

BODIAM, AND ITS LORDS.

PARTLY READ AT THE BODIAM MEETING, 10TH JULY, 1856.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A.

THE history of Bodiam begins with the great Norman Survey. The account given of it in Domesday Book is this:—"Osbern holds a hide and three roodlands in Bodeham of this manor, which was always included in the district of Werste, where the hall was situated. Roger has half a hide, and Ralph two roodlands. There is one plough and a half in the demesne, and seven villeins with ten bondmen have four ploughs and a half. The whole value in the time of the Confessor was six pounds; it has since been estimated at six; but it is now appreciated at nine pounds." The manor of Werste, now Ewhurst, was in the rape or territory of the Earl of Eu, a kinsman of the Conqueror, who held it in domain, and consequently Bodiam was immediately dependent upon that great feudal lord. I may remark that the original seat of this eminent personage was at what is now called "La Ville d'Eu" in Normandy—in modern times the fine château of the late King Louis-Philippe,—and that after the Conquest his principal English residence was the Castle of Hastings. His tenants Osbern, Roger, and Ralph, were probably followers who had fought under his command at Hastings, and who were thus allowed to participate in the spoils of the Norman Conquest. In this and the following century, the possessors of the estate assumed the surname of De Bodeham; and under Henry II., Roger de Bodeham held the sub-infeudation with four knights' fees, amounting to 2560 acres, including a park, the name of which is still retained.

In the Chronicle of Battel Abbey there are some rather interesting notices concerning the parish and family of Bodeham. The first relates to the very Osbern, who, as we have seen, was the principal feudatory, here, of the Earl of Eu. The Chronicler states that, "in consequence of the dryness of the soil around Battel Abbey, and the deficiency of well-irrigated meadows, a certain knight of these parts, named Osbern Fitz-Hugh, by the advice of Abbot Gausbert and the monks—with the consent of his Lord, William Earl of Eu, and the confirmation of King William—gave and granted out of his domain thirty acres of meadow, Norman measure, lying in his manor called Bodeham, about seven miles distant, partly of his free donation, and partly by way of sale, he receiving fifty shillings in recompense; and this by his charter he confirmed for ever to the Abbey of Battel, free from all challenge or exaction of his heirs and all other persons, and from every charge whatever." One can scarcely forbear a smile at the mixed character of this transaction. The good Osbern, while desirous of securing the eternal welfare of himself and his family, was by no means inattentive to his worldly interests in thus drawing a balance of two-pounds-ten in his own favour.

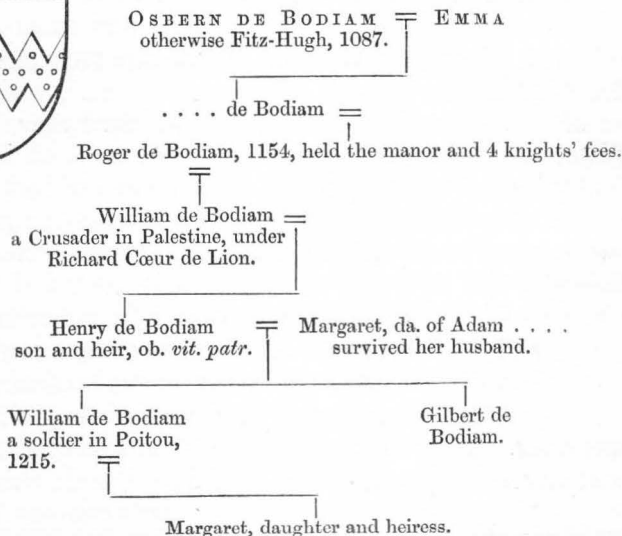
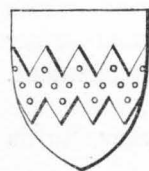
The next mention of Bodiam in the Chronicle refers to the appointment of a bailiff, or keeper of the meadow, on account of its remoteness from the Abbey. The monks of Battel prevailed upon another knight of these parts to give a piece of land upon which to erect a house for the keeper. The name of the knight was Robert Borne, who also conceded to the abbey a right of way through his lands. "The brethren, in acknowledgment of this kindness, and for the sake of evidence hereafter, gave him six shillings and iron leg-harness, which some properly designate greaves (*sex solidos, et caligas ferreas, quas quidam proprie ocreas dicunt*),¹ by which he might equip one of his brothers for the wars." "Now," adds the Chronicler, "there was a slip of land lying between the above-mentioned meadow and the recently-acquired keeper's house, which seemed convenient for the brethren, for the purposes of a wharf, on which they might land such things as were brought thither for their use by a vessel (*navigio*). The venerable Abbot Walter [de Lucy] therefore, personally and

¹ Lat. edit, p. 132; my Translation, p. 145.

through his friends, applied to Robert Borne and Ralph his son, and prevailed upon them to give that slip of land as they had done the manse which it adjoined . . . to God and St. Martin, to be quietly held for ever." These transactions took place between the years 1157 and 1171. The latter passage is interesting, as showing that the river Rother was navigable for a sailing-vessel in the twelfth century.

Emma wife of Osbern de Bodeham (previously called Fitz-Hugh) gave to Battel Abbey land worth six shillings in the manor of Bodiam, and a mill called Sansei near Criuil in Normandy—Robert Earl of Eu, her lord, confirming the gift in the presence of many witnesses.²

There is not, so far as I am aware, any pedigree of the De Bodiams in existence. The following is the best approximation to one that I have been enabled, after much investigation, to arrive at:—



I infer that the interval between Osbern, 1087, and Roger, who occurs in the Black Book of the Exchequer, 1154, as owner of four knights' fees in Bodiam, includes a lord of

² *Chron. de Bello*, p. 55. Trans. p. 60.

Bodiam whose name does not transpire; and I presume that William was the son of Roger. William de Bodiam, according to a roll in the library of Sir Edw. Dering, quoted in Hasted's *Kent*, joined the Crusade under Richard I., was at the siege of Acre in 1190, and bore for arms on that occasion, *Gules, an inescoccheon argent, an orle of bezants*, a coat materially differing from that afterwards assumed by the family.—(Dansey's *Crusaders*.) William had a son and heir, Henry de Bodiam. Though he died before his father, he is styled Lord of Bodiam, in a deed by which he enfeoffs Robert de Ore with all his lands called Ore and Kemehethe,³ in the parish of Battel. The deed, which is without date, is witnessed by Lord William de Echingham, Lord Matthew de Hastings, Richard de Ashburnham, and other distinguished persons.—(Thorpe's *Cat. Battle Abbey Deeds*, p. 8.) About the end of Richard I. or the beginning of John, Margaret, widow of this Henry, sued her father-in-law, William, for her thirds of twenty pounds land with the appurtenances in Bodiam, which had been allotted to her by way of marriage settlement on her espousals with Henry, by William de Bodiam the defendant. That deed had been witnessed by Alured de St. Martin (the founder of Robertsbridge Abbey), Rd. de St. Leger, Ralph de Bodiam, Reginald de Bodiam, and others. William, the defendant, pleaded that his son Henry had never had seisin of the lands in question, but did not deny his deed, and the thirds were consequently awarded to the plaintiff.—(*Rot. Cur. Reg. Sussex*, i. 365).⁴

The name of William de Bodiam occurs in many records from the year 1199 downwards; but whether in some of them the father-in-law of the widow Margaret, or her son, who succeeded his grandfather as lord of Bodiam, is intended, is by no means clear. Poor Margaret, besides the loss of her husband, and her subsequent struggle for dower, seems to have

³ Kemehethe, now *Camehide*. One of the silly legends connected with the Norman Conquest is, that some time before the battle of Hastings, Duke William, imitating the example of Queen Dido at Carthage, purchased as much land on the Sussex coast as he could compass with a bull's hide, which being cut into slips was made to reach several miles inland, namely

from Bulverhythe, alias BULLHIDE, to CAME-HIDE, in Battel, for hither says the tradition *came the hide*!!

⁴ For several references to records I am indebted to Mr. Blaauw, and for some miscellaneous information to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Sept. 1856, contributed by Mr. W. D. Cooper, to whom I also owe other valuable communications.

fallen into other troubles. In the time of King John her estate was confiscated on the plea of rebellion, but in 1st Henry III., that monarch directed the sheriff of Sussex to restore seisin thereof to her, she having returned to fidelity and service. (*Rot. Lit. Claus.* 1217, p. 328.) The Earls of Eu still continued to hold feudal dominancy over the de Bodiams, and exercised some undue exactions; wherefore King John in 1215 issued his mandate to the sheriff to prevent the then earl from harassing William de Bodiam for military service in respect of his four knights' fees, he having duly paid his relief to the King during the time that the earl's lands had been in the King's hands,⁵ and especially as to tallage, as William was then serving in person in Poitou, and if anything had been seized from him on that behalf, it was to be restored without delay. (*Rot. Claus.* 16 Joh.) The same year the King restored to William de Bodiam land held during the minority of the daughter of Stephen de Canardinton (Kenardington, co. Kent), then deceased, whose heir he was. By a deed, without date, William de Bodiam confirms the feoffment of lands in Pette, hitherto held by Edwardus Cuparius to his brother Gilbert de Bodiam. To this deed, which is sealed with an equestrian figure, the names of William, chaplain of Bodiam, Robert de Glotingham, Adam, parson of Icklesham, and others, occur as witnesses. By another dateless deed, William de Bodiam, son of Henry de Bodiam, for the good of his soul, and the souls of his antecessors and successors, enfeoffs the Abbey of Battel with his possessions in the fee of Bodiam. (*Thorpe's Cat. Battel Abbey Deeds*, p. 8.) And by another deed, also undated, Gilbert de Bodiam, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his lord and brother William de Bodiam, grants to Battel Abbey, in pure and perpetual alms, the lands in Pette which William his said brother had aforetime given him upon his service. (*Thorpe's Cat.* p. 9.) Margaret, daughter of William de Bodiam, by a sealed deed without date, also confirms to Battel Abbey the same lands in Pette. (*Thorpe*, p. 9.)

The William de Bodiam who figures in these transactions was probably a benefactor to the Abbey of Robertsbridge, and

⁵ July 7, 1215, William de B. paid relief of thirty marks and service for one

year with horses and arms. *Rot. de Fin.* 15 Joh.

he would seem to have been buried there. Among many fragmentary stones which I sketched at Robertsbridge Abbey in the year 1831, and most of which have subsequently perished—having been *macadamized*, as I am most credibly informed, to mend a neighbouring highway—was one which I take to have formed part of his tomb. (See the subjoined woodcut.)



I believe that Margaret, the daughter of this William, was the heiress who conveyed Bodiam to the Wardeux family, but the proofs of this have hitherto eluded my research. It is clear that in the next generation the Wardeux family were lords of the manor; though it is equally certain that individuals of the Bodiam name continued to be landed proprietors, here and in the adjoining parishes, for many years subsequently. About the year 1250, Simon de Bodiam appears as witness to a deed from Reginald Abbot of Battel to Dionysia Palmer. In 1263, William and Henry de Bodiham were witnesses to a deed of gift from Robert de Glindlee (Glyndley in Westham) to Lewes Priory.—(*Sussex Arch. Coll.* iii. 197.) A few years later, in 6th Edward I., among those who had summons, as possessors of lands worth twenty pounds per annum, to take up their knighthood in the counties of Surrey and Sussex, was a John de Bodiham, while the manucaptor of Masters William Aguilun and William de la Legh, the commissioners, was a Henry de Bodyham.—(*Parl. Writs*, vol. i. p. 217.) In the 28th year of the same reign, according to a statement in *Gent.*

Mag. (March, 1837), without any reference, Thomas, son of Lucie de Bodihamme, recovered in the King's Court against Reginald —, one messuage and 12 acres of land in Bodiam. Many years later still, some branches of the old stock must have regarded Bodiam as their home; for the church contains



a mutilated miniature brass of an armed knight, upon whose surcoat the fesse dancettée and pellets of the family arms are gracefully represented; and this brass cannot, in my opinion, be assigned to a date anterior to the earlier part of the reign of Richard II. This truncated fragment, which measures only fourteen inches in height, was long lying loose, covered with dust, until some years since, when the late incumbent, the Rev. Sir Godfrey Thomas, Bart., had it affixed to the chancel wall. Subsequently, during the recent restoration of the building, it was fixed, with other brass fragments, at

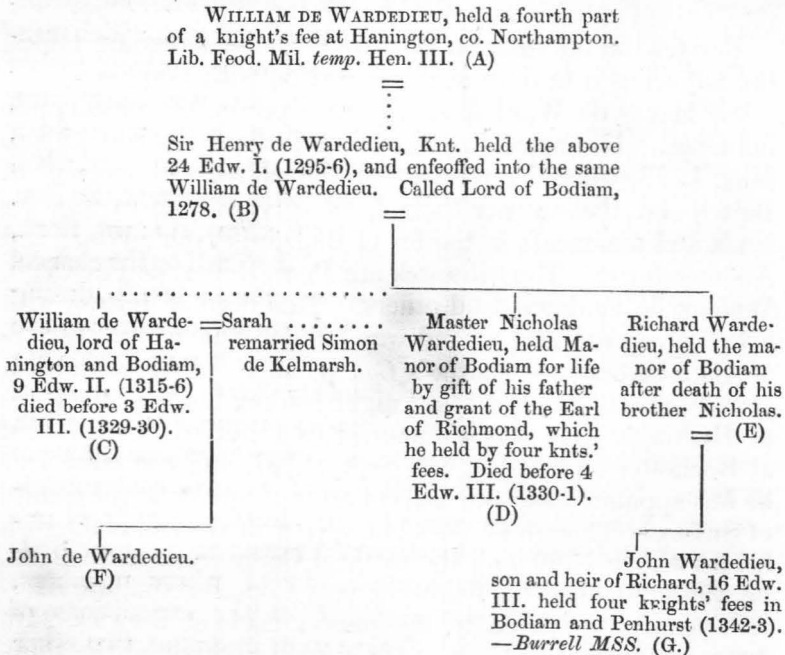
the west end of the church. A brass escocheon of the Bodiam arms, apparently of anterior date, is also preserved in the same position. Other families of Bodeham existed contemporaneously. Many notices occur in records of one entirely unconnected with Sussex, who derived their surname from Bodham near Erpingham, in Norfolk, one of whose members, William de Bodeham, was engaged in the expeditions of Edw. I. against the Welsh. There were in Sussex two other places called Bodeham, one in the parish of Battel, repeatedly mentioned in the archives of Battel Abbey, and another near Petworth, which belonged *temp.* Edw. III. to the great feudal house of Paynel.

Some obscurity attaches to the origin of the family who next succeeded to the lordship of Bodiam. Their name is variously

spelt Wardedieu, Wardedu, Wardou, Warddieu, and Wardeux. It is asserted in a small local publication, *Gleanings concerning Battel Abbey*,⁶ that their progenitor was a cadet of the family of Monceaux, lords of Herst-Monceaux, who, becoming in the thirteenth century a ward of the Earl of Eu, (to whom the manor of Bodiam of which he was proprietor was feudally subject), assumed the surname of Ward d'Ou, which he transmitted to his descendants. But as the name is usually found with the territorial prefix *de*, this statement may well be questioned.



The following pedigree, for which I am indebted to the kindness of William Courthope, Esq., Somerset Herald, shows the descent of Bodiam for several generations:—



At this point of the pedigree some doubt of the proper line of continuity arises from the contemporaneous existence of two Johns de Wardedieu. The John mentioned below must have been the son either of William (C) or of Richard (E);

Mr. Courthope is inclined to think the former; "but," as he justly observes, "this part of the pedigree is obscure, as there was clearly a Robert Wardedieu about this time Lord of Bodiam."

<p>==JOHN DE WARDEDIEUX, of Bodiam, a ward of John de Britania, Earl of Richmond, 4 Edw. III. (1330-1).—<i>Inq. Post Mort.</i> 1377. Assessed for £20 lands at Bodiam <i>circ.</i> 13 Edw. III. Held fourth part of knight's fee at Hanington, co. Northton. 20 Edw. III. 1346-7.</p>	<p>==Alice, daughter and heir of Theobald de Nevill, died seized of manor of Allexton, co. Leicest. and Forestership of co. Rutland, 45 Edw. III. 1371-2.⁷ Widow of John Hakehlyt, lord of Allexton.</p>
(H)	

Elizabeth, heir to her father, and 30 yrs. of age, 51 Edw. III. (1377); living 1383.

==SIR EDWARD DALYNGRUGE, born *circa* 1346. Had a restoration of the Forestership of co. Rutland, 1378-9. Owner of the Hanington property, 1377-8. Builder of Bodiam Castle.

Besides the information conveyed by the foregoing tables, the following is of interest in connection with Bodiam.

Sir Henry de Wardedieu (B) was a person of considerable influence. His name first occurs as lord of Bodiam 12 kal. May, 1278, when he releases to the abbot and convent of Battel, and the sacristy thereof, all services due to him for lands and tenements in the fee of Bodiam, Pryckle Wode, and Angmehurst. The witnesses are Dom. Robert de Passelegh, William de Penhurst, and others. This deed of release with a well-preserved seal of red wax remains among the charters of Battel Abbey.—(Thorpe's *Cat.* p. 50.) In 24 Edward I. (1296) he was enrolled as a knight holding lands in the Rape of Hastings. He was summoned to a military council held at Rochester on Sunday, 8th Sept., 1297, and the same year he was appointed assessor and collector of ninths for the county of Sussex. Though he does not appear in the roll of English heroes who in 1300 took the castle of Carlaverock in Scotland, he was summoned the following year to perform military service against the Scots, in the muster made at Berwick 24th June, 1301. A year later he was chosen a knight of the shire, in connection with John Heryngaud, and received payment of his expenses in Parliament Oct. 1, 1302. He died before the year 1315.

⁷ The office of Chief Forester to the King seems to have been hereditary in the Nevill family for many generations, and

they gained a bad name for their exactions under the Norman forest laws.—See *Trans. Chron. Battel Abbey*, p. 122.

John de Wardedieu (G) who as heir of Richard de W. was in 13 Edw. III. assessed at ten marks for his lands in Bodiam, rendered himself obnoxious to a charge of disloyalty towards the King. It appears from the Rolls of Parliament (the date of the year is uncertain) that "at the council of our Lord the King, John son of Richard Wardedeu of Bodiam in the county of Sussex, and John de Boxhurst of the county of Kent, represent, that though neither by that court nor by the common law of England, the body of any one ought to be taken, nor his lands and chattels seized into the hands of the King, save upon some sufficient cause, yet our Lord the King had issued his briefs to certain people to take the bodies of the aforesaid John and John, and to seize their lands and chattels in consequence of the information of certain persons who are deadly enemies to the said John and John, charging them with confederacy and conspiracy with the Enemy, as having been staying with them in their galleys and ships on the sea-coast in the county of Kent with an evil design (*pour mal faire*), of which they are in nowise culpable, as they are willing it should be ascertained by every means that our Lord the King and his council may devise and ordain. The aforesaid John and John therefore, for holy charity, ask a remedy of these grievances, inasmuch as otherwise every man would be at the mercy of his foes." To which it was replied, that whenever the appellants chose to appear they should have an answer according to law.—(*Rot. Parl.* ii. 396.) How this affair terminated I cannot ascertain, though it is certain that the King did not ultimately confiscate the Bodiam estate.

John de Wardedieu (H) who, as before intimated, may have been either the appellant in the above case or the son of William de W. (c) was a ward of John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond, who held the Rape of Hastings in the early part of the reign of Edward III., when his wardship was sold to John de Courthope and John de Vyniter, by deed dated at Bodiam on the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1331. In a Roll of "Armyd men, as well horsmen as footmen in the Rape of Hastings, a° Edw. III. xiiij.," communicated by Mr. Somerset Courthope to the *Collect. Topog. et Genealog.* (vol. vii. p. 119), John Wardedeu occurs as chargeable for a man-at-arms in right of his possessions worth twenty pounds in Bodiam. In 1377 he, with Alice his wife, had a grant of the forestership

of the county of Rutland (inherited from the de Nevills, see page 283 *ante*) by gift of Robert de Wardedieu of Bodiam and Joan his wife.—(*Inq. Post. Mort.* co. Northampton, 51 Edw. III.) His daughter and heiress as before stated conveyed the estate to Sir Edward Dalyngruge, when the Wardedieu name as connected with Bodiam became extinct. The name of Wardedieu or Wardeux seems to have been limited to a very few generations, and the number of persons bearing it must have been small, for except those I have mentioned only two individuals have occurred to my research. The first is a Nicholas Varde-dieu, a brother of Battel Abbey 1347, and the other, William Wardedieu, Archdeacon of Chichester, who exchanged for the vicarage of Mayfield, to which he was instituted 15th April, 1382.—(*Inf. W. Courthope, Esq.*) The will of the latter bears date the sixth of the ides of July of the same year, and among other bequests he leaves to Robert de Wardedieu a certain sum *towards the building of the church of Bodiam.*

The period when the original church of Bodiam was founded does not appear. No mention of it is found in Domesday, and early in the thirteenth century a William, *chaplain* of Bodiam, is mentioned (see p. 279, *ante*); but at the time of *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*, 1291, Bodiam existed as a vicarage. The present church has some Early English features in the chancel, remnants probably of the original edifice, though the building evidently underwent a partial re-erection about the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph.

I may here say a few words respecting the church and its monuments. The edifice occupies a commanding site. Its materials are said to have been procured from the immediate vicinity, and a depressed spot close to the southern pale of the churchyard is pointed to as the quarry from which they were obtained. It consists of a low embattled tower, and nave, with north and south aisles, under one roof, and a chancel. Little of its architectural character remains, and nothing has, I believe, been destroyed by the recent repairs. A view of Bodiam Church, from the S.E., is given in the Rev. A. Hussey's *Notes*, page 201.

Sir Wm. Burrell's MSS. mention some painted glass in the windows, including the arms of Alice, widow of the last Sir John Dalyngruge, Beauchamp of Powick, and Boteler of Sudeley, but this has totally disappeared. Some old brass

fragments from tombs have been preserved. One of these has already been described. The others are (1) a small plate, thirteen inches high, representing an emaciated figure, in a loose robe or winding-sheet: having the tonsure it may reasonably be concluded to commemorate a vicar of Bodiam;⁸ (2) an oblong plate, inscribed—

Pray for the sowll^s of Thomas Grove and Crestian his wyfe, on whose soullys Jhu have mercy. Amen.

and (3) a larger plate, commemorating one William Wetherden, an incumbent of the church, who, "while an unlearned man, married a wife, but, after her death, devoted himself to liberal studies, took priest's orders, and died 26th Feb. 1513. He gave (it is added) many good things to this church."⁹

Hic jacet d(ominus) Will(el)m(us) Wetherden, nup(er) vicari(us) isti(us) ecc(lesiae), q(ui) q(ui)dem no(n) l(ite)rat(us) vxore(m) d(omi)nit, qua mortua, se dedit studio l(ibe)rali & sacerdotij ordi(n)em suscepit & obiit xxvi Febr(u)arij A^o M. v. xiiij. Multa huic bona ded(it) ecc(lesiae).

To return to the descent of Bodiam. The heiress of Wardieu, as we have seen, married Sir Edward Dalyngruge, of whose family it is now necessary to speak. They have been



(ARMS and Crest of Dalyngruge, from Fletching Church.)¹⁰

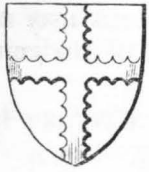
erroneously derived from the county of Hants; but their true origin is from the extinct manor of Dallingridge, on the confines of the parishes of East Grinstead and West Hothly, where they appear to have been located as early as *temp.* Edw. II. John Dalyngruge, the first recorded progenitor of the family, was married in that reign to Joane, a daughter and coheiress of Sir Walter de la Lynde, lord of Bolebrook, in the parish of Hartfield, co. Sussex, who in the well-known Roll of Arms of *temp.* Edw. II. is entered as bearing *de Argent, a une crois engrélé*

⁸ It has been inaccurately engraved in the Supplement to Grose's *Antiq.* vol. ii. pl. 5. Another representation of it is given in *Gent. Mag.* March, 1837.

⁹ Ornaments and vestments probably, since no endowment of his is known.

¹⁰ At the back of the tomb of a Dalyngruge, who with his wife is represented

de Goules, a coat which was afterwards assumed by the Dalyngruges, altering however the field to *Or*.



JOHN DALYNGRUGE,
of Dalyngruge,
13 Edw. II.

Joan, da. and coheir of
Sir Walter de la Lynde,
of Bolebrook.

Sir Roger Dalyngruge,
Sheriff of Sussex, 46
Edw. III.¹¹ Had a right
of free-warren to manor
of Sheffield, confirmed
48 Edw. III.

Elizabeth, =
da. and
heiress of
John de
Wardedieu.

Sir Edward
Dalyngruge, born
about 1346.
Builder of
Bodiam Castle,
9 Ric. II.

Walter Da-
lyngruge,
living 1398.
Died before
1418.

Margaret,
da. of John
Chamond,
relict of
Wm. Mow-
bray; mar.
3dly, Wm.
Cheyne.

Sir John Dalyngruge, lord of Sheffield, 1408; made his will 22 June, 1417, when about to sail with Henry V. th's second Expedition to France. He enailed Bodiam to his first cousins, to the exclusion of his sister's children.
S. P.

= Alice, da. and heir of Sir John Beauchamp, of Powick. Died 8 Feb. 1443, seized of Bodiam, &c.
Inq. post mort.
21 Hen. VI.

= Sir Thomas Boteler, first husband. Thomas Sackville, who (*jure uxoris*) had Bolebrook.

Margaret, sister and heir; married Sir Thomas Sackville, who (*jure uxoris*) had Bolebrook.



¹ Richard Dalyngruge, aged 15, 1408-9, devisee of Bodiam, under the will of his cousin, Sir John D. S. P., 7 Jan., 10 Edw. IV. (1470). *Inq. p. mort.* at Chichester, 5 Oct., 11 Edw. IV.

² William Dalyngruge, next in remainder to Bodiam, in the will of his cousin Sir John D.; died S. P. before 1443.

Philippa, sister and heir, married, 1st, Sir Richard Berners, and 2ndly, Sir THOMAS LEWKNOR.



What has been stated of Bodiam hitherto, relates in nowise to the fine old fortress which is at this day the great archæological feature of the district. It was not until some twelve feudal lords had in succession held the estate, during the long period of four centuries, that the **Castle** of Bodiam—

“The battled towers, the stately keep,
The loop-hole grates where captives weep,
The flanking walls that round it sweep,
In gloomy grandeur rose.”—

in a fine brass, figured in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* II. 309. I have little hesitation in assigning this monument to Sir Roger Dalyngruge, who had free-warren in Sheffield (in the parish of Fletching) 48 Edw. III.; though the monument in the opinion of Mr. Boutell belongs to a date twenty

years posterior. (See Pedigree of Dalyngruge, *above*.)

¹¹ Mr. W. D. Cooper (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* III. 93) makes Sir Roger the elder brother of Sir Edward. For the remainder of the pedigree I have the authority of Mr. Court-hope.

The anterior lords of the manor had been content with a dwelling of meaner proportions, the site of which is indicated by a moated space in another part of the parish. It was reserved for a knightly personage, bred in the camps of the third Edward, to erect a tangible monument of his own greatness in Bodiam Castle.

Sir Edward Dalyngruge commenced his career in the most brilliant period of England's chivalry. Like Chaucer's young Squire, he had accompanied his father in the campaigns of Edward III. against France; like him—

“ He hadde ben somtyme in chivachie
In Flaunders, in Artoys, and Picardie; ”—

and had shared in the glories of Cressy and Poitiers. After the victory of Poitiers had established the English supremacy in France, “select bands, under a brave leader, refused to return with their King, and chose to establish themselves as soldiers, independently hiring themselves to the petty contending states of Italy, or supporting themselves by predatory expeditions in the north of France, seizing castles and lordships, and exacting enormous ransoms, particularly for the ladies whom they had taken captive after any surrender. This was the source of very great wealth, and when they re-established themselves in England, they built castles, and endowed chantries and abbeys, as Leland observes, ‘ex spoliis Gallorum.’”¹²

The three most eminent leaders of these marauding parties were Sir Robert Knowles and Sir John Calveley, both knights of Cheshire, and Sir John Hawkwood. The last, whose romantic fame as the stipendiary general of the Florentines, under the travestied name of Giovanni *Auguto* or Johannes *Acutus*, fills a splendid page in Italian history, was a lineal ancestor of the great Sussex family of Shelley. The chieftain, however, under whose banner Sir Edward Dalyngruge placed himself was Sir Robert Knowles, or Knollys, one of the most celebrated warriors of his times—“le veritable Demon de la Guerre,”—as he is styled by an old French author. This personage limited his freebooting excursions to Normandy,

¹² Vide “*Graphic and Historical Sketch of Bodiam Castle*,” by Wm. Cotton, Esq. M.A. London, 1831, p. 14.

Brittany, and Picardy. He compelled the Duke of Brittany to cede to him the castle of Derval, where he dwelt in great state with his captains and retainers, among whom was Sir Edward Dalyngruge.¹³ The following distich, by a medieval poet, records his prowess:—

“**©** **R**oberte **K**nollis, per te fit **F**rancia mollis,
Ense tuo tollis praedas, dans vulnera collis.”¹⁴

O Robert Knowles, the stubborn souls
Of Frenchmen well you check;
Your mighty blade has largely preyed,
And wounded many a neck.

The following particulars of transactions in which Sir Edward Dalyngruge was concerned are furnished by contemporary records. In 1378-9 he had a restoration of the forestership of the county of Rutland (see p. 283, *ante*), he having the previous year, in conjunction with Elizabeth his wife, levied a fine of Hanington, the old ancestral estate of the Wardedieu family. In the third year of Richard II. (1380) he was one of those appointed to oversee and examine the state of the kingdom, and the household of the youthful monarch—a proof of the high estimation in which he was then held. (Rymer's *Foedera*, vii. 250.) In 6 Ric. II. (1383) he obtained a grant of a market and fair for his manor of Bodiam. In the 9th of the same reign, having amassed a large fortune by war, marriage, and court patronage, he obtained the royal license to build upon the hereditary estate of his wife, the castle of Bodiam, after the model, as Mr. Cotton conjectures, of Derval and other Breton castles, to which he had been accustomed, during the French wars. A copy of the license is given below. Two or three years later he received of the King a grant, in fee, of the Sussex manors of Wilting and Hollington, late the property of Sir Robert Belknap, attainted of treason. (*Rot. Pat.* 12 Ric. II.) In 1386 he was returned one of the knights of the shire for Sussex, and on Oct. 15 of the same year he gave evidence in the celebrated controversy of Scrope against Grosvenor, as to the right of bearing the coat, “Azure, a bend Or,” on which

¹³ Cotton, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Archaeologia*, vol. vi. p. 146.

occasion the poet Chaucer, and many other eminent personages, appeared as witnesses. On August 8, 1390, he was nominated one of Richard's commissioners to agree upon terms with the King's adversary of France (Rymer vii. 667), and to treat of final peace (*ibid.* viii. 668). Nor was this the only diplomatic affair of importance in which he was engaged, for shortly afterwards he was commissioned to make conditions with the Earl of Flanders and with the people of the three great towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres (*ibid.* 670). Again, the same year, he was one of the great men of the realm whose seals were set to the King's letters addressed to the Pope, setting forth the great grievances which this kingdom suffered from the pontifical court, and praying suitable redress (*ibid.* 675).

A proof of Sir Edward's influence and military reputation is found in the fact that in 16th Ric. II. (1392-3), during the time that the liberties of the city of London were seized into the King's hands, he was appointed Custos of the Tower and City of London.

The license to build Bodiam Castle runs in the following terms:—

“**The King** to all to whom &c. greeting. Know ye, that of our special grace we have granted and given license, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to our beloved and faithful subject, Edward Dalyngrigge, Knight, that he may strengthen and embattle, construct, and make into a castle, with a wall of stone and lime, his manor-house of Bodyham, near the sea, in the county of Sussex, for the defence of the adjacent country and the resistance of our enemies, and may hold his aforesaid house so fortified, embattled, and castellated, to himself and his heirs for ever, without let or hindrance of ourselves and our heirs, or of any of our agents for ever. In witness of which, &c. The King at Westminster 20th Oct.,” &c.¹⁵

¹⁵ Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, dilecto et fideli nostro Edwardo dalyngrigge chivaler, quod ipse mansum manerii sui de Bodyham, juxta mare in Comitatu

Sussex, muro de petra et calce firmare et kernellare, et castrum inde in defensionem patrie adjacentis et pro resistencia inimicorum nostrorum construere et facere, et mansum predictum sic firmatum et kernellatum et castrum inde sic factum, tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum,

From some expressions in this grant it might be inferred that Sir Edward merely enlarged and fortified an older mansion, which was certainly not the case. These licenses to crenellate are usually in a similar formula, which is not by any means to be literally construed. This grant was preceded in the same year by another, in which the King gives to Sir Edward Dalyngruge, in consideration of half a mark by him paid, license to divert the course of a certain running water from a place called Dalyngruge's Bay in the parish of Salehurst, to his mill at Bodiam, through his own land.¹⁶ It appears probable that Sir Edward had views beyond the mere supply of his water-mill, and that he was looking to the means of connecting with the river Rother, the great moat with which to surround his castle—a building which no doubt existed in his own mind some time before the actual "wall of stone and lime" was called into being.

Sir Edward's son and heir, Sir John Dalyngruge, who is mentioned in records as lord of Sheffield in 1408, made his will 22 June, 1417, when about to sail with Henry the Fifth's second expedition to France. By that instrument he entailed the Bodiam estate upon his first cousins, the children of his uncle Walter Dalyngruge, to the exclusion of his sister's children by Sir Thomas Sackville, who as possessors (by some previous settlement) of the paternal property at Bolebrook may have been sufficiently indemnified for such apparent injustice.¹⁷ As Sir John was without issue, he may have entertained a not unnatural desire to perpetuate a name which the warlike achievements of his grandfather and his father had rendered famous in connection with a noble fortress which

sine impedimento nostri et heredum nostrorum aut ministrorum nostrorum quoruncunque. In cujus rei testimonium, Rex apud Westmonast. xx die Octobris.—*Rot. Pat.* 9 Ric. II. p. i. m. 21.

¹⁶ Rex omnibus, &c. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali, et pro dimidia marca quam Edwardus Dalyngregge chivaler nobis solvit, concessimus et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, eidem Edwardo, quod ipse cursum cujusdam aque currentis de dalynreggesbay in villa de Salherst usque ad molendinum ipsius Edwardi in villa

de Bodiam, divertere et cursum illum per quoddam fossatum in solo suo proprio ab antiquo erectum usque ad molendinum predictum ducere, ac cursum predictum sic diversum et ductum retinere possit sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum, sine occasione vel impedimento nostrorum quoruncunque. In cujus rei T. Rex apud Westm. tertio die Febr.—*Rot. Pat.* 9 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 38.

¹⁷ In 1446, Edward, son of Sir Thos. and Margaret Sackville, relinquished all claim to the manor of Bodiam.

the latter had founded. Of the public life of Sir John, little is known except that in 1402, he accompanied the Princess Blanche, daughter of Henry IV., into Germany, whither she was going to be married to Lewis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria. The royal letters of protection for six months are dated 8th March of that year. (Rymer viii. 347.)

The pedigree of the family of Lewknor, the next possessors of Bodiam, having been printed at large in Vol. III. of the *Sussex Archæol. Collections* (pp. 92 *et seq.*) it is unnecessary to reproduce it here.¹⁸ The compiler of that elaborate table, W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., has however, in common with Collins, Sir Wm. Burrell, and others, fallen into error as to the relationship between Sir Thomas Lewknor, and the builder of Bodiam Castle. Philippa his wife, who had been previously married to Sir Richard Berners, was niece, not daughter, to Sir Edward Dalyngruge, as shown in Mr. Courthope's genealogical table (*ante* p. 287), and it was upon her, on the death of her two brothers, Richard and William, without issue, that the entail devolved.

In the family of Lewknor Bodiam remained for some generations, though not without occasional interruption arising from the political troubles of the times. During the Wars of the Roses, individuals of this family, as was often the case in others, espoused opposite sides. Sir Thomas Lewknor of Preston in Binderton, third son of the Dalyngruge heiress by Sir Thomas Lewknor, and his brother Richard Lewknor of Brambletye, adhered to the cause of the usurper Richard III., and the former was made a Knight of the Bath at his coronation, July 6, 1483; but their nephew, Sir Thomas Lewknor of Trotton, and proprietor of Bodiam, attached himself to the

¹⁸ Few Sussex families have in any age been more influential than the Lewknors. Old Gerard Legh, in his *Accedens of Armorie*, speaking of the three chevronels as a coat, says, "The ancestour of this coat hath builded iij great houses in one province"—the chevron being regarded as a pair of rafters, and so emblematical of a

love for building. The Lewknors however had many more than three "great houses" in this county. They possessed besides several minor mansions, the principal seats of Bodiam, Goring, Dedisham, Sheffield, Brambletye, Trotton, West-Dean, Preston, &c.



Lancastrian party, and was attainted of treason in the first year of Richard's reign, for having, after the landing of the Earl of Richmond, assembled men-at-arms, and made traitorous proclamations on Oct. 18th at Maidstone, 20th at Rochester, 22nd at Gravesend, and 25th at Guildford, in company with Sir George Browne of Betchworth Castle, Sir John Guldeford of Rolvenden, Sir John Fagge of Ashford, and others. (*Rot. Parl.* iv. p. 245 *b.*) On November 8, 1483, a commission was issued to Thomas Earl of Surrey, Sir John Broke, Sir Thomas Echingham, William Scott, Richard Lewknor of Brambletye, Thos. Oxenbridge of Brede, and Vincent Fynche, to levy men in the counties of Kent and Sussex to retake the castle of Bodiam from the rebels. (*Rot. Pat.* I Ric. III. 19.) The castle was surrendered, probably without any formal siege, for on May 24, 1484, there is a grant to Geoffry Warton, one of the King's serjeants-at-arms, of an annuity of £10 for life out of the lordship of Bodiam Castle, "late of Thomas Leuknore, Knight, the rebel." (*Ib.* 138.) Nicholas Rigby, one of the yeomen of the crown, was appointed August 15, 2 Ric. III., Constable of Bodiam Castle during life with a salary of £20 per annum, and for keeping the Park there, the customary fees out of the issues of the lordship (*Rot. Pat.* m. 169, no. 114), and on the same day he was appointed bailiff of Winchelsea. After the overthrow of Richard at Bosworth Field, Sir Thomas's attainder was of course reversed, but it was not until 1542 that his son, Sir Roger Lewknor, high-sheriff of Sussex in 1532, obtained full possession of the lordship. This was upon an award of King Henry VIII. determining a suit between Sir Roger Lewkenore, Knight, and dame Elizabeth his wife on the one part, and Sir William Barentyne, Knight, dame Jane (widow of Sir Arthur) Pole¹⁹ and others, concerning the said Sir Roger's lands. The award, which bears the great seal and autograph of Henry VIII., relates to lands in the counties of Sussex, Middlesex, Oxford, Northampton, Leicester, and Huntingdon; and the Sussex lordships and manors specified are Bodiam, Camois-Court, Wanyngore, Dalyngrave (Dalyngruge), Iford, Old Park in

¹⁹ This lady was eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Roger, and afterwards married Sir Wm. Barentyne. Her marriage-

settlement bears date 1 Aug. 24 Hen. VIII. (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* III. 96.)

Roughey (near Horsham), &c. (Thorpe's *Cat. Battel Abbey Charters*, p. 142.)

From this period the Lewknors would seem to have been but rarely resident at Bodiam, and the castle, more from neglect than from the tooth of Time, fell into gradual decay. The baronial age had passed, and with it the necessity for a great proprietor to ensconce himself within the gloomy walls of a fortress. After several partitions and settlements of the estate, a moiety of it became vested in "the son of Sir Lewis Lewknor, who had been Master of the Ceremonies to Kings James and Charles I., and who became (on the breaking out of the Civil Wars) a staunch Royalist. He had a lease of the Bishop's Castle of Amberley, and lived there. When Sir William Waller had taken Arundel Castle, after a siege of seventeen days, in 1643, he resolved upon dismantling and destroying the castles and mansions of the Royalist gentry of Sussex, and for that purpose dispatched parties of soldiers to take away and sell all materials of these buildings,"²⁰ leaving in this case the bare *enceinte* remaining.

The other moiety of the castle and manor of Bodiam had been awarded to Constance, daughter of Sir Roger Lewknor, and wife of Edw. Glentham or Glenham of Chichester, Esq., who in 1588 joined her husband in a transfer of this moiety to John Levett of Salehurst, Gentleman. Thomas Levett and Margaret his wife succeeded to this right. He died before 1619, and she, as his widow, on May 11, 1619, conveyed her moiety to John Levett of Sedlescombe. (*Battel Abbey Deeds*, p. 151.) On June 30, 1620, this John Levett, Esquire or Gentleman, mortgaged his interest in Bodiam, &c., for £1000 to Thomas Dyke of Ninfield. (*Ibid.* p. 151.) Nov. 14, 1622, a deed of covenant was executed between Sir Ralph Bosville, Knight (great-grandson of Sir Roger Lewknor), John Levett of Sedlescombe, and Thos. Dyke of Ninfield for suing out of a writ of partition of the castle and manor of Bodiam with the appurtenances. (*Ibid.* p. 152.) John Levett appears shortly afterwards to have alienated his interest to Sir Nicholas Tufton of Hothfield in Kent. (*Ibid.*) In 1642-3 John Tufton, Earl of Thanet, made a deed of revocation concerning the same property. (*Ibid.* p. 155.) After the Restoration of Charles II.

²⁰ Cotton's *Bodiam*, p. 29.

the whole property of Bodiam was vested in the Tufton family. The courts-baron of the manor were held by Richard Kilburne the Kentish historian. From the Tuftons the estate was transferred to the family of Powell, who were of Welsh descent and held Boughton-Monchensey in Kent and Ewhurst in Sussex. Nathaniel Powell, Esq., of Ewhurst, was created a Baronet by Charles II. at the Restoration, and he, or his son of the same name, subsequently to 1664, purchased Bodiam. From the representatives of his descendant, Sir Christopher Powell, Bodiam Castle was purchased by Sir Thomas Webster of Battel Abbey, Bart., whose descendant, Sir Godfrey Vassall Webster, Bart., sold it in the year 1828 to the late John Fuller, Esq., of Rose-hill. From that gentleman it passed, on his death, to the present Augustus Eliot Fuller, Esq., many years knight of the shire for East Sussex, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Sussex Archæological Society.

Such are the main incidents in the history of this place. The annals of a great feudal fortress would usually, if closely scanned, prove to be a chronicle of tyranny, injustice, and bloodshed. It is probably because we know so little of the secret history of Bodiam that we trace no record of deeds of dishonour associated with its crumbling walls. Perhaps there were none; but assuming, with all candour, that there may have been "stainless knights" among the De Bodiams, the Wardeux, the Dalyngruges, and the Lewknors, most certain it is that "there have been no stainless families since Adam's fall"; and these all flourished during the long period when might prevailed too often over right, and when War was reckoned the noblest of human occupations. And what remains to-day of the De Bodiam, the Wardeux, the Dalyngruge, the Lewknor? Alas! nothing but yon shell of feudalism—those towered walls, grey with the age of some five hundred winters—to beautify the landscape, and to remind us in the most forcible manner, that "the lines have fallen to *us* in more pleasant places, and that *we* have a goodly heritage."

The following notices of Bodiam, though not immediately concerning its Lords, possess some interest in connection with our subject, and the river Rother.

In 1313 a commission was granted to John Malemayns of Stoke, Robt. de Echingham, and Matthew de Knelle for the banks on both sides of the river of Newendene betwixt Maytham and Bodihamme bridge.²¹

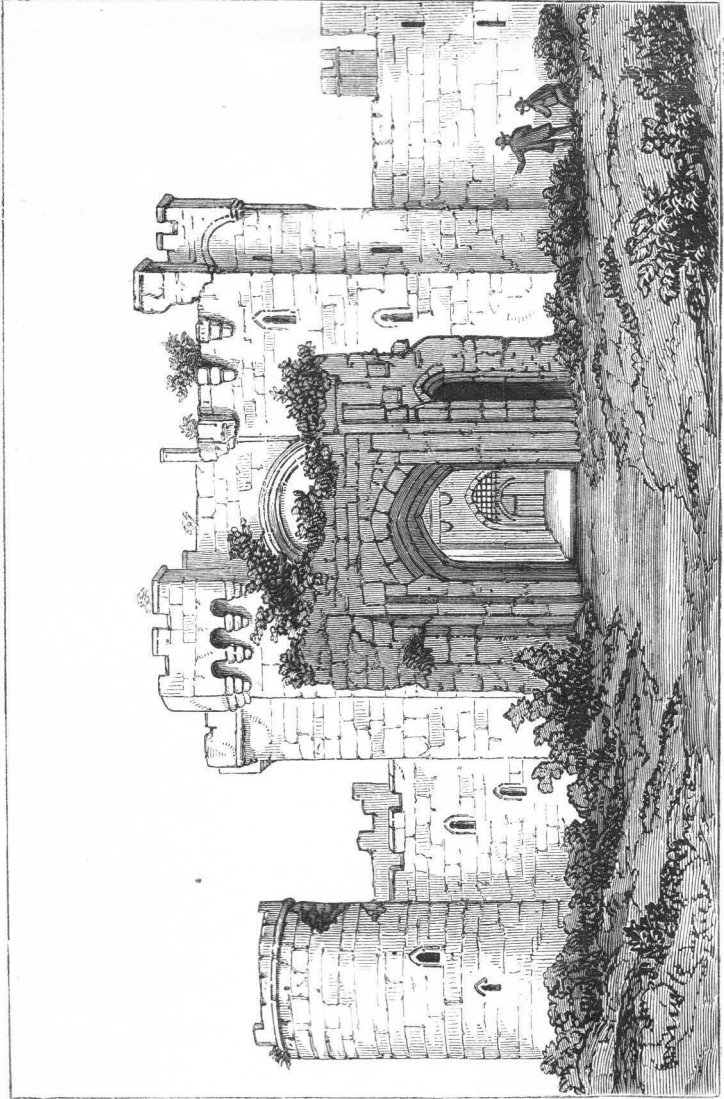
1 Henry IV. *De portu de Wynchelsea providendo*. "The King to his beloved &c. Robt. Echyngham, Robt. Oxenbrigge, Henry Horne, and Wm. Bertyn greeting. It is given us to understand that many mariners, both native and foreign, daily trading to the port of Winchelsea in ships and other vessels, have filled up and obstructed the channel of the said port from a certain place called Camer (? Camber) as far as Bodyham, with stones, sand, and other ballast, so that vessels, laden with merchandise, have been unable conveniently to enter the port as formerly, which tends to the destruction and danger of our town and its adjacent haven, We, wishing to see to this matter, commission you, or two or three of you, circumspectly and diligently to supervise the said port from Cam(b)er to Bodyham &c." The commissioners are further ordered to appoint certain other places for throwing out ballast, less injurious to the port, and enjoined not to allow anybody of whatever rank or condition to discharge ballast except at those places.²²

From a Memoranda Roll of the year 1414 it appears that the fosses of the town of Rye and the bridge of Bodyam required repairs, wherefore a commission was issued to the sheriff of Sussex, Sir John Pelham, Richard Norton, Sir Thomas Colepeper, William Cheyné, Stephen Belenham (? Bellingham), Robert Oxenbridge, Henry Hoorne, Willm. Marchaunde, Hamo Belknappe, and John Chidicroft, to do what was necessary.²³ The navigation of the river Rother, or as it was sometimes called the *Limene*, or Newenden river, continued even down to that late period to be regarded as a very important matter; though from one of the mutations to which this river has ever been exposed Bodiam has now long ceased to enjoy the advantages which it anciently conferred.

²¹ Holloway's *Romney Marsh*, p. 100.

²² *Rot. Pat.* 12 May, 1 Henry IV.

²³ Hilary Record, 2 Henry V. Carlton Ride.



BARBICAN, &c., BODIAM CASTLE.

W. H. STONE & CO.

THE CASTLE.

BODIAM CASTLE occupies a low site in the valley of the Rother, and the large moat, or rather artificial lake, by which it is surrounded communicates with that river. The ground rises on both sides of the Rother with more abruptness than is usual with the river-valleys of this part of England, and this of course adds much to the picturesque beauty of the scene, whether viewed from the north or the south. The extent of the moat, too, is a peculiarity rarely met with in English castles. It measures from east to west 350 feet, and from north to south 540 feet, and being surrounded with trees, underwood, and bushes, of irregular growth, and broken with flags and aquatic plants, presents a charming study for the pencil of the artist. The building itself forms a parallelogram approximating to a square, with a massive circular tower at each angle. Like Chaucer's castle—

“At every corner of this wall
Is set a tower full principlall.”

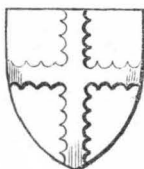
Midway between these angle towers, on the east and west sides respectively, is a square tower equalling the circular ones in height, and rising to a majestic elevation above the curtain walls. The great gateway on the north side is flanked by two fine square towers. Opposite this, in the middle of the southern wall, is a tower, which is pierced by a back-gate or postern, formerly accessible from the moat. Thus the towers, which as well as the connecting curtains remain almost entire, are nine in number.

The great gateway is approached from the north side of the moat by a causeway. About twenty yards in advance of it, or somewhat less than one-third of the width of the moat, stood the barbican or advanced gate, in a strong tower defended by a portcullis, only the west side of which is standing. It contains a very small recessed chamber with a pointed arch, probably used as the porter's lodging. Immediately in front of it the causeway expands, for a short distance, to nearly double its average width, probably for the purpose of giving the defenders a vantage-ground in repulsing the assailant.

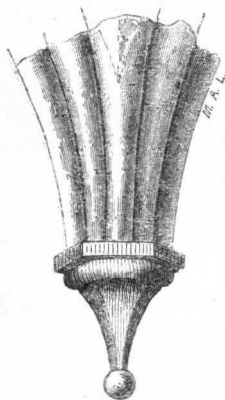
The annexed view of the Barbican and north front of Bodiam is engraved from a copy (obligingly made by Mrs. Blaauw) of

a drawing by Grimm in the Burrell MSS. Grimm's drawing is evidently not from nature, but from some earlier delineation, perhaps of the seventeenth century, for Buck's view from nearly the same point, published in 1737, represents the barbican in a much more ruinous and fragmentary state. This view, though incorrect in detail, especially in so greatly exaggerating the expansion of the causeway, is of considerable value and interest, as showing with some degree of accuracy the character of the advanced work.

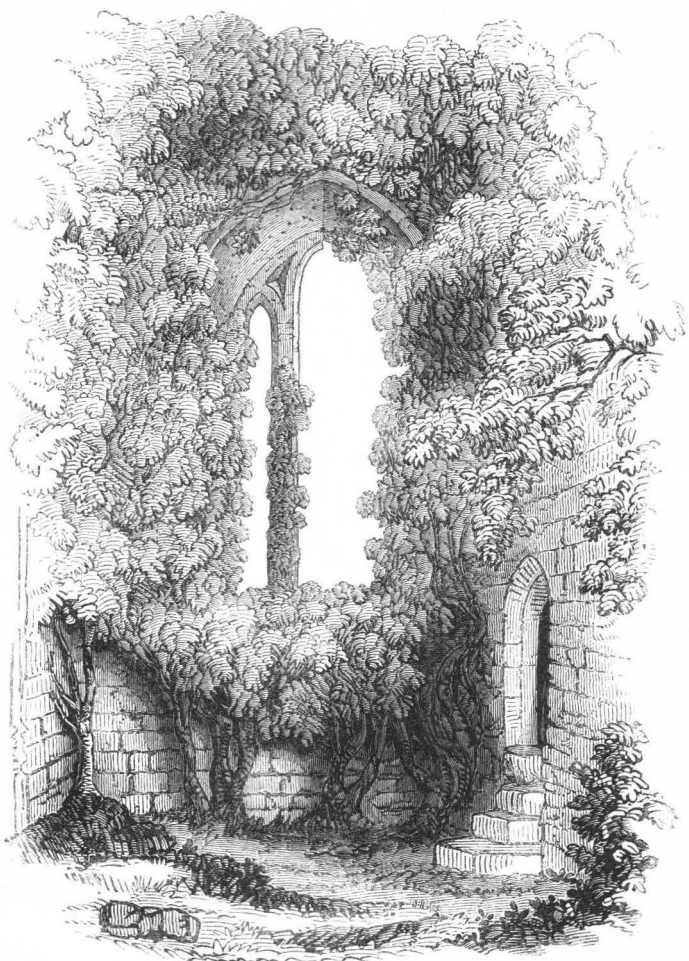
The principal gateway is recessed between the two square towers of the north wall. It is defended by very bold machicolations of the parapet, as well as by a portcullis in a well-preserved condition. In front of this there was anciently a drawbridge, which has been replaced by a continuation of the causeway up to the walls. Over the gateway are three shields, with the arms of Bodiam, Dalyngruge, and Wardeux—



and still higher a helmet with the Dalyngruge crest—a Unicorn's head. Passing the gate, we enter a vaulted passage, thirty feet long by ten in width, divided about midway by an arch, and the grooves of an inner portcullis.



Thus are formed two strong chambers with groined ceilings. Instead of ornamental bosses at the intersections of the ribs, there are funnel-shaped perforations, through which melted lead, hot pitch, and such-like articles might be poured down from the chamber above upon the devoted heads of unwelcome visitors, who, if they escaped unscathed from such a warm reception, found themselves still debarred from ingress into the interior court by a third portcullis. I do not recollect any other instance of such multiplied defences in the gateway of a



CHAPEL, BODIAM CASTLE.

castle of this period. The angle-springings of the groined ceilings are of a peculiarly elegant form.

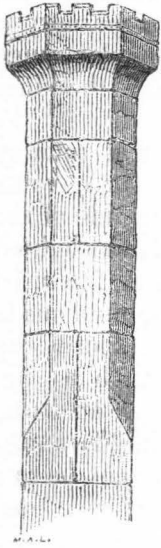
Entering the interior area of the castle, the antiquary views with regret the mutilation to which the building has been subjected; for while the curtain wall is all but intact and the towers remain almost *in statu quo*, as far as the masonry is concerned, not a single apartment of the quadrangular range stands entire, and in some parts scarcely a trace of the inner wall remains.

The apartments to the east and west of the great gateway were probably used as guard-rooms and offices for servants and retainers. The first apartment on the eastern side of the quadrangle, going southward, was the chapel. It was lighted by an eastern window of three lights, now in a fractured condition, and much obscured by ivy: one of the mullions is broken out.²⁴ In the south wall to the right of the spot where the altar stood, there remains a small piscina with a plain pointed arch. Facing this on the north side is an aperture, which is so constructed opposite to a window in the north-east tower as to afford the occupant of an apartment there a view of the ministering priest at the elevation of the host. To the south-east of the chapel is the small sacristy, over which there was formerly an apartment for the priest, and the pointed doorway by which the latter was approached still remains on the west side. The apartment immediately southward of the chapel, and communicating with the eastern square tower, is traditionally known as the Bower, or ladies' apartment, and on the first floor above was probably a great state bedroom. Still further south, and connected with the south-east tower, was a large oblong room, supposed to have been the Armoury.

The apartments on the south side of the quadrangle were the Great Hall, the Buttery, and the Kitchen. The Hall, which abutted the armoury on the east, was lighted by a lofty two-light window still remaining in the south wall, and indicating the situation of the *dais*, and by two looking into the court, which have disappeared. At the lower or west end of the apartment there was formerly a minstrels' gallery, beneath which three pointed arches opened into the Buttery. These

²⁴ See View opposite.

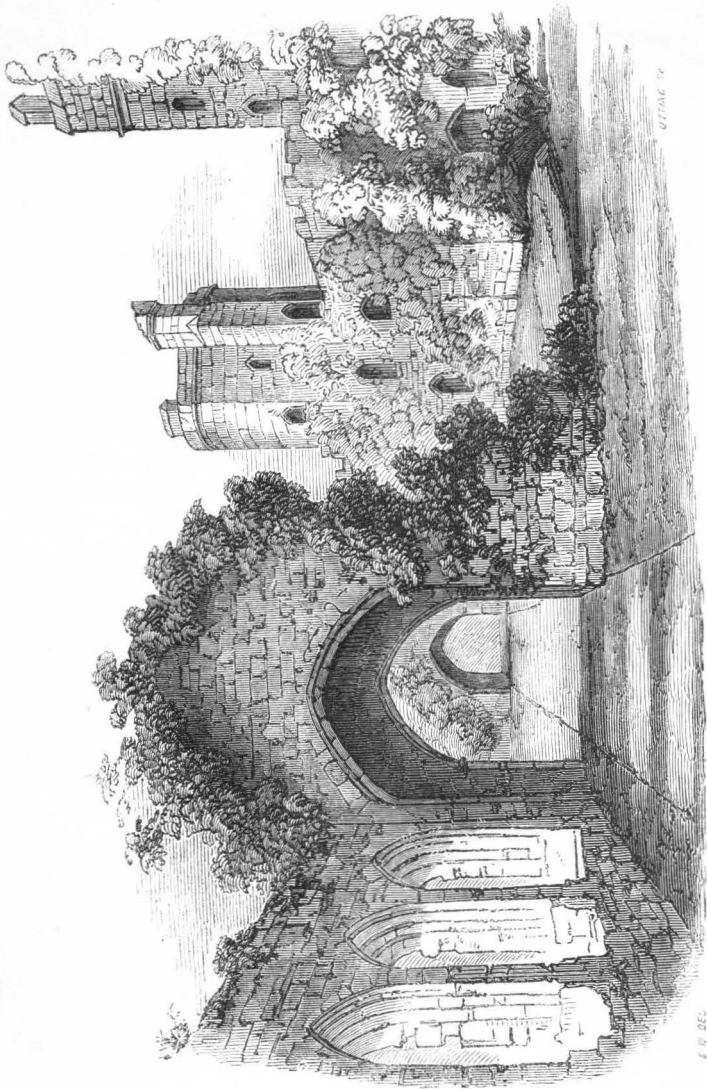
arches still remain, as shewn in the accompanying view from a drawing kindly contributed by Mrs. Wrench, of Salehurst parsonage. The hall was of course open to the roof without the superposition of any other apartment, and it must have



been a finely proportioned room. The Buttery led westward to the Kitchen, which communicated with the south-west angle tower, and was furnished with two vast fire-places, twelve feet in width, one of which had an oven, still partly remaining, attached to it. The chimneys, here and elsewhere throughout the building, are of graceful proportions. They are of stone, octagonal in shape, the shafts being formed of courses each composed of two stones hollowed internally. The coping stones in some instances were ornamented with mimic battlements now much corroded by the weather, as shewn in the annexed cut. Of the range of apartments on the western side of the quadrangle the appropriation is not very clear. They were probably however of an inferior kind—perhaps affording accommodation for stores of various sorts, and for such horses, cattle, and other animals, as had their lodging within the walls.

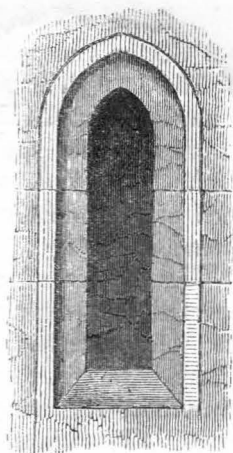
Such were the main apartments—it now only remains to describe the towers which strengthen and adorn the angles and side walls, and which formerly gave much additional accommodation to the garrison.

A narrow arched doorway leads from the first groined apartment of the gateway into the basement of the right-hand flanking tower, which measures internally eleven feet by ten, and is lighted by narrow loops. Over it were two stories with fire-places. On the left, a doorway conducts to the basement of the opposite flanking tower, which is of similar size, with like apartments with fire-places above. More inwardly a newell staircase forms the communication from the ground-floor to the upper stories. There were rooms over the entrance gateway as well as over the towers. Over the inner division of the entrance was a parapet overlooking the quadrangle, and access to it was gained by a second stone staircase opening into the court.



BUTTERY ARCHES, BODIAM CASTLE.

The circular angle towers, according to Mr. Cotton's measurements, are twenty-eight feet nine inches in exterior diameter. Internally they are hexagonal, and measure fifteen feet two inches. Their several stories are lighted with lancet-shaped windows, of rather elegant proportions. Their external appearance may be inferred from the accompanying cut. The walls are $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. Each tower had three stories, furnished with fire-places, and reached by a newell staircase. The south-eastern tower is distinguished from the others by having had a groined ceiling to its basement story. This was evidently the grand tower, as its newell staircase communicated with the principal apartments of the first floor, occupied by the lord of the castle and his family.



The eastern and western square towers, also, contained three stories or apartments, measuring about eleven feet by ten feet six, with fire-places, and with *necessaria* constructed in the thickness of the walls.

The southern or postern tower has its basement groined like the grand entrance, with like perforations through the bosses. The exterior gateway was defended by a portcullis, and over the portal still remain three shields, two of which are plain. The third, which is *recumbent*, is carved with three roses upon a chevron, and surmounted with a helmet and lambrequin, and the crest of a ram's head—the armorial ensigns of Sir Robert Knollys, K.G., the chieftain and patron of Sir Edward Dalyngruge, the founder of the castle. A quadrangular platform projects some feet in advance into the moat, on the opposite side of which remain some traces of a landing-place for communication by means of boats.

Mr. Cotton has given a ground-plan of the Castle and some measurements, and the Burrell MSS. furnish the latter more in detail, but there are some discrepancies between these two authorities. Burrell makes the length of the building, measured from the centre of the angle towers from north to south,

one hundred and sixty-five feet, and from east to west one hundred and fifty feet. The inner court is, according to Burrell, from N. to S., 87 ft. 3 in.; from E. to W., 78 ft. 9 in.: but Cotton's measurement is somewhat different, viz., 89 ft. 4 × 76 ft. 7. The Kitchen, inclusive of the buttery, is 59 ft. 9 in. long, by 24 ft. 2 in. wide; and the dimensions of the Great Hall are similar. The chapel measures 30 ft. 6 in. by 19 ft. 2 in. The towers are sixty-five feet high from the surface of the moat, and the average thickness of the walls is from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 feet.

The thanks of archæologists are due to the present respected proprietor of the Castle, as well as to his predecessor, for the care they have taken of these venerable remains. There is however some reason to fear, that the superabundant growth of ivy, which conceals some of the architectural features, will, without a timely check, disintegrate the masonry, and hasten the destruction of what even Time and the hand of violence have spared.

The arms of the successive lords of Bodiam (as shown over the great gate) are thus blazoned:—**Bodiam**: Or, a fesse dancetté sable bezantée.—**Wardeux**: Sable, six martlets, three, two, and one, Or.—**Dalyngruge**: Or, a cross engrailed Gules.—The central place is however assigned to Dalyngruge, as founder of the edifice.

The steep field lying immediately to the northward of the Castle, and known as the Castle Field, has strong marks of earthworks. It was formerly called the "Gun Garden," and "Gun-Battery Field," and there is a tradition of the Castle having been once taken by an assault from that spot. If there be any foundation for such a statement, it must refer to the time of the mandate of Richard III. for "retaking" the Castle from Sir Thomas Lewknor.

The original mansion of the De Bodiam and Wardeux families has been referred to on a previous page. Its site lies due north of the Castle, near the "Kent Ditch," the boundary of the two counties; and a line drawn from it to the Castle would pass close to the church, which lies midway between the two points. The area of the moat surrounding it measures 3 roods 18 perches, and the inclosed space, now a plantation, contains 23 perches.