. 680 and 690, probably on July 25th. This is all that is really known of this early Christian woman, either because (as the author in the eleventh century remarks) her history never was written or the writing has perished. Her body was buried, and her bones held in honour, at a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew, in Sussex, not far from the sea, the position of which we shall presently inquire into.

After a repose of three centuries and a half, these bones of Lewinna, which had acquired a reputation of sanctity during

the period, (though it does not appear that Papal authority intervened,) were subject, in 1058, to a violent removal, the circumstances of which are related to us by a contemporary monk, named Drogo,* in a Latin narrative of tedious length and indifferent grammar. He belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Bergue† (or S. Winox' Bergue), in Flanders, a small town near Dunkirk, connected with the sea, and by canals with several towns, as Gravelines, Furnes, &c. One of the monks, Balgerus by name, "an ascetic and very religious man, and especially glowing with the zeal of happily dwelling with the Saints," made frequent voyages to England, and in 1042 had made acquaintance with King Edward the Confessor and the nobles of his court, so as to obtain permission to carry back with him, to his monastery of Bergue, the relics of some English saints, St. Oswald and St. Idaberga.

Many years afterwards, in 1058, Balgerus prepared for another voyage to England, and embarked in a merchant vessel, which an east wind carried to near Dover. Balgerus wished to enter that port, but the crew wished to go elsewhere to sell their goods. A north wind (aquilo), however, decided it, and carried the ship away for a day and a half, until, on the evening of the second day, the sailors in alarm cast anchor for the night. Continuing their intended course on the following day, they approached the port to which they were bound, "whose name,‡ because it is barbarous, we omit," Drogo says, and thus leaves us in ignorance of what part of the coast they had got to, which probably, from what follows, was not farther west than Winchelsea; the force of the sea, however, and of the wind, which had been more moderate, while blowing astern, but now was a violent side wind, made them fear the shallows (*brevia maris*), and they could not succeed in

* Drogo dedicates his history to his abbot, Rumoldus, who died 1068 (Mabill.), and states that he wrote by his command and the exhortation of his brethren, "lest the arrival of the Virgin into Flanders, ordained by the Highest Artificer (a summo artifice dispositus) should by delay pass into oblivion;" resolving to publish the truth which he had heard from many who assisted Balgerus, as well as from Balgerus himself oftentimes, and he begs the Abbot to correct his bad grammar, (*ubicumque grammaticæ arti dissonant corrigat.*)

† *Viridis Mons*—Winomontium—Winocimontium—in the diocese of Yprès, afterwards fortified by Vauban, and now within the Département du Nord of France.

‡ "Portus, cujus nomen quia barbarum est, prætermittimus."

making the port, and were obliged to be carried on by the wind and waves, whether they would or not. In terror lest worse should befall them, they began to pray, and to the peril of their ship and of themselves, they then coasted along two harbours, and even a third,* which they would willingly have reached, to avoid shipwreck. Which three ports these may have been, is uncertain, perhaps Hastings, Pevensey, and Cuckmere. The master of the ship,† however, knew the coast, and comforted those who, by their fears, made others of sounder mind fear also. “Not far from hence,” he said, “I know for certain of two harbours,‡ which we may reach; if not the first, at any rate the second will be open to us by the help of God.” The wind, now north-west (*coris agentibus*), carried them to within sight of the harbour first spoken of. The crew had scarcely finished a prayer in common for their safety, as enjoined by the master, when, Drogo continues, “wonderful to say, they suddenly enter the very harbour with full sails, which they had scarcely hoped to reach with bare poles. This port is called Sevordt. Though I have omitted other names, this is necessary, it means ‘the ford of the sea.’§ In order to explain to the ignorant, this same harbour is of so narrow an entrance that scarcely can two boats enter it side by side. On each side two headlands raised to heaven slope down with a gradual hill, by which every wave is broken when stormy winds arise. There neither anchor holds the ships, nor rope checks them when they roll, but securely remaining by themselves alone, they do not at all fear either the east, nor the north, nor the north-west-by-west winds.” It would be difficult to describe more accurately than this ancient topographer the mouth of the river Ouse, which now forms Newhaven Harbour, but then entered the sea near Seaford. Here the weary sailors, rejoicing in their escape, refreshed their bodies

* “Legunt duos portus, tertium quoque.”

† “Unus gnarus locorum, navis magister scilicet.”

‡ “Duos portus non longe ab hoc loco certò scio, quibus succedere poterimus: si primus minime, sequens patebit voluntati nostræ.” . . “Ecce qui prius prædictus erat portus accedit.”

§ “Ut nescientibus loquar, isdem portus tam arcti introitus est, ut vix binæ carinæ hunc ipsum juncto latere intrare valeant. Hinc atque hinc bini scopuli versus cælum erecti decline jugum dimittunt, quibus omnis unda frangitur, cum Æolica rabies turbato freto tollitur. Ibi non anchora puppes alligat, non funis nutantes retentat, verum per se solæ contentæ stare minimè quidem timent Eurum, non Aquilonem, non Africum.”

and at night slept. The next morning the monk Balgerus began to inquire immediately whether there was any church near, for it was Easter Sunday, and he perceived at a distance a monastery separated from the port by almost three leagues.* Taking one companion, he gladly started on his journey, and, when half way, sat down, pale and covered with cold perspiration. A gray-headed old man coming up, Balgerus asked him, "What monastery is that, what relics may be there, and to whose honour is it dedicated?" "It is the Monastery of St. Andrew," he answers, "which you see, and St. Lewinna, virgin and martyr, rests there also in her body, the excellence and merit of whom is every day testified by heavenly power. You have your answer; do you wish for more?" "No; farewell." No such monastery is known to have existed, but there may have been one, notwithstanding the silence of records. In Dugdale's 'Monasticon' (vol. viii, p. 1164) are deeds relating to a dispute concerning lands at Denton (a village two miles and a half from Seaford, on the road taken, probably, by the monk) claimed A. D. 801 by Cænulph, King of Mercia, as belonging to the Monastery of Bedinghomme (Beddingham, two miles and a half from Lewes), and on the other hand claimed for the see of Selsey by the Bishop Wethun, as having been transferred by the Abbot Pleghaard to Selsey, by permission of King Offa (A. D. 758—796). By a deed, A. D. 825, Beornulf, King of Mercia, surrenders it to the see of Selsey.

It is said by Alford (*Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Annales*, 687) that Lewinna may either have derived her name from the town of Lewes, or the town from her. Though this may be fanciful, yet the Monastery of St. Andrew may have been at Lewes. The position and distance from Seaford correspond, and there was, undoubtedly, an ancient church of St. Andrew in Lewes, which is mentioned in charters of Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, A. D. 1121, and of Seffrid, bishop in 1190. In an inquisition of 6 Henry VI (1427-8) the church is also mentioned as being worth 15*s.* a year; it was included in the grant by Henry VIII to Thomas Cromwell, and valued at £8 10*s.* 10*d.*, paying a pension of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the prior of

* "Cernit itaque a longe monasterium pene tribus leugis ab illo portu disparatum."

Lewes, and was finally united to the parish of St. Michael in (1545-6) 37° Henry VIII. A lane nearly opposite the County hall still retains the name of St. Andrew, and if the church was situated on the sloping ground there, it might have been visible from near the mouth of the Ouse. Although the word "monasterium" is throughout used by Drogo, yet that word does not necessarily imply any monastic foundation, but was frequently applied to signify a church only, and this was probably the case in this instance.

The journey was continued to the monastery, and the monk attended mass. After divine service they examined all things in the church attentively, and wondered at some scrolls of parchment (*schedas membranorum*) affixed to the wall, on which the wonders done by the Lord through St. Lewinna were described, for as the writing was in English (*Anglicè, uti apud eos mos habetur, scriptæ*) they could not read nor understand it until the priest of the church explained it to them, and recited a long list of cures done there, so that the mind of the friar Balgerus was inflamed with the desire to take away some relic from the Saint's body. Drawing, therefore, the priest aside, he proposed to him thus, "Take what you please, and give me the relics of so great a virgin, either a bone or such like, which may do honour to my own monastery." The priest was exceedingly discomposed at such insolence, and tells him that "he who could use such words was a dishonest man." The monk blushed at the reproof, and tried to pass it off as a joke. "I am in sport, I did not speak seriously; all I really want of you is to allow me to hear mass, and to pray here at my leisure while I stay." "The church is open to you and every one; the door will not be shut on your account."

A curious description then follows of the gradual influence on the mind of Balgerus of the temptation to steal what he had thus failed in buying, though the notion of any sin attached to the theft never seems to have at all troubled him, provided only that he could obtain the saint's permission, and effect his purpose without detection.

The acquisition of relics seems, indeed, to have been exempted by general opinion from the ordinary laws of morality. At East Dereham, in Norfolk, there still remains an inscription recording the theft of the body of St. Withburga, a

daughter of a king of East Anglia. "The abbot and canons of Ely stole this precious relic and transferred it to Ely Cathedral, where it was interred with her three royal sisters, A. D. 974." Ethelwald, the Bishop of Winchester, plotted this violent translation, which took place by night while the abbot was detaining the inhabitants at a feast.

Drogo describes Balgerus as now chanting and praying, and occasionally glancing obliquely at the chest containing the Saint's bones, and even handling it, till after doing this frequently, he accidentally discovered a way of opening the chest by twisting and drawing out the iron nails in a certain manner, so as to expose to his view the bones wrapped in a red cloth; alarmed at his own discovery, he replaced everything, retired, and, resuming his prayers "that heaven would direct him when and how to carry away these relics," continued his vigils all night. The next day the doorkeeper (*ædituus*) told him that he was himself going away elsewhere, and would leave the monastery and all things to his care, hoping he would stay till evening. "Go away, my friend," said Balgerus, "where you please, I will remain in guard to keep things, as anxiously as yourself." Finding himself thus alone, he began to approach the chest more boldly, and tried to lift it up, but, as if it were rooted in the earth, he could neither move nor raise it. A sudden horror seized him when he found this, after having before so easily moved it. On coming to himself he renewed his prayers, and began to chant through the whole Psalter until the fourth hour of the day was over, when he thought of a new device; after repeatedly trying in vain to move the chest, he took a strap (*corrigiam*) of leather, fastened it round his own neck, and placing the two ends upon the Saint's chest cried, "Accept me, O venerable virgin, as your perpetual servant; only suffer yourself to be moved, and carried off to where you may be exalted to greater honour." He now again applied his trembling hand, and the chest at once moved. Delighted with his success, he solemnly adjured the Saint not to allow herself to be stolen unless his faithful theft (*meum fidele furtum*) was destined to be undetected, and went on to finish his Psalter until he came to the one hundred and fiftieth Psalm in regular course, when suddenly he fell asleep. Drogo says this sleep came on miraculously; but it must be

remarked that he had not slept the night before, and had sung through all the Psalms since. However, St. Lewinna appeared to him in his sleep, telling him to take her as the companion of his journey. Before he was well awake, he fancied he heard the doorkeeper come back and accuse him of the theft; but after searching all about the church and finding himself alone, his zeal drove him to open the chest and wrap the bones in a linen he had got with him; a few small bones, in doing this, fell through a rent of the cloth, and though he three times picked them up and replaced them, they again fell, so as to indicate clearly the Saint's will and pleasure that "some relics of her should be left in *the place where she had finished her life with the palm of martyrdom, and where she had been buried.*" This passage proves Lewinna to have died at the place where St. Andrew was situated, and that her relics had not suffered previous removal. Balgerus thus carried off his prize to his inn, and placed it in a shrine (*taberna, zaberna*) of his own, sending it off to the ship by his companion, and remaining there himself, in order to disarm suspicion.

At night a violent wind and storm arose, so as to frighten the crew, even though they were sheltered by rocks and lofty headlands.* "What will happen to us at sea (they began to say to one another) if we are thus harassed in a safe place? (*in seculo loco*). Perhaps it is this Saint, whom our monk has sent, causes this, and if we stay here long with a contrary wind, we shall be searched for the theft, and the ship and our goods will be seized, and ourselves put to death." "Let us cast this shrine into the sea," says another, "so that nobody may find it."

In the meanwhile, Drogo says, "our faithful thief, nay, our good robber,"† passed a troubled night, until the saint in a vision comforted him, and promised him a fair wind in the morning. This fortunately occurred, and he, going down early in the morning with his companion to the ship, they embarked and sailed from Seaford. When out at sea, the sailors at mid-day, not having breakfasted, complained that they had nothing but loaves of bread hard and tough to the teeth (*panes duri et dentibus iniqui*). "While we are coasting

* "Quamquam cingerentur rupibus et altis scopulis."

† "At noster fidelis fur, quin etiam latro bonus."

the curves of this bending shore this monk may land where there is plenty of fish, and buy us some." As the ship itself could not approach the coast, on account of the shoals in that part, Balgerus, after purchasing his fish, tried to get back in a small boat to it, but in vain, and he had the mortification of seeing the ship sail away with his stolen relics. "Farewell! farewell!" he piteously exclaimed, "I am unworthy, clearly, to accompany you, my pious virgin, but may you have a prosperous voyage."

Where Balgerus was thus left behind is not named, but in due time he made his way home to his own monastery at Bergue. His ship had already arrived, but had left his shrine and relic to the care of another Flemish vessel which they had met with at a harbour where they were trading, and to which they expected Balgerus would make his way on foot. The sailors knew Balgerus as their countryman, and, not meeting with him, the steersman on returning home carried the shrine to his house, charging his wife not to deliver it to any one. Balgerus, however, persuaded her to give him up this single thing, leaving all his other goods with her, and hanging it round the neck of his servant, walked back to his monastery, sending on to announce his coming, and was received honourably by the prior, whom the abbot had sent to welcome the relics. There being no fit chest ready, the bones were for a few days put into the library (in bibliotheca cum libris). Soon after, a certain Bishop Bovo performed the ceremony of transferring them to a chest adorned with gold and silver, first *washing them with the choicest wine*,* while the monks stood by with torches. The bishop, after the Litany, pronounced the relics genuine, and wept for joy while they were wrapped in two cloths, and the chest securely nailed down on every side, "lest (as Drogo observes, forgetting how they were obtained) any fraud might possibly be practised, and any portion of the relics taken away." The especial mercy of God was indeed thought to have assisted Balgerus.† Drogo then relates to his Abbot Rumoldus a number of miracles, which he says he must believe, though they seem incredible, having himself had the

* "Vinum optimum quo laverentur ossa."

† "Non absque particulari et admiranda Dei miseratione—Bergas detulit." Alford Eccl. Ang. Ann.

account from persons of good credit who were present. We need not repeat all the cures which Drogo reports to have taken place when these relics were carried about in procession through several towns of the neighbourhood, at Leffinges, where a cripple, Boldredus by name, "remains well to this day" (*hodie sanus permanet*), as does another woman at Aldenburg, near Ostend (*hodie incolumis permanet*); at Walcheren, "where a man is still alive and well" (*viget continua sanitate usque hodie et valet*); and at Lieswege, where *some of the wood scraped off the Saint's chest, mixed with wine and drunk*, effected a cure. "Many miracles of the journey I have resolved not to mention," says Drogo; but in one case, occurring at Bergue itself, he adds, that the Countess Adela, wife of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, inquired about it, "and I myself, who write this, thought it right to examine into it."* In another case at Bergue, he also remarks of a woman cured, "she is still alive."

These expressions seem sufficient to prove, in connexion with the general tenour of the narrative, that Drogo really wrote this account soon after the transaction, and that this early description of Seaford harbour, and of the translation of the bones of this Sussex saint from St. Andrew's Church, was the genuine report given to him by Balgerus in the twelfth century.

For many centuries Bergue rejoiced in the possession of these relics so obtained, until in 1522 they were destroyed, burnt, and lost during the religious disturbances of those times, so that only one rib bone remained† of St. Lewinna to after-times, inclosed in a cotton bag, which, with the scroll of her virtues, was exhibited to the people.

* "Et ego ipse qui hæc cudo, dignum duxi inquisitum ire."

† "Adeo ut ex S. Lewinnæ corpore sola costa superesse dicatur."—*Preface.*

ON
 A BRITISH SEPULCHRAL URN AND BRASS PIN,
 FOUND ON STORRINGTON DOWNS.

READ AT THE MEETING OF THE SOCIETY AT CHICHESTER, JULY 1, 1847.

By FREDERICK DIXON, Esq.



Drawn by Maria Dixon. Engraved by Fred. Gyde.

BRITISH SEPULCHRAL URN FROM STORRINGTON DOWNS, REDUCED ONE EIGHTH
 FROM THE ORIGINAL SIZE. BRASS PIN UNREDUCED.

SEPULCHRAL urns of the early Britons are occasionally discovered on the Downs and in other parts of Sussex, but, from their great antiquity, coarse material, and imperfect baking, their shape and character is seldom seen. The engraving represents a British urn, in unusually good preservation, discovered some years ago on the Downs near Storrington; it

was found on the removal of a small barrow containing flints, the centre of which had every appearance of having been opened before; it was not more than three feet under the surface, and at the north-eastern extremity of the tumulus, and from this circumstance had most likely eluded the researches of former antiquaries. The urn was in an inverted position, the usual manner in which British urns are found, and on removing it a quantity of well-burnt bones were visible, quite white, and probably from their small size belonging to a female. It was the custom of the Britons to collect the bones after the body was burnt, and place them in a coarse cloth, which was fastened by a brass pin. Sir R. Colt Hoare had often seen this coarse material, but in the present instance it was entirely decayed; the brass pin is represented in the woodcut. Sir R. Colt Hoare pronounced this to be one of the finest urns he had seen; it measures twenty-one inches high, thirteen broad at the top, and six inches and a half at the bottom, and its shape and proportion are very good, considering it was made by hand, and badly baked. It may be useful to remark that former antiquaries were generally satisfied with digging into the centre of a tumulus; this specimen, however, and others, which I have seen taken from the sides and less inviting parts of a barrow, show that there are still several valuable relics left to reward the industrious antiquary.

The most ancient mode of burial followed by the southern inhabitants of this island was to raise a mound of earth and flints over the body of the deceased. The skeleton is generally found in the centre of the tumulus, in a cist cut out in the chalk, with the legs and knees drawn up, and the head placed towards the north; this may be considered the first manner of interment. Burning the body was adopted at a later period, in order to prevent any indignities being shown to the remains of the dead. Burnt bones are occasionally seen in a cist cut in the chalk, merely covered with a flint, or without any protection. The funereal urn containing the bones seems to belong to a later and more refined period, though, from its rude character, many years prior to the Roman invasion. Some of the Down barrows of Sussex were probably family vaults, raised at first for the central deposit of the body, and covered more or

less with flints, and afterwards, when cremation succeeded, the ashes of the body were collected in an urn, and deposited in the already raised sepulchre.

I was at the opening, with the Rev. E. Cartwright, of several tumuli on Sullington Warren, and in most of them the remains of British urns were discovered, some of them, however, were not in an inverted position; at p. 128 of Cartwright's 'History of the Rape of Bramber' is a representation of one of these urns. I have also seen several barrows opened on the Downs of Western Sussex; and I beg to state that my observations are entirely confined to that part of the county, and, strictly speaking, to British tumuli; Saxon barrows being of a different description and a much more recent period.

REMARKS ON THE NONÆ OF 1340, AS RELATING TO SUSSEX.

READ AT THE SHOREHAM MEETING, MAY 5, 1847.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

COMMISSIONERS for the county of Sussex were appointed to levy the taxes granted by Parliament in the 14th year of King Edward III (1340), namely—the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf; and the fifteenth of the goods and chattels of merchants not living in cities or boroughs. (*Nonarum Inquisitiones*, published by the Record Commission, folio, 1807.)

Three commissions were issued to regulate the mode of levying this tax, and the value of the tenth, as ascertained in 1292 for Pope Nicholas's taxation, was authorized to be taken as the basis of the valuation; the ninth, in 1340, being thus accepted as equivalent to the tenth in 1292. The facts were to be taken on the oath of the parishioners in each parish.

The assessors for the county of Sussex were Henry Husé, Andrew de Medsted, John de Covert (replaced on June 8th, by William de Seffyngham, a name probably misread for Sessingham), John de Mitford. The receiver of the subsidy appointed was Henry Gerland, the Dean of Chichester, but on August 8th the Abbot of Battle was appointed in his place.

The tax was to be levied within two years, and accordingly the commissioners, in the year 1341, attended at various towns to receive the returns from the parishes. They were at Chichester on March 14th, on March 16th at Steyning and Bramber, and at Lewes from March 17th to April 3d.

The returns from the city of Chichester, the boroughs, and the Cinque Ports were made separately, and do not appear;

the return from the clergy also, who voted a tenth, is not included.

Only two parishes in Sussex return their value in 1341 as exceeding what they were rated at in 1292, South Malling having been then rated at 80*l.*, now 84*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, Framfield 10*l.*, now 11*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*

Many of the parishes explain the reason of their present valuation being less by various causes. Among the most prominent and effectual is the quantity of land destroyed by the sea within the forty-eight years that had elapsed since 1292. By adding to the number of acres expressly mentioned to be thus drowned, the quantity indicated only by the amount of the former tithe now lost, we may ascertain that no less than 5500 acres had been thus destroyed by the sea within these forty-eight years.

	Value of Tithe in 1292.		
	£	s.	d.
Guestling—Sneppesmarsh, totally submerged by the flow and ebb of the sea, value	2	2	8
Fairlight—Mersehamsmarsh, laid waste by sea	13	4	
Pett—marsh submerged by sea	1	6	8
Icklesham—Rynggeresmersh, totally submerged	2	9	8
Brede—Gateberghesmersh	13	0	
Salehurst with Udimere. Gatebergh Marsh.			
Hoo—400 acres of marsh and scrub land flooded by fresh-water and the sea, used to be cultivated	2	3	4
Rottingdean—50 acres of arable land lost, de- stroyed, and annihilated by the violence of the sea, at 4 <i>d.</i> an acre		16	8
Brighton—40 acres submerged for ever	2	0	0
Hove—150 acres drowned by sea	5	6	8
Lancing—70 houses, water-mill, arable and pasture destroyed	3	13	10
Goring—150 acres by flood and ebb of sea	1	10	0
Terring—lands sown destroyed by sea		6	8
Middleton—60 acres of arable	1	0	0
Felpham—60 acres of arable and 60 pasture	1	4	0
Pagham—2700 acres laid waste by sea	40	10	0

	Value of Tithe in 1292.		
	£	s.	d.
Sidlesham—arable		5	0
Westham and Chudeham—20 acres arable drowned by sea	1	0	0
Selsey—arable drowned by sea	5	6	8
Thorney—20 arable and 20 pasture	2	13	4
West Wittering—arable lands drowned by sea and many arable lands destroyed by the sea sand (per zabulonem)	3	6	8
	<hr/>		
	83	3	2

3270 acres specified.

Add for marsh 1880 at 1s. per acre tithe.

„ arable, &c. 350	{ arable at 6d., pasture at 1s. 6d. per acre tithe. } total acres destroyed by sea in 48 years, from 1292 to 1341.
<hr/> 5500	

There had been great irruptions of the sea, A. D. 1014, iii kal. Oct. (Twysden, Simon Dunelm, p. 171), A. D. 1017—1039—1176. (T. Bromton Chr. pp. 892-1117.)

There was land also at Ninfield, the tithe on which used to be 11s. 8d., now by the flood of water totally submerged, and again at Wartling, 200 acres of marsh and scrub land, which used to be cultivated, now submerged by the flood of water and sediment. Barnham, 40 acres destroyed and trodden down (conculcatæ) by the great course of water.

In eleven parishes a quantity of land is reported to be lying uncultivated and fallow, without any particular reason assigned, as at Heathfield, East Bourne, Hellingly, Firl, Glynde, Ferring, Ertham, Madehurst, Findon, Rudgwick, West Itchenor. Parks are mentioned in a few instances.

Burwash, 2 carucates of land, of which the 9th sheaf would be 22s. a holding belonging to the Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, worth 16s. 8d.; land *im-parked* in the park of Burghersh, was worth, for the

9th sheaf, 12*s.* Also land *imparked* in the park of Echynghame, when arable, was worth, for 9th sheaf, 16*s.*

Ticehurst, 100 acres at Borselle, not sown, 8*s.*; at Rynge-denne, 200 acres, 16*s.*; at Howemwode, £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; at Wolcumbe, 200 acres, £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; 2 holdings of prior of Cumbwell (misprinted Camberwell in the Nonæ, in the parish of Goudhurst), 18*s.* 8*d.*; of Rd. Adam, 13*s.* 4*d.*; some lands *imparked* in the park of Passelegh.

Shullegh (Shelley in Beeding or Shillinglee), John de Ifield has *imparked* a carucate of land, worth 10*s.*

In many other parishes the cause assigned for the lands lying uncultivated is expressly stated to be the poverty of the parishioners, and their inability to find seed.

Ninfield, 130 acres of arable lie uncultivated on account of the poverty of the parish (*causa paupertatis parochiæ*).

Hoo, the third part of the manorial land, from the defect and poverty of the parishioners.

Rottingdean, 240 acres, by the debility of the land and the inability (*impotentiam*) of those who used to cultivate it, at 4*d.* = 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Blachington, near Shoreham, four virgates not sown, on account of the inability of the tenants, worth 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* when sown.

Falmer, 120 acres not sown, from the poverty and inability of the parishioners, 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Rodmill, 80 acres, because they have not the means of sowing them (*non habent unde seminar*).

Bramber, the vill now by poverty annihilated.

Tarring, the inability of the parish.

Goring, 900 acres not sown, both in the lord's lands and others, on account of the failure of husbandry (*propter defectum hosebondrie*) and inability of the tenants, 9*l.*

Iford, 110 acres, from the poverty of the land, and the poverty and inability of the cultivators (*debilitatem*), at 5*d.* an acre, 2*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

Storrington, 100 acres not sown, by the inability of the tenants,

who have (dimiserunt) given them up, and from their poverty.

Up-Marden, many lands, from the impoverishment (pauperacionem) of the parishioners.

The weather was urged as an excuse, as having caused a murrain among the sheep and a failure of the wheat in many places.

Brighton, 160 acres of wheat failed; a failure of lambs by the murrain.

Goring, the growing wheats were destroyed and burnt up by the severity of the weather (per aeris intemperiem).

Hangleton, lands annihilated.

Blachington juxta mare, on the third part of the lands the wheat did not grow (non bladebant) on account of the dryness and warmth of weather.

Storrington, 20 acres sown; the seed perished by severity of weather.

Cocking, lands annihilated.

Up-Mardon, murrain (morinam) of sheep by severity of the winter.

In two places arise complaints of damage similar to what are heard at the present day.

West Wittering, the parishioners say that the wheats in the said parish have been devoured year after year by the rabbits of the Bishop of Chichester, and thereby lessened in value 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Ovingdean, 100 acres arable, lying annihilated by the destruction of the rabbits of the Lord, Earl Warrene, valued at 17*l.* 5*s.*

Findon, the tithe of rabbits and game (cuniculorum et venationis), 4*s.*

At Arundel, an accidental fire, which had destroyed many tenements, is pleaded in diminution of the tax.

The coast of Sussex was naturally exposed to the attacks of the enemy during this French war, to support which the tax was levied. This circumstance also affects the agriculture of the parishes near the sea.

Friston, 24 holdings, with pasture for 600 sheep have been annihilated and destroyed, worth 15*s.*; 100 acres not sown, from poverty and from fear of the enemy, (*pro dubio Normanorum.*) [The use of the word Normans for sea-pirates, or enemies by sea, is very remarkable.]

East Dean, 14 holdings, with pasture for 300 sheep, destroyed, and some of them *burnt* (*pro Galleis; query, per Gallos*); 100 acres not sown, “*pro dubio Normanorum,*” 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Seaford, no lambs or fleece; parish repeatedly destroyed by divers assaults of our enemies from France, and men of the parish bodily wounded and killed.

Patcham, many lands could not be sown, because many men of the parish have been annihilated.

We learn the prices of various articles by this return:—

A lamb is valued at 3*d.*, as at Stanmer on 130 lambs, and at South Malling on 20.

A fleece on 400 at Stanmer is reckoned at 2*d.* each, and on 70 at South Malling.

Flax and hemp are grown in almost all parishes, sometimes their tithe is 20*s.*

On arable land at Framfield the tithe 6*d.* an acre; at Iford, 5*d.*; pasture, 60 acres at Felpham, tithe 4*s.*; for 200 sheep 10*s.* at Rogate.

2 windmills at Newick, tithe 4*s.*

2 watermills at Framfield, tithe 6*s.* 8*d.*

In levying the Fifteenth of the value of the goods of all who possessed them worth 10*s.*, this tax did not apply to those who were taxed for their ninth fleece, sheaf, and lamb in the parochial returns, and therefore the principal landed proprietors do not appear in this valuation, but only “*merchantz foreins,*” as the statute directs, not living in boroughs nor by agriculture. In the county of Sussex there was only levied 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* from this source, being collected from 65 persons named (the return from Seaford omits the names), each having 10*s.* in goods and chattels:—

—	Persons.	15th value.	—
Arundel - - -	3	£ s. d. 0 13 4	Alan le Prest, tax 6s. 8d.; John Capun, 3s. 4d.; Js. Cateler, 3s. 4d.
East Angmering -	1	0 1 4	Thomas Pygeun.
West Angmering -	3	0 3 6	Wm. le Sapere, 30s.; Jn. Bulmer, Wm. de Halghe.
Battle - - - -	7	0 16 3	John Goring, 22s. 3d.; Ts. de Gilling- ham, 15s.
Billinghurst - -	3	0 4 8	Wm. Wales, Wm. Gilkyneston, Jn. North, 10s. each.
Chiltington - -	1	0 1 0	
Harting - - -	5	0 10 0	
Kirdford - - -	1	0 3 0	at 45s. William de Palsthudd, the y ^r in merchandise.
Petworth - - -	3	0 13 0	Alan Lyle, goods and chattels 7l. 10s., tax 10s.; Alan de Muleward, 30s., tax 2s.
Rogate - - - -	2	0 2 6	Merchants, Walter Peise, 30s.; Rd. Goldryng.
Salthurst - - -	4	0 4 6	
Seaford - - - -	0	2 13 4	
Storrington - -	12	0 9 8	
Steyning - - -	5	0 5 8	Merchants, Ts. de More and Walter Bishop 22s. 6d. each.
Sullington - - -	2	0 1 0	
Sumpting - - -	3	0 4 4	Peter atte Temple, 20s.; Jn. Strokehouse 30s.; Jn. Vayrroare, 15s.
South Wick - -	2	0 1 8	
Terring - - - -	2	0 4 6	John Barbour, 45s.; John Sutton, 21s. 6d.
	65	7 16 3	

No merchants foreign were returned at Hailsham, Meching, Brighton, Shoreham, Cuckfield, Hurst, Horsham (except in the borough).

The instructions to the Commissioners state "it is not the intent of the king, nor of the other great men, nor of the Commons, that by this grant of Fifteens made to the king, the poor boraile people (les pources cotiers), nor other that live of their bodily travaile shall be comprised within the tax;" but people who dwell in forests and wastes (en forestes gastines), and all others that live not of their gain or of their store (de lour gaynerie ou de lor estor de berbiz) were to be liable.

There is much statistical information on every parish in the county thus collected in this return, and, owing to the difficulty and delay in collecting such a tax, the expedient was not afterwards repeated.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL AND ACCOUNT BOOK
OF THE
REV. GILES MOORE,
RECTOR OF HORSTEAD KEYNES, SUSSEX, FROM THE YEAR 1655 TO 1679.
WITH REMARKS, BY ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, Esq.

OF the Rev. Giles Moore, the author of the manuscript from whence the following extracts are taken, there is no other account than the very scanty one to be collected from his own papers. His patron was a Mr. Michelborne, one of an ancient Sussex family now extinct, who, at one time, possessed considerable property in that county. As he alludes to his having been taken prisoner by Essex's Horse, he had probably served as a soldier, or he may have acted as chaplain in the Royal Army. Of his devoted attachment to the king's cause there can be no doubt. The parish of Horstead Keynes, of which he was the rector, is situated nearly in the centre of the weald of Sussex. It is a remarkably pretty village, in the midst of wild forest scenery, and the parsonage, with its picturesque, well-wooded glebe, is beautiful. Its own name, and those of the neighbouring parishes, such as Hartfield, Buckhurst, Buckstead, and Maresfield, clearly indicate that this district was in early times devoted to the chase. The original manuscript is now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Plucknett, the present incumbent of Horstead Keynes, and by his kind permission these extracts have been made and published under the conviction that any authentic record of prices, and any genuine illustration of habits and manners, nearly two hundred years since, cannot be without interest and value.

Mr. James Pell, rector of Horstead Keynes, died the 10th day of August, 1655.

I, Giles Moore, was admitted Rector of Horsted Keynes by the Commissioners for the approbation of Publicque Preachers sitting at Whitehall,* on the 1st of Feb., 1655-56.

On the 25th of September, I removed fully and wholly from Lindfield to Horstead Canes. The parsonage was left to mee in so ruinous a state, that it cost mee £240, before I could make it fit to dwell in. Should I leave a widow behind mee, let him, whoever my successor may bee, deale alike kindly by her as I have done by Mistresse Pell, and shee will have no complaint for the present, nor will hee himselve bee a loser for the future. Mrs. Pell had the whole years tythes ending at Lady Day 1656, though her husband dyed at the beginning of the harvest.†

Hæc si scripta legas (successor) ut oro legantur.

I first preached in the above sayd Horsted, on the 17th of Feb. 1655-56.

* These were the triers as they were called, of whose appointment Walker gives the following account in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy:—“On March 20, 1653, an ordinance was passed by Cromwell and his council complaining in the preamble, that, ‘for some time past, no certain course had been established for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons, whereby many weak, scandalous, Popish and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves,’ and therefore appointing that every person, who should after the 25th of that month be presented to any benefice in England or Wales, should, before he be admitted, be judged and approved by the persons after named, ‘to be a person, for the grace of God in him, by his holy and unblameable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance able and fit to preach the Gospel.’ The number of the triers was thirty-eight, part laymen, part ministers, any five of whom were empowered to approve, but not less than nine could reject such as offered themselves for examination. To such as they approved, they were to give an instrument in writing for that purpose, without which no one was to be deemed lawfully possessed of any benefice or lecture; and by virtue of which writing, when obtained, he was put into full possession as if he had been admitted by institution and induction.

In Nicholl’s ‘Calvinism and Arminianism Compared,’ a very curious tract by Bishop Wornack has been preserved. It purports to be the trial of an unsuccessful candidate under the name of Tilenus. The triers are designated as—

Dr. Absolute, Chairman.

Mr. Fatality.	Dr. Confidence.
Mr. Pretention.	Dr. Dubious.
Mr. Fry Babe.	Mr. Meanwell.
Mr. Damman.	Mr. Simulans.
Mr. Narrow Grace, <i>alias</i> Strait Grace.	Mr. Take on Trust.
Mr. Efficax.	Mr. Know Little.
Mr. Indefectible.	Mr. Impertinent.

† The tithes of Horstead Keynes in 1656 amounted to £131 17s. They are now commuted for £505.

I agreed with Henry Pelling: hee is to pay mee rent for Noble Land £8 a yeare.*

A note of all my Incomes and Expences since myne admission to Horsted Keynes, accounting from the 26th March, 1656.

“Indicat hic liber de me tibi plurima lector!
Omnia quæ merè mundana ac vana fuerint.”

Wee reckon up our expenses, but not our sins: wee account what wee expend, but not wee offend.

“Oh si tam strictè *delicta diurna* notassem,
Proventus quam continuos, sumptusque notavi!
Aut tam dona Dei mihi libera et ampla benigni,
Quam mihi quæ dederint alii munuscula parce!”
Mea dicta et facta.

I entertained for my yearly servant John Dawes at Old Lady Day, promising to make his wages as good as they were under Mr. Pell. I payed him his half yeares wages on the 2d of Oct., £2 10s. Rose Colman came to mee on the 7th of Sept., I bargained to give her £3 per annum.†

I gave my wyfe 15s. to lay out at St. James faire at Lindfield, all which shee spent except 2s. 6d., which shee never returned mee.

I payd J. Burtenshaw for 10 days worke in my garden, 10s., and to John Humphrey for 3 dayes worke 3s. For a payr of garden shoes bought for mee in London, I payd 3s. 4d.

The summa totalis of my first frutes was £13 19s. 3d., of my tenths £1 6s. 8d.

7th May, 1656. I bought of William Clowson, upholsterer itinerant, living over against the Crosse at Chichester, but who comes about the country with his packs on horseback,

	£	s.	d.
A fine large coverlett with birds and bucks .	2	10	0
A sett of striped curtaines and valance .	1	8	0
A coarse 8 qr. coverlett	1	2	0
Two middle blankets	1	4	0
One beasil or Holland tyke or bolster	1	13	6

For the parlour chamber I bought of Mr. Hely in London

* This land, consisting of 21 acres of plain land and 11 acres of wood, would probably let, in the present day, for about £24.

a bed with purple rug, curtaines, &c. which cost mee altogether £20 16s. 7d., a payr of fine middle blankets 15s., two flock beds and boulster tykes £1 1s. 0d. I bought of Thomas Booker 2 sheets for 9s. and of Widdow Langley 2 more fine sheets, for which I am to pay 18s.

12th May. I bought of Goodwyfe Seamer 9 ells and a halfe of hempen cloath a yd. broad, coming, at 5 groates the ell, to 15s. 10d.; for the whiteing thereof I payd 10d. the ell; and for 14 ells of flaxen cloath whited I payd 8 groates an ell: in all £1 17s.

14th May. I went to London, and came back on the 19th. I payd for a fishe dinner, together with a fowl and gammon and sack, which I gave to Mr. Hely, Mr. Herryman and his wyfe 7s.; I spent otherwise at ordinaries for wine and board 7s. 9d., and to the oastler for 5 nights-I payd 3s. 8d., with 4d. gratis.

I bought of Mr. Hall at the Queens Arms in Canongate St. 4 yds. of black broad cloath at 23s. 6d. the yd. £4 14s.; a Levitical girdle containing 4 oz. of silke 10s.; $\frac{1}{2}$ a yd. of velvet 2s. 6d.; two worsted canonical girdles 5s.; and I payd to my cousin Halford for making mee a suite of apparell and a coate, 9s.

I payed to Alderman Hinde, in Lumbarde street, goldsmith, for a faire silver tankard of 38 oz., which, at 5s. 7d. an oz., came to £10 15s. 3d.; for engraving thereupon Mr. Michelborne's and his wyfe's arms, on whom it was bestowed, and for a cabinet given to Mistresse Anne, at the same time that the other was given her mother, £1 5s.

I received of Thomas Morley, for 6 cocks which I sold him at Shrove Tide, 4s. 6d.*

For 4 loades of hay I received of William Comber £5 12s.; and for $\frac{1}{2}$ a bushell of oats I payd 1s.

I reckoned with John Walters, miller, and payd him, in ready money, £4 17s., for barley, malt, and wheate, being at

* As this item occurs every year, it would seem that the rector took advantage of the demand created by the barbarous but almost universal custom in England of fighting cocks and throwing at cocks on Shrove Tuesday. It appears, from a passage in the 'Life of Archbishop Thomas à Beckett,' that, from a very early period, that day was devoted to cock-fighting, and that schoolboys generally had a half holiday given them to enjoy the sport. In 1660 a letter of Edmund Ellis, a clergyman of Devonshire, refers to this custom as "not a recreation meet for Christians, though so commonly used by those who own that name." (Harl,

24s. the qr. for the malt, and for the wheate 3s. 3d. the bushell. I bought of J. Lucas a qr. of pease to fatten my hogs, for which I payd £1 10s. 4d.; and for a bushell of tares 1s.

I payd to Mr. Hall, for 46 lb. of butter, the pot to bee returned, £1 2s.; for 4 lb. of Suffolk cheese 1s. 4d.; for 5 lb. of Cheshire cheese 2s. 6d.; a couple of rabbits 1s 6d. To Goodwyfe Pelling for 4 nayle* of butter at 4d. the lb., 12s. 9d.; for a mast of salt bought for me, in London, 1s. 3d.; for 6 lbs. of hops 9s.; for 5 lb. of cherries 10d.

Henry Herbert is to pay by composition 6s. per ann. for his tythe for the farme called the Butts, which contains 13 acres of land, for which he payeth £10 a yeare rent, of which farme 2 acres and a half are in wheate, and 3 acres and a half in oates.

3 Junii.

Si Caroli justi non tam brevis aura fuisset
 Longior et posset vita fuisse mihi;
 Unus idemque ictus qui detruncaverat illum,
 Lætitiæ dederat vulnera dua meæ.
 Det Deus Omnipotens, cum injustum linquero regnum
 Cum justo semper vivere Rege queam.
 Tu caput es nostrum, nemo te abscondere posset;
 Junguntur capiti singula membra tuo.

5th Aug. I went to London, coming away againe on the 8th. I spent, on a fishe dinner at the Crowne and Harpe, Old Fleet Street, 8s. 6d. Spent otherwise 2s. 4d.; oastler 2s. 6d.; tapster 1s. 4d. I bought of my countryman Mr. Cooper a new hat, costing, together with the band, £1 3s.

This is a note of such brasse as I bought of John Johnson, at the Ship in Grace Church Streete, brasier, on the 6th Aug., Messrs. Herriman and Taylor assisting mee :

	£	s.	d.
A paier of brasse andirons	1	2	0
A paier of iron dogs, with brasse heads	0	5	6
Shovell and tongs, with brasses	0	4	6

Misc. vi, 123.) A correspondent of the Gent. Mag., in 1757, says, "Considering the many ill consequences that attend this custom, I wonder it has so long subsisted among us. How many bloody disputes and quarrels has it occasioned among the surrounding mob! Numbers of arms, legs, and skulls have been broken by the massive weapons designed as destruction to the sufferer in the string. It is dangerous, in some places, to pass the streets on Shrove Tuesday." Happily nothing of the practice now remains among us, and the slang term of a "cock-shy" is the only vestige of it.

* This term is still used by some old people in this district of Sussex, as meaning 8 lbs.

	£	s.	d.
A warming pan	0	7	6
2 brasse kettles weighing 37 lb.	2	9	2
A latten candlestick for my mayd Mary	0	1	6

I bought a Cheshire cheese of 13 lb. weight, 5*s.* 8*d.*; for 2 dozen of lemons and basket I gave 2*s.* 2*d.*; 8 lb. of raisins, at 7*d.* the lb., 4*s.* 3*d.*; 10 lb. of powder sugar, at 7*d.* the lb., 6*s.* 3*d.*; 1 lb. of white powder sugar 10*d.*; 1 lb. of pepper 3*d.*; 1 lb. of cherries 10*d.*; 2 oz. of tobacco 1*s.*; and for 6 doz. of beechen trenchers, whereof 4 doz. were square and 6 doz. round, which I bought in Crooked Lane, I gave 4*s.*

14th Aug. My brother Robert and Mr. Lisle came out of the Isle of Wight to visit mee, with whom, on the 16th, I went to Broomham,* being there and at Hastings till the 21st. On that day we parted, Mr. Lisle for London, my brother and I for Shoreham, where I took my leave of him. Our way to Broomham was by Buckstead Bridge, Crosse in the Hand, Catts Streete, Hoods Corner, Battell. Spent on the 14th in sack 5*s.*, meate 5*s.*, at Catts Streete 2*s.* 6*d.*, Winchelsea 2*s.*, Rye 2*s.* 6*d.*, ferry 6*d.*, chambermaid 1*s.* Hackman 1*s.*, sack 1*s.*, horse 6*d.* Spent at Battell 3*s.* 9*d.*, at Shoreham 4*s.* In all £1 8*s.* 6*d.*

16th Sept. I bought of Edward Barrett at Lewis a clock, for which I payd £2 10*s.*,† and for a new jack, at the same time, made and brought home, £1 5*s.* For 2 prolongers‡ and an extinguisher 2*d.*, and a payr of bellowes 5*s.*

For 2 rabbits which I bought of G. Wheeler of Meresfield I gave 1*s.* 6*d.*

29th Sept. On this day I removed fully and wholly from Lindfield to Horstead Keynes.

An assessment was made for raising the summe of £60,000 by the moneth, for the use of his Highnesse the Protector;

* Broomham, in the parish of Guestling, has belonged to the family of Ashbunham, ever since the 13th century. Giles Moore's visit was probably to an old acquaintance as a royalist, Denny Ashbunham, the possessor of Broomham at this time, and member for Hastings. He was made Commissioner of Excise and Victualler of the Navy, and was created a Baronet by Charles II.

† Pendulum clocks, it is said, were first invented by Huygens this year, though clocks and clock-makers were introduced into England as early as 1368. (Anderson's History of Commerce.)

‡ Probably savealls.

the summe of £33 5*s.* being charged on the Borough of Horstead Keynes. I payed for my share 19*s.* This is a 6 monthly tax.* I payd a highway tax in ready money, besides 4 dayes worke of my man 16*s.*

Hoc regimen fore longævam vix credere possum,
 Justus enim Deus est, qui non permittit iniquos
 Illa tenere dici quæ vi, quæ fraude parabant.
 Sæpe viros mirè vafros Deus atque feroces
 Evocat, oppressumque oppressor vindicat alter.
 Atque audax fallaxque magis quam qui prius illud
 Imperium obtinuit, violenter torquet ab illo.
 Sicque uni aspirans vicies circumvenit alter;
 Donec ad id redeat caput unde corona fugata est,
 Hæredique suo descendunt jura paterna.

Oct. 2d. For 3 yards and $\frac{3}{4}$ of scarlet serge, of which I made the library cupboard carpet, besydes my wastcoate made thereof, 15*s.*

J. Dawes brought mee from Grinstead 4 stone of beefe, which, at 22*d.* the stone, and 2 lb. of sewet at 4*d.*, came to 8*s.*

I payed for barbouring, for 6 moneths from Lady Day, 7*s.* 6*d.*; and for being blooded, though I was so cold that I bled but one ounce, 1*s.*

I bought of my wyfe a fat hog to spend in my family, for the which I payed the summe of 30*s.*; the 2 fitches of bacon, when dried, weighed 64 lb. I gave her to buy a qr. of lambe 3*s.* 6*d.*

For 2 qts. of sack in two bottles, at the Widdow Newport, 4*s.* For a pint of sack, at the Inn at Lindfield, 1*s.*; for a quart of claret 1*s.* I bought of a traveller 4 Venesionne glasses, † 2 of one sort, and 2 of another, 2*s.*

I bought of Mr. Cooke one hat for myself, with a band and lining, 22*s.*, and another for my wyfe, 22*s.* For 6 ells and $\frac{3}{4}$ of douglas ‡ for 2 shirts I gave 14*s.*

My patron, Mr. William Michelborne, Esquire, § dyed at

* The assessment alluded to above is stated to have been equal to 2*s.* 6*d.* in the £1 land tax. (Burrell's MSS. Brit. Museum.)

† Glass in former days was one of the manufactures of Sussex. All foreign glass was prohibited by proclamation in 1633, but an exception was made in favour of Venetian glass, which Sir C. Maunsel alone was allowed to import from Venice and other parts of Italy, as he should think fit, for special uses and purposes.

‡ Dowlas seems to be a corruption of douglas.

§ William Michelborne, eldest son and heir of Sir Richard Michelborne, of Broadhurst and Stanmer, by Cordelia, daughter of William Campion, of Combwell, in the county of Kent, was the descendant of an ancient Sussex family now totally extinct. Abraham Michelborne, his brother, a younger son of Sir Richard, settled

my Lady Paul's house, in Lambeth, about 4 of the clock in the afternoone, on the 20th of Dec., 1656, being Saturday, and was buried at Horstead Keynes on the 30th Dec. following, in the south-east corner of his own chancel.

For marrying Richard Wood and Susan his wyfe I had 5s. I gave John Waters and Elizabeth his wyfe their marriage. To several persons, towards the feast of Christmase, I gave 14s.

One penny being allowed to the churchwardens out of every threepence payd by those that had formerly received the sacrament, and twopence only by those who had never formerly received it. All the Esther offerings this yeare were clearly worth to mee £2 11s. The whole number of receivers that Esther, at three several sacraments, were 182 persons;* and the persons who gave mee above the ordinary allowance were Mr. Roots 9*d.*, Mrs. Board 10*s.*, Mr. Culpepper, for himselfe and wyfe, 5*s.*, Mrs. Jane Board 5*s.*, Mr. Jordan 2*s.*

1657-8.

April 16th. I had brought for mee from London an apricock tree, 1*s.* 8*d.*; an orange tree 8*d.*; a payr of royal Windsor paires, 1*s.* 8*d.*; two Kentish pippins, 2*s.* 4*d.*; two Flanders cherries, 2*s.* 6*d.*; twenty-six young roots of Provence roses, 5*s.* 6*d.*; one gallon of strawberries, 1*s.* 6*d.*; for 8 young apple trees I payd 7*s.*

I payd to William Clowson, itinerant upholsterer, for 6 yds. and 3 qrs. of Bristol carpetting, at 3*s.* a yd., £1.

My mayde being sicke, I payd for opening her veine 4*d.*, to the Widdow Rugglesford, for looking to her, I gave 1*s.*, and to Old Bess, for tending on her 3 days and 2 nights, I gave 1*s.*; in all 2*s.* 4*d.*,—this I gave her.

22d April. I went to London, where I bought 4 yds. of broad cloth, at 14*s.* 6*d.* the yd., at the Angel in the Old Change.

in Ireland; he was the father of Col. Michelborne, Governor of Londonderry, who defended it against James II. He lost his wife and seven children, who all perished in the course of the siege. The male line of the family became extinct in 1719. Upon a rude stone, raised to the memory of a yeoman and his wife, Dorothy Awcock, who died in 1745, in the churchyard at Horstead Keynes, are engraved these words,—“Her maiden name was Michelborne.” She was the last of her long line. (Horsfield's Hist. of Sussex.)

* There are very few small country parishes in these days where so large a proportion as 182 persons will be found communicants at three sacraments. The present population of Horstead Keynes is about 800, and the average number of communicants in the last three years has been 148 persons, at eight sacraments.

A taxe was made for the reliefe of the poore of the parish of Horsted Keynes, by John Trice and Thos. Field, overseers for the southerne part of the parish, for which I payd for my share 16s. 8*d.*

I had 7 loade and no more of hay off my 12 acres of glebe. I received of my brother Brett, for a loade of hay, had by him of mee the year before, £1; it was worth at least 5s. more than he payed mee.

I have agreed with John Blakiston, mason, that hee, his son, and boy are to give mee one dayes work for theyr victuals, and 1s. more, which I am to pay them at the earning.

For a qr. of oates I payed 14s. 8*d.*; for a gallon of oatmeale 10*d.*; for 21 lb. of hops 13s. 4*d.*

I received of George Brett, for a flitch of bacon at 8 groates a nayle, and for 5 lbs. of bacon, which I sold to Goodwyfe Longford, 2s. 3*d.*

For a payr of gray woollen stockings I payd 3s.; for a payr of worsted, which I bought in London, 6s. 4*d.* Lent to my brother Luxford at the Widdow Newport, never more to be seene! 1s.

July 23d. An assessment was made on the borough of Horsted Keynes, for raying the summe of £16 12s. 6*d.*, for the use of his Highnesse the Protector; payd for my share 19s. I payed 11s. in August for another assessment, for the use of his Highnesse; and 11s. more in Decr. These 2 six monethly taxes come to £1 2s. 2*d.*

I gave away 4 doz. of the Assembly's shortest Catechisms to the youth of Horsted Keynes; they cost mee 3s. 4*d.* To William Young for shoeing my horse, from Lady Day to Michelmas, 3s. 4*d.*

I gave to Mr. Parker of Rotherfield, who came over to see mee when I was sicke, the first time 12s., and for the second time 12s.* To Mr. Hill, who preached for mee 10 days during my sicknesse, at 10s. the day, £5; at the same time I payed for a former preachment 10s.

Sept. 14th. I reckoned with Walter Miller, and then payed him for malt and wheate, the malt at 25s. the qr., the wheate at 7s. 4*d.* the bushell, I payd him in full £6 8s.

* Mr. Parker rode there and back, at least 25 miles, for his fee of 12s.

For a quart. of claret I paid 1s.; a bottle of sack 1s.; 8 sugar cakes 8d.

I sent to Mr. Spencer, by way of gift for the putting forth of his booke then towards printing, the title of which is 'New and Old,' sent him I say upon his letter, £1.

There was given to mee in this moneth of October,

By Mr. Hills, a pig
 G. Chapman, a pig.
 Widdow Wood, a pig.
 G. Pelling and
 Widdow Langley, a piece of porke.
 Wm. Swale, a rabbit.
 Widdow Lucas, }
 G. Martin, } a bottle of meade a peice.
 Henry Pelling, }
 John Brooke, a pig.
 Wm. Field, a large pig.

I received of Edwd. Wickam of Ardingleigh for the keeping of 5 ewes and 5 taggs from the 3d. of Decr. till Lady Day, besides the giving him a cwt. and $\frac{1}{2}$ of hay in the snow for which I took nothing, 16s. 6d.

To Thos. Stone of Hoadleigh, shoe maker, for a payr of new black walking boots 12s., for a new payr of shoes 4s.

Paid by mee at sundry times to poore people in small summes the summe of 9s. 4d., besides 2s. 6d. which I gave to a poore scholar.

The whole number of the receivers of the sacrament this Esther at three several sacraments, was 184 persons. Those who gave mee above the ordinary allowance were Mr. Roots 6d., Mr. Culpepper 7s., Mrs. Broad 10s., and Mr. Jordan 2s.

1658-9.

I payed Edward Cripps for an iron plate for my parlour grate with Mr. Mitchelbournes arms upon it, 10s.*

I had of Wm. Brett 2 fleeces of wool weighing 3 lb. and $\frac{1}{2}$, for which I paid 2s. per lb.

* The subjects represented upon cast-iron plates were generally either family-arms or some Scripture subject. Jacob reclining on his couch, and blessing his sons, was a very favorite one.

6th May. I gave to the collection for the distressed Protestants in Bohemia and Poland 3s.*

To Widdow Wards daughter I gave 6*d.* for getting her Catechise so well.

To John Martin for mowing all my grass I payed at the rate of 16*d.* the acre.† To John Gower, carpenter, for one days worke for his man and himselfe 3s. 1*d.*, which was one penny extraordinary.

For a bushell of flaxe to sow the plot by the pond 4s.

To John Morley for a bushell of heme bought in London 7s. I payd to Widdow Ward for spinning 13 lb. of winter heme at 10*d.* the lb., 11s. To 5 breakers for breaking my heme, in all 11 nayles, I payd 2s. 8*d.*

An assessment was made the 18th June for the raying the summe of £19 8s. 6*d.* chargeable upon the Borough of Horsted Canes for 6 moneths, which is at the rate of £35000 by the moneth upon England. I payd for my share £1 2s. 2*d.*

I bought in London a portmantle costing 5s. 6*d.*, and a male pillion 1s., and a locke key to the portmantle 6*d.* This portmantle and all that belonged to it I lent to my cousin Lewen, which he never returned, contra fidem datam.

* This collection seems to have been general. In the neighbouring parish of Chailey, it was combined with a collection for promoting the Gospel in New England, and the appeals seem to have been responded to liberally, the sum collected there for one purpose was 49s. 6*d.*, for the other 44s. 9*d.*

† If we compare the rate of wages in Sussex with that in Dorsetshire, there seems to have been quite as much difference in favour of the workmen and labourers of Sussex in those days, as there is at present, as appears from the following extracts from the scale of wages appointed at the Quarter Sessions for Dorsetshire in 1633. It is curious to compare them with the wages of the present day, of which unhappily we hear so much :

“ Noe common servant of husbandry above the age of 20 yeares shall take above 40s. by the yeare, and for his living 6s. 8*d.*, and noe man servant under 20, and above 16 yeares, more than 20s., and 6s. 8*d.* for his living.

“ Noe day labourer in harvest shall take for their wages, the man for reaping of corne above 6*d.*, for mowing of corne and grasse above 6*d.* the day; the woman for reaping of corne 4*d.*, and for making of hay 3*d.*, meate and drinke, and not above.

“ Noe day labourer att husbandry shall take from All Hallowtide to the 25th of March above 3*d.* the day, with meate and drinke, and from the 25th of March to All Hallowtide 4*d.* the day, with meate and drinke, and not above.

“ For reaping an acre of wheat to taske worke, the labourer shall have 2s. 6*d.*, and for mowing an acre of hay at taske worke 12*d.* and not above.

“ Noe person shall take for threshinge a quarter of wheate or rye, at taske worke, above 16*d.*; for threshing a quarter of barley, above 8*d.*; or for a quarter of beans or oates, at taske worke, above 6*d.*”

I gave to the redemption of Thos. Ward out of Horsham gaol 5s.

To Wm. Batchelor for bleeding mee in bed 2s. 6d., and for barbouring mee 1s.

To John Morley for newes books for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, I payd 3s.

A taxe was made for the reliefe of the poore of the parish of Hd. Canes at the rate of 3d. in the £. I payd for my share for the Parsonage and Glebe 12s. 6d.

For a paire of brass andirons, fire pan and tonges, they stand in the grate of the parlour chamber, £1 8s. 3d. I bought of G. Gutband of Cuckfield a saddle, for my man to ride on, for which I payd 9s.

I bought of John Morley, carrier, a bushell of hемpe seede for which I gave 6s. The summa totalis of the value of the cloth produced from that hемpe seede was when made £3 7s. 5d. The expenses, besides the ground 5s., digging, and sowing 2s., and gathering 1s., were quite as much as the value of the cloth, so that there is not gotten, all things considered, one penny by the growing of hемpe.*

I bought in London of Mr. Clarke at Mercers Chapel, Grotius de Jure Belli, &c. 5s., of a bookseller in Little Bretagne, Camden's Britannia £1 14s. 0d.†

I bought a payr of worsted stockings for 5s. 4d., a payr of

* So much importance was attached to the cultivation of hemp and flax in olden time, that it became the subject of legislative enactment. By the 24 Hen. VIII, c. 4, every person occupying 60 acres of land was obliged to sow one rood with either flax or hemp seed, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every 40 acres which he occupied; this statute, as it is stated in the preamble, being passed for the better provision of nets for help and furtherance of fishing, and for excluding of idleness; and, by the 5th Elizabeth, one acre in 60 was to be sown with flax or hemp, under a penalty of 5l. Both of these acts were repealed in 1693. The Rector's experience was directly opposed to the theory of a writer who, in a pamphlet published a few years later, in 1677, says, "Hemp or flax, one or the other, may be had plentifully in every county in England. Take Sussex as an example—any indifferent good chalky land, from the foot of the downs to the sea-side, with double folding or dunging, and twice ploughing, will produce hemp in abundance; yet, though the land be rich enough and dry, it will not produce good flax; but to supply that, many thousand acres of the Wild of Sussex will produce crops of flax, some worth 4l., some 5l., some 6l. an acre, and that kind for hemp worth as much." The best proof that the Rector was right is the fact that, though in the memory of living men, much hemp and flax was grown in the Weald of Sussex, there is very little grown there at present, and that little chiefly for the purpose of feeding cattle.

† These are only specimens of the purchases he made of books, which were very considerable, though almost exclusively in divinity; he never went to London without buying largely.

womans worsted stockings 2s. 6*d.*, a payr of woollen stockings 3s. 4*d.*.*

An assessment was made the 3*d* of Jany. for raying the summe of £19 8s. 6*d.* for the use of the Army and Navy of this Commonwealth, I payed for my share £1 2s. 2*d.*

I payed to James Cripps for a plate cast for my kitchen chimney, weighing 100 lb. and 3 qr. marked G. M. S. besides two shillings given to the founders for casting, 13s.†

* In Stowe's 'Chronicle' there is the following quaint account of the first introduction of worsted stockings into England: "In the yeare one thousand five hundred fifty and foure, William Rider, being an apprentice with Master Thomas Burdet, at the Bridge Foote over against St. Magnus Church, chanced to see a payr of knit worsted stockings in the lodging of an Italian merchant that came from Mantua. He borrowed these stockings, and caused others to be made by them, and these were the first worsted stockings made in England. Within few years after began the plenteous making of Gersey and woollen stockings, and so in short space they waxed common. The Earle of Pembroke was the first nobleman that ever wore worsted stockings." (p. 869.)

† A very large pond, or rather a considerable lake, marks the spot where this forge was. Time was when the Weald of Sussex, now one of the quietest and most secluded districts in England, rang with the sound of hammers. It was, in fact, the scene of the greatest ironworks in the country, and many a local name, such as Hammer Wood, Cinder Hill, and Furnace Place, bear witness to this fact. Camden, writing in 1586, says, "Sussex is full of iron mines all over, for the casting of which there are furnaces up and down the country, and abundance of wood is yearly spent. Many streams are drawn into one channell, and a great deal of meadow ground is turned into ponds and pools, for the driving of mills by flashes, which beating with hammers upon the iron, fills the neighbourhood round about, night and day, with continued noise." According to Holinshed, the first cannon founded in England were made at Buxted, in Sussex, by two Frenchmen, Ralph Hoge and Peter Baude, in 1543, for the wars in which Henry VIII was engaged with France. The following passage taken from the Hayley Manuscripts, shows the importance of the trade of gun-making in Sussex in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the estimation in which the English gun-makers were held on the Continent. "About Michs. 1587, the Earl of Warwick Master of the Ordinance sent a gentleman of his, one Mr. Blincoe, with a commandment to all the Gun Founders in Sussex to repair up to the City on such a day, there to understand his pleasure concerning their further continuance of that trade; whereupon appeared Henr. Nevell and the rest of that occupation, meeting at the house of his Deputy Mr. Hockenell, who told them, that upon complaint made to the Lords of the Council of the abuse of the transportation of Ordinance into foreign Countries, their Honours had referred it to the Earl of Warwick to take order for the redress thereof. Whereupon he thought good to call them together, and had authorised him, the said Hockenell, with Blincoe, to deal with them, and to take sufficient security against the like abuses for the time to come." A general rate was then made for the whole realm yearly, and out of that they allotted to every gun-founder a certain quantity, requiring bonds from them not to sell but to persons named by my Lord Deputy, and to take a stamp for all pieces out of the Ordinance.

The ironworks of Sussex continued to flourish for another century. Fuller, writing in 1662, says, "Great is the quantity of Iron made in this County, whereof much is used therein, and more exported thence into other parts of the Land, and beyond the Seas. But, whether or no, the private profit thereby will at long run-

I gave to sundry poore persons on several occasions the summe of 7*s.* 9*d.*, besydes 5*s.* which I gave to Willm. Stone, newly married to begin the world with.

4th Dec. I gave Thos. Chamberlayne on his marriage a silver spoone, costing 9*s.*, and 1*s.* 6*d.* to the fidders.

All my Esther offerings that yeare were clearly worth unto me £2. The whole number of receivers that Esther, at three several sacraments of our own parish, Hoadleigh, and Lindfield, were nigh 200 persons. The persons who gave me above the ordinary allowance were Mrs. Board 10*s.*, Mrs. Culpepper 10*s.*, the rest of the family 5*s.*, and Mr. Jordan 2*s.*

I preached a funeral sermon for Sarah Scrase, for which I received 10*s.**

21st Oct. I payd John Dawes his halfe yeares wages £2 10*s.* On the 7th of March he dyed, and I buryed him on the 10th in the ground on the south side next to the ewe tree.†

ning countervail the public loss in the destruction of woods, I am as unwilling to discuss, as unable to decide. Only let me adde the ensuing complaint, wherein the Timber Trees of this County deplore their condition, in my opinion richly worth the readers perusal.

Joves Oake, the warlike Ash, veyned Elm, the softer Beech,
Short Hazell, Maple plain, light Ashe, the bending Wych,
Tough Holly, and smooth Birch, must altogether burn.
What should the Builder serve, supplies the forgers turn,
When under publique good, base private gain takes hold,
And we poor woeful woods to ruin lastly sold.

It is to be hoped, he adds, "that a way may be found out, to char the sea coale in such a manner as to render it useful for the making of iron. All things are not found out in one age, as reserved for future discovery, and that perchance is made easy for the next which seems impossible for this generation."

* There are many other entries, recording in each year the receipt of 10*s.* for funeral sermons preached in the church of Horstead Keynes. In one year they amounted to £2. The custom used to be very general, and is not altogether disused at present, though the fee is seldom or ever claimed. It is alluded to by Gay in his 'Dirge:'

"Yet ere I die, see, mother, yonder shelf,
There secretly I've laid my worldly pelf;
Twenty good shillings in a bag I've laid,
Be ten the parson's for my sermon paid."

† The yew tree, common as it is in churchyards all over England, is, perhaps, more commonly found in the Weald of Sussex than anywhere else. There are two yew trees in the churchyard of the neighbouring parish of Challey, of very great size, and of an age probably coeval with the church itself. Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, was buried under an oak; and it was probably the same feeling of respect and love which induced the rector of Horstead Keynes to bury his servant under the yew tree. The yew tree and the gravestone both are gone.

I payd to a Scotch pedlar coming to the door, for 1 ell of Holland to make mee an apron, 2s.

1659-60.

2d April. I made a journey to London, and spent going and returning, 13s. 2d. When I was there, I bought Pearson on the Creed, 7s., and 2 dozen of the Assemblys Catechisms, to give to my parishioners, 1s.

For 2 payr of gloves, 4s. 6d., for two yards of lace which I bought in London for my wyfe, 9s., and for a new payr of shoes for Matt., 2s.

I sold to John Newport, 4 nayle of bacon of the former yeares hog, at 10 groates the nayle.

The 2d of Nov. I made another journey to London, from whence I returned on the 5th. The charges for which going, staying, and coming, were 12s. 11d. I bought at Sir G. Lr. Hunt's Sons partner, at the signe of the Ship in St. Pauls Church Yd., 2 yds. of blackish cloth, costing mee £1 2s.; $\frac{1}{2}$ a yard of velvett, 2s. 6d.; a satin cap plaited, 5s.; 13 yds. of grasse greene serge at 3s. 3d. the yd., and for greene silke fringe at 1s. 8d. the oz.—in all £2 16s.

8th Nov. For two geese bought to send to Mr. Herryman and Mr. Spencer 3s. 6d. One of them only proving good, I sent it with a bottle of meade, to Mr. Herriman.

Thos. Dumbrell came to mee as servant to dwell with mee, with whom I agreed to give after the rate of £5 a yeare. On the 22d Dec. I payed him up to that time £1 8s.: that same night I found him sleeping with my mayd Mary, and I packed them off. Jan. 2d. I marryed Thos. Dumbrell and Mary his wyfe gratis, and I gave him on his wedding 8 stone of beefe 16s. 8d. a hind qr. of mutton 3s. 4d., and a lambe 7s. 6d., besydes butter, wheate, and fewell.

An assessment was made the 6th of July for the raying the summe of £19 18s. 6d. charged upon the Borough of Hd. Canes. I payed for my share £1 2s. 2d. For another made on the 20th Sept. £1 2s. 2d. To a taxe made on the 24th of July for the reliefe of the poore of the parish at 4d. in the £, I payd for my share 5s. 4d.

I payd John Ward for 4 dayes work about the garden in

setting it to rights, 6s. 8*d.* and for 5 dayes worke in clearing out 5 trees growing about the Glebe, 9s.

Dec. 21. I went over to Henry Pelling, and bargained with him for Noble Coppice, containing by estimation 4 acres, for the which hee is to pay mee £10. If his bargaine bee a saving bargaine, hee is then thankfully to acknowledge it, and to make mee in some way an amends for it. If a hard bargaine I am then to make him some amends in some alders, which I have promised to bestow upon him not absolutely, but a part of those that are growing in the low meadow below his house. I must remember when I next cut it, to sell the ashe to the Cooper.

I gave to Youngs boy for bringing mee a fat little pig 6*d.* To Hills mayd for a fat capon by him sent 6*d.* To Langridges boy for another pig 6*d.* To G. Pellings girl for a capon 6*d.* To John Burleys boy for a fat pullet 6*d.* To G. Vinalls girl for a capon 6*d.* and to Hills son for two bottles of meade 6*d.**

I gave away to several poore people in sundry summes 8s. 2*d.*, and to a poore scholar 2s. 6*d.*

Another tax was made for the reliefe of the poore of Horsted Keynes on the 21st Feb. 1659 at 4*d.* in the £; for which I payd 5s. 4*d.*

I preached for Sarah Cripps, for which I recd. 10s. at the same time I buryed Tryces mother, and Luxfords young daughter, three females, old, middle-aged and young, all at once on the same day, and at the same time.

All the offerings this yeare were clearly worth to me £2 9s. 5*d.* and those who gave mee above the ordinary allowance were Mistresse Board and Mistresse Culpepper, who gave me together £1 5s. Mr. Jordan gave mee 2s. and John Walters the miller 2s. The whole number of receivers that Esther, at three several sacraments of our own parish, and strangers, was not above 156 persons.

1660-1.

Upon the Lady Day beginning the year 1660 I gave over housekeeping at Horsted Keynes, betaking myselfe to boarde with my son in law Brett at Walsted in Lindfield.

* These Christmas presents from his parishioners are recorded as occurring every year.

I agreed with Wm. Batchelor of Lindfield to barbour mee, and I am to pay him 16s. a yeare, beginning from Lady Day.

On the 4th of April I recd. from John Cripps from absolute necessity, though it were Sunday, the summe of £3. 5s. which dischargeth what is due both for the interest of £100 for one halfe year, and the tythes of his farme, which are £1.

It was agreed upon at Walsted in Lindfield, betwixt Francis Wyatt of Horsted Canes, gent., and Giles Moore, rector, that the sd. Francis Wyatt should pay yearly for the tythes of Trimmens,* the garden, and that which was once Tuttys farme, the yearly summe of £5. 15s. At the same time and at the same place, it was agreed upon both sides, that the above named Francis Wyatt should dine the above named Giles Moore, and his son-in-law John Brett, with a fat capon at Trimmens once a yeare; likewise the aforesayd F. Wyatt promised to release the aforesayd Giles Moore from his bargain for tythes for one pint of sack when hee Giles Moore pleased.

On the 16th of April, being Palm Sunday, Madame Culpepper† was buryed in the chancel in the afternoone, at Ardingly. I went thither to hear Mr. Rotherham preach, leaving my owne church unserved, but I both preached and gave the sacrament that day.

20th April. I bought a sugar dishe weighing 3 oz. at 5s. 2d. the oz., and 2s. 6d. for the fashioning 17s. 6d., which on the 6th of Jan. 1661, I gave my daughter-in-law Brett, taking it out of my boxe, which standeth at Edwd. Cripps'

* This place and the estate are still in the possession of the family. Mr. Thomas Wyatt, a descendant of Francis Wyatt, is its present possessor. The Wyatts are an old Sussex family, a branch of the family of Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, in Kent, who was beheaded in Queen Mary's reign. They had been settled at Cuckfield, in Sussex, before they removed to Trimmens, which it is supposed had then been a recent purchase, made about the time of the great rebellion, when so many estates changed hands. The Francis Wyatt here alluded to died whilst serving the office of high sheriff, three years before the death of the rector.

† The family of Culpepper was remarkable for the number, wealth, and distinction of its various branches. Thomas de Culpepper was one of the recognitores magnæ assissæ in the time of King John. He was of Kent, in which county, and in Sussex, his descendants made many settlements. The Wakehurst branch, to which this Madam Culpepper belonged, was derived from Nicholas Culpepper, who married the heiress of the Wakehursts in the 15th century. Her lineal descendant, Sir Edward, was created a baronet in 1628. The title became extinct upon the death of the fourth baronet in 1740. Camden says there were no less than twelve knights and baronets of this family living in his time.

house of Horsted Keynes, with all my other plate in it, which both hee, his wyfe, and father know of, and cannot and will not deny, if called upon for it.

23d April. This being King Charles II coronation,* I gave my namesake Moore's daughter then married 10s., and the fiddlers 6d.

An assessment was made on the 25th of April for the raising the summe of £1. 12s. 6d. charged upon the borough of Hd. Caines for, the furnishing of drums, colours, and troopers ammunitiion. I payed for my share 1s. 8d.

There were sent mee down from London by Mr. Herriman, a muskett and rest £1. 2s. 6d., a sword 9s. 6d., bandalours 5s., belt 5s. I payd J. Halford for 4 lb. of powder to shoote out, 4s.

24th May. This being the Thanksgiving day for the admission of King Charles II, I gave the ringers 3s., and I afterwards gave 3 lb. of powder to the parish on theyr rejoycing day 3s., I also gave to the parish boys towards theyr buying a drum 9d.

This is what I payed to Waters the taylor, three yds. of serge at 3s. 6d. the yd., 14 yds. of lace 2s. 4d., silke 1s., 2 doz. of buttons, 8d., 2 yds. of ribbon, 8d., for making the coate 2s. 6d., and for 1 lb. of powder 1s. 2d. All my charges in and about armes in this yeare came to the full summe of £5. 4s. 6d.†

* This event, and that of Charles's return, the subject of universal and almost frantic joy, are thus recorded in the register of the neighbouring parish of Newick, by the rector of that parish:—"Carolus secundus Dei Gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex. Fanaticorum quorundam vi e regno suo detrusus, (in exilio injustissimo exacto, duodecim annos), ad suos Londinum rediit (maximo cum omnium gaudio) Maii 29, 1660. Sui ipsius natali die." And again, "Carolus secundus, Rex noster serenissimus, coronâ Angliæ, &c. redimitus, April 13 die. B. Georg. Dicatus, A. D. 1660. R. S. 10°. Faxit Deus ut post seram beatamque senectutem eternâ donatus sit. Amen!"

† After the Restoration, feudal tenures being abolished by act of parliament, a national militia was established, wherein housekeepers and other substantial persons were bound to find men, horses, ammunitiion, and pay, according to their real and personal estates; which militia was placed under the immediate orders of the king, who appointed his lieutenants, and they, their deputies, to carry the militia into effect; and no person could be charged with finding a horse, horseman, and arms, unless he had a real estate of £500 a year, or a personal estate of £600 in goods and money; and no one could be charged with finding a foot-soldier and arms who had not a yearly revenue of £50, or personal property in money and goods of £600. There was a general muster once a year. The training and exercising of single companies was not to exceed four times a year, and they were

I payed to John Ward for one dayes service in bearing my armes 2*s.*, the drummer 6*d.*, powder 4*d.*

I gave to Thos. Butcher and Edward Marshall for arresting Wm. Field the sergeant 2*s.*, and for attendance on the prisoner when they tooke him to jayle £1. 4*s.*, and to Edwd. Marshall, I gave 5*s.* for the wrong done him at Horsted Keynes by the soldiers kicking and ill treating him for arresting the sergeant. The wrong was done him at Horstead Greene on Shrove Tuesday.*

I payed John Ward in ready money at the Parsonage 10*s.*, hee having gone out in my armes 4 dayes. For the harm he received in my service at the muster I gave him 5*s.*

26th June. I went to London, where I stayed till the 6th of July, being ten dayes. I lodged at John Mosses the taylor's, at the Flower de Luce in King Streete, to whom I payed for my lodgings there one week, 5*s.* 6*d.*, to the oastler for my horse, two horse shoes being unpaid, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and I spent in beere, sacke, and meate £1. 1*s.* 7*d.*

I bought of Mr. Trale entering St. Pauls, Dr. Holdsworths Sermons, 4*s.*, Baxters Life of Faith, 6*d.*, Baxters Dissertations of Church Government, &c., 4*s.* 6*d.*, four rolls of sealing waxe, 1*s.*, Common Prayer Book, 2*s.* 2*d.*, and a walking cane, 4*s.* 6*d.*

I bought two payre of gloves, for which I payed 2*s.* 3*d.* the payre, I had them faced with my own fringe, which cost mee 1*s.* 4*d.*

On the 20th of July I went againe to London with my brother and Madame Lisle, where I continued till the 6th of Augst, when I returned againe, being absent a full weeke, I lay at the Cross Keys in Grace Church Streete. I spent in ale and

not, excepting under special circumstances, to be continued in exercise above two days. The general muster was limited in the same way to four days' exercise. At every muster, every musketeer was bound to bring with him half a pound of powder, half a pound of bullets, and those who served with a matchlock three yards of match, at the charge of those who sent them. (Grose's Military Antiquities.)

* A curious incidental proof of the fact which is mentioned by most historians of the license indulged in at this period. "With the restoration of the king," says Burnett, "a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought with it the throwing off the very profession of piety and virtue. All ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the kingdom to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all morals. Under the colour of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere."

dinners, 7s. 3d., the oastler 7s. 6d., chamberlayne 4s. 6d. My journeys by water cost mee 3s. 9d.

I bought 2 yards and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Devonshire red bazes to make mee a waistcoate, for which I payed 7s. 4d.; and I bought a payre of silke stockings for which I payed £1. 1s.,* for silken tops 6s. 6d., and for a payer of black worsted stockings I gave 5s.

Oct. 8th. I payed to John Lucas, collector, for my share of poll money the summe of £2.†

Nov. 5th. I gave my wyfe a barrell of oysters and a pottle of claret, which, together with the carriage, came to 6s. 6d.

Dec. 6th. I sent Mr. Hely a gammon of bacon weighing 12 lb., for which I payd 5s.

I recd. of John Lucas upon absolute necessity, though it was Sunday, his Mich^s tythes, being £1. 10s.

I preached for Ricd. Tyces wyfe, Old Haydon Moll, for which I received 10s.

1661-2.

30th March. I payd John Ward for 16 rod of hedging, at 2d. the rod, he being at the trouble of fetching bushes, &c., 2s. 8d.

For a bushell of barley malt I payd 1s. 6d., and for 12 bushell of coales, at 6d. the bushel, 6s.‡

* A high price for all these articles, considering the difference in the value of money in those days. Silk stockings, according to Stow (Chron. p. 868), had been introduced into England about 100 years before, of which he gives the following account. "In the second year of Queene Elizabeth, 1560, her silke woman, Mistresse Montague, presented her Majesty with a payre of black silke stockings, for a New Year's gift, the which, after a few dayes wearing pleased her Highnesse so well, that shee sent for Mistresse Montague, and askd her where shee had them, and if shee could helpe her to any more, who answered, saying, 'I made them very carefully of purpose only for your Majesty, and seeing they please you so well, I will presently set more in hande.' 'Do soe,' quoth the Queene, 'for indeed I like silke stockings so well, because they are pleasant, fine, and delicate, and henceforth I will weare no more cloth stockings;' and from that time unto her death shee never wore any cloth hose. In 1599 was devised and perfected the art of knitting or weaving silke stockings, waistcoates, and divers other things by engines or steele looms, by William Lee, Master of Arts of St. John's College, Cambridge."

† The assessments for "the use of the King's Majesty" began to multiply fast in this year. There are three recorded, and the poor rate rose to 6d. in the £.

‡ This was probably charcoal, the making of which is still called coaling. On account of the wretched condition of the roads in Sussex, and there being no

2d April. I put out to weave 26 lb. of hempen tow, of which there were made 2 ells of cloath, for which, at 2*d.* the ell, I payed 3*s.* 4*d.*

For a peck of scurvey grasse I payed 1*s.*, and for a bill of thinges sent by Dr. Parker for a diet drinke, 13*s.* 6*d.*

To my sister Allice for makeing mee three handkerchiefs, and marking my linen, 1*s.* 6*d.*

10th June. I set forwards to London on the 14th; I saw Dr. Allen at Stamford; I returned againe on the 27th, being gone just 18 dayes. I gave away and spent occasionally £2. 6*s.* 4*d.*; when I was in London I bought of Mr. Coke a black shag hat, for which I payed £1. 2*s.*, and for dressing my old one 1*s.*; I bought of Mr. Grantham, at the Black Beare, the Life of Dr. Hammond, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Quarles Divine Fancies, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Quarles Emblems, 4*s.* 6*d.*; and a folio of Funeral Sermons, 10*s.*

I payed John Ward for 3 dayes going out in my armes 6*s.*; in all my charges, in and about armes, in this yeare, came to the full summe of £5. 4*s.* 6*d.*

I payed Mr. John Butt, for a ministers gowne, by him bought for mee, and made up at Oxford, £4. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Edward Cripps had as big a load of hay as 8 oxen and 2 horses could draw home for 20*s.*

On the 18th of July I went to Stanmer, where I stayed till the 22d; when there, I gave James Baggatt 1*s.*, and two mayds 2*s.*; and I payed the Widow Snowden for ploughing one acre of land, done, as she sayd, when I was at Stanmer, which could not be lesse than 7 yeares ago, 2*s.* 6*d.*

25th July. I went to Mr. Coupe, in the Isle of Wight, where I met my brother Buttler; I stayed there 4 dayes, and spent in my going and coming and staying there, £1. 8*s.* 10*d.*

An assessment was made the 26th July for raying the summe of £6. 9*s.* 6*d.*, for the King's Majesty; I payd for my share 7*s.* 5*d.* I sent by young Walter Brett, to be presented for mee to the king at the next meeting of the Commissioners, 2*s.* 10*d.*

Upon the 30th of September, early in the morning, at

navigable canals in those days, it is not likely that any coal ever found its way to Horstead Keynes, but that wood and charcoal, which, in contradistinction to coal, were always called "sweete fuel," were only used.

Broadhurst, Mr. Lightmaker dyed, who was carried to London in a coach, to be buried on the 2d of Oct^r

A tax was made on the 30th for the reliefe of the poore of the parish, at 6*d.* in the £, I payed for the parsonage and glebe 8*s.*

An assessment was made on the 25th Octr., in pursuance of an Act of Parl^t for granting unto his Majesty twelve hundred and threescore thousand pounds, for raising the summe of £19. 8*s.* 3*d.* on the borough of Horsted Keynes for his Majesty's use; for 3 moneths I payed £1. 2*s.* 2*d.*

On the 30th Oct. I was served with a writ out of the Exchequer, and I entered a bond of £40 to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, in unam mensem primè futuram, there to compound with for my first fruites. On the 19th Nov. I entered my first appearance, giving Mr. Farrington of the First Fruit Office 10*s.* in part payment of further charges which might accrue; and I left 35*s.* in Nat Catchpole's hands to prove and perfect the businesse. I came out of town and left it imperfect, because of the Bishop's absence, from whom I was to have a certiorari. I payed Dr. King for induction,* then given mee in St. Martin's church, 13*s.* I met Mr. Halle at Hd. Caines to give mee induction, by whom I was inducted, and on whom and George Brett I bestowed a dinner, costing £1. 6*d.*

I payed to the Bishop for my institutions :

	£	s.	d.
Capellario	0	5	0
Secretario	1	17	0
Camerario	0	5	0
Domesticis	0	5	0
Sigillo	0	6	8
Cerario	0	3	4

£3 . 2 . 0

Thomas Seamer, his man and boy, wrought one day about thrashing the barne, for which I payed him 18*d.*, his man 10*d.*, and the boy 5*d.* I payed to John Gower, carpenter, for one days worke, 1*s.* 4*d.*

* By the Act of Uniformity, all those who had been admittèd to livings under Cromwell were obliged to be episcopally ordained.

I payed Mr. Edwards, for the round table standing in the greate parlour, 10s., and for a wooden chaire to sit upon in my study, which I bought in Crooked Lane, 3s.

I payed to Mr. Kempe, whom I take to bee the best and honestest of all those who belong to the Court of Exchequer, who liveth in Salisbury Court, and is to be found at the Exchequer in the forenoone, and at Hatton Garden in Holborne in the afternoon, 2s. 6d. for a subpoena; and I payed to Wm. Fenchale for serving this subpoena upon Rt. Michelborne, 1s. 2d.

I gave away at sundry times to poore people 10s. 3d., besides 5s. which I gave to Longleys wyfe, being a daughter of Mr. Skipwith, a former minister of Hd. Caines.

1662-3.

1st April. I had 6 bottles of claret, and as many of sack from London, for which I payed, and for the bringing them down, at 2d. the bottle, in all 12s. For a pint of old sack 6d., 2 quarts of Muscadine 3s., 2 ounces of tobacco, 1s. For a sugar loaf weighing 4 lbs. 1s.

21st May. I was bled as usual at the hæmorroyadal times the quantity of 10 oz.,* for which I payed Mr. Parker 3s., and for a pint of scurvey grasse 1s.

June 4th. I went to London with my wyfe and daughter and Allen Mills, about the cutting off the intayle of the land, whence they returned on the 7th succeeding, I not returning till the 13th. Wee spent in horse and mans meate going, staying, and returning, £1. 1s. 2d., of which George Brett ought to have payed a moiety, for it was upon his business altogether that I went; it cost mee this, besides the oastler 6s. 5d., the chamberlayne 5s. When I was in London I bought a Cheshire cheese weighing 20 lb., for which I gave

* The custom of being bled at the spring and fall of the year prevailed till within a few years. The labourers generally attended the village surgeon on a Sunday morning, that their week's work might not be interrupted, the charge for bleeding then being 6d. each. Poor Giles Moore seems to have suffered much from scurvey, the payment for bottles of scurvey-water, or bundles of scurvey-grass, occurring frequently. In fact, it was about this time that this medicine had been brought into great repute by a work called 'Cochlearia Curiosa;' or, the 'Curiosities of Scurvy Grass.' By Dr. Shirley, Physician in Ordinary to the King. The *Cochlearia officinalis*, the plant in question, is still used as an antiscorbutic, and a distilled water is prepared from its leaves. It is said to be the *Herba Britannica* of Pliny, from the use of which the army of Cæsar derived benefit.

6s. 10*d.*, a dozen of lemons, 2*s.*, and 2 lb. of plaine sugar, 1*s.* 8*d.* I payed Mr. Hely for 5 yds. and $\frac{1}{2}$ of parragon,* to make a cassock 12*s.*, and for a payre of black worsted stockings 5*s.*

June 6th. I gave to Mr. Sawyer, library keeper of Sion Colledge, 5*s.*, to Mr. Lysle's wife, at whose house I lodged, a sugar loafe of 4 lb., and an ounce of the best double refined sugar, costing 7*s.*, and cakes and comfits to her children, costing 4*d.*, and her mayd 1*s.*

Payd Thomas Seamer for 3 dayes going forth in my armes, and for a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a lb. of powder 7*s.* I payed him againe for 2 dayes soldiering in Oct^r 4*s.*

18th August. I set forwards on my journey to Chichester, together with Mr. Hale and Mr. Chatfield, physician and schoolemaster at East Grinstead, who met us at Portslade, whither wee went together, and came back together. On the 19th I payed in theyr presence to Robert Symes, sub-collector, for the tythes of 1660 and 1661, due at Christmasse, the summe of £2, and a marke all over and above for charges, to the which hee knavishly and unjustly put mee, amounting to £1. 6*s.* 7*d.* I spent in charges going and coming 10*s.* 10*d.*

I payed for 1 half yeares hearth money 3*s.*†

8th Oct. There was a visitation at Lewis‡ by the Bishop

* Barragon, or barracon, a French name for a sort of stuff still in use. Miege defines it as "sorte d'étoffe où il entre du poil de chevre."

† "The king's debts," says Hume, writing of this year, "were become intolerable, and the Commons were at last constrained to vote him an extraordinary supply of £1,200,000, to be levied by eighteen months' assessments, and finding upon inquiry that the several branches of the revenue fell much short of the sums they expected, they at last, after much delay, voted a new imposition of 2*s.* on each hearth, and this tax they settled on the King during his life." The assessments for the use of the King's Majesty continued to increase. There are four of them recorded this year, each amounting to £1 2*s.* 2*d.*, besides this new tax upon hearths.

‡ To those who are acquainted with the town of Lewes in the present day, the following account of it by Defoe, who writes under the character of a foreigner who visited it in his tour through England 120 years ago, may not be uninteresting. "Lewes is the most romantic situation I ever saw. It consists of six parishes, in which gentlemen's seats joining to one another, with their gardens up hill and down hill, compose the town, which sends members to parliament.

"I often trouble you with prospects, but I am sure you will forgive this when I tell you, that from the Windmill, near Lewes, there is a prospect of the greatest extent I ever saw—it far exceeds that of Cleves, Meningen, the Castle of Nuremberg, and even St. Michael del Bosco in Italy. You see westward the sea at thirty miles distance, and eastward there are uninterrupted views to Banstead Downs in Surrey, near London, of full forty miles.

"There is a little river runs through the town which makes a seaport at eight miles distance, and on this river there are several iron works, wherein they make

of Chichester, who preached himselfe at St. Michael's Church, and there was a confirmation the next day. I lay at my brother Bretts 2 nights, and gave the mayd 1s., and the boy that looked after my horse 6*d*.

25 Dec. I gave an entertaynment to Mr. Hale and Mr. Citizen, at Bachelors, and I payed for 3 pecks of barley malt 2*s*. 7*d*., for 11 lbs. of beef 2*s*. 2*d*. Being Christmasse daye, I received of John Burtenshaw, at the parsonage, 8*s*., whereof I did give him back againe 1*s*. Christi gratiâ!

1663-4.

6th April. I emptyed the Upper Penstock and left in it but 12 carps, being then put in to the Upper Pond. Whatever rector hee may bee to whose share it may hereafter come to sow this pond, I shall counsell him to sell to some one the said pond by the greate, for that person at his owne proper charge to lay it dry, and fill up the dyke againe, getting for it, if it may bee but 30*s*., but rather than fayle, let him take 20*s*., or even 16*s*. ad minimum, or it may be good bargaining with the fisherman whom Mr. Lightmaker may bring down to buy of him his ponds which were bought the same yeare that mine was emptyed. Memorandum: bee sure hee never empty a pond after Michaelmas.

14th. I payed Wm. Batchelor, at the Tiger Inn,* at Lind-

cannon for merchants' ships and several other profitable works of that nature. From this town to the sea is the best winter game for a gun that can be imagined. Several gentlemen here keep packs of dogs, but I must own I don't like their way of hunting, for you must follow the dogs up hill and down hill, at the hazard of your neck, or you are thrown out of the sport, and the horses run down a precipice naturally without harm, except your fear or ignorance makes you stop them, and then you endanger the loss of both your own life and that of your horse.

"I cannot recommend this as the pleasantest part of England that I have seen, but considering its cheapness, it not being under the direction of a corporation (as most other towns are), but governed by gentlemen, it is the best retreat I have seen for half-pay officers, who cannot confine themselves within the rules of a county corporation."

* The Tiger Inn at Lindfield, and the Star Inn at Lewes, which are frequently mentioned in the journal, are still in existence; the latter sign was there in the year 1554, for in Fox's 'Book of Martyrs' allusion is made to it as the place opposite to which two martyrs, Cawen and Launder, were burnt at the stake. The signs of inns keep possession of a county for centuries. Those most prevailing throughout a great part of the eastern division of Sussex are the Swan and the White Hart, as these were two of the bearings of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had large possessions in this part of the country, probably they were selected as such by his retainers, and have remained to the present time.

field, for a dinner for 12 persons, including my two commissioners, Mr. Falconer and Mr. Keyling, £1 4*s.*, for beer, bread, and tobacco 7*s.* 7*d.*, 3 bottles of sack 5*s.*; horse meate 8*d.* On this day there was a full conclusion put to the controversy between Humphrey and mee, hee paying mee for his share of the tythes of Broadhurst 50*s.* for the yeare 1661, and for the small tythes of 1662, 15*s.*, I being left to recover what I can from Mistresse Lightmaker. All this cost me £7. 0*s.* 10*d.*, which was foolishly cast away upon lawyers, having been misled sillily by Mr. Orgle. Hee who goes to law, when hee can possibly avoid it, is an absolute foole, and one that loveth to bee fleeced. I ever got by losing, and lost by striving to get. On the 23d of June I buryed Rd. Humphrey, and so lost all which was before agreed upon, and promised to bee payed.

19th June. I payed my share of the assessment for raising the summe of £38. 17*s.* charged upon the borough of Hd. Caines £1. 2*s.* 3*d.*, being the last of the 18th moneths tax given by Parlement to the King's most excellent Majesty. I also payd a tax for the reliefe of the poor, at 6*d.* in the £, which was made on the 19th May, 1662. I payed another tax made on the 21st of Jan. for another booke, at 3*d.* in the £, and I payed J. Lucas, headborough, for another yeares hearth money, my tenant at the parsonage paying the rest, which was 4*s.* more, I paying 3*s.*

22d Aug. Old Richard Chamberlayne and I, by joint consent, chose Mr. F. Wyatt to set us agreed as to the tythe, who, surveyeing the land, assigned him to pay to mee, for 3 small acres of small wheate, 6*s.*, and for a field of very good wheate, lying in loame lands, 4*s.* per acre.

I payed the Widdow Potter, of Hoadleigh, for knitting mee one payr of worsted stockings, 2*s.* 6*d.*; for spinning 2 lb. of wool 14*d.*, and for carding it 2*d.*

5th Oct. I went to London and met my brother Robert there, having been brought up by a message from the Counsell Table.

I bought of Mr. Wm. Grantham, at the Beare on the side of St. Pauls, stationer, Dr. Heylin on the Parable of the the Tares, 3*s.* 4*d.*, Stillingfleets Irenicum 3*s.*, Fullers Worthies 18*s.*

I bought of John Dowbane, dwelling in the Borrow going

to London, all these trees following: a mulberry tree 4*s.*, a peach 2*s.* 6*d.*, two apricock trees 2*s.* 6*d.*, a medlar 1*s.*

24th Oct. I sent by my brother Brett, for the payment of my first subsidy due by the act the 5th Oct., the summe of £2. 8*s.*

6th Feb. I recd. of Richd. Michelborne for the tythes of the corne growne in Dean Land by Thos. Ward, 10*s.* in money, hee promising to give mee the following Esther a payre of gloves; as to the gloves I never had them, and never shall.

I payed Thos. Batchelor, for 2 bottles of sack, 2*s.*, and to Widdow Ward, for 3 pecks of barley malt, 2*s.* 9*d.*; for a pullet 1*s.* 2*d.*, 3 nayle of beefe 5*s.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb. of sugar 5*d.*, spice 1*d.*, bread 4*d.*, butter 2*d.*, rosewater 2*d.*; in all 10*s.*—this was for an entertainment which I gave on the 17th and 18th of February.

8th of Feb. I reced. from my brother Brett, out of the Isle of Wight, 2 bottles of scurvey water; I gave Morleys girl for bringing them 6*d.*

To various collections for the poore I gave 4*s.* 10*d.*, and 6*d.* to a Highlander; and to Mr. Ireland, reader to Mr. Clower of Croydon, who came in behalfe of Mr. Jackson, then in Horsham prison, I gave 1*s.*

20th of Feb. Being Sunday, in the afternoone I buryed Jas. Holford; after evening prayer, there being no sermon the weeke before when James Browne was buryed, I was payed 10*s.*

11th April. I sent by John Ward to my namesake Giles in the Isle of Wight for a token 5*s.*

1664-5.

April 23d. I sent to my brother Brett of Lewis, therewith to discharge my second subsidy, the summe of £2. 8*s.* 4*d.*; of which I recd. back at the Archdeacons visitation in Oct., 24*s.* The two last subsidies were cut off by that Act of Parlt. passed on the 8th of Feb. for a royal aid of £2,460,500* to be rayسد in the space of 3 yeares.

* "The King," says Burnet, "declared his resolution of entering into a war with the Dutch. The grounds were so slight, that it was visible there was somewhat more at bottom than was openly owned. The House of Commons was so far from examining nicely into the grounds of the war, that without difficulty they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on." (Burn. vol. 218.)

I payed John Cowper, for a saddle with stirrups and girths brought home by him, together with the furniture, including a best Dutch bridle, with best bit and bosses, £1 6s.; to Old Hackman, for mending my fetters and bleeding my horse, 9*d.*

31st May. I payed Thos. Seaman for 12 dayes soldiering at Lewis, at 22*d.* the day, and for 5 lb. of powder at 1*s.* the lb., £1. 7*s.* For 3 dayes more soldiering, and more powder, 7*s.* 6*d.*, and for mending the dog spring of my muskett, which was broken asunder, 1*s.* 4*d.* I also payed him in Sept., when hee went forth againe in my armes to Lewis, when the whole regt. was mustered for 4 dayes, 9*s.* 4*d.* Hee also went forth againe in my armes in Dec^r for six dayes, for which, and for powder, and for mending the touchhole of my muskett, I payed him 13*s.* 9*d.*

To G. Norton, of Chayly, for a payr of new boots blacked, I payed £1, and for a payr of summer shoes 4*s.*

2d June. I went to London, where I stayed till the 5th; the 5th and 6th, I was going down to Folgeham in Suffolk, I stayed with my brother Franks from the 6th till the 12th, and at my brother Stauntons from the 12th till the 15th. I gave my sister Susannah the legacy of £20, given me by my aunt Cornish.

23d of June. I gave to Mr. Cripps, solicitor, for acting for mee in obtaining my qualification, and effecting it, £1. 10*s.*, and I allowed my brother Luxford for going to London thereupon, and presenting my lord with two brace of pheasants, 10*s.* Charles Lord Goring, Earle of Norwich, livith in the country at Laytonstone on the way to Epping, and when in London, at his house in Queens Streete, next door to to the Queens Head Taverne. Hee hath qualified besydes myselfe Edw^d. Coles and John Mill, onely.*

All my charges in and about repaying my chancel in June, 1664, came to £1. 16*s.* 1*d.*; which I payed out of my owne purse, all of which was occasioned by and through the defaulte and neglect of Mistresse Sapphira Lightmaker,† in not keeping

* This is all the notice taken of the qualification; what its object was does not appear. The present which he sent to the Earl of Norwich shows, that he thought, with the clown in the 'Winter's Tale,' that "advocate is the court word for a pheasant."

† Mistress Sapphira Lightmaker was the sister of Dr. Leighton, Archbishop

up her chancel; likewise I afterwards mended the bridge towards Broadhurst, paying 2*s.* to Gower and his man for a dayes worke, and affording as much timber as they judged worth 2*s.* more, for which shee would not allow me one penney when I moved her unto it, no, not one farthing! though shee stripped a good part of my church to lay her leads.

On the 1st of Sept., being Horsted Caines faire,* Messrs. Hale, Keyling, Hobson, and Rotherham dined with mee. The dinner came to 7*s.*

I bought for my wyfe a new horse pillion, for which I gave 8*s.*

10th of Sept. I attended the Archd'n's visitation at Lewes, when Mr. Smith of Hams preached, I payed for my ordinary with the other ministers at the Starre 3*s.*

9th Oct. I gave Ge. Hobbart my clarke, who had received harme by the fall of a gravestone 5*s.* gratis.

10th Oct. I bargained with John Wood, tanner, that for the present yeare hee should pay mee, for all the tythes of his

of Glasgow, and the wife of Edward Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, in the parish of Horstead Keynes. In 1675 the archbishop came to live with them, and remained there till his death. He died indeed at an inn in Warwick Lane, but was buried at Horstead Keynes. It is recorded of the father of Edward Lightmaker, that after witnessing the holy and mortified life of Dr. Leighton, he became sensible that a man is in no safe condition for dying unless he be striving after the highest degrees of piety. "If none shall go to heaven," he exclaimed, "but so holy a man as this, what will become of me?" Under these impressions he very much withdrew from the world, relinquished a profitable business because of its dangerous entanglements, and made the care of his ultimate felicity his chief occupation.

The following inscription upon her monument gives the history of her, who, according to the rector's story, did not treat him liberally: "Here lyeth the body of Mrs. Sapphira Lightmaker, wife of Mr. Edward Lightmaker, of Broadhurst in Sussex, gent., daughter of Dr. Alexander Leighton, D.D., sister to Dr. Robert Leighton, late Archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Ellis Leighton, knight, who both lye buried here interred. She was a devout woman and a mother in Israel, a widow indeed, and notwithstanding solicitations to a second marriage, lived so 44 years. She died, in the Lord, Dec. 20th, 1704, aged 81.

"Prole, Parente, Toro, rebus, pietate, Senecta,
Moribus, Ingenio, laude, beata obiit."

* The church of Horstead Keynes is dedicated to St. Giles, and the first of September is the festival of that saint. This is one of the cases referred to by Mr. Hope. "Many villages," he says, "in the more northern part of our land, perhaps also in the south, still celebrate their annual wake, or feast as it is termed, that is, the anniversary of the consecration of their beloved and antique church, once one of the gladdest, holiest days in the year's long course; now too often degenerated into a season of mere irreligious debauchery, but yet containing in itself the seeds of better things, the dim memorials of old feelings, which, if tenderly nursed, may yet spring up into an abundant harvest of holy thoughts." (Hope's Essays, p. 44.)

owne land and of Drayland, both of which he used, his owne being £40 a yeare, and Drayland £15, £2. 10s. Upon his owne land he had 10 acres of wheate, and 8 of oates, and 10 acres of grasse. Upon Drayland hee had 4 acres of oates, 3 acres of tares, 1 acre of barley, and 6 acres of grasse.*

Nov. 7th. I arrested Thos. Chamberlayne, whom the same night I kept at Hd. Caines Parsonage, and carryed the next day to Lindfield, where in the night hee made his escape from Wm. Batchelors, from both the bailiffs then tending him, who it is supposed were bribed to connive at it. I afterwards compounded with him, bearing all the charges which, without the bailiffs, whom I left unpaid, and to whom if they had kept their prisoner, and not let him escape, I had promised 4s. 6d. a man, came to £1. 2s. 9d.

To the collections made at 3 several sacraments, I gave 3 several sixpences.†

I gave to Edward Stevens and Bridget Pope at theyr wedding 7s., besydes the 3s. for marrying them, and I payd the fiddlers 6d. To a begging Welchman and a bagpipe player, 6d. each.

For preaching for Old Richard Chamberlayne I was payed 10s. For marrying Wm. Holman and Ann Rivers, I had a payr of gloves worth 2s.

1665-66.

1st. April, 1665. I bought of my countryman, Mr. Cooke, a shaggy demicastor hat of the fashion,‡ for which I payed 16s. 6d.

* The following letter, which refers to this Mr. Wood, a copy of which is preserved in the 'Account Book,' shows that Mr. Giles Moore was one who would not stick at a trifle to serve a friend.

"Sir,—Because I understand that you are the first and leading man of the jury impannelled for John Wood of this parish, tanner, and my loving friend and neighbour, whose case is to be tried at these assizes, I shall desyre you therefore, as for his owne, so for my sake alsoe, to doe him all lawful favour you may thereon, and to the best of your judgment to serve him therein, whom for your kindnesse therein shewne to him, you will find him no lesse thankful, than you will find your friend and servant,

GILES MOORE."

† Two assessments for the "use of the King's Majesty," amounting together to £1 10s. 2d., are recorded for this year, and the poor-rate rose to 15d. in the £.

‡ The following proclamation, which was published in the time of Charles I, is a curious proof of the meddling spirit of legislation in those days. "The wearing of hats being of late become much in use by those of rank and quality, the importation of any hats or caps of beaver, or of any other sort whatever, is therefore prohibited,

To Thos. Russell, for 2 dayes new shingling the church, 3s.; to John Ward, for 4 dayes work in mending my penstock, which held no water for all that, 5s.

23d April. I set forward for London, and I tooke Will^m Mason with mee; I gave him a new hat, 6s. 6d., a payre of stockings, 3s. 6d., and 21s. for the purposes of his journey. I had Edw^d Waters nag, at whose house I spent 5d., and 8d. for a bushell of oates.

I bought of Mr. Thos. Thornycroft, stationer, at the Eagle and Child by St. Pauls, Stillingfleets Rational Account, &c., 13s. 6d., the Loyal Martyrology 1s. 3d., Nicholsons Sermons on the Creed, 14s.

24th April. Discounted by Thos. Ward, in his Lady Days rent for chymney money, for 3 chymneys for one whole yeare, 6s. 5d.

A tax was made for the reliefe of the poore of the parish, at 9d. in the £, I being then rayسد from £16 to £30 per an. I payed for the parsonage and glebe £1 2s. 6d. This single time I payd 12s. 6d. extraordinary, through Fields malignity, with Cripps concurrence; the next poore booke, however, I got it downe againe. In Dec^r I payed another tax for the poore at 3d. in the £.*

On the 3d of July I made a journey over to West Cowse, in the Isle of Wight; I spent in going thither, at Horsham 4d., at Littleworth 1s. 6d., at Chichester 3s., and at Portsmouth 3s. The passage by water for myselfe and horse cost mee 1s. 10d. At the same time I bought of my brother his mare, for which I gave him in money £10, and my bay gelding, for which I gave 16 yeares before £10, shee being now old, and foundered in the fore feete.

2d Aug. I went to Lewes, and lay at my brother Bretts,

and none shall make any hats for the future but freemen of the corporation. No haire, wolle, or other stufte, shall be by the said hatmakers mixed with their beaver wool in hat making, nor shall any hats called demi-castors be henceforth made to be sold here, but as they are demanded in foreign parts, they may be exported beyond sea." Felt hats were first made in England by Spaniards and Dutchmen, about the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, before which time, and long afterwards, the English used to ride about, winter and summer, in knit caps and cloth hoods. (Anderson's History of Commerce. Stow's Chronicle.)

* There are two assessments for king's taxes recorded in this year, the share paid by the rector amounted to £2. 12s. 2d.

and returned the next day. I brought back 2 dozen of wheateares,* for which I payed 1s.

11th Aug. I agreed with Wm. Young (Stephen Waller soe awarding it) that hee should pay mee for 4 acres of poore wheate, and 3 acres of good wheate, the summe of 14s. 6d., I insisting upon 6d. more. This was after the miserable rate of 2s. an acre one with another. I also received for 20 acres of grasse 2s. 6d.; for 3 acres of barley and oates 6s.; for folding of cattle 5s., so that this yeare the whole tythes of Broadhurst was to mee worth no more than the bare summe of £1. 8s.—so basely was I used!

NECESSARY CAUTIONS FOR MY SUCCESSOR.

Never compound with any parishioner till you have first viewed their lande and seen what corne they have upon it that yeare, and may have the next. Never sow any of the glebe about the house with wheate, for it never improved.

Never set about making the piece of ground where the second penstock is a fyshe pond, for all the art of man cannot make it hold water.†

On the 1st of Sept., it being Horsted Caines faire, I payd Goodwyfe Ward for providing mee a dinner for myselfe and 3 friends 5s. Tobacco for my wyfe 3d., and for a lb. of sugar to preserve quinces 1s.

Thos. Chamberlayne hath growing on his farme, of £21 per an., 2 acres of wheate, 2 of pease, 7 of oates, and 6 of mowed grasse; if there be 20 bushells of wheate growing on

* Wheateares are one of the luxuries of Sussex, and so they were in the days of Fuller, who thus describes them: "Wheateares is a bird peculiar to this country, hardly found out of it. It is so called because fattest when wheat is ripe, whereon it feeds, being no bigger than a lark, which it equals in the fineness of its flesh, but far exceedeth in the fatness thereof; the worst is, that being only seasonable in the heat of summer, and naturally larded with lumps of fat, it is soon subject to corrupt, so that though abounding within forty miles of London, the poulterers there have no mind to meddle with them, which no care in carriage can keep from putrefaction. That palate man shall pass in silence, who, being seriously demanded his judgment concerning the abilities of a great lord, concluded him a man of very weak parts, because he once saw him at a great feast feed on chickens when there were wheateares on the table. I will add no more in praise of this bird for fear some female reader may fall in longing for it, and unhappily be disappointed of her desire." (Fuller's Worthies, vol. ii, p. 382.)

† The present rector, in the face of this warning, has made the attempt, and the pond does hold water.

his 2 acres, hee is to pay mee for his tythes 24*s.*; but otherwise only 22*s.**

30th Dec^r I gave at the fast for the sicknesse 1*s.*, and at the collections at 3 several sacraments 4*d.*, 6*d.*, 4*d.* This year was memorabilis annus in Horsted Caines,† for there were only two persons buryed in the parish, whereof one was the Widdow Round, and Goodman Holmans son-in-law, Mathew, was the other, who dyed of the kings evil, of which hee had been sicke a long time.‡

1666-67.

28th March. I sent up by Morley 25*s.*, to be given to my

* Every record of this nature kept by the rector proves that the proportion of wheat grown in the parish of Horstead Keynes in his time was very small, as compared with other grain crops, and particularly with oats; and such was probably the case throughout the country, for wheaten bread was not then, as it now is, the staple food of the poorer classes; and the anticipation of no greater produce per acre than ten bushels shows a low condition of agriculture.

No mention is made in the Account Book of that root which has exercised such influence on the fate of men, the potato, although it had been introduced into England more than sixty years, as is proved by the fact that it forms an item in a manuscript account of the household expenses of Queen Anne, wife of James I, supposed to have been written in 1613, being purchased then at the enormous price of 2*s.* per lb.; but its progress was very slow, and before the year 1684, when they were first planted in the open fields in Lancashire, they were raised only in the gardens of the rich. For the following interesting account of its introduction into the neighbourhood I am indebted to my friend Colonel Davies. "William Warnett, of Horstead Keynes, yeoman, who is turned of 90, but in full possession of his faculties, says, that before the year 1765, when he was seven years old, potatoes had never been heard of in this neighbourhood; that in that year the late Lord Sheffield, who had recently purchased the Sheffield estate, brought some, as it was reported, from Ireland, and that his father received a few from his lordship's gardener. He adds, that no one knew how to plant them, but that they got a man who worked on the road, and who came from some distant county, to plant them, which he continued to do regularly on old Lady Day for many years, and it was very long before they began to plant them in the fields. They used in those times to leave their potatoes in the ground all the winter, covering the ground with brakes, and taking them up as they wanted them for use. Before potatoes came into use pease pudding was usually part of the dinner." So strong was the prejudice against them, that at the elections which took place at Lewes about this period, it shared with Popery the indignation of the people, and "No Popery, no potatoes!" was the popular cry.

† This was the year of the great plague of London.

‡ It does not appear whether this poor fellow was ever touched for the king's evil, but from the following certificate preserved in the Account Book, we may infer that the rector did not hold the remedy in contempt. "These are to certify unto whom it shall come or concern, that the bearer hereof, A B, daughter of C D, labourer, is visited with the disease called the kings evil, and that shee hath not, as wee are credibly given to understand, heretofore been touched by his Sacred Majesty. Wee humbly pray that she may be admitted for her cure.

"Witness our hands," &c.

brother Frank for the schooling of Martha Matthew for one yeare, and also for the buying for her a Bible and New Testament, 7s.

Anne Sayers of Lindfield came to live with mee as mayd servant, with whom I bargained not, for under 40s. a yeare shee sayde shee would not serve. I gave her 6*d*.

May 10th. Being at a visitation for the peculiars, Mr. Peck of Mayfield preached, and I being there, bought of Mr. W. Marshall, over against the Starre Inn at Lewis,

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For a waistcoate 2 yds. of scarlet serge	11	0
5 yds. and $\frac{1}{4}$ of galloone	1	3
Qr. of an ounce of silke	0	7
4 doz. of red silke buttons for the waistcoate	1	0

For a doublett and 2 payre of breeches I bought 5 yds. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Spanish cloth, yd. $\frac{1}{2}$ broad, £1. 18*s.* 6*d.*; for 2 black skinns for the pockets of my breeches 1*s.* 6*d.*

For a cassock I bought 10 yds. of haire prunella. I likewise bought for a cloake, of the aforesayd Mr. Marshall, 5 yds. of black cloath, for which I am to pay him £4. 8*s.* 10*d.* I allowed Rd. Harland, for the hire of his horse, and for going along with mee, 1*s.*, and I spent at the Starre, for myne and his dinner, 2*s.*, beere 9*d.*; oastler for 2 horses 9*d.* I payed Harland for makeing the cassock 5*s.*, the waistcoate 1*s.* 3*d.* He, being to mend my old cloake, cassock, cape, and stockings into the bargaine; for a satin cap, plaited, I payed 3*s.*

7th June. I payed to Thos. Seamar for 12 dayes soldiering £1; and when hee did goe forth a second time, on the 7th of July, for a moneth on the defence of his country, then threatened by the Dutch and French, I gave him £1. 15*s.* The soldiers were sent back on the 18th, having been oute just 13 dayes. I sent for and had my arms home, for they were now much at fault, and I payed James Goldsmith for 4 screw pins, and for a plate at the heele of muskett, and for a loop close by the nose of the muskett, and for the scouring of the barrel, 4*s.*

2d Augst did Mrs. Sotherfield, Mrs. Lightmaker's daughter, upon a fright, fall in travel, and died.

12th Augst An assessment was made on the 18th day of July, for the raying the summe of £1. 12s. 4d. charged upon the borough of Hd. Caines for the militia for one weeke, and another assessment was made, on the 20th Aug., for raying the summe of £1. 5s. 6d. for theyr part for the building of the beacon, for the first I payed 2s. 3d., and for the last 1s. 9d.*

25th Sept^r I tooke a journey to London for the buying of such things as were necessary for my housekeeping. I returned on the 28th, having spent occasionally in board, &c., 3s. 10d.

I payed Mr. Watts, for his preaching for mee twice, and so on a former Sunday, at 10s. the day, with double praiers, £1.

To John Morley, for gazettes had from Lady Day till Midsr., at 1d. for each gazette, 1s. 3d. I payed him for 1 qr. newes bookes 2s. 6d., and I promised him a paier of old breeches for his letters.

I payed John Norton for a payr of olive coloured bootes, 16s.

3d Oct^r, 1666. I betooke myselfe to housekeeping at Horsted Caines after I had been hackneyed out for 6 yeares and halfe discontinuance from the parish, during which time I lived a deade kinde of life.

Me miserum!

Invitum quem sub tecto sors dira tenebat,
In quo non pietas, ordo nec ullus erat.

23d Oct^r Wm. Steele brought mee a bag of 17 lbs. of hops, for which I payed him 6s.

Wm. Batchelor sent mee in a dozen of candles, for which I payed him £1. 13s. 6d.

I payed John Pelling for a pheasant which he brought mee 2s.

I gave to the collection for the building of London after the fire £1.

To several collections for the poore I gave 1s., 6d., 6d., and at 3 several sacraments I gave 3d., 4d., 5d.

* There are five other assessments for king's taxes recorded for this year, raising the rector's payments to £7, and 14s. for his year's duty for seven fire-hearths.

For 2 worsted canonical girdles of 2 several fashions I payed 5*s.*; for 13 yds. of Turkey tammy to make a cassock, at 3*s.* a yd., I payed £2, for the makeing of the tammy cassock 3*s.*, and for setting mee to rights in all my apperell, I payed the full summe of 11*s.* 8*d.*

12th Feb^y Finding myselve distempered, I sweated myselve for 3 or 4 hours, and that day and most part of the next, I was tolerably well, but on the 14th, being Friday, I had a high feaver, and was very ill all that day, and the fore part of the night. On Sunday 16th I tooke physicke, and was mightily sicke, but about 4 p.m. I began to sweate, and grew a little better; on the 18th my feaver held mee strong from 3 in the morning till 1 in the afternoone, on which day I was purged by syrup of roses very greatly and frequently, and then the feaver did sensibly abate, and on Saturday I lost it altogether, Deo gratias! On the 9th of March my ague, being an each day ague, came againe, and held mee till the 19th. I payd Dr. Parker for coming over from Rotherfield to see mee £1. I gave Goodwyfe Ward, for being necessary to mee, 1*s.*, and I payed Mr. Duke, curate of Pricomb for preaching one whole Sunday, hee also staying 5 dayes in my house, 10*s.*

4th Feb^y Mary Ward packd up and went her way, having lived with me 1 quarter and a weeke, for which I payed her 12*s.* 18th Feb., being Shrove Tuesday, Anne Grove, from Mr. Wyatts, came to live with mee, with whom I bargained at the rate of 45*s.* per an.

12th Feb^y Mr. Wyatt came and told mee and my mayd that hee had had a farrow of piggs, which the day following would bee 15 dayes old, and that I might have my tythe pigg if I would send for it, but I sent not for it. Hee confessed that hee had 15 acres of oates, 5 of wheate, and 3 of barley growing upon his land that yeare, besydes 2 lambs for which hee payed mee 10*s.* He had payed mee no offerings, but once, since hee first came till that time.

23d March. I gave Rd. Wood for 2 dozen of mouses which hee had caught on a holiday which hee begged of mee, and for watching the pond and carrying fyshe to some friends, 2*s.* 6*d.*

1667-68.

April 3d. I payed two sawyers for 4 dayes worke and a halfe 15s. 6d.

10th June. I sent £5 to Mr. Hely, of which £1 was to be consigned to my brother Frankes wyfe by way of gift for a cheese of 7 lb. weight which shee sent to mee. The other £2 to be layed out for the bringing of Martha Mayhew to London, and for the buying her necessaries there. On the 23d of July I tooke a journey to London to bring her from thence, which I did on the 26th. On the 24th, at 9 in the morning, being St. James Day, and the day the Parlemant began againe to sit, there happened a terrible fire over against the Queenes Head at a cookshop. When I was in London I bought Wilsons Dictionary 12s. 6d., Caryll on Hebrewes, in 12 pieces £2 10s.; Ecclesiastes Paraphrased by Quarles, 1d. At the same time when I met my sister to bring up Mat with mee, I bought Rolls on the Burning of London, God's Terrible Voice in the City, for both of which I gave 3s.; and for the Articles of Peace betwixt the English, Dutch, and Danes 1s.

15th June. My man John Divall went forth with my armes, staying abroad till the 7th of July, which was in all 22 dayes, on which day he came home; going forth againe the next day; he stayed away till the 30th, when hee was finally released. I payed him in expences and allowances £3. 17s. 4d. His brother Thomas came to mee, I payed him for his service in his brothers absence 11s. 10d.

I sent into the country for the schooleing of Matt 25s., and I gave her a New Testament and Bible, which cost 7s.; I payed Thos. Stone for a new payr of shoes for her 2s. 4d.; I gave her a payr of red silke shoe strings, which cost 3s.; her cloaths cost mee £1. 11s.

The whole bill for the poll money of Hd. Caines parish came to £27. 16s. 4d., of which I payed for my share £4. 2s., as appeareth by what followeth:

Giles Moore, Minister of the word for his,	1s.
Susan, his wyfe, for her poll	1s.
For his tythe	£1 . 0
For £300 for debts and ready money	3 . 0

So that in all, for my share, I payed £4. 2s., the greatest payment of any minister in Sussex, neither Mr. Crayford nor Mr. Roots, or any other than I paying any thing besydes their bare poll, which was 1s. Mistresse Spooner, the widdow of an esquier, payd for her poll £1. 13s. 4d.; Mrs. Light-maker for her husbands daughter one third part, and for her owne poll, 7s. 8d.: all the rest in the whole parish payed nothing save their bare poll, and not one penny for their moneys.* Grandis quidem abusus et oppressio! Cave de futuro.

8th Augst Being Thursday betweene 10 and 11 in the forenoone there came a most dreadful clap of thunder with lightning, which shook off above 3000 shingles with a good part of the timber off the west side of the church, greatly shaking the church and chancel in several places.

10th. Payd to James Holford for 3 qrs. of fine Holland, at 8s. the ell, † 6s.

* The truth was, that the rector was more honest than his neighbours, and did that which Pepys had resolved to do on the same occasion; viz. to give in an account of all his moneys and pay for all he had, but which he did not do, seeing that greater and richer men than himself did not. "This morning, 5th April, 1667, came to me the collector for my poll-money, for which I paid for my title as Esquire and place of Clerk of Arts, and my head, and wifes and servants, and their wages, £40. 17s., and though this be a great deal of money, yet it is a shame I should pay no more, that is, that I should not be assessed for my pay as in the victualling business and Tangier, and for my money, which of my own accord I had determined to charge myself with £1000 money, till coming to the vestry, and seeing nobody of our noblest merchants, as Sir Andrew Richard, to do it, I thought it not decent for me to do it." The objections to this tax are well pointed out by the author of a curious pamphlet, published in 1689, called 'Taxes no Charge.' Speaking of bad taxes he says: "Poll money seems an unequal and unprofitable tax; unequal if it be by a general way, all heads to pay alike, the cobbler with the lord, and unprofitable if it be by a distinction of qualities, for that it gives great opportunity of frauds in the collection, and not without some in point of estate and quality; broken men thinking it, and too often affecting a credit by being returned in the poll book of that value, which in truth they may not be." (Harl. Misc. vol. viii, 536.)

"It was computed," says Pepys (writing of this year), "that the Parliament had given the King for this war only, besides prizes, and besides the £200,000 which he was to spend of his own revenue to guard the sea, above £5,000,000 and odd £100,000, which is a most prodigious sum. It is strange how everybody do now a days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him; what brave things he did, and made all the neighbouring princes to fear him; while here, a prince come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who hath given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than was ever done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so short a time." (Pepys' Mem., vol. ii, p. 91.)

† The price given by Hostess Quickly for Falstaff's shirts:—

Hostess. I bought you a dozen of shirts to your back.

Falstaff. Dowlas, filthy dowlas: I have given them away to bakers' wives, and they have made bolters of them.

Hostess. Now, as I am a true woman, holland of eight shillings an ell.

I gave to the men at the furnace with my wyfe 1*s.* 6*d.*; to the poore 4*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.*, and at 3 several communions 5*d.*, 4*d.*, 5*d.*

To Mr. Moore of East Grinstead, collector, for 8 fire hearths due for one whole yeare expiring at Michaelmas, together with one yeare more for the brewhouse chimney, I payed 18*s.**

5th Dec. I marryed Thos. Browne and Anne Ridgeway, of whom I had 5*s.* for marrying Thomas, but the same day I spent that with 10*d.* more at Mr. Pellings, giving the bride 5*s.*, the fiddlers 6*d.*, and the servant 4*d.*†

I marryed Obedience, wyfe of John Lucas, for which I received 10*s.*

1668-69.

May 1st. This yeare I began to keepe kyne, and bought of Goodwyfe Ward a cow, which (as shee says) was but 8 yeares old, for which I payed £2. 12*s.* I bought also a branded cow of John Ward, the tanner, being (as hee says) but 8 yeares old for which I payed £4, together with her calfe, which I sold to Langridge, the butcher, for 8*s.*, and I gave for a heifer 3 yeares and a halfe old of his own breeding £3. 10*s.* I payed Gower, the carpenter, and his man for 1 dayes worke making up the cow stalls 3*s.* For 2 leaden milk pans had at Lindfield I payd £1. I lost yearly by hiring of land and keeping of kyne at the least — per an., let it prove never so dripping a season.

4th May. I payed J. Duvall his wages due for 1 yeare £5. I payd J. Wood, mason, and his servant for 2 dayes worke 6*s.*, hee raysing mee 4*d.* a day on what I formerly gave himselfe and man.

This yeare I offered Lin all his tythes for 10*s.*, but hee would not give mee more than 8*s.*, so I tooke them up. I had 3 pecks of wheate, which when threshed were worth 3*s.*, 2 bushells of barley 5*s.*, 2 bushells and 3 pecks of oates 4*s.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ a bushell of pease 2*s.*, in all 15*s.*

To John Rolph for cutting down 7 trees in the Noble Cop-

* The king's taxes paid by the rector this year amounted to £7. 6*s.*, exclusive of hearth-money and poll-tax, and he began to show symptoms of an "ignorant impatience of taxation." The poor-rate was 12*d.* in the £, for which he paid 16*s.*

† It seems to have been his almost constant habit to be present at the merry-makings after the marriages of his parishioners.

pike, and cleaving them into posts and rayles, being two dayes worke, 2s. 8d.

19th June. An assessment was made for the reliefe of the poore of the parish, at 6d. in the £; I payed 8s.

14th Jan^y My man Thos. Divall indited for mee the way from Ludwell Spring to the end of Cookham Lane, to whom I gave, for drawing up the bill, 1s. For taking the oath 4d. Money spent for meate and drinke 1s. 8d. My mare stood at my brother Bretts two dayes gratis.*

* The condition of the Sussex roads were, down to a late period, most wretched. Sixty years ago the stage coach between Lewes and London occupied two days in its journey of fifty miles, and never accomplished more than twenty miles of Weald to East Grinstead in one day. In a work called the 'Properties of the Shyres of England,' published in vol. v of Leland's 'Itinerary,' Sussex is thus characterized:

"Essex full of good housewyfes,
Middlesex full of stryves;
Kentshire hoot as fyre,
Sowseks full of dirt and myre."

Such Queen Elizabeth found it in the middle of summer in 1573. "In July the Queen was at Lord Bergavennies, at Berlingham; then at Mayfield, at Sir T. Greshams; then Eridge, Lord Bergavennies; then Bedgebury, Mr. Culpeppers; then Hempsted in Benenden, Mr. Guildfords; and from Mr. Guildfords to Rye." Lord Burghley writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, August 10, 1573—"The Queen had a hard beginning of her progress in the Wild of Kent and in some parts of Sussex, where surely there were more dangerous rocks and valleys, as she said, and much worse ground, than was in the Peak. They were bending to Rye, and so afterwards to Dover, where, as she added, they should have amends." (Nich. Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i, p. 333.)

Fuller describes Sussex as "A fruitful county, though very dirty for the travellers therein, so that it may be better measured to its advantage by days journeys than by miles. Hence it is, that in the late order for regulating the wages of coachmen at such a price a day and distance from London, Sussex alone is excepted, as wherein shorter way or better pay was allowed. Yet the gentry of this county will content themselves in the very badness of passage therein, as that which secureth them provisions at reasonable prices, which if mended higglers would mount as bajulating (*sic*) to London." Much later, in 1724, we have the following curious account of the Weald, by an author of a 'Tour through Great Britain.' "I came to Lewes from Tunbridge through the deepest, dirtiest, but many ways the richest and most profitable country in all that part of England. The timber I saw there was prodigious, as well in quality as bigness, and seemed in some places to be suffered to grow only because it was so far off any navigation that it was not worth cutting down and carrying away. In dry summers, indeed, a great deal is carried away to Maidstone, and sometimes I have seen one tree on a carriage drawn by two and twenty oxen, and even then it is carried so little a way, that it is sometimes two or three years before it gets to Chatham; for if once the rains come on it stirs no more that year, and sometimes a whole summer is not hot enough to make the roads passable. Here I had a sight which indeed I never saw in any other part of England, viz. the going to church at a country village not far from Lewes. I saw an antient lady of very good family, I assure you, drawn to church in her coach by six oxen; nor was this done in frolick or humour, but mere necessity, the way being so stiff and deep that no horses could go in it."

4th Feb^y Hâc nocte circâ horam nonam et decimam ità obnubilatus eram potatione cum pyris confectâ (cujus vim nunquam prius noveram) quod in oratione meâ cum familiâ cœptâ, abrupte desinere coactus fui. Deus ne statuas mihi hoc peccatum !*

20th March. I was with Mistresse Chaloner, and bargained with her at £12 per an. for board and schooling for Mat, which at the first shee would not yeld to, but at last, by Mr. Taylor's interposition, she yielded. On the 20th April I carryed her to Mrs. Chaloners, and left her there. I gave Mat in money, when shee went to schoole, 2s. 6d.

This yeare I payed for collections for the poore 6d., 6d. To several poore people I gave 6d., 2d., 3d., 4d., 3d., and to a poore scholar 4d. At 3 communions I gave 4d., 3d., 5d. I gave Mr. Salisbury, a begging minister, 4d. †

1669-70.

1669. 19th April. I tooke a journey to London, carrying with mee my little mayd, whom I placed at schoole, and came here againe on the 22d. I bought for her a new gowne and petticote, costing £1. 16s., a new hood, costing 4s., gloves 18d., a primer 8d. I spent in wine 2s. 9d., chamberlayne 10s., ostler 5s. To a walking taylor whom I tooke along with mee 1s. I bought for myselve, of Mr. West, 5 yds. of purple serge to make a night gowne 22s., and I payed to Mr. Hutt, for silver clasps, for silke and galoone, and for making, 9s., which was 3s. more than I payed him before—Durus nimis!

I bought of James Brooker a sandy coloured cow with a calf by her side, 3 weekes old, for which I gave £4.

1st June. Being Whitsun Tuesday I sent Mat to Bates daughters wedding, kept at her fathers, I gave her 10s. to spend, and 1s. to give to the fiddlers.

7th June. I buryed John Chamberlaine, but because of Davys marriage, whom I married the day after I had buryed him, I preached not, as I had prepared, and as was intended, yet the widdow gave mee for my paines ———.

* This evening, between nine and ten o'clock, when I had began prayers with my family, I was so overpowered with the effects of some perry which I had taken, not knowing how strong that liquor was, that I was obliged to break off abruptly. O God! lay not this sin to my charge!

† Probably one of those who had been ejected as a Nonconformist.

17th Jan^y I gave to Caleb Fuller, for saving mee the trouble of going to Hartfield in obedience to a summons from Dr. Croft about certifying what conventicles there were in the parish, of which I gave notice by a writing in my owne hand, 2s. 6d.*

At several communions I payd 6d., 4d., 2d., 2d., 4d. I gave to one who alledged himself to be the son of Dr. Biron of Brasenose 1s.

7th Feb^y I received of John Langridge, butcher, for a certificate that he was thrice asked, and for his marriage, though he was marryed elsewhere, 2s. 6d.

This is a note of what I wrote to Mr. Crayford, minister, in Mats behalfe, on the 8th of March :

“ You were once pleased by Mr. Hall to make a petition to mee in behalfe of my kinswoman dwelling with mee. I shall now make the like to you in my owne person, which is that I do not so little value you, nor your son, but that if the young man could fancy her for a wyfe, this advowson,† and that well stocked within and without doors with all kinds of necessaries, together also with my library when I leave this world, I should not (with her consent thereto given) which shee hath no reason to deny, judge her amisse bestowed.”

To an assessment made on the 2d of April on the borough of Hd. Caines I payed £1.‡

I payed for a qr. of wheate 24s.

26th April. I had of James Brooker a sandy coloured cow with a calfe by her side, 3 weeks and 3 dayes old, for which I gave £4, the which I afterwards sold at St. James faire at Lindfield for £2. 7s. For 2 calves which I bought of G. Brett, at 8 weeks old, I gave £2.

* In this year, 1669, the former act against conventicles, with some new clauses, was revived. “ One of these clauses,” says Burnet, “ was a very extraordinary one : that if any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any part of the act, it was to be determined in the sense that was most contrary to conventicles, it being the intention of the House to repress them in the most effectual manner possible. The other was the laying a heavy fine upon such justices of the peace as should not execute the law when informations were brought before them. Upon this many, who would not be instruments of such severities, left the bench, and would not sit there.”

† The advowson alluded to is that of East Aldrington, near Brighton, and not Horstead Keynes, which advowson was given by him as Mat's marriage portion on her subsequent marriage with a Mr. Citizen.

‡ The king's taxes paid by the rector this year amounted to £8. 18s. 4d., and the poor-rate was 9d. in the £, to which he paid 12s.

May 2d. My brother, by Margt. Keyling, sent mee a rundlet of Malaga sack containing about 7 gallons and 5 pints, as marked by him, but according to my juggs and glasses it came to no more than 6 gallons and a halfe.

I payed to Henry Heasman for mowing better than an acre and a halfe 6s. 6d.

Of Thos. Awcock, butcher, I had in meate and money for that cow which I had of John Pelling, when I had fatted her, £3. 8s., which was but 3s. more than I gave for her when leane.

21st July. I set forth for the Isle of Wight, dining that day at Shoreham, and lodging at night at Arundel. I spent that day 4s. 4d. 22d July. I went to Portsmouth, and spent there 6s., for my passage by water 4d., and landing 6d. 24th. I went to church at Northwood, hearing Mr. Swinley, the minister thereof. 27th. Mr. Houghton and his wyfe, and Mr. Eustace Man all dined with me at my brothers, hee being very merry with us. For being twice barbourd I payed 1s. For the mending of my stockings 6d., for a bottle of canary 6d. I gave for conveying a letter to my wyfe 1s. 6d.

31st. Being Sunday I preached twice that day at West Cowes. My brother complained that night that hee was not well, and next day he sweated himselfe (which was his usual physicke). On the 2d Aug. hee removed out of his chamber into the back rooms, and sent for mee, and says hee to mee, "Brother, I am a dead man," and then hee sayd that hee was worth £4,400, and offered to make over his estate to mee in trust, to which I once had also the writings for his land shewne to mee by his daughter. But I not shewing myselfe forward in the business, and not very willing to be troubled with the care and management of his estate, living as I did at such a distance, Mr. Greenwell of Uppingham was moved to do it.

The 2d of August hee made his will, making his daughter his exx., and giving her equal with his son of all his lands and chattels. Moreover, giving to his son Eustace £60, if hee went off by election from Winton Schoole, and if otherwise, then an £100 more for his settlement; but on Aug. 9th his will was new drawne, and therein was given besydes all those seates in the church built at his charge, and yet unsold, and

judged worth £20, with £60 also to be rayseed out of his woods to bee cut on his land, lying in the parishes of Droxfield and Waltham, which hee gave towards the building of a stone wall to inclose the church yard, if so bee the place of West Cowes were in six yeares next following to bee made extra parochial and incorporated, and £10 to the poore of the parish of North Wood. Hee also gave £10 a peece to each of my brother Francis children and my sister Susannah her children, to be rayseed out of his woods after the payment of the above summe of £60. Hee also gave £10 to his servant maid who had lived with him 4 yeares, and £5 to the wyfe of his tenant Locke, who had been a necessary neighbour to him in sicknesse and in health. Had hee given mee a mourning cloake, or a ring, or some other such remembrance I had been fully pleased. "Sed ne querebar quia non opus erat ut putabam." In his first will made on the 2d Augst there was nothing at all given to any of his kindred, nor the least mention made of them, whereupon the day following I waited a fit opportunity, and finding the room void of company, I told him that though I myselfe did not desyre or expect anything from him, being intended to give to his, and not to receive from him, yet hee had other poorer kindred, upon whom if hee were pleased to bestow any thing, it would bee kindly taken, and that if hee left them nothing at all for a remembrance, they would bee apt to thinke that hee had quite forgot them. Whereupon the Sunday following hee himselfe spake to Mr. Greenwell to put them in for £10 a peece into his will, which was accordingly done, but I was forced to expedite the business, and to put by all excuses and evasions for not doing it, to the doing which I saw a drawing back, and an unwillingnesse in the said Mr. Greenwell, whom I therefore the more quickened, lest the opportunity should have been quite lost, and the thing left undone which yet was done, and it was sealed on the 9th of August.

After my brother had been 8 dayes sicke his mouth grew sore, and a day or two afterwards his throat, but he mended againe, and so held on at a stay till the 13th, in the morning, when hee had a frantic fit for halfe an hour. The 14th being Sunday hee continued still as weake, but more patient and sleepey. On which day Mr. Smith of Newport, surgeon, be-

spoke him thus, saying, "Sir, if you bee in a dying condition I am as much mistaken in that as I ever was in my life," and the next morning againe, "Sir," says hee "God hath designed you for a longer life." On the 16th and 17th hee continued much at a stay, complaining much of anguish and misery and paine, saying that Job never suffered as hee did, &c., and that his life was a burden to him. On the afternoone of the 18th Nov^r, Lock having only gone out of the chamber to the kitchen, hee came forth speedily and strongly to see to, and leaped into a well which was ten feete deep in water, out of which hee was quickly taken, and put into a warme bed. He purged naturally, which he had not done before during his sicknesse. On the 19th, Mr. Man and Dr. Speed, from Hampshire, came over, and on that day was my brother bled on the right arm 8 ounces, and the next day on the left arm 6 ounces more. On the 21st of August nothing would satisfy my brother but to be removed out of the room into the chamber, hee swoounding oft in the removal. On the 22d hee continued very weake, moving often from bed to bed, on which day his daughter sent for her brother Eustace, who presented himselfe before him on his knees, begging his pardon and blessing.

24th Augst. My brother having lain still all that night, without tossing and tumbling as formerly, began about 7 in the morning to move, and then hee sent forth with greate earnestness four or five most divine prayers, after which he layed still till one o'clock in the afternoone, when hee expired. Hee was buried on the 26th* in the chancel of West Cowes, Mr. Holton the curate preaching, to whom was given the pulpit cloth and 20s. That madman John Landen greatly disturbing the congregation. I payed to the sexton for shewing mee the burying ground 1s., and I gave 2s. 6d. to my brother's man.

To the bargeman for carrying over to Portsmouth, mee, Fletcher, and my mare, for boating us 4d., and for the passage 3s., and I gave to the farrier for searching my mares foot 1s.

Sept^r 12th. I spent at East Grinstead, when Mat was con-

* The interval between death and burial seems to have been much shorter in those days than at present, seldom exceeding two or three days.

firmed by the bishop, 1s. 4d. On the 14th Peter Gunning,* Bishop of Chichester, visited at Lewes, Dr. Barton preaching. I spent at the ordinary 3s.

I gave Mat to spend at Thomas Wards wedding 10s. I gave Mr. Payne a Bone Kroyton† Catherine, and Bell paire tree.

10th Nov^r I marryed Rich^d Gaston and Frances Pelling, for which I tooke nothing, only a payr of gloves and a small ribbon, which was given mee.

9th Nov^r I payed Mr. John Awcock, of Fletching, for 8 hearths for one yeare and a halfe, due foregoing Michs. £1. 4s. To collections this yeare for the poore, I gave at several times 4d., 6d., 6d., at three communions 6d., 6s., 6d.

26th Dec^r I gave the howling boys 6d. †

To two assessments made this yeare for and towards the

* The character of Gunning, given by Burnet, is interesting in these days. "Gunning was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtlety of arguing. All the arts of sophistry were made use of by him on all occasions in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning. He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose. He was much set upon the reconciling us with Popery in some points, and because the charge of idolatry seemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation with them, he set himself with very great zeal to clear the Church of Rome of idolatry. This made many suspect him as inclining to go over to them; but he was far from it, and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgement, and of no prudence in affairs. Hee was for our conforming in all things to the rules of the Primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, with many other rituals. He formed many in Cambridge upon his own model, who have carried them perhaps further than he intended."

† The pear called "Le Bon Chrétien."

‡ On New Year's Eve it was, and it still continues to be the custom, to wassail the orchards. At Horstead Keynes and elsewhere, the ceremony retains the name of "Apple Howling." A troop of boys visit the different orchards, and encircling the apple trees, they repeat the following words:

"Stand fast root, bear well top,
Pray the God send us a good howling crop.
Every twig, apples big;
Every bough, apples enou;
Hats full, caps full,
Full quarters sacks full."

They then shout in chorus, one of the boys accompanying them upon the cow's horn. During this ceremony they rap the trees with their sticks. This custom is alluded to in Herrick's 'Hesperides,' p. 311:

"Wassail the trees that they may beare
You, many a plum, and many a peare:
For more or less fruits they will bring,
As you do give them wassailing."

This practice is not confined to Sussex; it prevails in Devon and in Herefordshire.

reliefe of the poore, the one at 12*d.* the other at 6*d.* in the £, I payed 16*s.* and 8*s.**

1671-72.

26th April. I sent by Margt. Keyling to my nephew Eustace Moore 5*s.* I sent him this for the Latin epistle which hee wrote to mee.

28th April. I bargained with Edwd. Waters that hee should have 10*s.* in money for the trimming of mee by the yeare, I deducting 1*s.* 6*d.* for his tythes.

I payed J. Crofts and Robert Gourd, for 6 dayes sawing, at 10 groates a day, £1.

2d May. I went to Lewis and bought of Mr. Marshall 4 yds. of broad black cloth, costing mee, at 16*s.* the yd., £3. 4*s.*, and 2 yds. and $\frac{1}{2}$ of scarlet serge for a waistcoate, 11*s.* 1*d.*; for a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce of scarlet silke, I gave 1*s.*, hee solemnly assuring mee that it is the colour of the scarlet dye that maketh it twice as deare as any other silke.

31st May. I spent on James Butler at Ned Walters 1*s.*; hee stayed with mee from the 25th of May till the 2d of June, on which day I bore him company to Turners Hill, where I spent upon him 3*d.* more, and gave him 10*s.* therewithal to buy 4 bottles of French wine and two of sack for my cousin

* It is curious to trace the great increase that had taken place in the amount of the poor-rate levied upon the parish of Horstead Keynes. In the course of fifteen years it had been doubled, and in this year it had been trebled in amount. It is evident that this tax was felt as a heavy burden even in the time of Giles Moore, as is proved from the many contemporary complaints, as well as from the various remedies suggested, and it is clear that it had produced a very bad effect upon the manners and habits of the people. In a pamphlet published two years later, called 'The Grand Concern of England explained,' the following passage occurs: "The money yearly paid by the subjects for the reliefe of the poor is nigh as much as an assessment of £70,000 a month for the king. This is employed to maintain idle persons, doth great hurt rather than good, makes a world of poor, more than otherwise there would be, prevents industry and laboriousness, men and women growing so idle and proud that they will not work, but lie upon the parish wherein they dwell for a maintenance, applying themselves to nothing but begging and pilfering, and breeding up their children accordingly, never putting them upon anything that may render them useful in their generations, or beneficial either to themselves or the kingdom." It appears, from an entry made by a successor nearly fifty years later, in 1730, that the poor-rate in Horstead Keynes had increased to 2*s.* 9*d.* in the £. About a century later, in 1831, the three years immediately preceding the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act give an average of £1492 levied every year, being very little less than £2 a head on the population of the parish, which at that time amounted to 782 persons. The poor-rate, including the county rate, has averaged during the last three years 6*s.* 4*d.* in the £.

Buttler of Kingsbridge, near Dartmouth in Devonshire, distiller; besides 2*s.* 6*d.* to drinke with Evans the butcher at Saltash, who had hid mee, and brought mee off when I was taken prisoner by Essex's Horse.*

June 20th. Being sicke, I wrote to Dr. Oliver Theobalds of 7 Oke, in Kent, who came to mee on the 22d, and stayed with mee till the 25th; for whose kindness and pains I gave him £1. 10*s.*

I sent for Mats board for 6 weeks at Mistresse Chaloners, during which time shee made mee shirts, bands, &c., £1. 10*s.*; on the 1st of Sept. I gave her, to buy a hood at the faire, 5*s.*

21st June. I went to Mr. Baker of Mayfield, justice and commissioner, for redresse about my taxes, in which I had been overtaxed by Mr. Wyatt, John Lucas, and John Wood. I spent in my going thither at Maresfield and at Mayfield, 6*s.* 10*d.*; on the 22d I went to Maresfield to complaine, where I spent 6*d.*; Sir John Pelham, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Dyke were sitting. I was too high in my carriage and language.

21st Oct^r. My nephew Eustace came to mee out of the Isle of Wight, and stayed with mee till the 1st of February, in which time I lent him sundry moneys, amounting altogether to £3. 13*s.*, which he promised to pay, besydes which I paid for his horse going on Thomas Woods ground whilst hee was with mee, coming to 6*s.* 6*d.*; Edward Waters told mee that hee had run into debt with him for trowsers, stockings, &c., though above a moneth before I went up purposely to tell him that if hee trusted him one penny I would not pay him; Major Keyling told mee that at his going away he had referred him to mee for 7*s.* which he had given him.

* I am obliged to my friend Mrs. Moore, daughter of the late Archdeacon of Exeter, for the following curious case of testimony to a fact which occurred more than 200 years ago, being transmitted through a chain of evidence of very few links, and as it is connected with the times and county alluded to by the rector, its mention here may be excused. When, in the year 1645, the Parliament army, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, surprised the king's troops in the town of Torrington, commanded by Lord Hopton, they in their retreat blew up the magazine. The horse on which Sir Thomas Fairfax rode was frightened by the explosion, and threw his rider against the roof of a porch. A woman who was passing, and who was still living in the time of Mrs. Moore's grandfather, witnessed the accident, and showed him the spot where it had occurred. The porch was there when her father was a boy, to whom it was pointed out by his father.

Nov^r 4th. I gave Mat then answering for Edwd. Cripps young daughter 5*s.*, whereof shee gave to the mydwyfe 2*s.*, and 1*s.* to the nurse. Myselfe gave to the mydwyfe in the drinking bowl 1*s.*; I gave to Mat to spend at dancings 1*s.* 6*d.*

For two assessments for the reliefe of the poore, one at 12*d.*, the other at 6*d.*, in the £, I payed 16*s.* and 8*s.**

18th March. I sent Mistresse Michaelborne of Stanmer a fat lambe, for which I payed 10*s.*

My man Henry Weller went forth with my armes for 4 dayes, which cost mee 8*s.*; I payed him for $\frac{1}{2}$ a yeares wages £2. 6*s.*

1672-73.

This yeare Richard Combes entered upon the farme called the Butts, for which hee pays the yearly rent of £9, it containing about 14 acres, rough and plaine. I received for his tythes 4*s.* 6*d.*; hee freely bringing mee at the same time a goode handsome pig.

May 6th. I bought of Mr. Wm. Marshall of Lewis a pair of black worsted stockings, 5*s.*, and a coarse grey payr to wear under boots, 2*s.* 6*d.* For 6 yards of parragon for making a cassock, at 2*s.* a yard, I payd 12*s.*

This yeare, a little before harvest, George Reading's landlord did seize upon his corne, so that I was forced to take up his corne in kind, I having only 6 bushells of oates, worth nearly 8*s.*; 3 bushells of barley, worth 7*s.*; $\frac{1}{2}$ a bushell of wheate 2*s.*; 2 bushells of pease, 5*s.* 4*d.*; oates and tares, 15*d.*

27th. I buryed the wyfe of Thomas Young, smith, for preaching for whom I received 10*s.*; the same day was buryed Isaack Allen at Lindfield, who on the 24th, when proceeding home towards night, fell from his horse, and dyed thereof the next morning.

30th July. For $\frac{1}{2}$ a yeares chymney money I paid 8*s.*, and in Sept^r for an assessment for furnishing the militia of the county, 2*s.* 6*d.*

22d Augst This yeare Francis Luxford coaled for mee 15 cord, of which I had almost 8 coale waines full of coales, of which I sold to Thos. Young 3 loades for £2. 11*s.* I payed

* The king's taxes this year cost the rector £8. 15*s.* 4*d.*

Luxford for coaling the said pit £1. 11s. 6*d.* I had of Edw^d Snell for 12 bushell of my coales laid up 3*s.*

Sept^r 17th. I carryed Mat up to London, buying for her, at Captain Faggess, at the White Hart in Watling Streete, a new riding suite, for which I payed 28*s.*; for a new gowne and coate £2. 2*s.*

2d Oct^r I payd J. Waters for worke, which should have beene done on the high ways, 2*s.*

For whole yeares barbouring mee I payed 10*s.*

13th Nov^r I payed Mr. Johnson for $\frac{1}{2}$ a yeares chymney money, ending Mich^s next ensuing, for my 8 hearths, 8*s.*, and then also I gave him notice privately in my greater parlour, that hee might desist and not demand any more, for that there were two more chymneys without hearths, which would bee 2*s.* more, I promising to take them downe, and to stop them up.

14th Nov^r For 1000 stones (boulders as they are called), had from Brighthelmstone, and for bringing them 5*s.*, and to Hy. Kidder, for setting them in a knott in my garden, 1*s.* I payed Mr. Citizen for 2 lb. of black wool, at 11*d.* the lb., 22*d.*, and for 2 lbs. of white wool, at 10*d.* a lb., 20*d.*

26th Nov^r My brother Frank came to mee, and stayed till the 6th of Dec^r, I gave him at parting 20*s.* to beare the charges of his journey, with a 5*s.* token, which I sent my sister Susan, and 2*s.* 6*d.* to be given to her eldest daughter and his owne. I likewise made over to him £10 more, the which hee by bond stands bound to pay to my sister Susan by 15*s.* halfe yearly payments, till 7 yeares are expired.

25th Dec^r I sent Mr. Hely a worthy turkey, worth 5*s.*

28th Dec^r I gave Mat 1*s.* to play withall, and on the 4th of Feb^r I gave her 2*s.* towards a payr of stockings, which shee is to knit for herselfe. I also gave her 1*s.*, which shee is to spend at dancings.

4th March. John Warren and Wm. Field, being church wardens of Horsted Keynes, John Pilbeam, alehouse keeper, and Thos. Young, smith, jointly with the consent of the church wardens, but without the consent of the minister, either desyred or granted thereunto, I being the parson of the said parish, did erect that seat under the belfry next adjoining my seat, where there never had been any seat, and only a low small

form to sit upon, as on the other side thereof, and there still is. This I publickly protested against, as unlawful and unjust to be done. They had promised mee to pull it down, when at any time called upon to do so, it being unjustly done, for should they, on the other side, erect another seat in that sort, which with a good right they may, there would be no coming up for the minister or the people to the table, the room would be so narrow and straight. In witness thereof I, the minister, protest, and do protest.

GILES MOORE.*

I payed Thos. Ward, besydes his diet, for 4 dayes worke about the garden and orchard, 4s. ; for 2 dozen of tulips brought from London I gave 3s.

1673-74.

2d May. An assessment was made for the reliefe of the poore at 12*d.* in the £.

12th May. I went to London, spending there, going and coming, as, *alibi apparet in particularibus*, 13*s.* 8*d.* ; I bought for Ann Brett a gold ring, this being the posy, "When this you see, remember mee." At the same time I bought Patricks Pilgrim, 5*s.* ; the Reasonableness of Scripture, by Sir Chas. Wolsey, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; and a Comedy called Epsom Wells.

13th May. I bought of Mr. Sharpe, goldsmith, in Lombard

* The custom of cramming pews into churches prevailed much during the Commonwealth. There is a curious passage in a pamphlet published in 1659, called 'A Character of England as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Nobleman in France,' showing the impression made upon a French Protestant (if it were really written by such a one, and not by a Roman Catholic, which is doubtful) by the appearance of our churches in that day. "I have nowhere," he says, "seen goodlier outsides of churches, what they are inside I cannot so well say, for their temples are as fast as was that of Janus after the first Punick war, unless it be upon Sundays, when they blow the brazen trumpet of sedition, and not the silver ones of the tabernacle. I have discoursed with some concerning this sealing their churches in the week days. They are ready to retort upon us in France, not considering that our churches are solitary, and in some places many leagues distant from the towns, and that we are under a persecution, and so obliged to omit the public morning and evening sacrifice, which I remember to have heard several of our Divines deplore the defect of, as of many other decencies, which they can have no pretence against. But such of their churches as I have frequented were dammed up with pews, every three or four of the inhabitants sitting in narrow pounds or pulpits by themselves. In short, there is nothing more unlike to our reformed churches in France, and I think in all Europe besides." (Somers' Tracts, vol. vii, p. 179.)

Street, to give to my godson Leven, a caudle cup and cover, weighing 24 ozs., for which I payed £7.

3d June. I payed Mr. Maynard, collector, for an assessment for the raising of money to maintaine the war with the French king, to be taxed by a poll, at so much a head for mee, and my wyfe for gentility; our polls payd £1. 2s.* I gave Ralph Russell the miller, meeting him on his way to Chayly, for that none of our house had gone to his wedding, 5s.

26th July. I tooke the oath for renouncing Popery, according to the Act of Parlement, at Horsham; I dined at Mr. Pilbys the schoolmasters, gratis; I payed for subscribing 1s.; spent at the Red Lion, 6d.; I might have had a testimony for 2s., which I refused as needless.†

July 27th. I payed for chymney money for 8 hearths, 8s.; and again in October, for hearth money for halfe a yeare, 8s.

28th. George Brett was with mee, who after using the Noble Land a greater part of Mr. Skipwiths time, all Mr. Pells, and 18 yeares in myne, did then and there joyntly with his son press for an abatement of 20s. per ann. in the sayd tythes, without which hee refused to hold it any longer. O mira rusticorum perfidies!

25th Augst. I and Mr. Citizen went together to Mr. Justice Stapley, and so againe the next day with all the writings, and for drawing up all the articles concerning Mat's marriage; I payed him £1. 10s. for my share, Mr. Citizen paying as much also for his share.

29th Sept^r. I marryed Mr. Citizen and Mat together, there being present Wm. Sale and his wyfe, Stephⁿ Waller and his wyfe, my owne wyfe, my man Hen^y Weller and George Obbard the clerk. Wm. Sale gave her away, and they all dined with mee that day. I payed for 2 bottles of sack which I had for the marriage 4s., and for meate extraordinary 5s.

1st Oct^r. I accompanied them to theyr house; I bought of Mary Holden a trunke to carry away Mat's cloathes, for the

* The amount paid for king's taxes recorded this year, exclusive of poll-tax and hearth-money, which was 16s., was £4. 8s. 8d.

† "The House," says Burnet, "brought in a bill disabling all Papists from holding any employment or place at Court, and requiring all persons in public trust to receive the Sacrament in a parish church, and to carry an attested certificate of that, with witnesses, to prove it into Chancery, or to the Quarter Sessions, and there to make a declaration, renouncing transubstantiation, in full and positive words.

which I payed her 5*s.* 6*d.*; so that the other furred one is now wholly myne, though allowed to stand in her house with some other things of myne. I payed Wm. Brett for a new gowne and petticoate made by him for Mat, a little before her wedding, the full summe of £3. 10*s.*

The exact amount of all I layed out upon Mat, from the time of my resolving to take her, till the day of her marriage, besydes her diet and washing in my house, was £163. 12*s.* 6*d.*, and what I have spent upon her and her husband since her marriage is £68. 11*s.* 9*d.*

I gave for her portion to Mr. Citizen the advowson of East Aldrington,* being worth £140; I gave her in ready money by agreement £150, with the £10 legacy of my brother, to make up the total summe of £300. When I had payed this portion given to Mat on her marriage, I was found worth not above £840 in moneys, besydes my library, household stuffe, and stock in doors and out of doors.

“Omnis vir sibimet debet carissimus esse,
Nec propriis vivus se spoliare bonis;
Hoc *Μωροσ* fecit, si cantior ille fuisset;
Pro sociâ neptis, serva fuisset ei.”

I payed to 2 books for the reliefe of the poore of the parish, at 6*d.* in the £ each, the summe of 16*s.*

25th Dec^r I sent to Mr. Hely a ribspare and hoggs puddings, for which hee returned mee a boxe of pills and sermons.

1674-75.

Till the 1st of April I never had the toothache in all my life, but on that day a toothe began to ache. I payed Wm. Bates for washing my toothe and for pills 6*s.*

21st April. An assessment was made for the reliefe of the poore, at 12*d.* in the £, I payd 6*s.*

29th April. I went to Justice Stapley at Cowfold, about

* Aldrington, the advowson of which in 1673 was worth altogether only £160, is now worth £260 a year. This extraordinary difference may be accounted for by supposing the land to have been in those days only pasture and sheep walks, and it is now under an excellent system of tillage.

A descendant of Mr. Citizen, of the same name, in 1750, left the perpetual advowson of East Aldrington to Magdalen College, Cambridge. Of the church there remains only a ruined wall, and the parish contains only one dwelling-house. It is of course a sinecure, and the present incumbent is the Rev. Philip Stanhope Dodd.

George Brett and my case ; I gave his clerk 1*s.* and his man 6*d.*, and on the 4th of May I againe went to him and offered G. Bretts, if he would give mee a just note of what he had expended, I would expend as much on the prosecution of our suit, but that on the recovery of the principal, the said George Bretts should pay mee principal at the rate of 4 per cent. only. I gave the Justice for his fee 10*s.*, George Brett having before given as much. This is a true note of what is really due unto mee from Mr. John Attree. Imprimis the interest of £200 at 5 per cent. Interest due for 10 years, £100. Item, the interest upon the interest at 5 per cent. £27. 10*s.**

6th June. I again went to Justice Stapley, and then asking his sons some Latin questions, I gave them each 5*s.* a piece ; I paid his clerk for a subpoena 3*s.*, for a parchment and engrossing the bill 8*s.* ; and to Mr. Stapley for his council, and for drawing the bill £1. 5*s.* To Mrs. Stapley I lost 1*s.* at cards.

I paid for hearth money, in two halfe yearly payments of 8*s.* each, 16*s.*

15th June. I went to London, returning againe on the 16th, spending for horse meate and man's meate, going thither, coming thence, and staying there, 4*s.* 8*d.* I lay at the Cross Keyes, Gracechurch Streete.†

* The legal rate of interest in these days was 6 per cent. The Culpeppers, Sir William and his son Sir Thomas, had been very instrumental in reducing the rate of interest. The following account of their exertions for this object is given by Hays in his 'History of Chichester :'

"Sir William Culpepper, of Wakehurst, in the parish of Ardingly, was a son of Sir Edward Culpepper, who lived in the reign of James I. He was chiefly famous for his great and successful exertions in reducing the usury, or interest of money, from an indeterminate rate to a fixed standard. Before his time it had been customary for the Jews, Lombards, and other monied men in the kingdom, to demand and receive the most exorbitant premiums for the use and forbearance of money, whêreby it frequently happened that respectable families were reduced, in the course of a few years, from affluence to great distress. In his arduous and patriotic exertions Sir William had to contend with the power and interest of the three descriptions of men just mentioned ; but at last his endeavours were crowned with the success that his patience and perseverance deserved. In 1621 an act was passed, whereby it was commanded, that no person after the 24th June, 1625, should take for the loan or use of money above the value of £8 for the forbearance of £100 for one year, under the penalty of the money so lost."

Sir William wrote a treatise on this subject, which was reprinted in 1668 by his son, Sir Thomas Culpepper, Bart., who was partly concerned about the same time in effecting a further legal reduction of the interest of money to 6 per cent. per annum.

† The rector seems to have profited by the advice of a contemporary, Henry Pearham, who, in 1642, published a pamphlet called the 'Art of Living in London,

I bought of Mr. John Baker, stationer, at the 3 Pigeons, in Pauls Church Yard, Dr. Heylin on the Creed, 12*s.*; Dr. Pearson on Ignatius Epistles, 7*s.* 8*d.*; Dr. Cozens Canon of Scripture, 5*s.* 6*d.*; Dr. Tillotsons Sermons, 8*s.* 3*d.*; Contemplations Moral and Divine, supposed to bee by Judge Hales, 4*s.* 6*d.*; Pooles Synopsis, being on the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, £1. 2*s.* 3*d.*

For 6 yards of black cloth to make a cloake, bought of Mr. Theophilus Smith, at the White Lion, Pauls Church Yard, I paid £4. 16*s.*, and for 7 yards of calaminko to make a cassock £1. 4*s.* 6*d.*, and for 1 qr. of a yard of velvet 6*s.*; I bought of Mr. James Allen, at the Hat and Harrow,* a new hat, costing mee £1; I bought for my wyfe a lute string hood, costing 6*s.*

July 8th. Betweene 1 and 2 o'clock Mat was brought to bed of a daughter, which was baptized on the 21st by Mr.

or a Caution how Gentlemen, Countrymen, and Strangers, drawn by occasion of business, should dispose of themselves in the thriftiest waye in the Citie.' "First of all," says he, "have an eye to, and a care for, your main business, or the end of your coming to towne, as it were at what mark you should shoot your arrow, which being thoroughly considered for your purses sake, pursue it with all expedition, for the citie is like a quicksand, the longer you stand upon it the deeper you sink." * * * * * "Who would bespeak a dinner or a supper at all adventures at a tavern, and not know the price of every dish, as the Italians and other nations do, who laugh at our English for our vanity and simplicity, who, when the dinner is ended, must stand to the courtesy of a nimble-tongued drawer, or of a many-ringed whistling mistress, whether they or you should be masters of your money." * * * "If you bring your man with you out of the country, except you have a great eye upon him, he will quickly be corrupted in the city with much acquaintance; then shall you help yourself to bed, see your horse starved in the stable, and never rubbed, your linen lost at the laundresses; in a word, yourself everywhere neglected. Think it therefore no disgrace in a city town to see your horse every day yourself, and see him well meated, rubbed and watered, he shall make you amends in your journey." (Harl. Misc. vol. ix, p. 88.)

* When every shop had its sign, there must have been many strange mistakes and jumbles, as in this instance alliteration's power had probably turned an arrow into a harrow, as the hat would in many a bowman's contest be the prize of the successful archer. Not to mention those cases of transformation which are generally known, there is one, that of "the lettuce," not so well known. The chequered board hanging out over the doors of public-houses, intimated that the game of draughts was played within, hence the frequent sign of the "Chequers" in the present day, which is the legitimate descendant of the old board. From their resemblance to lattice-work they soon acquired that name, and "lattice phrases" is used by Shakespeare in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' in the sense of "ale-house talk." Lattice was soon changed into lettuce, and a plentiful crop was sown all over London, and elsewhere, which came up of various colours, green, blue, and red, all of which have probably disappeared. Douce mentions one, viz. "The Green Lettuce," as still existing in Brownlow street, Holborn.

Bennett of Plumpton, Mistresse Springett and Mistress Storey answering for her with myselfe in the name of Mat; I then gave the mydwyfe, goodwyfe, and nurse 5*s.* each.

August 3d. Henry Play went forth with my armes; I payed to the muster master 1*s.*, his owne expences 1*s.*, for $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb. of powder 7*d.*, so that in all this yeare it cost mee 2*s.* 7*d.*

29th Sept^r Mr. Citizen having about a fortnight before received of Captaine Edwards that £18 due from him to mee, brought and paid mee only £9, detayning the rest in his owne hands till the 22d of Feb^r following, when on my calling him "knave," and telling him that he had dealt basely with mee, he payed it. "Avaritia cum fraude conjuncta!"

30th Oct^r Our new bishop, Dr. Briddock, visited at Lewes. Mr. Parker of Hoadleigh preached upon "Let your light so shine, &c." I gave at Mr. Citizens, where I lay the foregoing night, 2*s.*; my dinner at the White Horse 1*s.* 6*d.*, sack 1*s.*, beer and horse 8*d.*, altogether 5*s.* 2*d.*

8th Nov^r I married Henry Langley and Mary Knoll gratis, but I did not dine with them.

1675-76.

10th May. I went to London with Mr. Lewin and his wyfe upon theyr businesse only, whence I returned not againe till the 16th; I spent there on a fyshe dinner upon my cousins, at the Swanne in Fyshe Streete, 22*s.*; I gave her a hood and vaile, 8*s.* 6*d.*

July 11th. I sent Mistresse Michelborne a galon of rose water, and 1 quart of damasks, shee sending mee back by the messenger 3 dozen of pigeons.

21st July. I payd Thos. Pelling for 7 yards of calaminko, bought by him in London, £1. 6*s.*; I payed to Waters for making it into a cassock, mending my gowne at the same time, 6*s.*

John Weller bought of Edw^d Cripps, Hoyland, being 4 parcels of land, containing about 18 acres of plaine land, and 2 of coppice, for which hee payed 8 score £; and also Buckhurst, containing about 23 or 24 acres of plaine land, with 7 or 8 of coppice, for which he payed £350 more.*

* The value of land had increased very much in the course of this century. Sir Josiah Child, in a pamphlet published in 1672, sets its value at fifteen years' pur-

10th Sept^r An assessment was made for the reliefe of the poore of the parish at 12*d.* in the £; another on the 18th of Jan^y at the rate of 6*d.* in the £, for which I payed 8*s.*; for chymney money I payed halfe yearly 8*s.*

On the 9th of Dec^r I marryed John Hales and his wyfe Anne, I sent them a sugar loafe weighing 4 lb., for which I had payed 3*s.* 2*d.*; another of 6 lb. more, which Mistresse Lightmaker had given mee, both of them worth full 8*s.* 6*d.*, besides his wedding, 10*s.*

1676-77.

5th May. The Archdeacon Henshaw visited at Lewis, Mr. H^y Croft of Preston preaching.

16th May. I payed Edward Pick, for making of a souldiers coate, 3*s.* 6*d.*; for 4 yards and $\frac{1}{2}$ of kersey at 2*s.* 4*d.* a yard, 10*s.* 6*d.*; 4 dozen of buttons, 2*s.*; $\frac{1}{2}$ a yd. of serge, 18*d.*; 4 yds. of ribbon for a belt, 1*s.* 4*d.*; for the bandeliers being red like the coate, 7*s.* For 4 dayes at Lewis, whither my man went with my arms on the 23d of May, I payed 15*d.* per day, and for a lb. of powder 1*s.*

I payd Thos. Ward for one day and a halfe worke pruning my apricocks and vines, 1*s.* 6*d.* To Rich^d Kilner for makeing mee a stone ascent to get on horseback, and for new bottoming my oven, and relaying the kitchen chymney, 2 dayes worke, altogether for himselfe, his son and his brother, 9*s.* 4*d.*

18th May. My cousin Lewin of Poole sent mee two rundlets of sack, of about 10 or 12 gallons a piece; I payed 6*s.* for its carriage from London; for its carriage up to London 11*s.* 6*d.*; for a dockett, as the exciseman calls it, 2*s.* 6*d.*

23d May. Payd my man for going one day to the muster at Lindfield 1*s.* 4*d.*, and for halfe a lb. of powder 6*d.*; and againe on the 7th of June, when hee went to Lewis, staying there 4 dayes, at 15*d.* a day, 5*s.*; one whole lb. of sugar powder 1*s.*; muster master, 6*d.*

18th July. Wm. Payne came together with Ned Cripps to pay his tythe; hee layed downe 20*s.* on the table which he told, and I tooke up for the tythe of 1674-75; at which time

chase, and the same authority fixes it about fifty years before, in 1624, at only twelve years.

hee sayd I was a knavish priest, and having gone out of the hall door as far as the yard gate, he sayd againe that I was a knavish priest, and that hee could prove mee to be so, Edw.^d Cripps being all the while in the hall, and Mary Holden in the kitchen, who distinctly heard him.

4th Oct.^r I went to London with my man Henry Place, continuing there till the 7th, where I payed the chamberlaine 2s., the tapster, 3s. 6d., ostler 5s. 10d.; I payed Thos. Ward for the use of his horse to harrow for Steph.ⁿ Weller, while hee lent mee his to ride to London, 2s.*

6th Oct.^r I gave Dr. Gideon Harvey, † at the Blue Gilded

* The general mode of travelling in the days of Giles Moore was on horseback, and such indeed continued to be the case in the Weald of Sussex, from the wretched state of the roads, to a much later time. The "steed" that "would carry double when there's need" was an essential part of a clergyman's establishment, and if the wife went forth, she sate "post equitem" on a pillion. A change of habits in this respect, however, was just commencing, and coaches had been lately established, starting from London and traversing the kingdom, to the great disgust of those who were wedded to the old system of travelling upon horseback; and well may those who have enjoyed the pleasure of riding through a beautiful country in a fine day feel distaste for all other modes of travel. "Will any man keep a horse for himself," asks a writer in those days, "and another for his servant, all the year, for to ride one or two journeys, that at pleasure when he hath occasion can slip to any place where his business lies for two or three shillings, if within twenty miles of London, and so proportionately to any part of England? No, there is no man, unless some noble soul that seems to abhor being confined to so ignoble, base, and sordid a way of travelling as these coaches oblige him to, and who prefers a public good before his own ease and advantage, that will breed or keep horses. * * * Travelling in these coaches can neither prove advantageous to men's health or business, for what advantage is it to men's health to be called out of their beds into their coaches an hour before day in the morning, to be hurried in them from place to place till one, two, or three hours within night, insomuch that sitting all day in the summer time, stifled with heat and choked with dust, or in the winter time, starving or freezing with cold, or choked with filthy fogs? They are often brought into their inns by torchlight, when it is too late to sit up to get a supper, and next morning they are forced into the coach so early that they can get no breakfast. What addition is this to men's health or business, to ride all day with strangers oftentimes sick, or with diseased persons or young children crying, to whose humours they are obliged to be subject, forced to bear with, and many times are poisoned with their nasty scents, and crippled by the crowd of the boxes and bundles?" (The Grand Concern of England Explained, 1673.)

† This Dr. Gideon Harvey was rather a celebrated man in his day, though, if Chalmers's account of him be a just one, a very great quack. He was physician in ordinary to Charles II during his exile, and afterwards physician to the army in Flanders. For his subsequent appointment as physician to the Tower, a place in great request, he was indebted to his sickly and infirm appearance, being promoted to it under the impression that he could not live many months. He survived, however, not only his rivals, but all his contemporary physicians, enjoying the office above fifty years, and dying about the year 1700. He was engaged in a continual warfare with the College of Physicians. He wrote many pamphlets against them, exposing, or pretending to expose, their frauds and intrigues against their patients,

Balcony in Hatton Garden, nighe the foote of Holborne, for counsell and for pills, 12*s.*; I payed Mistresse Cooke, in Shoe Lane, for a new trusse, and for mending the old one and altering the plate thereof, £1. 5*s.*; should shee dye, I am in future to inquire for her daughter Barbara, who may do the like for mee. I bought at the Bow, by Pauls Church Yard, Dr. Cave on the Fathers, 14*s.*; The Apostles, 10*s.*; Thos. Fullers Pisgah, 14*s.*

13th Oct. I marryed Henry Place and Mary Holden, my two servants, and spent at theyr wedding 20*s.*; I gave the fiddlers 1*s.*, I also gave them a large cake, all theyr fewell, and the use of my house and stables for 2 dayes, with a quart of white wine, being in all not less than 40*s.*, or one yeares wages. On the 6th of Feb. following shee was delivered of a daughter, so that the whoare went but 15 weekes and five days after her marriage. Memorandum—Not any of James Warner's, John Lucas', or any of the Pelling's household were there.

25th. Dec. I sent Mr. Herryman a faire large ribspare and hoggs puddings worth 4*s.*, for the which hee returned mee 24 oranges and 6 lemons.

To two assessments for the reliefe of the poore, each at 6*d.* in the £, I payed 16*s.*, and for chymney money for 8 hearths 8*s.*

1677.

An assessment was made the 14th May for £9. 5*s.* 6*d.* charged upon the borough of Horsted Caines for the building of 30 shippes of war, for the 1st of the 5 qrs. and two moneths payment I payd 10*s.* 7*d.*

I marryed Wm. Young and Catherine Oswald, and dined at old Mr. Youngs house, giving the bride 12*s.* to buy spoones. I gave 6*d.* to the fiddlers, besides the marriage fees freely given.

18th May. John Divoll came to live with mee. I bargained with him for £5 wages per an. besydes my kindnesse, I being to give him 6 weekes warning, and hee mee also as much. I must remember out of my man John's wages to

and he left behind him a work entitled 'Ars curandi morbos expectatione, item de vanitatibus, dolis et mendaciis Medicorum.' Chalmers says of him, that he was "a vain and hypothetical prater throughout." (Chalmers's Biog.)

deduct 12*s.*, payed to his brother for supplying his absence while he souldiered.

5th June. I began my journey for Suffolk. I lodged at the Unicorne in Hart Streete, and coming back on the 7th of June being Friday, I came to my brother Franks, at Rougham, where I stayed till the 17th. June 11th wee spent at Bury St. Edmunds, where I payed for my brother and Mr. John Davison 4*s.* 6*d.* I gave my sister Mayhew 10*s.*, her daughter 5*s.*, and her son 2*s.* 6*d.* I gave my brothers 4 children 5*s.* a piece, and I sent Mistresse Man a payr of kid leather gloves bought at Colchester for 1*s.* 8*d.* The summa totalis of what was by mee given and spent in my journey came to £5. 4*s.* 4*d.*, besides the supplying of my cure for 2 Sundays* in my absence, and the burying a child, for which I gave Mr. Hutton, the schoolemaster of Cuckfield, 20*s.*

29th July. I did, in the presence of Mr. Citizen, minister of the word, compound with Benjamin Pelling for this yeare, and for every yeare following, that hee should pay mee 44*s.* for the tythes of his wyfes and that of Dipleys, for which he pays £8 a yeare rent, and that hee should give mee a fat goose, for which I should dine him and his wyfe.

This yeare John Wood had 16 acres of as good wheate as could be growne, wheate being then at 5*s.* a bushell.

13th Augst. I payed the summe of 12*s.* 6*d.* for my parsonage and glebe towards the assessment for £9. 5*s.* 4*d.* charged upon the borough of Hd. Caines for the building of 30 shippes of war, being just 1*s.* 9*d.* more than I payed to the 1st quarter. The collector did promise to have this rectified next time, which was done, and I payed for the 2 next quarterly payments 10*s.* 7*d.* each.

* The successor of Giles Moore, a Mr. John Wood, has left the following memorandum of an agreement made with Mr. Thomas Winterbottom, warden of the college at East Grinstead, from which it appears that a church could be served upon easy terms in his days. "May 12th, 1687. Mr. John Winterbottom shall be allowed after the rate of £10 per annum for reading divine service, and performing all other offices of the church, besides preaching every Sunday in the year, and at the king's holy days, that are or shall be appointed; and whatever Sundays he shall be absent, he shall make them up in adding so many more to make up at the close of his year; and 'tis further agreed, that Mr. Winterbottom shall preach as often as he the said rector shall require him, for which he shall receive 8*s.* every Sunday besides and above what he is to receive for reading divine service.

"Witness our hands."

Augst 3d. I bought an old jade of a mare of Ralph Bassett, the miller, for which I gave £2. 4s., and as hee and my man Henry Davey did put her up for 40s. at Forest Row, and I gave them each 1s. to drinke, I lost at least 6s. by her. Cave quid, et in quo fidas!

Goodwyfe Lander came to mee after evening prayers, and payed mee 2s. 3d. and no more for the tythes of one yeare and an halfe ending last Mich^s, and so perfectly cheated mee of 9d. due for the whole yeare for which shee held the meade as I convinced her, and offered to refer myselve to any of the parishioners, which shee refused to doe.

I payed to Mr. Middleton, shopkeeper, for 7 yards of Devonshire* cloth to make a doublett of, at 6s. 3d. a yard, £2. 3s. 9d.

Oct^r 4th. My cousin Eustace Moore sent mee 12 bottles of special good claret, and 2 quarts of sack, all in glasse bottles, for the bringing of which I payed 2s. 4d.

1678-79.

This yeare corne was 5s. the bushell, and all other corne proportionably deare.†

Dec^r 21st. I gave to the briefe for the rebuilding of St. Pauls £2. †

I gave to my brother Francis 20s., and 20s. more for my sister Susan to bind out her son Martin to apprenticeship.

For 4 assessments made for raying the summe of £9 5s. 6d. made on the borough of Hd. Caines for the building of 30 ships of war, I payed each quarter 10s. 7d. For chymney

* The manufacture of cloth of various kinds, particularly of serges, bazes, and kerseys, was carried on in those days to a very great extent in the county of Devon, but the same fate which has befallen the ironworks of Sussex has to a great degree influenced the looms of the west, and the beautiful valleys of Devon no longer echo back the sounds of her tucking mills as they were called; the tucker there being what the fuller was in other places, the man who cleansed the oil from the piece after it had left the loom, and many an honoured and respected name in the county may find its origin in this appellation. The towns most eminent for their manufactures were Exeter, Ashburton (which town alone produced at one time serges to the value of £100,000 a year), South Molton, Totness, Tavistock, and Tiverton.

† The average price of wheat in 1678 was as high as £2. 12s. 5½d.

‡ The first stone of the new cathedral of St. Paul's was laid in 1675, and it was completed in 1710. The expense of the building was defrayed partly by subscription and partly by an Act of Parliament, called the Coal Act, which prescribed that a certain sum should be levied for that purpose only on every chaldron of coals brought into the port of London.

money each halfe yeare 8*s.*, and to an assessment made on the 3d of Jan. for the raising of money to maintaine the war with the French king to be taxed by a poll at 1*s.* the head; for mee and my wyfe for gentility our polls payed £1. 2*s.*

For an assessment made for the reliefe of the poore of the parish of Hd. Caines, at 9*d.* in the £, I payed 12*s.*

For new binding of St. Barnards works I payd John Clarke the saddler of Cuckfield 4*s.*

I payed John Morley for a letter 2*d.*,* for carrying news books 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 6*d.* more gratis to stop his mouth.

1679-80.

19th May. I dined with Mr. Citizen, and gave my god-daughter 1*s.* and her mayd 6*d.*

17th June. I went to London and saw the archbishop, and I saw too the king and queen. My expences in going and staying there for myselfe and my horse, were in meate and drinke 20*s.* 6*d.* In newes books 3*s.*

DIGNE ANTISTES; SIVE,

Optime Præsul, eum quo dignum munere censes.
Idem qui semper nigrum ne fœdus iniret,
Sive suum contrà regem bona juraque regni.
Quid faceret fierive libens permetteret unquam,
Multa tulit fecitque olim durissima passus.
Vulnera, sunt fidæ certissima pignora mentis.

Nil non oravit, nihil exoravit at ille,
Nil non proposuit, sed nihil obtinuit.

EGIDIUS MOORE,
de Horsted Caines.

I gave Mr. Rico, chirurgeon, dwelling by St. Marys Over Church, for advising about the turning about of my neck £1. For 2 dozen of pills 3*s.*, and for a pint of sack 1*s.* His direction is that I am to take 3 pills over night, and any thing warm in the morning once in two dayes, and if I am no better I am to use a large blyster behind the shoulder blade; to do

* The rates of postage were settled in 1660 very much upon the basis of the rates of 1653. Letters of one sheet were charged 2*d.*, if sent to any place not exceeding eighty miles; for a letter of two sheets 4*d.* Above eighty miles the charge for one sheet was 3*d.*, for two sheets 6*d.* The revenue of the Post Office, which was settled on the Duke of York in 1663, produced £21,500. In 1674 it had increased to £43,000, at which sum it was farmed.

it againe in a fortnight, and then afterwards to shave my head.

21st June. I payed Thos. Ward for 4 dayes gardening 4*s.*, and Bes Cheeseman for 7 dayes weeding 2*s.* 11*d.*

30th July. I did yield that old Rich^d Marten should have his tythes during his lease of 9 yeares newly taken at £8. 10*s.* a yeare, at 18*s.* per an., though that yeare they were at least 30*s.*, hee having, as hee himselfe sayd, 3 acres and a halfe of wheate at 8*s.* the bushell,* and 3 of white oates, at 2*s.*

Sept^r 16th. For a pig which I sent to Mr. Hely I gave my daughter 1*s.* 6*d.*, which pig was so carryed by Morley that it smelt, which he falsely sayd smelt upon receipt.

I payed to John Andrewes, wheeler, for a new light waggon £4. 4*s.* 6*d.*, and to Nicholas Turner, smith, for 18 score and 2 lbs. of iron rated at 3*d.* and 4*d.* the lb., and for tyring the same waggon £4. 17*s.* 6*d.* Total £9. 2*s.*

3d of Augst I payed to Captⁿ Fishenden for a cephalic playster, and to Mr. Marshall, of Lewis, for a julep, and for something to make mee sleep 2*s.* 6*d.*

EXTRACT FROM THE PARISH REGISTER.

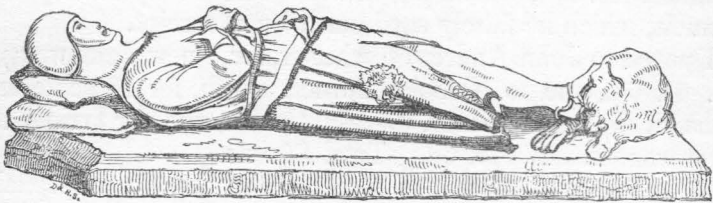
“Mr. Giles Moore, minister of this parish, was buried the 3d of October, 1679.”

* The price of wheat in 1679 averaged £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* the quarter.

THE SMALL CROSS-LEGGED EFFIGY AT HORSTED KEYNES, SUSSEX.

WITH SOME NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF KEYNES.

By WESTON STYLEMAN WALFORD, Esq.



THIS effigy, which does not exceed 27 inches in length, is an example of some very interesting sepulchral memorials, that have not yet received the attention they deserve. In general, the monumental effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are of life size, or nearly so; and hence there has arisen a disposition to regard small ones as those of children, though they appear in armour as knights, or in vestments as ecclesiastics; and ingenuity has been taxed to account for their being so represented. Among the children which occur sculptured as accessories, or what are termed weepers, on the tombs of their parents, some are occasionally found in armour, and others in ecclesiastical costume; but these, we may safely conclude, had attained manhood. Recumbent effigies of children exist; and if those very small figures in Westminster Abbey, which are above 18 inches in length, and are reputed to commemorate William of Windsor and Blanch of the Tower, children of Edward III, be not misappropriated, they represent, in all probability, mere infants; though, in consequence of the dress of children and adults being at that period very similar, they seem older than they really were; but the effigy in York Minster, said to be that of William of Hatfield, another son of the same king, corresponds in size with his actual age of

about eight years, it being 55 inches in length. Both William of Windsor and William of Hatfield are in civil costume, without any armour; and I cannot call to mind any known sepulchral effigy of a child representing him in armour. The diminutive effigies referred to, and of which the present is an example, represent grown-up persons in every respect except in size, and accordingly they are sometimes in the complete armour of a knight, and cross-legged, as in this instance, and those at Mappowder, Dorset, Long Wittenham, Berks, and Tenbury, Gloucestershire; and sometimes in ecclesiastical vestments, as at Dartington, Devon, Abbey Dore, Herefordshire, Winchester, and I will add Salisbury; for I am constrained to discredit the account commonly given of the Boy Bishop's effigy there, as I cannot find that it is supported by any evidence; whereas, the portion of the inscription relating to the effigy at Abbey Dore, which existed in 1727, according to Gibson, a rector of this church, who wrote a brief history of it, published in that year, and of which inscription I believe some letters now remain, ran thus: PONTIFICIS
COR XPISTE JOHANNIS
(the terminations, I presume, of two hexameter verses); whence it appears to be the effigy of a bishop, and to have been placed over his heart. Gibson conjectured, and with great probability, that he was John Bruton, or Breton, Bishop of Hereford, who filled that see from 1268 to 1275, and whose parents, according to Leland, were buried at Abbey Dore, and himself, i. e. his body, in the nave of Hereford Cathedral. It was by no means uncommon to inter the heart in a different place from the body, particularly when the death took place abroad; and on such occasions the heart was generally buried in some church which the deceased held in especial regard, by reason of early associations perhaps, or because of its containing the remains of his ancestors. Some of these effigies are holding between their hands a heart. This is the case with those at Mappowder and Tenbury, and a few others; and in Chichester Cathedral there is a sepulchral stone, once longer than it is at present, as a fracture shows, but now measuring three feet three inches by one foot ten inches, having upon it in relief, within a trefoil, two hands supporting a heart, and inscribed in characters of the thirteenth century, ICI GIST

LE COUR MAUDE. Surely it is but reasonable to assume that all these memorials at least were placed over, or very near, the spots where hearts were interred; and probably the dimensions of monuments of this kind were often determined by the size of the cists or graves in which such remains were deposited. Full-sized figures, however, holding hearts also occur, but chiefly as brasses. They were sometimes placed over hearts only, as, according to Godwin, was the case with one of the duplicate effigies of Peter de Aigue Blanche (Aqua Blanca), the Bishop of Hereford,* who immediately preceded John Breton; although, in later instances of full-sized figures, the attitude was, I think, more frequently employed to express a sentiment of great devotion. In accordance with which emblematic usage, hearts are sometimes found having on them a devotional legend, as at Martham, Norfolk; or the monogram IHC, as at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire; or the word *Mercy*, as at Allhallows Barking, London; or bleeding, as at St. Albans, where a monk is holding a heart charged with drops of blood, and above on a scroll are the words, *Cor mundum in me crea Deus*. But all these may probably be referred to the fifteenth century, or a little earlier.

To return to the effigy at Horsted Keynes: it lies in a plain trefoil-headed recess, with chamfered edges, in the wall on the north side of the chancel. Though now fixed, it was formerly moveable, and was found by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, when he was appointed to the curacy for a short time in 1838, put away among some lumber, and in a sad state of neglect and peril. For awhile it lay on a window-sill in the south transept, clearly not its proper place. This gentleman, with commendable zeal, had it carefully cleansed from divers coats of whitewash, and placed where it now is; the situation, in all probability, that it originally occupied.

The effigy, which is of stone, and was very carefully executed,

* One of these effigies is in Hereford Cathedral, the other at Aqua Bella, or Aigue Belle, in Savoy, whence he came, and where he founded a monastery. Godwin, in 1616, says his heart was buried at the latter place, and refers to an inscription to that effect as lately to be seen there. Mr. Kerrich, in the 18th volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 189, has given the existing inscription, which speaks of himself and not his heart. It is possible there may have been some other inscription, which has disappeared. In any case, it was more in conformity with the practice of that age for one of them to have covered his heart than to have been simply commemorative of him.

represents a cross-legged knight of the latter part of the reign of Henry III, or the beginning of that of Edward I, in the military costume of the time. As the rings of the mail do not appear to have been executed in sculpture, they were probably delineated in colour; for, though no painting is now perceptible, Mr. Bingham states there were evident traces of ancient colour on some parts of the armour, but on what parts he is now unable to call to mind; in addition to which, the portions best protected, where mail would have been visible, are remarkably smooth. If any remains of colour now exist, they are probably on the side next the wall, where they cannot be seen. The knight is habited in a capuchon covering the head and neck, a hauberk, and a surcote confined at the waist by a belt, with chausses on the legs and feet, and single-pointed spurs. There was never either shield or guige. The sword-belt and the attachments of it to the scabbard resemble what are found in some of the earliest brasses. The handle of the sword and lower half of the scabbard are gone. The hands must have been brought together, or nearly so, on the breast, either in an attitude of devotion, or, what is more probable, in the act of holding a heart between them; these, however, and the greater part of the fore-arms are missing. There is some reason to think that, on the upper part of the capuchon, was originally represented a skullcap, or cervellière; for the part of the head, which such a defence would have covered, is larger in proportion than is usual when there is only a capuchon; beside which, the capuchon is narrower from just below the temples. This, though hardly apparent to the eye for want of a good light, may be readily perceived by passing the fingers over either side of the head. The details of the additional headpiece may have been executed in colour only. The place, where the contraction of the capuchon commences, was indicated in the original sketch by a faint line, which the artist in the cut has unfortunately made a dark one, and brought too low down, so as to represent an actual cervellière, and that of an unusual form.*

The date, which I have assigned to this memorial, places it a few years later, I think, than the erection of the church, an

* A fuller description of this effigy will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, No. 11.

early English building, with lancet windows on each side of the chancel. Still it would seem to commemorate one who contributed to the completion of that work, and, having assumed the cross, perhaps in obedience to the zealous exhortations of St. Richard, or, in common with many others, on the occasion of Prince Edward's expedition to the Holy Land, died at a distance from home, so that his heart only was brought back and deposited in that fabric which he had assisted to rear or adorn. We naturally ask who this might be? and though evidence may fail to ascertain him exactly, it is most likely he was one of the ancient but now almost forgotten house of Keynes; and the following notice of that family, for the greater part of which, including all that has been derived from the Lewes Chartulary, I am indebted to W. H. Blaauw, Esq., may assist the reader in his speculations on the subject, and serve to point his attention, with some degree of probability, to the individual in question.

The distinguished family, which added its peculiar designation to Horsted Keynes, was of Norman origin, and spread itself in branches over several counties of England, continuing as possessors of land and benefactors to the church for many centuries, not only in Sussex, but in other counties, where some villages yet retain the name of this family impressed. Such is the case at Middleton (Milton) Keynes, Bucks, Winkley Keynes, Devon, Tarrant Kainston, and Comb Keynes in Dorset, as also at Keynes Court in Piryton, Wilts. The name at different periods assumed various aspects, in Latin, French, and English, and may be considered still extant as Cheney. As the Sussex branch is but slightly noticed by Dugdale or others, the opportunity may be taken to collect some records of those of their ancient race who were connected with this county.

At the end of the thirteenth century the manor of Street,* Sussex, was held by Alexander de Cheney, whose son William settled in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, on his marriage with the heiress of Sir Robert Shurland. It will not, however, be advisable, on this occasion, to detail that branch of the family which afterwards returned from Kent into Sussex, in consequence of the marriage of Sir Richard Cheney (born in 1353)

* "Alexander de Cheney, Stretes maner.' extent.' Sussex." Cal. Inq. p. mort. 24° Edw. I. See also Burrell MSS., 5711.

with the heiress of Robert Cralle, of Cralle, in Warbleton parish. Their descendants held land in several parts of Sussex, in the sixteenth century, but their history is entirely unconnected with Horsted Keynes.

Cahagnes, in Normandy (department Calvados, arrondissement Vire), is now a village of nearly 2000 inhabitants, to the south-west of Caen, and was held prior to the Conquest, as a fief under the Comte de Mortain, by the service of one knight. The military tenant of Cahagnes seems to have followed his Norman lord to the conquest of England. The name is found thus in Wace's Roll :

“ Et Gilebert li viel Dasnieres,
De Chaaignes et de Coismeres.”

In the Battle Roll it is “Cheynes,” and in Stow's Roll “Cheinie.”

He was settled by his chief as tenant in his own Rape of Pevensey, an interesting example of the continuance of the same feudal relation between the parties in the two countries. We can trace the Norman fief to have been retained by the family in 1172 and in 1203.* The Priory of Merton, in Surrey, was endowed by Ralph de Cahagnes, third of that name, with the advowson of the church in this Norman village, but an arrangement was made in 1217, to exchange† with the Priory of St. Fromond, in Normandy, this distant possession, for more convenient sources of English revenue, at Stamford, &c., and the Norman Cahagnes subsequently became a Priory.

The original immigrant is named Ralph by Dugdale and others who have followed him, but Baker begins the pedigree with the William who is mentioned in Domesday,‡ and seems to assume him to be the same that accompanied the Conqueror. The dates of documents referring to the early members of this

* In the Roll of Infeudations, 1172, (Ducarel), is this entry: “In Ballia de Tenerchebraio—Radulfus de Chameis, 1 militem.” On the Roll of the Exchequer in Normandy, 1203, appears, “Ricardus de Fonteneii redditu compotum de £51. 4s., quas recepit de exitu terræ Willelmi de Kahaigis Regi in camera sua per breve Regis.”

† This transfer of the “ecclesia de Kaannes in Normannia,” sanctioned by Pope Lucius III, and by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, appears in a charter of 1217, kindly communicated to W. H. Blaauw, Esq., with other details, by Thomas Stapleton, Esq., V.P.S.A., who is so eminently versed in Norman antiquities.

‡ Northampt. vol. i, p. 355.

family would authorize a conjecture that this first settler in England was dead before the time of the Domesday survey, and that William and Ralph, whose names occur in that record, were of a subsequent generation.

William de Cahainges appears in Domesday as a tenant in capite in Cambridgeshire, and in Northamptonshire, of which county he was sheriff, and as a sub-tenant in Sussex and Bucks; while Ralph de "Caisned" also held 17 hides then at Bosham, and it should seem 5 hides and a half in Brighton.* William was the ancestor of the branch who held Horsted Keynes, while the descendants of Ralph held the Norman fief, and became extinct in 1375. A reference to the Table of descent, at the end of this paper, will render the following remarks clearer, but for fuller details as to those of the family not connected with Sussex, Baker's Northamptonshire and Hutchins' Dorset must be consulted.

Ralph was among the earliest donors to the newly-founded Priory of Lewes, and his gifts of a hide at Aldrington and the tithes of Hangleton were confirmed by William de Warenne, the second Earl of Surrey.† On the first consecration of the priory church, between 1091 and 1097, Ralph took that solemn occasion, in the presence of the three bishops who officiated, to offer, on the altar of St. Pancras, the churches of Brighton, Balcombe, Hoathly, Kymer, and Barcombe, with other gifts, lands, and tithes; while, by his permission, his son Ralph also offered a hide of land at the same time. Both

* In Cambridgeshire the land was granted to William by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. Domesday, fol. 202, "hanc terram liberavit Willelmo Episcopus Baiocensis, sed homines de Hundreda nesciunt qua ratione." The following extracts relate to Sussex. Fol. 16 b: "Terra Archiepiscopi—Willelmus de Cahainges tenet unam virgatum de isto Manerio (Mellinges) et est ad Alsihorne." Fol. 20 b.: "Terra Comitis Moritoniensis—in burgo Pevensel, Willelmus de Cahainges (habet) duos burgenses de 2 sol."—"In Totenore Hundreda, Bevringtone et Lovringetone tenet Willelmus de Cahainges."—"In Telentone tenet Willelmus de Cahanges duas hidas de Comite."—"Isdem Willelmus tenet Serintone de Comite." And the sequel seems to justify the conclusion that he was the William who (without further designation) is mentioned, fol. 22 b, as holding Horsted and a virgate in Bontegrave of the same earl. Fol. 17, "Boseham, Radulfus de Caisned (tenet) 17 hidas." And this probably was the "Radulfus" who (without further distinction of name) is mentioned, fol. 26 b, as holding 5 and a half hides in Bristelmestune (Brighton) under William de Warenne.

† "Unam hidam terræ apud Aldrington quam dedit Radulfus de Cayneto et decimam omnium suorum in Hangleton."—Cotton MSS., Vespas. XV. F., the Chartulary of Lewes Priory, f. 13.

these Ralphs attested the charter* which recites these gifts, and the son subsequently renewed his confirmation "for the good of his father's soul."

This third Ralph, by his marriage with Alice de Maminot, became possessed of extensive property in Kent, Dorset, and elsewhere. He founded the nunnery of Tarent Keynes, in Dorset, and also endowed that of Luffield, in Northamptonshire, with the church of Cumbe Kaines, about the year 1150.† In some of the deeds‡ relating to his gifts to Lewes, his name appears Latinised in the unusual form of "de Querceto," of the Oakwood, as it were, but this is clearly only an equivalent of the French, du Chesne, which is the more modern form of de Cahaignes.

This Ralph is stated by Baker to have died in 1195, but Sir H. Nicolas, in his Synopsis, mentions a Ralph who died before 1175. Unless a generation be omitted, either he died before 1177, or had then given up a large portion of his possessions to his son William, who in that year effected a partition of the family estates with his relation Richard, to whom the Sussex property was assigned, as we shall presently notice. This William was the founder of Cokesford Priory, in Norfolk, and the confirmatory charter of John de Caineto (about 1150) refers to his ancestors and relations as de Querceto or de Caineto indifferently. (Dugd. Mon. vi, 369.)

Another son of the second Ralph, named John, entirely omitted by Dugdale, Baker, and Hutchins, appears in several charters confirming and enlarging his father's deathbed gift of land at Brighton. His own inheritance comprised a portion of the same land, and he alludes to the circumstance of his

* "In illa autem die dedit Radulfus de Kaineto et obtulit super altare Sti. Pancratii ecclesiam de Brittelmeston, et decimam omnium quæ habebat in eadem villa, et ecclesiam de Balecombe, et ecclesiam de Hodlega, et ecclesiam de Kima cum una virgata terræ et cum decima, et ecclesiam de Bercamp cum terra ad illam pertinente, et decimam bladi et feni et ovium et mulini de Bardesey, et unum pratum apud Hammes, et domos Wlnodi parmentarii in burgo de Lewes, et unam hidam terræ apud Alyngton, et Radulfus filius Radulfi dedit et obtulit unam hidam terræ ad Woghm concessione patris sui, et ego lætus omnia concessi."—Lew. Ch. f. 14. This confirmatory charter of William, the second Earl de Warenne, was renewed by subsequent earls, ff. 36-39.

† Dugd. Monast. vi, 247. See also the Pipe Rolls of 1131, pp. 16, 83, 86.

‡ Lew. Ch. f. 22. Ralph de Querceto also appears as witness to the charters of the heiress Isabella de Warenne, when wife of Hameline Plantagenet, (1163-1202), ff. 31-34.

father's grant, in the solemn but not unusual phrase, as having been made "on the day when he was alive and dead."* At a later period, in 1147, John was obliged to borrow 60 marcs of the Priory, and to pledge his own moiety of the Brighton land for the repayment.†

Without detailing the descent of this branch,‡ which was soon after severed from all connexion with Sussex, let us recur to William, the son of the companion of the Conqueror. The Priory of Lewes received from him a hide of land at Langney, and from his widow Adelaide two hides in Oxfordshire.§ He is said to have embraced the cause of the Empress Maud, and, at the battle of Lincoln, 1141, rushed in upon King Stephen when he observed his poleaxe and sword broken, and took him prisoner.||

* "Dimidiam terram quam pater meus Radulfus habuit in Bristelmestone in die quo ipse fuit vivus et mortuus;—subtioriem acram et propinquirem mari in West de Grancia cum aliis acris que ad illam acram divise fuerunt in particione et cum pastura ad eandem terram pertinente."—Lew. Chart. f. 119. The charters of the second and third Earls de Warenne sanction this—"Donacionem quam Johannes de Kaysneto dedit . . . quam pater suus fecit eo die quo ipse fuit vivus et mortuus," ff. 13, 16, 18, 21. Johannes de Kaysneto or Caysneto also witnessed the earl's grant to Lewes Priory of the liberty of fishing for the use of the infirmary, f. 17.

† "Pro 60 marcis argenti quas monachi dederunt ei ante pro necessitate sua—teste Roberto de Chaisneto."—Lew. Ch. f. 119. Robert is described as brother of Baldwin de Chayno, f. 90. There was a Robert de Chesney, or de Chesneto, or de Querecto (for he is mentioned by all these names), who was Archdeacon of Leicester, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln from 1147 to 1167. Goodwin speaks of him as a very young man; from which we may perhaps infer that family influence had something to do with his advancement. Frequent mention is made of him in a paper by Thomas Stapleton, Esq., on the Holy Trinity Priory, at York, recently published among the proceedings of the Archæological Institute in that city; at p. 39 of which paper, a Ralph *Chamm* (another form of this name) appears as a witness to a document addressed to him. If this were the Robert de Chaisneto who witnessed John's security to the monks, it was given before his consecration, which took place in Sept. 1147; but even in that case he would most likely have been named as Archdeacon of Leicester.

‡ See Baker's Northamptonshire, vol. i, pp. 129, 151, 349, 355, 507. Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i, p. 188.

§ "Willelmus de Cahaynes dedit nobis pro animabus filiorum suorum Ricardi et Willelmi unam hidam in Langenia. Ad Duclintunam 2 hidas terræ quas dedit nobis Adelaidis pro anima Willelmi de Cahaynes viri sui, et hoc donum confirmavit Hugo filius suus."—List of benefactors, drawn up apparently in the reign of Henry I, or a little later, in Lew. Ch. William Earl of Moriton confirmed this grant of "W. de Cahaynes," (Lew. Ch. f. 44); which took place, it may be assumed, not later than 1106, when the earl was taken prisoner, and confined for the rest of his life.

|| Dugd. Bar. i, p. 427. But actions of such distant dates are attributed to this William, that a suspicion may fairly arise whether two generations have not been confused by Dugdale, &c. Perhaps his son William may have been the captor of King Stephen.

By a strange chance, another of this family came, in after ages, into personal conflict with his sovereign. Sir John Cheney, of the branch settled in Kent, encountered King Richard III at the battle of Bosworth, and was struck to the ground by him.

Hugh, the son of William, confirmed and increased these gifts, and is recorded as holding lands not only in Sussex, but in the counties of Northampton, Oxford, Bedford, and Dorset.* By his grants to the Lewes Priory he purchased the privilege of nominating a monk to the fraternity. If he was the Hugh who witnessed a charter of the Earl de Warenne, he took priest's orders, and became, as well as his brother William, chaplain to Jocelyn, Bishop of Salisbury.†

His son Richard, who succeeded him, continued the hereditary bounty of the family to the Priory. The church of Horsted and the land of Broadhurst in the same parish were his additions to the previous grants.‡ He effected a partition of property in 1177 with his relation, William,§ the son of Ralph, who seems to have been involved in heavy penalties for feudal offences; as in 1175 he paid a fine of 500 marcs for trespassing in the royal forests, and in 1178 a fine of 2000 marcs was imposed on him, after having in vain petitioned Henry II to allow him to hold certain lands of him in capite, in order to transfer his homage from the then rebel Earl of Leicester, Robert de Bellomonte, surnamed Blanchmains, whom he charged with having usurped the seignory. Whether induced by these difficulties, or from the inconvenience of holding in common, a partition took place, which awarded

* Pipe Rolls in 1130-1, pp. 6, 70, 71, 83, 86, 104.

† Hugh de Cania appears as a witness, Lew. Ch. f. 47. "Ad Sidenoram Hugo de Cahaignes dedit nobis duas hidas et dimidiam pro monacatu, et Ricardus filius ejus confirmavit per cartam suam."—Lew. Ch.—Hugh appears also to have given Bignor Church, f. 154; and the Earle de Warenne released from his seignory the gifts of "Hugo de Kahaignes," f. 77. "Testibus Jocelino Ep. Sar. capellanus ejusdem episcopi Hugone de Chainei et Willelmo fratre suo."—Lew. Ch. f. 135.

‡ Lew. Ch. f. 64. "Ricardus de Chaames" confirmed all the grants of his ancestors, and specifies "et ecclesiam de Horstede,"—"terram de Bradehurst et terram de Hoch que jacet ad terram de Bradehurst." Another confirmatory charter (f. 65) of Richard is witnessed, "Hugone fratre meo."

§ "Sudsexa. Ricardus de Cahaignes reddit comptum de M marcis pro fine facto inter ipsum et Willelmum de Cahaignes de partitione terrarum unde placitum fuit inter eos coram rege."—Mag. Rotul. 23 Hen. III (1177).

to Richard the Sussex property; and from this time the other branches of the family, which held so distinguished a position in other counties, seem to have had no connexion with Sussex. Each branch is said to have held five knights' fees by this division of property. With respect to Horsted, Ralph, the father of William, had pledged it among other estates, on incurring a debt of £18. 13s. 4d. to the Jews. This debt was paid in 1237,* after the partition; but, before that time, in 1219, William had laid claim to the manor of Horsted among others, but Richard, the grandson of the above-mentioned Richard, defeated the claim by denying seisin, inasmuch as his mother (according to Baker), the widow Gunnora, then held it as part of her dower.†

William, the son of the Richard who effected the partition in 1177, confirmed the advowson of Horsted to the Priory, and accompanied the confirmation with a condition that, "after the death of Richard de Berkyng the incumbent, the monks should present a reputable priest or clerk, who could take priest's orders within a year, and who should there reside and serve the church in his own person."‡ William also resigned to the monks, for the consideration of 100s., all his claim to their man "Alwyn, surnamed le Soper," whose skill had probably made him a valuable commodity, and worth this high price to the monastery. William, also with his wife Albereda, gave some land "in support of the altar of St. James for the soul of John de Poynings," who probably deceased

* William, the son or grandson of the above-mentioned William, on paying it, refers to Richard de Keynes as answerable for £8. 4s. 4½d. of the debt, inasmuch as he held Horsted and Heyford (Iford): which Richard was, in all probability, the grandson of the Richard who concurred in the partition, and seems to have died in or before 1196.

† It will presently appear that the widow of this Richard's father was Albereda, according to the Lewes Chartulary. May not Gunnora have been his grandfather's widow?

‡ Lew. Ch. f. 65. "Testibus, Sefrido secundo Cicestr. Ep. Magistro Nicolao de Aquila Cicestr. Decano." The date must have been between 1190 and 1196. There was, probably, a residence for the prior, with a private chapel in it, as in 1312 the Prior of Lewes dated a deed "from the chapel of the Lord Prior of Lewes at Horstede."—Lew. Ch. f. 192. In 1346, the advowsons of Horsted Keynes and some other churches were given to Robert Stratford, Bishop of Chichester, in order to form a prebend in his cathedral. The charter of John, the last Earl de Warenne, sanctioning this, is dated "in castro nostro de Lewes, 20 Edw. III, Feb. 20."—Lew. Ch. f. 35; also Cal. Inquis. p. m. 19 Edw. III.

before 1202.* After being sheriff of Sussex from 1204 to 1208, he died about 1219, and his widow had her dower in Sussex.

There was a William de Chaeney employed in 1249, by Simon de Montfort, when in Gascony, to carry home a report of his proceedings to the king, and which William was also a witness to the grant of Ireland to Prince Edward, in 1254;† but this was probably the son or grandson of William who concurred in the partition in 1177.

Waleran, one of the sons of the before-mentioned William, appears as a witness to a document, that describes some land to the north of his father's park, which had been held by Aldwin de Buntsgrove.‡ There is here a cluster of houses which still retain the name of Bunchgrove.

Besides Waleran and Richard, who will be presently mentioned as William's heir, there appears to have been another son, named Ralph; for, on a dispute concerning the presentation to Bignor in 1236, reference is made to Hugh as to their common ancestor. Having been a younger son, and a minor at his father's death, and in consequence not holding any lands, this Ralph uses the name of Senzaver, which may be interpreted

* Lew. Ch. f. 96. "Willelmus de Kaines filius et hæres Ricardi."

"Alwinum hominem illorum de Sefford cognominento le Soper, et omnem sequela de nativitate sua et tocuis sequele sue."

"Willelmus de Kaysneto et Albereda uxor mea" give a virgate at "Wilanesdene in sustentatione altaris Sancti Jacobi, quod fuit constructum pro anima Johannis de Punninges. Teste, Philippo de Kaysneto."—Lew. Ch. f. 125. Albereda de Caineto also appears as a widow agreeing with William Prior of Lewes about a house at Sutton, f. 156.

† Rymer's *Fœd.* i, 271, 297. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who held lands in ward belonging to William de Keynes (a descendant of the third Ralph) in Northamptonshire, appears as tenant of others in Sussex; and among those which he had in this county are enumerated, in Cal. Inquis. p. m. i, 149, "Horsted Keynes 2 feod et dimid. Shefeld—Flechinge 3 part. feod." The date of the inquisition is 35 Edw. I (1307); but it must have referred to events long past, as there had been no Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, since 1265. The Calendar makes no particular mention of the character in which he held these lands.

‡ Buntsgrove, probably the Bontegrave of Domesday (see f. 22 b., where it is mentioned immediately after Horsted), had been given to the Priory by Alfred de Bendeville and Sybilla, his wife, to secure the admission of two monks (Lew. Ch. f. 320), and the Prior Hugh gave seisin of it to William de Kaines, f. 76, "unam terram in la Cumbe, scilicet 14½ acras quæ jacuerunt versus Aquilonem a parco ipsius Willelmi, quam terram Aldwinus de Buntsgrove tenuit. Teste Waleranno filio Willelmi de Kain." Walerand de Caines also witnesses a deed in which Hugh de Ffokington acknowledges that he had "violently and unjustly withheld some lands from the Priory," for which on restitution he seeks for absolution, f. 71.

Lackland, indifferently with that of Cheney, as does also his son Hugh.* This bearing about the confession of poverty seems very remarkable when exhibited in legal documents.

About this time a lady of this part of the family, Matilda, guarded with some very solemn curses her grant to the Priory, which consisted of her liegemen Roger Curberoch, with his house and land, and Aldwin de la Rede, with his house, belonging to her as her patrimony. She says, "If any of my heirs should wish to take away or diminish this my small offering, may he have and possess hereditarily the indignation of the Lord God, and my malediction."†

Richard, who is represented by Baker, with great probability, to have been the son and heir of the last-mentioned William, appears to have succeeded him, and held lands in Horsted Keynes. Baker says he was living in 1257, but the authority for that statement I have not met with; on the contrary, in Testa de Nevil, under the 26 Henry III (1242), mention is made of his heir,‡ as if he himself were dead, and his heir a minor, or otherwise unknown by name to the person making the return. His heiress, either immediately or eventually, was, in fact, a daughter, Joan, who carried the property with her to her husband, Roger de Lewknor, in whose family it continued for several generations. In any case, this extinction of the male branch of the Keynes, who held Horsted, occurred about the middle of the thirteenth century. Joan's husband died in 1276.§ Whether this transfer of the property to another name and family was the occasion of executing the small effigy which has been described in this paper is unknown,

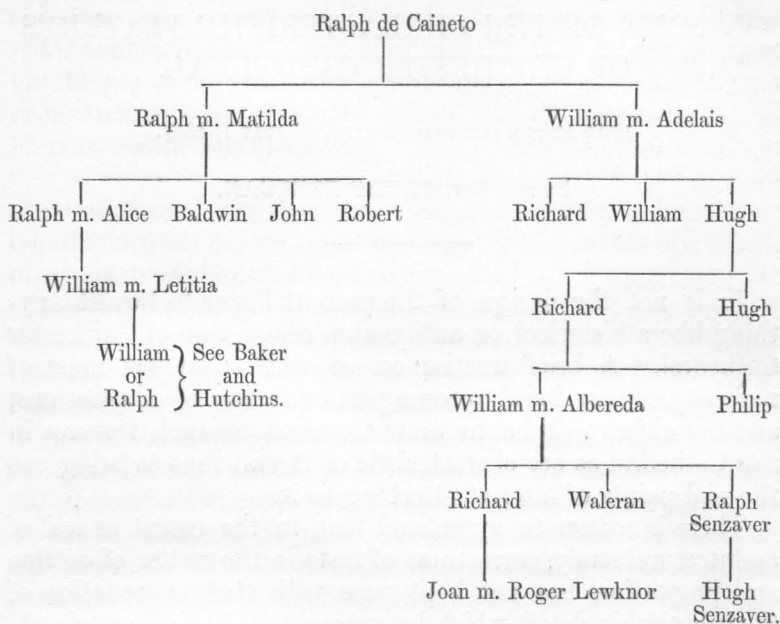
* "Ego Radulfus sine Averio," confirming the grant of his mother. "Testibus Radulfo Senzaver et Hugone de Chenei filio ejus, Petro fratre Radulfi."—Lew. Ch., f. 156. Hugh Senzaver, son of Ralph, presented his own son William on a vacancy to Bignor, but an amicable agreement was concluded at Hardham, 6 Kal. Marc. 1236.—Lew. Ch., f. 154.

† Lew. Chart., f. 156, "Si vero aliquis hæredum meorum hanc tantillam donationem meam auferre vel minuere voluerit, Domini Dei indignationem et meam maledictionem habeat et hereditarie possideat."

‡ Joh. de Gatesden tenet cum hærede Ric. de Kaynes 3 feoda in Horstede.—Testa de Nevil, p. 223.

§ His son Roger died in 1295, seised of Horsted Keynes, Cal. Inquis. p. m. "1351, Rogerus Leuchenore, pro Willelmo Serle capellano, Horstede Kaynes, 25 acr. terr., &c. Bradherst maner' remanet eidem Rogero, Sussex." "1362, Rogerus Lukenore, Chevalier, Bradharst maner', Horsted Kaynes maner', Sussex." "1412, Roger Leukenore, Horstede Kaines maner', Bradhurst maner', Itford maner'."

but the probable date of it above stated would correspond very well with the time when this took place; and if we should see in it the monument of some young knight, whose early death had opened the inheritance to Joan de Keynes, such a memorial would be conformable to the habits of the age.*



* The arms of this family, according to Baker, were *Vairé ar. and az. 2 bars gu.*; according to Hutchins, *Az. a bend wavy cottised ar.* In Glover's Ordinary, two coats very similar to these are ascribed to the name of Keynes, viz. one *Vairé 3 bars gu.*, and the other *Az. a bend wavy ar. between 2 bendlets of the last.* As they had formed at least two houses before the time when heraldic distinctions became hereditary, two dissimilar coats may be easily accounted for. No mention is made of the peculiar bearing of the Sussex branch. Sir Ralph Senszaver, a cadet, as we have seen, of this house, bore (according to Dallaway), 5 Edw. I, *De az. crusulé de or, 3 cressans de or,* and Glover gives for Senszaver *Az. 3 crescents between 7 croslets or*; but this sounds like a Crusader's coat, and probably retains nothing of the original except the azure of the field. The Cheneys of Kent, another offset from the Sussex branch, changed the tinctures both of the field and charge, and bore (with Shurland, which was placed in the first quarter), *Erm. a bend sa., neither cottised nor wavy, but charged with 3 martlets or,* for a difference; variations not greater than are found in the coat armour of other families. Upon the whole, I think the probability is, that the head of the Sussex house of Keynes bore *Az. a bend of some kind,* but whether or how differenced must at present be left to conjecture.

ON SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES
OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

READ AT THE CHICHESTER MEETING, JULY 1, 1847.

BY THE REV. PHILIP FREEMAN.

It is not the design of the present Paper to furnish anything like a historical or antiquarian description of Chichester Cathedral. A brief treatise on so wide a subject must of necessity confine itself to some particular line of illustrations, and my object will be to draw attention to such features in this Cathedral as are characteristic of it, and thus to bring out the real points of interest attaching to it.

There is reason to apprehend that, in the recent revival of architectural study, correctness of taste in the matter of outline and proportion has not kept pace with that appreciation of the beautiful in detail, which has unquestionably been attained; and yet it must be admitted that, according to any enlightened conception of architecture, the *whole* is everything, the detail nothing, save as contributing to it. "The grandeur of ecclesiastical architecture," it has been observed, "is no more the result of dimension, than its beauty is of ornament." Now, it cannot be denied that, in grandeur of dimension or beauty of detail, our Cathedral cannot compete with many others, but a grandeur and beauty of the other kind spoken of it may most justly lay claim to.

To commence with the exterior, the colour of the stone may be remarked upon, in the first place, as being almost faultless. In this respect ecclesiastical buildings are like trees, which we plant, not for ourselves, but for posterity.

It is impossible that this Cathedral, fresh from the hands of Bishops Seffrid and Neville, can have possessed half the grace

of colour and tone which time has since lent to it. Compare it in this respect with its otherwise more beautiful rival at Lichfield, and the importance of this element will be immediately felt.

Of the external features, the spire, when seen from a proper point of view, is that which crowns and rules the whole. To compare it with the spire of Salisbury, so far its superior in altitude, may seem presumptuous; but it may well be questioned, whether it be not the better proportioned of the two. The height of the actual spires, or tapering parts, is said to be about the same in the two cases; and it is the opinion of many that *that* height is not such, as to warrant a greater altitude in the tower upon which it is placed than is given to it in this Cathedral.

But it is when we contemplate the spire, not in itself, but as that which rules the subordinate features in the building, that we catch the real spirit both of it and of the whole. It has been laid down by Michael Angelo long ago, and acted upon, consciously or unconsciously, by painters, sculptors, and architects, both before and since, that the pyramid is the true outline for composition—that pyramidal grouping is essential to the perfection of it; and assuming the pyramidal outline, the effect of the whole will depend upon the skill, with which the details falling within it are managed.

Now, the outline of all cross or transeptal churches is *approximately* pyramidal; but unless they also have a spire, they cannot be said to have that outline in perfection, and, strictly speaking, the spire should be central also. Gloucester and Lincoln have a tower perfectly central, but no spire; Lichfield and Norwich have spires, but they are not central. It is not denied but that beautiful pyramidal effects are obtained from certain points of view in all these cathedrals; but it is not a little remarkable, and I have not seen it elsewhere observed, that in Salisbury and Chichester alone is there a visible centre and axis to the whole cathedral, namely, the summit of the spire, and a line let fall from it to the ground. Of these Salisbury was so constructed from the first; the spire of Chichester was *made* exactly central, *to an inch*, by the addition of the Lady Chapel at one end, and the western porch at the other,—a circumstance which seems to indicate

that the plan of the whole was sketched by the first renovator Seffrid, though carried out probably by his successors, Neville and S. Leofard. Hence Bishop Poore, on his translation, may have carried away from Chichester the idea of this feature, to be applied to the design which he afterwards so magnificently realized at Salisbury.

Perfectly pyramidal then in outline, its grouping will be found no less admirable. Viewed from any point eastward, but chiefly from N. E. or S. E., it would be difficult to point to a more regular specimen of pyramidal development. Under all its present disadvantages of the roofs of the transept and Lady Chapel being lowered, and the north-west tower demolished, nothing can exceed the grace with which it mounts and tapers upwards, winning the eye irresistibly to follow, from the chapels and other appendages at its base, up to the very point of the spire. The eastern pinnacle-turrets, in particular, carry the eye in a regular gradation from the side chapels to the choir roof, and thence again to the tower; and the pyramidal effect of the whole is repeated, as it were, in the spire taken by itself, which has the same clustering of features (only of turret and pinnacle, instead of chantry or sacristy) round the base, the same tempting of the eye onward and upward; in this case by successive bands of exquisite design clasping it at intervals. What the whole must have been, and we trust shortly will be, with the roofs complete, we may imagine from its effect even at present.

One element we observe entering into this effect, and contributing in no small degree to it,—viz. a certain *squareness* of detail, especially in the abaci of the capitals of the nook-shafts which adorn the openings. It is not a little remarkable that, at a time when the early English style was, here at least, in other respects so advanced, this decidedly Norman feature should have been retained, and so retained as to be a ruling element in the composition of the entire building. Nor is this feature confined to the exterior of the Cathedral, although in the interior it enjoys, singularly enough, a divided empire with the circular abacus. In the same work of the self-same Bishop Seffrid II, who is known to have completed and dedicated the restored Cathedral in 1199, occur the round and the square abacus in juxtaposition in the triforium, e. g.

of the choir. This would seem to indicate that the interior was finished somewhat later than the exterior. The same balancing between the square and the round occurs in the coeval conventual Church of Boxgrove, near Chichester; the square only, I believe, but evidently from the same hand, at Warblington. It is a point well worthy of consideration as throwing some light on the architectural history of our Cathedral, whether this and some other peculiarities of its architecture, in which we seem to detect somewhat of a foreign character, may not be accounted for on the following supposition, viz. that the foreign founders of Boxgrove Priory brought with them foreign architects (as Professor Willis conjectures to have been the case at Ely), and that Seffrid and others availed themselves of their skill for the reconstruction of the Cathedral and other neighbouring churches. The dates if examined will be found entirely to harmonize with such a supposition.

We have hitherto dwelt on the harmony of the exterior, consisting chiefly in *outline* and *form*. We shall find that of the interior resulting in a great measure from *number*. The Cathedral is dedicated in honour of the Blessed Trinity, and the *triplicity* which pervades it is truly remarkable.

It should be observed that it did not bear this dedication originally, but that of St. Peter, and it was on its reconstruction by Seffrid, already mentioned, that the change was made. He was probably led to adopt it by observing the marked triplicity of the original Norman nave and choir, of the latter especially. For here not only was there the threefold tier of basement-story, triforium, and clerestory, but the number of bays was confined to three. His own restoration, however, proceeded on a much more comprehensive numerical scheme. Triplicity is, first of all, impressed in the minutest details; the side shafts are triple throughout; the bearing shafts of the vaulting are clustered in threes, and branch out with three triple vaulting-ribs above. It is especially seen in the interior of the east end; but the number *five* also enters largely into the arrangements.

By adding two more bays to the east end of the choir, he raised their number to five, yet almost without interfering with the old triplicity; the new work and the old being so easily

distinguishable by their style. In these two new bays, moreover, he preserved the quinary in conjunction with the ternary, by giving a cluster of five shafts between the two basement-arches, and also between the two sub-arches of the triforium, while the side shafts in both cases are three. In the openings of the eastern triforium, the ternary is preserved throughout. So again the number of steps from the nave to the choir is five, to the altar three more. To the nave, again, a quintuple effect, unique in English cathedrals, though tolerably frequent abroad, was given by the addition of a second aisle in either side. There seems to be no reason to question that this was part of Seffrid's design, though it has only reached its full development through subsequent modifications.

The most characteristic feature of the interior indeed is to be found in the five *aisles* (to use a common impropriety of speech), which constitute the nave. In this respect Chichester Cathedral stands alone among the cathedrals of England. The arrangement occurs also in Manchester Collegiate Church. The parish churches of St. Michael's and Holy Trinity, Coventry; St. Martin's, Leicester; St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton; and at Kendal, &c. But for instances of it in *cathedral* churches, we must look abroad. There it is thoroughly naturalised, and in their largest cathedrals: we may mention Notre Dame de Paris, Amiens, Beauvais, Cluny, Cologne, Milan, Seville—at Antwerp there are seven aisles—and these are among the noblest churches in the world. This consideration strongly confirms the theory before advanced as to the foreign derivation of this Cathedral's architecture. But, whatever be its origin, a most felicitous conception it certainly was to compensate for the confessed shortness of the nave, and the consequent loss to the longitudinal perspective view, by the addition of a feature which both in reality and appearance adds so materially to the extent of the transverse perspective, and also multiplies indefinitely the points of view, from which a rich and complex effect of interlacing arches may be obtained. Chichester is, from the same cause, by far the broadest Gothic Cathedral in England, York alone excepted; it is ten feet broader than Lincoln, twenty than Ely, and nearly three times as broad as Peterborough; and in this Cathedral alone is there more than one point from which the

eye commands a view of an arched avenue with detached pillars on both sides of it. What is wanting to the completeness of the effect in this part of the Cathedral is greater slenderness in the piers; for want of this the view is too much obstructed to afford all that delight to the eye which it otherwise might. The characteristics, then, which have been now dwelt upon may be thus briefly summed up. The harmony of external colour—the proportion of the spire—the pyramidal grouping of the east end in particular—the central position of the spire, greatly contributing to this effect—the form of the capitals—the probability of a foreign origin—the prevalence of certain numbers in the interior arrangement—the quintuple form and consequent great breadth of the nave, and the probable foreign parentage of this feature. To these may be added the unusually fine south transept window, the remains of the supposed chapter-house, and other matters of interest.

It would be unpardonable to conclude this Paper without some allusion to the cheering onward prospects of this Cathedral, arising from the restoration so happily begun in it. Such points only can be touched upon, however, as have some connexion with the preceding remarks.

Whatever characteristic features have been noticed, or might be pointed out in this Cathedral, it seems but reasonable that they should be duly considered in the restoration; and a desire to revive them once more in all their pristine beauty may well animate our endeavours in the cause. One feature which has been dwelt upon, as constituting the principal charm of the exterior, is the pyramidal grouping of the whole. It is needless to remark how necessary to this effect is the restoration of the original pitch of the transept and Lady Chapel roofs. The rebuilding of the north-western tower may be too great an undertaking for this generation, but these roofs are more easy of accomplishment, nor could anything be done that would tell more on the entire effect of the Cathedral. The restoration already in hand of the side pinnacles of the nave comes under the same head.

Another most important part of the restoration is that of the west window. Notwithstanding the great variety of opinion which was exerted on this much controverted subject,

it may reasonably be hoped that the manner in which it has ultimately been determined to carry out this part of the work will give entire satisfaction, though the grounds on which the decision was arrived at are too long to be stated here.

On the other work now more immediately in hand, the cleaning and polishing of the marble shafts which adorn the nave and choir, it may be remarked that the effect of thus bringing them out will be to render the succession and repetition of the bays and other features much more distinct, and thus greatly to enhance, by apparent multiplication, the longitudinal perspective. And in truth we are in no condition to judge what are the merits of our Cathedral until considerable progress has been made in these and similar works. When the north-west tower shall have arisen from its ruins—when every roof shall spring freely to its original altitude—when stained glass shall have enriched the western and other faces of the interior, and the “dark brilliance” of Purbeck or Petworth shafts shall have given distinctness and relief to every part of the Cathedral—when the present obstructions shall have been removed from the north transept, and from the eastern part of the choir, and the restored Lady Chapel shall open uninterruptedly from the presbytery, then shall we or posterity be better able to appreciate the merits and the characteristics of Chichester Cathedral.

CELTIC ANTIQUITIES NEAR CHICHESTER.

READ AT THE CHICHESTER MEETING, JULY 1, 1847.

BY THE REV. LEVESON VERNON HARCOURT, CHANCELLOR OF YORK.

THE Celtic antiquities in the neighbourhood of Chichester have not attracted much attention, and in the little that has been said about them there are some errors which loudly call for correction. Of the mistakes which may arise from a personal ignorance of the locality, we have a remarkable specimen in the etymology which Dr. Stukeley assigns to our Lavant; he supposes the river to have been called Antona, but is "doubtful whether Mutuantonis is the name of Chichester, because it is at the mouth of the river Antona, or whether the name of the river is derived from Mwth, which in British is citus, velox, while Llafar, from which Lavant comes, signifies sonora, loquax, either of which," says he, "prefixed to Antona, describes this rapid or noisy river, and in effect we find it remarkably so. Dr. Holland observes that very often in the midst of summer it is so full as to run very violently; this, no doubt, is owing to its rise in the neighbouring high grounds to the north, for from them it must needs fall in an impetuous torrent." (*Iter Curiosum*, p. 194.) Who that is familiar with this quiet silent stream, and knows the haste with which the thirsty chalk of our downs sucks up all the water that falls upon them, can forbear a smile at such a description? The etymology which I venture to suggest instead, is the Anglo-Saxon Hlifian, or, which is the same thing, the French Levant, *rising*, because it is descriptive of the peculiarity which belongs to all the streams that bear that name, of rising every year from their deep-seated springs.

My business, however, at present is with Celtic antiquities, and with respect to these, some singular mistakes have been

made in a book published only two years ago. Mr. Saul, relying, I believe, upon a description given by Mr. King, and published by Mr. Mason nine or ten years ago, describes what he calls a British village, in the Duke of Richmond's park at Goodwood, but where it is to be found I have not been able to discover. It is true that at the bottom of Rookshill, which is not far from the park, there are certain cavities and hillocks close to the road, but they have no regularity of structure, and no size to give them importance, and they look very like the holes formed by the extraction of chalk or flints, and hillocks of the earth thrown up in digging. But these cannot be Mr. Saul's village, for, though far away from Goodwood Park, the site of them, when he comes to details, appears to be Bowhill, and he describes them thus: "On the declivity of the hill, which forms the eastern side of Kingly Vale, are a number of these excavations in the chalk; they vary in depth from two to four and five feet; a bank towards the valley seems to have been formed by the chalk and flints thrown out; the mounds between them are also formed by the same cause, and there are evidently paths or causeways leading into two of them. No attempts have ever been made to examine them, nor have there ever been, so far as we can ascertain, any relics found among them which afford proof of their origin." (Notitia Britan. p. 12.) In his plate annexed fourteen of these pits are represented, and half a dozen mounds, which, compared with the proportion of some figures introduced, must be at least twelve feet high. Now it is barely possible, that since the period when the sketch was taken some ruthless destroyer has levelled the mounds and filled up the pits; certain, however, it is that no such things exist there now, and that the spot in question bears no resemblance to the plate, a few large irregular cavities, without any appearance of design, and wholly destitute of mounds, occupy the space assigned to this village. Mr. Saul observes that "it is impossible to find any other reason whatever for their original formation." *De non existentibus non constat*; but, supposing that they ever did exist, it would not be more impossible to find a cause, than to find one for those barrows on the same hill, the opening of which has contradicted the tradition of their sepulchral origin. Indeed, the tradition is inconsistent with itself; for if the

Danes were there massacred by the men of Chichester, it is not likely that the victors would have paid such honours to the vanquished Seakings. On the plains of Troy the chiefs of the victorious army, Patroclus and Achilles, had their tumuli, but Hector and Priam had none. Similar pits to these, which are imagined here, undoubtedly exist elsewhere, and, with more appropriateness than he was aware of, are designated by Sir R. C. Hoare *Pond Barrows*. If the barrows are not sepulchres, and the pits are not villages (for surely nothing can be less adapted for habitation than a pond-shaped pit), it is certainly worth while to inquire for what common purpose they were formed. Now here the antiquaries have been at fault, because, looking chiefly to the things of time and sense, they have taken little or no account of those principles of our better nature which influenced in no small degree the actions of our Celtic ancestors. They have looked only to history, when they should have made large allowance for the power of religion. Some glimpses, however, of the truth have been occasionally discerned, and the acknowledgments of those who have no theory to maintain are of great importance to those who have. Dr. Stukeley has observed, "When I first began those studies about the Druid antiquities, I plainly discerned the religion professed in these places was the first simple patriarchal religion," (Preface, Abury); and again, "It was the method of the ancient planters of colonies to begin their work with building temples, I mean our patriarchal temples, for there were then none other." It may be thought that he alluded only to such temples as Stonehenge, and similar circles of large stones, but he had a better insight into the patriarchal system; for in his 'Iter Curiosum' he says of the large barrows in Lincolnshire, "I guess they were the high places of worship among our Cimbric predecessors, purposely cast up because there are no natural hills in these parts, and we know antiquity affected places of elevation for religious rites." It may be said that the reason here assigned fails with regard to barrows on hills, where they were not needed. The objection, however, is quite unfounded; the giants of ancient days were accustomed to pile Pelion upon Ossa, and therefore on the very top of Penmaenmawr, a lofty mountain in Wales, a walled inclosure contains a barrow of that kind which Dr. Stukeley calls a long barrow, and Governor Pownall was of opinion that it was one

of the Druids consecrated high places of worship. The patriarchs lived so near the era of the Deluge, that they could not but regard with somewhat superstitious awe the summits of the mountain, between which the ship that bore their ancestors through the flood in safety first grounded, and on which the first sacrifice of thanksgiving was offered to God for their preservation. Through many ages the mountain and the ship were regarded with traditional reverence by almost all nations, and it will suffice for the present to observe that *Bari* was the name of both. It was one of the names of Ararat, according to Josephus; it was the name of the Egyptian boat, and was also used by the classic writers for a ship. Hence the Armenians had a double reason for worshipping a goddess to whom they gave the name of Bari, first, as the deity of the sacred mountain, and secondly, as the mother from whom all their eight ark-preserved ancestors issued forth. The two ideas seem to have been frequently associated by our Celts; for instance, in Yorkshire a conical hill, which rises precipitately out of the plain, north of the Cleveland hills, is called Rosebury, because it is the rhos or promontory of the Bari; and beside it there is a lower hill, bearing very much the form of a ship reversed, which is called Langbaugh, or the Long Bari, and this must be what Olaus Wormius means when he describes certain mounds as being of the form of a large ship: "ad magnitudinem et figuram carinæ maximæ navis." The reason why an idea of sanctity was attached to the form of a ship reversed is obvious enough; for in many instances it must have been the form of the earliest temples, and a large boat or ship with the keel upwards would form a most appropriate roof under which the Arkite worshippers might shelter themselves in the performance of their religious rites. Many structures which were deemed sacred because they bore this resemblance, either in an upright or an inverted form, are recorded in history. There was the ship of Osiris, in Egypt, that of Æsculapius at Rome, and the stone ship on Mount Alban, the very name of which indicates of what it was a memorial, for Leaban was one of the names of Ararat mentioned by Josephus. Other examples exist in the Pagoda at Tanjore, and in the Celtic ship temple at Dundalk, described by Mr. Wright. In the Greek language the name of a temple is almost identical with that of a ship, and even

in our own the name of the principal part of a church has the same derivation, for nave is plainly nothing else than the Latin *navis*, a ship. In the language of the Gipsies, *Bari* is converted into *Baro*; and thus we see how it came to pass that *Barrow* and *Bury* mean the same thing, and that *Stukeley* was right in denominating certain large vessel-like cavities on Celtic sites dish-barrows. Such are those mentioned by him near *Dunstable*, where, in the vicinity of a long barrow, he describes a high prominence of the *Chiltern*, called the *Five Knolls*, from that number of large Celtic tumuli ditched about upon the very apex of the hill, and close by are two round cavities, as often observed in *Wiltshire*. (*Iter Curios.* p. 109.) These imitations of vessels may be either long or round, for the vessels used by the ancient Britons, called *coracles*, were round; and their intention is clearly pointed out by the same author in his account of *Stonehenge* (p. 45), near which he found a circular dish-like cavity in the chalk, 60 cubits in diameter, like a barrow reversed, 7 feet deep in the middle, and extremely well turned, the use of which seems to have been for a place of sacrifice; and in others he found burned bones of horses, dogs, fowls, hares, boars, deer, goats, &c. The extreme care with which these basins were formed shows that those who excavated them had higher objects in view than merely to dig a hole in the earth.

The art employed in making them belongs to a people who would not be satisfied with such extremely inconvenient habitations, for which the shape is singularly ill-adapted. Very similar is the view which *Governor Pownal* takes of some cavities near the long barrow on the top of *Penmaenmawr*, which he considers to be a place of worship. One feature, indeed, of this barrow marks its peculiar relation to the era of the *Flood*, for it has water on the east and west, in the latter case overflowing the edges of a rock basin. He remarks that, "as in the *Druids'* high place at *Carnbrè*, one sees within the sacred bounds cairns, cromlechs, and a multitude of circular holy compartments; so here I must suppose the hundred of circular foundations spoken of were the remains of the holy consecrated recesses dedicated to the service of religious ceremonies and worship. I would call it *Carnbrè*, as the hill in *Cornwall* is called." (*Pownal on the Carn Braich y Dinas in Caernarvonshire*, *Arch.* 3, 309.) Now

Carnbrè is very evidently the Carn of the Bari, and the ceremonies were either those of initiation into the mysteries by abstinence and seclusion in sacred cells, or those of purification, one of which was very remarkable. The priest to be purified was laid in a cell, covered over with loose boards, through which the blood of the sacrifice dropped upon him, and from this baptism he issued forth, invested, in the eyes of the people, with an awful sanctity. It will doubtless be objected that many hundreds of barrows have been opened and found to be places of burial; but in a large proportion of instances the interments were subsequent to the erection of the mounds, and examination has proved many others to be no places of interment at all. Mr. Charington opened a tumulus in Wiltshire, and on the highest part, at the depth of about sixteen inches only, found four skeletons, which he justly concluded to be subsequent interments, and at the depth of fourteen feet he came to the floor of the barrow, which was covered with charred wood and ashes; on the south side was a neat circular cyst made in the original soil, about two feet in diameter, and about sixteen inches deep, in which he found the head of an ox and the horn of a deer. Though other sections were made in other parts of the barrow nothing more was found, except remnants of armour, eighteen inches below the surface. (Archæol. 13, 346.) In this case the mound had been raised over the cyst, not because it contained the bones of animals, but because, having been used for religious purposes, it became a sacred spot, and bodies were deposited there as in a churchyard. Stukeley again mentions (Stonehenge, 45, 46) some barrows near Stonehenge, which had little ditches around them extremely well defined, and in this respect resembling those upon Bow Hill. In two of these a skeleton was found, at not more than three feet in one case, and at fourteen inches below the top in the other. These bodies, then, must have been subsequent deposits, and he observes that they had preserved the neatness of their form, because the sanctity attached to them prevented the people from trampling on them, which is a proof that even the lapse of unknown ages will not destroy the traditional reverence for spots once deemed sacred. Again, in Westmoreland, on opening one of the largest barrows in 1766, the labourers began by driving a level through it, and for some time found nothing worth

notice, until one of them, digging on the top of the barrow downwards, within little more than half a yard from the surface, came to an urn, fixed in a large pot or vessel, containing a small quantity of white ashes, below which there was a pile of stones, more than six yards high, and then seven inches of black mould with burned bones. (Archæol. 3, 273.) Here again the spot was sacred, because it had been used for sacrifice, and was therefore chosen for burials. Its structure approached very nearly to those cairns or heaps of stones which were occasionally sepulchral, and this is another resemblance to the barrows on Bowhill, which seem to have been formed chiefly of flints, if we may judge from the great quantity thrown out from them when opened.

Sir R. C. Hoare notices a remarkable peculiarity of the long barrows, that the interments have always been discovered at the eastern end, and never in any other part of the mound. They consist of a greater or smaller number of skeletons deposited together, and oftentimes promiscuously, and he justly wonders at the idea that such gigantic mounds of earth, extending to three or four hundred feet, should have been raised for the deposit of a few human bodies of no note, for they are not accompanied by trinkets, cups, &c. His explanation of it is correct; the eastern end was considered the most sacred point, and was on that account the most elevated and designated for the place of burial. These, then, he supposed to be subsequent interments, the primary deposit, where there was one, being always found either on the native soil or in a cyst within it. (Hist. Anc., Wilts, p. 111.) Besides the sepulchral mounds, he states that there were also hill altars according to the direction given to the Jews in Exodus—"An altar of earth shalt thou raise unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon." Of this nature was the great hill of Silbury, which covers more than five acres of land; and therefore probably was called Sælbury from sæl, which, in Anglo-Saxon, signifies blessed, as selig does in modern German. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that it was a component part of the great temple at Abury, and not a sepulchral mound. That question was set at rest by a decisive experiment made under the supposition that it was a place of sepulture. Miners from Cornwall were employed by the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax,

and great labour was bestowed upon it, till at last they were satisfied that there was no reason whatever to believe it to be sepulchral. Stukeley had fallen into this strange mistake, because, in 1723, some workmen, employed in planting some trees on the area at the top, found what he calls the body of the great king there buried in the centre, very little below the surface (Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 41); for Douglas rightly observes that "it is not likely the monarch would have been buried near its surface, when such an immense mound had been raised for the purpose, and the time occupied in raising it would not agree with the nature of a funeral obsequy, which must require a greater degree of expedition." (*Nenia Brit.* p. 161.) It is the more strange that he should have fallen into this mistake, because he acknowledges that the great temple of Abury, or Old Bari (for it is written sometimes *Albury*), consisting of long lines of stones in the form of a huge serpent, was made for the sake of this tumulus, which its extremities seem to embrace; for he says it is placed exactly between the two avenues which form the head and tail of the snake. It was a very appropriate position for the representative of Mount Ararat; for in ancient mythology the serpent was a symbol of the ocean, because it was the agent of destruction employed by the Evil Genius of the Flood; and therefore a Tyrian coin represents the insular position of that city by the device of a serpent twined around a rock. (*Vaillant's Colonial Coins*, p. 136.) There can be no doubt, however, that Silbury was one of those consecrated mounts, which were used for all religious and civil solemnities by the British Bards as well as by the Druids. To this an old Welsh poet alludes, when he says, "Bards will praise thee, even Druids of the circle; a bard of the steep mount will celebrate thee." (*Cynddelw, Davies*, p. 12.) Is it not possible that our trundle or the round hill, the hill of the circular inclosure, may originally have had a similar destination? Although Camden calls it a *castrum æstivum* of the Romans, its shape is a very strong argument that they were not concerned in its construction. It may, however, have been occupied as a military post by various nations successively, for to Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, its commanding position would be a great recommendation; but tradition attaches

to it a different character, as it is generally agreed that the name of Rookshill is derived from St. Roche, who is supposed to have had a cell upon its summit, and it is said that the foundations of a chapel, resorted to by pilgrims, have been discovered. From this I only infer that its character was sacred. In Cornwall a place of pilgrimage, dedicated to St. Roche, stood on an insulated high rock, as if alluding to his name.

It is not the only instance near Chichester in which the Romans have availed themselves, for military purposes, of works constructed for other uses. Stukeley says, "a little way out of the city northward we passed by a Roman camp called Brill,—I suppose Buryhill; in Ogilby's maps called Beauty's Banks." (*Iter Curios.*, p. 195.) What great beauty any one can have discovered on the Broil it is hard to say, and therefore a corruption of the original name may well be suspected; perhaps it was the bank of the Boat or Bari, and as Barihill would be contracted into Brill, so Barrow hill would become Broil. A similar instance of contraction occurs in Oxfordshire: "At Souldern," says Stukeley, "is a curious barrow, neatly turned like a bell, small and high—I believe it Celtic. Then we ascended Buryhill, a village upon the highest mountain in the country,—'tis vulgarly called the Brill." (*Ibid.* p. 40.)

It now only remains for me to adduce some instances in which it has been proved that the barrows were not sepulchral at all, and must have had some other object. "Two barrows near Newmarket of considerable size were opened; but though several labourers were employed, and the excavation was upwards of 12 feet in diameter to the native soil, no relics whatever were found." (*Nenia Brit.*, p. 151.) Sir R. C. Hoare opened a well-shaped barrow between Marlborough and Devizes, in which, having made a very large section, and undermined the greater part of it, "we could not," he says, "perceive the smallest signs of any interment, nor, from the appearance of the soil, had we any reason to suspect a prior investigation. We have occasionally met with similar *disappointments* in South Wiltshire." This is the spirit in which these investigations have been conducted, and it never occurs to those disappointed of treasure-trove to inquire what other

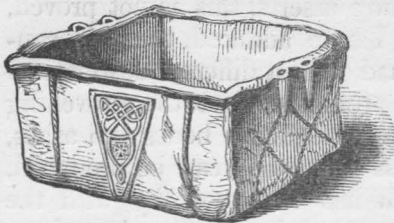
motive of a higher nature may possibly have influenced the builders of these remarkable structures, though hundreds, like those on Bowhill, may have been opened with no record of the results, because there was nothing in them of tangible and material value. In one case, however, which is very much to our purpose, no idea of interment was entertained by Stukeley. It occurs near a town called Barrow, and here I may observe what an extensive influence the Bari has exercised, either directly or indirectly, over the nomenclature of places. It is the name of a town on the eastern coast of Italy, and of another on the coast of Attica; it became incorporated with Scandinavian mythology at Wodensbury, and at Freeburgh, or Freeboro, a tall conical hill, near Moorsholm, in Yorkshire, shaped by art into a sacred mount. One instance may be mentioned in which a name apparently most unlike must be referred to the same origin. Brige is the name of a village a few miles from Old Sarum, having a Celtic barrow on the apex of the hill above it, which is called Bel's Turret. Now, a barrow in Anglo-Saxon is byrigh, and brig, which we know is still the name of a ship, means also the summit of a hill, according to Stukeley (*Iter Curios.*, p. 177); but near Barrow he describes many long tumuli differing in size, but all of a particular shape, on a gentle eminence, which is nearly overflowed by high-spring tides, and were therefore a peculiarly well-chosen memorial of the Flood, whether made consciously or unconsciously. He had "no hesitation in judging them to be a temple of the Druids, though instead of stones they had made this work with mounds of earth; they were formed like a bed, higher at the head than the feet, if we may so express it, and with a cavity along the whole length, drawn off at the feet to the turf." (*Abury*, p. 98.) Now this is a very accurate description of the appearance presented by the four barrows on Bowhill, not only where they have been opened, and the original structure may be thought to be less discernible, but in that too which is supposed to have been never disturbed at all. Moreover, their arrangement is somewhat remarkable; they are not distributed separately, or in a single group, nor irregularly at different intervals, but in pairs at a considerable distance apart, and they stand upon the summit of the down, nearly in the same plane with

the eastern declivity. This position would be extremely inconvenient if the sole object were to make mounds of earth, for a large portion of the circumference would furnish the builders with no materials for the construction of their works—works of no inconsiderable magnitude, for the diameter of one is about 350 feet; but if we suppose they had another object in view, and that they wished them to appear to those below like a continuation of the natural hill, in order to present a feeble picture of a horned mountain like Ararat, the method they took was well adapted to their end. I do not assert that this was the fact; I do not deny the possibility of their being what ninety-nine out of a hundred are, sepulchral monuments, but, as far as investigation has hitherto gone, it attests the contrary, and though they may have been injudiciously opened, as Mr. King asserts, this is not proved, and, from the evidence which I have adduced, there is considerable probability that they had quite a different destination. At all events, I am anxious to protest against the grovelling spirit which never raises its thoughts above bones and ashes, and will not be satisfied unless something can be produced, and seen, and handled, which has no sympathy with the religious impressions of former ages, and cannot read anything in the records of the past but the dry bare facts of civil history.

ON
AN ANCIENT LEADEN COFFER FOUND AT
WILLINGDON.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER.

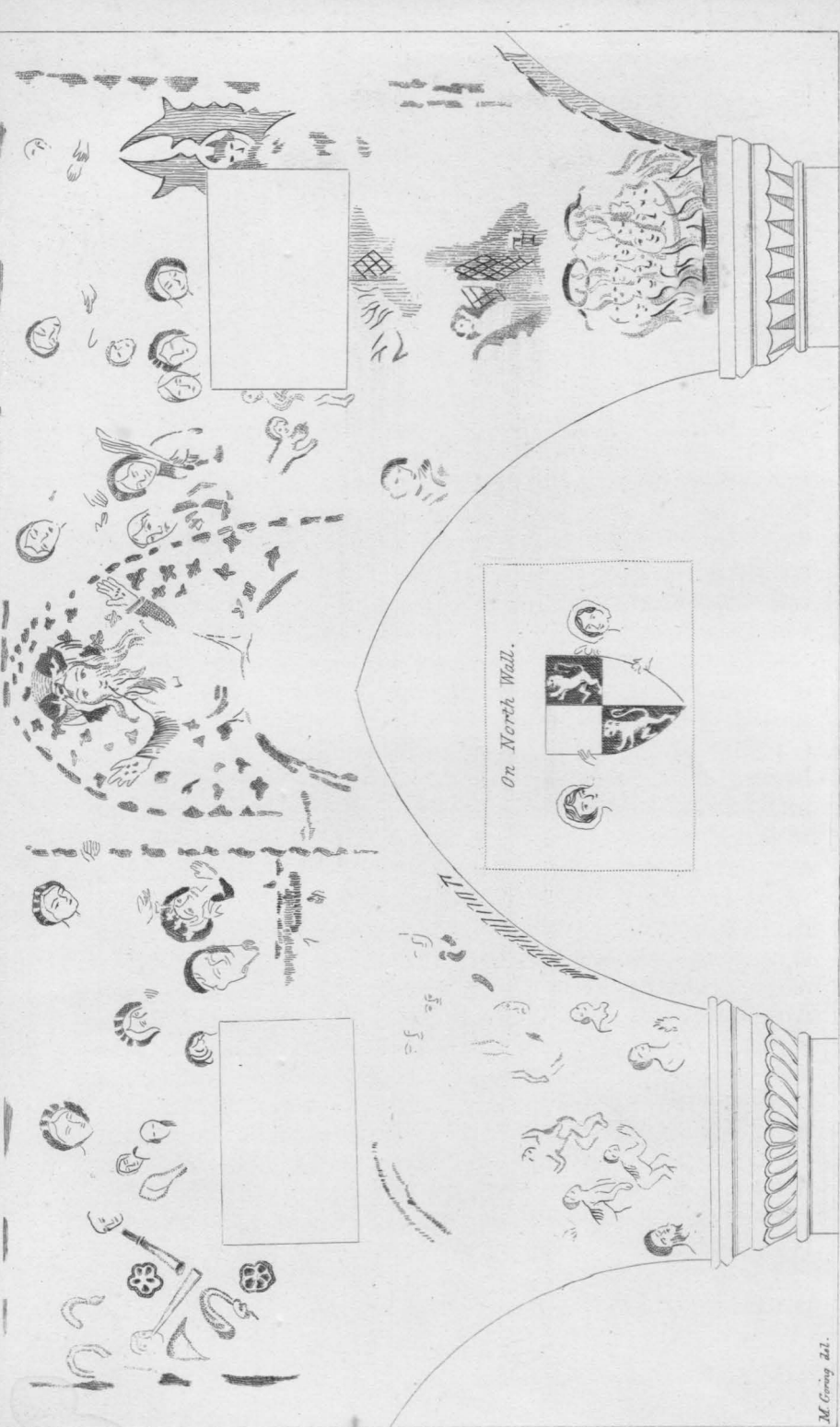
THE leaden vessel here represented was found in the spring of 1847, at Willingdon, in a cutting for the branch railway from Polegate to Eastbourne. It is of cast lead, and measures in length 12 inches,



breadth 11 inches, and depth 6 inches. There have been lifting-handles of iron at the ends, the sockets of which still remain. On the two longest sides is a triangular device of interlaced work, in-

cluding a cross—a species of ornament common on Runic monuments. In addition to this device the vessel is enriched with corded work, which at the ends is arranged in a lozenge pattern, and strikingly resembles that upon the coffers of Gundrada and William de Warenne, found under similar circumstances, in 1845, at Lewes Priory. This simple but effective species of decoration is of high antiquity in its application to vessels of lead, and Mr. C. Roach Smith has recently shown in vol. ii of the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Association* (p. 301), that it was used for coffins during the Roman period. The object under notice was submitted to the Archæological Association and to the Archæological Institute, at their respective congresses at Warwick and Norwich, and pronounced by both those bodies to be Anglo-Saxon of about the tenth century. No satisfactory opinion has been expressed as to its probable use. It is now in my possession.*

* For the use of the accompanying woodcut we are indebted to the kindness of the Council of the British Archæological Association.



On North Wall.



Painting on South Wall of the Nave of

ON SOME ANCIENT MURAL PAINTINGS IN
PORTSLADE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. HENRY HOPER.

THE Church of Portslade is classed by Rickman, among upwards of seventy others in this county, as being "of the early English style, having little admixture of other styles." The chancel does, in fact, present a very pure and elegant specimen of this style in its two simple lancet windows at the east end, the effect of which is united by a small circular window of six points being placed above them, and in its three lancet windows in the north and south walls. Beneath a string course of a bold undercut moulding, running immediately below these windows, there is, on the south side, a piscina under a trefoil arch with small side columns, one having a capital of foliage, and three sedilia of unequal heights under trefoil-headed arches, nearly level, the outer corbels of which represent heads of priests. The opening from the chancel into the nave is formed by a fine pointed arch, near which have been discovered some paintings, and an imperfect inscription in old characters: on the south side of the nave is a narrow side aisle, separated from the nave by two short massive circular pillars, two feet six inches in diameter, with Norman capitals under square abaci. Three pointed arches without any mouldings rest on these columns, supported at either end by the chancel and tower walls. It having become necessary to repair the western arch, it was ascertained that these arches consisted of coarse flint-work with merely an edging of stone, and were evidently of much later date than the columns, from the character of which it may be fairly inferred that the original arches were round, and the nave built in Norman times.

The principal fresco, which is the subject of this notice, and is represented in the lithograph from a sketch by Miss Goring,

occupies the wall above these columns, from them up to the plate on which the roof rests. It extends twenty-two feet in length and twelve feet seven inches from the abaci upwards. Beneath the thin coating of plaster on which this painting has been executed, there appear in some parts the traces of an earlier painting, a circumstance not unusual, and of which a remarkable instance has been lately noticed at Beckley church, Oxon. (*Archæol. Journ.*, No. 15, 256.) At Portslade this older fresco exhibits only a wall of masonry, and tall, narrow windows, with diamond quarries, the colours used being simply light red and ochre; whereas in the later painting there occur also the varieties of black, deep yellow, white, and dark red. During the repairs of the summer of 1847 the painting became visible, and though much mutilated, and the colours but faint, enough remains to show that the subject is the Day of Judgment.

The central compartment is occupied by the Saviour Judge, placed within an arched space, diapered with rudely-shaped fleurs de lis. There is a dignified expression in this figure, the head of which is inclosed by a nimbus, coextensive with which appears an equal limbed cross, on which some of the spines of the crown of thorns appear. The open uplifted hands present the stigmata, with blood flowing from them. The lower part of the figure seems to have been concealed by a semicircular arch, perhaps the orb or the rainbow. On his right hand are seen angels summoning the dead with trumpets and other instruments, and in the upper part are various Saints engaged in mediation, with the Virgin, having a supplicatory expression, crowned with a jewelled diadem, nearest the judge. Above her appears St. Joseph clasping a long particoloured staff. In the lower part appears the resurrection of the just, represented by several figures, in various attitudes, rising from the grave and looking towards the central figure.

On the left hand of the judge there are also several Saints with nimbi, in the upper portion. The palm-bearing Saint in front is seen to present some person for acceptance, possibly some benefactor to the church, while some rejected sinners are seen forced downwards, and at the extreme left there remains the upper half of a large figure of Satan, with two dark upraised wings. In the lower part is the place of torment, among the

flames of which are seen the heads of sinners curiously arranged in two parallel files of six each. Above these are the fragments of another bat-like wing, and two dark oval spaces, perhaps the apertures of some vessel in which the condemned are placed, or they may possibly represent great eyes, which may indicate that they belonged to the usual representation of the jaws of hell, the sinners being inclosed within the mouth of a gigantic devil. This figure, however, is not now traceable further.

On the northern wall, opposite, the first indications of painting had been observed several years ago, and indeed the whole wall was thus ornamented, but the fragments remaining, consisting principally of a quadruped, some waves, and some heads, are too imperfect for description. Here, again, were traces of paintings of two different eras, the earlier one having been broken into by the insertion of a Decorated window.

The wall also of the southern aisle was anciently covered with painting, the remains of which were found much mutilated. One portion represented the Adoration of the Magi, in black and ochre colours.

It should be mentioned that, near the angels sounding the trumpets in the large fresco, there are depicted in dark colour, now nearly black, two cinquefoil heraldic roses, which would lead to the supposition of the House of Lancaster being in the ascendant at the time of their painting. Another guide to the probable date is seen also on the north wall, at the highest eastern corner, a shield of arms (two feet two inches long by one foot nine inches wide) supported by angels. The shield is divided quarterly, the first and fourth being now at least quite blank, while the second and third bear on a dark field, either sable or gules, a lion rampant argent. These may have been the arms of Fitzalan,* Earls of Arundel, and the Chequy of Warenne or the Fret of Maltravers may have occupied the blank spaces, if ever filled. It may be presumed, from a Decorated window having been intruded upon the painting, and from these other indications, that the walls of Portslade Church were thus ornamented in the course of the fourteenth or more probably in the fifteenth century.

* Beatrix, Countess of Arundel, died in the 18th year of Henry VI, seized of some lands in Portslade. (Cal. Inq. p. m.)

WILL OF RICHARD DE LA WYCH,

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, COMMONLY CALLED SAINT RICHARD,
WHO DIED A.D. 1253.

PARTLY READ AT THE CHICHESTER MEETING, JULY 1, 1847.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

THE Will of Bishop Richard de la Wych has been twice printed, first by Dallaway, in his 'West Sussex,' v. i, p. 47, and afterwards in the 'Testamenta Vetusta,' p. 762, but with so many inaccuracies and omissions that it has not hitherto illustrated the manners of the times, and the circumstances of his life, so well as it might have done. There is a much fuller copy of the will at p. 5, in Bishop White Kennett's MSS., now forming No. 1000 of the Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum; but I am indebted for the present more complete copy to the kindness of James Bennet Freeland, Esq., who has extracted it from one of the registers under his charge at Chichester (Regist. Episc Rede E, p. 176), the same MS. from which Dallaway professes to have "copied in length," but most erroneously. Mr. Freeland considers the copies of documents in Regist. Rede E. to have been made in the time and under the direction of William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, from 1369 to 1385. I have collated his copy with the original MS., which is very clearly written, though with contractions, and has red initial letters, and I should have been glad to collate the Chichester MS. with the other copy of the will, which is referred to by Dallaway and Sir H. Nicolas as being among the Lambeth MSS. 1. 35. On applying, however, personally at the Library of Lambeth for this purpose, I was assured by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, the keeper of the MSS., that no such copy existed there, and that he did not believe

it ever had been there. It appears that the MSS. have been lately rearranged, and unfortunately the references of the only index produced do not apply to the present arrangement, but to a former one. Any further search was therefore at once discouraged. It has not been thought necessary to preserve the contractions of the original Latin MS., nor to point out all the numerous errors and omissions of former copies. A translation has been added.

A life of Bishop Richard, by Ralph Bocking, will be found frequently mentioned in the following pages. It was written about twenty-five years after his death. The author was a Dominican monk, and had been for several years his friend and attendant. It is printed among the *Acta Sanctorum*, under April the 3d; to the Antwerp edition of which work, in 1643 and ann. seq., the references are made.

I was gratified in being able to collate the Chichester MS. in company with the Rev. Mr. Valentine, of Cocking, who had been a material contributor to Dallaway's 'Sussex,' and I am also happy gratefully to acknowledge my obligations to Albert Way, Esq., W. S. Walford, Esq., and T. Hudson Turner, Esq., Secretary of the Archæological Institute, for their various contributions to the Notes of this paper.—

“ In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, Amen.

Ego Ricardus secundus¹ permissione divina Cicestrensis episcopus testamentum meum ordino et facio in modum subscriptum.

In primis summe Trinitati et beate Marie animam meam commendo et lego, et corpus meum sepeliendum in majori ecclesia Cicestrensi in navi ejusdem ecclesie prope altare beati Edmundi² confessoris juxta columpnam.³

Item ad fabricum⁴ ejusdem ecclesie xl libras.

¹ Although the testator appears in the will with his episcopal title, yet, according to Bocking, he always preferred calling himself presbyter. He was the second bishop of the name of Richard, as Richard Poor had occupied the see of Chichester for two years, 1215-17, until translated to Salisbury.

² It appears from Bocking that, after being nine years bishop, he fell sick at Dover, March 30, and died there at midnight, on April 3, in his 56th year. His wish to lie near the altar of St. Edmund arose naturally from his gratitude and intimacy with him during many years. On Richard de la Wych's return to England, having completed his education at Paris, Boulogne, and Oxford, he was solicited at once, both by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, here mentioned, and by the famous Robert Grossthead, Bishop of Lincoln, to become their Chancellor, and he accepted the archbishop's offer. In this office he was intrusted with full power over the diocese, and the free use of the archbishop's seal, while his learning, equity, and simplicity of manners gave him great influence. He adhered steadfastly to Edmund throughout all his troubles and exile; for in 1240 the primate had retired to a monastery at Pontigny, in Burgundy, and died there in 1242. In his will he bequeathed to Richard a goblet, with affectionate terms: "To my beloved Chancellor, whom I have long heartily loved (invisceravimus)." The interval between death and canonization was then often short, and at Christmas, 1246, this honour was paid him, November 16 being appointed as his feast-day. Richard was present at Pontigny when the translation of his remains took place; and so associated was the memory of Edmund with that of Richard, that Ralph Bocking, writing after they had both been canonized, compares them to "Two cherubin of glory looking at each other and protecting the ark of Canterbury." (cap. 1.)

³ That the burial took place in the spot here so minutely specified is proved by Bocking, who describes it to have been "in a humble place before the altar of St. Edmund, which he himself had there erected in the north part of the church, (in ipsa ecclesia coram altare B. Edmundi Confessoris, quod ipsemet ibidem ad Aquilonarem ecclesie partem erexerat, in humili loco sepultus est, p. 308, C.) His body however was not long allowed to remain here in peace, for having been proclaimed a saint by Pope Urban at Viterbo, Jan. 22, 1261, his remains were removed with great pomp into a silver gilt chest (in capsula argentea et deaurata honorifice collocatum," Th. Walsing. p. 47), on June 16, 1276, in the presence of

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.

I, Richard the second,¹ by divine permission Bishop of Chichester, ordain and make my Testament in the underwritten manner.

In the first place, to the Most High Trinity and to the Blessed Mary I commend and bequeath my soul, and my body to be buried in the great church of Chichester, in the nave of the same church, near the altar of the Blessed Edmund² the Confessor, against the column.³

Also to the Fabric⁴ of the same church 40 pounds.

King Edward I and all his court, as well as the Archbishop Robert Kilwardby and several bishops. (Mat. Westm. p. 408; Ann. Waverl. p. 231; Harpsfeld. Hist. Angl. p. 462.) It appears that there was formerly a stone altar attached to the great north-east column of the cross of the cathedral under the spire. This was cleared away about twenty years ago, and would seem to answer to the position indicated for St. Edmund's altar. It is not mentioned by any authority to what part of the cathedral his remains were thus translated in 1276. The usual place of honour allotted to the principal saint of a church was behind the high altar at the east end, as is seen at Durham, St. Albans, Westminster, Beverley, Canterbury, &c., and a raised platform, of which the pavement has evidently been disturbed and renewed, is found in this position at Chichester. The jewelled chasse containing his bones must have been placed in some conspicuous situation, such as this would have been, and there is no ancient mention of any effigy of the bishop on his tomb. The monument, however, with its recumbent effigy, which has been long pointed out as that of Saint Richard, is under an arch in the south transept. It is said that "St. Ricardus" was formerly sculptured over it, and the walls near it covered with paintings; not far off there stood also the ancient oaken cabinet, or cupboard, with Gothic panels, now in the vestry, in which is seen the slit sloping to the inside, for the receipt of money offerings. Whether this was the spot chosen for the translation of 1276, or for a subsequent removal, may be a fit subject for the investigation of local antiquaries, and in determining the point, attention must be paid to the date of the surrounding architecture, and of the style of the tomb, as well as to the probability of the monument and effigy having escaped the destruction so expressly ordered by Henry VIII, Dec. 4, 1538. "Take away the shrine and bones of that Bishop called Saint Richard, with all ornaments to the said shrine belonging, and all other the reliques and reliquaries of the bones and reliques, the silver, the gold, and the jewels belonging to the said shrine. Also ye shall see the place where the same shrine was kept destroyed even to the ground." (Wilkins's Conc. v. iii, p. 840.)

⁴ This very large bequest to the building fund would seem to imply some considerable works being then carried on. The bishop during his life had already contributed largely to this fund; "the churches of Stoughton and Alciston, and the advowson of the church of Mendlesham, and a pension of forty shillings in the

Item ministrantibus in Choro⁵ v libras.

Item reliquias⁶ meas ecclesie Cicestrensi.

Item fratribus minoribus⁷ Cicestrensibus psalterium meum glosatum⁸ et xx solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus de Lewes⁹ librum evangeliorum, videlicet Lucam et Johannem et xx solidos.

same;" and one of his statutes opened another source of profit to the fabric, arising out of the scandalous bequests found in the wills of the clergy. "We decide that the concubines of clerks, with whom, to the scandal of the church, they have sinned, should not be capable (of receiving bequests), and if anything should be left to them, it shall be contributed to the fabric of Chichester church." (Dallaway, quoting from MSS. Coll. Univ. Oxon, 148.)

⁵ Ralph Bocking, p. 316, dedicates his "Life of Saint Richard" to the then Bishop and Chapter of Chichester, and requests them to allow it to be read in the cathedral, after they had corrected the MS. at their discretion. It is remarkable that the testator makes no provision for any masses or other religious ceremonies to accompany his funeral, or to preserve his memory in his cathedral, nor is any wish expressed for a tomb.

⁶ The testator does not specify what collection he had made of relics. In after times, some real or pretended bones of Richard himself became the subjects of bequests, as well as other articles that had belonged to him. Thus the will of Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March, who died in 1381, leaves to the Abbey of Wigmore, "a bone of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester." (Test. Vet. p. 111.) There were also among the reliques at the priory of Selbourne, Hampshire, according to the inventory taken in the time of Henry VI, "Also a joint (junctorium) of St. Richard; also a comb of St. Richard; also a chafing-dish (calefactorium) of St. Richard." (White's Selb.) These had been probably treasured up by John, the Prior of Selbourne, who had been born in the same village as Richard de la Wych, and had shared with him the same study as his scholar companion. Bocking tells us of Richard's visit to his friend at Selbourne, and of his catching a great pike, three feet long, in the prior's fishponds. (c. vii.) Many other instances occur of the reverence paid to St. Richard. The bed on which he had slept during a visit to Bayham Abbey, was many years after used by one of the Præmonstratensian canons there to cure him of an affection of his limbs; and Helen, the Prioress of St. Helen's nunnery in London, founded in 1212, a lady "of no mean fame among English nobles, and dear to and intimate with St. Richard during his life," considered herself cured of a toothache, which kept her from sleep or food, by her damsel Rosa bringing her a cloth sprinkled with his blood at the time of preparing his body for the grave. (Bocking, p. 310.) The Prioress Helen is not mentioned in Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' where the earliest prioress named is in 1334.

⁷ On the spot previously occupied by the Castle of Chichester, after its demolition by order of Henry III, 1216, stood the Franciscan monastery, near the north gate of the city. Its beautiful chapel is now used by the corporation as a Guild-hall, and there are traces of more of its buildings.

Also to those who serve in the Choir⁵ 5 pounds.

Also my relics⁶ to the church of Chichester.

Also to the Friars Minor⁷ (Franciscans) of Chichester my Psalter with comments,⁸ and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor of Lewes⁹ a book of Gospels, namely, Luke and John, 20 shillings.

⁸ After bequests to his cathedral, and to those officiating in it, the bishop commences the disposal of his books, and in those times of laborious MSS. books were highly valued. The difficulties which Richard had himself endured from penury, when a student at Paris, may account for his anxiety to spread knowledge, by the subdivision of his books into so many separate bequests, and it is probable that the newly established orders of Franciscans and Dominicans were at this time ill provided with works of literature or even religion. Bocking's description of the manner of living which Richard adopted in Paris is very striking. "He and two comrades lived in one room, and had but one cape and one gown between them, and each a lowly bed. While one therefore went out with the cape to hear the lectures, the others staid at home, and so each went out by turns. Bread and a little wine sufficed them with broth for food, their poverty not permitting them to eat meat or fish, except on Sundays and holidays, and yet the bishop often said that 'he had never in his life passed so cheerful and pleasant a time.'" With respect to the glosses on the Psalter, it must be remarked that the will in no case mentions the authors of any of the expositions on parts of the Scriptures bequeathed. Bede wrote a gloss on the Psalms, but the one most in repute in the bishop's time was that of Peter Lombard, who died in 1164, and whose work was mentioned in his epitaph. (Cave's Hist. Lit. ii, 221.) Dante alludes to his theological writings as a treasure given to the church.

"Quel Pietro fu, che con la poverella
Offerse a santa Chiesa il suo tesoro."

(Parad., x, 106.)

Leland mentions a gloss on the Psalter by Odo, Abbot of Battle, and bequests of similar books were frequent. In 'Test. Vet.' p. 367, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, the great judge, in 1481 says "Also I bequeth my glosset saulter to the Priorie of Worcester."

⁹ Of this monastery at Lewes very little is known, and the notices by Dugdale and Tanner are very scanty. (Dugd. Monast. vi, 1533; Tanner Not. Mon. xx, 4.) Its situation is pointed out by the name of "The Friars," where the railway station now is. The bishop, however, knew it personally, and to its poor brethren he preferred to send, as a gift, the four beautiful mullets which he had helped a fisherman to catch at Lewes bridge (an incidental proof of the freer access of the sea to that point), even though the steward of the archbishop was standing by. (Bock. c. vii.) During the evening of the battle of Lewes, Prince Edward took refuge here for a time, before he joined his father in the priory. The bishop had on two occasions conspicuously exerted his power at Lewes; once, when the townspeople had violently dragged a thief out of a church and hanged him, he

Item fratribus minoribus de Wynchelsea¹⁰ Marcum et Matheum, et xx solidos.

Item fratribus predicatoribus de Arundel¹¹ librum Sentenciarum et xx solidos.

Item fratribus predicatoribus Cantuarie¹² Ozeth glosatum et xx solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus¹³ ejusdem ville Ysaïam glosatum et xx solidos.

Item predicatoribus do London¹⁴ librum Job actuum (li. Job actum) epistolas canonicas apocalypsin glosatam in uno volumine,¹⁵ et 20 solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus¹⁶ ejusdem ville epistolas Pauli¹⁷ glosatas et xx solidos.

compelled them to carry the putrid body on their shoulders back to the same church more than a fortnight afterwards. (Bock. p. 281.) Another time he insisted upon a knight, who had imprisoned a priest, exhibiting himself in the market-place of Lewes (which Bocking, c. v, calls "the navel of the diocese") with a wooden log tied to his neck, in the manner that an unruly brute would be treated.

¹⁰ The Franciscans of Winchelsea are alluded to by Dugdale (Mon. vol. vi, p. 1533) and by Leland.

¹¹ Richard was himself a Dominican, and a powerful preacher, using many Scriptural quotations in his discourses. Bocking (c. viii) says that "he endeavoured to bend the wild necks of the seamen to the Cross by showing them the abominations of sin," and "by the ploughshare of his tongue he clave earthy hearts." In Dugdale's 'Monasticon' (vol. vi, p. 1495), the Dominican convent at Arundel is supposed to have been founded in the time of Edward II, but this earlier notice proves such an opinion to be erroneous, and they must have been, in fact, established soon after their first introduction to England in 1221. No trace of them is afterwards recorded, until in 1324 Edmund, Earl of Arundel, granted them two acres of land to enlarge their dwelling, "the very site of which has now become a matter of conjecture," though probably it was near where the Custom House now stands, near which position a small church is shown in Hollar's 'View of Arundel,' 1642; Tierney's 'Arundel,' p. 673. Dugdale's 'Mon.' does not mention them. Two authors of Sentences, or a digest of Christian divinity, were principally in repute, St. Bernard and Peter Lombard. (Cave, ii, 221.) The latter, indeed, acquired the title of "Il Maestro delle Sentenze," from the estimation of his work, on which it is said there were 244 commentators. In Dugd. Mon. i, 537, mention is made of 'Ockam on the Books of the Sentences,' and at Ramsey, among other books, is recorded 'Sentencie of Peter Lumbard.'

¹² It is said that the Dominicans of Canterbury were established soon after 1221, by Henry III, in the parish of St. Peter (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1486), though Leland, Stow, and Speed, make Henry VII the founder. The only known gloss

Also to the Friars Minor of Wynchelsea¹⁰ Mark and Matthew and 20 shillings.

Also to the Preaching Friars (Dominicans) of Arundel¹¹ the book of Sentences and 20 shillings.

Also to the Preaching Friars of Canterbury¹² Hosea with comments, and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor¹³ of the same city Isaiah with comments, and 20 shillings.

Also to the Preachers of London¹⁴ the book of Job, of the Acts, the Canonical Epistles, the Apocalypse with comments, in one volume,¹⁵ and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor¹⁶ of the same city the Epistles of Paul¹⁷ commented, and 20 shillings.

upon Hosea separately extant in the time of Richard, was by St. Jerome, but the glosses upon the minor prophets would have extended to this book.

¹³ Of the original immigration of nine Franciscans in 1224, five remained at Canterbury, a city called "our Jerusalem," by Bocking (c. viii). The site of their convent was, in 1270, moved to the west of the city by John Digges. It is most probable that the book here bequeathed was the 'Commentaries on Isaiah,' the recent work of Archbishop Stephen Langton. (Cave, ii, 282.)

¹⁴ A convent situated near where Lincoln's Inn now stands, founded soon after 1221, and afterwards moved to near Castle Baynard. It was under the jurisdiction of the king alone. Parliaments often sat in it. The Emperor Charles V was lodged here, and the proceedings of the divorce of Queen Catherine of Arragon took place in this convent.

¹⁵ 'A Commentary on Job,' by Archbishop Langton, was extant, and another by Bede, mentioned by himself in his Eccles. History. In Harl. MSS. No. 3075, there is a work called 'Bede on the Canonical Epistles,' and at No. 233, 'The Book of the Apocalypse, with the Exposition of Bede,' in which the text of Scripture is not distinct, but embodied in the continuous comment. Bede also alludes to his works on the Acts of the Apostles, and the fact of Bede having written glosses on all the books here bequeathed in one volume, favours the notion of his being its author. At a visitation of St. Paul's, in 1295, there were found twelve copies of the Gospels, all adorned with silver plates, and in the wooden binding of one were eleven small cavities with relics. (Dugd.)

¹⁶ The memory of this convent is still preserved by the street of the "Minories." Its situation is frequently described in old documents as being "in Styngkyng Lane, in the parish of St. Nicolas in the Shambles." (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1514.) It was founded in 1224, by four of the first Franciscans who came into England. A chapel had been built for them, in 1239, by the mayor, William Joyner. Many illustrious persons, including two queens, were afterwards buried here at their own desire.

¹⁷ There were then extant several commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, written

Item fratribus predicatoribus Wyntonie Summam Magistri Willelmi Altisiodorensis¹⁸ et xx solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus¹⁹ ejusdem ville xii prophetas glosatos et xx solidos.

Item in subsidium terre sante lego L marcas solvendas et tradendas Roberto Chaundos fratri meo, ut pro me si velit proficiscatur, vel alii si dictus Robertus nolit proficisci.²⁰

Item domui de Wyndeham²¹ xxx marcas, non computato debito in quo eis teneor in dictis xxx marcis.

by Lanfranc, by Peter Lombard, and by John of Salisbury, and by others. (Cave, ii, pp. 148, 221, 243.) The subject of the bequest was probably by Lanfranc.

¹⁸ This summary of theology, beginning "Faith, as the Apostle says," has been attributed to two authors: one, William of Auxerre, was a Cistercian monk of Trois Fontaines, and died at Rome, 1230 (Moreri); the other the Bishop of Auxerre, died at St. Cloud in 1223. Bocking relates (c. vii) that, when Richard was abroad in his poverty, the Bishop of Auxerre endeavoured to persuade him to remain on the continent, in order to economise, but "he refused to desert his flock, answering, that his services were pledged to Chichester, not to Auxerre." It is not improbable that Richard procured this work when he went to attend the translation of his patron, the Archbishop Edmund, at Pontigny. The canonization of Edmund had been applied for by Bernard, Bishop of Auxerre (1234-45), by his letters to the Pope, Innocent IV, but it was soon after Guido II had become bishop that the translation took place at Pontigny, June 8, 1247 (Gall. Christ. xii, 262), where Richard met him. The Dominicans of Winchester were founded by the bishop, Peter de Rupibus, within the city to the north. (Dugd. Mon.) Among the works of William de Hotoft, Abbot of Peterborough, 1246, in the library, was 'Antissiodorensis abbreviatus.' (Dugd. Mon. i, 356.)

¹⁹ The convent dedicated to St. Francis stood within the east gate of Winchester (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1512), and is said by Speed to have been founded by Henry III. There was a work by Archbishop Langton, entitled 'Exposition of the Twelve Minor Prophets,' which was probably the one here bequeathed. (Cave, ii, 251.) A copy of this work was at Ramsey monastery. Besides the proof of the testator's study of the Scriptures, furnished by the possession of so many comments upon them, there is strong evidence in his statutes of his great anxiety to promote the instruction of laymen in sound knowledge. He therein desires "that laymen be admonished to learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Symbol of the Apostles (the Creed), and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin; and let the parish priests diligently and frequently teach these things, at least in the mother tongue (in lingua saltem materna), and in church let them attend to sermons, and not dwell upon idle fables (otiosis fabulis non intendant)." (Wilkins's Conc. i, 688.) Bocking too reports, expressly, that in his visits to the poor and sick "he fed them with the aliment of the word of God," and indeed Bocking's own narrative is full of quotations, more or less apposite, from Scripture. In the same spirit, Archbishop

Also to the Preaching Friars of Winchester the Summary of Master William of Auxerre¹⁸ and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor¹⁹ of the same city the Twelve Prophets commented, and 20 shillings.

Also I bequeath in aid of the Holy Land 50 marcs (£33 6s. 8d.), to be paid and delivered to Robert Chaundos, my brother, in order that he may go there, if he is willing, for me, and to be paid to another, if the said Robert should be unwilling to go.²⁰

Also to the house of Wyndeham²¹ 30 marcs (£20), the debt for which I am bound to them not being computed in the said 30 marcs.

Peckham, a native of Sussex, provides in his statutes of 1281, that "every priest should, four times a year, either by himself or another, expound to the people in the vulgar tongue, and without the fantastic interweaving of any sort of subtlety, the fourteen articles of faith (that is, seven on the Godhead, and seven on the Humanity of Christ), vulgariter absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica." (Wilkins's Conc. vol. ii, 37.) The readers of Ralph Bocking's 'Life of St. Richard,' which he was so anxious to have read in Chichester Cathedral, may judge for themselves whether some of the tales there related ought to have excluded it under the above-mentioned restrictions.

²⁰ The Council of Lyons, held in 1246, had decreed the preaching of a new crusade in aid of the Holy Land, and the bull of Pope Innocent IV was issued in 1250, directing the Bishop of Chichester to raise money and soldiers for the purpose. (Rymer, Fœd. i, 485.) Richard was also specially appointed by the king, in 1252, to preach to the citizens of London and exhort them to take the Cross. Robert Chaundos was probably the husband of his sister, for whose daughter's marriage the testator subsequently provides. Bocking calls Richard Bachedene, who acted as the bishop's steward, his brother (*frater carnalis*), "a prudent man and a knight." The permission of this vicarious crusade was often a device to raise money from the rich more easily. Sir Richard Arundel's will (July 8, 1417) has a similar bequest. "I will that my executors find one man, who for the good of my soul shall go to the court of Rome, and to the Holy Land, and to the Sepulture of our Lord, and to the Holy Blood in Germany," meaning the Chapelle du Saint Sang at Bruges. (Test. Vet. p. 196.)

²¹ Wymondham, or Windham monastery, in Norfolk, was founded by William de Albini, in the time of Henry I. Thomas Mead, who was prior here from 1224 to 1257, had accompanied Hugh de Albini, Earl of Arundel, abroad, and was with him at his early death, in May, 1243, in his 29th year. He brought home the corpse for burial at Windham, where a great part of the beautiful conventual church still remains. The widowed Countess Isabella, a friend of Bishop Richard, and well known for her spirited interview with Henry III, claimed the right of nominating the prior at Windham, but afterwards agreed to present two of the monks

Item Abbathie de Lacoc²² cupam meam magnam de Mazera.²³

Item Abbathie de Marham²⁴ in Nortfolch aliam cupam meam de Mazera.

Item Fratri Garino libros Damasceni²⁵ cum quibusdam aliis quaternis.²⁶

Item Fratri Willelmo de Colecestria predicatori libellum Anselmi²⁷ (Cur d̄s h̄o) Cur Deus homo.

Item Fratri Hunfredo incluso²⁸ de Pageham xl solidos.

Item incluse de Hoghton dimidiam marcam.

Item incluse de Stopeham dimidiam marcam.

Item incluso de Heringham²⁹ dimidiam marcam.

of St. Albans for the choice of one by the abbot. Bocking refers to the collection of books which the countess had, the Sacred Scriptures and the Lives of Saints in abundance. (*Quæ penes vos copiose habentur*, p. 283.)

²² The Augustine nunnery of Lacock, in Wiltshire, was founded in 1222 by Ela, the widow of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, from whose son Stephen the testator received the gift of a cup subsequently bequeathed. The foundation charter was witnessed by William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey. Ela became the abbess in 1240, and was a friend of Archbishop Edmund. Just previous to the testator's death, her son William had been killed in the crusade near Damietta, in 1250, and she affirmed that she had seen him in all his armour, in a vision on the very day of his death, welcomed into heaven by angels.

²³ Cups of maple were in frequent use, and much valued. (See Mr. A. Way's note to Mr. Davis's paper on Archbishop Scrope's Cup. York vol. of Archæol. Institute.)

²⁴ The Cistercian nunnery of Marham, in Norfolk, had been recently founded, in 1249, by Isabella de Warenne, the widowed Countess of Arundel, mentioned in note 21, and on her death without issue the patronage reverted to the Earl de Warenne. The conventual church was consecrated by the testator, Jan. 27, 1249.

²⁵ An Arabian author of the name of Mansur, who lived in the middle of the eighth century, was usually called John of Damascus. He wrote many works in Greek and Latin, which have been published in two folio volumes, Paris, 1712. He was canonized, and his feast kept in May. Among his works was one 'On the Orthodox Faith,' a MS. of which is now in the king's library, having formerly belonged to Bury monastery. (*Dugd. Mon.* iii, 132.)

²⁶ It does not appear whether these books of paper or vellum, formed by folding the sheet into four leaves, were written upon or not, in this instance. Possibly they contained the bishop's own MS. diary, for he was in the habit of noting down anything good that was said, and he told Bocking (c. iii), "What you said yesterday I put down in this book with my own hand last night."

²⁷ These, though not the initial words, form the title of a work on the Incarnation by Archbishop Anselm. There is a MS. of it in the Harl. MSS. No. 3074, p. 84. Anselm and Bede are among the few connected with English history admitted into Paradise by Dante. (*Par.* x, 130; xii, 137.)

Also to the Abbey of Lacock²² my great cup of maple.²³

Also to the Abbey of Marham,²⁴ in Norfolk, my other cup of maple.

Also to Friar Garin (Warren) the books of Damascenus,²⁵ with some other paper books.²⁶

Also to Friar William of Colchester, Preacher, the book of Anselm,²⁷ "Cur Deus homo." (Cur d̄s h̄o.)

Also to Friar Humphrey, the recluse²⁸ of Pageham, 40 shillings.

Also to the female recluse of Houghton half a marc (6s. 8d.).

Also to the female recluse of Stopeham half a marc.

Also to the recluse of Heringham²⁹ half a marc.

²⁸ The recluse, when once inclosed within his cell (inclusorium), was locked in for life, and frequently even walled up. This could only take place by the special licence of the diocesan bishop, who put his seal upon the cell, with certain solemnities. The probability of the recluse receiving sufficient nourishment from the alms of the pious, was always taken into consideration on permitting a cell to be devoted to this purpose, and it was therefore usually fixed in populous towns, and commonly near a church, and sometimes, if not generally, so placed that the altar might be seen from it. (See Lyndwode, 214-15, and Fosbrooke's *Monachism*, p. 371 et seq.) There are, for example, the remains of such a cell, so situated, in the south transept of Norwich Cathedral. These devotees were also called anchorites, and sometimes hermits; but the latter differed essentially from them in being at liberty to go out of their cells. The loss of that liberty in the recluse was recognised even by the common law, so that in certain cases, where persons under no such restraint must have acted in person, he might act by proxy. Littleton, writing on this subject, temp. Edw. IV, speaks of a recluse as one "que ne poit per cause de son order aler hors de sa meason" (sect. 434); and Coke, commenting on these words, says, "he is so much mured or shut up, quod solus semper sit, et in clausura sua sedet, and can never come out of his place; seorsim enim et extra conversationem civilem hoc professionis genus semper habitat." All which agrees with what is found in Lyndwode respecting recluses. Instances of *inclusion* occurred in the 15th century. A MS. in the Harl. Coll. (No. 873) gives the ceremony, and MS. rules for female recluses of the 14th and 15th centuries exist. If the testator had assisted at the inclosure of the recluses of both sexes in the small villages here mentioned, Pagham, Houghton, Stopham, and Hardham, he may naturally have felt an interest in their support by his bequests. Walter, the Bishop of Norwich, to whom a bequest is presently made by Richard, bequeathed in his will £10 to the recluses of his diocese, besides a marc to others specially named; and also to his niece Ela, and her attendant "in reclusorio," at Massingham, 20s. (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii, 345.)

²⁹ At Heringham, Heriedham, now Hardham, there was an Augustine priory, dedicated to the Holy Cross, of which there are some remains visible.

Item incluse Beate Marie de Westoute^{29*} apud Lewes v solidos.

Item fratribus Domus Dei de Dovorr³⁰ xx solidos ad pitanciam.³¹

Item monachis Sancti Martini³² ejusdem ville unam marcam.

Item lego *Hugoni de Camera*³³ x libras.

Item Roberto de Crocherst xx libras.

Item Willardo quondam coco³⁴ meo x marcas.

Item Waltero de Wyke³⁵ x marcas.

Item Ade, botelario,³⁶ x marcas.

Item Ricardo, pistori, x marcas.

Item Radulfo, mariscallo, c solidos.

^{29*} This parish has been since united with that of St. Peter, under the appellation of St. Ann's, in the upper part of the town of Lewes.

³⁰ During the testator's progress from Chichester preaching the Crusade, he passed along the coast of Sussex, and arrived on the tenth day at Canterbury, and then went on to lodge in this very "Maison Dieu," as the name is still retained, and there he died, after consecrating a cemetery and a church dedicated to St. Edmund, to which the bishop on his deathbed desired his bowels to be carried, in fond memorial of his patron. Henry III granted to the Maison Dieu a tithe of the profits arising from passengers to the continent. It had been founded by Hubert de Burg, Earl of Kent.

"A pittance (pietancia, pictancia) was a small repast of fish or flesh for the refreshment of monks who were celebrating divine offices for the dead on those days." (Cowell's Interp.) This bequest of a funeral repast seems to lead to the conclusion that the will was written at Dover in the immediate contemplation of death. Ralph Bocking also implies this when describing his funeral. "As he had before the day of his death bequeathed his body to be buried at Chichester, which was distant by the interval of no mean journey from the place of his migration." According to the authorities quoted by Ducange, the pittance consisted in some cases of "two eggs, in broth well seasoned with pepper and saffron, in others of a bit of cheese, or four eggs, or fish." In a charter of St. Bertin (1278) is this rule: "On every day on which the said pittance shall be used, a special mass for our soul shall be celebrated in the church." During the building of the cloisters at Norwich Cathedral (1289-99), the salary of the pittancer (whose office was suspended) was applied to the new works. (Britton's Norwich, p. 24.)

³² The Benedictine convent of St. Martin at Dover, of which considerable remains may be traced, was much esteemed by Archbishop Edmund. The prior, William, had presented himself at the archbishop's election, claiming the right of entering the chapter, but had been excluded by the monks of Canterbury, imprisoned, and suspended, before he was allowed to return to Dover. Archbishop Boniface restored him in 1250.

³³ Hugh of the Chamber had probably no large wardrobe to look after, for the

Also to the female recluse of the Blessed Mary of Westoute^{29*} at Lewes 5 shillings.

Also to the brethren of the House of God at Dover³⁰ 20 shillings for a pittance.³¹

Also to the monks of Saint Martin³² of the same town one marc (13s. 4d.)

Also I bequeath to *Hugh of my Chamber*³³ 10 pounds.

Also to Robert of Crocherst (Crowhurst) 20 pounds.

Also to Willard, formerly my cook,³⁴ 10 marcs (£6 13s. 4d.)

Also to Walter de Wyke³⁵ 10 marcs.

Also to Adam, the butler,³⁶ 10 marcs.

Also to Richard, the baker, 10 marcs.

Also to Ralph, the marshal, 100 shillings.

bishop's clothes and shoes were very moderate ("vestimenta et calceamenta nec nitida nimis nec abstracta plurimum"). A gouty man, however, in later times considered himself cured by touching his boots, which had been treasured up. Under his alb, linen ephod, pall, and cope, he wore a hair shirt, and used lambswool instead of rich furs. (Bocking, c. iv.) The bishop, however, was very attentive to the dress and cleanliness of his clergy. Among his synodal statutes there are these provisions: "Let no priest officiate in dirty or worn-out vestments, nor without a chalice either silver or gold, and not broken, and in very clean body clothing." "By the dress of clerks, which does not appear clerical but rather military, great scandal is generated among the laity." "Let not clerks cherish their hair, but let them be shorn in a regular manner, circularly and decorously." (Wilkins's Conc. vol. i, p. 688.)

³⁴ Bocking informs us that it was his frequent habit to put aside the choicest dishes, and content himself with bread dipped in wine or beer, and after dinner he thanked God with hands and eyes raised, finishing with the prayer, "May God help us as he knows our need." Pope Urban, in his Bull of Canonization, says that "he fed upon fastings" (pavit jejuniis). It was his custom during meals, even on feast-days, to listen to reading, or to discourse upon the subject matter, if the reader stopped. This Bocking affirms to have seen (de visu), c. iii.

³⁵ There can be no doubt that the bishop always bore the name of de la Wych, Wyke, or Witz, from his birthplace near a salt-spring, as Droitwich, Nantwich, &c. Matthew Paris, the Waverley Annalist, and Bocking, all so term him. Walter de Wyke was probably his relation, and Nicholas de Wick, canon of Chichester, is also mentioned as such (consanguineus) by Bocking, c. vii, and was sent to the Pope to procure his canonization.

³⁶ Though himself abstemious, the number of cups possessed denote Richard to have had all proper means of hospitality for his friends. He is said, but on what occasion is not recorded, to have enticed a supply of water out of a hill (elicuit fontem de monte) at West Marden, Sussex, which never failed, when all those in the plains were dry.

Item Alexandro, custodi palefridorum, vi marcas.

Item Laurencio, ferrario,³⁷ c solidos.

Item Waltero Gray³⁸ c solidos.

Item Willelmo, nuncio meo, c solidos.

Item Willelmo de Kemesia, xx libras.

Item Henrico puero, nepoti Domini Simonis de Terryng,³⁹ xl solidos.

Item pueris qui mihi servierunt non nominatis superius executores mei pro rata servicii sui et personarum qualitate, et pro suo arbitrio, vices rependant.

Item Domino Simoni de Terryng lego meliorem palefridum meum et libellum de Virtutibus,⁴⁰ scilicet Distinciones super Psalterium.

Item eidem ciphum quem Dominus Stephanus de Langespeya⁴¹ dedit mihi.

Item Domino Waltero de Campeden unam cupam et duas pelves de argento.

³⁷ Bocking gives but a bad character to the carters of his time. He tells an anecdote of John, a child of two years old, being left by his parents, Walter and Juliana, in the street of Winterbourne Earls, near Salisbury, and being there run over by the wheel of a cart, the driver "being fresh from a market and drunk, as is usual with that class of men" (ut assolet illud genus hominum). The rector, Gilbert, pronounced him dead, and "his body was left unmoved until the arrival of the coroner, according to English custom" (de more Anglicano), but the child very unexpectedly recovered. (l. 2, c. ii.) This occurrence at such a distance from the diocese of Chichester, seems a proof of the wide extension of the fame of St. Richard, for it was to his influence that the recovery was attributed.

³⁸ Walter may have been the attendant upon his person, whom the bishop cured, when he observed him on duty very ill and with bad eyes. (Bock. c. vii.)

³⁹ This bequest and the two subsequent ones to Simon de Terring himself are pleasing proofs of the bishop's gratitude to his best and most useful friend, whose roof became his only shelter during the king's persecution. Bocking highly praises Simon de Terring as "a man after God's own heart, who had known Richard in prosperity, and who, during his misery, placed himself and all his household at his disposal. Though not affluent, he was contented with his one benefice, and would never accept any additional dignity." (p. 283.) As the living of Tarring was in the archbishop's gift, it is probable that Richard's earlier acquaintance with Simon began while he was acting as chancellor under Archbishop Edmund, and he may possibly have been instrumental in procuring the living for this excellent man. When Richard was on his deathbed, Simon was allowed to approach nearer to him than others, with a familiar boldness (ausu familiari), and was addressed by his failing voice: "Though you cannot now well hear my words, yet I retain all my memory and all my senses perfectly, as well as I did seven years ago, and I shall, by God's bounty, retain them to the end" (p. 307); thus gracefully alluding to Simon's

Also to Alexander, the keeper of my palfreys, 6 marcs (£4.)

Also to Lawrence, the farrier,³⁷ 100 shillings.

Also to Walter Gray³⁸ 100 shillings.

Also to William, my messenger, 100 shillings.

Also to William of Kempsey 20 pounds.

Also to the boy Henry, nephew of the Sir Simon de Terryng,³⁹ 40 shillings.

Also to the youths who have waited on me, not named above, let my executors requite their services, in proportion to their service and to the quality of their persons, and at their own discretion.

Also to Sir Simon de Terryng I bequeath my best palfrey, and the book on 'Virtues,'⁴⁰ that is to say, Annotations upon the Psalter.

Also to the same the goblet, which the Lord Stephen de Langespee⁴¹ gave me.

Also to Sir Walter de Campeden a cup and two bowls of silver.

kindness with his dying breath. The name, disguised in Dallaway's Sussex as "Sunoniæ de Ferring" and "Simon de Clymping," is invariably Terring (not Ferring) in all the older authorities, and it was in that village that Richard employed his leisure in grafting fruit trees with his own hands. On one occasion, when his graft had been destroyed by some animals breaking into the garden, Richard replied to Simon's lamentation on the loss, when he came back in June after an absence, by again putting in a fresh graft so successfully, though not at the usual season, that it bare fruit that very year. The village is still famous for its almost unique garden of standard fig-trees.

⁴⁰ A book with the title 'De Virtutibus et de Vitiis' is mentioned by Cave, i, 38, and Moreri, as belonging to the ninth century; and among the works of William Alvernus, Bishop of Paris, 1228-49, are two works on the same subject (Cave, ii, 292), which were probably the subjects of the bequest. These works were published at Orleans in 1674. The other portion 'de Vitiis,' forms a subsequent bequest to the testator's chaplain. There seems, however, a difficulty in considering these as annotations on the Psalter. In the monastic library at Depyng, county Lincoln, there were "In primis Biblia—Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis. (Dugd. Mon. iv, 167.) There is also a bequest of "a book of Vices and Virtues to my son Humphrey," in the will of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, who died 1399. (Test. Vet. 148.)

⁴¹ Stephen Longspear was the son of the Earl of Salisbury, and grandson of the Fair Rosamond and Henry II. He filled many important offices in the state, having been Seneschal of Gascony in 1255, Justiciary in Ireland, and one of the four counsellors appointed by the Oxford Statutes in 1258, to ensure Prince Edward's observance of them. He became Earl of Ulster by right of his wife Emmeline, and was buried at Lacock, where his widowed mother was then abbess (v. note 22), and his sister Lora a nun. (Annal. Burton, Dugd. Baron.)

Item Domino Willelmo de Selesey, capellano,⁴² Bibliam⁴³ meam et quaternos⁴⁴ meos sub coopertorio piloso.⁴⁵

Item Magistro Roberto de Hastyng Decreta mea.⁴⁶

Item Magistro Philippo unum ciphum cum pede, quem dedit mihi Dominus Hugo Bygod⁴⁷ et xx libras cum runcino ad harnes⁴⁸ (Runcñō ad hñes).

⁴² The bishop seems to have had three chaplains of the name of William. William de Bramber will be presently mentioned; and there was also William de Radinges, who was sent to the Roman court afterwards, when he was a canon of Chichester, in order to attest some of the incidents of the bishop's life which he knew, as having been his chaplain. To one of these, Richard, during his last mortal sickness, gave instructions to make preparations for his approaching funeral quietly, in order not to sadden the others of his household by any outward evidence of his consciousness of the coming event.

⁴³ The value set upon a Bible at this time is well illustrated by the resolution of the Carthusians of Macour, near Valenciennes, never to alienate it, on receiving the bequest of one in twelve volumes, in the year 1296. "We promise in good faith neither to sell this Bible, nor to give it away, nor pledge it, nor lend it, unless we should receive some equivalent property, whatever necessity may impel us." (Martene, i, 1314.) Books, however, were so highly prized, that they strangely escaped from custody, however guarded. The Bishop of Exeter, in 1327, when he found himself possessed of a book now in the Bodleian library, inscribed 'Liber S. Mariæ de Ponte Roberti,' and bespeaking heavy curses on whosoever should remove it from that house, entered the following memorandum beneath the original writing: "I John, Bishop of Exeter, do not know where the said house is, nor have I taken away this book, but acquired it in a lawful manner." (See Maitland's Dark Ages, p. 270.) The bishop's ignorance of the Cistercian priory of Robertsbridge, Sussex, may have been sincere in those times of difficult intercourse. There are scattered notices in ancient chronicles of more collections of books than are generally supposed. At Peterborough, in A.D. 870, "a large library of sacred books was burnt" by the Danes. (Ingulph.) In 1044, Ælfward, Bishop of London, on leaving Evesham for another monastery, "took away with him those books which he had contributed to Evesham, and, as is said, some also which others had contributed." (Dugd. Mon. ii, 546.) Matthew Paris says of Abbot Simon of St. Alban's, in 1167, that "he ceased not to write excellent books and accurate volumes of both the Old and New Testament, both exact and glossed, than which I have never seen nobler, and to prepare them with an unexceptionable nicety (ad unguem irreprehensibiliter)." Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, gave a church in 1205, in order to provide books for the library of Christ Church at Canterbury. (Dugd. Mon. i, 85.) John, the Abbot of Taunton, in 1274, gave a large collection of books to Glastonbury. (Dugd. Mon. i, 6.) Robert Grosthead, the learned Bishop of Lincoln, gave all his books to the Franciscans of Oxford (Trivet), and the University there had no library till the next century.

⁴⁴ The word quaterni here has been interpreted by some as meaning a breviary divided into four, according to the services for each quarter of a year; but it more probably means some other religious MSS., as in the catalogue of the books at

Also to Sir William de Selsey, chaplain,⁴² my Bible,⁴³ and my books⁴⁴ under a hairy cover.⁴⁵

Also to Master Robert de Hastyng my Decretals.⁴⁶

Also to Master Philip the goblet on a foot, which Sir Hugh Bygod⁴⁷ gave me, and 20 pounds, with a hackney fit for harness⁴⁸ (a sumpter-horse).

Windsor in the time of Richard II, the word is used thus: "Item duo novi quaterni, unus de servicio Corporis Christi, et alius S. Annæ." In the same catalogue are, among "Books chained in the Church, the Book of Sentences, a glossed Psalter, a pair of Decretals." (Dugd. Mon. vi, 132.)

⁴⁵ By this rough binding we may suppose that the bishop agreed with the Abbot Esaïas as to the cover of his books. "If you should bind a book for yourself, do not labour in ornamenting it, for that is a puerile vice." (See *Dark Ages*, p. 214.) Rich bindings had, however, already been introduced. In 1215, the Abbot of St. Alban's had given to Redburne, county Hants, a Psalter bound and enriched in a costly manner. (Dugd. Mon. iv, 525.) In the same Windsor catalogue, above quoted, there is "A new text of the Gospel, covered with silver on each side, and it is broken on one side."

⁴⁶ The bishop, having been an accomplished canonist, probably here selected some lawyer or student for this bequest of the Decretals, or collection of canon laws, which he had himself used. Two collections had been made, one by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, and the other by Gratian, which had preceded the Decretals published in 1230.

⁴⁷ Hugh Bygod, and Roger, Earl of Norfolk, were the half-brothers of the widowed Countess of Arundel, before mentioned (note 21), by their mother's first marriage. Hugh was appointed justiciary by the barons after the Oxford Statutes in 1258. An interesting domestic incident is related by Bocking as having occurred to Hugh Bygod some years after the bishop's death, at Lewes Castle, where he and his sister, the countess, were residing with their brother, the Earl de Warenne. The son of Hugh Bygod, who had been baptised by Bishop Richard, fell so dangerously ill, that the father, unable to support the sight of his expected bereavement, left Lewes, after giving directions for the funeral. The Countess of Arundel too retired from her nephew's sick chamber to her oratory, on learning from the physicians that signs of death were manifest; when a noble lady, named Joanna, remembered in her prayers the virtues of him who had christened him, and took the measure of the youth's length by a thread, which, according to the custom of the times, was to form the wick of a waxen taper of equal length, as a thank-offering in case of recovery, to be burnt at the shrine of the newly canonized St. Richard. Happily the youth did rally from his critical state, and recovered entirely. The name of the son is not mentioned. Roger, the eldest son of Hugh Bygod (by his wife, Joan de Stuteville, probably the noble lady Joanna above mentioned), succeeded his uncle Roger as Earl of Norfolk, and, dying childless in 1297, made the king, Edward I, his heir, to the exclusion of his own brother John.

⁴⁸ This seems an abbreviation for ad harnessiam, ad harnes, a horse fit for harness or baggage.

Item Domino Willelmo de Brembre, capellano, unum ciphum de argento et libellum de vitiis.

Item Henrico, clerico de capella,⁴⁹ x marcas.

Item Ricardo, ballivo de Cacham,⁵⁰ c solidos.

Item Nigello, ballivo de Aldyngborne,⁵¹ c solidos. (Que omnia ab illo loco Hugoni de Camera pocius reputo debita⁵² quam legata.)

Item volo quod anuli mei⁵³ eis liberentur quibus assignavi, prout in cedula anulorum apponi (?) inspicitur.

Item Domine Regine⁵⁴ unum anulum cum Henrico clerico.

Item Episcopo Norwicensi⁵⁵ sigillum in anulo cum Hu-

⁴⁹ The beautiful chapel, in which Henry must have officiated, in the bishop's palace at Chichester still remains perfect, and in daily use. Richard was very lenient to his clerks, and if, when he got up at sunrise for matin prayers, he found his clerks had overslept themselves and were not ready, as often happened (ut solet contingere, gravatos somno pausantes), he would return to his own chamber without disturbing them, and say his prayers in private. (Bocking.)

⁵⁰ The manor of Cakeham (called Catham by Bocking), in the parish of West Wittering, was an episcopal residence which Richard had frequently occupied. There are still some remains, the ancient chapel being now used as a dairy, and there is also a brick tower of later date, built by Bishop Sherborne. It was here that, during a great dearth, Richard fed a multitude of the poor, even to the amount of 3000, with beans (Bocking, c. iii); and indeed Pope Urban, in his letter of canonization, asserts that they were so fed by the food intended for a third of the number. The bishop sent some boots he had worn to Richard, a native of this place, who was suffering so much from bad fits of the gout, that he could not move his feet, and he declared that his gout was perfectly cured by wearing them, reminding us of Horace Walpole's continual praises of his tight "bootekins," as suppressing his gout.

⁵¹ Aldingborne was an ancient manor of the see, having been part of the endowment of the bishopric of Selsey, a few miles east of Chichester. The palace here was destroyed in the civil wars of the 17th century. The injunctions of the bishop to his bailiffs strictly prohibited them from procuring anything for him from the tenants unjustly, as was then usual (sicut assoletur), and he often disregarded their advice by forgiving debts due to him, saying, that "it would prove them to be fools who had thought him worthy of the see, if he was to be governed by the will or authority of his stewards." On the occasion of a visit to the Benedictine nunnery of Rusper (of which there are now no remains), he found the nuns there greatly in need of victuals, and Richard de Bachedene, his brother, tried to avoid dispensing the alms immediately ordered by the bishop. He was, however, not only reproved, but remained permanently out of favour afterwards, while double alms were then ordered from another of the episcopal manors. (Bock. c. iii.) His steward of the prebend of Dale, which he appears to have had before he was bishop, had, by bad management, lost him five horses, but Richard took it very kindly, paid him his salary as usual, and gave him a horse. (c. iv.)

Also to Sir William de Bramber, chaplain, a silver goblet and a book on Vices.

Also to Henry, clerk of the chapel,⁴⁹ 10 marcs (£6 13s. 4d.)

Also to Richard, the bailiff of Cacham,⁵⁰ 100 shillings.

Also to Nigel, the bailiff of Aldingborne,⁵¹ 100 shillings, (all which from those words "*To Hugh of the Chamber,*" I consider rather as debts⁵² than legacies.)

Also I will that my rings⁵³ should be delivered to those persons to whom I have assigned them, as is seen to be appointed in the schedule of Rings.

Also to the Lady the Queen⁵⁴ a ring with Henry the clerk.

Also to the Bishop of Norwich⁵⁵ a seal in a ring with

Dale must have been the single benefice to which he confined himself (c. v), and its vicinity to Chichester may perhaps account for his acquaintance with Simon de Terring, and his unanimous election by the chapter of Chichester.

⁵² The number of his personal attendants, so kindly remembered in his will, must have been felt by the bishop as strongly contrasting with the time of his younger days, when he ploughed and drove a cart for his own elder brother. There is something particularly pleasing also in his desiring all these bequests to his household to be considered not so much gifts, as debts due to them for their faithful services.

⁵³ The bishop was a free giver of rings. On one occasion, when paying a visit, he asked for water to wash at the dinner hour, and when his host, as was the custom (*ut moris erat*), held the towel for him, Richard gave him a ring from his finger to hold, but after washing his hands refused to take it back, saying, "You see I have got another."

⁵⁴ Considering the way in which the king had treated him, this bequest to the queen may be held as a proof of her not having joined in his persecution.

⁵⁵ Walter de Suffield, Bishop of Norwich from 1243 to 1257, was an intimate friend of the testator, and did not scruple to acknowledge to Bocking orally, how much he had profited in zeal and spirituality by such intimacy. Having enjoyed the patronage of the Earl de Warenne, he adopted the same arms, with the difference of a fess ermine upon the chequy or and azure, his family name being Calthorp; and his gratitude appears by a bequest of alms in his will, for the benefit of the soul of Matilda, Countess of Warenne. Like Richard, he was much attached to Archbishop Edmund, and bequeathed twenty marcs to finish the work he had begun at his shrine at Pontigny. He was also actively engaged in promoting the crusade, and was authorized by the Pope to collect money from those who wished to redeem their vows. His will, like Richard's, contains legacies to all his household, including his washerwoman, scullions, and bedmaker. (Blomefield's Norfolk, ii, 345.) It was in the presence of this bishop that Richard reproved a priest of good family (*generosi stemmatis*), who came in on some business with his hair drawn up from behind, so as to hide a bald forehead. Richard took off his own cap to shame him by displaying his own baldness.

gone⁵⁶ et linguas meas serpentinas⁵⁷ que ante me in mensa steterunt.

Item Episcopo Arelatensi⁵⁸ justam⁵⁹ argenteam, quam dedit mihi Abbas de Bello.⁶⁰

The tonsure indeed does not seem to have been popular with the clergy, and required repeated decrees. "Oh, shame!" exclaims Archbishop Peckham, in his statutes dated from Slindon, 1281, "many clerks, while they feel shame in appearing as clerks, cover themselves with an apparel that they may please fools, and hide their tonsure with fillets, and whenever they show themselves abroad, they wear these fillets hanging down, except perhaps on a journey." (Wilkins's Conc.) Walter de Suffield was never canonized, but was esteemed so nearly a saint, that his tomb was much visited.

⁵⁶ The expressions "cum Henrico," "cum Hugone," &c., probably signify that the rings, &c. bequeathed, were in the custody of those of his personal attendants so named, or they might possibly be interpreted as a mode of transferring their services to new masters with the compliment of a bequest.

⁵⁷ This passage is translated in Test. Vet. p. 762, as "the salt-cellars placed before me when at table." The subject of the bequest may indeed have been a salt-cellar, or a cup, or a standing ornament, a standard for the table, but the subject is curious enough to merit a fuller explanation. These "serpents' tongues" were, in fact, the fossil teeth of sharks, and from their peculiar shape were called glossopetræ or tongue-stones. These sharp-pointed teeth, of a glossy light brown enamel, are sometimes as much as three inches long, and belonged to a species of shark now extinct, which must have been about sixty feet long. They are found in abundance in the Miocene of the tertiary formation at St. Paul's Bay, in Malta; and as this was the spot where St. Paul shook off the serpent from his hand, these stones were supposed to be serpents' teeth, and acquired in consequence a medical and superstitious value, as a preservative against the venom of serpents. In the 'Ichnographia of the Ashmolean Museum,' by Edward Lloyd (8vo, 1760), they are thus described: "Glossopetra eburnea serrata maxima Melitensium: ex Melita attulit clarissimus Raius. Glossopetrarum nomine jamdudum innotuere." In the 'Historia di Sicilia,' by T. Fazello (Palermo, 1628, folio), he describes in Malta, "Un antro, d'onde non solamente gli isolari ma i forestieri ancora ne cavan certe pietre. Et i ciurmadori si servono di queste pietre quasi in tutta l'Europa a medicare i morsi degli scorpioni et delle serpi." A more modern authority, Onorato Brees, in his 'Malta Antica Illustrata' (4to, Roma, 1816, p. 444), adds another wonder to the cave which supplies the stone, called La Grazia di San Paolo; for he asserts, as a thing known and observed by all, that though stone is taken out of the cave daily, enough to load many ships, yet the cave always preserves the same size. He quotes also from Cornel. a Lapid. a similar statement of the stone's efficacy, and of his having received "a particle of it at Rome, as a rare and distinguished gift." The old traveller Sandys (folio, 1615, p. 230) gives a similar account of the value put on this stone: "they say, that being drunk in wine it doth cure the venom of serpents." (See also Warcup's Italy, p. 326.) The super-

Hugh,⁵⁶ and my serpents' tongues⁵⁷ which stood before me at table.

Also to the Bishop of Arles⁵⁸ (Orleans?) a silver jug,⁵⁹ which the Abbot of Battle gave me.⁶⁰

stitious regard therefore for these "serpents' tongues" seems from these passages to have extended itself even to the quarries of stone in which they were found. Other notices occur of the custom of framing these serpents' tongues into ornaments. From the accounts of Edward I, in 1296-7, it appears that, on the occasion of the marriages of his daughters, the Duchess of Brabant and the Countess of Holland, he employed his jeweller, Adam of Shoreditch, to prepare for his offerings "three pair of golden branches with serpents' tongues, which branches had been found in the Castle of Edinburgh," allowing him 13s. 4d. for his expenses ("circa tria paria ramorum auri cum linguis serpentinis." Rot. Misc. in Turr. Lond. No. 71.) It is remarkable that the Bishop of Norwich did not make any particular mention of these serpents' tongues in his own will, though he described so many of his cups and other jewellery. He died four years after Richard, and it would seem that he must have given it during his life to the king; for in the Wardrobe accounts of Edward I, for the year 1300, we find the very subject of this bequest among the royal treasures, described as "five serpents' tongues in one silver standard, which belonged, as is believed, to Saint Richard, in a painted wooden case." ("Quinque lingue serpentine in uno standardo argenti que fuerunt ut credebatur Sancti Ricardi, in uno casso ligneo depicto.") These singular objects continued in estimation even to the age of Queen Elizabeth; for we read in the list of jewels presented to that queen in 1586-7, "At Newyere's tide—Item a juell, being a serpent's tongue set in gold, enamelled, garnished with three sparks of rubies, two sparks of emeralds, and three very little perles pendente; given by Mrs. Blanche Parrye." (Nich. Progresses of Queen Eliz. vol. ii, p. 499.)

⁵⁸ In this and the following bequest, there is every reason to think that there is some mistake in the bishop's see, which though clearly written "Arelatens," and "Aurelatens" in the Chichester MS., must have been wrongly transcribed from the original. John de Baucio was Archbishop of Arles at this time, from 1232 to 1257 (Gallia Christ. i, 567); but this name does not agree with the bequest, as Richard would not have been likely to forget the proper title of an Archbishop. The word must have been originally "Aurelianensis," and the person intended was William de Bussy, who was Bishop of Orleans from 1237 to 1258. (Gall. Christ. viii, 1465.) After the death of his patron, Archbishop Edmund, Richard retired to Orleans in order to study divinity, and there he received the orders of priesthood from this Bishop William, which makes the interchange of gifts the more probable. This Bishop of Orleans had been to the Holy Land in the crusade, and returned in 1249, but still kept up his interest about the crusaders, and in 1252 wrote letters to Richard, then Bishop of Chichester, describing the disastrous campaign of St. Louis. (Mat. Paris; Nic. Trivet; Nic. Harpsfeld; Hist. Angl. Eccl.)

⁵⁹ Justa was a vessel calculated to hold sufficient for one person, according to

Item Domino Johanni Mancell⁶¹ et Magistro Hugoni de Sancto Edmundo⁶² pannum, quem dedit mihi Episcopus Aurelatensis (Aurelianensis).

Item crucem meam quam Comes de Lincoln⁶³ mihi dedit, Edmundo de Lacy cum Willelmo de Kemesya.

Item ad maritandam filiam unam⁶⁴ sororis mee xx marcas.

Volo etiam et dispono et executores meos adjuro sub obtestationem divini judicii, quod, solutis debitis,⁶⁵ in quibus ecclesie

Ducange, a just portion; but one of his authorities says, "let each of the monks receive daily two jugs (justas) of beer." (Mon. Angl.) Lanfranc mentions, "All vases of the cellar and the kitchen, and cups and jugs (justas), and other vessels of the refectory." Although the bishop had several silver articles, yet many of them were gifts to him, and they do not appear more numerous than his station required, and were indeed much fewer than those of his friend the Bishop of Norwich. In a time of famine, when many even of his clergy came to him secretly in distress for food, after he had exhausted all his money, he gave them his gilt cups to raise money upon, and promised to redeem them afterwards. "Alas, alas!" he said, "the poor indeed are in grief, but to me the greatest grief is to feel that I have nothing to give them."

⁶⁰ The Abbot of Battle from 1235 to 1251, and probably later, was Ralph de Coventry. Richard had been a benefactor to Battle Abbey, having given it the church of Westfield and the tithes of Alciston. (Hayley's MSS. 6343, vol. ii, col. 193.)

⁶¹ John Mancell, or Mansell, the Provost of Beverley, who is subsequently named the executor of this will, is notorious, as having been the largest pluralist on record, holding 700 benefices at once. He was Chancellor to Henry III in 1246, and till 1249; and Lord Campbell (Lives of Chanc. i, 136) presumes, "that he presented himself to all that fell vacant, and were in the gift of the crown;" but even this would not account for such a number in three years. He had been an eager soldier in early life, and had his leg broken in the Gascon wars. Though he was one of the twenty-four barons appointed by the Oxford Statutes, he was always much trusted and employed by the king, and readily surrendered the castles of Pickering and Scarborough on his demand. His seal is affixed to the original treaty of peace with France in 1258, in the Archives of Paris, having on one side an antique head, with an inscription from a Roman imperial coin, while the other side exhibits an armed man on a tower, beneath which is a kneeling figure. He died in exile and poverty, never having risen to higher dignity in the church, on account of his immoral habits. (Chr. Mailr.)

⁶² Hugh de St. Edmund, when subsequently named by the testator one of his executors, is styled Canon of St. (Paul), in London.

⁶³ John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in right of his wife, Margaret de Quincy, the donor of this cross here bequeathed to his son, had been dead some years, in 1240, and his son Edmund, then a minor, 12 years old, seems to have been taken under the especial care of Richard, who was probably a friend of the family. Edmund is

Also to Sir John Mancell,⁶¹ and to Master Hugh de Saint Edmund⁶² the cloth which the Bishop of Arles (Orleans) gave me.

Also my cross which the Earl of Lincoln⁶³ gave me, to Edmund de Lacy with William de Kempsey.

Also towards the marriage⁶⁴ of a daughter of my sister 20 marcs (£13 6s. 8d.)

I also will and dispose and adjure my executors on the injunction of divine judgment, that, after paying the debts⁶⁵

described as being from his boyhood of excellent disposition, and had accompanied Richard to Pontigny at the translation of St. Edmund, the account of which journey Bocking had from his own mouth. (c. vii.) The bishop's urgency to return home to his diocese was so great, that after sailing from Witsand, then the usual place of embarkation for Dover, in the face of a violent storm, the vessel was so much tossed about, that his chaplain William was terrified, and wanted to steer back, but this was found impossible, and to the wonder of all they arrived safe at Dover. At the age of 29, Edmund founded a Carmelite monastery at Pontefract, and on dedicating the first stone "to the Virgin, to St. Domenic, and to St. Richard, bishop and confessor, formerly my lord and intimate friend," the foundation stone suddenly broke into three parts, which was interpreted as favorable to this triple dedication. (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1581, Bocking.) He was a benefactor also to the monastery of Stanlaw, in Cheshire (afterwards transferred to Whalley by his son), and was buried there by his own desire. (Dugd. Mon. v, 647.) His mother, the heiress of the earldom, having survived him, he never bore the title of the Earl of Lincoln, and on his early death, June 5, 1258, Bocking, alluding to the civil dissensions of those times, considered that "he had been snatched away by the Lord from the world, lest he should see the woes of England, or lest malice should pervert his intellect." He left, however, a son Henry, who was the last Earl of Lincoln of the Lacey's.

⁶⁴ It is agreeable to find the bishop thus promoting matrimony among his kindred, though he had shown such an aversion to it in his own youth, long before he took priestly orders. His admiring friend and biographer uses very startling phrases, in relating the deceit which Richard employed to avoid marriage, when offered the alliance of the daughter of a professor of law at Bologna, in whose place he had himself been reading lectures with great success. "Richard, devising other matters, *inspired by the Holy Ghost*, humbly thanked him, and offering certain civil excuses, and the reason of his journey, promised to fulfil their pleasure on his return." He went away and never came back. In his statutes, Richard expressly forbade either of a married couple to assume a religious habit without the leave of the archbishop (Wilkins's Conc. i, 688); but, on the other hand, he is said to have persuaded unwilling fathers in two instances to devote their marriageable daughters to a convent.

⁶⁵ His debts had arisen principally from the withholding the revenues of the see from him for two years by the king, and also from his profuse liberality in the famine of 1245. Bocking confesses to have urged the bishop (*fateor ego miser*)

Cicestrie teneor per cartam et Domino Wyberto de Kancia, et Domino Nicholao de Dovorr, et Domine Clavemunde,⁶⁶ prout in literis meis patentibus eis confectis continentur, et etiam aliis debitis meis et legatis familiariorum meorum et domesticorum, que debitis equipono et ascribo, predicta omnia secundum dispositionem meam superius ordinatam exequantur.

Volo etiam quod ad premissa perficienda per executores meos a Domino Rege⁶⁷ exigantur fructus provenientes de Episcopatu Cicestrensi, quos per biennium injuste percepit, et qui ad me de jure spectant, de ipsis etiam coram altissimo solutionem proponam, nisi executoribus meis ad votum satisfecerit.

Volo etiam quod executores mei ad executionem premissorum, si viderint expedire, equos meos non assignatos superius, et vasa mea argentea escaria, et ciphos superius non assignatos distrahant, et si hæc omnia non sufficiant, pro rata⁶⁸ legatorum prius assignatorum, et qualitate personarum, executores

to retrench his alms subsequently, in order to diminish the debts of the diocese, but he was met by a refusal. "I will not," he answered, "bring parsimony into my own house, for such becomes not a bishop. These debts are not my iniquity or sin; why should I be punished for the sin of others, so as to withdraw due honour from guests, or alms from the poor." (c. v.)

⁶⁶ Nothing has been ascertained as to these creditors of the bishop. The legacies to his attendants and household are here again made equivalent to debts with an affectionate kindness.

⁶⁷ King Henry III confiscated and appropriated to his own uses the revenues of the see during the two years following the bishop's election, in spite of his solemn consecration at Lyons by Pope Innocent IV; and after at length yielding to the threat of papal excommunication, the king had promised, in the presence of the bishop, before the assembled parliament, in October, 1248, to repay him in money for all that he had withheld or damaged. (Bocking, p. 280.) Neither such promise however, nor this bold threat of the testator, procured restitution from him. Henry III, perhaps, considered that he had done enough by establishing two chaplains at Chichester to pray for the souls of his father, King John, and himself. (Dallaway, p. 128.) The claim took effect at a later period on King Edward I, who, in a deed dated at Chichester, at the time of the translation of St. Richard in 1276 (Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 19), recites, "that the debt of £200, which had been lent to King Henry by the bishop (as he delicately describes the transaction), had been, after dispute, now fully paid to the executors, William de Selsey and Robert de Purl, for the unburthening (ad exonerationem animæ) of the soul of my said father, as was right to do." (See Dallaway, p. 47.) One of the offerings of Edward I to Chichester appears in the accounts of his jeweller, Adam of Shoreditch, in 1294, when four large golden brooches (firmacula) were made for the shrines of St. William of York, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Richard of

for which I am bound by deed to the Church of Chichester, and to Sir Wybert of Kent, and to Sir Nicholas of Dovorr, and to the Lady Clavemunda,⁶⁶ as they are recited in my letters patent to them executed, and also after paying my other debts and the legacies of my household and domestics, which I put on the same level as debts, and so reckon them with them, they shall execute all the matters before named, according to my disposal above appointed.

I will also that, for the fulfilment of the foregoing, there be demanded by my executors from my lord the King⁶⁷ the profits arising from the Bishopric of Chichester, which he for two years unjustly took, and which of right belong to me, for, concerning them, I will even require the payment before the Most High, unless he shall have satisfied my executors according to their wish.

I will also that my executors for the execution of the foregoing shall, if they see fit, sell my horses not previously assigned, and my silver vessels for food (dishes) and goblets not previously assigned; and if all these shall not suffice, let my executors, according to the proportion⁶⁸ of the legacies previously assigned and the quality of the persons, diminish, augment,

Chichester, and St. Atheldreda of Ely, which brooches were made out of a golden vase of the weight of 19s. 6*d.*, found in the castle of Edinburgh. Some of the jewels which he had before added to the shrine of St. Richard had been taken away and recovered providentially (*divinitus*), as the king states in his order for replacing them, dated Feb. 17, 1280. (*Rymer Fœd.* i, pp. 2, 578) The bishop had been as ready to resist the extortionate pretensions of the Pope as of the king. When the Bishop of Lincoln, in 1252, led the opposition to the scheme of collecting the tithes for three years for the king's use, by papal authority, the Bishop of Chichester, without delay or hesitation (*alacriter et incunctanter*), eagerly concurred with him, even though the collection purported to be for the crusade. (*Mat. Paris.*) In most cases Richard was a very mild adversary. He received with the utmost hospitality John Fitz Alan (who succeeded the Albinis as Earl of Arundel in 1243, and who was afterwards a prisoner at the battle of Lewes), although he had been wronged by him. This courtesy extorted from the knight the observation, that "he had never met with such a man, who loves his adversaries, and does good to those who put troubles on him." He treated in a similar manner the Abbot of Fescamps in Normandy, Robert de Tregoz (1244-1270), who was perhaps of a Sussex family.

⁶⁶ The total of the legacies specified in money by the testator would amount to £262 15s. 4*d.*, the expressed doubt of his property being able to raise such sum, does not justify any reproach of wealth selfishly accumulated.

detrahant adjiciant et ordinent, prout anime mee melius eis visum fuerit expedire. Et si post dispositionem meam superius ordinatam aliquid de bonis meis super fuerit, per executores meos in subsidium pauperum religiosorum⁶⁹ Episcopatus mei, et hospitalium et refeccionem poncium et itinerum, viduarum, orphanorum et pupillorum, prout eis visum fuerit expedire, convertatur.

Excommunico et Anathematizo omnes illos qui testamentum meum maliciose impediunt, ut juxta apostolum "tradantur in interitum carnis ita quod spiritus eorum salvus fiat in die judicii."⁷⁰

Hujus testamenti mei executores ordino et constituo venerabiles viros Dominum Johannem Mansell, præpositum Beverlancensem, Dominos Decanum⁷¹ Cicestrie, Precentorem Cicestrie, Magistrum Hugonem de Sancto Edmundo, Canonicum Sancti (*Pauli*⁷²) London, Dominum Simonem de Teryngg, Walterum de Campeden, Willelmum de Seleseya, eos devote rogans quatenus caritatis intuitu voluntatem meam superius scriptam diligenter et fideliter exequantur. Et si sine offensus fieri possit, venerabilem patrem et Dominum meum Archiepiscopum Cantuarensem⁷³ devote requiro, quod tanquam executor principalis et bonorum meorum conservator quem executorem meum principalem et bonorum conservatorem petita venia con-

⁶⁹ The Hospital of St. Mary, and also that of St. James, for lepers, both existed at Chichester at this time. Richard was always compassionate to the sick. On one occasion, being at Orpington, Kent, when Reginald, the mayor of Chichester, who was with him, pointed out to his notice a crippled beggar boy, he caused him to be brought into the house and cured. (Bocking, c. vii.) He also himself established a hospital, according to Capgrave, f. 269, "for poor priests worn out with age (presbyteris senio confectis, cæcis vel alias corpore impotentibus), blind, or otherwise impotent in body, and mercifully provided the necessary food and clothing for them, lest they should be exposed to public mendicity." Of this foundation, however, no other trace has been observed.

⁷⁰ St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, 1, v, 5. "To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

⁷¹ There does not appear to have been any bequest to the dean, nor to the precentor, the only ones of the executors so omitted. Geoffrey was the dean from 1250 to 1262, and the precentor was probably Robert de Purle, who is named in King Edward's deed (see note 67) as one of the surviving executors in 1276, but who does not otherwise appear in the will. At the beginning of Richard's episcopacy, Thomas de Lichfield was Dean of Chichester, and, with the rest of the chapter,

and arrange in the manner that shall seem to them most expedient for my soul. And if, after the disposal previously appointed, there should remain anything from my effects, let it be converted by my executors in aid of poor religious persons⁶⁹ in my bishopric, and of hospitals, and towards the repair of bridges and roads, and in aid of widows, orphans, and fatherless wards, as may seem to them most expedient.

I excommunicate and anathematize all those who may maliciously impede my will, in order that, according to the Apostle, "they may be delivered over to the destruction of the flesh," so that their soul may be saved in the day of judgment.⁷⁰

I appoint and constitute as executors of this my testament the venerable men, Sir John Mansell, Provost of Beverley, the Lords the Dean⁷¹ of Chichester, the Precentor of Chichester, and Master Hugh of St. Edmund's, Canon of St. (Paul⁷²) in London, Sir Simon de Teryngg, Walter de Campeden, William de Selesey, earnestly entreating them, as much as possible with attention to charity, diligently and faithfully to execute my above-written will. And if it may be done without offence, I earnestly call upon my venerable Father and Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁷³ that he (whom, having asked permission, I constitute my principal executor and conservator of my effects) will, as principal executor and conservator of my effects, direct,

met the bishop, when repelled with insult from the king's court, with sad and troubled countenances. Richard, however, exhibited more cheerfulness, and told them, "I know very well, like my father before me, how to eat and drink from an earthen platter and cup. Let my gold and silver ones be sold." (Bocking, p. 280.)

⁷² The word "Pauli" seems omitted in the MS.

⁷³ By the strongly exerted influence of the crown upon the chapter, Boniface, a prince of Savoy, and uncle to the queen of Henry III, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1241, and being desirous of retaining the experienced services of Richard, he replaced him in the office of his chancellor on his return from Orleans. Though Boniface was very unpopular among the English laity and clergy, as being both negligent of his episcopal duties, a foreigner, and an adherent of the court, yet Richard, of whom it was said that "he never suspected any one until proved guilty," appears to have had a better opinion of him. This earnest appeal to the archbishop to support his will, was probably dictated by the consideration of the difficulties he foresaw that his executors would have in recovering their claim from the king without some such powerful advocate. Though monks were expressly forbidden to act as executors by Archbishop Peckham, in his statutes, yet this prohibition did not extend to the secular clergy.

stituo, subscriptam voluntatem meam dirigat, defendat, et contra adversantium conflictum conservare dignetur.

In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum meum presenti scripto precepi apponi.

Nos B(*onifacins*) Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus tocius Anglie primas ad petitionem executorum presenti Instrumento sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus, &c. &c. (*Sic in MS. Cicest.*)

defend, and deign to uphold against the opposition of disputants this my will subscribed.

In witness of which matter, I have directed my seal to be affixed to this present writing. We B(*oniface*) Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, on the petition of the executors, have caused our seal to be affixed to this present Instrument, &c. &c.

ABSTRACT OF A PAPER ON CHICHESTER CROSS.

READ AT CHICHESTER, JULY 1, 1847.

By JOHN BRITTON, Esq. F.S.A.

I FEEL great surprise and gratification on meeting, in a provincial city, so many persons attracted by the study of our national antiquities, when I recollect how little appreciated such matters were when I first began my exertions in Archæology, now more than half a century ago. At that time the embellishments, even of the best topographical works, were truly contemptible, both in drawing and engraving. The artists were often incapable of discriminating even the circular from the pointed style of architecture, and accuracy of outline and proportion was quite neglected. I may congratulate myself in knowing that the successive publications of my 'Architectural Antiquities,' and the 'Cathedral Antiquities,' gave rise to a new school of superior artists, which made them more worthy of the public patronage; and I have now the pleasure of observing a warm and general interest in Archæology, and a talent for correct drawing widely spread, not only among artists, but among ladies and others who devote their leisure to the study of art.

Market-Crosses may be considered as relics of monastic customs, for they are invariably placed in juxtaposition with old religious houses, and were calculated to afford shelter from sun and rain to persons frequenting the periodical markets or fairs, to sell provisions to the inmates of those houses. In the old cities of Canterbury, York, Wells, Salisbury, Chichester, as well as several others, and likewise in the monastic towns of Glastonbury, Malmesbury, St. Albans, &c., there were buildings of this class, some of which still remain.

The very fine cross of Glastonbury has been removed within the last few years, and its place occupied by a new one of entirely different character. The old cross at Malmesbury, built in the time of Henry VIII, is in good condition, and affords in its very good central turret a guide to the future restorer of Chichester Cross. Crosses were at first mere single stones, or shafts, raised on one or more steps, and adorned with sculpture, several of which still remain, and some of them were subsequently employed as the central shaft to a covered market building, as at Castle Combe, Wiltshire. It was not till about the end of the fifteenth century that the covered market-cross was generally employed.* The history of the Cross at Chichester, so fortunately preserved from the wanton assaults of man and the insidious enemy, Time, is well defined, and its purpose and destination clearly understood. By documents in possession of the corporation it is set forth that Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester, purchased from the mayor and burgesses, in 1500, a piece of ground at the junction of the four principal streets of the city, for the sum of £10, in order to erect a building on it, to be entirely devoted to the use and benefit of the poor people who frequented the market. They were to have free possession of the said ground, with shelter and protection by the building, and to be exempt from interruption, as well as from fines and tolls.

It is an octagonal building, having eight buttress-piers at the angles, which serve to sustain a superincumbent wall, raised over eight arches, and adorned with panelling, rosettes, shields with armorial bearings, an embattled parapet, pinnacles, &c. From the top of each buttress springs a flying or arch buttress, converging towards the centre, where the eight unite, and then continue to an apex, which was originally either an ogee-shaped cupola, as in Henry the Eighth's chapel, or a turret with eight niches and statues. This part of the Cross has been destroyed, and its place supplied by a modern tasteless lantern, which ought to be removed without delay, and an appropriate turret built.

In the centre of the area of the building is a large column,

* A copious essay on stone crosses, with several illustrations, will be found in the 'Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain;' and in the 'Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities' are views and an account of Chichester Cross.

from which spring numerous bold ribs beneath a vaulted roof. Shields, with the arms of Bishop Story, impaled with those of Henry VIII, are attached to the buttresses, whilst the tympana between the arches and the outer ogee mouldings are ornamented with sculptured mitres. These mouldings terminate with large and elaborate finials, which serve as brackets for statues in niches, and are surmounted by canopies. This design and arrangement were originally in harmony with the whole edifice, and truly beautiful, but each side is now lamentably disfigured by either a large clock dial, an inscribed tablet, or a modern bust. These innovations, made at different times, though with the pretence of improvement by those who repaired the building, are palpable and deplorable defects.

As a beautiful, unique, and very interesting architectural design, as a memorial of the arts and customs of a bygone age, and as an ornament to the city, it is much hoped that the citizens will not only preserve it from further defacement, but will also restore it to its pristine character and completeness. As we now have architects who, from study and experience, can appreciate and reproduce the details of medieval architecture, this could be easily effected at moderate expense. As constituting one of the most conspicuous features of the city, its restoration should be an object of patriotic pride to the citizens; and it would be a subject of congratulation if this visit of the Sussex Archæological Society should at all contribute to such a result.

END OF VOL. I.

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