

PARTICIPATION OF SUSSEX IN CADE'S RISING,

1450.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

The part taken by Sussex men in the rising of the "Commons of Kent," with John Cade at their head, has been very slightly noticed by our historians. The importance of many engaged in that rising, the incidents attending it, the dates of those incidents, and the lasting effect which was produced by that popular though unsuccessful movement have not been carefully noted. The chroniclers vary in their descriptions of Cade's followers; Holinshed admits that he drew to him from Kent "a great company of tall personages;"¹ but he calls the others "divers idle and vagrant persons out of the Shire, Sussex, Surrie, and other places."²

A reference to the public records enables me to show that so far as Sussex, and especially East Sussex, was concerned, the rising partook very much of the character of a military and duly authorised levy and array; a character which it ultimately assumed in Kent also. In many Hundreds the musters were levied by the constables; the small landowners (the yeomen), with their labourers, and some tradesmen were ready in their appearance, and we have by name upwards of 400 Sussex men present.

The state of Sussex was such that it might well cause discontent. The Bishop (Adam Moleyns, who was murdered on the 9th January, 1450), had been prominent among the King's very unpopular councillors; the French had landed

¹ Walter Culpeper, of Goudhurst, Esq.; his son John; Richard Culpeper, of the same place, and John Sen-

cler, of Feversham, Esq., were among the number.

² The Essex and Suffolk men joined only when Cade was in the city.

with impunity, doing considerable damage; and many complaints were current of the mode in which the fifteenths were collected.³ Lord Say and Sele (James Fiennes), the Lord Treasurer, whose principal seat was at Knowle, in Kent, was unfavourably known here as having just acquired his title by grant, from John de Clinton, his Sussex kinsman; and it will be seen that the neighbours of de Clinton at Hamsey, and the men living close by the Treasurer's eldest brother, Sir Roger Fiennes (who had built Herstmonceux Castle), and Thomas Dacre, of Bailey Park, Heathfield, in whose service John Cade had been, turned out the strongest in the lists of Cade's Sussex followers.

The Abbot of Battle (Richard Dertmouth), and the newly chosen Prior of Lewes (John Danyel), with their respective communities⁴ sanctioned the movement, and were involved in the consequences; and their example was followed by the Bailiffs of Pevensey and Seaford, and the Constables of the Borough of Lewes, with the burgesses of the same town. Cade was supposed to be put forward by the Duke of York, in order to ascertain the feeling of the nation towards his claims, and that hence was his assumed name of the Duke's cousin, Mortimer.

There joined him out of Sussex the Apsleys, Barttelots, Bartholomew Bolney, who had some ten years before acquired the manor of West Firle,⁵ the Burtons, Chaloners, Colbronds, Gilderidges, Laddes, Lunsfords, Melewards, Oxenbridges, Parkers, Robert Poynings, of Twineham and Sutton, who is described as having stirred the great part of such as were adherents and accompanied Cade and was his carver and sword bearer,⁶ the Selwins, Wolfes, and many others,⁷ who subsequently held office under or warmly supported Edward IV.

³ The House of Commons had previously called the attention of the Government to the murders, rapes, robberies, and burnings that pervaded this county.—*Rot. Parl.* (1430), p. 421.

⁴ So also was Katherine De la Pole, the Abbess of St. Mary, Barking, Essex. Mem. 9.

⁵ He lies buried at West Firle; his daughter Agnes, in 1472, married Wm. Gage, and carried the Firle estate into

that family. There is a brass to him and his wife; and there is a brass in Fletching Church for J. Reynolds, post p. 25.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, V., p. 396.

⁷ Mr. W. H. Overall, the Librarian at the Guildhall Library, has been good enough to search the letter books, journals, and repertories of the city for me, but could find no notice of the insurrection.

The first rising was in Kent alone, and was provoked by the harshness with which the men of that county were threatened in consequence of the killing, on the 2nd May, 1450, off Dover, of the Duke of Suffolk, taken in his attempt to escape; and by the oppressions alleged against William Crowmer, then Sheriff of Kent and Lord Saye's son-in-law. The immediate provocation did not apply to Sussex, and this county did not join till after the second advance towards London.

The dates and particulars of the various transactions are nowhere so correctly recorded as by William Wyrcester, (p.p. 76 et seq.), and it will be more convenient if I give them here from his Chronicle, which has been referred to and quoted by Sharon Turner and Dr. Lingard, but without some details which are of value.

In Whitsun week⁸ began the common insurrection in Kent, and on [1st] day of June the commons of Kent with John Cade "their captain" came to Blackheath, and there fixed their camp, and on the Sunday following the King came to the Hospital of St. John without Smithfield, and the King on the Thursday proposed to fight in person against them. But the Captain with his community fled in the middle of the previous night; and on the same day, Thursday, Humphrey Staforde, of Grafton, Knt, and Wm. Staforde, Esq., of the county of Somerset, following the said flying commons of Kent, with 24 of the followers⁹ of Humphrey and William were killed at Sevnok, in Kent, and before noon on the Thursday the King and 20,000 armed men entered the camp. The Lord de Say and Wm. Crowmer, hitherto Sheriff of Kent, were arrested and committed to the Tower.

The King returned to London and his whole army dispersed, and then about the end of the month of June, went towards Kenilworth. Hearing which the said commons again assembled¹⁰ and then also John Cade on Friday, 3rd July, with force and arms entered London and searched the

⁸ Whitsunday was on 24th May.

⁹ This is a small number. Holinshed says that Cade "apparellled himself

in Sir Humphrey's brigandine, set full of guilt nailes, and so in some glorie returned again toward London."

house of Philip Malpas there.¹¹ A commission of Oyez and Terminer was then made, and Robert Danvers was made Justiciary.¹² And the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Salisbury [i.e. Askewe, already dead], the Lord de Saye, Thomas Danyell, John Saye, and many others were indicted of treason in the Guildhall, of London; and after this on the 4th July next following, James Fynys, Lord de Saye in the 7th hour in the afternoon was beheaded at the Standard in Chepe, and on the same day Wm. Crowmer¹³ theretofore sheriff of Kent, was beheaded by the said Captain without Algate, and a certain Thomas Bayly, Necromancer, or Diviner (nigromanticus vel geomanticus), at the White Chapel beyond the said Algate was beheaded on the same day by the said Captain of Kent, which said Thomas had formerly been of the same way of thinking (cogitatione) with the same captain and of the like art¹⁴ (et una arte); and on the Sunday following [5th July] Wm. Hawerdene, a chief counsellor of the captain and a common thief, was hung by the captain's order at Smithfield; and on the same night, the Citizens, out of fear of the robbery of their goods, after a lengthened fight on London Bridge against the Captain and his people (gentes) of Kent drove them into Southwark,¹⁵ many however were killed on both sides. And amongst others there was unfortunately slain Matthew Gouche, an old captain and very noted in the King's wars.¹⁶ And in like manner was there slain John Sutton, then an Alderman of the city¹⁷.

¹⁰ Cade's head-quarters were at the White Hart, in Southwark.

¹¹ Malpas lived in Cornhill, and was an alderman for his ward (Lime St.). He was a principal merchant, and, on his death, a considerable benefactor to the city.—*Stow*.

¹² He had been elected Recorder 14th July, 1442, and on 14th Aug. of the year 1450 he was made a Judge of the Common Pleas by Henry IV., so that his conduct as Justiciary had pleased the King's Commissioners.

¹³ Crowmer, with Sleg, Isle, and Robt. Est were complained of by Cade as extortioners.

¹⁴ Took art and part.

¹⁵ At 9 a.m. the Londoners, says Holinshed, had been driven back to St. Magnus Church.

¹⁶ He had been a distinguished soldier in France.

¹⁷ The late Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., in the *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, vol. II., p. 66, following many histories, has erroneously dated the Battle of the Bridge as 8th July. See the *Paston Letters*, vol. I., p. 57, for an amusing account by Payne, a servant of Sir John Falstolf, who had been taken by the rebels, and was present for six hours at this "Battle of the Bridge."

And on the morrow [6th July], the Bishop of Winchester (William Waynflète) and others of the King's council held a conference with the said Captain of Kent in the church of St. Margaret of Southwark¹⁸, and there received the bills of petitions; and in like manner there the said Bishop, Captain and his followers considered of a charter of pardon from the King for them all. And the same night the captain and his commons retired to Rochester, and after this Alexander Iden was made Sheriff.

And on [11th July] in the same month at Rochester the servants of the said Captain quarrelling among themselves as to the division of seized goods, the Captain himself, took his horse and fled, and following him the said new Sheriff of Kent killed the said Captain during his flight in a certain garden, and afterwards his body was brought to London, and by order of the King's council was beheaded and quartered, and his head placed on London Bridge looking towards Kent.

This narrative is in direct contradiction to Holinshed's statement that the Chancellor (John Kempe Cardinal Archbishop of York¹⁹), and the Bishop of Winchester (Waynflète) passed from the Tower "bringing with them under the King's Great Seal a general pardon unto all the offenders and caused the same to be openly published," and that "the poor men were so glad of this pardon that without bidding farewell to their Captain they withdrew themselves the same night." It is more probable that Kempe, who was a man of Kent, and had for a short time held the see of Chichester, and whose mother was a Sussex Lady (Lewknor),²⁰ and Bishop Waynflète (whose brother John was afterwards Dean of Chichester) were most anxious to restore peace and to induce Cade and his followers, many of whom must have been personally well known to the Cardinal, to accept par-

¹⁸ At the dissolution of monasteries St. Margaret's and St. Mary's were united into St. Saviour's.

¹⁹ Kempe, and not the Archbishop of Canterbury, was then Chancellor.

²⁰ The Lewknors remained staunch in their loyalty to Henry. The Cardinal's

maternal grandmother was the heiress of the Dalingruges; and so he was not as Mr. Foss (IV., p. 336) supposes, "unconnected with any noble or influential family." Besides, the brother of his paternal grandfather had married a Neville of Raby.

dons, but the question of pardon was settled by open negotiation in the church of St. Margaret. In the negotiation Cade carried his point of having the Bill of Petition²¹ received, though it had been rejected by the Council, and the actual pardons which we find entered on the patent roll of 28 Henry VI. (part 2 membranes 13 to 3)²² are complete evidence of their being prepared not only with care but with great attention to detail. The names and occupations are entered in many hundreds of cases at length, and a separate pardon was in most instances issued for each hundred or parish. It is evident that complete muster rolls must have been furnished by Cade at the end of the negotiations, and that there was not one wholesale pardon for his followers, proclaimed without his knowledge, and causing their desertion.

In point of fact, his assumed name of John Mortimer is carefully kept in the pardons, and his own pardon by that name, *simpliciter*, was the first that was issued, and bears date the very day of the negotiations. It is tested at Westminster the 6th July, and recites that a certain John Mortimer together with certain others in no small but to a large and great number in many and divers places within the realm and especially in the county of Kent and places adjoining and convenient, without the king's mandate or authority, but of their own accord, lately assembled themselves and were led against the king contrary to law, &c., and then the pardon is to the said John and all others who had so associated and congregated.

The next entry on the roll is of pardons, not dated, for Wm. Tyrell, jr. Esq., Matthew Hay, Esq., John Batell, Esq., Richard Shodewell, gentleman, Roger Wyke, of Colchester, and Richard Stace, sen., for treason at several places in Essex, Middlesex, and London; then, dated the same 6th July, are pardons for John Robynson, Wm. Bygge, Simon Morley, and John Swayn, of the city of Canterbury.

²¹ The petition had fifteen complaints. It is printed at length by Stow, and the substance is given by Sharon Turner—*Midd. Ages*, vol. III., p. 87.

²² The membranes are numbered from the end of the Roll to the beginning.

It was not till the following day, the 7th July, that the pardons for the other followers by name were sealed; and whereas Cade's was directed to "all Bailiffs," these were directed to the respective counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Suffolk.

There is the name of one person of Devonshire, and one of the city of Oxford. One also, John Hereford, is described as an Irishman; he is called late of Kilkenny, yoman, but is in the same pardon with two other Herefords, one of London and the other of Bristol, so he was doubtless an Englishman, and the Irishmen were not involved in this rising, though the Duke of York was then in that country, and in the King's proclamation Cade is said to have been "born in Ireland."

The list of the Sussex men whose names are set out in the pardons is as follows, and it is only necessary to note the grades of those who were involved. The Esquires are absent; there are however several gentlemen and yeomen, whose families are among our present landowners; the chaplain of Mayfield and the clerks of Dallington and Wartling are also there: the husbandmen are distinguished from the labourers, and among the tradesmen are webbes (weaver), mercers, glovers, pedlers, tanners, drapers, carpenters, corvesors (shoemakers), smiths, tailors, fullers, butchers, and barbers.

Thomas Pyke de <i>Notehurst</i> , ²³ yoman.	Thomas Attewelle, of <i>Bulstede</i> , gent.
John Elby, of " yoman.	William Bailly, of <i>Maghfild</i> , gent.
William Lucas " husbandman.	Thomas Baker, of <i>Ukfeld</i> , yoman.
John Bottyng " husbandman.	William Manser, of " yoman, and
Stephen Bottyng " husbandman.	William Pont, of <i>Magfeld</i> , yoman, con-
John Monke " laborer.	stables of the HUNDRED OF LOKES-
William Benke " laborer.	FELD, and all and other men resident
John Selede " laborer.	within the said Hundred.
Thomas Weller " tayllour.	
Thomas Polyngton " yoman.	Thomas Buste, of <i>Ryngmere</i> , yoman, and
John Croft " parker.	Andrew Thaccher, of " yoman, con-
And others.	stables of the HUNDRED of RING-
	MERE, and the residents of that HUN-
	DRED.
John Foreby, of <i>Ilfeld</i> , gent.	

²³ Membrane 13.

Thomas Gymmour, of <i>Westfyrl</i> , gentelman, and	Roger Mayster, of same, laborer.
John Bysshe, of the same, yoman; together with others.	Richard Wyker ,, laborer.
Gabriel *Berword, of <i>Tysherst</i> , yoman, and	Roger Streter ,, laborer.
John Holbeme, of the same, yoman, constables of the HUNDRED of SHOESWELL.	John Valyer ,, laborer.
Richard Fynche, of <i>Heighton</i> , husbondman, ²⁴ and	John Mychell ,, laborer.
William Herston, of <i>Bishopstone</i> , husbondman, constables of the HUNDRED of FLEXBERGH, and	John Creps ,, laborer.
Richard Dunton, of <i>Bisshopestone</i> , husbondman.	Richard Pacche ,, laborer.
William Gofferay, of <i>Blachyngton</i> , husbondman.	John Dowte, of <i>West grenstede</i> , husbondman.
Richard Clerk, of <i>Heighton</i> , husbondman.	Ralph Parson, of <i>Stenyng</i> , husbondman.
Richard Atte Lay, of <i>Denton</i> , husbondman.	John Apsley, of same, junior.
Richard Chyntyng, of <i>Petyngghoo</i> , husbondman, and	John Broker ,, husbondman.
John Walkelyn, of <i>Mechyng</i> , senior, yoman, constables of the HUNDRED of HOLMSTROWE.	John Maunsell ,, husbondman.
John Shulder, of <i>Raemyld</i> , husbondman.	Robert Hunt ,, laborer.
John Theccher, of <i>Southese</i> , husbondman.	Richard Frensshe ,, laborer.
John Allecock, of <i>Tetelescombe</i> , husbondman.	Stephen Champeneys ,, husbondman.
John Porter, of <i>Petyngghoo</i> , laborer, and others of the Hundred aforesaid.	John Colman ,, laborer.
John Grene, of <i>Sheple</i> , gentylman.	Roger Wolfe, of <i>Assyngton</i> , gentelman.
Richard Weller, of same, husbondman.	John Wolfe, of same, gentelman.
John Waller ,, husbondman.	William Bouchy ,, husbondman.
Richard Attelowe ,, husbondman.	John Cradyll ,, laborer.
Roger Fourlonger ,, husbondman.	William Chapman ,, carpenter.
John Fourlonger ,, husbondman.	John Waterman ,, laborer.
Robert Offyngton ,, husbondman.	Laurence Perys ,, laborer.
William Folvyle ,, husbondman.	Richard Pollard, of <i>Wassington</i> , husbondman.
Thomas Edwyn ,, husbondman.	Thomas Webbe, of same, laborer.
Roger Joppe ,, laborer.	John Hardyng ,, laborer.
William Atte Herst ,, laborer.	Lawrence Couper ,, couper.
	John Long ,, junior.
	Clement Cayn
	William Capelayn ,, husbondman.
	Robert Capelayn ,, husbondman.
	James Pacchyng ,, carpenter.
	Thomas Atte Hille, of <i>Wormynherst</i> , husbondman,
	Richard Parker, of W., Webbe,
	Thomas Waterman ,, husbondman.
	William Heryssh ,, laborer.
	James Turgys ,, laborer.
	Richard Melward ,, laborer.
	John Bregger ,, junior, with many others.

- Henry Lecheford, of *Craweley*, gentleman.
- John Mabsyn, of *Cattysfeld*,²⁵ and John Parker, of *Hoo*, constables of the HUNDRED OF NENFELD; and Henry Mabsyn, of *Cattysfeld*, with others.
- Richard Beche, of *Setelescombe*, yoman, and
Robert Morfote, of *Enherst*, draper, constables of the HUNDRED of STAPLE, and others.
- Thomas Andrewe, of *Laughton*, yoman, and
Richard Melewerd, of *Chidyngleggh*, yoman, constables of the HUNDRED of SHEPLAKE, and
Henry atte Bregge, of *Laughton*, junior, yoman.
- Thomas Upton " yoman.
Richard Edewyn " yoman.
John atte Legh " yoman.
Thomas Frytour " "
William Snoddon " yoman, and
William Lulham, of *Rype*, yoman, and others.
- John Reynold, of *Flethyng*, yoman.
Peter Dynot " glover.
Thomas White " husbondman.
William Strode " yoman.
Richard Lye " pedeler.
Nicholas Cowper " bocher, and others.
- Robert Pepisden, of *Salehurst*, husbondman, and
Robert Braban, of same, husbondman, constables of the HUNDRED of HENHURST, &c.
- Thomas Fynhawe, of *Westifeld*, and
Cristofer Halle, of *Crowhurst*, constables of the HUNDRED of BALDESLOWE, &c.
- Richard Oxenbregge, of *Pesemersh*, constable of the HUNDRED of COLSPORE, &c.
- William Howlette, of *Brede*, husbondman, and
William Hunte, of *Odemere*, husbondman, constables of the HUNDRED of GODSTOWE, &c.
- Robert Atte Mille, of *Wartlyng*, yoman, and
Robert Atte Wode, of *Warbylton*, husbondman, constables of the HUNDRED of FOXHERLE, &c.
- John Chaloner, of *Lynfeld*, yoman, and
Roger Russell, " yoman, and others.
- John Cook, of *Lewes*, and
John Bekquyth, of the same, constables of the town or BOROUGH of LEWES, and the burgesses of the same town.
- Wm. Hokeby, of *Aylesham*, and
Richard Heggyngworth, of *Walderne*, constables of the HUNDRED of THILLE, and
Thomas Wunnemer, of *Aylesham*.
Richard Turner "
Stephen Maynard "
John Sander " and others.
Robert Dereham, of *Horeham*, yoman, &c.
- William Fysher, of *Wadeherst*, carpenter.
Gilbert Skyunner of same, husbondman.
John Bury " draper.
John Crotehole " husbondman.
Thomas Kyngewode " tanner.
John Cobbe, of *Perpoundeshirst*, yoman.
Thomas Henfeld " yoman.
Richard Atte wode " yoman, and others.
- William West,
Richard Allyn,
John Yam, and
Robert Abram, of *Robertsbrygge*, and the dwellers in that TOWN.

²⁵ M. 11.

- Thomas Waller, of *Fokyngton*,²⁶ yoman.
 John Drewe, of *Jeuynghon*, yoman, and
 Thomas Hendyman, of *Wannok* or
Fokington, yoman.
 Thomas Drewe, of *otham*, yoman.
 Walter Reynold, of *Fokyngton*, husbond-
 man.
 John Fotour, of *Wotton*, husbondman.
 Roger Fotour, of *Wannok*, yoman.
 John Eyr, of *Fokyngton*, yoman.
 Robert Frenssh ,, yoman.
 William Reynold ,, husbondman.
 Geffry Russell ,, yoman
 Geffry Russell ,, husbondman.
 Geffry Hendyman, of *Wannok*, husbond-
 man.
 William Renne, of *Jeuynghon*, husbond-
 man.
 Laurence Renne ,, husbondman.
 Thomas Atte welle, of *Fokyngton*, hus-
 bondman.
 Henry Raynold ,, husbondman.
 Thomas Phylpot ,, husbondman, and
 others.
 Richard Holforde, of *Fleccyng*, hus-
 bondman, constable of the HUNDRED
 of DENHILLE.
 William Hode, of F., bocher.
 Thomas Akecock ,, carpenter, and
 Philip Cabell ,, husbondman, to-
 gether with others of the hundred
 aforesaid.
 John [Danyel], Prior of the Priory of
 SAINT PANCRAS OF LEWES, in the
 county of Sussex, and the convent of
 the same place, and all the men and
 and servants of the same Priory
 or Convent.
 Thomas Stevens, of *Dalyngton*,²⁷ yo-
 man.
 John Hogge ,, laborer.
 John Lambe ,, yoman.
 Thomas Hunte ,, yoman.
 William Tayllour ,, clerk.
 Adam Wodsill ,, yoman,
 William Sterlyng ,, laborer.
 Stephen Alfryge ,, laborer.
- Simon Rook, of D., yoman.
 Simon Croucher ,, laborer, and all
 and singular of the same TOWN.
 Thomas de Dene, of *Dalyngton*, yoman.
 John Martyn ,, laborer.
 Richard Cok ,, laborer.
 Laurence Cok ,, laborer.
 Thomas Polyngworde ,, laborer.
 Thomas Russell ,, yoman.
 Simon Russell ,, laborer.
 John Prior ,, laborer, and all
 and singular of the same PARISH.
 Simon Batys, of *Britlyng*, gentelman.
 John Erle ,, laborer.
 John Martyn ,, laborer.
 Thomas Twyford ,, laborer.
 Nicholas Jolyf ,, laborer.
 William Meryfeld yoman.
 John Meryfeld ,, yoman.
 John Bele ,, laborer.
 John Pouke ,, laborer, and all
 and singular of the same TOWN.
 William Burford, of *Britlyng*, yoman,
 and
 Richard Wyker, of *Bataill*, yoman, con-
 stables of the HUNDRED of NETER-
 FELD.
 John Snayleham, of *Britlyng*, laborer.
 Thomas Hert ,, laborer.
 Richard Bayly ,, laborer.
 John Wodeman ,, laborer.
 Thomas Godesole ,, yoman.
 Stephen Crotehole ,, laborer.
 Walter Martyn ,, laborer.
 William Smalefeld ,, laborer.
 John Kenne ,, laborer.
 William Haylok ,, laborer.
 John Adam ,, laborer.
 John Godehyne ,, laborer.
 and all and singular of the same
 HUNDRED.
 Stephen Wyt, of *Mundefeld*, senior yoman.
 Stephen Wyt ,, junior, yoman.
 William Westbourne ,, labourer.
 John Norman ,, laborer.
 Richard atte Wode ,, yoman.
 John Kempe ,, laborer.

²⁶ M. 10.²⁷ M. 9.

- William Cropwode, of M., yoman.
 William Crecy " laborer.
 John Cropwode " yoman.
 Thomas Smyth " yoman.
 John Smyth " yoman.
 Richard Riche " laborer.
 John Horsman " laborer.
 John Hukstepe " yoman.
 John Hukstepe " junior, laborer.
 Robert Loke, " yoman.
 and all and singular of the same
 PARISH.
- John Forger, of the Parish of *All Saints, Lewes*, and all and singular of the same PARISH.
 John Wryther, of the *Cliff juwa Lewes*, marchant.
 John Chamberlayn " yoman,
 John Lardener " yoman.
 Thos. Podey " senior yoman.
 Andrew Somer " glover.
 William Cheseman " yoman.
 Richard Cole " chapman.
 William Bourehunte " smyth.
 Richard Benet " sherman.
 Thomas Cheseman " chapman.
 John Worth, " yoman,
 and all and singular of the TOWNSHIP
 aforesaid.
- Bartholomew Bolney, of *Westfyrle*,
 gentilman, and all the men and
 servants of the said Bartholomew
 Bolney.
- William Hampton, *Balliff of Pevensee*,
 yoman.
 John Morley, of *Westham*, gentilman.
 Richard Porter " yoman.
 Richard Motard " yoman,
 and all and singular the men
 dwelling in the TOWNS aforesaid.
- Richard Selewyn, of *Selmyston* gentil-
 man.
 William Colyn, and John Potman,
 constables of the HUNDRED of TOT-
 NORE.
- Richard Ballard, of *Westfyrle*, and
 Thomas Eton, of the same, and
 all and singular of the same HUNDRED.
- John Hereward, of *Erlington*, gentil-
 man.
 William Grent " senior, yoman.
 Richard Delve, of *Michelham*, yoman.
 Richard Fotur, of *Wilmyngton*, yoman.
 Richard de Milton, of *Milton*, senior,
 yoman.
 Richard Roper, of *Lollington*, husbond-
 man.
 John Wyngeton, of *Erlington*, tailor.
 John Warrener, of *Milton*, laborer.
 Robert Smyth, of *Wyngeton*, husbond-
 man.
 Thomas Smyth " husbondman.
 John Lencote, of *Alfriston*, laborer,
 Simon Lencote " laborer, and all
 and singular, the men of the same
 TOWN.
- Thomas Busty, of *Haylesham*,²⁸ gentil-
 man.
 John Sherman, of same, corveser.
 Robert Bystrete " tanner.
 Thomas Dobbys " tailor.
 Michael Haryot " corveser.
 John Knyght " laborer.
 Andrew Page " yoman.
 John Grent " tanner.
 Robert Gilderygge " yoman.
 William Osbern " butcher.
 Walter Osbern " yoman.
 John Osbern " butcher.
 John Toby " tanner,
 together with others, &c.
- Thomas Colbrond, of *Wortling*, gentil-
 man
 Richard de Lay, of same, draper.
 John Barward, of *Warbulton*, yoman.
 William Peggan, of same, yoman.
 John Jamyn " husbondman.
 Richard Wellis " carpenter.
 Richard Brette, of *Eshpernham*, yoman.
 Richard Ladde, of same, husbondman.
 William Write, of *Nortlyng*, yoman.
 Thomas Bricksnode, of same, yoman.

²⁸ M. 8.

Thomas Austyn ,, clerk.	Thomas Chapman, of <i>Alfriston</i> , chapman.
John Pynfowle ,, mercer.	
John Brounfeld, of <i>Herst</i> , husbondman.	John Coptrowe ,, yoman.
Peter Elys, of same, carpenter.	Roger Trenshede ,, yoman.
John Hamonde ,, fuller.	Richard Chukke ,, baker.
John Laude ,, corveser.	Thomas Colyn ,, yoman.
William atte Stokke,, turner.	John Irland ,, yoman.
John Prat ,, laborer.	John Haweden ,, carpenter.
Alan Tysherst, of <i>Ashburnham</i> , carpenter.	John Ray ,, junior, husbondman.
Thomas Bole, of same, carpenter.	John Smyth ,, chapman.
John Russell ,,	William Atte Dene ,, smith.
John Lampain, of <i>Wratlyng</i> , junior, butcher.	Edward Atte Broke ,, husbondman.
Thomas Burgeys, of same, husbondman.	Roger Smyth ,, smith.
John Whyte ,, husbondman.	Thomas Man ,, husbondman.
Richard Carpenter, <i>Balliff of Seford</i> , ²⁹ yoman.	Thomas Peckham ,, corveser.
John Walkelyn ,, junior, yoman.	John Hickes ,, smith.
Thomas Man ,, yoman.	John Colvile ,, junior, laborer.
John Crowelinke ,, yoman.	John Benet ,, laborer.
Simon Bernevale ,, yoman.	John Crop ,, corveser.
John Chukke ,, yoman.	Richard Profot, of <i>Milton</i> , yoman.
Robert Sampson ,, yoman.	John Profot ,, husbondman.
Richard Frenshe ,, yoman.	Peter Profot ,, husbondman.
Thomas Barbour ,, barber.	Robert Profot ,, husbondman.
John Tanner ,, husbondman.	Edward Newe ,, laborer, and
John Bocher ,, butcher, and all others of the same TOWN,	all and singular the men of the TOWNS aforesaid.
John Rakle, of <i>Willingdon</i> , gentilman.	John Roser, of <i>Estlyng</i> (Guestling), and all other men within the HUNDRED.
John Bray, of <i>West Den</i> , senior, gentilman.	
William Bray ,, gentilman.	William Mason, of <i>Hastinges</i> , mason.
John Parke(r), of <i>Willyngdon</i> , gentilman.	William Wyttton, of same, dyer.
	John Bychet, ,, carpenter.
	John Mayhewe ,, yoman.
Symon Potteman, of <i>Fryston</i> , yoman, and	Richard Hughson ,, yoman.
Thomas Hasilwode, of <i>Alfriston</i> , yoman, constables of the HUNDRED of ALSTONE.	James Lok ,, helyar.
	John Adam ,, syngleman.
	Robert Knight ,, tailor.
	John Clypsam ,, carpenter.
	Osbert Watte ,, husbondman.
	and
Richard Seger, late of <i>Alfriston</i> , yoman, otherwise called Richard Seger, of <i>Marsfeld</i> , yoman	Edmund Letherland ,, yoman, &c.

- John Lounsford, of *Battle*, gentleman.
 Richard de Neve ,, laborer.
 William Atte Held ,, laborer.
 John Ideyn ,, laborer.
 John Fermesham ,, laborer.
 Simon Martyn, of *Asheburnham*, laborer.
 William Martyn, of *Battle*, laborer.
 Thomas Colyn, of *Asheburnham*, laborer.
 William Byrchet, of *Cuttisfeld*, laborer.
 John Byrchet ,, laborer.
- John Hylder, of *Kingston juxta Lewes*, yoman, and
 Richard Elyot, of *Smythwicke*, husbondman, constables of the HUNDRED of SWANBERG.
 Thomas Holybon, of *Iford*, senior, labourer.
 John Holybon ,, husbondman
 William Holybon, of the *Cliff, near Lewes*, yoman.
 John Machyn, of *Iford*, husbondman.
 John Holybon, junior ,, laborer.
 Simon Holybon ,, laborer.
 Richard Sowedan, of *Westoute, juxta Lewes*, Webbe.
 Thomas Hyches ,, carpenter.
 William Merston ,, tailor; together with many others of the HUNDRED aforesaid.
- William Forger, of *Westfyrle*, yoman, with many others.
- Thomas Styler, of *Rovesparr*, gentleman.
 Walter Styler ,, gentleman.
 Thomas Styles ,, junior, gentleman.
 Thomas Bartelot ,, gentleman
 Thomas Horle ,, yoman.
 John Frencham ,, husbondman.
 Thomas Mose ,, husbondman.
 John Tylth ,, husbondman.
 Richard Gardyner ,, husbondman.
 John Man ,, husbondman.
 William Frenshe ,, husbondman.
 William Gerad ,, husbondman.
 Thomas Brode ,, husbondman.
 Richard Hasty ,, laborer.
 John Mose ,, husbondman.
- Richard Mose, of R., husbondman, together with many others.
 John atte Wythe, *Lamporte*, husbondman, and Thomas Underwood, of *Nevyke*, yoman, constables of the HUNDRED of BERCOMBE.
 Richard Profyt, of *Hammesay*, gentleman.
 John Marquyk ,, yoman.
 Richard Marquyk ,, yoman.
 Richard Blome ,, yoman.
 Richard Hawkyn ,, yoman.
 Thomas Trusloue ,, yoman.
 Henry Perys, of *Bercompe*, yoman.
 Thomas Sander ,, labourer.
- John Parker, of *Hoo*,³⁰ yoman, constable of the HUNDRED of HOO.
 John de Wellys,
 Thomas de Brooke,
 John Knelles,
 William Scotte, of the HUNDRED aforesaid, and
 John Broke, &c.
- Boger Lacche, of *Litlyngton*, gentleman.
 Henry atte Fenell ,, yoman.
 John atte Fenell ,, husbondman.
 Laurence atte Fenell ,, husbondman.
 John Lyon ,, husbondman.
 John Cheseman ,, husbondman.
 Robert Parker ,, husbondman.
- Thomas Profot, of *Estbourne*, gentleman.
 Richard Burton ,, yoman.
 Thomas Motard ,, yoman.
- Gilbert Homewode of *Cokefeld*, yoman, and
 John Homewode, of *Plumpton*, yoman, constables of the HUNDRED of STREETEM.
- John Wyldegoos, of *Holddelegh*, yoman.
 John atte Roe, of *Wyevelysfeld*, yoman.
 Thomas Esthanfeld ,, yoman.
- John Stempe, of *Suthover, juxta Lewes*, constable of SUTHOVER, near LEWES.

William Delve, of <i>Suthuover</i> ,	yoman.	Convent of the same place, and the
Thomas Best	„ yoman.	servants of the said Abbot and
Richard Dymmok	„ yoman.	Convent, &c.
Peter Bromfeld	„ yoman.	
William Reymys	„ husbondman.	Thomas Weston, of <i>Mafeld</i> .
Richard Codnore	„ cooper.	Thomas „ chaplain.
		Thomas Harnes „
Richard [Dertmouth], Abbot of - St.	John Hoke	„
MARTIN'S MONASTERY, of BATTLE,	John atte Ford	„
in the county of SUSSEX, and the	John Nevyll	„

The main body of the persons so pardoned undoubtedly returned to their homes; not so Cade and a few with him. He announced that the King's pardon was not valid, without the consent of Parliament.³¹ In the act of attainder passed in the Parliament held at Westminster, on the 9th November following, he is described as having levied war subsequently to his pardon,²³ viz., at Southwark, on the 8th July, at Deptford and Rochester, on the 9th, and also at Rochester and elsewhere, on the 10th and 11th July. The King's proclamation was issued on the 10th July; the assumed name of Mortimer used in the pardon of the 6th was dropped; he was called John Cade, and a reward of 1000 marks³³ was offered for him; and a further reward of 5 marks for any of those, who should from that day forth accompany him. In fact, he failed to secure Queensborough Castle, near Rochester, and "disguised in a strange attire privily fled into the wood country, beside Lewes, in Sussex, hoping to escape."

He was pursued by Alexander Iden, the new sheriff of Kent, and by "others with him," and not alone. On what day they came up with Cade at Heathfield, is not clear; in the Chronicle published by the Camden Society,³¹ in 1850, it is stated that he was wounded "unto the dethe, and take and carried in a cart toward Londoun, and be the wey deide" By the 15th July, 1450, Iden and his aiders had brought the dead body to the council;³⁵ on that day the King ordered the Treasurer and Chamberlains of his Exchequer⁶ out of the goods, jewells, and chattels which had come to their

³¹ King's proclamation, 10th July.

²³ 29 Hen. VI., c. 1.

³³ Not crowns, as Shakespeare has it. The discrepancy between the facts and Shakespeare's version of them for the purpose of the drama will have been already remarked.

³⁴ Page 68.

³⁵ The inscription on the stone is quite correct, both as to the fact of Iden being Sheriff at this time and the year 1450.

³⁶ Rymer Foed: Tom. XI., p. 275.

hands, and over which Cade's servants had quarrelled at Rochester, to deliver 1,000 marks in money to the use of Iden, and of "the said persones that brought the body".³⁷ The King gave £20, of his own special grace, to John Davy, for the good services rendered by him in taking "that great traitor and rebel, who called himself John Mortymer, at Hefeld," in Sussex.

Iden is distinctly called "our trusty and well beloved Alexandre Iden, *Shirrief* of our countie of Kent," and he also had 20 marks reward, for taking and conducting to the King Robert Spence, "a sworn brother to the great traitor and rebel calling himself John Mortymer."

The order of 15th July further charged the Treasurer and Chamberlains, if there were any person or persons from whom any of the said "goodes, catelles, and juelx as above, by wey of spoiling or robbing were taken from," and coming to them "for to suee to have them agen" that to him or them as so would sue, "making faith that it was so take" from them, that they should make him be preferred in the buying thereof before any other person, and that they should sell it to him for "lesse or more ease then" it be worth, after their discretion.

The King was no loser by the reward for there were £105 15s. in cash, and goods were sold on the 29th of the same month (August), for £274 8s. 4d. What those goods jewels, &c. were, we know from a record³⁸ preserved among

³⁷ His body was quartered and sent to the constables of Blackheath, the cities of Norwich and Salisbury, and the town of Gloucester. Iden was also rewarded by being made keeper of Rochester castle, with a salary of £36 a year, out of which he was to pay £16 for repairs. *Rot. Parl.*, V., p. 313. See also *Devon's Issue Roll*, p. 468-9.

³⁸ By letters patent, dated 12th July, 1450, Sir Thos. Tirrel, Knight, and Rich. Waller, Esq., with others were appointed to arrest and take for the King, and in his name, the goods, chattels, jewels, and sums of money, "which a certain person calling himself John Mortymer, by himself and his adherents in the county of Kent, took and carried away with him," and to put the same under safe custody for the King's behoof, and to carry and transfer them whither it should seem

best to them, and to pay such and so many sums thereof to such persons as to them should seem meet for the benefit of the King and his Kingdom, especially about the taking of the aforesaid John Mortymer and his adherents." Nevertheless by his writ, dated 18th July the King commanded the commissioners as soon as they were able to deliver all "such goods and chattels, jewels, and sums of money" to his Treasurer of England and Chamberlains of the Exchequer. Accordingly an Indenture was made 21st July, between the latter of the one part, and Sir Thomas Tirrell and Richard Waller, Esq., of the other part, and by virtue of the writ they delivered at the receipt of the Exchequer the "certain goods, jewels, and sums of money," set out above.

the memoranda of the Treasury of the Exchequer.³⁹

Imprimis, in money counted CVli. XVs.

Item in a round boxe of lether—VI parysh cuppes of sylver—IX spones of sylver—I purse wrought in the stole (band to hold it) with XVII counters of sylver—I stone of birell (of green colour for the eye, said Sir Francis Palgrave)—I gerdil of purple not harneysid—a bitores cle⁴⁰harneysed—I muske balle (to smell at)—I stone of berall harneysid—II laces of sylke.

Item in two trussyng cofers (baskets used for carrying large parcels of goods) and in two gardenyances (chests or trunks)—I salt saler of silvere and gilt castell wyse with III small salt salers in III corners and the IIII lakkith—I chalyce of golde garnyshed with pearls and I paten therto—II chargeours and XIJ litell disshes of silvere—II bolles of silver—I nutte coveryd—III chaced cuppes—I covercle of a salt saler—VIII spyns of silver—III knoppes of cuppes—a coler of sylver—I paire of knyves—II purses—a diall of silver—III salers (salt cellars), of silver with a covercle of a cuppe—I chalys of gold with a paten—I horn harneysed with silver and gilt—I saler of gold coveryd, garnyshed with sapphires and perlys—I ewer of silver—II potell pottes (two quarts) gilt—I spice plate of silver and gilt—II stondyng cuppes of one sute coveryd swaged and pounced (twisted and pierced)—I stonding bolle pote coveryd gilt without—I peyre tabell knyves—III in a shethe with gilt haftes—I ewer of silver withoute knoppe—I pece—I crewet—I paxbrede (tablet with a representation of the crucifixion) of silver and gilt—I nose of an kandelstyck of silver—I girdill of the old faccyon harneysid with silver—I scalop of sylver—I litell pece of reed tarteron (cloth used for curtains)—I pawkener (pouche or pocket) wrought in the stole (band over the shoulder)—I potte of silver of a galon withoute a lidde—I potte contenyng a potell (two quarts) gilt—I quart potte of silver—I gobelet of the olde faccion—I ymage of silver and gilt—I cuppe coveryd

³⁹ Calendars and inventories, vol. II. p. 217.

⁴⁰ Mr. J. G. Nichols has kindly suggested that the writer may have intended "Bicores, and the article may have been something pretended to have been the claw of the fabulous animal, the Bicorn. In Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays, is

a short poem by Lydgate, of Bycorne and Chichevache. See a letter by T. Wright, in the *Gent. Mag.* for July, 1843, p. 43. In old inventories unicorns' horns, or articles made of them, often occur, and various pretended parts of fabulous animals."

standyng gilt withoute pomell (ball or knob)—I flatte cuppe coveryd gilt—I salt saler coveryd of sylver—I litell gobelet of sylver coveryd—I chafure (saucepan) of silver—I blak remenant of velewet fugury—I olde vestement—I primer with clapses of silver—I peire of shetys—V small pecys of vre (vaire or ermine)—IX peces and remenautes of baudekyn cloth (silk interwoven with threads of gold)—I standyng cuppe coveryd and gilt—I flatte cuppe of silver coveryd.

Which same jewels and parcels by virtue of the writ of the Lord the King under his great seal to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer directed remaining among the mandates of Easter term, in the twenty-eighth year of the said lord the King were sold by Thomas Rothewell, Clerk of the Treasurer of England, in the stead and names of the said Treasurer and Chamberlains to divers persons for the sum . . . of which it is answered to the King in the Pells of Receipt for Easter Term, in the same 28th year, viz., on the 29th day of August, as more fully there appears in form following, viz.: From Philip Malpas,⁴¹ for goods of the said John Cade, cxliij. li. ix s. iiij. d. From Richard Joynour, for goods of the said John Cade, xx. li. From Thomas Rothewell, for goods of the said John Cade, cxxxj. li. ix s. iiij. d. From Thomas Stokdale, for goods of the said John Cade, viij. li. ix. s. x. d.

And it remained in a certain wooden box, in a green chest, under this sign,

“Cade, otherwise called Mortimer.”

The acts of the council (vi. 96, 99, 101), July 12, to August 25, contain several orders relative to Cade, and the property seized by him, and an order to deliver to Master Andrew Holes, keeper of the Privy Seal, who was about to undertake a journey for the King, and was destitute of horses, six horses lately belonging to that “traitour calling himself Captain of Kent,” by way of loan; and £40 of the goods were given to the bailiffs and citizens of Rochester, to make the East Gate of that city towards Canterbury.

⁴¹ This is the same man whose goods were plundered. Was he obliged to buy back his own property? In Devon's Issue Roll, p. 467, it is stated that £114

worth of the jewels stolen out of the house of Malpas belonged to the Duke of York, and that sum was repaid.

Further steps were taken to bring to punishment such of Cade's adherents as had continued in arms in Kent, subsequently to the pardon. Accordingly, on the 1st August, a commission was issued⁴² into Kent, to enquire into divers offences committed by persons who had disturbed the public peace within the county of Kent and that county only, no reference being made to the proceedings in Southwark or London; it was in truth a special commission to try those who after the pardons had refused to return to their homes, and had remained in arms with Cade, at Deptford and Rochester; and the proceedings are not open to the censure which Mackintosh⁴³ implies of being in breach of good faith and for acts pardoned by the general amnesty.

The commissioners were John (Kempe), Cardinal Archbishop of York (and Chancellor), John (Stafford), Archbishop of Canterbury, William (Waynflete), Bishop of Winchester, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, Ralph Boteler, of Sudeley, Knt., John Prisote (Chief Justice of Common Pleas), Peter Arderne (Chief Baron of Exchequer), Thomas Fulthorp, Knt. (J.C.Pleas.), Wm. Yelverton (J. K. Bench), Richard Bingham (J.K.B.), Nicholas Asshton (J.C.P.), John Portington (J.C.P.), Robert Danvers (immediately afterwards J.C.P., who had sat as Cade's Justiciary at Guildhall), Wm. Wangford (afterwards Sergt. at Law), Thos. Burgoyne, and Wm. Laken (afterwards J.K.B.). It is open to remark and comment that the sound lawyer, then Chief Justice of England (John Fortescue), was not named in the commission; and that the senior judge (Prisote), has been unfavourably remembered for his partiality.⁴⁴

The result of this commission, which was opened at Canterbury, was "that eight men were judged and executed" there "and in other towns of Kent and Sussex was done the like execution."⁴⁵ A search, however, through the Comptrolment rolls of this period to find the names of the persons tried or executed has not been attended with success.⁴⁶

To the attainder of Cade himself I have already referred. In the act of parliament he is called "that false traitor John

⁴² Pat. 28, Hen. VI., part 2, m. 17.

⁴³ Vol. II. p. 14.

⁴⁴ Foss Judges, vol. IV, p. 356.

⁴⁵ Holinshed.

⁴⁶ The names of those tried at Rochester in the subsequent rising are printed in *Sir Henry Ellis' original Letters*, 2 ser., vol. 1.

Cade, naming himself John Mortimer, late Captain of Kent;" and it is said that "tho' dead and mischieved, yet by the law of the land not punished," the King "to put such traitors in fear in time coming," and by request of the commons, and by authority of parliament, ordered that he should be attainted, and should forfeit to the King his "goods, lands, and tenements, rents, and possessions, which he held on the 8th July or after," and his blood was declared corrupt.

If Cade had been the low-born person he has been represented, no act of attainder would have been of any operation against his lands and tenements, nor would it have been of importance to declare his blood corrupt.

That the consequence of his acts, even after his death continued to be thought of moment by the Council is evidenced by the fact that the act of 1450 was not deemed sufficient, and in the parliament holden at Reading, two years afterwards (1452),⁴⁷ a further act of attainder was passed in which he is called the "most abominable tyrant, horrible, odious, and errant false traitor, John Cade, calling and naming himself sometime Mortimer, and sometime Captain of Kent;" it is declared that he had taken upon himself royal power, and gathered to him the King's people in great number, "by false, subtil imagined language," and had "seditiously made a stirring rebellion and insurrection under colour of justice, for the reformation of the laws of the King," robbing, slaying, and spoiling "great part of his faithful people:" and, thereupon Cade was adjudged a traitor, and all indictments and acts done by him were declared void.

Robert Poynings, who then lived in Southwark, was particularly active. Notwithstanding his pardon, and the bail he had given to keep the peace, he was charged before Parliament with having on the 26th February, 1453, sent letters and writings from Sutton, near Seaford, to Robert Poyntell of the same place, and John Cawe, of Lytyllyn, both "Husbondmen," (who had been indicted of High Treason against the King's person, when he was last at the city of Chichester, and had been pardoned) to come to him, which they did on the last day of February, to Southwark, and with having

⁴⁷ 31, Hen. VI, c. I.

given them money, thanked them for their good will, and prayed them to be ready to come to him when he should give them warning. He was also charged with having, on the 20th of January, caused Thomas Bigg, of Lambeth, "yoman," outlawed of treason, and John Wildeley, of Southwark, and other riotous persons to have assembled at Westerham and caused a riot. He was thereupon summoned to appear in chancery⁴⁸: but evaded the summons by taking sanctuary in Westminster, and whilst there he was further charged with holding daily fellowship with those who had been indicted of felony and treason, and with having gone out when he would; and especially with having, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of March, in 1454, at North Cray and Fremingham, and other places in Kent, ridden⁴⁹ in "riottes wyse, and arraied in manere of warre, that is to sey, with jackes, coats of mail, sallettes (helmets), and with other array of warre;" and it was thereupon ordained that he and his sureties should forfeit their recognizance.

⁴⁸ Rot Parl., V., p. 396.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, p. 247, b.

NOTES ON JACK CADE AND HIS ADHERENTS,

(In continuation of the preceding Paper).

By MARK ANTONY LOWER, F.S.A.

In my "Worthies of Sussex," I fell, *per incuriam*, or rather through mis-information, into two errors respecting Cade, which I take the present opportunity of correcting. With the concurrence of my friend, Mr. Durrant Cooper, I also add a few notes respecting persons and localities, which may possess some degree of interest for Sussex people.

Mr. F. Newbery, of St. Paul's Churchyard, who built Heathfield 'Monument,' and dedicated it to General Elliott, Lord Heathfield, ("Calpis Defensori," the previous possessor of the estate) also erected a memorial of Cade's death at Cade Street, immediately opposite the garden, where according to the uniform tradition of the district the 'Captain of Kent' was mortally wounded.¹ "Cade's Stone," as it is called, informs us that "near the spot was slain the notorious rebel JACK CADE, by Alexander Iden, Sheriff of Kent, A.D. 1450." In the "Worthies" I have pronounced this to be a double error, and besides assigning Cade's death to the year 1451, have stated that Alexander Iden was not then Sheriff of Kent. *Errare humanum est*, and especially among critics and reviewers. I erred, however, in excellent company as to both these statements. With regard to the date, Professor Craik, whom I followed (in the Chronological Index appended to Vol. IV. of his invaluable History of England) places all the events of Cade's rising in the year 1451. So does our Sussex chronologist, John Browne, Gent., in his "Abstract of the History of England," which I have generally found correct and useful. (Vol. I. p. 101). As to the Sheriff of Kent, Mr. Alexander Iden, it seems irreconcilable with modern notions that he should have interfered in the preservation of the peace of Sussex when we had a Sheriff of our own. Mr.

¹ In my early days I was for some few months tenant of that very garden. I built a summer-house and planted peas

and beans, but I got no crop—a proof perhaps that a rebel's blood is not a good fertilizer.'

Cooper's statement, however, settles that point, and proves my second error, namely, that Iden (or Eden as he is sometimes called) did not hold the office at the time of Cade's death. In this mistake, I followed no less an authority than Fuller's *Worthies*, the list of sheriffs comprised in that work being the only one I had at hand. Fuller states that Alex. Eden, of Westwell, had the shrievalty in the 35th year of Henry VI., which would be six or seven years later than the date of the insurrection.—From these instances of misinformation it would appear that, for the most part, printed books are not to be depended on, and that unless you can refer to a particular 'roll' and 'membrane,' you are never sure of being historically accurate.

Mr. Cooper's researches throw considerable light upon the social position of some of our Sussex families, and show how some of them, in the middle of the fifteenth century, were emerging from yeomanhood to the level of gentry and squirehood; for instance, among the earliest names in the list printed by Mr. Cooper, we find a Baker of Uckfield described as a 'yoman,' though he was doubtless one of the Bakers of Mayfield, shortly afterwards one of the most influential families of East Sussex; also a Thaccher of Ringmer, who, although only a 'yoman,' was progenitor of the gentle family of Thatcher of Ringmer Park, and Priesthawes in Westham, who intermarried with Pelhams and Gages. Several other instances of this kind I will mention, following Mr. Cooper's list topographically. At Nuthurst, near Horsham (page 23), we find two Bottings 'husbondmen,' and that name is still chiefly associated with agriculture in middle Sussex, many of its owners being, according to modern etiquette, 'yeomen.' At E. Blatchington we find a William Gefferay described also as 'husbondman,' and it is known that the Jefferays of Chiddingly Place, whose eldest line terminated in Sir John Jefferay, the eminent chief-baron temp. Elizabeth, sprang from that parish. Associated with the Jefferays were the Melwards, and we find Richard Melward, of Chidynglegh, described as a yeoman and constable of the Hundred of Shiplake. This Richard I take to be identical with the person whose daughter and heiress married John Jefferay, the chief-baron's grandfather, whose brass

plate, dated 1513, lies in the middle of the nave of Chiddingly church. William Lulham, of Rype, 'yoman,' was progenitor of an afterwards gentle family, who gave name to good lands called 'Lulhams' in that parish. The original name of the estate was Hallcourt, which has been re-applied to it by the present proprietor, W. D. Weeden, Esq. Peter Dynot, glover, of Fletching, is the individual commemorated in the church there, by a brass representing a pair of gloves and the inscription, "Hic jacet Petrus Denot, Glover, cujus a'ie p'picietur Deus, Amen." Thomas Fynhawe, of Westfield, was of the family 'of that ilk,' lately Vinehall, and now Kushton Park, in Whatlington. The family remained in gentle position at Kingston, near Lewes, until late in the 17th century under the name of Vinall. Richard Oxenbregge, of Peasmarsh, no doubt claimed kindred with the Oxenbridges of Brede. That was a widely-spread family in East Sussex, both in gentle and simple degree. Many of them were in trade and agriculture at the time of Cade's rising.

John Chaloner, of Lindfield, was doubtless progenitor of the gentle family of that name in the same parish and elsewhere. Simon Batys, of Brightling, gentleman, was of the same family as John Batys, the benevolent personage of that place, who, according to a brass plate in the church (1476), gave all the ornaments, pavements, and seats (sedilia) in that edifice, together with the lands called Levetts, in Brightling, for the benefit of the church. This plate was removed from the tomb for the purpose of defrauding the church of the benefaction. Long afterwards it is said to have been found in a deep well on the South Downs, and restored to its original site, where it still remains, with a super-added inscription which states that by a decree of 11th Charles I, based upon a statute of 44th Elizabeth, the lands were recovered from the sacrilegious usurper. A plan and description of these lands (containing 14 acres) is given in the 30th Report of the Charities' Commission, page 674.

At Mountfield, two Hukstepes are recorded, one of whom is styled 'yoman.' This name is spelt in older documents De Hoghstepe, but is now corrupted, both in Sussex and

² See Suss: Arch: Coll. iv. 233. The name is there mis-spelt Dezot.

Kent, to Huckstepp. Richard Selewyn, of Selmyston, must have belonged to the family of that name, who possessed the old manor of Sherrington;³ they flourished in later times at Friston Place and at Sayerland, in Hailsham, and became one of the leading families in East Sussex. Thomas Busty, of Haylesham, "gentilman," most likely belonged to the old Ardingly family, called after their estate Birchensty, *alias* Birsty. Thomas Colbrond, of Wartling, 'gentilman,' was ancestor of the Colbrands of Boreham, in that parish, who became Baronets in 1621, and existed in that rank until 1709. Of John Crowelinke, a burgess of Seaford, I know nothing, except that he must have derived his family name from Crowlink, in the parish of Friston. John Rakle was son of Richard Rakley, or Rakeley, of Ratton in Willingdon, and his sister and heiress, Agnes, married John Parker, from whom sprang the Parkers of Ratton, Baronets from 1674 to 1750. The Parkers were of Bexhill as early as 12 Edward I., but they seem to have taken the rank of gentry on occasion of this match. Their arms are evidently borrowed from the Rakeleys, with some modification of tinctures, &c.

RAKELEY. *Lozengy, Arg. and Gu, a fesse Sable.*

PARKER. *Azure, fretty Or, a fesse of the second.*

The identical John Parker is, however, styled as "of Willingdon, *gentilman*," so that he had probably already married Agnes Rakeley in 1450. It is perhaps his son of the same name who took part in Cade's rising.

John Lunsford, of Battle, 'gentilman,' was of a stock as ancient as the Ashburnhams. They had been seated at Echingham in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The Lunsfords of Whiligh in East Hothly, who played so conspicuous a part in the wars of the 17th century, were descendants. The yeomanly Marquyks of Hamsey continued in the same grade of life two centuries later at that place, and the name is still found in the locality. The same and more may be said of the Homewodes of Plumpton, whose altar-tombs of the last century are in Plumpton churchyard.

³ See Berry's *Suss: Genealogies*, p. 114. John Selwyn married in the 14th century the heiress of Simon Sherrington of Sherrington, and his great-great grandson, Thomas Selwyn, married

Agnes, daughter and heiress of Simon Bates, the same 'gentilman' no doubt as the one referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Many similar instances might be adduced, but the limits of this paper forbid enlargement. To any one acquainted with modern Sussex names, a glance at this list of pardoned insurrectionists will show how pertinaciously our families have adhered to the *solum natale*; for omitting those names which have either died out, or which are not more especially restricted to Sussex, we find Mansers, Byshes, Holbemes, Finches, Valyers, Brookers, Canes, Capelins, Pollards, Patchings, Woodmans, Cheesmans, Delveses, Ponts, Bretts, Penfolds (Pynfowle), Ticehursts, Colwells (Colvill), Rosers, Hollebones (Holybon), Broads (Brode), Bests, and many others still existing.

All our accounts of Cade have been *ex-parte* from the adverse side, and he may after all have been rather the tool of a faction than a villain at heart.

Historical accuracy is not expected in Shakspeare; but the great poet's estimate of Iden's position is no very lofty one, when he puts into that person's mouth the words—

“ If one so rude, and of so mean condition,
 May pass into the presence of a King,
 Lo, I present your grace a traitor's head,
 The head of Cade, whom I in combat slew.”⁴

A high sheriff in those days was relatively a more important personage than now, and a gentleman holding that office would scarcely approach the monarch with servility—especially after the performance of such loyal service.

⁴ Hen. VI., 2nd part. Act v., Sc. i.