SUSSEX

Archaeological Collections,

ILLUSTRATING THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. II.

LONDON:

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
4, OLD COMPTON STREET, SOHO SQUARE.

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REPORT.

THE Committee of the Sussex Archeological Society have much gratification in distributing the second volume of their Collections among their members, and they hope that its contents will be found such as to maintain the character of the Society and to advance its objects. The Society has continued its meetings with success, and has increased the number of its members, among whom will be found many names eminent in antiquarian literature. The financial position of the Society being also favorable, the Committee feel encouraged in the belief that the publication of these contributions to the better knowledge of the History and Antiquities of Sussex is the best employment of the funds at their disposal, while mutual concert is also well promoted by the General Meetings of the members at different places in the county. Although they are sensible of the advantages which would result from establishing a permanent depository for books and antiquarian objects within the county, yet they do not feel warranted at present in recommending what might prove a source of much expense.

It is with much satisfaction that the Committee have observed the announcement of several works, having in view the same objects as the Society, but intended to be published independently, and they are disposed to attribute to the influence of the Society this beneficial

result.

On June 3, 1848, Sir S. B. Peckham Micklethwaite, Bart., High Sheriff of the county, presided over a General Meeting at Hastings, at which 28 members attended, with numerous strangers. Among the objects exhibited were:—

Many articles of Earthenware, lately found in an ancient Pottery near Hastings, and some Fragments and a Bead from the tomb of Thomas Goodenough in All Saints Church, Hastings; by Mr. T. Ross.

A large collection of Coins; by Mr. Cooper, Librarian.

Fragments of Roman Ware, some with ornamental designs, recently found in the north aisle of Chichester Cathedral; by Joseph Butler, Esq.

Electrotype Copies of Ancient Seals belonging to Sussex; by Mr. M. A. Lower.

Rubbings of Brasses in the Churches of Hastings, Thomas Wekes, Jurat and his wife, 1563; John Barley and Mary Harley his wife, 1601; Thomas Goodenough and of William Prestwyk, Dean of Hastings, 1436, from Warbleton Church; by Mr. T. Ross.

Drawings of Matrices of Brasses now removed from the pavement of Chichester Cathedral, done to scale, and

Architectural Drawings of some Churches near Chichester; by Joseph Butler, Esq.

Drawings of Old Houses at Hastings; by J. G. Shorter, Esq.

Rubbings of Brasses of the Peckham family, from Wrotham Church, Kent; by Sir S. B. P. Micklethwaite, Bart.

Drawings of the Architectural Features of Battle Church, and coloured Copies of the Mural Paintings discovered there in 1846; by W. H. Brooke, Esq.

Tracings of part of the Mural Paintings lately discovered in Portslade and Lindfield Churches; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

A large Collection of Antiquities, Coins, Vases, Carvings, Drawings, &c.; by J. H. Maw, Esq.

The following Papers were read, an asterisk being placed before those now printed.

- * Certificate concerning the Justices of Peace in Sussex, 1587; communicated by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.
- * On the Landing of the Normans in Pevensey Bay, and the Castellum dug at Hastings, by William the Conqueror; by Mr. M. A. Lower.
- * On the Descent of the Castle and Rape of Hastings during the Fifteenth Century; by W. D. Cooper, Esq.
- On the Employment of the Vessels of the Cinque Ports in the wars of Edward I and II; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
- * On an Ancient Bridge at Bramber, discovered in 1839; by Rev. E. Turner.
- * On the Mural Painting in Lindfield Church; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
- On Roman Coins found in Pevensey Castle; by Mr. M. A. Lower.
- * On some Letters of Edward of Caernarvon, first Prince of Wales, written in Sussex in 1305; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

By the kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation, the use of the Town Hall was granted, and the Museum of the Literary Institution was liberally open to the members of the Society on this occasion.

The General Annual Meeting took place on Thursday, August 10, 1848, in the County Hall at Lewes, when 100 members attended, besides their numerous friends. Sir H. Shiffner, Bart., first took the chair, while some alterations were made in the Rules 3 and 4, and the Annual Report was read, as follows:

"The Committee are glad to be able to report the increasing prosperity of the Society during the past year, the number of members having been gradually enlarged, and there are now 253 names enrolled. This enables the Committee to look forward to the future with confidence, and to rely upon the zeal and talents of so many able fellow-labourers to fulfil the objects of the Society in a manner worthy of the character of this enlightened county. The Meetings at Chichester and Hastings have been the means not only of promoting the personal co-operation of the members, but also of bringing forward many particulars relating to the History and Antiquities of the county, which might otherwise have been lost sight of. The first Volume of the Sussex Archæological Collections has been published and delivered free to the members, and the Committee have reason to think that it has given satisfaction even beyond the sphere of those locally interested. Though the expenses incurred by its publication have been considerable, yet by the economy observed in all other particulars, the Society has been

able not only to discharge all its liabilities, but was in possession of a balance of £37 7s. 2d. at the end of the year, June 30, 1848, after investing £40, representing eight life compositions of £5 each, in the purchase of £49 7s. 8d. 3 per Cent. Consols, in the names of three trustees. Many liberal presents of books, &c. have been made to the Society, including the following:

Nos. 1 to 15 of their Proceedings, by the Society of Antiquaries.

Volume I and Part I of Volume II of their Original Papers, by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

Monumental Brasses and Slabs; by the Rev. C. Boutell. (Large paper.)

Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, Session 1846-7.

On Anglo-Saxon Coins, discovered at York in 1842.

Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Picardie, No. 2; by C. Roach Smith, Esq.

History and Antiquities of Wells Cathedral; by John Britton, Esq.

A large Collection of Cuttings from the Gentleman's Magazine, of Articles and Prints relating to Sussex; by Charles Bridger, Esq.

Sepulchra Exposita; by the Hon. R. C. Neville, F.S.A.

Rubbings of Brasses from Wrotham Church, Kent; by Sir S. B. Peckham Micklethwaite, Bart.

Croisade Monumentale en Normandie, and nine other Archæological Pamphlets; by the author, M. l'Abbé Cochet, of Dieppe.

The York Volume of the Archæological Institute.

Accounts of the Sussex Archæological Society during the Year ending June 30, 1848.

Receipts—1847-8:	£	8.	d.	Payments—1847:	£	8.	d.
Balance from 1846-7 .	46	11	6	Aug. 10, Chichester Meeting	8	1	6
5 Life Subscriptions .	25	0	0	Sept. 29, T. R. Smith for			
Subscriptions, &c	96	12	0	engravings	24	0	0
•			_	Nov. 5, Gyde for engravings	4	6	0
	168	3	6	1848:			
				Feb. 28, T. R. Smith for			
Expenses	130	16	4	printing 1st Vol. Sussex			
*				Collections, binding, &c.	54	8	10
Balance in hands of the				April 4, invested in purchase			
Treasurer	37	7	2	of £49 7s. 8d. 3 per Cent.			
				Consols	40	0	0
				-			
					130	16	4

June 30, 1848; W. H. BLAAUW, Hon. Sec.

Among the numerous objects exhibited were-

The Pocket Bible of Oliver Cromwell, with his Cipher (described at p. 87 of the present Volume), and a Warrant signed by him.

Ivory Carving of the Coronation of the Virgin, and a Cross of Copper, from the Ruins of Hastings Castle.

Seal of Sir John Pelham, 1469.

Ancient Greek Coins.

By the Earl of Chichester.

Drawings of Hurstmonceux Castle, Stevning and Shoreham Churches, &c.

Oil Portrait of John Hamilton Mortimer, R.A., the Sussex artist, by Richard Wilson, R.A.

Seal of John de Bruges, and an illuminated Missal of the Fifteenth Century, &c. By T. Dicker, Esq.

Casts from Anglo-Saxon Coins, struck at Lewes, Hastings, and Chichester, found at Alfriston.

Fac-simile of the Slab of Gundrada.

Roman Remains, Pottery, Coins, a Stylus, &c., found among the slag of the ancient Iron Works at Oldland, in Maresfield.

By Mr. M. A. Lower.

Several ancient Andirons, and Rubbing of an Iron Monumental Slab in Burwash Church.

A Processional Cross, Enamelled Snuff-Rasper, some fine Limoges Enamel Plates, &c.

Three Anglo-Saxon ornamented Pins, connected by Chains, By Albert Way, Esq. from the bed of the River Witham, Lincoln.

A Lingua Serpentina, from St. Paul's Bay, Malta.

Sketches of Lewes Town and Castle in 1754 and 1776, by Malchair. By the Rev. Dr. Wellesley.

Fragments of ancient Tiles, &c., found in the Railway Excavations at the Priory, Lewes.

Full-sized Drawing of the triple Chamber Piece cast by Peter Baude, now in the Tower of London.

A Seal, inscribed Love me and I ze, found at Lewes. Mediæval Pottery, found at Lewes.

By Mr. W. Figg.

A Collection of ancient Sussex Andirons.

Numerous rare Coins, Roman, British, &c.

Painting of the Battle of Lewes, by Mr. T. Hardy.

Tracings from a Mural Painting in Treyford Church. By the Rev. W. D. Willis.

Romano-British Ornament from Rottingdean.

Bronze Implements, Brass and Stone Celts, found in Two Saxon Spear-heads of Iron, one coated with Silver,

from Applesham. Bronze and Flint Celts, a Cabinet of ancient Coins, Ring found at Lewes. By J. T. Auckland, Esq.

Gold Ring of a Lewes Prior, inscribed "en bon an." By Mr. J. L. Parsons.

Civil List Accounts from 1702 to 1712, in MS. Book. By the Rev. H. Campion.

Ancient Pottery, Alabaster Carving of Dives and Lazarus. By Mr. W. Baxter.

Drawings of all the Seals of the Monasteries in Sussex. By C. Bridger, Esq.

Plan of Roman Villa near Portslade. By Mr. Hall.

Roman Tiles, from Excavations at Wiston.

Carved Fragments of Capitals and Mouldings, from the Ruins of Lewes Priory.

Coins and Pottery found in the Foundations of the new Subdeanery Church, Chichester. By J. Butler, Esq.

Numerous Rubbings of Brasses in Sussex and elsewhere, Impressions of Seals of Lewes Priory, and Boxgrove, &c.

Numerous Cameos, Gems, Rings, Carvings, and a Monastic Breviary from Wales. By T. Windus, Esq.

The Earl of Chichester having afterwards taken the chair, the reading of the following papers began:

- * On Lewes Priory and its Seals; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
- * On the Iron Works of Sussex; by Mr. M. A. Lower.
- * Subsidy Roll in 1296 for the Rape of Lewes; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
- * Diary of Richard Stapley, Esq., of Hickstead Place, from 1682 to 1724; by the Rev. E. Turner.
- * On Royal Journeys in Sussex; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
- * On a Romano-British Ornament, found in Sussex; by F. Dixon, Esq. On Hurstmonceaux Castle; by John Britton, Esq.

Several papers prepared for this meeting having been postponed from want of time to read them, the Committee, in order to obviate this, on September 5, 1848, resolved to hold Quarterly Meetings on the first Tuesdays in October, January, April, and July, at Brighton and Lewes alternately. Circulars announcing them were sent to each member. At the First Quarterly Meeting held accordingly, at Lewes, October 3, 1848, F. Dixon, Esq., in the chair, were read—

- * Remarks on the History and Architecture of Mayfield Palace; by H. R. Hoare, Esq. Lease of the Free Chapel at Midhurst to Robert Eybrisse, in 1514; communicated by Sir Henry Ellis, K. H.
- * On Chalvington Church; by Hamilton Dicker, Esq.
- * Letter of Nicholas Gildredge to Sir Thomas Pelham, in 1637; by Mr. M. A. Lower. Inquisitions concerning the Rebels of Sussex in 1264, from MSS.; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
 - A Gritstone Quern, with a Groove fitted with Iron, found near the Roman Villa at Clayton.
 - Drawing of an earthen Vessel, perforated with small holes, found at Cisbury, now in the British Museum.
 - Encaustic Tiles, one with a Queen's Head, from Rustington; from Rev. J. C. Greene.

At the Second Quarterly Meeting, at Brighton, on January 2, 1849, Thomas Attree, Esq., in the chair—

- * Remarks on an ancient Monumental Slab, lately found in Bishopston Church; by Mr. W. Figg.
- * Account of some Roman Remains, lately discovered at Eastbourne; by Mr. M. A. Lower.
 - Letters to Ralph de Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor to Henry III, from his Steward in Sussex; by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

Some discussion arose explanatory of the peculiar division of land at Brighton into Pauls, generally one eighth of a tenantry acre, from 25 to 27 feet wide.

Numerous fine Specimens of Roman and Etruscan Ware, Lamps, Jugs, &c., principally from the Stowe Collection; from W. Wakeford Attree, Esq.

Fragments of Roman Tiles, Pottery, Coins, &c. from Eastbourne; by Mr. M. A. Lower.

At the Third Quarterly Meeting, at Lewes, April 3, 1849, R. W. Blencowe, Esq., in the chair—

* On Sussex Churches; by Mr. W. Figg.

Documents on the Beacons in Sussex, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, from the Burrell MSS.; by H. R. Hoare, Esq.

On Ecclesiological Nomenclature; by H. Dicker, Esq.

* Account of the recent discovery at Alfriston of Urns and British Sepulchral Remains; by Mr. C. Ade.

The ancient Seal of William de la Chapelle, found on the Wallands, near Lewes—the ancient Urns from Alfriston—Rubbings of Brasses in Battle Church, Roman Coins, &c., from Maresfield—Impressions of four ancient Ecclesiastical Seals, found in the bed of the Seine at Paris, from James Hepburn, Esq.—A Leaden Presence Token, found at Heathfield, from Sir C. Blunt, Bart., &c. &c., were exhibited.

At the Quarterly Meeting at Brighton, on July 3, 1849, Dr. Pickford in the chair, there were exhibited—

The Visitation of Sussex, by Philipot, Somerset Herald in 1634, with the Arms emblazoned, the property of Mathias Slye, Esq., Hailsham.

Roman Antiquities from Maresfield, including eight Coins, two Fibulæ, a Spoon, a Steelyard, and a small Bronze Head.

Observations on the Pelham Buckle were read by Mr. M. A. Lower.

On the ancient Earthworks, Hill Forts, of Sussex; by the Rev. E. Turner.

* On the Monumental Brasses at Warbleton, Fletching, and Ardingly Churches.

The best thanks of the Society are due to the authorities of Hastings, Lewes, and Brighton, for the liberal accommodation afforded by them at all these Meetings.

In conclusion, a reference may be made to the present prospects of the Society, in anticipation of the proper period of closing the current account on December 31, 1849. The investment of all the subscriptions compounded has put the Society in possession of £60 4s. 4d. in the 3 per Cent. Consols, and, as there are at the present time 287 Members enrolled in the List of the Society, the discharge of all its liabilities, including the expenses of the present Volume, will be easily made when the subscriptions now in arrear shall be paid.

Notice.—The General Annual Meeting of the Members will take place at Arundel, on Thursday, August 9, 1849.

LEWES; July 4, 1849.

This Volume is distributed free to Members. The price to the public will be 15s.; but to new Members joining the Society after December, 1849, the price will be 7s. 6d., and some copies of the Society's First Volume will be reserved for them at 5s., for which applications may be made to Mr. W. Harvey, Local Secretary, Lewes.

Susser Archaeological Society.



Batron.

His Grace the DUKE OF RICHMOND, K.G., Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rot.

The Marquis of Northampton.

President.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal.

Vice-Presidents.

The Earl of Arundel and Surrey, M.P.
The Earl of Burlington.
The Earl of Chichester.
The Earl of Egmont.
The Earl of Liverpool.
The Earl of Sheffield.
Lord Viscount Gage.
The Lord Bishop of Chichester.
Lord Abinger.
Lord Colchester.
The Honorable H. Otway Trevor.
The Honorable Robert Curzon, jun.
Sir C. M. Burrell, Bart., M.P.
Sir C. M. Lamb, Bart.

Sir S. B. P. MICKLETHWAITE, Bart.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A. The Very Rev. Dr. Chandler, Dean of Chichester. Rev. E. Craven Hawtrey, D.D.

The Venerable Archdeacon Hare.
The Venerable Archdeacon Manning.
The Rev. H. Wellesley, D.D., Principal

of New Inn Hall, Oxford. H. M. Curteis, Esq., M.P.

AUGUSTUS ELLIOTT FULLER, Esq., M.P. ALEXANDER J. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.

John Britton, Esq., F.S.A., &c. &c. Thomas D'Oyly, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law. G. A. Mantell, Esq., F.R.S., LL.D., &c. Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of

Archæological Institute.

Committee.

R. W. Blencowe, Esq.
Rev. Heathcote Campion.
Col. F. Davies.
Frederick Dixon, Esq.
Mr. William Figg.
Rev. C. Gaunt.

Sir HENRY SHIFFNER, Bart.

Rev. Leveson Vernon Harcourt. Rev. Dr. Holland, Precentor of Chichester. John Hoper, Esq. Rev. Henry Latham. Mr. Mark Antony Lower. Rev. Wm. Downes Willis.

Treasurer.

THOMAS DICKER, Esq., Old Bank, Lewes.

Honorary Secretary.

W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., Beechland, Uckfield.

Local Becretaries.

FREDERICK DIXON, Esq., Worthing. W. Borrer, Esq., jun., Cowfold. Rev. T. W. Perry, Chichester. J. H. Pickford, M.D., Brighton. R. S. STREATFEILD, Esq., Uckfield. Rev. M. ALOYSIUS TIERNEY, Arundel. Mr. W. HARVEY, Lewes. Mr. T. Ross, Hastings. The objects of this Society embrace whatever relates to the Civil or Eeclesiastical History, Topography, Ancient Buildings or Works of Art, within the County, and for this purpose, the Society invite communications on such subjects, especially from those Noblemen and Gentlemen who possess estates within the County, and who may materially assist the completion of the County History, now very imperfect, by the loan of Ancient Documents relating to Estates, Manors, Wills, or Pedigrees, and of any object generally connected with the Ancient History of Sussex.

The Society will collect Manuscripts and Books, Drawings and Prints, Coins and Seals, or Copies thereof, Rubbings of Brasses, Descriptive Notices and Plans of Churches, Castles, Mansions, or other Buildings of antiquarian interest; such Collection to be preserved and made available for the purposes of the Society, by publication or otherwise.

Rules.

1. That the Society shall avoid all topics of religious or political controversy, and shall remain independent, though willing to co-operate with similar Societies by friendly communication.

2. That the Society shall consist of Members and Associates.

3. That candidates for admission be proposed and seconded by two Members of the Society, and elected at any Meeting of the Committee, or at a General Meeting. One black ball in five to exclude.

4. That the Subscriptions of Members becoming due on July 1, 1848, be Fifteen Shillings, in order to comprise the period of a year and half, to December 31, 1849, and that from that date the Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings shall become due on the 1st day of January, or £5 be paid in lieu thereof, as a composition for life. Subscriptions to be paid at the Lewes Old Bank, or by Post-office order, to Thomas Dicker, Esq., Treasurer, Lewes Old Bank, or to any of the Local Secretaries.

5. That Members of either House of Parliament shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and also such other persons as the

Society may determine.

6. That the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee of Management, to consist of a Patron, a President, Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, and not less than twelve other members, who shall be chosen at the General Annual Meeting; three Members of such Committee to form a Quorum.

7. That at every Meeting of the Society, or of the Committee, the resolutions of the majority present shall be binding, though all persons entitled to vote be not present.

8. That a General Meeting of the Society be held annually in July or August, as may be appointed by the Committee, at some place rendered interesting by its Antiquities or Historical Associations, in the Eastern and Western Divisions of the County alternately; such General Meeting to have power to make such alterations of the Rules as a majority may determine, or notice thereof being one month previously given to the Committee.

9. That a Special General Meeting may be summoned by the Secretaries on the requisition, in writing, of five members, and either the Patron, President, or two Vice-Presidents, specifying the subject to be brought forward for decision at such Meeting,

and such subject only to be then considered.

10. That the Committee have power to admit without ballot, on the nomination of two members, any Lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

11. That the Committee have power to elect as an Associate of the Society, any person whose local office may enable him to promote the objects of the Society—such Associate not to pay any Subscription, nor to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

12. That the Committee be empowered to appoint any Member Local Secretary for the town or district where he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects of local interest, and that such Local Secretaries be ex-officio

Members of the Committee.

12. That Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, be held at such times and places as the

Committee may determine.

14. That the Secretaries shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the General Meeting, and, until other arrangements can be made, shall have the custody of any books, documents, or antiquities, which may be presented, or lent to the Society.

Persons desirous of becoming members of the Society, are requested to communicate

with a Secretary.

Members.

Earl of Arundel and Surrey, M.P. Major G. Kirwan Carr, Brighton. Rev. P. Freeman, Chichester. Lord Abinger. Mr. Charles Ade, Alfriston. Rev. Aretas Akers, Fletching. Rev. H. Allen, Brighton. Mr. T. Arkcoll, Languey. Mr. T. Attwood, Lewes. T. Attree Esq., Brighton. W. W. Attree Esq., London. J. T. Auckland Esq , Lewes.

Earl of Burlington, Compton Place.

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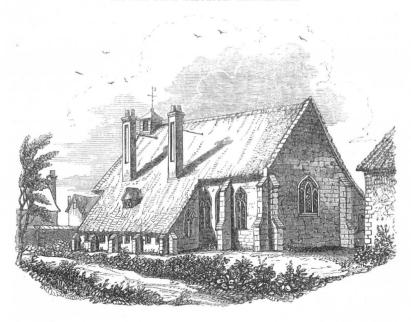
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Sussex Archaeological Collections.

ON THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, IN CHICHESTER.

READ AT THE CHICHESTER MEETING, 1847.

BY THE REV. GEORGE SHIFFNER.



The Hospital of St. Mary, situated in the parish of St. Martin, in the city of Chichester, may be considered as one of the most interesting and most ancient examples of an establishment of such a description now remaining in the kingdom. Little, however, of its early history is known; but it appears that William, who became the Dean of Chichester in 1158, founded it originally for the reception of nuns. Whether from insufficient endowment for its support, or from some other cause, this convent seems to have ceased previous

II.

to 1229, and a different appropriation of its revenues was sanctioned by the letters patent of Henry III in that year. (Rot. Pat. 13° Hen. III.) By these the establishment of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary is recognised, and leave is given for annexing to it the Church of St. Peter in foro, in order to support a warden, or chaplain, and thirteen poor and decayed persons. It thus became what we should now call an almshouse, rather than an hospital. The text of the few documents relating to this hospital not having been published, a translation of them from the original MSS. in the Tower is

subjoined.

"The King to all who shall hear or inspect this writing, health. Know that whereas the Church of S. Peter in foro of Chichester, which has been in our gift, is so poor (ita tenuis) in revenues and proceeds, that there only belong to it two parishioners, but neither other revenues or proceeds which might suffice for the repair and conservation of the said church, and for the ministers also serving in it; we, at the instance of the venerable father Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, our Chancellor, have granted that the said church be demolished (demoliatur), and that the aforesaid two parishioners who have belonged to it be assigned for ever to the Hospital of Saint Mary, which is near to the said church, so that henceforth they may receive spiritualities (percipiant spiritualia) and be parishioners of the same hospital. Moreover we grant to the said hospital the area in which the said church is situated. that it may remain to it for ever freely and quietly, by our gift, in free, pure, and perpetual alms. In testimony of which matter we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Given by our hand, at Westminster, on the 4th day of May, in the 13th year of our reign." (1229. Rot. Pat. 13° Hen. III, m. 7.

The next entry is of the year 1285, when Edward I granted the hospital an exemption from the statute of mortmain, to enable them to accept a gift of land (Rot. Pat. 13° Edw. I, m. 2); and it may be observed that one of the early mortmain

acts was enacted this very year.

"The King to all, &c. health. Although by the common Council of our realm we have provided that it shall not be lawful for religious men or others to enter upon the fee of any

one, so that it may come into mortmain (in mortuam manum deveniat), without our licence and that of the lord in chief from whom it is held immediately, being willing, however, to show special grace to our beloved in Christ, the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. Mary of Chichester, we have granted them licence, as far as in our power, that they may retain for themselves and their successors for ever, that parcel of ground (placeam illam) in which the Friars Minor of Chichester have been accustomed to dwell (morari consueverunt), which Henry de Chikehull, lately deceased, gave them before his death in pure and perpetual alms. Willing that neither the said prior and brethren, nor their successors. should be troubled in any way, or aggrieved by the rigour of the said statute, either by us or our heirs. Reserving, however, to the lords in chief of that fee the due and accustomed services from it. In witness whereof, given at Swayneston, on the 4th day of November."

The following relates only to the stopping up a path for the convenience of the hospital in 1290 (Rot. Pat. 18° Edw. I, m. 29), but has a local interest, and may imply that new

buildings were then about to be erected.

"The King to all, &c. health. Whereas we have learnt by the inquisition which we have caused to be made by our sheriff of Sussex, that it is not to our damage or nuisance, nor to that of others, if we grant to our beloved in Christ, the master (magistro) of the Hospital of St. Mary of Chichester, that he may block up and keep blocked up (obstruere et obstructam tenere), for himself and his successors for ever, a certain pathway (semitam) in the town (villa) of Chichester, which extends from the Chapel of St. Martin in the same town, on the west side, towards the east part of the same town, in such manner, however, that the same master shall make a certain other sufficiently competent pathway on his own soil in place of the aforesaid pathway; we, willing to show special grace to the same master in this particular, have granted to him, for ourselves and our successors, as far as in us lies, that he may block up and keep blocked up, for himself and his successors for ever, the aforesaid pathway; in such manner, however, that the said master shall, as aforesaid, make a certain other competent pathway on his own soil in

place of the same, reserving the right of every one. In testimony whereof, witness the King, at Westminster, the 23d

day of May."

Directions were given as to the daily food of the inmates: "If the Warden should be present, a broth; if he should be absent, a small loaf sprinkled with parsley, in compensation for the broth."*

Dallaway refers to the Patent Rolls of 17 Edward III, m. 27 (1343) as relating to this hospital; but on examination, that entry will be found to belong rather to the hospital of

St. Mary Magdalene in Chichester for lepers.

Some alteration was made in the constitution of the hospital in 1528 by the dean, William Flesmonger, who was warden from the year 1520, and dean from 1526 to 1543, all monastic and charitable institutions at that period being liable to severe scrutiny. (Arch. Sancroft's MSS.) The value of the revenues destined for its maintenance is entered in the king's books in 1535 (27 Henry VIII) as being £35 6s. 3d., and the reprisals or expenses amounted to £31 13s. 8d., leaving, according to the account, "de claro £3 11s. 6d," a clerical error for £3 12s. 7d. As a payment of £4 6s. was then made to the dean and chapter for prayers made for the souls of John Coke, Nicholas Colmer, J. de Corbet, Martin, citizen of Chichester. Stephen Colmer, Simon Climping, and Geoffry the dean, those persons must be considered to have been benefactors at various times to the hospital. This small sum must have been inadequate to the intended purpose, as originally planned, for so many inmates; and, indeed, in 1434 (12° Hen. VI, Rec. Scacc. Rot. 3) the master had been summoned to show cause why the hospital should not be seised into the king's hands. Accordingly the hospital was put upon a new footing in 1562, by a grant of Queen Elizabeth, who refounded it as a corporate body, with a common seal (of which a woodcut is here

^{* &}quot;W. de Owe, custos et quinque pauperes, ex fundatione capellanus et tres decim pauperes. Grossura singulis septimanis singulis diebus, potagium si custos adesset, si abesset unam meciam aciæ seminatam in recompensationem potagii." Dallaway's Chich. Grossura is perhaps a mistake for potura, an allowance; mecia, michia, micea, is a small loaf, a manchet, an ordinary portion of a medieval dietary; aciæ seems to represent ache, parsley, unless, as an ingenious friend conjectures, it has been miscopied or misprinted from peciam casei. Unfortunately the reference given by Dallaway to Regist. Episc. R. 98, for the extract, is incorrect, and the passage has not been found.

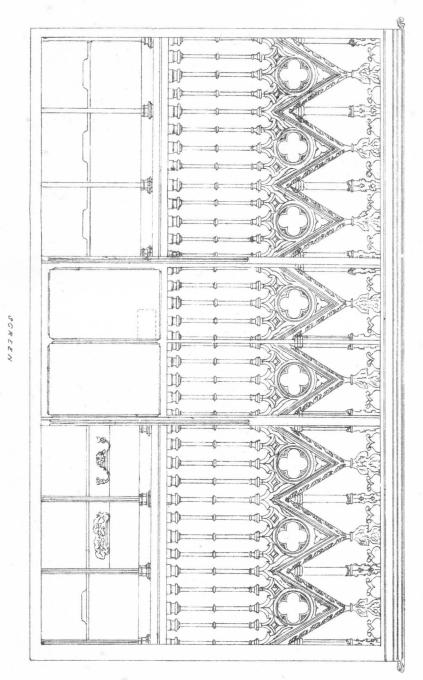
inmates. These chambers are therefore necessarily low, and limited by the beams of the roof, all opening into the refectory.

An ancient screen, beautifully carved in oak, separates one end of this large and somewhat gloomy refectory from the chapel. The entrance is in the middle of the screen, and wooden stalls extend on each side, with *misereres* elaborately, and in some cases grotesquely, carved in dark oak. There are three richly-sculptured stone sedilia on the south wall, near the east end, and also a very beautiful piscina. At the east end is a triple lancet window, resembling that of the Grey Friars, now belonging to the corporation of Chichester, and the north and south sides of the chapel are each lighted by three windows.

Divine service is performed twice daily in this chapel.

The character of the buildings, which are probably of the latter end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, may be seen by the illustrations.





ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF LEWES PRIORY, AND ITS SEALS,

WITH EXTRACTS FROM A MS. CHRONICLE.

READ AT THE LEWES MEETING, 1848.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

It is wholly unnecessary here to repeat the well-known history of the Priory of Lewes, which fills so many folio pages in Dugdale's 'Monasticon;' but a few particulars may be mentioned as to its origin and subsequent fortunes, derived from that source, as well as from other documents and MSS. relating to it. There is not in all the volumes of the 'Monasticon' a more interesting or pleasing narrative of the foundation of any monastery, than that contained in the Charter of William de Warenne, the first founder of Lewes Priory. it there appears so much considerate piety, so much earnestness in accomplishing his purpose, so many touching allusions to his deceased wife Gundrada, such solemn injunctions to his sons and heirs to uphold his good work, and such loval gratitude to the sovereigns whose bounty had enabled him to establish this Priory, that the old Charter of 1088, written shortly before his death, becomes a piece of biography interesting even to the busy 19th century.

William de Warenne, travelling with his wife Gundrada to the shrine of St. Peter at Rome, had found their road intercepted by the wars of Pope Hildebrand and the Emperor, so that they halted by preference at the great monastery of Clugny, in Burgundy, near Macon, dedicated to St. Peter, where the Abbot Hugh, though then absent, was well known for his learning and piety. Lanfranc had at home advised them to found some religious house, and they had already formed the intention to do so, when their reception at Clugny

at once determined them to adopt that order of Benedictines for their new foundation. With that active spirit of improved church-building which influenced all the Norman chieftains immediately after the Conquest, they had already converted the old wooden church of St. Pancras, which they found lying below their Castle of Lewes, into a stone church. The existence of this wooden church before the Conquest affords us a hint of the probable structure of many other churches in Sussex, where the supply of wood was so abundant, and stone so rare. It may have boasted of some relics of St. Pancras, but there were fragments of the same saint also at Utrecht and Ghent, to which they were brought in 985, from Rome, and in 1080 they were solemnly translated at St. Bavon's. (Sanderi Hagiolog. Fland.; Annal. St. Bavonis in Chron. Belges.) There were also churches of St. Pancras at Magdeburgh (v. Otte), and his head is still annually exhibited at Kome.

William de Warenne and Gundrada now wished to commit this new stone church to as many Cluniac monks as they could persuade the Abbot Hugh to grant them; they only begged for two or three or four such, and they did not easily obtain even so many. Lanzo, a most distinguished man, and three others, at length came over in 1077, but even afterwards the Abbot Hugh so grudged the loss of such valuable men, that he detained Lanzo a whole year away from his new Lewes Priory, and William de Warenne was obliged to insist in strong terms upon a more regular supply of his best monks being kept up by Abbot Hugh, when he met him in Normandy in the presence of the king. Indeed at one time, in disgust, he thought of transferring altogether his foundation to St. Martin's at Tours. The king himself was in some degree a rival rather than a help on this occasion, for he too told the Abbot Hugh, in Warenne's hearing, to "send him over a dozen of his monks, and he would make them all bishops and abbots in the land of his inheritance." This struggle to import Burgandy monks proves their advanced state of civilization, and explains the remarkable expression on Gundrada's tomb, which boasts that she introduced the balm of good manners into the English churches: "Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum." Their learning and manners were esteemed, by the Normans at least, superior to those of the English clergy. One of the first MS. documents preserved by the Lewes monks in their Chartulary (inscribed "Robertus Auncell quondam Prior de Lewes me fieri fecit, A.D. 1444." Cotton (MSS. Vespas. F. xv.) records the extension of their territory, by Warenne acquiring possession of "all the land and the island near Lewes which is called Southye" for his monks, exchanging them with Ralph de Insula for "all the messuage and land previously tenanted by Martin de Peccham, together with pasture for eight oxen where Warenne's own oxen pastured," on the easy tenure of delivering, every Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24), "ten arrows, barbed, shafted, and feathered," (decem sagittas barbelatas flechatas et impennatas, f. 9—f. 118.) The founders only expected a community of twelve persons, and their first gifts were in proportion. Gundrada contributed her own land at Falmer, which her mother, Queen Matilda, had given her, and the only appearance of Gundrada as a witness is, where her name is found with that of her husband's, with the king's, the queen's, and her brothers', to the deed of gift sent over to Clugny, which indeed the abbot had insisted on having, before he would send over his valuable monks in return. (V. Archæologia, v. 32, p. 19, by W. H. Blaauw.) A fixed payment of 50s. a year to Clugny was accepted in lieu of all other claims from Lewes, but the right of appointing a prior on every vacancy, and even of admitting fresh monks, was exclusively reserved to the Abbot of Clugny, and this caused many subsequent complaints, the number of monks being purposely kept small by these aliens, whose interest it was to divide the revenues of the Priory among as few as possible. The abbey of Clugny enjoyed a singular privilege, which left it uncontrolled by any episcopal or other authority, for Pope Alexander II, in 1061, granted it a free exemption from any excommunication whatever, denouncing in his brief any one who might dare to excommunicate the monks of Clugny as "accursed by our Lord and St. Peter, and fit to be burnt in eternal fire with the devil and the traitor Judas, and to be cast down with the impious into the abyss and Tartarean chaos." (Bullarum. Rom. Pontif. Collectio, t. 1. Roma, 1739-62.)

Lanfranc, by whose advice the founders of Lewes Priory had acted, no doubt recommended foreigners in preference to Eng-

lish, for to him, learned and pious as he was, the English, whose language he could not understand, were as aliens and barbarians, and he piteously complains in his letters to the Pope Alexander of having been forced to become their archbishop. "The weakness of my talents, and unworthiness of my character, were of no avail when brought forward in objection to this. My excuse of the language being unknown, and the people barbarian, prevailed not at all." Epist. 1. "I at the time a new Englishman, and of English affairs, except as conveyed to me through others, as yet almost ignorant." Epist. 2.* Lanfranc, having been himself a monk, laid down eight general rules for monastic communities:—1. No monk to leave the cloister without leave, nor even then without good cause. 2. Silence to be kept. 3. To hold no property of their own. 4. To obey their prelates. 5. Never to murmur or blame, for any cause, however just. 6. To love one another. 7. Not to neglect the services of their church, 8. To make confession of all their sins. He cautioned them also to delight less in the sweetness of a quavering voice than in compunction of spirit while singing psalms, remembering whose words they were—to eat within satiety, to drink within ebriety, and neither to cling to pleasures when present, or long for them when absent. † Though the monks of Lewes, who acknowledged the Abbot of Clugny as their only superior, may have pleaded exemption from these rules, yet there can be little doubt that Lanfranc's reproach as to the English was mainly true, and that for many generations the most civilized and best instructed inhabitants of Lewes were the foreign monks of the Cluniac Priory.

The first care of the Lewes founders must have been to provide a fit dwelling for the monks, but they probably left their new stone church to be enlarged and completed by their son, for the first consecration took place between 1091 and 1097, as is fully described in a charter of the second Earl Warenne. t

Gundrada died three years before her husband, and he expressed in his charter his wish himself to lie "where his wife

^{* &}quot;Excusatio incognitæ linguæ gentiumque barbararum." "Ego tum novus Anglicus, rerumque Anglicarum nisi quantum ab aliis accipio pene inscius." Epist. Lanfranci, p. 229.
† Lanfranci Sententiæ, in Spicileg. d'Achery, 1, 442.

^{# &}quot;Aliquantis posthae in ecclesie constructione annis evolutis, tandem peracto opere," f. 14.

lies;" and that his heirs should lie there also. We know, both from the Lewes chartulary* and from a contemporary historian, Orderic, that he was so buried at St. Pancras, and it has been by a strange accident indeed that nearly 800 years afterwards their remains have been found thus near to each other, and the wish again fulfilled by the liberality of a distant generation, who have lately redeposited their bones beneath the fine marble slab of Gundrada.†

William de Warenne expressed his wish that his foundation should grow with his growth (sicut ego cresco, crescant et res monachorum), and it certainly did advance in wealth and importance with the growth of his family. He guarded his gifts (which are detailed in Dugdale) by the most solemn curses:—" May God meet those who oppose or destroy these, with the sword of anger, and fury, and vengeance, and eternal malediction; but may God meet those who preserve and defend them in peace, grace, and mercy, and eternal salvation. Amen, Amen, Amen."

His heirs did not neglect his injunctions: they added fresh gifts on the first dedication, within ten years of his death, and the construction of fresh buildings must have been carried on for some time afterwards, probably rebuilding the choir on a larger scale, as was then the usual practice. These being completed in the time of the third Earl William de Warenne, a second dedication then took place, between 1136 and 1147, when the Bishop of Winchester cut off the hair of the Earl

^{*} See Remarks on the Leaden Cists in Archæol. vol. 31, by W. H. Blaauw. † As the interest excited by the discovery of these remains was the immediate forerunner of the formation of this Society, it may be permitted to observe, that these bones have been again buried in the Warenne Cemetery at Southover Church, constructed for the purpose from Caen stone, part of which was derived from the ruins of the Priory. Its Norman architecture was designed by Mr. J. L. Parsons, of Lewes, improved by some kind suggestions of the eminent architect Mr. B. Ferrey, and executed under the superintendence of Mr. C. Parsons, entirely by Lewes workmen, at a total cost of £413 3s. 7d. The Duke of Norfolk, president of this Society, and the Earls of Abergavenny, Delawar, and Amherst, who are the descendants and representatives of the Warennes, were among the most liberal contributors. The stained windows are principally due to the generosity of Sir C. Burrell, Bart. and of Mr. Briggs, while Messrs. Faithful, Mr. Gurney, Mr. J. Hoper, Mr. Hurdis, Mrs. and Miss Jackson, Mr. Langford, Mr. Streatfeild, Messrs. Sutton, Mr. G. Wythes materially co-operated with the author of this paper, and the principal inhabitants of Lewes and the neighbourhood, in completing this building. It is also due to the Railway Directors to acknowledge gratefully their co-operation during their excavations, and their large subscription towards decently reburying the bones so unexpectedly disturbed.

and of his brother Ralph with a knife, before the altar, in the presence of the Archbishop Theobald, the Bishop of Rochester, and Robert Bishop of Bath, who had himself been a monk of Lewes Priory. This ceremony was a form of giving seisin not very uncommon at the period. It was probably on this occasion that, the bodies of the founders having decayed after half a century's interment, their bones were transferred into the smaller leaden cists in which they were found in 1845, and moved to some more conspicuous situation in the newly-finished Gifts now accumulated from all quarters: not only from each successive inheritor of the earldom of Warenne, (though in fact there were only three earls of the original male line,) but from numerous private persons, many from the wish of being there buried, many from persons on becoming monks, and it became a favorite place of burial with the rich and noble. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that with all this prosperity, and though Lewes was the acknowledged chief of many other Cluniac monasteries, yet the foundations of all these were comprised within the first 150 years from the Conquest; after which (probably owing to the superior popularity of the newer orders of Franciscans and Dominicans) no new Cluniac monastery was ever established in England. It is to be presumed that the balsamic infusion of good manners by these foreigners had by that time worked its civilizing effect on the English, and that instead of the archbishop considering the people barbarians and their language strange, they now looked upon the Burgundians as themselves intruders with a language unknown to the common people whom they professed to instruct.

The middle of the thirteenth century was a great building age, and great alterations were undoubtedly going on for at least twenty years in the church of Lewes Priory. Probably the nave was then rebuilding on a larger scale, and in the newer style of architecture, some fragments of which remain, and in the same style were probably the two western towers which Prior Foville was building, and left a large sum to complete, at his death in 1268. In the MS. Chartulary, we learn that the master of the works of the church, in 1247, was called John ("Johanni magistro operum ecclesie sancti Pancratii," f. 310), who bought of Agatha, widow of Richard de

la Cumbe, two meadows in Barcampe parish, namely la Cnolland, called Southwisse and Northwisse. Earlier than this, in 1189-90, we also find mentioned Roger as mason, and Master Helias as sculptor, a very unusual designation, and indicating by his title as Master probably a superior artist, though without any surname to trace his origin, whether English or not. "Roger cementarius" and "Magister Helias sculptor" appear as witnesses to a deed dated in the Lewes Chapter-house, in the first year of the coronation of King Richard, f. 237.

Among the places chosen by testators (Test. Vet.) for burial in this Priory, we find noticed a chapel of St. Martin in 1341; "a tomb in the great church under an arch near the funeral chapel" in 1379, p. 109; mass was to be said "in the Chapel of our Lady, on the north side of the great church, or in the Chapel of St. Thomas Martyr," in 1385, p. 94; "a place behind the high altar," where the unfortunate Earl of Arundel, beheaded in 1397, had prepared his tomb, p. 129; and a tomb lately made (in 1491) on the south side of the altar by George Lord Abergavenny, p. 406. In the Lewes Chartulary occurs "the altar of the Holy Cross in the great church," f. 54; and allusion is made to "the Cross of Southover opposite the lime-pit" (contra marleriam), f. 58, and to the fine entrance-gate, destroyed a few years ago; deeds of 1296 being dated "in the church of St. John of Southover, outside the gate of the monks of Lewes," f. 55—f. 155. The excavations made at the time of cutting the railway brought to light some foundations, which had the appearance of the choir at the east end, surrounded by small chapels.

Among the minor grants to the Priory were some very acceptable ones, such as venison for the sick monks, the right of fishing, as also the monopoly of eels from the Yorkshire property of the Warennes, and the right of taking wood three

days a week from Pentacost to St. Peter's day.

The stern discipline of the Cluniacs is described by Guy de Provins as very repulsive. "When you wish to sleep, they awake you; when you wish to eat, they make you fast. The night is passed in praying in the church, the day in working, and there is no repose but in the refectory; and what is to be found there? rotten eggs, beans with all their pods on, and liquor fit for oxen, for the wine is so poor, that one might drink of it for a month without intoxication." (See Bloom's

'Castle Acre,' p. 22.) It will be seen, however, that knights claimed as a privilege the right of sending a dependent to learn cookery in the prior's kitchen. Many of the deeds of gift to the Priory, preserved in the Chartulary, are highly illustrative of the piety and manners of the times, and the donors are of all classes, not only knights and ladies, but small farmers, millers, gatekeepers, tradesmen of all sorts, damsels, and widows. Some examples of the variety of these gifts, and of the benefits granted in return by the monks, may be interesting.

William Bernehus of Cokeham gives the right of paying nothing "at the passage of Shoreham beyond the harbour, provided the person truly belongs to the Priory," and is pro-

mised a perpetual anniversary to his honour in return, f. 132.

Ralph de Clera confirms his brother Roger's grant, and leaves his body to the Priory to be there buried. He seems to have put on the monastic dress, or to have become in some way associated with them, for he calls them "his brother monks," (fratribus meis monachis, f. 122,) and his son and heir Ralph propitiates them by giving them the land of Hakelinkeword.—"I, Ralph, have offered this said land by my knife (per cultellum meum) on the great altar of St. Pancras on the day when my father, Ralph de Plaiz, was legally received there for burial," f. 120.

Hugh de ffokyntone, with the assent of his wife and son, thus insures his burial at the Priory:—"I give with my body all my land between the public road that goes from Lewes to Horsted, and the wood of the said monks from 'Hakebuttes-

boh' as far as 'Stokbregg,'" f. 66.

William Malfred gives two hides of land, for which the monks have given him 20 silver marcs, "in aid of my ransom, having been taken prisoner at Pevensey," f. 69.

Hawisa de Gurnay surrenders to the Priory the land she held in dower from her late husband, Roger de Clere, and sends her seneschal and her knight (militem meum) to give seisin, f. 121: this was at the end of the 12th century.

Geoffry de Cotes, son of Peter, gives the church of Cotes to the Priory. "For this donation they have received me and my heirs to all the advantages of the prayers which they shall offer in the said church for ever." Nov. 1289, f. 150.

William de Braose was content with a similar reward, after

giving his land at Shoreham. "In such manner that I retain nothing from it for myself or my heirs, except the prayers of the house of S. Paneras," f. 132.

Richard the gatekeeper (portarius) of Pevensey was not so easily satisfied when he gave the Priory a free passage to the water of the sea through his marsh to their mill at Langeney. He exacted an annual rent of 12d., and at the time of making the grant, "the Prior gave me one marc in silver, and three marcs of gold to my wife, and such a preference (talem dignitatem) that whenever my corn should be carried to the mill, it should be immediately ground after that which may be in the mill at the time," on paying however the emolument like others, f. 89.

The Prior Peter, when granting the lease of a house in London at 14s. annual rent, conditions with the tenant for himself and monks and the convent cellarer to be received there in a fitting and choice lodging (hospicio congruo et delibato), and that they should be provided and served with "fire and water and salt, and vessels sufficient for them," whenever they

should come to London, f. 196.

Margaret, daughter and heir of Solomon de Hothlegh, widow of Robert de Glyndele, gives up all her dower to the Prior of St. Pancras, John de Tynges (about A.D. 1280), and the convent in return undertakes to find her in food and clothing and lodging for her life, "every day a loaf of convent bread, and a loaf of knight's bread (panem militum), and a gallon of the best beer, and one dish from the guests' kitchen (unum ferculum de coquina hospitum); and every year, on the feast of St. Pancras, half a marc for my clothing, and every second year one fur dress (pelliceam) from those which the chamberlain (camerarius) receives from the convent; and moreover the said Prior and convent shall find me a competent house in Southenovre for my life." Her husband was living in 1259, and was also a donor, f. 95, but her dower had been disputed; and it was not till an agreement was made before the Justiciaries at Chichester, that she obtained this life-pension from the Priory. Agnes, her mother, had also given up her dower to the monks for 10 marcs, silver, f. 93.

The surrender of a corrody by William de Echingham, Knight, on the receipt of 100*l*. sterling from the Priory in 1307, is a

remarkable example of the singular privileges sometimes claimed and enjoyed under that head. The deed (f. 91) refers to the law-suit which had arisen in the Court of the Liberties of the League (Leucate) of Pevensev, as to the customs and services due to the Manor of Languey from the Priory, and he now agrees to a compromise, thus enumerating his former claims:—"The Priory was bound to receive me, with my wife and all my family and horses, four times every year, for myself and my wife to be blooded (fleotomisandos), and to dwell there at the expense of the Priory each time for three days, and on the fourth day to the hearing and singing the mass, either in the halls of the convent, or in other competent houses, and with eatables and drinks and all other things necessary at my stay and arrival; and moreover, they were bound to keep at their expense in the said Priory one charger or one palfrey, and one youth (garcionem) annually and continuously through the whole year, and that the said youth should receive all necessaries, and a robe of the same fashion as the youths of the Prior (robam de secta garcionum Prioris), and also that I should at my pleasure change the youth thus sojourning, and that they should support one youth in the kitchen of the Prior in order to learn the business of the cook for the hall, at the entire expense of the house, who shall have his allowance (poturam), robe, and shoes with the men in the service of the Prior; and one other youth was to be received in the kitchen of the convent in the same manner as the youths of the Prior himself; and they were bound to support two puppy greyhounds (caniculos leporarios vel brachettos) or beagles, until they have completed a year; and I might and was entitled to remove as often as pleased me, the horse to be thus kept, the youths, and the puppies, and substitute others in their stead." these claims he gives up for 100l., sealing the deed with his own seal and that of the Liberties of Pevensey, in 1307. "Witnesses, William Manse, Simon de Pierpoint, John Heringaud, Knights, John ffyllol, John de Radmelde, John de Hvdenye, Simon de Wodeham, Gilbert Sykelfot, John de Kyngestone, Simon de Herbetinge, John de Brede, William atte Chambre, John atte See, W. Goldyng de leemi, Richard de Rattone, and many others."

It was probably owing to the claims made under this cor-

rody that an earlier member of the same family, Simon de Echingham, was treated with such mistrust by the monks, that even when a horse had been given him, the gift was accompanied by a cautious deed, implying that these simple men feared he would overreach them in this horse affair, although he was sheriff at the time, Nov. 1234. The worthy knight is made to sign a deed, declaring, "Whereas the venerable man, A. chamberlain of the prior of St. Pancras, has given me a certain palfrey out of favour alone, and his mere liberality, yet he fearing the modern craft (modernam astuciam) of the sons of men, namely, that such favour may be turned into a due, has prayed me humbly and kindly to apply a remedy to such a peril, I therefore" disown any such claim, f. 94.

The grant of a private chapel at Waldron is guarded by remarkable reservations. By a deed dated August, 1233, the Prior sanctions the agreement made by Sybilla de Ikelesham with Richard, the rector of Waldern, that she should have a chapel in her hall (in curia mea) at her own expense, to be served by the said rector, but without any baptistery or bell hanging (sine baptisterio et campana pendente) and on condition that she should come four times a year to the mother church, unless prevented by bad weather or infirmity of body.

f. 73.

The transfer of human beings from one proprietor to another, by gift or sale, is perhaps more discordant to our modern feelings than any other feudal custom, but the records of the Lewes Priory present many instances of "the prior and religious men of Saint Pancras" accepting such transfer without feeling any hurt to their conscience. When the owner of a knightly fee was liable to the demand by the king for a fixed number of soldiers, he was of course anxious to retain all the able-bodied on his land, and was naturally jealous of their passing into the hands of monks who were exempt from rendering such service to the state. There was then a reasonable claim for compensation, and the mutual advantage of all the three parties might be thus promoted, while it is agreeable to observe that families were not divided by such transactions, but that the wife and children (tota sequela sua) followed into the fresh settlement of the man. Some instances may prove interesting, both of gifts and sales.

From the date of the sheriff who witnesses the deed, the fol-

lowing must have been in the time of King John.

"Know all men present and future, that I Godfrey de Glinde have given and quitclaimed to God and to St. Pancras of Lewes, and to the monks there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms, for myself and my heirs, Gwarinn de hamgate, my man and native (hominem et nativum meum), with all his chattels and with all his following; and because I am unwilling that the said monks should be hereafter disquieted or molested concerning this my donation and quitclaim by me or by my heirs, or by any other person or persons, so as not to peaceably possess the said Gwarinn, with all his following and chattels as aforesaid, I have corroborated this present charter by the impression of my seal and by the subscription of witnesses, Heribert, at the time sheriff of Sussex, Simon de Hechingeham, Peter de Scotney, Geoffry de Waddon, Milo Marshal, Benedict of Lewes, and many others," f. 70.

The next is a sale at a low price, of the date of 1235, as proved by the sheriff, whose presence, as in the former case, was necessary to authenticate the transfer. By a deed, nearly in similar words, Gilbert de Say gives and grants to God and St. Pancras, and the monks, "Reginald, son of William de Dedteslinges (Ditchling), his man and native, with all his goods and chattels, and with all his following," and "that there should be no ambiguity or contradiction in future times," he sealed the deed, and "resigned the said Reginald in open court of the county at Lewes to the said monks by the present deed." "For this grant, however, and quitclaim and confirmation by deed, the Prior and Convent of Lewes have given me ten shillings sterling. Witnesses these, Simon de Hechingham, sheriff of Sussex, Johel, clerk, Amfred de Ferring, Will. Bernehus, Warin de Kyngston, Symon de Herbetynge, Nicholas, dean of Lewes, Master Reginald, the parson of Westmeston, William, the parson of Street (persona de Stratis), Will. de Hoche, John de St. Victor, and many others," f. 117.

The higher price of 100 shillings, given in another sale, was probably owing to the skill of the artisan, as a soap-maker. In words similar to the preceding deeds, William de Kaines, son and heir of Richard, gives up to the priory all claim to



"Alwin, their man of Seaford, surnamed Le Soper" (hominem illorum de Sefford cognomento Le Soper), receiving from them in payment 100 shillings sterling, in the presence of

Eustace, the Archdeacon of Lewes, &c. &c., f. 95.

Many other illustrations of ancient manners and of Sussex history might be derived from this chartulary, but may be left for a future occasion, nor is it necessary here to repeat the wellknown events of the Lewes Priory, its sequestration as an alien priory by Edward I, and again by Edward III. The latter, indeed, was so suspicious of these foreign monks being in league with his enemies the French, that on Oct. 4, 1338, he sent a peremptory order to the Bishop of Chichester, Robert Stratford, then his chancellor, to remove the monks of Lewes of every rank immediately to other houses of the same Cluniac order more distant from the sea. Rymer, p. 1061. Notwithstanding the king's caution, it seems that the Prior sent over some money to Clugny secretly, and on Oct. 8, 1343, the king with much severity writes to warn the prior not to repeat such offence on pain of forfeiture. The gallant resistance of the prior to the French invaders of 1377, in a succeeding generation, served to prove their improved loyalty; but on this, and the destruction of their great church by London workmen, in 1537, with the subsequent occupation of the buildings, nothing need here be said.

The seals relating to the priory have not been previously engraved, and are now presented to the Society by the kindness and skill of one of its members, J. H. Hurdis, Esq. Those marked figs. 2, 3, 4 are from drawings made in 1825, by B. Howlett, and of these fig. 3 is the oldest, being the seal and counterseal of Stephen, who was prior in 1219. An impression in white wax of this seal is found in the Cart. 1218 Duc. Lancast. Pyx vii, and represents him seated in a cushioned chair, with his head bent, holding an open book in his hand; the inscription around is "Sigill. Stephani Prioris Sci Pancracii," and on his secretum or counterseal are the words, "Secretu Stephani de lişi," surrounding a lily, probably an emblem of his name, "de Lis," which has not been otherwise recorded.

Fig. 2 represents the Prior John standing under a gothic canopy, with a crocketed pediment, the inscription being, S. Johis Horis Lewensis."

Fig. 4 is from an impression on a deed of Prior Pete de Joceaux, de Jocellis, Nov. 12, 1343 (Cart. 1218, Duc. Lanc.), and represents the martyrdom of St. Pancras by a Roman soldier. The style is so base and the design so unusual, that it may be doubted whether Mr. Howlett did not in his drawing add more than is marked by the lines of fracture to this

imperfect seal.

Besides those engraved, there exist some others, namely, the counterseal of No. 4, a small oval, exhibiting the prior's name, s. F. P. 10CLs, and a prior's secretum, from a deed dated Feast of St. Thomas, 1322, in the county bags in the chapter-house, being a small oval, exhibiting St. Pancras kneeling, with a Roman soldier, sword in hand, behind him, with one hand on his head, inscribed SECRETUM . . . RIORIS LEWES. This belonged probably to John de Monte Martino, who was prior in 1309 to 1324. An impression in green wax, Cart. 1343, in the chapter-house, of a small oval, representing the Saviour seated within a gothic niche, blessing with his right, and holding a globe in his left hand, inscribed s. PRIORIS The patron saint is seen kneeling below, with his hands clasped. s. PRIORIS . . . BEARI . . perhaps Alberisus, prior in 1309. There is also another small oval seal in green wax, (Cart. 1360, Chapter H.), representing a prior standing with a book in his left hand, and his staff in the right, inscribed S. FRIS S DE SIS.

The most interesting seal, both as a work of art and the historical associations connected with the subject represented, is etched at fig. 1, and is taken from a sharp impression in dark green wax, attached to a bond for £300, given to ensure the payment of his share of the clerical subsidy voted in 1529 by Robert Crowham, the last prior of St. Pancras, dated May 20, 1531. The deed is in the Carlton Ride MSS., and another impression exists at Canterbury. is evident, on examination of the architecture on the two sides of this seal, that the one, fig. 1, B., representing a chapel, within the niches of which stand the patron saints of the priory, St. Peter, the Virgin Mary, St. Pancras, and St. Paul, is of older date than the other, and may probably be assigned to Edward the Second's or early in Edward the Third's time. is remarkable that St. Pancras, who fell a martyr to his faith when a youth of fourteen, is here personified by a mature priest,



J.H. Hurdis. Newick. Sussex. Oct 1848

king, that he ordered the grave to be opened in order to ascertain its falsehood, and all traces of the exact spot of burial to be effaced. With unseemly haste, the Earl of Nottingham immediately received a grant from the king of the forfeited possessions of his father-in-law, including the castle, town, and lordship (dominium) of Lewes (Calend. Rotul. Pat. p. 232, 21° Ric. II, 4); and on Sept. 29 was created Duke of Norfolk. These circumstances exactly correspond with this seal, where the king is seen seated in the centre, grasping his beard as in anger, with his two mace-bearers, and perhaps his chancellor near him, and presenting to a nobleman the grant which made him the patron of Lewes Priory, so as to justify the words, "The anger of the king (Cesar) has granted me the Warenne honours." Never were honours so acquired more short-lived, though he found time to date "from our Castle of Lewes, Nov. 2, 1397," a confirmatory charter to the prior, John Ok, boasting of the king having granted to him "the foundation of the Priory of Lewes;" and, after enumerating the good deeds of all the Warennes, he professed his desire to walk as much as he could in their footsteps (eorum vestigiis pro posse meo adherere cupientes, f. 40). Soon afterwards, however, in consequence of his quarrel with Henry of Lancaster, he was himself an exile, and never more exercised any privileges over Lewes. Within a short year, the lordship of Lewes Priory again passed into fresh hands, Richard II now granting it to his own half-brother, John Holland, then Duke of Exeter. (Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 235, No. 28: 22° Ric. II. m. This new possessor passed away as rapidly as his predecessor, for the king being deposed, Lewes and all other possessions were immediately restored by Henry IV to the young heir of the Earl of Arundel, Oct. 11, 1399, and the Duke of Exeter was in the next year beheaded. monks in such troubled times, and with such a quick succession of lords over them, should have found an opportunity to have this beautiful seal made, may seem extraordinary, but no other period accords so well with its design, and, as we have seen, it continued in use as the common seal down to the time of the last prior. I have to thank one of our Members, W. S. Walford, Esq., for many suggestions in explanation of this interesting seal.

Among the Cotton MSS., there has long been one so much

shrivelled and defaced by fire, as to be nearly illegible, but having been skilfully repaired at the British Museum lately, some few extracts may prove interesting. It purports to be "Annals written by a certain Monk of Lewes, from the birth of Christ to the year 1312;"* and, like many other monkish chronicles, it records much of which the writer could know nothing, and much which nobody wishes to know. It required of course a succession of writers to keep up such a history from time to time; and it is generally on matters only within their own narrow sphere, and of local interest to themselves, that their evidence is welcome. The writers of the best, that is, the latest part of the chronicle in question, were certainly Cluniac monks, but by no means always resident at Lewes, many of the notices expressly referring to Montacute, in Wilts, as the writers' convent, and a careful list of its priors is given, f. 177. The events at Monkton Farleigh, in Wilts, are also particularised in much detail, and indeed the principal ones of many of the other Cluniac foundations, even those on the Continent, are also noticed; and it is only from about 1262 to 1286, that the fulness of the record as to Lewes seems to prove that the MS. was then kept at that priory. The present extracts comprise those notices only which relate to Sussex, with a few having a more general interest. Some gaps necessarily occur, where the MS. has been burnt. It will be remarked that the first entry relating to Lewes does not record the foundation of the priory, but simply the arrival of the first prior.

"In the year 1077, Lanzo, the prior of Saint Pancras,

arrived in England.

1083. Matilda, the first Queen of England, died. The description of every hide and plough in all England was made by King William, and is preserved until now in the Treasury of the realm [Doomsday].

1085. The Countess Gundrada died. [She died however

before her husband was made Earl.

^{1077.} Lanzo Prior Sancti Pancratii venit in Anglia. 1083. Obiit Matildis prima Regina Anglie. Descriptio cujusque hide et aratri tocius Anglie facta est Willelmo Rege et in thesauris regni usque nunc oservata. 1085. Obiit Gundrad Cometissa.

^{* &}quot;Annales conscripti a monacho quodam de Lewes a Christo nato ad annum 1312." Tiberius, A. x.

1088. Earl William, the first founder, died.

1107. Lanzo, prior of Saint Pancras, died.

1139. Arnold the prior died, Nov. 5 of Lewes or Montacute ?7.*

1218. The great infirmary was made. (?)

1219. The two houses of the infirmary towards the north

were built after Easter by William de Buckebi. (?)

1229. The Chapel of the Blessed Mary was constructed anew, and on the vigil of St. Nicholas the first mass was celebrated in it. (?)

1231. John, the first-born of William Earl Warenn, was

born.

1237. In this year Abbot Hugh [of Clugny] was in this country, and received the profession of many monks. [These visits of the abbots of Clugny were the only means of keeping up the numbers of the monks at the Cluniac monasteries.

1242. William Earl Warenn died; John his son succeeded.

1243. On the anniversary day of the Lord Earl William, the foundation was laid of the new work of our church. (?) In this year the blessed Richard was consecrated at Rome, contrary to the will of King Henry, to the bishopric of Chichester.

1244. Died Albert the prior; Guygard succeeded.

- 1245. Saint Richard had favour from the Lord King Henry, and he restored to him his temporalities, and many other goods. In this year P. [perhaps the monkish writer of
 - 1088. Obiit Willelmus Comes primus fundator. 1107. Obiit Lanzo Prior Sancti Pancratii.

1139. Obiit Arnaldus Prior nonis Novembris. (?)

1218. Magna infirmaria facta est. (?)

1219. Due domus infirmarii versus norht facte sunt post pascham a Willelmo de

1229. Constructa est de novo capella Beate Marie et in vigilia Sancti Nicolai

prima missa celebrata est in ea. (?) 1231. Primogenitus Willelmi Comitis Warenn natus est.

1237. In hoc anno Abbas Hugo fuit in hac terra, et fecit plures monachos pro-

1242. Obiit Willelmus Comes Warenn. Successit Johannes filius suus.

1243. In die anniversarii domini Willelmi Comitis positum est fundamentum in novo opere ecclesie nostre. In hoc anno sacratus fuit beatus Ricardus apud Romam contra voluntatem Regis Henrici ad Episcopatum Cicestrensem.

1244. In hoc anno obiit Albertus prior. Successit Guygard. 1245. Sanctus Ricardus habuit gratiam domini Regis Henrici et reddidit ci

^{*} The mark of interrogation is placed to those entries, the application of which to Lewes, Montacute, or other places, is doubtful.

this chronicle] received the order of priesthood. Guichard, the Lewes prior, came to England, and on the vigil of St. Pancras [May 11], entered the Lewes church with a great company, and was honorably admitted by the convent.

1247. Guichard, the Lewes prior, died on the morrow of

St. Nicholas, Bishop and Martyr [Dec. 7].

1248. William Russinoll succeeded. Also in the same year the justiciaries were at Lewes, Gilbert de Prestone, with his associates.

1249. In this year Prior William Russinoll came.

1250. In this year the Lord Henry king of England, son of King John, was at Montacute on August 2, and gave us a silver cup to put the eucharist in, and a silk cloth. In this year, on the day of Saints Processus and Martinianus (July 2), a certain infirm person, with his arm and both knees as it were contracted, was cured at the holy cross of St. Pancras at Lewes. [This was probably the altar of the Holy Cross in the church before referred to.]

1251. This year came Abbot William [elected abbot of Clugny 1243, resigned 1257] into England, and on the day of St. Florencia the Virgin [June 20] came to Lewes, and on the day of St. Alban Martyr [June 22] afterwards made monks there, and on the day of St. John the Baptist [June 24] chanted high mass. This year there was a great difference between the bishop of Chichester [afterwards S. Richard] and

temporalia et multa alia bona. In hoc anno successit P. ordinem sacerdocii. Guichardus prior Lewensis venit in Angliam et in vigilia Sancti Pancratii cum magno comitatu Lewensem ecclesiam intravit, et a conventu honorifice est admissus.

1247. Obiit Guichardus prior Lewensis in crastino Sancti Nicholai Episcopi et Martyris.

1248. Successit Willelmus Russinoll. Item in codem anno fuerunt justiciarii apud Lewes, Gilbertus de Prestone cum sociis suis.

1249. Hoc anno venit Prior Willelmus Russinoll.

1250. Isto anno fuit dominus Henricus rex Angliæ, filius regis Johannis apud Montem Acutum 4 nonis Augusti, et dedit nobis cuppam argenteam ad reponendam eucharistiam et unum pannum de serico. In hoc anno die SS. Processi et Martiniani quidam infirmus quasi contractus de brachio et ambobus genibus sanabatur ad caretam enversa. Sonti Pancertii de Levre

ad sanctam crucem Sancti Pancratii de Lewes.

1251. Hoc anno venit Abbas Willielmus in Angliam xv kalendis Junii, et die Sancte Florencie Virginis, venit ad Lewes, et die Sancti Albani Martyris postquam fecit ibi monachos, et die S. Johannis Baptiste cantavit summam missam. Hoc anno magna distancia erat inter episcopum Cicestrensem et priorem de Lewes, propter ecclesiam de Brietemistone. Hoc anno nata est filia Johannis de Warren que vocatur Elienor.

the prior of Lewes, on account of the church of Brighton. In this year was born the daughter of John de Warren, who is called Elienor. [She afterwards married Henry Lord Percy, which accounts for the Warenne arms on Alnwick Castle.]

1252. This year John de Warren crossed the seas with the

Earl of Gloucester and the Count de Valence.

1253. Richard bishop of Chichester died; Master John de Climpenges succeeded. Also the second daughter of John de Warenn was born, Sept. 26. [Isabella, afterwards married to John de Balliol, king of Scots.]

1254. In this year John de Warenn was made a knight,

with Edward, son of King Henry.

1255. Sir William de Russelun, the prior of Lewes, crossed the sea towards the Roman court, and on the day of the Annunciation [March 2] returned to England. This year the justiciaries were at Chichester on the eve of Symon and Jude, the apostles (Oct. 27), Gilbert de Prestone, Roger de Wyntone. Also this year P. was made monk on Oct. 3. [This personal record, as in the year 1245, seems to denote the writer of the memorandum.] Also this year, in the night of St. Maur abbot Alicia bare a son, who was named William the next Sunday. On the day of St. Marcellus [Jan. 16] the Earl John had his procession, and on the morrow moved towards Dover, and crossed the sea with the Earl of Gloucester and William de Valence. Afterwards, in the octaves of the Purification of the Blessed Mary [Feb. 2] the Countess Alicia [de Warenne, half sister to Henry III] died, and was placed in the earth

1254. In hoc anno Johannes de Warenn factus fuit miles cum Edwardo, filio regis Henrici.

1255. Dominus Willelmus de Russelun prior Lewensis transfretavit versus curiam Romanam, in die Annunciationis sequenti redditu in Anglia. Hoc anno erant justiciarii apud Cicestriam in vigilia Symonis et Jude, apostolorum, Gilbertus de Prestone, Rogerus de Wyntone. Item hoc anno factus est monachus P. v nonis Octobris. Item hoc anno in nocte Sancti Mauri Abbatis . . . Alicia peperit filium qui vocatus Willelmus die Dominica post. Die Sancti Marcelli Comes Johannes habuit processionem suam, et in crastmo movit erga Dovere, et transfretavit cum Comite de Glocestria et Willielmo de Walense, post ea in octavis Purificationis Beate Marie obiit Comitissa Alicia et posita est in terra ante magnum altare in presencia fratris sui Adelmari electi Wyntoniensis. Item hoc anno transfretavit Willielmus de Russilun de Lewes irrediturus, et cum eo A. Kukefeld capellanus terre sancte sed ipse rediit.

^{1252.} Hoc anno transfretavit Johannes de Warenna cum Comite de Gloucestrie et Comite de Walence.

^{1253.} Obiit Richardus episcopus Cicestrensis. Item nata est secunda filia Johannis de Warenn vi kalendis Octobr.

before the great altar in the presence of her brother Adelmar, elect of Winchester. Also this year William de Russilun de Lewes crossed the sea not to return, and with him A. Kukefeld, his chaplain, to the Holy Land, but he returned.

1257. This year Prior William de Fovile arrived at Lewes.

1260. This year, on the day of St. Giles [Sept. 1], the Abbot Yvo [elected abbot of Clugny in 1257] came and went away on the day before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary [Sept. 7], and received the profession of several monks at Lewes on Sept. 5. Also this year two justiciaries, whose names were called Hugh Despenser and Sir Giles [Sir Giles Erdinton probably, a judge of the Common Pleas in 1255], came after the Conception of the Blessed Mary [Dec. 8]. Also this year John Earl Warenn twice crossed the sea for the sake of a tournament.

1262. John Climpenges, bishop of Chichester died. John de Gatesden died on the eve of holy Easter, and on Wednesday was placed in the earth, before the altar of Saint James. (?) This year, after the feast of All Saints, justiciaries were at Chichester, who were called Martin de Littlebury and Geoffry [de Leuknor probably, who was a justiciary at the time].

1263. This year there was great difference between the king and the barons and Edward, of which barons the principal were Simon de Munfort and Earl Warenne, and at length peace was re-established, the Romans and foreigners being expelled. Also this year King Henry and the queen, and Earl Warenne with them, crossed the sea to the parliament of the king of France at Boulogne, as far as St. Omer, and returned

^{1257.} Hoc anno venit Prior Willielmus de Fovile apud Lewes.

^{1260.} Hoc anno die Sancti Egidii venit Abbas Yvo et recessit in die Nativitatis Beate Marie Virginis et fecit plures monachos nonis Septemb. Item hoc anno duo justiciarii quorum nomina eorum vocabantur Hugo Dispensarius et Dominus Egidius, venerunt post Conceptionem Beate Marie. Item hoc anno Johannes Comes Warenn bis transfretavit causa ludendi lanceis.

^{1262.} Obiit episcopus Cicestrensis Johannes Climpenges. Obiit Johannes de Gatesden in vigilia Sancte Pasche, et in die Mercurii positus fuit in terra ante altare Sancti Jacobi: Hoc anno post festum Omnium Sanctorum erant justiciarii

ad Cicestriam qui vocabantur Martinus de Littlebury et Gaufridus.

^{1263.} Hoe anno fuit magna distancia inter regem et barones et Edwardum, quorum baronum superiores erant Symon de Munfort et Comes Warenne, et tandem pax reformata est, expulsis Romanis et extrancis: Item hoe anno transfretaverunt rex Henricus et regina, et Comes Warenne cum iis ad parliamentum regis Gallie apud Bononam usque ad sanctum humerum et rediit ad natale. Iterum post natale Domini transfretaverunt Rex Henricus et filius suus Edwardus.

at Christmas. Again, after Christmas, King Henry and his son Edward crossed the sea.

1264. This year, on the 14th of May, and on the day of the translation of Hugh Abbot, and of the Holy Martyrs Victor and Corona, there was a deadly battle between King Henry and Symon de Munfort and the barons, and so it was, that the greatest part of the king's army was utterly overthrown between prime and noon. Firstly, the king was much beaten by swords and maces, and two horses killed under him, so that he escaped with difficulty, and his brother Richard, king of Germany, was soon captured. Edward, the king's son, delivered over in hostage to Symon de Munfort, and many of the greatest men of England, who held with the king, wounded in their heads and bodies even to death, the number of which dead is reckoned at 2700, more or less. All these things took

place at Lewes, at the mill of the hide.

[This authentic sketch of the battle of Lewes is nearly the only extract previously published. The writer had probably assisted in burying the dead, and though other contemporaries detail the debaucheries of the royalists in the priory, the Lewes monk, who must have witnessed them, consults the honour of his convent by suppressing them. If molendinum suelligi is rightly interpreted as "the mill of the hide," suelingæ, the spot has been identified by Mr. W. Figg at the upper or west end of Lewes, near St. Ann's church, where a tract of thirty-two acres of land, formerly belonging to the priory, is still called the Hyde, and on this land, near where the Black Horse Inn now stands, there appears a windmill in the oldest maps extant. The unusual word "suelligi" may, however, have a different meaning, "of the threshing-place," or "of the sewer."]

1265. This year, on March 25, Sir Walter was enthroned

^{1264.} Hoc anno pridie Id. Maii, et in die translationis Hugonis Abbatis et Sanctorum Martyrum Victoris et Corone, fuit mortale bellum inter Regem Henricum et Symonem de Munfort et barones, et ita fuit quod maxima pars regis exercitus inter primam et meridiem funditus sternata. Primo rex bene verberatus gladiis et de maciis et duo equi sub eo mortui, ita quod vix evasit, et frater suus Richard rex Alemannie confestim captus est. Edwardus filius regis in hostagio traditus Symoni de Munfort, et multi de altioribus Anglie, qui cum rege tenebant, vulnerati in capitibus et in corporibus, usque at mortem; quorum numerus mortuorum duo milia et vii centi plus quam minus numeratur. Hæc omnia facta fuerunt apud Lewes ad molendinum suelligi.

in the Lewes church. [Walter de Standstede, prior of Castle Acre, who died 127]. He was probably thus specially honoured as being born near Lewes.] Also the same year, on August 4, was the battle of Evesham, where Simon de Montfort and Henry his son were slain, and Le Despenser, and many other chieftains, nobles, barons, and knights.

1266. The bishop of Chichester crossed the sea towards

Rome.

1267. There is a great wind on the day of SS. Symon and Jude [Oct. 28], which wind tore up by the roots 300 and more . . . in the paradise, and . . . in the garden and appleorchards, beyond measure. [The $32\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land inclosed by the walls of the priory afforded ample space for the monks'

paradise, garden, and orchards.]

1268. William Fovill, prior of Lewes, died on the eve of St. Michael, and left the convent in good condition and without debts. He assigned to the convent a gold cup, with five precious gems, and a gilt cup for the eucharist, and four capes for the choir of the best, and a silver pall in the choir for the Easter candle. [A tablet was appended to the great candle, blessed by a deacon, and freshly lighted on Easter Sunday, on which were inscribed the date, dominical letter, golden number, &c. of the year, and the regnal years of the pope, king, bishop, &c. Consuet. Cluniac. i, 14.] Also he bequeathed for the benefit of the convent 100 pounds sterling in money for tunics, to be bought in the second year, when they do not receive fur cloaks from the chamber. Also for completing the two towers in front of the church, 200 pounds sterling; also to recover the Priory of Stuteville [this must refer either to Keldholm or to Rosedale, both nunneries founded by the Stutteville family in Yorkshire], which was pledged, 100 pounds sterling. Also 100 marcs to the Trea-

1266. Tranfretavit episcopus Cicestrensis versus Romam.

^{1265.} Isto anno viii kal. Aprilis fuit intronizatus Dominus Walterus in ecclesia Lewensi. Item eodem anno pridie nonis Augusti fuit bellum de Evesham, ubi occisus est Simon de Monte Forti et Henricus filius ejus, et . . . le Despenser et alii multi magnates nobiles barones et milites.

^{1267.} Est ventus magnus in die SS. Symonis et Judis, qui ventus radicitus evulsit in paradiso tres centas et plures et . . . in gardeno et pomeria ultra modum. 1278. Obiit Willielmus de Fovill, prior Lewensis vigilia Sancti Michaelis qui domum dimisit in bono statu et sine debitis. Assignavit conventui unum calicem

aureum cum quinque gemmis preciosis, et cuppam deauratam ad eucharistam, et

sury. He governed the Lewes church eleven years, from the feast of St. Laurence to the said day. Also in the refectory a gilt cup; also in the infirmary his own silver goblet: to whom succeeded Milo de Columbers, and came to the convent of Lewes January 30.

1270. This year there was a great frost, so that by the weight of ice the boughs of trees were broken over all England.

The Prior of Lewes crossed the sea towards Clugny.

1271. This year the justiciaries were at Chichester, namely, Master Roger de Seyton and Sir Ralph [de Hengham,

probably].

1272. King Henry died, to whom succeeded Edward, his first-begotten son, who at that time was in the Holy Land; and, on account of his absence, for the keeping the peace, by the assent of all the magnates, four guardians of the land were appointed, of whom the first and principal was Lord Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, the second, Lord John Earl Warenne, the third, the Archbishop of York, the fourth, Edmund, son of Richard, king of Almaine.

1273. In this year Stephen [de Berkstede], Bishop of Chichester, returned from the Roman court about the feast of

St. Andrew the Apostle [Nov. 30].

1274. Yvo, abbot of Clugny, died, to whom succeeded Yvo, prior of St. Martin des Champs. [This advancement seems

4 cappas in choro de melioribus, et unum pallium argenteum in choro ad cereum. Item legavit ad opus conventus e libras sterlingorum in denariis pro tunicis emendis in secundo anno quo non percipiunt pelliceas de camera. Item ad duas turres in fronte ecclesie perficiendas ce marcas sterlingas. Item ad recuperandam prioratum de Stuteville impignoratum e libras sterlingas. Item ad Thesaurum e marcas. Rexit ecclesiam Lewensem xi annos a festo S. Laurentii usque ad dictum diem. Item in refectorio unam cuppam deauratam. Item in infirmario suum ciphum argenteum: cui successit Milo de Columbis et venit ad domum Lewensem iii kal. Feb.

1270. Hoc anno facta est magna congelatio quod pondere glaciei rami arborum frangebantur per totam Angliam. Prior Lewensis versus Cluni transfretavit.

1271. Hoc anno fuerunt justiciarii apud Cycestriam, videlicet Magister Rogerus

de Secta et Dominus Raudulfus.

1272. Obiit Rex Henricus, cui successit Edwardus filius suus promogenitus qui tunc temporis fuit in terra sancta, et propter suam absentiam, ob tuitionem pacis, omnium assensu magnatum, constituti sunt quatuor custodes terra, quorum primus et principalis fuit Dominus Gylebertus Comes Glovernie, secundus Dominus Johannes Comes Warenne, tertius Archiepiscopus Eboraci, quartus Dominus Edmundus filuis Ricardi regis Alemannie.

1273. In hoc anno Stephanus Cycestrie episcopus rediit de curia Romana circa

festum Beati Andree Apostoli.

1274. Obiit Yoo, abbas Cluni, cui successit Yoo, prior Sancti Martini de Campis.

due to a remarkable nepotism, Yvo de Chasant being nephew to the Abbot of Clugny whom he thus succeeded, and also to the two preceding priors of St. Martin at Paris, where it will be seen he was followed by the Prior of Lewes.—Gall. Chr. vii. 528.] This year Milo de Columbers, prior of Lewes, was made abbot of Vezelay—[On the death of John, abbot of Vezelay in Burgundy, at the Council of Lyons, Milo de Coulombs was called to succeed him by the pope and the cardinals, and he found the monastery plundered and loaded with debts. He died in 1281. His previous dignity, at such a remote spot as Lewes, is nearly lost in French history, where he appears as having been Prior de Lutra or Libbensis. Gall. Chr. iv. 466. Another of the same name, Bertrand de Colombieres, was abbot of Clugny 1295-1308]—and was consecrated by the Lord Pope Gregory X, on the first Sunday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [Sept. 14]; to whom succeeded Peter de Villiaco, prior of Souvigny in the Bourbonnois; the series of its priors from 1247 for eighty years is not recorded in Gall. Chr. xii.]

1275. This year Peter de Villiaco, the prior of Souvigny sent by the Lord Abbot of Clugny to the priorship of Lewes, came to Lewes on the day of the Holy Apostles, Philip and James [May 1]. Also the same year, on Nov. 5, the same resigned and was made prior of St. Martin at Paris, in the octaves of St. Martin in the winter [Nov. 11]; to whom succeeded Sir John de Dwyanges, prior of Gayfes [St. Mary de Gouffer, near Seez, in Normandy, or Gay, in Champagne?],

as prior of Lewes.

1276. This year the above-named John arrived in England on the day of the Holy Martyrs Victor and Corona [Sept. 18], and came to Lewes on May 29, and was there received with

Hoc anno Milo de Columbers, prior Lewensis, factus est abbas Verzeleacensis, et a Domino Gregorio Papa decimo consecratus est die dominica prima post festum Exaltationis Sancte Crucis, cui successit Petrus de Villiaco, prior de Suveniaco.

^{1275.} In hoc anno Petrus de Villiaco, prior de Suveniaco, a Domino Abbate Cluniaco missus in prioratum Lewensem venit apud Lewes die SS. Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi. Item eodem anno nonis Novembris idem recessit factusque prior Sancti Martini Parisiis in octavis Sancti Martini hyemalis, cui successit Dominus Johannes de Dwyanges prior de Gayfes prior de Lewes.

1276. Hoc anno Dominus Johannes memoratus applicuit in Angliam die SS. Martyrum Victoris et Corone, et venit apud Lewes quarto die kal. Junii, ibique

great honour. Also this year, the body of the blessed Richard, bishop of Chichester, was translated, namely, on June 16. Also this year, the translation of the blessed Richard having been celebrated, Edward, king of England, came to Lewes, namely, on the eve of St. John the Baptist [June 23], and was there for four days, and the queen, with many nobles of the land, who thence went on to Canterbury.

1277. In this year Sir Yvo, abbot of Clugny, came to England, and landed June 13, and came to Lewes June 16, and received the profession of thirty-two monks there; from thence

he proceeded to the king.

1278. This year brother Robert de Kilewarby, who was archbishop of Canterbury, was made bishop of Porto [and of Sancta Rufina, the title of an episcopal cardinalate, attached to the Lateran Basilica at Rome. On this preferment Kilwarby resigned the archbishopric, and died soon after at Viterbo], to whom succeeded brother John de Peckham, of the order of Friars Minor. [The name of this Lewes family is found, as has been seen, among the earliest documents relating to the priory, and the archbishop has been generally considered as having been an inmate in its walls, which opinion is much confirmed by the entry in the year 1282.]

1279. This year brother John de Peckham came to England, having been made archbishop. The same year sat the justices itinerant in England. This year all the Jews of the whole of England were seized and imprisoned; also innumerable were hung for clipping the coin; and even many Christians were accused and put in prison by reason of the said clipping.

1277. In hoc anno venit Dominus Yvo abbas Cluni in Angliam et applicuit iv idus Junii, et venit apud Lewes xvi kal. Julii, et fecit ibi professos xxxii monachos,

deinde perrexit ad regem.

1278. Hoc anno frater Robertus de Kilewarby qui fuit archiepiscopus Cantuarensis factus est episcopus Portuensis, cui successit frater Johannes de Peckham de ordine minorum.

1279. Hoc anno venit frater Johannes de Peckham in Angliam factus archiepiscopus; eodem anno sederunt justiciarii itinerantes in Anglia. Hoc anno fuerunt omnes Judei tocius Anglie capti et incarcerati, item innumerabiles suspensi propter retonsionem monete et etiam multi Christiani fuerunt attachiati et in carcere positi

receptus cum magno honore. Item hoc anno translatum est corpus beati Ricardi Cycestrie episcopi, videlicet xvi kal. Julii. Item hoc anno celebrata translatione beati Ricardi venit Edwardus rex Anglie apud Lewes, scilicet in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et fuit ibi per quatuor dies et regina cum multis patrie nobilibus, qui inde Cantuariam adierunt.

A new coin was made, and an imitation of the new coin was current. John de Peckham, of the order of Friars Minor, was consecrated to the archiepiscopate by the Lord Pope Nicolas II.

1280. This year, in the octaves of St. Pancras, Sir John de Tyenges, prior of Lewes, began his journey towards the Roman court.

1281. The Lord King was at Lewes, on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary [August 15], and made there two knights, who were born in the country of Burgundy. [Probably many of the monks, and even the prior, belonged to Burgundy also, so that the knights may have been made in

compliment to them.

1282. Between Easter and Pentecost Sir John de Tyenges, prior of Lewes, returned from the Roman court. Afterwards, in the subsequent summer of the same year, on the day of the Apostles Peter and Paul [June 29], the lord archbishop of Canterbury, namely, brother John de Peckham, of the order of Minors, was at Lewes, and a procession of the convent having been made, in which took part the said archbishop, clothed in his pontifical robes, that he might display his affection to the convent of his love, and that the procession might be decorated by the presence of so great a prelate; then the procession being completed, he pointed out the word of life to the people, preaching in the great church; also, after the preaching was finished, he caused to be recited, in the hearing of the people, the decrees made by several of his predecessors, after the recital of which in English he immediately exhorted the people more carefully to guard themselves from suchlike decrees;

occasione predicte retonsure. Facta est moneta nova et imitatio nove monete cucurrit. Johannes de Peckham de ordine fratrum minorum consecratus ad archiepiscopatum Cantuarie a Domino Papa Nicolao secundo.

^{1280.} Hoc anno in octavis Sancti Pancratii Dominus Johannes de Tyenges, prior Lewensis, iter arripuit versus curiam Romanam.

^{1281.} Fuit Dominus Rex apud Lewes die Assumptionis Beate Marie et fecit ibi

duos milites qui nati erant in partibus Burgundie.

1282. Inter Pascham et Pentecostam rediit Dominus Johannes de Tyenges, prior Lewensis a curia Romana. Deinde in sequenti estate ejusdem anni, die Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, fuit dominus archiepiscopus Cantuarie, scilicet frater Johannes de Peckham, de ordine minorum apud Lewes, et facta processione conventus ubi interfuit predictus Cantuarensis indutus pontificalibus, ut conventui sue dilectionis affectum ostendet, et quod tanti prelati presencia processio decoraretur. Dehine processione completa in magna ecclesia predicando populo ostendit verbum vite; etiam quorum finita predicatione pluribus ab antecessoribus suis datas sentencias audiente populo fecit recitare, quas Anglice cum recitarentur statim populo appellavit ut ab hujusmodi sentenciis se caucius abstinerent. Deinde completis

then all things being completed, and those who were present, that is to say, those without deadly sin, having received absolution, and prayer having been made on behalf of the whole Catholic world, and the days of indulgence having been appointed, the same archbishop ascended, namely, to the great altar, where, for the solemnization of so great a festival, he sang the mass. Whence, when the hour of refreshment came, certain Friars Minor and a few secular priests simply accompanying him, he entered the refectory, where he are with the convent, that he might the more openly and clearly demonstrate the emotion of his love towards the same convent. Also, the same year, Sir Nicolas Cras, sheriff of Sussex, was spoken ill of before the Lord King, wherefore he was removed from the functions of his lordship for a time, but soon afterwards, on the king granting him peace, and all those opposed to him being refuted, he is replaced in his former state. At this time the church of Creek [in Norfolk] was withdrawn from the possession of the convent of Castle Acre, in the absence of the prior of the said convent; for the same prior had absented himself at that time, so that nobody was able to learn any truth as to where he was, or in what direction to turn concerning him. This delinquent prior was from Sussex, William de Shoreham.] Also, on the day of St. Polycarp the Martyr [April 27], in the same year, the chamberlain of Lewes, brother Benedict, was made prior of Castle Acre by Sir John de Tyenges, prior of Lewes, in full chapter, with the common assent of the whole convent of the same place. This act of paramount authority arose from Castle Acre having been made

omnibus et absolutis qui presentes fuerunt, videlicet absque mortali peccato, et facta prece pro omni Catholico populo, et diebus dictis indulgencie ascendit idem archiepiscopus, scilicet ad magnum altare, ubi pro tante festivitatis solemnitate missam decantavit. Hinc cum hora reficiendi affuit simpliciter commitantibus sibi quibusdam minoribus fratribus et paucis capellanis secularibus refectorium intravit, ubi cum conventu comedit ut sui amoris desiderium versus eundem conventum apertius et clarius demonstraret. Item codem anno diffamatus est Dominus Nicolaus Cras vicecomes Sussexie apud Dominum Regem, quare pro tempore a dominii sui officio fuit amotus, sed citò postea a Domino Rege sibi concessa pace et omnibus sibi adversantibus convictis, in statum pristinum collocatur. Per hoc tempus elongata est ecclesia de Crehck a possessione domus de Castel Acre in absencia prioris dicte domus. Absentavit enim se idem prior co tempore, ita quod nemo quo fuerit vel qua parte se verteret de illo vera aliqua inferre valeret. Item die Sancti Polycarpi martyris eodem anno factus est camerarius Lewensis frater Benedictus prior de Castel Acre a Domino Johanne de Tyenges, priore de Lewes in pleno capitulo communi assensu tocius ejusdem loci conventus.

subordinate to Lewes priory by the founder. A similar case, at Monks Farleigh, will be found under the year 1300.

1283. On October 24 died John de Beauchamp, at Hacche, and was buried in the chapel of St. Nicolas de Stokes on

October 31. (?)

1284. Sir John de Tyenges, prior of Lewes, crossed the sea in order to go to the chapter-general, and that he might arrange the difficulties of his Lewes convent with the Lord King of France; but Sir John de Tyenges crossed the sea about the Purification of St. Mary [Feb. 2], in the same year, and remained as prior at St. Mary, which is called de la Woute in Auvergne [on the Rhone], to whom succeeded Sir John de Avinon, prior of Wenlok. Also William de Warrenne married the daughter of the Earl of Oxford.

1285. In this year the above-named Sir John, who had been prior of Wanlok [Wenlock, in Shropshire. There is no prior mentioned in the Monasticon between John Tubbe in 1277 and Henry de Bonville in 1284], came to Lewes on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary [August 15], who was received with great honour, as was fitting, and he deserved to be venerated by all as prior and lord. This same year, on the fifth feast of the Nativity, Sir William de Warren, the first-begotten son of Lord John de Warren, the earl, was made a knight at Winchester.

1286. This year, on June 30, was born the first-begotten son of Sir William de Warenn, by his wife, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, whom he had married, as appears above. He was baptised and called by the name of John, on the 7th of

1283. Nono kalend. Novembris obiit Johannes de Bello Campo apud Hacche et sepultus est in capella Sancti Nicolai de Stokes pridie kalend. mensis ejusdem.

1285. In hoc anno memoratus Dominus Johannes qui fuit prior de Wanlok venit apud Lewes die Assumptionis Beate Marie, qui prout decuit cum magno honore fuit susceptus et tanquam prior et dominus ab omnibus meruit venerari. Hoc eodem anno quinto festo Nativitatis Dominus Willelmus de Warrenn primogenitus Domini Johannis de Warren comitis anud Wintonam factus est miles.

Domini Johannis de Warren comitis apud Wintonam factus est miles.

1286. Hoc anno pridie kalend. Julii natus est Domini Willelmi de Warannia, filius primogenitus ex uxore sua filia Comitis Oxonie, quam uxorem duxerat, ut patet in prescriptis; baptizatus et vocatus nomine Johannis, vii Novembris, immensa leticia, sed heus propheta testante, "extincta gaudia scilicet, sed occupat

^{1284.} Dominus Johannes de Tyenges, prior Lewensis, transfretavit ut adiret capitulum generale et ut ardua domus sue Lewensis cum Domino Francie Rege possit expedire. Transfretavit autem Dominus Johannes de Tyenges circa Purificationem Sancte Marie supradicti anni, et remansit Prior apud Sanctam Mariam que dicitur de la Woute in Avernia, cui successit Dominus Johannes de Avinon, prior de Wenlok. Item Willelmus de Warrenna desponsavit filiam Comitis Oxonie.

November, with immense rejoicing; but, alas! as the prophet testifies, "our joys are extinguished, but lamentation possesses us;" for in the same year, on the first Sunday before the feast of Thomas the Apostle, which was on December 15, the father of the aforesaid youth Sir William, killed in a tournament at Croydon], concerning whom our gladness had been, expired, and, oh sadness! he in whom flourished entire nobility, generosity, and honesty, and the beginning of the glory of all knighthood, now lies buried and covered with stones. But there was present at the entombment of this so noble a man, the lord of Canterbury, who buried him before the high altar, on the left side, near his mother, with the greatest devotion of respect, as was fitting, many nobles of the land being present. The earl marshal [Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk], the Earl of Oxford, and several barons, were anxiously afflicted at his death. About this time died Waleran de Monceaus. In spite of these clear details, it has been frequently stated, in genealogical accounts of the family, that the son John, the future eighth earl, was born after his father's death.

1289. On the night following the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle [Dec. 22], thunders were heard and lightnings visible. 1292. John de Peccham, archbishop of Canterbury, died.

1297. John de Avynon, prior of Lewes, died on March 28; also Nicolas the circuitor died on May 3, to whom succeeded Symon gaunt. [The circarius or circuitor was appointed among the Cluniacs to go the round of all parts of the monastery, by day or night, in order to observe, without a word or even a sign, any levity or negligence.]

1298. John de Newcastle was made prior of Lewes this year,

luctus," nam eodem anno dominica prima ante festum Thome Apostoli, que fuit xviii kalend. Januarii predicti pueri de quo nobis fuit letitia pater expiravit et, proh dolor, in quo tota vigebat nobilitas largitas et probitas et claritatis principium tocius milicie, nunc jacet humatus et lapidibus tene sus. Fuit autem ad hujus tam nobilis viri intumulationem Dominus Cantuarius qui ipsum ante magnum altare in sinistra parte juxta matrem suam cum summa venerationis devotione prout decuit sepelivit, presentibus multis patrie nobilibus. Comes Marescallo, (sic) Comite Oxonie, baronibusque plurimis us super ipsius mortem anxie affligebantur. Circa hoc tempus obiit Walerannus de Monceaus.

^{1289.} Nocte sequente post festum S. Thome Apostoli audita tonitrua et fulgura

^{1292.} Obiit Johannes de Peccham, archiepiscopus Cantuarensis.

^{1297.} Obiit Johannes de Avynon, prior Lewensis, v kalend. Aprilis. Item obiit Nicolaus cirsarius v nonis Maii, cui successit Symon..... gaunt. 1298. Johannes de Castro Novo factus est prior Lewensis hoc anno et interfuit

and entered the same convent with great ceremony on the day of the Holy Saviour [May 24], and was honorably received by the whole convent. [This prior had probably become known to the king in his progress to the Scotch war, and appears to have been the first of English birth, a result of the confiscation of the priory, as alien, in 1286. It will be seen, that in 1300 he promoted another Newcastle man, the convent gar-

dener, to be prior of Farleigh.

1300. This year, on the eve of St. Matthew [Sept. 20], the prior of Lewes came to the convent of Farle [Monkton Farleigh, co. Wilts], and by the precept of the lord abbot, and by virtue of his visitation, degraded the prior of the said house, who had left the said house in all manner of law-suits and other grievances, to whom succeeded John of Newcastle, the gardener of the Lewes convent, and he entered the convent of Farleigh on the morrow of the Circumcision of our Lord, and was honorably received by the whole convent. Also this year, on March 28, thunders were heard near us.

1301. John de Newcastle, prior of Lewes, died on Jan. 10. 1302. Sir Stephen, prior of Lewes, entered the convent of Lewes on the day of St. Pancras Martyr, and was received by

the whole convent.

1304. This year died John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, about the feast of St. Michael, at Kennington, near London."

This is the last entry in the chronicle relating to Sussex, but it is continued, with the intervals of some years left blank, to the year 1312, when it concludes with recording the beheading of Peter Gavaston near Warwick, and the birth of the prince, afterwards King Edward III.

in eandem domum cum magno apparatu in die Sancti Salvatoris, et a toto con-

ventu honorifice receptus est.

1301. Obiit Johannes de Castro Novo, prior Lewensis, iv Id. Januarii.

1304. Isto anno obiit Johannes de Warennia, Comes Sureye, circa festum Sancti Michaelis apud Kennington juxta London.

^{1300.} Hoc anno in vigilia Sancti Mathei prior Lewensis accessit ad domum de Farle, et priorem dicte domus per preceptum Domini Abbatis et officio sue visitationis degradavit, qui dictam domum in multimodis placitis et aliis oppressuris reliquerat, cui successit Johannes de Castro Novo, jardinarius de domo Lewensi, et intravit in domum de Farle in crastino Circumcisionis Domini, et a toto conventu honorifice receptus est. Item hoc anno v kalend. Aprilis audita sunt tonitrua apud nos. (?)

^{1302.} Dominus Stephanus, prior Lewensis, intravit domum de Lewes in die Sancti Pancracii Martyris, et a toto conventu est receptus.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BRIGHTON,

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE

"CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT FISHERMEN OF THE TOWN."

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

THE object of the following Paper is to trace the history of Brighton at an early period from authentic sources. Among the most important are the two books in MS. of the Fishermen's Customs of this Town, of the several dates of 1580 and 1618, which form a part of its records; and which, at the meeting held at Brighton in September 1846, were exhibited by Mr. Attree, of the Queen's Park, as objects of great antiquarian interest. The first of these books is entitled—'The Book of all the Auncient Customs heretofore used amonge the Fishermen of the Towne of Brighthelmeston, in the Countie of Sussex; and orders out of the saide customs by the saide fishermen taken and made; and afterwardes, viz. the xxiiith. of Julye, in the raigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth the xxiith, by the Right Honorable the Lord Buckherst, and Richard Shelley, Esquire, at Brighthelmeston aforesaid, in the presence of the saide fishermen, read, ratified, and confirmed.' The second, which is of later date, and in a great measure nothing more than a repetition of the first, with such changes as the altered state of the town during a lapse of 40 years had made necessary, is called - The Booke of all the auncient Customs heretofore used amonge and betweene the fishermen and landmen of the towne of Brighthelmeston, in the Countie of Sussex; and orders out of the saide customs taken and made the'
[here follows a blank space, evidently left for the entry of the month and day. which are omitted—'1618, in the yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lorde King James of England, Fraunce, and Ireland the sixteenth, and of Scotland the liith; which are for ever hereafter to bee one their parts, observed, performed, fulfilled,

and kept, and in the presence of the said fishermen and landmen, read, ratified, and confirmed.' As, then, these books contain, besides the customs of the fishermen, which are in themselves highly curious and interesting, a pretty accurate account of the state of the town and its residents, previous to and at the time these customs were committed to writing, I feel assured that, in referring to them, I shall be fulfilling a

leading object of our Society.

In referring to the earliest history of this ancient town, I shall first observe, that the existence of Druidical remains in its immediate neighbourhood, have led some archæologists to imagine that it was originally an ancient British settlement; while others, from its proximity to the Portus Adurni of the Romans, and from the circumstance of Roman coins and other indicia having been found upon and near to its site. have been induced to consider it as a Roman station. Be this, however, as it may, that Brighton was a fishing-town of some importance previous to, and at the time of, the Norman Conquest, there can be no doubt; for the gablum, or customary rent of the manor, is stated at that early period to have been 4000 halices, which term may import either dried herrings or mackerel, the estimated value of which was £12 per annum a large sum in those days. This customary payment was called, in 1665, "Ladynets," probably from the Saxon word "Lada," a lath, lade, or leet, it being evidently considered in the light of a reserved rent to the lord, for the privilege which the fishermen enjoyed of drying their nets and stationing their boats on the waste of this manor. The custom of going to Great Yarmouth annually, from September to November, to catch herrings, prevailed, Weevor tells us in his 'Funeral Monuments,' at the period of the Conquest, and for centuries afterwards, these fish abounding on that coast. they found a market for the commodity; merchants from Norwich, London, and other places, attending at this season to purchase, which, at a later period, gave rise to the town of

The success of the Conqueror led to a considerable change in the condition of Brighton soon after the Conquest; for no sooner had he taken possession of the kingdom, than Flemish emigrants began to flock to it, induced, no doubt, partly by the excellence of the Channel fishery, partly, as Hall insinuates, through the friendship of the queen naturally extended towards her own countrymen; "on which account," he tells us, "the realme of England became sore pestered with them." To this circumstance we must probably attribute the introduction of the many Teutonic terms which are to be found in the 'Books of Customs,' and the circumstance of there being two churches in Brighton, referred to in the grants to Lewes Priory by the Earls de Warenne.

What the town of Brighton was at this time we have no satisfactory means of showing; it has been conjectured that it consisted only of rudely-constructed huts, scattered here and there under the cliff, and erected without reference either to order or arrangement. We first become acquainted with its position, size, and shape, by the map of 1545, now in the British Museum, and which has been engraved in the 'Archæologia,' and in Horsfield's 'History of the County.' In this map, which is doubtless a correct representation (the accuracy of its main features being proved by the earliest costumal), the town is shown to consist of two parts; the "Upper Town," as it was called, or the houses on the Cliff, and the "Lower Town," or the houses under the Cliff. The early limits of the "Upper Town" may perhaps be now sufficiently indicated by the still existing names of East, West, and North Street. These inclosed a space which, as it was divided into shares or allotments appropriated to the fishermen for the growth of hemp, to be used in the manufacture of their nets, is marked in the map as "the Hempshares," a term, I believe, still recognised by the lord of the manor for this part of modern Brighton. The Stein was at this time beyond the limits of the town, and was used by the fishermen for drying their nets; on which account it is ordered in the Manor Books, in the 27th of Elizabeth—"That no hog go unringed on the Stein, where nets lie, under a penalty of 8d. toties quoties." It may here be remarked that the "Lower Town" was destroyed by the memorable storm which took place in 1703; and which was very destructive also to the shipping and nets of the fishermen.

With regard to the inhabitants of the towns, they were divided into two separate and distinct classes, and had been,

from a very early period, differing from each other as much in their habits and mode of life as in their occupations. They were denominated "the landmen," and "the seamen;" the former occupying what was called the "Upper Town," and consisting of farmers, farming labourers, and mechanics; the latter residing in the "Lower Town," and consisting entirely of men engaged in maritime occupations and principally as fishermen.

Although Hall describes Brighton as being, in 1515, "a poore village in Sussex, called Bright Helmeston," still we have ample evidence to show, that its fishing trade was at that time, and for some years afterwards, in such great prosperity, that the men engaged in it far outnumbered the landmen, there being in 1580, as we learn from the first of these Books of Customs, "in the saide towne of Brighthelmeston, of ffishinge boates fowerskore in number, with tenn thousand ffishing nettes; besides manie other necessaries belonging to their misterie." Of the amount and value of their labours at this time we are enabled to form some estimate, from a petition which the fishermen of this town presented to parliament about the middle of the 17th century, in which they pray to be protected against the piracies of the French and Dutch, which were beginning "very greatly to increase, to their own detriment and annoyance;" and in which they very feelingly state, that " in former times, of long continuance, they were wont to have and employ at sea, in times of peace, 60 fishing barks and boates, which in some yeares were wont to bring to the towne to the value of £7 or £8000 a yeare, towardes the relief and maintenance of themselves and their families." If to this we add the amount of damage farther sustained by "the caption of boates and netts," the total annual loss may be estimated at little short of £30,000.

This superiority, then, both in numbers and wealth occasioned the seamen to possess a much greater share of power and authority in the administration of the affairs of the town

and parish than the landmen.

From time immemorial the government of the borough, with which the town was connected, was intrusted to two officers, called headboroughs, who sat alternately in the borough court, or together, if necessity required it; and the jurors or sworn assessors of this court were selected from such of the decenners* or free pledges as were in attendance, having no causes to be tried. Hence the origin of the society of "the Twelve," of whom such frequent mention is made in the Books of Customs, and whose duty it appears to have been to act as a committee of counsel to the headborough, thereby securing to themselves rights and privileges which the landmen did not possess, and of which, consequently, they became very jealous. They claimed the exclusive right of composing the jury of the borough court, and on the lawday. The choice of the constable, as well as of the headboroughs, rested chiefly with them. They filled up their vacancies in their own body, and pleaded

immunity from the common borough fine.

The landmen, thus excluded, by this monopoly of power and authority, from any participation in the internal polity of the town, and feeling aggrieved that they were called upon to pay town and parochial rates and taxes, and to submit to orders emanating from this board, at meetings which they were not permitted to attend, became very clamorous for redress; and this went on till the animosities and contentions between the two parties became so serious a bar to the wellbeing of the town, that the application of some remedy became necessary. For the settlement of all grievances, a supplication was presented by the more moderate of the two parties, to the lords in council assembled, entreating them to appoint fit and proper persons to inspect the ancient customs of the town, and to select from them such an equitable code of regulations for their future guidance as might be the means of adjusting all their disputes. The great point of difference is stated in the petition to have been "touchinge the annual payment of certeine moneys called a quarter of a share, heretofore of auncient tyme usually paide out of every boate in everye ffishing voyage to the churchwardens, towards the mainteinance of their churche, and other publique charges about the necessary defence of the towne; and the contribucion by the rest of the

^{*} The decenners, or rather dozeners, were combinations of so many men collectively responsible for the offences against the public peace of each other; frank or free pledges represented so many households. Bracton, c. 12, says, "We will that all be en dozene et plecis per dozeners." Lewes was also governed in the same manner by "the Twelve."

parrishioners, not being ffishermen, towarde the bearinge of the

saide charges."

In compliance with the prayer of this supplication, the lords of the privy council appointed the Earl of Arundel, one of the lords, and Lord Buckhurst, lord-lieutenant of the county, and another of the lords of Brighton, at that time residing at Southover, near Lewes; Sir Thomas Shirley, of Preston, Knight; and Henry Shelley, Esq., of Patcham, or any two of them, commissioners, "for remedie and redresse of these disorders," which commission was executed in the year 1580, by Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Shelley, to the full satisfaction of all parties.

The way in which they proceeded to execute the task assigned them was this: by first calling upon "certeine of the aunciente ffishermen to sett down in writing their auncient customs and orders concerninge the makinge payment and employinge of the saide quarter share, and the certeyntie thereof;" and, secondly, by "devising, with the consent of the saide ffishermen, and setting down in wrytting certeine orders to be for ever after kept and observed by all the ffishermen and inhabitants of the towne of Brighthelmeston; to the intent that the quarter share, for the better defence and maynteynance of the saide towne, may justly and trewly be made and paide, and be kept and imployed according to their auncient custom, and all controversies be avoided between the said ffishermen touchinge the iust and equal devision of their ffish in everye boate in everye voyage."

In compliance with this request the fishermen proceeded to set down their ancient fishing customs under certain heads, called fares, from the Saxon word "faran," a passage by land or water, such as those used in "Tucknett Fare," in "Shotnett Fare," in Skarborow Fare," in "Yarmothe Fare," in "Cok Fare," in "Flew Fare," in "Harbour Fare," and in "Drawnett Fare;" terms, most of them, of great antiquity, and evidently derived either from the kind of boat or net made use of, or from the different voyages and places in which they

were employed.

The boats used in Tucknett fare were called tuckners, perhaps from the form of the vessel at the tuck, or that part where the ends of the planks are collected together under the stern or counter (Crabb's Technol. Dict.); they were "used between Februarye and Aprill to goe to sea uppon the coaste for playce, of the burden of three ton or thereabouts." Shotnett fare is applied to larger vessels, "called shotters of diverse burthens between six and twenty-six tonn, going to sea from Aprill to June for macrell." For the Scarborough fare the vessels were between eighteen and forty tons, "to fish for codd;" and the Yarmouth fare was made in boats of between fifteen to forty tons, "goeinge from September unto November, to fish for herrings." Cok fare employed "small boates called cokes, of between two ton and six ton, between October and the middle of December," sometimes "with maste and sayle," and sometimes without. From this word, derived from the Saxon "cogge," sailors were called "cockede," and in the laws of Henry I, "cocseti, cothseti." The term is still preserved in "cockswain." Shakspeare's description is familiar to all:

"And you tall anchoring bark, Diminished to her cock, her cock a buoy Almost too small for sight."

The herring fishery was carried on in "flewers," from eight to twenty tons, going to sea from the beginning of November to the end of December, using flue nets. In the last of the extant terriers of Clymping parish it is stated that "the vicar hath customarily tythe herrings at flue time, called Christ's share." Harbour fare employed boats of about eight tons, "goeing to the sea in somer with harbour hookes for conger." In Drawnett fare the boats were about three tons burden, "employed in the months of May and June to draw mackrell by the shoare." All these fares are described to have been established "tyme out of mynde," except Scarborough fare, which is said to date "since the memorye of man, being about fortye yeeres agonne."

The statement of particulars connected with the custom of Tucknett fare will explain the nature of the quarter share. The division of the labours of every voyage in this fare is stated to have been as follows, and that of the other fares is very similar: "every man" (there were eight or nine men employed in this fare, and two nets) "hath used to take for his bodye in this voyage a share; the boate and netts, and necessaries thereto

belonging, four shares; and besydes one other share hathe been used to be made, whereof halfe is due to the viccar, a quarter to the master, and thother quarter to the churchwardens to the use of the towne."

Out of this quarter share, then, the fishermen go on to state, it had been customary to defray the ecclesiastical, the parochial, and the military expenses of the town. "The master of everye boate of Brighthelmeston," they state, was bound, "on St. Steven's day," or Dec. 26th, "next after his return from anye ffishinge voyage, to divide and pay out of the whole profites, without anye diminution or deduction whatever, the saide quarter share unto the churchwardens of Brighthelmeston for the tyme beinge; and halfe a share to the viccar thereof; and thother quarter he hathe had to his owne use; whiche quarter share the saide wardens have used to employe especially uppon buildinge of fortes and walls towardes the sea, for the defence of the saide towne, and for provision of shott and powder, and other furniture for that purpose, and entertainment of souldiers in tyme of warrs, and other publique service of the prince, and maynteinance of the parrishe churche." This church is dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of fishermen, the feast of the dedication of which, on the 6th of December, they were accustomed to keep, previous to the Reformation, with great ceremony. That the "auncient fishermen" of Brighton were not neglectful of a proper reverence for the Sabbath we may infer from one of their orders, which imposes a penalty on any man that "shall dryve with netts for herynge, betwene Shoreham Haven and Beache" (Beachy Head) "on anye Sathursdaye night, or Sundaye, untill evenynge prayer be done."

The commissioners' orders, arising out of these prescriptions, are given under different heads, such as "for lengthe of netts;" "for shares for men;" "for hooks and goinge to sea;" "for the paiment of the quarter share;" and "for the church-

wardens."

With respect to the order "for paiment of the quarter share," it is left very much, in 1580, as the custom was declared by the fishermen to be previous to the issuing of the commission. The only alteration is, that a fine "of dubble vallue" is imposed for neglect of payment on St. Stephen's day, the distribution of which fine is ordered "to be accounted for in-

differentlye by all the churchwardens;" but the "residue of the saide quarter share is directed to remain in the custody of the seawardens, to be employed, with the consente of the constable, being a ffisherman, the viccar, and six other ffishermen, being of the twelve, for the common profit of the towne."

In 1618, however, on the 2d of February, a different arrangement was made by agreement between the fishermen and landmen, under a power of alteration reserved to themselves during the execution of the commission of 1580, by which the fishermen were to "make yearelye, as they had donne tyme out of minde, a quarter share out of everye ffishinge boate in everye ffishinge voyage; to be paide to the churchwardens for the tyme beinge, to be kepte in the common towne boxe, uppon the 2d day of February, commonlye called Candlemas daye;" and the landmen were also yearly to bring to the same box, "halfe so much money as the aforesaide quarter share shall amounte to," there to "bee kepte and employed by the saide churchwardens unto the general and publique use of the towne;" out of which fund was to be defrayed "all manner of town charges whatsoever, the kinge's majestie's composition, or customary wheate' (a manorial payment probably imposed during the time the manor or lordship of Brighton was in the hands of the Crown), "onlie being excepted, whether it bee for the mainteinance of the church, the supply of the communion bread and wine, the maintenance of the afternoon Sunday lecture, the clerke's and sexton's wages, the lightes in the fire cage" (which were established as beacons, one upon the top of the Church hill, and the other upon the cliff, a little to the east of the town, to give warning to the country in case of invasion by sea—they are represented in the map of 1545, to which I have already alluded), "the payment of the kinge's majestie's oates and coals," to which the same origin may probably be assigned as that of the wheat; "the settinge forthe of souldiers and sayllers, and all manner of other necessarie and publique towne charges, with the consent of the constable and churchwardens for the tyme being, and six other" inhabitants, "whereof fower shall be of the sea and two of the land;" the superiority of the fishermen being thus recognised throughout the voluntary arrangements in the proportion of two to one; the deficiency "happeninge by reason of anye extraordinary

charges" being directed to be supplied by a "cease," or rate, to be levied on "all the inhabitants proportiablye, according to their state and abilitie;" which cease was, by a farther agreement, to be collected of the fishermen by "the warden of the sea causes," and of the "inhabitants, not being fishermen," by "the landmen, assisted by one of the seawardens." Upon the landmen so assisted devolved also the collection of the rents and other profits of the town. It was also farther agreed on this day, that for the time to come "the constable of the town shall have yearelye," as a remuneration for the labours and expenses incurred in the discharge of his office, 26s. 8d. and "one hoarse lease;" and the two headboroughs 6s. 8d. apiece, out "of the saide common towne box; and one cowe lease and twentye-six sheepe leases, according to ancient custom."

And with regard to the last of these heads, we learn from it that the present custom of choosing three churchwardens for the town is of great antiquity, the order here given being, "that there shalbe yearelye, at the tyme accustomed, two substantial ffishermen and one such landmen chosen by the consent of the conestable, the viccar or curate, and the chiefe of the towne, for churchwardens."

The appointment of the Twelve is directed to be made by the commissioners. They were to select out of the "auncientest, gravest, and wysest inhabitants of the town, eight ffishermen and four landmen, for assistants to the conestable in everye

publique cause."

As a check upon the erection of "anye pale, wall, house, shedd, or anye suche lyke thing, to the annoyaunce of the market-place, or of the block-house," power is given "to the conestable or his deputye," to pull down and remove obstructions of this kind, "within ten days after notice." And as the town appears about this time to have been "overcharged with the multitude of poore people, which daylye are thought to encrease, by means of receiving undertenants, lodging of straungers" (how amusingly does this description of Brighton at this early period contrast with Brighton as it now is), "and the disorder of tipling houses;" so that the constable was unable, without assistance, to undertake "the oversight and charge of the towne;" each of the Twelve had assigned to him

"some streete or cyrcuit, neare to his dwellinge house, over which he, as deputye to the conestable, had speciall charge, for the keepinge of good order; and especially to see that the order for avoidinge undertennantes be duelye observed, and that none lodge or keepe tipplinge houses without lycence," by which order owners and lessees of houses in Brighton were restricted, under a penalty, "from admytting anye tennantes, or tennante's undertennant or tennantes, into his house," until, "in thoppynion of the conestable and churchwardens, first sett down in wrytinge, such tennante or tennantes be thoughte to bee of sufficiente habillitye to maynteyn himself or themselves, his or their familye, withoute burtheninge the towne."

When the society of the Twelve ceased to exist I have been unable to ascertain; but certainly before the year 1772, because it was the discontinuance of that ancient body that made the appointment of town commissioners by legislative enactment necessary in that year, under whose governance the town has

continued ever since.

The fishermen having been thus taxed and directed as to their duties and powers, the orders then proceed to show in what way the landmen shall provide for and be made to bear their share of the town and parochial charges. The disputes between the two parties is again alluded to. "Forasmuche as ther hathe beene a controversie of long tyme betwene the saide ffishermen, beinge the greater part of the parrishe, and the husbandmen and artificers there, as well for that the reparacions of the churche, as all other publique charges, which hath beene great, as building of fortes and walls, provision of shott and powder, and other necessaries for the defence of the saide towne, against forreigne enemyes, have beene susteined and borne by the saide quarter share of the saide ffishermen onlye, except a small annuitye or yearelye rent of two wynde mills, whereof one is now utterly decayed." These mills are shown in the map of 1545, standing on the Church hill, about midway between the church and the upper beacon, and are stated in another part of the orders to have been "purchased of the queene's majestie," probably at the time the manor was in her hands; one of these mills was among the property destroyed by the great storm of 1703; "as for the utter extinguishment of all suche controversie and devision, and for the better encrease of amitye and neighbourlye ffriendshippe amonge the saide parties; the saide Lord Buckherst and Richard Shelley, Esquier, have likewyse caused to bee sett downe heere in wrytinge, at the place and in the daye and yeare aforesaide, the names of all suche husbandmen and artificers as are of habilitye within the saide towne; together with the sumes of money which everye of them, by their several consents, have graunted yearelye to be paide for and in manner of a contri-

bucion towardes the charges aforesaide."

From this schedule we learn that, in the year 1580, there were 102 resident landmen only who were able to contribute towards the public expenditure of the town. The sums which they paid varied in amount from 6s. to 4d.; and the total amount of the contribution to £5 2s. This is headed—"A Rate of the husbandmen and artificers yeerelye to bee paide on St. Steven's Daye to the churchwardens towarde the reparacion of the churche, and other publique charges of the towne." The first name that occurs on the list is that of Richard Stoneham, who was a ship carpenter, and the constable of the year; and who, judging by the sum at which he is rated, which is 4s., while two others only are rated at a higher sum, must have been a leading landman of the town. The following summary of this schedule will show what was the situation of Brighton, with reference to the landmen at this time. Two only are rated at 6s.; one at 4s.; three at 3s. 4d.; three at 2s. 8d.; eight at 2s.; four at 1s. 9d.; two at 1s. 8d.; three at 1s. 4d.; nine at 1s.; sixteen at 8d.; six at 6d.; forty-five at 4d., and one stands with no sum to his name. In the year 1592 this order was enlarged, by warrant from the commissioners, so as to subject absentee landmen, possessing property in the town, to the payment of this rate, through their tenants, in the same proportion as residents.

These orders and regulations are directed "to be wrytten in two severall bookes of parchment;" one of which was to "remayne with the Earle of Arundell and the Lorde Buckherste," and the other to "be kepte in a cheaste locked with three locks, in some convenient place in Brighthelmeston;" the keys of which were to be "severally kepte by the conestable, the viccar or curate, and the churchwardens," and not to be delivered up to any one, without warrant from two of the

commissioners; of "which customs, orders, and regulations everye member, clause, and sentence was yerely to be redd by the viccar or curate, or clerke of the parrishe for the tyme beinge, openlye in the presence of all the ffishermen and others of the parrishioners, contributaries, in some convenient tyme and place, at the discretion of the saide viccar or curate."

By a note it appears, that "the great ordinance and other municion and furniture for the protection of the town at this

time was—

"Fower ironn peeces.

Item, shott delivered with the said ordinaunce.

Item, powder delivered with the same ordinaunce.

Item, other great ordinaunce of the towne; two ironn peeces.

Item, tenn qualivers, with their flashes and touche-boxes.

Item, a drouge."

A drouge appears to be a strong carriage or truck for conveying military stores. The two iron pieces, with their shot and powder, first mentioned, appear to have been borrowed of the authorities of the Tower; for it is added, "which was delivered out of the Tower by indenture, and for which John Shutter standeth bounde." For the supply of this ordnance, the constable and churchwardens were commanded to have at all times "in readiness in some convenient place in Brighthelmeston, to be layd up in store and safely kepte, fower barrels of powder, and fortye rounde shott, and tenn chaine shott, for everye great peece."

Besides the town mills already mentioned, the town possessed the following property, "towardes the mayntenance thereof:" one house, called the Town-house, which was situated to the east of the Block-house, and which was granted by copy by the Earl of Arundel and Lord Buckherste to the use of the town. This building was erected with a tower, on which was the town-clock; and the base of it was used as the town dungeon. Also "one house of defence, called the Block-house," which is described as having been lately built "of flynte, lyme, and sande, in warlyke manner, by the fishermen, with the profite of the quarter-share." We learn from other sources that it was circular; that its diameter measured about 50 feet; that its walls were about 8 feet in thickness, and 18 feet in height: its position was between what is now called Black Lion Street and Ship Street, and it stood in the

manor of Atlyngworth; in the books of which it is called, "Arx dicta le Blockhouse." This building was also destroyed in the memorable storm of 1703, but its ruins continued long afterwards to mark the spot. Both the Town-house and the Block-house must have been built since 1545, as they do not appear in the map of that date. "The mayntenance and reperacion of all which," the statement continues, "are matters of greate charge, and lykely hereafter rather to decay than to encrease, by reason the saide ffishermen are diversely charged and burdened with service of her Majestie in syzes, sessions, and other courtes, and other services; and with musters and settinge forthe of souldiers, besides their service by sea, properlye apperteyninge unto them: and especially by the reason of the greate scarcitye and dearthe of tymber and wood, which nowe of late yeares, by meanes of iron furnesses placed neere the Downes, has rysen from 3s. 4d. a tonn to 13s. 4d.; from 2s. 6d. a loade of wood to 7s.; and from 6s. 8d. a loade of coal" (by which is meant charcoal) "to 14s.; and of billet, or tale wood, from 2s. 6d. the hundred to 8s. the hundred; and shipp boarde from 16s. the hundred to 50s. the hundred."

Following the signatures of the commissioners are those of some of the inhabitants, for whose benefit these orders were issued, in testimony of their willingness to give them their sanction, and to be guided by them; together with the marks which they added to their names in the place of seals. These signatures are ninety in number; and appear to be those of fishermen and landmen promiscuously. About seven of them are the autographs of the attesting parties themselves. The remainder seem as if they were written by the same person; probably therefore they were unable to sign for themselves. The marks attached are not of a very unusual character, but some are curious; and, it may be, emblematical either of the

name or of the calling of the subscribers.

Mr. Dunvan, the author of a brief sketch of the 'History of Brighton,' published about fifty years ago, in speaking of these marks, imagines that he can discover in them rude types of the several occupations of the inhabitants, whose names appear in this list. "The hook," he says, "the anchor, the axe, the wheel, the anvil, and the plough, with other professional instruments and utensils, are there imperfectly sketched

by these honest, unlettered sons of industry after their respective names. And among these names," he adds, "there occur not a few which I have found very common in the Belgic provinces, and some of the lower circles of Germany; a circumstance which strongly shows an early emigration to this town from the deluged coast of Flanders." Included in this list are many names still to be found in Brighton; such as Gunn, and Humphrey, and Pain, and Scutt, and Cheeseman, and Bradford. The names, too, of the present fishermen of the town are, I believe, all to be found in this schedule.

But though these orders are stated to have given satisfaction to all parties—and the signatures of the leading inhabitants were, as we have just seen, attached to them in testimony of their willingness to obey them—so great was the neglect and violation of them, within a very few years of their being thus carefully embodied, that the commissioners issued a stringent order for their enforcement, with the threat of imprisonment, dated London, February, 2, 1592; and the fishermen and landmen, according to a power reserved to them, met again in 1618 to revise their customs, and to make fresh orders for keeping all monies "in the common towne-box," from which "all manner of towne charges" were to be paid.

In confirmation of the suggestion, at p. 39, of the term Ladynets, as applied to the customary rent due to the lord of the manor of Brighton, being derived from Lada, or leet, it may be added, in conclusion, that, according to Allen's 'History of Surrey,' the house near the castle of Farnham, in which the bishops of Winchester, as lords of the manor, hold their courts, is called Lady House, by a similar application of the

same corrupt term.

OBSERVATIONS ON

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR,

AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

READ AT THE MEETING AT HASTINGS, JUNE 3, 1848.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

I SHOULD consider it little less than an insult to the intelligence of the people of Hastings, and to the members of our Society, to offer to this meeting the historical details of the sanguinary conflict known as the battle of Hastings. The elegant pages of Thierry, affording the best modern account of it, must be familiar to all. My object on the present occasion is to make a few observations on two or three points in the embroidered narrative called the Bayeux Tapestry, and in the little-known account contained in the "Chronicle of Battle Abbey," which is interesting as the production of some nearly contemporaneous, though nameless, ecclesiastic, who resided upon the very scene of these transactions. The point from which the Norman armament set sail for the invasion of this country has been satisfactorily proved to be St. Valery, at the mouth of the Somme, in Picardy, and not the town of the same name in Normandy, as has been asserted by many historians. St. Valery lies about 25 miles to the N.E. of Dieppe, in a direction nearly s.s.e. of Hastings. The point selected by William for his descent was judiciously chosen. Pevensey is the place to which the majority of historians have given their suffrages for this event, although William of Malmesbury names Hastings. The two authorities of which I have made the principal use for this paper concur in making Pevensey the place of debarkation. The words of the Bayeux Tapestry are, Here Duke William in a great ship crossed the sea, and came to Pevensey.' "Hic Willelm Dux in magno navigio mare transivit et venit ad Pevenesae." The anonymous chronicler of Battle Abbey says, "Dux ergo..... navigationem aggressus, prospere tandem prope castrum Pevenesel dictum applicuit." (The duke having set sail, arrived safely near to the castle called Pevensey.) The landing of troops from 600 vessels could not of course be confined to one particular point. It most likely extended along Pevensey Bay for several miles, and the easternmost vessels may have reached land at Hastings. This may in some measure justify Malmesbury's assertion, though his editor, Mr. Hardy, is clearly wrong in placing the limits of the debarkation at Bulverhythe westward, and at Winchelsea eastward. There would seem to be no motive for selecting a high and rocky coast for this purpose, when the fine open shore of Pevensey Bay was so near at hand. Mr. Hardy's supposition would make Hastings nearly the central point of debarkation, which would render absurd the expression of the Tapestry, "Hic milites festinaverunt Hastinga, ut cibum raperentur." (Here the soldiers hastened to Hastings to procure food.) I think, therefore, that we may safely fix on Pevensey, i. e. Pevensey Bay, as the landing-place.

Food having been obtained by the foragers, it was cooked upon the shore, and the duke and his followers dined, Bishop

Food having been obtained by the foragers, it was cooked upon the shore, and the duke and his followers dined, Bishop Odo, the chief ecclesiastic, saying grace. It is not very material where this dinner took place; it was probably nearer Hastings than Pevensey, although the rock formerly pointed out by tradition as the 'Conqueror's Table' seems too near the former place. I may add, that the armament of the Normans possessed too many appliances for convenience to render it necessary for their chieftain to dine upon a rock; and the Tapestry represents the feast as taking place at the

usual semicircular table of the period.

The next legend in the Tapestry brings us to Hastings. "Iste jussit ut foderetur castellum at Hestengaceastra."* (He, namely, Robert of Moriton, the duke's half-brother, ordered that a castle should be dug at Hastings.) The expression digging, applied to the construction of a castle, has led to an unnecessary amount of speculation. Some have supposed that the

^{*} At Hestengaceastra (sie). The use of the English preposition at in a Latin legend rather supports the theory of those who regard this invaluable monument as the work of English, rather than of Norman needles.

foundations of the existing castle were then laid, and that that building was reared for the temporary protection of the Norman army; but there are two circumstances which render such an hypothesis untenable. In the first place, the rock upon which the castle stands, though finely defended by nature, and furnishing one of the best imaginable sites for a baronial fortress, would be totally inadequate to the reception of the Norman army. In the second place, as a speedy engagement with Harold was almost inevitable, it would have been preposterous to resort to so elaborate a means of defence, which must, under any circumstances, have occupied a lengthened period in its completion. The castle ordered to be made, then, was not one of lime and stone, but an entrenchment of earth, fortified with wood-work. Thierry tells us that the duke's army comprised "carpenters and smiths, who brought on shore, piece by piece, three wooden castles ready prepared beforehand," and that on William's arrival near Hastings, they "marked out a camp, and raised two of the wooden castles as receptacles for provisions. The scene in the Tapestry represents several men working with pickaxes and shovels, near a mound, upon which there is a very singular erection, very unlike mason's work, the joints being vertical, in the nature of palings; not horizontal, like courses of stone. At its base, towards the right hand, is a tower, apparently one of the wooden castles of Thierry. Here the Battle Chronicle may be cited: "Things falling out according to his wishes, the duke did not tarry long there (namely, at Pevensey), but proceeded with his followers to a certain port not far off, called Hastings, and there having obtained a suitable place, speedily erected a wooden castle" (ligneum castellum munivit). On the precise nature of this fortification it would be useless to speculate largely, but as William's artificers were numerous, and as timber must have been very abundant in the vicinity, we may conjecture that the lines of entrenchment were first drawn in the usual manner, and then surmounted with a kind of wall of wood—posts, and cross-beams perhaps with stakes driven in to fill the interstices. It is worthy of remark, that in the hasty camp formed by Harold on the heights of Battle, a rampart was formed of stakes and willow hurdles.

A very interesting query here suggests itself—"Where

was William's camp, or castellum, situated?" If I may be permitted to indicate the probable spot, I would, with great deference, name the fields to the right of the London road, between the Priory and Bohemia. Some lines and ridges perceptible there have the appearance of an earthwork of considerable magnitude, and the spot seems every way suitable for a military station. The great embankment on the East Hill may have been an outpost for observation to the eastward.

One word on the name given to Hastings in the Bayeux Tapestry—Hestengaceastra. The termination ceaster, chester, castrum, denotes a fortified place, and, in nearly every instance, indicates the site of a Roman fortress, as at Rochester, Winchester, Chichester, &c. The claims of Hastings to a Roman origin do not belong to this discussion; but, from the few investigations I have made on the subject, I must confess my conviction that those claims will not bear the test of scrutiny. It is sufficient for the dignity of the town that its importance in Saxon times is proved by the coinage of money under Athelstan. The fact of its having been the chief of the Cinque Ports sheds a durable lustre upon its name; while the great event which has elicited these remarks gives it a most prominent place in the annals of the country.

The incident of William having burnt his fleet after landing, has been rejected as without foundation; and the silence of the Tapestry on the subject might well be urged against it. The Battle Chronicle, however, asserts the fact as having occurred before the formation of the castellum. "The greater part of the ships had already been prudently burnt, lest any entertaining the hope of returning home should be too careless

of success"—(negligentius coeptis instarent.)

According to Malmesbury, William remained at Hastings "for fifteen successive days, and seemed to think of nothing less than of war." On the 16th the battle took place. The horrors of war, however, were not unfelt by the poor townsmen and their neighbours. The Tapestry records the burning of a house, probably as a specimen of many others; and, during this long fortnight, from the 28th of September to the 14th of October, the Norman army must have subsisted principally upon the produce of the recently-filled barns, and of

the fertile levels of the circumjacent parishes. Twenty years afterwards, at the compilation of Doomsday Book, we find abundant traces of the desolating influence of the invader. The manor of *Hooe*, worth £25 in the more peaceful days of the Confessor, had been reduced to £6 value, and was now worth but £14; Catsfield was reduced from 50s. to 20s.; Medehei (?) fell from £4 to 20s.; Herstmonceux from £6 to 20s.; Ashburnham from £6 to 20s.; Crowhurst is described as having been devastated, and its value reduced from £8 to £5. Wiltingham had been laid waste; Watlington had been laid waste; Mountfield was reduced from £3 to 20s.; Netherfield had been desolated, and depreciated from 100s. to 50s.; Bromham had been devastated; Belingeham was reduced from 20s. to 10s.; Salehurst had been devastated; Guestling had been devastated; Luet (query, Fairlight?) was reduced from 100s. to 40s.; Sedlescombe had been desolated.

Upon the events of the memorable 14th of October it is not my intention to enter. I reserve any remarks upon them until our Society assembles at Battle, which, I trust, may be at no distant period. In the meantime I would state, that I am engaged in translating for publication the Chronicle of Battle Abbey, written about a century after the Conquest, and which will, I hope, prove of considerable local and general interest. The MS., which is preserved in the British Museum, is little known, and has not been made use of by any local

historian.

CERTIFICATE CONCERNING

THE JUSTICES OF PEACE IN SUSSEX IN 1587.

COMMUNICATED BY SIR HENRY ELLIS, K. H., FROM MS. LANSD. 53, ART. 80.

READ AT THE HASTINGS MEETING, 1848.

ALSO DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE

PAPISTS AND RECUSANTS OF SUSSEX IN 1587.

COMMUNICATED, FROM MSS., BY W. DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.A.S.

Sussex.

"Sussex lyethe in lengthe east and weast, divided into six rapes, whearof Hastyng rape is the furthest est, and Chichester rape the furthest west. The iij estward rapes resorteth to Lewes toth sessions. The iij westward rapes to Chichester. And the justices of peace be apoynted severally to the charge cheafly of some one of theas rapes accordyng to their resiances.

Justices in Hastyng Rape.

Thomas Vaen, Knight—he is resiant in Kent; John Culpeppir, John Wyldgoose, Edmond Pellam, a lawyer much at

London; theas be counted cold professors of religion.

Mr. Culpeppir and Mr. Wyldgoose dwell in one towne at the northe border of Sussex; and Mr. Wyldgoose is most abidynge in Waells, lettyng his howsse to Mr. Turwhit, a notable recusant. It is therfor thought convenyent that some other zelous in religion wer appoynted with them to be justysses nearer the sea sowthward, as well for the ease of the contre as for furderans of religion.

Mr. Hobson of ffarley, Mr. Pearse of Westfeld, Mr. May

of Burwashe, be well thought of for that purpose.

Pempsey Rape east, next to Hastyng Rape.

William Morley, Thomas Pellam, John Selwyn; good justices, as well in respect of religion as of the commyn wealth.

Neverthelesse it wer meat that their wer other justyces adjoyned to the for sayd three, for that Mr. Morley abydeth abought Lews, Mr. Pellam is full of infirmyty, Mr. Selwyn aaged, and Mr. Parker now shryff before justys of peace, who hath his wyffs mother in his howse, a recusant, and is now come to Lewse to dwell.

Lewes Rape east, next to Pempse Rape.

George Goryng, Walter Covert, Richard Shelly, John Shurley, lawyer; very well thought of for exequutyng their offys of peace.

Justices in Bramber Rape east, next to Bramber Rape.

Mr. Tho. Sherley, Knight, Mr. Tho. Bishop, Mr. John Sakwyll; good justyces—young men.

Justices in Arondell Rape east, next to Bramber Rape.

Mr. Apsley, departed owt of thys world; Mr. Henry Goryng, aaged; Mr. Rychard Blunt; Mr. William Bartlet, a man of great aage, and ever a great favorer of religion: good justyces.

Syr Tho. Rawlines, Knight, dwellyng in thys rape, is owt of commission; a man ffyt, in my opinyon, to be put in as well for his hability, wyllyngnes, and dylygens in furderyng and favoryng the present state as good religion. Neither is he so whott in good cawses as other be coowlde.

Chichester Rape west,

Mr. Thomas Lewknor, Mr. Rychard Lewknor, a lawyer; Mr. Rychard Ernley, is dwellyng most in Hampshire; Mr.

Edward Moor is gone owt of Sussex to dwell.

The towe Leuknors doo ineffect all the servys in thys rape. They yome to their brother, Docter Lewknor, a lawyer, a recusant, with all his family, dwellyng in the mydst of Chichester. Also Mr. Thomas Lewknor, eldest sonne, is sayd to be intertayned with the Prinse of Perma. It wer convenyent for

the ease of the contre that some other wer joyned with them in commission.

On Mr. William Dautre was put owt of commission, for that he was a recusant; but now syns his last marryadg he dooth dilygently come to the church, and publikly receaveth the sacrament, wherfor yf he was restored to the iustys office, I take it ameans to encorrage hym to procead, and to allure other recusants for to do their dwghty to God and their prinse.

Also their is one Mr. Thomas Boyer, a lawier, who is a great

fauorer of religion and the common wealth.

Theas following were put owt of commission the last assise: Docter Bartlett, a lawyer, is departed owt of this lyffe; Mr. Cooper, Mr. Saunders, lawyers, Mr. Merven; they dwell not in Sussex.

Mr. Antony Shurley is thought to be put owt of commission because Syr Thomas, his brother, is in, and also for

that their wer sufficyent justicers in that rape besids.

Mr. Herbert Pellum is very servysable in the commyn wealthe, and a fauorer of good religyon; but he is thought to be put owt of commission, for that he wold styfly be carryed with the first report and devise.

Mr. Francis Foskew is thought to be greatly behind yand

through swets in lawe.

Mr. Edward Carroll, an active wysman, my Lord of Arondell

his stward and doer in thys contre.

I tak it expedient that their be moor justiciaries in Sussex then in other countys, for that it bordereth south on the sea and north on the wyld; in which towe places comminly the people begeuen mutch to rwednes and wyllfulnes.

(Endorsed) Certificate concerning Justices of the Peace in the County of Sussex, 8 Octob. 1587."

Harl. MSS. 703, No. 32, p. 52.—Certaine points wherin the deputie lieutenantes of Sussex humblie desire to be resolved, by some direction from my lords of the counsell, as touching the prosecution of their lordships late letters for restrayning of recusants:

There is greate varietie of papists within the said shire, as namelie, thus:

Some be notable recusants, and have been presented, and stande indicted therof, with this they make noe doubte to proceed.

Other some there be that refuse to come to churche once a moneth, or nowe and then, and yet will neither take the oathe, communicate, nor have their children christned, other then in secret corners, &c., and besides are knowen to favor and geve contenance to papists, entertaining them, goeing and coming to their houses verie often.—Being soe proved, then to be restrained.

Some other there be that make curtesie to take the oathe, and yet doe come to the churche and observe an outward shew of obedience to her majestie's proceedinge, and be much suspected that they will prove bad subjects in tyme of neede.

There be others that will observe all things commaunded, but yet are feared, and theire practize doth shewe noe lesst in other things in the course of theire life that they be notable papists; howe they be dispenst withall God doth knowe.

Some other will take the oathe, and come to churche, and

yet will not comunicate.—Not to be dealte withall.

Last of all there be some that lye hidden in corners, and are not known what they are before proofe made.—Beinge taken and proved recusants, then to be committed.

Those of highe callinge are known to my lordes, for with respect the said deputie lieutenants use their wordes in the certificat that they will not speak of them.—Not to be dealte withall.

Whether the meaninge of my lordes be that the deputie lieutenants shall minister the oathe of supremacie to such as they shall think fitte, for the better advauncement of the public service of her majestie.—To be comitted:

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

This is a true coppie of the wrytyng sent me, and signed by Mr. Secretarie Walsingham.

T. Buckehurst.

By a letter from Lord Buckhurst, addressed to Sir Thomas Palmer, Knight, Walter Covert, and Nicholas Parker, Esquires, dated 12 February, 1587, it appears that a new commission for Sussex had just been made, and he sends them the above copy of the letter from the lords of the council.

By the Lansd. MS., vol. 53, No. 91, it appears that the whole number in the commission of the peace at this time

was 41.

Lansd. MSS. vol. 55, No. 58.—A note of the papistes and recusants in the general shires of England, as followeth, 1587-8:

SUSSEX.

LADYES, WYVES OR WIDOWES OF KNIGHTES.

The Lady Elizabeth Gage. The Lady Guilforde.

SUSSEX.

Mrs. Gage, of the Moate.

Mr. Edward Gage, her sonne and heire.

Mr. John Gage, that married the Lady Guillford.

Mr. John Temple, of Farley. Mr. John Leedes, besides Lewes.

Lansd. MSS. vol. 53, No. 69.—A note of the yearly rents and revenues of recusants, and the value of their goodes. 1587.

SUSSEX.

THE NAMES OF RECUSANTS.

						Y	earely Rents	Valew
							and	of
							Revenues.	their Goodes.
							Li.	Li.
John Take, Gent.					-		30	200
George Cotton, Gent	., of	ffuntir	igd	on		-	25	20
William Shelley, Esq			-		-		2000	2000
John Shelley, Esq.		-		-		-	200	100
John Leades, Esq.	-		-		-		300	50
Nicholas Wolfe, Gen	t.	-		-		-	30	20
Lady Gage, widowe	-				-		200	
John Gage, Esq.				ſ 800	li., 1	wher	eof 200 li of his wife	.] 2000
	-			l is in	ı rig	cht o	of his wife	2000
The chiefe of the Tur	rvls	of Lyr	co	sher.		,		·)
but not resident in	this	s sher.		, ,				
Edward Gage, Esq.,	of B	entlev		-		_	400	100
John Delve, Gent.	-						20	100
William Scott, Esq.								
Thomas Crown Face		-		-		-	200	
Thomas Crewe, Esq.	-		-		-		18	
Anthonie Fortescue		-		-		-	0	300
George Bretaine	~		-		**		40	

ON THE ANCIENT BRIDGE DISCOVERED AT BRAMBER IN THE YEAR 1839.

READ AT THE HASTINGS MEETING, 1848.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

The villages of Bramber and Beeding, one situated on the eastern and the other on the western side of the levels of the Adur, at their narrowest part, are connected by a causeway, along which passes the high road through Steyning and Henfield. For the improvement of this causeway, in 1839, an alteration had become necessary at the entrance into Bramber from Beeding; and it was in effecting this that the trustees of the road discovered, at the depth of about two feet below the surface of the land on which this causeway had been raised, the remains of a bridge of more than usual strength and magnitude, and apparently of great antiquity; which bridge had been covered partly by the causeway which rested upon it, and partly by the accumulation of silt, which the water had from time to time brought down and deposited against it.

This interesting disclosure naturally led to a farther investigation; the result of which was, the exposure to view of the upper part of the piers of this bridge to within about three feet of the footing of their foundations. As far as the ruins of the bridge, were opened, the whole of the stone was taken up, and the best of it was purchased by Sir Charles Burrell, and used by him in rebuilding the farmhouse at Horton. Attached to these piers there was found to be still remaining a small portion of the arches which sprung from them; upon the whole, enough of the bridge was laid open to show what must have been its dimensions and general appearance when

in a perfect state.

By a reference to the engraved plan, it will be seen that

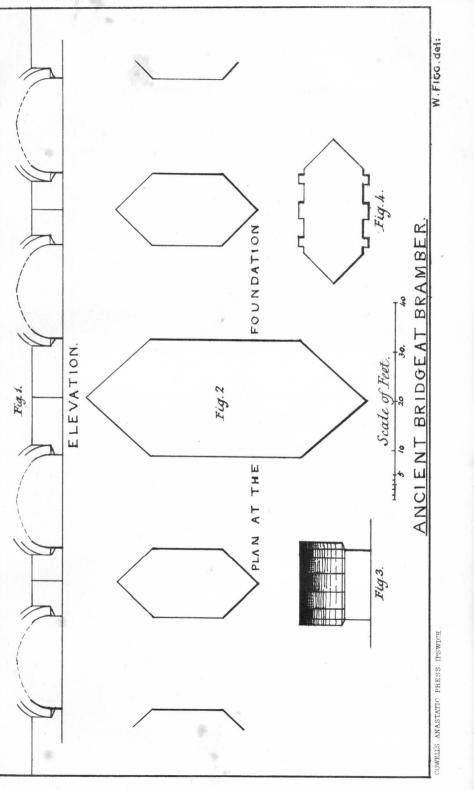
this bridge was constructed with arches, each of the span of 19 feet. These arches, which, if not elliptical, must, judging from the scanty remains of them, have been very depressed, and of a slightly pointed form, were strengthened by the addition of three flat under arches or ribs, the centre one being nearly double the width of the other two. [Vide figs. 3 and 4, but particularly fig. 4, where the system of under-

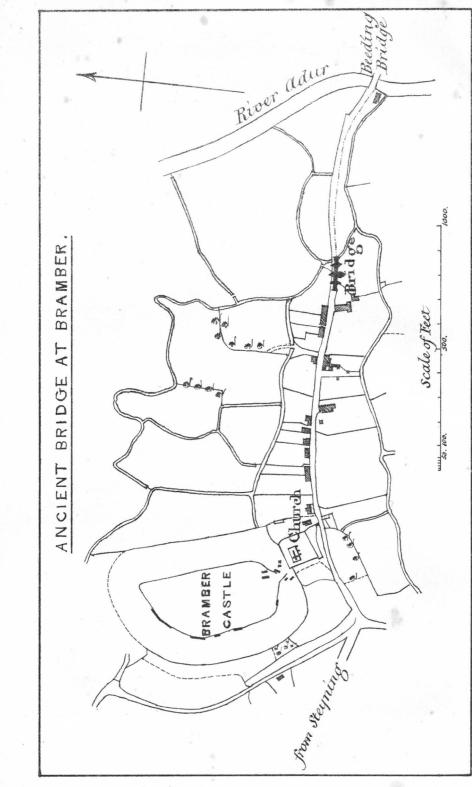
arching is more clearly shown.]

It will also be seen [vide elevation, and plan at foundation that the piers on which these arches rested were of a most unusual thickness, and that they varied both in length and width each way from the centre one, which was by far the largest, the projecting portion of each being carried out to an angle. These piers were constructed with an outside casing of Sussex marble, varying in thickness from three feet to five feet; the blocks of which were well squared in the face and beds. This casing was backed up with rubble, and filled in with concrete. Like the old London Bridge, the lower courses of the stone, which would be exposed to the action of the water, were laid in a bituminous cement, like that used by the Romans in their baths. The arches, with their under arches, were also of Sussex marble—a stone, which it is important to remark, was much used in the Saxon and Norman eras for building, as many of our cathedrals can testify, and Dr. Mantell tells us that it was even known and appreciated by the Romans for a like purpose. One remarkable instance of this stone having been used by the Romans, exists in the well-known slab inscribed to Neptune and Minerva, found at Chichester in 1723, and now at Goodwood. The remarkable circumstance is, that the stone which exists plentifully in the immediate vicinity of Bramber, the malm rock, on a bed of which Steyning is built, was not used, but a stone which must have been brought from a distant part of the county, from the neighbourhood perhaps of Petworth or Horsham.

The length of the bridge was from 170 to 200 feet, but, like most ancient bridges, it was narrow in proportion; the width of it being only sufficient to admit of a road of 17 feet over it: the angular projections of the piers forming upon its surface "wyde places for the retyre of passengers," in case of

obstruction.





The projection of the centre pier, on the south side, as is also farther manifest by the Plan [vide Fig. 2], was much greater than that on the north, an extra length having been given to it of 17 feet; partly, it may be presumed, for the purpose of increasing the power of resistance on the side of the bridge on which the force and weight of the tide would be at all times the greatest; but principally, no doubt, to accommodate a chapel which, as will presently be shown, stood on this pier, of which some of the mullions of the windows worked in Caen stone, were found upon it when this bridge was discovered.

There were also found upon this bridge, among the ruins, a brass signet-ring, engraved with a coroneted W; two bosses, one of a mixed metal, studded round the rim, and having on the raised part of it, Saint George encountering the Dragon with a sword; an angel kneeling aloft over him, apparently for the purpose of shielding him from harm: the other of brass, and similar to the preceding in shape and size, but plain. This last, with a few other pieces of the same metal, much corroded, and a large brass-headed screw, were not preserved. There was also found among the loose stones a silver coin, said to be of the reign of Elizabeth.

There is in the possession of Mr. Lidbetter, of Maudlin Farm, a black glazed paving-tile, like those used in the 15th century, which came also from the centre pier; which tile, there can be no doubt, once formed a part of the ancient

flooring of the chapel.

By now proceeding to bring forward documentary evidence, tending to throw light on the history and antiquity of this bridge, I shall be able to substantiate the existence of a bridge somewhere near (juxta) Bramber, from a very early period; a point obviously interesting to every Sussex archæologist, elucidating, as it does, some material circumstances connected with the topography of the county generally, which have been hitherto involved in much doubt and uncertainty.

That at the time of the Norman Conquest such a bridge was in existence, and that it was then called, doubtless from its great antiquity, "Vetus Pons," or the Ancient Bridge, we know from the recorded fact of the existence even at that

time of a chapel, which is frequently alluded to in some of the early documents relating to the endowment of the neighbouring priory of Sele; and which, from some connexion it had with this bridge, was called "St. Peter de Veteri Ponte." These documents, so useful in tracing the early history of this Vetus Pons, as well as the existence of a bridge at Bramber, certainly till the close of the 15th century, and probably for a century later, were formerly in the records of this priory, and are now among the archives of Magdalen College, Oxford; the priory of Sele, together with all its rights and appurtenances, having been conferred upon the president and scholars of that society in 1460 by John Duke of Norfolk, the then possessor of the castle and barony of Bramber, upon condition that "prayers be there made for himself and for Elizabeth his wife,* and for all his progenitors, ancestors, and heirs for ever;" his father having about three years before surrendered to William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, and the founder of this college, all right to the patronage and advowson of the church of Sele.

The history, then, of this Chapel of St. Peter, together with that of St. Mary, situated on the bridge discovered in 1839,

seems to be explained by the same documents.

The first allusion made to the Chapel of St. Peter in the Magdalen records, is in a deed dated January 30, 1075,† by which William de Braoze, or Brieuze,‡ one of the many Norman barons that accompanied the Conqueror to this country, and to whom he had assigned the Saxon castle and barony § of Bramber, gives this chapel, together with the churches of St. Peter at Sele, St. Nicholas at Bramber, and St. Nicholas at Shoreham, | to the monks of the priory of St. Florence at

Angl. The Castle of Braoze, or Brieuze, as it is now called in Normandy, is two

leagues from Falaise.

Old Shoreham. That of New Shoreham was not built until between the years

1096 and 1103.

^{*} This Elizabeth was the daughter of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. Their sole daughter, Ann, died an infant, having been affianced to Richard Duke of York.

† The deed, confirming this gift by Henry II, is given in the Monasticon

[§] This barony was coextensive with the rape. Previous to the Norman invasion the castle appears to have been the residence of Saxon kings. Its name, Bramber, is derived from the Saxon bnymmbunh a word denoting a fortified hill; which very accurately represents the situation of this castle.

| By St. Nicholas at Shoreham is here meant what is now called the church of Classic Control of the cont

Saumur, in Normandy,* of which priory he was the founder, to enable them, in conformity with his wishes, to establish a cell to this house somewhere near to his own castle; and which led to the formation of the priory of Beeding, which was then called Sela or Sele. Other charters of the heirs of the founder confirm these grants. That of the grandson, W. de. Braose, names only Sele, Bramber, and Shoreham, but adds "with the churches appended to the above-named churches."

The parish appears to have been called indifferently Sele, La Sele, and Beeding. In Doomsday it is called "Beddinges;" in the Norman return "Sele;" and the head of this religious house, "Prior de la Sele." As it was sometimes called "Attesele," the name would seem to imply its vicinity to the baronial mansion, Sele or Sel, signifying, in Saxon, "dwelling, mansion, hall or palace," though Sel also means "great, good, fertile."

"great, good, fertile."

The next allusion to this chapel is in the register of Archbishop Islip, upon the occasion of an exchange of benefices, which took place in the year 1357 between Robert de Middleton, the then incumbent of "the Chapel of St. Peter de Veteri Ponte, juxta Bramber," and Adam le Welde, at the same time vicar of Terring. There are also in the episcopal registers of Chichester records of several admissions to this chapel between the years 1397, at which time these registers commence, and 1450. It is important to observe that in these registers, as in that of Archbishop Islip, this bridge is invariably described as "juxta Bramber."

To the Oratory or Chapel of the Virgin Mary on the

To the Oratory or Chapel of the Virgin Mary, on the bridge discovered in 1839, there are accounts of one or two admissions in the diocesan registers; and at Bishop Langton's taxation, in 1320, it was excused on account of poverty. In taxation, in 1320, it was excused on account of poverty. In 1370, both this chapel and that of St. Peter de Veteri Ponte are clearly indicated in the account taken of the value of the priory of Sele (Extent. 44° Edw. III) as chapels, appendant the one to Bramber, the other to Sele. "The prior holds there the church for his own use, which is worth 50 marcs a-year:

^{*} The grant of W. de Braose is dated from Bocherville: "In Anglia autem ecclesiam S. Petri de Sela, et S. Nicolai de Brenbria et S. Nicolai de Soraham, et S. Petri de Veteri Ponte." (Dugd. Mon. Angl. iv, 668.)

also he receives from the chapels of Bramber and Sele 12 marcs (item percipit de capellis de Brembre et de Sele xii m.): also from the church at Bramber, 5s." A few years later, in 1374, the prior is said to hold for his own use the churches of Sele (ecclesias de Sele), which applies to the priory church and that of St. Peter de Veteri Ponte. (Tanner, citing Pat. 48° Edw. III.) It is not, however, noticed in the Magdalen records until allusion is made to it in a document of 1412, which purports to be "an inventory of all the moveable goods and chattels belonging to the priory of Sele, the 12th day of September, in the time of Stephen Sennis, prior;" and which is stated to be "taken for the purpose of ascertaining the exact state of the said priory." This inventory commences with the furniture of the church and choir, and then proceeds to that of "the chapel at the bridge*" which is stated at that time to have consisted of

Two old linen towels.

Also one single red vestment, and one old missal.

Also one wooden box.

Also two tin cruets; one large bell, and one small ditto.

Also one silk veil belonging to the image of the Blessed Virgin; with three silver rings, and six necklaces.

Also two small books of Prayer.

Also six handkerchiefs

Also one osculatory of wood.

In the list of furniture in the church of Beeding, in this same inventory, "two osculatories of wood" are mentioned.

At the bishop's visitation of Sele in 1437, one of the monks was charged with omitting to perform divine service in this

chapel (Ep. Reg.)

The names, too, of Adam le Pont and Laurentius le Pont, who were connected with Beeding and Bramber in the 13th century, are worthy of notice as a collateral proof of the existence of a bridge somewhere in that locality in their day. The former name occurs in the Placit. Coron., in the 6th of Edward I, 1278, as one of the agents of William de Braoze, in an action brought against Robert de Fosterbury for the recovery of a hide of land in Beeding: the latter in the Hundred Rolls as presented by the jurors for having, in 1267, encroached within the borough of Bramber, on the king's

^{*} Vide Cartwright's Rape of Bramber, p. 227.

highway, with his dungheaps and his brushwood.* This Laurentius may have been chaplain of the Bridge Chapel. The same document gives us direct evidence of the bridge of Bramber. "The jurors say that Symon de Grange, then constable of Bramber, has made an encroachment by digging a certain ditch (quoddam fossatum) in the king's highway, within the borough of Bramber, in the 51st year of King Henry III, 1267, so that, by the said ditch, when the tide of the sea comes up, boats with stone and sand, lime, and such-like, might be brought from the bridge of Bramber towards the castle, but never since the said obstruction have any waggons or carts been able to pass over in any manner, as hitherto they did, from the said borough into the marsh to the salt-pans, whence all the neighbourhood thereby suffer loss and damage."

(Rot. Hund. ii, p. 202.)

The exact situation of the chapel of St. Peter has not yet been discovered. Cartwright, in his 'History of the Rape of Bramber,' gives it as his opinion, that the site of the bridge and chapel would be found to have been somewhere lower down the levels than Bramber. And he fixes upon the neighbourhood of Annington,† an estate in the adjoining parish of St. Buttolphs, distant about a mile from Bramber, as the most likely spot: first, because there is a tradition of there once being a church at Annington, imaginary traces of which are still pointed out—and, indeed, Doomsday says of Haningedune, "there is a church;" and secondly, because in the inquisition taken in the year 1428 by order of Henry VI, there is the following entry: "The prior of Sela holds the third part of the annual fee in Annington, alias Veteri Ponte" -a description manifestly denoting some close connexion which this estate had with the "Vetus Pons;" but the terms used do not define the distance of the bridge, which, from its an-

^{*} Et similiter Laurentius de Ponte purpresturam fecit in eodem burgo super

regalem viam cum fimis suis et busca sua.—Rot. Hund., vol. ii, p. 202.

† Not the slightest trace of an east and west Roman road is perceptible about Annington, or on the opposite side of the valley of the Adur. But passing through the parishes of Buttolphs and Combe, north and south, is a road leaving the Steyning road near Maudlin Farm, about a quarter of a mile from the village of Bramber, and by the means of which Shoreham and Lancing must have been connected with this bridge. The deeply-indented and worn state of this road, in many parts of it, shows how great the traffic to this bridge from the sea-coast must have been in olden times.

tiquity and importance of situation, may have been referred to in naming a church at some little distance. John de Braose, the sixth in descent of the family from the founder, who died in 1232 in his youth, by a fall from his horse at Bramber, granted to the priory of Sele the tithes of Annington, of Veteri Ponte, "5 saltpits and 3 men, with their lands near the little bridge on the east, and 5 messuages near the greater bridge of Bramber towards the west, and a sufficiency of timber for the completion of the said bridges from his woods and forests." (Magd. MSS. ix.) A wooden bridge is alluded to in the Magd. MSS. two or three times. One appears to have remained till a century and a half ago, when it was supplanted by the present Beeding bridge. The heir of this John, in 1282 (10 Edw. I), granted to the priory of Sele, among other things, "the liberty of fishing at Bramber bridge, and when the bridge was impassable, of a boat to ferry men and cattle." (Magd. MSS. xvi.)

After the year 1441, we find no mention made of any farther admission to this chapel of St. Peter in any public or private records. Probably, therefore, it was discontinued as a chapel about this time; and the vill to which it was attached

appended to some adjoining parish.

Of the dilapidated state of the chapel of St. Mary, as well as of the bridge on which it stood, in the year 1473, we have the positive testimony of the same Magdalen records. From them it appears, that some time previous to the date of the annexation of this priory to Magdalen College, Allen, who presided over this religious house, had become notorious "for turbulence, maladministration, and waste." From being a monk of Battle he had usurped the office of prior, having obtained his appointment by bribery and corrupt influence. No sooner did he find himself at the head of this establishment, and the possessions of the house under his sole management, than he began to contrive how to turn such a situation to his own pecuniary advantage. To serve his own private ends of gain, he is reported to have disposed, from time to time, "of all the patronage, lands, jewels, and precious ornaments" of this house: to have become "a notorious dilapidator, waster, and alienator of its possessions and ancient evidences:" "without necessity requiring it, to have sold two copes of gold, worth

£20, to J. Goring; other vestments of serge, worth £40, to J Gent; a chalice and two patens of silver gilt, worth £4, to N. Calf: all which," it is asserted, "his predecessors and the convent were accustomed to use in the worship of God, and without which it cannot be so becomingly and honorably performed; converting the money to his own use. So that by these means," his brethren complain, "divine service is diminished; the pious wishes of the founder frustrated; religion little observed; and on this account "no monks reside in it—all having betaken themselves, in consequence of his

negligence and fault, to other places."

And besides these irregularities within the house, which are stated to have become so notorious as to have been "matter of common report in the towns of Sele, Bramber, and Shoreham, and elsewhere," the mandates of the college authorities were set at nought by him, and their right to interfere called in question. And this reckless and hostile state of things went on for about eight years, when it was found necessary to appeal to Pope Sextus IV to interfere in behalf of the college, who appointed, under the authority of a bull, dated Christmas-day, 1473, the Bishop of Sidon, then residing in London, together with the dean and chapter of Chichester, and the official of Rochester, (the bull of Pope Boniface VIII, against the interference of one bishop with the jurisdiction of another, having been suspended upon this occasion for the time, in consequence of the bishop of the diocese labouring under the suspicion of being in league* with the refractory prior), to hear and determine certain articles of impeachment which had been preferred against him, embodying the peculations already alluded to, charging him with the grievous crimes of simony, intrusion, and dilapidation, of which charges he was pronounced to be guilty. Of these articles the 17th was—"That the chapel of St. Mary, belonging to the priory, on a certain great bridge of stone, in the highway between Bramber and Sele, is, with the bridge, falling to ruin, through his" (Prior Allen's) "neglect, and cannot be sufficiently repaired for £40."

^{*} This suspicion arose from John Arundel, the bishop of Chichester (1459-78) having twice confirmed the appointment of Allen as prior when no election had been made by the monks of the house, in whom, from time immemorial, the appointment was vested, and who alone were competent to elect.

This is the last notice yet discovered of this bridge and chapel. With regard to the chapel, it was probably suffered to fall into a state of decay, and consequently of disuse, from this time. And with respect to the bridge itself, whether it became a prey to the farther ravages of time and continued neglect previous to the civil wars, or whether, surviving to that period, it was destroyed in the struggles that took place during the time the parliamentarian army was stationed at the adjacent castle of Bramber, we have no authentic information to show. It appears to me that there are difficulties connected with the structure of this bridge, which can only be removed by the adoption of an hypothesis that two bridges stood on this spot, belonging to two distinct eras; the first built by the Romans at the time of their occupation of this country, and to which the earlier notices, and particularly the grant of William de Braoze in 1075, refer; and the second built either upon, or so as to encase the piers; or, again supposing it to have been totally destroyed, built of the materials, as far as they could be made available, of the former, probably sometime during the thirteenth century, for it bears a striking resemblance, in the main features and character of its architecture, to other bridges of that age. The best examples are the old London bridge; the ancient bridge which crossed the Lune at Lancaster, and was commonly called "the Ord Bridge;" the bridge over the river Teign, in Devonshire, a circumstantial account of the discovery of which, in the year 1814, in a situation and under circumstances very similar to the discovery of the Bramber bridge, is given in vol. xix of the Archæologia; and the bridge at Bedford, which has also under arches or ribs, as at Bramber. (Lysons's Bedford.)

One remarkable circumstance remains, however, to be noticed. This bridge, indisputably of mediæval date, displayed in its removal red mortar, having in its composition pounded brick or tile. "It is well known," says Mr. Hussey, in his paper read before our Society at the meeting at Shoreham, on the superior claims which Pevensey has to be the Andredceaster of the Saxon Chronicle, "that the Romans deemed an essential ingredient in the composition of really good mortar to be pounded pottery or tiles; which is specially mentioned by one of their authors, Vitruvius, in his book upon Architecture.

This admixture necessarily imparted a very perceptible red tint to the mortar. And inasmuch as no other people are recorded, or even conjectured, at any period, to have adopted the same system, wherever this mortar is observed it may be regarded as a sure proof of the workmanship being Roman, although the absence of that colour is not conclusive to the contrary," v. Archæol. Journal, Sept. 1847, in which this paper is given. This redness, which was noticed by many at Bramber as an unusual circumstance, was more particularly observable in the rubble with which the piers were filled up. May we not then reasonably and fairly conclude, that this redness in the cement of this mediæval bridge must have arisen from the inner portion of these piers having formed a part of the piers of a former bridge, and therefore that that former bridge was Roman? The Teign bridge, already alluded to, had been constructed at three different periods. The lower part of the piers, discovered at the depth of fifteen feet from the surface, were considered to be Roman. Upon these had been erected the piers of a bridge, supposed to be of the date of the thirteenth century; and upon two of these again a bridge of two arches, which were made to spring from the abutments of the arches of this second bridge. I am informed by Mr. Shepherd, of Horsham (to whom I am indebted for the plans of the Bramber bridge, as well as for much valuable information, the result of his observations at the time the bridge was discovered), that the stone with which the outside casing of Sussex marble was filled up was not of the same material.

The antiquity of the bridge alluded to in the earlier records of the priory of Sele, at the time of the Norman Conquest, is

clearly deduced from its designation "Vetus Pons."

And that this Vetus Pons was the identical Roman bridge which it is now almost universally admitted must have been erected as a pass over the valley of the Adur, somewhere juxta

Bramber, appears to me to admit of but little doubt.

The best corroborative evidence I can bring in proof of its Roman construction, in addition to what I have already stated, is the great antiquity of the Via with which it was connected, and for the accommodation of which it must have been originally built; for that this Via was decidedly Roman, nay, that it was one of the earliest constructed Roman roads in Sussex,

I shall have no difficulty in showing. This Via was called "Stone Street," probably from its being formed upon a bed of the Malm rock, which lies immediately under the Downs. Steyning is supposed to take its name from this road, as well as some other places in its neighbourhood. A part of the hundred of Rye is also called, in the Doomsday survey, "Stanynges," no doubt from its being situated on this east and west Stone Street. Diverging from this Stone Street, near Buncton chapel, is a road running to the north, called "Whole Street," which was probably a Roman Diverticulum from it; and as a continuation of this road to the south ascends the Downs near Chanctonbury, and proceeds onwards towards Cissbury, it probably connected those stations with this Via. The Wiston hypocaust was situated near "Whole Street."

In passing from Regnum, by the prætorian villa at Bignor, to Mutuantonis, wherever this station was, and to Anderida, and onwards to the Roman stations on the Kentish coast, the Roman army must have passed the chalk valley of the Adur, either at Bramber, or between Bramber and Shoreham. Our county historians have hitherto been disposed to lean to the latter assumption, and to imagine that this pass was effected by a route taken somewhere upon the Downs, not surely sufficiently considering the nature and magnitude of the obstacles which must at that time have opposed themselves to such a route; for, to say nothing of the precipitous ascents and descents which these chalk hills frequently present, the different valleys of our tide rivers, as they exist at Arundel, at Shoreham, at Lewes, and at Cuckmere, must have been a sufficient bar to such a pass. These are now, it is true, fertile and profitable tracts of land; but in the Roman period of our history they were vast estuaries, which would bid defiance to the progress of a marching army, and which could only have been crossed at some favorable straits, such as offer themselves at Bury, and Bramber, and Lewes, all of them immediately under the Downs, and on the line of this ancient Roman Via. Of these estuaries some notion may be formed from the description which Camden gives of that of the Adur,* in his account of Shoreham. Speaking of the capacious harbour

^{*} In Camden's time the Adur was called "the Weald Ditch." Vide Notes to Drayton's Polyolbion, Song 17.

which it once possessed, and the difficulties it had to contend with, he declares "the unstable element" to be "its worst foe;" and the occasion of its falling from a considerable town into an insignificant village; "the greater part whereof," he goes on to say, "having been drowned and made even with the sea, and the commodiousness of the haven, by reason of bankes and barres of sand cast up at the river's mouth, quite gone; whereas, in foregoing times, it was wont to carrie ships with full sail as far as Bramber, which is a good way from the sea."

It was on account of these encroachments of the sea at Shoreham, that in the year 1492 the priory of Sele, after it had been abandoned by the Benedictine monks, was granted by Magdalen College to the Carmelite friars of New Shoreham, whose house, founded by John de Mowbray, had been destroyed by the sea, where they continued till the general dissolution of monasteries. Pennant mentions anchors having been found imbedded in the alluvial soil of this tract. circumstance here noticed of the sea flowing up to Bramber accounts for the frequent mention of salt pans "under the castle." That the sea flowed at one time even beyond Bramber we have good reason for supposing; for had not this been the case, how could the vast accumulation of sea beach have taken place, which for many years existed as high up the levels as Kings-barnes, and the greater part of which has been carried away during the last half century for the repairs of the roads of the neighbourhood?

Douglas, in speaking of this road, and of its superior antiquity to every other Roman Via in Sussex, after mentioning the course of the northern Stone Street, says: "Another branch to the sea coasts of Sussex and Kent took its course under the Downs, through Steyning to Pevensey, the Anderida Portus of Richard, which completes the numerals XLV of the Itinerary; and hence proceeding along the coast to ad Lemanum on the Rother, to Lemaniam, Limne,* where the mural station is now extant, continuing to Dubris, Dover; Rhutupis Colonia, Richborough; Regulbio, Reculver; at which stations

^{*} In the Saxon Chronicle Lymne is described as situated, in the year 893, " at the east end of the vast wood which we call Andred."

the Exploratores* were established, and from whence the barons of the Cinque Ports derived their origin. Following the Roman line† under the Downs, the Odo, the Moretons of Pevensey, the Warrens of Lewes, the Mowbrays of Steyning" (Douglas here falls into an error, he either means the Braoze or Mowbrays of Bramber—there were no Mowbrays of Steyning), "the Montgomeries, and the Albinis, the old barons of the Norman period, passed and repassed to their several castles. Any other route round the coast would be encountered with steep ascents and estuaries, whereas this is a perfect level line, with signal posts and bearings throughout. To this east and west road of the Comes, three north roads entered, for the safety of the coast from the inland stations of the lower ages, to which the Itinerary of Richard immediately applies, and which does not enumerate any station beyond the ad Decimum," Bignor, "in the course of the Stone Street to London; thereby proving the Itinerary to have been written after this road through the weald was made."

Such is Douglas's account of this Via, and his opinion ap-

* The Exploratores were a band established throughout the whole coast of Sussex, and on the eastern coast of Britain, by Constantine, against the irruption of the Northern pirates.

† Although Douglas only traces this road eastward to the Kentish coast, it might be as easily traced westward, from South Harting, on the borders of Hampshire, to Winchester, the Venta Belgarum of Ptolemy and Antoninus.

‡ For an account of the "Comes Littoris Saxonici," vide Vol. i, Sussex Collections, p. 14. The three northern roads here alluded to are "the Stone Street," from Regnum to Dorking, this was the most westerly; the road through Bromley, Holwood Hill, Tunbridge Wells, and Wadhurst, to Pevensey and Eastbourne, this was the most easterly of the county; and the intermediate road from Portus Adurni, past Clayton (where it descended the Downs), St. John's Common, and Ardingly, in Sussex, and Botley Hill, in Surrey, into the Ermyn Street from London to Dover. The mention of this Via leads me to refer to a Roman quern, which, since this paper was read to the Society at Hastings, was found in the chalk-pit which is situated at the foot of Clayton Hill, close to this road, and near to the spot where the east and west Stone Street crosses it. It had evidently fallen with a quantity of earth from the soil above. This quern was exhibited at the October quarterly meeting at Lewes. Although the discovery of querns is by no means unfrequent in Sussex (I myself have found many in the western division of the county), still the one found at Clayton differed in this respect from any I have ever seen before, by the introduction into a groove, on the upper surface of it, of a solid piece of wrought iron, the thickest end of which was about two inches square. This iron tapered to a point, and was a little turned up at the pointed end so as to form a kind of hook. which hook projected about two inches over the hole in the centre of the quern, by which the mill was fed with corn. The use of this iron it would be difficult to conjecture. One purpose to which it had been applied evidently was as a hammer or mallet, the indentation of the under side of it plainly showing that it had been used in this way. This quern is, I believe, in the possession of Dr. Pickford, of Brighton.

pears to me to be fully borne out, as well by the course which this via takes close to the foot of the Downs, thereby avoiding all the difficulties which the great forest of Anderida, stretching the whole length of the county, would offer on the one hand, and the almost equally insuperable obstacles which the Downs themselves would present on the other; as by the frequent recurrence of Roman vestiges, which are to be met with on its line, and in no part more so than in the immediate vicinity of Bramber. The claim which this road has to Roman formation is materially strengthened by traces of a Roman via, east and west, a quarter of a mile north of Edburton, at the southern end of which parish Roman urns were found some years ago (see Cartwright's Bramber, p. 240), and also by the existence of three Roman baths, which have been discovered at different periods upon it; one at Duncton, and another at Clayton, many years ago; and a third at Wiston, since the commencement of the present year; denoting it to have been a principal military way, the Romans being accustomed to construct baths at convenient distances on such ways, for the accommodation of their soldiers in marching from one station to another. Another indication of the Romans having occupied Bramber may also be derived from the name of "Heathen Burial," still attached to a field between Steyning and Bramber, near to which the ancient Stone Street must have passed in crossing the brooks.

As the appellation "de Veteri Ponte" will naturally bring to the recollection of those who are acquainted with Magna Charta the name of one of the barons attesting that deed, Robert de Veteri Ponte, or Vipont, as it was then commonly called, it may be remarked in conclusion, that this family were wholly unconnected with Bramber, so that they could not derive their denomination from this Vetus Pons, or the Vetus Pons from them. I have the authority of Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, a gentleman well versed in Anglo-Saxon literature, for stating, that the family of Vipont, who came over with the Conqueror, brought this name with them from Vipont, near Lisieux, in Normandy. Wace says (ii, p. 230 of his History

of the Norman Barons)—

[&]quot;Et Dom Willame de Vez-Pont, Ad granz maisnies ne il out."

REMARKS ON

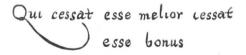
THE POCKET BIBLE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

READ AT A QUARTERLY MEETING AT LEWES, OCTOBER 1848.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

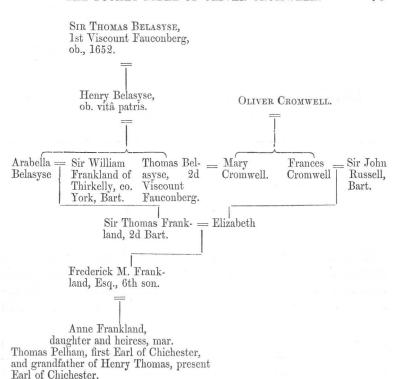
At the Society's Annual Meeting, held at Lewes, 10th of August, 1848, the Earl of Chichester, one of the vice-presidents of the Society, exhibited the Pocket Bible of Oliver Cromwell. It is the edition of 1645, "printed for the assignes of Robert Barker," and is plainly bound, for portability, in four thin volumes. The autograph of the original proprietor is written at the beginning of the third volume only:

1645:



The autograph of the second Viscount Fauconberg occurs in all the volumes, thus, 'Lord ffauconberg, his booke, 1677.'

The present proprietorship of this genuine and interesting relic of the Lord Protector will be easily explained by the following genealogical table:—



LETTERS OF EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES,

WRITTEN IN SUSSEX IN THE YEAR 1305.

EXTRACTED FROM AN ANCIENT MS. IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

PARTLY READ AT THE HASTINGS MEETING, 1848.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

The correspondence of historical or private persons of remote times is so seldom met with, that the discovery of this MS. is a subject of considerable interest to antiquaries generally, and such letters as were written in Sussex may, with

propriety, be brought forward by this Society.

In January, 1848, among the MSS. in the Chapter-house, Westminster, Mr. Devon, who so ably presides over that Record office, found a roll of several sheets of parchment, many yards in length, and $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, which contains a series of more than 800 letters of Edward, the first Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward II, written in a small clear hand by some secretary. They are copies of the letters dispatched by the prince in the 33d regnal year of his father Edward I, from November 20 to 27, 1304, on one sheet; and again (several sheets of the intervening period not having been found), from May 17, 1305, to October 1, 1305, so that the 800 letters belong, in fact, to a space of less than five months. The original letters were, probably, all in the French language, and so appear where the text is given in full, but of more than half only short Latin abstracts are given, while, in all, the titles of persons, the customary phrases of compliment, and the time and place of signature, are much abbreviated to avoid repetition.

Edward of Carnarvon had been honoured, when seventeen years old, with the new title of Prince of Wales, said to have been promised at his birth, and, at the date of these letters, was a young man of 22 years, whose manner of living is thus described by the old chronicler, W. de Knighton (p. 2532):— "Not caring to associate with the nobles, he clave to buffoons, singers, actors, grooms, labourers, rowers, sailors, and other mechanics, indulging in drinks, readily betraying secrets, striking bystanders on light occasions," &c. According to the chroniclers he was led into this course of life by his young friend, Peter de Gavaston, conspicuous in person, courage, and wit, who had been brought up at court as his companion from boyhood by the king's desire, out of regard to a worthy knight of Gascony, his father. To him is attributed, among other follies of the prince, one special instance of riot, the breaking into the park of the Bishop of Chester and killing his deer; and, though various dates have been assigned, it is probable that this had occurred not long before this time, and that the prince's quarrel with this prelate, then the king's treasurer, related in the letter from Midhurst, June 14, 1305, had reference to it. The punishment inflicted on him by the king for affronting the bishop, is stated by other later authorities (Baker's Chronicle; Godwyn de Præsulibus, p. 318; Holingshed ii, 315; Fabyan, 7, 145) to have been imprisonment; but these letters prove authentically that it consisted in the dismissal of all his followers, and a prohibition to approach the court for a period of some months, which the prince passed in Sussex, Kent, and Windsor; and the letters written during this time of disgrace well illustrate the prince's attachment to his friends, and his submission, however unwilling, to the authority of his father.

It has been thought sufficient for the purposes of this Society to introduce only a few specimens of the original French and of the Latin abstracts, and to give translations of the others. The contractions of the original have not been pre-

served in the transcript.

The third letter, after the title "Rotulus Litterarum Domini Principis Wallie de anno tricesimo tertio," was written from Langley, Herts, and refers to the recent death of John, the old Earl de Warenne, which occurred September 27, 1304, and evinces an anxiety to buy his stud of horses. It appears by a subsequent letter from Battle, June 28th, that "Brother John de Burne and Sir Oliver de Wisset" were the

executors of the earl, who, having married Alicia, the half-sister to King Henry III, is named as the prince's uncle, or rather, great-uncle.

"To the Executors of the Earl de Warenne.

Edward, &c. to his dear friends, the executors of our dear uncle, the Earl de Warenne, whom God assoil, health and loving friendships. Inasmuch as our people have already spoken to you on our behalf, that we wish to have the stud (le haras) which belonged to the said Earl, for the value, as it shall be appraised by honest persons, we again entreat that the said stud may be kept for us, wherever the Earl had it, and fix a time, sure and convenient, when our people and your people may examine the said stud, and fix both a certain price and day to make the payment. And we pray you that the said stud may be nowhere removed from where it is, until our people and your people have examined it, as is before said. Give credence to our dear clerk, Sir Robert de Chishull, in what he shall say to you in this matter. Given under our privy seal, at Langele, the 20th day of November." (1304.)

Another letter, relating to this subject, shows that this application was successful, and that the prince kept his stud at Ditchling, near Lewes, probably where it had been in the Earl's time. Robert de Winchelsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury (1293-1313), who, either as executor or as a good judge of horses, had helped the prince, was probably known to have some good horses of his own; and to him accordingly, two days only after he had fallen into disgrace, is addressed the following request to borrow them, which may be given out of its regular date, in the original French:—

"Domino Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo (in margin).

Al Ercevesque, &c., saluz, &c. Pur ceo qe nous avoms le haraz qe fust au Counte de Garenne, qe dieux assoille, a quoi vous meistes la main aidaunte, vostre merci, e eoms graunt defaute d'estalouns pur meisme le haraz, vous prioms especiaument qe si vous eez nul beal chival, qui soit bon pur estaloun, qe vous le nous voillez prester ceste sesoun pur l'amur de nous, e envoier, s'il vous plest, a Dychenynge pres de Lewes, a plus en haste qe vous poez, pur ceo qe la sesoun passe, et noz gentz qe la sont le recivront, e bien le garderont,

e le vous remenront quant la sesoun serra passe. E de ceste chose et d'autres que vous touchent quel vous devez nous, nous voillez remaunder vos volontez par vos lettres. Donne sous, &c. a Midherst le xvi jour de Joyn." (1305.)

The intimacy of the archbishop with the prince gave rise to an accusation of treasonable practices in 1306, and though he made an abject submission to the king, his property was seized, and no one being allowed to shelter him, he was only relieved from starvation by the secret charity of the Canterbury monks. He lived abroad till the accession of Edward II, who soon recalled him, and restored him to wealth. He nobly resisted, however, the persecution of his brother prelate of Chester by the king and Gavaston, while his stern severity towards John, the last Earl de Warenne, for his immoral life, was an additional proof of his courage.

In May 1305, when the letters again appear after the blank from November 27, the prince writes from Sunbury; and some of the earliest letters appear in short Latin abstracts, two of which are worthy of notice, as being addressed to the Bishop of Chester, the king's treasurer, in friendly terms, so short a time before the prince gave this same bishop such

offence as to incur punishment from the king.

"The Bishop of Chester, treasurer of the king, is requested to be more gracious, for the love of the prince, to the prior and convent of Worcester in a reasonable manner, concerning

Doderhull: at Sunnebury, 18th day of May."

"The Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield* is requested to defer all the matters before him touching Sir John of London, until he shall have had a conference with him on Sunday, so that whatever is right should afterwards be done. Given at Sunnebury, the 19th day of May."

It is possible that, in the meeting thus appointed with the bishop, the prince may have personally affronted him with rude words, when pleading in favour of his friend, Sir John

^{*} Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from 1295 to 1322, is frequently termed Bishop of Chester also, from the fact of the see having been moved there in 1075, and the king even directed writs to him under that name. He had risen from being keeper of the king's wardrobe in 1290, to the chancellorship in 1292, and lord treasurer in 1295; but had been only recently reappointed, after a suspension arising out of serious charges made against him, from which the pope relieved him, at the king's request.

de London, who may have got into trouble with the officers of law. The bishop is represented by the chroniclers to have frequently reproved Gaveston for misleading the prince.

There are two other entries at this time, which relate to

Sussex:

"Also Sir Thomas de Warblynton is requested to be gracious to Henry de May in his business before him. Sunnebury, May 19."

"Also the abbot and convent of Boxgrove are requested, in the way of advice, through Thomas de Pevenesi, to give

clerical preferment to a friend. Langele, May 26."

The next letter to be produced is dated from Sussex, and is important, as giving authentically the only explanation of the prince's quarrel with the bishop, and the punishment imposed on him by the king his father, which influenced all the prince's movements and expressions during the rest of this correspondence. It is directed to the aged warrior Henry de Lacy, the last Earl of Lincoln of that family, whose daughter Alice was married to the prince's cousin, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster.

"To the Lord Earl of Lincoln (Latin, in margin).

"Edward, &c. to the Earl of Nicole, &c., health and dear friendship; know, sire, that on Sunday, the 13th day of June. we came to Midhurst, where we found our lord the king our father, and on the following Monday, on account of certain words which were told him, that had been between us and the Bishop of Chester, he is so angry with us that he has forbidden us, that neither ourselves nor any one of our suite should be so bold as to enter within his household; and he has forbidden all his officers of his household and of the exchequer that they should neither give us nor lend us anything whatever for the sustenance of our household; and we have remained at Midhurst in order to wait for his good pleasure and his pardon, and we will at any rate proceed after him in the best manner that we shall be able, as at ten or twelve leagues from his household, until we may be able to recover his good pleasure, for which we have great desire. Wherefore we especially entreat you, that on your return from Canterbury, you would come towards us, for we have great need of your aid and your counsel. Given under (our privy seal at Mid-

hurst, the 14th day of June)."

"Domino Comiti Lincolnie.—Edward, &c. au Counte de Nicole, &c., saluz e cheres amistez. Sachez, sire, qe dymenge le xiii jour de Join venismes a Midherst, la ou nous trovasmes nostre seignur le Roy nostre pere, e le Lundy proschain pur aukunes paroles qe lui furent dites qe avoient este entre nous e levesqe de Cestre, il est ansi coruce ove nous, qil nous ad defendu qe nous ne seoms si hardi de venir en sun hostel ne nul de nostre mesnee, e ad defendu a trestoutz ses gentz de sun hostel e del eschecker qil ne nous donnent ne nous prestent nulle rien pur sustenaunce de nostre hostel, e nous sumes demorez a Midherst pur attendre sa bone volonte e sa grace, e irrons totes foiz apres lui en la meillore manere qe nous purrons, come a diz leues ou a duze de sun hostel, tant qe nous puissons recovrir sa bone volonte, de quoi nous avoms graunt desir. Pur qoi vous prioms especialment qe a vostre retourner de Canterbirs viegnez devers nous, kar nous avoms grant mester de vostre aide e vostre consaille. Donne souz, &c. ut supra."

The king, in fact, had passed through Midhurst on this occasion in his way from Guildford, and on the very day of this reproof to his son, had continued his journey by Cocking to Chichester, and afterwards by Arundel and Lewes to Canterbury, where he arrived July 6. The prince, it will be seen, followed out his intention of keeping at a respectful distance

from his father, on the same line of road.

This severity of Edward I to his son is also correctly referred to in the record of a judicial sentence soon afterwards. Roger de Hecfham (Heigham, Hyam), a Baron of the exchequer, having given judgment against William de Brewes (Braose) in a suit by which Maria, widow of W. de Braose,* claimed 800 marcs from him, had been grossly insulted by him in open court with reproaches: "Roger, Roger," he exclaimed, "now you have got what you have long been wishing

^{*} Maria, daughter of William de Roos, was the third wife of William de Braose, Lord of Bramber, who died 1290. William the younger was his eldest son and heir, by his first wife Isabella, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. He was of unthrifty habits, and sold the Welsh estates. (See Dallaway's Bramber, p. 174.)

for, my shame and loss, and I will repay you for it." For this contempt of court, W. de Brewes was made to walk publicly from the King's Bench to the Exchequer bareheaded, and without his belt, in order to ask pardon of the judge, and was then committed to the Tower. The official report of this incident (Placitor. Abbrev., p. 256) alludes to such disrespect to the king's officers being "especially odious to the king, as was openly shown of late, when the said king had removed his first-born and dearest son Edward from his household for nearly half a year, because he had uttered certain gross and bitter words to a certain officer of his; nor would he permit his own son to come into his presence until he had made satisfaction for the offence to the said officer."

When the prince found himself thus left destitute on the borders of Sussex, the usual supplies to his household being cut off, his suite was at once dismissed, and his first care naturally was to procure some money for his necessary expenses. Accordingly he wrote several letters on the very day

of his disgrace, one to the Bishop of Chichester:—

"To the Bishop Elect and Confirmed of Chichester, health.

"As on account of the special affection that we have for our very dear clerk, Sire Wautier Reignaud,* keeper of our wardrobe, and for the good services which he has long rendered us, and yet does from day to day, we are anxious to make and procure his honour, profit, and advancement by ourselves and our friends; we beg you, as especially and as cordially as we can, that for charity's sake, and for love of us, you would be pleased to give our said clerk a prebend in your church of Chichester as soon as a convenient time shall occur, and for this we shall be especially bound to you for profit and honour, if you so will."

His motive for writing so immediately to the bishop was,

His motive for writing so immediately to the bishop was, probably, to secure a promise from him before the news of his disgrace could reach him. John Langton, who had been appointed Bishop a few weeks previous (1305-1337), and who afterwards built the noble south window and the spire of his cathedral, bare the same name, and may have been of the same

^{*} The name occurs frequently, and in various forms, with the usual disregard of orthography. Reynolds would be the ordinary form in modern English.

family as the Bishop of Chester, who had been the occasion of his punishment. He had been master of the rolls, and then chancellor, in 1292, which dignity he retained till 1302. On the prince becoming king, he unscrupulously supported the favorite Gavaston, and was in consequence reappointed chancellor, and so continued until he finally retired, from the overwhelming unpopularity of his party, to his see of Chichester, in May, 1310. When violently attacked in 1315 by John Earl de Warenne, whom he had excommunicated for living in adultery, he summoned his servants and friends to his help, and imprisoned the earl (V. Godwyn de Præs.)

A similar letter to Richard de Swinefeld, Bishop of Hereford (1282-1317), urges on him the fulfilment of a promise to give "the prebend which shall next be voided in his church," to the same "Walter Regnaud, who had done him great services ever since childhood," and promising in return "to do anything which should turn to the bishop's honour and profit." The bearer of the letter, John de Bohun, one of the family of the Earls of Hereford, was probably one of the dismissed attendants of his suite, and the letter would serve to

disguise the motive of his departure.

The same request was also written to Thomas de Button, Bishop of Exeter (1292-1307), but with reproaches on his delay hitherto:—"Although you answered that you were willing to comply with our request, yet you have as yet done nothing, nor replied to our letters, at which we marvel greatly, we therefore entreat you afresh, as cordially as we can, that you would be pleased to give the very next prebend vacant to him." Private patrons were also applied to on the same day, as appears by the following entry in the Roll: "Consimilis littera dirigitur Domino Johanni de Northwode, item Domino Willelmo de Echingham, item Domino Roberto de Burghesshe mutatis mutandis."

A letter of the same date to Walter Reignaud, on whose behalf these applications were made, reveals to us the urgency of his wants, and his cautious pride to keep up appearances.

"To Sir Walter Reignaud, &c.—Inasmuch as our lord the king is so angry with us on account of the Bishop of Chester, that he has prohibited us or any one of our suite from entering his household, and has also forbidden the officers of his house-

hold and of the exchequer to give or lend us anything for the sustenance of our household, we send to you, that you may devise means to send us money in great haste for the sustenance of our household, and do not in any manner show anything of the wants which touch us to the Bishop of Chester, nor to any person belonging to the exchequer. And send us also wax and other things which belong to our wardrobe. Given at Midhurst, the 14th day of June."

To send round begging letters for church preferment to bishops, and others, would probably not occur nowadays to any prince in distress for money, as the very first thing to be done. We have already seen that, only two days after, he applied to the archbishop on a matter evidently dear to him—

his stud at Ditchling.

The first letters written after quitting Midhurst are dated from Sengelton (Singleton), June 18th, a small village south of Midhurst, where he was probably attracted by the Earl of Arundel's hunting seat at Downley, and relate, like so many others, to the interest of his friends in the church. One requests Sir Richard de Bingham not to take away the tithes of Blitheworth from the prebend of William de Melton, canon of Southwell, "que nulle novelerie ne soit comence envers lui encontre reson." Another begs the favour of William de Gainsburgh,* Bishop of Worcester (1302-8), towards his friend James de Thikkenes, just presented to "Estenton," in his diocese.

The prince does not appear to have visited Chichester, as his next letters are dated from "Aldinbourn," June 20, where the Bishop of Chichester's palace formed the usual halting-place to royal travellers; one is to the Bishop of Exeter about the promotion of one of his clerks to a living; another to the chancellor,† wishing him to appoint "Monsire Rauf de Sandwyz et Monsire Edward Charles" as justices, to try certain persons, now in Newgate, on a charge of murder. These interferences with the regular course of justice occur so fre-

^{*} A learned Franciscan, who had made himself famous at Rome by his eloquence. He died in France September 17, 1307, on a journey to Rome, and was immediately succeeded by Walter Reynaud, whose name so often occurs in these letters. † William de Hamilton was made chancellor January 16, 1305, and died in office, April 20, 1307. (Lord Campbell's Chan.)

quently, that we must suppose them to be customary, and that the judges were in those times continually exposed to the private solicitations of friends. Ralph de Šandwich was appointed a justice of the King's Bench in 1289. On the same day he moved on to "Terrynge" (Terring), and wrote from thence an urgent letter to "Maistre Johan de Bedeford," Archdeacon of London, entreating him, as executor to the late Bishop of London (Richard de Gravesend, 1280-1305), to pay "Gautier Regnaud" 50 marcs (£33 6s. 8d.) for his use, in as much haste as possible, (a notre oeps le plus en haste que vous purrez pur l'amur de nous,) Henry de Bluntesdon, the king's almoner, having consented to lend him this money. Some other letters on money matters are also dated from Terring, June 21. The next day he concerns himself about getting some new clothes fit to appear in, on the expected visit of the queen's mother and brother from France. Queen Mary was the Dowager Queen of France, widow of Philip the Third, who died 1285. She was daughter of Henry, Duke of Brabant, and mother of Margaret, the second queen of Edward I.

"To Sire Wauter Renaud, Treasurer, &c., health.

"Inasmuch as we have heard that the Queen Mary of France and "Monsire Lowys," her son, will soon come to England, and that it will be our duty to meet them, and accompany them as long as they shall be in these parts, and therefore it will become us to be well mounted with palfreys, and well apparelled with robes and other things against their coming; wherefore we command you that you will cause to be bought for our use two palfreys, handsome and suitable for our riding, and two saddles, with the best reins that we have in the care of Gilbert de Taunton, and the best and finest cloths that you can find for sale in London for two or three robes for our use, with fur, and satin, and all things proper for them. And these things, when you shall have procured them, cause them to come to us wherever we may be, and in the most haste you can—June 22."

On June 23 and 24, the letters are dated from Percinges (Perching), a small place close to the Downs, near Edburton.

In one the prince requests Isabella Bardulf to give the church of Stapleford (probably in co. Wilts), about to be

resigned by Hugh the rector, to Peter de Brembre, a clerk of the king. Another is addressed to his brother-in-law, Ralph de Mount Hermer, who had become the second husband of his sister, the Princess Joan of Acre, who, it will be seen in a subsequent letter, befriended the prince in his present emergency:-"To 'Monsire Rauf de Mohermer, Counte de Gloucestre e de Hereford,' health. Because you gladly receive good news of our health, we let you know that we were well and in good condition of body, thanks to God, when these letters were written, the which we desire much to know of you. And because you have by your letters required that we should not believe Richard Rouncyn, merchant, in any news which he may tell us to aggrieve you, we let you know that we will neither believe him, nor any one else, as to any evil that they shall speak of you, but we shall be much displeased (saveroms grant maugre) with all those who shall speak ill of you to us. May our Lord preserve you. At Percinges, the 23d day of June."

In the Subsidy Roll of 24 Edward I, 1296 (Carlton Ride MSS.), under "Villata de Poning," the two principal tax-payers were, "Michael Poning, 38s. 8d.; William de Perching, 15s. $1\frac{1}{2}d$. It was, apparently, at the latter's house that the prince was lodged, but the head of the Poyning family

was also in the retinue of Edward I.

On the next day and the following, letters are dated from "Radmilde" (Rodmill, near Lewes). Two are to bespeak the favour of the justices of the King's Bench, Henry Spigurnell and Roger Brabanzon, towards John de Charleton, Vitalis Cots, and Vitalis Segwyn; one to his treasurer, about his rents in Wales and Cheshire, another to his two brothers, the Princes Thomas and Edmund, then mere children, inquiring after their health.

On June 25th the prince moved to Lewes, from whence several letters are dated on that day and the 26th. Three several letters entreat the Justices Peter Malorre, Roger de Brabanzon, and Gilbert de Roubery,* to show all the favour, help, and friendship that can be reasonably allowed, to the

^{*} Peter Mallore was a justice of the Common Pleas, Gilbert de Roubery of the King's Bench.

"Monsire Henri de Leyburne, et Monsire ffouke Paiforer, knights of the king's good servant William de Leyburne, in their business, so that they may be able to perceive that our prayer has aided them with you, as we desire it, and we shall be the more especially bound to you." Three more letters were written from Lewes on June 26th to Ralph de Hengham, a justice of the Common Pleas, to William Howard, another justice, and to "his beloved in God, the Prior of Buttele' (Butley, in Suffolk), all interceding for Master Edmund of London, who had been an old servant "of our dear lady and mother, whom God assoil," and who was engaged in the matter "of the wardenship of the house of St. Thomas d'Acre* of London."

Several letters of June 27th are dated from "Halynggelegh" (Hellingly). One to the Chief Justice Brabanzon, on behalf of "Maukyn le Armurer, burgois de Lundres," detained in prison; another to the Prior of Carlisle, about a pension; and

a third to the Abbot of Middleton.

"Edward, &c. to the Prior of 'Middelton,' health.—We dearly thank you for that you have so courteously received and understood the letters and the entreaties which we sent, and made to you lately by our well-beloved clerk Ingelard de Warle. And concerning the pension that you have given and granted our said clerk by reason of our entreaties, with the understanding that you will cause it to be increased to him hereafter, when it can be well done, so we let you know that on account of our said clerk, we are willing to be more particularly bound to you, in those matters which you have to do with us. Given under, &c. at Helinggelegh, the 27th day of June."

Similar subjects engaged the prince's attention on June 28 and 29, writing from Battle. The flow of petitions for preferment on his friends, is only relieved occasionally by topics relating to his own habits and situation. Nor was he easily satisfied as to church benefices, as appears by the following letter of reproach on so poor a one having been given to his friend W. de Melton, who, on the prince's accession to

^{*} This Augustine hospital was in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, on the site of Archbishop Thomas à Becket's birthplace, and was founded by his sister, Agnes de Helles. The earliest warden mentioned in Dugdale's Monasticon is Thomas Sallowe, who died 1371.

the throne, was appointed keeper of his wardrobe, and was afterwards, in 1308, intrusted with the care of the Great

Seal, when accompanying the king to Aquitaine.

"Edward, to his beloved in God the Prior and Convent of Coventry, health.—We have often requested you on behalf of our dear clerk Sir William de Melton, to whom we are much bound for the good service which he has done, and still does to us daily, that you would advance him, as quickly as a fitting time should offer itself, to a benefice of Holy Church, which may belong to your gift; and that, in the meanwhile, you would grant him a suitable annual pension, until such time when you may be able so to advance him; and now we have heard that you wish to present him to the church of Sutham (Southam, co. Warw.), which is not worth 30 marcs (£20) a year more than the pension, and such a benefice we do not hold at all fitting for his estate, wherefore we beg you, that you would please to do what we have often requested of you before this time; that is to say, that you will grant our said clerk a suitable annual pension, until you may have advanced him to such benefice of Holy Church as may be fitting for his condition, and if you are charged with any pension to any other clerk, you may in the meanwhile release yourselves by the said church of Sutham. And we wonder greatly at you, because that you delay so long to do our request in this little matter; and we much wish that you would do it now, or that you would refuse it outright, if you should see good to do so. (vodrions molt que vous le feissez ore, ou le refusissez tout outre, si vous veissez que bon feust); and on this matter send us back your pleasure by your letters. Battaille,' the 28th day of June.

Abstracts of other letters from Battle also appear. One to the Earl of Lincoln, as an executor of Queen Eleanor, wishing him to pay her debt to Oliver de Ingham, "for the release of the soul of the Lady Queen, his mother." By another Latin abstract, the arrears of his groom's wages are applied for:—

"Brother John de Burne and Sir Oliver de Wisset, executors of the Lord Earl de Warenne, are entreated for the love of the prince to give assistance more speedily to John de Dychenynge (Ditchling), keeper of the prince's colts, in those matters in which the said lord earl was bound to him concerning the time in which he served him. Given at Battle,

28th day of June."

From Battle the prince proceeded by Tenterden and Wye to Canterbury, where he arrived July 5th, and made a short stay, which must have been by the express permission of the king, who was there also, and who so far relaxed his severity as to allow his son a few necessaries for his household, and permitted two of his suite to join him. Perhaps the royal visitors from France were then arrived, and occasioned this slight change. The prince, however, went on by Chartham, Mortlake, and Lambeth to Windsor, where, by order of the king, he remained from July 24 till the meeting of the Parliament, summoned for September 15.

As it is better to confine our attention to Sussex matters only in this Society, without venturing too far upon general history, the letters subsequent to those from Battle will only be referred to, in order to complete the history of his disfavour with the king. From Tenterden he wrote to his sister, probably Elizabeth Countess of Hereford, a letter apparently intended by its professions of obedience to be shown to the king.

"To the Sister of the Prince (sorori Domini).—Very dear sister, do not be dismayed at these news which you tell us they chatter in the parts where you are (ne vous esmaez de ces noveles que vous nous avez maunde qom gaungle es parties ou vous estes), about our lord the king our father, and us; for it is quite right that he should say, and do, and ordain concerning us whatever pleases him, and we shall be always ready to obey all his wishes; for whatever he does at his own pleasure, so is it for our profit, and for love of us, and be pleased not to listen to anything to the contrary whatever they may tell you. May the Lord preserve you. Given at Tenterden, July 1."

The next day the prince writes to his stepmother, Queen Margaret, with whom he seems to have kept on good terms, asking in a circuitous manner for a share of the church pre-

ferment vacant by the death of a Sussex pluralist:

"To the Queen, health.—Very dear lady, because we desire very much the advancement of our dear clerk Sir Walter Renaud, keeper of our wardrobe, as we are bound for the good services which he has largely done for us, and we have heard that our clerk, late Sir Giles Daudenard, who held one prebend in Rypon, and another in the church of Chichester, and a third in Hastings, is summoned to God, whereby the gift of these three prebends belongs to our lord the king our father, whom we neither can nor dare request on our own behalf, concerning that or other needs, as you know, my lady, we entreat your highness (ma dame, priom votre hautesse) to be pleased to be of help towards the said our lord and father, as if on your own behalf, my lady, and that for your sake he may be willing to advance the said clerk to the prebend of Rypon, inasmuch as he often promised him advancement. Very dear lady, may our Lord preserve and keep you by his power for ever. Given at Wy, the 2d day of July."

Edward I had kept his Christmas at Wye Court, in Scraye, co. Kent, a manor of the Abbot of Battle, before his coronation.

(Thos. Wals.)

If half the applications in favour of Walter Renaud had been successful, he would have been a great pluralist; but the prince's anxiety to promote his old tutor does him honour. By origin the son of a Windsor baker, Walter Renaud had risen by his talents into the confidence of the court, and Edward I had intrusted him with the education of his son, and had given him the living of Wyberton, co. Linc. Edward II seized the first opportunity, on his accession, of making him Bishop of Worcester, and in 1310 he made him Chancellor, and afterwards, with all his court, attended his enthronization as Archbishop of Canterbury in April, 1314. After all these favours, however, he shamefully deserted the king when in difficulties, and died in alarm at the reproaches of the pope for his subservience to the queen.

From Lambeth, July 21, the prince writes again to his

brother-in-law the Earl of Gloucester.

"Because you have so kindly given up your goods to us (si bonement abaundone vos biens), we thank you very dearly; and we let you know that our lord the king our father does not consider himself so ill treated by us (or, 'is not so ill pleased with us,' ne se tient mie asi mal paye de nous,) as some people perhaps have made you believe, for he wishes,

and has commanded, that we should have of his bounty (de

soen largement) what is needful for us."

The Countess of Gloucester had, indeed, lent him her seal, probably to authorize the delivery of the goods thus referred to, and this he carefully returned to her on this same July 21, "in the chamber of the Archbishop at Lambeth by the hands of his clerk, Ingelhard de Warle."

In evidence of the prince's statement as to his father's "bounty," we find entered in the accounts of the king's wardrobe at this time (C. R. MSS. EB, 2042) an advance of 100 marcs (£66 13s. 4d.), paid to Walter Reynald, by command of the king, for the prince's expenses. In spite of the temporary stoppage of supplies, it is a curious proof of the abundant use of spices and groceries at this time, to observe the large quantities delivered during this very year for the use of the prince's household out of the stores of the king's wardrobe. (Liberat. cere et specerie fact. per Rad. de Stokes cler. mag. garderobe anno 33, W N, 1974 in Carlton R. MSS.)

"Wax, to Sir Walter Reynaud and William de London for the expenses of the household of the Lord Prince of Wales,

—1727 lb.

"Almonds, to the same, &c., 107 lb.; rice (rys), 200 lb.; Sugar, 701½ lb.; electuaries (fruit jellies, &c.), 70 lb.; gingerbread (gingebr'), 3 boxes, of which 1 Indian, wt. 6 lb.; festucad?, 2 boxes; ginger (zinzib'), 40 lb.; cytonal (candied orange or mint?), 3 lb.; canell (cinnamon in powder was strewed on bread, or with fish), 21 lb.; galanga (an Indian aromatic), 1 lb.; round pepper, 44 lb.; long pepper, 12 lb; nutmegs (nuc' muscat), 2 lb.; pickle? (gars, garus), 3 lb.; mace, I lb.; saffron (crocus), 7 lb.; fennel seed (grana fenili). 26 lb.; cummin (cyminum), 14 lb.; Malaga? figs, (fic' Mallek, xv fraell), 15 baskets, 73 lb.; Malaga raisins (rasem Mallek), 6 baskets; turrill? mace (macem turrill), 26 baskets; turrill figs, 2 baskets; dates (dattill, 1 bal), 1 bale, wt. 252 lb.; of currants (racem corinth) and cubebs (quibeb), though much was used by the king, none seems to have been given to the prince."

From Windsor he generally dates "au Park" simply, or sometimes "à Park de Wyndesore." From thence a letter is thus addressed to the last Earl de Warenne:—"To his dear

cousin, John de Warenne, health, &c.—We entreat you to be pleased, for the love of us, to give one or two does (une deym ou deux) to our well-beloved John de Monteney. May our Lord preserve you. At Windsor, the 1st day of August."

But beyond his love of venison, was his anxiety to have his favorite Gavaston again with him. To gain this point he applied very circuitously through his sister, who was to ask the queen to ask the king to grant this favour:—"Edward, &c. to his very dear sister my Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Hereford and of Essex, health and dear friendship.—Right glad are we of the good health of our lord the king our father, and of my lady the queen, and of yours, which we have learnt by your letters, and as to ours, we let you know that we were in good health, thanks to God, when these letters were written; and inasmuch as our lord the king has granted us two valets, whom we love and have loved, to dwell with us, that is to say, John de Hausted and John de Weston. we entreat and request you especially to be pleased to beg my lady the queen, our dear mother, that she would be pleased to beg the king to be pleased to grant two more valets to dwell with us; that is to say, Gilbert de Clare and 'Perot' (Peter) de Gavaston; for if we had these two, with the others whom we have, we should be much relieved from the anguish which we have endured, and yet daily suffer, from the restrictions at the pleasure of our lord the king. Very dear sister, may our Lord preserve you. Given under our privy seal, at the park of Wyndesore, the 4th day of August."

Of the two favorites for whom he thus petitioned, Gilbert de Clare was either the son of the Princess Joan of Acre, whose present husband bore the title of Earl of Gloucester until Gilbert was of age, or he may have been the cousin of that name, knighted at the same time with the prince, son of Thomas de Clare. Peter de Gavaston was the other, and the use of the familiar diminutive "Perot," when mentioning him, who was afterwards his notorious favorite, denotes their intimacy. Indeed the tenacity with which the prince clung to his friends throughout is a remarkable feature in his character. Some entries in the household expenses of the king in 1299 (C. Ride MSS.), mark that as the year when Arnald de Gavaston, the old Gascon knight, first came to England, and his son

Peter was probably then admitted to the court. "To the lords Arnald de Gavaston, R. de Caupenne, and Bertram Pavisalls, who were lately in the king of France's prison, and escaped, for their expenses in journeying through Brabant and passing into England, £7 10s." And in 1302, "two cloths of silk were granted by the king for the ceremonies of the funeral of Arnald de Gavaston, knight, deceased at Winchester."

Two days after, August 6, he made a more direct attempt to interest the queen on this point, in almost the same words, thanking her for having gained him "the two valets of his chamber to live with him as they used to do," but urging her to intercede for Clare and Gavaston.

To his sister, the Countess of Gloucester, on the same day, who had invited him to come to her, he is obliged to explain his situation: "Know, my very dear sister, that we would willingly come to you, but our lord the king has commanded our stay in these parts near Wyndesore between this and the parliament, or until otherwise is ordered, and we wish to obey his commands in all things without doing anything to the contrary. Very dear sister, may the Lord have you in his

keeping."

Though compelled to live at Windsor, the prince did not pass a dull life. There are letters of his sending to buy two long swords for valets, and six small horns, and two horses at the price of £30. John Lalemand, keeper of seven of his horses, is sent to the care of the Abbot of Reading, to be cured of his wounded hand by the good surgeon there. Greyhounds and other dogs also were sent to him; and having got a white greyhound, he writes to beg his sister, the Countess of Hereford, to send him her white greyhound, that he might have puppies from them. Hugh le Despenser is thanked for sending him "raisins and wine," which, he says, came just at the right time (ne poet a mellore hore aver venu), as he was going to dinner.

In due time the prince was restored to favour, and was, a short time after, May 22, 1307, knighted by the king in great state, together with 265 young nobles. We have seen how zealous he was for his friends, and that two of his present correspondents were made chancellors by him when king, but

he unfortunately carried up to the throne his enmities also; and the bitter remembrance of his disgrace caused him outrageously to persecute the Bishop of Chester as soon as he had the power. He confiscated his property, imprisoned his person, and for several years braved the anger of the church and the pope before he would release him. By a curious change of parts, the bishop ultimately stood firm in his loyalty to the king in the civil troubles, and was excommunicated for so doing by the very man, Archbishop Walter Reynaud, whom the king had loaded with such favours. Gavaston's fate is well known. Edward I, while he felt it his duty to remove him from his son, treated him with much consideration, and provided for his support honorably by a pension of 100 marcs, which was to begin from the day he crossed over from Dover to Witsand, on his way to Gascony. (Writ dated Lanercost,

Feb. 26, 1307—Rymer's Fed.)

On his immediate recall by Edward II from abroad, the king's bounty was exercised freely on him, the Earls of Warenne and Arundel sanctioning as witnesses the grant of the earldom and lands of Cornwall, at Dumfries, August 6, 1307 (Rymer's Feed.), and his care extended even to his favorite servants. "To Richard Dragon, groom (garcioni) of Peter de Gavaston, when ill at London, 5s.; to Robert le Momenour, groom of Peter de Gavaston, coming to the king from Ponthieu with letters of his lord, by the king's gift, 6s. 8d. to buy him a tunic; to Robert Rufford, valet, hurt in coming from Ponthieu in the suite of his lord, to cure his hurt, And £500 was given Gavaston on his return, under the name of repaying a former loan (Devon's Iss. Exch., 119). By the connivance of the Bishop of Chichester, when chancellor, who allowed the king the uncontrolled use of the great seal for a few days, Gavaston was, on his second banishment, appointed Governor of Ireland; and it must be mentioned, to his honour, that he displayed his usual skill and courage while there, in subduing the rebels of Munster and Thomond. Profuse grants were made to him; and on his solemn funeral at Langley in 1314, two years after his death, the king paid all the expenses (£160 6s. 8d., in C. R. MSS.), and attended the ceremony with Archbishop Walter Reynaud, four other bishops, fourteen abbots, and many barons and dignitaries.

LETTER OF CONGRATULATION,

Addressed to Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart., on his Marriage with Judith Shirley, 1637.

(COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. WILLIAM RAYNES, RECTOR OF RIPE AND CHALVINGTON.)

READ AT THE QUARTERLY MEETING AT LEWES, OCT. 1848.

WITH NOTES, BY MR. M. A. LOWER.

"Noble Sir,

"Amongst those many reall expressions of your friends affections (wherewith I know your owne worth and theire deserved loves, will at this time of just rejoycing lode you), bee pleas'd not to disdaine this empty appearance of his full iov at this your happy day and choyce, whose obligements to you are therefore more then others, because his merits lesse then any's: beleeve it, Sr, you could not have found out a more effectual meanes to have gladded this whole contry (and especially your nearest endeared friends) then by marriing; nor in marrijng then by soe happy an election of knowne and approved worth and vertue as you have made; of whom, to speake but truth, might easily bee misconstrued flattery: which I soe much detest to doe, that I would not willingly bee thought guilty thereof: it shall suffice mee to fill full my reioycing, that you soe well know her as to bee made happy by her, and in you your friends, among which number (though altogether unworthy of soe hye a title) yet since by you soe highly favoured as to bee made acquainted, and consequently to sympathise with you in your distracted thoughts of your unsetled course, I cannot but claime and expresse my share of ioy in this your soe blessed a way of quieting your minde, and settling your resolutions, which blessing, as it comes from God alone, see to him onely I ascribe the glory, resting euer.

Friston, December 18vo.

I thinke it unseasonable, in this happy time of your truer ioys, to mention unto you your instruments of smaller delight, but when you shall pleas to make use of him, when your litle setter is heere fitt for your NICHOLAS GILDREDGE service.

Your hauke we proceed but slowly withauth because I conceive hee is a hagard.

Your hauke we proceed but slowly withall, because I conceive hee is a hagard,
and therefore will require good reclaiming; and since hee hath beene heere he
hath wanted noe carring, nor other rites
that our skills afford; hee will now iump
to the fist.

[Addressed]

"To his most honoured friend S. Thomas Pelham, Baronet, at his house at Halland, these present."

[Endorsed]

"My Cosin Gildrige."

Notes. Nicholas Gildredge, the writer of this letter, was the representative of an ancient family, who derived their surname from an estate called Gildredge, in the parish of Withyham, and were afterwards settled for four descents at East Bourne. Friston, from whence the letter is dated, was the seat of the Selwyns, to whom Mr. Gildredge was related through matches with the Burtons of East Bourne. Mr. Gildredge was the last male of his line. He died in 1668, leaving Elizabeth, his daughter and heiress, who married Nicholas Eversfield, Esq., a direct ancestor of the Eversfields of Denne.

The letter is addressed to Sir Thomas Pelham, the second baronet of the family, and a direct ancestor of the Earl of Chichester. This gentleman had three wives. The first was Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Wilbraham, who was buried at Laughton March 7, 1634-5. The letter was written on the occasion of Sir Thomas's second marriage with Judith Shirley at the end of the year 1637. The peerages, and other printed genealogies of the Pelham family, do not give either the name or the residence of the lady's father. There is, however, little doubt that she was one of the six daughters of Sir Thomas

Shirley (the younger) of Wiston, by his second wife, Judith, daughter of William Bennet, Esq., and who would probably have been between twenty and thirty years of age at the time of her presumed match with Sir Thomas Pelham.

Of the nature of Sir Thomas Pelham's previous troubles, alluded to by the writer, nothing is known. He was destined, however, to drink still more deeply of the waters of adversity; for, in less than a year after the date of this letter, he had the misfortune to lose this his second wife. She died in 1638, and was buried at Laughton on the 21st of November. He subsequently married Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Fane, of Kent.

Mr. Gildredge thinks Sir Thomas's hawk a hagard. A hagard is a hawk that has preyed for herself before she was taken, and therefore requires much more skill in training than a young bird taken from the nest. Con Matheman was probably an Irish hawk-trainer, resident in the vicinity.

EXTRACTS FROM

THE DIARY OF RICHARD STAPLEY, GENT.

OF HICKSTEAD PLACE, IN TWINEHAM,

FROM 1682 TO 1724;

WITH A NOTICE OF THE STAPLEY FAMILY.

PARTLY READ AT THE LEWES MEETING, 1848.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER.

THE family to which the writer of the following Diary belonged was an ancient and distinguished one in the county of Sussex, the Stapleys coming probably from Battle. In the Battle Abbey deeds the names of Staplehithe and Staplegh frequently occur, and a hundred near Battle is called the

hundred of Staple.

It is quite certain that a branch of this family, if not the original family itself, had established itself at Framfield towards the close of the fifteenth century; for among the earliest entries in the registers of that parish, which commence with the year 1539, the name of Stapley occurs, and here this branch appears to have continued till 1625 or 1626, when Anthonie Stapley, a lineal descendant, removed with his family to Patcham, having about that time purchased Patcham Place of Henry Shelley, Esq., whose family, upon their removal from Patcham, established themselves at Lewes. It is also equally certain that another branch of the Stapleys settled soon after at Hickstead Place in Twineham, Richard Staplegh having succeeded Thomas Lord La Warr in this property early in the sixteenth century, probably in 1526, when this illustrious and patriotic nobleman died.

The Framfield branch of the Stapleys was first brought into historical notice by the very active and conspicuous part taken in public affairs by Anthonie, the eldest son of the first pos-

sessor of the Patcham estate, in the rebellious period in which he lived. So violent indeed were his antimonarchical feelings. that his name is to be found among the number of those who eventually signed the death warrant of Charles I. Clarendon, in speaking of him and of the family generally, which he says were "of good extraction and of a good estate in Sussex," calls him "one of the blackest offenders." In the last session of James the First, and the first of Charles the First, he represented the borough of New Shoreham in parliament, and was afterwards elected one of the burgesses of the shire, sitting as such in the Long Parliament. He was also governor of Chichester. His wife was sister to the Earl of Norwich. This branch became extinct in the male line by the death of Anthonie's grandson, Herbert, the only son of Sir John Stapley, who was knighted, and afterwards, as Stapeley of Patcham, was, on July 28, 1660, created a baronet by Charles II. for the active part which he took in effecting his restoration.

With regard to the Hickstead branch, although they were certainly connected with that of Framfield, the only evidence bearing on the subject is a tradition still extant in Framfield, that Richard Staplegh, the first possessor of the Hickstead estate, previously resided at Buxted, which seems not improbable, as, by his will, proved at Lewes, after directing his " body to be buried in the churche of St. Peter at Twineham. against the place where he accustomyd to knele,* and a greater stone to be laid on himself, and the lesser stone upon his wyff;" and after bequeathing "to the roode light of Twyneham xija," "to the sepulcre a taper of iij lbs. of wax," "to the light of our Ladye at Twyneham xijd, (which he afterwards revokes and gives to the poor of the parish,) and to the light of our Ladye at Bolney xij^a, he gives "to the churche of Buxted vj^s viij^a," and "to the churche at Uckfield iij^s iv^a."

^{* &}quot;Many a trait of character," says Lord Lindsay, "may be read in the language and provisions of a will of the olden time, in which, it has been well observed, it is no proof of our improved taste, any more than of our improved virtue, that we have so entirely ceased to imitate them." Then follow these striking extracts from the will of one of his many good and great ancestors: "Should my death occur in or near Edinburgh, I desire that my body should be buried in the Abbey kirk * * if at St. Andrewes, in St. Leonard's kirk; if at Balearras, in the kirk at Kilconquhar, under my own seat * * * and I would request my friends and bairns rather to be merry, nor to make lamentation for my decease, and to think that their lamentation will do me ma guid, nor cannot be foundet upon one guid reason sif they hope tion will do me na guid, nor cannot be foundet upon ony guid reason gif they hope that I will be in a guid estate."—(Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i, p. 192.)

The Stapleys of Hickstead were Royalists, but this, as well as the Patcham branch, is now extinct in the eldest direct male line, the present possessor of the Hickstead estate being

descended from it through a female.

That the house at Hickstead was once much larger than it is now there can be no doubt. A building of peculiar construction, called the Castle, still remains, situated at a short distance from the present residence, which is of much greater antiquity than the present house. Probably, like Isfield Place, the residence in bygone days of the Shirleys, and some other Sussex mansions, Hickstead House was reduced in size, as the estate once attached to it was reduced also.

Richard, the author of the Diary, was the third son of Anthonie Stapley, who died 1667. Judging from his Diary, which is an interesting record of his every-day life, he was a man of unostentatious and frugal habits; a bachelor residing with his mother, who survived her husband many years; an excellent friend and neighbour to all around him; a man who seldom moved from home, and a most methodical and accurate accountant; for he not only records who were the witnesses of his various money transactions, but also where they took place, whether at the horseblock or in the open fields; in the kitchen, hall, or parlour; nay, he has more than once thought fit to state at what particular table, and at which end of it, a parti-

cular receipt or payment took place.

The pedigree of this ancient family, in its different branches, may be obtained authentically from the Framfield registers, from monumental inscriptions in Twineham church, from a visitation made in 1634, and from records and papers in the possession of the present proprietor of the estate, who has kindly allowed me an examination of them. It is to be regretted that the Twineham register cannot be made available in furnishing us with dates, or in extending our knowledge of the Hickstead branch of the family, the earlier registers having been wantonly destroyed by some midnight plunderers, who, having broken into the church, and being disappointed in their expectations of finding the communion plate, which had been presented to the church by a member of the Stapley family, wreaked their vengeance on these parish records, by taking them away, and throwing them into a pit of water, commonly called the Church Hole.

PEDIGREE OF THE STAPLES, OR STAPLEYS,

OF FRAMFIELD,

(For the name is variously spelt—Staplegh, Staple, Stapley, and Staplye,) taken chiefly from the Framfield Registers.

enterly from the Frankeit Registers.
* * * STAPLE=
$ \begin{array}{c c} $
Edward, John Joane, Elizabeth Thomas Bennatt—Thos. Mabell. baptised baptised dr of Boorde, baptised Piers, Thomas of 1543. of Ob. 1593. Warbleton, Ob. 1595.
Sir Roger of Sir of Fram- Lewknor. Thomas Morley, of Glynde, 1562. Morley of Glynde, 1562. Morley of Glynde, 1562.
rgaret, Anne Elizabeth, Richard Anthonie, —Anne, dr of Grace,—Thomas Anne. John bapt ⁴ — John — of George Goring, of John, and rtfield. May, of Twine-bapt ⁴ 1634. Patcham, bapt ⁴ at Framfield, 1590, ob at Patcham, 1671.
Anthonie, Sir John = Mary, eldest George, Anne, b. 1629. Kt. and Bart. Springate, of bapt ^d Broyle Place, 1628, ob. 1701. ob. 1708.
Sambara, Sybilla, Barbarathe, Barbarathe, Barbarathe, Barbara, Sybilla, Barbarathe, Barbarathe, Barbara, Sybilla, Barbarathe, Barbarathe, Barbara, Sybilla, Barbarathe, Barbarathe, Barbarathe, Barbara, Sybilla, Barbarathe, Barbarathe

In the Patcham register is also the following entry: "1694-5, 21st of ffebry, Mrs. Douglas Stapley, of St. Michael's, Lewes, died, and was buried 25th." To this Douglas Stapley I am unable to assign a place in the above pedigree. He was probably brother to Anthonie, the regicide, though the name does not occur in the Framfield register.

In the years 1653, 4, 5, and 6 are records in the Patcham register of many marriages at Patcham, of persons belonging to other parishes, bringing certificates of their purpose of marriage having been published "on three several Lord's days," or "at market-places, on three market days," or "according to act of parliament;" some of which were performed by John Stapley, Esq., justice of the peace.

By the marriage of James Wood with Martha Stapley, as shown in the following pedigree, he became (jure uxoris) Lord of Hickstead and Twineham; and by the death of their eldest son, s. p., the estate and manor passed to John Wood, the pre-

sent possessor.

With regard to the armorial bearings of the Stapleys, it appeared to have varied at different times. Those of the Framfield branch were arg. on a fesse engr. erm. between three hurts, two dragons' heads erased, or: crest—a demy hairy savage, girt round the body with a girt, gules: rimmed and studded, or: thereto a chain of the last, holding in his hands a staple (a play upon the name) the points downwards, or: and those of the Patcham and Hickstead branches—gules, three boars' heads erased within a bordure engrailed, argent: crest on a wreath, a stag at gaze, argent, attired, or. When the change took place is uncertain, probably upon the knighthood of Sir John, or his being created a baronet. The only allusion I can find in the family records to the subject of armorial bearings is in a mem. of Richard Stapley, a later member of the family. It is dated March 25th, 1724, and is as follows: "Then I began to wear my ring, with the coat of arms on it, three boars heads erased."

STAPLEGH, OR STAPLEY, OF HICKSTEAD.

RICHARD STAPLEY= John* = Elizabeth, dr of Wm. living at Hickstead | Apsley, of Thakeham, ob. 1565. 1556. William† = Joan Culpeper, living at Hick- of Bolney, stead 1592 1558. stead 1592. 1558. John = Elizabeth, dr of 2 drs ; bapt^d 1560; buried Anthony Stapley, one — ... Ward, of Paynes; at Twineham. of Framfield. the other — ... Chalender. John = Mary, dr of Samuel Dr = ... Judge. Captn of Train Band; | Boys, Esq. of Hawkbaptd 1588. hurst, in Kent. Anthonie, = Jenny Stone- Anne, Elizabeth, Thomas, John. ob. Sept. 23, streete. = ... Lux-=... Swale. = ... Hip-ford. pisley. living 1665. Twineham. Richard, Thomas, Rose = Anthony, = Jane, $D^r = \dots Burt.$ Henry, bapt^d the Diarist, bapt^d 1659. bapt^d 1657, 1656. | baptd 1654, | ob. 1729, ob. 1733; æt. 83. ob. 1724. buried at Twineham. William. Adam. Thomas. Richard, John = Sarah Savage, Ruth, Jane=R. Streatbaptd 1688, baptd 1687, of Cuckfield, = Spence feild, of Cowden, ob. infs. ob. 1743. ob. in Kent, 1719; ob. year following. Richard = Martha Burt, Sarah, Jane, Samuel. Anthony = b. 1714, | b. 1707, ob.1776. ob.1758. ob. 1762. | ob. 1793. ob. 1789; b. 1726, settled at Arundel. ob. 1748. Martha=James Wood Sarah=Hy Tuppen. John = Barbara Grev also of Arundel, | bapt^d 1745. Son and daughter. ob. 1819. John Sarah, dr of Jos. James == of Sth Bersted; | Staker, of ob. s. p. ob. 1831. Durrington. John, of Bognor; now living.

^{*} Mentioned as the eldest son in the will of his father.

[†] Sold part of the estate, 34th Elizabeth.

‡ Mentioned as the eldest son in the visitation of 1634. He is the Mr. Justice Stapley of Cowfold, mentioned in the Journal of Giles Moore, as employed in drawing up the marriage writings between Mat. and Mr. Citizen. He was educated under Mr. Ketelby, who at that period was a man of some celebrity, and acted as the under sheriff to most of the sheriffs of the county. He practised in London.

The book from which these memoranda are taken, is a clasped interleaved almanack, entitled 'An Almanack for six years; beginning with the year of our Lord 1682, and ending with the year of our Lord 1687; by Samuel Gilbert, Philomath.'

Previous to the regular entries in this book, there are three without date, probably copied from an older almanack. They

are as follows: -

"Richard Butcher of New House, in Hurst, took out of ye highway well nigh an acre of land, and made an enclosure of it, and set up a wean gate and horse gate; and on ye south post yt ye wean gate hangs on, there is ye date of our Lord 1674 cut in ye top of ye post, on ye side facing to ye house; this enclosure is on ye west side of New House, joining to ye highway leading from Herring's Bridge to Highcross; and ye wean gate is on ye southwest corner of ye lane hedge, and ye horse gate on ye other end; and ye inscription on ye top of ye post I have often seen, and took good notice of it.

R. STAPLEY."*

"Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was murthered Oct. 12th, 1678, at Somerset House, in London, by Green, Bury, and Hill, &c.

Two anagrams made on his name.

Anag. "I find murdered by Rogues." Another. "By Rome's rude finger Dy."

The best piece of wit y^t age yielded, on his death:

"Well, Primrose! may our Godfrey's name on thee,

Like Hyacinth inscribed be! On thee his memory flourish still,

Sweet as thy flow'r, and lasting as thy Hill.

Whilst blushing Somerset, to her Eternal shame, shall this inscription wear; The devil's an ass; for Jesuits, on this spot, Broke both the neck of Godfrey and the Plot."†

† Titus Oates' Plot: 'The Devil's an Ass' is the title of one of Ben Jonson's comedies, referred to by Steevens in his Notes on Shakspeare, as very popular about

this time.

^{*} This practice of inclosing the portions of waste land by the road side, has increased to such an extent of late years, as to threaten ere long entirely to destroy one of the most beautiful and peculiar features of the weald of Sussex. A weangate means a wain- or waggon-gate. The old term Wain-house, or, as it is commonly pronounced "Wenhus," or waggon-lodge, is still occasionally used in Sussex; and from this word Wain, there can be no doubt that the family name of Wenman, or Waggoner, is derived.

It is part of the ingenious poem called 'Bacchinalia, or the Drunken Club.'

"I have read of a seaman, yt thinks yt it is far hotter under ye tropick in coming to ye line, than under ye line itselfe. So likewise ye fear and fancy in preparing for death, is more terrible then death itselfe: and therefore, good it is to be much affected wth ye consideration of our frailty and mortality; and in all our actions may be spied in our looks a monitor, like ye emperor's boy, following us to a 'memento te esse mortalem.'"

1682-3.

"April 7th, I bought my velvet saddle, wth stirrups, and leathers, and girts, and sadle-cloth to it; all web cost me, to John Smith ye sadler of Cuckfield, twenty-two shillings; and ye day above written I paid him in full 22s.—Sold to Samuel Standen, 1693, for 10s."

"Bought, Nov. 17th, a sett of silver buttons for shirts, w^{ch} weighed 3s. 6d.; and allowed 1s. for ye make of them. Paid ditto day in ye Cliffe near Lewes, in Sussex.—I changed

for new, March 17th, 1693."

1683-4.

"An accompt of my expenses and charges about ye law-sute between Mr. Hinde and myselfe, beginning in anno 1683:-

	£	S.	d.	
Imprimis, spent at Hurst on Mr. Whitpaine*	00	02	00	
Item, at another time	00	00	08	
Item, at another time	00	00	06	
Item, at Warninglide in 8ber	00	17	06	
Item, more with Mr. Whitpaine at Hurst	00	01	06	
Item, more at Bolney :	00	00	04	
Item, more at Warninglide in January	02	12	09	
Item, more at ye same place	00	04	06	
Item, more to Thomas Butcher as a witnesse .	00	01	00	
Item, more to Mr. Warden for drawing ye depositions	00	10	00	
Item, more spent in going to Hurst after Mr. Whitpaine .	00	03	00	
Item, more spent at Cuckfield	00	02	06	

* Mr. Whitpaine was a solicitor residing at Hurstperpoint.

[†] Mr. Warden alluded to here, and in other parts of the Diary, was a solicitor residing at Butler's Green, near Cuckfield. His son, who succeeded him, and who was well known in Sussex, during the latter part of his life, by the sobriquet of "Old Frank Warden" (as well from his frank, open-hearted, and generous disposition, as from his Christian name, which was Francis), was steward to almost all the leading gentry of the Lewes rape, which made him intimately acquainted with the could be to the way the esteemed and intimate friend of Sir William Burrell. its early history. He was the esteemed and intimate friend of Sir William Burrell, who acknowledges, in his Collection of Papers illustrative of the ancient history of the county, his gratitude to him for much valuable information and assistance.

	£	8.	d.
Item, paid Mr. Whitpaine in part	03	00 (00
Item, paid spent at Horsham when I carried ye warrant .	00	01 (00
Item, spent at Hurst, April 15th, at ye commission there		03 (
Item, more to Mr. Warden		10 (
Item, paid to Mr. Whitpaine, April 21st, 1684		00 (
Item, paid for 12 bottles of claret sent to Mr. West:		14 (
		14 (
Item, paid for 12 bottles of claret sent to Mr. Gratwick .		00 (
Item, paid Mr. Whitpaine, June 2d, 1684 .		00 0	
Item, paid Sir Thomas Jenner, one of my counsel			
Item, paid his clerk		02 (
Item, paid Mr. Dod, one of my counsel		00 (
Item, paid Mr. Gratwick* on ye same accompt .		00 (
Item, paid Mr. Whitpaine		00 (
Item, paid charges for my journey to London .		14 (
Item, paid Mr. Whitpaine, July 14th, 1684		00 (
Item, paid Mr. Whitpaine, January 26th, 1684		00 (
Item, paid Mr. Whitpaine in full, March 2d, 1684†	15	15 (00
	_		_
	55	12 ()8
September 29th, 1684.			
Paid to Richard Jordan, the bailiffe	00	07 (96
Paid at ye same time wch I spent	00	04 (00
Paid, spent going and at London, 9ber 24th	01	10 (00
Paid as appears above	55	12 (08
£ s. d.			_
Recd. of my mother 04 17 06 Paid	57	14 ()2
Rec ^d . of Mr. Hinde 20 12 06 Rec ^d .			
Recd. more for hay . 03 06 00	~ 0	200	_
Rests	28	18 (12
Recd in all 28 16 00	20	10 (JA
1100° III all 25 10 00			

"June 14th, paid Wm. Peckham, for Richard Heath of Hurst parish, his part of one daie's muster, fourpence, w^{ch} he promised to repay me again: received.

"Wm. Reeve for King's farme, in Hurst; Richard Heath of

* Mr. Gratwick was the brother of the rector of Bolney, alluded to January 3d, 1699-1700. They were of the ancient family of Gratwick, of Gratwick, in Cowfold. † The following extract, from the Diary of Anthony Stapley, will throw light on the object of this litigation: "Mddm., my brother, Mr. Richard Stapley, discharged Mr. John Whitpaine, his attorney, of all demands concerning the suite between Mr. Hinde, minister of Twyneham, and him, about two acres of grass in Poyningswish Mead, near Herring's Bridge; and my brother enjoys it peaceably ever since, May 2d, 1684-5." There is good reason to think that both Mr. West and Mr. Gratwick, who were magistrates, were the commissioners or arbitrators to decide the point in litigation. What effect the dozen of claret, given to each of them by a brother of the bench, may have had upon their decision, can never be known. These presents remind us of the letter of Giles Moore, bespeaking the favour of "the first and leading man of the jury" for his "loving friend and neighbour," in a case which was coming on at the next assizes (Sussex Arch. vol. i, p. 94), and threw light on the moral feelings and habits of the age. As claret, given under such circumstances, would be of the best quality, it must have been a cheap luxury in those days.

Hurst; Richard Blaker of Bolney, and myselfe for my lands in Twineham; find a pike in ye train-bands under George

Goring,* captain."

"Jan. 3d, paid Thomas Westover for one pair of bootes, and spurres, of prince's mettall, and two pair of shoes, at 3s. 8d. per pair; ye bootes at 13s. 6d., and ye spurres at 2s.—22s. 6d.; out of w^{ch} sum he abated me 4d., beccause y^c spurres did not wear well; so I paid him but 22s. 2d.; and y^t was all y^t was owing to him at y^c time, and to y^c day above written." [The arithmetic seems faulty.

"Jan. 23d. John Hill, at Mr. Whitpaine's, bought my silver tobaccoe-box for 10s. in silver; and ye overplus of ye value of ye box I freely forgave him for writing at our first comission for me, and for copying of answers and ye like in our law concerns; so yt I reckon I have as good as 30s. for my box; 5s. he gave me, and 5s. more he promised to pay me: witnesse, John Holden, J. R. Stapley; and I had his steel box into the bargain, and full of smoake.

"Given the aforesaid 5s. to John Hill for writing a copy of an exemplification on my father's will."

1684-5.

"Mddm., y^t on y^e 9th of April Mr. John Whitpaine and myselfe went wth Richard Butcher to proffer an amicable agreement betwe'n Thomas Butcher of Twineham and ye aforesaid Richard; but Thomas replied and said, he could say nothing to it till he had talked wth Mr. Coe, his solicitor. We found him in ye Parke barne, winnowing of oates; so Richard proposed to make such satisfaction as any two rational men should think fit; Thomas to chuse one, and Richard ye other; ye answer is above written. Witnesse my hand in ye 36th year of ye reign of Charles ye 2nd, king of England, Scotland, ffrance, and Ireland, &c., defender of ye faith, ye day and year of our Lord first written, pr. R. Stapley."

^{*} This George Goring was not of the Hurst family, as they had ceased at this time to be resident at Danny; the manor and estate having passed into the hands of Peter Courthope, Esq. This branch of the Goring family, indeed, became extinct in the male line by the death of Charles, second Earl of Norwich, s. p. in the year 1672. Probably this was the George Goring who appears to have been resident at Chailey at the period here alluded to.

"May 9th.—Bought of Mr. Smith, of Bolney, a suit of clothes for 1		8.		
"May 9th.—Bought of Mr. Smith, of Bolney, a suit of clothes for ye weh I owe him on his book	04	17	1	
pair of hose, for ye we'l I owe	01	05	9	
pair of hose, for ye wch I owe	01	04	6	
	7	7	4	

"Nov. 24th, I served Mr. Edward Hinde wth a copy of ye subpæna for 201i, wen was allowed me for costs and charges in ye Court of Exchequer; and showed him ye writ at ye same time, and made my demands for ye said money according to Mr. Whitpaine's letter to me; and his answer was, that he could not at present pay ye money, but would pay it in a month's time. Witnesseth Mr. Swaine and his wife at ye same time both in his parlor: all this was done by me, ye day and year above written.—R. Stapley."

This sum he received Jan. 22, with 12s. 6d. more for

charges of an attachment.

From the diary of Anthony Stapley we learn that Mr. Hinde died the following month.—"Mddm. Mr. Edward Hinde, rector of Twineham, buried the 17th of ffebruary, 1684-5. Mr. Sheward preached, the 1st chapter of Philippians and 21st verse, his funeral sermon.

"January I bought an oiled bridle, weh cost me 2s., for ye weh

I then paid John Smith 2s."

1685-6.

"June 17th, paid to Wm. Peckam for my duty for 12 days, 8s., and 1s. towards a new leather belt: I find 2 parts; and King's farme 2 parts; Blaker 1 part; J. Heath 1 part: so ye whole armes is divided into 6 parts, as appears by the muster booke.

"August 26th, received of James Wood for my crop of grasse in my Poyningswish† mead, at ye east end of ye same,

ye some of 20s.

"Oct. 28th, paid Mr. Smith for my black castor hat, 21s., and for ye band on him, 10d.; this I paid as above written. being St. Simon and St. Jude.

^{**} Cambrick was introduced into England in the year 1670.

† "Wish," as an adjunct, and "the wish" is not an uncommon name for land in Sussex. Its strict application is to a field situated in a nook, formed by the sinuosity of a river or stream.

"Dec. 2d, received a pocket-knife wth an agate handle pret. as.; also 2 pair of beade cuffes, at 28s., and a pound of tobaccoe at 20d.; total 48s.;—these are paid for, Xber 9th; sent by John ffield."

1686-7.

"Sept. 1st, paide for my Latine Bible, 5s. 6d. to my sister at London, who bought it for me; as likewise for a box of tobaccoe, 7s. 6d.; it weighed 5 pounds, at 1s. 6d. per pound; sent by Richard Steer.

"Paid, Dec. 29th, to Mr. John Whitpaine, for writing a copy of an exemplification on my father's will, the sum of 20s., at John ffields house, called the Royal Oake, in Hurst town. There was in ye room, called ye Beard's-end Room,* alias ye Hall, in ye we I paid him, Thomas ffloud of Claxen, John Chatfield of ye same, and Thomas Beard of Bilsberry, in Woodmanscote parish. I say paid per me, R. Stapley. I desired Mr. Whitpaine to crosse ye 20s. out of his booke; but he told me he had not get it down. he told me he had not set it down.

"Jan. 14th, paid for shoebuckles, weh weighed 4s., and I

gave 1s. for ye make, 5s."

1687-8.

"March 26th, received of my Aunt Stonestreete ye sum of 13li 18s., being my distribution of ye personall estate of my Aunt Anne Stonestreete, late deceased, who died intestate.

"June 29th, paid Henry Sharpe of Cuckfield for a pair of

bootes and sashoones, † 13s.

"July 12th, bought of Anne Chatfield of Langtown, in ye parish of Hurstperpound, a silver-cased watch, wen cost me parish of Hurstperpound, a silver-cased watch, wence cost me 3h. I paid 10s. in hand; and on yence Monday next following, I paid ye other 50s. This watch shewes ye hour of ye day, ye day of yence month, yence months of ye year, ye age of yence, and ye ebbing and flowing of ye water; and will goe 30 hours with once winding up. Benjamin Hill, Londini, on ye back of it. Paid as abovesaid per me, anno Jacobi regis tertio. R. Stapley. "July 14th. Mddm., ye ye assizes for ye county of Sussex was held at Lewes on Thursday ye 14th of July, 1687; and in ye 3d year of ye reign of King James ye 2d, over England,

† Sashoones were leather pads, softly stuffed, and put into the boot for the ease of the wearer. They were customarily worn at this period.

^{*} From its being the room situated in that part of the inn which was nearest to Mr. Beard's house.

Scotland, ffrance, and Ireland, &c., defensor fidei. The judges names that came was, Lord Chiefe Justice Herbert, y^t sat in y^e Crown Court, and Mr. Justice Lutwyche, in y^e Nisi Prius: Humfrey Howle, of Rotherfield, Esq., was high sheriffe, John Kettleby, under sheriffe."

1688-9.

"Mddm., that on Munday being ye 13th of January, Peter Wood, of ye parish of Twineham, was baptized in a great fit of sicknesse, by Richard Owen, curate of Twineham aforesaid."

"Mddm., ffeb. 6th. On ye day above written I planted a young eugh-tree on ye south side of ye dipping-pond, and on ye right hand of ye way yt leads from ye house to ye pond; and I then drave an oaken stake behind it to ye pondward, between ye pond and it.—Blown down ffeb. 1701."

1689-90.

"June 26th, paid to ye king and queen's most excellent majesties ye sum of 21s., being a tax granted towards ye reducing of Ireland, and to be raised by a poll and otherwise. God save King William and Queen Mary, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defenders of ye faith, &c.*

"June 13th, 1690, paid ye same tax over again, weh was

granted a second time, 21s.

"Besides paid to poll tax, paid for my share to ye tax called 'ye present aide,' to their majesties only, for my Hurstlands,

w^{ch} James Wood uses, 11s.

"Mddm., Jan. 10th, being Saturday, Mr. Timothy Burrell,† curate of Twineham, lent to Thomas ffield, alias Ansty, of Brooksmead, in ye parish of Cockfield, in Sussex, ye sum of £150 on a mortgage on his house and lands called Merryfields; and another parcel of house and land, wherein Thomas King, jun., now liveth; the interest to be paid twice in ye year, namely, on ye 10th of July and ye 10th of January following: witnesses, R. Stapley, James Matthew, Thomas Trundell."

1691-1.
"New house in Hurstperpoint, alias perpound.

"Mddm., y^t on y^e 1st of May, 1690, I had y^e settlement

† Mr. Timothy Burrell was the son of the gentleman of the same name living at Oakendean. He was afterwards rector of Slaugham. Mr. Thomas Burrell, of Lindfield, was his uncle.

^{*} The prayer with which this entry concludes is a satisfactory proof of the loyalty of this branch of the Stapley family. Ireland had, at this time, taken up arms in favour of James II.

of Richard Butcher's estate upon all his children delivered to me by Thomas Butcher, a second son of ye abovesaid Richard Butcher, by and with ye consent of his mother to keep, and not to deliver up on any account without ye consent of them all.

"April 19th, 1692, I delivered ye settlement of Richard Butcher to Timothy Burrell, Esq.,* at his house at Oakendean in Cockfield, in ye presence, and with ye good likeing, of ye said Richard Butcher ye elder, and Thomas Butcher, his second

son, both witnesses, and R. S.

"Mddm., July 8th, 1692, I received ye above settlement again at ye Crown Inn in Cockfield, where were ye writings of ye Westlands then sealed as present settlements on Thomas Butcher by Richard Butcher aforesaid, in y^e presence of Timothy Burrell, Stephen Wood, and Edward Virgoe; and y^t evening Thomas Butcher delivered his writings of his Westlands to me to keep.—Price 30s. to Mr. Timothy Burrell, and

15s. spent.

"Mddm., yt Mr. Daniel Sutton, all ye while he was at Twineham, was no farther than deacon's orders; and yet did he administer y^e sacrament at Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsunday; and as often as usually it is administered in y^e country parishes, during his abode at Twineham, Nathanael Boraston, rector of Twineham, being privy to it, as ye said Mr. Boraston told Mr. Richard Owen, curate of Twineham, in ye room of Mr. Sutton abovesaid; and ye said Mr. Owen told me of it on Whitsunday, 1690, being June ye 8th.

"July 24th. Paid Richard Peckam for twelve daies' pay for my Hurstland, Westfield, and Poyningswish, my allowance of 8d. per day, ye some of 8s., and allowed him 2d. for ye muster-master; ye twelve daies begin on ye 25th of July, being St. James's day; Thomas Whitpaine, captain.

"July 25th, I then paid for my black castor hat, which came from Mr. Edwards, to James Matthew, 1/i, and for ye

^{*} A family of this name was long resident at Oakendean. In the year 1446, Gerard Borell is stated, in the inscription on his tomb in Cuckfield church, to have "first settled at Cuckfield," having been preferred to the living by Edward Story, cathedral church. He is farther described as of an ancient family in Northumberland. His father lived in Devonshire, and attended Henry V to France, "with one ship, twenty men-at-arms, and forty archers." Mr. Timothy Burrell's first wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Henry Goring, bart., of Highden. Cockfield is here, and generally throughout the Diary, written as the name of what is now called Cuckfield. Bishop of Chichester. He was also archdeacon, and a canon residentiary of the

band 2s. 8d., and for carriage; and his writing 10d. more: in all, 23s. 6d."

1691-2.

"Mddm., y^t on May 15th, Mr. Timothy Burrell, y^c then curate of Twineham, bought of Peter Wood, yeoman, also of Twineham aforesaid, 2 oxen, w^{ch} y^c said Peter Wood bought of Mr. Thomas Burrell, of Lindfield, some time before for 19li 12s. 6d.; Peter to keep them wth his own fatting oxen untill Easter next, and, in y^c interim, he is to cure them of their kibes, and make them sound. There was 6d. (as I well remember) paid in hand; so there remains 19li 12s. till y^c oxen be drawn. Witnesse, Anthony Stapley, John Juppe, R. Stapley, Henry Woollven. And all this was done y^c same day y^t Thomas y^c second son of John Juppe, and Mabell, his wife, was baptized; and it was at y^c aforesaide John Juppe's house: and I say this to help my own memory.

"Sold to Peter Wood again, by Mr. Timothy Burrell, for

10s. profit. All paid by Peter Wood.

"Munday, August 17th; John Dennett's house,* called

'New-site,' or 'Bolney Place,' was rared.

"Bought, Oct. 19th, a new knife and sheath, y^e handle whereof was tortoise; and it cost me 22d.

"Nov. 28th, Mr. John Hill gave me a tobaccoe-box made

of tortoise; Saturday.

"Feb. 18th, I paid Mr. Sheward for my booke, called ye works of ye author of ye Whole Duty of Man, 20s., and for ye carriage, 6d.; teste, James Matthew and John fflint, and ye Widow Mitchell, and R. Stapley.

* In the reign of Edward I, the manor and estate of Bolney Place, belonged to a family of the name of Bolne, in whose possession it continued till the reign of Elizabeth; when they passed to the Dennetts or Denneatt, at Denne, as it was originally written. A family settled at Woodmancote at the time of the Nonæ return (13th of Edward III). John Dennett, having purchased the estate at Bolney, removed the old house of the Bolnes, which was then much dilapidated, and built the house, the "raring" of which is here alluded to. Over the front door were the initial letters I.M. and date corresponding with this entry, "1692."

The house was, externally, of the heavy inelegant style of the period in which it was built. The rooms were, for the most part, wainscotted with oak. In the principal bedchamber were, on stained glass, the arms of England and France, quarterly, taken, no doubt from the original house. There was also a female figure, inscribed Medea under it. From the Dennetts this house and estate passed first to the Lintotts, and then to the Leppards, of which last-mentioned family it was purchased by the late Mr. Marshall, of Hurst; whose son, in the year 1846, removed the old house, and built a modern residence on its site.

"Feb. 21st, paid my brother Burt 16s. 6d. for a stagg's skin to make my breeches."

1692 - 3.

"Ultimo die Martii, anno Domini 1692, et anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ Angl., Scot., Franc, et

Hiberniæ fidei defensoris, &c., quarto.

"Mddm., y^t y^e day and year abovesaid, Thomas Bearde, jun., gent., of Hurst; Henry Holcroft, of Patcham, clerke; Thomas Osborne, of Newtimber, gent.; Richard Turner, of Oldland, lieutenant; and Richard Stapley, of Twineham, gent., did all swear as y^e law in y^t case provides, at Capt. Beard's house, and in his bedchamber, in the presence of Peter Courthope, Thomas Bearde, James Butler, esquires, and commissioners for that tax. 31st of March, 1692.*

"May 7th, I had a cloth serge coat and breeches and stockings, for w^{ch} I owe him on his book 45s.; and May 13th,

ditto for a black hat, 10s. 6d.: in all 55s. 6d.

										8.	u.
66	July 16th.	For a coat and b stockings	reeches, m	ade o	f ca	lami	nco	e, an	d	57	6
	Aug. 2d.	2 fustian waistco	ats at .							11	0
		For a pair of shag								16	0
	Feb. 28.	For a coat and wa	aistcoat							40	0
	April 24.	For a perriwigg								19	0
	•	Due a	s above		*					55	6
	D + 35	27 / 7000 ' 6	11 6 11							700	_
		31st, 1693, in ful to this day, 9 <i>li</i> 19								199	U

"Teste, Mr. William Sheward, James Matthew, curate de Twineham.

^{*} With the exception of Mr. Holcroft's, the names mentioned in this memorandum are those of old Sussex families. The Beards originated from Cowfold, and lived in great respectability, for some years, in the old mansion house, about the centre of the village of Hurstperpoint. The Osbornes were long settled at Newtimber Place. Oldland, in Keymer, at which Richard Turner (an ancestor of the contributor of this paper) is represented as living, has belonged to, and been the residence of, the Turner family since the year 1542. Peter Courthope resided at Danny. James Butler was, no doubt, one of a family residing at Amberley Castle, and afterwards at Warminghurst; but though he was at this time an active magistrate of the Brighton district, his place of residence I have been unable to discover, perhaps at Butler's Green. With regard to Mr. Holcroft, his history will appear from the following extracts, taken from the Patcham register: "1662, 12th July. Henry Holcroft was inducted into the parish church of Patcham by Samuel Cherry, minister of the Gospel in the city of London."—"1712, 8th December. Henry Holcroft, Esq. (son of Sir Henry Holcroft, of East Ham, in Essex, Bart.), being minister of this parish, died; and was buried the 16th of the same month. He was buried in the vault in the chancel, being 92 years complete." The circumstance to which this entry has reference, arose from the passing of what is now called, "the Land-tax Act," and its first coming into operation.

"Mddm., y^t Mr. Boraston came to reside on his rectory at Twineham, Thursday, Sept. 25th, 1701. Teste, R. Stapley."

This entry follows a statement, dated May 10th, 1692, of the times at which Mr. Boraston "tyth'd" from that date until the year 1701, as well as whether he preached or not on the Sunday previous to the tythe day.

"August 24th, mddm., yt Mr. Timothy Burrell was inducted into his rectory of Slaugham, by Mr. Richard Warde, rector of Shermanbury, in ye presence of Wm. Sheward, curate of Twineham, R. Stapley, John Chaloner, Francis Cheesebrooke, and Robert Stedman, churchwarden of Slaugham.

"Sept. 12th, mddm, I rec^d my black velvet cap turned up wth furr, w^{ch} cost 8d.; and I paid Mr. Sheward 3s. for it. He sent to London for it for me. Paid 8s. Oct. 1st, to Mr.

Sheward.

"Mddm., y^t in y^e 4th year of y^e reign of King William and Queen Mary, anno 1692, and in y^e months of October and November, y^e parish church of Twineham (that is to say, y^e healing of it), was turned by John Murrell and James Terry, both of Bolney, and y^e porch of y^e same church; and they measured y^e said work about y^e church and porch to be 1500 and 22 feet, at 3s. per cent^m. And y^e same month and year was y^e chancel to y^e said church of Twineham turned by y^e same men; and they gave y^e measure of it to be 600 and 65 feet, at 3s. per cent^m. And for y^e said work I saw Mr. Boraston, y^e then rector of Twineham, pay to John Murrell 19s. 6d. The pointing belonging to y^e said church and chancel was put off till y^e next sumer; they were then to have 1s. per cent^m for pointing, if they lived to do y^e saide work. And at y^e same time y^e timber worke about y^e porch, w^{ch} was much defective, was new repaired by John Murrell, carpenter, in Twineham; and then y^e said porch was new selled and underpinned by Morley and John Morell aforesaid.

" William Sheward, ye then curate; William Marten, Richard

Parson, churchwardens. Teste, R. Stapley.

"In ye month of November, 1692, there was a trout found in ye Poyningswish, in Twineham, we was 29 inches long from ye top of ye nose to ye tip of ye taile; and John fflint had him and eat him. He was left in a low slank after a ffloud, and ye water fell away from him, and he died. The fish I saw at John fflint's house ye Sunday after they had him, and at night they

boiled him for supper, but could not eat one halfe of him; and there was six of them at supper: John fflint and his wife Jane, and four of their children; and y° next day they all fell on him again, and compassed him, so that six had three good meals out of it. The head was cut off and cast away, because y° birds had peckt y° gills of it. This I know to be true, because I had it from their mouths. There was two foot of good firm fish when he was dressed and ready to be boiled. I writ this because I never saw a fish of yt sort so bigge before, and so easily caught; and perhaps may never see y° like again.

"In Poyningswish Mead, by Herringsbridge, in Twine-ham parish, Sussex. Teste, R. Stapley, and divers others in

Twineham.

"January 13th, mddm., I bought 4 yards and $\frac{1}{4}$ of purple bayes, at 3s. 6d. per yard, for a gown, w^{ch} was made up by James Matthew; and I then paid him for it 16s. 6d. and 2s.

for a pound of sweet powder: in all, 18s. 6d.

"February 20th, Shrove-Tuesday, Henry Plumer,* of Wellingham, in Ringmer parish, Esq., killed a hogge, w^{ch} weighed 57 st. 2 lbs., and he had 34 lbs. in his head, and 12 lbs. of fat besides. He was put to fatting about y^c 30th of August."

Taxes paid this year, £2 12s. 4d. 1693-4.

"Mddm., May 30th, being Ascension Day, ye bounds of ye parish of Twineham were trodden by those men whose names are underwritten, viz.:—Nathanael Boraston, rector of Twineham, but he was not here to goe with us; Mr. Wm. Sheward, ye then curate; Richard Parson, then churchwarden; Humfrey Killingbecke, John fflint, sen., clerke, of Twineham, John fflint, jun., and R. Stapley.

^{*} The only record I can find of this Sussex squire beyond the notoriety which he has here gained, is an inscription on a flat marble slab in Ringmer church, which states that "Here lieth the body of that most virtuous and pious gentlewoman, Mrs. Jane Plummer, wife of Henry Plummer, of Ringmer, Gent. (sole daughter and heire of John Warde, of Cuckfield, Gent.), who dyed the 20th day of November, 1677, in the fower and thirtyeth yeare of her age." The Wardes appear to have been a family long resident at Cuckfield, as Mynian Warde, of this place, was one of the executors under the will of Richard Staplegh, the first possessor of the Hickstead estate. The Plummers were connected by marriage with the Stapleys.

"This year Richard Parson, then churchwarden of Twine-ham, bought a new cushion and cloth, both green, wth silk fringe, and tassels about y^e cushion: but y^e fringe on y^e cloth was old and new dyed; and on Sunday, August 6th, it was first layed on y^e pulpit, Mr. William Sheward then curate of Twineham. It cost R. Parson 24s. 5d.

"Mddm., August, a new dial-post was set up in Twine-ham churchyard; ye dial was new about two years before, and cost 2s. 6d.; ye post was made and set up by John Morley, of Twineham, carpenter, for weh he was paid by R. Parson, ye then churchwarden, ye sum of 4s. 6d.; and for a boxe to gather briefes in, 6d.

"Sept. 12th, reckoned with Mr. Cannan,* apothecary, of Cockfield, and paid him all I ought to this time, w^{ch} was

4s. 6d.

"Sept. 19th, sold Samuel Standen, sen., of Bolney, my red saddle and bridle, girts, stirrup leathors, and all belonging, for 10s. and a good oxe tongue.

"Mddm., Nov. 5th, recd. 10s., and gave ye tongue to Mr.

Sheward."

On January, the sale of "a fat hogge, at 2s. 4d. per stone and 2s. over," is recorded, "because it was a very great rate at that time."

Taxes paid this year, £4 10s.

1694-5.

"Monday, April 16th, I recd. my new cane wth a ivory studded head, and a purple and gold string to it, all w^{ch} cost in London 10s., and I allowed James Matthew 10s. for it

^{*} The name of Cannan appears among the benefactors to the parish of Henfield. As Giles Moore went to Rotherfield for medical aid, I presume there was no medical man living in his day at Cuckfield. I will avail myself of this opportunity of mentioning, that, according to a memorandum in an old account book of the family to which I belong, who were the lessees of the great tithes of Ditchling under the chancellor of the church of Chichester, the worthy rector of Horstedkeynes, whose amusing Journal occupies so prominent a place in Vol. I of the Sussex Archæological Collections, belonged to the family of More, or, as the name was frequently spelt, Moore of Morehouse, in Wivelsfield. I am disposed to think that the branch to which he belonged were settled in Ditchling, to which the church and parish of Wivelsfield was originally only a hamlet, as he had a small landed estate there, of which Mr. Citizen was the tenant. The name of Moore frequently occurs in the Ditchling register books of the seventeenth century. This family, which was that of a Sussex yeoman, became extinct in 1769.

again, and paid him ye day aforesaid in his shop; teste, R. Stapley and Thomas Butcher de West house, in Hurstpr-

point.

"Mddm., June 2d, Goodman Street, of Henfield, a weaver, fetched 11 pounds of flaxen yarn to make a bed ticke; and he brought me 10^{yds} of ticking for ye bed, and 3 yds and 3/4 of narrow tickinge for ye bolster, and for ye weaving of which I paid him 10s., and ye flax cost 8d. per pound. My mother* spun it for me, and I had it made into a bed by John Dennet, a tailor, of Twineham, for 8d., on Wednesday, July 18th, and it was filled on Saturday, August 4th, by Jonas Humphrey, of Twineham, for 6d. The weaver brought it home July 6th."

Taxes paid this year, £4 17s.

1695-6.

"November 13th, I bought a pair of scales and weights for to weigh guineas, &c., which cost me 4s. 3d., which I paid to James Matthew 9ber 22d."

Taxes paid this year, £4 16s.

1696-7.

"In June and July there was such abundance of rain that ye rivers and low meads were extraordinary much flouded; abundance of grasse drove in ye rivers, insomuch yt people pulled it out, and made dung therewith. Peter Wood sold ye two acres croppe in ye Northwish to my brother for 5s., and divers others made litter of ye grasse we'n grew in ye brooke meads. But as for ye harvest in August and September, it was never better; some few showers, but did no damage, only made corn fall out a little. Peter Wood finished all his harvest September 2d; and finished a great oat rick at ye east end of ye Park barne, in whe'n was thirty loads laid, we'n grew in ye Lodge ffield; and three load besides grew there, we'n they laide

^{*} As exercise in the open air was rendered almost impracticable by the "miriness and foulness of Sussex ways," the spinning-wheel, which used to ornament every drawing-room, and is still occasionally to be met with in Sussex houses, afforded a healthful recreation, as well as a profitable employment, for ladies at this period. Dr. Donne, in his sermon on the death of Lady Ann Clifford, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, in 1676, thus commends her: "Altho she was skilled in wool and flax, and things appertaining to the spindle, yet could she open her mouth with wisdom."

in barnes. In ye year 1695 Peter Wood reaped ye ffield at ye corner of Hickstead Lane, against ye slipe, and carried out of it ten loads of good wheat. It was new broke up and denchered, and there was nine load of stubble carried out, we he gave to my brother. And in anno 1696 he reaped it again, and had but five load of wheat out of it. He made about 40li of ye wheat, yt was in 1695, out of ye ffield. He did not make so much of above fifteen acres besides. He told me this himselfe.

"Sept. 29th, bought of my brother Burt a silver-cased watch, w^{ch} formerly he had of me, and I paid him 50s. in full paiment y^e same day."

Taxes paid this year, £3 18s.

1697-8.

"Monday, June 26th, paid Mr. Wallis, of Lewes, 43s. for

two perriwiggs, in Hickstead Hall.

"Monday, August 3d, bought a pair of double-sewed ramskin gloves of Tobie Showen, of East Grinsted, web cost me 2s.6d.

"Mddm. on Saturday, August 21st, Anne, ye wife of Capt. Thomas Osborne, of Newtimber,* was cheated of her plate, rings, and old broad pieces of gold, to ye value of 40li, as she had it proclaimed at Hustprpoint ye next day, being Sunday; and it was done by gipsies, being five in number, one man, one woman, one boy, one girl, and a child; only ye woman was within ye house. It was cried at Hurst church by William Nicholas, clerke of Hurst parish; John Bateman, curate; M. Shaw, rector, ibidm. And she died on Saturday, November 9th, 1706, in ye mote at Newtimber Place, a felo de se, about five in ye morning.

"On Thursday, ffebruary 17th, I lent Mr. William Sheward 4li in ye presence of John fflint and his wife, and I paid it in

^{*} Newtimber Place, at this time the residence of the Osbornes, and the parsonage at Chailey, are among the few moated houses of Sussex, the moats of which still remain. It was originally built by, and was the residence of, the ancient family of Bellingham. Sir Edward Bellingham bequeathed it, in the 16th of Charles I, to his grandson, Edward Woodcock, whose sole daughter and heir married Purey Cust, afterward Sir Purey Cust, who conveyed the manor and house to Thomas Osborne, whose grandson, Leighton Osborne, conveyed them to Nathaniel Newnham, by whose son they were sold to the late Mr. Gordon, whose widow is the present possessor.

ye kitchen of ye parsonage at Twineham, and he promised to pay me again when Mr. Boraston took his tithes and paid him, or before, if I wanted it; and I saw him pay to Thomas Steele of Cowfold ye same moneys that same day. Teste, R. Stapley; Peter Wood, Thomas Hoddy, and myselfe were ye same time in y^e parsonage parlour when he paid Thomas Steele y^e 4*li*.—June 3d, 1698, recd. in full, 4*li*."

Taxes paid this year, £4 19s.

1698-9.

"Mddm., on Tuesday, April 5th, ye wallet* oake was thrown down by John fflint, Joseph Selsby, Thomas Parson; and Robert Hedger had what was fit for timber, and ye rest was set up for wood; and there was five cords set up and cleft, by Wm. Lindfield and Thomas Hazlegrove, jun.; R. Hedger had two loade and a halfe, and ood foot of timber; John Morley had as many clefts of y^e wallet oake as cost him 20s. "Mem., Tuesday, May 3d, in y^e evening fell a great snow,†

weh was not gone in many places all ye next day; and there was a very great frost for several nights. The snow lay on

ye hills on Thursday morning in many places.

"Mddm., in April this same year, on Crawley ffair day, there was a very great hail shower, whose stones were judged to be two inches about.

"In many places ye snow lay above a fortnight, as on ye

hills, and in drifts, and in liew places.
"August 19th, paid Mr. Sheward for Dr. Comber's‡ paraphrase on ye Common Prayer 20s., and 6d. for carriage. I paid it at ye end of ye kitchen table next ye chamber stairs door, and

* Wallet, from the old verb walt, to swag, overhang, or lean one way. The derivation is Saxon, wæltan being to reel or stagger. Walt is still used in this sense in the north of England.

† In the register book of the parish of Washington is the following record of this fall of snow: "1698, Maii tertio; tanti nivium imbres deciderunt, quanti nun-

quam antea hoc anni tempore."

‡ Dr. Comber, the author of this paraphrase, and of many other learned works, chiefly on the Liturgy, was of the ancient family of Comber of Shermanbury; his nephew was Dr. Thomas Comber, dean of Carlisle, whose 'Historical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tithes,' in answer to Selden's 'History of Tithes,' first brought him into notice. The Comber family also possessed the manor of Barkham, in Fletching, which is said to have been conferred upon them by William the Conqueror, for some daring exploits of one of the family at the battle of Hastings.

nobody in ye room but he and I. No, it was ye end of ye table

next ye parlour.

"Wednesday, Sept. 7, I lent Mr. William Sheward, in ye parsonage parlour at Twineham, 30s., weh he promised to repay when he took his salary of Mr. Boraston; nobody but he and I in ye room. My brother was in ye kitchen ye same time, and they were both going to Philip Cheales, of Henfield, for things for his daughter's eies; and after they had smoked their pipes, they mounted their horses, and went their way to Philip Cheales, of Henfield.—Recd. 9ber 9th, 30s.

"Munday, Nov. 14th, Mr. Boraston gave me 5s. to give to ye poor, whom I thought fit. He gave me once before 5s. for ye same purpose, which I gave to Thomas Parson; and this I

gave to Henry Richardson, Thursday, Nov. 17th.

"Nov. 14th, being Munday, I lent Peter Wood, of Twineham, two guineas, at 22s.,* and two French pistoles, at 17s. 6d. a piece, and 1s. in silver, w^{ch} made in all 4*li*, which he promised to repay me again in a little time.—Dec. 26th, recd. in full 4*li*.

"Munday, Jan. 16th, I delivered my new perriwigge in a pasteboard box, to be sent to Wallis, ye perriwigg maker, to be changed for a larger wigge in ye head and cawl; and he promised to take care of it, and in a fortnight or three weeks I should have another. I delivered it to ffrancis Allcocke, innholder, at ye Royal Oake, in Hurstperpoint, in ye presence of Edward Parson, of Langtown, in Hurst parish aforesaid, and he promised to take care of it as abovesaid.

"I recd. another wigge of ffrancis Alcocke, ffebruary 15th."

Taxes paid this year, £3 2s.

1699-1700.

"May 30th, paid Wm. Martin 12s., at Thomas Butcher's, for two years' tax, 1697, 1698, for being a bachelor,† and I crossed ye bookes, in ye presence of Richard Butcher, sen., Thomas Butcher, and R. Stapley.

* The value of a guinea, which had been as high as 30s., was fixed, by an act passed in 1695, at 22s.

[†] In order to meet the large sum voted in 1694 for the service of the army and navy, rates and duties were imposed on marriages, births, and burials, bachelors, and widows.

"July 22d, paid Mr. Sheward, in ye parsonage kitchen,

for my Josephus' Epitomy, and carriage 6s. 6d.

"January 3d, ye great eugh tree* on ye south wall of Bolney church was polled by order of John Gratwick, vicar of Bolney, and Henry Purvey, of Bolney, polled it; and ye Chrismasse before ye gallery was built in Bolney church, per Nath. Hobbs, of Piecombe, carpenter. He had, for work and timber, 13½."

Taxes paid this year, £3 13s. 6d.

1700-1.

"May 9th, rec^d. of Mr. John Peck, of Bedford, 10*li*, and a bill on S^r. ffrancis Child, at Temple Bar, for 490*li*, w^{ch} I rec^d y^e next day; and w^{ch} makes in all 500*li*, which my Aunt Grace Easton, of Bedford, gave me by her will, and is, in full, 500*li*; rec^d. at London per me, R. Stapley, 500*li*, it being Ascension Day. Paid Charles Gurr 3s. for y^e carriage of 436 guineas.

"ffriday, June 14th, paid William Peckam, 16d. for 12 daies' muster, and 4d. for my part of 2 years' muster-money, due at Lady Day last; to meet at Ditchling, Munday, June 17th, and to exercise at Lewes ye 17th and 18th of June, 20d.

Thomas Whitpaine, captain.†

"July 13th, paid James Lintott for a Carolina hat, ‡ 7s. 6d.

* This yew tree no longer exists, although in Sussex churchyards many fine old specimens still remain. That in Buxted churchyard is many yards in circumference, and although internally decayed, is one of the most beautiful trees of this kind to be met with in Sussex. That in Hardham churchyard, near Pulborough, was, half a century ago, much the most extraordinary for its antiquity and size. Dallaway, in speaking of this tree, says that it is remarkable for its primeval growth, and hollow from its extreme age. From the trunk to the first branch it is 17 feet; its girth, at one foot above the ground, is 21 feet, at four feet above the ground, 23 feet, and at ten feet above the ground, 19 feet. If solid it would contain 490 cubic feet, and 27 persons might stand within the hollow. The head of this tree was blown off Dec. 20th, 1821. Camden, in his Britannia, mentions this tree as remarkable in his day. See also White's Selborne, and Sussex Archæol. Coll. Vol. I, p. 78, note.

day. See also White's Selborne, and Sussex Archæol. Coll. Vol. I, p. 78, note.

† It may perhaps here be worthy of remark, that Captains Whitpaine, Beard,
Goring, and Osborne, whose names appear in different parts of this Diary, as connected with the military history of the times and neighbourhood in which R.
Stapley lived, probably held companies in those regiments of horse and foot which,
according to Clarendon, Sir John Stapley, whose interest in the county was considered to be great, was commissioned by the Royalist party to raise in Sussex,
after he had determined (in some measure to expiate for his father's guilt) to

venture his life and fortune for the restoration of Charles II.

‡ So called from Carolina, in America, where they were made. By an act, passed in the 15th of George II, hats manufactured in the British plantations of America were prohibited from being any longer imported into this country.

"July 17th, P. W., of ye Parke, told me yt J. W., of

Benfields, had 1800li out at interest.

"August, James Wood made an oate-rick, and put in it 65 loade of oates, and placed it at ye east end of ye barne in ve barne field belonging to Twineham Place. He had 50

loade of oates from ye church field besides.

"Oct. 4th, Friday, lent Mr. William Sheward 2 guineas, at 43s., weh he promised to repay me again, when Mr. Boraston took his tyths, and paid him; I paid it him at ye end of ye table inye parsonage kitchen; and afterwards he and I went to Thomas Butcher's to see his sheep he brought from Weyhill fair.— Recd., R. Stapley, 43s."

Taxes paid this year, £3 3s. 6d.

1701-2.

"Mddm., Oct. 5th, Mr. William Sheward went to Wivelsfield to be curate, and boarded \mathbf{w}^{th} John Row."

Taxes paid this year, £3 5s. 9d.

1702-3.

"Mddm., my brother Stapley, Richard Burt, and myselfe, sealed a mortgage to Jane Burrell, of Cockfield, for 200li on lands at Nuthurst, called Sextons, June 19th, for one year, at y° rate of 4li 10s. per cent.; and y° same time we paid it to John Harrison, and Jane his wife, daughter to Walter Burt, late of Cockfield; and took a discharge from them both, for her portion, in ye presence of Thomas Denton, Nicholas Stanbridge, Edward Virgoe."

Taxes paid this year, £4 11s. 6d.

1703-4.

"Munday, April 6th, ye great oake yt stood in ye lane, going ye whapplet way to Bolney from Hickstead, was cut down, and cleft to pieces for wood, and brought to Hickstead

road or place to another.

^{*} These initials are intended to represent Peter and James Wood. The latter occupied land under R. Stapley. In the Doomsday Survey, the principal manor in Twineham is called "Benefelle;" of which, no doubt, Benfields is a corruption. The same name is applied to other manors in Sussex; and near Oundle, in Northamptonshire, there is a parish of the same name, the church of which has lately been rebuilt, and is one of the most beautiful parish churches in England. The etymology of the name, which is Saxon, is "the field of prayer."

† "Whapple," or bridle "way;" a way for horses, and not for carriages. In Sussex they are, for the most part, short cuts through fields and woods from one road or place to another.

for fuel in 2 days and $\frac{1}{2}$ time; and 'twas judged at 6 cord, or thereabout.

"July 29th, a very great floud, weh carried several haycocks over ye hand-rayles at Hooker's, in Twineham; and at Staresbridge it reached up above y^e gate y^t goes into Lashmer's Mead. It was over 3 slitts of y^e gate. One night's rain did it. It rained y^e day before almost all day; but 'twas small rain. It carried away a great deal of wood and faggots out of Lashmer's Mead, over y^e hedges westward a great way.

"August 1st, on Sunday morning, a terrible tempest and rain, * w^{ch} was a bigger water in y^e south river than y^e former; w^{ch} did abundance of damage and harm. Thomas Carpenter of Chailey was drowned in y^c same ffloods at Sheffield Bridges,

in ffletching parish."

Taxes paid this year, £5 3s. 9d. 1704-5.

"Sunday, Oct. 8th, lent Mr. Sheward, rector† of Twineham, 4 guineas, weh he promised to repay me again, 4li 6s.

"Received May 3d, 1705, in full, 4li 6s.
"Oct. 14th, changed 5 guineas for a 5li piece of King Charles ye 2d's guinea gold."

Taxes paid this year, £5 10s. 9d.

* 1703 appears to have been a tempestuous year; for it was on the 26th and 27th of November a memorable tempest happened, which created much alarm throughout the kingdom. The damage sustained in London alone was estimated at £1,000,000; at sea, ten ships of war were lost, and 1300 seamen. By a fall of a stack of chimneys on their bed, Bishop Kidder and his wife were killed in the Palace at Wells. Of the damage done at Brighton, and elsewhere in Sussex, an account was published shortly after in a pamphlet written by a native of that town. It was in this storm that the Eddystone Lighthouse was blown down, and all who were in it, including Mr. Winstanley, who planned it, perished. De Foe published an account of it.

† It is somewhat singular that so punctilious a chronicler of passing events in his own neighbourhood should have left us thus incidentally to discover so important own neighbourhood should have left us thus incidentally to discover so important a matter to the parish of Twineham, as the appointment of Mr. Sheward (whose name appears so frequently in the Diary as the curate, and with whom R. Stapley appears to have lived upon terms of the closest intimacy) to the incumbency of the parish. This event must have taken place between the date of the entry here made and February 28th preceding; because, on that day, the late rector is recorded to have levied an aid on the purse of his kind and open-handed squire. Previous to 1670, the patronage of this benefice was vested in the Covert family; but in that year it passed, with the manor and other Covert estates in the parish, to Henry Goring, Esq., of Highden, by marriage with Mary, one of the two daughters and coheiresses of Sir John Covert, in whose descendant they remain.

1705-6.

"April 30th, on Monday a whale was killed in ye Thames,

nigh London, 49 foot long and odd inches.

"Wednesday ye 14th July, lent Mr William Sheward 5li, we he promised to repay me as soon as he could: I left it with his wife, when he went to dine at ffryland.

"Nov. 3d., recd. in full 100s." Taxes paid this year, £5 5s. 6d.

1706-7.

Taxes paid this year, £5 5s. 6d.: 1707-8 the same. 1708-9.

"April 26th, Munday, I bought a salmon-trout* of William Lindfield, of Grubbs, in Bolney, we'h he caught ye night before in his net, by his old orchard, we'h was wounded by an otter. The trout weighed 11 lbs. and $\frac{1}{2}$; and was 3 foot 2 inches long from end to end, and but 2 foot 9 inches between ye eye and ye forke. And for ye same flish I gave him 1s.

"Mddm., Oct. 6th, James Herryott, of Twineham, left a gold ring with me in pawn for 30s., we'h he promised to repay

again in a short time, and so take his ring back.

Recd., Oct. 23d., of James Herryott, 30s. and delivered him his ring again."

Taxes paid this year, £5 5s. 6d. 1709-10.

The entries from this date to the year 1722-3, consist principally of mdda. of money lent and again received, and of taxes paid. In 1724, there is an entry at the end of the Diary of rents received from the Hickstead estate by Anthony Stapley, the brother of Richard. It is probable, therefore, that Richard Stapley died about this time, and that the estate passed to Anthony.

^{*} This fish is often found in shallow streams in Sussex, with scarcely water enough to cover it, having worked its way from the larger rivers up the narrow tributary rills, when swollen by vernal rains. "He comes," says Izaak Walton, speaking of the salmon-trout, "the next summer to the same river, if it be possible, to enjoy the former pleasures that there possest him; for, as one has wittily observed, he is like some persons of honour and riches, which have both their winter and summer houses, the fresh rivers for summer, and the salt water for winter, to spend his life in." A few years ago a salmon-trout was caught by the parish clerk of Bolney, which weighed 22 lbs., and it was sent to Brighton as a present to King George IV.



MURAL PAINTING IN LINDFIELD CHURCH, SUSSEX.

DISCOVERED 1848.

ANCIENT MURAL PAINTING,

LATELY DISCOVERED IN LINDFIELD CHURCH.

ENGRAVED FROM A DRAWING BY MISS SLATER.

While preparing for extensive alterations in the interior of Lindfield Church, in the beginning of 1848, there was discovered, beneath the whitewash on the east wall of the south transept, the mural painting of which an engraving is here given. The architecture of the building is Perpendicular, and the painting, which is about twelve feet high, is probably of the date of the fifteenth century. It represents the archangel St. Michael with St. Margaret; and as each of these saints was commonly depicted with a dragon, one many-headed monster, common to both, is seen here placed below their feet.

The legend of St. Margaret, according to Mrs. Jameson's 'Legendary Art', is of Greek origin, and was current in the fifth century. She is said to have been tempted and tortured by the governor of Antioch, and to have been preserved from sin by holding up the cross, which she is usually represented bearing. This triumph of a pious mind over the snares of vice is probably typified by the more popular version of the legend, according to which she was encountered by a dragon, which fled at the sight of the Cross, or, as others say, swallowed her up, and marvellously released her, by its body immediately bursting. Many of the most eminent artists, Raffaelle, An. Caracci, Parmigiano, Lucas van Leyden, and others, have introduced the dragon as an accompaniment to this saint. In the present instance she appears with long flowing hair, and a rich crown within the nimbus, the lines of which were scored into the plaster, by some sharp instrument, to produce greater effect. A small human figure kneels near her feet, to obtain her intercession on behalf of the soul, then

weighing in the scales. The colours used in the painting are black, red, and ochre. The maimed condition of the dragon testifies to the triumph of the angelic warrior's sword, which is held upright. "There was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not—that old serpent, called the Devil." (Rev. xii, 7.) The arts of Italy have been frequently employed on this struggle with the dragon, as in three pictures of Raffaelle, and many others. Though he is here winged, only one pair of wings, composed of peacock's feathers, appears, and below his robes he is seen to be feathered down to the ankles, unlike, as to the number of his wings, to the Raphael of Milton:

As he is acting in a judicial capacity, his dress, over which his initial letter **m** is scattered, resembles that of a priest, with parures of the amice on his neck, and of the alb near his feet, with cuffs embroidered half round the wrists; his head is surrounded, not with an ordinary nimbus, but with a glory of diverging rays, as one of "the principalities and powers" of heaven. Mrs. Jameson mentions a St. Michael by Martin Schoen, in which he is clothed in priestly garments, and stands, as here, on a nondescript reptile; while, in Van Eyck's Last Judgment, at Dantzic, another instance occurs of the wings being formed of peacock's feathers.

His action of weighing the soul of a deceased person in the scales of a balance, is frequently found elsewhere, as also the grotesque endeavours of the devils to sink the scale by adding their own weight. The mural painting in Preston Church, near Brighton, exhibits this, and St. Margaret, there also, appears by the side of St. Michael. The same saints are again found on the walls of Battle church. St. Margaret was the patroness specially invoked during childbirth; and perhaps these paintings may have been paid for by the surviving relatives after some domestic loss during those "pains and perils."

The analogy of this trial of the Christian soul to that

prevalent in the Egyptian mythology is very curious. The hearts of the dead are there weighed in the balance by Thmei (Themis), the goddess of Justice, before any onward passage is permitted, while a dog is on the watch for the result of the trial, ready to fall upon the rejected sinner. "Surely, men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie, to be laid in the balance; they are altogether lighter than vanity."

(Ps. lxii, 9.)

The courtier-like dexterity with which Lord Bacon applied this subject, when consulted by Queen Elizabeth, will serve as a concluding comment upon this painting. "Queene Elizabeth, being to resolve upon a great officer, and being by some that canvassed for others put in some doubt of that person whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. Bacon, and told him, 'Shee was like one with a lanthorne, seeking a man,' and seemed unsatisfied in the choyce she had of men for that place. Mr. Bacon answered her, 'that hee had heard that in old time there was usually painted on the church walls the Day of Doome, and God sitting in Judgment, and St. Michael by him with a paire of ballance, and the soule and the good deeds in the one ballance, and the faults and the evil deeds in the other, and the soule's ballance went up farre too light: then was our Ladie painted with a great paire of beads, casting them into the light ballance to make up the weight: so,' he said, 'place and authoritie, which were in her hands to give, were like our Ladies beads, which, though men, through diverse imperfections, were too light before, yet, when they were cast in, made weight competent." (Bacon's Apophthegmes, No. 65.)

ROYAL JOURNEYS IN SUSSEX,

FROM THE CONQUEST TO KING EDWARD I.

READ AT THE LEWES MEETING, AUGUST, 1848.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

The presence of the king in country districts must have been always an interesting matter to his subjects in early times, not so much from loyalty, which was indeed often distracted by different claimants, or repelled by contempt, as because amidst the parade of the court they furnished opportunities for feudal exactions, as well as for grants of fresh markets or other privileges to the nobles or towns thus visited by the king. It is not surprising that so few records of royal visits to Sussex have been preserved, when the difficulty of communication was rendered notoriously difficult in many parts of the county by the badness of the roads. It was believed at the time of King William IV's visit to Lewes, that no previous king had been there, except Henry III, when the great battle was fought. It may, therefore, throw some light on Sussex topography and history, if the traces of some journeys of other kings in Sussex are here pointed out.

After the fierce struggle at Hastings between the king de facto and the king de jure, as the Norman duke chose to consider himself, the earliest notices of a king's presence in Sussex are those of William Rufus, who took possession of Arundel castle in 1097, and of Henry I, who laid siege to the same castle and took it in 1102. The next is that of King Stephen, who besieged the castle of Pevensey, then possessed by Gilbert de Clare; and afterwards a grant of the rape of Pevensey was made to his son Eustace, who in right of his mother was from childhood the Earl of Boulogne. As he died in his 18th year, in 1152, the date of a deed in the Lewes Chartulary (Cotton MS. Vespas. F. xv, f. 65) must be between 1148 and that year. The charter of "Earl Eustace, son of the king of

England," confirms the grant of some lands in the honor of Pevensey made by Robert de Horstede to the Lewes Priory, and King Stephen, by a deed dated at Lewes, confirms this grant of his son (Comes Eustachius filius meus), releasing the lands from all civil dues (ab omni seculari exactione), in the presence of the following witnesses: William, Earl de Warenne, (the king's younger son, and the successor of Eustace at Pevensey,) William de Braioze, Robert de Hastings, and Roger de ffraxino.

The siege of Arundel castle by King Stephen in 1139, on the Empress Maud taking refuge there with the Queen

Adeliza, is a familiar incident of English history.

Of the movements of King John we have full information in the Itinerary so ably drawn up from authentic MSS., by T. Duffus Hardy, Esq., and published in Archæol. vol. xxii, p. 125, and in his Description of the Patent Rolls in the Tower. From this the references to Sussex only will be extracted, and it will be seen how often it was traversed by this king.

1199. After the death of King Richard I not much time was lost by his successor in grasping power. He was invested at Rouen, on April 25, with the sword of Normandy by the archbishop, and on Tuesday, May 25, John landed at Shoreham, proceeding on the following day to London, and was there crowned, May 27. His stay in England was brief, for having been, on Tuesday, June 15, at Canterbury, he was, on Wednesday, June 16, again at Shoreham, where he remained till the 20th before he crossed over to Dieppe with his troops. It may be mentioned, as connected with the Warennes, that King John, on Friday, May 17, 1202, was at Bellencombre, the patrimonial seat of that family in Normandy.

1205. On February 24, 25, 27, 28, King John was at Lewes. Probably during the same journey Simon de Wells, the bishop of Chichester, had interceded with the king to remove some difficulties in the supply of Purbeck marble for his cathedral; for at Dover, on April 17, the king wrote to the bailiffs of the seaports of Dorsetshire, desiring them to take security from the persons sent by the bishop not to deliver the marble to any other place than Chichester, a caution which marks a considerable demand for this marble, occasioned by the many new buildings then erecting. The bishop could of course have obtained marble very similar in appearance from

Sussex, but the greater facilities of water-carriage made the Purbeck preferable.

1206. April 3, King John was at Canterbury.

,, 4, Tuesday, at Dover, and at Romney (Rummenel).

, 5, Wednesday, at Romney (Romney was a royal manor).

6, Thursday, at Battle.

, 7, Friday, at Malling—Ludgershall.

, 8, Saturday, at Knap (Cnapp).

,, 9, Sunday, at Arundel.

,, 10, Monday, at Southampton.

The king this year directed an order "to Alan Young of Shoreham, Walter Scott, Vincent of Hastings, Wimund of Winchelsea, and others," barons of the Cinque Ports, to arrest all the ships they shall find at sea; dated April 8, from Ludgershall.

On May 6 he commissioned Adam Tisun and Thomas

Esturmy to impress ships in Sussex.

A letter from the king, on July 14, is a striking instance of

the difficulties of land-carriage in the Weald:

"The king to all earls, barons, knights, and freeholders of the county of Sussex, greeting. We pray you, for the love of us, to assist us now in carrying our timber to Lewes, resting assured that we ask this not as a right, but as a favour, nor is it our will that the same be turned into a custom to your prejudice, and so act in this, that we may have cause to thank you. Witness Geoffry Fitz-Peter, at Lambeth, the 14th day of July."

1208. March 27, Thursday, King John was at Porchester, Pagham, and Aldingburn (Audingburn).

28, Friday, Aldingburn.

29, Saturday, Aldingburn and Pagham.

"On the eve of Palm Sunday the king received, at Aldingburn, from the hands of Gervase, the sacristan of Reading, six books of the Bible, containing the whole of the Old Testament, also the first part of the Bible and the Sacraments, by Master Hugh de St. Victor, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the Epistles of St. Augustine on the City of God, Augustine on the third part of the Psalter, the book of Valerian de Moribus, Origen's Treatise on the Old Testament, and the book of

Candidus Arianus." It may be doubted if King John ever studied these books of divinity.

March 30, Palm Sunday, Aldingburn.

31, Monday, Southampton.

April 6, Guildford, dating from whence the king orders payment of £3 10s. $2\frac{1}{2}d$. to Ralph de Cornhill, for two casks of wine, and the carriage of them from Pagham to Waverley, for the consumption of his household there during two days, namely, Good Friday and the Thursday previous (April 3 and 4). The wine thus speedily drunk was probably imported from the south of France to this small Sussex harbour.

1209. January 1, Winchester.

- 4, Sunday, Aldingburn.
 6, Tuesday, Knep Castle.
 - , 15, Haslemere (Haseley).

May 24, Sunday, Porchester.

, 27, Wednesday, Aldingburn.

,, 28, Thursday, Arundel, Bramber, Knep Castle.

29, Friday, Knep Castle.

" 31, Sunday, Knep Castle, Lewes.

June 1, Monday, Knep Castle. 3, Wednesday, Bexley.

1211. April 5, Tuesday, Lambeth.

,, 6, Wednesday, Knep Castle.

8, Friday, Knep Castle.
9, Saturday, Knep Castle.

13, Wednesday, Lambeth.

1212. June 9, Sunday, Rochester.

, 12, Wednesday, Chilham.

13, Thursday, Battle, Aldingburn.

" 14, Friday, Aldingburn.

15, Saturday, Aldingburn, Bedhampton.

16, Sunday, Porchester.

1213. April 23, Tuesday, Portsmouth.

, 24, Wednesday, Arundel, Lewes.

,, 25, Thursday, Lewes, Battle. 26, Friday, Battle, Dover.

,, 27, Saturday, Dover, Rye, Winchelsea.

,, 28, Sunday, Winchelsea. 29, Monday, Winchelsea.

,, 30, Tuesday, Winchelsea.

1213. May 2, Thursday, Rochester.

1214. January 25, Saturday, Clarendon, Porchester, Aldingburn.

,, 26, Sunday, Porchester, Clarendon.

,, 27, 28, 29, Porchester.

30, Stanstead, Southampton.

31, Porchester, Portsmouth.

1215. January 21, Wednesday, Guildford, Knep.

,, 22, 23, 24, Knep. "On the personal application of Hugoline, the precentor, and of Julian and A., monks of Battle," the king approved of their newly-elected abbot, Richard.

25, Sunday, Aldingburn, Stanstead.

On this day the king directed the following writ to the sheriff of Sussex from Stanstead: "We order you to pay to Simon Eynulf xxxs. for one cask of wine, which was drunk at our house at Aldingburn, on Sunday, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul."

1216. May 21, Saturday, Canterbury.

,, 23, Monday, Seaford. ,, 24, Tuesday, Seaford. ,, 25, Wednesday, Bramber.

, 25, Wednesday, Bramber. , 26, Thursday, Bramber.

, 27, Friday, Bramber, Wool Lavington.

, 28, Saturday, Winchester.

The rapid change of place in King John's journeys will have been remarked, and the rapidity with which some of the distances must have been performed. His power of locomotion was, indeed, the wonder of his times; and Matthew Paris records with wonder the speed with which he travelled by day and night in 1202, in order to rescue his mother, when besieged in the castle of Mirabell, in Normandy. (Die noctuque spatium prætervolans itineris longioris citius quam credi fas est.) In one year he changed his residence 150 times; and the inconvenience arising from such a system, seems to have caused the insertion in Magna Charta of an express clause, that "the Common Pleas should not follow the court of the king, but be held in a certain fixed place." (Archæol. 22.)

Little need be here said of the march of Henry III with his army in Sussex, previous to the battle of Lewes; his route was compulsory afterwards. In the Tower MSS. (Rotul. Pat., 48 Hen. III) are the following notices of the king's progress:

1264, April 27, Henry III dated documents from Kingston and Croydon.

30, Tunbridge.

May 8, 9, 10, Winchelsea.

12 to 15, Lewes.

17, Battle.

21, Canterbury.

Prince Edward, his son, perhaps came first into Sussex at the same period, and his forced journey from Lewes to Dover, under the custody of his cousin Henry de Montfort, was considered so ignominious, that the popular ballads of the day record him as even deprived of his spurs.

"Be the luef, be the loht, Sire Edward, Thou shalt ride sporeless o thy lyard, Al the ryghte way to Dovere ward."

Percy's Anc. Ballads.

Of his subsequent journeys, as King Edward I, a very useful diary has been compiled, from the rolls and documents in the Tower, by Mr. Stevenson, formerly sub-commissioner of the MS. Records (see his Report, dated 1835, at p. 883 of Report of Select Committee, and his Outlines, ibid. i, 749); and from the MS. thus formed by him, now in the Carlton Ride, the passages relating to Sussex only have been here extracted, to which various particulars, illustrating the manners and expenses of the court, have been now added, derived from other sources, especially the Wardrobe Accounts, and other MSS. in the Carlton Ride, under the enlightened care of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, to whom I am indebted for every facility in examining them. Where not otherwise mentioned, the references will be to these MSS.

1276. June 10, King Edward I was at Westminster.

15, Monday, Aldingburn, Chichester, where some monks of Reading came to him.

16, Tuesday, Chichester, Aldingburn.

This was the great festal day on which the king, the queen, and all the court, attended the ceremony of the translation of the bones of St. Richard to his new shrine in the cathedral.

June 17, 18, Aldingburn, Chichester.

At Aldingburn, on 17th, the king gave orders to his officers in Gascony to protect and show favour to Constance, the widow

of his first cousin, Henry of Almaine, murdered at Viterbo by the sons of Simon de Montfort. He also granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury all the corn (omnia blada) on his lands from the date of the restoration of his temporalities. As this had occurred four years ago, the grant seems rather tardy. (Rot. Pat. Tower MS. 4° Edw. I.)

June 23, Tuesday, to Sunday, 28, Lewes.

Here the king, on the 28th, issued orders to the Cinque Ports, and to the collectors of the Fifteenth.

June 29, Monday, "Lechton," (Laughton?) July 1, Wednesday, Battle ("La Battaille").

,, 2, Winchelsea, Romney (Romenal). ,, 3, Romney.

Besides several other writs, the king here made a grant to Matthew de Horne of some land 100 feet long and 50 feet broad, lying between his house and the port, in order to make a quay there against the inroads of the sea (quod kayam super placeam ipsam facere possit ad defensionem domus contra inundationem maris). Rot. Pat. MS.

July 4, Horton (Monks Horton, near Hythe.)

,, 5, Canterbury.

On Friday, the last day of July, according to an imperfect MS. (E. B., 1193, Jornale Garderobe domini Edwardi Regis de anno quarto), is this entry: "To Richard de Cobeham, messenger of Earl Warenne, coming to the king with letters of his said lord, by gift of the king by his own hands, xxs."

1281. August 12, Canterbury.

15, Hurst (Hurstmonceaux, or Hurstpierpoint?)

" 20, Chichester.

1285. July 15, Leeds Castle.

16, Bokinfaud (Bukinfold, co. Kent).

21, Saturday, Bramber. " 25, Wednesday, Arundel.

27, 28, Chichester.

August 1 to 6, Wolvemere (Woolmer Forest, co. Hants).

1286. April 3, Wednesday, and 4, Chichester.

5, Midhurst.

It will be observed that the king was, on this occasion, at Chichester on the feast day of St. Richard, April 3; and the gifts presented to his shrine by the royal family are recorded

in the MS. Wardrobe Account (W.N.1865, contra-rotulus auri, ciphorum, picheriorum, pelvium et firmaculorum emptorum pro domino Edwardo illustri Rege Anglie et ejus consorte, &c.):

"Clasps of gold (firmacula): from William de Farendon, one clasp of gold bought from him, of the price of 106s. 8d., offered by the king at the shrine (feretrum) of St. Richard of

Chichester, on the last day of March.

"From the same William, one gold clasp of the same fashion (ejusdem secte), price 100s., offered for the Lord Edward, son of the king, at the shrine of St. Richard of Chichester.

"From the damsel Ediliva, two gold clasps of the same fashion, price 36s., offered for the ladies Maria and Elizabeth, daughters of the king at the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester." Maria became a nun at Ambresbury, and Elizabeth was afterwards Countess of Holland, and, by a second husband, Countess of Hereford.

"From Master Robert le Normand, three gold clasps of the same fashion, price 4li 6s., offered for the ladies Alionora, Johanna, Margareta, daughters of the king, at the shrine of St. Richard of Chichester." These princesses were afterwards the wives of the Count de Bar, of the Earl of Gloucester, and

the Duke of Brabant.

Another entry is worth noticing, as it seems to confirm Ralph Bocking's description of Richard Bachedene, "a prudent man, and a knight," who acted as the bishop's steward, being own brother (frater carnalis) to Bishop Richard de la Wych. Nicholas the canon may have, therefore, been complimented by the king with a gift on this feast-day of his kinsman.

"Cups (ciphos): from W. de Farendon, one gilt cup without cover, with a foot, of the weight of 12 marcs 6 oz. 18 dwt., of the price of 56s. 9d., given by the king to Richard Bachinden, canon of Chichester church."

Edward I seems, indeed, to have punctually paid honour to the Chichester shrine, even when at a distance. While engaged in the Scotch war, he sent an offering from Newcastle in Nov. 1297; its subdivision is curious, and explains the manner in which the relics were exposed.

"In offerings sent by Roger de Barneby, together with a

clasp and cloth of gold, to Chichester, to be there offered in the name of the king, namely, at the shrine of St. Richard, 7s.; at the tomb of the same saint, 7s.; and to his head and other relics, 7s.; total, 21s.: to Roger de Barneby, for his expenses on this journey, 1 marc." (1910 E. B.)

"Edward I. made an offering of 7s. "in honore Sancti Ricardi" on April 3, 1299, in his own chapel at Westminster (2038, E.B.); and, on the recurrence of the day, in 1302, alms of 200d. were distributed by his order. (Rot. Elymos.,

30 Edw. I, 2288 E. B.)

See also his oblations at Chichester, June 28th, 1299, in a subsequent page. And on June 6, 1302, 4 cloths were delivered to Ralph de Manton for oblations at Chichester, for the Lord Edward Prince of Wales (W. N. 1916), probably for the feast of the Saint's Translation, June 16.

1290. April 20, Thursday, Winchester.

,, 22, Saturday, Chichester. ,, 23, Sunday, Chichester.

, 24, Monday, Buccleswelle.

25, Wolvemere.

The Bishop of Chichester, on this occasion, gave a silver gilt jug (justa), of the weight of 16li 12s., to the king, and a lavatory of silver with 3 feet, weighing 9 marcs, to the queen (E. B. 2343.)

1294. May 14, Bechesworth (co. Surrey).

,, 16, Holebrook. ,, 17, Dadesham.

" 19, Wednesday, Est Dene (East Dean, near Chichester).

, 21, Friday, Chichester.

,, 24, Brembelshet (Bramshot, co. Hants).

November 2, Odymer.

At this time some provisions for the fleet at Portsmouth were procured in Sussex, by which we learn the then prices. (W. N. 2345.)

"Bought at Chichester, by Walter de Wyndesore, of Thomas Cachepol, 2 oxen, 27li.; also 33 carcases of sheep, at

14*d*. each."

"Aberdeen" (salt cod, for the curing of which Aberdeen was famous) were brought in boats from Shoreham, at 25s. to 34s. per cwt.

On this visit the Bishop of Chichester, Gilbert de St. Leopardo (1288-1305), again made a present to the king of a silver cup. (Invent. Wardr. E. B, 2343.) This bishop, however liberal, knew how to maintain his rights; and when the Earl of Arundel had twice poached in Houghton Forest with his greyhounds and bowmen (leporariis et archariis), and answered his complaints by insult, and the avowal "that he had hunted and would continue to hunt, in spite of the bishop's privileges," he excommunicated him, prohibited him from entering any chapel, and laid an interdict on his lands. The earl submitted, however, in a short time; and on Christmas Eve, 1292, went from East Dean to be absolved, at his own petition, in Houghton church, by the bishop, who met him there from Amberley. A penitence of three days, and a pilgrimage to St. Richard, were the conditions of this pardon.

When the king was at Odymer, Nov. 2, he dated from thence a proclamation to all sheriffs, proroguing parliament from the Sunday after the feast of St. Martin to the Sunday next before St. Andrew the Apostle (Nov. 27), "because, in order to congregate and prepare our fleet, which we hope, by the favour of God, will be most highly profitable for the defence of the kingdom and the attack of our enemies, and which we believe the most useful matter above all things to be hastened, it will be needful for us to tarry so long in the parts of Winchelsea, that we shall not be able to be present at

the same day and place." (Rymer, i, 832.)

From Odymer, is also dated a commission for the custody and defence of the sea-coast in Kent and Sussex (Rymer, p. 271), intrusting the three eastern rapes to William de Stokes, and the three western to William de Alta Ripa.

1295. Nov. 18, Westminster.

,, 20, Sunday, feast of St. Edmund, Winchelsea.

, 21, Winchelsea, Odymere.

" 22, Robertsbridge (ad Pontem Roberti), Winchelsea.

28, Westminster.

1297. May 24, Portsmouth.

, 25, Bedhampton (near Havant), Arundel.

,, 26, Sunday, Chichester. ,, 27, Monday, Arundel. 1297. May 28, Tuesday, Bramber, Lewes.

29, Wednesday, Lewes.

,, 30, Thursday, Maghefield (Mayfield).

June 1, Charing, Cranbrook.

,, 2, Canterbury. August 6, Tunbridge.

, 7, Combwell.

,, 8, Thursday, Robertsbridge.

" 9, Friday, Brede.

" 10, Saturday, 11, 12, Odymer.

,, 13, Tuesday, Odymer, Winchelsea. ,, 14, Wednesday, and 15, 16, Odymer.

,, 17, Saturday, and 18, Odymer, Winchelsea.

, 19, Monday, 20, 21, 22, Odymer.

Sept. 29, Ghent.

Many documents in Rymer refer to the king's sojourn at Odymer. One of August 12 was issued by the king in excuse of the exactions of provisions, &c., which had been necessitated by the war. On August 13 he writes to prepare the Earl of Flanders for his early appearance with succour, now that he had arrived at his port of embarkation: "Mais ore sumes nous, la Dieu merci, au port ou nostre passage se doit faire, e venismes ylveques la veille de S. Laurenz (Aug. 9) et feisons haster totes les choses, qui mestier nous ont pur le passage, tant come nous povons." On August 19, from Winchelsea, he writes to entreat the Archbishop of Canterbury not to excommunicate his officers, who had been compelled by the urgency of the occasion to seize corn, &c., from the clergy as well as laity, "so as to avoid scandal and lesion of the king's dignity." In two days afterwards, Aug. 21, the king backs up this entreaty effectually, by ordering Henry Tregoz, and the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, to arrest and imprison all excommunicators. On the 19th he also desired John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, to deliver up the custody of Scotland to Brian Fitz-Alan. The embarkation is thus referred to: "Memorandum, that on Thursday, namely, August 22, in the 25th year, Sir John de Langeton, chancellor of the lord king, at sea near Wynchelsea, in a certain ship called Cog Edward, in which the said king then was, ready to go over to Flanders, delivered to the said king his great seal, which the said king immediately received, and delivered it to Sir John de Benstede to be kept."

1299. June 14, Sunday, Canterbury.

,, 15, St. Radegund. ,, 17, Wy (co. Kent).

" 18, Carryng (Charing, co. Kent).

,, 19, Smerdon, Cranbrook.

,, 20, Saturday, Cranbrook, Romney.

21, Sunday, Lamberhurst.

" 22, Monday, Maghefeld (Mayfield).

,, 23, Tuesday, Uckefeld. ,, 24, Wednesday, Lewes.

,, 25, Thursday, Lewes, Bramber.

,, 26, Friday, Bramber. ,, 27, Saturday, Arundel. ,, 28, Sunday, Chichester.

,, 29, Monday, Putworth (Petworth) (added from E.B. 2033, as also Horsham, Greensted, Legh, Wateringbury).

30, Tuesday, Horsham.

July 1, Wednesday, Greensted.

2, Legh.

3, Wateringbury, Ledes.

6, Canterbury.

August 25, Waverley.

,, 28, Woolmer, Selburn (added from E.B. 2618, as also Horsham on September 2 and 3).

Sept. 1, Tuesday, Midhurst. 2 and 3, Horsham.

,, 7, Bexley.

,, 10, Canterbury, on which day the king's

second marriage took place.

St. Radegund.—The king's oblations at this abbey, the remains of which are seen near Dover, were distributed in small sums in the same manner as at Chichester. (E.B 2096.) "June 14, oblation of the king at the great altar in the church of the abbey of St. Radegund, 7s., and to the cross of Cnerth, 6s., and to the thorn of the crown of Christ, 3s., and to the altar of St. Radegund, 7s., and to the image of St. Radegund and to the relics of the said saint and other saints, 7s." The cross of Cnerth, Neet, Neyth, had been obtained, in 1283, by the king in Wales, as a fragment of the true cross brought to

that country by Neotus, and followed the movements of the court, until it was, at a later period, kept in the Tower of London, and afterwards at Windsor. On the same day, the death of one of the king's warlike friends, one who had fought against him at Lewes and for him at Evesham, is noticed. "In the oblations of the king, distributed in the celebration of mass for the soul of John Gifford, lately deceased, in the church of the abbey of St. Radegund, in the presence of the king, 6s. 5d."

Lamberhurst.—E.B. 2096, "21 June, in oblations of the king in his chapel at Lamberhurst, for the good news he had

heard from France, 7s."

"The good news" was probably the announcement of a treaty of peace with France, and of his own marriage with the King of France's sister, Margaret, the deeds of which he signed at Canterbury on July 14, in presence of his son, (Rot. Pat. Tower MS.) and the marriage took place there on September 10, this year. The spreading of this important news causes several entries of immediate expenses. "To two runners (cursoribus) carrying letters of the king's son to Sir William de Bliburg, for his expenses, 8d., and to each other runner, carrying letters of the same king's son to the Bishop of London, for his expenses, 12d., June 22." There are other similar entries for the king's letters sent to the Bishop of Chester, to the Earls of Cornwall and Lancaster, and to Sir Henry de Lancaster. "To Philip de Marteyn, carrying the king's letters to the Earl de Warenn."

"Maghefeld, June 22. To the messenger of Sir Robert de Burghesse (Burwash) returning to his lord with letters of the

king for his expenses, 12d.

"To the clerk of the kitchen, advanced on his office of saucemaker (salsarii) by the hands of Alan de Goldesburgh, saucemaker, at Maghefeld, 6s." The salsarius, or saussier, as he was called in France, was the officer in the king's kitchen whose duty it was to provide all condiments and spices, delivering each article out by weight for use, and to stand by the mortar while they were pounded.

"To Walter de Beauchamp, junior, advanced on his fief and his chattels (robis) by the hands of John of Arundel, at

the same place, 18s.

"To Robert Snellings, errand boy (cokino), carrying letters

of Sir Robert de Benstede on the king's business to Sir

William de Melton, 12d.

"In offerings of the king in the chapel in honour of St. Alban's at Maghefeld, 7s." This occurred on the feast day of St. Alban. The opportunity was taken for levying fines for short measures and weights.

"From the vill of Maghefeld, in fine for the transgression of their measures, and for other transgressions, by the hands of Nicholas Hamund, at Maghefeld, June 22, 6s. 8d. From Thomas Gaynard and Walter Corbyn, bakers of Maghefeld, a fine for the deficiency found in their bread, 6s. 8d."

Similar fines were received here on this day from the vill of Wadhurst, two sums of 10s. each, by the hands of William Wyly, paid in cash, and from William of Wadhurst, baker,

"To the clerk of the pantry, for his office for 82 gallons of beer, bought from Arnald de Ukfeld at Ukfeld, 23 day of June, 6s. 10d.

"To the clerk of the kitchen, advanced on his office of the chamber, by the hands of Arnald de Ukfeld, the host of the

king (hospitis regis), there the same day, 12d.
"To Arnold de Ukfeld, host of the king, for damage in his houses and his curtilage (pro damno in domibus suis et curtilagio suo), by the arrival of the king at the same place, by gift of the same king in compensation to him for the damage (in recompensandum eidem damnum) by own hands, same place and day, 20s.

"To the clerk of the kitchen, advanced on his office for poultry, by the hands of John atte Barre, same place and

day, 20s."

Arnold seems to have been a considerable person, having a good stock of beer, and a large dwelling. An ancient stone apartment, with a groined roof, remains at Uckfield, which may have formed part of his house. No Arnold appears in the hundred of "Lockesfield," nor in "villata de Framfelde," in the subsidy roll of 1296. In the "villata de Byrchedenn," however, William Arnold appears paying the large tax of $13s. 5\frac{1}{2}d.$, and he was probably a kinsman of the king's host. John Arnold represented Lewes in parliament in 1309. The sum total of the taxes paid by the "villata de Uckefeud," in the subsidy roll, is 70s.; and among the tax-payers are "Reginald de Uckefeud 8s. $8\frac{1}{4}d$., John the baker 13d., William atte Hoke 12d."

Lewes, June 24.—The numerous entries relating to the king's visit to Lewes display the methodical division of the expenses in the different offices of the royal household. "To the clerk of the farriery (mariscalcie), advanced on his office for the carriage of the farriery of the king's son, by the hands of Roger de Wellesworth, at Lewes, June 24."

"To the clerk of the pantry, on his office for the carriage of the bread and butter of the king's son, by the hands of the said Roger, same place and day, 6s. 8d." The panetarius had to provide table-cloths and napkins also, as well as bread.

There is a similar entry of 6s. 8d., "advanced upon the

purchase of butter and cheese for the use of the king."

Master Robert, the butler (panetarius), was paid an advance

of 6s. 8d. on his wages.

"To the errand-boy, the runner (cokino le rennere) carrying letters of Sir Guy de Fferrier to Sir W. de Bliburg on the busi-

ness of the king's son, for his expenses, 6d.

"To the clerk of the kitchen, for his office of chamberlain, by the hands of John de Hibernia, same place and day, 14s. 4d.;" and he had also an advance of 16s. 8d. for poultry, by the hands of John atte Barre; and 8s. for his office of saucemaker.

"In honore St. Thome (these words are thus erased), in offerings of the king in his chapel, and at the great altar in the church of the priory of Lewes, 7s.; sum total, 21s." In the margin to this entry is written, "two cloths of gold (11 panni adaurati)."

"To Sir Henry, almoner, advanced for his office, by the

hands of Richard de Acton, his clerk, 20s.

"To the Minor Friars of Lewes (pro putura sua trium dierum) for their sustentation of three days, by the hands of Friar William de Bunham, 24s." This is one of the few notices remaining of the Franciscan convent near Lewes bridge. On a king's visit, it seems to have been customary to compliment the monks of the town with a gift equivalent to three days' food; other instances of which occurred at Arundel and Chichester during this journey.

John the chandler received an advance of 6s. 8d. on his

office, and various small sums were advanced to other persons about the court; to Gilbert de Clare, ffulk Fitz-Warin, Thomas Dever, William de Bromfield, and Nicholas de Chilham.

The king disposed here of the marriage of Matilda, the youngest daughter of his deceased friend John Gifford, to William, son of Geoffry de Gyenvill, and also made presentations to some churches which had belonged to him.

On the 25th King Edward dated from Lewes his letters to various counties of England, in order to reassure them of his intention to observe the Great Charter, and the charter of the forests, and to allow "la puralée," the perambulation for dis-afforestment to be made, begging his subjects not to believe the rumours to the contrary, and declaring "ceux qui portent teles novelles, ou qui disent que nous le fesoms pour les choses esloigner, malicious gentz, qui desirent di mettre riote et debat entre nous et nostre poeple pur disturber la pez, et le bon estat de nous et de vous et de tout nostre royaume." (Pat. Rot. Tower MSS.)

False measures were abundant in Lewes and its vicinity,

and many fines were imposed in consequence.

"From the township of Lewes (de villata), for fine for the transgression of their measures, and for other transgressions, by the hands of Richard le Palmer, at Lewes, 24 June. 2 marcs (£1 6s. 8d.)

"From the township of Suthovere, near Lewes, for fine for the same, by hands of Robert le Hasterer, at Lewes, June 24,

6s. 8d.

"From the township of Clive (Cliffe), near Lewes, for fine for the transgression of their measures, and others, by the

hands of Robert Copernel, 6s. 8d.

"From the bakers of Seford, fine for deficiency found in their loaves (in panibus suis), 5s.; for forestall of the same vill, 40d., by the hands of Henry de Empingham, at Bramber, June 26, 8s. 4d.

In the latter part of this royal journey, some fines were imposed at Maidstone on bakers, 3s. 6d., and "on butchers who sold unwholesome meat, 6s. 8d. (carnes non sanas);" and on "certain women selling unwholesome victuals, 7s. A fine is also levied for an offence which seems more a matter of tas' than of law; "from Damele the cook, for rewarming his r

3s. 4d. (pro recalefactione carnium)." The cookery of hashed meat was indeed a snare for the conscience of fasting monks, who persuaded themselves that in that form it ceased to be meat; "dans certains monasterès, on en vint jusqu'à manger de la viande hacheé, sous pretexte que déguisée ainsi elle n'est plus viande. Ce relâchement fut condamné par la constitution que Grégoire IX donna aux religieux de S. Benoît." Le Grand d'Aussy, Vie Privée, v. ii, p. 205. The king seems to have agreed with Boileau, "qu'un diner réchauffé ne valut jamais rien." The ancient punishment for similar offences was the dung-chair or cucking-stool. The law at Chester is stated in Domesday, i, 262, to be thus: "A man or woman found making false measure shall pay 4s. In like manner a person making bad beer was either placed in the dung-chair (in cathedra ponebatur stercoris), or shall give 4s. to the officers."

June 25. An advance of 40s. was made to the clerk of the Marshalsea, by the hands of Richard de Danecaster, his clerk; and also "12d. for the repair of saddles of the sumpters, by the hands of Master William the mareschal." The same officer had £7 advanced him later in the year, Oct. 10, "on the wages of carriers, sumpters, and palfreys of the queen, and for the expenses of one horse of the king, tarrying at Lewes."

The priory had a commutation of the same royal bounty

allowed them as the friars minor.

"To the clerk of the kitchen, advanced on his office for money paid to the convent of the priory of Lewes, for those things they should have for their sustentation (pro putura) from the kitchen, by the hands of Sir John de Merk, 26s. 8d. (E. B. 2033.)

" In oblations distributed on the celebration of mass in presence of the king for the soul of the son of the Earl Warenne, 5s. 5d." (William, the earl's only son, died in 1286. See

p. 36 ante.)

"To the clerk of the kitchen, on the office of scullery, by the hands of Margareta, wife of Gervase de Hame, for faggots (pro busca) bought of the same at Lewes.

"To the clerk of the pantry, by the same Margaret, for

divers things bought of her, 5s. 10d.

"To the Lord John of Brittany, advanced for his expenses, by the hands of Ralph, his barber, 20 marcs (£2 17s. 10d.)"

A payment of 10 marcs was also made at Lewes, June 25, to W. de Bliburgh, for the expenses of the king's son on his journey to Canterbury, there to stay by command of the king until the arrival of the king. (E.B. 2033.)

Various presents were sent during this journey for the king's household, and are duly recorded by his officers (hospitii ex-

hennia missa regi, 2156 E.B.)

On Friday, May 13, from the Earl de Warenn, 4 pikes.

June 16, at Whi, from the abbot

of Battle . . 4 oxen, 3 pigs, 6 sheep.

,, 24, at Lewes, from the prior

of Lewes . . 2 ,, 3 ,, 6 ,,

27, at Chichester, from Mas-

ter John de Laci . 2 " 3 " 6 ,

from the sheriff of Sussex 4 ,, 4 ,, 6 ,,

,, from the citizens of Chichester, 2 oxen and a cask of wine.

from the dean and chapter of Chichester, a cask of wine.

Bramber, June 26.—It would seem that Prince Edward remained at Lewes after his father had proceeded onward, and amused himself with a large kennel of hounds.

"To Walter Balle, valet of Sir John Gifford, lately deceased, coming to the king with 13 staghounds (cerverettis), by gift of the king, 41s., and to John de Brocton coming with him, 6s. 8d.

"To William de Rude, going into the county of Sussex for hunting (ad venationem), by order of the king, for his wages for nine greyhounds and the wages of two helpers (garcionum), 60s. at Westminster, Nov. 8;" and on Dec. 15 another payment is made him of 20 li; he received also at Lewes 10 marcs (£6 6s. 8d.), on July 27; but the year is not specified in the MS. fragment (E. B. 1207, f. 91). William de Rude was apparently the same person as William, the king's foxhunter, to whom (venatori regis ad vulpes) six ells of English russett, at 2s. per ell, were delivered as due to him from the Royal wardrobe in 1305. (W. N. 1910. Prest. Garder. 33° Edw. I.)

"To Thomas de Erlham, money for the support (pro putura) of 13 dogs, going by command of the king to the king's son, and for wages of two grooms (garcionum), going with the said

dogs for two days, 16d.

"June 26. To Thomas de Erlham, going as far as Lewes, by command of the king, with dogs to the king's son, for his

wages and expenses, 8s."

A little later, in August, there is a charge for more dogs, "27 deerhounds, 23 harriers, and 3 beagles (daymeretti, heiretti, berceletti) of the king, and for 20 staghounds, 9 harriers, and 4 greyhounds (leporarii) of the seneschal, and for 7 greyhounds of the prince," at a halfpenny a day, except the king's hounds, which are rated at three farthings a day. (E. B. 2623.) The clerk of the kitchen and the clerk of the pantry had each an advance of 15s. paid them at Bramber, and Thomas, the king's fisherman (piscator regis), had an advance of 20s., in order to buy a net.

Arundel, June 26 and 27.—" For grass bought for the use of the king's horses, from John Hereward de Tilbrigg and John

de Hegham, by two tallies, 26s. 5d.

"To the Preaching Friars of Arundel, for their support (proputura) for three days, on the arrival of the king, by the hands

of Friar Richard de Cotes, 13s."

This is one of the few notices remaining of this Dominican convent.—" To William de Horington, carrying the king's letters to the Bishop of Chichester, in computation of his expenses going and returning, 2s.

"To John de Nottingham, for carrying the king's letters to Sir Walter de Beauchamp, steward of the king's household, and to Robert de Burghasse, warden of the Cinque Ports, for his

expenses in 12 days, going and returning, 2s."

The clerk of the kitchen received here 30s for poultry, and also 4s. 9d., which he had paid "to five men of Arundel for trouts and other small fishes, bought from them for the king's use."

Thomas de Bikenorre (Bignor) had 40s. lent him here from the king's wardrobe, on the security of his fee and his chattels. John de Bikenorre, knight, was the keeper of the king's hawks (asturcarius).

Chichester.—" To the clerk of the pantry, for carriage of his

department, by hands of Peter Burdet, 40s.

June 28. "To Henry the almoner, advanced for hisoffice, 20s. "To the Preaching Friars of Chichester, for their support

(pro putura) of three days, on the king's coming, by the hands of Friar Richard de Assheling, 16s.

"To the Friars Minor of the same city, for the same, by

the hands of Friar John le Boteler, 26s.

"In oblations of the king at the shrine on one side of St. Richard (ad feretrum ex una parte Sti. Ricardi), in the cathedral church of Richard, 7s., and on the other side, 7s. (et ex alia parte); and to the mitre of the same saint, 7s., and to the head of the same saint, and to the tomb (ad tumbam) where St. Richard was first buried, 7s., and to the mitre of St. Edmund and to the chalice of St. Richard, 7s.; sum total, 42s."

It will be observed, that neither in the detail of these oblations, nor of those of April 3, 1286, previously noticed, is there mention made of any effigy of the saint, which circumstance casts doubt upon that now attributed to him in the south

transept.

Various payments were made at Chichester for the royal household: "for 31 dozen parchments, 12d. the dozen, 31s.; for buying and mending harness, 27s. 6d.; for faggots and litter, 3s. 8d.; for faggots and charcoal (carbone), 34s.; for litter and grass, 4s. 7d.

"To the clerk of the pantry for 1 quarter 2 bushels of wheat, at 6s. the quarter, 7s. 6d. For buying iron shoes (pro ferrura

emenda), by the clerk of the Marshalsea, 20s.

"To the clerk of the kitchen, advanced on the office of the saucery, by the hands of Alan the saucemaker, going to the neighbourhood of Chichester, along the sea coast, in order to make provision of a grey mule, 30s. (euntis in partes Cicestrie per costeram maris ad providenciam faciendam de muletto griseo.)"

Petworth, June 29.—Geoffry de Stoke, clerk, had an advance of 26s. 8d., on his going to London to provide silver cups and other jewels, paid him at "Pettesworth."

Horsham, June 30 and July 1.—"To John Whiting, errandboy (coquin), carrying letters of the king to the chancellor.

"From certain bakers in Horsham, fine for deficiency found in their bread, 15s.; from the township of Horsham, for transgression of measures, 40s.; from the prior of Shelbrede and Robert de Bodcham, fine for transgressions found in their mills, 6s. 8d.; for beer bought of Geoffry Griffeth, of Bramber, 6s.; to William de Horington, errand-boy (cokino), carrying letters of Sir Peter de Chaumpvent to Sir Walter de Beauchamp, seneschal, on the king's service, with the greatest haste, for his expenses and those of one person his guide (unius guide

sui), 12d."

Greensted, July 1.—"To the clerk of the Marshalsea, advanced for the cure of certain sick horses of the king by the hand of Nicholas the marshal, 10s., and for 8 quarters of oats, at 2s. 6d., 20s. To the clerk of the kitchen for 2 quarters of wheat, bought of Isabella de Puleyne at Chichester, at 6s. per qr., 12s. To clerk of the pantry for six score gallons of beer, bought of Roger Gallard, 10s. 10d., and for 50 gallons of beer, bought from Gunnora, wife of Walter Alewede, 4s. 2d.; and for 55 gallons of beer from Peter de Hakenden, 4s. 7d."

Fines for false measures were also levied at Greensted.

There is also a receipt of £10 "from Sir W. Trussel and Sir John de Crokesley, sellers of the king's wood, from the wood sold in the Chace of Asshedowne, by the hands of Adam atte Milne." On March 19, £56 had been received from the same source; and on Nov. 5, 113s. 4d.

There is an entry made after the king's return to Canterbury in reference to this journey, which is strongly indicative of the difficult state of the roads which the king had travelled.

"To William de Rude for money paid by him, by order of the king, to 17 guides leading the king (septemdecim guidis ducentibus regem), when going from Dover on his journey to St. Richard at Chichester, and returning from thence to Canterbury, in the months of June and July, for 16 days, as appears by the particulars thereof delivered in the wardrobe by the same, to his own hands, 5s. 9d."

Midhurst, Sept. 1.—Fines for short measures were levied, 11s. 4d., and various articles of provision bought; for poultry, 20s.; for candles, 6s. 8d.; for 100 gallons of beer, bought of Marieta de Kythenere of Chichester, 8s. 4d.; for 7 sheep, from Henry le Botiller of Midhurst, 10s. 4d.; for one ox,

from Stephen Ode, 9s.

Horsham, Sept. 3.—The vill of Neubrigg was fined 6s. 8d. for false measures. The clerk of the butlery was here paid in cash £4 2s. 11d. for wine and beer bought at Midhurst and Petersfield.

1302. August 28, Guildford, Aug. 30, Wolvemere.

31, Friday, Herting (Harting).

1, Saturday, Est Den (East Dean). Sept.

2, Sunday, Chichester. 3, Monday, Slyndon.

4, Tuesday to Saturday 9th, Arundell.

11, Monday, La Sele (Beeding).

12, Tuesday, Peccham. 13, Wednesday, Lewes.

14, Thursday, "Muchelham" (Michelham Priory).

15, Friday, Hurstmunceaux, Battle.

17, Sunday, Newendenne.

19, Asheford.

21, and to Oct. 3, St. Radegund, and then Canterbury.

Full particulars of this year's journeys and expenses may be added to Mr. Stevenson's account, from a very clear and detailed MS. in the Carlton Ride (H.C.H. 3772, Compot. hospicii Regis 30 Edw. I), which however, being imperfect, and ending on September 4, embraces but few days in Sussex.

The expenses in each of the manifold departments of the roval household will be best seen by the tabular form; the only uniform charge appears that of 4s. daily for alms, though the other items and the totals vary but little, and the large presents of wine and meat will be remarked, with the addition

of swans and peacocks at Slindon.

The dispensary was under the control of the steward or dispenser (whose office has given name to a noble family), and his duty was to provide many articles, with a store of which he travelled from place to place, many charges for such carriage occurring in these accounts. The sextary of wine, mentioned in the account, was, according to Fleta, 1.2, c 12, four gallons.

		spen			itelai utler			quin			curi		S	uc		C	amer			stal	oul'. les.		vad wag		n	ele- nos'		To
TT (' TV'	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	£	8.	d.	s	. d	£	,
Herting. Wine from store (de stauro), 1 cask, 6 sextaries Est Den, Saturday, Sept. 1, wine	4	15	9	6	10	7	15	5	1	0	10	7	0	6	4	0	5	5	6	2	11	5	0]	4	0	39	1
from store, 58½ sextaries Chichester, Sunday, Sept. 2, wine		18	9	6	0	0	12	5	8	0	7	9	0	9	5	0	16	0	6	12	8	4	19	10	4	0	33	1
from store, I cask, 24 sextaries . Slyndon, Mon- day, Sept. 3, wine from store, 31 sextaries, wine		10	5	5	17	1	9	16	5	1	15	3	0	5	5	1	0	4	7	17	9	4	19	10	4	0	36 by: \frac{3}{4}0	f a
from present, 2 casks	6	0	6	5	17	4	11	1	4	1	4	6	1	0	5	0	10	9	7	15	10	4	19	10	4	0	38 byj 5 q	ore u.
Arundel, Tuesday, Sept. 4, wine from store, I cask, 6 sextaries	4	15	1	6	9	5	6	14	5	0	16	5	0	5	7	1	3	7	7	16	7	5	0	5	4	0	1½ 5¾ swa pea 38 by 1 6 oxe she	pi co 14 ore
									_																		pig bac	s,

At Hertyng, Sept. 1, the bull of Pope Boniface, authorising the collection of taxes, is recorded.

A murage grant to the city of London is dated at Chichester. From Arundel, besides dispatching some agents to Rome to treat of peace, the king grants a pardon, at the instance of his son Prince Edward, to Serl de Nunsladeron for the death of Andrew le Harpour and William Smod, on account of his services in the last Scotch war. And a pardon is also granted to William de Alta Ripa for hunting trespasses in Woolmer and other forests. (Rot. Pat. Tower MS.)

La Sele.—A writ, directed to John de Segrave, is witnessed by the king, "apud la Sele, Sept. 11, 1302."

At Peccham he restores to the Bishop of Bath and Wells

his temporalities.

Lewes.—A writ, dated from hence Sept. 13, 1302, directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, prorogues the parliament to the morrow of St. Edward (Oct. 14), at Westminster.

At Michelham, John de Echingham receives the presenta-

tion to the church of Sneyleswell, in the diocese of Ely.

In this year, also, numerous fines are noted down for false measures; from Bramber and Steyning, for a brewhouse transgression (pro transgressione bracinii) and others, 13s. 4d.; and from the bailiff, 6s. 8d.; from William Whitberd, of Arundel, for his short bread, 3s. 4d.; from the dean and chapter of Chichester for short measures, and the commonalty of the city of Chichester, 40s.; from Shoreham, 20s.; from the men of the archbishop's liberty, in Chichester, 10s.; from the female brewers (de braciatricibus) de Tydak, 40d.; from the township of Arundel, 26s. 8d.; from Pudworth, 20s.; and from the bakers there, 11s. 8d.

Many previous instances have occurred of the beer-shops being kept by females, as was then, and long afterwards, the general custom. Others might easily be supplied, and the price seems everywhere 1d. a gallon; at this rate were bought 94 gallons at Tunbridge, from Joanna de Burwash, and 450 gallons for the king's use at Westminster, from Dulcia Fynamour. Beer was then made from any grain, wheat, barley, or oats, and often of these mixed; no hops being known, it would not keep, and was necessarily drunk fresh, spiced with pepper and other condiments.

1305. May 29, Stoke d'abernoun (co. Surrey).

June 2 to 7, Guildford.

8 to 12, Whitley, near Haslemere.

,, 12, Cocking.

,, 13, Sunday, Midhurst, Cocking. 14, Monday, Cocking, Chichester.

- ,, 15, Tuesday, to Friday, 18, Chichester, Aldingbourn.
- , 19, Saturday, Arundel, Fyndon.

,, 20, Sunday, Arundel.

,, 21, Monday, Shoreham.

,, 22, Tuesday, Clayton.

to the court of the newly elected Pope Clement V. (Parl. Writs.)

There are entered in the Wardrobe Accounts (compot. recept. et exit. in garderoba regis, E. B. 1985,) some payments for wine taken at Chichester for the king's use at this visit; and it is remarkable how much the popular saint had

given his name to the Cathedral of Chichester.

"From the dean and chapter of the church of St. Richard of Chichester, sub-collectors of the tenths in the diocese of Chichester from the arrears of the same, to the hands of Robert le Tanner, Richard Purifer, and Alan Burt, of Chichester, for wines taken from them for the use of the king in the month of June, namely, to the said Robert, $13li\ 10s.$, to the said Richard, 6li, and to the aforesaid Alan, 12li; sum total, $31li\ 10s.$ " The same persons also received money from William Trente, on behalf of "the dean and chapter of Saint Richard of Chichester," for their wines seized. The same designation of "the church of St. Richard" is again repeated in another document of the same period.

Findon.—In the 'Parliamentary Writs,' is one dated from Fyndon, June 19, summoning the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to the parliament to be held August 15, all excuses laid aside, and a license is granted him to build and embattle (construere et kernellare) near the New Temple in London.

(Rot. Pat. Tower MS.)

Arundel.—On the same day at Arundel is entered an allowance of "40s. for Edward de Balliol, sick at Chichester, and there staying by command of the king, advanced on what he is to receive from the king in the way of wages, and his

expenses, paid to Walter de ffrenay." (E. B., 1226.)

Shoreham.—By the accounts of the expenses of the queen's journey to Canterbury this year (compot. de exp. hospicii regine in perigrinatione sua usque S. Thomam Cantuar., W. N. 1893), it appears she was at that city from April 27 to 30, at Rochester May 17, Guildford June 2 to 11, and at Shoreham on June 21. "To Thomas de Weston, for grass (pro herba) for the use of the queen's horses at Shoreham, 21st day of June, 22s."

Clayton.—"To John the hawker (aucupario), upon his

wages, at Clayton, June 22, 2s."

Lewes.—"To the clerk marshal (farrier), by the hands of Master John la Mar, for horseshoes (pro ferris), bought by the same for the queen's horses at Lewes, 25th day of June, 3s. 5d."

"To William de Wodestoke and his 19 comrades, being foot-soldiers of Stirling from Brabant (20 pedites de Stryvelyn a Brabantia), advanced on wages to each of them, 3s., by the hands of Henry de Lenn, at Lewes, 25th day June."

Alexander, the queen's chandler, had advances paid him at Aldyngbourn, June 18, and now at Lewes, a marc and half,

and afterwards, on July 1, 5s., at "Melkehouse."

From Lewes the king grants to Robert, son of Robert de Burgherst, the prebend in the Free Chapel of the Blessed Mary, in the castle of Hastings, void by the resignation of Giles de Audenarde.

Alan de Polyngfeld is exempted from the mortmain prohibition, in granting to the Abbot of Fescamp 30s. rent in "Rudgewyk, Billyngge, Slyndefold, Stenyng, and Polebergh."

A license for a pilgrimage or crusade for four years is given to Robert de Barkeworth, and William de Breton, who had

gone to the Holy Land (ad partes Jerosolymitanas).

Westdene.—Leave is here given to Alicia, widow of John de St. John, sojourning in England, to appoint an agent in Scotland.

At "Hostede," the king grants a wardship to Walter de ffraxinis.

Buxted.—Three monks of Reading Abbey, Nicholas de Quappelade, precentor, John de Sutton, chamberlain, and William de henre, announce the death of W. their abbot, and obtain the kings's letters to elect a successor.

The king also grants here the wardship of Giles de Brewosa

to Walter de Aylesbury.

Maghfield.—Henry, the prior of Bermondsey, is allowed to

go abroad till Michaelmas. (Rot. Pat. Tower MSS.)

Lamberhurst.—By the Wardrobe Accounts (E. B. 1207, f. 117), it appears the king was here and at "Gudhurst," June 29.

Melkhous, Milkhus.—Roger la Warre is allowed to go to the court of Rome for one year on the king's business and his own.—The prebend of Wodehorne, in Chichester, lately held by Giles de Audenarde, is granted to Master John Mordaunt,

the see being vacant.

This was the last journey of Edward I in Sussex; and it is hoped that these notices may contribute to direct the attention of other members of the Society to the circumstances of any royal journeys which may have occurred during the long interval between this date and the progresses of Queen Elizabeth in Sussex. It will be seen that, from such records, something may be learned of the customs prevalent, of the arrangement of the royal movements, and of the prices of articles at the time, while additional interest may be cast on various localities within the county.

HASTINGS RAPE, CASTLE, AND TOWN.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq., F.S.A.

READ AT THE HASTINGS MEETING, JUNE 3, 1848.

Some doubts and difficulties have arisen as to the descent of the Honour, Castle, and Rape of Hastings, between the periods of their possession by Henry IV and their uninterrupted possession by the Hastings family, temp. Edward IV, which it is most desirable to clear up; adding some particulars not generally known as to the castle and town.

The connexion of the Pelhams with this rape, and with the manors of Crowherst, Bergherst, and Benylham, was earlier than is stated by Horsfield. He says* that Sir John Pelham obtained the "Honour" by grant from Henry, without giving the date, and, under the head of Crowhurst,† he adds, that in the 14th Henry IV the king granted to Sir John the three manors with the "rape of Hastings." It appears, however, that Sir John was bailiff of the rape, and in possession of the manors in 5th Henry IV; for in the valuation of his manors, taken at Michaelmas in that year,‡ are the following items:

Rapa de Ha	styng:	valor'	manior	' dict	i dom	ini,			
ut p'ticular	rit' pater	tinfer	ius.			*	£	S.	d.
Burgherre va					-		xxiii		iiii.
Benylham	-			-		-	xxiii	v.	
Crowhurst			-		-		xx	\mathbf{v}_{\bullet}	
Balliva Rape	de Has	tyng:	valor'	dicti	officii	hoc			
anno	-	-		-		-	xiiii		
Receptoria va					-		LXX,vii	xv.	
Rape de Has	tyns & a	alior' r	nanior'	d'ni		D	,xxx,iiii	x.	

So that the date of the first grant, as afterwards given by Collins from the Webster MSS., and followed by Horsfield,

^{*} Sussex, vol. i, p. 445. † Ib. p. 433. ‡ Collins's Baron. ed. 1727, p. 331.

must be erroneous. Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, who in 1st Henry IV obtained a grant for life of the honour of Richmond, treated this rape as part of that honour, and in 8th Henry IV granted his interest therein to John Norbury. It was not till the earl's death, in 4th Henry VI, that Sir John Pelham was in the enjoyment of the rape and manors. In the Burrell MSS.,* the grant of the rape and manors in 14th Henry IV is expressly stated to be to Sir John Pelham, "after the death of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland." The grant did not include the castle or honour; but immediately after the earl's death Sir J. Pelham exercised his right of ownership over the rape, and as lord of the rape, by deed dated 1st May, 1427,† for the salvation of his own soul and of the soul of Sir J. Pelham, Knt., his father, and of the souls of all his ancestors, released to Thomas Ludlow, abbot of the monastery of Battle, and the convent thereof, all the abbot's hereditaments within the rape; and when, in Edward the Fourth's reign, Lord Hastings‡ disputed the right of the abbot to take any fines or amerciaments within the rape, the barons of the Exchequer (Nicholas Statham and J. Ellonhede, who were two of Lord Hastings's feoffees, and W. Herveye), wrote to Bartholomew Bolne and William Chene, or their deputies, officers of Lord Hastings within the rape, advising them of the lord abbot's legal right to take fines and amerciaments.

Sir John Pelham died 12th February, 1428, and in 9th Henry VI his widow Johanna obtained a grant of the rape and

manors; the value stands thus:

D'na Johanna Pelham. Rapa de Hastyngs & Burghersh valor' ultra reprizas - £13 2s.~4d.

And in 18th Henry VI∥ the son, Sir John Pelham, had a con-

firmation of his father's grant.

Now arose the dispute as to whether the rape passed by the grants to the Pelhams, or whether it was not, with the castle and honour, still in the king. On the 19th July, 23d Henry VI, the king granted to Sir Thomas Hoo the castle, barony, and rape; and Sir John Pelham, though he afterwards unsuc-

^{*} Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 5679, fol 8. A copy of the grant is among the Battle Abbey records, dated Westminster, 21st November, 1412.
† Battle Abbey Charters, &c., p. 104.
† Ib. p. 117.
| Ib. fol. 8.

cessfully petitioned parliament against this grant,* at first acquiesced in it; for by deed, dated 19th February, 24th Henry VI,† he conveyed the lordship, barony, honour, and rape of Hastings (except the three manors) to feoffees, for Sir Thomas Hoo, afterwards Lord Hastings. Sir Thomas Hoo died the 13th February, 33d Henry VI, having by his will; directed his feoffees to sell this castle, rape, and honour, to raise marriage portions for his daughters, his brother "to bye it afore any other man yf him list." His brother did not exercise the option, and in 1st Edw. IV \(\) the feoffees conveyed to William Hastings the lordship, barony, and rape, with the hundreds, wapentake, frankpledge, fees, knights' fees, offices, rents or services called Castle-yard, &c., and all fines, fee-farm rents, and services whatsoever within the rape, with the annual sheriff's court held at Berfold (excepting the three manors by name), and on the 14th November, 1st Edw. IV, | they appointed the same Bartholomew Bolney their attorney, to give him seizin. This sale was confirmed by a grant from the crown.**

In the Harl. MSS.^{††} there is, in the handwriting of Dugdale, a collection of papers relating to the Hastings family, and an elaborate history;; of the family, apparently drawn up by Dugdale, or under his superintendence, and from these documents we learn, that although Sir John Pelham had given up the rape, there were still disputes between him and the lord of

^{*} Horsfield's Sussex, vol. i, p. 433.

[†] Burr. MSS. 5679, fol. 9; and Collins's Baron., p. 347. ‡ Burr. MSS. 5679, fol. 12. § Rot. pat. et clau Burr. MSS. 5679, fol. 9. § Rot. pat. et claus, 1 Edw. IV.

Collins, in his Baron., p. 348, is wrong, therefore, in his conjecture that "this Sir J. Pelham, by being chamberlain to the queen, mother of King Henry VI, took part with the house of Lancaster against that of York, and King Edward IV prevailing, was forced to part with this barony, &c., to the said Lord Hastings, the chief favorite of that king and lord chamberlain of his household," for Sir John released all his interest in it in 1446, during Henry's reign, and not to William Lord Hastings, but to Sir Thomas Hoo.

^{**} Dugdale, in his Baronage (vol. i, p. 581), would seem to imply that the castle and rape were not purchased by Lord Hastings, but granted by the king, for after enumerating the grants of certain forfeited estates to Lord Hastings and his wife Catherine, and the heirs male of their two bodies, and for want of such issue to his right heirs, Dugdale goes on in the same paragraph to say, "the like grant he also obtained of the castle and rape of Hastings, in Com. Sussex;" this grant, however, was to himself and heirs (not to himself and wife) and was to confirm the purchase from the feoffees of Sir Thomas Hoo.

^{††} No. 3881. **‡‡** Nos. 4774 and 4849.

the honour, as to whether the manors were held under the honour. In the family history,* speaking of William, first Lord Hastings, of that family it is said, "In 5 Edward IV, being then possesst of ye castle, rape, & honor of Hastings, whereunto Sr John Pelham, Knt. did make title, there grew much variance betwixt him & the said Sr John Pelham touching the possession of ye manors of Crowhurst, Bourgherst, & Bevilham, wth their appurtenances, within the said honor, lordsp. & rape, as also for divers hundreds, &c., fines, amerciaments, courts, faires, liberties, etc., belonging to the said Sr John within that honor, he quitted to the said Sr John Pelham and his heirs all his right & claime thereto." By this Sir John Pelham's will it appears that these hundreds, &c. were the hundreds of Baldslow, Hawksborough, and Shoyswell, together with the forest and chase of Dalington. Thus ended the differences between the families of Pelham and Hastings.

The next difficulty in the descent has been the supposed seizure and subsequent forfeiture, in 9th Edward IV, by Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devon, who was beheaded on the 17th of August in that year, † for deserting the Earl of Pembroke; and here Dugdale, t on whose authority the statement rests, has made a gross error in quoting the escheat roll, for I have examined that roll, and the Earl of Devon is not found to have possessed any estate in Sussex. The MS. and printed calendars agree with the roll, and they agree also with other evidence, for no sooner did William Hastings become possessed than he exercised all the rights of ownership, and on the 10th February in this very year, 9th Edw. IV, he granted and enfeoffed, inter alia, "Castrum, honorem, rapam, et dominum de Hastings," and all his advowsons, &c., in Hastings, &c., to George Archbishop of York, and others, as feoffees for him: they continued feoffees till they released their right therein to him on the 27th April, 15th Edw. IV, whereupon he, on the 5th May following, made a new feoffment to Thomas (Bowchier) Lord Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, and others.

^{*} No. 4849, p. 44; and in No. 3881, p. 16, is an abstract of the deed.
† Horsfield's note, Sussex, vol. i, p. 446, is wrong as to his earlier death.
‡ Baron., vol. i, p. 173, quoting Esch., 9 Edw. 1V, n. 30, which, however, does not relate to Sussex.

[§] Harl. MSS., No. 3881, p. 16. || Ib., p. 19. ¶ Ib., p. 20.

This earl was beheaded by the Duke of Gloucester on Friday, 14th June, 1483: his will, dated 27th June, 1481, is extremely curious, and is printed at length in Nichols' Leicestershire.* His son Edward was restored to his estates. His grandson Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, upon the marriage of his son and heir, Henry, with Lady Catherine Dudley, one of the daughters of the Earl of Warwick, settled the honour and rape, then valued at £36, together with some estates in the county of Somerset, upon his son and Lady Catherine, and the heirs of the said Henry. Earl Francist died 20th June. 2d Eliz., and in the valuation of his estates in that year "the "honor de rape Hastings" is valued at £100. Henry, the last owner of the Huntingdon family, is thus described by Dugdale: He, "being a person of a gentle disposition, was so wrought upon by the Puritan party, as that he did not a little diminish his estate in cherishing that sort of people." He was a benefactor to the newly-founded college of Emmanuel at Cambridge, and to the poor of Leicester. In the 33d Eliz. (1591), he obtained a licence to alienate this rape, honour, and castle; and on the 23d June, 1591, in consideration of £2500, he conveyed them to Thomas Pelham, reserving to his heirs a free rent of £13 6s. 8d. per annum.

At what period the castle fell into decay is uncertain. The town was only partially fortified. In 1265 Simon de Montford preferred Winchelsea to Hastings for his retreat after his father's

^{*} Vol. iii, part 2, p. 560.

[†] There is one important historical circumstance connected with this Earl Francis which is not mentioned by Dugdale in his Baronage, but is to be found in his MS. history of the family. By the persuasion of the Earl of Warwick, and through their family connexion, Huntingdon joined Northumberland in his efforts to put Lady Jane Grey upon the throne. Lingard says, that when the list of persons to be proceeded against was shown to Mary, she struck out the name (amongst others) of Lord Huntingdon; but an indictment was found against him for high treason, though he found favour with Mary, and was never brought to trial. On the 4th November, 1553, the queen granted him a free pardon; on the 28th November she by writ commanded Thomas Bromley, chief justice, and the justices of the bench, not to award any process against him on the indictment; and on the 28th of January following made him lieutenant of the counties of Leicester. Warwick and Ranland which is not mentioned by Dugdale in his Baronage, but is to be found in his MS. following made him lieutenant of the counties of Leicester, Warwick, and Rutland. Harl. MSS., No. 3881, p. 44. His son also received a pardon from Mary for his father's treason.

[‡] Baron., vol. i, p. 589. § Among the Lans. MS Among the Lans. MSS. are a petition from him to the queen and three letters to Lord Burghley, complaining of his wasted means, and praying for an additional

^{||} Burr. MSS. 5679, fol. 12.

defeat at Evesham, and in 5th Edw. III, the dean and chapter of the king's free college, to protect their own property, prayed to be allowed to repair the walls of the castle, which had been devastated by the frequent inroads of the sea, and their petition was granted. In Richard II, when the French burnt a portion of the town and the church, the castle was useless as a protection. The fifth, sixth, and seventh Earls of Eu* resided for a long time at their Château d'Eu, and founded many monastic establishments in Normandy; and it is most probable that Hastings Castle was neglected, and fell into decay during the latter half of the twelfth century or the commencement of the thirteenth.

Beside the castle itself, the lords did not possess any large property within the town as it then existed. The royal free chapel within the walls of the castle was not theirs, and after the dissolution of that religious establishment, the site and rights were granted to Sir A. Browne, by whose descendant, Anthony, sixth Viscount Montague, they were conveyed, with Battle Abbey, to Sir Thomas Webster, in 1721.† The ecclesiastical patronage of the parishes in the town was not in the lord of the rape. The church of All Saints, and subsequently the two churches of All Saints and St. Clements, belonged to the abbey of Fiscamp, and a large portion of the land in those parishes, in and near the town, formed a portion of the manor of Brede, which was also part of the possessions of that abbev. The tenements within the town of Hastings still holden of that manor extend from the house of Mr. Amoore, at the southwestern corner of Court-house street and High street (formerly

^{*} Histoire des Comtes D'Eu, par L'Estancelin.

† Webster, Family Papers, p. 190; not, as stated by Horsfield, "in the reign of James I." By the Webster Papers, p. 154, it appears that on the 4th of October, 1638, Francis Viscount Montague, and others, leased to William Carr, of Mountague, and other will be will b Claristopher Dowe was presented by the king to All Saints. (Rymer, vol. xx, p. 127.)

Neither Dowe's nor Carr's name appears in the lists of rectors of All Saints and

St. Clements, given by Moss, pp. 108, 122.

‡ In the Webster papers, p. 176, are the accounts from 1729 to 1740 of the incumbent of All Saints, St. Clement's, and the Castle parishes, showing what tithes were paid to him. Among them are the receipts of the tithes of the Yarmouth, mackerel. and herring fisheries. Some contributed a whole share, others three fourths only, and there is a memorandum that the minister can demand but three fourths of a share; the other is a free gift from the master and company.

known as the Maidenhead Inn, and where the adjourned courts baron for Brede have been heretofore held), eastward along the south side of High street; and through Court-house street, including the new gaol, into All Saints street, to the great meadow on the Minnis rock: the Totty lands, on part of which is the reservoir of the waterworks, and the Grange form part. The fact that when Henry III, in 1248, for state purposes, resumed possession of the towns of Rye and Winchelsea, he left the lordship of Brede, including so large a part of the town of Hastings, in the abbot's hands, proves the small importance at that time of the castle and town of Hastings as a national defence. The abbot* continued to hold the manor till the dissolution of alien priories, when it was granted with Stening, &c. to the newly-found monastery of Syon, and at the dissolution of that monastery, it was valued at the large sum of £50 16s. 8d. In 33 Henry VIII, Sir A. Browne, who had previously had a grant of Battle Abbey, obtained a grant of this manor. Up to that time the ownership of the hundred of Gostrow and manor of Brede had been quite distinct from that of the hundred of Battle: the hundred of Gostrow+ has the same privileges as Battle, but the court of Brede is not, as stated by Camden in his 'Britannia,' and by the author of 'Magna Britannia' following him, a branch of Battle. Sir A. Browne died 1548, his son, Anthony, possessed Brede from 9th to 35th of Elizabeth, and the latter's widow, Magdalen, from 35th to 41st of Elizabeth.‡ From that time the court rolls are imperfect till 1670, but the entries in those preserved, show courts to have been holden in 1639 and 1640 for John Henden; 1650-51, &c. for Charles Tufton, and Sarah, his wife, before Richard Kilburne, the topographer of Kent, whose signature appears to the rolls of these and other years; in 1670, for Thomas Bristow: from 1677 to 1690, for Thomas Bromfield, of Odymer, of which

^{*} In 16th Edward I, the abbot had a dispute with the tenants as to the customs of this manor; the suit was tried before the justices itinerant, when it was found that, according to the custom of the manor, if women, after the death of their first or other husband, married again, they lost their dower out of their former husband's estate. Harl. MSS., No. 744, p. 155.

† Within the hundred is the borough of Smegle, which has separate head-

boroughs, &c.

[†] Court Rolls, Penes, W.D.C. § He was also steward of Bodiam.

family was Sir Edward Bromfield, fishmonger, lord mayor of London in 1637.* From 1690 to 1712, for his son, Thomas Bromfield; and in 1712 for French Bromfield, from whom, about 1717, Spencer Compton purchased this and Odymer; in his family it remained till 1843, when William Henry, Earl of Burlington, sold the hundred of Gostrow, the manor of Brede and lands in Udimore, to Thomas Cooper Langford, and he dying in 1845, unmarried, this manor, &c. came to

his brother John, the present lord. †

Mr. Holloway, in his 'History of Rye' (pp. 527-8), states, on the authority of the Rev. Edward Wilson, vicar there in 1700, that the vicarage of Rye was annexed to the manor of Brede; but it was not so annexed. When Henry III resumed possession of the town, he left the vicarage of Rye with the abbot of Fiscamp, who was also lord of Brede; and it is most probable that, on the dissolution of the alien monasteries, the right of presentation was granted with Brede to Lyon monastery, and thence passed through the Brownes to the Bromfields, Comptons, and Cavendishes; and though the manor of Brede and the patronage of Rye vicarage passed together, they were not annexed.

^{*} Strype's Stow's Survey, 6. 5. p. 143, and Hayley MSS. Addl. MSS., 6350. † In 21 Edward I, William de Echingham obtained a charter of free-warren for his lands in Brede: they were distinct from the manor, which was the abbot of Fiscamp's, and were the lands afterwards of Oxenbridges, and now of the Frewens. It was to the mansion of the Echinghams that Edward III and his queen went after the victorious battle of Winchelsea, on the 29th August (24 Edward III), 1350, against the Spaniards. The queen, with her attendants, is recorded to have seen the whole of the battle from the hills of the coast; and after the decisive engagement, Froissart says that the ships anchored at Rye and Winchelsea a little after nightfall, when the king, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Richmond, and other barons, disembarked and rode to the mansion, where the queen was, scarcely two English leagues distant. An illuminated engraving of this fight is to be found in "A record of the Black Prince, by Henry Noel Humphries. Lond. Longman and Co. 1848."

HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTICES

OF THE

IRON WORKS OF THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

By Mr. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

Among the objects of archæological research indicated in his introductory paper, by our esteemed Honorary Secretary, as worthy of the particular notice of members of this Society, were the manufactures formerly carried on in Sussex, especially that of Iron. In responding to Mr. Blaauw's suggestion, I am but putting into execution a design I have long entertained of collecting materials for a memoir on that branch of industrial art in this county.

Before entering on my task it is necessary to premise that the strata which produced the iron ore lie in the central portion of the Wealden formation, in the vast beds of sandstone constituting what is provincially called the Forest Ridge, and known among geologists as the Hastings Sand. These beds extend from Hastings, inland, in a direction nearly west, and form a ridge of elevated land, the course of which will be easily indicated by naming Ashburnham, Heathfield, Crowborough, Ashdown Forest, Worth, Tilgate Forest, and St. Leonard's Forest as prominent points, the loftiest being Crowborough, which attains an elevation of 804 feet above the level This formation, which stretches on one hand to of the ocean. within a few miles of the chalk ridge known as the South Downs, and on the other, to within a similar distance of the chalk hills of Kent and Surrey, was, in the earliest periods of historical record, one vast forest, designated Coit Andred, Andred's-Wald, or the Forest of Anderida. In the still more remote periods, the investigation of which belongs to geological science, it was first overflowed by the waters of an immense river, then submerged by those of a profound ocean, and, lastly, elevated by successive deposits to its existing form. It was in the first of these periods that the ferruginous matter, which was afterwards to become so useful for the purposes of mankind, had its origin. In a private letter with which I have been favoured by Dr. Mantell, that distinguished geologist remarks:

"It is a very interesting fact that all our principal iron works obtained their metal from the ferruginous clays and sands of the Wealden; in other words, from iron produced by vegetable and animal decomposition in the bed and delta of a mighty river, which flowed through countries inhabited by the Iguanodon and other colossal reptiles."*

Our western geologist, P. J. Martin, Esq., whose opinion

will also be received with great respect, observes:

"It appears to me that the ore in the Forest Ridge was the clay iron-stone of the 'Wealden beds.' At the western extremity of the district it is thought that the ferruginous sands of the 'Lower Greensand' were used; but in the clay country of the Weald I have found sufficient evidence of the exclusive use of a comparatively recent concretion—a kind of 'bogiron,' frequently turned up by the plough, and called *iron rag*. It is composed of clay, gravel, and perhaps about 25 or 30 per cent. of oxide of iron, and is a superficial and fragmentary formation—a recent 'pudding-stone.'"

To all who are acquainted with Sussex history, there is no fact more familiar than the former existence, to a great extent, of the manufacture of iron within its limits. Of the history of the trade, however, little has hitherto been known, or, if known, certainly never presented to public notice. Its origin was still further shrouded in mystery, and whether it should be assigned to the fifth, the tenth, or the fifteenth century was a matter of total uncertainty; and so it might have remained for years to come, but for the archæological acumen of a valued member of our Society. To the Rev. Edward Turner we are indebted for the discovery of the highly interesting fact, that it dates so far back as the period of the Roman dominion in Britain.

^{*} Dr. Mantell adds: "The great coal-field of Hanover is in the Wealden formation. What a pity that the forests of the Iguanodon country which furnished the materials of those carboniferous strata drifted so far north! Had it not been so, we should have had abundance of coal in our Wealds, and Sussex might have furnished rivals to Manchester and Birmingham."

A most agreeable and important illustration of the familiar truth that archæology is the best handmaid of history is furnished by Mr. Turner's researches. The maid, indeed, has, in this case, been more trustworthy than her mistress, for history has transmitted us no record to show that the Romans were acquainted with the ferruginous riches of our wealds, and it was left for the inductions of archæology to supply the omission. In the year 1844 Mr. Turner observed, upon a heap of cinders,* laid ready for use by the side of the London road, a small fragment of pottery, which on examination proved to be Roman. His curiosity having been excited by so unusual a circumstance, Mr. Turner ascertained, on inquiry, that the cinders had been dug upon Old Land Farm, in his own parish of Maresfield, and immediately contiguous to Buxted. He at once visited the spot, and found that the workmen engaged in the digging were exposing to view the undoubted remains of a Roman settlement.

The place in question is the site of one of the innumerable fields of iron scoriæ marking the localities of the extinct furnaces and forges of the Sussex weald. The bed was originally of great extent, no less than six or seven acres of it (varying in depth from two to ten feet) having been already removed for the useful purpose referred to in the note. A few days previously to Mr. Turner's visit, the labourers had opened, in the middle of this field, a kind of grave, about twelve feet in depth, at the bottom of which lay a considerable quantity of broken Roman pottery, evidently the remains of a regular funeral deposit. The superincumbent stratification was as follows: the ground had been excavated, first, through about one foot of earth, then through a layer of cinders, two feet in thickness, and, lastly, through about eight or nine feet of earth. The cavity had been filled up entirely with cinders.

The digging had been carried on many months previously to Mr. Turner's investigations. About two years before, the foundations of a building, measuring, according to the statement of the workmen, about 30 feet by 12, were uncovered. They were very rudely constructed of stone, and lay about six

^{*} The scoriæ of the disused furnaces are called cinders, and are much employed for the repair of turnpike and other roads. That they have long borne this somewhat improper name appears not only from documents of ancient date, but from the designations of many localities in the iron district, as Cinderford, Cinderhill, Cindersgill, &c.

feet beneath the surface. A human skeleton, in a very perfect state, was discovered at the same time, but crumbled to dust

on exposure to the air.

Mr. Barratt, the surveyor, by whom the workmen are employed, informs me that he has seen several skeletons exhumed from the cinder-bed, in which the bodies had been interred as in ordinary soil. If these were Roman interments—which can scarcely be questioned—we are led to suppose that they were made long subsequently to the original deposit of scoriæ, since a recently-formed cinder-bed would have been a very unlikely spot to be selected for the burial of the dead. The fair inference from these considerations is, that the iron works at this place were carried on by the Romans during a long series of years.

So extremely numerous are the remains of Roman pottery on the spot, that scarcely a barrow-load of cinders is driven out that does not contain several fragments of it. Hardly any of the vessels have been found entire, a circumstance not to be wondered at, when we consider the fragile nature of the articles, and the great weight of the superincumbent cinders.

At the Society's annual meeting, held at Lewes in August last, I had the pleasure of exhibiting a collection of the various articles discovered during the progress of the digging: it is hardly necessary to add that many others had been overlooked, while many more had been thrown away as useless by the labourers, or sold for a trifle to casual passers-by, previously to the examination of the spot by competent observers. The objects most worthy of attention which have been rescued from destruction are—

1. Coins, in first-brass, of Nero, Vespasian, and Tetricus, and a fragment, much oxidized, of one of Dioclesian. Some have undergone the action of fire, and cannot be identified. The Vespasian is of the most common occurrence.*

* The coms which I have inspected are as follows.

Nero (A.D. 54-68), two.

Vespasian (69-79), about eight or ten.

Tetricus (circ. 274), one.

Dioclesian (284-286), one or two.

Of those which cannot be appropriated, some may belong to the intervening emperors. Until recently, the labourers have regarded these valuable relies as "old belfrence." and according to their own unsophisticated statement, "chucked" "old halfpence;" and, according to their own unsophisticated statement, "chucked" them away, "because the letters on 'em was pretty near rubbed out!"

^{*} The coins which I have inspected are as follows:

2. A brass fibula. Portions of other fibulæ, and of

armillæ, were noticed by Mr. Turner.

3. Fragments of coarse fictile vessels, principally domestic. The pottery of this kind is in great quantities, and of great variety as regards shape, colour, and fineness. Several fragments of the vessels known as *mortaria* have the potters' names boldly stamped upon them, particularly IVCVN (for Jucundus?) and EVAI.

4. Fragments of fine red or Samian ware, both figured and plain. Several of these likewise bear potters' marks or stamps, particularly OF. (officinâ) MIRAVI, and IVAN or IVANI.



Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 is a beautiful shallow cup, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and adorned upon the rim with the peculiar ornament of such frequent occurrence on Roman ware, and generally believed to represent the ivy-leaf.

Figures 2 and 3 are also fragments of Samian. The man in Fig. 3 appears to be in the act of throwing the discus, a

well-known Roman game.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

I have caused these objects to be engraved, less from the idea that they exhibit any peculiarity, than for the purpose of proving that their workmanship is unquestionably Roman.

5. Fragments of glass.

- 6. Pieces of sheet-lead full of nail-holes, some of which had fragments of wood adhering to them. Much broken brick was also found.
- 7. An implement of mixed metal, very hard; probably a stylus.



Fig. 4. (Length $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

In the absence of further evidence, I am unwilling to speculate largely upon the date of the commencement of these iron works; but, from the preponderance of the coins of Vespasian, we may hazard a conjecture that it took place during the reign of that emperor, or his successor, Titus, at a time when Agricola, then governor of Britain, was successfully introducing the arts of civilization into this island. That the works were still carried forward in Dioclesian's time is clear, from the coin of that monarch.

It is worthy of remark, that the Romans would appear, so far at least as the evidence of the discovery under notice goes, to have been but imperfectly acquainted with the art of smelting ores. The scoriæ at Maresfield retain a far greater proportion of the metal than the cinders of other beds in the neighbourhood, and are, on that account, much more valuable

for the purpose of road-making.

Since the discoveries at Maresfield, I have been furnished with further proofs of the fact that the Romans availed themselves of the iron of Sussex. From the information of Robert Mercer, Esq., of Sedlescombe, it appears that many Roman coins have been found in a cinder-bed in that parish, on the land of Richard Smith, Esq. They have generally been greatly corroded, and some have evidently been burnt, as at Maresfield. All knowledge of the fact that iron works had ever existed on the spot was lost until the discovery of the cinder-bed. Roman coins have also been met with upon the

site of iron works on the property of Hercules Sharpe, Esq., at Westfield, in the same neighbourhood. I am also assured that fragments of pottery, apparently Roman, were found, some years since, in a cinder-bed in the parish of Chiddingly.

It is not improbable that the iron of Sussex was wrought in times even anterior to the conquest of this island by the Romans. Previously to the advent of Cæsar, the inhabitants of Britain must have made a considerable advance in the arts of civilization. To have subjugated the horse, and to have made such proficiency in many of the details of military science as the conqueror of Gaul found to his cost that they possessed, may well assert for them a degree of refinement quite at variance with the too-generally received opinion, that they were mere savages and barbarians. If the use of iron be taken as the point at which pure barbarism ends and civilization begins, the Ancient Britons had certainly passed that point, as the formidable scythes attached to the axles of their chariots sufficiently prove, to say nothing of the chariots themselves, which obviously were not made without the use of iron tools. Cæsar mentions that the currency of the people consisted partly of iron rings, adjusted to a certain weight (utuntur aut ære aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo), and, as he states, in the same breath. that their brass was imported, (*@re utuntur importato*,) it may reasonably be inferred that their iron was of home manufacture. And, assuming that such was the case, the iron of our wealds could hardly have escaped notice.

However great the error of Cæsar in asserting that Britain produced but little iron (Nascitur ibi in maritimis [regionibus] Ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia*), his allusion is useful as proving his knowledge of the fact that the island was not destitute of this invaluable mineral. And how he became acquainted with that fact, except from the information of the Britons themselves, it would be difficult to determine. It may be further remarked that the "maritime regions" referred to by him were, in all probability, the wealds of Kent and Sussex.

The extent of the knowledge of the Romans with regard to

^{*} De Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 12.

the mineral productions of Britain in those after times when their power was well established here, is a subject worthy of a fuller investigation than has hitherto been made. Tacitus tells us that Britain produces "gold, silver, and other metals;" Pliny alludes to the smelting of iron in this province; and Solinus not only mentions the British iron, but specifies the agricultural and other implements fabricated from it in his time. The researches of modern geology and

archæology have confirmed these statements.

Sir H. T. de la Beche has found gold in the quartz formation of Gogofau, near Lampeter, in the vicinity of a traditional Roman settlement. Enormous mounds of broken and pounded quartz remain to attest the labour expended in the acquisition of the precious metal. (Vide Thoughts on Ancient Metallurgy, &c. by John Phillips, Esq., F.R.S., G.S. Yorkshire Philos. Soc., March, 1848.) Silver is still found in Devonshire and Cornwall; and it was probably there that the silver mentioned by Tacitus was procured. The tin of Cornwall (the album plumbum of Cæsar and Pliny) was known before the very name of Rome existed. Pigs of lead, stamped with Roman inscriptions, have frequently been found in Derbyshire and elsewhere. Four such pigs of British lead were found at Pulborough, in this county, in 1824. Our copper, too, was well known to the Romans, and, as I believe, to the primitive Celtic race who preceded them. A due admixture of this metal with tin forms the imperishable bronze of which the instruments called "celts" composed.

With regard to the seven or eight centuries which succeeded the departure of the Romans from Britain, history and archæology seem alike silent on the subject of Sussex iron. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that the Romanized Britons retained this most useful art of smelting and working iron, and that the Anglo-Saxons, after them, continued it upon the old sites. Further examinations of our cinder-beds may hereafter bring to light Romano-British and Saxon remains, and prove for those peoples what Maresfield has proved for the Romans. In the meantime we are perhaps justified in assuming that, when so valuable and necessary a manufacture had been once introduced, it would be retained so long

as the three essentials for its perpetuation, the ore, the fuel, and the flux, continued in sufficient abundance of supply; in other words, that the iron trade of Sussex was carried on uninterruptedly from Roman times till its extinction, in consequence of the failure of fuel, almost within our own recollection.

It is proper, however, to observe, that the trade, if in existence here at the date of Doomsday Book, was very unimportant, since that invaluable record makes no mention of iron under the county of Sussex, though it does under those of Somerset, Hereford, Gloucester, Cheshire, and Lincoln.

Perhaps the earliest actual record of the iron trade in Sussex is contained in the murage-grant made by Henry III to the town of Lewes.* This grant, which is dated 1266, empowers the inhabitants to raise tolls for the repair of the town walls after the battle.† Every cart laden with iron from the neighbouring Weald, for sale, paid one penny toll, and every horse-load of iron, half that sum. From that period we have data, however slight, for the history of the manufacture.

In 1290 a payment was made for the iron work of the monument of Henry III in Westminster Abbey, to Master Henry of Lewes.‡ Some years previously, the name of a Master Henry of Lewes, probably the same person, appears in

connexion with iron work for the king's chamber.

In 7th Edward I, iron appears to have been smelted on St. Leonard's Forest, and the works were afterwards carried on by the Crown. In 1300, according to Stowe, | the ferrones, or ironmongers of London, made complaint to Elia Russell, mayor of London, that the smiths of the wealds (fabri de waldis) brought in irons for wheels, which were much shorter than they ought, according to custom, to be, to the great

^{*} A letter, written between the years 1233-1244 to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, by his steward, Simon de Senliz, appears to militate against the existence of the iron trade, at least in the western part of the county, at that period. It relates to an order from the bishop to one H. de Kynard for the purchase of iron ("x marcas de minuto ferro, si inveniri potest, sive autem, v marcas de grosso, et v marcas de minuto ferro"), to be procured in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, and thence conveyed to the domus hospitis at Winehester; an order which would scarcely have been necessary, if the iron works which in the next century we find within a faw miles of Chichester, had then been in operation. The letter is among the a few miles of Chichester, had then been in operation. The letter is among the Tower MSS., No. 677. Transcribed by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
† Blaauw's Baron's War. Horsfield's Lewes.
† Househ. Exp. Rot. Mis. 56, 17.
§ Devon's Issues of Excheq.

scandal and loss of the whole trade of ironmongers; and required a remedy, which was accordingly granted. From some incidental notices occurring about this period, it appears that the iron manufactured near the Sussex coast was conveyed to London by water—a proof of the impassable state of

the roads in those days.

In the 13th year of Edward II, Peter de Walsham, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, by virtue of a precept from the king's exchequer, made a provision of horse-shoes, and nails of different sorts (providencias de ferris equorum et clavis pro eisdem, diversimode fabrice), for the expedition against the Scots. The number furnished on the occasion was 3000 horse-shoes and 29,000 nails, and the expense of their purchase, from various places within the sheriff's jurisdiction, and their delivery in London, by the hands of John de Norton, clerk, was £14 13s, 10d.*

The Nonæ return for the parish of Lynch in Western Sussex, proves the existence of the iron trade there in 1342. It also affords an early instance of metals being subject to tithes: "Item, decima ferri ecclesiæ prædictæ valet per annum decem solidi." The rector likewise received ten

shillings for the tithe of iron ore. †

A curious specimen of the iron manufacture of the fourteenth century, and, as far as my own observation extends, the oldest existing article produced by our foundries, occurs in Burwash church. It is a cast-iron slab, with an ornamental cross, and an inscription in relief. In the opinion of several eminent antiquaries, it may be regarded as unique for the style and period. The inscription is much injured by long exposure to the attrition of human feet. The letters are Longobardic, and the legend appears, on a careful examination, to be:—

ORATE P. ANNEMA JHONE COLINE (or COLINS).

" Pray for the soul of Joan Collins."

Of the identity of the individual thus commemorated I have been unable to glean any particulars. In all probability she was a member of the ancient Sussex family of Collins, subsequently seated at Socknersh, in the adjacent parish of Bright-

† Dallaway's Rape of Chichester, p. 300.

^{*} Wardrobe Account, Edward II. Carlton Ride MSS., transcribed by W. H. Blaauw, Esq.



IRON MONUMENTAL SLAB,
BURWASE, SUSSEX.

ling, where, in common with many of the neighbouring gentry, they carried on the manufacture of iron, at a place still known as Socknersh Furnace.**

The manufacture probably continued to increase during the fifteenth century, though that supposition is based more upon the flourishing state in which we find the trade in the early part of the sixteenth, than upon documentary evidence or archæological remains. A few relics of the latter portion of this period are, however, to be met with. Among these should probably be included a singular object, preserved at the archiepisco-

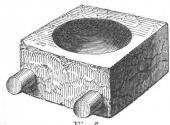


Fig 6.

pal palace of Mayfield, to which my attention has kindly been drawn by Albert Way, Esq., who conjectures it to be a mustard-mill. It is about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, with a hemispherical basin, at the bottom of which is a circular hole, an inch in diameter. It has four projections, like

handles, by which it was probably worked. To this date also belong a few of the andirons and chimney-backs, which remain to attest the taste and skill of our local founders. The

accompanying cut (Fig. 7) represents one of a pair of andirons from Eastbourne, now in my possession. From the form of the shield, upon which the sacred monogram the appears, it probably belongs to the reign of Edward IV. Another specimen of the same type was formerly preserved at Netherfield Toll farmhouse, in the parish of Battel. At Michelham Priory are a pair of andirons of extremely interesting character, which are believed to have formerly occupied the curious antique chimney-piece in the apartment traditionally known

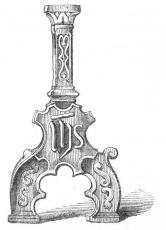


Fig. 7.

^{*} At the Lewes meeting, in August last, I had the pleasure of exhibiting a drawing of this interesting relic, where it excited much attention. I was

as the "Prior's Chamber." They terminate in a human



Fig. 8.

head, and the fashion of the head-dress fixes their date not later than the reign of Henry VII (Fig. 8). The series of Sussex andirons ranges from the end of the fifteenth century to that of the seventeenth, or later, and during the whole of that period a regular decadence in the style of their devices is strikingly observable. In many of the old farmhouses, where, either from motives of economy, or from a predilection for old manners, the good wife, like the one celebrated by Horace,—

" Sacrum *vetustis* exstruat *lignis* focum, Lassi sub adventum viri,"—

these venerable and picturesque articles of furniture retain the post they have occupied for centuries. And could the uncouth heads, with which they are frequently decorated, open their mouths to reveal the forgotten past, how many a tale could they unfold of the scenes of homely felicity and of domestic wretchedness, which have transpired around them!* The chimney-backs are not generally of so ancient a date as the andirons, though one or two specimens may probably be referred to the fifteenth century. Others of a later style have some details belonging to this period, proving that the founders preserved the models which had been employed by their predecessors. Thus a "back" at Buxted (belonging to Mr. T. Wickens), which bears the badge and initials of Queen Elizabeth, is decorated with a band composed of grapes and vine-leaves, in a running pattern, belonging to a considerably earlier date; and I have met with similar instances elsewhere.

subsequently applied to by our member, the Rev. C. Boutell, M.A., of Downham Market, for a loan of the drawing, and that gentleman deemed it of sufficient interest for an engraving in his work on sepulchral monuments. The Society is indebted to him for the use of the accompanying heartiful woodcut.

terest for an engraving in his work on sepulchral monuments. The Society is indebted to him for the use of the accompanying beautiful woodcut.

* I employ the word Andiron as a term generally known. The Promptorium Parvulorum has "Awnderne, Awndyryn, Awndyrn." See Way's Prompt. Parv. Camd. Soc. in voc. The etymology is uncertain. In Sussex, the word more generally employed is either Brand-dogs, or Brand-irons, the latter from the Anglo-Saxon "Brand-isen," or "Brand-iren;" an interesting example of the local retention of an ancient word which has grown out of general use.

The sacred monogram the occurs on the shield, which is almost uniformly introduced into the design of the andirons, up to the time of the Reformation, when it is generally superseded by a coat of arms, or some other device. Fig. 9 is one of a pair belonging to Mr. Wickens, of Buxted, and was probably cast in the early part of the sixteenth century. At the Sergisson's Arms public-house, Hayward's Heath, is a very large pair, ornamented in a rather singular manner (Fig. 10). The shield, which occupies the ordinary position at the insertion of the legs, bears the arms of France, a favourite device

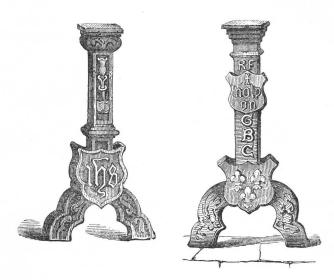


Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

on our iron works; and above it, on another shield attached to the pillar or stem of the andiron, is the legend \mathcal{F} holp on. The letters R.F. above, and the G.B.C. below, may be the initials of the founder, and of the person for whom they were made, with, perhaps, that of his place of residence. With respect to the meaning of the legend, there is much scope for conjecture: perhaps it should be read "Jesus Holy One." If this be a correct interpretation, it affords another instance of the vulgar misapprehension of the meaning of the Greek IH Σ , the very ancient contraction of In $\sigma o \tilde{v}_{\xi}$, corrupted during the middle ages to I.H.S or \hat{v}_{ξ} , and interpreted to signify

"Jesus, hominum Salvator." Sometimes the Σ was taken to be a \mathfrak{r} , and the \mathfrak{fhr} was read "Jesus hominum Consolator." These misapprehensions originated with the clergy, who were, in those days, generally unacquainted with Greek; but the vulgar, who were equally unlearned in Latin, had their reading also, and made I.H.S. stand for "Jesus Holy Saviour," which is still retained as its meaning by the illiterate in Sussex. When the monogram took the form of \mathfrak{fhr} , the last letter might be easily mistaken for an \mathfrak{o} , and in this way, I am disposed to believe, the founder made it the initial of "one," and thus developed a new theory upon this div vexata questio by producing the "Jesus Holy One" upon this andiron.

To return to the history of the manufacture; there is little doubt that ordnance was made in this county in the fifteenth century. It is believed that some of the old banded guns of wrought iron preserved in the Tower of London, and elsewhere, and dating so far back as the reign of Henry VI, were of Sussex manufacture. In the tenth volume of the 'Archæologia,'* is an engraving, from a drawing by James Lambert, jun., of a mortar, formerly at Eridge Green, in the parish of Frant, and the account given of it is as follows:

"It has always been understood that this mortar was the first that was made in England. [It] now lies at Eridge Green, and has served for many years for the amusement of the people on a holiday or fair-day, when they collect money to buy gunpowder to throw the shell to a hill about a mile distant. The weight of the shell sinks it so deep into the earth, that it costs no little pains to dig it out after each discharge, which is repeated as long as the money lasts. The chamber of the gun is cast-iron, the other part, as is evident, wrought."

From the engraving, the chamber appears to have been polygonal, and the tube to have consisted of many small bars or rods, bound together by nine hoops. This was the original method of constructing these tremendous engines of war.† A

^{*} Page 472 (June, 1790).

[†] For a very able and interesting account of ancient ordnance, see a paper by C. D. Archibald, Esq., F.R.A.S., &c., in Archæologia, vol. xxviii, p. 373. Our historians generally assert that cannon were first employed at the battle of Crecy, in 1346; but Mr. Archibald adduces strong reasons for the belief that they had been previously used by Edward III in his expedition against the Scots in 1327.

French writer, St. Remy, says, "Qu'elles ne consistoient qu'en de fortes tables de fer qu'on disposoit à peu près cylindriquement, les serront avec de cercles de fer."* There can be no reasonable doubt that the Eridge gun was of Sussex manufacture; and it is equally probable that many, if not most, of the pieces employed by our armies in the continental wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the productions of our iron works.

These hooped guns were at length superseded by cannons cast in an entire piece, and bored, as at the present day. The invention of gun-founding is ascribed to the French, who appear to have used cast pieces many years before the introduction of the art into this country. The first iron cannons cast in England were manufactured at Buxted, in this county, by Ralph Hoge or Hogge, in 1543 (35 Henry VIII).† This founder employed, as his assistant, Peter Baude, a Frenchman, whom he had probably brought over to teach him the improved method; and Peter Van Collet, a Flemish gunsmith, about the same time, "devised and cast mortar pieces from 11 to 19 inches bore; for the use whereof they caused to be made bombs, or certain hollow shot, of cast iron, to be stuffed with fireworks, &c. And after the king's return from Bullen, the said Peter Bawd, by himself, in 1 Edward VI; made ordnance of cast iron, of divers sorts, as fawconets, fawcons, minions, sakers, and other pieces." It seems that Baude's connexion with Hogge was of no long continuance; for we find that "John Johnson, covenant servant to the said P. Bawd, succeeded and exceeded his master in this his art of casting ordnance, making them cleaner and to better perfection. And his son, Thomas Johnson, a special workman, in and before the year 1595, made 42 cast pieces of great ordnance of iron, for the Earl of Cumberland, weighing 6000 lbs., or three tons a-piece." t Whether Sussex was the scene of these operations, however, does not appear.

The family of Hogge resided at a place near Buxted Church, called, from their rebus or "name-device," still existing over

^{**} Artillerie, 1, viii, quoted in Archæologia, vol. xxviii, p. 380. † Holinshed, ii, 960.—'Bucksteed.' ‡ Hayley's MSS., British Museum.

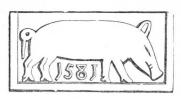


Fig. 11.

the front door, the Hog-house, and now the property of the Earl of Liverpool. They were connected with the business of gun-founding for at least three generations. About the 16th of Elizabeth (1574), Bryan Hogg

held the office of Clerk of the Deliveries, with a fee of £18 5s. per annum; and his successor was George Hogg.*

The name of Hogge or Hoggé seems to have been confounded with that of Huggett; and there is a place on the confines of Buxted and Mayfield, called Hugget's Furnace, where, according to tradition, the first iron ordnance was cast. The traditionary distich that

"Master Huggett and his man John, They did east the first Can-non,"

is firmly believed in the locality.

But to return: Peter Baude, the associate of Ralph Hogge, did not limit his exertions to iron pieces. Some fine specimens of brass or "gun-metal" ordnance from his hand are still extant. One John Owen, it seems, had, at a somewhat earlier date (1521, Stowe-1535, Camden), made great brass ordnance, as cannons and culverines. T Whether this man did not succeed, or whether he died previously to 1543, is not mentioned, but at that date Baude was busily engaged in the fabrication of brass guns, two of which still remain in the Tower of London collection. One of these is an elegant octagonal piece, adorned with the royal arms, the fleur-de-lis, and the king's initial "H," surmounted by a crown, with the date 1543, and the initial of the founder's name, "B," over

^{*} Strype's Stowe's London, vol. i, p. 107.

[†] As an instance of the tenacity with which families sometimes adhere to a

particular vocation, it may be mentioned that many persons of the name of Huggett still carry on the trade of blacksmiths in East Sussex.

† "There are now at Woolwich several guns lately recovered from the wreck of the 'Mary Rose,' which was sunk at Spithead in 1545; and among them two large brass cannons, the one a 68, the other a 24 pounder, which, in beauty of design and workmanship, are equal to anything that could be produced in the present day."—Archæologia (ut supra).

the touch-hole.* The other is a very fine specimen of the "triple-chambert piece," which was unfortunately broken into several pieces, and otherwise mutilated, by the fire of 1841. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and has three bores, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter. Its upper surface is ornamented with the Tudor badge of the rose and crown, the latter supported by Cupids; and with the kind of arabesque device prevalent at this period. Beneath the badge is the legend—

> HENRICVS OCTAVVS DEI GRACIA ANGLIE ET FRANCIE REX FIDEI DEFENSOR DNS HIBERIE;

near the muzzle,

POVR DEFENDRE;

and at the opposite end-

PETRVS . BAVDE . GALLVS . OPERIS . ARTIFEX.‡

Among the Battel Abbey Deeds is a document called 'Westalle's Book of Pannyngrydge, A' regni Regis Hen. VIII, xxxviij" (1546). It is the account-book of some iron-master, and exhibits his expenditure in carrying on an extensive trade during the year indicated. Among the items are, payments made to the wood-cutters for "coards" of wood, at 3d. per coard. The "collears," or charcoal-burners, were paid in wood, and money for coals, at the rate of 22d. per load. There are also charges for the carriage of coals out of Pannyngrydge, Olyver's Wood, and Asyldey, at 4d. and 6d. a load; and for the "moyne digged out of Pannyngrydge." "Moyne" was, of course, the iron ore, still called "iron-mine,"

* Hewitt's History of the Tower, 12mo, 1841.

‡ I would suggest the desirableness of an accurate engraving of this gun, with a more minute description of it, in a future volume of the "Collections."

§ Formerly in the possession of the Webster family, now in that of Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill; a most valuable collection of Sussex MSS., bound in 97 folio volumes.

[↑] A chamber-piece is a gun which, instead of receiving its charge at the muzzle, has an opening or chamber near the opposite extremity, in which the powder and ball, properly secured, were deposited. It is worthy of mention here, that the ancient family of *De la Chambre* or *Chambers* (of Chambers' Court, in Laughton, temp. Edw. II, of Chambers' Court, in Littlington, temp. Henry VIII, and of Hall Place, in Rodmill, temp. Car. I), bore three "chamber-pieces" in their arms, in allusion to their name.

and giving name to many spots, as "Mine-pit Field," "Mine-pit Shaw," &c. The price of digging was 7d. per load; and many payments to "Black Jack," and others, occur in these accounts. Several sums are paid to Warnet, the founder, and to Anthony, the "filler." One entry shows the locality where these operations were carried on:

"For carying of lodes of sand from Pannyngrydge unto my forge at $\it Roberts-bridge$, at xvjd, the lode."

There are further sums paid to Mr. Chanceller for the farm of his woods at Pannyngrydge, and to the parson of *Penherst* for the farm of the *phurner* (furnace) pond there, and for tithe. Also for the hewing and felling of timber, "for drawing of timbre to the saw-stage," &c. The accounts close with an entry of vs. vd. paid "for a wrytte and a warrant for Jackson,

the carpenter."*

The manufacture of heavy ordnance gave a great impulse to the iron trade. Many foreigners were brought over to carry on the works. This perhaps may account for the number of Frenchmen and Germans whose names appear in our parish registers about the middle of the sixteenth century. New works were established, and ultimately almost every landed proprietor in the districts where the ore was found became an iron-master. Among the persons engaged in the trade at this period was Richard Woodman, one of the ten Protestant martyrs burnt at Lewes in 1557. He was a native of Buxted, where he probably learned the business. At the time of his apprehension, at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he resided at Warbleton, and carried on an extensive trade. In one of his examinations before the Bishop of Winchester, he says, "Let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children, to see them kept, and other poore folke that I would set aworke, by the helpe of God. I have set aworke a hundreth persons, ere this, all the yeare together."† Several Sussex families, enriched by the iron manufacture, assumed the rank of gentry about this time.

This rapid growth of the trade in the wealds of Sussex and Kent was viewed with disfavour by many. Archbishop Parker,

† John Foxe, Acts and Mon., Ed. 1570, p. 2192.

 $^{\ ^*}$ Vide Thorpe's Descriptive Catalogue of the Muniments of Battel Abbey, 8vo, London, 1835.

writing to Queen Elizabeth, in 1570, says, "Sir Richard Sackville intends, as I was credibly informed, in this wood [Longbeech Wood, in Westwell, Kent] to erect up certain iron mills, which plague, if it shall come into the country. I

fear it will breed much grudge and desolation."*

About 1572 much ordnance was exported, in consequence of the Lord Admiral having granted a license for that purpose to Sir Thomas Leighton, who had made use of one Garret Smith to obtain it of the admiral, and who was, in return for his intervention, to enjoy the deputyship, with a fourth part of the profits; "but the merchants of London, knowing how this might furnish the enemies' ships to obstruct their trade, and bring other great damages upon the queen and her subjects, petitioned her, in a great body, to withdraw this license." The petition was not presented ("whether it were shuffled off by some about the queen"); however, they petitioned again, and in Sept. 1572, a proclamation strictly restrained all transport of iron and brass ordnance, and forbade the owners of all iron works, furnaces, or forges, to make any kind of ordnance larger than a minion.

In defiance of these measures, however, the surreptitious exportation of Sussex cannon went on for some years longer. In 1587, the Earl of Warwick, master of the ordnance, dispatched "a gentleman of his, one Mr. Blincoe," into Sussex to summon all the gun-founders of the county up to London, to understand his pleasure respecting their further continuance of the manufacture. "Henry Nevel, and the rest of that occupation," obeyed the summons, and the matter was referred to the arrangement of Mr. Hockenal, the deputy-master of the ordnance, and Mr. Blincoe. The result was, that a fixed quantity of cannon should be cast annually, for the necessary provision of our own navigation; a certain proportion being allowed to each founder. It was also stipulated that no ordnance should be sold except in the city, and not even there but to such merchants "as my lord or his deputy should name." t

^{*} Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 315. † Strype's Stowe, vol. ii, p. 293. ‡ Strype's Stowe, vol. i, p. 108.

The bonds, into which the iron-masters entered on this occasion, seem to have been little regarded by them; for, on August 8, 1589, Thomas Lord Buckhurst wrote a letter to the justices of Lewes Rape, complaining of their neglect. "Their lordshypps doe see the little regard the owners of furnaces and the makers of these peeces have of their bondes, and how yt importeth the state that the enemy of her majesty should not be furnished oute of the lande with ordnance to annove us." The lord-treasurer goes on to direct the magistrates to enforce the provisions of the master of the ordnance. Another letter, from the same officer to the justices of the three eastern rapes, dated 6th October, 1590, directs them as to "straighter restraint of making shott and ordnance," and to take bonds of £1000 each of every furnace-owner and farmer; and also to forward their bonds, and a list of their names, to him with all convenient speed.*

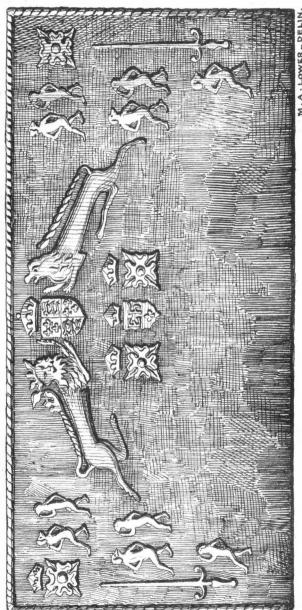
To return to the archæology of our subject: the eastern division of Sussex still abounds with specimens of the workmanship of the sixteenth century, particularly andirons and



Fig. 12. (Andiron at Old Land Farm, Maresfield.)

chimney-backs. Some of these are decorated with fanciful devices, and others with armorial bearings. The royal arms and badges are of the most usual occur-The accompanying anastatic drawing, from a chimney-back at Riverhall, in the parish of Wadhurst, exhibits one of the former class. It probably belongs to the early part of this century. Besides the royal arms—France and England quarterly, with supporters—and the Tudor badge of the rose and crown four times repeated, it exhibits a crowned shield, charged with the initials E. H... probably those of the original proprietor, and ten human figures, with monkey or doglike heads (perhaps intended for "mummers"), and two swords. The back

^{*} These letters are printed in full, in Horsfield's Lewes, i, 192.



M.A.LOWER-DELIN

Chimury Bark at Kinerhall.



M.A. Lower del.

AT Mª OLIVE'S, CHAILEY.



F.F.Fina del

AT MISFIELD FARM, WORTH.

is of large dimensions, and the figures which make up its fanciful device were evidently impressed separately in the sand from the same models. According to tradition, this curious article was cast at a furnace on the estate. Mr. Brooke's etching represents two other "backs" of this century. The first, much mutilated, has the royal arms, supported by a dragon and a greyhound, with the initials E. R., probably for Edward VI. The side ornaments are a dragon's head, the rose-en-soleil and the double rose. The orthography of the royal motto, DV ET MOVN DR—, and of that of the garter, HONY SOYT QVE MAL Y PAVNC, bespeak it the work of an unlettered artisan, and the inscription beneath the shield exhibits the name of the founder, In Susser-By John haws (or Hawo -, perhaps intended for Haworth, but incomplete for want of room). The second back on this plate has the badge and supporters of Queen Elizabeth, and the legend-

"THOMAS VNSTEAD, ISFILD, AND DINIS HIS WIF, ANO DOMINO, 1582."

Many of the andirons of this period have the arms of the families for whom they were cast embossed upon their shields. Fig. 13, from a sketch by Mr. C. Howard Ellis, is in the possession of Mr. Marchant, of Hurstperpoint. It was brought from Slaugham Place, the seat of the Coverts, whose arms and a quartering appear upon it, with the date 1583, and the initials of Walter Covert. It will be observed that this specimen has nothing of the "Gothic," or medieval character of the earlier examples. The founders uniformly imitated the architectural details of their respective eras.

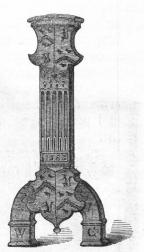


Fig. 13.

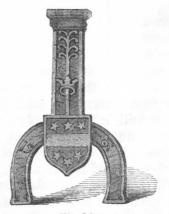






Fig. 15.

Fig. 14, from a sketch by Mr. William Figg, is at Rowfant, in the parish of Worth. The date is 1591. The arms are those of the family of Ashburnham, and the ornament upon the pillar is a rude attempt at their punning crest—an ash-tree springing from a ducal coronet. This is doubtless a production of the Ashburnham furnace. Fig. 15 is a mutilated andiron at the Crow and Gate public house, near Crowborough, and is ornamented with emblems of the smith or

farrier's occupation displayed upon the shield.

The great extent which the manufacture had now reached threatened an evil which had to be warded off by legislative enactments—I mean the annihilation of timber in the Weald. Up to a certain period the destruction of trees and underwood had been beneficial in clearing the land for agricultural purposes;* but so early as the reign of Henry VIII (1543), it became necessary to enact—that no wood shall be converted into pasture—that in cutting coppice woods at twenty-four years' growth, or under, there shall be left standing and unfelled, for every acre, twelve *standils* or *storers* of oak, or in default of so many, then of elm, ash, asp, or beech—and that if the coppice be under fourteen years'

^{*} In illustration of this remark it may be mentioned, that in 30 Edward III, one Robert de Dole died possessed, inter alia, of sixty acres of land at Billinghurst, which was declared to be worth only 10s. per annum, or 2d. per acre, because the land was barren and lay in the Weald ("et jacet in Wealdá"), and was of no value to sow, on account of the quantity of wood ("propter magnitudinem bosci.")— Ing. post Mort.

growth, it shall be inclosed from cattle for six years; "provided always, &c., that this act do not extend or be prejudicial to any of the lords or owners of the woods, underwoods, or woodlands growing or being within any of the towns, parishes, or places commonly called or known to be within the Wilds of the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, other than to the common woods growing and being within any of the said Wilds," &c.*

A series of enactments of similar character succeeded. The act 1 Elizabeth, cap. 15, provides that no person shall convert into coal or other fuel for the making of iron, "any timbertrees of oak, beech, or ash of the breadth of one foot square at the stub," within fourteen miles of the sea, or the rivers Thames, Severn, &c., or any other navigable river. The county of Sussex, the weild of Kent, and the parishes of Charlewood, Newdigate, and Leigh, in the weild of Surrey, were, however,

excepted from the operation of this act.

The act of 23 Elizabeth, cap. 5 (1581), declares that "by reason of the late erection of sundry iron-mills in divers places," near London, and "not far distant from the Downs and seacoasts of Sussex," decay of timber hath ensued; and forbids, therefore, the converting "to coal or other fewel, for the making of iron-metal in any iron-mill, furnace, or hammer," any wood within twenty-two miles of London, or within four miles of the foot of the hills called the Downs, betwixt Arundel and Pemsey, or within four miles of the towns of Winchelsey and Rye, or within two miles of the town of Pemsey, or within three miles of the town of Hastings, under a penalty of forty shillings for every load of wood so employed. "Provided always, that this act shall not extend to any woods growing or to grow in the weilds of Surrey, Sussex, and Kent," if eighteen miles from London, and eight from the Thames. It also forbids the erection of any new iron-works within twenty-two miles of London, or four miles of the Downs, or of the towns of Pemsey, Winchelsey, Hastings, and Rye, upon pain of £10. The woods of Christopher Darrell, gentleman, at Newdigate, in Surrey, are exempted from the force of this enactment, on the ground of their having been preserved and coppiced for the

 $[\]ast$ Statutes of the Realm, 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 17. This act was passed for seven years, but made perpetual by 13 Eliz. c. 25.

especial use of his iron-works in those parts. The act 27 Elizabeth, cap. 19 (1585), rehearses, "Whereas by the over great negligence or number of iron works which have been and yet are in the weilds of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, it is thought that the great plenty of timber which hath grown in those parts hath been greatly decayed and spoiled, and will in short time be utterly consumed and wasted, if some convenient remedy be not timely provided," and therefore forbids the erection of any manner of iron-mills, furnace, finary, or blomary,* for the making or working of any manner of iron or iron-metal," except upon ancient sites.

The highways of Sussex were, at that time, as well as at a much more recent date, proverbially bad, wherefore the act above cited enjoins upon all persons carrying charcoal, *mines*, and iron, between October and May, "for every six loads of coals or mine, or for every ton of iron, to carry one usual cartload of cinder, gravel, stone, sand, or chalk, meet for the re-

pairing or amending of the said highways."

In spite of the enactments for the preservation of wood, the waste still continued. John Norden, in his 'Surveyor's Dialogue, '† after referring to the statute of 35 Henry VIII, says, "but mee thinks this statute is deluded and the meaning abused; for I have seene in many places at the fals, where indeed they leave the number of standils and more; but in stead they cut downe them that were preserved before, and at the next fall them that were left to answer the statute, and yong left againe in their steads; so that there can be no increase of timbertrees." "But," he adds, "some countries are yet well stored, and for the abundance of timber and wood were excepted in the statute, as the welds of Kent, Sussex, and Surry, which were all anciently comprehended under the name of Holmesdale, . . . and yet he that well observes it, and hath known the welds of Sussex, Surry, and Kent, the grand nursery of those kind of trees, especially oake and beech, shal find such an alteration within lesse then 30 yeres, as may well strike a feare, lest few yeeres more, as pestilent as the former, will leave fewe good

^{*} For the meaning of these expressions see Ray's account of the manufacture, in a subsequent page. I may add, here, that the phrase bloma ferri occurs several times in Doomsday Book. "Bloma," a Saxon word, is defined by Bosworth as "metal, a mass, lump." "Isenes-bloma, massa ferri, bloom of iron."—(First Report of Record Commiss., p. 416.) † London, 1607, p. 213.

trees standing in those welds. Such a heate issueth out of the many forges and furnaces for the making of iron, and out of the glasse kilnes, as hath devoured many famous woods within the welds; as about Burningfold, Lopwood Greene (Loxwood), the Minns, Kirdford, Petworth parkes, Ebernowe, Wassals, Rusper, Balcombe, Dallington, the Dyker, and some forests, and other places infinite.

' Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas.'

The force of time and men's inclination make greater changes in mightie things. But the croppe of this commodious fruit, which nature itself doth sowe, being thus reaped and cut downe by the sickle of time, hath been in some plentiful places, in regard of the superfluous abundance, rather held a hurtfull weed than a profitable fruit, and therefore the wasting of it held providence, to the end that come, a more profitable increase, might be brought in, in stead of it. . . . But it is to be feared that posterities will find want, where now they think is too much."

To this the Baylie, one of the interlocutors of the dialogue,

replies:

"It is no mervaile, if Sussex, and other places you speak off, be deprived of this benefit; for I have heard, there are or lately were in Sussex neere 140 hammers and furnaces for iron,* and in it and Surry adjoining three or four glasse-houses;† the hammers and furnaces spend, each of them in every 24 houres, two, three, or foure loades of charcoale, which in a yeere amounteth to an infinit quantitie, as you can better account by your arethmetique, then I."

The surveyor rejoins: "That which you say is true; but they worke not all the yeere, for many of them lacke water in the summer to blowe their bellows. And to say truth, the

^{*} It is a somewhat singular coincidence that the number of corn-mills in Sussex, at the time of the Doomsday survey (finished in 1086), was 148; and that of iron-mills, about five centuries later, 140. A great proportion of the latter probably occupied the sites of the former, which the introduction of windmills had caused to be deserted.

[†] The dearth of information regarding the glass manufacture in Sussex is much to be regretted. The Rev. E. Turner conjectures that one of the "glasse-houses" was at Maresfield, near the site of the Roman iron works. The scoria found there differ considerably in character from those of the ordinary iron works, having a more vitreous appearance. This, however, may result from some peculiarity in the flux.

consuming of much of these in the weld is no such great prejudice to the weale publike, as is the overthrow of wood and timber in places where there is no great quantitie, for I have observed that the clensing of many of these weld grounds hath redounded rather to the benefit then to the hurt of the country; for where woods did grow in superfluous abundance there was lacke of pasture for kine, and of arable land for corne, without which a country, or country farme, cannot stand, or be releeved but by neighbour helpes, as the Downes have their wood from the weld. Beside, people bred amongst woods are naturally more stubborne and uncivil, then in the champion countries!"**

The quietness of our beautiful Weald at the present day offers a striking contrast to the ceaseless activity and bustle which characterised it in its Iron Age, the days of the Tudors and Stuarts. Camden, speaking of Sussex, says: "Full of iron mines it is in sundry places, where, for the making and founding thereof, there be furnaces on every side, and a huge deal of wood is yearly burnt; to which purpose divers brooks in many places are brought to run in one channel, and sundry meadows turned into pools and waters, that they might be of power sufficient to drive hammer-mills, which beating upon the iron, resound all over the places adjoining." A later edition of the Britannia (edit. 1722) gives a more graphic account: "A great deal of meadow ground is turned into ponds and pools for the driving of mills by the flashes, which, beating with hammers upon the iron, fill the neighbourhood round about, night and day, with continual noise."

"Yet," adds our great antiquary, "the iron here wrought is not in every place of like goodness; but generally more brittle than the Spanish iron; whether it be by nature, or tincture and temper thereof. Howbeit commodious enough to iron maisters, who cast much great ordnance thereof, and other things to their no small gain. Now whether it be as gainful and profitable to the commonwealth may be doubted;

but the age ensuing will be better able to tell you."

That some of the iron wrought here was of the first quality there can be no doubt. The Ashburnham iron particularly

^{*} Vide "Certificate concerning Sussex Justices," p. 60 of this volume.

excelled in the quality of toughness, and I have been assured by smiths who have used it, that it was in nowise inferior to the Swedish metal, generally accounted the best in the world. Camden's remark respecting the superior texture of Spanish iron is scarcely reconcilable with the remark of Fuller: "It is almost incredible how many great guns are made of the iron in this county. Count Gondomer [the Spanish ambassador] well knew their goodness, when of King James he so often begged

the boon to transport them."*

This extract brings us to the seventeenth century, a period in which the Sussex iron trade reached its greatest extent. The number of mills and furnaces had increased yearly, in spite of the statutes limiting their extension, and the waste of timber was again brought before the notice of government. In 1636, Charles I granted a commission to Sir David Cuningham, Bart., Christopher Lewknor, Esq., and others, for its better preservation. "Whereas several offences have been heretofore and still are done and committed by . . . maisters, owners, and occupiers of iron works, forges, furnaces, or hammers, for melting and making of iron," by felling, cutting, and converting of timmer trees (sic) and woods into coals for the melting and making of the said iron, &c. . . . and by felling the said trees and underwood at unseasonable parts of year, whereby the bark thereof hath been lost; and by ingrossing of iron and iron works, &c., and thereby inhancing the prices of iron, &c., contrary to our laws and proclamations made for the preservation of timber and woods." It appears that there were several suits touching these offences pending in the court of Star Chamber, and the duty imposed on the commissioners was "to treat and compound with" the offenders, and to levy, for the king's use, such sums as they should see fit. The commission was dated at Canbury, 19th August, 1636.† On the 14th of October following, an office, "to be for ever continued," was erected for the better management of the iron trade, and the king appointed "John Cupper and Grimbald Pauncefoote, gentlemen, surveyors of all iron works, and of all woods to be used and employed thereat, and for the surveying and marking of iron with divers stamps or marks distinguishing the several

^{*} Fuller's Worthies, Sussex, iii, 241. edit. 1840.

[†] Rymer, xx, 68.

kinds." On the 29th July, 1637, by an order in council these regulations were put in force, and very stringent methods were adopted for the rectification of the evils complained of.*

The founders of this century did not limit their operations to iron. I am not aware that bronze cannon continued to be made, but the casting of brass was extensively carried on. Bell-founding was successfully practised. The churchwardens' accounts at Eastbourne show that a new peal for their church was cast at Chiddingly. The following extracts are interesting:

DISBURSEMENTS, A.D. 1651.				
	£	8.	d.	
"Item, to the bell-flounder, John Lulham, for castinge the bells by composition	7	0	0	
"Item, to John Lulham, for addition of belmettall, and for six daies labour about the bells, besides the remaininge mettall	0	_	0	
after the castinge . "Item, for carrying the bells and belmettall to Chittingly, and	2	5	0	
from Chittingly, June the 5th and July the 8th . "Item, to Mr. ffrench [of Chiddingly] and the fforger, for the	1	10	0	
treble clapper	0	8	0	
"Item, to J. L. for his dyet and horsemeate, 3 daies	0	3	0	

There are many other entries relating to expenses about the bells.

"Item, to Richard Miller, of Chittingly, for two brasse potts, weighing 36li, at 5d. the pound .

The third bell at Chiddingly bears the inscription—"ROBERT TAPSELL MADE ME," and the name of this person appears in the parish register as a resident there.

In the register of Berwick is this entry: "Nov., 1690.

The little bell was new cast at Alfriston."

At Ripe, there is a tradition that some of the bells of that

church were cast on the waste close to the churchyard.

Many of the culinary articles called skillets were also manufactured between the years 1625 and 1670. Some of them bear the name of Rummins. Tradition states that a family of this name, natives of Lamberhurst, travelled about the country with these articles, which they cast at the various foundries of the district, as occasion required.

^{*} Rymer, xx, 161. Both the foregoing instruments were revoked by a proclamation, "given at York" in 1639. Rymer, xx, 340.
† Ex orig. olim penes Lt Col. J. H. Willard.
‡ Ex inf. Rev. E. Turner.

Steel was also manufactured in several places; particularly at Warbleton, where there is a place still called the Steel Forge land, and at Robertsbridge. In 1609, John Hawes held the site of the abbey of Robertsbridge with the buildings, &c., "lying between two fresh-water rivers, abutting at the great stone bridge at the Forge Pond," and including various buildings for the steel-makers, among which were eight steel forges; "also one great gatehouse, called the West Gate, built of lime and stone, and used in part as a dove-house, and in part for the steel-makers; also a great gate, called the East Gate, employed as a storehouse for iron, with a house attached to it for James Lamye, the hammer-man."

Drayton in his 'Polyolbion,' published in the year 1612, makes the Sussex woods complain of the injury done them by the iron works, in the following passage, which may be regarded as one of the finest in that noble, though singular and

laborious, topographical poem :-

"These forests, as I say, the daughters of the Weald, (That in their heavy breasts had long their griefs concealed) Foreseeing their decay each hour so fast come on, Under the axe's stroke, fetched many a grievous groan, When as the anvil's weight, and hammer's dreadful sound, Even rent the hollow woods and shook the queachy ground; So that the trembling nymphs oppress'd through ghastly fear, Ran madding to the Downs with loose dishevell'd hair. The Sylvans that about the neighbouring woods did dwell Both in the tufty frith and in the mossy fell, Forsook their gloomy bowers, and wander'd far abroad, Expell'd their quiet seats, and place of their abode, When labouring carts they saw to hold their daily trade, Where they in summer wont to sport them in the shade. Could we, say they, suppose, that any would us cherish, Which suffer (every day) the holiest things to perish? Or to our daily want to minister supply? These Iron Times breed none, that mind posterity. 'Tis but in vain to tell what we before have been, Or changes of the world that we in time have seen; When, not devising how to spend our wealth with waste, We to the savage swine let fall our larding mast. But now, alas! ourselves we have not to sustain, Nor can our tops suffice to shield our roots from rain; Jove's oak, the warlike ash, vein'd elm, the softer beech, Short hazel, maple plain, light asp, the bending wych, Tough holly, and smooth birch must altogether burn What should the builder serve, supplies the forger's turn; When under public good base private gain takes hold, And we, poor woful woods, to ruin lastly sold."-Polyolbion, Song xvii. The relics of the iron trade during this century are very abundant, particularly andirons, of almost every imaginable pattern. Fig. 16, which I lately purchased of a dealer in old

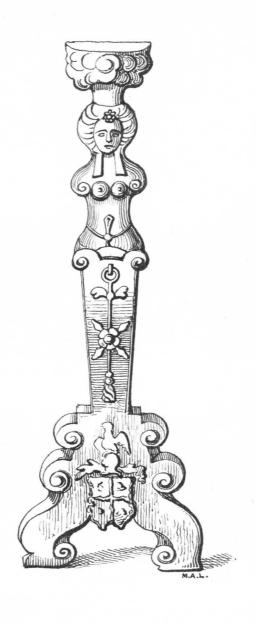


Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

iron, at Lewes, is ornamented with the arms of the family of Thatcher, and was probably cast for the hall of their fine old mansion, Priesthawes, in the parish of Westham. Fig. 17 is one of a pair in the possession of Mr. William Harvey.* The upper portion of the andiron is a demy human figure, in the costume of temp. James I, holding a tobacco-pipe in the right hand, and in the left a jug or tankard. The bird on the shield is perhaps intended for a phænix. Fig. 18 (which may belong to the close of the preceding century) is at Hammond's Place, Clayton, the property of Colonel Elwood. This house was a seat of the Michelbornes, but the initials I. T. upon the andirons prove them to have belonged to some other family; perhaps the Turners of Old Land, in the same district. Fig. 19, belonging to Mr. Hassell, of Waldron, is a remarkably clean and delicate piece of casting. It bears the date of 1640, and a coat of arms, which I have not been able to appropriate.

^{*} I avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance of Mr. Harvey, in calling my attention to the Burwash slab, and to many of the other productions of the Sussex furnaces, which illustrate this paper.



Andiron, formerly at Vigh Coun, Wadharst. Height 3 feet 3 inches.



Fig. 18.

It is traditionally reported to have been cast in the parish of Waldron. A pair of monster andirons, of about the same date, one of which is given in the accompanying anastatic sketch, is in the possession of Mr. A. Playsted, of Wadhurst. They are 39 inches in height, and their style is Egyptian. The heraldric bearing, which is much defaced, appears to be "a cross between four martlets."

The chimney-backs of the seventeenth century are likewise exceedingly various in point of design. Many of them exhibit the royal arms, and the arms of noble and other

families belonging to the county; others, classical stories, as Venus and Adonis, the Thief and Dog, from Æsop, &c.; some are ornamented with Scripture histories, particularly Abraham offering up Isaac, the Queen of Sheba, Christ and the woman of Samaria, &c. On a back at Maresfield is an equestrian figure of Charles I, with the initials C. R.; and Mr. Ashby, of

East Dean, possesses a very curious one, adorned with an oak tree bearing acorns, and the same initials. Among the branches are three crowns, and on a scroll surrounding the trunk the words "THE ROYAL OAK"—allusive to the incident of Charles II, the possessor of three crowns, taking refuge in the oak at Boscobel.

From the early part of the seventeenth century, down to the extinction of the manufacture, our foundries produced numbers of monumental slabs, which are still remaining in the churches of East Sussex. At Wadhurst there are no less than thirty examples, ranging between the years 1625 and 1799. The inscriptions and armorial decorations are in general of very rude workmanship, and, as the slabs lie upon



Fig. 19.

the pavement of the nave and aisles, in somewhat inconveniently bold relief. The persons commemorated by them comprise individuals of the families of Bucher, Porter, Fowle, Dunmoll, Barham, Luck, Atwells, Braban, Holland, Saunders, Benge, and Playsted, many of whom were connected with the trade in this parish. The annexed anastat of the slab of John Barham, a distinguished iron-master, represents one of the most interesting of the series.

In 1643, after the taking of Chichester and Arundel by the Parliament's forces, the iron works belonging to the crown and to royalists, in the western division of Sussex, were destroyed by a detachment of the army commanded by Sir

William Waller.*

The mode of making iron in Sussex in the seventeenth century is detailed by John Ray, the celebrated naturalist, in two papers appended to his 'Collection of English Words.' "This account of the whole process of the iron work," he says, "I had from one of the chief iron-masters of Sussex, my honoured friend, Walter Burrell, of Cuckfield, Esq., deceased." The particulars of the *modus operandi* of the manufacture, furnished from so authentic a source, are of sufficient value to warrant their introduction in this place.

"THE MANNER OF THE IRON WORK AT THE FURNACE.

"The iron-mine lies sometimes deeper, sometimes shallower,

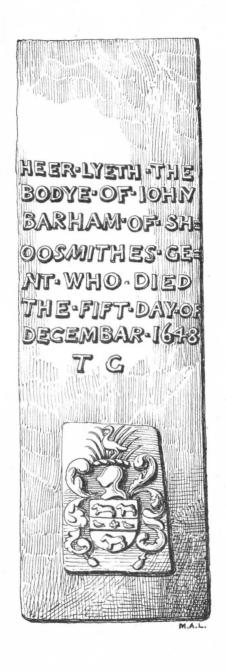
in the earth, from four to forty [feet] and upward.
"There are several sorts of mine, some hard, some gentle, some rich, some coarser. The iron-masters always mix different sorts of mine together, otherwise they will not melt to advantage.

"When the mine is brought in, they take small-coal [charcoal and lay a row of it, and upon that a row of mine, and so alternately S.S.S., one above another, and, setting the coals

on fire, therewith burn the mine.

"The use of this burning is to mollify it, that so it may be broke in small pieces; otherwise, if it should be put into the furnace, as it comes out of the earth, it would not melt, but come away whole.

^{*} Dallaway's Western Sussex.



Cast-iran Alonumental Slab, Wadhurst Church.

"Care also must be taken that it be not too much burned, for then it will *loop*, i. e. melt and run together in a mass. After it is burnt, they beat it into small pieces with an iron sledge, and then put it into the furnace (which is before charged with coals), casting it upon the top of the coals, where it melts and falls into the hearth, in the space of about twelve hours, more or less, and then it runs into a *sow*.

"The hearth, or bottom of the furnace, is made of a sandstone, and the sides round, to the height of a yard, or thereabout; the rest of the furnace is lined up to the top with

brick.

"When they begin upon a new furnace, they put fire for a day or two before they begin to blow.

"Then they blow gently, and encrease by degrees 'till they

come to the height, in ten weeks or more.

"Every six days they call a *founday*, in which space they make eight tun of iron, if you divide the whole sum of iron made by the foundays: for at first they make less in a founday, at last more.

"The hearth, by the force of the fire, continually blown, grows wider and wider, so that at first it contains so much as will make a sow of six or seven hundred pound weight, at last it will contain so much as will make a sow of two thousand pound. The lesser pieces, of one thousand pound, or under, they call pigs.

"Of twenty-four loads of coals, they expect eight tun of sows: to every load of coals, which consists of eleven quarters, they put a load of mine, which contains eighteen bushels.

"A hearth ordinarily, if made of good stone, will last forty foundays, that is, forty weeks, during which time the fire is never let go out. They never blow twice upon one hearth, though they go upon it not above five or six foundays.

"The cinder, like scum, swims upon the melted metal in the hearth, and is let out once or twice before a sow is cast.

[&]quot;THE MANNER OF WORKING THE IRON AT THE FORGE OR HAMMER.

[&]quot;In every forge or hammer there are two fires at least; the one they call the finery, the other the chafery.

"At the finery, by the working of the hammer, they bring it into blooms and anconies, thus:

"The sow they, at first, roll into the fire, and melt off a piece of about three-fourths of a hundred-weight, which, so

soon as it is broken off, is called a *loop*.

"This loop they take out with their shingling-tongs, and beat it with iron sledges upon an iron plate near the fire, that so it may not fall in pieces, but be in a capacity to be carried under the hammer. Under which they, then removing it, and drawing a little water, beat it with the hammer very gently, which forces cinder and dross out of the matter; afterwards, by degrees, drawing more water, they beat it thicker and stronger 'till they bring it to a bloom, which is a four-square mass of about two feet long. This operation they call shingling the loop.

"This done, they immediately return it to the finery again, and after two or three heats and workings, they bring it to an ancony, the figure whereof is, in the middle, a bar about three feet long, of that shape they intend the whole bar to be made of it; at both ends a square piece left rough to be wrought at

the chafery.*

"Note. At the finery three load of the biggest coals go to make one tun of iron.

"At the chafery they only draw out the two ends suitable to what was drawn out at the finery in the middle, and so finish the bar.

"Note 1. One load of the smaller coals will draw out one

tun of iron at the chafery.

- "2. They expect that one man and a boy at the finery should make two tuns of iron in a week: two men at the chafery should take up, i. e. make or work, five or six tun in a week.
- "3. If into the hearth where they work the iron sows (whether in the chafery or the finery) you cast upon the iron a piece of brass, it will hinder the metal from working, causing

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^{*} The definition of ancony, given in this paragraph, is adopted by Bailey in his Dictionary (folio, 1730). In common with several terms employed in anatomy and architecture, it seems to be derived from the Greek word $\mathring{a}\gamma\kappa\omega\nu$.

it to spatter about, so that it cannot be brought into a solid piece."*

The greatest existing remains of Sussex iron are the balustrades which surround St. Paul's cathedral. They were cast at Lamberhurst furnace, and their weight, including the seven gates, is above 200 tons. Their cost, according to the account-books kept at the furnace, was £11,202, 0s., 6d.† It may be mentioned that the annual consumption of wood at this furnace was about 200,000 cords!

The ironfounders to King Charles II were Alexander Courthope, Esq., of Horsmonden, co. Kent, and George Brown, Esq., of Buckland, co. Surrey: their foundries were at Ashburnham, Hawkhurst, Horsmonden, Barden, and Embden. Their correspondence, contracts with the commissioners of ordnance, &c., are in the possession of G. Courthope, Esq., of Whiligh.;

The manufacture continued to flourish with almost unabated vigour through the seventeenth century, and even in 1724 it was considered the chief interest of the county. In that year was published Budgen's Map of Sussex, a very useful document, as showing the sites of the still existing works. The ornaments surrounding the title of it consist of emblems of the trade, Vulcan with Venus and Cupid, Cyclops at the anvil and forge, &c.

We owe many of our finest sheets of water to the iron manufacture. In other instances, the meadows which were converted into "ponds and pools," have again been drained, and restored to their former use, or appropriated as hop-gardens and osier-beds. The sites of many of the "hammers" are

now occupied by corn-mills.

In choosing sites for the works, our iron-masters of course sought spots which were at once contiguous to the beds of ore and to some convenient water power. The places chosen for artificial ponds were generally the vales through which streams and rivulets flowed. Across these were thrown great dams of earth, usually known as "pond-bays," with a convenient out-

^{*} Ray's English Words not generally used (originally published in 1672), 4th edit., printed in 1768, p. 134, et seq. † Topog. Libr. Sussex. ‡ Ex. inf. W. Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix.

let of masonry for the supply of water, by means of which the wheel connected with the machinery of the "hammer" or the furnace was set in motion. A valley of moderate width was generally selected, as the narrow ravine and the broad level were equally objectionable, the former requiring too lofty, and the latter too long and expensive a pond-bay. All the Sussex rivers, and their tributary streams within the first few miles of their course, are well adapted by nature for this useful purpose.

Upon the "decline and fall" of the trade few words are necessary. The amazing consumption of wood rendered the production of iron in this district more expensive than in those localities where the coal mines and the ferruginous strata are in close proximity to each other. Upon Sir Roderick Murchison's authority, our wealds still contain a much greater quantity of iron-ore, and that of richer quality than many of the coal fields of England; but for the reason alluded to, competition with those districts was hopeless. In spite, however, of the invention of "charking" sea-coal, alluded to as a desideratum by Fuller,* Sussex still maintained its position as a seat of the iron trade long after the establishment of that process; and many families were enriched by the alchemy of transmuting iron to gold, so lately as the middle of the last century. Conspicuous among these was that of Legas, one of whose members, John Legas, Gent., "by his industry and diligence in the iron works of this county, acquired a handsome fortune, with great credit and reputation. He died the 22d May. 1752, aged 62 years."† Even in the days of our grandfathers, cannon continued to be cast in some places, and the great hammer's "occupation" was not wholly "gone." degrees, however, the glare of the furnace faded, the din of the hammer was hushed, the last blast was blown, and the wood-nymphs, after a long exile, returned in peace to their beloved retreats! Farnhurst, in Western, and Ashburnham, in Eastern Sussex, witnessed the total extinction of the manufacture.

At the Lewes meeting I exhibited, as a matter of curiosity,

^{*} Worthies, vol. iii, p. 53, ed. 1840. † Mon. Inscr. in Wadhurst Church, vide infra.

an iron bar, a portion of the latest produce of the Ashburnham

forge.*

It may be interesting to state, that the day may not be far distant when Sussex iron shall again be called into use. If anthracite fuel were brought to our coast, and some of the richer veins of ore near the eastern extremity of the county were reopened, it is calculated that the smelting might be advantageously and profitably carried on here. Within the last few months, the attention of more than one gentleman, practically connected with the iron trade in distant parts of the island, has been directed to this subject.

SITES OF THE SUSSEX IRON WORKS,

WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THEIR PROPRIETORS,

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED UNDER PARISHES.

The following list has been collected partly from personal investigations in the respective localities, partly from the obliging communications of intelligent correspondents, and partly from local publications. I would offer an apology for its incompleteness, were it not quite obvious that a perfect list of sites and proprietors could not reasonably be hoped for; and I would add, that however meagre the result of my inquiries may appear, it has been obtained by an amount of labour which none but those who have been engaged in similar investigations can properly estimate.

Ashburnham.—The iron works of this parish were of considerable extent. The furnace and forge were worked by the late Lord Ashburnham until about the year 1825. Much of the ore formerly smelted here was, within memory, brought from Warbleton and other places. Messrs. Courthope and

^{*} The Rev. T. D. Willis has, with a laudable view to preserve a memorial of the now extinct iron trade of Sussex, caused several similar bars to be employed as fastenings for the entrances of his recently-erected church at Elsted.

Brown carried on a foundry here, temp. Charles II; pro-

bably as lessees under the Ashburnham family.

The following extract from Arthur Young's 'Agricultural Survey of Sussex,' edit. 1793, though familiar to many, will probably be new to more, and may be appropriately introduced in this place.

[P. 13. Of the Weald.] "Respecting the soil of this district, I shall set down a short account of what I had a more immediate opportunity of seeing, by observing the gradation in the surface-earth and mineral beds for above a hundred feet under ground at Ashburnham Furnace. The soil of Penhurst is gravelly to an indeterminate depth. At the bottom of the Earl of Ashburnham's park, sandstone is found, solid enough for the purposes of masonry. Advancing up the hill, the sand rock is twenty-one feet in thickness, but so friable as easily to be reduced to powder. On this a marl immediately sets on, in the different depths of which the ironstone comes on regularly in all the various sorts, as follows:

(Provincially called the twelve foots, because so many feet distant from the first to 1. Small balls. the last bed.
2. Grey limestone. What is used as a flux.

3. Foxes.

4. Riggit. 5. Bulls.

6. Caballa balls.

7. Whiteburn. { What Tripoli, properly calcined and treated, is made of.

8. Glouts.

9. Pitv.

"This is the order in which the different ores are found. Advancing on, I crossed a valley where the mineral bed seems entirely broken, and the sandstone sets on. At the distance of something above a mile, the ironstone is again seen . . . another intervention of sand; and then, at low water, when the tide goes out, the beds of ironstone appear regularly on the shore—an indisputable proof that, however the appearances of the surface may vary, the substrata continue the same.

"In taking the range northwardly from the bottom of Ashburnham Park, for twelve miles at least, the strata are nearly the same, there being no material irregularity of surface that does not partake of sandstone, marl, ironstone, and sand again at the top.... The limestone and ironstone generally rise very near the surface, often within three feet The appearance of the ironstone above forty feet under the surface is different; certainly not so good, being coarser The fact certainly is, that ironstone diminishes in goodness from depth."

Ashdowne Forest.—The only furnace shown for this district in Budgen's map is "New Furnace." The Roman works at Maresfield were immediately contiguous to the forest.

Balcombe.—Norden mentions this place in his enumeration of the woods destroyed by the furnaces. There is, near the railway tunnel, a place called Cinder Banks, consisting of an immense deposit of scoriæ.

Battel.—Budgen's map shows Beach Furnace, near Netherfield, in this parish. There were probably other works towards Sedlescombe. The public-house at Netherfield is called "The Gun," a somewhat common sign in the iron district.

Beckley.—The works were situated near the road leading to Brede. The cannon and chimney-backs made here were principally exported from Rye. From the information of W. Holloway, Esq., it appears that a person now living, aged seventy-four, perfectly remembers having seen, when a boy, the hammer and bellows of Beckley furnace only remaining.

Bolney.—The iron stone in this parish is of excellent quality; and upon the surface I have observed fragments of the "iron-rag," or pudding-stone, which had been exposed by the operation of the plough. Several large and beautiful sheets of water remain upon the presumed sites of the iron mills; and Colwood or Coalwood Street marks the locality of extensive charcoal works for the use of the neighbouring furnaces.

Brede.—The furnace here belonged, in the seventeenth century, to the Sackvilles, and afterwards to John Browne, Esq. This gentleman, about 1693, sold it to the Westerns of Essex. The works ceased about the year 1766, and a few years subsequently powder-mills were erected on the site. These existed till 1825, when the extensive ponds were drained.* A hop-garden occupies their bed. Immense quantities of cinders have been taken from this spot for the repair of the neighbouring roads, and many more still remain. The cannon and other articles made here were principally exported from Rye.

Brightling.—The works were carried on by the Fuller family† about the year 1700 and subsequently, at Brightling Forge. About a mile west of the Observatory stood Glazier's Forge. Socknersh Furnace was worked by the Collins family. Darvel Furnace, in, or bordering upon, this parish, was an

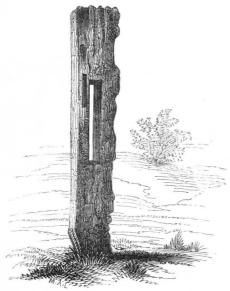
extensive establishment.

Burwash.—Budgen's map mentions a forge here. On

^{*} Horsfield's Sussex, vol. i, p. 514. † They also worked Heathfield and Waldron Furnaces, &c.

Goodsoal Farm was an air-furnace; and one of the woods is still called Furnace Wood.

Buxted. — The first iron cannon were cast here by Hogge and Baude, vide p. 183. Cannon-balls and other relics of the manufacture are frequently dug up near the "Hog-house," the residence of Hogge. "Pope's Furnace," in the manor of Framfield, was probably on the Hendall estate, in this parish, the residence of the Pope family. "Huborne" (now Howbourne) forge and hammer were



also in this parish. The hammer-post, an interesting relic remains, in situ, near the extremity of the now drained pond, which occupied many acres. It is a ponderous oaktree, in remarkably fine preservation, and, if not wantonly injured, may stand for many years longer. Its height above ground is 9½ feet. "Buxted Little Forge" stood, I am told, upon the stream higher up than Howbourne.

Fig. 20.

Chailey.—Much ironstone has been excavated on the North Common. Cinder Hill, on the road to Newick, has

vestiges of iron works.

Chiddingly.—Stream Furnace, in this parish, was worked by the Frenches, who were yeomen in the sixteenth century, and gentry in the seventeenth. The latter rank they acquired by their iron works. The pond, whose waters impelled the machinery, still remains, and is about twenty acres in extent. A flour-mill, the property of Mr. R. Reeves, occupies the site, and here probably stood the mill, mentioned in Doomsday Book, which was valued, with the miller, at four shillings per annum.

Great quantities of cinders occur in the woods in the northern part of the parish, and among them pottery, presumed to be Roman, has been discovered. Norden mentions the Dyker (Dicker), principally in this parish, as one of the districts which had been disafforested by the iron works of the vicinity.

Chithurst.—There is a hammer-pond near Coppet Hall,

half a mile north of the church.

Cuckfield.—The Burrells had great iron works in this and the adjacent parishes. Vide Ray's account of the manufac-

ture, at p. 200.

Dallington.—The destruction of the once extensive "Chase" of Dallington, formerly belonging to the Pelhams, is attributable to the iron works. The Ashburnham works extended into this parish.

Easebourne.—There were works on the Cowdray estate, and many chimney-backs in the farm-houses belonging to it

still bear the Montague arms.

The sand in this district is so impregnated with iron, that if a common handkerchief be shaken over with it and then exposed to a shower of rain, it will be found to be covered with thousands of minute iron-moulds.*

East Grinstead.—Hammerwood, in this parish, seems to have derived its name from some neighbouring "hammer."

Fernhurst.—A large foundry, "anciently established here," was carried on by the family of Butler. (Dallaway.) It was employed by government, about 1770, for the casting of cannon. It was the last in the western division.

Fletching.—Traces of iron works appear in this parish. Framfield.—In the reign of Elizabeth, certain articles of inquiry, delivered to Richard Leche, concerning the consumption of wood by the iron works in the manor of Framfield (which extends into several adjacent parishes), were answered as follows:

"First, there are three iron furnaces that have wood, and have wood most years of the common woods, and these are they, viz. Pounsley Furnace, Huborne Forge,

and Huggett's Furnace.

"There is no iron work that all the whole woods may be brought to it within three miles, not yet within four miles; but there are within three miles of some one of the woods these remaining works, viz., Pounsley Wood, Eching Wood, of

Ralph Leg's Furnace, and two hammers in Pope's Furnace, Little Bucksted Hammer, Huborne Hammer, Huggett's Furnace, and Pounsley Furnace; and there is more within three miles of Langhurst Wood and Barnet Wood, John Frenche's Hammer, and Waldron Furnace." (Horsfield—who does not mention whence he obtained the document.)

Poundsley Furnace was worked by the Hodgsons in the seventeenth century. On Little Streele farm is a "Cinder Field." Fields called the "Iron Latches" on Bentley farm, seem to point out sites of iron works. This name is of frequent occurrence in the Weald.

Frant.—Vestiges of several iron works still remain in this parish. Budgen's map shows a forge westward of Eridge This probably belonged to H. Neville (also owner of iron works at Mayfield), who was considered the chief and

representative of the Sussex iron-masters in 1587.

There were also a furnace and a forge within the existing park pale; the furnace pond still remains. "Steel Bridge," on the Rotherfield road, indicates another site of the manu-

facture.

Heathfield.—About a mile below the church is the site of the furnace worked by the Fullers, which "formerly, in all its departments, kept nearly half the population [of the parish in constant employ." (Horsfield.) The works have been discontinued above half a century. The buildings are now destroyed. The proof-banks, where the ordnance was tried, are still pointed out. The cannon made here (many of which, within the memory of man, were shipped from Newhaven) are asserted to have been of better metal, and capable of higher charges, than those of any other foundry in the kingdom. From the following somewhat interesting little incident, it would appear that they were occasionally exported to our Asiatic colonies. When the late Major Fuller entered on his first campaign in India, he was surprised to observe some of the artillery inscribed with the name of his native village, "Heathfield"! According to the information of the Rev. E. Turner, the ponds for the iron works upon a branch of the river Cuckmere, formed a continuous chain nearly three miles in length.*

^{*} According to our most eminent geologists, the Weald of Sussex is destitute of native coal, unless the seams of fibrous lignite, occasionally met with, be entitled to that appellation. The following statements, whose tendency is in some degree

Horsham.—In 6th Edw. VI, 1552, a bill "to avoid iron mills near Horsham, in Sussex," was brought into the House of Commons, Feb. 23. March 16, it was ordered "that the suitors against the Horsham bill shall appear here to-morrow, with their counsel, at 8 o'clock. March 17. Mr. Foscue, with his counsel, Mr. Catline, exhibited certain articles in writing against the bill. March 24. "Ordered, that the bill for Horsham be engrossed."—(Journ. H. Com., vol. i, pp. 18 et seq.)

Horsted Keynes.—The ponds which supplied the works still remain. "Furnace Field," "Furnace Wood," and "Forge Field" point out the localities. On "Cinder Hill" farm, great quantities of scorize have been dug; and many andirons, and other articles preserved here, are traditionally reported to have been manufactured in the parish.

Ifield.—The site of the corn-mill at this place was formerly occupied by iron works, where government ordnance was cast. They were destroyed by a detachment of Sir William Waller's troops in 1643, after the siege of Arundel; and were probably not rebuilt, as the old flour-mill was erected in 1683. The large hammer-ponds still remain.

to controvert that opinion, may interest the reader. They were communicated by Mr. Sylvan Harmer, of Heathfield, to the *Brighton Guardian* in June, 1830. The person to whose experience the facts occurred, was the late Jonathan Harmer,

whose words I quote:-

"In the month of December 1801, I was employed to survey some woodlands in the parishes of Heathfield and Waldron, and whilst in the act of taking offsets across a stream which separates the parishes, I accidentally saw a kind of black actors a stream which the water had laid bare. Struck with its polished appearance, I took up several pieces, and soon discovered it to be coal of some description. This induced me to go the next day with mattock and spade and some assistants, and we soon laid open a block of jet-black and pure coal of the Kendal species, nearly resembling the size of a stout man; being a portion of a bed receding from the stream under a rising ground behind. I therefore resolved to acquaint the proprietor, John Fuller, Esq., of Rose Hill, with the circumstance, but first waited on Francis Newbery, Esq., then proprietor of Heathfield Park, who desired me to pack up the coals, and send them to Mr. Fuller, in London, which I did in two harves with a deceniation of the circumstance, but first waited boxes, with a description of the circumstances.

"This induced Mr. Fuller to send for a gentleman of the name of Ward, from Derbyshire, a professed miner, who came and explored the affair, and gave the highest opinion as to a successful result, should a shaft be sunk, saying, in my hearing, that all the signs and appearances were sufficient to inspire any miner with the greatest hopes. Moreover, the neighbourhood being on the alert with these reports, a person of the name of Page, with other labourers, went to explore in their own fashion, when, digging in the bed of the stream, they first threw up broken coal mixed with blue clay, which, as they dug deeper, became apparently more commixed with coal, until the whole became one black slub. About the same Kirdford.—Norden mentions the destruction of woods at Kirdford, and at Ebernowe, also in this parish, by the furnaces. In the 'Customs of Schillinglee' (Shillinglee, in Kirdford), 1608, it is stated that "one Blackwell hath lately demised there certain iron workes." (Dallaway.) The ordnance map shows the site of a furnace at Shillinglee. At Ebernoe, the property of the Rev. J. Peachey, are many traces of iron works. Cinders from the ancient pond are still used for the making of roads. "There is also a great quantity of coarse, vitreous matter from the glass works, which seem to have been carried on simultaneously with the iron furnaces in this part of the Weald."* At Barkfold, in this parish, there is a large hammer-pond.

Lamberhurst.—Gloucester Furnace, the largest iron manufactory in Sussex, was principally in this parish, though partly in Wadhurst. Its occupiers were residents in Wadhurst, and

time Mr. Cater Rand, of Lewes, came and explored the appearances, and pronounced favorably thereon. A miner also, from Derbyshire, waited upon Mr. Newbery, offering to bear half the expenses of boring in his park, merely to clear all doubts as to the existence of a coal-bed, saying that the neighbourhood abounded with indications of its existence; and although the specimen already produced was of the Kendal kind, that was not conclusive as to the real nature of the bed. Be that as it may, the day after I laid open the aforementioned beds for the inspection of Mr. Ward, a blacksmith, whose shop was at hand, took away enough of the uncovered beds to suffice him for a fortnight; and he declared that he never worked more pleasantly, or with a better fire. It burnt with a short, strong, blue flame. Several persons also tried it at the grate with similar satisfaction. A labourer of Mr. Newbery's, in digging post-holes about the same time, threw up a great quantity of coal, in pieces about the size of a man's fist; and in sinking wells at Heathfield, the like specimens have been found.

"Brown's Lane, in Waldron, has long produced ample specimens, insomuch that

"Brown's Lane, in Waldron, has long produced ample specimens, insomuch that a travelling tinker, named Lindsey, often replenished there his exhausted stock, until he fancied that the smell affected his head, as it happened to be overladen

with sulphur or the like.

"From what cause Mr. Fuller abandoned the pursuit I know not. I only know that some threats of legal action were thrown out against the undertaking; and a fellow of the name of Farey wrote largely, in a ridiculing style, against the idea of finding coal in Sussex. His ignorance and abuse will be best seen by a reference to the Lewes Journal, in the year 1808, or before.

"There are hundreds of eye-witnesses, now living in the neighbourhood, who could vouch for the facts, and the whole might be repeated, by the permission of

Mr. Fuller and others to explore."

Mr. S. Harmer himself explored the spot so lately as 1830, with a similar result. With an implement so simple as a mole-spade, he dug out coal of an excellent quality, burning with a peculiarly vivid flame, and answering admirably for the purposes of the forge.

* Ex inf. A. E. Knox, Esq., M.A., &c., author of a very interesting contribution to the natural history of the county—'Ornithological Rambles in Sussex.' London,

1849.

intimately connected with that parish. Three centuries since, it was worked by the Barhams, of Butts. (See under Wadhurst.) William Benge, Esq., of Faircrouch, in Wadhurst, rebuilt the works, and made them the most extensive of any in this part of the kingdom. Just at the time of their completion, they were honoured with a visit from the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne and the Duke of Gloucester, who were sojourning at Tunbridge Wells; from which circumstance the name was derived. The undertaking was not successful to Mr. Benge, who had no sooner brought it to perfection than he failed.* The property then passed into the hands of Mr. Gott, and was let to Messrs. Legas and Harrison, who carried on the works with great vigour and success. Cannon were cast here for the service of the navy. Mr. Legas amassed a fortune to the amount, it is said, of £30,000, and died in 1752. He was succeeded by Mr. Richard Tapsell, who had married his niece. This gentleman sunk the money acquired by his uncle, became a bankrupt in 1765, and died in indigence about twelve years after. He was the last ironfounder connected with Wadhurst. The foundations of the furnace are still traceable, and near them is the proof-bank. The soil, for some distance round, abounds with cinders.

If we may credit the general report of the parish, the cannon cast at Gloucester Furnace were not always employed for the use of the British navy, but were conveyed by smugglers to the coast, and there shipped for the service of French privateers, in the war then waged against England. This villany was detected, and the parties engaged in it were fined to a large amount. The government contracts were of course withdrawn; and from this period we may date the decline of the works.†

Linchmere.—On the land of Hasler Hollist, Esq., in this parish, and about three miles south-west of Haslemere, there are considerable vestiges of iron works. There are several acres of slag or cinders, and an osier bed occupies the place of the head of water, by means of which the forges were worked. Some good masonry, by which the water was confined and directed, still remains. The works here were among the last in the western division which ex-

^{*} The Kemps, of Great Pell, in Wadhurst, were founders here at some period in the early part of the eighteenth century.
† Ex inf. W. Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix.

perienced the impossibility of competing with the coal-producing districts of the North, and were not abandoned until the year 1776.*

Lindfield.—At Freshfield, in this parish, is a "Hammer

Wood," probably indicating the site of an iron work.

Lynch.—There were works here as early as 1342. (Nonæ.) Maresfield.—Roman iron works at Old Land. Maresfield Forge, according to Budgen's map, was at work in 1724, and probably much later. Park Forge was situated about half a mile westward of the church, and Old Forge upwards of a mile north-east of it.

Mayfield.—This parish was famous for its iron. There were considerable works upon the archiepiscopal estate at an early period. At the palace are several interesting relics of the manufacture, particularly the massive iron hand-rail of the grand staircase. The hammer, anvil, and tongs of St. Dunstan,



preserved here, seem to refer as much to the iron trade, so famous in these parts, as to the alleged proficiency of the saint in the craft of a blacksmith. The anvil and tongs are of no great antiquity, but the hammer, with its iron handle, may be considered a medieval relic. Traces of the iron works are still visible on the

estate; and here, in all probability, were made the copings of Rochester bridge, presented to that city early in the sixteenth century by Archbishop Warham, † In an old map of the estate, yet extant, the three ponds for the use of these works measure respectively 3a. 1r. 4p.; 3a. 3r. 6p.; and 1a. 3r.

At Hawksden, in Bibleham quarter, there was a forge worked by the Morleys of Glynde. Thomas Morley, Esq., who died in 1558, worked an iron-mill and a furnace at that place, from which his daughter's jointure was levied. His great-grandson, Herbert Morley, the regicide, died possessed of these works, which descended to his sons. There was also a forge at Bibleham, in the same quarter.

^{*} Ex inf. Hasler Hollist, Esq. † Ex inf. W. Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix.

The family of Baker, who ranked high as iron-masters, worked Bungehurst Furnace and Forge, and many others in this vicinity. They were originally of Battel, and are believed to have removed hither (about the beginning of the seventeenth century) for the purpose of carrying on the iron trade.* They also had extensive works in Withyham, where they possessed land, temp. Henry VIII, and subsequently.

Huggett's Furnace is in the western district of this parish.

Coushossly Furnace, upon Stonehouse Farm, on the boundary stream between this parish and Wadhurst, belonged to the Penkherst family, and afterwards to the Dykes. It was at work in 1707. Cinder-heaps and other traces of works are visible on the Lower-House estate, the property of the Bakers, and on the farms called Twits and Merriams, in Five-ash quarter.+

Newick.—A quantity of cinders has been found in this parish, and there is a tradition of iron works having been carried on near Fonthill, at the foot of which there was a great pond, on land now the property of W. H. Blaauw, Esq.

North Chapel.—A government charcoal manufactory was carried on here not many years since. At Frith, about three quarters of a mile north-east of the village, is a farm called Furnace House, with traces of a large furnace pond.; nonagenarian resident remembers having been employed, in his youth, in the removal of the masonry connected with the pond on the site of the works.

Penhurst.—A considerable furnace.

Petworth.—Norden mentions "Petworth parkes" among the "famous woods" devoured by the furnaces. There is a string of ponds in the northern division of the park (known as the "Stag Park"), on which anciently stood iron works. Some of them have been drained and planted with osiers; others remain as fish-ponds. "The Minns," mentioned by Norden, is a wild, though partially inclosed, district, about four miles north-east of Petworth, and is now called "The Menns."

Rotherfield.—Many traces of iron works. Hamsell Forge was worked by the Bakers. The Fowles were great iron-

^{*} Ex inf. J. B. Baker, Esq., a descendant. † Ex inf. W. Courthope, Esq. ‡ Ex inf. A. E. Knox, Esq.

masters, and are presumed to have had works upon their estate at Welches, in this parish. At Brookhouse there are cinder-banks.

Salehurst.—There were great iron and steel works at Robertsbridge Abbey, already mentioned. In 1623, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, assigned a lease of Udiham ironhouse, in the manor of Robertsbridge, to John Culpeper and Henry English, with power to dig for iron in any of his lordship's lands in Salehurst, Ewhurst, Watlinge, and Watlington. In 1707, Elizabeth, Countess-dowager of Leicester, and John Sidney, her son, Earl of Leicester, leased the Robertsbridge Furnace for eleven years, to Thomas Snepp, sen., and Thomas Snepp, the younger, his son and heir.*

The cannon cast at Robertsbridge were floated down the Rother to Rye. In order to effect this, there were put into the river "shuts," a contrivance something in the nature of locks. When the bed of the Rother from Rye to Bodiham was cleansed, a few years ago, several of the remains of these

"shuts" were brought to light, and removed.

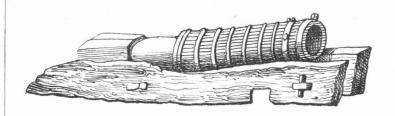
St. Leonard's Forest.—Vide p. 200. The works here were the most considerable in West Sussex. In 44 Elizabeth, the whole forest was leased by the Crown to Sir John Caryll. "In this lease, the various forges, and all the instruments belonging to them, are enumerated." (Cartwright.) They were afterwards employed "for military stores for the use of government, and so remained till 1643, when Chichester and Arundel were taken by Sir William Waller. A part of his army was dispatched for the purpose of totally destroying these and other iron works belonging to the Crown, or to royalists, which have never since been restored." (Dallaway.)

There are many traces of the works remaining, particularly extensive hammer-ponds and cinder-beds, on the southern

borders of the forest.

Sedlescombe.—Traces of works carried on in this parish in Roman times. In the seventeenth century the Farndens of Brickwall were great iron-masters. A coheiress married John Baker, Esq., of Mayfield, who died in 1723, and by whose family the works were afterwards carried forward. In the

^{*} Thorpe's Battel Abbey Deeds, pp. 201, 202. † Ex inf. W. Holloway, Esq.



Banded Cannon at Eridge Green (Archæologia X. p 472)



Chimney Back at Sutton-Sturst.

Mit Lower, Delin

church is a cast-iron slab for the family of Bishop of Great Sanders. These slabs generally, if not uniformly, indicate iron-masters.

Shipley.—A large hammer-pond still remains at Bayntons in Shipley. The works here are presumed to have belonged to the Apsleys, of Apsley, in Thakeham.* The initials I. A. (for John Apsley?) occur upon many articles of Sussex manufacture. At Apsley House there was, a few years since, a massive pair of andirons so marked, and among the chimneybacks produced by the same eminent iron-master are two very singular specimens, one of which is figured in Mr. Brooke's etching (opposite a former page), date 1582; the other, which was brought from this locality, is now in the possession of Captain Richardson, of Sutton Hurst. It is ornamented with the badge and supporters of Queen Elizabeth, and the legend, "THES . IS . FOR . IAMES . HIDE . AND . ION . HIS . MIF . 1582." (See opposite sketch.) It may perhaps have been a wedding present. These and many other examples of Sussex iron are stamped with the fleur-de-lis, which leads to the supposition that Frenchmen were much employed in our foundries. Knepp Pond, the largest piece of water in Sussex, was, according to the Rev. E. Turner, formerly a hammer-pond.

Slaugham.—The extensive works which existed in this parish are commemorated by the names of Hammer-pond, Furnace-pond, and Cinder-bank, still remaining.† The Covert

family were great iron masters.

Slindfold.—About $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of this village is a place

called Furnace Farm.‡

Ticehurst.—Several vestiges; particularly traces of great ponds, and a farm called "Cinder-banks."

Twineham.—Iron works are said to have existed here, although (as in the case of several other parishes) I am unprepared with any other evidence than that of common report.

Wadhurst.—This parish was especially celebrated for its iron works. The following particulars relating to them have been obligingly communicated by William Courthope, Esq., Rouge Croix:

^{*} Ex inf. P. J. Martin, Esq. † Ex inf. Mr. Thomas Wells.

[‡] Ex inf. A. E. Knox, Esq.

At Riverhall, in Faircrouch quarter, there were a furnace and a forge worked by the Fowles, a family of considerable note,* whose prosperity rose and fell with the iron manufacture. Nicholas Fowle, who carried on these works, built in 1591 the fine mansion of Riverhall, which still exhibits traces of its former grandeur. His son, William Fowle, had a grant of free warren from King James, over his numerous manors and lands in Wadhurst, Frant, Rotherfield, and Mayfield. The fourth in descent, and heir male of this personage, left Riverhall, and kept the turnpike-gate in Wadhurst. His grandson, Nicholas Fowle, a day-labourer, emigrated to America in 1839, with his son John Fowle, a wheelwright, and a numerous young family, carrying with them as a family relic the royal grant of free-warren given to their ancestor.

Brookland Forge and Ferredge Forge, on the borders of Frant, at or near Bartley Mill, or Little Shoesmiths, were worked by the Barhams of Butts and Shoesmiths. John Barham of Butts, in Wadhurst, second son of a younger son of Henry Barham, Esq., lord of Barham, &c., co. Kent, a descendant (according to the Kentish historian and genealogist, Philipot) from Robert de Berham, son of Richard Fitz-Urse, and brother of the murderer of Thomas à Becket, was the founder of several branches of the Barhams inhabiting the mansions of Great Butts and Shoesmiths, the former of which has disappeared and been replaced by a miserable little house. His descendant, John Barham, resided there till about 1713, when he sold the remnants of his paternal inheritance. He died in obscurity in 1732, aged seventy-five. John Barham, grandson of the above-named John Barham of Great Butts, erected or rebuilt, about 1630, the beautifully-situated and spacious mansion of Shoesmiths, and worked Bartley Mill and Brookland Forges. See his monumental slab opposite page 200. His grandson was high-sheriff of the county 14 William III, but at his decease his family fell into obscurity.

Scragoak works were formerly carried on by the Mansers, and afterwards by the Barhams; and Snape Furnace, the property of the Barhams, was worked by the Culpeper family about the middle of the seventeenth century. David Barham

^{*} They were descended from a brother of Bartholomew Fowle, alias Linsted, last prior of St. Mary Overie, in Southwark.

built the greater portion of the present house at Snape about 1617. He died in 1643, and is interred in the south aisle of Wadhurst Church, beneath an iron slab of very curious workmanship. This estate afterwards passed to the Barhams of Scragoak, who worked the furnace there, and this line of the Barhams terminated with Nicholas Barham, who died in the workhouse in 1788, aged eighty-two. The representative of these once distinguished families, now resident in Wadhurst, is Nicholas Barham, a wheelwright.

The family of Maunser, who were also iron-masters in Wadhurst, used Scragoak Furnace in the early part of the seventeenth century. Their residence was at High Town, which, upon the death of Nicholas Maunser in 1679, passed

into other hands.

Gloucester Furnace was partly in this parish, but principally in Lamberhurst.

Waldron.—Extensive works were carried on in this parish by the Fuller family, who are believed to have materially enriched themselves by them. A descendant, the late John Fuller, Esq., of Rose Hill, in Brightling, adopted, in allusion to that circumstance, the motto, "Carbone et forcipibus." It is scarcely necessary to confute the foolish tradition of the vicinity, that the founder of this respectable family gained his wealth by hawking nails about the county of Sussex upon the backs of donkeys! as the authentic family pedigree of the Fullers commences early in the sixteenth century with the name of John Fulwer or Fuller, citizen of London.

The furnace here was at work in the last century, and the neighbourhood abounds with specimens of its productions. Small chimney-backs, embellished with the lion of England, and the national badges of the rose, thistle, &c., so common in farmhouses and cottages for miles round, were cast at

these works.

Warbleton.—The site of Richard Woodman's works is still pointed out. Cralle Furnace and Forge, upon the same stream which supplied Heathfield Furnace, belonged to the family of Cheney. Near Beeston's Farm was a steel forge. Adjacent to Rushlake Green is a field called "Furnace Field."

Westfield.—Roman coins have been found among cinders

in this parish.

West Hothly.—There was a furnace in this parish.

(Horsfield.)

Wisborough Green.—There was a furnace at Pallingham Farm in this parish. The pond connected with it was very large, but it is now drained and converted into a meadow of unusual fertility.

Withyham.—The Baker family, who had possessions here as early as temp. Henry VIII, were owners of Stoneland in the seventeenth century, and had iron works, the machinery of which was impelled by a chain of ponds still existing below the house.

Worth.—The works here were very considerable. A piece of water, called the Furnace-pond, is connected by a rivulet with another just over the boundary of the county of Surrey, called the Forge-pond, about half a mile distant. Cannon have been cast here and conveyed to London within the last seventy years.*

^{*} Ex inf. Mr. W. Figg.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL NOTICES OF MAYFIELD PALACE.

PARTLY READ AT LEWES, OCTOBER 3, 1848.

BY HENRY ROSEHURST HOARE, Esq.

In pursuing the study of mediæval architecture, we trace its history mainly as developed in our ecclesiastical edifices, but few remnants of domestic buildings having survived to the present age, not so much through the lapse of time as through the gradual changes in society attendant on its course. those that remain of the ancient homes of England deserve our attention: their comparative rarity rather invests them with additional value than with an excuse for passing them by unnoticed; and we may find some interest yet lingering about the habitations of our forefathers, as well as in the nobler piles in which they worshipped, and around which they now repose. And here we may remark with what advantage this branch of our national architecture might be studied, inasmuch as it would lead us to a principle important in itself, and the more so as it is lost sight of in the present day, viz. the distinction observed by the ancient architects between their ecclesiastical and domestic designs, which may be pointed out in the far greater prominence which they gave to the former, both as to magnitude and decoration, than they cared to bestow upon the latter (though, be it observed, never trusting to either of these features for effect). In the one case their care was to erect a costly building, without taking into consideration the number of those for whom it was raised; in the other, to provide for themselves a substantial dwelling, often indeed ornate and imposing, but always eclipsed by the superior grandeur of their church.

The remains of monastic establishments present very scanty

portions of their domestic buildings; generally the ruins of the church or chapel alone attest the former existence of a convent. Probably the habitable parts were more carefully levelled, to preclude all hope of return from the ejected inmates; or perhaps the more substantial fabrics of the churches have withstood better the various mutilations which have taken place since the suppression of those establishments.

Though the greater part of the existing examples of ancient domestic architecture are numbered amongst the "warrior piles" of the feudal barons, yet some of great interest may be found in the remains of episcopal palaces,* of which the archiepiscopal palace at Mayfield has been, in its day, a very fine example, enough still remaining to show what it was when

perfect.

The parish of Mayfield has been from early times a peculiar of the see of Canterbury; it was one of those where the archbishops had palaces or resting-places, to which they resorted when travelling to Lewes, for the purpose of visiting their college and palace at South Malling.† All the parishes in the line of country from Lewes into Kent were, till lately, peculiars of Canterbury, viz. South Malling, Ringmer, Horsted, Framfield, Uckfield, Buxted, Mayfield, and Wadhurst; thus the archbishop might travel from South Malling to Kent without quitting his own diocese. On a similar plan the peculiars belonging to the diocese of Lincoln follow the line of the north road from Lincoln to London.

There is no record of the first erection of a palace at Mayfield; but it probably was in the time of St. Dunstan, about the middle of the tenth century, when he made Mayfield pa-

^{*} At at Lincoln, Norwich, Wells, Durham, and Bishop's Waltham, Hants. † Various accounts have been given of this establishment. It seems probable that Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons (who died in the year 688), founded a church at Old Malling; that "Adolphus Dux Suth Saxiæ' founded the college there; that Baldred, and after him Egbert, granted the whole manor to Christ Church, Canterbury; and that Archbishop Theobald erected a new church and habitation for the canons at South Malling, and first established a deanery there. Lee's Hist. of Lewes and Brighton, chap. x, where is a full account of the manor and college. The college continued under the jurisdiction of the archbishops till the surrender, 10 March, 1545, 37 Henry VIII. The college and deanery were granted to Sir Thomas Palmer. In 26 Henry VIII the deanery was valued at £47 4s. 8d. Framfield, one of the prebends, at £17 0s. 7d. Ringmer pr. at £22 10s. Southeram pr. at £19 14s. 11d.—Tanner's Notit. Monast. Sussex., No. xxi. The archbishops had a palace at Malling, distinct, it appears, from the college.

rochial. Eadmer, in his life of that prelate, says that "he built a wooden church at Magavelda (Mayfield), as in other villages remote from Canterbury, where he had residences." The same historian gravely records of St. Dunstan, that when dedicating this church, and walking round it according to the rule, he found that its position was not in the line from east to west; applying, therefore, his shoulder to it, he moved it with a slight pressure (aliquantulum pressit) into its proper line of orientation; "the which," continues Eadmer, "that he easily effected no one can doubt, except he who would incredulously oppose the words of Christ, by which he promises to those who have faith as a grain of mustard seed, that they should even transplant a mountain with a word."*

According to some histories, St. Dunstan was a prelate of an universal genius, having been an architect, a skilful artist, a musician, a painter, an organ-builder, and a bell-founder; and the good folks of Mayfield would add, a blacksmith. anvil, a hammer, and a pair of tongs are shown at the palace as his. † The legend of the place tells, that the devil having paid him a visit whilst engaged at his smith's work, St. Dunstan suddenly seized the nose of the unwelcome visitor with his tongs, and forcibly detained him; that when the devil at length made his escape, he by one leap "abridged the distance" from Mavfield to the spot now occupied by Tunbridge Wells, and plunging his nose into the spring there, imparted to it its chalybeate qualities. In his character as a churchman St. Dunstan is perhaps, on the whole, "more conspicuous than estimable." He was the principal founder of the order of St. Benedict in England, which had been only partially introduced by Archbishop Wilfred, and which afterwards prevailed so extensively.

Though the palace at Mayfield might at first have been intended merely as a resting-place, it evidently soon became a favorite resort for the archbishops; this we may infer from its ample dimensions, and from the number of deeds executed here, attesting the residence of several of the primates.

As there are no authentic records of this place, we can only

^{*} Eadmeri Vita S. Dunstani Archiep. Cant.—Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii, p. 217.
† Engraved at page 214.

collect a few incidental notices, of which a better connected view may be gained by subjoining a list of the primates, from Boniface, the first of whose residence here we have record, to Cranmer, who alienated the estate to the crown, quoting the deeds or councils dated at this palace.

Boniface of Savoy; consecrated 1244. Died at the castle of St. Helena, in Savoy, 1270. Endowed the vicarage of Mayfield; the deed of endowment is dated at this palace on the eve

of St. Laurence (August 9), 1262.*

Robert Kilwardby; 1272. Died at Viterbo, 1280.

John Peckham; 1278. Died at Mortlake, Dec. 8, 1292.

A letter from this archbishop to Richard, Bishop of London, " on affairs of great importance, treated of in the Archiepiscopal

Court," is dated at Mayfield, Feb. 24, 1283.†

Also a letter of protection (litera conservatoria) on behalf of the Friars Minors, that they might have power to hear confessions, and to absolve all the faithful, without distinction, without applying for the assent of a council, and without the licence of the parish priest, is dated at Mayfield, March 12, 1287.

Robert de Winchelsea; 1293. Died at Otford (Kent),

May 11, 1313.

A consultation of this archbishop, concerning the affording of assistance (or paying a subsidy) by the clergy to the king; dated at Mayfield, May 30, 1296.

A letter to all suffragans, to hold a service of praise to God for the success of the king (Edward I) in the Scotch war.

Dated at Mayfield, August 22, 1298.

A command of the archbishop to the Bishop of Norwich, that he should persuade Hamon de Gatele, one of his clergy, to present his gift; in the Roman court. Dated at Mayfield, Jan. 10, 1299.

A letter to Hamon de Gatele, ordering him to make his present to the chief pontiff and to the cardinal. (It is added, "who, however, did not obey this command." Dated at Mayfield, Jan. 10, 1299.

Letters of this archbishop in answer to the Bishop of Ely, on the payment of fifteenths to the king, and on the notification of an appeal to be made to the abbot of St. Michael's on the

^{*} Horsfield's Sussex, vol. i, p. 416.

[†] Wilkin's Concilia, vol. ii.

affair of Pageham.* Dated at Mayfield, Jan. 7, 1301. Probably Winchelsea was personally known to the inhabitants of Mayfield, and held in veneration for his deeds of charity. A compiler of miracles said to have been wrought by him after his death, records the cure of William Andrew, of Mayfield, of blindness, which was said to have been effected by his wife's bringing him to the tomb of that prelate.† Amongst other charitable deeds recorded of him is his grant to the poor of Mayfield, and to other indigent persons, all the profits of that rectory, except what was reserved for the repair of the house and church. If this was the case, the deed by which Archbishop Langton granted this rectory for the endowment of a fifth prebend of the church of South Malling, according to Tanner (Notit. Monast.), cannot have taken effect. Another disposal has been made of the rectory, viz. that it was a portion of the revenue of Canterbury Hall, founded by Archbishop Islip at Oxford. Godwin asserts this, but does not give his authority: Ecton also, quoting from Mag. Brit. There probably was no such disposal of the rectory as this; still it is not clear to what quarter its funds were applied. Lee says that Mayfield paid to the dean of Malling 6s. 8d. for proxies; and in the 'Taxatio Spiritual. Archiep. occurs "Ecclesia de Maghfeld in decanatu de S. Malling Lx l." (Battely. Cant. Sac. Append. No. xi, a. Godwin, de Præsulibus. Ecton's Thesaurus.)

During the primacy of Winchelsea, Edward I made his progresses into Sussex; and as he visited Mayfield, he was probably entertained by that prelate at the palace; as the deeds

before mentioned prove the residence of Winchelsea.

1297. The king grants a licence to David Comyn de Breghin, a Scotch knight (a hostage or prisoner), to go to France to fight for the king, on his oath of fidelity, and to return as before. "Donné à Maghefeld, 30 jour de May." ‡

June 22. In offerings of the king in the chapel in honour of St. Alban, at Maghefeld, 7s., the feast day of St. Alban.

The above notice is interesting, as showing that a chantryaltar at that time existed in Mayfield church in honour of St. Alban. The church then standing was burnt (with the greater

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^{*} Three deeds were executed by this archbishop at South Malling, in April, 1300, and a letter to the Bishop of Ely, Jan. 11, 1310.
† Top. Brit. ‡ Rymer's Fædera. § See p. 145 of this Volume.

part of the town) in 12 Rich. II, 1389. T. Walsingham, who records this, calls the church collegiate, but apparently without authority. The present church dates about the close of the fifteenth century, and has no chantry-altars. It is rather singular that there should be so few dedications in honour of England's proto-martyr. Ecton only mentions two throughout England, besides the abbey church at St. Alban's, viz. a church in London and one in Worcester. He does not, however, record the dedication of chantry-altars. (Ecton's Thesaurus.)

Walter Reynolds; 1313. Died at Mortlake, Nov. 16, 1327. Simon Mepham; 1327. Died at Mayfield, Oct. 12, 1333. Under this archbishop was held, July 17, 1332, "concilium MAGHFELDENSE," or the council of Mayfield, in which was recited the constitution concerning the celebration of holy days,

and the festivals of the saints.

It directs, among other matters, "the sacred sabbath to be begun from the first hour of that day, and not to be commenced beforehand, that we may not seem to be followers of the Jewish persuasion." "Feasts to be kept, besides the usual saints' days, on the anniversaries of the dedication of parish churches, and of the saints in whose honour the parish churches are dedicated. On the remaining feasts of saints, so called. persons may with license proceed to their accustomed occupations. But if any hired workmen should be refractory, and presume to abstain from their usual duties on the private feasts, and not, as was before said, on those authorized, and thus defraud those to whose service they had bound themselves, they shall be restrained, according to rule, from such superstitions.*

"Given at Maghfeld, July 16, in the year of our Lord 1332, and of our consecration the fifth." (Wilkin's Concilia.)

John de Stratford;† 1333. Died at Mayfield, August 23, 1348. No deeds are entered by Wilkins as executed by this archbishop at Mayfield. S. de Birchington has some interesting

^{*} Bishop Ridley, in his Articles of Visitation of 1550, asks if any tradesmen continue to observe what he calls abrogate or private holidays.

† This archbishop was brother of Robert de Stratford, Bishop of Chichester. Their nephew, Ralph de Stratford, was Bishop of London at the same time. The primate founded the college at Stratford on Avon, co. Warwick, and also St. Thomas's Chapel; and Ralph erected a mansion at that place for the residence of the chantry priests. Wheler's Hist. of Stratford.—The following records the

notices of his being executor of his own will, and of his charitable donations at this place. "Having," he says, "been much occupied with his pastoral charge, he was seized with a severe illness at Maidstone, and growing daily weaker, he was at length conveyed to Mayfield, where, having made his will, he distributed all his bequests amongst his family, and for the most part executed his own will. He often forefold his death to his family; and on Sunday, the 23d of August, eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, in the year of our Lord 1348, and of his translation the fifteenth, this primate, being in possession of his faculties, and having heard the mass of St. Mary, died at Mayfield. Before his death he appointed Simon de Islip his successor. He (Stratford) had given daily in alms, in the morning, to thirteen poor persons, thirteen pence, and to each a loaf. At noon, to thirteen others, before dinner, to each a loaf and a penny. He was in the habit of distributing these gifts with his own hand. Besides which he gave the "fragments" of his household to a great multitude of poor who came in from the neighbourhood. These were distributed by his almoner; and still further charities are mentioned as given by him in private. He was buried at Canterbury, near the high altar, on the northern side.

John de Ufford; 1348. Died July 18, 1349.

Thomas Bradwardine; 1349.* Died at Lambeth, Dec. 18, 1349.

Simon de Islip; 1349. Died at Mayfield, April 26, 1366. Several deeds of this archbishop are dated at this palace: in the summer of the first year of his primacy, ten instruments were executed by him here in the months of May, July, August, and September, 1350. The first was an injunction to chaplains to serve cures for moderate stipends; the second for settling the stipends of chaplains; the third an order issued in obedience to the king's command to offer up public prayers for

archbishop's investiture:—Forma dandi Pallium Johannis (de Stratford), Archiep. Cant. anno 1334, die 24 Aprilis.

[&]quot;Ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et B. Virginis et SS. Petri et Pauli et D. Papæ Johannis xxii et S. R. E. Necnon et Cant. ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradinus tibi Pallium de corpore B. Petri sumptum, plenitudinem, videlicet pontificalis officii; ut utaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis ei ab apostolica sede concessis."—Ang. Sac.

^{*} This primate was of Sussex extraction. Hasted says he was of Heathfield; but, as he quotes from Birchington, he seems to have mistaken that parish for Hartfield (Hertfeld).

success against the Spanish fleet; the other seven relate to the controversy between the university of Oxford and Bishop Synwell, of Lincoln, who had refused to confirm their election of William de Palmorna to be their chancellor.

The following deeds are also dated at Mayfield. A command of the archbishop to the Bishop of Lincoln, for the expenses of

the apostolic messenger, dated April 13, 1352.

A similar order, dated June 29, 1352.

A command of the archbishop against those who refused to

pay tithes, dated July 20, 1352.

An order for a convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, for making a supplication to the king, dated February 24, 1357.

A commission granted by the pope to the archbishop, for a convocation of the prelates of Canterbury, was published from

hence March 31, 1361.

An order, containing the visitation of the convent of St. Frideswide, Oxford, dated January 3, 1362.

A mandate for levying tithes to be paid to the pope, directed

to the Bishop of Winchester, dated March 24, 1362.

About this time Archbishop Islip founded Canterbury Hall, in Oxford, and it is probable that the regulations for its establishment, which are given by Wilkins under the year 1362, were drawn up by him at Mayfield, as he was resident here during the greater part of that year. It was here that he executed the charter of foundation, and the grant to the society of the manor of Woodford, in Northamptonshire, April 8, 1363. He is said to have been resident also on December 9 of that year, when he collated Wickliffe to the wardenship; but this seems doubtful.

Islip, like many of the mediæval prelates, was an architect as well as primate; he expended large sums in building and repairing several of the edifices belonging to his see, and, as we shall notice hereafter, the finest existing portion of this palace was probably his work. He recovered the sum of £1100 for dilapidations from the brother of John de Ufford, and obtained from the pope a bull to levy upon the clergy of his province a rate of fourpence in the mark towards the support of his charges, but under which a tenth was extorted from the clergy of his diocese. He is said also to have committed a greater waste of timber in the Dourdennes, in the weald of

Kent, than any of his predecessors.* Birchington mentions his having nobly repaired the palace of Canterbury, and his finishing the house at Maidstone begun by Archbishop Ufford.

One of the journeys of this primate to Mayfield seems to have eventually proved fatal to him. It is recorded of him, that about the end of January, in the year 1362, in riding from Otford to Mayfield, he fell from his horse, in a wet and miry lane, between Sevenoaks and Tunbridge. The chronicler tells us, rather unnecessarily, how he was thereby made "wet through all over," † in which pitiable state he rode on, without the necessary change of clothes, and so arrived at Mayfield. After sleeping at noon "in a certain stone chamber" in the palace, he was seized with paralysis; so that after dinner that day he was unable to articulate distinctly. He remained at Mayfield till July, 1363, when he went to Charing (Cherrynge), riding, not on horseback, but "gently in a litter" (suaviter in literá). From thence he went by stages to Canterbury, and after some time returned to Charing; and at length, in the beginning of August, 1364, came again to Mayfield, where he died on the morrow of St. Mark (April 26), 1366, in the seventeenth year of his consecration. He was buried on the 2d of May, without pomp and expense, before the great cross in the nave of the church at Canterbury.

Simon Langham; 1366. Died at Avignon, July 22, 1369. An admonition against holding a market on Sundays in the

Isle of Sheppy, is dated at Mayfield, July 4, 1368.

William de Whittlesea; 1369. Died at Lambeth, June 5, 1374.

Simon de Sudbury; 1375. Was beheaded on Tower Hill, together with Sir Robert Hales, master of the Hospitallers, by the rebels under Wat Tyler, June 14, 1381.‡

A mandate of this primate, to denounce murderers as excommunicate in the church at Westminster, is dated at Mayfield, August 14, 1378.

William Courtenay; 1381. Died at Maidstone, July 31, 1396. When this archbishop was making a metropolitical visita-

^{**} Biblioth. Top. Brit., vol. iv. Stephen de Birchington, Ang. Sac. † "Adeo quod ipse quam sub equo quam desuper fuerat penitus madefactus." The roads of Kent did not, it would appear, lack the "dirt and myre" for which Sussex was famous.

[‡] Battely, Cantuaria Sacra, p. 74.

tion, the abbot and convent of the canons of St. Augustin, in Bristol, complained that their habit, being white, was much soiled by the dirt and grease of the black leather boots, which they were obliged to wear by a rule of their establishment. In order to obviate this, the archbishop granted them a license to use, within the precincts of their monastery, stockings and hose of cloth of a black or brown colour, so that the price of it did not exceed 20d. per yard. But when they went abroad, they were to appear in boots and not in stockings, without the special leave of their abbot. This license is dated at Mayfield, Sept. 30, 1385.*

Also an inhibition against encouraging the preachings of one William Skynderby, of the diocese of Lincoln, an heretic,

is dated at Mayfield, May 14, 1491.

There is no record of deeds executed by any of the seven following primates at Mayfield, viz. Arundel, Chichley,

Stafford, Kempe, Bourchier, Morton, and Dene.

William Warham; 1504. Died at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury, Aug. 3, 1532. This archbishop was probably (as we shall see) an occasional sojourner at Mayfield, though there do not appear to be any deeds dated here by him.

Thomas Cranmer; 1533. Martyred at Oxford, March 21,

1556.

It does not appear that Cranmer resided at Mayfield at any time. It was during his primacy that this place ceased to be the resort of the archbishops. Some years before resigning it to the king, Cranmer had given up several estates in exchange for other property, to the great detriment of his income. I refer particularly to what was called "the Great Exchange," made Dec. 1, 1537, when, amongst other estates, most, if not all, of the noble manors with their palaces, belonging to the archbishopric, in Kent, were made over to the crown. They are detailed by Strype (b. ii, c. 29).† In lieu of these, the king gave Cranmer some manors, which had belonged to the lately dissolved religious houses; from which stock of plunder all the properties granted in the Exchange seem to have been taken. "This way of exchanging lands,"

^{*} Top. Brit.—At the visitation of Selborne Priory, Hants (an establishment of Augustins), by Bishop Wykeham, in 1387, the canons incurred a severe reprimand for wearing coloured stockings without permission.—White's Hist. of Selborne.

† Memorials of Abp. Cranmer.

says Strype, "was much used in those times: wherein the princes commonly made good bargains for themselves, and ill ones for the bishoprics."

The deed of the alienation of the manor and park of Mayfield is dated Nov. 12, 1545 (37 Henry VIII).* The rectory also is included; but it may be doubted whether it went with the manor, as it has continued till lately a peculiar of Canterbury.

In return for this and other demesnes, the king gave Cranmer a promise of a grant of lands, which, however, was not carried into effect till the 1st year of Edward VI, who, in consideration of his father's promise, and in performance of his will, "that certain persons should be considered," conveyed to him the rectories of Whalley, Blackbourne, and Rochdale, co. Lancaster, lately belonging to the Abbey of Whalley, with lands and tenements in that and other counties.

Extract from K. Edward's Book of Sales. An. regni Reg. Edw. VI primo. (Strype, Append. No. lxviii.)

	The some of money for the purchase.	The Lands.	The yerely value of the landes.	The rent reserved.	of the is-	The teste of the patent.
Archiepisco-	sui, ac in escamb. Maner. et Parc. de Mayfeld in Com. Sussex, ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in Com. Midd., Hertf., Kant.,	ley, Black-	479 0 2½	$55 \ 14 \ 6\frac{1}{4}$	A festo S. Michael. Arch. A° 37° H. 8.	die Au-

Cranmer has been blamed for parting with these revenues of his see. "But surely," says Strype, (quoting from Philpot, historian of Kent), "it was a true apology, made for the archbishop's great exchange, namely, because, he finding that the spreading demesnes of the church were in danger to be torn off by the talons of avarice and rapine, to mortify the

^{*} Battely. Cant. Sac., p. 64.

growing appetite of sacrilegious cormorants, and to extinguish the passions of such as looked with regret and desire on the patrimony of the church, exchanged them with the crown." How unjustly he had been charged with covetousness, let the good prelate himself testify. "I toke not half so moche care for my lyvynge, when I was a scholer of Cambridge, as I do at this present. For altho' I have now moche more revenewe, yet I have moch more to do withal; and have more care to lyve now as an archbishope, than I had at that time to lyve like a scholer. I have not so moch as I had, within ten yeares passed, by £150 of certen rent, beside casualties (fines and accidental benefits). I pay duble for everythynge that I bye. If a good auditor have this accoumpt, he shall fynde no grete surplusage to wax rich upon." (Letter to Sir William Cecil. Strype, Append., No. lxvii.)

Such a rapacious seizure was a "sign of the times," happening in the year of the suppression of the greater religious houses (1537). On the palace at Otford alone Warham,

Cranmer's predecessor, had expended £33,000.

A park was attached to the palace at Mayfield at the time of its alienation, and probably had existed there from an early date. It is delineated in the map of Sussex in Camden's 'Britannia,'* so that its boundaries have not long disappeared, though they may not now be traced. Probably this, and all the parks belonging to the palaces of the see, were stocked with deer. Archbishop Islip sold to the Earl of Arundel an ancient claim appendant to Slindon Manor of 26 does out of the earl's forest.† That prelate received for the discharge of the claim 260 marks, and has been charged with applying the amount to his own use; but he probably was in want of it to aid him in his extensive works of building and reparation. These deer were to be delivered half yearly, thirteen in the fat season, "in tempore pinguedinis," and thirteen "in tempore de ffermesoun;" this last is a singular word, seeming to mean "time of shutting up" (from the French fermer), and probably signifies the month of June, the time of the fawning of the does, which was technically called "the Fence month," as during it no swine, sheep, or goats were allowed in the forests. †

Gibson's edition. 1782.
 † Godwin de Præsul.
 † See Notes on the Forest Charters, in Thomson's "Magna Charta," p. 360.—

Courts of Sicainmote.

To most of the palaces, parks were attached, and to that at Aldington, in Kent, was annexed a chase for deer. (Strype.) The alienation of these must have been a considerable loss to the archbishop. Queen Elizabeth (mindful probably of this) sent, on one occasion, a present of a buck to Archbishop Parker. A letter is extant from Robert Duddley to Parker, in his collection of MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Antiquarian Repertory, vol. ii, p. 166); in which he acquaints the archbishop that "he had sent him, by the queen's command, a great and fat stag, killed with the queen's own hand, but which, because the wether was hot, and the dere somewhat chafed, and dangerous to be carried so farre without some help, he had caused to be parboyled in this sort,

for the best preservation of him."

We need not dwell upon the history of this manor subsequently to its alienation. Like most of the estates once belonging to the church, it has several times changed its owners. It was granted, in 1545, to Sir Edward North; after whom it passed into the possession of Sir Thomas Gresham, who resided here in great style, and entertained Queen Elizabeth when on her Kentish progress in 1573; one of the rooms of the palace is still called "Queen Elizabeth's Room." "But his chief seat," says the Biog. Brit. "seems to have been at Mayghfield, in Sussex, one room of which was called the Queen's Chamber, and the goods and chattels belonging to it were estimated at £7553 10s. 8d. This estimate is said to have been extracted from Sir T. Gresham's MS. journal: it evidently refers to the furniture of the whole mansion, not merely to the appurtenances of the Queen's chamber, and was a large valuation for those days.

From the Greshams, the palace passed to Sir Henry Neville, and successively to the families of May, Baker, and Kirby. There are a few notices of the manor in the Burrell MSS.,*

extracted from the Tower Records.

The Architecture.

No traces remain of the early building of St. Dunstan, which, indeed, is not to be expected, as it was, most probably, like the church, built of wood, and would therefore soon be supplanted by subsequent renovations. The building, as it

^{*} Addit, MSS. fol. 5682.

now appears, exhibits two styles of architecture, the Decorated of the fourteenth, and the Tudor, or late Perpendicular of the commencement of the sixteenth century. The plan is irregular, and difficult to be accurately traced, on account of the ruinous state of parts of the mansion. It consisted principally of a hall, with a quadrangle at the upper or east end,* containing the apartments, having projections in the form of square towers; at the lower end of the hall were the kitchen and buttery, and a tower which probably contained the servants' rooms. At a short distance south of the palace stands the gatehouse, or porter's lodge; it is tolerably perfect, but much modernized, having been converted into a dwelling. The principal feature is a lofty pointed arch, through which was the chief entrance in the centre of the front. It is now partially blocked,† and consists of plain, continuous mouldings. The lodge does not appear to be earlier than the fifteenth century.

The most ancient portion of the palace consists of the remains of the Great Hall, which show it to have been a noble building, both as to proportions and details. It was probably erected about the year 1350, the period when pointed architecture attained its perfection in the Decorated or Middle Plantagenet style. This date is confirmed by the reference already made to records of the see of Canterbury. We have noticed the residence at this palace of Archbishop Islip, and also the extensive works of building in which he was engaged during his primacy. As the date of his consecration (1349) agrees well with the style of this hall, it is highly probable that, during his residence at Mayfield in the summer of 1350, he superintended the erection of it, and of some other portions of the palace.

Some antecedent primates had probably improved the palace, as it is not likely that, in the general renovation of edifices later than the Anglo-Saxon era, such a palatial residence would remain unaltered. The primate, to whom we

^{*} The ends of the hall are more properly S.W. and N.E. I have followed the cardinal points for the sake of brevity.

† In the blocked part of this arch is the carving of a bird plucking fruit, which

[†] In the blocked part of this arch is the carving of a bird plucking fruit, which may have been intended as a rebus, but it does not agree with the name of any of the archbishops who resorted to Mayfield, nor with the arms assigned to them. In fact, rebuses were not common until towards the time when this estate was alienated. The device is of stone, but has been coloured by some native artist.

may point with some degree of probability as a builder here, is Thomas Peckham, who was a native of, and a resident in, this county.* He is related to have spent before the year 1284, 2000 marks in building and repairing some of his manor houses and castles;† and as the dates of two of his deeds attest his residence here, he may have made some additions to the palace, though a small portion only (to be hereafter noticed) remains, which might be assigned to his date. It is evident that a part of the palace was of stone in Islip's primacy; for, as we have seen, he slept in "a certain stone chamber," after his unlucky fall in the mire: this, however, may have been his own work, as he had at that time been primate thirteen years. From the mention of a stone chamber, we may also infer that a portion was of wood, which might possibly have been the remains of St. Dunstan's house.

The hall, though now a roofless ruin, still retains remnants of its former beauty, well worthy of careful examination. It is built with the sandstone of the neighbourhood, which is probably the reason that the elaborate details are confined to the interior. A striking feature of the exterior is the porch, very



OUTER DOORWAY OF THE HALL PORCH.

^{*} Lewes is his reputed birth-place, but this is not certainly known. He had a palace at Tarble Down, in the parish of Framfield. Lee says there were some remains of it in his time (1795). The family of the Peckhams resided at Arches, in the same parish, and bore the same coat-armour assigned to the archbishop, ermine, a chief quarterly, or and gules.

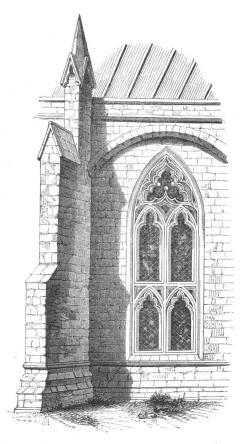
[†] Battely. Cant Sac. p. 70.

‡ The leaves on the capital of the principal shaft (now much broken) lay more horizontally than vertically, as the artist has drawn them.

massive, but of handsome proportions. Buttresses support it on the sides and front, of two stages, with pedimented heads. It is roofed, internally, with a quadripartite stone vault: the mortar has perished, but the stones are still held by the angular ribs, themselves locked together by the massy central keystone, which is worked into a foliaged boss. A chamber formerly existed over this roof, communicating with others at the lower end of the hall. The sides of the hall are divided into four bays, of which the lower one on each side is occupied with a doorway, that on the south side opening from the porch. The other bays contain each a window. The uppermost bay, on the north side, has been, at a subsequent period, projected, retaining the original window; the sides of this projection were carried above the parapet, and inclosed an upper chamber. Above each window, on the exterior, the wall is increased in thickness, and turned in an arch between the buttresses, which thus sustain a longitudinal as well as an outward pressure; these are (or rather have been, for not one remains perfect) very solid, and of deep projection. They appear to have been of two stages, with a plinth, finished above the parapet with pinnacles. No pinnacles now remain, but there are apparently traces of them; and they would be of use in balancing the thrust of the internal arches. The constructive arches, before described, greatly strengthen the fabric, at the same time giving a light appearance to the walls, and are a peculiar arrangement.*

The windows (three in number on each side) are tall and of elegant proportions, and all similar in design. They are of two lights trefoiled, divided by a transom, cinquefoiled: the tracery is of the geometrical order, and consists of a large ogee-pointed trefoil, each foil again trifoliated by smaller cusps: the three inner points of the trefoil have rounded stone finials. The exterior mouldings are plain chamfers, and those of the interior consist of a boldly-carved roll, with a square

^{*} The buttress by which I have been guided in giving a restored sketch, is that on the north side, against which the projecting bay has been built; being in this way somewhat protected, it is the least ruinous. The others were, doubtless, similar, but they are now too much mutilated to be called buttresses, either in appearance or use. I have drawn the pinnacle without crockets, as there was an evident intention to avoid external ornament, on account of the softness of the stone. Pinnacles without crockets are occasionally found in the Decorated style.



RESTORATION OF A BAY OF THE HALL.*

fillet on the face. Transoms, unused in church windows of this style, occur occasionally in domestic buildings, for the convenience, probably, of opening and shutting the casements.† The internal splays are finished with a moulded arch, supported on engaged shafts, which have bases and foliaged capitals: the arch is surmounted by a label or hood moulding; this member, rather singularly, is absent from the

^{*} The small finials in the tracery belong to the primary trefoil, and not merely to the cusps.

[†] A transomed window, of rather later date than these windows, though of the same style, and similar in proportions, lights the hall of the noble mansion at Haddon, Derbyshire.

exterior of the windows, where it is most needed, as a guard against the weather; perhaps such a provision was judged unnecessary, in consequence of the constructive arches aforesaid bending over the windows. Below the sill of each window, in the interior, is a flat table-stone, in the thickness of the wall, intended, it would seem, for a seat. This arrangement is occasionally to be seen in churches; the inner splay of the south-east window of the chancel is sometimes continued to within a short distance of the ground to serve the purpose of sedilia, as at Isfield.—" All the inner side (of the walls) of rough stone, except the bench table-stones, &c., which shall be altogedir of free-stone." (Contract for Fotheringay Church, p. 21.)

These windows furnish an interesting example of the ancient custom of considering glass as moveable property. Except in the tracery, there are no grooves for the glass, nor do there appear mortices in the jambs for holding the saddlebars. The casements were moveable, turning upon hinges,

some of which remain.

"It is singular," says a writer in the 'British Magazine,'
"to how late a period glass was considered in the light of
furniture, and to be moveable, in other words, as a luxury, not necessary either to the occupation or preservation of the house. In Brooke's Abridgement (title, Chattels), it appears that in the 21st Henry VII, A.D. 1505, it was held, that though the windows belonged to the heir, the glass was the property of the executors, and might therefore, of course, be removed by them, "quar le maison est perfite sauns le glasse," a doctrine and a reason which would much astonish a modern heir. As may be supposed, the advances of society in civilization did not leave such a doctrine unshaken, but nearly a century elapsed ere it was overturned. Lord Coke mentions, in the fourth part of his Reports (p. 63, b.), that in the 41st and 42d Elizabeth, 1599, it was in the Common Pleas resolved, per totam curiam, that glass annexed to windows by nails, or in any other manner, could not be removed, for without glass it is no perfect house, and that the heir should have it, and not the executors. The cost of glass for the windows was then (temp. Eliz.) no light one; for it is well known that, at that time, most houses were built with a

great number of very large windows, many of them filled with stained glass. Lord Bacon, in the case before quoted from Coke, observes, "peradventure great part of the costs of the house consists of glass, which, if they be open to tempests and rain, waste and putrefaction of the timber of the house would follow."*

But, besides these moveable casements, a feature yet remains unaccounted for. Grooves or channels are worked in the jambs and sill, apparently for the use of shutters or leaves of wood, as they do not seem to have been for the convenience of the casements, which would turn on the hinges independently of the grooves. Shutters were not unfrequently used in windows, either plain or carved with panels; in some cases they superseded the use of glass. They were either hung on hinges, or, as I think was the case here, they worked up and down in grooves. Probably, therefore, the casements were taken out when the archbishops were not in residence, and the windows closed with shutters.† It is hardly necessary to observe that the windows would be furnished with richly stained glass, probably armorial, as no building would have been considered perfect without such a provision.

We now come to describe the roof, a noble design, when perfect, and of a peculiar construction. The plan is simple, viz. three lofty stone arches spanning the hall, and sustaining a timber roof of rather acute pitch. The spandrils (or space between each arch and the wall) were closed with stone, and thus the bays were divided from one another. These arches were a bold conception of the architect: they embrace a span of nearly forty feet; and though their weight must have been very great, yet their magnitude would rather preclude than favour the idea of heaviness, as such a construction would appear more cumbersome on a smaller scale. They are obtuse-angled drop arches, i. e. their centres are below their spring; but their proportions cannot be accurately described, unless the measurements could be obtained of the chord of each arc

^{*} Notices of Past Times from Law-books, by William Twopenny, Esq.—Brit. Mag. vol. iii, p. 650. Quoted in the Glossary of Architecture, vol. i, p. 189.

† "Window leuys (leaves) of tymber be made of bourdis joyned together with keys of tree let into them. I wyll have a latesse before the glasse for brekynge I have many prety wyndowes shette with leuys goynge up and downe."—Hormani Vulgaria, p. 242, 244.

or segment, and the height to the keystone from the line of

spring.

A groove or jamb, slightly recessed, is worked vertically on each spandril of the arches, finished below with a four-leaved flower projecting against the hood moulding of the arch. These were probably intended to hold the shafts of the windbraces,—arches of wood, placed longitudinally within the bays, for the support of the purlines which connect the principal rafters.**

The arches are carried on corbels placed midway down the wall: these have a moulded abacus, and are enriched with varied foliage of excellent sculpture, which, together with that on the jamb-shaft capitals of the doorways, exhibits the vine, ivy, and oak-leaf, in a manner worthy of the best period of art. The foliage is supported by figures of men in various



CORBEL OF ONE OF THE ROOF ARCHES.

postures, and of animals; immediately below these runs a string course of the scroll-moulding round the hall, except where interrupted by the windows. I am at present acquainted with only two other instances of a roof of this construction: one is at the Mote, Ightham, Kent, where the roof of the hall is supported by an arch of stone in the centre, and one of timber at each end; the other, in the hall of Conway Castle, Caernarvonshire, which, of smaller dimensions than that at this palace, is surmounted by eight depressed arches of stone, which probably sustained the floor of an upper chamber.

At the lower end of the hall are three arches leading to

^{*} They are common in the construction of the roofs of collegiate and other halls.

the kitchen and butteries,* the usual arrangement in large establishments. There are, apparently, mortices in the walls, into which were fitted the beams of a western gallery, below which was probably a screen, extending across the hall—a general appendage in later times, useful in protecting the company from the draughts caused by the entrance-door and kitchen archways.

In the centre of the wall, upon the dais, at the upper end, was the chief seat or throne: nothing now remains of it except the stone diaper-work, which formed the back. There appears to have been a projecting canopy of stone, foliated within and pedimented on the exterior, and flanked perhaps with pinnacles. Not a relic exists of such an arrangement, but traces on the wall somewhat answering to it are delineated in one of Grimm's drawings of the palace, in the Burrell Mss.

The diaper-work is beautifully carved in square four-leaved flowers. This mode of ornamenting was not continued, except in painting, later than the Decorated style; it is not of frequent occurrence: other examples in this county are in Chichester Cathedral, and on the tomb of Gervase Alard at Winchelsea. In the upper wall above the dais is a pointed window, now blocked; it is said to have communicated with the archbishop's private room, from whence he could view the proceedings in the hall, when not inclined to be present. There is a smaller square-headed window in the same wall.

According to the uncertain description given by the tenants of the palace, the pavement, now entirely destroyed, consisted of stones, carved in the same pattern as the diaper-work of the throne; the hollow parts of the flowers being filled with various colours, probably a coarse kind of enamel. Perhaps, however, these were not stones, but tiles, which, though generally red, with devices in yellow, yet were not unfrequently, as mentioned by Chaucer, "of manie divers hue."† A few fragments of the pavement were preserved till lately by the tenants, but have been very negligently allowed to be abstracted by visitors.

^{*} In one of the small stone lockers in the butteries is an ancient iron mortar. † Tiles of dark blue and yellow occur in Etchingham Church.

In the bay at the upper end of the hall is an archway, now blocked, which led to the adjoining apartments; and at the opposite angle of the same end are two adjacent doorways, one on the east and the other on the south side: the arches of both are deeply moulded, and the jamb-shafts have foliaged capitals. That on the south opens into a recess or passage, cut obliquely through the wall and buttress, perhaps intended for a closet; but this is not clear. What were the internal fittings of the hall we have no means of ascertaining; the walls on the interior (as well as externally) are of smooth ashlar work, and do not present traces of painting or of wainscoting; they were probably hung with tapestry.

The length of the hall internally is 68 feet; its breadth 38; and height, to the ridge of the roof, about 50. Thus its general appearance, with its lofty windows of stained glass, its magnificent roof and elegant pavement (besides the internal fittings), must have been exceedingly fine; hardly surpassed, perhaps, by any other hall in the kingdom. I have detailed its principal features at length, as it is by far the finest portion of the palace, and also the most ruinous, having been regarded only as a stone-quarry by some of its modern possessors. We may traverse the remaining apartments more quickly, as they have

lost many of their ancient features.

Passing through the eastern doorway before mentioned, and leaving, on the right a narrow arched passage leading to the cellars, and on the left an entrance to some of the ground-floor apartments, we ascend a staircase of stone, and enter the antechamber, which led (by a door now blocked) into a large apartment, probably the presence-chamber, occupying one side of the quadrangle. It is now called the great dining-room, and was probably used as such in later times, instead of the hall. In ancient mansions a dining-room was not uncommonly put in requisition after the hall had been disused for banqueting purposes. In this apartment is a fine stone fireplace, which is the portion before alluded to, as perhaps the work of Archbishop Peckham; but if not, it dates as far back as the hall. the ancient form of the projecting hood, which is in this instance supported at each end by a triple bracket, resting on an engaged shaft; the hood was required to catch the smoke, as the back is but slightly recessed.

This room, which is now used as a granary, has lost its original windows; those by which it is at present lighted, on the side opposite the fire-place, are of the Tudor period. In an adjoining apartment, called Queen Elizabeth's room, is a chimney-piece bearing a date in Arabic numerals, which reads 1371, but is evidently a mistake for 1571, the time probably of its erection. There are traces of arabesque work beneath the whitewash. In a spandril of the doorway of another upper room is a shield, containing the arms of the see of Canterbury, impaling a fess between a goat's head in chief, and three lozenges in base. These were the bearings of Archbishop Warham, who occupied the see from 1504 to 1532, which period agrees well with the style of architecture of the doorway, and indeed of the greatest part of the quadrangle, which was probably repaired or rebuilt by Warham; so that this palace may have been his occasional residence, though we have no further proof of this in history. He made a request in his will that his successor should not exact any sum for dilapidations, as he had himself expended no less than £30,000 in repairing and improving his residences.* One of the lower rooms of the quadrangle seems to have been used as a kitchen; perhaps when the presence chamber was used as a dining-room, the kitchen at the lower end of the hall was discontinued as such. An adjoining room was probably a larder: the window is filled with elegant open lead work; the piercings are in the shape of fleurs-de-lis.

No others of those useful witnesses, armorial bearings, are to be found, except a small shield, charged with the arms of the archiepiscopate, built into the exterior of the hall, away from its original place. There was, however, another badge or bearing extant in Sir William Burrell's time. He says, "I found but one shield of arms at the place, which was that of the see of Canterbury on one corner of a mantle, and on the other corner was cut, in the stone, this figure"—(unfortunately no figure is drawn)—" the badge of one of the archbishops, as I conceive; it appears to be two bows, or straps of leather interlaced." † This bearing is not now to be seen, nor is it

^{*} Hasted's Hist. of Kent.

^{*† &}quot;Mr. Baker, of the Lower House, told Mr. Hayley that he had the coat armour of Sir Thomas Gresham, finely executed in painted glass, which was brought from the palace."—Burrell Mss. It is not to be wondered at that Sir William overlooked

clear to which of the archbishops it can be assigned, but it may not improbably have belonged to Archbishop Stafford, as a knot was the cognizance of a branch of the Staffords. (Lower's Curiosities of Heraldry.)

It is rather surprising that no traces remain of the chapel, though one doubtless existed, as it was anciently a necessary appendage to the mansion, and in one of the deeds executed here occur the words, "in capellá de manerio nostro de

Maghfeld," &c.

On the north side of the hall there are the remains visible of a subterranean passage, leading, it is said, to the church; it is now choked with rubbish.* Adjoining the kitchen apartments, at the lower end of the hall, is a well, of considerable depth, and supplied with the purest water. It is called St. Dunstan's, and was probably dedicated in his honour, and consequently the resort of pilgrims, and the reputed scene of miracles. It

is guarded by four walls, having one entrance.†

We may here take leave of the palace, though other architectural features might be noticed: the foregoing sketch will show it to be well worthy of investigation, though now so much ruined, and hastening to further decay. Its mutilation has been caused by the hand of man, and not by that of time. It survived all the chances and changes of passing ages, and stood securely till about the year 1740, when its gothic proprietor fell upon it with axe and hammer, and reduced its fair proportions. Having been deserted as a family residence, the roof of the hall was taken off, and a quantity of stone taken from the buttresses and other parts of the palace, to be used elsewhere in building. Probably the Elizabethan mansion of the Bakers, generally called the Lower House, and sometimes the Little Palace, at the western entrance of the village, was partially built with materials from the palace.

Since this mutilation the hall has remained in nearly the same condition; but the apartments at the east end were so

* The owner of the adjacent garden refuses to allow a search to be made of this passage in the direction of the church.

the coat of Archbishop Warham, just mentioned, as it had then a super-coat of whitewash, of which it has only lately been relieved.

⁺ The wishing-well at Walsingham chapel, Norfolk, was similarly inclosed for the convenience of the pilgrims.—Brand's Pop. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 223, art. Wells and Fountains.

much battered, that portions of them have from time to time fallen, and other parts are ready to follow. When Henry Nevile,* Esq., sold to Thomas May, of Burwash, Esq., the manor and park of Mayfield, May 6, 1597, "the glass and wainscot of the chief manor house" was particularised, and it was probably removed soon afterwards. A considerable quantity, however, of carved wainscoting remained for some time, but it has been wantonly burnt by the tenants. It may be a matter of surprise with some how the noble arches of the hall have escaped destruction. It was no feeling of veneration that spared them; the only reason was, the danger that would attend any attempt to pull them down. We would fain trust that they may long stand in defiance of any such assaults; but perhaps the next owner (for the ruins, it is said, are shortly to be sold) may want a few materials, and down will go further portions of the walls and buttresses; then the arches must fall, and with them some of the most interesting architectural features of the county will perish.

Those who have wandered amongst the once stately piles of a purer age of architectural science, cannot but regret the loss of these interesting fabrics of antiquity, which have deserved a better fate. It were to be wished that the voice of antiquarian societies, not seldom lifted up against their destruction, might be of more avail; but the utilitarian spirit of the present age looks coldly on them if they do not serve its purposes, and sweeps them ruthlessly away. It is an unpleasing truth that their demolition and spoliation have been, from various motives and on various occasions, the work of our own hands. Time has only cast his dark mantle over them, investing them with an additional claim to our veneration; exerting his influence only on those which man's hand had previously undermined.

Better things, certainly, may be said of the last few years, as we are now endeavouring to revive our national ecclesiastical architecture, and to appreciate the models of antiquity; still there is much apathy and neglect to be overcome, and the tide of tasteless innovations is yet but imperfectly stemmed. Surely we ought to consider ourselves as the guardians rather than the owners of our ancient edifices; for it is ungrateful in

^{*} Of Billingbean, co. Herts. He sold the property for £6387.—Burrell Mss.

us, who have made so free a use of them, not to take some thought for posterity, remembering how our ancestors have built for us. We shall, however, be doing good service if we collect such records as we may of mediæval architecture, particularly in the case of structures doomed to fall; happy if we shall have lent an effectual hand in rescuing from oblivion the ancient monuments of England.

[It may not be amiss to remark, that a correspondence was carried on some time ago in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' on the point—whether the great reformer Wickliffe was rector of Mayfield. Not being acquainted with the controversy, I can only make this reference to it; remarking that Wickliffe was at one period of his life rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and Warden of Canterbury Hall, at Oxford.]

SOUTH-DOWN SHEPHERDS,

AND THEIR SONGS AT THE SHEEPSHEARINGS.

By R. W. BLENCOWE, Esq.

At the time when, in the words of Camden, "the Weald of Sussex was full of iron mines, and the beating of hammers upon the iron filled the neighbourhood round about with continual noise," another large portion of the county, that of the South Downs, was, perhaps, one of the most solitary, noiseless districts in England. Princely Brighton was only a village of fishermen; Worthing a hamlet of another village, that of Broadwater, and within its boundaries there was but one town, that of Lewes, which really belonged to it. Here and there only, as is testified by maps of comparatively very recent date, along its southern slopes, or in the bottom of its valleys, was the land under tillage; over all the rest were spread vast flocks of sheep, which, with their attendant shepherds, ranged over a thousand breezy hills.

Few people, probably, are aware of the immense number of sheep which, under the twofold impulse of foreign demand and that given to it by the great woollen manufacture at home, were reared in England at an early period of our history. A large exportation of English sheep to Spain took place as early as 1273, in the reign of Alonzo X, when they were first imported there. According to a modern Spanish writer, Copmany, they were again imported in 1394, in the reign of Henry III of Spain, as a part of the marriage portion of his wife, Catharine Plantagenet, daughter of John of Gaunt; and Holinshed tells us, that "on occasion of a treaty of alliance between Edward IV of England and Henry IV of Castille, license was given for certain Cotteswolde sheep to be transported into the countrye of Spaine, which have there so mul-

tiplyed and increased, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the profite of Spayne." "Above all," says an Italian writer,* in the year 1500, "the English have an enormous number of sheep, which yield them wool of the finest quality;" and we learn from an old record in the Exchequer, that in the 28th year of Edward III, in 1354, there were exported 31,651 sacks of wool and 3036 cwt. of fells. "In 1551, no fewer than sixty ships sailed from the port of Southampton only, laden with wool for the Netherlands."† But that which throws the strongest light upon this point is a statute of the 29th Henry VIII, showing to what an extent the pasturage of the flocks had superseded the tillage of the land. The following is an extract: "One of the greatest occasions that moveth and provoketh greedy and covetous people so to accumulate and keep in their own hands such great portions of the land of this realm from the occupying of poor husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture, and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep. So that some have 24,000, some 20,000, some 10,000, some 5000, some more, some less, by the which a good sheep for victual, that was accustomed to be sold for 2s. and 4d., or 3s. at most, is now sold for 6s., 5s., or 4s. at the least; and a stone of clothing wool, that in some shires was accustomed to be sold for 18d. or 20d., is now sold for 4s., or for 3s. and 3d. at the least:" and then it enacts, that no tenant occupier shall keep more than 2000 sheep, exclusive of lambs under a year old. This large conversion of pasture lands into tillage accounts for the ridges and furrows which we see so frequently in grass fields.

Very different in form and symmetry was the sheep of those days from the beautiful animal which is now the pride and boast of our county. The flocks were then reared more for their fleeces than their flesh. The wool trade, which had greatly advanced under the encouragement given to it by Edward III, went on improving, and extending itself under many succeeding reigns, till it became the great staple manufacture of England. In Henry the Seventh's time it had established itself for the coarser manufactures in Yorkshire,

^{*} Italian Relation of England, p. 10.

[†] Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii, p. 58.

particularly at Wakefield, Leeds, and Halifax; and in the reign of Elizabeth it was firmly fixed in the west of England, where all the finer manufactures were, and indeed still are carried on. Its influence on the social and political condition of the people was very great, wealth flowed in, towns and villages were created by it, prices rose, rents increased, labour became more valuable, and gradually the middle and lower classes of the people took a higher place in the social scale. When John Winchcomb, the clothier, commonly known by the name of Jack of Newbury,* sent forth a hundred men, armed and clothed at his own expense, to meet the Scots at Flodden Field, the feudal baronial system had been shaken to its centre, and the loom was one of the most powerful of the levers which overthrew it.

Independently of higher associations, there is a peculiar interest attached to the shepherd and his flock, and indeed to his faithful dog, arising from the general solitude of his life, from the scenery, particularly on the South Downs, in which he moves, and from the importance of his charge; and, under the influence of this feeling, it seemed desirable to collect and preserve any old customs and habits connected with his mode of life, which have passed, or which are about to pass away. Little, indeed, has been collected, but that little may not be

uninteresting.

Solitary as the shepherd's life generally was, there was one month in the year, and that the most beautiful of all the months, that of June—the sheepshearing month—when they met together in considerable numbers to shear the various flocks. Their work was hard; but there was much that was enjoyable in it, for it was a season of social merriment, which contrasted strongly with the usual solitary tenor of their lives. The shearing used to be performed by companies, consisting generally of above thirty men, and most of them formerly were shepherds. Each company received its distinctive name from some place within the sphere of its labours. One was called, for instance, the Brookside, another the Portslade Company; each of them had a captain and lieutenant placed over it, and these men, selected by the party for their trustworthy character, their superior intelligence, and their skill in the shearing

^{*} Bischoff on Wool, vol. i, p. 55.

art, exhibited a pleasant specimen of a good elective government. Nor were the outward symbols of authority wanting, for the captain was distinguished by his gold-laced, and the lieutenant by his silver-laced hat; but this distinction has now

passed away.

We are indebted to the Rev. John Broadwood for the following and for other "old English songs," still sung by the peasantry of the weald of Surrey and Sussex, who collected them, after having heard them sung every Christmas from his childhood, by the country people, when they went about wassailing to the neighbouring houses at that season. With the true feeling of an archæologist, he had the airs set to music exactly as they are now sung, with a view, to use his own words, to rescue them from oblivion, and to afford a specimen of old English melody. They were harmonised by Mr. Dusart, organist to the chapel-of-ease at Worthing. The stanzas, as now published, are in some degree varied from those of Mr. Broadwood, those of an old shepherd in this neighbourhood having been adopted where the variation seemed to be an improvement.

There is a springy, joyous spirit in this old Sussex song, which was sung at the sheepshearings, and again at Christmas.

Here the rose buds in June, and the violets are blowing, The small birds they warble from every green bough;

Here's the pink and the lily, And the daffydowndilly,

To adorn and perfume the sweet meadows in June. 'Tis all before the plough the fat oxen go slow; But the lads and the lasses to the sheepshearing go.

Our shepherds rejoice in their fine heavy fleeces, And frisky young lambs, which their flocks do increase;

Each lad takes his lass, All on the green grass, Where the pink and the lily, And the daffydowndilly, &c.

Here stands our brown jug, and 'tis fill'd with good ale, Our table, our table shall increase and not fail;

We'll joke and we'll sing, And dance in a ring; Where the pink and the lily, And the daffydowndilly, &c.

When the sheepshearing's over, and harvest draws nigh, We'll prepare for the fields, our strength for to try;

We'll reap and we'll mow, We'll plough and we'll sow; Oh! the pink and the lily, And the daffydowndilly, &c. As soon as the company was formed, all the men repaired to the cottage of the captain, where a feast, which was called the "White ram," was provided for them, and on this occasion the whole plan of the campaign was discussed and arranged.

They generally got to their place of shearing about seven, and having breakfasted, began their work. Once in the forenoon and twice in the afternoon, their custom was "to light up," as they termed it; they ceased to work for a few minutes, drank their beer, sharpened their shears, and set to work again: their dinner-hour was one, but this was not the great meal of the day, their supper being the time of real enjoyment, and when this was over, they would remain for several hours in the house, smoking their pipes, and singing their sheepshearing songs, in which they were joined by the servants of the farm, and sometimes the master and mistress of the house would favour them with their presence. The following was a favorite song, and though the rhymes are anything but perfect, and here and there the metre halts, there is a rude spirit in it, which will justify its being preserved.

Come, all my jolly boys, and we'll together go Abroad with our masters, to shear the lamb and ewe; All in the merry month of June, of all times in the year, It always comes in season the ewes and lambs to shear; And there we must work hard, boys, until our backs do ache, And our master he will bring us beer whenever we do lack. Our master he comes round to see our work is doing well, And he cries, "Shear them close, men, for there is but little wool."
"O yes, good master," we reply, "we'll do well as we can."
When our captain calls, "Shear close, boys!" to each and every man;
And at some places still we have this story all day long, "Close them, boys! and shear them well!" and this is all their song. And then our noble captain doth unto our master say, "Come, let us have one bucket of your good ale, I pray." He turns unto our captain, and makes him this reply: "You shall have the best of beer, I promise, presently." Then out with the bucket pretty Betsy she doth come, And master says, "Maid, mind and see that every man has some." This is some of our pastime while we the sheep do shear, And though we are such merry boys, we work hard, I declare; And when 'tis night, and we have done, our master is more free, And stores us well with good strong beer, and pipes and tobaccee. So we do sit and drink, we smoke, and sing and roar, Till we become more merry far than e'er we were before. When all our work is done, and all our sheep are shorn, Then home to our captain, to drink the ale that's strong. 'Tis a barrel, then, of hum cap, which we call the black ram; And we do sit and swagger, and swear that we are men; But yet before 'tis night, I'll stand you half a crown, That if you ha'n't a special care, the ram will knock you down.

Among the toasts drank at rural meetings in Sussex, there was one which was always followed by a very curious song, called the "Maiden's Health." I have not been able to ascertain whether it was sung at the sheepshearings; but as it certainly was at harvest-homes, and was very popular, at all events it ought to be preserved.

Our maid she would a hunting go, She'd never a horse to ride; She mounted on her master's boar, And spurr'd him on the side. Chink! chink! chink! the bridle went, As she rode o'er the Downs. So here's unto our maiden's health, Drink round, my boys! drink round!

When the supper was finished, and the profits shared, they all shook hands and parted, bidding each other good-bye till another year, and each man found his way home as best he might; on the whole, however, there was no great degree of excess.

Of this festive spirit at sheepshearing we find traces in the

records of Scripture:

"Nabal had three thousand sheep, and a thousand goats; and he was shearing his sheep in Carmel."—When David's ten young men applied to him, he repelled them, saying, "Shall I then take my bread, and my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give it unto men, whom I know not whence they be?"—"Behold, he held a feast in his house, like the feast of a king, and his heart was merry within him, for he was very drunken."*

The social mirth has of late years very much abated, for since it has ceased to be the custom to shear the lambs as well as the ewes, the number of men in each company has much lessened, and now the shearers frequently bring their own provisions with them, and board themselves, perhaps never entering the master's house at all. Whether it be a change for the better or the worse, let others, who are best acquainted with the present system, decide; but so it is.

To Mr. John Dudeney, of Lewes, the descendant from a long line of shepherds, I am indebted for all the information I have received on the subject of this paper. Having begun life as a shepherd's boy, he is now, at an advanced age, engaged in a different but kindred pursuit, that of schoolmaster,

^{* 1} Sam. ch. xxv, v. 2, 11, 36.

attending kindly and carefully to his flock of boys. Possessed by nature with a strong innate love of knowledge, he has afforded a striking instance of its acquisition, by turning to good account the peculiar leisure of a shepherd's occupation; and as the simple narrative of his progress refers to many particulars of the former habits of living on the South Downs, I trust the reader will follow with interest the peaceful tenor of his way, as here described in his own words.

"I was born at Rottingdean the 21st April, 1782, my father, Henry Dudeney, being shepherd to John Hamshaw, Esq. We lived with my grandfather, John Dudeney, in what is now called Plumpton Cottage, which was then his property. He was shepherd to Mr. Falconer, of Walls Farm, for many years, and my father had the care of the flock belonging to Messrs. R. Verral, of Warningore, J. Verral, of Courtespeed and R. Comba. The control of Courtespeed and R. Comba. of Courthouse, and R. Comber, Esq., of Allington. I was sent to school to an old woman who lived at Plumpton Place, of the name of Mascall, whose husband was bailiff over a few fields for Lord Pelham. I learnt nothing there but to drive the ducks into the moat, and my mother, fearing I might fall in, took me away after I had been there only a few weeks. This was all the day schooling I ever had. My mother taught me to read, and my father taught me to write a little in the winter evenings, and also to do addition and subtraction, which was all he knew of arithmetic. I did not learn the multiplication table till I was near eighteen years of age.

"When I was eight years old I began to follow the sheep during the summer months; in winter I sometimes drove the plough. I was fond of reading, and borrowed all the books I could. When I was about ten, a gentleman (whom I afterwards found to be Mr. Dunvan, author of what is called Lee's History of Lewes) came to me on the hills, and gave me a small History of England and Robinson Crusoe, and I read them both with much interest. When he first came he inquired of the boy who was tending my father's flock, while I was gone to sheepshearing, for a wheatear's nest, which he had never seen. These birds usually build their nests in the chalk-pits, and in the holes which the rabbits had made. I afterwards bought, when I came to Lewes fair, a small History of France, and one of Rome, as I could get the money; indeed, when I came to the fairs, I brought all the money I could spare to buy books.

"What I consider a very fortunate circumstance was my father's borrowing a book on Geography of Mr. Cripps, father of J. M. Cripps, Esq. I think it was Salmon's Geographical Grammar. As my father was fond of reading in winter evenings, this was a choice book with him, and lest I should injure it, I might only look at it when he was by me. I took great interest in the maps, and obtained tolerably correct notions of the relative situations of the principal kingdoms, cities, &c. When a town was mentioned in conversation, or in the newspapers, I could often tell them where it was, &c., for which I got praise, and that encouraged me

to go on.
"My mother sometimes tended my father's flock while he went to sheepshearing. I have known other shepherds' wives do the same; but this custom, like many

others, is discontinued. I have not seen a woman with a flock for several years.

"The masters allowed me the keeping of one sheep, the lamb and the wool of which brought me about 14s. or 15s. a year, which I saved till I had enough to buy a watch, for which I gave four guineas, and which has now shown me the time of day for more than half a century. My father let me have the privilege of catching wheatears, which brought me in a few shillings. These birds are never found in great numbers so far from the sea-coast, and I very seldom caught a dozen in a day. The bird called the bustard, I have heard old shepherds say, formerly frequented the Downs, but their visits have been discontinued for nearly a century. I have heard my father say, that his father saw one about the year 1750; he saw that near to Four Lords' Dool, a place so called, because at the tumulus or dool there four parishes meet—St. John's, under the Castle, Chailey, Chiltington, and Falmer. When I was sixteen I went to service, as under-shepherd, at West Blatchington, where I remained one year. When the transit of Mercury over the sun's disc took place, on the 7th of May, 1799, my curiosity was excited; but in looking for it without

due precaution I very much injured one of my eyes.

"In the winter of 1798-9, during a snow, my flock was put into a barn-yard, the first instance I know of putting the sheep into the yard, except in lambing There we caught more wheatears than at my father's. I used to sell some to the gentry on their excursions to the Devil's Dyke for 2s. 6d. or 3s. a dozen, at the beginning of the season sometimes catching three dozen in a day, but not often. At Midsummer, 1799, I removed to Kingston, near Lewes, where I was undershepherd for three years. The flock was very large (1400 the winter stock), and my master, the head shepherd, being old and infirm, much of the labour devolved on While here I had better wages, £6 a year; I had also a part of the money obtained from the sale of wheatears, though we did not catch them here in great numbers, a dozen or two a day, seldom more. The hawks often injured us by tearing them out of their coops, and scattering their feathers about, which frightened the other birds from the coops. During winter I caught the moles, which, at twopence each, brought me a few shillings. I could, therefore, spare a little more money for books. I still read such as I could borrow, on history, &c., for I never, after I was twelve or thirteen years of age, could bear to spend my time in what is called light reading.

"The first winter I was at Kingston I did not do much; but by the help of a ciphering book, which I borrowed of a schoolboy, I practised a little. My father frequently entreated me to try and improve my mind. I had no one to advise me as to what books were most suitable for me, and as I had only advertisements to go by, I often bought books by no means the best for me, and had not money to spare to

buy more.

"By some means, I believe from seeing an advertisement in another book, I found there was a book called Turner's 'Introduction to Geography.' I bought it, and read it over and over; soon after I procured his 'Introduction to the Arts and Sciences,' which opened new scenes to my mind. I also bought his 'Introduction to Astronomy,' and so eager was I to con over its contents, that in taking it home from Lewes, I went into a shaw quietly to look it over. This book assisted me much in forming correct ideas of the distances, magnitudes, &c., of the planets, and other phenomena of the heavens. I also bought a small dictionary, and an English grammar. About that time I happened to see, on an old book-stall in Lewes, 'Les Aventures de Télémaque, Fils d'Ulysse.' I bought it; but when I got home I found I could not read it, and as I had given 9d. for it, I bought a French grammar, and set about learning French. Some time after, a gentleman riding by, and seeing me reading, after a little conversation gave me a seven-shilling piece, and with that I bought a French and English dictionary, and thus I learned to read French a little. The last year I was at Kingston, I prevailed on a poor man in the village, named George Coleman, to open an evening school, and I attended it for a few weeks in the winter.

"I had very little opportunity of reading at home, so used to take a book or two in my shepherd's coat-pocket, and to pursue my studies by the side of my flock when they were quiet. I was never found fault with for neglecting my business through reading. I have sometimes been on the hills in winter from morning till night, and have not seen a single person during the whole day. In the snow, I have walked to and fro under the shelter of a steep bank, or in a bottom, or a combe, while my sheep have been by me scraping away the snow with their forefeet to get at the grass, and I have taken my book out of my pocket, and, as I walked to and fro in the snow, have read to pass away the time. It is very cold on the Downs in such weather; I remember once, whilst with my father, the snow froze into ice on my eyelashes, and he breathed on my face to thaw it off. The

Downs are very pleasant in summer, commanding extensive views of both sea and land: I very much wanted a telescope, and could not spare money to buy one; but I met with some lenses, and putting them into a pasteboard case, I contrived one, which afforded me much amusement in pleasant weather.

"In 1802 I began practical geometry from Turner's 'Introduction.' I bought some paper and a pair of iron compasses. I filed off part of one of the legs so that I could fasten on a pencil or pen, then laying my paper on the greensward on the

hill, I drew my circles, triangles, &c.

"On that part of the hill where my sheep required least attention, I dug a hole in the ground amongst the heath, and placed a large rough flintstone over it. No one would think of there being anything under it if they had seen it. In that hole I kept some books and a slate, which, when convenient, I took out, and went to work at arithmetic, algebra, geometry, &c. This under-stone library was on Newmarket Hill, not far from a pond, near to which a cottage and a barn have since been erected. For more than thirty years the place where the hole had been was to be seen; and I have several times gone a little way out of my road to visit it, and offer up my thanks to that gracious Providence who has so directed my way; but within these last few years the plough has passed over it, and I can no longer find the exact spot.

"My master, the head shepherd, at Kingston, had the keeping of twenty sheep as part of his wages; and I have heard old shepherds affirm, that in the generation before them, some of the shepherds had nearly, or quite all, their wages in this way, and it seems to have been of very ancient practice. We have an instance in the case of Jacob and Laban; and I think it probable that the wages of the labouring

man were, almost of necessity, money being scarce, paid in this manner.

At Midsummer, 1802, I went (at his request) to be head shepherd to James Ingram, Esq., of Rottingdean. Mr. Thomas Beard and Mr. Dumbrill, had each of them sheep in the flock, but Mr. Ingram having most, he was my real master. The farm was called the Westside Farm, extending from Rottingdean to Black Rock, in Brighton parish; it was a long, narrow slip of ground, not averaging more than half a mile in width. My flock required very close attention, as they had to feed so much between the pieces of corn, and there were no fences to keep them off. In such situations a good dog is a most valuable help to a shepherd,

and I was fortunate in having a very excellent one.

"The farm extending along the sea-coast, I caught great numbers of wheatears during the season for taking them, which lasts from the middle of July to the end of August. The most I ever caught in one day was thirteen dozen; but we thought it a good day if we caught three or four dozen. We sold them to a poulterer at Brighton, who took all we could catch in the season at 18d. a dozen. From what I have heard from old shepherds, it cannot be doubted that they were caught in much greater numbers a century ago than of late. I have heard them speak of an immense number being taken in one day by a shepherd, at East Dean, near Beachy Head. I think they said he took nearly a hundred dozen; so many, that he could not thread them on crow-quills in the usual manner, but took off his round frock and made a sack of it, to put them into, and his wife did the same with her petticoat. This must have happened when there was a great flight. Their numbers now are so decreased that some shepherds do not set up any coops, as it does not pay for the trouble.*

^{*} In a note at p. 96 of vol. i of 'Sussex Archæological Collections,' there is an extract from Fuller's 'Worthies,' describing the wheatear as feeding upon wheat, but this is altogether a mistake; though they frequent fallows, and are hence called fallow-chats, neither their name nor their food is connected with corn: they feed on a kind of winged ant, clouds of which are occasionally met with on the South Downs. Pennant states that 1840 dozen of these birds were annually ensnared by the shepherds in the Eastbourne district alone.—Brit. Zool.

At Rottingdean I had greater advantages for study than I ever had before. The Rev. Dr. Hooker, the vicar, heard of me, and sent for me to his house: he kindly let me see a planet through his telescope, lent me his globes, and gave me free access to his library, and this gave me abundance of work, and I studied hard in my way, though I still mostly followed my studies by the side of my flock. I had, however, better opportunities for study at home. I lodged at a kind aunt's, who gave me all the help she could, and I now procured a case of mathematical instruments.

"I had a good father and mother, though they were poor, my father's wages being only £30 a year, and the keeping of ten or twelve sheep, having a family of ten children, yet we were never in want. They attended very strictly to our morals, and it might truly be said of them, that they brought us up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; they never suffered us to read any other books on the Sunday than the Scriptures and religious books, and I am thankful that I never, in my earnestness for temporal knowledge, meddled with my books of science on the sacred day. I had but few opportunities of attending church or any place of worship, so I made my Bible my companion on that day. I felt a strong desire to be able to read the Scriptures in the original tongue, and, some time after, I fortunately met with a copy of Van Der Hooght's Hebrew Bible, which I bought, and having purchased a Hebrew grammar and lexicon, I was soon enabled to find out the meaning of words, and to read a little in its original of that most interesting of all books, and have often felt pleasure in doing so."

In 1804 Mr. Dudeney gave up the flock altogether. He came to Lewes, and there opened a school, with, as he modestly says, no other qualification for it than a real love of learning; but, to use his own words, indulging in the hope that it may be justly said of him when he is gone, that "he had been of some little use in his day, and to the generation and place in which he lived."

ON

ROMAN REMAINS AT EASTBOURNE,

DISCOVERED IN DECEMBER, 1848.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

(In a Letter to the Editor of the Sussex Agricultural Express.)

Dear Sir,—Your last number contained an intimation of the discovery at Eastbourne of some Roman remains. With your permission, I will proceed to lay before your readers the results of a personal inspection, which, in company with Mr. William Harvey, I have this day made of these interesting

vestiges of other times.

The ravages of the ocean on this part of the coast have led to various expedients for protecting the land from its further violence. At that part where the projected town is to stand, a sea-wall of excellent construction is now in progress, under the able management of Mr. James Berry, architect, of this town; and the excavations consequent upon this work have brought about the discoveries alluded to. At a point immediately to the westward of the "Sea Houses," and a short distance to the south-east of Trinity Church, at the back of the sea-wall, the foundations of a portion of an extensive Roman villa are now exposed; the remaining and greater part having unfortunately yielded to the repeated shocks of the watery element, and disappeared by the falling of the cliff. The direction of the walls is nearly north and south.

The foundations vary in thickness from two to four feet, and are constructed of solid masonry, the material employed being the green-sand rock so well known to geologists as the stratum lying next the chalk formation. It is still dug in the immediate vicinity, is known as Eastbourne stone, and is, in fact, the very material of which the sea wall is built. of large apartments (one measuring thirty feet in length) are to be seen; but the most striking portion of the remains are the foundations of a kind of corridor, extending from the face of the cliff, in a northerly direction, to a distance of nearly 200 feet. The interval between the two parallel walls, the general width of which is 13 feet, has been paved with tesseræ of tile about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, intermixed, for the sake of ornament, with portions of cream-coloured stone. One portion of the pavement is in very good preservation. With the assistance of Mr. Berry, I succeeded in tracing this presumed corridor into an adjacent field belonging to Major Willard, and lying between a residence called, I believe, Field House, and the high road from Southbourne. This field is well known as the site of a Roman bath, in an excellent state of preservation, discovered in the year 1717, and ably described by Dr. Tabor, a Lewes physician and antiquary, in No. 351 of the Philosophical Transactions.* The discovery now made exhibits the situation of the villa to which the bath was an important adjunct, and may therefore be regarded, at the long interval of 130 years, as supplementary to Dr. Tabor's researches.

In the course of the excavations the following relics have been found:

One or two Roman coins, much corroded, and at present unidentified.

Bones and horns of animals.

A flint celt.

Several tiles of red earth, impressed with various patterns, roof-tiles and bricks.

A small bronze buckle.

Many fragments of Roman pottery; various kinds of ware, black, brown, and Samian; the latter ornamented, as usual, with figures of animals, and stamped with the potter's name.

Pieces of mortar compounded, in the Roman manner, of sand, lime, and pounded tile, &c. &c.

^{*} See Horsfield's Sussex, vol. i, p. 49.

The thanks of the antiquarian public are due to Mr. Berry for the care he has taken in preserving these interesting relics of the past from destruction. Further discoveries will in all probability be made, and the investigation will perhaps reopen the vexata quastio of the site of the Romano-British city of Anderida, which was certainly in this district, though the claims of Eastbourne to that honour seem much less ably supported than those of Pevensey, four miles distant. But admitting that the latter place exhibits in the strong walls of its venerable castle the true remains of that most unfortunate city, the proximity to it of the villa whose remains have elicited these remarks, may well induce the idea that this was the country seat of some Roman commander high in office at Anderida.

Yours, &c.,

M. A. L.

Lewes, 20th Dec. 1848.

ON BRONZE OR BRASS RELICS, CELTS, &c.,

FOUND IN SUSSEX.

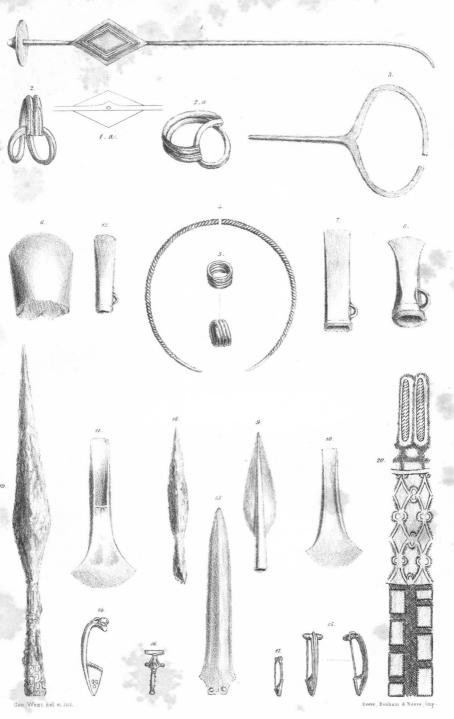
By FREDERICK DIXON, Esq.

READ AT THE MEETING IN AUGUST, 1848.

The frequent discovery in England of bronze* weapons, and instruments of various shapes, and the great number that are found in Ireland and on the Continent, is a convincing proof that this compound metal was much used by the early inhabitants of Northern and Western Europe, and most probably long before iron. Bronze celts, as they are called, deriving their name from the first settlers in Europe, who were called Celtæ, seem to have succeeded the rude flint and stone hatchets of barbarians; and it is a curious fact that the weapons of uncivilized people should so much resemble each other. I have specimens from England, Ireland, France, America, Australia, and the islands in the Pacific Ocean, all similar to each other in their shape and character, made most likely in the same manner, and differing only in the material of which they are composed, being of the hardest stone or substance in their respective countries.

So much has been written on this subject by our early

^{*} I have called all these relics bronze, though similar weapons are described as brass and bell-metal. Some celts are pure copper. Commonly speaking, bronze is an alloy of copper, with about ten per cent. of tin, together with small quantities of other metals which are not essential to the compound. The best brass consists of four parts copper to one of zinc. The bronze of the ancient Britons is generally a mixture of copper and tin only. In the Philosophical Transactions for 1796, p. 395, the analysation of three British weapons is given: a spear-head was composed of one part tin to six of copper; a celt, one of tin to ten of copper; and a dagger or knife, one of tin to seven and half copper. In some ornaments and weapons, silver, lead, and zinc have been detected.



Bronze relics &c. found in Sussex.

Engraved one fourth their size.

antiquaries, and many excellent modern papers have appeared,

that I shall limit my observations as much as possible.

Some historians have asserted that the first inhabitants of this country were indebted to the Phœnicians for their bronze or brass instruments, who traded with them before the Trojan war, and that weapons made of a mixture of tin and copper were exchanged for the native metals of lead and tin, which are found in such abundance in Cornwall and the Scilly Islands. This certainly might appear to some persons a reasonable mode of traffic with a people who have also been described as poor savages, having beards like goats; though from this fact, if we may judge by the fashion of the present day, no conclusions can be drawn, as the wearing of beards is not marked by the absence of knowledge or refinement in manners.

The history of this country before the Roman invasion must be in a great measure conjectural, and we have no right to suppose, from the shape and character of these ancient instruments, that they were imported from Greece or Phœnicia.

The first bronze weapons which the early Britons possessed were most probably imported from the Continent; for Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about forty years before Christ, gives an account of the method of working the mines in Cornwall, and says the produce was conveyed to Gaul. Pliny says also that the Romans learnt the method of tinning their culinary vessels from the Gauls, and at a later period workmen were taken from Gaul to Rome, having a better knowledge of making bronze than any other country. The brass works and furnaces of the Gauls are described by their historians as existing many centuries before the invasion of this country by Cæsar:-"The Scythians peopled Germany, Scandinavia, and a great part of Gaul, about 500 years before Christ, and the Belgæ of the same stock entered Britain and Ireland about 300. This coincidence with history, and the suggestions of the classic poets, will date our large sepulchral structures of earth, in which the brass arms are usually found, at least to two centuries before the Christian era."—Douglas's Nenia Britannica, p. 152.

"The proof that the ancient Scythians used entirely brass arms is obvious from Herodotus; and admitting the Belgæ to be of the same parental stock, the brass arms will then be found among the Belgic Gauls of Britain. The facility of casting these weapons, for they all appear to be so fabricated, would, in the most expeditious manner, arm an immense body of men; and, unless the necessary conveniences of forges and other operose arts to complete missile weapons of iron were at hand, it is very natural to suppose, notwithstanding the preference of iron, that brass arms would become of general use till such conveniences had taken place."—Ibid. p. 152.

The early Britons knew that their country produced valuable metals, which the Gauls and other nations traded for; but at first they had no knowledge of working these metals themselves; how long they continued in ignorance, and the time when the first bronze instruments were made in this country, will most likely remain for ever a mystery, though it was

certainly many years before the Roman invasion.

Celts or axe-heads were cast, and may have been used for a

variety of purposes.

In the 'Archæologia,' vol. xv, plate 34, is a representation of a stone mould for casting spear-heads. The British Museum, and other collections, contain copper moulds found in this country, used probably for the same purpose. Mr. Britton possesses one of these curious relics. Lumps of metal ready for use have been also found in England. Mr. M. F. Tupper discovered at Farley Heath, Surrey, in 1848, a mass of metal ready for casting, with Romano-British relics.

When Cæsar invaded this country, iron was a much more valuable metal than brass; for he says, in his 'Commentaries,' that it was so scarce, that the Britons used it for money, and prized it as much as other barbarians did gold: yet it bespeaks a more advanced knowledge of the art of working metals. British chariot-wheels were also bound with iron. Sir Richard Hoare mentions that in Somersetshire the remains of some British chariots were discovered, with instruments of brass and iron, and that the wheels of the chariots were hooped round with iron, but they were of very slender workmanship. Instruments of iron are rarely found in this country, and this is not to be accounted for by their more ready decomposition and decay, for the same circumstance has been noticed by the historians of Gaul. The Greeks understood the method of

tempering iron; for Homer describes, in the ninth book of the 'Odyssey,' the firebrand driven into the eye of Polyphemus

as hissing like hot iron immersed in water.

Tin was probably the first metal which the ancient Britons had any knowledge of working. The inhabitants of Cornwall and the Scilly Islands had the art of refining this metal some centuries before the Roman invasion. The earliest British

coins are supposed to be of tin.

A most valuable work, edited by the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere, was published last year, called 'A Guide to Northern Archæology.' It contains so much that is essential to my subject, that I cannot do better than by making some extracts from it:—"It will not be difficult to conceive, what we moreover find in reality the fact, that the Scandinavian antiquities, both those belonging to the ancient heathen period, and those of the earliest Christian times, have a great resemblance to the British and Irish, so that, when accurately examined and described, they mutually explain and elucidate each other."—Page ix of the Introduction.

"Of the different periods to which heathen antiquities may

be referred.

"The age of stone, or that period when weapons and implements were made of stone, wood, bone, or some such material, and during which very little or nothing at all was known of metals."—P. 64.

"The age of bronze, in which weapons and cutting implements were made of copper or bronze, and nothing at all, or but very little was known, of iron or silver. Not in the North only, but also in the countries of the South, it will be found that the metal of which mention is first made, and which first came into use, was copper, either pure, or, as it was frequently used in ancient times, with a small addition of tin for the purpose of hardening it, to which alloy the name of bronze has been given. It was not till a much later period that they became acquainted with iron, the reason of which seems to be, that copper is found in such a state as to be far more easily distinguishable as a metal than iron; which, before it can be wrought, must first undergo the process of smelting and purifying by a strong heat, an operation of which, in the earliest ages, they must have been ignorant. We should assuredly commit a great mistake in supposing the bronze

articles to be imitations of those from the palmy days of the Romans, or that they were fabricated at that period in southern countries and thence conveyed through the channel of traffic to Germany and the North. It is to be remarked, that by far the greatest number of antiquities of this description are found precisely in the more distant countries; for instance, in the North and in Ireland, where it may reasonably be supposed that contact with the Romans was slightest. Moreover, it was not before the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, and his advance to the Rhine, that a firm and permanent connexion was formed with the interior of Germany, but long before that time the Romans had their weapons and cutting

implements of iron."

"To this age belong the stone chests and the small sepulchres covered with heaps of stone; this was, strictly speaking, the age of cremation, the larger sepulchral chambers being no longer required. The burnt bones were kept in urns, or deposited in stone chests. In the urns of this period we very often find at the top a pin, tweezers, with a small knife of bronze; and to this age belong also the celts and palstaves of bronze, which are of so frequent occurrence. Articles of gold and of electrum are likewise found, but never of silver. No instance is known to us of writing being found on any specimen belonging to the bronze age, although the workmanship in other respects evinces such a degree of skill, as would lead us to suppose that the art of writing could not have been unknown at that period. It does not by any means follow, that because they had metal they should have entirely ceased to employ stone, and that so much the less, since metal was doubtless expensive at first, for which reason they strove to avoid using it in the fabrication of heavy articles. Most articles of metal were at this period fabricated by the process of casting; but when they were hammered, we can scarcely err in supposing that operation to have been performed with a stone hammer or a stone anvil."—Pp. 65-66.

"The age of iron is the third and last period of the heathen times, in which iron was used for those articles to which that metal is eminently suited, and in the fabrication of which it came to be employed as a substitute for bronze."—

P. 67.

In the 'Archæological Journal' for 1847, there are two

valuable communications relating to bronze celts, by George V. Du Noyer. The first paper is on the classification of Bronze Celts, and the method by which these weapons were fixed in handles, and drawings are given of various celts from the British Museum and Royal Irish Academy. The second notice is on Bronze Celts and Celt Moulds of Stone and Bronze, which is illustrated by four plates of different celts and moulds, principally from the Royal Irish Academy.

I have had frequent opportunities of seeing collections of celts and weapons found in Ireland; and, through the kindness of the Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen, my cabinet contains many curious examples; nor can I forget some very agreeable days passed in Dublin with my friend Professor Owen, when Robert Ball, Esq., entered fully into the character

and supposed use of celts.

Description of the Plate.

The relics and weapons are engraved one fourth of their size, and are of bronze, except those particularly mentioned.

For explanation of Figs. 1, 2, 3, I beg to refer to the following letter, addressed to me by Martin F. Tupper, D.C.L., F.R.S.:

"Furze Hill, Brighton, Nov. 1, 1848.

"MY DEAR SIR,—At your suggestion, and by the request of several influential members of our County Society, I venture to put on paper a likely fancy, rather than a staid fact, respecting the singular articles figured above.

They may briefly be described thus:

1. A curved staff, or blunt hook, of rounded metal, 20 inches long, with a boss at the handle end, and a diamond-shaped plate, 4 inches from the boss; beneath which is an aperture, seemingly for a string or wire.

2. A pair of very rude and heavy bracelets, too small to have been forced over any but a female hand, and weighing

9 oz. each.

3. An oval rim $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$, with a prolongation for insertion into a handle. All the objects are of ancient brass.

I understand that these relics were discovered lying all together by some labourers in making a road on the Downs between Lewes and Brighton in 1832, with the dusty remnants of a skeleton.

Without affecting to do more than hazard a fair guess at the use and nature of the relics, I may say at once that I cannot suppose the bracelets to have been intended for ornament, nor the hook to have been a weapon, or a staff of office, or a fire-stirrer; while the oval frame is too manifestly of the shape of an ancient mirror, not to be suggestive of my whole, rather *speculative*, but still probable, idea. And, in truth, this skeleton of what may well have been a speculum, made of some more perishable material, as horn or bladder, or other diaphanous substance, is the seed of the opinion which I entertain about all the three objects so found together; an opinion, perhaps a fancy is the better word, which, for want of a better, you and others seem to regard as both new and near to truth.

In few words, then, I suppose—No. 1, to be a divining-rod.

No. 2, heavy bracelets, meant to steady the wrists of the young druidess, or other sacred damsel, upon whose thumbs the divining-rod was to be balanced by the points of the diamond, while from the hole underneath depended a plummet.

And 3, to be the magic speculum, of some transparent substance strained over the oval rim, and long since decayed away; whereby the superintending seer pretended to discover the nature of the treasure indicated by the divining dip.

It would certainly, upon this hypothesis, have been more satisfactory to have had a plummet to show, as of the same find: but, even if search had been made for such a thing, which was not the case, a small metal weight, or a stone with a hole in it, might easily have been overlooked among the rubbish of a cairn. And it is, at all events, gratifying to know that the rod is a true balance from the points of the diamond plate; also, that a plummet-line from the hole beneath at 1 a, would serve to show the perpendicular, and therefore any deviation from it, while those weighty bracelets, tightened up the arm, would steady the trembling damsel's hands for her delicate manipulation.

Divining-rods, as I need scarcely inform my archæological associates, were in frequent use among the sages and seers of old time, who always had a ready reply to the infidel objection

of no effects; that if you dig deep enough, you were sure to reach the promised treasure—water, at any rate, was pretty certain to be struck at some depth or other; and, on the Pindaric and Preissnitzian principle of ἀριστόν μεν υδώρ, the divining-rod was warranted to tell truth, and the seer's sapient reputation was easily augmented. Forked sticks of hazel were, however, principally used for this unerring experiment; and I am free to confess that I, for one, do not know of any other divining-rod of metal, nor have heard of one: nevertheless, as it seems to me that I have seen one—this one—in your museum at Worthing, I take leave thus to announce to others in what light the relic has appeared to myself.

I remain, my dear Sir, truly yours,

MARTIN F. TUPPER.

Frederick Dixon, Esq., F.G.S., &c."

Fig. 4. Torque, an ornament worn round the neck.

This beautiful and very rare specimen is from Dr. Mantell's cabinet, and was found with four armillæ at Hollingbury Hill, near Brighton, similar in shape and size to Fig. 2, but not ornamented, and differing in weight; one is 8 oz., another 6 oz., the third $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and the fourth only 3 oz. Torques and armillæ of pure gold have been discovered in England, Ireland, and on the Continent.* Fig. 5. One of two rings,

^{*} In the 'Archæological Journal,' No. 21, is a memoir on Gold Armillæ and Ornaments, &c., by Albert Way, Esq.—P. 59: "Three interesting relics of this nature, found with earthen vessels and bones on the Downs, near Patcham, Sussex, were kindly communicated to the Institute by Colonel Paine, of Patcham Place, through Mr. Blaauw. One of them is formed of copper, thickly plated with gold. A representation of one specimen is given (No. 16, faces p. 56), weight 2 oz. 5 dwts. 6 grs.; the inner side is flat, with rather angular edges. On being assayed, the gold was found largely alloyed with silver (in the proportion of 5 oz. 6 dwts. 18 grs. pure gold, and 6 oz. 5 dwts. of silver in the pound Troy). The plated ring weighed 4 oz. Four gold armillæ of very similar type, but less massive, had been found, in 1806, on the shore near Eastbourne, immediately under Beachy Head, with a bronze spear, five celts, a portion of a bronze sword, and lumps of copper, apparently very pure.† They were sent to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Holt, a watchmaker, of Eastbourne, and sold through the late Sir Joseph Banks. The weights were 3 oz. 1 dwt.; 1 oz. 10 dwts.; 18 dwts. 2 grs.; 16 dwts. 4 grs. A figure of one is given in 'Archæologia,' vol. xvi, plate 68."

[†] A considerable mass of the cliff had fallen with a portion of the sward about Christmas, 1806; and one of the celts being noticed projecting from the newly-buried face of the cliff, search was made, and the antiquities found on the shore; it was supposed that they had been deposited with bodies interred on the height above, but no signs of a tumulus appeared.

the same size and shape, found also at Hollingbury Hill, from Dr. Mantell's cabinet. Fig. 6. Part of a smooth chert celt, of usually good workmanship, found at Sullington. Ayre, R.A., found a very perfect flint celt at Cisbury, a few years ago. Fig. 7. Celt discovered at Hollingbury Hill, from the cabinet of M. F. Tupper, Esq., a rare shape. Fig. 8. Celt found on Plumpton Plain, near Lewes. This is a common shape, and probably of a late period; Dr. Mantell's cabinet. Fig. 9. Spear-head, found on the Downs near Lewes, Romano-British period; Dr. Mantell's cabinet. Fig. 10. Celt, found on Plumpton Plain, near Lewes. This shape, with a little variety, is often met with, but seldom in such good workmanship. I have much pleasure in engraving for our archæological volume these valuable relics belonging to Dr. Mantell, who has done so much towards the history of our county.

Fig. 11. Celt belonging to Henry Catt, Esq., found near Brighton. I have seen several examples of this shape from Sussex. A similar one is in Dr. Mantell's cabinet, and was discovered with the other relics at Hollingbury Hill. Rev. W. B. Otter possesses one, found on his glebe at Cowfold; in a note received from him, he says: "It was discovered by some workmen $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface, digging for stone; there was no irregularity in the surface of the ground, or anything remarkable about the spot; with it there was discovered a spiral bronze ring of about six folds and little more than an inch in diameter. I do not know another instance of a celt found in the Weald. I may remark that our wet clay is not calculated to preserve any bones or animal remains, and probably for this reason nothing of the kind was found on searching." This character of celt is often discovered in Ireland and on the Continent. Fig. 12. Small celt found at Brighton near the Church, similar to some in the British Museum, discovered at Jersey, and also in the valuable cabinet of T. Crofton Croker, Esq., F.R.S., &c., found in Normandy.

Fig. 13. British weapon, in excellent preservation. It is covered with a black patina of tin, and was found at Bracklesham in the fossil bed containing so many shells of the Venericardia planicosta. The countryman who found it told me, with much simplicity, that "he thought he had discovered

the knife by which the former blockaders opened those large cockles with, as them fish must have been very good to eat."

In Sir R. Colt Hoare's 'Ancient History of Wiltshire,' at pages 122 and 208, are British daggers, similar to fig. 13.

Figs. 14 and 16. Fibulæ, found near Horsham, in a grave,

with Romano-British relics.

Fig. 15. Fibula, found near Brighton, from Mr. Henry Catt's cabinet; at page 134 in Douglas's 'Nenia,' are two fibulæ very similar to this, found in Kent. It is a common shape, and most likely of the Romano-British period.

Fig. 17. I found this delicate fibula myself on Lancing

Downs; Romano-British period.

Fig. 18. Saxon spear-head, of iron, found near Brighton, with a skeleton, long iron sword, umbo of a shield, and small urn.

Fig. 19. A beautiful Saxon spear-head, which was given me by Mr. Hampton, ploughed up in 1847 on the Downs at Coombs, near Steyning. It is of iron, partly covered with silver, and ornamented. I have not been able to discover in the British Museum, or in any private collection, a spear-head similar to this. At page 26 in Douglas's 'Nenia,' there is represented the umbo of a shield, ornamented at the top with a thin plate of silver, and two heads of iron spears, found in the same pit at Ash, in Kent.

I discovered a Saxon iron knife in a tumulus, about 300

yards from the place where the spear-head was found.

Fig. 20. Magnified view of the ornament on the silver handle of the spear-head.

Worthing, June 4th, 1849.

ON SOME URNS LATELY FOUND IN A TUMULUS AT ALFRISTON.

By Mr. CHARLES ADE.



Alfriston and its vicinity has on various occasions been brought under the notice of the antiquary; witness the account given of its tumuli or barrows in Horsfield's 'History of Lewes,' and also the several discoveries of coins which have occurred, consisting of very curious specimens of the ancient British coinage,* as well as those of the Romans and Saxons, accounts of which have appeared in different publications from time to time. (See Sussex Arch. Collect. Vol. I, p. 38.)

Another interesting discovery has now been made on the Downs in the parish of Alfriston. About a mile and a half west of the town there is one of those ancient memorials first above alluded to; and, a few days since, some labourers were employed in partially removing the artificial mound, when they brought to light three sepulchral earthen vessels, of rude manufacture, made of a gritty kind (or mixture) of clay, &c., and but slightly baked. The height of the largest is 16 inches, and the width of the opening at the top 10 inches. In shape it exactly resembles that figured in Sussex Archaol. Collect.,

^{*} No less than eight specimens of British gold coins have been found in and near Alfriston within the last few years (besides several of inferior metal). These have passed through my hands into the cabinet of a noble viscount, in an adjoining county.

Vol. I, p. 55. It was found in an inverted position, imbedded in clean rubble chalk, which seems to have been collected for the formation of the circular mound, about twenty yards in diameter. Over the chalk is a layer of rather large flints, intermixed with mould to the depth of about two feet, so that the urn was about two and a half feet from the surface. It contained a quantity of human bones, calcined, together with the tusk of a boar, &c.

The two smaller ones, figured above, were found in an upright position, at some distance apart, and nearer to the outer edge of the barrow than the large one, which was more approaching to the centre; but all of them may be said to have been on the eastern or north-eastern side of the mound, agreeing in this respect with the remarks made on a similar dis-

covery in Vol. I of our Society, p. 56.

One vessel is five and a half inches high and nearly three and a quarter wide at the top. This likewise contained some calcined bones; the smallest, and I may say the rudest, is but little more than four inches in height, and had nothing in it

worthy of notice.

As to the date of the deposit of these curious relics of the olden time, it would be presumption in me to offer any opinion; yet from the great similarity of the pattern of the largest of the three to that found at Storrington some years ago, together with the similar circumstances of discovery, I think there can be no doubt of their being of the same remote antiquity.

ON BISHOPSTONE CHURCH,

WITH

SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CHURCHES OF EAST SUSSEX.

By Mr. W. FIGG.

READ AT LEWES, APRIL 3, 1849.

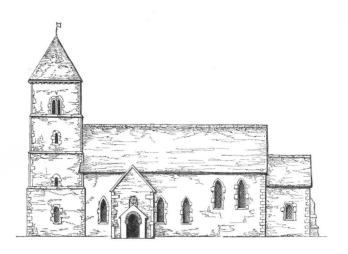
"It has often struck me, that in speculating on the impressions produced by the works of Gothic architecture, we are apt to draw our inferences from observations on a certain class of buildings, namely, cathedrals, and churches which may rank with them in design and ornament; while we are at little pains to examine how far these inferences are applicable to structures of a very different kind, our ordinary parish churches.

"Now, if church architecture has, or is intended to have, that effect upon the mind through the medium of the senses, which conduces to the elevation of the feelings, to tranquillity, and devotion, this latter class of buildings is of more importance than the former; inasmuch as the cathedral is rare, and seen by comparatively few, while the parish church is found in every corner of the land, and hallows the home of almost every individual on its surface."

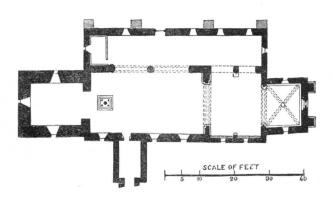
REV. J. L. PETIT, M.A.

In introducing the subject of the churches of East Sussex to the attention of the Archæological Society of the county, it may be expected that some general remarks on their situations, styles, and forms should precede the first notice. It is impossible to assign any general principle by which our ancestors were directed in the choice of the sites on which to erect their parish churches, for a greater variety of situations than those chosen in East Sussex can hardly be imagined. To the north some of the most elevated spots were chosen; in the middle portion we find many a church, with its little village, hidden by the beautiful foliage of the venerable trees of the district, with scarcely an indication of its vicinity, except it be an occasional glimpse of the tower or spire as the traveller approaches it.

On the Downs they are generally found quietly and snugly settled in the several combes and deans from which the parishes derive their names, surrounded by the humble cottages of the labourers, together with the more substantial dwellings of their employers. Occasionally one may be seen isolated, on an elevated point, overlooking the surrounding hills on one side, and



BISHOPSTON CHURCH.



GROUND PLAN.

a wide expanse of ocean on the other, and serving as a landmark to the hardy mariner. In contrast to this, some have been built away from the villages, in low and marshy situations.

The archæologist visiting the churches of East Sussex, and expecting to find either size or external beauty, will generally meet with but little to satisfy his expectations; but although small and mean in appearance, many of the sacred edifices in this district will furnish much that is curious and instructive to the student of architectural detail, as must naturally be the case, where buildings have, during a long period, undergone various alterations, and received many additions, in the several styles prevalent at intervals since their original erection.

A few carry us back to the earliest Norman times, and in the opinion of some, not incompetent, judges, even to a period anterior to them; such, for instance, are the churches of Worth, with its ribbed walls, and Bishopston, with its baluster windows in the tower. There are but comparatively few which do not exhibit some traces of the original structure, either in the Norman, early English, or decorated styles, in some parts,

particularly in the chancels.

The churches of Worth, Keymer, and Newhaven (otherwise Meeching), with their circular apsides, will repay a visit, especially the former, which, from its large size, and its supposed Anglo-Saxon external walls and foundations, and its bold and massive chancel arch, offers much that is curious for inspection.

The churches at Piddinghoe, Southease, and St. Michael in foro, Lewes, with their round towers, are well deserving notice;

the two former in particular.

The cruciform churches at Poynings and Alfriston, with their central towers, may be pointed out: the former decorated, the latter a beautiful example of perpendicular, with a spire, and much superior in size to the churches in that locality.

Rye church, and the fine remains of Winchelsea, present

many points of interest.

Etchingham, moated, and with its tower between the nave and chancel, Pevensey, with its large and beautiful, but neglected, early English chancel, and some of the larger churches on the northern boundary of East Sussex, contain much that will afford both pleasure and instruction to the inquiring antiquary, who may diligently seek out their various points of attraction.

The churches on the Downs generally have spires of various forms and heights, from the slender and elegant perpendicular to the low and obtuse wooden dove-cot, capable of holding only one or two bells; but some of these churches have square towers of different dates.

To the north of the Downs, in the centre of this division of the county, the square tower prevails, with some exceptions, and it may be remarked, that many if not most of these towers

are in the perpendicular style of architecture.

On the higher and more northern parts, in the large parishes, on the forest ridge, the spire is again found, and in many instances forms a striking object in the beautiful woody scenery of the district, as Westhoathly, Fletching, Heathfield, Rotherfield.

With regard to the materials used in the construction of the churches, our ancestors seem to have availed themselves of such as were to be obtained in the neighbourhood, or of such

as they could command without great outlay.

On the Downs, and for a short distance to the north, the materials generally made use of are flints and chalk, the former being used for the external casing. The substance of the walls consists of chalk, and in many instances the whole of the outside has been rough-cast over all. The doors, arches, and windows have mostly stone dressings, some of Caen stone, and to the eastward, of the fire-stone found at Eastbourn; all are more or less ornamented in the respective styles of the original structures, or of the additions and insertions which have from time to time been made. The church at Twineham is of brick.

In the central and northern districts the whole of the edifices are of the sandstones so plentiful in the different localities, and the spires, with three exceptions, Northiam, Chiddingly, and Dallington, which are of stone, are covered with shingles.

The forms of our churches are of almost every variety made use of in parochial edifices, the more general one being nave, chancel, and west tower. Rye, Poynings, and Alfriston are cruciform, with central towers.

At Worth, Ditchling, Fletching, and Lindfield are nave, chancel, with north and south transepts. Some have nave, north and south aisles, and chancel, as at Battle, Mayfield, Wadhurst, Cuckfield, St. Nicholas in Brighton, Eastbourn,

Westham, and West Firle. Some with only a north aisle, as at Bishopston, Arlington, Berwick, and Seddlescombe; others with south aisle only, as at St. Ann's, in Lewes, Portslade, Southover, and Selmeston.

Some without towers, have spires at the west end of the nave, as at Littlington and Pett. At Etchingham and Playden the towers are between the nave and chancel, and so on, through almost every variety of form, down to the small building, but a few feet square, which may be found on the Downs, yet, though so small, still adequate to the requirements of some of those thinly-peopled parishes.

Many of the churches have small chapels attached to various

parts.

The porches are attached generally either to the north or south, as the approach from the carriage road is most convenient. Maresfield and Salehurst are good examples of wooden

porches of the perpendicular period.

There are also to be noticed some singular deviations from the general rule of having the tower at the west end. At Newhaven it is to the east; at Worth, Pevensey, Eastdean, and Icklesham it is to the north; and at Willingdon at the northwest angle of the nave.

There are, perhaps, other peculiarities existing in some of the churches which might be pointed out; but it is presumed that the above observations will serve to show that the churches of East Sussex are not so devoid of archæological interest as

may be supposed by mere casual observers.

It may be incidentally remarked, that the churches contain numbers of brasses and monuments of great local and historical interest; some few fragments only of stained glass of various periods remain, and in a few instances portions of mural

paintings, have been discovered.

It need hardly be stated, that scattered in various parts of this division of the county are the remains of numerous conventual and other buildings, highly interesting to the archæologist; we need only mention Battle Abbey, Mayfield Palace, Robertsbridge Abbey, Warbleton Priory, the chapel in Hastings Castle, Lewes and Michelham Priories, the Friary at Winchelsea. Some of these have already attracted the attention of members of the Society.

Members who may wish to furnish the Society with particulars respecting ecclesiastical buildings, would be guided in their inquiries and investigations necessary for such purposes by referring to the queries and directions of Dr. Bromet, published in vol. ii, p. 66, of the 'Archæological Journal.'

It is earnestly hoped that these remarks, which are intended to incite rather than to instruct, may, and will, have a tendency to awaken in the minds of many members of the Society a love for the ecclesiastical antiquities by which they are surrounded, and produce, in the form of papers for our future Collections, proofs that the Sussex Archæological Society has not been established in vain.

BISHOPSTON CHURCH.

The village of Bishopston, on the Sussex coast, lies something less than seven miles to the south-east of Lewes, and two miles to the east of Newhaven, about a mile from the sea, and half that distance to the north of the road from Newhaven to Seaford, in a valley running northward into the Downs.

It would appear that this parish obtained its name from

having belonged to the bishops of Chichester.

The manor is thus mentioned in Doomsday: "The Bishop of Chichester holds Biscopstone in domain;" but no mention is made of a church.

The living is a discharged vicarage, and the Bishop of

Chichester is the patron.

The hamlet of Norton is within this parish, and the chapel

of Norton was anciently an appendage to this church.

The church stands to the south-west of the village, and is almost hidden from view by the lofty trees by which it is surrounded. Some portions appear to be of early Norman character, whilst others are strongly marked with the character of the Transition period. Rickman, and others, have considered that there are some remains of Anglo-Saxon work.

It originally consisted of west tower, nave, chancel, north aisle, and south porch. The present chancel seems to be an addition of the Transition period; and in its general character, particularly the windows, before the late alterations, to

assimilate with the clerestory of Christ Church, Oxford. (See 'Architectural Glossary,' vol. ii, plate 149.) The present chancel has been dignified with the name of "Holy of Holies," but upon what authority it is difficult to say. (See 'Illustrations of Monumental Brasses,' published by the Cambridge Camden Society, note, p. 134.)—"Bishopston, Sussex, is an extremely interesting church. It consists of sanctum sanctorum, chancel, nave, north aisle to the two latter."

The whole length of the church is 91 feet, and the breadth of the nave and north aisle about 34 feet. The walls vary in thickness, those of the tower being 3 feet 9 inches, the north and south walls 2 feet 6 inches thick. Like most of the churches on the South Downs, this is constructed of flints, with the doorways, windows, angles, and ornamental parts of stone.

In this case they are of Caen stone.

The tower is built in four stages or stories, each, as they rise, being smaller than the other by about a foot. It is finished with a quadrangular spire, having a corbel table round its base, consisting of a variety of grotesque heads; the lights of the three lower stages were narrow and circular-headed, except in the third story on the western side, where the opening was a circle of 1 foot 3 inches in diameter. The lights in the upper story are double circular-headed, those on the east and west being divided by a sort of mullion, those on the north and south by a shaft or baluster. The northern and eastern only are now open. At the angles of the three upper stages are circular shafts, without capitals or bases, similar to the tower at Earls Barton. The six windows of the north aisle, together with the northern doorway, have, till the late alteration, been closed: five of these and the doorway, however, are now open. In size, these windows are small (21 inches in height and 11 inches in width), with a considerable splay, the inner openings being 3 feet 9 or 10 inches. These and the doorway have round arches.

The roof on the northern side reaches to within about six feet of the ground: at the east end of the older chancel are two circular windows, now blocked up, and in the gable of the present chancel is a similar one, also blocked up: on the south side of the porch are the remains of a small round-headed opening, about the size of those in the second and third stages of the tower.

The windows in the south walls are lancet-headed, and of considerable size, nearly 7 feet high by 18 inches wide. Those in the lower story of the tower, and at the east end of the north aisle are new, having been inserted during the late alterations by the Earl of Chichester.

The present arch between the tower and nave is low, and of simple Norman character, but, upon examination of the inside of the tower, it would seem that the original opening was very lofty, and reached nearly to the roof; this cannot at present

be seen on account of the flat ceiling.

The nave and north aisle are divided by arches of Early English character, resting on plain circular pillars, with moulded caps and bases without ornament. The arches, dividing the original chancel from the nave, are of Norman character, with square pillars with plain caps; there are corresponding arches to these in the south wall, the eastern ones

have zigzag mouldings.

The arches dividing the nave from the older chancel, and the latter from the present chancel, are apparently of the Transition period; for although the arches are pointed, the columns of the responds partake of the Norman style, the capitals of the western arch have more of the appearance of Early English, whilst those of the eastern arch have all the characteristics of Norman work, and the outer moulding has the tooth ornament. These particulars, together with what has been previously stated as to the present chancel, seem to show that this church has undergone material alteration and modification at a period subsequent to its original erection.

In the present chancel is a sedile in the south wall, with a

circular arch.

The font stands in the nave near the arch into the tower; it is Norman, quite plain, and square, supported on five circular columns, like that in Winchester Cathedral, and raised on three steps; the whole is of Eastbourn stone.

One other point remains to be further noticed in this paper. In the appendix to the late edition of Rickman, published by Mr. Parker, of Oxford, Bishopston Church is mentioned as one worthy of examination, as having indications of Anglo-Saxon masonry about it. The only portions that I can discover are at the outer angles of the porch. Here the masonry certainly differs from that of any other portion of the church, the stones being

of a different character, and are inserted so as to present the appearance of "long and short" work. At the eastern angle the lower stone is 3 feet long; then a shorter one, 10 inches thick, running lengthways into the surface of the wall; another 4 feet long; with another 10 inches wide; then one 2 feet 6 inches long; another 10 inches wide, running 2 feet 6 inches on the surface. The western angle is not so perfect, as the upper and lower stones only remain, the interval being filled with brickwork.

The form of this porch is certainly unusual, it being 22 feet from the ground to the point of the roof, and 7 feet 5 inches wide. The entrance arch, which has every appearance of being early Norman, projects one foot; the arch is ornamented with a moulding, partaking of the character of the zigzag; and the capitals remain *in situ*; but the columns are gone, and the whole of this projecting portion is now covered with gray lime mortar, and marked to imitate stone.

Over the doorway in the gable of the porch is an ancient sun-dial, figured in the Gentleman's Magazine for Nov. 1840. It is thus described by Mr. Mark Antony Lower: "It is of stone, and contains, on its upper limb, a cross, and the word EADRIC. That this dial, as well as the church [porch?],

is of Saxon workmanship there is no doubt."

Within the walls of the church lie buried the remains of the Rev. James Hurdis, D.D., professor of poetry at Oxford; elected in 1793. He died Dec. 23, 1801, aged 38 years. There is a mural tablet, erected to his memory by his four sisters, and a poetical inscription by his friend Hayley.

SLAB IN BISHOPSTON CHURCH.

The singular and interesting early sculptured monumental slab, which is represented in the woodcut on page 281, was found during the last summer in the progress of the restoration of Bishopston church, by the Earl of Chichester, one of our vice-presidents.

It was built into the north wall, and had served as the lintel of a fireplace formerly existing in one of the pews. It has been carefully removed, and is now placed in the floor of the new vestry. Its length is 4 feet 24 inches; at the top its breadth

is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at the bottom $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its curved form is shown by the sections. It is altogether about 6 inches in thickness, the sculptured portion being at the top $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at the bottom $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in depth.

The material from which it is formed is what is locally called "Bourn rock," that is, the firestone, of which a section is exposed in the low cliffs near Southbourn, and is described by Dr. Mantell, in his 'Geology of the South-east of England,' as "an arenaceous variety of the firestone."

The lower portion of the sculpture is a Calvary cross, surrounded at the top by the lowermost of three intertwined circles of cable; in the second circle is the Agnus Dei, and in the third or uppermost circle is a tall vessel or phial, out of which two birds (probably intended for doves) are drinking.

It is not unlikely that the three circles of cable may have

been designed to shadow forth the Trinity.

Two birds, one on either side of a vase, drinking, or about to drink, was a favorite symbol among the early Christians in Italy, and doubtless brought hither from thence. Aringhi, Ciampini, and other authors, down to Maitland, in describing the catacombs at Rome, give frequent examples of its use.

On the side of the tomb attributed to the Emperor Honorius, in the mausoleum erected by the Empress Gallia Placida about the middle of the fifth century, is sculptured the Agnus Dei, with a cross on its back, and a bird on each limb of the cross. At the end of the same tomb there is a vase, with two

birds apparently about to drink.

In the church of St. Appolinaris, at Ravenna, supposed to have been built A.D. 570, over the arch of each window is introduced a mosaic, representing a vase with two handles, between two birds, apparently intended for doves. This symbol is frequently repeated in other parts of the building. In the compartments adjoining the windows are two birds, one on each side of a cross.

On an ancient cist, likewise at Ravenna, the more rare symbol occurs of a vase, with two stags, one on either side, probably in allusion to the 42d Psalm, 1st verse—"As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God."

This symbol is not of frequent occurrence in England: I believe Mr. Westmacott has stated that he has never noticed it in mediæval sculpture in this country.



SECTIONS



BISPOPSTON:

The ancient square font at Winchester Cathedral (considered to be early Norman) has, in two of the angles of the upper side, a device very similar to the one under consideration, but with the addition of a cross issuing out of the vase. The basin is surrounded by a sculptured ornament of irregular twisted beads, described as being in "the true Saxon manner." (See Carter's Ancient Architecture of England, part 1, plate xxxii, p. 27.)

At Bridlington, in Yorkshire, on a curious coffin slab, a singular and, perhaps burlesque variety of this symbol occurs. The vase, in this instance, is between a bird and a fox, alluding

probably to the fable.

My attention has been drawn by a member of the Society to the plates of the "most ancient font" at Bridekirk, in Cumberland, with its Saxo-Runic inscription, in the 14th volume of the 'Archæologia,' which is ascribed to the first half of the tenth century. Upon comparison, the style and execution of the sculpture under consideration appear to be very similar, particularly the west side of the font, on which is a circle of cable, with the figures of a bird on one side and an animal on the other. The Bishopston slab is, however, considered to be early Norman; but, in the absence of either inscription or date, this must in some measure be conjectural.

Ciampini suggests that the vase shadows forth the earthen vessels spoken of by St. Paul, 2 Cor. ch. iv, v. 7—" But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." The earthen vessels denoting the human body, the receptacle of spiritual gifts, and

the doves innocence and simplicity of mind.

According to De Caumont, the device of the vase and doves drinking is the "symbole de la douceur et de la union Chrétienne."

Dr. Milner, in his 'History of Winchester,' vol. ii, p. 77, writing of the font there, says: "The most distinguished ornaments of the top are doves, emblematic of the Holy Ghost, breathing into phials surmounted with crosses, supposed to contain the two kinds of sacred chrism made use of in baptism.

Maitland, in his 'Church in the Catacombs,' p. 173, gives a representation of two vases, with birds, very similar to that at the end of the tomb of the Emperor Honorius. At p. 170 he says: "With most ancient nations prevailed the custom of

inclosing in the tomb a small cup or vase. This was used by the Romans to contain the tears shed by hired mourners, mixed with gums, spices, &c." At p. 171 he says, "The Christians, though rejecting the name lachrymatory, retained the cup, probably to hold spices only, for tears were not a part of their funeral solemnity." At the same page he says: "The cup used in the catacombs varies in shape, from the tall, thin lachrymatory of the heathen to the open saucer of painted glass of the fifth century." Again, p. 173: "The cup so often inclosed in the tomb, or cemented to the rock outside, is sometimes merely drawn upon the gravestone," but he makes no attempt to explain what the birds may signify. In other parts of his book he mentions the dove being used as the emblem of peace, and of the Holy Spirit.

To the kind assistance of Albert Way, Esq., I am greatly indebted in this attempt to elucidate the symbol of the vase

and birds.

The description and account of any church can scarcely be considered complete without extracts relating thereto from the national records connected with the ecclesiastical history of the kingdom. I have, therefore, ventured to give in this place translations from the three important ones, viz. Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai circa, A.D. 1291; Nonarum Inquisitiones, temp. Regis Edw. III, A.D. 1340; and Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henry VIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION OF POPE NICHOLAS.

Archdeaconry of Lewes, Deanery of Pevensey:

 \pounds s. d.

The Vicar of Bishopestone .
It does not yield more.

5 6 8

Profits of the Bishop of Chichester.

Bissopeston 43 13 $5\frac{1}{2}$ This probably included the manor and rectorial tithes.

NONÆ RETURNS.

BISSHOPPESTON.

This indenture witnesseth, that an inquisition was taken at Lewes, on the Monday next after the feast of S. Gregory, in the 15th year before Henry Hussée and his fellow-collectors, venditors and assessors, of the ninth of sheaf, fleece, and lamb, and of the fifteenth of our Lord the King, in the co. of Sussex, granted the 15th year of the reign of Edward the Third of that name since the Conquest, upon the true value of the ninth aforesaid, according to the tenor of the commission of our Lord the king to the aforesaid Henry and his asso-

ciates directed: upon the oath of John Danyel, Robert Felaghe, John le Foye, and John le Franke, parishioners of the church of Bishopston, jurors and inquisitors, who say upon their oath, that the ninth part of sheaves of certain portions in the said parish, belonging to the prebends of Sidlesham and Hylighe, in the ch. of the Holy Trinity of Chichester, is worth this year four pounds and no more, because many lands, to the yearly value of sixty shillings, have been submerged by the overflowing of the sea. Also one vicarage is endowed from the portion of Sidlesham, which is taxed at eight marks, whence the ninth part of the fleeces is this year worth 6s. 8d., and the ninth of lambs 6s. 8d. Also the tithe of cheese, hay, and other tithes pertaining to the portion of Hyligh, are this year worth 13s. 4d. The total of these two portions in the said parish of B., with vicarial offerings and all other small tithes, is this year 20 marks, 6s. 8d. Also the prebendary of Hanfelde receives tithes of sheaves in demesne, and upon divers other lands in the said parish; whence the ninth of sheaves is this year worth 4 marks. Also the ninth of fleeces, 6s. 8d. Also the ninth of lambs, 6s. 8d. Also the tithe of hay and other tithes belonging to the said portion of Hanfelde, in the said parish, are this year worth 60s. The total of this portion is £6 6s. 8d. Also the prebendary of Hurtham takes tithes of sheaves in demesne and from divers other lands in the said parish, this year worth 6s. 8d. Also the tithe of hay of this portion is this year worth 6s. 8d. The total of this portion is 13s. 4d. The total of all the aforesaid portions in the said parish, with the vicarial offerings and all other small tithes, is 26 marks, 6s. 8d.; but the foresaid jurors say, upon their oath, that the ninth part of sheaves, fleeces, and lambs does not exceed the sum of 12 marks. In testimony of which thing the foresaid jurors have to this present indenture affixed their seals. Dated the day and place aforesaid. Also the aforesaid jurors say, upon their oath, that none in the foresaid parish live by merchandize, from whence they are able to make a return concerning the fifteenths.

Prebend . . . of Ertham.

Also (the jurors) say that the said prebendary in like manner takes annually a certain portion of the tithe of wheat from certain lands of Bishopston, worth in common years 13s. 4d.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS.

SUSSEX.

The Bishopric of Chichester.

SPIRITUALITIES IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

The portion of Bishopiston is worth annually liijs. iiijd.

TEMPORALITIES.

The manor farm of Bishopiston, with a windmill, together with the herbage of a wood called Bishopiswood, let to Edward Bray, knight, by indenture, for a term of years, at a clear rent of xixli. vs. viijd., and for several customary tenements, xxvli. ijs. iijd. £xliiij vijs. xjd.

PREBENDARIES IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHICHESTER.

The Prebend of Sidlesham.

Richard Warham, clerk, prebendary there, is worth clearly by the year, with all profits, advantages, and emoluments, except lxvjs. viijd. a year for an annual pension to the vicar of Bishoppiston . £xiij.

THE CHURCH OF S. BARTHOLOMEW, CHALVINGTON.

BY HAMILTON DICKER, Esq.

READ AT LEWES, OCTOBER 3, 1848.

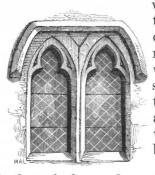
It is a fact which must strike every one interested in the good work our Society advocates, that it has, generally speaking, been the misfortune of the Churches of this county to be described by its historians in terms indicative of profound ignorance of their architecture and striking features. Thus, while one passes over a Church as "a small gray building, consisting of two or three aisles,"* another sweepingly asserts the Churches of Sussex to be, with few exceptions, "rude and misshapen buildings, humble, indeed, in their pretensions;"† and further declares them to be characterised by a "barbaric gloom, and studied disregard of comfort." I apprehend but few who have studied the character of those ancient Monuments of Christianity will be inclined quietly to permit them to be thus groundlessly and ungratefully condemned. Let those who would prefer Churches more elegant and more richly adorned, call to mind the bleak and desolate situation of many of our Churches, often without even the shelter of a tree; and then let them judge whether the severe and solemn aspect of the low and massy Pile, its shingle-capped tower and high pitched roof, be not infinitely more appropriate, if not more beautiful, than the panelled and frittered decoration of the Building of a later and more degenerate age. ‡

^{*} Parry's Coast of Sussex. † Horsfield's History of Sussex. ‡ Perhaps another reason for the unpretending appearance of the South-Down Churches (for to them more especially the above remarks apply), is their close vicinity to the hills, the great elevation of which would render simply ridiculous any appearance of imitation or rivalry, such as a lofty spire. What could be imagined that would more shock the eye of taste than the location of Salisbury Cathedral (for instance) immediately under one of our ranges of Downs; a spot where one of the "rude" and "barbarie" Churches above mentioned, looks more than appropriate,—looks (I will venture the assertion) Beautiful. Another lesson this for our modern Church Builders.

That many of our village Churches are unfortunately in a state of great neglect and dilapidation is too true; we cannot, however, but hope and believe that the spirit of Restoration, which, beginning at the Mother Church, is so rapidly extending in the Diocese, will, sooner or later, make our Churches what once they were—objects of the deserved pride of the Men of Sussex.

The style of the architecture of the Church of S. Bartholomew, Chalvington (which I proceed to describe), denotes it to be a structure of the latter half of that golden period of Churchbuilding, the fourteenth Century. In simplicity of appearance it is probably surpassed by none, even of the earliest Churches of the county. It consists of Chancel, nave, north porch, and western bell-turret of timber.

Approaching the Church by the ordinary road, its east end is seen to display a graceful window of three lights, the head being filled with flowing tracery. The Chancel exhibits two



windows on either side, of a singular truncated form: the annexed woodcut illustrates this peculiarity. The nave is lighted by three windows, of which those on the north and south sides are exactly alike,—windows of two lights, the heads of which contain a recumbent quatrefoil. The western window is square-headed, and probably belongs to the succeeding style.

The only entrance into the Church

is through the porch, a doorway opposite to it on the south side having been walled up. The porch is in great part of modern construction, but the doorway into the Church is original. The terminations of the hood-moulding appear to have been heads. The remains of a simple Benatura are seen on the west side.

On entering the Church, it is at once evident that the roofs have been so tampered with that it is difficult to form a supposition as to their original construction. The whole area is encumbered with pews, and an unsightly board, with the usual writings, half conceals the east window.

Notwithstanding so much that is discouraging, more than one interesting feature presents itself to the Ecclesiologist. The

upper part of the east window is seen to contain some traces of painted glass; and on nearer observation, an inscription, in Longobardic characters, is visible, following the lines of the tracery. This inscription (which cannot be read without a ladder) is of no little interest, for it conveys the information of the name of the Rector of the Church at the time of its erection, and that he was the donor of that window and its storied glass:

John Biliwyt Rector Hbis Eclesie Me Fieri Fecit.

Above, in one of the compartments of the tracery, is a coat of arms, thus—argent, a saltier between a rose in chief, and another in pale; the whole surrounded with beautifully-drawn oak leaves and acorns. Of two other coats of arms, which evidently were emblazoned there formerly, there are now no remains.

But this is not all. The head of the north window of the nave contains the demi-figure of a nimbed Archbishop, in full pontificals, his left hand holding the crozier, and the right in the attitude of Benediction. An inscription, also in Longobardic characters, proclaims it S. TOMAS.

An elaborate crocketed canopy surmounts the figure, and the colours are beautiful and intense. A rather amusingly erroneous notice of this figure will perhaps be remembered by the readers of Horsfield's History. The "bishop" (as he says "some years ago"), was to be seen holding in one hand "a banner, inscribed Thomas, in Old English!"

The font is affixed to the north wall of the nave; its basin and shaft are of square form, and the mouldings very simple.

It only remains to state the dimensions of this essentially *Sussex* church, which possesses many claims, not only for Restoration, but for adoption as a model for the plain and simple Church of a rural and secluded parish.

Length of nave, 37 feet. Breadth of ditto, 26 ,, Length of chancel, 20 ,, Breadth of ditto, 16 ,,

SUBSIDY ROLL OF THE RAPE OF LEWES IN 1296.

COPIED FROM AN ORIGINAL MS.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

PARTLY READ AT THE LEWES MEETING, AUGUST 1848.

Although a long list of names may not seem very attractive to the general reader, yet such a document, recording those who were rich enough to pay taxes in Sussex nearly six centuries ago, will yield to the attentive inquirer much curious evidence on Sussex genealogy and topography, as well as on the condition and manners of the people at a remote period; and the following specimen of an ancient Subsidy Roll may, therefore, not prove uninteresting to the members of the Sussex Archæological Society.

Very little has been published on this subject, and nothing

of so early a date as in the present instance.

The original roll is among the Carlton Ride MSS. (E.B. 1781), and is one of the most perfect and clear records of this description now extant, consisting of twenty skins of parchment, on one side of which the tax-payers of the three eastern rapes of the county are written down in three long parallel columns, arranged in hundreds, while the other side is occupied by similar columns of the three western rapes. It is entitled, in Latin, "The Eleventh from the county of Sussex in the 24th year of the reign of King Edward;" and the indorsement runs thus—"Eleventh of the County of Sussex. Philip de Waleby, deputy (tenens locum) of W. de Langeton, treasurer, received this Roll on the 7th day of May, in the 24th year, by the hands of Robert de Pasele, master William de Irton, the taxers and collectors of the eleventh and seventh in the county of Sussex."

Robert de Pasele (Pashly, near Ticehurst), who paid in the money, was one of the knights of the shire in parliament at the time. We should rather have expected this duty to have fallen on Robert de Glamorgan, then sheriff of the county.

According to that excellent work 'The Parliaments and Councils of England,' by C. H. Parry, Esq., who has condensed into one octavo volume the material information on the subject, scattered in countless folios, the tax thus collected had been authorized by the parliament, which the king had summoned by his writ from Odymer (vide p. 141 in this volume), to meet at Westminster on Nov. 27, 1295. The earls, barons, knights, and others of the kingdom (et alii de regno), had there granted the king an eleventh of all their moveables. The slighting phrase by which the commons of the realm are designated is worth noticing. The citizens, burgesses, and other good men of the cities and boroughs in the king's domain (alii probi homines de Dominicis civitatibus et burgis) made a grant of a seventh, but the roll refers only to the eleventh. The Cinque Ports, as not liable to tollage, were omitted, and indeed were not summoned to send representatives until the time of Edward III.

One sixth portion of the roll, that which relates to the rape of Lewes only, is here given; but it may be well to mention the amount collected in the whole county, the sums total being methodically given to each hundred and township, and also at the foot of each column of the rapes. According to this method the totals were as follows:

				£	8.	d.	
Rape of Hastings				180	18	3)	(Making £684 9s. 4\frac{1}{4}d.
Rape of Pevenese			٠.	311	8	$5\frac{1}{2}$	in the eastern rapes.)
Rape of Lewes				192	2	$7\frac{3}{4}$)	in the eastern rapes.)
Rape of Brembre				253	0	81)	$(£764 \ 15s. \ 4\frac{1}{4}d.$ in the
Rape of Arundel				186	0	19	western rapes.)
Rape of Chichester	•			325	13	1)	western rapes.)

This would give a total of £1449 4s. $8\frac{1}{2}d$. for the county; but to this is added the sum separately collected from those residing in various hundreds who had claimed the liberties of the Cinque Ports, according to the concluding entry thus translated:—"Sum of the eleventh of those men of the Cinque Ports taxed in divers hundreds, £28 7s. $9\frac{1}{4}d$., which sum is put into the sum total of the county. Sum of the eleventh of those who have briefs to supersede the collection

and levy, £53 18s. 7d., and therefore are not put into the sum total of the county.

"Sum of the eleventh of the county of Sussex, £1477 12s. $5\frac{3}{4}d$.,

besides those who have briefs," &c. (MS. here torn.)

Those who held the king's letters exempting them from the collection of this tax, but who paid on a separate taxation for themselves and their villeins, were, John de St. John, £24, 6s. $5\frac{1}{2}d$.; Hugh Bardolf, £22 14s. $8\frac{1}{4}d$.; Thomas Paynel, 39s. $11\frac{1}{2}d$.; Eustace atte Heche, 46s. 2d.; Alexander de Cheyne, 51s. $3\frac{3}{4}d$.: total £53 18s. 7d.

There are other subsidy rolls of later periods relating to Sussex, which remain in MS. in the Record offices, and it may be convenient to future inquirers to add here a brief reference

to them.

1327. 1st year of Edward III; grant of a twentieth in Sussex, referred to in the 2d Report of Record Commission, p. 144, app. 11.

1332. 6th Edward III; a similar grant. 2d Report, p. 146.

1341. 14 Edw.III; subsidy roll for Rodmill, Bourne, Southover, Midhurst, Arundel, Steyning, Lewes. 2d Rep., p. 159.

1377. 51st Edward III. An account of this subsidy roll was read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1784 by Mr. Topham. The tax being levied on every lay person of either sex above fourteen years, not evidently mendicants, produced £588 15s. 4d. from 35,326 lay persons in the county of Sussex, and £14 9s. 8d. from 869 persons in Chichester.

1379. 2d Rich II. Poll-tax levied in Sussex. 2d Rep., p. 171. 1380. 3d Richard II. Of this, the earliest clerical subsidy of the diocese of Chichester extant, a transcript has been taken by the present writer, and may be printed in a future volume.

2d Report, p. 174.

1381. 4th Richard II. Poll-tax for Sussex and for Chichester, being the last ever levied; 2d Report, p. 175.

Several names, familiar to the present inhabitants of Sussex, will be readily recognised among those in this subsidy roll, and many persons in various stations of life may probably find in it their remote ancestor, whose name, though perchance a humble one, has been transmitted as surely as that of the proudest member of ennobled families. It will be seen that it was not only the proprietors of land who derived their name from their place of residence, for there are numerous instances of lowly men being identified by their Christian name being

prefixed to some local object near which they lived; indeed, the word "atte," or, as it is sometimes written, "ater," seems in all cases to denote the dwelling-place; as in the names, reduced to modern spelling, in towns, at the Staple, at the Stair, at the Twytten, by East Street, at the Wide Street; and in the country, at the Oak, at the Ash, at the Homewood, at the Heath, at the Hooke, at the Style, at the Dene, by Northbrook, at the Borstall, nigh the Corn.

Personal appearance or quality often procured names to individuals, which in some cases may have been continued to their descendants; Heavybeard, Yellowbeard, le Younghusband, Pluckrose, Pullrose, Cleanwater, and its reverse, Schentwater, Trip, Skip, Hopper, Mocktrot, Wellfed, were at first casually applied, much in the same manner as American Indians have names chosen for them; while some, as Leper, Knave, Scholdekoc, the Quibbler (le Aftere), would not be

ambitious of handing their names down to posterity.

The industry of a few trades and professions supplied the wants of the people, most manufactured articles being imported from other quarters. The French article "le" probably indicates always either some personal quality or some trade or occupation, in the name to which it is prefixed, but some of these names are now not easily explained. We find the Shepherd, the Skinner, the Tanner, the Girdler, the Hatter, the Furrier, the Lakyere or linen-dealer, the Fuller, the Soaper, the Plaisterer, and the Glazier; but whether this latter indicates that glass-making was already begun in Sussex, is unknown.

The origin of surnames, however, has been so fully and ably treated by a member of this Society, Mr. M. A. Lower, in his amusing work on 'English Surnames,' that these few remarks may appear redundant rather than insufficient. Several names in the following list require no explanation, and among these are many names of places or houses, which will be readily recognised by those acquainted with the localities; some names remain unexplained, while to others notes have been appended, offering, in some cases, various conjectural interpretations; the initials of Albert Way, Esq., and W. S. Walford, Esq., members of this Society, being placed after such suggestions as they have favoured the author with. The returns from the different hundreds having been made by various persons, the names sometimes appear in a Latin, and

sometimes in a French or English form, and it may therefore prevent unnecessary error, if the names are here preserved unaltered with their Latin preposition and termination, as they appear in the original MS. Roll.

"RAPUM DE LEWES.

Hundreda de Poning. Villata de <i>Poning</i> .	G.*	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
De Michaele Poning . Willelmo de Perching Juliana de Panethorn Willelmo Mauntell .	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Summa 102s. Villata de Nytymbre cum Pykcumbe. De Johanne de Hokking . 17 0½ Philippo atte Suthethun . 0 13
W . atte Breche . Johanne de la Mare Andrea de Sonde . Roberto Lulling . Will ^o . Westetune . Will ^o . Eustace . Rob ^o . de Pykecumbe Eustachio ater Hylde ²	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot 0 12^{2} \\ \cdot 7 1 \\ \cdot 2 0\frac{3}{4} \\ \cdot 16 0\frac{1}{2} \\ \cdot 3 2\frac{9}{4} \\ \cdot 0 19\frac{1}{2} \\ \cdot 3 7 \\ \cdot 0 12 \\ \end{array}$	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Rob°. ater Wydestrete Roberto Eustace .	$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Alicia de Wylecumbe . 2 $8\frac{3}{4}$ Roberto atte Borstalle ⁷ . 2 6

^{*} In the modern hundred of Poynings, Fulking is also included.

1 At the gap or opening, perhaps of the Downs.

² Ilde, an island or river. Vide Prompt. Parv. p. 259.

³ The same as shepherd; bercatorius, brebicatorius, who tends brebis, sheep; old Fr. berchier. Barker.

⁴ Le viel, the elder; John Bull's progeny, the calf, or veal: le Tor occurs afterwards. (A. W.)

⁵ At the gully. ?

⁶ The skinner or fellmonger.

7 This name is still universally current in Sussex, applied to the numerous roads or pathways leading up the steep ascents of the whole line of South Downs from Eastbourne to Midhurst, and its derivation has long perplexed inquirers. I have great pleasure, therefore, in bringing forward the opinion of one of the most distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholars of the age, John Mitchell Kemble, Esq., who, in the kindest manner, answered my application by the following remarks:—"I take the first part of the compound to be the Saxon word Biorh, Beoph, a hill or mountain, the passing of which into Bor is neither unusual nor surprising. The second word is not so easily determined. Were the word ever written Borstill, I should suggest the Saxon Stizele, Stigele, a style or rising path, and Beorh stigele would be the hill-path or mountain path. I do not know whether in that branch of West Saxon which prevailed in Sussex, 'steal' did signify a road or path; but it is not without probability that some Anglo-Saxon dialects might have justified that use of the word; for 'stealian,' or 'stellan,' does sometimes seem to be applied in the sense of 'going' or leaping.'" (J.M.K.)—Mr. W. S. Walford, who, before he was apprized of Mr. Kemble's derivation of the word, had arrived at the conclusion that it was derived from Beorg and Stighel, a way up a hill, observes that near Rochester there is a manor and hamlet called Borstall (Hasted's Kent, ii, 52), which, from their situation at the foot of the hill, may owe their name to their proximity to such a way. The name of this place is found in Doomsday, i, 5, as

De	Ricardo atte Borstalle Ade de Brakepole . Will ^{mo} de Byestestrete Johanne le mose ⁸ . Radulpho le godesone Reginaldo atte Holte ⁹ Reginaldo Cissore ¹⁰ Ade le frouk ¹¹ . Johanne le Bedel ¹² . Rogero preposito ¹³ Ricardo filio prepositi Reginaldo le Bovighere ¹⁴ Amicia atte Hyde ¹⁵ Isabella de Wykham Martino de Brakepole Comite Warrenne . Summa 76s. 4½d.	 $ \begin{array}{cccc} 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 3 & 0 \\ 5 & 0 & 4 \\ 0 & 0 & 4 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \end{array} $	$\begin{array}{c} d. \\ 18^{\frac{3}{4}} \\ 13 \\ 14^{\frac{1}{2}} \\ 12^{\frac{1}{4}} \\ 2^{\frac{1}{4}} \\ 18^{\frac{1}{2}} \\ 13 \\ 19^{\frac{1}{2}} \\ 13 \\ 18^{\frac{1}{2}} \\ 2^{\frac{1}{4}} \\ 2^{\frac{1}{4}} \end{array}$	Waltero Syrenord 0 20½ Stephano pistore ¹⁷ 0 12½ Alexandro filio prepositi . 0 23½ Roberto Tryppe 0 21 Summa 16s. 8d. Summa tociushujushundrede 9ti.15s.0½d. Hundreda de Walesbone. Villate de Peccham¹8 et Wystedene. ti. s. d. De Comite Warrenia . 8 15 3½ Will™. Estwyke 10 4 Alicia de Estwyke 10 4 Ade de Brakepole . 3 10½ Roberto de Cranegg . 7 7¾
1	arati. Ade de Bokkyng Ricardo de Nortfolk		$12^{6\frac{1}{2}}$	Isabella Crypse $0 ext{ } 16\frac{3}{4}$ Johanne Ketel ¹⁹ $0 ext{ } 21\frac{1}{4}$
	Johanne Syhet . Paulino de Nytymbre Waltero Damery .	0	$ \begin{array}{c} 13\frac{3}{4} \\ 12\frac{1}{4} \\ 13\frac{1}{2} \end{array} $	

Borchetelle, and Borestelle, while, in Text. Roff., compiled in the twelfth century, it is variously called Borestealla, Borgestealla, Borestealle, &c., in none of which designations, however, 'i' or 'y' occurs, favouring therefore Mr. Kemble's suggestion of "stellan" rather than stighel. There is a manor also called Borstal in Minster, in the Isle of Sheppy, and a parish of Borstal on the west border of co. Bucks; the situation in both instances probably corresponding with the Sussex meaning, a road leading up a steep ascent. It by no means follows that because the stile has come down to us with a long i, that such would have been the case with the same word in composition as an unaccented syllable; for all the vowels, when unaccented, have a tendency to a similar sound; for example, substitute any one of them for a in the word Borstal, and the sound is very little altered, if the first syllable only be accented. (W.S.W.) - The word, however, is often pronounced Bosthill in Sussex, and appears so spelt in Yeakell's Map of 1783, as "White Bosthill," near Alciston. The terms of good or bad Bosthill are applied familiarly, according to the easiness of the slope or otherwise, proving that the word is not applied to denote any Near Kingston, where the old road from Lewes passes over the Downs to Brighton, there is "Jugs Bostall," thus preserving an ancient nickname of the Brightonians, who were called "Jugs."

⁸ The bird mose, as occurs compounded in titmouse. (A.W.)—Perhaps le mousse,

a cabin-boy, like the Spanish moço.

⁹ At the wood or grove.

Froke, a frog.—Pr. Par. Frough, in the North, is brittle, tender.

12 The bailiff or reeve of the Lord's court.

The steward of the lord, or perhaps the headborough.
 The oxherd. Bowyer.
 At the hyde.

¹⁶ Perhaps the obsolete name of a bird, whence the name of Mecocke, a term of reproach, a dastard. (A.W.)—For major, the greater; may, a maid; mavis, a thrush.? Thomas and Robert le Mey appear in Lewes Chart. (p. 325), in 1316.

¹⁷ The baker. ¹⁸ Patcham is now in the modern hundred of Dean. ²⁰ Occurs in Doomsday. ²⁰ Probably for Theobald.

²¹ Matilda up the Pende appears as a witness in 1348, f. 59.

22 At the pit or quarry.

$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	De Will°. Martin 2 2½ Henrico le Hep 0 13 Joh°. Walkok 2 0 Joh°. Bovey 0 13 Joh°. Ricard 5 3½ Summa 7li. 2s. 10d. 5 3½
Ade Petyt 0 $18\frac{1}{4}$ Reginaldo Ketel 4 $0\frac{3}{4}$ Summa 14 li . 2 s . 10 d .	Villata de $Houve$. ²⁷ De Jordan de Calys 3 $7\frac{3}{4}$ Ricardo Capelayn ²⁸ 2 $3\frac{1}{2}$ Ric°. ffelagh ²⁹ 0 12
Villate de Blechyton et Brystelmstone. De Ricardo Kyng 5 6 Will'o. Chepman 10 7½ Rob°. fferncumb 6 6 Johanne preposito 9 4 Radulpho Webbe²³ 6 5½ Johe. Gereman 6 5½ Johe. Tounne 2 8 Will'o. Onyot 2 0 Reginaldo messore²⁴ 0 20½ Symone Newe 8 2 Symone Knave 4 4¾ Joh*. Dryver 0 12½ Rob°. Bagge 3 6½ Ricardo le Hep²² 0 21½ Rad' Miller 10 8½ Rejinaldo atte Pole²² 7 6½ Relicta Pydyngeho 2 2 Joh*. Berndone 6 6½ Rob°. Elys 3 3 Rob°. Elys 3 3 Rob°. Avelyne 0 23½ Will'. Niuweman 5 6½	Symon Slarge .0 23 Alicia relicta Walteri .0 $15\frac{1}{4}$ Rice. Capelayn .0 $16\frac{1}{2}$ Johe. Plat .0 12 Wille. Gryg. .2 0 Johe. Bolur .0 $18\frac{1}{2}$ Rogero Keneward .56 0 Wille. Galays .0 12 Relicta Thoma le Wyse .0 12 Johe. le Wyte .4 $3\frac{1}{4}$ Waltero de Stoke .2 11 Johe. Curtays. .2 $9\frac{3}{4}$ Wille. le Ros. .2 $9\frac{3}{4}$ Wille. le Ros. .2 $9\frac{3}{4}$ Rice. Beryng .0 $17\frac{1}{2}$ Johe. le Bas. .7 $4\frac{1}{2}$ Johe. Le Ros. .9 $6\frac{3}{4}$ Rice. Beryng .0 $17\frac{1}{2}$ Johe. Vaggere .9 $6\frac{3}{4}$ Robe. Sweyn .18 2 Waltero Trenchemer .2 $4\frac{1}{2}$ Johe. Gyselyn. .18 2 Waltero Trenchemer .2<

²³ The weaver. 24 The reaper.

33 Short. 32 Le Rou; Rufus, red-haired. 34 Jocelyn. 35 Names derived from wealth occur elsewhere. In a MS. of the date 1299, Thomas Thousandpound, in English words, appears as the king's wax-chandler. "6\(\textit{ii}\). 10s. liber. Thome Thousandpound pro cera de eo ad opus regis capta apud Barton," 27 Edw. I. Recept. Gard. E.B. 2084. A work has been lately published in Germany on Painting, by "Liberat Hundertpfund," and analogous to these are "Twopenny," though corrupted from the good Flemish name, Tupigni, and also Swanzich Pfennig (Twenty Pence), found on an old Flemish seal.

²⁵ A chance child. (A. W.)—In the North, an outer garment or cloak. (W. S. W.)
26 At the Pool.
27 Hove is now in the hundred of Preston.
28 A priest; commonly a domestic priest. Caplin.
29 Fellow, companion; felar in Saxon; felaw in Chaucer.

³⁰ A Welsh name. A young eel; a lively fellow?; heath or ling, in which sense it occurs in names of places. (A. W.)
³¹ Polite. Curteis.

Vill	late de Brystelmstone et M	olsc	um		De Radulpho Germayn 4 $4\frac{3}{4}$
Terro.	T.1. T.		8.		
De	Johe. Bac		3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	TI III I COTOL III
	Ric ^o . Palmer		3	$2\frac{1}{4}$	Summa 28s. $6\frac{1}{4}d$.
	Emma relicta Stymerc		4	$8\frac{3}{4}$	Summa tocius hundrede 39li. 17s. 10d.
	Relicta Johe. Palmer		0	$18\frac{1}{4}$	
	Symone lepere ³⁶ .		3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Hundreda de Yonesmere.41
	Rico. de Hessom .		0	194	Villani Comitis Warrennia.
	Symone lepere ³⁶ Rice. de Hessom . Relicta Symonis Tyly Symon Trenchemer . Rice. le Bac ³⁷ .		0	$20\frac{1}{2}$	De Radulpho le Sevr ⁴² 7 1
	Symon Trenchemer	. 1	2	$7\frac{1}{4}$	Johe atte Hyde 4 $1\frac{1}{2}$
	Rico le Bac ³⁷		5	6	Rob ^o . Pluckerose 4 2
	Johe. Strange .		0	133	
	Ade Borgeys ³⁸ .		0	$23^{\overline{4}}$	Ade le Sevr 2 $0\frac{1}{2}$
	Paginalda da Stanzan	*	5		
	Reginaldo de Stanmer			$3\frac{3}{4}$	John Brun $\frac{2}{7\frac{1}{2}}$ Will ^o Hydman 3
	Will ^o . le Palmer ³⁹ .	٠.,	2	1	
	Rad°. de fferndenn .	. 1		$0\frac{1}{2}$	Will's. Gidmey $0.16\frac{1}{4}$
	Will ^o . hervest .		3	0	Ricd°. le Cony 3 $3\frac{1}{4}$ Will ^m °. Goldyng 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$
	Rob ^o . Nythecorn .		6	$4\frac{1}{4}$	
	Joh ^e . Osebern .		7	$7\frac{3}{4}$	Wille. Ysland 3 1
	Will ^o . Merchant .		6	$8\frac{3}{4}$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
	Waltero messor .		6	$8\frac{3}{4}$	Joh^e , le hap 2 $3\frac{1}{4}$
	Joh ^e . preposito .	.]	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	Willo. Edyne . 2 $6\frac{1}{2}$ Willo. le Soperets . 2 $7\frac{1}{2}$ Regino. Godwyne . 2 $3\frac{1}{4}$ Johe le Tor . . 2 1
	Symon de Bovethon	. 1	2	1	Will ^o . le Sopere ⁴³ 2 $7\frac{1}{2}$
	Summa 119s. $1\frac{1}{4}d$.				Regin ^o . Godwyne 2 $3\frac{1}{4}$
	22001 2400				Johe le Tor 2 1
	Villata de Bokkyng.				Matilda relicta Hap 2 0
De	Ade de Bokkyng .		8	$0\frac{1}{4}$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
De	Robo. le Veel .			$6\frac{1}{2}$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
				$6\frac{1}{2}$	
	Johe. Thany	.]			
	Johe. de Nevyle .	.]		9	Summa $67s. 4\frac{3}{4}d.$
	Egidio de Herlegh .	.]	U	$8\frac{1}{2}$	(6)
	Summa 75s. 7 ½ d				(Sic, no heading.)
					De Will ^o . de la Halle $3 ext{ } 7\frac{1}{2}$ Joh ^c . Stutelere $3 ext{ } 9\frac{3}{4}$
	Jurati.				Joh ^e . Stutelere $3 9\frac{3}{4}$
De	Ade de Pykcumbe .		2	1	Regin ^o . atte Lote ⁴⁵ 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$ Ric ^o . Nyward 0 $15\frac{1}{4}$
	Rob ^o . de Bykenalre.		0	$18\frac{1}{2}$	Ric ^o . Nyward $0.15\frac{1}{4}$
	Michaele de Haldeham		3	$11\frac{1}{4}$	Johe Robert 2 1
	Benedicto clerico .		0		Ade le Soth 2 4
	Ricardo de la Rye .		4		Rico Algar . 2 0
	Rogero de la Wyke		4		Ric°. Algar 2 0 Will°. Ocland 3 0½
	Johe. atte Bysse .	•	2	1	Bartolomeo studdere . 3 2
	T 1 - TO 11 1		2		Difference of the control of the con
	Johe. Redhed		2	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Rob°. le Tor $2 6\frac{1}{2}$

³⁶ With a taint of leprosy.

 The ferryman, keeping le bac, or ferry. Bax.
 Burgess, citizen.
 A travelled man who had been a pilgrim. Burgess, citizen.

⁴⁰ Cofferer, one who had charge of the coffer or chest. (W.S.W.)-A roofmaker,

couvreur, is still used in France, to denote a tiler or slater. (A. W.)

The modern hundred of Younsmere comprises Falmer, Ovingdean, Rottingdean. The hundred courts were held in the memory of man at Younsmere Pit, between the two latter.

⁴² The sieur, sir. (A. W.)—The senior.?
⁴⁴ With curly hair. Chaucer.

43 Soapmaker.

⁴⁵ Lode, or driftway, as now in the Fens; or a cut for water. (W.S.W.)—The fish eelpout was called lote. Ralph atte Lote was M.P. for Lewes in 1320 and 1341.

s. d.	s. d.
De Johe. Byman	Jurati.
Ricd ^o . Martyn	De Johe. Post ⁵⁰ 10 1
Will ^o . Jordan 2 2	Joh ^e . le Bret 2 8 ¹ / ₄
Thoma le Wythes $0 ext{ } 16\frac{1}{2}$	Joh ^e . le Bret 2 $8\frac{1}{4}$ Will ^o . de Mulston 5 1
Johe. Gurl $2 0\frac{1}{4}$	Will ^o . Herbert 2 5
Will ^o . Gurl	
Matilda ater Wyke 16 2	Johe de Hodschorne . 2 7
	Godefrido de ecclesia . 3 4
our dari, jamoro	Galfrido Niusoman 3 $6\frac{1}{2}$
Summa 58s. $8\frac{3}{4}d$.	
77'11 - 7 75 7	
. Villata de Borghemar.	
De Reginaldo Mulstone . 6 $1\frac{1}{2}$	
Joh ^e . Terry $4 1\frac{1}{2}$	Trini i delicità
Isabella Martyn 3 $3\frac{1}{4}$	Summa $46s. 9\frac{3}{4}d.$
$ \text{Rob}^{\circ} $. Felyp $3 3\frac{3}{4}$. $3 6\frac{3}{4}$	Summa totalis hujus hundrede
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	13li. 9s. 6d.
Thoma Terry \dots 4 $0\frac{1}{2}$	
Will ^o . Wysman $3 \frac{3^3}{4}$	Hundreda de Holmestreuwe.51
* Johe. Terry, juniore . 4 $2\frac{1}{2}$	li. s. d.
Parvo Waltero 3 $0\frac{1}{4}$	De Comite Warrennia . 6 15 7
Rob ^o . le Wadere ⁴⁶ 4 $0\frac{1}{4}$	Alicia de Northese 2 $6\frac{1}{2}$
Regin ^o , atte Mere 4 1	Johe. Pellipario 2 0
Will ^o . Terry $48\frac{3}{4}$	Radulpho de heyngham . 13 93
Will ^o . Stigaunt 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$	Johe le Herdman 3 6
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Rad ^o . Hardyng 3 11
Nicolao Malston 5 $0\frac{1}{4}$	Will. atte Welle 4 4
Will ^o . de Hodhschorne ⁴⁷ . 3 $7\frac{3}{4}$	Galfrido apud Unethune . 4 8½
Joho. Wyrel 0 15 ¹ / ₄	Will's le Kyng 5 0
Rob ^o . Walebrun 0 14	Walkelyno de Radmelde . 4 34
	Godefrido Adam 5 0
	Johe. Kyng 10 4½
100 10 10 10 10	
Will ^o . Sherewynd ⁴⁸ 0 15	
Will ^o . Carpentario $0.16\frac{3}{4}$	Waltero le Wyte ⁵² 2 0
Johe. le Sepherde $0.18\frac{1}{2}$	Johe in the Hale 3 2
Will ^o . Lambeherde $0.15\frac{1}{4}$	Waltero le Wyte ⁵² 2 0 Joh ^e . in the Hale 3 2 Rad ^o . stille 5 $2\frac{1}{4}$ Will ^o . at Stighele ⁵³ . 3 0
Will ^o . Lambeherde $0 ext{ } 15\frac{1}{4}$ Ric ^o . Avery $0 ext{ } 18$	Will ^o . at Stighele ⁵³ . 3 0
Johe. Sledde $0.18\frac{1}{2}$	Rad ^o . in the Hale 3 1 Ric ^o . Geldebard ⁵⁴ 2 0
Joh ^e . Assere 0 $16\frac{3}{4}$	Ric ^o . Geldebard ⁵⁴ 2 0
Comite warrennia 16 0	Ric°. Tolle 2 5
et Ric°. atte Parlur 49 . 0 $22\frac{3}{4}$	Ric°. le Turner 4 $3\frac{1}{4}$
Summa 41i. 16s. $6\frac{3}{4}d$.	Rico. at Welle 2 5

⁴⁶ Le wayder, one who lends on pledges; a pawnbroker. Guader occurs as a Norman name. John le Wayder appears as a juror at York, 24 Edw. I. See Stapleton's York Priory, p. 158. (W. S. W.)
47 Shorn head; napless, threadbare hood. (A. W.)
48 Cut wind; a sharp fellow. Sherwin. (A. W.)

53 At the style, or steps, or rising path.

^{49 &}quot;Richard called atte parlour" appears a witness in the Lewes Chartulary MS.
f. 62.
50 A steady fellow; a prop.
51 The modern hundred of Holmestrowe comprises Newhaven (Meching), Piddingho, Rodmill, Southeese, Telscombe.
52 White; the wight, creature; or perhaps from Ang.-Sax. Wita, an elder, an eminent man in the state. (A. W.)
53 At the style or steps or rising path

⁵⁴ Yellowbeard. Heavybeard has already occurred.

De_Alicia Culfis ⁵⁵ 2 0 Godefr°. pateys 3 6\frac{3}{4} Rob°. atte Gate 2 8\frac{1}{2} Rob°. Walkelyn 2 2 Godefr°. le Eyr ⁵⁵ 0 12 Matilda Berndon 4 0\frac{1}{4} Rie°. Beryng 3 1\frac{1}{4} Philippo Uppeling 4 2	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Summa 12 li . 15 s . $9\frac{1}{4}d$. Villate de <i>Mechyng</i> et <i>Pydingeho</i> . De Rob°. de Berndon 3 $6\frac{3}{4}$	Regin°. Skyte . 2 8 Regin°. Nyman . 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$ Cota atte Welle . 0 12 Rob°. Rosilon . 0 18
Johe Roser 0 18 Wille apud Cherette 6 4 Petro in the Dene 2 0	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Simone Sterman	Will ^o . atte Halle 0 18 Godefrido de ecclesia . 4 21
Rob°. Kyng 0 193 Will°. Banek 2 63	Rebecca Albyn . 0 12
Johe atte meln	
Ricº. le Hore 0 12 Remigio Molond 0 12	Johe in the Halle $0.019\frac{1}{2}$ Rice atte Crofte $0.019\frac{1}{2}$
Philippo Geldebard 0 12 Philippo Beryng 0 12 Moketrot ^{ss} 0 12	Regin°. Panlyn . 3 0½ Alwyn preposito . 3 4 Will°. Upedyke . 0 12
Waltero Pyntel ⁵⁹ 0 12 Joh ^c . Martyn 3 9 Rad ^o . Long 3 1	Ric ^o . de Apelton 2 7½ Thoma Koppe 2 11½
Astelota apud Onetham 4 0 Willo Pays 5 3 Willo Bercatario 5 3	Symone atte Twytene $3 0\frac{1}{2}$ Rad°. Algar $0 0.018$

55 "A kind of fish," Bailey. Littleton's Dictionary renders Cull, gobio capitatus, a gudgeon. Colfis occurs several times among some Sussex names, under the head of Hastings, in Inquis. Nonarum, pp. 402, 403. (W.S.W.)

The heir?; the air.

The heir?

An errand lad, with a quick, shuffling pace; the Christian name was smothered by the nickname.
 The name Pintel occurs in Doomsday, 4, 6.
 Near the market.
 Le Batur may be a quarrelsome fellow, loving "bate." "I foll at bate with

no man," Horman. In Promptor. Parv. batyn, make debate, jurgor; bateur, a cudgeller or thresher. A fuller, beating the cloth with a battyng staff, a betyll or batteldore (A.W.) This name occurs so frequently in the records as to make it probable that it signified a craftsman of some kind. In the Rotul. Hundred, it is found eleven times as le Batur, twice as le Batour, and once as le Betere. (W. S. W.)

62 This name of Twytten is still given, in Brighton, Chichester, and Lewes, to the narrow footways or passages connecting one street with another. Twytchen is similarly applied in some towns of Yorkshire, according to the excellent authority

of the Rev. Jos. Hunter.

⁶³ Sportive, playful; lacan, to play, is still used in Cheshire. A name still preserved as Laker, traced to the Saxon, signifying to play. In Prompt Parv., laykin, a plaything. Milicent was a gamesome body. (A. W.)—A dealer in "lake," fine See Chaucer's Sir Thopas-"Of cloth of lake linen cloth.

Fin and clere, a breche and eke a shirte." (W. S. W.)

Add Chr Ma Nic Isa Wa Wa Edr may Joh Joh	n°. Damel e atte Nasche ⁶⁴ ristina atte Wel tilda Stronge colao Edward bella Damel altero Meleward ditero Bodelandé mundo atte Cur gistro Petro de n°. de Horcumbe n°. Germeyn urgareta Lacy Summa 12ti.	lle	$\begin{array}{c} 0 \\ 3 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 17 \\ 16 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0\frac{1}{2}\\ 0\frac{1}{2}\\ 0\frac{1}{2}\\ 6\\ 12\\ 20\frac{1}{4}\\ 1\frac{3}{4}\\ 18\\ 12\\ 11\frac{1}{4}\\ 1\frac{1}{4}\\ 2\\ \end{array}$		Johe. Pyj Rado. Be Rico. de Johe. Bu Osberto o Willo. de Comite V Waltero Margaret Robo. On Regino. O	te Broke pekyng del . la Chapele rgeys de Kapene Estetune Varrennia atte fferth ta atte ffer	ore	:	0 2 0 0 2 39 2 0 2 0 2	$ \begin{array}{c} 0 \\ 12 \\ 12 \\ 6 \\ 0 \\ 15 \\ 18 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 18 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 12 \end{array} $
Pet He Joh Re Nic Joh Wa Wi	rati. Ifrido Mangefere Ifrid	e	2	$ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 4\frac{1}{2} \\ 6 \\ 12 \\ 0 \\ 12 \\ 3 \end{array} $	De	Johe, mur Isabella (Isabella (Wille, ffu Rade, Go Basilia re Bosco Isabella a Rice, de Suma	ngen . de Ocle de Wykha aghel desone elicta Rad atte hoke stuttess ma 4li. 11 de Hurst	m ulphi	de d	0 2 2 0 4 0 5	12 0 0 12 0 12 0
	reda de Butty illate de <i>Kyme e</i>			.68	De	Johe. de l' Johe. de l' Waltero	Brokehurs		:	5 6	0 0 0
Wil Rac	ltero atte Byred ll°. Storm l°. atte Byr ⁷⁰	chette ⁶⁹	4	$\begin{smallmatrix}0\\12\\0\end{smallmatrix}$		Waltero : Will ^o . att Agneta	atte Denn e Homew relicta	ode	eri	2 4	0 6
Joh	e. atte huse		3	0		lamber	t .			4	0

64 At the ash. 65 Butland. ?

66 Gilbert Mangefer in 1290, and Jocelin Mangefeyr, appear in the Lewes Chartulary, ff. 63, 59, 101, 102. Was this iron-eater a blacksmith? In the Lewes Chartulary MS. "Oculus ferreus," Iron Eye, appears as a donor in 5 Edw. III; Richard le Ismongere in 16 Edw. II, at f. 143.

⁶⁷ Robert le ffrye if found as a witness in the Lewes Chart. f. 118.

68 The modern hundred of *Buttinghill* comprises Ardingly, Balcombe, Bolney, Clayton, Crawley, Cuckfield, Hurstperpoint, Keymer, Slaugham, Twineham, West Hoathly, Worth.

69 At the Birch Heath.

⁷⁰ A hillock; a common word in Cumberland for a cowhouse; the Biar of the

71 At the ford.?

72 This name, of frequent occurrence, is probably the same as the modern "Hooke." Coke, referring to some ancient fines of lands in Sussex for his authority, says, "Combe, hope, dene, glyn, hawgh, howgh, signifyeth a valley."—Coke Litt., 5 b. These were valleys of different kinds, but howgh seems identical with "hook;" and Camden, quoted by Blount, voce Haw, says, "Hawgh or Howh signifies a green plot in a valley, as they use it in the North." See also Bailey, voce Hawgh. The word Haugh also occurs in the Lowlands of Scotland; and a glossary to Burns explains it as "low-lying rich lands, valleys." The gutteral, as usual in the South, had become a k, and the vowel sound been softened. (W.S.W.)

T	TT 1: 1 T	8.					d.
De		0	18	De Reginaldo atte finhagh	٠		0
	Godefrido Cobbe	3	0	Rico. de Kattestye			0
	Rob°. atte Knolle	()	18	Waltero de Kattestye			0
		0	12	Ade atte Holme .		0 1	
	Johe. Mangard	0	18	Rad°. de Weysttuppe Isabella de Pylestye		4	0
	Symone Pypelory ⁷³	3	0	Isabella de Pylestye		3	0
	Rob°. de Denny	4	6	Will ^o . Bysenthenee ⁷⁶		4	0
	Alicia relicta Walteri Ran-			Joh ^e . Bygg Alicia de Chalfhurst		2	0
	dulf	2	0			5	0
	Symon Pakyn	3	0	Summa 8 <i>li</i> . 15 <i>s</i> .			
	Symone de Perepunt .	0	18				
	Nicolao Goldyng Johe. atte Broke	3	0	Villata de Craule.			
	Johe, atte Broke	2	0	De Thoma de ffreyndenn			0
	Joh^e . le $Wytchanwere^{74}$.	2	0	Willo Stude			0
	Nicolao Chode	0	18	Ric. le Bakere Johe Danny Lohe le Bakere		0 1	2
	Will ^o . de Keyshale	4	0	Johe. Danny		4	0
	Will ^o . de Burgh	3	0	our . ic barcic .		5	0
	Rob°. le Marescal	4	0	Henr ^o . Bynorthebroke		4	0
			0	Bartolomeo de Gravethye		5	0
	Philippo a Noveton . Waltero de Haldelegh Isabella de Legh . Margareta atte Huse Waltielmo atte Hilde . Will° de Haldelegh .	3	0	Regin ^o . de Smythesone		4	0
	Isabella de Legh	0	12	Giliberto Blouwere ⁷⁸			0
	Margareta atte Huse .	0	12	Agneta Petre		3	0
	Waltielmo atte Hilde .	2	0	Willo. Petyt		5	0
	Willo, de Haldelegh .	0	12			5	0
	Rad.º Bedel	0	12	Petro Bareyt		2	0
	Waltero atte Milbroke .	3	0	Philippo de Haselwyke		2	6
	Petro de Denekecumbe .		0	Willo, atte Spaine	ì		0
	Rico. de Cattestye		6	Will ^o . atte Spaine . Joh ^e . atte hethe .	Ċ		2
	Johe. atter lee		0	Galfrido le Turnur .			0
	Willo. atte hethe	4	0	Ric°. de Estworth .	•	$\tilde{2}$	0
	Johe. de Haghenemuth .		0	Johe. Brunyng .	•		0
	Philippo de Haghenemuth	2	ŏ	Will ^o . atte Heghelonde ^{so}	•		6
	Will. de Weystuppe .	2	ő	Simone atte Lee -		12	250
	Willo atte Halle	$\tilde{4}$	0	Wille atta Haghahatha81	•	0.7	0
	Waltero de Stanbrucc	4	0	Wille Millegate	•	3	0
	Will ^o . atte Halle Waltero de Stanbrugg . Joh ^e . atte ffelde	4	0	Wille forest	•	0.1	8
	Alexandro de Cullesle	3	0	Johe Swyklts2	•	0 1	9
	Alexandro de Cullesle Rad ^o . atte Gerston ⁷⁵ Joh ^e . Chode	3	6	Will ^o . Millegate Will ^o . forest Joh ^c . Swyklt ^{s2} . Will ^o . de Wolburgh. Michaele de Panyng Michaele at Ree ^{s3} .	•	3	6
	Tohe Chode	9	0	Michaele de Panyno	•	10	0
	Rado. Wodelond	2	0	Michaele de l'anylig		70	6
		2	0	Walto. Noyk	•	2	0
	Joh ^e . de heggeerswerth .	2	U	Walte. Noyk	٠	2	U

⁷³ The owner of an Indian parrot.?

le Wytewere, Wythenwere, Wyttowere.

75 Gerston, or guerston, Ang.-Sax., i. e. grass-town, a vill or hamlet in a grassy spot. Gerse is still used for grass in Lancashire. (W. S. W.)

⁷⁶ By St. Anthony, near some chapel so called. ? (W. S. W.)

⁷⁹ A dauber or rough plasterer. In the Lewes Chartulary, f. 160, we have William Tinctor, in 1271, and Henry Pictor, f. 128.

⁷⁴ White tawer, or tanner of white leather. (A. W.)—In Rot. Hundred. occur

⁷⁸ This may possibly be the same as Askysye, "ciniflo, a fire-blower or an yrnehotter." Prompt. Parv. A term of reproach for the scrub of the smithy; a Cinderellus. (A. W.)

⁸² Suckled. Suckling. (A. W.) 80 At the High land. 81 At the High Heath. ⁸³ Dwelling near the bank of river. Rye, the shore; probably from Rige, Angl.-Sax., the road on the ridge.

De Rob°, le Ambere ⁸⁴	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Jurati. De Rogero le Waps ⁹⁰ 6 8 Philippo de Bolenye 2 0 Will ^o atte Grave 5 0 Roberto atte Godstedele ⁹¹ . 6 8 Symone atte Homwode . 6 0 Will ^o de Heghestede . 0 0 Summa 28s. 4d. Summa totalis hundrede, 8li. 7s. 4 ³ / ₄ d. Hundreda de SWANBERGH. ⁹² Villata de Ifford. De Joh ^o de Marmyon 48 5 ¹ / ₄
Hundreda de Wyndeham. De Ric°. de finshumme 6 $0\frac{1}{3}$ Ade Edward 8 $9\frac{3}{4}$ Will°. de ffroggerwythe 0 $20\frac{1}{4}$ Joh°. de Radingdean 10 $3\frac{1}{4}$ Agneta de Bosco 4 $11\frac{3}{2}$ Claricia atte Porte 5 6 Joh°. atte Steghere* 6 6 Joh°. de Bolenye 10 0 Rad°. de Cruce 9 $10\frac{1}{4}$ Joh°. Champeneys 3 $2\frac{3}{4}$ Joh°. Weysthonore 2 $9\frac{1}{4}$ Will°. Lewisia de Heghested 0 $15\frac{1}{4}$ Will°. atte Brugge 4 $2\frac{1}{4}$ Will°. Longo 0 $15\frac{1}{4}$ Joh°. lekyng 3 $3\frac{3}{4}$ Rob°. le Moune 3 $6\frac{1}{2}$ Will°. fabro de Wyndham 6 $6\frac{1}{2}$	Galfrido Bacon

85 At the lime tree—the lawn.

^{**} The almoner.

** At the fine tree—the lawn.

** Not a swinish cognomen, but taken from some personal aspect or deformity; huge. "This wyl never be made an ende of without an hogy syght of labourers." Horman. "Great and hougy stones." "Hogge geant." Rob. Brune. Perhaps from the Dutch hoog. (A. W.)

** At the stair or steps.

** The sacristan.

** Two Christian names only, as again, previously, John Robert in Yonesmere, Nicolas Edward at Meching, and Ralph Thomas at Ifford. Were they Welsh?

Probably now represented by "Gutsell," a family name still extant near Lewes; perhaps the same name as "atte Gusele," in the vill of Newtimber.

The hundred of Swanborough now comprises only Iford and Kingston.

At the barn-door. In Lewes Chart., f. 57, is "Fulco atte Malthuse," Malthus.

$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Relicta prepositi 3 $8\frac{1}{4}$ Will°. ffis 4 $2\frac{1}{2}$ Will°. Martyn 4 $3\frac{3}{4}$ Cristian de Dyghe 2 0 Nicolao Bonar 0 12 Will°. Denn, juniori 0 20 Rob°. Martyn 0 13 Summa 66s. $9\frac{1}{2}d$ 0 13	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Elia Goldyng
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Juliana de Benefelde. 18 $6\frac{1}{2}$ Radulfo atte Hoke. 5 $8\frac{1}{2}$ Henro de Thornthon. 150Ade Becke. 5 $10\frac{1}{4}$

⁹⁴ An errand-boy of quick motion.

95 The fish? or le fils.

97 Perhaps a foreigner, who had come over with the Count de Baar, married to the king's daughter Eleanor. Bar, however, occurs at different places in Doomsday.

The modern hundred of Fishersgate comprises Aldrington, Hangleton, and

Portslade.

⁹⁹ Crooked foot, like a sickle. (A. W.)—Surefoot; he appears in 1290 as a witness in Lewes Chartulary, MS. f. 63.

100 Richard le Hart represented Lewes in Parliament in 1311. Hierd, in Chaucer, The young husband.

The Frenchman. the herd-keeper.

102 Watchman.

⁹⁶ Calvere, bald (W. S. W.), from caloyer, caloyeri, old monks?, or from the old French, calevre, calevres, trompeurs, sneaking cheats?; fabricator of ceiled work?, or dealer in kale, cabbages, &c., to distinguish from dealer in cod ware, peas, beans, &c. Waryn is to deal. (A. W.)

	s. d.				d.
	$9\frac{1}{2}$	De Joh ^e . atte Bergh .		-	16
	$0\frac{1}{2}$	Nicolao le Hethere ¹¹¹			$16\frac{1}{2}$
	$79\frac{1}{4}$	Joh ^e . Drosey		2	
Willl. Wolfhering . 6	5 5	Martin Soper		0	$21\frac{3}{4}$
Symone Spendelove . (Reginaldo atte Wytthe		0	121
Regin ^o . Heryng !	11	Alexandro de Splytherst		0	12
Elia le Carter	2 11	Symone atte Lake .		0	18
Will ^o . Snylhals ¹⁰⁶	$9\frac{1}{4}$	Rico. Splyth		0	$23\frac{1}{4}$
Helewysa de Westethun . 7		Symone ater Hethe .		0	14
Will. le Bovyher		Will. Kat		3	0
Willo. de Plumpton 3		Willo. de Bradeny .		2	6
Rad ^o . Slytbody ¹⁰⁷		Will. atte Cumbe .			12
Waltero ffalet	$8\frac{3}{4}$	Willo. ater Hegg .		0	144
	$12\frac{1}{2}$	Matilda Messeday .		4	0
	$\frac{1}{1}$	Matilda de Goldebregg ¹¹²	•	5	ő
Summa 18 li . 8 s . $9\frac{1}{2}d$.	12	Willo. atte Welle	•	0	12
Jurati.		Will's Erl	•	0	12
	11	Matilda atte ffunte ¹¹³	•	2	6
Radulpho de Hangelton . 14		Thoma le Tanner ¹¹⁴ .		0	$21\frac{1}{2}$
	$0\frac{3}{4}$		•	2	212
	$5\frac{0_4}{5\frac{1}{2}}$	Haimmyng de Nywyke ¹¹⁵ Ric ^o . de Balnet		0	$\frac{3\frac{1}{4}}{18}$
Rob°. de Hales 8				2	
2000 1 000 2200000	_	Wille de Wakelesforde	٠.		$0\frac{1}{2}$
Symone de Myddethune . (Summa 40s. 1d.	102	Will ^o . de Capella ¹¹⁶ .			$10\frac{1}{4}$
		Meyen de Alyngton		0	$12\frac{1}{4}$
Summa totalis hujus hundrede	,	Rob°. Affote	٠		12
19 <i>li.</i> 8s. $10\frac{1}{2}d$.	1	Ricardo Page	٠		12
TT 1 1 1 D 110		Roberto de Wogham			18
Hundreda de Bercomp. 110		Gilberto de Wogham			1
De Ascelina de Cameys . 10		Will ^o . le Strong .			$18\frac{1}{2}$
Will ^o . Lovel 2	$0\frac{1}{4}$	Nicolao messore .			12
Comite Warrennia 8 Isabella Herdeman 3	3 0	Ric°. atte Werth .			12
		Rad°. de Kent .			12
Will ^o . Chapman 0	$16\frac{1}{4}$	Jone, atte Meine .		0	12
Nicolao de Lamport 0	12	Will ^o . Brunyng .		0	$12\frac{1}{2}$

104 Cordwainer, the final er dropped.

106 Sounds German for Quick neck.

Long in the fork. (A. W.)—A nickname for a proper subject of Edward Longshanks.

108 Amidon, starch?.

109 Le fou, halfwitted.

The hundred of Barcombe now comprises Barcombe, Hamsey, and part of Newick.

Hetter, in Lancashire, means keen, eager. Probably a hatter, though hardly to be expected so early; or a slop-seller, hatyr signifying old clothes or clouts. In the old Romaunt of K. Alisaunder it is said of the Brahmins, "Thinnelich hy beth y-hatered." In Vision of Piers Ploughman, idle extravagance is blamed "in housynge, in haterynge," i. e. clothing. (A. W.)—Robert le hatter appears as a witness in Lewes Chartulary.

Fount Hill retains this name in Newick, and in old parochial documents is occasionally written Founters. Ffunte may allude to fountains or springs of water, or to the fount or foundry of iron, of which there is a local tradition. The word fount is still used by type-founders. Fer de fonte is cast-iron.

William Tannator appears as a witness in Lewes Chart. MS. f. 110.

115 Haimine occurs among Sussex names in Doomsday, 20 b.

While these sheets were preparing for the press, a brass seal, which, from

¹⁰⁵ Wolfherring and Culfis—dealers in fish? In Carlt. MS. (2033 E. B.) William Stoefish appears as a letter-carrier in Kent in 1299. John Makerel at the same date carries litter for the prince's hall (E. B. 2106).

				s.	d.	Burgenses de Lewes.	
De	Joh ^e . Pullerose			0	12	8.	d.
	Egidio atte Beche			2	0	De Will ^o . Mercator 5	81
	Nicolao le Hatter			0	13	Will ^o . le Walewere ¹¹⁸ . 2	$8\frac{1}{2}$ $0\frac{1}{2}$
	Nicolao le Hatter Ric ^o . Rede			0	12	Ade Dykerman 3	$4\frac{1}{2}$
	Rado. atte Hethe			0	12		8
	Matilda Lanarke			100	12		6
	Willo. Kard117 .				13		81
	Summa 112s.	811.			20	Nicolao Thoruthe 2	0
	Committee Lines	0401				Ten I all I	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Jurati.					Matilda relicta Walewere . 10	6
1)e	Will ^o . le Bret			9	0	Hen°. de Burn, Galfrido	U
200	Rico. atte Oke			0	18	kuchu ¹²⁰ et de Thoma de	
	Will ^o . Schap .		Ċ			01 11	0
	Waltero Haghemun		-	4	4.	Johe. Buckenet capellano . 2	6
	Hugone de fflyttere	നന	•	2	$\frac{4}{0}$	Thoma Dod 11	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Hugone de fflyttere Symone atte Hegh	85	ì		ì	Will ^o . Sylverlegh 5	0
	Johe. de Bradeny				18	Johe. atte Delve ¹²¹ 4	$\frac{0}{2\frac{3}{4}}$
	Rado. Deny .		•	0	5	T01 '11' 1 T7 1	
	Johe. Rogg .	*		~			18
	Calfuida ffura		٠			Edmundo le Hopper . 8 Joh ^c . Gomminay 5	$4\frac{1}{2}$
	Galfrido ffrye .				$13\frac{1}{2}$		0
	Johe. atte Hake			-	12	Gervasio atte Hamme . 4	$9\frac{1}{4}$
	Will ^o . de Okle		*	0	12		2
	Summa 24s.		,	7		Dauwie Joutte 0 1	
	Summa totalis hujus		ire	de,		C(1)1	2
	6 $li.\ 17s.\ 7\frac{3}{4}$	d.				Gilberto atte Markete . 0 1	2

its apparent date, was probably that of this very William de la Chapelle,

(S. WHill'i. ve. Ia. Chapel.) was found on the Wallands, near Lewes, and is now in the possession of H. Catt, Esq. Besides the large tax here paid, he appears also as a burgess of Lewes, paying 3s. 6d., and must have been a person of importance. In the Lewes Chart. he appears as a witness about the year 1290, and again, f. 110, about 1318, to a deed giving some houses in Lewes to the Priory. As the seal represents an ecclesiastic, he may have officiated at



Newick, which not being then a parish, had only a small chapel. Perhaps a foundry occasioned the settlement at the "New Wick," and the erection of a chapel.

¹¹⁷ Dealer in eard, stiffening or wadding, much used to stuff dresses and armour. ¹¹⁸ A waller, maker of walls, or wellere, caster of metals. In the Wicliffite version of Jeremiah, vi, 26, "Alle ben corrupt, the belu failide, leed is waasted in the fier, the wellere wellide in veyn." A maker of bulrush weels for catching fish; a wallower, from a personal peculiarity of gait, rolling from side to side. (Å.W.); a wall-ward, a watchman of the town-wall. William Waleware was M.P. for Lewes in 1319 and 1323. Roger le Walewar and Simon le Walewar, appear as witnesses in Lewes Chartnlary ff 62, 100, 111

in Lewes Chartulary, ff. 62, 100, 111.

119 Le eftere, an artisan who hafted weapons, knives, &c.; the artful dodger, a droll example of waggish cognomina, from foibles or vices. A hafter is a quibbler.
"He is a hafter of kynde (est versutiæ ingenitæ homo), a flaterynge hafter (sedulus captator) is soon espyed of a wyse man. In all biynge and bargenyge, scorsynge, choppynge aud chaungynge, beware of falshed, for it is a haftynge, and syn before God and man."—Horman's Vulgaria. So Gouldman, in his Diet., "a dodger, vitiligator, a little hafter." See also Skelton, p. 35, and Dyce's note, ii, 107. (A. W.)

120 Geoffry Cuckou was M.P. for Seaford in 1298 and 1302.

121 At the digging, cut, or canal.

			8.	d.				\$.	d.
De	Edmundo Butegilte ¹²²			12		Jurati.			
DU	Waltero Nench .		5		De	Henrico Hokeday ¹²⁹ .		2	$10\frac{1}{2}$
	Thoma Gverd	•	2	$0\frac{1}{2}$	20	Henrico Braciatori ¹³⁰	i	7	$2\frac{3}{4}$
		. 1		0		Rob°. Spysur ¹³¹ .		2	$2\frac{3}{4}$ $4\frac{1}{2}$
	Regin ^o . le Gerdlere ¹²³		4			Wille, de Metton .		2	$11\frac{1}{2}$
	Rico. ffest		6			Will ^o . Reyson .	:		23
			-	12		Rogero Coppyng .		0	$15\frac{1}{2}$
	Rogero Tympan ¹²⁴ .			18		Rogero Blackstone .		2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
			6	100		Alexandro Blakstone			19
	Will ^o . Welyfed ¹²⁵ .		3	0		Regino. de Cumbes .			$6\frac{1}{2}$
	relicta Walteri Yvory ¹²⁶			$13\frac{3}{4}$		Ade pistor		0	$13\frac{3}{4}$
	Will ^o . de Capella .		3	6		Martin Gunch			12
	Petro coco			$14\frac{1}{2}$		Summa 27s. 5d.			
	Symone Cortelar .		2	0~		Summa totalis, 10li. 17s.	$9\frac{3}{4}$	d.	
	Johe. atte Wyke .		0	$14\frac{1}{2}$					
	Rado. de Boys .		0	12		Suthenovere.			
	Symone de Čruce .		2	0	De	Rico. Casel		3	2
	Roberto Dypres ¹²⁷ .		5	0		Rogero Shrove ¹³² .		0	$13\frac{1}{2}$
	Johe. Comber		0	$15\frac{1}{4}$		Waltero le Hog .			13
	Walt ^o . Peyntun .		0	12		Radulpho Monath .		0	$12\frac{1}{4}$
	Joh ^e . Marescal .		6	$9\frac{1}{2}$		Waltero Bryan .			15
	Thoma Tune		-	0		Joh ^e . de Stute .		0	$12\frac{1}{2}$
	Peter Sare			12		Joh ^e . le hattere .			21
	Will ^o . pistor		2	0		Will ^o . atte Stone .			18
	Ricardo le palmere ¹²⁸			12		Joh ^e . Casel			1
	Matilda Crof			$23\frac{1}{2}$		Gilberto le ledere ¹³³ .			16
	Will ^o . Kentyng .		4			Magot Lomb			21
	Joh ^e . de louwes .		2			Nicolao pellipario .		2	$10\frac{3}{4}$
	Johanna Buchenet .		4	0		Joh ^e . Serle		27	1
	Rico. de Shutheram .		0	$13\frac{3}{4}$		Johe. de Ifford .		4	
	Summa 9 li . 10 s . $4\frac{3}{4}d$.					Johe. de Tythereswolde		0	
						Roberto vitreario ¹³⁴		3	$11\frac{1}{2}$

122 Anglo-Saxon, Butan gilt, without fault.? (W. S. W.)—Gilder of butts or

targets.

124 A fellow noisy as a drum; he appears as a witness in Lewes Chart, fol. 111.

125 Wellfed; this thriving name survives in Sussex as Welfare.

126 The sea-horse tooth used as ivory. (A. W.)—Perhaps an importer from Dieppe of their carvings. William Ivery, clerk, is witness to a deed of 1348 in Lewes Chart., f. 59.

¹²⁷ From Yprès in Flanders.

Richard le Palmer was M.P. for Lewes in 1295 and 1302.
 Probably born at Hock Tide the second Tuesday after Easter.

130 Brewer.

¹³¹ An épicier or grocer, selling sugar, pepper, cloves, &c. Robert le Spicer was the representative of Lewes in the parliaments of 1322 and 1323.

132 Perhaps born on Shrove Tuesday, or shrew.

¹³³ A plumber, one who worked or dealt in lead; "leedare or plummare, plum-

barius." Prompt. Parv. (W. S. W.)

¹³⁴ The glazier, dealer or worker in glass. Johannes vitrarius appears as a witness in Lewes Chart. f. 97, about this date, and Master Philip le Glasworth, capelayn de Lewes, in 1348 (f. 63).

of wimples for ladies' necks, as Robert le Wimpler, about the date 1238, in Lewes Chart. f. 56, 101; where also are seen (fol. 103) John le Gerdeler, in 1327, and William le Gerdler, f. 111, and Adam Zonarius, f. 100.

De Joh*. de Reygate	$ \begin{array}{c} 0 \\ 18 \\ 13\frac{1}{2} \\ 18\frac{1}{2} \\ 1 \\ 3\frac{1}{4} \\ 5 \end{array} $	De Reginaldo Chauntel Jordano Rudele Jordano Rudele	2 7 0 12 2 2 0 12 0 12 9 0 7 7	22 33 33 77 22 22 22 22 22 22 23 24 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25
De Willo. de Mallyng 0	155	Robo, Osmund	$3 \ 10$)
Rado de Dunton	1	Wille Rogg	0.19	
Pode la Dalman	0	Will ^o . Rogg Rad ^o . atte legh	0 16	2
Dala 1 To	1	nad atte legit	0 10	,
TOO . IC ENTERCY I	1	Summa 8 li . 4 s . $2\frac{3}{4}d$.		
Rad ^o . Brureman 0	16			
	6	Villata de <i>Locfeld</i> .		
Summa 13s. $3\frac{1}{2}d$.		De Egidio de Pleys	6 8	,
Summa totalis hujus hundrede		Adam de dobel	0 13	
$103s. 8\frac{4}{4}d.$		Symone de Peghedenn .	0.15	,
2000, 04	1	Rico Godwy	0 13	1
Hundreda de Strete. 138		Ric°. Godwy Ric°. de Peghedenn	0 16	2
	- 1	Joh°. atte Bure Ric°. de Bynham Joh°. de Wakelesforde Hammyng de Pellyng Joh°. de Pellyng Laurentio de la Wale Gilberto atte Suthhuse Will° atte boke	0 10	,
Villata de Strete.	- 1	Jone, atte Bure	0 10	1
De Matilda Perpunt 16	1	Rico. de Bynham	0 15	2
eadem Matilda 20	0	Johe. de Wakelesforde .	0 19	$\frac{1}{2}$
Rogero de Standenn . 8	0	Hammyng de Pellyng .	0 22	,
Symone de Standenn . 5	0	Joh ^e , de Pellyng	0 19	$\frac{1}{2}$
Rob°. de Standenn 2	0	Laurentio de la Wale .	0 22	1
Nicola furby 6	8	Gilberto atte Suthhuse .	0 12	1
Will ^o . Avesteton 0	20	Will ^o . atte hoke Rob ^o . de kolewell Osberto le ffurrere ¹⁴⁰ .	0.18	-
Comite Warrennia—	~	Robo de kolewell	0.18	
-——— apud Middelton . 10	0	Osharta la ffurrara 140	0 91	
apud Middelton . 10		De do ette Demoke	2 0	
apud Dechenyng . 38 apud Benetlegh . 4		Rado atte Byrche	2 0	
apud Benetlegh . 4	3	Will ^o . de Bynham	2 6	
Adam le Neweman 0	$16\frac{1}{2}$	Isabella de Egthebam .	2 0	
Rad°. le Puddehey 0	15	David de Byrchenestye .	0 12	
Johe. Schalegrey 0	12	Galfrido de Gravele .	2 1	
Rado le Puddehey 0 Johe Schalegrey 0 Johe le Hert 0 Walter ole Cur 0	12	Joh ^e . atte ffelde	0 13	1 2
Waltero le Cur 0	12	Waltero de Haghenemuth	2 2	
Will ^o . Chacepol ¹³⁹ 0	121	Symone de Langeregg .	0 13	
	12	Summa $40s. 11\frac{1}{2}d$.	5 10	
our . to I diddency	12	bulling 100. 1120.		
	- 1			

135 Whether Matilda was the scullion herself or the scullion's discontented mistress, let housekeepers decide. The same name occurs in Lewes Chart., "Matthew Scoldecok" in 1290, at f. 63, and William Scoldecok in 1348, f. 60.

136 The surname of Helpusgod sounds more as if it belonged to the time of the

The surname of Helpusgod sounds more as if it belonged to the time of the Puritans; other instances, however, of similar religious names are found at this period, as Thomas Blessed, in MS. E. B. 2052, and Geoffry Makepeis, who sold 204 qrs. oats to the king at Portsmouth in 1294, at 3s. per qr. W. N. 2955. MS. 137 The mason.

The mason.

138 The modern hundred of *Street* comprises Chailey, Chiltington, Ditchling, Plumpton, Street, Westmeston, Wivelsfield.

¹³⁹ An ancient catchpole or sheriff's officer.

140 The furrier.

Villate de Lyndefeld et Burle. De Rob ^o , le hunte ¹⁴¹	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	De Joh ^e . de Stamynton
Ric°. de la Hurst 4 8 Rad°. Robert 4 7 Regin°. Hughelot 4 4 Regin°. atte Hulle 4 6 Philippo de Baeselve 6 $1\frac{1}{2}$ Joh°. de Walkstede 2 $1\frac{1}{4}$ Will°. de Apebroke 5 6	Johe, fughelere 148
Godwyn atte Berne ¹⁴³ 3 $5\frac{3}{4}$ Regin°. le pawmer 4 9 Will°. atte stone 5 1 Rob°. hurtud 0 12 Rob°. de Craule 3 9	Summa totalis Rapi de Lewes xx $li.$ $s.$ $d.$ ix x ii x

¹⁴¹ The hunter, the final r being dropped. So Chaucer has hont, from the Ang.-

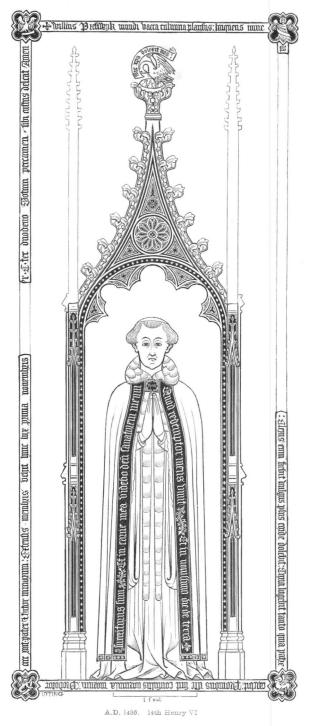
Sax. hunta, for hunter, similar to Webbe, for Webber, W. S. W. 142 Probably the same as Slugwash, near Lindfield, of modern pronunciation. Ralph de Suggewerch is a witness to a charter in 1279, at f. 125 of the Lewes 143 At the barn. Chart.

144 Gor, Ang.-Sax., at the mud. Kensington Gore. Gorton, town of muck, in 145 Shoemaker. Lancashire.

¹⁴⁶ John de Ottehalle (Oathall) is a witness in 1281, in Lewes Chartulary, f. 125. ¹⁴⁷ The origin of Hayward's Heath?. The surname of Egardethye appears in the hundred of Bercombe, in Rot. Hund. v. 2. p. 210.

¹⁴⁸ A fowler, Ang.-Sax. fugelere (W. S. W.); feweler or purveyor of fuel, or firing.

"Fower or fewerlere, or fyyr-maker-focarius vel focaria, focularius." Prompt. Parv. p. 174. (A. W.)—In Carlton R. MS. (E. B. 2106), 27 Edw. I, a dealer in fuel appears with the inappropriate name of "Robert Snoubal," on the same principle that gives the name of Sally Snow to Jim Crow's wife.



DEAN WILLIAM PRESTWICK,

WARBLETON CHURCH, SUSSEX

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF SUSSEX.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

READ AT BRIGHTON, JULY 3, 1849.

The county of Sussex is remarkable for the number and variety of its sepulchral monuments. Beginning with the shapeless hillocks upon the fair summits of our Downs, beneath which, in their inverted urns, repose the ashes of the mighty of an unrecorded era, and gradually descending to the better understood, though nameless, memorials of the conquerors of the world, we at length arrive at the period when sculptured stones indicate the "narrow house" of an illustrious Gundrada and a princely Magnus, and when "eternal brass" points to the common lot from which even a De Braose, invested with all the dignity of feudal power, or a Nelond, possessed of a plenitude of ecclesiastical influence, could claim no exemption. All the various descriptions of our monumental remains deserve a fuller illustration than they have yet received; and it seems desirable that members of our Society should give their best attention to the production of a regular and connected account of them, under the respective heads of Tumuli, Gravestones, Brasses, Altar-tombs, &c. &c. Under this impression I beg to offer, as my contribution to the general object, brief notices of those beautiful relics of medieval art—the Monumental Brasses of the county.

The accurate illustrations (obligingly contributed by the Rev. C. Boutell, from his work 'The Monumental Brasses of England'), which accompany these observations, will render a technical account of the brasses unnecessary; and my duty will be simply to notice their features in general terms, and to give such particulars concerning the personal history of the individuals commemorated as I may be enabled to procure.

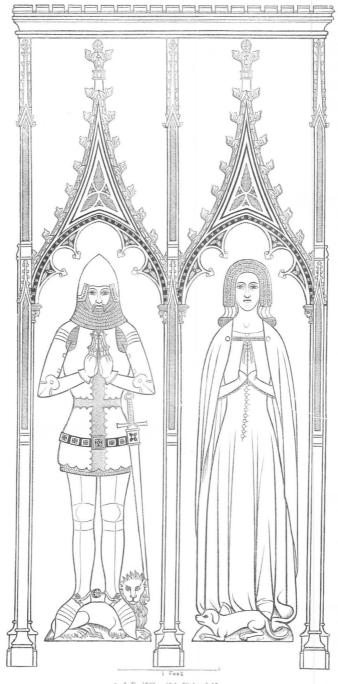
No. 1. William Prestwick—Warbleton.

This fine brass lies on the floor of the chancel. The figure, which is admirably executed, is somewhat remarkable, as exhibiting upon the edges of the sacerdotal vestment a quotation from the book of Job, ch. 18, v. 25, 26:—"Credo quod Redemptor meus bibit," &c.; and the beautiful crocketed canopy terminates in a finial, composed of a pelican feeding her young with her own blood, with the motto on a scroll—'Sit fins dilerit nos.' The surrounding legend is now imperfect, though a copy of it, as it existed when entire, is in the possession of the Rev. B. T. H. Cole. It is in Leonine hexameters, thus:—

"Utillius Prestwijk mundi baga culmina plausus Linquens nunc [jacet hic sub duro marmore clausus Vir constans paciens humilis debotus amenus Busticiam faciens Kpm(?) luet omnis egenus] Clerus eum flebit bulgus plus corde dolebit Curia lugebit tanto quia patre carebit Probidus ille fuit consultis normula morum Prodolor ecce ruit pater et tutor minimorum Extensis membris behit hinc lux prima Pobembris [Anno millesimo qua]ter C. ter duodeno Totum peccamen sibi Cristus deleat.—Amen."

Leaving the fleeting honours of this world, to die,
Beneath this marble hard doth William Prestwick lie;
A constant, patient, humble man, devout, urbane,
And just to all. The poor a mighty loss sustain.
Clergy will weep, and common people deeply mourn,
So great a father from his much-loved college torn;
This rule of holy life, the weakest men's defence,
This man of counsels wise, alas! is hurried hence.
His outstretched corse lies buried here; his vital breath
November's earliest-coming morn exchanged for death,
When fourteen hundred years their course had gone about,
And three times twelve. May Christ his every sin blot out.—Amen.

Of the history of this so highly-eulogised personage very little is known. That his father's name was John, and his mother's Joan, is all that I have been enabled to glean respecting his parentage and family. This information is derived from a brass plate which, when a lad of fourteen, I was so fortunate as to discover among some rubbish in the church. It is now deposited in the parish chest. The plate is inscribed—



c A.D 1395, 18th Richard II.

SIR ... DALYNGRUGGE AND LADY, FLETCHING CHURCH, SUSSEX

"Orate pro animabus Johannis Prestwijk, p(at)ris Willielmi Prestwijk, Clerici, & Johanne consortis sue, m(at)ris predicti Willielmus Prestwijk. Quorum animabus propiciet deus. Amen."

"Pray for the souls of John Prestwick, father of William Prestwick, clerk, and Joan, his wife, mother of the said William Prestwick. To whose souls God be merciful. Amen."

An erroneous impression prevails that Prestwick was Prior of Warbleton. The office which he held, however, was that of Dean of the College of St. Mary within the castle of Hastings. In the list of deans of that establishment, given by Tanner, his name follows that of William Tanfeild, who was dean in the year 1415. Tanner does not attach any date to the name of Prestwick, but as he mentions William Walesby as his successor, in 1436 (the year indicated upon the monument), there can be no doubt of the identity of the subject of this notice with the official in question.

Why Prestwick chose Warbleton Church in preference to own College chapel as his burial-place, does not appear. It is not improbable that he had a residence in the parish, as

there is a house still known as the Deanery.

No. 2. The Balyngrugge Unight and Lady— FLETCHING.

This beautiful brass lies on an altar-tomb in the south transept of Fletching Church, and, but for its heraldric accompaniments, would be unappropriated, as there are no remains of an inscription. The surcote of the knight displays, however, the engrailed cross of the once influential family of Dalegrigg, Dalegrugge, or Dalyngruge; while the same coat accompanied by its crest, a unicorn's head, upon a helmet, carved in stone, is affixed to the wall at the back of the tomb. The costume of both figures fixes the date of the monument to the latter part of the reign of Richard II, about the year 1395.

The family of Dalyngrugge seem to have been indigenous to the county of Sussex, and to have derived their surname from the manor of Dalingridge, in the parish of West Hothly. According to a pedigree in the Burrell manuscripts (5711), it appears that John Dalyngruge married Joane, daughter and coheir of Sir Walter de la Lynde, of Bolebroke, in the parish of Hartfield, where an embattled tower, part of the ancient residence, remains. From the pedigree alluded to, it seems that this John Dalyngruge was living 13 Edw. II. In the Inquisitiones post mortem of 9 Edw. III, this personage and Joane his wife are mentioned as possessors of a moiety of the manor of Leysceby, co. Lincoln. Their son, Sir Roger Dalingruge, was sheriff of Sussex 46 Edw. III. His son, Sir Edward, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Wardeux, and, jure uxoris, became lord of the manor of Bodiham. In 9th Richard II he obtained royal letters patent for building Bodiham Castle. His son, Sir John Dalingruge, died without issue, leaving two sisters and coheirs—Philippa, wife of Sir Thomas Lewknor, and Margaret, wife of Sir Thomas Sackville, whose son, Edward, released his claim to a moiety of Bodiham, and thus the castle and its appurtenances remained to the Lewknors.

The Fletching brass, however, belonged to another (and probably the senior) branch of the family. In the Cotton MSS. (Vesp. F. xv, fol. 53) there is a charter, in French, of Walter Dalingrigge, Esq., relative to a dispute in Westehetheleghe (West Hothly), settled by the arbitration of John Convers and Robert Tyrwhitt, who had been chosen for that purpose by the Earl of Arundel. This instrument was dated in the Chapterhouse of Lewes, 20th Feb., 17 Richard II, 1394. Assuming with Mr. Boutell, that the date of the brass is 1395, this Walter Dalyngruge may be the person commemorated.

To show the connexion of this family with the parish of Fletching, it will suffice to observe, that by an inquisition taken after the death of Richard Dalyngrigge, in 10 Edward IV, he appears to have held the following manors, &c., in Sussex:

"Sheffeld," as of the honour of Leicester (qy. Lancaster?) (Sheffield Place was doubtless the residence of this branch.)

" Dalyngrigge" (the original seat).
"Bolbroke," a manor derived from the De la Lyndes. This supports my conjecture, that this, and not the Bodiham branch, was the elder line of the family.



A.D. 1464. 4th Edw. IV.

He also held "Wanyngore, Ifford, Warpesborne (Wapsbourn), Worth, Radyngden (Rottingdean), Iden, Wyltyng (Wilting), Holyngton (Hollington)," together with a member of each of the honours of Lewes, Hastings, and Aquila (i. e. Pevensey).

A good pedigree of the family, uniting these various branches, is a desideratum worthy of the labours of the Sussex

genealogist.

No.3. Rithard Wakeherst, Esq., and Elizabeth, his wife,—ARDINGLY.

Our first example of Sussex brasses was a noble memorial of an ecclesiastic; our second, that of a married knight; and the present is an equally interesting one of a civilian and his lady, in the picturesque costume of their day.

The inscription is as follows:

- "Orate p(ro) a(n)i(m)abus Ric(ard)i Wakeherst, Armig(er)i, et Elysabeth br(or)is ej(us), filiae Rob(er)ti Echyngham, Armig(er)i, q(ui) quide(m) Ric(ard)us obiit iiijo die Januarij A(nno) d(omi)ni M.CCCC.liij, & p(rae)dict(a) Elysabeth obijt riro die Julij, A(nno) d(omi)ni M.CCCC.lriiij; q(uo)r(um) animabus p(ro)piciet(ur) de(us)."
- "Pray for the souls of Richard Wakeherst, Esquire, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Robert Echingham, Esquire, the which Richard died the 4th day of January, A.D. 1453, and the aforesaid Elizabeth died the 19th day of July, A.D. 1464: on whose souls may God have mercy."

Above the canopy are three shields of arms.

1. Argent, a cheveron between three doves, gules. Wakeherst.

Wakeherst impaling Echingham.
 Azure, a fret argent. Echingham.

The name of Wakeherst belongs to the class designated *local*, being derived from an estate so called in the parish of Ardingly. The family was of considerable antiquity and influence. Richard de Wakeherst, who appears as a considerable tax-payer in 1296, (see p. 306,) according to some

authorities, accompanied Edward I in his expedition against Scotland, A.D. 1300, and was knighted at the memorable siege of Carlaverock, his coat-armour being "Argent, a cheveron between three doves, gules." His descendants flourished as lords of the manor of Wakeherst for several generations, and formed alliances with the Sackvilles, and several other eminent county families. Giles de Wakeherst was living in 6 Henry IV. His son, Richard Wakeherst, sen., who was assigned, by royal writ, to have the custody of the peace for the county of Sussex, in 1430, was father of Richard Wakeherst, the gentleman commemorated by the brass—the last heir male of the

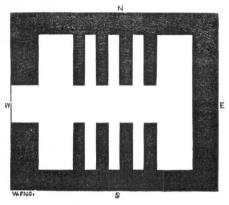
family.

By an undated Ing. post mort. of temp. Henry VI, this Richard Wakeherst appears to have held "for the church of Arundell," ad quod damnum, one messuage and 200 acres of land at Erthinglegh (Ardingly). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Echingham, Esq., and dying 33 Henry VI, left three daughters and coheirs. Of these, Anne married John Gaynsford, Esq., of Crowhurst, co. Surrey. The other two married into the family of the once "ubiquitous," but now extinct, Culpepers, of whom John Philipot, the editor of Camden's 'Remaines,' records the remarkable fact, that "there were at one time twelve knights and baronets alive of this house together." Margaret married Richard Culpeper, Esq., and is buried with her husband beneath another brass in this church. They had no issue. Elizabeth married Nicholas Culpeper, a younger brother of Richard, and conveyed Wakeherst to his family. He died in 1510, and is also buried at Ardingly, beneath a brass, which represents figures of himself, his wife, and their eighteen children. The Culpepers, who subsequently obtained a baronetcy, remained in possession of the estate for upwards of two centuries, and became extinct in 1740.

ON THE REMAINS OF A ROMAN BUILDING,

DISCOVERED AT WISTON IN 1848.

By Mr. WILLIAM FIGG.



GROUND PLAN OF REMAINS.

In the month of January, 1848, some labourers, employed in draining a field belonging to C. Goring, Esq., in the occupation of Mr. Haines, and lying a short distance north-east of the rectory-house at Wiston, discovered, at about two feet beneath the surface, the remains of a building, constructed entirely of Roman tiles, and, judging from the form of the structure, it seems to have been a hypocaust for warming the floor of a room; but unlike similar remains found in this county, at Bignor in 1811, at Duncton in 1812, and lately in London, in making the excavations for the new Coal Exchange, the supports for the floor in this case are not square isolated piers, but solid walls, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or the width of a tile in thickness, with spaces or flues to allow the heated air to come in contact with the underside of the floor, except on the east and west sides, where the flues were about 3 feet wide, with a passage along the centre 3 feet 4 inches in width. The size of the room within the outer walls was about 12 feet by 12 feet 6 inches, and the walls on the north and south were

2 feet, while those on the east and west were 3 feet in thickness. The narrow supporting walls were, when perfect, about 12 to 15 inches in height, and the external walls were about 2 feet 6 inches at the highest parts. The foundations were of flints, and instead of mortar, clay was used as the cementing material. The tiles are 15 inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, several of which were exhibited at the Lewes meeting in August, 1848.

The general form of the building will be better understood

by reference to the plan.

There were no remains of other buildings found, and it is therefore difficult to say whether this formed a portion of a bath, or whether it was an ordinary room, having flues for the purpose of heating the floor. It has generally been considered that the discovery of a hypocaust, or other means of heating rooms of Roman construction, necessarily indicate such remains to be those of baths; but it has been suggested, that the Romans, while in this country, provided the means of warming other portions of their habitations besides their baths, in consequence of the difference of temperature between the

climate of England and that of Italy.

Upon this subject I beg to quote the following remarks of C. Roach Smith, Esq., in a paper upon the Roman remains lately discovered in London: "With respect to heating rooms by means of hypocausts, it seems to have prevailed almost universally throughout Britain. It is very seldom we find the remains of Roman buildings without such indications, even when they are of small dimensions. In an extensive villa at Dursley, in Gloucestershire, lately laid open by P. B. Purnell, Esq., a suite of rooms (doubtless the winter apartments of the villa) was found to have been thus warmed. Among these was an apartment supposed to have been the atrium, of considerable extent, the roof of which was supported by two rows of stone columns; the bases are yet remaining. The constant occurrence of the hypocaust in the villas and houses discovered in this country is explained by taking into consideration the coldness of the climate in the winter months, when compared with that of Italy. The rigour of our northern winters must have been severely felt by the

Romans, and a provision against their inconvenience would be one of the chief calculations in the construction of domestic buildings. We must not lose sight of this important point in drawing comparisons between the houses of Britain and those of Italy. Thus, baths for instance, those luxurious appendages to the costly villas of the south, were probably much modified in size and accommodations in the better class of villas in the northern provinces; and we must not necessarily look for them in the smaller houses, nor forget that the chief use of furnaces and hypocausts was to provide heat to counteract the cold of the climate." (See also the 'Journal of the Archæological Association,' Jan. 1849, p. 171, &c.)

The discovery of these remains is interesting to this Society, inasmuch as it tends to strengthen the idea thrown out by the Rev. Edward Turner (see p. 74 of this volume), that there was a Roman way from west to east through this part of the county. The remains of Roman buildings, both at Duncton, Bignor, and Clayton are similarly situated to this under consideration, all lying about the same distance to the north of

the Downs.

Horsfield, in his remarks upon the XV Iter of Richard of Circencester, mentions Amberley as *probably* the *Anderisio* of that Iter, which also lies eastward of the Stone-street road. I do not find, however, that any objects have been found there to identify it as a Roman station.

From Bignor the building at Wiston lies in a direct line to the site of the ancient bridge across the valley of the Adur, distant about three miles east, and leading to the ascent of the Downs by Beeding Hill, from whence might be reached either *Portus Adurni*, at or near Shoreham, or *Mutuantonis*, supposed

to be at Lewes, over the open Downs.

Roman tiles have been found on Fair Oak Farm, in the immediate neighbourhood, and an examination of Buncton Chapel, situate about half a mile westward, shows that in the building of that edifice these tiles were used. The chapel exhibits portions of Norman work, and the inference is, that the building at Wiston, or the spot above mentioned, must have been known to, and the materials made use of, by those engaged in erecting it.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF THE PARISH OF COWFOLD,

IN THE TIME OF KING EDWARD IV.

BY THE REV. W. BRUERE OTTER.

A few years ago was discovered, in the parish chest of Cowfold, a small book, of about twenty paper leaves, in a leather cover, containing the manuscript churchwardens' accounts for several years of the reign of Edward the Fourth.

Interspersed among the accounts are several memoranda of a very miscellaneous character; and at the end is a copy of good verses of a religious nature, containing a dialogue between Right and Mercy, which may, perhaps, be thought worthy of publication on some future occasion. The writing is generally good, and much of it, I think, by the same hand; but the language exhibits a strange mixture of English and of bad Latin, and the meaning of some expressions is consequently obscure.

The earliest date attached to the yearly accounts is Mcccclx (38 Hen. VI). The *latest* date occurring in the book is xx of June, of the second year of Richard III (1485); this belongs to a memorandum of Walter Dunstall, one of the

churchwardens.

The following extracts comprise almost the whole contents of the book. They are given without alteration or emendation of any kind, and the chief cause for their being offered to the notice of the Sussex Archæological Society, is a hope that they may be the means of drawing forth from their lurking places many documents of a similar but more interesting description. I am indebted to the kindness of various friends for the most valuable of the notes.

The book commences with a catalogue of the property of the church:

Hæc sunt bona ecclesie de Cowfold.

Compotus Radulfus Peknolle et Walterus Dunstall, costodes bonorum ecclesiæ Sante Petre de Cowfold.

Pro abere in memento de stoks de ecclesie.

In primis, &c. &c.

This catalogue is rendered so obscure by frequent alterations and erasures, that it is thought better to give an amended copy, which occurs a few pages later, at p. 9 of the MS., and is as follows:

(1473-4.) Item pro abere in memento de stokes de ecclesie de Cowfold, anno rengni reges Edwardi iiij xiij yer, in primis.—In manibus de Thomas Wheytyng duos stoks¹ pris vjs. a stok.—Item in manibus Johannes Okynden a stok pris vjs. viijd.—Item in manibus Willelmus Man de Henfield quatuor vaccas² (of the quethe of Joh's Wallche) pris xxvjs. viijd. et de eodem summa rec³. xijs. vjd.—In manibus de Johannes Waterman de Wormyngeherst et Johannes Waterman de Asheyngton duos vaccas pris xiijs. iiijd. at sostinere iiij tapres in onorem Beatæ Katerinæ.³—It. in manibus Willelmus Creppse duos vaccas pris xiijs. iiijd. de legato de Willelmus Gratwyke, to fynd a tapre afor Sante Antonie et unam afor 3owr Lady.—In manibus Walter Dunstall a stok pris viijs. de legato Johannes Dunstall pro sostyne a taper aput sepulcrum perpetuum.—Item in manibus Johannes Gardener a stok pris de xvs.—Item in manibus Willelmus Bregger a stok pris de vjs. viijd.—Item in manibus de Raff Pekenolle et Johannes Potter xiijs. iiijd. liberavit de manibus Thomas Botyng.—Item in manibus Johannes Potter ij stoks pris xiijs. iiijd.—Item in manibus Johannes Gardener a stok pris vjs. viijd. rec³. de Malyn a Den.

The annual accounts are as follows. At p. 3 is the date of xith of Edward IV (1471-2), when Gardener and Lachemer

¹ Stoks appear to be used in the sense of stots, bullocks, perhaps working oxen hired out, or stirkes, heifers, though the term "stock" is now only applied to cattle in general; or the term may signify some other property bequeathed to the parish, perhaps sums of money, intended to be lent out at a rent ("the cres," which afterwards occurs) for the support of candles in the branches of the large candlesticks placed before certain altars. These were called by a corresponding name. "Arbores, candelabra majora in ecclesiis, multis instructa luminibus, quæ a terra surgunt." Ducange. Hence "stok de lampe," "stok de branche," afterwards occur in these accounts; and at p. 25 of the MS. is an entry of "the lone of Waterman vjs."

² Vaccas, cows. Such property of the parish appears strange; but it was not unusual. In a Visitation of co. Essex of the time of Henry V, the cows of a parish are entered as let out to farm. At the end of the MS. book, is a memorandum of Walter Dunstall, to the effect that Wyll'ms Mathew, drapper, had received from him a "cow melke," and he to pay "jd. a weke." The words of the text in italies are added from p. 1 MS., and prove these cows to have been a bequest to the parish, as well as those of W. Gratwyke and J. Dunstall. Even as late as the time of King William III, there was a bequest of twelve cows to a parish in Gloucestershire.

³ The niche wherein the figure of Our Lady was placed still remains in the church, and is marked by the well-known emblem of the flower and jar.

St. Katherine's wheel appears in a quarry in the east window; but of St. Anthony no memorial remains.

were churchwardens, as they also appear at p. 4 and 5 in the year 1460, the earliest found in the MS.

(1460.) Compotus Johannes Gardener, Jam^s. Lachem^r. costodes bonorum ecclesie de Cowfold ibidem et festum Passe anno domini millesimo cccclx.—Rec^d. de Johannes Pykcombe a stok pris of xiijs. iiijd.—It. rec^d. of the cres⁴ ijs.—It. nos liberavit eadem stoka at Jam^s. Lachemer.—It in manibus Wyllellmus Bregger a stok pris of vjs. viijd. solvere per annom xijd.—It. rec^d de Wyllellmus Bregger xijd.—It. eodem Wyllellmus iijs. iiijd.—It. rec^d. de Wyllellmus Crepsse ijs.—It. rec^d. de Walterus Okynden xijd.—It. in manibus Johannes Gardener a stok pris of xys.—It. rec^d. ijs. Summa xjs. iiijd.

Solvere pro cere pro sancte cruses lumine iiijli. pris ijs. viijd.5—It. pro ijli. de cere pro duos tapres xiiijd.—It. pro faciende jd.—It. pro tres belle ropes xviijd.—It. pro faciende de lumine & exspenses ixd.—It. pro lavare de festment and awter clothes vd.—It. pro faciende de belle ropes & pro baudryk⁶ and wheyt leder iiijd.

At pp. 6, 7.—Compotus Johannes Gardener and Johannes Tranchem^r costodes bonorum ecclesie de Cowfold.—Rec^d. de Johannes Gratewyk a stoke de branche xijs. vjd.—It. rec^d. a stok de Malyn a Dene pris vjs. vijd.—It. rec^d. de Wyllellmus Creppsse ijs.—It. rec^d. de Aneys Botynge ijs.—It. de Wyllellmus Bregger xijd.—It. de Walterus Okynden xijd.—It. de Johannes Gardener ijs.—It. de Thomas Whytyng xxjd.—It. rec^d. de Johannes Okynden xijd.—It. rec^d. de Willellmus Creppse iijs.—It. rec^d. de Tomas Wheytyng xxjd.—It. rec^d. de Johannes Gardener ijs.—It. rec^d. de Willellmus Bregger xijd.

In primis it. solvere pro cere iiij lb. iijs. at lumine sancte cruses.—It. pro expenss vjd.—It. pro lavare de festments & sorpliss vijd.—It. pro baudryk jd.—It. pro tres li. de cere at branche ijs.—It. pro tres li. de cere pro tres tapres ijs.—It. pro

faciende vijd.

A remembrans that we Jon Waterman, of the parishe of Asheyngton, brother of Wylliam Waterman and Jon Waterman, of the parishe of Wormyngherst, haf rec^d. a stok of the parishe of Cowfold, pris of xiijs. iiijd. the weche was in the hondes of Wylliam Waterman, & rec^d. at Candlemas, in the yer of Kyng Edward the iiij, in the xiij yer. (1473-4.)

Solvere iiij li. de cere at lumine sante cruces iijs.—It. for expens vjd.—It. pro faciende et glasynge of a wendow iiijd.—It. for wesheyng of clothes iijd.—It. for makynge of wexse vijd.—It. a remembrans that Jon Gardener owynge to the parishe

iiijs. vjd.

The accounts follow irregularly as to date; at p. 8 is an account given "on Whetsonday, in the yer of Kyng Edward the IV, the xx yer (1481), and at p. 34 is a fragment of account signed "Gate—Gratewyk, A.D. mcccclxx."

In p. 11 and following, are the compotus of John Okynden

⁵ The price of wax appears to have varied from 5d. to 8d. per pound, an enormous

sum at a time when a bushel of wheat might be bought for 8d.

^{4 &}quot;Crese or increse (cres or incres), incrementum"—Prompt. Parv.; the profit or rent for property or money lent.

^{6 &}quot;Baudryk was the bell-truss, and from old churchwardens' accounts, it seems to have been a thick strap of untanned leather (whey't leder), and employed for attaching the bell to a moveable beam, so that when the beam was stirred the bell was made to have a gentle swing." For this explanation I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Rock. In Bailey's Dict., ed. 1726, is "Bawdrick, a cord or thong for the clapper of a bell."

and John Gratwyk, but they are too much mutilated for publication.

At pp. 12, 13.—Compotus Johannes Gate et Johannes Wode costodes bonorum ecclesie de Cowfold.—Recd. de Johannes Gratywyk ijs.—Recd. de Johannes Okynden et de Johannes Gratewyk iijs.—It. recd. de parochiã de taper et trendel⁷ ijs. viijd. —It. recd. de Johannes Gratwyk xxjd.—It. iijs.—It. xijd.—It. recd. for payntyng of the Cherch of devocione de parochâ iijs, viijd.—It, recd. de Pet, pans xijd.8

It. solvere pro cere xjt. and half pris x xd.—It. pro castagies et faciende de cere et costagies de vetel⁹ xijd.—It. pro lavare de auter cloths ijd.—It. pro weke jd.—It. solvere for iij bel ropys xvjd.—It. pro faciende de belle cleppes ijs. xd.—It. solvere pro bawdrykys for the bell iiijd. ob.—It. pro makyng iijd.—It. for a loke iiijd.—It. in exspenss aput vesitacion iiijd.—It. solvere at Johannes Warde pro peyntyng of the cherche and the sowthe porche ijs. ijd.

(1476-7) Anno regni Regis Edwardi 4ti xvj yer. Compotus Johannes Warde & Rechard Gratwyke costodes bonorum ecclesie de Cowfold.—Rec^d. de Johannes Gatte & Johannes at Wodde vs. iiijd. ob.—It. rec^d. de William Crepsse iijs.— It. recd. of taper and trendel vs. viijd.—It. recd. de John Okynden pro una stok ijs. -It. de William Bregger xijd.-It. recd. de Thomas Weytyng xxjd. Summa

Solvere at Johannes Gratwyk xd.—It. solvere pro cere xvjli. pris vijs. iiijd.— It. solvere pro weke ijd.—It. pro faciende de cere $\hat{v}d$.—It pro coste of fetell jd. ob. —It. pro lavare de sorpliss ijd.—It. solvere pro costagiis aput visitacion jd. ob.—It. pro duos ropis pro campanis xijd.—It. pro leder pro campanis jd.—It. for a loke at ostiam de ecclesie ijs.—It. pro costagiis jd. ob.—It. in exspensis ijd.—Summa

xijs. xd. ob.

10 Probably uxore, the wife.

(1477-8.) Anno Regni Regis Edwardi iiij, xvii yer.—Compotus Thomas Whytyng, Jon Kyng costodes bonorum ecclesie de Cowfold.—Recd. de Johannes Warde et de Recardus Gratewyk vjs. viijd. ob.—It. recd. de lumine S'te Cruses taper & trendel ijs. ixd.—It. recd. de Johannes Warde ijs. solvere de Johannes Gardener.—It. recd.

de Johannes Warde xijd.—It. recd. de Peter pens iijs. ijd. ob.

It. aput passæ recd. de oxsore de Wyllelmus Bregger xijd.—It. de Johannes Gardener ijs.—It. rec^d. de Wyllelmus Gratewyk argentum de Santi Margrete xvjs. vijd.—It. rec^d. de Tomas Wetyng ijs.—It. rec^d. de Tomas Chor'y xxd. de summa xld.—It. rec^d. de Johannes Warde of paying of Tomas Weytyng xxjd.:—xxxixs. ixd.—It. solvere pro sere at lumine S'ti Crusis ixb. and half pris iiijs. ixd.— It. pro faciende de sere & coste de vetell xjd. ob.—It. solvere at Jon at herst of Horsham iiijs. iiijd.—It. pro faciende de lumine S'ti Katerinæ jd. ob.—It. solvere at omo venit pro Flecheyng pro videre the frame campanis viijd.—It. solvere at Rogerus Coline pro poly¹¹ ijd.—It. to Clark de Thakam carpynter xld.—It, at eodem Clerke carpynter xxiijs. iiijd.—It. at eodem carpynter xd.—It. at eodem carpynter viiid.—It. at eodem carpynter pro faciende de fframe et labore & exspenss xxiiid.—

⁷ This word occurs in many church accounts. A friend suggests that it is identical with Trental, the paid masses celebrated for 30 days in honour of a person deceased a month's mind. So in Spenser, 453, Hubb. Tale, "Their diriges, their trentals, and their shrifts." In Anglo-Saxon, "Trendel, trendl, a sphere, an orb, circle," is found. Considering that the word here generally occurs connected with tapers, it may therefore mean a circular stand for candles, such as is often used before altars. Bailey's Dict. interprets "Trendel, trendle, a weight or post in a mill."

⁸ Peter's pence. 9 Vetel means the arranging or putting into order of anything; in some counties the word is still used in this sense, as to fettle a horse, or to fettle a room. 11 Poly, pulley.

It. at Wyllelmus Smyth de Warmyngled pro faciende de clapper's pro campanis iijd. —It. pro a rope pro campanis viijd.—It. solvere pro cere viijli. p' iiijs.—It. pro faciende de cere iiijd.—It. pro coste de vetall iiijd.—It. pro lavare tres festements vjd. & tres sorplis iijd. & duos auter cloths jd. & octo de tuall¹² in the same.—It. pro lavare of auter cloths to William Michell ijd.—It' pro tres corporool jd.—It. solvere pro faciende of a belle clep ijs. ijd.—It. solvere ij bel ropys xiiijd.—It. solvere coste aput visitacion iiijd.—It. for naylle & cletyng of belle ropys jd.—It. solvere Peter pens xviijd.—It. solvere pro selke for the best cope jd.—It. for the mendyng ijd.

At p. 18.—Compotus Tomas Botyng et Johannes Potter Wardynis ecclesie de Cowfold.—Ree^d. de Tomas Wytyng & de Johannes Kyng a stoke pris of xijs.—It. a stok pris of vijs. of Sent Margrit deliberavit de Willelmus Wheytyng the wheche was in the honds of Jon Hayn.—Item rec^d. ijs. vjd.—It. rec^d. de Rechard Monke xijd. of a stok pris vjs.—Rec^d. de Johannes Gardener ijs.—It. de Johannes Bregger xijd.—It. rec^d. de Wardens de S'tâ Mergeritê xijjs. vd. et de rent iijs.—It. ecodem xijs. nos deliberavit at Robertus Soper de Grensted solvere ijs. aput Santi Johannes babtistæ, and the same afforsseyd Robert fayll at hes day we to feche iij. the best kene that he hathe, by trewe kovinant made.

Solvere pro cere xiijli. vs. vd.—It. pro faciende de cere et costagies de vetell vijd.

—It. pro faciende de manyn clepers ijs. ijd—It. pro wheyt leder jd.—It. pro clapss et hokys iijd.—It. pro duos ropys pro campanis xiiijd.—It. pro a loke vd.—It. pro weke ijd.—It. solvere pro faciende de cleper de campanis xijd.—It. pro lavare duos sorplis et auter cloths iijd.—It. solvere at Jon Pennie for dressyng of the bellys ijd.—It. solvere at Tomas Whytyng ijs. vijd.—It. solvere pro auter clothe xxd.—It.

solvere pro half a li. de cere et pro faciende iijd.

At p. 19 and following.—Compotus Tomas Okynden Johannes Tranchemer wardinis de ecclesie de Cowfold.—Recd. de Johannes Potter et Tomas Bottyng xiiiis. ijd. ob.— It. recd. de Robs. Soper xiiijs. vd.—It. recd. de oxore de Willelmus Creppse xijs. of rent.—It. recd. de eodem Melisent a stok pris de vjs. viijd.—It. the rent xijd. de Santi Margrete.—It. recd. de Sent Mergrete wardynis xxjs.—The receypt es iijdi. ixs. iijd. ob.; iijdi. iiijs. iijd. ob.—Recd. iijdi. xviijs. vd. ob. 13

Solvere it. pro cere xvii. vjs. iiijd.—It. pro faciende de cere & coste de vetell xiijd.—It. pro duos ropis de campanis xvd.—It. pro faciende de cere & coste de vetell xiijd.—It. pro solvere mendyng of baudrvk jd.—It. pro tember viijd.—It. pro nayle and vetell vijd.—It. pro duos stapell for the grete belle jd.—It. pro weke ijd.—It. pro lavare de sorplyss & vestments iiijd.—It. pro faciende de tressle '4 vjd.—It. solvere pro wheyt leder jd.—It. pro duos ropis to the bells xvjd.—It. pro cere ijii. xd.—It. pro faciende ijd.—It. pro stokyng of the belles xjd.—It. pro claps to the grete belle ijd.; nayle jd.—It. pro lavare pro festments ijd.—It. pro cere ii. vd.—It. pro lyne at trendel ijd.—It. pro lavare de ffestements jd.—It. pro faciende de ffestements & lavare iiijd.—It. pro lavare de ffestement ijd.—It. pro torge xs.—It. for naylle jd.—Aput passæ solvere, it. pro duos ropis pro campanis xvjd.—It. pro napys pro best ffestements vjd.—It. pro faciende pro a whelle pro campanis vjd.—It. vetell met and drynk vjd.—It. pro claps nayle iijd.—It. pro cere at lumen santi crusis iiijs. ijd. ob.—It. pro coste de vetell iiijd.—It. pro faciende de cere vd.—It. pro

¹² Eight towels.

¹³ The sum received appears to have been in fact iijli. xixs. iijd. ob.

A tressel or trestle, the moveable support of a table or coffin.
 Putting up or fixing the bells. To stock an anchor is to fix the end of it firmly

in the stock.

¹⁶ "Torge" may mean "torches;" but the large sum of xs. paid seems to forbid that interpretation.

lavare de festments et awter cloths iiijd.—Solvere xxxs. vijs. vjd. ob.—In the honds of Jon Tranchemer vis. viijd. a stok of the branche. 17

At p. 21, &c.—(1481-2.) Anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij, xxj yer, compotus Johannes Bulle & Henricus Werde wardinis ecclesie de Cowfold.—Rec^d. de Tomas Okynden et de Johannes Tranchemer xxs. iijs. iiijd.—It. recd. de Johannes Tranchemer vis. viijd. yt es a stok of the branche.—It. recd. de Waterus Dunstall et de Johannes Gate, wardinis de Sante Mergretæ, xvijs. vijd.—It. recd. de Tomas Okynden and Johannes Gardener ijs.—It. rec^d. de Robertus Soper vjs. viijd.—It. rec^d. a stok de lampa de Margery Bregger, pris viijs.—It. rec^d. de Johannes Okynden xijd.—It. rec^d. de Robertus Soper, of Grensted, vj. viijd.—It. rec^d. of Melsent Creppse of rente ijs. of the yer of the wardynes afor us.—Recd. de Jon Bregger iijs.—Aput passæ reca. de Ricardus monke de Grensted, ijs. de rent.—It. reca. de Johannes Okenden, xijd. de rent.—It. recd. de Mylsent Creppse vjs. viijd. of a stok of the branche.—It. recd. vjd. of rent.

It. solvere pro duos rapys xvjd.—It. solvere pro weyt leder ijd.—It. pro a taper a li. de cere vjd.—It. ob. pro faciende.—It. at Hary Tranchmer jd.—It. pro faciende de chalyca & coste iijs. iiijd.—It. pro rapa ixd.—It. pro yre¹s pro ffanta et a loke vjd.—It. pro cere aput passæ vli aput santæ crucis ijs. vjd.—It. a li. de cere at lumen Santi Mergretæ vjd. ob' pro faciende.—It. pro coste of fetell & makyng viijd.—It. pro lenen kloth ijd.—It. pro lavare de festments and sorpliss ijd.—Solvere to the maseyn for makyng of the fonte vs.; for cariage of stone viijd.—It. for lym iiijd., and for feeheng jd.—It. helpeng of mortar and other stof, ijd.—It. for setyng to a stapyl for the fys dor ig jd.—It. for stone and drawynge off ston to jon a gate viijd.—Ît. solvere pro void de erthe fro the stepel xviijd.—It. pro duos rapys xviijd.—It. solvere aput passæ pro cere vj li. half pris of iijs. iijd., for makyng vjd.—It. pro lavare sorpliss and auter cloths iijd.—It. pro rape (rope?) ixd.—It. pro rape et wyt leder xijd.

(1470 probably.) At p. 24, &c.—Compotus Johannes Gretwyke et Johannes Gate, wardinis ecclesie de Cowfold.—Recept. de Johanne Bulle et Henricus Werde xls. et de Johan Bulle, sen., xvjs. viijd.—It. de Johannes Dunstall & de Tomas Wheytyng vjs. viijd.—It. de Hary Berd iijs. vjd.—It. reed. de Jam⁵ Costedel de Bollene iijs. de rente.—It. de Johan Crypsse ijd. de rente.—It. de Melsent Crypsse ijs.—It. de Johannes Gardener xijd.—It. de Recardus Monke de parochia de Grensted ijs.—It. de Jon Dowsse xijd. de rente.—It. eodem Jon Dowsse hav deliferid the same stok unto the wardeynis agen.—It. de Johanne Bulle, sen. ijs.—It. de Recardus Monke ijs.—It. de eodem Jon Bulle xijd.—It. de John Bulle, jun. xijd.—It. de Harry Berde ijs.—It. de Johannes Okynden xijd.—It. recd. de exsetors de Johanne Cowper xijd.—It. recd. de oxsore de Jon Harowden the lone of Waterman vjs.—Ît. recd. pro ewer cloths of lyenge in the cherche ijs.—It. solutum to Tomas Whytyng ijs. vjd.—It. pro leder for bawdryke iijd.—It. pro oyle and a

18 Yre, iron, for the font.

Branche means a large branched light, before the holy rood.

^{19 &}quot;Fys dor" is the door leading to the winding staircase of the tower at Cowfold. See Glossary of Archit. "Vise, vice, vys, Fr. vis, escalier à vis." "Vyce, round grece or steyer, coclea." Prompt. Parv. "Unum ascensorium, vocatum vys in campanili." Contr. for Durham Dorm. "And in the said stepill shall be a vice towrnyng." Contr. for Fotheringy ch. In Chaucer's Dream, v. 1310, is the following passage:

[&]quot; I rise and walkt, sought pace and pace, Till I a winding staire found, And held the vice age in my hond, And upward softly so gan crepe."

potte vd.—It. pro nayle jd. ob.—It. pro viij li. wexse iiijs.—It. pro a rope to the belle vijd.—It. pro cruce faciende in the lyten. 20—It. pro faciende de campanis xxjd.—It. pro rape de campanis vijd.—It. pro nayles jd. for wax iijli. xxjd.—It. pro faciende de cere iijd., to take to Johannes Costedel of bollene (Bolney) a stok pris of xxs.—Aput passæ pro cere vs. xd.—It. pro faciende et coste viijd.—It. ad Johannes Wode pro faciende' de campanis iiijd. for nayle jd.—It. pro lavare de sorpliss & other cloths iijd.—It. pro rape viijd.

It is remarkable that Gratwyk, Trenchmer, Bulls, Peknowle, Ockenden, and Potters are names of farms still in existence in the parish of Cowfold, and formerly, no doubt, were the residences of some of the worthy churchwardens, whose accounts are now printed.

The following miscellaneous memoranda are—At p. 4. A remembrans that the reve of Slawham hathe mad for my Lady a mede of vij acres, lyeng in the pariche of Erthyngly, e callyd Reveres Mede; and e paid for mowyng and tedyng iijs., also for the making ijs.; also karyage of the heye iiijs. viiid., also for coste of mete and drynke xxd.

At p. 36.—It. a remembrans that ij Water Dunstall yowthe to my master Scrasse, of Hangelton, ffor iiij bochell whete pris of viijd. a bochell. Item, pris a bochell of barlyche iiijd. It. for a bochel of malte vjd.—It. eodem Scras yowthe me for a lode of talle wode pris of ijs.

At p. 26.—A remembrans of a bargayn and a porchys of lond of Jon Baldyng of Cenvold, lyeng in the pariche of Tynem, lyenge by the hey wey that gothe fro Ponnyngs to Warnynled, pris of xxs., and therof reed xvs.—It. a remembrans of a bargayn bytwen Tomas a Stone of Henfield, and Jon Donstall of Cowfold, byeng hes hyds byn the Dekyr, prys of xvs., and so that ther be iiioxs hyds in the Dekyr, or elys bot xiijs. iiijd.

There are some notices of the payment of taxes in various years at p. 29, and a memorandum of letting out a milch cow, on condition of her being in milk at Michaelmas, or after.

(1471.) "Be het knowe be thes bill mad the vii day of Febrarii, anno regis E. IV the xth, wettenssith that Emery Jenyns and Rechard Lotty, lottenhurst, collectores of owr sofferyn lord the kyng of the Rap of Brambir, and in the cowntie of Sowssex, hath receivd of Water Dunstall and of Jon Pekcombe, sobcollectores of the tythynge of Wyndham, for 3 parts of xvth, lxvijs. ob. in wetenesse herof wee haf put to owr sealis the day abov wreton."

(1474.) "Noverint universi per presentes me William Berber unum collectorem Domini Regis in comitatu ssossexie asignatum recepisse et habuisse die conffescionis presentis de villata de Wyndhem iiij li. ixs. ijd. pro una metietate xv^{me} et x^{me} Domino Regi concessarum at ultimum parlamentum aput Wessemester, et quibus quidem denariis sicut per me receptis fatteor me inde fore solutos, dictam

²⁰ Lyten, lych gate, was a covered place at the gate of the churchyard, where the corpse might wait before being carried in.

que vellatam inde fore quietam per presentia sigilla mea signata, datum iijo die Decembris anno xiiijo Regis Edwardi iiijo."

(1485.) "A remembrans that ij Walter Dunstall payd the xx day of Juin, to Master William Apsele, xd. for grene wax, in yer of Kyng Rechard the iii, the second yer. Item, Wyllelmus Mathew, drapyer, received a cow melke the vi day of Junii, to the terme che be melke at Myhelmas or auter, and he to pay a jd. a

The following rules for health, found at p. 27, are recommended to the notice of all members of "sanitary commissions," and the perilous days for bloodletting will meet with the respect they deserve. With these and two medical receipts for lockjaw and the plague, these extracts must conclude.

In the monthe of Genever het es god to drynke on drawt of wheyt weyn ffastyng, and vij parlys dayes ther ben to be lete blod, that es for to say 1st day iiij. v. x. xxv. xix. xxv.

In the monthe off Genever (so written by mistake for Ffebrier) ette no worts²¹ made of malowes, ffor than they be parlys. Be let blode at the vayne off the thome, and ther be iiij parlys dayes—ij. iiij. xxiiij. xxvj. And in thes monthe use hot mets.

In the monthe off Marge ette feggs and resones and other swet mets, and drynke swete drenks: bathe the nat thes monthe, but make las they blode on they ryt arme en the xvij day or the laste day for the axses²²: and they seyt that ther be iiij parlus dayes the j. xxiij. xxv. xxvj.

In the monthe off Averel be let blode on the leffte arme the x day or the xi and thow shalt nat lese they sight that yer by reson: also be let blode iij dayes and thou shalt not soffer moche hed ache that yer: ette ffreysh mete ffleysh, and use hot mets: and ij parlys dayes ther be xx. xxv.

In the monthe off May aryse up rathe²³ and dyny and drynke, and use hot mets: ete not no ffet of no best: be lat blode on what arme thou wolle, on the iiij day, or v, or in the last day: v parlis dayes ther be—the forst day iij. vj. xxv. the xxvj. day.

In the monthe of Juing drynke every day ffastyng a drawght off water ffastyng erly and affterwarde ale or mede; ete a lytel, nat ofte: thou myght be lat blod and thou wolle, bot ther be iiij parlous dayes—the x. xj. xxiiij. xxix.

Decoctions, broth. Ang.-Sax. Wyrt.

'22 "Axses." For the ague fit. "Accesse, axesse, febricula, an ague, febris paroxysmus, a Fr. accez." Skinner's Etymologicon, ed. 1671. In this sense it is used by Chaucer, in his Complaint of the Black Knight, v. 134:

[&]quot; And overmore distreyned with sicknesse, Beside all this, he was full grievously, For upon him he hat hot accesse, That day by day shook him full piteously."

²³ Rathe, early, from Saxon rath. Milton, in Lycidas, 142, "Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies." So also Chaucer, "What aileth you so rathe for to arise?"

In the monthe off Julis absteyn ye ffro , for then the brayn gaderryth wormys togeder: also let nat they self to blode in this monthe; viij parlus dayes ther be—j. vij. xv. xiij. xij. xxv. xx.

In the monthe off Agoust wolle nat thou to ete worts off malowes nother off cawlys, ²⁴ and make nat les they blode: vj be parlys dayes j. x. xv. xxiiij. xxix. & xxx.

In the monthe of September ete rype ffryt and do the to blede and thou wolle the xvij day; het is gode ffor the dropsy and for the fallyng sore. v parlus ther be—the iij. vij. xiiij. xxj. xxix.

In the monthe off October het es gode to drynke must or new weyn and ffor nede thou mayste let the blode; iij parlus dayes ther be iij. xviij. xxij—to be let blode.

In the monthe of November bathe the nat ne be nat stynted for than thy blode es gaderyd, for then het is gode to make lasse the blode of thy vaynis for than the humerys be fulle gretly multiplied: and ther be v parlus dayes—j. ij. v. xj. xxviij.

In the monthe off December use hot mets, and wolle the nat than to ete worts bot gruel: and ther be v parlus dayes—the vj. viij. xxij. xxiij. xxiij.

One is reminded, after reading these obsolete cautions, of Touchstone's warning to Corin (As You Like It, iii, 2), "Thou art in a parlous state, shepherd;" but in old times we learn, from the Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond, that the seasons for bloodletting occasioned some pleasant gossiping assemblies, at one of which he reports having been tempted to speak out too candidly of his superior, who never forgave him. There are some very curious rules as to the discipline enjoined on the monks for three days following the bloodletting, in the Bury MS., published lately by the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute.

At p. 14 of MS.—ffor prekyng of senues. Ther be sertyn off plasys of a man that (if) he be prekyd in to a senue, bot he be (heled?) within viij dayes after, he shal be dede. Theron welle come cramp from the plase into the nec, and draw hys chavelys togeder that he shal not opyn hes mowthe; and that men call the spasme, and therfor and a man be prekyd into a senew, take gode oyle roset, and late chaf hyt warme es he may soffer, and put the powder (erased in MS.) powre het into that plase that he is prekyd, and ly welle above, and bynde hyt, and chawnge it, and use thes medson tyl hit be hole, and non other for thes is kynde ffor senewes and non other.

ffor the pestelencie to make a drynke. Take vedervoy, matfelon, and mogworte, solyge, scabyos, avense; 27 make thes echelyke myche; weche 'hem and stampe 'hem,

²⁴ Neither of cabbages.

²⁵ Chaws, the old form for jaws.

²⁶ Oil of rosemary.

²⁷ Vedervoy, or fetherfoy, as it is still called in Sussex, is the feverfew, or fether-

and temper 'hem with stale ale, and gef the seke to drynke vj sponysful at ones; and he haf het by tymys hyt chal distroye the coropcion, and safe the man or the woma'.

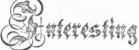
few, in Gerard's Herbal, pyrethrum parthenium. The herb is reckoned as of great virtue by the shepherd in 'the Play of the Shepherds,' published among the Chester Plays by the Shakspeare Society, p. 210:

"Here be more erbes I tell it you, I shall recken them on a rooe, Fynter fanter, and fetter foe, And also penve wyrthe."

Matfelon, or "Materfilon, otherwise matrefillon," as it appears in Lovell's Pambotanologia, p. 231, is the black knapweed, Jacea nigra, Centaurea nigra; a decoction of its heads still figures as a tonic in the modern Pharmacopæia. It was also called bollewed (ball-weed). Mogworte, or mugwort, is wormwood, Artemisia vulgaris, also still found in the Pharmacopæia, as a tonic. Solage is difficult to identify with certainty. It may stand for smallage or wild celery, Apium graveolens, an antiscorbutic. In Gerarde's Herball, "Sellige" is spikenard, Nardus Celtica—it may possibly be the sundew, Ros solis, drosera, which was used for the plague, according to Lovell's Pambotan., or the solidago, now Symphytum officinale, the comfrey, formerly in high repute, according to Culpeper's Physitian, p. 73, and Lovell's Pambotan., p. 116—or the savin, selago, used by the Druids. Scabyos is the well-known Devil's bit, Scabiosa succisa, a bitter astringent. Avense is the herb Bennet, or avens, Geum urbanum. "Avence, herbe avancia, sanamunda," Prompt. Parvul. The root is still used in medicine.

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Kent, Susser, and Surrey.

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A

COMPARATIVE LIST

OF

THE CHURCHES,

MENTIONED IN

Domesday Book,

AND THOSE OF MORE RECENT DATE,

IN THE

COUNTIES OF KENT, SUSSEX, AND SURREY,

WITH NOTES ON THEIR

Architecture, Sepulchral Memorials,

AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES.

BY THE

REV. ARTHUR HUSSEY, M.A.

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[For Specimen of the Work, see over.]

Part of Kent.

groups our areal

	Modern Names.	Domesday Names.	Churches in D. B.	A.D. 1291.
(237)	Oxney near Deal			*
(238)	Paddlesworth			
(239)	Ditto near Snodland .		1	100
(240)		Palestrei	1	5000
	Peckham, East }	Pecheham		*
(243)	Pembury			*
(244)	Penshurst		4	*
(245)	St. Peter's, Thanet	partito GF		*
(246)	Petham		2	*
(247)	MORE RECENT DATE.		1	

EXPLANATION.

The first column contains the present names; the second, those by which the several places are described in Domesday Book. In the third column, the figures opposite the names denote the Churches mentioned in Domesday Book, as then existing at those places; and the asterisk in the last column signifies that the Churches so marked are alluded to in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, taken A.D. 1291.

NOTES.

(237) Oxney Near Deal.—"Ecclia de Oxne et de Popyshall." Valor Ecclesiasticus. In A.D. 1291 Popeshall Chapel is annexed to Colred, in which parish it stood, and which see. Valor Ecclesiasticus declares Oxney Church to have belonged to the Canons of Langdon; wherefore both this and Langdon Churches were probably suppressed at the same period. It is omitted in the Clergy List. "The walls" of Oxney Church "still remain; it has a roof, and is now made use of as a barn."—Hasted's Hist. of Kent.

- (238) Paddlesworth.—A Chapel to Liminge. The Church is described as having a round chancel arch, "with Saxon ornaments," and two very small round-headed doors.—Hasted. A Priory here, belonging to the Abbey of Beaulieu, in Normandy, by foundation of John de Pratellis, temp. King John, was suppressed by King Henry V.—Kilburne's Survey of Kent.
- (239) PADDLESWORTH NEAR SNODLAND.—The Church was long since destroyed, but the name of this place appears in Val. Eccl. as a rectory, though not in the Clergy List. The Textus Roffensis states this to have been esteemed a Chapel to Birling. Compare the list of Churches in the Diocese of Rochester, extracted from that work, under Rochester.
- (240) Palestrei.—Now Palster Court, a manor farm in Wittersham. Hasted says, that the manor extends into Ebeney; therefore the Church may have stood in either parish. Kilburne, however, speaks of "Acton chancel, or more truly, Palster chancel," in the Church of Wittersham, and mentions the manor of Palster, along with Wittersham, being given to Christ's Church, Canterbury, in 1032 and 1035. From which circumstances it would appear, that Palestrei was an important property in ancient times; wherefore the Church, though described as belonging to Palestrei, within the limits of which manor it might stand, not improbably perhaps occupied the site of the existing parish Church of Wittersham.
- (241) The Peckhams.—Domesday Book estimates one portion of Peckham manor as belonging to the monks of the Archbishop, the other as the property of the Bishop of Bayeux. The former, which possessed a Church, is easily recognised as East Peckham, which benefice is at this day in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. *East Peckham.*—Brasses: Richard Ecclesley, rector (consecrating a chalice), 1526.—Man and woman.—Registrum Roffense.
- (242) PECKHAM WEST.—Brass: Elizabeth, wife of William Culpeper (the husband is lost), 1460.—Reg. Roff. Val. Eccl. notices a Preceptory, then existing at West Peckham; which was founded A.D. 1408, according to Kilburne.
- (243) PEMBURY. The Church consists of western tower, nave with south porch, and chancel. The south door is perfectly plain Norman, and there is one small very plain Norman window in the south wall of the nave, partly cut off by the roof of the Church. The chancel and tower are decorated, the former early, but with only one original window. Harris, in his History of Kent, broaches the absurd supposition, that the name of this parish, "Pepenbury, Pipingbury," came "very likely from the quantity of pepins which anciently grew here, and for which formerly this place hath been famous." Perhaps the last assertion is a gratuitous assumption of the worthy D.D.; beside that orchards are recorded to have been first introduced into England during the reign of Henry VIII. See the note below, on Teynham. The Pimpes were a family of much consideration in early times, who gave their name to more than one residence in the neighbourhood (Pimpe's Court), though not in Pembury; and property called "Pinpa" is mentioned in Domesday Book in Twyford Hundred, which brings it very near Pembury. It is far more probable than the above conjecture, that the place, when first cleared and settled, might have been "Pimpe's Bury," and so denominated.

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