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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 30, line 17—For 23 read 32.
" 32, note 40—For 1843 read 1834. For a copy of a unique representation of the fabulous animal, the "Bycorne," see page 53 of the "Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broad-sides in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, compiled by Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A.," 8vo., 1866.
" 34, note 46—The trials at Rochester here referred to were also presided over by the Commissioners named in the text on this page.
" 101, line 5—From bottom, for *Torrington* read *Tortington*.
" 102, line 4—For *Walburton* read *Walberton*.
" 185, line 5—For *numier* read *member*.

SUSSEX
Archaeological Collections,

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY,

PUBLISHED BY
The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. XVIII.

[VOL VI. OF SECOND SERIES.]

SUSSEX.
GEORGE P. BACON,
HIGH STREET, LEWES.

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* Printed with the Text.

REPORT.

THE drawing up of the annual Report of a Society, whose proceedings have been marked by a continuous prosperity, though pleasurable in a certain way, is not an easy task. Year after year have the Committee of the Sussex Archaeological Society had to congratulate themselves and the members on the success of their proceedings, and on that entire cordiality which has been maintained among so large and influential a body. Hence the monotonous character of these Reports, which mainly touch upon two topics—the Annual Meeting and the Yearly Volume. With regard to the last year's Meeting at Amberley, there can be no doubt of its having been one of the most successful gatherings the Society has enjoyed; but as a notice of that event was given in the XVII. volume of the Collections, it is not necessary further to allude to it. As to the present volume, if it is not quite so bulky as some of its predecessors, the cause must be attributed, not to any deficiency of materials for working out the archaeology of the county, but to the absence of two important papers which had been promised us. One of these was not forthcoming on account of the severe illness of a most valued contributor; the other was partially completed by the author, when death removed him from us. By the decease of Mr. WILLIAM FIGG, a great loss has been sustained by the Society. The following brief obituary notice is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of May last:—

“Died, at Lewes, Sussex, after a brief illness, aged 66, Mr. William Figg, F.S.A. The deceased, who was born in 1799, was a man of great general information on all local matters, which by his courtesy he was always ready to communicate to others. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and one of the founders of the Sussex Archaeological Society, of which he was always a most useful member. He contributed several papers to their ‘Collections,’ one of which—‘Memorials of Old Lewes’—ranks among the most valuable of the series.”

It was in a continuation of these “Memorials” that Mr. FIGG was engaged at the time of his fatal attack. Independently of his being the personal friend of many members of the Society, his loss will be felt by all. An energetic committee-man, he was always at his post. On him chiefly devolved the arrangements respecting the Castle, and the Museum within it, while he was ever ready with his pencil to assist in the illustration of our Collections, for which a practised eye and a facile hand eminently qualified him.

Among recent archaeological discoveries in Sussex, two or three may be especially noted. That of the coffin and remains of a daughter of Canute, in Bosham Church, is of great historical interest, and forms the subject of the first paper in this volume. The thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. HENRY MITCHELL, M.A., F.S.A., for his exertions in relation to this discovery. Next we may advert to the “Kitchen Midden” on Newhaven Hill, in association with a Roman camp, where some of the “flint flakes” which have by some been presumed to be the work of man, long antecedent to our historical era, are shown to belong to the period of Roman domination in this country. A brief account of the “Midden” will also be found in these pages. A third discovery—that of mural paintings in Hardham Church—will be hailed with pleasure by the lovers of mediæval art. In

the removal, a few months since, of the whitewash from the walls of this antique little edifice, a considerable series of religious designs was disclosed. The attention of the Committee was called to the fact by the Rev. P. ROYSTON, our local secretary at Pulborough, and the Rev. J. M. SANDHAM, the Rector. Subsequently, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., whose architectural and antiquarian skill has made him widely known among archæologists, has made an inspection of the paintings, and it is hoped that he will furnish to a future volume a detailed account of them.

The Committee congratulate the Society on the accession of several new contributors to these Collections, principally on subjects connected with the western division of the County ; and they hope soon to find that rich field of archæological research thoroughly cultivated. The parochial history of Western Sussex would well repay the labour of the clergy and others who might be induced to undertake it.

(Signed) EDWARD TURNER,
Chairman.

Barbican, Lewes Castle,
21st June, 1866.

The Committee desire to express their thanks to S. EVERSLED, Esq., for the etching of Knucker Hole, and for woodcuts, kindly executed by himself.

Since the above was written, information has reached the Committee that during the restorations of Slindon Church, now being carried out, some wall-paintings of considerable interest have been brought to light. Of these also it is hoped that a full report will be given in Vol. XIX.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1865.

| RECEIPTS. | | PAYMENTS. | |
|----------------------|----------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Jany. 1, 1865. | - | Printing Balance, Vol XVI. | 100 16 10 |
| Balance in hand | 110 0 6 | Engravings | 73 19 0 |
| Annual Subscriptions | 313 10 0 | Stamps, Stationery, and Sundry | |
| Life Compositions | 20 10 0 | Printing | 33 0 1 |
| Sale of Books | 18 10 0 | Clerk's Salary | 20 0 0 |
| Hire of Tent | 18 14 6 | Annual Meeting | 13 9 4 |
| Dividend—Consols | 3 19 8 | Mr. Campkin's Account—Index | |
| | | and Sundries | 21 17 0 |
| | | Balance | 222 2 5 |
| | £485 4 8 | | £485 4 8 |

CASTLE ACCOUNT, 1865.

| RECEIPTS. | | PAYMENTS. | |
|-------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Visitors to Castle | 89 14 6 | Pettet, Wages | 26 0 0 |
| " Priory | 5 4 4 | Taxes, &c. | 6 17 3 |
| Rent, Priory | 18 0 0 | Rent, Priory | 32 0 0 |
| Rent, Gardens | 2 5 0 | Pettet, Commission, Coals, and | |
| Balance in hand, Jan. 1, 1866 | 9 12 0 | Sundries | 13 9 10 |
| | | Balance | 46 8 9 |
| | £124 15 10 | | £124 15 10 |

ESTIMATE OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

| ASSETS. | | LIABILITIES. | |
|------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|----------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Jany. 1, 1866. | | Due to Mr. Bacon on Vol. | |
| Balance in Treasurer's Hands | 222 2 5 | XVII. | 165 3 1 |
| " Castle Account | 46 8 9 | Salaries | 35 10 0 |
| Arrears of Subscriptions— | | Sundry accounts | 44 0 10 |
| 1863 | 0 10 0 | Rents | 78 4 0 |
| 1864 | 14 10 0 | Balance in favour of the | |
| 1865 | 56 0 0 | Society | 264 9 2 |
| | 71 0 0 | | |
| Estimated to realize | 30 0 0 | | |
| Invested in Consols | 132 15 11 | | |
| Stock of Books | 100 0 0 | | |
| Marquee | 50 0 0 | | |
| Rents due | 6 0 0 | | |
| | £587 7 1 | | £587 7 1 |

Examined and found correct,

P. DE PUTRON,
J. C. LUCAS.

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1866.

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Rules of the Society.

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

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

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

4. That the Annual subscription of Ten Shillings shall become due on the 1st day of January, or £5 be paid in lieu thereof, as a composition for life. Subscriptions to be paid at the Lewes Old Bank, or by Post-office order, to GEORGE MOLINEUX Esq., Treasurer, Lewes Old Bank, or to any of the Local Secretaries.

5. That every new Member, upon his election, be required to pay, in addition to such Subscription or Composition, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings.

6. That Members of either House of Parliament shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents.

7. That the management of the financial department of the Society's affairs be placed in the hands of a Sub-Committee, specially appointed for that purpose.

8. That the Finance Committee be empowered to remove from the list of the Society the name of any Member whose Subscription shall be in arrear more than three years, and who shall refuse to pay on application.

9. That the general affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee, to consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, two Honorary Secretaries, a Corresponding Secretary and Editor of the "Collections," who (in accordance with the vote of the general annual meeting, held 17th August, 1865,) shall receive such remuneration as the Committee may deem fit; Local Secretaries, a Treasurer, and not less than twelve other Members, who shall be chosen at the General Annual Meeting; three Members of such Committee to form a Quorum.

N.B.—This Committee meet at Lewes Castle, on the Thursdays next before the 24th day of June, and the 25th day of December.

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

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

12. That a Special General Meeting may be summoned by the Secretary on the requisition in writing of five Members, and either the President, or two Vice-Presidents, specifying the subject to be brought forward for decision at such Meeting, and such subject only to be then considered.

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

14. That the Committee have power to appoint as an Honorary Member any person, including foreigners, likely to promote the interests of the Society; such Honorary Member not to pay any Subscription, nor to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

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

16. That Meetings for the purpose of reading Papers, and the exhibition of Antiquities, be held at such times and places as the Committee may determine.

17. That the Corresponding Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the General Meeting.

* * All communications respecting Papers for the next volume should be addressed to Mark Antony Lower, F.S.A., Lewes, as early as possible. To ensure the completion of the volume before the Annual Meeting of 1867, it is desirable that all MSS and drawings should be in the hands of the Editor by December next.

Sussex Archaeological Collections.

ON THE EARLY TRADITIONS OF BOSHAM,
AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE STONE COFFIN CON-
TAINING THE REMAINS OF A DAUGHTER OF KING
CANUTE, IN THE NAVE OF BOSHAM CHURCH.

BY THE REV. HENRY MITCHELL, M.A., F.S.A.

IN the following brief paper, originating in the discovery of the coffin containing the remains of a daughter of Canute, in the nave of the ancient church of Bosham, I shall relate the traditions of the place down to the time of Canute's death.

Chichester harbour, bounding the parish of Bosham on three sides, appears from its convenient and sheltered position, to have been much frequented by the Romans. "Musgrave, in his 'Belgic Antiquities,' inclines to a belief that Vespasian's camp lay on the left bank of the harbour of Chichester."¹ Old Park has always been considered the site of the camp. On its borders there were formerly earth-works, which have long since been levelled by the plough. At "Stone Wall," where Vespasian is believed to have resided,² there were standing, a few years ago, some massive walls, between six and seven feet thick, and about seven feet high, lying E. and W., and extending some seventy feet in length. Within a short distance of these ruins, there still remains, unaltered in shape, the oblong reservoir, now an osier-bed, called "Bullrush Pond," which supplied the palace with water.

"Stone Wall" was the residence either of nobility or royalty, down to the period of Canute's death.

In a field to the N.W. of Broadbridge House were discovered, in the year 1832, the foundations of a Roman building, extending east and west. In the centre of the building

¹ Dallaway's Hist^y of Sussex.

² Vespasian quitted Britain at the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem.

was a square apartment of forty-five feet, with walls two feet six inches thick, and six feet six inches deep, in the middle of which was a circular bath, six feet in diameter, and six feet in depth. The sides of the bath were vitrified, and a great quantity of very thin pottery was found in it, but nothing in a perfect state. East and west of the large square, on either side were three rooms, each twelve feet square, with walls one foot six inches thick, and one foot six inches deep, divided by passages six feet long and five feet wide.

Supposing the building to have been a private dwelling, the large square must have been the atrium, or hall, which was in the middle of the house, and surrounded by other small rooms, illuminated by an oblong skylight, un-glazed, called the compluvium, and below this, in the floor, was a pond or basin (impluvium) to receive the rain which fell from the roof. This basin was sometimes stored with fish.

The late Mr. King, the antiquary, of Chichester, who several times inspected the foundations of this building, was of opinion that it was a store for arms, and that the cistern or bath in the centre of the large square was for the use of the troops. In digging out the foundations, a number of coins, all of Antoninus, were found embedded in the mortar, so that there is little doubt that the building was erected during his reign.

About 150 yards S.W. of this building, was a large excavation, in the form of a basin, where tradition says the Romans burnt their dead. Mr. Harris, whose family have resided in Bosham upwards of 200 years, tells me that he recollects the spot before it was partially filled up, and he has been told by members of his family that they remember remnants of the tiers of seats, where the spectators sat to watch the funeral pile.³

About 200 yards N. of the building at Broadbridge, near the side of the high road leading from Portsmouth to Chichester, partly in the garden of the Swan Inn, and partly in the adjoining field, were discovered (also in 1832), considerable foundations, in which Mr. Harris found embedded a coin of Honorius.

³ This excavation Mr. Lower thinks much more likely to have been an amphitheatre. The remains of several

of these still exist in Britain, in the vicinity of Roman camps.

In trenching a piece of ground, called "Bull's Garden," contiguous to Bosham Churchyard, Thomas Bartlett, who died eleven years ago, discovered a small Roman foot-bath.

From the number of Roman remains which have been found, it is more than probable that the tradition is trustworthy, that on the site of the present church formerly stood a *Basilica*, which, in Constantine's reign, was used for Christian worship.

At the latter end of the 12th century, Warlewast, Bishop of Exeter, remodelled the religious establishment here, and constituted it a College, consisting of a Dean and five Canons, or Prebendaries. Of this College, the Rev. Edward Turner has given an account in Vol. VIII. of the "Sussex Archæological Collections."

Before Warlewast's Foundation, the building of the church may be traced as follows:—

First, the *Basilica*, used as a Christian temple. After the Romans quitted Britain, the *Basilica*, enlarged towards the west, became a Saxon church: this occupying exactly the same site as the present nave (excepting the aisles), with the addition of the tower.

The entrance of the *Basilica* was where the chancel arch now stands, and the building extended to within a few feet of the east end of the present chancel. The foundations were discovered about fifteen years ago in constructing a vault.

The chancel of the Saxon church was terminated by an apse. The remains of a Saxon window may be seen on the the N. wall.⁴

In the Norman period (more space being required for the members of the religious house, which had been considerably augmented), the chancel was lengthened. On the north wall a Norman window has been recently opened, and

⁴ In the Bayeux tapestry there is a representation of Harold and his soldiers, accompanied by hounds, riding to Bosham, the explanatory inscription above it being, "HAROLDUS DUX ANGLORUM ET SUI MILITES EQUITANT AD BOSHAM." Then is given a view of the church, labelled ECCLESIA, into which two persons, apparently Harold himself and an attendant, are pressing, probably

for the purpose of asking a benediction on the voyage. The building itself is as little like as could be to the present church, but it is remarkable that the arch rudely depicted in the tapestry is of the same proportions as the chancel arch now existing, which doubtless stands on the base of the entrance to the Roman basilica. M.A.L.

on the south wall is the piscina, belonging to the Norman altar, pointing out exactly how far the Norman chancel extended.

At the end of the 12th century, Bishop Warlewast again lengthened the chancel, introduced the arcades into the Saxon walls of the nave, and added both north and south aisles. At the same time the Early-English windows were placed in the chancel walls, including the matchless five-light window at the east end, and so the general character of the church was altered, and made as far as possible Early-English. Warlewast also raised the floor of the nave.

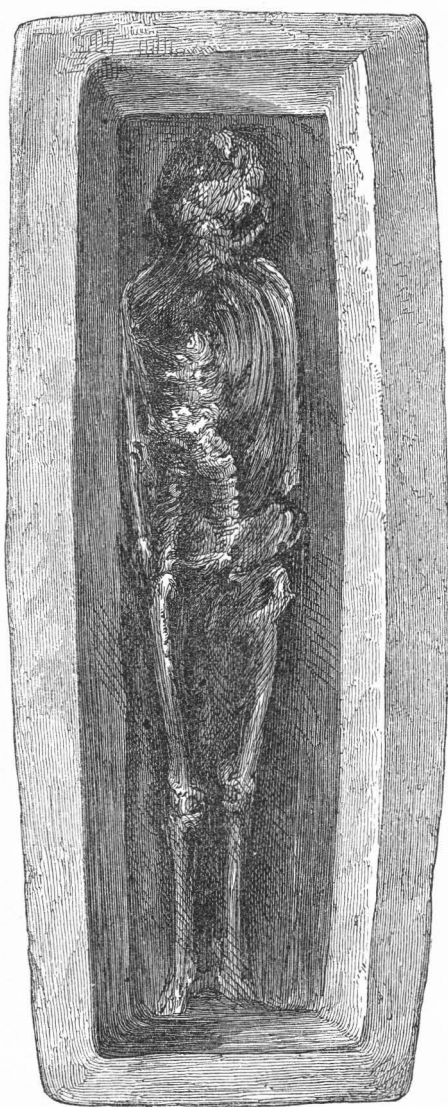
In carrying out the present restoration of the church, bases, undoubtedly Roman, were discovered at the foot of the piers of the chancel arch, and in order that these might not be again buried, at least on the western side, it was determined that the floor of the nave should be lowered to its original level. This has been done, and I need scarcely say the proportions of the arch and piers have been greatly improved thereby.

These bases belonged to the entrance door-way of the Basilica.

Fragments of Roman pottery were found under all parts of the floor of the nave—thus corroborating the tradition of the existence of the Basilica.

The quantity of Roman tiles, which may be distinctly seen in the walls of the church, now stripped of their plaster and pointed, particularly in the east and west walls of the nave, further tends to prove this. Hence we may with great probability infer that the Basilica existed in the fourth century, during the reign of Constantine, the son of St. Helena, who was a native of Britain.

From the year 449, when the Saxons first established themselves in Britain, Christianity began to disappear from the most important and fruitful provinces of Britain. As the Saxons founded, one after another, their petty kingdoms, they destroyed the churches, and the priests fled before them. Thus Christianity was all but extinguished in England, until A.D. 596, the year of the arrival of Augustine. The kingdom of Sussex remained in a state of heathen darkness until Wilfrid came hither, A.D. 681.



COFFIN OF A DAUGHTER OF CANUTE, BOSHAM.

The Venerable Bede tells us that Wilfrid found a small Monastery existing at Bosham, which was presided over by Dicul, a Monk of Irish extraction.⁵ It appears also from Bede that before this time the Monastery was under the presidency of one named Eappa. It was probably founded soon after the arrival of Augustine, as Mr. Smyth in his manuscript history of the Manor of Bosham, written A.D. 1637, says, "This Manor of Bosham, whereto the hundred called Bosham hundred is appendant, was parcell of the auncient possessions of the Archbishop's See of Canterbury, from the first erection of that Bishoppricke, till the time of King Edward the Confessor." Camden says, Dicul's Monastery "many yeares after was converted into a retiringe place of ease for King Harrold." But Harold's Palace was certainly on, or east of the site of the present Manor-house, and probably surrounded by a moat, of which three sides still remain.

Tradition points out Creed (now a tything) nearly a mile distant from the Manor-house, as the spot whereon Dicul's little Monastery stood, and I am certainly inclined to credit this, believing it much more likely that he would have established himself in what was then, and is even now, comparatively a secluded spot, than where Harold's Palace afterwards stood—a much more conspicuous position.

From the time of Constantine, i.e., early in the 4th century, when the lamp of Christian truth was first generally lighted throughout Britain,—although from A.D. 449, until A.D. 596, it was again generally extinguished,—it is more than probable that at Bosham, although burning dimly, it was never quite put out. At all events, from before A.D. 596 until A.D. 681, the Christian faith is known to have been preserved here, while the rest of the kingdom of the South Saxons was buried in heathen darkness.

I come now to the discovery of the stone coffin containing the remains of a daughter of Canute.

It had always been handed down by tradition that a child of Canute was buried somewhere within Bosham Church, but the exact spot was known latterly but to few. Mr. Harris, to whom I am indebted for most of the Bosham traditions, knew the particular locality, and several times pointed it out

⁵ Bede. Lib. iv., c. 13.

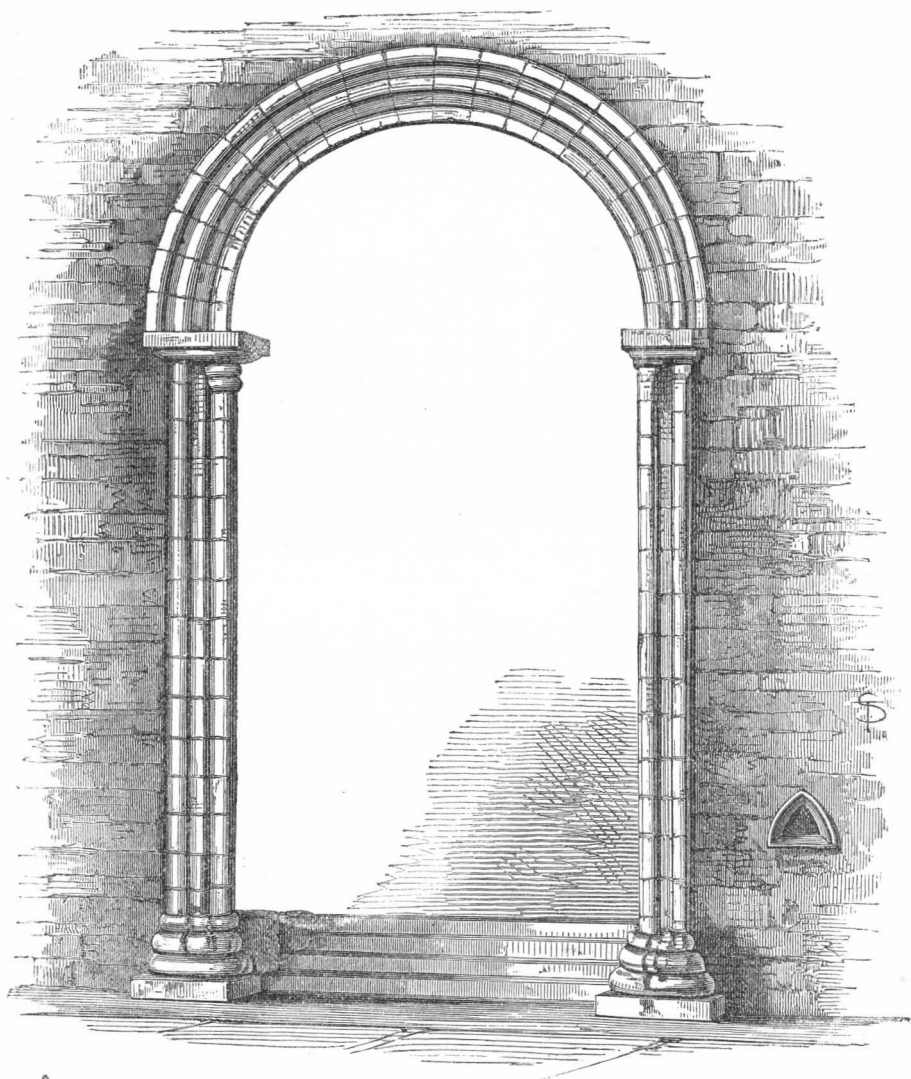
to me. Mr. Kilwick, a former Vicar, and Mr. Hay, the Historian of Chichester (who mentions the tradition in his work) also knew the place, and spoke of it on several occasions to Mr. Harris.

The place referred to is at the east end of the nave, on the south side, and just without the chancel arch. The piscina belonging to the altar tomb, said formerly to have stood over the remains, is in a perfect state, and may be seen in the wall on the south side of the chancel arch.

Before proceeding to the particulars of the discovery, it should be mentioned that in the chancel, resting on what was once used as the Easter Sepulchre, lies a mutilated stone effigy of a little girl with a lion at her feet. The figure is of about the time of Edward I., and is commonly said to represent Canute's daughter. If such be the case, some one in Edward's reign, that the interment of Canute's child in Bosham Church might not be forgotten, must have caused this memorial of her to be placed within its walls. But this is extremely improbable. The apparent date of this figure in no way corresponding with the time of the decease of Canute's child has led many persons to doubt the fact of her interment in Bosham Church at all, and indeed, Gough, in his *Sepulchral Monuments* (vol. I. p. 91), relying only on the discrepancy between the date of the effigy and the period of the child's death, and disregarding altogether the tradition of her interment at Bosham, ridicules the idea.

The figure, which is broken in two, has been moved from place to place. It is remembered by some as reclining on "Herbert's Tomb," near the entrance of the crypt; and others say that it originally lay upon a tomb which formerly stood exactly over the spot where the coffin was discovered. At all events the fact of the interment of Canute's child within their ancient church was never for one moment doubted by the people of Bosham, and when the opportunity offered I was resolved to test the truth of the tradition.

For some time the scaffolding, which had been erected for repairing the chancel arch, and for pointing the east wall of the nave, stood in our way; but this being removed, and the floor also taken up, on the 4th August, 1865, in the presence of my son, Henry Godwin Mitchell, Mr. Edgar J.



Mr. Braithwaite

CHANCEL ARCH, BOSHAM.

Varley, the artist, and Mr. C. Sturges Jones, surgeon, of Chichester, I directed the masons who were at work in the church, to sound the spot which tradition had pointed out as the site of the child's grave. The iron bar at once struck upon a stone, and on removing the mould which covered it a stone coffin was presented to our delighted gaze. The mason in raising the lid, which was firmly fixed to the coffin by concrete, broke it in two places; but when it was raised the remains of the child were distinctly visible, and Mr. Varley at once made a most correct and careful drawing of the coffin and its contents, a representation of which is given.

The dimensions of the coffin are as follow, viz:—

INSIDE MEASUREMENT.

| | ft. | in. |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Length - - - - - | - 4 | 2½ |
| Breadth across the head - - - - - | - 1 | 0 |
| " " the breast - - - - - | - 1 | 2 |
| " " the foot - - - - - | - 0 | 9½ |
| Depth at head - - - - - | - 0 | 11½ |
| " at foot - - - - - | - 0 | 10 |

OUTSIDE MEASUREMENT.

| | ft. | in. |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|
| Depth at head - - - - - | - 1 | 6 |
| " at foot - - - - - | - 1 | 3 |
| Length - - - - - | - 5 | 0 |
| Thickness of lid - - - - - | - 0 | 7 |
| Length of corpse - - - - - | - 3 | 9 |

No vestige of any ornament or clothing was found.

From the size of the body the child must have been, as handed down by tradition, about eight years of age at the time of her decease.

In fact tradition is verified as to the exact spot of the interment, and as to the remains being those of a child; the stone coffin also corresponds in rudeness of style with coffins of Canute's period; and the piscina which still exists appears to have belonged to the altar, before which masses were said in behalf of the soul of the young princess.

It may interest Archæologists to know that the coffin with its contents, having been shown to visitors for several weeks, has not been disturbed; that the lid, where broken, has been again united, and that the coffin in its original, and it is hoped, last, resting-place, where it was buried nearly 850 years ago, has been carefully covered over, and

that the spot will be marked, when funds are forthcoming, by some suitable memorial.

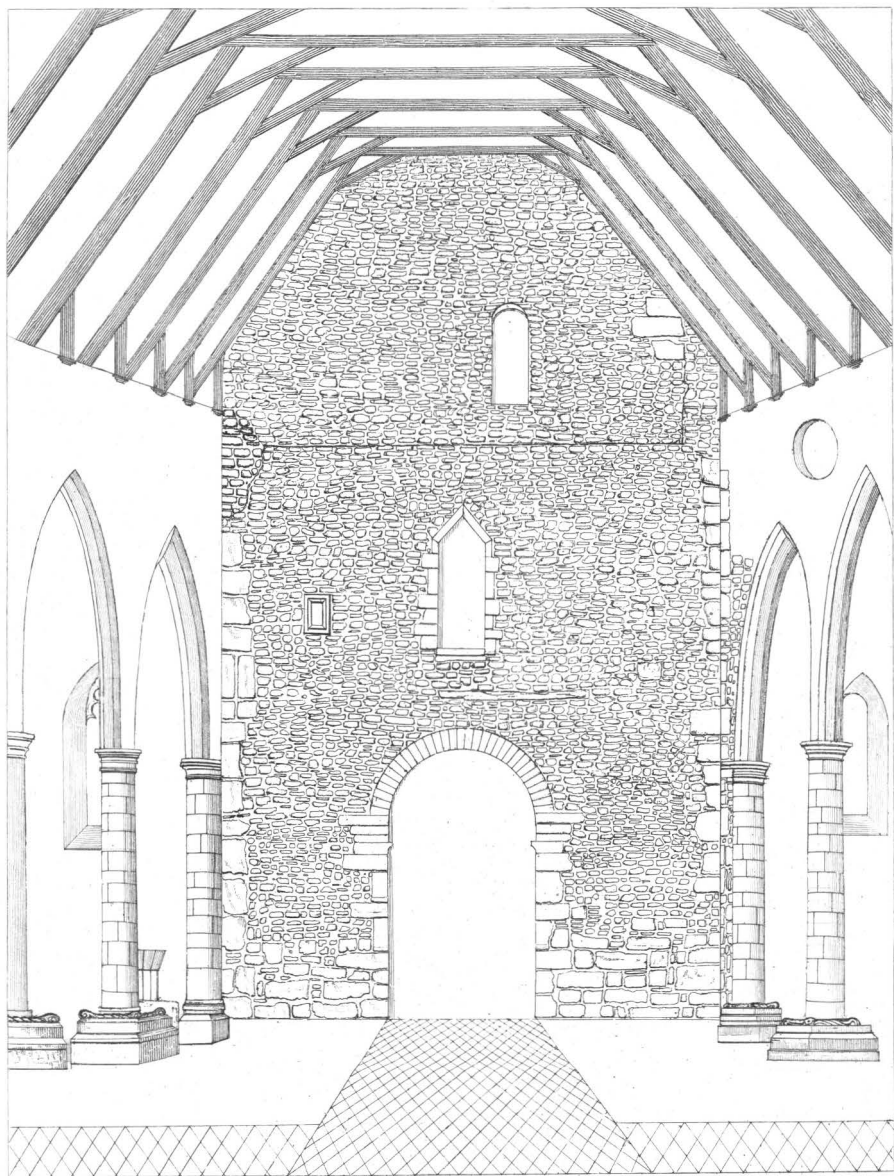
I will now add a few words respecting King Canute himself, and his connection with Bosham. I have already said there were two royal residences at Bosham: one near the church, E. of the present Manor House, the palace of Earl Godwin, and afterwards of Harold; the other at Stone Wall, the residence of Vespasian, after him of the Roman governor, whoever he might be, during the Roman occupation, and subsequently of King Canute.

At the beginning of my paper I remarked that Chichester Harbour, from its convenient and sheltered position, appears to have been much frequented by the Romans. I have endeavoured to show that the Romans, from a very early period, had a considerable settlement in Bosham; and it is well-known that the Saxons and Danes, as much as their predecessors, availed themselves of the advantageous position of the harbour of Chichester.

At the time of the Conquest, Bosham was the port on the South Coast where people embarked for the Continent. For communicating with his dominions elsewhere, Canute could scarcely have chosen a more convenient spot. Accordingly, he occasionally occupied the old Roman palace at Stone Wall, and during one of his stays there, with Emma his queen, lost the child, whose remains have now been discovered in Bosham Church.

It is true that there is no mention in history of this daughter of Canute, nor is it likely there would be any, seeing she died so young; but of other daughters of Canute history does give some account.

“Gunhilda, the daughter of King Canute and of Emma his Queene, was the first wife of Henrie the third, Romane Emperour, sonne of the Emperour Conrad, the second of that name, surnamed Salike: a lady of surpassing beauty: she tooke the holy vaile of a nunne in the town of Bruges in Flanders, where she spent the rest of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of S. Donatian, being the principall of that town, where her monument remaineth beside the north dore of the same church unto this day.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

J. Bastre sc.

BOSHAM CHURCH .
The Tower Wall .

“Another lady of the like sanctity is reported to be the daughter of King Canut, and the second wife of Godescalke, Prince of the Vandals, by whom he had Henry, King of that nation. They are both said to have suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ; he first at the city of Lenzim, and she after at Mickelenburg, being most cruelly tortured to death with whips. This lady, upon sundry strong inducements, cannot be asserted legitimate, which moved Andrew Velley, a Danish writer in our times, to be therein of a divers opinion from Adam of Breme and Helmoldus, who lived five hundred years before him.”⁶

According to Bromton,⁷ who is, however, a late authority, a third daughter of Canute also married Earl Godwin, the father of Harold, the last of the Saxon kings.

Earl Godwin's daughter was also the wife of Edward the Confessor, so that Harold, though considered by historians as an usurper, had a two-fold claim to the throne, being the brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor, and the grandson of Canute.

From Sweyn Estrith, a nephew of Canute, are descended the Berkeleys, of Berkeley Castle, in the county of Gloucester, “in whose generations” that “goodly seigniory,” the manor of Bosham, hath now been vested 554 years. The Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Berkeley, of “Old Park,” who represent the present noble Lord of the Manor, are the chief promoters of the restoration of Bosham Church, wherein were laid, some 850 years ago, the remains of the youthful first cousin of their ancestor, Sweyn Estrith.

⁶ Speed's Great Britain, 1611., p. 393.

⁷ “Comes Godwinus, qui filiam regis

Kanuti de prima uxore sua, sive amatia sua, desponsaverat.” Bromton 934.

SUSSEX IRON WORKS AND IRON MASTERS.

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, F.S.A.

To Vol. II. of these Collections—now a very scarce book—I had the pleasure of contributing a somewhat elaborate article on the Iron Works of Sussex, tracing their progress from the first century of the Christian era almost to our own times, and I continued the subject in Vol. III. When Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Merthyr knew little of that branch of industrial art, the now quiet Weald of Sussex resounded with the clangour of hammers and the bellowing of blast furnaces. The Sussex iron-works deprived us of our timber, and our forest gods succumbed to Ceres and Pan—giving up to ploughmen and shepherds what had been for ages the “*Sylva Anderida*—” certainly the greatest forest of South Britain. Subterraneous fuel was not attainable here, and consequently volcanic art was transferred to other counties, where the geological strata yielded in close proximity both iron ore and the coal wherewith to fuse it.

Within the last few years there has been a great deal of enquiry as to the practicability of working our still far from exhausted iron strata. I have been in correspondence on the subject with iron-masters in various parts of Great Britain, and there seems to be a prevailing impression that, ere long, a considerable accession to the wealth and traffic of this county will take place. The present difficulty appears to be the question—“Shall coal be brought to Sussex iron, or shall Sussex iron be carried to distant coal?”

Many facts in relation to our once important iron works have been brought to light since the publication of my paper in 1849, and some of these I will now put on permanent record.

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the subject is, that the iron-works of South Wales, now a great

source of wealth, had their origin in the enterprise of Sussex men. It is true that in Roman times the ferruginous strata of Glamorganshire had been made available; and that discoveries very similar to those in our parish of Maresfield, noticed in my first paper, took place in the last century near Miskin, both proving beyond all doubt, notwithstanding the assertion of Cæsar, when speaking of British iron ("*ejus exigua est copia*"),¹ that his successors were in a position to deny his statement, and that at an early period of Roman domination in this island, that enterprising and practical people in some degree developed the metallic resources which have since been one of the principal causes of our national prosperity.

My attention has been again drawn to this subject by the perusal of a paper in "*Archæologia Cambrensis*" for April, 1863, entitled "*Sussex Iron-Masters in Glamorganshire.*" The author, W. Llewelin, Esq., F.S.A., seems to have met with my essay and to have made considerable use of it; but notwithstanding the help he has derived from my researches, I must say that he has scarcely recognized such aid. I do not complain, however, since he has given me the means whereby to add, to what I have previously written on the subject, some particulars which will perhaps be of interest to many members of our Society.

Mr. Llewelin observes that, "in the County of Sussex several of the most distinguished members of the landed aristocracy had become prosperous iron-masters; and many persons had sprung from the class of yeomen or of manufacturers, to that of wealthy landowners, wholly through the profits derived from the production and manufacture of iron. This extension of the iron trade, and the great consumption of wood consequent thereon, attracted very considerable attention; and even at that remote period created grave apprehensions of the rapid extinction of the trade. Several Acts of a prohibitory and protective character were passed during the reigns of Henry VIII., and of the succeeding monarchs, both of the Tudor and Stuart races. The iron-works of that era had probably been established at Aberdare

and Merthyr-Tydfil in the reign of Henry VIII.; and it is possible that the difficulty of obtaining supplies of fuel, together with the restrictions which its increasing scarcity in Sussex rendered it necessary to attach to its consumption, superadded to the manifest advantages which Glamorganshire presented as a comparatively unexplored district, rich in all the materials requisite for the manufacture of iron, and peculiarly adapted for the establishment of such works, induced some of the iron-masters of Sussex to direct their energies and capital to that locality, where they might hope to be relieved, for several years, from many of the restrictions enforced within the Wealds of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, with respect to the consumption of fuel at ironworks. At that period it is nearly certain that Glamorganshire was a remarkably well wooded region, and that abundant supplies of fuel could be conveniently and cheaply obtained therein. The mountain summits and the sides of the valleys were alike plenteously clothed with luxuriant woods, and the locality was intersected by numerous rivers and mountain streams, affording admirable sites for the erection of the water-wheels requisite for working the rude blowing apparatus that was then employed. The argillaceous ironstones of the coal-measures also had their outcrops at the heads of the valleys, and so afforded ready access to that important mineral, which in these valleys could be obtained at the surface, either by the simple process of 'patching' or possibly by the more ancient system of 'scouring.'

Continuing his remarks, Mr. Llewellyn observes that, "irrespective of the interest which must necessarily attach to operations that preceded by several centuries the gigantic manufactures which have so long rendered Merthyr-Tydfil pre-eminent throughout the world, those early iron-works of Aberdare and Merthyr possess peculiar interest, from the circumstance that they were apparently established and owned by *distinguished iron-masters from the County of Sussex*, which at that period formed the chief seat of the iron trade of the kingdom."

Mr. Llewellyn thinks there is scarcely a doubt of the furnaces and forges of South Wales of the later era having been established by Sussex men, and he introduces a

chimney-back, with the royal arms, the initials E. R. (Edwardus Rex) and the date 1553, which is of precisely the same character as those still to be found in our wealden farm-houses and cottages. He likewise mentions another chimney-back, with a representation of the temptation of Eve, which from the description must be identical with a well-known Sussex type. Our iron-masters had three favourite sets of devices—royal and other armorial bearings; mythological groups; and Scripture stories. There is a very beautiful “back” in our Museum at Lewes Castle (noticed elsewhere in this volume) with Christ and the Woman of Samaria; and there was, some time since, at Westham, a very fine one with the design of Abraham’s sacrifice.

It would appear that the migration of the Sussex iron-masters into Glamorganshire dates as early as the reign of Henry VIII. One of these, of somewhat later date, Anthony Morley, son of Thomas Morley of Glynde, who married Joane Fenner, widow of Edward Shurley, of the Isfield family, became bankrupt on his speculation, and Mr. Llewellyn gives some details of litigation on the subject. His iron-works and other property were in the parishes of Llanwonno and Merthyr. His widow petitioned Sir Christopher Hatton, then Lord Chancellor, complaining of various grievances against Sir Edward Stradling, Knight, Thomas Mansell, John Gwyn, Watkin Lougher, and others. Among this unfortunate lady’s creditors were William Matthew, Constance Relfe, widow, Nicholas Chatfield, yeoman, and John Vyne—all Sussex names. It is clear that poor Anthony Morley had borrowed money from his neighbours, and that his enterprise did not succeed. The Matthews of Stansted, in this county are stated in the Visitation of 1634 to have “descended out of Glamorganshire,” and to William Matthew no doubt the connection between the English county and the Welsh is attributable. Constance Relfe, widow, had been the wife of William Relfe, and was daughter of Thomas Cheyney of Westfield, Sussex,—a great iron district.² Nicholas Chatfield lived at Ditchling, and his family about this time became armigerous.³ The distinguished family of Morley, of

² Constance Relfe was connected with Richard Cheney of Cralle, in the parish of Warbleton, mis-spelt Crawley by Mr. Llewellyn.

³ See Vis., 1634, copied in Berry’s “Sussex Genealogies.”

Lancashire (origin. temp. Edward III.) became settled in Sussex in the 15th century, through the marriage of Nicholas Morley with Joane, second daughter and co-heir of Sir John Walleys of Glynde, and our unfortunate iron master was great uncle to the celebrated Colonel Herbert Morley, M.P. for Lewes in the time of Charles I., one of the regicides, and an influential person during the Commonwealth. His family is now represented through female lines by Thomas, Lord Dacre, whose younger brother, the Hon. Henry Brand, M.P. for Lewes, is possessor of the Glynde estate. "The family of Morley," Mr. Llewelin informs us, "has not yet become extinct in Glamorganshire, and several of the descendants may yet be found in the district. At one period some members of the family were connected with the old furnace at Mellincourt in the Vale of Neath. An old gentleman of the name of Morley, lived some years back near Whitchurch; and his grandson is now residing at Blackwood as a highly respectable surveyor. Many of the descendants may be found in the Taff Valley.

Another of the families who migrated from Sussex to Glamorganshire for the manufacture of iron, were the Relfes, who originated at Mayfield, and intermarried as we have seen with the Cheneyes. Gregory Relfe, whose name is mentioned as proprietor of some of the Glamorganshire works, was one of the sons of John Relfe, the elder brother of William Relfe, who married Constance. The elder line of the Relfes of Mayfield ultimately removed to Ashburnham, and having purchased an estate of Sir John Ashburnham, became a family of considerable wealth and importance. Their heiress married in 1722, Giles Watts of Battle, father of the well-known Giles Watts, M.D., and great-grandfather of the present James Watts, Esq., of Battle.

There was lately preserved at Horeham, formerly the seat of the Dykes, a paper apparently written in the year 1664, containing a list of the furnaces and forges of Sussex as they existed in the 17th century. The paper has been lost, but by the kindness of William Ansell Day, Esq., I have been favoured with a transcript.⁴

⁴ The annotations in brackets are my own. There are many mis-spellings, and

the memoranda were probably made by a stranger to the county.

"In the year 1653 did blow these 27 Furnaces in Sussex;⁵ viz.:—

- m* "Waldron [belonging to the Fuller family.]
- m* Bread [Brede furnace—see S. A. S., Vol. II.]
- m* Robertsbridge [the celebrated works at the Abbey.]
- m* Crowhurst.
- m* Barvil [Darvell (?) Vol. II., p. 207.]
- m* Custraplea [*sic* in transcript.]
- m* Streame [Chiddingly, Vol. II., p. 208.]
- m* Horsted Kaines [worked by the Morleys. Vol. II, 211].
Pullingham [Pallingham, on the Arun].—Frith.

"These 10 were continued in repair and found p'tly stored at ye beginning of 1664.

- m* Mayfield [Vol. II., p. 214.]
- m* Milplace [I cannot identify the locality. See Vol. III., p. 242.]
- m* Ewhurst.—*m* Norsham [Northiam?]*m* Conster [?]
- m* Ashburnham [See Vol. II., 209.]
- m* Beach [in the parish of Battle.]
- m* Pounslow [Poundsley in Framfield, See Vol. II., p. 210, worked by the Hodgsons, or Hodsons, some of whom settled in Glamorgan in the iron-trade (see ante.)
- m* Tilgatt [Tilgate Forest.]
Socknesse [in Brightling, See Vol. II., p. 207.]

"These 10 were discontinued before 1664, and partly ruined, but repaired and stocked on account of the Warr and hopes of encouragement.

- Cobeach [Cowbeach, near Herst-Monceux.]
- Snape [in Wadhurst. See Vol. II., p. 219.]
- Riverhall [in Wadhurst. Vol. II., 188, 218. Carried on by the Fowles.]—Maynard's Gate [Vol. III., 244.]
- Warnham.—Northparke [probably at Petworth.]
- Baybush [Beaubush, in St. Leonard's Forest.]

"These 7 were ruined before the year 1664, and so remain.

"In all 27 in Sussex, 1653, reduced to 11 before 1664.

"In the year 1653 were 42 fforges or Ironmills working in Sussex; viz.:—

- Ashburnham [See ante.]—Bugshill [in Salehurst.]
- Constance [Could this be a Warbleton forge belonging to Constance Relfe?]*m* Hoodshall.

⁵ "All those marked with an *m* made supply of his mai'es (majesty's) stores." guns or shotte in the late warrs for

Ashburnham Minor [The smaller works carried on by the Relfes.]

Cobeach [See ante.]—Steele [Steel-bridge, in Frant.]

Rivershall [Riverhall, See ante.]

Hoboorne [Howbourn in Buxted. Vol. II., p. 208; III., p. 244.]—Tickridge [in Framfield.]—Kinians. [?]

Freshfield [Worked by the Morleys. See Vol. II., p. 214, and Vol. III., p. 242.]—Holmsted.

{St. Leonard's.

{Leonards Minor [Royal property, worked by the Gratwickes. Vol. III., p. 243.]

Pounslow [See ante.]

Rowfant Supra [In Worth, worked by the Whitfeld family.]—Bower [?]

Couserne [Perhaps Coushersly or Coursley, in Mayfield.]

“These 19 were ruined before 1664, and so remaine.

Itchingham [Etchingham. See Vol. III., p. 241, and p. 243.

Sheffield [In Fletching.]

Buckhall [Buckholt in Bexhill, Vol. III., p. 241-2.]

Rowfant [in Worth. See Vol. III., p. 242.]

Crowhurst [Worked by the Relfes, Vol. III., 244.]

“These 5 are laid aside, and not used, only Buckhall is sometimes used.

Westfield [See Vol. II., p. 219. Some traces remain.]

Robertsbridge [See ante.]—Glaziers.

Bibleham [In Mayfield. See Vol. II., p. 214; III., p. 244.]

Hawksden. (Ibid.)—Bayham.—Eridge [Vol. II., 210.]

Hordley [W. Hothly.]—Streame [See ante.]

Ardingly [Worked by the Chaloners. See Vol. III., p. 242.]

Tenceley [Tynsley, near Cuckfield. See Vol. III., p. 242.]

Birchden.—Pophole.—Dunsfold.

Burton [Near Petworth.]

Burwash [See Vol. II., p. 178; III., p. 245.

Maresfield [Vol. II., p. 171.]—Buxsted [Vol. II., p. 208.]

These 18 as yet continue in hope of encouragement.”

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 Waynflete) 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 (Waynflete) 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 Waynflete (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.

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| 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 " husbondman. | Thomas Baker, of <i>Ukfeld</i> , yoman. |
| John Bottyng " husbondman. | William Manser, of " yoman, and |
| Stephen Bottyng " husbondman. | 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 Buste, of <i>Ryngmere</i> , yoman, and |
| Thomas Polyngton " yoman. | Andrew Thaccher, of " yoman, con- |
| John Croft " parker. | stables of the HUNDRED of RING- |
| And others. | MERE, and the residents of that HUN- |
| John Foreby, of <i>Ilfeld</i> , gent. | DRED. |

²³ Membrane 13.

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| 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 Skyenner 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.

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| 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 trussing 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 remenaunt 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, cxiiij. 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 Westersham 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."² 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.

THE STATUTES OF THE MARSHES OF PEVENSEY
AND ROMNEY; AND THE CUSTUMAL OF THE
TOWN, PORT, AND LEEGE OF PEVENSEY.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER, M.A.

THE documents, of which the following are a copy, are to be found in a thin quarto MS. book, on parchment, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, having been bequeathed to this University, with other Manuscripts, by Sir William Dugdale. It commences with the Statutes of the Marsh of Pevensey, the date of which is 1402; next follow those of Romney Marsh in Kent, which are dated 1350; and then the Usages and Customs of the Town, Port, and Leege of Pevensey, of the date of 1337. As the Statutes of Pevensey are stated to be founded on the more ancient ones of Romney, and are in a great measure identical with them, I have given of the Romney Marsh Statutes but little more than their titles. With regard to the Custumal of Pevensey, it has, I am aware, been already given to the Society by the Rev. L. B. Larking, of Ryarsh, co. Kent, in Vol. IV., pages 209—218, of our "Collections," from the muniments of Sir Edward Dering, Bart., at Surrenden; which Custumal Mr. Larking considers to be the original drawn up for, and delivered over to, the Lord Warden of Dover Castle, in the year 1357. But as this Surrenden Manuscript is partly in Latin, and partly in Norman-French, and in some parts imperfect from decay, the Oxford translation will still be interesting, not only on account of its being in the vernacular language of the day, but as giving us a clue by which to supply some of these deficiencies. That the book from which my transcripts are made was once the property of the Bailiff and Jurats of Pevensey seems not to admit of much doubt; and it probably came into Sir William Dugdale's hands *by way of loan* (they would scarcely have *given* to him documents of so much importance to them), at the time he was preparing for

publication his work on the Imbanking and Drainage of this Country, and was, after the completion of his work, *forgotten* to be returned by him. In my transcript I have retained the ancient mode of spelling and arrangement of the original, which is in some parts rather complicated and difficult to make out. This is more manifestly the case with the Pevensy Custumal, owing probably to the translator adhering more strictly than was needful to the construction of the original. I have therefore occasionally introduced a word or two to make the sense more clear. The originals of the Pevensy and Romney Statutes I have never seen; but I infer from the circumstance of some extracts, which Jacob gives in his Law Dictionary from the Romney Statutes, being in Latin, that they were first compiled in that language. The reference to the Ashmolean copy is "MSS. Dugdale, 43," and not 78, as Tanner gives it in his Notitia Monast., when alluding to it in speaking of the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist at Pevensy. (See Custumal, Clause 4.)

The first of these Documents is headed "The Estatutes of the Mersh of Penvensy," and is as follows:—

"Henry" (IV.) "by the grace of Gode Kyng of Englonde and of ffrance, and Lorde of Erlonde, To all Men unto whome this presente wrytinge shall come, we sende gretinge."

"forasmoche as we have scene serteine Ordynaunces made by the Pryour of Michelham, John Pelham, and William Makenade, in the Mershe of Pevensy, thurgh the verteus of our Letters Pattentis sent into our Chancery, after the tenour that followeth in this wordes."

"Thees been the Ordynaunces of the Pryour of Michelham, John Pelham, and William Makenade, made at Westham in the Mershe of Pevensy, the frydaye nexte before the feaste of St. Gregory, the third yere of the Reign of Kinge Henry iiiijth, after the conqueste of Englonde, thurgh the vertew of serteine letters patent of the saide Kyng, wherof the tenour and effecte is conteyned in the processe ffollowinge."

"Our Sovereign the Kyng hath sente unto his trew and well belovyd Thomas Erpyngham,¹ Constable of the Castell of Dovore, and Warden of his V portes, other² to his Lewetenants ther the Priour of Michelham, John Pelham, William ffynes William Makenade, Robert Oxenbrige, John Preston, William Chayne, and Vincent ffynche, his letters patent with this words ffollowinge."

"Henry by the grace of Gode Kyng of Englonde and of ffrance, and Lorde of Erlonde, To his well belovyd Thomas Erpyngham, Constable of the Castell of Dovore, and Warden of his V portes, other to his Lewetenantes, the Pryour of Michelham, John Pelham, William ffynes, William Makenade, Roberte Oxenbrige, John Preston, William Chayne, and Vincent ffynche, sendyth gretyng."

"Know ye, that the Walles, diches, guttes, sewers, briges, causeis, and swallounes, in the Mershe of Pevensy, betwene Bexhill and Beachiff,³ in the Countye of

¹ Constable of Dover Castle 1st Henry IV. A.D. 1399. The Lords Wardens of the Cinque Ports were anciently called "Tractus Maritimi Comites."

² Other for *Otherwise*, or *or*.

³ Beachy-Head.

Sussex, by the stroke of the see, and ebbynge and flowynge of the same; and also by divers streemes and courses of fresse waters, dessendynge by divers places of the see, so that divers Ordynaunces which was made by the Abbote of Begeham, and his ffellowes, late Justices of Richard, late Kynge of Inglonde, the seconde after the conqueste, exemplified and sealed with his seale, to supervyde and oversee that the saide walles, diches, guttes, sewers, briges, causeis, and swallonnes; be repayred and made; the which Ordynaunces be not observed and kept, insomuche that divers harmes and inestimable hurtis hath fallen thereby of olde times, and it is to drede, that manie greater hurtis and harmes shall fall within a short tyme, unless that behoful remedy be rather applied."

"Therefore we, inasmoche as perteynythe to our Royaltie, to supervyde and oversee in everie place for the salvacion and savegarde of our Realme, being willynge in that partie that congrue and hastie remedie be hadde, have a-signed you vij, vij, v, iij, iij, or too; of whom we will that the forsaide William Makenade, Robert Oxenbrige, and John Preston be one, to oversee and diligently to beholde attende the aforesaide Ordynaunces for the salvacion and defencion of the saide Mershe agens the streemes and waters before rehersed:—And yf case be that they be defectyf, and not sufficient, ye are to amend and correct the aforesaide Ordynaunces:—And also, yif meete be, to ordeyn a newer, howe and in what wyse the aforesaide Mershe may be beste sayde and defendyd from all maner of perell, and infortunate cases that may happen hereafter."

"Also we wille, that ye ordeyne sufficient punysshinge for them, the whiche rebelle ageynst the forme and Ordynaunces made by you vij, vij, v, iij, iij, or too, of whom we wille that ye William Makenade, Robert Oxenbrige, and John Preston, be one, so to doo and ordeyne, that the forsaide Ordynaunces be kepte and observyd for evermore and also proclaymed and published in that parties, and all other singler thinges that be necessary and behoveful to the savegarde of the forsaide Mershe to be doon and fulfilled after the custom, as well of the same Mershe, as of the Mershe of Romeny, and also by the law and consuetude of our Realme of Inglonde; and what so ye doo in the forsaide Ordynaunces to see that they be fulfilled and executed after the forme beforesaide."

"Farthermore we give commandements to our leage Men of the same Countie that they be attendinge, counsellinge, and helpinge, as it seemethe beste to you vij, vij, v, iij, iij, or too, of whom we wille that William Makenade, Robert Oxenbrige, and John Preston be one, in fulfillinge and doynge dew execution of the forsaide Ordynaunces."

"In witnesse of the whiche thinges we have ordeyned this our Letters Pattentis; witnessinge myself at Westminster, the xvth day of November, the thyrde yere of our reigne," (1402).

"Through the pretexte of this forsaide Letters, the said Prior, John Pelham, and William Makenade, wente to the place before rehersed, upon the forsaide frydaye, by the condicent of the Lordes of the Townes, the Bayly, and the xij Juratis, otherwise named Shawers, ⁴ and of the Comenes of the saide Mershe, that is to saie, the Abbote of Begham, and the Priour of Lewes, by John ffrenshe, ther Attorney, Thomas Sackviles, Chevalier, by Nicholas Selwyne, his Attorney, Phillippe Mestede, by John Colebronde, his Attorney, and other moo Lordes; and also with divers other of the saide Comens, that is to saie, John Bacon, William Sleghande, John Willarde, Simon Launceforde, Andrewe Burgeis, Robert Redinge, John Colebronde, Bayly, Thomas Peplesham, Thomas atte Bricke, Thomas Kechynham, Thomas Gilridge, Thomas atte Wode, Thomas Keder, Thomas Pulle, John Wodelonde, and William Tutte, Shawers, of the saide Mershe, chosen by the comunes, hath ordeigned these Statutes followinge, for the dew conservance of the forsaide Mershe, and for the salvacion of the same in tyme to come."

"In the first place, because ther was no certeyne Lawe of the saide Mershe ordeyned, ne used, before ther tyme, but at the voluntary of the Lordes, the whiche hadde Londe within the saide Mershe, by the whiche divers perells and hurtis intollerable daylly grew and was renewed; wherfore to eschewe this forsaide perilles

⁴ Shawers, from a Saxon word, signifying an Overlooker, or Overseer. The original duties of the office of Jurate are

hence clearly deduced. Dugdale calls them Szawers. See Lower's Chronicles of Pevensy.

and hurtis, for the increseinge of the common profite. It is ordeyned and fully concorded, that yerey a principall Courte shalbe holden in the saide Mershe, within xv dayes of the feaste of Saynte Michael, tharcanell, wherat one Bayley, and xij Shawers, collectours and spendours of the scottis, shalbe chosen by the Lordes of the Townes, for the salvacion and savegarde of the forsaide Mershe, other the which Bayly shall supervide and oversee the defances of the Mershe, and the xij Shawers shall make concideracions and awarde, accordinge to the Lawe and custom of the Mershe of Romeney, and also that everie Man, by lawful quantite and porcion of his holdinge within the boundes of the saide Mershe, shall give, be even porcions, to the reparacion and sustentacion of the Walles, guttes, sewers, briges, and all other necessary things within the saide Mershe. by the consideracion of the xij Shawers; and that all the reparacions of Walles, Watergauges, guttes, and sewers, to be made as of tyme, as nedithe, wherof the costis shalbe raised and made levy under this forme—that everie man that hathe any londe under that parrell, be yt ney or farre, from the said parrell, so that the saide londe may be saved, other the Owners may have profite by the Walles, Watergauges, guttes, and sewers beforesaide shalbe contributory for the londes and tenementes after the porcion of ther tenure; so that no man holdinge londes and tenementis under the forme beforesaide shalbe sparid in that forme, be he rich or poure, of what estate, dignitie, or condicion that ever he bee, within the libertie or without. And yf so bee that any man be negligent in payinge of his porcions at ther serteyne daye ordered by the Shawers for ther porcion of Walles, guttes, and Watergauges, the whiche have ben ordeyned to be repayed, Then yt is lawfull for thos men so beyng behynde of ther payment to be strayed by ther goodes and Cattells, whersoever they may be fownde, within the libertie or withoute, within the precynote of the said Mershe. unto the tyme that they have payed dewly ther porcions with ther wanes; the whiche wanes shalbe receyved to the profite of the Baylyffe. Thees distresses aforesaide shalbe taken by the Baylyffe and the xij Shawers, the whiche shalbe kepte iij dayes; and yf so be that the Owner be rebellious and negligent of his paymente induryng the terme of iij dayes beforesaide, then it is lawfull for the saide distresse to be solde, and the money preservyd for to eschewe the parrell of the Mershe and the unserteyne temper of the see.”

“And also the Comune Baylly of the Mershe of Pevensey, the whiche hath londes within the saide Mershe, shalbe chosen, yf it be profitable and yf it be not profitable, yt is lawfull for another to be chosen, by the assente of the Lordes of the Townes of the saide Mershe, or by ther Attornays, sittinge and holdinge of the Courtes and Lastes⁵ at Westham, or some other lawfull place within the boundes of the saide Mershe, and within xv dayes of Saynte Michael-tyde before rehersyd, by the somonyng, rehersyng, and warnyng of the Bayley. But yf it behoveth the saide Bayly, for some necessarie other reasonable cause, to be chaunged within the saide yere, and another to be chosen in his stede;—furthermore yf so be that the saide Bayly be presente to his election, and not admytte his office, then he shalbe amerced by the Electours in xl^{s.}, the whiche the Baylyffe next ffollowing shall make levy of upon his goodes and cattalls, to the common profite of the saide Mershe, and so in continente a new Election of another Bayly shalbe made, the whiche shall admytte that Office, and make his othe; wherefor he shall have for his labour the wanes that falleth in his tyme of the scottis assessed and levyed. And ffarthermore yf the forsaide Bayly that ys chosen be lette be any man, so that he dare not admytte that Office for dred, that the saide man the whiche createth or causeth, be any manner of suggestion, that the forsaide Bayly dare not execute ne admytte his Office, shalbe punysshed by the chosers, lyke as the Bayly shulde. yf that he wold not admytte that Office. And yf so be that the saide Bayly be absente in the tyme of his chosinge, then shall he be strayed by the Bayly of the Mershe, his predecessor, by all his gooddes and cattalls, the whiche shalbe pounded in serteyne places ordered by the chosers; and there they shalbe kepte unto the tyme the forsaide Bayly goo to the

⁵ Dugdale, in his History of Imbanking and Draining, states a Laste to be a Court held in the Marshes of Kent by the twenty-four Jurates, upon the Summons of the Bailiffs; in which orders were

made to lay and levy taxes;—impose penalties, &c., for the preservation of the said Marshes. A *last* was, in fact, what is now called a water-court.

Constable of the Castell of Pevensey, the Abbotte of Begeham, othe to the Priour of Michelham, or to one of them, and make his othe, and also admytte his Office; and upon that he shall receive letters of hym whiche hath receyved his othe, sealed with his seale, to the Bayly, his predecessor; and thus shall he doo within vj dayes of his election; and yf he doo not so, he shalbe punysshed as yt is befor-saide, and in continente shalbe made a new election."

"At whiche principall Laste or Courtethe the common collectours and spenders of all the general scottis befor-saide shall make ther accompte before the Lordes of the Mershe, or ther Attornays, yf they be Shawers, and the Comens of the saide Mershe, and the whiche comptis shalbe written and endented betwene them and the saide Bayly, the xij Shawers, and all the Comynes of the saide Mershe; and so in lyke wyse the Bayly shall make his accomptis of thos thinges that perteyneth unto hym to accompte for; and yf that any of the xij Shawers faile for the forsaide Laste, or principall Courte, but yf they have a reasonable excuse, they shalbe amerced in xij^d to the commune worke, the whiche shalbe made levy by the Bayly. And also yf any of the Shawers dye, or be delyvered from his Office within the yere be any cause reasonable, then shall another be chosen, and put in the principall Laste or Courte by the Lordes of the fee, the Bayly, and the remayninge xj Shawers, and the Comynes of the wisest, eldeste, and moste discrete men of the saide Mershe, unto the tyme the number of xij be fulfilled. In like wyse shall the election be made of the Collectours and of the Spenders, so that they be not chosen of the aforesaid xij, yf any other may be founde able within the saide Mershe. And yf any of the forsaide xij Shawers, Collectours, and Spenders, be chosen, and will not make his othe accordinge unto the Ordynauces befor-saide, then shall he be amerced in xv^s, the whiche shalbe made levy to the commune worke, as yt is aforesaide, and after that in continente another shalbe chosen, and charged with his othe and offyce."

"And furthermore yf the xij Shawers be sumoned and warned to come to the comone or principall Laste or Courte, wheras they appere not aboute the number of iiij, whereby the domes⁶ and awardest for the salvacion of the saide Mershe, may not procede for lack of more number, every man that ys absente of the viij shalbe amerced in vj^d by the Bayly and Shawers that bene presente; the whiche money, and other lyke, he shall yelde accompte of at the principal Courte."

"ffurthermore, every man singularly of the xij Shawers shall swere, that he shall with his fellowes, make trewe judgmentis and awardest, not sparinge riche men nor poore, as well of ther stresses as of ther walles, londynges, watergagues, sewers, diches, guttes, briggess, nettes, and other impedymenis within the boundes of the saide Mershe, to be meved,⁷ and the trespases to be punysshed; and also that they, in proper person, be attendant to the Baylie of the saide Mershe, to take distresses and pounce them thre dayes, and after that to prayse them, and selle them, accordinge to the consuetude of Romeney Mershe; and also all the judgments and awardest made by them shalbe enrolled and endented betwene them and the Bayly of the forsaide Mershe. Also the Collectours and Spenders shall swere, that they shall trewly make levie and gather togeder, spende, and counte, of all maner of scottis by the Lordes of the Fee, by the Bailie, and the xij Shawers, other of the more partie off them; and so in this maner be yt made and kepte in all Instreemes within the boundes of the saide Mershe before the Lordes of the Townes, of what Instreemes soever it be, yf they be presente."

"Also the saide Bayly shall swere, that he shall do trewe execution of all maner of judgmentes, awardest, and consideracions, made and judged by the Shawers of the saide Mershe. Also the Baylie, in proper person, all Collectours and Spenders, as well of general scottis, as of Instreemes, shall swere and charge them trewly to gader and to spende the said scottis, and therof a trewe comptis yelde; and the saide Baylie, in proper person, shall oversew all walles, londynges, watergagues, sewers, guttes, and briggess, as ofte as it nedethe."

"ffurthermore, the saide Bayly shall deliver to the Baylie that followethe, his successour, all maner of Evidences, bothe Recordes, paymentes, and exemplificacions, the whiche conteyneth the Customes of the Mershe, with all the Courte Rolls,

⁶ Dome, from the Saxon Dom, a judgment, Sentence, or Decree. The compound words Kingdom, Earldom, &c.,

signify the Dom, or jurisdiction, of a King, an Earl, &c.

⁷ Sic.

judgmentis, consideracions, and awardes, by his tyme by the Shawers made and judged, with all maner of Comptis, of gaderynges and spendynges, ffurthermore, the Bayly's Clerke shall have for his labor of the Comones of the saide Mershe vj^s viij^d."

"Also yt shalbe not be lawful hereafter for any man to make dammes, fordes, other sette nettes, other any other impediments make, inlondynges, water-gauges, diches, other in common streemes in the saide Mershe, by the whiche the right course of the water may be letted; and yf so be that the right course of the water be lette by any maner of man under the forme beforesaide, and so testyficated by the Bayly, and vj Shawers, other comones of the Instreemes, wher as the hurte was made, then the trespassour shalbe amerced in continent, after the quantitie of his trespas, by the forsaide Bayly, and the xij Shawers; and also the saide Bayly, and the xij Shawers shall levie the saide merciamentis to the common profite, as yt is rehersyd before."

"ffurthermore, yf any other man than one of the Comones be hurte under the same forme by the witesse of the Bayly and vj Shawers it shalbe satisfied, and the harme amended to hym that ys hurte, by the consideracion of the Bayly and the Shawers."

"Also every scotte assessed shalbe proclaymed in serteyn places, and dayes of painente assigned, wher, and in what place, the scottis shalbe paide, so that the paiers may have none excuse, but that the painente be paide dewely at the daye prefixed."

"Also every acre of londe lyinge be the forsaide walles, and watergauges, where guttes, other flodegates, behovethe to be made, shalbe bought for xl^s."

"ffurthermore, no man shall lede away from the common worke, laborers nor workmen, to his singler occupation, unto the tyme the forsaide common warke be finyshed and ended; and yf so be any man doo the contrary to this Ordinaunce, then the trespassour shall be amerced in the common Laste or Courte by the Bayly and the Shawers in x^s, the whiche shalbe made levie by the Baylie in continente to the comone profite, as yt is beforesaide."

"Also that all maner of Instreemens, be whoos londe and tenementes they goo be kepte so that the water breke not his right course, to the hurte of any man, under the payne of the quantitie of his trespas, the whiche shalbe made levie by the Bayliffe of the Mershe and vj Shawers; and yf any man make a saute or rescue ageinst the Bayliffe, and the xij Shawers, other ageinste any of them, or the Sergeautes, for the takynge of stresses, other for any other maner of article apperteyninge to ther execucion for the comone profite, accordinge to the Ordynaunce beforesaide, than the saide trespassour shalbe amerced by the Baylie and vj or vij of the xij Shawers, in xv^s; the whiche shalbe made levie by the Baylie to the comone warke."

"ffurthermore, yt shalbe lawfull to the Baylie of the Mershe, and the xij Shawers, deuringe the terme, to distrayne the trespassours by ther amercyamentis, for all maner of Articles before rehersyd; and also to kepe the distresses iij dayes, and yf the Owner paie his dewtie within the tyme of the forsaide iij dayes he shall replevy the distress; but yf he paie not hys dewties within the saide terme, then shall yt be lawfull unto the Baylie of the Mershe to selle the forsaide stresses, and to preserve the money to the comone profite of the saide Mershe."

"Wherefore we exemplifie and confirme the aforesaide Ordynaunces under tenure of the presente wrytyng. In witesse of whiche thyng we have made our letters patente; witnessynge myselfe at Westminster the ffyrst daye of Maye, the therde yere of our Reigne," (1492).

Following these Statutes of the Marsh of Pevensey are those by which the Marsh of Romney was governed, and to which frequent allusion is made in the foregoing Statutes of Pevensey, leading us to infer that the Pevensey are in a great measure based on the Romney Statutes. They commence—

"This is the Ordynaunce of Thomas Codlowe, Justice, and of his fellowes, made at Crowthorne the monday nexte after the ffeste of the translation of Seynte Thomas, the xxijnd yere of the reign of King Edward the therde after the Conqueste," (1350.)

The copy of this King's Writ directed to the above, empowering them to make Rules and Regulations for the future conservation of this Marsh, and upon which they acted is then given.

"Our Sovereign Lorde the King, to his welbeloved Thomas Codlowe, Robert Belknap, and Thomas Culpeper, sendeth greetinge."

The Writ then proceeds to state, that much damage had arisen to the Marsh of Romney through "the improper interference of Matthew atte More," who had been appointed to the conservancy of this Marshe wrongfully, "through pheliship" that is, and who made use of the power thus obtained "to oppress the Comones of the said Mershe," and otherwise to misconduct himself both in the discharge of his duty in "superviding the said Mershe," and in his demeanour towards others, with whom he was officially brought into contact; so that John atte Lees, who had been duly appointed to the Bayliwicke, could not take upon him the Office through fear; "thereby placinge the saide Mershe in greate perell of beynge damaged by greate flodes and waters," to the injury of the Realm generally, and of the Marsh of Romney in particular. The parties then named in the Writ for that purpose were called upon to lay down such Rules and Regulations for the future management of this Marsh, as they in their discretion might deem expedient. Accordingly Articles were drawn up by them, which received "the sanction of the Lordes of the Towne, of the Bayly, of the xxiiij Jurattis, and of the Comones of the saide Mershe, that ys to saye, to witte, of John ffraunces, the Attorney of Symonde Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbote of Seynte Austynne of Canterbury, the Priour of Chrystis Church of Canterbury, Simonde, Master of the House of God in Dovorre, Edmunde Staplegate, Lorde of the nether Billsington, and by manie other of the Commonaltie." These Orders were issued under the following heads:—

- " 1. Of chosynge of the Baylie.
2. The payne of a Baylie. that will not consente unto the Eleccion.
3. What the Baylie shall have for his labour.
4. The payne of hym that letteth the Baylie to doo his Office.
5. How he that is absent, and chosen to be Baylie, shalbe compelled to receive his Office.
6. The Collectours and Shawers shall yelde accomptis of Receyptes.
7. How a Juratte absente from the principall Laste shall be amerced.
8. Of the Eleccion of the Jurattes, Collectours, and Shawers.

9. The payne of the Jurattes, Collectours, and Shawers, who rebell ageynste ther Eleccion.

10. Of the xxiiij Juratte's othe.

11. And that they be attendant unto the Baylie.

12. Of the Collectour's and Shaver's othe.

13. Of the Baylie's othe in doynge excusion.

14. The wages of the Baylie's Clerke.

15. That dammes and fordes be not made.

16. The Scottis assessed shalbe proclaymed.

17. The buyinge of an acre of Londe.

18. That all the severall Aquageries⁸ shalbe kepte.

19. The payne of hym that is rebell to the Baylie, or his minister, in makyng of reskew for his stresses taken."

Jacob, in his Law Dictionary, under the head of Rumney Marsh in the County of Kent, says that King Henry III. granted a Charter to this Marsh, in which he empowered twenty-four men, thereunto chosen, to make distresses equally upon all those which have lands and tenements in the said Marsh, to repair the walls and watergates of the same against the dangers of the sea; and that there are several Laws and Customs observed in the same Marsh, established by Ordinances of Justices thereto appointed in the 42nd Year of Henry III. (1258), the 16th of Edward I. (1288), the 23rd of Edward III. (1350), &c.

The Custumal of Pevensay, with which the Ashmolean MS. concludes, begins—

"Thees⁹ been the Usages and Customes of the Towne, Porte, and of the Leege of Pevensay, of the tymes whereof no mynd is."

"1. Everye yere, the mondaye next after the feaste of Saynte Michael, tharchangell all the Comones of the Towne and Leege of Pevensay be wonte to be sumoned, as well Abbottes, Priours, Knyghtes, and other worthie men, havynge londes and tenements within the fraunches, as all they within the fraunches dwellinge, and in the Church of Saynte Nicholas, with the assente¹⁰ of all the Comens, been wonte to chuse a Bailiffe, which is called Receyvour; the whiche Bailiffe shall make his othe upon a bouke, that he shall bere ffaithe to the Comminaltie aforesaide, and them shall maynteigne after his power, and trewly the pence he shall receive expend, and a trew accompt therof shall yelde;¹¹ so god hym helpe, and all Sayntes. And the same Receyvour shall receive the mandements of the Lorde Kyng, and of the Conestable of the Castell of Dovore, and the letters of the Barons of the V Portes; and all other thynges shall do, whiche to the Navy and Service of the V Portes perteyn, and none other."

⁸ Aquage (Aquagium, quasi aquæ-agium, i.e. aquæ ductus, et aquæ gaugium) a Watercourse. "Non liceat alicui de cætero facere dammas, vel fordas, aut alia impedimenta in aliquibus landeis, watergaugiis, fossatis, sive aquagiis, communibus, in Marisco predicto." Ordin: Marisc: de Romney, fact: temp. Hen. III. et Edw. I, page 72.

⁹ The first defect then in the Surren-

den MS. should be filled up by the word hæc "Hæc sunt," &c. Archæol. Collect. Vol. IV., p. 210.

¹⁰ Instead of de [vi]su as Mr. Larking fills up the blank (Custumal of Pevensay, page 211, line 1) it should be "de assensu," and [vill]e, line 3, should be "predicte."

¹¹ Sic, not sicut, as Mr. Larking conjectures.

"2. Also, the same day, the sayd Receyvour shall chuse to him xij Jurattes of the iij quarters of that Leege, that is to saie, of the Burgage of the Towne iij men and so of the other quarters iij men each; the whiche shalbe all sworne, that well and trewly the foresaide Comens shall maynteigne, and reasonable and rightfully shall taxe, and assess the taxe, collectrye, and scottis¹² from each, accordinge to his possessions and quantities, none sparinge, the rich nor the power, so god helpe, and all Sayntes."

"3. Also, the same daye, the saide Receyvour shall chuse unto hym a Comen's Clerke, the whiche also shalbe sworne, that he well and trewly towards the Comonaltie shall bere hymselfe, and the counsell of them shall kepe, and a trewe accompte shall make."

"4. Also, the Men of the Burgage of the Towne of Pevensy have an Hospital of Saynte John Baptiste, in the whiche been Brothers and Sisters, havynge londes and possessions within the Leege aforesaide, and the same Receyvour, and the Men of the saide Burgage, have the disposicion of the saide Hospital, to graunte Corodye, as well to men as to women, as they may consente. And they have to visit and chaste after¹³ the quantitie. And one of the Men of the saide Burgage alway shalbe Overseer and Superiour of that Hospital, to oversee the expense, and the accompte of the Master of the saide Hospital."

"Also the saide Receyvour and the Men may, yf there be to be hadde a Man or Woman of the saide Burgage, the whiche is come into povertie, and have not wherof to lyve, and have borne him or her well by all his or her lyffe, that same Man or Woman in the forsaide Hospital ther sustenances in the same shall take, nothing¹⁴ paynynge for the same."

"5. Also, the Lady Quene of Inglonde in the saide Towne and Leege hathe regalitie and Lordshyppe, and her Stewarde holdes Courtes from iij wykes unto iij wykes, and afore hym owght all plees to be holden, as well plees of Corone, of lyffe, and of number, as of all other and fyns, and recognisances of londes and tenementis, as in the King's Benche; and the Sewtors of the Courte shall sitte besyde the Stewarde, and shall give judgmente of ether plee and hytt shalbe saide by the mouthe¹⁵ of the Stewarde; and the Sewtors shall tax the amercymentes, that is to saye everiche, after the quantitie of the trespass, and assensing alsoe of brede and ale, and the measures and weightes, whiche to the saide Stewarde perteign, and to his Office."

"6. Also, the Lady Quene, in the same Towne and Leege, hath her Baylly, which is called Portereve; the whiche yerely is chosen in the nexte Courte holden after the ffeaste of Seynte Michael, and that by the tenauntes of the same Quene of the saide Leege, the whiche holde londes taileable; and that is tallage, the whiche each is bounde to paye be a yere certeyne, viij marcs. And the same Portereve, by hym or hys Sergiaunte, whiche is called Bedell, owthe to levie yt, and to gather rentes, ffarmes, tallages, amerciamentes, and all issues of all the Lordshippe of the saide Quene, and therof an accompte to yelde afore the auditours where beste to that they may be called; ¹⁶ and if he be found in arrearages, and of his owne have not to ylde, all the tenauntes, the whiche hym to hys Office have chosen, for hym shall satisfy. And the same Portereve, by hym or hys Sergiaunte, shall receive within the fraunches, as well of free men, as of foreigners whiche happen to be within the Liberty, all the playnts whiche have to be made; and after the nature of the playnt owght to attache, or somone, and put to plegis, and of them at the next Courte answer."

¹² The original is "enriched according to his possessions." The Surrenden MS. has "a quolibet, juxta possessiones, et quantitatem suam," &c.

¹³ The Latin word here translated "chaste after," or search out, Mr. Larking gives as castigare, to chastise, or punish.

¹⁴ Mr. Larking gives the reading of the Surrenden MS. here as "in p'diam hospit' sustent sua i eadem cap'd ul so-

luendo p' ead." The contracted word ul, he considers to be "vel;" whereas it is "nullum," "nullum solvendo," &c., paying nothing for their board and lodging, or as is here called "sustenance."

¹⁵ Page 212, l. 9, fill up the Surrenden blank after "per os," with Senescalli.

¹⁶ Page 212, l. 24, for "vacare" read vocare.

"7. Also, in case of corone, yif a Man be founde dede by adventure, or slayne by dide of any person within the ffranchises, on londe or on water, the saide Portereeve shall have the sight as Coroner, and he the same by his Bedell shall do corone, accordyng to the custom of the Countrey,¹⁷ and shall take the inquestis; and yf any be indicted by the same inquestis, the Portereeve shall demaunde of the frynde of the dede, yf they knowe ageynste whom they will pursue; and yf any of the dede be ther, or within the ffranchises fownde, the Portereeve hymselfe shalbe attached, and brought to the preson of the ffranchises, whiche is called the Berdes; and ther he shalbe kepte in stokkis by the people of the saide ffranchises till the nexte Courte, to the whiche he shalbe putte to suche law as he will, or to the usages of the V Portes, that is, to witte, to xxxvj men, whiche the same shall chose, and shall make his pannell at hys perrell, and he shall deliver hit to the handes of the Stewarde; and when they of the pannell be demaunded, everiche by hys name, yf any faille and answerde not, the prisoner shalbe adjudged to the dethe. And yf they be all redy, the Stewarde is wonte of the xxxvj to pardon vij, and the Receyvour and the Jurattes of the comones other vij, and of the remainder the Stewarde shall chose xij for the queste: and yf any witholde his hande from the bouke, or make any condicion by whiche the prisoner shalbe adjudged to dethe, harmless, the prisoner shall swere that he is not gyltie of the same felonie, or slaughter if it be; and after everye man of the queste shall swere by hymselfe; and yf they make ther othes as they owght dewly, Go the prisoner quiete."

"8. And yf a man be atteinte in cas of felonie, and of corone, and shall forfeite his lyef, the Portereeve, as Coroner, shall give the judgmente; and he shalbe sette nexte the Stewarde, and shall say these wordes—'N,¹⁸ withdrawe, and axe a prest.' And yf the same that is damned be of the ffranchises, he the same shalbe hadde to the brygge of the Towne, to the playne see, and over the brygge shalbe caste into the haven; and yf he be guil able, he shalbe hanged without the Leege at a place called Wahztrewe."¹⁹

"9. Also, in plee of londes, and of all manner of Writtes owtaken of Novel dissesen and dowary, the playntiff shall go to the Portereeve, or to his Bedell, and shall saie in this forme,—'I, N, finde suretie ageinste such a one in plee of londe'; and after suretie founde, the defessors shall have iij Essoines,²⁰ iij Somones, and iij distresses; and yf he come not after the iij distresses, to answer to the demandant, the londes shalbe taken into the handes of the Kinge by defaulte; and yf that be not replevenyd within xv dayes he shall lose the sesour of the londe; and yf he make no defaulte, he may demaunde a sighte of the londe yf he will; and after the sighte graunted, it belongeth to the defessor to be iij times Essoined in saying —'unde visus,' and afterwarde may not the defessor by non accion abate the plee, but it shall go by the very verdict of xij Jurers."

"10. Also, the saide Receyvour and Jurattis may make ffremen of non ffremen in suche manner, that yf any Man come into the Leege, and dwell within the ffranchise, usyng a laweful crafte, and he be of good conversacion, a yere and a daye, and desier the ffranchises, he shall come afore the Receyvour and the Jurattis in ther assemble in praying the ffranchises, when hyt shalbe wiste what he will paye for his ffranchises to be hadde; and afterwarde he shalbe accepte, and sworne to the ffranchises in suche manner—'I bere trewe ffaithe to N, Kinge of Inglonde, and to the Commonaltie of Pevensey, from this daye, from hensforthe, and the state of the

¹⁷ The original is "do Corone a Countrey." I have therefore given what I conceive to be the meaning of these words. The Surrenden M.S. does not throw much light on the matter, having a word or two gone just where we look for explanation:—"et il memes par son Bedell fera pays"—is as Mr. Larking gives it.

¹⁸ Mr. Larking here gives "S," which he conjectures to be the abbreviation of scilicet, or Sir. The letter, however, in the Ashmolean copy is decidedly "N."

The word "axe," for ask, in this sentence is truly Sussexian.

¹⁹ What in the Surrenden copy of this Custumal is divided into two clauses (7 and 8) is only one in the Ashmolean. For the sake of uniformity, I have followed the arrangement of the Surrenden.

²⁰ Essoin is an excuse for the non-compliance of a person summoned to appear and answer to an action brought, or to perform suite to a Court Baron, &c., by reason of sickness and infirmity of body, or other just cause of absence.

ffraunches I shall mainteigne; and shall be lottinge and scottinge of my goodes and cattalls to the Comens, and to ther graunting, as shalbe assessed, after my power.' And he shall paye to the Leighte of Saynte Nicholas j^d."

"11. Also the Men of the saide ffraunches of Pevensay may, and be wonte within ther saide ffraunches to chase the hare and conyes in all ther felde, and to hunte, and fychshe, and to fowle, by londe or by water, oute take any close, like as no man hathe to doo without a licence of hym, to whom the close appertaineth."

"12. Also, yif any Man may, of the ffraunches of Pevensay, come to the Citie of London, or suche a Towne, to a fayre or markett of our Sovereign Lorde the Kinge, and have power to inqueer for marchandyse to sell or to bye, yf he be distrayned for custom, thol, piccage, panage, stallage, morage, or any manner of poynte againste the ffraunches, the saide Receyvour and Jurattis owghte and be wonte, to sende ther letters to *them*, that such extorcion to hym hathe doon, praying that he make deliveraunce to our Courte Baron of suche distresse so taken; and yf they will not by a Withernam²¹ let him take of the Lorde, in lieu of what he distrayned, and of his tenants, from one day to another, till he make delyveraunce of that distresse so taken, or amendis therefor."

"13. Also the saide Receyvour and Jurattis, and the people of the Comonaltie of Pevensay, clayme, as beyng member of the Porte of Hastings, to have, enjoye, and use, over and above those that have been written, and be returned into the Castel of Dovorre under the common seale, the morrow after Saynte Michael tharchangell, the yere of Kinge Edward III. after the Conqueste of Inglonde the xxxth," (1357).

"14. Also, they clayme, that no Bayliffe may a Man of the ffraunches put to surement in plee for londe till the Courte of Assis; nor for any thing, yf it be not fore the plee of the Kinge, or for the profite of the Commonaltie of Pevensay, without commaundement of the Kinge especial."

Since the preceding account was prepared for the printer, I have had, through the kindness of Mr. M. A. Lower, the opportunity of perusing an Edition of Dugdale's History of Imbanking and Draining, published in 1772, by Charles Nalson Cole, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, and Register of the Honorable Corporation of the Bedford Level. From that part of the work which treats of the drainage and improvement of the Sussex Marshes, it appears that between the 17th of Edward I. (1289) and the 21st of Richard II. (1398), "A multitude of Commissions were granted to sundry persons for the view and care of the banks and ditches of the different Marshes in Sussex, for the defence of the Lands there situated, and preservation of the adjacent parts, which were so broken by the sea, that they were in danger of being drowned and lost." Of the dates of each of the Commissions, with the names of the Commissioners appointed, who were selected for the most part

²¹ Withernam from Wither, the Saxon for altera. and Nam, the Saxon for captio. In case of a distress being driven out of the County, and the Sheriff, upon Replevin, cannot make deliverance to the party distrained, a writ of Withernam is directed to the Sheriff, for the taking as many of his Beasts, or his

goods that are thus unlawfully distrained, into his keeping, until the party make deliverance of the first distress. It is a taking or reprisal of other Cattle, or goods, in lieu of those that were formerly unjustly taken and esloined, or otherwise withholden.

from the leading Landowners of that part of the County in which the Marsh was situated, Dugdale gives an account taken from the Patent Rolls. He then alludes to the particular Statutes with which my Paper commences. Of these he says that, "in the 3rd of Henry IV. (1402), Thomas Erpyngham, Constable of Dovor Castle; The Pryor of Michelham; John Pelham; William Fenys; William Makenade; and others; were constituted Commissioners for the view and repair of the banks of the Pevensey Marsh, betwixt Bixle (Bexhill) and Bechief (Beachey Head); and to perform all things therein according to the Custom of the Marsh of Romeney; and the Law and Custom of this Realm.

"Whereupon the said Pryor, John Pelham, and William Makenade, went unto Westham in the Parish of Pevensey, upon friday next before the feast of St. Gregory (March 12th), by the consent of the said Lords of the Town, the Bailiff, and the xij Jurats (otherwise called Skawers) and of the Commons of the said Marsh; and ordained the following Statutes, for the due governance of the same Marsh, and salvation thereof for the time to come."

Then follows an abstract of the Statutes in twenty-two clauses, which occupy three folio pages, each page having two columns. In a marginal note Dugdale states that his information was obtained "Ex Vet. Cod. MS. penes Will: le Neve, Clar. Regem Armorum, An. 1659." The first Clause of these Pevensey Statutes states that, previous to their ordination, "there was no certain Law of the said Marsh ordained nor used; but at the Will of those Lords, who had lands within the same; so that divers perils and hurts intollerable daily grew; for the eschewing of which, and for the increase of the common profit, the Statutes were fully agreed upon and ordained."

Several Commissions were afterwards issued by the Crown to inquire into and amend certain damages and defects, arising from neglects and violations of these Statutes; the last of which, noticed by Dugdale, was in the 24th year of the Reign of Henry VIII. (1533), for the regulation of the fishing by nets or otherwise in Pevensey Marsh. To this time no alteration appears to have been made in the preceding statutes.

HARDHAM PRIORY OF CANONS OF ST.
AUGUSTINE.

By GORDON M. HILLS, Esq.

IN Vol. XI. of the "Sussex Archæological Collections" (pages 111 to 115), the Rev. Edward Turner has given all the historical particulars which have been gathered concerning this Monastery, and has stated them with care and accuracy, so that no repetition of them is needed. This account is accompanied by an exterior view and two interior views of one of the buildings, so well and characteristically drawn by a lady, as to leave nothing to be desired in point of accuracy. The title given to the building is, however, erroneous, and a mistake as to the points of the compass has crept into the description. It is called the Chapel,—it should be the CHAPTER HOUSE. The exterior view, p. 111, is called the *east* end, it should be the *west*; and so with the two interior views at p. 115, the word *east* should be exchanged for *west* in one instance, and *west* for *east* in the other; and they represent the interior, not of the Chapel, but of the CHAPTER HOUSE. The description, on page 115, so far as the use of the word chapel is concerned, is of course also in error, the author having followed the popular description given on the spot, without the correction which an acquaintance with monastic buildings affords. In further illustration of this little monastery, a plan of the remains is here given, with a restoration of the buildings which have disappeared. In this plan the existing walls are drawn black, whilst those which are wanting are shaded with lines. The rule of the construction of a monastery was to place its principal buildings upon the sides of a quadrangle. The quadrangle had a covered passage all round it, which was the cloister, and was

the means of communication between the various buildings. Upon one side of the quadrangle, either the north or the south, was the Church; opposite the church was the refectory, or dining-hall; upon the east side of the quadrangle was one arm of the transept of the church, when, as usually, it was a cross church; next to it a sacristy; then the chapter-house, and lastly the common room of the monks, whilst an upper story contained their dormitory. Upon the west side of the cloister was the cellary, where the stores for daily use were in reserve, and over it was the dormitory for the servants of the monks. Why the church should be sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south of the other buildings was a question which long puzzled me, as it has done many others; but the examination of a great number of monasteries at length led me to a satisfactory solution. It is a question of drainage and water supply. If the site selected for the buildings required the drainage and water supply to flow to the south, then the church was placed to the north, and *vice versâ*. There is no rule without an exception, and so a few exceptions to this may be produced; and the effect of them is generally to show how inconvenient it was to place the church on the lower ground, and how much trouble the departure from the rule occasioned in the elaborate system of drainage and water supply with which a monastery was provided. At Hardham Priory, we see at a glance that the best position was selected; for here we have the REFECTORY standing on the brink of the lofty bank which rises from the water meadow alongside of the river Arun. It is to the south, and has at its east end fragments of the common room and of the *necessaria* always found adjoining that room. Then in its proper position, we come to the beautiful CHAPTER HOUSE. Not a trace remains above ground of the Church, and until some one shall take the trouble to dig for its foundations, its exact form and dimensions must be conjectural, which will therefore be understood to be the case with reference to what is shown respecting those particulars on the plan. The position of the church as shown is certain, and for want of further information I have drawn its plan to correspond with that of the neighbouring Priory of Tortington, near the Ford Railway Station. Of Tortington

Priory, the only fragment remaining is a part of the north transept of the church, and the north wall of the nave, sufficient to show it to have been a cross church without aisles, such as I have drawn. Tortington was an Augustinian Priory, and so also was that of Pynham, or Calceto, a fragment of which is still standing within a very short distance of the Arundel Railway Station. This fragment of Calceto is the extreme south end of the common room.

Returning to Hardham, let me add a few words concerning the existing buildings. The Chapter-House is a work of about the year 1250. The west end of a chapter-house was usually a screen of open work, facing the cloister; and such it was here. But the open work is now blocked up with rude walling. The nature of the screen is, however, still very discernible, and its remains are well shown in the external and internal views of the *west (recté)* wall. It consisted of three arches, divided from each other by clustered marble shafts, with carved capitals. The central arch formed the entrance from the cloister; the side arches were subdivided, as is clearly seen in the interior, by a marble shaft or cluster in the middle of each, upon which rested the subordinate arches and tracery which filled the head. On the exterior, a carved label moulding frames each of the arches, and delicate bits of carved work are introduced at the springing of the arches. Passing through the screen we find that we are not yet strictly within the chapter house. Upon each of the side walls, 5ft. 6in. from the west end, are the remains of another screen, which crossed the building parallel to the first. The remains of it are very slight, but the purpose obvious. It shut off, as a sort of porch or entrance lobby, this width of 5ft. 6in., and over the porch it provided a passage from the Dormitory above the common room to the Transept of the church — a communication used by the canons to attend the night services in the church. The doorway from the dormitory into this upper passage, and that going out from it over the sacristy towards the church, may be seen over the crosses X X marked on the plan. The doorways have been walled up and disfigured, but the one from the dormitory is shown in the west (*recté*) interior view; the other is less distinct, and so does not appear there.

Moreover, the slight marks of the inner screen are not given, except that the vaulting ribs of the Chapter-House are shown correctly, some distance in from the outer screen, by which the space given up to the porch and passage over is distinctly marked. The Chapter-House has three lancet windows in the east end and one in each side, the latter kept near the east end to be clear of the buildings which abutted on both sides of the Chapter-House. The windows are well moulded, and ornamented with shafts and carved capitals; but their present condition is one of sad mutilation. The Chapter-House was covered with a stone groined vault, in two bays. When complete it was a beautiful specimen of architecture. In it the Canons assembled daily to receive the Prior's orders and admonitions. Of the canons' common room (now converted, so far as it remains, to a dairy) we learn, from what exists, that it was covered with a groined vault, of which very slight traces remain at the south end.

The REFECTORY is an important building, of the same date as the Chapter-House, but has been converted to a farm-house. The rooms, stairs, and modern fittings have concealed or obliterated every trace of its original purpose, and I did not succeed, under these difficulties, in discovering any mark of the pulpit, which must have been somewhere along the south side, whence a canon or a novice read to the brethren at their meals. The most interesting part of the refectory is now its substructure, which is shown on the plan. The sudden fall in the ground enabled the architect to provide cellarage under the Refectory. This remains in almost perfect condition. The floor of the Refectory was carried by a groined vault of six bays, in two avenues, supported by round columns down the centre. The cellarage was lighted by small lancet windows along the south side, all now blocked up. It was divided in ancient times by walls erected across, and more divisions have been added since it became a farm-house. I have not therefore thought it worth while to show the subdivisions, and I have also purposely omitted a large block of walling, about 24 feet long and 3 feet thick, erected against the south side, towards the west end, which has nothing to do with the monastery, but which contains fire-places of two stories, belonging to a wing of the farm-

house, built, and except this piece, destroyed, since the destruction of the monastery. The fragment of a chimney-piece referred to by Mr. Turner is still to be seen. It is quite as late as the date he assigns to it (beginning of the 16th century), but should not be described as bearing coats of arms.—It has sculptured upon it a row of small shields, alternating with barrels, or tuns, and upon each shield the letters **W. P.** The initials might possibly refer to the last prior William Pricklowe, but the presence of the tun or barrel seems to indicate, according to the rebus very common with mediæval artists, a name not ending in *lowe*, but in *ton*. Such a name has not yet turned up in connection with this monastery.

A few words as to the occupants of the monastery, Augustine Canons, may be interesting to those to whom the subject is fresh. Down to the middle of the eighth century monks were laymen, and lived under such rules as the abbot of each monastery thought fit to appoint; but at this time the rule practised by St. Benedict began to obtain general favour, and those who adopted it were now first classed as the Benedictine Order of Monks. As the monks became more systematic, so the clergy, then called Canons, adopted a more systematic mode of living. Rules for them at a later time were drawn from the writings of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, which when finally adopted in the eleventh century by ecclesiastical authority, made Augustinian Canons of the clergy who lived in convents, and left the rest of the clergy living independently, as our own do now, to be called secular clergy or canons. It having been found convenient to reduce all conventual canons to a monastic rule, it was also deemed necessary, in course of time, to ordain all monks, so that at last the distinction was that the monks were Benedictines—the canons Augustinians. Afterwards the Benedictine Order was repeatedly reformed. The Monastery of Clugny, in Burgundy, originated a reform which was embraced by great numbers, and hence a subdivision of the Benedictines arose, called Clugniacs, whose principal establishment in England was at Lewes. Later still, in the same way, came the Cistercians, and many others, who were, nevertheless, all Benedictines. Reforms of the Augustinians arose in the

same manner; and hence we hear of Arroasian Canons, Premonstratensian Canons, Canons of Sempringham, and many others, all Augustinians. A new description of monks originated at the beginning of the thirteenth century, called Friars, professing chiefly an adaptation of the Augustinian Rule, and soon branched out into Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Trinitarians, Carmelites, &c. In common parlance, the principal divisions of monks, canons, and friars were designated by the colour of their dress, or by some well-known distinguishing practice. Thus the Benedictines were Black monks, and their subdivisions Grey and White monks, &c. There were black and white canons, &c.; black or preaching friars were Dominicans, grey friars Franciscans, crutched friars or redemptorists were Trinitarians, designated from the cross or crutch upon the dress, and from their devotion to the redemption of Christian captives from the heathen. To enlarge further upon this would take us too far from our present subject—Hardham Priory—of which the canons followed the original Augustinian rule. In the buildings each Order adopted some variations suited to its own peculiarities.

THE ANTIQUITIES PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM OF LEWES CASTLE,

CATALOGUED AND DESCRIBED

BY MARK ANTONY LOWER, F.S.A., COR. SEC.

ASSISTED BY

ROBERT CHAPMAN, ESQ., HON. CURATOR.

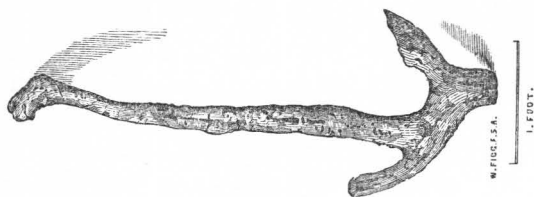
As soon as the Sussex Archæological Society had assumed such proportions as to warrant a belief that it would become one of the permanent institutions of the County, it was thought desirable to establish a small Museum for the reception of any objects of antiquity which had been, or which might be, brought to light in Sussex. A favourable opportunity for this purpose occurred in 1850, when the tenancy of Lewes Castle by the late Rt. Hon. Henry FitzRoy, M.P. for Lewes, expired; and accordingly, by the unanimous vote of the Committee, it was resolved to hire from the Lords of the Borough, the Keep and Barbican of the ancient seat of the De Warennes. The undertaking has proved in every way successful. Tens of thousands of visitors, whose names are inscribed in the Warder's books, have had an opportunity, not only of enjoying the grand panoramic view which can be obtained from the leads of the Keep, but of studying to some extent the manners and civilization of the inhabitants of the district, in remote as well as in comparatively recent times. The wisdom of the measure of becoming tenants of the time-honoured remains of Lewes Castle for such a purpose, has been proved by the experience of more than fifteen years; since in addition to the facilities afforded to the members of the Society and the general public, of viewing the Castle and its little archæological museum, a small though permanent addition has been made to the annual funds of the society.

The saying that "it is easier to hire a house than to furnish it" was at first experienced by the Committee; but by the co-operation of various members of the Society, in the loan or gift of antiquarian relics, a collection was speedily formed, and it has continued from time to time to receive accessions. In the autumn of 1865, it occurred to Messrs. Figg, Chapman,

and Lower that it was desirable to catalogue the various articles in the Museum, and more particularly as many of them had not been noticed in the seventeen volumes of the Society's published transactions. This work was performed, *con amore*, by Messrs. Lower and Chapman—Mr. Figg having been unfortunately prevented from lending his aid in consequence of severe illness—in the month of March, 1866. The present Catalogue is the result.¹

LOWER ROOM OF KEEP.

1. A Dumb-porter in stone, with the initials A. M. and the date 1599, from a cottage at Chailey North Common. *Lent by Mr. Figg.*
2. A similar article, without date.
3. Plaster cast of an inscription over Pipewell Gate, Winchelsea, with the name *i. hilde* (Mayor of that port in 1404-5. See History of Winchelsea, p. 95). *Presented by W. D. Cooper, F.S.A.*
4. Wooden Anchor of a Canoe of the ancient British period. See post (No. 131), for an account of the Canoe itself. This object (apparently unique) may perhaps be deemed the most interesting object in the collection. A representation of it is here reproduced from *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. X., p. 150. The wood is supposed to be *yew*.



Presented by Thos. Spencer, Esq., Warningcamp.

5. Drawing of a bit ornament, found on the South Downs. *Presented by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*

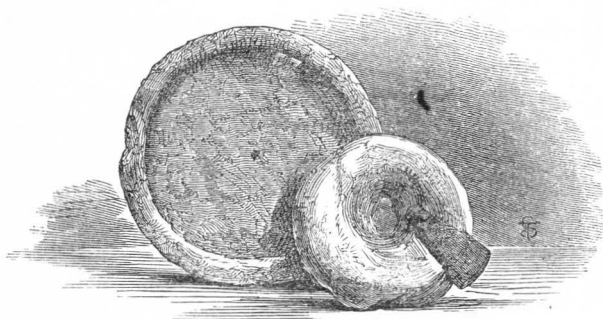
¹ As the appointment of Honorary Curator is of quite recent date, it is feared that due acknowledgment has not been made to all the donors of the articles contained in the Collection. The compilers of this list have, however, done

all in their power to ascertain the persons to whom the Society is indebted, and should any member be able to supply omitted names, the *amende* shall be made in the next volume.

6. Original Warrant of Oliver Cromwell, dated 14 Feb. 1652, appointing Richard Hughes Captain of General Monk's regiment of foot. *Presented by Edw. Wilmott, Esq.*
7. Engraved Fac-simile of the Death-warrant of Charles I.
8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. Models of Fonts. Wilford, Berks; Darenth, Kent; St. Lawrence, Evesham; Winchester Cathedral; St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge; Fincham, Norfolk. In plaster, by J. Flack.
14. Curious Box of Wards and Key.
15. Pair of Smoking-tongs.
In the days of our grandfathers these articles were common among Sussex smokers, and were found very useful for seizing a glowing wood coal from between the andirons in order to light the pipe. A similar implement, sometimes in silver, was used by ladies for obtaining, without rising from the chair, an article beyond the reach of the arm, and it thence bore the name of "lazy tongs."
16. Glass Case, containing casts in sulphur of the Great Seals of the Realm from Edward the Confessor to Charles the First. By Mr. Ready.
17. Sulphur Casts of Baronial, Conventual, and other Seals, also by Mr. Ready.
18. Small Case of Roman Antiquities from the site of the Roman Iron-works at Old Land, described by Mr. Lower in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. II. It contains bronze fibulæ; a head (of Neptune?) in bronze; a ligula or spoon; a stylus; a small scale-beam of iron; eight Roman Coins, &c. *Lent by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*
19. A Deed on vellum of Roger de Fraxeto (Ashurst?) confirming seven acres of land near Seaford to the Hospital of Lepers at that place; with pendent seal of the donor in white wax, with equestrian figure. Engraved in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XII., p. 114. *Presented by Viscount Holmesdale.*
20. Drawing of an effigy of Sir John de Braose (1216) discovered in the excavations at Lewes Priory, and now preserved in Southover Church. *Lent by W Figg, F.S.A.*
21. A Glass Case containing Celts, a Celt-mould, and other objects in bronze; found at Wilmington and figured in

Suss. Arch. Coll., Vol. XIV., p. 171. *Presented by the Rev. G. M. Cooper, M.A.*

22. Small Glass Case, containing (1) An Ancient Key, converted into a tobacco-stopper: device, St. George and the Dragon, found at St. Michael's, Lewes;² (2.) Small Brass Crucifix, from Lewes Priory; (3.) Small bronze Roman Statuette, found at Southerham. *Lent by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*
23. Bronze top of a Gypcere (a purse or pouch).
 "A gipser al of silk
 Heng at his gerdul, white as morwe milk."
Chaucer, Prologue, line 359.
24. Drawing of an ancient piece of Pottery, representing a Knight on horseback (See post, No. 53). *Lent by W. Figg, F.S.A.*
25. Cast of a Bronze found near the river Siris in Magna Græcia. The original, in the British Museum, was purchased for £1,000. *Lent by W. H. Blaauw, M.A., F.S.A.*
26. Lower stone of a Quern, or Hand-mill.
27. Roman Roof Tile.
28. Square leaden Cist from Willingdon, with corded and other ornaments. Figured in Suss. Arch. Coll. Vol. I., p. 160. *Presented by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*
29. Stone of Quern, or Hand-mill. 20. Ditto. 31. Ditto, with a singular handle of iron, found on Clayton Hill.



² "To what vile uses," &c. - a Saint turned into a tobacco-stopper! It reminds one of a similar degradation of

even a *god* by the profanity of Sidrophel:
 . . . "Saturn, whose prop.
 Figure is like a tobacco-stopper!"

32. Two tops of Roman Amphoræ (wine vessels) found in London. *Presented by C. Roach Smith Esq., F.S.A.*
33. Sword of the Tudor period.
34. Antique sword found in the walls of Mayfield Palace. *Presented by Mr. Rich. Barratt.*
35. Ancient Spear-head found on the field of the Battle of Hastings, and exactly resembling the javelins depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. *Presented by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*
36. Mediæval Pots, and Bellarmine Jugs, sometimes called "Grey-beards."
37. Model in plaster of the Kitchen of Glastonbury Abbey.
*"The Church destroyed by sacrilegious hands,
 (A type of gluttony) the Kitchen stands."*
38. Two small Vases of Roman Pottery.
39. Ancient Pottery, found near St. John's Church, Lewes. *Presented by Mr. R. Barratt.*
40. Stone implements, "Celts," Arrow-heads, &c., found in the State of Massachusetts. Useful for comparison with the "flint flakes" and Celts of Europe. Presented to Mr. Lower by the Hon. and Rev. E. W. Bradley. *Lent by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*
41. Flint Celts, found on and near the South Downs, at Mount Harry, Bormer, Keymer, and Plumpton. *Presented by Sir H. Shiffner, Bart. ; the late J. T. Auckland, F.S.A., M. A. Lower, F.S.A., and the late Mr. J. Dudeney.*
42. Curious Wooden Inkstand of the 17th century. *Presented by Mrs. Jos. Shelley, of St. Michael's.*
43. Ancient Glass Bottle found in Aldersgate Street, London. *Lent by N. H. Lower, M.R.C.S.*
44. An elegant small Glass Bottle, found in the Roman Cemetery at Bormer.
45. Two Roman Dishes, from the Pan Rock, Whitstable, Kent. *Lent by N. H. Lower, M.R.C.S.*
46. Ancient Glass from the foundation of the Church of St. Giovanni a Paolo, Rome. *Presented by the Rev. W. Powell, M.A., Hon. Sec.*

47. Fragment of Mosaic from the Baths of Caracalla, Rome.
Lent by N. H. Lower, M.R.C.S.

48. Thirteen small Vases, &c., from the Roman Cemetery at Bormer; also a small Lachrymatory of Glass, with various fragments of iron.

The Bormer Cemetery presents some features of remarkable interest. Bormer Farm, the property of our President, the Earl of Chichester, lies on the South Downs, in the parish of Falmer, and is the *Burgemere* of Domesday, having had, at the date of that Survey, a small church, and a wood for four hogs. The following notes were made by Mr. Figg at the time of the discovery of the cemetery:—

“During the summer of 1849 some labourers employed in digging for flints discovered on the land in the occupation of Mr. William Tompsett several Roman interments. The situation in which they were found is such as would not have induced a search for deposits of this kind. It is at the head of a deep dean or bottom, now known as ‘Buckman’s Hole,’ and lies at the south-west angle of a series of those rectangular terraces or embankments so common on the South Downs, and which have long puzzled observers as to their use, the date of their construction, and the people to whom they should be attributed. The name by which this portion of the Downs is known is ‘The Broad Shackles,’ which may be of common origin with the ‘Shack,’ a provincialism for common right, used in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and other counties. (See Halliwell’s Dict.)

“There was a remarkable peculiarity about the spot in which the interments were discovered. The cemetery was very slightly elevated above the surrounding land, and was of circular form, about forty-five yards in diameter, the circumference being distinctly marked by a narrow boundary, two or three feet wide, upon which common fern (brakes) grew abundantly, while neither inside the circle, nor within a great distance in any direction, were any other ferns observable. This leads to the conclusion that at the time when the cemetery was enclosed, it was fenced with some material which in its decay became favourable to the growth of this particular plant.

“The objects discovered were nearly or quite all found in the southern half of the circle, about 2ft. 6in. below the surface, and surrounded by a quantity of large flints which had evidently been brought to the spot when the interments took place. In exploring the northern portion of the circle few flints were found.”

The group of vessels figured below represents selections from No. 48 and No. 66 (*post*).



49. Two bronze Celts from the Barony of Farney, co. Monaghan, Ireland. *Presented by E. P. Shirley, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*
50. Three Plaster Casts of Celt-moulds from Ireland. *Presented by Albert Way, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*
51. Bronze Celts from Buxted Wood, and from Lordship Wood, Ewhurst.
52. Spear-head found in the river Ouse, near Lewes.
53. A singular Table Ornament for liquids—a Knight on Horseback, presumed to be of the 12th century. The material is coarse clay, and it has been glazed of a dark green colour. Found in excavating the tunnel under the town of Lewes, in 1846. See Vol. I., p. 45. *Lent by W. Figg, F.S.A.*
54. A similar article, but representing a Stag, with rude animals embossed on the sides. Found at Seaford, 1858. Described and figured in S. A. C., Vol. X., p. 193. *Presented by Henry Simmons, Esq.*
55. Bronze Celt found at Plumpton. *Presented by Mr. George Merricks.*
56. Pavement Tile with a coat of arms. "A cross engrailed: in the first quarter a fleur-de-lis," and below the letter M.
"Gules, a cross engrailed Or; in the first quarter a Fleur-de-lis Argent," is assigned by Glover to the family of ASHERST.
57. Two fragments of Encaustic Tile from Ore Church, near Hastings.
58. A Steel-yard Weight found near the Barbican, Lewes Castle, with the arms of Richard, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III. Probably a relic of the Battle of Lewes. It is figured and described in Mr. Lower's "Curiosities of Heraldry."
59. Specimen of Sussex Iron slag.
60. Small Roman Patera. *Lent by N. H. Lower, M.R.C.S.*
61. Pieces of Handles of Amphoræ from the Roman Temple at Sebastopol. *Presented by Lieut.-Col. Monroe.*

- 61A. Tesseræ from the Roman Temple, Sebastopol. *Presented by Lieut.-Col. Monroe.*
62. Ear of an Amphora, from the foundations of the Roman Villa at Eastbourne.
63. Roman plaster from Lymne, the "Portus Lemanis" of the Romans.
64. Armilla, a Fibula, Tweezers, Coins of Antoninus Pius, Claudius, Aurelian, &c. From the Roman Cemetery at Bormer.
65. Fibulæ and Coins of Hadrian, Aurelian, and Vespasian, from the Roman Iron-works at Maresfield. *Presented by the Rev. Edw. Turner, M.A.*
66. A Group of Urns, &c., containing human remains From the Roman Cemetery at Bormer (See woodcut ante page 65.
67. Encaustic Tile, with three lions passant (England), from Horsted-Keynes.
68. Large British Cinerary Urn, found near Mount Harry, Lewes.
69. Brick taken from the cabin fire-place in the Danish ship found in the river Rother, near Newenden, 1822.
- For an account of this remarkable Vessel and its contents, see *Archæologia* Vol. XX., and *Rouse's Antiquities of Sussex*, Vol. I.
70. Ornamental Chimney-back of the 17th century, with a regal head, laureated.
71. Chimney-back of the 15th century with two figures, one of which appears to be a priest with a chalice.
72. Small Chimney-back, with a Salamander in the Flames, and the date 1550.
73. Fragment of Chimney-back with mythological design; 17th century.
74. Small Chimney-back of the 15th century with figures of the Saviour and the Woman of Samaria at the Well. At the bottom is a reference to the passage of Scripture where that incident is recorded—"Johannes, 4 C."

This very interesting relic of our Iron-works appears to have been cast from a panel of carved oak—a practice which seems to have been somewhat common among our founders.

75. Casts of Great Seals of the Realm from Charles I. to Queen Victoria—in continuation of No. 16.
76. Casts of Baronial, Ecclesiastical, and Municipal Seals, including many of those of the Cinque Ports. In the same Case is a leaden *Bulla* of Pope Innocent III., found during the excavations at Lewes Priory, 1845. It was resting on the breast of a Monk, and had doubtless been attached to a "pardon."
77. Fragments of old iron, including two pair of Gridirons, from the Roman works at Maresfield. *Presented by R. Maitland, Esq.*
78. Iron Wedge used in the destruction of the walls of Lewes Priory, 1537.
- In the demolition of the Priory, *undercutting* seems to have been the means employed. Several of these wedges were found during the excavations for the railway in 1845.
79. Lock and Key of the Old County Prison, which stood on the south side of the High Street in the Cliffe. (It was built in 1610, and pulled down in 1793). *Presented by the late Mr. George Harman.*
80. Top of a pillar Piscina found within the area of the Royal Free-Chapel in Pevensey Castle, during the excavations of 1852. Figured in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. VI., p. 280. *Lent by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*
81. Antique Stone Mortar.
82. Drawing, in actual size, of a Triple Chamber-piece in the Tower of London, with the inscription, "PETRUS BAUDE, GALLUS, OPERIS ARTIFEX."

This fine gun was much injured by the fire which occurred some years since in the Tower. That it was cast at Buxted is extremely probable, since Peter Baude, the Frenchman, was the colleague of Ralph Hoggé or Hugget, of that place, who first made cannons of cast iron. See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. II. An old Sussex distich runs:—

" Master Hugget, and his man John,
They did cast the first can-non !"

83. Bronze Owl (probably modern).
84. Boss of mixed metal, found on the ancient bridge at Bramber, 1839. Device, St. George and the Dragon. *Presented by the Rev. Edw. Turner, M.A.*

85. Two Denarii of Trajan. *Presented by the Rev. E. Turner.*
86. Antique Knife, with ivory handle.
87. Bead or Amulet of Kimmeridge Coal, found with Roman remains at Pevensey Castle, 1852. *Presented by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.*
88. Old-fashioned Tobacco-box.
89. Saxon Boss found at Borner.
90. Handle of a Dagger found in the Barbican, Lewes Castle, 1858.
91. Brass Signet-ring, with the letter W, found on the centre pier of Bramber Bridge. *Presented by the Rev. Edw. Turner.*
92. Cast of the Seal of the Golden Bull at Frankfort. *Presented by W. H. Blaauw, M.A., F.S.A.*
The original was attached to the deed by which the Emperor Charles IV., A.D. 1356, settled the mode of Election of the Emperors of Germany and the number of the Electors.
93. Seal of JOHN LIVET (probably identical with John Livet who was certified lord of the township of Firlie in 1316). The arms are "Semée of cross-crosslets fitchée, a Lion rampant," and the legend SIG. JOHANNIS LIVET. *Presented by R. M. Caldecott, Esq.*
94. Wax impressions of two British Gold Coins; one found in the garden of Mr. Tompkins, of Poling, 1851; and the other at Shipley, 1866. The latter is in the possession of T. Honywood, Esq.
95. Collection of Antique Keys from Lewes Priory, Wilmington Priory, &c.
96. Leaf of a Bronze Dyplich, with traces of enamel, found at Malling. *Presented by the late Mr. John Dudeney.*
97. Small Byzantine Cross, found at Rusper. *Presented by Miss Boxall.*
98. Portion of the Handle of a "Skillet" in bronze, with a man's head and the words *ferre godd*. Found at Rype. *Presented by the late Rev. W. Raynes.*

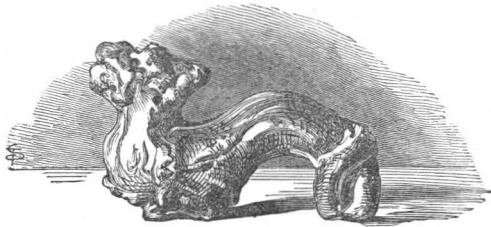
99. Small Cast of a Bull's Head, from a brass ornament found at Lewes Priory in 1845.

This was probably from the tomb of George Neville, Lord Bergavenny, who was buried in the Priory in 1492. The crest of Neville is a bull.

100. Antique Spur, found on the premises of the Lewes Gas Company. *Presented by the Directors.*

101. Three Antique Spurs.

102. Badge of the De Warenne Family (a Wyvern), brought from Bellencombe in Normandy, their ancient Seat, by Mr. Lower. See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. III., p. 33. *Lent by M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*



103. Brass Tobacco-box engraved with various coats of arms on one side; on the other are two reversible heads, one being a Cardinal and a Buffoon, the other the Pope and the Devil! It is apparently of Dutch workmanship and of the 17th century.

104. A Fragment of Chain-mail, found at the bottom of the moat at Scotney Castle, 1837. *Presented by E. Hussey, Esq., M.A.*

105. Spur and Key from Lewes Castle-yard.

106. Ancient Key.

107. Blade of a Knife found near the right hand of a skeleton exhumed at Piddinghoe in 1850. *Presented by the late Rev. Art. Hussey, M.A.*

The skeleton, which was buried face downwards, measured more than six feet in length.

108. A Bone Skate, found in London. *Presented by the late E. B. Price, F.S.A.*

FitzStephen, who wrote concerning London in the 12th century, speaking of the sports of the young men of his time, says, as to skating: "Some tie bones to their feet and under their heels, and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow." The object before us has evidently been employed for this purpose.

109. Electrotypes of Sussex Seals.
110. Three Antique Spoons.
111. Large Bronze Buckle, dug up at Goring. *Presented by Mrs. Levi Bushby.*
112. Small Padlock in the shape of a hawk's bell.
113. Six Roman Lamps. *Presented by E. B. Price, F.S.A.*
114. Ancient Horse-shoe, found with fragments of Roman terra-cotta at Eastbourne, 1857. *Presented by G. F. Chambers, Esq.*
115. Stirrup, Horse-shoes, &c.
116. Fragments of Samian Pottery, found in London. *Presented by the late E. B. Price, F.S.A.*
117. Small Stiletto, with bone handle, inlaid with mother-of-pearl.
118. Plate of Copper, representing the Crucifixion. From Rottingdean; described in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. V., p. 105. *Presented by the Rev. Art. Hussey.*
119. Mutilated Effigy of Sir Edward Dalyngruge, builder of Bodiam Castle. Found at Robertsbridge Abbey. Figured and described in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XII., p. 223. *Presented by the Earl of Chichester.*
120. Plaster Model of the Stone Coffin of a daughter of King Canute, discovered in 1865 in the nave of Bosham Church.
121. Lid of Ditto. See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XVIII. *Presented by the Rev. H. Mitchell, M.A., F.S.A.*
122. Casts from the Hoo Tomb in Horsham Church. *Presented by W. D. Cooper, F.S.A.*

ROOM No. 2.

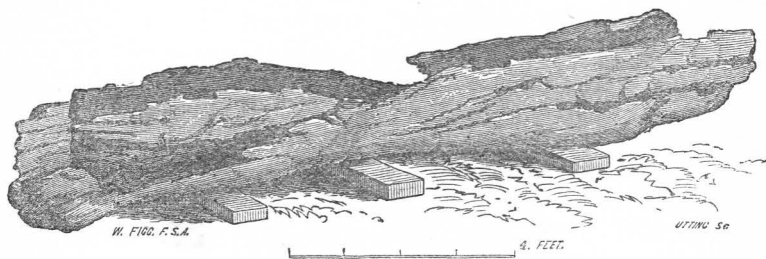
123. Glass Case, containing Egyptian Antiquities, labelled and described. *Presented by Francis Barchard, Esq.*
124. The walls of this apartment are hung with Rubbings of Brasses from Sussex Churches, all labelled and described.

ROOM No. 3.

125. On the floor are many carved stones, found during the excavations at Lewes Priory, with a few of later date.
126. Various Rubbings from Sussex Churches.

 IN THE YARD OF KEEP.

127. Iron plate commemorative of Anne Foster, 1591, long used as a Chimney-back. See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. V., p. 202. *Presented by Sir Henry Shiffner, Bart.*
128. Two Roman Tiles.
129. Two Catapult Balls from Pevensey Castle. *Presented by C. R. Smith and M. A. Lower, F.F.S.A.*
130. Tombstone with a small cross, from the old churchyard of St. Peter-Westout, Lewes
131. Ancient British Canoe formed from an oak-tree, found imbedded in the mud of a creek of the Arun at Burpham. Described in Vol. X. of *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, p. 150. The woodcut there given is here reproduced.



This curious relic of primæval antiquity is fast hastening to decay, though it will probably last longer in the open air than it would have done had it been placed under shelter. The anchor found with it has been previously mentioned. See No. 4. *Presented by Thomas Spencer, Esq., Warningcamp.*

132. Ancient Cannon encrusted with pebbles, from the bed of Newhaven Harbour. *Presented by the late Mr. Stevens, Harbour-Master.*

133. Two old Anchors from Newhaven Harbour. *Presented by Mr. Stevens.*
134. Old globular Sun-dial, mounted on a pillar. *Presented by Mr. R. Barratt.*
135. Figures in alabaster of Hercules and Minerva, brought from Herst-Monceux Castle, by the late T. Read Kemp, Esq., M.P.

THE BARBICAN.

136. The Council-Chamber is hung with Tapestry of good execution. It was originally at Halland Place, the seat of the Pelhams (Duke of Newcastle), and was thence removed to Plumpton Place. A few years since it was presented to the Society *by the Earl of Chichester.*

The subjects are various, including the Raising of the Brazen Serpent, a Russian Winter Scene, and some mythological subjects not at present identified.

137. A Pair of Andirons or "Fire-dogs" of the 17th century, representing on the shield an eagle displayed, and at the top a grotesque figure holding a tobacco-pipe and a pot. *Lent by W. Harvey, F.S.A.*

This Collection of Antiquities, though but small, will be seen to contain many objects of considerable interest. Members of the Society, and others favourable to its success, are respectfully solicited to contribute, either by gift or loan, any relics of the past which might add to the interest and usefulness of the Collection.

APPLEDRAM.

BY THE REV. F. H. ARNOLD, LL.B.

WHEN from the tower of Chichester Cathedral one looks in a south-westerly direction, his attention is soon attracted by the long creek or estuary winding in from the Channel, which throughout its length is denominated Chichester Harbour. This arm of the sea forms part of the parish of Appledram. Within it is Dell Quay, the port of the city of Chichester, a circumstance which alone is sufficient to invest it with an archæological interest. Reserving the history of the harbour, however, for future consideration, Appledram is, in other respects, not unworthy of notice. Its manorial records are associated with an old and now extinct Sussex family. Its ecclesiastical memorials are connected with those of an early collegiate establishment. The poet-honoured Lavant flows through it to the sea, and its salt works were formerly of as great repute as any in the county.

Antiquaries dearly love to break a lance in the cause of local etymology. Should one of the combatants flounder a little, he strengthens himself with the thought that in his antagonist's ground there may be some hidden pitfall. However high the degree of *probability*, he knows that *certainty* is often unattainable. Of Appledram, Dallaway, referring to Lye, Dict. Sax., says, "Apuldram, or APULDRE-HAM, a Saxon name, describing the situation of the place, namely, a town or village upon an estuary or sea-marsh."¹ Yet few will doubt the correctness of Mr. Lower's derivation of the name from "Apuldre," the apple-tree, a common landmark in Saxon times.² Apuldreham—the abode at the apple-tree. There are many corroborative instances, e.g., *Apuldercombe*,

¹ Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 95.

² The battle of Hastings is said to have been fought "at there haran apul-

dran," at the hoary apple-tree. *Sax. Chron.* Ed. Petrie. Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 463.

resumed by the King, and given to the Abbey of Battel, in exchange for Reading in Berkshire.⁷ This exchange must have taken place before the year 1125, as Radulfus, addressed in the deed as Bishop of Chichester, died in that year. The monks of Battel had previously received the manor of Funtington, with which, as the *Chronicon de Bello*⁸ informs us, they were dissatisfied, and appear to have preferred Appledram, on account of its proximity to Chichester, from which it is described as distant one mile. Modern pedestrians, however, especially in inclement weather, agree that nearly an additional half-mile must be traversed.

Various causes are assigned for the foundation of the Abbey of Reading, which led to this exchange of the manor of Appledram; amongst others, that of the King's gratitude for the return of his daughter, the Empress Maud, to him in Normandy, upon the death of her husband in the same year, 1125, when she brought with her "the hand of St.

⁷ Henricus Dei Gratia rex Angliæ Radulfo Cicestrensi Episcopo et Willielmo filio Acheri et omnibus baronibus Francis et Anglis de Sudsexia salutem.

Scias me concessisse et dedisse ecclesiæ S. Martini de Bello et monachis ejusdem loci, pro excambio de Rading, *manerium quod vocatur Apeldreham* cum omnibus eidem pertinentibus in bosco et in plano et in terrâ et in aquâ, ita liberum et quietum ab omnibus omnino consuetudinibus sicut fuit quando erat in mea dominica manu. Insuper et xl sol, quos prius retinueram in eodem manerio de Apeldreham cum firma de Boseham eisdem monachis in elemosinam dedi et concessi; et præcipio ut amodo quiete et bene et libere in pace eos habeant et retineant in perpetuum. Concedo etiam illis ut absque omni calumpnia habeant in bosco de Bocfalde et in illo de Betlesparrioc hanc consuetudinem, scilicet ut si ego ponam in illis tres porcos in Pessun monachi semper mittant quartum et recipiant liberè et insuper habeant de Padnage quartum denarium: et si ego tres quercus accepero monachi quartum accipiant ad comos suos emendandas, et de terrâ eidem boscis pertinente quartum denarium habeant, et ad nativitatem Domini quartam gallinam, et de Pringesmed quartum denarium et ad Pascham viginti et quinque ova.

Præcipio etiam, super forisfacturam meam, ut nullus vicecomes, vel ministri eorum, vel aliquis eidem monachis super hiis molestus sit, sed ita liberè et quietè ea habeant et possideant sicut ego melius et quietius tenui in mea dominica manu. Sint que liberi et quieti monachi et homines illius manerii eorum de Apeldreham ab omni consuetudine, cum saca et soca et tol et theam et infangtheof et geld et scottagio et hidagio et dangeldo et opere pontium et castellorum et parcorum et clansurarum et exercituum et omnibus auxiliis et siris et hundredis et Warpeni et lestagio et latrocinio et murthero et thesauro et warena et omnibus aliis rebus et placitis et querelis. T. Rogero Episcopo Saresberiae, et Adæ de Port, apud Portes mudam.—*Dugdale Mon.*

⁸ Abbas vero et fratres ecclesiæ de Bello locum (Fundintune) a rege collatum cum non satis utilem sibi prospexissent, regem hac de causa congenerentes adeunt, qui quoddam eis aliud manerium Apeldreham vocatum, ad unum miliarium prope Cicestrensem urbem situm, hac de causa donavit. Quod cartæ suæ confirmans testimonio liberum omnino et quietum ab omni terrenæ consuetudinis servitio ut cætera ejusdem ecclesiæ de suo dominio in servorum Dei jura delegavit."—*Chron. de Bello*, Ed Ang. Christ. Soc. 55, and Lower's Trans., p. 61.

in the Isle of Wight; *Appletree*, in the county of Northampton, *Apeldrefeld* (Thom. de), 1350.³

The name is variously written in old documents *Apeldreham*, *Apeltricham*, *Apulderham*, *Apuldresham*, *Apuldram*.

Bounded on the W. by the estuary before mentioned, on the N. by St. Peter the Great (Chichester) and New Fishbourne, on the E. by Donnington, and on the S. by Birdham, the parish, which is long and narrow, contains 1070 acres of land, of unusual fertility, with the exception of a marshy portion adjoining the sea,⁴ and a common, through which the waters of the Lavant—when there are any—hasten to their exit and debouch at the sluice which forms a parochial limit. Appledram preserves an almost uniform level, in which, as in other parishes in this district, several excavations have been made for marl.⁵ These have now become small ponds. The constant grubbing of hedgerows, and the felling of every tree for which any plea can be discovered for laying axe to, are rendering the scenery year by year less picturesque; but it is consolatory to think that the background in the distance is not so easily removable. Roche's Hill, Kingley Vale, and Bow Hill will still remain before the painter's eye, should any sit, like Turner, to depict a glorious sunset over Chichester Harbour.

The Manor of Appledram. Nothing appears to be known of this manor prior to the Conquest,⁶ and an examination of Domesday leads one to concur in the opinion that Appledram is not mentioned in that survey. Most probably it came into the hands of the Conqueror as a Royal Manor, along with other property in the immediate neighbourhood, and was included in the grant made by him to Fitz-Aucher, with whom it remained till the time of Henry I., when it was

³ S. A. C., Vol. VI., p. 121. An analogy may be observed in Mapledurham (Hants), which occurs as Mapuldram, Mapeldurham, Mapelderham.

⁴ From its sheltered situation occasionally the resort of a *rara avis*. Here in 1845 occurred the *Scolopax Sabini*, designated by Mr. Knox as "the rarest bird, perhaps, in the world." Ornith. Rambles, p. 230. The botanist also finds it good hunting ground, on which *Statice variflora*, *Dianthus Armeria*, *Allium vineale*, *Spartina stricta*, and other plants worthy of notice are to be found.

⁵ This is not now used, but was formerly conveyed from the pits in panniers on asses, and was supposed to be of great benefit to the soil.

⁶ It has been conjectured that it might be the "Apuldre" given to the Church of Canterbury in 1032, by the consent of Canute and Elfgiva, but as the place is mentioned with Orpington, in Kent, there can scarcely be a doubt that this is Appledore, of which the early spelling was "Apoldre."

James; for joy whereof," as we are told by Foxe,⁹ "the King builded the Abbey of Reading, where the said hand was reposed."

The manor remained in the hands of the Abbot and brethren of Battel till the Dissolution of Monasteries, in 1535,¹⁰ when it was seized by the Crown. We have, however, several notices of it during the period of this holding. *In the Subsidy Roll of the Clergy of the Diocese of Chichester in 1380*, it appears as held by the Abbot himself, and is the only one mentioned as belonging to him:

"ABBOT OF BATTLE. The Abbot of Battle has the Manor at Apulderham valued at 29li 17s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d." The total is evident.¹¹

The Subsidy paid in 1489 for the property, amounted to 12li 19s. 10d.

The land, however, was underlet by the Abbot to mesne tenants. We find the following lease in the *Consuetudin. Monast. de Bello*,

"Jöhn Aylmer holds by roll of Court a Messuage and one hide of land in Apelderham and ought to bring one man and one horse *ad herciandum qualibet Septimana* for one day *ad utrumque semen yemale et quadragesimale* (at Winter seed-time, and Lent seed-time), whilst there shall be anything to harrow in the lord's land, and he who harrows shall receive for each day a meal, viz., bread, pottage, *companagium* (bread and meat, or *quicquid sibi cum pane sumitur*), and a pennyworth of drink; and each horse harrowing shall have each day as much corn as can be taken in two hands; and also ought to do two days work of the plough, if he had a whole plough, or so much as he had if he possessed not a whole plough, and then ought to plough each day as much as he was able from morning till noon, and *uterque tentor*, viz., *carneæ et fugator* (the man that held the plough and he that drove it) shall have a solemn repast each day of the aforesaid ploughing."¹²

⁹ Acts and Mon., Vol. II. p. 180. Foxe's authority was Henry of Huntingdon. The instrument giving the hand of St. James has been printed by Dugdale.

¹⁰ S. A. C., Vol. V., p. 238.

¹¹ According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* it was then worth £29 8s.

¹² *Consuetudin. Monast. de Bello. Blount's Tenures*. This has been cited by the Rev. E. Turner in his exhaustive account of Battel Abbey (S. A. C., Vol. XVII.), but is here given in full, as immediately relating to Appledram.

Another part was leased to *Walward de Wakehurst*, and remained in his descendants till the death of Richard Wakehurst, in the reign of Henry VI.

To the family of Wakehurst¹³ succeeded as mesne tenants, that of *Ryman*, of which William, son of W. Ryman, of Chichester, appears as Knight of the Shire in 1420, and Sheriff of Sussex in 1434, and in a return of the latter date is mentioned among the seventy-four gentry of Sussex.¹⁴ Either this Ryman or his father is referred to as lord of the manor of North Stoke, and having lands, &c., in Apuldresham of the value of 3li. 6s. 8d. in the Subsidy Roll of 15 Hen. IV. The succession will most readily appear from the pedigree of the family on the opposite page.¹⁵

Connected with this family are two towers, about which there has been much hypothesis. The Campanile or Bell Tower of Chichester Cathedral, which according to Dallaway was called Ryman's Tower, and the Tower, with a portion of a castellated residence attached to it, which still exists in a state of good preservation at Appledram.



¹³ The amount held by this family is mentioned by Dallaway, Vol. I., pt. 2, from a Record in Turr. Lond. m: 9 Ric. Wakehurst tenuit un messuag. et

100 acras terræ in Apuldram de Abb. et Conv. de Bello.

¹⁴ Hay's Chichester.

¹⁵ From MS. Harl. 1067, fo. 78 b, and MS. Coll. of Arms, B, 13 and C. 17,

With respect to the former, Camden says: "That great tower which stands near the west side of the church (i.e., on the side of the Cathedral facing West Street), *was built by R. Ryman*, and, as is reported, upon his being prohibited the building of a castle at Apelderham, hard by, where he lived, with those very stones, which he had provided for the castle."¹⁶ Both Mr. Hay, in his history of Chichester, and Mr. Dallaway discredited this early assertion, and conjectured that the Campanile was built by Bishop John de Langton, after purchasing from Ryman of Appledram the stone wherewith to construct it, but in this an anachronism is involved, as it was not until after the death of John de Langton, who was Bishop of Chichester, 1305—1336, that the family of Ryman established itself at Appledram. Professor Willis has also observed that, "although attributed to this bishop, the Bell Tower is manifestly half-a-century later in style."¹⁷ Until documentary evidence to the contrary can be adduced, it is therefore safest to adhere to the early received opinion that the Campanile was built by a member of the Ryman family.¹⁸

The tower at Appledram, constructed of stone of the same kind as that of which the Chichester Bell Tower is composed, is supposed to have been erected either by John of Apuldrum or by his son. It belongs to the latter part of the 15th century, and has evidently never been finished, license to crenellate it having been (it is said) refused. It is a quadrangular edifice, 45ft. high, and having a sectional area of 27ft. by 20ft. Two square-headed windows, with an intervening string-course remain on the S. and E. sides, and there are indications of a moat. Adjoining the tower is a portion of a building with similar windows; this has been carried up to half the height of the tower, and also left in an incompleated state. To its present occupier, Mr. E. Fogden, Churchwarden of Appledram, I am much indebted for information relating to the parish. Part of the adjacent farm is still named "The Rymans."

The family of Ryman continued to be connected with the

¹⁶ Britannia I. 198

¹⁷ Architectural Hist. of Chich. Cath., pp. 33.

¹⁸ From an Itinerary of 1634 it appears

also that a chapel in the Cathedral was then called "Ryman's Chapel."—Gent. Mag., Nov. 1858.

manor, long after the suppression of the Abbey of Battel, for in the 12th of Elizabeth, a hide of land descended at the death of Humphrey Ryman to John his son, held of the Crown, as of the manor of Apuldrum, late belonging to the Abbey of Battell; and in the reign of Charles I., Cox Ryman, who compounded for knighthood in 1630, is described as of Appledram, Gent.¹⁹

In 1535, however, the manor was seized by the Crown. The first grantee was William Parr, Marquis of Northampton. In 1570 it was given by Queen Elizabeth to William Howard, Baron of Effingham, and subsequently it was inherited by Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England.

Upon the extinction of the family of Ryman, the next possessor, who appears to have purchased likewise the paramount right, was George Smyth, Clerk, of Binderton, who died seized of the whole estate in 1711. On the demise of Thomas Smyth, unmarried in 1720, his estates devolved on Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of William Woodford, M.D., of Epsom, Surrey, of the whole blood, and Barbara, wife of Walter Bartelott, Clerk, of Stopham, Hannah and Mary Smyth of the half-blood. By a decree of the Master of the Rolls in 1726, this estate was awarded to Mary Smyth, and the manor was released to her by her sisters. Hannah, the second, died, and bequeathed her share to her sisters, Barbara Bartelott and Mary Smyth, who married William Hamilton, Esq., and died *s.p.* in 1755. By her will the manor passed to William Gerard Hamilton, Esq., who from the circumstance of his having made but one speech in Parliament, and that considered excellent, was called "Single-Speech Hamilton." He died in 1796, and left it to Alexander Hamilton, of Lincoln's Inn, by whom it was bequeathed to his brother, Anthony Hamilton, D.D., Archdeacon of Colchester. At his death in 1812, it was inherited by William Hamilton, Esq., Under Secretary of State, the author of *Ægyptiaca*, and an account of the Elgin Marbles, he having been secretary to the Earl of Elgin, in his embassy to Constantinople. The present possessor of "the Tower" and the productive land which surrounds it is Geo. Bartelott, Esq., of Stopham. It

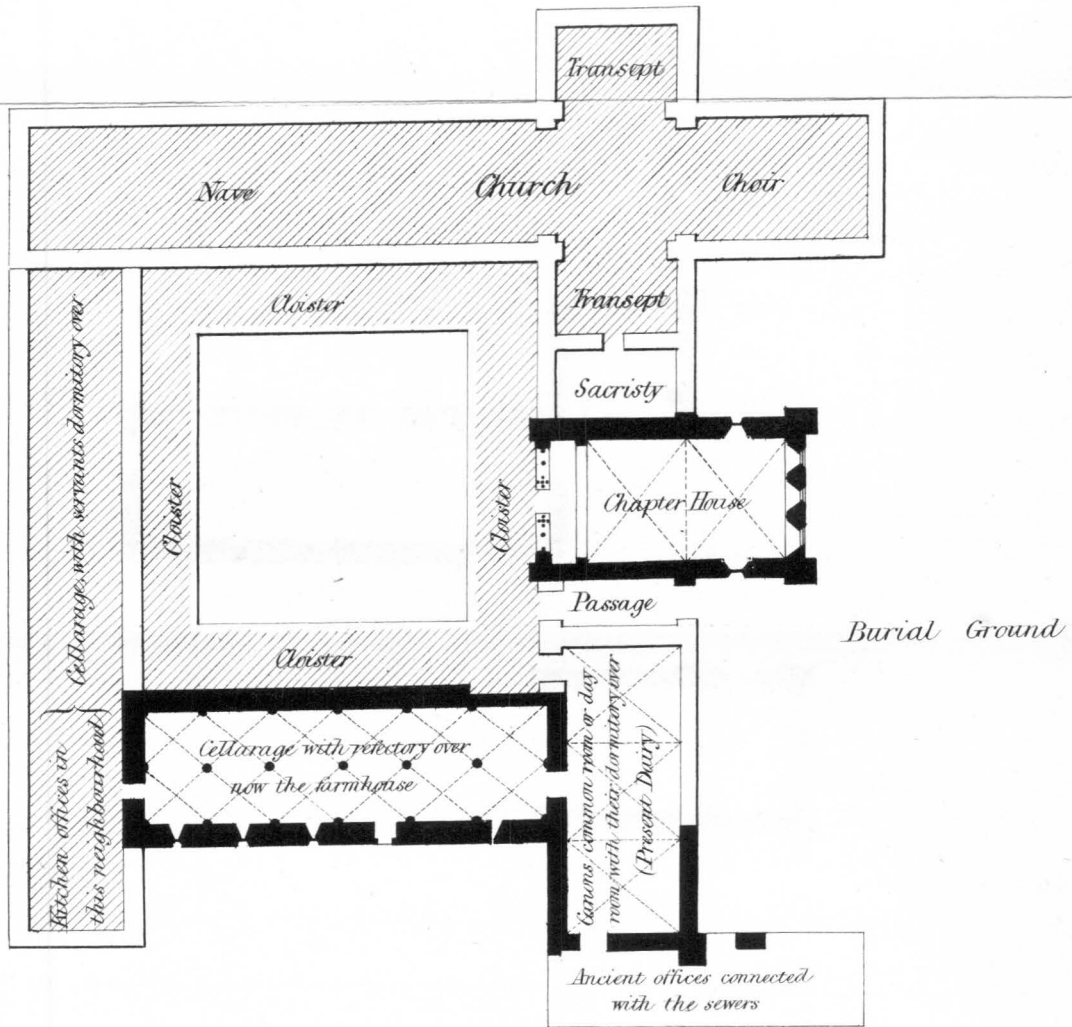
¹⁹ S. A. C., Vol. XVI., p. 50.

HARDHAM PRIORY.

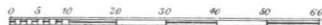
Canons Regular of St Augustine.

The parts in black are those parts of the ancient building still in existence and are of the date of about A.D. 1250. The parts in light tint indicate the probable positions of the buildings which have disappeared arranged according to the almost uniform plan of the monasteries of the order.

North.

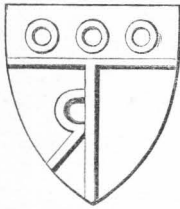


Low land towards the River Arun.

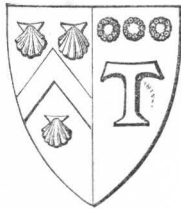


RYMAN OF APULDRAM.

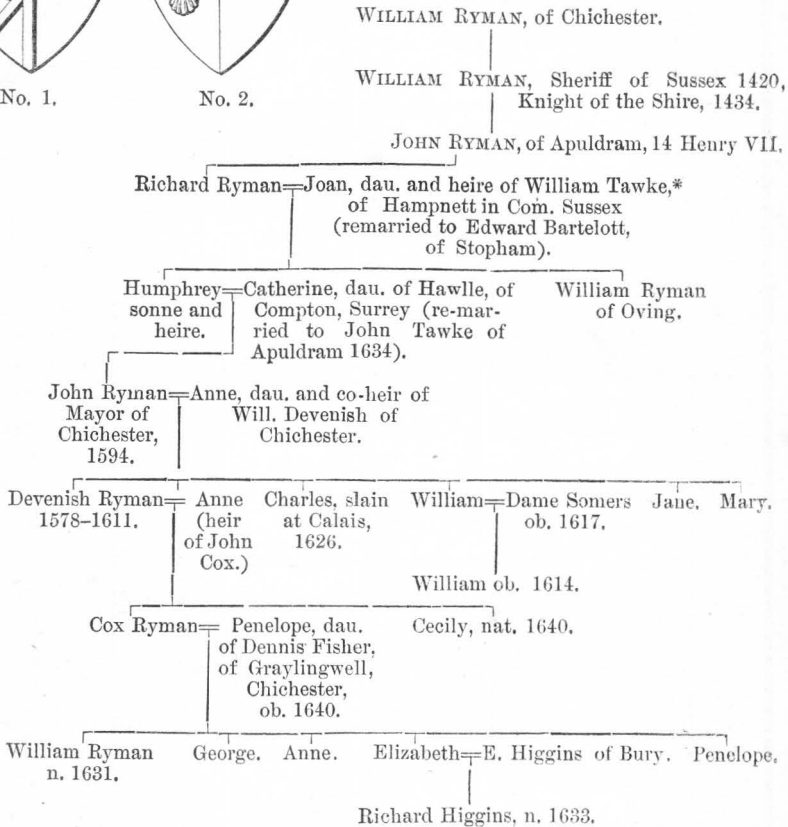
*MS. Harl., 1067, fo. 78, b.
and MSS. Coll. Arms, D. 13.*



No. 1.



No. 2.



* The shield No. 2 is the arms of Ryman, impaling Tawke, of Hampnett. The origin of the Tawke family is unknown, but it would appear that about the end of the xv. or beginning of the xvi. century, they were emerging from the rank of trade to that of gentry. In the north wall of West Hampnett church is a doorway of the Tudor period, now closed, with several shields, one of which is given above (No. 1). Now this is evidently a combination of a *Merchant's Mark* with some heraldic elements. According to a practice not uncommon at that period, the merchant's mark grew into a regular armorial ensign, and was blazoned "a Cross Tau, in chief three Chaplets." At West Hampnett the charges in chief are more like annulets than chaplets, though they may have been intended for the latter. The tinctures of both the Ryman and Tawke shields are differently given by different authorities.—M.A.L.

therefore remains in the hands of one of the most ancient of Sussex families.

Ecclesiastical History.—This is interwoven with that of Bosham. Bede's account of the little monastery there, to whose occupants listened only

“the wild woods and the sea,”

will scarcely allow one to suppose that they often crossed the intervening creek to minister to the pagans on the opposite side; but the case was doubtless different after Wilfrid's evangelization of Sussex. The Benedictine canons subsequently established in the Saxon College of Bosham were endowed with competent lands, and it is probable that these included a portion of Appledram, since Appledram formed one of the prebends which William Warlewast attached to his new foundation there in the reign of Henry I., on the model of the college which he had dissolved at Plympton, on a not unusual plea—the irregular lives of its inmates.

The interesting history of the College of Bosham has been so fully detailed by the Rev. E. Turner, that a few facts only relating to the prebend of Appledram need here be mentioned.²⁰ The prebends, according to the Exeter MS.,²¹ the Lincoln Taxation and the Nonæ Roll, were Fountington, Apuldram, Waleton, Chedeham, and Westbroke. The stalls of the prebendaries (of carved oak, with at each end a *fleur-de-lis*) are still preserved in Bosham Church.

Pat. 44, Ed. III., pt. I., m. 37 makes mention *de prebenda de Apelderham*, and in virtue of the relation of this prebend to Bosham, the parishioners of Appledram took their place in processions to St. Richard's shrine in Chichester Cathedral. Much ill feeling with respect to precedence had prevailed. Instead of walking discreetly, at one time, the pilgrims used their long painted wands or rods (*virgæ longæ et depictæ*) on each other's heads and shoulders—a purpose not originally contemplated. In 1478, therefore, Bishop Story prohibited rod-bearing, while he still allowed banners and crosses to be carried, and determined the order in which the devotees from

²⁰ S. A. C., Vol. VIII., p. 189. The chantry of Fishbourne at the end of the N. aisle of Bosham Church was endowed with 23 acres of land in the parish of Appledram, the tax on which, according

to the Nonæ Roll (1342), was 8s. This chantry was founded before 1280. Preb. de Apuldram pro cantaria.

²¹ Oliver, Monast. Ex. 129.

the respective parishes should enter the cathedral. After those of Arundel and Westdean were to march the pilgrims of Bosham, followed by the inhabitants of Funtington, Appledram, and Chidham, as members of the same ecclesiastical establishment.²² All were cautioned against noise, crowding, and chattering, and bidden to observe strict propriety of behaviour.

According to a Parliamentary Survey made before 1648, the Prebend of Appledram was endowed with "all that small croft on the west side of Mill Lane,"²³ in the parish of Appledram, containing by calculation two roods, per ann. 6s. 8d., and all those the great and small tythes yearly growing within the parish of Appledram, together with two quarters of barley yearly by the farmer of the Deanery Farm, were anciently belonging to a certain prebend, called the Prebend of Appeldram, and are parcel of the College of Bosham, in the tenure of Thomas Smyth, Esq., or his assigns, and on the improvement, of the yearly value of 40l."

The Church is said to have been dedicated to St. Mary. This statement is indefinite; but its dedication was probably to the Virgin, since on one of the bells is the inscription—

Sancta Maria ora pro nobis +. P. W.

on the other are the words,—

Benedicta sit sancta trinitas. + P. W.

Situated on slightly rising ground, and overlooking the waters of the harbour, which are visible from some of its windows, the edifice veiwed externally from the north is plain and unattractive. Not so the interior. The Church, which remains almost entirely as it was originally constructed,²⁴ consists of a chancel and nave of the same sectional area and of the same date—the beginning of the thirteenth century; a south aisle, added at a later period, contained a chantry, and is separated from the nave by three pointed arches, supported by circular columns. At the east end of this nave

²² Bosham cum membris suis, viz., Apuldreham, &c., in cap. regia de Boseham. Rot. Pat. 44, Edw. III., p. 1., m. 37. The whole of this curious extract from *Reg. Story* has been printed by the Præcentor of Chichester in *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1864.

²³ Remains of the foundation of the mill, which was on the Lavant, are still to be seen.

²⁴ Mr. Sharpe on *Sussex Churches*, S. A. C.

aisle is a gracefully formed hagioscope; a piscina remains in its S. wall. It has also a carved screen.

The Chancel, elaborately finished within, is a beautiful specimen of the period. The triplets in the N., E., and S. sides being of the richest style of moulded work then used. Beneath the S. triplet is a trefoil-headed piscina. Within the altar rails is a slab, bearing an embossed cross, which probably once covered the tomb of one of the ecclesiastics of Bosham, who served the church, as a portion of a slab of precisely similar design occurs in Bosham churchyard. There is another resembling it, but defaced, in the nave. The floor of the chancel was formerly covered with encaustic tiles, some of which remain, while the rest, of the same pattern, are modern.

The nave retains some of its old oaken seats, and was once separated from the chancel by a screen; this has been removed, but the steps in the N. wall which led to the roodloft are still apparent. The sole window in the nave is at the W. end. The font has some remains of arcading, nearly obscured.

The interior of the Chancel was thoroughly repaired and refitted by the Dean and Chapter of Chichester a few years ago. Its roof and exterior were made good, and some improvements effected in 1863 by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, whose architect designated it in his report, as "an exceedingly interesting structure."

The walls of the church are constructed of flint. It has no tower, but one of those little wooden belfreys termed a pigeon-house,²⁵ which, should the roof of the nave be restored, it is to be hoped may be superseded by a bell gable.

Horsfield states that on the north side of the church there was a stone bearing the date 1394, but this is no longer discernible.²⁶

The benefice is a Perpetual Curacy. For the following compilations from the Episcopal Registers, I am indebted to H. W. Freeland, Esq., late M.P. for Chichester, transcribed by Mr. Parsons.

²⁵ It has been observed that this appellation is not inappropriate, since one of the old names for a church was *Domus Columbe*.

²⁶ This was most likely 1594, for as

Mr. Lower assures me the earliest inscribed date known in England is at Heathfield, in this county, and is 1445. See Arch. Assoc. Journal, Vol. ii., page 157.

APPLEDRAM (PREBEND OF, IN LIBERA CAPELLA REGIA DE BOSEHAM).

| DATE OF ADMISSION. | INCUMBENTS. | HOW VACANT. | PATRONS. |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1400. Nov. 3. | { William Langton } { Richd Hals. } | resigned in exchange and admitted. | It does not appear on whose presentation. |

14 MAY. ANNO R. EDRI 6. 4^o.

EXTRACT FROM A RETURN OF THIS DATE.

“The Parsonage is impropriat unto the Prebend of Appledram in the free Chapell or Colledge of Bosham dissolved and now in the possession of the King's Mat^{te} having no Vicaridge endowed but served by a Chapleyne remotive. The yearly val. of the said Parsonage above the Chapleyne's stipend 10.0.0.”

At what period the “Chapleyne remotive” was succeeded by an irremovable Curate does not appear. No list of incumbents is given by Dallaway. In the Appledram Register is the entry—“Michael Dorset was appointed Curate, Jan. 20, 1755.”²⁷

Recent appointments have been—

APPLEDRAM. P. C.

| DATE OF ADMISSION. | INCUMBENT. | HOW VACANT. | PATRONS. |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------------|---|
| 1818. Oct. 21. | { Alfred Gibson } { Utterson } | | { The Dean and } { Chapter of Chi- } { chester. } |
| 1820. June 3 | Benjamin Churchill | | The same. |
| 1842. Nov. 29 ²⁸ | Henry Smith, A.M. | dth. Benj. Churchill | The Crown by lapse. |
| 1858. Oct. 18 | { William Harrison } { Davey, A.M. } | cess. Henry Smith | { The Dean and } { Chapter of Chi- } { chester. } |
| 1861. Feb. 21 ²⁹ | { Frederick Henry } { Arnold, A.B. } | res. W. H. Davey | The same. |
| 1865. Sept. 7 | { Robert Augustine } { Luke Nunns, A.B. } | res. F. H. Arnold | The same. |

²⁷ He procured the purchase of a piece of land at Littlehampton in augmentation of the benefice.

²⁸ The central light in the E. window was soon after filled with stained glass, and the pavement of the chancel restored.

²⁹ The writer of this paper cannot mark the date with white chalk, since on that day a catastrophe too remarkable to pass unmentioned occurred. Two hours after his institution he was startled by the intelligence that his house, adjoining the Cloisters, was in danger. Hast-

ening through them, his steps accelerated by the loud rumbling of falling stones, its inmates were at once turned into the street. About to follow, and with his hand on the door, a slight shock announced that the Tower and Spire of Chichester Cathedral had subsided in ruin. Where a noble structure had stood for centuries, a cloud of dust appeared.

Many Sussex Archeologists will rejoice when the capstone is replaced, and the sacred edifice completely restored.

The Register commences in 1661. The earlier names which most frequently occur are Bear, Beer, Bowbrook, Millington, and Squib. To some of the entries observations are attached. 1812. Bapt. Mahalah, dr. of Thomas and Sarah Jelliffe. Note appended:—"Supposed to be the name of Cain's wife. See the Death of Abel. Also the wife of Rehoboam, frequently written Mahalath. 2 Chron. xi. 18." 1685. Sept. 10.—Married John Smith Cœlebs et Constance Smith Vidua de Civitat. Cicestr. 1792. Sept. 21.—Thomas Jup and Sarah Earwig, both of Sidlesham, married. Nov. 19, 1707.—Mary, Jane, and Philip, children of Andrew and Mary Lawrence; all three being burnt ye parts remaining were buried in one box. 1775. Sept. 3.—Josiah Hillman, of Ilchester, Somersetshire, *inter natandum submersus*, was buried. 1777. Mar. 1.—Capt. Michael Ireland (drowned 6 weeks since) was buried. 1798.—Thomas Pearce, killed by the windmill.

Saltworks. At the southern extremity of the parish, adjacent to the sea, the manufacture of salt was once largely carried on. Dallaway speaks of it in his time "as the only considerable manufacture of salt made of sea-water upon this coast." Salt-making at Appledram was discontinued about twenty-five years ago, but residents remain in the parish who were formerly engaged in it. The place is still denominated "the Salterns,"³⁰ and some portions of the mill belonging to the works are yet to be seen. In Domesday frequent mention is made of salt-pans in the maritime districts, and as the evaporating process in recent times was simple, the mode then adopted may have been similar. At the Appledram salt-works, the sea-water was admitted into several ponds, the largest being more than three acres in extent. These communicated with each other, They were square, shaped with great exactness, three or four inches in depth, and lined at the bottom with clay, well beaten. In these, during the summer months, the salt water was exposed to the sun for four or five days, until a strong brine formed the residuum. This was boiled in shallow iron pans and then placed in wooden troughs to cool. These were perforated at the bottom. The liquor which drained off formed Epsom and Glauber salts, used for medicinal purposes. At one period the salt obtained here sold as high as a guinea a bushel, but as fifty-four chaldrons of coal were consumed in producing a hundred tons of salt, the profit was not excessive. When the duty on foreign salt was removed these salt-works ceased to be remunerative. The high duty, however, on English salt was productive of demoralization. The smuggling of salt was largely practised, and other illicit practices thereby

³⁰ Hither occasionally resorted sundry of the Cicestrians for a day's "outing,"

where they were regaled with viands cooked in the furnaces.

encouraged in the neighbourhood. Copperas Point, near the Salt-works, is remembered also as a well-known landing-place for contraband goods imported. The wood close by was often filled with kegs of spirits, and armed bands of horsemen, sometimes to the number of 400, defying all opposition, conveyed thence to the interior what was landed at night upon the shore. But the end was usually ruin—sometimes death. From imbibing the strong liquor which they carried, some perished from intoxication, while others fell by the excise officer's bullet, to the grief of their relatives. Old men shake their heads and say, "No good came of smuggling. Those who made money by it lost it faster than it was gained."

With the exception of such trade as is carried on at Dell Quay, the occupation of the inhabitants of Appledram is now purely agricultural. From its proximity to Chichester, however, it may be regarded as a *rus in urbe*. For this reason the monks of Battel coveted the manor in Norman times. The Rymans, migrating from the city in mediæval days, selected it as their pleasant abode. And to Chichester repaired the villagers when aught of interest occurred therein. Then, as now, when the streets were lined with jostling spectators, they mingled with the throng. There they beheld Edward I. enter the great west door of the Cathedral, when the Primate with many a prelate translated the bones of St. Richard to their shrine. Year by year they resorted in pilgrimage to his tomb. Within hearing of the bells of the Campanile, and within sight of the flag waving from its summit, doubtless they were present at other royal visits, and gazed on Henry VIII. as he rode into the old city. They saw the flashes, and heard the roar, of Waller's cannon from the Broyle, when soon followed the tidings that Chichester had fallen—not to speak of events in more recent times.

But of those who witnessed these stirring scenes. it may be said—

" Their names, their years, spelt by the unlettered muse,
The place of fame and elegy supply."

The Church and Churchyard of Appledram are singularly destitute of monumental inscriptions worthy of notice, and no heraldic vestiges are apparent on the Tower.

SUSSEXIANA TOPOGRAPHICA.

BY G. SLADE BUTLER, F.S.A.

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WEST SUSSEX. *Chichester Rape.*

- ALDWICK, *See Dally's Guide to Bognor, 1825.*
- APPLEDRAM.—The Manor House, view of Aplerham, north.
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74 Gent: Mag., 1101.
- BOGNOR.—The origin and description of Bognor, or Hothampton, and an account of some adjacent villages, with a view of the former place, by J. B. DAVIS, M.D. ; foolscap 8vo., pp. 132.
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- BOXGROVE Church, plate of. See Baronial Halls and Picturesque Edifices of England, and ancient Churches. *London, 1848.*
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An Act for bringing the Haven, by a new cut, to the suburbs, &c., 27 Eliz., c. 22, 1585.
"Fundatio hospitalis beatæ Mariæ infra civitatem CICESTRENSEM fideliter exemolata in formâ autenticâ."
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- A true relation of the fortunate Sir William Waller, Collonel under His Excellency the Earle of Essex, concerning the manner of the besieging and taking of Chichester, with the names of the commanders and other prisoners there, and brought up to London, 4to : a very uncommon Sussex Civil War-Tract.
London, 1643.
- A most sweet song of an English merchant, born in C., in two

- parts. Black-letter broadside, with woodcut. *Lond., F. Coles, F. Vere, and W. Gilbertson. Wood, No. 401.*
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- The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, by that learned antiquary, THOMAS ABINGDON, Esq., to which are added the Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Chichester and Lichfield. *Lond. 1717 and 1723, 8vo.* Fourteen monumental inscriptions from Chichester Cathedral are inserted, p. 230.
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Chichester Market Cross. View of three fronts; large engraving by VERTUE.

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An Act for repairing and widening the road from Cosham to the City of C.

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On the term Lavant, in allusion to the River of that name, at C., by the Hon. DAINES BARRINGTON, 1773. Arch. iv., p. 27.

A charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chichester, 1798, by John Buckner, Lord Bishop, 4to.

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The whole proceedings at C. against the 7 Smugglers at Chichester, who broke open the Custom House, at Poole, Dorsetsh., in February, 1748, 8vo., *Lond.*, 1749. *Reprinted by Clowes, Lond.*,

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- Topographical Description of the Island of, with S.E. view of the Church. 67 *Gent: Mag.*, 929. See also *Dally's Guide to Bognor*. 1828.
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 An exact and true relation of the taking of Arundel Castle, the sixt of this present January, between 9 and 10 of the clock, in the forenoon, by the valour of that ever honoured knight, Sir William Waller.
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He is as much mised as any.
Like to most mortals to his practises he was a slave,
He caught the small pox and died, and is here in his grave."
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- CLAPHAM.—Brass of John Shelley and wife. 1526.
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- HORSHAM.—True and Wonderful! A Discourse Relating to a Strange and Monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered, and yet living to the great annoyance, and divers slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent poyson, in Sussex, two miles from Horsam, in a woode called St Leonard's Forest, and thirty miles from London, this present month of August, 1614, with the True Generation of Serpents. Printed at *London*, by John Trundle, 1614.
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- Authentic Account of Sarah Pledge and Ann Whale, executed at Horsham, for poisoning James Whale, August 7, 1752.
- It appears that soon after Whale and his wife were married, they took lodgings in the same house with Pledge and his wife Whale and Pledge's wife having quarreled, Whale forbade her his room, but the two women being still infuriate, determined to

get rid of him. Pledge, the woman, first attempted to poison him by roasting spiders to put into his beer!! but his wife relenting, some white arsenic was afterwards procured by Mrs. Pledge and Whale's wife, and mixing it with hasty pudding while he was intensely gazing on his child, he ate it, and died within a few hours.

Life and Depredations of R. Bignell, with an account of his Execution at Horsham, 12mo. *frontispiece*. 1807.

Caffyn (Mathew, *a Frantic Fanatic, who discoursed at Horsham, Sussex*) Deceived and Deceiving Quakers Discovered, their Damnable Heresies, Horrid Blasphemies, Mockings, Railings, etc., 4to., *very rare*. *Entered into the Register Book kept by the Co. of Stationers*. 1656.

HORSHAM CHURCH.—The *Builder*, vol. xvi., no. 813.
Horsham Steeple set on Fire by Lightning.

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Report of the Proceedings before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed on the 8th January, 1807, in the case of a double return for the Borough of Horsham, in the County of Sussex, by JOHN S. COPLEY, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. *London. Printed for J. Butterworth, Fleet Street, and S. Cooke, Ormond Quay, Dublin*. 1808.

There is a M.S. addition to this Book by Thomas Charles Medwin, containing an Account of the Proceedings on a Committee of the House of Commons, on the Return for the Borough, made on the 12th May, 1807. In the Library at Horsham Park. This was the only book which Lord Lyndhurst published with his name. See Foss' Judges.

Minutes of Evidence taken before a Select Committee on the H. Election Petition, 449 *pp.* to which is added, in 379 pages of M.S., the case of Edwin James, Esq., for various Acts of Bribery at the above Election, fol., tried at Lewes, 22nd March. 1819.

The History and Antiquities of Horsham, and the Surrounding Curiosities, by Howard Dudley, aged 16; *illustrations and woodcuts*, 8vo. *Privately Printed*. *London*, 1836.

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Account of the Free Grammar School, founded by Richard

Collyer, citizen and merchant, by will dated 23rd January, 1532.

Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales, 1818.

IFIELD.—Memoirs of Denzel Lord Holles, Baron of Ifield, from the year 1641 to 1648, 8vo. *with portrait*, aged 78, in 1676 ob. 1679. *London*, 1699.

Monumental Effigy.—This figure lies on an altar-tomb on the north side of the nave of Ifield Church, under the easternmost arch. It is ascribed to Sir John de Ifield, who died in 1317. *Engraved in Stothard's Monumental Effigies*. 1828.

Account of Ifield. 4 *Topog*: p. 336.

Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Denzell Lord Holles, of Ifield, Lord High Steward of the Honors, Manors, and Revenues of the Queen's Custos Rotulorum of Dorsetshire, and Privy Counsellor, by Samuel Reyner, M.A., rector of St. Peter's, in Dorchester, with Frontispiece of Armorial Bearings. (Copy in Dr. Williams' Library). *London*, 1680.

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- Poems, Epigrams, Translations, Description of Knepp Castle, in Shipley parish, by Lady Burrell, 2 vols., 8vo. 1793.
- SHOREHAM, NEW.—Chaloner, Thomas, Schoolmaster at, and Little Hampton. The Merriest Poet in Christendom, or Chaloner's Miscellany, being a salve for every sore, containing all his extempore flights, satyrs, songs, turns of fancy, and humours, &c., 8vo. 1732.
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- Architectural History of Shoreham Collegiate Church, by E. SHARPE, M.A.; published with account of Chichester Cathedral and Boxgrove Priory, *roy. 4to. Mason, Chichester*, 1861.
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- Picture of Worthing, with account of Arundel, Shoreham, and the surrounding country, by John Evans, A.M., 12mo. pp. 118. *London*, 1805.
- A Second Edition, in 2 vols, 12mo, with map and plates. *Worthing*, 1814.
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ADDENDA,

RELATING TO THE COUNTY GENERALLY AND INCIDENTALLY. ¹

Grants of Arms—Northampton, Suffolk, York, Leicester, and Sussex, with the several Pedigrees, by COOKE, *temp. Eliz.*, 4 vols. *Sold for £10 10s., at Brand's Sale, 37th day, in 1807.*

¹Vol. 15, Sussex Arch. Coll., p. 215.

- Long Parliament—"The Mystery of the Good Old Cause," a singularly curious account of those Members of the famous "Long Parliament," who took the "Self-denying Oath," shewing the large fortunes and money they made, notwithstanding the exceeding "Self-denial" they possessed. 4to. London, 1660.
Gives anecdotes of Sussex Roundheads.
- The Sussex Tragedy, or the wonder of cruelties. 1699.
- Account of a Journey through the Beech Woods of Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, 12mo.
- A Tour through some of the Southern Counties, by PEREGRIN PROJECT and TIMOTHY TYPE, 12mo.
- Sussex Gleaner—Papers by DOUGLAS, &c., 8vo. Lewes.
- Henry Blacker, the Sussex Giant, scarce and curious print of.
Engraved in Caulfield's Characters.

EAST SUSSEX.—LEWES RAPE.²

- BRIGHTON.—Bathing houses at Brighton, a large engraving, by Sir F. BOURGEOIS. Colnaghi, 1801.
- GLYNDE.—An Act for the Better Employment and Support of the Poor in the Parishes of West Firle, Beddingham, and Glynde. 1812.
- GLYNDEBOURNE.—In Bannister's Worthies of the Working Classes, 8vo., is a Memoir of William Hay, of Glyndbourne. 1851.
- STANMER.—Catalogue of the Library of ye Right Hon. Thomas Pelham, at Stanmer, taken Oct., 1768, by ye Rev. Mr. COURTAIL and ANN PELHAM, folio. [A Manuscript.]

PEVENSEY RAPE.³

- BERWICK.—Inscriptions in Berwick Church. 1 *Topog. Miscell.*, p. 40., 1792.
- SEAFORD.—Memorials of Seaford, the Town, Parish, and Cinque Port. By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., F.S.A. 1855.
- TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—Colbran's Large Guide, map and plates, 8vo. *Has a plate of the Wells in 1664.* 1841.
- Botanical Pocket Book, containing some of the rare Plants growing in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, 12mo., coloured *Tunbridge Wells*, .840.

HASTINGS RAPE.

- Select Remains, Memoirs, Funeral Oration on—Clack of Hastings, Sermon, &c., by J. HOOPER, 8vo. 1817.
- RYE.—Clark's Guide and History of Rye, to which is added its political history, interspersed with many pleasing and interesting incidents, 12mo., pp. 195. *Clark, printer, Rye*, 1861.
- Sketch of the Life and Character of the Right Hon. and Rev. Richard Trevor, Bishop of Durham, with account of his last illness, 4to, fine portrait. *Darlington*, 1776.

² 16, Suss. Arch. Coll., p. 272³ 16, S A. C., p. 287.

WEST SUSSEX—ARUNDEL RAPE.⁴

- WALBERTON.—History of all Religions, from the Creation to the present time, description of services, etc., by Rev. WM. TURNER, vicar of Walberton, 8vo. *J. Dunton*, 1694.
- CHICHESTER.—Carleton (Dr. Geo., Bishop of Chichester) examination of the doctrine of Predestination, and of the Pelagians and Arminians, 4to, pp. 20. 1626.
- J. Lake, Bishop of Chichester, Defence of the Profession made upon his death-bed, with Life, 4to. 1690.
- Minutes of Evidence given before the Committee of Privileges, Sir Cecil Bishop claiming the Dignity of Baron Zouche of Haryngworth, and Lady Charlotte Fitzgerald that of the Barony of Roos, fol. 1804.
- Report of the Proceedings of the House of Lords on the Claims to the Barony of Gardner, with a collection of Cases, illustrative of the law of Illegitimacy, by DENIS LE MARCHANT, 8vo. 1828.

STORY OF WITCHCRAFT AT BRIGHTLING.

(WITH NOTES).

THE Rev. William Hayley, Rector of Brightling (the antiquary), who died in 1789, and left his MS. Collections relating to Sussex to the British Museum, wrote a history of his own parish, in which he records some remarkable traditions, &c. The following narrative strongly illustrates the superstitious belief in Witchcraft which once existed, not simply among the illiterate and vulgar, but also among the educated classes of society.

From internal evidence, the events here recorded must have occurred earlier than the year 1662, when the Rev. Joseph Bennet was ejected from the living of Brightling for nonconformity. Among the other persons who figure in the narrative are Colonel Busbridge, of Haremore in Echingham, and Captain Collins, of Socknersh in Brightling, both men of good family, and county magistrates. That these two gentlemen, as well as the four clergymen, were fully persuaded of the reality of the alleged facts is obvious from the tenor of the statement itself. The book called "A Mirror or Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners, by Samuel Clarke," I am unable to procure, and I think it is of considerable rarity.

The copy of the narrative from which I print this was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Burrell Hayley, of Catsfield Place.

" AT BRIGHTLING, IN SUSSEX.

" As touching y^e Relation of y^e Brightling Story, which is in substance undoubtedly true, however some circumstances of it may vary, be pleased to take y^e following account.

From a paper sent to Mr. G. Freeman, of Hollingrove, by his Coz., Mr North of the Borough of Southwar

I remember to have seen the same formerly, in a book lent by Mrs. Dear, of Burvahl, to Mrs. Burgess, therefore y^e book from which Mr. North transcribed it.

" On Monday was three weeks, at or near y^e house of Joseph Cruttenden of Brightling, an old woman about noon came to a servant girl of the said

Cruttenden's and tells her sad Calamities were coming upon her Master and Dame, their house should be fired, and many

other troubles befall them, but tells this Girl withal, That if she spake of what she had told her, y^e Devil would tear her to pieces, otherwise she need not fear, for no hurt should come to her.

“The same night, as the man and woman lay in bed, Dirt and Dust was thrown at them, but they could not tell whence it came; They rise and pray, during which the disturbances cease. Some say they went to bed again, but finding y^e same

Oct. 27, 1786.
I saw a larger account of y^e matter at Mr. Katt's* at Robertsbridge Abbey, in a Book entitled “A Mirror or Looking Glass, both for saints and sinners,” by Samuel Clarke, Minister of St Bernets, London, in folio. The account of wh^{ch} book is from Mr Jos. Bennett, of Brightling.

trouble they are forced to rise. Tuesday, about noon, Dust and Dirt, and several things are thrown at them again; before night, a part of one end of their house fired; they rake it down, it flashes somewhat like gunpowder; as they stopped it there, it began in another place and then in another, till the whole house was burnt down. Some say something like a Black Bull was seen tumbling about; y^e certainty of which I aver not. The house, though it burned down to the ground, it flamed not. The night was spent in carrying away goods, or one thing or another to one place or another, they I think remaining most without doors. Thursday Colonel Busbridge (whose house the former was, being acquainted with y^e man's sad accident,) bid them go into another of his Houses in y^e Parish, whither, when y^e Goods were brought, such like Disturbances were there also; y^e house fireth, endeavours are made by many to quench it, but in vain, till y^e Goods are thrown out, when it ceased with little or no help.

“In this condition none durst let them into their doors; they abide under a Hut; y^e Goods are thrown upside down; Pewter Dishes, knives, Brickbats strike them, but hurt y^m not. Mr. Bennett and Mr. Bradshaw, Ministers, came to pray with y^m, when a knife glanced by y^e Breast of Mr. Bennett, a Bowl or Dish thrown at his Back, but while at Prayers quiet; they were without doors, there being

Tut, I suppose to be a word used in Sussex for Scoop to laide Water.

very many present, a wooden *Tut* came flying out of y^e air, by many, and came and struck the man; as likewise a horse-shoe; which was by some laid away, and it was

* Father of the late Mr. William Catt, of Bishopston Mills. See *Sussex Worthies*, p. 217

observed of its own accord to rise again and fly to the man, and struck him in y^e midst of a hundred people.

“ Upon strict examination y^e man confesseth that he had been a thief, and did it under y^e Colour of Religion, Sabbath day. Y^e girl told her Dame y^e former story of y^e woman’s discourse; she is sent for and examined before Capt. Collins and Mr. Busbridge, and she is watched and searched twenty-four hours; the girl saith she is like y^e woman, but I think will

The farm called *Hodges Mills*, Isaac Cruttenden, used by Colonel Busbridge, at £6 per annum, which was haunted: y^e house part of it burnt down.

not swear it is the same. This woman was formerly suspected to be a Witch, had to Maidstone about it, but got away, and hath lived about Burwash some time since; her name I know not.

Tuesday Four Ministers kept a Fast, Mr. Bennett, Weller, Bradshaw and Golden. Since I hear not of any trouble. Tis said that they are in a Barn or Alehouse. While they lay without doors, y^e woman sending some meal to a Neighbour’s to make some bread, they could not make it up into Loaves, but it was like Butter, and so they put it into y^e Oven, but it would not bake, but came out as it went in.

“ This relation came from Mr. Collins, who was an Eye-Witness to much of it.”

M. A. L.

ROUTE OF KING CHARLES II. THROUGH SUSSEX DURING HIS FLIGHT IN 1651.

BY SAMUEL EVERSLED, Esq.

SHAKESPEARE and Sir Walter Scott cannot be recommended as guides in the study of history; and it is to be feared that many popular anachronisms may be traced to their writings. The book-makers of our own day too often mislead; and even the painstaking and accomplished author of that famous Sussex Novel, "Ovingdean Grange," is likely to perpetuate error in connection with an interesting incident in our local history—the Flight of King Charles the Second after the Battle of Worcester.

In this Paper an attempt is made to define more exactly than has yet been done, the route of the fugitive Monarch.

It is recorded in Vol. V. of our Sussex Arch. Collect., p. 48, that "Thomas and George Gunter, of Racton, met the King near Hambleton, in Hampshire, with a leash of greyhounds as if for coursing." This was on the evening of October 13th, 1651. The King passed the night, in the character of a Roundhead, at the house of "Thomas Symones," Gunter's brother-in-law.

They set out at break of day, crossing Broad-half-penny Down,¹ whence they would proceed over Catherington Down, Charlton Down, and Idsworth Down, in Hampshire, to Compton Down, in Sussex. The early morning scenery, the meeting in the central avenue of Stanstead Forest, and the melancholy ghost story, must be relinquished to the Novelist, because it is most improbable that the King would be conducted through bad roads swarming with armed men, when the party might with more ease and safety canter over the smooth turf of our glorious South Downs. Even then the

¹ NOTE (by M. A. L.) Broad-half-penny Down. I have been much puzzled at this strange piece of local nomenclature; but lately turning over the pages of Bailey's Dictionary (folio 1730), I

found *Brod-halfpeny* explained as "an exemption from paying a certain toll to the lord of the manour, &c. for setting up boards in a fair or market."

King would be within about two miles of Stanstead House, "where Captain Thomas Gunter prudently left him, in order to attract less notice upon the party." Gunter would have to ride about four miles to his home at Racton, from whence he is said to have proceeded to Brighton by the road through Arundel and Shoreham, arriving in time to arrange with Tattersel for the King's voyage to the Continent, "accompanying him in the voyage, and seeing him safe ashore." It is probable that some previous writers have confounded Captain Thomas with Colonel George Gunter in this particular.

Leaving the pretty villages of Compton and Up-Marden a little to the south, the King, Lord Wilmot, and George Gunter follow the track up Long Down, and across Marden Down to the Tumuli called the "Devil's Jumps," from whence they would have a splendid ride along the top of the Downs from west to east, with the broad valley of the Weald on their left, and the blue waters of the English Channel on their right, the horizon broken by Rook's Hill in the distance, and occasional plantations near at hand. This point is about twelve miles, as the crow flies, from Hambleton, and the time could hardly have been earlier than nine o'clock. Leaving Treyford, Didling, and Bepton at their feet on the left hand, with Midhurst and Petworth at some distance beyond, they skirt the northern edge of the great West Dean Woods, and passing over Cocking Warren, cross the main road from Midhurst to Chichester. Another half-hour brings them to Heyshott Down, with Heyshott and the Dunsford of the Cobdens at the bottom of the hill on their left. At ten miles distance Black Down grandly and gloomily closes the scene. For five long miles they have close on their right Singleton Forest, Charlton Forest, and the Tegleases. In the middle distance of the Weald may now be seen the brown and dreary commons of North Heath, Ambersham, and Graffham, with its ominous gibbet on "Galley Hill," and Duncton.

Here the Downs break off, and trend abruptly to the south-east. The travellers, leaving Duncton Beacon to the left, rapidly descend the hill, passing a solitary tumulus, whilst a flock of plump lapwings, resplendent with purple

and green, wheel circling about their heads, screaming their weird and monotonous cry of "peewit," and startling both horses and riders from their meditations. In the bottom, at Littleton, they cross the highway from Petworth to Chichester. Throwing the reins on the necks of their horses as they toil up the chalky and "hollow" way of the next ridge of hills, they think of dangers past and present, and of—dinner. A ride of five and twenty miles through the pure and exhilarating air of the open Downs would be enough to sharpen any capable appetite; and the Merry Monarch, doubtless, hereabouts, as the writer himself has done at the same place, exclaimed to his somewhat startled attendants, or *quasi* masters, "my belly crieth cupboard."

Plodding on, the horses have brought them again to the top of the Downs; and now, from Glatting Beacon, the King, pulling up his horse, follows with his eye the "Stane Street," or Roman Way, which, with its central ridge, two roads, and side ditches, runs up hill and down dale straight as an arrow from the bow, far as his eye can trace its course, in a direct line to the spire of Chichester Cathedral, which rises at a distance of ten miles out of the rich and lovely champaign country, backed by the Channel and the Isle of Wight, which hangs like a blue cloud in the south-west horizon. Turning his horse's head, he gazes over the Weald. At his feet are the villages of Bignor and Sutton, with their white-washed cottages, and busy water-mills. To the left is Burton Park, with its broad sheets of water and ancient mill. Again, the commons, covered with their brown heath and frost-struck ferns, of Horncroft, and most romantic Fittleworth. There, too, is the common of Watersfield, with its Roman Camp, and the still more venerable Lodge Hill of the Celt. Beyond rises the hill with its "holt," named Arundel after its noble owner; and, far away in the dim distance, is the long, grey, even line of the "Hog's back," marking the site of the town of Guildford. Looking a little more to the east, and following the northern line of the Roman Way through Pulborough and Billingshurst, among the silver windings of the Arun, the view is bounded by Leith Hill, rising, rugged and majestic, in the fair county of Surrey. The poor King for once feels himself ennobled, the magnifi-

cent panorama awakening in his heart some feelings akin to appreciation of the sublime; and, rising slightly in his stirrups, he exclaims, "*This is a country worth fighting for!*" Urged, however, by the anxieties of his followers, or rather leaders, he once more, and with a sigh, turns his horse's head to the south-east, and rapidly descending the hill past some ancient tumuli, where lay buried those who, in the old times, fought and lost the day, the party plunge into the shades of Houghton Forest.

Safely and unchallenged have they hitherto pursued their way, having seen no human being, save a shepherd here and there in the distance tending his flock. But for his pressing cares, the ever-recurring thought of his father's death, and regrets for his own lost crown, Charles would have considered this the pleasantest journey he ever took in his life. Other thoughts now occupy his breast, and the deep gloom of the beech wood, now arrayed in autumnal robes of sienna and gold, reminds him that he is in the heart of the enemies' country. Meekly does he ride at a respectful distance behind his pretended master, and well is it for him that he does so; for, suddenly, honest George Gunter reins in his steed, exclaiming, in an undertone, "we are undone—here is Captain Morley, the governor of Arundel Castle." "Never mind," quietly replied the king, "move on." And then follows the dangerous interview so well described by Mr. Ainsworth. Lord Wilmot, Gunter, and the King having dismounted, they slowly pass on, crossing the road from Arundel to Petworth at about three miles north of the Castle; and, still leading their horses, they plunged into the steep, rough, old hollow, well named the "white way," and speedily found themselves in the quiet village of Houghton.

The writer has thus given the tradition of the neighbourhood, which was related to him on the spot; and which certainly appears more probable than that the king should have been conducted through Halnaker and Slindon to the town of Arundel. That would, indeed, have been riding into the lion's mouth, and without the slightest necessity; for though the river Arun could have been crossed only at the bridge at Arundel, or by the bridge at Houghton, the journey by the Downs and Houghton must have been preferred and decided on without a moment's consideration.

This also was the route which good Gilbert White of Selbourne took in his journeys into Sussex "for upwards of thirty years," as he says in the fifty-sixth letter of his charming History of Selbourne.

The facts were, doubtless, mainly as represented in this paper, and the famous *rencontre* took place in Houghton Forest, perhaps when the shades of evening were falling, as Waller and his Round-heads were returning from their day's hunting, to Arundel Castle, from which they were still distant; and not in, or near the town, as the novel informs us.

The precise spot in the forest where the meeting happened is the finest scene for such an incident that the painter could possibly desire: the subject is an admirable one for a Gilbert or a Maclise.

If the reader started from Hambleton soon after day-light on a fourteenth of October, and pursued on horseback the course indicated, he would find the sun far down in the west, or already set as he rode through Houghton, and would not be at all disposed to scale the bold heights of the next range of the South Downs, which are here separated by the broad *embouchure* of the Arun.

Travelling on the hills at night is not without risk, especially in the autumn. The writer remembers that some years since, two neighbour yeomen, attempting to cross the hill one evening on horseback, not far from Houghton, from the house of the one farmer to that of the other, were overtaken by a dense fog. They speedily bewildered themselves and then their horses, and after wandering about till towards morning, without being able to recognize one familiar object, Farmer Bartlett was almost overjoyed to find that instead of having been "spirited" into some *terra incognita*, as they began seriously to fear must be the case, his horse had by great good chance put his head over his own gate! Many such tales are current among frequenters of the Downs, and Gunter must have known that from these and various other causes, the risks the King ran through travelling at night were even greater than those he incurred by day. Our fifth volume records, at page 57, a very interesting arrest of a Parliamentarian officer, probably Colonel Apsley, of Warminghurst, on a December night in 1643, on the very

hill which was now before the King, both Roundheads and Cavaliers scouring the hills in the fog, at almost as much risk to friends as to foes; and the mere sight of the hill before them would remind Gunter of the capture, and lead him to fear that the tables might now be turned with a vengeance, should the King continue his journey.

Shelter for the night had already been provided at Amberley Castle, the residence of the loyal Sir John Briscoe, and there appears to be scarcely sufficient reason to doubt that the tradition is correct which is referred to by the Rev. G. A. Clarkson in his "Notes on Amberley," S. A. Col., Vol. XVII., p. 223, and that the bed-chamber on the east side of the Castle, looking into the churchyard, and still designated King Charles's Room, was really occupied by him on the night of October 14th. It would, indeed, be difficult to find a place more suitable for an escape in case of a sudden night attack, as it is on the very edge of the "Wild Brook," affording facilities for flight to those intimate with the locality, and being extremely dangerous either to horse or foot of strangers.

In proof that the day must have been far spent when Charles reached Amberley, we may refer to Vol IX. of our Collections, p. 51, where we read that eight years before the King's flight, a party of horse set out from Bury Hill, which hill the King was crossing, when he met Colonel Morley, at six o'clock in the morning, and went as far as Petersfield to reconnoitre, and that, though the business was urgent, they did not get back till ten o'clock next morning, having been in their saddles most of the time, as they were "close by the enemy all along," and say they "had noe meat but a peece of bread and cheese . . . and our horses while we eate it, had nott halfe an houres time."

Allowing, therefore, for the slower return journey, when horses and men must have been well-nigh knocked up, the distance being more than sixty miles; and remembering that Hambleton is some ten miles further than Petersfield, in nearly the same direction, it seems clear that it must have been almost or quite dark when Charles reached Houghton Bridge. Indeed, the darkness in Houghton Forest insured both the sharpness of the keeper's challenge, and the escape of the king.

Recurring to the novelist, it should be borne in mind that Arundel Castle is not visible at the distance of two miles on the Chichester road, nor, indeed, is it visible at all in that direction till the traveller emerges from the gorge of the old road immediately upon the Park House valley, at a spot where, in old times, stood the Water Gate of the town.² It is most unlikely also that the King should ride from Hambleton to Arundel in time to meet Waller and a party of troopers going out a-hunting. Of course, too, if our fugitives passed through Arundel at all, they took the way through "Tarrant," or T'e Arun Street, usually styled "The Lower Lane," to the bridge, and so would have no occasion "to mount the ascent on which the proud fortress is planted."

After the above had been written, my attention was kindly directed by M. A. Lower, Esq., to a document printed in "Parry's Coast of Sussex," p. 29. This document appears to be copied from a MS. in the British Museum, entitled "The last act in the miraculous Storie of his M'ties escape: as it was taken from the mouth of Colonell Gounter by a person of worth, a little before his death." The document indicates that the journey from Hambleton to Brighton was accomplished in one day; if so, the poor King is truly said "to undergoe a very hard journey," the distance being more than sixty miles. He had "ridd neere fourty miles" the day before.

Early in the morning of the 15th, the King mounted his horse at Amberley; if, indeed, we may suppose that the MS. referred to gives only a brief outline of the journey, and that Charles really did rest a night at Amberley; otherwise according to the Racton MS., the fugitives, arriving at Houghton, stop at an ale-house for some bread and drink, and there they discuss also two neats' tongues, which the provident Colonel had put into his pockets at Hambleton.

² The Spring "Dick" (Ditch) which here formed the western defence of Arundel and its Castle, rises at some distance up the valley, and runs into the Arun. It was doubtless a much more important stream than it now is; and on it was probably, the mill without an owner, which is mentioned in Domesday; and which is often confounded with the two mills at Offham, said in

the great Record to belong to Earl Roger de Montgomery—these, and not the Arundel mill, being the precursors of the famous mill at Swanbourne Lake, painted by Constable, Fielding, Dewint, and a host of other artists. See Mr. Lower's interesting paper on Sussex Mills mentioned in Domesday, &c.—Suss. Arch. Coll., vol. 5, p. 267.

When climbing the steep ascent of Amberley Mount, the King's horse casts a shoe. This makes it necessary to leave the crest of the Downs, along which is the usual route, and, moving south-east, they came either to Upper or Lower Burpham, or to Lee Farm; probably the latter. It is situated in a deep valley among the hills, completely secluded from the outer world; and here the shoe is replaced. The local tradition of the shrewd blacksmith, not a Sussex man we fear, is well rendered by the author of Ovingdean Grange, except that he makes the place an Inn, and puts it and the smithy on the south side of Angmering park instead of on the north. As the park is quite out of the way from Arundel to Shoreham, the royal party would not have passed through it, even if they had crossed over the bridge at Arundel. The king, doubtless, took the usual track over the Downs to Muntham Furze, having Storrington, with more water mills, Sullington, and Washington in sight at the foot of the hill. Parham park was lost sight of in the *detour* for the shoe. Beyond Sullington is the dark expanse of Heath Common; then comes Warminghurst, of the Apsleys, already referred to, with the churches and cottages of Ashington and Thakeham, nestling among embowering elms; then is seen the broad, green expanse of the delta of the Adur, a mere miniature, however, of the levels of the Arun. This is backed by the villages of Shipley, West Grinstead, with its park and lake, and Knep Castle, Shermanbury, Henfield, and Ashurst. Far off in the background is the town of Horsham, with the high grounds of St. Leonard's and Tilgate Forests, the busy scenes of the Iron works, where were manufactured both the arrow-heads so nobly used by Sussex Yeomen on the classic fields of Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers; and, for the king's ignoble days, those cannon and cannon balls which were so completely to change "the pomp and circumstance" of war.

King Charles would cross the highway from Horsham to Broadwater and Worthing at the north of Highden House, and of Muntham, (where resided the staunch Royalist, Sir Thomas Boyer), skirting Chanctonbury Ring, and leaving Wiston at its foot, having Cissbury Ring two miles to the south. We must, therefore, leave Oswald Barcombe, the patriarchal shepherd, to the story-teller and his admirers,

and follow the King, not to "the White Horse at Steyning, which place he would carefully avoid, but down the hill between Steyning and Maudlin, through Bramber and Beeding Street, where they met some of Colonel Herbert Morley's³ soldiers, "who yet did not examine them, nor had they, so far as could be discovered, the least suspicion of the royal passenger" (S. A. C., Vol. V., p. 49). Col. Gunter says, respecting this adventure: "From thence (Houghton) being come to Bramber, we found the streets full of soldiers, on both sides the houses, who unluckily and unknown to me were come hither the night before to guard; but luckily, or rather by very special Providence, were then just come from their guard at Bramber-bridge into the town for refreshment. We came upon them unawares, and were seen before we suspected anything. My Lord Wilmot was ready to turn back, when I stept in and said, "If we do, we are undone. Let us go on boldly, and we shall not be suspected." "He saith well," saith the King. I went before, he followed, and so passed through, without any hindrance. It was then between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. We went on, but had not gone far but a new terror pursued us—the same soldiers riding after us as fast as they could. Whereupon the King gave me a hem. I slacked my pace till they came up to me, and by that time the soldiers were come, who rudely passed by us, being in a narrow lane, so that we could hardly keep our saddles for them, but passed by without any further hurt, being some thirty or forty in number."

Once more up the Downs goes the King, but in company of Lord Wilmot only, the truly noble Gunter taking the high road through Old Shoreham, and skirting the Downs just south of Portslade. He reached the George Inn at Brighton, which he found free from all strangers; and having taken the best room in the house, and ordered his supper, he "entertained himself" with a glass of wine, which the reader will doubtless consider to have been well earned. We return to the King with Lord Wilmot, who has been terribly scared by the soldiers; they follow the broad track over the hills from Beeding to White Lot, and so at last to Portslade, between Shoreham and Brighton, where on the west side of the village

³ Of Glynde, near Lewes.

green, still stands the cottage, with high-pitched roof visible from the Brighton and Portsmouth Railway, at which, in a little chamber, cunningly contrived near the chimney in the roof, the King lay till Tattersell had completed his arrangements for the voyage to Normandy. At least, so says tradition; but the romantic hiding here, and the visit to Ovingdean Grange, so charming to read in Mr. Ainsworth's story, are sadly at variance with the Colonel's manuscript, in which he states that the King and Lord Wilmot came direct to the George at Brighton. Here they supped together, and then, "Up comes mine host; he runs to the King, and catching his hand, said, 'It shall not be said that I have not kissed the best man's hand in England.'" The King soon retires to his chamber; Gunter begins to treat with Captain Tattersell, who had been sitting with the King at supper. It had already been agreed, through the agency of Mr. Francis Mansell, a French merchant of Chichester, that Tattersell should receive fifty pounds for the voyage to France, and the Colonel, because the wind has suddenly become fair, offers ten pounds more to get off that night. The Colonel is compelled by the loyal but greedy skipper to give his word to insure the ship for two hundred pounds; and the King and Lord Wilmot go on board at "two of the morning." Our Sussex "Worthy" takes his leave, craves "his Ma'tie's pardon if anything had happened," &c. He sees them sail at eight of the clock, and it is afternoon before they are out of sight. He says they landed at *Fackham* (Féchamp) at ten a.m. on Wednesday, Oct. 15th. They were no sooner landed, but the wind turned, and a violent storm arose, &c., and he concludes by saying, "I was not gone out of the towne of Brighthemston two houres but soldiers came thither to search for a tall black man 6 foot and 4 inches high."

Here we take our leave of the Monarch, and of the reader too, with the parting suggestion that if he would see Sussex, and enjoy one of the most delightful rides imaginable, he should follow the course thus indicated as that pursued by King Charles the Second.

ISFIELD PLACE.

WITH NOTES RESPECTING THE FAMILY OF SHURLEY.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER, M.A.



THIS Place House, of which an engraving is given above, and which is a no less interesting specimen of our ancient Sussex Mansions, now reduced to farm houses, than the two of which I have already given an account,¹ in some respects more so, stands at the distance of about a quarter of a mile to the west of the road running from the Lewes and London turnpike road by Uckfield, north and south, through the parish in which it is situated, and from which it takes its name. To the traveller along this road it must have been, in its palmyest days, a very striking object; for even in its present state, the unusually substantial walls by which it is partly enclosed, with its ivy-mantled turrets, and antique appendages, cannot fail to attract the attention of the antiquary. It has been thought that the square brick building, which is now the residence of the tenant of the farm, is a part only of the original mansion. But this, I think, is very questionable. It might certainly have extended, as some suppose it to have done, on the south side of the present

¹ Hangleton Place, Vol. XVI., p. 291. Greatham House, Vol. XVII., p. 108.

house; and foundation walls, which are still to be traced beneath the surface of the soil in different parts of the kitchen garden, though far less distinctly than half a century or more ago, are adduced and relied upon as a certain proof, that a portion of it has been taken down. But had this been the case, a similar part must, it appears to me, have been taken away on the north side as well, in order to make the design of the house, which is somewhat peculiar, uniform and complete, by bringing its quaintly ornamented old entrance porch into the middle of the principal front. This, however, is manifestly impossible; the ancient stables and other outbuildings, which are large, and certainly coeval with, if not of greater antiquity than, the present house, being at no great distance from this side of it. It is true, these stables, with their lancet-shaped windows, are conjectured to have been the chapel of the house; and so might have formed a part of it. But for this there is little, if any foundation. Neither externally nor internally are there any traces to be discovered of its having ever been used for religious purposes. It has nothing of an ecclesiastical character about it. Upon a careful examination of the house and grounds as they now are, the conclusion I have arrived at is, that nothing has been taken down on the north side; and that all that can have been removed from the south side, if anything has, is a projection similar to that on the north (See open lines on the frontage plan).



But of the existence of such a southern projection I have searched in vain for the least indications. Such an addition, however, had it ever existed, would have made the frontage of the building uniform, which is not now the case. To the eastward the house might, at some time or other, have extended farther back. In other respects I cannot see how it could have been very different from what it now is.

Far more likely is it, that these foundation walls had nothing to do with the present house; but that they are the

remains of a far more imposing edifice which the Shurleys found there, when the manor and estate came into their possession, and which was the original Shurley residence; and that the present house was erected by some member of the family at a later period. This conjecture the style of the house would seem to favour. And this would satisfactorily account for the disproportionately large size of the stables, &c., and for their being of greater antiquity than the present residence. In speaking of the present house, Horsfield says in Vol. II., p. 142, of his "History and Antiquities of the Environs of Lewes," that "the remains of the old family mansion of the Shurleys, called Isfield Place, cannot be viewed without interest. What might have been the form or extent of the *original buildings*, when occupied by the Shurleys, we can scarcely form a conjecture. Some foundations are to be traced in the garden; but the greater part escape observation." His notion, then, seems to have been that the present was not the original Shurley residence. But beyond this he does not venture to advance an opinion.

It is however with the premises as they now are, that I have to do. Of these the boundary walls, as far as they now remain, are very substantial, and of the same date and material as the house. A portion of them, however, has evidently been removed. As they now are, there are the remains of two watch-towers, one at each end of the southern wall. From the westernmost of these towers a low wall has been built to the house; but to all appearance in more modern times. This western tower, however, was probably a central one, the wall extending further westward from this to another watch-tower; the wall between these two being co-extensive with that between the central and the eastern tower. Of the western half of this wall, nothing now remains, nor are any traces of the angular watch-tower to be discovered. But if a straight line were drawn at right angles from the spot where it probably stood, parallel with the front of the house in a northerly direction, it would bring you to a similar tower, the foundation walls of which will be found at the north-western corner of an enclosure now, or until lately, used as a farm-yard. And about midway between these towers might have been another, corresponding with the central one of the

southern wall, unless, instead of this, there were handsome iron gates here. The present House, then, must have stood about the middle of the space thus enclosed. These walls were strengthened by buttresses, and that on the southern side was further defended by a moat, both deep and broad. Whether the enclosure was moated on either of the other sides seems to be doubtful. To the north-east of it are two canal-shaped ponds, which are still called "the Moat." From this circumstance some have been led to imagine that it was moated on the north side as well. But had this been the case, it doubtless would have been similarly moated on the east side. There are, however, no traces of a fosse on either of these two sides. As one of these two ponds is supplied with water by a very copious and never-failing spring, they were probably used as feeders to the southern moat. To the west, the point of the compass towards which the house fronts, a moat would scarcely be required, the River Ouse flowing on this side at no great distance from it.

I have already alluded to the slightly projecting entrance porch of the house, which is still in a very perfect state. It consists of a semi-circular arched doorway, having a window above it, the whole being carried up to the roof and finished off with a gable, from the projecting front of which a stone pillar rises in two steps, on which is placed an upright iron rod, which doubtless, in days long gone by, was surmounted by a weather-vane. At the angles of this porch are four stone pillars, two above and two below, and on the bases of the upper two are, on one side the word "ABSTINETE," and on the other "SUSTINETE." On the capital which these pillars support is the following hexameter line:—

"NON MINOR EST VIRTUS QUAM QUERERE PARTA TUERI."

In the compartment between the arched entrance and the window above it, there is a shield containing the arms of the Shurley family, whose place of residence the house, as I have already said, was, and by one of whom the present edifice was built, but by which is not now for a certainty known. The style would seem to indicate that it was erected by Edward Shurley, the son of the first possessor of the manor and estate, or by his son Thomas—probably the latter.

The first recorded ancestor of the Isfield Shurleys—Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, of Lower Easington in Warwickshire, (who drew up and printed, a few years ago, in a very handsome quarto volume, destined for private circulation only, a history of the ancient Family of Shirley, who were largely connected with Sussex, and which he entitled “*Stemmata Shirleiana*,”) considers to be John Shurley, who possessed the manor towards the close of the fifteenth, or very early in the sixteenth century, for the exact date of his coming into possession is not known. Dying here, he was buried in the very interesting small chancel, or transept, on the south side of Isfield Church, which belonged to his family, and which, from this circumstance, and from its being the family mausoleum, still continues to be called “The Shurley Chancel.” The monument placed to his memory, which is mural, and originally inlaid with brass, but the figures of which are now gone, is the westernmost of the two in the south wall. The inscription, in Old English characters, describes him as “Mr. John Shurley Esquier, sumtime Chef Clerke of the Kichen to our Sov’ryn Lorde, Kyng Henry VII, (1485) and Cofferer to our Sov’ryn Lorde Kyng Henry VIII, (1508).” He died August 3rd, 1527. His will is dated March 1st, 1526 (18th Henry VIII.), and it was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Nov. 23rd, 1529. In it he directs his body “to be buried in the Church of Isfelde.” He appoints John Shurley, his heir apparent, to be his executor,² and bequeaths to him, inter alia, “three great bolles, with a cover, all gilt pounced,” which he “bought of th’ Executours of my Lady, the Kyng’s Graunt Dame,³ and two salts, with a Cover, which were gevyn unto my wife by hir brother John Goryng at hir marriage.”⁴ He mentions Parnell Grauntford, his wife, deceased; William, his second, and Edward, his third sons, Edward being under the age of 24, to whom he leaves a legacy, with this proviso, “if he be a priest;”⁵ also Joane and Bridget, his daughters, unmarried.” He appoints Roger More, “Sergeaunte of the Kyng’s bake-

² This John Shurley is not mentioned in the pedigree (Vincent, 216).

³ Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby.

⁴ Vincent (216) states that his wife

was daur. of Goryng, of Sussex.

⁵ He inherited—his two elder brothers dying in the life time of their father.

house, co-ex'or with John his Sonne; Sir Richard Broke, Knight, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Supervisor," and Thomas Weldon, "third Clerke of the Kyng's kechen," a legatee. He also mentions lands "at Prestend,⁶ co. Hereford; in the Marches of Wales, w^{ch} were William Walker's his grandfather; and Roger Shurley's myn own Father,"⁷ and directs prayers to be said for the souls of his grandfather, and Margery his wife, and for his own "mother's soul." This Margery was probably his first wife, for it is very evident by his will that he was twice married.

Other members of this family buried in the chancel are, Edward Shurley, the next owner of the estate, who is represented on his monument as of "the Manor of Isfylde, Esquyre, and Cofferer to Kyng Henry Eyght." His monument, which is similar to that of his father, is also on the south wall, and the one towards the south-eastern angle of the chancel. Besides the inscription plate, it evidently had, when in a perfect state, small inlaid figures of brass, probably of himself and his wife, and their children, which no longer remain. The inscription, which is also in Old English characters, states Johanne his wife to have been "the daughter of John Fenner Esquier." He died, March 16th, 1558. The part of the inscription, stating when his first wife died, is broken away. They had issue, or as the inscription quaintly expresses it, "between them God sent echie," three sons and one daughter. Of these sons, Thomas, the eldest, inherited. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Pelham, Knight, of Laughton Place, by Anne his wife, who was the sister of Sir Richard Sackville, Knight. He died at Lewes, January 18th, 1579, and his wife at the Manor House, Isfield, April 6th, 1571, and both are buried in the Shurley Chancel. The monument placed to their memory is on the east side of this chancel. On it are inlaid brass figures of himself, clad in armour, and of his wife, both in an attitude of devotion. Beneath is the inscription plate, which is of the same material.

The most attractive, however, of the monuments in this Chancel is a large canopied altar tomb, of mixed marble, and of splendid workmanship and design; of which an

⁶ Presteign.

⁷ Vincent (216) gives John as his

father's Christian name. Roger doubtless is right.

engraving is also given below. It is erected to the memory of Sir John Shurley, of Isfield, Knight, son of the preceding Thomas, and his two wives; the first of whom was Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, of Wiston, Knight. She was the fourth of the six sisters of the three brothers, whose travels and marvellous adventures in foreign parts are of world-wide celebrity, and an account of whose exploits in different parts of Europe and Asia will be found in Vol. V., p. 16, of our Archæological Collections. Sir John's second



THE MONUMENT OF SIR JOHN SHURLEY.

wife was Dorothy, the daughter of George Goring, Esq., of Danny, Receiver of the Court of Wards, and aunt to the Right Honourable Lord Goring, Master of the Horse to Queen Elizabeth. At the time he married her, she was the widow of Sir Henry Bowyer, of Cuckfield Place, Knight, and is stated on the tomb to have been, during her life, "received

into all men's affections." She is further described as "a merite beyond most of her time; for her purse was open to a Prophet's name; her pitty was the clothing of the poore; her piety the mother of her practice; her devotions were her daily offerings to God; her mercy sure against condemnation; and all her minutes were but steppes to heaven." Sir John himself is stated to have been "of an ancient Sussex Family; of a magnanimous heart; of an exemplary industry; of a Justice beyond exception;" and as "stout in good causes; yea, and good in all causes." He died at Lewes, April 25th, 1631. He is represented as lying in a suit of gilded armour under a richly ornamented semi-circular canopy, divided into two compartments, and surmounted by his coat of arms and crest, and other ornaments, with a wife on each side of him, their heads resting on cushions, and the three figures raised, one slightly above another, to facilitate the view of them. Below are the effigies of their nine children, two sons and seven daughters, which he had by his first wife. They are represented as clad in loose robes, and in a kneeling attitude, and the Christian name or names, as the case may be, of each are placed over them. Of these, the two sons, and two of the seven daughters, are stated "to have been called to Heaven" in their father's life time; and the five surviving daughters "into several marriages of good quality." Jane married, first Sir Walter Covert, Knight; secondly, Denzel, Lord Holles; Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Palmer, Knight; Charity, James Rivers, Esq., eldest son of Sir B. J. Rivers, Bart.; Anne, Sir Giles Overbury; and Mary or Martha, John, son and heir of Sir Hooper Doyley, Baronet, of Chesselhampton, co. Oxford. The inscription states further, that this costly monument was erected in order that "the fame of Sir John Shurley (being Deputie Lieutenant, and Justice of the Peace, and Coram of this County of Sussex), might be precious in the memory of all men, 'till the change of the last man."

Sir John bequeathed the Manor of Isfield to Robert, the eldest son of his younger brother, Sir George Shurley, Knight, by Mary, daughter and sole heiress of . . . Halfyde, of Faner, co. Herts. Sir George was Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and one of the Privy Council there for twenty-eight years, during the reigns of James and Charles I. He is

buried at Isfield, on the north side of the Chancel of the Church, where a plain altar-tomb is placed to his memory. He is described as having been born at Isfield in 1569, and as dying October 15th, 1647. His son Robert resided at Isfield, and died there. He was buried December 13th, 1646; but in what part of the Church is not known, no tomb or slab having been placed to his memory. By his wife Margaret, who was the daughter of Sir Richard Varney, Knight, of Compton, co. Warwick, he had a son John, born at Isfield, and buried in 1656, leaving no issue; and the estate went to Arthur, Sir George's third son, who, dying at Isfield, where he was buried September 3rd, 1667, and leaving no issue, Isfield Place and Manor descended, *jure uxoris*, to Edward Radcliffe, Esq., who married Penelope, the second of his three daughters; Sir James Smith, Knt., Lord Mayor of London, who married Elizabeth, the third daughter, taking a good farm in the parish as his wife's portion of the Shurley property; and from him the Smiths, Baronets, of Isfield, who became extinct in 1811, were descended. The Place and estate appear to have continued in the Radcliffe family until about the commencement of the present century, when they were sold, and passed by marriage with a daughter of the purchaser to the father of Henry King, Esq., the present possessor.

Besides Robert and Arthur, Sir George Shurley had three more sons, and three daughters. Of these remaining sons Thomas, the eldest, married and had a daughter Mabel, who married Edward Trevor, as appears by a deed of exchange of some property situated in St. Michan's, Dublin, for Lisnagead, Loughbrickland, which then belonged to Anne, the widow of Marcus, first Viscount Dungannon, acting in behalf of her son, then a minor, who eventually died without family. This information was communicated to Mr. M. A. Lower in December last by George A. Trevor, Esq., a descendant, residing at 48, Queen's Gardens, Hyde Park, who goes on to say, that the property in the county of Down, thus obtained by exchange, as well as the deed, are in the possession of Mr. E. Hill Trevor, who, together with his family, if he can succeed in tracing his relationship to him, which he is engaged in doing, are the representatives of the Isfield Shurleys. Of the three daughters Penelope, the eldest, married Francis Selwyn, Esq.,

of Friston Place; Anne, the second, Sir Fenton Parsons; and Judith, the third, Sir James Crooke, both Knights, and both resident in Ireland.

The house called the Friars, at Lewes, now taken down, belonged to, and was the occasional residence of, some of the later members of the Isfield Shurleys. Sir John Shurley, Serjeant at Law, and the second son of Edward Shurley, died at the Friars, and was buried at Isfield, October 26th, 1611, and his elder brother and nephew, Sir John, both died here, as I have already stated. The celebrated lawyer and antiquary, John Rowe, studied under the first Sir John, and after he had completed his legal education, became his managing clerk.

The Shurley Transept, or Chancel, was separated from the body of the church by a light oaken screen, a view of the altar being obtained from it by means of a *hagioscope*, through the main wall of the chancel arch. On its western side are two rows of open seats, the fronts of which and the lining of the walls are of carved oak linen panelling.

The Isfield and Lewes Shurleys are supposed not to have been at all related by blood with the Shirleys of Wiston (the first syllable of the name, it will be observed, is differently spelled), until they became so by the marriage of Jane, the daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, of Wiston, with Sir John Shurley, of Isfield. It is, therefore, somewhat remarkable, that in the following extract from the will of Rauff Sherley, of Wiston, dated February 11th, 1509, he calls John Shurley, of Isfield, his cousin. "And furthermore," he says, "I desire and requyre myn especiall good frend and *Cousyn*, John Sherley, Cofferer with our Sovereigne Lorde the Kyng, to be Overseer of this my Testament; that it may truely be performed after my trewe meaning. And I will and bequeth to hym for his labour xl." As there is no other evidence of consanguinity between these two distinguished Sussex families, Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley does not consider this a sufficient proof of previous relationship between them. At the same time that John Shurley of Isfield was Clerk of the Royal Kitchen, this Ralph Shirley was one of Henry the Eighth's body guard.

Sir Richard Sherley, the eldest son of this Rauff, was

Sheriff for the Counties of Surrey and Sussex in 1515, and again in 1525.

Two Coats of Arms are attributed to the Isfield Shurleys. The one over the arch of the porch and on the monument of Thomas Shurley is the same, namely, the simple one given in the Visitation of Sussex, in 1634, that is—Paly bendy of eight, Argent and Azure, a canton Ermine, quartering; 1. Argent, a chevron, Sable, between three mascles, Gules (Stavely); 2. Ermine, a cross flory Gules (Gryndall). Crest, out of a ducal coronet, a stag's head, Argent.

Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley considers the older coat—that, namely which was granted to John Shurley, Cofferer, &c., to be—Paly of four, Azure and Gules, three stag's heads coupéd Argent, on a fess wavy Or, three Cornish choughs, proper. Crest, on a wreath, Argent and Vert, a Talbot's head, of the first; in his mouth a birdbolt, Or.

The Pedigree of Shurley of Isfield, commencing with John Shurley, of Langfeld, co. York, Esquire, and marked in the College of Arms, Vincent 216, to which I have already several times alluded, and a copy of which is to be found among the Burrell Manuscripts in the British Museum (Addit. 5711, p. 147), and which professes to be transcribed from Sir Robert Smyth's Pedigree, Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley considers wrong. The first eight descents are, he thinks, "fictitious," and, therefore, that there is no authority for the Shurleys of Isfield quartering the Coats of Stavely and Gryndall, which the Pedigree assumes from a supposed match between Henry Shurley and Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Stavely, Esquire.

In what manner John Shurley became possessed of Isfield Place and Manor is not now known. But as we find the De la Warres in possession of it a few years previous, it is reasonable to suppose that it was by purchase of one of that ennobled family. Among the parishes in Sussex in which Roger, Lord De la Warre, had a Charter of Free Warren in the 13th of Edward I. (1284) is Isefeld. In this family the manor continued until the 4th of Henry VI. (1425), when Thomas, Lord De la Warre, dying in possession of it without legitimate issue, the Lordship of Isfield passed to Sir Reginald, the son of Sir Thomas West, Knight, who was

summoned to Parliament the 5th of Henry VI. (1426), under the title of Lord La Warre. A few years longer possession of the manor would bring us to the period of the Shurley ownership.

Besides the will of John Shurley, already noticed, the following wills of different members of the Isfield Shurleys are to be found registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Anne Shurley's, of Bexley, in Kent, the widow of Thomas Shurley, which was proved in 1650; Dame Mary Shurley's, proved in 1657; and Edward Shurley's, proved in 1658. Sir George Shurley's will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Dublin in 1646.

The Manor Pound, which stands by the side of the road, near the point at which the private road leading to the Manor House branches off, is apparently of considerable antiquity. Its walls are of stone, and in each of the north and south walls, the entrance being on the east side, is a small lancet-shaped opening, similar to a window. The use of these—for we do not look for ornament in the construction of a manor pound, and if we did, we should very rarely find it—it would be difficult to form anything approaching to a reasonable conjecture, seeing that a provision for light and air would be wholly needless in an open enclosure.

Horsfield mentions the existence of an altar cloth, belonging to Isfield Church, which, though it bears the date of 1579, is, he says, in a fair state of preservation. Might not this have been the gift of one of the Shurley family?

It will be recollected that it was in the Shurley Chancel that the black marble lid of the ancient tomb of Gundrada, daughter of William the Conqueror, and wife of William Saint Martin, the first Earl of Warren, was found by the Rev. William Clarke, Rector of Buxted, and an archæologist of good repute in his day; and afterwards removed, through the instrumentality of Sir William Burrell, to Southover Church, Lewes, in the year 1775. When discovered, it formed the base of the tomb of Edward Shurley, and it is supposed to have been conveyed to Isfield Church for safe custody at the time, or soon after the destruction of the Church of the Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, of which, with its renowned Priory attached, she and her husband were the

founders, and the missing portion to have been broken off to adapt it to the size of the place it occupied. I feel, then, that I cannot better conclude my Isfield Place Memoir than by quoting the last stanza of Lady Burrell's beautiful lines on this interesting discovery:—

“ What though the tomb, by Henry's dire command,
Became the victim of some ruffian hand,
Which, in obedience to a monarch's will,
Destroyed whole Abbies with an impious zeal ;
A gen'rous friend the sacred relique found,
Who bore it from the desolated ground :
To Isfield's aisle consigned the hallowed prize,
Where now on Shurley's monument it lies.”

For the use of two woodcuts which illustrate this Paper, the author is under obligations to W. E. Baxter, Esq.

JOHN TAYLOR, THE "WATER POET'S" ADVENTURES ON THE SUSSEX COAST.

EVERYBODY has heard of the "Water Poet" and his writings: few have in our times read him, nor have they lost much by not having done so. Still as his verses, such as they are, contain interesting allusions to the manners of the period in which he lived, they possess a certain amount of interest; and the readers of our "Collections" may like to hear what his experiences were in a voyage along the coast of this county in the early part of the 17th century.

John Taylor, a native of Gloucestershire, born about 1580, was bound apprentice to a waterman in London, and thence went into the naval service. He was at the taking of Cadiz, under the Earl of Essex, and was afterwards in Germany, Bohemia, and Scotland. On his return to London, he assumed the title of the "King's Water Poet." In 1642 he removed to Oxford, to avoid the consequences of his professed loyalty. Afterwards he kept a public-house in Westminster, and gained much celebrity as well as "custom," by his natural humour, which found vent in his metrical compositions. These were published in a folio volume in 1630, and from that publication the extracts which follow are taken. Taylor died in 1654.

The poem, if we may dignify it by that title, is called "A Discovery by Sea from London to Salisbury, in the year 1623." After narrating his adventures down the Thames and through the narrow seas, Taylor arrives with his companions off the eastern part of the coast of Sussex.¹ He says:—

" And thus by Rye and Winchelsey we past,
By Fairlegh,² and those rockie cliffs at last.
Some two miles short of Hastings we percei'd
The Lee shore dangerous, and the Billowes heau'd

¹ The following notes are, of course, editorial.

² Leland, in his Itinerary, mentions

the high steeple at Fairlight—a well-known land-mark.

Which made us land (to scape the Seas distresse)
 Within a harbour, almost harbourlesse,³
 (We gave God thanks) amongst the rocks we hit,
 Yet we were neither wash'd, or sunke, or split,
 Within a Cottage nigh, there dwells a weauer
 Who entertain'd vs as the like was neuer
 No meate, no drinke, no lodging (but the floore)
 No stoole to sit, no Locke unto the doore,
 No Straw to make vs litter in the night
 Nor any Candlesticke to hold the light,
 To which the Owner bid vs welcome still,
 Good entertainment, though the cheare was ill.
 The morrow when the Sun with flush'd face,
 In his diurnall course began to trace,
 The wind exceeding stiffe and strong and tough,
 The Seas outrageous, and extremely rough,
 Our Boate laid safe vpon the Beachy sand,
 Whilst we to Hastings went or walked by land.
 Much (to that Towne) my thankfulness is bounde
 Such vndererued kindnesse there I found.
 Three nights we lay there and three daies we spent,
 Most freely welcomed with much merriment.
 Kinde Mr. Maior, his loue about the rest,
 Me and my crue, he did both feed and feast;
 He sent vs gold, and came himself to vs,
 My thanks are these because his love was thus.
 Mine Host and Hostesse Clayton thus I thanke
 And all good fellowes there, I found so franke,
 That what they had, or what could there be got,
 They neither thought too heavy or too hot.
 The Windes and Seas continued still their course,
 Inueterate seemed their rage, vntam'd their force,
 Yet were we loth to linger and delay,
 But once againe to venture and away.
 Thus desperately resolu'd, 'twixt hope and doubt,
 Half sunke with launching, madly we went out,
 At twelue o'clocke at noone, and by Sun-set,
 To Miching or New Haven⁴ we did get.
 There almost sunke (to saue our Boat at last)
 Our selues into the shallow Seas we cast:
 And pluck'd her into safety to remaine
 Till Friday that we put to sea againe.
 Then 'mongst our old Companions (storms and flaws)
 At euery stroake neere death's deuouring iawes;
 The weary day we pas't through many feares,
 And land at last quite sunke o'r head and eares.
 All dropping dry like fiew poore Rats halfe drown'd
 From succour farre we halde the Boat on ground,
 Cast out our water whilst we brauely drop'd
 And vp and downe to dry ourselues we hop'd.
 Thus we our weary Pilgrimage did weare,
 Expecting for the weather calme and cleare:
 But stormes, flaws, windes seas tooke no minutes rest
 Continuall fiercely blowing, West South-West.

³ At present totally so—the chief of the Cinque Ports is without a haven!

⁴ Meeching preserved its original name long after the *New Haven* had

been opened; and indeed in legal documents of the present day, Meeching is the proper appellation, Newhaven being a mere alias.

A Town called Goreing⁵ stood neere two miles wide,
 To which we went and had our want supplide :
 There we relieued ourselues (with good compassion)
 With meat and lodging of the homely fashion.
 To bed we went in hope of rest and ease
 But all beleaguered with an host of Fleas :
 Who in their fury nip'd and skip'd so hotly
 That all our skins were almost turn'd to motley.
 The bloody fight endur'd at least six houres
 When we (opprest with their encreasing pow'rs)
 Were glad to yeeld the honour of the day
 Vnto our foes, and rise and runne away ;

The night before a Constable there came,
 Who asked my trade, my dwelling, and my name,
 My businesse, and a troupe of questions more,
 And wherefore we did land vpon that shore?
 To whom I fram'd my answers true and fit,
 (According to his plenteous want of wit)
 But were my words all true or if I li'd
 With neither I could get him satisfi'd.
 He ask'd if we were Pyrats? We said No,
 (As if we had we would haue told him so)
 He said that Lords sometimes would enterprise
 T'escape and leaue the Kingdome in disguise:
 But I assur'd him on my honest word
 That I was no disguisèd Knight or Lord.
 He told me then that I must goe sixe miles
 T'a Justice there Sir John or else Sir Giles
 I told him I was lothe to goe so farre,
 And he told me he would my journey barre.
 Thus what with Fleas and with the seuerall prates
 Of th' officer, and his *Ass*-sociats
 We arose to goe, but Fortune bade us stay :
 The Constable had stolne our oares away,
 And borne them thence a quarter of a mile
 Quite through a Lane beyond a gate and stile.
 And hid them there to hinder my depart,
 For which I wish'd him hang'd with all my heart.
 A plowman for us found our Oares againe
 Within a field well fill'd with Barly Graine.⁶

Then madly, gladly, out to sea we thrust,
 'Gainst windes and stormes, and many a churlish Gust,
 By Kingston Chappelle and by Rushington,
 By little-Hampton and by Middleton⁷
 To Bognor's fearefull Rockes which hidden lie,
 Two miles into the Sea some wet some dry :
 There we supposed our danger most of all,
 If we on those remorcelesse Rockes should fall:
 But by th' Almightyes mercy and his might
 We row'd to Selsey, where we staid all night.
 There our necessity could have no Law,
 For want of beds we made good vse of Straw

⁵ Our excursionists do not appear to have "hugged" the shore, as we have no mention of any place between Newhaven and Goring, a distance of many miles across "Brighton Bay."

⁶ This adventure with the Goring Constable forms the most amusing episode in the whole poem, and well illus-

trates the self-importance of the local authorities two centuries ago.

⁷ Kingston Chapel no longer exists, and Middleton Church, rendered classical by Mrs. Charlotte Smith's beautiful lines, has long succumbed to the ravages of the sea. Rushington is, of course, Rustington.

Till Sol, that old continual Traueller,
 From Thetis lap 'gan mount his flaming Car.
 The weather kept its course and blou'd and rag'd,
 Without appearance it would e'r be swag'd
 Whilst we did passe those hills and dales and Downs,
 That had deuour'd great ships and swallow'd towns.⁸
 Thus after six or five houres toyle at least,
 We past along by Wittering, West and East,
 Vpon the Lee shore still the winde full south,
 We came neere Chichester's faire Hauens mouth,
 And being then halfe sunk, and all through wet,
 More fear'd then hurt we did the Hauen get;
 Thus in that habour we our course did frame
 To Portsmouth, where on Munday morne we came."

⁸ Taylor was a good topographical observer, and an intelligent enquirer. The "remorceless rocks" of Bognor are still the terror of many a coasting mariner, and the allusion to "swallow'd towns" of course applies to Selsey,

whose ancient Saxon Cathedral has long disappeared beneath the waters of the ocean. For "Chichester's faire Haven's mouth," see *ante*, in the Rev. F. H. Arnold's article on Appledram.

NOTES ON SUSSEX CASTLES.

FROM THE PATENT, LIBERATE, AND CLOSE ROLLS, WITH
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

By W. D. COOPER, F.S.A., AND M. A. LOWER, F.S.A.

SUSSEX was remarkable in the middle ages for possessing in each of its six Rapes, a river, a port, and a CASTLE. The following notices of the six great castles (and the two minor ones) in the several rapes, are for the most part supplementary to what has been printed either in our local histories or in these Collections.

HASTINGS CASTLE.

[What credit is to be attached to the tradition that this fortress was originally formed by the Danish Viking, Hastings, is uncertain. The name *Hastenga-Ceastra* given to it in the Bayeux Tapestry certainly favours the generally-accepted belief, though as William, on his landing, orders a "castellum" to be *dug* here, we can hardly suppose the sea-king's castle to have been of any great strength. The probability is, that the castle of the Dane, like that of the Conqueror, was a mere entrenchment of earth on the frowning cliff which overlooks modern Hastings, the site of which became, under the Norman rule, one of the principal fortresses of the southern coast. William awarded to his kinsman, the Earl of Eu, the Rape of Hastings, and it is to him and his successors that the castle, in the modern sense, must be attributed.]

The custody was committed (1213-4) during the King's pleasure to Walter Scot, Alex. de Norwich, and Wm. de Farlegh, Barons of the ports.¹

The Castle and Rape were in the following year committed to the Earl of Eu.²

¹ Pat. 15, John.

² Ib. 16.

The custody was delivered to John de Gatesden, in 1230.³

Peter de Savoy was (1245) to have the Castle and Honour till he could fortify the castle with the revenues of the Honour: and for the like purpose he had the custody of the lands and of the heir of Richard de Burgo; but if there were anything over of the latter it was to be applied to fortify Rye Castle.⁴

[Rye Castle probably signifies the little fort called Ypres Tower.]

The Dean and Chapter of the King's free chapel had (1331) permission to enclose the castle and build houses for their dwellings within it: and they were also to have the King's herbage belonging to the Castle: for want of inclosure the chapel had been damaged by the sea: the reliques, ornaments, and treasure had been stolen, and the ministers of the chapel beaten, wounded, and insulted.⁵

[This royal free chapel, which was the source of much bickering between the Canons, its constituents, and the Bishops of Chichester, was founded by one of the Earls of Eu, and subsisted until the Reformation.]

PEVENSEY CASTLE.

[The baronial fortress of Pevensey was grafted on the Roman castrum of Anderida, the outer walls of which still remain. It was probably erected by the original Norman grantee, William, Earl of Morton, and strengthened by his successors, the De Aquilas. Its general history is well known.]

It was granted (1233) to Peter Rival for ever;⁶ yet the custody of this Castle was, in the following year, delivered to Robert Le Sauvage.⁷

The King intending to fortify it in 1250, commanded the sheriff to compel all persons who owed service to the castle to perform the same.⁸

John de Warren had the custody during pleasure in 1253.⁹

In 1264, Simon de Montford was to have 700 marks

³ Pat. 14, Hen. III.

⁴ Pat 33, Hen. III.

⁵ Pat. 5, Edw. III.

⁶ Pat. 17, Hen. III.

⁷ See also Bramber. Pat. 18, Hen. III.

⁸ Ib. 34, Hen. III.

⁹ Pat. 47, Hen. III.

towards his expenses in besieging the castle, out of the fine which the Bishop of Winchester paid for the corn and stock of his bishoprick.¹⁰

And in the same year the Barons of Hastings, Winchelsea, and Rye were to try diligently to capture these enemies of the King, who endeavoured to fortify this castle with men and victuals.¹¹

The sum of £12 11s. 3¼d. was allotted in 1304 for payment of the repairs of the Hall and chambers of the Castle done in 1301; £3 12s. 6d. for the repairs of the chapel in 1302; and £7 13s. 7d. for those of the great tower and granary tower.¹² The sum of £2 2s. 10d. was allowed for the repairs of the wall of the inner ward in 1303; £2 12s. 11d. for the repairs of the stable; 18s. for those of the great tower; £1 6s. 5¼d. for those of the gate of the outer ward, and £11 9s. 5d. for building a sheep-cote for the King's sheep in the manor of Pevensey.¹³

In 1304, also, the sum of 12s. was allowed for the carriage of 200 round stones, fit for engines, from the store at this castle to Winchelsea.

[During the excavations which Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Lower carried on at Pevensey Castle in 1852, they found many spherical balls of sandstone, which had been used (or at least prepared) for catapults. Several of these may still be seen at Pevensey, as well as at Lewes Castle. They are generally about a foot in diameter, and are of the green sandstone from Eastbourne. See ante, page 72.]

Robert de Sapy, constable of the castle in 1322, was allowed 6d. a day each for the wages of six armed footmen, and 4d. a day each for the wages of six slingers dwelling in the castle for its defence.¹⁴

In 1329, Edward III. paid John de Ashburnham for sixty oaks which Edward II. had cut in Ashburnham Woods, and used for the repairs of the castle.¹⁵

The King, apprehensive of great danger to the Castle (which Queen Philippa held for life) appointed in 1339 Henry Romyn warden of it during pleasure.¹⁶

¹⁰ Pat. 49, Hen. III.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Liberate roll 32, Edw. I.

¹³ There was also allowed £4 0s. 8¼d. for the repair, in 1301, of the King's

windmill in Willingdon, and £8 for building a sluice there in 1303.

¹⁴ Lib. 17, Edw. III.

¹⁵ Pat. 3, Edw. III.

¹⁶ Pat. 13, Edw. III.

In the next year, attacks of the French being expected, the archers and other men at arms of the liberty and demesne of Pevensey, were to be furnished with arms and put into the castle to defend it.¹⁷

Nicholas de Louvaigne in 1364 had the custody of the castle and warren, and the office of jailor of the castle for his life.¹⁸

Thomas Poyninges, Wm. de Hoo, and Wm. de Fienles, sheriff of Sussex, and others, were, in 1399, appointed by the King to besiege the castle and take and destroy the King's enemies who had taken and held it.¹⁹

John Franceys, who was jailer here in 1401, was appointed Bailiff of the rape of Hastings, and warrener of Dallington Forest, on the death of John Patewyn.²⁰

John Pelham, constable of the castle in 1405-6, was commanded to bring or send to the King, Edward, Duke of York, who was in his custody in the castle.²¹

LEWES CASTLE.

[The Conqueror awarded the Rape of Lewes to his son-in-law, William de Warenne, whose chief residence was this fortress, probably built by him on the site of an earlier work.]

The custody was committed in 1241 to Peter de Savoy, during the King's pleasure.²²

Richard, Earl of Arundel, complained in 1382 to the King that Wm. Grete, of Lewes, and Wm Wodelande, of Clyve, near Lewes, and many others, broke the doors, gates, and windows of this Castle, and of the houses and cellars of the Castle, broached ten casks of wine, drank a great quantity of it, and wasted the remainder, burnt the rolls, rentals, and muniments, and committed other enormities.²³

The Earl having been attainted, Richard Hunkelowe, was in 1399 appointed to the office of ranger of the Lordship of Lewes and to the office of warrener of Meeching during his good behaviour.²⁴

¹⁷ Pat. 34, Edw. III.

¹⁸ Pat. 38, Edw. III.

¹⁹ Pat. 23, Ric. II.

²⁰ Pat. 2, Hen. IV.

²¹ Close roll 7, Hen. IV.

²² Pat. 25 Hen. III.

²³ Pat. 6, Ric. II.

²⁴ Pat. 22, Ric. II.

And Thomas Attaicor was appointed at the same time to the office of door-keeper of the castle during his good behaviour.²⁵

BRAMBER CASTLE.

[Like Pevensey, this castle probably occupies the site of a Roman station—the Portus Adurni. The Conqueror allotted the rape to the family of De Braose, who built the Norman castle, and continued its lords for many generations.]

The custody of this castle was in 1234 ordered to be delivered to Robert Le Sauvage, together with the custody of the lands of the Honor, which belonged to John De Braose,²⁶ and in 1235 the custody of his heir, with the castle and lands was granted to the Earl of Poictou and Cornwall.²⁷

William de Brewosa gave the castle and town, and the town of Shoreham, in 1324, to the King and his heirs for the life of William, receiving £70 per annum out of the farm of the city of London.²⁸

The reversion had gone in 1315 to John de Mowbray and Alicia his widow, and she had granted it in 1323, with 3,000 acres of wood in the rape, to Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Winton.²⁹

The King immediately proceeded to put the castle into repair, and Andrew de Medestede, the sheriff, was allowed, in 1325, £118 16s. 7½d. in his account for his expenditure in the purchase of timber, lead, lime, sand, iron, nails, and other necessaries, and in the wages of carpenters and other workmen for the repair of the halls, chambers, chapels, and kitchen in the preceeding year; and £45 17s. 9¼d. paid to two carters who stayed at the castle with two carts and twelve horses, and were employed in the work for two hundred and thirty-four days for their wages, and for the purchase of hay, oats, and litter; each carter having 4½d. a day for himself and his boy.³⁰

By deed dated at Knapp, 21 Sept., 1362, John de Mowbray granted the custody of this castle and the office of

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Pat. 18, Hen. III.

²⁷ Ibid 19 Hen. III.

²⁸ Pat. 18, Edw. II.

²⁹ Pat. 9 & 17, Edw. II.

³⁰ Lib. 19, Edw. II.

“Messer” of the manors of King’s-bernes and Beding to John de Derby for sixty years, with 2d. a day for his wages.³¹

Robert Langton, having been appointed constable of this castle, by John, Duke of Norfolk, paid the King a fine in 1447 of half a mark for his confirmation.³²

The King, in 1553, sold to Edward Lewknor the lordship and manor of King’s-barnes, the site of the late castle of Bramber with the manor, the disparked park, called the New Park, the house called the Chantry Priest’s House, near the churchyard and gardens, &c., in Horsham, all formerly belonging to the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, attainted of High Treason.³³

KNAPPE CASTLE AND PARK. (*hodie* KNEPP.)

[This minor castle, in the parish of Shipley, and Rape of Bramber, was also the property of the De Braoses, from the date of the Conquest.]

The castle was ordered to be delivered in 1234 to the custody of Robert Le Sauvage, as well as the lands of the honor which belonged to John de Braose,³⁴ and in the next year Richard, Earl of Poitou and Cornwall, had the custody of these lands and castle, and of the heir of John de Braose.³⁵

In 1300, the King pardoned the executors of Wm. de Brewose, deceased, £52, for which the manor had been pledged.³⁶

On the 12th of June, 1326, an inquisition was taken at Steyning, on the death of Wm. de Brewosa, and it was found that in the manor of Kneppe there was a messuage worth nothing beyond repairs; a park of 1000^a worth 10s. a year beyond the support of the deer and keeping up the fences; a water mill in the park, worth 6s. 8d., per ann., 20^a of land worth 1d., 60^a of several pasture worth 2d., and 7^a of meadow worth 6d. per ann.; an assize rent of 13s. 4d. per ann.; and 3s. 4d. per ann. for pleas and perquisites of Court.³⁷

³¹ Pat. 43, Edw. III.

³² Fine 25. Hen. VI.

³³ Pat. 7, Edw. VI., Pt. 5.

³⁴ Pat. 18, Hen. III.

³⁵ *Ibid* 19, Hen. III.

³⁶ Close roll 28, Edw. I.

³⁷ Inquis: 19, Edw. II., No. 89.

John Mowbray granted the custody of the park with the house in 1369 to Wm. de Green for 60 years, receiving 2d. a day for his wages out of the manor, but he accidentally lost the letters patent, and the lands being in the King's hands, during the minority of Mowbray's heir, the grant was confirmed.³⁸

William Roger was appointed for life, with fees and profits, and 2d. a day wages in 1398.³⁹

John Pilton was appointed park-keeper, with the wages of 2d. a day and other perquisites, in 1400, during the minority of Thomas, son and heir of Thomas, late Earl of Nottingham.⁴⁰

The King confirmed, in 1446, the grant which John, Duke of Norfolk, had made to John Penycoke, of the custody of the Park for life, with the wages of 3d. a day.⁴¹

SEDGEWICK CASTLE.

[This was another small castle in the Rape of Bramber. It stood about two miles and a half eastward of Horsham, in the detached part of Broadwater which lies between Horsham and Nuthurst. From early Norman times till 1272 it was the property of the family of Le Salvage, or Savage. It then passed by exchange to the De Braoses. For the history of this castle, see the Rev. E. Turner's Paper, S. A. C., Vol. VIII., p. 31.]

John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, had received in 1259 license to fortify and crenellate his house of Seggewyk. (See Sussex Arch. Coll.)⁴² And in 1269, Peter de Mountford had the custody of the manor, with its fortress, till the King should order it to be restored to John Maunsell.⁴³

ARUNDEL CASTLE.

[The history of this redoubtable fortress is well-known, That it existed before the Conquest is shewn by Domesday, and some have ascribed its original foundation to Alfred the

³⁸ Pat. 43, Edw. III.

³⁹ Close 22, Ric. II.

⁴⁰ Pat. 1, Hen. IV. Pt. 2.

⁴¹ Pat. 25, Hen. VI.

⁴² Pat. 43, Hen. IV.

⁴³ Pat. 47, Hen. III.

Great. The Conqueror gave it to Roger Montgomeri, whom he created Earl of Arundel. It afterwards passed to the family of De Albini, and from that distinguished race, through female heirs, to the Fitz-Alans and Howards.]

John, son of John Fitzalan, one of the heirs of the late Earl of Arundel, had the castle and manor assigned to him in 1244.⁴⁴

This John was ordered in 1264, after the Battle of Lewes, to deliver his son and heir, or his castle to Simon de Montfort, as hostages for the security of the peace of the realm.⁴⁵

Robert Aguilon had the custody of the castle, house, &c., during pleasure, the lands and heir of John Fitzalan, deceased, being in the King's hands in 1272,⁴⁶ and he was thereupon directed to cause all necessary repairs to be done to the houses of the castle, and had £20 per an. allowed him for the custody.⁴⁷

The King gave in 1398 to John de Holand, Duke of Exeter, all the houses, iron, lead, wines, artillery, cooking vessels, and other instruments, vessels, and necessaries in Arundel Castle, forfeited to the King by the judgment given in Parliament against Richard, Earl of Arundel.⁴⁸

John, late Earl of Arundel, appointed Richard Dalyngrigge constable of this castle, with a fee of £10 per ann., and other fees, amounting to 5½d. a day; and the castle having come into the King's hands by the death of the Earl, he, in 1436, confirmed the grant till the heir came of age.⁴⁹

CHICHESTER CASTLE.

[The Rape of Chichester, like that of Arundel, was given by William I. to Roger de Montgomeri, Earl of Chichester and Arundel. After the destruction of the fortress, a monastery of Grey Friars was erected on the spot. The chapel of that establishment is now the Guildhall of the city, and stands in what is called the "Priory Park."]

The Castle temp Hen. III. was part of the dowry of the Queen Mother.

⁴⁴ Pat. 28, Hen. III.

⁴⁵ Pat. 49, Hen. III.

⁴⁶ Pat. 56, Hen. III.

⁴⁷ Lib. 56, Hen. III, and 1 Edw. I.

⁴⁸ Pat. 21, Ric. II.

⁴⁹ Pat. 13, Hen. VI.

King John had ordered this castle to be destroyed; but the destruction was not complete on the accession of Hen. III., and that Monarch, on 16th April, 1217,⁵⁰ ordered Philip de Albini to throw it down and destroy it. This seems to have been effected so far as its use as a fortress went. Two years after (9th April, 1219) the sheriff was ordered to convert it into a prison;⁵¹ and Henry granted to the Bishop his royal garden without the walls, with the chapel therein built, and the burying ground; the Bishop appointing two chaplains in the chapel, one to say mass for the soul of King John, and the other for the souls of Henry III. and his successors. This grant was confirmed by Edward III. in 1336.⁵²

[The following notices, relating principally to the Walls of Chichester, are from the same sources as the preceding. It may be observed that the walls referred to in these extracts stood upon the foundations of those of the Roman city of Regnum, and that the mediæval walls and turrets still remain, to a great extent, in their original condition.]

Richard, Earl of Arundel, Thomas de Brewosa, and Wm. de Fishbourne were, in 1339, to supervise the walls, and compel the Mayor, Bailiff, and citizens to repair them. The Bishop and Dean and Chapter, out of regard to the poverty of the citizens, undertook to repair the walls round their own houses.⁵³

The King pardoned the citizens £27 of their farm in 1341, because they had been at great expense in the walls of the city, on account of the imminent danger from the King's enemies.⁵⁴

The Mayor and Bailiffs were, in 1369, to repair the walls and the turrets on them, and to compel all persons who were liable to contribute to the cost.⁵⁵

The turrets, walls, and gates, were, in 1377, to be repaired and a new ditch, fifty feet wide, made round the city.⁵⁶

The Mayor and Bailiffs, were, in 1384, to compel all per-

⁵⁰ Pat. 1, Hen. III.

⁵¹ Ibid. 3, Hen. III.

⁵² Pat. 10, Edw. III.

⁵³ Pat. 13, Edw. III.

⁵⁴ Pat. 15, Edw. III, Pt. 2.

⁵⁵ Pat. 43, Edw. III.

⁵⁶ Pat. 1, Ric. II., quoted in Memorials of Chichester, p. 4.

sons having lands or tenements within the city, to contribute to the repairs of the walls and to the making of ditches round the city for its defence; they had also power granted to them to pull down houses and walls, and cut down trees within 100 yards of the walls, and in the suburbs with the consent of the owners, if it were necessary, for the better custody of the city.⁵⁷

Farm of the Town.—The King in 1461 assigned to his mother, Cecilia, Duchess of York, £4 17s. 4d. out of the fee farm of the city.⁵⁸

The Church of St. Peter in the Market Place was in 1229 to be demolished, and the area on which it stood given to the adjacent Hospital of St. Mary.⁵⁹

Grey Friars.—Queen Eleanor (1290) bought a piece of ground in Chichester, of John, the Chaplain, son of Nicholas the Goldsmith, bounded on the east by Ponk Lane, and gave it to the Friars preachers dwelling in Chichester.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Pat. 8, Ric. II

⁵⁸ Close 1, Edw. IV.

⁵⁹ Pat. 13, Hen. III.

⁶⁰ Pat 18, Edw. I. In 1281, the grounds of the Blackfriars had also been enlarged at her instance.

THE STAPLEY DIARY.

BY THE REV. EDWD. TURNER, M.A.

THE following Diary is, for the most part, a continuation of that kept by Richard Stapley, of Hickstead Place, in Twineham, and given in Vol. II., pp. 102 to 128 of the Sussex Archæological Collections. It is there stated that, having lived and died a bachelor, the Hickstead Estate passed, at his decease in 1724, to his brother Anthony, with whose memoranda this supplemental Diary commences; and after his decease in 1733, it is carried on by his son, John; finishing with the coming into possession of the same estate by his grandson, Richard, the eldest son of this John Stapley, and the last male heir of the family. The record of this event is, as far as I have been able to discover, the last entry in any of their books. No other memoranda of any Archæological interest are to be found. The last Stapley possessor was probably too much taken up with the daily cares and concerns of his own agricultural life to be able to find time to chronicle passing events; the books of accounts which he left behind him, bearing ample testimony to his diligence and perseverance as a farmer.

A few of the earlier memoranda are, it will be observed, of a date anterior to the death of Richard Stapley; which is to be accounted for in this way. Richard's health, after a life of great activity and usefulness, began to fail, and infirmity to come upon him about ten or twelve years before his death; on which account he requested his brother Anthony, who had previously resided at Cuckfield, to remove himself and his family to Hickstead, and to reside with him. This he did in the year 1713, at which time Richard Stapley's regular Diary, except as far as his own private affairs were concerned, breaks off, and his brother Anthony's begins. The Diaries, however, of Anthony Stapley and his son are not so full,—they do not record so minutely the

events of any interest occurring in the neighbourhood,—as Richard Stapley was in the habit of doing; who appears to have noted down, with great diligence, every thing, both public and private, in which he took part, or which came within his knowledge, as it happened. Richard's Diary was entered in an old interleaved almanack; while Anthony's and his son's were kept in their different account books. Of these I have selected the most striking occurrences, omitting all such as have reference to household receipts and payments only; and to these I have added a few explanatory remarks where the event recorded seemed to require it, and I thought it might be useful to do so. The Diary is as follows:—

“September 18th.—My son, John Stapley's wife, was born on this day, but in what year I do not know. Her father was married the first day of August, 1684.”¹

“Mem.—That Mr. Edward Hinde, Rector of Twineham, died the 13th, and was buried the 17th of February, 1684-5. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Sheward, the curate, the text being selected from the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and the 21st verse. He had been in an infirm state of health for some time before he died. He and my brother Richard fell out the year before, about the tythe of the Poynings-wish mead, which ended in an expensive lawsuit, in which my brother was successful, and from the effects of which the poore man seemed never to recover. My brother too, had to sue him for the part of the expenses, which were given against him. All this was too much for a constitution otherwise shattered and impaired; and he died not many months after. His death was for some time a great trouble to my mother and brother. Mr. Hinde was a conscientious man; and as long as he was in

¹ The lady here alluded to, was Miss Sarah Savage, the daughter of a gentleman of that name, who in a later memorandum is described as of Sydney, in Cuckfield, in which parish the Savages appear to have been ancient residents and landowners. Of this family was Alan Savage, who in the year 1659, gave, Horsfield tells us, £100 to the parish of Cuckfield, to be laid out in land, the rent of which, as it accrued, he directs

to be expended annually in bread, and given on Sundays to six poor people, resident in the parish, and not receiving parochial relief. As the money was not invested in the father's life time, it was returned to the son, who, in lieu of it, granted an annuity of £5 per annum out of the rent of lands in Cuckfield belonging to him, from which it is, I believe, still paid.

good health, an active parish priest. The attendance at his funeral, which was very large, shewed the respect in which he was held."²

"August 6th, 1690.—Mr. Thomas Hoadley built a new lew end to old Thomas Jupp's house, near Staire Bridge. It was reared on this day by John Hazlegrove, carpenter, and he was to have for it £5. I note this, because it was partly made of some timber I sold to him the yeare before, and which grew in the Laine's Wood."

The next memorandum is dated 1713, the year Anthony Stapley went to reside at Hickstead, and has reference to two properties in Twineham, called Wapses and Colwells, which are described as at that time belonging to James Chripps, of Wyndhams, but which subsequently came by purchase into the possession of the Stapley family, and one of which—Wapses, if not both, now belongs to their descendants, the Woods. Beyond the statement of the fact of the Chripps' possession at the above date of these two properties, the memorandum is of no interest.

"1714. Queen Anne died, August the first, and King George was proclaimed the same day."

"August 8th.—Went to Bolney Church, where Mr. Ingram preached a sermon on the Queen's death. Having expatiated on her character, both publick and private, he exhorted us to be loyal and peaceable under the new sovereign, and to continue steadfast in the Protestant faith. The church, which had just been repaired and beautified, was full in every part, some who had come a distance to attend the service not being able to find room. This, too, Mr. Ingram touched upon in his discourse, earnestly setting forth the obligations parishes are under of keeping their churches neat and in good repair, as befits the houses of God. The advice was good, and attentively listened to; and may we all profit by what we this day heard."

Two memoranda next occur, of no other importance, than that in one Mr. William Sheward is described as Rector of Twineham; and in the other Mr. James Wood is stated to be the occupier of the Place lands.

² For an account of the expenses of this suit see the Diary of Richard Stapley, Vol. II., pp. 109, 10.

"1716, August 24th.—Received back from Lewes my silver-mounted bridle and saddle, and the saddle cloth, which required to be new embroidered. They were brought back by Mr. Lindfield's man, and I gave him a shilling for his trouble. I was to have had them ready for the assizes, but did not get them in time. My silver spurs were remounted at the same time."

"1717. A sad accident happened in the house of John Morley, the carpenter, living at Twineham Green, by which his daughter, Mary Morley, aged about eighteen, being all the children he had, met with her death. As he was bringing his gun, ready charged, out of the shop into the kitchen, something took hold of the hammer that it went off, and shot his said daughter in the bowells, as she was there sitting and engaged in spinning woollen, that she died on the spot. From sudden death, good Lord deliver us! This happened October 26th."

"1718. There was a Court holden in July at my house by Thomas Medley Esq., Steward thereof, for my Manor of Twineham."³

"1719. My brother Richard's infirmities are growing so fast upon him, that he is now unable to transact the business he has heretofore been accustomed to do. I have, therefore, begun this year to receive his rents for him, and to look to all household matters, which I shall probably be obliged to do, so long as it shall please God to continue him here, which the doctor thinks cannot be long. He sometimes talks of leaving Hickstead; but this I will not listen to. My wish is for him to continue till death in the ancient seat of his ancestors."

"1721. This year Twineham Church was again repaired, and some of the pews were rebuilt. This was the case with our Place pew; and one tree, cut in the further field, was more than sufficient to supply timber for it."

"1723. My brother is now quite paralyzed, so that he is unable to do anything for himself. I have therefore this year been appointed churchwarden of Twineham, in his stead,

³ This manor had been in the family of Stapley from the time of Queen Elizabeth, and was anciently held of the Honour and Barony of Lewes in free and

common soccage, by the service of finding the Lord in a pair of gold spurs, and the payment of sixpence.

he being obliged to discontinue the office, from inability any longer to discharge its duties, after having done so for many years. May I be able to do so as diligently and conscientiously as he did!"

"1724, April 29th.—My poore wife was this day struck with palsy."

"My brother Richard died, and I this year became the actual possessor of the Hickstead estate, having, by his incapacity been nominally so six or eight years before. Never lived a better man than he was, or one more beloved or respected; and my heart's wish is that the remainder of my life may be passed in as upright and exemplary a manner; and may my end be as peaceful and happy as his was. His loss will be much felt in the neighbourhood; for he was not only socially and hospitably inclined towards his neighbours, but his heart and hand were ever open to the calls and wants of charity. Few applied to him for relief in vain. His delight was to do good, as became a man of his rank and station in life; and that he did so to the best of his ability all that were acquainted with him can testify. In the sermon which Mr. Healey preached at his funeral, he bore this just testimony to his character."

"My brother was buried in Twineham Church, and the expenses of his funeral came to £32. 8s. 7d. By his own desire it was conducted in as plain and quiet a manner as could well be."

In the four succeeding years, nothing is noted worthy of observation. The memoranda which I find made, chiefly relate to private receipts and expenditure.

"1729, November 20th.—My wife having lingered on to this time, died at 8 o'clock this morning, after we had been married fifty-four years and some odd months; for we were married at Wadhurst, on the 24th day of August, 1675, by Mr. J. Smith, Clerk, as appears by his certificate in my bureau drawer. She was buried in the Church of Twineham, November the 25th, next to her daughter, Jane Streatfeild."

It will be seen by the genealogical table of this Hickstead branch of the Stapley family, that Jane, the youngest daughter of this Anthony Stapley, married Mr. Richard

Streatfeild, of Cowden, in Kent. She lived a year only after her marriage, having died in giving birth to her first child, which survived its mother a few days only.

“The charges of my wife’s burying and sickness were—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| For a coffin to Wood of Hurst - - - - - | 01 | 10 | 00 |
| For grave and knell to Hillman - - - - - | 00 | 16 | 00 |
| To Hillman’s wife for things, and sending at several times - - - - - | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| To Mr. Healey for sermon, grave, and affidavit - - - - - | 01 | 03 | 00 |
| To Mr. Durrant for gloves and hatbands - - - - - | 09 | 00 | 00 |
| To Mary for sending - - - - - | 00 | 10 | 06 |
| To Kidd for wine, but it was not all drunk, and four broken glasses - - - - - | 03 | 19 | 00 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 17 | 08 | 06 |
| | <hr/> | | |

Wine seems to have been a considerable item of expense at the funerals of the better class which took place at this period. We have here £3 19s. 0d. charged for this article, and at the funeral of Anthony Stapley himself, the husband, there is, as we shall presently see, a much larger item of expenditure for the same article brought into the accounts; £6 1s. 0d. being the charge upon that occasion. Wine appears at this time not to have been a very costly article of consumption; for the claret sent as a present by Richard Stapley to Mr. West and Mr. Gratwick, who were engaged as assessors in the suit, *Hinde v. Stapley*, to which I have alluded, is charged 14s. 6d. per dozen only. At this price then, the consumption of wine upon these mournful occasions, if all that was provided was customarily consumed, which doubtless was expected to be the case, must have been very considerable. For though it is stated in the account just given of the expenses of Mrs. Stapley’s funeral, that the whole of the wine provided was not consumed, we are not told the exact quantity that was left. Probably therefore it was not much. This, coupled with the four broken glasses, would seem to imply that these family funereal gatherings were made the occasions of some excess, if not of much jollity. The wine being brought into the account as a special provision, naturally leads to the supposition, that it was needful so to provide, in consequence of no great stock being kept in the cellars of the Sussex gentry at this time.

“A stone was put over my wife’s grave by William

Hazlegrove, of Shoreham, stonecutter, which cost me £5, as by his bill appears, which was discharged the same day."

The name of Anthony Stapley's wife before marriage was Allen; and at the time of her death, she must have been 83 years old.

"December the 12th.—Paid to my son, John Stapley, and to my grandson, Richard, seventy broad pieces of gold, of my wife's money, which she ordered me to pay. I paid it as follows:—viz., to the said John, sixty pieces, and to his son Richard, ten pieces, whereof every one is worth 25s."

"1730, October the 8th.—Anthony Stapley went to board and school at BRIGHTHELMSTONE. He boards at Thomas Browne's, at 4s. 6d. per week; and goes to school to John Grover, to learn to read and write, and cast accounts."⁴

This Anthony was probably one of the younger sons of the John Stapley mentioned in the preceding memorandum. He subsequently settled at Arundel, and was ancestor of the Stapleys of South Berstead and Bognor.

"1731.—A very dry year."

"John Cheale departed this life at Cambridge, January 17th, of small-pox; and was buried at Shermanbury, in Sussex, the 21st day of the same instant."⁵

"February 3rd.—Anthony Stapley came away from Lindfield."

What Anthony Stapley is here alluded to, I am unable to discover. Of the Framfield Stapleys, Anthony was the usual Christian name of the eldest son. But of the Hickstead branch of the same family, this was not the case. Of this, there are two Anthonies only of which we have any

⁴ See Worthies of Sussex, pages 330—331.

⁵ The Cheales were an opulent family for many years resident at Shiprods, in the parish of Henfield. Their burying place was Shermanbury, into which parish their property extended, and where many of the family are interred. By the marriage of Anne, the only daughter of Mr. Philip Cheale, with Mr. Robert Hoffman, of London, the estate passed to him; and again by the marriage of a female of the Hoffman family, with a Mr. Faulconer, into the family of the

late Mr. Robert Hoffman Faulconer of the firm of Hoper and Faulconer, with whom it now remains. The inscription on the mural tomb placed to the memory of the Mr. John Cheale, whose death is here noticed, is as follows:—"John Cheale, a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, died October 17th, 1731, and was buried in the Church of Shermanbury, aged 18." His mother was one of the two daughters and co-heiresses of John Gratwick, Esqre., of Shermanbury Park.

knowledge; one of whom was resident at Hickstead, and the other, we have just been told, was at this time a school boy at Brighton, having commenced his education the year before. He might possibly have been a member of a collateral branch of the Framfield Stapleys, resident for a time at Lindfield. The memorandum referring to him is not very explicit.

"1732. August 2nd.—Parson Staples, of East Grinstead, departed this life, having been taken off by small-pox, and was buried the 5th, at night."

This Parson Staples was probably one of the Stapley family, Staples being the original mode of spelling the name; and hence the Staple in the hands of a Savage adopted as the early family crest. But to which branch of the family the Parson belonged, whether to the Framfield or the Hickstead, we have no means of judging, his Christian name not being mentioned. Long after the change of the name into Stapleigh, which afterwards became Stapley, some branches of the family rigidly adhered to the more ancient form of Staples, to which Parson Staples might have belonged.

"November the 26th.—Henry Lintott died, age 32, and was buried at Bolney; James Ingram preached his funeral sermon. He was the largest man that ever was seen."⁶

"November 17th.—Sir Harry Goring was buried at Billingshurst."⁷

I may here, perhaps, be permitted to remark, as bearing upon the cost of some of the principal articles of consumption at this period of the Stapley Diary, as it is given by the writer of two papers in the "Cornhill Magazine" (Thackeray), entitled "The Four Georges," and which he quotes from a contemporaneous chronicle. Wheat, he says, was from 25s. to 28s., and barley from 20s. to 22s. per quarter; best loaf sugar was 9½d. per lb. But tea was very high, the prices of the different kinds being—Bohea, from 12s. to 14s.; Pekoe, 18s.; and Hyson, 25s. per lb. Tea, then, could not possibly have been consumed at this time, except in the

⁶ For an account of the Lintott family, see Vol. VIII., pp. 275-6.

⁷ This Sir Harry was Lord of the Manor of Twineham Benefields, having become the possessor of it by marriage

with Mary, the daughter and coheirress of Sir John Covert, of Slaugham Place, and it has continued in the family of Goring, of Highden, ever since.

houses of the more opulent class, and not generally even in these.

“December the 22nd.—My father, Mr. Anthony Stapley, departed this life, after a short illness, between twelve and one o'clock in the forenoon, and was buried the 26th day of the same instant, in the Church of Twineham, aged 79 years. Mr. Ralph Healey, the rector, preached his funeral sermon. The text was from the 57th chapter of Isaiah, the first and part of the second verses.”

With this memorandum, the Diary of John Stapley, the son and heir of the above-named Anthony, deceased, begins. And in continuation, it states—

“January the 9th.—Paid Timothy Browne for the hat bands used at my father's funeral, at five shillings and sixpence a piece; and for the pall, and gloves, and shroud, and sheet, £20 8s. 1d. And I paid at the same time, £6 1s. 0d. for wine.”

“January the 10th.—Mr. Thomas Butcher departed this life about eleven o'clock in the night time, and was buried the 13th of the same instant; and Mr. Ralph Healey preached his funeral sermon, the text being the third verse of the one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm. His age was sixty three years and some odd days.”⁸

“January the 28th.—Received from the furnace at Buxted, the new Brand-dogs for the Hall at Hickstead, which my father, Mr. Anthony Stapley, had ordered sometime before his death, on which were cast the Stapley coat of arms, with his initials A. S. over it, and the date 1732 below. For the casting of these I paid £2 4s. 8d., and two shillings and four pence more for the expense of getting them home.”

For these brand-dogs (andirons) I have enquired in vain at Hickstead. The present owner of the property knows nothing of them.

⁸ The Butchers were a family of good Yeomanry extraction; and the owners of the Newhouse property, in the parish of Hurstpierpoint, and of the Westlands, in that of Twineham. Richard Stapley mentions in his Diary, under the date of April the 19th, 1692, having received

and held, probably as a trustee, the deed of settlement of the Newhouse estate, upon this Thomas Butcher, by Richard Butcher, the father. Thomas, whose death is here noticed, was the younger of the two sons.

"1733, April the 5th.—Mr. Ingram and his wife were married at Chailey."⁹

"1734. May the 26th.—Jacob Harris, a Jew pedlar by trade, and travelling the country with his wares, having murdered at Ditchling Common, one Miles, his wife, and maid, and then plundered the house, was captured at Turner's Hill by John Oliver and his man, and committed by Mr. Sergesson, before whom he was taken, to Horsham Gaol. Having been found guilty of the offence at the assizes, and condemned to die, he was hung at Horsham, August 31st, and his body afterwards removed to Ditchling Common to be hung up on a gibbet near to the house in which the murder was committed, the 2nd day of September. Many went to see him hanging; and Mr. Healey preached an impressive sermon upon it the Sunday following."

About five or, perhaps, six feet of this gibbet still remain above the surface of the soil in which it is fixed. All gibbets are imagined to possess a power of enchantment—some being found to be a remedy for, or preservative against, one kind of disorder, and some another. This at Ditchling Common is supposed by the inhabitants of the surrounding district to possess a peculiar preventive virtue against aching teeth, a small piece of it carried in the pocket being an effectual remedy against that racking disorder. Instances are quoted of its complete efficacy in such cases, parties being referred to who have tried the remedy for years with unfailling success. Whether they might not have been as free from pain in the teeth if they had not adopted this charm, is a point which it would be difficult now to decide. An excellent old lady, and an aunt of my mother, who lived in her single, married, and afterwards widowed state, for upwards of eighty years, at no great distance from this post, had so much faith in it, that she was accustomed to expatiate largely on its efficacy, and the many instances of good she herself had known to be derived from it. And she used most amusingly to declare, that nothing should induce her to be without a piece of the far-famed

⁹ The Mr. Ingram here alluded to is probably the Mr. James Ingram, mentioned November the 26th, 1732. His family resided at Chailey. The entry of the marriage in the Chailey Register

Book, as it has been kindly sent to me by the Rev. F. Hepburn, is as follows: "1733. The Rev. Mr. James Ingram and Mrs. Ann Heesman, both of Cuckfield, married April 5th."

gibbet in her pocket, though she had long ceased to have a tooth remaining in her jaws.

The part of the Common on which the remaining portion of this gibbet stands, and the houses about it, are still commonly called from this circumstance "Jacob's Post."

An account of the particulars of this atrocious murder, together with the concluding lines of some not very poetical composition in verse referring to it, and to Harris's execution, still current in the neighbourhood, will be found in Vol. XIII., p. 247 of our Collections.

"October the 25th.—There was a great earthquake in England, which many people felt. It happened about 3 o'clock in the morning, and it was a general thing."

"January the 8th.—There was a great storm of wind and rain that did much damage."

"March the 14th.—Went to Lewes, where the bells were ringing on account of the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Royal."

"March the 25th.—I began to wear my ring with the Coat of Arms upon it, having three boar's heads in the shield."

"1735, April the 12th.—A valuation took place at Biggs, between myself, John Stapley, and Richard Stapley, my son."

"July the 31st.—A great quantity of rain fell, which did much damage; and the next day the flood was so great in the north river, that it carried away ten loads of hay, and four loads more were so spoiled, that they were fit only for litter, and were carried into the yard for this purpose."

"November the 11th.—Mr. Courthope and his wife were married at Newtimber, by the Revd. George Beard, the curate."¹⁰

"March the 15th.—There was a great eclipse of the

¹⁰ This Mr. Courthope must have been Peter, the son of Peter Courthope, Esqre., who purchased Danny, in Hurstpierpoint, of the Gorings, in the reign of Charles the Second. The issue of the marriage here alluded to was one daughter only, who married Henry Campion, Esqre., and he thus became possessed of Danny, and the estate belong-

ing to it, and in whose descendant, W. J. Campion, Esqre., it still continues. The Revd. George Beard was of the family of Beard, also of Hurstpierpoint. He was appointed to the incumbency of Poynings in 1749, and is buried in the church there, where a tomb is erected to his memory. See Vol. XV., p. 231.

moon at 11 o'clock at night. It was very visible, and held a great while."

"1736, May the 21st.—The white horse was buried in the saw-pit in the Laine's wood. He was aged about thirty-five years, as far as I could find by people that knew him foaled. He had been in his time as good a horse as ever man was owner of, and *he was buried in his skin, being a good old horse.* Both my brother Sawyer and I gave Daniel 6d. for burying him."

"1738, March the 6th.—My son, Richard Stapley and his wife, were this day married at Maresfield."¹¹

October the 21st.—In a memorandum of this date, Samuel Stapley is mentioned. He was probably a younger son of John Stapley.

"1743, November the 27th.—I, Richard Stapley, my wife, and daughter, came to live at Hickstead, after my father's death, which took place September the 3rd."

This is the only memorandum made by Richard Stapley, the last male heir of the Hickstead branch of the family. He had two daughters only, the one here mentioned, and another, born at Hickstead. By the marriage of Martha, the elder, with Mr. James Wood, the estate passed, at the death of the father in 1762, into the Wood family, in which it still continues. The younger daughter married Mr. Tuppen, of Lindfield.¹²

¹¹ Upon referring to the register of this marriage, I find that Richard Stapley's wife's name, previous to her mar-

riage, was Martha Burt. They are described as residents of Cuckfield.

¹² See Stapley (of Hickstead) Pedigree. S. A. C., Vol. 11, p. 107.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

(Continued from Vol. XI., p. 178.)

BY THE LATE WILLIAM FIGG, F.S.A.

By the kindness of Thomas Honeywood, Esq., of Horsham, I am enabled to describe several Tokens in his collection, which have not heretofore been noticed. They relate to Horsham and the neighbourhood.

HENER — EY—in the field, a spread eagle.

C.

Rev. Midhorst in Sosex—in the field, H. K.

JOHN SHOTTER—in the field, the Grocer's Arms.

Rev. in Medurst—in the field, I X S.

JOHN . GITTINS—in the field,

Rev. In Chichester—in the field, I X G.

¹WILLIAM . HAMPER—in the field, a man dipping candles.

Rev. In Horsom, 1653—in the field, $\begin{matrix} H \\ W . S \end{matrix}$

WILLIAM PI H—ER—in the field, W.

Rev. of Chichester—in the field, 1655.

MATHEW . BALL—in the field, M . B.

Rev. OF CHICHESTER—in the field, 1657.

JOHN LAVNDER—in the field, 1663.

Rev. OF PETTWORTH—in the field, I * L.

²ROBERT . HVRST—in the field, a rod of Candles.

IN HORSHAM, 1664—in the field, $\begin{matrix} H \\ R \end{matrix}$ —.

¹ Mr. Cartwright, in his "Rape of Bramber," under the head Tarring, has the following:—

"Among the families connected with this parish, we cannot omit to mention that of Wm. Hamper, Esq., to whom the Editor is under great obligations for much valuable assistance."

And there is a pedigree of Hamper from the year 1602 to 1827, but no William Hamper till the latter year, when there appears to be a William living at Hurst [Hurstpierpoint], who was the father of Mr. Cartwright's friend.

But there is no William in the pedigree to correspond with our William of Hors-ham of 1653.

Mr. Cartwright's object in introducing this notice of the Hamper family, was evidently to show their connection with the celebrated John Selden, one of whom, *George Hamper*, married in 1582 *Alice Selden*, aunt to the illustrious JOHN.

² Several of the above names are still known in and about Horsham, and *Robert Hurst*, Esq., a native, is at this time Member of Parliament for the Borough of Horsham.

164 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

JOHN HINDLEY—in the field, a hind, couchant.
 Rev. IN HORSHAM, 1666—in the field, H . I.

HIS
 WILLIAM FLETCHER—in the field, HALF
 PENY.

Rev. in CHICHESTER—in the field, W. F.
 1667.

IOHN . LEE . IN—in the field, 1667.

Rev. THACKHAM . IN SVSE—in the field, I . L.
 *

HIS
 THOMAS WITHERS—in the field, HALF
 PENY.

Rev. ARUNDEL IN SVSEX, 1668.

BARNARD TVLLY IN—in the field, a Fleur de Lis.

Rev. SHIPLY IN SVSSEX . —in the field, 1668.

IOH . PERSON . 1669—in the field, a Rod of Candles.

IN MIDHERST . IN SVSX—in the field, I ^P E

There are incidental notices of various specimens of this series of Tokens in the Notes and Queries, in Vols. XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII. of the "Sussex Archæological Collections."

ON A "KITCHEN MIDDEN" AT NEWHAVEN.

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

When the works for fortifying the Castle Hill at Newhaven were commenced, I made an application on behalf of the Sussex Archæological Society to the Marquis of Hartington, praying his Lordship to place at the Society's disposal any relics of antiquity that might be brought to light during the extensive excavations which would necessarily take place in the course of the works. I received a courteous response, and immediately communicated with Lieutenant John C. Ardagh, R.E., who had command of the labourers, some 250 in number. The result is that an interesting collection of remains is now ready for deposit in our Museum at Lewes Castle.

My attention had previously been called by my friends, Henry Willett, Esq., and W. Boyd Dawkins, Esq., F.G.S., to the fact that there existed on the Castle Hill one of those "kitchen-middens" which have, within the last few years, excited so much curiosity and interest, and upon which Lyell, in his work on the Antiquity of Man, lays so much stress, in reference to some recent discoveries in Scandinavia. I think the Newhaven "midden" goes far to disprove some vague notions which have been entertained on this *quæstio vexata*, and to show that the *flint flakes* with the 'conchoidal fracture' are not the work of man, but that of fire. Certainly we have at Newhaven, side by side with pottery, undoubtedly Roman, many of these *flakes* which have been produced, not by handicraft, but by the action of fire during the rude processes of cookery in a Roman camp some 1600 years ago.

In the summer of 1864 Mr. Willett and I explored this heap of kitchen rubbish, and found various animal remains and pieces of Samian and other Roman pottery. On the 5th of January, 1865 Colonel Beauchamp Walker communicated to C.

Carter Blake, Esq., F.G.S., Secretary of the Anthropological Society of London, the following information:—

"Shorncliff, January 5th, 1865.

"There is at Newhaven, close to the site of the fort now under construction, a very interesting instance of the "kitchen-midden." The summit of the hill above the government works is crowned with an old fortification, from its construction of a date probably anterior to that of the Roman occupation of Britain. Immediately in the face of the cliff, which is here full of 'faults,' and which has manifestly receded, even in quite modern times (not so much alone from the encroachment of the sea as from land springs and other defects in the cliff itself) to seaward of the line of the old earthen wall, a band of mixed shells, bones, and pottery of decreasing thickness from centre to end is found about twenty inches below the surface of the ground. Under this layer is a thickness of about the same depth of earth, then a thin layer of broken stones or pebbles, and underneath this the natural strata of the coast formation.

"This is not the only place in which remains of food deposits occur in the vicinity of this old work, which has been bisected by the ditch of the new fort; but the place I refer to is, from its having been exposed by the degradation of the face of the cliff, the most accessible and certain ground for further investigation. The bones appear to be those of both birds and quadrupeds; the shells those of the ordinary shell-fish of the coast, oysters, mussels, and limpets; and the pottery of a rude description, but well baked and retaining its colour.

"The most singular relic which I picked up in the course of a short official visit to Newhaven, was a boar's tusk, nearly three inches in length, and very perfect, which I found lying on the surface of the ground where a deep excavation had been made for the magazine. I could not learn positively that any metal remains had been preserved, though it was said that bits of bronze had been discovered. I have requested the resident officer of Engineers to keep me informed of future discoveries.

"BEAUCHAMP WALKER, Colonel, A.Q.M. Gen."

From the gallant Colonel's opinion that the entrenchments on the Castle Hill are ante-Roman, I entirely dissent. There is every appearance of their belonging to the period of Roman domination here, and the existence of Roman pottery in the "midden" connected with them sufficiently proves this.

About the date of the above communication Lieut. Ardagh informed Colonel Walker that some human thigh-bones were reported to have been found about three feet below the surface. Mr. Ardagh did not see them; and indeed, in these cases it is difficult to ascertain what is really discovered, as the workmen have every temptation to conceal anything which may be of real or fancied value.

On January 20th, Mr. Ardagh sent to Professor Owen a collection of bones, teeth, pottery, &c., which upon my representation, to Mr. Carter Blake, of the Marquis of Hartington's permission previously accorded to me, have been returned from the British Museum, where they had been temporarily deposited.

The following communication from Lieut. Ardagh, addressed to the Editor of the "Anthropological Review," will be read with interest by many members of our society—

Examination of the Upper Portion of the Cliff, and Remarks on objects discovered therein, 17th Jan. 1865. By Lieut. ARDAGH, R.E.

The cliff at Newhaven shows chalk to a height of about 100 feet above the sea level; above that, plastic clay of variable character and thickness. As is usual on those parts of the coast of Sussex and Kent, where no artificial means have been applied to guard against the encroachments of the sea, a gradual destruction of the cliff by that element continues to take place, the simplest proof of which lies in the fact, that during the period 1849 to 1864 the chalk marks used by the coastguard to indicate the pathway along the cliff at night, were twice moved landwards in consequence of the slips of the cliff. The plastic clay is also acted on by land springs which melt away the lower part of this formation and cause a subsidence or rupture of the surface. In this way the sections of the more recent strata are for the most part fresh and well defined.

The Castle Hill at Newhaven, before the introduction of artillery, was a very strong military position. A natural formation resembling the ruined parapet and ditch of an early encampment has evidently been taken advantage of and improved by art; for the sections of the cuttings now being made for the ditch of a new fort lead at once to that conclusion. The space now enclosed by the trace of the ancient mound is long and narrow, but it must at one time have been large enough to enclose a considerable village. The greater part of the site has however long fallen a prey to the waves, and the cliff now presents a section not far from, and parallel to, the land front. In this section the search was made, and the position of the discoveries will be best understood by reference to the sketch which I have made to explain the formation of the ground.

I expect that in the course of excavations for brick-earth in the silt deposit of the River Ouse, some interesting discoveries may be made. Already a single bone, which I presume to be one of the cervical vertebrae of a deer, has been discovered, and I have directed that all remains of whatever description should be carefully preserved. Half a handmill or *quern* has been found in the excavations from the ditch. Not

having been present at its discovery, I cannot give any information beyond that it lay within a few feet of the surface. In the section attached, the strata have been numbered for convenience of reference.

No. I is a vegetable mould of ordinary character, bound together by numbers of small roots, and containing *very few* remains, and those invariably in the lowest part.

No. II is composed of the shells of the common mussel, with large numbers of limpets, and, less frequently, oyster shells. It answers to the description of the shell deposits in the Danish "kitchen-middens," given by Lyell, to the best of my recollection.

No. III is a vegetable soil, the organic parts of which have been more completely disintegrated and decomposed than No. I. In it occur *bands of carbonized matter*; flints broken in such a way as to lead one to suspect human agency; *flints cracked by the action of heat*; portions of clay more or less hardened or altered in colour, to bright reds and yellows, by the same cause; occasionally limpets and other shells; and nearly all the specimens which have been forwarded, including those of the most finished description of pottery which were found; so that for practical purposes all the specimens may be considered to have been found either in this stratum or in the shell bed which overlies it.

No. IV is formed of pebbles and flints partly waterworn; it is of irregular thickness, varying from three to twelve inches.

No. V is the common plastic clay, and is interspersed by layers of loam, shingle, and variegated sand, as is usual in that formation.

The length of the portion of the cliff which furnished the specimens forwarded is about one hundred yards, but there is reason to suppose that a search made at any point within the contour of the entrenchment would be equally successful, as the supply appeared to be independent of the position.

The pottery found consisted of red Roman ware, partly Samian, and partly of the dark grey ware so well known in Roman deposits. Two pieces of decomposed copper or brass (perhaps coins), a piece of oxidized iron (?) and a piece of lead in the form of a hook were also discovered. The flint flakes found were, as I have already said, obviously the result of fire. Modern Gipsy-parties on the South Downs generally extemporize the means of "cooking the tea-kettle," with a stove composed of the first flints that come to hand, and there is no doubt that the Romans did the same thing centuries ago. The almost inevitable result would be that some of the flints would be splintered by the heat, and hence these "flakes."¹

¹ It is perhaps hardly fair towards the "Antiquity of Man" theorists, to tell the following story; yet, as it is true it may as well be told, and may pass for what it is worth. A gentleman had invited to his table a number of guests who were all believers in the doctrine that man existed thousands (perhaps millions) of years before Adam. Their creed was based principally on the "flint flakes;" and, in order to convince them of their mistake, their host directed his cook to get a large flint and put it into the kitchen fire while the guests were dining. During

dinner Mr. M. engaged them in conversation on their favourite topic, and on the entrance of dessert, the footman placed among other *delicacies* on the table a large dish of "flint flakes," which excited a great deal of attention. The *savans* inspected them with the utmost care, and pronounced them to be relics of a period of unsearchable antiquity, and unquestionably the production of human agency. "Which so it were," said the cook, when ordered into the dining-room, "for I put that flint into the fire with my own hands!"

The animal remains are described by Mr. Blake as belonging to the domestic pig (*Sus scrofa*), the ox (*Bos taurus*), the goat, the sheep, and the dog. Some of the bones, both of pigs and oxen, had been split longitudinally for the purpose of extracting the marrow, "by an instrument closely resembling the ordinary butcher's cleaver."

William Topley, Esq., in an addendum to the paper in the *Anthropological Review*, remarks—

"The investigation of Roman antiquities in the neighbourhood of Newhaven affords a special interest, because this place (amongst many others) has been claimed as the site of the ancient city of Anderida, which, however, is now generally fixed at Pevensey. Information is much required upon the *Roman roads* of this district. Stukeley thinks the *Ermin-street* started from the channel at Newhaven and ran due north through London. Probably, however, it divided into two branches at London, one going south-west to Chichester, and the other passing east and south-east to Pevensey. It is thus marked on Dr. Guest's map of "The Four Roman Ways."

"It is probable that in Roman times the Newhaven levels were covered by the sea. Dr. Mantell has described sections of this alluvium. It is certainly of comparatively recent date. In later times the outlet of the Ouse was at Seaford, being separated from the sea by a bank of shingle. Newhaven was then called *Meeching*."

EXTRACTS FROM THE PASSAGE-BOOK OF THE PORT OF RYE, 1635—6.

EDITED BY W. DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

Notwithstanding repeated allusions to the importance of Rye, as a port of communication with France, down to the time of Charles II., which are to be found in our notices of events and persons, it seems difficult for us now to realize the fact.

It is not in our day credited that the shortest land journey between the capitals of France and England, in times when travelling was difficult, should have been thought of more importance than a lengthened sea voyage from Rye to Dieppe. My friend Mr. John Bruce has, however, recently directed my attention to evidence on this point; it is well worthy of preservation among our Collections, and I therefore present to our readers a transcript of so much of the Passage Book of Rye¹ as relates to the period between 1st August, 1635, and 29th March following.

The persons, who thus travelled, include all the varieties of people of note and in trade, who at that period personally visited Paris for business or pleasure.

Many are the merchants of London, Plymouth, Norwich, Hull, Bristol, Rye, and Lewes, who went—some more than once—in the eight months, from this country. There are also Scotch and Irish merchants, who pursued their callings among the French, as did also the woollen merchants of Exeter and Barnstaple.

The scapegraces of some families visited Paris for its gaiety, and here we find Edward Noy, the son of the Attorney General, who had died at Tunbridge Wells, in August, 1634, leaving the residue of his estate to this son “to be squandered as he shall think fit; I leave it to him for that purpose, and I hope no better of him;”² with his governor, John Bartar.”

¹ *State papers, Domestic.* 4th April, 1636.

² Steele in the *Tatler*, No. 9 says that

from the arrant rake he “became a fine gentleman,” but within two years he was killed in a duel.

At the same time there went the wayward and erratic son of Sir Edmund Verney, of whom we find interesting notices in the Verney papers, edited for the Camden Society (1853—No. 56) by Mr. Bruce. Verney had visited Virginia, and had volunteered into the sea service in 1635, and now, after his release from the Marshalsea, he was entering the popular, though as it proved, disastrous, service of France.³ Connected with that service we have other names, Robert Adamson, Secretary of George Lord Gordon,⁴ Col. George Synnet,⁵ and his Lieut. Robert Gray; and Percy, son of Sir Gilbert Slingsby, of Scriven; with English soldiers from Norwich and other places.

Grave travellers, like Sir Kenelm Digby, who, after this visit to France was reconciled to the church of Rome, and John Greaves, the learned professor of astronomy at Oxford, and author of the Description of the Pyramids and of the Persian grammar, are in the list; and young men of good families starting on their grand tour, such as the sons of the Earl of Cork; Sir Henry Newton of Charlton; and William, third son of Sir James Oxenden, of Wingham, Kent; Thomas Chaloner, of Guisborough; Thomas Quarles, son of Sir George Quarles, of Enderby, going perhaps to his relative John Quarles (who was the King's agent at the Hague, and had married a daughter of the Burgomaster of Rotterdam); Herbert Springate, of the Broyle; and James Mouatt, the tutor and travelling companion of his subsequent brother-in-law, William Campion of Combwell. From this return it appears that James Mouatt, whose letter was printed in our Sussex Arch: Collections,⁶ like many other tutors at this period, was a Scotchman. The fashion of having tutors from North Britain in the principal English families followed the accession of James I. to the crown of England, but the same fashion existed in the royal family and nobility of France, owing, probably, to the sympathy for Mary Queen of Scots; and it continued in France down to the middle of the last century.

³ *Croze*, vol. iii., p. 513.

⁴ Afterwards 2nd Marquess of Huntley: he had a company of gens d'armes in the service of the King of France—*Douglas*, p. 652.

⁵ He was Coll. of a regiment of foot, in the like service *Cal: Domestic*, p. 591.

⁶ *Danny papers*, vol. x., p. 3.

Foote, in his farce of the "Englishman returned from Paris" (1757), draws no enviable character of one such tutor in *Macruthen*, and makes *Crab* speak of the class in very uncomplimentary terms.

The Scotch, who were visiting France when this return was made, are very noticeable. Lord Erskine, the second title of the Earldom of Mar (the Earl, John, being then treasurer of Scotland), and four attendants, and James Murray, Lord and Viscount Annan, with his six attendants, were there.

The Earl of Arundel, Lord Berkeley, and the son of Lord North were likewise in Paris at this time.

Among the officials are Sir Henry Hungate, Knight of the King's Chamber, and Thomas Croftes, one of his Majesty's servants, who had come to England in July, 1635, bearing a strong letter of recommendation from Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, to Archbishop Laud, for employment in the education of the King's son;⁷ and Wm. Flamville, servant of the Queen.

There was also Sir Francis Crane, Knight, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, who (as appears in the French State papers), underwent the operation of lithotomy at Paris, ¹⁸ April, 1636, and died on ^{June 27,} ^{July 7,} following.

Hearty and staunch, and in after times tried loyalists, are travelling to or living in France: William Killigrew, the Commander of the Horse that guarded Charles's person, and Capt. Edward Stradling, of the "Swallow,"⁸ who in July, 1642, was guarding the Irish coast, and when the fleet had gone over to the Earl of Warwick and the Parliament, refused to give up his ship. Clarendon says the men "quickly disposed of two other honest captains, Kettleby and Stradlin (whom they could not corrupt)" and got their ships into the service of the Parliament; in fact, when the captains endeavoured to bring off their ships to the King "they were seized by the seamen and kept prisoners till they could be sent to land."⁹

Two names of English painters appear, of whom I can find no mention elsewhere — Thomas Musgrove, and Thomas

⁷ *Cal: of State Papers, Domestic*, p. 207.

⁸ He was one of the Captains of the ships in the narrow seas. In 1632 he commanded the tenth Lion's Whelp in the Downs; on 13 March, 1633-4, he

was appointed to the first Lion's Whelp, and 30th of March, 1635, to the Swallow.

⁹ *Clarendon*, Book V., pp. 114 and 591 (Oxford Ed.)

Brooker; nor has Mr. Samuel Redgrave, who has been for many years collecting materials relating to English artists, any note of them. That English painters were at this time of sufficient repute to be employed on commissions abroad is evidenced by the fact that Belcamp was sent over by Charles I. to paint Louis XI., whose picture is now at Hampton Court, and Anne of Austria. Probably, as Mr. Bruce suggests, Musgrove and Brooker were of that class of artists whose works we are in the habit of setting down to greater men, whom they assisted and served, and whose style they imitated.

March 29^o 1636.—An Abstract taken out of y^e Register Booke of Passage at Rye aforesaid, By comandment of y^e Right Honorable Our Lord Warden of all his Ma^{ty}s subjects, of English, Scottish, and Irish that have passed from thence to Diep in France, and of the severall quallities of such persons, and by what warrant they passed as followeth, viz^t.

Passed to Diep ye 1st of Aug. last, 1635.—Wm. Martin, a poore English soldier, aged 50 years; Mallachie Duddenie, aged 22 yeres, servant to a marchant of Exeter, per warrant of Comissioners of passag at Rye.

To Diep the 9^o August—Reignald Mone, of Dedsham¹⁰ in Sussex, aged 32 yeres, sworne and examined per Mr. Maior and the other Comissioners and permitted to pass by their warrant, who returned againe the 9 of September following with y^e Lord Mones son.

Samuell Clarke, English marchant of Exeter, per like warrant.

Charles Thomas, servant to Capt. Stradling, per like warrant

Andrew Ricard, of London, per warrantes of y^e Lordes dated the last of July, 1635, the copie whereof remaineth in y^e Register Book of Passag at Rye.

John Wells, english marchant of London, and William Bevin, English merchant of Bristow, per warrant at Rye.

To Diep the 20 August.—Sir Henry Newton, Baronet¹¹ of —, in Kent. John Archer, of Tamworth, esquire. James Newton, gentleman All 3 per his Ma^{ty}s licence sealed with the signet, and dated the last of July, 1635, the copie whereof is kept in the Register booke of passage at Rye; with them went over Richard Juice, Alexander Coningham, and John Coningham, their attendantes.

Thomas Challoner,¹² Esq^r., by warrant of y^e Lordes, dated 30 July last, and is copied in the Register Booke, at Rye, by the clark of y^e passage.

John Greaves,¹³ Master of Arts, of Oxford, per warrant of y^e Lordes, dated y^e last of July, and is so copied.

To Diep ye 20 August.—Henry Lord Morley and Monteagle¹⁴ per his Ma^{ty}s licence, dated 16 May, 1635, and is so copied, and with him Francis Godfreis, Esq., Maurice Evans, John Brett, and Thomas Watkins, his four attendantes by y^e same warrant.

¹⁰ In Slinfold, which then belonged to the Blounts.

¹¹ Of Charlton, Kent, son of Sir Adam Newton, tutor to Prince Henry. He had also property in Warwickshire.

¹² Third son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, of Guisborough, Yorkshire, also tutor to Prince Henry. This son was afterwards M.P. for Richmond, 1640, and

Scarborough, 1658-9. He sat on the trial of Charles I.

¹³ The learned traveller.

¹⁴ Henry Parker, 12th Lord Morley. His father, who discovered the gunpowder plot, had been summoned to Parliament, *v.p.* as Lord Monteagle in right of his father's mother.

To Diep the 28 August.—Wm. Humble, English merchant of Pope's Head alley, in London.

Wm. Bow, English merchant, of St. Swithin's Lane, in London.

Phillip Feild, Irish merchant, of Limbrick, sworne and examined, per Mr. Maior

John Trussell, English merchant, of Paternoster-row, in London.

Harrington Drayton, English merchant, of London.

John Crayford, Andrew Fergison, Patrick Stanley, and Robert Worsall, 4 Scots shoemakers, examined and sworne, per warrant of y^e comissioners of passage, at Rye.

Robert Adamson, Esq., secretary of y^e Lord Gordon and Alexander Chreighton, Scots gentleman, per licence from the Lordes dated y^e last of July, 1635, and is so copied.

To Diep the 5 September.—Titus Wesbie, English merchant, of Paul's church yard, in London per warrant of Mr. Maior and y^e comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 20 September.—Sir Kenelme Digbie, K^t, per his Majesty's licence, dated y^e 11th Aprill, 1635, and is copied.

John Skelton, English gentleman, Canadin Goodman, Stephen Marke, his attendants per the said licence.

Sr Henry Hungate,¹⁵ K^t, one of y^e gentlemen of his Ma^{ty}s Chamber per warrant of y^e Lordes, dated the 6 of September, 1635, and is also copied in y^e Register at Rye, and Jenkyn Morgan, Alexander Johnson, his attendantes by y^e said warrant.

To Diep 20 Sept. more.—Willm. Montith, Scots merchant of Edinborough.

Willm. Stuard, Scots merchant of St. John's town.

Nicholas Brown, Scots merchant of Edinborough.

Edward Hallam, English merchant of Evesham.

William Hacker, English merchant of London.

Richard Webb, English merchant of London, per warrant of y^e Maior and other comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 23 September.—Robert Blinkhorne, English servant to Mr. Williams, who past here lately per y^e Lordes warrant.

William Buly, English merchant of Crouched Friars, in London.

Samuell Patteson, English merchant of Seeding Lane, in London.

John Langley, English merchant, of Mincinge Lane, in London.

Ralph Allen, English merchant of Mincinge Lane, in London.

William Rowden, son to Mr. Rowden, merchant of London, aged 15 years, who brought with him a warrant y^e Comissioners at London had given him.

George Gosling,¹⁶ English merchant of London, per warrant of the comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 26 September—Edward Noye,¹⁷ gentleman, per his Ma^{ty}s letters of safe conduct dated 22 Sept, 1635, and is copied in the Register booke at Rye per the Clark of y^e passage, and with him John Bartar and Francis Chandler his attendantes by the said licence or safe conduct.

Christopher Barnes, English merchant of London.

Thomas Croftes, English merchant of London.

John Bowes, English merchant of Hull.

Edward Estman, English merchant of Barnstaple.

Ralph Michaell, English merchant of Norwich.

¹⁵ Knighted at Royston, 20 April, 1619. *Nichols' Prog.*, Died 1648.

¹⁶ The Goslings are still Bankers in London. He went again in the following March.

¹⁷ Son of William Noye, Attorney General. The Gilberts of Eastbourne are descended from his brother, Humphrey Noye, through his daughter and heiress, Catherine.

To Diep 2 October, 1635—John Gooch, English gentleman of Oxford, per warrant of y^e Lordes, and is so copied into the Register booke, and one servant with him.

Herbert Springat,¹⁸ Esq., of Sussex, per licence of y^e Lordes, and is so copied as aforesaid. John Horsmonden his servant per said warrant.

James Mouat, Scots servant to Sr William Campion of Combwell,¹⁹ per warrant of Mr. Maior and Comisioners.

To Diep the 18 October—Sir Thomas Wortley,²⁰ Knt., per warrant of y^e Lordes dated the 14th October last, and is copied into y^e Register Booke of passage, and Richard Wilson, English his servant.

John Pont, English marchant of Canterbury.

John Roberts, English marchant of London.

Robert Seaman, English marchant of London, per warrant of Mr. Maior and other Comissioners of y^e passage at Rye.

William Dick, Scots marchant of Edinborow.

John Forbes, Scots marchant of Edinborow.

Jeery Gray, English soldier of Meupam in Kent, per the like warrant.

To Diep the 24 October—Thomas Quarles, of Enderby,²¹ Esq., per licence of y^e Lordes dated the 22 Aprill last, 1635, and is copied in y^e Register at Rye.

Christopher Nethersoll, English marchant of London.

Michaell Gatewood, English marchant of London, and John Godwin, English his servant of Stoneham in Suffolk

Thomas Hallows, English marchant of Caning Street in London, per warr^t of Mr. Maior and other of the Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 3 of November—The Lord Erskine of Scotland, per his Majesties licence dated y^e 27 October last, the which is copied into the Register Booke of Passage at Rye, and with him Laurence Rollock, Esq., John Haldan, Gentleman, Christopher Sanders, gent., Walter Sterlinge, his attendantes by the said licence.

Henry Lawrence, Esq., per warrant of y^e Lordes dated y^e 12 Aprill last, and is so copied. Ralph Blackbeard and John ———, his servantes by y^e said warrant.

William Strond, servant to Mr. Ashe, Draper in Caning Street in London.

Thomas Davies, English marchant of Bristow.

Richard Chalkhill, English merchant of Cornhill in London, per warrant of the Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep ye 14 November—John Maninge, English marchant of London.

Samuell Browne, Bookseller of London.

David Jeffery, Willm Keith, Andrew Burnett, and John Crokset, 4 Scots, ship-wrackt upon the Goodwin Sands.

John Lambert, Irish marchant of Baully ner to Cork, sworne per warrant of y^e Maior and other Comissioners of Passage at Rye.

To Diep ye 18 November—Henry Winwood, Esq^{re}, per his Majesty's licence dated the — of Nov., 1635, and for one servant to attend him, which licence is copied into y^e Register at Rye.

Mr. Anthony Fane,²² and his Brother George Fane, Esquires, per his Majesties licence dated the 4 of November last, which is copied into y^e Register of Passage at Rye. Willm. Spencer and Thom. Williams, per the said licence.

Thomas Gray, Scots marchant of Aberdin.

¹⁸ Eldest son of Sir Thomas S., of Broyle Place.

¹⁹ His son William, of whose travels abroad in 1633 notice has been taken in Suss. Arch. Coll., Vol. X., pp. 2, 3, was probably again abroad.

²⁰ Of Wortley, co. York.

²¹ Leicestershire. Sir George Quarles owned the manor. *Nichols' Leicestershire*, iv., p. 158.

²² Of Briston, Kent?

John Gooch, English marchant of Bristow, per warrant of y^e Maior and Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep ye 19 November—Thomas Sperpoint servant to y^e Earle of Holland.²³

Richard Cranley, English marchant of London.

John Farrin, English marchant of Milk Street in London, per warrant of y^e Maior and Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep ye 26 November—Daniell Codgill, Scots marchant living in Marseilles, per warrant of y^e Comissioners at Rye.

John Basford, English Gentleman, per warrant of Mr. Secretary Coke, which is copied.

John Leslie, Scots marchant of Aberdin.

Thomas Bacon, English marchant of Leadenhall Street, London, per warrant of y^e Maior and Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 3 December—Alice Moore, an English servant maid, that past with hir Mr^s, a french gentlewoman, who passed per his Ma^{ty} licence dated 11 yere of his Ma^{ty} Reigne, and is copied.

To Diep ye 16 December—Anthony Welden, English soldier of Norflet in Kent, and William During, his servant was sworne and permitted to pass by Mr. Maior and most of y^e Comissioners of passage at Rye by their warrant, and Jonas Phillips servant to Mr. Howard, English marchant, per like warrant.

Thomas Lucas, English marchant of Lewes, per the like warrant.

To Diep the 19th December—John Wanke, English servant to Mr Noye, past heere before Joan Bartar, governor to Mr Noye, who had a warrant at y^e Custom house at London, which is upon the file at Rye which testified their licence.

Thomas Reignolds, English taylor of Wolverley, aged 23 y^{rs}, per warrant of Mr Maior and other the Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep ye 6th day of January [1635—6]—John Wakeman, English marchant of Gret Yarmouth in Norfolk.

George England, English marchant of y^e said Yermouth.

Percy Slingsbie,²⁴ English soldier, 3 son to Sr Gilbert [Guildford?] decesed.

Harington Drayton, English merchant of London.

Alexander Burnett, Scots marchant of Aberdin.

Nicholas Stephens, son to Thomas Stephens, marchant of London, per warrant of Mr Maior and other Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 8 January—Mr James Arnold, Scots merchant of Edinborg.

John Arnold, his son, marchant.

Charles Arnold, his cousin, marchant.

Alexander Sample, Scots marchant of Edinborg.

George Lister, servant to Mr Arnold.

Walter Wisely, marchant of Dublin.

Wm. Atkinsoll, English horskeper, pore.

Thomas Amy, English marchant of Exceter.

Wm. Carr, Scots servant to a French gentleman.

John Carr, his cousin, a pore Scotese taylor, per warrant of y^e Maior and other of the Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep ye 2 of February—Thomas Varney²⁵ Esq^{re} per licence of the Lordes

²³ Henry Rich, created Earl of Holland, 1624.

²⁴ The brother of Sir G. Slingsby married Elizabeth, d. of Stephen Boorde, of Boorde's-hill, Sussex. Percy was the third of Sir G's eight sons, and was named after his grandmother, Mary, p. of Sir Thomas Percy.

²⁵ Second son of Sir Edmund V., of Middle Claydon. Sir Edmund V. had been appointed Knight Marshall of the palace in February, 1626, and his servant Markhall was an attendant on his son Thomas.

dated the 13 Dec. last, which is copied. Willm. Steward and Michaell Sharman his servants, by the said licence.

John Campion, English merchant, late servant to Mr. Allen, marchant of London.

Phillip Roche, Irish foteman to the Earle of Bedford.

Thomas Markhall, English servant to Sir Edmund Varney, Knight Marshall.

Symon Hake, English marchant, servant to Jonas de Pester of London.

Robert Isack, English pomp-maker of Tower hill, age 26 yeres, since returned.

Carmo Gouran and Brian Divelling, 2 pore Irish beggers, 1 soldier of them.

Wm. Reve, English servant to Mr Croftes, his Majesty's servant now at Paris.

Edward Rawley, servant to Mr Killegrew, English gentleman now at Paris.

Edward Rogers, English taylor of London, aged 24 yeres, sworn

Anthony Hubbard, English taylor of Holborne, aged 23 yeres, sworn per warrant of y^e Maior and other Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 2 February—Collonel George Synnnett, his wife and two children, three men servants, a maid servant and a boy, per licence of the Lordes which is copied into the Register Booke dated 23 Dec 1635.

Robert Gray, Lieutenant to Collonel Synnnett, and his servant Richard Russell, who were admitted to pass per warrant of y^e Comissioners of passage at London, which warrants they delivered here.

John Southwell, English soldier, of Norton in Suffolk, aged 24 yeres, brought the like warrant from y^e Comissioners at London, and is filed here.

John Roberts and William Nuttholl, English merchants of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, per warrant signed per Mr Maior and other Comissioners of passage at Rye.

William Flamvile, servant to y^e Queene, and showed his letters to y^e Comissioners per like warrant.

Passed to Diep 6 February—Andrew Wandrake, English taylor of London, aged 26 yeres, tall.

Thomas Bunting, English laborer, of Cringleford in Norffolk, sworne.

Edward Steward, English soldier of neer Norwich, aged 20 yeres, black, sworne.

George Cubitt, English soldier, of Norwich, aged 24 yeres, short stature, sworne.

Joseph Busbridg,²⁶ son to Mr Busbridg, linen draper of London, returned, per warrant of Mr Maior and other of y^e Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep the 12 Feb—Arthur Robertes, English servant unto Collonel Synnnett, having a pass from y^e Custom House at London was the rather admitted per a warrant of Mr Maior and other Comissioners heer at Rye.

John Leamon, English marchant, dwelling neer Algate, London.

George Birch, pore English soldier of Norfolk.

Peeter Andrewes, pore English marriner of London.

Moses Tressell, English soldier of Crokerley, in Oxfordshire, aged 29.

John Swane, Nicholas Griffen, 2 poore men, brought a pass from the Comissioners of passag at y^e Custom-house, at London, per warrant of Mr. Maior and other Comissioners of y^e passage at Rye.

To Diep the 13 February.—John Kirke, English gentleman, per a safe conduct, signed by the King's Majesty, dated the 27th January last past, 1635, and for one servant, the copie is entered in the Register Booke.

To Divp ye 19 February.—James Lord and Viscount of Annand in Scotland, per licence from his Ma^{tie} dated the 5th of Feb., 1635, and for Mongo Murrey, Scotcs Esq^{re}. Robert Mackbrier, Scotcs gentleman.

²⁶ He was second son of John Busbridge, who had settled at Echingham and rebuilt Haremare in 1616. John

was an active Parliamentarian, and represented Winchelsea in 1658.

Archibald Douglas, gentleman, Patrick Falconer, gentleman, Duncan Keith, gentleman, Myles Wodshaw, English gentleman, per the said licence, which is copied into y^e Passage Booke at Rye.

Joseph Davies, English marchant of London, St. Thomas Apostles.

Robert Davies, his brother, marchant of London.

Thomas Musgrove and Thomas Brooker, English pictur drawers, who brought a warrant from y^e Custom house at London and were admitted per Mr. Maior to passe.

John Burges, English shomaker, of Flet-street, London, aged 22 yeres, low stature.

Robert Kenedy, English merchant, of Fanchurch St., London, per warrant of Mr. Maior and other y^e Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep ye 3 of March.—Edward Domelaw, English merchant of London, Fanchurch street, middle stature, flaxen, aged 24 yeres.

Robert Goodday, servant to y^e 2^d son to y^e Lord North, now at Paris.

Charles Peard,²⁷ English marchant of Barnestable.

John Wells,²⁸ English marchant of London, per warrant of y^e Maior and Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 6th of March.—John Metcalf, English servant to M^r Noy, now in Paris.

William Clark, English stonecutter of Long lane, neer London.

William Smyth, servant to S^r Henry Hungate.

Neale Lossehay, a pore Irish beggar boye.

Wm. Joy, English merchant of Rye Towne.

John Wilmot, English merchant of Maidstone in Kent.

Edmond Fletcher, alehouseskeeper of Maidston, and his son

To Diep the 18th of March.—Sir Francis Crane, Knt. Chancellor of y^e Order (of the Garter) and with him six attendantes, whose names were not told unto y^e Comissioners nor known, per warrant of y^e Lordes dated 6 March last, copied.

Bartholomew Nicholls, English marchant of Plimouth, in Devon.

Thomas Hollowes,²⁹ English marchant of London, and William Starbuck, his servant.

John Bartar, governor to Mr. Noye, now at Paris, and Francis Chantler, servant to y^e said Mr. Noye.

Robert Gray, English shomaker, with warrant of Custom house, filed.

Edward Thomson, shomaker, with warrant of Custom house, filed, per warrant of Mr. Maior, and other Comissioners of passage at Rye.

To Diep the 18 March, 1635.—Symon Barksdale, Esq^r, of Winchester, per licence of y^e Lordes dated the last of February, 1635, the coppie whereof is registered, and

Drew Turner, his servant, per the said warrant.

Georg. Gosling,³⁰ English marchant of London.

Thomas Dunkin, his Majesty's currier with letters, per warrant of y^e Maior and Comissioners at Rye.

Robert Adamson Scot Esq^{re}, Secretary to y^e Lord Gordon, per warrant of the Lordes, dated the — of July last, 1635, and is copied in the Register Boke, and Mr. Alexander Chreighton,³¹ Scots gentleman, per the s^d warrant.

Wm. Oxinden, 3 son to S^r James Oxinden, of Wingham in Kent, by a letter sent from his father and the Maior and Comiss^{rs} of Dover to y^e Comissioners at Rye,

²⁷ The Peards are a well-known Devonshire family.

²⁸ See also ante, Aug. 9th.

²⁹ See also ante, Oct. 24.

³⁰ See also ante, Sept. 23.

³¹ See also ante, August 28. As the feud between the Gordons and the Creightons was at its height this association is curious.

and having given knowledge of his passage to Dover Castle, per a warrant signed by y^e Maior and other the Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep ye 19 March.—Lewes Viscount Kenelmeckie and his brother, Roger Barron of Broghill, younger sones to the Earle of Corke, per his Ma^{ties} Licence, dated the 15 March, 1635, the copie is registered in the Book of Passage. Isack Marcombes, their Governor, and Barnabie Scudamore, Brother to the Lord Ambassador at Paris, Roger Hemboro, 3 attendantes per the said licence.

Mr. William Savage, English gentleman, per consent of Mr. Maior and other Comissioners for that he past by warrant of y^e Lordes lately before which is copied in y^e Register, and David Lewis, his servant, per warrant of y^e Comissioners at Rye.

John Horsey, Esqre., per warrant of y^e Lordes, dated y^e 19 August 1634, shewed and for hast could not be coppied.

To Diep the 25 March 1636.—Thomas Juxson, servant to Mr. Wm. Allott, Marchant of London

William Trye, servant to y^e Lord Barclay, Knowen.

William Shallett, servant to Mr. John Bartar, governor to Mr. Noy late.

Arthur Duncan, Scots servant to Mr. Urquart, a Scots gentleman.

A lame pore English boy with Admirally^e post, per warrant of Mr. Maior and Comissioners at Rye.

To Diep the 30 March.—William Freissell, English gentleman belonging to y^e Earle of Arundell per a safe conduct signed by the Quenes Majesty, dated 3 November, 1635, and iscopied in y^e Register.

Reignold Horne, English goldsmith of y^e Strand, near Somerset House.

Thomas Bennett, English flourmaker, short stature, brown, per warrant at Rye.

Mary Boudovin, a child, per the Lordes warrant, dated 23 of March last past, 1635 and Ann Whitewell, hir Attendant, and is registered.

James Hamilton, a Scots soldier of Edinboro, pore, per warrant at Rye.

Examined with the Register of Passage this 4 Aprill, 1636, by us the Comissioners of Passage, whose names are hereto subscribed.

Ma[^{rk}] Thomas, *Deputy Maior*, Allen Grebell, Roger Bamford,
John Nowell, Sa. Landsdale, Joseph Benbrigge, *Cler of Passage*.

Indorsed. 1636, March 29, Passingers at Rye. *Also.* Rye Passingers—sold for Fr. 18.

LEGEND OF THE DRAGON-SLAYER OF LYMINSTER.

By SAMUEL EVERSLED, Esq.

At the distance of about fifty yards north of Lyminster Church, by the side of the footpath which leads through the meadows from the church to Calceto, near Arundel, there is a small but deep pool of clear water, the lovely blue tint of which proves that it is a perennial spring, having its waters from the valleys in the chalk hills seen in the north.

Its overflowing waters find their way across the rich and level pastures into the river Arun, between Ford and Littlehampton; and so constant and powerful is the outpouring of the spring, that the pool is never frozen over, even in the severest winters. It is said that this mysterious spring has *no bottom*, and that many years ago the six bell ropes of Lyminster church were joined and let down, without fathoming its dreadful depths! The experiment having been repeated in our own matter-of-fact age, the depth is found, alas! to be only about thirty feet; yet "The Knucker Hole,"* as it is called, may even now be looked upon as, in some respects, the most remarkable spring in Sussex. Its only inhabitants at present are shoals of pretty fishes of the roach tribe, whose silvery scales, and deep red fins, place them for beauty, among our fresh water fishes, next to the spotted trout.

Very different, however, was the state of this tiny lake from twelve to fifteen hundred years ago; for it was then the haunt of a foul Monster which ravaged the country for miles round, flying with inconceivable rapidity through the air, and seizing men, women, and children, with sheep and oxen, it carried them off to its home in the swamps of the Arun, and there devoured them.

The country having been desolated for many years by this terrible Dragon, and the cultivation of the land having almost

* Perhaps from the Celtic *enuc* or Saxon *enuel*, a joint or junction. Several small streams of water still rise from, or have their confluence in, the pool.

An accident has unfortunately happened, at the last moment, to MR. EVERSLED'S etching of the "Knucker Hole" at Lyminster. In order not to retard the issue of the present volume, that plate will be given with Vol. xix.

entirely ceased, the King (whoever he may have been) offered his daughter in marriage to any man who should be so bold and lucky as to slay it. Many brave men rose up, anxious to relieve the poor sufferers and to win the beautiful princess, with her blue eyes, golden hair, and rosy cheeks; but one by one they perished in the contest, and their bones were not laid among those of their fathers.

At last a young hero, who had been away in his ship to foreign lands, sailed into the Arun, and, hearing of the general distress, after an interview with the King, sought the cruel Dragon in his lair:—

“ And full of fire and greedy hardiment,
 The youthful knight could not for aught be stayed ;
 But forth unto the darksome hole he went,
 And lookèd in ; his glistening armour made
 A little glooming light, much like a shade,
 By which he saw the ugly monster plain,
 Half like a serpent, horribly display'd,
 Most loathsome, filthy, foul, and full of vile disdain.
 And as it lay upon the dirty ground,
 Its huge long tail its den all overspread,
 Yet was in knots and many folds upwound,
 Pointed with mortal sting.”

The reader may see the combat which ensued finely portrayed in Spenser's Red-Cross Knight, Canto I. It concludes:—

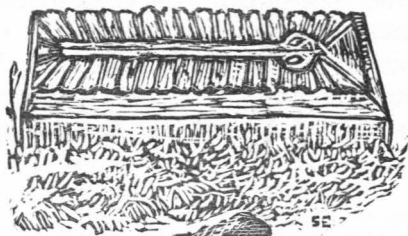
“ Thus ill-bested, and fearful more of shame
 Than of the certain peril he stood in,
 Half furious unto his foe he came,
 Resolved in mind all suddenly to win,
 Or soon to lose, before he would give in ;
 And struck at it with more than manly force,
 That from its body, full of filthy sin,
 He reft its hateful head without remorse ;
 A stream of coal-black blood forth gushèd from its corse.”

An ovation was accorded to the Dragon-slayer, and the beautiful Princess was duly bestowed upon him in marriage. It has even been asserted that some of the fair maidens of Western Sussex are lineally descended from this matchless pair!

Our tradition rests upon a much surer foundation than most others: indeed *it must be true*—for if the reader will turn back from gazing into “The Knucker Hole,” and repair to Lyminster church, along the little causeway which was cast up

by the monks of Calceto for the accommodation of foot passengers across the marsh in time of flood, he will find, just on the left of the church porch—

THE GRAVE-STONE OF THE MAN THAT KILLED THE DRAGON!



In case the reader should be unable to make a pilgrimage to this classic nook, the above rough woodcut, by a young amateur, is given from a faithful sketch made upon the spot.

Now, as to the origin of the above legend—for it is assumed that but few persons could be found in this nineteenth century to doubt the foundation in fact of such stories—the writer has long cherished the following theory.

Though the geologist assures us that the nearest approach to the Great Dragon of Romance which has ever existed upon our earth is some comical monster whose bones are found in our chalk hills, a grotesque compound of serpent, crocodile, and bat, much too feeble and too ancient to have afforded opportunity for the display of knightly prowess; yet we can but believe that the tales about Dragons, so prevalent on our southern coast, are grounded on some grave realities; and the conclusion to which the writer has come respecting these monsters of antiquity is that they had existence and were frequently met with in early historic times; and that indeed our misunderstanding concerning them is simply owing to our loss of the original meaning of the word “Dragon.” This word has descended to our rural population from the Ancient Britons—in Welsh, *dragon* is a leader, chief, or sovereign.

To translate the legend into sober matter-of-fact, we may understand, then, that about the year 477, “when Ella and his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa landed with a body of Saxons from three ships,” at Pagham, great struggles

commenced between these Saxon settlers and the "Dragons" of the British Tribes. There was, according to local tradition, a Celtic camp at Arundel, and its name is Celtic, being derived from *Aran*, a high place, an *alp*; and *Dól* a holm, or water-meadow; and a name more precisely and beautifully descriptive of the locality it would be impossible to find. The peaceful Britons of our fertile and sunny sea-board amalgamated with the Saxons by marriage, or were made slaves; the warriors and the rogues were driven to their strongholds on the hills, and Arundel being by far the strongest, situated as it was on a commanding and abrupt eminence, surrounded on three sides by water, with communication open to the great forests in the rear, would be the last to fall into the hands of the invaders. For centuries, it may be, after the founding of the Anglo-Saxon settlements of Wittering, Oving, Climping, Poling, Angmering, Patching, Ferring, Goring, Tarring, Sompting, and Lancing; after they had embraced Christianity, and had founded Selsey, Walberton, Yapton, Tortington, Rustington, and Preston; when they had beaten their swords into ploughshares, the fierce Pagan Britons swept down upon the flourishing but defenceless Saxon homesteads, burning and destroying all around. So great at last was the evil felt to be, that it was determined to capture the strong hold of the marauders; and at a general conclave the honour of a family alliance with the South Saxon Chieftain was publicly offered to the man who should successfully lead his bands against the hill-fort of the ancient enemy. The attempt, often renewed, was at length, by strength or stratagem, rewarded with success; Arundel fell into the hands of the Saxon, and the story of its siege, after floating for many generations from mouth to mouth among the Saxons of the coast, at last attached itself, in the form which has been related, to the curious tombstone and remarkable spring of water at Lyminster.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Carved Bosses in Cuckfield Church.*

Cuckfield Church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, consists of a chancel, nave, aisles (extending the whole length of the chancel), and a western tower. The building seems to indicate at least three different periods of construction. The original church appears to have had a nave which terminated eastward at what is now the last bay of the nave, where, on the south side, a junction in the pier is visible. In the fourteenth century, the church was probably increased in size eastward, when the present chancel was erected. Again, in the succeeding century, a new roof appears to have been put over the whole, and the clerestory windows, the work of the preceding century, closed up. Since that time, little or no change has taken place in the ground-plan of the church.

The roof is worthy of close inspection. It is of oak panelling, and is divided by small members which have at their intersections richly carved bosses. The oak has been plastered over, but the bosses remain as they were. The bosses in the nave retain their original colouring, but no trace of colour remains on those in the chancel. In design they consist, in most cases, of rich patterns of foliage; but there are a few remarkable exceptions, which give us some clue to the roof-restoration in the 15th century. In the nave, one of the bosses is a beautifully carved and painted *Pied Bull with a chain*, the crest of the Neville family. In both nave and chancel the *Red Rose* occurs several times, and this is also seen in the spandrils of the tie-beams. On several other bosses is a shield *Gules, two Staples interlaced*.¹ In one instance a *crowned Portcullis supported by Lions* is traceable; while in one or two others a *Gryphon* is very beautifully carved.

All these insignia can be traced to the influence in this locality of the Neville family. The bull as a crest; and the rose, and portcullis, and staples, as badges, are recognized as pertaining to that noble race. The origin of the *staples* is a matter of some uncertainty, and is worthy of investigation. The present Earl of Abergavenny bears staples, attached to the end of his supporting bulls. The gryphon is remarkable as the badge and supporter of the family of De Beauchamp, whose estates and honours as Earls of Warwick passed to the Nevilles in the middle of the 15th century in the person of the "King-Maker." A curious confirmation of the occurrence of the red gryphon of the Sussex church roof is found in Dugdale's Warwickshire, where (at page 327) is given an account of the equipment of a body of men for the defence of Calais, under the Earl of

¹ The badge of the interlaced staples was also in the timber of the old church of Hurstpierpoint.

Warwick; amongst the items of the equipments we find: "Item, for the peynting of two paveys (shields) for my Lord, the one with a gryfon standyng in my Lordis colours, rede," &c., &c. From all this it seems clear that a Neville was amongst the principal benefactors to the Church of Cuckfield, and we know that a number of the family intermarried with a co-heiress of the Fitz-Alans, who at that time were Lords of the Manor.

C. E. KEMPE.

2. *Family of Le Sauvage.*

Information, additional to that already printed in these Collections, in reference to the old Norman family of Le Sauvage, or Savage, will be thankfully received. Their principal seat was Sedgwick Castle, not far from Horsham, and for three centuries after the Conquest they occupied a high position in the county. So far as I am aware, no pedigree of them exists, either in print or MS.; neither do I find any arms attributed to the Sussex branch.

M. A. LOWER.

3. *The River Ems.*

The incumbent of Westbourne writes thus to the Editor: "I may mention a fact on the Rivers of Sussex, which seems to have escaped your notice, as it also did that of Mr. Longcroft, in his pamphlet on the Ems. (See Suss. Arch. Coll., vol. xvi., pp. 263—268.) In Holinshed, ed. 1577, p. 21, is the following sentence: 'The *Emille* cometh first between Racton and Stansted, then down to Emilsworth or Emmesworth, and so into the Ocean, separating Sussex from Hampshire. The *Racon* riseth by, east of Racton or Racodunum.'

"The rivulet rising in Stoughton, called by Mr. Longcroft the Ems, is, in fact, the old Racon, whence Racton. The Emille, or modern Ems, rises somewhere in Idsworth, finds its way through Stanstead, and joins the other stream in the upper part of Westbourne village, where the Stanstead forcing-engine now stands. Both streams were formerly more considerable than at present. Old people can remember trout-fishing where there is now only rain water-shed in winter. This change has, in part, been brought about by drainage. The western Lavant flowing down from Horndean to Havant, formerly a considerable but intermittent stream, has for the last seven years ceased to flow altogether, except after heavy rains.

"The ancient name of Emsworth is Newtbrigge—a fishing hamlet to Warblington. The Warblington registers are lost, but in ours, where the name frequently occurs from 1550 to 1600, it is Emmesworthe."

JOHN H. SPERLING.

Westbourne Rectory.

[The members of the Sussex Archæological Society will be glad to

learn that our Rev. Correspondent contemplates writing, for one of our future volumes, the parochial history of Westbourne. Hitherto this large and important parish, which is full of historical associations, has received but slight notice from our county historians and topographers, and Mr. Sperling's labours will be welcomed as a valuable addition to local history.]

4. *Chiddingly Church.*

September, 1864.

In the process of pulling down the chancel with a view to re-building and restoration, several relics of its earlier condition were brought to light, though none in a state of preservation such as to allow of their being retained in the new building.

Several pieces of carved stone, of apparently very early date, which would seem to have been corbels, or supports of a string-course, were thrown out of the masonry of the south wall, proving that it had been re-built, and the materials of the more ancient fabric made use of in the reconstruction. One of these bears the figure of a lion's head, three others of rams' heads, and one a human bust bearded, with one hand across the beard, and the other either in the mouth or beneath the chin. A number of stones, eleven in all, were dislodged, each carved with the figure of a star, of rude workmanship, perhaps of Norman date, which would seem from their wedge-shaped form to have been originally the *voussoirs* of an arched recess, or door-way.

On removing the monument to the Bromfields to the west of the piscina, evident traces were found of a sedile, or sedilia, the jambs on each side having been carved similarly to those of the piscina; but this had been destroyed before the erection of the monument, to make way for a south door-way into the chancel, the form of which could be seen on the external wall.

Westward of this, beneath the easternmost window of the S. wall, was discovered a large recess of the same width as the window itself, and being apparently a continuation of the interior splay. A flat stone covered the bottom of this recess, beneath which was the old herring-bone stonework of the original building. This recess, to the purpose of which I have no clue, appears to have been part of the original structure; it was filled up with portions of the window which formerly stood above it, precisely similar in construction to the westernmost window in the same wall, the type which has been followed in the restorations. At the back, and on the sides of the recess, the wall had been marked out in narrow lines of red paint, to represent courses of stone or brick-work.

In removing the E. wall also, one or two pieces of carved stone came to light, shewing that it had been re-built at some distant date. Two ancient pieces of zig-zag moulding were found in the course of demolition; these, with the corbels and the starred arch-stones, which last may be compared with the representation given in "Glossary of Architecture," vol. iii., plate 196, of a Tabernacle or niche for a saint, in Haddiscoe Church, Norfolk, c. 1160,) seem to point to the existence of a church on

this spot in the Norman age, of which no vestiges probably remain, except these interesting relics.

The destruction of the N. wall failed to disclose any trace of the Easter sepulchre, referred to in the wills of William Jefferay and Parson Tyttlyngton.² A perforated circular stone was found amongst the *débris* of the wall, which suggests the idea of a pillar piscina, though no such discovery was looked for, as a recessed piscina existed in the S. chancel wall in perfect preservation.

Beneath the pews on the N. side of the chancel was found a monumental slab of large proportions, containing the *matrix* of a brass, which had represented two figures with labels issuing from their mouths, and an inscription beneath: one of the figures, apparently a female, is clearly to be traced; of the other the outline is scarcely discernible, though the label is strongly indented. At the upper corners of this slab are the *matrices* of two shields for coats of arms. At its head lay another slab of much smaller dimensions, also containing the *matrix* of a brass, the character of which is not so easy to decipher; it may, like the first, have represented two figures with inscription beneath, or these may have been pendants from some representation of drapery. My impression is that these two slabs are the missing tombs of William Jefferay, son of John and Agnes, and of Thomas Jefferay, son of William, and that they have been removed from the nave of the church, from the space between the slabs of John and Agnes, and of William, son of Thomas; or, one of them may have covered the remains of Richard Jefferay, brother of the Lord Chief Baron, who, as we learn from the mural monument at the left of the chancel arch, was interred in the chancel itself.

Beneath the actual foundations of the wall were found on the S. side two skulls, and on the N. side three pieces of oak boarding, regularly laid, with the broader part towards the W. There were unquestionably coffin lids.

J. H. VIDAL, M.A., Vicar.

5. *Eartham.*

Parkhurst, in his Hebrew Lexicon, under the article ARON, ark, or chest, says:—

“We meet with imitations of this divinely instituted emblem among several heathen nations both in ancient and modern times.” Thus Tacitus (*De Mor.*, German., cap. 40) informs us that “the inhabitants of the north of Germany, our Saxon ancestors in general, worshipped *Herthum* or *Heartham*, that is, the Mother Earth (*Terram Matrem*), and believed her to interpose in the affairs of men, and to visit nations: that to her, *within a sacred grove in a certain Island of the Ocean*, a vehicle, covered with a vestment, was consecrated, and allowed to be touched by the priest alone, (See 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7. 1 Chron. xiii. 9, 10.) who perceived when the Goddess entered into this her secret place (*penetrati*), and with profound veneration attended her vehicle, which was drawn by *cows*, (See 1 Sam. vi. 7, 10.)

² See Mr. Lower's paper on this Church, *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. xiv., p. 249.

While the Goddess was on her progress, days of rejoicing were kept in every place which she vouchsafed to visit. The people engaged in no war, they meddled not with arms, they locked up their weapons; peace and quietness only were then known, these only relished till the same priest re-conducted the Goddess, satiated with the conversation of mortals, to her temple. Then the vehicle and vestment, and, if you will believe it, the Goddess herself was washed in a secret lake."

"*Hertham* seems plainly derived from the Hebrew *aratz*, *earth*, the *z* being, as usual, changed into *th*, and *am* Mother."

Is not our Sussex Eartham the very place mentioned by the historian? The coincidence of names is very remarkable. There appears to be no other Eartham except ours now existing on the face of the earth.

The island mentioned by Tacitus was clearly a large one, and sufficiently populous; it was but little known to the Romans; it was convenient to reach from the Saxon shore; and in all this it agrees very well with Britain.

Supposing the foreign worshippers to sail up the River Arun and land at Ford, they would be within five miles of Eartham. There still exists a very direct road from Ford, running through Tortington, Binstead, and Slindon to the remarkable crescent-shaped hill called Nore Wood, at Eartham. Or, if they disembarked at Arundel they might have a grand procession through magnificent beech woods all the way from Arundel to Eartham. Eartham is still surrounded by very extensive "groves," as Tortington Wood, Arundel Courts, the Round Wood, Houghton Forest, North Wood, &c., &c. Nore Wood, the probable temple of the Goddess, is within five miles of the ancient encampment called Rooks' Hill, the origin of which has been sometimes ascribed to the Britons, sometimes to the Saxons. The sacred and "secret" lake must have been an artificial reservoir of the pure water which infiltrates from the chalk, natural lakes and springs being almost or altogether unknown high up on the south side of the Downs. Further research may throw more light on this interesting conjecture.

SAMUEL EVERSLED.

6. *Cinque-Port Law in 1742.*

Extract from a Family Bible in the possession of J. Dodson, Esq. 69, London Road, Brighton.

"Mr. Greble was murdered in our church-yard by John Breads, a butcher of this place, the 17th day of March, 174 $\frac{2}{3}$, for which crime he was tryed on Wednesday, the 25th day of March, 1743, in this town, in a warehouse belonging to James Lamb, Esq., the present Mayor, at the Strand, when he was found guilty after a tryall of ten hours, and received sentence of death, which was passed on him by the above mayor, who sat as judge with Mr. Knowles, a counsellour, of Canterbury in Kent, his assistant on that occasion. On Wednesday, the 8th day of this instant June, between 11 and 12 of the clock in the forenoon, the unhappy

wretch was executed on the Salts, westward of the town, and when dead was forthwith hung up in chains.

“How fair a tryall the prisoner had, I leave the reader to determine, after he is informed the above Mr. Lamb was Mayor, Coroner, Party Prosecuting, Judge, Witness, and Sheriff, in prosecuting, trying, and executing the said John Breads.

“I suppose he was Mayor, Coroner, and Sheriff, as essential to the office of Mayoralty; Party and Prosecutor as *Brother-in-law* to the unfortunate good gentleman that was killed, and Judge and Witness out of zeal in getting the prisoner proved sane, though on the tryall he acknowledged he had caused the prisoner to be confined some years ago for feigned madness.

“As to feigned madness, I do not understand it; but I verily believe the prisoner was mad in the afternoon of the day before the unhappy catastrophe happened.³

“HEN. DODSON.

“Rye, June 12th, 1743.”

S. E.

7. *Decorative Tiles.*

At page 126, of the preceding volume, I have given an account of some Decorative Tiles of a very interesting and unusual type, which were found a few years ago in opening the foundations of a house, once standing in Keymer, eastward of the Lodge farm house; but so close to it, that this farm house appears to stand on a portion of them. These Tiles I have heretofore been led to consider as designed for domestic use only. For though two were found in digging out the trenches for the foundations of the chancel of the new church at Hurstpierpoint, exactly corresponding in shape and ornamentation, and in all other material respects with those discovered at Keymer; this I looked upon as an accidental circumstance only, and not of sufficient importance to induce me to alter the opinion which I had previously formed of them. A circumstance, however, has since occurred, which has convinced me of the erroneousness of such opinion. In excavating the ground, in the autumn of last year, for the enlargement of Keymer Church, by the addition of a south aisle, it was discovered that there had been at an early period, an aisle on this side before; and as a considerable number of precisely similar Tiles were found within the space enclosed by the remains of its ancient foundation walls, there can be no doubt of the fact of this aisle having been paved with them. The chancel therefore of Hurstpierpoint Church may have been, and probably was, so paved too. It is somewhat singular that no tiles of a corresponding type should have been as yet found in any other locality of the United Kingdom than that of Keymer.

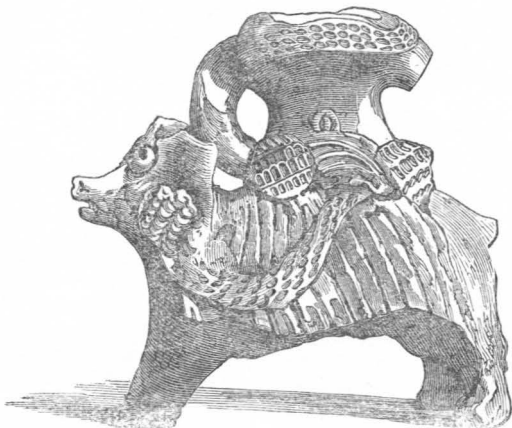
EDWARD TURNER.

³ See Mr. Grebell's inscription and also Mr. Lamb's in S. A. Col. vol. xiii. p. 287. It may be added that the chains (so called) are still existing as part of the chattels of the Corporation of Rye.

8. *Ancient Pottery at Hastings.*

In December last an excavation for cellarage took place in George Street in this town, and at a considerable depth, on clear shingle, the workmen threw up a small equestrian female figure in brown pottery. It is not more than four inches in height, and in every respect resembles the pottery at 'Bohemia,' referred to in previous volumes of these "Collections."⁴ From its small size I think it most likely to have been a child's toy of the period.

The animal is more like a pig than a horse. The head of the lady was knocked off and lost by the workmen. The feet (both on the *near* side) were also broken off. The dress covers both sides of the animal.



This singular object, though much smaller in size, resembles the pottery horse found at Lewes, and the stag found at Seaford (see vol. x., page 194); and I have little doubt that all three came from the 'Bohemia' works in the thirteenth century. It is worthy of remark that no other objects of this kind have been discovered beyond the limits of the county of Sussex, and it is probable that we owe to some enterprising potter of Hastings these curious specimens of medieval art.

THOMAS ROSS.

9. *Restoration of Churches.*

Information respecting the recent Restoration of Churches throughout the county is desired for a forthcoming publication. The respective Incumbents will greatly oblige by communicating particulars to

Lewes.

M. A. LOWER.

10. *Burial in Woollen.*

Of all our indoor occupations, that of looking over old papers is one which is most usually and specially reserved for the first thoroughly wet day.

⁴ See particularly Vol. xi., 230, and Vol. xii., 268.

On such a day last winter I happened to be thus engaged, wading patiently through the Burial Register and other records of the parish of Rodmell, when I unfolded with some surprise several affidavits, of one of which an exact transcript is given below. I thus became aware that the old custom of burying in woollen had apparently been strictly observed, even in the remote villages of the Brookside district of the South Downs; and my curiosity was naturally excited to glean what information I could about it for my own satisfaction, and possibly for the use of others who take an interest in the manners and customs of the olden time.

The simple reason why wool was especially devoted to funereal use would appear to have been that its consumption might be increased; and it must have been a matter of considerable importance to the trade of the country, to have called for the authority of an Act of Parliament to compel its observance. I have also found that "the law for burying in woollen was passed in consequence of the fashion, to satisfy the clothiers and wool-growers."

The flock-masters of Sussex may be interested in the fact that, "wool was always dear in ancient times." Whitaker, in his History of Craven, states that anno 1300, it sold for more than £6 a sack, while the price of a cow was 7s. 4d. The legal sack consisted of 26 stone of 14 pounds each, i.e., nearly 5s. each stone. We also learn that "in the reign of Edward III., wool was the King's sole commodity for the better support of his great wars."

It does not appear to be very clearly established how long the obligation to bury in woollen was insisted upon; but the Act which enforced it was the 30 Carolus II., cap. 3, and 32 ejusdem, cap. 1, and is entitled "An Acte for the lessening the importation of linen from beyond the seas, and the encouragement of the woollen and paper manufacture of the Kingdom."

The act which repealed it was the 54 George III., c. 108; so the time during which it was in operation most probably was from A.D. 1678 to 1814, or about. On this and other points connected with the enquiry I shall be glad to receive more precise information from our more experienced archæologists.

The curate of every parish was required to keep a register of all burials in woollen, and accompanying affidavits, and it would also seem, from the evidence of the original affidavit above alluded to, that the curate of some adjoining parish was bound to certify that the affidavit was made in proper form.

Thus we find the vicar of Iford, the Rev. Richard Owen, signing the certificate for the burial of Elizabeth Ford, of the parish of Radmill.

Whatever may have been the feelings of Elizabeth Ford's friends and fellow-parishioners on the subject, it is clear from the well-known couplet of Pope's that the custom was particularly distasteful to the cultivated female mind.

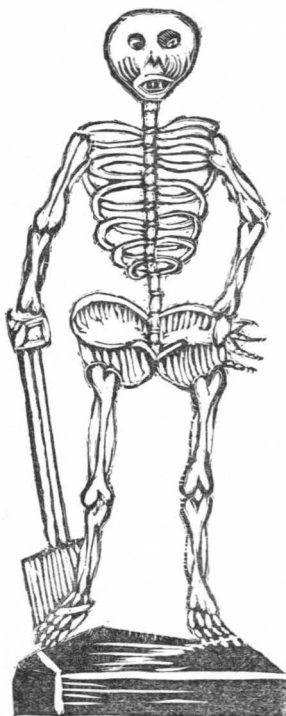
"Odious! in woollen! 'twould a saint provoke,
Were the last words which poor Narcissa spoke —"

her peculiarly sensitive taste in matters of dress betraying the ruling passion strong in death. It may be worth mentioning that Narcissa

(Mrs. Oldfield, the actress) died in 1731, and it is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of March, 1731, that she was not interred in woollen, at the bare idea of which she expressed such horror and disgust, but "was buried in Westminster Abbey in a Brussels lace head-dress, a Holland shift with tucker and double ruffles of the same lace, and a pair of new kid gloves." Possibly to gratify her dying wish, her friends incurred and willingly paid a customary fine; the amount of which varied according to circumstances, and the will of the justices. It is not unlikely that the usual fine was about fifty shillings, if we may judge from the following entry in the register of the parish of Eye, in Suffolk, in the years 1686-7.

Recd. for Miss Grace Thrower being }
buried in Linen ... } 02 10 00

By the kindness of Samuel Evershed, Esq., we are enabled to give fac-similes of the quaint designs which are a very characteristic feature of the following Affidavit:—⁵



Elizabeth Bryant of the Parish of *Radmill* in the County of *Sussex* maketh Oath, That *Elizabeth Ford* of the Parish of *Radmill* in the County of *Sussex* lately deceas'd, was not put in, wrapt or wound up, or bury'd, in any Shirt, Shift, Sheet, or Shroud, made or mingl'd with Flax, Hemp, Silk, Hair, Gold, or Silver, or other than what is made of Sheeps Wooll only, nor in any coffin lin'd, or fac'd with any Cloth, Stuff, or any other Thing whatsoever, made or mingl'd with Flax, Hemp, Silk, Hair, Gold, or Silver, or any other Material, contrary to the late Act of Parliament for burying in Woollen, but Sheeps Wooll only. Dated the 16 Day of *January* in the *eleventh* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George* of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the Year of our Lord, 1724.

⁵ The Italics represent the MS. portion of the document—the rest being a printed form.

Seal'd and subscrib'd by us, who were present,
and Witnesses to the Swearing of the above
said Affidavit.

[No Witnesses' names are subscribed.]



I *Richard Owen Vic: of Iford in Sussex* do hereby certify, That the Day and Year abovesaid, the said *Elizabeth Bryant* came before me, and made such Affidavit as is above-mention'd, according to the said late Act of Parliament, intitl'd, An Act for Burying in Woollen. Witness my Hand the Day and Year above-written.

Ri: Owen.

London: Printed and Sold by F. Barrett, Stationer,
in Fleet Street.

The grave-digger's shovel is not inappropriately placed in the right hand of the skeleton sexton; and his statuesque figure stands with an air of triumph on a coffin, of what was probably the usual shape a century and a half ago.

The swathed figure no doubt gives a correct representation of the dress in which the poor body was decked for the grave; and I am told by an old nurse that she remembers her mother telling her, that even the quilling round the inside of the coffin, and the ligature round the feet of the corpse, were equally required to be of woollen.

I must, in conclusion, apologize for the somewhat hasty manner in which these gleanings have been put together—and trust that they may throw some gleam of light upon the manners and customs of the olden time.

Rodmell Rectory.

P. DE PUTRON.

11. *Jefferay Monument, Chiddingly.*

The arms on the large monument on the south side of Chiddingly Church, described by Mr. Mark Antony Lower, in his account of that parish in vol. xiv. of the Society's Transactions, are as follows. The remaining shields four in number, two being lost, the inscription taken with the shields that remain render the deficiency easy to supply.

Shield I.—For Sir John Jefferay himself, Quarterly of four.

1. 4. JEFFERAY, Az. fretty Or, on a chief Arg. a lion passant guardant Or.
2. 3. MELWARD, Arg. a cross moline between four crescents Gu.
Crest, a lion's head erased Arg. ducally crowned Az.

II. JEFFERAY and MELWARD, Quarterly as before, impaling—

- 1. 4. APSLEY, Arg. three bars Gu, a canton Erm.
- 2. POWER, Quarterly Az. and Erm, in first and fourth quarters a leopard's face Or.
- 3. SYDNEY, Or, a pheon Az.

For Alice, wife of Sir John Jefferay, Knt., and daughter and heir of John Apsley, of London, gent.

III. { 1. 4. MONTAGUE, Arg., three fusils in fess Gu. a border Sab.
2. 3. MONTHERMER, Or. an eagle displayed Vert.

Impaling JEFFERAY, Quarterly of six.

- 1. 6. JEFFERAY.
- 2. MELWARD.
- 3. APSLEY.
- 4. POWER.
- 5. SYDNEY.

For Sir Edward Montague of Boughton co. Northampton, who married Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Sir John Jefferay, Knt., and Alice his wife.

IV. { 1. 4. MONTAGUE.
2. 3. MONTHERMER.V. { 1. 6. JEFFERAY.
2. MELWARD.
3. APSLEY.
4. POWER.
5. SYDNEY.VI. { 1. 8. WILLOUGHBY, Or fretty Az.
2. UFFORD, Sab. a cross engrailed Or.
3. BEKE, Gu. a cross moline Arg.
4. FITZALAN, Gu. a lion rampant Or.
5. MALTRAVERS, Sab. a fret Or.
6. ENGAINE, Gu. a fess dancette between six cross-crosslets Or.
7. WATERTON, Barry of six Ermine and Gu., three crescents 2. 1. Sab.

Impaling—

- 1. 8. MONTAGUE.
- 2. MONTHERMER.
- 3. JEFFERAY.
- 4. MELWARD.
- 5. APSLEY.
- 6. POWER.
- 7. SYDNEY.

For Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby and Eresby, who married Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Edward Montague, and Elizabeth his wife. Of these shields Nos. I. and III. are now lost.

JOHN H. SPERLING.

Westbourne Rectory.

12. *Robbery of the Cardinal of Rouen.*

In an Issue Roll 32 Edward III., I meet with the following payments:—"24 January, To John Mayn, the King's serjeant-at-arms, and John Bone, lately sent to Sussex to arrest certain thieves who had robbed the Cardinal of Rouen of certain goods and chattels. In money paid to them for their expenses, to wit, to John Mayn, £3 10s. 0d., and to John Bone, £1. By writ of great seal, &c." At this time, according to

Walsingham, "missi sunt in Angliam ex parte Domini Papæ duo Cardinales, pro pace reformanda, Dominus Tolirandus, Episcopus Albanensis, et Nicholaus, tituli Sancti Vitalis. Tertius vero Cardinalis venit in Angliam gratia visitandi Regem Francorum qui in Anglia moram traxerat biennialem." Can any reader of the Sussex Archæological Collections inform me whether the latter was this Cardinal of Rouen whose red hat was so little regarded by the Sussex robbers?

F. H. ARNOLD.

13. *Minister's Accounts. Sussex. 33—34. Eliz.*

SHULBREADE NUPER MONASTERIUM.

COMPOTUS ROBERTI HARRISON COLLECTORIS REDDITUM IBIDEM.

LEWES.—Et (reddit compotum) de 4d. de redditu exeunte de tenemento vocato Olde Vicarie in tenura Gardianorum Sancti Thomæ Clyffe, solvendis per annum—ut supra, 4d.

REDDITUS REPERTUS.—Et de 15s. 6d. de redditu reperto per estimationem rentalis ballivi, videlicet de Lewes Morley pro denariis datis ad inveniendum unum Scholasticum in Scholagrammaticali per prædecessores suos, . . . ad 6s. 8d. per annum, et de gardianis ecclesiæ Sancti Thomæ de Cliffe 6d. ultra 4d. per supervisorem operator' in Lurgursal de Augustino Penicote pro libero redditu exeunte de terris suis, 8s. 4d., in toto ut supra.

Summa 15s. 6d.

[Can any reader of our Collections give information as to the site of the "old vicarage house" of St. Thomas at Cliffe, referred to in these extracts? It is to be presumed that Mr. Morley's addition to the foundation of Lewes Grammar School, endowed by his ancestress Agnes Morley in 1512, was not carried out.]

14. *Ancient Hammer-head from Roughey, near Horsham, &c.*

I send you a sketch of one of the antique Hammer-heads dug up among the scoriæ or slag, on the site of the Roughey Iron-works near Horsham.



Some years since I possessed a very interesting antique, found in the same place. It was a bronze medal of excellent execution, exhibiting the head of a Magdalene in *bas relief*. The well-known A.D. (the D. enclosed within the A.) proves it the work of Albert Durer. The date, as marked on the other side of the head, is 1508.

I have a collection of Bronze Celts, found a few years since in a

copse near Yapton. There were eight of them, and also a mass of metal, several pounds in weight. I do not observe any types which have not already been engraved in the Collections.

Horsham.

THOS. HONYWOOD.

[It is proposed to give in the next vol. of S.A.C. some account of the various interesting objects of antiquity found in Sussex, by Mr. Honeywood, and now preserved in his collection.]

15. *Extracts from the Overseers' "Accompts" of the Parish of Mayfield (Maighfeild) 1626.*

| | |
|--|--------------|
| "Imprimis—Payd to old Browne, from Easter, 1625, unto Easter, 1626, being LI weekes at xvid. the week - - - - - | 003. 08. 00. |
| Item, payd for his house-rent - - - - - | 00. 10. 00. |
| Item, for apparell for him unto Willm. Weston - - - - - | 01. 03. 05. |
| Item, for one payre of shoes for him - - - - - | 00. 02. 04. |
| Item, for writing the ii whole bookes of Assessment for the yeere - - - - - | 00. 03. 00. |
| Item, for writing and casting up of this accompt - - - - - | 00. 00. 08. |
| Item, paid to Nicholas Collyn for <i>keeping of his son</i> , from Easter, 1625, unto the 4th of September following, being XX weeks at xviiiid. the weeke - - - - - | 01. 10. 00. |
| Item, for 100 of faggots for mother Becket - - - - - | 0. 4. 6. |
| Item, payd Marye Olyve for curing a boye that was lame - - - - - | 0. 6. 8. |
| [A lawyer's fee for a quack-doctress !] | |
| Item, payd for one payre of shoes for the mayde that was carryed to London - - - - - | 0. 1. 6. |
| Item, for 4 yeards 3 quarters of carzie, at ii. vid. the yeard to make her peticote and wastcote - - - - - | 0. 11. 10. |
| Item, for making the peticote and wastcote - - - - - | 0. 1. 4. |
| Item, payd to Tullye for carrying of her to London, and her expenses by the way - - - - - | 0. 5. 0. |
| Item, to the widdowe ffarmer for making a smocke - - - - - | 0. 0. 2. |
| Item, payd to Repentance Relfe at seu'all tymes - - - - - | 0. 2. 0. |
| Item, for canvas and making his (Levet's) breeches - - - - - | 0. 0. 10. |
| Item, for one payre of shoes for Dorothy Daye's boye at Cadman's - - - - - | 0. 1. 5. |
| Item, for 3 ells of canvas to make him ii sherts, and for the making of them - - - - - | 0. 4. 6. |
| Item, for one payre of shoes for him - - - - - | 0. 1. 6. |
| Item, for one payre of hose for him - - - - - | 0. 1. 5. |

The parish of Mayfield at this date was divided into four "quarters," respectively designated Ffyve-ash-quarter, Town-quarter, Moushall-quarter, and Byvelham-quarter.

W. ANSELL DAY.

16. *Abdication of James II.*

The following document, found at Horeham, and addressed to two Sussex magistrates, possesses historical interest:—

“Whereas his Maty. hath privately this morning withdrawne himselfe, Wee, the Lords spirituall and temporall, whose names are subscribed, taking into consideration that many Jesuits and Popish priests, and other eminent offenders may endeavour to fly from justice, by going to parts beyond the seas, doe hereby require you forthwith to use all manner of diligence for apprehending all such persons, or suspected persons, as shall be found in ye County.

And that you likewise take all possible care to stop all such persons from passing out of any of the ports in ye County, and secure them.

Dated at Guildhall, Dec. 11, 1688.

Tho. Eborum,
Dorsett,
Ailesbury,
Thanet,
Sussex,
Newport,
Weymouth,

North & Grey,
Chandos,
Tho. Culpeper,
W. Asaph,
Tho. Roffen,
Tho. Peterbury,
Crewe.

To Sr. Will. Thomas, and Sir Thomas Dyke, and either or both of them.”

W. ANSELL DAY.

17. *Family of Gratwick.*

Information concerning this family, beyond what is contained in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, and the *History of Western Sussex*, is desired. They originated at the place called Gratwick (now Greatwick) in Cowfold, and the elder branch continued to reside in that parish until the earlier part of the last century, when the representation merged in the families of Madgwick and Peirce. There are various monuments of them in the south aisle of Cowfold Church, which, according to a tradition of some of their descendants, was built by an early member of the family, though Cartwright thinks it was erected in the reign of Henry VIII., by Roger Agate, of Cowfold. It would appear from Agate's will, the original of which is, I believe, in the possession of our member, W. S. Ellis, Esq., that he certainly intended to perform some part of the pious work, since he left the sum of £6 13s. 4d. towards it, if it should be completed within two years of his decease (circ. 1530.) This, however, does not militate against the probability of the Gratwicks having supplied the principal part of the funds. The family ramified very extensively both in West and East Sussex, and possessed good lands at points ranging from Angmering to Seaford. The various branches might possibly be connected by some research, but there can be no doubt of the great antiquity of the name, as the same arms were borne by every branch, one of which seems to have migrated to Ulverstone in Lancashire, and to have returned into Sussex.

The clergy of the county who have noticed the name of Gratwick in their Registers, between the years 1538-1700, will confer a great favour by communicating the fact to the writer, who hopes in a future volume to print a connected pedigree in these Collections.

MARK ANTONY LOWER.

18. *Parish of Hellingly.*

A gentleman who is interested in the history and antiquities of this parish is desirous of obtaining information on the subject, with a view to a paper in the next volume. Communications addressed to the Editor will be thankfully received.

S. N.

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